The north-south divide: parameters of variation in the clausal domain[1]
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1. Introduction

Starting with Dante's Apenninic west-east divide into 14 *vulgaria* (*De vulgari eloquentia* 1.x.6-9; cf. Coletti 1995), there is a long tradition in Italian dialectology to classify the dialects by geographical criteria. Putting aside many of the details (see Pellegrini 1975; Bruni 1987:290f.; Cortelazzo 1988; Maiden 1995:233-48; Loporcaro 2009), today the dialects are conventionally, though not uncontroversially, classified according to a north-south axis which, although excluding Sardinian (Bossong 2016:65; Mensching and Remberger 2016:270), recognizes the three broad linguistic areas of the north (cf. Benincà, Parry and Pescarini 2016), centre (cf. Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2016) and south (cf. Ledgeway 2016a), characterized, in turn, by a series of internal subdivisions (e.g. Gallo-Italic vs Venetan northern dialects; Tuscan vs non-Tuscan central dialects; upper vs extreme southern dialects). Variously coinciding with early administrative, political and cultural divisions and, in part, with the distribution of the ancient peoples of the peninsula and their substrate languages (Ascoli 1882; Merlo 1937; 1933), these three macro-areas constitute a geographic continuum with linguistic distance increasing proportionately with geographic distance, allowing us to recognize two principal isoglosses (see Rohlfs [1972]1977; Savoia 1997): the La Spezia–Rimini Line – more accurately a bundle of phonetic and lexical isoglosses running from Carrara to Fano – traditionally delineates northern dialects from those of the centre-south which, in turn, are only more loosely differentiated from each other through the bundles of phonetic, lexical and some morphological isoglosses traditionally grouped together under the Rome-Ancona Line.

Somewhat incongruously, within the broader Romance tradition this former line was identified by Wartburg (1950) as the isogloss for a west-east Romance axis (cf. also Malkiel 1991).[2] Whether conceived as a north-south or a west-east axis as in the Italian-particular or the broader Romance context, the La Spezia–Rimini Line is established exclusively on phonetic and lexical criteria such that its validity as a morphosyntactic discriminant for the two macrolinguistic areas it demarcates within the Italian peninsula remains to be seen. However, as illustrated in Table 1 there is already evidence within a wider Romance typology for a north-south axis distinguishing between competing active-stative and nominative-accusative alignments in the northern Romània (northern Italian dialects, *langue d'oïl, langue d'oc*, Raeto-Romance, Francoprovençal) and the southern Romània (central-southern Italian dialects, Sardinian, Ibero-Romance, Dalmatian, Daco-Romance), respectively (La Fauci 1988; 1991;

1997; 1998; 2011; Zamboni 1998; 2000; Ledgeway 2012a:ch.7),[3] which, in turn, can be readily mapped onto the north vs centre-south linguistic continuum of the Italian peninsula. Moreover, anyone with a familiarity with the dialects of Italy is left with no doubt that the north-south divide traditionally identified by the La Spezia–Rimini Line on the basis of phonetic and lexical criteria equally holds also for the domain of morphosyntax.

Table 1: North-South continuum and active-stative syntax

Northern Romània (A/S_A vs O/S_O)	Southern Romània (A/$S_{A/O}$ vs O)
Prolonged retention of V2 syntax	Early loss of V2 syntax
Subject (A/S) marking (scls, generalized preverbal position)	O(bject) marking (DOM, clitic doubling)
Prolonged retention of binary case system	Early loss of binary case system
HABERE/*ESSERE alternation of perfective auxiliaries	Generalisation of single perfective auxiliary (HABERE or *ESSERE)
Retention of participle agreement	Loss of participle agreement
Loss of preterit	Retention of preterit

The goal of the present article is therefore to review some of the principal patterns of morphosyntactic variation within the peninsula in support of a north-south Italo-Romance continuum from an approach which locates the relevant dimensions of (micro)variation between northern and (central-)southern varieties in the properties of individual functional heads (Ledgeway 2016b). This approach which builds on the insights of the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (cf. Baker 2008:353) assumes that the locus of parametric variation lies in the lexicon and, in particular, in the (PF-)lexicalization of specific formal feature values of individual functional heads (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995). These feature values are not set in isolation, inasmuch as parameters ostensibly form an interrelated network of implicational relationships whereby the given value of a particular parameter may, in turn, entail the concomitant activation of associated lower-order parametric choices, whose potential surface effects may consequently become entirely predictable, or indeed rule out and render entirely irrelevant other parameters. Considerable progress in this direction has already been made in establishing, and modelling the relationships between, some of the most important parameters of microvariation within the nominal domain, not just across a selection of the dialects of Italy but also more broadly within Romance and Indo-European and beyond, in recent parametric work, especially that couched within the Comparative Parametric Method.[4] Therefore in what follows, we shall consider a selection of key examples from the clausal domain of representative morphosyntactic divergence between the dialects of northern and southern Italy which highlight a number of significant differences in the featural make-up of the functional heads C-T-v and their associated domains – the left periphery, the inflexional core of the sentence, and the verb phrase – and the parametric options they instantiate.

2. C-domain
2.1. V2 Residues
A notable difference between the dialects of northern Italy and those of the south concerns the respective availability of head and phrasal fronting to the C-domain. It is well-known that the

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[3] See also Cremona (1970), and Green (2006) for evidence of a Romance north-south axis.

[4] There is not space to be able to do justice to the important results of this work here. However, see, among others, Guardiano and Longobardi (2005; 2017a,b), Longobardi, Guardiano (2009), Longobardi, Guardiano, Silvestri, Boattini and Ceolin (2013), Guardiano (2014), Guardiano and Stavrou (2014), Ledgeway (2015), Guardiano, Michelioudakis, Ceolin, Irimia, Longobardi, Radkevich, Silvestri and Sitaridou (2016), Longobardi, Ghirotto, Guardiano, Tassi, Benazzo, Ceolin and Barbujani (2015), Longobardi, Ceolin, Ecay, Ghirotto, Guardiano, Irimia, Michelioudakis, Radkevic, Luiselli, Pettener and Barbujani (2016), Guardiano and Michelioudakis (2019).

evidence for a medieval V2 syntax, including the observance of a strict surface V2 linearization and a robust root-embedded asymmetry in the distribution of null subjects (cf. Benincà 1984; 1994; 2006; 2013; Wolfe 2018), is generally greater in Gallo-Romance than in other branches of Romance. Indeed, the prolonged retention of V2 in Gallo-Romance (cf. Table 1), and hence in northern Italy where it continues to the present day in some Ladin varieties (Haiman and Benincà 1992:150; Poletto 2000; 2002; Kaiser 2002; Anderson 2016:179-81; Salvi 2000; 2016a:164-65; 2016b:1009), as opposed to its earlier loss in other Romance varieties including the dialects of southern Italy is still visible today in the availability of V-to-C movement. In particular, in dialects of northern Italy, and especially those of the northeast, C may still probe V (and hence license V-to-C movement) under particular marked conditions, as variously reflected in (simple/complex) verb-subject inversion, enclisis of object clitics, and the complementary distribution of subjunctive verb forms and complementizers (cf. Poletto and Tortora 2016:779-81). Following Rizzi and Roberts (1989) and Rizzi (1990), this more constrained type of V-to-C movement can be considered a synchronic residue of generalized V2 movement from the medieval period which is today licensed only in a restricted set of non-veridical polarity contexts tied to specific types of illocutionary force, including interrogative (1a), optative (1b), (ex)hortative or jussive (1c), hypothetical (1d), concessive (1e), disjunctive (1f), exclamative (1g) and imperatival (1h):

(1)   a. Ven-lo   stasèira   teu   pari? (Rueglio; Parry 1997)
             com.PRS.IND.3SG=SCL.2MSG this.evening your father
             'Is your father coming this evening?'

      b. Fusse-lo rivà! (Scorzè; Poletto 2000)
             were=he come.PTCP
             'I wish he had come!'

      c. Telefonasse-lo almanco! (Padua; Munaro 2010)
             telephone.SBJV.IPFV.3SG=SCL.3MSG at.least
             'He should at least ring!'

      d. 'fys-ɐt   ri'va   'primɒ… (Revere; Manzini and Savoia 2005)
             be.SBJV.PST.2SG=SCL.2SG arrive.PTCP before
             'If you had arrived sooner…'

      e. Gavesselo   anca   telefonà,… (Padua; Munaro 2010)
             have.SBJV.IPFV.3SG=SCL.3MSG   even   telephone.PTCP
             'Even if he rung,…'

      f. Sedi-al   puar o sedi-al   sior (Clauzetto;
             be.PRS.SBJV.3SG=SCL.3MSG poor or be.SBJV.PRS.3SG=SCL.3MSG rich
             Poletto 2000)
             'Whether he's poor or rich'

      g. No   ga-lo   magnà   tuto! (Carmignano di Brenta; Munaro
             NEG have.PRS.IND.3SG=SCL.3MSG   eat.PTCP   all
             2010)
             'He's eaten everything!'

      h. 'ʧame-me! (Cortemilia; Manzini and Savoia 2005)
             call.IMP.2SG=me
             'Call me!'

    Thus, while generalized V2 movement in medieval Romance triggered by a semantically uninterpretable V-feature in declarative contexts is systematically lost in modern Romance, V-to-C movement is exceptionally retained just in those contexts where movement plays a role in interpretation and hence associated with a semantically interpretable V-feature, licensing the observed non-veridical polarity values in (1a-h). Nonetheless, the distribution of such

semantically-driven V-to-C movement is not uniform across Romance: whereas it is relatively well preserved in Gallo-Romance varieties such as (formal) French and especially north(east)ern Italian dialects (cf. Poletto 2000:chs 3,5; Munaro 2004; 2010; Manzini and Savoia 2005,I:384-87; Benincà, Parry, and Pescarini 2016:200), it shows different and often unpredictable degrees of productivity and attrition outside of Gallo-Romance (cf. Ledgeway 2015:§3.2). Indeed, in contrast to northern dialects, the ability of C to probe the finite verb in southern dialects is highly restricted. Illustrative in this respect are the representative Cosentino examples in (2) where, limiting our attention to interrogative (2a), exclamative (2b), optative (2c; subsuming (ex)hortative, jussive, hypothetical, concessive) and imperatival (2d) forces, we note that V-to-C movement has all but disappeared from the grammar (cf. the lexicalization of the C-position with the complementizers *ca/chi* 'that') with the exception of positive true imperatives, the clause type in which V-to-C movement proves most resilient across Romance (Rivero 1994; Graffi 1996; Zanuttini 1997) and to which we return in §3.1.

          <u>Cosenza</u>

(2)   a. Ca   venanu?
           that come.PRS.IND.3PL
           'Are they coming?'
     b. Ca   su   bbieddri!
           that be.PRS.IND.3PL handsome
           'How beautiful they are!'
     c. Chi   vò   scattà!
           that want.PRS.IND.2SG burst.INF
           'May you keel over!'
     d. Mannamillu!
           send.IMP.2SG=me=it
           'Send me it!'

    The differing distribution of V-to-C movement between the north and south thus highlights an important difference in the formal properties of the C-head which, at the same time, is also responsible for another notable distinction between these two groups of dialects which quite plausibly reflects another residue of an original V2 syntax. In particular, the original V2 constraint consisted in two operations (cf. Ledgeway 2007; Holmberg 2015): (i) raising of the finite verb in root clauses to the C position, residues of which we have just seen in northern Italian dialects; and (ii) fronting of a salient constituent to a preverbal operator position where it receives a (contrastively/informationally) focalized interpretation. With the exception of partial questions where *wh*-movement is still often, but not always, generalized, including in apparent wh-*in situ* questions,[5] this latter phrasal movement of contrastive and, above all, informational, foci generally proves impossible in most northern Italian dialects and associated regional varieties of Italian (for an interesting exception, see Paoli 2009; 2010 and fn.9 below). In the south, by contrast, focus-fronting to this C-related operator position – whether contrastive (3a), informational (3b), mirative (3c) or involving quantified expressions (3d) – is still very productive to this day (cf. Cruschina 2006; 2010; 2012; Ledgeway 2009a:784-90; Cruschina, Ledgeway and Remberger 2019:29f.):

(3)   a. Wè Marì, ca   TOND GIAÒV'N nan sì! (Matera)
          look Maria that so   young   NEG be.PRS.IND.2SG

'Hey Maria, you're not SO YOUNG yourself!'

   b. **'O   pate**   songh' io! (Naples)
      the   father   be.PRS.IND.1SG   I
      'I'm **the daddy**!'

   c. **Nu   càvuciu a ru culu**   ti   dugnu! (Cosenza)
      a   kick   to the arse   you= give.PRS.IND.1SG
      'I'll give you **a kick up the arse**!'

   d. **Caccose**   s'   a   scurdate. (Chieti)
      something   self= have.PRS.IND.3SG forget
      'He's forgotten **something**.'

In conclusion, we see how the two fundamental reflexes of an original V2 syntax today stand in complementary distribution: while in medieval Romance V2 involved the simultaneous overt PF-satisfaction of both a head requirement, namely generalized V-raising triggered by a semantically uninterpretable V-feature on C, and an associated edge requirement, namely the fronting of a focus constituent to SpecCP triggered by an EPP feature, these C-related requirements have been subject to reanalysis and redistribution in modern Italo-Romance. While generalized V-movement has been lost in both northern and southern varieties, V-to-C movement is exceptionally retained in the north in those contexts where movement plays a role in interpretation and hence associated with a semantically interpretable V-feature on C licensing the observed non-veridical polarity values. This interpretable V-feature is not, however, bundled with an associated EPP-style edge feature on C, although SpecCP arguably hosts a null operator associated with a particular modal illocutionary force, the content of which is licensed and made explicit by the verb raising to C. In southern varieties, by contrast, it is the original edge feature on C which appears to have been retained, although no longer a generalized EPP feature but now restricted to cases involving marked focal interpretations just in the same way that V-to-C movement in the north is no longer generalized but restricted to particular marked contexts. Formally, the distinction between dialects of the north and the south can then be stated in terms of a complementary distribution of head and edge probing features on C.

2.2 Mood

Another significant dimension of parametric variation between dialects of the north and south relates to the licensing of mood within the C-domain. In northern dialects the C-head does not formally encode mood, with the relevant difference surfacing on verbal morphology through the indicative-subjunctive opposition (4a-b), whereas in southern dialects this distinction is, at least traditionally, spelt out in the shape and position of the complementizer which contrasts realis and irrealis forms (5a-b; Ledgeway 2003[2004]; 2005; 2006; 2012b; 2016c; Colasanti 2018).
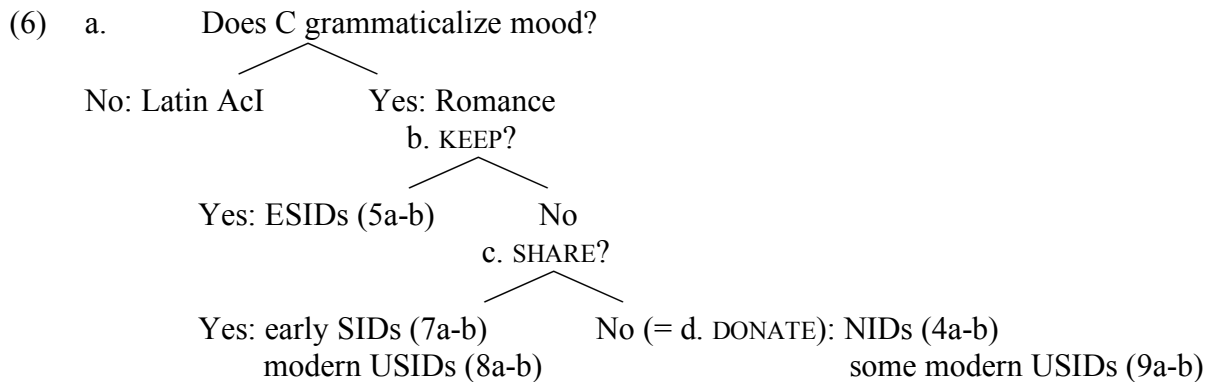
      Liventino (Žižlavská 2010)

(4)   a. Mi pense   che són   in svantajo.
         I   think.PRS.IND.1SG   that   be.PRS.IND.1SG   in disadvantage
         'I think that I'm at a disadvantage.'

       b. No' vòi   che le   ghe   manche   de rispèto a so
         NEG   want.PRS.IND.1SG   that them.DAT= LOC= lack.PRS.SBJV.3 of respect   to   their
         missièr.
         father-in-law
         'I don't want them to disrespect their father-in-law.''

      Cellino San Franco, Salento

(5) a. Sapimu ca tutti putimu sbagliare.
    know.PRS.IND.1PL that.REALIS all can.PRS.IND.1PL err.INF
    'We can all make mistakes.'
  b. Nun bulimu cu sbagli.
    NEG want.PRS.IND.1PL that.IRREALIS err.PRS.IND.2SG
    'We don't want you to make a mistake.'

However, we find significant microvariation across southern varieties in the ways that mood is formally marked through the C-system, the details of which can be captured in terms of Chomsky's (2007; 2008) proposals about possible feature inheritance and transfer between the phase head C and its complement T, here framed in terms of Ouali's (2008) operations KEEP, SHARE and DONATE. More specifically, the relative choices can be hierarchically organized into the increasingly marked microparametric options sketched in (6) (though for a more detailed discussion of all the observed options in Romance see Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014):[6]

(6) a.   Does C grammaticalize mood?

    No: Latin AcI   Yes: Romance
                      b. KEEP?

      Yes: ESIDs (5a-b)   No
                     c. SHARE?

      Yes: early SIDs (7a-b)   No (= d. DONATE): NIDs (4a-b)
          modern USIDs (8a-b)   some modern USIDs (9a-b)

The simplest response to the parametric setting in (6a) is a negative one, and this is what we find in Latin where, in the absence of an overt complementizer in the core and most archaic Latin pattern of complementation inherited from Indo-European, namely the accusative and infinitive (AcI) construction, C fails to mark mood with both realis and irrealis complements introduced by null C heads, e.g. [CP [TP EUM OMNIA SCIRE] Ø] DICO/UOLO 'him.ACC everything know.INF I.say/I.want (= I say that he knows/want him to know everything)'. By contrast, Romance varieties present positive settings to questions (6a), in that realis-irrealis modal contrasts are variously grammaticalized by the C-system in finite contexts. There thus arise three possibilities. A positive answer to (6b) yields the simplest and least marked option which ensures that the featural opposition is not transferred down, but surfaces on the C head alone in the lexical choice of the complementizer in accordance with Ouali's KEEP option. This describes the situation found in the modern dialects of the extreme south of Italy (ESIDs) which formally distinguish between realis (5a) and irrealis (5b) complements through recourse to a dual finite complementizer system (Ledgeway 2016c:§63.3).

More marked and complex options characterize those varieties which answer negatively to the KEEP option in (6b). The first of these involves the extension of marking of (ir)realis modality from the phase head C such that it is inherited by T in accordance with Ouali's SHARE option thereby surfacing on all relevant functional heads (cf. polydefiniteness marking in the nominal group). Consequently, in varieties specified positively for option (6c) (ir)realis marking surfaces both in the shape of the complementizer by means of a dual complementizer system and on the embedded verb.

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[6] See also Roberts (2019:513) for a similar hierarchy in relation to the distribution of tense.

Typically, the latter reflex is manifested morphologically in a classic indicative/subjunctive opposition on the verb, as witnessed in many early dialects of southern Italy (7a-b; cf. Ledgeway 2004; 2005; 2006).

Old Salentino (*Sidrac*)

(7) a. significano **ca** illo <u>fece</u> dissobediencia
mean.PRS.IND.3PL that.REALIS he make.IND.PST.3SG disobedience
'they mean that he was disobedient'

b. commandao **cu** doy <u>fossero</u> uno
command.IND.PST.3SG that.IRREALIS two be.SBJV.PST.3PL one
'He ordered that two should be one'

However, the formal instantiation of the SHARE option on T is not just limited to morphological reflexes like those in (7a-b), but may also surface syntactically through variable verb movement (2009b; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014). Such is the case in (northern) Salentino varieties where, despite all traces of the subjunctive having long been lost, the relevant realis/irrealis distinction on T is manifested through its ability/inability to attract the finite verb, as revealed by the variable position of the verb with respect to different adverb classes (Cinque 1999; Schifano 2015; 2018): whereas in realis complements introduced by the complementizer *ca* (and in root clauses) the verb occupies a low position occurring to the right of lower pre-VP adverbs (8a), in irrealis complements introduced by the complementizer *cu* the verb exceptionally raises to T from where it obligatorily occurs to the left of all adverbs (8b).

Northern Salentino

(8) a. tice **ca** l' Anna *già* u <u>sape</u>.
say.IND.PRS.3SG that.REALIS the Anna already it= know.IND.PRS.3SG
'He says that Anna already knows.'

b. Speru **cu** u <u>sape</u> *già* (*<u>sape</u>).
want.IND.PRS.3SG that.IRREALIS it= know.IND.PRS.3PL already
'I hope that she already knows.'

Finally, a variety which is specified positively for the microparametric option (6a) grammaticalizing the marking of (ir)realis in the C-system, but which is specified negatively for both the KEEP and SHARE options in (6b-c), is left with no other option but complete transfer of the relevant (ir)realis feature solely on T, such that it appears on just one of the relevant functional heads. In this way, we naturally derive the effects of Ouali's so-called DONATE option simply from the negative specification of the SHARE option (= 6d), without the need to posit an additional independent mechanism DONATE. Typically, such marking on T surfaces in an indicative/subjunctive contrast on the verb as found in northern Italian dialects and most (standard) Romance varieties which otherwise indiscriminately introduce all finite complements with an undifferentiated complementizer (cf. 4a-b). A variant of this pattern is found in many modern dialects of the upper south of Italy (USIDs) such as modern Cosentino (9a-b) which have lost both the original dual complementizer system and the morphological indicative/subjunctive opposition (viz. the SHARE option in 6c) in favour of the generalization of a single complementizer and the indicative, but which continue to mark the relevant difference once again through variable V-movement (Ledgeway 2009b; 2012b; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014).

Cosenza, Calabria

(9)   a. A   dittu   **ca**   si   *sempe*   <u>vidanu</u>.
         Have.IND.PRS.3SG say.PTCP that self= always   see.IND.PRS.3PL
         'He said that they always see each other.'
    b. Vò   **ca**   si   <u>vidanu</u>   *sempe*   (*<u>vidanu</u>).
         want.IND.PRS.3SG that self= see.IND.PRS.3PL always
         'He wants them to always see each other.'

From a diachronic perspective, it is thus possible to recognise in the dialects of southern Italy a shift from an original equal sharing of features across both functional heads through the mechanism of inheritance and transfer (as evidenced in the early dialects) to a unilateral realization of the same, first on the phase head (as in subsequent stages of the dialects of the upper south and in the modern dialects of the extreme south which lose subjunctive marking but preserve a dual complementizer system) and then on T (as in most modern dialects of the upper south which have subsequently also lost the dual complementizer system but now distinguish between low V-movement in realis complements and V-to-T movement in irrealis complements). Whereas the former development involves a movement up the subhierachy (6c ⇒ 6b), the latter change results in a downward movement (6c ⇒ 6d). These facts underline how microparametric change does not necessarily imply movement up the hierarchy towards less marked and conceptually simpler options, but may equally proceed downwards to yield more constrained and increasingly complex linguistic choices, witness the observed progressive retreat of subjunctive marking on T to different subsets of grammatical persons and morphosyntactic verb classes in central-southern Salentino dialects according to different micro- and nanoparametric options (Bertocci and Damonte 2007). At the same time there is also no *a priori* reason to assume that movement up and down the hierarchy must proceed stepwise. For instance, we have witnessed how most dialects of upper southern Italy first passed from the SHARE to the KEEP options (⇒ loss of subjunctive) moving in a stepwise fashion up the hierarchy, before shifting in the modern period to the DONATE option (⇒ loss of dual complementizer system) by way of a downwards movement that bypasses the intervening SHARE option.

3. T-domain
3.1. V-movement
One major dimension of variation between the dialects of northern and southern Italy concerns the ability of T to probe V (cf. Ledgeway 2009b; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005:103-06; 2014; Schifano 2015; 2018), as witnessed by the position of the verb relative to a universally-ordered series of adverbs (Cinque 1999). In particular, we note how, on a par with other Gallo-Romance varieties such as French, Occitan and Gascon, in the representative northern Italian dialect of Milan the finite verb obligatory raises to a high position within the T-domain from where it precedes both adverbs contained in the higher adverb space (HAS) within the T-domain (10a), as well those contained in the lower adverb space (LAS) within the *v*-VP domain (10b).

     <u>Milan (Schifano 2018)</u>
(10) a. La sua miè la   <u>cuzina</u>   **aposta**   el risot.
        the his wife SCL.FSG cook.IND.PRS.3SG deliberately the risotto
     b. La sua miè la   <u>cuzina</u>   **minga**   el   risot.
        the his wife SCL.FSG cook.IND.PRS.3SG NEG   the risotto
        'His wife deliberately cooks/doesn't cook the risotto.'

With the marked exception of irrealis complement clauses (cf. 8a-b, 9a-b), in southern dialects, by contrast, T does not probe the finite verb which remains within the *v*-VP domain, as highlighted by clitic-adverb interpolation structures (13b; cf. Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005) and the position of the verb to the right of both HAS and LAS adverbs. However, as the (b)-(c) examples in (11)-(13) illustrate, there is some internal microparametric variation across southern dialects in the precise position of the verb within the *v*-VP domain which variously targets different positions in the lower space sandwiched between the adverbs 'already' (SpecTP$_{Anterior}$) and 'well' (SpecVoice).

Mussomeli (Schifano 2018)
(11) a. Sa mujjeri **mancu** i   cucina,   i   vrùcculi.
        his wife   NEG   them= cook.IND.PRS.3SG the broccoli
        'His wife doesn't cook broccoli.'
     b. A   carusa **già**   cammina.
        the girl   already walk.IND.PRS.3SG
        'The girl is already walking.'
     c. U picciluddru dormi   **ancora / sempi / bbonu**.
        the child   sleep.IND.PRS.3SG still   always   well
        'The child still/always sleeps well.'

S.Maria Capua Vetere, Caserta (Schifano 2018)
(12) a. Quillə **mica** o   ssapə   ra   festa.
        that.one NEG   it= know.IND.PRS.3SG of.the   party
        'He doesn't know about the party.'
     b. Fijjəmə **già / ancora** camminə.
        son=my   already still   walk.IND.PRS.3SG
        'My son already/still walks.'
     c. Pascalə e   Maria vanno   **sempə** o   marə.
        Pasquale and Maria go.IND.PRS.3PL always   to.the   sea
        'Pasquale and Maria always go to the sea.'

Cosenza
(13) a. Chiru **forse / mancu** vo   vena   ccu nua.
        that.one perhaps NEG   want.IND.PRS.3SG come.INF with us
        'He perhaps wants/doesn't want to come with us.'
     b. Iddu mi **ggià / ancora/ sempe** chiamava.
        he   me= already still   always   call.IND.PST.3SG
        'Then he already/still/always called me.'
     c. U picciliddu durmia   **bbuonu.**
        the boy   sleep.IND.PST.3SG well
        'The child was sleeping well.'

   At the same time, these same facts also now provide us with some deeper understanding of the respective presence and absence of verb-subject inversion in northern (cf. 1a-h) and southern (cf. 2a-d) varieties reviewed in §2.1. In particular, if we interpret inversion structures as a reflex of T-to-C movement, namely a local probing relation between the phase head and its immediate complement, our independent observation that finite verbs typically raise to very high and low positions in the HAS and LAS in northern and southern Italy, respectively, now straightforwardly explains the distribution of inversion. In northern dialects the verb independently raises to T, hence is available for further probing by the C head (viz. V-to-T-to-C movement), whereas in southern varieties the verb is not probed by T and remains low

within the LAS and is not therefore available for T-to-C movement since it falls outside of the local probing domain of C in accordance with the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC; cf. discussion of inversion in the history of English discussed in Biberauer and Roberts 2012; 2017).

As for the exceptional robustness of V-to-C movement with positive imperatives, even in southern dialects (cf. 2d), following Ledgeway (2019a) we take this to follow from the widespread idea that imperatival clauses do not project the full array of functional projections associated with the T-domain, as reflected crosslinguistically in the absence of any inflectional marking or, at the very least, very minimal inflectional marking on second-person imperatives (Bybee 1985:173; Floricic 2008:10; Ledgeway 2014a). In the absence of TP, the C head therefore takes *v*-VP as its immediate complement, such that the verb can readily be locally probed by C yielding V-to-C movement in positive imperatives (cf. Rivero 1994; Graffi 1996; Zanuttini 1997).

3.2. Postverbal negation: Jespersen's stages II-III
Another important consequence of the observed difference in the ability of T to probe the verb is the prediction that it makes about the distribution of different negation strategies (cf. Zanuttini 1997; Parry 1997; 2013; Manzini and Savoia 2005,III:127-55; Poletto 2008; 2016a,b; Garzonio and Poletto 2009; 2018). As is well known, in the dialects of central and southern Italy (14a), as well as the dialects of north-eastern Italy, Ligurian, eastern Romansh, Catalan, European Portuguese, Spanish and Romanian, sentential negation is marked by a simple reflex of Latin preverbal NON 'not', so-called Stage I of Jespersen's Cycle. Elsewhere negation is either at Stage II, as in many northern Italian dialects, standard French and Gascon where negation is expressed discontinuously by both a preverbal and postverbal negator (14b), or at Stage III, as in many north-western Italian dialects, western/central Romansh, spoken French, Occitan, Aragonese and northern Catalan dialects in which negation is expressed by a single postverbal negator (14c).

(14) a. **Un** duarmu. (Cosenza)
         NEG sleep.PRS.IND.1SG
      b. A **n** dorum **briza**. (Modena; Parry 2013)
         SCL NEG sleep.FUT.1SG NEG
      c. Dürmirai **nen**. (Piedmont; Parry 2013)
         sleep.FUT.1SG NEG
         'I won't sleep.'

In recent work, Ledgeway and Schifano (in press) propose an original connection between each of these three stages and the extent of verb movement. More specifically, they note that varieties with simple preverbal negation (Stage I) may display indifferently either low or high movement of the verb, whereas in varieties with non-emphatic postverbal negators (Stages II-III) the verb must raise to either a clause-medial or high position, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Verb-movement and negation typologies (from Ledgeway and Schifano in press)

Negation / Verb-movement	Stage I	Stages II-III
High	Romanian	French, Occitan, Gascon
Clause-medial	northern regional Italian, NIDs (e.g. Teolese)	(northern regional Italian), NIDs (e.g. Milanese)

Low	European Portuguese, southern regional Italian, SIDs	*
Very low	Spanish, Valencian	*

The relevant empirical generalization then is that the presence of a non-emphatic postverbal negator is not compatible with low V-movement. Rather, a postverbal negator can only be licensed by the verb raising through the projection hosting the negator (hence yielding the observed postverbal negation). It follows that high(er) verb movement represents a sine qua non for the licensing of Stages II-III of Jespersen's Cycle and that only in the modern dialects of northern Italy (and Gallo-Romance more generally), where we have independently established that T probes V, does postverbal (viz. Stages II-III) negation obtain. By contrast, in the dialects of southern Italy where verb movement is low all varieties are necessarily at Stage I.

3.3. Subject clitics

A distinctive feature of the finite verb of the modern dialects of northern Italy, as well as northern Tuscany, is its frequent co-occurrence with a subject clitic (cf. Poletto 2000; Manzini and Savoia 2005,I; Poletto and Tortora 2016), a pronominal category entirely absent from the dialects of southern Italy (cf. also Table 1). What we would like to suggest here is that this property of northern varieties – and again of Gallo-Romance in general – can once again be related to the ability of T to probe the verb and, in particular, to the generalized rich featural specification of T. More specifically, in the same way that T in northern varieties comes with a strong V-feature which attracts the verb, we can argue that T correspondingly carries also a strong D-feature that variously requires the overt PF-lexicalization of the phi-features (of person and number) of the subject on the verb and/or accompanying subject clitic (cf. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998).

Marrying this observation with the null subject parameter, we can then follow Roberts (2010; cf. also D'Alessandro in press:19.5.1.1) in recognising the typology of northern/Gallo-Romance varieties in (15a-d) with relevant examples in Table 3, in which the inflexional richness of the subject clitic system may variously interact with the inflexional richness of the verb, both licensed under T.

(15) a. scl [+agr] V [+agr] ⇒ Florentine
     b. scl [+agr] V [-agr] ⇒ French
     c. scl [–agr] V [+agr] ⇒ Comasco
     d. scl [–agr] V [–agr] ⇒ Carrara

Table 3: Subject clitics and null subject parameter (Roberts 2010)

	Florentine	French	Como	Carrara	Cosenza	Naples
1SG	(e) dorm**o**	**je** dors	dorm-i	**a** dɔrmə	**du**ormu	dormə
2SG	**tu** dorm**ii**	**tu** dors	**ta** dorm-at	**t** dɔrmə	**du**ormi	du**o**rmə
3SG	**e/la** dorme	**il/elle** dort	**al/la** dorm-a	**i/al** dɔrmə	dorma	dormə
1PL	**si** dorme	**nous** dormons	dormu-um	**a** durm-**iŋ**	durm**imu**	durm**immə**
2PL	**vu** dorm**ite**	**vous** dormez	dorm-uf	durm-**it**	durm**iti**	durm**itə**
3PL	**e/le** dorm**ano**	**ils/elles** dorment	dorm-an	**i/al** dɔrmənə	dorm**anu**	dormənə

(15a) represents a fully redundant pro-drop system such as Florentine in which the subject clitic system is richly specified (only the first singular subject clitic proves optional) and co-occurs with an equally richly specified set of corresponding verb forms. (15b), by contrast,

identifies a non-pro-drop variety such as French where verb agreement is very impoverished, but the subject clitic paradigm obligatorily characterizes all six grammatical persons, is fully distinctive and hence instantiates in syntactic terms a genuine subject pronoun paradigm, although the individual forms behave phonologically as clitics. The feature combinations in (15c) represented by the dialect of Como illustrate once again a null subject variety, in which a distinctively specified verb paradigm is, in turn, partly reinforced in just the second and third persons singular by a defective system of subject clitics. The final combination in (15d) is exemplified by the dialect of Carrara where neither the inflexional agreement of the verb nor the subject clitic system are individually sufficiently rich, but come together to form a complementary null-subject system in which potential syncretisms in the verb and clitic paradigms are mutually resolved by their interaction.

We therefore conclude that, regardless of the internal variation in the distribution and inflexional richness of individual subject clitic paradigms, the relevant distinction between dialects of the north and the south lies in the properties of the T head: whereas in northern dialects it carries strong V- and D-features which, in turn, probe the verb and license overt PF-lexicalization of subject agreement, in dialects of the south we have seen that T fails to probe the verb and equally lacks a strong D-feature. This is shown in the final two columns in Table 3 where southern dialects like Cosentino and Neapolitan invariably lack subject clitics, irrespective of the relative richness of their verbal inflexion.

3.4. Active-stative auxiliary selection

Our final correlation deriving from our previous observation regarding the availability of high verb movement concerns perfective auxiliary selection (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005,II-III; Ledgeway 2012a:ch. 7; 2019b). In northern Italian dialects, as is generally the case in Gallo-Romance varieties more generally (cf. Table 1), we witness the continuation of an original active-stative split whereby predicates with Agent subjects (viz. A/S_A) select auxiliary HAVE (16a) and predicates with Undergoer subjects (viz. S_O) select BE (16b).

(16) a i' **eu**   drimì / a **suma**   partìi. (C.Montenotte; Parry 2005)
     SCL I have.PRS.IND.1SG sleep.PTCP SCL be.PRS.IND.1PL leave.PTCP
     'I have slept / we have left'

Simplifying somewhat, in dialects of southern Italy, on the other hand, this active-stative auxiliary distribution has in most cases been replaced by a nominative-accusative alignment variously involving the generalization of a single auxiliary, be that HAVE (17a) or BE (17b), or a person-based system (17c) which generally contrasts BE in the first and second persons with HAVE in the third persons.

(17) a. **Avìanu**   manciatu / nisciutu. (Sicily)
       have.PST.IPFV.IND.3PL eat.PTCP   exit.PTCP
       'They had eaten/gone out.'
    b. **sɔŋgə/si/ɛ**…   mə'nu:tə / maɲ'ɲɛɐtə. (Pescolanciano; Manzini and Savoia 2005)
       be.PRS.IND.1/2/3SG come.PTCP eat.PTCP
       'I have/you have/(s)he has come/eaten.'
    c. **So/Si**   / **A**   fatecate / ite. (Arielli; R. D'Alessandro p.c.)
       be.PRS.IND.1/2SG   HAVE.3 work.PTCP go.PTCP
       'I have/you have/(s)he has worked/gone.'

In traditional work on active-stative patterns of auxiliary selection within the so-called Unaccusativity Hypothesis, it has generally been assumed since Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1986) that auxiliary BE represents the superficial reflex of a co-indexation relation between

(Spec)T and V(,DP) in accordance with the idea that unaccusative structures involve raising of the object (internal argument) to the surface subject (external argument) position. We have already seen and argued in §3.1 that in the dialects of northern Italy (auxiliary) verbs overtly raise to T, an operation which automatically results in the co-indexation of V and T producing the observed sensitivity of the perfective auxiliary to the A/S$_A$ vs S$_O$ distinction.

4. *v*-domain
4.1. Auxiliary selection

Following on immediately from the conclusion in §3.4, we now also have a natural and principled explanation for the typical absence of argument-driven perfective auxiliation patterns in the dialects of southern Italy (cf. 17a-c). Since we have already independently established that (auxiliary) verbs do not raise to T in the dialects of the south but, rather, remain within the *v*-VP complex, it straightforwardly follows from the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) that T and V will never be co-indexed and hence BE will never surface as the result of an unaccusative structure.

At the same time, this conclusion also explains why, alongside the generalization of one or other of the two auxiliaries (cf .17a-b), many dialects of (central and) southern Italy display a person-driven auxiliary pattern (cf. 17c). In particular, given that in southern dialects the auxiliary fails to raise to T but remains in *v*, the auxiliary under *v* therefore finds itself in a local Spec-Head configuration with the subject externally (transitive/unergative) or internally (unaccusative) merged in Spec*v*P whose person feature it spells out in the PF-lexicalization of the auxiliary (cf. D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010).[7]

4.2. Participle agreement

A conservative feature of an active-stative alignment still found in many Italo-Romance varieties, including those of the south, surfaces in the distribution of active participle agreement (Rohlfs 1969:116; Smith 1991; Loporcaro 1998:64-78; 2016:§49.2.3; Manzini and Savoia 2005,II:§5.1; Ledgeway 2012a:3326f.). As a broad generalization, we note that in most northern Italian dialects agreement of the active participle is restricted to (raised) unaccusative subjects (18a) and (typically third-person) object clitics (18c), but is not licensed by *in situ* objects (18b).

Casorezzo (Manzini and Savoia 2005)
(18) a. l   e   **mɔrtu/mɔrta**.
       SCL.3 be.PRS.IND.3SG die.PTCP.MSG/FSG
       'He/She has died.'

     b. o   **pɛrsu/*pɛrsa**   a   bitʃiklɛta.
       have.PRS.IND.1SG lose.PTCP.MSG/FSG the.FSG bicycle.FSG
       'I've lost my bike.'

     c. <u>l</u>   o   ***pɛrsu/pɛrsa**.
       it= have.PRS.IND.1SG lose.PTCP.MSG/FSG
       'I've lost it.'

Southern Italian dialects, by contrast, are often more conservative in that active participle agreement can be controlled not only by (raised) unaccusative subjects (19a) and object clitics (19c), but also by *in situ* objects (19b).

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[7] Also of interest here is D'Alessandro's (2017) claim about the complementary distribution and realization of person features in the north and centre-south respectively spelt out in the subject clitic system and person-driven auxiliary systems.

Scorrano (Musio 1982)

(19) a. <u>Li</u>   <u>tre</u> su   già   **ssuti**.
       the.MPL three be.PRS.IND.3PL already go.out.PTCP.MPL
       'The three of them have gone out.'

    b. Aggiu   **nnutti**   <u>ddo</u> <u>chili</u>   <u>de</u> <u>pampasciuni</u>.
       have.PRS.IND.1SG bring.PTCP.MPL two   kilos.M of hyacinth.bulbs.M
       'I've brought two kilos of hyacinth bulbs.'

    c. <u>L'</u> aggiu   **vista**   puru nuta.
       it=have.PRS.IND.1SG seen.FSG also naked
       'I've seen her naked too.'

Once again, these facts find an immediate explanation in our previous observations about differences in verb movement which, in turn, interact with well-known restrictions on the locality conditions placed on Agree(ment) configurations deriving from the PIC (cf. D'Alessandro and Roberts 2008). In particular, in northern dialects (participial) verbs raise high, such that the participle surfaces in the higher CP phase from where it is unable to agree with the *in situ* object contained within the lower *v*P phase (cf. 18b) which is sent to PF in an earlier Spell-Out cycle. However, unaccusative subjects which raise to, or enter into an Agree relation with, the preverbal subject position SpecTP and object clitics which surface within the T-domain – both passing *en route* through the participle in Kayne's (1989) classic analysis – both surface in the same phasal domain as the raised participle with which they are sent to PF in the same Spell-out cycle, thereby licensing the observed agreement. In southern dialects, by contrast, (participial) verbs are not probed by T but remain within the *v*-VP domain, such that the participle can locally agree with *in situ* objects (cf. 19b) contained within the same lower phase, as well as with unaccusative subjects and raised object clitics which must transit through the specifier position of the *v*-related projection hosting the participle, a local Spec-Head configuration which licenses the observed agreement.[8]

4.3. Lower left periphery: focus
We have already seen in §2.1 an asymmetry between the dialects of northern and southern Italy in the complementary distribution of a marked interpretable head (viz. V) and edge (viz. focus) feature on C, respectively. Thus, in contrast to southern dialects where the C-related left periphery (Rizzi 1997) readily hosts focus constituents (cf. 3a-d), the dialects of northern Italy typically license foci in a lower *v*-related periphery (Belletti 2004; 2005; Bonan 2019) situated within the sentential core (Paoli 2003), as witnessed in (20).

(20) (*IL GELATO) a l' ha   catà   IL   GELATO, nen la torta. (Turin)
     the ice-cream SCL= have.PRS.IND.3SG bring.PTCP the ice-cream not the cake
     'It's the ice-cream that he bought, not the cake.'

Put quite simply, the relevant difference between northern and southern focus-fronting thus reduces to the availability of an interpretable focus-related edge feature on the functional heads *v* and C, respectively.

4.4. Differential Object Marking
We turn now to our final major difference in the morphosyntax of northern and (central-)southern dialects which concerns the differential marking of direct objects (DOM).

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[8] These same agreement patterns which ultimately derive from the low position of the verb also explain the agreement facts found with adjectival adverbs in the dialects of southern Italy which are not licensed in northern dialects (cf. Ledgeway 2011; 2017).

As is well-known, dialects of northern Italy form a compact group with most Gallo-Romance varieties outside of Italy in not formally distinguishing between different classes of direct object and, in particular, between animate and inanimate specific objects (but cf. Parry 2003; 2018).

(21) u   miŋga vist **la tuza** / **la cros**. (Milan)
I.have NEG   seen the girl   the cross
'I didn't see the girl / the cross.'

By contrast, the dialects of (central-)southern Italy, together with Ibero-Romance and Daco-Romance varieties, formally distinguish between animate and inanimate specific direct objects (cf. Rohlfs 1971:314-17; Guardiano 1999; 2000; 2010; Ledgeway 2000:ch.2; 2018; in press a), with the former differentially marked by the erstwhile preposition AD > *a* 'to, at', and less commonly by IN MEDIO (AD) 'in middle (to)' > *ma/me* in central varieties (Rohlfs 1969:15; Berizzi 2013) and DE+AB > *da* 'from' in Sicilian Gallo-Italic varieties (Rohlfs 1969:8, 15; 1971:333f.: Manzini and Savoia 2005, II:502). Among these dialects, there is however some quite considerable internal variation in the range and subclasses of nominal which show differential object marking (for a detailed overview, see Ledgeway 2018; in press a). By way of example, consider the Laziale dialect of Borbona in (22a) where DOM is licensed in conjunction with the first- and second persons, but invariably excluded in the third-person (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005,II:505). By contrast, in the Abruzzese dialect of Canosa Sannita (22b) DOM is extended to third-person pronouns, but is excluded with third-person nominals such as kinship terms (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005,II:505), a restriction which is relaxed in Leccese (23a) where DOM is extended to include not only kinship terms but also all types of animate pronominal such as *wh*-pronouns, but is excluded with specific animate common nouns (23b). Finally, a more liberal behaviour is displayed by varieties such as the Campanian dialect of Camerota (Manzini and Savoia 2005,II:509, 516) where DOM is extended beyond pronominals to include specific animate common nouns (24a), but proves only optional in conjunction with non-specific animate common nouns (24b).

(22) a. 'camenu   **a   m'mi** / **a   t'ti** / **a   n'nu** / **a   b'bu** / (*a)
call.PRS.IND.3PL DOM me   DOM you.SG DOM us   DOM you.PL   DOM
'issu. (Borbona)
him
'They call me/you/us/you/him.'
   b. 'camo   **a   t'tɛ** / **a   v'vo** / (**a**) (**k)kul'lu** / (*a)
call.PRS.IND.1SG DOM you.SG DOM you.PL DOM him   DOM
'fratətə. (Canosa Sannita)
brother=your.SG
'I call you.SG/you.PL/him/your brother.'

Lecce (Protopapa 1991)
(23) a. **A cci** uèi?   **A mmie** o **a   ssorma**?
DOM who want.PRS.IND.2SG DOM me   or DOM sister=my
'Who do you want? Me or my sister?'
   b. Cu cchiamàmu   **lu mìetecu**!
that call.PRS.IND.1PL the doctor
'Let's call the doctor!'

Camerota (SA), Campania
(24) a. 'addʒu   'vistu **a   v'vui** / **a   k'killi waʎ'ʎuni**.

have.PRS.IND.1SG seen   DOM you.PL DOM those   children
'I saw you / those children.'
b. 'adʤu   'vistu **(a)   nu waʎ'ʎuni**.
have.PRS.IND.1SG seen   DOM a   child
'I saw a child.'

Assuming DOM to be a reflex of an object shift operation which raises the relevant object to Spec*v*P in line with a number of previous studies (cf. Torrego 1998; Ledgeway 2000; Peverini-Benson 2004; Andriani 2011; 2015), we can simply state the relevant difference between northern and (central-)southern dialects in terms of the respective absence and presence of a D-feature on *v* able to probe the object. In turn, the relevant content of this D-feature in the dialects of the south shows considerable cross-dialectal variation in relation to such properties as person, number, animacy, head vs phrasal status (viz. pronominal vs nominal), and specificity which variously restrict the ability of *v* to probe different subclasses of nominal.

5. Discussion and conclusions
To conclude, we have observed that there is robust parametric evidence from the dialects to support a significant north-south divide, and hence also the relevance of La Spezia–Rimini Line, in relation to major morphosyntactic differences. Many, though not all, of these parametric differences also include those which were identified in Table 1 within a broader pan-Romance north-south classification. One of these, the contrast between northern varieties which show differential marking of the subject through a system of subject clitics and southern varieties characterized by differential marking of the object highlights a major difference that we have also seen in the differential, and often complementary, featural composition and role of the functional heads T and *v*. Whereas in the north the T head proves particularly active in probing, for example, the verb and spelling out the D-features of the subject through a system of subject clitics, in the south the role of T is less significant in that it is *v* that attracts the verb and spells out the various D-related features of the object through a licensing operation of DOM.

At the same time, we have seen how parameters do not operate in isolation, with the setting of one parameter often entailing quite considerable knock-on effects on other functional heads whose force and content either become predictable or are rendered irrelevant.[9] Such is the case,

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[9] A revealing example of the interaction of parameters is provided by the north-eastern dialect of Trieste which, despite displaying a system of subject clitics, appears to behave in many respects like a southern dialect. In particular, it presents focus-fronting to the higher C-related left periphery (i.a; Paoli 2009; 2010), low(er) verb movement as witnessed by clitic-adverb interpolation structures (i.b; Paoli 2008), and differential object marking of first- and second-person pronouns (i.c; Rohlfs 1969:8; 1971:314 n.1, 331).

Trieste
i a **Manuela** i   ga   fermà!
   Manuela SCL.3PL have.PRS.IND.3   stop.PTCP
   'They've (only gone and) stopped Manuela!'
   b **Ghe** sai seca   far   la   spesa.
   DAT.3= much annoy.PRS.IND.3SG do.INF the shopping
   'It really annoys him to do the shopping.'
   c Se ti   te   me vol   **a   mi**, mi te   voio   **a   ti**.
   if you.SG SCL.2SG= me= want.PRS.IND.2SG DOM me I   you.SG= want.PRS.IND.1SG DOM you.SG
   'If you want me, then I want you.'

If we assume that subject clitic systems represent the spell-out of a strong D-feature on T independent of the presence or otherwise of a V-feature on T, then we can interpret Triestino as a halfway case between typical northern and southern dialects, in that T in Triestino carries a D-feature like other northern Italian dialects, but, on a par with typical southern Italian dialects, lacks a V-feature such that the verb only raises as far as the *v*-field.

for instance, with T which, we have seen, probes the verb in northern dialects, a parametric setting which, in turn, accounts for the availability of verb-subject inversion (§2.1), Stage II and III negation (§2.2.), subject clitics (§3.3) and active-stative perfective auxiliary selection (§3.4). In the dialects of southern Italy, by contrast, all these same options are absent since T fails to attract the verb which is probed instead by v, a parametric choice which explains the restriction of V-to-C movement to positive imperatives (§3.1), the use of generalized or person-driven perfective auxiliation (§4.1), and active participle agreement with *in situ* objects (§4.2).[10]

Below in Table 4 we summarize the various parametric options considered so far for the dialects of northern and southern Italy and integrate these at the same time within a broader pan-Romance north-south classification.

Table 4: Major clausal parameters across Romance[11]

		Fr.	Occ.	NIDs	Lad.	It.	Srd.	IbR.	Ro.	SIDs
1	Non-veridical V-to-C Mvt	+	+	+	+	±	(±)	(−)	−	−
(a)	V-to-T Mvt	+	+	+	+ +	±	±	−	−	−
(i)	Stage II-III Neg	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
(ii)	A/S_O Aux	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
(iii)	Strong D edge feature (= Scls, SVO)	+	+ −	+	+	+	+	−	−	−
(b)	V-to-v Mvt	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
(i)	Gen/P-D Aux	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
(ii)	PtP Agr with *in situ* O	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(iii)	Strong D edge feature (= DOM)	−	− +	−	−	(±)	+	+	+	+
(c)	Focus-fronting to C	−	−	−	− +	±	+	±	+	+
(i)	Focus-fronting to v	+	+	+	+ −	±	−	±	−	−
2	Mood marking on C	−	−	−	−	−	+ −	−	+	+ −
(a)	Mood marking on V	+	+	+	+	+	+ +	+	(+) −	(+) −
(i)	V-to-T Mvt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+ +

Taking northern and southern Italian dialects (NIDs, SIDs) as our two extreme points of comparison, we observe that the setting for parameter (1), namely non-veridical V-to-C movement, implicationally defines the setting for V-movement to the heads T (1.a) and v (1.b): a positive specification for non-veridical T-to-C movement as in northern Italian dialects

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Although further research is clearly needed, the featural content and specification of T [–V, +D] and v [+V, +D] outlined here for Triestino would suggest that the constellation of properties in (i.a-c), which also cluster in dialects of southern Italy, could be interpreted as a consequence of an 'active' v head in Triestino, leading us to conclude that focus-fronting to the C-domain is also ultimately a consequence of the failure of the verb to raise to T (inasmuch as if C can probe the verb raised to T, then it cannot simultaneously also probe for a focus constituent in its specifier). Presumably also relevant here is the role of exogenous factors on the particular development of Triestino which has notoriously been shaped by contact with neighbouring Slovenian.

[10] A legitimate question at this point concerns how the phi-features of T end up on V in southern dialects (I. Roberts, p.c.). A possible answer, as hinted in the text, is to assume that T in these varieties is simply inert (except when activated by V-to-T movement in irrealis clauses), hence there is no probing of V by T at all, as further evidenced by the lack of a dedicated preverbal subject position discussed below. Moreover, the inertness of T in the south is further corroborated by the poverty of temporal paradigms found in southern varieties which show at most a three-way contrast (present vs imperfective past vs perfective past, e.g. Nap. *parlo/parlava/parlaie* 'I speak/was speaking/spoke') but often only a two-way contrast (e.g. Cos. *parru/parrava* 'I speak/was speaking'), although it should be noted that the so-called present is most rare and replaced in most contexts by an aspectual periphrasis (cf. Ledgeway 2000:ch. 3.3.2.2.2), e.g. Nap./Cos. *sto parlanno/ste parrannu* 'I.stand speaking' .

[11] The order of parameters and their numbering in Table 4 is arranged for ease of exponence to maximally highlight cross-parametric dependencies. The symbols '+' and '−' indicate positive and negative settings respectively, which, when placed in a shaded cell, indicate that the particular setting of the parameter is rendered entirely predictable, or indeed irrelevant, by a higher-order parametric choice.

necessarily presupposes, as already discussed in the text, a positive setting for V-to-T movement (and hence also a negative setting for V-to-*v* movement) in order for the relevant verb to be accessible for probing by C. By contrast, a negative specification for (1) as in southern Italian dialects immediately implies a negative setting for subparameter (1.a), but a positive setting for subparameter (1.b). Comparatively, we see that a positive specification for parameter (1) also holds for other Gallo-Romance varieties of the northern Romània such as French and Occitan which, by implication, also display V-to-T movement (1.a), but not for other varieties of the southern Romània such as Romanian which limits V-to-C movement to (positive) imperatives and shows a positive setting for V-to-*v* movement (Costea 2019).[12] From this simple observation regarding parameter (1) follows the entirely predictable possibility of Stage II-III negation (1a.i) in French (> Stage II: standard (written) language; Stage III: everyday spoken language), Occitan (> Stage II: Gascon; Stage III: non-Gascon varieties) and northern Italian dialects (variously at Stages I (e.g. Liguria, Veneto) and II-III (e.g. Piedmont, Lombard, Emilia-Romagna)), and its absence in southern Italian dialects and Romanian where the verb does not raise high enough to license a postverbal negator. By the same token, the availability of argument-driven (viz. active-stative A/S$_A$ vs S$_O$) auxiliary selection (1.a.ii) in northern Italian dialects, French and Occitan and its absence in southern Italian dialects and Romanian (cf. Ledgeway 2019b) is equally predicted by the availability or otherwise of V-to-T movement (1.a).

These same observations regarding the setting and content of parameter (1) also leads us to expect in line with (1.b) generalized or person-driven auxiliary selection (1.b.i) and active participle agreement with *in situ* objects (1.b.ii) in southern Italian dialects and Romanian. While we have seen that both predictions are borne out in the case of southern Italian dialects (cf. 17a-c, 19a-c), only the former prediction holds for Romanian (cf. Ledgeway 2014b). This would suggest that the distribution of active participle agreement witnessed in southern Italian dialects, where the participle remains low in the *v*-VP from where it can enter into a local Agree(ment) configuration with its *in situ* object, is not paralleled by Romanian. Indeed, in contrast to southern Italian dialects (as well as northern Romance varieties such as French, Occitan and the dialects of northern Italy), in compound perfective verb forms Romanian displays the peculiarity that the active participle and auxiliary must occur in strict adjacency such that adverbs or other material cannot intervene between them:

(25) a. Annu   **ggià**   abballatu.   (Cosenza)
      b. Au   (***deja**)   dansat   **deja**. (Romanian)
          have.PRS.IND.3PL already   danced   already
          'They've already danced.'

Whereas finite (lexical) verbs only raise as high as *v* in Romanian in line with (1.b), the evidence of examples like (25b) arguably suggests that active participles must raise to a higher position adjacent to their associated auxiliary (for a formal implementation of this empirical observation, see Schifano 2018), thereby placing the participle outside of the local Agree(ment) configuration with its *in situ* object.

These same considerations, as we have seen in the dialects of northern Italy (cf.18b), lead us to expect northern Romance varieties not to license active participle agreement with *in situ*

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[12] While Costea (2019) presents convincing arguments for low(er) V-movement in Romanian (cf. also Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005; Ledgeway 2012a), Nicolae (2015; 2019) and Schifano (2018) argue for higher movement. While we cannot rule out idiolectal and possible diatopic variation among speakers of Romanian, the facts regarding Stage I negation, non-argument driven auxiliary selection, the absence of subject clitics (and VSO word orders) and the presence of DOM are also consistent with a lower V-movement analysis for Romanian.

objects since verbs raise to T in these varieties by virtue of subparameter (1.a). This expectation is fully borne out in French (26a), but not in Occitan (26b).

(26) a. Avez-vous   pris   des   photos? (French)
        have.2PL=you   taken.MSG of.the.PL photos.F
     b. Avètz   pres**as** de   <u>fotòs</u>?   (Lengadocien Occitan)
        have.2PL=you   taken.FPL   of   photos.F
        'Have you taken some photos?'

Arguably, given the comparative evidence for the contrast between Romanian and southern Italian dialects in (25a-b), it is logical to assume that, in contrast to finite (lexical) verbs which must raise to T (cf. 1a), participles in Occitan do not raise outside of *v*-VP, hence the observed agreement in examples such as (26b). This is confirmed by examples such as (27a-d) where the participle obligatory follows low VP-adverbs (cf. Cinque 1999) such as *plan/ben* 'well', *pas* 'not', *encara* 'still, yet' and *tant* 'so much'.

         <u>Lengadocien Occitan</u>
(27) a. Avètz   **plan**   dormit?
        have.PRS.IND.2PL well   slept
        'Have you slept well?'
     b. Avèm   **pas encara** enviadas de cartas postalas als   amics.
        have.PRS.IND.1PL not still   sent   of cards   postal   to.the friends
        'We've not yet sent our friends any post cards.'
     c. Èrem   **ben**   tombats!
        be.PST.IPFV.1PL   well   fallen
        'We'd turned up at the right time!'
     d. A   **tant** patit
        have.PRS.IND.3SG so.much suffered
        'He's suffered so much.'

In terms of V-movement, we can then identify for varieties such as northern Italian dialects, French and southern Italian dialects a more consistent parametric behaviour for parameter (1), in that all verbs in these varieties consistently raise either to T (1.a) or *v* (1.b), respectively. In Occitan and Romanian, by contrast, the relevant content of parameter (1) must make reference to a further microparametric distinction between finite and non-finite (active) participial verbs (cf. Roberts 2019:409f.), with finite verbs respectively raising to T (1.a) and *v* (1.b) in contrast to non-finite verbs which raise to *v* (1.b) and T (1.a).

If we now extend our examination to include Ladin, Italian, Sardinian and Ibero-Romance (Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan) which fall between these northern (Gallo-Romance) and southern (SIDs, Romanian) extremes, we note a more mixed and less consistent behaviour in many respects. Beginning with Ladin, this behaves in all relevant aspects like Gallo-Romance for parameter (1), with the exception of Gaderano and Gaderense varieties which preserve a V2 syntax (Haiman and Benincà 1992:150; Poletto 2000; Anderson 2016:179-81; Salvi 2016a: 164-65; 2016b:1009). In these V2 varieties V-to-C movement is licensed not only in a restricted number of non-veridical polarity contexts tied to specific marked types of illocutionary force and hence associated with a semantically interpretable V-feature, but also obtains in root declaratives triggered by a generalized semantically uninterpretable V-feature. Consequently, in such V2 Ladin varieties V-raising to T (1.a) is not predictable on the basis of the availability of non-veridical V-to-C movement, but has to be explicitly stated (hence the shaded/unshaded coding of '+' in Table 4 in accordance with the non-/V2 variation across Ladin dialects), since non-veridical V-to-C movement in these varieties is part of the larger

independent parameter for generalized V2 movement which does not presuppose generalized V-to-T movement.[13] Nonetheless, V-to-T movement does obtain in all varieties of Ladin, as further witnessed by Stage II negation (1.a.i) and argument-driven auxiliary selection (1.a.ii; cf. Salvi 2016a:162f.)

Considering now Italian and Sardinian, they display a more restricted type of non-veridical V-to-C movement – apparently more restricted in Sardinian than in Italian – confined to optatives and exclamatives,[14] but excluding interrogatives, in accordance with a type of microparametric variation explored in detail in Ledgeway (2015:118-21) and Ledgeway and Schifano (in press:§23.3.2), hence the respective ambivalent '±' and '(±)' codings in Table 4. There is enough, however, of V-to-C movement in these varieties for speakers to infer the positive setting for V-to-T movement (1.a; cf. Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005; Schifano 2018), as witnessed by argument-driven auxiliary selection (1.a.ii). Neither variety, however, shows Stage II-III negation which again is entirely in line with a positive setting for V-to-T movement which makes Stage II-III negation possible as in French, Occitan, northern Italian dialects and Ladin, but does not force it.

If we turn finally to the Ibero-Romance varieties of Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan, these show a uniform behaviour in displaying a much reduced distribution of non-veridical V-to-C movement (optionally) limited to exclamatives (cf. Ledgeway 2015:118-21; Ledgeway and Schifano in press:§23.3.2), hence the '(–)' coding in Table 4. Arguably, the overt evidence for a partial positive setting of (1) is too weak in these varieties to unambiguously imply a corresponding positive setting for V-to-T movement (1a). Indeed, as shown in Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005), Ledgeway (2012a) and Schifano (2018), V-movement in these varieties parallels southern Italian dialects and Romanian targeting a low position within the *v*-VP domain (1.b). From this follows, without further stipulation, the impossibility of Stage II-III negation (1.a.i) and argument-driven auxiliary selection (1.a.ii), with all three Ibero-Romance varieties showing Stage I negation and generalized HAVE (1.b.i).[15] However, the positive setting for lower V-movement in (1.b) leads us to also expect *a priori* active participle agreement with *in situ* objects (1.b.ii). However, on a par with Romanian (cf. 25b), Ibero-Romance varieties display once again a more complex microparametric distribution of V-movement, contrasting finite (lexical) verbs which remain within the *v*-VP domain and non-finite participial verbs that raise higher to obligatorily surface adjacent to their associated auxiliary, witness (28a-c).

(28) a. Habían   (***ya**)   bailado   **ya**.   (Spanish)
      b. Tinham   (***já**)   dançado   **já**.   (Portuguese)
      c. Havien   (***ja**)   ballat   **ja**.   (Catalan)
          have.PST.IPFV.IND.3PL already danced   already
          'They had already danced.'

Arguably the predictable settings for subparameters (1.a) and (1.b) which respectively license V-movement to T in northern Romance varieties and to *v* in southern Romance varieties are also implicationally correlated with the distribution of subject clitics and DOM. In particular, we argue that the activation of T and *v* through a strong V-feature equally licenses a corresponding strong D-feature in their edge, in the same way that the activation of generalized V-movement to C in V2 varieties such as Gaderano and Gaderense licenses a generalized edge

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[13] Cf. the discussion of low V-movement in embedded clauses in early Romance V2 varieties in Ledgeway and Schifano (in prep.).

[14] It is also found in (positive) imperatives but, as shown above in §3.1, V-to-C movement in imperatives is exceptionally retained across all Romance varieties on account of the absence of T-related clausal structure.

[15] As shown in Ledgeway and Schifano (in press), some northern dialects of Catalan show Stage II-III negation, but, significantly, they also show higher V-movement.

feature satisfied through XP movement. In this way, we can capture the empirical generalization that northern Romance varieties show an overwhelming tendency to differentially mark the subject through the grammaticalization of a dedicated preverbal SpecTP subject position, leading to a reversal in the pro-drop parameter in French and some (northern) Occitan varieties and supplemented in northern Italian dialects, Raeto-Romance (including Ladin) and some northern Occitan varieties by the overt spell-out of the strong D-feature of the subject through a (partial/complete) system of subject clitics (Manzini and Savoia 2005,I; Roberts 2010; Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016:338-40; Poletto and Tortora 2016). Conversely, in southern Romance varieties we observe an overwhelming tendency to differentially mark a subset of (typically specific and animate) objects through the grammaticalized use of a dedicated pseudo-preposition, a behaviour which has often been independently interpreted in terms of a strong D-checking mechanism on *v* (cf. Torrego 1998; Ledgeway 2000; Peverini-Benson 2004; Andriani 2011; 2015). At the same time, these latter southern varieties are correctly predicted to show a less rigid positioning of the subject, an observation substantiated by cross-Romance variation in the respective distribution of SVO and SVO/VSO word orders in northern and southern Romance varieties (Motapanyane 1989; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Zagona 2002:214-16; Belletti 2004; Ledgeway and Roberts in press:§2.3) and the assumption that preverbal subjects in the latter varieties are always the result of clitic left-dislocation (Contreras 1991; Barbosa 1995; 2001; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Solà 1992).

We thus see that the parallel assumption that the activation of T and *v* automatically comes with a strong D edge feature (viz. 1.a.iii and 1.b.iii) naturally predicts the differential marking of subjects and objects in northern and southern varieties, respectively. Indeed, this empirical generalization finds robust support in the Romance evidence, where the distribution of strict SVO and subject clitics are in complementary distribution with SVO/VSO and DOM. Occitan in this respect provides a very revealing test case in that subject clitics (and loss of pro-drop) and DOM are found in complementary distribution in northern and southern varieties, respectively. There are, however, a couple of (apparent) exceptions to this otherwise robust empirical generalization. As shown in Ledgeway (in press a), there are a small number of northern Italian dialects which, despite having subject clitics and presumably high V-movement to T in accordance with subparameter (1.a), also show a very limited distribution of DOM, typically limited to first- and second-person pronouns (cf. also the Triestino example (i.c) discussed in fn. 9). Similarly, Ledgeway (in press a) shows that northern/Tuscan regional Italian and standard Italian under very specific conditions (viz. in conjunction with psych and causative predicates) also both display a very reduced distribution of DOM, again in conjunction with C-topicalized first- and second-person pronouns. The facts from northern Italian dialects might indicate that the relevant strong D edge feature on *v*, although automatically associated 'for free' with *v* in those varieties which have V-movement to *v* in accordance with subparameter (1.b), can be selected as a more marked (hence unpredictable) option in varieties with V-movement to T in accordance with (1.a). In the case of regional northern/Tuscan Italian and standard Italian one could quite plausibly appeal to exogenous factors, in particular the undeniable increasing influence of southern varieties of Italian on the Italian of the centre-north and the standard. However, there might also be endogenous factors at play: as shown in Schifano (2018), V-movement in standard Italian and central/northern (Italian) varieties, although higher than in the dialects of southern Italy and Ibero-Romance, targets a lower position than in Gallo-Romance with the verb typically surfacing in a clause-medial position (cf. also Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005). This slightly lower position of the verb also correlates with the less than ambiguous setting of parameter (1) – hence the coding '±' in Table 4 – where non-veridical V-to-C movement is also more restricted than in Gallo-Romance varieties. It follows that the parameter setting for V-movement in (regional) Italian (varieties) does not correlate *tout court* with either subparameters (1.a) or (1.b), but lies somewhere in between, a fact reflected in the apparently incongruous mixing of a dedicated

preverbal SpecTP subject position with SVO word order (as in northern Romance varieties) and some limited extension of DOM (as in southern Romance varieties). This same explanation also carries over straightforwardly to Sardinian where Schifano (2018) shows V-movement to oscillate between very high movement to T, the Mood field in her terms (cf. 29a), and a lower, clause-medial position, the Tense field in her terms (cf. 29b), the latter being the preferred option.

<u>Caglieri, Sardinia</u>
(29) a. Mulleri rua <u>portara</u> **de propositu** is malloreddus.
      wife   your bring.PRS.IND.3SG deliberately the malloreddus
   b. Mulleri rua **de propositu** <u>portara</u> is malloreddus.
      wife   your deliberately   bring.PRS.IND.3SG the malloreddus
    'Your wife is bringing the malloreddus on purpose.'

Moving down Table 4, we now come to consider the distribution of focus-fronting. Above we established in §2.1 how the two formal reflexes of an original V2 syntax, namely head and phasal fronting to the C-domain, now stand in complementary distribution in northern and southern Italian dialects, respectively. It follows therefore that we can derive the availability of focus fronting to the C-domain simply from the specification of parameter (1). Consequently, there arises a complementary distribution between focus-fronting to the C-domain in southern Italian dialects (cf. 3a-d) and focus-fronting to the *v*-domain in northern Italian dialects (cf. 20). Rather than treating these as two independent and unrelated properties, their distribution can also be more effectively stated in terms of a cross-parametric dependency. In particular, a positive setting for subparameter (1.c) as in the case of Sardinian, Romanian and southern Italian dialects,[16] itself in turn entirely predictable from a (partially) negative setting for parameter (1), presupposes a negative specification for the option of focus-fronting to the lower left periphery (1.c.i). Conversely, varieties such as French and northern Italian dialects which are specified negatively for the option of focus-fronting to the C-domain (1.c), in accordance with their positive specification for parameter (1), are predicted to make recourse to the *v*-domain for focus-fronting in accordance with subparameter (1.c.i).[17] Ladin dialects, by contrast, exhibit both options: whereas V2 varieties are characterized by a generalized EPP feature on C which readily licenses focus-fronting within the C-domain, non-V2 varieties have to resort to the lower left periphery.[18] Similarly, the evidence of Occitan is also revealing here: whereas (eastern) Occitan dialects proper pattern, as indicated in Table 4, with French and northern Italian dialects in resorting to focus-fronting to the *v*-domain in accordance with the positive setting for parameter (1), western Occitan dialects, and in particular Gascon (cf. Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016:341), display focusing fronting to the C-domain (cf. 30a-b) but crucially show, as predicted, a negative setting for parameter (1). In particular, non-veridical polarity clause types such as interrogative, exclamative and optative – and indeed even declarative (cf. *que* in 30b) – are licensed in Gascon through a system of so-called enunciative particles (cf. Ledgeway in press b), and not through V-to-C movement.

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[16] See, among others, Cruschina (2006; 2010; 2012; 2016:§34.5), Cruschina and Ledgeway (2016:557f., 572-74), Mensching and Remberger (2016:290f.).

[17] Significantly, this empirical generalization also broadly correlates, in turn, with the availability of clefting across Romance in accordance with the well-known cross-linguistic correlation between clefting and focus-fronting (Lambrecht 2001:488). Clefting is typical of northern varieties that license focus-fronting to the *v*-domain but rare (e.g. Sicilian; cf. Cruschina 2015), if not entirely excluded (e.g. Romanian; cf. Zafiu 2013), in southern varieties that license focus-fronting to the CP-domain.

[18] Poletto (2006; 2007; 2014) argues for a third option in medieval Romance V2 varieties in terms of parallel phases, such that XP focus movement to the C-domain is paralleled by XP focus movement to the *v*-domain (cf. also Ledgeway 2009a:761-75; Ledgeway 2012a:243-45; Cruschina and Ledgeway 2016:558f.)

(30) a. MA BACHO ai pierdut. (Gévaudan)
   my cow have.PRS.IND.1SG lost
   'I've lost my cow.'
   b. QUITES qu' èm! (Arrens-Marous)
   quits.MPL *que* be.PRS.IND.1PL
   'We're quits!'

    A more fluid situation is observable in the cases of Italian and Ibero-Romance: in these varieties focus-fronting to the C-domain is principally specialized, though not solely (cf. Cruschina 2012), for contrastive focus, whereas informational focus targets the *v*-domain (cf. Belletti 2004; 2005). As with the case of differential raising of finite and non-finite verbs observed above for Occitan, Ibero-Romance and Romanian, we see that in Italian and Ibero-Romance the focus parameter is sensitive to the contrastive vs informational opposition, revealing a microparametric behaviour not observable in the other Romance varieties which show a simpler and more consistent parametric treatment of all focus constituents.

    We now turn finally to consider the marking of the realis/irrealis modal distinction within the C-system. We see that in all varieties with the exception of the most southern varieties (viz. Campidanese Sardinian and some central Sardinian varieties, Romanian and southern Italian dialects), mood is not lexicalized on C (2), a parametric setting which necessarily implies the transference of the modal distinction to the T-*v*-system (cf. Ouali's DONATE) where the formal distinction is signalled in these varieties on V through the traditional indicative/subjunctive opposition (2.a). By contrast, where the modal distinction still surfaces in the shape of the C head as in Campidanese and some central Sardinian dialects, Romanian and many southern Italian dialects, the formal indicative/subjunctive opposition is either intact (Sardinian),[19] almost fully eroded (Romanian, central-southern Salentino) or today entirely absent (modern dialects of the upper south, central-northern Sardinian dialects), a development which is arguably predictable from the positive setting of (2) which aims to eliminate redundancy in the system (viz. SHARE ⇒ KEEP). However, we have also seen (cf. §2.2) that there are dialects of the upper south of Italy which have today generalized one of the two complementizers to both realis and irrealis contexts such that neither the complementizer nor the verb apparently carry any modal marking. Yet, we have seen that in such contexts (cf. 9a-b) the relevant modal distinction is marked syntactically through the exceptional movement of the irrealis verb to T (2.a.i). Although this option might *a priori* appear to be a last-resort consequence of a lack of formal marking of the relevant realis/irrealis opposition on either the complementizer (2) or the verb (2.a), as informally indicated by our preliminary presentation of subparameter (2.a.i) in Table 4 above, the facts speak otherwise. As already noted in relation to (8a-b), even in those southern Italian dialects which continue to mark modality on the C head, irrealis verbs must still exceptionally move to T, a fact which equally holds of Romanian (cf. Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014).[20] Moreover, as shown in Schifano (2018), also in Ibero-Romance where the verb otherwise sits low in the *v*-VP domain (1.b), finite verbs exceptionally raise to the T-

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[19] Cf. Manzini and Savoia (2005,I:452-69), Mensching (2012; 2017:391f.), Mensching and Remberger (2016:287f.), Bacciu and Mensching (2018).
[20] The facts for Sardinian are less clear and require further investigation. For example, Bacciu and Mensching (2018) do not mention the correlation, if any, between the distribution of the two complementizers and the height of V-movement in their survey of Sardinian dual complementizer systems. Similarly, Schifano (2018) does not test the distribution of subjunctive verb forms with high adverbs on account of their apparent incompatibility with the jussive contexts that she tests. Nonetheless, we have already seen (cf. 29a-b) that the default placement of finite verbs in Sardinian oscillates between a higher T-related position and a lower clause-medial position, such that the potentially higher position of the irrealis verb might be concealed, in many cases at least, by its default position.

domain in irrealis complements despite carrying subjunctive morphology. We thus see that option (2.a.i) is not really implicationally dependent on the setting of the surface morphological parameter (2.a), but appears to hold uniformly across Romance, although its content is not visible in Italian, Ladin, Gallo-Romance varieties and, to a certain degree, also in Sardinian (cf. fn. 20) which independently display V-to-T movement as the default option with all finite verbs in both realis and irrealis clauses in accordance with subparameter (1.a). If correct, then the relevant generalization, as argued in Ledgeway (2009b) and Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014), is that modal distinctions must invariably be licensed under featural inheritance through the C-T system which requires the finite verb to be placed in a local Agree relation with the C head by raising to T, irrespective of whether the complementizer or the verb are themselves formally marked for (ir)realis mood. On this view, what we have labelled above in Table 4 as (sub)parameters (2) and (2.a) turn out not to be parameters after all, but simply variable surface morphological alternations (cf. also Bacciu and Mensching 2018:360f.) with no effect on the underlying syntactic requirement that C and T enter into a local Agree configuration.

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