PARALLELS IN ROMANCE NOMINAL AND CLAUSAL MICROVARIATION

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Abstract. This article explores parallels in the dimensions of microvariation characterizing the functional structure and organization of the Romance nominal and clausal groups. Within a parameter hierarchy approach it is argued that observed synchronic and diachronic variation across both domains can be readily captured in terms of a single set of higher- and above all lower-level parametric options. This parallelism constitutes a welcome finding in that it points to how the available parametric space can be constrained and defined in terms of a set of common transcategorial principles and options.

Keywords: microvariation, parameters, functional structure, DP, CP.

1. INTRODUCTION

A comparison of the grammars of Latin and Romance reveals both some 'big' changes and a series of 'smaller' changes. Since the conception in early GB of UG in terms of a small set of abstract principles subject to parametric variation (Chomsky 1981), largely coinciding with the main typological classes recognized by traditional descriptive linguistics (Koopman 1984; Travis 1984; Baker 1996), changes of the former type have traditionally been modelled in terms of **macro**parameters. One notable example in the Latin-Romance transition is the shift from syntheticity to analyticity (Schwegler 1990) observable in: i) the gradual reduction and/or eventual loss of the case system and rise of the articles with increased use of prepositions (Lat. REG**IS** FILI**A** 'king.**GEN.MSG** daughter.**NOM.FSG**' vs Sic. ***a*** *figghia* ***du*** *re* '**the** daughter **of.the** king'); ii) the profusion of auxiliary structures at the expense of synthetic TAM exponents (Lat. DORMI**UI** 'sleep.**PRF.1SG**' vs Occ. ***ai*** *dormit* '**I.have** slept'); and iii) the replacement of implicit subordination (viz. accusative and infinitive) with (non-)finite subordinate clauses introduced by overt complementizers (Lat. **EUM INTELLEGERE** CREDO '**him.ACC understand.INF** I.believe' vs Ro. *cred* ***că*** *înțelege* 'I.believe **that** he.understands').

Over recent decades, however, much work has radically departed from this macroparametric view with a shift of focus on predominantly surface-oriented variation (cf. Kayne 1996; 2000; 2005a,b; Manzini and Savoia 2005), an approach well suited to modelling 'small' diachronic changes. This has led to the proliferation of a remarkable number of local, low-level **micro**parameters interpreted as the (PF-)lexicalization of

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specific formal feature values of individual functional heads (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995) in accordance with the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (Baker 2008b). In this respect, the emergence in Romance of articles and clitics, auxiliaries, and a whole host of finite and non-finite complementizers like those exemplified above, all generally absent from Latin but nonetheless exhibiting significant microvariation across Romance (for an overview, see Ledgeway 2012a: ch.4; in press b), provides us with a rich empirical base from which to study microparametric variation. By way of illustration, consider auxiliary selection: whereas Latin lacks a functional category corresponding to the Romance active perfective auxiliary in that it marks the perfect inflectionally (cf. perfective -U- formant in DORMI**U**I above), Romance shows significant variation in auxiliary selection (and hence the feature composition of the functional head(s) lexicalized by auxiliaries) according to a variety of meso- and microparametric choices (cf. Ledgeway in press e). For instance, Italian distributes the two auxiliaries according to argument structure with HAVE licensed by transitives/unergatives (e.g. ***ho/avrei*** *lavorato* '**I.have/I.would have** worked') and BE by unaccusatives (e.g. ***sono/sarei*** *caduto* '**I.am/I.would.be** fallen') across all paradigms, whereas the eastern Abruzzese dialect of Ariellese (D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010) contrasts BE in the first/second persons with HAVE in the third persons in the present perfect irrespective of verb class (e.g. ***so/si/a*** *fatijate/cascate* '**I.am/you.SG.are/(s)he.has** worked/fallen'), but generalizes HAVE to all persons in the counterfactual (e.g. ***avesse/avisse/avesse*** *fatijate/cascate* '**I/you.SG/(s)he.would.have** worked/fallen'). Yet another pattern can be identified in Romanian (Ledgeway 2014a), where HAVE surfaces in finite contexts and BE in all remaining non-finite contexts (e.g. ***am*** *lucrat/căzut* '**I.have** worked/fallen' vs *înainte de a* ***fi*** *lucrat/căzut* 'before of to **be.INF** worked/fallen', *vor/ar* ***fi*** *lucrat/căzut* 'they will/would **be** worked/fallen'). By contrast, Spanish has lost all traces of auxiliary selection, generalizing HAVE to all verb classes, all persons and all paradigms (e.g. ***he/has/ha*** *//* ***habría/habrías/habría*** *trabajado/caído* '**I/you.SG/(s)he has** *//* **I/you.SG/(s)he.would.have** worked/fallen', *antes de* ***haber*** *trabajado/caído* 'before of **have.INF** worked/fallen'). In short, we see minimal differences among otherwise highly homogenous systems which can be read both horizontally and vertically as cases of synchronic and diachronic microvariation, respectively.

Any account of the Latin-Romance transition and Romance-internal variation must therefore make reference to changes of both a macro- and microparametric order. Approaches narrowly couched in terms of macroparameters alone in which each category may pattern in just one way or another in relation to a handful of linguistic options seriously limit possible dimensions of linguistic variation and hence diachronic change. Indeed, on this view the rise and fall of (late) Latin and Romance reflexes of split intransitivity (cf. the loss of the conservative Italian auxiliary pattern in Ariellese, Romanian and Spanish) within an otherwise predominantly nominative-accusative alignment are entirely unexpected (cf. La Fauci 1988; 1997; Ledgeway 2012a: ch. 7; Rovai 2012). On the other hand, exclusively microparametric approaches in which each category may vary freely independently of all others place a costly burden on UG which must specify an inordinate number of highly local and ultimately random dimensions of possible linguistic variation, despite most of these proving entirely irrelevant to the observed diachronic changes. This seriously increments the acquisitional task of the child who has to set each value in isolation of the next on the basis of the primary linguistic data alone, and at the same time exponentially multiplies the number of parametric systems and, in turn, the number of possible grammars predicted by UG (Roberts 2012). Thus, while

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macroparametric approaches lead us to expect successive stages of languages to rigidly fall into one of a few 'pure' types, microparametric approaches lead us *a priori* to expect wildly 'mixed' types. As observed by Roberts (2010: 24f.), neither scenario correctly captures the relevant facts about the Latin-(Italo-)Romance transition. Rather, what we find is a bimodal distribution of macro- and microparametric properties (cf. Baker 2008b) whereby all Romance varieties tend towards the same basic linguistic 'type', namely head-initial, configurational, accusative, non-polysynthetic (with strong analytic tendencies) and subject-prominent[2], but which at the same time allow some degree of low-level deviation from some of these core patterns. For example, although operating in terms of a core nominative-accusative orientation, Romance varieties display widespread but variable reflexes of split intransitivity (Bentley 2006). Similarly, alongside core subject-prominent structures a number of Romance varieties also show specific kinds of topical non-nominative subjects with unaccusatives, paralleling in many respects topic-prominent structures (cf. Cardinaletti 2004: 122-26, 136f.; Avelar 2009; de Andrade and Galves 2014).

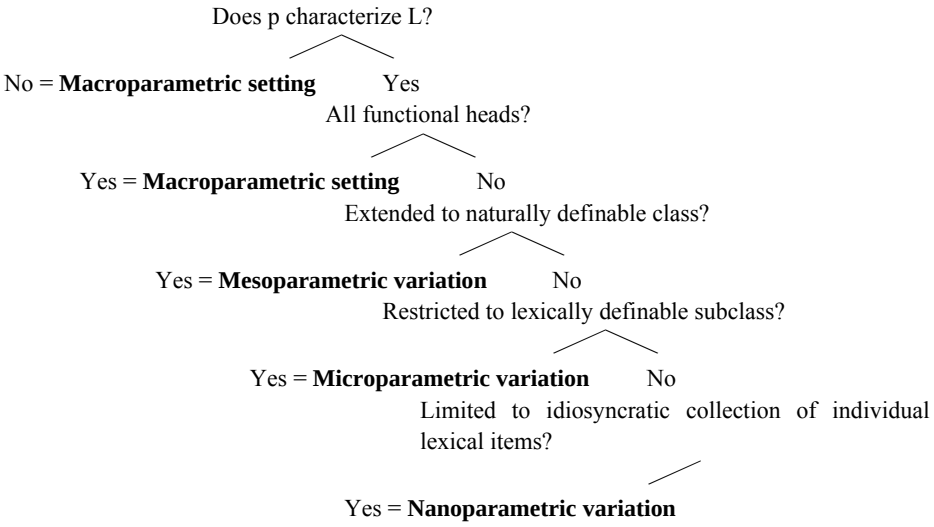
In what follows, we assume therefore a theory that combines some notion of macroparameters alongside microparameters (Baker 1996; 2008a, b). Following ideas first proposed by Kayne (2005b: 10) and further developed by Roberts and Holmberg (2010) and Roberts (2012), progress in this direction has recently been made by the *Rethinking Comparative Syntax* (*ReCoS*) research group[3]; their central idea is that macroparameters should be construed as the surface effect of aggregates of microparameters acting in unison, ultimately as some sort of composite single parameter. On this view, macroparametric effects obtain whenever all individual functional heads behave in concert, namely are set identically for the same feature value, whereas microparametric variation arises when different subsets of functional heads present distinct featural specifications. Conceived in this way, parametric variation can be interpreted in a scalar fashion and modelled in terms of parametric hierarchies along the lines of (1). Macroparameters, the simplest and least marked options that uniformly apply to all functional heads, are placed at the very top of the hierarchy, but, as we move downwards, variation becomes progressively less 'macro' and, at the same time, more restricted with choices becoming progressively more limited to increasingly smaller subsets of features (namely, no F(p) > all F(p) > some F(p), for F a feature and p some grammatical behaviour). More specifically, functional heads increasingly display a disparate behaviour in relation to particular feature values which may, for example, characterize: (i) a naturally definable class of functional heads (e.g. [+N], [+finite]), a case of mesoparametric variation; (ii) a small, lexically definable subclass of functional heads (e.g. pronominals, proper nouns, auxiliaries, unaccusatives), a case of microparametric variation proper; and (iii) one or more individual lexical items, a case of nanoparametric variation.

[2] Ledgeway (2012a: ch. 5; 2014b; in press a,e) demonstrates how gradual shifts from syntheticity and non-configurationality to analyticity and configurationality in the Latin-Romance transition can be derived from a single macroparametric change involving the reversal from head-finality to head-initiality.

[3] Recent publications within the *ReCoS* project by, among others, Biberauer, Holmberg, Roberts, Sheehan and van der Wal can be found at http://recos-dtal.mml.cam.ac.uk/papers. See also Ledgeway (2013; in press d,e).

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(1)



In light of these assumptions, we shall undertake in what follows a parallel comparison of some key aspects of Romance microparametric variation within the nominal and clausal domains which show how minimal differences among otherwise highly homogenous systems can be used to investigate microvariation along the diachronic axis in order to better understand what precisely may vary and how such variation may be implicationally structured in relation to the predictions of parametric hierarchies like (1). The overall picture that emerges highlights an unmistakable tension between the demands of detailed empirical description on the one hand, which forces us to assume many distinct featural (viz. microparametric) instantiations of different functional heads, and the desire to provide a principled explanation within the limits of a maximally constrained theory of UG on the other. In particular, we shall demonstrate, following the tradition of such studies as Abney (1987), Szabolcsi (1994) and Bošković (2010), that there is a striking parallelism in the dimensions of microparametric variation found in the functional structural of the nominal and clausal domains.

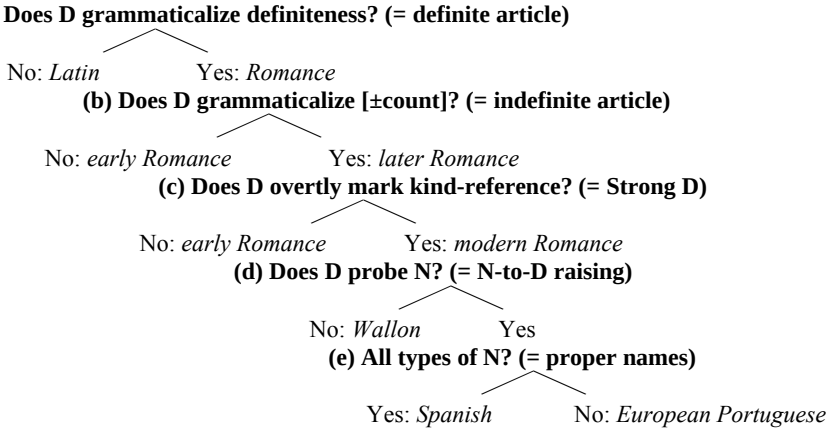
2. NOMINAL FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE

An area of spectacular diachronic and synchronic microvariation in Romance regards the numerous dimensions of variation characterizing the Romance nominal group[4], some of the most salient aspects of which can be captured by the partial hierarchy in (2).

[4] See also Longobardi (1994; 2012), Guardiano and Longobardi (2005), Longobardi and Guardiano (2009), Longobardi, Guardiano, Silvestri, Boattini and Ceolin (2103), Ledgeway (2013: 196-208; in press d,e), and Giusti (in press).

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(2) **(a) Does D grammaticalize definiteness? (= definite article)**



Our first question in (2a) formalizes Quintilian's oft-quoted observation 'noster sermo articulos non desiderat' ('our language does not require articles'), highlighting a salient typological difference between Latin and Greek in nominal functional structure of a mesoparametric nature. Effectively, (2a) distinguishes between languages that lack articles such as Latin, which fail to grammaticalize definiteness overtly in the syntax through the lexicalization of the D position with a definite article (cf. Bošković 2005a,b; 2008; Ledgeway 2012a: §4.2.2.1), and those like Romance, which from around the 8th century (Ledgeway 2012a: 96) grammaticalized the marking of definiteness on D through a weakened form of the Latin distal demonstrative ILLE or, less frequently, the Latin intensifier IPSE '-self' (> Bal./Costa Brava Cat. *es/sa*, Srd. *su/sa*)[5]. In accordance with the cross-linguistic generalization that marking of indefiniteness is dependent on the prior availability of marking for definiteness (Longobardi and Guradiano 2009; Keenan 2011; Longobardi 2012: 308-15), we can further isolate through question (2b) early Romance varieties which, despite presenting a definite article, fail to grammaticalize the [±count] distinction in the DP and hence lack an indefinite article in their earliest attestations. Indeed, systematic usage of the indefinite article, which continues a weakened form of the Latin numeral for 'one' UNUM/-AM (M/F), does not become established until around the 14th century (Pozas Loyo 2010: ch. 5; Maiden 1995: 121; Ledgeway 2012a: §4.2.1). Before then the indefinite article is reserved for particularized new referents, presumably a residue of its numeral origin, whereas bare DPs are employed for non-particularized referents (Parry and Lombardi 2007: 91f.), e.g. OTsc. *donami* ***cavallo da cavalcare*** 'give=me (a) horse to ride'. In the modern languages, by contrast, indefinite DPs, whether particularized or not, require the article: Cat. *busco* ***una minyona*** *que em neteja/netegi la casa* 'I.look.for.PRS **a maid** that me= cleans.IND/SBJV the house'.

Although in later stages of Romance that grammaticalize both the definite and indefinite articles the definite article displays considerable attenuation of its original deictic force, increasingly coming to mark shared cognition between speaker(s) and addressee(s), it still retained considerable identifying force, witness its exclusion in early texts with unique,

[5] On the diachronic parameters of variation involved in the development of distinct article forms in Romanian and the marking of (poly)definiteness, see Nicolae (2012; 2013a,b; in press).

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abstract and generic referents (Parry and Lombardi 2007: 83f.; Renzi 2010: 318f., 329f., 332−337), e.g. OGsc. *leichatz estar* ***ypocresie*** 'let.IMP.2PL be.INF (the) **hypocrisy**', a usage often fossilized in modern proverbs and set expressions, e.g. Cat. *parar/desparar* ***taula*** 'lay.INF/clear.INF (the) **table**'; Fr. ***noblesse*** *oblige*. In the modern languages, by contrast, shared cognition between speaker(s) and addressee(s) assumes increasing importance, such that the article is now generally required with unique, abstract and generic referents, e.g. Ro. *dreptate**a** este lumin**a** viet**ii*** 'justice=**the.NOM.FSG** is light=**the.NOM.FSG** life.**the.GEN.FSG**'. We can capture this difference between earlier and later stages of Romance through the microparametric option (2c) which distinguishes between weak and strong D languages (Guardiano and Longobardi 2005). Languages of the former group include early Romance varieties which do not require overt association in the syntax between N and D, hence kind-reference is not explicitly lexicalized on D, witness the absence of the article in old Neapolitan examples such as ***morte*** *è natural* '**death** is natural'. In strong D languages such as modern Romance varieties, by contrast, kind-reference has to be licensed through explicit association of N and D in the syntax, witness the obligatory use of an expletive article in the equivalent modern Neapolitan sentence ***(’a)** morte è naturale* '**the** death is natural'. In this respect, many Balearic Catalan varieties and, to a lesser extent Catalan dialects spoken along the Costa Brava, prove particularly revealing in that they show a further dimension of synchronic microvariation on 'strong' D which explicitly marks a lexical distinction between the deictic and expletive functions of the article through the opposition between IPSE-derived and ILLE-derived articles, respectively (Ledgeway 2012a: 100−103), e.g. Maj.Cat. ***sa*** *mort d'en Joan* '**the**(IPSE) death of.the Joan' vs *pensam en* ***la*** *mort* 'we.think about **the**(ILLE) death'.

Among the strong Romance D varieties we can further distinguish on the basis of the parametric option (2d) between those that exhibit N(-to-D)-raising and those that do not. Particularly instructive in this respect are adjective-noun orders (for an overview and relevant bibliography, see Ledgeway 2012a: 50-57). In a number of, especially non-standard, Romance varieties including Asturian, Occitan, Sardinian and southern Italian dialects, the prenominal adjectival position is extremely restricted and generally replaced by the postnominal position, which is neutral to the (non-/)contrastive distinction (cf. Andriani in prep.). Assuming a crosslinguistically fixed series of adjective positions immediately above the NP (Cinque 2010) across which the head noun may variously move to in accordance with parametric variation (cf. simplified structural representation in 3a), we can formally capture the differences between non-standard varieties (cf. 3b) on the one hand and standard Romance varieties (cf. 3c) on the other: in the former the nominal typically raises to the highest available position above the highest adjectival projection (AP_1), which hosts non-contrastive adjectives from where it precedes both non-contrastive and contrastive adjectives, whereas in the latter the nominal only targets the higher adjectival projection (AP_1), from where it precedes non-contrastive adjectives but follows those with a contrastive reading:

(3)	a	…	(**N**)	[$_{AP1}$ Adj$_1$ (**N**)		[$_{AP2}$ Adj$_2$	[$_{NP}$ ~~N~~]]]	
	b	… lo	**pònt**	[$_{AP1}$ vièlh	~~pònt~~	[$_{AP2}$	[$_{NP}$ ~~pònt~~]]]	(Occ.)
	c	… le		[$_{AP1}$ vieux	**pont**	[$_{AP2}$	[$_{NP}$ ~~pont~~]]]	(Fr.)
		the	bridge	old	bridge			

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By the same line of reasoning, we can explain the frequent prenominal position of contrastive adjectives in early Romance (cf. 4a) since, as we noted in relation to (2c) above, these are weak D languages which do not require overt association in the syntax between N and D, hence N(-to-D)-raising is already independently excluded yielding the observed Adj-N order (cf. Ledgeway 2007; Brăescu and Dragomirescu 2014). Although this archaic pattern may appear to be preserved – presumably reinforced by adstratal Flemish influence – to the present-day in Wallon (Bernstein 1991; Bouchard 2002; Cinque 2010: §6.1) where the nominal head barely moves at all appearing to right of all but a handful of adjectives (4b), Wallon is nonetheless a strong D language requiring the use of the article with, for example, generic reference (e.g. ***(li)** *cir* '**the** sky/heaven'), therefore leading us to conclude that it is specified negatively for option (2d).

(4) a …li [$_{AP1}$ [$_{AP2}$ spangnoli [$_{NP}$ **soldati**]]] (ONap.)
'the Spanish soldiers'

b … dès [$_{AP1}$ [$_{AP2}$ r'tchâfés [$_{NP}$ **crompîres**]]] (Wal.)
'some reheated potatoes'

Although it therefore appears correct to conclude that D – or, to be more precise, the functional field (D-domain) above NP – uniformly probes N in modern Romance varieties (though not in Wallon) to yield the typical N-Adj$_{Contrastive}$ order, further fine-grained differentiation of this particular microparameter is required to produce the observed split among Romance varieties in relation to the licensing of proper names through the use or otherwise of the article (Longobardi 1994). The relevant difference can be expressed by asking which types of N may be probed by D (cf. 2e). The least marked option is that which characterizes varieties like standard Spanish, where D indiscriminately attracts all types of N, including proper names which overtly raise to D and therefore prove incompatible with the definite article, e.g. (***el**) *Juan/*(***la**) *Juana* '(**the**) John/(**the**) Jane'[6]. The more marked and restrictive option is exemplified by varieties such as European Portuguese where D fails to probe proper names, a small and lexically definable sublcass of nominals, which, by virtue of the strong D setting, can only be rescued through merger of an expletive article in D, e.g. ***o** *João/**a** Joana* '**the** John/**the** Jane'[7]. Catalan varieties have

[6] In reality, there are further microparametric distinctions at play which, for space limitations, we cannot discuss in detail here. For example, while standard Italian appears to pattern with Spanish in all relevant respects with personal proper names (e.g. (***il**) *Gianni/(***la**) *Gianna*), the two languages differ with respect to proper names denoting large geographical expanses (e.g. It./Sp. ***(la)/(***la**) *Francia* '(**the**) France'). However, even in Spanish there are certain lexical exceptions where the article proves obligatory, e.g. ***(la**) *India* '(**the**) India', ***(El**) *Reino Unido* '**the** United Kingdom' (but cf. (***la**) *Gran Bretaña* '(**the**) Great Britain'), or optional, e.g. (***la**) *Argentina* '(**the**) Argentina', (***el**) *Canadá* '(**the**) Canada'. Such unpredictable lexically-based variation is indicative of nanoparametric variation.

[7] Once again this is a simplification of the relevant Romance facts, in that there are further more marked options which would be placed lower down in the hierarchy in (2). For instance, in Romanian and northern-central regional varieties of Italian D probes only masculine proper names, e.g. Ro. *Ion(***ul**)* 'John(=**the**)', It. *(***il**) *Gianni* '(**the**) John', but not feminine proper names which must occur with an expletive article, namely Ro. *Ioan**a*** 'Jane=**the**' < *Ioană*+-a 'Jane+=the' C.-N.It. ***la** *Gianna* (cf. Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015). To my knowledge, the reverse situation (namely, obligatory N-to-D raising with feminine proper names coupled with the obligatory use of expletive

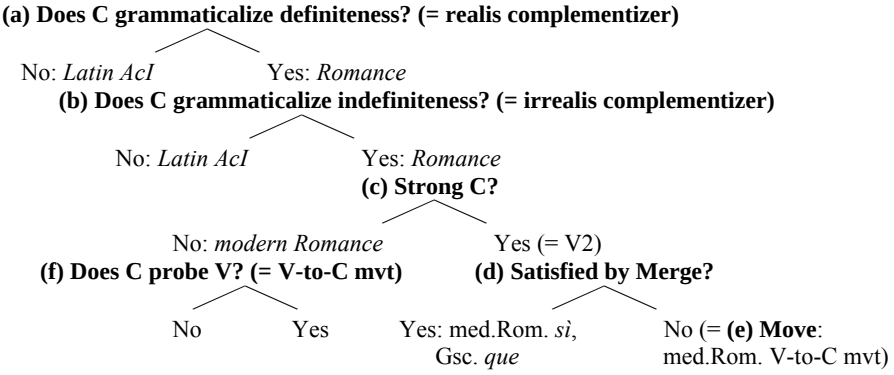
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moved the furthest in this direction (Wheeler, Yates and Dols 1999: 67f.), developing a specialized paradigm for proper names based on clitic reflexes of DOMINUS/-A 'master/mistress' > *en/na* in Balearic Catalan (e.g. ***en*** *Joan*/***na*** *Joana*) and on a blend of ILLE- and DOMINUS/-A-derived forms in the standard language (e.g. ***en*** *Joan*/***la*** *Joana*).

3. CLAUSAL FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE

Building on parallels with our analysis of Romance nominal structures in (2), we now turn to examine some of the major dimensions of microvariation in the development of the Latin-Romance C-system, the details of which are presented in the hierarchy in (5).

(5) **(a) Does C grammaticalize definiteness? (= realis complementizer)**



3.1. Grammaticalization of (in)definiteness on C ⇒ (ir)realis marking

Focusing initially on complement clauses, we exploit here the traditional intuition that such clauses are nominal (viz. noun clauses), as evidenced by the fact that Romance complementizers in [k-] typically continue original D elements (viz. Latin relativizer/interrogative paradigms in QU-). Indeed, according to Manzini and Savoia (2003; 2011) C(omplementizer) is merely a descriptive label for a particular set of occurrences of the nominal D(eterminer) which binds a propositional variable with sentential content restricted by the embedded sentence. On this view, we should expect parallels in the distribution and development of articles and complementizers, an expectation which is indeed borne out in the Latin-Romance transition. In particular, assuming realis and irrealis complements to be associated with definite and indefinite eventive arguments (Manzini 1996; Baker and Travis 1997)[8], we take the C(omplementizer) position to variously

articles in conjunction with masculine proper names) is not found in any Romance variety in line with general assumptions regarding the releative markedness of gender categories (viz. masculine > feminine).

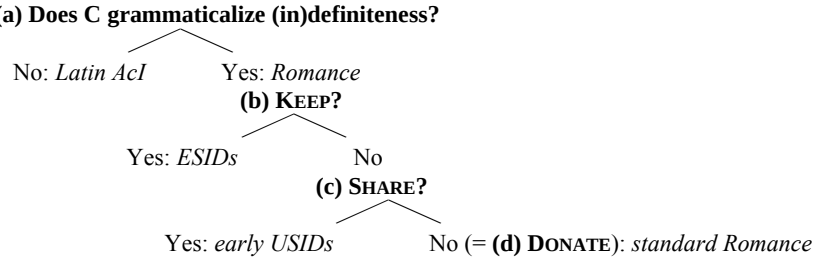
[8] Realis (or propositional) complements are typically selected by declarative/epistemic predicates which do not impose any restrictions on the tense specification of their complement (nor on the identity of the embedded subject in finite complements). By contrast, irrealis complements are

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introduce and license propositional definite and indefinite descriptions. Thus, in the same way that the lack of (in)definite articles in the nominal domain highlights Latin's failure to grammaticalize the marking of (in)definiteness on D, 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, highlights a parallel behaviour in the clausal domain where C equally fails to mark the definite/indefinite nature of realis/irrealis complements. Consequently, a negative setting for our first question in (5a) regarding the grammaticalization of definiteness marking on C necessarily presupposes, as in the case of the articles, a similar absence of indefiniteness marking on C (question 5b), with both realis and irrealis complements introduced by null C heads in the AcI construction, 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 (5a-b), in that the definite and indefinite nature of the events associated with realis and irrealis complements are grammaticalized by the C-system in both finite and non-finite contexts. In particular, we find significant microvariation across varieties in the ways that the (in)definiteness properties of (ir)realis complements are 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 positive branches to questions (5a-b) can each be further decomposed and expanded 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) **(a) Does C grammaticalize (in)definiteness?**



Having established that the Romance C-system formally marks a definite/indefinite opposition on clausal complements (question 6a), there then 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

selected by predicates characterizing their states/events as unrealized with respect to the event time and impose an obligatory control relation on the embedded subject in infinitival contexts and severe morphological constraints on the embedded verb in finite contexts whose temporal interpretation is construed in relation to the temporal specification of the matrix clause. This immediately explains the characteristic use of the subjunctive in such clauses, for the latter, like the infinitive in irrealis complements, has anaphoric temporal reference in Romance (for further discussion see Stowell 1982; Bošković 1997: 13; Ledgeway 2000: 70f.).

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situation found in the modern dialects of the extreme south of Italy (ESIDs) which formally distinguish between realis and irrealis complements through recourse to a dual finite complementizer system (Ledgeway in press c: §63.3), witness the contrastive distribution of *ca* and *(m)u* in introducing the following Bovese realis and irrealis complement clauses embedded under SAY: *nci dissi a lu figghiolu **ca/'u** si ndi vaci* 'to.him= he.said to the son **that**$_{\text{Realis/Irrealis}}$ self= therefrom= leaves (= he$_i$ told [his son]$_j$ that he$_{i/k}$'s leaving/that he$_j$ should leave)'[9].

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 (in)definiteness 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 Romanian nominal group; see Nicolae 2012; 2013a,b; 2015). Consequently, in varieties specified positively for option (6c) (in)definiteness marking surfaces both in the shape of the complementizer by means of a dual complementizer system and on the embedded verb. 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 (Ledgeway 2004; 2005; 2006) exemplified here by the old Salentino contrast between *significano **ca** illo **fece** dissobediencia* 'they.mean **that**$_{\text{Realis}}$ **he.made.IND** disobedience (= they mean that he was disobedient)' and *commandao **cu** doy **fossero** uno* 'he.commanded **that**$_{\text{Irrealis}}$ two **should.be.SBJV** one'[10].

Whereas in early southern Italian dialects like old Salentino the indicative/subjunctive opposition on T systematically surfaces on all verbs and in all grammatical persons, in other varieties a positive specification to the SHARE option displays a more restrictive distribution (not represented in (6c) above). For example, subjunctive marking is limited to the third persons in Romanian (cf. *zic **că vine**/vreau **să vină*** 'I.say **that**$_{\text{Realis}}$ **he.comes.IND**/I.want **that**$_{\text{Irrealis}}$ **he.come.SBJV**' vs *zic **că**/vreau **să vii*** 'I.say **that**$_{\text{Realis}}$/I.want **that**$_{\text{Irrealis}}$ **you.SG.come.IND**')[11], and shows even greater micro- and

[9] The KEEP option is also frequent across many standard and non-standard varieties of Romance in non-finite contexts where the realis/irrealis opposition is marked on the C head through a lexical contrast in the choice of complementizer, typically reflexes of DE 'of' (Italo-Romance) or a null complementizer Ø (Gallo- and Ibero-Romance) vs reflexes of AD 'to' (Ledgeway in press c: §63.2.1), e.g. It. *io la convinsi **di/a** essere forte* 'I$_i$ her$_j$= convinced **of**/**to** PRO$_{i/j}$ be.INF strong (= I convinced her that I am strong / to be strong)', Fr. *il pense **Ø/à** gagner* 'he thinks **Ø**/**to** win.INF (= he$_i$ thinks that he$_i$'s winning / about winning)'.

[10] As outlined in Ledgeway (2012a: §4.4.1; in press b), even in the history of Latin there is evidence for the rise of overt marking of (in)definiteness on finite C (cf. parallel emergence of so-called articloid functions of ILLE and IPSE in the nominal domain; Aebeischer 1948). In particular, Latin presents two rival patterns of complementation, the AcI construction, an archaic pattern inherited from Indo-European in which there is no overt subordinator, and an innovative pattern, albeit attested since the archaic Latin period (at least in conjunction with UT(I)), in which realis/irrealis complement clauses (in turn aligned with indicative/subjunctive mood on the embedded verb) are increasingly introduced by the overt complementizers QUOD/QUIA 'that' and UT '(so) that', respectively.

[11] The sole exception is the copular verb *a fi* 'be' (though not its perfective auxiliary counterpart) which presents distinct subjunctive forms for all six grammatical persons (*fiu, fii, fie, fim, fiți, fie*), presumably a relic of a once-productive pattern of subjunctive marking across all grammatical persons (otherwise lost before the appearance of our first written records during the first

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nanoparametric restrictions in the modern dialects of central-southern Salento (Bertocci and Damonte 2007). Among these Salentino varieties we find (typically southern) dialects where the subjunctive is limited to auxiliary/copular BE and HAVE, sometimes restricted to just the third person singular but frequently also extended to the third person plural, and in some dialects even distributed according to a morphomic N-pattern (Maiden 2011; in press: §§42.2.3-4), e.g. Arnesanese *cu* + ***bbessu***, ***bbessi***, ***bbessa***, *ssimu, ssiti,* ***bbessanu*** 'that$_{Irrealis}$ be.SBVJ', and more rarely distributed across all persons, e.g. Copertinese *cu + bbessu, bessi, bbessa, bbissimu, bissiti, bessanu*. Generally less restrictive are dialects of central Salento where the marking of the subjunctive in the third person(s) may survive not only in conjunction with BE and HAVE, but also, albeit often optionally, with a small number of high frequency predicates – also often functional in nature – characterized by distinctive (irregular) subjunctive stems such as *fazza(nu)* 'do, make', *(bb)egna(nu)* 'come', *(bb)ascia(nu)* 'go', *stescia(nu)* 'stand, be', *descia(nu)* 'give', e.g. Scorranese *se propriu ole* ***cu*** *se* ***face*** *na bballata* ***cu*** *se la* ***fazza*** *cu l'amicu sou* 'if really she.wants **that**$_{Irrealis}$ self= **do.IND** a dance **that**$_{Irrealis}$ self= it= **do.SBJV** with the friend hers (= if she really wants to dance, then let her dance with her boyfriend!)'. In other more liberal central Salentino dialects the subjunctive is extended, again only optionally, even to the third person(s) of lexical predicates, though generally morphologically restricted to non-first conjugation verbs (e.g. Aradeino) and only rarely extended to first-conjugation verbs (e.g. Ortellese)[12].

However, the formal instantiation of the SHARE option on T is not just limited to morphological reflexes like those considered above, but may also surface syntactically through variable verb movement (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 definite/indefinite distinction on T is manifested through its ability to attract the finite verb, as revealed by the variable position of the verb with respect to different adverb classes (Cinque 1999; Schifano 2015; in press; in prep.): whereas in realis complements introduced by the complementizer *ca* the verb occupies a low position occurring to the right of lower pre-VP adverbs (e.g. *tice ca l'Anna* ***già*** *u* ***sapìa*** 'he.says that$_{Realis}$ the Anna already it= **knew**'), in irrealis complements introduced by the complementizer *cu* the verb raises to T from where it obligatorily occurs to the left of all adverbs (e.g. *speru cu (*****già****) u* ***sape*** ***già*** 'I.hope that$_{Irrealis}$ (already) it= **he.knows** already').

Finally, a variety which is specified positively for the microparametric option (6a) grammaticalizing the marking of (in)definiteness in the C-system, but which is specified

half of the 16th century) which, due to its high frequency, persists today as a lexical idiosyncrasy in accordance with an unmistakable case of nanoparametric variation (cf. also the discussion in the text of the restriction of subjunctive marking in some central-southern Salentino varieties to the auxiliaries BE and HAVE).

[12] Note that the more restrictive options evidenced by subjunctive marking in Romanian and central-southern Salentino cannot be considered the fortuitous outcome of some accidental phonological development of, say, unstressed vowels in particular persons and/or conjugational classes of the original subjunctive paradigm, since this would not yield the observed distributions (cf. also the existence of distinctive irregular subjunctive stems such as Scorranese *fazz-* which originally occurred throughout the paradigm). Rather, the tendency towards retention of subjunctive marking in just the third person(s) reflects a wider cross-linguistic tendency to distinguish the non-discourse participants (3 persons) from the discourse participants (1/2 persons) in a variety of grammatical phenomena such as auxiliary selection and differential object marking (cf. also Harley and Ritter 2002).

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negatively for both the KEEP and SHARE options in (6b-c), is left with no other option but complete transfer of the relevant (in)definiteness 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 most (standard) Romance varieties (as well as in the higher movement of subjunctive verbs; cf. footnote 16) which otherwise indiscriminately introduce all finite complements with an undifferentiated complementizer *que/che* (e.g. Sp. *le digo que se* ***calla/calle*** 'him= I.say that self= **he.silences.IND/SBJV** (= I tell him$_i$ that he$_j$ keeps quiet/that he$_i$ should keep quiet)').[13] A variant of this pattern is found in many modern dialects of the upper south of Italy (USIDs) 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 2009; 2012b; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014), e.g. NCal. *dicianu ca Lello sempe* ***fatica*** 'they.say that Lello always **works.IND**' vs *vuonnu ca Lello (*sempe)* ***fatica*** *sempe* 'they.want that Lello (always) **works** always'.

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 $\Rightarrow$ 6b), the latter change results in a downward movement (6c $\Rightarrow$ 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 Romanian and central-southern Salentino dialects according to the different micro- and nanoparametric options summarized in the combined person and verb implicational hierarchy in (7).

[13] Once again it is possible to identify further morphosyntactic restrictions (and concomitant parametric options) on the robustness of such modal marking on T, including the availability of: (i) a ternary past-present-future subjunctive distinction (e.g. Portuguese); (ii) a binary present-past subjunctive distinction (Catalan, Italian), with the further option of dual past paradigms – in part functionally distinct – in (some varieties of) Spanish (cf. *-se* vs *-ra* formations); and (iii) a single, temporally undifferentiated subjunctive form in modern French following the generalization of the erstwhile present subjunctive.

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(7) 3 {sg > pl} > 1/2 {sg > pl} / Auxiliary {BE > HAVE} > Lexical {irregular > regular (non-first conjugation > first-conjugation)}

At the same time there is also no *a priori* reason to assume that movement up and down the hierarchy must proceed stepwise according to the lines of development that we have seen for Salentino in relation to the implicational hierarchy in (7). 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.

3.2. Weak/Strong C

Exploring further the parallels between nominal and clausal functional structure, we now consider how our discussion of the weak/strong D parameter in (2c) above can be extended to the clausal domain. Quite simply we assume a parallel weak/strong dimension of parametric variation for the C head (cf. 5c) which, if strong, has to be associated with V (or a V-feature) overtly in the syntax. Given the overt marking for (in)definiteness in Romance observed in §3.1 (cf. 5a-b) whereby the C head is invariably lexicalized by a complementizer in embedded contexts, the weak/strong nature of Romance C can only be established by considering its behaviour in root contexts. On these criteria, most modern Romance varieties uncontroversially qualify as weak C languages, inasmuch as there is no systematic association in the syntax between V and [+declarative] root C, witness the ungrammatical vs grammatical contrast between [$_{CP}$ **Aux** [$_{TP}$ S~~Aux~~VO]] and [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ S**Aux**VO]] orders in the representative Corsican sentence (***A)** *Lisandru **a** lampatu l'acqua* '(**has**) Alessandro **has** poured the water'. By contrast, medieval Romance varieties, together with some modern Ladin varieties (Benincà 1994; Salvi 2000; Kaiser 2002; Poletto 2002; Casalicchio and Cognola 2015), are arguably strong C languages, in that root C (as well as some embedded cases of C in so-called 'bridge' contexts) is characterized by a Verb Second (V2) constraint which imposes generalized V-to-C movement on the finite verb and, in accordance with individual Romance variation (cf. Wolfe in press a,b), optional fronting of one or more constituents to the Topic-Focus field (see, among others, Benincà 2006; 2013; Salvi 2004; Poletto 2014), e.g. OPt. [$_{FocP}$ *Com tanta paceença* [$_{C\text{-}FinP}$ ***sofria*** [$_{TP}$ *ela* ~~*sofria*~~ *esta enfermidade* ~~*com tant paceença*~~]]] 'with so.much patience **suffered** she this illness'. The latter operation can be viewed as a generalized EPP effect (cf. Holmberg 2012) if we assume that when C is strong (i.e. bears an uninterpretable V-feature) it may also come with a corresponding uninterpretable EPP-feature satisfied by XP-fronting.

However, this traditional interpretation of satisfying the V2 requirement on strong C in terms of V-to-C movement represents just one of two possible licensing mechanisms made available by the grammar: alongside the more marked Move (= internal Merge) option (viz. 5e), the system also makes available the less costly (external) Merge option (viz. 5d) whereby the 'strong' V-feature requirement on C can be satisfied by direct lexical insertion of a suitable head (cf. Roberts' (2004) claims about PF-realization of C-Fin in V2

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contexts).[14] Ledgeway (2008) shows that in medieval Romance this latter option is realized by *sì/si* (< SIC 'thus') insertion, as illustrated by the old Neapolitan near minimal pair in (8a-b) exemplifying the competing Move and Merge options, respectively:

(8) a [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ [$_{\text{Spec}}$ *sì* *fuorti cuolpi*]
such strong blows
[$_{\text{C-FinP}}$ ***li*** ***donava*** [$_{\text{IP}}$ ~~*li donava*~~ ~~*sì fuorti cuolpi*~~]]] (ONap.)
him=he.gave

b [$_{\text{FocusP}}$ [$_{\text{Spec}}$ *spissi cuolpi mortali*] [$_{\text{C-FinP}}$ ***sì***
many blows mortal *sì*
[$_{\text{IP}}$ *le* *dava* ~~*spissi cuolpi mortali*~~]]] (ONap.)
to.him=he.gave

Arguably, the Merge option also characterizes many modern Gascon varieties which must also be considered strong C languages since, although they do not display the Move option (namely, generalized V-to-C movement), they obligatorily lexicalize [+declarative] root C with *que* 'that' (for discussion and relevant bibliography, see Ledgeway 2012a: 167f.), e.g. [$_{\text{TopP}}$ *ta pay* [$_{\text{C-FinP}}$ ***qu'*** [$_{\text{TP}}$ *èy arribat*]]] 'your father **that** is arrived (= your father has arrived)'. Note that, just as in medieval Romance, the strong specification of C predicts that the EPP feature also appears on C, rather than on T, in Gascon. As the preceding example shows, this prediction is indeed borne out for Gascon where preverbal subjects are always left-peripheral and can never occur between *que* and the finite V since T lacks the relevant EPP feature (cf. [$_{\text{TopP}}$ ***ta pay*** [$_{\text{C-FinP}}$ *que* [$_{\text{TP}}$ ***(*ta pay)*** *èy arribat*]]]).

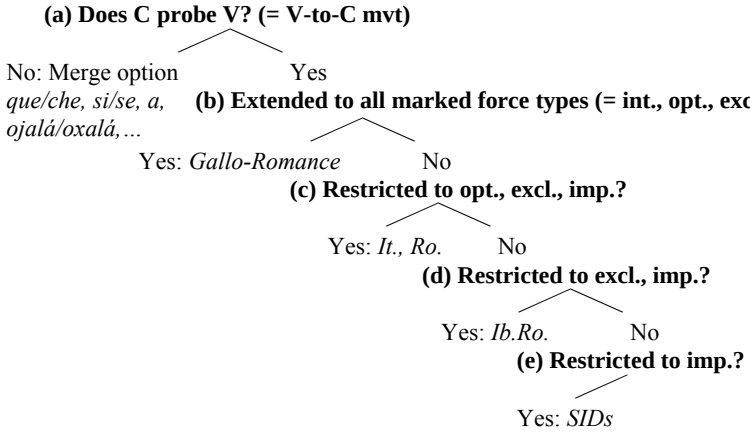
Although we have seen (cf. 5c) that most other modern Romance varieties should be considered weak C languages, as further highlighted by the fact that the EPP is checked on T rather than C in these varieties, C may still probe V (and hence license V-to-C movement) under particular marked conditions (5f), as variously reflected, among other things, in (simple/complex) subject-verb inversion and enclisis of object clitics. 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 – as indirectly supported by its greater productivity in higher and hence more literary and archaicizing registers – which is today licensed only in a restricted number of non-veridical polarity contexts tied to specific types of illocutionary force, including values variously labelled in the traditional literature as interrogative (C.Ven. (Cereda) *Cossa* ***fa****-lo?* 'What does=he?'), exclamative (Sp. *¡Cuán rápido* ***habla*** *Bruno!* 'How quick speaks Bruno!'), optative (Srd. *Ti* ***falet*** *unu lampu!* 'you= strike.PRS.SBJV.3SG a lightening.bolt!'), hypothetical (Pt. ***Tivesse*** *Célia chamado,…* 'have.IPFV.SBJV.3SG Célia called … (= If only Célia had called)'), jussive (Ro. ***Ducă****-se pe pustii!* 'take.3.SBJV=self on desert (= S/He/They should clear off)!'), exhortative (It. *Non si* ***muova*** *nessuno!* 'Not self= move.PRS.SBJV.3SG nobody'), concessive (Fr. ***Dût****-il m'en coûter cent fois plus,…* 'must.IPFV.SBJV.3SG=it me=thereof= cost.INF. hundred times more… (= Even if it were to cost me a hundred times more)'), disjunctive (Frl. ***sedi****-al rivat o no* ***sedi****-al rivat* 'be.PRS.SBJV.3SG=he arrived or not be.PRS.SBJV.3SG=he arrived (= Whether he's arrived or

[14] Cf. the parallel use of expletive articles in the nominal domain in conjunction with proper names as an alternative to N-to-D raising discussed in relation to (2e) in §2 above.

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not)'), and imperatival (Cat. ***Fes**-li un petó* 'do.IMP.2SG=to.her a kiss'). Thus, while generalized V2 movement triggered by a semantically uninterpretable V-feature in declarative contexts is systematically lost in weak C varieties, 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 (cf. Munaro 2004). Nonetheless, the distribution of such semantically-driven V-to-C movement is not uniform across Romance and shows different and often unpredictable degrees of productivity and attrition. Conflating some of the traditional labels above, we distinguish here between interrogative, exclamative, optative (subsuming hypothetical, concessive, jussive, (ex)hortative), and imperatival illocutionary forces (for an overview, see Cruschina and Ledgeway in press: §31.3.2; Giurgea and Remberger in press), the precise distribution of which can be tentatively modelled, at least for Romance,[15] in terms of the microparametric choices presented in the subhierarchy in (9).

(9) **(a) Does C probe V? (= V-to-C mvt)**



In particular, a positive setting for option (9b) identifies those more liberal Gallo-Romance varieties such as French and especially north(east)ern Italian dialects (cf. Poletto 2000: chs 3,5) which typically continue to license V-to-C movement across all marked clause types, e.g. Fr. interrogative ***Vient**-il?* '**comes**=he?', optative ***Puisse**-t-elle réussir!* '**may**.PRES.SBJV.3SG=she succeed.INF!', exclamative ***Est**-elle jolie!* '**is**=she pretty!', and imperatival ***Demande**-le-lui!* '**ask**.IMP.2SG=it=to.him!'. Nonetheless, it must be recognized that some of these cases of V-to-C movement are not particularly productive even in higher

[15] Although the licensing of V-to-C movement in Romance appears to follow the implicational scale interrogative > optative > exclamative > imperative formalized in (9), it is not obvious that such categories must be hierarchically organized into super- and subset relationships as assumed here, inasmuch as some values are just 'typologically equivalent'. Under an emergentist view of parametric variation in which parameter hierarchies are not innately specified as part of UG, options which are not directly signalled by the input will simply not detain the child who will only ask questions about those aspects of the input which provide cues. Under this view, questions at the lower reaches of the hierarchy should be seen simply as typologically equivalent alternatives positioned at the same level within the hierarchy (I thank T. Biberauer for discussion of this point).

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registers (arguably lexicalized in many cases, cf. Fr. ***Vive/*Meure*** *le roi!* '**live/die**.PRS.SBJV.3SG the king!'), and are often subject to additional restrictions related to verb class, mood and grammatical person (cf. also Biberauer and Roberts in press a,b). For instance, V-to-C movement in French interrogatives (but not generally in northern Italian dialects) is more readily licensed by functional rather than lexical predicates (cf. *Je suis* 'I am' (< *être*) or 'I follow' (< *suivre*) ⇒ ***Suis**-je?* '**Am** I/***Follow** I?') and by 3rd/2nd-person subjects rather that 1st person-subjects (cf. ***Prend**-il/**Prends**-tu?* '**takes**=he/**take**.2SG=you.2SG?' vs ***Prends**-je?* '**take**=I?'). Similarly, the distribution of V-to-C movement in French optatives is increasingly limited to a handful of principally functional predicates (viz. *être* 'be', *avoir* 'have', *devoir* 'must', *pouvoir* 'can', *vouloir* 'want' and *venir* 'come'), and occurs above all in the third person, e.g. ***M'eût**-il encouragé…* 'me= **he.had.SBJV** encouraged (= Had he encouraged me)', ***Voulût**-il le faire…* 'want.IPFV.SBJV.3SG=he it= do.INF (= Even if he wanted to do so)', ***Vienne*** *le printemps et tout semblera plus souriant* '**come**.PRS.SBJV.3SG the spring and everything will seem more jolly'. We see then in such behaviours some often well-advanced and ongoing morphosyntactic and lexical restrictions on a once fully productive movement operation which in lower registers is now predominantly replaced, with the exception of positive true imperatives, by the Merge option (cf. the negative specification of 5f/9a), e.g., [CP ***((Que-est-)ce) qu'*** [TP *elle est jolie!*]] '**EXCL** she is pretty!', [CP ***Est-ce que*** [TP *je/tu/il prend(s)?*]] '**Q** I/you.SG/he take(s)?', [CP ***S'*** [TP *il m'avait encouragé*]] '**If** he me= had.IND encouraged'[16].

This weakening of the Move option is even more evident in those varieties singled out by the positive specifications of options (9c) and (9d) such as Italian/Romanian and Ibero-Romance, respectively, which have both lost semantically-driven V-to-C movement with polar interrogatives[17], but continue to display it with (some types of) exclamatives and imperatives, though differing with respect to the availability of such movement in optatives, e.g. It./Cat. *La **preparino** loro!/ **(Que)** la preparin ells!* '(**that**) **prepare.PRS.SBJV.3PL** they! (= Let them prepare it!)', Ro/Sp. ***Arză**-l focul!/¡*(**Qué**) le queme el fuego!* '(**that**) (him=)**burn.PRS.SBJV.3(SG)**(=him) the fire(=the)'. In these varieties too non-declarative illocutionary force is in many cases more readily licensed

[16] The relevant French facts and, in particular, the increasing diachronic restriction of inversion to functional predicates, suggest a progressive loss of V-(to-T-)to-C movement (manifested in the growing infelicity of inversion with lexical predicates), with verb movement now increasingly limited to T-to-C movement (hence the greater acceptability of inversion with functional predicates). Significantly, this also explains the observed greater propensity of inversion with verbs in the subjunctive, including lexical predicates since, as we have already seen above for southern dialects of Italy, Romance irrealis verb forms typically raise to the highest available position within the T-domain (cf. Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014; Schifano in prep.). By the same token, the near total loss of inversion in southern Italian dialects (with the exception of positive imperatives) discussed in the text can be explained by the independent observation that finite verbs typically raise to a very low position within the sentential core (the lower adverb space in Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005; 2014; Ledgeway 2009; 2012a,b; Schifano 2015; in prep.) and hence are not available for T-to-C movement (cf. discussion of inversion in the history of English in Biberauer and Roberts in press a,b).

[17] In the highest literary and archaicizing styles V-to-C movement is still very occasionally found in these varieties in polar interrogatives involving marked irrealis modal interpretations (Poletto 2000: 156; Giurgea and Remberger in press: §53.3.1.2). Given, however, their infrequency and highly marked stylistic nature, we do not consider them here genuine options.

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through the Merge option (cf. negative specification of 9a) with lexicalization of C by various complementizers and particles (Ledgeway 2012a: 175f.; Corr in prep.) such as Sardinian interrogative *a* (***A** kerres vennere a domo mea?* '**Q** you.want come.INF a house my?'), Portuguese optative *oxalá* (***Oxalá** não venha amanhã!* '**would.that** not he.come.PRS.SBJV tomorrow!'), and Spanish exclamative *que* (*¡Cuán rápido **que** habla Bruno!* 'How quick **that** speaks Bruno!'). Finally, option (9e) identifies those varieties such as southern Italian dialects in which V-to-C movement shows the most restrictive distribution, having all but disappeared from the grammar 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), e.g. Cal. imperative ***Manna**millu!* '**send.IMP2SG**=me=it!' vs interrogative ***Ca** venanu?* '**that** they.come? (= Are they coming?)', optative ***Chi** vò scattà!* '**that** he.wants explode.INF (= May he keel over!)', exclamative ***Ca** su bbieddri!* '**that** are beautiful!'.

Although we have witnessed unmistakable signs of the progressive disintegration across Romance of the erstwhile unity of syntactic marking of non-veridical polarity through the Move option to the advantage of the Merge option, we cannot yet speak of nanoparametric variation since the distribution of V-to-C movement continues to make reference to readily definable subsets of non-veridical polarity. Nonetheless, there are some indisputable cases of nanoparametric variation in the distribution of V-to-C movement in Romance, best viewed as relics of a formerly regular syntactically-driven V2 constraint whose synchronic licensing displays all the hallmarks of a non-productive and lexically idiosyncratic phenomenon. Two cases can be identified, both associated with formal registers of the languages in question in accordance with their non-core status within the grammar.

The first regards (complex/simple) subject-verb inversion as a result of V-to-C movement in formal registers of French triggered by a handful of focused adverbs such as *peut-être* 'perhaps', *à peine* 'hardly', *sans doute* 'probably', *encore* 'even so', *aussi* 'therefore', *toujours* 'yet', *ainsi* 'thus', *du mois* 'at least', *en vain* 'in vain', e.g. *Aussi **peut**-on conclure…* 'therefore **can**=one conclude.INF…'. Among other things, the idiosyncratic lexical nature and instability of the phenomenon is highlighted by the fact that semantically synonymous adverbs do not necessarily trigger V-to-C movement (cf. *donc* 'therefore, thus' in *Donc (*peut-) on peut conclure* 'therefore (**can**=) one can conclude.INF'), and that in conjunction with some adverbs the robustness of inversion has weakened such that today it is now optional and increasingly avoided (cf. *En vain **luttait**-il/il **luttait*** 'in vain struggled=he/he struggled').

The second case concerns the phenomenon of C-drop (for discussion and bibliography, see Ledgeway in press c: §63.2.1.4). The latter refers to the phenomenon whereby in many Romance varieties (though not all, e.g. modern French) the complementizer introducing a finite irrealis clause may remain unpronounced, e.g. Cat. *Dedueixo (**que**) sigui una bona ocasió* 'I.deduce (**that**) it.be.SBJV a good opportunity', a phenomenon standardly interpreted as the result of V-to-C movement (cf. Poletto 2000: 118−133)[18]. However, the distribution of C-drop is not licensed *tout court* by the presence

[18] C-drop also occurs in propositional infinitival contexts in formal registers in the so-called Aux-to-Comp construction (Rizzi 1982; Skytte and Salvi 1991: 529−531), where lexicalization by the infinitival verb (typically an auxiliary, but also found with stative predicates) of the C position in place of the complementizer *de/di* 'of' exceptionally licenses an embedded nominative subject, cf. It.

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of a subjunctive verb in the embedded complement, since not all subjunctive complements show C-drop, (cf. factives such as It. *si rammaricano *(**che**) abbia pianto* 'selves= they.regret (**that**) he.has.SBJV cried'), and, conversely, C-drop is also licensed, at least in some languages and for some speakers, in complements hosting a future or conditional verb, especially if the matrix predicate is 1sg. (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 270; 2004: 191, 204), e.g. It. *credo ??(che)* ***verrà/sarebbe venuto*** 'I believe (that) **he.will.come/he.would.be come**'. Rather, as argued by Poletto (2000: 123f.), C-drop is licensed by a lexical subclass of predicates, namely those characterized by strong assertion, so-called 'bridge' verbs. Although at first sight this observation might seem to identify a case of microparametric variation, it is well known that attempts to provide unified definitions of bridge verbs, both across (related) languages and even within the same language across different speakers and idiolects, are fraught with many idiosyncratic lexical difficulties and irregularities (Vikner 1995: 70−72; Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 237f.), as shown by the contrast in grammaticality of C-drop in Italian/Spanish embedded under 'SORRY': *Mi dispiace *(**che**) canti sempre Gianni/Lamento (**que**) cante siempre Juan* 'I'm sorry (**that**) always sings John'. In view of such distributional irregularities and instability, we therefore conclude that C-drop is ultimately a lexically-driven phenomenon to be identified with other cases of nanoparametric variation licensed by an idiosyncratic lexical property of specific predicates.

4. CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion has highlighted how there are significant 'deep' parallels in the dimensions of microvariation characterizing the functional structure and organization of the Romance nominal and clausal groups which go beyond mere surface accidental similarities. In particular, we have seen that there is no need to posit separate parametric choices for these two domains, inasmuch as observed synchronic and diachronic variation across both domains can be readily captured in terms of a single set of higher- and above all lower-level parametric options. This parallelism constitutes a welcome finding in that it points to how the available parametric space can be further constrained and redefined in terms of a set of common transcategorial principles and options.

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subject control in *ritengo* [$_{CP}$ ***di*** [$_{TP}$ PRO *aver superato l'esame*]] 'I.believe **of** PRO have.INF passed the exam' vs Aux-to-Comp *ritengo* [$_{CP}$ ***aver*** [$_{TP}$ *Anna ~~aver~~ superato l'esame*]] 'I.believe **have.INF** Anna passed the exam'. As in the case of C-drop in finite complements, the distribution of Aux-to-Comp is determined by purely lexical factors, inasmuch as it is variously licensed by a subclass of predicates of saying and thinking, the precise membership of which is notoriously unpredictable and irregular across different speakers and varieties (cf. discussion of bridge verbs in the text).

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