CHAPTER […]
TOWARDS A MICROPARAMETER
C-HIERARCHY
IN ITALO-ROMANCE[1]

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1. Introduction

Complementation in Italo-Romance continues to represent an extremely interesting topic among Romance and theoretical linguists. Recently, on the basis of the rich dialectal variation offered by the Italian peninsula much research has been directed towards the investigation of the fine structure of the left periphery (Rizzi 1997; see also Benincà & Poletto 2004). Southern Italian dialects (SIDs) especially, which make use of dual complementiser systems, make a significant contribution to our understanding of the discourse-domain from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective[2]. In this respect southern Lazio region dialects (SLDs) have not yet been considered. The syntactic microvariation of this area, which can be considered part of the upper-southern Italian dialects (USIDs), has generally gone unnoticed, with the relevant facts remaining unknown and insufficiently explored (Colasanti 2015). However, different varieties from Southern Lazio still display two distinct finite complementisers as shown in (1), (2) and (3). In what follows it will be argued that evidence from Southern Lazio proves essential for a proper understanding of complementation in Italo-Romance. Specifically, a microparameter C(omplementation)-hierarchy in Italo-Romance will be proposed. Before

[2] Among others see Ledgeway (2003, 2005, 2012a, 2016); Benincà & Poletto (2004); Paoli (2004, 2007); Vecchio (2006); Damonte (2006, 2009); D'Alessandro & Di Felice (2010); D'Alessandro & Ledgeway (2010); Colasanti (2015).

considering data from SLDs, however, it is important to review all the relevant facts concerning complementation across Italo-Romance that have already been investigated by previous scholars.

(1) a.   m   ao   ditto ka ve   addemane[3]
            to-me they-have told that s/he-come tomorrow

     b.   ɛra   meʎʎo ke li   ɛravɛmo fatto
            it-was better that them= we-were done

(2) a.   m   avǝ   diccǝ   ka tu ve   addumanǝ
            to-me they-have told   that you come tomorrow

     b.   ɛ   mmɛʎʎǝ kǝ   mmǝ nǝ vavǝ
            it-is better   that I=   CL go.1SG

                                          Pontecorvo (M&S 2005)

(3) a.   dikǝ ka   Mariǝ vè[5]
             I-say that Mario come.3SG.IND
            "I say that Mario comes"
     b.   vogliǝ kǝ   Maria vǝnissǝ
             I-want that Maria come.3SG.SUBJ
            "I want that Maria would come"

                                       Ceprano (Colasanti 2015)

1.1. Dual complementiser systems in Italo-Romance

1.1.1 Traditional descriptions

Standard descriptions of Italo-Romance varieties highlight the presence of dual complementiser systems (Rohlfs 1969:190; Tekavčić 1980:446). In the dialects of the extreme South (henceforth ESIDs), namely Salento, central-southern Calabria and northern-eastern Sicily (province of Messina), finite complement clauses are introduced by one of two different complementisers according to the distribution of the dual complementiser system found in Balkan varieties (i.e. Greek). In accordance with the Greek complementiser system, in these dialects we find realis declarative complements (traditionally marked with the indicative) introduced by *ca* (<QUIA; 4a) and irrealis complements (traditionally marked with the subjunctive) variously introduced by

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[3] In what follows, free translations of the examples will be provided only where the sense cannot be immediately deduced from the glosses.
[4] Manzini & Savoia (2005), henceforth M&S (2005).
[5] Unless otherwise indicated, examples are from the author's own fieldwork notes.

mi/mu/ma (<MODO; Calabria and Sicily; 4b-c) and *cu* (<QUOD; Salento; 4d).

(4) a. pensu ca vèni
         I-think that s/he-come.3SG.IND
         "I think that s/he will come"
                                      southern Calabria (Rohlfs 1969)

    b. vogghiu mi mangia
        I-want   that s/he-eat.3SG.SUBJ
        "I want that s/he should eat"

    c. ògghiu mi mancia
        I-want that s/he-eat.3SG.SUBJ
        "I want that s/he should eat"
                                          Messina (Rohlfs 1969)

    d. tie   comu faci cu lu sai?
        You how do that SCL you-know.2SG.IND
        "How do you know that?"
                                          Lecce (Rohlfs 1969)

At the same time, traditional descriptions (Rohlfs 1969:190; Tekavčić 1980:446; Calabrese 1993; Joseph 1983:38-39; Maiden 1998:212) of USIDs report dual complementiser systems. More specifically, on a par with the distinction in ESIDs between the pairs *ca/mu* (*ma/mi*) and *ca/cu*, semantico-functional factors (viz. realis/declarative = *ca* + indicative and irrealis/volitives = *chə/che/chi* + subjunctive) seem to influence the distribution of the two complementisers *ca* (<QUIA; 5a) and *chə/che/chi* (<QUID; 5b)[6].

(5) a. pènsə ca vènə
         I-think that s/he come.IND

    b. vulessə   chə mmangiassə
        I-want.SUBJ that s/he eat.SUBJ   Naples

Dual complementiser systems found in SIDs mainly correspond to the one found in languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund* in which complementiser selection is influenced by the semantic class of the matrix predicate (Joseph 1983:38). Also, it seems that the semantic distinction between two types of predicates, which are able to select realis or irrealis complements, is linked to the question of mood selection (Rohlfs 1968-69:§§559, 681, 683; Joseph 1983:86). Generally, while reflexes of QUIA select embedded

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[6] See among others Rohlfs (1969:190, 1983:152–3); Tekavčić (1980:446); Vincent (1997:172); Ledgeway (2000, 2005, 2009a,b).

predicates marked with the indicative (5a), reflexes of QUID introduce embedded complements with the subjunctive (5b).

Closely related to the presence of dual complementiser systems is the necessity of reinforcing the original mood distinction (viz. indicative/subjunctive) in embedded clauses which seems to have been mostly eroded in the modern dialects because of the loss of the subjunctive (Rohlfs 1969:§§559, 681, 683; Tekavčić 1980:446; Vincent 1997; Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014). As noted by Tekavčić (1980:446), the distribution of the two complementisers "is certainly linked to the decline of the subjunctive in these same regions […]: where the verbal form can no longer distinguish between 'tell him that he is coming' and 'tell him that he should come', etc., the distinction is conveyed through the conjunctions". Recently, Ledgeway & Lombardi (2014; see also Vincent 1997:176; Loporcaro 1999:70–3; Ledgeway 2009a:501–3; Bertocci & Damonte 2007) agree on the fact that, while in modern ESIDs the subjunctive has been totally eradicated and substituted by the present indicative, in modern USIDs the imperfect subjunctive continues to be used with its conditional uses alongside some of its original subjunctive values. Rohlfs (1968:301) claims that in the upper South "the present subjunctive has largely been lost, and is replaced by the indicative or by the imperfect subjunctive". More specifically, as argued by Ledgeway (2003:§2.4; 2009b:10f; see also Leone 1995:38–41) the imperfect subjunctive is employed especially in two contexts. For instance, in different modern varieties of the upper South the imperfect subjunctive is employed in embedded jussive clauses (6; see also Colasanti & Silvestri 2016) and in volitional contexts (7).

(6)   dijje   che cce   jesse!
        tell=him that there= he-went.SUBJ   Teramo

(7) a.   vogliu ca ti   spusi
            I-want that yourself= you-marry.IND
            "I want that you marry someone"
     b.   vulia   ca ti   spusave/spusasse
            I-wanted that yourself= you-marry.IND/SUBJ
            "I wanted that you marry/would married someone"
     c.   vulesse/vulerra ca ti   spusasse/*spusave
            I-should-like   that yourself= you-married.SUBJ/IND
            "I would like that you marry/would marry someone"
                                Cosenza (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014:31)

In example (7) it is shown how in volitional contexts, the indicative is used if the predicate in the main clause is in the present (7a). The

indicative alternates with the subjunctive when the verb in the matrix clause is in the past (7b), but as shown in (7c) the indicative is excluded when in the main clause we have a conditional (for a more detailed explanation see Ledgeway 2009b:507 and Giorgi 2009a:1855ff). Moreover, the relevant literature noted that grammars of different Romance varieties mark the modal realis/irrealis distinction with the morphological indicative/subjunctive opposition or through syntax alone (among Romance e.g. Occitan dialects, Italian; cf. Benincà 1993; Cardinaletti 1997; 2004; for an overview, see Quer 2009). Hence, the correlation between the loss of the morphological indicative/subjunctive distinction and the presence of dual complementiser systems seems to be supported by evidence from SIDs.

According to traditional assumptions, in SIDs the distribution of the two complementisers is determined by a combination of semantic (± irrealis) and modal (indicative/subjunctive) factors (Rohlfs 1969), which seem also to influence the generalisation of one complementiser to the detriment of the other in USIDs.

1.1.2 Recent analyses

Recently, it has been noted (among others see Ledgeway 2000; 2003; 2012a; Cruschina 2006; 2016; Vecchio 2006) that not only are semantic and modal factors involved in the distribution of the two complementisers, as highlighted in traditional descriptions, but also the syntactic organisation of the left periphery of the sentence (Rizzi 1997) can influence complementiser selection. Following the work of Rizzi (1997), much research has been conducted on the split-CP with evidence from the rich dialectal variation of the Italian peninsula (Poletto 2000; Ledgeway 2000; 2005; 2009a; 2012a; Damonte 2006; Vecchio 2006; D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010; Paoli 2004; 2007; Cruschina 2006; 2010). Specifically, not only synchronic evidence but also diachronic evidence supports the existence of a fine structure of the left periphery in SIDs.

1.1.2.1 Early upper southern Italian dialects

Data against an *exclusive* semantico-functional analysis of the two complementisers (viz.   realis/declarative = *ca* + indicative and irrealis/volitives = *che* + subjunctive) can be supported by data from the early USIDs. Following Ledgeway (2003, 2005, 2009a,b), these dialects seem not to display the simple traditional modal distinction posited by Rohlfs (1969:190) regarding the distribution of the two complementisers *ca* (<QUIA) and *che* (<QUID) in SIDs. In fact, in these varieties the assumed link between the mood of the embedded verb and complementiser

selection is only partly confirmed. Indeed, in terms of Rizzi's (1997) spilt-CP, as argued by Ledgeway (2005:348–73; 2009a:872–76), in realis clauses not only *ca* but also *che* is found. Furthermore, while the latter surfaces whenever the left periphery hosts a Topic or a Focus (8a-b), the former occurs only when these two positions are not activated, as we can see for early Neapolitan (8c):

(8)   a.   ancora più: dicote: che <u>tucte</u> le   voglio
              still   more I-say=to-you that all   them= I-want
                      honorare
                      to-honour
          "moreover I tell you that all of them I want to honour"
      b.   et   dicove   che ANCO OIE   de vide miraclo
              and I-say-to-you that also   today of see a-miracle
             "and I say to you that also today we'll see a miracle"
      c.   saccio bene cha no ne   camparaio
              I-know well   that not of-it= I-shall-buy
             "I indeed know that I shall not buy any"
                              early Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2003)

Having established the influence of Topics/Foci in the selection of the complementisers in early Neapolitan and taking into account the detailed structure of the left periphery by Rizzi (1997) it is possible to interpret the distribution of *che* and *ca* as the lexicalisation of the heads *Force* and *Fin*. Specifically, while *che* is spelt out in front of Topics/Foci, hence in *Force*, *ca* can only follow topicalised and focused elements, hence it is in *Fin* as schematically illustrated in (9):

(9)   [$_{ForceP}$ che [$_{TopicP}$ [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{FinP}$ ca … [sentence core]]]]]

1.1.2.2 Modern extreme southern Italian dialects

At the same time, the selection of the two complementisers in the modern dialects of the extreme South has been also explained through the postulation of the fine structure of the left periphery. Following Rizzi (1997), Ledgeway (2000, 2005) demonstrated that in these varieties reflexes of QUIA lexicalise the higher head position *Force*, while reflexes of QUOD and MODO can be spelt out in the lower head position *Fin*. The complementiser *ca* (Southern Calabria, Sicily and Salento) precedes topicalised and focalised constituents (hence both lexicalise *Force*; 10a) while Salentino *cu* and Northern Calabrese/Sicilian *mu/ma/mi* follow

topicalised/focalised constituents (hence lexicalises *Fin*; 10b). Moreover, while *ca* (<QUIA*;* Salentino, Calabrian, Sicilian) always lexicalise *Force* (11a), and its counterparts from QUOD>*cu* (Salentino) and MODO> *mu/ma/mi* (Calabrian/Sicilian) lexicalise *Fin* (11b).

(10) a. Nci   dissi [ForceP ca [TopP <u>nta dda casa</u> [FinP Ø [TP non
          to-him= I-said   that   in that house,   not
                ci   vai   chiùni]]]]
                there= he-goes more
          "I said that he doesn't go to into that house anymore"

     b. Spittava [ForceP Ø [TopP <u>'a carbunella</u> [FinP mi [TP
         he-waited   the coal   that
                sbrasciava]]]]
                was-incandescent
         "He waited for the coal to glow brightly"
                              Reggio Calabria (Ledgeway 2009a)

(11) a. Addʒu tittu ca la Lia KRAI   ene
          I-have said that the Lia TOMORROW comes
          "I said that Lia/tomorrow is coming"

     b. Oyyu KRAI   cu bbene lu Maryu
         I-want TOMORROW that comes the Mario (not today)
          "I want Mario to come tomorrow"
                              Salentino (Calabrese 1993)

Given these facts, following standard assumptions by Rohlfs (1983), in most of the modern USIDs dual complementiser systems seem to have been lost. While early USIDs, such as early Neapolitan and early Cosentino (Ledgeway 2009a, b), still display dual complementiser systems, this distinction seems to have been lost in most USIDs with the consequent generalisation of the complementiser *ca* (<QUIA). More specifically, comparing Rohlfs' (1983) data with the more recent review by M&S (2005), dual complementiser systems appear to be well maintained mostly in Abruzzo, Campania, Molise and Lazio regions of Italy.

1.1.2.3 Modern upper southern Italian dialects: dual complementiser systems?

It is appropriate here to briefly show, as argued by Ledgeway (2009a,b; 2012a), that the loss of a morphological alternation in complementiser systems (i.e. modern USIDs) does not necessarily imply that these varieties turn from a dual to a single complementiser system. By

way of example we can consider the modern dialects of Cosenza (Calabria) and Mussomeli (Caltanissetta, central Sicily), which display a generalisation of *ca* (<QUIA) to the detriment of *chi* (<QUID) similarly to the majority of modern USIDs varieties. Witness the Cosentino *ca* which is able now to introduce irrealis and indicative clauses with an indicative and a subjunctive verb (12):

(12) a. vogliu ca mi risbigli   a ri sette
          I-want that me= you-wake-up.IND at the seven
          "I want you to wake me up at seven"
      b. vulìa   ca mi risbigliassa   a ri sette
          I-wanted that me= you-wake-up.SUBJ at the seven
          "I wanted that you would wake me up at seven"
                                          Cosenza (Ledgeway 2009a)

However, from a diachronic point of view it is still possible, especially among the older generations, to find traces in Cosentino of an earlier double complementiser system in which there was a traditional alternation between *ca* and *chi* (Ledgeway 2000; 2009a). While *ca* is the underspecified complementiser (13a,b), *chi* is the distinctive irrealis complementiser (13b):

(13) a. vogliu ca/*chi mi risbigli   a ri sette
          I-want that   me= you-wake-up.IND at the seven
          "I want you to wake me up at seven"
      b. vulia   ca/chi mi risbigliassa   a ri sette
          I-wanted that   me= you-wake-up.SUBJ at the seven
          "I wanted that you would wake me up at seven"
                                      early Cosentino (Ledgeway 2009a)

In terms of Rizzi's (1997) split-CP, in the case of early Cosentino (13) following Ledgeway (2005) we can assume that *ca* occupies the higher complementiser position *Force*, and the marked complementiser *chi* lexicalises the lower *Fin* head responsible for licensing modal marking. While *ca* lexicalises *Force* and may only precede topicalised and focalised constituents when it selects a declarative clause (14a), *chi* can only follow topicalised and focalised elements when introducing an irrealis complement (14b)[7].

(14) a. [$_{ForceP}$ ca [$_{TopP/FocP}$ … [$_{FinP}$ … [$_{TP}$ V$_{Ind/Subj}$ …]]]]
      b. [$_{ForceP}$ … [$_{TopP/FocP}$ … [$_{FinP}$ chi [$_{TP}$ V$_{Subj/*Ind}$ …]]]]

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[7] See Ledgeway (2009b) for a detailed analysis.

Now, it seems that the situation in the two modern USID varieties, Cosentino and Mussomelese is different from that found in early Cosentino. In fact, *ca* seems only able to precede topicalised and focalised elements when it selects a declarative clause (15a), but not when it selects an irrealis complement (15b). Similarly, in the Mussomeli dialect, which displays a single complementiser system, the same situation obtains (16a,b; see also Neapolitan in Ledgeway 2009b:§2.4.1.3):

(15) a. Dicia   ca Mariu unn' 'u parra cchiù   nullu
          he-says   that Mariu not him= speaks no-more nobody
     b. *Vuogliu ca Mariu unn' 'u   parra cchiù   nullu
          I-want that Mariu not him= speaks more   nobody
                                        Cosenza (Ledgeway 2009a)

(16) a. Dissi   ca dopu pranzu si   viniva a pigliari
          he-said that after lunch   self= came to take.INF
                u   café
                the coffee
     b. *Vuagliu ca dopu pranzu nni   pigliamu u
          I-want that after lunch ourselves= we-take the
                coffee
                café   Mussomeli (Ledgeway 2012a)

Having established that the two different values of *ca* in modern Cosentino and Mussomelese have different distributions with respect to topicalised and focalised constituents, it has been argued (Ledgeway 2009a) that a (superficially) single complementiser system can underlingly operate as a dual complementiser system. More specifically, while Cosentino and Mussomelese seem to have lost the original morphological marking of the two complementisers, in different syntactic contexts the position of *ca* in the C-domain is different. In short, the declarative *ca* is spelt out in *Force,* while the irrealis *ca* lexicalises *Fin*. Hence the latter follows Top/Foc elements while the former precedes them, as schematically outlined in (17). Cosentino and Mussomelese facts demonstrate that a dual complementiser system may be reflected morphologically or purely syntactically.

(17)   [$_{ForceP}$ ca$_{REALIS}$ [$_{TopP}$ Top [$_{FocP}$ [Foc [$_{FinP}$ ca$_{IRREALIS}$ [$_{TP}$ ...]]]]]]

2. Southern Lazio Dialects

In what follows, complementisers distribution in some varieties from Southern Lazio will be described[8]. A proper examination will prove how these varieties can contribute not only to a proper understanding, but also to a reinterpretation of complementation in Italo-Romance in terms of more recent theories on theoretical comparative syntax.

We begin considering that different SLDs display dual complementiser systems (18, 19). On a par with other SIDs, Southern Lazio complementation shows a semantically-driven distribution (viz. declarative/volitive) with *ka* (<QUIA) introducing realis declarative complements (18a, 19a) and *kə* (<QUID) irrealis volitive complements (18b, 19b). In short, after verbs such as *dire* 'to say', *credere* 'to believe', *sapere* 'to know' in the matrix clause, it is possible to find *ka*, while after verbs that express a desire or a wish, such as *volere* 'to want' or *sperare* 'to hope', the complementiser *kə* is found.

(18) a.   sattʃə ka Mariə vè
            I-know that Mario come.3SG.IND
            "I know that Mario comes"

      b.   ʃperə kə   Maria vè
            I-hope that   Maria come.3SG.IND
            "I hope that Maria would come"   Ceprano

(19) a.   ricə ka   Mariə vè
            I-say that Mario come.3SG.IND
            "I say that Mario comes"

      b.   Maria vò   kə Robbertə vè   a ccasa
            Maria wants that Roberto comes to home
            "Maria wants that Roberto would come home" Lenola

Generally the complementiser *ka* is generally found after declarative and epistemic verbs and the complementiser *kə* introduces future-oriented irrealis volitional complements. It would seem then that the Southern Lazio C-systems display a conservative, typical Balkan-style distinction. However, a closer examination of a wider selection of examples from the area reveals that complementation in Southern Lazio might lead us to hypothesise a generalisation in many contexts of the so-called realis complementiser *ka* to the detriment of the distinctive irrealis

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[8] I would like to thank Antonio Arani and Antonio Maiuri for data from Ceprano (FR), Marco Mastrobattista for data from Lenola (LT). Data utilised in this paper are from December 2014 author's fieldwork notes.

complementiser *kə*, as shown in (20) for the variety of Ceprano, which will be the only one taken into consideration in this paper.

(20) a. Antoniə dicə   ka/*kə ti   fa   malə la
          Anthony say.3SG.IND that you= do.3SG.IND hurt the
                   panza
                   stomach
          "Antonio says that you have a stomach-ache"

    b. vuogliə   ka/kə vè
          I-want.IND that s/he-come.3SG.IND
          "I want that s/he would come"

    c. vuogliə   ka/*kə mənissə
          I want.IND that   he-come.3SG.SUBJ
          "I want that he would come"   Ceprano

In terms of the [±realis] modal specification, we see that *ka* alone is licensed in realis complements (20a), while *kə* shares with *ka* the possibility of introducing irrealis complements with the indicative (20b). However, (20c) shows that if the embedded verb of the irrealis complement is formally marked for subjunctive mood, only the apparently 'realis' complementiser *ka* is licensed.

At this point we can conclude that the diachronic extension of *ka* to the detriment of *kə* in USIDs (§1.1.1) does not hold for the dialect of Ceprano, as highlighted by the still productive examples of *kə* (18b, 20b). In fact, while *ka* appears to be underspecified for mood (viz. is able to select embedded clauses with a subjunctive or an indicative verb; 20b,c), *kə* can select only embedded clauses with an indicative verb (20b), hence it is more specified than *ka*. In what follows, we will test whether the distribution of *ka* and *kə* is influenced by mood, tense, modality and the structure of the left periphery, in order to determine the precise distribution of the two complementisers.

2.1 Mood, tense and modality

In order to evaluate standard semantico-functional observations about the behaviour of dual complementiser systems in Italo-Romance varieties we will test (i) whether there are constraints on the sequence of tense which are able to influence the distribution of *ka* and *kə* in SLDs (i.e. Cepranese), and (ii) if the choice of different finite moods can impose restrictions on complementiser selection, as displayed in other languages (i.e. Romanian *că*+IND vs *să*+SUBJ, cf. Balkan languages).

In Cepranese present indicative volitive main predicates can select an embedded clause with an indicative or subjunctive verb. Hence, while

ka/kə can introduce complements with an indicative verb (viz. PRES.IND+*ka/kə*[PRES.IND]; 21a), only *ka* (never *kə*) is able to select complements with a subjunctive verb (i.e. PRES.IND+*ka/*kə*[SUBJ]; 21b). On a par with modern USIDs, Cepranese displays a general loss of the subjunctive.

(21)   a.   Antonia uò   ka/kə Mikèlə
           Anthony want.3SG.PRES.IND   that   Mike
                laora
                work.3SG.PRES.IND
            "Antony wants that Mike works"
       b.   Mammeta   uò   ka/*kə tu
            your-mother want.3SG.PRES.IND that   you
                laurassə
                work.PAST.SUBJ
            "your mother wants that you would work"

In light of these facts, we are going to test the distribution of *ka* and *kə* in those cases in which past indicative is displayed in the matrix clause in order to understand whether Cepranese complementation can be influenced by tense. As we can see in (22a), in realis declaratives only *ka* is selected even in the case in which we have a past indicative in the main clause and a past indicative in the embedded one. Then, the same distribution is shown in the case of the present tense in the matrix and the embedded clauses (20b). Therefore, we can claim that in declaratives tense does not influence complementiser distribution. Similarly, as we can see in (22b-c) the distribution of both complementisers appears to be the same in past irrealis volitive clauses (cf. present tense in 21a,b). However, as shown in (22c), in the case of a past indicative in the matrix clause, not only can an imperfect subjunctive in the embedded clause be found, but also the past perfect subjunctive. Despite that, the distribution of the two complementisers is identical in volitives as well (21, 22b,c). Given these facts, we can argue that tense is not able to influence the distribution of the two complementisers in Cepranese.

(22)   a.   Maria mə   a dittə   ka/*kə ti
            Maria to-me has say.PAST.IND that   you=
                faceva   malə la panza
                do.3SG.PAST.IND hurt the stomach
            "Maria has said me that you have a stomach-ache"
       b.   Essa vuleua   ka/kə issə veniua
            She want.PAST.IND that   he   come.3SG.PAST.IND
            "She wanted him to came"

c. I vuleua ka/*kə issə mənissə / fossə menutə
I want.PAST.IND that he come.3SG.PRES/PAST.SUBJ
"I wanted he would come"

Although it has been shown that tense does not influence the distribution of complementisers in Cepranese, it seems that mood does play a role in the selection of *ka* and *kə*. In fact, if we change the mood of the main clause predicate from indicative (i.e. [+realis]) to conditional/subjunctive (i.e. [-realis]) in volitive clauses, the previous generalisation (viz. *ka/kə* + indicative and *ka* + subjunctive) does not seem to work anymore (23a,b). As shown by the contrast in (23a,b), it is only possible to have a verb in the subjunctive in the embedded clause when the main clause verb is in the conditional as a consequence of some sort of modal harmony effect (cf. Giorgi 2009a,b; Ledgeway 2009a:507), and both complementisers are interchangeable. In short, the paradigm in (23) makes it clear that conditional/subjunctive matrix volitive clauses can only be followed by embedded conditional/subjunctive predicates (viz. COND/SUBJ[COND/SUBJ]; 23a), whereas an embedded indicative under a matrix conditional/subjunctive would lead to ungrammaticality (viz. *COND/SUBJ[IND]; 23b).

(23) a. Giuvannə vulessə/vularìa kə/ka Maria
John would-think.3SG.SUBJ/COND that Mary
mənessə/mənarìa alla festa
would come.3SG.SUBJ/COND to-the party
b. *Giuvannə vulessə/vularìa kə/ka Maria
John would-think.3SG.SUBJ/COND that Mary
vè/veniua alla festa
come.3SG.PRES/PAST.IND to-the party
"John would like that Maria would come to the party"

We have shown that, in contrast to ESIDs, in modern USIDs a robust complementiser distinction in dual complementiser systems cannot be connected to the generalisation of the present indicative to the detriment of the present and the imperfect subjunctive (§1.1.1). In Cepranese a dual complementiser system appears to be maintained in addition to the traditional indicative/subjunctive opposition. Hence, while the present subjunctive has been substituted by the present indicative, the imperfect subjunctive is well maintained. It appears to be productive not only in volitional and jussive contexts, as argued by Rohlfs (1968:§559) and Ledgeway (2009a:501ff) for other modern USIDs, but also in declaratives (24).

(24) Maria dicessə/dəciaria   ka/*kə Giuseppə menessə/menaria
      Mary say.3SG.SUBJ/COND that   John come.3SG.SUBJ/COND
          alla   festa
          to-the party
      "Mary would say that John would come to the party"

In order to understand the distribution of the two complementisers in Cepranese it is necessary to describe how the *consecutio temporum and rum* works and, specifically, which is the *real* grammatical value of the morphological embedded mood. Undoubtedly, in (23) both morphological imperfect subjunctive and conditional matrix predicates have non-assertive and counterfactual values which make them able to select an imperfect subjunctive/conditional predicate in the embedded clause. Specifically, the imperfect subjunctive *vulessə* 'to want' has not only the identical grammatical modal value of the morphological conditional *vularìa* 'to want' (cf. for the notion of grammatical/morphological mood see Farkas 1992; Giorgi & Pianesi 1997:194) but they are also interchangeable. Comparing examples (20b,c), (21) and (22b,c) with (23), it also seems to be clear that the predicate of the main clause plays a role in the choice of the mood of the complement and *ka* and *kə* can be spelt out depending on the mood of the embedded clause. Hence, if we have a main clause with present or past indicative and a subjunctive in the embedded clause (20c, 21b, 22c) only *ka* is selected. However, in sentences in which the main verb is in conditional/subjunctive and the embedded verb has to be subjunctive both complementisers can be selected (23). Generally, conditional mood is related to the counterfactual, rather than a value that expresses a wish or a judgement that has not yet occurred, as we should expect in the case of simple notional subjunctive mood. Hence, in this case the predicate of the embedded clause should also be [-realis] because it would otherwise be contradictory, hence ungrammatical (viz. *COND/SUBJ[IND]). Moreover, it seems that the distribution of the two complementisers in Cepranese is not influenced by the choice of tense in either main or complement clause. Therefore, on a par with what was seen in conjunction with the selection of the subjunctive in a clause selected by a predicate in the present (21b), the past tense of the main clause in (22c) does not influence the distribution of the two complementisers. Hence, in both cases in which we have a past or present indicative verb in the main clause and a subjunctive in the embedded one, we only find *ka*.

With this in mind, we are no longer able to claim that *ka* introduces realis declarative complements with indicative and *kə* irrealis complements clauses with subjunctive. In fact, a closer examination of the examples (20b,c), (21) and (22b,c) shows that *ka* cannot be assimilated

tout court to its [+realis] *ca* counterpart in SIDs. In short, in Cepranese *ka* may select an embedded clause with a subjunctive verb, as well as a clause with an indicative verb. Thus, *ka* should be considered in Cepranese as a [±realis] unmarked complementiser, while *kə* seems to maintain a [-realis] status because in irrealis volitives only morphologically indicative complements can be selected. We then witness an additional pattern in the distribution of the Cepranese dual complementiser system, driven by modal considerations, which partly agrees with traditional assumptions, and which does not find a parallel in any of other southern dialects studied to date. Having established the distribution of the dual complementiser system of Cepranese in terms of modality, we are left with the question of what the distribution of *ka* and *kə* is within the clausal domain.

2.2 The fine structure of the left periphery

Above we have shown that traditional assumptions concerning the distribution of the dual complementiser system in SIDs are untenable for Cepranese. In fact, although tense appears not to be correlated with complementiser selection at all, mood seems to only partially play a role in Cepranese complementation. We are now left therefore not only with the question of the syntactic distribution of both complementisers, but also with the need for a more reliable explanation for the distribution of *kə* and *ka* able to account for the rich microvariation witnessed within this system. In order to give a more complete description of the complementation in Cepranese, we will test if the distribution of the two complementisers *ka* and *kə* is influenced by the fine structure of the left periphery (see among others Rizzi 1997; Ledgeway 2000; 2003; 2005; Damonte 2009; Paoli 2007; D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010; Cruschina 2006; 2016). In short, we need to investigate whether both complementisers can occupy different positions in the discourse-domain in the presence of topics and foci and whether this plays a role in the choice of *ka* and *kə*.

Like early USIDs, it seems that the presence of topicalised and focalised elements can influence the distribution of the two complementisers in Cepranese. As we can see in (25), in declarative clauses *ka* can be spelt out before Topics/Foci, hence it can be only lexicalise the higher position *Force* in the left periphery. At the same time the complementiser *kə* is never lexicalised in declarative clauses.

(25)   ditʃə/a dittə   ka/*kə Maria ALLOKƏ
            s/he-say.3SG.PRES/PAST.IND that   Mary over-there
                    non cə   và/venissə
                    not s/he= go.3SG.PRES.IND/SUBJ

"s/he says/said that Maria is not going over there"

Similarly, we need to test if Topics/Foci elements can affect the distribution of the two complementisers in volitives. As we can see in (26a-b), *ka* lexicalises *Force*, hence it is able to precede Topics/Foci with indicative verbs in the matrix and indicative or subjunctive verbs in the embedded predicates. However, as we can see in (26c) when we have an indicative verb in the matrix clause *kə* or *ka* can both be spelt out in *Fin* when they introduce an indicative clause. Only *ka* can be spelt out in *Fin* if we have a subjunctive predicate in the embedded clause (26d).

(26) a. Robbertə vò/vulewa   ka/*kə Maria
          Robert   want.3SG.PRES/PAST.IND that   Mary
                  ALLOKƏ   non cə   và/ venissə
                  over-there not she= go.3SG.PRES.IND/SUBJ
          "S/he wants/wanted that Maria is not going over there"
      b. issə vò/vulewa   ka/*kə Giannə
          he   want.3SG.PRES/PAST.IND that   John
                  ADDUMANƏ vè/venissə
                  tomorrow   he-come.3SG.PRES.IND/SUBJ
      c. Maria vò/vulewa   ADDUMANƏ ka/kə
          Mary want.3SG.PRES/PAST.IND   tomorrow   that
                  Giannə vè/veniwa
                   John   come.3SG.PRES/PAST.IND
      d. Maria vò/vulewa   ADDUMANƏ ka/*kə
          Mary want.3SG.PRES/PAST.IND tomorrow   that
                  Giannə venissə
                  John   come.3SG.SUBJ
          "He wants/wanted that John will/would come
           tomorrow"

In order to test in which way mood selection and the structure of the left periphery can influence the distribution of *ka* and *ke* in Cepranese, we should test the positions of both complementisers in relation to topics and foci in conjunction with a subjunctive/conditional mood in the matrix verb (27a,b):

(27) a. Giuvannə dicessə/dəciaria   ka/*kə la figlia
          John   say.3SG.SUBJ/COND that   his daughter
                  ALLOKƏ nə ce   la mannassə   piunə
                  there   not he= her= go.3SG.SUBJ anymore
      b. Maria vulessə/vularia   ka/*kə la figlia   ALLOKƏ
          Mary want.3SG.SUBJ/COND that   his daughter   there

nə ce la mannassə piunə
not he= her= go.3SG.SUBJ anymore
"John would say/want that he wouldn't permit his
daughter to over there anymore"

It seems that when we have a conditional mood in the main clause, a subjunctive is obligatory in the embedded clause, such that *kə* is no longer an option in the presence of left-peripheral topics and foci (27). In short, while *ka* can occupy both split-CP positions (viz. *Force* or *Fin*) preceding/following Top/Foc positions (28), the complementiser *kə* never surfaces in *Force* and can only be found in *Fin* (29).

(28) [$_{ForceP}$ ka [$_{TopicP}$ [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{FinP}$ ka … [$_{TP}$ V$_{ind/subj}$]]]]]

(29) [$_{ForceP}$ … [$_{TopicP}$ [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{FinP}$ kə … [$_{TP}$ V$_{ind/*subj}$]]]]]

2.3 Interim conclusion on Southern Lazio complementation

In the Cepranese complementiser system we can find a distribution influenced by mood choice, modality (i.e. realis/irrealis; §2.1) and the structure of the left periphery. We can thus make the following generalisations:
(i) Cepranese has a conservative dual complementiser system. Hence, in contrast with other modern USIDs (cf. Cosentino, Mussomelese) it is not possible to argue for a generalisation of *ca*. Moreover, the idea that the imperfect subjunctive is generally maintained in modern USIDs, hence the C head *Fin* does not need to be marked formally for modality, does not hold for Cepranese;
(ii) while tense does not seem to influence the distribution of the two complementisers, mood and the structure of the left periphery strongly influence complementiser selection in Cepranese;
(iii) it seems that while *ka* is the underspecified complementiser for modality (viz. [±realis]), *kə* represents the [-realis] complementiser.

3. Accounting for Southern Lazio microvariation

Having shown that the distribution of the SLD of Ceprano dual complementiser system is influenced by a mix of different patterns of variation (mood choice, left-peripheral structure and modality; §2), we conclude that neither traditional assumptions (§1.1.1) nor more recent analyses (§1.1.2) are entirely able to explain the Cepranese microvariation. In what follows, assuming Chomsky's (2007; 2008) ideas about C-to-T

feature inheritance and transfer and using Ouali's (2008) KEEP, SHARE and DONATE mechanisms, we will formally interpret the distribution of *ka* and *kə* sketched in §2.

3.1 Modality marking

3.1.1 Verb movement as a diagnostic

Above we established (§2.1) that in Cepranese modality features within the T-domain can be marked morphologically in some cases through the indicative/subjunctive opposition. However, we have not tested yet whether the Cepranese T-domain is able to mark the realis/irrealis distinction only syntactically. As argued by Ledgeway & Lombardi (2014) for modern USIDs, modality can be syntactically marked in the T-domain through verb-movement. More specifically, following Cinque's (1999; see also Pollock 1989; Belletti 1990) work, Infl/T is conceived as a rich inflectional area of the sentential core composed of distinct functional projections. As a result, the area immediately above the *v*-VP complex can be occupied by various adverbs and their related functional projections which can be divided in two parts, namely Higher Adverb Space (HAS) and Lower Adverb Space (LAS), as illustrated in (30):

(30)   … [$_{CP}$ that [$_{HAS}$ SUBJ Adv … [$_{LAS}$ Adv … [$_{v\text{-}VP}$ ~~SUBJ~~ V$_{lexical}$ OBJ]]]]

Generally speaking, the HAS consists of modal functional projections lexicalised by evidential and epistemic adverbs (i.e. *apparentemente* 'apparently', *probabilmente* 'probably'), whereas the LAS is composed of aspectual functional projections spelt out by perfective/temporal adverbs (i.e. *sempre* 'always', *già* 'already'). Given these facts, it is traditionally argued that Romance varieties generally present overt verb-movement (Cinque 1999; Ledgeway 2012b). For instance, in different Romance languages the finite verb is able to leave its original position in the *v*-VP complex in order raise to different functional positions within the T-domain, as verified by its positions relative to the HAS adverb 'perhaps' and the LAS adverb 'already'[9]. In this respect, following Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005, 2014), we will assume not only that the verb-movement in SIDs is generally low in the T-domain but also that an asymmetry between irrealis and non-irrealis clauses is displayed (31).

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[9] Among the extensive literature on verb-movement in Romance see among others Pollock (1989); Belletti (1990); Kayne (1991); Lightfoot & Hornstein (1994); Cinque (1999); Ledgeway & Lombardi (2005); Schifano (2014).

(31) a. (Dicianu ca) [_HAS_ Lello [_LAS_ sempe fatica [_v-VP_ [~~fatica~~]]]
they-say that Lello always works.IND

b. Vunonu ca [_HAS_ Lello fatica [_LAS_ sempe *fatica [_v-VP_
they-want that Lello works.IND always ~~fatica~~]

Cosenza (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014)

While in (31a) the verb moves to the LAS in both root and indicative clauses, in irrealis clauses the verb raises to the highest position available within the HAS (31b). In short, the idea is that in modern SIDs, because of the loss of the indicative/subjunctive morphological distinction and the generalisation of the complementiser *ca* in modern USIDs, in irrealis clauses the verb occupies the highest position available (hence to the left of all HAS adverbs) within the T-domain. Consequently the verb is able to enter into a local agreement with *Fin* in the C-domain in order to license its marked irrealis reading. For instance, in modern USIDs modality seems not to be overtly morphologically marked anymore in the C- and T-domains. While in the C-domain a generalisation of the complementiser *ca* is witnessed and in the T-domain the indicative/subjunctive opposition is lost, modality appears still to be marked at a syntactic level (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2005, 2014). Given these facts, in Cepranese while in root and indicative clauses the verb can occupy different positions within the LAS (32a), in irrealis clauses the irrealis subjunctive verb can either move to the highest position within the HAS or it can occupy lower positions within the LAS (32b):

(32) a. (Dikənə ka) [_HAS_ Maria *laora forzə [_LAS_ laora
they-say that Maria *works perhaps works
semprə laora [_v-VP_ ~~laora~~]]]
always works ~~works~~

b. Vuogliənə ka [_HAS_ Maria laurassə sicurə
they-want that Maria work.3SG.SUBJ surely
onestamentə pə fforza [_LAS_ laurassə
honestly necessarily work.3SG.SUBJ
semprə laurassə [_v-VP_ ~~laurassə~~]]]
always work.3SG.SUBJ

3.1.2 Four types of modality marking

Taking into consideration that in Cepranese a morphologically unstable indicative/subjunctive opposition is witnessed on T, we can assume the following hypothetical typology of modality marking, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1

Cepranese modality marking				
	C-domain		T-domain	
	Morphology	Syntax	Morphology	Syntax
a.	(+)	+	+	(-)
b.	+	+	-	+
c.	+	+	+	+
d.	+	+	-	-

Firstly, if we look exclusively at the C-domain we can assume that Cepranese complementiser system variously presents a morphological distinction alongside a distinction in syntactic positions in each of the four different combinations listed in Table 1 above. Hence, two morphologically dissimilar complementiser forms are displayed which are capable of lexicalising within the C-domain two different positions (viz. *ka* in *Force* and *ka/kə* in *Fin*; cf. §2.3). However, within the T-domain the situation appears to be more complex.

Having established through verb movement that Cepranese also presents a difference between realis and irrealis clauses, we will test in which particular cases modality can be syntactically marked within the T-domain in order to assess whether the four combinations illustrated in Table 1 are attested in Cepranese.

Type (a) sketched in Table 1 predicts that Cepranese is able to mark modality morpho-(syntactically) on C. As we can see in (33) we have optionality. More specifically, when the [±realis] complementiser *ka* selects an overt irrealis subjunctive in the embedded clause, the verb is able to move from the *v*-VP complex to a higher position within the HAS (witness the HAS functional head occupied by the HAS adverbs *sicurə* 'surely', *onestamentə* 'honestly' and *pə fforza* 'necessarily'). At the same time, the verb can move lower within the LAS, witness the LAS functional head occupied by the adverb *ancora* 'again'. Therefore, modality can be independently expressed overtly by the subjunctive embedded verb when it occupies a lower position within the LAS. This shows that, within the T-domain, modality is not only marked syntactically but also morphologically. Although available as an option, syntactic marking (i.e. verb movement) is superfluous, non-defining, in that morphological marking always outranks it. However, in (33) when the embedded subjunctive verb moves higher in the HAS we can argue that it moves higher because *ka* is 'bare' and hence by raising high the subjunctive verb, which is marked, can license the marked irrealis interpretation of *ka* which is otherwise underspecified for modality.

(33)   Arduinə vò   ka [HAS Maria laurassə
         Arduino want.3SG.IND that   Maria work.3SG.SUBJ

sicurə onestamentə pə fforza   laurassə
surely honestly   necessarily work.3SG.SUBJ
[LAS ancora laurassə [v-VP ~~laurassə~~]]]
again   work.3SG.SUBJ
"Arduino wants that Maria would surely/honestly
/necessarily work again"

In contrast, type (b) illustrated in Table 1 predicts that while Cepranese is able to mark both morphologically and syntactically modality within the C-domain. At the same time within the T-domain modality should be marked syntactically but not morphologically (witness the indicative verb in T). For example, in (34) although it seems that modality is marked only syntactically and morphologically in the C-domain (witness the [-realis] complementiser *kə*), we will propose that modality features are shared between C- and T- domains instead. More specifically, in (34) while the irrealis complementiser *kə* is spelt out in *Fin* (because *kə* can be only found in the lower position *Fin* in Cepranese), hence modality is marked morphologically and syntactically in the C-domain, a morphological realis indicative is displayed in the T-domain. Therefore, it seems that in the T-domain irrealis modality is not marked morphologically. By virtue of the fact that the volitive verb *volere* 'to want' selects irrealis complements and imposes rigorous morphological constraints on the embedded verb, we should expect an embedded irrealis subjunctive. More specifically, it is generally claimed that irrealis complements have to agree with the future-oriented temporal specification of the matrix predicate 'to want'.

(34)   Aldə vuò   kə [HAS Dinə magna   pə fforza
[LAS   Aldo wants.IND that[-realis] Dino eats.IND[-realis] necessarily
*magna semprə *magna [v-VP ~~magna~~]]]
*eats   always *eats   ~~eats~~
"Aldo wants that Dino would necessairly eat always"

In light of these facts, given the general erosion of the indicative/subjunctive overt opposition in modern USIDs (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014), we will test whether in Ceprano dialect modality is marked within the T-domain by syntax alone. As we can see in (34), the verb *magna* 'to eat' moves higher (viz. within HAS) witness the functional head occupied by base-generated HAS adverbs (viz. *pe fforza* 'necessarily'). Hence, since the irrealis complementiser *kə* is displayed within the C-domain (viz. *Fin*), we can propose that the non-genuine indicative verb (viz. = irrealis subjunctive) has to move higher in the T-domain in order to enter in a local agreement with the head of C (viz. *Fin*) with the purpose of being syntactically marked for modality.

Above we have established that the Cepranese dialect is able to mark modality morphologically and syntactically within the C- and T- domains. With the exception of Romanian (see Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014:46) type (c) illustrated in Table 1 seems not to be well attested within Romance. Hence, it seems that generally modality can be marked simultaneously at a morphological and syntactic level in the C- and T-domains. However, as we can see in (35), the marked irrealis complementiser *kə* can share modality marking with a morphological overt irrealis subjunctive in T. Similarly the verb occupies a higher position in the HAS (witness the HAS position occupied by the adverbs *sicurə* 'surely' and *pe fforza* 'necessarily') and never a lower LAS position (witness the LAS position occupied by the adverb *semprə* 'always'). So, in Romanian as well as in Cepranese together with a morphological and syntactic distinction (namely, positional) displayed in the complementiser system, it is possible to have high verb movement and subjunctive morphology at the same time within the T-domain. Finally, the type illustrated in (d) of Table 1 is not attested across Romance where modality has to be obligatorily marked within the T-domain either syntactically or morphologically (Ledgeway & Lombardi 2014:45ff).

(35)   Mariə vulessə/vularìa   kə [HAS Peppə bəvessə
        Mario want.3SG.SUBJ/COND that   Peppe drink.3SG.SUBJ
            sicurə   pe fforza [LAS bəvessə   semprə *bəvessə
            surely   necessairly   drink.3SG.SUBJ always *drink
                            [v-VP ~~bəvessə~~]]]
                              ~~drink~~.3SG.SUBJ
        "Mario   would   like   that   Peppe   would
        surely/necessairly/always drink wine"

To sum up, we have shown that the superficially unpredictable selection of the complementisers *ka* and *kə* in Cepranese follows a systematic distribution based on the interaction of the C- and T-domains modality features. More specifically, we argue that in Cepranese *ka* is the underspecified complementiser for mood, hence the [±realis] complementiser compatible with a morphologically indicative or a subjunctive verb. Similarly, *kə* is the [-realis] complementiser, hence it can co-occur both with a non-genuine indicative and with an irrealis subjunctive. In short, with respect to other varieties, in the Cepranese dialect modality can always be marked within the C-domain syntactically and morphologically but within the T-domain according to the following options: (i) morpho(-syntactically) (cf. Table 1, a); (ii) syntactically but not morphologically (cf. Table 1, b); (iii) morpho-syntactically (cf. Table 1, c). Therefore, in Cepranese the indicative/subjunctive morphology
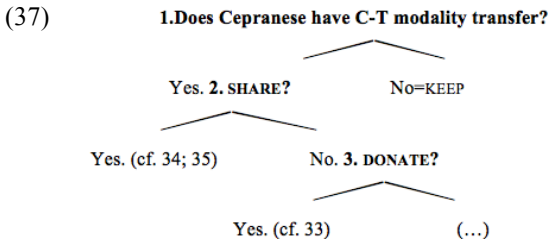
opposition is still able to overtly mark modality but, at the same time, syntax seems to be gaining the *sole* ability to mark modality.

In what follows, we are now able to analyse the situation concerning modality marking in Cepranese sketched above using Ouali's (2008) postulation of three mechanisms of feature inheritance and transmission:

(36)   (a) DONATE: whenever features are transferred from *Fin* to T and *Fin* does not keep a copy;
        (b) KEEP: no feature transmission from C to T; and
        (c) SHARE: whenever *Fin* transfers the relevant feature(s) to T and *Fin* keeps a copy.

In the hierarchy in (37) we can see that in Cepranese only the operations SHARE and DONATE are attested, whereas KEEP has no place. Looking deeper into the syntactic distribution of modality features from C-to-T, in Cepranese the head *Fin* seems not to be able to KEEP modality because C is always able to transfer features to T. At the same time, C can SHARE with the head T modality features (34, 35), whereas C is forced to DONATE when the underspecified [±realis] complementiser *ka* obligatorily selects an embedded subjunctive (33). Hence, the irrealis marked complementiser *kə* shares an irrealis modality feature with an embedded subjunctive or a non-genuine indicative (36) or – in the case in which the complementiser *ka* shares realis modality features – with a genuine indicative (i.e. *dikə ka vè* 'I say that he comes').
We have shown above that modality marking influences the distribution of the two complementisers. Through Ouali's (2008) operations KEEP, SHARE and DONATE, we have highlighted that in Cepranese C is able either to SHARE or DONATE (but never KEEP) modality features with T because of the erosion of the original morphological indicative/subjunctive opposition partly displayed by this dialect. Consequently, the dual complementiser system of Cepranese changed and is now able to allow two different types of modality transmission and not just one as other Italo-Romance varieties (i.e. early Neapolitan, modern Cosentino).

(37)   **1.Does Cepranese have C-T modality transfer?**

        Yes. **2. SHARE?**   No=KEEP

Yes. (cf. 34; 35)   No. **3. DONATE?**

                Yes. (cf. 33)   (…)

4. Towards a microparameter C(omplementation)-hierarchy in Italo-Romance

4.1 Theoretical background

In order to account for Southern Lazio microvariation and reinterpret Italo-Romance complementation in this paper an emergenti(st) notion of parameter (Roberts 2012, 2015; Biberauer & Roberts 2012, 2015; Biberauer et al. 2014; Biberauer 2015a,b, 2016 among others) will be assumed. Since its postulation in generative grammar within the Principles & Parameters (P&P) approach to comparative syntax, the concept of parameter has gradually changed. In fact, over recent decades, it has been claimed that the P&P approach to comparative syntax has not been entirely successful (Newmeyer 2005:38ff) and is ultimately incompatible with more recent minimalist approaches to linguistic theory (Boeckx 2011:205–6). However, while many have proposed an abandonment of this type of approach, some have argued for a reconsideration of the notion of parameter, hence a *rethinking* of the concept of parametric variation within comparative syntax (cf. ReCoS)[10].

Classically conceived by Chomsky (1981) as part of UG, in the light of the Minimalist Program and the consequent reduction of the innate endowment (i.e. UG), the notion of parameter has changed in two ways. Microparametric approaches (Kayne 1991, 2000, 2005a,b) tend to be descriptively adequate but have proven to suffer from a lack of explanatory adequacy because they postulate too many local parameters. Similarly, macroparametric approaches (Chomsky 1981; Baker 1996) predict a rigid division of all languages into clear types. Hence, neither a microparametric nor a macroparametric approach matches up with the great variation displayed across languages (e.g. Romance languages). However, within an emergentist perspective, the notion of parameters as aggregates of smaller parameters has changed the concept of parametric variation. Specifically, parametric variation gives rise to a taxonomy of parameters that seem to be clearly hierarchically related to each other and which can consequently be interpreted in terms of parametric hierarchies along the lines of (38). Consequently, this approach not only contributes to a reconciliation of micro- and macro- approaches, but also to a reduction of innate endowment and predictions about language acquisition (Biberauer 2015b, 2016). Moreover it also open up new avenues within comparative syntax such as typological analyses of languages/families,

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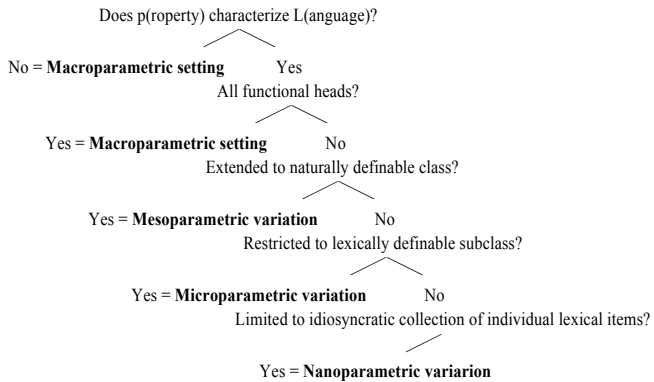
[10] The *Rethinking Comparative Syntax* (ReCoS) project is based in Cambridge within the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics. Recent publications can be found at http://recos-dtal.mml.cam.ac.uk/papers.

comparison of microvariation across families and new analyses of diachronic change (Roberts 2015:11).

The emergentist concept of parametric variation along with the useful descriptive device of parametric hierarchies, give us a more insightful way to model variation. In light of these facts, in what follows the emergentist concept of parameter will be assumed in order to test the cross-linguistic microvariation displayed by the C-systems of Italo-Romance varieties, especially the SLDs complementiser systems.

(38)

Does p(roperty) characterize L(anguage)?

No = **Macroparametric setting**   Yes

All functional heads?

Yes = **Macroparametric setting**   No

Extended to naturally definable class?

Yes = **Mesoparametric variation**   No

Restricted to lexically definable subclass?

Yes = **Microparametric variation**   No

Limited to idiosyncratic collection of individual lexical items?

Yes = **Nanoparametric variarion**

4.2 Southern Lazio dialects within Italo-Romance

Having shown above the situation in Southern Lazio dialects, it might be interesting to compare now Cepranese complementation with USIDs and ESIDs. First of all we can highlight that in early USIDs such as early Neapolitan (cf. §1.1.2.1), while *che* is spelt out in front of Top/Foc (hence in *Force*), *ca* is not compatible with topicalised and focused phrases (hence in *Fin*). Moreover, in early Neapolitan any semantic influences from the matrix verb or mood selection in the embedded clauses are displayed. In Cepranese, by contrast, we can find only *ka* in *Force* but it can also surface in the lower *Fin* position with *kə* in certain contexts (viz. $kə_{Fin}$ [$_{TP}$ $V_{ind/*subj}$]). Hence in irrealis complements not only can the mood of the matrix and the embedded clauses influence the distribution of the two complementisers but so can the structure of the split-CP. Modern USIDs (i.e. Cosentino and Mussomelese) present at a morphological level the generalisation of *ca* but still maintain a dual complementiser system in the deep structure visible through complementiser movement from *Fin* to *Force* (Poletto 2000; Ledgeway

2009a,b). In contrast, in Cepranese the complementiser *ka* appears not to be generalised because *kə* is utilised in some contexts as well the modal distinction between indicative and subjunctive. Finally, in ESIDs it is possible to find a robust traditional Balkan-style distinction between the two complementisers (i.e. *ca* vs *cu/mu/ma/mi*) because of the absence of the subjunctive mood and the consequent presence of modality features in the CP head. This situation does not hold for Cepranese because together with a well-maintained dual complementiser system the indicative/subjunctive opposition is maintained as well.

Given the distribution of dual complementiser systems in SIDs – SLDs included – it is possible now to sketch a descriptive typology across Italo-Romance. As we can see in Table 2 the realis/irrealis modal opposition (viz. indicative vs subjunctive) can be marked syntactically between the C- and T- domains and/or can be morphologically spelt out.

Assuming a strong correlation between morphological marking and syntactic licensing (Bobaljik 2002; 2015), modality can be marked within the C- and T- domains. More specifically, in the C-domain modality can be marked morphologically (viz. presence of two complementisers forms) and syntactically (viz. positional). Similarly, in the T-domain modality can be marked at a morphological level (i.e. indicative/subjunctive opposition) and syntactically (viz. through verb movement and C-to-T features transmission). Hence, the verb occupies the highest position available within the sentential core in order to enter in a local agreement with *Fin* in the CP.

Table 2

		C-domain		T-domain	
		Morphology	Syntax	Morphology	Syntax
a	Early USIDs (e.g. early Neapolitan)	+	+	+	–
b	Modern USIDs (e.g. Pontecorvo, Sonnino, Ceprano, Lenola)	+	+	(±)	(±)
c	Modern USIDs (e.g. Cosentino, Mussomelese)	–	+	–	+
d	Modern ESIDs (e.g Reggio Calabria)	+	+	–	+
e	Standard Romance (e.g. Italian)	–	–	+	–

More generally, from Table 2 two generalisations can be made. First of all, comparing standard Romance varieties (e.g. Italian; Table 2, e) – with the exception of Romanian – with SIDs we can highlight how dual complementiser systems are typical only within Italo-Romance. Second, it seems that in Romance the verb must be modally marked either

morphologically (i.e. standard Romance varieties) or syntactically (e.g. modern ESIDs, modern USIDs; Table 2, c). In short, the complementiser systems of early USIDs (Table 2, a), modern USIDs (Table 2, b) and modern ESIDs (Table 2, d) display a morphological distinction between two different forms and, similarly, presents a distinction in terms of syntactic positions in the CP (viz. *Force* and *Fin*). Following the general trend according to which the verb must be modally marked in the T-domain in all Romance varieties, in the early USIDs (Table 2, a) modality is marked morphologically but never syntactically. However, in the modern ESIDs (Table 2, d) it appears to be marked syntactically rather than morphologically and in modern USIDs (Table 2, b) the verb can be marked both morphologically or syntactically.

Finally, it seems interesting to highlight that within the USIDs it seems to be possible to draw a distinction between two different linguistic typologies. On the one hand varieties such as modern Cosentino mark modality in the C-domain as well as the T-domain syntactically but not morphologically (Table 2, c). On the other hand varieties found in Abruzzo, Molise, Campania and Lazio regions mark modality in the C-domain both morphologically and syntactically, whilst they mark modality in the T-domain morphologically and/or syntactically (Table 2, b). In short, this means that within the upper South we can have varieties, such as modern Cosentino (Table 2, c), which do not maintain a morphological spell out at a surface level (hence they do not have two morphologically different complementiser), but still maintain a difference within the complementiser system at a deeper syntactic level. However, we find USIDs which still maintain two morphological complementiser forms (viz. *ca* and *che*) which can occupy different position within the C-domain (viz. Topics/Foci effects; Table 2, b).
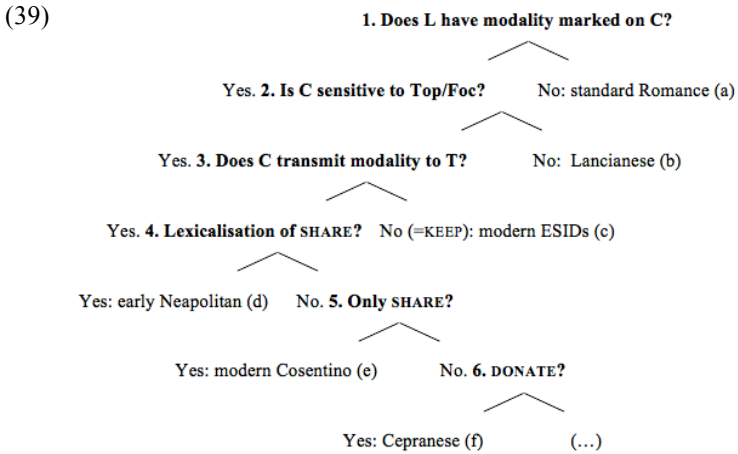

4.3 A microparameter hierarchy for complementation in Italo-Romance

We are now able to reinterpret the complete picture of Cepranese microvariation within the C-domain from an emergentist point of view in terms of a small-scale parametric hierarchy along the lines of (38). For the moment our goal is to try to generalise Cepranese microvariation in order to understand and illustrate the broader context of parametric variation within C-systems across Italo-Romance. Having established that Romance C-systems formally mark realis/irrealis modality, at the very top of our hierarchy in (39), Question (1) distinguishes between varieties that have a single complementiser system (i.e. mostly standard Romance such as Italian, French, etc. but except for Romanian) from varieties in which a

dual complementiser system is found (i.e. SIDs, Romanian; cf. a). Question (2) focuses our attention on the positional/syntactic influence on the distribution of the two complementiser systems. This describes the situation especially found in varieties such as early USIDs and modern USIDs, in which the two complementisers can occupy different positions within the CP (viz. *Force* and *Fin*) according to the activation of Topic/Focus fields. The negative branch of Question (2) is found in all the Italo-Romance dual complementiser systems in which the distribution is not influenced by the fine structure of the left periphery but only by semantico-functional factors (viz. realis/declarative = *ca* + indicative and irrealis/volitives = *che* + subjunctive). For example, this describes the situation found in the south-eastern Abruzzese dialect of Lanciano (cf. b), in which *che* selects subjunctive complements while *ca* introduces indicative ones (see Rohlfs 1983). Going down the hierarchy, Question (3) identifies the ability of C to transmit modality features to T. The negative answer to this question is found in Italo-Romance varieties such as modern ESIDs (cf. c), which have a dual complementiser system having modality features, which are neither shared nor donated, but only kept within the C-domain. The positive branch of Question (3) of the hierarchy implies Question (4) which allows us to distinguish between varieties in which C is able to overtly realise modality feature sharing, such as early Neapolitan (viz. two complementiser forms plus indicative/subjunctive opposition conservation). The negative option of Question (4) entails Question (5), which characterise varieties in which the C- and T- domains are able to SHARE modality features only syntactically (i.e. modern Cosentino). At the very bottom of our hierarchy we can find Question (6), which allows us to distinguish between varieties in which C is not only able to SHARE but also to DONATE modality features to T. This situation is found in Cepranese (cf. f), which represents the most marked choice of the hierarchy. In terms of (micro)parametric variation and markedness, from the very top to the lower position, the hierarchy in (39) reflects the presence/absence of none > all > some modality features. Therefore, under an emergentist view of parametric variation, in which parameters are not specified as part of the UG, this hierarchy should be not evaluated in terms of the acquisitional goal of the emergentist view. However, the questions in the hierarchy in (38) should be considered 'typologically equivalent' alternatives positioned at the same level of the hierarchy (for the possibility of a typological use of parameters hierarchies see Biberauer 2015 and Ledgeway to appear).

To conclude, although this microparameter hierarchy counts as a small-scale hierarchy which should ultimately be conceived and assimilated in relation to a larger-scale parametric hierarchy (for the

possibility of unifying hierarchies of different granularity see Biberauer & Roberts 2015; Biberauer & Roberts in press).

(39)

1. Does L have modality marked on C?

Yes. **2. Is C sensitive to Top/Foc?**   No: standard Romance (a)

Yes. **3. Does C transmit modality to T?**   No: Lancianese (b)

Yes. **4. Lexicalisation of SHARE?**   No (=KEEP): modern ESIDs (c)

Yes: early Neapolitan (d)   No. **5. Only SHARE?**

Yes: modern Cosentino (e)   No. **6. DONATE?**

Yes: Cepranese (f)   (…)

At the same time, the hierarchy in (39) gives us an idea of a typological interpretation of Italo-Romance microvariation within the C-system in a synchronic and diachronic perspective and its relation with the T-domain in terms of modality marking. Conceived in this way, microvariation in SLDs C-domain now appears contextualised within the broader scenario of Italo-Romance (micro)variation. The hierarchy sketched in (39) for Cepranese so far is a pure microparameter hierarchy. Specifically, the distribution of the two complementisers appear to be limited to a lexically definable subclass (i.e. complementisers), rather than a limited idiosyncratic collection of individual lexical items (viz. nanoparameters).

This microparameter hierarchy illustrates not only a synchronic cross-linguistic distribution of dual complementiser systems within Italo-Romance, but also illustrates and predicts a (possible) path of diachronic evolution of these systems. Specifically, we showed how microparameter hierarchies along the lines of (38) and (39) allow us to account for the granularity within Italo-Romance varieties. Small-scale hierarchies give us the possibility of taking into consideration 'smaller' differences alongside macro similarities. Such a formal model leads us to interpret typological analyses as a microparameter hierarchy in order to compare different varieties across Romance, thereby also providing a comparative analysis of a diachronic change. The superficial distribution of the two

complementisers in Cepranese, which involves different parameters of variation, can be interpreted as an intermediate stage on the path of diachronic change towards marking modality in C- and T- domains. Specifically, early Neapolitan and modern Cosentino can be placed respectively diachronically before and after Cepranese in view of the fact that in both of them C can only SHARE modality features with T. In this respect, in early Neapolitan displays two distinct complementiser forms and a well-maintained indicative/subjunctive morphological opposition in T. Similarly, in modern Cosentino modality feature sharing at a syntactic level is displayed because either the C- or T- domains lost its morphological ability to mark realis/irrealis modality. In contrast, the Cepranese C-domain can SHARE and DONATE at morpho-syntactic level.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper Southern Lazio complementation shown how contemporary ideas and current theoretical assumptions about parametric variation can be used in order to explain complementation across Italo-Romance. Specifically, we have shown how both synchronic and diachronic microvariation across Italo-Romance can be readily captured in terms of a single parameter hierarchy. However, the hierarchy sketched for Italo-Romance complementiser selection should not be considered with respect to the acquisitional goal of the emergentist approach. The microparameter hierarchy sketched above for Italo-Romance (39) should be considered 'typologically equivalent' choices placed at the same level of large-scale hierarchies.

The analysis of Southern Lazio microvariation described here suggests general theoretical questions. For instance, the relationship between morphological impoverishment and (re)distribution of features between the C- and T- domains seem to have a lot to tell us about syntactic theory, especially about the location of modality in the syntax and the transmission/inheritance of features. The intermediate diachronic stage represented by Cepranese complementation demonstrates how morphological impoverishment (especially in the C- and T- domains) leads to syntax alone being responsible for modality marking. Finally, the microvariation displayed by Southern Lazio complementation leads us to assume that investigation of other areas of (Italo-)Romance microvariation along both synchronic and diachronic axes could benefit from further analyses in terms of microparameter hierarchies.

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