

Data from NIDs – as well as French and Italian – show that the loss of non-veridical V-to-C seems to respect the CP hierarchy proposed in Munaro’s (2010) – the acceptability of (2b) and (2c) indeed seems to increase in with counterfactuals whose optative flavour is more emphasised, for example through the use of adverbs such as *almanco* ‘at least’, and without a following main clause.

Nevertheless, within that macro-hierarchy, lower predicates (2c) systematically seem to lose the possibility of raising to C before functional ones (2a). The status of “quasi-functional” predicate (Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 1994) also seem to be relevant for the possibility of V-to-C movement (2b). With respect to the person paradigm, data shows that if a variety allows inversion with the 1st person, it will also allow inversion with the 2nd and 3rd persons for the same non-veridical context, making it possible to establish the implicational hierarchy 3rd > 2nd > 1st for the preference of inversion. Data from the aforementioned Romance varieties seems to confirm both observations and, although the exact nature of the relation between the height of the predicate in the TP-spine and its ability to undergo movement to C remains to be understood, a preliminary investigation can show that not only does loss of verb movement starts with the highest projections of the CP, but also with the lowest starting positions of the predicate in the T/vP domain.

The behaviour of the enclitic subjects in some of the NIDs analysed can also lead to considerations on their status: in particular, I show that in most Polesine varieties, they do not behave as clause markers as the conditions for their appearance are tied to the presence and position of co-referent elements in the TP-spine – (3a’) is grammatical if the DP is dislocated:

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|--------|--|-----|---|
| (3) a. | Chi vien(*-lo)?
who come.IND.PRS.3SG=SCL.3MSG
‘Who comes?’ | a’. | Vien(*-lo) Gianni?
come.IND.PRS.3SG=SCL.3MSG Gianni
‘Is Gianni coming?’ |
| b. | Chi è*(-lo)?
who be.IND.PRS.3SG=SCL.3MSG
‘Who is he?’ | | |

This analysis of enclitic subject, on the line of Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004), seeks to avoid the separation of proclitic and enclitic elements into two series but, unlike their work, still assumes a high verb-movement of the inflected verb to the left periphery for all the non-veridical readings triggered.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, I argue that a more fine-grained analysis of inversion is needed to correctly assess how those non-veridical values can be triggered, as well as to understand the direction of the diachronic development in the grammaticality of V-to-C movement. In particular, with this poster I attempt to analyse two restrictions to V-to-C movement, the extent of their validity and draw some preliminary conclusions on the interaction between the featural makeup of the elements involved in inversion structures and the possibility of V-to-C movement.

Selected references

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