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Apparent *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese: Microparametric variation in the locus of subject clitic inversion

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The paper investigates *wh-in-situ* in Lamonat and Sovramontino, two understudied varieties of the Bellunese super-dialect area (Munaro 1998; 1999; Munaro et al. 2001; Poletto & Pollock 2004; 2009; 2015), from a new perspective, whereby patterns of non-canonical *wh*-constituent order are dictated primarily by discourse-pragmatic needs and only secondarily by morpho-syntactic constraints. I propose that the canonical vs. non-canonical position of the *wh*-element is determined by three factors: (i) the discourse-pragmatics of the *wh*-item, (ii) its morpho-syntactic status as clitic or tonic, and (iii) the height of verb movement that targets the split C-domain (Rizzi 1997) and assures the well-formedness of root interrogatives across North-Eastern Italian Dialects (abbreviated NEIDs). By comparing Bellunese with Friulian (a neighbouring NEID) with respect to the formation of *wh*-questions, I argue that the special *in-situ* position of *wh*-elements in Bellunese is only apparent: it is the result of a deeper micro-parametric variation in the left-peripheral projection targeted by T-to-C movement in questions across NEIDs, which can be either ForceP or FinP. In Bellunese root interrogatives, the left-peripheral head targeted by T-to-C movement, Force^o, is higher than the left-peripheral position occupied by the *wh*-element, SpecFocP, generating apparent *wh-in-situ* and the rigid constituent order: verb, *wh*-item, subject. Finally, I put forward the hypothesis that, in root interrogatives, such micro-parametric variation is a V2 reflex; in fact, Wolfe (2016) argues that, across medieval NIDs, V2 could be satisfied either in FinP or ForceP.

Keywords: Information structure; Northern Italian Dialects; root interrogatives; subject clitic inversion; syntactic microvariation; *wh-in-situ*

1 Introduction

The paper analyses the syntactic behaviour of *wh*-elements in Lamonat and Sovramontino. Lamonat and Sovramontino are two closely related North-Eastern Italian Dialects (henceforth abbreviated as NEIDs) spoken in the south-western part of the province of Belluno (Italy). They are hence part of the super-dialect area of Bellunese. Bellunese has caught the attention of several linguists due to a syntactic phenomenon that is found only in a handful of Northern Italian Dialects (abbreviated NIDs): *wh-in-situ* (Benincà 1994; Munaro 1998; 1999; Munaro et al. 2001; Poletto & Pollock 2004; 2015; Manzini & Savoia 2005; 2011). *Wh-in-situ* is also documented in northern Venetan varieties and in the eastern and alpine varieties of Lombard (Munaro & Poletto 2002; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Bonan 2017; 2019; Donzelli & Pescarini 2019). The investigation of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs has important cross-linguistics implications: (i) it deepens our understanding of the phenomenon, and (ii) points towards a typology of *wh*-items, whose discourse-pragmatic and syntactic properties determine their structural position within the clause. This paper wants to contribute towards the on-going debate on the nature of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs by providing novel data from two understudied Bellunese varieties. My investigation will lend support

to Bonan's (2017; 2019) claim against a *one-fits-all* analysis of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs: the different empirical evidence across NIDs with respect to the properties of *wh-in-situ* are in fact due to different underlying syntactic derivations of the phenomenon.

Lamonat and Sovramontino exhibit both canonical and (apparently) *in-situ wh*-words, as shown in (1), (2) and (3):

- (1) *Sovramontino*
 E-lo ndà aonde Toni?
 be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP where Toni
 'Where did Toni go?'
- (2) Ond-e-lo ndà Toni?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP Toni
 'Where did Toni go?'
- (3) Co che machina e-lo ndà Toni?
 with which car be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP Toni?
 'With which car did Toni go?'

(1) is an (apparently) *in-situ wh*-question, in which the *wh*-element is realised postverbally, whereas (2) and (3) resemble two "canonical" *wh*-questions. I will now briefly summarise my main claims with respect to the distribution of *wh*-items in Lamonat and Sovramontino. Type (3) is an instance of discourse-linked *wh*-question (in the sense of Pesetsky 1987; 2000), whereby the answer to the question is drawn from a set of entities that were previously introduced in discourse. Note that throughout the paper the label *d-linked* will be used in this sense and not as a mere descriptive label to refer to lexically restricted *wh*-items. Along the lines of De Cia (2018), I will propose that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, the answer to a *d-linked wh*-question is discourse-prominent (i.e. it expresses contrastiveness), and the *d-linked wh*-element thus occupies a discourse-pragmatically salient high left-peripheral position. I will also argue that another type of discourse-pragmatically salient *wh*-XP can appear in (seemingly canonical) preverbal position, namely *wh*-items encoding a *mirative* interpretation. *Mirativity* is a discourse-pragmatic strategy used by speakers when they want to convey surprise, disappointment, incredulity or anger (see Cruschina 2012). As for type (1) and type (2) *wh*-questions, they are instead equivalent in meaning. The key difference is that the *wh*-item in (1) is tonic and carries *focus prominence*, while the *wh*-element in (2) is atonic and hence unable to carry *focus prominence*.

In light of the basic paradigm (1)–(3), I will argue that the different distribution of *wh*-elements can be accounted for by considering the interaction between syntax and discourse-pragmatics. More specifically, my analysis pivots around two basic tenets: (i) *wh*-elements can serve different discourse-pragmatic functions, and (ii) *wh*-elements do not form a homogeneous class, but exhibit morpho-syntactic differences. In this respect, XPs bearing different discourse-pragmatic readings (i.e. *d-linked*, *mirative*, *focal*) tend to appear in different syntactic-pragmatic configurations, and XPs exhibiting different morpho-syntactic statuses (i.e. *clitic* vs. *tonic*) tend to occupy different structural positions (i.e. X° vs. *SpecXP*). My analysis and discussion of *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese hence departs from the existing accounts of the phenomenon (Munaro 1998; 1999; Poletto & Pollock 2001; 2004; 2009; Munaro & Pollock 2005; Manzini & Savoia 2005; 2011; Bonan 2019), which mainly seek an explanation on purely syntactic grounds.

Finally, by drawing on Rizzi's (1997) split CP-model and comparing Lamonat and Sovramontino with Friulian (a NID that does not display *wh-in-situ*), I will ascertain how the analysis of the behaviour of *wh*-words shapes the left periphery of root interrogatives in the NEIDs under investigation. I will argue that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, *wh-in-situ* is only apparent: it is the manifestation of a parametric choice among NEIDs that involves *the locus of SCLI*, which is rooted in the diachronic development of V2 Medieval Romance (Benincà 1984; 2006; Ledgeway 2008). In this respect, I will show that Lamonat and Sovramontino are not *wh-in-situ* languages, but *wh*-fronting languages on par with Friulian: in the three NEIDs, *wh*-questions can be derived in a comparable fashion.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, I will briefly discuss the NEIDs under investigation and data collection. In Section 3, I will discuss some preliminary points that concern the interrogative status of root clauses: a necessary condition for (apparent) *wh-in-situ* in Lamonat and Sovramontino. In Section 4, I will outline the existing analyses of *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese, namely the super-dialect variety to which Sovramontino and Lamonat belong. In Section 5, I will discuss the behaviour of *wh*-XPs in Lamonat and Sovramontino: I will account for all the different types of *wh*-items present in the two NEIDs and their distribution. I will crucially also discuss the interplay of *wh*-items and discourse-pragmatics. In Section 6, I will investigate *wh*-questions in a third NEID, namely Friulian, and propose that *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese is the result of a deeper micro-parametric variation across NEIDs that concerns the height of verb movement in root interrogatives. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2 The North-Eastern Italian Dialects under investigation: Sociolinguistic background and data collection

The Bellunese examples presented in the paper are novel data collected during several fieldtrips in the municipalities of Lamon and Sovramonte in the south-western part of the province of Belluno (Italy).¹ Lamonat and Sovramontino are closely related varieties and belong to the super-dialect area of Bellunese. They have never received scholarly attention with respect to the investigation of *wh-in-situ*.² The territories of Lamon and Sovramonte are located in a mountainous area on the west and east side of the Primiero valley that links the town of Feltre (province of Belluno) with Fiera di Primiero (province of Trento). Given their isolated location, away from the main historic trade routes and urban foci, Lamonat and Sovramontino are quite conservative and discretely vital. Nevertheless, they are not immune from the pressure of the dominant national language, namely Italian: younger generations are shifting away from the ancestral languages of these territories and intergenerational language transmission is weakening. As a result, Lamonat and Sovramontino are mostly vital among the older generations of the speech communities, which respectively count approximately 2000 and 1000 speakers.

The Friulian examples presented in the paper are also novel data collected in the municipality of Tricesimo in the province of Udine. The sociolinguistic situation of the Friulian variety of Tricesimo is comparable to that of Lamonat and Sovramontino; nevertheless, the speech community is less isolated and the Friulian spoken in Tricesimo blends into the neighbouring Friulian varieties. The overall Friulian speech community counts approximately half-million speakers. The Friulian variety of Tricesimo is a standard example of

¹ Unless otherwise specified. Note that consultants were also contacted during the revision of the paper.

² As opposed to the Bellunese variety of Pagotto spoken in the municipality of Alpago in the south-eastern part of the province of Belluno: much of the literature on *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese is based on this particular variety (Munaro 1999; Munaro et al. 2001; Poletto & Pollock 2004; 2009; 2015). Pagotto is closely related to Lamonat and Sovramontino: they are different varieties of the same super-dialect area. Bellunese is hence used as a descriptive label that refers the super-dialect area of the province of Belluno.

Eastern-Central Friulian (see Benincà & Vanelli 2016). Friulian has received relatively more scholarly attention than Lamonat and Sovramontino; nevertheless, no comprehensive research has been carried out on its syntactic mechanism of content question formation.

In light of the sociolinguistic situation that characterises Friulian, Lamonat and Sovramontino, data collection focused on speakers ranging between 60 and 84 years of age. The bulk of consultants were between 60 and 70 years old. In order to maximise the naturalness of the elicited discourse-pragmatic data, interviews were carried out in small groups (two groups per speech community) of three or four speakers. Approximately 27 hours of interviews were recorded (12 hours Lamonat, 9 hours Sovramontino, 6 hours Friulian). All consultants were bilingual in their dialect and in Italian, the influence of the dominant language over the speakers' native language was a variable that I hence had to control for in the interview setting. This was done through the use of visual stimuli or the simulation of semi-natural conversations where participants could freely interact among themselves (*semi-staged acts of communications*). I also relied on *questionnaire-based elicitation* and, most importantly, *natural occurring speech* (see Himmelmann 1998; 2006). *Data manipulation* and subsequent *acceptability judgements* was a particularly effective tool of investigation (Chelliah & de Reuse 2011). Note that all patterns found through elicitation were also attested in natural occurring speech. Unfortunately, no corpus exists of these (exclusively) spoken varieties: this greatly limits the possibility to conduct quantitative research.

3 *Wh-in-situ* in Lamonat and Sovramontino: A root phenomenon

Wh-in-situ in Bellunese is only attested in root interrogatives (Munaro 1998; 1999; Poletto & Pollock 2004; 2015). In Lamonat and Sovramontino embedded *wh-in-situ* is ungrammatical, as shown in (4) and (5):

(4) *Lamonat*

- a. No se sa che te ö.
 NEG know.1SG what that 2SG.SCL want.2SG
 'I don't know what you want.'
- b. *No se che te ö che.
 NEG know.1SG that 2SG.SCL want.2SG what

(5) *Sovramontino*

- a. El se domanda onde che i meterà do la
 3SG.M.SCL himself ask.3SG where that 3PL.M.SCL plant.3PL.FUT the
 noghera.
 walnut.tree
 'He asks himself where they will plant the walnut tree.'
- b. *El se domanda che i meterà do aonde la
 3SG.M.SCL himself ask.3SG that 3PL.M.SCL plant.3PL.FUT where the
 noghera.
 walnut.tree
- c. *El se domanda che i meterà do la
 3SG.M.SCL himself ask.3SG that 3SG.M.SCL plant.3PL.FUT the
 noghera aonde.
 walnut.tree where

The example in (5) shows that the *wh*-adverb *aonde* ‘where’ cannot be realised within the embedded clause: neither in its first external-merge position (5c) nor in a TP-internal position that resembles the constituent order of the root interrogative in (1), as in (5b). In this paper, I will hence limit the discussion of *wh-in-situ* to root contexts where the phenomenon is attested.

As far as Friulian is concerned, it does not allow *wh-in-situ* in both root interrogatives and in embedded interrogatives, as shown in (6) and (7):

(6) *Friulian*

- a. Dulà is-al lâ t Toni?
 where be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP Toni
 ‘Where did Toni go?’
- b. *Is-al lâ t dulà Toni?
 be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP where Toni

- (7) a. No savin la c-al è lâ t.
 NEG know.1PL where that-3SG.M.SCL be.3SG go.PTCP
 ‘We don’t know where he went.’
- b. *No savin c-al è lâ t dulà.
 NEG know.1PL that-3SG.M.SCL be.3SG go.PTCP where

In Section 6, I will show that, given the apparent *wh-in-situ* nature of the phenomenon in Lamonat and Sovramontino, the derivation of the *wh*-question in (6) is comparable to that of the Sovramontino example in (1), with the crucial difference that, in the two NEIDs, the interrogative force of the question is satisfied in different left peripheral heads.

In Lamonat, Sovramontino and Friulian, root interrogatives are marked by a special type of morpho-syntactic construction: *subject clitic inversion* (SCLI). Note that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, *wh-in-situ* is orthogonal to SCLI: in root interrogatives, SCLI mandatorily takes place independently of the position of the *wh*-element (see Manzini & Savoia 2011). Nevertheless, in order to provide a suitable definition of *locus of SCLI*, I will briefly discuss the phenomenon in this section. Subject clitics (SCLs) are a characteristic trait of NIDs and, across NEIDs, SCLI arises in an obligatory fashion in root interrogatives (see Renzi & Vanelli 1983; Brandi & Cordin 1989; Poletto 2000), as shown in (8):

(8) *Lamonat*

- a. Al can al a magnà al scorthet.
 the dog 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG eat.PTCP the lard
 ‘The dog ate the piece of lard.’
- b. A-lo magnà l can al scorthet?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL eat.PTCP the dog the lard
 ‘Did the dog eat the piece of lard?’

The yes/no question in (8b) shows SCLI. In purely descriptive terms, the SCL *al* inverts with the inflected verb *a*, forming a single unit *a-lo*. As the term suggests, for *locus of SCLI* I mean the left peripheral head in which SCLI surfaces. Across NEIDs, SCLI is a necessary condition for the well-formedness of root questions: the verb moves to the left peripheral space to satisfy the interrogative force of the clause, licensing SCLI (see Gorla 2004). T-to-C movement in root interrogatives across NEIDs is considered a residual V2 property

(Rizzi 1996; Chomsky 2005; Salvi 2012; 2016), and hence intimately related to the left peripheral space of the clause (Rizzi 1997).

Empirically, across NEIDs, the intimate link between SCLI and the lexicalisation of a left peripheral head in the C-domain can be transparently observed in a subset of seemingly declarative sentences that encode *irrealis mood*, more specifically an optative/desiderative or counterfactual interpretation (see Munaro 2001). Let us consider the examples in (9) and (10):

(9) *Sovramontino*

- a. Se la esse magnà de manco, no la
if 3SG.F.SCL have.3SG.SUBJ.IMPF eat.PTCP of less, NEG 3SG.F.SCL
saria tan grasa.
be.3SG.COND so fat
'If she had eaten less, she wouldn't be so fat.'
- b. Esse-la magnà de manco, no la
have.3SG.SUBJ.IMPF-3SG.F.SCL eat.PTCP of less, NEG 3SG.F.SCL
saria tan grasa.
be.3SG.COND so fat
'Had she eaten less, she wouldn't be so fat.'
- c. *Se esse-la magnà de manco, no la
if have.3SG.SUBJ.IMPF-3SG.F.SCL eat.PTCP of less, NEG 3SG.F.SCL
saria tan grasa.
be.3SG.COND so fat

(10) *Friulian*

- a. Che tu clamassis plui dispes!
that 2SG.SCL call.2SG.IMPF.SUBJ more often
'I wish you called more often!'
- b. Clamassi-tu plui dispes!
call.2SG.IMPF.SUBJ-2SG.SCL more often
'I wish you called more often!'
- c. *Che clamassi-tu plui dispes!
that call.2SG.IMPF.SUBJ-2SG.SCL more often

The data in (9) and (10) show that SCLI and the complementisers *se/che* are mutually exclusive, demonstrating that SCLI is intrinsically linked to T-to-C movement and the lexicalisation of a left peripheral head. Since genuine root interrogatives are never introduced by an overt complementiser, this is more difficult to appreciate in *wh*- and *yes/no* questions.

In this paper, I will not put forward a novel account of SCLI, but assume a derivation of SCLI along the lines of Gorla's (2004) and Robert's (2010). In order to account for the different distribution of SCLs in declaratives and root interrogative sentences, namely proclisis (8a) vs. enclisis (8b), I assume the existence of two distinct sets of SCLs.³ Declarative

³ Contra the postulation of two distinct sets of SCLs for interrogative and declarative sentences, see Cardinaletti and Repetti's (2010) *one-paradigm hypothesis* for a unitary treatment SCLs. In adopting the *one-paradigm hypothesis*, the question remains of why those grammatical persons lacking SCLs in declarative clauses exhibit overt SCLs in root interrogatives. Cardinaletti and Repetti (2010) address this issue by postulating that those grammatical persons that do not display an assertive SCL are equipped with an uninterpretable feature intrinsically associated with T° that is valued by *pro*. This feature gives null spell-out to the SCL: the

SCLs are adjoined to T°, whereas interrogative SCLs surface in the relevant C° targeted by T-to-C movement (see Gorja 2004; Roberts 2010). In Table 1, I show the paradigm of declarative SCLs and the paradigm of interrogative SCLs in Lamonat and Sovramontino.

As shown in Table 1, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, the interrogative paradigm is heavier than the assertive one: SCLs in declarative clauses show gaps in their paradigm. Declarative SCLs also display different morpho-phonological forms with respect to their interrogative counterparts. The marked differences between the two paradigms in terms of (i) morpho-syntactic distribution (proclisis vs. enclisis), (ii) paradigm gaps, and (iii) morpho-phonological realisation have been taken as evidence in favour of the existence of two discrete sets of SCLs with different underlying derivations (Gorja 2004; Roberts 2010). There is general agreement in the literature not to treat declarative SCLs as weak pronominal elements (à la Cardinaletti and Starke 1999) on par with French atonic subject pronouns (Rizzi 1986; Brandi & Cordin 1989), but as clitic agreement markers that encode the feature specifications of the subject. In line with Gorja (2004), I do not assume that interrogative SCLs are located in a specific agreement position within the left periphery (à la Poletto 2000), but in the left peripheral head responsible for the interrogative nature of the sentence. Interrogative SCLs should hence be regarded as interrogative affixes licenced by T-to-C movement, which surface on the inflected verb and spell out the feature specifications of the subject. Even if the derivation of SCLI *per se* is not central to the claims put forward in this paper on *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese (see Manzini & Savoia 2011), I want to suggest a derivation of SCLI along the lines of Bonan's (2019) in Trevisiano, namely via Agree (Chomsky 2001), whereby the C° targeted by T-to-C movement probes for the feature specifications of the subject.

As previously mentioned, T-to-C movement in root interrogatives across NEIDs is considered a residual V2 property (Rizzi 1996; Chomsky 2005; Salvi 2012; 2016). By adopting a split-CP model (Rizzi 1997), Wolfe (2016) argues that Medieval Romance V2 (see Benincà 1984; 2006; Ledgeway 2008) was not satisfied in the same left peripheral head across Romance, but could either involve the lexicalisation of Force° or Fin°. Given the residual V2 nature of verb movement in root interrogatives, in Section 6, I will put forward the claim that the *locus of SCLI* is also subject to micro-parametric variation across NEIDs: ForceP in Lamonat and Sovramontino, whereas FinP in Friulian. Despite the different *locus of SCLI*, I assume that the mechanism of question formation (T-to-C movement

Table 1: Affirmative and interrogative SCLs in Lamonat and Sovramontino.

		Atonic Pronouns		
		Declarative	Interrogative	
SG	1		-e	
	2	te	-tu	
	3	M	el/l	-lo
		F	la/l	-la
PL	1		-e	
	2		-o	
	3	M	i	-li
		F	le	-le

SCL surfaces in questions as the inflected verb is moved out of T°. See also Calabrese and Pescarini (2014) and Manzini (2012) for a derivation of SCLI based on the *one-paradigm hypothesis*.

and derivation of SCLI) is the same across the three NEIDs under investigation. Following Baker's (1970) and Bresnan's (1972) arguments on clausal typing and the Q-morpheme as well as the subsequent literature on the topic (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977; Huang 1982; Cheng 1997; Cable 2010; Bocci 2013 a. o.), I assume that, from a synchronic perspective, residual V2 movement in root interrogatives questions is justified by postulating that the *locus of SCLI* hosts a Q null-question particle that is primarily responsible for attracting the verb to the left peripheral space in root interrogatives.⁴ Traditionally, Q is contained under the head accountable for the well-formedness of questions in the C-domain. In root *wh-* and *yes/no* questions, Q attracts the finite verb, which moves from T-to-C to satisfy the structural requirements on interrogatives. Chomsky (1995) argues that Q is affixal in nature and attaches to the overt head it attracts. I hence assume that, across NEIDs, Q is externally merged in the *locus of SCLI*. It is important to note that, in the NEIDs under investigation, in embedded interrogatives Q is satisfied by the external merge of an obligatory (default) complementiser *che* (cf. 11a), which *de facto* impedes T-to-C movement and hence the surfacing of SCLI, as shown in (11b):

(11) *Friulian*

- a. O mi domandi ce *(che) e an mangjât ta chel
 1SG.SCL myself ask.1SG what that 3PL.SCL have.3PL eat.PTCP in that
 puestat là.
 bad.place there
 'I wonder what they ate in that horrible place.'
- b. *O mi domandi ce che an-o mangjât ta chel
 1SG.SCL myself ask.1SG what that have.3PL-3PL.SCL eat.PTCP in that
 puestat là.
 bad.place there

The discussion of embedded *wh*-questions is beyond the scope of the present paper; nonetheless, the obligatory lexicalisation of *che* in embedded interrogatives has been taken as evidence of a residual V2 feature in interrogatives across NEIDs (Poletto 2000; Benincà & Poletto 2004). I believe, however, that in a purely synchronic perspective, postulating the existence of a null affix Q as opposed to a strong V2 feature has its own theoretical and empirical advantages. In Section 6, I will show that assuming the existence of a null interrogative affix Q in the *locus of SCLI* helps us account for why SCLI is ungrammatical in root negative-interrogatives in Lamonat and Sovramontino. The postulation of Q also aids the analysis of those NEIDs that do not exhibit SCLI in root interrogatives: it can be assumed that the silent interrogative affix is absent at the morpho-syntactic level, but present at the prosodic level (see Reglero & Ticio 2013).

Having shown that *wh-in-situ* is uniquely a root phenomenon in the Bellunese varieties under investigation, and having outlined my main assumptions on the syntax of root

⁴ Note that, by drawing on Cable's (2010) work, Bonan (2019) puts forward an elegant model to capture Trevisiano's high degree of optionality between the fronting and the *in-situ* position of *wh*-elements that involves the Q particle. She claims that Trevisiano can resort to both QP-selection, in case of *wh*-fronting, and Q-adjunction, in case of *wh-in-situ* (see Cable 2010; Bonan 2019 for further discussion). In the model put forward in this paper for the NEIDs under investigation, Q must solely be interpreted as an affix that is always externally merged in the C° responsible for the well-formedness of all root interrogatives and primarily responsible for attracting the verb in the left peripheral space. I hence assume that Q is independent of the *wh*-fronting/*wh-in-situ* alternation. In Lamonat and Sovramontino, where no genuine optionality between the preverbal vs. postverbal *wh*-position is attested, a more elaborate account would result as uneconomical: the position of *wh*-items can be fully constrained by (i) their discourse-pragmatic interpretation (focal vs. d-linked or mirative) and (ii) their morpho-syntactic status (tonic vs. clitic).

interrogatives across NEIDs, in the next section I will outline and discuss the existing analyses of *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese, stating how and why the proposal put forward in this paper differs from them.

4 Bellunese *wh-in-situ*: Existing analyses

Wh-in-situ is a trait of NIDs that has been long noted. Several scholars have investigated this phenomenon: the two most influential and conflicting accounts are those of Munaro, Poletto and Pollock (2001) on one side, and Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2011), on the other side. Munaro et. al (2001) argue against an actual *in-situ* analysis of postverbal *wh*-items, whereas Manzini and Savoia (2005; 2011) argue that postverbal *wh*-items truly surface in their base-generated *in-situ* position. Bonan (2017; 2019) provides a third theoretical account of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs based on Trevigiano by adopting Belletti's (2004; 2005) periphery of the vP. In this section, I will show that the empirical evidence from Lamonat and Sovramontino lend support to an analysis of Bellunese *wh-in-situ* whereby the postverbal *wh*-element is not in TP-internal position, but has undergone movement to the C-domain. In this regard, Bellunese should not be treated as a *wh-in-situ* language, but as a *wh*-fronting language. The discussion put forward in this section also supports Bonan's (2017; 2019) claim that *wh-in-situ* across NIDs should not be treated as a unitary phenomenon, but at least three different types of *insituness* can be identified: (i) Trevigiano-type *insituness*, in which the *wh*-item is realised in TP-internal position in the periphery of the vP (Bonan 2017; 2019), (ii) Lombard-type *insituness*, in which the *wh*-item appears TP-internally in its first external-merge position (Manzini & Savoia 2005; 2011) and (iii) Bellunese-type fake *insituness*, in which the *wh*-element actually surfaces in the C-domain (Munaro 1998; 1999; Munaro, Poletto & Pollock 2001; Poletto & Pollock 2004; 2009; 2015). Lamonat and Sovramontino abide to this typology and display the behaviour of type (iii) *in-situ* languages. I will now outline the existing analyses of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs and state how and why they differ from the analysis of *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese proposed in this paper. I will start from Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009; 2015) derivation of Bellunese fake *insituness*.

4.1 Remnant-TP movement analysis

Munaro (1998; 1999), and Poletto and Pollock (2004; 2015) agree that the *in-situ* position of *wh*-words in Bellunese is only apparent: the *wh*-element is not in TP-internal position, but has moved to the C-domain in the same fashion as canonical *wh*-words in Italian and in other Romance languages.⁵ The account of *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese put forward in this paper fully supports this claim, but differs in explaining the alternation between apparently *in-situ* and preverbal *wh*-elements with respect to a number of points.

4.1.1 Against remnant-TP movement: The complex T°

Under Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009; 2015) account, the apparent *in-situ* position of *wh*-items along with SCLI is derived through overt remnant-TP phrasal movement to the C-domain. Poletto and Pollock (2004) argue that after *wh*-movement takes place, the whole TP layer undergoes remnant movement to the left periphery, as shown in the derivation of the apparent *wh-in-situ* question in (12):

- (12) *Bellunese* (Poletto & Pollock 2004: 254)
 Ha-tu parecià che?
 have.2SG-2SG.SCL prepare.PTCP what
 'What did you prepare?'

⁵ See also Munaro (1997); Munaro, Poletto & Pollock (2001); Munaro & Poletto (2002); Munaro & Pollock (2005).

Input: [_{IP} te ha parecià che]

Wh-movement: [_{CP} che C[◦] [_{IP} te ha parecià ehe]]

Remnant IP Movement: [_{CP} [_{IP} ha-tu parecià] C[◦] [_{CP} che C[◦] [_{IP} ~~te ha parecià che~~]]]

Among their arguments against Poletto and Pollock’s (2004; 2009) analysis, Manzini and Savoia (2011) point out that, in Bellunese, the only element actually vacating the TP layer is the past participle (if present) along with the inflected verb, as shown more transparently in (13):

- (13) *Lamonat*
 G-a-lo dat che Mario a-l can?
 DAT.CL-have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL give.PTCP what Mario to-the dog
 ‘What did Mario give to the dog?’

The fact that the subject *Mario* and the oblique prepositional phrase *al can* remain in their seemingly canonical position theoretically and empirically weakens the remnant movement analysis: we would, in fact, expect all the material contained in the TP-layer to be able to appear in the C[◦] domain. Note that, in (13), no major prosodic break is present between the *wh*-item and the rest of the clause; hence no right dislocation is evident. I will further discuss this point in Section 4.1.3, where I will show that in *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino* there is no sentence finality requirement on the postverbal *wh*-item (à la Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2005), as opposed to what claimed by Munaro (1999), Poletto and Pollock (2004) for *Pagotto* (the variety of Bellunese studied by Munaro et al.).

I propose that, in *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino*, the constituent order in (13) can be instead derived by assuming T-to-C movement of a complex T[◦] to a left peripheral position higher than that occupied by the *wh*-item. Assuming a T-to-C movement analysis of the phenomenon has also the advantage of a more theoretically sound derivation of SCLI, as opposed to a derivation of SCLI via overt phrasal movement (see Bonan 2019 for further discussion). In order to fully justify this analysis, we must however account for the behaviour of the past participle in analytic tenses, which, if present, always precedes the *wh*-item. In his discussion of *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino*’s residual V2 properties in relation to information structure, De Cia (2018) claims that, in the two NEIDs, T forms a complex head that hosts (i) the finite verb/auxiliary, (ii) the past participle and (iii) any satellite clitics (satellite clitics in the sense of Benincà 1994). By adopting De Cia’s (2018) analysis, we can straightforwardly account for the behaviour of the past participle without having to resort to Poletto and Pollock’s (2004; 2015) remnant movement analysis. In the next paragraphs, I will explore De Cia’s (2018) claim comparatively by considering *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino*, on one side, and *Friulian*, on the other side.

As discussed in Section 3, a common trait between the NEIDs under investigation is that T-to-C movement satisfies the interrogative force of the sentence, displaying SCLI, as shown in (14) and (15):

- (14) *Friulian*
 Ce mangj-al Pieri?
 what eat.3SG-3SG.M.SCL Peter
 ‘What does Peter eat?’

- (15) *Sovramontino*
 Mangne-lo che Piero?
 eat.3SG-3SG.M.SCL what Peter
 ‘What does Peter eat?’

In (14) and (15), assuming T-to-C movement for the fronting of the inflected verb proves the most economical and straightforward analysis (as opposed to a remnant movement analysis), whereby the finite verb vacates the TP-layer via T° to land in the left-peripheral C° that satisfies the interrogative force of the question.⁶ However, a complication arises if we consider *wh*-questions that exhibit an analytic past, where the presence of the past participle seems to challenge the proposed head movement analysis for the derivation of apparent *wh-in-situ* in Lamonat and Sovramontino. Let us consider (16) and (17):

- (16) *Friulian*
 a. Ce aj-al mangjât Pieri?
 what have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL eat.PTCP Peter
 ‘What did Peter eat?’
 b. Ce aj-al Pieri mangjât?
 what have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL Peter eat.PTCP
 ‘What did Peter eat?’
- (17) *Sovramontino*
 a. A-lo magnà che Piero?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL eat.PTCP what Peter
 ‘What did Peter eat?’
 b. *A-lo Piero magnà che?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL Peter eat.PTCP what

In order to account for the constituent order in (17a) in Bellunese, Poletto and Pollock (2004; 2015) assume that the past participle is located in a topical position lower than the projection hosting the inflected verb: the past participle surfaces in that position due to remnant-TP movement, which takes place after *wh*-movement. By looking at examples (15) to (17) under closer scrutiny, however, it is possible to appreciate that the constituent order between (14) and (15), and (16a) and (17a) has not changed except for the presence of the past participle that follows the inflected auxiliary. If we try to separate the auxiliary and the past participle, as in (16b) and (17b) where the unmarked subject *Peter* intervenes, the result is ungrammatical in Lamonat and Sovramontino, whereas grammatical in Friulian. These facts can be unitarily accounted for by assuming that the derivation of the *wh*-questions in (16) and (17) involves T-to-C head movement in the same fashion as (14) and (15), with the only difference that (16a) and (17a) exhibit a complex T° that hosts both the auxiliary and the past participle.⁷

⁶ Note that V-to-T movement systematically takes place in Lamonat, Sovramontino and Friulian, as well as in virtually all NIDs (see Roberts 2010). Evidence will be nonetheless provided later in Section 4.1.1.

⁷ Note that if we adopt an analysis of SCLI via Agree (à la Bonan 2019), the derivation of SCLI is not problematic in (16) and (17): the past participle is not morphologically fit to spell out the feature specifications of the subject (i.e. show subject-verb agreement), hence the interrogative SCL must surface on the auxiliary. On the contrary, by adopting a phrasal movement analysis of SCLI, we would expect the interrogative SCL to surface encliticised onto the past participle.

De Cia (2018) claims that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, auxiliary and past participle form a single unit (in the sense of Frascarelli 2000) due to the clitic status of Lamonat and Sovramontino's auxiliaries. The past participle hence must undergo V-to-T movement to support the tensed clitic auxiliary and ensure the cliticisation of the SCL as well as any other satellite clitics. Before reviewing De Cia's (2018) evidence in support of this claim, let us consider the Friulian example in (16) above. The grammaticality (16b) clearly shows that, in Friulian, the auxiliary is able to undergo T-to-C movement on its own and does not need the past participle for its PF realisation; yet, the constituent order in (16a), comparable to that of Sovramontino and Lamonat, is frequently attested. Making reference to root interrogatives in Friulian, Salvi (2016) points out that the constituent order in (16b) is rather archaic and, across NEIDs, more closely resembles vestigial V2 T-to-C movement. In this respect, the constituent order in (16a) is more innovative, suggesting that the clitic status of auxiliaries across NEIDs is also an innovative trait of these languages. In Friulian, auxiliaries have not yet achieved clitic status. On the contrary, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, auxiliaries display clitic-like behaviour, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (17b). This is not surprising, as, across Romance, the development of the periphrastic perfect/analytic past from the Latin possessive-resultative periphrasis is by no means a unitary phenomenon (see Loporcaro 1998; 2016). Ledgeway (2016) notes how, across Romance, auxiliaries are moving away from their original lexical predicates, becoming more and more morpho-phonologically specialised forms that have already achieved clitic status in some Romance varieties.⁸

De Cia (2018) puts forward two main pieces of evidence in support of the clitic status of auxiliaries in Lamonat and Sovramontino: (i) the unavailability of stylistic inversion, which is linked to the residual V2 root phenomena shown by these varieties and, (ii) the inability for a low tonic adverb to appear between the auxiliary and the past participle.⁹ I will briefly discuss the second point and add some independent evidence on the morpho-phonological status of Lamonat and Sovramontino's auxiliaries and past participial form. In (17b), we have seen that an unmarked subject cannot intervene between the auxiliary and the past participle, the same is true of low tonic adverbs (Cinque 1999), which appear post-verbally after the past participle, as shown in (20) and (21). Examples (18) and (19) instead illustrate that, in line with virtually all NIDs, V-to-T movement canonically takes place in Lamonat and Sovramontino; as a result, low adverbs are found postverbally (Cinque 1999; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Roberts 2010):

- (18) *Lamonat*
 No i copa miga gnesuni.
 NEG 3PL.M.SCL kill.3PL not-even nobody
 'They won't kill anyone.'

⁸ Full-fledged clitic auxiliaries are found in Romanian and in some varieties of Abruzzese (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Stampone 2017).

⁹ Clitic auxiliaries must not be confused with auxiliary clitics across NIDs (Poletto 2000; Pescarini 2016), which accompany auxiliaries, coexist with subject clitics and generally have a fixed form. Lamonat and Sovramontino do not have auxiliary clitics. Nevertheless, the link between clitic auxiliaries and auxiliary clitics should be properly investigated, as the latter are fully compatible with the clitic status of auxiliaries: in those varieties, the auxiliary paradigm has developed fully independent forms from its original lexical verb paradigm, suggesting a higher degree of grammaticalisation (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 for a comparison with Romanian).

- (19) *Sovramontino* (De Cia 2018: 18)
 Mario l magna despes polenta e conicio.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL eat.PTCP often polenta and rabbit
 ‘Mario often eats polenta and rabbit meat.’
- (20) *Lamonat*
 a. No i a copà migo gnesuni.
 NEG 3PL.M.SCL have.3PL kill.PTCP not-even nobody
 ‘They did not really kill anyone.’
 b. *No i a migo copà gnesuni.
 NEG 3PL.M.SCL have.3PL not-even kill.PTCP nobody
- (21) *Sovramontino* (De Cia 2018: 18)
 a. Mario l a magnà despes polenta e conicio.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG eat.PTCP often polenta and rabbit
 ‘Mario has often eaten polenta and rabbit meat.’
 b. *Mario l a despes magnà polenta e conicio.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG often eat.PTCP polenta and rabbit

The ungrammaticality of (20b) and (21b) shows that the past participle undergoes V-to-T movement in the same fashion as the inflected lexical verbs in (18) and (19). Nevertheless, De Cia (2018) notes that a limited set of adverbs can be found between the auxiliary and the past participle. These adverbs are atonic, only licensed between the auxiliary and the part participle, and never found in isolation. This is shown in examples (22) and (23):

- (22) *Lamonat*
 a. No i a mia copà gnesuni.
 NEG 3PL.M.SCL have.3PL not-even kill.PTCP nobody
 ‘They did not really kill anyone.’
 b. *No i a copà mia gnesuni.
 NEG 3PL.M.SCL have.3PL kill.PTCP not-even nobody
- (23) *Sovramontino* (De Cia 2018: 18)
 a. Mario l a spes magnà polenta e conicio.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG often eat.PTCP polenta and rabbit
 ‘Mario has often eaten polenta and rabbit meat.’
 b. *Mario l a magnà spes polenta e conicio.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG eat.PTCP often polenta and rabbit

An adverb like *despes* or *migo* cannot appear between the clitic auxiliary and the past participle (cf. 20b, 21b) due to its “phonological weight”, whereas their phonologically reduced counterparts *spes* and *mia* are felicitous only in that position. The difference in distribution suggests that those adverbs that can be placed between the clitic auxiliary and the past participle also have clitic status. They can be stacked under the complex T° with the clitic auxiliary, the subject clitic and any other satellite clitics. Clitic adverbs cannot be focalised, behaving like weak elements in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999). The clitic status of certain low adverbs is not unattested in the literature on

Romance. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) shows that in Romanian a restricted class of adverbs can be placed between the clitic auxiliary and the past participle.¹⁰ In Romanian, the past participle must undergo V-to-T movement to allow for the cliticisation of the auxiliary clitic and any satellite clitics. In Lamonat and Sovramontino, I argue that the same mechanism is in place: given the clitic status of auxiliaries and their inability to support any satellite clitics, V-to-T movement of the lexical verb, be it inflected or in the past participial form, must take place.

In Lamonat and Sovramontino, the clitic status of auxiliaries can also be empirically appreciated by considering their morpho-phonological form in relation to that of the past participle. Let us consider examples (24), (25) and (26):

(24) *Sovramontino*
 Mario l a magnà an pom.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG eat.PTCP an apple
 ‘Mario has eaten an apple.’

(25) Mario l magna pom tut i dì.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL eat.3SG apples all the days
 ‘Mario eats apples every day.’

(26) *Lamonat*
 Mario l a na sor.
 Mario 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG a sister
 ‘Mario has a sister.’

Unlike lexical *have*, auxiliaries are unable to carry stress. If auxiliary *have* in (24) is uttered bearing stress as in (26), the result is an infelicitous utterance. Making reference to the paradigm of auxiliary *have*, there are no evident morphological differences with the paradigm of lexical-possessive *have*; nevertheless, the auxiliary paradigm is strikingly atonic. The monosyllabic paradigm of *have* has unquestionably contributed towards the development of clitic auxiliaries, but the auxiliary paradigm has not yet developed autonomous morphological forms (see Romanian clitic auxiliary paradigm Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). The verb paradigm of lexical verbs is considerably impoverished and displays idiosyncratic forms for the 2SG, 3SG and 3PL grammatical persons, which can only be set apart by the discrete forms of the preverbal SCLs. The same is true for lexical/auxiliary *have* whose paradigm is monosyllabic, as shown in (27):

(27) Auxiliary/Lexical *have*: 1SG (a) o/e, 2SG te a, 3SG el a, 1PL (a) on, 2 PL e, 3PL i a

The presence of the subject clitic is hence crucial to disambiguate the syncretic forms of the paradigm; however, by virtue of being atonic, auxiliary *have* cannot phonologically support the subject clitic. The PF realisation of the SCL and the auxiliary *have* thus relies

¹⁰ In Lamonat and Sovramontino, I documented the following adverbs with clitic status (presented here with their tonic counterpart): *gia/già* ‘already’, *spes/despes* ‘often’, *mai/mai* ‘never’, *mia/migo* ‘not-even’, *pi/pjù* ‘more’. As for the combination of these adverbs, Cinque’s (1999: 45) popular example “Da allora, non hanno di solito mica più sempre completamente rimesso tutto bene in ordine” is very hard to elicit in a proper fieldwork context without biasing the consultants; nonetheless, combinations of clitic adverbs like *mia pi* are attested in natural-occurring speech, suggesting that clitic adverbs can be stacked together.

on the past participle. In turn, the contrast between the identical morphological forms of the inflected verb *magna* in (25) and the past participial form of the verb ‘to eat’ *magnà* in (24) shows that past participles are equipped with an extra layer of stress, which falls on the final syllable (this is particularly evident in the past participial forms of the first and second verb conjugations like *magnà* ‘eaten’ and *beù* ‘drunk’). The prosodic prominence of the past participial form must be considered the result of the phonological weakening of auxiliary forms that, being unable to support themselves as well as any satellite clitics at PF, phonologically rely on the past participle for their realisation.

The empirical observations put forward in this section strongly suggest that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, T is a complex head which hosts (i) the inflected verb (lexical or auxiliary), (ii) the past participle, if present, and (iii) any satellite clitics that prosodically rely on the lexical verb. In root interrogatives, in order to satisfy the interrogative force of the question, the complex T° undergoes T-to-C movement as a single unit, deriving so Bellunese apparent *wh-in-situ*. For instance, clitic adverbs can be found sandwiched between the auxiliary and the past participle in root interrogatives, but tonic adverbs cannot (they remain in TP-internal position), as shown in (28) and (29):

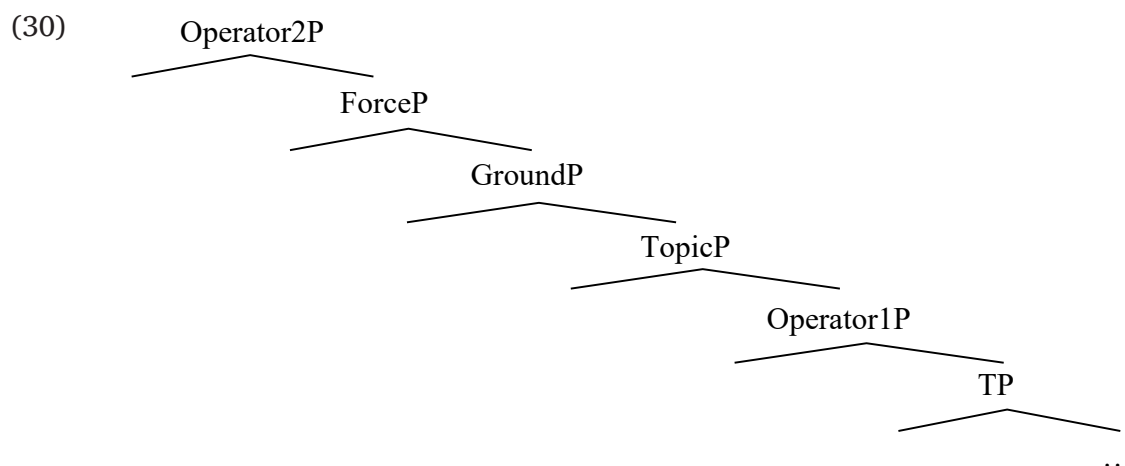
- (28) *Lamonat*
 A-lo spes vedù chi Mario a-l marcà?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL often see.PTCP who Mario at-the market
 ‘Who has Mario often seen at the market?’
- (29) a. Al-o vedù chi Mario despes a-l marcà?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL see.PTCP who Mario often at-the market
 ‘Who has Mario often seen at the market?’
- b. *Al-o despes vedù chi Mario a-l marcà?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL often see.PTCP who Mario at-the market

As far as the internal syntactic structure of the complex T° is concerned, our model must keep into account the diachronic development of the Latin possessive-resultative construction *have* + *past participle* into the periphrastic perfect, which, across NEIDs, has fully replaced the synthetic past. Two accounts are possible: (i) the periphrasis *auxiliary* + *past participle* behaves like a synthetic form (replacing *de facto* the synthetic past);¹¹ or (ii) assume that the auxiliary is base-generated and adjoined to T, forming a clitic cluster with the subject clitic and the other satellite clitics. As for (i), treating the perfect periphrasis as a single syntactic unit would be desirable for the derivation of the complex T°; however, it leaves open the question of clitic adverbs. Clitic adverbs allegedly developed by “remaining trapped” between the auxiliary and the past participle, while the periphrasis was reanalysed as a single phonological unit. By adopting the account in (ii), the placement of adverb clitics is more straightforward, as they their cliticisation on the past participle supposedly takes place before V-to-T movement. Nonetheless, the derivation in (ii) forces us to assume that the cliticisation of satellite clitics takes place in T° and not in V° prior to V-to-T movement (see Roberts 2010). I will leave this point open for debate.

¹¹ Ledgeway (p.c.)

4.1.2 A more economical left-peripheral space

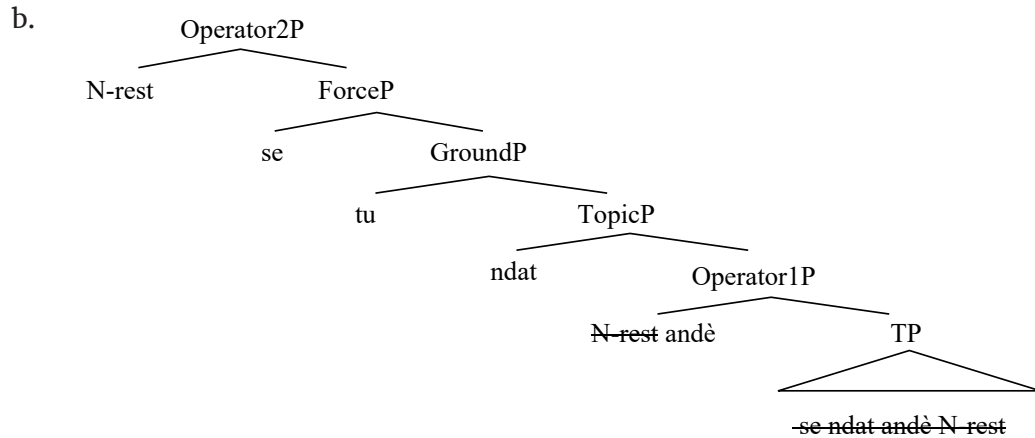
The analysis put forward in the present paper is more economical in terms of C-domain architecture than Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009), and solely relies on Rizzi's (1997) seminal split-CP model. Manzini and Savoia (2011) criticize the remnant-TP movement analysis for the legitimacy of the numerous left-peripheral projections that are involved in Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009) account: the existence of such projections is in fact not always independently justified. In their analysis of the alternation between apparently *in-situ* and canonical *wh*-elements in Bellunese, Poletto and Pollock (2004) propose the following model of the C-domain:



Poletto and Pollock's (2004) model in (30) depicts the left periphery of root interrogatives across Romance. They argue that in Bellunese *wh*-elements appear in Operator2P when they exhibit canonical behaviour; *wh*-elements instead occupy Operator1P when they are apparently *in-situ*. In Poletto and Pollock's model, the finite verb is in SpecForceP, the interrogative form of the encliticised SCL in GroundP and, finally, the past participle in TopP. As previously mentioned, their analysis does not involve T-to-C movement, but the finite verb moves to SpecForceP through remnant movement of the TP layer after the *wh*-element is attracted to Operator1P in the C-domain.

Besides the aforementioned left-peripheral projections, Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009) account crucially involves a null restrictor in SpecOp2P that licences the apparently *in-situ wh*-element in Op1P. They argue that the null restrictor is base-generated in the TP layer with the *wh*-word, with which it forms a complex *wh*-phrase. In root interrogatives, the complex *wh*-phrase is moved to Op1P as a single unit and, as soon as Op2P is merged, the null restrictor is moved from Op1P to Op2P, leaving the *wh*-word in Op1P in apparently *in-situ* position. If the null restrictor is not licenced, the question cannot have the *wh*-word surfacing in Op1P: the *wh*-word itself must move to Op2P, yielding a canonical *wh*-question. Let us exemplify Poletto and Pollock's (2004) analysis by considering the Bellunese apparent *wh-in-situ* question in (31a) and its tree representation is (31b):

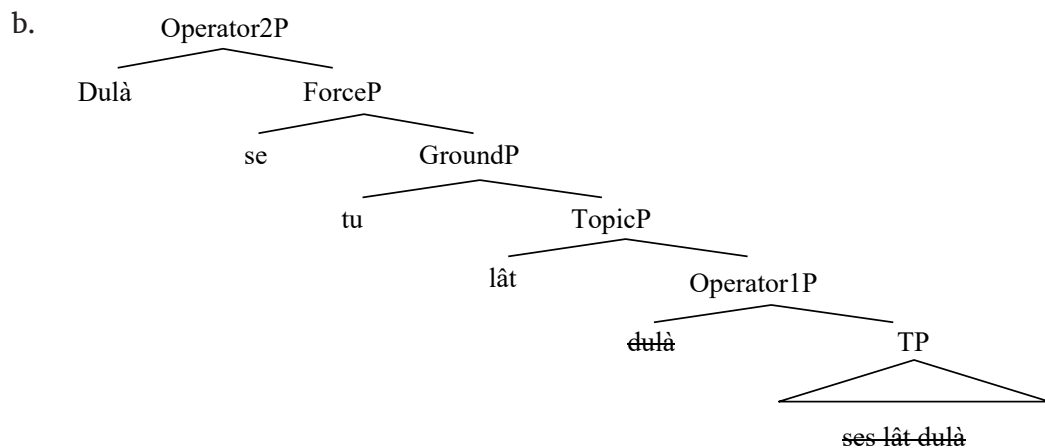
- (31) *Bellunese*
- a. Se-tu ndat andè?
 be.2SG-2SG.SCL go.PTCP where
 'Where did you go?'



As previously mentioned, Poletto and Pollock (2004) argue that some Bellunese *wh*-words have the property of licensing a null restrictor, namely those corresponding to English *who*, *what*, *where*, *when* and *how*. The null restrictor is thus defined as a non-lexical DP that forms a complex *wh*-phrase with the *wh*-word. In (31), the null restrictor is base-generated in the T-domain with the *wh*-element *andè* as follows: [_{TP} *tu se ndat* [_{PRN} *andè* n-rest]]. The whole *wh*-phrase is then moved to SpecOp1P. Once Op2P is merged in the derivation, it attracts the null restrictor, leaving *andè* in Op1P in apparently *in-situ* position. Poletto and Pollock (2004; 2009) claim that, across Romance, *wh*-questions obey this syntactic mechanism. In their account, the key difference between Bellunese and the other Romance languages is that the latter do not possess *wh*-words that can license a null restrictor: hence, as soon as Op2P is merged, the *wh*-phrase lacking the null restrictor must move to SpecOp2P to prevent the derivation from crashing. For instance, let us consider the Friulian counterpart of (31) in (32a) and its tree representation in (32b). Note that Friulian does not exhibit *wh-in-situ*.

(32) *Friulian*

- a. Dulà se-tu lât?
 where be.2SG-2SG.SCL go.PTCP
 ‘Where did you go?’



Under Poletto and Pollock's (2004) account, the Friulian *wh*-word *dulà* cannot license a null restrictor. Once Op2P is merged, *dulà* must move from Op1P to Op2P to prevent the derivation from crashing. In the authors' terms, across NEIDs, apparent *wh-in-situ* is only present in Bellunese, because Bellunese *wh*-elements are able to license a null restrictor.

The null restrictor hypothesis is based on the empirical observation that, in some NIDs exhibiting *wh-in-situ*, the apparently *in-situ wh*-element is doubled by a *wh*-clitic in canonical position (Poletto & Pollock 2004; 2009; Manzini & Savoia 2011). Poletto and Pollock (2004; 2009) thus claim that the null restrictor can have a lexicalised form consisting of a *wh*-clitic. Let us briefly have a look at some data from Lamonat and Sovramontino. Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009) account captures the *wh*-question in (33), but does not fully explain (34) as well as the unacceptability of (35):

- (33) *Sovramontino*
 E-lo ndat aonde Toni?
 be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP where Toni
 'Where did Toni go?'
- (34) Ond-e-lo ndat Toni?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP Toni
 'Where did Toni go?'
- (35) *Ond-e-lo ndat aonde Toni?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP where Toni

Under their analysis, (35) should be grammatical, as the *wh*-clitic *ond* should act as null restrictor and license *aonde* in apparently *in-situ* position. Speakers, however, do not accept as grammatical the simultaneously lexicalisation of the preverbal *wh*-clitic and the postverbal tonic *wh*-element. The only exception is *what*-doubling, which I will briefly discuss in Section 5.2. Also, *wh*-questions like (34) are quite problematic under Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009) account: if *ond* is a *wh*-clitic acting as null restrictor and is licensed by the *wh*-element *aonde* 'where', how come the licenser is not present in the clause? If *aonde* is absent in apparently *in-situ* position, what licenses the acting null restrictor *ond*? In addition, Friulian also exhibits a *wh*-clitic item for *where* that alternates with its tonic counterpart, as shown in (36) and (37) respectively:

- (36) *Friulian*
 La-is-al lâf Toni?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP Toni
 'Where did Toni go?'
- (37) a. Dulà is-al lâf Toni?
 where be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP Toni
 'Where did Toni go?'
- b. *Is-al lâf dulà Toni?
 be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP where Toni

The *wh*-clitic element in (36), namely *la*, has the same morpho-syntactic status as *ond* in Sovramontino (see Section 5.2); nevertheless, apparently *wh-in-situ* is not possible in

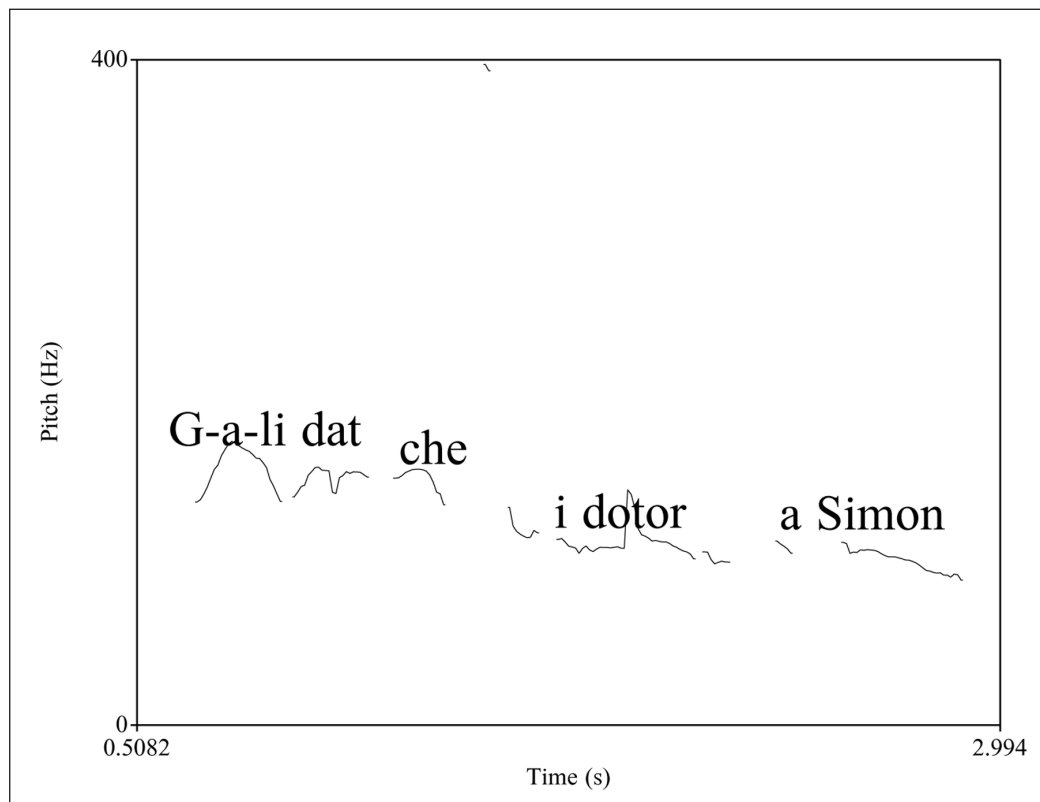


Figure 1: Pitch contour of the sentence in (40) featuring a postverbal *wh*-item.

nation”. As previously discussed, this is not the case in Lamonat and Sovramontino. As shown in Figure 1, the XPs following the *wh*-items are instead prosodically subordinated and characterised by a post-focal pitch contour. This is determined by the prosodic realisation of focus prominence on the *wh*-item (Zubizarreta 1998; D’Imperio 2002; Donati & Nespor 2003; Bocci & Avesani 2005; Frota et al. 2007). In Lamonat and Sovramontino, apparently *in-situ wh*-elements are in fact marked by a prosodic high-pitch plateau along with the verb cluster, which signals the purely focal nature of this type of *wh*-elements (cf. Figure 1). Such change in prosodic pattern is not compatible with a “comma intonation”, but is simply the result of prosodic subordination of the material following the focus-prominent *wh*-item. In the specific case of *wh-in-situ* in Lamonat and Sovramontino, it can be considered as marking the boundary between the C-domain (hosting the complex moved T° and the *wh*-item) and the T-domain (with the material that is left TP-internally after T-to-C movement and *wh*-movement): cross-linguistically, it is, in fact, common that prosodic phrasing be conditioned by major syntactic phrase boundaries (Kratzer & Selkirk 2007).

Finally, I want to briefly discuss the position of the subject in (39) and (40). Given that Lamonat and Sovramontino are null-subject languages (see Roberts 2010 on the relation between the null-subject parameter and the declarative SCL paradigm across NIDs), the subject in (39) and (40) can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. Nevertheless, if the subject appears in root interrogatives, it is systematically placed after the postverbal *wh*-item or, in case of *yes/no* questions, after the past participle. I hence assume that the subject TP-internal position is either SpecTP or SpecvP. The placement of tonic low adverbs, however, seems to suggest that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, the subject raises as high as SpecTP, as shown in (41):

- (41) *Lamonat*
- a. A-lo vedù chi Mario despes a-l marcà?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL see.PTCP who Mario often at-the market
 ‘Who has Mario often seen at the market?’
- b. *A-lo vedù chi despes Mario a-l marcà?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL see.PTCP who often Mario at-the market

If we assume that the adverb *despes* is located in a functional projection higher than *vP* (à la Cinque 1999), the ungrammaticality of (41b) is accounted for by postulating that the lexical subject does not stay in *SpecvP*, but raises to *SpecTP* (hence the felicity of 41a). Note again that the sentence in (41b) can be rescued by adding a pause after *despes* through the right dislocation of the subject and the spatial adjunct.

Another argument in favour of the subject raising to *SpecTP* in root interrogatives comes from subject questions. In *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino*, subject *what* or *who* must be obligatorily clefted (see also Munaro 1998),¹³ as shown in (42) and (43):

- (42) *Lamonat*
- E-lo chi che a beù tut al vin?
 be.3SG-SCL_{exp} who COMP have.3SG drink.PTCP all the wine?
 ‘Who drank all the wine?’

- (43) E-lo stà che che a npathinà l mur?
 be.3SG-SCL_{expl} be.PTCP what COMP have.3SG dirty.PTCP the wall?
 ‘What dirtied the wall?’

The subject *wh*-element follows the third person dummy copular *be* + *SCL_{expl}* and is in turn followed by the complementiser *che*. Subject *chi* and *che* must appear in a cleft structure in order to be correctly interpreted as the subject of the question. If not clefted and realised in postverbal position, ‘who’ or ‘what’ are by default interpreted as the object of the clause, as shown in (44):

- (44) *Lamonat*
- #A-lo beù chi l vin?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL drink.PTCP who the wine?
 (Lit. Who did the wine drink?)

The sentence in (44) literally means ‘who did the wine drink?’. Also note that, by virtue of its post-*wh*-item position (and lack of clause finality requirement), *l vin* is by default interpreted as the subject of the clause. However, if *chi* ‘who’ is the subject of a core unaccusative verb like *die* or *arrive* and, hence, structurally behaves like an object (see Belletti 1988; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995), the *wh*-element *chi* is not clefted, but realised in postverbal position, as shown in (45) and (46):

¹³ Cleft-structures are frequent in *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino*. They generally host an XP in *narrow focus* (Lambrecht 1994), including tonic *wh*-words. In *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino*, two types of clefts can be identified: (i) syntactically motivated and (ii) pragmatically motivated. Syntactically motivated cleft-structures arise as a last resort strategy to focalise XPs (i.e. transitive subjects or focal XPs in co-occurrence with a strong negation) whose realisation in the C-domain would otherwise be illicit. Pragmatically motivated cleft-structures, on the other hand, prompt an exhaustive reading on the clefted focal element (see Lambrecht 2001).

- (45) *Lamonat*
 Rue-lo chi?
 arrive.3SG-SCL_{expl} who
 ‘Who is arriving?’
- (46) *Sovramontino*
 E-lo mort chi?
 be.3SG-SCL_{expl} die.PTCP who
 ‘Who died?’

The data in (44) to (46) suggest that true transitive subjects, if overt, are attracted from their base-generated position to the canonical subject position, SpecTP. Once they move to SpecTP, they are frozen in place due to criterial freezing (see Rizzi 2006; Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007). The subject cleft-questions in (42) and (43) thus arise as a strategy to overcome the problem of extracting an overt subject that is frozen in SpecTP (i.e. *chi* or *che*). This is further confirmed by the behaviour of unaccusative subjects, which, instead, do not require a cleft structure for their focalisation, as they do not syntactically behave like canonical subjects. In (45) and (46) the canonical subject position is instead filled by a *pro*_{expletive} (whose feature specifications are shown by the surfacing of an interrogative subject clitic expletive): *chi* does not structurally behave like a subject, but is base-generated in VP-internal position, making the extraction of the *wh*-item fully licit. The surfacing of obligatory cleft-questions with non-unaccusative *wh*-subjects is therefore also evidence that *wh-in-situ* in Bellunese is only apparent: postverbal *wh*-items are not in their TP-internal first external-merge position, but have undergone *wh*-movement out of their base-generated position.

4.1.4 Subject clitic inversion and dynamic agreement

Finally, I want to point out that I will adopt Poletto’s (1993) proposal of *dynamic agreement* (see also Poletto & Pollock 2004). *Dynamic agreement* concerns the well-formedness of questions across NEIDs and is based on Rizzi’s (1991; 1996) *wh-criterion*:

- (47) Rizzi (1996: 64) *wh-criterion*:
 a) a *wh*-operator must be in spec-head configuration with an X° [+ *wh*],
 b) an X° [+ *wh*] must be in spec-head configuration with a *wh*-operator.

Poletto (1993) proposes a process that is complementary to Rizzi’s *wh-criterion*, whereby the [WH] feature can be transmitted from the C° position to the corresponding specifier, hence *dynamic agreement*. Across NEIDs, the interrogative nature of root clauses is morphologically marked by SCLI: SCLI signals verb movement to the C° that hosts the null-question particle Q (the *locus of SCLI*). Poletto (1993) argues that through SCLI, C° licenses in SpecCP a silent operator that inherits the feature [WH] from the verbal head: the *wh-criterion* is thus satisfied. The surfacing of SCLI alone hence satisfies the structural well-formedness of questions. This hypothesis crucially supports the independence of *wh*-movement and SCLI/verb movement across NEIDs (see Manzini & Savoia 2011). In *wh*-questions, the *wh*-item does not need to land in the specifier position of the head hosting the moved verb, as the structural requirements on interrogatives are satisfied by SCLI alone. I will thus assume that, in root interrogatives, the specifier position of the C° hosting the moved verb is filled by a null *wh*-operator that inherits the feature [WH] from the verbal head.

4.2 *TP-internal in-situ analysis*

Manzini and Savoia (2011) argue against Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009) remnant-TP movement account in favour of an actual *in-situ* analysis of postverbal *wh*-items across NIDs. The Lombard data with which they challenge Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009) analysis, however, yield ungrammaticality when tested in Lamonat and Sovramontino. This is especially true with respect to three points. First, as previously mentioned, in Lamonat and Sovramontino there is a rigid root vs. embedded asymmetry with respect to *wh-in-situ*. The phenomenon is only attested in root interrogatives and, conversely to Lombard varieties, *wh-in-situ* is ungrammatical in embedded interrogatives. Second, Lamonat and Sovramontino *wh-in-situ* is sensitive to strong and weak island constraints, whereas Lombard proper *wh-in-situ* is not. Munaro (1999) in fact notes that, in the Bellunese variety of Pagotto, apparent *wh-in-situ* is sensitive to strong and weak island constraints (Munaro, Poletto & Pollock 2001; Poletto and Pollock 2004). If Bellunese were a true *wh-in-situ* language, *wh*-islands would not hold (see Huang 1982). The data from Lamonat and Sovramontino are in line with Munaro's (1999). Consider (48), (49) and (50):

(48) *Sovramontino*

*Credee-lo che l fiol de chi no-l
Believe.3SG.IMP-3SG.M.SCL that the son of who NEG-3SG.SCL
gnesse?
come.3SG.SUBJ.IMP-
(*Of whom did he believe that the son would not come?)

(49) *Lamonat*

*On-e da telefonar prima de ndar aonde?
have.1PL-1PL.SCL to phone.INF before of go.INF where
(*Where should we call before we go?)

(50) *A-tu vedù la femena che la vio aonde?
have.2SG-2SG.SCL see.PTCP the woman that 3SG.F.SCL live.3SG where
(*Where did you see the woman that lives?)

The ungrammaticality of (48), (49) and (50) is respectively due to a complex-NP island, an adjunct island and a relative island (see Munaro 1999 for further discussion). Islands constrain the unbounded nature of *wh*-movement: a *wh*-element can potentially be an unlimited number of clauses away from its *in-situ* null copy, with which it establishes a long distant dependency. Munaro (1999), Poletto and Pollock (2004) argue that sensitivity to islands in Bellunese is evidence in favour of the *ex-situ* nature of the postverbal *wh*-item. It is important to note, however, that Manzini and Savoia (2011) argue that the differences between Lombard-type and Bellunese-type *wh-in-situ* can be accounted for in the context of surprising micro-variation in LF conditions among closely related varieties. In their account, *wh-in-situ* vs. *wh*-movement across NIDs is explained in terms of the LF interpretative alternation between *overt scope* (*wh*-fronting) and *scope construal* (*wh*-in situ). They argue that sensitivity to islands and the inability of *wh*-movement in embedded clauses can be explained on the basis of grammar-specific conditions on LF interpretative construals, rather than on different syntactic conditions on *wh*-movement itself.¹⁴

¹⁴ See also Bonan (2019) on Trevigiano *wh-in-situ* for an account of island sensitivity based on Cable's (2010) analysis of Q. The possibility to have *wh-in-situ* within an island is explained with the ability of a given language to attach Q to the whole island (crucially not to the single *wh*-word).

In light of Manzini and Savoia's (2011) critique, the most compelling evidence against an actual *in-situ* analysis of postverbal *wh*-items in Lamonat and Sovramontino comes from the strict relative order between *wh*-adverbs/*wh*-indirect objects with respect to the *in-situ* lexical direct object. Let us consider the *wh*-question in (51):

- (51) *Lamonat*
- a. A-lo vedù quand so sor ___ ?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL see.PTCP when his sister
 'When did he see her sister?'
- b. *A-lo vedù so sor quand?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL see.PTCP his sister when

Given our discussion in Section 4.1.3, the ungrammaticality of (51b) shows that the *wh*-adverb *quand* cannot appear in its base-generated position, but must undergo *wh*-movement (cf. 51a). The different empirical evidence with respect to *wh*-in-situ between Bellunese and Lombard strongly indicates that the syntactic mechanism at the basis of the phenomenon is not the same in the two NIDs. In line with Bonan (2017; 2019), I believe different accounts should be sought out for *wh*-in-situ across NIDs. Manzini and Savoia's (2011) analysis fully captures *wh*-in-situ in Lombard, but an actual *in-situ* analysis of postverbal *wh*-items is incompatible with the Lamonat and Sovramontino data.

Finally, I want to point out that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, *wh*-items can appear in their TP-internal base-generated position in *echo questions*. Let us consider the echo question in (52) and its non-echo question counterpart in (53):

- (52) *Sovramontino*
- El can l a magnà chee?
 The dog 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG eat.PTCP what
 'The dog ate what?'

- (53) *Lamonat*
- A-lo magnà che l can?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL eat.PTCP what the dog
 'What did the dog eat?'

The echo question in (52) translates into English 'The dog ate WHAT?'. In Sovramontino and Lamonat, echo questions are marked prosodically by an *echo intonation* on the interrogative pronoun, which is uttered duplicating its final vowel. In (52), the *wh*-word *chee* truly occurs *in-situ* in its TP-internal base-generated position. A crucial difference between (52) and (53) is that the echo question does not exhibit SCLI, whereas, in the apparent *wh*-in-situ question in (53), SCLI is pivotal for the grammaticality of the question. Thus, the echo question in (52) is not characterised by an interrogative structure. The *in-situ* position of *chee* in (52) can be tested by replacing the bare *wh*-item with an aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-item (Pesetsky 1987): the result is an ungrammatical sentence, as shown in (54).

- (54) *Sovramontino*
 *Te ol che da-l demonio?
 2SG.SCL want.2SG what of-the devil
 (What the hell do you want?)

Aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-elements must move out of their TP-internal *in-situ* position, hence the ungrammaticality of (54). Aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-elements can instead surface in postverbal position in *wh*-questions with an interrogative structure (i.e. exhibiting SCLI), as shown in (55):

- (55) *Sovramontino*
 U-tu che da-l demonio?
 want.2SG-2SG.SCL what of-the devil
 ‘What the hell do you want?’

(55) is further evidence that, in root *wh*-questions, postverbal *wh*-items are not in their TP-internal base-generated position. In Section 5.3, I will further discuss the case of d-linked and aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-elements.

4.3 *Wh-movement to the periphery of the vP*

By adopting Belletti’s (2004; 2005) periphery of the vP, Bonan (2017; 2019) proposes a third theoretical account of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs based on Trevigiano.¹⁵ Bonan (2017; 2019) does not impose her analysis on all NIDs that exhibit *wh-in-situ* and crucially advocates a non-unitary analysis of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs. She claims that her analysis applies to Trevigiano and related varieties. As convincingly shown in her work, she claims that *wh-in-situ* in Trevigiano is the result of short *wh*-movement to Foc in Belletti’s (2004; 2005) left periphery of the vP. There are two main reasons not to adopt Bonan’s (2017; 2019) analysis in this paper. First, empirically, there is a clear difference between the Trevigiano data and the Lamonat/Sovramontino data with respect to *wh-in-situ*. Second, one of the aims of this paper is to show that the derivation of *wh*-questions in Sovramontino/Lamonat is comparable to that of Friulian (crucially, a NID that does not show *wh-in-situ*): by virtue of being a *wh*-fronting language, the Friulian data would be extremely difficult to account for by adopting an analysis that involves *wh*-movement to Belletti’s (2004; 2005) Foc in the vP periphery.

Let us briefly discuss the empirical differences between Trevigiano and Bellunese with respect to *wh-in-situ*. The first difference lies in the availability of *wh-in-situ* in embedded clauses. Trevigiano allows *wh-in-situ* in embedded contexts, whereas, as previously mentioned, Lamonat and Sovramontino do not. If, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, the postverbal *wh*-element targeted a TP-internal position (Foc in the vP periphery), the unavailability of embedded *wh-in-situ* would be difficult to justify.¹⁶ The second difference concerns the distribution between preverbal and postverbal *wh*-items. Bonan (2017; 2019) shows that, in Trevigiano root interrogatives, *wh*-items can indistinctively surface in either preverbal or TP-internal position (with the exception of *cossa* ‘what’ that is banned TP-internally). Crucially, the same is observed for d-linked *wh*-elements, which can be found in either

¹⁵ Trevigiano is spoken in the province of Treviso, which borders with the province of Belluno. Despite the geographical proximity, Bellunese and Trevigiano exhibit clear morpho-phonological and morpho-syntactic differences that sets them apart as two distinct super-dialect areas (see Tuttle 1997). Despite the language internal micro-variation, Bellunese and Trevigiano are both NIDs that belong to the macro-linguistic region of Veneto (see Maiden & Parry 1997).

¹⁶ Again, see Manzini and Savoia (2011) on the asymmetry between root and embedded *wh-in-situ* due to LF interpretative construals.

wh-positions. In Trevigiano, *wh*-in-situ hence seems to be an optional phenomenon.¹⁷ In Lamonat and Sovramontino, on the other hand, there is a clear distinction between the *wh*-items that are licensed in preverbal position and those that are licensed in postverbal position: d-linked *wh*-elements, *wh*-items encoding mirativity and clitic *wh*-elements must surface preverbally, whereas tonic non-d-linked/non-mirative *wh*-items must surface in postverbal position. This fact suggests that a different set of functional projections is involved in the realisation of Bellunese *wh*-items, which is tightly linked to (i) the information structure status of the *wh*-items themselves (d-linked, mirative or focal), and (ii) their morpho-syntactic status (tonic vs. clitic). An analysis whereby d-linked and non-d-linked *wh*-items landed in the same TP-internal position would not be able to capture these differences. Third, the empirical evidence put forward in the previous sections of the paper on Lamonat and Sovramontino's (i) complex T° and clitic auxiliaries, (ii) placement of tonic and clitic adverbs,¹⁸ and (iii) subject cleft-questions, would be difficult to

¹⁷ As pointed out in fn. 4. Bonan (2019) puts forward a “competing-grammar” model to capture Trevigiano's high degree of optionality between the fronted and the *in-situ* position of *wh*-elements that involves the Q particle (in the sense of Cable 2010). She claims that Trevigiano can resort to both QP-selection, in case of *wh*-fronting, and Q-adjunction, in case of *wh*-in-situ (see Cable 2010; Bonan 2019 for further discussion).

¹⁸ There are some interesting differences with respect to tonic adverb placement and the position of the postverbal *wh*-element: some configurations that are grammatical in Trevigiano are ungrammatical in Lamonat and Sovramontino. This is evidence that in Lamonat and Sovramontino a different derivation of (apparent) *wh*-in situ is in place. This is particularly noticeable with respect to the position of the past participle and the postverbal *wh*-item in relation to tonic adverbs. Bonan (2019) shows that in Trevigiano low adverbs are placed within the TP-internal space above the vP; in her account, the past participle also targets the same bundle of projections and lands in a functional projection lower than the functional projections occupied by virtually all low adverbs. The only exception is *tuto* ‘all’, which instead appears in a functional projection lower than that occupied by the moved past participle (Cinque 1999). In Trevigiano, the ungrammatical Sovramontino *wh*-question in (i) would hence be grammatical:

- (i) *A-lo sistemà tut quand?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL tidy.up.PTCP all when
 (When did he tidy up everything?)

In fact, as opposed to Sovramontino, in Trevigiano, the tonic adverb *tut* ‘all’ is able to appear between the past participle and the *wh*-item in the left periphery of the vP. Given the unsuitability of Top° to host the T-to-C movement (see Rizzi 1997) and thus the absence of *bona fide* topical elements in the left periphery of Lamonat and Sovramontino, the past participle/inflected lexical verb and the postverbal *wh*-item are always adjacent in the two Bellunese varieties (also, linear adjacency with the verb cluster contributes towards the assignment of focal prominence on the postverbal *wh*-item, see Section 4.1.3). As a result, the grammatical linear order of the Sovramontino *wh*-question in (i) features *tut* after the *wh*-element, as shown in (ii):

- (ii) A-lo sistemà quand tut?
 have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL tidy.up.PTCP when all
 ‘When did he tidy up everything?’

This difference shows that, as opposed to Trevigiano, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, the *wh*-item has moved higher than the left periphery of the vP, more specifically in the C-domain. Let us consider another example with the tonic low adverb *sempre* ‘always’: the following linear order is grammatical in Lamonat, but ungrammatical in Trevigiano (in line with Bonan's 2019 account):

- (iii) Va-lo aonde to fradel sempre a-l mar?
 go.3SG-3SG.M.SCL where your brother always to-the seaside
 ‘Where does your brother always go to the seaside?’

In Trevigiano, Bonan (2019) claims that, if not dislocated, the subject surfaces in SpecvP and that, as previously mentioned, the adverb *sempre* is located above the vP periphery. In this light, the grammatical counterpart of (iii) in Trevigiano would be the ungrammatical Lamonat sentence in (iv):

- (iv) *Va-lo sempre aonde to fradel a-l mar?
 go.3SG-3SG.M.SCL always where your brother to-the seaside
 (Where does your brother always go to the seaside?)

The empirical difference in adverb placement again suggests that postverbal *wh*-items in Lamonat and Sovramontino do not target the left periphery of the vP.

reconcile with an analysis whereby postverbal *wh*-elements surface TP-internally in the periphery of the vP.

Having discussed the main analyses of *wh-in-situ* across NIDs, in the remainder of the paper, I will: (i) summarise the proposed analysis for apparent *wh-in-situ* questions in Lamonat and Sovramontino, (ii) account for Lamonat and Sovramontino's different distribution of *wh*-items between the apparently *in-situ* and preverbal position, and (iii) show the resemblance between Lamonat/Sovramontino and Friulian with respect to the derivation of *wh*-questions.

5 The behaviour of *wh*-words in Lamonat and Sovramontino

Lamonat and Sovramontino exhibit both apparently *in-situ* and preverbal *wh*-elements. Letting aside for now preverbal d-linked and mirative *wh*-elements, which will be discussed separately in Section 5.3, let us consider the following *wh*-questions in (56) and (57):

(56) *Lamonat*
 A-la beù che Maria?
 have.3SG-3SG.F.SCL drink.PTCP what Mary
 'What did Mary drink?'

(57) Ond-e-la ndà to sor?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.F.SCL go.PTCP your sister
 'Where did your sister go?'

(56) exemplifies an apparent *wh-in-situ* question, whereas (57) shows a *wh*-question with a non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-item in seemingly canonical position. So far, we have amply discussed apparently *in-situ wh*-questions (cf. 56), but we have not proposed a derivation for (57). In the next two sections, I will (i) summarise the proposed analysis for apparent *wh-in-situ* in Lamonat and Sovramontino, and (ii) propose a derivation for *wh*-questions featuring a non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-item.

5.1 Apparently *in-situ wh*-words: *SpecFocusP* as the targeted left-peripheral projection

In the previous sections, we have established that, in root interrogatives, the *wh*-element occurring in postverbal position undergoes *wh*-movement. We now need to determine which position it targets in the C-domain. In order to do so, I will adopt Rizzi's (1997) seminal split-CP model. Rizzi (1997) claims that the CP encodes at least two types of information relating to both the 'outside' and the 'inside' of the clause. In his model, ForceP encodes information that looks at the higher structure of the clause and specifies its clausal type (i.e. interrogative, declarative or exclamative force); on the other hand, FinitenessP looks at the inside of the clause, namely at the content of the TP, and is responsible for marking finiteness. Rizzi's (1997) split-CP model does not only encode *force* and *finiteness*, but also discourse-pragmatic information that relates to information structure. He claims that the topic-comment and the focus-presupposition articulations, namely TopicP and FocusP, are sandwiched in that hierarchical order between ForceP and FinitenessP. It is important to note that I will not adopt Rizzi's model in its original form, but abide by Benincà and Poletto's (2004) claim against the existence of a lower TopicP between FocusP and FinitenessP.

Let us go back to the interrogative pronoun *che* in (56). I repeat (56) in (58) below:

- (58) *Lamonat*
 A-la beù che Maria?
 have.3SG-3SG.F.SCL drink.PTCP what Mary
 ‘What did Mary drink?’

We cannot establish the landing site of *che* within Rizzi’s (1997) split-CP without first considering the behaviour of the surrounding constituents. Following Poletto’s (1993; 2000) claim that in Bellunese the *wh*-criterion is satisfied by SCLI alone, there is no need for the *wh*-element to land in the specifier position of the moved verb cluster (*a-lo magnà*) to fulfil the structural needs of the interrogative clause. Assuming that *the locus of SCLI* in *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino* is Force°, the *wh*-element must land in a position lower than ForceP. The next lower position is TopP. This position is recursive in nature (Rizzi 1997) and can give rise to a bundle of projections that characterises a *Topic Field* (Benincà & Poletto 2004). Given the focal nature of *wh*-elements and the lack of recursiveness of *wh*-items, I exclude that *che* in (27) lands in TopicP. In addition, *bona fide* topical elements (i.e. non-contrastive) are optional as they are the presupposed-known portion of the sentence (Lambrecht 1994); by contrast, *wh*-words always refer to some novel piece of information that the speaker wants to elicit from the hearer. There is also another reason to exclude TopicP: Top° is an unsuitable head for the transit of head movement (Rizzi 1997). Given that T-to-Force movement is necessary for the well-formedness of questions in *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino*, *bona fide* topical elements can never surface in the left periphery of the clause in *wh*- and *yes/no* questions (only frame-setters are in fact able to appear preverbally in root interrogatives, see Sections 4.1.3 and 6). The focal properties of *wh*-elements strongly suggest that the most obvious landing site for *che* in (27) is FocusP: a position that is above the TP layer, lower than ForceP and not topical in nature.

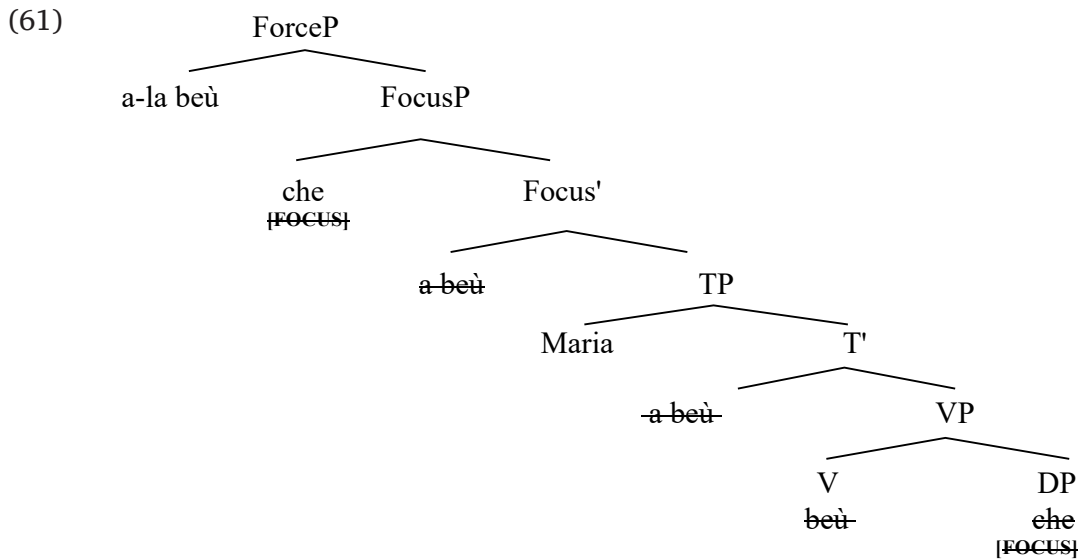
Focal XPs and *wh*-items share in fact the following properties: uniqueness, lack of a resumptive clitic, prosodic sentential stress and are incompatible with one another (Rizzi 1997; 2018; Cruschina 2012). As for the last point, apparently *in-situ wh*-items are incompatible with both contrastive/corrective and informational focal XPs, as shown in (59) and (60) respectively:

- (59) *Lamonat* – CONTRASTIVE FOCUS
 *A-L GAT g-a-lo dat che, no a-l can?
 to-the cat DAT.CL-have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL give.PTCP what NEG to-the dog
 (What did he give to the cat and not to the dog?)
- (60) INFORMATIONAL FOCUS
- a. *G-a-lo dat che A-L GAT Mario?
 DAT.CL-have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL give.PTCP what to-the cat Mario
 ‘What did Mario give to the cat?’
- b. *G-a-lo dat A-L GAT che Mario?
 DAT.CL-have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL give.PTCP to-the cat what Mario
 ‘What did Mario give to the cat?’

Note that the relevant constituent in narrow focus is in CAPITALS. In (59), the *wh*-element *che* cannot coexist with the contrastive/corrective focal element *al gat*, which in *Lamonat* and *Sovramontino* always surfaces preverbally (see De Cia 2018). The two NEIDs seem only to allow one focal element per sentence (see Rizzi 2018 on uniqueness of focus). This

possibly translates into the inability of focal prominence to be recursive in the grammar of Lamonat and Sovramontino: focal prominence can only be assigned to one constituent per sentence. In (60), on the other hand, the *wh*-element and the informational narrow focal XP *al gat* potentially compete for the same syntactic position. This is true regardless of the order of *focal element* and *wh-word* (cf. 60b).¹⁹

Having identified the landing position of the apparently *in-situ wh*-word *che* in (58), let us briefly outline how the *wh*-element targets that position. In addition to an intrinsic [WH] feature, I assume that the *wh*-element also carries a [FOCUS] feature (à la Bianchi 1999). The [FOCUS] feature is primarily responsible for the surfacing of the *wh*-element in SpecFocusP. As for the [WH] feature, it does not need to be satisfied through spec-head agreement: the structural well-formedness of the question is ensured by SCLI alone via *dynamic agreement* (Poletto 1993). The *wh*-element is thus free to surface in SpecFocusP, fulfilling its discourse-pragmatic nature. This suggests that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, the discourse-pragmatic nature of *wh*-elements is more prominent than their syntactic status as question operators. The simplified tree in (61) shows the proposed derivation of (58):



5.2 The clitic status of non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-words

We now need to account for the behaviour of non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements, like the interrogative pronoun *ond* in (62):

- (62) *Lamonat*
 Ond-e-la ndà to sor?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.F.SCL go.PTCP your sister
 ‘Where did your sister go?’

¹⁹ Note that the discussion around (60) is built on the assumption that this type of focus fronting is legitimate in root interrogatives. However, further investigation is needed to confirm it. De Cia (2018) argues that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino root declaratives, narrow focal elements bearing a purely focal interpretation can undergo focus movement to the C-domain, but they have to be shielded by the complex T° as a result of the intricate interplay of discourse-pragmatics and residual V2. De Cia (2018) however does not discuss this possibility in root interrogatives. An investigation of this aspect is hence due.

In a nutshell, I propose that, in Lamonat and Sovramontino, non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements exhibit a different morpho-syntactic behaviour from canonical preverbal *wh*-elements in other Romance languages. Due to their clitic status, they do not undergo *wh*-movement on their own, but rely on the inflected verb for their realisation, mirroring very much the behaviour of preverbal clitics across NEIDs (see Benincà 1994). Non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements hence form a special class of *wh*-items that have clitic status.

In Sovramontino and Lamonat, non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-items and apparently *in-situ* (bare) *wh*-elements exhibit clear morpho-phonological and morpho-syntactic differences. Non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements are generally phonologically reduced and, unlike apparently *in-situ wh*-elements, cannot receive focal stress: they are ultimately atonic and prosodically rely on the verb cluster. The inability of *wh*-clitics to receive focal prominence can be appreciated by the fact that *wh*-clitics can co-occur with an XP in narrow focus within the same sentence. Given that the semantics of *wh*-interrogatives, it is difficult to devise a suitable and clear context in which an element in *narrow focus* coexists with a clitic *wh*-element; however, if the focal XP is the subject of the clause, a cleft-question obligatorily arises: the subject in narrow focus and the *wh*-clitic can coexist, as shown in (63):

- (63) *Sovramontino*
 Quan-e-lo MARIA che la a catà n om?
 when-be.3SG-SCL_{expl} Maria COMP 3SG.F.SCL have.3SG find.PTCP a husband
 ‘When did Maria find a husband?’

Conversely to Lombard varieties (see Manzini & Savoia 2011), Lamonat and Sovramontino *wh*-clitics cannot co-occur with apparently *in-situ wh*-items of equivalent meaning, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (64):

- (64) *Lamonat*
 *Onde-son-e aonde?
 where-be.1PL-1PL.SCL where
 ‘Where are we?’

The only exception is the *wh*-clitic *sa* ‘what’, which can optionally co-occur with the equivalent tonic postverbal *wh*-item *che*, as shown in (65):

- (65) *Lamonat*
 a. Sa-a-lo fat Toni?
 what-have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL do.PTCP Toni
 ‘What did Toni do?’
 b. Sa-a-lo fat che Toni?
 what-have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL do.PTCP what Toni
 ‘What did Toni do?’

(65b) is comparable to Italian *che cosa*. The lexicalisation of the two *wh*-items is not an instance of a multiple *wh*-question, but the *wh*-clitic and the tonic *wh*-item are semantically interpreted as a single unit. *Wh*-doubling configurations are common across NIDs (see Manzini & Savoia 2005; 2011; Bonan 2019), but only optionally attested with *sa* in Lamonat and Sovramontino. Again, note that the co-existence of the clitic *wh*-item and the postverbal tonic *wh*-item is only possible because the former does not carry focal promi-

nence. All other non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements (i.e. *wh*-clitics) show a strict syntactic distribution that is complementary to that of tonic postverbal *wh*-elements.

Let us consider examples (66), (67), (68) and (69) below. They show the distribution of the *wh*-clitic *onde* ‘where’ and its (apparently *in-situ*) tonic counterpart *aonde* ‘where’:

- (66) *Lamonat & Sovramontino*
 Ond-e-lo ndà Mario?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP Mario
 ‘Where did Mario go?’
- (67) E-lo ndà aonde Mario?
 be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL go.PTCP where Mario
 ‘Where did Mario go?’
- (68) Onde/*Aonde va-lo Mario?
 where go.3SG-3SG.M.SCL Mario
 ‘Where is Mario going?’
- (69) Va-lo aonde/*onde Mario?
 go.3SG-3SG.M.SCL where Mario
 ‘Where is Mario going?’

Examples (66) to (69) show that *onde* and *aonde* are not interchangeable. *Onde* can only appear pre-verbally, while purely focal *aonde* (i.e. non-d-linked/non-mirative) can only appear in apparently *in-situ* position. *Onde* is the clitic form of its tonic counterpart *aonde*. Besides its atonic status and the impossibility of carrying focal prominence, another straightforward piece of evidence can be put forward in support of the clitic status of *onde*: *onde* cannot be used in isolation, while *aonde* can (e.g. ‘where?’ to ask for a precise location).²⁰

Across NIDs, clitic *wh*-elements are robustly attested (Manzini & Savoia 2005; 2011; Poletto & Pollock 2009; 2015). Poletto and Pollock (2009; 2015) put forward a three-way

²⁰ Note, however, that under Merchant’s approach to ellipsis (2001; 2004) whereby *wh*-fragments/*wh*-phrases in sluicing are derived through the elision of the head located under FocusP in the C-domain, we would not expect focal tonic *wh*-items to be able to appear in isolation. This prediction is partially borne out. In a context like Speaker A: ‘I saw Toni’, Speaker B is very likely to reply the Lamonat *wh*-question in (i):

- (i) L-a-tu vedù aonde?
 3SG.M.OCL-have.2SG-2SG.SCL see.PTCP where
 ‘Where did you see him?’

In (i), the complex T° precedes the focal *wh*-item. In this respect, Merchant’s prediction is borne out. Nonetheless, if Speaker B still does not get the place where Speaker A saw *Toni*, Speaker B would utter *aonde?* in isolation. It is important to note that *aonde* used in isolation very often resembles the intonation of an echo-question: a different structure, for instance, may be in place. I will not further discuss the issue in this paper. Nevertheless, I want to point out that clitic *wh*-items like *onde* can never be used in isolation. If it is used as a fragment, it must be cliticised onto the complex T°. For instance, Speaker A: ‘I saw Toni’, Speaker B must utter the *wh*-question in (ii) with the *wh*-clitic *onde* cliticised onto the complex T°:

- (ii) Onde-l-a-tu vedù?
 where-3SG.M.OCL-have.2SG-2SG.SCL see.PTCP
 ‘Where did you see him?’

If Speaker B still does not get the location, Speaker B cannot utter the clitic *wh*-item *onde* with an echo-intonation, but must resort to its tonic counterpart *aonde*.

distinction between tonic, clitic and weak (*à la* Cardinaletti & Starke 1999) *wh*-elements. In this paper, I will only distinguish between clitic and tonic *wh*-words: a two-way distinction is, in fact, sufficient to account for the distribution and morpho-syntactic behaviour of non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements in Lamonat and Sovramontino (see also Manzini & Savoia’s 2011 criticism on weak *wh*-elements). Munaro and Poletto (2014) acknowledge the clitic status of some *wh*-elements across NIDs, exhaustively discussing the diachronic development of the *wh*-word *where* across NIDs. In order to account for the tonic-clitic divide across NIDs, they reconstruct the internal layering of the *wh*-word *where* based on its morphological composition. They claim that the *wh*-item *where* is made up of three sub-elements: i) a *prepositional formative*, which corresponds to either one of the following prepositions *in* ‘in’, *di* ‘of’, and *da* ‘from’, or a combination of them; ii) a *vocalic formative* o/u namely the *wh*-operator feature that developed from Indo-European *wh*-formative *qw*; and iii) a *deictic locative element* derived from various sources *-nd*, *-v*, or *-la*, expressing locative deixis. Following Munaro and Poletto’s (2014) analysis, in Table 2, I show the internal make-up of the tonic *wh*-word *aonde* in Lamonat and Sovramontino.

In light of Table 2, in its diachronic development, the clitic *wh*-element *onde* lacks the prepositional layer, resulting in a reduced morpho-phonological form. Also, the epenthetic final vowel *-e* is absent if the inflected verb to which it attaches starts with a vowel. Based on Poletto and Munaro’s (2014) discussion of the diachronic development of clitic and tonic *where* across NIDs, we can safely claim that a clitic *wh*-form of *where* is also present in Friulian. This will be particularly important in Section 6 where I will compare the derivation of *wh*-questions in Friulian and Lamonat/Sovramontino. Much like *onde* in Lamonat and Sovramontino, Friulian clitic *la* ‘where’ lacks Poletto and Munaro’s (2014) prepositional layer (compared to its tonic counterpart *dulà* ‘where’). The *wh*-questions in (70) and (71) are respectively examples of Friulian clitic form of ‘where’ *la* and its tonic counterpart *dulà*:

- (70) *Friulian*
 La-is-al Jacum?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL James
 ‘Where is James?’
- (71) *Dulà is-al Jacum?*
 where be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL James
 ‘Where is James?’

The Friulian clitic *wh*-form *la* exhibits the same behaviour as *onde* in Lamonat and Sovramontino: it cannot appear in isolation and, phonologically, relies on the inflected verb to which it attaches. In addition, both *la* and *dulà* cannot co-occur in the same sentence, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (72):

- (72) **Dulà la-is-al Jacum?*
 where where-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL James

Table 2: The internal makeup of the tonic *wh*-word *aonde* in Lamonat and Sovramontino according to Munaro and Poletto (2014).

Aonde	a	o	nd	e
	preposition <i>in</i>	<i>o/u</i> formative	locative formative <i>nd</i>	epenthetic V

Besides *where* and *what*, Lamonat and Sovramontino exhibit a full set of clitic *wh*-items, as shown in Table 3 along with their tonic counterparts.

Clitic *wh*-forms systematically appear preverbally. Tonic *wh*-forms can only appear preverbally if they carry a salient discourse-pragmatic reading (i.e. d-linked or mirative). It is important to note, however, that *how*, *how much*, *who* and, in Sovramontino only, *what* have the same form in the tonic and clitic paradigm. The clitic *wh*-forms are nonetheless unstressed and tend to be phonologically reduced. For example, the clitic form of ‘how much’ loses its final –t when the following inflected verb starts with a consonant, but retains it if the following verb starts with a vowel, as shown in (73) and (74) respectively:

(73) *Lamonat & Sovramontino*
 Quan-coste-lo?
 how.much-cost.3SG-3SG.M.SCL
 ‘How much does it cost?’

(74) Quant-e-lo?
 how.much-be.3SG-3SG.M.SCL
 ‘How much is it?’

Similarly, the clitic form of ‘how’, *come*, loses its final vowel when the inflected verb starts with a vowel, as shown in (75):

(75) Com-a-lo fat?
 how-have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL do.PTCP
 ‘How did he do?’

These phenomena are not attested with their tonic counterparts, which do not show any sensitivity to the following phonological environment and always appear in their full form in apparently *in-situ* position (or preverbal position if they bear a d-linked or a mirative interpretation, see Section 5.3).

The clitic nature of non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements is primarily responsible for their preverbal position. In the syntactic treatment of *wh*-clitics, I adopt Kayne’s (1991) generalisation that clitics attach to the heads of functional categories. In this regard, I propose that *wh*-clitics attach to the verb cluster and hence surface in the *locus of SCLI*. The behaviour of *wh*-clitics is hence comparable to that of satellite clitics across NEIDs (see Benincà 1994). In Lamonat and Sovramontino, *wh*-clitics cliticise onto verb cluster, which undergoes T-to-Force movement, surfacing thus in preverbal position, as shown in (76a) and (76b) below:

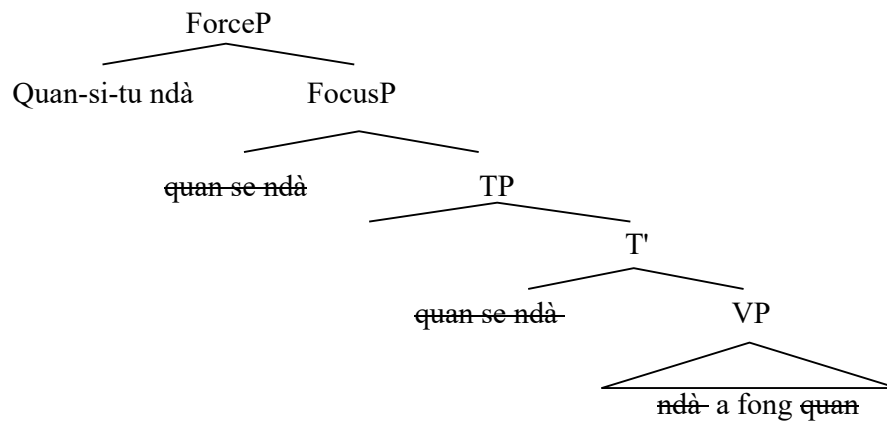
Table 3: Tonic and clitic *wh*-elements in Lamonat and Sovramontino.

	Tonic	Clitic
WHO	chi	chi
WHERE	aonde	ond(e)
WHAT	che	ch(e)/s(a)
WHEN	quand	quan
HOW	come	com(e)
HOW MUCH	quant	quan(t)

(76) *Lamonat*

- a. Quan-si-tu ndà a fong?
 when-be.2SG-2SG.SCL go.PTCP to mushroom
 ‘When did you go picking up mushrooms?’

b.



As argued in Section 4.1.4, the well-formedness of the question is assured by SCLI alone, which licenses a silent *wh*-operator in SpecForceP through *dynamic agreement* (Poletto 1993; 2000). It is reasonable to assume that clitic *wh*-elements are also equipped with a [WH] feature and hence are able to lexicalise the *wh*-operator in SpecForceP. However, their clitic status is evidence against such analysis. I instead propose that *wh*-clitics cliticise onto the verb cluster under the complex T°, which undergoes T-to-C movement to the *locus of SCLI*, yielding their preverbal position.

Having accounted for the different distribution between apparently *in-situ* purely-focal *wh*-elements and non-d-linked/non-mirative preverbal *wh*-elements (i.e. *wh*-clitics), in the next section, I will discuss the last type of *wh*-items found in Lamonat and Sovramontino: preverbal tonic *wh*-elements, which carry either a d-linked or a mirative interpretation.

5.3 The discourse-pragmatically salient nature of tonic preverbal *wh*-items

Let us start our discussion by accounting for the behaviour of d-linked *wh*-items (Pesetsky 1987). I have in fact not yet proposed an analysis for the type of *wh*-questions in (77) and (78):

(77) *Sovramontino*

- Che majon a-tu comprà?
 which jumper have.2SG-2SG.SCL buy.PTCP?
 ‘Which jumper did you buy?’

(78) Che magne-tu ti?
 what eat.2SG-2SG.SCL you?

‘What of these things are you going to eat?’ (Lit. What do you eat?)

In (77) and (78) a tonic *wh*-element is fronted. (77) and (78) seem to challenge the analysis of the behaviour of *wh*-elements in Lamonat and Sovramontino that I have developed so far: the data, in fact, show that tonic *wh*-elements can appear in preverbal position (as well as in apparently *in-situ* position). However, in (77) and (78), the preverbal position of the tonic *wh*-elements is systematically justified by their d-linked interpretation (in the sense of Pesetsky 1987; 2000). It follows that the preverbal position of tonic *wh*-elements

is not identical to the preverbal position of clitic *wh*-elements, but it is a discourse-pragmatically salient structural position.

In (77), *which jumper* refers to a limited set of jumpers whose existence and characteristics are known by the interlocutors: it is part of the knowledge shared by speaker and hearer. Similarly, in (78), *what* refers to a limited set of items that the speakers can choose from: implicitly, the speakers know what these items are. De Cia (2018) provides an analysis of d-linked *wh*-elements in Lamonat and Sovramontino. He claims that, by virtue of being equipped with a [WH] feature and a [CONTRASTIVE] feature, d-linked *wh*-elements can occupy SpecForceP, which is a privileged structural discourse-pragmatic position in Lamonat and Sovramontino where contrastiveness is satisfied. It is important to note that following Molnár's (2002; 2006) arguments on contrastive focus, De Cia (2018) does not conceive contrastiveness as a categorical discourse-pragmatic notion, but as a continuum. The degree of contrastiveness is determined by the properties of the set containing the contrastive element with respect to its size and the accessibility of alternatives. In the contrastiveness continuum, De Cia (2018) argues that d-linked *wh*-elements are placed in the middle, serving the *membership in a finite set of entities* discourse-function. This is particularly true of lexically restricted *wh*-items of the type 'which X', which, not surprisingly, virtually always trigger such discourse-pragmatic reading. The d-linked interpretation of a *wh*-element is tightly linked to *common ground management* (Krifka 2007; Krifka & Musan 2012): the landing position of a d-linked *wh*-element is hence a discourse-pragmatically salient one.

De Cia (2018) notes a key difference between non-d-linked *wh*-elements and their d-linked counterpart: d-linked *wh*-elements cannot be clefted, as shown in (79b):

- (79) *Sovramontino*
- a. Che e-lo che te magna?
 what be.3SG-SCL_{expl} that 2SG.SCL eat.2SG
 'Is it what of these things that you are going to eat?' (Lit. Is it what that you eat?)
- b. #E-lo che che te magna?
 be.3SG-SCL_{expl} what that 2SG.SCL eat.2SG

The postverbal position of *che* in (79b) makes it impossible for the tonic *wh*-item to encode a d-linked interpretation: *che* in (79b) can only have a focal exhaustive interpretation as regular clefted tonic *wh*-items. In order to be interpreted as a d-linked *wh*-item, the *wh*-element must appear out of the cleft in preverbal position, as shown in (79a): it cannot be realised in apparently *in-situ* position, but must move to the left peripheral position, in which it can check its [CONTRASTIVE] feature, namely in SpecForceP. The same tonic *wh*-item (being it bare or prepositional) can hence appear either preverbally or postverbally, depending on its discourse-pragmatic interpretation as either purely focal (postverbal position) or d-linked (preverbal position),²¹ as shown in (80):

- (80) *Lamonat*
- a. Laore-lo con chi to pare? **Non-d-linked interpretation**
 work.3SG-3SG.M.SCL with who your father
 'With whom does your father work?'

²¹ Note that clitic *wh*-elements do not display this possibility, but must always appear preverbally cliticised onto the verb cluster. Only bare *wh*-items (with the exception of *parchè* 'why') have clitic counterparts: non-*wh*-clitic can be lexically restricted or appear under a preposition.

- b. Con chi laore-lo to pare? **D-linked interpretation**
 with who work.3SG-3SG.M.SCL your father
 ‘With whom (of these people) does your father work?’

Crucially, the preverbal position of the prepositional *wh*-item in (80b) triggers a d-linked interpretation, which can be paraphrased as ‘with whom of a previously mentioned/pre-supposed set of people does your father work?’.

The discourse-pragmatic specialisation of the preverbal position, which, according to De Cia (2018) is also activated in declarative sentences hosting a contrastive XP, is a residual property of Lamonat and Sovramontino’s Force-V2 system (in the sense of Wolfe 2016): the V2 *prefield* has been reanalysed as a discourse-pragmatically salient position that hosts contrastive XPs (De Cia 2018). As far as root interrogatives are concerned, we have claimed that SpecForceP is occupied by a *wh*-operator, which satisfies the *wh*-criterion and derives from *dynamic agreement* (Poletto 1993; 2000). This position, however, is available to d-linked *wh*-elements by virtue of carrying both a [WH] and a [CONTRASTIVE] feature. The [WH] feature allows the d-linked *wh*-element to lexicalise the *wh*-operator. Purely contrastive XP (equipped with a [CONTRASTIVE] feature, but lacking a [WH] feature) are indeed banned by this position in root interrogatives.²² Note that, given the structural position of the preverbal *wh*-item and the verb cluster, it follows that nothing can intervene between the d-linked *wh*-item and the verb cluster. This prediction is indeed borne out in Lamonat and Sovramontino. As previously mentioned, the only non-interrogative XPs that can appear preverbally in root interrogatives are scene-setting elements that are base-generated in a projection higher than ForceP (Poletto 2000; Benincà & Poletto 2004; Greco & Haegeman 2016). As a consequence, it is possible to have a frame-setter preceding a preverbal *wh*-item, but nothing can intervene between the *wh*-item and the verb cluster. The special behaviour of this type of *wh*-elements in Bellunese is known in the literature, but has not been fully addressed in terms of discourse-pragmatics. Poletto and Pollock (2004) claim that d-linked *wh*-elements are not licensed in focal postverbal position, but higher in the left-peripheral space. Munaro (1998) notes that, in Bellunese, *wh*-elements that are structurally complex, like (77), are not licensed in apparently *in-situ* position, but must appear preverbally. In terms of frequency, d-linked *wh*-elements are more often part of a complex DP (‘which X’), than bare *wh*-words. As a consequence, d-linked *wh*-elements are often more structurally complex than non-d-linked *wh*-words; however, this is not always the case, as shown in (78). I claim that the internal structural complexity of the tonic *wh*-word does not predict its syntactic position within the clause: what determines the preverbal position of a tonic *wh*-element is its salient discourse-pragmatic interpretation.

Two predictions follow from our discussion so far: (i) lexically restricted *wh*-items that do not carry an immediate d-linked interpretation should appear postverbally in apparently *in-situ* position, (ii) aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-elements (see Pesetsky 1987) should appear postverbally, as, *de facto*, they lack a d-linked interpretation. While the first

²² Consider the Lamonat sentence in (i):

- (i) No se che majon che l a comprà
 NEG know.1SG which jumper that 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG buy.PTCP
 ‘I don’t know which jumper he bought’.

In this case, ‘which jumper’, *che majon*, is followed by an obligatory complementiser, *che*, that introduces the embedded interrogative. I assume that *che majon* fills the specifier position of the head hosting *che*. It is important to note that a d-linked/non-d-linked asymmetry is not attested in embedded contexts, but all tonic *wh*-items precede the overt complementiser *che*. I take this asymmetry as evidence in favour of the V2-related nature of SpecForceP as a discourse-pragmatically salient structural position.

prediction is fully borne out, the second needs some further discussion and the introduction of the concept of *mirativity*. As for (i), lexically restricted *wh*-items without a d-linked interpretation must appear postverbally, as shown in (81):

- (81) *Sovramontino*
 A-tu ledhest quanti libri l an pasà?
 have.2SG-2SG.SCL read.PTCP how.many books the year past
 ‘How many books did you read last year?’

In (81) no d-linked interpretation is available, hence the postverbal position of the lexically restricted *wh*-item. Note, however, that the same lexically restricted *wh*-element must instead surface preverbally if it bears a d-linked interpretation, as shown in (82):

- (82) Mi o ledhest diese libri, e ti? Quanti libri
 I have.1SG read.PTCP book and you how.many books
 a-tu ledhest?
 have.2SG-2SG.SCL read.PTCP
 ‘I read ten books, and you? How many books did you read?’

In (82), there holds a contrastive relationship between the number of books read by the speaker and the number of books read by the hearer. The latter is encoded in the lexically restricted *wh*-item, which must thus appear preverbally.

As for (ii) aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-items, they can unexpectedly appear in both preverbal and postverbal position. It is possible to identify two categories of aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-items: (i) those roughly translating into ‘what the hell’ (*che dal ostia/che ostia, che dal demonio/che demonio*), and (ii) those translating roughly into ‘what the fuck’ (*che mona, che cazzo*). The first group can surface in either preverbal or postverbal position, whereas the second group seems to be only felicitous in preverbal position. In Lamont and Sovramontino, these *wh*-items are mainly uttered when the speaker wants to convey surprise, disappointment, incredulity or anger. This is especially true of the second group of aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-items. This aspect brings us to the last type of discourse-pragmatically salient tonic *wh*-items that can appear in preverbal position: *wh*-XPs encoding *mirativity* (in the sense of Cruschina 2012). The possibility of aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-items to surface preverbally is hence not justified by the fact that they carry a [CONTRASTIVE] feature (in fact, they cannot as they are by definition non-d-linked), but because of their *mirative* interpretation (see Cruschina 2012). I here therefore propose two possible analyses for aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-items (as well as more generally tonic *wh*-items) that carry a [MIRATIVE] feature and hence must surface in preverbal position. Either (i) we expand on De Cia’s (2018) proposal and argue that the residual V2 *prefield* is a generalised discourse-pragmatically salient position that can host both contrastive (i.e. d-linked) and mirative XPs endowed with a [WH] feature, or (ii) we assume that mirative XPs land in a dedicated functional projection (à la Bianchi et al 2015; 2016), which, according to Bianchi et al. (2015; 2016), is located higher than ForceP. Both analyses correctly predict that no XP can intervene between the *wh*-item and the verb cluster. Given that d-linked *wh*-items cannot co-occur with a mirative XP, I believe that adopting an analysis whereby the V2 *prefield* has been reanalysed as a salient discourse-pragmatic position that can host *contrastiveness* and *mirativity* is more empirically and theoretically sound. I will nonetheless leave this point open for debate. Going back to aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-items, it is important to note that if a mirative interpretation is not in place, they must appear postverbally. *Mirativity* is not only a discourse-pragmatic reading

available to aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-items, tonic bare and prepositional *wh*-items can also have a mirative interpretation. In such case tonic *wh*-items must surface preverbally to satisfy their [MIRATIVE] feature. Let us consider the *wh*-question in (83):

- (83) *Lamonat*
 Aonde si-tu ndat!?
 where be.2SG-2SG.SCL go.PTCP
 ‘Where have you been!?’

The *wh*-question in (83) features a tonic *wh*-item (*aonde*) and was uttered by an angry mother, whose son was late for lunch. In this particular context, (83) can be paraphrased as ‘where the hell have you been?!’ employing an aggressively non-d-linked *wh*-item. Given the discourse-pragmatic context, the *wh*-element in (83) does not land preverbally because of a d-linked interpretation: its preverbal position is instead due to its *mirative* interpretation. Figure 2 summarises the overall distribution of *wh*-items in Lamonat and Sovramontino.²³

Having analysed and discussed the behaviour of clitic and tonic *wh*-elements, and the effect of information structure on tonic *wh*-items, it is time to take the investigation a step forward with the following question: why are apparently *in-situ wh*-elements only present in certain NEIDs and not in others? By comparing Lamonat and Sovramontino with Friulian, I will claim that *wh-in-situ* is the result of a deeper microparametric variation across NEIDs that involves the *locus of SCLI*.

6 Microparametric variation in the locus of subject clitic inversion

Let us start our discussion by considering the Friulian *yes/no* question in (84) and its Lamonat equivalent in (85):

- (84) *Friulian*
 a. No aj-al durmît Mario di besôl?²⁴
 NEG have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL sleep.PTCP Mario of alone
 ‘Didn’t Mario sleep on his own?’

²³ Note that I have not discussed *parchè* ‘why’ in Lamonat and Sovramontino. Differently from the other bare *wh*-items, *parchè* does not have a clitic counterpart and hence cannot appear cliticised onto the verb cluster in the *locus of SCLI*. It can appear both preverbally and postverbally, as shown in (i) and (ii):

- (i) Parchè me a-tu ciamà?
 why 1SG.OCL have.2SG-2SG.SCL call.PTCP
 ‘Why did you call me?’
 (ii) Me a-tu ciamà parchè?
 1SG.OCL have.2SG-2SG.SCL call.PTCP why
 ‘Why did you call me?’

The preverbal position is only licensed by a mirative interpretation. Given the special properties of ‘why’, its postverbal position, however, may not be the same as that of purely focal *wh*-items, but it may be externally merged into the C-domain in a different functional projection (see Rizzi 2001).

²⁴ As argued in Section 4.1.1, note that the word order in (i) below is also grammatical in Friulian:

- (i) No aj-al Mario durmît di besôl?
 NEG have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL Mario sleep.PTCP of alone
 ‘Didn’t Mario sleep on his own?’

In contrast to Lamonat and Sovramontino, the auxiliary can be morpho-phonologically independent of the past participle and undergo T-to-C movement on its own. I assume that, in Friulian, if the past participle does not cross the subject position, it stays within TP: V-to-T movement of the past participle does not take place.

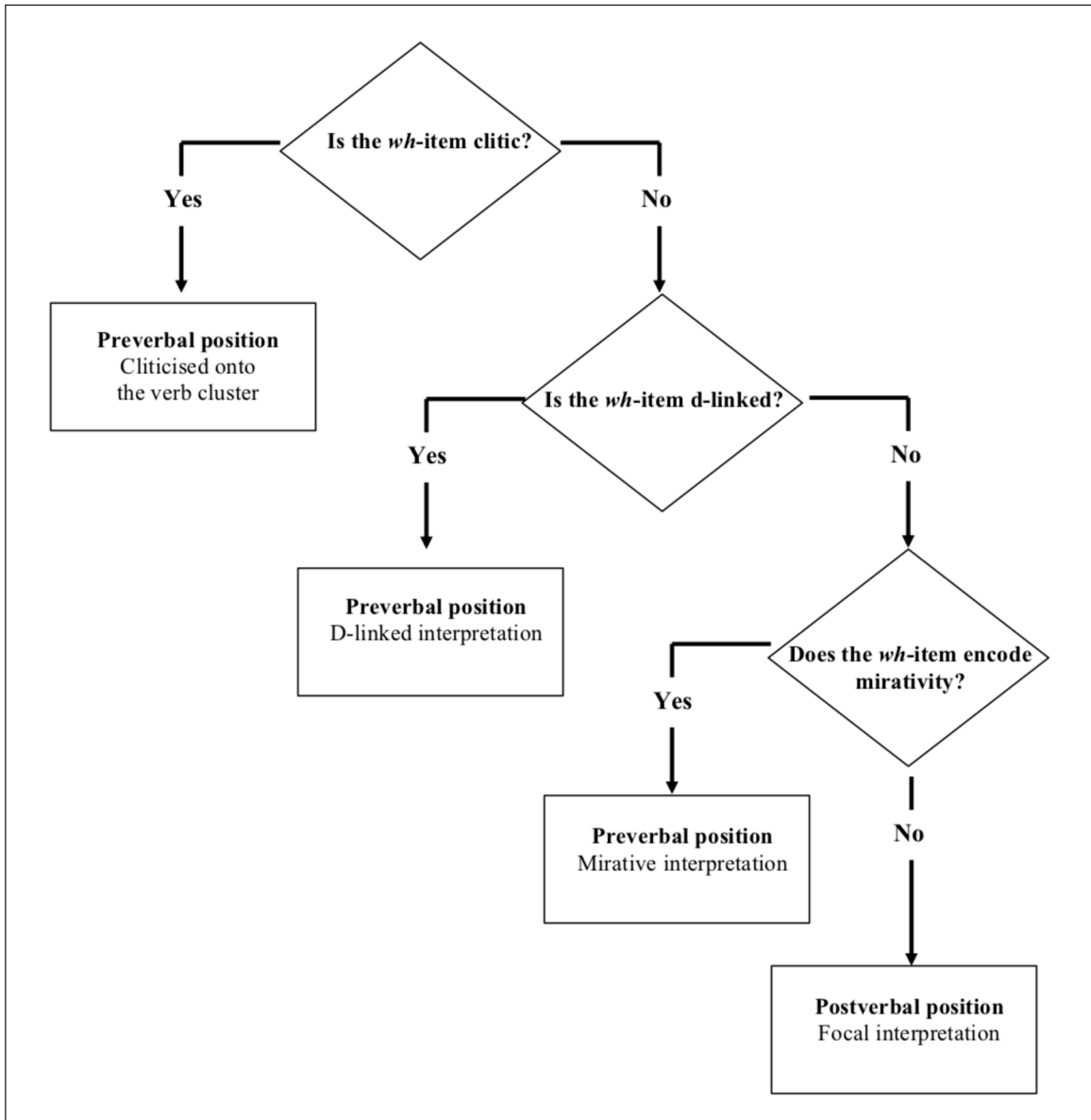


Figure 2: The distribution of *wh*-elements in the Bellunese varieties of Lamon and Sovramonte.

- b. *No al a durmît Mario di besôl?
 NEG 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG sleep.PTCP Mario of alone

(85) *Lamonat*

- a. No l a durmì Mario da el sol?
 NEG 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG sleep.PTCP Mario of him alone
 ‘Didn’t Mario sleep on his own?’
- b. *No a-lo durmì Mario da el sol?
 NEG have.3SG-3SG.M.SCL sleep.PTCP Mario of him alone

In a nutshell, I will argue that, in Lamonat and in Sovramontino SCLI fails (cf. 85a) because of the intervening strong negation that is able to act as host of Q under Force°, namely under *the locus of SCLI*. In Friulian, on the other hand, the *locus of SCLI* involves a left peripheral projection lower than that in which the strong negation checks its [NEG] feature; as a result, in Friulian, SCLI is not affected by the intervening strong negation.

As shown by the ungrammaticality of (85b), in Lamonat and Sovramontino, SCLI is impossible in root negative-interrogatives. In Friulian root negative-interrogatives, SCLI instead exhibits the exact opposite behaviour: in (84a), SCLI takes place regardless of the presence of the preverbal strong negation, and, if SCLI does not take place, the sentence is ungrammatical (cf. 84b). Let us now briefly explain the assumptions around the ungrammaticality of SCLI in root negative-interrogatives in Lamonat and Sovramontino. Consider the following negative sentences in (86) and (87):

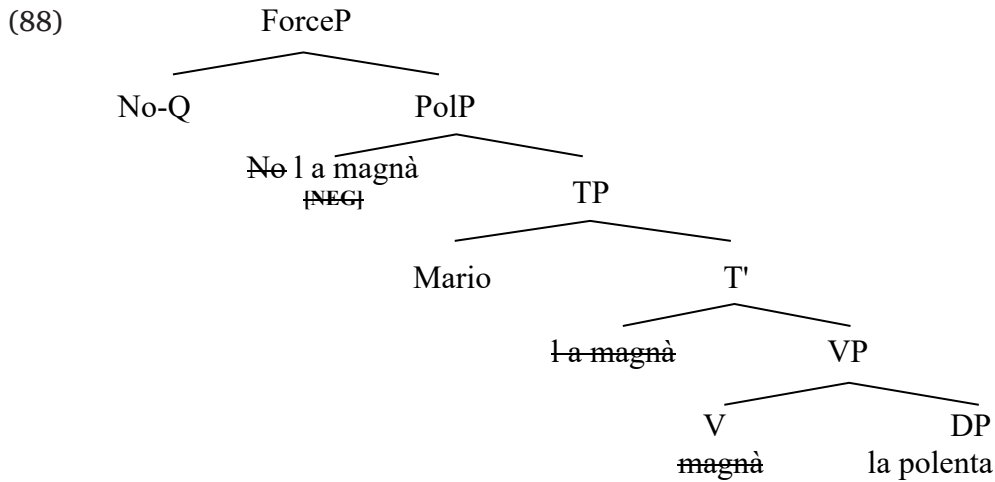
- (86) *Sovramontino*
 Mario no l a magnà la polenta.
 Mario NEG 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG eat.PTCP la polenta
 ‘Mario did not eat the polenta.’
- (87) No l a magnà Mario la polenta?
 NEG 3SG.M.SCL have.3SG eat.PTCP Mario la polenta
 ‘Didn’t Mario eat the polenta?’

The negation in the root declarative in (86) is not prosodically marked and allegedly occupies a syntactic position within the TP layer that is below the subject *Mario*. On the other hand, the negation in (87) is prosodically marked and has scope over the whole sentence. In this respect, the negation in (87) is an instance of sentential negation whose realisation is rooted in the C-domain above the TP-layer (see Haegeman 1995; Zanuttini 1997; Horn 2001). In order to distinguish the negation in (87) from the negation in (86), I will henceforth refer to the former as *strong negation*, which must be solely interpreted as a descriptive label that identifies the negation employed in a negative *yes/no* question. In (87), the constituent order is altered, yielding T-to-C movement. Given the negative-interrogative nature of the sentence in (87), the strong negation must check its [NEG] feature in the C-domain (Zanuttini 1997; Poletto & Zanuttini 2013). I assume that this is done in PolarityP (see Laka 1990), which is located lower than ForceP and higher than FinP in the left peripheral space. Once the negation has checked its feature, it moves to Force° where it adjoins to Q. I claim that Q is satisfied by the adjacency with negative element: the intervening negative element hence blocks SCLI, as the strong negation itself is a suitable host for Q. To some extent, the present analysis resembles Zanuttini’s (1997:44) account of the behaviour of the negation in root negative-interrogatives in Paduan. In Paduan, much like Lamonat and Sovramontino, SCLI is blocked by the intervening negation:

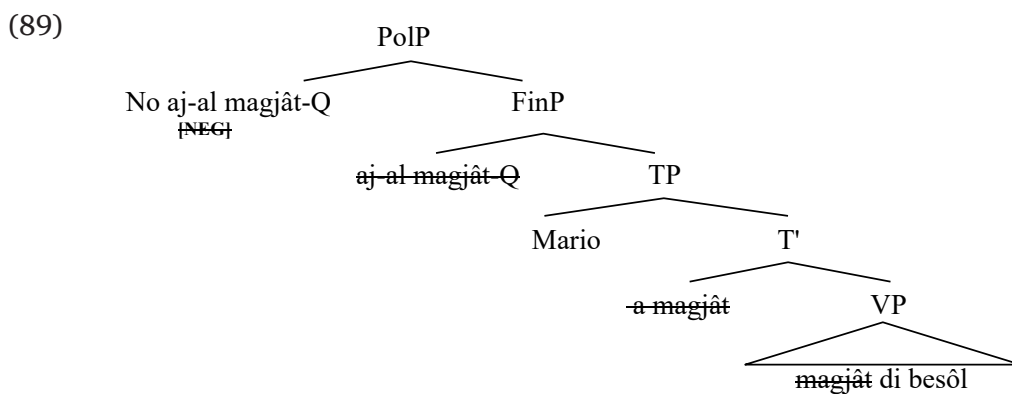
I will argue, instead, that the negative marker itself (or, perhaps, its features) moves to C° in negative *yes/no* questions [...] for concreteness, I will assume that the *yes/no* operator is in the specifier of CP and that **no** can check the features of C° either by adjoining to it in the syntax or by LF-raising of its features (Zanuttini 1997: 44).

The crucial difference with Zanuttini’s (1997) account is that she does not assume T-to-C movement in root negative-interrogatives in Paduan: she claims that only the negation moves to the left peripheral space and the negation alone satisfies the *wh*-criterion (Rizzi 1991). Lamonat and Sovramontino’s constituent order in negative-interrogatives and the data from negative-interrogatives in Friulian (84) suggest that, across NEIDs, T-to-C movement does take place in negative-interrogatives allegedly to the head of PolP. I assume that, in such case, T-to-C movement ensures (i) the satisfaction of the *yes/no operator* and

(ii) verb cluster adjacency with the strong negative element, which, in light of its focal-like properties (see Villa-García 2016), receives discourse-prominence prosodically.²⁵ The derivation of (87) is schematically represented in (88):

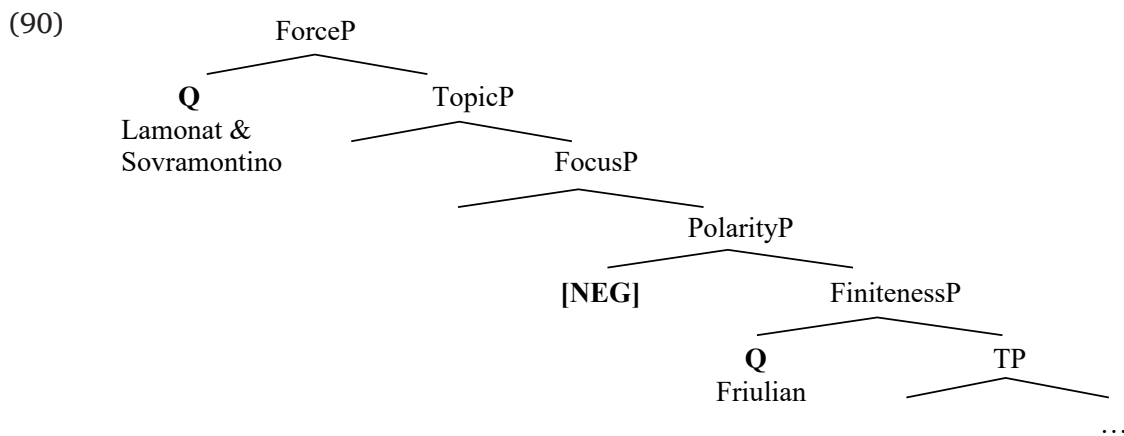


Going back to the cross-dialectal comparison between Lamonat/Sovramontino and Friulian, I argue that the puzzling data in (84) and (85) can be made sense of, if we assume that the *locus of SCLI* in Friulian is located in a lower C-projection than in Lamonat and Sovramontino. I argue that Q in Friulian is not satisfied under Force°, but under Fin°. Taking as point of reference the position in which the strong negation in root negative-interrogatives checks its [NEG] feature, PolarityP, SCLI inversion in Friulian occurs in Fin°. When the complex T° reaches Fin°, Q attaches to the verb cluster and SCLI is by default triggered. Note that, differently from Lamonat and Sovramontino, at this point of the derivation, the strong negation has not yet checked its [NEG] feature and hence it is unable to support Q. The arboreal representation in (89) shows that, in Friulian, the finite verb does not need to rise higher than FinP for SCLI to be licensed:



²⁵ Note that SCLI inversion does not take place; nonetheless the subject clitic appears proclitically. This is important because supports Gorla's (2004) view on the licensing of interrogative subject clitics. SCLI does not indistinctively take place when T-to-C movement occurs, but when such movement satisfies the interrogative nature of the sentence (T° adjoins to Q under the *locus of SCLI*). This is also why, for example, SCLI does not take place when T-to-C movement satisfies focus adjacency requirements in root declaratives in the NEIDs under investigation (see De Cia 2018). In such cases, I assume that the SCL is adjoined to T°.

The presence or absence of SCLI in negative-interrogatives can hence be explained in terms of the microparametric variation in the *locus of SCLI*: Force° in Lamonat and Sovramontino, and Fin° in Friulian. In sum, assuming that the negation in a *yes/no* question is licensed in PolarityP (Laka 1990), which is located lower than ForceP, but higher than FinP, in Friulian T° is attracted to Fin° by Q: SCLI takes place before the negation checks its [NEG] feature in PolarityP. In Lamonat and Sovramontino, on the other hand, the negation is licensed in PolarityP before T° reaches Force°: the negation itself is then able to support Q and SCLI is not triggered (via verb movement to Force°). The position of PolarityP, and the difference in the *locus of SCLI* between Friulian and Lamonat/Sovramontino are schematically shown in (90):



If we instead assume an account whereby the strong negation in negative-interrogatives has purely focal properties and hence must check a [FOCUS] features in FocusP (*à la* Villa-García 2016), the intervening effect of the negation on SCLI can still be appreciated, as FocusP, the same as PolarityP, is lower than ForceP, but higher than FinitenessP.

Let us now consider the Friulian *wh*-questions in (91) and (92) and their Lamonat counterparts in (93) and (94):

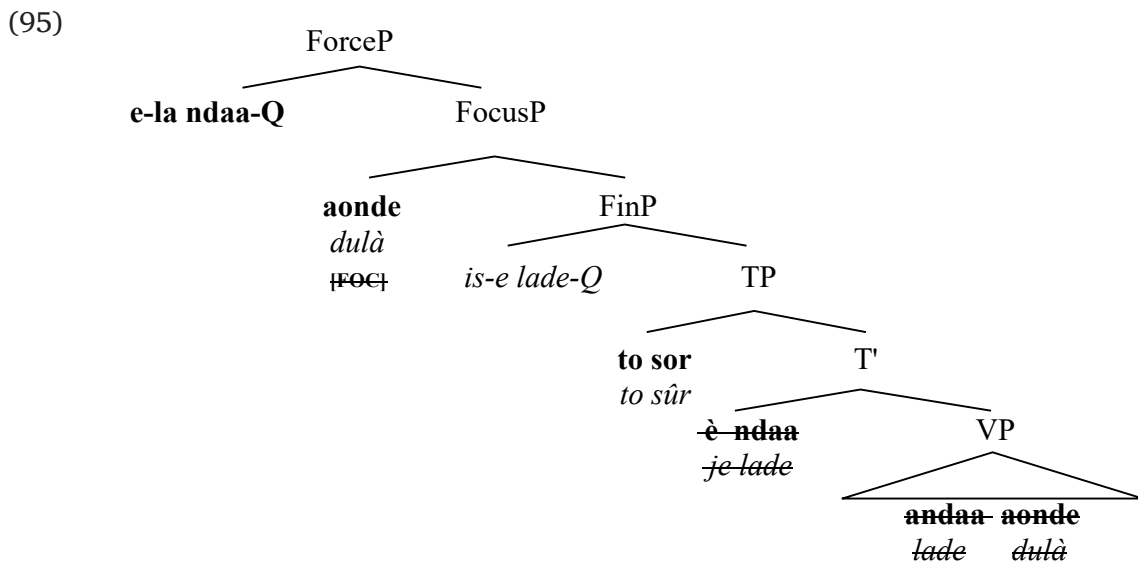
(91) *Friulian*
 La-is-e lade to sôr?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.F.SCL go.PTCP your sister
 ‘Where did your sister go?’

(92) Dulà is-e lade to sôr?
 where be.3SG-3SG.F.SCL go.PTCP your sister
 ‘Where did your sister go?’

(93) *Lamonat*
 Ond-e-la ndaa to sor?
 where-be.3SG-3SG.F.SCL go.PTCP your sister
 ‘Where did your sister go?’

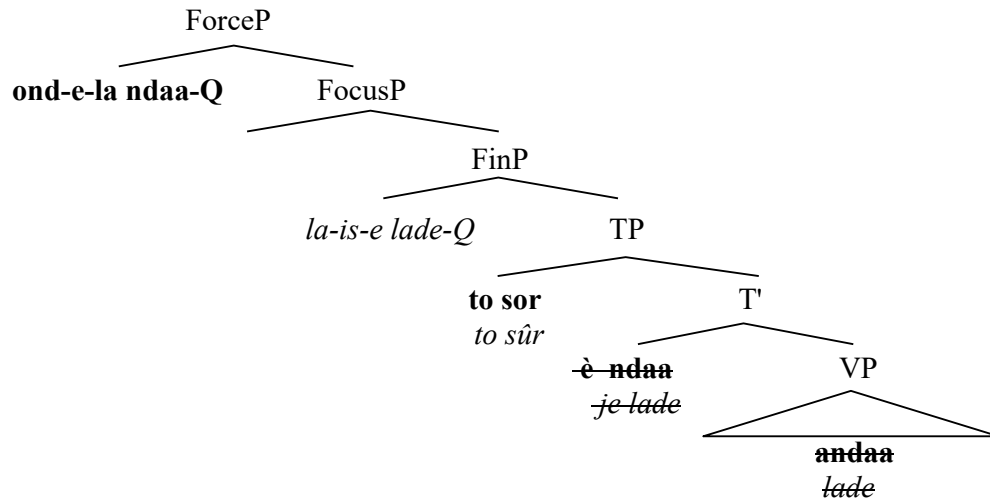
- (94) E-la ndaa aonde to sor?
 be.3SG-3SG.F.SCL go.PTCP where your sister
 ‘Where did your sister go?’

In Section 5.2, I claimed that the Friulian *wh*-word *dulà* (cf. 92) is a tonic *wh*-element that bears focus prominence: it has the same morpho-syntactic status as *aonde* in (94). The corresponding clitic form of *dulà* is the *wh*-clitic *la* in (91): *la* behaves like *onde* (cf. 93) in Lamonat and Sovramontino. By assuming a one to one correspondence between Friulian and Lamonat/Sovramontino clitic and tonic *wh*-elements, *dulà* surfaces in SpecFocP, whereas its clitic counterpart *la* is cliticised onto the verb cluster in the *locus of SCLI*. If the Friulian *wh*-elements in (91) and (92) morpho-syntactically behave like their Lamonat/Sovramontino counterparts in (93) and (94), why do they exhibit a different linear order? The difference in linear order can be accounted for by assuming the aforementioned microparametric variation in the *locus of SCLI*: Force° in Lamonat and Fin° in Friulian. In Friulian, since SCLI takes place under Fin°, the tonic *wh*-element *dulà* and the clitic *wh*-element *la* both appear preverbally. In reality, the *wh*-clitic *la* appears cliticised onto the verb cluster in Fin°, while the tonic *wh*-word *dulà* surfaces in SpecFocP. The identical derivation of Friulian *dulà* and Lamonat/Sovramontino *aonde* as purely focal tonic *wh*-elements in (92) and (94) becomes more transparent when the two sentences are shown under the same arboreal representation (cf. 95). Note that Friulian also exhibits SCLI in root interrogatives, hence, through *dynamic agreement*, the *wh*-element has no need to land in the specifier position of the head hosting the moved verb (i.e. SpecFinP). The tonic *wh*-element can thus freely satisfy its discourse-pragmatic function, namely *narrow focus*, landing in the specifier position of FocusP. This is shown in (95) below: the Friulian sentence in (92) is represented in *italics*, whereas the Lamonat sentence in (94) in **bold**:



A similar tree can be drawn to show the identical derivation of Friulian *la* (cf. 91) and Lamonat/Sovramontino *onde* (cf. 93), as shown in (96) below. Again, Friulian is represented in *italics*, whereas Lamonat in **bold**:

(96)



As a result, Lamonat and Sovramontino's apparent *wh-in-situ* is solely the manifestation of a parametric choice that involves the *locus of SCLI*, namely the left peripheral head that hosts Q in root interrogatives and where SCLI surfaces. In this respect, Lamonat and Sovramontino should not be treated as *wh-in-situ* languages, but as proper *wh-fronting* languages on par with Friulian.

Another piece of evidence in support of the proposed microparametric variation in the locus of SCLI comes from information structure, more specifically, from the limitation on the number of preverbal topics in root interrogatives. For the present investigation, we are interested in the number, rather than type of topics that can appear preverbally. Let us consider the Friulian sentence in (97):

(97) *Friulian*

Iar, t-al bosc a-tu viodût to barbe?
 yesterday in-the woods have.2SG-2SG.SCL see.PTCP your uncle?
 'Did you see your uncle in the woods yesterday?'

Given the recursive nature of topics (Rizzi 1997; Benincà & Poletto 2004), Friulian's C-domain can theoretically host an unlimited number of topics in a *yes/no* question like (97). On the other hand, in the exact same *yes/no* question, Lamonat and Sovramontino can only host a single topic preverbally that functions as a frame-setter (Poletto 2000; Benincà & Poletto 2004; Greco & Haegeman 2016), as shown in (98):

(98) *Lamonat*

- a. *Ier, ant-el bosc a-tu vedù to barba?
 yesterday in-the woods have.2SG-2SG.SCL see.PTCP your uncle?
- b. Ier, a-tu vedù to barba ant-el bosc?
 yesterday have.2SG-2SG.SCL see.PTCP your uncle in-the woods?
 'Did you see your uncle yesterday in the woods?'

Bona fide topical elements are not licenced in the C-domain of root interrogatives in Sovramontino and Lamonat. In Lamonat, the same linear order as (97) would yield an ungrammatical sentence, as in (98a), which can be rescued by realising the presupposed

XPs *in-situ* within the TP layer, as in (98b). Again, this difference can be accounted for by assuming a micro-parametric difference in the *locus of SCLI* across the NEIDs under investigation: since Friulian SCLI takes place in Fin° , there is room for a more articulated left periphery. By contrast, in Lamonat, the presence of one or more topics would impede the verb cluster in its movement to Force° , as TopP is an unsuitable host for the transit of T-to-C movement (see Rizzi 1997).²⁶

Finally, the satisfaction of Q under either Force° or Fin° is not random or arbitrary, but is rooted in the diachronic development of the NEIDs under investigation. Starting from the assumption that T-to-C movement in root interrogatives across NEIDs is a vestigial V2 trait (Rizzi 1991; 1996; Salvi 2016 a.o), verb movement in root interrogatives directly reflects where, within the C-domain, the V2 constraint was satisfied during their V2 stage (see Benincà 2006; Ledgeway 2008; Salvi 2004; 2012; 2016). The present microparametric variation in the *locus of SCLI* suggests that V2 was satisfied in different left-peripheral projections, namely ForceP in Lamonat and Sovramontino, and FinP in Friulian. Crucially, Wolfe (2016) independently argues that Medieval Romance varieties could either satisfy V2 in Fin° or Force° . The residual V2 properties of the NEIDs under investigation supports Wolfe's (2016) V2 parameterisation.

7 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have shown that *wh-in-situ* in the Bellunese varieties of Lamon and Sovramonte is not a genuine phenomenon, but the result of a deeper microparametric variation that concerns the *locus of SCLI* across NEIDs. In line with Munaro (1998; 1999), Poletto and Pollock's (2004; 2009) account of Bellunese, I argued that the postverbal *wh*-item does not truly appear *in-situ* in TP-internal position, but has undergone *wh*-movement to the left periphery of the clause. Lamonat and Sovramontino cannot hence be considered *wh-in-situ* languages, but *wh*-fronting languages on par with Friulian. Differently from NIDs that exhibit genuine TP-internal *wh-in-situ*, Lamonat and Sovramontino do not show true optionality between the (apparently) *in-situ* and the fronted *wh*-position. The distribution of *wh*-items between the preverbal and postverbal position can be fully constrained on the basis of (i) the morpho-syntactic status of the *wh*-item as clitic or tonic, and (ii) its discourse-pragmatic interpretation as focal, d-linked or mirative. *Wh*-items with a purely focal interpretation must appear postverbally, whereas *wh*-items with a mirative or a d-linked interpretation must surface preverbally. As for *wh*-clitics, they are not affected by information structure and surface preverbally cliticised onto the verb cluster. The case of Lamonat and Sovramontino has important cross-linguistic implications for the study of *wh*-syntax: it shades light on the pervasiveness of discourse-pragmatics in content question formation and points towards a typology of *wh*-items that is characterised by different degrees of sensitivity to information structure. Assuming that the degree of pervasiveness of discourse-pragmatics in *wh*-syntax is language specific, content question formation should be considered a discourse-pragmatic phenomenon as well as a syntactic one.

Abbreviations

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, CL = clitic, COMP = complementiser, COND = conditional, DAT = dative, expl = expletive, F = feminine, FUT = future, M = masculine, IMPF = imperfective, INF = infinitive, LF = Logical Form, NEID

²⁶ Background information (G-topics) must hence be realised *in-situ*. See Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010), and Frascarelli and Ramaglia (2013) for the cross-linguistic parameterisation of G-topics, which can be either realised *in-situ* or as *bona fide* topics in the C-domain.

= North-Eastern Italian Dialect, NEG = negation, NID = Northern Italian Dialect, PF = Phonological Form, PL = plural, PRN = pronoun, PTCP = past participle, SCL = subject clitic, SCLI = subject clitic inversion, SG = singular, SUBJ = subjunctive.

Competing Interests

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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