



**Università Ca' Foscari Venezia**

**Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Scienze del Linguaggio**  
*(ordinamento ex D.M. 270/2004)*

*Tesi di Laurea*

**A Syntactic overview of Main *Wh*-Questions involving SCLI  
or the overt complementizer in the Dialects of Eastern Veneto**

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**Anno Accademico**

**2012 / 2013**

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## **Introduction**

In this work I illustrate and discuss the main features of two typical strategies we can find among northern Italian dialects to formulate *wh*-questions in root contexts. In particular, I analyse the construction involving the inversion between the verb and the subject clitic pronoun and the construction characterized by the presence of the complementizer without any inversion.

The choice of the topic comes from some observations on a different formulation of *wh*-questions among dialect native speakers living in some towns not so far each other, belonging to the eastern area of Veneto. The presence of two types of constructions apparently used in an equivalent way and the study of the left periphery in the cartographic perspective, led me to investigate a little bit more on these aspects, through the support of some important works by major linguists, who studied in a detailed way the left periphery, the main features of northern Italian dialects and the behaviour of subject clitic pronouns.

The work is organized as follows: in section 1., I briefly explain how a sentence is organized from a structural point of view and, adopting the cartographic approach, I describe the upper portion of the sentence, namely the so called left periphery. In section 2., I give an idea of the variety of strategies we can find in northern Italian dialects to form main *wh*-questions. In particular, I analyze the main features of the strategy involving the subject clitic inversion and of the one involving the complementizer, proposing, in section 3, their possible syntactic representation without and within the Split-CP hypothesis. Section 4. presents and analyzes some data collected from dialect native speakers belonging to eastern area of Veneto and shows how the degree of variation observed can be motivated in terms of an intrinsic syntactic process of the natural development of the language. Finally, in section 5., I briefly summarize the entire content of the present work.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Professor Nicola Munaro for his perseverance and willingness but especially for giving me the possibility to examine in depth this interesting topic. I thank also Professor René Julio Lenarduzzi, who helped me to increase my competence in Spanish and who has been helpful to check the Spanish part of this work. I also want to express a particular thank to Professor Alessandra Giorgi

who, through her excellent competence and fantastic lessons, transmitted me the passion for Linguistics.

A particular thank is for Luis because with his wisdom, love and limitless perseverance gives me every day the strength to deal with every kind of difficulties of my life and for my parents because they gave me the possibility to study and, through their daily support, have made me able to reach also this important goal.

Finally, I want to thank all my university colleagues and friends, in particular Valentina and Margherita, and all the informants whose willingness made possible the second part of this work and those persons who helped me to collect the data, in particular my brother Diego.

I dedicate this work to my grandmother Stella, who died last December and always gave me precious advices and transmitted me the enthusiasm for dealing with every aspect of life.

# 1. The structure of the sentence and the Left Periphery

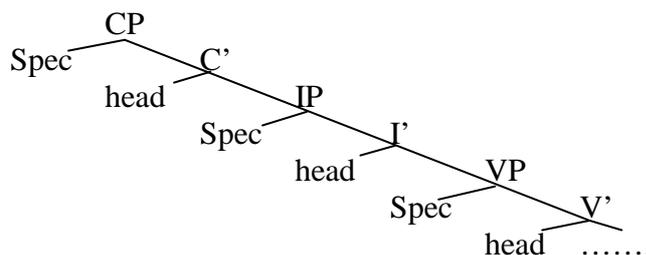
In this section, firstly, I give a general description of the sentence structure from a syntactic point of view (section 1.1); then, in section 1.2., following a cartographic approach, I analyze in detail the complementizer field, showing the fine structure of the left periphery of the clause, proposed by Rizzi in 1997; finally, in section 1.3., I mention some successive proposals about the refinement of the left periphery, in particular I take into account Benincà and Poletto's (2004) work.

## 1.1. The sentence structure

Following the studies of Generative Grammar, the structure of the sentence is characterized by three main projections, hierarchically organized, which permit to divide a sentence namely into three big layers, connected between them and having specific properties and functions in making a sentence grammatical and good related with the context in which it is inserted.

The lowest projection, called Verbal Phrase (henceforth, VP) is the argumental area of the sentence related to the verb and its arguments and where it assigns them their theta role. Proceeding upward we find the Inflection Phrase, hereafter IP, which is the projection of the agreement (tense, aspect, mood and person) between the verb and the subject of the sentence. Finally there is the functional projection called Complementizer Phrase (henceforth, CP) which makes possible the interactions between the sentence and the discourse context.

Each phrase is hierarchically organized in a binary branching tree constituted, starting from the bottom, by a head ( $X^{\circ}$ ), an intermediate level ( $X'$ ) and a maximal one (XP); the phrase is namely the reflection of the head, whose features determine the entire phrase projection. Moreover, to obtain a grammatical structure, an important agreement relationship must apply between the head and the specifier of the maximal projection, through a mechanism of percolation of features from the head to the specifier (see section 3. for a syntactic representation of a sentence under this perspective).



## 1.2. The structure of the Left Periphery proposed by Rizzi in 1997

Among the literature on the syntactic representation of the sentence, a crucial role had the Split-IP hypothesis formulated by Pollock in the '80s. In this perspective the Inflection Phrase is considered as a field formed by more than one single projection and each projection is dedicated to a specific function, namely AgrP for the number and gender agreement and TP for tense, aspect and mood agreement. This hypothesis is important for our discussion because, on the basis of this idea, Rizzi formulated a similar proposal for the Complementizer Phrase in the nineties.

Observing that many different types of elements can occur in what is considered the left periphery of the sentence (CP projection), Rizzi proposed in 1997 a Split-CP hypothesis in which different kinds of heads, hierarchically organized, project a different projection. In this way we obtain a field hosting more than one specialized functional projection, whose head is activated depending on the typology of the sentence.

According to Rizzi (1997) the left periphery of the sentence can be represented by a string of projections hierarchically organized in a highest projection, called FORCE, which determines the typology of the sentence (declarative, interrogative, exclamative, relative, comparative, etc.); a TOP projection (the asterisk indicates its possible recursive property), which represents topicalized elements (information known by both speaker and hearer(s)); a FOC projection indicating focalized elements, namely new information constituents; another potentially recursive TOP projection and finally a FIN projection, which indicates the finiteness property of the clause (see below (1a.)). In (1) I illustrate the left periphery proposed by Rizzi (1997) and some of the examples Rizzi studied to support his hypothesis.

(1) a.      FORCE          TOP\*                  FOC    TOP\*                  FIN    IP

b.      **FORCE vs. FIN**

-      Credo che loro apprezzerebbero molto il tuo libro

*I believe that they would appreciate your book very much*

-      Credo di apprezzare molto il tuo libro

*I believe 'of' to appreciate your book very much*

- Credo che, il tuo libro, loro lo apprezzerebbero molto  
*I believe that, your book, they would appreciate it a lot*

- \*Credo, il tuo libro, che loro lo apprezzerebbero molto  
*I believe, your book, that they would appreciate it a lot*

- \*Credo di, il tuo libro, apprezzarlo molto  
*I believe 'of', your book, to appreciate it a lot*

- Credo, il tuo libro, di apprezzarlo molto  
*I believe, your book, 'of' to appreciate it a lot*

c. **FORCE vs. TOPIC/FOCUS**

- Un uomo a cui, il premio Nobel, lo daranno senz'altro  
*A man to whom, the Nobel Prize, they will give it undoubtedly*

- \*Un uomo, il premio Nobel, a cui lo daranno senz'altro  
*A man, the Nobel Prize, to whom they will give it undoubtedly*

- \*A chi, il premio Nobel, lo daranno?  
*To whom, the Nobel Prize, will they give it?*

- Il premio Nobel, a chi lo daranno?  
*The Nobel Prize, to whom will they give it?*

- Mi domando, il premio Nobel, a chi lo potrebbero dare  
*I wonder, the Nobel Prize, to whom they could give it*

- ?Mi domando a chi, il premio Nobel, lo potrebbero dare  
*I wonder to whom, the Nobel Prize, they could give it*

d. **TOPIC vs. FOCUS**

- Credo che a Gianni, QUESTO, domain, gli dovremmo dire  
C Top Foc Top IP  
*I believe that to Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, we should say*

- Credo che domain, QUESTO, a Gianni, gli dovremmo dire

- Credo che domani, a Gianni, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire

- Credo che a Gianni, domani, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire
- Credo che QUESTO, a Gianni, domani, gli dovremmo dire
- Credo che QUESTO, domani, a Gianni, gli dovremmo dire

Step by step, the analysis of examples like those illustrated in (1b), (1c.) and (1d.), respectively, led Rizzi to hypothesize the fine structure represented in (1a.). In fact, starting from the analysis of (1b.), we can define the position of FORCE and FIN: generally speaking, in Romance languages, prepositional elements introducing infinitives, like *di* (of), are generally considered the non-finite counterparts of the finite complementizer *che* (that). Given that in (1b.) *che* always precedes and *di* always follows a left-dislocated phrase, like *il tuo libro* (your book), it can be assumed that the complementizer *che* manifests the force position, while *di* manifests the finiteness position. Proceeding with the analysis of (1c.), we can observe that in Italian, relative operators must precede topic elements, while question operators must follow topic in main questions and can follow or (slightly marginally, as indicated by ?) precede them in embedded questions, in this way, (1c.) suggests that relative operators occupy the highest specifier position, the SpecForceP, while question operators can occupy a lower position within the Topic/Focus field. Finally, (1d.) sheds light on the number and order of topicalized and focalized elements, which can occur in a clause, more precisely, in Italian, there are an indefinite number of Topics but only one structural Focus position per clause.

### 1.3. Refinements of the Left Periphery

Successively, developments and refinements of the CP field projections have been proposed by Rizzi and others authors.

Rizzi (1999), for example, proposed an Int(errogative) projection position, lower than Force but higher than Foc and surrounded by potential recursive Topics, identifying it as the functional projection whose head is occupied by *se* (if), the complementizer introducing embedded yes/no questions in Italian, while its specifier is the suitable position to host *wh*-elements corresponding to higher adverbials, like *perché* (why) or *come mai* (how come).

Benincà (2001) and Benincà and Poletto (2004), assumed that there is no recursive Topic position below Foc and, in particular, Benincà and Poletto (2004) give

evidence to claim that Topic elements constitute a field hierarchically organized in its inside and they also provide evidence to assume that there is not just a single Foc position in the CP field but a real Focus field, hierarchically organized too.

Giorgi (2010), instead, proposed that FORCE could better be denominated as SPEAKER because in that position are located the spatial-temporal coordinates associated to the speaker and its role is fundamental for the right interpretation of the sentence but also, for the realization or not of the complementizer and consequently for the choice of the verbal mood of the clause.

### **1.3.1. The Topic and the Focus fields proposed by Benincà and Poletto**

In this subsection, I illustrate more in detail the analysis proposed by Benincà and Poletto (2004), because it is particularly interesting for the syntactic analysis I propose in section 3. In fact, they observed that the sequence of projections proposed by Rizzi (1997), here reported in (1a.), could become more precise, analyzing in a better way what Rizzi considered Topic elements. More precisely, Benincà and Poletto (2004), assume that: real Topic elements are only those on the left of the Focus projection (hereafter, FocP); the recursive property of Topics is really due to the fact that there is a Topic field constituted by different types of topicalized elements, hierarchically organized; finally, FocP, is not a single XP but a field formed by more than one projection, hierarchically organized too.

In their work, they make reference to the general property which distinguishes the Topic field from the Focus one, as the fact that Topic projections (hereafter, TopPs) are connected with a clitic or a *pro* in the sentence, while FocPs are moved to CP and leave a variable. Hence, they identify two different fields in CP, a higher Topic field hosting non-operator elements and a lower Focus field hosting operator-like elements, which means that the projections considered by Rizzi as lower Topics, all have the syntactic characteristics of focused elements, because they behave as operators. For this reason, Benincà and Poletto (2004) consider the set of sentences exemplified in (1d.) not adequate enough to assume a possible position for Topics, more precisely, Left Dislocated elements (henceforth, LD), to the right of FocusP. In particular, the problem arises when the adverb *domani* (tomorrow) occurs after the focalized pronoun *questo* (this one), because it must not be considered an instance of Left Dislocated Topic. In fact, adverbials, such as *tomorrow*, cannot be used as a test for determining the presence or the absence of a lower LD position, as they are themselves structurally ambiguous

between a Topic and a post-subject position, occurring at the IP edge. Moreover, the dative clitic, like the case of *a Gianni* (to John), is not so reliable as a test to identify LD elements, as well as the intonation aspect, which is not a crucial test for determining the position of an XP, because also an intonationally focalized element can syntactically be a LD element.

In their work, Benincà and Poletto (2004) show that the most reliable test to really distinguish Topics from Foci is the weak crossover constraint, which allows to single out variable-operator structures and Topics. As we can observe from (2a.), only focalized XPs appear to be related to a variable inside the clause, so FocPs are subject to the weak crossover restriction (2b.), while Topics, even if intonationally focalized, always escape it (2c.).

(2) a. **THE WEAK CROSSOVER CONSTRAINT**

- Gianni<sub>i</sub>, suo<sub>i</sub> padre l<sub>i</sub>'ha licenziato (LD)

Gianni<sub>i</sub>, his<sub>i</sub> father has fired him<sub>i</sub>

*Gianni has been fired by his own father*

- \*GIANNI<sub>i</sub>, suo<sub>i</sub> padre ha licenziato (Focus)

GIANNI<sub>i</sub>, his<sub>i</sub> father has fired t<sub>i</sub>

*Gianni has been fired by his own father*

b. **FOCUS**

- \*A MARIA, Giorgio<sub>i</sub>, sua<sub>i</sub> madre presenterà

To Maria, Giorgio, his mother will introduce

*His mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria*

- \*A MARIA<sub>i</sub>, Giorgio, sua<sub>i</sub> madre presenterà

To Maria, Giorgio, her mother will introduce

*Her mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria*

- \*A MARIA, Giorgio, sua madre lo presenterà

To Maria, Giorgio, his mother will introduce him

*His mother will introduce Giorgio to Maria*

c. **TOPICS**

- Mario<sub>i</sub>, suo<sub>i</sub> padre non lo vede mai  
Mario, his father never sees him  
*His father never sees Mario*
  
- No, GIANNI<sub>i</sub>, suo<sub>i</sub> padre non lo vede mai  
No, Gianni, his father never sees him  
*No, his father never sees Gianni*

The set in (2a.) displays a contrast between the first sentence, which is grammatical with the interpretation in which *Gianni* is the object with the function of Topic, which is coreferred by *suo* (his), while the second one is ungrammatical, as shown by the asterisk, with the object interpreted as a Focus. In fact *Gianni* can only bind one variable which is its trace *t* left in its base position; only in the case of *Gianni* would be the subject and *suo padre* (his father) the direct object, the sentence would be possible, given that *suo* would be correctly bound by a c-commanding antecedent, *Gianni*.

On the other hand the sets of sentences in (2b.) and (2c.) support the efficacy of the weak crossover constraint to distinguish Topics from Foci elements. In particular, (2b.) shows that both XPs, *a Maria* and *Giorgio*, behave as Focus and not as a Topic because they have to be distinct in reference from the pronoun *sua* (her), hence two Foci can occur in the same sentence, even if only one, the higher one, can be intonationally marked. Moreover, another evidence for assuming that they are both focalized elements comes from the fact that there cannot be a resumptive clitic pronoun, like *lo* (him), in these structures. Finally, (2c.) shows that the weak crossover allows to identify a Topic element even when the constituent is intonationally focalized.

Following this line, studying Italian language and its nonstandard varieties, Benincà and Poletto (2004) provide evidence for assuming a Focus field composed by two different Contrastive Focus (Contr.Foc1 and 2) and an Informational one (Inf.Foc).

As mentioned above, the other aspect which Benincà and Poletto (2004) analyze in detail in their work is the Topic field. Through the study of the behavior and the characteristics of elements occurring in this portion of the CP field, they distinguish different types of functional projections, each of which is labeled according to the type of element it hosts, providing evidence of a specific hierarchical order. However, topicalized elements forming the Topic field can be distinguished in two main groups: Hanging Topics elements (hereafter, HT) and LD elements, it is also possible to

distinguish a suitable position for Scene Setting adverbs (hereafter, SS) and for elements with a List Interpretation (hereafter, LI).

In this work, I do not analyze in detail the study on Topics led by Benincà and Poletto (2004), I just give in (3a.) the Topics hierarchy, including the one of Foci, proposed in their work and in (3b.) the generalization of the CP hierarchy projections analyzed up to now, while in (3c.), I show the string of projections I take into account in this work, trying to give the syntactic representation for main interrogative clauses with subject clitic inversion and for those with the overt complementizer (see section 3.2.).

- (3) a. HT > SS > LD > LI > Contr.Foc1 > Contr.Foc2 > Inf.Foc  
b. HT    FORCE        TOP    FOC    FIN  
c. FocP   FinP   IP     VP     DP

## 2. The main features of *Wh*-Questions in NIDs

The field of research I take into account in this work is quite complex, mainly for three reasons. The first one depends on the fact that Italy is a Country characterized by a huge variety of dialects and sometimes we can find a certain degree of variation also inside a same variety. The second one is a consequence of the fact that Italian dialects are alive languages, so they are still subject to changes; what is more, they are typically spoken languages, hence their development tends to be quicker. Finally, the introduction of Italian language as the standard language of education and communication with the progressive depreciation of dialects, has contributed, time by time, to decrease their use as the local spoken language and a consequence of this is clearly evident today in younger generations, among which it is quite difficult to find someone who speaks dialect.

However, in the present section, I give an idea of the most common strategies we can find among northern Italian dialects (henceforth, NIDs), to form interrogative sentences in main contexts. In particular, I analyze two of them, outlining their main features and behavior.

### 2.1. The most typical strategies to express main *wh*-questions in NIDs

The term *wh-questions* indicates those interrogative sentences used to ask information about a specific constituent, mainly through the use of *wh*-words like *what*, *who*, *when*, *where*, *why* and *how*, followed by the inflected verb which is, in turn, followed by the subject of the sentence. However, analyzing NIDs, we can observe a somewhat different situation because they present quite a wide spectrum of variation. In (4), making reference to Poletto's (2000) work, I give an idea of the possible structures we can find among northern Italian dialects to express main interrogative sentences and for each strategy I indicate an example and the area where it is mostly found.

- (4) *Strategy a.*    *wh*-phrase + proclitic subject + inflected verb
- |        |                              |                            |
|--------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| e.g.   | Undei van?                   | In dué ta veet?            |
|        | Where they go?               | Where you go?              |
|        | <i>Where are they going?</i> | <i>Where are you going</i> |
| place: | Liguria                      | Lombardy                   |

*Strategy b. wh-phrase + inflected verb + enclitic subject*

e.g. Cossa fa-lo?  
What does-he?  
*What is he doing?*

place: Central Veneto

*Strategy c. wh-phrase + che + proclitic subject + inflected verb*

e.g. Cossa che te fa?  
What that you do?  
*What are you doing?*

place: Veneto – Friuli

*Strategy d. use of interrogative particle marker like ‘pa’*

e.g. Ula vas-t pa?  
Where go-you interrog. marker pa?  
*Where are you going?*

place: Trentino Alto Adige

*Strategy e. wh-phrase + proclitic subject + verb + enclitic subject*

e.g. Quant a van-u a Pordenon?	Ks a fen-i?
When they go-they to Pordenone?	What they do-they?
<i>When are they going to Pordenone?</i>	<i>What are they doing?</i>

place: Friuli Emilia Romagna

*Strategy f. cleft sentence construction*

e.g. Ch el c a fiv adess?  
What is it that you do now?  
*What are you doing now?*

place: Alpine Lombardy

In this work I take into account mainly *strategy b.* and *strategy c.*, which are described in detail in the next sections, 2.2. and 2.3., respectively.

## 2.2. The subject clitic inversion in main *wh*-questions

The most conservative and widespread type of structure we find in NIDs to produce main *wh*-questions is the so called *subject clitic inversion*, hereafter SCLI, which is a phenomenon typical of those dialects having subject clitic pronouns, proclitics and/or enclitics. In (5) there are some detailed examples, similar to the one exemplified in the previous section for *strategy b.*:

- (5) a. Quando vien-lo? (Paduan, Central Veneto,  
When comes-SCL 3°sing. mas.? Poletto 1993)  
*When does he come?*
- b. Qual à-tu siélt? (Bellunese, Northern Veneto,  
Which have-SCL 2°sing. chosen? Poletto 2000)  
*Which one have you chosen?*
- c. Olà vasto? (Fassano, Pera di Fassa,  
Where go-SCL 2°sing.? Poletto 2000)  
*Where are you going?*

Generally speaking, we have SCLI when the inflected verb presents the subject clitic pronoun on its right and, syntactically speaking, it is typically described as the phenomenon generated by the movement of the inflected verb (marked [+wh]) to the head of the functional projection hosting the subject clitic pronoun.

Quite common seems to be the reason why the verb has to move to the head of the CP projection, namely, what Rizzi called in 1991 the *Wh*-Criterion. He proposed that, in order to obtain well-formed interrogative sentences, the important spec-head agreement condition, mentioned in section 1.1., has to be satisfied also in the CP projection. The *Wh*-Criterion, now considered as a principle of Universal Grammar, states that a *wh*-element must be in a configuration of spec-head agreement with a *wh*-head and a *wh*-head must be in a configuration of spec-head agreement with a *wh*-element and, only if both conditions are satisfied, a *wh*-question is grammatical.

On the other hand, it is still an open question how to analyze the subject clitic pronoun adjoined to the verb. As is widely known, most NIDs are characterized by two types of subject clitic pronouns: the enclitic one, which follows the inflected verb,

typically used in interrogative sentences, and the proclitic one, which precedes the inflected verb, generally used in declarative contexts. The main question is whether proclitics and enclitics are the same lexical item or whether they represent two different series of elements.

It is quite important to shed light on this point because, depending on the status of the subject clitic pronoun we consider, the structural derivation changes.

Most researchers agree in analyzing preverbal clitic pronouns in NIDs as heads adjoined to the head of IP<sup>1</sup>, but the situation changes with postverbal clitics, because their phonological and distributional differences lead some researchers to assume that enclitics do not belong to the same paradigm as proclitics.

In next sections, I analyze SCLI under different points of view, in particular, I take into account in section 2.2.1. Cardinaletti and Repetti's (2008) proposal that proclitics and enclitics are the same lexical item; in section 2.2.2. I present Poletto's (1993-2000) proposal that proclitics and enclitics, basically, are two different series of elements while in section 2.2.3. I present some proposals about the SCLI position within a split-CP framework.

### **2.2.1. The Single-Paradigm Hypothesis**

In their work of 2008, Cardinaletti and Repetti claim that preverbal and postverbal subject clitic pronouns in NIDs are the same lexical item, as the phonological and distributional differences do not represent sufficient evidence to assume the existence of two different paradigms. They demonstrate that proclitics and enclitics appear phonologically different because they are the result of specific phonological language constraints like, for example, the syncretism phenomenon, which can take place in some forms, while the distributional difference would depend on two main factors. The first one is the interaction of the clitic subject pronoun with verb movement, namely the different scope of verb movement, which is higher in interrogative sentences than in declarative ones. The second one is the Minimize Structure Principle, according to which a clitic pronoun, if possible, is preferred over a weak one like *pro*, given that clitics have the smallest syntactic structure (see Cardinaletti and Starke's (1999) Deficiency Theory). Moreover, Cardinaletti and Repetti provide prosodic evidence for the hypothesis that enclitics cannot be considered

inflectional affixes on the verb, because they behave differently from them, hence, the verb and the enclitic do not form a single unit.

Following Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008), the derivational structure of declarative and interrogative subject clitic pronouns of a NID like Donceto, an Emilian dialect, is the one shown in (6a.) and in (6b.), respectively.

- (6) a. [TP<sub>PRO</sub><sub>be:vi</sub>...[VP<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>]]  
 weak pron. *pro* 1°pers. sing. drink  
*I drink*
- b. [Y<sub>P</sub><sub>be:vi-jə<sub>k</sub></sub> [TP<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ... [VP<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]]      [Y<sub>P</sub><sub>be:vi-ə<sub>t<sub>k</sub></sub></sub> [TP<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ... [VP<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> ]]]  
 Drink-SCL 1°pers. sing.      Drink-SCL 2°pers. sing.  
*Do I drink?*      *Do you drink?*

To better understand what exemplified in (6), it is necessary to underline some aspects taken into account by Cardinaletti and Repetti in their analysis. First of all, they claim that subject clitics need to be licensed by verb raising and when this does not occur, the null subject *pro* is inserted. In interrogative sentences the verb has always to move to check the *wh*-features and this fact explains why interrogative subject clitics are cross-linguistically in a greater number than their declarative counterpart, namely, the impossibility for a null subject *pro* to appear in interrogative contexts. Furthermore, they take into account what Rizzi proposed about enclisis (1993-2000), namely that the verb is morphologically complete under the cliticization site and the verb must move at least as far as the cliticization site; moreover, they consider subject clitics as the true subject of the clause, which are moved from the thematic position to a higher head position, giving rise to a two-step movement, an XP-movement followed by an X°-movement.

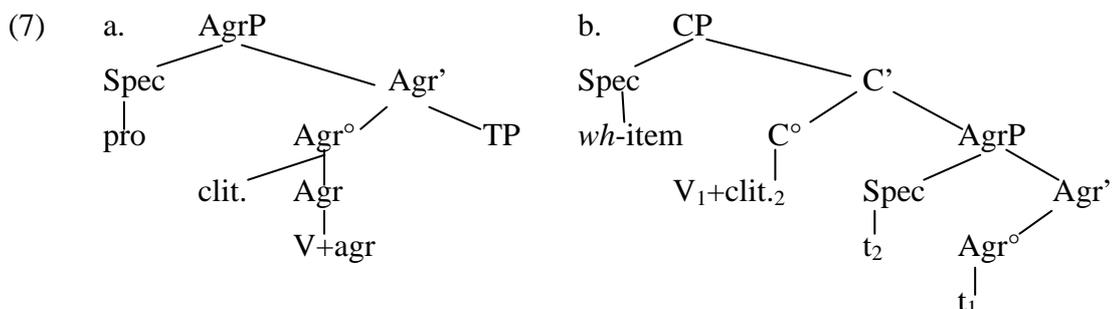
Taking into account the considerations above and the X-bare theory (see section 1.), we can explain (6) as follows: the subject clitic pronoun moves from its argumental position, SpecVP, to the specifier of the inflectional projection (here TP), the same thing does the verb, from its base position, head of VP, it moves to the inflectional head, satisfying the spec-head agreement configuration; in this way, the declarative order proclitic-verb is produced (6a.); otherwise, if the verb has to check its *wh*-features, the subject clitic pronoun adjoins to Y<sup>2</sup>, and when the verb moves to it, the verb-enclitic order is produced (6b.).

### 2.2.2. Proclitics and enclitics as different series of elements

Analyzing the SCLI phenomenon in some north-eastern Italian dialects, Poletto (1993-2000)<sup>3</sup> assumes that in assertive and embedded interrogative contexts subject clitics are not true NPs but heads adjoined to Inflection, more exactly, they are heads adjoined to the head of AgrP. Moreover, they absorb the subject theta role, so they are arguments and this is the reason why they are in complementary distribution with a phonetically realized subject NP but not with a null subject. In fact, in those contexts in which the verbal morphology does not have enough features to legitimate a null pronoun in SpecAgrP, the subject clitic is needed to identify, thanks to its morphology, the person and number features of a pronominal empty category through the spec-head agreement relationship.

On the contrary, she proposes that in interrogative main contexts subject clitics are NPs in SpecAgrP incorporated into C° when the verb moves to it, in order to be in a spec-head configuration with the *wh*-operator in SpecCP. When the verb moves from Agr° to C°, it destroys the context of Nominative case assignment, hence a subject NP is ungrammatical in the SpecAgrP position. It also destroys the context of *pro* identification, hence an argumental *pro* is banned too. The only possible argumental subjects that can appear in SpecAgrP in such contexts are the interrogative subject clitics, that start from SpecAgrP and incorporate onto the inflected verb in C°, becoming visible at S-structure. There is only another element that can remain in SpecAgrP, which is an expletive *pro* that does not need any identification, given that it has no content to be recovered and it is used in such contexts in which the subject is not expressed because the verb does not assign an argumental theta role.

Following Poletto's (1993) proposal, the syntactic representation of a preverbal and a postverbal element is like the one exemplified in (7a.) and (7b.), respectively.



### 2.2.3. SCLI in a Split-CP perspective

In this section I illustrate some other interesting aspects related to SCLI, which have come to light from the study of the upper portion of the clause through NIDs; in particular, I point out which head can host SCLI in a split-CP perspective.

Firstly, I present the hypothesis formulated by Poletto (2000) about an appropriate splitting of the CP space for interrogative sentences, suitable to represent every kind of main interrogative structure displayed by NIDs. Secondly, I take into account Munaro's (2010) work, in which he tries to determine the range of possible interpretations which can be associated with sentences showing SCLI phenomenon in north-eastern Italian dialects.

After a very detailed investigation on the behavior of main interrogative sentences in NIDs, Poletto's (2000) work proposes a very specific splitting of the CP space, through which the big variation attested among NIDs, both in terms of syntactic structure as well as of interpretation, can be adequately represented. She observes that in the NIDs it is possible to identify up to four active C° heads in interrogative structures, each containing a different type of element which triggers a different interpretation of the question when the corresponding head is activated. In other words, the variation within the NIDs shows that the interrogative sentences can make use of four projections, where the interrogative features can be checked and which can also explain some interpretative differences.

Following this interesting hypothesis, the complete structure related to interrogative sentences of NIDs appears like the one shown and explained in (8):

(8) [CP<sub>1</sub>che [CP<sub>2</sub>a [CP<sub>3</sub>/Agr.CP SCLI [CP<sub>4</sub> [Spec.pa] [C°ch/lo]]]]]

CP<sub>4</sub>: it is related to the [+/- rethorical] interpretation;

CP<sub>3</sub>/Agr.CP: it is activated only in out-of-the-blue questions, namely in true request for information contexts. It contains SCLI and it is activated in case of default interrogative interpretation;

CP<sub>2</sub>: it contains deictic subject clitics and it is activated in case of request for more information;

CP<sub>1</sub>: it is activated when there is a modal interpretation.

In many dialects, it is possible to activate more than one functional CP projection in a single sentence but the most important thing is that it is possible to activate higher positions only if lower ones have been activated. The only exception concerns CP4, which is not visible even though AgrCP is activated, more precisely, the head of CP4 must remain empty to permit the movement of the inflected verb across it, hence CP4 is activated although it does not contain a phonetically realized morpheme, because it contains the trace of the verb that has moved higher.

Following the recent analysis proposed by Munaro (2010), the encliticization phenomenon is realized through left-adjunction of the verb to the enclitic and the structural position inside which the finite verb merges with the enclitic subject is a relatively high functional head of the left periphery of the clause<sup>4</sup>.

In north-eastern Italian dialects SCLI is attested in a wide variety of syntactic contexts, covering a wide range of clause types, among which the interrogative one is the most frequently attested in a cross-linguistic perspective. In particular SCLI is invariably associated to interrogative, pseudo-interrogative and exclamative clauses, while, whenever a given variety lacks some instances of SCLI, the missing case always belongs to the subset including optative, hypothetical and disjunctive clauses. Hence, the assumption that the inflected verb with enclisis of the pronominal subject can occupy more than one structural head position, given that every clause type occupies a different specific position in the upper portion of the clausal skeleton, more precisely, the hierarchical order is the one shown in (9):

(9) Concessive > Hypothetical > Optative > Exclamative > Interrogative

In such a perspective, Munaro (2010) assumes that within the split-CP approach, the presence of SCLI is the reflex of a syntactic process which entails the raising of the inflected verb to one of the functional projections of the CP field, which are argued to encode different aspects of the speaker's representation of the propositional content expressed. In fact, the hierarchical organization of projections inside the left periphery, shown in (9), follows from right to left an increasing degree of the assertive force, in other words, the degree of the speaker's involvement gradually decreases. Hence, it can be assumed that whenever SCLI occurs, the event is presented subjectively, namely, related to the speaker's observational perspective.

Moreover, for those contexts in which the clause is formed by a main clause plus an adjunct one, like in concessive and counterfactual (optative and hypothetical) contexts, SCLI induces a rigid order between the two clauses. In fact, whenever the adjunct clause displays inversion, it must precede the main clause and the linear order results from the compulsory fronting of the adjunct clause to a dedicate specifier of the left periphery of the main clause.

### 2.3. The complementizer in main *wh*-questions

In this section I illustrate the main features of the other structure studied in this work, namely the one showing the overt complementizer and mentioned in section 2.1. as *strategy c*. This kind of interrogative sentence formulation is quite frequent among NIDs, even if it is not so widespread as the one involving SCLI, examined in section 2.2.

In (10) there are some examples similar to the one shown in section 2.1. to exemplify *strategy c*.

- |      |    |  |   |
|------|----|--|---|
| (10) | a. | Cossa che te fa?<br>What that SCL 2°sing. do?<br><i>What are you doing?</i>  | (Portogruarese, Veneto – Friulian,<br>Poletto 2000) |
|      | b. | Olà che tu vas?<br>Where that SCL 2°sing. go?<br><i>Where are you going?</i> | (Fassano, Pera di Fassa,<br>Poletto 2000)           |
|      | c. | Chi che magna?<br>Who that pro 3°sing. eats?<br><i>Who is eating?</i>        | (Monno, Eastern Lombard,<br>Poletto 2000)           |

To better understand this kind of structure, it is useful to analyze mainly two aspects, namely the position occupied by the complementizer in the clause and its relationship with SCLI.

Syntactically speaking, this kind of interrogative formulation seems less complex than the one involving the SCLI phenomenon. Actually, the complementizer is a functional element which occupies the functional head position of the clause, namely the CP head. Hence, when it appears, it means that the upper portion of the

sentence is activated. On the other hand, if we consider the clause in a split-CP perspective, the situation is a little more complicated because a question arises about which is the head position occupied by the complementizer, among the functional heads constituting the CP field.

At the beginning, Rizzi assumed that the complementizer occurs in the head of ForceP, the highest functional projection of the CP field but, probably, such a position is the suitable one for a subordinating complementizer and not for every kind of complementizer. In fact, Benincà (2001), in her refinement of the left periphery, assumes that every type of CP head occurring above FocP is an adequate position only for a subordinating complementizer, while a good candidate to host a complementizer like the one occurring in main interrogative and in exclamative sentences of NIDs is the head position of FinP, the lowest head of the CP field.

On the other hand, it is also important to observe that, in this kind of main interrogative structure, in which the overt complementizer occurs, no change of the declarative order is produced. In fact, a structure like the one in (11) gives rise to an ungrammatical sentence, as the asterisk indicates:

- (11) \*Cossa che fa-tu? (Eastern Veneto)  
What that do-SCL 2°sing.?  
*What are you doing?*

The ungrammaticality of a sentence like the one exemplified in (11), clearly shows that SCLI and the overt complementizer are in complementary distribution and the reason why it happens can be explained under two different points of view, as pointed out by Poletto (2000). The first possibility is that SCLI and the complementizer occur in the same head position, namely the CP head, hence they alternate for this reason (see (13) in section 3.2.). On the other hand, the incompatibility could be explained in terms of the head movement constraint, hypothesizing that the complementizer is in a head position lower than the one in which SCLI occurs and its occurrence would block verb movement from its base position to the CP head involving SCLI (see (9) in section 2.2.3.).

### 3. Syntactic representations

In this section I give the syntactic representation for both main interrogative structures examined in the previous sections of this work, trying to pay attention to all those aspects illustrated up to now.

More precisely, in section 3.1., through (12), I exemplify and describe the structure of the main *wh*-question involving SCLI and the one with the overt complementizer within a non split-CP hypothesis, while in section 3.2., through (13), I do the same following the split-CP hypothesis presented in section 1.3. Finally, before concluding this part, in section 3.3., I make use of the split-CP perspective sketched in (3c.) to define the syntactic derivation of a main interrogative structure characterized by the co-occurrence of complementizer and SCLI, which has been attested in some varieties of the Piedmontese dialect (see Poletto, 2000).

To better understand the analysis and to make more clear the comparison between the syntactic representations, in both sections, I take into account the same sentence to exemplify *wh*-questions showing SCLI and to exemplify sentences displaying the overt complementizer, that is *Cossa falo?* (What is he doing?) and *Cossa che te fa?* (What are you doing?), respectively.

Moreover, the main assumptions that underlie the syntactic representations I show in the next sections are the following. The one proposed by Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008) about subject clitic pronouns as true NPs originated inside the VP and which do not form a single unit with the verb, hence they maintain a different index. The assumption by Poletto (1993-2000) according to which enclitics have to incorporate into the inflected verb in C° to become visible at S-structure. The one proposed by Benincà (2001) about the occurrence of the main interrogative and exclamative complementizer in the head of FinP and finally, the assumption according to which in main *wh*-questions SCLI and the overt complementizer occur in the same functional head position inside the CP field. Furthermore, to avoid confusion among the various approaches I adopt, I treat the Inflection layer without any distinction between AgrP and TP, hence I indicate it simply through IP.

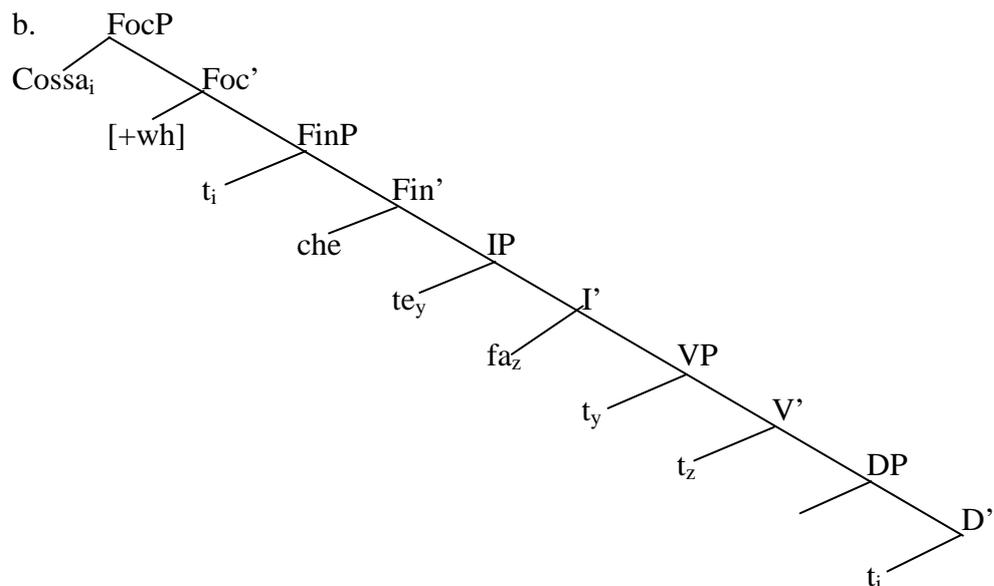
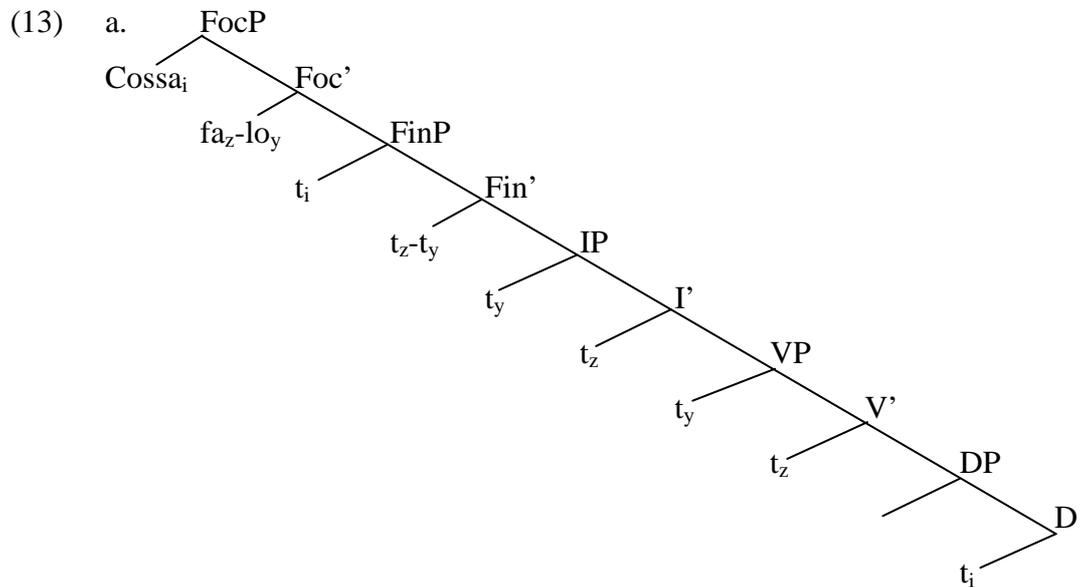


position to the SpecIP in order to receive the Nominative case in the relevant spec-head configuration with the verb. At this point the derivation changes according to the type of interrogative sentence we consider. In fact, in (12a.), in order to check the [+wh] features, the verb moves higher to reach the CP head, producing the right context to satisfy the *Wh*-Criterion (see section 2.2.), hence the subject clitic pronoun incorporates into the verb to become visible at S-structure and the SCLI phenomenon applies (see section 2.2.2.). The representation in (12b.) differs from the one in (12a.) because the CP head is filled by the complementizer *che* (that), hence the verb cannot move up to it to check its [+wh] features. Hence, the inflected verb and the subject clitic pronoun move simply from their base position to IP and SCLI is blocked. In cases like (12b.), although the structure gives rise to a well-formed interrogative sentence, there seems to be a violation of the *Wh*-Criterion because the complementizer does not have *wh*-features to check. In fact, Poletto (1993), in her work about SCLI in north-eastern Italian dialects, proposes that there is a sort of interrogative paradigm whose parameters rule the choice of the [+wh] marked head in main questions, hence dialects differ in the realization of main interrogatives according to the parameter they choose, it means, the choice between an IP or a CP head marked by the interrogative features. More precisely, if a variety chooses I° as the [+wh] marked head, SCLI applies, because the verb moved to I° has acquired the [+wh] features, which must be checked in C° to satisfy the *Wh*-Criterion. Otherwise, if C° is chosen as the [+wh] marked head, the complementizer applies in the CP head and no SCLI occurs, thus in (12b.) no violation of the *Wh*-Criterion is produced. Moreover, following Poletto (1993), it can be assumed that sentences like (12b.), in which the CP head is filled by a complementizer, constitute the natural evolution of the system, while sentences like (12a.), in which SCLI applies, constitute the most conservative stage.

### **3.2. Syntactic representations in a Split-CP perspective**

In this section, more precisely, in (13a.) and in (13b.), I give the possible derivational structures of the sentences analyzed in the previous section in (12a.) and (12b.), respectively, under a split-CP perspective. In order to do this, I take into account the lower portion of the CP field, namely the string of projections defined in section 1.3. by (3c.) and the main assumption that the CP head in which SCLI applies is the same one in which the overt complementizer occurs, namely Fin°, position which I

hypothesize to be the head position of the projection labeled YP by Cardinaletti and Repetti (2008), see (6b.) in section 2.2.1.



Comparing (13a.) and (13b.) with their counterpart in (12a.) and (12b.), it is possible to notice that the lower portion of the sentence is basically the same, while they differ in terms of what happens in the upper portion of the structure. In fact,  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  is the head in which SCLI applies in (13a.), while in (13b.) it is the position in which the overt complementizer occurs, hence this is the reason why they alternate, namely because they apply in the same CP head position (see section 2.3.).

Going on to look at the derivations illustrated in (13), it is possible to see that, while in (13a.) SCLI moves higher to reach  $\text{Foc}^\circ$ , in order to be in a spec-head agreement

relationship with the *wh*-item, hence satisfying the *Wh*-Criterion, in (13b.) the complementizer remains in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , implying no SCLI realization but also no movement to  $\text{Foc}^\circ$  and a possible violation of the *Wh*-Criterion. However, for cases like these, Rizzi proposes that  $\text{FocP}$  allows for a sort of dynamic agreement relationship between the specifier and the related head, through which a *wh*-element like *cossa* (what) can transmit its interrogative features [+wh] to its head. In this way,  $\text{SpecFocP}$  and  $\text{Foc}^\circ$  share the same [+wh] features and no *Wh*-Criterion violation is produced. Finally, an observation about the *wh*-item derivation. As the related trace shows, the *wh*-word *cossa* (what) moves from its argumental position, inside VP to the canonical spell-out position of interrogative constituents,  $\text{FocP}$ , passing and leaving a trace in  $\text{SpecFinP}$ . In fact, the movement principle requires that every moved element must pass through every potential landing site leaving a trace hence, in this case, the *wh*-element must land in every potential specifier position inside the CP field, including  $\text{SpecFinP}$ .

To support the derivation I propose in (13) for main *wh*-questions displaying SCLI phenomenon and for those showing the overt complementizer, it is important to check the possibility for  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  to host such kind of different material. In fact, while I propose that  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  can be a good position for SCLI realization and Benincà (2001) and Munaro (2010) assume it to be a good candidate to host both the interrogative and the exclamative complementizer,  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  is usually considered in the literature as the proper position of material representing the subjunctive mood (see Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), Poletto (2000) and Damonte (2010), among others).

In order to shed light on this aspect, it is interesting to analyze better which features Rizzi attributes to  $\text{FinP}$  in his work of 1997. In fact, following his analysis, the Finiteness Projection can be considered as [...] *the core IP-related characteristics that the complementizer system expresses* [...], to say it in other words, the CP system can be considered a sort of extension of the IP system. More precisely, the complementizer system expresses a specification of finiteness, which in turn selects an IP system with the familiar characteristics of finiteness: mood distinctions, subject agreement licensing, nominative case, overt tense distinctions, and each language can vary in the extent to which additional IP information is replicated in the complementizer system. Consequently, some languages replicate in  $\text{FinP}$  mood distinctions, like subjunctive, others subject agreement and other ones express genuine tense distinctions or negation.

According to this kind of definition of  $\text{FinP}$ , the derivations illustrated in (13)

are not so strange. Hence, considering the fact that FinP is the lowest CP projection which really can host different typology of materials but especially that it can agree and also maintain an agreement relationship with the IP system, is very important for my proposal. In fact, as widely explained in the first sections of this work, SCLI is a complex phenomenon which involves syntactic and morphological aspects but I claim that the agreement aspect has an important role in the process too. In other words, the subject clitic pronoun and the verb are in IP in a spec-head agreement relationship and when SCLI applies, it is important that this relation is maintained in order to produce a well-formed structure, hence it is necessary to have a position inside the CP system to allow such an agreement and Fin<sup>o</sup> seems to be the right one.

Evidence for a concord process between FinP and IP is given in a very detailed way by Damonte (2010) in his analysis of complementizers in two varieties of southern Italian dialects, namely the Salentino and the Southern Calabrian dialects. In particular, through the study of behavior and features of the subjunctive complementizer of these dialects, *ca* and *cu* for Salentino and *pe* and *mu* for Southern Calabrian, he claims that the hypothesis according to which mood is spelled out only in the low head within CP, namely Fin<sup>o</sup>, (see Giorgi and Pianesi, 1997), does not seem to be general enough. In fact, while in Salentino both *ca* and *cu* are merged in Fin<sup>o</sup> and only *ca* moves then higher, to Force<sup>o</sup>, the Southern Calabrian *mu* is merged in Mood<sup>o</sup>, inside IP and can check its modal features through an Agree operation, without raising to Fin<sup>o</sup>. An argument in favour of this analysis is represented by the possible co-occurrence of the particle *mu* with a prepositional complementizer *pe*, which is merged in Fin<sup>o</sup> and checks a mood feature, since it is systematically used in purpose clauses.

### 3.3. Syntactic representation of a curious case of main *wh*-question

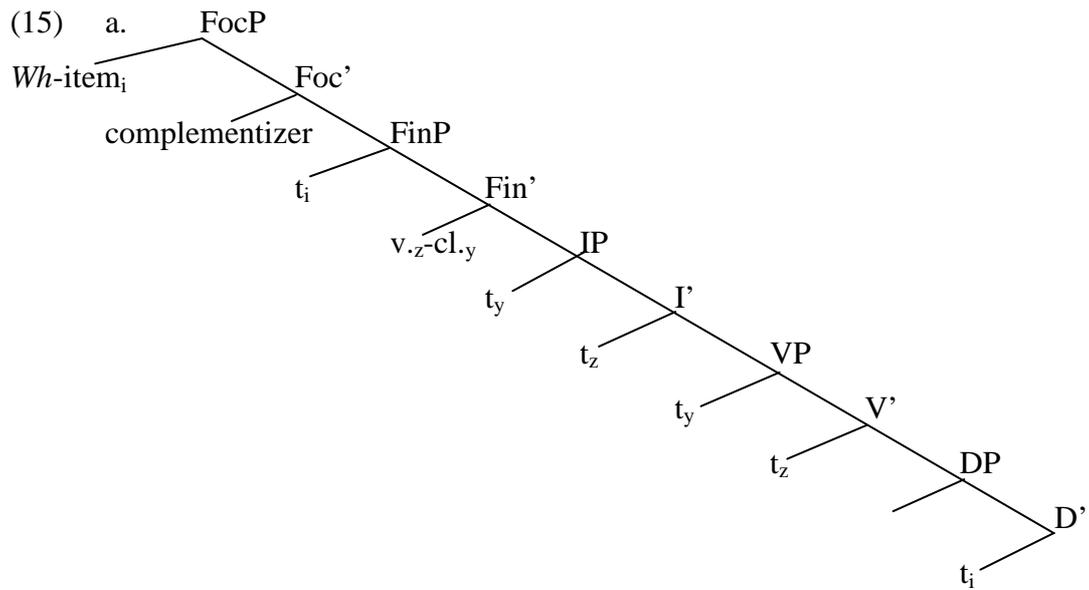
Poletto (2000) noted, in a variety of the Piedmontese dialect, the existence of a particular kind of main *wh*-question structure, in which the overt complementizer precedes SCLI, like in the following example from the Turin dialect:

- (14) Cossa ch'a l'a-lo fait?  
What that deictic SCL has-SCL 3°sing. masc. done?  
*What has he done?*

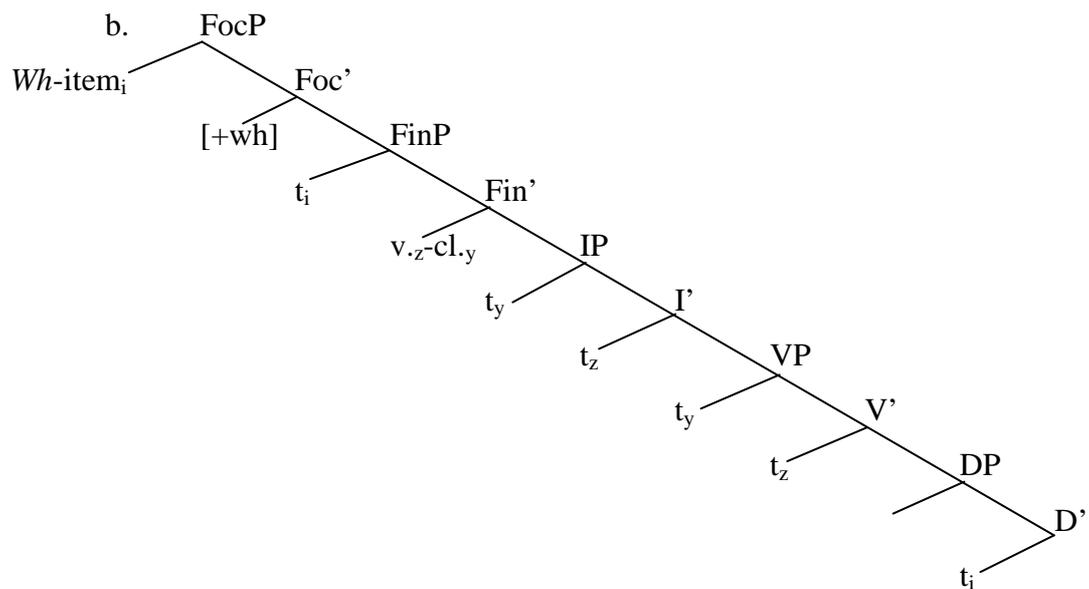
An adequate representation of this kind of sentence can be given adopting the very detailed split-CP structure proposed by Poletto (2000) (see (8) in section 2.2.3.), but if we consider the traditional Split-CP hypothesis, which I have taken into account so far, it seems quite difficult to give the syntactic derivation of a sentence in which the overt complementizer and SCLI co-occur.

In this section, through the split-CP perspective defined in section 1.3. by (3c.), I propose in (15a.) the possible syntactic derivation for main *wh*-questions, which is a little bit different from the ones illustrated in (13), but which can represent main *wh*-questions displaying SCLI (15b.), as well as those displaying the overt complementizer (15c.) but also those in which complementizer and SCLI co-occur (15a.).

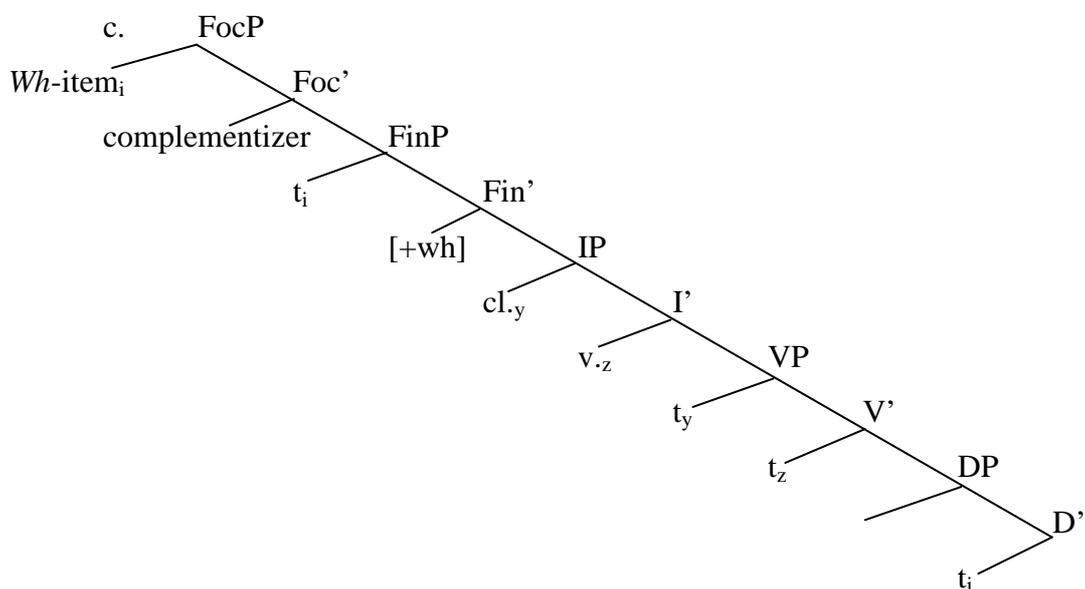
I propose that, generally speaking, the spell-out position of SCLI could be  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , while the one dedicated to the overt interrogative complementizer could be  $\text{Foc}^\circ$ . To support the derivation I give, I make reference to some concepts I discussed in the previous sections but also to new ones. Moreover, after illustrating the structure, I give a brief explanation of every possible kind of sentence which (15a.) can represent, focusing the explanation mainly on the upper portion of the structure, given that the lower one coincides with the one of the structures described in (13).



Taking into account Poletto (1993), when a main interrogative sentence displays SCLI, as the one discussed in section 2.2., it means that the head position marked by [+wh] features is  $I^\circ$  (see section 3.1.). As I have shown in (13a.), the verb plus the enclitic reach the higher head position  $Foc^\circ$ , after the realization of SCLI in  $Fin^\circ$ . In (15) I propose that  $Fin^\circ$  is not just the position where SCLI obtains, but it is also its spell-out position. The consequence of this assumption is the possible violation of the *Wh*-Criterion but, as suggested by Rizzi, I propose that  $FocP$  allows the dynamic agreement of the [+wh] features between its specifier and its head (see section 3.2.) and SCLI in  $Fin^\circ$  shows that the adequate context satisfying the *Wh*-Criterion is produced (15b.).



On the other hand, continuing to follow Poletto (1993), if a sentence displays the overt complementizer, as the kind of structure examined in section 2.3., it means that the head marked [+wh] is  $C^\circ$ . Moreover, following Munaro (2010) in his study about the syntactic variation of Italian dialects, when the *Wh*-Criterion needs to be satisfied through the visibility of  $Foc^\circ$ , dialects can choose two different strategies, more precisely, the movement of the verb, producing SCLI or the merge of a dummy element, like the complementizer, hence in  $Foc^\circ$  we can find SCLI or the complementizer. Taking into account both Poletto and Munaro's perspective, the presence of the overt complementizer in  $Foc^\circ$  does not seem so strange (15c.).



Finally, keeping in mind what I just said, if we consider a sentence like the one exemplified in (14), in which both SCLI and the overt complementizer appear, we can suppose that both  $I^\circ$  and  $C^\circ$  are marked by [+wh] features and consequently, both complementizer and SCLI co-occur together in the same structure (15a.).

Obviously, the structure I propose in (15a.) is just an idea, a possible starting point for the elaboration of a more adequate representational structure for sentences like (14), following the traditional Split-CP hypothesis. In fact, (15a.) lacks of a suitable position for hosting the deictic clitic *a* and the vocalic one *l* present in (14).

## 4. Data from Eastern Veneto

As anticipated in the Introduction of this work, this section is dedicated to presenting and analyzing the range and the distribution of strategies we can find in the eastern Veneto dialects to formulate main *wh*-questions. However, in order to present the data in an adequate context, it is also important to give some information about the investigated area, the method adopted to collect the data and about the data organization.

Consequently, this section is organized as follows: section 4.1. gives some information about the investigated area; section 4.2. clarifies the method adopted to collect the data and the data organization; section 4.3. gives a generalization of the strategies characterizing the investigated area, finally, section 4.4. presents and analyzes the corpus of data. In particular, the entire corpus is analyzed concentrating the attention on the typological variation of the data, both in terms of a geographic and a generational perspective.

### 4.1. The investigated area

The dialects taken into account in my investigation are those spoken respectively in: San Donà di Piave, Eraclea, La Salute di Livenza<sup>5</sup>, Caorle, Concordia Sagittaria and Portogruaro, proceeding from left to right in the Map illustrated in Appendix A.

More precisely, the investigation started from La Salute di Livenza, the place where I live. Here, I observed a co-occurrence of more than one strategy to formulate main *wh*-questions, see section 2.1., and sometimes the variation seemed to be linked to the age of the native speaker. In order to check whether the phenomenon was due to chance or whether it was something widespread, I started to extend my investigation to other dialect native speakers living in near towns; I already knew they speak a variety of dialect a little bit different from mine, in terms of pronunciation, intonation and vocabulary, but apparently with no significant differences in terms of the syntax of the sentence structure. Expanding my research about main *wh*-questions, I noticed a general degree of variation in the choice of the strategy used, not only with respect to the place taken into account, but also with respect to the age of the speaker.

In this way the area of my investigation has become quite big because I would take into account the main inhabited centres surrounding La Salute di Livenza, in order

to obtain a quite clear idea about the phenomenon of variation involving the choice of different strategies to make main *wh*-questions characterizing also this part of Veneto. Moreover, from a geographic point of view, this is mainly a countryside area so, even if the towns taken into account are sometimes quite far from each other, for people living in this area, it is usual to move everyday across them for study, work, business or shopping reasons, while from a linguistic point of view this area can be considered as a *transition area* between the Veneto dialects and the Friulian dialects.

## **4.2. Methodology adopted to collect the data and data organization**

In order to collect the data, I created a simple test constituted by six main *wh*-questions written in Italian language (see Appendix B), which the informants had to translate in their own dialect in a written or in a spoken way<sup>6</sup>.

To obtain an adequate corpus of data, able to identify a possible degree of the language variation through the years, I collected the data according to different groups of age, to be more precise, I created five groups: from twenty to twenty-three years old, from twenty-four to twenty-nine<sup>7</sup>, from thirty to thirty-nine, from forty to fifty-nine and from sixty to eighty years old. Following this concept, for each town indicated in the previous section, I selected fifteen persons, three for each group of age, to which I handed out the test shown in the Appendix B, obtaining eighteen main *wh*-question translations for each age group, six main *wh*-questions translated by each person of the age group; consequently the entire corpus of data I analyze in this work is constituted by five hundred-forty main *wh*-question translations.

## **4.3. Strategies characterizing main *wh*-questions in Eastern Veneto**

Making reference to (4) of section 2.1., in this section I recapitulate those strategies characterizing the investigated area, showing each of them through the *wh*-question *who did you see?* of the Appendix B. To exemplify them, I take into account the dialect variety spoken in La Salute di Livenza and, through it, I also show, the subject clitic paradigm widely characterizing the varieties of Eastern Veneto.

Following the order which I used to present the strategies in (4), which is different from the one representing the frequency of use of each strategy in the investigated area, I exemplify in (16) *strategy a., b., c. and f.*, respectively:

(16) **Strategy a.: *wh*-phrase + proclitic subject + inflected verb**

Chi te ha vist?

Who SCL 2°sing. have seen?

*Who did you see?*

**Strategy b.: *wh*-phrase + inflected verb + enclitic subject**

Chi a-tu vist?

Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?

*Who did you see?*

**Strategy c.: *wh*-phrase + *che* + proclitic subject + inflected verb**

Chi che t'ha vist?

Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?

*Who did you see?*

**Strategy f.: cleft sentence construction:**

*wh*-phrase + inflected verb to be + *che* + proclitic subject + inflected verb

Chio che t'ha vist?

Who is that SCL 2°sing. have seen?

*Who did you see?*

To make easier the understanding of SCLI structure in the analyzed dialects, I exemplify in (17) the paradigm of subject clitic pronouns characterizing Eastern Veneto dialects, making reference to the variety spoken in La Salute di Livenza.

(17)		1°p.s.	2°p.s.	3°p.s.	4°p.p.	5°p.p.	6°p.p.
proclitici:	-	te	el/a	-	-	i	
enclitici:	-	tu	lo/la	-	o	li	

As we can see from (17), these dialects behave like the majority of northern Italian dialects: there is no proclitic subject for the first person singular and for the first and second person plural and enclitic subjects are in a greater number with respect to proclitics, see section 2.2.1. Moreover, in the varieties analyzed here, in the majority of cases, the enclitic of third person singular, both masculine and feminine, is subjected to the phenomenon which leads the consonant *l* to disappear when intervocalic, hence, often the vowel *a* or *o* is preceded by the vowel *e*.

#### **4.4. The corpus of data: presentation and analysis**

Once collected the data and observed the most used strategies characterizing the investigated area, namely *strategy a.*, *b.*, *c.* and *f.*, from those illustrated in section 2.1., see the previous section 4.3., I started to analyze and compare the data.

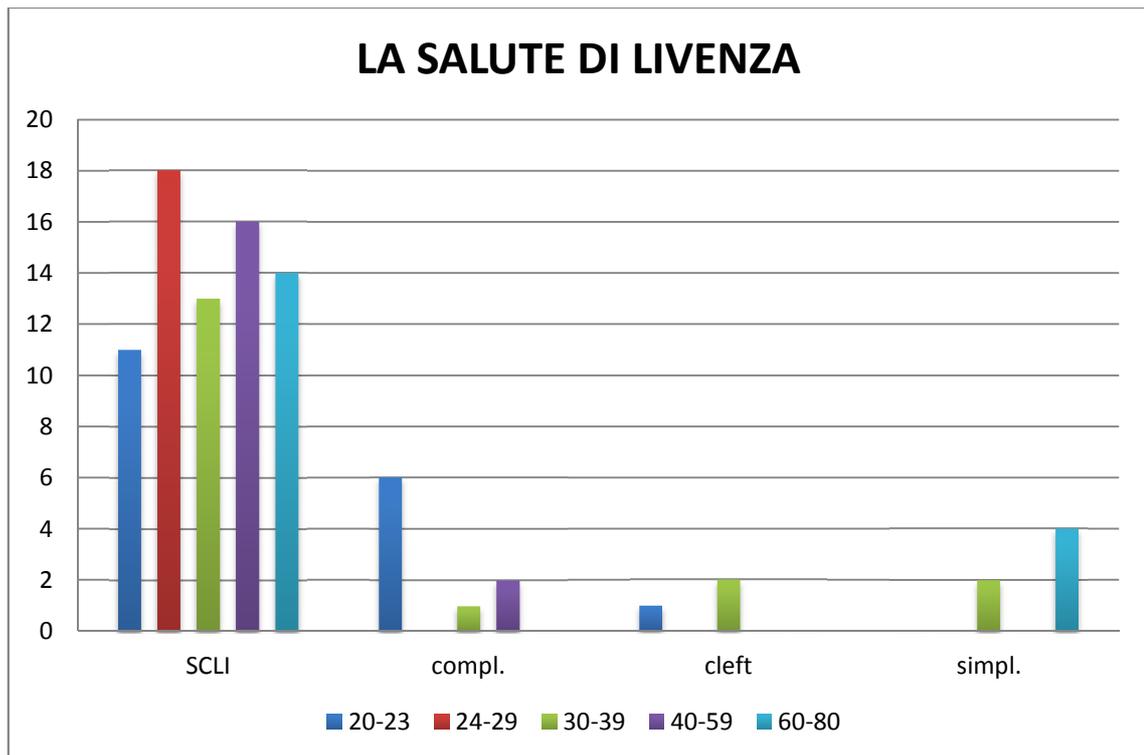
First of all, I observed which kind of strategy mostly characterizes each town; then, I observed possible differences in terms of age inside the same dialect variety and finally, in case I found differences among speakers, according to their age, I tried to observe if there is some kind of uniformity in the choice of the strategy among towns with respect to the age group.

This section is organized as follows: in section 4.4.1., I illustrate the corpus of data through six histograms, one for each investigated town. Each histogram shows which strategies I found in the specific town, showing their distribution according to the age group and allows to have an immediate idea about the strategy or the strategies characterizing the town taken into account. In section 4.4.2. I make a generalized analysis of the results obtained by the data organization, giving a possible explanation of the attested variation in terms of a diachronic process of the language development, along the lines of Poletto (1998).

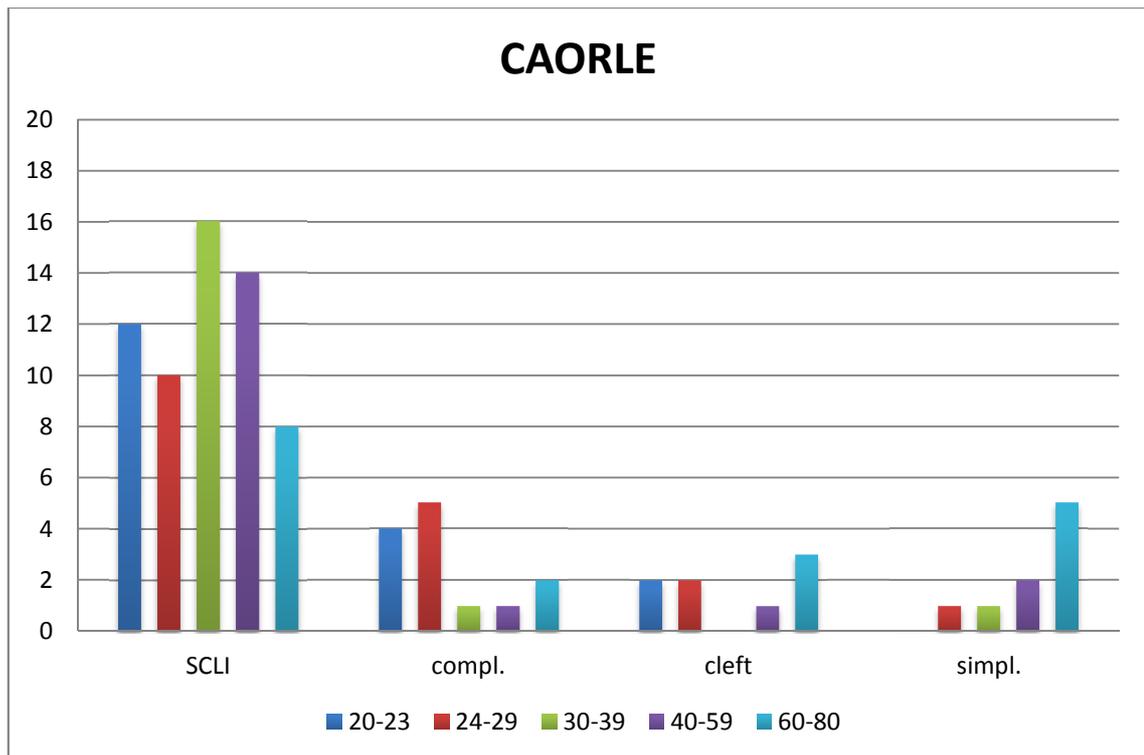
Moreover, in the Appendix, more precisely from Appendix C to Appendix H, I give a representative illustration of the main *wh*-questions translations collected from each town, making reference to each age group<sup>8</sup>.

##### **4.4.1. Geographic and generational distribution of the strategies**

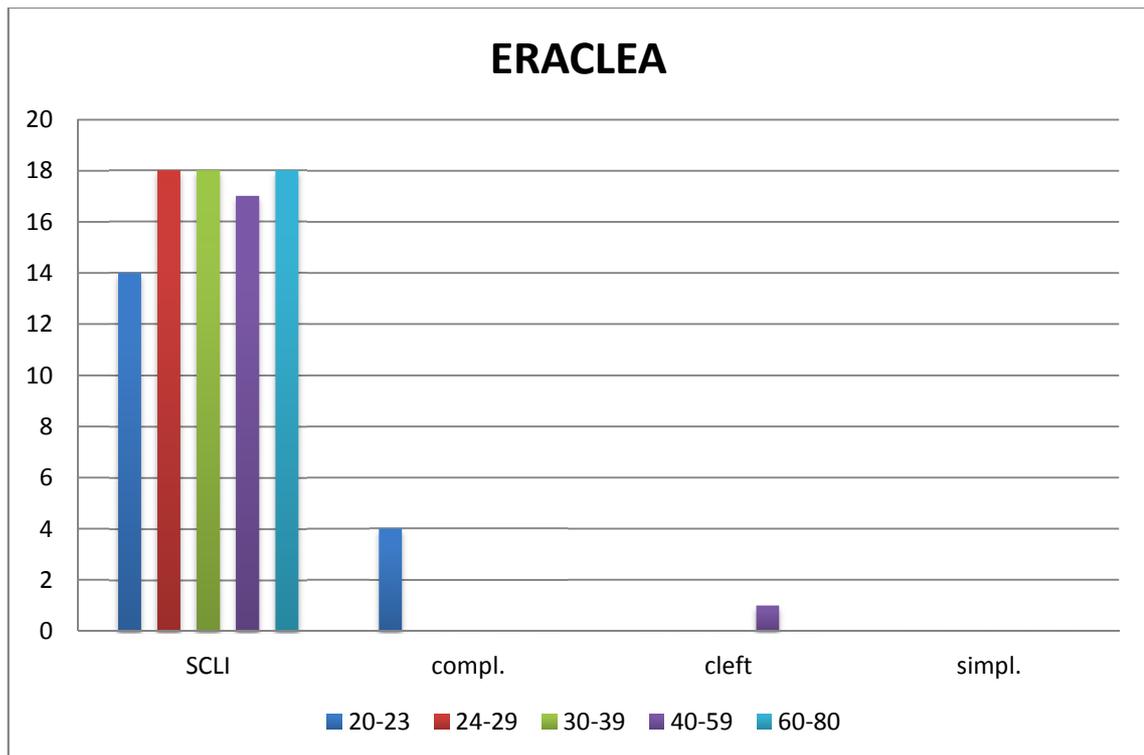
In this section I present the data collected in the investigated area, dedicating an histogram for each town, La Salute di Livenza, Caorle, Eraclea, San Donà di Piave, Concordia Sagittaria and Portogruaro, respectively. Each histogram is organized as follows: in the x-axis are indicated *strategy a.*, *b.*, *c.* and *f.*, respectively while in the y-axis is indicated the number of translations for each age group. Moreover, each histogram is followed by a brief description of the data.



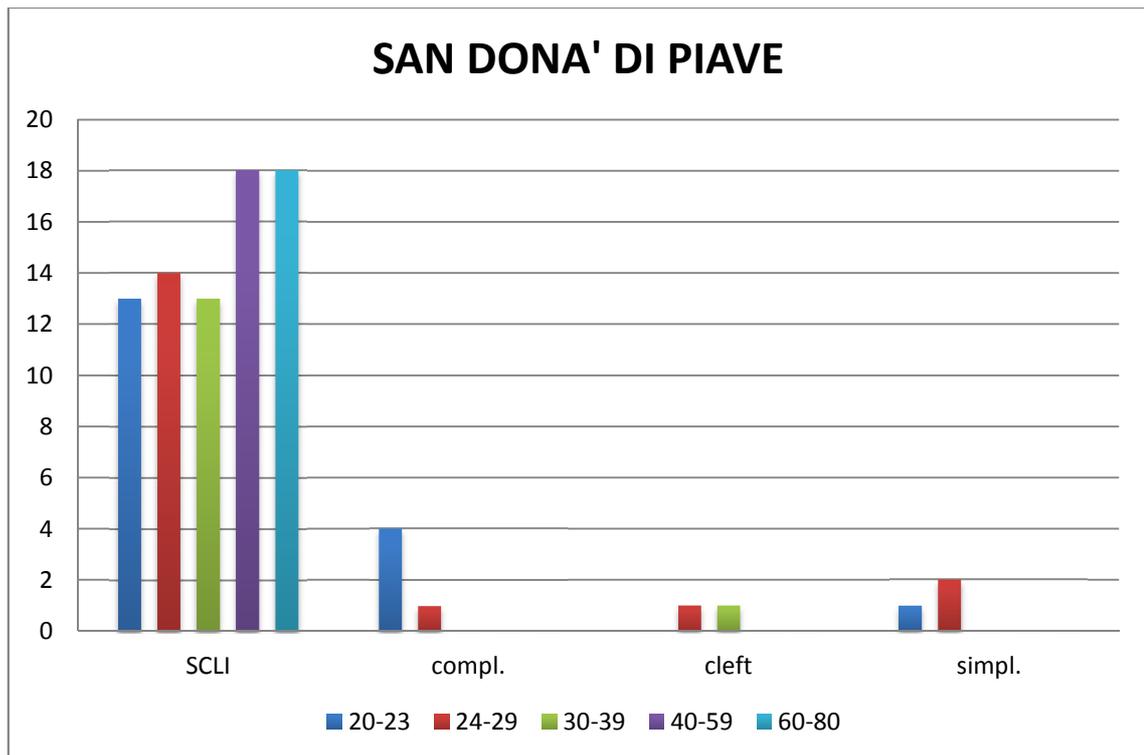
From the histogram, showing the data collected in La Salute di Livenza, it is clearly evident that, here, the dominant strategy to formulate main *wh*-questions is *strategy b*. However, there is a small degree of variation in the use of the other types of structures, in particular surface some cases of *strategy c.*, especially among younger people and cases of *strategy a.* among elderly people.



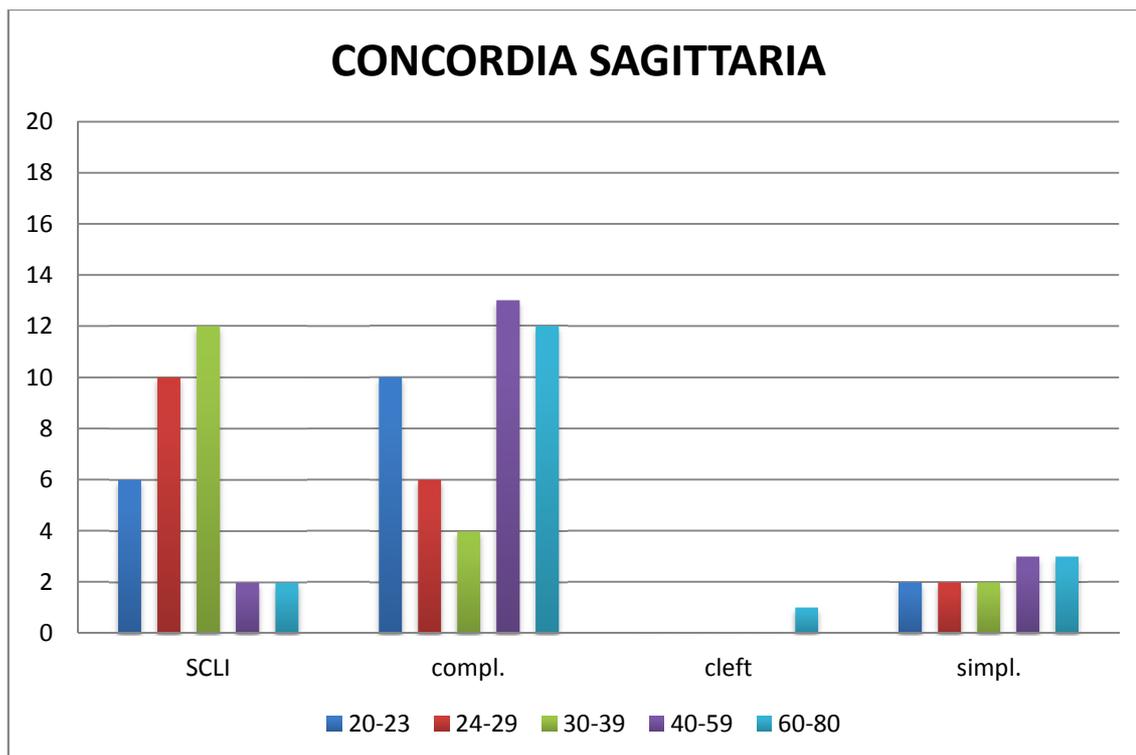
The data coming from Caorle show a generalized use of SCLI but there is also a certain degree of variation in terms of strategy used. *Strategy a.* and *strategy f.* are more common among elderly people while *strategy c.* is more frequently attested among younger generations.



The data collected from Eraclea are very uniform. They confirm *strategy b.* as the usual one, but there are some evidence of *strategy c.* among the speakers belonging to the twenty-four to twenty group.

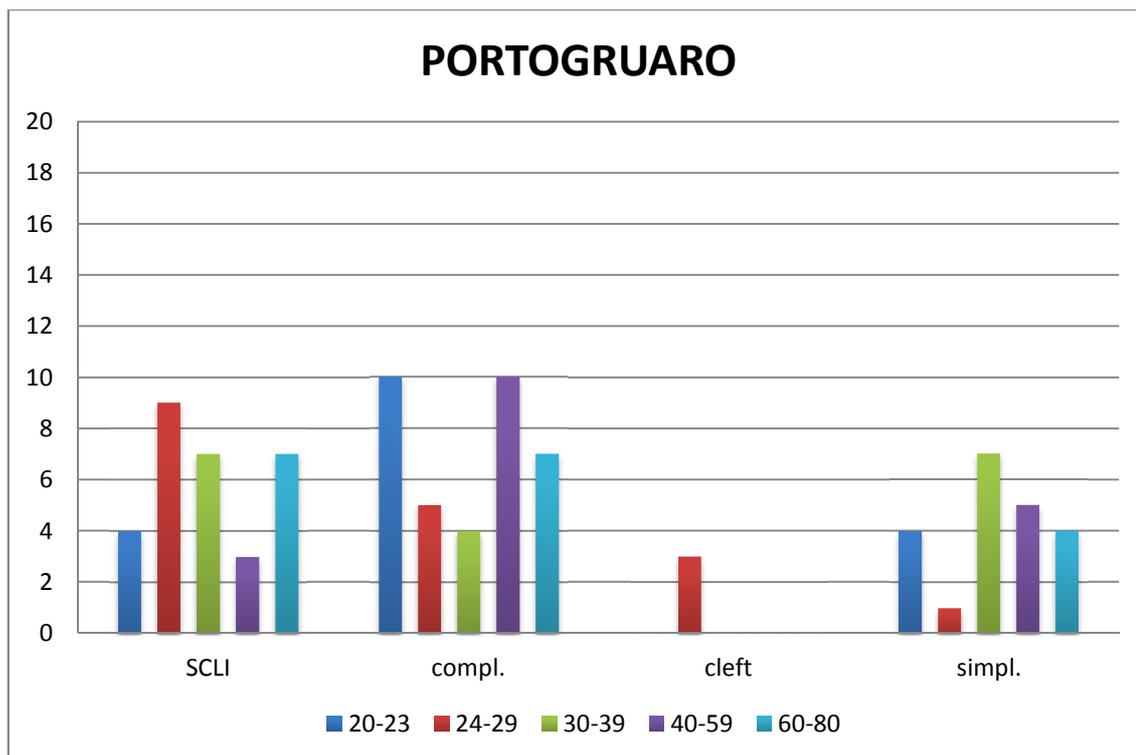


The histogram about the data from San Donà di Piave shows a preference for *strategy b.* even if there is some evidence of *strategy a.* and *c.* especially among younger generations.



Data coming from Concordia Sagittaria show a preference in the use of the complementizer strategy even if SCLI is still preferred between twenty-four to thirty-nine years old speakers. Moreover strategy *a.* is present among all age groups with no many differences.

About Concordia Sagittaria, it is also interesting to remember the study on interrogative sentences led by Ramon in 2004, whose investigation shows a quite clear distinction in the choice of the strategy, according to the place where the dialect speaker lives, with respect to the river Lemene. In fact, it seems that who lives on the left of the river, prefers the construction with the complementizer *that*, while who lives on the right of the river, seems to prefer the SCLI one. This seems to be the general situation but the real linguistic context is a little bit more complicated, because of a certain degree of variation inside the two main areas. Hence, the result of my investigation, in terms of variety of strategies used, reflects also the complex situation observed by Ramon.



The variety spoken in Portogruaro presents quite a big variation in terms of strategies chosen but it is possible to observe a preference in using *strategy c.*, with the exception of twenty-four to thirty-nine years old speakers, who prefer *strategy b.*, or *strategy a.* in the case of thirty to thirty-nine years old speakers.

#### 4.4.2. Considerations on the data

From the data distribution, analyzed in the previous section through histograms, it is possible to observe how, proceeding from East to West from a geographic point of view, *strategy b.* gradually is substituted by *strategy c.* and *strategy a.* In fact, while in La Salute di Livenza, Eraclea and San Donà di Piave the subject clitic inversion is the most attested strategy, Concordia Sagittaria and Portogruaro, instead, tend to prefer the complementizer construction and *strategy a.* About Caorle, the data show a quite varied situation in which *strategy b.* seems to be the dominant one but the other strategies are present too. In particular the variety spoken in Caorle is the one displaying the greatest number of cleft sentences.

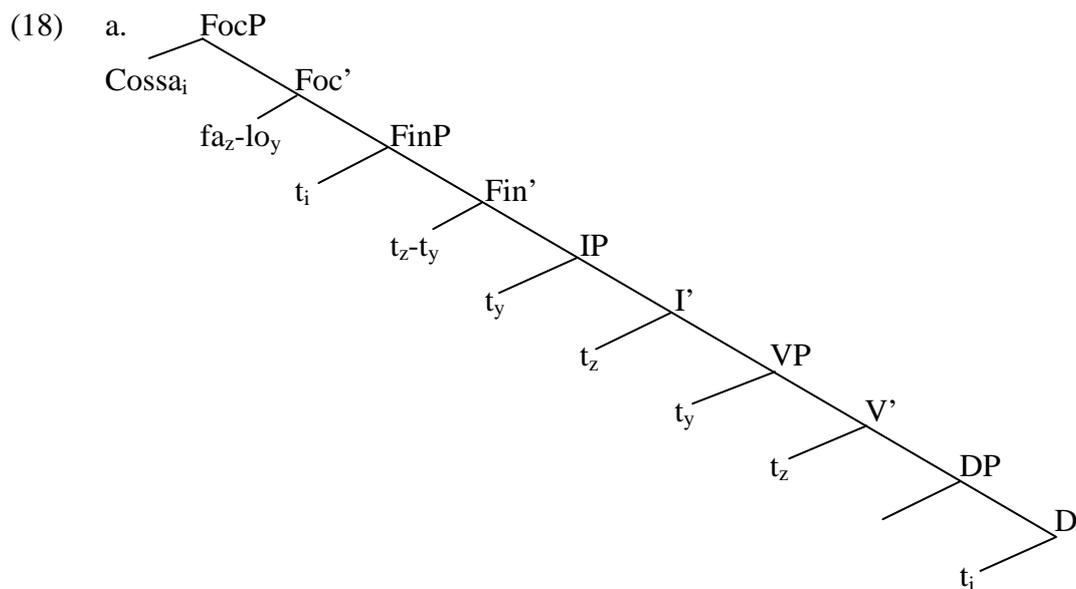
Moreover, it is possible to observe that in those varieties in which SCLI is the dominant strategy adopted, whenever there are cases of *strategy c.* selection, this occurs especially among younger generations.

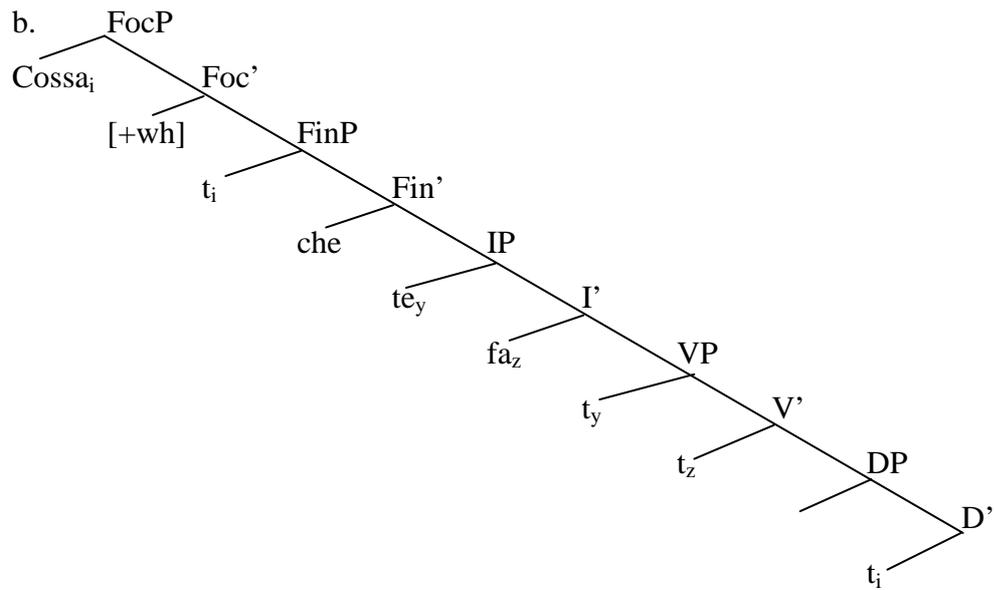
The results obtained from the analysis of the data collected made me postulate a possible new tendency towards a choice of a simpler construction with respect to the one characterizing SCLI construction. Actually, with the exception of the cleft sentence structure, which is a particular kind of structure, the other two, namely *strategy c.* and *a.*, have a simpler structure, which requires no many movements and reconstructions in its derivational process, consequently it requires less cognitive energy with respect to a SCLI construction.

Actually, in 1998 Poletto carried out a study about interrogative inversion through a diachronic perspective, in which she observed a tendency of NIDs to move in a uniform direction from a language characterized by a generalized use of the subject clitic inversion, towards a stage in which the inversion only characterized interrogative contexts, to reach a final stage in which there are no SCLI occurrences but cleft sentences, complementizer structures or simplified structures.

This kind of developmental process of the language seems to be due to a progressive loss of inflected verb movement, which starts from the left peripheral border of the sentence<sup>9</sup>.

Keeping in mind these observations, we can look again at the structures I proposed in (13), section 3.2., which I repeat here as (18): in (18a.) the derivational structure of a SCLI construction, while in (18b.) the one representing a complementizer construction.





As we can see from (18a.) and (18b.), respectively, in the first case the verb moves from its base position up to  $\text{Foc}^\circ$ , into the CP field, and SCLI applies. In the second case, instead, in which the verb remains within the IP field, without reaching any functional head projection of the left periphery, the subject clitic inversion does not obtain but the complementizer appears in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ . In fact, as we saw in section 3., the realization of the complementizer blocks the verb movement and consequently SCLI does not apply and the declarative order *proclitic-verb* is produced. On the other hand, in those cases where a simplified structure is produced, *strategy a.*, not even the complementizer appears, so the interrogative sentence is just composed by the *wh*-item, the proclitic and the inflected verb.

In this perspective, the structural derivations proposed in this work gain additional support from Poletto's work (1998) but also the data collected through the investigation led in the eastern area of Veneto seem to agree with the diachronic development of northern Italian dialects towards a disappearance of subject clitic inversion.

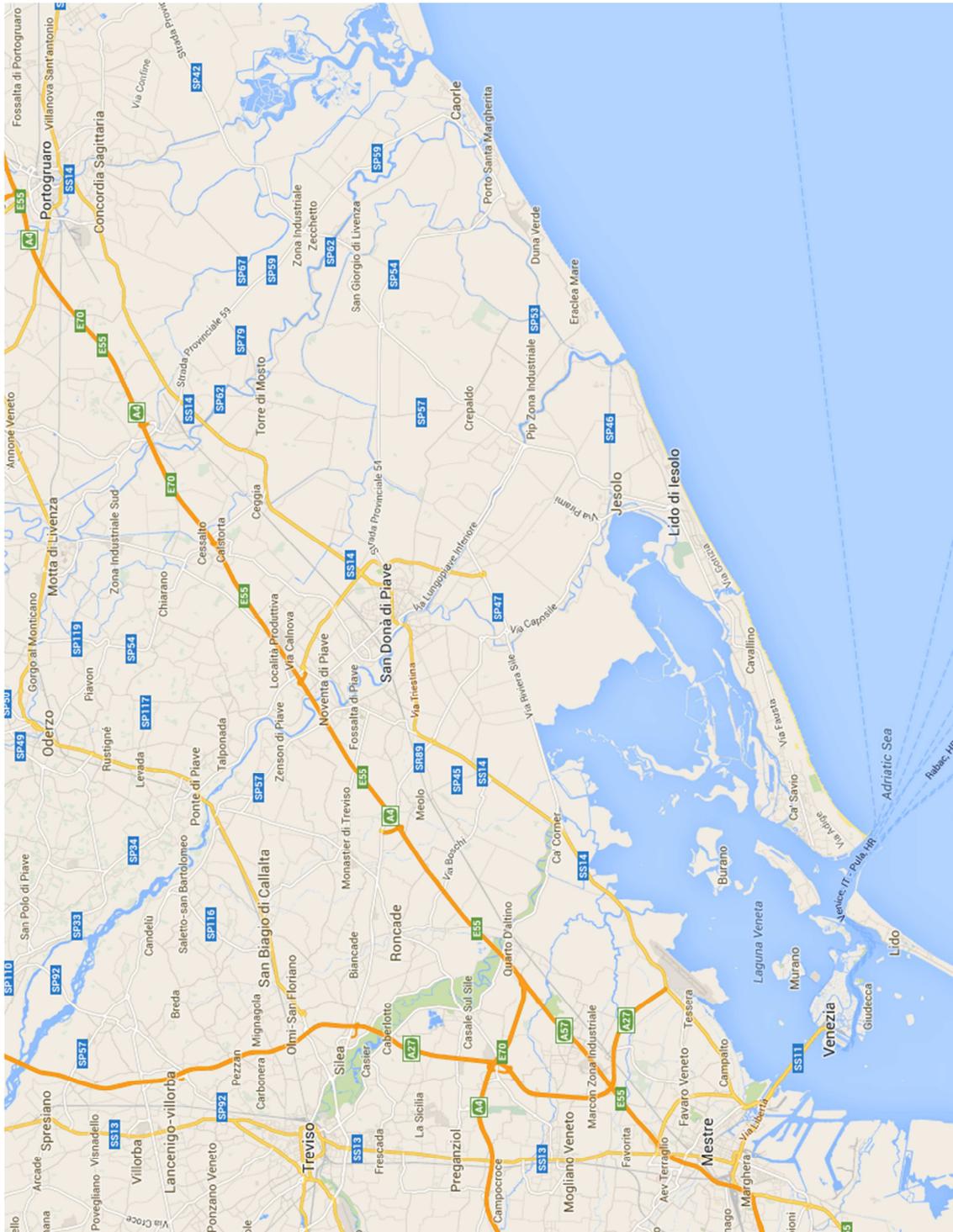
## Conclusions

In this work, after the description and the analysis of the left periphery and after the presentation of the most typical strategies attested in NIDs to express main *wh*-questions, I analyzed the characteristics and the syntactic behavior of the strategy involving SCLI and of the one in which the overt complementizer occurs. For both constructions I proposed the syntactic derivation within and without a Split-CP perspective, suggesting that SCLI applies in the functional head position defined  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , which is also the position attested for the interrogative and the exclamative complementizer of root contexts and this is mainly the reason why complementizer and SCLI do not co-exist in the same sentence.

Successively, through the study of a real corpus of data about strategies used to produce main *wh*-questions in some towns of Eastern Veneto, I observed an interesting degree of variation in the choice of strategy from a geographic point of view but also from a generational one and this phenomenon seems to be linked to a diachronic process of the language development, which involves a progressive disappearance of the SCLI construction, probably due to the gradual loss of the inflected verb movement. It is possible to identify three main stages of the subject clitic inversion development: a first one where there is a generalized occurrence of SCLI phenomenon; a second one where SCLI is related to interrogative contexts and a third one in which there is no evidence of SCLI, but are attested constructions like cleft sentences, structures with the overt complementizer or more simplified constructions. In this way, postulating a linguistic development of this kind, the derivational structures proposed in this work find more support. In fact, according to what I have shown in section 3.2., through (13), while the inflected verb moves up to  $\text{Foc}^\circ$  in the SCLI structure, it remains inside IP, with no movements to the CP field, in the complementizer construction.

## Appendix A - Map

Towns of Eastern Veneto taken into account in this investigation about main *wh*-questions are, respectively: San Donà di Piave, Eraclea, La Salute di Livenza<sup>5</sup>, Caorle, Concordia Sagittaria and Portogruaro, proceeding from left to right.



## Appendix B - Test

Main *wh*-questions which the informants had to translate into dialect.

- 1) Cosa stai mangiando?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri hai letto?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fai la festa?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi hai visto?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Quale ragazzo hai incontrato?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

## Appendix C - Data from La Salute di Livenza

### *Age group from eighty to sixty*

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu leto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Ijo?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu incontrà? / Che tosato te ha trovà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met? / That boy SCL 2°sing. have found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

### *Age group from fifty-nine to forty*

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*

- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu trovà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from thirty-nine to thirty***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*

- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Qual tosat a-tu incontrà?  
Which boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-nine to twenty-four***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-o Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu trovà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-three to twenty***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-o Luigi? / Dove che el va Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi? / Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando che te fa a festa?  
When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu trovà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

## Appendix D - Data from Caorle

### *Age group from eighty to sixty*

- 1) Cossa sis-tu drìo magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri gas-tu letto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Gigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fas-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi xe che te ga visto? / Chi te ga visto?  
Who is that SCL 2°sing. have seen? / Who SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosato gas-tu trovà? / Che tosato te ga incontrà  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. found? / Which boy SCL 2°sing. have met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

### *Age group from fifty-nine to forty*

- 1) Cossa sis-tu drìo magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri gas-tu letto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*

- 3) Dove va-eo Gigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fas-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi gas-tu visto?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosato gas-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from thirty-nine to thirty***

- 1) Cossa sis-tu drìo magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri gas-tu letto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-o Gigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fas-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*

- 5) Chi gas-tu visto?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosato gas-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-nine to twenty-four***

- 1) Cossa sis-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri gas-tu letto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-o Luigi? / Dove che el va Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi? / Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fas-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi gas-tu visto? / Chi che te ga visto?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen? / Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Quae tosato gas-tu incontrà?  
Which boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-three to twenty***

- 1) Cossa sis-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
  
- 2) Quanti libri gas-tu letto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
  
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi? / Dove che el va Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi? / Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
  
- 4) Quando fas-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
  
- 5) Chi gas-tu visto?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
  
- 6) Che tosato gas-tu incontrà  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

## Appendix E - Data from Eraclea

### *Age group from eighty to sixty*

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosàt a-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

### *Age group from fifty-nine to forty*

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*

- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from thirty-nine to thirty***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Ijo?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*

- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-nine to twenty-four***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-three to twenty***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
  
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
  
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
  
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
  
- 5) Chi a-tu vist? / Chi che t'ha vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen? / Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
  
- 6) Che tosat a-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

## Appendix F - Data from San Donà di Piave

### *Age group from eighty to sixty*

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Gigin?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Qual tosat a-tu trovà?  
Which boy have-SCL 2°sing. found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

### *Age group from fifty-nine to forty*

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*

- 3) Dove va-eo Ijo?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu trovà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from thirty-nine to thirty***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*

- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosàt a-tu trovà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-nine to twenty-four***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drìo magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Qual tosàt a-tu incontrà?  
Which boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-three to twenty***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-eo Luigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa? / Quando che te fa a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party? / When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosat a-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

## Appendix G - Data from Concordia Sagittaria

### *Age group from eighty to sixty*

- 1) Coss che te magna?  
What that SCL 2°sing. eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri che te ha liedut?  
How many books that SCL 2°sing. have read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove che el va Juti?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando che te fa la fiesta?  
When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi che te ha vist?  
Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che fiol che te ha incontrà?  
That son that SCL 2°sing. have met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

### *Age group from fifty-nine to forty*

- 1) Coss che te so drìo magnà?  
What that SCL 2°sing. are behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri che te ha liedut?  
How many books that SCL 2°sing. have read  
*How many books did you read?*

- 3) Ndo che el va Juti?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando che te fa a fiesta?  
When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi che te ha vist?  
Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che fiol che te ha trovat?  
That son that SCL 2°sing. have found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from thirty-nine to thirty***

- 1) Cossa sos-tu drìo magnà?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu let?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Ndo che va Luigi?  
Where that goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fa-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*

- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che fiol a-tu incontrà?  
That son have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-nine to twenty-four***

- 1) Cossa sos-tu drio magnà?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu liedut?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Do che el va Luigi?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fas-tu a festa? / Quande che te fa a fiesta?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party? / When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che fiol a-tu trovat?  
That son have-SCL 2°sing. found?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-three to twenty***

- 1) Coss che te so drìo magnà?  
What that SCL 2°sing. are behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
  
- 2) Quanti libri as-tu liedut?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
  
- 3) Do che el va Luigi?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
  
- 4) Quando che te fa a fiesta?  
When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
  
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
  
- 6) Che fiol che te ha incontràt?  
That son that SCL 2°sing. have met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

## Appendix H - Data from Portogruaro

### *Age group from eighty to sixty*

- 1) Cossa te magna?  
What SCL 2°sing. eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri che te ha letto?  
How many books that SCL 2°sing. have read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove che el va Luigi?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando che te fa la festa?  
When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Qual fiol as-tu incontrà?  
Which son have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

### *Age group from fifty-nine to forty*

- 1) Coss che te son drio magnar?  
What that SCL 2°sing. are behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri che te ga letto?  
How many books that SCL 2°sing. have read?  
*How many books did you read?*

- 3) Do che el va Gigi?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando che te fa la festa?  
When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi che te ga visto?  
Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosato te ga incontrà?  
That boy SCL 2°sing. have met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from thirty-nine to thirty***

- 1) Coss te si drìo magnar?  
What SCL 2°sing. are behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri gas-tu letto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Dove va-o Gigi?  
Where go-SCL 3°sing. masc. Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando te fa la festa?  
When SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*

- 5) Chi che te ga visto?  
Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che toso a-tu incontrà?  
That boy have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-nine to twenty-four***

- 1) Cossa si-tu drio magnar?  
What are-SCL 2°sing. behind eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri a-tu letto?  
How many books have-SCL 2°sing. read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Do che el va Luigi?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando fas-tu a festa?  
When do-SCL 2°sing. the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi a-tu vist?  
Who have-SCL 2°sing. seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Qual fiol as-tu incontrà?  
Which son have-SCL 2°sing. met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

***Age group from twenty-three to twenty***

- 1) Cossa magnitu? / Coss che te magni?  
What eat-SCL 2°sing.? / What that SCL 2°sing. eat?  
*What are you eating?*
- 2) Quanti libri te ga letto?  
How many books SCL 2°sing. have read?  
*How many books did you read?*
- 3) Do che el va Luigi?  
Where that SCL 3°sing. masc. goes Luigi?  
*Where does Luigi go?*
- 4) Quando che te fa la festa?  
When that SCL 2°sing. do the party?  
*When do you have the party?*
- 5) Chi che te ga visto?  
Who that SCL 2°sing. have seen?  
*Who did you see?*
- 6) Che tosatto che te ga incontrà?  
That boy that SCL 2°sing. have met?  
*Which boy did you meet?*

## Notes

1. TP or AgrP, depending on the approach they take into account.
2. Y is a higher head position, which we could consider a head position of the CP field.
3. Poletto's work (1993) is quite a dated work but I think it is interesting to take it into account, because it has surely had an important role for the development of the Linguistics studies, but it also provides an hypothesis on the possible suitable derivation showing the relation between the verb and the subject clitic pronoun, in a perspective in which proclitics and enclitics are perceived as different series of elements. Moreover, it proposes an interesting analysis on interrogative structures of some North Italian dialects, explaining the attested variation in terms of choice of the [+wh] marked head.
4. According to Munaro (1997-1999-2010), subject clitic pronouns constitute two different independent paradigms, in particular the one of enclitics has to be analyzed as a sort of bound morpheme selecting the inflected verb, whose function is to mark a specific class of clause types, exactly as particles do in some languages.
5. In the Map, see Appendix A, La Salute di Livenza does not appear but we can make reference to the one indicated as San Giorgio di Livenza. In fact nowadays these two towns have almost merged, in terms of people, dialect and life in general, but in the past they were clearly divided by the river Livenza, whose branches acted as natural geographic markers. When some branches had been deviated or closed, the two towns became one under many aspects, even if remaining divided both in terms of Council and Church powers.
6. The majority of informants did the test in a written way, but sometimes, in cases of elderly people, the test has been done in a spoken way, then carried into a written form.
7. I decided to divide the group of twenty years old into two different groups because, after the first interviews, I noticed among younger persons, especially between twenty and twenty-three years old, sometimes, a preference for the structure with the complementizer, as I show in detail in section 4.4.1.
8. Obviously, I take into account the most typical translation or the two typical ones in those cases where two strategies are used with a similar frequency.

9. According to Poletto (1998), the process can be represented as follows:

[<sub>CP1</sub> XP V [<sub>CP2</sub> WH V enclitic]]

CP1 is the one in which assertive inversion obtains while CP2 is the one related to the interrogative inversion. When both CP1 and CP2 are accessible to the verb, then, inversion is a generalized phenomenon (first stage); when only CP2 is accessible for verb movement, only interrogative inversion obtains (second stage), while, if the verb does not move, inversion does not apply (final stage).

Evidence for these three stages of the language development are respectively attested in: some medieval romance languages and in some modern Ladino varieties (first stage); many northern Italian varieties starting from the VI Century (second stage); modern varieties of Venetian, Lombard and Fassano (third stage).

## Resumen de los contenidos de la Tesis

Este apartado es un resumen de todos los contenidos tratados en las páginas anteriores. Obviamente no será una descripción muy detallada pero incluirá todos los puntos desarrollados y las principales propuestas teóricas analizadas a lo largo de toda la Tesis.

### La Tesis

El trabajo tiene carácter lingüístico y se compone principalmente de dos partes. La primera es un estudio sobre dos de las estructuras típicas de los dialectos de Italia del Norte para formular las interrogativas directas sobre constituyente, es decir, la estructura que presenta el fenómeno de la inversión entre sujeto y verbo y la estructura que presenta el complementador *que*. La segunda parte es una investigación realizada entre los dialectófonos del Veneto Oriental para observar cuáles son las estrategias más utilizadas para hacer preguntas directas sobre constituyentes y analizar su distribución.

La Tesis se compone de cinco capítulos. En el primer capítulo se analiza, desde una perspectiva cartográfica, la estructura de la frase, en particular, la periferia izquierda, presentando algunas de las propuestas teóricas sobre su composición, a partir de la hipótesis formulada por Rizzi en 1997. En el segundo capítulo, después de una breve presentación de la oración interrogativa sobre constituyente y de sus formulaciones más típicas entre los dialectos de Italia del Norte, se analiza en detalle la estructura caracterizada por la inversión y la estructura que presenta el complementador, cuya representación sintáctica se propone y analiza en el tercer capítulo. El cuarto capítulo, en cambio, está dedicado a la presentación y el análisis de los datos recogidos por medio de un test suministrado a personas dialectófonas del Veneto Oriental para observar la distribución de uso de las estructuras estudiadas y, en fin, en el quinto capítulo están las conclusiones, en las cuales se resumen los conceptos principales sobre los cuales se ha desarrollado toda la Tesis, subrayando los resultados obtenidos desde el estudio de los datos reales, es decir, una progresiva simplificación de la estructura sintáctica. Parece, en efecto, que exista un progresivo incremento en el uso de las estructuras con el complementador y, a veces, también de aquellas sin él, con respecto a las caracterizadas por la inversión entre sujeto y verbo y esta observación está en línea con algunos estudios diacrónicos, sobre la inversión interrogativa, que encontramos entre la literatura de Dialectología.

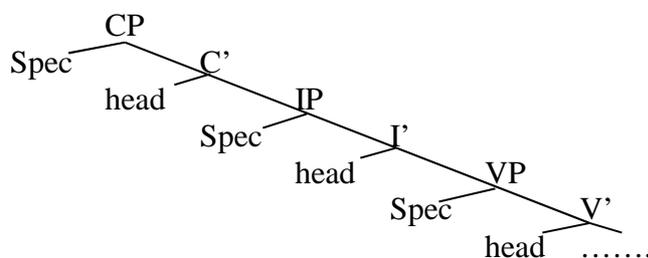
## Los contenidos en breve

En seguida se presentan en forma simplificada los conceptos, las teorías y las hipótesis que forman parte de la Tesis.

### *La estructura de la frase*

Según la Gramática Generativa, la oración se compone principalmente de tres proyecciones jerárquicamente ordenadas, las cuales permiten dividir la frase en tres niveles conectados entre ellos. Subiendo desde el fondo hacia arriba, encontramos la proyección verbal, llamada VP del Inglés *Verbal Phrase*. Se trata del nivel argumental, área dentro de la cual el verbo asigna los papeles temáticos a sus argumentos. Después encontramos el nivel de la concordancia entre el verbo y el sujeto, originado por la proyección denominada IP, del Inglés *Inflection Phrase*. Al final está el nivel del complementador, formado por la proyección denominada CP, del Inglés *Complementizer Phrase*. Este nivel constituye la llamada periferia izquierda de la frase y tiene el importante papel de conectar la frase al contexto en el cual está insertada.

Para representar sintácticamente cada proyección, se utiliza una estructura parecida a un árbol con ramos binarios cuyo cuerpo está formado por tres niveles jerárquicamente organizados que, subiendo desde el fondo hacia arriba, se distinguen en una cabeza ( $X^{\circ}$ ), un nivel intermedio ( $X'$ ) y uno maximal ( $XP$ ). Cada proyección es el reflejo de su cabeza, la cual determina la tipología y las características de la proyección misma. Además para obtener una estructura gramatical, es necesario que entre la cabeza y el especificador de la proyección maximal se realice la llamada *spec-head agreement*, es decir una relación de acuerdo que se actúa gracias a la transmisión de las características de la cabeza al especificador, a través de los ramos de la estructura.



### *La propuesta formulada por Rizzi en 1997 y sus elaboraciones*

En los años Noventa Rizzi hipotizó que el nivel del complementador, en realidad está formado por más de una proyección CP, observando que más de un elemento perteneciente a la periferia izquierda puede estar presente en la misma frase a la vez. Así, estudiando los elementos de la periferia izquierda propuso la llamada *Split-CP hypothesis* por medio de la cual dividió el área del complementador principalmente en cinco proyecciones funcionales, de las cuales, *Force* es la proyección dedicada a los elementos que determinan la tipología de la frase (declarativa, interrogativa, exclamativa, relativa...), *Top* es la proyección dedicada a los elementos topicalizados, es decir, informaciones conocidas por los participantes del discurso y los asteriscos indican que su presencia es recursiva, es decir, pudiera haber más elementos topicalizados cercanos. *Foc* es la proyección para los elementos focalizados, es decir elementos nuevos del discurso y, por último, *Fin* es la proyección dedicada a los elementos que representan la finitud de la frase, mejor dicho, es aquella proyección dentro del CP que se relaciona con el IP, llegando a ser su extensión dentro de la periferia izquierda y, por eso, su contenido puede ser variable, según las informaciones de IP que cada lengua prefiere reproducir en CP (informaciones de tiempo o modo verbal, informaciones de acuerdo del sujeto, elementos de la negación...).

FORCE      TOP\*      FOC      TOP\*      FIN      IP

A lo largo de los años, la secuencia de proyecciones propuesta por Rizzi en su *Split-CP hypothesis* ha sido estudiada y desarrollada por varios autores, incluso Rizzi mismo. En particular, Benincà (2001) y Benincà y Poletto (2004) propusieron que los verdaderos elementos topicalizados están sólo a la izquierda de *Foc* y por lo tanto no hay posición recursiva de *Top* detrás de él. Además, analizando más en el detalle la hipótesis de Benincà y Poletto (2004), se observa un nuevo análisis para los elementos topicalizados y focalizados. Según Benincà y Poletto (2004) no es posible considerar todos los elementos topicalizados de igual manera dado que, según sus características y comportamientos, podemos distinguirlos en varios tipos: no hay dentro de la periferia izquierda una posición recursiva de elementos topicalizados, sino un *Topic field*, es decir una zona formada por muchas proyecciones distintas y jerárquicamente ordenadas según el elemento que tiene en su cabeza, es decir, elementos colgados (HT, *Hanging Topics*), elementos relativos al escenario (SS, *Scene Setting elements*), elementos

dislocados a la izquierda (LD, *Left Dislocated elements*) y elementos que indican listas (LI, *List Interpretation elements*). Lo mismo proponen para los elementos focalizados, es decir, no hay una sola posición *Foc*, sino un *Focus field* jerárquicamente ordenado en dos posiciones de focus contrastivo y una de focus informacional. Según este análisis la periferia izquierda de la frase está formada en el modo siguiente:

HT > SS > LD > LI > Contr.Foc1 > Contr.Foc2 > Inf.Foc

Para simplificar un poco, podríamos resumir las proyecciones de la periferia izquierda en el modo siguiente:

HT      FORCE          TOP    FOC      FIN

### ***Preguntas directas por medio de SCLI o bien por medio del complementador***

Dos de las formulaciones más difundidas entre los dialectos de Italia del Norte, para expresar preguntas directas sobre constituyente son: la que se forma por medio de la inversión entre pronombre clítico sujeto y verbo, llamada SCLI del Inglés *Subject Clitic Inversion* y la que se forma por medio del complementador *que*, sin ninguna inversión del orden entre pronombre clítico sujeto y verbo. En seguida hay un ejemplo para cada una de las dos estructuras, ambas preguntan *¿A quién has visto?* pero la primera está hecha por medio de SCLI, mientras que la segunda presenta la formulación por medio del complementador.

Chi a-tu vist?

*¿A quién has visto?*

Chi che te ha vist?

*¿A quién que tú has visto?*

Es importante especificar el hecho de que, en los dialectos analizados en este trabajo, la combinación de las dos estructuras, como por ejemplo, *Chi che atu vist?* (*¿Quién que has visto?*) no es posible.

En general SCLI se realiza cuando el verbo conjugado tiene a su derecha el pronombre clítico sujeto y desde un punto de vista sintáctico, se describe como el proceso originado por el movimiento del verbo marcado por la característica [+wh] hasta la cabeza de una proyección funcional en la cual se encuentra el pronombre clítico sujeto. Bastante uniforme es la opinión de los lingüistas sobre la causa de este proceso, atribuida a lo que Rizzi llamó en el 1991 *the Wh-Criterion*, es decir, para que una frase sea gramatical es necesario que se realicen dos condiciones fundamentales: un elemento

interrogativo *wh-element* tiene que estar en una configuración de *spec-head agreement* con una cabeza marcada por la característica [+wh] y al revés, una *wh-head* tiene que estar en una configuración de *spec-head agreement* con un elemento interrogativo. No hay opinión común, en cambio, sobre la naturaleza de los pronombres clíticos, es decir, si los proclíticos y los enclíticos son o no los mismos elementos y sobre este aspecto se han formado principalmente dos líneas de pensamiento: una que soporta la idea de que proclíticos y enclíticos son la misma serie de elementos (*single-paradigm hypothesis*, Cardinaletti y Repetti, 2008), mientras otra línea los considera como dos series distintas de elementos (*two-paradigm hypothesis*, Poletto, 1993-200) y según el enfoque que se elige la representación sintáctica de SCLI cambia. En el primer caso, los clíticos son considerados verdaderos sujetos de la frase que, desde su posición temática suben a una posición más alta y cuando el verbo sube se pone a su lado izquierdo pero sin formar un conjunto único. En el segundo, en cambio, los enclíticos se encuentran en SpecIP y cuando el verbo sube hasta C° se incorporan a él, formando un conjunto único.

Otro aspecto interesante relativo a SCLI es la identificación de su posición dentro de una perspectiva *Split-CP*, es decir, ¿Cuál es la proyección dentro CP, cuya cabeza está ocupada por SCLI? En mi Tesis he mostrado dos propuestas teóricas, primero Poletto (2000) y después Munaro (2010).

Poletto (2000) hace un análisis de todas las estructuras interrogativas encontradas entre los dialectos de Italia del Norte y propone una composición del *CP field* distinta de la tradicional, en la cual SCLI se encuentra en la penúltima posición. En efecto, Poletto identifica cuatro posiciones distintas, cada una de las cuales está dedicada a una de las marcas que caracterizan las interrogativas, ordenadas según el papel que desempeñan y tal vez según el tipo de interpretación que atribuyen a la estructura interrogativa:

$$[_{CP1}che [_{CP2}a [_{CP3/Ag}CP SCLI [_{CP4} [_{Spec}pa] [C^{\circ}ch/lo]]]]]$$

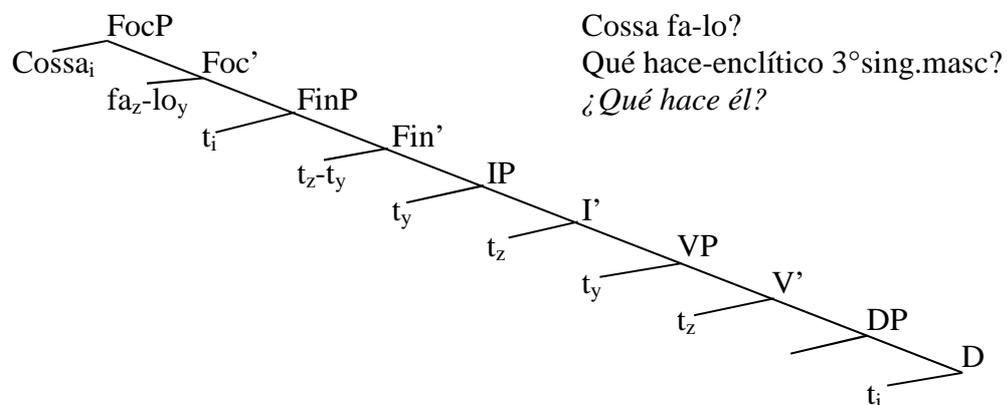
Munaro (2010), en cambio, hace un análisis de los contextos en los cuales SCLI se realiza en los dialectos de Italia del Norte, observando que SCLI puede aparecer en distintas posiciones dentro del *CP field* y cada vez que se realiza, el evento tiene cierto grado de subjetividad del hablante. De este modo, observando la frecuencia con la cual SCLI aparece en las distintas tipologías de oraciones, podemos distinguir la siguiente jerarquía de proyecciones dentro del CP:

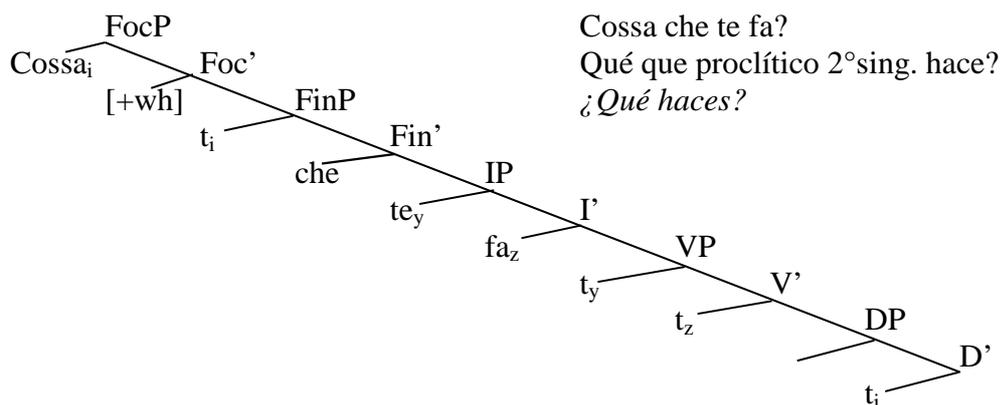
Concesivas > Hipotéticas > Optativas > Exclamativas > Interrogativas

Por lo que se refiere a la estructura interrogativa con el complementador *que*, en cambio, la situación es mucho más simple en cuanto *que* es un elemento funcional que ocupa la cabeza de la proyección CP. Como para SCLI, el problema puede surgir en una perspectiva *Split-CP*, cuando tenemos, entonces, que individuar cuál es la proyección cuya cabeza está ocupada por *que*. La hipótesis más probable es aquella formulada por Benincà (2001), en la cual se identifica en *Fin*<sup>o</sup> la posición más adecuada para alojar el complementador de los contextos directos sean exclamativos que interrogativos, mientras que las *head-positions* arriba de *Foc*<sup>o</sup> parecen ser las más adecuadas para alojar los complementadores de los contextos subordinados.

### ***Las representaciones sintácticas***

Haciendo referencia a las teorías analizadas, en particular a la *Single paradigm-hypothesis* de Cardinaletti y Repetti (2008); a Benincà (2001), según la cual *que* ocupa la posición más baja del *CP field*; hipotizando que SCLI se genere en *Fin*<sup>o</sup> y considerando la secuencia de proyecciones *FocP*>*FinP*>*IP*>*VP*>*DP*, la representación sintáctica propuesta en este trabajo para las oraciones interrogativas con SCLI y aquellas con *que*, es, respectivamente, lo que sigue:





En ambas estructuras la palabra interrogativa *Cossa* sube desde su posición argumental hasta la posición dedicada a los elementos interrogativos, SpcFocP, pasando por SpecFinP donde deja huella de su pasaje. Por lo que se refiere a la primera estructura, se supone que la posición en la que SCLI se realiza es  $Fin^\circ$  y después sube hasta  $Foc^\circ$ , satisfaciendo el principio del *Wh*-Criterion. En la segunda estructura, en cambio, se supone que la presencia del complementador, definida en  $Fin^\circ$ , impida la subida del verbo hacia el CP y por lo tanto SCLI no puede realizarse y el orden entre sujeto y verbo resulta el mismo que se encuentra en las estructuras declarativas. En este caso el principio del *Wh*-Criterion no está violado porque se asume que entre SpecFocP y  $Foc^\circ$  se establece una relación de acuerdo dinámico, por medio del cual las características interrogativas pueden transmitirse de una posición a otra por medio de un proceso de filtración. Además puede ser útil subrayar que los índices permiten construir cadenas entre el elemento movido, sus posiciones de pasaje y su posición base, permitiendo su identificación y reconstrucción a lo largo de la estructura.

La hipótesis de que SCLI se genere en  $Fin^\circ$  deriva de la idea que este proceso, para salir bien, necesita que la relación de acuerdo entre el verbo y el sujeto se mantenga hasta que el proceso no sea completado y la única proyección dentro del CP, cuyas características permiten hacer esto es FinP. A soportar esta propuesta está también el estudio de Damonte (2010), en el cual, a través del análisis de las características y comportamientos de los complementadores de subjuntivo en algunos dialectos de Italia del Sur, Salentino y Calabrese meridional, confirma que entre IP y FinP hay procesos de acuerdo. En efecto, hay pruebas de que un complementador, como el Calabrese meridiona *mu*, aunque se encuentre dentro de IP consigue controlar sus características modales dentro del CP, a través de un proceso de acuerdo.

## *Investigación en el Veneto Oriental*

La investigación sobre las estrategias más difundidas en el territorio del Veneto Oriental para hacer preguntas directas sobre constituyentes, se ha conducido por medio de la administración de un test a personas dialectófonas de seis pueblos distintos: La Salute di Livenza, Caorle, Eraclea, San Donà di Piave, Concordia Sagittaria y Portogruaro. Se trata de un área de transición entre los dialectos del Veneto y aquéllos del Friuli que cubre una zona bastante larga porque es prevalentemente una zona de campo y los pueblos más grandes se separan, en ciertas ocasiones, por algunos kilómetros entre ellos.

Por cada pueblo han sido entrevistadas quince personas entre los veinte y los ochenta años, las cuales han tenido que traducir seis simples preguntas del italiano al dialecto y los resultados obtenidos han sido sucesivamente analizados según el pueblo y según la edad.

Desde el análisis de los datos, las formulaciones más utilizadas para hacer preguntas directas sobre constituyentes, en el territorio investigado, son: las estructuras con SCLI, las estructuras con el complementador, formulaciones por medio de *cleft sentences* y estructuras simplificadas formadas por medio del elemento interrogativo, proclítico y verbo. En general la construcción con SCLI es la que predomina en todos los pueblos investigados, con excepción de Concordia Sagittaria y Portogruaro, en los cuales predomina la estructura con el complementador. Por lo que se refiere, en cambio, a las dos estructuras que dejan, se puede observar un uso de *cleft sentences* muy difundido en Caorle mientras que las estructuras simplificadas, aunque no sean ampliamente difundidas, se encuentran más a menudo en Caorle, Concordia Sagittaria y Portogruaro.

Un aspecto muy interesante que emerge de este análisis es que en las variedades en las cuales predomina SCLI, es cada vez más frecuente observar un uso de la construcción con el complementador entre las generaciones más jóvenes, en particular entre los veinte y los veintitrés años. Parece como si, con el pasar del tiempo, la estructura sintáctica de la formulación interrogativa vaya haciéndose más simple. En efecto la estructura con SCLI es más compleja desde el punto de vista sintáctico, porque requiere mucho más movimientos y reconstrucciones dentro de la derivación y el esfuerzo cognitivo es mayor.

En realidad, los resultados recogidos parecen estar en línea con el estudio realizado por Poletto en 1998 sobre el desarrollo de la inversión interrogativa desde una perspectiva diacrónica. En efecto, de su análisis emerge una tendencia de los dialectos de Italia del Norte, a moverse de modo unitario desde una tipología de lengua en la que el fenómeno de la inversión es algo generalizado hacia un nivel de lengua en el que hay sólo inversión interrogativa, hasta llegar a un nivel de lengua en el que el fenómeno de la inversión es completamente inexistente. Es decir, parece que haya una pérdida progresiva del movimiento del verbo a partir de las posiciones más periféricas de la frase que permite identificar tres niveles de desarrollo diacrónico de la lengua: inversión generalizada, inversión limitada a las interrogativas y ausencia de inversión, con presencia de estructuras con complementador, *cleft sentences* o bien estructuras simplificadas.

Las estructuras propuestas en este trabajo, entonces, están en línea con esta hipótesis. En efecto, en la derivación sintáctica propuesta para representar las estructuras que presentan SCLI, el verbo se mueve hasta  $Foc^{\circ}$ , produciendo el orden verbo-enclítico, mientras que en la derivación propuesta para representar las construcciones con el complementador, el verbo no sube a la cabeza de ninguna de las proyecciones del *CP field* sino que deja dentro del área IP produciendo el orden proclítico-verbo.

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