



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA

Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari

Corso di Laurea Magistrale in
Lingue Moderne per la Comunicazione e la Cooperazione Internazionale
Classe LM-38

Tesi di Laurea

The Doubly Filled Comp in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro

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Anno Accademico 2025 / 2026

List of abbreviations

Agr CP	=	Agreement Phrase
ASIt	=	Syntactic Atlas for the Northern Italian Dialects
CfvQs	=	Can't-find-the-value-of-x Questions
CP	=	Complementiser Phrase
DFC	=	Doubly Filled Comp
E	=	Embedded (clause)
Fin P	=	Finite Phrase
Foc P	=	Focus Phrase
Int P	=	Interrogative Phrase
IP	=	Inflectional Phrase
M	=	Matrix (clause)
NIDs	=	Northern Italian Dialects
Q	=	Interrogative Feature
RQ	=	Research Question
SCI	=	Subject Clitic Inversion

SCL	=	Subject Clitic
SDQs	=	Surprise-disapproval Questions
Spec	=	Specifier
Top P	=	Topic phrase
WhD	=	Wh Doubling
Wh-element/ Wh-item	=	Interrogative pronoun
XP	=	X Phrase
VP	=	Verb Phrase

Abstract

The present research investigates the phenomenon of Doubly Filled Comp (DFC) in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, two varieties belonging to Northern Italian Dialects. The DFC consists of the co-occurrence of the complementiser *che* with an interrogative pronoun. Specifically, the study focuses on determining the triggering factors of DFC, precisely clausal type, verbal morphology and the nature of the Wh-element (RQ1), the constraints or pragmatic contexts which trigger DFC instead of clefting (RQ2) and whether *che* can be categorised as a complementiser or as part of a relative clause (RQ3). This study has been carried out through an adapted version of Questionnaire 2 of the *Syntactic Atlas for the Northern Italian Dialects* (ASIt), which was orally administered to 20 native speakers, equally divided between the two villages. The data collected were then analysed and compared to previous literature on the left periphery of interrogatives and to a corpus created ad hoc for the present purpose. The findings revealed that DFC does exist in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, although it is mainly realised in embedded contexts and it highly depends on the nature of the interrogative element. For example, *why* never appears within DFC, while *how much* is the most consistent item, forming a hierarchy of triggering elements. Verbal morphology does not have an influence on the phenomenon, since it is visible both in simple and compound tense clauses. With regard to RQ2, the data also show that DFC and clefting are in a complementary distribution, therefore, they are realised in different contexts. Furthermore, the findings do not provide enough evidence to precisely answer the third research question. It would have been interesting to administer a further questionnaire concerning relative clauses to all participants in order to understand the classification of *che*. However, this open question provides an interesting and crucial path for future syntactic research. In conclusion, the study underlines that dialects are not static. They constantly undergo social and historical developments resulting in a high degree of idiolectal variation.

Table of Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	9
<i>Chapter 1: The Dialects of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro: Historical, Geographical and Linguistic background</i>	13
1.1 Dialectology in Italy.....	13
1.2 Geographical and historical background	16
1.3 Linguistic features.....	18
<i>Chapter 2: Different structures of interrogative sentences in NIDs</i>	21
2.1 Left periphery of the clause	21
2.2 Subject Clitic Inversion in NIDs as the empirical evidence of I-to-C movement.....	24
2.3 The phenomenon of the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (DFC)	27
2.4 Cleft sentences	34
2.5 Wh-in-situ	36
2.6 Research questions	41
<i>Chapter 3: Methodology of the Research</i>	43
3.1 Construction of the questionnaire	43
3.2 Participants' profiles	46
3.3 Administration of the questionnaire.....	51
3.4 Pilot test.....	52
3.5 Grammaticality of the sentences	55
3.6 Linguistic differences between Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro	57
3.7 Corpus	60
<i>Chapter 4: Data analysis</i>	65
<i>Chapter 5: Discussion of the findings and concluding remarks</i>	97
5.1 Brief introduction	97
5.2 Discussion of the findings.....	97
<i>Riassunto</i>	105

<i>References</i>	115
<i>Online resources</i>	119
<i>Appendix A – Dialectal survey</i>	121
<i>Appendix B – Data collected</i>	127

Introduction

The analysis of interrogative structures within the Romance languages is a central area of investigation in syntax, offering an important understanding of the left periphery of the clause. The Italian context is characterised by many regional varieties, which provide an interesting empirical testing ground. Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs) display several interrogative phenomena, including Subject Clitic Inversion (SCI), clefting, Wh-in-situ and Doubly Filled Comp (DFC). The present research focuses on the analysis of the phenomenon of DFC within the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro. This variety belongs to the Gallo-Italic dialects, precisely to the Eastern Lombard dialects. The two villages are situated in the Northern part of the Sabbia Valley (Valle Sabbia) in the Lombard province of Brescia. This territory is located on the border with Trentino-Alto Adige, a significant geographical aspect that influences its linguistic domain. While Ponte Caffaro lies down the valley occupying a strategic transitory position, Bagolino features a natural secluded alpine environment granting physical isolation from surrounding villages. Although there are some phonological and lexical differences, the data show that there are no syntactic discrepancies between the two villages, at least for the properties investigated by this study, as will be highlighted in Chapter 3. Therefore, in the present research, their dialects are treated as belonging to the same system.

The DFC is a widespread phenomenon in Northern Italian Dialects. It consists in the cooccurrence of interrogative elements and complementisers in the left periphery of the clause, which is generally considered ungrammatical. This incompatibility was first formalised by Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) under the Doubly Filled Comp Filter. The DFC accounts for the impossibility of the co-occurrence of both an overt Wh-phrase and an overt complementiser in the complementiser phrase. This is the reason why standard languages do not use the complementiser in the presence of a Wh-element. According to Rizzi's cartographic approach (1997), the Complementiser Phrase (CP) in the left periphery of the clause is a split layer of specialised functional projections (Force, Topic, Focus, Finiteness). Under this approach, DFC is not perceived as a structural violation of a single head, but as the activation of different targeting positions. Interestingly, similar data have been attested in other varieties as well, such as in Czech and Slovenian interrogatives and in Bavarian and Alemannic areas.

In order to empirically investigate the dialect under observation, the present research is based on an adapted version of Questionnaire 2 of the *Syntactic Atlas for the Northern Italian Dialects* (ASIt), orally administered between January and February 2026 to 20 speakers equally divided between the two villages. The questionnaire consists of 109 randomised sentences, including 40 filler ones to ensure spontaneous responses. Furthermore, it contains fundamental variables for the research: the nature of different interrogative pronouns (what, who, when, where, how, why, which – singular and plural form – how much, how many), the syntactic structure (Subject Clitic Inversion, clefting and DFC), the clausal type (matrix and embedded clauses) and verbal morphology (simple and compound tense). These specific variables fundamentally shaped the design of the study, since the final empirical data have been organised according to them. Interestingly, a corpus based on typical poems, proverbs and fables has been analysed in order to provide a diachronic comparison to the present findings. The data collected precisely aim at understanding to what extent the variables aforementioned determine the distribution of the Doubly Filled Comp in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro (RQ1), the syntactic constraints that trigger DFC instead of clefting (RQ2) and whether *that* can be classified as a complementiser or as part of a relative clause (RQ3).

The present thesis is organised into five chapters structured as follows, enhanced by a concluding Appendix with the questionnaire and the Excel table showing the data collected:

- Chapter 1 provides an overview of the historical, geographical and linguistic background of the variety under investigation. It also briefly describes Italian Dialectology and La Spezia-Rimini line.
- Chapter 2 reviews the previous literature on the left periphery of the clause. Specifically, it explores Subject Clitic Inversion as the empirical evidence for I-to-C movement, the Doubly Filled Comp and its ungrammaticality, clefting, Wh-in-situ and Wh-Doubling.
- Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the research, focusing on the construction of the questionnaire, its administration and the linguistic profiles of participants. It also explores the linguistic differences between the two villages and introduces the linguistic corpus created.

- Chapter 4 provides a detailed analysis of the findings gathered during the research through graphical representations, which are divided according to the nature of the interrogative pronoun and the participant.
- Chapter 5 offers a discussion of the findings collected, answers to the initial research questions and proposes further investigations.

In conclusion, the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro has been extensively documented and studied from a lexical perspective, as demonstrated by the existing vocabulary of the variety. However, no syntactic investigation has been carried out yet. The present research aims to fill this gap, adding new empirical data to the investigation of interrogative structures in Northern Italian Dialects. Furthermore, this research is not only driven by an academic interest in syntactic microvariation, but also by a personal connection to the territory, which has provided an internal perspective on the dialect and facilitated the collection of the findings.

Chapter 1

The Dialects of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro: Historical, Geographical and Linguistic background

1.1 Dialectology in Italy

The present research focuses on the analysis of the Doubly Filled Comp in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro. Before moving to the description of the historical and geographical background of these two areas, it is interesting to briefly introduce Italian dialectology. This discipline developed during the 19th century and was introduced in the peninsula by Graziadio Isaia Ascoli who founded the journal *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* in 1873 (Loporcaro, 2009: 20). Ascoli offered a diachronic model for the study of the linguistic structure of dialects and their internal variation. However, early dialectological research focused on the description of the development of dialects from Latin. Only later, Ferdinand de Saussure proposed a synchronic approach – specifically, the analysis of a dialect as a system independently of its historical evolution (Loporcaro, 2009: 21). Nevertheless, despite the different approaches, dialectology still classifies language varieties and establishes a method for the definition of linguistic borders through the identification of isoglosses. The most important example in Italian dialectology is La Spezia-Rimini line (firstly formulated by Wartburg in 1936), later renamed as Massa Carrara-Senigallia by Pellegrini in 1977 (Loporcaro, 2009: 16). This major boundary runs along the Apennines between Tuscany and Emilia Romagna and separates the Northern dialects from the central-southern ones. The following figure reports the isogloss mentioned which appears blurred or irregular in certain areas due to linguistic changes, both temporal and geographical. Moreover, Loporcaro (2009) described other kind of changes, specifically the lexical diffusion and the diastratic variation. The former refers to changes developed within the lexicon, while the latter indicates variation between groups of speakers. Nevertheless, this line is crucial for the Italian dialectology.

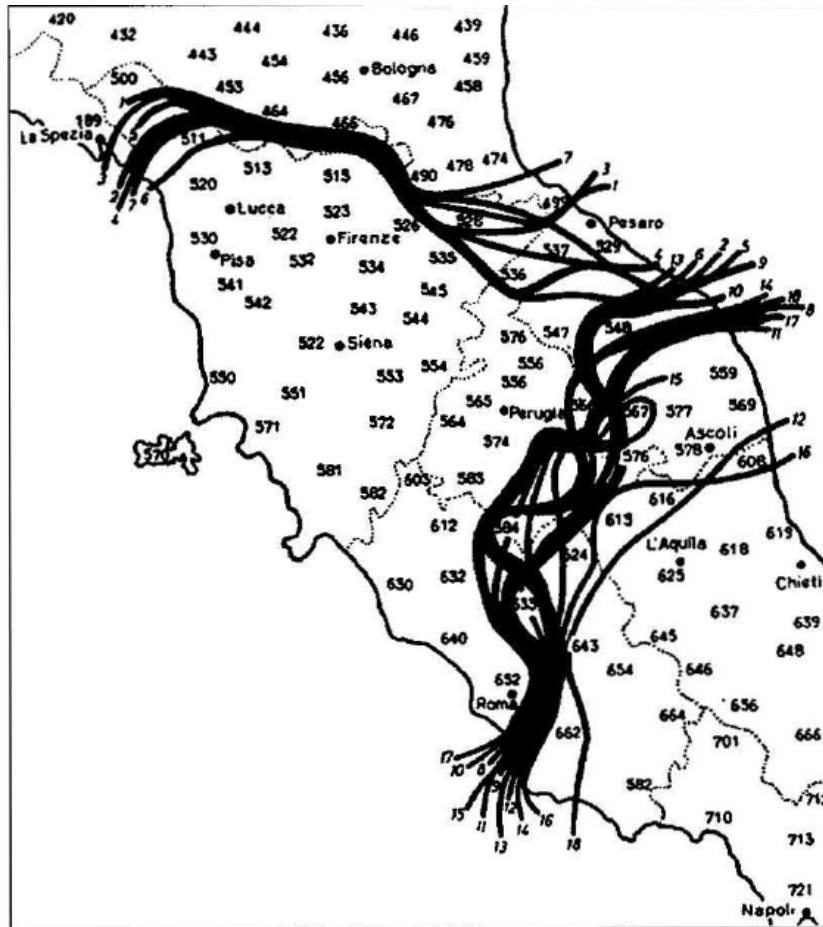


Figure 1 La spezia-rimini isogloss

(Loporcaro, 2009: 17)

Furthermore, what should be pointed out is the classification of Italian dialects proposed by Pellegrini in 1977 (Loporcaro, 2009: 70). The peninsula is divided in the following dialectal areas:

1. Northern dialects (or upper Italian), further divided into:
 - a) Gallo-Italic dialects (Emilian, Lombard, Piedmontese and to a lesser extent Ligurian)
 - b) Venetan dialects
2. Friulian dialects
3. Tuscan dialects
4. Central-southern dialects, further divided into:
 - a) Middle-central area dialects
 - b) Upper southern dialects (or intermediate southern)

c) Extreme southern dialects

Pellegrini individuated a fifth subgroup which consists of the Sardinian dialects (Loporcaro, 2009: 70).

The Lombard dialects, being part of the Gallo-Italic division, are further divided according to the area. Precisely, there are Western Lombard or Cisabduan dialects (including, for example, the provinces of Milano, Varese, Como), Eastern Lombard or Transabduan dialects (including, for example, the provinces of Brescia, Bergamo) and Alpin Lombard dialects (including, for example, the Spluga valley and the upper Adda valley). Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, being in the province of Brescia, are part of the Eastern Lombard dialects. The following map reports the Lombardy region with its dialectal subdivisions:

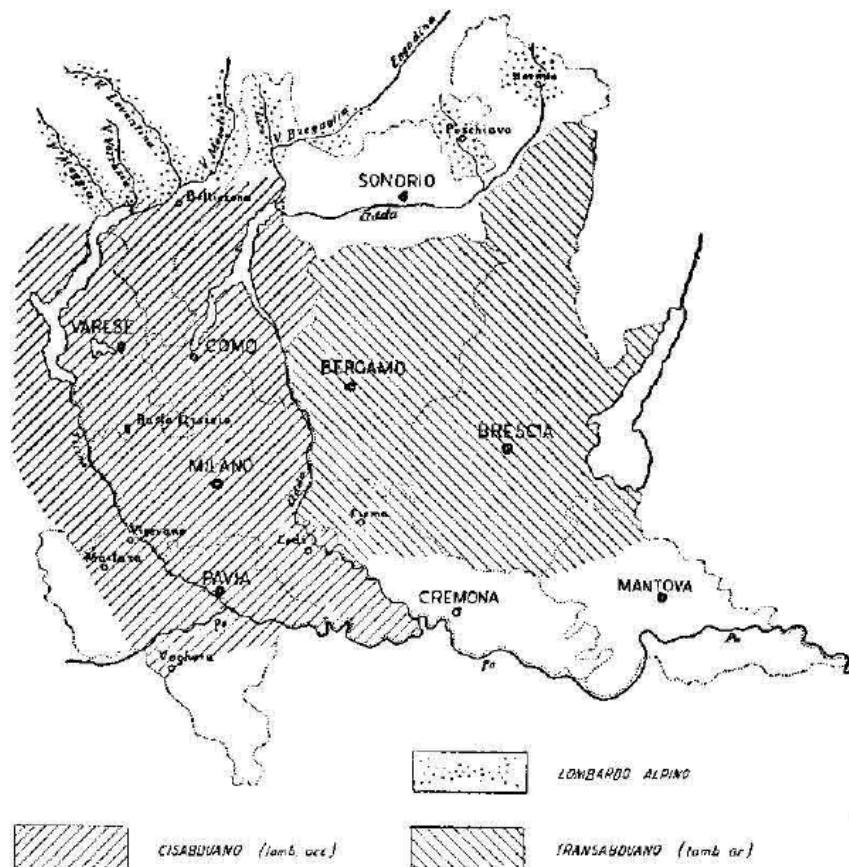


Figure 2 Subdivision of Lombard dialects

(Loporcaro, 2009: 98)

Although this is just a brief introduction of Italian dialectology and Lombard varieties, it provides the essential context useful to understand the microvariation of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, whose geographical and historical background is analysed in the following section.

1.2 Geographical and historical background

This section focuses on the description of the historical and geographical background of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, whose dialect is under investigation in the present research. This is necessary in order to better understand the linguistic environment and the factors which have influenced the dialect.

Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro are two villages of the same municipality. They are situated in the Northern end of the Sabbia Valley (Valle Sabbia) in the province of Brescia in the Lombardy region. This territory is on the border with the Trentino-Alto Adige, a significant geographical aspect that influences the linguistic domain. Bagolino features a natural secluded alpine environment granting physical isolation from surrounding villages. On the contrary, Ponte Caffaro lies down the valley, near lake Idro, even though the two small villages are not separated by many kilometres. Ponte Caffaro occupies a strategic position connecting Lombard and Trentino territories, which are naturally separated by the Caffaro river.

The flat plain of Ponte Caffaro, the so-called *Pian d'Oneda*,¹ was officially entrusted to the Municipality of Bagolino in 1451. During that period, Bagolino was part of the Republic of Venice (the *Serenissima*) which later decided to concede the administration of the territory to the Counts of Lodron (*Conti Lodron*)² in Trentino. Subsequently, in 1473, Bagolino returned under Venetian rule (Melzani, 1989). During this century, commercial and cultural relations between Bagolino and Venice strengthened. Several Venetian families moved to this area, bringing with them artistic,

¹ According to Vaglia (1967), this toponym derives from the *ontano* (alder) plant used to reclaim the zone, because, during the Middle Ages, the territory was subject to frequent flooding by the Caffaro river.

² Lodrone is a village in Trentino bordering Ponte Caffaro. The Counts of Lodron were rural nobles belonging to the *nobilis macinata Sancti Virgilii* (the noble court of the Bishop of Trent). In 1189 the bishop officially gave them the castle, the curia and the fiefdom of Lodrone. Documents attested that the Counts of Lodron were the dominant family between approximately 1350 and 1370. From that moment on, they entered into the affairs of Bagolino. <https://www.discoverbagolino.com/storia/>

linguistic and culinary influences still present in the local heritage. In 1797 the Campoformio treaty marked the end of the Republic of Venice and the Brescian territory shifted under the control of Napoleone Bonaparte. Though, Brescia became part of the Austrian Empire after Napoleone's fall. In this period, the provinces were reorganised and the communication routes of the valley reconstructed. These events deeply affected the local population, especially the area of Ponte Caffaro which was directly located on the front line. During the First World War, both villages became a harsh theatre of battles owing to their strategic position (Melzani, 1989). The front had already been fortified with strongholds, such as the forts of Cima Ora and Rocca d'Anfo. Furthermore, the alpine territory led to the construction of mountain roads, outposts and trenches necessary to defend the valley from the Austrian enemies.³ Interestingly, at the end of the conflict, Ponte Caffaro had the possibility to finally cross the bridge which divided the two separate nations. Today it symbolises historical continuity and border identity between these two different territories, but also identity and peace. Moreover, the bridge has always had a strategic function of connection between Bagolino and the neighbouring areas, promoting commercial and cultural exchanges (Biati and Lombardi, 1979).

The background described in this section is just a summary of what Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro witnessed throughout history. It is not the aim of this research to report in detail all the episodes. However, this introduction was necessary as the mentioned events shaped the sociolinguistic and cultural heritage of the two villages and the continuous contact with different populations influenced their local practises and traditions. Furthermore, during the years, many people from Bagolino moved to Ponte Caffaro; therefore, these two communities are greatly connected from a cultural perspective. Nevertheless, the present research has attested some linguistic differences between them, which will be later exemplified in the methodological chapter. It is likely that the proximity of Ponte Caffaro to the Trentino region has influenced its linguistic background. On the other hand, Bagolino, owing to its geographic isolation in the mountains, has maintained a more conservative linguistic profile.

³ <https://www.ecomuseovalledelcaffaro.it/storia/>

1.3 Linguistic features

The present section focuses on the linguistic features of the dialects of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, which are here treated as belonging to the same system despite the phonological and lexical differences. This dialect is commonly called *bagòs*. Deriving from Latin, it is considered one of the dialects of the Lombard area, part of the larger section of Northern Italian Dialects. A detailed analysis of its lexicon has shown that this dialect has preserved particular and archaic traits, although influences are attested as well. There are words extremely typical of Bagolino whose etymology is still unknown, such as *baròsa* (“spiderweb”), *lgiàl* (“boy”) or *ildä* (“avalanche”). On the other hand, the lexicon shows influences of the Trentino territory, for example in *äpé* (“near”), *orél* (“funnel”) and *lömàs* (“snail”). Venetian connections can be observed as well, even though to a lesser extent. The Venetian words present within the dialect of Bagolino are the ones used in all the Eastern Brescian area, such as *fogà* (“liver”) and *sàtä* (“paw”). A Venetian lexical item which is only attested in Bagolino is *dònlä* (“weasel”), (Bazzani and Melzani, 2002). This brief introduction reveals to what extent the commercial and political relations between Bagolino and the neighbouring territories have shaped its linguistic identity (Bazzani and Melzani, 2002).

A further linguistic aspect to discuss in this section regards pronouns. While it would be interesting to describe all functional words of the current dialect, the purpose of the research is strictly limited to syntactic structure. Therefore, this overview will only focus on subject, relative and interrogative pronouns. In Bagolino, personal subject pronouns are the following:

Table 1 Personal subject pronouns

English subject	Tonic	Clitic	Example	English equivalent
I	<i>mé</i>	-	<i>mé laùro</i>	I work
You	<i>té</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>té té zóghe</i>	you play
He	<i>èl</i>	<i>èl</i>	<i>èl èl laùrà</i>	he works
She	<i>elè</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>elè lä laùrà</i>	she works
We	<i>noàtre</i> or <i>nö</i>	-	<i>noàtre partóm</i>	we leave

You	<i>voàtre</i> or <i>oàtre</i>	-	<i>oàtre polsì</i>	you relax
They	<i>èi</i> (masculine) and <i>elé</i> (feminine)	<i>i</i> (masculine) and <i>lé</i> (feminine)	<i>èi i laùrà / elé</i> <i>lé laùrà</i>	they work

(Bazzani and Melzani, 2002: 31-32)

Subject Clitic Doubling is a typical linguistic feature of many Northern Italian dialects, as the examples above highlight. What must be noted is that the distinction between masculine and feminine forms is not only maintained in the personal subject itself, but also in its respective clitic. Relative pronouns are instead the following:

Table 2 Relative and interrogative pronouns

Dialectal form	Italian equivalent	English equivalent
<i>Ché (che)</i>	che, chi, cui	who, which, that (invariable)
<i>Chél ché</i>	chi, il quale, colui il quale	who, the one who (masculine - singular)
<i>Chéla ché</i>	chi, la quale, colei la quale	who, the one who (feminine - singular)
<i>Chìi ché, chéi ché</i>	chi, i quali, coloro i quali	who, those who (masculine - plural)
<i>Chìle ché, chéle ché</i>	chi, le quali, coloro le quali	who, those who (feminine – plural)

Interestingly, Table 2 shows the presence of distal demonstratives followed by a complementiser, as exemplified in the bibliographical chapter.

Table 3 Interrogative pronouns

Dialectal form	Italian equivalent	English equivalent
<i>Che, cò?</i>	che cosa?	what?
<i>Chi?</i>	chi?	who?
<i>Qual?</i>	quale?	which (one)? (masculine)
<i>Quàlä?</i>	quale?	which (one)? (feminine)

<i>Quài? Quàle?</i>	quali?	which (ones)?
<i>Ènde? Èndo? Endù?</i>	dove?	where?
<i>Come? Compèrte?</i>	come?	how?
<i>Parché? Cömöt?</i>	perchè?	why?
<i>Quànt?</i>	quando?	when?
<i>Quàt?</i>	quanto?	how much?
<i>Quacc?</i>	quanti?	how many?

(Bazzani and Melzani, 2002)

Notably, some linguistic differences between participants from Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro have been attested, specifically there are some discrepancies in the phonological and lexical fields. However, the data show that there are no syntactic differences between the two villages at least for the properties investigated by this thesis. Precisely, the interrogative phenomena under investigation are treated in a very similar way. Nevertheless, all these discrepancies will be outlined in detail in the methodological chapter since they are strictly connected with the questionnaire administered to participants.

Chapter 2

Different structures of interrogative sentences in NIDs⁴

2.1 Left periphery of the clause

The present chapter aims to analyse the theoretical background of the linguistic phenomenon addressed in this research. In order to understand interrogative sentences and their different structures within the dialects of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, it is fundamental to investigate how the complementiser layer is organised within the general structural representation of a clause. The approach adopted in this research is the cartographic one, firstly proposed by Cinque and Rizzi. According to them, the cartography of syntax is a line of research attempting to “draw maps as precise and detailed as possible of syntactic configurations” (Cinque and Rizzi, 2012: 43).

Following this reasoning, the analysis focuses on the left periphery of the clause, specifically the complementiser phrase (CP). It is the highest constituent of a sentence which hosts various operator-like elements, such as interrogative and relative pronouns, topics and focalised elements (Rizzi, 1997). Mirroring the split of the inflectional phrase (IP), the X-bar schema of the complementiser has been divided into different functional projections, exemplified in Rizzi (1997):

- (1) Force ... (Top*) ... Foc ... (Top*) ... Fin IP

The Force Phrase expresses the type of sentence and its illocutionary force. The information contained here is generally referred to as Clausal Type or the specification of Force. Topic and Focus structures are activated only if needed, i.e. “when there is a topic or focus constituent to be accommodated in the left periphery of the clause” (Rizzi, 2001: 287). The Topic Phrase contains left-dislocated topicalised elements, while the Focus

⁴ Northern Italian Dialects. This expression refers to varieties spoken above the isogloss *La Spezia-Rimini*. In fact, the general term “Italian Dialects” is misleading because of the presence of dialects which developed independently of Latin. (Fiorini, 2021).

Phrase hosts focalised elements. The Finiteness Phrase expresses whether a sentence is finite or non-finite (Rizzi, 1997).

However, further studies and investigations about the interrogative complementiser *se* “if” led to the integration of another projection, Int P (Interrogative Phrase), giving rise to the following structure (Rizzi, 2001):

- (2) Force ... (Top*) ... Int ... (Top*) ... Foc ... (Top*) ... Fin IP

According to Rizzi (2001), *che* and *se* have certain properties in common. However, *se* can be preceded and followed by a topic, while *che* can only be followed by a topic. This leads to the conclusion that two different positions are needed.

The position occupied by Wh-elements in main questions is clearly different from the structural layer whose head is *se*. Rizzi (2001) underlined the impossibility of Wh-elements in main questions to cooccur with a focus (examples 4a, 4b), differently from *se* (example 3). This mutual exclusivity is due to the target position of Wh-elements and focus constituents: since they both move to the specifier of the Focus, they compete for the same position. Here are some examples to clarify:

- (3) Mi domando, a Gianni, *se*, ieri, QUESTO⁵, alla fine della riunione, avremmo potuto dirgli.

I wonder, to Gianni, if, yesterday, THIS, at the end of the meeting, we could have said to him.

- (4) a) *A chi QUESTO hanno detto?

To whom THIS they said?

- b) *QUESTO a chi hanno detto?

THIS to whom they said?

(Rizzi, 2001: 290)

This incompatibility disappears with Wh-elements in embedded clauses:

⁵ The capitalised element is the Focus phrase.

- (5) Mi domando A GIANNI che cosa abbiano detto
I wonder TO GIANNI what they have said

(Rizzi, 2001: 291)

This is explained by the fact that in embedded questions, Wh-elements do not obligatory move to the specifier of the Focus, differently from main questions. Therefore, there should be an available position for Wh-elements lower than Foc. Rizzi's reasoning is precisely the following:

As the position occupied by *se* is higher than the position occupied by Foc, and the Foc position is higher than the position occupied by Wh in embedded questions, we conclude, by transitivity, that the position of *se* is higher than the position of embedded Wh-elements (Rizzi, 2001: 291).

Therefore, the order of elements in embedded clauses is different from the one presented above (2). The precise order is shown in the following line (Rizzi, 2001):

- (6) ... Force ... Int ... Foc ... Wh ... (embedded clauses)

Rizzi (2001) continued his investigation analysing the different kinds of interrogative elements. In Italian, some Wh-items correspond to arguments or lower adverbials and they require inversion in main questions. (7) exemplifies this inversion occurring with the pronoun *che cosa* "what", but the same phenomenon is required by other pronouns such as *come* "how" and *dove* "where":

- (7) a) *Che cosa Gianni ha fatto?
What Gianni did?
- a') Che cosa ha fatto Gianni?
What did Gianni?

(Rizzi, 2001: 292)

This inversion is necessary because the subject cannot intervene between the Wh-element and the inflected verb. However, it is not required in sentences with higher adverbials, such as *perché* and its synonym *come mai* “why”, because I-to-C movement is not necessary. Moreover, these Wh-elements can cooccur with focus. The difference relies on the fact that ordinary Wh-elements move from their original position to the specifier of focus (in main questions), lower than Int, while *perché* is first merged in the specifier of Int.

The reason for inversion with ordinary Wh-elements in main questions is connected to the Wh Criterion. It is a universal constraint governing the question formation proposed by Rizzi (1996):

- a) A *wh*-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with a head carrying the *wh*-feature;
- b) A head carrying the *wh*-feature must be in a Spec-head configuration with a *wh*-operator.

He defined this phenomenon as a Residual Verb Second, since in the Romance languages and in English, the verb raises to C to satisfy the criterion realising the subject-verb inversion. Specifically, I-to-C movement must apply to bring the Wh feature to the C system, where this criterion is satisfied (7a). In fact, in Italian the verb is the head bearing the Wh-feature (Poletto, 2000). On the contrary, in (7a') the criterion is violated because I-to-C has not applied; therefore, the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

2.2 Subject Clitic Inversion in NIDs as the empirical evidence of I-to-C movement

The theoretical framework described in the previous section is necessary to understand the behaviour of interrogative sentences in Northern Italian Dialects. As earlier described, the Wh-criterion requires a Spec-head configuration (Rizzi, 1996) and an I-to-C movement. In dialects the process of inversion and the I-to-C movement is signalled by the Subject Clitic Inversion phenomenon (SCI), in which the finite verb precedes the subject clitic. According to Poletto (2000), SCI corresponds to the syntactic movement of the inflected verb to the CP domain. It is the most conservative structure in

dialects, even though it is gradually disappearing. She underlined that SCI sounds old-fashioned in some varieties, the reason why it may be only pronounced by older speakers. It is generally restricted to main interrogative sentences, and excluded from declarative or embedded ones. Here is an example of the dialect of Cereda, in the central part of Veneto, as a clarification of the possible contexts in which SCI is involved:

(8) a) Cossa fa-**lo**?

What does-he?

b) Non so cossa che **el** fa

(I) do not know what that he does

c) *Non so cossa (che) fa-**lo**

(I) not know what does-he

d) *Cossa (che) **el** fa?

What (that) he does?

(Poletto, 2000: 42-43).

Example (8a) shows the canonical SCI – the subject clitic cannot appear in preverbal position and the verb must raise to a higher functional position. Therefore, inversion is compulsory. However, (8b) and (8c) reveal that SCI is generally avoided in embedded questions. In these two sentences, the subject clitic remains in its preverbal position and the verb does not need to move to the CP domain. Example (8d) shows the ungrammaticality of a main interrogative sentence without inversion. What must be noted is that in many dialects the contexts in which this inversion is accepted are not only restricted to interrogative sentences. SCI often occurs in hypothetical, counterfactual, exclamative and disjunctive clauses as well. In these cases, the phenomenon is a V-to-C movement. Furthermore, there are some varieties, such as the dialect of Rovereto in Trentino, which display SCI in embedded interrogatives. Therefore, Poletto (2000: 45) proposed three criteria useful to determine whether a V-to-C analysis is correct for a given dialect:

1. Main versus embedded asymmetry
2. Presence of SCI in other typical V to C contexts
3. SCI not generalised to declarative clauses.

Through the analysis of different dialects, Poletto (2000) concluded that Subject Clitic Inversion does not necessarily represent a uniform phenomenon. The position of the clitic and the movement of the inflected verb to C should be verified through specific syntactic tests.

Despite the great varieties between NIDs, at least three projections in the CP are activated in interrogative sentences: the highest C head containing the complementiser, a lower C head containing the deictic clitic and the Agreement projection (AgrC). Nevertheless, there are also cases in which SCI is separated from the verb by an interrogative morpheme. For example, in Franco-Provencal dialects, the morpheme is *lo* triggering the order V-lo-SCI. Therefore, a fourth projection is needed. Poletto (2000: 65) reported the following structure showing that interrogative clauses may activate four CP projection:

(9) [C₁ ch [C₂ deictic SCL [AgrC₃ SCI [CP₄ [SPEC_{CP}4 pa] [C^o4 ch/lo]]]]]

“Pa” is a focus marker, which is an independent morpheme used in the Rhaeto-Romance variety of Pera di Fassa in order to mark the value of a rhetorical question. The lowest CP encodes the interpretation [+/- rhetorical]. AgrCP always corresponds to a true request information, therefore, it encodes the default interrogative interpretation. C₂ requests for more information, while C₁ corresponds to a modal interpretation. What must be noted is that not all dialects activate all projections simultaneously. They only mark the positions needed in a given interrogative sentence. Specifier positions of these projections are also present in order to account for the distribution of Wh-items. They can occupy distinct SpecCP positions according to their interpretation and the kind of interrogative element. In fact, Wh-items have three different forms – clitic, strong (tonic) or weak – and their internal structure may influence their distribution (Munaro, 1999). Furthermore, Poletto (2000) stated that there are cases in which SCI is compulsory, specifically with weak interrogative elements. They lack the highest internal FP, which corresponds to

FocP, therefore they move to the specifier of Agreement. These elements need to be in a Spec-Head relation with the head of AgrC which is filled by the inflected verb and the enclitic morpheme. Differently, strong Wh-elements do not require this relation. Therefore, weak Wh-elements are hosted by the AgrC projection, while strong Wh can also occupy SpecCP1 or SpecCP2. In many varieties the forms corresponding to *what*, *who*, *where* and *how* are weak. Poletto concluded that the movement of the verb is not the consequence of the Wh-criterion, but of the necessity to check features on a given functional head, triggering the correct configuration only if the verb moves to the head of the Agreement projection.

2.3 The phenomenon of the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (DFC)

In syntax, the cooccurrence of interrogative elements and complementisers in the left periphery is considered ungrammatical. This problem was originally formalised through the Doubly Filled Comp Filter (DFC) proposed by Chomsky and Lasnik (1977). The DFC accounts for the impossibility of the co-occurrence of both an overt Wh-phrase and an overt complementiser in the complementiser phrase. The DFC prohibits the presence of lexical material in both the specifier and the head of the same XP projection (Chomsky and Lasnik, 1977). This is the reason why standard languages do not use the complementiser in the presence of a Wh-element (Bayer and Brandner, 2008). Nevertheless, the violation of the filter is a widespread phenomenon in Northern Italian Dialects, as well as other varieties. Bayer and Brandner (2008) and Poletto (2018) attested a similar phenomenon in Germanic varieties, in particular in Bavarian and Alemannic areas. However, Poletto (2018)'s further investigation about the etymology of the complementiser *che* revealed that originally *che* was not a demonstrative element, but an interrogative one. Therefore, even though the phenomena are similar, they cannot be considered the same. The presence of Wh-elements followed by complementisers is as well attested in Czech and Slovenian interrogatives (Bacskai-Atkari, 2018). The aim is to understand how this ungrammatical phenomenon in standard languages is accepted in dialects and which factors influence this structure. The following examples clarify what has been previously mentioned, both in direct and indirect interrogative sentences:

(10) a) **Chi ch'i** a vest? (Forlì)

*Who that they see?

b) Me domando **chi che** vegnarà a la nostra festa (Venice)

*I wonder who that will come to our party

(Pescarini, 2025: 2-9)

Before moving to the different authors' explanations of the phenomenon in analysis, it is interesting to report a map of Garzonio and Poletto (2018: 8) showing the distribution of Wh-elements and complementisers in Northern Italy since the analysis of this structure is one of the primary goals of the present research as well:

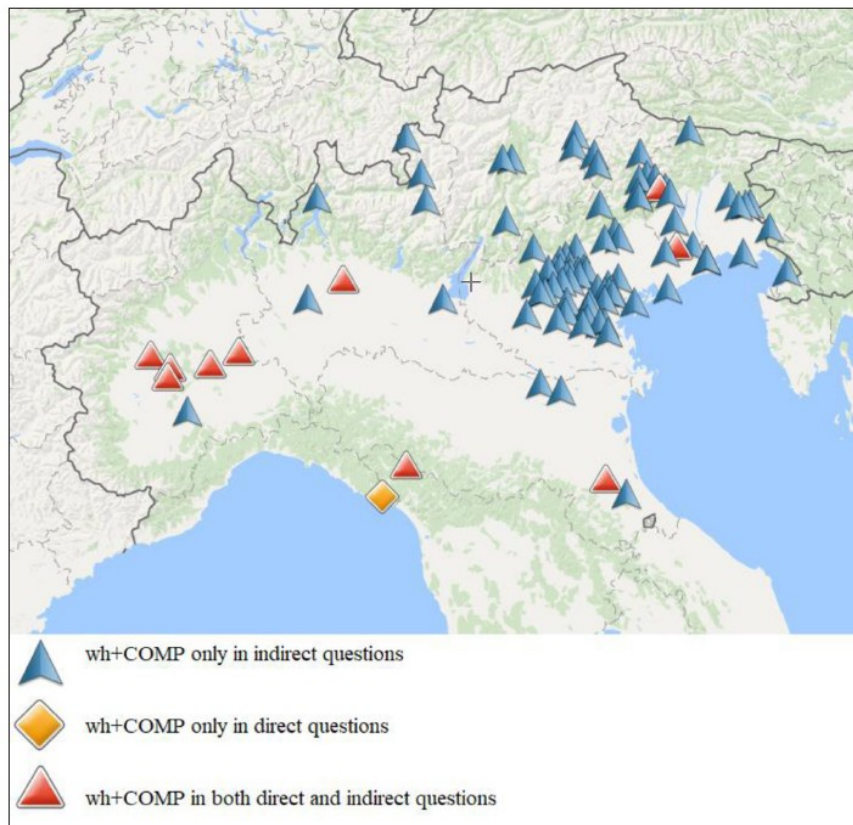


Figure 1 The distribution of *wh+COMP* (that) in Northern Italy

After this overview, it is necessary to examine how different scholars theoretically address the cooccurrence of interrogative elements and complementisers. A significant shift in this study is Poletto (2000), who abandoned the approach according to which

interrogative items and complementisers are merged in the same position, adopting the idea of distinct targeting heads. This trajectory has been further adopted by more recent contributions, such as Pescarini (2025). Following Rizzi's framework (1997) on the split-CP, these accounts prove that the cooccurrence of a Wh-element and the complementiser is not a structural violation, as they occupy two different projections of the same left periphery. Wh-items are not probed by a C head, but by a distinct one, while complementisers are merged in a lower projection, corresponding to FinP. Furthermore, Poletto and Vanelli (1997) underlined the difference between standard Italian interrogatives and dialectal ones. Basically, in the Italian language the Wh-element appears as the introductory item both of interrogatives and of subordinate sentences. Differently, in dialects, these two functions are kept separate, the reason why the complementiser is introduced.

A similar conclusion is supported by Koopman (1997). According to her Projection Activation Principle, "a projection is interpretable iff it is activated by lexical material" (Koopman, 1997: 32). This activation is possible by moving material in C head, such as the complementiser, or in Spec CP, like an interrogative pronoun. However, if the specifier is filled with lexical material, there is no need for a complementiser in the head of CP, since the activation should have already taken place. Nevertheless, in dialects there may be both the activation of the specifier and the head. The first explanation of this phenomenon refers to the different features activated. The Wh-element activates the interrogative feature [+Q], while the complementiser the finiteness one [+Fin]. Therefore, they are both necessary. The second explanation refers to the Wh-element itself. When it is weak, it cannot activate alone the projection in the left periphery. Therefore, the insertion of *che* becomes compulsory. Consequently, Koopman's conclusion is in line with the split CP approach.

A completely different account is instead advanced by Poletto and Sanfelici (2021), following the reasoning of Manzini and Savoia (2003-2011) and Kayne (2010). They challenged the traditional idea of the cartographic approach, according to which the complementiser is a C head. They proposed that *che* is a determiner-like category which is also found in relative clauses. The fact that *che* represents a whole XP and not a head is demonstrated by different factors. First of all, *che* can occur in complex forms. It can be combined with various elements to create different kinds of embedded clauses. This is

obtained both by merging together the modifier and *che*, for example *purché* (if) or *benché* (although), but also with a separate modifier, such as *prima che* (before) or *malgrado che* (although). Similar patterns are also found in French, Spanish and German. Another important factor is that *che* can be combined with definite and indefinite articles and prepositions. However, generally pronouns cannot cooccur with these elements, therefore, *che* is not a pronoun. What must be noted is that *che* appears as a sort of noun, but not a standard one. There are restrictions according to what can precede it. For example, it can be modified only by the adjective *certo* (sure) only if the article is indefinite. Here is an example to clarify:

(11) Ha **un (certo) che** di suo padre

He has a certain that of his father

He has something of his father in his looks

(Poletto and Sanfelici, 2021: 378)

Moreover, the element *che* can be used as a Wh-item combined with lexical nouns, such as *che libro* (what book) or combined with a classifier like-element, such as *che cosa* (what). It can also occur as a bare element, such as *che fai?* (what do). The idea is that the distribution of *che* is similar to the one of quantifiers like *molti* “many” or *pochi* “few”, which are compatible with articles as well. In addition, there are cases in which this “complementiser” occurs in contexts with no clause. Specifically, it can be used even without the function of embedding, as the following examples taken from Venetian dialect show:

(12) Massa **che** ben

Too that good

Really good

(13) Altro **che** ben

Other that well

Really well

(Poletto and Sanfelici, 2021: 380)

In the first example, *che* is followed by an adjective, while in the second one, by an adverb. What has been previously mentioned reveals that the distribution of *che* is heterogeneous because of its presence in different syntactic contexts. Furthermore, Poletto and Sanfelici (2021) tried to extend the relative clause analysis to complement clauses, adopting Cinque's approach (2013). The basic idea is that relative clauses have two nominal heads, one internal and one external. These clauses amount to correlative structures in which one correlative nominal expression remains silent. The conclusion is that *che* realises the external head, i.e., the external nominal portion of the relative/complement clause. Precisely, following Cinque's proposal (2013), while in relative clauses the head is a phonologically realised noun, in complement clauses the head can be null, referring to "an idea" or "a claim". Therefore, *che* is the nominal complement of the matrix predicate and it can resume an entire CP. The idea is that *che* is the quantificational element spelling out a functional portion of the relative head which is included in all embedded clauses. In this way, Poletto and Sanfelici (2021) solved the issue of the Doubly Filled Comp. *Che* is not a C head item, but it is part of the internal structure of Wh-elements. It represents the spell-out of the internal or external head of a relative clause, which seems to be the only possibility of embedding in natural languages according to this perspective.

Similarly, Garzonio and Poletto (2018) tried to overcome the limitations of the cartographic approach. They expanded the research claiming that there are many languages, including Romance, in which Wh-elements both have interrogative and relative functions, leading to the conclusion that a closer connection between them should exist. The dialects of the Veneto region feature Wh-elements which must be followed by a complementiser in embedded clauses. However, in other varieties, for example the ones in Trentino, only some Wh-elements require the complementiser. These elements are the ones that can occur in free relative clauses, clearly showing the strict connection between interrogative and relative items.

It is further fundamental to highlight Poletto's research (2018) presenting three factors which block or activate the presence of the complementiser after the interrogative pronoun in indirect sentences. The factors are the following:

- a) The difference between direct and indirect interrogative sentences;

- b) The position of the subject before or after the verb;
- c) The kind of interrogative pronoun.

(Poletto, 2018: 111)

Factor a) reveals that the order interrogative pronoun-complementiser is acceptable in direct interrogative sentences only when acceptable in indirect interrogative sentences. Factor b) underlines that the complementiser can be present only if the subject is in postverbal position. Factor c) is the most complex to analyse because of the high variation between Italian dialects. There are areas in which only the pronoun *chi* “who” accepts the complementiser, others in which *dove che* “where that” and *cosa che* “what that” are accepted. The interrogative pronouns *perché* “why” and *come* “how” tend not to trigger the complementiser. The different behaviour of *perché* is mainly attested in the Veneto, Romagna and Piedmontese areas and it can be explained according to its structure (Poletto and Vanelli, 1997). Precisely, *perché* can be divided into two syntactic elements – *per* which stands for the interrogative introductory, and *che* functioning as the complementiser. Therefore, there is no necessity of adding a further complementiser. Given all these premises, it is difficult to summarise the distribution of the complementiser according to the kind of interrogative pronoun. In addition, it has been demonstrated the existence of variables across different speakers. However, the table below, proposed in Poletto (2018: 113), reports some tendencies crucial to analyse the phenomenon under investigation:

Interrog.	<i>chi</i>	<i>dove</i>	<i>cosa</i>	<i>quando</i>	<i>che X</i>	<i>quanti X</i>	<i>come</i>	<i>perché</i>
Ticino	<i>che</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trento	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	0	0	0	0	0
Val di Non	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	0	0
Val di Cembra	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	0	0
Val di Sole	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0	0
Veneto	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>

Figure 2 Distribution of the complementiser according to the interrogative pronoun in some Italian varieties

Even though this is not the main goal of the present section, a brief introduction of Poletto’s research (2018) is necessary since these factors provide some criteria according

to which my questionnaire was subsequently constructed. Furthermore, it will be interesting to compare my findings to the data in the table in order to understand whether this phenomenon shows the same distribution in the dialects of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro as well.

Another important feature which has to be explained in this chapter regards the different forms of interrogative pronoun *cosa*, since similar data have been attested during this research. According to Poletto (2018), the presence of the complementiser *che* depends on the lexical form of *cosa* which are of three kinds. The first one is *kosa*, which is etymologically a light noun or classifier. The second kind is *ke* – the pure interrogative element originating from the Indo-European interrogative root. The third lexical pronoun is *kwel* – the distal demonstrative. It has been demonstrated that the complementiser *che* is compulsory when a dialect uses the form of the distal demonstrative as the interrogative pronoun. Here is an example of the dialect of Cles (Northern Trentino) to clarify:

- (14) La me ha domandà **kel che** fan le me sorele
She asked me those that (what) my sisters do.

(Poletto, 2018: 114)

In conclusion, many authors (Poletto and Vanelli 1997, Poletto and Sanfelici 2021) argued that the Doubly Filled Comp was firstly originated in embedded clauses and it was later extended to main clauses. This is further supported by the data provided by Pescarini (2025) who reached the same conclusion in his analysis. However, he also quoted Parry (2003) who challenged the view according to which languages with main DFC should exhibit embedded DFC, but not the contrary. Parry's research on the Piedmontese dialect precisely revealed the inverse phenomenon – the DFC firstly emerged in main question and later in embedded questions. This extension of DFC to main clauses can be the consequence of the loss of Subject Clitic Inversion in main clauses (Poletto and Vanelli 1997, Poletto 2000, Pescarini 2025). What must be noted is that there is an incompatibility between SCI and DFC which is particularly evident in dialects. SCI is barred in embedded clauses featuring DFC and, analogously, inversion is barred in main clauses featuring DFC.

2.4 Cleft sentences

A third structure present within interrogative sentences is clefting. This construction is characterised by a main clause – including the interrogative element and the copula – and a subordinate clause from where the Wh-item moves. In a more technical way, clefts are focus constructions featuring a copula which introduces a focalised XP (Pescarini and Donzelli, 2018). It is a widespread phenomenon featured in Northern Italian Dialects, even though it is also attested in Italian. The region in which it is mostly used is Veneto; however, Piedmontese and Lombard areas feature this third interrogative structure as well. In the standard language, clefting is generally regulated by pragmatic restrictions – this structure can be used in contexts in which a presupposition already exists (Poletto and Vanelli, 1997). The following examples display this structure:

- (15) Chi **ze che** ga magnà qua? (Veneto)

Who is that has eaten here?

(Poletto and Vanelli, 1997: 114)

- (16) Ch'è-**l chi** che maja le patate? (Valle Camonica)⁶

Who is-l who that eats the potatoes?

(Munaro and Pollock, 2005: 543)

It should be noted that Munaro and Pollock (2005) analysed clefting in NIDs in comparison with the same construction in Modern French, referred to as Wh-est-ce Q. They highlighted the strong tendency to use this structure when subjects are questioned, as shown by the following examples taken from the dialect of Valle Camonica, or when the corresponding affirmative sentence is negative:

- (17) È-**l chi che** porta al pan?

Is-l who that brings the bread?

- (18) Ch'è-**l chi che** porta al pan?

⁶ It refers to dialects spoken in the towns of Edolo, Malonno and Vione.

(Wh) is-I who that brings the bread?

(Munaro and Pollock, 2005: 566)

Sentences (16) and (17) reveal two structures which are compulsory when questioning a subject. However, in the first case there is a null clitic Wh-element, while the second one features *ch'*, which corresponds to the weak form of *chi* “who”. Poletto (2000) as well pointed out the frequency of clefting when the Wh-item is the subject. Moreover, Munaro and Pollock (2005) claimed that the same structure can be used to question objects (18), even though it is not necessary. Therefore, simpler forms can be attested as well (19):

(19) **(Ch')è-I chi che** te'ncuntret semper?

(Wh) is-I who that you meet always?

(20) **(Ch')** 'ncuntre-t **chi** semper?

(Wh-) meet-you who always?

(Munaro and Pollock, 2005: 568-569)

Their analysis of the Northern Veneto and Eastern Lombard clefting relies on two claims here quoted (Munaro and Pollock, 2005: 578-579):

1. There is a (null) clitic disjunction operator in the leftmost Operator position in *(Ch')È-I chi, È-lo che* strings.
2. No clitic element can be merged in the object position of a genuine cleft.

Here are examples to clarify:

(21) ***Che** te disturba?

What disturbs you?

È-lo che che te disturba?

Is-lo what that disturbs you?

È-**l** **chi** ch'è 'nda a ca?

Is-l who that is gone home?

(Munaro and Pollock, 2005: 578)

They concluded that *lo* (in Northern Veneto) and *l'* (in East Lombardy) can be predicates or arguments. They appear to be pronominals and the copula in this construction inflects for tense. Furthermore, an important point to clarify is that *é-lo* and *é-l* structures are banned in embedded contexts: this is the consequence of the fact that Subject Clitic Inversion cannot be obtained in those contexts.

(22) *Dime **é-lo** andé **che** la è 'ndada

Tell me where is-l that she is gone

(Munaro and Pollock, 2005: 580)

According to Pescarini (2025), clefting appears to be in a complementary distribution with the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon. Poletto and Vanelli (1997) led to a similar conclusion, even though it is not displayed in all varieties. In Liguria, especially in Cicagna, Carcare and Novi Ligure, DFC and clefting exhibit a similar pattern distribution. This is not attested in central Veneto or in Piedmonte – in these cases, the distribution of DFC and clefting is different. Clefting originates in main clauses and it is later extended in embedded clauses, the contrary of DFC. Furthermore, as above mentioned, in DFC the Subject Clitic Inversion cannot appear, while it is possible in main cleft sentences.

2.5 Wh-in-situ

The last construction of interrogatives is the so-called Wh-in-situ. In this structure, the interrogative element is in its base position, i.e., the position it would occupy in the corresponding declarative sentence. It does not occupy a C position, but the argumental one. An important point is that examples of this structure are not only attested in NIDs, but also in some varieties of Japanese and Chinese (Manzini and Savoia, 2005). As reported by Poletto and Vanelli (1997) and Manzini and Savoia (2005), in many varieties

this structure is combined with the Subject Clitic Inversion, as shown by the following example taken from the Bellunese dialect⁷:

(23) Falo **che**?

What does he do?

(Poletto and Vanelli, 1997: 116)

However, there are also varieties which do not display the cooccurrence of Wh-in-situ and the Subject Clitic Inversion, for example the dialect of Rovato (Brescia):

(24) Fai **chi**? – **Cusè** fai?

Do they do what? – What do they do?

(Poletto and Vanelli, 1997: 116)

First of all, (23) shows that this construction is not compulsory. The sentence is completely grammatical even when the Wh-element is at the beginning of the clause. This aspect has been supported by Fiorino (2021) who stated that the entire group of NIDs features optionality between fronted and clause-internal Wh-phrases. Secondly, when the Wh-item is *in situ*, it displays a different form compared to when it is in the initial position. In the example above, *dove* “where” is *ndu* at the beginning of the question, but *endoe in situ*. Furthermore, this structure is both performed in main and embedded questions, although with morphological differences between the interrogative elements used in main or embedded contexts (Manzini and Savoia, 2011). For example, Poletto and Pollock (quoted in Manzini and Savoia, 2011) found an asymmetry within the Wh-element *cosa* “what”. In the dialect of Monno, *cosa* is *ch* in main interrogatives and *col che* (literally “that which”) in embedded ones. However, according to Poletto and Vanelli (1997) and Pollock et al. (2001) Wh-in-situ is only possible in main clauses. This generalisation has found some contradictions, for example in Lombard varieties (Manzini and Savoia, 2005). It should be noted that, when the Wh-in-situ occurs specifically in indirect clauses, the Subject Clitic Inversion is never attested.

⁷ Bellunese is a North-Eastern variety spoken in Northern Veneto.

Donzelli and Pescarini (2019) distinguished three different kinds of Wh-in-situ. The first one is the *Wh in situ stricto sensu*, also analysed by Manzini and Savoia (2011). In this case the Wh-element occupies its original position, the one which would have been occupied in the corresponding declarative clause, as previously mentioned. Specifically, the Wh item occupies an internal position of the Verb Phrase (VP). The second kind is the *basic Wh in situ* – the interrogative element has moved from its base position to an intermediate focal one. The last type is the *Wh in situ* driven by a *remnant movement*, which is seen as the reanalysis of clefting. In this case, the interrogative element precedes the copula and the copula is followed by the third-person-clitic.

Furthermore, Northern Italian Dialects, at least Lombard varieties, are characterised by a fourth interrogative structure, the Wh-Doubling (WhD). This phenomenon is very rare, but similar constructions have been found in German varieties as well, precisely in the Swiss German dialect of Uri (Garzonio et al., 2023). In this structure the interrogative element is both realised in its C position and in the argumental one. Specifically, in the same interrogative clause there are two separate Wh-items: one is in the left periphery of the clause and the other is *in situ*, as the following example taken from the Venetian dialect reveals:

(25) **Sa** fa i **kossa**?

What do they what?

(Garzonio et al., 2023: 1)

As Garzonio et al. (2023) stated, the Wh-element present in the left periphery is morphologically and phonologically “lighter” than the one present *in situ*, which means that it is either a clitic or a weak pronoun. The example above features this aspect – the first interrogative element corresponding to *cosa* “what” is *sa*, which is a monosyllabic clitic form. The item *in situ* is *kossa*, a full bisyllabic Wh-element. The case in which the initial element is a clitic or a weak form and the final one is a tonic form is defined as “clitic-weak Wh Doubling” (Munaro and Poletto, 2023). However, there are varieties which do not display the difference between interrogative elements within the same clause. The following example, which is taken from the Lombard dialect of Olgiate Comasco, shows that this structure may feature the same Wh-element in both positions:

(26) **Ku'ze** ka te di **ku'ze**?

What that you said what?

(Garzonio et al., 2023: 2)

In this variety, the pronoun *cosa* “what” is rendered with the full form “ku'ze” both in the left periphery and *in situ*. Garzonio et al. (2023) claimed that these kinds of questions are not standard root interrogatives. They are special interrogative clauses which perform a specific pragmatic interpretation.

From a syntactic perspective, the presence of an interrogative pronoun in its base position appears to challenge island constraints. Islands are syntactic contexts from which it is impossible, or extremely difficult, to extract elements, for example relative clauses or adjuncts. The literature has found two types of islands, weak or strong. In the first case, the extraction is not possible, while in weak islands it is possible to a certain extent, i.e., it depends on the nature of the element which needs to be extracted (Poletto and Sanfelici, 2021). In this precise case, since the interrogative pronoun remains in the original position, Wh-in-situ seems to be sensitive to island constraints, as Munaro (1999) discussed. In fact, generally, complement clauses undergo the so called long-distance *Wh* extractions, therefore the initial position of interrogative elements. However, Poletto and Pollock (2004) claimed that the Wh-item undergoes movement to a position in the left periphery and the TP moves past to a higher specifier position. Other scholars, such as Manzini and Savoia (2005), argued that the Wh-movement still occurs at the Logical Form (LF). According to another proposal, these structures undergo a short movement: the Wh-phrase moves from its unmarked declarative position to a position lower than the finite V, a sort of vP periphery (Bonan, 2019 quoted in Fiorini, 2021).

An interesting phenomenon connected to WhD is the so-called “operator Wh-Doubling”. In this construction, the Wh-element in the left periphery is a form of *cosa* “what”, while the item *in situ* is the tonic form of the questioned one (Munaro and Poletto, 2023). This is generally found in Lombard and Venetan dialects in order to display special interrogatives whose pragmatic function is the expression of disapproval for the interlocutor’s actions (Garzonio et al., 2023). The following examples taken from the Paduan dialect (Central Veneto) show what has just been stated:

(27) **Kossa** ve-to **dove**?!

What go you where?

Where (the hell) are you going?

(Garzonio et al., 2023: 5)

(28) **Cossa** inviti-to **chi**?!

What invite you whom?

Who (the hell) are you inviting?

(Munaro and Poletto, 2023: 13)

The distribution of the Operator Wh Doubling in some Lombard varieties is different from the Paduan one. In Lombardy the doubling is restricted to nominal Wh-elements, such as *what*, *who*, *which* and *how many*. Therefore, example (26) with *where* cannot be part of the Lombard subset.

A more detailed account of the Wh Doubling is advanced by Garzonio et al. (2023) focusing on its strong form. The Strong WhD refers to Wh-elements of the -ε series which are strong pronouns (Poletto and Pollock, 2004). The -ε morpheme comes from a grammaticalized copula: for example, originally, *ku'ze* would have been *kuz(a) ε* (corresponding to “what is”). Syntactically, in the strong WhD both interrogative elements are of the -ε series, therefore the two elements are identical. Semantically, sentences featuring this phenomenon are not standard questions. In Lombard dialects, interrogatives featuring strong WhD have the following interpretations: “Surprise-disapproval Questions” (SDQs) and “Can’t-find-the-value-of-x Questions” (CfvQs). Garzonio et al. (2023) argued that in these cases, the higher Wh-item encodes a feature connected to special questions, which is called [SpeakEval]. Within the cartographic approach, the projection hosting [SpeakEval] is higher than ForceP. Therefore, the WhD activates the higher part of the left periphery of the clause. The structure of the example (25) is the following (Garzonio et al., 2023: 12):

(29) [_{SpeakEvalP} *ku'ze* [_{SpeakEval} *ka* [_{Force P} *te=di ku'ze*]]]

What must be noted is that the complementiser *ka* is in the head of *SpeakEval*, whose specifier is then occupied by the Wh-element. According to this view, the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon configuration of this projection is the consequence of a reanalysis process. Specifically, interrogatives with Strong WhD derive from true interrogative clefting since the complementiser-like element is preserved. It is then reanalysed as the head of a higher projection, while the initial Wh-item, combined with the copula, is moved from the specifier of WhP (corresponding to FocusP) to the specifier of *SpeakEval*P.

Even though the Wh-doubling and the Wh-in-situ have been considered variants of the same syntactic phenomenon, Munaro and Poletto (2023) confuted this theory. They proved that these structures are subject to different distributional properties across dialects, therefore they are not unitary phenomena. What is true is that some kinds of WhD correspond to some kinds of Wh-in-situ, but this generalisation only proves that the phenomena are related. Garzonio et al. (2023) led to a similar conclusion. They supported the idea according to which WhD and Wh-in-situ should be analysed differently, even if some similarities may arise.

2.6 Research questions

The theoretical background presented in this chapter is crucial to understand the intentions and the subsequent conclusions of the research. The dialects of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, being part of the Northern Italian Dialects, feature many characteristics previously explained, such as the Subject Clitic Inversion, the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon and cleft structures.

The primary purpose of this research is to investigate the distribution of the complementiser *che* and the factors which influence its use. Precisely, this study investigates whether the clausal type (main or embedded), the verbal tense (simple or compound), and the kind of interrogative pronoun impact the distribution of the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon. Specifically, the aim is to understand whether this phenomenon is a stable one or it is conditioned by specific syntactic features. Moreover, the research also aims at discovering the syntactic constraints or pragmatic contexts which

trigger the selection of a specific interrogative structure instead of the other alternatives. Therefore, the research questions are the following:

RQ1: To what extent do clausal type, verbal morphology and the nature of the Wh-element determine the distribution of the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro?

RQ2: Which syntactic constraints or pragmatic context trigger DFC instead of clefting?

RQ3: How do the data of the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro support the categorisation of *che* as a complementiser or as part of a relative clause?

Chapter 3

Methodology of the Research

3.1 Construction of the questionnaire

The study of this phenomenon was conducted through Questionnaire number 2 of the *Syntactic Atlas for the Northern Italian Dialects (ASIt)*.⁸ It originally consisted in 127 Italian sentences, both interrogatives and declaratives. However, since these items were not completely suited to the purpose of the present research, the questionnaire was adapted accordingly. This is the reason why I introduced new 69 interrogative sentences designed to show the interested phenomenon according to variables I will later explain. Furthermore, 40 original sentences were retained as fillers to prevent speakers from recognising the phenomenon under investigation. This was crucial to evoke spontaneous responses not influenced by the purpose of this research. These 40 filler sentences are fundamental in order to measure participants' trustworthiness. Since they were pre-studied, they were correct and if speakers had considered them ungrammatical, it would have been a sign of their unreliability. However, I deliberately included some mistakes to better assess their reliability. These errors regarded the subject-verb agreement, the verb-tense agreement, the erroneous position of the adjective or of the adverb and the absence of the article. This aspect is crucial, as one participant was excluded from the study after failing to recognise mistakes of three filler sentences, which compromised his reliability as a speaker.

As a native speaker, I carried out the translation of all the sentences included in the questionnaire. The last step of the construction of the questionnaire was to randomise⁹ all 109 sentences to prevent the repetition of the same interrogative pronoun more than once in a row.

The sentences, except the filler ones, were divided as follows. First of all, I chose to use ten interrogative pronouns – *what, who, when, where, how, why, which* (in Italian

⁸ <http://asit.maldura.unipd.it/>

⁹ <https://www.random.org/lists/>

we distinguish the singular and the plural form – “*quale*” and “*quali*”), *how much, how many*. The kind of pronoun is the first important variable of this questionnaire since the nature of the Wh-item seemed to affect the Doubly Filled Comp as the bibliographic chapter underlined. For each interrogative pronoun I used three different structures: the interrogative pronoun followed by the verb, the interrogative pronoun followed by the complementizer and the cleft structure.¹⁰ The goal was to understand whether clefting is a subsystem of DFC and whether other interrogative structures, such as Subject Clitic Inversion, are realised. This is the second important variable of the research, here exemplified with one sentence for each structure:

(1) *Wh + verb*

Cosa dici a Maria? (What do you say to Mary?)¹¹

Co diset a Maria?

(2) *Wh + that*

*Dove che metti la penna? (*Where that you put the pen?)

Endo che te mete la pena?

(3) *Cleft*

?Com'è che fai a saperlo? (*How is that you know it?)

Com'è che te fe a sail?

The third variable of the questionnaire is the kind of sentence – for each interrogative pronoun and for each structure I used both matrix and embedded interrogative sentences. This choice derives from the fact that the Doubly Filled Comp was firstly originated in embedded clauses and later extended to main clauses as the bibliographical chapter describes.

Moreover, I decided to introduce a fourth variable, which is the distinction of simple and compound tense. It was less important than the others because it was only

¹⁰ In the graphics and later in the text, these structures are simplified respectively as follows: *wh + verb*, *wh + che* (or *wh+that*), *cleft*.

¹¹ English translations may appear stylistically awkward, but they are intended to be as literal as possible to the dialect sentence.

present with three interrogative pronouns, *what*, *when* and *where*, and only with direct sentences. This last variable is not taken under observation in this study because the graphics later portrayed show that the tense is not a crucial parameter for the studied phenomenon. Data precisely reveal that the use of the complementizer remains unaltered regardless the kind of tense used. It is important to underline that the sentence was always the same across the different parameters. It only changed according to the interrogative pronoun.

Table 1 Research variables

Variable 1: Kind of pronoun	Variable 2: Syntactic structure	Variable 3: Sentence type	Variable 4: Tense type
What	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple and compound
Who	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple
When	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple and compound
Where	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple and compound
How	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple
Why	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Compound*
Which (singular)	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple
Which (plural)	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple
How much	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple
How many	Wh+verb, wh+that, cleft	Direct, indirect	Simple

The reason of the asterisk present in the table is here explained. I realised only at the end of the administration of the questionnaire that the sentences featuring the interrogative

pronoun *why* contained a mistake. Specifically, I did not use the simple tense, but only the compound one across all variables. This lapse in attention depended on the sentence chosen: “Why do you cry?” (“*Perché piangi?*”). In the dialect here analysed, this meaning is better expressed with the compound tense, similar to “Why are you crying?” (“*Perché stai piangendo?*”). The same happens with the indirect sentence, since the meaning “I don’t understand why you cry” (“*Non capisco perché piangi?*”) is better expressed by the compound tense “I don’t understand why you are crying” (“*Non capisco perché stai piangendo?*”). In order to provide full clarity on this point, I add a table containing all the sentences included in the questionnaire featuring the pronoun *why* with its compound tense:

Table 2 Explanation of the mistake regarding the interrogative pronoun "why"

	Direct sentences	Indirect sentences
Wh+verb	Perche te si dre a piansi?	Capeso mia perche te si dre a piansi
Wh+that	Perche che te si dre a piansi?	Capeso mia perche che te si dre a piansi
Cleft	Perche è che te si dre a piansi?	Capeso mia perche è che te si dre a piansi

3.2 Participants’ profiles

Social and biographical questions directed to the participant responding to the questionnaire were included at the end of the questionnaire. This gave me the possibility to understand people’s background and their level of knowledge of the dialect spoken, or possible influences from other environments. Since Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro are in Lombardy but on the border with Trentino, the geographical aspect greatly matters. The gathered information was the following:

- Name and surname of the participant;
- Age;
- Job;
- Hometown (in this case only two options were possible – either Bagolino or Ponte Caffaro);

- Frequency of dialect use: frequently, often, rarely, hardly ever;
- Contexts of dialect use: at work, with friends, with family;
- Place of birth of the mother;
- Language spoken by the mother at home;
- Place of birth of the father;
- Language spoken by the father at home;
- Whether the participant has ever lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town;
- Year in which questionnaire was completed.

It is important to underline that both the questionnaire and the final questions were held in Italian. The name and surname of each participant will not be revealed in this research as to protect their privacy. I classified all speakers with numbers (Participant 1, Participant 2, etc.). In accordance with the signed Privacy Policy, this section reports participants' biographical and sociolinguistic information. All the details for each participant are here illustrated.

- Participant X is a female. She was born in the year 2000. She is a teacher from Ponte Caffaro. She often speaks in dialect with friends and family. Her mother speaks in Italian and she was born in Brescia. Her father speaks in Italian and he was born in Salò (BS). She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant Y is a male. He was born in the year 1991. He is a music professor from Ponte Caffaro. He often speaks in dialect with friends and family. His mother speaks both in Italian and in dialect and she was born in Castenedolo (BS). His father both speaks in Italian and in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 1 is a male. He was born in the year 2003. He is a student from Bagolino. He often speaks in dialect with family. His mother speaks in Italian and she was born in Bagolino. His father speaks both in Italian and in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.

- Participant 2 is a female. She was born in the year 1959. She is a retired factory-worker. She has been living in Ponte Caffaro for 44 years, but she was born in Bagolino. She frequently speaks in dialect with friends and family. Her mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 3 is a female. She was born in the year 1951. She is a retired hairdresser. She has been living in Ponte Caffaro for 55 years, but she was born in Bagolino. She often speaks in dialect with family. Her mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 4 is a male. He was born in the year 1957. He is a retired metalworker from Ponte Caffaro. He often speaks in dialect with friends and family and at work. His mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Ponte Caffaro. His father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 5 is a female. She was born in the year 1973. She is an office worker from Ponte Caffaro. She often speaks in dialect with family. Her mother speaks in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 6 is a male. He was born in the year 1951. He is a retired office worker from Ponte Caffaro (although he worked and has a house in Bagolino). He often speaks in dialect with friends and family. His mother spoke both in Italian and in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. His father spoke both in Italian and in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has lived in Brescia for a period, however, according to him, his dialect has not been influenced.
- Participant 7 is a female. She was born in the year 1954. She is a retired factory-worker from Bagolino, but she lives in Ponte Caffaro. She often speaks in dialect with friends. Her mother spoke in Italian and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke in Italian and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.

- Participant 8 is a female. She was born in the year 1970. She is a factory-worker. She has been living in Ponte Caffaro for 31 years, but she was born in Bagolino. She underlined that her dialect is still the one from her hometown. She often speaks in dialect with friends and family and at work. Her mother speaks in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke in dialect and he was born in Brescia, although he had always lived in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 9 is a female. She was born in the year 1954. She is a retired school caretaker. She has been living in Ponte Caffaro for 50 years, but she was born in Bagolino. She often speaks in dialect with friends and family. Her mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has lived in Alessandria for 3 years.
- Participant 10 is a male. She was born in the year 1950. He is a retired factory-worker from Ponte Caffaro. He frequently speaks in dialect with friends and family and at work. His mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Ponte Caffaro. His father spoke in dialect and he was born in Ponte Caffaro. He has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town. He added that he attended school in Storo (TN). He is influenced by the dialect of Storo and he is also able to speak it.
- Participant 11 is a male. He was born in the year 1964. He is a retired office worker from Bagolino. He frequently speaks in dialect with friends and family. His mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. His father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 12 is a male. He was born in the year 1949. He is a retired office worker. He has been living in Ponte Caffaro since 1987, but he was born in Bagolino. He frequently speaks in dialect with friends, especially during the Carnival period. His mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. His father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has lived in Agnosine (BS) and in Odolo (BS).
- Participant 13 is a female. She was born in the year 1944. She is a retired housekeeper and waitress from Bagolino. She frequently speaks in dialect with friends and family. Her mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Bagolino.

Her father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.

- Participant 14 is a male. He was born in the year 2001. He is a municipal surveyor from Bagolino. He often speaks in dialect with family and at work (with older people). His mother speaks in Italian and she was born in Bagolino. His father speaks both in Italian and in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 15 is a female. She was born in the year 1962. She is a housekeeper from Bagolino. She rarely speaks in dialect – this frequency depends on the occasion and it increases when she is angry. Her mother spoke both in Italian and in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke both in Italian and in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has lived in Lumezzane (BS) for 20 years.
- Participant 16 is a female. She was born in the year 1964. She is a housekeeper from Bagolino. She frequently speaks in dialect with friends and family. Her mother speaks both in Italian and in dialect and she was born in Bagolino. Her father spoke both in Italian and in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 17 is a female. She was born in the year 1993. She is a healthcare assistant from Ponte Caffaro. She often speaks in dialect with friends and family. Her mother speaks in dialect and she was born in Iseo (BS). Her father speaks in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.
- Participant 18 is a female. She was born in the year 1994. She is a beautician from Ponte Caffaro. She often speaks in dialect with friends and family and at work. Her mother speaks both in Italian and in dialect and she was born in Storo (TN). Her father speaks both in Italian and in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has lived in Bagolino.
- Participant 19 is a female. She was born in 1972. She is a bread maker from Bagolino. She also translates comedies from Italian to dialect. She rarely speaks in dialect with family. Her mother spoke in dialect and she was born in Bagolino.

Her father spoke in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. She has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.

- Participant 20 is a male. He was born in 1991. He is a clerk from Ponte Caffaro, but the majority of his relatives are from Bagolino. He rarely speaks in dialect with family. His mother speaks in Italian and she was born in Lumezzane (BS), although she has always lived in Bagolino/Ponte Caffaro. His father speaks in dialect and he was born in Bagolino. He has never lived more than 5 years abroad or in another town.

3.3 Administration of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was carried out orally by interviewing 10 speakers from Ponte Caffaro and 10 from Bagolino,¹² between January and February 2026. Before starting the interview, they all signed the Privacy Policy because they were required to provide personal and sociolinguistic information. Moreover, I needed participants' consent for the audio recording of the interview, fundamental to compile all the Excel tables with their answers and additional comments useful to better understand the phenomenon under investigation. I always listened to the recordings soon after the interview, when I could still remember speakers' expressions, gazes and answers. Based on these data, I later created Excel tables with tagged variables necessary to generate the graphics later presented in this thesis.

I always avoided the precise explanation of the questionnaire, because I did not want people to get influenced by the phenomenon studied. All their answers and comments were completely spontaneous and not driven by any previous knowledge of the topic. The only aspect I explained was the technical procedure, which was as it follows: I read a sentence and the participants had to answer whether it was grammatically correct. Otherwise, they could provide their own corrected version or add comments. Socio-biographical questions were placed at the end of the interview. I decided to carry out the questionnaire in this way because it was dynamic and more people could accept to be interviewed. I avoided the passive translation of each sentence because it prevented

¹² The participant excluded was the 11th from Ponte Caffaro.

me from analysing all the structures included (wh+verb, wh+that, cleft). In addition, I thought fewer people would have accepted to take part in this research since it would have been longer and more boring owing to the lack of interaction.

In general, participants were engaged in the questionnaire, trying to identify the main topic and showing interest in the results that the study will ultimately achieve. They did not report any kind of difficulties, except one. Speakers underlined the challenge of evaluating sentences outside the context in which they are usually pronounced. They tried to adhere to the given sentence, even though sometimes they would have completely reformulated it according to everyday speeches. They also highlighted how the construction of sentences may vary according to the context in which they are produced.

3.4 Pilot test

Before administering the questionnaire to all participants, I verified it by testing two people, here called Participant X and Participant Y at the end of December 2025. Since the interview was taken orally by myself, my aim was to understand whether it was long, too difficult and too boring and whether some adjustments were required. First of all, I realised that the execution of the questionnaire lasted for a reasonable amount of time – with Participant X, 16 minutes, and with Participant Y, 23 minutes. They were both reliable speakers because they recognised the mistakes included in the filler sentences, while the correct ones were accepted as grammatically valid. My first impression was that speakers were completely relaxed while hearing acceptable sentences, while they started getting nervous and adding comments with ungrammatical or uncommon structures. The second aspect I noted was that they answered in a more spontaneous and confident way when they repeated aloud the sentence I pronounced. They tended to repeat it in the way they would have spontaneously done in an everyday speech. This method was really useful also to me, because I both signed the grammaticality of the sentence and its additional versions. For this reason, I also proposed to the other participants to repeat aloud the sentence when they were undecided about it or when they were nervous.

Both Participants X and Y did not encounter difficulties in completing the questionnaire. However, they both noted the repetition of the complementiser *that* and

guessed it was the phenomenon I was investigating. Participant X told me that sometimes these complementizers were superfluous, while Participant Y thought that the sentences were all completely the same – he did not recognise the presence of the different variables previously explained, but a problem in the questionnaire emerged from their answers. The first set of direct sentences were composed by the interrogative pronoun followed by the subject and then the verb at the simple tense. I expected them to be completely grammatical. However, in these cases, both considered the sentences ungrammatical owing to the verb itself. The version they proposed featured the subject clitic inversion. This was particularly evident with Participant Y who individuated the problem also across the other variables included in the questionnaire. I propose here two examples to make the issue as clear as possible:

(4) Chi vedi stasera? (Who do you see tonight?)

- a) My version: Chi *te ede* stasira?
- b) Participant X's version: Chi *edet* stasira?
- c) Participant Y's version: Chi *edet* stasira?

(5) Dove metti la penna? (Where do you put the pen?)

- a) My version: Endo *te mete* la pena?
- b) Participant X's version: Endo *metet* la pena?
- c) Participant Y's version: Endo *metet* la pena?

With respect to the compound tense, this problem did not appear. This is the reason why I modified the pilot version of the questionnaire, adding to this first set of sentences the subject clitic inversion. However, I did not change all of them. My purpose was to present to the participants both constructions in order to analyse whether they were both grammatical or whether their use depended on the context. It is important to underline that the sentence with the interrogative pronoun *what* did not reveal this issue because I spontaneously translated it with inversion. In fact, both participants considered it grammatical. Another feature I want to highlight is that they considered grammatically correct the sentences with the interrogative pronoun *which* both at the singular and plural form even though they did not display inversion:

(6) Quale libro preferisci? (Which book do you prefer?):

a) My initial version: Che lober *te preferese*?

(7) Quali film ti piacciono di più? (Which movies do you like the most?):

a) My initial version: Che film *te pias de pio*?

This explains why I only changed one of these two sentences – I wanted to include both options in the questionnaire as to better analyse them. The choice of changing the sentence including the singular pronoun and not the plural one was completely random.

Participant Y individuated the same problem across the sentences with the other structures, featuring the interrogative pronoun followed by the complementisers and cleft sentences. However, while correcting them, he composed the structure *wh+verb* and added inversion. Here an example to clarify:

(8) *Dove che metti la penna? (*Where that you put the pen?) - *wh+that*

a) My version: Endo *che te mete* la pena?

b) Participant X did not provide any version since the sentence was considered grammatical;

c) Participant Y's version: Endo *metet* la pena?

(9) ?Quant'è che spendi per il pane? (*How much is that you spend for the bread?)
- *cleft*

a) My version: Quat *el che te spende* per el pa?

b) Participant X did not provide any version since the sentence was considered grammatical;

c) Participant Y's version: Quat *spendet* per el pa?

Since only Participant Y underlined this feature with other structures, while Participant X tended to consider them grammatically correct, I chose not to add any further modification to the questionnaire and give complete freedom to the speaker who could add information or comments to the sentences I pronounced. The following table shows

the original sentences on the left and the modified ones proposed to the participants on the right:

Table 3 Changes to the pilot questionnaire

Co diset a Maria?	Co diset a Maria?
Chi te ede stasira?	Chi edet stasira?
Quando el ria el treno?	Quand riel el treno?
Endo te mete la pena?	Endo te mete la pena?
Come te fe a sail?	Come te fe a sail?
Perche te si dre a piansi?	Perche te si dre a piansi?
Che lober te preferese?	Che lober prefereset?
Che film te pias de pio?	Che film te pias de pio?
Quat te spende per el pa?	Quat spendet per el pa?
Quac solc te spende per la sciola?	Quac solc te spende per la sciola?

3.5 Grammaticality of the sentences

As previously mentioned, this research is based on a questionnaire orally administered to participants, who had to listen to sentences and mark them as grammatical or ungrammatical. However, speakers often repeated the sentences aloud, producing them as they would have done in everyday speech. Therefore, a uniform set of criteria was adopted in the research to evaluate whether these modified repetitions were to be considered grammatical or not. This approach was necessary in order to maintain coherence within the grammaticality judgements. On the contrary, these criteria were not necessary when the sentences were not modified or when participants gave an explicit judgment. This section aims at describing the criteria adopted in the study.

First of all, since this research focuses on interrogative syntactic constructions, the phonological or lexical discrepancies aforementioned are not sufficient elements for considering a sentence ungrammatical. In all the cases in which participants repeated a sentence conserving the syntactic structure proposed, but changing, for example, some words or pronouncing verbs differently, the sentence was marked as grammatical. The same judgement is given to sentences in which people simply used a different form of the

infinitive verb. Moreover, in cleft sentences the copula verb proposed was *è*; however, some speakers said *el*. Here is an example to clarify:

(10)

a) My version: Quand l'è rià el treno?

b) Correction: Quand **el** reà el treno?

When does the train arrive?

There are also cases in which people added the emphatic particle *po* to sentences, for example:

(11)

a) My version: Co diset a Maria?

b) Correction: Co diset **po** a Maria?

What do you say to Mary?

In these two examples above the basic syntactic structure is maintained, therefore, the sentences were considered grammatical. Another interesting aspect regards the form of interrogative pronouns. Many participants replaced the pronouns corresponding to “what” and “who” with their respective distal demonstrative forms, *chel* or *chei*. Sentences featuring these forms have been marked as grammatical since the overall structure remained unaltered. It should also be noted that these two pronouns always require the presence of the complementiser. Here is an example to clarify:

(12)

a) My version: Dim **co che** te dise a Maria

b) Correction: Dim **chel che** te dise a Maria

*Tell me what that you say to Mary

The sentences were marked as ungrammatical when speakers completely changed the interrogative syntactic construction or the structure of the verb. Specifically, if a sentence

featured Subject Clitic Inversion and the participant did not maintain it, or vice versa, it was not considered grammatical.

3.6 Linguistic differences between Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro

In the present research, participants from Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro have been interviewed and some linguistic differences have been attested. Therefore, it is important to outline them in this section. The questionnaire was structured in the same way for all speakers and no adjustments were done according to the geographical origin. The data show that there are no syntactic differences between the two villages at least for the properties investigated by this thesis. Specifically, the interrogative phenomena under investigation are treated in a very similar way. Nevertheless, there are some discrepancies in the phonological and lexical fields. What must be noted is that all the examples proposed in this section derive from the questionnaire. First of all, participants pronounced verbs featuring Subject Clitic Inversion differently according to the town. In Bagolino, the accent is on the last vowel, while in Ponte Caffaro it is on the first one. For example, the verb “to see” is pronounced as *vedét* in Bagolino and *védet* in Ponte Caffaro. The same pattern emerged with the other verbs included in the questionnaire, such as *metét* and *métet* (“to put”) and *disét* and *diset* (“to say”). Another phonological difference regards the pronunciation of the interrogative pronoun “when” *quand*. In Bagolino the final letter *d* is pronounced as /t/, while in Ponte Caffaro it is pronounced as /d/. Another relevant aspect is the use of the consonant /l/ in Bagolino, for example in *plansì*, *plof* and *plas* instead of the glide /j/, such as in *piansì*, *piof* and *pias* in Ponte Caffaro. The conservation of the consonant /l/ directly depends on the environment typical of Bagolino. Generally, all the dialects of isolated alpine areas tend to preserve archaic forms. On the contrary, Ponte Caffaro, as a transit town, has experienced a higher degree of linguistic variation, which is linked to the influence of the province of Brescia in this specific case (Bazzani and Melzani, 2002).

Secondly, the data show discrepancies in the lexicon itself. The following table reports the differences attested during the administration of the questionnaire:

Table 4 Differences between Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro

Term – English translation	Bagolino	Ponte Caffaro
With pleasure	Ontera	Olentera
Sister	Sarur	Sorela
Children (sons and daughters)	Lgiai	Fioi
No one	Negiù	Nesù
To buy	Crumpe	Cumpre
I ask myself	Em domando	Me domando
I would like to	Ores*	Vores
In this way	Setä	Isè
To need	Ocor / vocor	Serf
To leave	Na lè / a lè	Partì
To arrive	Reà	Rià

The asterisk in the table refers to the conditional mood of the verb “to want”. The two different forms are not casual, but they depend on the subject. Specifically, the dictionary of the dialect of Bagolino reports the following paradigm (Bazzani and Melzani, 2002: 44):

Mé *örés*

Té té *örés*

Èl èl (elè lă) *vörös*

Noàtre *örésäm*

Oàtre *örésäf*

Èi i (elè lè) *vörös (örés)*

Therefore, both forms of the verb exist. However, the one used in Bagolino is more traditional since the pronoun in this example is “I” *mé*.

Other corrections were randomly advanced by some speakers. For example, the verb “to function” was translated as *funsìuna* in the questionnaire. Nevertheless,

participants 3, 12 and 19 consider it too “Italianised”. They are all original from Bagolino and they belong to the same generation. Only participant 12 found an alternative which is *come el va*, even though the dictionary does not provide a translation. Moreover, the interrogative pronoun “how” within the sentence *come te fe a sail* has been translated as *comperte fet a sail* by speaker 15 and 19. They are both from Bagolino and they said that this form is archaic and nowadays it is disappearing. Many people, from both villages, changed the translation of the verb “to prefer” from *preferì* to *plas de plo* (“to like more”) since it sounds less Italian. In the dictionary, *preferì* does exist even though *oli plö onterä* is more used. Furthermore, many speakers, especially from Bagolino, considered the word “movie” *film* as not dialectal. Therefore, they suggested the use of *cinema*. Speaker 12 said that, in the past, going to the cinema was the only way to see a movie. This explains why people used *cinema* to refer to the movie itself. This nuance has been preserved, even though the dialect is evolving and new words have been introduced. The dictionary reports both *film* and *cinema*. Another interesting word is “fruits” which was included in the filler sentence 10. All participants considered this sentence grammatical, although some people did not use the term “fruits”. According to them, it is more typical to specify the kind of fruits eaten. Nevertheless, some speakers used the translation *fröcc* or *frücc*, which is also found in the dictionary. A further aspect featured during the questionnaire regards the form of the infinitive verb. This does not depend on the village of origin, since speakers from both Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro mix these uses. Specifically, an infinitive verb seems to have two forms. For example, the verb “to read” can be *leser* or *lesi* and “to cry” is *planser* or *plansi* (*pianser* and *piansi* in Ponte Caffaro). Speaker 20 said that he uses both forms in everyday speeches and there is no reason for preferring one instead of the other. Nevertheless, the dictionary only suggests the first form, respectively *lezar* and *planzar*.

All this data reveal that between different people and villages discrepancies do exist. The dialect is evolving, especially among younger speakers, which explains the increasing use of Italian words in everyday speech. As Melzani (quoted in Bazzani, 2011) highlighted, the standard language has greatly influenced the dialect, due to television broadcasting, commercial relations, tourism and the increasing dominance of Italian in daily communication. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the geographical location greatly impacts the linguistic background. Nevertheless, the purpose of the present

research is the study of interrogative phenomena which do not encounter many differences between the villages. For example, the Doubly Filled Comp structure is attested in both towns. This may signify that syntactic structures tend to be more conservative rather than lexical and phonological ones.

3.7 Corpus

During the research, the following corpus was created. It contains sentences taken from Bazzani's work (2011) which reports typical poems and proverbs as well as dialectal translations of fables. The analysis of those texts led to the construction of a corpus whose data feature the phenomenon of Doubly Filled Comp. What must be noted is that the only interrogative pronouns used with a complementiser are *when*, *who* (only in 15 sentences) and *what* and *how many* (only in 1 sentence). The majority of these sentences are embedded questions. Only at pages 120, 124, 127, 131, 134 (first column) there are main questions. Furthermore, both compound and simple tense feature this phenomenon. Another important aspect is that this corpus also contains some cleft sentences, which are in great minority rather than the Wh+that structure. Clefting is visible in pages 17, 124 and 127. Bazzani (2011) tried to portray a conservative form of the dialect, also using terms and expressions which are not part of the daily communication anymore. This corpus provides a source of comparison to the final data of the present research in order to understand whether a consistency in the phenomenon under analysis does exist.

Table 5 Corpus

Pag	Sentence	Italian translation	Kind of <i>Wh</i>
15	Chii ch'al sa	chi che lo sa	chi
17	quàcc ei chii che nò salta	quanti sono quelli che non si alzano	quanti
17	de quant che l'è brozà el pais	di quando che è bruciato il paese	quando
20	chii ch'à sentida	chi che ha sentito	chi
21	sta con chii che à dat tot quant	sta con chi che ha dato tutto quanto	chi
25	chii che gà 'n bris de tèt	chi che ha un po' di tempo	chi

34	de chi che pòrta 'l so culùr	di chi che porta il suo colore	chi
38	quant che i s'empégna	quando che si impegnano	quando
38	con chi che gà 'n sak de bàle	con chi che ha un sacco di coraggio	chi
66	a chi che fa 'l bulo	a chi che fa il bullo	chi
73	quant che 'l luf al se troa	quando che il lupo si trova	quando
74	a quant che la 'la ist	quando che lo ha visto	quando
75	a chi che 's vulsa a fal	a chi lo fa	chi
86	quant che Cenerentola la l'à salodà	quando che Cenerentola lo ha salutato	quando
86	quant che la madrégna l'à trat i mòcc	quando che la matrigna accennò	quando
90	quant che i càfar empé da na 'n zo	quando che i fiumi al posto di andare in giù	quando
92	quant che s'empromét, mia po fal	quando si promette, poi bisogna farlo	quando
92	quant che te sére endéle pètole	quando che eri in difficoltà	quando
98	quant che 'l brot nadroti al ghe comparì gliò denàcc	quando il brutto anatroccolo le è comparso lì a fianco	quando
103	quant che la se speciàa	quando che si specchiava	quando
104	quant che la enfàma madrégna l'à saì	quando che la crudele matrigna ha scoperto	quando
107	chi che pratènt òna cezina	chi che vuole/pretende una chiesetta	chi
109	tra chi che àa fat domànda	tra chi che aveva fatto domanda	chi
115	da quant ca la m'èi mòrta la fòmlla	da quando che mi è morta la moglie	quando
118	quant che sére soldà a Bresanone	quando che ero soldato a Bressanone	quando
118	da quant che no'l mà mìa dat el parmès	da quando che non mi ha dato il permesso	quando
119	quant che reàe zo de ùra	quando che arrivavo in ritardo	quando
119	quant ch'em trigo 'n giro	quando che indugio in giro	quando
120	co 'ch sàlta en mènt po?	cosa che gli salta in mente poi?	cosa
122	quant che sére pognatì	quando che ero chierichetto	quando
124	Gliùra ch'èi che stè?	Allora chi è che è stato?	chi
124	quant che su na 'n céza	quando che sono andato in chiesa	quando
124	quant che te sì mìa bu	quando che non sei capace	quando

124	quant che l'éra l'ùra da stodià	quando che era ora di studiare	quando
127	Quand'èl che 's pol fa 'na ciacolàda tra de noatre?	Quand'è che si può fare una chiacchierata tra di noi?	quando
127	de quant che 's sum maredé	di quando che ci siamo sposati	quando
128	quant che igniè a troàt?	quando che venivo a trovarti?	quando
128	quant che te sére istì da la fèsta	quando che eri vestito a festa	quando
128	quant che te nàe a Mèsa	quando che andavi a messa	quando
128	e quant che nàam endèle Rìe	e quando che andavamo alle Rive	quando
130	de quant che 's sum maredé	di quando che ci siamo sposati	quando
131	e sal quant che l'à anvià?	e sa quando che ha cominciato?	quando
133	quant che te sì gnéca con me	quando che sei arrabbiata con me	quando
133	quant che 't set a parlà séta	quando che ti sento parlare così	quando
134	quant che séram a fa le manovre	quando che facevamo le manovre	quando
134	Ah, quant che i me fàa sciola de guèra?	Ah, quando che mi facevano scuola di guerra?	quando
135	ndèi dis de chiì che ròba	dove dicono di chi che ruba	chi
135	de chiì che tàca béga co la fomla	di chi che litiga con la moglie	chi
135	de chiì che fa le rapine 'ndèle banche	di chi che fa le rapine nelle banche	chi
135	de chiì che 's copa-so	di chi che si ammazza	chi
136	e quant che 'l'è 'n ca	e quando che è in casa	quando
136	quant che le vé a troàm	quando che vengono a trovarmi	quando
138	e quant che 'l vé le miè amìche	e quando che vengono le mie amiche	quando
142	quant che 't désie	quando che ti dicevo	quando
144	quant che gò razù	quando che ho ragione	quando
145	da quant che i i-à porté-so	da quando che li hanno portati qui	quando
145	quant che i m'à det	quando che mi hanno detto	quando
146	e quant ch'al va-lè	e quando che va via	quando
147	quant che ò cromptà Mènek	quando che ho partorito/è nato Menico	quando
149	a quant che te cromptàe Mènek	a quando che hai partorito/è nato Menico	quando

149	e quant ch'al vé	e quando che arriva	quando
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Chapter 4

Data analysis

This chapter aims at analysing the data deriving from the questionnaire administered to participants. Some choices had to be made due to the great variety of data collected, therefore the graphics presented focus precisely on the factors which influence the construction of Doubly Filled Comp, here referred to as *wh+che*. Notably, an important variable included in the questionnaire was the distinction between simple and compound tenses. As the methodological chapter underlined, this difference was included only in matrix clauses and only with some interrogative pronouns, specifically *what*, *when* and *where*. Moreover, due to an oversight, the Wh-item *why* only featured the compound tense. Nevertheless, data revealed that in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro this variable is not a factor which influences the Doubly Filled Comp. Therefore, in these graphics the data of simple and compound tense have been aggregated.

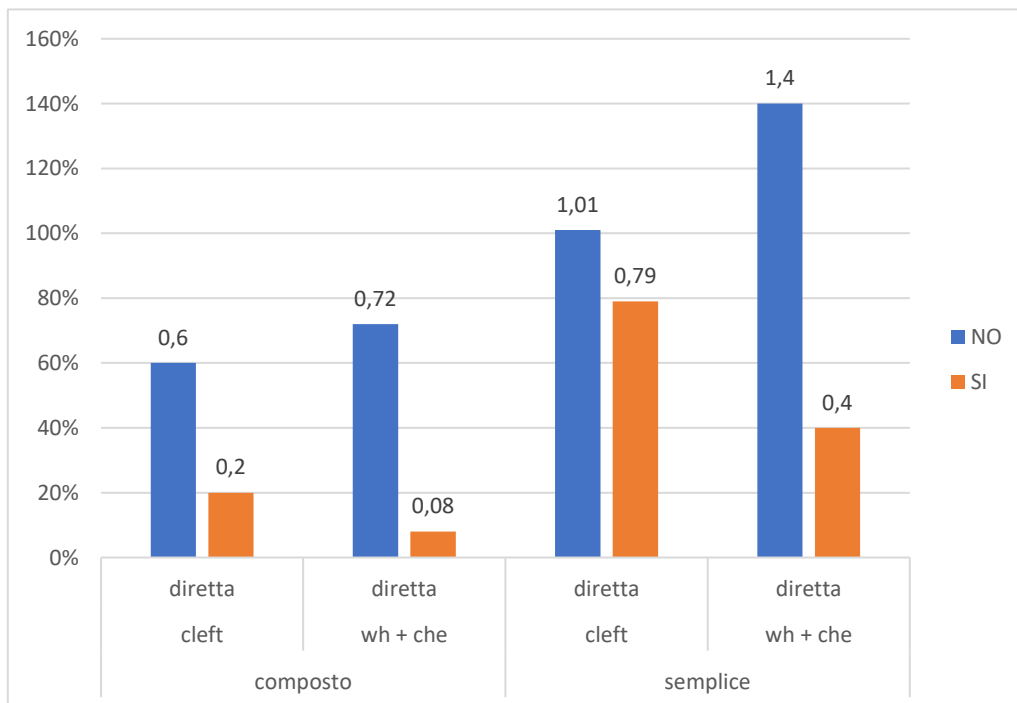


Figure 1 Distinction between compound and simple tense

Figure 1 shows proportionality between compound and simple tense. The vertical axis on the left features the percentage scale, while the numbers above the bars represent the respective absolute value in decimals. The numbers of the compound tense are in great minority because this variable was only included in some interrogative pronouns and only in matrix sentences, as above mentioned. Nevertheless, the proportionality reveals that between simple and compound tense no difference is attested. Therefore, this variable has not been further investigated.

Furthermore, even though in the dialects of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro other interrogative constructions have been attested, for example Subject Clitic Inversion, clefting and Wh-in-situ, it is not possible to outline all of them in detail. This explains the focus only on the Doubly Filled Comp in the present research. Moreover, in this dialect clefting and DFC are not the same structures, as appears to be the case in other varieties. Therefore, they cannot be treated in the same way and clefting cannot be considered a subsystem of DFC. The graphics below specifically demonstrate that clefting and DFC are used in different contexts and are not treated equally:

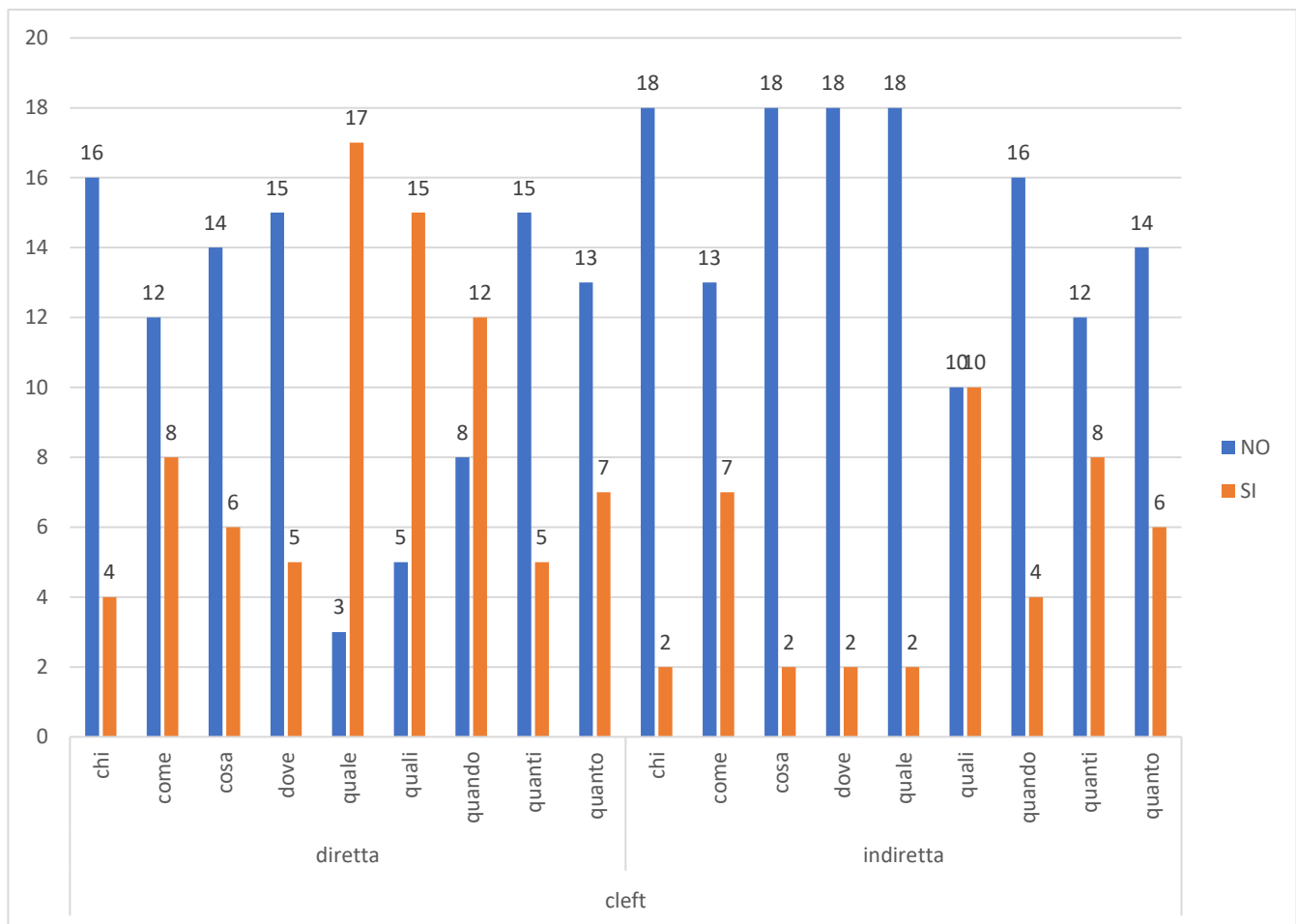


Figure 2 Cleft Structure

Figure 2 reveals how clefting is treated by all participants across all interrogative pronouns and the distinction of matrix and embedded sentences. It is important to underline that the pronoun *why* is excluded from Figure 2 since it only features the compound tense, variable which has been removed in this specific analysis. This deletion was necessary in order to make the graphic clearer – with the distinction between compound and simple tense, the overall sum of matrix sentences with *what*, *when* and *where* would have been higher than the others. Thus, it would have been more difficult to compare data. Consequently, the total number above the bars is always 20, which refers to the participants of the research. The same decisions have been applied to the following graphic:

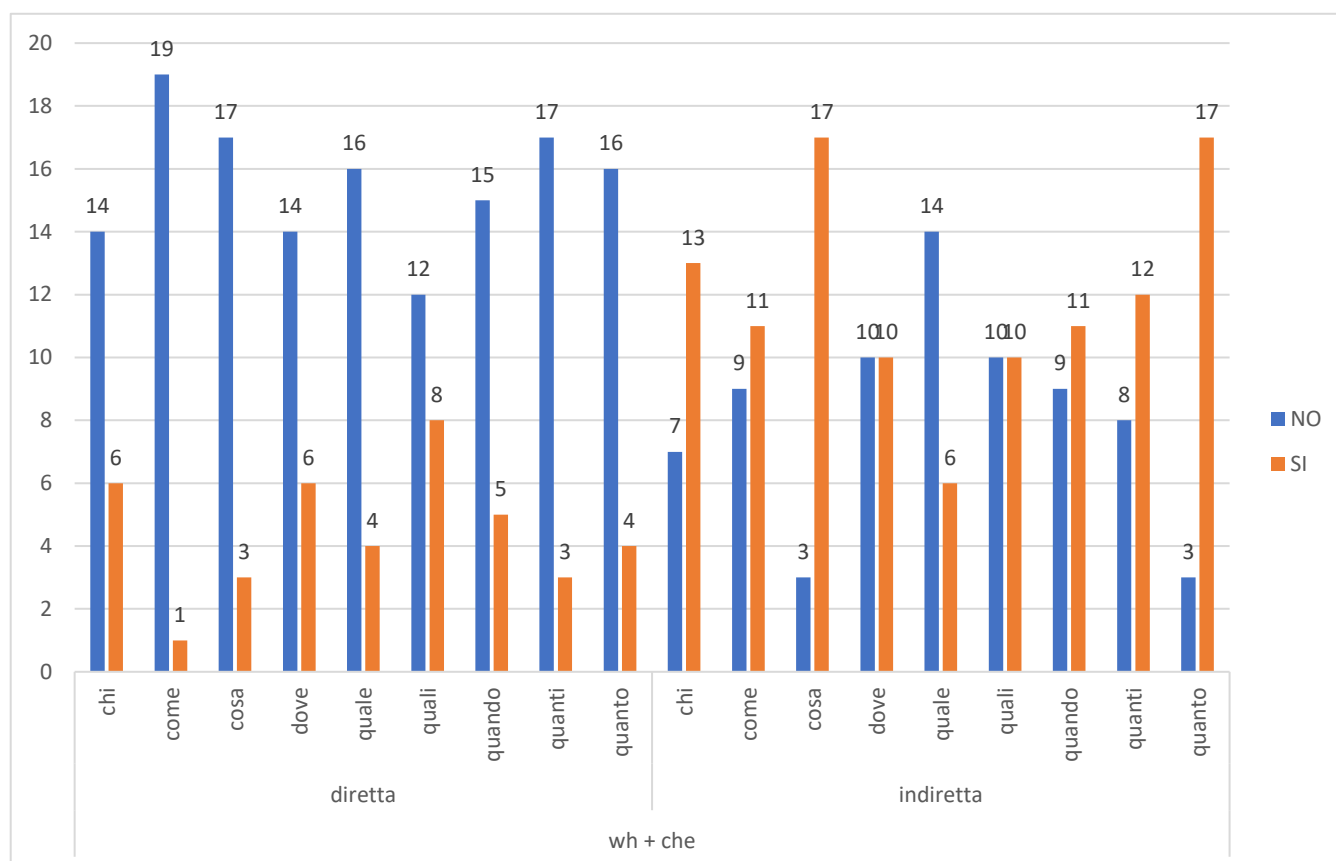


Figure 3 Doubly Filled Comp structure

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the Doubly Filled Comp construction without the interrogative pronoun *why*. It is important to show this graphic here in order to compare its distribution with that of Figure 2. The comparison reveals that clefting is not a subsystem of DFC because their distributions are different. Specifically, in matrix sentences clefting is judged as ungrammatical, while DFC is judged as grammatical. In matrix clauses, clefting is accepted in great majority with the interrogative pronouns *how much*, *how many* and *when*. However, these pronouns reveal the inverse pattern in DFC which has been considered ungrammatical by the majority of speakers. It is interesting to report the data of a specific interrogative pronoun as an example to clarify the distinction between the two interrogative structures. The Wh-item *what* is considered ungrammatical by 18 speakers in embedded cleft sentences, while it is considered grammatical by 17 speakers in embedded DFC sentences. Figure 2 and Figure 3 are fundamental for the phenomenon under investigation because they demonstrate the difference between clefting and DFC, which is why only the latter is analysed. These data suggest a

complementary distribution between these two structures. Therefore, it can be hypothesised that clefting is realised in those contexts in which the complementiser adjacent to the interrogative pronoun is restricted. Figure 3 will now be analysed in detail. It shows that both the kind of interrogative pronoun and sentence (whether it is matrix or embedded) are important variables of DFC. In matrix sentences, DFC is not accepted in the majority of cases, especially with the pronoun *how*. Interestingly, the pairs *who* and *where*, *what* and *how many*, *which one* and *how much* reveal the same number of negative judgements. However, in embedded clauses there is the inverse pattern. First of all, DFC is generally more accepted. *Where* and *which one(s)* reveal the same distribution, while the pairs *how* and *when* and *what* and *how much* received the same number of positive judgements. *Which one* is the only pronoun that is not accepted as grammatical by the majority of speakers.

Since the interrogative pronoun *why* does not appear in the previous graphics, the following figure reports it:

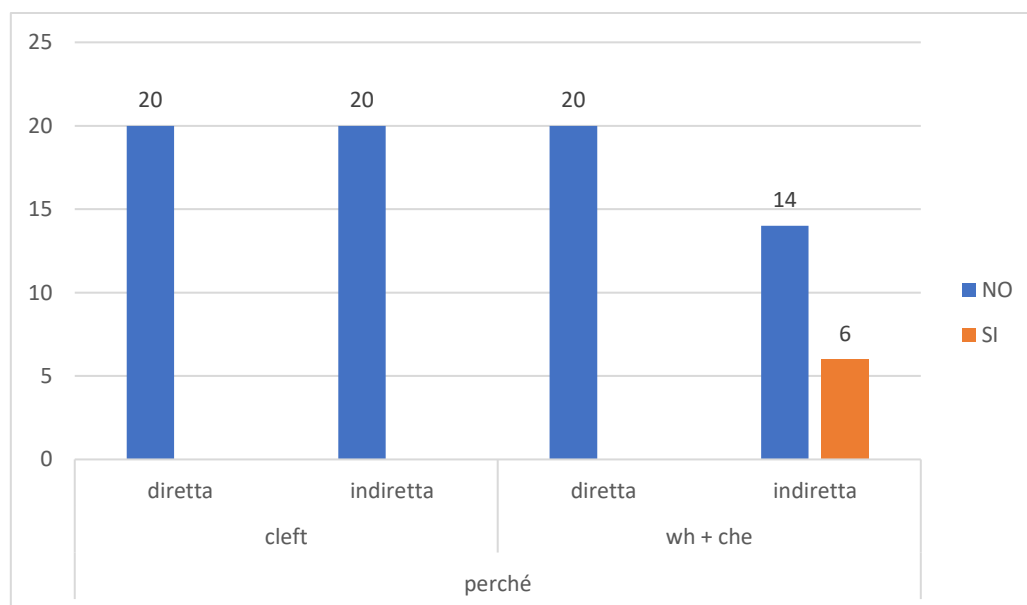


Figure 4 Distribution of the interrogative pronoun *Why*

Figure 4 exclusively reports the interrogative pronoun *why* as a further demonstration of the difference between clefting and DFC. What should be remembered is that *why* only featured the compound tense, both in matrix and embedded clauses, due to an oversight

during the construction of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, embedded sentences reveal no proportion between the different structures, which cannot be considered equally.

What is interesting to analyse now is the distribution of each interrogative pronoun across different speakers in detail.

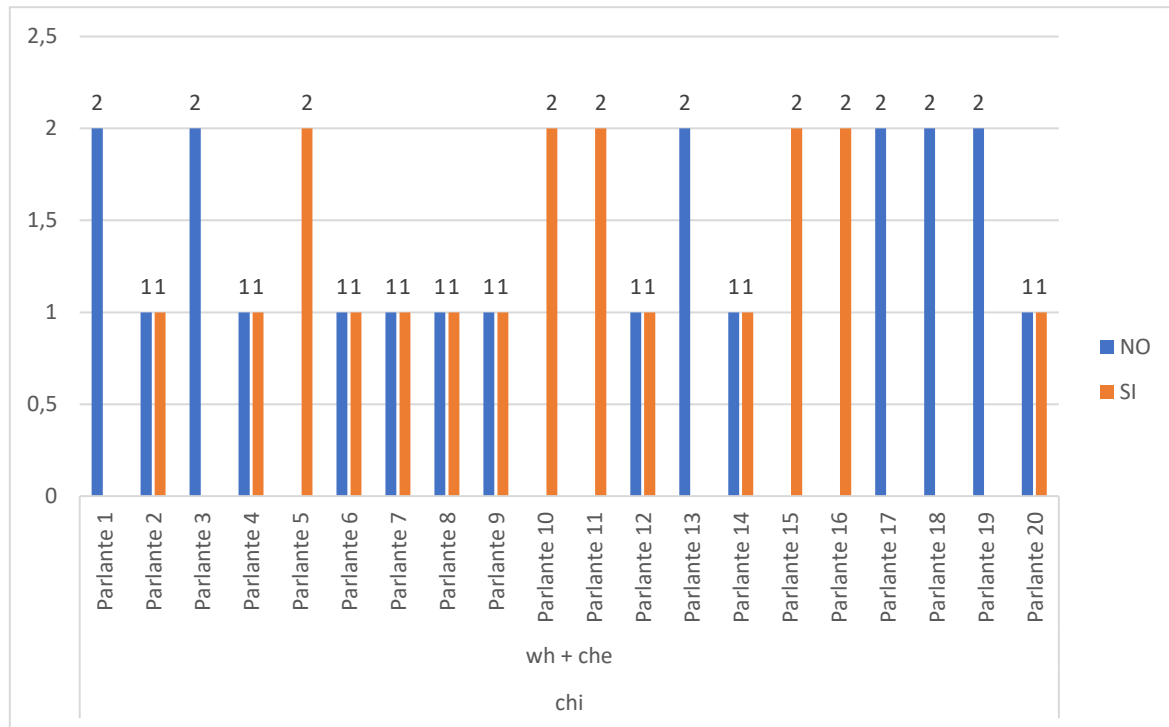


Figure 5 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *Who*

Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of the interrogative pronoun *who* according to the different speakers. It was not possible to include the sentence-kind variable owing to the layout constraints of the graphic itself. The number 2 above the bars precisely refers to the two sentences included in the questionnaire featuring this pronoun and the DFC structure, one for matrix and one for embedded clauses. These criteria will be displayed in all the graphics reporting interrogative pronouns. Interestingly, 6 participants consider DFC with *who* ungrammatical, while 5 of them grammatical. All the others judge the sentence according to the sentence-kind variable.

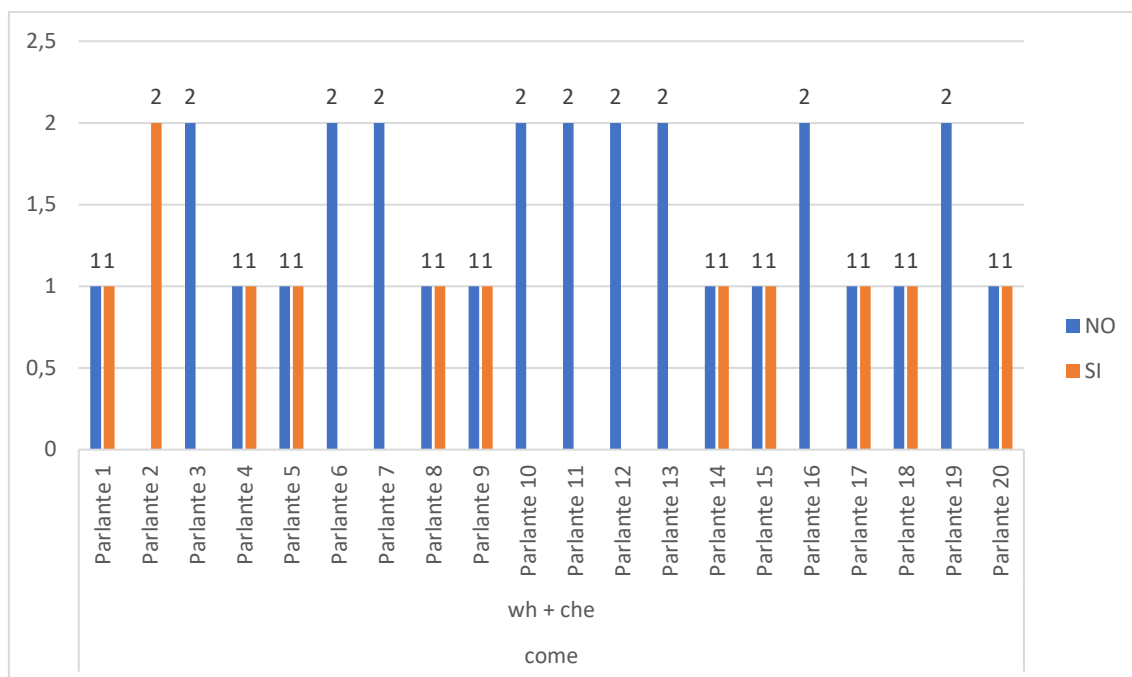


Figure 6 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *How*

Figure 6 reports the distribution of the interrogative pronoun *how* across the different speakers. Unlike graphic 5, here there is more consistency. 9 speakers consider DFC ungrammatical, while only 1 considers it grammatical. All the others judge the sentence according to the sentence-kind variable.

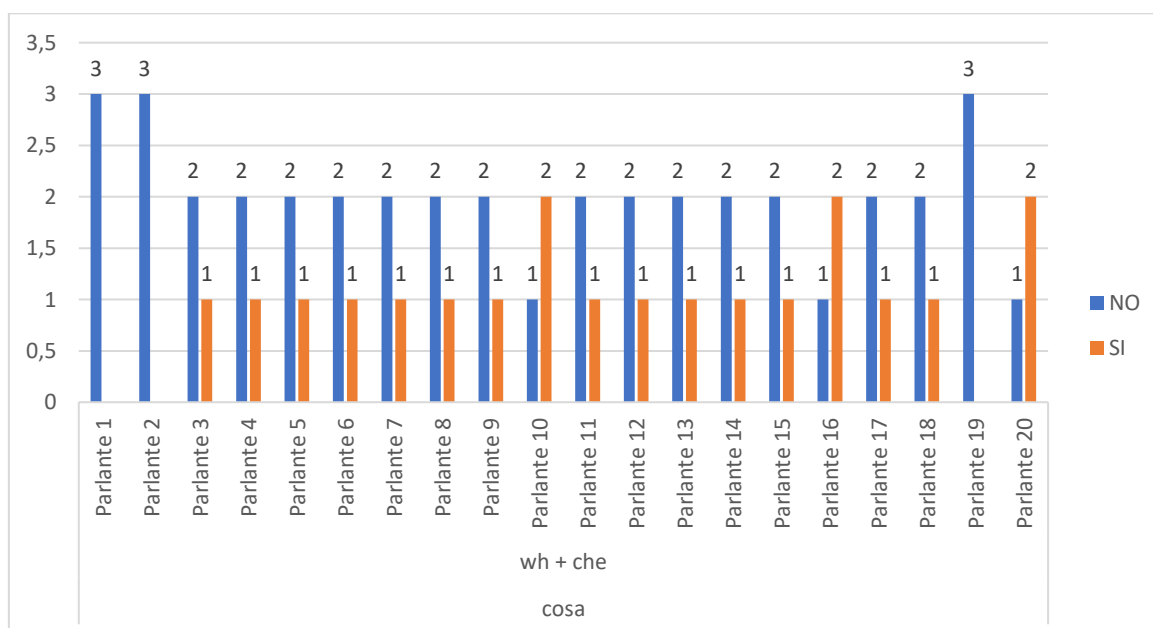


Figure 7 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *What*

Figure 7 displays different numbers above the bars, because this interrogative item was also included in sentences with the compound tense. It is important to specify that this variable does not reintroduce the tense distinction as a separate category. Data have only been aggregated to provide a comprehensive overview of the speaker's behaviour with specific interrogative items. 3 speakers consider this phenomenon ungrammatical, and only 1 considers it grammatical. All the others judge the sentence according to the sentence-kind variable. Nevertheless, the negative judgement prevails over the positive one.

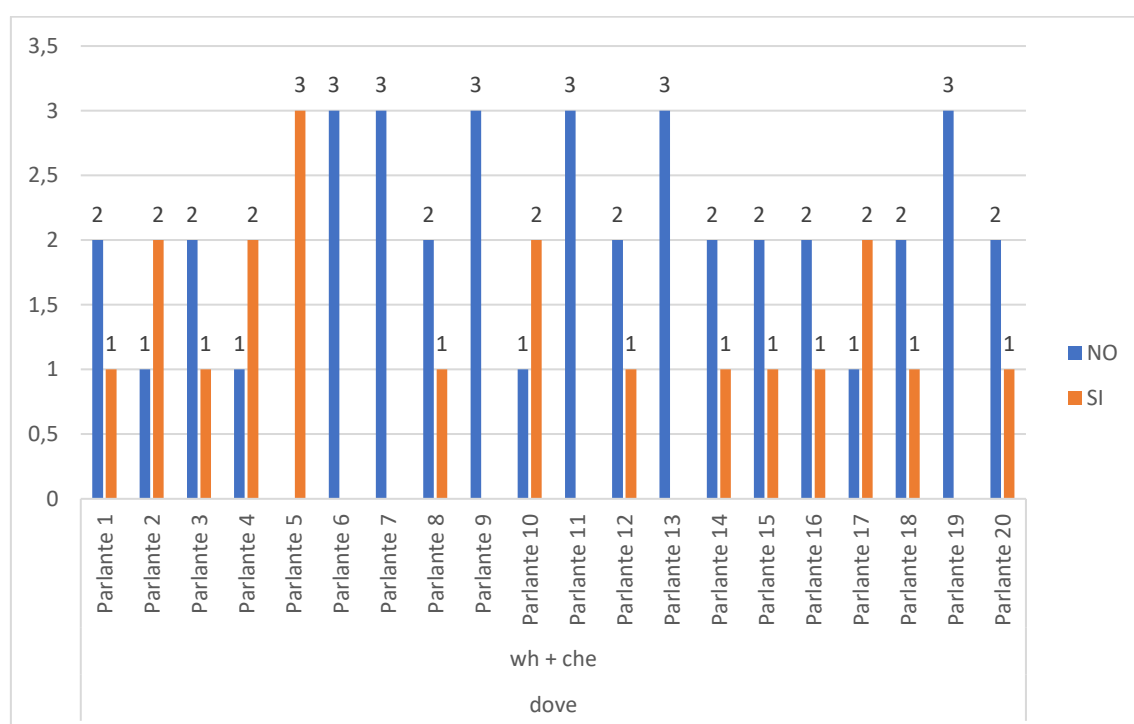


Figure 8 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *Where*

As visualised in Figure 7, Figure 8 shows number 3 as the total sum of responses given by speakers, because also the pronoun *where* was included in compound tense sentences. The ungrammaticality of DFC prevails across participants. Only speaker 5 judges all sentences as grammatical, while the majority of them, specifically thirteen people, are influenced by the sentence-kind variable.

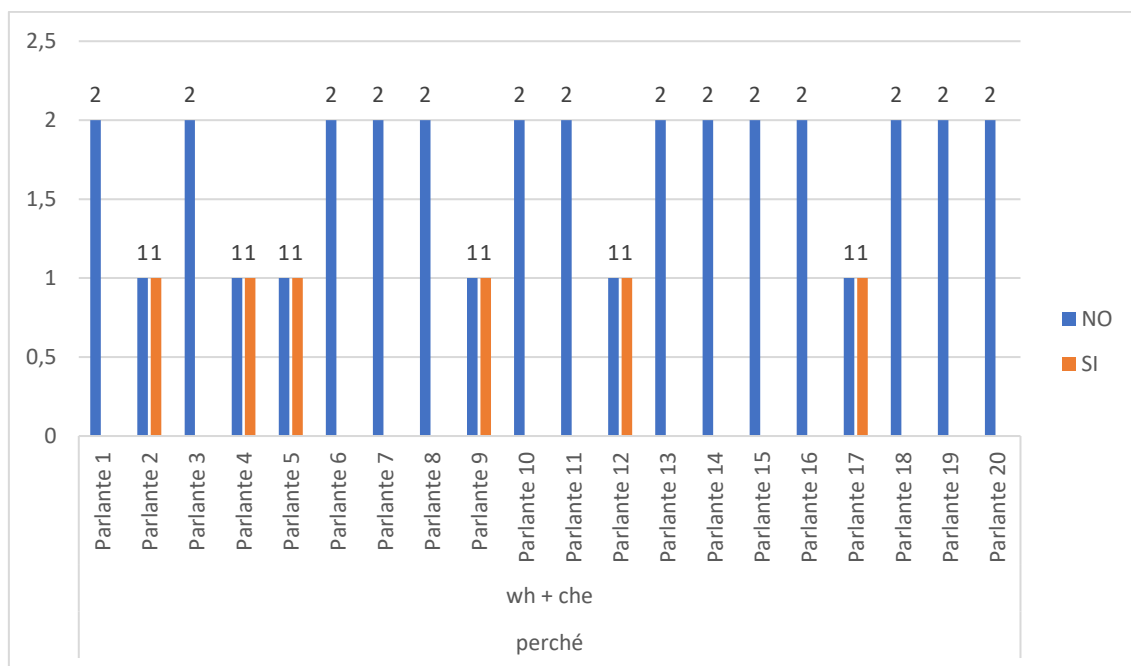


Figure 9 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *Why*

Figure 9 displays the distribution of the interrogative pronoun *why*, which was only included in compound tense sentences. The graphic reveals the ungrammaticality of DFC within this Wh-item, except for a few cases in embedded clauses (as Figure 4 specifically reported).

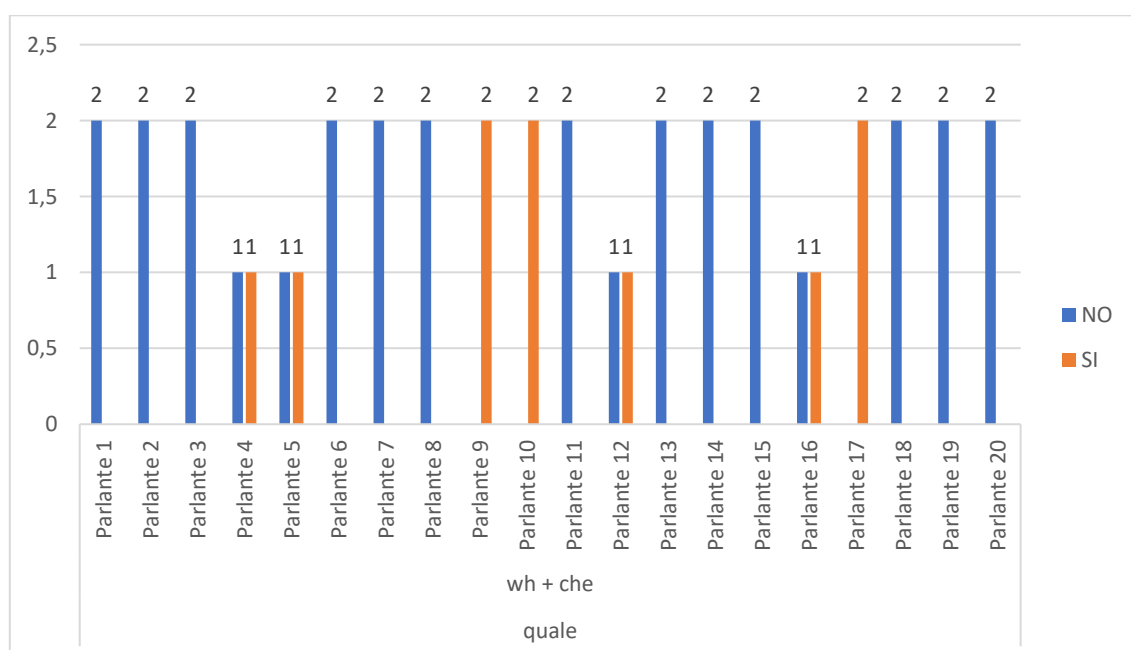


Figure 10 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *Which one*

Figure 10 shows the distribution of the interrogative pronoun *which one*. The majority of speakers marks DFC as ungrammatical. 3 participants consider it completely grammatical, while 4 of them judge the sentence according to the sentence-kind variable. Even in this case, the ungrammaticality of DFC is prevalent.

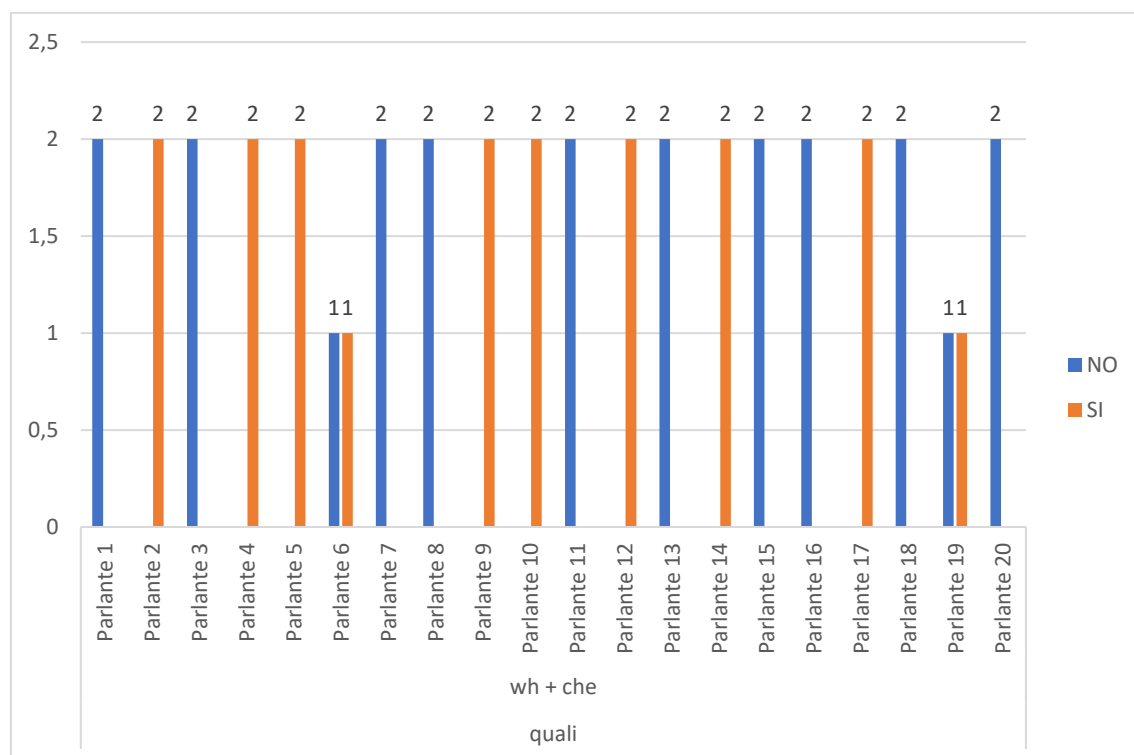


Figure 11 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *Which one(s)*

Figure 11 illustrates the analysis of the interrogative pronoun *which one(s)*. Interestingly, its distribution is completely different from its respective singular form *which one* displayed in Figure 10. The data for this pronoun reveal a high degree of variability. 10 participants consider the use of *which one(s)* in the DFC structure ungrammatical, while 8 of them consider it grammatical. Only 2 speakers mark these sentences according to the sentence-kind variable. Therefore, this analysis suggests the idiolectal variation as another important factor which influences the judgement of DFC. Consequently, a speaker-by-speaker analysis will be carried out later in this chapter.

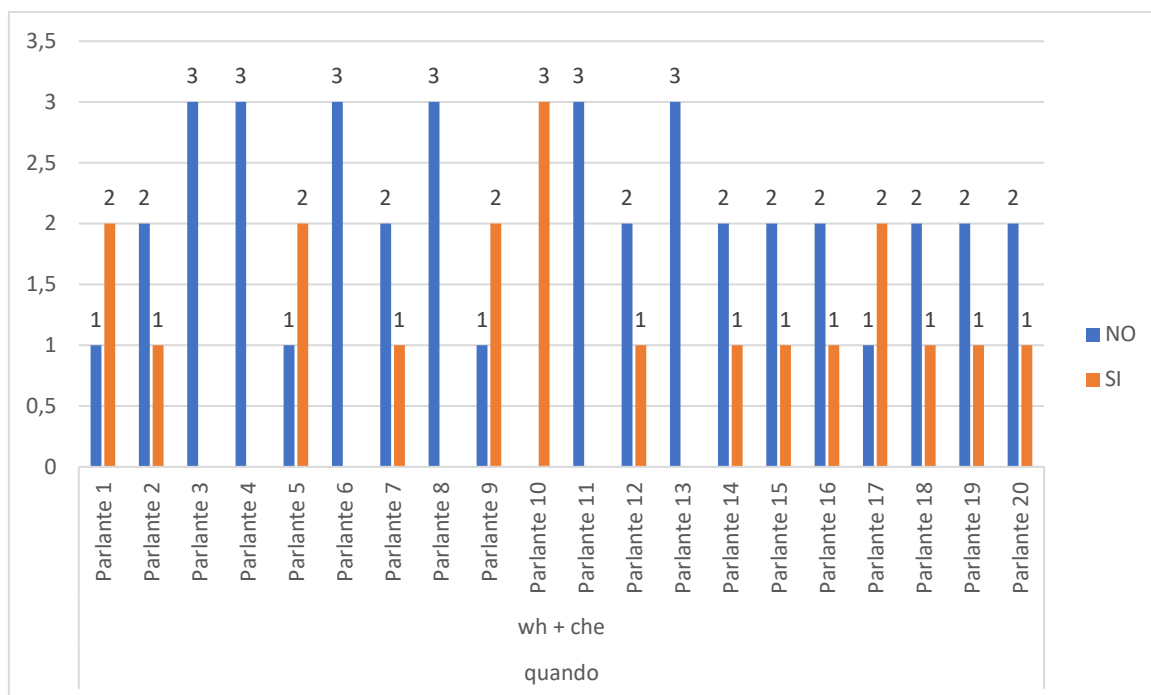


Figure 12 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *When*

Figure 12 displays the distribution of the interrogative pronoun *when* across the different speakers. As with graphics 7 and 8, the overall number above the bars is 3 because this pronoun was included in compound tense sentences. Only speaker 10 considers all the sentences grammatical, while thirteen of them are influenced by the sentence-kind variable. Nevertheless, the ungrammaticality of DFC prevails.

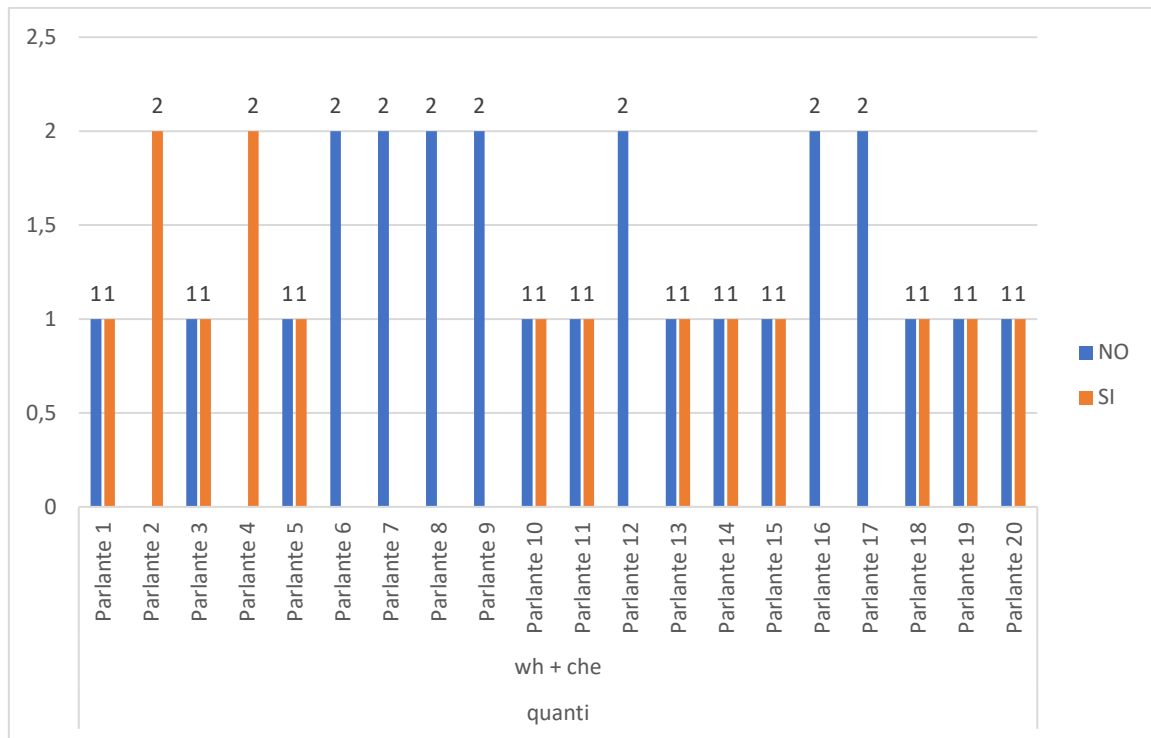


Figure 13 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *How many*

Figure 13 shows the distribution of the interrogative pronoun *how many*. The majority of speakers judges the sentence according to the sentence-kind variable. 7 participants consider them ungrammatical, while only 2 speakers judge them as grammatical.

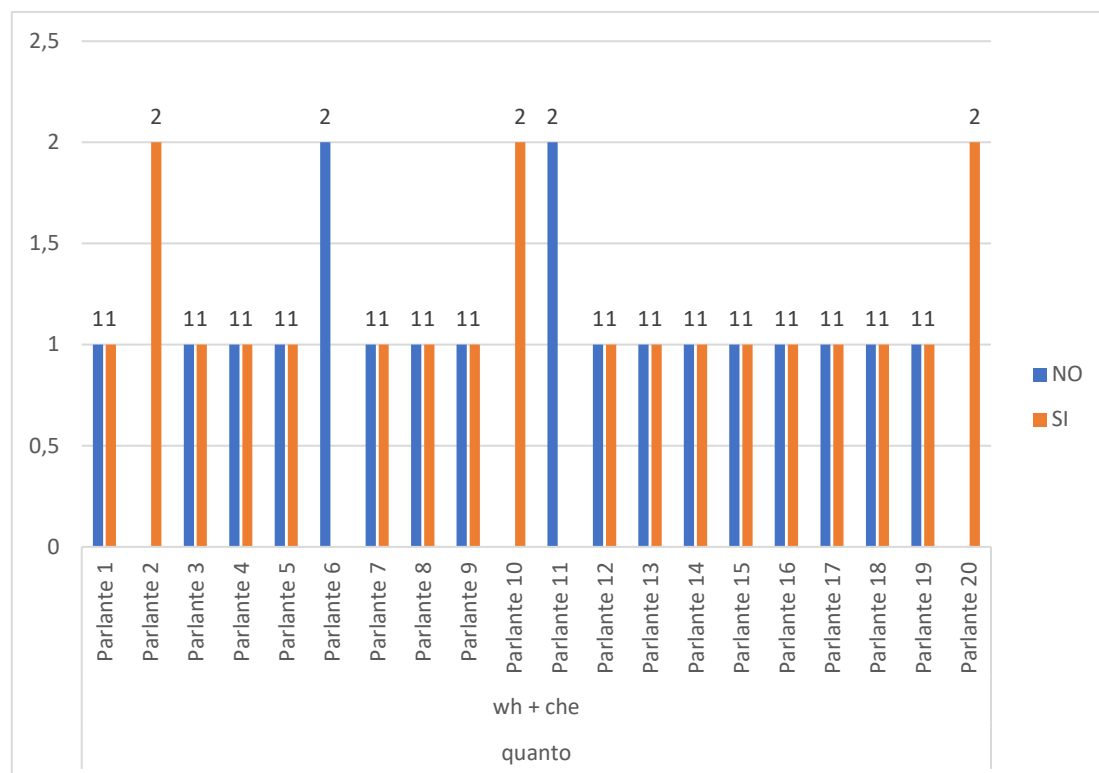


Figure 14 Analysis of the interrogative pronoun *How much*

Figure 14 reports the distribution of the interrogative pronoun *how much* across the different participants. As its respective plural form *how many*, the majority of speakers judges the sentence according to the sentence-kind variable. 3 speakers consider them grammatical, while only 2 ungrammatical.

The analysis of single interrogative pronouns confirms that the Doubly Filled Comp structure exists in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, even though it is largely judged as ungrammatical, with differences according to the nature of the Wh-item. *How much* is the only pronoun in which grammaticality slightly prevails, even though its judgements are highly divided, showing an almost fifty-fifty distribution. The same distribution is seen with *who* and *which one(s)*. Moreover, participants tend to differently judge the sentences according to the sentence-kind variable. Therefore, some conclusions can be drawn – first of all, the kind of sentence, whether it is matrix or embedded, greatly impacts the use of DFC. Secondly, the nature of the interrogative pronoun is another important variable in the research. Ultimately, speakers themselves may use this structure differently. It is further important to summarise the data collected in a table in order to make the investigation as clear as possible:

Table 1 Table with tokens for each interrogative pronoun

Interrogative pronoun	Total tokens	Grammatical	Ungrammatical	Split (clause type)
Who	40	19	21	9
How	40	12	28	10
What	60	20	40	17
Where	60	20	40	13
Why	40	6	34	6
Which one	40	10	30	5
Which one(s)	40	18	22	2
When	60	20	40	13
How many	40	15	25	11
How much	40	21	19	15
<i>Total sum</i>	460	161	299	101

In Table 1, the total token column refers to the total number of sentences tested for each interrogative pronoun. Grammatical and ungrammatical columns contain the total number of judgements given to those sentences, while the split column refers to the number of speakers who gave non-homogeneous judgements according to the sentence-kind variable. This last column does not represent a separate category. These precise responses are also reflected in the grammatical and ungrammatical columns, in which each judgement has been counted individually.

What should be further proposed is the speaker-by-speaker analysis since the idiolectal variation affects the judgement of the Doubly Filled Comp. These graphics are divided according to the participant showing the grammaticality of DFC across the interrogative pronouns and the sentence-kind variable. The numbers above the bars refer to the number of sentences per each Wh-item. Therefore, *what*, *where* and *when* include three sentences instead of two due to the presence of an additional sentence with the

compound tense in matrix clauses. As previously mentioned, the data regarding the distinction between simple and compound tense have been aggregated.

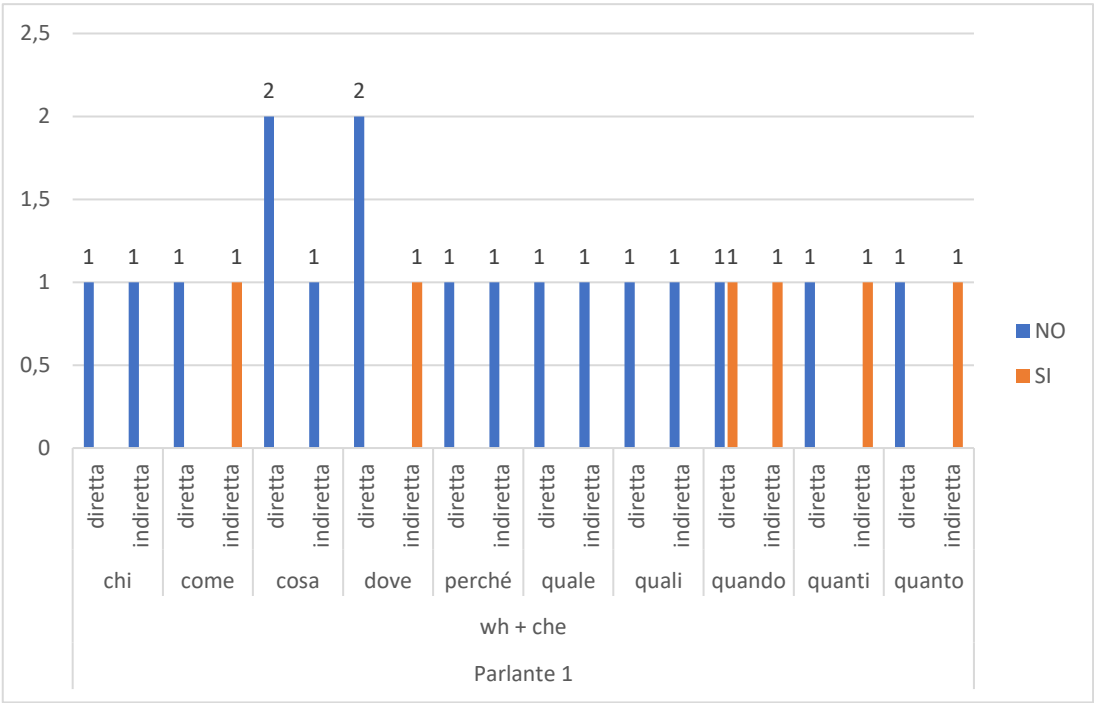


Figure 15 Analysis of the Participant 1

Figure 15 shows the analysis of Participant 1 who seems to be affected by the distinction between matrix and embedded clauses. This speaker only accepts the Doubly Filled Comp in embedded sentences, except for *when*. Nevertheless, the judgement is mainly negative.

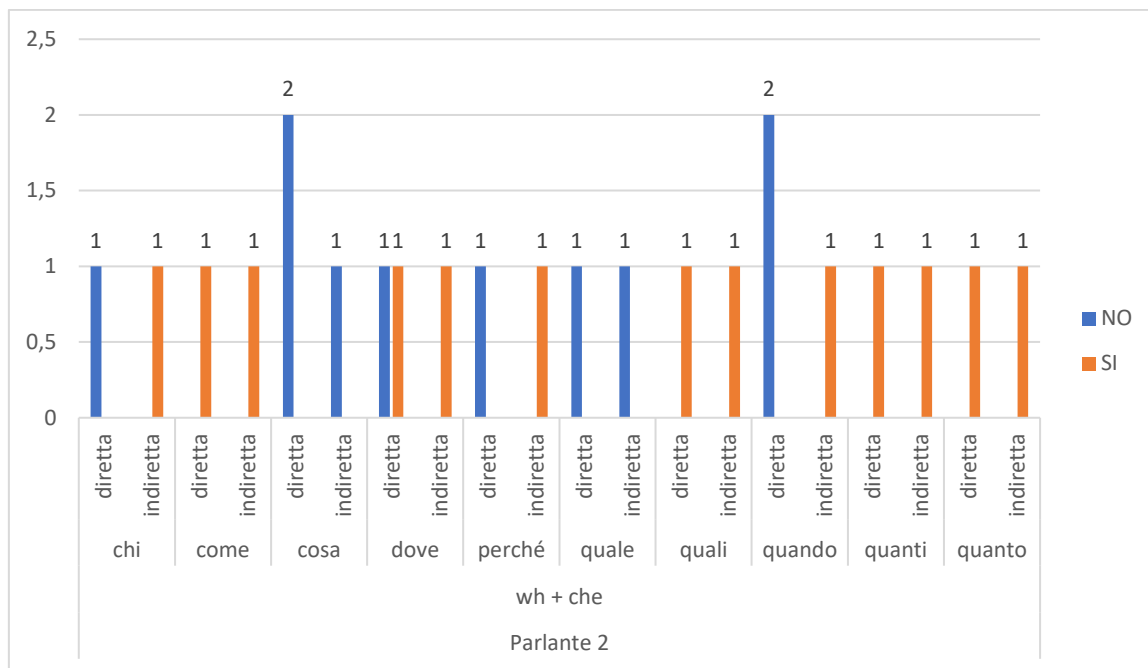


Figure 16 Analysis of the Participant 2

Unlike Participant 1, Participant 2 seems to be more affected by the nature of the specific interrogative pronoun. The DFC is completely ungrammatical with the Wh-items *what* and *which one*, while it is accepted with *how*, *which one(s)*, *how many* and *how much*.

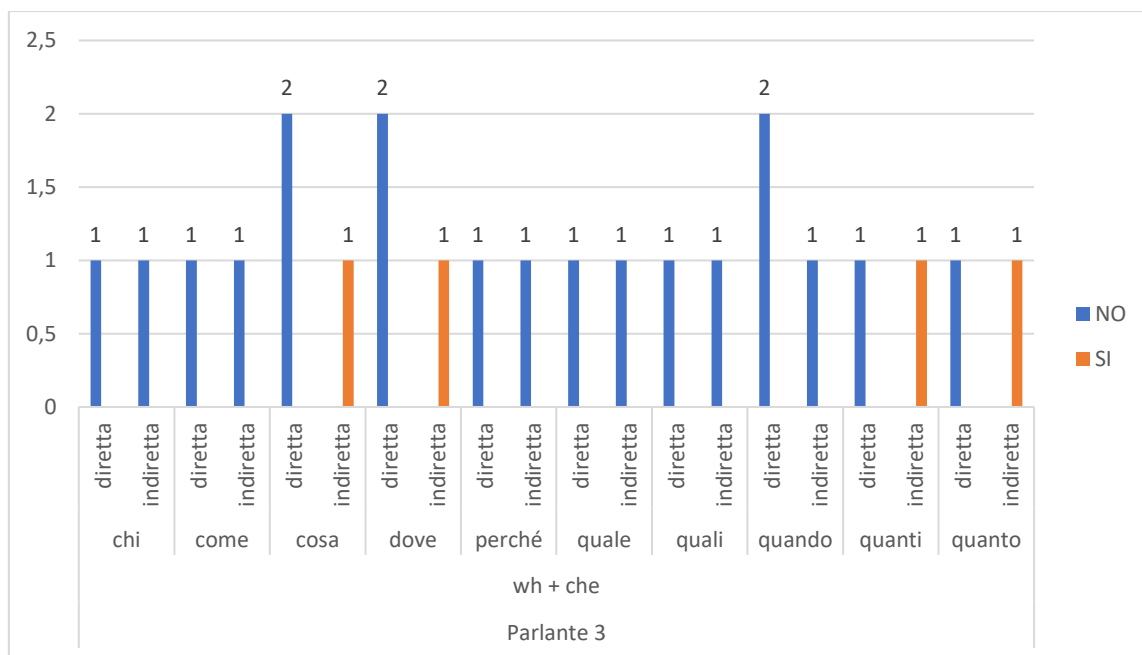


Figure 17 Analysis of the Participant 3

Figure 17 is very similar to Figure 15. Both speakers only accept this structure in embedded clauses and with the same interrogative pronouns, *what*, *where*, *how many* and *how much*. The only difference regards the pronoun *when* which is accepted by speaker 1 in the matrix clause.

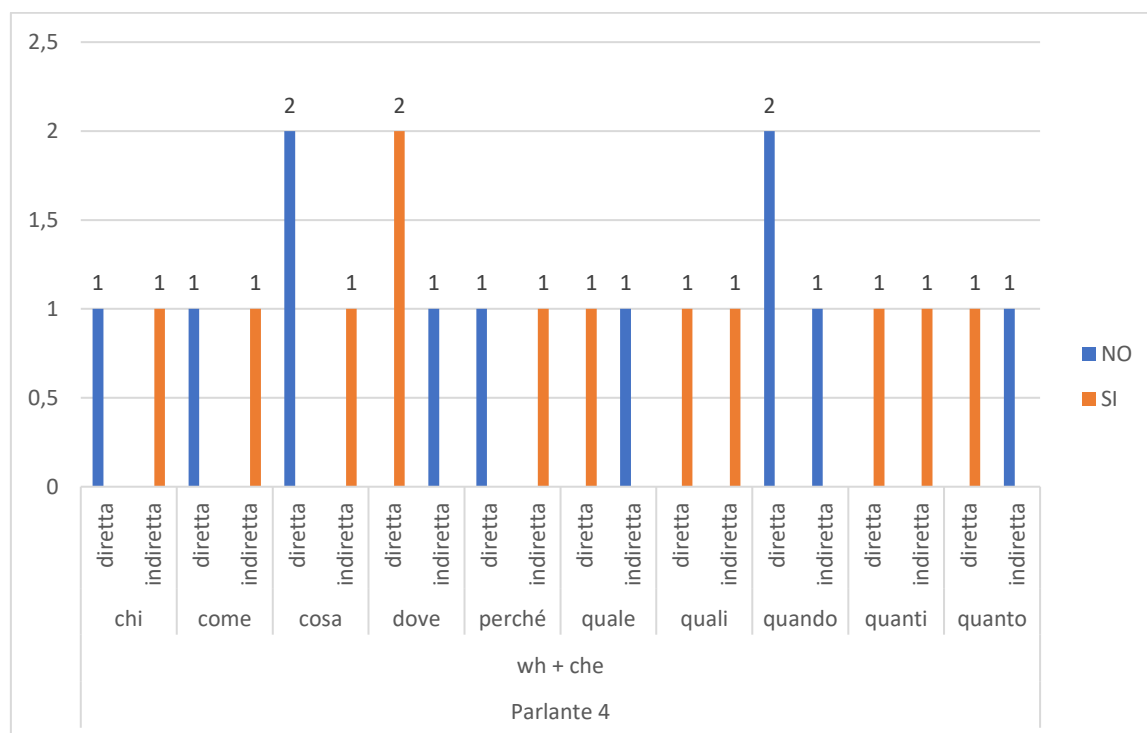


Figure 18 Analysis of the Participant 4

Figure 18 reveals that the only interrogative pronoun which is considered completely ungrammatical within DFC is *when*, while *which one(s)* and *how many* are grammatical. All the others depend on the sentence-kind variable, even though no consistency is shown – some Wh-items are accepted in the embedded clause (such as *who*, *how*, *what* and *why*), others in the main clause (such as *where*, *which one* and *how much*).

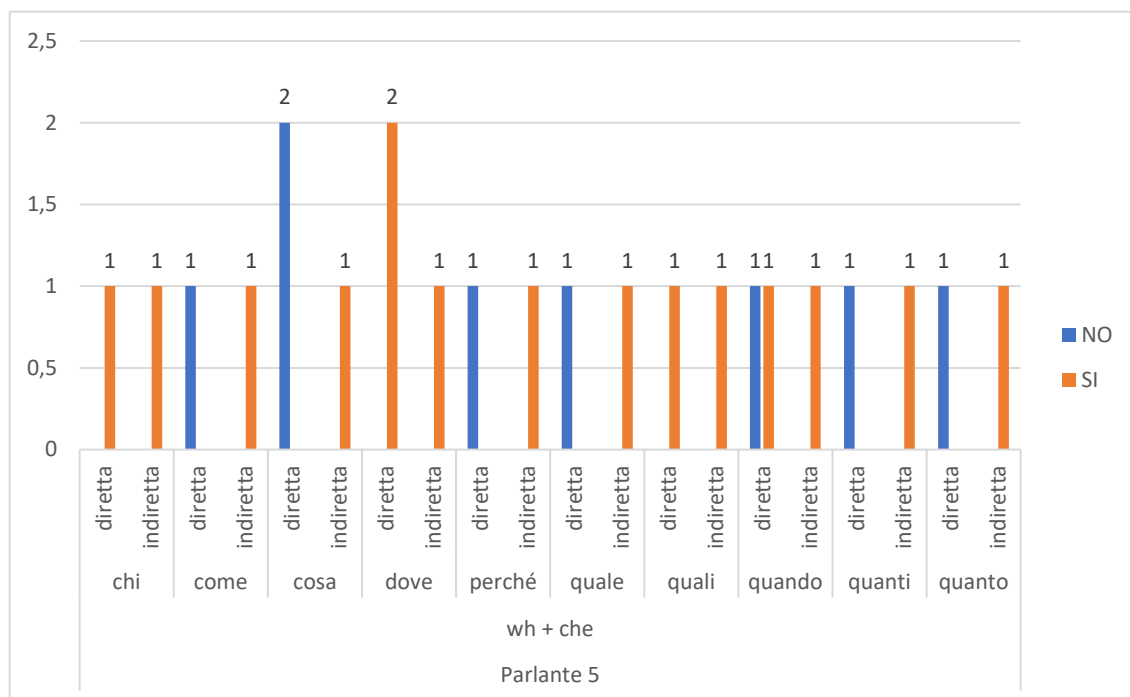


Figure 19 Analysis of the Participant 5

Figure 19 shows a high acceptance of the Doubly Filled Comp. There is no interrogative pronoun which is considered completely ungrammatical within this structure. Interestingly, the sentence-kind variable matters also in this case, because the only negative judgements are given to matrix sentences. Therefore, embedded clauses feature DFC more.

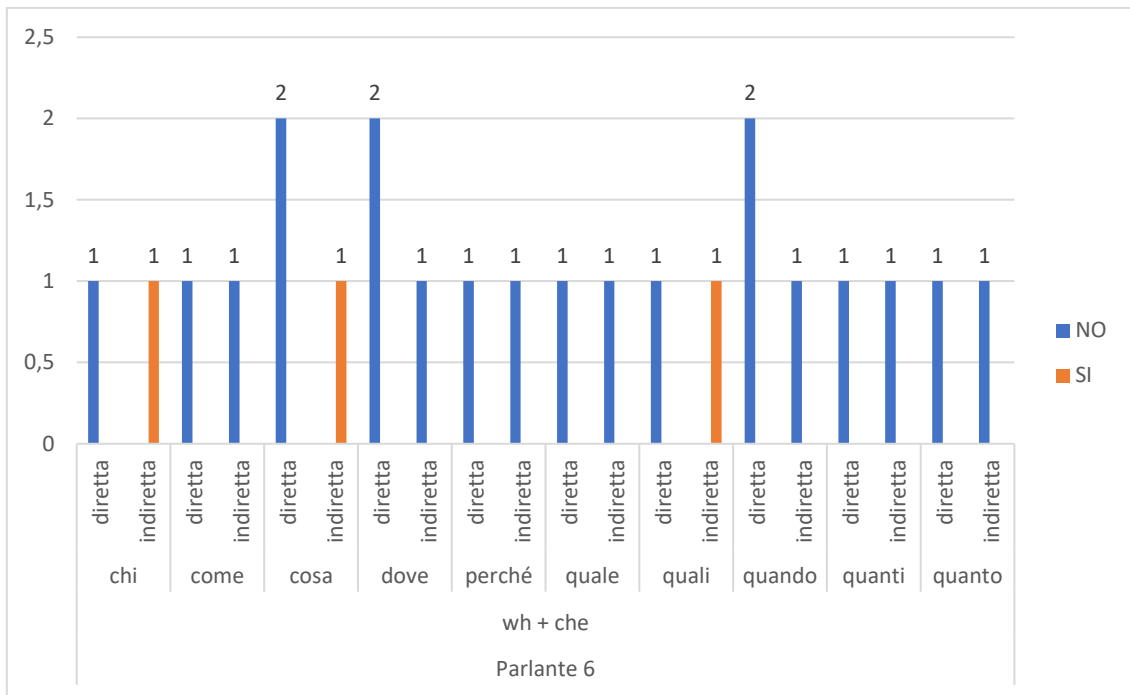


Figure 20 Analysis of the Participant 6

Unlike Figure 19, Figure 20 shows a high degree of ungrammaticality of the Doubly Filled Comp. The interrogative pronouns accepted are *who*, *what* and *which one(s)*, but only in embedded sentences. Therefore, the conclusion aforementioned is valid even here.

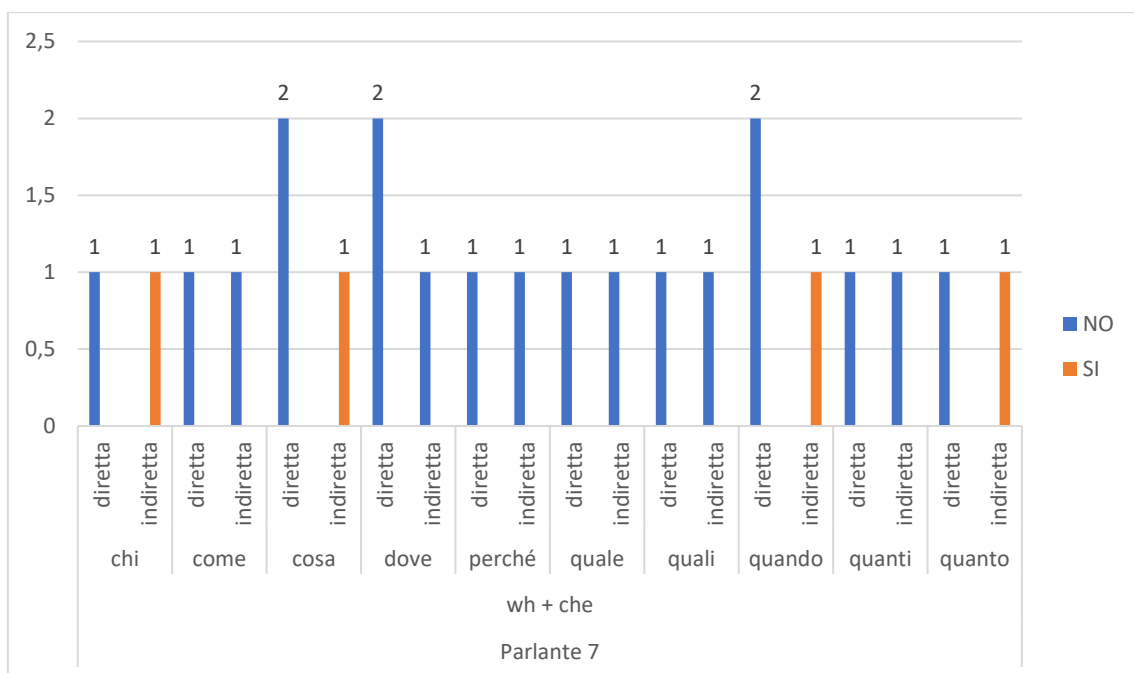


Figure 21 Analysis of the Participant 7

Figure 21 is analysed together with Figure 22 below, since the data collected are very similar.

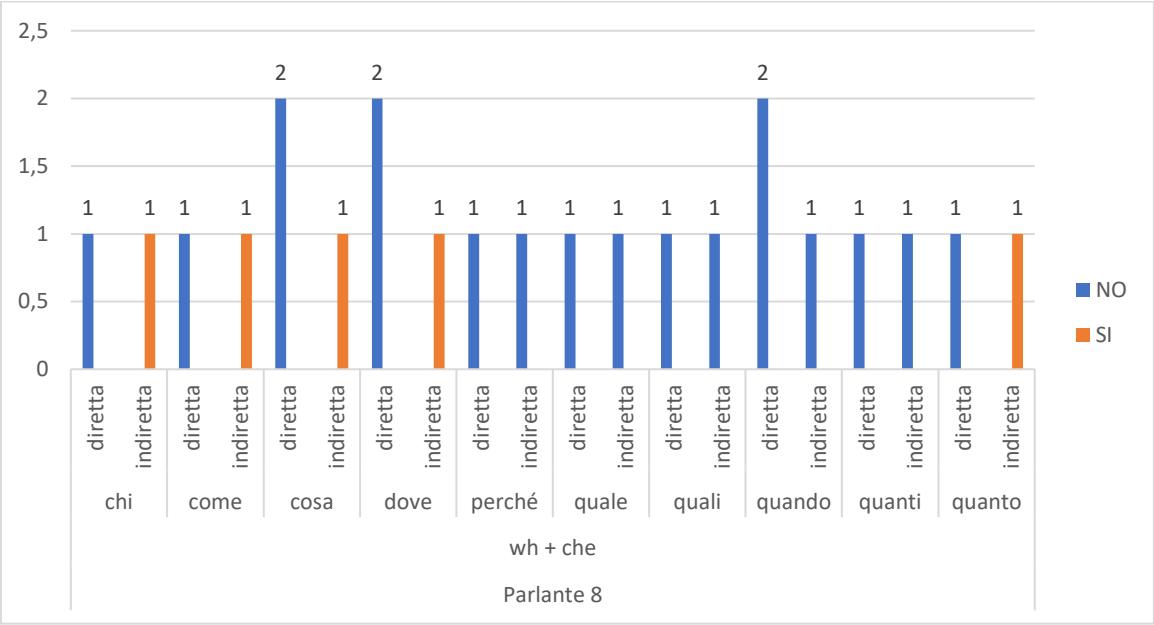


Figure 22 Analysis of the Participant 8

The analysis of Participant 8 is very similar to the ones of Participants 7 and 6. They all accept DFC only in embedded sentences, even though their graphics predominantly show the ungrammaticality of this structure. Moreover, they all judge the embedded sentences with *who* and *what* as grammatical, while there is a slight variation for the other Wh-items.

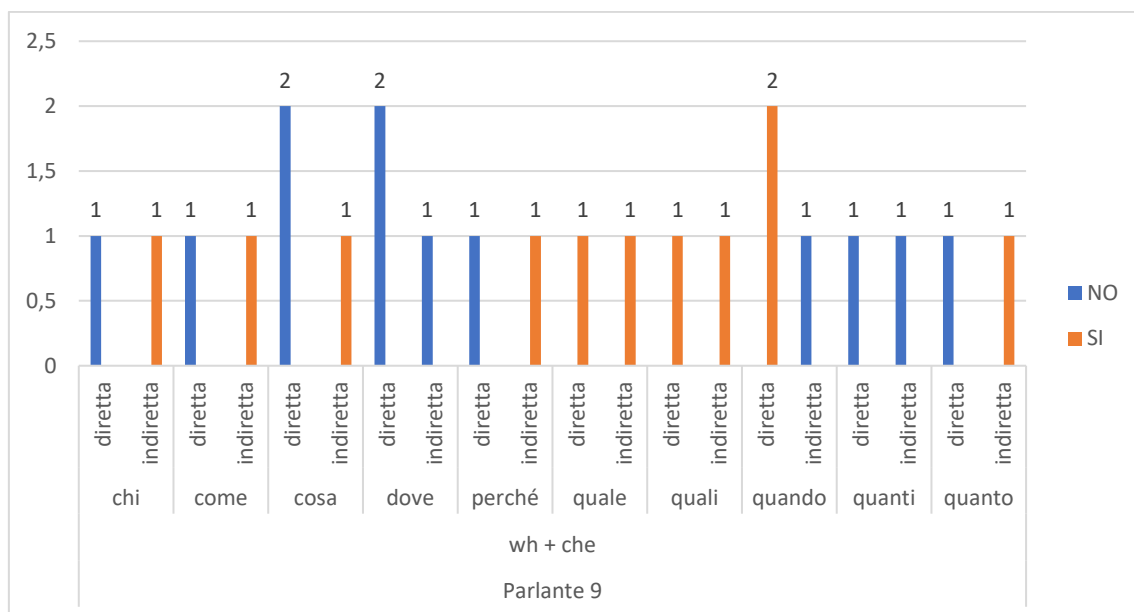


Figure 23 Analysis of the Participant 9

Participant 9 shows no sensitivity to the variables of the present research. In this case, both main and embedded sentences featuring DFC are accepted, even though embedded ones have a higher degree of grammaticality. The only interrogative elements which are considered completely ungrammatical are *where* and *how many*. *Which one* and *which one(s)* are instead grammatical across all variables.

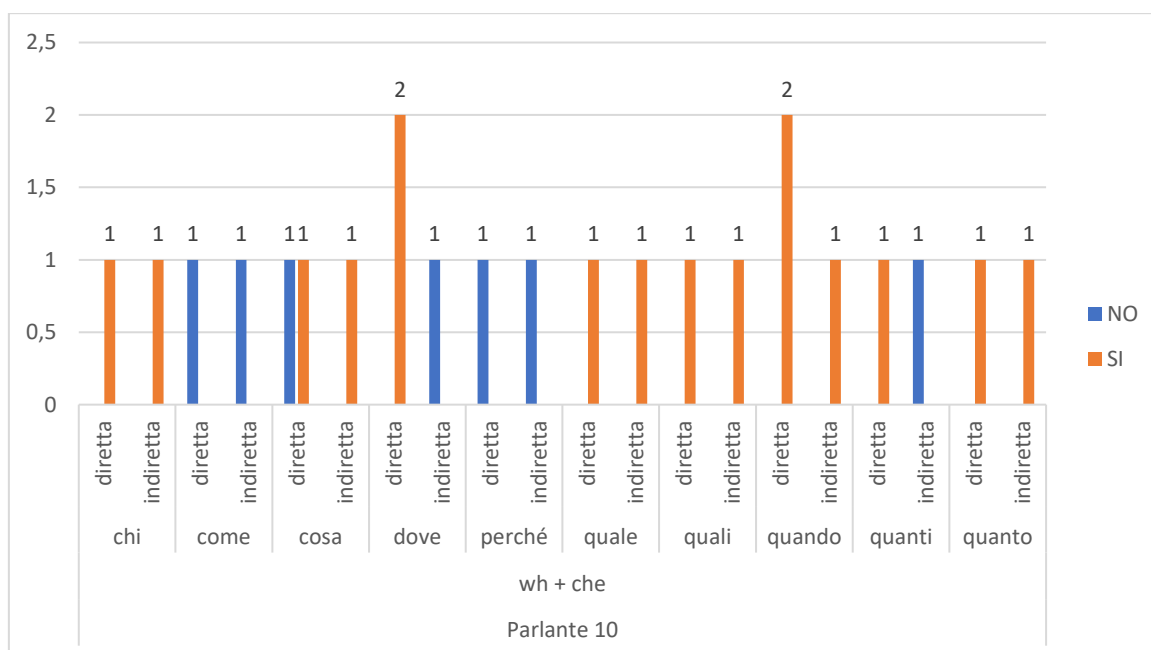


Figure 24 Analysis of the Participant 10

Participant 10 mainly accepts the Doubly Filled Comp independently from the variables, except for two interrogative pronouns, specifically, *how* and *why*. Unlike previous graphics, Figure 24 shows a reverse pattern. The sentences which are considered ungrammatical are mainly the embedded ones, and not the contrary.

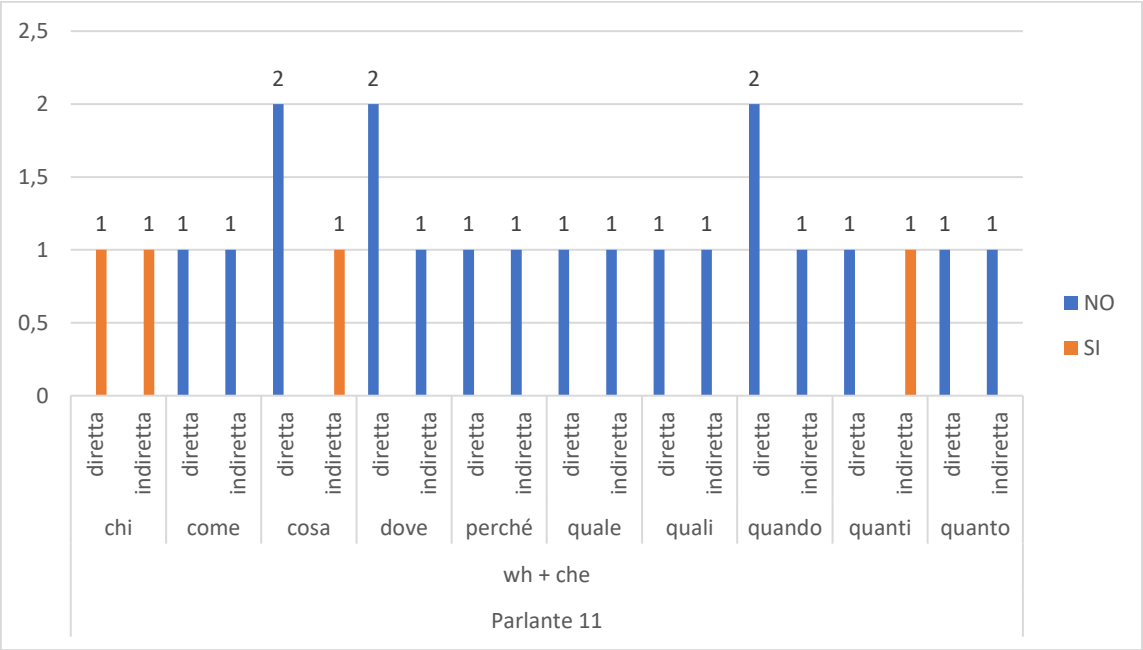


Figure 25 Analysis of the Participant 11

Figure 25 shows a high degree of ungrammaticality for the Doubly Filled Comp, except for the Wh-item *who*. Unlike Participant 10, DFC is mainly accepted in embedded clauses, as other previous graphics reveal.

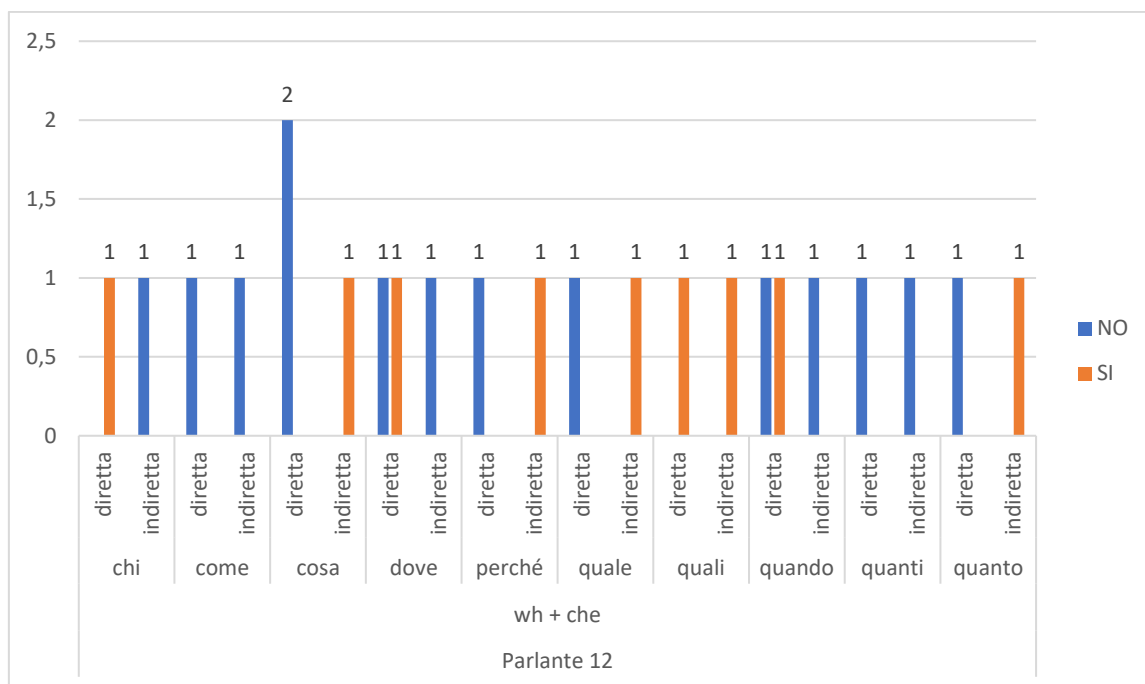


Figure 26 Analysis of the Participant 12

Participant 12 is not influenced by the sentence-kind variable as previous graphics demonstrate. Both matrix and embedded clauses are accepted depending on the nature of the interrogative pronoun. *How* and *how many* are the only items completely ungrammatical in DFC structure, while *which one(s)* is grammatical.

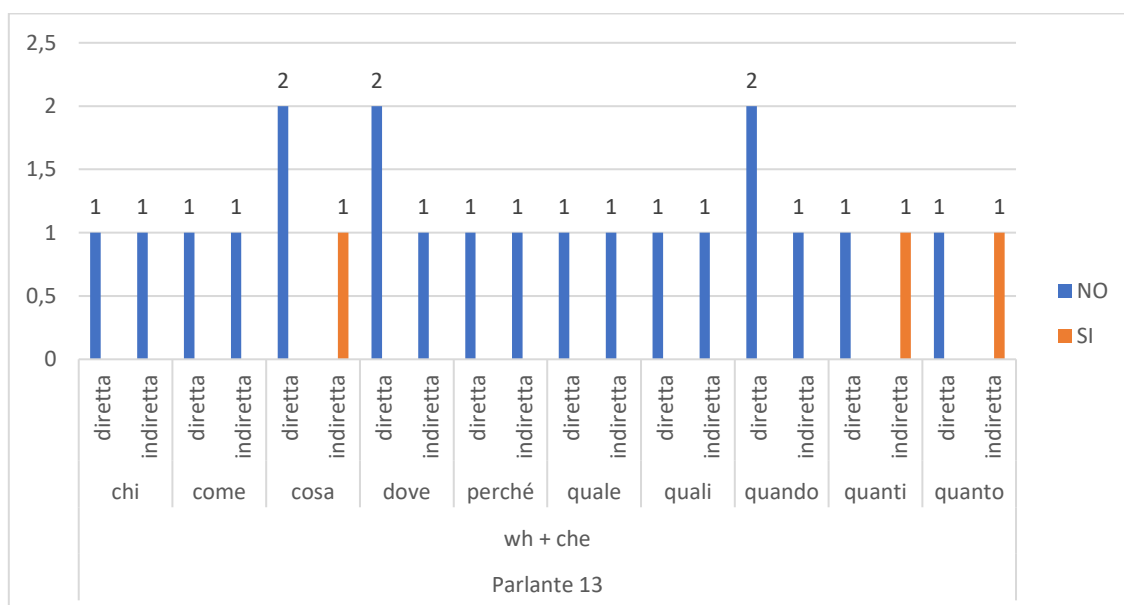


Figure 27 Analysis of the Participant 13

Participant 13’s analysis is very similar to the ones of speakers 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11. They all accept DFC only in embedded clauses. There is just a slight difference according to the interrogative pronouns considered grammatical within this structure. Except for speaker 1, *what* in matrix sentences is accepted by all of them. Five of them also accept *how much*.

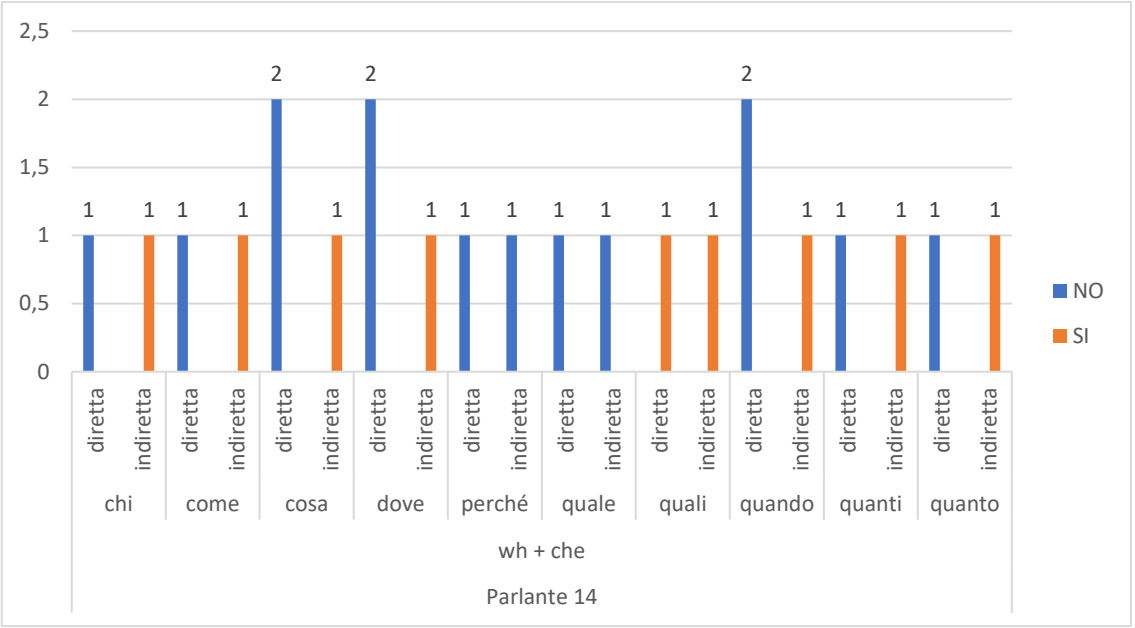


Figure 28 Analysis of the Participant 14

Participant 14 mainly considers the Doubly Filled Comp in embedded clauses grammatical, except for the interrogative pronoun *which one(s)*. The only Wh-items completely ungrammatical are *why* and *which one*.

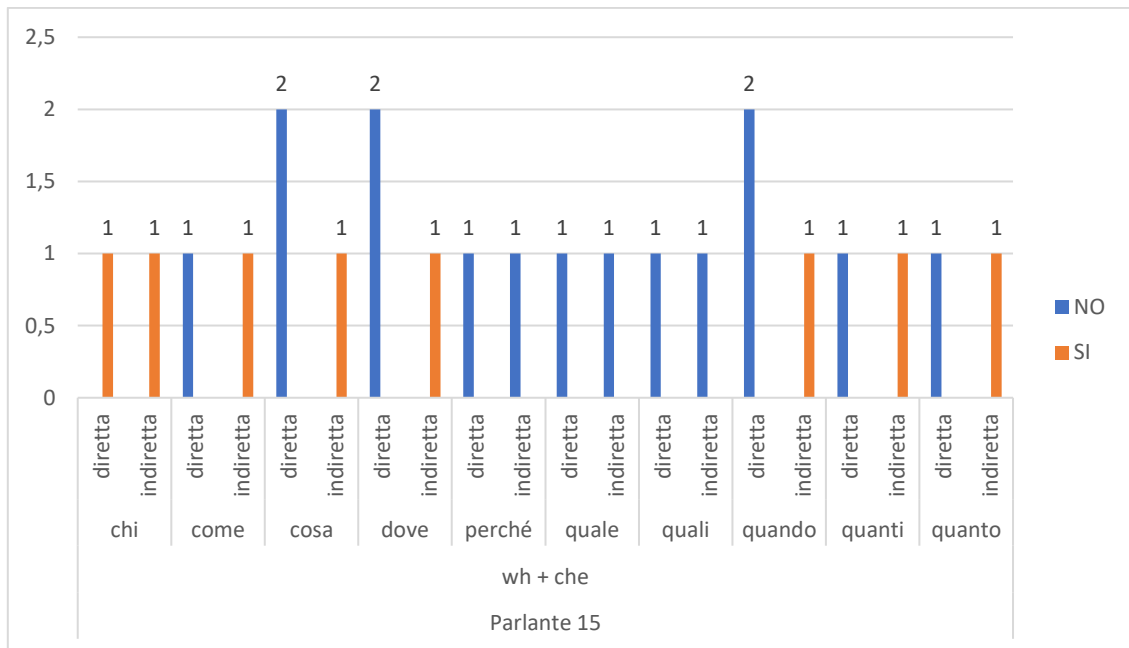


Figure 29 Analysis of the Participant 15

Participant 15 mainly considers grammatical the Doubly Filled Comp in embedded clauses, except for the interrogative pronoun *who*. *Why*, *which one* and *which one(s)* are judged as ungrammatical independently from the sentence-kind variable.

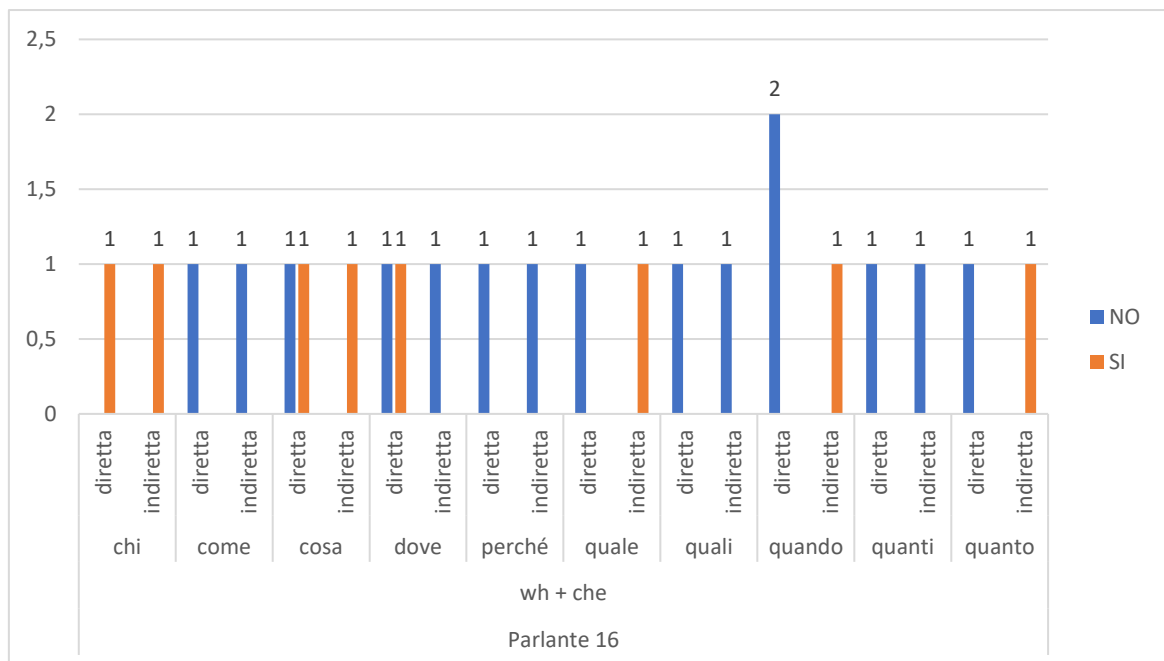


Figure 30 Analysis of the Participant 16

Figure 30 shows that Participant 16 considers embedded sentences grammatical, even though matrix clauses as well are accepted with some Wh-items, specifically *who*, *what* and *where*.

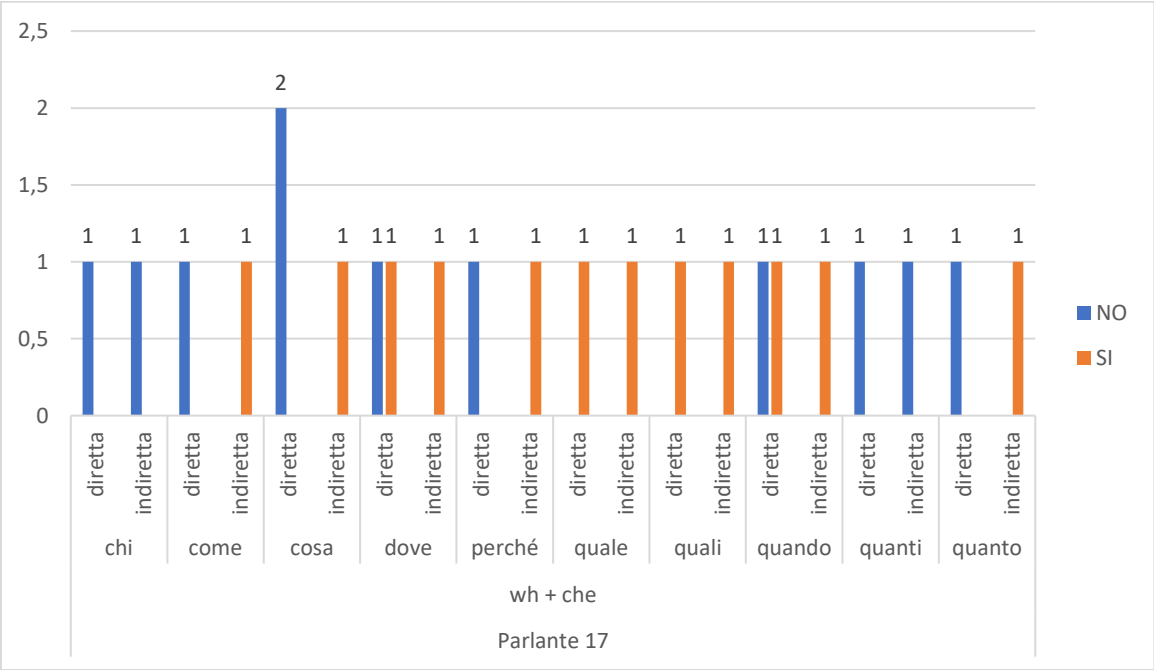


Figure 31 Analysis of the Participant 17

Participant 17 accepts embedded clauses featuring DFC in the majority of cases, except for *who* and *how many*. Nevertheless, Figure 31 displays that also matrix clauses are considered grammatical, even though to a less extent.

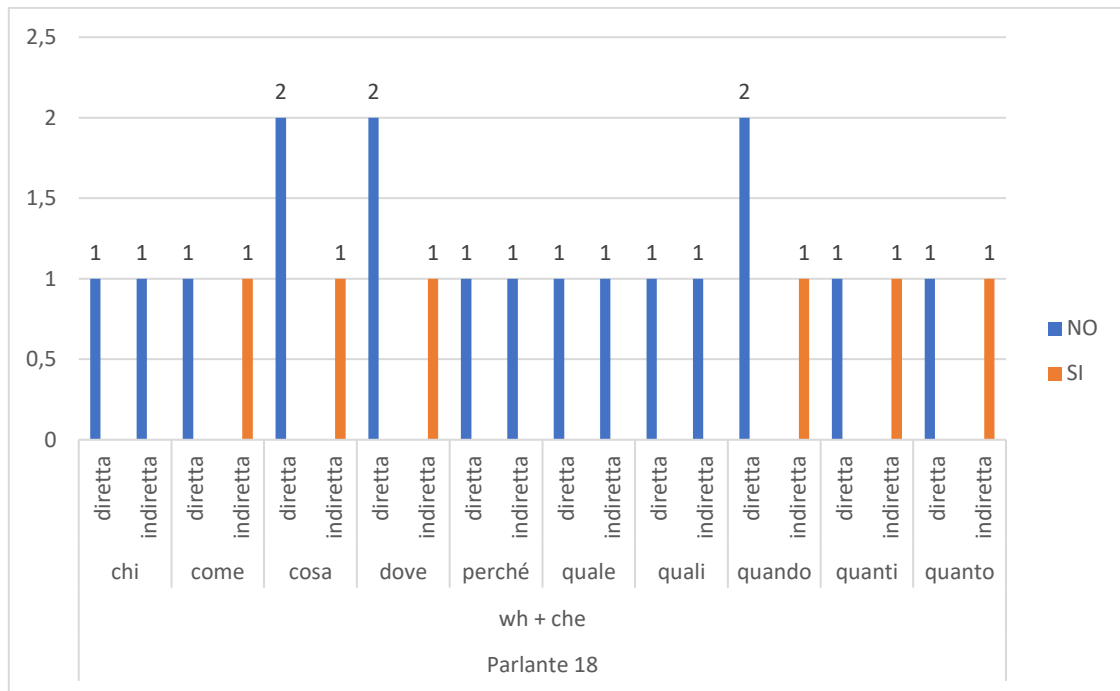


Figure 32 Analysis of the Participant 18

Figure 32 shows that Participant 18 only accepts DFC in embedded sentences, in particular those with the following interrogative pronouns – *how*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *how many* and *how much*. This analysis can be compared to the ones of participants 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13 as previously mentioned. Nevertheless, the ungrammaticality of this structure is prevalent.

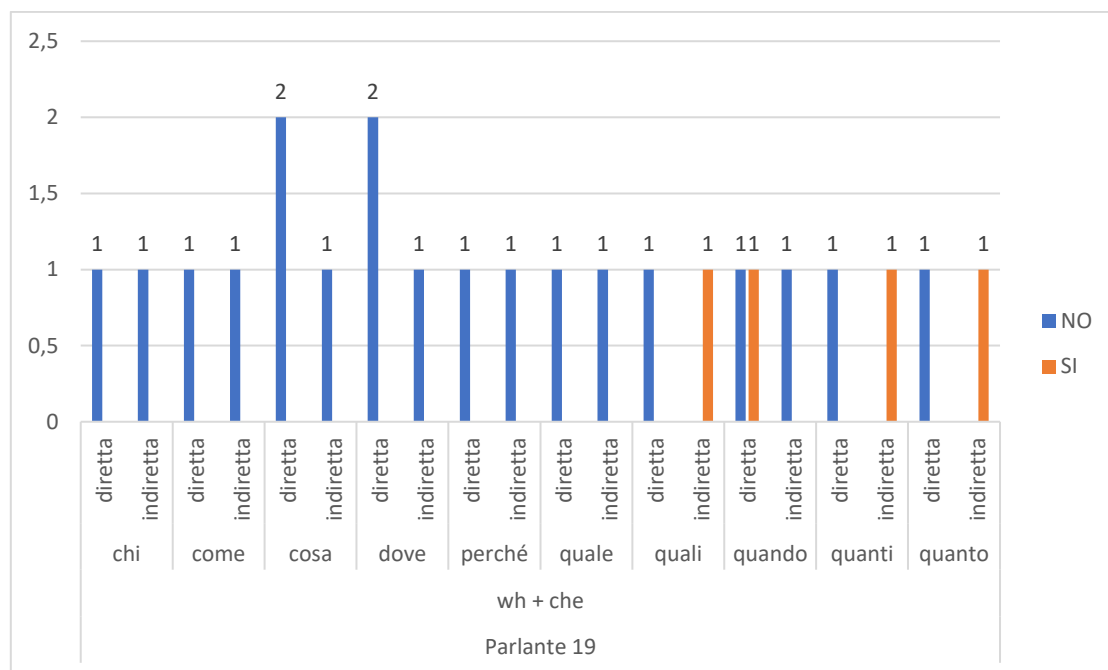


Figure 33 Analysis of the Participant 19

Figure 33 shows a high degree of ungrammaticality of the structure under analysis. Participant 19 accepts DFC in three embedded sentences, specifically those with *which one(s)*, *how many* and *how much*. However, a matrix sentence as well is considered grammatical. Precisely, the one with *when*.

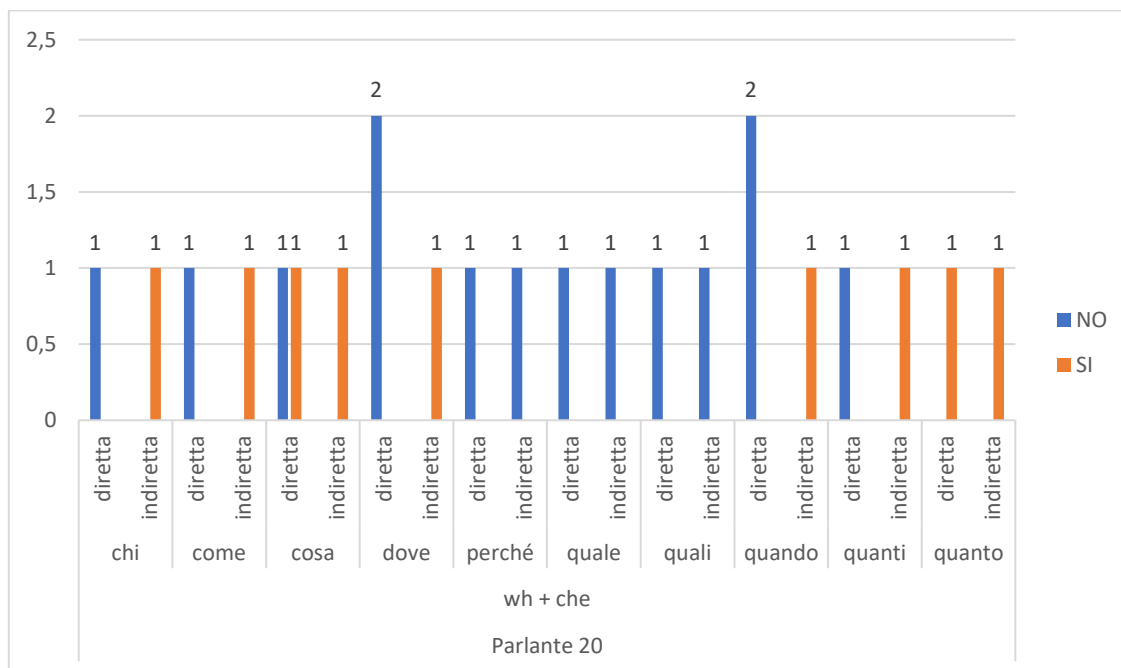


Figure 34 Analysis of the Participant 20

Participant 20 considers the embedded clauses grammatical, while only two matrix sentences are accepted. In this case grammatical matrix clauses are the ones with these interrogative pronouns – *what* and *how much*.

In conclusion, the speaker-by-speaker analysis has confirmed a high degree of microvariation within the Doubly Filled Comp. The most important variable refers to the clause type – specifically, whether it is matrix or embedded. The latter is significantly more frequently accepted as grammatical by participants. With respect to this, some speakers exclusively accepted DFC in embedded clauses. Furthermore, the specific nature of the interrogative pronoun also has an influence on the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, some Wh-elements trigger DFC more than others. What should be done is a comprehensive visualisation of these individual judgements in order to make the analysis as clear as possible. The following table summarises the graphics above:

Table 2 Speaker-by-speaker analysis - grammaticality of DFC

Part.	Who	How	What	Where	Why	Which one	Which one(s)	When	How many	How much
1		E		E				M/E	E	E
2	E	M/E		M/E	E		M/E	E	M/E	M/E
3			E	E					E	E
4	E	E	E	M	E	M	M/E		M/E	M
5	M/E	E	E	M/E	E	E	M/E	M/E	E	E
6	E		E				E			
7	E		E					E		E
8	E	E	E	E						E
9	E	E	E		E	M/E	M/E	M		E
10	M/E		M/E	M		M/E	M/E	M/E	M	M/E
11	M/E		E						E	
12	M		E	M	E	E	M/E	M		E
13			E						E	E
14	E	E	E	E			M/E	E	E	E
15	M/E	E	E	E				E	E	E
16	M/E		M/E	M		E		E		E
17		E	E	M/E	E	M/E	M/E	M/E		E
18		E	E	E				E	E	E
19							E	M	E	E

20	E	E	M/E	E				E	E	M/E
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Table 2 provides a comprehensive visualisation of the data collected in the questionnaire. The structure of this table is organised as follows – the rows refer to the single participant and his/her respective judgement. The columns refer to the specific interrogative pronoun. As for the legend of the table, *Part.* stands for participant. An empty cell indicates that the participant judges DFC as ungrammatical for that respective Wh-item. The letter *E* stands for embedded, meaning that only the embedded sentence containing the respective pronoun is grammatical. Letter *M* exclusively refers to the grammaticality of matrix clauses. Finally, *M/E* indicates that DFC is considered grammatical in both matrix and embedded clauses. This table is highly dominated by E, which means that DFC is more frequent in embedded contexts, while the mere presence of M is extremely rare. Furthermore, the high number of empty cells for the interrogative pronouns *why* and *which one* reveals a restriction for DFC in these two cases. Therefore, the nature of the Wh-element greatly impacts this structure. It is interesting to present a list of the interrogative pronouns from the highest to the lowest degree of grammaticality. Since for the three interrogative pronoun *what*, *where* and *when* the overall sum of tokens is higher, the table is realised through percentages. Specifically, owing to the aggregation of simple and compound tenses, these Wh-items feature 60 total tokens instead of 40. Therefore, the following table presents the grammaticality of DFC with the respective interrogative pronoun in percentages:

Table 3 Percentages of the grammaticality of DFC

Interrogative pronoun	Total tokens	Grammatical	%
How much	40	21	52.5%
Who	40	19	47.5%
Which one(s)	40	18	45%
How many	40	15	37.5%
What	60	20	33.3%

Where	60	20	33.3%
When	60	20	33.3%
How	40	12	30%
Which one	40	10	25%
Why	40	6	15%

According to the percentages presented in Table 3 the hierarchy of the interrogative pronouns is the following:

How much > who > which one(s) > how many > what = where = when > how > which one > why.

Why and *which one* are accepted only by a small minority of participants, therefore they cannot be considered items triggering DFC in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro. Furthermore, the only interrogative pronoun which reaches a grammaticality rate above 50% is *how much*. This suggests that it is the most consistent element associated with DFC.

In conclusion, it is interesting to shortly summarise the analysis of the Doubly Filled Comp within the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro. Firstly, the data reveal that the distinction between simple and compound tense does not influence the distribution of DFC in this case. Therefore, these data have been aggregated in the graphics. Secondly, data show that clefting is not a subsystem of DFC. They are two distinct interrogative structures occurring in complementary distribution. Precisely, clefting is realised in those contexts in which the complementiser adjacent to the interrogative pronoun is restricted. Notably, the analysis of DFC features two fundamental variables within the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro – specifically, the distinction between matrix and embedded clauses and the nature of the interrogative pronoun. Data suggest that DFC is mainly realised in embedded contexts. Furthermore, according to the hierarchy previously presented, *how much* is the Wh-element triggering this structure the most (being the only element reaching a grammaticality rate above 50%), while *why* is the least accepted item.

Chapter 5

Discussion of the findings and concluding remarks

5.1 Brief introduction

The present research aimed at analysing the Doubly Filled Comp within the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro. The primary purpose was to generally investigate interrogative structures featured by this linguistic variety and the respective triggering factors. As the bibliographical chapter underlined, Northern Italian Dialects do not only feature DFC, but also Subject Clitic Inversion, clefting and Wh-in-situ. The investigation has been carried out through Questionnaire number 2 of the ASit, orally administered to 20 participants equally divided between the two villages. The questionnaire consisted of sentences featuring the following variables: the sentence-kind variable (matrix and embedded clauses), the verbal morphology (the distinction between simple and compound tense) and the nature of the interrogative element. Moreover, sentences included DFC, clefting and Subject Clitic Inversion. However, due to the high degree of variation of the data collected, the study specifically focused only on the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon. It would have been interesting to analyse in detail all the interrogative structures, although a more restricted focus was necessary to guarantee a rigorous investigation. Therefore, the present chapter provides a comprehensive discussion of the findings in order to answer the research questions. The analysis is based on the interpretation of the data collected, which will be compared to the theoretical literature and the corpus presented in the methodological chapter.

5.2 Discussion of the findings

This section aims at analysing the data collected in order to answer the initial research questions, which are the following:

RQ1: To what extent do clausal type, verbal morphology and the nature of the Wh-element determine the distribution of the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro?

RQ2: Which syntactic constraints or pragmatic context trigger DFC instead of clefting?

RQ3: How do the data of the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro support the categorisation of *che* as a complementiser or as part of a relative clause?

As previously mentioned, the present research shows a high variation in the data collected, which is clearly visible in the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon itself. The results reveal that DFC does exist in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, although the majority of speakers marks it as ungrammatical. Therefore, this underlines the importance of studying all potential triggering factors. Firstly, the data demonstrate that DFC does not depend on the morphology of the verb. This explains why the data of simple and compound tense have been aggregated in the graphics. Furthermore, what emerges is that the sentence-kind variable is the most crucial one. DFC is predominantly realised in embedded contexts, while its presence in matrix clauses is extremely rare. Notably, in many cases DFC is considered grammatical in both matrix and embedded clauses, as Figure 36 of the previous chapter reveals. This supports Poletto's research (2018) underlining the distinction between matrix and embedded clauses as a crucial factor of DFC. Moreover, the findings also confirm that that DFC was firstly originated in embedded clauses and it was later extended to main clauses, as argued by many authors (Poletto and Vanelli 1997, Poletto and Sanfelici 2021, Pescarini 2025), differently from Parry's results (2003). His research on the Piedmontese dialect precisely revealed the inverse phenomenon –DFC firstly emerged in main questions and later in embedded ones. Furthermore, Garzonio and Poletto's map (2018) – Figure 1, Chapter 2 – showing the distribution of Wh-elements and complementisers in Northern Italy is consistent with the present results, since Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro are situated in an area where DFC is mainly attested in embedded clauses. The second crucial variable of the Doubly Filled Comp is the nature of the interrogative element. The findings led to the construction of

the following hierarchy which is based on the grammatical rates in percentages of DFC with the respective interrogative pronoun:

How much > who > which one(s) > how many > what = where = when > how > which one > why.

Elements such as *why* and *which one* are accepted only by a small minority of participants, therefore they cannot be considered items triggering DFC in the dialect under investigation. On the contrary, the only interrogative pronoun which reaches a grammaticality rate above 50% is *how much*, suggesting that it is the most consistent element associated with DFC. Here is an example of its respective indirect sentence taken from the questionnaire to exemplify:

- (1) Me domando **quat tep che**’l me resta
I wonder how much time I have left

How much is closely followed by the pronoun *who*, which has an acceptability rate of 47.5%:

- (2) Me domando **chi che** te ede stasira
I wonder who you will see tonight

Furthermore, *what*, *where* and *when* occupy the same position within the hierarchy due to their identical rate of acceptability. This may be due to the distinct specifier positions occupied by Wh-items in the CP according to their interpretation and the kind of interrogative element. Generally, Northern dialects display three different forms of Wh-items – clitic, strong (tonic) or weak – and their internal structure may influence their distribution (Munaro, 1999). Although these forms are not present within the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro, a distinct distribution is still visible. Therefore, the answer to the first research question (RQ1) is the following – the clausal type and the nature of the interrogative element do have a high influence on the Doubly Filled Comp

phenomenon, while the verbal morphology does not act as a conditioning factor. The following graphic specifically reveals the two crucial variables aforementioned:

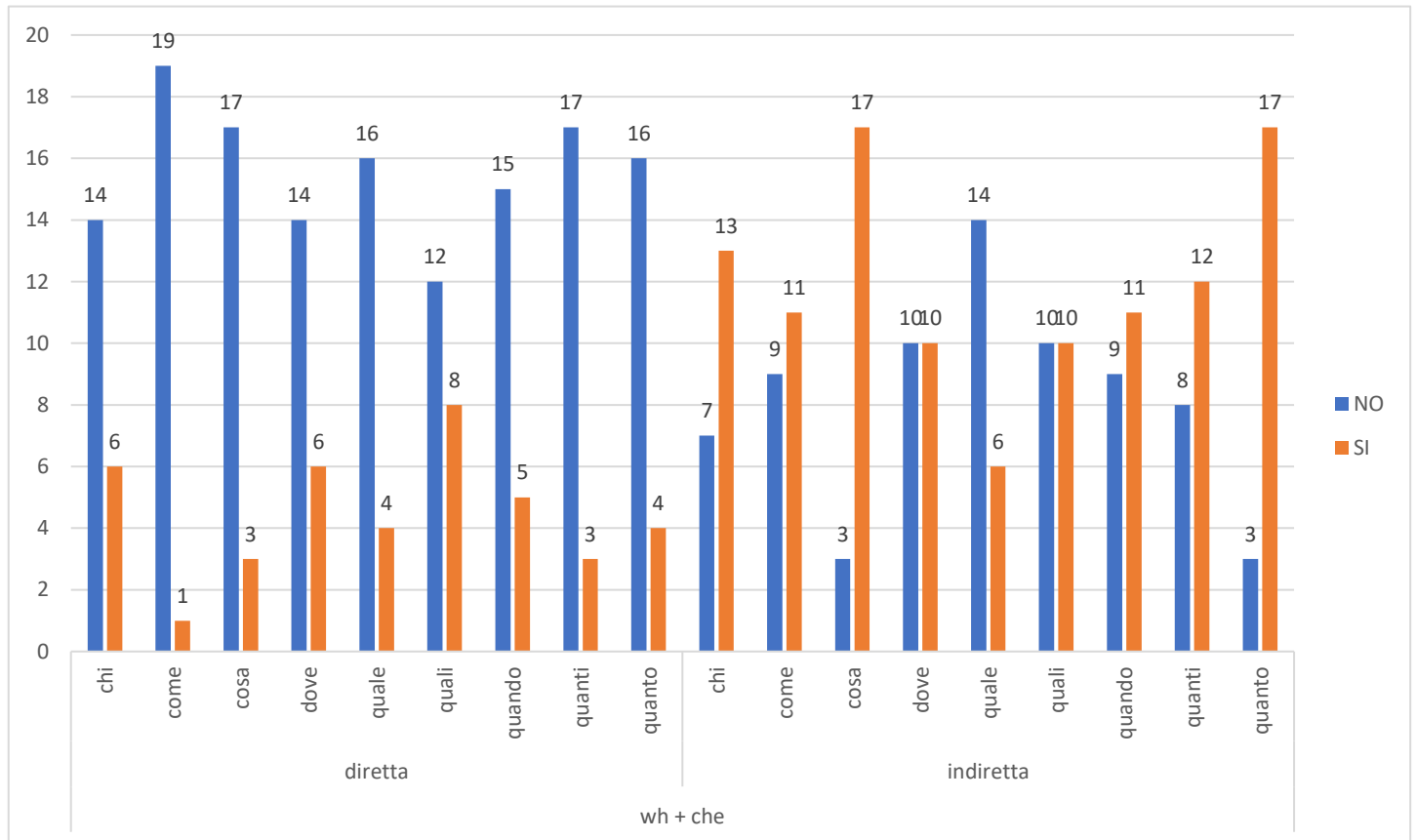


Figure 1 Variables of the Doubly Filled Comp

At this point, it is interesting to carry out a comparison between the previous hierarchy and the table proposed by Poletto (2018: 113) which is here reported:

Interrog.	<i>chi</i>	<i>dove</i>	<i>cosa</i>	<i>quando</i>	<i>che X</i>	<i>quanti X</i>	<i>come</i>	<i>perché</i>
Ticino	<i>che</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trento	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	0	0	0	0	0
Val di Non	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	0	0
Val di Cembra	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>	0	0
Val di Sole	<i>che/0</i>	<i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0/ <i>che</i>	0	0
Veneto	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>che/0</i>

Figure 2 Distribution of the complementiser according to the interrogative pronoun in some Italian varieties

This comparative analysis has revealed both points of convergence and divergence. Notably, the Wh-items *why* and *how* are almost never followed by the complementiser. The same findings are attested in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro as well. In the present research, the DFC sentences with *why* only received 6 positive judgements (exclusively in embedded sentences), whereas those with *how* received 12 positive judgements (including one matrix clause). On the contrary, *how many* reveals an asymmetry, since in this study its grammatical rate is above *what*, *where* and *when*, differently from Poletto's classification. A further discrepancy regards *which one* (corresponding to *che* in the table). In the hierarchy it occupies an intermediate position between *why* and *how*, showing a lower rate of grammaticality compared to Poletto (2018). Moreover, *where*, *what* and *when* are closed to one another both in the table and in the hierarchy. Interestingly, *who* appears to be the most consistent Wh-element within the Doubly Filled Comp, similarly to the data of the present research since in the hierarchy *who* occupies the second position. However, the interrogative element *how much* (the peak of the hierarchy) is not featured in the table above, which is why the comparison treats *who* as the most triggering pronoun. Similarly, also *which one(s)* is absent in the classification, though its comparison cannot be carried out. In addition, this analysis is limited since the table does not feature a detailed and numerical account of the data and no variables are included.

A second important systematic comparison is carried out between the present results and the corpus presented in the methodological chapter (Table 5). The corpus contains sentences featuring DFC taken from Bazzani's work (2011) which reports typical poems and proverbs as well as dialectal translations of fables. What must be noted is that in the corpus the only interrogative pronouns used with complementisers are *when*, *who* (only in 15 sentences), *what* and *how many* (only in 1 sentence). On the contrary, the present research has attested the same grammatical rate for *when* and *what*, while *who* is the most consistent Wh-item within the Doubly Filled Comp. This supports the idea that the nature of the interrogative element has a highly significant influence on DFC. The majority of these sentences featuring DFC are embedded questions both in the corpus and in the questionnaire. Interestingly, only 5 main questions contain DFC in the corpus. Furthermore, Bazzani's work (2011) reveals the phenomenon both in compound and simple tense sentences. This is in line with the results of the questionnaire, the reason

why the data have been aggregated and verbal morphology has not been taken under observation. Crucially, Bazzani (2011) portrayed a conservative form of the dialect, also using terms and expressions which are not part of the daily communication anymore. This leads to the conclusion that the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro has undertaken a social and historical development, which explains why DFC today is used with different Wh-items.

The second research question (RQ2) deals with the distinct interrogative structures featured in Northern Italian dialects. Although the graphics do not display all of them, the present research has not only attested the Doubly Filled Comp, but also clefting (Figure 2, Chapter 4), Subject Clitic Inversion and Wh-in-situ. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, it was necessary to narrow the focus to present a more rigorous study. What emerges from the data is that clefting and DFC are complementary structures which are used in different contexts and the initial hypothesis according to which clefting could have been a subsystem of DFC has been rejected. The findings reveal that clefting is realised in those contexts in which the complementiser adjacent to the interrogative pronoun is restricted. This supports the theoretical account of Poletto and Vanelli (1997) and Pescarini (2025) according to which clefting is in complementary distribution with the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon. Interestingly, this has also been attested in Veneto and Piedmont region.

The third research question (RQ3) concerning the categorisation of the complementiser is the most complex one. Poletto and Sanfelici (2021) proposed that *che* is not a C head item, but it is part of the internal structure of Wh-elements. It represents the spell-out of the internal or external head of a relative clause, which seems to be the only possibility of embedding in natural languages according to this perspective. Similarly, Garzonio and Poletto (2018) pointed out that there are many languages, including Romance, in which Wh-elements both have interrogative and relative functions, leading to the conclusion that a closer connection between them should exist. The findings of the present study reveal that many speakers use the form of the distal demonstrative in the Doubly Filled Comp. Specifically, they use the forms *chel che* or *chei che* instead of the simple complementiser *che*. According to Poletto (2018), the presence of the complementiser *che* depends on the lexical form of *cosa* and the distal demonstrative *kwel* is just one of its forms. Furthermore, it is proved that the complementiser *che* is

compulsory when a dialect uses the form of the distal demonstrative as the interrogative pronoun. Nevertheless, the data collected do not provide enough evidence to precisely answer this question. It would have been interesting to administer a further questionnaire concerning relative clauses to all participants. Therefore, a comparison between the distribution of the complementiser in relative and interrogative sentences could have been made. However, this amplification would have fallen beyond the primary scope of the present research, which guarantees a rigorous investigation through a more restricted focus. Consequently, owing to constraints of time and space of a Master's thesis, this further analysis has not been carried out. Thus, the categorisation of *che* as a complementiser or as part of a relative clause remains an open question, providing an interesting and crucial path for future syntactic research.

In conclusion, the present study provides an account of DFC and its triggering factors within the split-CP domain in the dialect of Bagolino and Ponte Caffaro. The empirical findings reveal that DFC is predominantly used in embedded contexts depending on the nature of the respective interrogative elements. The most consistent Wh-item within this phenomenon is *how much*, closely followed by *who*. Furthermore, the data show that DFC is in complementary distribution with clefting. Therefore, the Doubly Filled Comp phenomenon does exist in the dialect under investigation being in line with the previous literature and with the syntax of Northern Italian Dialects. Nevertheless, the research underlines that dialects are not static. They constantly undergo social and historical developments resulting in the high degree of idiolectal variation as attested in the present study.

Riassunto

La presente ricerca è volta ad indagare il fenomeno del Doubly Filled Comp (DFC) nel dialetto di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro. Si tratta di un fenomeno sintattico ampiamente diffuso nei dialetti del Nord Italia (noti come Northern Italian Dialects – NIDs), il quale è stato attestato anche in alcune varietà germaniche e ceco-slovacche, nonostante la presenza di differenze sintattiche notevoli.

Innanzitutto, è necessario studiare il fenomeno considerando il contesto geografico e linguistico del dialetto in analisi. Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro sono due piccoli paesi montani situati in Lombardia (nella provincia di Brescia) e confinanti con il Trentino Alto Adige. Questa vicinanza è molto rilevante, in quanto la varietà lombarda subisce influenze da quella trentina. In particolare, il paese di Ponte Caffaro, essendo situato più in basso lungo la valle, ne è maggiormente soggetto data la sua posizione strategica di scambio con i territori circostanti. Diversamente, Bagolino si trova in un'area montana e, di conseguenza, il suo dialetto ha mantenuto un carattere più arcaico e puro. Tuttavia, il dialetto di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro è trattato come un unico sistema linguistico ai fini della presente ricerca. Lo studio ha infatti dimostrato l'esistenza di alcune differenze lessicali e morfologiche tra le due varietà, ma il fenomeno sintattico in analisi viene trattato in ugual modo.

Questa varietà appartiene ai dialetti del Nord Italia e, precisamente, ai dialetti Gallo-Italici. All'interno di questa famiglia, i dialetti lombardi sono ulteriormente suddivisi a seconda dell'area geografica: i dialetti lombardi occidentali o cisabduani (per esempio le province di Milano, Varese e Como), i dialetti lombardi orientali o transabduani (per esempio le province di Brescia e Bergamo) e, infine, i dialetti alpini lombardi (per esempio la Valle Spluga e l'Alta Valle dell'Adda). Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro, dunque, appartengono ai dialetti lombardi orientali. Tale classificazione deriva da un noto studio di dialettologia, disciplina che tende a classificare i dialetti e i loro confini linguistici tramite isoglosse. La dialettologia italiana si è sviluppata durante il XIX secolo grazie a Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, studioso che fondò la rivista *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* nel 1873 (Loporcaro, 2009: 20). L'approccio utilizzato inizialmente era di tipo diacronico, basato sulla descrizione dell'evoluzione dei dialetti a partire dal latino. Solo successivamente, Ferdinand de Saussure ha proposto l'approccio sincronico, focalizzato

sullo studio del dialetto come sistema autonomo (Loporcaro, 2009). L'isoglossa italiana principale è la cosiddetta La Spezia-Rimini formulata da Wartburg nel 1936 e successivamente rinominata Massa Carrara-Senigallia da Pellegrini nel 1977 (Loporcaro, 2009: 21). Essa traccia una linea di divisione netta tra i dialetti nordici e centro-meridionali passando per gli Appennini tra la Toscana e l'Emilia Romagna.

È importante sottolineare come Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro hanno un passato storico denso di eventi e di alleanze. La più importante fra tutte è quella con la Repubblica di Venezia, la cosiddetta Serenissima, i cui effetti culturali e linguistici sono ancora ben visibili oggi. Esistono infatti alcuni termini dialettali che derivano dalla varietà veneta, come dimostrato da Bazzani e Melzani (2002). Questa breve premessa geografica e linguistica risulta necessaria al fine di inquadrare il dialetto in analisi e analizzarne gli aspetti sintattici.

Come precedentemente accennato, la tesi si focalizza sullo studio del Doubly Filled Comp (DFC), che non si tratta dell'unico fenomeno di interesse per la sintassi moderna. Altre strutture legate alla frase interrogativa sono l'Inversione del Clitico-Soggetto (SCI), le frasi scisse (clefting), il Wh-in-situ e il Wh-Doubling, di seguito esemplificate:

(1) **DFC**

Me domando **chi che** vegnerà a la nostra festa (Pescarini, 2025: 2-9)

*I wonder who that will come to our party

(2) **SCI**

Cossa fa-**lo**? (Poletto, 2000: 42)

What does-he?

(3) **Fraasi scisse**

Chi **ze che** ga magnà qua? (Poletto e Vanelli, 1997: 114)

Who is that has eaten here?

(4) **Wh-in-situ**

Falo **che**? (Poletto e Vanelli, 1997: 116)

What does he do?

(5) **Wh-doubling**

Sa fa i **kossa**? (Garzonio et al., 2023: 1)

What do they what?

Tuttavia, data la grande varietà di dati raccolti, la presente ricerca è focalizzata solamente sul DFC al fine di proporre uno studio più rigoroso e completo. Il DFC consiste nella copresenza del complementatore (*che*) e del pronome interrogativo ed è stato inizialmente formalizzato da Chomsky e Lasnik (1977) attraverso il filtro del DFC, il quale spiega l'impossibilità di materiale lessicale sia nello specificatore sia nella testa della stessa proiezione. Nonostante sia considerato agrammaticale nell'italiano standard, il DFC è ampiamente diffuso nei dialetti nordici, motivo per cui diversi studiosi hanno cercato di trovare una soluzione a questa apparente violazione. Secondo Pescarini (2025), il complementatore e l'elemento interrogativo occupano proiezioni distinte, rispettivamente FinP e una testa più alta. Diverso è l'approccio di Poletto e Sanfelici (2021), che contesta l'idea che il complementatore sia una testa C. Secondo loro, *che* funge da testa nominale esterna di una struttura relativa e, di conseguenza, fa parte della struttura interna dell'elemento interrogativo. Lo stretto legame tra frasi interrogative e frasi relative "libere" è stato ulteriormente dimostrato da Garzonio e Poletto (2018), secondo cui, in alcune lingue Romanze, gli elementi interrogativi hanno sia la funzione interrogativa sia relativa. Un altro studio importante è quello di Poletto (2018) che dimostra tre fattori che tendono a bloccare o attivare la presenza del complementatore dopo il pronome interrogativo nelle frasi indirette:

- a) La distinzione tra frasi interrogative dirette e indirette;
- b) La posizione preverbale o post-verbale del soggetto;
- c) La natura del pronome interrogativo.

(Poletto, 2018: 111)

Inoltre, secondo Poletto (2018), la presenza del complementatore dopo il pronome interrogativo *cosa* può dipendere dai diversi tipi della sua forma lessicale. La prima è

kosa, un classificatore etimologicamente “leggero”. La seconda forma è *ke*, ovvero l’elemento interrogativo puro che ha origine dalla radice indo-europea. La forma di interesse ai fini del presente studio è il pronome dimostrativo distale – *kwel*, in quanto il questionario ha rivelato risultati simili. È stato infatti dimostrato che il complementatore è obbligatorio nel caso in cui il dialetto utilizza la forma dimostrativa distale come pronome interrogativo. In aggiunta, è importante sottolineare come molti autori (Poletto e Vanelli 1997, Poletto e Sanfelici 2021) credono che il Doubly Filled Comp abbia origine nelle frasi indirette e che si sia in seguito esteso alle frasi principali.

Nonostante la presente ricerca sia focalizzata solamente sul DFC, altri fenomeni sintattici caratterizzano i dialetti del Nord Italia, di seguito esemplificati. L’inversione del Clitico-Soggetto (SCI) consiste nella posizione post-verbale del clitico, tipico delle frasi interrogative. Le frasi scisse sono composte da una frase principale, contenente l’elemento interrogativo e la copula, e da una frase subordinata da cui si muove l’elemento interrogativo. Sono molto frequenti nei contesti in cui è il soggetto ad essere interrogato e sono vietate nei contesti subordinati. È interessante sottolineare come, diversamente dal DFC, le frasi scisse hanno avuto origine nelle frasi principali e si sono poi estese a quelle indirette. Il Wh-in-situ avviene quando il pronome interrogativo non si sposta in posizione iniziale, ma rimane all’interno del VP, assumendo una forma morfologica differente, come dimostrato dall’esempio del dialetto di Rovato (Brescia), in cui il pronome interrogativo *cosa* diventa *cusè* in posizione iniziale e *chi* in-situ (Poletto e Vanelli, 1997). Secondo Manzini e Savoia (2005), esistono tre diverse forme di Wh-in-situ: il *Wh in stricto sensu*, il Wh-in-situ basico e quello derivante da un *remnant movement*. Il Wh-Doubling (WhD), invece, è una struttura rara in cui il pronome interrogativo si trova sia in posizione iniziale sia in-situ. Secondo gli autori, il pronome interrogativo presente nella periferia sinistra della frase è fonologicamente e morfologicamente più “leggero” rispetto a quello in-situ. Inoltre, esiste un’ulteriore variante del WhD, la cosiddetta “operator Wh-Doubling”, in cui l’elemento nella periferia sinistra è una forma del pronome *cosa*, mentre il pronome in-situ corrisponde alla forma tonica dell’elemento interrogato. Garzonio (et al. 2023) sottolinea come quest’ultima variante sia attestata soprattutto nei dialetti lombardi e veneti con lo scopo di esprimere disapprovazione nei confronti delle azioni dell’interlocutore. È importante aggiungere che, sebbene il Wh-in-situ e il Wh-Doubling siano spesso considerati parte dello stesso fenomeno, Munaro e Poletto (2023) hanno

dimostrato l'esistenza di proprietà distribuzionali diverse e, di conseguenza, non possono essere analizzate come un fenomeno unitario. Sarebbe stato molto interessante analizzare tutte le strutture sopra menzionate al fine di proporre un'analisi completa e chiara della periferia sinistra del dialetto di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro. Tuttavia, data la grande quantità di dati raccolti, è stato preferibile concentrarsi solamente sul Doubly Filled Comp in modo tale da proporre uno studio maggiormente accurato e dettagliato.

Per comprendere il Doubly Filled Comp nel dialetto di Ponte Caffaro e Bagolino è stato necessario adottare l'approccio cartografico di Cinque e Rizzi (2012), il cui scopo è quello di tracciare mappe sintattiche dettagliate e precise. L'analisi ruota attorno alla periferia sinistra della frase, ossia il sintagma del complementatore (CP). Secondo quanto formulato da Rizzi (1997), il CP rappresenta il costituente più alto della struttura frasale e ospita elementi come i pronomi interrogativi, i pronomi relativi, gli elementi di "focus" e di "topic". Sulla base della scomposizione del sintagma flessivo (IP), la struttura del CP viene suddivisa in distinte proiezioni funzionali (Rizzi, 1997):

(6) Force ... (Top*) ... Foc ... (Top*) ... Fin IP

La successiva letteratura (Rizzi, 2001) ha introdotto un'ulteriore proiezione funzionale necessaria per l'analisi delle strutture interrogative – IntP (Interrogative Phrase) – che si colloca immediatamente sotto la forza illocutiva (Force) e sopra la topicalizzazione (Top). La scomposizione della periferia sinistra rappresenta l'infrastruttura sintattica fondamentale per analizzare il fenomeno interrogativo del Doubly Filled Comp.

Tutti gli elementi teorici descritti forniscono un termine di paragone per i dati raccolti durante lo studio e hanno portato alla formulazione delle seguenti domande di ricerca:

RQ1: In che misura le variabili come il tipo di frase (diretta vs indiretta), la morfologia verbale (tempo semplice vs tempo composto) e il tipo di pronomi interrogativo determinano la distribuzione del DFC nel dialetto di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro?

RQ2: Quali vincoli sintattici o contesti pragmatici innescano il DFC rispetto alle frasi scisse?

RQ3: Secondo i dati raccolti durante la ricerca, *che* viene classificato come complementatore oppure come parte di una frase relativa?

Al fine di rispondere a tali domande, sono stati selezionati 20 parlanti nativi equamente divisi tra i due paesi di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro. I partecipanti hanno risposto oralmente al questionario 2 dell'ASIt composto da 109 frasi interrogative, di cui 40 filler. Il questionario era originariamente composto da frasi dichiarative, alcune delle quali sono state conservate e trasformate in frasi filler. In aggiunta, sono state inserite tutte le frasi interrogative di interesse costruite ad hoc secondo i fini della ricerca. Le frasi filler sono di cruciale importanza in quanto evitano che i parlanti capiscano il fenomeno investigato e ne vengano conseguentemente influenzati nelle risposte. Inoltre, sono stati introdotti volontariamente degli errori in modo tale da valutare l'affidabilità di ogni individuo. A tal proposito, il ventunesimo partecipante è stato escluso dallo studio in quanto non ha riconosciuto alcuni errori inclusi nelle frasi filler. Il questionario è stato costruito secondo alcune variabili – il tipo di pronomi interrogativi (cosa, chi, quando, dove, come, perché, quale, quali, quanto, quanti), la struttura interrogativa (l'inversione clitico-soggetto, il Doubly Filled Comp e le frasi scisse), il tipo di frase (diretta o indiretta) e la morfologia del verbo (tempo semplice o composto). Queste variabili derivano dalla letteratura già esistente sul DFC e l'obiettivo era quello di dimostrare o confutare tali teorie. Durante l'amministrazione del questionario, ogni partecipante è stato registrato al fine di compilare in maniera accurata le tabelle Excel (visibili in Appendice B), grazie alle quali è stato possibile confrontare i dati e giungere alle relative conclusioni. Di conseguenza, è stato richiesto a ognuno di loro di firmare l'informativa privacy e di consentire al trattamento dei dati. Il compito dei parlanti era quello di ascoltare le frasi e di confermarne o meno la loro grammaticalità, proponendo, qualora lo desiderassero, la propria versione. Oltre a ciò, sono state anche effettuate domande personali al fine di disegnare un quadro sociolinguistico di ognuno (età, professione, luogo di nascita, lavoro, uso quotidiano del dialetto, provenienza dei genitori e lingua parlata dagli stessi, esperienze all'estero o fuori dal paese per un periodo superiore a 5 anni). Prima di proporre il questionario su larga

scala (visibile in Appendice A), è stato condotto un test con due partecipanti, qui nominati X e Y. Lo scopo era quello di comprendere se l'intervista avesse una durata consona, fosse comprensibile e, qualora necessario, applicare delle modifiche. Entrambi i parlanti non hanno incontrato difficoltà durante l'esecuzione del test. Tuttavia, si sono accorti che il questionario ruotava attorno alla presenza del complementatore, motivo per cui sono stati successivamente aggiunti degli errori alle frasi filler. Inoltre, entrambi hanno considerato errate alcune frasi dichiarative standard, ossia quelle con il soggetto e il verbo, proponendo in alternativa l'inversione del clitico-soggetto. Di conseguenza, quest'ultima variabile è stata introdotta nel questionario finale. Le interviste con i parlanti X e Y hanno avuto una durata rispettivamente di 16 e 23 minuti. Il compito degli intervistati era quello di marcare la frase come grammaticale o non grammaticale. Tuttavia, è capitato spesso che non dessero un giudizio esplicito, ma pronunciassero direttamente la loro versione. Per questo motivo è stato necessario adottare dei criteri univoci in merito alla grammaticalità del fenomeno in analisi. Sono state considerate corrette quelle frasi in cui venivano modificati aspetti lessicali o morfologici come, per esempio, la forma dell'infinito del verbo, l'utilizzo di termini differenti oppure l'aggiunta di particelle enfatiche. È stato inoltre accettato l'uso della forma distale del pronome *cosa* - *kwel*.

Tutto ciò che è stato descritto finora funge da punto di partenza per la raccolta e la successiva analisi dei dati, organizzati in grafici secondo le variabili sopra menzionate. È importante sottolineare come la morfologia del verbo non ha riscontrato rilevanza ai fini del DFC. Questo fenomeno, infatti, si realizza sia nelle frasi con il tempo composto sia con quello semplice. Di conseguenza, i dati relativi alla morfologia del verbo sono stati aggregati. Il DFC è stato analizzato tramite due tipologie principali di grafici – quelli che si concentrano su un unico pronome interrogativo, mostrando la grammaticalità delle frasi secondo il parlante e quelli che, in alternativa, si concentrano solo su un singolo parlante, mostrando i suoi giudizi su tutti i pronomi interrogativi, suddivisi in base alla tipologia di frase (diretta e indiretta). Inoltre, sono stati aggiunti dei grafici che mostrano l'insieme dei dati raccolti sia per il DFC sia per le frasi scisse. Tuttavia, durante l'analisi dei dati è emerso un errore all'interno del questionario, in quanto il pronome interrogativo *perché* è stato solamente inserito nelle frasi con il tempo composto. Ciò deriva dalla frase utilizzata “perché piangi?”, la quale in dialetto viene meglio realizzata nel seguente modo “perché stai piangendo?”, similmente alla frase indiretta “dimmi perché stai piangendo”.

Questo spiega l'assenza dell'elemento *perché* dai grafici generali sul Doubly Filled Comp e sulle frasi scisse, in quanto i dati sono stati aggregati. Sarebbe stato infatti impossibile garantire la proporzionalità dei risultati in mancanza del tempo semplice. Tuttavia, è stato creato un apposito grafico al fine di mostrarne la distribuzione.

Per quanto riguarda la prima domanda di ricerca si può concludere che il DFC effettivamente esiste nel dialetto di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro, nonostante sia considerato agrammaticale nella maggior parte dei casi. I dati dimostrano come la morfologia del verbo non sia rilevante a tal fine, in quanto il DFC viene realizzato sia con il tempo semplice sia composto. La variabile più importante è la distinzione tra frase diretta e indiretta, in quanto il DFC viene prevalentemente realizzato nei contesti subordinati, mentre il suo uso nelle frasi principali è molto raro. Questa conclusione supporta l'ipotesi di Poletto (2018) in merito all'influenza della tipologia della frase sul DFC e di Poletto e Vanelli (1997), Poletto e Sanfelici (2021) e Pescarini (2025), secondo i quali il DFC ha avuto origine nelle frasi subordinate ed è stato in seguito esteso a quelle principali. La seconda variabile fondamentale è la natura del pronome interrogativo. I dati raccolti hanno permesso di costruire la seguente gerarchia:

How much > who > which one(s) > how many > what = where = when > how > which one > why.

Essa mostra i vari pronomi interrogativi in ordine decrescente in base al loro utilizzo a fianco del complementatore. *Perché* (why) tende a non attivare il fenomeno del DFC, diversamente da *quanto* (how much) che è l'unico pronome ad essere considerato grammaticale dalla maggior parte dei parlanti, con una percentuale del 52,2%. Nella gerarchia, *quanto* è subito seguito da *chi*, con una percentuale di grammaticalità del 47,5%. Queste cifre sono particolarmente interessanti, in quanto confermano lo studio di Poletto (2018), la cui tabella riassuntiva dei pronomi interrogativi è visibile nel Capitolo 2, Figura 2. Secondo Poletto, il pronome interrogativo più presente insieme al complementatore è *chi* (who), il quale occupa il secondo posto nella gerarchia sopra presentata. Tuttavia, questo dato dipende dal fatto che in Poletto (2018) non è analizzato l'elemento *quanto* (how much). È stato inoltre effettuato un confronto tra i dati raccolti durante la ricerca e il corpus creato ad hoc sulla base del testo di Bazzani (2011)

presentato nel Capitolo 3, Tabella 5, a seguito del quale è possibile confermare l'esistenza del DFC solo nei contesti subordinati e l'elevata influenza da parte della natura del pronome interrogativo. Il corpus ha inoltre dimostrato l'utilizzo del DFC indipendentemente dalla tipologia del tempo verbale, confermando maggiormente i risultati ottenuti. Tuttavia, questo confronto ha rilevato come i dialetti non siano statici, ma in continuo mutamento. Questa conclusione deriva dal fatto che il DFC continua ad essere utilizzato, ma con pronomi interrogativi differenti rispetto al passato. Bazzani (2011), infatti, ha cercato di raccogliere e tradurre fiabe, favole e tipici proverbi dialettali utilizzando un dialetto più arcaico e conservativo. La dinamicità dei dialetti dipende molto dal mutamento sociale e dalla lingua standard. Come sottolineato da Melzani (citato in Bazzani, 2011), infatti, l'italiano ha causato una mutazione dei dialetti in seguito alla diffusione di programmi televisivi e radio, di maggiori relazioni commerciali, del turismo e dell'utilizzo quasi esclusivo dell'italiano nelle comunicazioni quotidiane.

La seconda domanda di ricerca è stata elaborata analizzando e confrontando i grafici contenenti i dati aggregati delle frasi scisse e del Doubly Filled Comp. È emerso che le due strutture sono utilizzate in contesti differenti, confutando l'ipotesi iniziale secondo cui le frasi scisse fossero un sottoinsieme del DFC, supportando lo studio di Poletto e Vanelli (1997) e Pescarini (2025). Una conclusione simile è attestata in altre zone del Nord Italia, come in Veneto e in Piemonte, diversamente dalla Liguria in cui si nota una simile distribuzione tra le frasi scisse e il DFC.

La terza domanda di ricerca riguarda la categorizzazione di *che* come complementatore o come parte della frase relativa. Tale quesito nasce dalla proposta teorica di Poletto e Sanfelici (2021) secondo cui *che* non occupa la testa del CP, ma fa parte della struttura interna del pronome interrogativo stesso, comportandosi come testa nominale di una struttura relativa libera. Se ciò fosse corretto, *che* non sarebbe un complementatore e ciò spiegherebbe perché il Doubly Filled Comp non sia soggetto al filtro formulato da Chomsky e Lasnik (1977). Tuttavia, i dati raccolti non hanno permesso di elaborare questo quesito, poiché il questionario è stato costruito solamente sulla base di frasi interrogative. Sarebbe stato necessario svolgere un ulteriore questionario focalizzato esclusivamente sulle frasi relative del dialetto di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro, al fine di confrontarle con quelle interrogative e capirne la distribuzione. Tuttavia, questa

domanda aperta lascia spazio a future ricerche con la speranza che la varietà in analisi possa essere maggiormente studiata anche da una prospettiva sintattica.

In conclusione, è importante sottolineare come la tematica di questa tesi non sia casuale. Nonostante il dialetto di Bagolino e Ponte Caffaro sia già stato precedentemente studiato da una prospettiva lessicale e morfologica, come dimostra il Dizionario di Bazzani e Melzani (2002), non esiste nessuna analisi sintattica dello stesso. Il Dizionario, infatti, ha lo scopo di raccogliere elementi lessicali e di proporne la relativa traduzione, oltre all'aggiunta di aspetti morfologici legati alle declinazioni verbali, ai pronomi interrogativi, relativi e soggetto (da cui derivano le tabelle presenti nel Capitolo 1), e altre parole funzionali importanti per la varietà linguistica. La volontà di colmare la mancanza sintattica deriva anche dallo stretto legame con il territorio, che ha permesso di utilizzare una prospettiva interna rilevante.

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Appendix A – Dialectal survey

QUESTIONARIO GENERALE PER I DIALETTI SETTENTRIONALI

Gentile informatore, Le sottoponiamo una serie di frasi e La preghiamo di volerle gentilmente tradurre nella sua parlata nativa.

Il questionario ha lo scopo di indagare alcune proprietà sintattiche della sua parlata. Lei può quindi usare una trascrizione molto semplice e basata sull'ortografia italiana, purché sufficientemente chiara; nel rendere la sua intuizione personale, faccia pure uso di segni speciali aggiuntivi, il cui valore deve però risultare chiaro.

È importante che la versione dialettale sia, per quanto è possibile, vicina alla forma data in italiano, purché essa risulti naturale. Si possono fornire anche versioni alternative.

Se Lei è possibile far compilare una copia del questionario ad altri parlanti della sua varietà dialettale o a parlanti di dialetti vicini, ci farà cosa molto gradita.

La preghiamo di restituire il questionario compilato usando l'acclusa busta affrancata.

Ringraziamo vivamente per la preziosa collaborazione.

1. Quand'è che 'l ria el treno?
2. End' el che te metì la pena?
3. Capeso mia perche che te si dre a piansì
4. La egnarà la to sarur (sorela)
5. Endo che te metì la pena?
6. So mia che lober leser
7. Me domando chi che te ede stasira
8. Vores saì come che'l funsiuna
9. Quand che le rià el treno?
10. La mangia mai frutta, chela gnara
11. Dim co che te dise a Maria
12. Che lober che te preferese?
13. Quand che'l ria el treno?
14. Mangio en pom

15. Vores saì endo che te ve
16. Quand l'è ria el treno?
17. Com'è che te fe a sail?
18. Me domando chi edet stasira
19. Che film che te pias de pio?
20. Dim endo le nà Giorgio
21. Elè les en lober de storia
22. Te se che film che ghe pias de pio
23. El pio piof
24. Quand'è che le rià el treno?
25. Se dis mia isé
26. Vores saì end el che te ve
27. Maria la partida doma
28. End'el che te mete la pena?
29. Argiù IE riarà en retardo
30. Carlo, che'l mangia tat, le pio magher de te
31. So mia che lober che leser
32. Endo che te mete la pena?
33. So mia co fal Gianni
34. Cos'è che te dise a Maria?
35. Quand riel el treno?
36. Chi che te ede stasira?
37. Le fomle che le sneta le scale ie nade lè
38. Perche è che te si dre a piansi?

39. Negiù l'ha mangià la menestra
40. Dim cos'è che te dise a Maria
41. Le dre a rià el postì
42. Chei che ie i film che te pias de pio?
43. I ma domandà quand che'l ria el treno
44. Qual el el lober che te preferese?
45. I to fioi (sgiai), che i studia semper, i va olentera a sciola
46. Quat spendet per el pa?
47. L'om che'l sneta le scale le malà
48. Che film te pias de pio?
49. Perche te si dre a piansi?
50. So mia che lober è che leser
51. Che el dormo Gianni
52. Se dis isé
53. I ma domandà quand el ria el treno
54. Ho tot capì
55. Chi è che te ede stasira?
56. Quac solc ei che te spende per la sciola?
57. Gom mia da rià tarde
58. Gnari i mangia le caramele
59. Te cumpre mai i pom
60. Come te fe a sail?
61. Quac solc te spende per la sciola?
62. Dim co te dise a Maria

63. Dim chi che'l ve stasira
64. Capeso mia perche è che te si dre a piansì
65. Vores sai endo te ve
66. (Chet) det a Maria?
67. Te si te che te la cumpre semper
68. Te si te che te ole mia capì
69. Ho mia capì quac lober che i serf
70. Quac solc che te spende per la sciola?
71. Me domando chi è che te ede stasira
72. Endo te mete la pena?
73. I ma domandà quand'è che 'l ria el treno
74. Chi edet stasira?
75. Vores sai com'è che'l funsiuna
76. Me domando quat tep me resta
77. La menestra che la fa la to mare le prope buna
78. Te se chei che ie i film che ghe pias de pio
79. Vo a ché
80. Ho mia capì quac ei i lober che i serf
81. La fomla che t'è enconrà ier le la me sia
82. Maria la part domà
83. Mangio e bio per sta alegher
84. Te dorve semper la stesa machina
85. Me domando quat tep che'l me resta
86. Che te det che a Maria?

87. Ho mia capì quac l'ober i serf
88. Vores saì come 'l funsiuna
89. Endo et metì la pena?
90. Quat el che te spende per el pa?
91. Perche che te si dre a piansì?
92. El ma ist negiù
93. Come che te fe a sail?
94. El gnaro che ho ist ier l'è partì
95. Me su nasì che, cogneso bè el pais
96. Dim chel che la mangia Maria
97. Cos'è che te det a Maria?
98. I ne parla toc
99. Te se che film ghe pias de pio?
100. Co diset che a Maria?
101. El gnaro che el ria domà se ciama Piero
102. Te te parle trop e ei i parla trop poc
103. Quat che te spende per el pa?
104. Che l'ober prefereset?
105. Maria, che te cognese po a te, l'è a Napoli
106. Me domando quat tep el che el me resta
107. Gom da partì
108. Capeso mia perche te si dre a piansì
109. Co diset a Maria?

QUESTIONARIO COMPILATO:

NELLA PARLATA DI (nome del PAESE).....

PROVINCIA.....REGIONE.....

ANNO DI COMPILAZIONE del QUESTIONARIO.....

Ha modo di parlare dialetto? molto spesso poco quasi
mai

Dove? in famiglia al lavoro con gli amici

Luogo di nascita della madre.....

Lingua parlata in famiglia dalla madre.....

Luogo di nascita del padre.....

Lingua parlata in famiglia dal padre.....

Autorizzazione al trattamento dei dati personali in conformità alla legge 675/96, art. 13, finalizzato alla creazione di un archivio dati informativi a stretto uso dei ricercatori coinvolti nel progetto ASIS (Atlante Sintattico Italia Settentrionale) attualmente in corso di svolgimento presso l'Università degli Studi di Padova.

NOME.....COGNOME.....

NATO A.....IL.....

INDIRIZZO.....

TEL.....E-MAIL.....

PROFESSIONE.....

Il parlante è stato più di 5 anni fuori dal paese o all'estero?

Appendix B – Data collected

FRASE	TIPO DI WH	TIPO FRASE	TEMPO VERBALE	TIPO STRUTTURA	GRAMMATICALITÀ	PERSONA
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 1
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 2
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 3
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 4
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 5
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 6
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 7
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 8
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 9
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 10
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 11
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 12
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 13
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 14
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 15
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 16
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 17
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 18
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 19
Co diset a Maria?	cosa	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 20
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 1
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 2
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 3
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 4
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 5
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 6
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 7
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 8
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 9
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 10
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 11
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 12
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 13
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 14
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 15
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 16
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 17
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 18
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 19
(Chet) det a Maria?	cosa	diretta	composto	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 20

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Dim cos'è che te dise a Maria	cosa	indiretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 16
Dim cos'è che te dise a Maria	cosa	indiretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 17
Dim cos'è che te dise a Maria	cosa	indiretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 18
Dim cos'è che te dise a Maria	cosa	indiretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 19
Dim cos'è che te dise a Maria	cosa	indiretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 20
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 1
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 2
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 3
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 4
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 5
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 6
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 7
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 8
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 9
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 10
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 11
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 12
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 13
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 14
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 15
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 16
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 17
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 18
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 19
Chi edet stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 20
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 1
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 2
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 3
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 4
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 5
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 6
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 7
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 8
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 9
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 10
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 11
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 12
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 13
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 14
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 15
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 16
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 17
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 18
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 19
Chi che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 20

Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 1
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	SI	Parlante 2
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 3
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 4
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 5
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 6
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 7
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 8
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 9
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	SI	Parlante 10
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 11
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 12
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 13
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	SI	Parlante 14
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 15
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 16
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	SI	Parlante 17
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 18
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 19
Chi è che te ede stasira?	chi	diretta	semplice	cleft	NO	Parlante 20
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 1
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 2
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 3
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 4
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 5
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 6
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 7
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 8
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 9
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 10
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 11
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 12
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 13
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 14
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 15
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 16
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 17
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 18
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 19
Me domando chi edet stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 20
Me domando chi che te ede stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 1
Me domando chi che te ede stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 2
Me domando chi che te ede stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 3
Me domando chi che te ede stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 4
Me domando chi che te ede stasira	chi	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 5

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 1
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	SI	Parlante 2
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 3
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 4
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	SI	Parlante 5
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 6
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 7
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 8
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	SI	Parlante 9
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	SI	Parlante 10
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 11
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	SI	Parlante 12
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 13
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 14
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 15
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	SI	Parlante 16
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	SI	Parlante 17
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 18
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 19
End'el che te metì la pena?	dove	diretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 20
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 1
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 2
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 3
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 4
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 5
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 6
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 7
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 8
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 9
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 10
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 11
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 12
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 13
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 14
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 15
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 16
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 17
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 18
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 19
Vores saì endo te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 20
Vores saì endo che te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 1
Vores saì endo che te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 2
Vores saì endo che te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 3
Vores saì endo che te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 4
Vores saì endo che te ve	dove	indiretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 5

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Capeso mia perche è che te si dre a piansi	perché	indiretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 16
Capeso mia perche è che te si dre a piansi	perché	indiretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 17
Capeso mia perche è che te si dre a piansi	perché	indiretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 18
Capeso mia perche è che te si dre a piansi	perché	indiretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 19
Capeso mia perche è che te si dre a piansi	perché	indiretta	composto	cleft	NO	Parlante 20
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 1
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 2
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 3
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 4
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 5
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 6
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 7
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 8
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 9
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 10
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 11
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 12
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 13
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 14
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 15
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 16
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 17
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 18
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	NO	Parlante 19
Che lober prefereset?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + verbo	SI	Parlante 20
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 1
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 2
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 3
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 4
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 5
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 6
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 7
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 8
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 9
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 10
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 11
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 12
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 13
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 14
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 15
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 16
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	SI	Parlante 17
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 18
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 19
Che lober che te preferese?	quale	diretta	semplice	wh + che	NO	Parlante 20

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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