

**On the  $\nu$ P periphery of Camuno  
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This paper investigates some properties of the low periphery of the Camuno clause – a dialect of Eastern Lombard spoken in Vallecamonica (Italy).

In particular, I provide an analysis for the distribution of wh-phrases (whPs) and contrastive focus, showing that the area at the edge of the  $\nu$ P phase is favored over the CP periphery (in line with the independent findings in Northern Italian Dialects in Ledgeway, 2020).

Example (1) shows the attested distribution of whPs in two Camuno varieties:

- (1) a. ('N $\grave{g}$ o) se-t nasciut 'ngont? (Monnese)  
 where be.2SG.PRS=CL.2SG born where  
 'Where were you born?'  
 b. L' e-t ciapada kwando? (Darfense)  
 CL.3SG have.PRS=CL.2SG gotten when  
 'When did you get it?'  
 c. Ke e-t majà? (Monnese)  
 what have.PRS=CL.2SG eaten  
 'What did you eat?'

In terms of wh-interrogatives, (1) shows that they follow different patterns. The available strategies are wh-doubling (1a), clause-internal whP (1b), and wh-fronting (1c). These patterns are intertwined in terms of both variation and optionality: Monnese allows for optionality between all three strategies, Darfense only between fronted and clause-internal whPs. However, most varieties favor clause-internal whPs (1b), with fronting being a more Italianized structure.

I suggest that the two positions occupied by the whPs constitute phasal boundaries (Chomsky, 2001): the fronted whP is in spec,CP, while the clause-internal one is at the edge of  $\nu$ P. Since most Camuno varieties favor constructions like (1b), and given the locus of contrastive focus in (3), I suggest that the low periphery is prominent in this dialect. The examples below show the distribution of the clause-internal whP with respect to the lexical verb, which raises into C when finite (Poletto, 1993), and into the IP domain when a participle: (2) shows the position of the whP with respect to an aspectual adverb; (3) illustrates the position of contrastive focus, where the parasitic gap indicates that there has been short movement, as it can only be licensed by a trace left behind by A-bar movement (Alboiu, 2004).

- (2) Fe-t ke de hpeh al hera? (Darfense)  
 do.PRS=CL.2SG what of often the evening  
 'What do you often do in the evening?'  
 (3) A-l majat LA POLENTA<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> hensa scaldà e<sub>i</sub>. (Darfense)  
 have.PRS=CL.3SG eaten the cornmeal without heating  
 'He ate the cornmeal without heating.'

I thus suggest that the lower whP is located at the edge of  $\nu$ P. I analyze this clause-internal whP as the restriction in an A-bar chain undergoing successive-cyclic movement through the  $\nu$ P phase. In particular, I propose an analysis in terms of partial copying (Barbiers et al., 2010), where the two whPs enter the derivation as a layered XP [<sub>whP</sub> kwé [<sub>QP</sub> ke]]. XP subsequently undergoes short movement to the  $\nu$ P periphery; partial copying targets only the operator portion [<sub>QP</sub> ke], which raises into spec,CP. The [<sub>whP</sub> kwé] portion is realized as an intermediate copy stranded in the low periphery. When only one of the two elements is phonetically realized (1b; 1c; 2), the other is dealt with at LF.

In sum, while both phasal domains are available for A-bar operations, the  $\nu$ P phase edge is markedly more articulated, and generally favored, in Camuno varieties. If on the right track,

this analysis is further proof supporting the theory of phases as cyclic points of transfer to the interfaces.

## References

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