

A. Wh doubling and 'wh in situ' are restricted to the set of wh-items that can have a clitic counterpart

C. In all doubling cases the clitic form must be adjacent to the verbal complex while its strong counterpart occurs at the right edge of the sequence

Granted our view that wh- doubling and wh- in situ are the two sides of the same coin, it must be the case that in all such constructions the clitic wh operator is attracted to a high position in the CP layer (call it Disj(unction)P) and the existential quantifier is attracted to a lower Exist(ential)P in the left periphery. If so the CP layer of interrogative clauses (in Romance) comprises at least two wh- layers and one IP layer, as sketched in (5):

(5) [DisjP clitic-wh [ForceP (Remnant) I(P) Force^o ... [ExistP Strong wh....]]]

Property A now follows: only those bare wh-items that may have a ‘doubling’ lexical entry can surface in the high and/or low ExistP; since by hypothesis complex wh-phrases and d-linked wh-words have no existential quantifier in their lexical entry, they can only raise to the ‘highest’ DisjP; property B also follows if in those languages the item that checks the high Disj feature is a clitic; as such it can only reach its target if it gets a free ride to a position adjacent to DisjP, i.e. if it is carried along as ‘excess baggage’ to ForceP, which (the Remnant IP analysis of) SCLI and SI ensures (cf. Pollock (2000), Kayne & Pollock (2001)); a Remnant Mvt analysis of SCLI will further be shown to reconcile the contradictory results that SCLI cannot be I movement to the CP field (cf. e.g. Hulk (1993), Kayne (1994)) AND that SCLI results from overt syntactic displacement to the C domain (cf. e.g. Poletto (2000), Pollock (2000)).

A second group of languages, including French and North Western Italian Dialects also exhibits wh- in situ and may have clitic wh-items (see (1)), but they differ from the NEIDs in the two crucial respects D and E, as (6) shows

D. Wh in situ configurations can occur freely with all wh-items including complex wh-phrases

E. If a wh- phrase occurs on the right edge of the sentence, the sentence cannot show SCLI.

- (6) a Pierre a rencontré {quelle femme, qui}? (‘Pierre has met what woman, who?’)
b * a-t-il rencontré quelle femme? (‘Has he met what woman?’)

Clearly, the tie between wh in situ and wh doubling observed in NEIDs does not hold in this language group. Yet we shall show that so-called wh in situ in those languages *also* involves overt movement to the left periphery; (6) and the like make use of a *truncated* left periphery, which only contains the DisjP position and a higher (Topic) position to which the whole IP moves:

(7) [TopP IP_i Top^o [DisjP wh Disj^o [t_i]]]

Plainly positing (7) accounts for (6a): all wh items check the high wh- (disjunction) feature. IP movement to the (optional) Topic position is possible because the functional layers other than DisjP are not activated in (6) and therefore do not need the sort of checking that results in SCLI or SI configurations. (5a) is NOT an option in the NEIDs on the view that subject clitics in those languages *must* check a feature in the fully fledged left periphery, perhaps because they count as ‘interrogative inflection’ and so require the merging of the various layers of Comp domain in (5), yielding the obligatory SCLI phenomenology.

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