

## **Word order variation in Spanish and Italian interrogatives. The role of the subject in ‘why’-interrogatives**

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### **1. Introduction\***

This paper deals with some of the word order variation which can be found in Spanish and Italian *wh*-interrogatives. In particular, it investigates the variation between the *wh*VS and *wh*SV order in interrogatives introduced by ‘why’. We provide a brief overview of word order in Spanish and Italian *wh*-interrogatives and argue that there are various morphological, syntactic, and discourse pragmatic factors which influence the preference for a particular structure. We also argue, in section 2, that the word order variation depends on the type of the subject, namely on its DP-type (noun or pronoun), as well as on its heaviness or complexity. In section 3, we firstly present a comparative corpus study of Spanish and Italian Bible translations, showing that Spanish and Italian seem to have different word order preferences in ‘why’-interrogatives. Secondly, we present an acceptability task investigating different subjects of differing complexity, such as simple DPs, complex DPs, and pronouns. Both empirical studies provide original data showing word order variation in ‘why’-interrogatives in both Spanish and Italian. In section 4, we discuss the results and argue that the differences between the two languages can be best accounted for by assuming that the two languages have different preferences with respect to the information structure of such constructions and for their preferences for VS or SV order. We also discuss the effect of subject type for the word order in Spanish. Section 5 provides a short conclusion.

### **2. Word order in Spanish and Italian *wh(y)*-interrogatives**

#### **2.1 Word order in Romance *wh*-interrogatives as a residual verb-second effect**

Spanish and Italian generally show a S(ubject) V(erb) order in declarative sentences. This order can change according to various parameters, however, questions containing a *wh*-phrase are constrained by a relatively strict word order. The *wh*-phrase is fronted to a sentence-initial position and the finite verb is immediately adjacent to it, involving subject-verb inversion if the subject is expressed and not identical to the *wh*-phrase (= *wh*V(S)). This is illustrated for both languages in parallel text data taken from Bible translations (*Reina Valera* (RV) and *Nuova Riveduta* (NR)). In (1a) and (2a) the *wh*-phrase addresses the direct object DP (note that clitics are allowed between the *wh*-phrase and the V(erb) due to their status as non-constituents), in (1b) and (2b) a PP constituent is questioned, and in (1c) and (2c) an adverbial is used to address the manner.

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- (1) (a) *¿Qué os mandó Moisés?*  
 what you-OCL ordered Moses  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’ (RV 1995: Mark 10:3)
- (b) *¿De dónde eres tú?*  
 PREP where are you  
 ‘Where are you from?’ (RV 1995: John 19:9)
- (c) *¿Cómo era el hombre que encontrasteis?*  
 how was the man that encountered.2PL  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’ (RV 1995: 2 Kings 1:7)
- (2) (a) *Che cosa vi ha comandato Mosè?*  
 what thing you-OCL has ordered Moses  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’ (NR 2006: Mark 10:3)
- (b) *Di dove sei tu?*  
 PREP where are you  
 ‘Where are you from?’ (NR 2006: John 19:9)
- (c) *Com’era l’ uomo che vi è venuto incontro?*  
 how was the man that you-OCL AUX came halfway  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’ (NR 2006: 2 Kings 1:7)

Note that in this context the subject-verb inversion, i.e. VS order, is obligatory in both languages, as shown in (3) and (4), where SV order leads to ungrammaticality:

- (3) (a) \**¿Qué Moisés os mandó?*  
 what Moses you-OCL ordered  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’
- (b) \**¿De dónde tú eres?*  
 PREP where you are  
 ‘Where are you from?’
- (c) \**¿Cómo el hombre era que encontrasteis?*  
 how the man was that encountered.2PL  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’
- (4) (a) \**Che cosa Mosè vi ha comandato?*  
 what thing Moses you-OCL has ordered  
 ‘What did Moses command you?’
- (b) \**Di dove tu sei?*  
 PREP where you are  
 ‘Where are you from?’
- (c) \**Come l’ uomo era che vi è venuto incontro?*  
 how the man was that you-OCL AUX came halfway  
 ‘What kind of man was he who came to meet you?’

Interestingly, however, both languages deviate from this strict word order requirement when the *wh*-phrase expresses ‘why’. In these cases, we observe both *whVS* and *whSV* orders, as illustrated in (5) and (6) (see Torrego 1984, Rizzi 2001):

- (5) (a) *¿Por qué llora mi señor?*  
 why weeps my Lord  
 ‘Why is my lord weeping?’ (RV 1995: 2 Kings 8:12)

- (b) *¿Por qué nosotros y los fariseos ayunamos muchas veces, y tus discípulos no ayunan?*  
 why we and the Pharisees fast many times and your  
 disciples not fast  
 ‘Why do we and the Pharisees fast, but your disciples do not fast?’  
 (RV 1995: Matt 9:14)
- (6) (a) *Perché piange il mio signore?*  
 why weeps DET my Lord  
 ‘Why is my lord weeping?’ (NR 2006: 2 Kings 8:12)
- (b) *Perché noi e i farisei digiuniamo spesso, e i tuoi discepoli non digiunano?*  
 why we and the Pharisees fast often and DET your disciples not  
 fast  
 ‘Why do we and the Pharisees fast, but your disciples do not fast?’  
 (NR 2006: Matt 9:14)

Given this observation of this variation, we will focus on Spanish and Italian ‘why’-interrogatives. Before discussing the results of the two empirical studies, we will present, in the next section, the related literature concerning word order effects in interrogatives with ‘why’ in both languages, and the effect of the characteristics of the subject in this respect.

## 2.2 Word order effects of the subject in ‘why’-interrogatives

One of the observations concerning word order in interrogatives, introduced by the *wh*-element *por qué* and *perché* in Spanish and Italian, is that subjects with different characteristics (subject type) can intervene between the *wh*-element and the verb. Examples from our Bible corpus show that, in both languages, the intervening subject can be simple ((7) and (8)), complex ((7) and (8)), as well as pronominal ((7) and (8)).

- (7) (a) *¿Por qué tus discípulos quebrantan la tradición de los ancianos?*  
 why your disciples break the tradition of the elders  
 ‘Why do your disciples break the tradition of the elders?’ (RV 1995: Matt. 15:2)
- (b) *¿Por qué los hombres de Judá, nuestros hermanos, se han adueñado de ti, [...]?*  
 why the men from Judah our brothers REFL have  
 appropriate of you  
 ‘Why have our brothers, the men of Judah, stolen you away [...]?’  
 (RV 1995: 2 Samuel 19:41)
- (c) *¿Por qué vosotros no me creéis?*  
 why you not REFL believe  
 ‘Why don’t you believe me?’ (RV 1995: Mark 2:7)
- (8) (a) *Perché i tuoi discepoli trasgrediscono la tradizione degli antichi?*  
 why DET your disciples break the tradition of-the elders  
 ‘Why do your disciples break the tradition of the elders?’ (NR 2006: Matt. 15:2)
- (b) *Perché i nostri fratelli, gli uomini di Giuda, ti hanno portato via di nascosto [...]?*  
 why DET our brothers the men from Juda you.CL2SG have  
 taken away clandestinely  
 ‘Why have our brothers, the men of Judah, stolen you away [...]?’

(NR 2006: 2 Samuel 19:41)

(c) *Perché costui parla in questa maniera?*

why he talks in that way

‘Why does this fellow talk like that?’

(NR 2006: Mark 2:7)

The occurrence of such preverbal subjects in both Spanish and Italian *why*-interrogatives has been the subject of a number of traditional and generative studies. In the generative framework, Torrego (1984), Suñer (1994), Contreras (1989), and Ordóñez (1998), among many others, discuss whether word order variation in Spanish *wh*-interrogatives depends on the argumental/non-argumental status of the *wh*-phrase, by showing that not only *por qué* ‘why’, but also other non-argumental *wh*-phrases, allow an SV order, at least under specific conditions.<sup>21</sup> As for Italian, most researchers focus on the fact that in interrogatives with causal *wh*-adverbs (in particular, *perché*, *come mai* as well as “other higher [wh-] adverbials” (Rizzi 2001:293)), an SV order is possible, while in interrogatives with the other *wh*-elements a VS order is obligatory (see Rizzi 1996:87, fn.16, among others). The crucial topic of all these debates is related to the question of how and where ‘why’ is (base-)generated, and whether the finite verb moves into the CP level or not. Most researchers agree, within a framework assuming an articulated CP, that ‘why’ differs from all other *wh*-phrases by being base-generated in a high(er) position in the CP. Thus, ‘why’ interrogatives allow the occurrence of an “intervening” element, in particular the subject, between the *wh*-phrase and the verb. It is furthermore highly debated whether, in these contexts, the verb moves to a head position in the CP level or whether it remains in a lower position.

In this paper, we do not want to reopen the discussion on the specific position of ‘why’ and of the finite verb. Rather, we want to discuss whether other factors have an impact on word order variation in these kinds of interrogatives. In particular, we want to discuss whether the subject type, i.e. its DP-type (pronominal or nominal), as well as its heaviness and complexity influences the word order.

In this respect, we want to highlight an observation made by Herrero (1992:118), where, in Spanish, ‘why’-interrogatives with SV order are almost only possible with nominal subjects, not with pronominal ones. He provides a number of examples for the “interpolation” of nominal subjects between *por qué* and the finite verb:

- (9) (a) *¿Por qué la gente no se limitaba a cumplir con el reglamento?*  
 why the people NEG REFL limit to comply with the rules  
 ‘Why didn't people just comply with the rules?’ (J. Madrid, Flores, *el gitano*, p. 186)
- (b) *¿Por qué Dieter Rhomberg desapareció tan bruscamente de la nómina de la Petnay?*  
 why Dieter Rhomberg disappeared so quickly of the payroll of  
 la Petnay?  
 DET Petnay  
 ‘Why did Dieter Rhomberg disappear so quickly from the payroll of the Petnay company?’ (M. Vázquez Montalbán, *La soledad del manager*, p. 144)

Remarkably, the literature on the use of preverbal subjects in ‘why’-interrogatives in both Spanish and Italian seems to indirectly support this observation. All examples given in order to provide evidence for SV order in these interrogatives contain only simple subjects (see for Spanish Torrego 1984, Fernández Ramírez 1986, Goodall 1993, Suñer 1994, Baauw 1998, Contreras 1999, Real Academia Española 2009 and Francom 2012 and for Italian Rizzi 1996,

<sup>21</sup> A remarkable exception to this is Caribbean Spanish, as well as some other Spanish dialects, where the occurrence of preverbal subjects is not restricted in non-argumental *wh*-phrases (cf. among many others Davis 1971, Quirk 1972, Lipski 1977, Lantolf 1980, Toribio 1993, Ordóñez & Olarrea 2006, Goodall 2010, Zimmermann 2019).

2001, Belletti 2004, Cardinaletti 2007, Bocci & Pozzan 2014, Bianchi, Bocci, & Cruschina 2017). In other words, there seems to be clear evidence that the subject type plays a crucial role in word order variation in both Spanish and Italian ‘why’-interrogatives, and there are more restrictions for the occurrence of preverbal subjects when they are pronominal (see also Lapesa 1992 for similar observations). Interestingly, Herrero (1992:118) even claims that the mere use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun in the preverbal position is unacceptable:

- (10) (a) \*¿Por qué **tú** vienes?  
           why       you come  
           ‘Why do you come?’  
       (b) \*¿Por qué **tú** dices eso?  
           why       you say this  
           ‘Why do you say this?’

Note that the Real Academia Española (2009:3168) provides one single example with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun *ellos* ‘they’ and the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun *nosotros* ‘we’ that shows the possibility of personal pronouns to intervene between the *wh*-phrase and the verb.

- (11) ¿Por qué **ellos** lloran al oír una sardana y **nosotros** nos quedamos  
       why they cry PREP.DET hear a sardana and we REFL stay  
       *tan frescos?*  
       so cool  
       ‘Why do they cry when hearing a sardana and why do we stay so cool?’

For (Standard) Italian, we did not find any examples of interrogatives with *perché* ‘why’ in literature documenting the use of preverbal subject pronouns. The only example we found of a pronominal subject in the preverbal position was provided by Poletto (1993:241), for the Northern-Italian dialect spoken in Padua:

- (12) *Parché el sta casa?*  
       why he is home  
       ‘Why is he at home?’

The related literature reports a number of other factors favoring the preverbal position of the subject. For example, Herrero (1992) assumes that the ‘heaviness’ (length) of the subject may play a role, as illustrated in (13), where the subject contains a relative clause. Furthermore, he claims that the use of negation may favor preverbal subjects ((13)). Finally, Lapesa (1992) claims that discourse factors such as curiosity, surprise, astonishment, or reproach lead to preverbal subjects ((13)).

- (13) (a) ¿Por qué **Juan que llega todos los días tan tarde**, llegaría hoy  
       why John who arrives every DET days so late arrive.COND today  
       *tan temprano?*  
       so early  
       ‘Why would John, who arrives so late every day, arrive so early today?’  
       (b) ¿Por qué **tú no me has hecho eso?**  
       why you NEG me have done that  
       ‘Why didn’t you do that to me?’  
       (c) ¿Por qué **tú no me has dicho eso antes?**  
       why you NEG me have told that before  
       ‘Why didn’t you tell me that before?’

As far as Italian is concerned, some researchers also consider the role of discourse factors. They claim that the information structure of simple subjects may have a crucial effect on word order in ‘why’-interrogatives (Bocci & Pozzan 2014, Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2017, Leonetti 2018). Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina (2017) show, based on experimental data of an acceptability judgment task, that postverbal subjects are associated with a [+Focus] interpretation<sup>22</sup>, while the preverbal subject favor a [-Focus] interpretation:

- (14) (a) *Perché canta Luca* [+Focus]?  
 (b) *Perché Luca* [-Focus] *canta*?  
 ‘Why does Luca sing?’

To conclude, our brief overview on the literature with respect to word order variation in Spanish and Italian, ‘why’-interrogatives demonstrate that the subject type has some impact. However, observations made in the literature are not very precise and its theoretical interpretations still lack empirical confirmation. Thus, as noted by Herrero (1992:118), it is still unclear as to which way the subject type affects word order in these constructions. We fill this gap by providing two empirical studies addressing the following research questions:

1. Do Spanish and Italian differ, and if yes, in which perspective?
2. Do simple, complex, and pronominal subjects differ in their positions in ‘why’-interrogatives, and if yes, how and for which reasons?

### 3. Empirical studies

The first study is a corpus study on Italian and Spanish that considers possible differences between both languages and how the subject type might determine the word order. The second experiment consists of two acceptability judgment tasks that address the second research questions for Spanish. In our opinion, the combination of these two methods enables us to get more reliable results: The analysis of the Bible data allows us to get a firsthand overview of the distribution of word order in ‘why’-interrogatives in Spanish and Italian. Note that we are dealing here with a parallel text corpus, i.e. with a corpus containing translations of the same text. This allows us to compare linguistic constriction in these two languages on the basis of the very same sentences. Thus, we can exclude that a possible variation in word order is due to differences of the text genre (prose or lyrics), or to other internal or external factors, such as the medium (written or oral), or the linguistic context in which a text is produced etc. Furthermore, the results of a parallel text corpus search provide information about possible word order patterns and their frequency. On the other hand, acceptability judgment tasks are an appropriate method to complete the findings of the parallel text corpus search since they allow us to examine phenomena that occur very rarely and that could not be studied in another way, as is the case for certain word order patterns in ‘why’-interrogatives.

#### 3.1 Bible parallel text corpus

##### Data collection and annotation

The corpus study is based on Bible parallel text data collected at the University of Konstanz and consists of several scriptures from the Old and New Testament (Old Testament: Gen. - 2 Kings, New Testament: Matt. - Acts). This is a set of around 1,000 *wh*-interrogatives in different Romance languages and for diachronic periods. For our purpose of interest, we were left with a total number of 434 interrogatives introduced by the *wh*-element ‘why’ (*por qué*

<sup>22</sup> We use the term ‘focus’ for constituents that carry new information following the definition of Neeleman & Vermeulen (2012).

and *perché*) in a modern Spanish (Reina Valera 1995) and a modern Italian translation (Nuova Riveduta 2006). The factors relevant for data analysis were first annotated automatically (Kalouli et alii 2018, Kaiser, Kaiser & Kalouli 2019) and then manually checked by two annotators. These factors contain the following (syntactic) features:

- **word order** (dependent variable): verb position (between 2 and 4) and the realisation of the subject (overt vs. null) (abbreviated as *whV*, *whVS*, *whSV*, *whxV*, *whxVS*, *whxSV*)
- **subject type**: simple nouns (proper names and other DPs), complex subjects (DP with a PP or a relative clause as complement and coordinated DPs), and pronouns (personal or demonstrative pronouns; abbreviated as simple, complex, and pronoun).
- **insertions**: occurrence of particles or adverbs between the *wh*-element and the second constituent (abbreviated as little ‘x’)<sup>23</sup>
- **language**: Spanish vs. Italian

## Results

Table (1) shows the results of the analysis of the Bible data:

Gen. - 2 Kings + Matt. - John	<i>whV</i>	<i>whxV</i>	<i>whVS</i>	<i>whxVS</i>	<i>whSV</i>	<i>whxSV</i>	total
Italian ( <i>perché</i> )	145 (74.1%)	14 (6.6%)	8 (4.0%)	3 (1.4%)	25 (12.7%)	2 (1.2%)	<b>197</b> (100%)
Spanish ( <i>por qué</i> )	157 (67.4%)	23 (8.8%)	36 (13.9%)	9 (3.5%)	12 (6.4%)	0 (0.0%)	<b>237</b> (100%)

Table (1): Word order in interrogatives with ‘why’ (absolute numbers and percentages)

Initially, we observe that null subjects have the highest frequency in Spanish and Italian. The data reflects what is considered to be a typical tendency for null subject languages, that subject pronouns are generally not used in unmarked contexts in these languages. Given that overt subjects are the topic of interest in our study, we excluded all sentences lacking an overt subject for further analysis.

In Figure 1 and Table 2, we show the average frequency of word order by summarizing all word order patterns with preverbal subjects (*wh(x)SV*) and with postverbal subjects (*wh(x)VS*) in Spanish and Italian, neglecting the occurrence of intervening particles or adverbs:

Gen.-2 Kings + Matt.-John	<i>wh(x)VS</i>	<i>wh(x)SV</i>	total
Italian ( <i>perché</i> )	27.6%	72.4%	100%
Spanish ( <i>por qué</i> )	75.0%	25.0%	100%

Table (2): *wh(x)VS* versus *wh(x)SV* order in interrogatives with ‘why’ (percentage)

<sup>23</sup> We cannot address the particularities of this word order pattern here, but see examples for illustration, as in (ia) and (ib) for Spanish and Italian, respectively:

(i) a. *¿Por qué, pues, no lo creísteis?* (RV 1995: Mark 11:31)  
 b. *Perché dunque non gli credeste?* (NR 2006: Mark 11:31)  
 ‘Why then did you not believe him?’

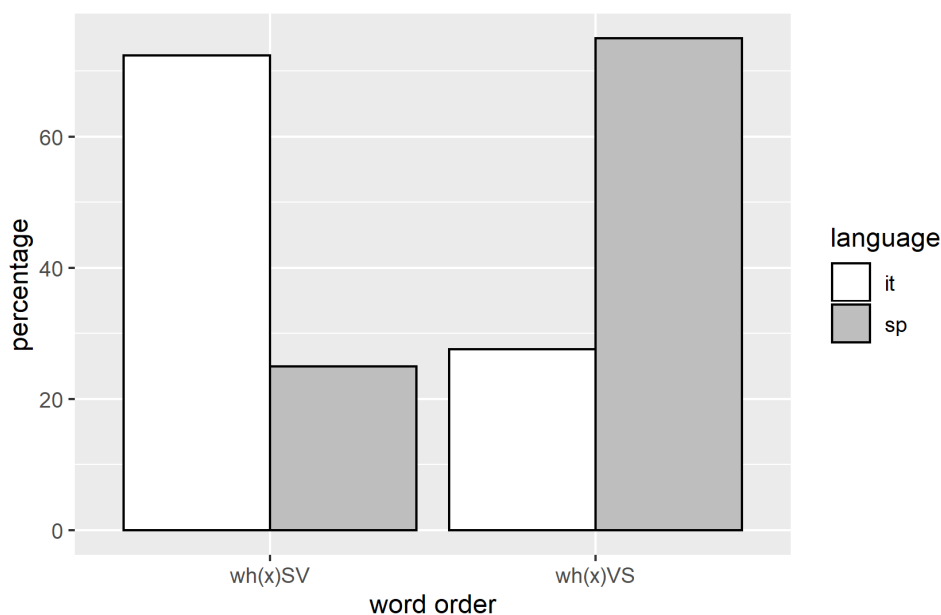


Figure (1): Average frequency of word order pattern for preverbal subjects (*wh(x)SV*) and postverbal subjects (*wh(x)VS*) in the Spanish and Italian ‘why’-interrogatives in the Bible corpus.

With respect to our first research question, we can observe a crucial difference in word order between the two languages. While *wh(x)SV* is more frequent in Italian, *wh(x)VS* occurs more often in Spanish.<sup>24</sup>

Regarding our second research question, we examine the effect of the subject type on word order in both languages. Figure 2 summarizes the results in absolute numbers. It shows that the word order patterns in both languages are driven by one special subject type, namely simple nouns, which are by far the most frequent ones.

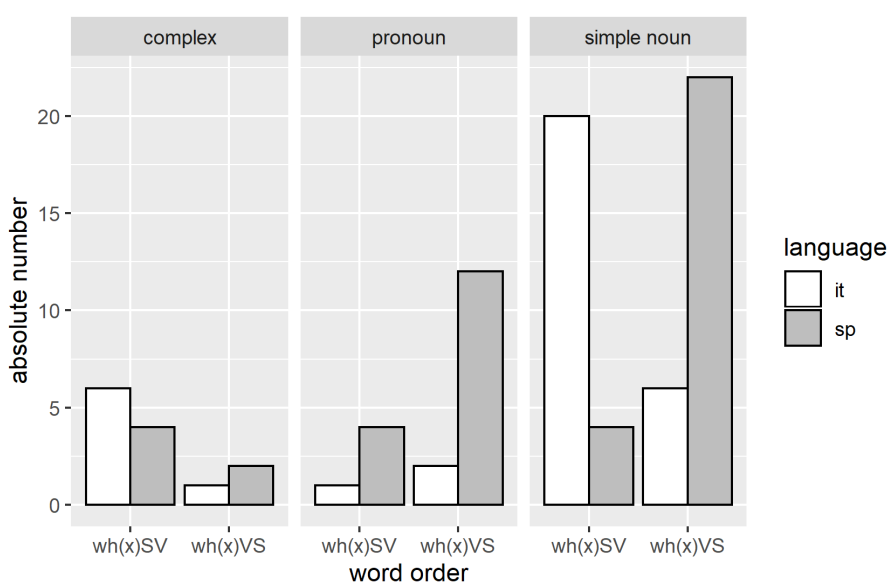


Figure (2): Absolute number of word order patterns (*wh(x)SV* and *wh(x)VS*) in Spanish and Italian according to subject type.

<sup>24</sup> To confirm this difference, we ran two statistical analyses. The phi-coefficient ( $\phi=0.50$ ) shows a strong association between word order and language, and the  $\chi^2$ -test attests this association to be statistically significant ( $\chi^2=21.53$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). To conclude, the analyses show that the proportion of preverbal subjects is significantly higher in Italian than in Spanish.



For simple subjects, Italian shows a significantly higher frequency for the preverbal position, while in Spanish simple subjects occur more often in the postverbal position. Some examples are given in ((15) and (16)):

- (15) (a) *Perché il suo carro tarda ad arrivare?*  
 why DET his car lasts to come  
 ‘Why is his chariot so long in coming?’ (NR 2006: Judges 5:28)
- (b) *Perché il Signore ci conduce in quel paese dove cadremo per la spada?*  
 why the Lord us bring to this land where fall.1SG by the sword?  
 ‘Why is the Lord bringing us to this land only to let us fall by the sword?’  
 (NR 2006: Num 14:3)
- (16) (a) *¿Por qué tarda su carro en venir?*  
 why lasts his car to come  
 ‘Why is his chariot so long in coming?’ (RV 1995: Judges 5:28)
- (b) *¿Por qué nos trae Jehová a esta tierra para morir a espada [...]?*  
 why us bring Lord to this land to fall by sword?  
 ‘Why is the Lord bringing us to this land only to let us fall by the sword?’  
 (RV 1995: Num 14:3)

Nevertheless, both word order patterns are available in both languages, as can be seen in (17) and (18).

- (17) (a) *Perché è triste il tuo cuore?*  
 why is sad DET your heart  
 ‘Why is your heart sad?’ (NR 2006: 1 Sam 1:8)
- (b) *Perché non si è venduto quest’olio per trecento denari e non si sono dati ai poveri?*  
 why not REFL is sold this ointment for three hundred denarii and not  
 REFL are given to-the poor?  
 ‘Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the poor?’  
 (NR 2006: John 12:5)
- (18) (a) *¿Por qué tus discípulos no andan conforme a la tradición de los ancianos, sino que comen pan con manos impuras?*  
 why your disciples not walk according to the tradition of  
 the elders, but eat bread with hands defiled  
 ‘Why do your disciples not walk according to the tradition of the elders, but eat the bread with defiled hands?’ (RV 1995: Mark 7:5)
- (b) *¿Por qué tus discípulos quebrantan la tradición de los ancianos?*  
 why your disciples break the tradition of the elders  
 ‘Why do your disciples break the tradition of the elders?’ (RV 1995: Matt. 15:2)

For complex and pronominal subjects, our Bible corpus provides only a small amount of data; therefore, the results have to be interpreted carefully. In contrast to our observations on simple subjects, complex subjects seem to behave quite similarly in both languages, since they occur more often in the preverbal position. However, both languages display examples with the subject in postverbal position:

- (19) (a) *Perché i nostri fratelli, gli uomini di Giuda, ti hanno portato via*  
 why DET our brother the men of Judah you have taken away  
*di nascosto e hanno fatto attraversare il Giordano al re,*  
 secretly and have made cross the Jordan PREP.DET king  
*alla sua famiglia e a tutta la gente di Davide?*  
 PREP.DET his family and PREP all the people of David  
 ‘Why did our brothers, the men of Judah, take you away secretly and bring the king  
 and his household across the Jordan, together with all of David’s men?’  
 (NR 2006: 2Sam 19:41)
- (b) *Perché sono così lente le ruote dei suoi carri?*  
 why are so slow the wheels of.DET his chariots  
 ‘Why is the clatter of his chariots delayed?’ (NR 2006: Judges 5:28)
- (20) (a) *¿Por qué los hombres de Judá, nuestros hermanos, se han*  
 why the men of Judah our brothers, REFL have  
*adueñado de ti, y han hecho pasar el Jordán a el rey,*  
 taken possession of you and have made pass the Jordan PREP the king  
*a su familia y a todos los siervos de David con él?*  
 PREP his family and PREP all the servants of David with him  
 ‘Why did our brothers, the men of Judah, take you away secretly and bring the king  
 and his household across the Jordan, together with all of David’s men?’  
 (RV 1995: 2Sam 19:41)
- (b) *¿Por qué viene mi señor, el rey, a ver a su siervo?*  
 why comes my Lord the king to see PREP his servant  
 ‘Why has my lord the king come to his servant?’ (RV 1995: 2Sam 24:21)

As far as pronominal subjects are concerned, there is a clear difference in frequency between Spanish and Italian. Spanish displays a quite large number of pronominal subjects with a clear tendency for the postverbal position ((21)). In Italian, we also find evidence for both word orders ((22)). However, the Italian data only contains a very small number of pronouns (n=3), which does not allow us to draw any comparative conclusions:

- (21) (a) *¿Por qué estás tú solo, sin nadie que te acompañe?*  
 why are you alone without no one who you accompanies  
 ‘Why are you alone and no one with you?’ (RV 1995: 1Sam 21:1)
- (b) *¿Por qué nosotros no pudimos echarlo fuera?*  
 why we not could cast-it out  
 ‘Why could we not cast it out?’ (RV 1995: Matt 17:19)
- (22) (a) *Perché vuoi venire anche tu con noi?*  
 why want come also you with us  
 ‘Why do you also go with us?’ (NR 2006: 2Sam 15:19)
- (b) *Perché costui parla in questa maniera?*  
 why this.one talks in that way  
 ‘Why does this fellow talk like that?’ (NR 2006: Mark 2:7)

### 3.2 Acceptability judgment tasks

Due to the small number of complex and pronominal subjects occurring in our corpus, and the interesting findings in Spanish showing that complex subjects differ from simple nouns (and pronouns) with respect to word order, we conducted two acceptability judgement tasks. The

aim of these experiments was to examine the question of whether simple DPs, complex DPs, and pronoun subjects differ in their preference for a particular position in Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives.

### Methodology

#### *Materials:*

Both experiments consisted of 24 items. Each item had four conditions and was built in a 2 x 2 factorial design. The independent variables were SUBJECT POSITION (preverbal vs. postverbal, in both experiments) and SUBJECT TYPE. The classification of the variable SUBJECT TYPE is based on the results of the corpus study and includes simple, complex, and pronominal subjects. We further divided the class of complex subjects into two groups: complex I (DP+PP) and complex II (DP+ relative clause (RC)) in order to get more precise information about the effect of heaviness (length) in complex subjects. Therefore, the variables are simple subject (DP) vs. complex I (DP+PP) in the first experiment, and complex II (DP+RC) vs. pronoun (second person singular pronoun *tú* ‘you’) in the second experiment. The ‘why’-interrogatives were identical except for position and type of DP. All 24 test items were introduced by a brief description, which led to a focus interpretation of the subject and consisted of a transitive verb (see table (3)).

La secretaria no sabía que había una sustituta temporal para el profesor de Matemáticas y (le) pregunta sorprendida: ‘The secretary didn’t know anything about a substitute teacher for the math teacher and asks (her) surprised.’		
<b>Acceptability judgment task I</b>		
	postverbal ( <i>whVS</i> )	preverbal ( <i>whSV</i> )
DP	¿Por qué prepara esta profesora el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué esta profesora prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
	‘Why does this teacher prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’	
DP+PP	¿Por qué prepara la profesora de Química el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué la profesora de Química prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
	‘Why does the chemistry teacher prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’	
<b>Acceptability judgment task II</b>		
	postverbal ( <i>whVS</i> )	preverbal ( <i>whSV</i> )
DP+RC	¿Por qué prepara la profesora que es de Lengua el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué la profesora que es de Lengua prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
	‘Why does the teacher who teaches languages prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’	
pronoun <i>tú</i>	¿Por qué preparas tú el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué tú preparas el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
	‘Why do you prepare the lesson material for the Math class?’	

Table (3): Example of an item for both acceptability judgment tasks in 4 different conditions for each task

In each experiment, we distributed the test items over four lists so that the participants saw each context in only one of the four conditions. Each participant was asked to judge six

sentences per condition. The test sentences were combined with 24 fillers which were all checked by a native speaker of Spanish.<sup>25</sup>

#### *Participants:*

132 native speakers of Peninsular Spanish from Central Spain, who were recruited via social media groups, participated in the experiment (mean age: 29, age range: 16-67, 102: female, 30: male)<sup>26</sup>. Participants were not informed about the purpose of the study and attended without receiving any material compensation. The participants showed a high level of education since 120 had A-levels or a higher educational level.

#### *Procedure:*

The questionnaire was hosted on *SoSci* Survey. At the beginning of the task, the participants received the instruction to judge on a 7-point Likert scale (1= unnatural, 7= natural) as to how natural (sp. *natural*) the different questions sounded to them. After this short introduction, 3 practice items were presented so that participants got used to the experimental design. Two of the practice items were identical to the constructions of the test items, and one similar to the fillers. During the experiment, the test stimuli were presented in pseudo-randomized order combined with the filler sentences. At the end of the experiment, participants had to complete a background questionnaire with sociolinguistic information.

#### *Data preparation:*

Before the final data analysis, we analyzed the control items of the filler sentences to check whether the participants had paid attention during the experiment. We deleted three participants as they rated the control items in less than 80% according to their grammaticality or ungrammaticality (as explained in footnote 5).

### Results

In this section, we present the results of both acceptability judgment tasks together, since both groups of participants are very similar regarding their origin and age ranges. An analysis of the filler sentences, which were identical in both experiments, supports a joint analysis as both groups do not significantly differ in their judgments of the fillers.

Figure 3 plots the mean ratings for all subjects (simple, complex, and pronominal subjects). The results show that the ratings for the preverbal position (*whSV*) for simple (DP) and complex subjects (DP+PP, DP+RC) are slightly higher than for the postverbal subject position (*whVS*). We find similar ratings for the simple subject, and for both of the complex subjects. We observe the opposite pattern for the pronoun *tú*, for which the postverbal position of the subject receives higher ratings. But the preverbal position, in this case, is not unacceptable according to the ratings.

<sup>25</sup> The fillers consisted of *wh*-questions varying in word order, subjects (null vs. overt), and information structure. 75% of the fillers were grammatical and rated as natural (mean: 5,8), see example (i), and 25% of the fillers served as ungrammatical control items, which were judged as unnatural (mean: 2,1), see (ii).

(i) *Hay demasiado paro en el sur del país. La gente tiene miedo y pregunta preocupada:*

‘There are too many unemployed persons in the south of the country. The people are afraid and ask:’

- *¿Cómo soluciona el ministro este problema?*

‘How does the minister solve this problem?’

(ii) *Claudio no sabía que la pianista de la orquesta es la exesposa de su amigo y pregunta sorprendido:*

‘Claudio did not know that the pianist of the orchestra is the ex-wife of his friend and asks surprised:’

- *¿Por qué de la pianista mal hablas?*

‘Why do you talk about her so badly?’

<sup>26</sup> 57 participants (mean age: 23, age range: 16-59, 41: female, 16: male) were tested in first experiment, and 75 (mean age: 34, age range: 18-67, 61: female, 14: male) participants were tested in second experiment.

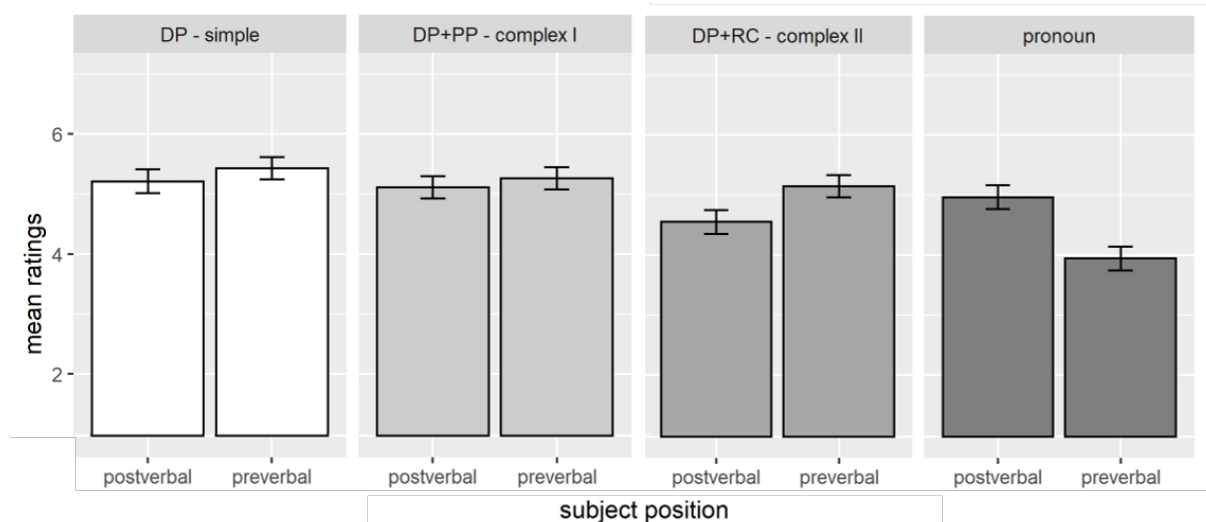


Figure (3): Mean ratings for preverbal subjects (*whSV*) and postverbal subjects (*whVS*) across subject types with 95% confidence intervals

The statistical analyses of both acceptability judgment tasks were based on linear mixed-effect regression models in R, using the packages *lme4* (Douglas et al. 2015).<sup>27</sup> For the first acceptability judgment task, we find a statistically significant main effect of subject position, but no statistically significant main effect of subject type.<sup>28</sup> The statistical analysis of the second acceptability judgment task revealed significant main effects of subject type and subject position, as well as the interaction term.<sup>29</sup> Note that we did not run any statistics between the experiments, but from inspection we see that subjects with relative clauses (complex II) are somewhat less well rated than subjects with PPs (complex I).

<sup>27</sup> All statistical models that are reported in this chapter are selected by means of backward-elimination and the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC): the smaller the AIC value, the better the fit of the statistical model (Baayen 2008:149).

<sup>28</sup> The model of the first experiment defines ratings as being the dependent variable, the main effect of the subject position (preverbal vs. postverbal) and subject type (DP vs. DP+PP) as fixed effects, and participant and item as random effects.<sup>28</sup> We find a statistically significant main effect of subject position ( $\beta = 0.18$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t = 2.18$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), but no statistically significant main effect of subject type ( $\beta = -0.13$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $t = -1.56$ ,  $p > 0.1$ ).

<sup>29</sup> The model of the second experiment estimates a separate linear mixed-effects regression model, with main effects and the interaction of subject position (preverbal vs. postverbal) and subject type (DP+RC vs. pronoun) as fixed effects, and participant and item as random effects. In addition, subject type was specified as a random slope for each participant. We find a statistically significant main effect of subject position ( $\beta = 0.60$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $t = 5.20$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), a statistically significant main effect of subject type ( $\beta = 0.42$ ,  $SE = 0.18$ ,  $t = 2.29$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), and a statistically significant interaction of subject position and subject type ( $\beta = -1.62$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ,  $t = -9.99$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). To further examine the interaction of subject position and subject type, we ran two additional models.

To evaluate the main effect of subject position, we divided the data set, according to subject type, into DP+RC and pronoun conditions. The subsets of data were analysed with linear mixed-effects regression models, in which subject position is a fixed effect, and item and participant are random effects. The main effect of subject position was specified as a random slope for each participant. For both conditions of subject type, the main effect of subject position was statistically significant (DP+RC:  $\beta = 0.6$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ,  $t = 5.05$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , pronoun:  $\beta = -1.02$ ,  $SE = 0.17$ ,  $t = -6.18$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

We also separated the data set, according to subject position, into preverbal and postverbal subject conditions in order to assess the main effect of subject type. The subsets of data were analysed with a further linear mixed-effects regression model, with subject type as fixed effect, and item and participant as random effects. The main effect of subject type was specified as a random slope for each participant. For both conditions of subject position, the main effect of subject type was statistically significant (preverbal:  $\beta = -1.20$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $t = -6.43$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , postverbal:  $\beta = 0.41$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $t = 2.06$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ).

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1 Word order differences in Italian and Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives

The results of our two empirical studies show that, in accordance with what has been observed in the literature, both word order patterns, i.e. *wh(x)SV* and *wh(x)VS*, are available in Italian and Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives. However, the findings of the corpus study provide evidence that the distribution of these word order patterns is not identical within these languages. Most strikingly, we find that the distribution between both languages crucially differs: while *wh(x)SV* is more frequent in Italian, *wh(x)VS* is the preferred word order in Spanish.

Let us propose a possible interpretation for this difference. We assume that word order in ‘why’-interrogatives has an interpretative effect in both languages, and encodes instructions for an information structure that reflects the speaker’s supposition about the state of the addressee’s mind. This has been shown, by Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina (2017), as being true for Italian. According to their results from a forced-choice acceptability judgment task, the postverbal subject position in Italian is more likely connected with a focus-interpretation than with a non-focus-interpretation. In the latter case, the preverbal position is significantly preferred. Similarly, Leonetti (2018) relates the postverbal subject position with [+Foc], in his analysis of inversion in Italian ‘why’-interrogatives. He claims that focus is directly associated with a non-canonical word order in these cases. Consequently, postverbal subjects are in the non-canonical position in Italian. According to Leonetti (2017), one main criterion to determine the canonical word order is textual frequency; the canonical word order is compatible with the largest number of contexts, while non-canonical orders have stronger restrictions on contexts and can occur in fewer discourse settings.

We use the frequency measurements of our corpus study to interpret our data in this sense. The results for Italian are in line with Leonetti’s (2018) claims, and Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina’s (2017) findings, since postverbal subjects are significantly less frequent and appear, therefore, in the non-canonical position. Preverbal subjects in Italian ‘why’-interrogatives seem to follow the canonical order due to their higher frequency. Recall, however, that our Spanish data reveals a reverse pattern: postverbal subjects occur significantly more often than preverbal subjects in ‘why’-interrogatives. As in Italian, the more frequent word order pattern is also the canonical word order pattern in Spanish, i.e. when the subject occurs in the postverbal position. Preverbal subjects are less frequent in Spanish and seem to follow the non-canonical word order. Consequently, we assume that Spanish and Italian generally differ regarding their canonical word order in ‘why’-interrogatives, namely *whySV* for Italian and *whyVS* for Spanish. In other words, Spanish has [+Foc] in preverbal subject position, and Italian [+Foc] in postverbal subject position in these sentences:

- (23) (a) *Perché canta Luca* [+Focus]? (non-canonical word order)  
 (b) *Perché Luca* [-Focus] *canta*? (canonical word order)
- (24) (a) *¿Por qué canta Juan* [-Focus]? (canonical word order)  
 (b) *¿Per qué Juan* [+Focus] *canta*? (non-canonical word order)

It is important to mention the crucial advantage of our parallel text corpus; this method ensures that the information structure is identical in both languages. Thus, it addresses the concern that frequency-analyses are not a reliable criterion to determine the canonical word order.

#### 4.2 Subject type in Spanish (and Italian) ‘why’-interrogatives

The results of our two empirical studies show that the subjects type has an effect on word order in Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives. In the case of nominal subjects, the findings closely mirror those of the literature. The preverbal and the postverbal positions are available for both subject types. The corpus study shows that simple and complex subjects occur more frequently in the preverbal position in Italian. In Spanish we see the counter-image: simple subjects occur more often in the postverbal position, but complex subjects are more frequent in the preverbal position. The results of our acceptability judgment tasks seem to confirm these findings for Spanish. Consequently, our results confirm Herrero’s (1992) claim that complexity leads to preverbal subjects.

The results of the acceptability judgment task for Spanish do not confirm the distribution of the corpus study since the preverbal position is slightly preferred for all DP subjects. A possible explanation for this is the influence of information structure on word order in ‘why’-interrogatives, mentioned above. Remember that all subjects in our experiments are [+Foc] and should therefore occur in the non-canonical position which seems to be preverbal in Spanish. As for the DP subjects in the corpus, which show a (strong) preference for the postverbal position, we did not investigate their information structure. We can only speculate that they are [-Foc] and will leave the answer to this question for further research. Note that complex and heavy subjects show a preference for preverbal position both in the corpus and the experimental study. This also opens space for further studies investigating how these subjects behave under different conditions of information structure.

Finally, we would like to mention a further finding from our studies on Spanish; the difference between nominal subjects on the one hand, and pronominal subjects on the other hand. Considering the results of the corpus study, this difference is not apparent, but in the context of the specific information structure in our acceptability judgment task, pronouns differ from other subject types; while pronominal subjects show significantly higher ratings for the postverbal position with a focus interpretation, nominal subjects have better ratings in the preverbal position. This could be explained by the fact that the use of overt pronouns in a null-subject language inherently expresses focus, contrast, or emphasis (Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal to appear).

### 5. Conclusion

In this paper we have discussed the relationship between the type of subjects and word order in ‘why’-interrogatives in both Spanish and Italian. We hypothesize that these two languages differ with respect to the variation of *why*VS and *why*SV. We additionally assume that the type or the ‘heaviness’ of the subject DP determines the word order. A comparative corpus search confirmed our first hypothesis on the difference between Spanish and Italian. We assume that this might depend on different restrictions on focus position in these two languages. An acceptability task on the impact of DP-type and the heaviness or complexity of the subject in Spanish ‘why’-interrogatives showed that there is a difference between pronominal and full nominal DPs. However, we did not observe any difference for the different types of nominal DPs. We speculate that the test design was not able to show more fine-grained differences in structure of the DPs. In particular, it did not allow us to compare the behavior of simple and heavy subjects in one statistical analysis and in different conditions of information structure. In other words, there is still room for further research which should address the complexity and ‘heaviness’ of nominal subjects as well as the role of the information structure ([+Foc] and [-Foc] interpretation of the subject) in ‘why’-interrogatives.

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**Appendix 1: Test items**

(1)	Inés siempre pierde sus cosas y no tiene ganas de buscarlas. Su madre no se puede creer que no busque ella misma su chaqueta y (le) pregunta enfadada (a su marido):	
DP	¿Por qué busca tu compañero la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?	¿Por qué tu compañero busca la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?
DP+PP	¿Por qué busca tu compañero de clase la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?	¿Por qué tu compañero de clase busca la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?
DP+RC	¿Por qué busca el compañero que va contigo a clase la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?	¿Por qué el compañero que va contigo a clase busca la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?
pronoun	¿Por qué buscas tú la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?	¿Por qué tú buscas la chaqueta debajo de la mesa?
(2)	Solo un fotógrafo ha podido sacar fotos del festival y se las ha mandado a todos los invitados. Victoria no sabe que ya las ha enviado. Cuando mira las noticias de Instagram, pregunta (le) sorprendida (a su amiga):	
DP	¿Por qué pone la actriz las fotos del festival?	¿Por qué la actriz pone las fotos del festival?
DP+PP	¿Por qué pone la actriz de Piratas del Caribe las fotos del festival?	¿Por qué la actriz de Piratas del Caribe pone las fotos del festival?
DP+RC	¿Por qué pone la actriz que no podía asistir las fotos del festival?	¿Por qué la actriz que no podía asistir pone las fotos del festival?
pronoun	¿Por qué pones tú las fotos del festival?	¿Por qué tú pones las fotos del festival?
(3)	La secretaria no sabía que había una sustituta temporal para el profesor de Matemáticas y pregunta sorprendida:	
DP	¿Por qué prepara esta profesora el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué esta profesora prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
DP+PP	¿Por qué prepara la profesora de Química el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué la profesora de Química prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
DP+RC	¿Por qué prepara la profesora que es de Lengua el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué la profesora que es de Lengua prepara el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
pronoun	¿Por qué preparas tú el material para la clase de Matemáticas?	¿Por qué tú preparas el material para la clase de Matemáticas?
(4)	El inversor principal no sabía que el director general se había jubilado y pregunta (le) sorprendido (al gerente de finanzas):	
DP	¿Por qué dirige el gerente la compañía de Madrid?	¿Por qué el gerente dirige la compañía de Madrid?
DP+PP	¿Por qué dirige el gerente de finanzas la compañía de Madrid?	¿Por qué el gerente de finanzas dirige la compañía de Madrid?
DP+RC	¿Por qué dirige el gerente que está en finanzas la compañía de Madrid?	¿Por qué el gerente que está en finanzas dirige la compañía de Madrid?
pronoun	¿Por qué diriges tú la compañía de Madrid?	¿Por qué tú diriges la compañía de Madrid?
(5)	Isabel va a comprar fruta al mercado de San Miguel con su amigo Marco. Ve que el vendedor de fruta no está y que su lugar está ocupado. Extrañada le pregunta a Marco/al verdulero:	
DP	¿Por qué vende el verdulero la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?	¿Por qué el verdulero vende la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?

DP+PP	¿Por qué vende el verdulero de Salamanca la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?	¿Por qué el verdulero de Salamanca vende la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?
DP+RC	¿Por qué vende el verdulero que es de Salamanca la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?	¿Por qué el verdulero que es de Salamanca vende la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?
pronoun	¿Por qué vendes tú la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?	¿Por qué tú vendes la fruta en el mercado de San Miguel?
(6)	El hotelero entra en su hotel y ve que en el puesto del recepcionista hay otra persona atendiendo el teléfono. No puede creerlo y (le) asombrado pregunta (a la camarera):	
DP	¿Por qué atiende la camarera el teléfono en la recepción?	¿Por qué la camarera atiende el teléfono en la recepción?
DP+PP	¿Por qué atiende la camarera del restaurante el teléfono en la recepción?	¿Por qué la camarera del restaurante atiende el teléfono en la recepción?
DP+RC	¿Por qué atiende la camarera que trabaja en el restaurante el teléfono en la recepción?	¿Por qué la camarera que trabaja en el restaurante atiende el teléfono en la recepción?
pronoun	¿Por qué atiendes tú el teléfono en la recepción?	¿Por qué tú atiendes el teléfono en la recepción?
(7)	Sara siempre tenía las mejores notas en el grado, pero no consiguió una beca para el máster. Su madre contrariada le pregunta (a la amiga de Sara):	
DP	¿Por qué disfruta tu amiga de una beca para el máster?	¿Por qué tu amiga disfruta de una beca en el máster?
DP+PP	¿Por qué disfruta tu amiga de Alcalá de una beca para el máster?	¿Por qué tu amiga de Alcalá disfruta de una beca para el máster?
DP+RC	¿Por qué disfruta tu amiga que vive en Alcalá de una beca para el máster?	¿Por qué tu amiga que vive en Alcalá disfruta de una beca para el máster?
pronoun	¿Por qué disfrutas tú de una beca para el máster?	¿Por qué tú disfrutas de una beca para el máster?
(8)	Abdula Sahin entra con su familia en la oficina de empleo y pide un formulario. El funcionario, que no sabe que Abdula Sahin es analfabeto, (le) pregunta sorprendido (a su hijo):	
DP	¿Por qué completa su hijo el formulario en vez de usted?	¿Por qué su hijo completa el formulario en vez de usted?
DP+PP	¿Por qué completa el hijo de Abdula Sahin el formulario en vez de él?	¿Por qué el hijo de Abdula Sahin completa el formulario en vez de él?
DP+RC	¿Por qué completa su hijo que trabaja aquí el formulario en vez de usted?	¿Por qué su hijo que trabaja aquí completa el formulario en vez de usted?
pronoun	¿Por qué completas tú el formulario en vez de tu padre?	¿Por qué tú completas el formulario en vez de tu padre?
(9)	Julia y su hermanastro no se entienden bien porque cuenta muchas mentiras sobre su hermanastra. Julia no entiende por qué justamente su familia las cree y (le) pregunta desesperada (a su abuela):	
DP	¿Por qué cree mi abuela las mentiras de Ramiro?	¿Por qué mi abuela cree las mentiras de Ramiro?
DP+PP	¿Por qué cree la abuela de Ramiro sus mentiras?	¿Por qué la abuela de Ramiro cree sus mentiras?
DP+RC	¿Por qué cree la abuela que conoce sus juegos las mentiras?	¿Por qué la abuela que conoce sus juegos cree las mentiras?
pronoun	¿Por qué crees tú las mentiras de Ramiro?	¿Por qué tú crees las mentiras de Ramiro?
(10)	En la empresa solo el jefe come en horario laboral. Cuando el comerciante entra en su despacho le pregunta sorprendido (al secretario):	
DP	¿Por qué come el secretario un bocadillo en jornada laboral?	¿Por qué el secretario come un bocadillo en jornada laboral?

DP+PP	¿Por qué come el secretario del departamento un bocadillo en jornada laboral?	¿Por qué el secretario del departamento come un bocadillo en jornada laboral?
DP+RC	¿Por qué come el secretario que trabaja en el departamento un bocadillo en jornada laboral?	¿Por qué el secretario que trabaja en el departamento come un bocadillo en jornada laboral?
pronoun	¿Por qué comes tú un bocadillo en jornada laboral?	¿Por qué tú comes un bocadillo en jornada laboral?
(11)	Normalmente solo una chica utiliza chuletas en los exámenes. Pero Marta ve al mejor alumno tirando una chuleta a la basura después del examen y pregunta (le) sorprendida:	
DP	¿Por qué utiliza el empollón una chuleta en el examen?	¿Por qué el empollón utiliza una chuleta en el examen?
DP+PP	¿Por qué utiliza el empollón de la clase una chuleta en el examen?	¿Por qué el empollón de la clase utiliza una chuleta en el examen?
DP+RC	¿Por qué utiliza el empollón que tanto critica a sus compañeros una chuleta en el examen?	¿Por qué el empollón que tanto critica a sus compañeros utiliza una chuleta en el examen?
pronoun	¿Por qué utilizas tú una chuleta en el examen?	¿Por qué tú utilizas una chuleta en el examen?
(12)	Alejandro no sabía que habían cambiado al repartidor de pizza de su restaurante preferido. Cuando ve al dueño del restaurante le pregunta sorprendido:	
DP	¿Por qué entrega esta chica la pizza del restaurante?	¿Por qué esta chica entrega la pizza del restaurante?
DP+PP	¿Por qué entrega la chica de pelo rojo la pizza del restaurante?	¿Por qué la chica de pelo rojo entrega la pizza del restaurante?
DP+RC	¿Por qué entrega la chica que tiene pelo rojo la pizza del restaurante?	¿Por qué la chica que tiene pelo rojo entrega la pizza del restaurante?
pronoun	¿Por qué entregas tú la pizza del restaurante?	¿Por qué tú entregas la pizza del restaurante?
(13)	El médico residente no sabía que la anestesista había dejado de trabajar en el hospital. Por eso (le) pregunta sorprendido (al cirujano):	
DP	¿Por qué prepara el cirujano la anestesia para la operación?	¿Por qué el cirujano prepara la anestesia para la operación?
DP+PP	¿Por qué prepara el cirujano de digestivo la anestesia para la operación?	¿Por qué el cirujano de digestivo prepara la anestesia para la operación?
DP+RC	¿Por qué prepara el cirujano que trabaja en digestivo la anestesia para la operación?	¿Por qué el cirujano que trabaja en digestivo prepara la anestesia para la operación?
pronoun	¿Por qué preparas tú la anestesia para la operación?	¿Por qué tú preparas la anestesia para la operación?
(14)	Alberto no sabía que habían cambiado a algunos músicos de la orquesta para “La flauta mágica”. Las canciones las suelen interpretar los pianistas y (le) pregunta sorprendido (al chelista):	
DP	¿Por qué toca el chelista la canción en el concierto?	¿Por qué el chelista toca la canción en el concierto?
DP+PP	¿Por qué toca el chelista de otra orquesta la canción en el concierto?	¿Por qué el chelista de otra orquesta toca la canción en el concierto?
DP+RC	¿Por qué toca el chelista que les gusta tanto a las violinistas la canción en el concierto?	¿Por qué el chelista que les gusta tanto a las violinistas toca la canción en el concierto?
pronoun	¿Por qué tocas tú la canción en el concierto?	¿Por qué tú tocas la canción en el concierto?
(15)	El empleado no sabía que el jefe alquila su taller a otros astilleros y (le) pregunta extrañado (al astillero desconocido):	

	DP	¿Por qué construye este hombre un velero en nuestro taller?	¿Por qué este hombre construye un velero en nuestro taller?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué construye el hombre de otra empresa su velero en nuestro taller?	¿Por qué el hombre de otra empresa construye su velero en nuestro taller?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué construye el hombre que no trabaja aquí su velero en nuestro taller?	¿Por qué el hombre que no trabaja aquí construye su velero en nuestro taller?
	pronoun	¿Por qué construyes tú el velero en nuestro taller?	¿Por qué tú construyes el velero en nuestro taller?
(16)		El técnico de la tienda de informática no sabía que dos empleados que normalmente asesoran a los clientes están enfermos y (le) pregunta asombrado (al proveedor):	
	DP	¿Por qué ayuda el proveedor a los clientes hoy?	¿Por qué el proveedor ayuda a los clientes hoy?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué ayuda el proveedor de ordenadores a los clientes hoy?	¿Por qué el proveedor de ordenadores ayuda a los clientes hoy?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué ayuda el proveedor que reparte para Sony a los clientes hoy?	¿Por qué el proveedor que reparte para Sony ayuda a los clientes hoy?
	pronoun	¿Por qué ayudas tú a los clientes hoy?	¿Por qué tú ayudas a los clientes hoy?
(17)		Uno de los ayudantes de investigación no sabía que habían cortado los fondos del proyecto y (le) pregunta sorprendido (al estudiante):	
	DP	¿Por qué hace el estudiante el experimento en el laboratorio?	¿Por qué el estudiante hace el experimento en el laboratorio?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué hace el estudiante de grado el experimento en el laboratorio?	¿Por qué el estudiante de grado hace el experimento en el laboratorio?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué hace el estudiante que todavía no ha terminado el grado el experimento en el laboratorio?	¿Por qué el estudiante que todavía no ha terminado el grado hace el experimento en el laboratorio?
	pronoun	¿Por qué haces tú el experimento en el laboratorio?	¿Por qué tú haces el experimento en el laboratorio?
(18)		Carlos no sabía que el director había cambiado los papeles de los actores para la obra de teatro y (le) pregunta extrañado (a su cuñado):	
	DP	¿Por qué desempeña mi cuñado el papel principal en esta obra?	¿Por qué mi cuñado desempeña el papel principal en esta obra?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué desempeña el cuñado de Pedro el papel principal en esta obra?	¿Por qué el cuñado de Pedro desempeña el papel principal en esta obra?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué desempeña mi cuñado que empezó el año pasado el papel principal en esta obra?	¿Por qué mi cuñado que empezó el año pasado desempeña el papel principal en esta obra?
	pronoun	¿Por qué desempeñas tú el papel principal en esta obra?	¿Por qué tú desempeñas el papel principal en esta obra?
(19)		Antonio no sabía que La 1 de TVE había cambiado al moderador para la tertulia y (le) pregunta sorprendido (a la presentadora):	
	DP	¿Por qué modera esta presentadora la tertulia de La 1?	¿Por qué esta presentadora modera la tertulia de La 1?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué modera la presentadora de deportes la tertulia de La 1?	¿Por qué la presentadora de deportes modera la tertulia de La 1?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué modera la presentadora que trabaja en deportes la tertulia de La 1?	¿Por qué la presentadora que trabaja en deportes modera la tertulia de La 1?
	pronoun	¿Por qué moderas tú la tertulia de La 1?	¿Por qué tú moderas la tertulia de La 1?
(20)		Carmen no sabía que alguien ya había reservado la finca San Miguel para su boda que quería reservar y (le) pregunta enfadada (a la mujer):	
	DP	¿Por qué quiere esta mujer la finca para su boda?	¿Por qué esta mujer quiere la finca para su boda?

	DP+PP	¿Por qué quiere la mujer de Mario la finca para su boda?	¿Por qué la mujer de Mario quiere la finca para su boda?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué quiere esta mujer que odio tanto la finca para su boda?	¿Por qué esta mujer que odio tanto quiere la finca para su boda?
	pronoun	¿Por qué quieres tú la finca para tu boda?	¿Por qué tú quieres la finca para tu boda?
(21)		Ana pensaba que en su pueblo nadie votaba a Podemos en las elecciones generales. Por eso pregunta (le) asombrada (a su vecino):	
	DP	¿Por qué vota nuestro vecino a Podemos en las urnas?	¿Por qué nuestro vecino vota a Podemos en las urnas?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué vota el vecino de Fernando a Podemos en las urnas?	¿Por qué el vecino de Fernando vota a Podemos en las urnas?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué vota el vecino que vive enfrente a Podemos en las urnas?	¿Por qué el vecino que vive enfrente vota a Podemos en las urnas?
	pronoun	¿Por qué votas tú a Podemos en las urnas?	¿Por qué tú votas a Podemos en las urnas?
(22)		Lucía no sabía que su abuela ya no podía andar ni hacer la compra y (le) pregunta preocupada (a su tía):	
	DP	¿Por qué compra la tía las pastillas para la abuela?	¿Por qué la tía compra las pastillas para la abuela?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué compra la tía de Silvia las pastillas para la abuela?	¿Por qué la tía de Silvia compra las pastillas para la abuela?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué compra la tía que vive tan lejos las pastillas para la abuela?	¿Por qué la tía que vive tan lejos compra las pastillas para la abuela?
	pronoun	¿Por qué compras tú las pastillas para la abuela?	¿Por qué tú compras las pastillas para la abuela?
(23)		Pablo no sabía que a Amaia no le había gustado el collar que le había regalado en Navidad y (le) pregunta dolido (a su amiga):	
	DP	¿Por qué lleva tu amiga el collar que te regalé?	¿Por qué tu amiga lleva el collar que te regalé?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué lleva tu amiga de Ciudad Real el collar que te regalé?	¿Por qué tu amiga de Ciudad Real lleva el collar que te regalé?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué lleva la amiga que está sentanda a tu lado el collar que te regalé?	¿Por qué la amiga que está sentanda a tu lado lleva el collar que te regalé?
	pronoun	¿Por qué llevas tú el collar que le regalé a Amaia?	¿Por qué tú llevas el collar que le regalé a Amaia?
(24)		El diseñador no sabía que Laura Ponte se había puesto enferma y no podía participar en el desfile y (le) pregunta extrañado (a otro modelo):	
	DP	¿Por qué presenta esta modelo el vestido de noche en el desfile?	¿Por qué esta modelo presenta el vestido de noche en el desfile?
	DP+PP	¿Por qué presenta la modelo de pelo rubio el vestido de noche en el desfile?	¿Por qué la modelo de pelo rubio presenta el vestido de noche en el desfile?
	DP+RC	¿Por qué presenta la modelo que tiene pelo rubio el vestido de noche en el desfile?	¿Por qué la modelo que tiene pelo rubio presenta el vestido de noche en el desfile?
	pronoun	¿Por qué presentas tú el vestido de noche en el desfile?	¿Por qué tú presentas el vestido de noche en el desfile?