

# On non in situ “in situ” wh-elements

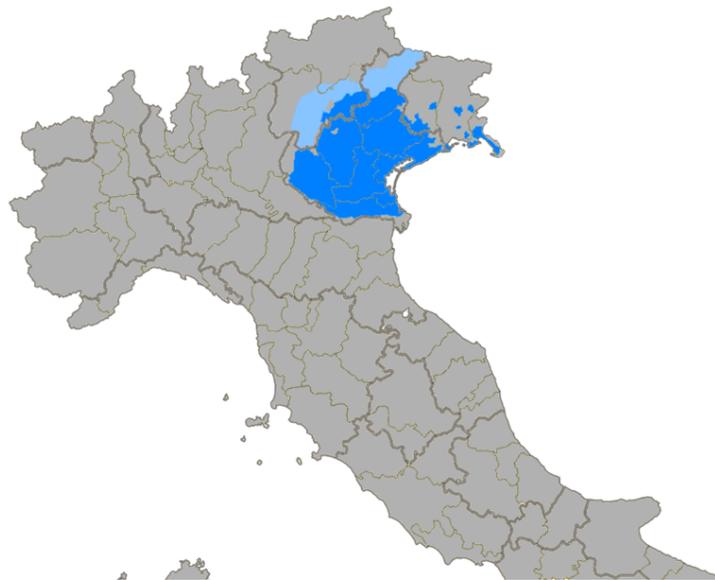
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## Abstract

Trevigiano, a Venetan dialect, licenses both fronted and sentence internal wh-phrases. This property, along with the systematic combination of “insituness” and Subject clitic Inversion, makes it different from more widely studied languages like Bellunese (Munaro (1999), Munaro et al. (2001), Poletto and Pollock (2000) and subsequent works) and French, hence worth studying. In this presentation, I argue that the relative distribution of sentence internal wh-adverbs and V-selected arguments of Trevigiano shows that what wh-phrases “in situ” actually undergo partial IP-internal wh-movement. I also show that “insituness” in this language is not only a root phenomenon, and present novel data on a special “if”-complementizer used in this language to licence sentence internal wh-elements in indirect questions. Finally, I argue in favour of a low landing site for wh-movement, located in the low periphery of the clause, and of a left peripheral WhP (Rizzi (2006)) active (at least) in indirect wh-questions.

## Introduction

**Venetan** is a Romance language used as a native language by about 3.9 million people. It is spoken mostly in the *Veneto region*, where most of the 5 million inhabitants can at least understand it. It is also spoken in Trentino, Friuli and Venezia Giulia, Istria, and some towns of Dalmatia:



Commonly referred to as an Italian dialect, Venetan is a separate *language*. It descended from Vulgar Latin, and has only been partially influenced by Standard Italian.

There exist many different varieties of Venetan, which are mutually intelligible to a very high degree, including the most diverging ones (the Central and the Western varieties). The main regional varieties of Venetan are: (i) the **Central variety** (Padua, Vicenza, and the Polesine area); (ii) the **Eastern/Coastal variety** (Venice, Trieste, Grado, Istria, and Fiume); (iii) the **Western variety** (Verona and some areas of the Trentino region); (iv) the **North-Central variety**, spoken in the “Destra Piave” of the Province of Treviso and most of the Province of Pordenone; (v) the **Northern variety**, spoken in the “Sinistra Piave” of the Province of Treviso (including Belluno, but also Feltre, Agordo, Cadore, and Zoldo Alto):



Here, and more in general in my work, I only take into consideration the varieties and sub-varieties spoken in the Province of Treviso, the “Destra Piave” and the “Sinistra Piave” varieties. The light yellow area in the map is the region in question, where 885.447 people live and have either an active or a passive competence in Trevigiano.

## 1 The Interrogative Syntax of Trevigiano

### SCII and the “ex situ-in situ alternation”

SCII is compulsory in genuine direct questions:

- (1) a. Ga-tu      catà cualchedun al      marcà?  
Have-you<sub>CL</sub> met someone      at.the market  
“Did you met someone at the market?”
- b. \* Te      gà      catà      cualchedun al      marcà?  
You<sub>CL</sub> have found someone      at.the market

Wh-phrases can appear fronted or sentence-internally:

- (2) a. **Chi** ga-tu catà al marcà?  
 who have-you<sub>CL</sub> found at.the market  
 "Who did you meet at the market?"
- b. \*Chi te gà catà al marcà?  
 Who you<sub>CL</sub> have found at.the market
- (3) a. Ga-tu catà **chi** al marcà?  
 have-you<sub>CL</sub> met who at.the market  
 "Who did you meet at the market?"
- b. \*Te gà catà chi al marcà?  
 You<sub>CL</sub> have found who at.the market

Also D-linked wh-phrases can appear both fronted or sentence-internally (4):

- (4) a. **Ch**e **profesor** a-ea visto al marcà?  
 what professor has-she<sub>CL</sub> seen at.the market  
 "Which professor did she see at the market?"
- b. A-ea visto **ch**e **profesor** al marcà?  
 has-she<sub>CL</sub> seen what professor at.the market

The same patterns are found in long-distance questions (5-6):

- (5) a. **Chi** pens-ea che te gà visto al marcà?  
 who thinks-she<sub>CL</sub> that you<sub>CL</sub> have seen at.the market  
 "Who does she think you saw at the market?"
- b. Pens-ea che te gà visto **chi** al marcà?  
 thinks-she<sub>CL</sub> that you<sub>CL</sub> have seen who at.the market
- (6) a. **Ch**e **maestra** pens-ea che te gà visto al marcà?  
 what teacher thinks-she<sub>CL</sub> that you<sub>CL</sub> have seen at.the market  
 "Which teacher does she think you saw at the market?"
- b. Pens-ea che te gà visto **ch**e **maestra** al marcà?  
 thinks-she<sub>CL</sub> that you<sub>CL</sub> have seen what teacher at.the market

Predictably, *SCII* is a root phenomenon (7):

- (7) a. Chi pens-ea che te gà visto al marcà?  
 who thinks-she<sub>CL</sub> that you<sub>CL</sub> have seen at.the market
- b. \*Pens-ea che ga-tu visto chi al marcà?  
 thinks-she<sub>CL</sub> that have-you<sub>CL</sub> seen who at.the market

### Similar, yet different from Bellunese and French

**Bellunese** (Munaro (1995), Poletto and Pollock (2015) and previous related works, Munaro et al. (2001)): obligatory *SCII*. However, non-D-linked wh-phrases can ONLY appear sentence-internally (8), and D-linked wh-words are only compatible with wh-fronting (9):

- (8) a. Ha-tu magnà **che**?  
 have-you eaten what  
 “What did you eat” (Bellunese)
- b. \* **Che** ha-tu magnà?  
 What have-you eaten
- (9) a. **Che libro** ha-tu ledest?  
 what book have-you read  
 “Which book did you read?” (Bellunese)
- b. \* Ha-tu ledest **che libro**?  
 have-you read what book

**French** (Mathieu (1999), Bošković (2000), Cheng and Rooryck (2002)): both D-linked and non-D-linked wh-phrases are licensed sentence-internally. However, in French “insituness” and SCII are NEVER compatible (10):

- (10) a. \* As-tu mangé **quand**?  
 have-you eaten when  
 “When did you eat?” (French)
- b. T’as mangé **quand**?  
 You’ve eaten when

## 2 “Insituness” in Trevigiano

### Matrix questions

Word order in declaratives: V arguments > ADJ<sub>time</sub> > ADJ<sub>place</sub> (11):

- (11) a. Giani el gà magnà pomi<sub>DO</sub> jeri sera<sub>T</sub> al ristorante<sub>P</sub>  
 John he has eaten apples yesterday evening at.the restaurant  
 “Yesterday evening, John ate apples at the restaurant”
- b. ? Giani el gà magnà pomi<sub>DO</sub> al ristorante<sub>P</sub> jeri sera<sub>T</sub>  
 John he has eaten apples at.the restaurant yesterday evening
- c. \* Giani el gà magnà jeri sera<sub>T</sub> pomi<sub>DO</sub> al ristorante<sub>P</sub>  
 John he has eaten yesterday evening apples at.the restaurant
- d. \* Giani el gà magnà al ristorante<sub>P</sub> pomi<sub>DO</sub> jeri sera<sub>T</sub>  
 John he has eaten at.the restaurant apples yesterday evening

“In situ” wh-items appear moved from the unmarked position (12) - they follow the lexical V:

- (12) a. Ga-tu magnà **quando**<sub>a</sub> el dolse t<sub>a</sub>?  
 Have-you<sub>CL</sub> eaten when the cake t  
 “When did you eat the cake?”
- b. Ga-tu visto **dove**<sub>a</sub> a Maria t<sub>a</sub>?  
 Have-you<sub>CL</sub> seen where the Maria t  
 “Where did you see Maria?”

- c. Ghe ga-tu dato a **chi**<sub>a</sub> a tecia t<sub>a</sub>?  
 DAT have-you<sub>CL</sub> given to who the saucepan t  
 "Who did you give the saucepan to?"
- d. Ga-ea visto **cozza**<sub>a</sub> a Maria t<sub>a</sub>?  
 Has-she<sub>CL</sub> seen what the Maria t  
 "What did Maria see?"

The unmarked order is ungrammatical in *genuine* questions (13):

- (13) a. \* Ga-tu magnà el dolse **quando**?  
 Have-you<sub>CL</sub> eaten the cake when  
 "When did you eat the cake?"
- b. \* Ga-tu visto a Maria **dove**?  
 Have-you<sub>CL</sub> seen the Maria where  
 "Where did you see Maria?"
- c. \* Ghe ga-tu dato a tecia **a chi**?  
 DAT have-you<sub>CL</sub> given the saucepan to who  
 "Who did you give the saucepan to?"
- d. \* Ga-ea visto a Maria **cozza**?  
 Has-she<sub>CL</sub> seen the Maria what  
 "What did Maria see?"

Wh-phrase in its base position: echo reading. The interrogative syntax is lost altogether (no *SCII*) (14):

- (14) a. Te gà magnà el dolse **quando**?!  
 You have eaten the cake when  
 "You ate the cake WHEN?!" (ECHO)
- b. Te gà visto a Maria **dove**?!  
 You have seen the Maria where  
 "You saw Maria WHERE?!" (ECHO)
- c. Te ghe gà dato a tecia **a chi**?!  
 You DAT have given the saucepan to who  
 "You gave the saucepan TO WHO?!" (ECHO)
- d. A Maria a gà visto **cozza**?!  
 The Maria she has seen what  
 "Maria saw WHAT?!" (ECHO)

...in case you were wondering! The examples in (12) are not right-dislocations (15 and 16):

- (15) a. **O** ga-tu magnà cuando, el dolse?  
 It<sub>CL</sub> have-you<sub>CL</sub> eaten when # the cake  
 "The cake, when did you eat?" (RD)
- b. **A** ga-tu vista dove, a Maria?  
 She<sub>CL</sub> have-you<sub>CL</sub> seen<sub>F</sub> where # the Maria  
 "Mary, where did you see?" (RD)

c. Ghe a ga-tu data a chi, a tecia?  
 DAT it<sub>CL</sub> have-you<sub>CL</sub> given<sub>F</sub> to who # the saucepan  
 "The saucepan, who did you give it to?" (RD)

(16) a. Ghe o ga-tu regaeà cuando, {aa Maria}, l'anel?  
 DAT it have-you<sub>CL</sub> given when # to.the Maria # the'ring  
 "The ring, when did you give to Maria?" (RD)

b. Ghe ga-tu regaeà cuando \*{aa Maria} l'anel {aa Maria}?  
 DAT have-you<sub>CL</sub> given when to.the Maria the'ring to.the Maria  
 "When did you give Maria the ring?"

Please notice that the possibility of having *emargination* in Trevigiano is excluded by the possibility of having structures like (11b)!

⇒ **Working hypothesis**

In Trevigiano, what we call "in situ" wh-phrases actually undergo **partial wh-movement** to a very low wh-position (17).

Maybe *FocusP*, in Belletti (2004)'s words?

(17) ... [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>FocusP</sub> **wh-phrase**<sub>j</sub> [<sub>focus</sub><sup>0</sup> [<sub>TopicP</sub> [<sub>Top</sub><sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub><sup>0</sup> t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]]]]

### The complementizers of Trevigiano

The LP of Trevigiano is very Italian-like (18):

(18) a. Penso *de* ndar da Toni stasera  
 Think<sub>1PS</sub> to go at Toni tonight  
 "I think I'll go to Toni's tonight" **Fin**<sup>0</sup>

b. Me domando *se* l ndarà da Toni doman  
 Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> if he<sub>CL</sub> go<sub>FUT</sub> at Toni tomorrow  
 "I wonder whether he'll go to Toni's tomorrow" **Int**<sup>0</sup>

c. Penso *che* l vae da Toni doman  
 Think<sub>1PS</sub> that he<sub>CL</sub> go<sub>SUBJ</sub> at Toni tomorrow  
 "I think he'll go to Toni's tomorrow" **Force**<sup>0</sup>

d. Cuando pensi-tu *che* l vae da Toni?  
 When think<sub>2PS</sub>-you that he<sub>CL</sub> go<sub>SUBJ</sub> at Toni  
 "When do you think he'll go to Toni's?"

### Insituness in indirect questions: the "if"-complementizer

In Trevigiano *se* appears also in non-echo indirect wh-questions when the wh-element is "in situ" (*se<sub>WH</sub>*) (19a-19c):

(19) a. Me domando *se* te ga magnà **cosa**  
 Myself ask *se<sub>wh</sub>* you have eaten what  
 "I wonder what you ate"

- b. A se domanda se l vegnarà **quando**  
 She herself asks se<sub>wh</sub> he come<sub>FUT</sub> when  
 "She wonders when he's going to come"
- c. Voria saver se ve caté **dove**  
 Would<sub>1PS</sub> know se<sub>wh</sub> yourselves meet where  
 "I wonder where you'll be meeting"

Doesn't give rise to a yes/no interpretation!

Even under se<sub>wh</sub>, the distribution of wh-adjuncts with respect to arguments patterns that observed in matrix clauses (20a-20b):

- (20) a. Me domando se te ga magnà **quando** i pomi t<sub>quando</sub>  
 Myself ask se you have eaten when the apples t  
 "I wonder when you ate the apples"
- b. A se domanda se l piantarà **dove** i perseggeri t<sub>dove</sub>  
 She herself asks se he plant<sub>FUT</sub> where the peach.trees t  
 "She wonders where he'll plant the peach trees"

In the absence of partial wh-movement, the questions are very marginal. Wondering again?? (20a-20b) are clearly NOT instances of RD (21):

- (21) Me domando se te i ga magnaj **quando**, i pomi  
 Myself ask se you them have eaten<sub>mascPL</sub> when # the apples  
 "The apples, I wonder when you ate" (RD+cl-resumption)

If the wh-element of indirect questions moves "ex situ", the insertion of se becomes ungrammatical (22a). Che ('that') must be used instead (22d):

- (22) a. \* Me domando **cozza** se te ga magnà  
 Myself ask what se you have eaten  
 "I wonder what you ate"
- b. Me domando **cozza** che te ga magnà  
 Myself ask what that you have eaten
- c. Me domando se te ga magnà  
 Myself ask se you have eaten  
 "I wonder whether you ate" no wh-phrase: ✓ (y/n)
- d. \* Me domando che te ga magnà  
 Myself ask that you have eaten  
 "I wonder whether you ate" no wh-phrase: ✗

### ⇒ Working hypothesis

The che and se just discussed might be only homophonous to the C that introduce embedded clauses and indirect yes/no questions.

### Insituness in long-distance questions

In Trevigiano, embedded "insituness" is licensed also in long-distance wh-questions:

- (23) a. Pensi-tu che vegnarà catarne **chi**?  
 Think-you<sub>CL</sub> that come<sub>FUTURE</sub> see.us who  
 “Who do you think will visit us?” “in situ”
- b. Pensi-tu che i voje magnar **cosa**?  
 Think-you<sub>CL</sub> that they want<sub>SUBJ</sub> eat what  
 “What do you think they want to eat?”
- (24) a. **Chi** pensi-tu che vegnarà catarne?  
 Who think-you<sub>CL</sub> that come<sub>FUTURE</sub> see.us  
 “Who do you think will visit us?” “ex situ”
- b. **Cossa** pensi-tu che i voje magnar?  
 What think-you<sub>CL</sub> that they want<sub>SUBJ</sub> eat  
 “What do you think they want to eat?”

Partial wh-movement of “in situ” wh-phrases is clearly at play here too (25):

- (25) Pensi-tu che magnaremo **quando** i fighi t<sub>quando</sub>?  
 Think-you<sub>CL</sub> that eat<sub>1PP.FUTURE</sub> when the figues t  
 “When do you think we will eat the figues?”

In the absence of partial wh-movement:

- (26) a. \*Pensi-tu che magnaremo i fighi **quando**?  
 Think-you<sub>CL</sub> that eat<sub>1PP.FUTURE</sub> the figues when  
 “When do you think we will eat the figues?”
- b. Pensi-tu che i magnaremo **quando**, i fighi?  
 Think-you<sub>CL</sub> that them eat<sub>1PP.FUTURE</sub> when # the figues  
 “The figues, when do you think we’re going to eat?” (RD)
- c. Te pensi che magnaremo i fighi **quando**?!  
 Think-you<sub>CL</sub> that eat<sub>1PP.FUTURE</sub> the figues when  
 “You think we’re going to eat the figues WHEN?!” (ECHO)

### 3 Low(er) landing Sites for Wh-Movement

#### IP-internal ‘little whP’

“Partial wh-movement” targets an IP-internal wh-projection, *little whP* (27):

- (27) a. Si-tu [IP ndà [whP **quando** ... [VP al marcà t<sub>quando</sub> ]]]?  
 are-you<sub>CL</sub> gone when to.the market  
 “When did you go to the market?”
- b. Ga-tu [IP posà [whP **dove** ... [VP i ociai t<sub>dove</sub> ]]]?  
 have-you<sub>CL</sub> put where the glasses  
 “Where did you put the glasses?”

Where’s **whP**? Lower than the position targeted by the finite V (28):

- (28) a. Pensi-tu che Toni el vegnarà **quando** da nojaltri?  
 think-you<sub>CL</sub> that Toni he<sub>CL</sub> come<sub>FUT</sub> when at ours  
 “When do you think Toni will come over?”
- b. El vol saver se me mare a vegnarà **quando** da ti  
 He<sub>CL</sub> wants know se<sub>WH</sub> my mother she<sub>CL</sub> come<sub>FUT</sub> when at yours  
 “He wants to know when my mother will come at your place”

“Little whP” must lie in the low periphery, *vP* (29):

- (29) a. Pensi-tu che [<sub>SubjP</sub> Toni [<sub>Subj<sup>0</sup></sub> el [<sub>TP</sub> vegnarà [<sub>whP</sub> quando<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>S</sub> t<sub>V</sub> da nojaltri t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]?  
 b. El vol saver se [<sub>SubjP</sub> me mare [<sub>Subj<sup>0</sup></sub> a [<sub>TP</sub> vegnarà [<sub>whP</sub> quando<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>S</sub> t<sub>V</sub> da ti t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]

This position is very likely FocP in Belletti (2004) (*vP/CP* correspondence - wh-phrases target focal positions):

- (30) ... [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>whP/FocP</sub> **wh-phrase**<sub>j</sub> [<sub>wh<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>TopicP</sub> [<sub>Top<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V<sup>0</sup></sub> t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]]]

### Low left peripheral WhP

The distribution of se<sub>WH</sub>/che<sub>WH</sub> and se<sub>Y/N</sub>/che<sub>Y/N</sub>:

1- se<sub>Y/N</sub> and a topic like *sto libro* (“this book”):

- (31) a. [Sto libro], me domando se te o gà za leto  
 this book myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>Y/N</sub> you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have already read
- b. Me domando se te o gà za leto, [sto libro]  
 myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>Y/N</sub> you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have already read this book
- c. Me domando, [sto libro], se te o gà za leto  
 myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> this book se<sub>Y/N</sub> you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have already read
- d. Me domando se, [sto libro], te o gà za leto  
 myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>Y/N</sub> this book you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have already read

- (32) topic<sub>LeftD</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> topic ... se<sub>Y/N</sub> ... topic ] topic<sub>RightD</sub>

2- se<sub>WH</sub>, wh-element “in situ” and a topic like *sto libro*:

- (33) a. [Sto libro], me domando se te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**  
 this book myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>WH</sub> you DAT it have given to who  
 “I wonder who you gave this book to”
- b. Me domando se te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**, [sto libro]  
 myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>WH</sub> you DAT it have given to who this book
- c. Me domando, [sto libro], se te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**  
 myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> this book se<sub>WH</sub> you DAT it have given to who
- d. ?? Me domando se, [sto libro], te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**  
 myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>WH</sub> this book you DAT it have given to who

- (34) topic<sub>LeftD</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> topic ... se<sub>WH</sub> ... ??topic *wh-phrase* ] topic<sub>RightD</sub>

3- che<sub>WH</sub>, wh-element “ex situ” and a topic like *sto libro*:

- (35) a. [Sto libro], me domando dove che te o gà leto  
This book myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> where che you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have read  
“I wonder where you read this book”  
b. Me domando dove che te o gà leto, [sto libro]  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> where che you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have read this book  
c. Me domando, [sto libro], dove che te o gà leto  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> this book where che you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have read  
d. ?? Me domando dove, [sto libro], che te o gà leto  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> where this book che you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have read  
e. ? Me domando dove che, [sto libro], te o gà leto  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> where che this book you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have read
- (36) topic<sub>LeftD</sub> [CP topic ...wh-phrase ??topic **che<sub>WH</sub>** ...?topic ] topic<sub>RightD</sub>

4- Surrounded by topics?:

- (37) a. Me domando, [sto libro], se, [jeri], te o gà leto  
I wonder this book se<sub>Y/N</sub> yesterday you<sub>CL</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> have read  
“I wonder if you read this book yesterday”  
b. \* Me domando, [sto libro], se, [jeri], o gà leto chi  
I wonder this book se<sub>WH</sub> yesterday it<sub>CL</sub> has read who  
“I wonder who read this book yesterday”  
c. \* Me domando, [sto libro], chi che, [jeri], o gà leto  
I wonder this book who che yesterday it<sub>CL</sub> has read
- (38) [CP topic ...se<sub>Y/N</sub> / \*se<sub>WH</sub> / \*che<sub>WH</sub> ...topic ]

5- Co-occurrence with focus:

- (39) a. Me domando se STO LIBRO te ga leto (no staltro)  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>Y/N</sub> THIS BOOK you<sub>CL</sub> have read (not other)  
“THIS BOOK I wonder if you read (not the other one)”  
b. \* Me domando STO LIBRO se te ga leto (no staltro)  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> THIS BOOK se<sub>Y/N</sub> you<sub>CL</sub> have read (not other)
- (40) a. Me domando STO LIBRO se o ga leto chi  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> THIS BOOK se<sub>WH</sub> it<sub>CL</sub> has read who  
“THIS BOOK I wonder who read”  
b. \* Me domando se STO LIBRO o ga leto chi  
Myself ask<sub>1PS</sub> se<sub>WH</sub> THIS BOOK it<sub>CL</sub> has read who
- (41) a. Me domando STO LIBRO chi che o gà leto  
I wonder THIS BOOK who che it<sub>CL</sub> has read  
“THIS BOOK I wonder who read”

- b. \* Me domando chi STO LIBRO che o già leto  
 I wonder who THIS BOOK che it<sub>CL</sub> has read  
 c. ?? Me domando chi che STO LIBRO o già leto  
 I wonder who che THIS BOOK it<sub>CL</sub> has read

- (42) a. \*focus > se<sub>Y/N</sub> > focus (IT, Rizzi (2001))  
 b. focus > se<sub>WH</sub> > \*focus  
 c. focus > wh-phrase \*focus che<sub>WH</sub> > \*focus

### Making sense of the data:

The distribution of the three Cs with respect to *topics* and *focus* is summarized in (43):

- (43) a. Topic > se<sub>Y/N</sub> > Focus > Topic  
 b. Focus > Topic > se<sub>WH</sub>  
 c. Focus > Topic > che<sub>WH</sub>

se<sub>Y/N</sub> is likely to realize **Int**<sup>0</sup>, as its Italian counterpart (Rizzi (2001)).

se<sub>WH</sub> appears to occupy the head of a very low left-peripheral projection - lower than the last TopP - and it is in complementary distribution with che<sub>WH</sub>. The Spec of the latter seems to be a landing site for wh-movement, whereas that of the former is not.

### ⇒ Working question

Could se<sub>WH</sub> and che<sub>WH</sub> head two different projections? **NO**.

This is theoretically undesirable:

- Imagine that *se* is there for locality reason, and is inserted as a last resort operation to “save” the structure: why not moving the wh-phrase, instead of projecting a FP?
- Why isn't *ke* able to “save” the structure on its own?
- If *ke* is selected by the V, and *se* “saves” the in situ structure, why can't they appear together?

### My proposal: se<sub>WH</sub> and ke<sub>WH</sub> are two phonetic realizations of Wh<sup>0</sup>

The V-selected C of indirect questions surfaces either as se<sub>WH</sub> or as che<sub>WH</sub> (44):

- (44) matrix V ... [<sub>ForceP(emb)</sub> Force<sup>0</sup> ... [<sub>FP</sub> se<sub>WH</sub>/che<sub>WH</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> Fin<sup>0</sup> [<sub>IP</sub> I<sup>0</sup> ]]]]]]]]]

The alternation between se<sub>WH</sub> and che<sub>WH</sub> can be attributed to the presence/absence of a relevant wh-feature: as in French *que/qui alternation* (Rizzi (1990), Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007)), se<sub>WH</sub> surfaces as *che* when it is crossed by wh-movement, thus being endowed with a [+WH] feature.

Let us call the relevant wh-projection **WhP**, borrowing Rizzi's terms (*QembP* in Rizzi and Bocci (2016)) (45a-45b):

- (45) a. I wonder ... [<sub>ForceP</sub> ... [<sub>TopP</sub> Top<sup>0</sup> ... [<sub>WhP</sub> **se** [<sub>FinP</sub> Fin<sup>0</sup> [<sub>TP</sub> ...  
 [<sub>whP</sub> wh-phrase<sub>[+WH]</sub> ... [<sub>VP</sub> <wh-phrase<sub>[+WH]</sub>> ]]]]]]]]]  
 b. I wonder ... [<sub>ForceP</sub> ... [<sub>TopP</sub> Top<sup>0</sup> ... [<sub>WhP</sub> wh-phrase<sub>[+WH]</sub> **che**  
 [<sub>FinP</sub> Fin<sup>0</sup> [<sub>TP</sub> ... [<sub>whP</sub> <wh-phrase> ... [<sub>VP</sub> <wh-phrase> ]]]]]]]]]

## Conclusions

In this presentation I showed that:

- what looks like “insituness” in Trevigiano is actually an instance of IP-internal wh-movement;
- the targeted position is the Spec of the focal projection of the *low* periphery (Belletti (2004)), which I call *whP*;
- embedded insituness is indeed possible, both in long distance and in indirect wh-questions;
- in indirect wh-questions, the V selects and embedded LP whose landing site for wh-movement stands very low - I called it WhP (as in Rizzi (2004));
- WhP seems one of the “root/non-root asymmetries” involving the LP of the clause, and its head has two phonetic realizations, *se* and *che*;
- I proposed the *se-che alternation* be treated as *se* surfacing as *che* when crossed by wh-movement, thus being endowed with a [+WH] feature.

### And now...?

It is tempting to try to explain “insituness” in Romance as a combination of morpho-syntactic and prosodic phenomena: (no) SCII, special wh-prosody (and lack thereof), internal structure of wh-words (Poletto and Pollock (2000) and refinements), (un)availability of certain Wh-positions.

A number of questions and predictions are raised by my claims. Hopefully, further systematic cross-linguistic comparison among Romance varieties will shed light on the complex natures of **insituness** and **linguistic optionality** (if any) - and on the ways morphology, syntax and prosody interact to licence sentence-internal wh-phrases.

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