

Overview

- ▶ In this work, I claim that the leading analysis for “insituness” in North Italian dialects (NIDs), **Remnant-TP movement** à la Poletto & Pollock 2015 (and previous works), is incompatible with the interrogative syntax of Trevisano (TV), a Romance Venetan dialect;
- ▶ I argue that, in TV, what looks like “insituness” is actually an instance of *IP-internal wh-movement*, and show that this partial movement is compatible with *any type* of wh-phrase (*whp*) (D-linked and non-D-linked, in Pesetsky’s terms), both in **matrix** and **embedded** contexts;
- ▶ Finally, I posit the existence of an IP-internal landing site for *partial wh-movement*, **little whP**, and of a low left-peripheral **WhP** (as in Rizzi 2004, Rizzi&Bocci 2016) targeted by wh-movement in indirect clauses.

1. Remnant-TP movement

“Insituness” in NIDs (Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2015): result of *overt* wh-movement to a low left-peripheral WhP, followed by Subject-Clitic inversion (SCII) and further movement of the remnant-TP to the CP domain (right above bare wh-nominals and adverbials). A sentence like (1), is derived as in (2):

- (1) A-tu magnà che? (Bellunese)
have-you eaten what
“what did you eat?”

- (2) Input: [_{IP} tu ha magnà che]
a. Wh-movement: [_{CP} che_i X⁰[_{IP} tu ha magnà t_j]]
b. Remnant IP movement and further displacement:
[_{CP} [_{IP} ha-tu magnà t_j]_j C [_{CP} che_i C⁰ t_j]]]

A derivation like (2) predicts that:

- (i) the “in situ” wh-element should be the rightmost element;
- (ii) D-linked wh-elements should never appear “in situ”;
- (iii) embedded “insituness” should be ruled out by economy.

However, none of the predictions in (i-iii) is met in TV.

2. IP-internal wh-movement

In TV, “in situ” *whps* surface higher than their base-position (3):

- (3) a. a-tu magnà **quando** el dolce ~~quando~~?
have-you eaten when the cake ~~when~~
“when did you eat the cake?”
b. a-tu visto **dove** a maria ~~dove~~?
have-you seen when the mary ~~when~~
“when did you see Mary?”

The *whp* CAN stay in its base position, but this gives rise to an echoic reading - the interrogative syntax is lost (no SCII) (4):

- (4) a. te a magnà el dolce CUANDO?! (ECHO)
you have eaten the cake when
“you ate the cake WHEN?!”

Notice that the questions in (3) are not instances of right dislocation, which always calls for clitic resumption in TV (5):

- (5) a. **o** a-tu magnà quando, el dolce?
it have-you eaten when # the cake
“the cake, when did you eat?”

3. Embedded insituness (indirect Qs)

In TV, the “if”-complementizer *SE* introduces *indirect wh-questions* when the *whp* is “in situ” (6a) (here, “se” does not give rise to a yes/no interpretation, it is a genuine wh-question!). If the *whp* is moved “ex situ”, *KE* (“that”) is used instead (6b):

- (6) a. me domando **se** te a magnà cossa (TV)
myself ask_{1PS} se you have eaten what
“I wonder what you ate”
b. me domando cossa **ke** te a magnà
myself ask_{1PS} what ke you have eaten

4. Embedded insituness (long-distance Qs)

Embedded “insituness” is also possible in long-distance questions (7a); they alternate freely with their “ex situ” counterparts in (7b):

- (7) a. pensi-tu **ke** i voje magnar cossa?
think-you that they want_{SUBJUNCTIVE} eat what
“what do you think they want to eat?”
b. cossa pensi-tu **ke** i voje magnar?
what think-you that they want_{SUBJUNCTIVE} eat

5. Arguing for whP and WhP

IP-internal whP

In both matrix and embedded questions, the “in situ” *whp* targets a position that is lower than the S position (Subj⁰) and the V (in T⁰) (8):

- (8) pensi-tu ke [_{SubjP} el [_{TP} magnarà [_{whP} **cossa** [_{VP} t_s t_v ~~cossa~~]]]]?
think-you that he eat_{FUTURE} what t_s t_v ~~what~~
“what do you think he will eat?”

I suggest this position lies in the vP (likely in the focal position called FocP in Belletti 2004) - I call it “little whP” (9):

- (9) ... [_{vP} [_{whP} **wh-phrase** [wh⁰ [_{Topic} [Top⁰ [_{VP} [V⁰ ~~wh-phrase~~]]]]]]]]

Since whP does not block further wh-movement (to the CP-field), I take it to be a *non* Criterial projection.

Low left-peripheral WhP

Because the “se”-complementizer that licenses “insituness” in indirect questions appears lower than Focus, and lower than all LP topic positions, I suggest we treat it as independent from the “se” of yes-no questions. I claim it is hosted by a very low left-peripheral WhP (à la Rizzi 2004) (10):

- (10) ... [_{WhP} **se** [_{FinP} ... [_{vP} [_{whP} **wh-phrase** [wh⁰ [_{Topic} [Top⁰ [_{VP} [V⁰ ~~wh-phrase~~]]]]]]]]

If moved “ex situ”, the *whp* regularly targets SpecFocP in matrix and long-distance questions, but makes use of WhP in indirect questions. Since WhP disallows further wh-movement, I take it to be a Criterial projection.

6. Conclusions

In this work I claim that in TV there is no real “insituness”, but *partial IP-internal wh-movement*. Since here the possibility of licensing “insituness” seems to depend on the presence of whP and WhP, I suggest that, cross-linguistically, the choice of “in situ” over “ex situ” might be subject to the (un)availability of specialized functional structure of the sort. This prediction is to be tested (at least) in the Romance varieties that display “insituness”. Finally, I suggest we treat the SE and KE complementizers of indirect questions as two different realizations of Wh⁰: *se* surfaces as *ke* when endowed with a [+WH] feature carried by the movement of the *whp* to SpecWhP (similarly to the French *que/qui* alternation).

References

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