

Arguing against a *one-fits-all* Derivation for Romance 'Insituness'¹

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Structure of the talk

1- Northern Italian Insituness. Classic derivations:

a. *Left peripheral*: Munaro et al (2001), Poletto & Pollock (2000-2015)

b. *Argumental*: Manzini & Savoia (2005;2011)

2- Northern Italian Insituness. Novel data:

a. Trevigiano

b. *IP-internal 'insituness'*

3- More than one variety, more than one type of 'insituness'

Introduction

Two types of *genuine* (as opposed to echoic) 'insituness':

a) *Pure in situ* languages (wh-words in *argumental* position): *Chinese* (Huang 1982, Aoun & Li 1993, Tsai 1994, a.o.), *Japanese* (Lasnik & Saito 1992, Watanabe 1992, Aoun & Li 1993) etc.

(1) *Chinese* (adapted from Huang 1982, ex. 159-160, p. 253)

a. Ni kanjian-le **shei**?

you see-ASP who

'Who did you see?'

b. * Shei ni kanjian-le?

Spell-Out

who you see-ASP

c. [[shei]]_i [ni kanjian-le t_i]]

wh-movement @ LF

who you see-ASP

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b) *Optional in situ languages: French* (a.o., Obenauer 1984, Mathieu 1999, Boskovic 2000, Baunaz 2011), *Northern Italian Dialects* (NIDs) (a.o., Munaro 1999, Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015, Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011, Manzini 2014, Bonan 2018, Donzelli 2018), partially *Spanish* (a.o., Jiménez 1997, Etxepare & Uribe-Etxeparia 2005, Biézma 2016) and *Portuguese* (a.o., Cheng & Rooryck 2000;2002, Kato 2013), etc.

(2) *Trevigiano*² (Bonan 2018, ex. 5-6)

a. **Cossa** a-tu leto ____ ? wh-fronting → *pre-Spell Out movement*

↑ _____ ↓

what have=you_{2PS} read

'What did you read?'

b. A-tu leto **cosa**? wh-in situ: moved? unmoved?

have=you_{2PS} read what

→ Conflicting treatments for 'insituness' in NIDs: is it real, *argumental* insituness (Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011)? IP-internally-moved 'insituness' (a.o., Kato 2013, Manzini 2014, Bonan 2018)? Left-peripheral 'insituness' (a.o., Munaro et al 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015)?

→ The syntax of optional insituness varies greatly. Working hypothesis: maybe one unique derivation is not enough to account for all of the phenomena described in the literature.

1. Northern Italian Insituness. Classic derivations

Two major, conflicting treatments of 'insituness' in NIDs have been proposed over the years: *left peripheral* (fake) insituness (Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015) (1.1) and (real) *argumental* insituness (Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011) (1.2).

1.1. Left peripheral 'insituness'

Starting from Poletto & Pollock 2000 and Munaro et al. 2001, NI insituness has been claimed to be the result of (masked) movements to the LP (= *fake* 'insituness') (3-3'):

(3) *Bellunese* (Poletto & Pollock 2000)

Ha-tu parecià che?

have=you_{2PS} prepared what

'What did you prepare?'

² The variety of Trevigiano described throughout this paper, and more generally in my work, is a mixed *Destra Piave-Sinistra* Piave variety, more precisely the one spoken in the San Biagio di Callalta - Salgareda area.

(3') Input: [IP tu ha parecià che]

First step: [XP che_i X° [IP tu ha parecià t_i]]

↑_____↓

Second step (oversimplified): [Y_P [IP tu ha parecià t_i]_j Y° [XP che_i X° t_j]]

↑_____↓

Phenomena that push a treatment of 'in situ' wh-words of Bellunese-like languages as moved:

(i) Morphological similarity between French *que* (only fronted) and Bellunese *che* (only sentence-internal) + *SCII* (4-6).

(4) French *que* vs other non-D-linked wh-words

a. Tu vas où?
you_{2PS} go where
'Where are you going?'

b. * Jean a acheté que?
Jean has bought what
'What did Jean buy?'

(5) Bellunese *che* ('what'): only 'in situ'

a. Ha-tu magnà che?
have=you_{2PS} eaten what
'What did you eat?'

b. * Che ha-tu magnà?
what have=you_{2PS} eaten

(6) French *que* ('what'): only fronted + *SCII*

a. Qu'a-t-il acheté?
what'has=t=he bought
'What did he buy?'

b. * Que il a acheté?
what he has bought

Also: Bellunese-like languages license only *non-D-linked* wh-words sentence-internally (Munaro 1999) (7-7'), French both *non-D-linked* and *D-linked* (8-8'):

(7) *Bellunese*: distribution of D-linked wh-words (Munaro 1999, ex. 1.2, p. 14)

a. **Che vestito** à-tu sièlt?
what dress have=you_{2PS} chosen
'Which dress did you choose?'

b. * À-tu sièlt che vestito?
Have=you_{2PS} chosen what dress

(7') *Bellunese*: distribution of non-D-linked wh-words (adapted from Munaro 1999, ex. 1.56, p. 50)

a. * Che à-tu parecià?
what have=you_{2PS} prepared
'What did you prepare?'

b. À-tu parecià **che**?
have=you_{2PS} prepared what

(8) *French*: distribution of D-linked wh-words

a. Tu as lu **combien de livres**?
you_{2PS} have read how.many books
'How many books did you read?' (like Trevigiano!)

b. **Combien de livres** est-ce que tu as lu?
how.many books *est-ce que* you_{2PS} have read

(8') *Trevigiano*: distribution of non-D-linked wh-words

a. Tu as lu **quoi**?
you_{2PS} have read what
'What did you read?' (like Trevigiano!)

b. **Qu'est-ce que** tu as lu?
what'*est-ce que* you_{2PS} have read

(ii) Strong and weak *islands effects* (9):

(9) *Bellunese* (Munaro 1999, ex. 1.105-1.107)

a. * Te piase-lo [i libri che parla **de che**]? *Complex-NP*
you like=it the books that speak of what
'You like books about what?'

- b. ?? No te-te-ricorda [andé che von comprà **che**]? *Wh-island*
 NEG you_{2PS}=yourself=remember where that have_{1PP} bought what
 'What is it that you don't remember where we bought?'

(iii) 'order of internal arguments' → *clause-finality requirement* (10):

(10) *Bellunese* (adapted from Poletto & Pollock 2015, ex. 2, p. 139)

- a. Al ghe a dat al libro a so fradel
 he DAT has given the book to his brother
 'He gave the book to his brother'
- b. * Ghe ha-lo dat che a so fradel?
 DAT has=he given what to his brother
 'What has he given to his brother?'
- c. Ghe ha-lo dat che, a so fradel?
 DAT has=he given what # to his brother

(iv) 'insituness' is a root phenomenon (11):

(11) *Bellunese* (adapted from Munaro 1999, ex. 1.96&1.93)

- a. À-tu dit [che l'à sièlt *{che vestito}/{che}]?
 have=you_{2PS} said that he'has chosen *what dress what
 'Which dress did you say he chose?'
- b. No so [(che) l'ha comprà *{che vestito}/*{che}]
 NEG know_{1PS} (that) he'has bought *what dress *what
 'I don't know what he bought'

⇒ “[...] strings like Bellunese *A-tu magnà che?* [have=you eaten what, ‘What did you eat?’] and French *Tu as mangé quoi?* [you have eaten what] are very misleading: both result from a conspiracy involving wh-movement and remnant IP movement. Neither language allow for ‘real’ *in situ* questions in which the wh-word would be standing in its argumental position.” (Poletto&Pollock 2015, p. 151)

This model does not predict (at least):

- a. non sentence-final 'insituness';
- b. embedded 'insituness';
- c. island-contained 'insituness'.

→ However (a-c) are attested in Romance (see 2).

1.2. Argumental insituness

Starting from Manzini & Savoia 2005 (up to 2011), the *remnant-IP movement hypothesis* has been criticized for theory internal and data-related reasons.

Data-related arguments against a derivation involving movement of the remnant-IP:

(i) contrary to Bellunese, Lombard dialects show no sensitivity to islands in case of non-doubling insituness (12):

(12) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005, ex. 157, p. 587)

- a. Dìg-ei che gé egnìt i amìs **de chi**?³ *Subject island*
say=them that is come the friends of whom
'Whose friends do they say that came?'
- b. Ta pjah i liber ch'i pàrta **de cohè**? *Relative island*
you like the books that'they speak of what
'What kind of books do you like?'
- c. L'è ndàf ivja hènha haludà **chi**? *Adjunct island*
he'is gone away without greeting who
'Whom did he leave without greeting?'

!!!!!! Interestingly, if the sentence internal wh-phrase is doubled by its left peripheral counterpart, island effects appear (12')

(12') *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005, ex. 157, p. 587)

- a. * *De chi* dìg-ei che gé egnìt i amìs de chi? *Subject island*
of whom say=them that is come the friends of whom
- b. * *De kòha* ta pjah i liber ch'i pàrta de cohè? *Relative island*
of what you like the books that'they speak of what
- c. * *Chi* l'è ndàf ivja hènha haludà chi? *Adjunct island*
who he'is gone away without greeting who

(ii) insituness is NOT exclusively a *root* phenomenon – it is in fact widely attested in long distance (13) and in indirect questions (14):

³ The original examples are given in IPA. All transliteration errors are mine.

(13) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005, ex. 155, p. 591)

a. Krèdet che al hàbe indàʃf **indoé**?

think_{2PS} that he has_{SUBJ} gone where

‘Where do you think he went?’

b. (**Kòha**) pènhèt che l’abe fàʃf **kohè**?

(what) think_{2PS} that he’has_{SUBJ} done what

‘What do you think he did?’

(14) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005, ex. 156, p. 592)

a. Öle hàì **indó** l’è ndàʃf (**indoé**)

want_{1PS} know where he’is gone (where)

‘I want to know where he went’

b. Domànde-ga **kòha** l’a fàʃf (**kohè**)

ask=him what he’has done (what)

‘Ask him what he did’

(iii) no distributional asymmetry between D-linked and non-D-linked wh-words in Lombard;

(iv) no direct correlation between *SCII* and 'insituness', both *regular* and of the *wh-doubling* types.

⇒ In NIDs, sentence internal wh-words are literally *in situ* (= in their *argumental* position).

This model correctly predicts:

a. island-contained 'insituness';

b. embedded 'insituness';

This model does not predict:

c. moved 'in situ' wh-words;

→ However (c) is attested in Romance (see 2).

2. Northern Italian Insituness. Novel data

The phenomena that the classic derivations of 'insituness' discussed in section 1 fail to predict (non sentence-final 'insituness', embedded 'insituness', island-contained 'insituness') are actually attested in NIDs. Let us consider the case of *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018;2019), discussed in (2.2).

- b. A se domanda se l piantarà **dove** i persegheri ____
 she herself asks se he plant_{FUT} where the peach.trees
 ‘She wonders where he’ll plant the peach trees’

Bonan (2019): contrary to Bellunese (Munaro 1999), in Trevigiano, 'in situ' wh-words are fine both inside of weak (18) and strong (19) islands:

(18) *Trevigiano: Weak islands* (Bonan 2019)

a. *Wh-island*

No te te ricordi [se vemo comprà **cosa**]?
 NEG you yourself remember if have_{1PP} bought what
 ‘What is it that you don't remember whether we bought?’

b. *Negative island*

No te vol 'ndar **dove**?
 NEG you want go where
 ‘Where is it that you don't want to go?’

(19) *Trevigiano: Strong islands* (Bonan 2019)

a. *Subject island*

I te gà dito che [i clienti **de chi**] no i a pagà?
 they to.you have said that the clients of whom NEG they havepaid
 ‘Whose clients are said to have left without paying?’

b. *Complex-NP island*

Te gà comprà [un porsel che peza **quanto**]?
 you have bought a pig that weights how.much
 ‘How big a pig did you buy?’

2.2 IP-internal wh-movement

My proposal(s) (Bonan 2018):

- whatever the reasons, Trevigiano clearly derives 'insituness' differently from Bellunese;
- in Trevigiano, “in situ” wh-words undergo *IP-internal wh-movement* → Building on Kato (2013) treatment of Brazilian Portuguese sentence-internal wh-words and on Manzini’s (2014) intuition about NIDs → they target a focal position in *vP*, the one that was called *FocP* in Belletti (2004). I call it *whP* (“little whP”) (20-20’):

(20) IP-internal wh-movement (Bonan 2018, ex. 25)

a. Si-tu [IP ndà [whP **quando** ... [VP al marcà ____]]]?

↑_____↓

are=you gone when to.the market

‘When did you go to the market?’

b. Ga-tu [IP posà [whP **dove** ... [VP i ociai ____]]]?

↑_____↓

have=you put where the glasses

‘Where did you put the glasses?’

(20') Position of *whP* inside *vP* (Bonan 2018, ex. 27)

... [vP [whP/FocP **wh-phrase** [wh° [TopicP [Top° [VP [V° ____]]]]]]

↑_____↓

My proposal(s) (Bonan 2019):

- the (un)availability of long distance 'insituness' depends on the wh-projection that is exploited in the derivation thereof (left peripheral vs. IP-internal);
- the (un)availability of indirect 'insituness' depends on the presence of an *if*-COMP like *se_{WH}*, which in turn seems linked to the necessity for indirect questions to be introduced by an overt COMP (or wh-doubling, see Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011) ⇒ sets languages like Trevigiano and French apart (21-22):

(21) *Trevigiano* – Indirect questions

a. El vol saver quando **che** te parti
 he wants know when that you leave
 ‘He wants to know when you’re leaving’

b. El vol saver **se** te parti quando
 he wants know *se* you leave when

(22) *French* – Indirect questions

a. Il veut savoir quand (*que) tu pars
 he wants know when *that you leave

b. * Il veut savoir tu pars quand
 he wants know you leave when

c. * Il veut savoir si/que tu pars quand (but see Boeckx et al 2000)
 he wants know *si/que* you leave when

Conclusions: More than one variety, more than one type of 'insituness'

- the degree of morpho-syntactic variation observed in Northern Italian insituness is great (doubling / non-doubling insituness; presence / absence of *SCII*; compatibility with islands, embedded environments; presence / absence of IP-internal wh-movement, etc.);
- the degree of variation is even larger if one looks at Romance varieties spoken outside of Italy: how to explain French? (also: why is 'insituness' possible, yet rare in Spanish and Portuguese?)
- it is rather utopic to pursue a one-fits-all derivation.

To summarize:

	D-linked in situ?	In situ in long distance?	In situ in indirect?	IP-internal wh-movement?	In situ inside of islands?
Bellunese-like languages	X	X	X	X	X
M&S's Lombard dialects	√	√	√	?	√
Trevigiano-like languages	√	√	√ (se _{wh})	√	√

Is it plausible to posit that different wh-words target different wh-projections? **YES.**

- NIDs: wh-doubling constructions: the relative order between doubling wh-elements is rigidly fixed (see Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015, Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011, a.o.)!!
- Lombard varieties described by Manzini & Savoia and Trevigiano allow for D-linked wh-words sentence-internally, Bellunese-like varieties do no: could this be due to the wh-projection(s) targeted by 'in situ' wh-words?
- The Comunnovesse data (Donzelli 2017;2018) clearly show that different wh-words have different distributional properties, not only cross-linguistically but also language-internally.

	D-linked in situ?	In situ in long distance?	In situ in indirect?	IP-internal wh-movement?	In situ inside of islands?
Mixed-languages (CN)	?	√	√ (è-type)	√ (basic-type)	√ (è-type)

My proposal:

Contra (Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015) and Manzini & Savoia (2005;2011), I argue against the possibility of positing a one-fits-all derivation for 'insituness' in NIDs (and more generally, Romance).

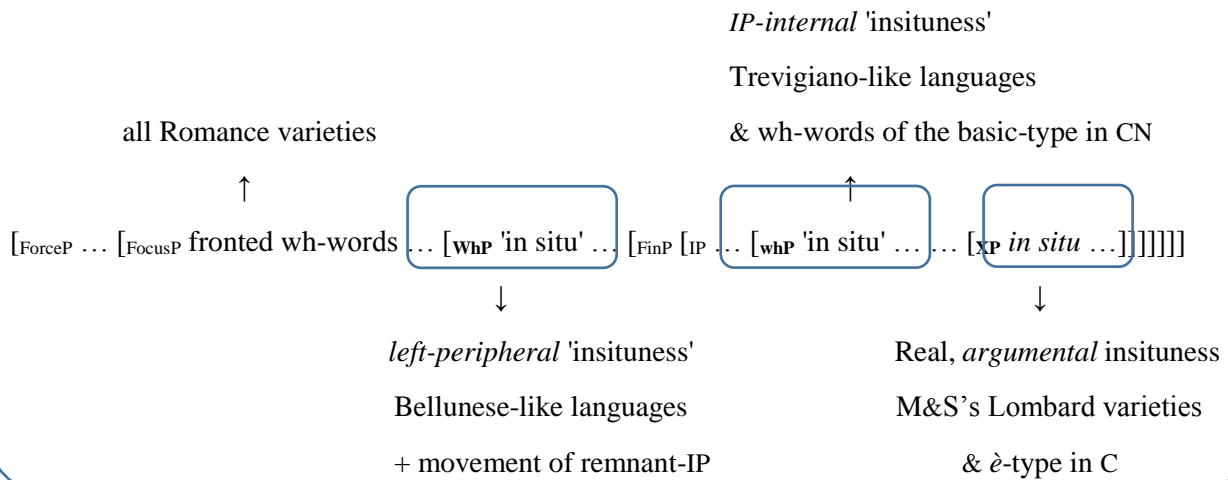
→ the wide range of morpho-syntactic variation is better explained if one considers 'insituness' to be the result of:

- (i) the wh-projections available as landing sites for 'insituness' in each language;
- (ii) the type(s) of wh-words that each language has at its disposal⁶.

→ the reasons behind the remaining, unexplained differences will have to be looked for at the *Interfaces* (see French and the puzzling lack of *SCII*, for example).

⁶ That language-specific inherent properties of wh-words might play a role in their distribution (= the position they target) has already been convincingly proven in Lee (1991) and Finer (2014) – they discuss Korean-English codeswitching data suggesting that wh-words in code-switched sentences maintain the same distributional properties as in the original language.

Something like this:



I will leave the discussion of the WHYs and HOWs of everything seen throughout this work for my PhD dissertation.

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