

Insituness in Northern Italian Dialects: argumental, IP-internal or left peripheral?¹

Seminario di ricerca

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

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 → *IP-internal* “insituness”

b. Comunnovesese (Donzelli, 2018) → *Mixed insituness*

3- More than one variety, more than one type of “insituness”

Introduction

a) *Pure in situ* languages: *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, 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

→ Real insituness (wh-words in *argumental* position - interpretation done at LF) (1c): subject to the same interpretation / scope as overtly moved wh-elements (English), yet constrained differently in terms of *sensitivity to islands* and *intervention effects*.

¹ This work was fully supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation, project n° 156160, “Optional Wh-in situ in French Interrogatives: Syntax and Prosody”.

(1) *Chinese*: wh-movement @ LF (Huang 1982, ex. 160, p. 253)

c. [[shei]]_i [ni kanjian-le t_i]
who you see-ASP

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* (Bonan 2018, ex. 5-6)

a. **Cossa** a-tu leto ____ ?
↑
what have=you read

'What did you read?'

b. A-tu leto **cosa**? (moved? unmoved?)
have=you read what

→ Conflicting treatments for 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)? → No consensus among scholars.

The syntax of optional insituness actually varies greatly. Bellunese-like languages license only non-D-linked wh-words sentence-internally (Munaro 1999) (3-3'), Trevigiano-like languages both non-D-linked and D-linked (Bonan 2018;2019) (4):

(3) *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

(3') *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

(4) *Trevigiano*: distribution of D-linked wh-words (Bonan 2018, ex. 5&6) (like French!)

a. Ga-tu leto **cuanti** **libri**?
 have=you_{2PS} read how.many books
 'How many books did you read?'

b. **Cuanti** **libri** ga-tu leto?
 how.many books have=you_{2PS} read

(4) *Trevigiano*: distribution of non-D-linked wh-words (Bonan 2018, ex. 5&6) (like French!)

a. Ga-tu leto **cosa**?
 have=you_{2PS} read what
 'What did you read?'

b. **Cossa** ga-tu leto?
 what have=you_{2PS} read

In Bellunese-like languages “insituness” is a *root* phenomenon (Munaro 1999, Munaro et al 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015) (5), in Trevigiano-like languages it is fine both in long distance (6a) and in indirect (6b) questions:

(5) *Bellunese* (Munaro 1999, ex. 1.96&1.93) (like French?!?! a.o., Obenauer 1984, Mathieu 1999, Boskovic 2000; contra Starke 2001, Baunaz 2011, Baunaz & Patin 2011, Tual 2017, Bonan 2018;2019)

a. * À-tu dit [che l'à sièlt che vestito]?
 have=you_{2PS} said that he'has chosen what dress
 'Which dress did you say he chose?'

b. * No so [(che) l'ha comprà che]
 NEG know_{1PS} (that) he'has bought what
 'I don't know what he bought'

(6) *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018, ex. 18&13)

a. Pensi-tu [che i voje magnar **cosa**]?
 think=you_{2PS} that they want_{SUBJ} eat what
 'What do you think they want to eat?'

- b. Me domando [se te ga magnà **cosa**]
 myself ask if you_{2PS} have eaten what
 'I wonder what you ate' (→ real wh-question, *se* is semantically void!)

“Insituness” is banned from weak (7a) and strong (7b) islands in Bellunese-like languages (Munaro 1999, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015), yet it is fine island-trapped in Trevigiano (Bonan 2019) (8):

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

- a. * Te piase-lo [i libri che parla **de che**]? *Wh-island*
 you like=it the books that speak of what
 'You like books about what?'
- b. ?? No te-te-ricorda [andé che von comprà **che**]? *Complex-NP*
 NEG you_{2PS}=yourself=remember where that have_{1PP} bought what
 'What is it that you don't remember where we bought?'

(8) *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2019, ex. 105&103)

- a. No te te ricordi [se vemo comprà **cosa**]? *Wh-island*
 NEG you yourself remember if have_{1PP} bought what
 'What is it that you don't remember whether we bought?'
- b. Te gà comprà [un porsel che peza **quanto**]? *Complex-NP island*
 you have bought a pig that weights how.much
 'How big a pig did you buy?'

Note that some NIDs also have “doubling” insituness (a.o., Munaro 1999, Poletto & Pollock 2004-2015, Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011), which can be of three types (classification by Poletto & Pollock 2015, slightly modified in Bonan 2019) (9):

(9) a. Type A doubling: Clitic pronoun-strong pronoun (*Illasiano*, P&P 2015, ex. 26)

Sa eto dito **che**?
 what have=you_{2PS} said what
 'What did you say?'

b. Type B doubling: Weak pronoun - tonic pronoun (*Mendrisiotto*, P&P 2015, ex. 28)

Cusa t'è fai **cusè**?
 what you_{2PS}'have done what
 'What have you done?'

c. Type C doubling: Invariant operator - wh pronoun (*Mendrisiotto*, P&P 2015, ex. 29)

Che fè-t dàjel **a chi?**
wh do-you_{2PS} give=it to whom
'To whom will you give it to?'

Note that (i) only non-D-linked wh-words can be doubled and (ii) the relative order between the higher and the lower wh-words of doubling constructions is unchangeable.

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 (10-10’):

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

Ha-tu parecià che?
have=you prepared what
‘What did you prepare?’

(10’) Input: [_{IP} tu ha parecià che]

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

↑ _____ ↓

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

↑ _____ ↓

→ “insituness” in Bellunese-like languages is *fake* insituness – the wh-element is moved; its movement is masked by further movements of the remaining IP to higher left peripheral projections.

The *Remnant-IP movement analysis* is based (i) Kayne's (1998) claim that there *cannot* be covert movement of any kind; and (ii) on the assumption that the different sequences displayed (minimally) by French and Bellunese at *Spell Out* cannot be random and must reflect the interplay of the invariant structure of the CP-domain (11-14):

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

- a. Tu vas où?
you go where
'Where are you going?'
- b. * Jean a acheté que?
Jean has bought what
'What did Jean buy?'

(12) Bellunese *che* ('what'): only "in situ"

- a. Ha-tu magnà che?
have=you eaten what
'What did you eat?'
- b. * Che ha-tu magnà?
what have=you eaten

(13) 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

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* (11-13).

(ii) Strong and weak islands effects (previously 7, here 14):

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

- a. * Te piase-lo [i libri che parla **de che**]? *Wh-island*
you like=it the books that speak of what
'You like books about what?'
- b. ?? No te-te-ricorda [andé che von comprà **che**]? *Complex-NP*
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” → sentence-finality requirement (15):

(15) *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

“[...] the dative complement *a so fradel* is necessarily ‘de-accented’ in Bellunese *che* [...] questions, though not in statements like [15a]; if *che* in [15b] was in the ordinary sentence internal object position in which *il libro* in [15a] is standing, such facts would be difficult to understand.”

“[...] 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 fails to 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 severely criticized for (i) theory internal reasons and (ii) data-related reasons:

(i) the labels used (*GroundP*, *OpP*, *TopicP*, etc.) are “reconstructed backwards from the required movements, rather than motivated by genuinely independent needs”; the proposed analysis faces the restrictiveness problem that is generally imputed to Kaynian movement: that Chomsky’s (1995) *Economy Principle* (=movement is *possible* only if *necessary*) does not hold for them.

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

- contrary to Bellunese, Lombard dialects show no sensitivity to islands in case of non-doubling insituness (16):

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

- a. Dig-ei che gé egnit i amis **de chi**?² *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 (16’):

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

- a. * *Dechi* dīg-ei che gé egnit i amis de chi? *Subject island*
 of whomsay=them that is come the friends of whom
- b. * *Dekòha* 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

- insituness is NOT a *root* phenomenon – it is in fact widely attested in long distance (17) and in indirect questions (18):

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

- a. Krèdet che al hàbe indàf’ **indoé**?
 think_{2PS} that he has_{SUBJ} gone where
 ‘Where do you think he went?’
- b. (**Kòha**) pènhet che l’abe fàf’ **kohè**?
 (what) think_{2PS} that he’has_{SUBJ} done what
 ‘What do you think he did?’

² The original examples are given in IPA. All transliteration errors are mine.

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

- a. Öle hai **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'

- no distributional asymmetry between D-linked and non-D-linked wh-words in Lombard;
- no direct correlation between the availability / unavailability of *SCII* and “insituness”, both *regular* and of the *wh-doubling* types.

Manzini & Savoia's conclusions (oversimplified):

- in the context of micro-variation among closely-related grammars, it is possible that in some grammars some reasons impel wh-movement in embedded sentences and not in others;
- different sensitivities to islands can be explained if one considers them to be related not to conditions on movement operations but rather conditions on LF interpretive construals;
- the parameter between wh-in situ and wh-movement in NIDs is a classical one between scope construal (insituness) and overt scope (wh-movement);
- wh-doubling grammars require an overt lexicalization both of the scope marker and its variable.

→ 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 fails to 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 cases of *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018;2019) (2.1) and *Comunnuovese* (Donzelli 2017;2018) (2.2).

2.1. Trevigiano

Bonan (2018;2019): in Trevigiano, a Venetan dialect closely-related to Bellunese, sentence-internal wh-words need not appear at the right edge of the clause³ → they actually undergo *systematic wh-movement* from their unmarked declarative position to a position lower than the finite *V* (19):

(19) *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018) (not attested in Lombard dialects by M&S!)

a. Ga-tu magnà **cuando** el dolse ____ ?

have=you eaten when the cake

‘When did you eat the cake?’

b. * Ga-tu magnà el dolse cuando?

have=you eaten the cake when

Also, in Trevigiano "insituness" is indeed possible in long-distance (20a) and in indirect wh-questions (20b), the latter under a semantically vacuous *if-COMP*⁴, *se*:

(20) *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018)

a. Pens-ea chel ne ciamarà **cuando**?

thinks=she that=he us call_{FUT} when

‘When does she think he will call us?’

b. A vol saver sel ne ciamarà **cuando**

she wants know se_{WH}=he us call_{FUT} when

‘She wonders when he will call us’

IP-internal wh-movement (see 19) is compulsory also in embedded environments (21):

(21) *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018)

a. Pensi-tu che a voje metar **dove** i piteri ____?

think=you that she want_{SUBJ} put where the vases

‘Where do you think she wants to put the vases?’

³ The DO *el dolse* in (20a) is NOT left dislocated. In Bonan (2018), I show that in Trevigiano dislocations are only possible in construction with clitic resumption, and that *marginalization* (in the sense of Cardinaletti 2001 and 2002, Samek-Lodovici 2015) are excluded categorically.

⁴ See Bonan (2019) on the possibility of treating *se* as an instance of embedded wh-doubling of the *invariable operator-wh word* type (see 9c) à la Poletto & Pollock (2015).

- 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 (22) and strong (23) islands:

(22) *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?’

(23) *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?’

→ clearly, a derivation of "insituness" that includes wh-movement to the LP and further movement of the remnant-IP is incompatible with the syntax of Trevigiano.

2.1.1 *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”) (24-24’):

(24) 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?’

(24’) 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) → pairs Trevigiano and French);
- 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 (→ sets Trevigiano and French apart) (25-26):

(25) *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

(26) *French* – Indirect questions

a. Il veut savoir quand (*que) tu pars (but see rural French)
 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

Is IP-internal wh-movement attested in other NIDs? (in French, it is possible, yet not the most natural option. See Tual 2017).

2.2. Comunnuovese

Donzelli (2017;2018): Comunnuovese, a Lombard dialect, has two different types of wh-words that can appear “in situ” – the “basic type” (like *cosa*, ‘what’) (27a) and the “è-type” (like *cosè*, ‘what’) (27b):

(27) *Comunnuovese* (Donzelli 2018)

- a. Te vest **cosa**?
 you saw what
 ‘What did you see?’
- b. Te vest **cosè**?
 you saw what

Interestingly, the former are excluded from embedded contexts (28a), yet the latter are fine (28b):

(28) *Comunnuovese*: Distribution of wh-words in embedded contexts (Donzelli 2018)

- a. * Ma se domande al fa cosa
 I myself ask he does what
 ‘I wonder what he’s doing / what he does’
- b. Ma se domande al fa **cosè**
 I myself ask he does what

Wh-words of the è-type have a Trevisiano-like behaviour - they are fine inside of islands (29):

(29) è-type: OK inside of islands (Donzelli 2018)

- a. I ha est i omegn che i maja **cosè**? *Complex-NP island*
 They have seen the men that they eat what
 ‘They saw the man who eat what’

b. I vol mia cosè?

Negative island

They want NEG what

'What is it that they don't want'

However, quite surprisingly, wh-words of the è-type never undergo IP-internal wh-movement (30a), which is reserved to the wh-words of the basic type (30b):

(30) IP-internal wh-movement? (Donzelli 2018)

a. L'ha est **ndóe** / *indoè ol can ___ ?

↑ _____ ↓

he'has seen where the dog

'Where did he see the dog?'

b. L'ha est ol can ^{??}ndóe / **indoè**

ECHO!!!!

he'has seen the dog where

(as in Trevigiano⁵)

'He saw the dog WHERE?!'

→ these facts, coupled with the observation that wh-words of the basic type are not fine inside of islands, show that the nature of wh-words plays an *essential* role in the way “insituness” is derived.

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})	√	√
Mixed-languages (CN)	?	√	√ (è-type)	√ (basic-type)	√ (è-type)

⁵ In Bonan (2018) I show that the wh-phrase can actually stay in its base position in Trevigiano, but this gives rise to *echo* questions – the interrogative syntax is lost all together (no *SCII*) (i):

- (i) Te gà magnà el dolse cuando?
 You have eaten the cake when
 'You ate the cake WHEN?!'

ECHO

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!!
- Lombard varieties described by M&S 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 Comunnovese data (Donzelli 2017;2018) clearly show that different wh-words have different distributional properties, not only cross-linguistically but also language-internally.

My proposal:

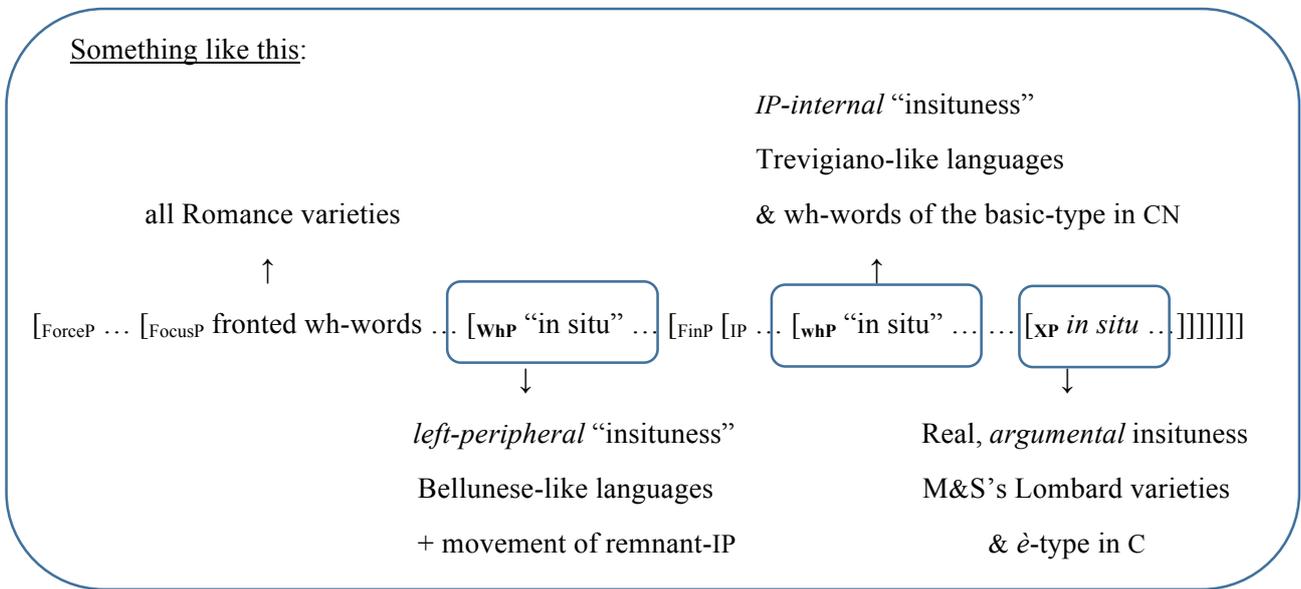
Contra (Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015) and Manzini & Savoia (2005;2011), I argue against the possibility of positing a one-fits-all derivation for “insituness” in NIDs (and more generally, Romance).

→ 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).

Something like this:



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

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.

References

- Aoun, J. and Y. A. Li. 1993. "Wh-Elements In Situ: Syntax or LF?" *Linguistic Inquiry* 24. 199-238.
- Baunaz, L. 2011. *The grammar of French quantification*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Baunaz, L. and C. Patin. 2011. "Prosody refers to semantic factors: evidence from French wh-words." In H.-Y. Yoo and E. Delais-Roussarie (eds) *Proceedings of Interface, discours & prosodie 2009*. Paris: Université Paris 7. 93-107.
- Biézma, M. 2016. "Givenness and the Difference between Wh-fronted and Wh-in situ Questions in Spanish." *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*. John Benjamins.
- Bonan, C. 2018. "On Insituness and (very) low Wh-Positions. The Case of Trevigiano." In Samo, G. and K. Martini and G. Bocci (eds) *Proceedings of the 1st SynCart Meeting*. GG@G, Generative Grammar in Geneva. Université de Genève.
- Bonan, C. 2019. *The Syntax of Optional Insituness*. PhD Dissertation in preparation. Université de Genève.
- Boskovic, Z. 2000. "Sometimes in [Spec CP], Sometimes in-situ." In Martin, R. and D. Michaels and J. Uriagereka (eds) *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalism in Honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge, MA. MIT Press, 53-88.
- Cardinaletti, A. 2001. "A second thought on Emarginazione: Destressing vs. Right Dislocation." In Cinque, G. and Salvi, G. (eds.). *Current Studies in Italian Syntax*. Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi. Amsterdam. Elsevier, 117-35.
- Cardinaletti, A. 2002. "Against Optional and Null Clitics. Right Dislocation vs. Marginalization." *Studia Linguistica* (56). 29-57.
- Cheng, L. and J. Rooryck. 2000. "Licensing WH-in-situ." *Syntax* 3, 1-18.
- Cheng, L. and J. Rooryck. 2002. "Types of Wh-in-situ." Leiden University.
- Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. The MIT Press. Cambridge, Mass.
- Donzelli, G. 2017. "Standard and Special Questions in Comunnovese." Paper given at RI 17.
- Donzelli, G. 2018. "Two Types of Wh- in situ in Lombard Dialects." Paper given at *GenWH 2018 – The Geneva Wh-orkshop on Optional Insituness*. Université de Genève.
- Etxepare, R. and M. Uribe-Etxebarria. 2005. "In-situ wh-phrases in Spanish: locality and quantification." *Recherches linguistiques de Vincennes*.
- Finer, D. L. 2014. "Movement triggers and reflexivization in Korean-English codeswitching." *Grammatical theory and bilingual codeswitching*. 37-62.
- Huang, C.-T. J. 1982. *Logical Relation in Chinese and the Theory of Grammar*. MIT. PhD Dissertation.
- Huang, C.-T. J. 1982. *Logical Relations in Chinese and the Theory of Grammar*. MIT.
- Jiménez, M. L. 1997. *Semantic and pragmatic Conditions on Word Order in Spanish*. PhD Dissertation. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University.
- Kato, M. 2013. "Deriving 'wh-in-situ' through mouvement in Brazilian Portuguese." *Information Structure and Agreement*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

- Kayne, R. 1998. *Overt vs Covert Movement*. Syntax 1.2.
- Lasnik, H. and M. Saito. 1992. *Move-Alpha: Conditions on its Application and Output*. Cambridge, MA. MIT Press.
- Lee, M.-H. 1991. *A parametric approach to code-mixing*. PhD Dissertation. SUNY at Stony Brook.
- Manzini, M. R. 2014. "Grammatical categories: Strong and weak pronouns in Romance." *Lingua* 150. Elsevier.
- Manzini, M. R. and L. M. Savoia. 2005. *I Dialetti Italiani e Romanci*. Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Manzini, M. R. and L. M. Savoia. 2011. "Wh-in situ and wh-doubling in Northern Italian varieties: Against remnant movement." *Linguistic Analysis*.
- Mathieu, E. 1999. "French wh in situ and the intervention effect." *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*, 11.
- Munaro, N. 1999. *Sintagmi interrogativi nei dialetti italiani settentrionali*. Unipress.
- Munaro, N. and C. Poletto and J.-Y. Pollock. 2001. "Eppur si muove!" In P. Pica and J. Roorick (eds.) *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 1*. John Benjamins.
- Obenauer, H.-G. 1984. *Aspects de la syntaxe A-barre. Effets d'intervention et mouvements des quantifieurs*. Université de Paris VIII. Unpublished PhD dissertation.
- Poletto, C. and J.-Y. Pollock. 2000. "On the Left Periphery of Some Romance Wh-Questions." In L. Rizzi (Ed.) *The Structure of CP and IP*. Oxford University Press.
- Poletto, C. and J.-Y. Pollock. 2004. On wh-clitics and wh-doubling in French and some North Eastern Italian Dialects. *Probus*, 16:241–277.
- Poletto, C. and J.-Y. Pollock. 2015. "Arguing for remnant movement in Romance." In G. Grewendorf (ed.) *Remnant Movement*. Mouton De Gruyter.
- Samek-Lodovici, V. 2015. *The Interaction of Focus, Givenness, and Prosody. A Study of Italian Clause Structure*. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford University Press.
- Starke, M. 2001. *Move dissolves into merge: a theory of locality*. PhD dissertation.
- Tsai, W.-T. D. 1994. *On Economizing the Theory of A-bar Dependencies*. MIT.
- Tual, L. 2017. "Long-distance wh-in-situ in French: an experimental study." RI 17.
- Watanabe, A. 1992. "Subjacency and S-Structure Movement of Wh-in-situ." *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 1. 255-291.