THAT "EXTRA" COMPLEMENTIZER...!

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Abstract: In Friulian, a Northern Italian Dialect (NID) the complementizer *che* must co-occur with moved Wh-phrases in embedded interrogatives, relative clauses and temporal clauses, but it is not allowed in main interrogatives. In Italian the same complementizer is not allowed in any of the above contexts. Focusing on embedded contexts and assuming the "Wh-Criterion" (Rizzi, 1990) throughout, this paper accounts for the differences between Friulian and Italian in terms of a filter: the "Spec-Head Redundancy" filter (Rowlett, 1996) is active in Italian but not in Friulian.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE FACTS IN FRIULIAN

In Friulian the complementizer *che*, which resembles the English complementizer *that* for function and features, MUST co-occur with moved Wh-phrases in embedded interrogatives, relatives clauses and temporal clauses, as shown, respectively, in examples (1), (2) and (3):

(1)	Mi	an		domandâd /dit	cui	*(che)	`l		are
	to-me			they-have asked /	said	who that			it was

"They have asked / told me who it was"

(2)	Soi	lade	dulà	*(che)	tu	mi	as	dit
	I-am	gone	where	that	you	to-me	you-have	said

"I have gone where you told me to"

(3)   Quant   *(che)   voi   cjase   li   netarai
            Whenthat   I-go home   them   I-will-clean
            "When I go home I will clean them"

Che must co-occur with all the Wh-words (i.e. who - *cui*, what - *se*, why - *parsé*, how - *simût*, when - *quant*, how much - *trop*, how many - *tros*, which - *qual*) in such constructions but it is not allowed in main interrogatives, although the Wh-words are morphologically the same for all of them. This is shown in examples (4) and (5):

(4)   Dulà   (*che)   meti-tu   [tu]   le   salse?
            Where   (*that)   put-you   [you]   the   pasta sauce?
            "Where do you put the pasta sauce?"

(5).   Quant   (*che)   ni-no   cjase?
            When(*that)   go-we   home
            "When are we going home?"

In square brackets in (4) it is indicated the position where a pronominal or nominal subject would occur, if expressed. Alternatively, it can occur sentence finally.
Neither Standard Italian (SI) nor English allow for the complementizer to appear in any of the above illustrated contexts. This paper aims to account for these differences in a unified manner without invoking idiosyncrasies, and it is structured as follows.

Section 2 presents some background information on Friulian; section 3 investigates the behaviour of Friulian main interrogatives and assigns them a syntactic structure, and section 4 does the same with SI main interrogatives; sections 5 and 6 deal with embedded contexts, and section 6 in particular puts forward a possible account of the differences between the two languages. The suggested analysis derives more support from other instances of Wh-movement, i.e. exclamative clauses. Finally, section 7 deals with cases where the data seem to be problematic for the analysis suggested.

It must be stressed that main interrogatives will be analysed just as a term of comparison and I do not have anything new to say about their syntactic structure. Throughout the paper I will adopt Rizzi's (1991) analysis which can account in a simple and neat manner for the data presented here[1]. For the sake of the non-specialised reader technical complexity has been sacrificed for intelligibility.

2. SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON FRIULIAN

Friulian syntax is not particularly different from either SI or other NIDs: it is a pro-drop language like them, and as many NIDs it has a full set of subject clitics (SCL) which are syntactically obligatory even if there is a preposed or postposed nominal (Mary) or prenominal (she) subject:

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[1] The reader is referred to (Poletto, 1995) for a much more exhaustive and comprehensive analysis based on data from a wide variety of NIDs.

(6)   Marie   *e*   cusine   ben
           Mary   SCL   cooks   well
           "Mary cooks well"

(7)   Je   e   cusine   ben
           She   SCL   cooks   well
           "She cooks well"

These subject particles - in italics in all the examples - agree in gender and number with the nominal or pronominal subject. As I have shown in a previous work (Paoli, 1996 following Rizzi, 1986; Brandi & Cordin, 1981), they are different from both strong pronouns and French subject clitics There, they are interpreted as an extra expression of agreement, which occurs both on the verb morphology and as a SCL. As such they are assumed to be base-generated under Infl[2].

3. FRIULIAN MAIN INTERROGATIVES

Turning now to examples (4) and (5), we can extrapolate the features of main interrogatives. (8) summarises them:

(8)   i)   SCL- verb inversion applies, so that the SCL is suffixed to the verb (*meti-tu*);
       ii)   a nominal or pronominal subject cannot appear between the Wh-phrase and the cluster SCL-V: if it appears, it can only do so post-verbally - Cf (4);
       iii)   the complementizer *che* is not allowed.

The evidence given in (8) iii and some more examples illustrated below, strongly support the analysis of SCL-verb inversion as an instantiation of I to C movement.
The contrast represented in (9) i and ii,

(9)   i)   Se   fa-tu?
            What do-SCL
            "What are you doing?"

       ii)   Ti   domandi   se   che   *fa-tu / tu   fâs
             To-you   I-ask   what that   do-SCL/   you do
             "I ask you what you are doing"

recalls V2 verb movement processes, which display asymmetries between main and embedded contexts: I to C applies in main contexts where the position under C is free but it is banned in embedded ones where C is already filled by the complementizer.
Hypothetical clauses in Friulian can also be expressed as in (10), where the "if" has been omitted and SCL-verb inversion has applied:

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(10)   Sedi-al   zovin   o   sedi-al   vecjo   no   impuarte
         Be-SCL   young   or   be-SCL   old   neg   it-matters
         "It doesn't matter whether he is young or old"

The same construction can be found in English, which is referred to as a residual V" in the literature, an instance of I to C movement.

Finally, (11) illustrates how the complementizer and the verb compete for the same position in main interrogatives, which allows me to discard accounts such as (Solà, 1992; Bonnet, 1989) which view main and embedded interrogatives as IPs rather than CPs[3].
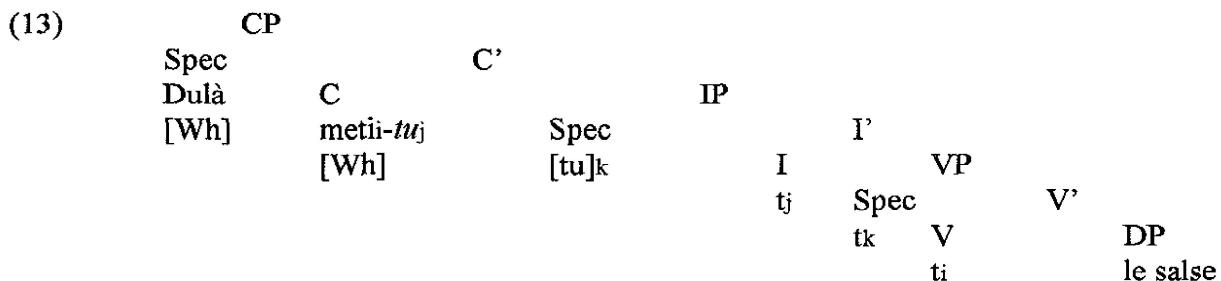
(11)   *Se   che   fa-tu?
         What   that   do-SCLyou?

After having found some strong support for an analysis where the main verb raises from I to C, I will follow (Rizzi, 1991) in order to justify I to C movement and assume that [Wh] features in main interrogatives are licensed under I[4]. Here, I will gloss over the "split-Infl" structure (Pollock, 1989).

The landing site for the Wh-phrase is [Spec, CP], the verb left adjoins to the SCL in I (as for Kayne, 1994) and then raises to C. Given that [Wh] features are on I and not on C, I to C movement is necessary to satisfy the "Wh-Criterion", Rizzi (1991:2):

(12)   a.   A Wh-Operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with and $X°$ $_{[+Wh]}$
         b.   An $X°$ $_{[+Wh]}$ must be in a Spec-head configuration with a Wh-Operator.

Thus, (4) would be assigned the structure in (13):

(13)   CP
         Spec   C'
         Dulà   C   IP
         [Wh]   metii-*tu*j   Spec   I'
                     [Wh]   [tu]k   I   VP
                                                 tj   Spec   V'
                                                       tk   V   DP
                                                             ti   le salse

For readability, I have not shown the movement of the Wh-phrase which raises to [Spec, CP] from a position adjoined to VP. In the following section we will see how SI behaves with respect to main interrogatives.

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[3] In section 5 I will show how linear order discards this analysis for embedded interrogatives.

[4] In doing so, we find ourselves projecting a radically empty C. (Plunkett, 1996, forthcoming) solves this respectively by claiming that [Wh] features are licensed under the highest projection - be it AgrS or other -, or generating a proxy head where they can be checked off. In order to keep my analysis accessible I will not consider the projection of a radically empty C problematic.

4. SI MAIN INTERROGATIVES
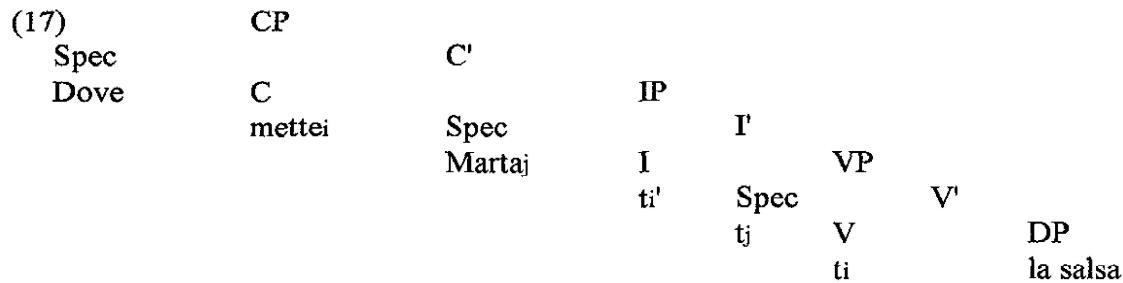
(14) and (15) exemplify SI main interrogatives:

(14)	Dove	(*Marta)	mette	(Marta)	la	salsa?
	Where	Marta	puts	(Marta)	the	sauce?

"Where does Marta put the sauce?"

(15)	Dove	Æ/*che	mangiano	questa	sera?
	Dove	Æ/that	they-eat	this	evening

"Where are they eating tonight?"

Their characteristics can be summarised in (16):

(16) i) subject-verb inversion - which suggests an I to C analysis;
  ii) a nominal or pronominal subject cannot appear between the Wh-phrase and the inflected verb - Cf (14): the subject must either appear post-verbally or remain unexpressed;
  iii) the complementizer *che* cannot appear - Cf (15).

The same conditions as for Friulian apply here, i.e. the [Wh] features are on I and movement of the verb from I to C is necessary to satisfy the "Wh-Criterion". Thus the structure obtained would be:

(17)   CP
  Spec   C'
  Dove   C   IP
        mette$_i$ Spec   I'
              Marta$_j$ I   VP
                    t$_i$'   Spec   V'
                       t$_j$ V   DP
                             t$_i$ la salsa

The next two sections deal with the kernel of the problem, the difference between Friulian and SI embedded interrogatives.

5. FRIULIAN EMBEDDED INTERROGATIVES

Example (1), repeated here for convenience:

(1)	Mi	an	domandâd /dit	cui	*(che)	`l	are	
	to-me	they-have	asked /	said	who that	it	was	

"They have asked / told me who it was"

illustrates the characteristics of Friulian embedded interrogatives, summarised in (18):

(18) i)   no SCL-verb inversion;
      ii)   obligatory *che*;
      iii) a nominal or pronominal subject cannot appear between the Wh-phrase and the complementizer - suggests that the Wh item and the complementizer are in a Spec-head configuration.

Following Rizzi (1991) I will assume that in embedded interrogatives [Wh] features are licensed under C. Observing word order in embedded interrogatives, we find some evidence against their analysis as IPs (Solà, 1992; Bonnet 1989). Under the IP approach, the Wh-phrase lands in [Spec, IP]; in Friulian the complementizer immediately follows the Wh-phrase. The structure given to embedded interrogatives as IPs and here applied to Friulian - see (19) below - cannot be satisfactory because according to it the complementizer should precede - and not follow as it does in actual facts - the Wh-phrase:

(19) ...[$_{VP}$ ... [$_{CP}$ C che [$_{IP}$ dulà Marta *e*   met   le   salse]]]
      ...[$_{VP}$ ... [$_{CP}$ C that[$_{IP}$ where Marta SCL   puts   the   sauce]]]
      "... where Marta puts the sauce"

This piece of evidence strongly supports a CP analysis for embedded interrogatives in Friulian. The structure for (1) would be (20):

(20) ...V   CP
      dit   Spec   C'
            dulà   C   IP
                      che   Spec   I'
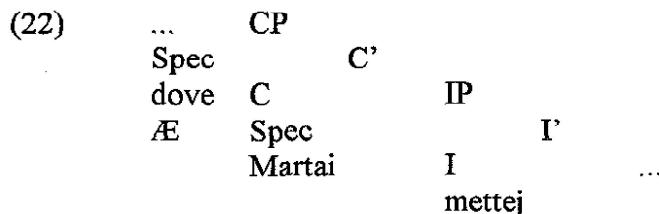   Martai I   ...
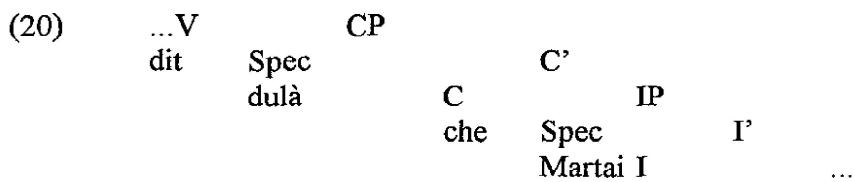
The question that need to be answered now is whether SI embedded interrogatives are CPs too, and if so, how could we capture the fact that they do not allow for the *che*. The next section throws some light o this problem deriving some support for the suggested solution from exclamative clauses.

6. SI EMBEDDED INTERROGATIVES

As it has been underlined at the beginning, it is in embedded interrogatives that Friulian and SI differ more visibly. In SI the complementizer *che* is not allowed - Cf (1):

(21) Mi   hanno   detto   dove   Æ/*che   Marta mette   la   salsa
      to-me they-have   said   where Æ/that   Marta puts   the   sauce
      "They have told me where Marta puts the pasta sauce"

The verb can appear either to the right or to the left of the subject, and this can be interpreted as an instance of an optional I to C movement. Thus, SI embedded interrogatives, too, can be analysed as CPs, with [Wh] features being licensed under C, and (21) would have the structure in (22):

(22)   ...   CP
         Spec   C'
         dove   C   IP
         Æ   Spec   I'
                Martai   I
                                mettej

How can we capture the difference between Friulian and SI embedded interrogatives, i.e. the fact that former requires *che* while the latter does not allow it? We could assume that there is a filter active in SI but non operative in Friulian which regulates the appearance - or lack of it - of the complementizer.

In order to give more empirical value to this possible explanation, we can look at other contexts in which a Wh-phrase and a complementizer are involved, exclamative clauses for example. Here, again, Friulian requires the complementizer, while SI does not allow it, as shown in examples (23) and (24):

Friulian

(23)   a)   Se biele   *(che) tu   sês!
              What nice   that   you   you-are
              "How nice you are!"

SI

        b)   Che   bella   (*che) sei!
              What   nice   (*that) you-are
              "How nice you are"

This difference could be captured by Rowlett's (1996) "Spec-Head Redundancy Filter" - a modern version of Chomsky's (1977) "Doubly-Filled Comp Filter". Maintaining that the Wh-phrase moves to [Spec, CP] and that the complementizer is in C, we could interpret this independent piece of evidence as indicating that the difference between the two languages can be explained in terms of action of the filter. The "Spec-Head Redundancy Filter" is active in SI but not in Friulian.

Although this solution seems to account neatly and systematically for hthe above cases, there is some problematic data which appears to bear against it. This is presented in the next section.

7. PROBLEMATIC CASES

There is a particular kind of interrogatives in Friulian, questions that one would ask oneself, where the usual pattern illustrated in (8) is not followed. In these, SCL-verb inversion is not present, the verb is in its subjunctive form and the complementizer is obligatory:

(24)   Dulà che   lu   vedi   mitûd?
        Where that   it   I-had   put
        "Where have I put it?"

(25)   Parsè che   mi   vedi   bussade?
        Why   that   me   he-had kissed
        "Why has he kissed me?"

These particular features, though, seem to suggest that the sentences in (24) and (25) are not real main interrogatives:
first of all, there is no subject clitic - verb inversion - *vedi* and not *vedi-jo*;
secondly, the main verb is in the subjunctive from - which is usually found in embedded clauses or only in those main clauses expressing a wish (cf Italian: Voglia il Cielo... - Would God...).

We could interpret (24) as an embedded interrogative, selected, perhaps, by the expression "it is possible":

(26) Dulà [is-al pusibil]che lu vedi mitûd?
   Where is-SCLpossiblethat it I-had put
   "Where is it possible that I have put it?"

Leaving aside the interpretation of examples like (24) and (25), it could be claimed that the filter which is not active in Friulian embedded contexts is not operative in Friulian main interrogatives either, and the complementizer surfaces whenever SCL-verb inversion does not apply.

8. CONCLUSION

This paper has shown how Friulian differs from SI embedded question in requiring the presence of the complementizer che. Adopting the CP structure independent evidence has shown that the "Spec-Head Redundancy Filter" is active in SI but not in Italian, both in main and embedded interrogatives.

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