

*Luisa Seguin, University of Maryland*

**Data.** FPV is an Arpitan language spoken in the northern Italian region Aosta Valley (the data in this paper come from the variety spoken in the village Morgex), with an unmarked argument order DO>IO (1). All *wh*-words (except *perqué* ‘why’) can occur in two positions: fronted (FWh), (2a), and clause-internal (IWh), (2b). Both options differ from echo questions (2c) in terms of prosody and linear order. Topics can freely co-occur with both types of *wh*-words, (3). Contrastive Focus (CF) can co-occur with IWhs (4a), but not with FWhs (4b,c).

- IWhs and the structure of the Low Left Periphery (LLP).** The following arguments show that the IWh in (2b) has moved from its base position: **(i)** the order of arguments; **(ii)** crossover effects, **(iii)** parasitic gaps, (6), and **(iv)** lack of intervention effects (not shown here for space reasons). **(i)** Since the unmarked order of arguments is DO>IO (1), the IO>DO order in (2b) indicates that the IWh has moved. **(ii)** In 0, *à qui* ‘to whom’ induces a crossover effect if coindexed with the possessive *son*.

- This result suggests that the left periphery of the vP (LLP) in FPV has an elaborate structural layering, which is consistent with several proposals concerning LLP structure and its parallels to

the structure of the CP (Belletti, 2004; Bonan, 2019; Kahnemuyipour, 2001; Poletto 2014, a.o.). In the LLP, the highest A'-position is an operator position, purely targeted by wh-words. This whP is followed by freely adjoining topics (8). The position of the whP is crucial: it is the demarcation of the lower-phase edge, parallel to ForceP in the HLP (Rizzi & Bocci, 2017).

- (8) a. Te lo baille [<sub>Op</sub> **quan**] [<sub>Top</sub> lo libro] à Marco?      b. \*Te lo baille [<sub>Top</sub> lo libro] [<sub>Op</sub> **quan**] à Marco?  
 'When do you give the book to Marco?'

Contrastive focus can co-occur with an IWh. The order is again fixed: IWh-(Top)-CF-(Top):

- (9) a. Te lo baille **quan** lo libro À MARCO deman?      b. \*Te lo baille À MARCO **quan** lo libro deman?  
 'When do you give the book to Marco tomorrow?'

Crossover effects show that the CF constituent also undergoes A'-movement:

- (10) a. Te baille **quan** son<sub>i</sub> libro À MARCO<sub>i</sub>?      b. \*Te baille **quan** À MARCO<sub>i</sub> son<sub>i</sub> libro?  
 'When do you give to Macro his book?'

For several reasons, IWh and CF cannot be analyzed as multiple specifiers of FocP (*pave* the Attract-All-F account, Bošković, 2022): (i) as it will be shown in the talk, FPV disallows multiple wh-words; (ii) the order is strictly wh > CF; (iii) topic phrases can intersperse, cf. 0. Thus, IWh and CF target separate positions, with CF targeting a lower A'-position inside the LLP.

**FWh and the structure of the High Left Periphery (HLP).** I then show that, despite their acceptability inside islands, IWhs overtly move further up to a wh-position in the HLP. Evidence for this movement comes from (i) the lack of intervention effects (IEs); (ii) inverse scope; (iii) binding (all presented in the talk), and (iv) parasitic gaps (6). PGs can only be licensed by overt A'-movement to a high position, where they can take wide scope (Nunes, 2004). As I will outline in the talk, the Lebeaux, or reconstruction, effect (Lebeaux 1988; Fox, 1999) in (11) supports a successive-cyclic movement analysis of the wh-word, transiting through the LLP (12). Finally, I will show that such position is not a mere phase escape hatch, but a dedicated wh-position.

- (11) [Quinta fotografie que l<sub>j</sub>'à fà à Ivana<sub>k</sub>]<sub>i</sub> tsaque garcon<sub>j</sub> l'à stampò t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> per lliet<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub>]?  
 Which picture that 3SG'has made to Ivana every boy 3SG'has printed for her  
 'Which photo that he has made Ivana every boy has printed for her?'

- (12) ([TopP]) [<sub>whP</sub> **XPi**] ([TopP]) [<sub>TP</sub> ... [<sub>whP</sub> **XPi**] ([TopP]) [FocP] ([TopP]) [<sub>VP</sub>...]]

The different word orders, as in (2a-b), are obtained by deletion of different copies at PF (Bošković, 2011), hence the amelioration of island effects discussed in the talk. The mutual exclusivity of FWhs and CF in the HLP (4b-c) suggests that, as opposed to the LLP, in the HLP wh-words and CF target the same position, lower than the phase edge (12), as Topics can precede it (3a). While a definitive explanation of this asymmetry between the HLP and LLP in FPV is outstanding, in the talk I will discuss possible analyses, including one ascribing the mutual exclusivity to post-syntactic constraints.

In summary, this paper presents evidence that: (i) FPV IWhs move to a dedicated wh-position at the edge of the LLP, whereas CF target a lower position in the LLP; (ii) Whs successive-cyclically move further up, to an wh-position in the HLP, then different copies can be deleted at PF (lower copy deletion: FWh; higher copy deletion: IWh); (iii) peripheries differ structurally: in the LLP the wh-positions is at the periphery's edge, while in the HLP it can be preceded by other A' elements, e.g. Topics.

**Selected references:** Belletti, A. 2004. Aspects of the low IP area, in Rizzi (ed) *The Structure of IP and CP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* OUP; Bonan, C. 2019. On clause-internally moved wh-phrases. Wh-to-Foc, nominative clitics, and the theory of Northern Italian wh-in situ, PhD Diss; Bošković, Z. 2011. Rescue by PF Deletion, Traces as (Non)interveners, and the That-Trace Effect, *LI* 42(1): 1-44; Fox, D. 1999. Reconstruction, Binding Theory and the Interpretation of Chains. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30(2). 157-196; Lebeaux, D. 1988. Language acquisition and the form of grammar. Ph.D. Diss; Rizzi, L. & G. Bocci. 2017. Left Periphery of the Clause; Primarily Illustrated for Italian, In Everaert M. & H. C. van Riemsdijk (Eds.) *The Wiley*.