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Consider the f-structure of *What did the librarian put on the shelf?*:

(1)
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\left.\begin{matrix} \text{FOCUS} \\ \text{OBJ} \end{matrix}\right\} & [\text{"what"}] \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{"the librarian"}] \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\
\text{PRED} & \text{"put"} \\
\text{OBL}_{\text{Loc}} & [\text{"on the shelf"}]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Hypothesis 1: "*Wh* Movement" constructions are constructions in which some element has more than one grammatical function. Due to some sort of economy constraint, this element only appears once in the structure, so it appears in the canonical position for one of its functions.

Hypothesis 2: "*Wh* Movement" constructions actually involve movement. Certain kinds of elements (discourse prominent, scope-taking, …) need to occupy a higher structural position, so they move to such a position.

Hypothesis 2 makes a prediction that Hypothesis 1 does not make: The multifunctional element (*what* in (1)) must appear in a high structural position. This is because movement is taken to be forced by some principle of the theory. However, Hypothesis 1 does not require the multifunctional element to appear in the structural position of the discourse-prominence function.

In fact, there are languages in which the multifunctional element appears in the canonical position of the locally licensed grammatical function. This kind of construction has been given the unfortunate name "in situ *wh*".

Mandarin Chinese

Classification: Sino-Tibetan, Chinese; 873,014,298 speakers. Official language of China and Taiwan and Singapore. Also spoken in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Philippines, and Thailand
C. T. James Huang (1982) "Move Wh in a Language Without Wh Movement." *The Linguistic Review* 1: 369--416.

(2)   a.   Zhangsan wen wo shei mai-le shu
                Zhangsan ask me who bought books
                'Zhangsan asked me who bought books.'

            b.   Zhangsan xiangzin shei mai-le shu
                Zhangsan believe who bought books
                'Who does Zhangsan believe bought books?'

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    c.   Zhangsan zhidao shei mai-le shu
            Zhangsan know who bought books
            'Who does Zhangsan know bought the books?'
            'Zhangsan knows who bought the books.'

Japanese

(3)   Mari- ga   depāto-   de dare- ni   ranpu- o   eranda   ka?
        Mari- NOM dept.store- LOC who- DAT lamp- ACC choose.PAST Q
        'Who did Mari choose a lamp for at the department store?'

Kikuyu (allows either construction)

(4)   a.   Oɣweʃiːria Goɣe oiɣirε mahεirε keŋaɲi oː?
            you.think Ngũgĩ said   they.gave crab   who
            'Who do you think Ngũgĩ said they gave a crab to?'
    b.   Noo   oɣweʃiːria Goɣe oiɣirε mahεirε keŋaɲi?
            FOC.who you.think Ngũgĩ said   they.gave crab
            'Who do you think Ngũgĩ said they gave a crab to?'

Egyptian Arabic (unlike most dialects and unlike Standard Arabic)

(5)   a.   Fariid ḥatt ʔeeh ʕala l-   tarabeeza.
            Fariid put what on   the- table
            'What did Fariid put on the table?'

    b.   Fariid ḥatt kitaab miin ʕala l-   tarabeeza.
            Fariid put book   who on   the- table
            'Whose book did Fariid put on the table?'

    c.   Fariid ḥatt kitaab Mona ʕala ʔeeh.
            Fariid put book Mona on   what
            'What did Fariid put Mona's book on?'

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Hindi (with scope marker)

Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Western Hindi, Hindustani. 180,764,791 speakers. Official language of India (spoken in northern India). Also spoken in Nepal, South Africa, and Uganda.

Veneeta Srivastav Dayal (1994) "Scope Marking as Indirect *Wh*-Dependency." *Natural Language Semantics* 2: 137–170.

(6) a.   Jaun kyaa socta hai   Meri kis- se   baat karegii ?
           John what thinks AUX Mary who- with will.talk
           'Who does John think Mary will talk to?'

    b.   Jaun kyaa socta hai   Meri kahaaṇ jaayegii   ?
           John what thinks AUX Mary where will.go
           'Where does John think Mary will go?'

Lakhota (Internally Headed Relative Clause)

Classification: [Amerind?,] Siouan, Siouan Proper, Central, Mississippi Valley, Dakota. 6,000 speakers. Spoken in the USA in Northern Nebraska, southern Minnesota, North and South Dakota, northeastern Montana.

Robert D. Van Valin, Jr., and Randy J. LaPolla (1997) *Syntax: Structure, Meaning, and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

(4)   Wičáša ki [[šǫ´ka wą igmú ki ø-   ø-   yaxtáke] ki le]
        man the dog a cat the 3sgOBJ- 3sgSUBJ- bite   the this
        wą- ø-   ø-   yą́ke yelo.
          3sgOBJ- 3sgSUBJ- see DEC
        'The man saw the dog which bit the cat.'

English

Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, English. 309,352,280 speakers.

Jonathan Ginzburg, and Ivan A. Sag (2000) *Interrogative Investigations: The Form, Meaning, and Use of English Interrogatives*. Stanford, Calif.: CSLI Publications.

(These are non-echo questions.)

(7) a.   A: Well, anyway, I'm leaving.
         B: OK. so you'll be leaving WHEN exactly?

    b.   A: I'm annoyed.
         B: Aha. You're annoyed with WHOM?

So,

how can one analyze "in-situ" *wh*? Under Hypothesis 1, there is nothing special to say, and the name "in-situ" is inaccurate. In these languages, as in languages like English, the element in question has two functions, and it is "in-situ" for one of these functions. There is no real difference (in terms of

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grammatical functions—f-structure) between "movement" languages and "in-situ" languages. However, under Hypothesis 2, there is a fundamental difference between these two types of languages: in "in-situ" languages there is no *wh* movement. A reason needs to be discovered for this reason. In addition, since these are not *wh* movement constructions, they should not be subject to constraints on *wh* movement. These constraints are generally known as island constraints.

Despite the predictions of Hypothesis 2 (and in accordance with the prediction of Hypothesis 1), "*wh*-in-situ" does obey at least some island constraints. This is illustrated here for the Complex NP Constraint:

Kikuyu

(8)   a.   *Matiɔːe   moːdo orea   otiniriɛ mahao mareko?
           they.not.know person DEM cut   flowers which
           'Which flowers did they not know anyone who cut?'

      b.   *Mɔːnirɛ   moːdo orea   otiniriɛ mahao   mareko?
           they.saw person DEM cut   flowers which
           'Which flowers did they see the person who cut?'

      c.   *Kamau ɔːnirɛ moːdo orea   oringirɛ o?
           Kamau saw   person DEM   hit   who
           'Who did Kamao see the person who hit?'

Egyptian Arabic (* for conservative speakers)

(9)   *Fariid simiʕ išaaʕit inn Mona yimkin titgawwiz miin?
      Fariid heard rumor   that Mona might   marry   who
      'Who did Fariid hear a rumor that Mona might marry?'

Lakhota

(10) *Wičáša ki [[šúka wą táku   ø-   ø-   yaxtáke] ki le]
      man   the dog a   what/something 3sgOBJ- 3sgSUBJ- bite   the this
      wą- ø-   ø-   yáka he   ?
          3sgOBJ- 3sgSUBJ- see   Q
      '*What did the man see the dog which bit?'
      (grammatical with the meaning: 'Did the man see the dog which bit something?')

In some languages, the situation is more complicated.

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Mandarin Chinese
Focusing is subject to island constraints, but *wh* questions are not (unless the *wh* is embedded in a specific NP).

(11) a. *Wo xihuan shi Zhangsan mai de   neizhi gou.
          I   like   FOC Zhangsan buy REL that   dog
          'I like the dog that it is Zhangsan that bought.'

      b. Shei yao   mai de   shu zui gui?
          who want buy REL book most expensive
          'Books that *who* wants to buy are most expensive?'
          (cf. English *Who are books that want to buy most expensive?)

      c. *Tou-le sheme de   neige ren   bei dai-e?
          stole   what REL that   person by caught
          'The man that stole *what* was caught?'

Japanese
Akira Watanabe (2001) "*Wh*-in-Situ Langages." in Mark Baltin and Chris Collins, ed., *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell. 203–225.

Adjuncts (but not arguments) are subject to the Complex NP Constraint; however, even arguments are subject to the *Wh* Island constraint.

(12) a. *Kare- wa   John- ga   naze kaita hon- o   yonde- iru   no ?
          he-   TOP John- NOM why wrote book- ACC read- PROG Q
          'Why is he reading a book that John wrote?' (=he is reading a book that John wrote for what reason)

      b. Kare- wa   dare- ga   kaita hon- o   yonde- iru   no ?
          he-   TOP who- NOM wrote book- ACC read- PROG Q
          'Who is he reading a book that wrote?'

      c. ??Nani- o   doko- de katta ka oboete- iru   no ?
          what- ACC   where- at bought Q remember- PROG Q
          What do you remember where we bought?

English
Wh-in-situ is never subject to island constraints.

(13) (A question to a guest on a radio show about the interim chief of the US Attorney's office)
      This is a position that is **how important** in your judgment, Rory?