

Microvariation in Catalan and Occitan complementizers: the so-called expletive *se**

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Abstract

The present paper offers further independent evidence for the functional projection INT(errogative) in the left periphery of the sentence (Rizzi 2001) that is needed for an adequate analysis of interrogative clauses in Catalan and Occitan Pyrenees dialects. Since they show a particle *se* preceding a *wh* phrase as an instance of the so called “doubly filled complementizer”, according to the central hypothesis of this paper, the INT head is required in order to properly accommodate this element.

Key words: complementizer, interrogative clauses, left periphery, Catalan, Occitan.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	Conclusion
2. The data	References
3. The analysis	

1. Introduction

This paper consists in a specific exploration of a microparametric variation into the vast realm conjunctions and prepositions functioning as complementizers. It aims at providing an analysis of a property shared by the Romance dialects spoken in the central Pyrenees: the presence of the particle *se* introducing indirect interrogative clauses. This geographic zone includes two North-western Catalan dialects to the south of the Pyrenees and two Occitan dialects to the north. The

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Catalan dialects are Ribagorçan and Pallarese, and the Occitan dialects are Coseranese (including Aranese) and Ariegese. We refer to these two Occitan dialects as ‘South-eastern Gascon’, as they form a transitional continuum from Gascon to the neighbouring Languedocian dialect. Examples in (1) show the particle *se* preceding an interrogative *wh* phrase as an instance of the so called “doubly filled complementizer”.¹

- (1) a. Ell preguntava se quin nom tens. *Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan*
 he asked *se* which name (you) have
 ‘He asked what your name was’
- b. Eth que demanava se quin nom as. *South-eastern Gascon*
 he that asked *se* which name (you) have
 ‘He asked what your name was’

In contrast, the equivalent examples in Standard Catalan and General Occitan² are not headed by *se*.

- (2) a. Ell preguntava quin nom tens. *Standard Catalan*
 he asked which name (you) have
 ‘He asked what your name was’
- b. El demandava qual es ton nom. *General Occitan*
 he asked which is your name
 ‘He asked what your name was’

In section 2 we describe the constructions headed by the particle *se*, a particle that has traditionally been called the “expletive *se*”, a term coined by the Occitan dialectologist Sarrieu (1908). Section 3 shows that Romance interrogative clauses with *se* support the analysis of the left periphery provided by Rizzi (2001). We conclude in section 4 that *se* is not in fact an expletive element, but rather the spell-out of a complementizer feature which has no phonological realization in other Romance languages and dialects.

2. The data

In Central Pyrenees dialects, embedded *wh* clauses with *se* express both true embedded interrogatives – (3a,b) and (4a) – and concealed assertions – (3c) and (4b,c).

1. Gascon Occitan shows a high degree of generalization of the presence of the so-called enclitic *que* ‘that’ in affirmative declarative main clauses. This preverbal particle has been analyzed as an evidential modal marker (see Campos 1992 and Pusch 2000, 2003).
2. We use the label *General Occitan* to refer to the Occitan dialects which do not coincide with the dialects we study here.

- (3) a. Demana'ls se què volen. *Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan*
ask them *se* what (they) want
'Ask them what they want'
- b. Mos pregunten se com ho faràs.
to-us they ask *se* how (you) it will-do
'They ask me how you will do it'
- c. No recordo se quan ho va dir.
not (I) remember *se* when (he/she) it said
'I do not remember when he/she said it'
- (4) a. Demana-les se qué vòlen. *South-eastern Gascon*
ask them *se* what (they) want
'Ask them what they want'
- b. Compren se per qué i vòlen parlar?
(he/she) understand *se* why *cl.* (they) want to-speak
'Does he/she understand why they want to speak with him/her/them?'
- c. Que vòs saber se quin tot s'ei passat.
that (you) want know *se* how all *cl.* is happened
'You want to know how it happened'

In Catalan and Occitan, some verbs such as *saber* 'to know' select an infinitive *wh* clause. In Central Pyrenees dialects, this sort of clause can be headed by *se*.

- (5) a. No sé què fer. *Standard Catalan*
(I) not know what to-do
'I do not know what to do'
- b. Sai pas qué faire. *General Occitan*
(I) know *neg.* what to-do
'I do not know what to do'
- c. No sé cap se què fer. *Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan*
(I) not know *neg. se* what to-do
'I do not know what to do'
- d. Non sai cap se qué hèr. *South-eastern Gascon*
(I) not know *neg. se* what to-do
'I do not know what to do'

The use of the complementizer *se* (or its equivalent *si*) occurs in polar (or yes/no) embedded questions in all Catalan and Occitan dialects. Moreover, apart from General Occitan, a polar embedded question can be an infinitive clause.

- (6) a. Ens preguntarà si és veritat. *Standard Catalan*
 to-us (she/he) will-ask *se* (it) is truth
 ‘She/he will ask us if it is true’
- b. No sabia si anar-hi.
 (I) not know if to-go there
 ‘I did not know if I would go there’
- c. Mos preguntarà se é veritat. *Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan*
 to-us (she/he) will-ask *se* (it) is truth
 ‘She/he will ask us if it is true’
- d. No sabeva se anar-hi.
 (I) not know if to-go there
 ‘I did not know if I would go there’
- e. Sabem pas se vendrà. *General Occitan*
 (we) know *neg. se* (she/he) will-come
 ‘We do not know if she/he will come’
- f. Non sabem cap se vierà. *South-eastern Gascon*
 not (we) know *neg. se* (she/he) will-come
 ‘We do not know if she/he will come’
- g. Non sabia cap s’anar-i.
 (I) know *neg.* if to-go there
 ‘I did not know if I would go there’
- h. Non saben s’anar-i (o se non anar-i).
 (they) not know if to-go (or if not to go)
 ‘They do not know if they would go there’

Interestingly, contrary to other Catalan dialects, *se* can head a direct question in Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan, mainly when it is the expression of a doubt:

- (7) a. Se a on deu ser, aquell home?
se at where might be, that man
 ‘Where might that man be?’
- b. Se deu ser veritat que hi anirem?
se (it) might be truth that *cl.* (we) will-go
 ‘Is it true that we will go there?’

Generally, Gascon Occitan direct yes/no questions can be headed by the complementizer *e*, as shown in (8a), but the complementizer *se* is also possible, as in (8b).

- (8) a. E vòs vier?
e (you) want to come
 ‘Do you want to come?’
- b. Se vòs vier?
se (you) want to come
 ‘Do you want to come?’

Although sentences in (8) are synonymous, the behaviour of particles *e* and *se* is different. *E* cannot head a *wh* question, as shown in (9b).

- (9) a. Se d’a on vien aqueras gojatas?
se from where come those girls
 ‘Where are those girls from?’
- b. *E d’a on vien aqueras gojatas?³
part. from where come those girls

Se is also present in embedded exclamative clauses, as shown in the Pallarese example in (10a) from Coromines (1976: 67) and in the Aranese example in (10b):

- (10) a. Vet aquí se com ho fan.
 see here *se* how it (they) do
 ‘Look how they do it’
- b. Guarda se com ac hèn!
 see *se* how it (they) do
 ‘Look how they do it’

It is important to note that, since *se* is considered an archaic or rustic word at present, North-western Catalan speakers tend to use the interrogative word *si* ‘if’ from Standard Catalan instead of the dialectal form. Consequently, it is not unusual to hear sentences such those in (11).

- (11) a. No sé cap si quan vindràs. *Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan*
 not (I) know *neg.* if when (you) will-come
 ‘I do not know when you will come’
- b. No sé cap si amb qui vindràs.
 not (I) know *neg.* if with whom (you) will-come
 ‘I do not know with whom you will come’
- c. No sé cap si vindràs.
 not (I) know *neg.* if (you) will-come
 ‘I do not know if you will come’

3. The sentence in (9b) is grammatical when *e* is the copulative conjunction ‘and’.

Several Romance philologists draw attention to the interrogative particle *se*, but they do not agree on its syntactic category. The first to describe this element was the Occitan dialectologist Sarrieu (1908), who considered it a spare or expletive element. In his book from 1935, Rohlfs (1977: 203) included *se* among what he called “enunciation elements”, that is, Occitan particles such as *que*, which introduce a declarative sentence, and *e*, which appears in interrogative sentences in certain Occitan dialects. He considers *se* a conjunction which introduces indirect yes/no questions, and which is expletively used in some Occitan dialects (see Suïls, Sistac and Rigau 2007, in press). Alibèrt (1966), in his *Dictionnaire Occitan-Français selon les parles languedociens*, defined the particle *se* used before interrogative phrases as an adverb. Coromines, who described this particle in Pallares and Ribagorçan Catalan (see Coromines 1976), and in Aranese Occitan (see Coromines 1990), does not assign to it a syntactic category.⁴ See also Carrera (2007: 160s), who follows Coromines.

In section 3 we will show that Catalan and Occitan *se* is an element which is not an expletive, but rather a meaningful conjunction.

3. The analysis

3.1. Assuming the cartographic approach proposed in Rizzi (1997, 2001) and Cinque & Rizzi (2008), among others, we will illustrate the syntactic positions in the left periphery domain of the sentence which are occupied by interrogative phrases in Catalan and Occitan dialects, and we will also show that the Occitan and

4. Specifically, Coromines (1976:66f) writes that in Alt Pallars the particle *se* precedes interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs in embedded interrogative clauses, and he adds that *se* may also replace the combination formed by the article *el* (‘the’) + the relative pronoun *que* (‘that’). The second part of his claim is not attested (Suïls, Sistac and Rigau 2007, in press). In fact, (ib) is ungrammatical.

- (i) a. Fes el que vulgues.
do the that (you) want
‘Do what you want’
b. *Fes se què vulgues.
do *se* what (you) want

The reason for Coromines’s claim is that a free relative can be used in the same context as a wh interrogative clause embedded after some Catalan verbs (e.g. *saber* ‘know’), as shown in (ii). However, when *se* is present, as in (iii), the embedded clause is interpreted as an interrogative.

- (ii) a. Vols saber el que m’han ensenyat?
(you) want to-know the what to-me (they) have shown
‘Do you want to know what they showed me?’
b. Vols saber què m’han ensenyat?
(you) want to-know what to-me (they) have shown
‘Do you want to know what they showed me?’
(iii) Vols saber se què m’han ensenyat?
(you) want to-know *se* what to-me (they) have shown
‘Do you want to know what they showed me?’

Catalan sentences described in §1 provide evidence for the complementizer system proposed in Rizzi (2001). The complex structure of the articulated left periphery of the clause is as follows:

(12) [Force (Topic) Interrogative (Topic) Focus (Topic) Finiteness] IP

Force specifies different types of clauses: declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamative, comparative clauses, etc., and Finiteness (Fin) distinguishes between finite and non-finite clauses. The positions between Force and Fin can be inactive. Rizzi (2001) postulated the Interrogative (Int) position. It is a distinct position from Focus, which is reserved for focus phrases and *wh* phrases. According to Rizzi (2001), Int is the position of Italian *se* ‘if’, the element which introduces embedded yes/no questions. Rizzi argues that Italian *se* occupies a position lower than Force, because it can be preceded (and followed) by a topic, while Force in subordinate clauses cannot be preceded by a topic.⁵ Moreover, *se* cannot be in Focus position because it is compatible with a contrastive focus phrase, as shown in (13), an example from Rizzi (2001):

(13) Mi domando se QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos’altro).
‘I wonder if THIS they wanted to tell him, not something else’

3.2. Strong evidence that interrogative *se* does not occupy the same position as *wh* phrases comes from the Romance varieties considered here, Ribagoçan and Pallaresse Catalan (14a), and South-eastern Gascon (14b), which allow for the sequence *se wh*:⁶

- (14) a. Demana’ls [se què volen] (=3a)
 Int FOCUS
 b. Demana-les [se qué vòlen] (=4a)
 Int FOCUS

Since the function of the conjunction *se* in (14) is to make visible the interrogative character of the subordinate clause and, given that Focus position – the tradi-

5. According to Rizzi (2001), it is implausible that a subordinate clause may be closed upward by a Topic Phrase because the main verb selects for an indirect question, not for a clause with a topic or dislocated phrase. However, some authors have postulated an extra Topic position on the left of Force in the main clause (see Hernanz & Rigau 2006 and Mata 2007). Moreover, in Ribagoçan Catalan a temporal adverb can appear in front of *se* + *wh*:

- (i) a. No sé demà se què faràs.
 (not) (I) know tomorrow *se* what (you) will-do
 ‘I do not know what you will do tomorrow’
 b. *No sé se demà què faràs.
 not (I) know *se* tomorrow what (you) will-do

6. *Wh* phrases and contrastive focus phrases are incompatible in both main and embedded clauses in Catalan and Occitan.

tional node for wh phrases – is already occupied, it is obvious that two positions are required for the expression of (14). That is to say, *se* has to be taken as an overt manifestation of Int generated in head position in order to explain co-occurrence and ordering restrictions w.r.t. *què*. Int is also related to the subordinate Force, the head which expresses the modality clause type. In the embedded clause in (14), a silent or abstract Force has the interrogative feature. The feature in the subordinate Force receives its value from the interpretable feature in Int under Agree (see Chomsky 2001). Independently, the quantifier *què* ‘what’ in (14) is related to a variable in the VP zone. From (14) we can conclude that the node Int selects a wh focus.

At this point a question arises: what about sentences such as (15)?

- (15) a. Ell preguntava si hi volen parlar. *Catalan*
 he asked if *cl.* (they) want to speak
 ‘He asked if you wanted to speak with them/him/her’
- b. Que demanava se i vòlen parlar. *Gascon Occitan*
 that (he/she) asked if *cl.* (they) want to speak
 ‘He/she asked if you wanted to speak with them/him/her’

In Catalan and Occitan, embedded yes/no questions are the only clauses headed by *si/se* ‘if’ with no wh element involved, as shown in (15). In this case there are no dialectal differences (see also examples in (6)). It is coherent to assume that *si/se* in (15) and (6) has the same function as in (14): it makes visible the interrogative property of the embedded clause. Therefore, its position is the head of Int, and it is related to the interrogative feature in Force head by Agree. In addition, we claim that the structure of embedded clauses in (15) and (6) is parallel to that in (14): Int (realized by *se/si*) selects a wh focus element. Following Rigau (1984) and Kayne (1991, fn. 54), we assume that in neutral polar embedded questions there is an abstract yes/no quantifier that originates inside IP, that is, in the same position as the polarity item *no/non* ‘not’: in Sigma (or Polarity) Phrase. Consequently, polar interrogative questions express a disjunction between the affirmation and the negation of their propositional content, as shown in (16)

- (16) a. Ell preguntava si hi volen parlar o no (hi volen parlar). *Standard Catalan*
 (he) asked if *cl.* (they) want to speak or not *cl.* want to speak
 ‘He asked if you wanted to speak with them/him/her or not’
- b. Que demanava se i vòlen parlar o non (i vòlen parlar). *Gascon Occitan*
 that (he/she) asked if *cl.* (they) want to speak or not *cl.* want to speak
 ‘He/she asked if you wanted to speak with them/him/her or not’

The abstract yes/no quantifier moves to specifier position of Focus, like other wh quantifiers. However, it does not require the so-called subject inversion (or V to Fin movement), which is obligatory with the majority of wh elements (*què* ‘what’, *qui* ‘who’, *com* ‘how’, *on* ‘where’, etc.). See (17) and (18). The reason is that wh elements are arguments or adjuncts to the predicate (inside the VP phrase), whereas the yes/no question quantifier belongs to IP domain.

- (17) a. Ell preguntava si els estudiants ho volen. *Standard Catalan*
 he asked if the students it want
 ‘He asked if the students wanted it’
- b. *Ell preguntava què els estudiants volen.
 he asked what the students want
 ‘He asked what the students wanted’
- c. Ell preguntava què volen els estudiants.
 he asked what want the students
 ‘He asked what the students wanted’
- (18) a. Eth que demanaua s’eths estudiants ac vòlen. *Gascon Occitan*
 he that asked if the students it want
 ‘He asked if the students wanted it’
- b. *Eth que demanaua qué eths estudiants vòlen.
 he that asked what the students want
- c. Eth que demanaua qué vòlen eths estudiants.
 he that asked what want the students
 ‘He asked what the students wanted’

Summing up, in Standard Catalan and Standard Occitan, the conjunction *si/se*, as the head of Int, is phonologically realized only when the wh quantifier is abstract (i.e. the yes/no question quantifier). If the wh element is overt (i.e. *què* ‘what’, *qui* ‘who’, *com* ‘how’, etc.), then the head of Int is an abstract interrogative conjunction. In contrast, in the central Pyrenees dialects, the head of Int in an embedded interrogative clause is realized as *se*.

3.3. Interestingly, in Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan, *se* can be absent when the embedded clause has an assertive meaning, that is, when the speaker knows the answer. Hence, (19a) contrasts with (19b) in the sense that only the latter is a true embedded question:

- (19) a. Ja sabeu qui vindrà?
 already (you) know who will-come
 ‘Do you already know who will come?’
- b. Ja sabeu se qui vindrà?
 already (you) know *se* who will-come
 ‘Do you already know who will come?’

In (19a) the speaker can add the name of the person who is coming:

- (20) Ja sabeu qui vindrà? Vindrà Maria.
 already (you) know who will come. Will-come Mary
 ‘Do you already know who will come? Mary will come’

3.4. As shown in (8b) and in (21a), Gascon allows the presence of *se* in Int in a direct yes/no question. Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan are more restrictive. In these dialects, *se* can appear in a yes/no question which contains a probability modal verb, as in (21b) and also (7).

- (21) a. Se vòs vier (o non)?
se (you) want to come (or not)
 ‘Do you want to come?’
 b. Se deu ser veritat?
se (it) might be true
 ‘Might it be true?’

In (21a) *se* is in Int and selects a yes/no quantifier phonologically realized through suprasegmental or prosodic information. The interrogative feature in Force receives its value from the interpretable feature in Int under Agree. However, Occitan also has another interrogative particle: *e* (see 22a). Examples such as (22b-d) show us that this interrogative marker is in Fin node, instead of in Int or Force.⁷

- (22) a. E i vòlen parlar?
part. cl. (they) want to speak
 ‘Do they want to speak with them/him/her?’
 b. Se Joan e poirà vier?
se John *part.* will-be able to come
 ‘Will John be able to come?’
 c. Sabes se Joan e poirà vier?
 (you) know *se* John *part.* will-be able to come
 ‘Do you know if John will be able to come?’
 d. *Sabes se Joan se poirà vier?
 (you) know *se* John *se* will-be able to come

7. *E* can also appear in a preverbal position in a subjunctive subordinate clause, as shown in (i) from Push (2000:197):

- (i) *Cau eths mainats e tribalhen.*
 is-necessary the children *part.* work-subjunctive
 ‘It is necessary that the children work’

Rohlf's (1977: 210-11) gives some examples of *e* in temporal and conditional adjuncts:

- (ii) a. Quan lo caperan e demandava aus nòbis...
 when the priest *part.* asked the bride and the suitor
 ‘When the priest asked the bride and groom...’
 b. E digosses la vertat!
part. you would say the truth
 ‘Would you say the truth!’
 c. Se dab nos e voletz disnar...
 if with us *part.* you want to have lunch
 ‘If you want to have lunch with us...’

In Standard Catalan, *si* is incompatible with a neutral polar interrogative intonation: the Int node is covert when the yes/no question quantifier has suprasegmental or prosodic properties, as in (23a). The sentence in (23b) is an echo question, not a neutral polar question.⁸

- (23) a. Vindran?
 (they) will-come
 ‘Will they come?’
- b. Si vindran?
 if (they) will-come
 ‘(Are you asking me) if they will come?’

Interestingly, the intonation of the questions in (21) and (22b), belonging to Central Pyrenees dialects, is less marked than direct questions not headed by *se*. They do not follow the rising intonation pattern which is characteristic of neutral polar questions.

3.5. Colloquial Catalan has the possibility of allowing the presence of the conjunction *que* in some embedded questions, as shown in (24).

- (24) a. El mestre preguntarà que qui ho ha fet.
 the teacher will-ask that who it has made
 ‘The teacher will ask who has made it’
- b. Ella demana que si dinarà amb nosaltres.
 she asks that if (you) will-have-lunch with as
 ‘She is asking if you will have lunch with us’

Similarly to Spanish, *que* heading an embedded question is only possible with pure interrogative verbs (*preguntar* ‘ask’, *demanar* ‘ask’ and *dir* ‘ask’), which accept direct speech, but not with other assertive interrogative verbs such as *consultar* ‘to consult’ or *investigar* ‘to investigate’ (see Plann 1982, Brucart 1993, Villalba 2002, Etxepare 2008, Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2009).

- (25) a. El mestre preguntarà: “Qui ho ha fet?”
 the teacher will-ask: who it has made
 ‘The teacher will ask: “Who has made it?”’
- b. Ella demana: “Dinarà amb nosaltres?”
 she asks: (he/she) will-have-lunch with us
 ‘She asks: “Will he/she have lunch with us?”’

8. In Central Catalan, neutral polar questions can be headed by *que* (‘that’): *Que vindràs?* ‘Will you come?’. As opposed to the typical interrogative raising intonation in examples like *Vindràs?* ‘Will you come?’, these sentences have a falling intonation (see Prieto & Rigau 2007).

- (26) a. *Ella consultarà que si plou.
she will-consult that if (it) rains
- b. *Ella consultarà: “Plou?”
she will-consult: (it) rains
- c. *El policia investigà que qui ho ha fet.
the policeman investigated that who it has made
- d. *El policia investigà: “Qui ho ha fet?”
the policeman investigated: who it has made

The conjunction *que* in (24) is the spell-out of the property of reported speech in Force. In Central Pyrenees dialects, *que* is not admitted in embedded questions, as shown in (27). In these dialects, the feature of reported speech is covert in Force, while the interrogative feature in Force is licensed by Agree with the Int head (*se*). In contrast, in other Catalan dialects the property of reported speech is overt in Force (*que*) and the Int head is covert (see (24)).

- (27) *M’han demanat que se qui ho ha fet. *Ribagorçan and Pallarese Catalan*
to-me (they) have asked that if who it has made

Gascon Occitan provides us proof that *que* ‘that’ can be the spell-out of the reported speech property in Force. In (28) two instances of *que* head appear in the embedded clause. The first is in (Subordinate) Force and the second in Fin node, as the realization of the finite feature of the subordinate clause.⁹

- (28) Que ditz que que vierà.
that (he/she) says that that (he/she) will-come
‘He/she says that he/she will come’

9. Catalan offers other instances of *que* co-occurring with an interrogative operator, such as the confirmatory questions in (i). See Hernanz & Rigau (2006) and Prieto & Rigau (2007).
- (i) a. Oi que plou?
part. that (it) rains
‘It’s raining, isn’t it?’
- b. Eh que plou?
part. that (it) rains
‘It’s raining, isn’t it?’
- c. No que plou?
not that (it) rains
‘It’s raining, isn’t it?’
- d. Veritat que plou?
truth that (it) rains
‘It’s raining, isn’t it?’

Colloquial Spanish and Colloquial Catalan also show some declarative sentences with two instances of complementizer *que*, each being the spell-out of the upper and lower boundaries – Force and Fin – in sentence left periphery. Spanish example (29a) is from Demonte & Fernández Soriano (2009: 40):

- (29) a. He dicho que el dinero que no lo toquen. *Colloquial Spanish*
 (I) have said that the money that (you) not it touch
 ‘I said that the money should not be touched’
- b. Diu que els diners que no els toqueu. *Colloquial Catalan*
 (She/he) says that the money that (you) not them touch
 ‘She/he says that the money should not be touched’

Conclusion

This paper has shown that the structure for CP in both root and embedded Romance interrogative clauses is more complex than it has been considered by traditional grammarians and dialectologists. Catalan and Occitan Pyrenees dialects offer strong evidence in favour of the Int(errogative) head in the left periphery of the sentence postulated by Rizzi (2001). We have shown that the conjunction *se* can co-appear with a wh quantifier in these dialects. The particle *se* functions not as an expletive element, but rather as the spell-out of the interrogative property of the clause, while the function of wh element is to bind a variable in the IP from the specifier of Focus head. Following, Chomsky’s (2001: 2) Uniformity Principle¹⁰, we assume that all languages and dialects share the same principles of phrase and clause composition. Hence, a functional head Int is always present in root and embedded questions, though in some languages it is filled by an abstract “*se*”. Moreover, in addition to the Int node, in neutral polar (or yes/no questions) we have postulated the presence of a yes/no question quantifier in the specifier of Focus node related to the Sigma node in IP. In some languages this quantifier has suprasegmental or prosodic properties in direct yes/no questions.

Consequently, we agree with Cinque & Rizzi (2008: 45), who claim that “this is the strongest position one could take; one which implies that if some language provides evidence for the existence of a particular functional head (and projection), then that head (and projection) must be present in every other language, whether the language offers overt evidence for it or not (cf. Kayne 2005: 12; Cinque 2006: 4). A weaker position would consist in assuming that languages may differ in the type or number of functional projections they select from a universal inventory, or in their order.”

10. According to Chomsky’s Uniformity Principle, in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, we assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

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