

On non in situ “in situ” wh-elements

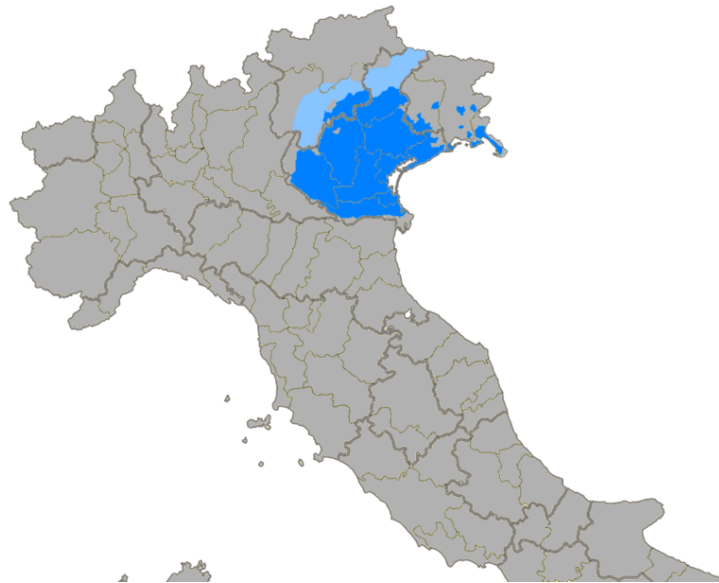
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Abstract

Trevigiano, a Venetan dialect, licenses both fronted and sentence internal wh-phrases. This property, along with the systematic combination of “insituness” and Subject clitic Inversion, makes it different from more widely studied languages like Bellunese (Munaro (1999), Munaro et al. (2001), Poletto and Pollock (2000) and subsequent works) and French, hence worth studying. In this presentation, I argue that the relative distribution of sentence internal wh-adverbs and V-selected arguments of Trevigiano shows that what wh-phrases “in situ” actually undergo partial IP-internal wh-movement. I also show that “insituness” in this language is not only a root phenomenon, and present novel data on a special “if”-complementizer used in this language to licence sentence internal wh-elements in indirect questions. Finally, I argue in favour of a low landing site for wh-movement, located in the low periphery of the clause, and of a left peripheral WhP (Rizzi (2006)) active (at least) in indirect wh-questions.

Introduction

Venetan is a Romance language used as a native language by about 3.9 million people. It is spoken mostly in the *Veneto region*, where most of the 5 million inhabitants can at least understand it. It is also spoken in Trentino, Friuli and Venezia Giulia, Istria, and some towns of Dalmatia:



Commonly referred to as an Italian dialect, Venetan is a separate *language*. It descended from Vulgar Latin, and has only been partially influenced by Standard Italian.

There exist many different varieties of Venetan, which are mutually intelligible to a very high degree, including the most diverging ones (the Central and the Western varieties). The main regional varieties of Venetan are: (i) the **Central variety** (Padua, Vicenza, and the Polesine area); (ii) the **Eastern/Coastal variety** (Venice, Trieste, Grado, Istria, and Fiume); (iii) the **Western variety** (Verona and some areas of the Trentino region); (iv) the **North-Central variety**, spoken in the “Destra Piave” of the Province of Treviso and most of the Province of Pordenone; (v) the **Northern variety**, spoken in the “Sinistra Piave” of the Province of Treviso (including Belluno, but also Feltre, Agordo, Cadore, and Zoldo Alto):



Here, and more in general in my work, I only take into consideration the varieties and sub-varieties spoken in the Province of Treviso, the “Destra Piave” and the “Sinistra Piave” varieties. The light yellow area in the map is the region in question, where 885.447 people live and have either an active or a passive competence in Trevigiano.

1 The Interrogative Syntax of Trevigiano

SCII and the “ex situ-in situ alternation”

SCII is compulsory in genuine direct questions:

- (1) a. Ga-tu catà cualchedun al marcà?
Have-you_{CL} met someone at.the market
“Did you met someone at the market?”
- b. * Te gà catà cualchedun al marcà?
You_{CL} have found someone at.the market

Wh-phrases can appear fronted or sentence-internally:

- (2) a. **Chi** ga-tu catà al marcà?
 who have-you_{CL} found at.the market
 "Who did you meet at the market?"
- b. *Chi te gà catà al marcà?
 Who you_{CL} have found at.the market
- (3) a. Ga-tu catà **chi** al marcà?
 have-you_{CL} met who at.the market
 "Who did you meet at the market?"
- b. *Te gà catà chi al marcà?
 You_{CL} have found who at.the market

Also D-linked wh-phrases can appear both fronted or sentence-internally (4):

- (4) a. **Ch**e **profesor** a-ea visto al marcà?
 what professor has-she_{CL} seen at.the market
 "Which professor did she see at the market?"
- b. A-ea visto **ch**e **profesor** al marcà?
 has-she_{CL} seen what professor at.the market

The same patterns are found in long-distance questions (5-6):

- (5) a. **Chi** pens-ea che te gà visto al marcà?
 who thinks-she_{CL} that you_{CL} have seen at.the market
 "Who does she think you saw at the market?"
- b. Pens-ea che te gà visto **chi** al marcà?
 thinks-she_{CL} that you_{CL} have seen who at.the market
- (6) a. **Ch**e **maestra** pens-ea che te ga visto al marcà?
 what teacher thinks-she_{CL} that you_{CL} have seen at.the market
 "Which teacher does she think you saw at the market?"
- b. Pens-ea che te ga visto **ch**e **maestra** al marcà?
 thinks-she_{CL} that you_{CL} have seen what teacher at.the market

Predictably, *SCII* is a root phenomenon (7):

- (7) a. Chi pens-ea che te ga visto al marcà?
 who thinks-she_{CL} that you_{CL} have seen at.the market
- b. *Pens-ea che ga-tu visto chi al marcà?
 thinks-she_{CL} that have-you_{CL} seen who at.the market

Similar, yet different from Bellunese and French

Bellunese (Munaro (1995), Poletto and Pollock (2015) and previous related works, Munaro et al. (2001)): obligatory *SCII*. However, non-D-linked wh-phrases can ONLY appear sentence-internally (8), and D-linked wh-words are only compatible with wh-fronting (9):

- (8) a. Ha-tu magnà **che**?
have-you eaten what
“What did you eat?” (Bellunese)
- b. ***Che** ha-tu magnà?
What have-you eaten
- (9) a. **Che libro** ha-tu ledest?
what book have-you read
“Which book did you read?” (Bellunese)
- b. *Ha-tu ledest **che libro**?
have-you read what book

French (Mathieu (1999), Bošković (2000), Cheng and Rooryck (2002)): both D-linked and non-D-linked wh-phrases are licensed sentence-internally. However, in French “insituness” and SCII are NEVER compatible (10):

- (10) a. *As-tu mangé **quand**?
have-you eaten when
“When did you eat?” (French)
- b. T’as mangé **quand**?
You’ve eaten when

2 “Insituness” in Trevigiano

Matrix questions

Word order in declaratives: V arguments > ADJ_{time} > ADJ_{place} (11):

- (11) a. Giani el gà magnà pomi_{DO} jeri sera_T al ristorante_P
John he has eaten apples yesterday evening at.the restaurant
“Yesterday evening, John ate apples at the restaurant”
- b. ? Giani el gà magnà pomi_{DO} al ristorante_P jeri sera_T
John he has eaten apples at.the restaurant yesterday evening
- c. * Giani el gà magnà jeri sera_T pomi_{DO} al ristorante_P
John he has eaten yesterday evening apples at.the restaurant
- d. * Giani el gà magnà al ristorante_P pomi_{DO} jeri sera_T
John he has eaten at.the restaurant apples yesterday evening

“In situ” wh-items appear moved from the unmarked position (12) - they follow the lexical V:

- (12) a. Ga-tu magnà **quando**_a el dolse t_a?
Have-you_{CL} eaten when the cake t
“When did you eat the cake?”
- b. Ga-tu visto **dove**_a a Maria t_a?
Have-you_{CL} seen where the Maria t
“Where did you see Maria?”

- c. Ghe ga-tu dato a **chi**_a a tecia t_a?
DAT have-you_{CL} given to who the saucepan t
"Who did you give the saucepan to?"
- d. Ga-ea visto **cozza**_a a Maria t_a?
Has-she_{CL} seen what the Maria t
"What did Maria see?"

The unmarked order is ungrammatical in *genuine* questions (13):

- (13) a. * Ga-tu magnà el dolse **quando**?
Have-you_{CL} eaten the cake when
"When did you eat the cake?"
- b. * Ga-tu visto a Maria **dove**?
Have-you_{CL} seen the Maria where
"Where did you see Maria?"
- c. * Ghe ga-tu dato a tecia **a chi**?
DAT have-you_{CL} given the saucepan to who
"Who did you give the saucepan to?"
- d. * Ga-ea visto a Maria **cozza**?
Has-she_{CL} seen the Maria what
"What did Maria see?"

Wh-phrase in its base position: echo reading. The interrogative syntax is lost altogether (no *SCII*) (14):

- (14) a. Te gà magnà el dolse **quando**?!
You have eaten the cake when
"You ate the cake WHEN?!" (ECHO)
- b. Te gà visto a Maria **dove**?!
You have seen the Maria where
"You saw Maria WHERE?!" (ECHO)
- c. Te ghe gà dato a tecia **a chi**?!
You DAT have given the saucepan to who
"You gave the saucepan TO WHO?!" (ECHO)
- d. A Maria a gà visto **cozza**?!
The Maria she has seen what
"Maria saw WHAT?!" (ECHO)

...in case you were wondering! The examples in (12) are not right-dislocations (15 and 16):

- (15) a. **O** ga-tu magnà **quando**, el dolse?
It_{CL} have-you_{CL} eaten when # the cake
"The cake, when did you eat?" (RD)
- b. **A** ga-tu vista **dove**, a Maria?
She_{CL} have-you_{CL} seen_F where # the Maria
"Mary, where did you see?" (RD)

- c. Ghe a ga-tu data a chi, a tecia?
 DAT it_{CL} have-you_{CL} given_F to who # the saucepan
 “The saucepan, who did you give it to?” (RD)
- (16) a. Ghe o ga-tu regaeà cuando, {aa Maria}, l’anel?
 DAT it have-you_{CL} given when # to.the Maria # the’ring
 “The ring, when did you give to Maria?” (RD)
- b. Ghe ga-tu regaeà cuando *{aa Maria} l’anel {aa Maria}?
 DAT have-you_{CL} given when to.the Maria the’ring to.the Maria
 “When did you give Maria the ring?”

Please notice that the possibility of having *emargination* in Trevigiano is excluded by the possibility of having structures like (11c-11d)!

⇒ **Working hypothesis**

In Trevigiano, what we call “in situ” wh-phrases actually undergo **partial wh-movement** to a very low wh-position (17).

Maybe *FocusP*, in Belletti (2004)’s words?

- (17) ... [_{VP} [_{FocusP} **wh-phrase**_j [_{focus} [_{TopicP} [_{Topic} [_{VP} [_V t_j]]]]]]

The complementizers of Trevigiano

The LP of Trevigiano is very Italian-like (18):

- (18) a. Penso de ndar da Toni stasera
 Think_{1PS} to go at Toni tonight
 “I think I’ll go to Toni’s tonight” **Fin**⁰
- b. Me domando se l ndarà da Toni doman
 Myself ask_{1PS} if he_{CL} go_{FUT} at Toni tomorrow
 “I wonder whether he’ll go to Toni’s tomorrow” **Int**⁰
- c. Penso che l vae da Toni doman
 Think_{1PS} that he_{CL} go_{SUBJ} at Toni tomorrow
 “I think he’ll go to Toni’s tomorrow” **Force**⁰
- d. Cuando pensi-tu che l vae da Toni?
 When think_{2PS}-you that he_{CL} go_{SUBJ} at Toni
 “When do you think he’ll go to Toni’s?”

Insituness in indirect questions: the “if”-complementizer

In Trevigiano *se* appears also in non-echo indirect wh-questions when the wh-element is “in situ” (*se_{WH}*) (19a-19c):

- (19) a. Me domando se te ga magnà cossa
 Myself ask se_{wh} you have eaten what
 “I wonder what you ate”

- b. A *se* domanda *se* l vegnarà **quando**
 She herself asks *se_{wh}* he come_{FUT} when
 "She wonders when he's going to come"
- c. Voria saver *se* ve caté **dove**
 Would_{1PS} know *se_{wh}* yourselves meet where
 "I wonder where you'll be meeting"

Doesn't give rise to a yes/no interpretation!

Even under *se_{wh}*, the distribution of wh-adjuncts with respect to arguments patterns that observed in matrix clauses (20a-20b):

- (20) a. Me domando *se* te ga magnà **quando** i pomi t_{quando}
 Myself ask *se* you have eaten when the apples t
 "I wonder when you ate the apples"
- b. A *se* domanda *se* l piantarà **dove** i persegneri t_{dove}
 She herself asks *se* he plant_{FUT} where the peach.trees t
 "She wonders where he'll plant the peach trees"

In the absence of partial wh-movement, the questions are very marginal. Wondering again?? (20a-20b) are clearly NOT instances of RD (21):

- (21) Me domando *se* te i ga magnai **quando**, i pomi
 Myself ask *se* you them have eaten_{mascPL} when # the apples
 "The apples, I wonder when you ate" (RD+cl-resumption)

If the wh-element of indirect questions moves "ex situ", the insertion of *se* becomes ungrammatical (22a). *Che* ('that') must be used instead (22d):

- (22) a. * Me domando **cossa** *se* te ga magnà
 Myself ask what *se* you have eaten
 "I wonder what you ate"
- b. Me domando **cossa** *che* te ga magnà
 Myself ask what that you have eaten
- c. Me domando *se* te ga magnà
 Myself ask *se* you have eaten
 "I wonder whether you ate" no wh-phrase: ✓ (y/n)
- d. * Me domando *che* te ga magnà
 Myself ask that you have eaten
 "I wonder whether you ate" no wh-phrase: ✗

⇒ Working hypothesis

The *che* and *se* just discussed might be only *homophonous* to the C that introduce embedded clauses and indirect yes/no questions.

Insituness in long-distance questions

In Trevigiano, embedded “insituness” is licensed also in long-distance wh-questions:

- (23) a. Pensi-tu che vegnarà catarne **chi**?
 Think-you_{CL} that come_{FUTURE} see.us who
 “Who do you think will visit us?” “in situ”
- b. Pensi-tu che i voje magnar **cosa**?
 Think-you_{CL} that they want_{SUBJ} eat what
 “What do you think they want to eat?”
- (24) a. **Chi** pensi-tu che vegnarà catarne?
 Who think-you_{CL} that come_{FUTURE} see.us
 “Who do you think will visit us?” “ex situ”
- b. **Cossa** pensi-tu che i voje magnar?
 What think-you_{CL} that they want_{SUBJ} eat
 “What do you think they want to eat?”

Partial wh-movement of “in situ” wh-phrases is clearly at play here too (25):

- (25) Pensi-tu che magnaremo **quando** i fighi t_{quando}?
 Think-you_{CL} that eat_{1PP.FUTURE} when the figues t
 “When do you think we will eat the figues?”

In the absence of partial wh-movement:

- (26) a. *Pensi-tu che magnaremo i fighi **quando**?
 Think-you_{CL} that eat_{1PP.FUTURE} the figues when
 “When do you think we will eat the figues?”
- b. Pensi-tu che i magnaremo **quando**, i fighi?
 Think-you_{CL} that them eat_{1PP.FUTURE} when # the figues
 “The figues, when do you think we’re going to eat?” (RD)
- c. Te pensi che magnaremo i fighi **quando**?!
 Think-you_{CL} that eat_{1PP.FUTURE} the figues when
 “You think we’re going to eat the figues WHEN?!” (ECHO)

3 Low(er) landing Sites for Wh-Movement

IP-internal ‘little whP’

“Partial wh-movement” targets an IP-internal wh-projection, *little whP* (27):

- (27) a. Si-tu [_{IP} ndà [_{whP} **quando** ... [_{VP} al marcà t_{quando}]]]?
 are-you_{CL} gone when to.the market
 “When did you go to the market?”
- b. Ga-tu [_{IP} posà [_{whP} **dove** ... [_{VP} i ociai t_{dove}]]]?
 have-you_{CL} put where the glasses
 “Where did you put the glasses?”

Where's **whP**? Lower than the position targeted by the finite V (28):

- (28) a. Pensi-tu che Toni el vegnarà **quando** da nojaltri?
 think-you_{CL} that Toni he_{CL} come_{FUT} when at ours
 "When do you think Toni will come over?"
 b. El vol saver se me mare a vegnarà **quando** da ti
 He_{CL} wants know se_{WH} my mother she_{CL} come_{FUT} when at yours
 "He wants to know when my mother will come at your place"

"Little whP" must lie in the low periphery, *vP* (29):

- (29) a. Pensi-tu che [_{SubjP} Toni [_{Subj⁰} el [_{TP} vegnarà [_{whP} quando_j [_{VP} t_S t_V da nojaltri t_i]]]]?
 b. El vol saver se [_{SubjP} me mare [_{Subj⁰} a [_{TP} vegnarà [_{whP} quando_j [_{VP} t_S t_V da ti t_j]]]]

This position is very likely FocP in Belletti (2004) (*vP*/CP correspondence - wh-phrases target focal positions):

- (30) ... [_{vP} [_{whP/FocP} **wh-phrase**_j [_{wh⁰} [_{TopicP} [_{Top⁰} [_{VP} [_{V⁰} t_j]]]]]]

Low left peripheral WhP

The distribution of se_{WH}/che_{WH} and se_{Y/N}/che_{Y/N}:

1- se_{Y/N} and a topic like *sto libro* ("this book"):

- (31) a. [Sto libro], me domando se te o gà za leto
 this book myself ask_{1PS} se_{Y/N} you_{CL} it_{CL} have already read
 b. Me domando se te o gà za leto, [sto libro]
 myself ask_{1PS} se_{Y/N} you_{CL} it_{CL} have already read this book
 c. Me domando, [sto libro], se te o gà za leto
 myself ask_{1PS} this book se_{Y/N} you_{CL} it_{CL} have already read
 d. Me domando se, [sto libro], te o gà za leto
 myself ask_{1PS} se_{Y/N} this book you_{CL} it_{CL} have already read

- (32) topic_{LeftD} [_{CP} topic ... se_{Y/N} ... topic] topic_{RightD}

2- se_{WH}, wh-element "in situ" and a topic like *sto libro*:

- (33) a. [Sto libro], me domando se te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**
 this book myself ask_{1PS} se_{WH} you DAT it have given to who
 "I wonder who you gave this book to"
 b. Me domando se te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**, [sto libro]
 myself ask_{1PS} se_{WH} you DAT it have given to who this book
 c. Me domando, [sto libro], se te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**
 myself ask_{1PS} this book se_{WH} you DAT it have given to who
 d. ?? Me domando se, [sto libro], te ghe o gà regaeà a **chi**
 myself ask_{1PS} se_{WH} this book you DAT it have given to who

(34) topic_{LeftD} [CP topic ...se_{WH} ...??topic *wh-phrase*] topic_{RightD}

3- che_{WH}, wh-element “ex situ” and a topic like *sto libro*:

- (35) a. [Sto libro], me domando dove che te o già leto
This book myself ask_{1PS} where che you_{CL} it_{CL} have read
“I wonder where you read this book”
b. Me domando dove che te o già leto, [sto libro]
Myself ask_{1PS} where che you_{CL} it_{CL} have read this book
c. Me domando, [sto libro], dove che te o già leto
Myself ask_{1PS} this book where che you_{CL} it_{CL} have read
d. ?? Me domando dove, [sto libro], che te o già leto
Myself ask_{1PS} where this book che you_{CL} it_{CL} have read
e. ? Me domando dove che, [sto libro], te o già leto
Myself ask_{1PS} where che this book you_{CL} it_{CL} have read

(36) topic_{LeftD} [CP topic ...*wh-phrase* ??topic **che_{WH}** ...?topic] topic_{RightD}

4- Surrounded by topics?:

- (37) a. Me domando, [sto libro], se, [jeri], te o già leto
I wonder this book se_{Y/N} yesterday you_{CL} it_{CL} have read
“I wonder if you read this book yesterday”
b. * Me domando, [sto libro], se, [jeri], o già leto chi
I wonder this book se_{WH} yesterday it_{CL} has read who
“I wonder who read this book yesterday”
c. * Me domando, [sto libro], chi che, [jeri], o già leto
I wonder this book who che yesterday it_{CL} has read

(38) [CP topic ...se_{Y/N} / *se_{WH} / ***che_{WH}** ...topic]

5- Co-occurrence with focus:

- (39) a. Me domando se STO LIBRO te ga leto (no staltro)
Myself ask_{1PS} se_{Y/N} THIS BOOK you_{CL} have read (not other)
“THIS BOOK I wonder if you read (not the other one)”
b. * Me domando STO LIBRO se te ga leto (no staltro)
Myself ask_{1PS} THIS BOOK se_{Y/N} you_{CL} have read (not other)
- (40) a. Me domando STO LIBRO se o ga leto chi
Myself ask_{1PS} THIS BOOK se_{WH} it_{CL} has read who
“THIS BOOK I wonder who read”
b. * Me domando se STO LIBRO o ga leto chi
Myself ask_{1PS} se_{WH} THIS BOOK it_{CL} has read who

- (41) a. Me domando STO LIBRO chi che o già leto
I wonder THIS BOOK who che it_{CL} has read
"THIS BOOK I wonder who read"
- b. * Me domando chi STO LIBRO che o già leto
I wonder who THIS BOOK che it_{CL} has read
- c. ?? Me domando chi che STO LIBRO o già leto
I wonder who che THIS BOOK it_{CL} has read
- (42) a. *focus > se_{Y/N} > focus (IT, Rizzi (2001))
b. focus > se_{WH} > *focus
c. focus > wh-phrase *focus che_{WH} > *focus

Making sense of the data:

The distribution of the three Cs with respect to *topics* and *focus* is summarized in (43):

- (43) a. Topic > se_{Y/N} > Focus > Topic
b. Focus > Topic > se_{WH}
c. Focus > Topic > che_{WH}

se_{Y/N} is likely to realize **Int**⁰, as its Italian counterpart (Rizzi (2001)).

se_{WH} appears to occupy the head of a very low left-peripheral projection - lower than the last TopP - and it is in complementary distribution with che_{WH}. The Spec of the latter seems to be a landing site for wh-movement, whereas that of the former is not.

⇒ Working question

Could se_{WH} and che_{WH} head two different projections? **NO**.

This is theoretically undesirable:

- Imagine that *se* is there for locality reason, and is inserted as a last resort operation to "save" the structure: why not moving the wh-phrase, instead of projecting a FP?
- Why isn't *ke* able to "save" the structure on its own?
- If *ke* is selected by the V, and *se* "saves" the in situ structure, why can't they appear together?

My (tentative) proposal: se_{WH} and ke_{WH} are two phonetic realizations of Wh⁰

The V-selected C of indirect questions surfaces either as se_{WH} or as che_{WH} (44):

- (44) matrix V ... [_{ForceP(emb)} Force⁰ ... [_{FP} se_{WH}/che_{WH} [_{FinP} Fin⁰ [_{IP} I⁰]]]]]]]

The alternation between se_{WH} and che_{WH} can be attributed to the presence/absence of a relevant wh-feature: as in French *que/qui alternation* (Rizzi (1990), RRizzi and Shlonsky (2007)), se_{WH} surfaces as *che* when it is crossed by wh-movement, thus being endowed with a [+WH] feature.

Let us call the relevant wh-projection **WhP**, borrowing Rizzi's terms (*QembP* in Rizzi and Bocci (2016)) (45a-45b):

- (45) a. I wonder ... [*ForceP* ... [*TopP* *Top*⁰ ... [*WhP* **se** [*FinP* *Fin*⁰ [*TP* ...
 [*whP* wh-phrase_[+WH] ... [*VP* <wh-phrase_[+WH]>]]]]]]]]]
 b. I wonder ... [*ForceP* ... [*TopP* *Top*⁰ ... [*WhP* wh-phrase_[+WH] **che**
 [*FinP* *Fin*⁰ [*TP* ... [*whP* <wh-phrase> ... [*VP* <wh-phrase>]]]]]]]]]

Conclusions

In this presentation I showed that:

- what looks like “insituness” in Trevigiano is actually an instance of IP-internal wh-movement;
- the targeted position is the Spec of the focal projection of the *low* periphery (Belletti (2004)), which I call *whP*;
- embedded insituness is indeed possible, both in long distance and in indirect wh-questions;
- in indirect wh-questions, the V selects and embedded LP whose landing site for wh-movement stands very low - I called it WhP (as in Rizzi (2004));
- WhP seems one of the “root/non-root asymmetries” involving the LP of the clause, and its head has two phonetic realizations, *se* and *che*;
- I proposed the *se-che alternation* be treated as *se* surfacing as *che* when crossed by wh-movement, thus being endowed with a [+WH] feature.

And now...?

It is tempting to try to explain “insituness” in Romance as a combination of morpho-syntactic and prosodic phenomena: (no) SCII, special wh-prosody (and lack thereof), internal structure of wh-words (Poletto and Pollock (2000) and refinements), (un)availability of certain Wh-positions.

A number of questions and predictions are raised by my claims. Hopefully, further systematic cross-linguistic comparison among Romance varieties will shed light on the complex natures of **insituness** and **linguistic optionality** (if any) - and on the ways morphology, syntax and prosody interact to licence sentence-internal wh-phrases.

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