

- b. * Shei ni kanjian-le? *Spell-Out*
 who you see-ASP
- c. [[shei]]_i [ni kanjian-le t_i] *wh-movement @ LF*
 who you see-ASP t

In Chinese-like languages, wh-fronting is not felicitous (2b), unless it takes place at LF (2c) – according to much literature, wh-words in their *argumental* position are subject to the same interpretation as overtly-moved wh-elements (i.e. as they do in English-like languages), but they are constrained differently in terms of *sensitivity to islands* and *intervention effects* (see references above for a more detailed discussion).

Optional ‘in situ’ languages, i.e. languages where genuine ‘insituness’ exists along with *total wh-fronting*, are numerous in Romance: *French* (a.o., Obenauer 1984, Mathieu 1999, Boskovic 2000, Baunaz 2011), *Northern Italian Dialects* (NIDs) (a.o., Munaro 1999, Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015, Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011, Manzini 2014, Bonan 2018, Donzelli 2018) and, to a more limited extent², *Spanish* (a.o., Jiménez 1997, Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2005, Biézma 2016), and European and Brazilian *Portuguese* (a.o., Cheng & Rooryck 2000;2002, Kato 2013). In this paper, we will focus on the morpho-syntax of ‘insituness’ in the Northern Italian domain.

- (3) *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018 (5-6))
- a. *Cossa* a-tu leto <cosa>?
 what have=you_{2PS} read <what>
 ‘What did you read?’
- b. A-tu leto *cosa*?
 have=you_{2PS} read what

(3) shows that in Trevigiano, a Venetan dialect that displays ‘optional insituness’, wh-words can either undergo wh-fronting (3a) or stay sentence-internally (3b) (Bonan 2018). Whereas the marked word order clearly witnesses that wh-movement has taken place in overt syntax in (a), the phonetic string alone is not enough to understand whether the wh-word of (b) is in its base position or has moved.

² In Spanish and Portuguese, ‘insituness’ is distributionally less productive than in French and NIDs. See Kaiser & Quaglia (2015) for a quantitative analysis of the distribution of wh in-situ in Romance.

Over the years, conflicting treatments have been proposed for Northern Italian ‘insituness’ and, at present, there seems to be no consensus among scholars. Some authors claim that wh-in situ in NIDs is an instance of Chinese-like *argumental* insituness (Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011); while others take sentence internal wh-words to undergo short wh-movement within the IP-domain (Manzini 2014, Bonan 2018) or move to a left peripheral *Spec* (a.o., Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015).

Actually, the morpho-syntax of Northern Italian *optional insituness* varies so greatly that the feasibility of a *one-fits-all* derivation seems rather weak. In fact, ‘insituness’ in NIDs varies (minimally) along four major lines:

- (i) (in)ability to license D-linked and/or non-D-linked wh-words sentence-internally (in Pesetsky’s 1987 terms);
- (ii) (un)availability of embedded ‘insituness’ – in long distance questions and/or indirect wh-questions;
- (iii) sensitivity to weak and/or strong islands (or lack thereof);
- (iv) presence / absence of ‘insituness’ of the wh-doubling type.

For instance, Bellunese licenses only non-D-linked wh-words sentence-internally (Munaro 1999), whereas Trevigiano allows for both non-D-linked and D-linked wh-words ‘in situ’ (Bonan 2018;2019). Also, while in Bellunese ‘insituness’ is a *root* phenomenon (Munaro 1999, Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015), in Trevigiano it is perfectly fine both in long distance *and* in indirect questions (Bonan 2018). Differently, Lombard dialects either display a Trevigiano-like behaviour and have both long distance and indirect ‘insituness’, or they just have one of the two (Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011). The same divide between, on the one hand, Trevigiano and Lombard dialects and, on the other hand, Bellunese, is observed also in islands – sentence-internal wh-words are banned from weak and strong islands in the latter (Munaro 1999, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015), yet perfectly felicitous in the former (Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011, Bonan 2019). To complicate the panorama even further, some NIDs also have ‘doubling’ insituness (a.o., Munaro 1999, Poletto & Pollock 2004-2015, Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011), i.e. cases where a sentence internal wh-word is doubled by a left peripheral counterpart, without giving rise to a multiple wh-question reading. According to Poletto & Pollock 2015, wh-doubling can be of three types (classification slightly modified, as in Bonan 2019) (4):

- (4) a. Type A doubling: Clitic wh-pronoun & strong wh-pronoun
Illasiano (Poletto & Pollock 2015:146(26))
 Sa eto dito che?
 what have=you_{2PS} said what
 ‘What did you say?’
- b. Type B doubling: Weak wh-pronoun & tonic wh-pronoun
Mendrisiotto (Poletto & Pollock 2015:146(28))
 Cusa t'è fai cusè?
 what you_{2PS}'have done what
 ‘What have you done?’
- c. Type C doubling: Invariant wh-operator & wh-pronoun
Mendrisiotto (Poletto & Pollock 2015:147(29))
 Che fè-t dajel a chi?
 wh do-you_{2PS} give=it to whom
 ‘To whom will you give it to?’

Interestingly, only non-D-linked wh-words can be doubled and the relative order between the higher and the lower wh-words of wh-doubling constructions is unchangeable. In section 3, we argue that the second property has serious theoretical consequences.

The data discussed so far should be enough to show how theoretically-challenging it would be to posit a cross-linguistically valid analysis able to account for all micro- and macro-variations observed in Northern Italian ‘insituness’. However, the literature describes rather solid behavioural patterns for Northern Italian wh-words. Here, after a presentation of classic and novel derivations that have been proposed to account for Northern Italian ‘insituness’ (sections 1 & 2), we divide the varieties in question into four macro-groups and argue in favour of the possibility, for closely-related varieties, to derive ‘insituness’ making use of different (IP-internal and left peripheral) wh-projections (section 3).

1. Northern Italian Insituness. Classical derivations

Two major, conflicting treatments have been proposed over the years to account for the morpho-syntax of ‘insituness’ in NIDs: (i) *left peripheral* (fake) insituness (Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock 2000-2015), and (ii) Chinese-like *argumental* insituness (Manzini & Savoia 2005;2011). We discuss these in sections 1.1 and 1.2, respectively.

1.1. *Left peripheral ‘insituness’*

Starting from Poletto & Pollock 2000 and Munaro et al. 2001, Northern Italian ‘insituness’ has been claimed to be the result of masked movements to the LP. Oversimplifying, in this theoretical framework, the derivation of a Bellunese question like (5) would be (6):

(5) *Bellunese* (Poletto & Pollock 2000:116(2))

Ha-tu parecià che?
have=you_{2PS} prepared what
‘What did you prepare?’

(6) Input: [_{IP} tu ha parecià che]

First step: [_{XP} che_i X° [_{IP} tu ha parecià t_i]]

Second step (simplified): [_{YP} [_{IP} tu ha parecià t_i]_j Y° [_{XP} che_i X° t_j]]

As in (6), sentence internal wh-words in Bellunese-like languages are instances of *fake* insituness – the wh-element of these varieties is only apparently in its base position, and actually undergoes wh-movement to a functional projection higher than IP. This movement is masked in the phonetic string by further operations such as Subject-Clitic Inversion (*SCII*, not pictured in (6)) and movement of the remnant-IP, all of which target higher left peripheral projections.

This analysis, henceforth referred to as the *remnant-IP movement analysis*, is (minimally) based on:

- (i) Kayne's (1998) claim that there *cannot* be covert movement of any kind; and
- (ii) the assumption that the different sequences displayed (minimally) by French and Bellunese at *Spell Out* (7-11) cannot be random and must reflect the interplay of the invariant structure of the CP-domain.

More in detail, (ii) refers to the morphological similarity between French *que* (‘what’) and Bellunese *che* (‘what’), and their intimate link to *SCII*. Distributionally, *que* is the only non-D-linked wh-word of French that is infelicitous sentence-internally (7):

(7) French *que* vs. other non-D-linked wh-words

a. Tu vas où?
you_{2PS} go where
‘Where are you going?’

- b. * Jean a acheté que?
 Jean has bought what
 ‘What did Jean buy?’

Che is, like all non-D-linked wh-words of Bellunese, incompatible with fronting (8):

(8) Bellunese *che*: only ‘in situ’

- a. Ha-tu magnà che?
 have=YOU_{2PS} eaten what
 ‘What did you eat?’
- b. * Che ha-tu magnà?
 what have=YOU_{2PS} eaten

However, despite the apparent distributional differences, *que* and *che* are both systematically construed with *SCII* – this question formation strategy, always required in genuine questions in Bellunese (Munaro 1999), in French it is utterly incompatible with ‘insituness’ (7a’), yet compulsory in construction with a fronted *que* (a wh-clitic) (9):

(7) French: incompatibility of ‘insituness’ & *SCII*

- a’. * Vas-tu où?
 go-YOU_{2PS} where

(9) French *que*: only fronted + *SCII*

- a. *Qu’a-t-il* acheté?
 what’has=*t*=he bought
 ‘What did he buy?’
- b. * *Que* il a acheté?
 what he has bought

Four other phenomena pushed a treatment of ‘in situ’ wh-words in Bellunese-like languages as moved. First, the fact that Bellunese displays strong and weak islands effects (10) – here, only the examples of a *complex-NP island* (a) and of a *wh-island* (b) are provided; see Munaro (1999) for a more detailed account:

(10) *Bellunese* (Munaro 1999:74(1.105);1.107))

- a. * Te piase-lo [i libri che parla *de che*]?
 you like=it the books that speak of what
 'You like books about what?'
- b. ?? No te-te-ricorda [andé che von comprà *che*]?
 NEG you_{2PS}=you=remember where that have_{1PP} bought what
 'What is it that you don't remember where we bought?'

Second, the order of internal arguments in wh-questions shows that, in Bellunese, sentence internal wh-words obey a *sentence-finality requirement* (11):

(11) *Bellunese* (adapted from Poletto & Pollock 2015:139(2))

- a. Al ghe a dat al libro a so fradel
 he DAT has given the book to his brother
 'He gave the book to his brother'
- b. * Ghe ha-lo dat che a so fradel?
 DAT has=he given what to his brother
 'What has he given to his brother?'
- c. Ghe ha-lo dat *che*, a so fradel?
 DAT has=he given what # to his brother

The dative complement *a so fradel* ('to his brother') is necessarily *de-accented* in Bellunese *che*-questions as (11c), though not in statements like (11a). Also, it needs occupy the rightmost position and is separated by anything that follows by a *comma intonation*. According to the authors, if the wh-word of (11b) was in the ordinary sentence internal object position (where *il libro* 'the book' stands in 11a), these facts would be difficult to understand.

Third, in Bellunese, 'insituness' is exclusively a *root* phenomenon – it is excluded both from indirect questions (12a) and from long distance questions (12b):

(12) *Bellunese* (Munaro 1999:71(1.96);69(1.93))

- a. * No so [(che) l'ha comprà che]
 NEG know_{1PS} (that) he'has bought what
 'I don't know what he bought'

- b. * À-tu dit [che l'à sièlt che vestito³]?
 have=you_{2PS} said that he'has chosen what dress
 'Which dress did you say he chose?'

Finally, whereas French-like languages can license non-D-linked *and* D-linked wh-words sentence-internally, the latter must be fronted in Bellunese. Following these observations, Poletto & Pollock concluded that strings like Bellunese *A-tu magnà che?* (have=you_{2PS} eaten what, 'What did you eat?') are misleading, and result from a 'conspiracy' that involves (masked) wh-movement and movement of the remnant-IP. For them, Bellunese does not allow for Chinese-like questions where the wh-word stands in its argumental position.

This analysis, which successfully accounts for the morpho-syntax of the varieties described by the authors, is challenged by varieties that are able to license (i) non sentence-final 'insituness', (ii) IP-internally moved 'in situ' wh-words, (iii) embedded 'insituness' and (iv) island-contained 'insituness'. In fact, (i-iv) are attested in Romance.

1.2. Argumental insituness

Starting from Manzini & Savoia 2005 (up to 2011), the *remnant-IP movement analysis* has been severely criticized, both for *theory-internal* reasons and for *data-related* reasons.

The first ones concern, minimally, (i) the legitimacy of the left-peripheral *labels* used in Munaro et al. (2001) and Poletto & Pollock (2000-2015) (*GroundP*, *OpP*, *NewInformationP*, etc.), which the authors claim 'reconstructed backwards from the required movements, rather

³ Note that (12a) is actually independently ruled out by the infelicity of sentence internal D-linked wh-words in Bellunese. Munaro (1999) argues that long extraction is fine with non-D-linked wh-elements (i):

- (i) *Bellunese* (Munaro 1999:72(1.100-102))
- a. À-tu dit che l'à comprà *che?*
 have=you_{2PS} said that he=has bought what
 'what did you say he bought?'
- b. À-tu dit che l'é 'ndat *andé?*
 have=you_{2PS} said that he=is gone where
 'Where did you say he went?'

Munaro explained examples like (i) in terms of an ability of wh-phrases inside of subordinate clauses to correctly establish an interpretive connection with the 'abstract operator in the matrix CP that is legitimated by the interrogative inflection on the matrix verb [my translation]'. However, it should be noted that the existence of wh-in situ in embedded declaratives is problematic for the *remnant-IP movement* account, where *insituness* is expected to target a left-peripheral wh-projection systematically.

than motivated by genuinely independent needs’, and (ii) the fact that the proposed analysis faces the restrictiveness problem that is generally imputed to Kaynian movement – that Chomsky’s (1995) *Economy Principle*, i.e. that movement is *possible* only if *necessary*, does not hold.

More relevant for this paper are the data-related arguments used by Manzini & Savoia to argue against a derivation involving movement of the remnant-IP. The first one is that, contrary to Bellunese, Lombard dialects show *no* sensitivity to islands in case of *non*-doubling insituness. Here, we only provide examples of subject islands (13a), relative islands (13b) and adjunct islands (13c) – see Manzini & Savoia for a detailed account.

(13) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005:587(157))⁴

- a. Dìg-ei che gé egnìt i amìs *de chi?*
 say=them that is come the friends of whom
 ‘Whose friends do they say that came?’
- b. Ta pjah i lìber ch’i pàrta *de cohè?*
 you_{2PS} like the books that=they speak of what
 ‘What kind of books do you like?’
- c. L’è ndàf ivja hènha haludà *chi?*
 he=is gone away without greeting who
 ‘Whom did he leave without greeting?’

Interestingly, constructions like (13) become ungrammatical if the sentence internal wh-phrase is doubled by its left peripheral counterpart – island effects appear:

(13’) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005:587(157))

- a. * *De chi* dìg-ei che gé egnìt i amìs *de chi?*
 of whom say=them that is come the friends of whom
- b. * *De kòha* ta pjah i lìber ch’i pàrta *de cohè?*
 of what you like the books that=they speak of what
- c. * *Chi* l’è ndàf ivja hènha haludà *chi?*
 who he=is gone away without greeting who

⁴ The original examples are in IPA. Also, in Manzini & Savoia (2005) there are no translations and the glosses are provided in Italian. All transliteration and translation errors are mine.

(13') clearly witness that wh-movement *does* take place in case of wh-doubling – the doubling wh-phrase undergoes total fronting; differently, no movement can be at play in case of *non-doubling* insituness (13), where island effects cannot be detected.

Then, the authors show that wh- in situ is *not* exclusively a *root* phenomenon in Lombard – it is in fact widely attested in long distance (14) *and* in indirect questions (15):

(14) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005:591(155))

- a. Krèdet che al hàbe indàtʃ indoé?
 think_{2PS} that he has_{SUBJ} gone where
 ‘Where do you think he went?’
- b. (Kòha) pènhèt che l'abè fàtʃ kohè?
 (what) think_{2PS} that he=has done what
 ‘What do you think he did?’

(15) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005:592(156))⁵

- a. Öle hàì indó l'è ndàtʃ (indoé)
 want_{1PS} know where he'is gone (where)
 ‘I want to know where he went’
- b. Domànde-ga kòha l'a fàtʃ (kohè)
 ask=him what he=has done (what)
 ‘Ask him what he did’

Third, Manzini & Savoia argue that, differently from Bellunese, Lombard dialects display no distributional asymmetry between D-linked and non-D-linked wh-words in sentence-internal position. Also, they argue that there exists no direct correlation between the presence or absence of *SCII* as a question formation strategy and the felicity of ‘insituness’, both in *regular* and in *wh-doubling* ‘insituness’.

Consequently, they claim that, in NIDs, sentence internal wh-words are *literally* in situ, i.e. in their *argumental* position. According to them, the parameter between wh-in situ and wh-movement in NIDs is but a very classical one between *scope construal* (insituness) and *overt*

⁵ Please note that Manzini & Savoia’s (2005) data suggest that Lombard indirect ‘insituness’ is *only* possible in presence of wh-doubling, whereas Trevisiano has a dedicated embedding *COMPL* that licenses non-doubling indirect ‘insituness’ (Bonan 2018). See section 2 for a discussion of the phenomenon.

scope (wh-movement) – not one to be explained in terms of different derivations. Then, to account for the unusual morpho-syntax of Bellunese ‘insituness’ (Munaro 1999) and of other Venetan, Lombard and Southern Swiss varieties analysed in Munaro et al. 2001 (and related), Manzini & Savoia (2011) claim that, in the context of micro-variation among closely-related grammars, it is possible that in some grammars some reasons impel wh-movement in embedded sentences (Bellunese-like varieties) and not in others (Lombard). Also, they argue that different sensitivities to islands can be easily accounted for if one considers them to be related not to conditions on movement operations but rather to conditions on LF interpretive construals.

This model fails to explain the *clause-finality requirement* of ‘in situ’ wh-words observed in Bellunese, but it correctly predicts the grammaticality of (i) embedded insituness and (ii) island-contained insituness. However, an analysis of wh- in situ Northern Italian as argumental is not able to account for IP-internally moved wh-phrases, which are actually attested both in Venetan and in Lombard dialects.

2. Northern Italian Insituness. Novel data

As discussed in section 1, some of the phenomena that the classic derivations proposed for Northern Italian ‘insituness’ can fail to predict are:

- (i) non sentence-final ‘insituness’;
- (ii) IP-internally moved wh-words;
- (iii) embedded ‘insituness’;
- (iv) island-contained “insituness”.

In the next sections, we discuss the availability of (i)-(iv) in *Trevigiano* (2.1), then propose an alternative derivation for ‘insituness’ in this dialect, in terms of *IP-internal* wh-movement, and discuss the properties that make embedded ‘insituness’ possible (2.2).

2.1. *Trevigiano*: data

Trevigiano is closely-related to Bellunese. However, its sentence internal wh-words need *not* appear at the right edge of the sentence – they actually undergo *systematic wh-movement* from their unmarked declarative position to a position lower than the finite *V* (Bonan 2018;2019). This is, of course, only visible when the questioned element is an IO (16a) or a wh-adverbial (16b); in the absence of short wh-movement, ungrammaticality arises (16’):

(16) *Trevigiano* (adapted from Bonan 2018(8))⁶

- a. Ghe ga-tu dato a *chia* a tecia <a chi> ?
 DAT have=you_{2PS} given to whom the saucepan <to whom>
 'Who did you give the saucepan to?'
- b. Ga-tu magnà *quando* el dolce <quando> ?
 have=you_{2PS} eaten when the cake <when>
 'When did you eat the cake?'

- (16') a. * Ghe ga-tu dato a tecia a chi?
 DAT have=you_{2PS} given the saucepan to whom
- b. * Ga-tu magnà el dolce *quando*?
 have=you_{2PS} eaten the cake when

In this section, we will see that the morpho-syntax of Trevigiano 'insituness' closely resembles that of the Lombard varieties described in Manzini & Savoia (2005;2011); however, in the latter, no evidence of IP-internally moved wh-words is attested. Similarly to Lombard though, in Trevigiano 'insituness' is indeed possible in long-distance questions (17a) and in indirect wh-questions (17b):

(17) *Trevigiano* (Bonan 2018)⁷

- a. Pens-ea chel ne ciamarà *quando*?
 thinks=she that=he us call_{FUT} when
 'When does she think he will call us?'

⁶ The DOs *a tecia* ('the saucepan') and *el dolce* ('the cake') in (16) are *not* left dislocated – in Trevigiano, dislocations are only possible in construction with clitic resumption *and* in the presence of a *comma intonation*; also, because of the very strict order of V-selected arguments and adverbials in declaratives, Italian-like *marginalization* (Cardinaletti 2001;2002, Samek-Lodovici 2015) is categorically excluded (Bonan 2018).

⁷ IP-internal wh-movement (see 16) is compulsory also in embedded environments (ii):

- (ii) a. Pensi-tu che a metarà *dove* i piteri <dove> ?
 think=you_{2PS} that she put_{FUT} where the vases <where>
 'Where do you think she wants to put the vases?'
- b. A se domanda sel piantarà *dove* i persegheri <dove>
 she herself asks se_{WH}=he plant_{FUT} where the peach.trees <where>
 'She wonders where he'll plant the peach trees'

- b. A vol saver sel ne chiamarà *quando*
 she wants know $se_{WH}=he$ us call_{FUT} when
 ‘She wonders when he will call us’

(17b) shows that, in the indirect questions of Trevigiano, ‘insituness’ is licensed under an *if*-COMP, *se*. Note that (17b) does not mean ‘who is such that she wonders whether he will call us’, i.e. this *if*-COMP (se_{wh}) is only homophonous to that of yes/no questions – it is rather a semantically vacuous embedding COMP that, plausibly, is needed by the structure for locality reasons⁸. In its absence, the computation of the question fails (17’):

- (17’) * A vol saver el ne chiamarà *quando*
 sh wants know he us call_{FUT} when

se_{WH} is an element that makes Trevigiano indirect ‘insituness’ peculiar compared to that of all varieties described in the literature on NIDs (but see Cheng & Rooryck 2002 for the discussion of a similar COMP in European Portuguese, and Boeckx et al. 2000 for Belgian French. See also Rigau & Suïls 2010 concerning the morpho-syntax of ‘expletive *se*’ in Catalan and Occitan). In the varieties described in Manzini & Savoia (2005), indirect ‘insituness’ is in fact only possible in the presence of *wh*-doubling (15, repeated here as 18).

(18) *Grumellese* (Manzini & Savoia 2005:592(156))

- a. Öle hai *(*indó*) l’è ndàf *indoé*
 want_{1PS} know where he=is gone where
 ‘I want to know where he went’
- b. Domànde-ga *(*kòha*) l’a fàf (*kohè*)
 ask=him what he=has done (what)
 ‘Ask him what he did’

Finally, contrary to Bellunese (Munaro 1999) but similarly to Manzini & Savoia’s Lombard varieties, the sentence internal *wh*-words of Trevigiano are fine both inside of *weak* and *strong* islands (19 & 20, respectively) (Bonan 2019):

⁸ See Bonan (2019) on the possibility of treating *se* as an instance of embedded *wh*-doubling of the *invariable operator-wh word* type à la Poletto & Pollock (2015) (as in example 4c).

(19) *Trevigiano: Weak islands* (Bonan 2019)

a. *Wh-island*

No te te ricordi se vemo comprà *cossa?*

NEG you_{2PS} yourself remember if have_{1PP} bought what

‘What is it that you don't remember whether we bought?’

b. *Negative island*

No te vol 'ndar *dove?*

NEG you_{2PS} want go where

‘Where is it that you don't want to go?’

(20) *Trevigiano: Strong islands* (Bonan 2019)

a. *Subject island*

I dize che i clienti *de chi* no i gà pagà?

they say that the clients of whom NEG they have paid

‘Whose clients do they say that they have left without paying?’

b. *Complex-NP island*

Te gà comprà un porsel che peza *quanto?*

you_{2PS} have bought a pig that weights how.much

‘How heavy a pig did you buy?’

Clearly, a derivation of ‘insituness’ that includes wh-movement to the LP and further movement of the remnant-IP is as incompatible with the morpho-syntax of Trevigiano as the possibility of having Chinese-like argumental insituness.

2.2. Notes on ‘insituness’ in Trevigiano (and beyond)

In Bonan (2018), we provided a cartographic explanation for Trevigiano ‘insituness’. Building on Kato’s (2013) work on Brazilian Portuguese and on an intuition sketched in Manzini (2014), instances of *short* wh-movement like (16) were claimed to target a focal position in the VP-periphery, *whP* – plausibly the one that was called *Foc* in Belletti (2004).

(21) *IP-internal wh-movement* (Bonan 2018(25))

a. Si-tu [IP ndà [_{whP} *quando* ... [_{VP} al marcà <quando>]]]?

are=you_{2PS} gone when to.the market <when>

‘When did you go to the market?’

- b. Ga-tu [IP posà [whP *dove* ... [VP i ociai <dove>]]]?
 have=you_{2PS} put where the glasses <where>
 ‘Where did you put the glasses?’

(21) is summarized in (21'). Note that the claim that *short* wh-movement targets a focal projection, as wh-fronting does (Rizzi 1997, and subsequent works) creates a theoretically desirable correspondence between the *left* periphery and the *low* periphery of the clause.⁹

(21') Position of *whP* inside *vP* (Bonan 2018, ex. 27)

...[IP [I° ... [whP *wh-phrase* [wh° [vP [V° [TopicP [Top° [VP [V° <wh-phrase>]]]]]]]]]

From now on, let us take for granted that some NIDs derive wh- ‘in situ’ through wh-movement to a left peripheral projection (as in Bellunese-like languages, see 1.1), whereas others have IP-internal ‘insituness’ – either Chinese-like argumental wh- in situ (as in Lombard, see 1.2) or Trevigiano-like IP-internally moved ‘insituness’.

It is tempting to propose that the availability of long distance ‘insituness’ in Romance depends on the wh-projection that is exploited in the derivation thereof, i.e. *left peripheral* (à la Munaro et al. 2001 and related) or *IP-internal* (Manzini & Savoia 2011, Bonan 2018). This prediction correctly classes together the distribution of long distance ‘insituness’ in languages like Trevigiano and French (22), while setting them apart from Bellunese-like languages:

(22) *Contemporary oral French*

- a. Tu crois qu'il partira quand?
 you_{2PS} believe that=he leave_{FUT} when
 ‘When do you think he will leave?’
- b. Tu penses que Jean finira par appeler qui?
 you_{2PS} think that John finish_{FUT} to call who
 ‘Who do you think John will end up calling?’

⁹ For a detailed explanation of how the VP-peripheral focus projection can host at the same time foci and post-verbal subjects (Rizzi 1997, Belletti 2004), i.e. elements encoding given information, but also wh-phrases, i.e. new information, see Bonan (2017). Please note that, as pointed out by Giuseppe Samo, Belletti's term *Foc* is actually more precise than Bonan's (2018) *whP* – this VP-peripheral projection is compatible both wh-phrases *and* foci. However, we prefer the term *whP*, to avoid any possible confusion with the left peripheral *FocusP*.

(22) shows the possibility, for the contemporary oral variety of European French, to license wh-words ‘in situ’ in long-distance questions (as argued, n.e., in Starke 2001, Baunaz 2011, Baunaz & Patin 2011, Tual 2017, Bonan 2018;2019; contra Obenauer 1984, Mathieu 1999, Boskovic 2000, a.o.). If this variety of French derived ‘insituness’ making use of a left peripheral projection (Poletto & Pollock 2009), one would expect constructions like (22) to be impossible¹⁰. Following Bonan (2018b), contra Poletto & Pollock (2009), we claim that this variety of French derives ‘insituness’ IP-internally. However, it is unlikely that French ‘insituness’ is an instance of *short* wh-movement as it is in Trevigiano (24):

(24) *Contemporary oral French*

- a. Tu as mangé les pommes *quand?*
 you_{2PS} have eaten the apples when
 ‘When did you eat the apples?’
- b. ? Tu as mangé *quand* les pommes <quand> ?
 you_{2PS} have eaten when the apples <when>

In recent experimental work, Tual (2017) showed that, even though questions containing IP-internally moved wh-words are not completely infelicitous in French (24b), they are nonetheless less natural compared to those where the base order of V-selected arguments and of adverbs is respected (24a). For this reason, it seems more tempting to analyse (24b) as involving an optional permutation of word order, perhaps a case of pragmatically-driven short distance *scrambling* (Ross 1967, Saito 1989, Webelhuth 1989, Mahajan 1990, Nishigauchi 2002, Miyagawa 2005), and not wh-movement driven by a feature-checking requirement. As a consequence, we claim that French insituness is *argumental*. In this framework, the availability of long distance ‘insituness’ in Trevigiano, Lombard and French, whose sentence internal wh-phrases sit in IP-internal projections, and the unavailability thereof in Bellunese, where ‘insituness’ is derived exploiting a left peripheral projection, are correctly predicted.

However, this does not explain the unavailability of indirect insituness in French and Bellunese, and the grammaticality thereof in Trevigiano and Manzini & Savoia’s (2005) Lombard dialects. We propose that the possibility of licensing ‘insituness’ in indirect questions depends on the presence an *if*-COMP like the semantically vacuous *se_{WH}* of Trevigiano, whose

¹⁰ See Bonan (2018b) for a more detailed discussion of the incompatibility of French insituness with an analysis in terms of wh-movement targeting a left peripheral projection.

presence in turn seems linked to the necessity for indirect questions to be introduced by an *overt* embedding COMP. Take the case of Trevigiano. In this variety, indirect wh-questions are introduced by the COMP *che* ('that'), which *must* be realized when the wh-word is fronted to the embedded LP (25a). Since Trevigiano has also a specialized embedding COMPL for the cases where the wh-word stays sentence-internally (se_{WH}), 'insituness' is felicitously licensed in its indirect questions (25b):

(25) *Trevigiano* – Indirect questions

- a. El vol saver *quando* *(che) te parti
 he wants know when that you_{2PS} leave
 'He wants to know when you're leaving'
- b. El vol saver *(se) te parti *quando*
 he wants know se you_{2PS} leave when

This claim is confirmed by most Lombard varieties attested in Manzini & Savoia (2005:592-593), where an embedding *that*-COMP is compulsory in the case of fronting but no *if*-like COMPL exists, hence indirect 'insituness' is impossible in case of *non*-doubling 'insituness'¹¹. Further evidence comes from French (26):

(26) *Contemporary oral French* – Indirect questions

- a. Il veut savoir *quand* (*que) tu pars
 he wants know when (*that) you_{2PS} leave
 'He wants to know when you're leaving'
- b. * Il veut savoir tu pars *quand*
 he wants know you_{2PS} leave when
- c. * Il veut savoir *si/que* tu pars *quand*
 he wants know *si/que* you_{2PS} leave when

The indirect wh-questions of French are inconsistent with an overt embedding COMP (26a). Following the discussion carried out so far, one would not expect French to be able to license indirect 'insituness', which is confirmed by (26b-c). Predictably, the unavailability of a

¹¹ For a discussion of the felicity of indirect 'insituness' of the wh-doubling type (like 15), which cannot occur with an *overt* COMP, see Bonan (2019).

COMP in cases of wh-fronting to the embedded LP (as in 26a) prevents the variety from having a COMP associated with ‘insituness’ (26c)¹².

Summing up, we claimed that linking the availability of ‘insituness’ in indirect wh-questions to the presence of a specialized embedding COMP correctly predicts the phenomena observed in the varieties analysed in this paper¹³. Also, we proposed that the (un)availability of long distance ‘insituness’ is better understood if one takes the sentence internal wh-words of different varieties to target different wh-projections – we discuss this further in section 3.

3. More than one variety, more than one type of ‘insituness’

The degree of morpho-syntactic variation observed in Northern Italian ‘insituness’ is substantial, and realized along several dimensions: (i) availability of *wh*-doubling; (ii) presence of *SCII*; (iii) felicity inside of islands; (iv) felicity in embedded clauses (long distance and/or indirect wh-questions); (v) presence of IP-internal wh-movement; etc.

Micro- and macro-variations are observed to an even higher extent if one looks at Romance varieties spoken outside of Northern Italy. How to explain the French phenomena in sections 1 & 2? Why is ‘insituness’ possible, yet rare in Spanish and Portuguese? It appears rather idealistic to pursue a *one-fits-all* derivation to account for all of the phenomena attested in the literature on NIDs (and more generally, Romance).

However, it is clear that languages display rather behavioural *patterns*. Bellunese-like languages, for example, do not have short wh-movement, cannot license D-linked wh-words

¹² Please note that in *rural* French the clause-typing COMP is actually available in case of wh-fronting (iii) :

(iii) Il veut savoir *quand que* tu pars
 he wants know when that you_{2PS} leave
 ‘He wants to know when you’re leaving’

In our account, the predictions of (iii) would be that, either this variety does not have a specialized COMP for indirect ‘insituness’ and fails to license it, or it has an *if*-COMP and indirect ‘insituness’ is possible. Similarly, Belgian French has been claimed to have an *if*-COMP like the one that we observed in Trevigiano (Boeckx et al. 2000) (iv) – if our claims are correct, we expect this variety to have an overt COMPL for the cases of fronting:

(iv) Pierre a demandé *si* tu as vu *qui*
 Pierre has asked si you_{2PS} have seen who
 ‘Pierre asked who you saw’

We are not able to provide answers now, yet we believe these predictions deserve further testing.

¹³ We leave the explanation of the reason why this COMP has a different phonological form compared to the one used in case of total fronting (/se/ vs. /ke/), and the discussion of the reasons behind the need for an overt embedding COMP (which are bound to be linked to ‘locality’), to further investigation.

sentence-internally, and are incompatible with ‘insituness’ in embedded environments, islands included (see 1.1). In Trevigiano and in the Lombard dialects described by Manzini & Savoia (respectively, 2.1 & 1.2), we observe the reverse situation, with the only exception of *short* wh-movement, which is not attested in Lombard. The behavioural patterns discussed in this paper are summarized in Table 1¹⁴:

[Table 1]

	Distribution of sentence internal wh-words				
	D-linked	Long distance	Indirect questions	Short movement	Inside islands
Bellunese-like languages	X	X	X	X	X
M&S’s Lombard dialects	√	√	√	?	√
Trevigiano-like languages	√	√	√ (se _{wh})	√	√

We excluded *SCII* from the variables of Table 1 because we agree with Manzini & Savoia’s (2011) claim that, at least within the Northern Italian domain, no direct correlation between the availability of *SCII* and the ability to license ‘insituness’ can be observed. Also, to the best of our knowledge, no NID has a French-like behaviour as far as the distribution of *SCII* is concerned. In genuine questions, NIDs either have generalized *SCII* or they do not; no variety exists where *SCII* is compulsory in case of wh-fronting and ruled out with ‘insituness’.

At this point, one might wonder whether it would be legit to posit that the inherent nature and structure of wh-words actually plays a role in their distribution.

3.1. Do different wh-words target different projections?

That language-specific inherent properties of wh-words might play a role in their distribution, i.e. the functional position that they target, has already been convincingly proven in Lee (1991) and Finer (2014) – they discuss Korean-English code-switching data suggesting that wh-words in code-switched sentences maintain the same distributional properties as in the original language¹⁵. There are at least three other reasons to believe that the choice of the wh-projection targeted by sentence internal wh-words is intimately linked to the lexical properties of wh-words themselves.

First, the dichotomy observed between Bellunese-like languages, where only *non-D*-linked wh-words appear sentence-internally, and languages like Trevigiano or Lombard

¹⁴ See Bonan (2019) for a broader discussion of the behavioural patterns observed in Romance ‘insituness’.

¹⁵ See also Samimi (2017).

dialects, is better captured if one takes it to derive from the inherent nature of the wh-projection targeted by ‘in situ’ wh-words. One can imagine that the specification of the [± D-linked] feature varies from one wh-projection to the other. If certain wh-projections are set negatively for the feature, they will only be able to attract [- D-linked] wh-words (as the one exploited by Bellunese), while if they are underspecified for the feature in question, they will be able to attract both (as the projection targeted in Trevigiano, *whP*, or more generally the left peripheral *FocusP* targeted by *fronted* wh-words in Romance). Such analysis in terms of presence or absence of specification for the [± D-linked] feature predicts that there should also exist wh-projections specified positively. The case of Bellunese, where only D-linked wh-words can undergo total fronting, provides supporting evidence – in this language, the high left peripheral wh-projection targeted by fronted wh-elements must be [+ D-linked] (which, *en passant*, supports Poletto & Pollock's 2005 claim that the wh-projection in question is not *FocusP* and sits higher in the LP).

Second, in wh-doubling constructions, the relative order of the doubling wh-elements is rigidly fixed and can never be switched (Manzini & Savoia 2011, Poletto & Pollock 2015). One might be tempted to explain this by saying that the left peripheral wh-element actually is externally-merged directly in the LP (as for example *why*-words, see Rizzi 2001, Tsai & Stepanov 2009). However, Manzini & Savoia's (2005) data on island effects in case of wh-doubling (as in 13' above) actually suggest that these doubling elements must be externally-merged TP-internally, supporting Poletto & Pollock's (2004) claim that Northern Italian wh-phrases must start out as instances of complex clitic-phrases that split during the derivation. Even more convincing is the case of Trevigiano *what*-words like *che* and *cossa*. In a language where *all* wh-words are compatible both with wh-fronting and ‘insituness’¹⁶, the fact that *che* is only fine sentence-internally suggests that it is a property of the wh-word itself, not of the targeted wh-projection.

Third, it has been known for decades that some NIDs have morphologically rich wh-words, in some cases even different forms associated with the same grammatical function (Benincà 1997, Tortora 1997, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Poletto & Munaro 2013, a.o.). These, often, have different distributional properties. Donzelli (2018) argues that in Comunnovesè (CN), a Lombard dialect, two types of wh-words that can appear sentence-internally – those of the ‘basic type’ (like *cosa*, ‘what’) (27a) and the ‘è-type’ (like *cosè*, ‘what’) (27b):

¹⁶ But see Bonan & Shlonsky (2017) for a discussion of the exceptional behaviour of the *why*-words of Trevigiano, *parché* and *parcossa*.

(27) *Comunnuovese* (Donzelli 2018)

- a. Te vest *cosa?*
 you_{2PS} saw what
 ‘What did you see?’
- b. Te vest *cosè?*
 you_{2PS} saw what

Whereas the former are excluded from indirect questions¹⁷, the *wh*-words of the *è*-type are fine in these environments. This suggests that, differently from ‘basic’ *wh*-words, the *wh*-words of the *è*-type might have a Trevigiano-like behaviour, which is confirmed by their felicity inside of islands¹⁸. However, surprisingly, *wh*-words of the *è*-type *never* undergo IP-internal *wh*-movement to a position adjacent to the past participle, which is reserved to the *wh*-words of the basic type (28a); in the absence of *wh*-movement, the question is associated to an echo reading (28b):

(28) IP-internal *wh*-movement (Donzelli 2018)

- a. L’ha est *ndóe* / **indoè* ol can <*indóe/indoè*> ?
 he=has seen where the dog <where>
 ‘Where did he see the dog?’
- b. L’ha est ol can *??ndóe / indoè ?!*¹⁹
 he=has seen the dog where
 ‘He saw the dog WHERE?!’

¹⁷ Donzelli does not discuss cases of long distance ‘insituness’. However, there are no reasons to believe that a variety that licences ‘insituness’ in indirect questions might not be able to licence it in long distance ones.

¹⁸ Donzelli (2018) does not provide negative evidence of the ungrammaticality of *wh*-words of the basic type inside of islands. However, the data she collected confirm this claim (pc.).

¹⁹ In Bonan (2018) I show that also in Trevigiano the *wh*-phrase can stay in its base position – this gives rise to *echo* questions – the interrogative syntax is lost altogether (no *SCII*) (v):

- (v) Te *gà* magnà el dolse cuando?!
 You_{2PS} have eaten the cake when
 ‘You ate the cake WHEN?!’

Differently, the loss of interrogative syntax cannot be detected in *Comunnuovese*, where *SCII* is a question formation strategy restricted to very few cases (see Donzelli 2017;2018 for a detailed discussion).

This is unexpected – on the bases of the Trevigiano data, the distribution of the wh-words of the two types would rather predict the opposite behaviour. However, regardless of the analysis that one wants to provide for these facts, Comunnovese clearly appears to be a ‘mixed language’ in the way(s) it derives ‘insituness’. The nature of wh-words plays an *essential* role in the way ‘insituness’ is derived – in Comunnovese, wh-words of different types display different (yet solid) distributional properties, as summarized in Table 2.

[Table 2]

	Distribution of sentence internal wh-words				
	D-linked	Long distance	Indirect questions	Short movement	Inside islands
Mixed-languages (CN)	? ²⁰	√	√ (è-type)	√ (basic-type)	√ (è-type)

3.2. Three different types of ‘insituness’

Contra Poletto & Pollock (2000-2015) and Manzini & Savoia (2005;2011), we argue against the possibility of positing a *one-fits-all* derivation for ‘insituness’ in NIDs (and more generally, in Romance). We think that the wide range of morpho-syntactic variation attested in the literature is better explained if one considers ‘insituness’ to be the result of:

- a. the wh-projections available as landing sites for ‘insituness’ in each language;
- b. the type(s) of wh-words that each language has at its disposal.

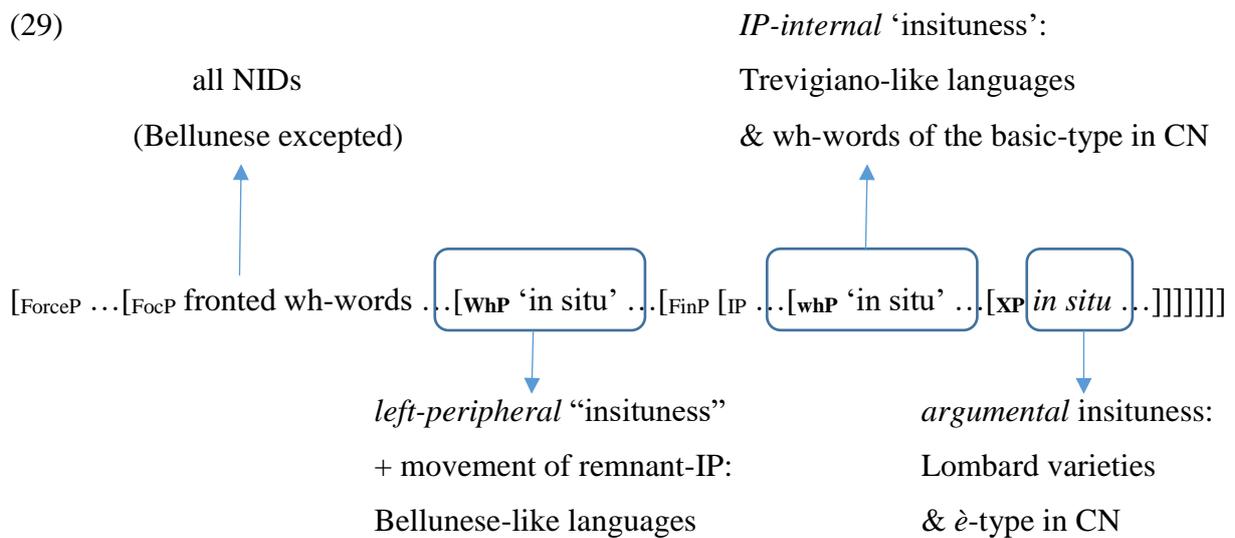
Such a model predicts the possibility to have (at least) three different types of ‘insituness’: (i) argumental, Chinese-like insituness (Manzini & Savoia’s Lombard dialects); (ii) IP-internally moved ‘insituness’ (Trevigiano-like varieties); and (iii) left-peripheral ‘insituness’ (Bellunese-like languages).

If one takes the lower wh-projection within the LP to be incompatible with D-linked wh-words (Poletto & Pollock 2004-2015), this model correctly predicts the impossibility for the D-linked wh-words of Bellunese-like languages to appear sentence-internally (differently from languages, like Trevigiano and Lombard dialects, where D-linking is not incompatible with ‘insituness’), while it also leaves open the possibility to have ‘mixed languages’ such as Comunnovese, where different wh-words target different wh-projections. In this model, the reasons behind the remaining, unexplained differences will have to be looked for at the

²⁰ There is no clear evidence of the distribution of D-linked wh-words in Comunnovese. However, if Donzelli’s (2018) claim is correct, i.e. in Comunnovese the IP-internal focal projection is available for (some) wh-words, then the prediction is that this language should be able to license D-linked wh-elements sentence-internally.

Interfaces (see for example the case of French and the puzzling lack of *SCII* in construction with ‘insituness’).

In cartographic terms, the data attested in the literature on Northern Italian ‘insituness’ suggest that, whereas in all varieties wh-fronting is likely to target *FocusP*, i.e. a focal projection in the higher portion of the LP, different wh- or focal-projections are exploited to derive ‘insituness’. These are, plausibly, *WhP* in Bellunese-like languages, *whP* in Trevigiano-like languages (and for wh-words of the basic type in CN), and *argumental* positions for the Lombard varieties described in Manzini & Savoia (2005) (and è-wh-words in CN) (29):



Note that the possibility of having a *wh-* or *operator-*projection in the lower portion of the LP, as posited in the *remnant-IP movement analysis*, deviates from more ‘classic’ cartographic works (Rizzi 1997;2001 and subsequent, Rizzi & Bocci 2017), where the existence of a low left peripheral wh-projection (*WhP*, later *QembP*) is only posited in indirect wh-questions. This raises the question about the nature and plausible availability of this projection not only in indirect but also *direct* wh-questions. Whether this is a cross-linguistic property or merely a property of the LP of Bellunese-like languages deserves further investigation. However, note that the *WhP* exploited by Italian wh-words in focus-containing indirect questions is also partially incompatible with D-linked wh-words (30):

- (30) a. ?? A GIANNI ho chiesto quale professore hai visto
 ‘TO GIANNI I asked which professor you saw’
 b. ?? A TUA MAMMA ho domandato quale dolce preferisse
 ‘TO YOUR MOTHER I asked which cake she preferred’

(30) constitutes evidence in favour of a possible treatment of *WhP* as the projection targeted by Bellunese sentence-internal wh-words – if so, it will have to be posited that, at least in this variety, *WhP* can be activated both in indirect *and* in direct wh-questions.

Also, as pointed out by Maria Rita Manzini (p.c.) it is not implausible that in Lombard dialects sentence internal wh-words target a VP-peripheral projection, as they do in Trevigiano (see Manzini 2014) – both negative evidence against this possibility and positive evidence in support thereof is missing from the Manzini & Savoia (2005) corpus.

Nonetheless, these questions deviate a little from the original aim of this paper, i.e. showing that solid behavioural patterns are attested in the literature on ‘insituness’ in NIDs, which would be impossible to capture by means of a *one-fits-all* theoretical model. There also remains to determine (i) how feature checking is done in the different varieties in case of ‘insituness’, (ii) whether the language-specific properties described throughout this paper have direct correlations to phenomena observed in other areas of grammar, and (iii) to explain the theoretically-challenging notion of ‘optionality’ in the in situ-ex situ alternation observed in NIDs. We leave all of these questions for future research.

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