

DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, SAME PERIPHERIES, DIFFERENT FOCAL POSITIONS?¹

Séminaire de Recherche, November 7th, 2017
Caterina Bonan

INTRODUCTION

Topic: declarative and interrogative clefts of contemporary oral French (FR) and Trevigiano (TV), a Venetan dialect - morphosyntax, distribution and some theoretical speculations.

Background:

- (i) Cleft: make use of a bi-clausal syntax to express a single proposition (*high + low clause*). Same truth values of the non-clefted counterpart, yet not always interchangeable (Karssenber&Lahousse 2018). Reeve 2010, 2011: clefts minimally consist of (1):
 - (1) *ce* (quasi-argument) COPULA [_{Focus X}] [relative-like clause t_X]Syntactic GAP + long-distance dependency (2):
 - (2) C'est [mon père]_i qui ____i est allé à la messe ce matin
Ce's my father that is gone at the mass this morning
'It's my father that attended Mass this morning'
- (ii) Any experiential role can be thematized, but the syntactic subject and "adjuncts" are the most frequently focused (Collins 1991, Katz 2000, Carter-Thomas 2009). Collins (1991): thematic prominence – most frequent themes, assigned thematic prominence via clefting.
- (iii) Clefts are *focus*. Belletti (2015): (at least) two different types of *focalisation* can be expressed through a cleft: (a) focus of new information, *NI* (S clefts); (b) corrective or contrastive focus, *C/C* (S and non-S clefts).

1. (IT-)CLEFTS IN TREVIGIANO AND ORAL FRENCH

Declarative *it*-clefts:

- (3) a. (It) COPULA [_{focus X}] that [_{TP ... t_X}] *Regular cleft*
b. [_{focus X}] (it) COPULA that [_{TP ... t_X}] *Reverse cleft*

1.1. Clefting Strategies in Declaratives

The declarative clefts of TV and FR differ in:

- (i) the presence of a phonetically realized quasi-argument of the *ce*-type, unavailable in TV;
- (ii) the availability of reverse constructions, categorically excluded in FR.

1.1.1 Declarative Subject Clefts (NI & C/C)

TV: *it* is never phonetically realized (4a). FR: (reduced form of) *ce* is compulsory (4b).

TV & FR: the *that*-C that introduces the low clause *must* be realized:

- (4) a. Ze Toni *(ke) ga bevuo tuto el vin (Trevigiano)
COP Antony that has drunk all the wine
'It's Antony that drank up the wine'

¹ This work was supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation, project n° 156160, "Optional Wh-in situ in French Interrogatives: Syntax and Prosody".

- b. C'est Antoine ***(qui)** a bu tout le vin (French)
 C'COP Antony that has drunk all the wine

(5) Subject cleft (regular)

- a. Trevigiano: Copula [focus S] *ke* ts V (DO) (IndO)
 b. French : C ' copula [focus S] *qu(i)* ts V (DO) (IndO)

Que/qui alternation

At work here in FR (not in TV!). Rizzi&Shlonsky (2007): the morphology of the *that*-C is altered *iff* the S of the *embedded* clause is extracted.

➔ the S has been moved from a S position in the low clause to the focal region.

!!!! using *que* leads to ungrammaticality (6a), but the reduced version of the C is fine (5b):

- (6) a. * C'est Jean *que* a bu ton vin (French)
 C'COP John *que* has drunk your wine
 'It's Jean that drank your wine'
 b. C'est Jean **qu'**a bu ton vin
 C'COP John *qu'* has drunk your wine

S-clitics

TV: a lexical S must be followed by the corresponding S-clitic (7a):

- (7) a. Toni ***(el)** ga magnà tuti i pomi (Trevigiano)
 Antony he_{CL} has eaten all the apples
 'Antony ate up the apples'

This is not true in clefts (7b-c):

- (7) b. Ze Toni **ke** (***el**) ga magnà tuti i pomi low clause: ✗
 COP Antony *ke* he_{CL} has eaten all the apples
 'It's Antony that ate up the apples'
 c. Ze Toni (***el**) *ke* ga magnà tuti i pomi high clause: ✗
 COP Antony he_{CL} *ke* has eaten all the apples

Rizzi (2006): the S position expresses (at least) an *aboutness* property. The *S Criterion* must involve a functional head high in the TP (*Subj*^o, Cardinaletti 2004) that triggers movement of the S to its *Spec* (*aboutness* interpretation at the interface).

Subj^o: morphologically realised as S-clitics in Northern Italian dialects (Poletto 2000, Manzini&Savoia 2005).

➔ the focalised S of the cleft must have indeed been moved from its canonical position.

TV: *reverse* clefts. *Only* C/C focus (8):

- (8) Toni ze **ke** ga magnà tuti i pomi (no a Maria!) (Trevigiano)
 Antony COP *ke* has eaten all the apples (NEG the Mary)
 'It's Antony that ate up the apples (not Mary!)'

(9) Subject cleft (reverse)

Trevigiano: [focus S] copula *ke* ts V (DO) (IndO)

1.1.2 *Declarative Object Clefts (C/C)*

(10) Object cleft (regular)

- a. Trevigiano: Copula [_{focus DO}] *ke* (*S_{lexical}) S-cl V t_{DO} (IndO)
 b. French : C' copula [_{focus DO}] *qu(e)/*qui* S V t_{DO} (IndO)

(10) Object cleft (reverse)

- c. Trevigiano: [_{focus DO}] copula *ke* (*S_{lexical}) S-cl V t_{DO} (IndO)

- (11) a. Ze Nane *(**ke**) i gà visto al marcà (Trevigiano)
 COP John *ke* they_{CL} have seen at the market
 'It's John that they saw at the market'
 b. Nane ze *(**ke**) i gà visto al marcà! C/C (fortified)
 John COP *ke* they_{CL} have seen at.the market
 '(False!) It's John that they saw at the market!'

1.1.3 *Declarative Indirect Object and Adjunct Clefts (C/C)*

(12) Indirect Object / Adjunct cleft (regular)

- a. Trevigiano: Copula [_{focus IO/Adv}] *ke* (*S_{lexical}) S-cl V (DO) t_{IO/Adv}
 b. French : C' copula [_{focus IO/Adv}] *qu(e)* S V (DO) t_{IO/Adv}

(13) Indirect Object / Adjunct cleft (reverse)

- c. Trevigiano: [_{focus IO/Adv}] copula *ke* (*S_{lexical}) S-cl V (DO) t_{IO/Adv}

TV: reverse clefts (*only C/C*) (14a-b):

- (14) a. Al marcà ze *(**ke**) go catà to santoea! (Trevigiano)
 At the market COP *ke* have_{IPS} met your godmother
 '(False!) It's at the market that I met your godmother!'
 b. * Au marché c'est que j'ai croisé ta marraine! (French)
 At.the market c' COP *que* I've met your godmother

Intermediate remarks

Long-distance clefts: clefting in the embedded part (15a), or in the root (15b):

- (15) a. A Maria a pensa [*ke ze Nane ke te ga catà al marcà*] (Trevigiano)
 The Mary she_{CL} thinks *ke* COP John *ke* you_{CL} have met at.the market
 'Mary thinks that it's John that you met at the market'
 b. **Ze Nane** *ke* a Maria a pensa [*ke te ga catà al marcà*]
 COP John *ke* the Mary she_{CL} thinks *ke* you_{CL} have found at.the market

FR: *que/qui alternation*: interesting patterns in long-distance S clefts (16a-d):

- (16) a. Marie pense **que** c'est Jean **qui** a tout bu Cleft in embedded
 Mary thinks *que* c' COP John *qui* has all drunk
 'Mary thinks it's John that drank everything up'
 b. C'est Jean **que** Marie pense **qui** a tout bu Cleft in matrix
 C' COP John *que* Mary thinks *qui* has all drunk
 c. * C'est Jean qui Marie pense qu'a tout bu Cleft in matrix
 C' COP John *qui* Mary thinks *qu'* has all drunk

- d. * C'est Jean qui Marie pense qui a tout bu
 C' COP John qui Mary thinks qui has all drunk

Cleft in matrix

➔ the focalised subject has been raised from an embedded position (17):

(17) C'est **Jean** que [Marie pense t_[c'est Jean] **qui** t_{Jean} a tout bu]
 ↑—————|

Is the higher C a Force^o-*que*, ≠ Fin^o-*que/qui* of the low clause?

The answer depends on the derivation we posit for the long-distance cleft: (i) complex computation involving movement of remnant chunks to the matrix clause; (ii) the COPULA itself selects a long-distance sentence as its complement - it is not the *COP-foc*-chunk that moves to the highest LP (18):

(18) C'est **Jean** que [Marie pense t_[Jean] **qui** t_{Jean} a tout bu]
 ↑—————| ↑—————|

Rizzi&Shlonsky (2007), refined: que/qui alternation *iff* the S is extracted from the embedded clause AND it is the S of the clause where it is moved (also: *local vs non-local* movement).

Summary:

- TV&FR: declarative clefts require for the C *ke/qu(e)/qu(i)* to be phonetically realized;
- FR: *ce* quasi-argument, excluded in TV;
- TV: *reverse* clefts (only C/C focus), impossible in FR.

2.1 Clefting Strategies in interrogatives

TV: (i) wh-clefts always OK, even when the corresponding non-clefted wh-question is excluded (typical of NIDs, Poletto 1993, Poletto&Vanelli 1993, Benincà&Poletto 2004); (ii) *SCII* is compulsory, here the interrogative S clitic “-o” is used; (iii) **three types of wh-clefts** (19):

- (19) a. Wh-phrase COP-(o) *ke* V...? *Regular*
 b. COP-(o) Wh-phrase *ke* V...? *Reverse*
 c. Wh-phrase *ke* V...? *Reduced*

FR, only *regular* (20a) and *reverse* (20b) clefts are possible.

!!!! *SCII* is productive in FR; however, *ce*+COPULA is never inverted (20c-d)!

- (20) a. Wh-phrase *c'copula que/qui* V...? (French)
 b. C'copula Wh-phrase *que/qui*...?
 c. * Wh-phrase Copula-*ce que/qui* V...?
 d. * Copula-*ce* Wh-phrase *que/qui*...?

Working question: could *c'est* be a *reanalyzed cluster* in this variety of FR?

The availability of reduced clefts is subject to (geographical) constraints (21a-b):

- (21) a. Qui que t'as vu au marché? (CanFrench)
 Who *que* you've seen at.the market
 'Who did you see at the market?'
 b. Ou qu'elle est partie avec Jean?
 Where *qu'*she is left with John
 'Where did she go with John?'

➔ Canadian French (Mathieu 2009) might constitute the “missing link” between NIDs and European French.

2.1.1 Interrogative Subject Clefts

TV: (i) presence of a S-cl excluded from the low clause (22):

- (22) a. Ki ze-o *(ke) (*el) gà bevuo tuto el vin? (Trevigiano)
 Who COP-o *ke* he_{CL} has drunk all the wine
 'Who is it that drank up the wine?'
 b. Ze-o ki *(ke) (*el) gà bevuo tuto el vin
 COP-o who *ke* he_{CL} has drunk all the wine
 c. Ki *(ke) (*el) gà bevuo tuto el vin?
 Who *ke* he_{CL} has drunk all the wine

(ii) yes/no subject clefts can be reverse (23a), or regular (23b-c):

- (23) a. Ze-o giani ke te gà parlà de sta roba? (Trevigiano)
 COP-o John *ke* to.you has spoken of this thing
 'Is it John who told you about this?'
 b. Giani ze-o ke te gà parlà de sta roba? *surprise/disappointment*
 John COP-o *ke* to.you has spoken of this thing
 c. Giani ze(*-o) ke te gà parlà de sta roba ?! ECHO
 John COP *ke* to.you has spoken of this thing

(iii) [-HUMAN] subject: *kossa* and *ke*, ≠ distribution (24a-c):

- (24) a. **Kossa** / ***ke** ze-o *(ke) ga spakà el piter? (Trevigiano)
 Kossa / ke COP-o *ke* has broken the vase
 'What is it that broke the vase?'
 c. **Kossa** / ***ke** *(ke) ga spakà el piter?
 Kossa / ke *ke* has broken the vase
 b. Ze-o ??**kossa** / **ke** *(ke) ga spakà el piter?
 COP-o kossa / ke *ke* has broken the vase

FR: (i) [+HUMAN] wh-subject *qui* (“who”) (25a-b):

- (25) a. Qui c'est *(qu(i)) a mangé toute la tarte? Regular: ✓
 Who *c'*COP *qui* has eaten all the cake
 'Who is it that ate up the cake?'
 b. C'est qui *(qu(i)) a mangé toute la tarte? Reverse: ✓
 C' COP who *qui* has eaten all the cake

(ii) yes/no questions (26a-b):

- (26) a. * Jean c'est qui a bu tout le vin? Regular: ✗
 John *c'*COP *qui* has drunk all the wine
 'Is it John that drank up the wine?'
 b. C'est Jean qui a bu tout le vin? Reverse: ✓
 C' COP John *qui* has drunk all the wine

- (iii) [-HUMAN] subject: the wh-word *qu(e)* is excluded from all types of clefts. *Quoi* (27a-b):
- (27) a. * *Quoi c'est qu(i) a cassé le vase?* Regular: ✗
Quoi c' COP qu(i) has broken the vase
 'What is it that broke the vase?'
- b. *C'est quoi qu(i) a cassé le vase?* Reverse: ✓
C' COP quoi qu(i) has broken the vase

2.1.2 Interrogative Object Clefts

TV&FR: same as S clefts.

!!!! TV: low clause: a lexical S between *ke* and the S-cl degrades the sentence (28a-b):

- (28) a. ?? *Ki ze-o ke Toni I ga fregà?* (Trevigiano)
 Who COP-o *ke* Tony he_{CL} has ripped.off
 'Who is it that Toni ripped off?'
- b. *Ki ze-o ke I ga fregà, Toni?*
 COP-o who *ke* he_{CL} has ripped.off # Toni
 'Toni, who is it that he ripped off?'

➔ there must be an *adjacency requirement* between the C and the S-cl in the low clause (also witnessed by the impossibility of using the full forms of clitic pronouns - *el* ("he", realized as /l/, enclitic on the C).

Summary:

TV: two landing sites for wh-movement, *Wh1* and *Wh2*, among which the COP(-o) appears. *Wh2* and COP(-o)-deletion are not available for all speakers. [-HUMAN] wh-DOs: *kossa* occupies *Wh1* (marginally *Wh2*); *ke* is only grammatical in *Wh2*.

FR: (i) impossible for *c'est* to undergo *SCII*; (ii) no reduced clefts (European varieties).

2. THE FINE STRUCTURE OF CLEFTS

On S extraction in Trevigiano

Unacceptability of S-cl in the *low clause* of S-clefts (7a-c): compatible with claim that in S relatives the S must be extracted from a *vP*-internal position, not from the higher *criterial* S position (Rizzi 1982, developed in Rizzi&Shlonsky 2007). Confirmed by S relatives (29b):

- (29) a. *Zé el bocia ke (*el) ze drio magnar tuti i biscoti* (Trevigiano)
 COP the boy that he_{CL} is PROGR eat all the biscuits
 'It's the boy that's eating up the biscuits'
- b. *El bocia ke (*el) ze drio magnar tuti i biscoti el ze to fiol*
 The boy that he_{CL} is PROGR eat all the biscuits he_{CL} is your son
 'The boy that's eating up the biscuits is your son'

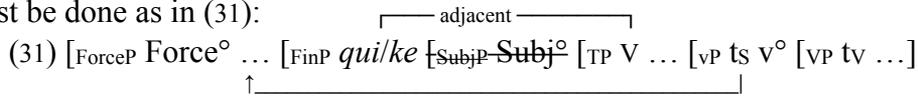
➔ S extraction directly out of the *vP*-shell must be at play in both S relatives and S clefts.

➔ in FR, in both constructions: OK to use the reduced C form *qu'* instead of *qui* (30a-b): the C and the V in T° must be structurally adjacent:

- (30) a. *C'est la jeune femme qu'a mangé tous les biscuits* (French)
 C' COP the young lady *qu'* has eaten all the biscuits
 'It's the young lady that ate up the biscuits'

- b. La jeune femme **qu**'a mangé tous les biscuits est ma copine
 The young woman *qu*'has eaten all the biscuits is my girlfriend
 'The young lady that ate up the biscuits is my girlfriend'

My proposal: the split-IP of S relatives and S clefts must be *truncated* right above TP (*SubjP* not projected to avoid a violation in terms of *Criterion Freezing* (Rizzi 2006). Extraction of the S must be done as in (31):



NOM case-assignment is not available in the low clause of clefts – the S raises to the high clause to be (exceptionally) assigned Case by the copula (ECA).

➔ Also in non-S clefts, realizing a lexical S along with the S-clitic sounds degraded (32a-b):

- (32) a. ?? Ze Nane ke e toze e già visto al marcà (Trevigiano)
 COP John that the girls they_{CL.F} have seen at.the market
 'It's John that the girls saw at the market'
- b. ?? Ze el me can ke i tozati i già moeà
 COP the my dog that the boys they_{CL} have let.out
 'It's my dog that the boys let out'

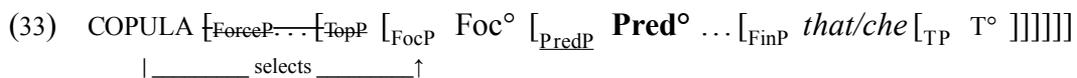
Working question: is *SubjP* always unavailable from the low clause of clefts? Maybe the S-cl realizes a clitic-head lower than *Subj*^o?

2.1. The Cartography of Clefts

Belletti (2015) - A Focus Map of Clefts

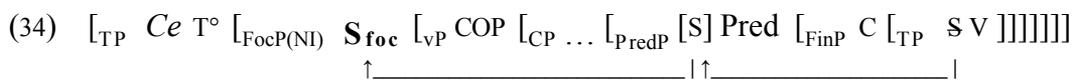
Minimally needed assumptions:

- (i) the copula selects a complement Small Clause (SC) reduced right above FocusP;
- (ii) a predication relation is established within the SC of clefts: *PredP* (33):

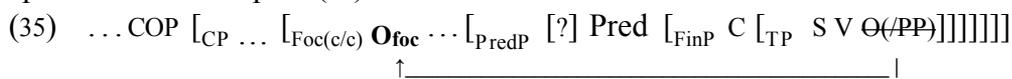


(iii) finally, two positions are exploited in the structure for the two types of focus:

- *Focus of New Information* (subject clefts): *vP*-peripheral (low) Focus position (as the NI *postverbal S* of null-subject languages as Italian) (34):

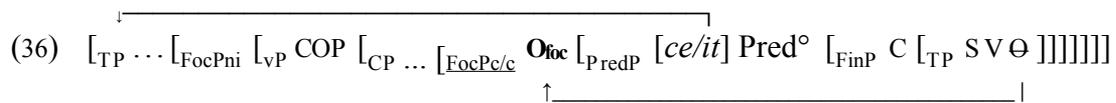


- *Corrective or Contrastive Focus* (S- and non-S clefts): focus position in the LP of the complement of the copula (35):



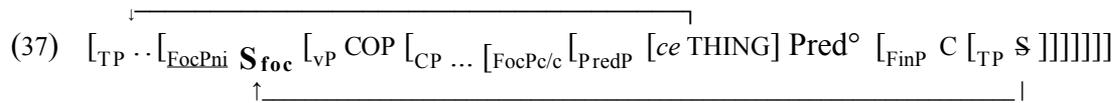
(iv) the *it*-S of clefts is a *quasi-argument* (Reeve 2010, 2011): ≠ from expletives, it raises from the SC, *SpecPredP*.

➔ Derivation of a S or non-S cleft expressing *corrective or contrastive focus* (36):



➔ Derivation of a S cleft expressing *focus of new information*:

The quasi-argument is merged in *SpecPredP*, intervention in terms of *Relativized Minimality* blocks S movement from TP to *FocNI*. Solution: Kayne&Pollock (2009)'s analysis of *ce*, [*ce* THING], merged directly in *SpecPredP* (37):



When the S moves into *FocNI* there is no intervention (➔ analysis of *ce* extended also to derivation of *FocC/C*).

2.2. Belletti (2015), revisited

Minimal theoretical assumption:

- cross-linguistically, the *left* and the *low* peripheries of the clause are structurally *identical*;
- ≠ languages might exploit ≠ *left* and *low* peripheral positions to convey similar meaning.

Redefining the status of *c'est*

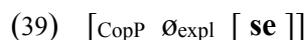
SCII is banned from clefts in FR, despite being a productive question formation strategy:

- (i) is it *register*? NO. *SCII* is not excluded from the oral varieties, if it was register, *SCII* of *c'est* should be optional;
- (ii) this property does not derive from the nature of *ce* itself - it *can* undergo *SCII* (38a-b):

- (38) a. Qui *est-ce* qui a vu Jean?
Who is-*ce* *qui* has seen Jean
'Who saw Jean?'
- b. *Serait-ce* possible d'y aller en train ?
Would-*ce* possible of 'there go in train
'Would it be possible to go there by train?'

- (iii) are *est-ce que* questions clefts with *SCII* on the *ce-COP*? NO, *est-ce que* also appears in genuine, information seeking yes/no questions.

My proposal: in oral FR, *c'est* is actually a reanalyzed whole, /se/. It behaves like a fully-fledged COPULA associated to a *null* expletive (39):



- ➔ main difference between the interrogative clefts of the FR and TV does *not* lie in the *absence* of *SCII* in the former, but the *presence* of an overt expletive pronoun in the latter.
- ➔ *null expletives* are attested in oral FR (*n'empêche*, (*il*) *y a*, (*il*) *manquerait*, (*il*) *vaut/faut*), but not null quasi-arguments (**(il) pleut*);
- ➔ natural development of the oral variety? *Simplification* of the structure: having an EXPL instead of a low quasi-argument solves most problems of intervention in the derivation.

2.2.1 The fine structure of declarative clefts

- ➔ more cleft types in TV than in FR: not all *focal positions* present in the vPs and CPs of bi-clausal questions might be cross-linguistically activated in the same ways and contexts.
- ➔ unsurprising if the focal positions exploited in the two systems were different!

My proposal(s):

(i) **A simplified COP-selected LP**

iff *c'est* is a crystallized unit /se/ and the S the COP is a real EXPL (merged directly in SpecCOP, not in the embedded LP), no intervention is expected when the S moves to *Foc*, then THING is no longer needed, nor is *PredP* ➔ the COP of these varieties selects a COMP whose LP is even more deficient than it is in standard French ➔ structural “simplification”?

(ii) **TV can make use of the high FocC/C**

TV: *reverse* declarative clefts of *c/c* focus: the relevant *FocP* must be higher than the position targeted by the COP, hence left peripheral.

Observations:

- ➔ clefts are bi-partite structures;
- ➔ 4 focal positions are projected;
- ➔ the *vP*-internal *FocusP* of the low clause is not involved in the derivation (C in low *FinP*);
- ➔ only *three* focal positions are available: (I) the left peripheral *FocusP* of the COPULA-selected SC; (II) the *vP*-internal *FocusP* of the COPULA; and (III) the left peripheral *FocusP* of the COPULA (41):

(40) $[_{CP^{(high)}} [_{FocP} \text{ III } Foc^{\circ} \dots [_{TP} \dots [_{FocP} \text{ II } Foc^{\circ} [_{vP} COP [_{CP} \dots [_{FocP} \text{ I } Foc^{\circ} \dots [_{FinP} C \dots]]]]]]$

(iii) declarative clefts of both varieties: I and II are available for FR&TV; III can only be exploited by TV. The third focal position, (III): exploited in TV in *reverse* declarative clefts - additional meaning than regular *c/c* clefts: express a certain degree of annoyance:

- ➔ [+EXCLAMATIVE] feature in the higher LP, checking done by the focalised element.
- Pairing an addition in meaning to a more complex derivation seems theoretically desirable; unavailability of such structures in FR: inherent linguistic properties.

2.2.2 The fine structure of interrogative clefts

Minimal assumptions:

- (i) wh-movement is cyclic;
- (ii) clefted interrogatives involve further movement compared to the declarative counterparts;
- (iii) wh-words are first moved to I, then undergo “regular” wh-movement to the matrix *FocusP* (III).

My proposal:

- (i) *unmarked* case: the wh-word moves from its focalisation site to the matrix *FocusP*, and the COP moves higher (*IntP?* *ForceP?*) ➔ reverse interrogative cleft (*c'est wh*-type);
- (ii) to derive a “regular” interrogative cleft (*wh-c'est*-type) more structure is needed ➔ an additional CP-domain is projected (41):

(41) $[_{CP^{(3rd)}} \text{ wh-phras}e \dots [_{CP^{(high)}} COP t_{wh} \dots [_{TP} \dots]]]$

↑ _____ | _____ |

This move might seem theoretically unfounded, but is actually justified by the presence, in closely-related varieties like *Canadian French* (Mathieu 2009), of *regular doubling* (*RegD*) and *reverse doubling* (*RevD*) clefts (42a-b):

- (42) b. Où c'est qu' c'est qu' tu vas? *RegD*
 Where *c*'COP *qu'* *c*'COP *qu'* you go
 "Where are (on Earth) you going?"
 c. C'est où c'est que tu vas? *RevD*
C'COP where *c*'COP *qu'* you go

These *tri-clausal* structures clearly witness that a higher CP domain can indeed be projected in interrogative clefts - how and why this is done is subject for further research.

CONCLUSIONS

- ➔ the clefts of *Trevigiano* and *contemporary oral French* have morpho-syntactic peculiarities that shed light on lesser discussed aspects of the derivation of clefts: S extraction, the structure of the TP of the COP-selected SC, the natures of the COP and of the quasi-argument;
- ➔ my data fit perfectly into Belletti's "embedded" analysis (Haegeman et al. 2015):
 - (i) the *vP*- internal *FocP* can be exploited by both varieties, in case of NI focus;
 - (ii) in case of *C/C* focus, FR can only use the *FocP* in the low clause, whereas in TV it can move up to the high LP (movement paired with additional meaning);
 - (iii) in interrogatives, both languages either use the matrix *FocP*, or they project a further CP and move the *wh*-word higher.
- ➔ there is cross-linguistic evidence for the presence of a higher CP, whose analysis I leave for further research.

REFERENCES

- Belletti, A. (2009) *Structures and Strategies*. Ch. 9. New York. Routledge.
- Belletti, A. (2014) "Notes on Passive Object Relatives." In P. Svenonius (ed) *Functional Structure from Top to Toe*. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. Oxford University Press. 9:97–114.
- Belletti, A. (2015) "The Focus map of clefts: Extraposition and Predication." In U. Shlonsky (ed) *Beyond Functional Sequence. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 10*. Oxford University Press. 42–59.
- Bonan, C. (2017) *On Wh-Fronting and Lack thereof. The Case of North Italian Dialects*. Thèse de Prédctorat. Université de Genève. Ms.
- Bonan, C. (2018) "On Insituness and (very) low Wh-Positions. The Case of Trevigiano." To appear in G. Samo, K. Martini and G. Bocci (eds). *Proceedings of the 1st SynCart meeting*. Generative Grammar in Geneva (GG@G), Special Issue.
- Bonan, C. and U. Shlonsky (2017) "On 'why' in situ in North Italian Dialects". Ms. Presented at the 50th SLE meeting. University of Zurich. September 10-13, 2017.
- Bresnan, J. (1977) "Variables in the theory of transformations." In P. W. Culicover, T. Wasow and A. Akmajian (eds) *Formal syntax*. New York: Academic Press. 157–196.

- Cardinaletti, A. (2004) "Towards a cartography of subject positions." In L. Rizzi (ed) *The cartography of syntactic structures. Vol 2. The structure of CP and IP*. New York: Oxford University Press. 115–165.
- Carter-Thomas, S. (2009) "The French c'est-cleft: Function and frequency." In D. Banks (ed) *La linguistique systémique fonctionnelle et la langue française*. L'Harmattan. 127–157.
- Chomsky, N. and H. Lasnik (1997) "Filters and control." *Linguistic Inquiry*. 8. 425–504.
- Collins, P. (1991) "Clefts and Pseudo-Cleft Constructions in English." Routledge, London & New York.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1990) "Clitic Doubling, Wh-Mouvement and Quantification in Romanian." *Linguistic Inquiry*. 21. 351–397.
- Frascarelli, M. and F. Ramaglia (2013). "(Pseudo) Clefts at the Syntax-Prosody-Discourse Interface." In K. Hartmann and T. Veenstra (eds) *The structure of clefts*. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Haegeman, L., A. Meinunger and A. Vercauteren (2015). "The Syntax of It-clefts and the Left Periphery of the Clause." In U. Shlonsky (ed) *Beyond Functional Sequence. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. Vol 10*. Oxford University Press.
- Karssenbergh, L. and K. Lahousse (2018) "The information structure of French il y a clefts & c'est clefts: a corpus-based analysis." [accepted] *Linguistics*.
- Katz, S. (2000) "Categories of c'est-cleft constructions." *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*. 45(3/4). 253–273.
- Kayne, R. (1976) "French relative que." *Current Studies in Romance Linguistics*. In F. Hensey and M. Luján. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. 255–299.
- Kayne, R. and J.-Y. Pollock (2009) "Notes on French and English Demonstratives." *New York University and Université de Paris Est, EA 4120*.
- Manzini, M. R. and L. M. Savoia (2005) *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Mathieu, E. (2009) "Les questions en français: micro- et macro-variation." In F. Martineau, R. Mougeon, T. Nadasdi and M. Tremblay (eds) *Le français d'ici: études linguistiques et sociolinguistiques de la variation*. GREF. Toronto. 37-66.
- Meinunger, A. (1997) "The Structure of Clefts and Pseudo-Cleft sentences." In M. Moosally and R. Blight (eds) *Texas Linguistic Forum 38. The Syntax and Semantics of Predication*. University of Texas Department of Linguistics. Austin.
- Munaro, N., C. Poletto and J.-Y. Pollock (2001)
- Ordoñez, F. (2012) "Clitics in Spanish." In J. I. Hualde, A. Olarrea and E. O'Rourke (eds) *The Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 423–451.
- Perlmutter, D. (1968) *Deep and surface structure constraints in syntax*. PhD dissertation. MIT.
- Pesetsky, D. (2000) *Phrasal Movement and its Kin*. Cambridge: Mass. MIT Press.
- Poletto, C. (2000) *The Higher Functional Field: Evidence from Northern Italian Dialects*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Poletto, C. & J.-Y. Pollock (2000) "On the Left Periphery of Some Romance Wh-Questions". *The Structure of CP and IP*, Oxford. 251-296.
- Poletto, C. & J.-Y. (2004) "On wh-clitics and wh-doubling in French and some North Eastern Italian Dialects". *Probus*, 16:241-277.
- Poletto, C. & J.-Y. Pollock (2009) "Another look at wh-questions in Romance: the case of Medrisiotto and its consequences for the analysis of French wh-in-situ and embedded

- interrogatives". In L. Wentzel (ed) *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory: Selected Papers from 'Going Romance'*, volume 1. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. 199-258.
- Reeve, M. (2010) *Clefts*. PhD dissertation. University College London.
- Reeve, M. (2011) "The syntactic structure of English clefts." *Lingua* 121. 142–171.
- Rialland, A. and J. Doetjes and G. Rebuschi (2002) "What Is Focussed in C'est XP qui/que Cleft Sentences in French." *Speech Prosody*. ISCA Archive.
- Rizzi, L. (1982) *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht, Foris.
- Rizzi, L. (1990) *Relativized Minimality*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Rizzi, L. (2001) "On the Position Int(errogative) in the Left Periphery of the Clause." In G. Cinque and G. Salvi (eds.) *Current Studies in Italian Syntax: Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*. Amsterdam: North-Holland. 286–96.
- Rizzi, L. (2006) "On the form of chains: Criterial positions and ECP effects." In Cheng, L. L.-S. and N. Corver (eds) *Wh-movement: Moving on*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 97–134.
- Rizzi, L. (2016) [forthcoming] "The left periphery: Cartography, Freezing, Labeling." In *Proceedings of the International Workshop on Syntactic Cartography*. Beijing: Beijing Language and Culture University.
- Rizzi, L. and U. Shlonsky (2007) "Strategies of subject extraction". *Interfaces + Recursion = Language? Chomsky's Minimalism and the View from Syntax-Semantics*. 115–160.
- Shlonsky, U. and G. Soare (2011) "Where's why?" *Linguistics Inquiry*. 42.4. 651–669.
- Suñer, M. (1988) "The role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions." *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*. Vol 6. 391–434.
- Taraldsen, K. T. (2001) "Subject extraction, the distribution of expletives and stylistic inversion." In A. Hulk and J.-Y. Pollock (eds) *Subject Inversion in Romance and the Theory of Universal Grammar*. New York: Oxford University Press. 163–182.