ERMENEGILDO BIDESE (University of Trento), ANDREA PADOVAN, ALESSANDRA TOMASELLI (University of Verona)

The syntax of subordination in Cimbrian and the rationale behind language contact[1]

Abstract: The aim of this contribution is twofold: (i) providing a detailed description of subordination in Cimbrian and (ii) discussing the concept of language contact in terms of feature transfer. As has been recently pointed out, Cimbrian declarative and relative clauses display a unique pattern among the German dialects w.r.t. embedding. In fact, different complementizers trigger different syntax as regards the position of the finite verb. In our contribution, we extend the analysis to adverbial clauses for the first time and also investigate the double pattern of embedding in indirect WH-questions. Our data suggest that contact-induced syntactic change can be explained in terms of transfer of single abstract features.

Keywords: *Cimbrian, syntax, subordination, embedded WH-clauses, adverbial clauses, contact-induced language change*

Introduction

Cimbrian is a German(ic) minority language spoken in the area between the Province of Trento and the Veneto Region in Northeast Italy which has been in contact with Romance varieties for centuries. As a consequence, Cimbrian turns out to be the ideal object of analysis to investigate the rationale behind contact. In this paper, after a brief review of the state of the art w.r.t. the syntax of subordination in Cimbrian (§1) we extend the analysis to types of embedding not yet taken into account. We will first consider adverbial clauses (§2) providing a further confirmation of the already known outcome. In a second step, we address the structure of indirect interrogative clauses (§3) proposing a deeper implementation of the analysis highlighting the crucial difference between the categorial status of the subordinating element (head *vs.* specifier) and its feature characterization. §4 summarizes the results about Cimbrian subordination system and explains the implications of contact-induced grammatical change. In §5 the special case of interrogative/adverbial *bal/benn* 'when' is taken into account integrating it into the complex scenario of Cimbrian subordination.

1. The state of the art in Cimbrian subordination

Recent research on Cimbrian syntax (GREWENDORF & POLETTO 2009; GREWENDORF & POLETTO 2011, KOLMER 2012, BIDESE; PADOVAN & TOMASELLI 2012) has suggested a structural distinction for both embedded declarative and relative clauses building on the interplay of two criteria:

a) the position of VFIN: symmetric *vs.* asymmetric embedded word order;

b) the choice of the lexical complementizer: either a loanword from Italian as model language or an autochthonous subordinating element.

1.1 Embedded declarative clauses

As regards embedded declarative word order, two different patterns are possible in Cimbrian syntax: in the first one, VFIN shows up in the same position as in matrix clauses (see 1) giving rise to a symmetry effect between matrix and embedded contexts. The diagnostics used in this case is the post-verbal position of NEG (*nèt* 'not') see (2a-b), which turns out to reproduce the well-known embedded V2 structure in Icelandic (3a-b):

Cimbrian

(1)		Du **geast** *nèt* ka Tria	(**V** *NEG*)
		You go not to T.	
		'You do not go to T.'	

(2)	a	I boaz ke du **geast** *nèt* ka Tria	(**V** *NEG*)
	b	*I boaz ke du *nèt* **geast** ka Tria	(**NEG* **V**)
		I know that you go not to Trento	
		'I know you do not go to Trento'	

Icelandic

(3)	a	Ég spurði af hverju Jón **hefði** *ekki* lesið þessa bók	(**V** *NEG*)
	b	*Ég spurði af hverju Jón *ekki* **hefði** lesið þessa bók	(**NEG* **V**)
		'I asked why J. has not read this book'	

The second word order pattern yields a clear asymmetry w.r.t. the matrix word order. NEG precedes the VFIN which shows up in a lower position (see 4a-b), as is well-known in modern standard Mainland Scandinavian (see the Danish sentence in 5a-b):

Cimbrian

| (4) | a | I bill az-to *nèt* **geast** ka Tria | (*NEG* **V**) |
| | b | *I bill az-to **geast** *nèt* ka Tria | (**V* *NEG*) |

I want that-you.CL not go to T.
'I do not want you to go to T.'

Danish

(5)   a   Jeg spurgte hvorfor Jon *ikke* **havde** læst bogen   (*NEG* **V**)
        b   *Jeg spurgte hvorfor Jon **havde** *ikke* læst bogen   (***V** *NEG*)
         (I asked why J. has not read this book)

As for the choice of the lexical complementizer, examples under (2) and (4) directly suggest that there is a correlation between the embedded word order and the nature of the complementizer (autochthonous *vs.* borrowed element): the Italian loanword *ke* does not affect embedded word order – yielding a matrix-like pattern (1=2) – whereas the autochthonous complementizer *az* triggers the well-known continental West-Germanic asymmetry (1≠4).

1.2 Relative clauses

If we look at word order in Cimbrian relative clauses, two different patterns of embedding turn up w.r.t. whether restrictive or non-restrictive (appositive) relatives are involved (see BIDESE; PADOVAN & TOMASELLI 2012). Restrictive relative clauses are introduced by the invariant autochthonous 'particle' *bo* and show the same embedding structure we have already described for declarative *az*-sentences (see 6 for subject, 7 for object relatives):

(6)   a   Di månnen bo-da *nèt* **arbatn** gian kan birt   (*NEG* **V**)
        b   *Di månnen bo-da **arbatn** *nèt* gian kan birt   (***V** *NEG*)
         The men that-DA not work go to the pub
         'The men who do not work go the pub'

(7)   a   'Z proat bo-do-mar *nèt* **schenkst** darvault   (*NEG* **V**)
        b   *'Z proat bo-do-mar **schenkst** *nèt* darvault   (***V** *NEG*)
         The bread that-you.CL-(to) me.CL not donate rots
         'The bread you gave me is rotting'

Non-restrictive relatives can be also introduced by *bo*, but the use of the relative particle *ke*, borrowed from Italian, is strongly preferred especially among young speakers; moreover, there are contexts in which even older speakers accept *ke* more promptly. In all (non-restrictive) relative clauses where *ke* shows up, the same word order as in the declarative sentences introduced by *ke* is found, i.e. the matrix word order (see 8 for subject, 9 for object relatives):

(8)   a   Dar Mario, ke z'**iz** *nèt* a guatz mentsch, khinnt pitt üs   (**V** *NEG*)
        b   *Dar Mario, ke *nèt* **iz** a guatz mentsch, khinnt pitt üs   (**NEG* **V**)
         The M. that is not a good person comes with us
         'Mario, who is no good man, is coming with us'

(9)   a   Di lusernar, ke dar vorsitzar **khennt**-ze *nèt* alle, soin guate laüt

                                                                                  (**V** *NEG*)

       b   *Di lusernar, ke dar vorsitzar *nèt* **khennt**-ze alle, soin guate laüt

                                                                                    (***NEG* V**)

               The people from L. that the president knows-them.CL not all, are good people

               'The people from L., whom the president doesn't know all, are good people'

To sum up, word order patterns in relative clauses clearly confirm the above-mentioned correlation: the Italian relative complementizer *ke* does not affect embedded word order – yielding a matrix-like pattern (1=8a and 9a) – whereas the autochthonous relative particle *bo* triggers the well-known continental West-Germanic asymmetry (1≠6a and 7a).

The interplay between word order and complementizers can be formally captured by assuming two different positions for either of them. On the one hand, we take both declarative and relative *ke* to be inserted in one of the topmost C projections (i.e. SUBORDP), on the other hand we assume that the autochthonous complementizers *az* and *bo* occur in the lowest C projection (i.e. FINP) (see structures in 10a-b):

(10)   a $[_{SubordP}$ **_ke_** $[_{ForceP} [\ldots [_{FinP} V_{fin}\text{–}cl [_{TP} \ldots NEG \cancel{V_{fin}}]]]]]$

       b $[_{SubordP} [_{ForceP} [\ldots [_{FinP}$ **_az/bo_**_–cl_ $[_{TP} \ldots NEG V_{fin}]]]]]$

As a matter of fact, *ke* never qualifies as a landing site for cliticization processes. In more technical terms this means that it cannot enter a probe-goal relation, contrary to *az* and *bo*.[2] At this point, in order to explain such a different behavior, we could build on two possibly intertwined assumptions. *Ke* does not admit any feature characterization because of (i) its high position in the CP structure; (ii) its nature of loanword that makes it a 'blind' functional word. To disentangle this puzzle, we extend the analysis to not yet explored types of embedding, in particular adverbial clauses (see 2) as well as indirect interrogatives (see 3).

2. Adverbial clauses

At first sight, Cimbrian adverbial clauses seem to confirm that just the autochthonous complementizers trigger asymmetric word order. That is the case, for instance, of **temporal clauses** introduced by *bal* ('when', corresponding to German 'wenn' or 'als') (see 11 and 12) or *vor* ('before', German 'bevor') (see 13):

---

[2] Further evidence can be found in the correlation between *ke/az* and mood selection. As shown by BIDESE; PADOVAN & TOMASELLI (2013) only *az* selects subjunctive mood.

(11) **Bal**-z *nèt* **renk** vil, mak-ma gian na sbemm   (*NEG* **V**)
      When-it.CL not rain a lot, can-IMP go to mushroom
      'When it does not rain too much, one can go mushrooming'

(12) **Bal**-*do* åkhist, rüaf-me å   (KOMPL-*CL*)
      When-you.CL arrive, call-me.CL up

(13) a   **Vor**-d-*e* izz, bèsch-e-mar di hent   (KOMPL-*CL*)
      b   *Vor *i* izz, bèsch-e-mar di hent   (*KOMPL *PRON*)
            Before-I.CL eat, wash-I.CL-(to) me.CL the hands
            (before eating, I wash my hands)

What provides evidence for the embedded word order in (13) is the fact that only the structure in which the pronoun encliticizes onto the complementizer is accepted (see 13a *vs.* 13b).

Temporal clauses introduced by loanwords are very frequent, but always as a part of what we call a 'mixed complementizer compound', where they play the role of the modifier (*Bestimmungswort*) w.r.t. an autochthonous head (*Grundwort*): *intånto az* ('while') (see 14), *fin/sin az*[3] ('until' and 'as long as') (see 15), *dopo az* ('after') (see 16):

(14) **Intånto az**z-*ar* hat gekocht, di khindar hån gelest   (KOMPL-*CL*)
      While-he.CL has cooked, the children have read
      'While he was cooking, the children have been reading'

(15) Di khindar spiln **fin/sin az**-ta *nèt* **khint** di muatar (*NEG* **V**)
      The children play until-DA not come the mother
      'The children play, until mother comes'

(16) **Dopo az**z*ar* hat gezzt di sbemm, izz-ar gestånt letz   (KOMPL-*CL*)
      After-he.CL has eaten the mushrooms, is-he.CL stayed ill
      'After he ate the mushrooms, he felt ill'

Once again, the presence of *az* as the head implies an asymmetric word order. The same pattern can be observed in **concessive clauses** introduced by *ånka az* ('although') (see 17):

(17) Dar Gianni hat gezzt vil, **ånka az**z-ar *nèt* **hat** gehummart (*NEG* **V**)
      The G. has eaten a lot, although-he.CL not was hungry
      'G. ate a lot, although he was not hungry'

Both **purpose** and **circumstance clauses** are also introduced by a 'mixed complementizer compound', i.e. *zoa az* ('in order that', German 'damit') and *åna*

---

[3] The form *fin bal* is also possible. The word order is like *fin/sin az*.

az ('without', German 'ohne dass'). As can be easily observed, both modifier and head are autochthonous in these cases (see 18 and 19):

(18)   Dar Gianni redet laise, **zoa az**-*ze-n nèt* **höarn**   (*NEG* **V**)
        The G. talks quietly, in order that-they.CL-him.CL not hear
        'G. talks quietly, in order that they do not hear him'

(19)   Da soin vortgånt **åna az**-ta-*se* zeget dar maistro   (KOMPL-*CL*)
        They are went away without-DA-them.CL sees the teacher
        'They leaved without the teacher seeing them'

Contrary to the clause types so far described, **comparatives** are introduced by a 'mixed complementizer compound' *azo vil ke* ('so much that', German 'so viel dass') whose modifier is autochthonous, whereas the head is realized by the loan-word *ke* (see 20):

(20)   Dar hat gepaitet **azo vil ke** dar **hat**-*z nèt* dartånt zo soina da pa zaiten
                                                                    (**V** *NEG*)
        He has waited so much that he has-it.CL not managed to be here in time
        'He waited so much that he did not manage to be here in time'

The effect of picking up *ke* as functional head is strikingly evident. One again, *ke* as head requires the root word order pattern exactly as already observed for declarative and relative clauses (see above sentences 2, 8 and 9).

To sum up, despite of the internal structure of 'mixed complementizer compounds'[4] the already proposed explanation not only can be maintained but it is further confirmed: *az* occupies the lowest projection within the CP layer supporting the relevant feature characterization and triggering an embedded word order pattern, while *ke* is merged in a very high position and acts as a 'blind' functional word not endowed with features (see above 10).

2.1 The special case of causal clauses

Causal clauses prompt us to face an apparently unexpected case since they require a root word order even though they are introduced only by a specialized autochthonous complementizer, i.e. *umbrom* which renders both German *warum* ('why') (see 21) and *weil* ('because') (see 22):

(21)   Umbrómm **làchs**-to?
        Why laugh-you.CL
        'Why are you laughing?'

_____

[4] The Cimbrian 'mixed complementizer compound' can be analyzed either as real 'compound words' inserted in FIN^0 as we tentatively propose or as a sequence of heads (or even specifier and heads) characterized by strict adjacency.

(22) I pin gerift pa zaiten, **umbrómm** i **hån** *nèt* vorlórt di korìara   (**V** *NEG*)
      I am arrived on time, because I have not missed the bus
      (I arrived on time, because I did not miss the bus)

The fact that the syntax of causal clauses reproduces the matrix declarative word order (like *ke*) is not really surprising. First of all, notice that causal sentences in standard German can also be introduced by a conjunction which acts as a coordinator from a syntactic point of view, namely *denn* (see 23), and that even the subordinator *weil* allows for matrix word order, at least in the colloquial register[5] (see 24b):

(23) Heute bleibt Peter zu Hause, denn er **ist** fix und fertig
      Today remains P. at home, as he is done in

(24) a   Heute bleibt Peter zu Hause, weil er fix und fertig **ist**
      b   %…, weil er **ist** fix und fertig

Moreover, *umbrom* – like Italian *perché* – introduces both causal (25) and interrogative clauses, namely in embedded context (26) and in root (27) as well:

(25) a. È rimasto a casa **perché** (lui) non sta bene

      b. Dar iz gestånt dahuam **umbromm** dar **iz** *nèt* gestånt gerècht   (**V** *NEG*)
         He is stayed at home since he is not stayed well
         (He stayed in since he did not feel well)

(26) a. Mi chiedo **perché** (lui) non sia venuto

      b. I vors-mar **umbromm** dar **iz** *nèt* khent   (**V** *NEG*)
         I ask-(to)me.CL why he is not come
         (I wonder why he did not come)

(27) a. **Perché** (lui) non è venuto?

      b. **Umbromm iz**z-ar *nèt* khent?
         Why is-he not come?
         (Why did he not come?)

---

[5] According to KELLER (1995) and BLÜHDORN (2005) sentences introduced by *weil* with matrix word order, also known as epistemic *weil*, are ambiguous w.r.t. the truth values of the propositional complement since it admits both an epistemic and a non-epistemic reading connected to the relation between the two sentences. ANTOMO & STEINBACH (2010) provides a comprehensive summary of the discussion and a new view of the phenomenon, see also REIS (2013) for a critical examination of the proposal.

It is interesting to note that while Italian *perché* triggers root declarative word order in all three contexts (see 25a, 26a and 27a) Cimbrian *umbrom* triggers this pattern in both causal and indirect questions (see 25b and 26b), but crucially not in root questions (see 27b) where subject inversion is mandatory, strictly respecting the WH-criterion (RIZZI 1990/1996). Independently of the specific analysis of *perché* in Italian syntax (see RIZZI 2001), for the sake of our proposal we can maintain that causal *umbrom* is realized in a structural position higher than *az*. Thus, the analogy between *ke* and *umbrom*, which both require declarative word order (**V** *nèt*) in embedded context, finds a straightforward explanation: while *az* is in complementary distribution with VFNT with respect to FIN^0, both *ke* and *umbrom* leave FIN^0 'free' and hence compatible with V-to-C movement (VFNT in FIN^0). If this assumption is tenable it constitutes a first step to disentangle the puzzle concerning *ke*. In fact, what really matters is the structural position (high *vs*. low) within CP and not the special status of loanword in itself.

The analysis of interrogative clauses in both root and embedded context, where crucially no functional loanwords have appeared yet, constitutes a further step in order to: i) carry out a complete analysis of the complementizer system in Cimbrian; ii) establish the position of the autochthonous *umbrom* in the double role of both causal conjunction and WH-word.

3. WH-interrogative clauses

Cimbrian interrogative complementizer *be* ('whether', German 'ob') not surprisingly calls for embedded word order pattern exactly as its declarative counterpart *az* (see PANIERI ET AL. 2006: 348):

(28)   I vors-mar **be**-se-z-ar *nèt* **gitt**   (*NEG* **V**)
        I ask-(to)me.CL whether-she.CL-it.CL-(to)her.CL not gives
        (I wonder whether she does not give it to her)

For the sake of our analysis, interrogative clauses introduced by WH-elements display a more complex and interesting picture.

While matrix WH-questions require a strict adjacency between the WH-word and the VFNT (**WH V** Subj) implying subject-inversion, indirect interrogatives show the above mentioned double pattern in embedded context: root *declarative* word order (**WH** X **V** *NEG*) *vs*. embedded word order (**WH** *NEG* **V**).

Before addressing the double word order pattern in embedded context we need to take a position with respect to the analysis of direct interrogative clauses (see 30 and 31) in a Germanic language which has lost the core of the V2 phenomenon (see 29) (see BIDESE & TOMASELLI 2005, BIDESE & TOMASELLI 2007, BIDESE 2008):

(29)   [Dar Gianni] [haüt] **hat** *nèt* gemacht di arbat   (XP YP **V** *NEG* …)
        The G. today has not done the work
        'Today G. did not do the job.'

(30) **Baz hat**-ze *nèt* gemacht haüt?   (**WH** **V**-Subj *NEG*)
      What has-she.CL not done today?
      'What did she not do today?'

(31) **Baz hat**-ta *nèt* gemacht haüt dar Gianni?   (WH **V-da** *NEG* ... Subj)
      What has-she.CL not done today?
      'What did she not do today?.'

The fact that in a root declarative clause VFNT can be preceded by more than one constituent (see 29) can be theoretically explained assuming a Split CP system according to what first proposed by RIZZI (1997) and further implemented among others by POLETTO (2000, 2001), BENINCÀ (2001) and BENINCÀ & POLETTO (2004).

(32)   [ForceP [… [FocP [… [FinP [TP …

Independently of both the number and the relative order of the CP layers, we assume that in Cimbrian: i) in root context VFNT always moves up to FinP; ii) WH-phrases occupy a higher operator position that crucially differs from SPECFINP. Just for the sake of explanation, let us assume that this position corresponds to SPECFOCP, as originally proposed by RIZZI (1997). Consequently, even if the word order pattern of (30) and (31) resembles the German one (= **WH V** Subj), the strict adjacency between the WH-phrase and the VFNT cannot be reduced to the German model. In order to reconcile the split CP, like Italian and English, with the mandatory V-to-C movement (VFNT in FIN^0) we propose the following analysis:

(33) […[FocP baz [Foc° **V$_{fin}$**+*cl/da* […[FinP [Fin° ~~**V$_{fin}$**+*cl/da*~~ [TP …NEG ~~**V$_{fin}$**~~…~~baz~~

In (33) it is assumed that the WH-word *baz* moves to SPECFOCP forcing the finite verb (+ *cl./da*) to move a step higher than FIN^0, in order to satisfy the WH-criterion. Crucially, the projection which hosts both the WH-word and the VFNT is FOCP (and not FINP).

Given this short premise, we can now go back to the structure of indirect interrogatives. Let us start with embedded WH-clauses which reproduce the root declarative pattern (WH X **V** *nèt*) as attested by the following examples:

(34) I vorsmar **bem** [dar Gianni **hat** *nèt* gett in libar gestarn]   (**V** *NEG*)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, whom the G. has not given the book yesterday
      (I wonder whom G. did not give the book yesterday)

(35) I vorsmar **bem** [dar Gianni gestarn **hat** *nèt* gett in libar]   (**V** *NEG*)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, whom the G. yesterday has not given the book

(36) I vorsmar **bem** [gestarn **hat**-ta *nèt* gett in libar dar Gianni]   (**V** *NEG*)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, whom yesterday has-DA not given the book the G.

(37)   I vorsmar **bem** [ʼz **hat**-ta *nèt* gett in libar dar Gianni gestarn]   (**V** *NEG*)
           I ask-(to)me.CL, whom it has-DA not given the book the G. yesterday

First of all, note that the word order pattern within the brackets which follows the WH-word (= **bem**) corresponds to the root declarative one under every aspects:

i) the preverbal position must be realized either by the subject (see 34) or by another constituent, like *gestarn* (see 36) or even by a combination of both (see 35);

ii) if the subject is in a post-verbal position (see 36 and 37) two conditions should be met:

    a)   expletive *-da* always occurs on the right of the finite verb (see BIDESE; PADOVAN & TOMASELLI 2012);
    b)   expletive *ʼz* occurs on the left of the finite verb, if no other constituent, like *gestarn*, is realized (see 37).

The asymmetry between direct and indirect interrogative word order significantly rely on the intervention of at least one constituent between the WH-word and the finite verb. In order to catch this asymmetry we assume the following analysis in indirect questions which display the root declarative word order pattern (= **WH** X **V** *NEG*):

    1)   The WH-word moves to SPECFOCP like in direct interrogatives;
    2)   The WH-feature is selected by the matrix-verb (= *vorsan*, 'to ask') and hence it does not trigger V-to-FIN^0 movement in order to satisfy the WH-criterion;
    3)   V-to-FIN^0 applies independently due to the same trigger which is at work in Cimbrian root declaratives;
    4)   The intervention of at least a constituent (the subject, *gestarn* or even expletive *ʼz*) between the WH-word and VFNT prevents a double control of the WH-feature (i.e. a double satisfaction of the WH-criterion) by both the matrix and the embedded verb in FIN^0.

Although the above sketched explanation requires a further theoretical implementation it is enough to face the second type of indirect interrogative which crucially shows the embedded word order, as attested for embedded declaratives introduced by *az*.

In fact, as already noted by both traditional grammars (see PANIERI ET AL. 2006) and formal studies (see GREWENDORF & POLETTO 2011) the root declarative word order pattern co-exists with a second word order pattern (= **WH** *NEG* **V**), in which the finite verb remains in a lower position with respect of both direct questions and root declaratives, fairly like in Danish (see above 5). This second type optionally survives when the WH-phrase corresponds to the subject interrogative pronouns *ber*

('who', German 'wer') (see 38-41) or *baz* ('what', German 'was') (see 42 and 43) (see PANIERI ET AL. 2006: 348):

(38) I vors-mar **ber**-*da nèt* **bart** khemmen   (*NEG* **V**)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, who-da not will come
      (I wonder who will not come)

(39) I vors-mar **ber** 'z **bart**-*da nèt* khemmen   (**V** *NEG*)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, who it will-da not come

(40) I vors-mar **ber**-*d-en*[i] *nèt* **hat** gekhoaft in libar[i] gestarn   (*NEG* **V**)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, who-DA-it not has bought the book yesterday
      (I wonder who did not buy the book yesterday)

(41) I vors-mar **ber** 'z **hatt**-en *nèt* gekhoaft in libar gestarn   (**V** *NEG*)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, who it has-it not bought the book yesterday

(42) I vors-mar **baz**-*da nèt* **iz** nå zo vorprenna   (*NEG* **V**)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, what-DA not is burning
      (I wonder what is not burning)

(43) I vors-mar **baz** 'z **iz**-*ta nèt* nå zo vorprenna   (**V** *NEG*)
      I ask-(to)me.CL, what it is-DA not is burning

If on one side (38) and (39) follow from the previous explanation and even enforce it, on the other (40) and (41) still need a further step.[6]

Recall, first of all, that in Cimbrian embedded declarative the low position of the finite verb (below NEG) systematically correlates with the choice of the autochthonous complementizer *az*. This traditionally follows from the standard assumption which analyses both VFNT and *az* as competitors for the same structural position, i.e. FIN^0. In case of indirect questions characterized by an embedded word order we are led to adopt the following account, which resembles the traditional analysis of indirect WH-questions in V2-Germanic languages:

---

[6] The occurrence of the expletive element *'z* (+ Vfint +) *da* in (39), (41) and (43) could be easily interpreted as an evidence for subject extraction from a post verbal position (as already noted for relative clauses by BIDESE; PADOVAN & TOMASELLI 2012). Remember, in fact, that Cimbrian allows Italian subject inversion (VP subject) even though it has not yet acquired the null-subject-parameter (see POLETTO & TOMASELLI 2002). Note, furthermore, that this is the only possible pattern in case of a nominative WH-phrase like *biavl laüt* ('how many people'), for which the embedded word order pattern represented in (38), (40) and (42) (WH-da *NEG* **V**) is strictly excluded (see GREWENDORF & POLETTO 2011: 327–328, sentences 77 and 78):

        (i)   I vors-mar, **biavl laüt** 'z **soin**-*da nèt* khent gestarn ~~biavl laüt~~
        (ii)   *I vors-mar, **biavl laüt** *da nèt* **soin** khent gestarn

1) The subject WH-pronoun moves to SPECFINP, but crucially it does not move further to SPECFOCP;
2) The WH-feature is selected by the matrix-verb (= *vorsan*, 'to ask') and hence it does not trigger V-to-FIN^0 movement in order to satisfy the WH-criterion (as for indirect interrogatives with root declarative word order pattern);
3) V-to-FIN^0 cannot apply in order to prevent a double control of the WH-feature by both the matrix and the embedded verb in FIN^0 (i.e. a double satisfaction of the WH-criterion);
4) The WH-criterion is directly realized within FINP.

The fact that only subject interrogative pronouns can optionally remain in FINP desires a complex answer; nevertheless, it relies on a solid intuition concerning the nature of FINP which is connected by definition with the notion of finiteness, hence subject agreement and nominative morphology.

4. Conclusions

The discussion on the different types of embedded clauses leads us to define the double system of subordination on the base of two fundamental ingredients: 1) embedding by autochthonous words *vs*. loanwords; 2) structural position of the embedding elements within the CP-layer. The interplay of these two ingredients offers a road map of the Cimbrian complementizer system.

4.1 The Cimbrian complementizer system

Moving out from the observation that embedded clauses introduced by a loanword like *ke* always display a root word order pattern (pronominal subject inversion, post-verbal negation, etc.), we assume that borrowed embedding elements realize a high projection within a split CP-system, leaving Fin^0 free for V-to-C movement. This pattern is attested in embedded declarative (see ex 2, repeated here as 42), non-restrictive relative (see ex 9, repeated here as 43) and adverbial clauses, which take *ke* ('that') as embedding element alone or within a 'mixed compound' like *azo vil ke* ('so much that') (see ex 20, repeated here as 44):

(42)   I boaz **ke** du **geast** *nèt* ka Tria

(43)   Di lusernar, **ke** dar vorsitzar **khennt**-ze *nèt* alle, soin guate laüt

(44)   Dar hat gepaitet **azo vil ke** dar **hat**-z *nèt* dartånt zo soina da pa zaiten

On the contrary, the same typology of embedded clauses requires the typical embedded word order pattern (= *NEG* **V**) when introduced by an autochthonous functional word like *az* ('that'), *bo-* ('that'), *bal* ('when'), *vor* ('before') and *be* ('whether') (see ex 4, 11, 13 and 28 repeated here as 45–48):

(45)   I bill **az**-to *nèt* **geast** ka Tria   (*NEG* **V**)

(46)   **Bal**-z *nèt* **renk** vil, mak-ma gian na sbemm   (*NEG* **V**)

(47)   **Vor**-d-*e* **izz**, bèsch-e-mar di hent   (KOMPL-*CL*)
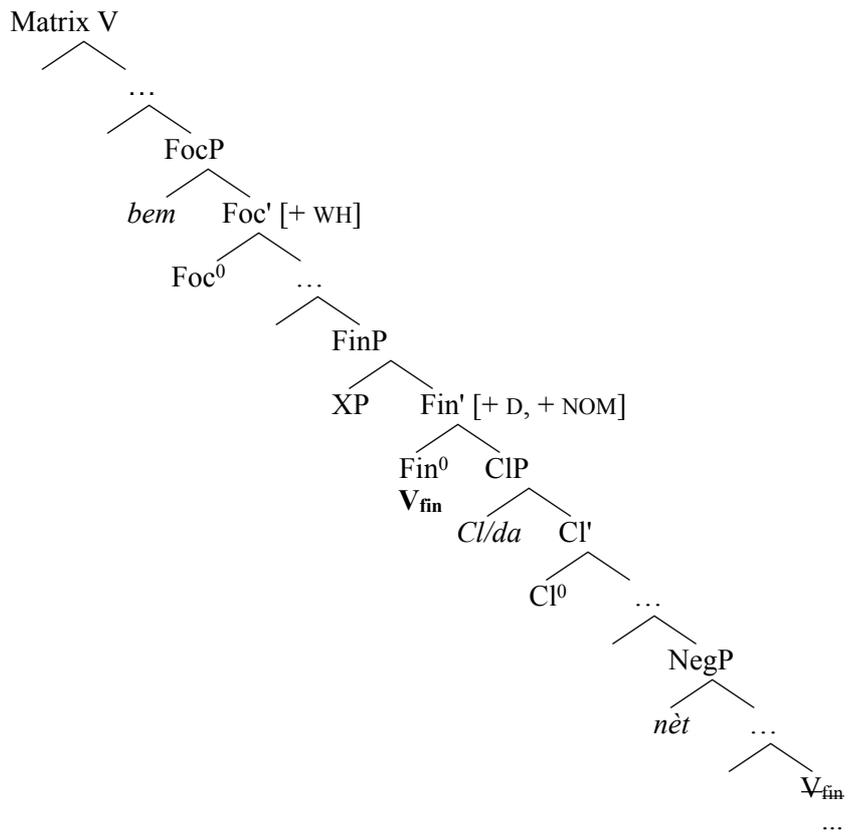(48)   I vors-mar **be**-se-z-ar *nèt* **gitt**   (*NEG* **V**)

   Assuming that autochthonous functional words realize a low position within the CP, i.e. FIN^0, the well-known incompatibility with V-to-C movement follows without any further speculation.
   The interplay of the two above mentioned ingredients (autochthonous words *vs.* loanwords and high *vs.* low structural position within the CP-layer) could be easily caught by considering the syntax of indirect WH-interrogatives, where no functional loanwords have appeared yet. Even in this context the double word order pattern (root declarative *vs.* embedded) emerges with clear evidence and, not surprisingly, correlates with the structural position of the WH-elements within the CP layers. WH-phrases and non-subject interrogative pronouns occupy an operator position higher than FINP, triggering the root declarative word order (= **V** *NEG*) (see the example in Fn. 5 and ex 26 and 34, repeated here as 49 and 50, and the structures under 52), whereas subject interrogative pronouns optionally allow even the embedded word order (= *NEG* **V**) (see ex 38 repeated here as 51).
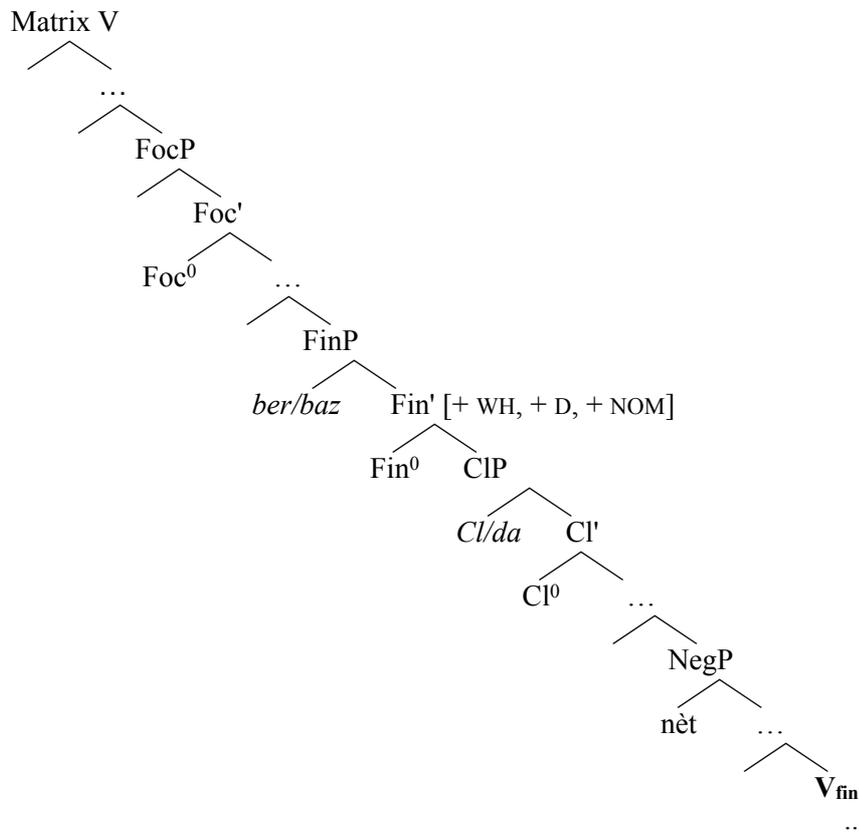
(49)   I vors-mar **umbromm** dar **iz** *nèt* khent   (**V** *NEG*)

(50)   I vors-mar **bem** [dar Gianni **hat** *nèt* gett in libar gestarn]   (**V** *NEG*)

(51)   I vors-mar **ber**-da *nèt* **bart** khemmen   (*NEG* **V**)

The embedded word order immediately follows from the assumption that just subject interrogative pronouns may realize a lower position (see the structures under 53) within CP yielding the satisfaction of the WH-criterion within FINP:

(52) MatrixV […[$_{FocP}$ bem [$_{Foc°}$ […[$_{FinP}$ XP [$_{Fin°}$ **V$_{fin}$**+*cl/(da)* [$_{TP}$ … NEG ~~**V$_{fin}$**~~ …

Matrix V

… FocP

bem   Foc' [+ WH]

Foc⁰   …

FinP

XP   Fin' [+ D, + NOM]

Fin⁰   ClP
V_fin

Cl/da   Cl'

Cl⁰   …

NegP

nèt   …

~~V_fin~~

…

(53) MatrixV […[$_{FocP}$ [$_{Foc°}$ […[$_{FinP}$ ber/baz [$_{Fin°}$ *+cl/da* [$_{TP}$ … NEG **V$_{fin}$** …

```
        Matrix V
        ╱╲
         …
         ╱╲
          FocP
          ╱╲
           Foc'
           ╱╲
         Foc⁰  …
              ╱╲
               FinP
               ╱╲
          ber/baz   Fin' [+ WH, + D, + NOM]
                    ╱╲
                 Fin⁰   ClP
                        ╱╲
                    Cl/da   Cl'
                            ╱╲
                         Cl⁰   …
                               ╱╲
                                NegP
                                ╱╲
                              nèt   …
                                    ╱╲
                                     V_fin
                                      ...
```

Crucially, in the indirect interrogatives introduced by *ber/baz* the WH-word enters a spec-head relation with a selected empty head[7].

4.2 Disentangling the puzzle of *umbrom*

As already noted, both causal and interrogative *umbrom* require a root declarative word order pattern (see ex 25 and 26 repeated here as 54 and 55):

(54)   Dar iz gestånt dahuam **umbromm** dar **iz** *nèt* gestånt gerècht   (**V** *NEG*)

(55)   I vors-mar **umbromm** dar **iz** *nèt* khent   (**V** *NEG*)

---

[7] This assumption requires further speculation on the selectional properties of the matrix verb: our hypothesis is that the matrix verb that selects an embedded interrogative also selects the WH-feature throughout the CP layer on every single head. Significantly, the head bearing the feature satisfying the WH-criterion must be empty.

At the end of our excursion in the Cimbrian subordination system, the *umbrom*-pattern does not represent a puzzle anymore. We can simply analyze it as an embedding functional word which activates a high layer within CP, i.e. either SUBORDP (causal *umbrom*) or FOCP (interrogative *umbrom*).

This is tantamount to saying that what really matters is not the first ingredient (i.e. the nature of the embedding complementizer) but rather their structural position within the CP layer. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that the structural position plays a central role in the explanation does not deny the idea that functional words borrowed from a model language should enter the syntactic structure of the replica language 'from above' (see PADOVAN 2011). Crucially, borrowed embedding elements like *ke* never occupy the lower position, which is typical of *az*-like complementizers: their syntax is only compatible with the highest CP-layer, i.e. the projection targeted by causal *umbrom*.

5 The possible diachronic evolution from interrogative to adverbial *benn* and the logic of contact-induced change

Like German, Cimbrian presents two different embedding elements for temporal and interrogative 'when':

- temporal 'when' corresponds to Cimbrian *bal* and requires an embedded word order as already noted (see ex. 11, repeated here as 56):

(56)   **Bal**'z *net* **renk** gea-d-e na sbemm   (*NEG* **V**)
        when it not rains go-I after mushrooms
        'When it is not raining I go mushrooming.'

- interrogative 'when' corresponds to Cimbrian *benn* (German *wann*) and requires the root declarative word order like embedded interrogative *umbrom* (see 57):

(57)   bar bizzan net **benn** 'z **khemmen**-da di khindar vo schual haüt
        We know not when it come-DA the children from the school today
        'We don't know when the children arrive from the school today.'

Recent development shows that interrogative *benn* is slowly overlapping its adverbial counterpart, replacing *bal* as already suggested in PANIERI's descriptive grammar which lists both *benn* and *bal* under the temporal conjunctions (see (PANIERI ET AL. 2006: 258). Consider the following examples:

(58)   **Benn** 'z **iz** khalt, snàibet-z   [PANIERI ET AL. 2006: 258)
        when it is cold, snows-it.CL
        'When it is cold, it snows.'

(59)   Di khindar spiln auzant, **benn**'z **renk** *net*   (**V** *NEG*)

the children play outdoors when it rains not
'The children play outside when it is not raining.'

(60)　　Bar hån gevairt, **benn** 'z **iz**-ta gerift dar Mario
　　　　we have celebrated when it is-DA arrived the M.
　　　　'We celebrated when Mario arrived.'

First of all, note that whereas *bal* is clearly excluded in interrogative contexts (see 60), *benn* is elicited as temporal complementizer by one out of four informants. Hence, the change goes clearly in one direction only, showing a tendency to substitute *bal*, i.e. the complementizer selecting the embedded word order.

　　We hypothesize that temporal *benn* is spreading and catching on under the 'pressure' exerted by its Italian counterpart *quando* ('when') which plays the double role of interrogative and adverbial embedding element, much in the same fashion as *perché* ('why' and 'because') and *umbrom* (see §2.1).

　　This development is in line with the hypothesis that in bilingual competence the influence of the model language on the replica language is restricted to the feature bundle which characterizes a specific functional word.[8] The pressure of Italian *quando* induces a resetting of the feature characterization of Cimbrian *benn*, which ends up playing the role of either interrogative element [+WH] in FOCP, or adverbial conjunction [−WH] in SUBORDP discarding the original temporal complementizer *bal*. As already noted, the other possible direction of the syntactic change, i.e. the expansion of temporal *bal* (with the embedded word order) to the interrogative context is totally excluded (see 61):

(61)　　*I vors-mar **bal**-d-en[i] hast gelest [in lest artìkl von Andrea][i]
　　　　I ask-(to)me.CL when-you.CL-it.CL have read the last article of A.
　　　　I wonder when you read the last article of A.

　　In conclusion, the general tendency displayed by the syntax of subordination in Cimbrian is to reduce the set of the elements/features which maintain the asymmetry root – embedded word orders in favour of the **root declarative word order** (see KOLMER 2012)[9]. This tendency represents a development internal to the replica language that is only bolstered up by the pressure of the model language. As a matter of fact, Cimbrian root declarative word order is different from the Italian one (generalized V-to-Fin movement, pronominal subject inversion, C-expletives, etc.) confirming the strong resistance to syntactic borrowing in terms of a mere transfer of structure chunks. According to ABRAHAM (2012: 177–178)

---

[8] For a similar approach see PUTNAM & SÁNCHEZ (2013: 488f.)'s model of feature transfer, in particular, for our case, the stage 1. We are grateful TO MICHAEL PUTNAM for having drawn our attention to his seminal paper on feature transfer in heritage grammars.

[9] This is confirmed in BIDESE; PADOVAN & TOMASELLI (2013) w.r.t the loss of FINP's capability to select embedded mood.

Wandel unter Sprachkontakt [gibt es] bloß dort, wo solcher Wandel auch autonom stattfinden hätte können – wo also, salopp gesprochen, eine Tür zum Wandel bereits sprachautonom (= paradigmenintern) halboffen steht.[10]

References

ABRAHAM, WERNER (2012): Philologische Dialektologie und moderne Mikrovarietätsforschung. Zum Begriff des Erklärstatus in Syn- und Diachronie. In: GLAUNINGER, MANFRED MICHAEL & BARABAS, BETTINA (eds): *Wortschatz und Sprachkontakt im Kontext oberdeutscher Wörterbücher, Sprachatlanten und Sprachinseln. Werner Bauer zum 70. Geburtstag.* Wien: Praesensverlag, 171–190.

ANTOMO, MAILIN & STEINBACH, MARKUS (2010), Desintegration und Interpretation: *Weil*-V2-Sätze an der Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik in: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft.* Volume 29, 1–37.

BENINCÀ PAOLA (2001): The position of Topic and Focus in the left periphery, in: CINQUE & SALVI (2001), 39–64.

BENINCÀ, PAOLA & POLETTO, CECILIA (2004): Topic, Focus and V2: Defining the CP Sublayers, in: *Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena. III.* Padova, Editoriale Programma, 2313–2326.

BIDESE, ERMENEGILDO (2008): *Die diachronische Syntax des Zimbrischen.* Tübingen: Narr.

BIDESE, ERMENEGILDO; PADOVAN, ANDREA & TOMASELLI, ALESSANDRA (2012): A binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian relative clauses, in: *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 90, 1–21. [Online: http://project.sol.lu.se/uploads/media/Bidese_et_al_WPSS90_02.pdf]

BIDESE, ERMENEGILDO; PADOVAN, ANDREA & TOMASELLI, ALESSANDRA (2013): Bilingual competence, complementizer selection and mood in Cimbrian, in: ABRAHAM, WERNER & LEISS, ELISABETH (eds.), *Dialektologie in neuem Gewand. Zu Mikro-/Varietätenlinguistik, Sprachenvergleich und Universalgrammatik.* Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 47–58.

BIDESE, ERMENEGILDO & TOMASELLI, ALESSANDRA (2005): Formen der ‚Herausstellung' und Verlust der V2-Restriktion in der Geschichte der zimbrischen Sprache, in: BIDESE, ERMENEGILDO; DOW, JAMES R. & STOLZ, THOMAS (eds.), *Das Zimbrische zwischen Germanisch und Romanisch.* Bochum: Universitätsverlag, 42–68.

BIDESE, ERMENEGILDO & TOMASELLI, ALESSANDRA (2007): The loss of V2 phenomena in Cimbrian, in: *Linguistische Berichte* 210, 209 – 228.

BLÜHDORN, HARDARIK (2005): Zur Semantik kausaler Satzverbindungen: Integration, Fokussierung, Definitheit und modale Umgebung, in: *Studi Linguistici e Filologici Online. Rivista Telematica del Dipartimento di Linguistica dell'Università di Pisa (SLiFO)* 3.2, 311–338 [Online: http://www.humnet.unipi.it/slifo/2005vol2/Bluhdorn3.2.pdf]

CINQUE, GUGLIELMO & SALVI, GIAMPAOLO (eds.), *Current Studies in Italian Syntax. Essays offered to Lorenzo Renzi.* Amsterdam: Elsevier.

GREWENDORF, GÜNTHER & POLETTO, CECILIA (2009): The hybrid complementizer system of Cimbrian, in: MOSCATI, VINCENZO & SERVIDIO, EMILIO (eds.), *Proceedings XXXV Incontro di Grammatica Generativa.* Siena: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Cognitivi sul Linguaggio, 181–194. [Online: http://www.ciscl.unisi.it/doc/doc_pub/STiL-2009-vol3-special-IGG.pdf]

GREWENDORF, GÜNTHER & POLETTO, CECILIA (2011): Hidden verb second: the case of Cimbrian, in: PUTNAM (2011), 301–346.

---

[10] "Contact-induced change is only possible when such a change could have also arisen autonomously – i.e. in those cases when, casually speaking, the door to language-internal (and paradigm-internal) change is already ajar" (our translation).

KELLER, RUDI (1995): "The epistemic *weil*", in: STEIN, DIETER & WRIGHT, SUSAN (eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation. Linguistic perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16–30.

KOLMER, AGNES (2012): *Pronomina und Pronominalklitika im Cimbro. Untersuchungen zum grammatischen Wandel einer deutschen Minderheitensprache in romanischer Umgebung*. Stuttgart: Steiner.

PANIERI, LUCA; PEDRAZZA, MONICA; NICOLUSSI BAIZ, ADELIA; HIPP, SABINE & PRUNER, CRISTINA (eds) (2006), *Bar lirnen z'schraiba un zo reda az be biar. Grammatica del cimbro di Luserna / Grammatik der zimbrischen Sprache von Lúsern*. Regione Autonoma Trentino-Alto Adige/ Autonome Region Trentino-Südtirol & Istituto Cimbro/Kulturinstitut Lúsern.

POLETTO, CECILIA (2000): *The Higher Functional Field. Evidence from North-Italian Dialects*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

POLETTO, CECILIA (2001): The Left-Periphery of V2-Rhaetoromance Dialects: a New View on V2 and V3, in: BARBIERS, SJEF; CORNIPS, LEONIE & VAN DER KLEIJ, SUSANNE (eds.), *Syntactic Microvariation*. [Online: http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/books/synmic/pdf/poletto.pdf]

POLETTO, CECILIA & TOMASELLI, ALESSANDRA (2002): La sintassi del soggetto nullo nelle isole tedescofone del Veneto: Cimbro e Sappadino a confronto, in: MARCATO, GIANNA (ed.), *La dialettologia oltre il 2001. Atti del Convegno, Sappada-Plodn 1-5 luglio 2001*. Padova: Unipress, 237–252.

PUTNAM, MICHAEL T. (ed.) (2011): *Studies on German language-islands*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

PUTNAM, MICHAEL T. & SÁNCHEZ, LILIANA (2013): What's so incomplete about incomplete acquisition? A prolegomenon to modelling heritage language grammars, in: *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* 3.4, 478–508.

REIS, MARGA (2010): "Weil-V2"-Sätze und (k)ein Ende? Anmerkungen zur Analyse von Antomo & Steinbach (2010), in: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*. Volume 32, 221–262.

RIZZI, LUIGI (1990/1996): Residual Verb Second and the Wh-Criterion, in: *Technical Reports in Formal and Computational Linguistics* 2, 1–28 [reprinted in: BELLETTI, ADRIANA & RIZZI, LUIGI (eds.), *Parameters and Functional Heads*. New York: Oxford University Press, 63–90.]

RIZZI, LUIGI (1997): The fine structure of the left periphery, in: HAEGEMANN, LILIANE (ed.), *Elements of grammars*. Dordrecht: Kluver, 281–337.

RIZZI, LUIGI (2001): On the position 'Int(errogative)' in the left periphery of the clause, in: CINQUE & SALVI (2001), 267–296.

Ermenegildo Bidese
e.bidese@lett.unitn.it

Università degli Studi di Trento,
Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia,
Via Tommaso Gar 14,
ITA – 38122 Trento

Andrea Padovan, Alessandra Tomaselli
andrea.padovan@univr.it; alessandra.tomaselli@univr.it

Università degli Studi di Verona,
Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere,
Lungadige di Porta Vittoria 41
ITA – 37129 Verona