Revisiting the *Wackernagelposition.*
The Evolution of the Cimbrian Pronominal System

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Abstract: The present contribution reconstructs the development of the personal object pronouns of Cimbrian, a German dialect spoken in Northern Italy which evolved many centuries in close contact with northern Italy's Romance dialects. With reference to their functional status and their clausal position we discover that Cimbrian's object pronouns started from a German model and have over time become closer to a Romance one. In the older Cimbrian texts, these elements are clearly recognizable as full phrases (XP), occupying the traditional *Wackernagelposition*; in modern writings they behave as heads (X0) and appear only in an 'adverbal' position, i.e. enclitic to the finite verb, similarly to the syntax of Romance object pronouns. The fact that they cannot be realized as proclitic to the finite verb – like the Romance ones – shows however that the original Germanic syntax limits the influence of that Romance. Attempting to explain this phenomenon, this current study suggests revisiting the structure of the *Wackernagelposition*.

1. Introduction[1]

Cimbrian is a German dialect spoken today only in the secluded mountain village of Lusérn (Italian Luserna) in the province of Trento in northeast Italy.[2] Yet, in the past, Cimbrian was commonly used – in a few villages until the eighties of the last

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[1] I sincerely thank Werner Abraham and James R. Dow, who read the first draft of the present paper, both for reviewing the content and revising my English. I am also grateful to Michael T. Putnam for giving me the opportunity to publish this study.

[2] For the discussion about some aspects of the syntax of Luserna-Cimbrian see the contribution by Grewendorf & Poletto and by Andrea Padovan (this volume) as well as the extensive syntactic discussion and comparison of Cimbrian with today's Bavarian by Abraham (also this volume). A classic description of Lusern's Cimbrian can be found in Bacher ([1905]), 1976. Tyroller (2003) has also offered a general description of the grammar of Lusern's Cimbrian. Cf. also Panieri, Pedrazza & Nicolussi Baiz (2006).

century – in a much more extensive area including a part of the provinces of Vicenza and Verona in the region of Veneto.[3] The Cimbrian communities in those provinces formed an administratively autonomous federation tolerated for a long time by the sea-republic of Venice, in Vicenza in the so called *Federation of the Seven Municipalities*, and in Verona in the *Federation of the Thirteen Municipalities*. Generally, it is assumed that the Cimbrian variety spoken in the Seven Municipalities was the most conservative of the three, especially with regard to aspects of both morphology and the lexicon.[4] In any case, only in this latter variety was a form of 'literature' produced such that we can approach Cimbrian from a diachronic perspective analysing the Cimbrian syntax during the last 400 years.[5]

The present contribution deals with the evolution of a particular aspect of Cimbrian syntax, namely the functional status and the clausal position of the personal object pronouns. The issue is particularly interesting because the German dialect of Cimbrian has developed in close proximity with northern Italy's Romance dialects for many centuries. German distinguishes itself significantly from Italian and northern Italy's Romance dialects with regard to the nature of personal pronouns and their positions in the clause. It is a well-known fact that the paradigm of German's personal pronouns presents only one series, that of the 'full forms', with the exception of the third person singular neuter *es* that be-

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[3] Today, in the Venetian villages, only few speakers or semi-speakers can be found, as there is no longer an integrated community of people who use the Cimbrian language in everyday communication. Yet, many institutions and cultural associations are involved in the revitalisation of the Cimbrian language. For a general introduction into the geographical and historical main questions about the formation, the evolution, and the linguistic vitality of the Cimbrian enclaves see Bidese (2004).

[4] See the classic contributions of Schmeller (1838) and Kranzmayer (1981-1985) and, most recently, Panieri (2005, 2008, and 2010) as well as Abraham (this volume) extracting from the data very explicit syntactic differences. In the fifties of the last century, the Bavarian linguist Bruno Schweizer provided the most complete description of the grammar of all the Cimbrian varieties then still spoken and documented in written. The manuscript comprehending five volumes remained unpublished for fifty years. Recently James Dow edited and published Schweizer's legacy (cf. Schweizer 2008). See the review of this monumental work in Abraham (2009).

[5] See Bidese (20010b).

haves idiosyncratically. By contrast, Italian and northern Italy's Romance dialects clearly show two pronominal series: one 'full form' and another clitic one.[6] It is true that many German dialects present several cases of pronominal forms reduced morphonologically attaching to the final verb in the main clause and to the complementizer in the embedded one, but they are to be considered as allomorphs of the full forms – that means as maximal projections (XP) like the full pronouns. By contrast, Italian and northern Italy's Romance clitic pronouns are

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 349]

functional heads.[7] Considering object pronouns and their forms, this prompts the following questions: (1) How do Cimbrian object pronouns behave, or, rather, how do Cimbrian object pronouns evolve under the imminent influence of the neighboring Romance dialects? (2) How can such an evolution under imminent language contact be adequately explained?

The oldest known Cimbrian document is the Cimbrian translation of Cardinal Bellarmino's Italian catechism *Dottrina christiana breve* ("short Christian doctrine"), published in 1602.[8] Other relevant historical texts of the Seven Municipalities' Cimbrian are a collection of 'baroque lyrics' from the 17th and 18th centuries,[9] a fictitious dialogue about a visit to the market between two persons from Asiago (the largest of the Seven Municipalities)[10] as

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[6] See Poletto & Tomaselli (1995).

[7] Cardinaletti (1999: 63): "At the end of the derivation, weak pronouns are (deficient) maximal projections occurring in specifier positions, whereas clitic pronouns are heads, adjoined to the functional head." Note that Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) proceed on the assumption that there are three types of pronouns in natural languages: strong pronouns, weak pronouns, and clitics.

[8] Two partially diverging and differently preserved original copies of the first Cimbrian catechism can be consulted respectively in Innsbruck (Ferdinandeum, sig. FB 906, nr. 3) and in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, sig. 62790-A Rara). The critical edition of this text was provided by Wolfgang Meid (cf. Meid 1985a).

[9] See Heller (1988) for the critical edition.

[10] See Stefan (1998).

well as a novena in Cimbrian translated for a religious holiday in honour of the Holy Mary[11] from the 18th century. For the 19th century we have to mention the Cimbrian translation of a further catechism, *Piccolo Catechismo ad uso del regno d'Italia* ("small catechism for the Italian Kingdom"), published in 1813, and in a second, slightly revised, edition from 1842,[12] as well as a narration about the construction of Roana's (one of the Seven Municipalities) bridge written in 1895 by the teacher Domenico Zotti and published in 1906 by the Paduan university professor and ethnologist Aristide Baragiola.[13] Another source of the syntax of this phase is the collection of tales found in Schweizer (1939). Further texts have been produced in the eighties of the last century, among them worth mentioning the collection of Costantina Zotti's memoirs.[14]

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 350]

For our investigation of the diachronic syntax of Seven Municipalities' Cimbrian it seems advisable to select both catechisms (abbreviations being *Cat.1602* and *Cat.1813*) because of similarity in style, and the narration about Roana's bridge (abbreviation *Bar.1906*) because of the length of the story and the narrative style; lyric, however, appeared less suitable for our syntactic investigation. Furthermore, from a syntactic point a view, *Bar.1906* represents a clear innovation in comparison with the two catechisms. Later narrations present the same aspects *Bar.1906* already shows.

In what follows, each of these literary works will be characterized with respect to their linguistic properties to be critically discussed.

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[11] See Stefan (2000).

[12] For both editions see Meid (1985b). A digital version of the two texts can be retrieved in http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/germ/zimbr/kat1813d/kat18.htm and http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/germ/zimbr/kat1842d/kat18.htm.

[13] See Baragiola (1906). We use the new edition of the text provided by the Cimbrian Cultural Institute (cf. Lobbia & Bonato 1998).

[14] See Zotti (1986).

2. The diachronic syntax of Cimbrian object pronouns

2.1 The Cimbrian catechism of 1602

In the first documented phase of Cimbrian diachronic syntax, object pronouns systematically fill two positions:

I. Immediately to the right of the finite Verb/V2, or else, if this position is already occupied by the subject pronoun (under subject-verb-inversion), to the right of that (in the far-left middle field). This can be observed in the following clause-types: (a) in declarative main clauses (cf. 1–3); (b) in interrogative main clauses (cf. 4 and 5); (c) in subordinate clauses governed by a 'bridge verb' (cf. 6); and (d) in subordinate clauses introduced by the causal complementizer *barume/barome* "because" (cf. 7 and 8):

(1)   unt dez ezzen, unt rusten **ist** *unz*$_{\text{DAT}}$ nòat   (*Cat.1602*: 423–4)[15]

     and to eat and to dress is (for) us necessary.

(2)   De belt **hatt*en*** ghepittet   (*Cat.1602*: 1345)

     the world has-him implored.

(3)   derzua **schaffet** er *unz*$_{\text{DAT}}$ …   (*Cat.1602*: 502–3)

     in addition orders he (to) us …

(4)   Ber **hat** *se* aufgheleghet?   (*Cat.1602*: 597)

     who has them ordered?

(5)   Disa bia **kimet** si *unz*$_{\text{DAT}}$ zò sainan vorghebet?   (*Cat.1602*: 741)

     these, how became they (for) us to be forgiven?

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 351]

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[15] The numbers indicate the lines of the original text in the standard edition of Meid (1985a).

(6) daròme bizzebir, er **mak** *unz*$_{\text{ACC}}$ erhoern   (*Cat.1602*: 395)

  therefore know-we, he can us hear.

(7) barume er […] **bil** *uz*$_{\text{ACC}}$ holik   (*Cat.1602*: 555)

  because he […] wants us (to be) saintly.

(8) Baròme mit der Vorte **enhalte**ber *unz*$_{\text{ACC}}$ vòn sunten   (*Cat.1602*: 92–3)

  because with the fear abstain-we us from sins.

II. Generally, immediately to the right of the complementizer/Comp or, if this position is already occupied by the subject pronoun, to the right of those. This is typical of those subordinate clauses introduced by other complementizers than *barume/barome* "be-cause" (cf. 9–12) or by a relative pronoun (cf. 13 and 14):

(9) **daz** *unz*$_{\text{DAT}}$ ist zoakemt dazselbe liberle   (*Cat.1602*: 66)

  that us is sent this the same little book.

(10) **Daz** er *dik* burt erhueren   (*Cat.1602*: 1352)

  that he you will hear.

(11) **daz**ar *uz*$_{\text{DAT}}$ ghebe dez bol   (*Cat.1602*: 376)

  that-he us may give the well-being.

(12) **bia** ber *uns*$_{\text{ACC}}$ haben zo botràgan   (*Cat.1602*: 492)

  how we us have to behave.

(13) **beile** *unz*$_{\text{DAT}}$ habent ghebet daz sainen   (*Cat.1602*: 526)

  who us have given the life.

(14) **der**se hat in himel ghefuert   (*Cat.1602*: 1267)

  who-them has in (the) heaven conduced.

From a morphonological point of view we can distinguish two pronominal series in the first Cimbrian Catechism, the former with 'full forms', and the latter with morpho-nologically reduced forms (cf. for example the form *unz* "us" as in 9 and the form *uz* "us"

in 11). The crucial question is whether the morphonologically reduced pronominal forms are to be considered as clitics like the Romance ones or as 'allomorphs' of the full forms. We plead for the second solution, for the following syntactic reasons:

a. The morphonologically reduced pronouns do not exclusively occupy an 'adverbal' position as the Romance clitics generally do,15 since they clearly show structural adjacency to the complementizer or the relative pronoun (see above 9–14);[16]

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 352]

b. In *Cat.1602*, there are no examples of the typical Romance phenomenon of *object clitic-doubling* (**li'ho visto luii**/"him$_{clitic}$ (I) have seen him") to be found.[17]

c. In *Cat.1602,* in special constructions with dislocated elements like the 'left-dislocation/LD', in which a pronominal resumption of the left-dislocated nominal elements is required, a demonstrative pronoun appears as a resumption element (*contrastive left-dislocation* in German: **den neuen Lehrer, den** *habe ich heute gesehen*/"the new teacher, this have I today seen") against the Romance left-dislocation that requires a clitic element (*clitic left-dislocation* in Italian: **il nuovo insegnante l'**ho visto oggi/"the new teacher, him$_{clitic}$ (I) have today seen").[18] This means: The pronominal resumption strategy of dislocated elements pursued in *Cat.1602* stands for a typology that is typical of German, but not of Romance.[19]

d. *Cat.1602* clearly presents the German Verb-Second-rule,[20] which is traditionally assumed to be connected with the so called *Wackernagelposition*,[21] which represents, in the

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16 See Poletto & Tomaselli (2009), and Tomaselli (2010).
17 See Anagnostopoulou (1999).
18 See for this topic Anagnostopoulou (1997) and for an in-depth analysis of the Cimbrian data Bidese (2008).
19 See Poletto & Tomaselli (2000) and Pili (2001).
20 See Bosco (1999) and Bidese (2008).
21 See den Besten (1983), Travis (1984), Tomaselli (1990) and Kiparsky (1995).

traditional sentence field-analysis (*Satzfeldanalyse*), the top position of the *Mittelfeld*[22] reserved for pronominal elements. In this respect, it has often been proposed to introduce for the first position of the left edge of the *Mittelfeld*, a *Pronominalfeld*; the term *Wackernagelposition* also indicates the special status of the *Mittelfeld*'s left border.[23]

2.2 The Cimbrian catechism of 1813

In contrast to the first Cimbrian catechism, the Catechism of 1813 shows a considerable innovation in light of the position of the personal pronominal object. Only in a residual context is it possible to find pronominal objects as in *Cat.1602*: more precisely, in embedded contexts adjacent to the complementizer; in other words, when the complementizer is the declarative conjunction *az* "that, so that" (cf. 15–17):

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 353]

(15)   **Az** *üz*$_{DAT}$ dar ünzar Gott schenke alle de sain gràzien   (*Cat.1813*: 533)[24]
         so that us our God grants all his graces.

(16)   **az** *üz*$_{DAT}$ kemme ghet bas bar pitten   (*Cat.1813*: 384–5)
         that us may be given what we ask.

(17)   **az** ar *mar* nömmet alla de bool   (*Cat.1813*: 477)
         that you (from) me would accept all the goods.

With all other subordinate conjunctions or with relative pronouns, object pronouns are realized enclitically to the finite verb, therefore 'adverbally' (cf. 18–20 and 21):

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[22] See for example Wöllstein-Leisten, Heilmann & Stepan (1997: 57).
[23] See Abraham (1997), (2005) and this volume. See also Zifonun, Hoffman & Strecker (1997: 1557).
[24] The numbers indicate the lines of the original text in the standard edition of Meid (1985b).

(18)   bia bar **lácen**_se_ naach   (*Cat.1813*: 396)

how we forgive-them.

(19)   se dar benne bar **sáin**_üz_$_{\text{ACC}}$ net gapáichtet   (*Cat.1813*: 465)

since we have-us confessed.

(20)   ba$_{\text{REL}}$ ar **hébet**_mar_ voar hemmest gamàcht   (*Cat.1813*: 362–3)

which you have-(for)-me until now made.

As for the object pronouns appearing in these contexts, we assume that they are to be considered as clitics like the Romance ones, but with the relevant difference that the Cimbrian clitics are always in an enclitic position, never in a proclitic one. This assumption about the nature of these pronouns is confirmed by the fact that there are several clauses in *Cat.1813* with a clitic duplication of the pronominal (only indirect) object (*object clitic-doubling*). See (21)–(23):

(21)   bibel se' hábent_mar_$_i$ seü *miar*$_i$ übel gatáant   (*Cat.1813*: 375–6)

how often they have-me$_{\text{clitic}}$ they me harm done.

(22)   brumme se' galáichent_ach_$_i$ *eüch*$_i$ (*Cat.1813*: 369)

because they like-you$_{\text{clitic}}$ you.

(23)   tort z' kímmet_ach_$_i$ *eüch*$_i$ zo kemmen…   (*Cat.1813*: 505–6)

since it belongs-(to) you$_{\text{clitic}}$ (to) you to be…

As for the two other phenomena (*left dislocation* and *V2*), we assume that their development is connected with that of the pronominal system of Cimbrian. It can be established beyond doubt that in *Cat.1813* there are no more examples of *contrastive left-dislocation*, with a D-pronoun as resumptive element. By contrast, there are many examples of *clitic left-dislocation*, above all in interrogative contexts. This development of the dislocation and resumption strategy from a *contrastive left-dislocation* to

a clitic one is to be judged as a signal that the syntax of the left periphery is going to change radically. In addition to the appearance of resumption clitics in *Cat.1813*, we also have evidence for the disappearance of the phenomenon of *contrastive left-dislocation*. Unlike *clitic left-dislocation,* the contrastive one allows only one fronted element. Now, in *Cat.1813* there are clues as to the realization of two elements in front of the V2-clause. See (24) below, which is not to be considered as a left-dislocation, but, rather, as a hanging topic.[25] Nevertheless, it is a hint at a modified left-periphery in *Cat.1813* as compared to *Cat.1602*.

(24)   [Dar Sun von Gotte me Herren]$_i$ [máchentensich man] **hat**ar$_i$ galàzt zo sáinan Gott?   (*Cat.1813*: 157–8)

the son of God the Lord, making-himself man, has -he ended being God?

We see what appears to be a change of the left periphery confirmed by the fact that the V2-rule is on its way out in *Cat.1813*. For example, there are optative sentences showing two elements in front of the finite verb (cf. 25 and 26):

(25)   [Asò] [de liba Vrau … un …] **pitten** vor üz ünzarn Herren Jesu Christ (*Cat.1813*: 555–6)

so the beloved Lady … and … may pray for us with our Lord Jesus Christ.

(26)   [Asò] [Gott …] **vüar**üz in de ünzarn díneste   (*Cat.1813*: 557)

so God … may lead-us in our activities.

The same can be found in interrogative sentences, in which the WH-word is preceded by another element, generally a prepositional phrase, as in (27) and (28):

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[25] See Bidese & Tomaselli (2005) and (2007).

(27) Un [nach den viarzk taghen] **baz** hatar gatànt?   (*Cat.1813*: 194)

and after forty days what has-he made?

(28) [In minschen boart], **baz** hatsich zo tünan zo volghen allen disen Comandaménten?

(*Cat.1813*: 232–3)

in few words, what must be done in order to follow all these commandments?

All these observations confirm the idea that a change in the Cimbrian pronominal system and the corresponding syntactic phenomena took place between *Cat.1602* and *Cat.1813*, even though in the latter text the signals of syntactic variation are not that evident.

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 355]

2.3 The Cimbrian of *Deʒ Dink vo' der Prucka*

In the third Cimbrian text analyzed here, the narration of the events concerning the construction of Roana's monumental bridge *Deʒ Dink vo' der Prucka* ("The affair of the bridge"), with all the syntactic variations which in *Cat.1813* we only had weak indication for, clearly come to light. The chain of changes follows the following steps – see (a–c):

a. The V2-rule is now violated systematically (cf. 29–31):

(29) [In Doi Zait] [dear erste Deputato] **hat** kött 'me Loite   (*Bar.1906*: 105)[26]

at that time the first deputy has said (to) the people.

(30) [Af de noin Oarn] [de Klocka] **hat** get Avviso   (*Bar.1906*: 110)

at 9 o'clock the bell has given alarm.

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[26] Pagination corresponds to that of the new edition of Baragiola's text by Lobbia & Bonato (1998).

(31) [In Tak saiten zbenonzbozek von Agosten] [dear Ponte] **ist** ganget all'Asta

(*Bar.1906*: 115)

at the day 22nd of August the bridge was up for auction.

b. In *Bar.1906* there are no clauses with *clitic left-dislocation*, but we saw that this typical Romance structure already has appeared in Cimbrian in *Cat.1813*. Other Cimbrian texts from this period (for example Schweizer 1939) confirm this. The typical Germanic form of left dislocation, *contrastive left-dislocation* (with a d-pronoun as resumptive element and only one element fronted) was also a characteristic only of the first documented phase of Cimbrian represented by *Cat.1602*. Like *Cat.1813*, Schweizer's (1939) texts only show the clitic resumption of dislocated elements and the possibility to have more than one element in left dislocation.[27]

c. As for *object clitic-doubling*, it can be noted that, in *Bar.1906*, this construction expands to other contexts than those in *Cat.1813*. Unlike *Cat.1813*, *object clitic-doubling* now captures nominal phrases too (as opposed to only pronominals in *Cat.1813*) (cf. 32 and 33). Likewise, doubled elements can now be found in preverbal position (cf. 33 and 34):

(32) biar haben-z-*en*$_i$ gamachet segen *de Braven*$_i$ (*Bar.1906*: 115)

we have-it-(to) them$_{clitic}$ let see to the fops.

(33) che *dessen vonme Róane*$_i$ degnarn-se-sich gnanca segen-*sen*$_i$ (*Bar.1906*: 110)

that that of Canove deign-they not even to see-it$_{clitic}$.

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 356]

(34) *miar*$_i$ importar-z-*mar*$_i$ nicht zo sterben   (*Bar.1906*: 111)

to me matters-it-(to) me$_{clitic}$ nothing to die.

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[27] For more data see Bidese (2008).

Consistently with this syntactic development, the only position the object pronouns occupy in *Bar.1906* is the 'adverbal' one, i.e. enclitically to the finite verb. Thus, in this Cimbrian text, there are no more examples of subordinate clauses in which the object pronouns are realized adjacent to the complementizer (cf. 35–37):

(35) ba_{REL} **gebent**-*üz* zua   (*Bar.1906*: 112)

      who combat-us.

(36) ba schön biar **haben**-*z-en* gatant   (*Bar.1906*: 107)

      how terrific we have-it-(to) them made (= take them in).

(37) asó bia der Komáun **bil**-*se* tradiren   (*Bar.1906*: 109)

      how the town council wants-them to betray.

Actually, this text contains no examples of subordinate sentences introduced by *az*, therefore we cannot be sure whether in this particular context it was possible in this text too to realize object pronouns adjacent to the complementizer as residually attested in *Cat.1813* (see above 15–17). We conclude that it cannot be completely excluded for *Bar.1906* either. In any case, it would be a matter of a very residual possibility.

To sum up, the diachronic analysis of the Cimbrian pronominal system from the first attested document in this language, the 1602 Catechism, to the story *Dez Dink vo' der Prucka*, shows that over some three hundred centuries Cimbrian moved away from a syntax which is typologically German and got closer to a Romance type. Whereas the pronominal objects in *Cat.1602* can be considered as morphonologically reduced pronouns and also as allomorphs of the full forms, those in *Bar.1906* must be analyzed as clitics in accordance with the categorical status of clitics in northern Italy's Romance dialects. Regarding the position in the clause, whereas the original position of the pronominals was the *Wackernagelposition*, on the left periphery of the *Mittelfeld*, that in *Bar.1906* is 'adverbal', i.e. structurally adjacent to the finite verb. Furthermore, the examined data seem to suggest

that this development of the Cimbrian pronominal system went hand in hand with the following changing phenomena in three distinct syntactic areas: (a) the syntactic change of the left clausal periphery: from *contrastive left-dislocation* to *clitic left-dislocation*, concomitant with the loss of the strict V2-rule; (b) the syntactic development of the structural center of the clause: the emergence of *object clitic-doubling*; and, finally, (c) the grammaticalization of the intermediate area between the left clausal periphery and the structural center of the clause: the change of personal pronouns from morphonologically reduced forms to clitics.

The following section is devoted to the analysis of three aspects of the diachrony of Cimbrian.

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 357]

3. The diachronic syntax of Cimbrian personal object pronouns: An explanation

3.1 The left periphery of the clause between *Cat.1602*, *Cat.1813* and *Bar.1906*: Romance expanded CP or German unexpanded CP?

As discussed previously in this chapter (cf. 2.1 above), from a typological perspective, the syntax of the left clausal periphery in *Cat.1602* shows significant resemblance to that of V2-languages like German. *Cat.1602*'s Cimbrian demonstrates the crucial linear restrictions that strict V2-languages are characterized by: (a) In root contexts, the finite verb is in strict second position; (b) In root contexts, subject-verb-inversion appears; (c) word order asymmetry is present between main and embedded clauses for 'light' elements (negation, the reflexive, and object pronouns as well as verbal particles)[28] and a left dislocation strategy of nominal elements and their resumption – all of which are typically German(ic).

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[28] See Bidese & Tomaselli (2005) and, for a detailed analysis of the data, Bidese & Tomaselli (2007: 211–214).

Following Giorgi & Pianesi's (1997) *Theory of Scattering* and its application to V2-languages in Poletto & Tomaselli (1999) and Poletto (2001), we may assume that in V2-languages and also in *Cat.1602*, functional features are not 'scattered' across more than one head, but, rather, that they are bundled onto only one. This means that *Cat.1602*'s Cimbrian does not present a CP-split language,[29] but that it is CP-unexpanded, since the relevant functional features are encoded in the lowest of the layers Rizzi assumes for the CP, i.e. in FinP. Let us now try to determine the features that appear to be involved in order to explain the V2-phenomenon. A classical distinction drawn already in the eighties of the last century provides a difference between languages, in which the CP manifests a particular wealth of features in languages like German and others in which it is the IP that has such complexity.[30] Tomaselli (1990, Chapter 5) strove to specify this difference assuming the CP of Continental West-Germanic V2-languages to be characterized by a [+ pronoun]-feature that is filled by the verbal morphology of the finite verb in root contexts. This triggers movement of the finite verb to C^0, which is not the case in languages that do not share this general feature. Moreover, Tomaselli argued that the linear restriction of only one phrasal constituent before the finite verb, i.e. the main phenomenon of V2-rule, can be explained by assuming compulsory lexicalization of a feature [+ declarative(/− interrogative)] that, once it is licensed, prevents other constituents

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 358]

from moving into the CP. After Rizzi's *split-CP hypothesis* at the end of the nineties, Haegemann (2000) and Roberts (2004) proposed to account for the particular phenomenology of the V2 languages by assuming: (a) a [+ Fin]-feature in the FINP that allows the rise of the finite Verb into the head of this projection in the V2-languages; (b) an EPP-

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[29] See Rizzi (1997).
[30] See den Besten (1983) and Rizzi (1982).

feature[31] whose mandatory fulfillment (and deletion) has as a consequence the blocking of further movement to SPECFINP.

Following Tomaselli's intuition of a [+ declarative]-feature for the German Spec-CP (see above) and Grewendorf's (2002) evidence in support of the fact that only discourse-bounded DPs can be left-dislocated in German, i.e. only those, which allow a definite, specific interpretation (cf. example 38 versus 39 from Grewendorf 2002: 91)[32] are possible:

(38)   *Bis zu zehn Bierkrüge, die kann sie tragen.

        As much as ten beer mugs, these can she carry.

(39)   Bis zu zehn <u>dieser </u>Bierkrüge, die kann sie tragen.

        As much as ten of these beer mugs, these can she carry.

We suggest to interpret the EPP-feature assumed in the FinP of *Cat.1602*-Cimbrian (and of German) as a [+ d]-feature, i.e. as an operator for the grammatical properties of declarative and discourse-boundedness, and, as suggested by Grewendorf (2002), of definiteness, in ways similar to 'wh' standing for interrogatives.

The diachrony of Cimbrian confirms the correctness of this assumption. In fact, the original German, i.e. characterized by the V2 syntax of the Cimbrian left periphery (= *Cat.1602*) still showed the construction of *contrastive left-dislocation* (cf. 40 and 41), which is standardly assumed to involve d-linking or referentiality[33] and to realize them in the CP:[34]

(40)   *die andere sibna*[i] die[i] lernt unz …   (*Cat.1602*: 493–4)

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[31] Originally, the Extended Projection Principle [EPP] indicated a [d]-feature (for definiteness) in the specifier position of the functional category IP and expressed the need for every clause to have a subject, since a nominative element (usually) functions as the clausal subject. In Minimalism, the EPP-feature was extended to the other functional categories (C and ν) too, although it is generally assumed that its assignment is optional in these situations. The assumption of a [d]-feature still remains connected with the EPP (see Chomsky 2001).
[32] See Boeckx & Grohmann (2004) too.
[33] See Cinque (1990) and Anagnostopoulou (1997).
[34] See also Anagnostopoulou (1997).

the other seven (rules), these teach us …

(41) *Dain bil* der[i] ghesceghe …   (*Cat.1602*: 363)

Your will, this may happen …

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 359]

In *Cat.1602* there is an example of a *contrastive right-dislocation* (cf. 42) and of a *left-dislocation* both in embedded contexts, too (cf. 43):

(42) Der[i] hatz ghemachet *Christo unzer Here*[i]   (*Cat.1602*: 371)

This has-it made Christ our Lord.

(43) Bil koden, das *der son Gottez*[i] (…), der[i] ist ghemakt man   (*Cat.1602*: 200–1)

(It) wants (to) say (= it means), that the son of God (…), this is(/has) become man.

Crucially, as we have seen, this typical German(ic) construction disappears in the following diachronic phases of Cimbrian and makes room for the Romance structure of the *clitic left-dislocation* (cf. 24 above). Another diagnostic proof of this evolution is the loss of the V2-rule (cf. above 25–28 for *Cat.1813* and 29–31 for *Bar.1906*), which reveals that the unexpanded *Cat.1602*-CP underwent a slow expansion in *Cat.1813* and *Bar.1906*. With regard to the left clause-periphery, all of these observations point to a significant modification of the distribution of features between early *Cat.1602*, *Cat.1813* and later *Bar.1906*. As for the syntax of the pronominal elements, the modifications we have just observed in the C-system do not remain unaffected, as we will see in 3.3.

3.2 The middle of the clause between *Cat.1602, Cat.1813* and *Bar.1906*

As was to be expected, the changes in the CP-layer keep pace with a shift in the structure of IP. The rise of the *object clitic-doubling* in the period from *Cat.1602* to *Cat.1813* provides

evidence for this. Based on ideas of Sportiche (1996) we assume a Clitic Phrase (CLP) or, better, several clitic phrases whose heads (CL⁰) are filled by the clitics themselves.[35] As Sportiche argues, the reason for this assumption lies in the fact that a pronominal clitic does not change the thematic properties of the predicate, since the clitic stands for an object of the predicate. This means that the link of the clitic with the verb does not affect the transitivity of the latter. This intuition can be expressed assuming that the clitic occupies the head of a phrase with a specifier/head-relationship existing between the clitic and an argument position XP*(cf. 44 from Sportiche 1996: 235–236 and his French example):

(44)   … Cl^i … [Y … XP^{*i} …] …

(45)   Marie *les*^{i} aura presént*és* XP^{*i} à Louis.

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 360]

As for the question of the position of the clitic phrase(s) in the clause, examples from Romance provide evidence for the fact that the ClP is located below CP, but higher than, or within, IP.

In light of Sportiche's suggestion, the very disparate phenomenology of clitic constructions in many languages, including clitic doubling, can be explained synchronically by modulating the following parameters: (a) the movement of XP*from IP to SPECCLP can occur overtly or covertly; (b) the clitic head can be overt or covert; (c) XP*can be overt or covert. Therefore, the structural process of clitic doubling can be explained assuming a clitic head realized overtly and a DP that fills the argument position XP*overtly. Movement of the XP*to SPECCLP can take place synchronically either overtly or covertly. From a diachronic perspective it seems obvious that the covert stage precedes the overt one. This is exactly

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[35] See also Poletto & Tomaselli (2009).

what the diachrony of Cimbrian provides evidence for. As shown above, *object clitic-doubling* emerges in *Cat.1813* (cf. 21–23 above, here reproduced as 46–48):

(46)   bibel se' hábent*mar$_i$* seü *miar$_i$* übel gatáant   (*Cat.1813*: 375–6)
        how often they have-me$_{clitic}$ they me harm done.

(47)   brumme se' galáichent*ach$_i$ eüch$_i$*   (*Cat.1813*: 369)
        because they like-you$_{clitic}$ you.

(48)   tort z' kímmet*ach$_i$ eüch$_i$* zo kemmen …   (*Cat.1813*: 505–6)
        since it belongs-(to) youclitic (to) you to be …

Quite obviously, all these examples are sentences with clitic doubling of only pronouns (pronominals in dative case), a noteworthy fact we will discuss below. For our reconstruction it is important to point out that the movement of the doubled full pronouns to SPECCLP occurs covertly, since in all examples the doubled pronouns appear after the verb. In the next phase, represented by *Bar.1906*, there are also doubled DPs (cf. 32 and 33 above, reproduced here as 49 and 50). This means that the possibility of XP*moving to SPECCLP can now occur overtly too (cf. 33 and 34 above, reproduced here as 50 and 51):

(49)   biar haben-z-*en$_i$* gamachet segen *de Braven$_i$*   (*Bar.1906*: 115)
        we have-it-(to) themclitic done see (to) the 'fops'.

(50)   che *dessen vonme Róane$_i$* degnarn-se-sich gnanca segen-*sen$_i$*   (*Bar.1906*: 110)
        that that of Canove do-they (not) deign even to see-it$_{clitic}$

(51)   *miar$_i$* importar-z-*mar$_i$* nicht zo sterben   (*Bar.1906*: 111)
        to me matters-it-(to) me$_{clitic}$ nothing (/not) to die.

The question why, in the diachrony of Cimbrian, we first find doubled pronouns (*Cat.1813*) followed by double DPs (*Bar.1906*) rests on the rise of the *object clitic-doubling* itself and is connected with the property licensed by this construction.

Sportiche (1996) argued that NPs capable of doubling must be characterized by the property of 'specificity'.[36] Consequently, the clitic phrase has to be interpreted as an operator for specificity. We assume that it licensed by a [+ specificity]-feature which is filled by a specificator/head-relationship between this clitic and the specific DP.

Developing Sportiche's proposal further, Anagnostopoulou (1999) argues that clitic doubling constructions are specifically sensitive to 'referentiality'. Thus, she identifies a scale of referentiality starting out with referential indefinite NPs (as *a student of physics*) on the lowest level and ending on its top with anaphoric pronouns. The latter represent the strongest degree of referentiality and only admit a strictly discourse-bound reading. In view of language acquisition processes, it has been argued that children exhibit the opposite tendency, starting from the structure that shows the most restrictive load of referentiality, i.e. from anaphoric pronouns, and then going down the proposed scale step by step extending referentiality to the NP.[37] An identical course of diachronic emergence may be assumed with regard to the diachronic emergence of clitic doubling. This means that clitic doubling of pronominal elements may be assumed to occur first. Only then may this structural process be extended to NPs. Such an explanation is in line with Sportiche's observation: Languages licensing clitic doubling of NPs will always also admit the doubling of pronouns, but not conversely.

Applying these arguments to the diachrony of Cimbrian we are able to explain why, as seen in the section devoted to the reconstruction of the historical evolution of Cimbrian, the emergence of *object clitic-doubling* in the history of this German dialect goes hand in hand

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[36] This explanation tallies with what Linder (1987) discovered for *subject clitic-doubling* constructions in Rumantsch: They are subordinated to a restriction of definiteness/specificity. Cf. also Grewendorf (2002) and Fuß (2005).
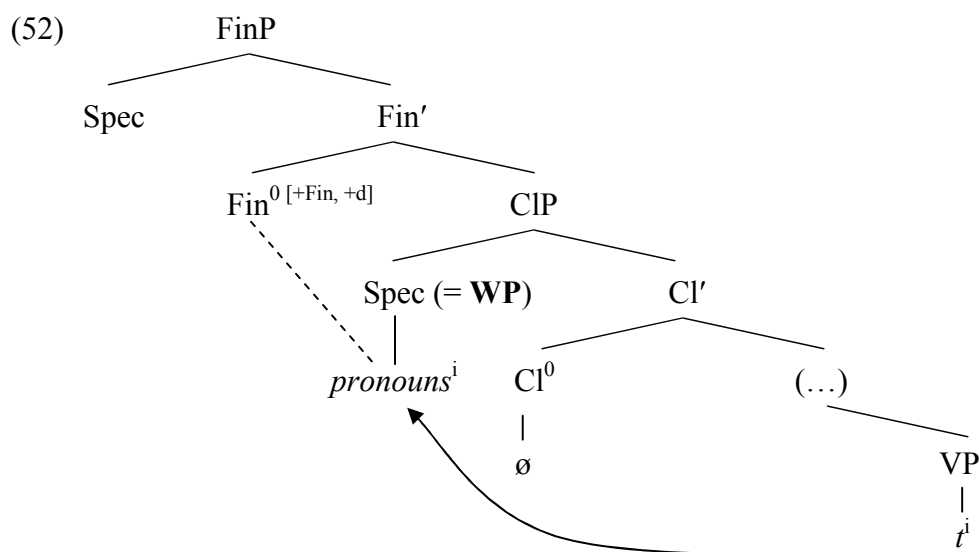[37] See Anagnostopoulou (1999: 787) which makes reference to Berwick (1985).

with the changes in the left periphery of the clause, in particular with the loss of the German strategy of left-dislocation, for the Romance one, and how this is an explanation for the weakening of the V2-rule. What we postulate for the history of Cimbrian, according with the analysed texts, is a radical modification of the functional feature system in the syntactic areas meant to express and to realize specificity or discourse-boundedness. More precisely, we assume that, with the expansion of CP, the specificity feature [+ d] in FinP got lost or became weak, whereas it arose or became strong in the ClP. More evidence in support of this explanation can be offered by analysing the evolution of the pronominal elements from morphonologically reduced forms to clitics, which involves the syntactic area between CP and IP.

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 362]

3.3 The intermediate area between the left periphery and the center of the clause structure from *Cat.1602* to *Bar.1906*

As we have seen in Section 2, the personal object pronouns of Cimbrian underwent a modification of their syntactic position from the *Wackernagelposition* (right-adjacent to the finite verb in main clauses and to the complementizer in embedded clauses) to an 'adverbal' one, similar to the Romance clitics. As early as in the traditional description of the German clause (*Satzfeldanalyse* "sentence field analysis"), many scholars have proposed to introduce particular pronominal positions in the very left periphery of the *Mittelfeld*. Thanks to the theoretical proposal of Sportiche (1996), we are now capable of describing this syntactic area more appropriately, applying Sportiche's description to the diachrony of Cimbrian. For the first documented period of Cimbrian, i.e. for *Cat.1602*, we assume the head of the clitic phrase (CL^0) to be silent or ø. In this phase, pronominal elements are still XPs, which means that they have to be moved from VP to a Spec-position, hence to the position we

assume to be the *Wackernagelposition*, or SPECCLP. As morphonologically reduced forms, in this stage pronouns may lean against the finite verb in root contexts or against the complementizer in embedded clauses, at Spell-Out. The following structure (52) represents the syntax of personal object pronouns in the first documented period of Cimbrian language history (= *Cat.1602*) (WP = *Wackernagelposition*):
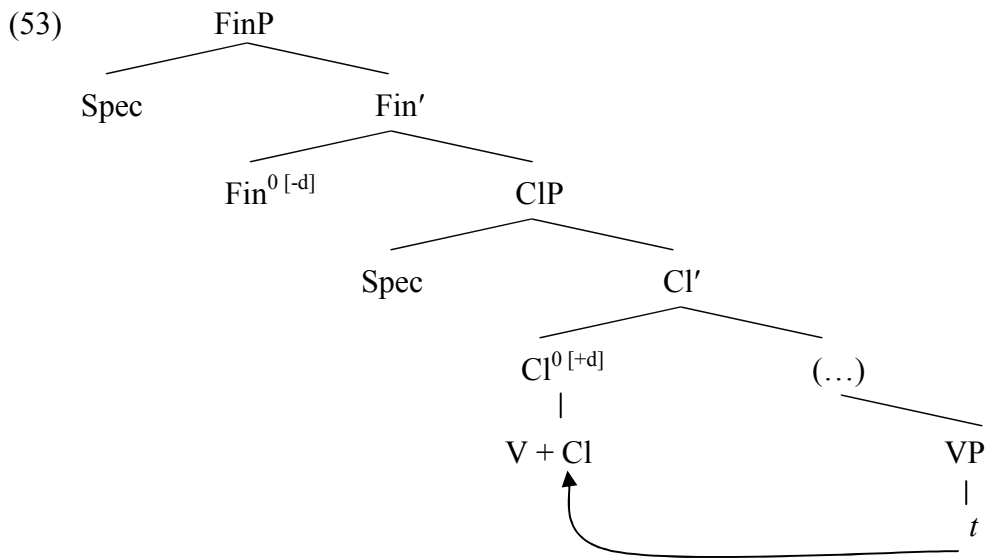
(52)

The second diachronic phase is characterized by the coexistence of two grammars (cf. 2.2 above).[38] With the subjunction *aʐ* 'that', pronouns behave as in the first stage, probably because of the frequent use of such patterns. By contrast, with subordinate conjunctions other than *aʐ* 'that', a fundamental innovation can be noticed in comparison with *Cat.1602*: In *Cat.1813*, object pronouns are realized enclitically to the finite verb. We have documented evidence in support of the hypothesis that these pronouns

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 363]

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[38] For this possibility in the linguistic theory cf. Kroch (1989), Pintzuk (1999) and Fuß (2005).

are no longer morphonologically reduced forms, but clitics. This means that they are now syntactic heads und must be realized in the head of the ClP that evidently underwent a process of grammaticalization from silent to active. In doing so *Cat.1813*'s pronominal clitics fill the function of referentiality operators, since this feature is no longer realized in the FIN^0, but now in CL^0 (cf. structure 53):

(53)

```
                    FinP
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
        Spec                   Fin′
                        ┌────────┴────────┐
                   Fin⁰ [-d]            ClP
                                 ┌────────┴────────┐
                               Spec              Cl′
                                          ┌────────┴────────┐
                                      Cl⁰ [+d]            (…)
                                         |            ┌─────┴─────┐
                                       V + Cl                    VP
                                         ↑                        |
                                         └────────────────────────t
```

The finite verb no longer goes up to FIN^0 (= V2-rule), but only to CL^0 in order to license the strong feature [+ d] in this head and to support the clitic lexically with a consequent incorporation of the clitic into the verb (hence 'adverbal' position).

This substantial syntactic innovation becoming visible no sooner than in *Cat.1813*, expanded further in the later phase of Cimbrian diachrony that has been analyzed here: In *Bar.1906* those phenomena, representing the old German syntax, are in definite demise.

4. Conclusion

This paper has set out (a) to reconstruct, on the basis of original empirical data, how the Cimbrian syntax of object pronominals evolved from their first documented stage in *Cat.1602* to the threshold of the twentieth century (cf. above Section 2); and (b) to offer a theoretically based explanation for this development (cf. Section 3 above). The outcome of Section 2 shows that Cimbrian object pronouns have undergone a remarkable evolution: from morphonologically reduced forms, which were realized just as today's German personal pronouns in the *Wackernagelposition*, to enclitics occupying an 'adverbal' position. In doing so, the syntax of Cimbrian object pronouns moved indisputably closer to that of the clitics of North Italy's Romance dialects, but without ever converging totally with the status of the Romance exceptionless proclitics, since in

[PUTNAM, *Studies on German-Language Islands*, cit., 364]

any stage of Cimbrian history proclitics can also be shown to appear.[39] In Section 3, a theoretical connection between such evolution of the pronominal elements and other substantial transformations of Cimbrian syntax was established regarding both the left periphery of the clause – i.e. the change of the left-dislocation strategy and the weakening of the V2-rule (cf. 3.1) – and the structural center of the clause, i.e. the rise of clitic doubling (cf. 3.2). Based on Sportiche (1996), it was argued in 3.3 that the evolution of the pronominal forms was due to a process of grammaticalization that affected the intermediate area between the left periphery and the center of the clause structure, i.e. the clitic phrase. Whereas its head was silent in *Cat.1602*'s stage, with morphonologically reduced pronouns realized in the Specifier-position (= the traditional *Wackernagelposition*), in the subsequent periods of *Cat.1813* and in *Bar.1906* the pronominal head become active and hence able to base-

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[39] See also the contribution of Werner Abraham in this volume, and Tomaselli (2010).

generate clitics. The movement of the finite verb to CL^0 secures that the clitics are supported lexically, and it explains the only possibility of enclisis in Cimbrian. Crucially, this formation of a class of enclitics went hand in hand with the loss of the strict German V2-rule.

Indisputably, Cimbrian is a very marginal phenomenon in the panorama of the European languages, but thanks to the fact that it evolved in tension between German and Romance, the investigation into its diachrony can help clarify the basic structures and historical changes of either one.

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