



Università degli Studi di Trento

DIPARTIMENTO DI LETTERE E FILOSOFIA
Dottorato di Ricerca "Le Forme del Testo"
Curriculum Linguistica, Filologia e Critica
XXX Ciclo

Tesi di dottorato

**Language contact as innovation:
the case of Cimbrian**

Relatore di Tesi:
Prof. Ermenegildo Bidese

Dottoranda:
Dott.ssa Claudia Turolla

Coordinatore del Dottorato:
Prof. Luca Crescenzi

Anno Accademico 2017–2018

Contents

1	Introduction	3
1.1	Prolegomena on language contact	3
1.2	Cimbrian	6
1.3	Aims & outline of the thesis	8
2	Adjectival ordering in Cimbrian	13
2.1	Introduction	13
2.2	Cimbrian adjectival morphology	14
2.3	Data	16
2.3.1	Interim summary	21
2.4	Analysis	22
2.5	Concluding remarks	25
3	The Cimbrian auxiliary selection system	27
3.1	Introduction	27

3.2	Cimbrian auxiliary selection system	30
3.2.1	Interim summary	35
3.3	Analysis	36
3.4	Concluding remarks	43
4	Allomorphic patterns of Cimbrian past participles	45
4.1	Introduction	45
4.2	Theoretical background	47
4.3	Cimbrian participial morphosyntax	50
4.4	Analysis	52
4.5	Concluding remarks	55
5	Afterthoughts on language contact	57
5.1	Taking stock: grammatical selection	59
5.2	Future directions on language contact	63
	References	65

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Prolegomena on language contact

The simplest form of language contact consists of cases in which more than one language is spoken in the same place and in the same historical period. Under this very broad definition, many linguistic phenomena may be included. For example, bilingualism represents only a highly specific example of language contact, in which speakers of the same geographical context master two or more languages at native level. This dissertation does not look at language contact from the perspective of *competence*; rather, it looks at language contact as the trigger for substantial *changes* in the linguistic system of full-fledged language, such as Cimbrian.

In general, linguistic change due to language contact may be involved at different levels of the grammar: lexical, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels. At the lexical level, it mainly results in borrowings; for example, the English noun *computer* has been borrowed in many languages (among which, Italian) to refer to the electronic devices we all have and use in our daily life. At any of the other levels, it mainly results in phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic changes. Specifically, this dissertation looks at the ‘spin’ that the German and Italian syntactic systems have been exerting on the Cimbrian syntactic system as a way to further understand the general *conditions* in which syntactic contact occurs.

Accordingly, a number of principles for the *conditions* of language contact have been proposed, all of which are challenged by serious counterexamples. The most famous principle was originally proposed by A. Meillet and stated that grammatical contact is licensed by *typological intercompatibility* (Meillet, 1908).

(1) *Typological intercompatibility* (TI)

Contact is restricted to grammatical features that are *typologically compatible* with the original structure of the receiving language.

Similarly, around the same time, Sapir (1921) and Jakobson (1938) proposed that ‘a language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its own tendencies of development.’ Though seemingly reasonable, these principles are heavily challenged by many counterexamples, among which, for example, we can refer to the case of

Greek dialects spoken in Asia Minor. These dialects have adopted a typical Turkish-like agglutinative nominal system, which is profoundly different from the original fusional system. For instance, the Ferték dialect presents the following partial paradigm for the word for ‘wife’: nominative singular *néka* ‘wife’, genitive singular *nékayu* ‘of a wife’, nominative plural *nékes* ‘wives’ and genitive plural *nékezyu* ‘of wives’. This last form is particularly interesting, because it contains both the suffix *-ez*, with a meaning shift from ‘nominative plural’ to ‘plural’, and the suffix *-yu*, with a meaning shift from ‘genitive singular’ to ‘genitive’.

In this dissertation, I will mainly refer to the following two principles (Thomason and Kaufman, 1992). The first principle states that, when contact gets to the structural level of the receiving language, it *tends* to trigger changes into less marked (and therefore more “natural”) structures.

(2) 1ST PRINCIPLE OF LANGUAGE CONTACT: *markedness*.

When being involved in language contact, the receiving grammar witnesses changes to less marked structures (rather than to more marked structures).

The second principle, which has been recently proposed within the framework of the Parametric Comparison Method by Guardiano et al. (2016), states that grammatical interference between two languages in contact may be licensed only if the two languages at hand share specific grammatical properties.

(3) 2ND PRINCIPLE OF LANGUAGE CONTACT: *grammatical resistance*.¹

A specific grammatical feature ϕ of the source language A may successfully be implemented in the grammatical system of the receiving language B only if the grammatical system of the language B is already endowed with a subset of the properties P that ϕ depends on.

In this dissertation, I engage in the debate about the conditions for a special kind of language contact, that is, *syntactic contact*. In particular, I will present three case studies in Cimbrian syntax as a way to test the two above principles, (2)-(3) above in syntactic contact.

1.2 Cimbrian

Cimbrian is a German(ic) minority language, which typologically belongs to the Southern Bavarian dialects. It has been spoken in Italy since the 11th century, when families from Bavaria settled the Alps through several immigration phases. A document dated back to the 11th century attests the presence of Bavarian population in Italy, as described in Baum (1983), claiming that subjects of the Benedictine abbey in Benediktbeuern moved to Verona. Rapelli (2004), on the other hand, indicates the so-called ‘Seven Settlements’, in the province of Vicenza, as the first area colonized by Cimbrians. These first settlers,

¹Guardiano et al. (2016) defines the principle in (3) in terms of parametric (re-)setting. The definition given in (3) does not contain any reference to parametric (re-)setting since this dissertation does not commit to any specific formal model for language interference.

who were lumberjacks and shepards leaving their lands in Bavaria due to famine, then moved to Trentino and Verona in a second phase.

In line with (Kranzmayer, 1960), the settlers moved west from the settlements in the province of Vicenza and founded new communities in Trentino (like Folgaria and Lavarone) around 1200. Luserna is believed to have been founded by farmers who moved from Lavarone a century later (Hornung, 1984). Luserna (Lusérn in Cimbrian) is now the only village where Cimbrian is still spoken (Bidese, 2004); the varieties of Roana and Giazza, which were slightly different from each other and from the one in Luserna, can be currently considered only as ‘Erinnerungssprachen’ (Bidese, 2011, p. 11), since they are not used anymore in everyday communication, but for recalling traditions and old customs. In fact, they are no longer transmitted to new generations, but are taught in language courses instead.

In recent years, Cimbrian has caught the attention of many generative linguists interested in (micro)variation and (contact-induced) language change because of its peculiar relationship with the two nearby linguistic systems of Italian and German. Such a three-way relationship makes Cimbrian the perfect object of study. For my current purposes, I mainly refer to three main characteristics of the Cimbrian language. First, Cimbrian does not display either the Germanic typology of Verb Second (V2), nor a residual V2 *à la* English; rather, it inverts only the pronominal subject, while full DP-subjects usually show up pre-verbally, together with other constituents (Bidese and Tomaselli, 2007; Bidese, 2008; Bidese et al., 2012).

Second, Cimbrian shows a three-way distinction of personal pronouns depending on

specific syntactic positions. Stressed forms are free and behave as full DPs. Preverbal unstressed forms appear alone, i.e. without any other constituent, before the finite verb in main declarative sentences. Postverbal unstressed forms are encliticized onto the finite verb in main declarative sentences and onto the complementizer in subordinate sentences (Poletto and Tomaselli, 2001; Bidese, 2008; Kolmer, 2005, 2012; Bidese, 2011; Abraham, 2011).

Third, Cimbrian displays a sophisticated correlation of word order patterns and types of complementizers; some complementizers (e.g., *az* ‘that’) require a word order pattern that is asymmetric with regard to the order of the main sentence, others (e.g. *ke* ‘that’; *ombromm* ‘because’) require a word order pattern that is perfectly symmetric to that of the main sentence (Grewendorf and Poletto, 2009, 2011; Padovan, 2011; Bidese et al., 2012, 2013; Bidese and Tomaselli, 2016).

1.3 Aims & outline of the thesis

Traditionally, language contact studies have dealt with grammatical interference between two languages. Clearly, the case of Cimbrian is unique in that its linguistic system results from contact with two different languages: German, which belongs to the same family that Cimbrian is commonly considered to belong to (Germanic) and Italian, which belongs to a different language family (Romance). For this reason, this dissertation has two main aims:

First and foremost, it aims to provide the first theoretical account for three relevant morpho-syntactic features of Cimbrian: adjectival ordering, participial forms, and auxiliary selection. These three case studies were purposefully chosen as being representative of the impact the two source languages had on the receiving language.

Second, by looking at the three aforementioned cases, it ultimately aims to lay groundwork for further research on theoretical approaches to language variation and innovation via language contact.

The discussion is organized as follows. Chapter 2 deals with the issue of Cimbrian adjectival ordering. Cimbrian differs from the other typical German varieties in that it allows for adjectives in post-nominal position (4a-b). At first glance, such a feature seems to be taken from the neighboring Italian varieties *in toto*; however, as we will see, the data reveal that only a limited subset of Cimbrian adjectives are allowed to occur post-nominally (4c-d).

- (4) a. mitt unzerm-e content-en spirituale
with our-M.SG.DAT joy-M.SG.DAT spiritual-Ø
‘with our spiritual rejoicing’
- b. vatter naturale
father.M.SG.NOM natural-Ø
‘natural father’
- c. Dar roat libar (*dar libar roat) iz attn skafàl.
The red-M.SG.NOM book is on.the shelf
‘The red book is on the shelf.’
- d. A guat-ar vatar (*vatar guat) straitet nèt pitt soin khindar.
A good-M.SG.NOM father argues not with his children
‘A good father never argues with his children.’

Chapter 3 discusses Cimbrian auxiliary selection. Yet again, Cimbrian differs from Italian and German varieties in that it is less restrictive in the selection of the auxiliary of indirect and inherent reflexive constructions. While direct reflexive constructions only allow for the auxiliary BE to be selected (5), indirect and inherent reflexive constructions allows for both HAVE and BE (6). Data suggests that auxiliary selection in these constructions triggers two different interpretations: resultative and non-resultative.

- (5) Dar vuks *hatt/**izze**=se lugàrt inn in dar rüsch.
 the fox HAVE/BE.3SG=SELF.ACC hidden in in the bramble
 ‘The fox hid in the bramble.’
- (6) a. I **hân**/**pin**=mar āgelekk di schua.
 I HAVE/BE.1SG=SELF.DAT put on.the shoes
 ‘I put the shoes on.’
- b. Se **hâm**/**soin**=se azò geschemp.
 They HAVE/BE.3PL=SELF.ACC so ashamed
 ‘They felt so ashamed.’

Chapter 4 focuses on the Cimbrian past participial forms. As opposed to any other German and Italian variety, Cimbrian participles present a morphological alternation between stative participles in predicative position (7a) and stative participles in attributive position (7b). This casts doubt on Embick’s (2004) generalization on past participle allomorphy, which states, when stative participial morphology is overt, it will always be different from the non-stative participial morphology. Rather, the data suggest that the mere syntactic context (i.e., attributivity/predicativity) may also trigger overt morphological distinction irrespective of their aspect.

- (7) a. Dar stual vorproch-t vo dar Gianni iz in gart.
The chair $\sqrt{\text{BREAK-PPT}}$ by the John is in garden
'The chair broken by John is in the garden.'
- b. Dar vorprèch-at-e stual iz in gart.
The $\sqrt{\text{BREAK-PPT-AGR}}$ chair is in garden
'The broken chair is in the garden.'

Finally, chapter 5 concludes this work with some concluding remarks on the link between theories of language variation and language contact.

Chapter 2

Adjectival ordering in Cimbrian

2.1 Introduction

Cimbrian, as any other Germanic language, *predominantly* has adjectives occur in prenominal position (1). On the other hand, a special class of adjectives seems to be allowed to occur post-nominally instead (2), similar to Romance languages (Italian varieties in particular). In this chapter, I look at this adjectival subclass and propose a morpho-syntactic analysis of its behavior. This behavior is found in no other Germanic language, but it is present in standard and non-standard Italian. Here I refer back to the analysis given in (Bidese et al., 2019), in which we argue that the the Cimbrian adjectival ordering has maintained the Germanic ordering, but developed a micro-parameter that

allows for the NP to move across the adjectival projection, thus resulting in the typical Italian-like ordering [(A) N A].

- (1) a. da rekt-e hant
 the right-F.SG.NOM hand
 ‘the right hand’
- b. dar ebegh-e toat
 the eternal-M.SG.NOM death
 ‘the eternal death’
- (2) a. mitt unzerm-e content-en spirituale
 with our-M.SG.DAT joy-M.SG.DAT spiritual-Ø
 ‘with our spiritual rejoicing’
- b. vatter naturale
 father-M.SG.NOM natural-Ø
 ‘natural father’

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 2.1 gives a brief review of Cimbrian adjectival morphology and describes the relevant data. Section 2.4 focuses on the post-nominal cases and gives a syntactic account for it following (Cinque, 2010, 2014). Section 2.5 concludes the chapter with some brief concluding remarks.

2.2 Cimbrian adjectival morphology

In the Cimbrian adjectival morphology, two declensions are traditionally identified, though their distinction is pretty feeble (Schmeller, 1838).¹ In particular, the Luserna

¹“This second type has been clearly kept different from the first declension; however, examples of the confusion of the two classes are also found” (*ib.*, 678-680). Schmeller is mainly concerned with the

dialect (Tyroller, 2003) distinguishes between a *weak* and a *strong* declension. The weak declension is used after the definite determiner and demonstratives; it is generally characterized by a generally simplified morphology, especially in the singular where most cases realize as \emptyset (3a-b), with the exception of the dative feminine singular, which realizes as $-(a)n$.²

- (3) a. dar groaz- \emptyset månn
 D.NOM.MSG big.NOM.MSG man
 ‘the big man’
- b. in groaz- \emptyset khinn
 to.the.DAT.NSG big.DAT.NSG child.DAT.NSG
 ‘to the big child’
- c. dar groaz-n diar-n
 to.the.DAT.FSG big-DAT.FSG girl-DAT.FSG
 ‘to the big girl’

The strong declension is usually found after the indefinite determiner, possessive and indefinite adjectives, and bare NPs. As compared to the weak declension, the strong declension displays a rather robust inflectional paradigm.

- (4) a. a guat-ar månn
 a good.NOM.MSG man
 ‘a good man’

Cimbrian varieties of the Seven and the Thirteen Municipalities, but the internal differences can be abstracted away from, since there is consistency among all the Cimbrian varieties. For further details on the historical development, see also (Schweizer, 2008).

²The suffix *-an* may surface as *-an*, *-n*, *-en*, *-ng*, *-m*, due to predictable phonological processes which will not be dealt with here. The allomorphic spectrum is essentially dependent on the syllabic structure and the root-final phonological content (see Tyroller, 2003; Panieri et al., 2006, for further details).

- b. pitnan guat-an khinn
with good.DAT.NSG child.DAT.NSG
'with a good child'
- c. a guat-a diar
a good-NOM/ACC.FSG girl-NOM/ACC.FSG
'a good girl'
- d. guat-e månn-en
good-NOM/ACC.MPL man-NOM/ACC.MPL
'good men'

The table below summarizes the two declensions.

	<i>weak declension</i>						<i>strong declension</i>					
	SG			PL			SG			PL		
NOM.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-an	-an	-an	-ar	-a	-(e)z	-e	-e	-e
DAT.	-∅	-an	-∅	-an	-an	-an	-an	-a	-(e)z	-e	-e	-e
ACC.	-∅	-∅	-∅	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an

2.3 Data

Regardless of the morphological realizations, Cimbrian adjectives *predominantly* occur pre-nominally (5):

- (5) a. da rekt-e hant
D.F.SG.NOM right-F.SG.NOM hand
'the right hand'

- b. dar ebegh-e toat
 D.M.SG.NOM eternal-M.SG.NOM death
 ‘the eternal death’

On the other hand, as we will see in this section, Cimbrian adjectives may also occur post-nominally under specific *structural* circumstances. The diachronic evolution of the word order pattern within the adjectival system is rather obscure because of the limited amount of sources available. The oldest source available dates back to 1602 when Cardinal Bellarmine’s Catechism, “Dottrina Cristiana Breve (Short Christian Doctrine)”, was translated into Cimbrian (see Meid (1985)). In this work, post-nominal adjectives are relatively rare and in general occur with direct borrowings (see Padovan and Turolla (2016)), as can be observed in the following examples (6), where the Italian lexeme is directly inserted into the Cimbrian DP without any adaptation.

- (6) a. mitt unzerm-e content-en spirituale
 with our-M.SG.DAT joy-M.SG.DAT spiritual
 ‘with our spiritual rejoicing’
- b. vatter naturale
 father.M.SG.NOM natural-Ø
 ‘natural father’

Data were collected from native speakers in two different stages. In the first stage, a translation task (from Italian into Cimbrian) was administered to 5 native Cimbrian informants (aged between 18 and 68 years). The word order proposed was usually [N A] (Noun-Adjective), which is often the unmarked option in Italian. In the second stage, a larger group of informants were presented with an updated questionnaire (11

native Cimbrian speakers in the same age range as in the translation task; some of these informants had also taken part in the translation task). The new questionnaire included the translation task administered in the first stage, plus grammaticality judgment tasks containing DPs with both pre- and post-nominal adjectives. The informants were asked to rank the sentences in Cimbrian containing DPs modified by one or two adjectives according to the following 3-point judgment scale: (1) ungrammatical sentence - (2) odd but still grammatical - (3) grammatical sentence.³

Three different kinds of adjectives were tested: intersective (I), subsective (S) and specificity-inducing (Ind) adjectives, as defined in Bernstein (1993), Bosque (2001), and Alexiadou et al. (2007), among others.⁴ The [A N] order (which is the one expected for Germanic languages) was generally the most frequent with all three kinds of adjectives. As for I-adjectives (7) and S-adjectives (8), the different ordering does not seem to affect the interpretation.

(7) *Intersective adjectives*

- a. Dar roat libar (*dar libar roat) iz attn skafâl.
 the red-M.SG.NOM book is on-the shelf
 ‘The red book is on the shelf.’

³All the sentences presented to speakers are available at this link: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1UMdhrboKTHK3UZovWrWinLAC-actaYdh/view?usp=sharing>. The sentences were split in four different lists: three lists had 34 sentences and one list had 35 sentences. Each speaker was asked to judge only one list and did not have access to any of the remaining lists.

⁴This classification was willingly chosen as a preliminary classification, but is not intended as iron-clad. A more thorough investigation on the matter may potentially hint at a more sophisticated and refined classification of adjectives that are able to occur post-nominally.

- b. Dar Håns hatt inngemekkèt in scharnagl pinn
 The Håns has hammered the nail with.the.M.SG.DAT
 sbartz hâmmar (hâmmar sbartz).
 black-M.SG.DAT hammer
 ‘Hans hammered the nail with the black hammer.’⁵

(8) *Subsective adjectives*

- a. A guatar vatar (*vatar guat) straitet nètt pitt soinn kindar.
 a good-M.SG.NOM father argues not with his children
 ‘A good father never argues with his children.’
- b. I halte nemear auz in zèngrat gesmàkh (gesmàkh zèngrat) vo
 I stand no.longer out the bitter-M.SG.ACC taste of
 kafè.
 coffee
 ‘I can’t stand the bitter taste of coffee any longer.’

As for specificity-inducing adjectives (e.g., old, big, poor, etc.), they take a non-specific interpretation when occurring in the post-nominal position (similarly to what occurs in Romance) (9)-(10).

- (9) a. An altar pürgarmaistar vo Lusérn hat gemacht vil vor di
 an old-M.SG.NOM mayor of Luserna has done a.lot for the
 djungen.
 young
 ‘An old mayor/A former mayor of Luserna did a lot for young people.’
- b. ??An pürgarmaistar alt mage nètt redjarn
 a mayor old-Ø can not administer
 ‘An old mayor cannot administer the town (properly).’

- (10) a. Sa hãm vortgeschickt in arm maistro.
 they gave fired the poor-M.SG.ACC teacher

⁵Color adjectives seem to have different positional distributions. I take this on in sec. 2.5.

‘They fired the poor teacher/the pitiable teacher.’

- b. ??Darsell maestro arm hât nèt gelt genumma.
 that teacher poor-Ø have.PRES.3SG not money enough
 ‘That poor teacher hasn’t got money enough.’

As the examples above show, a small class of intersective (7), subjective (8), and specificity-inducing (10) adjectives may also occur post-nominally, similarly to what happens in Italian varieties. Similarly, notice also that the adjectives *altar* in (9b) and *arm* in (10b) may not take the interpretation of ‘former’ in post-nominal position.⁶

An interesting asymmetry comes up when two modifiers occur one after the other. On the one hand, both I- and S- adjectives may be freely scrambled in the pre-nominal position (11a-b). On the other hand, I-adjectives seem to be preferred over S-adjectives in the post-nominal position (11c-d).

- (11) a. Dar (roat) boróaslte konzòtt iz dar schümmanarste.
 the red-M.SG.NOM flowered-M.SG.NOM dress is the most-beautiful
- b. Dar boróaslt (roat) konzòtt iz dar schümmanarste
 the flowered-M.SG.NOM red-M.SG.NOM dress is the most-beautiful
- c. ??Dar (roat) konzòtt boróaslt iz dar schümmanarste
 the redM.SG.NOM dress flowered-M.SG.NOM is the most-beautiful
- d. *Dar boróaslte konzòtt (roat) iz dar schümmanarste
 the flowered-M.SG.NOM dress red-M.SG.NOM is the most-beautiful
 ‘The red-flowered dress is the prettiest one.’

⁶In standard and non-standard German, post-nominal adjectives are either excluded or extremely restricted. However, Dürschied (2012) and Trost (2006) describe several examples in which post-nominal adjectives in Standard German are productive like in *Forelle blau* ‘blue trout’, *Fußball brutal* ‘brutal soccer’, *Schrauber verzinkt* ‘zinc coated screw’. Nevertheless, these NPs only occur isolated and in marked registers such as newspaper titles, advertisement and commercials, menus, and rhymes.

In general, the free order of I-adjective pairs does not come as a surprise (see Truswell (2009), among others), as it is possible in several languages to different extents. For example, S-adjectives are known to precede I-adjectives in Germanic (12a) and to follow them in Romance languages (12b). This, however, does not seem to be the case in Cimbrian, where the order of preverbal adjectives actually turns out to be free (11a-b).

- (12) a. Engl. new red dress/??red new dress
b. It. vestito rosso nuovo/vestito nuovo rosso

The Cimbrian data shown above presents us with an interesting conundrum. Cimbrian adjectival ordering seems to differ from the typical Germanic adjectival ordering in that it may involve post-nominal adjectives. This seems to suggest that Cimbrian has taken some of the typical characteristics of Italian varieties, in which adjectives may also occur post-nominally. However, it is also clear that Cimbrian is far more *restrictive* than Italian varieties, since the latter allows for post-nominal adjectives more pervasively. In the next section, I propose a syntactic account for Cimbrian adjectives by taking inspiration from Cinque (2014)'s account for post-nominal adjectival ordering in Romance.

2.3.1 Interim summary

Before turning to the proposal formal analysis, let us summarize the findings sketched so far.

	ADJECTIVE	EXAMPLE #	GRAMMATICAL POSTNOMINALLY?
<i>intersective</i>	roat	(7a)	*
	sbartz	(7b)	✓
	boróaslt	(11)	??
<i>subsecutive</i>	guatar	(8a)	*
	zèngrat	(8b)	✓
<i>sp.-ind.</i>	alt	(9)	??
	arm	(10)	??

The reader is invited to refer to the table above while reviewing the analysis proposed in the next section.

2.4 Analysis

In this section, I analyze the data from Cimbrian just described. In the sense of Cinque (2010, 2014), Giusti (2002), and Laenzlinger (2005), we assume that Cimbrian adjectives maintain the Germanic pattern of Merge, according to which the noun and the direct modification (DM) adjective are merged with a reduced relative clause (RRC):

- (13) [RRC AP [DM (AP) N]] (Cinque, 2014, p. 19)

For the Romance languages, Cinque argues that the noun raises across one or more DM-adjectives.⁷ In Italian, this movement is exemplified by phrases such as:

(14) ‘a corrupt young lawyer’

- a. [_{RRC} un corrotto [_{DM} giovane [_{NP} avvocato]]]
- b. [_{RRC} un corrotto [_{DM} avvocato₁ giovane [_{NP} t₁]]]
- c. [un [avvocato giovane]₂ [_{RRC} corrotto [_{DM} t₂ [_{NP} t₁]]]]]

I argue that in Cimbrian, the optional raising of the noun across the direct modification adjectives in (14b) is not allowed, as also shown by (15), where the noun *kornìs* ‘frame’ cannot cross the adjective *silbran* ‘silver’:

(15) *Da naüge kornìs silbran
 the new frame silver

On the other hand, the cluster A+N (via direct modification) may (but does not have to) move to the left of the leftmost adjective:

(16) ??da naüge silbran kornis
 the new silver frame

Structures like (16), which are not attested in Italian (Romance) nor in German, showcase a brand-new feature of the Cimbrian DP, which is rather different from its neigh-

⁷The raising movement in Italian may be optional or obligatory depending on the class of the current adjective(s). This issue will not be dealt with here, as it is not strictly relevant to the matter at hand.

boring languages. For this reason, it seems hard, at least *prima facie*, to deem it a result of language contact. On the other hand, akin to the case of the borrowing of functional words in Cimbrian (e.g., the complementizer *ke*; see Grewendorf and Poletto, 2009; Padovan, 2011; Bidese et al., 2012), I argue that language contact is never instantiated by the mere transfer of structures; rather, it comes into place by boosting linguistic innovation that may, in turn, result in structural and/or lexical idiosyncrasies, *as long as the system allows for it*. With this in mind, we can finally go back to our crucial cases, in which intersective, subsective, and specificity-inducing adjectives occurred post-nominally. In the examples shown, the adjectives were always realized uninflected. Following Bidese et al. (2019), this suggests that adjectives occurring in the post-nominal position are actually positioned in their base-generated position, i.e. in the RRC, in which its ϕ -features do not receive any overt realization. Although the potential occurrence of such adjectives might mirror the typical Romance pattern [N AP], the resemblance is only superficial, since these structures are judged as highly marked by speakers.

I claim that the data and the account can clearly help us understand the underlying mechanisms of language contact, as it tests the two principles of *markedness* and *grammatical resistance* defined in sec. 1.1. On the one hand, the data presented above cast doubt on the PRINCIPLE OF MARKEDNESS, since the highly restrictive conditions under which Cimbrian adjectives may occur post-nominally could hardly be seen as ‘unmarked’. On the other hand, the data presented above does seem compatible with Guardiano et al. (2016)’s principle of GRAMMATICAL RESISTANCE. Interference of Italian in Cimbrian

has clearly brought about an innovation in adjectival ordering, which seems to be still under development, as also suggested by the fact that it was accepted as grammatical by only a subset of our speakers. Yet, such an innovation is still perfectly in accordance with the linguistic system of the receiving language.

2.5 Concluding remarks

The present chapter looked at the adjectival orderings allowed in Cimbrian. The matter was of interest because Cimbrian adjectives differs from both its neighboring languages, i.e. German and Italian. As compared to German, Cimbrian adjectives are allowed to occur post-nominally, which in some cases may also trigger a sensible change of interpretation. As compared to Italian, the structural conditions under which adjectives may occur post-nominally are much more restrictive. Admittedly, the formal analysis above is somewhat incomplete, since it fails to offer a thorough explanation of the phenomenon. However, it does explain why the optional raising (a) triggers the aforementioned changes in the interpretation and (b) applies only in presence of specific adjectives (see for example the different distributions of the color adjectives *roat* and *sbartz* in some of the examples above). The proposed analysis above refers to a preliminary stage of investigation which should be developed further, so to define more clearly the class of adjectives allowed to occur post-nominally. From the present investigation, the general impression is that both (a) and (b) above result from the evident contact with Italo-Romance varieties, rather than from general structural operations. Should

this be true, it would be another interesting case in which the division of labor between Cimbrian-specific structural properties (which are less amenable to being influenced by contact) and lexical-semantic (which are instead more amenable to being influenced by contact) properties. More research is needed to clarify the tight (as much as feeble) balance between the two forces.

As is the case with other grammatical features (complementizers, embedded V2, etc.), contact does not manifest itself in structure borrowing, but in maintaining change that is already hard-wired in the language. In particular, the post-nominal position of adjectives is not excluded in Germanic but is very restricted; Cimbrian has simply moved to a status in which the classes of adjectives that occur post-nominally are gradually increasing, at least in the grammars of a group of speakers.

Chapter 3

The Cimbrian auxiliary selection system

3.1 Introduction

Auxiliary selection is a topic that has been extensively researched since the 1970s, mostly in connection with the so-called ‘unaccusative hypothesis’ (see Perlmutter (1978), Burzio (1986), Sorace (1993, 2000), and Bentley and Eythórsson (2004)), and the other contributions in Alexiadou et al. (2004)). It is also a topic which has been widely discussed in the romance dialectology both in traditional (see Gerhard (1966) and Tuttle (1986)) and in more formal terms (see Benincà and Vanelli (1984), Cocchi (1995), Loporcaro

and Vigolo (1995), Ledgeway (2000), Manzini and Savoia (2005), Cennamo and Sorace (2007), Legendre (2010), D’Alessandro and Roberts (2010), and Loporcaro (2014)).

Cimbrian has developed a fairly uncommon auxiliary selection system in Reflexive Constructions (henceforth, RC). On the one hand, the auxiliary BE is generally selected in Direct Transitive RC (1):

- (1) a. Dar vuks **izze**=se lugàrt inn in dar rüsch.
 the fox BE.3SG=SELF.ACCSG hidden into in the bramble
- b. *Dar vuks **hatt**=se lugàrt inn in dar rüsch.
 the fox HAVE.3SG=SELF.3SG.ACC hidden into in the bramble
 ‘The fox hid in the bramble.’

On the other hand, both BE and HAVE may be selected in indirect RC (2) and inherent RC (3):

- (2) a. I **hân**=mar āgelekk di schua.
 I HAVE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT put.on the shoes
 ‘I put the shoes on.’
- b. I **pin**=mar āgelekk an schbarzan konsott.
 I BE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT put.on a black dress
 ‘I put a black dress on.’ (Kolmer 2010: 150,155)
- (3) a. Se **soin**=se azò geschemp.
 They BE.3PL=SELF.3PL.ACC so ashamed
- b. Se **hâm**=se azò geschemp.
 They HAVE.3PL=SELF.3PL.ACC so ashamed
 ‘They felt so ashamed.’

The auxiliary selection patterns in Cimbrian RC seem quite relevant to the topic of this dissertation, since it represents a prototypical example of contact-induced language change (Kolmer, 2010). Cimbrian RC auxiliary selection is indeed completely different from all the neighboring varieties. First, HAVE is the verb that is allowed as auxiliary in Standard German (Haider and Rindler-Schjerve, 1987; Keller and Sorace, 2003) and any other German non-standard variety (H. Weiß, p.c.).

- (4) a. Der Fuchs **hat**/*ist sich Brombeerstrauch versteckt.
 ‘The fox hid in the bramble.’
- b. Ich **habe**/*bin mir ein schwarzes Kleid gekauft.
 ‘I bought a black dress.’
- c. Sie **haben**/*sind sich so geschämt.
 ‘They felt so ashamed.’

Second, BE is the verb selected for RC in Italian (5) (and surrounding non-standard Italian varieties).

- (5) a. La volpe si **è** nascosta fra i rovi.
 ‘The fox hid in the bramble.’
- b. Mi **sono** messa il vestito nero.
 ‘I put the black dress on.’
- c. Si **sono** così vergognati.
 ‘They felt so ashamed.’

In this chapter, I give the first formal analysis for the out-of-common alternation of BE/HAVE in Cimbrian indirect RC shown in (2)-(3). The structure of the chapter is the following. Section 3.2 describes the Cimbrian auxiliary system and presents the data surveyed. Section 3.3 presents a syntactic account for the BE/HAVE alternation in indirect RC. Taking a null preposition and the indirect reflexive nominal to be positioned within the APPLP projection (Kayne, 1993, 2000), I will argue that, when the sub-event is targeted as a process, the null preposition moves to [SPEC,AUXP] and incorporates with the default auxiliary BE, resulting in selection of HAVE. When the sub-event is targeted as result, the whole ApplP is smuggled to [SPEC,AUXP] and blocks preposition-BE incorporation, resulting in selection of BE. Section 3.4 concludes the chapter.

3.2 Cimbrian auxiliary selection system

Generally speaking, very limited research has been undertaken on the topic. Descriptive grammars (Tyroller, 2003; Panieri et al., 2006) simplistically report the similarity between the Cimbrian and the Italian systems.

(6) **Transitive V:** HAVE

Dar Gianni **hatt**/*iz geezst an öpfl.
 the Gianni HAVE.1SG/BE.1SG eaten an apple
 ‘John ate an apple’

(7) **Unergative V:** HAVE

Biar **hâm**/*soin geslaft.
 We HAVE.1PL/BE.1PL slept
 ‘We slept.’

(8) **Unaccusative V: BE**

a Trupf *hatt/**iz** gevallt affn tisch.
 A drop HAVE.3SG/BE.3SG fallen on the table
 ‘A drop fell on the table.’

(9) **Stative V: BE**

Di tðkkn *hâm/**soin** getoalt.
 The pieces HAVE.3PL/BE.3PL parted
 ‘The pieces have been parted.’

(10) **Event V: COME**

Di tðkkn **khemmen** getoalt.
 The pieces COME.3PL parted
 ‘The pieces have been parted.’

Further data were therefore collected in the form of a survey. The questionnaire was given to 35 Cimbrian-speaking subjects, divided in three groups depending on their age: young (age 18-35), adult (age 35-60), and old (over 60 years of age). The subjects have lived in the town of Lusèrn all of their life. The questionnaire consisted of 30 sentences containing direct, indirect, and inherent RC; the subjects were asked to judge the sentences in a 3-point Likert scale (1: ungrammatical sentence; 2: odd, but still grammatical; 3: grammatical sentence).¹

¹The reader is invited to review the survey at the following link: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1fq8DZyTS0uCSdhZeCzk098SBRb4gat1X/view?usp=sharing>.

Direct RC

In direct RC, the main verb hosts the clitic, *accusative* form of a reflexive pronoun, which agrees in gender, number, and person. The data below show that in all direct RCs BE is unexceptionally selected.

- (11) a. I **pin**=me gestreht.
I BE.1SG=SELF.1SG.ACC combed
'I combed myself.'
- b. *I **hân**=me gestreht.
I HAVE.1SG=SELF.1SG.ACC combed
'I combed myself.'
- (12) a. Loavante 'z khinn iz gevallt un **izze**=se boschìzt.
Running the child BE.3SG fallen and BE.3SG=SELF.ACC got.dirty
'While running, the child fell and got dirty.'
- b. *Loavante 'z khinn iz gevallt un **hatt**-se boschìzt
Running the child BE.3SG fallen and HAVE.3SG=SELF.ACC got.dirty
'While running, the child fell and got dirty.'
- (13) a. Dar vuks **izze**=se lugàrt inn in dar rüsch.
The fox BE.3SG=SELF.ACC hidden into in the bramble
'The fox hid into the bramble.'
- b. *Dar vuks **hatt**=se lugàrt inn in dar rüsch.
The fox HAVE.3SG=SELF.ACC hidden into in the bramble
'The fox hid into the bramble.'
- (14) a. Schelante an öpfl **pinn**=e=me gehakht.
Peeling an apple BE.1SG=1SG=SELF.ACC cut
'While peeling an apple, I cut myself.'
- b. *Schelante an öpfl **hân**=e=me gehakht
Peeling an apple HAVE.1SG=1SG=SELF.ACC cut

‘While peeling an apple, I cut myself.’

- (15) a. Di khindar **soin**=se ågelekk bahèmme.
 The children HAVE.3PL=SELF.ACC got.dressed quickly
 ‘The children got dressed quickly.’
- b. *Di khindar **håm**=se ågelekk bahèmme.
 The children HAVE.3PL=SELF.ACC got.dressed quickly
 ‘The children got dressed quickly.’

Indirect/inherent RC

In indirect RCs the main verb hosts the clitic, *dative* form of a reflexive pronoun. In inherent RCs, the main verb is inherently reflexive (thus it hosts a clitic, accusative form of a reflexive pronoun by default). Similarly to direct RC, both indirect and inherent RCs have the reflexive pronoun agree in gender, number, and person with the main verb of the sentence. The data below show that in both indirect and inherent RCs, BE and HAVE may be interchangeably selected.

- (16) a. Dar Håns **hatt**=en skavetzàrt an schinkh.
 The Håns HAVE.3SG=EN broken a leg
 ‘Håns₁ broke his_{1,2} leg.’
- b. Dar Håns **izz**-en skavetzàrt an schinkh.
 The Håns BE.3SG=SELF.DAT broken a leg
 ‘Håns₁ broke his_{1,*2} leg.’
- (17) a. Di khindar **håm**=en ågelekk in rokh.
 The children HAVE=EN put on anorak
 1: ‘The children put the anorak on *themselves*.’
 2: ‘The children put the anorak on *him*.’

- b. Di khindar **soin**=en ågelekk in rokh.
The children BE=SELF.3PL.DAT put on anorak
'The children put the anorak on.'
- (18) a. Arbatande in balt **hãm**=bar=az boschìzt di foat.
Working in wood HAVE.1PL=SELF.1PL.DAT dirtied the shirt
'While working in the wood, we got our shirt dirty.'
- b. Arbatande in balt **soin**=bar=az boschìzt di foat.
Working in wood BE.1PL=SELF.1PL.DAT dirtied the shirt
'While working in the wood, we got our shirt dirty.'
- (19) a. I **hãn**=mar gestrelt 'z har.
I HAVE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT combed the hair
'I combed my hair.'
- b. I **pin**=mar gestrelt 'z har.
I BE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT combed the hair
'I combed my hair.'
- (20) a. I **hãn**=mar gelekk di dekh ume di schinkh.
I HAVE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT put the blanket on the legs
'I put the blanket on the legs.'
- b. I **pin**=mar gelekk di dekh ume di schinkh.
I BE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT put the blanket on the legs
'I put the blanket on the legs.'

As native speakers suggested during interviews, auxiliary selection in indirect/inherent RCs seem to be connected to two different readings. The BE-auxiliary is usually associated to a resultative interpretation; in this sense, (16)-(20)b imply that the action has some sort of result in the past. The HAVE-auxiliary is instead associated to a non-

resultative (i.e, perfective/telic) reading; in this sense, (16)-(20)b imply that the action is complete in some sense.²

3.2.1 Interim summary

The data provided above shows that auxiliaries are selected differently in direct and in indirect/inherent RCs. While direct RCs only allow for BE, indirect and inherent RCs may optionally select BE as well as HAVE. The following table summarizes the results.

RC TYPE	BE	HAVE
direct	✓	*
indirect/inherent	✓	✓
	(resultative)	(non-resultative)

The optionality of the auxiliary selection in indirect/inherent RCs seems to be linked to two different interpretations: a resultative and non-resultative interpretation. In the next section, I propose a syntactic account able to explain the asymmetries in the Cimbrian auxiliary selection.

²The reader may notice that, in some of the examples (16)-(20) above, auxiliary selection additionally affects the interpretations of the clitic pronoun. This seems to be connected to the syncretism in the realization of the reflexive pronoun and the 3sg-pronoun rather than being part of the syntactic operation leading to auxiliary selection. It will therefore not be part of the analysis that follows in the next pages.

3.3 Analysis

As shown in the preceding section, Cimbrian presents a rather odd auxiliary system, in which both BE and HAVE may be allowed in indirect RC. This represents another Cimbrian feature that seems to be an innovation to all neighboring (both Germanic and Italian) varieties.

In proposing the account for the Cimbrian auxiliary selection system herein, I make a series of specific theoretical assumptions. First, I assume a vP -shell as in Ramchand (2008). Second, I assume a projection AUXP, which is similar to VOICEP in the sense of Kratzer (1996) and Ramchand (2013), in that it is discourse-oriented and is the target of movement. Third, I assume HAVE to result from incorporation of an null preposition on BE (Kayne 1993, 2000). Finally, I assume a layer APPLP consisting of the APPLP and an inner aspectual projection ASPP (see (Padovan, 2016; Travis, 1991)).

Let us start with indirect RCs; consider the example in (21).

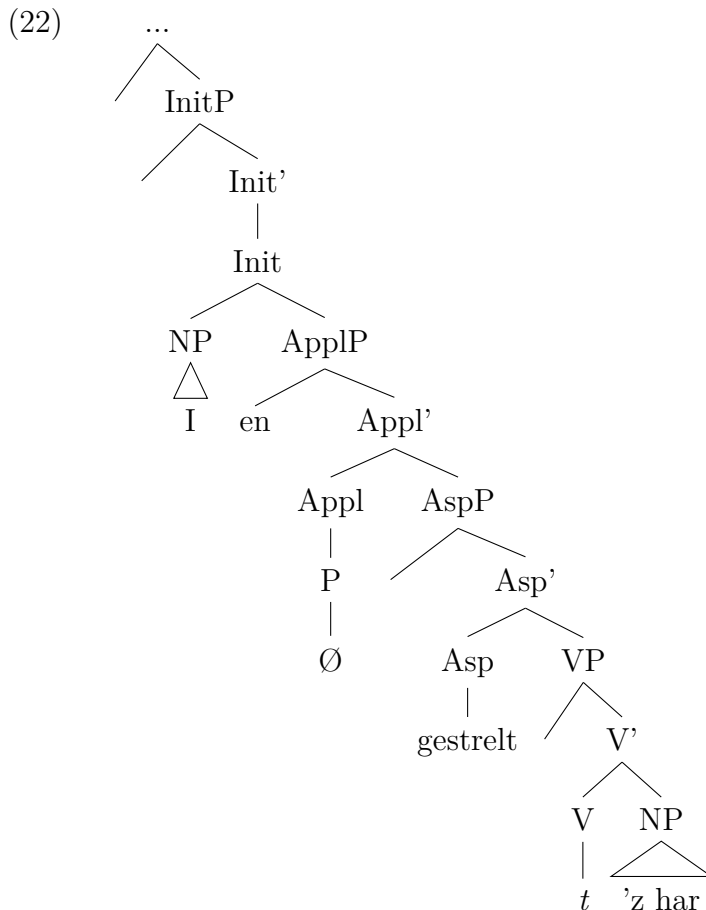
- (21) a. I **hân**=mar gestreлт ‘z har.
I HAVE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT combed the hair
‘I combed my hair.’
- b. I **pin**=mar gestreлт ‘z har.
I BE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT combed the hair
‘I combed my hair.’

I argue that both sentences in (21) above have the following underlying vP -shell (22).

The past participle *gestreлт* is positioned in ASP. Following Kayne (1993, 2000), the null

preposition is positioned in the APPL head, whilst the pronoun *mar* is in [SPEC,APPLP].

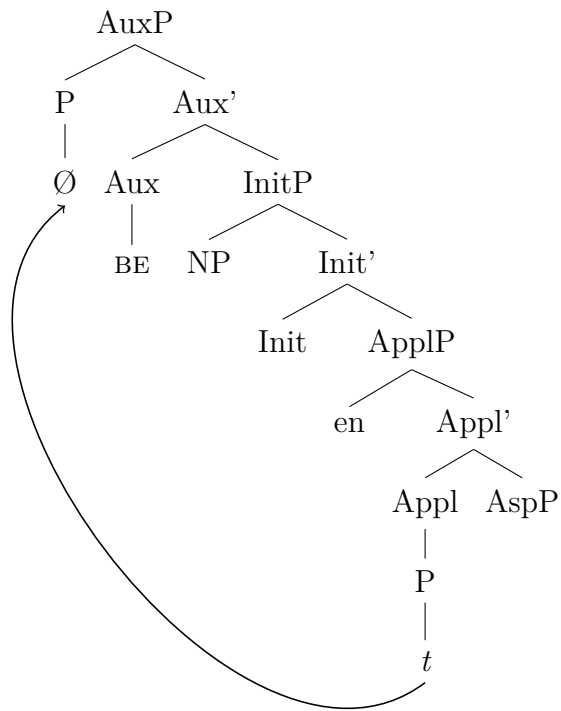
The Causator of the sub-event *I* is in the [SPEC,INITP].



Recall that indirect and inherent RCs may take either BE or HAVE as the auxiliary, which, in turn, affects the aspectual interpretation of the verb: HAVE encodes a non-resultative (i.e., imperfective/perfective) aspect and BE encodes a resultative aspect.³ In a non-resultative (i.e., imperfective/perfective) interpretation, the null preposition raises to [SPEC,AUXP], which is assumed to be the target of the movement.

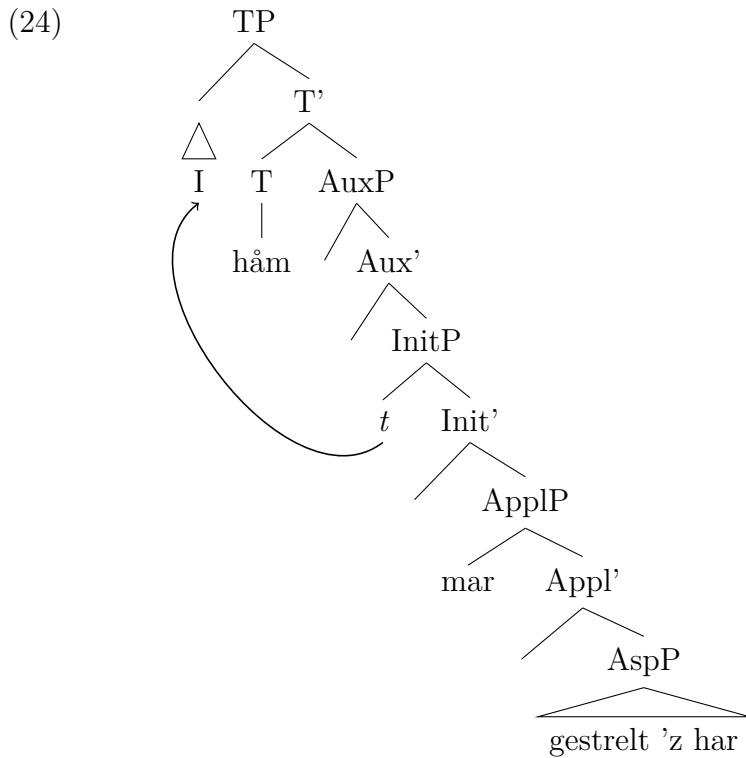
³As a reminder, this analysis assumes that the interpretative differences in some of the examples (16)-(20) above is connected to the syncretic realization of the the 3sg- and reflexive pronouns. Therefore, the analysis I propose here deems this a part of the morphological module (after Spell-Out) and will not be dealt with here.

(23)

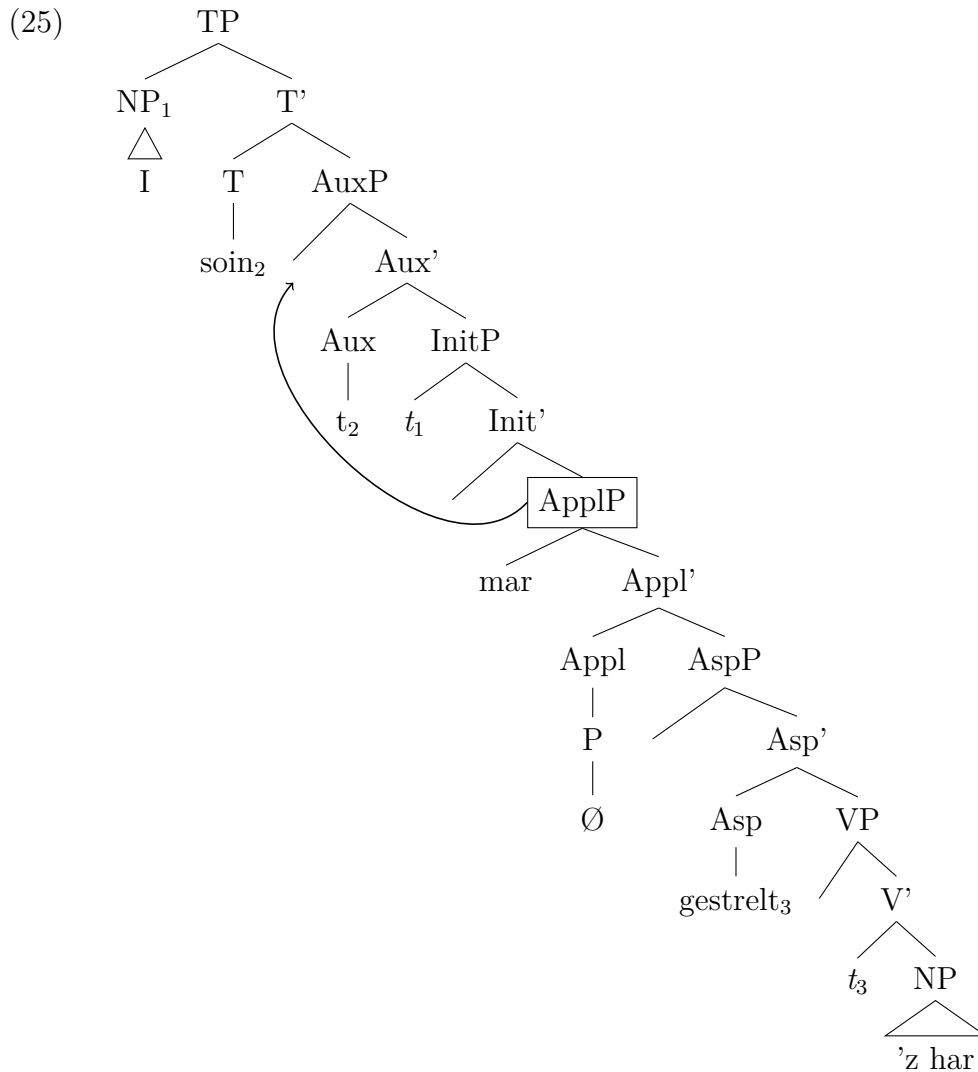


As shown in (24), the null preposition then incorporates into BE, thus resulting in HAVE.

The auxiliary then moves to T' to Agree with the Causator, which, in turn, moves to [SPEC,TP].



In the resultative interpretation, the whole APPLP is argued to smuggle to [SPEC,AUXP]. As shown in (25), the smuggled APPLP prevents the null preposition embedded therein from incorporating into the default auxiliary BE. The auxiliary BE therefore moves to T and Agrees with the Causator I in [SPEC,TP].



The present syntactic analysis can account for the data and makes specific predictions.

In particular, we expect BE to be selected:

1. if there is no applicative object. Without an applicative object, APPLP may be assumed not to be projected at all.
2. if [SPEC,ASPP] hosts a perfective/telic prefix (Abraham, 1990, 1996, 2008) such as *vor-*, *dar-* and *bo-*. This way, the sub-event is interpreted as ‘resultative’ (Basilico,

2010) and APPLP smuggles into [SPEC,AUXP], thus blocking formation of the auxiliary HAVE as shown above.

Our data confirms the predictions above. First, direct RCs have no applicative object and only allow for the auxiliary BE. (26a) illustrates that this prediction is borne out.

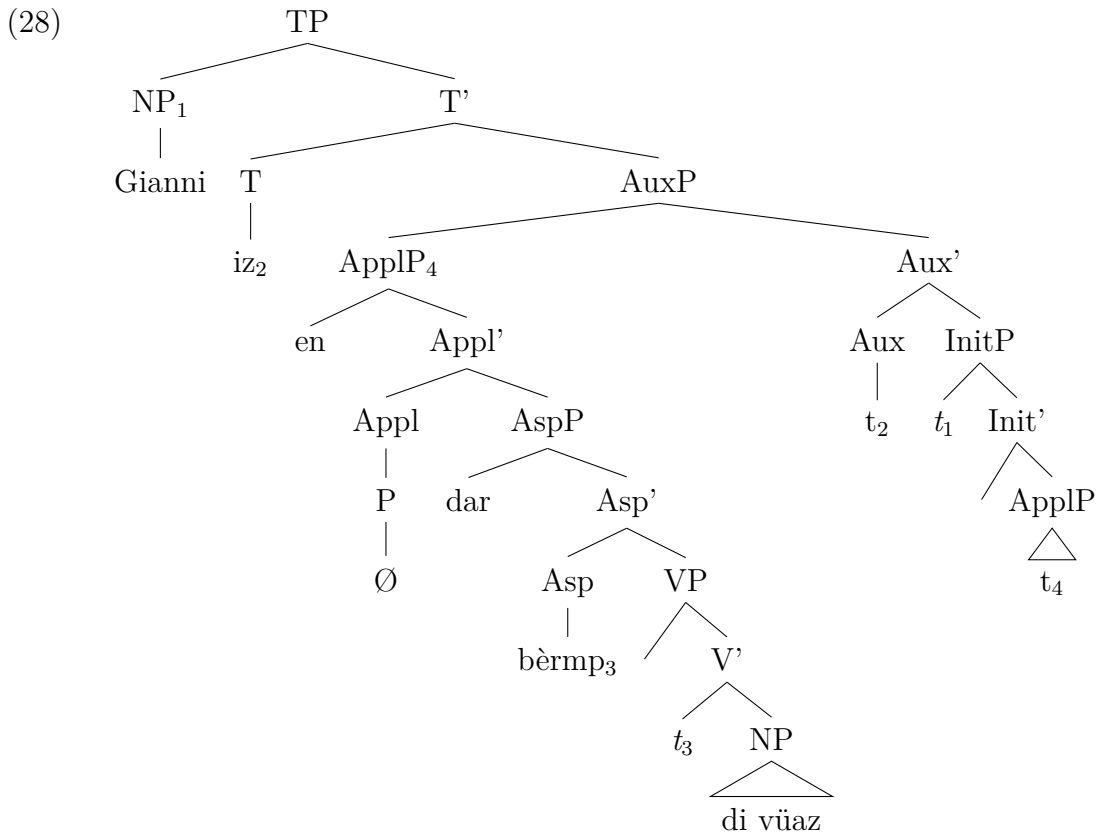
- (26) a. I **pin**=me gestrelt.
 I BE.1SG=SELF.1SG.ACC combed
 ‘I combed myself.’
- b. *I **hãm**=me gestrelt.
 I HAVE.1SG=SELF.1SG.ACC combed
 ‘I combed myself.’

Second, indirect/inherent RCs in which the verb has a perfective/telic prefix only allow for the auxiliary BE.⁴ Consider the following sentence:

- (27) a. Dar Gianni **izze**=en dar-bèrmp di vüaz.
 The Gianni BE.3SG=SELF.3SG.ACC PFV-got.warm the feet
 ‘Gianni got his feet warm.’
- b. *Dar Gianni **hat**=en dar-bèrmp di vüaz.
 The Gianni HAVE.3SG=SELF.3SG.ACC PFV-got.warm the feet
 ‘Gianni got his feet warm.’

The perfective/telic prefix *dar-* marks the sub-event as resultative, thus leading to smuggling of the whole APPLP. This prevents HAVE formation and forces selection of BE.

⁴This also confirms that the syncretism between the realization of the reflexive and 3sg-pronouns (see fnn. 2, 3) is not specifically at issue with auxiliary selection, but only correlated with it.



In this section, I showed how the account above can explain the asymmetries in the auxiliary selection in RC constructions, under the assumption that the HAVE-auxiliary results from incorporation of the BE-auxiliary with a null preposition (Kayne, 2004). On the one hand, direct RCs can only select BE because they lack applicatives altogether. On the other hand, the presence of applicatives in the underlying structure of indirect and inherent RCs make both BE and HAVE auxiliary amenable to being selected. In this case, the selection of the appropriate auxiliary depends on the interpretation to be conveyed. In non-resultative interpretations, the null preposition incorporates to BE nearby, thus resulting in HAVE. In resultative (i.e., perfect/telic) interpretations, the whole APPLP is smuggled, which blocks incorporation of the null preposition into BE.

3.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter focused on the out-of-ordinary auxiliary selection in Cimbrian reflexive constructions. In these constructions, auxiliary selection seems to be dependent on the specific interpretation of the event. If the event is resultative, HAVE is selected; if the event is non-resultative, BE is selected instead. In the previous pages, I proposed a syntactic account that is able to explain the alternation.

By way of addressing the current investigation of syntactic contact, Cimbrian auxiliary selection provides yet another interesting case study that suggests that contact is never a mere transfer of linguistic properties from one language to another. Rather, language contact is a more complex process that only occur under specific linguistic conditions. Let's take auxiliaries in Italian and German, the two languages Cimbrian is in contact with. In Italian, BE is the auxiliary selected in all RCs (direct, indirect, and inherent), though auxiliary selection is quite pervasive in other periphrastic constructions. In German, there is no auxiliary selection at all; HAVE is chosen in all constructions. In this chapter, I showed that Cimbrian seems to have taken the grammatical properties of both auxiliary systems and re-grammaticalized them in its grammar in an innovative way that is compatible with its specific idiosyncrasies. The *re-grammaticalization* in Cimbrian auxiliary selection is yet another argument against the PRINCIPLE OF MARKEDNESS as defined in the introduction of this dissertation. If markedness played a role in contact-induced change, we would have expected that Cimbrian auxiliary system be akin to the German auxiliary system (i.e., the simplest between the two source auxiliary systems), or to the Italian auxiliary system at best. The complex re-grammaticalization and gram-

matical re-interpretation of the grammatical properties of the source language(s) seen in this chapter is instead compatible with a view in which language contact fosters, and never suppresses, language innovation under specific conditions defined by the presence of compatible grammatical properties in the receiving language, as predicted by Guardiano et al. (2016)'s PRINCIPLE OF GRAMMATICAL RESISTANCE.

Chapter 4

Allomorphic patterns of Cimbrian past participles

4.1 Introduction

Cimbrian past participles show an interesting morphological alternation between the two competing suffixes *-t* (1a) and *-at* (1b).¹

- (1) a. Dar stual vorproch-t vo dar Gianni iz in gart.
The chair $\sqrt{\text{BREAK-PPT}}$ by the John is in garden
'The chair broken by John is in the garden.'

¹As the examples in this chapter will show, verbs usually have the prefix *ge-* in the past participle, similarly to German. Particle verbs (e.g., *abe-vazz-* 'discharge') may have either the particle stranded (*ge-vazz- ... abe*) or the prefix *ge-* in between the particle and the stem (*abe-ge-vazz-*). The past participle may also be used as an adjective and in this case, takes the suffixes of the adjectival weak declension (see sec. 2.2).

- b. Dar vorprèch-at-e stual iz in gart.
 The $\sqrt{\text{BREAK-PPT-AGR}}$ chair is in garden
 ‘The broken chair is in the garden.’

The alternation *t/at* is interesting in at least two respects. First, from a typological point of view, it is a *unicum* in the Germanic area, since it is not present in any other German varieties (Zhirmunskiĭ et al., 1962). Compare (1) with the German counterparts below.

- (2) a. Der von Gianni ge-broch-en-e Stuhl ist im Garten
 The by John $\text{PART-}\sqrt{\text{BREAK}}\text{-PART-AGR}$ chair is in.the garden
 ‘The chair broken by John is in the garden.’
- b. Der ge-broch-en-e Stuhl ist im Garten
 The $\text{PART-}\sqrt{\text{BREAK}}\text{-PART-AGR}$ chair is in.the garden
 ‘The broken chair is in the garden.’

Second, from a theoretical point of view, it provides insights regarding the underlying structure of participles. In this chapter, I give a coherent account for this alternation. In particular, Embick (2003) proposes that the allomorphic alternations in the realization of past participles indicates *structural* differences, which, in turn, license different interpretations. In my analysis of Cimbrian participles, I will engage with Embick’s proposal and propose novel insights on the morpho-syntactic structure of past participles. The chapter unfolds as follows. Section 4.2 briefly gives some theoretical background on different kinds of participles as proposed in Embick (2003). We will see that Cimbrian participles posit a problem for Embick (2003)’s generalization on participles (sec. 4.3). Section 4.4 delves into a rendition of (Embick, 2003)’s account that seems able to explain

the different morphological realizations of participles in Cimbrian. Section 4.5 concludes the chapter.

4.2 Theoretical background

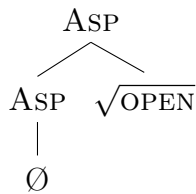
Although it is generally assumed (Bresnan and Kaplan, 1982; Lieber, 1980) that *adjectival* and *verbal* participles share the same morphological realization, there are cases in which this is not true - cf. Engl. *-Ø/-ed*: *open-Ø/open-ed*. Starting from this observation, Embick (2003) analyzes the English participles and divides them in three types:

- (3) a. **Stative**: The door is open.
= The door is in an open state
- b. **Resultative**: The door is opened.
= The door is in a state of having become open (state resulting from an event)
- c. **Eventive Passive**: The door was opened by John.
= John opened the door

(Embick, 2003) proposes that the different interpretations in (3) index different underlying morpho-syntactic structures, under the assumption that word formation is syntactic in its core (in the parlance of the framework of *Distributed Morphology*, henceforth DM; Halle and Marantz, 1994). Under the assumption that grammatical eventivity is associated with the presence of the verbalizing head *v* (Kratzer, 1996), he proposes that

stative participles (3a) lack the *v* head, since their interpretation is neither resultative, nor eventive. The participial morpheme is assumed to be realized on the ASP head as [Ø].

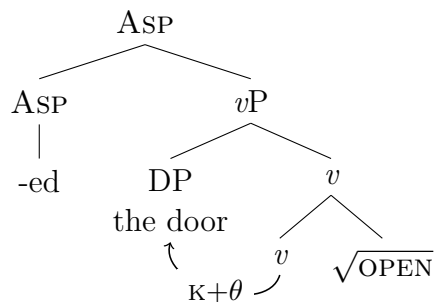
(4) STATIVE

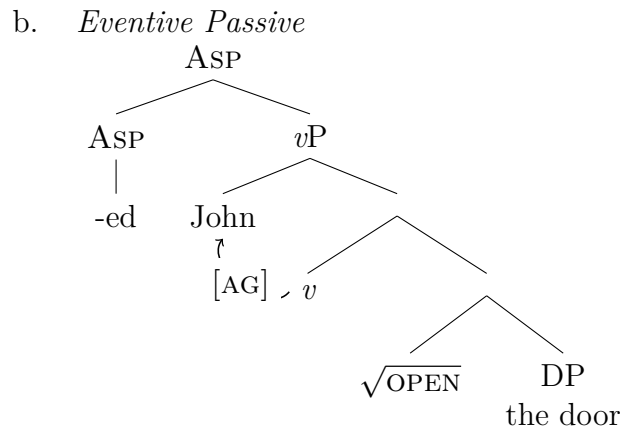


Resultatives and eventives (3b-c), instead, do have the *vP* projection, onto which the ASP head attaches. In the case of resultative participles (5a), the DP *the door* is in the [SPEC, *vP*] position and takes the appropriate Case and Theme. In the case of eventive passives (5b), the DP *the door* is the passivized object and the *v* head assigns the agentive feature [AG] to the subject *John*, which will eventually move higher up to take the appropriate Case.

(5) NON-STATIVE

a. *Resultative*





Modern Greek provides clearer examples than English, since it shows two allomorphs for the stative and non-stative realizations of participles in complementary distribution: *-t-* for statives (6a) and *-men-* (6b) for non-statives (i.e., resultatives and eventive-passives; see Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2008).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|----|--|
| (6) | a. | graf- t- os
√WRITE- PART- M.SG
'written' | b. | gram- men- os
√WRITE- PART- M.SG
'written' |
| (7) | a. | vras- t- os
√BOIL- PART- M.SG
'boiled' | b. | vras- men- os
√BOIL- PART- M.SG
'boiled' |

Under the assumption that morphemes are essentially bundles of morpho-syntactic features, (Embick, 2003)'s structural treatment of past participles predicts that allomorphy in the realization of participles arises only if the realization of stative participles is overt.

(8) EMBICK'S GENERALIZATION (EG)

When a language displays dedicated morphology for stative participles, it will always realizationally²distinguish it from the other ones.

In the next section, I turn back to Cimbrian participial forms and show that the allomorphy found in these forms casts doubt on (8).

4.3 Cimbrian participial morphosyntax

As already briefly said in the introduction above, Cimbrian past participles may realize either as *-t* or as *-at-*. For this reason, Cimbrian is a good test for EG in (8). Recall that the generalization states that should there be allomorphy in the realization of past participles, one exponent is expected to realize for stative past participles exclusively.

As the table below shows, the alternation in Cimbrian challenges EG since it is sensitive to stativity (i.e., presence/absence of *v*) *and* the syntactic position of the participle in the structure. The suffix *-t* is used for eventive, resultative, and stative past participles occurring in predicative position – the suffix *-at-* for stative past participle occurring in attributive position.

²The term *realization* has come up quite often by now and calls for clarification. The term is mostly used in the DM framework and refers to the assumption that morphemes are bundles of morpho-syntactic features and eventually *realized* (that is, filled with phonological content) through a matching process that associates specific morpho-syntactic bundles with phonological exponents (*Vocabulary Insertion*).

	-t	-at-
EVENT	a. Dar gattar khint gesperr-t <i>The gate comes closed</i>	–
RESULT	b. Dar gattar iz gestant gesperr-t <i>The gate remained closed</i>	–
STATE	c. Dar gattar iz gesperr-t ³ <i>The gate is closed</i>	d. Dar gesperr-at-e gattar <i>The closed gate</i>

This posits a problem for EG (8), since Cimbrian stative participles may possibly get different realizations that are sensitive to their syntactic position at Spell-Out. In the next section, I take issue with (8) and propose a modification of (Embick, 2003)’s account that is able to explain the alternations described above.

³The participle *gesperrt* ‘closed’ in predicative in (c) is considered stative because it can be replaced by the adjective *zuar* ‘closed’ with no change in interpretation:

- (i) Dar gattar iz zuar
The gate is closed

4.4 Analysis

In the previous section, I have shown how the allomorphic alternation in Cimbrian participles challenges (Embick, 2003)'s generalization (8), which states that any potential allomorphy arising in the realization of past participle *only* concerns a stativity distinction (and therefore presence/absence of *v* in the morpho-syntactic structure). Cimbrian data instead show that stative past participles realize in the same way as resultative and eventive participles (9a) in most cases, but they may take a different allomorph, i.e. *-at-* (9b), only when they occur in attributive position.

- (9) a. Dar gattar iz gesperr-**t**.
 b. Dar gesperr-**at**-e gattar.

The data can therefore be accounted for in two ways. One possibility is *accidental heterophony*. Under such a possibility, (9a-b) have the same structure, but happen to be realized differently. In this sense, the fact that stative, resultative, and eventive participles are realized in the same way when they occur in predicative position is an accident as well. I instead argue that the allomorphic alternation in (9a-b) indexes an underlying *structural inequality* that must be accounted for. This also means that the generalization in (8) is imprecise at best, and must be further honed to account for the Cimbrian data shown above. Looking at Cimbrian statives only, their realization is in complementary distribution: *-at* only in attributive position (9b), *-t* only in predicative position (9a). Here I would like to mention that the suffix *-at-* is also used to form

adjectival borrowings (10). *At*-participle and *at*-adjectives seem to share a number of properties. First, both of them can only occur in attributive positions.

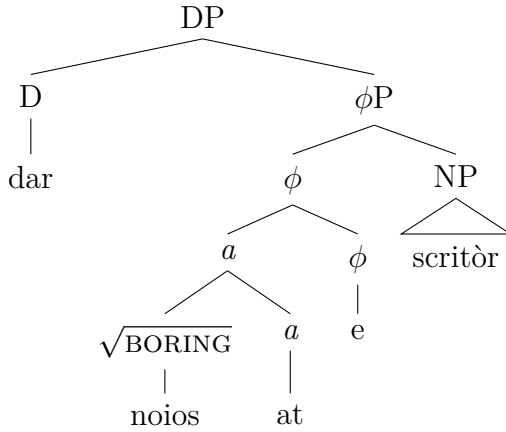
- (10) a. *stokh-at-e*
 ‘stupid’
- b. *quadrat-at-e*
 ‘squared’
- c. *furb-at-e*
 ‘sly’

Second, both of them can only take the appropriate ϕ -realization of the weak declension (see sec. 2.2).

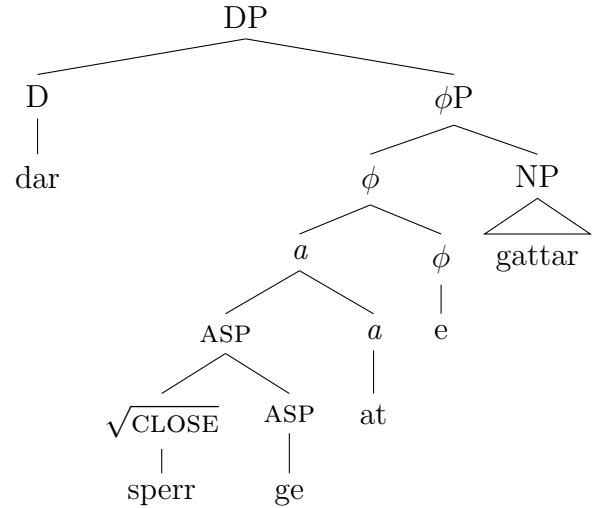
- | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|
| (11) | <i>dar noios-at-e</i> <i>scritòr</i>
D boring-AT-AGR writer
‘the boring writer’ | (12) | <i>dar ge-sperr-at-e</i> <i>gattar</i>
D GE-close-AT-AGR gate
‘the closed gate’ |
|------|---|------|---|

For these reasons, I argue that the syncretic realization of *at*-participles and *at*-adjectives is indicator of structural similarity. I argue that such similarity is instantiated by the fact that both forms in (11) and (12) share the category-defining head *a*, which is realized as *at*. However, *at*-participles and *at*-adjectives differ from one another in the fact that, unlike adjectives, participles are base-generated under a ASP functional head before undergoing cyclic head movement.

(13)

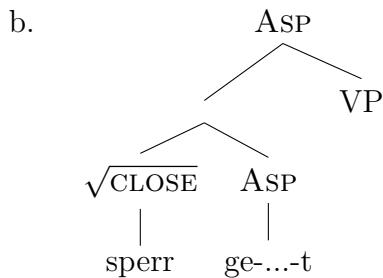


(14)



Since stative participles in predicative position have the same morphology and distribution of eventive passives and resultatives, they can be grouped together, as in (15):

- (15) a. Dar Gattar iz ge-sperr-t.
 D gate BE.PRES.3SG GE-close-PART
 'The gate is closed'



Notice that this analysis requires the ASP node of verbal participles to alternate between *t* or *at* depending on the presence/absence of the *a* head. This may be formalized in the two following rules of exponence (16):

- (16) a. ASP \rightarrow at- / $_$] *a*

b. ASP \rightarrow -*t*

4.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown that Cimbrian participles represent an argument against Embick (2003)'s generalization, according to which, if a language has dedicated morphology for statives, it will always distinguish between stative participles and eventive/resultative participles. Stative participles may, in some languages like Cimbrian, show up with different morphological realizations. This means that this class cannot be treated as homogenous and must be further specified structurally. By way of potential advancement in further understanding the structural properties of participles across languages, I provided a different account for the Cimbrian data. Further developments in this direction may delve into possibly reconsidering that status of stative participles as contingent on their morpho-syntactic position (see Anagnostopoulou, 2003).

The participles data, similar to the previous two case studies, provides interesting insights on the mechanisms and outcomes of language contact. First, it is clear that the morpho-syntactic allomorphy of Cimbrian particles cannot be an instance of a simplification process as the PRINCIPLE OF MARKEDNESS seems to suggest. The complex set of morphological and syntactic conditions under which the *t~at* alternation takes place can rather be considered as a real innovation of Cimbrian, as a side effect of the double interference from the two nearby languages (that is, Italian and German). In this

sense, Guardiano et al. (2016)'s PRINCIPLE OF GRAMMATICAL RESISTANCE could still be maintained (as opposed to the aforementioned PRINCIPLE OF MARKEDNESS), since it does not prevent languages from being innovative in their own right.

Chapter 5

Afterthoughts on language contact

This dissertation has dealt with *language contact*, which is defined as the phenomenon in which a language takes one or more grammatical properties of another language as part of its grammar. Extensive research conducted in the past decades has shown that language contact is **not** a simple and mechanical transfer of grammatical properties from one language to another. Rather, contact involves a more convoluted and deep process that is yet to be fully understood.

In this process, the receiving language *re-interprets* a given set of grammatical properties of the source language and makes it legitimate part of its grammar. Such grammatical re-interpretation involves at least three stages:

Stage 1: *Encountering.*

The two languages enter in “physical” contact with one another. In most cases,

this is boosted by the need for the speakers of the receiving language to acquire the source language for social, economic, and cultural reasons. By becoming bilinguals (in the general sense of speakers of more than one language), speakers fully access the underlying morpho-syntactic mechanisms of both languages.

Stage 2: Grammatical selection.

A given set of grammatical properties that are part of the source language is selected by the speakers as potential innovation to be implemented in the receiving language.

Stage 3: Exogenous re-grammaticalization.

The grammatical property is re-grammaticalized. This means it is *adapted* to the grammar of the receiving language and becomes legitimate part of its grammar.

In this dissertation, I primarily focused on Stage 2 for the following reasons. First, stage 1 pertains to another sub-field of linguistics, bilingualism, and therefore deserves a proper deep investigation in its own right. Second, stage 3 involves a process of legitimization of a new property of the source language as part of the grammar of the receiving language. Each of the chapters above discussed theoretical accounts aiming at precisely the intent of further understanding the conditions of the process of legitimization. Third, stage 2 is *the* stage that represents the core of the research question of this dissertation: that is, the mechanisms underlying the selection of a specific property of the source language to be implemented in the receiving language. To do this, I presented three different case studies in Cimbrian, a Germanic endangered language spoken in the Italian province of Trento. This language represents one of the few cases in the world of a language that is in

strong contact with two major language families: Germanic and Italo-Romance. In the following subsection, I take stock of the findings from Cimbrian and make specific claims about each of the two aforementioned stages. A brief conclusion ends this dissertation.

5.1 Taking stock: grammatical selection

Stage 2 refers to the mechanism whereby a given set of grammatical properties from the source language are selected to be implemented in the grammar of the receiving language. Throughout the past few decades, many proposals have been put forward for this process. In this dissertation, I focused on testing two main principles. The MARKEDNESS PRINCIPLE (1) states that grammatical selection tends to involve simplification of complex structures; in this sense, language contact is expected to involve a structural change from a more marked to a less marked property.

(1) MARKEDNESS PRINCIPLE.

When being involved in language contact, the receiving grammar witnesses changes to less marked structures (rather than to more marked structures).

On the other hand, the RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE (2) states that grammatical selection requires a pre-screening of the properties of the receiving language and specifically involves properties that are *compatible* with the receiving grammar (adapted from Guardiano et al., 2016).

- (2) RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE (Guardiano et al., 2016).

A specific grammatical feature ϕ of the source language A may successfully be implemented in the grammatical system of the receiving language B only if the grammatical system of the language B is already endowed with a subset of the properties P that ϕ depends on.

The three Cimbrian case studies discussed above directly test the predictions of the two principles and quite straightforwardly challenge (1) while being instead compatible with (2). In chapter 2, we saw that Cimbrian adjectives occur pre-nominally (3), akin to any other Germanic language; on the other hand, a subclass of adjectives seem to be allowed post-nominally as well (4), much like Italo-Romance varieties.

- (3) a. da rekt-e hant
 the.F.SG.NOM right-F.SG.NOM hand
 ‘the right hand’
- b. dar ebeghe toat
 the.M.SG.NOM eternal-M.SG.NOM death
 ‘the eternal death’
- (4) a. mitt unzerm-e content-en spirituale
 with our-M.SG.DAT joy-M.SG.DAT spiritual- \emptyset
 ‘with our spiritual rejoicing’
- b. vatter naturale
 father.M.SG.NOM natural- \emptyset
 ‘natural father’

Similarly, in chapter 4 I looked at the Cimbrian auxiliary selection, which seems to follow a pattern stemming from both the German and Italian auxiliary selection systems. This mixed pattern shows up in indirect reflexive constructions. In these constructions, auxiliary selection seems to be dependent on the specific interpretation of the event. If the event is resultative, HAVE is selected (5); if the event is non-resultative, BE is selected instead (6).

- (5) a. I **hân**=mar āgelekk di schua.
I HAVE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT put.on the shoes
'I put the shoes on.'
- b. I **pin**=mar āgelekk an schbarzan konsott.
I BE.1SG=SELF.1SG.DAT put.on a black dress
'I put a black dress on.' (Kolmer 2010: 150,155)
- (6) a. Se **soin**=se azò geschemp
They BE.3PL=SELF.3PL.ACC so ashamed
- b. Se **hām**=se azò geschemp
They HAVE.3PL=SELF.3PL.ACC so ashamed
'They felt so ashamed.'

By way of addressing the current investigation of syntactic contact, both Cimbrian adjectival ordering (ch. 2) and auxiliary selection system (ch. 4) argue against the PRINCIPLE OF MARKEDNESS, since the principle would have predicted both cases to show a steady simplification of the structures involved. As for the adjectival ordering, we would have expected a process streamlining the change, making Cimbrian adjectives more similar either to Germanic adjectives (all occurring pre-nominally) or to Italian adjectives (oc-

curing pre-nominally or post-nominally depending on their semantic interpretation). This, however, did not happen, since only a selected subclass of adjectives can occur post-nominally; this inevitably complicated the grammar, thus ultimately challenging the markedness principle. Similarly, regarding the auxiliary selection system, if markedness had had a role in it, we would have expected that the Cimbrian auxiliary system be akin to the German auxiliary selection system (i.e., the simplest between the two source auxiliary systems), or to the Italian auxiliary system at best. This, however, did not happen, since Cimbrian has set its own conditions for auxiliary selection. Both case studies seem instead to support the RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE (adapted from Guardiano et al., 2016), whereby language contact fosters, and never suppresses, language innovation under specific conditions defined by the presence of compatible grammatical properties in the receiving language.

Finally, in chapter 3, I discussed the allomorphy of Cimbrian past participles, which may be realized as *-t* (7a) or *-at* (7b). In particular, I argued that *-at* is more specified than *-t* since it only occurs for stative participle occurring in pre-nominal position.

- (7) a. Dar stual vorproch-t vo dar Gianni iz in gart.
 The chair $\sqrt{\text{BREAK-PPT}}$ by the John is in garden
 ‘The chair broken by John is in the garden.’
- b. Dar vorprèch-at-e stual iz in gart.
 The $\sqrt{\text{BREAK-PPT-AGR}}$ chair is in garden
 ‘The broken chair is in the garden.’

Putting aside the contribution to theoretical debate on participles (see Embick, 2003) that the data bring out, this allomorphic distinction seems to be a feature of the Cimbrian language itself, rather than a result of language contact. This argues against the view whereby language contact exacerbates the structural dependence of the receiving language on the source language. The complex set of morphological and syntactic conditions under which the *t~at* alternation takes place may actually be considered as a real innovation of Cimbrian, as a side effect of the double interference from the two nearby languages (that is, Italian and German). In this sense, the PRINCIPLE OF MARKEDNESS is still challenged, whereas the RESISTANCE PRINCIPLE seems to be perfectly compatible with a view in which language contact does not prevent, but rather fosters innovation.

5.2 Future directions on language contact

The ultimate intent of this work is to lay some fertile groundwork for future theoretical and experimental research on language contact. Admittedly, while discussing the three case studies discussed here, this dissertation has just scratched the surface of the phenomenon. Much effort must be undertaken in the future to further understand the implications and the mechanisms of language contact. Language contact, in particular, seems to offer many chances for new avenues of research for linguists from different theoretical frameworks. First, language contact may be of great interest to fieldworkers and grammarians, thus fostering documentation of endangered languages that will possibly stop being spoken in the near future. Second, language contact may be of great

interest to theoreticians, since it provides new data to test theoretical predictions on and therefore may bolster advancements in the theoretical frameworks (e.g., generative linguistics). Third, language contact may be of great interest to experimentalists, since it gives the opportunity to understand the psychological mechanisms underpinning language innovation and re-grammaticalization. The hope is that this work could be of help in the future for researchers interested in shedding light on what really lies beneath the surface.

References

- Abraham, Werner (1990). “A note on the aspect-syntax interface”. In: *Grammar in progress: GLOW essays for Henk van Riemsdijk*. Ed. by Joan Mascaró and Marina Nespør. Dordrecht: Floris, pp. 12–29.
- (1996). “The aspect-case typology correlation: perfectivity triggering split ergativity”. In: *Folia Linguistica* 30.1-2, pp. 5–34.
- (2008). “On the logic of generalizations about cross-linguistic aspect-modality links”. In: *Modality-aspect interfaces: implications and typological solutions*. Ed. by Werner Abraham and Elizabeth Leiss, pp. 1–17.
- (2011). “Spoken syntax in Cimbrian of the linguistic islands in Northern Italy and what they (do not) betray about language universals and change under areal contact with Italo-Romance”. In: *Studies on German-language Islands*. Ed. by Michael T. Putnam. Vol. 123. Studies in Language Companion Series. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 233–279.
- Alexiadou, Artemis and Elena Anagnostopoulou (2008). “Structuring participles”. In: *Proceedings of the 26th west coast conference on formal linguistics*. Ed. by Charles

- B. Chang and Hannah J. Haynie. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, pp. 33–41.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou, and Martin Everaert, eds. (2004). *The Unaccusativity Puzzle: Explorations in the syntax-lexicon interface*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Liliane Haegeman, and Melita Stavrou (2007). *Noun phrase in the generative perspective*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena (2003). “Participles and voice”. In: ed. by Artemis Alexiadou, Monika Rathert, and Arnim von Stechow. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 1–36.
- Basilico, David (2010). “The *se* clitic and its relationship to paths”. In: *Probus* 22.2, pp. 271–302.
- Baum, Wilhelm (1983). *Geschichte der Zimbern*. Landshut: Curatorium Cimbricum Bavarense.
- Benincà, Paola and Laura Vanelli (1984). “Italiano, veneto, friulano: fenomeni sintattici a confronto”. In: *RID. Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* 8.8, pp. 165–194.
- Bentley, Delia and Thórhallur Eythórsson (2004). “Auxiliary selection and the semantics of unaccusativity”. In: *Lingua* 114.4, pp. 447–471.
- Bernstein, Judy (1993). “Topics in the syntax of nominal structure across Romance”. PhD thesis.
- Bidese, Ermenegildo (2004). “Die Zimbern und ihre Sprache: Geographische, historische und sprachwissenschaftlich relevante Aspekte”. In: *'Alte' Sprachen. Beiträge zum Bremer Kolloquium über Alte Sprachen und Sprachstufen (Bremen, Sommersemester*

- 2003). Ed. by Thomas Stolz. Vol. 8. *Diversitas Linguarum*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, pp. 3–42.
- (2008). *Die diachronische Syntax des Zimbrischen*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- (2011). “Revisiting the Wackernagelposition”. In: *Studies on German-language Islands*. Ed. by Michael T. Putnam. Vol. 123. *Studies in Language Companion Series*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 347–367.
- Bidese, Ermenegildo and Alessandra Tomaselli (2007). “Diachrone Syntax Diachronic Development in Isolation: The Loss of V2 Phenomena in Cimbrian”. In: *Linguistische Berichte* 210, pp. 209–228.
- (2016). “The decline of asymmetric word order in Cimbrian subordination and the special case of umbrómm”. In: *Co- and subordination in German and other languages*. Ed. by Ingo Reich and Augustin Speyer. Vol. Sonderheft 21. *Linguistische Berichte*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, pp. 55–75.
- Bidese, Ermenegildo, Federica Cognola, and Andrea Padovan (2012). “Zu einer neuen Verb-Zweit-Typologie in den germanischen Sprachen: der Fall des Zimbrischen und des Fersentalerischen”. In: ed. by Peter Anreiter, Ivo Hajnal, and Manfred Kienpointner. Wien: Praesens Verlag, pp. 69–86.
- Bidese, Ermenegildo, Andrea Padovan, and Alessandra Tomaselli (2013). “Bilingual competence, complementizer selection and mood in Cimbrian”. In: *Dialektologie in neuem Gewand: Zu Mikro-/Varietätenlinguistik, Sprachenvergleich und Universalgrammatik*. Ed. by Werner Abraham and Elisabeth Leiss. Vol. Sonderheft 19. *Linguistische Berichte*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, pp. 47–58.

- Bidese, Ermenegildo, Andrea Padovan, and Claudia Turolla (2019). “Adjective orders in Cimbrian DPs”. In: *Linguistics* 57.2, pp. 373–394.
- Bosque, Ignacio (2001). “Adjective position and the interpretation”. In: ed. by J. Gutiérrez-Rexach & L. Silva-Villar. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 17–63.
- Bresnan, Joan and Ronald Kaplan (1982). *The mental representation of grammatical relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Burzio, Luigi (1986). *Italian syntax: A government-binding approach*. Vol. 1. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Cennamo, Michela and Antonella Sorace (2007). “Auxiliary selection and split intransitivity in Paduan”. In: ed. by Raul Aranovich, pp. 65–99.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (2010). *The syntax of adjectives: A comparative study*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- (2014). “The semantic classification of adjectives. A view from syntax”. In: *Studies in Chinese Linguistics* 35, pp. 1–30.
- Cocchi, Gloria (1995). *La selezione dell’ausiliare*. Padova: Unipress.
- Dürscheid, Krista (2012). “Polemik satt und Wahnkampf pur. Das postnominale Adjektiv im Deutschen”. In: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 21.1, pp. 57–81.
- D’Alessandro, Roberta and Ian Roberts (2010). “Past participle agreement in Abruzzese: split auxiliary selection and the null-subject parameter”. In: *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 28.1, pp. 41–72.
- Embick, David (2003). “Locality, listedness, and morphological identity”. In: *Studia linguistica* 57.3, pp. 143–169.

- Gerhard, Rohlfs (1966). *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Giusti, Giuliana (2002). “The functional structure of noun phrases: A bare phrase structure approach”. In: *Functional structure in DP and IP: The cartography of syntactic structures*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 54–90.
- Grewendorf, Günther and Cecilia Poletto (2009). “The hybrid complementizer system of Cimbrian”. In: *Proceedings of the 35o Incontro di Grammatica Generativa*. Ed. by Vincenzo Moscati and Emilio Servidio. Siena: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Cognitivi sul Linguaggio, pp. 181–194.
- (2011). “Hidden verb second: The Case of Cimbrian”. In: *Studies on German-Language islands*. Ed. by Michael T. Putnam. Vol. 123. Studies in Language Companion. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 301–346.
- Guardiano, Cristina et al. (2016). “South by Southeast. A syntactic approach to Greek and Romance microvariation”. In: *L’Italia dialettale* 77, pp. 95–166.
- Haider, Hubert and Rositta Rindler-Schjerve (1987). “The parameter of auxiliary selection: Italian-German contrasts”. In: *Linguistics* 25.6, pp. 1029–1056.
- Halle, Morris and Alec Marantz (1994). “Some key features of Distributed Morphology”. In: *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 21.275, p. 88.
- Hornung, Maria (1984). “Die Herkunft der sogenannten “Zimbern””. In: *Le Isole Linguistiche di Origine Germanica nell’Italia settentrionale*. Ed. by Giovanni Battista Pellegrini and Sergio Bonato. Roana: Istituto di Cultura Cimbra, pp. 47–53.
- Jakobson, Roman (1938). *Sur la théorie des affinités phonologiques des langues*. Einar Munksgaard.

- Kayne, Richard S (1993). "Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection". In: *Studia linguistica* 47.1, pp. 3–31.
- (2000). *Parameters and universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (2004). "Prepositions as probes". In: *Structures and beyond: The cartography of syntactic structures*. Ed. by Adriana Belletti. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 192–212.
- Keller, Frank and Antonella Sorace (2003). "Gradient auxiliary selection and impersonal passivization in German: An experimental investigation". In: *Journal of Linguistics* 39.1, pp. 57–108.
- Kolmer, Agnes (2005). "Subjektklitika als Kongruenzmarkierer: Ein Vergleich zwischen bairischen und alemannischen Sprachinseldialekten in Norditalien (Zimbrisch und Walserdeutsch)". In: *Das Zimbrische zwischen Germanisch und Romanisch*. Ed. by Ermenegildo Bidese, James R. Dow, and Thomas Stolz. Vol. 9. *Diversitas Linguarum*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, pp. 164–189.
- (2010). "Kontaktbedingte Veränderung der Hilfsverbselektion im Cimbro. Ergebnisse einer Pilotstudie". In: *Strategien der Integration und Isolation nicht-nativer Einheiten und Strukturen*. Ed. by Carmen Scherer and Anke Holler. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 143–164.
- (2012). *Pronomen und Pronominalklitika im Cimbro: Untersuchungen zum grammatischen Wandel einer deutschen Minderheitensprache in romanischer Umgebung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Kranzmayer, Eberhard (1960). "Die Sprachaltertümer in den Mundarten der Tiroler Hochtäler". In: *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 27, pp. 160–192.

- Kratzer, Angelika (1996). “Severing the external argument from its verb”. In: *Phrase structure and the lexicon*. Ed. by Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring. Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 109–137.
- Laenzlinger, Christopher (2005). “French adjective ordering: Perspectives on DP-internal movement types”. In: *Lingua* 115.5, pp. 645–689.
- Ledgeway, Adam (2000). *A comparative syntax of the dialects of southern Italy. A minimalist approach*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Legendre, Géraldine (2010). “A formal typology of person-based auxiliary selection in Italo-Romance”. In: *Syntactic variation: The dialects of Italy*. Ed. by Roberta D’Alessandro, Adam Ledgeway, and Ian G Roberts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 186–200.
- Lieber, Rochelle (1980). “On the organization of the lexicon.” PhD thesis. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Loporcaro, Michele (2014). “Perfective auxiliation in Italo-Romance: the complementarity of historical and modern cross-dialectal evidence”. In: *Diachrony and dialects: grammatical change in the dialects of Italy*. Ed. by Paola Benincà, Adam Ledgeway, and Nigel Vincent. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Loporcaro, Michele and Maria Teresa Vigolo (1995). “Ricerche sintattiche sul confine dialettale veneto-trentino in Valsugana: l’accordo del participio passato”. In: *Italia settentrionale: crocevia di idiomi romanzi. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi di Trento, 21-23 ottobre 1993*. Ed. by Emanuele Banfi et al. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Manzini, Maria Rita and Leonardo Maria Savoia (2005). *I dialetti italiani e romanci: Morfosintassi Generativa*. Vol. 3. Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso.

- Meid, Wolfgang (1985). *Der erste zimbrische Katechismus. Christliche und kurze dottrina. Die zimbrische Version aus dem Jahre 1602 der Dottrina christiana breve des Kardinals Bellarmin in kritischer Ausgabe. Einleitung, italienischer und zimbrischer Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Reproduktionen*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Meillet, Antoine (1908). “Linguistique historique et linguistique générale”. In:
- Padovan, Andrea (2011). “Diachronic clues to grammaticalization phenomena in the Cimbrian CP”. In: *Studies on German-language Islands*. Ed. by Michael T. Putnam. Vol. 123. Studies in Language Companion Series. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 347–367.
- (2016). “Why a bed can be slept in but not under. Variation in V+P constructions”. In: *Theoretical Approaches to Linguistic Variation*. Ed. by Manuela Moroni and Federica Cognola. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 119–140.
- Padovan, Andrea and Claudia Turolla (2016). “Il sintagma nominale nel Cimbrio di Luserna: Osservazioni sulla modificazione aggettivale”. In: *Problemi e prospettive della linguistica storica. Atti del XL Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia*. Ed. by Patrizia Cordin & Alessandro Parenti. Roma: Il Calamo, pp. 201–212.
- Panieri, Luca et al. (2006). *Bar lirnen z’schraiba un zo reda az be biar/Grammatica del cimbro di Luserna/Grammatik der zimbrischen Sprache von Lusern*. Trento and Luserna: Regione Autonoma Trentino-Alto Adige/Autonome Region Trentino-Südtirol and Isitituto Cimbrio/Kulturinstitut Lusérn.

- Perlmutter, David M (1978). “Impersonal passives and the unaccusative hypothesis”.
In: *Proceedings of the 4. annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Vol. 4,
pp. 157–190.
- Poletto, Cecilia and Alessandra Tomaselli (2001). “La sintassi del soggetto nullo nelle
isole tedescofone del Veneto: cimbro e sappadino a confronto”. In: *La dialettologia
oltre il 2001. Atti del convegno di Sappada/Plodn (Belluno), 1-5 luglio 2001*. Ed. by
Gianna Marcato. Padova: Unipress, pp. 237–252.
- Ramchand, Gillian Catriona (2008). *Verb meaning and the lexicon: A first phase syntax*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rapelli, Giovanni (2004). “Die Entstehung der Sprachinseln”. In: ed. by Karin Heller,
Luis Thomas Prader, and Christian Prezzi. Luserna: Centro di Documentazione -
Dokumentationszentrum Lusérn: Einheitskomitee der historischen deutschen Sprachin-
seln in Italien.
- Sapir, Edward (1921). *An introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Schmeller, Johann Andreas (1838). *Über die sogenannten Cimbern der VII und XIII
Communen auf den Venedischen Alpen und ihre Sprache*. Vol. 2. Die Akademie.
- Schweizer, Bruno (2008). *Zimbrische Gesamtgrammatik. Vergleichende Darstellung der
zimbrischen Dialekte*.
- Sorace, Antonella (1993). “Incomplete vs. divergent representations of unaccusativity in
non native grammars of Italian”. In: *Second Language Research* 9.1, pp. 22–47.
- (2000). “Gradients in auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs”. In: *Language*, pp. 859–
890.

- Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman (1992). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Univ of California Press.
- Travis, Lisa (1991). “Derived objects, inner aspect, and the structure of VP”. In: *Proceedings of NELS XXII*. Ed. by Ken Broderick. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.
- Trost, Igor (2006). “Die nicht-flektierten Adjektive”. In: *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 34.3, pp. 374–393.
- Truswell, Robert (2009). “Attributive adjectives and nominal templates”. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 40.3, pp. 525–533.
- Tuttle, Edward F (1986). “The spread of esse as universal auxiliary in central Italo-Romance”. In: *Medioevo romanzo* 11.2, pp. 229–287.
- Tyroller, Hans (2003). *Grammatische Beschreibung des Zimbrischen von Lusern*. 111. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Zhirmunskiĭ, Viktor Maksimovich, Larisa Naïdich, and Peter Wiesinger (1962). *Deutsche Mundartkunde: Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre der deutschen Mundarten*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.