Chapter 9

Deriving CP-expansion in the German enclave varieties across Northeast Italy: Cracks in the bottleneck?

Madaro Romano
University of Verona

Alessandra Tomaselli
University of Verona

Ermenegildo Bidese
University of Trento

This paper compares and analyzes V2-related phenomena in the German-speaking varieties in North-Eastern Italy, particularly the expansion of the C-domain (violation of linear-V2) and the progressive specialization of its projections. Even though accounting for a split-CP configuration à la Rizzi (1997), we argue that CP-expansion in these German(ic) varieties differs substantially from the split-CP configuration typical of Romance languages. For this reason, the bottleneck effect fails to systematize the variation phenomena within these varieties, while the Feature-Scattering Hypothesis (Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Hsu 2017) works better in catching intra/inter-linguistic differences. Moreover, the different degrees of expansion of the C-domain highlight two lines of variation: the West-to-East line represents the most conservative one; the North-to-South one shows a higher degree of variation. With this categorization, also supported through the analysis of the diachronic development of Cimbrian, we provide further confirmation that the geographical distribution of these varieties (i.e. the distance from the German core as well as the higher immersion in the Romance one) drastically influences the variation phenomena linked to the structural-V2 and OV/VO typology.

1 Introduction

Since den Besten's (1983) seminal work on continental West Germanic, this specific set of languages (e.g. German, Dutch) has been characterized by the well-known V2 phenomenon, which corresponds to the mandatory movement of the finite verb (henceforth: Vf) from its base position to the Head of the Complementizer Phrase (C^0) in the main sentence (V-to-C movement). Such structural movement involves the V2 (or linear) restriction, which is clarified by the following examples for standard German:

(1)   a.   Ich   **gehe** morgen   einkaufen.
            1SG.NOM go   tomorrow shop.INF

      b.   Morgen   **gehe** ich   einkaufen.
            Tomorrow go   1SG.NOM shop.INF

      c. *Morgen   ich   gehe einkaufen.
            Tomorrow 1SG.NOM go   shop.INF

      'I'm going shopping tomorrow.'

As (1a) and (1b) clearly show, when Vf moves to C^0, only one element can be found in the left periphery (i.e. in SpecCP), whether the sentence is subject-initial or not. The poly-occupation of this slot violates the V2-restriction, resulting in an ill-formed sentence, as in (1c).

Solid evidence for C° as the target position for finite V-to-C movement is the complementary distribution between V2 and the lexical complementizer: in (standard) German subordinate clause introduced by an overt complementizer (e.g. *dass*-sentences), Vf appears clause-finally (2b), while in complementizer-less sentences (= COMP-deletion) a verb-second order mandatorily appears (2a). The co-occurrence of an overt complementizer with V2 is generally ruled out, as in (2c):

(2)   (from Vikner 1995: 66)

      a.   Er   sagt, diesen   Film **haben** die   Kinder
            3SG.M.NOM says DEF.M.ACC Film have   DEF.PL.NOM children
            gesehen.
            seen

      b.   Er   sagt, dass diesen   Film die   Kinder   gesehen
            3SG.M.NOM says that DEF.M.ACC Film DEF.PL.NOM children seen
            haben.
            have

c. * Er   sagt, dass diesen   Film **haben** die   Kinder
   3SG.M.NOM says that DEF.M.ACC Film have   DEF.PL.NOM children
   gesehen;
   seen
   'He says that the children saw/have seen the movie.'

V-to-C movement in root sentences plus only one element allowed to the left of Vf represents the traditional correlation of V2 (but see Holmberg 2015 for a detailed analysis).

This specific restriction seems to represent a strong challenge to the hypothesis of an expanded C-layer, as postulated within the cartographic approach. Since Rizzi (1997), a split-CP configuration, i.e. a Complementizer Domain fragmented into multiple independent functional projections, has been adopted for Romance Languages to explain semantic and information-oriented features, as represented in (3):

(3)   ForceP > TopicP > FocusP > TopicP* > FinP > IP/TP...[1]

Interestingly, German left periphery also clearly interrelates with information structure, even if limited to one constituent. As a matter of fact, object-fronting is allowed independently from its status within the information structure (either topic or focus) and restrictions occur only for elements that cannot be topicalized, such as indeterminate objects (see 4c) (Fanselow 2004, Mohr 2009, Jouitteau 2010):[2]

(4)   (from Mohr 2009)

a. Einen   MINISTER **hat** die Presse schon   lange kritisiert, aber
   INDEF.ACC MINISTER has die press   already long   criticized but
   nicht den   Kanzler
   not   DEF.ACC chancellor
   'The press has long criticized a MINISTER, not the chancellor'

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[1]In the configuration from Benincà & Poletto (2000) TopicP is higher than FocusP, while the lower TopicP from the Rizzian model is assumed to be an extension of FocusP (Benincà & Poletto 2000) and the structure is:ForceP > TopicP > FocusP > FinP > IP/TP...

[2]Even if object fronting in German is more complex than the discussion around (4) suggests (see Wierzba & Fanselow 2020), we take it as a first step in order to discuss the complex relation between fronting (i.e. syntax) and information structure in V2-languages (see Fanselow & Lenertová 2011). We thank one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing out these aspects and the related references to us.

b. Diesen Minister **hat** die Presse schon lange kritiziert
   DEM.ACC Minister has the press already long criticized
   'The press has long criticized this minister'

c. *Einen Minister **hat** die Presse schon lange kritisiert
   INDEF.ACC minister has the press already long criticized

To account for these specific patterns in V2 languages (Germanic as well as for Old Romance and other Romance varieties), a theory-internal device, i.e. the bottleneck-effect, has been proposed (Benincà & Poletto 2004, Haegeman 1996, Roberts 1996, 2004, Cardinaletti & Repetti 2010, Wolfe 2015, 2018), claiming that in V2 languages stricto sensu all fronting operations target SpecFinP, which bears an EPP feature that needs to be checked (Roberts 2004). Once a single phrase has moved to this specific position, the bottleneck activates, disabling any other movement process after f-checking. A further development has been proposed by Poletto (2002), claiming that the left periphery can be divided into two sub-areas/domains:

(5) $[_{\text{ForceP}}$ (XP) … $[_{\text{TopicP}}$ (XP) … $\|$ $[_{\text{FocusP}}$ (XP$_k$) … $[_{\text{FinP}}$ (XP$_i$) $[_{\text{Fin}}{}^0$ Vf $[_{\text{IP/TP}}$ … t$_i$ t$_k$ $]]]]]]$

As the structure shows, the lower domain inside the LP results as the target position for movement operation, while the elements inside the higher domain are considered to be base-generated directly there and do not interfere with the feature checking and the bottleneck in FinP.

As Hsu (2017) points out, even though able to generalize the major difference in the restrictions among V2 and non-V2 languages, this hypothesis posits some theoretical issues, such as the reason for constituents that bear either topic- or focus-meaning to target SpecFinP before moving in their appropriate position, thus violating the Criterial Freezing (see Rizzi 2010). Moreover, it fails to catch the degree of variation cross-linguistically and intra-linguistically: for these reasons, Hsu accounts for a revised model of head-bundling (Hsu 2017: 17), based on the feature scattering hypothesis by Giorgi & Pianesi (1997).

Using the concepts of bundled/separate heads, this model seems to catch quite some interlinguistic differences across languages, as displayed in Figures 1–3.

Hsu's typology appears to be solid and finds further confirmation in the case of the Germanic V2 varieties in Northeastern Italy (Triveneto), such as Timavese and Cimbrian, on which we focus in the next two sections respectively. Interestingly, Timavese displays a dual configuration regulated by an ordering constraint similar to the one proposed in Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) and in a similar

Force/Top/Foc/FinP

XP$_k$ Force/Top/Foc/Fin′

Force/Top/Foc/Fin   InflP
[Force]
[Topic]   ...~~XP$_k$~~...
[Focus]
[Finiteness]

Figure 1: Non-expanded CP, one specifier (e.g. German)

Force/TopP

XP   Force/Top′

Force/Top   Foc/FinP
[Force]
[Topic, uTop, EPP]   XP   Foc/Fin′

Foc/Fin   InflP
[Focus, uWh, EPP]
[Fin]   ...

Figure 2: First CP expansion, two specifiers (e.g. Ladin Badiot)

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                        ForceP
                       /      \
                     XP      Force′
                            /      \
                         Force     TopP
                    [Force, uFrame, EPP]  /    \
                                        XP    Top′
                                            /      \
                                        Topic      Foc/FinP
                                   [Topic, uTop, EPP]  /    \
                                                      XP   Foc/Fin′
                                                          /       \
                                                      Foc/Fin     InflP
                                                 [Focus, uFoc, EPP]   ⋯
                                                      [Fin]
```
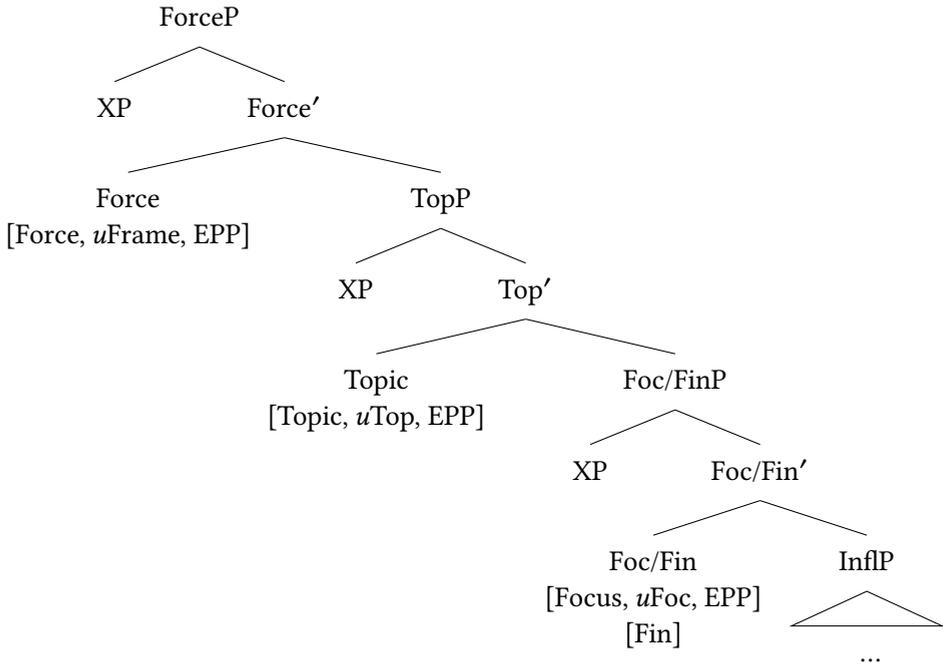
Figure 3: Fully articulated CP, more than two specifiers (e.g. Old Italian)

way as what has been suggested by Hsu (2017) for Badiot (2nd configuration) as a result of an interplay between movement vs. base-generation processes. Conversely in Cimbrian a more expanded CP seems to apply, with a configuration that resembles the one proposed for Old Italian (3rd configuration), *modulo* the trigger of Vf movement and pronominal syntax. The variations among Germanic linguistic islands in the Alpine region show a tendency towards a CP-expansion due to the separation from the Germanic core, suggesting two possible lines of development, that is a) from West to East, in parallel with the Austrian border, which includes Plodarisch, Saurian, Timavese, and b) from North to South, which includes the Cimbrian varieties of Lusern, Giazza, and Roana; the Mòcheno varieties are to be located as a pivot point between the two lines. We take as starting points of our analysis Timavese (for the West-East line) and Cimbrian (for the North-South line) to show how geographical distance from the Germanic core plays an important role in shaping the different degrees of variation, as suggested in Guardiano et al. (2016) for the Greek varieties in Apulia, which even though sharing macroparametric settings in common with other Greek varieties, tend to cluster with Extreme Southern Italo-Romance varieties (e.g. Salentino).

The higher line (the W-E one) is more conservative not only for the reduced CP-expansion but also for the maintenance of both nominal Subject inversion and the OV-patterns (cf. Section 2). As for the second line, the North-to-South one (cf. Section 3), we observe a further degree of distance from the Germanic core: the C domain results as more expanded, Subj-inversion is restricted to pronominal elements only and VO patterns have been fixed. Further evidence in favor of this analysis is provided by the conspicuous presence of historical sources for the Cimbrian varieties, which allows us to trace a diachronic evolution, showing a potential reflection of the different stages of synchronic variations attested in the two lines.

This chapter is organized as follows: in Section 2 we provide the description and the analysis of the W-E line focusing on Timavese; Section 3 is devoted to the description and the analysis of the N-S line focusing on the Cimbrian variety of Luserna; in Section 4 we take into consideration the diachronic evolution of Cimbrian since the beginning of the XVII century; the last section (Section 5) is dedicated to some conclusive remarks.

2 The West-to-East line

Plodarisch, Saurian, and Timavese represent three of the four minority languages of Germanic origin in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region (henceforth: FVG), together with Kanaltalerisch, spoken around Tarvisio.[3] Even geographically speaking, the three communities are located much further North than the Cimbrian and Mòcheno localities, almost on the Austrian border, with the only exception of Sauris, which is more "internal" than Sappada and Timau. In terms of external exposure, the last two are also geographically more accessible, in particular, Timau is characterized as a *Straßendorf* and develops along a historical trade route that has connected the Romance and Germanic areas since ancient times. In this section we provide some data relating to the syntax of the German varieties spread across the West-to-East line concerning the aforementioned phenomena (OV/VO alternation, Subj-Verb inversion, and CP-expansion). As a general pattern, the V-to-C movement in root context still represents a solid trait in all these varieties, thus being classified as structural V2 languages, though more than one constituent may simultaneously appear to the left of Vf, that is within the C-domain, as the following examples show:

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[3]The three varieties, however, differ from Kanaltalerisch as the latter represents an effective extension of Carinthian within Friuli, while Plodarisch, Saurian and Timavese are isolated from the German-speaking area.

(6) a. Timavese

Haintn avn   plozzn **hoon**=i   in   Jani (nitt) tseachn
Today in.the square have=1SG DEF.M.ACC John (not) seen

'I haven't seen John today in the center'

b. Plodarisch

Geischter me   bolde **hot**=ar   si   (nét) werlezt
Yesterday in.the forest has=3SG.M.NOM 3SG.REFL (not) wounded

'He didn't wound himself in the woods yesterday'

c. Saurian

Geischter im poudn on=i   (neit) pageignt de schuellerararin
Yesterday in square have=1SG (not) meet   the teacher.F

'I didn't meet the teacher in the city center'

The structural movement of Vf in C° is easily traced if we look at the post-verbal subject clitics, which appear in enclisis to the finite verb, as well as the postverbal negation, which are traditionally considered as diagnostics for Vf movement out of vP into the C-domain, as clarified in the following structure:

(7)   [CP XP1 XP2... [C° **Vf** [WackernagelP [TP [NegP [VP [... V° ... **t$_{Vf}$**]]]]]]]]

Paired with the structural V2, these varieties share a "split-CP" configuration with an articulated periphery which seems to host multiple independent projections; in particular, Subj-V inversion (linear restriction) appears to be mandatory only with weak pronominal subjects, while Subject-DPs are usually placed pre-verbally, displaying a [XP DPSubj Vf] order in the main sentence.[4] As we will see (Section 3.2), the conditions which favor the nominal Subj-inversion represent the first major difference across these varieties, as well as the combination of both number and syntactic functions of the fronted XPs.

In the next sections, we present a fine-grained analysis of the varieties in FVG, namely Plodarisch, Saurian, and particularly Timavese, starting with the OV/VO alternation (Section 2.1), then proceeding with the different degrees of maintenance of nominal Subj inversion (Section 2.2), and finally the different modalities of CP-expansion (Section 2.3).

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[4]Even if V3-patterns may be explained considering a multiple specifiers approach (Lahne 2009, Bacskai-Atkari 2023), as suggested by an anonymous reviewer, it is not clear to us how this approach will derive restrictions on the possible number of specifiers. The gradual expansion of the C-domain attested throughout the Germanic varieties on which we are focusing finds a more appropriate explanation in a Feature-Scattering approach (see later for Timavese, "no more than two"-Constraint vs. Cimbrian fully CP-expansion).

2.1 OV/VO

Despite the great exposure to contact with Italo-Romance varieties, which characterized all the Germanic language islands across the Italian Alps, Plodarisch and Timavese seem to maintain some structural traits typical of German in a much more solid way (Grewendorf & Poletto 2005, Poletto & Tomaselli 2019, Madaro & Bidese 2022, Madaro 2024). In particular, if we consider the OV structure in the main and subordinate clauses, it is easy to observe that the German-like verbal bracket is maintained:

(8) a. Plodarisch

Hainte **hot** de mome de alan me morkt **gakaaft**
Today has DEF.F.NOM mother DEF.PL.ACC eggs in market bought

b. Timavese

Haitn **hott** da muatar da ailan im morkt **gackaaft**
Today has DEF.F.NOM mother DEF.PL.ACC eggs in market bought
'Today the mother bought eggs at the market'

In subordinate clauses, both varieties show instances of V(P)R-related phenomena coherently with an OV typology, even though in Timavese VO structures with Objects-DPs outside the verbal brackets are attested and widely accepted, suggesting much more freedom within the syntactic structure due to pragmatic/information structure traits[5]. These types of occurrences are ruled out in Plodarisch:

(9) a. Timavese

Dar Jani hot=mar sok [as=ar (aa ringl) **hott gackaaft**
The John has=1SG.DAT said [that=3SG.M.NOM (a ring) has bought
aa ring vir sai baib]
a ring for his wife]
'John told me that he bought his wife a ring'

b. Plodarisch

*Sie hont=mer gesouk [as ana Kronkhet **hot geteten** de Kie]
3PL have=1SG.DAT said [that a disease has killed the cows]
'They told me that a disease killed the cows'

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[5]As claimed in Madaro & Bidese (2022), verbal clusters in Timavese (as well as Saurian and Cimbrian) are generally found in an [AUX V] order in subordinates introduced by a lexical complementizer, while the order [V AUX], typically found in Continental West-Germanic with OV base, is considered not to be acceptable among speakers. This specific trait has led to the hypothesis that these patterns should not be treated as instances of VR, but of a crystallized setting of verbal cluster, probably a first instance for switching from an OV order to a VO one.

On the other hand, Saurian displays a higher degree of OV/VO alternation as far as interrogatives/infinitives are considered (see examples 10a,b and 10c,d). The possibility of having a preverbal negation in subordinate context (example 10e) highlights a certain degree of asymmetry, even though variation occurs, as (10f) clearly shows:

(10)   Saurian

    a. Bein **ot** der   khiokhmon *in*   *vuks* **gesehn**?
       when has DEF.M.NOM hunter   DEF.M.ACC fox seen?

    b. Bein **ot** der   khiokhmon **gesehn** *in*   *vuks*?
       when has DEF.M.NOM hunter   seen   DEF.ACC fox?
       'When did the hunter see the fox?'

    c. I   hon=en   geheart **vleitn**   *'s gaigele.*
       1SG have=3SG.ACC heard   play.INF the fiddle

    d. I   hon=en   geheart *'s gaigele* **vleitn**.
       1SG have=3SG.ACC heard   the fiddle play.INF
       'I heard him playing the violin.'

    e. I   houfe [as=ar   *net* **geat** in bolt].
       1SG hope [that=3SG.M.NOM not goes in woods]
       'I hope that he doesn't go into the woods.'

    f. I   houfe [as 's   **schneibet** *neit* haite].
       1SG hope [that 3SG.IMPERS snows   not today]
       'I hope that it doesn't snow today.'[6]

Nevertheless, a contrastive analysis between Modern Saurian and some early nineteenth-century texts shows an increase in terms of the diffusion of VO-type orders diachronically (Costantini 2019a), an aspect that would lead to considering the variety as VO-dominant with alternation (Madaro & Bidese 2022), with a possible shift from an asymmetric to a symmetric word order (see position of object clitics and negation in subordinates).

2.2 Subject-verb inversion

As said before, multiple elements within the LP in root clauses are widely attested and violations of the V2 restriction seem to apply quite frequently even

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[6]As the two possible positions for negation show, it seems unclear whether Saurian may or may not be considered an asymmetric language. For further evidence see the discussion in Costantini (2019b) and Bidese (2019), both from the same volume.

in Plodarisch, which is considered the most conservative among the varieties we analyze in this section.

A first hint of comparison is represented by the degree of acceptability of Subj-V inversion in the root declarative context: as already mentioned, the pattern applies mandatorily with "weak" pronominal subjects in all the FVG varieties, while full Subjects are more frequent preverbal. In Saurian, for instance, [XP Vf DPSubj] order represents the least preferred choice, even though acceptable (examples and acceptability rates taken from Costantini 2019a: 101):

(11) Saurian

    a. Geister **ot** *der* *Peter* gelezn a puech. [0.4]
       Yesterday has DEF.M.NOM Peter read a book

    b. Geister *der* *Peter* **ot** gelezn a puech. [0.9]
       Yesterday DEF.M.NOM Peter has read a book
       'Peter read a book yesterday.'

This pattern is divergent in Timavese (and apparently also in Plodarisch: see Grewendorf & Poletto 2005),[7] both orders are well-accepted, and the acceptability may be due to external factors, such as information structure (see Madaro 2024).

However, some instances of post-verbal DPSubjects are generally attested and well-accepted (but not mandatory) also in Saurian, specifically if the first constituent is contrastively focalized:

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[7]As stated in Madaro (2024), both orders seem to be acceptable among native speakers (six informants: 4 female informants, 2 male informants) on a Likert scale from 1 (not acceptable) to 6 (totally acceptable), here reported on a 0–1 scale through proportion to be aligned with the data for Saurian:

  (i) Da vargonnana boucha dar Gianni is af Paluc mit dar maschine
     The last.F week DEF.M.NOM John is to Paluzza with DEF.F.DAT auto
     gongan. [0.95]
     gone

  (ii) Da vargonnana boucha is dar Gianni af Paluc mit dar maschine
      The last.F week is DEF.M.NOM John to Paluzza with DEF.F.DAT auto
      gongan. [1.0]
      gone

     'Last week John went to Paluzza by car.'

(12) Saurian
      GEISTER (der   Peter) **ot** (der   Peter) gelezn a puech net
      Yesterday (DEF.M.NOM Peter) has (DEF.M.NOM Peter) read   a book   not
      haite [0.9]
      today
      'Peter read a book yesterday, not today'

Root contexts introduced by a Wh-operator appear to be interesting as far as Subj-V inversion is concerned. As Cognola (2013a,b) already pointed out for Mòcheno, subject inversion in Wh-questions occurs only with pronominal subjects, while Subjects-DPs are to be placed outside the matrix clause, either as left- or right-dislocated elements, with a resumptive element (pronoun) positioned clause-internally. This phenomenon strongly contrasts with Standard German and related varieties (e.g. Bavarian/South-Tyrolean) where Wh-operators trigger Subj-V inversion. Interestingly, it is well attested in other varieties we are analysing. See the examples below for Timavese (13a-b) in contrast with (standard) German (13c):

(13) a. Timavese
          Dar   Jani bos **hott**=ar=en   tsok?
          DEF.M.NOM John what has=3SG.M.NOM=PTC said?

      b. *Bos **hot**=n *dar Jani* tsok?

      c. German
          Was   **hat** *Johann* gesagt?
          What has John   said?
          'What has John said?'

In these varieties, there seems to be an incompatibility between pre-verbal DP-Subjects and WH-elements; in particular, the Wh-Criterion seems somehow to interfere with the EPP-checking/Subject-agreement in SpecFinP: the finite Verb in Fin° either satisfies the WH-criterion (i.e. the Spec-head relation with the WH-element) or enters a Subject-agreement relation. The fact that the DPSubject cannot occur immediately on the right of the finite verb – in the lower [Spec, TP], see (13b) – but only in a peripheral position could be explained considering the role of C°/Fin° as nominative case assigner in a structural V2 language. More specifically, in C-dominant languages (such as German) C is responsible for NOM-assignment (and eventually pro-licensing) in the lower T domain, while T is in

charge in T-dominant languages (such as Italian).[8] Crucially SpecTP represents the structural position in which NOM is assigned in both C- and T-dominant languages. In Timavese the DPSubject may occur in [Spec, TP] -on the right of the finite verb- only under specific conditions but its unmarked position corresponds to the preverbal one, i.e.: [Spec, FinP]. We speculate on the hypothesis that the satisfaction of the WH-criterion inhibits Nominative case assignment by Fin° to the DPSubject which could be rescued only by the intervention of the enclitic pronoun which absorbs case and forms a chain with the dislocated DP, resembling the configuration which characterizes the Northeastern Italo-Romance varieties.[9]

Without entering further details, it is interesting to anticipate the following observation: the ban for the DPSubject to occur in [Spec, TP] – which characterizes only the WH-root clause in Timavese – represents a generalized restriction in the Cimbrian varieties where it applies in both the interrogative and the declarative root clause (cf. Section 3). As a matter of fact, the WH-root clause confirms its double role in the process, which leads to the dismantling of V2: in English, the WH-root clause represents the context where V2 is maintained (Subject-AUX inversion as residual V2), in the Germanic enclaves of the Italian Alpine region it represents the context where Subject-Vf inversion "à la German" is first lost.

If we take into consideration all the aspects touched upon so far in a preliminary manner, it seems possible to outline a sort of continuum that connects all the varieties of the West-to East line as shown in Table 1.

As we will see in Section 3 (cf. Table 3, Section 3.2) the gradualness which characterized the loss of DPSubj inversion *à la* German has gone further in the North-to-South line *au-pair* with the gradual expansion of the CP. In the next

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[8]Bidese et al. (2020) propose a re-visitation of the distinction between COMP-dominant versus INFL-dominant language (which goes back to Hulk & van Kemenade 1995) adopting Ouhali's mechanism of feature-inheritance: SHARE versus DONATE. Cf, Section 3.2 for its extension to Cimbrian.

[9]In north-eastern Italo-Romance varieties such incompatibility is well expressed by the mandatory presence of a (resumptive) clitic which undergoes enclisis to Vf in [+Wh]-sentences (differently from declarative root sentences), thus showing Subj-inversion, as in the case of Friulian (GEMONA):

(i) Maria l=à   cumprâ el libri
     Maria 3SG.FR=has bought a book
     'Maria bought a book'

(ii) Maria,   ce   ch' à=la   cumprâ?
     As for Mary, what that has=3SG.F bought?
     'What did Mary buy?'

Table 1: W-to-E line features settings

	V2		inversion in decl. clause		inversion in WH-Qs		
	Linear	Structural	DPSubj-Vf	Subj$_{pron}$-Vf	DPSubj-Vf	Subj$_{pron}$-Vf	asymmetry
(German)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Plodarisch	–	+	+	+	+?	+	+
Timavese	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
Saurian	–	+	(+)	+	–	+	#
(Mòcheno)	–	+	(+)	+	–	+	+

section (Section 2.3) this hypothesis will be explored in depth through an analysis of V3 orders in Timavese, trying to identify possible restrictions even within a more articulated CP.

2.3 CP-Expansion

There is robust evidence in the literature of non-canonical V3 orders across V2 languages with specific types of elements, such as adverbial clauses and, more generally, frame setters which seem not to trigger Subj-V inversion in root clauses with pronominal Subjects:

(14) a. West Flemish (Haegeman & Greco 2018)
        Als   't geijzeld is ze   **risschiert** heur   niet buiten
        when it frosty   is 3SG.F risks   3SG.REFL not outside
        'When it is frosty, she does not venture outside'

     b. Kiezdeutsch (Wiese 2009)
        Morgen   ich geh arbeitsamt
        Tomorrow 1SG go   job.centre
        'Tomorrow I will go to the job center'

     c. Norwegian Urban Vernacular (Freywald et al. 2015)
        Med limewire det   **tar**   en to   dager
        with Limewire 3SG.N takes one two days
        'Using Limewire it takes 1 or 2 days'

   Similar examples may also be found in (Eastern/Western) Yiddish (te Velde 2017), Urban Vernacular Danish, and Urban Vernacular Swedish (Walkden 2017), and diachronically, OHG/OE show similar "deviation-from-linear-V2" patterns, thus highlighting a [FrameP + V2] order. Such elements seem not to directly

influence the internal structure of the clause, either being base-generated exter-
nally or being merged with the following subject pronouns as a single phonetic
unit (see te Velde 2017). These phenomena result in an apparent (superficial) vi-
olation of the V2 restriction and may be due to some post-syntactical operation.
This pattern strongly differs from V3 in non-V2 languages, as in Italian, where
the Vf is preceded by two nominal objects both in main and embedded clauses:

(15) a. A Gianni il libro glie   =l   =ho   dato ieri.
          to J.   the book 3SG.DAT =3SG.ACC =**have** given yesterday
          'I gave the book to John yesterday.'

  b. Ho   detto [che a Gianni il libro glie   =l   **ho**   dato
      have said [that to J.   the book 3SG.DAT =3SG.ACC =have given
      ieri].
      yesterday]
      'I said that I gave the book to John yesterday.'

Back to our varieties, non-inverted V2 orders with frame-setters/adverbial
clauses are also attested in Timavese, independently from their status related
to the information structure:[10]

(16) a. Q: "Who does always buy the flour at the grocery shop?"
          SUBJ [new] + FS [given]

    i.   In lohn   da   nona   **ckaft** obla   is   batzameal.
         In market DEF.F grandma buys always DEF.N.ACC flour

    ii. In lohn   **ckaft** obla   da   nona   is   batzameal.
         In market buys always DEF.F grandma DEF.N.ACC flour

    iii. *Da   nona   in lohn   **ckaft** obla   is   batzameal.
         DEF.F grandma in market buys always DEF.N.ACC flour

    'The grandmother always buys the flour at the grocery shop.'

---

[10]Preferred version. As the examples (i) and (ii) show, the DPSubject [+new] may occupy two
distinct positions, either right before Vf or in a lower vP-focus-position (below the adverb *obla*),
which is favored by the Subject itself being [+new information] (for a standard assumption
about a lower Focus position in vP see among others Belletti 2004, 2018, but alto Petrova &
Hinterhölzl 2010 for OHG). As a confirmation, it is important to note that a SpecTP position
higher than *obla* is available only by a [-new] DPSubject. See the following sentences:

  (v)   *In lohn ckaft da nona [+new] obla is batzameal

  (vi) In lohn ckaft da nona [−new] obla is batzameal

b. Q: "When did mom buy the dress?"
   SUBJ [given] + FS [new]

  i. Geister   nochmittag da   mama **hot** in   keittel gackaft.
     yesterday afternoon DEF.F mom has DEF.M.ACC dress bought

  ii. * Geister   nochmittag **hot** da   mama in   keittel
     yesterday afternoon   has DEF.FR mom   DEF.M.ACC dress
     gackaft.
     bought

'The mom bought the dress yesterday.'

Apparently, in cases of frame setter/adverbs-initial sentences, DPSubjects are usually attracted in a pre-verbal position, as evidenced by sentences in 16b; with pronominal subjects, conversely, the pattern [XPframe-setter Vf=pronominal subject] is perfectly grammatical: this aspect may suggest a certain degree of specialization within left-peripheral position, as for SpecFinP in Cimbrian (cf. Section 3.2).

On the other end, object fronting (as [+topic] or [+focus] constituent, with no resumptive element) satisfies the EPP feature in SpecCP, thus triggering Subj-V inversion:

(17) a. Q: "Who has bought the car to Maria for her birthday?"
      SUBJ [new] + OBJ [given]

    i. Dar   Maria-n **hott** da   nona   in   auto
      DEF.F.DAT Maria-DAT has DEF.F.NOM grandma DEF.M.ACC car
      gackaft.
      bought

    ii. *Dar   Maria-n   da   nona   **hott** in   auto
      DEF.F.DAT Maria-DAT DEF.F.NOM grandma has DEF.M.ACC car
      gackaft
      bought

'The grandmother bought Maria the car'

b. Q: "Did the kids eat everything?"
   SUBJ [given] + OBJ [new = FOCUS][11]

---

[11]As the examples show, Object-fronting with no resumption is still possible in Timavese, differently from other varieties, such as Cimbrian, where object-fronting always occurs as left-dislocation with a resumptive object pronoun (cf. Section 3.2). Nonetheless, fronting is acceptable if DP-Object is [+given], or topic information; when [+new], they cannot undergo simple fronting unless contrastively focussed.

    i.   is   VLAISCH **hont** da   ckindar geissn da   greisn nitt.
        DEF.N meat   have DEF.PL kids   eaten DEF.PL veggies not

    ii. * is   VLAISCH da   ckindar **hont** geissn da   greisn nitt.
        DEF.N meat   DEF.PL kids   have eaten DEF.PL veggies not

    'The kids ate the meat, not the vegetables'

If the topicalized element (either a DPSubject or DPObject) is doubled by a clause-internal resumptive element, poly-occupation is allowed, suggesting that in sentences like (18), they occupy a different structural position within the C-domain, that is within the higher sub-domain dedicated to base-generated non-fronted DPs:

(18) a.   Dar   Maria-n$_i$ da   nona **hott**=ar$_i$ in
           DEF.F.DAT Maria-DAT DEF.F.NOM granma has=3SF.F.DAT DEF.M.ACC
           auto gackaft.
           car   bought

      'As for Maria, the grandmother bought her the car.'

    b.   Da   ckindar$_i$ is   VLAISCH **hont**=sa$_i$ geissn da   greisn nitt.
         DEF.PL kids   DEF.N meat   have=3PL eaten DEF.PL vegies not

      'As for the kids, they ate the meat, not the vegetables.'

Apparently, the assumption of two subdomains in the CP – as proposed by Poletto (2002) – is quite solid also in Timavese. Fronting via movement (no resumption) suffices to check the EPP feature: once a DPObject has been moved to the LP, any other kind of fronting via movement is disabled. If an element has already moved in this lower domain, additional elements may appear only if they are adjuncts (frame-setters) or doubled by a resumptive element (via left-dislocation).

Even in the higher domain (the base-generated one) though, some restrictions seem to apply, as it is shown in (19):

(19) a.   Q: "Who has bought the stuff I asked?"
        OBJ: [+new] SUBJ: [given (+ RE)] + FS
        *Geister mai   pruadar$_i$ is   VLAISCH **hott** =ar$_i$
        Yesterday my.NOM brother   DEF.N meat   has =3SG.M.NOM
        gackaft nitt in   visch.
        bought not DEF.M.ACC fish

      'Yesterday my brother bought the meat, not the fish (that was bought by my sister).'

b.   Q: "Who has bought the newspaper today?"
     SUBJ: [+new] OBJ: [given (+ RE)] + FS
     *Haintn da   zaitin$_t$ dar   Jan und da   Mari
     Today   DEF.F.NOM newspaper DEF.M Jan and DEF.F Mary
     hont=sa$_t$ gackaft.
     have=3SG.F.ACC bought

     'As for the newspaper, John and Mary have bought it.'

Apparently, the sentences in 19a-b are agrammatical in Timavese. However, adverbial phrases/frame-setters and left-dislocated elements should not trigger any restriction, as they are elements positioned in the highest domain (intended for base generation) of an articulated CP.[12] The equivalent of this structure in Italian (or other Italo-Romance varieties) or Cimbrian would be acceptable. This leads us to assume that even within the highest domain there are restrictions in terms of element placement.

See Table 2 for a summary of the possible combinations examined so far.

Table 2: LP occurrences in Timavese

Base-g domain		Move-domain	C°	CliticP	IP/TP	
FrameS		DPSubj	Vf	-	...	Ok
FrameS		DPObj	Vf	-	...	Ok
DPSubj (new/given)		DPObj	Vf	RE(DPSubj)	...	Ok
DPObj (new/given)		DPSubj	Vf	RE(DPObj)	...	Ok
FrameS	DPSubj		Vf	RE(DPSubj)	...	Ok
FrameS	DPObj		Vf	RE(DPObj)	...	Ok
FrameS	DPSubj	DPObj	Vf	RE(DPSubj)	...	*
FrameS	DPObj	DPSubj	Vf	RE(DPObj)	...	*
	DPObj	DPSubj	Vf			*

---

[12]In fact, a structure with [adv – XP (left-disl) Vf=RE …] turns out to be perfectly acceptable:

(i)   Haintn da   zaitin$_t$ hont=sa$_t$ dar   Jan und da   Maria gackaft
      Today   DEF.F newspaper have=3SG.F DEF.M Jan and DEF.F Maria bought

After examining all the possible combinations of elements within an articulated CP in Timavese, it is possible to hypothesize some generalizations:

(20) LP constraints in Timavese:

- 2 (or more) XPs never occur in the LP via movement.
- 2 XPs may occur if at least one of them is base-generated directly in the LP.
- If (b) occurs, no other XP can be moved to or base-generated in the LP.

Now going back to the original model assumed in Hsu (2017) for bundled heads, it is possible to sketch a dual configuration of Timavese CP.

Figure 4: Dual CP configuration in Timavese, (only) two Specs allowed

These configurations help us to catch the observable phenomena in Timavese C-domain: it is possible to hypothesize a [Base-gen +V2] CP, meaning a "Spatial" restriction: no more than two constituents seem to be allowed in Timavese LP, either both being base-generated or one moved plus one base-generated. Moreover, the bottleneck effect alone is not sufficient to determine the preferred CP configuration: the occurrences can be captured if we hypothesize two different structures, in which the feature [Topic] may be bundled together either to FrameP or to an already bundled FocusP-FinP: the choice follows the Universal Ordering Constraint (Giorgi & Pianesi 1997), and the bundled FocusP-FinP head is the first one to be checked. Contrary to the West-to-East line, the varieties across the

North-to-South line have developed a fully expanded CP with a structural Top-icP higher than FocP and a lower [Spec, Fin] which has specialized as structural Subject position.

3 The North-to-South line

In this section we will provide some data relating to the syntax of the German varieties spread across the North-to-South line. We will focus our attention on the Cimbrian variety spoken in Luserna (TN) – the enclave where the majority of Cimbrian speakers live – and we will compare it occasionally with:

- Mocheno – which is spoken in the Fersina valley and still maintains partial intercomprehension with the German dialects of South Tyrol

- the Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetzan (VR) –which nowadays counts on no more than a dozen native speakers.[13]

In line with what has been already shown for the West-to-East line, all these varieties have lost the V2 linear restriction but maintain structural V2, i.e. Vf movement to the C-domain in the root declarative clause, with the only possible exception of the Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetazn. Let us consider the following data:[14]

(21) Mòcheno
Hait   en de boteig **hòn** =e   =en   nèt tsechen.
Today in the shop   have =1SG.NOM =3SG.M.ACC (not) seen
'Today I have (not) seen him in the shop.'

(22) Cimbrian (Luserna variety)
Haüt   in balt   hatt =ar   =en   nèt gesek.
Today in forest haa =3SG.M.NOM =3SG.M.ACC not seen
'Today he has not seen him in the wood.'

---

[13]As for the Cimbrian variety spoken in Roana/Robaan (VI) we do not have, at least for the moment, enough data either collected or discussed in previus literature in order to draw a comparable picture and we will leave this further extension to future research.

[14]For Mòcheno we refer to Cognola (2013a,b); for the Giazza variety to Bidese (2023), Bidese, Cognola, et al. (2012) and Bidese et al. (2020); for the Cimbrian variety spoken in Luserna to Bidese, Cognola, et al. (2012), Bidese (2023) and Bidese et al. (2020).

(23) Cimbrian (Giazza variety: from Scardoni 2000: 157)

     Vour   tz' essan   er   besce=ci   sempar de   hente.

     Before to eat.INF 3SG.M.NOM wash=3SG.REFL always DEF.PL hands

     'Before eating he always washes his hands.'

As the examples 21 and 22 show, Mocheno and the Luserna variety of Cimbrian are still characterized by a reduced verbal bracket which embraces both the enclitic pronoun(s) and sentence negation (*nèt*) reproducing the well-known German structure but with an expanded CP (cf. Section 2, point 7):

(24) [CP XP1 XP2... [C° **Vf** [WackernagelP [TP [NegP [VP [... V° ... **t$_{Vf}$**]]]]]]]]

Only in the Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetzan (see example 23) the subject pronoun occurs on the left of the finite verb and the lexicalization of the Wackernagel position is restricted to reflexive pronouns and object clitics hinting to a potential restructuring of the system (loss of structural V2 and maintenance of a low verbal bracket), as we will discuss in the final remarks (cf. 5).

In the following paragraphs we will show that the verbal bracket may be expanded only in Mòcheno which maintains both OV (cf. 3.1) and nominal subject inversion (cf. Section 3.2) as residual word order possibilities displaying a situation similar to the one already discussed for Saurian. Rather on the contrary the Cimbrian varieties have definitely lost nominal subject inversion and display a stable VO typology in contrast to what has been discussed for the varieties of the West-to-East line. As we are going to show, a further relevant difference which characterizes the North-to-South line with respect to the West-to-East line concerns the structure of the expanded CP with particular reference to the modality of object fronting (cf. Section 3.3).

3.1 OV/VO

The North-to-South line displays a linear adjustment to the Romance word order patterns not only with respect to the systematic violation of the V2 linear restriction but also with respect to the typological change from the OV towards the VO type. The gradual change from the German OV type, which is maintained in the dialects spoken in South Tyrol, toward the VO type is well attested along the flow of the river Adige, as already noted, among others in Tomaselli & Panzeri (2015).

Let us consider the following examples:

(25) German (standard)
Heute **hat** Hans das   Holz   im   Wald   gehackt.
Today has John   DEF.N.ACC wood in.the forest chopped
'Today John has chopped some woods in the forest.'

(26) South Tyrolean (Meran variety)
Haint **hot** der   Hons es   holz   in wold   khockt.
Today haz DEF.M.NOM John   DEF.N.ACC wood in forest chopped
'Today John has chopped some woods in the forest.'

(27) Mòcheno[15]
Haüte der   Hons **hot** (a puach) kaft   (a puach).
Today DEF.M.NOM John   has (a book)   bought (a book)
'Today John has bought a book.'

(28) Cimbrian (Luserna/Lusern)[16]

   a.   Haüt di   måmma **hatt gespüalt** di   pjattn.
       Today DEF.F mother has   washed   DEF.PL dishes
       'The mother has washed the dishes today.'

   b.   I   **hån** *niamat* **getrofft**
       1SG have noone   met.

   c.   I   **hån getrofft** *niamat*
       1SG have met   noone
       'I haven't met anyone.'

As the previous data show, while Mòcheno still admits the OV pattern with the definite object (*a puach*) -much like Saurian- the Cimbrian varieties have fixed the VO type and admit the OV type in very restricted contexts, i.e. with either a pronominal object or a negative polarity item like *niamat*.

Without entering into further details, it is important to stress that all the German varieties which display a VO typology (i.e.: Cimbrian, Mòcheno, Saurian) do not behave like the Italian "high" VO type but rather like the Scandinavian "low" VO sub-type.[17] The past participle is realized by an invariant form which is never endowed by overt object-agreement morphology. Furthermore, the past

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[15]Data from Cognola (2013a) who underlines the prevalence of the VO type (85%) with respect to the OV type (15%).

[16]Data presented and discussed in Grewendorf & Poletto (2005).

[17]For the distinction between a Germanic low VO subtype and a Romance higher one cf. Poletto & Tomaselli (2009, 2018, 2019).

participle always follows sentence negation (*nèt*) and low adverbs like *hèrta* 'always':

(29) Cimbrian (Luserna/Lusern)

    a. Haüt di   måmma **hatt** nèt gespüalt di   pjattn.
        today DEF.F mother has NEG washed DEF.PL dishes
        'Today the mother didn't wash the dishes.'

    b. Haüt di måmma **hatt** *hèrta*   **gespüalt** di pjattn.
        today the mother has always washed the dishes
        'Today the mother always washed the dishes.'

    c. Haüt di pjattn **soin** (*hèrta*) **khent** (*hèrta*) **gespüalt** vodar
        today the dishes are (always) been (always) washed by.the
        måmma.
        mother
        'Today the dishes are always washed by the mother.'

Rather on the contrary, the Italian past participle shows object-agreement morphology (*stat-e/i/a/o, lavat-e/i/a/o*), may host an object clitic (*salutat-o=lo*), and may move out of the vP to a high functional head:[18]

(30) Italian (standard)

    a. Le stoviglie sono stat-e   (spesso) lavat-e   (spesso).
        The dishes   are been-3PL.F (often) washed-3PL.F (often)
        'The dishes have often been washed.'

    b. Salutat-o=lo,   lei   partì.
        Greeted-3SG.M=3SG.M.ACC 3SG.F.NOM left
        'Having greeted him, she left.'

Hence, the adjustment to the Italian word order pattern which seems to have reached a higher degree of fulfillment in the North-to-South line implies linear convergence rather than a structural one.[19]

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[18]Cf. Belletti (2004) for an analysis of reduced past participle clauses in terms of V to C movement.

[19]For a theory of language contact in the generative perspective, cf., among all, Bidese (2023) and the literature cited there.

3.2 Subject-verb inversion

As we already pointed out before (cf. Section 2 ex. 6a, b, c and Section 3 ex. 21, 22) subject pronouns invert with the finite verb in all the Germanic varieties attested in the North-East of Italy with the only possible exception of the Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetzen (ex. 23).[20] Nominal (i.e. DP) subject inversion "*à la* German" is attested in all the varieties of the West-to-East line even if the degree of acceptability of the pattern [XP … Vf DP$_{NOM.}$ *nèt* (O)V(O)] varies from full acceptability in Plodarisch to "less acceptable" or better to say "acceptable under specific condition" in Timavese (cf. ex. 17) and Saurian where it counts as a residual word order pattern (cf. ex. 11, 12).

In the North-to-South line, DP-Subject inversion with Vfin is lost with the only exception of Mòcheno (see 31b). In the Cimbrian varieties, the DP-Subject generally lexicalizes the pre-verbal position. Post-verbal Subjects occur on the right of the whole verbal complex "*à la* Italian", modulo the intervention of the expletive particle −*da/ta* in the Luserna-variety (see 32d) and the preverbal expletive *iz* in the variety of Giazza/Ljetzan (33c). Let us consider the following examples:

(31)   Mòcheno (cf. Cognola 2013a: 2)

    a. Gester   der   Mario **hòt** kaft   a puach
        Yesterday DEF.M.NOM Mario has bought a book

---

[20]Pronominal subject inversion with the finite verb in the declarative clause survives in the Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetzan only with the impersonal subject -*pa* (which corresponds to *man* in German):

  (i)   Cimbrian (Giazza/Ljetzan: Scardoni 2000: 150)

      a. Pitar segase   **haka/me**=*pa* iz gras.
         with a.scythe mow=IMPERS the grass
         'With a scythe, you mow the grass'.

      b. Ote   bisan   **see**=*pa*   in vocs.
         in.the meadows see=IMPERS the fox
         'In the meadows, you can see the fox'.

      c. Disar langaz **mussa**=*pa*/**muss**=**ma** ghian tze vingan-au   iz   holtz.
         this   spring must=IMPERS   go   to collect=PART the wood
         'In the spring, you have to collect wood.' (p.147)

  (ii)   Haute regat'z.
       Today rains=3SG.N
       'Today it's raining.'

  (iii) Gheistar   ha=s=t   gashnaibat aljar in   tak
       Yesterday have=3SG=3SG.N snowed   all   the day
       'Yesterday, it has been snowing the whole day.'

b. Gester **hòt** der   Mario kaft   a puach
   Yesterday has DEF.M.NOM Mario bought a book
   'Yesterday Mario bought a book'

(32) Cimbrian (Lusern variety)

a. Haüt dar   nono   **iz** khent atz Lusern
   Today DEF.M.NOM grandpa is come to Lusern

b. * Haüt **iz** dar   nono   khent atz Lusern
   Today is DEF.M.NOM grandpa come to Lusern

c. * Haüt **iz** khent dar   nono   atz Lusern
   Today is come DEF.M.NOM grandpa to Lusern

d. Haüt **iz**=ta khent dar   nono   atz Lusern
   Today is=DA come DEF.M.NOM grandpa to Lusern

   'Today the grandpa has come to Lusern'

(33) Cimbrian (Giazza variety, from Scardoni 2000: 154)[21]

a. Gheistar i=me   balt in vatar **ha=ci**   gahakat an
   Yesterday in=DEF.DAT forest the father has=3SG.REFL cut   a
   vingarn arbaitjgne.
   finger working

b. * Gheistar i=me   balt **ha=ci**   in vatar gahakat an
   Yesterday in=DEF.DAT woods has=3SG.REFL the father cut   a
   vingarn arbaitjgne.
   finger working
   'Yesterday the father cut his finger in the woods while working.'

c. (from Scardoni 2000: 171)
   Gheistar iz   **ist** kent tz' essan in   Giani.
   Yesterday 3SG.N.NOM is come to eat.INF DEF.M.NOM Gianni
   'Gianni came to eat yesterday.'

The lack of nominal subject inversion *à la* German in the Cimbrian varieties discussed so far has led to the following hypothesis already discussed in the literature:

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[21]The examples for Giazza variety are adapted from Scardoni (2000) and recently tested via fieldwork interviews which are collected in personal archives.

- the Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetzan (the southernmost point from the geographic perspective) has lost structural V2 (cf. Tomaselli 2004 and Bidese 2008) even if it maintains a low verbal bracket which includes both the clitic object and negation, cf. ex. 23);

- the Cimbrian variety spoken in Luserna has undergone a restructuring of the left periphery: the lower Specifier position of the CP domain, i.e. [Spec, FinP] has been reanalyzed as structural subject position, as the position where Nominative case is assigned. Following Bidese et al. (2020: 591) we will assume that Nominative case is assigned by C/Fin (as for German) in a Spec-head configuration similar to Italian (Figure 5).

Figure 5: NOM-assignment from Bidese et al. 2020: 591

This reanalysis of [Spec, FinP] as structural subject position implies relevant consequences for the modality of CP-expansion, in particular for object fronting that always implies pronominal resumption, as we will see in the next section.

3.3 CP-expansion

A first common trait of the varieties that form the North-to-South line is the possibility to have even more than two XPs on the left of the finite verb, contrary to what has been observed in detail for Timavese (cf. Section 2.3). Let us consider the following examples:

(34) Mòcheno (cf. Cognola 2013a: 185)
Gester   en de   Maria   der   Mario **hòt** a puach (nèt) kaft.
yesterday to DEF.F.DAT Maria DEF.M.NOM Mario has a book (not) bought
'Yesterday Mario bought Maria a book.'

(35) Cimbrian (Lusern)
Haüt i=me   balt dar   nono   **hat**=en   (nèt) gesek.
today in=DEF.DAT wood DEF.M.NOM grandpa has=3SG.M.ACC (not) seen
'Today the grandpa hasn't seen him in the forest.'

(36) Cimbrian (Giazza/Lusern)
Haüt i=me   balt in   nono   **hat**=en   (nèt) gesek.
today in=DEF.DAT forest DEF.M.NOM grandpa has=3SG.M.ACC (not) seen

It is interesting to note that the possibility to have more than two XPs on the left of the finite verb usually implies the preverbal position of the DPSUBJ which counts as third constituent.

A second relevant difference between the Cimbrian varieties and all the other Germanic language islands (i.e.: both Mòcheno and the ones which form the West-to-East line) consists in the clitic resumption which obligatorily applies with object fronting:

(37) Cimbrian (Lusern)
In   vuks **hatt**=ar=en   nèt gesek.
DEF.M.ACC fox   has=3SG.M.NOM=3SG.M.ACC not seen
'As for the fox, he hasn't seen it.'

Rather on the contrary, the clitic recovery of the DPSubj is always excluded unless the prosodic intonation or the distance between the dislocated Subject and the finite verb hints to a left-dislocation construction, with the subject base-generated in a higher functional projection, i.e. in the higher CP subdomain:

(38) Cimbrian (Lusern)

a. In   vuks dar   nono   **hatt**=en   nèt gesek.
   DEF.N.ACC fox   DEF.M.NOM grandpa has=3SG.M.ACC not seen

b. Dar   nono   in   vuks **hatt**=en   nèt gesek.
   DEF.M.NOM grandpa DEF.M.ACC fox   has=3SG.M.ACC not seen

    c. Dar   nono,   ‖ in   vuks **hatt**=ar=en   nèt
        DEF.M.NOM grandpa   DEF.M.ACC fox   has=3SG.M.NOM=3SG.M.ACC not
        gesek.
        seen
        'As for the fox, the grandpa hasn't seen it.'

The analysis of (38c) as a left-dislocated construction is confirmed by the fact that the DPSubj allows/undergoes right-dislocation as well:[22]

(39)   Cimbrian (Lusern)
      In   vuks **hatt** =ar   =en   nèt gesek dar
      DEF.M.ACC fox   has =3SG.M.NOM =3SG.M.ACC not seen   DEF.M.NOM
      nono.
      granpa

It is interesting to note that Mòcheno still allows Object-fronting without clitic recovery along with DPSUBJ inversion à la German. In our perspective, the co-existence of the following word order patterns:

(40)   Mòcheno
    a. (Gester) S   puach **hòt**=se   (gester)   kaft.
        yesterday DEF.N.ACC book   has=3SG.F.NOM (yesterday) bought
    b. (Gester) S   puach **hòt** di   mama (gester)   kaft.
        yesterday DEF.N.ACC book   has DEF.F.NOM mother (yesterday) bought
        '(Yesterday) the mother/she bought a book.'

could be taken as an argument in favor of a not-yet-specialized pre-verbal position, i.e. [Spec, FinP] is free to host either the Subject or the Object and has not yet specialized as structural subject position as in Cimbrian (cf. diagram in 34).

In Cimbrian the specialization of [Spec, FinP] as Subject position necessarily implies a further step in the CP-expansion process, namely the projection of TopP as possible landing site for XP fronting. Differently from Timavese, where

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[22]Right dislocation does not coincide with "free subject inversion" with the whole verbal complex. In the first case clitic resumption implies a personal pronoun, in the second case the expletive particle *-da/ta* is involved as the comparison between the following examples clearly shows (cf. Bidese & Tomaselli 2018 for further details):

   (i)   Haüt iz=ta khent dar nono atz Lusern

   (ii) Haüt izz=ar khent atz Lusern, dar nono

the feature [Top] collapses with [Frame] in a higher projection than the unspecialized Foc/FinProjection (cf. Section 2.3, Figure 4), Cimbrian has scattered the feature [Top] and presents a fully articulated CP:

(41) [FrameP … [ForceP [TopP [FocusP [FinP DPNOM [Fin° Vf [WP [TP …
      ]]]]]]]]

It is important to stress that the expansion of CP which we assume for the Cimbrian varieties does not overlap with the analysis assumed by Hsu (2017) for Old Italian (cf. Section 1, Figure 3) at least under two aspects:

- the specialization of [Spec, FinP] as structural subject position (for Nominative case assignment) and the maintenance of a Wackernagel position which implies enclisis to the element which lexicalizes Fin° (either the finite verb or the lexical complementizer).

- the development of a double class of lexical complementizers: a low one which alternates with the finite verb in Fin and a higher one which lexicalizes a functional head in the higher C-subdomain.

As for (I), the specialization of [Spec, FinP] as structural subject position correlates with the absence of DP-Subject inversion "à la German" in both the declarative and the interrogative clause. As a matter of fact, the only position in which a DP-Subject may occur without clitic resumption is the position on the left of the finite verb in the root declarative clause. In all other cases clitic resumption (either pronominal or expletive) is necessary to save the structure:

(42) a. (Haüt) dar   nono   (haüt) **hatt** nèt gesek in   vuks.
         (today) DEF.M.NOM grandpa (today) has not seen DEF.M.ACC fox

      b. Haüt **hatt**=ta nèt gesek in   vuks dar   nono.
         today has=DA not seen   DEF.M.ACC fox   DEF.M.NOM grandpa

      c. Haüt **hatt**=ar   nèt gesek in   vuks dar   nono
         today has=3SG.M not seen   DEF.M.ACC fox   DEF.M.NOM grandpa

(43) a. Benn **hatt**=ar   gesek in   vuks dar   DEF.M.NOM
         when has=textsc3sg.m.nom seen   DEF.M.ACC fox   DEF.M.NOM
         nono?
         grandpa?

      b. Dar   nono, benn **hatt**=ar   gesek in   vuks?
         DEF.M.NOM grandpa when has=3SG.M.NOM seen   DEF.M.ACC fox?

c. Benn **hatt**=ta gesek in vuks dar nono?

When has=DA seen DEF.M.ACC fox DEF.M.NOM grandpa?

'As for the grandpa, when has he seen the fox?'

If Subject agreement (i.e.: nominative case assignment) applies in FinP, right-wards agreement need the intervention of a rescue element either expletive (-*ta*) or pronominal (-*ar*) in order to allow nominative case absorption.[23] In a WH-root clause the finite verb cannot enter a double Spec-Head relation within the same domain (it cannot satisfy both the WH-criterion in FocP and Nominative case assignment in FinP), hence Subject raising in [Spec, FinP] is blocked and either left or right dislocation favored.

As for (II), it is important to note that the existence of a double class of lexical complementizers, which was already attested in Baragiola (1907) – cf. Section 4.2 – builds a fully developed system in the Cimbrian variety spoken in Luserna.[24] The following examples clearly show that the low class of complementizers lexicalizes Fin° in complementary distribution with Vf (cf. 44b) while the high one lexicalizes a higher functional head in the higher C-subdomain (i.e.: Force) and requires a V2 word order pattern (cf. 44c):

(44) a. In balt **hatt**=ar nèt gesek in vuks

in forest has=3SG.M.NOM not seen DEF.M.ACC fox

b. [az=ar nèt **hatt** gesek in vuks

[that=3SG.M.NOM not has seen DEF.M.ACC fox

c. [kè in balt **hatt**=ar nèt gesek in vuks

[that in forest has=3SG.M.NOM not seen DEF.M.ACC fox

As expected, Object left dislocation cannot be embedded under *az* (see ex. 45b): the complementizer *az* lexicalizes Fin°, the lowest sub-projection in the C-domain, and there is no possible position for object-fronting on the right of it (i.e. in the lower I/T-domain). On the contrary, it is fully compatible with a subordinate clause introduced by *kè*, as its position is in the higher C-domain (Force°), allowing object-fronting in TopP (see ex. 45c):

(45) a. In vuks **hatt** =ar =en nèt gesek in balt.

DEF.M.ACC fox has =3SG.M.NOM =3SG.M.ACC not seen in forest

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[23]The alternation of -*da/ta* with a non-raised DP-Subject with the pronominal clitic -*ar* in dislocated construction reproduces the difference between expletive and argumental pro in a Null Subject language like Italian.

[24]Cf. Bidese, Padovan, et al. (2012), Grewendorf & Poletto (2011), Bidese & Tomaselli (2018).

b. * [az in vuks hatt =ar =en nèt gesek.
    that DEF.M.ACC fox has =3SG.M.NOM =3SG.M.ACC not seen

c. [kè in vuks hatt =ar =en nèt gesek in
    that DEF.M.ACC fox has =3SG.M.NOM =3SG.M.ACC not seen in
    balt
    forest

The maintenance of the low class of complementizers is a residual phenom-enon in the Cimbrian variety of Giazza, where only the high class of comple-mentizers is now attested, coherently with the hypothesis that this variety has already lost structural V2.

As a matter of fact, the Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetzan shows a fur-ther degree of development. Our speculation that this variety has lost structural V2 is based on the following observations: (i) in the root declarative clause the pronominal subject always precedes the finite verb; (ii) enclisis on Vf is restricted to object pronouns; (iii) the expletive pronoun *iz* always shows up on the left of the finite verb (cf. ex. 33c *versus* 32d, Section 3.2); (iv) *ke* has quite completely replaced *az* (a low class of lexical complementizers is no more attested). In this perspective, it is interesting to note that the interrogative clause represents the only context which still exhibits pronominal subject inversion (displaying the al-ready noted convergence with the pattern attested in the contact Italo-Romance varieties, cf. fn. 6):[25]

(46) a. Begnje **he**=sa gashlafat?
          when have=3PL slept ?
          'When did they sleep?'

      b. (Romance variety of Verona)
          Quando **a**=le dormio?
          when have=3PL slept?
          'When did they sleep?'

Rather on the contrary, as expected, DPSubject always requires either left or right dislocation (no agreement relation between the finite verb in Fin and the specifier of the lower functional projection, i.e. [Spec, TP]).

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[25]As already discussed in Bidese & Tomaselli (2018, 2019), the linear convergence derives from a different feature characterization of the functional head T/INFL: weak in V2 Germanic varieties (where the subject clitic in Wackernagel position is attracted by the dominant head C which is endowed with the relevant phi-features), strong in Romance null subject varieties (where the phi-features characterize the higher layer of an expanded T/INFL domain and need to be lexicalized by either the subject clitic – as in Northern Italian dialects – or by finite verb movement – as in Standard Italian.

(47)   a. (Daine toustarn) begnje **he**=sa   gashlafat (daine toustarn)?
           your   daughters when have=3PL slept   (your daughters)?
           'When did your daughter sleep?'

       b. (Le   to   neode) quando **a**=le   dormio (le   to   neode)?
           DEF.PL your nieces when   have=3PL slept (DEF.PL your nieces)?
           'When did your nieces sleep?'

The position of Mòcheno among the varieties of the North-to-South line resembles the situation already discussed so far for Saurian and, partly, for Timavese:

- it hasn't developed a double series of complemetizers;

- object fronting does not necessarily imply clitic resumption (cf. 17a);

- DP-Subject inversion with the finite verb is still attested (cf. ex 12a);

- expletive *pro* is allowed (exactly as in German) in the same contexts where −*da* is required in Cimbrian

(48)   Hait   is [pro] ka Verona kemmen der   nonno
       today is [pro] to Verona come   DEF.M.NOM grandpa.
       'The grandpa has come in Verona today'

- in WH- root clauses the DP-Subject is always dislocated (on the left of the WH-Phrase or on the right of the whole verbal complex); Furthermore, differently from Timavese (and/as in Saurian), Mòcheno allows more than two constituents on the left of the finite verb.

Even if the picture is far from being exhaustive (/needs to be further elaborated), it is sufficient to show that the North-to-South line displays a further degree of CP expansion with respect to what has been noted for the West-to-East line. The loss of Object fronting in the root declarative clause in favor of a left-dislocation construction (with clitic resumption) correlates with the loss of DP-Subject inversion "à la German" (i.e. on the right of Vf) and will possibly involve the loss of the low class of complementizers which competes with the finite verb for the same position in the low CP domain (i.e. Fin), hence to the loss of structural V2.

The table proposed at the end of Section 2 (cf. Table 2) could now be completed as Table 3.

Table 3: settings distribution across W-to-E and N-to-S lines

| | V2 | | inversion in decl. clause | | inversion in Wh-Qs | | asym-metry |
	Linear	Struc-tural	DPSubj -Vf	$Subj_{pron}$ -Vf	DPSubj -Vf	$Subj_{pron}$ -Vf	
(German)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Plodarisch	–	+	+	+	+?	+	+
Timavese	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
Saurian	–	+	(+)	+	–	+	#
Mòcheno	–	+	(+)	+	–	+	+
Cimbrian							
Lusern	–	+	–	+	–	+	–[a]
Giazza	–	–[b]	–	–	–	+	–

[a]+ with low complem
[b]low verbal bracket

Plodarish is characterized by the same values as Standard German with the only exception of the V2 linear restriction.

Timavese has lost DP-Subject inversion in the WH-root clause but still maintains it in the root declarative clause.

Saurian and Mòcheno display a similar situation with a stronger tendency to maintain the DP-Subject in a pre-verbal position (which gives rise to V4 in Mòcheno: XP-YP-DPnom-Vf …)

The Cimbrian varieties display the furthest degree of separation from Standard German. They have lost DP-Subject inversion with the finite verb (which corresponds to a fully articulated CP system) and they have weakened the root/embedded word order asymmetry (due to the development of a high class of lexical complementizers involving the possible replacement of the low one).

The Cimbrian variety spoken in Giazza/Ljetan represents the final stage in the process of losing structural V2: pronominal subject inversion with the finite verb in the declarative clause is no more attested and the word order asymmetry lost due to the dismissing of the low class of lexical complementizers. The verbal bracket is maintained in a lower portion of the sentence structure (i.e. vP) and includes only object pronouns and (possibly) negation.

The gradual expansion of the C-domain which emerges from the synchronic comparison between the varieties of the West-to-East line with the varieties of

the North-to-South line finds an interesting confirmation in the diachronic perspective, taking into account the historic evolution of the Cimbrian varieties in the last four centuries.

4 Cimbrian diachronic evolution

For most of the German(ic) dialects spoken in Northern Italy, there are no written records before the early 19th century, making it challenging to reconstruct earlier diachronic phases of their syntax. One exception is Cimbrian, which has been documented since the early 17th century. Based on this historical evidence, the loss of V2 in the history of the Cimbrian syntax can be categorized into four phases:[26]

Stage I (Cimbrian of the 17th century)*:* the Germanic linear V2 word order is broken in favor of a V3 word order pattern, especially in WH main clauses (XP WH Vf …), where the dislocated XP usually corresponds to a hanging topic.

Stage IIa (Cimbrian of the 19th century)*:* first argument in favor of a TopP.

Stage IIb (Cimbrian of the early 20th century)*:* DPSubject inversion in the root declarative clause is lost, Object fronting requires clitic resumption, first attestation of a high class of lexical complementizers.

Stage III (present-day Cimbrian of Lusern)*:* the paradigm of lexical complementizers is characterized by a systematic articulation into a low versus a high class of complementizers; first signs of the dismantling of the root-embedded word order asymmetry.

Stage IV (Cimbrian of Giazza)*:* loss of structural V2, the verbal bracket is maintained in a lower portion of sentence structure.

Stages III and IV have been already illustrated and discussed in the preceding section (cf. in particular Section 3.3), stages I and II will be analyzed in Section 4.1 and Sections 4.2.1–4.2.2, respectively.

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[26]For a more detailed discussion about the diachronic development see Bidese & Tomaselli (2007), Bidese (2008, 2023).

4.1 The first stage: 17th century

The oldest existing Cimbrian record is a religious work: the Cimbrian Catechism of 1602, which belongs to the varieties of the so-called Seven Municipalities in the North of Vicenza. This is the Cimbrian translation of the Catechism of the Catholic Church composed in 1598 by Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino; it was intended to oppose the spread of Protestantism south of the Alps. In the preface of the text, Bishop Marco Corner of Padova, who commissioned Bellarmino's work to be translated into Cimbrian, stated the following purpose.

> We also pray through the Heart of Jesus Christ all lay people who are accustomed to teaching *to abandon the other doctrines and turn to the one we are presenting with the same zeal and love* (Meid 1985a: r. 81–84, italics added: EB, RM, AT).

The concerns regarding the orthodoxy of the true faith are evident. In the preface, Marco Corner states what follows:

> we have resolved to have this doctrine translated *word for word* by pious persons, who are understanding in their native German language (Meid 1985a: r. 33–35, italics added: EB, RM, AT).

At the end of the translation, the orthodoxy examiner, Niccolò Molini, provides the following remarks:

> I […] reviewed the aforementioned translation of the Christian Doctrine from Italian into the corrupted variety of the German language used in the Seven Parishes of the Diocese of Padua, and I determined that *it has been translated verbatim* (Meid 1985a: r. 1436–1447, italics added: EB, RM, AT).

The consequence of the literal translation from Italian into Cimbrian can be detected at the beginning of the Catechism text. Let us consider the first sentence of the Italian text:

(49) (Meid 1985a: 48)
[Santamente] *Nostro Signor Papa Clemente Ottavo*, [e   con   somma
holily   Our   Lord   Pope Clement Eighth, and with great
prudenza] **hà** fatto stampare un nuovo Libretto della Dottrina
wisdom   has let   print   a   new   book   of.the Doctrine
Christiana.
Christian
'With a holy intention and great wisdom, our Lord Pope Clement the VIII.
let print a new book of the Christian doctrine.'

The sentence's subject is the DP '*Nostro Signor Papa Clemente Ottavo*' (Our Lord Pope Clement VIII) followed by the adverbial adjunct '*e con somma prudenza*' (and with great wisdom). The adverb '*santamente*' (holily), which appears at the beginning of the sentence, is actually connected with the prepositional phrase '[santamente] *e con somma prudenza*' and has been moved to the beginning of the sentence to emphasize it, the subject resulting in a sandwich construction between the two conjuncts of the adverbial phrase. The Cimbrian translation repeats the original text word for word (cf. 50):

(50) (Meid 1985a: r. 56–58)
[Hailiklik] *unser Herre Babst Clemente VIII.*   [unt mit gròser
holily   our   Lord Pope Clement Eighth and with great
prudentia] **hat** ghemàkt stamparn an liberle vòn der Christlike
wisdom   has let   print   a   booklet of the Christian
Dottrìna neugez.
Doctrine new

In most cases, the subject-DP is realized in front of the finite verb without any other constituent; however, in a few sentences (7.54%) the subject is preceded by another constituent, usually an adverb, as in the following examples:

(51) (Meid 1985a: r. 496–497)
[un also] *der*   *fine von allen Ghepott*   **ist** dez
and so   DEF.M.NOM end of all   commandments is DEF.N.NOM
ghepott   der Liebe.
commandment of   love
'And so, the end of all commandments is the commandment of love.'

(52) (Meid 1985a: r. 487–488)
[unt dernak] *unzer Herre Christo* **hat** si confirmart in der   nèugien.
and then   our Lord Christ has it confirmed in DEF.F.DAT new.DAT
'And then our Lord Christ confirmed it in the new law.'

In the text of the Catechism, there is only one sentence in which the subject-DP is inverted with the finite verb (cf. 53a). It is in the lyrical part of the text. The syntactic difference with the Italian original, which shows the inversion of the subject-DP with the whole verbal complex, was a possible option in the Cimbrian syntax at the time of the Catechism, although only a residual one:

(53) a. (Meid 1985a: rr. 1272–1273)
        [Unt hia] **saint** *iere paineghe* alle ghegoltet.
        and there are   their torments all rewarded
        'And there all their torments are rewarded.'

    b. (Meid 1985a: 126)
        Et ivi **sono** premiati *i   lor   tormenti.*
        and there are   rewarded DEF.PL their torments

Not surprisingly, the pronominal subjects regularly invert with the finite verb, as in the following examples (54a, 55a, 56a) that we compare with the original sentences in Italian (54b, 55b, 56b) where the subject is not overtly realized. This suggests that verb-subject inversion à la German was clearly not conditioned by the Italian model:

(54) a. (Meid 1985a: r. 247)
        [unt daròme] **saint**=*sa*   zbelf Artichèln
        and hence   are=3PL.NOM twelve articles
        'And hence, there are twelve articles.'

    b. (Meid 1985a: 60)
        e   però **sono** dodici articoli
        and hence are.3PL twelve articles

(55) a. (Meid 1985a: r. 702)
        [unt kan   deme] **indrizzat**=*ar*   alle dink
        and towards it   directs=3SG.M.NOM all   things
        'And towards it he directs all things.'

    b. (Meid 1985a: 86)
        ed   à   quello indrizza ogni   cosa.
        and towards it   directs everything

(56) a. (Meid 1985a: r. 1302)
        [Dez hantik] **bil** *ik*   trinken.
        the vinegar want 1SG.NOM drink
        'I desire to drink the vinegar.'

    b. (Meid 1985a: 128)
        Vò   ber   l' aceto
        want.1SG drink the vinegar

For our discussion, it is also interesting to note that the topicalization of the object in (56a) does not require a resumptive clitic pronoun, as it will be typical for the later stages of the Cimbrian syntax (cf. also Section 3.3 above).

It is also possible to find more than one constituent in front of the finite verb which regularly attracts the subject pronoun on its right (either full or enclitic), as in the following examples (see the position of *bier/ber*):

(57) (Meid 1985a: r. 56–58)
[Also palle, das unz   ist zoakemt dazselbe liberle] [mit reverentia, unt
As   soon as 1PL.OBL is come   this   booklet with reverence and
fròbde groazza] **habe** *bier*=z   enffanghet.
joy   great   have 1PL.NOM=3SG.N received
'When this little book came to us, we received it with reverence and great joy.'

(58) (Meid 1985a: r. 78–79)
[Die   selben medemen] [mit alem   herzzen] **essortar**=*ber* zo
DEF.PL.NOM same   ones   with whole heart   urge=1PL.NOM to
pensaran offte.
think   often
'We urge the same ones wholeheartedly to think often.'

Another syntactic feature of the Catechism concerns the syntax of dislocation, i.e. the constructions of hanging topic and left dislocation (see Bidese 2008). As for the former, we find a prototypical example of a hanging topic in the following declarative sentence (cf. 59):

(59) (Meid 1985a: r. 380–381)
[*Quanto von der   ubel*] iz   **vorset** sik, daz …
As   for DEF.F.DAT evil   3SG.N asks   REFL that
'As for evil, it asks that …'

Furthermore, several direct interrogative clauses with a WH element are preceded by a dislocated XP, usually the DP subject, but in some cases also the object, which is resumed in the sentence by a resumptive pronoun. In all examples, the Cimbrian translation follows the original Italian version (cf. X-Y):

(60) (Meid 1985a: r. 654)
[*De   Fede*] nun, **bia** stet=se   zua Gott?
DEF.F.NOM faith now, how applies=3SG.F.NOM to   God?
'How is faith also related to God?'

(61) (Meid 1985a: r. 733)

[*Disa*] **bia** kimet se unz abeghereschet?
DEM.F.NOM, how comes 3SG.F.NOM 1SG.OBL abraded

'How do we get this [= the original sin] erased from us?'

(62) (Meid 1985a: r. 317)

[*Disa Kirka*], **barume** cheu=sik Hailega, unt Catholica?
DEM.F.NOM church why calls=REFL holy and catholic

'Why is this church called holy and catholic?'

Although hanging topic constructions are also possible in German, the thematization of the DP subject is considered marked in German, as already observed in Bidese & Tomaselli (2007). In contrast, the thematization of the nominal subject in Italian is considered unmarked since it reproduces the SVO order of the language. Moreover, subject inversion in Italian regularly applies with the whole verbal complex. This means that subject fronting is supported by the syntax of the DPSubject in Italian, which usually requires a dislocated position on either the left or the right. Furthermore, thematized demonstrative pronouns (as exemplified by 61 and 62) are particularly difficult to find in German.

Nevertheless, if we take into consideration the German dislocation pattern (*Linksversetzung*) which is still attested in the Cimbrian text, it is easy to recognize a coherent Germanic V2 structure: it shows a D-pronoun as resumptive element on the left of the finite verb, which agrees in case, number and gender with the initial segment (cf. 63–65):[27]

(63) (Meid 1985a: r. 75)

[*die andere sibna*]^i [**die**]^I lernt unz zo tunan bol
DEF.PL.NOM other seven, 3PL.NOM teach 1PL.OBL to do good

in prossimen.
DEF.PL.DAT neighbour

'The other seven rules teach us to do good to our neighbours'.

(64) [*Dain bil*]^i [**der**]^i ghesceghe also bia im Himele.
your will, 3SG.M.NOM be.done as how in heaven

'Your will be done as in heaven.'

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[27]A kind of topicalization which is defined as *Contrastive Left-Dislocation* in Anagnostopoulou 1997.

(65) (Kat.1602: r. 213)

Baròm [*das   bort (in namen)*]ⁱ [**das**]ⁱ   deutet die
because DEF.N.NOM word in name,   3SG.N.NOM means DEF.F.NOM
onikot.
unity
'Because the word "in name" means the unity.'

This fact is properly confirmed in the following example, in which an instance of right dislocation is realized, again with a demonstrative pronoun as resumptive element:

(66) (Kat.1602: r. 371)

[**der**]ⁱ   hat=z   ghemachet [*Christo unzer Here*]ⁱ.
3SG.M.NOM has=3SG.N done   Christ   our   Lord
'Christ our Lord has done it.'

Summing up, the syntax of the First Catechism reproduces a situation that is similar to what we observed for Timavese, even if more conservative, with some peculiar aspects of German syntax, i.e.: a) subject-finite verb inversion, with both nominal and pronominal subject; b) topicalization of the DP-object without resumption c) resumption of the dislocated element by a demonstrative pronoun on the left of the finite verb. On the other hand: i) there is already a first break in the linear order, in that the finite verb can be preceded by more than one constituent and ii) the inversion of the nominal subject is to be considered as residual (the less frequent option). Furthermore, in this diachronic stage of Cimbrian there is no trace of a double series of complementizers and the particle -*da* has only a lexical value (in contrast with *der* in ex. 66 above), as in the following example:

(67) (Kat.1602: r. 577–578)

da   saint drei rette   ghebet von unzer Heren Giesu Christ
there are three counsels given by our   Lord Jesus Christ
'There are three counsels that have been given by our Lord Jesus Christ'.

The C-System of (67) can be then schematized in the following way, much similar to the one represented in Figure 4a:

(68) [Frame *XP* [CP unspecialized **Spec** [C **Vf**/Complementizer [TP…]]]]

4.2 The second stage: 19th and early 20th centuries

The second phase in the evolution of Cimbrian is evidenced by two written documents, which were published at the start of the 19th and 20th centuries respectively. The first record is a catechism from 1813 (refer to Meid 1985b for the edited text), and the second is an account of the building of a bridge in Roana village in the Seven Communities (refer to Baragiola 1907).

4.2.1 The second catechism

The initial significant change displayed by both texts is the complete disappearance of DP-subject inversion, which was already residual in the first Catechism (see above). Consequently, subject inversion is now definitely restricted to the pronominal subject, which appears enclitic to the finite verb (see 69–70):

(69) (Kat.1813: r. 65)
      [Nia] **bel**=*bar*   rìven   zo vorkünnen eür   linnez herze.
      never want-1PL.NOM give.up to praise   your tender heart
      'We never want to give up praising your tender heart.'

(70) (Kat.1813: r. 349–350)
      [von da]   **hat**=*ar*   zo kemman zo judicáran.
      From there has=3SG.M.NOM to come   to judge
      'From there, he will come to judge.'

In the interrogative context, the Subject-DP is always doubled by a subject pronoun enclitisized onto the finite verb (cf. 71 and 72) independently of its position:

(71) (Kat.1813: r. 137)
      Unbrúmme saint=*sa*[i]   [*dise*   *drai   persúun*][i] an   Gott anlóan?
      why   are=3PL.NOM DEM.PL.NOM three persons   one God alone?
      'Why are these three persons one God?'

(72) (Kat.1813: r. 238)
      Bibel   sáint=*sa*[i]   [*de Comandaménten von der*   *Kerchen*][i]?
      how.many are=3PL.NOM commandments   of   DEF.F.DAT church
      'How many commandments are there in the Church?'

As for the syntax of dislocation, the 1813 Catechism shows an increase in dislocated structures. However, they are all in interrogative contexts and with a clitic

subject as resumptive pronoun. This suggests that the typical Germanic construction of the left dislocation with a demonstrative pronoun as in the precedent Catechism is no longer part of the Cimbrian syntax.

With respect to the construction of the hanging topic, we find many examples like in the first Catechism, although only in direct interrogative structures, where the V3 linear sequence in WH main clauses always results from the occurrence of the subject-DP fronted to the left of the nexus WH-Vf (cf. X):

(73) (Kat.1813:r. 206)
[*De   Kercha*]^i **ba langhe** hát =*se*^{i} =da   zo sainan
DEF.F.NOM church, how long   has =3SG.F.NOM =here to be?
'How long will the church exist?'

However, there are also examples of WH interrogatives in which the Subject-DP is shifted to the right of the clause, in contrast to what we find in the Catechism of 1602 and in Standard German:

(74) (Kat.1813: r. 99–100)
Brumme hát =*ar*^{i} =üz   gaschàft un galèt af de   belt
why   has =3SG.M.NOM =1PL.OBL created and placed on DEF.F world,
[*Gott dar   Herre*]^i?
God   DEF.M.NOM Lord
'Why did God the Lord create and place us in the world?'

In general, a clear tendency to a more Romance type of hanging topic left dislocation/topicalization can be observed. Prepositional phrases, which either belong to the core of the sentence (cf. 75) or are used to connect the sentences to each other, as in the case of (76), can be dislocated in front of the sentence without any resumption:

(75) (Kat.1813: r. 194)
[*Un nach den   viarzk taghen*] [**baz**] hat=ar   gatànt?
and after DEF.PL.DAT forty   days,   what has-3SG.M.NOM made?
'What did he make after forty days?'

(76) (Kat.1813: r. 132–133)
[*In minschen boart*], [**baz**] hat=sich zo tünan zo volghen allen disen
in a few   words, what has=REFL to do   to follow   all   DEM.PL
Comandaménten?
precepts
'What is to do, in a few words, for following all these precepts?'

If the PP in (76) can be actually interpreted as a FrameP, the one in (75) is clearly part of the sentence and must be understood as a Topic. In fact, it repeats what has been said in the sentence before (Kat.1813: r. 192–193), namely "Ear hatsich gamàcht seghen vor viarzk taghe sain schularn" (He let his disciples see him for forty days). In this respect, also the direct Yes/No questions show the same tendency to fronting the subject-DP and/or other lexical material (cf. 77–79):

(77)   (Kat.1813: r. 114)
     [*Gott der*   *Herre*][i] **síghet**=*ar*[i]   nun allez?
     God DEF.M.NOM Lord, sees=3SG.M.NOM now all?
     'Does God, the Lord, know everything?'

(78)   (Kat.1813: r. 157–158)
     [*Dar*   *Sun von Gotte me*   *Herr-en*][i] [*máchent-en=sich* man]
     DEF.M.NOM son of God DEF.M.DAT Lord-DAT making-DAT=REFL man
     hat=ar[i]   galàzt   zo sáinan Gott?
     has=3SG.M.NOM given.up to be   God
     'Did the son of God, the Lord, becoming man, give up being God?'

(79)   (Kat.1813: r. 215)
     [*Zo ghenan in Hümmel*] **tüü**=z   sain gatófet, un cloben?
     to go   in heaven does=3SG.N.NOM be baptized and believe
     'Is it enough to be baptized and believe to go to heaven?'

To summarize: A further degree of expansion within the CP system finds a robust argument in the simple fact that the translations of the Cimbrian sentences with a dislocated element into standard German is no longer possible. We hypothesize that they imply a different structure with respect to the first Catechism. The relevant difference in comparison with the FrameP of the 1602 Catechism is the scattering of the feature [Top] above the projection which hosts the WH element, possibly as head of a TopP. It is still unclear at this point of development whether the WH element occurs in a dedicated FocP, different from FinP, or still in an unspecialized Spec on the left of the finite verb. The evidence is only indirect since DP-subject inversion is no more attested. In summary, the C system seems to have been split into a number of projections with at least a topic position inside, similar to Figure 4b (page 309):

(80)   [Frame XP [Topic ***Topic*** [CP unspecialized Spec [C Vf/Complementizer [TP...]]]]]

4.2.2 Baragiola (1907)

The text that we consider relevant for the assumption of a TopP in the C-domain is the story *Dez dink vo' der prucka* (The affair of the bridge), written by Domenico Zotti from Camporovere in the Seven Communities and published by Baragiola (1907). This text completes the lines of development already observed in the 1813 Catechism. SpecFinP is now clearly specialized as (structural) DP-subject position (cf. 81, 82, 83), distinct from both FocP and a higher TopP. The assumption of TopP higher than FocP is since topicalized objects are now obligatorily resumed by a clitic pronoun on the right of the finite verb (cf. 84):

(81) (Baragiola 1907: 8)
[Un in doi Zait] [*dear   erste Deputato*] hat kött 'me   Loite.
and in that time DEF.M.NOM first deputy   has said DEF.N.DAT people
'And at that time, the first deputy said to the people.'

(82) (Baragiola 1907: 11)
[Benne dear   Consilio hat gat garivet   de   andarn Materien
when   DEF.M.NOM council   has had finished DEF.PL.ACC other   matters
'me   Komáune zo riven] [*dear   Presidente*] as=sich   gahevet
DEF.N.DAT township to finish DEF.M.NOM chairman   has=REFL stood
af de   Vüze.
on DEF.PL.ACC feet
'When the council concluded the affairs of the township that were to be concluded, the chairman stood up.'

(83) (Baragiola 1907: 20)
[Af de   noin Oarn] [*de   Klocka*] **hat** get   Avviso.
at DEF.PL.ACC nine hours DEF.F.NOM bell   has given alarm
'The bell gave alarm at 9 o' clock.'

(84) (Baragiola 1907: 23)
[*miar*][i] importar=z=*mar*[i]   nicht   zo sterben.
1SG.DAT worries=3SG.N.NOM=1SG.DAT nothing to die
'I don't care about dying.'

When the DP-subject is separated from the finite verb by an adverbial, i.e. temporal clause, the subject is usually resumed by a clitic pronoun at the finite verb, as in the following examples:

(85) (Baragiola 1907: 9)
[*Di   Robáner*]ⁱ,   [hörtenten prechten asó garecht disen
DEF.PL.NOM people.of.Roana hearing   speak   so   well   DEM.M.ACC
ersten Deputaten] **haben**=*sa*ⁱ   kött alle.
first   deputy   have=3PL.NOM said all
'When the people of Roana heard the first deputy speak so well, they all
said.'

(86) [*De Loite* ..., ba   saint da   gabest,]ⁱ [segenten asó],
the people ..., who were there present, seeing   this,
haben=*se*ⁱ=sich   ritirart alle.
have=3PL.NOM=REFL retired all
'All the people ..., who were present, seeing this, retired.' (Baragiola 1907:
26)

A final very significant syntactic feature of this text is the first occurrence of
the high declarative complementizer *che* 'that', borrowed from the same Italian
conjunction (cf. x-Y):

(87) (Baragiola 1907: 7)
... segenten **che** de   Spesa ist zovil groaz.
... seeing   that DEF.F.NOM cost   is too   great
'... when he realized that the costs will be too high.'

(88) (Baragiola 1907: 17)
... habent gahoart **che** se   machent an   Consilien.
... have   heard   that 3PL.NOM do   INDEF council
'... heard that they will be holding a council meeting.'

Usually, the complementizer *che* is introduced by perception verbs like 'to see'
or 'to hear' or, in one case, by the factive verb 'to make understand'. In the other
cases, the autochthonous complementizer *as* 'that' is the preferred choice. Nev-
ertheless, an important difference (see Bidese 2004) can be observed between the
use of *che* and that of *as*: whereas *as* realizes an asymmetric structure with re-
spect to the position of the negation and the reflexive pronoun (cf. 89a and 90a
with 89b and 90b), *che* shows only a symmetric one (cf. 91):

(89) a. (Baragiola 1907: 23)
... '**az** se   *nette* ghenan vüar.
... that 3PL.NOM NEG go   on
'... that they do not go on.'

b. (Baragiola 1907: 10)

disa   Botta **zeder**=bar   *net.*
DEM.F.NOM time   give.in=1PL.NOM NEG

'this time we don't give in.'

(90) a. (Baragiola 1907: 28)

... 'az se   *sich* legen in Kiete.
... that 3PL.NOM REFL put   in peace

'... that they get calmed down.'

b. (Baragiola 1907: 19)

noch   in de erste Lichte von deme   Tage
already at the first light of   DEM.M.DAT day

hevan=se=*sich*   alle.
get.up=3PL.NOM=REFL all

'Already with the first light of day, they all get up.'

(91) (Baragiola 1907: 21)

... zo machen segen **che** [dessen   von-me   Róane]
... to let   see   that DEF.N.GEN of-DEF.N.DAT Róane

degnarn=se=*sich*   gnanca segen=sen.
deign=3PL.NOM=REFL even   look=3SG.OBJ

'... to show that of the one in Roana, they didn't even deign to look at it.'

In summary: at the beginning of the 20th century, Cimbrian syntax was already characterized by a fully articulated CP domain which maintains structural V2 (mandatory V to Fin in the declarative root clause). [Spec, FinP] has specialized as structural subject position and inversion with the finite verb is limited to the pronominal subject. Object fronting on the left of the finite verb always implies clitic resumption, i.e. the activation of [Spec, TopP] *à la* Italian (but note that the resumptive clitic always occurs enclitic to the finite verb in Fin). Furthermore, the first use of the complementizer *che* can be detected, although still limited to perceptive verbs. It is worth noting that the complementizer *che* lexicalizes a functional head in the higher C-subdomain and hence triggers a symmetrical word order (requires V to Fin movement) exactly as in the Cimbrian variety of Lusern today. (92) schematizes the CP-system of Cimbrian at the end of the second stage, reproducing the hypothesis put forward for Lusern Cimbrian (cf. above 42):

(92) [_Frame XP [_Topic Topic [_Focus Focus [_FIN **Subject-DP** [_FIN
Vf/Complementizer [_TP...]]]]]

5 Final remarks

The diachronic development of Cimbrian syntax shows the gradual expansion of the C-domain which ultimately leads to the loss of structural V2. This process which covers more than four centuries could be summarized in the following four stages:

(I) [**Frame XP** [unspecialized Spec [$_C$ Vf/Complementizer [$_{TP}$...]]]]

(IIA) [Frame XP [**Topic XP** [$_{CP}$ (un)specialized Spec [$_C$ Vf/Complementizer [$_{TP}$...]]]]]

(IIB) [Frame XP [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{FORCE}$ high Complementizer) [$_{TopicP}$ Topic XP [$_{FocusP}$ **WH-** [$_{FinP}$ **Subject-DP** [$_{FIN}$ Vf/low Complementizer [$_{TP}$...]]]]]

(III) Consolidation of phase IIB (and gradual reduction of the low class of complementizers)

(IV) Loss of structural V2 (no finite Verb movement to Fin in the root declarative clause): no subject inversion (either nominal or pronominal) in the root declarative clause, loss of the low class of complementizers, loss of the root-embedded word order asymmetry.

Stage I is attested by the first Cimbrian cathechism (1602) and roughly corresponds to the first structure assumed for Timavese in Figure 4a (Section 2.3); stage IIA is attested by the second translation of the cathechism (1813) and finds a correspondence with the second structure assumed for Timavese (cf. Figure 4b, Section 2.3); stage IIB is attested by Baragiola (1907) and represents a clear point of innovation with the specialization of [Spec, FinP] as structural subject position and the development of a fully articulated CP which hosts a higher class of lexical complementizers compatible with V to Fin movement; stage III corresponds to the Cimbrian variety spoken in Luserna (cf. Section 3, in particular Section 3.3) and shows a consolidation of stage IIB (combined with the first signs of a gradual dismantling of the root-embedded word order asymmetry)[28]; stage IV corresponds to the Cimbrian variety spoken in Ljetzan/Giazza – the southernmost Germanic enclave attested in northern Italy – and already shows the loss of structural V2 (cf. table 5, Section 3.3).

The early stages of the diachronic evolution of Cimbrian (stages I and IIA) show an interesting overlapping with what has been observed for Timavese from a synchronic point of view and confirms the more conservative aspects of the

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[28]Cf. Bidese & Tomaselli (2021) for a detailed discussion.

West-to-East line with respect to the North-to-South line. The limited expansion of the C-domain which correlates with the violation of the linear V2 restriction (a common trait of all the varieties taken into consideration) finds a further development only in the North-to-South line due to the different modalities of topicalization. Since at least Baragiola (1907) topicalization seems to resemble the Romance model of Clitic Left Dislocation: Object fronting implies the activation of TopP and requires clitic resumption (which coherently with structural V2 shows up as enclisis to the finite verb in Fin). This change allows (i.e. goes along with) the specialization of [Spec, FinP] as a structural subject position and opens the way to the borrowing of the Italian high complementizer *ke*. The maintenance of structural V2 is linked to the maintenance of the low class of complementizers, i.e. the one which competes with the finite verb with respect of the same functional head in the low C-subdomain. As a matter of fact, the Cimbrian variety of Giazza/Ljetzan has already lost both pronominal subject inversion in the root declarative clause and the root-embedded asymmetry – i.e.: the lexical complementizers of the low class – and hence fails the diagnostic tests for the assumption of structural V2.[29]

The possibility that the varieties of the West-to-East line follow the same path remains for the moment pure speculation and requires further research and data collection.

Acknowledgments

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[29]As suggested by one of the anonymous reviewers, the question arises about the status of FinP in the Cimbrian variety of Giazza. As a matter of fact, it is never lexically realized, by neither the low lexical complementizer nor the finite verb, as in a V2 German-like system. At the same time, it does not host the infinitival marker as it is assumed for *di* in Italian (Rizzi 1997); on the contrary, the infinitival particle *zo* coherently behaves as its German cognate *zu*, showing adherence to the Germanic model. For a more detailed cross-linguistic analysis regarding the structure of infinitival clauses in V2-varieties, see Tomaselli et al. (2024).

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