

**The Syntax of Cimbrian:  
Contact-Induced Change  
in an Endangered Language**

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## Abstract

This paper describes the syntax of adjectives, negation, and topicalization in XIII Comuni Cimbrian (Zimbrisch, Cimbro, Tautsch), a language of Germanic origin spoken in Northern Italy, which is now close to extinction. The variety explored descends from Middle High German but has been influenced by long term contact with the surrounding Veronese Dialect, and is undergoing a process of language change that is staggered across two newly-emerging dialectal varieties. Few studies have focused on contemporary, rather than diachronic, Cimbrian syntax, and none have examined large scale contact-induced dialectal variation, an omission which I seek to remedy in this paper.

The two dialects of Cimbrian examined in this study have recently emerged following a series of historical, geographic and social events that has limited the amount of Veronese-contact in one variety, while encouraging it in the other. According to the Thomason and Kaufman (1988) borrowing scale, increasing amounts of contact with a second language (Veronese) cause directly proportional amounts of change in the first or ancestral language (Cimbrian). An examination of adjective-noun raising structure (level 4 on the Thomason-Kaufman scale) indicates that both dialects have been exposed to at least 'moderate structural borrowing', and both show the same extent of contact language influence. The emergence of negative concord (level 5 on the Thomason-Kaufman scale) in only one dialect suggests that the more conservative dialect has not yet reached the stage of 'heavy structural borrowing', a finding which is supported by the asymmetrical distribution of resumptive pronoun topicalized structures (level 5), much more common in the innovative variety.

It is the aim of this work to shed light on the important role of Veronese contact in contemporary XIII Comuni Cimbrian syntax. In addition, I hope to provide a basis for future analyses of adjective structure, negation, and topicalization in Modern Cimbrian, as well as in Veronese, by giving extensive descriptions of the current forms and structures, the majority of which have not been the subject of academic study before now.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In this senior essay I provide a description of three properties of the syntax of Modern XIII Comuni Cimbrian, an endangered language of Germanic origin now undergoing extensive contact with Veronese, a Northern Italian dialect (Romance). This variety, spoken only in Giazza (above Verona), by approximately 20 bilingual speakers all of whom are above age 50, is evolving into two separate dialects, distinguished by the amount of contact-language-induced change taking place. The three syntactic areas discussed in this paper are Adjective-Noun word order, Negation and Negative Concord, and Resumptive Subjects and Topicalization, and they display interesting characteristics related to the process of morphosyntactic change.

In Chapter 2, I present the background information on the fieldwork from which the data for this paper is taken. In it, I discuss the aim of the research project, describe the method of data collection employed, as well as the conventions used in representing the data, and give some information on the speakers involved in the study. I then conclude with a brief review the existing literature on and in XIII Comuni Cimbrian.

In Chapter 3, I present an overview of the theoretical framework and definitions used in the essay, focusing mainly on the aspects of language change. I first offer a definition of 'language attrition', and define certain assumptions about structural change that will be used in this essay. I then define 'language contact', present a way of quantifying it using Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale, and discuss its application to the Cimbrian structures examined in this paper.

In Chapter 4, I describe the history of the Cimbrian people and of their language, and how these have brought about the division of the language into two separate dialects. I also relate observations gathered during my fieldwork on the current situation of the language and the

attempts at repopulation and revitalization that are being carried out in an effort to save it from almost certain death.

In Chapter 5, I describe the process of language contact and its effect on the adjective-noun word order in Cimbrian. I begin by describing the syntax of adjectives in Veronese, the contact language, and then list and describe the Cimbrian structures produced in response to the various Italian prompt structures, for both single and multiple-adjective constructions. I then describe the distribution of the Cimbrian results across speakers, showing that there is no significant intra-dialectal variation, and that the contact-induced change that is present has affected both dialects equally. This is also supported by the distribution of adjective agreement structures, which I briefly describe at the end of this chapter.

In Chapter 6, I describe negation in Cimbrian and the changes it is undergoing as a result of the process of language change. I describe the syntax of negation in the contact language (Veronese), with a short sidenote on the position of the subject which will also be helpful in the next chapter. I then present an overview of the different lexical negatives in Cimbrian, with comments on their form, occurrence, frequency, and origin, and follow with a description of the different syntactic properties of negation, focusing on double-barreled forms, negative concord and negative object shift. I then describe the distribution across speakers and dialect groups of the lexical negatives, as well as the syntactic properties previously described, and show that there is a strong difference in the use and forms of negation across dialects. This supports my analysis of the greater process of language change as affecting the two dialects differently, which I summarize briefly in the concluding section of the chapter.

In Chapter 7, I describe the occurrence of resumptive pronouns in Cimbrian, and offer an analysis of their structure. I begin by discussing two previous works on subject clitics and

topicalization in Cimbrian (Scardoni 2000; Pili 2001), and briefly point out some other Classical Cimbrian data that is relevant to my paper. I then describe certain assumptions I make about subject clitic resumption, as well as topicalization (of both the suspended theme and left dislocation sort). After these numerous prefaces, I describe the data available for pronoun resumption in Modern Cimbrian, and comment on its asymmetrical distribution across dialects, in line with the predictions of Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale. I conclude offering an analysis the structure of modern Cimbrian topicalization in the two dialects.

In Chapter 8, the conclusion, I restate the findings of the individual chapters and list a number of areas in which further research is sorely needed, before commenting on the future of Cimbrian and the purpose of this study. The list of references for this paper is included in Chapter 9, organized according to topic. I also include the list of Italian prompts (and their translation in English) as well as a sample translation in Cimbrian in an appendix at the end of the paper.

## **CHAPTER 2: AIM AND METHOD**

### **2.1 Project Aim**

This study investigates the process of language shift in XIII Comuni Cimbrian. Originally this language was spoken by circa 10,000 speakers across several valleys north of Verona, Italy. The processes of language shift to Veronese, the local North Italian Dialect has reduced the language to about 40 speakers scattered throughout the whole area, of which approximately 20 are within the only remaining speaker community. This work is a synchronic study of the language as spoken in Giazza, and of the two distinct varieties that have emerged in the past 50 years due to differences in the extent of language contact.

### **2.2 Method of Data Collection**

The data examined here were collected during a field research expedition to Giazza, funded by the Rhea F. Plunkett Summer Traveling Fellowship, administered by Yale University. The first attempt at eliciting grammaticality judgments failed due to the subjects' refusal to contradict any of the researcher's statements, no matter how incorrect. Three different speakers were approached and when interviewed claimed that a range of severely ungrammatical sentences were permissible, at least under poetic interpretations, and could not be persuaded otherwise. As a result, the format of the survey was altered to elicit sentence translations into Cimbrian.

Unlike the study by Scardoni (2000), the priming language was chosen to be Italian (rather than the local Veronese dialect) in order to minimize the effects of syntactic

transpositions or calqueing on the test sentences, which were after all intended to capture any syntactic borrowings from Veronese (the contact language) into Cimbrian<sup>1</sup>.

The survey covered eight main syntactic areas (subordinate structures, null subjects, clitics, negation, determiners, adjectives, prepositions and interrogatives) over 205 sentences. In eliciting the Cimbrian data, speakers were first administered a pilot survey composed of 19 sentences (A01-A19). Based on the results of this primary survey, I selected a subset of the 205 Italian prompts that would focus on the areas that seemed to show the most interesting behavior, which normally included variation from the structure or forms expected given my analysis of Classical Cimbrian, or the answers produced by the other speakers. This led to the collection of 1127 Cimbrian utterances, coded according to speaker (3 letter code) and primer sentence (one letter, two number code). The order of the codes assigned to speakers and sentences does not reflect the order of the elicitations, which I scrambled during the interview session in order to reduce the risk of strategy-building on part of the interviewee.

The data for Veronese, the contact language, was collected from a variety of sources, including interviews conducted at the research site, sentences selected from the ASIS corpus database<sup>2</sup>, as well as from previous works describing the syntax of the Veronese dialect.

### 2.3 Speaker Descriptions

I recruited twelve speakers to participate in the study, from a pool of approximately 20 which I believe constitute the total speaker community in Giazza, and administered them the

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<sup>1</sup> The linguistic situation in Italy is rather complex: although everyone understands Standard Italian, it is spoken by virtually no one. The common language is a form of the local dialect, which can range from extremely rural to only mildly colored and thus mutually understandable with standard Italian as well as other dialects. There is clear phonetic, syntactic, lexical and historical evidence to support the fact that most dialects (including Veronese) are separate languages from the superstrate Standard Italian, which should be considered a primarily written variety.

<sup>2</sup> *Atlante Sintattico dell'Italia Settentrionale*. Online corpus database maintained by the Università di Padova.

pilot survey. Of these twelve, eight were judged to be fluent speakers and were willing to continue cooperating in the study: they are listed as “primary consultants” in the table in (1). The pilot survey data collected from the remaining four speakers (listed as “secondary consultants”) is included in the study results results, as it also contributes to accurately describing the current status of the Cimbrian language<sup>3</sup>.

(1)

Primary Consultants:	
AMB	F; 70-79
AUB	F; 70-79
BAT	M; 70-79
CEL	M; 50-59
CRN	M; 60-69
DOM	M; 60-69
MAR	M; 60-69
RDB	M; 50-59

Secondary Consultants	
GTL	F; 70-79
GCP	M; 70-79
FAU	F; 60-69
RNL	M; 60-69

Veronese Consultants:	
RAG	F; 40-49
ELD	M; 60-69

The survey was administered orally to all but one speaker (CRN), who was not available to be otherwise interviewed. All the Cimbrian consultants interviewed are bilingual in Veronese and Cimbrian, and all have had experience with extended periods of emigration, particularly during their youth. The consultants have either returned to Giazza as year-round residents, or, although they maintain winter residence outside the village (AUB and AMB), have such frequent and extended contact with other family members in Giazza that they can be considered to have linguistic contact with Cimbrian year round.

The Veronese consultants interviewed are monolingual Veronese speakers that are year-round residents of Giazza: this was originally chosen in order to most accurately represent the rural variety of Veronese spoken in the village. Subsequent analysis of the data shows that there

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this paper I use several examples from languages other than Cimbrian, which will be identified by the following codes: VER for Veronese (the contact language), ITA for Standard Italian, GER for German, SAE for Standard American English, FRE for French, and CIM for Cimbrian. Cimbrian sentences elicited for this study carry a six character code: the first three letters correspond to the speaker, and the last three characters correspond to the sentence code. Sentences in Veronese, Italian, and other non-Cimbrian languages will be written according to the orthographical conventions of the language, while the Cimbrian sentences will be transcribed in loose IPA.

are no syntactic differences between this Giazza-variety and that spoken in other rural areas north of Verona, and for this reason other data sources (the ASIS database, appropriate quotes from scholarly papers) were also included in this paper.

## 2.4 Previous Works in and on Cimbrian

This is the second research paper on Cimbrian which is based on spoken language data collected during fieldwork, the other one being Scardoni (2000). Previous research has focused mainly on diachronic analyses of the language, which were based on the texts of two Cimbrian Catechisms, the *Christlike unt Korze Dottrina* of 1602, and *Dar Kloane Catechismo von dez Belozeland* of 1813. Both texts were critically edited and published only in 1985 (Meid 1985a, 1985b). Rapelli's 1983 collection of all other (non-catechism) Cimbrian texts available, ranging from fragmentary inscriptions to biblical translations, from private letters and more recent journal articles, was not greeted with the same academic enthusiasm.

The works on general Cimbrian linguistics date back to the later 19th century, starting with ethnographical comments on the language (and its decline) and later evolving into word lists, and finally compilations of grammatical characteristics (Cipolla 1884, Messedaglia 1922; Battisti 1931; Mercante 1936). Cappelletti and Schweizer cover the middle ground, with a more comprehensive linguistic analysis (1940s, reprinted 1980) and a sophisticated phonological analysis (Schweizer MSS) which sheds light on the language's origin. Syntacticians became interested in the language in the 1980s, and since then have produced a number of diachronic and historical works (Meid 1984, 1985a, 1985b; Bosco 1996; Benincà and Renzi 2000; Pili 2001; Poletto & Tomaselli 2002; Tomaselli 2004; Bidese and Tomaselli in press).

From these diachronic works it can be determined that Cimbrian has undergone several changes from its original Middle High German structure. Most importantly, it has lost the verb-second constraint (V2), and changed from SOV to SVO (Bidese and Tomaselli, in press). According to Benincá and Renzi (2000), these changes are not attributable to language contact with the surrounding Veronese dialect, but should be considered as having been caused by independent language-internal development. Other works, such as Pili (2001), emphasize the role of Veronese in Cimbrian's language change. The only other work on Contemporary Cimbrian I am aware of is an unpublished master's thesis from 2000 (Scardoni): it is an examination of the syntax of Subject DPs, based on speech collected in 1998 from 4 bilinguals, some of whom are not part of the only remaining speaker community.

Therefore, the research and analysis presented here constitute a significant advance in the study of Cimbrian syntax, both in terms of the actual syntactic analysis of the structures being investigated, as well as for the source of information that it, and the corpus it draws from, could provide for further study of the language.

## CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND DEFINITIONS

The syntactic structures of Cimbrian that I will examine in this paper are the result of a complex process: geographical proximity between Veronese and Cimbrian has resulted in a situation of language contact, which, due to other external factors, has put stress on speakers of Cimbrian to switch to using Veronese. Prolonged bilingualism, with extensive use of Veronese and minimal opportunities to use Cimbrian has influenced speaker's control over Cimbrian, and in a process of language attrition has caused certain structures to be lost and replaced by those of Veronese. Therefore, although this research paper focuses on the results of a process of language attrition (language loss within the individual), these changes are brought about by a larger-scale process of language contact which is pushing towards language loss throughout the whole community. Although the two processes are closely related in this example, they are discussed and defined very differently, in manners which I outline in the following sections.

### 3.1 Definitions of Language Attrition

*Language attrition* is perhaps one of the most vital and variable terms in linguistics, whose definition is altered or expanded with every new study of language loss. The term is generally used to describe the loss in either competence or performance in a language L on part of a bilingual (at least) speaker, when in a social setting in which a different language prevails. Thus, attrition can be used to describe first language loss in a second language setting (as in this study), as well as second language loss in a first language setting. There are several theories which describe the process by which language is lost in these situations, including:

- Interlanguage: L2 influences L1
- Simplification: 'Complicated' structures are replaced by 'simpler' ones
- Universal Grammar: Language parameters are reset to 'unmarked' values
- Regression: Aspects of a language are forgotten in the inverse order of acquisition (also called *acquisitional sequence*)

(from Schmid 2002: 11)

All of these theories come with several assumptions on the structure of language, and on its acquisition, including the UG parameters and marked-unmarked setting, or notions of economy and simplicity for the Simplification approach. For the purposes of this study, I will assume the Interlanguage approach, which posits that the changes on the first language (L1, also called AL for *ancestral language*) are brought about by the second language (L2, also called TL for *target language*). The main objection to this theory is that there are cases in which a language changes in ways that do not replicate or even follow the L2 model: in these cases, I think one should appeal to theories of internally-induced language change, as are some of the others above, rather than positing L2 interference at some other level. However, language-internal change should not be posited in all situations either, as there can be cases (as in Cimbrian) where there is clear evidence of L2 influence on the altered structure. The Interlanguage approach, while not ideal, offers the best explanation of this L2 influenced Cimbrian behavior: it is the only theory that can account for the increase in complexity or in parameter markedness of the borrowed structures. Both the Simplification and Universal Grammar approaches, as well as the branch of Interlanguage supported by Seliger (1989), predict that the language being lost would replace more complicated rule (especially if it has limited distribution) with a simpler one, or alternatively will reset the syntactic parameters to their 'unmarked' value. The Regression approach is simply not applicable to this study as the structures are not 'forgotten' or 'lost' but rather replaced with those of L2.

### 3.1.1 Assumptions about Structural Change

Many theories discussing language change explain the process as a disturbance in language transmission across generations, where members of the elder generation have one grammar  $G_1$ , which by the intervention of some 'noise' does not get correctly interpreted by the younger generation, and which then develops its own grammar  $G_2$  which differs from  $G_1$  in one or more aspects. In the Cimbrian situation, however, we are not faced with a generational grammar mismatch, but rather with the change in the grammar of a single individual over time. In childhood and early teenage years, all of the speakers interviewed were monolingual speakers of Cimbrian: the language they spoke<sup>1</sup> displayed only a moderate amount of Veronese influence, much less than documented in this survey of contemporary Cimbrian. Over time, with the strengthening of the children's knowledge of Veronese, which most began learning at school at age 6 or 7, their knowledge of Cimbrian decreased. The primary consultants interviewed for this study were those children who were exposed to less Veronese than their peers, and as such still maintain fluency in the language (compared to their semi- or passive-speaker peers). However, extensive bilingualism with Veronese has caused significant change in their Cimbrian grammar since childhood, thus resulting in a process of contact-induced language change which has occurred without the traditional generational-transmission gap.

Although the triggering elements and exact process of language change within a single individual's grammar are not yet understood, it is clear that reduced use of the language 'weakens' its hold in the speaker's language faculty. Seliger (1991: 237), quoted in Schmid

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<sup>1</sup> As determined from an examination of a number of texts (of written and oral nature) collected in Rapelli (1983). There are a number of texts available for the period in question (1925-1955), and none a quick survey shows that the Cimbrian of the time displayed many less traces of overt Veronese interference than the contemporary Cimbrian spoken in 2005.

(2002: 17) states that “at a certain stage in Language attrition, due to lack of L1 input, the L2 grammar will become a source of ‘indirect positive evidence’ which will affect the grammaticality judgements of the L1”. This indirect positive evidence, after a certain amount of intensive and exclusive exposure to the L2, may not only allow for the coexistence of the two structures, but also for the complete replacement of L1 structure by the new L2 one.

I assume that the L1 grammar is restructured by the resetting of certain parameters, in line with input from the L2, in a manner mirroring the process of first language acquisition in children. This means that for every syntactic change examined in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 (Adjective ordering, Negation and Subject resumption) there will have to be a parameter (or combination of parameters) that have been reset to align themselves with the values of Veronese. This could (but need not always) result in the Cimbrian structure exactly replicating the Veronese one, or it could result in some change which shows little surface similarity but only underlying setting congruence, if the surface behavior is the result of the interaction of several parameters, only one of which has changed.

### **3.2 Definitions of Language Contact**

Before L2-induced language attrition can take place within a speaker, there must be a situation of significant language contact that could trigger sudden sensitivity to L2 evidence and allow for parameter resetting. There are however different ways in which languages can interact in society (which may not reflect their interaction within a single speaker), and different results that these contact situations may have on the languages involved.

The outcomes of language contact situations have been divided into three major categories by Winford (2003): *Language Maintenance*, *Language Shift* and *Language Creation*.

The terminology is somewhat misleading, as the term *Language Shift* is being employed to represent cases in which the ancestral language (AL, also L1) is being lost in favor of the target language (TL, also L2)—and any changes must occur in the direction from AL into the newly acquired language TL or L2<sup>2</sup>.

Thus, although Cimbrian (the AL) is being lost due to speakers ‘shifting’ or ‘switching’ to Veronese, the situation of the speakers represented in this study is better described with the term *language maintenance*<sup>3</sup>. In this scenario, the L1 or AL is declining in popularity and use, speakers are gaining bilingual competence with the L2, but the L1 is still occasionally used, so that it is not completely lost, but at the same time shows traces of L2 influence. The degree of language change is in no way a predictor of the language’s survival in a society, which instead hinges on the development of separate domains of use (e.g. home vs. office) for the L1 and L2.

Language maintenance situations can be divided further into two categories: *Borrowing situations*, and *Convergence situations*. In the latter, the comparable size or prestige levels of the languages create bilateral borrowing, so that the two languages converge towards some middle ground which is distinct from each of the matrix languages<sup>4</sup>. Borrowing situations are those in which the inequality of the languages leads to unidirectional influence by the L2 on the L1: Winford divides these further into situations of casual, moderate, and intense contact.

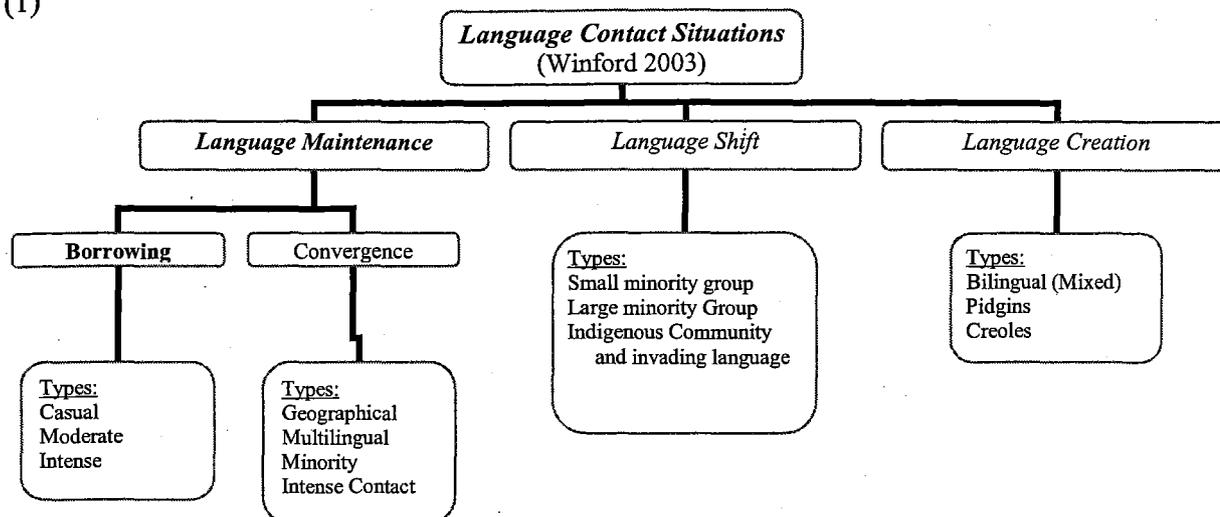
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<sup>2</sup> In our situation, this would involve changes towards Cimbrian in the Veronese spoken by Cimbrians; it is most commonly found where there are large populations learning a single target language, as with large and close-knit emigrant communities, as well as in cases of political or economic colonization.

<sup>3</sup> Situations of language shift are also normally characterized by a ‘cascade’ of speaker abilities, where the first generation speaks only or primarily language A, a number of middle generation speakers control A and B (to varying degrees), and the last generation are monolingual in language B and perhaps retain semi-speaker knowledge of language A. The duration of this cascade, if it even existed, was extremely short in Cimbrian: the speakers interviewed for this study were all native Cimbrian speakers, many learnt Veronese/Italian only in school, but over the course of their lives became fully bilingual and some (whose results I have not reported here) progressed to becoming virtually monolingual in Veronese.

<sup>4</sup> Examples include Sprachbünde situations, as in the Balkans, or trade/marriage communities as in Northwest New Britain or Arnhem Land, Australia. (Winford 2003: 23)

(1)



Despite the apparent rigidity of the terminological and linguistic categories mapped out in (1), language contact situations may present several different processes occurring at once (so that language shift may co-occur with language maintenance effects), or none at all (stable bilingual situations may have very limited lexical borrowing over extended periods of time).

### 3.2.1 Quantifying Language Contact and Change

Winford's classification built on a previous classification of language contact situations and outcomes, presented in Thomason and Kaufman (1988), where the authors offered a borrowing scale which correlated degrees of language and cultural contact with their outcomes in terms of linguistic change. A brief synopsis is included in (2).

(2)

Level 1	<u>Casual Contact: lexical borrowing only</u> Lexicon: content words, non-basic vocabulary before basic vocab.
Level 2	<u>Slightly more intense contact: slight structural borrowing</u> Lexicon: function words, conjunctions, adverbial particles Structure: minor phonological, syntactic, semantic features. New phonemes. <i>Syntax: new functions or functional restrictions, new orderings but no typological disruption.</i>
Level 3	<u>More intense contact: slightly more structural borrowing</u> Lexicon: function words, adpositions, affixes, pronouns, numbers. Structure: Phonology: phonemicization of previously allophonic variants. <i>Syntax: precursors of larger change (i.e. not SOV to SVO but occurrence of postpositions in a pre-positional language).</i>
Level 4	<u>Strong cultural pressure: Moderate structural borrowing</u> Structure: major features that cause little typological change. Phonology: loss of contrasts, acquisition of new ones; new syllable structure constraints. Morphology: new cases. <i>Syntax: extensive word order changes.</i>
Level 5	<u>Very strong cultural pressure: Heavy structural borrowing</u> Structure: significant typological disruptions: new morphophonemic rules, changes in word structure and formation ( <i>pre-/suffix</i> ; flexional to agglutinative morphology); more extensive ordering changes; <i>added concord rules</i> ; <i>bound pronominal elements emerge.</i>

For the purposes of this analysis, it is important to consider stages four and five, which show strong and very strong cultural pressure from the L2 onto the L1. Unfortunately, the labels of cultural pressure and social contact can be applied to a given language change situation only retrospectively, and situations with similar language contact settings may yield different results due to a third interfering factor<sup>5</sup>, which can also only be noticed retrospectively. There is as yet no theory capable of predicting the outcome of a contact situation given the social and linguistic descriptors, but Thomason and Kaufman's scale is useful in giving a relative scale of contact situations and precise predictions as to the extent and mode of language change.

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<sup>5</sup> Examples of this include an extremely strong ethnic tie to the language, or the creation of a very specialized domain in which it could survive, as in religion or folklore.

### 3.2.2 The Borrowing Scale Applied to Cimbrian

In this research paper, I will examine three different syntactic constructions, which I believe can be categorized as elements in either level 4 or 5 of Thomason and Kaufman's scale. The adjective-noun reordering processes discussed in Chapter 5 appear to fall into the category of 'extensive word order changes' (level 4), as they involve the development of two independent noun-raising processes within the DP that are present in the contact language but absent in Germanic varieties. The analysis of Negation presented in Chapter 6 focuses mostly on the parameter resetting in order to develop negative concord, listed on Level 5 of the borrowing scale under 'added concord rules'. Chapter 7 is concerned with the development of widespread topicalization with pronominal resumption in one of the two varieties, approximating the behavior of subject clitics in the contact language. Although as yet there is only evidence for stylistic change (and only very weak evidence for structural reanalysis), this is in my opinion a step along the process of the development of 'bound pronominal elements', listed under Level 5 of the Thomason and Kaufman scale. The historical analysis presented in Chapter 4 offers the premise to this argument, that is that the two dialect groups have been (and are still) exposed to the contact language in different degrees, thereby causing different amounts of borrowing and syntactic change to take place.

## CHAPTER 4: THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

### 4.1 A History of the Cimbrian People

Although the exact origin of the Cimbrian population and language remains a contested topic, linguistic as well as historical evidence support the thesis of a Bavarian settlement of the Italian prealps during the course of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. A prolonged crop famine around the area of Benediktbeuern, Germany, caused the local Bishop to turn to his colleague in Trento for help in resettling some of the population, and the Italian counterpart agreed, allowing the German settlers to move into the church's land above Trento, and later to expand into the neighboring provinces of Vicenza and Verona.

The first group of settlers is said to have arrived in 1050 (Pompolo 1999, but disputed by others), but this migration was shortly followed by several others, so that in 1267, a group of

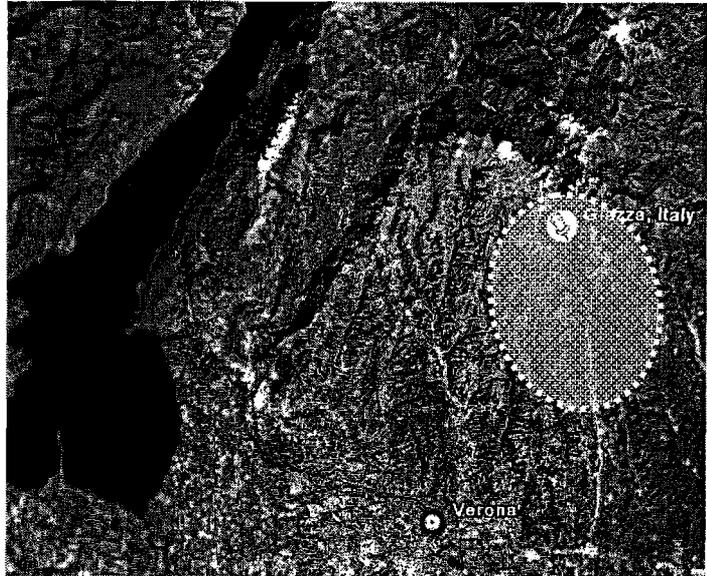


Map 4.1: The Cimbrian migration from Benediktbeuern, Germany to Giazza, Italy.

a few hundred German farmers was granted use of the lands in the mountains above Verona, and this lease was confirmed in 1333. By 1403 the number Germanic villages had grown to eleven, but maintained separation from their Italian neighbors, and were officially recognized as the “Vicariatus Montanearum Theonicorum”. In exchange for some administrative, economic and political independence the Cimbrians offered military protection in case of an attack from the North, and under this proviso fought in the wars against the Tirolo in 1487, and the Habsburgs in

1508, which effectively terminated any remaining contact with their ancient mother country (Pompole 1999: 64). In 1791 Napoleon abolished the Cimbrian rights to economic and administrative independence, and in 1866 Verona and its province (including the Cimbrian settlements) were officially united to the Italian nation, thus annulling what little political freedom the Cimbrians had hitherto conserved out of tradition.

Giazza is not part of the original 13 Cimbrian villages (which included only Azzarino, Badia Calavena, Boscochiesanuova, Camposilvano, Cerro Veronese, Erbezzo, Roveré, San Bortolo, San Mauro, Selva di Progno, Tavernole, Val di Porro and Velo Veronese), but was only



*Map 4.2: The XIII Comuni area with respect to Verona and Lake Garda.*

considered an outpost of Selva di Progno, a larger village approximately three kilometers further down the valley. Geographic and political isolation contributed to maintaining the linguistic environment in Giazza intact over time: it was only during the First World War (1915-1918), with the construction of a military road on the mountainside through and beyond the village, that the Veronese influence began to be felt in traditionally Cimbrian domains. In the 1920s and 1930s the Italian Fascist government instituted stringent language repression laws, banning the use of any dialects or minority languages in school, offices, and public places<sup>1</sup>. In the 1950s the military road was paved, and Giazza (in

<sup>1</sup> This is information gleaned from textbooks, not from Cimbrian-specific interviews or articles. There is therefore no concrete evidence that these policies had any effect on the Cimbrian speakers. It is important to note that languages of Germanic origin were treated with slightly more respect (due to political alliances) than other minority groups and languages, and the geographical isolation of the Cimbrian speaking villages might have contributed to

particular, but the other Cimbrian villages as well) became a tourist attraction for citydwellers seeking mountain air.

Interviews with local amateur historians in Giazza brought to light other theories of the origins of the Cimbrian population that stretch the moment of original settlement further into the past. These have often been amplified by the media and occasionally by scholarly articles, although both historical (Fabbris 1975) and linguistic (Schweizer MSS) evidence clearly point to a large Bavarian immigration during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, as described above. It is very possible that someone did inhabit the mountains above Verona before 1000 AD—there are fossil records and archaeological evidence of populations inhabiting that area as far back as the Stone Age, in fact—but it is unlikely that these groups constituted the linguistic and cultural backbone of Cimbrian society.

The two alternative theories are loosely based on the etymological relationship between the Cimbrians' ethnic name (Cimbri, Tzimbar) and that applied to Germanic tribes (Cimbri) defeated by Mario in 101 BC at the Battle of the Campi Raudii (near Vercelli). Another proposes that the Cimbrians are none other than the descendants of Northern Germanic invaders over Europe (ca. 1000 BC) which hailed from Kimberland, on the Jutland peninsula of modern day Denmark. However, these theories overlook the fact that *Cimbrian* was a generic term applied throughout history to various Germanic tribes (comparable to *Teuton*). The origin of the Giazza-Cimbrian ethnic name appears instead to be from *Tzimbar*, *Tzimbar-mann* (cf. English *timber*, ModGerman *Zimmer*), meaning woodcutter or carpenter.

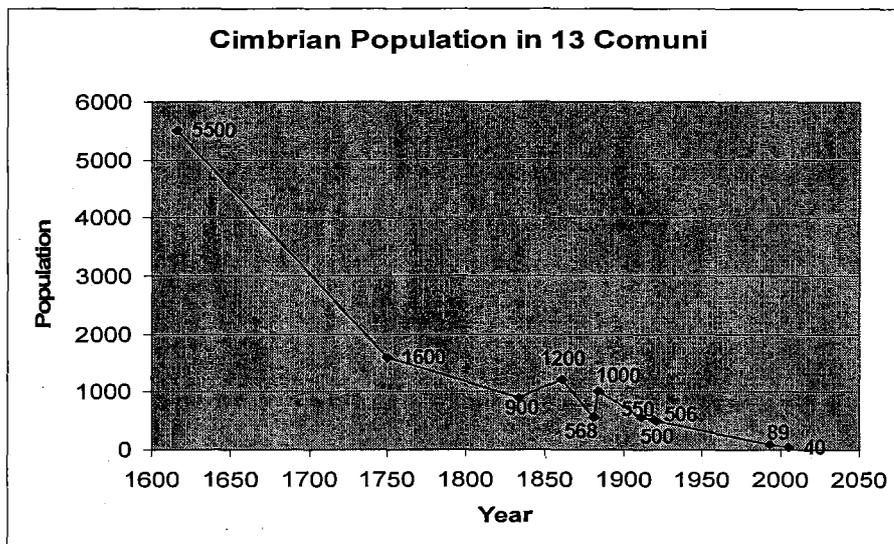
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having them pass relatively unnoticed by the administration. Cimbrian continued to be repressed in school until the 1960s, reflecting local, rather than national, ideologies and practices.

## 4.2 The History of the Cimbrian Language

XIII Comuni Cimbrian is by now a severely endangered language, with approximately 40 speakers (all bilingual); of these forty, approximately half are in an active speaker community and therefore actually use the language for communication on a regular basis. Data on the decline and modality of language use in the Cimbrian settlements is rare, and often contradictory. The number of Cimbrian speakers in the entire XIII Comuni area is shown in (1), but the figures reflect a decline due to both language shift as well as demographic factors. It appears that until 1820 all of the XIII Comuni spoke Cimbrian, but no data was provided as to the number of speakers or the extent of bilingualism at the time (Hochkofler 1921).

(1)

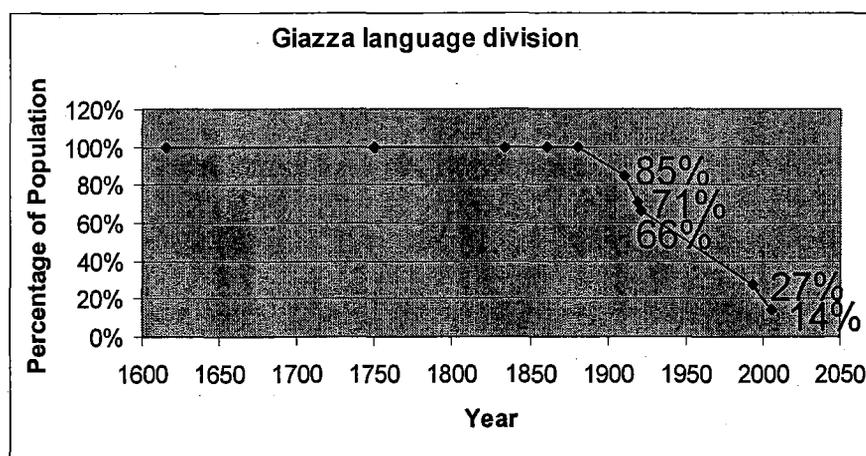


The numbers of Cimbrian speakers within Giazza over time are more readily available, thanks to a meticulous collation and analysis of several different literary and census sources carried out by Hochkofler (1921). In (2), I include the population of Cimbrian speakers in Giazza, both as a percentage and as an absolute number, while (3) focuses on the rapid decline of Cimbrian usage within the village.

(2)

Date	% C Speak	Total Pop.	Source
1616	100%		Assumed
1750	100%		Assumed
1834	100%	466	Assumed
1861	100%		Assumed
1881	100%	568	Assumed
1911	85%	610	Hochkofler (1921)
1919	71%	712	Hochkofler (1921)
1921	66%	712	Cappelletti (1994)
1993	27%	182	Pompole (1993)
2005	14%	90	Crivellaro (2005)

(3)



According to interviews with the Cimbric speakers in Giazza, the process of language shift was linked to three main factors: firstly, the active repression of Cimbric in school and other official situations in favor of Italian and/or the local Veronese dialect, which limited the occasions in which Cimbric could be used or learnt. Secondly, a strong prestige inequality between the lower-level Cimbric and the higher-level Italian, supported by a strong economic discrepancy, reduced parents' desire to teach Cimbric to their children. Many families actively encouraged the children to learn Italian or Veronese: according to speaker interviews, the first family to speak exclusively Italian at home (ca. 1950) was that of the village grocer, whose children were instructed not to speak Cimbric in the family store for fear of offending Italian

(tourist) customers. This family was also one of the wealthier in the village (universally remembered as being the first to own a private telephone), and this helped perpetrate the linguistic-economic prestige connection. Lastly, unfortunate external conditions leading to a decline in birth and marriage rates, coupled with strong emigration greatly reduced the pool of potential speakers, effectively signing the language's death warrant: of the 12 couples married in the village in 1961, eleven emigrated to Italian-speaking villages for employment reasons. As shown in (2) above, the population of Giazza fell from circa 700 at the beginning of the century to approximately 90 year round residents, a figure which doubles when considering summer residents as well.

The generation of speakers interviewed (age range 50-79) was the last one to acquire Cimbrian at home and to maintain it: I was unable to find any Cimbrian speakers under the age of 50, although there were reports of people learning it in their childhood. Prestige levels would be high enough to allow for speakers to resume teaching it within the family, but at this point there has been a 'generation gap' so that current children could not be exposed to enough Cimbrian to acquire the language.

#### **4.3 The Current Situation**

During my visit to Giazza I was able to observe first hand the extent and distribution of Cimbrian use. As I mentioned before, the number of speakers is extremely low (I estimate 20 in Giazza, and another 20 distributed across surrounding villages), and these are all of age 50 and above. Unfortunately, there is a certain resignation to the impending loss of the language (undoubtedly aided by the dwindling numbers of villagers and speakers) and there are only a few and half-hearted attempts to extend use of Cimbrian to the younger generations and non-fluent

speakers. This is negatively affecting the fate of the language in two ways: firstly, because there being no younger speakers, the language will become extinct with the passing of this generation, and secondly, because the lack of speaker community cohesiveness is causing fragmentation of the language into various dialects.

#### **4.3.1: Repopulation and Revitalization attempts**

Although the prestige of Cimbrian is on the rise, particularly due to the external attention it has been receiving from Italian media, as well as academics, and although there are several institutions (supported by Italian and EU minority protection legislature) that attempt to document and revitalize the language, both within and outside Giazza, there seems to be no effect on the non-speakers of Cimbrian and their linguistic behavior.

In terms of media presence, Cimbrian receives some attention from both a semesterly news bulletin *Cimbri Notizie—Tzimbar Naugaz* as well as from the museum-sponsored *Cimbri-Tzimbar* periodical. Both publications occasionally contain a few articles in Cimbrian (with an Italian translation on the side), but focus mainly on cultural and ethnic aspects, and are distributed free of charge to all those of Cimbrian ethnicity. The Museo Etnografico di Giazza (Giazza Ethnographic Museum) has also organized a radio which airs a few hours of Cimbrian per week, but when interviewed the speakers appeared uninterested and claimed to never listen to it.

Administratively, Cimbrian receives no attention whatsoever: the parish as well as the municipality are both located in Selva di Progno, a larger village of Cimbrian origin but with very weak ties to the ethnicity and no interest in the language. Street signs have recently been erected in Cimbrian, but there is no further push for bilingualism within the administration. The

local elementary school is also in Selva di Progno, and features a single class on Cimbrian language and culture for 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> graders. Although they work from a textbook written almost entirely in Cimbrian (and amply illustrated), there is only one hour of instruction a week, with Italian as a medium. Adult evening classes are being offered by the museum, one hour per week in Giazza and a neighboring village.

There are reports of poetry and songs being produced in Cimbrian, but nothing on a regular basis and/or village-wide scale. There is however a surprising amount of online (internet) presence, with several sites dedicated to the language, an Italian-Cimbrian dictionary and collections of poems and sayings, as well as abundant non-linguistic ethnographic material. There is also a privately owned printing press (Taucias Gareida), which is responsible for most of the reprints cited in this paper, as well as for many interesting books on local culture and history. These books are however aimed mostly at Italians and tourists, not at the local market.

#### **4.3.2 Two Dialects**

Giazza's geographic and social isolation were key to its maintenance of the Cimbrian language to the present day. The structure of the village, which was made of up several 'contrade' (independent house clusters), was such that even within the village there were slight differences in the time and speed at which the process of language shift to Veronese took place. According to speaker interviews, the village center (Contrada Pljatz) was the first to speak Veronese in all domains, including the home. The change then progressed outwards, first affecting the central and southern contrade, which were furthest south in the valley, and must have taken place a number of years ago since I was only able to find semi-speakers in that area. The change progressed more slowly in the northern direction (uphill), largely due to the fact that



(4)

	CRN	AUB <sup>N</sup>	AMB <sup>N</sup>	MAR <sup>N</sup>	RDB <sup>N</sup>	BAT <sup>S</sup>	DOM <sup>S</sup>	CEL <sup>S</sup>
CRN								
AUB <sup>N</sup>			X	X				
AMB <sup>N</sup>		X		X				
MAR <sup>N</sup>		X	X		?	X	X	X
RDB <sup>N</sup>				?		?	X	X
BAT <sup>S</sup>				X	?		X	?
DOM <sup>S</sup>				X	X	X		X
CEL <sup>S</sup>				X	X	?	X	

I had only very limited contact with speaker CRN, as he was commuting to Verona every day for work, and was not able to witness any interactions on his part with other Cimbrian speakers. I have listed the geographic group (N= north and S= south) for the remaining seven primary informants, and it is interesting to see how closely this patterns with the social network connections. The main exceptions are MAR (who appears to be very sociable) and RDB (who seems to be rather antisocial), but it should be kept in mind that this social chart is by no means conclusive, as I was not following every speaker throughout the course of every day<sup>2</sup>.

This geographically-induced and socially-supported dialectal split is the backdrop to my linguistic analysis of modern XIII Comuni Cimbrian adjective, negation and subject resumption patterns. The geographic isolation of the more remote (northern) contrade prevented those speakers from being exposed to the same amount of Veronese influence as was present in the village center and the southern contrade. I believe that this difference is quantifiable on the Thomason-Kaufman scale (see section 3.2.1), where group N was exposed to 'Strong Cultural Pressure' (Level 4), while group S was exposed to 'Very Strong Cultural Pressure' (Level 5): this difference in language contact resulted in turn in the development of two different dialects of

<sup>2</sup> Please note that, given the small village size, all speakers know each other, and I am certainly not arguing that the empty blanks represent non-existing relationships. I am offering this data as a possible 'frequency sampler', to note which of these speaker relationships appear to have been more common, and these seem to naturally solidify in two separate nuclei, corresponding to the two social environments (the Boscangrobe/northern group, and village center/southern group).

Cimbrian. There was no pressure for these two dialects to re-converge into a single standard due to the absence of extensive social contact (as seen by the social network analysis), as well as of a linguistic standard or cohesive speaker group<sup>3</sup>.

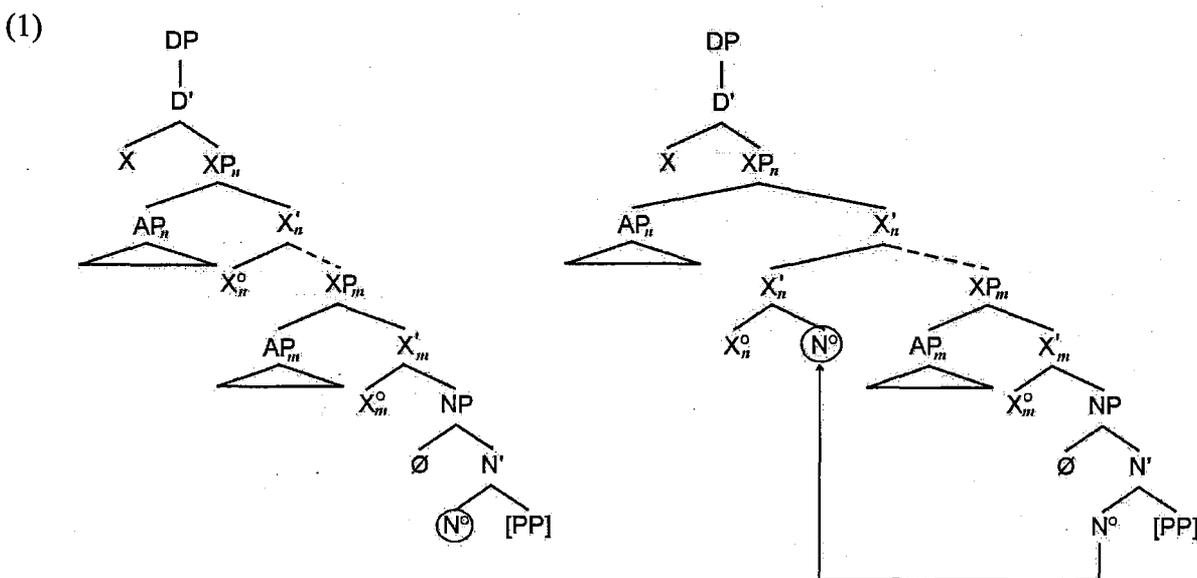
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<sup>3</sup> In fact, when interviewed, speakers did not appear to be conscious of this dialectal difference, and claimed that what little Cimbrian was still spoken was the same everywhere. AMB however pointed out to me that language differences did exist between the dialect of Veronese spoken in Giazza and that spoken in the nearby village of Campofontana, although these were mostly at the phonological level.

## CHAPTER 5: ADJECTIVES

### 5.1 Adjectives in the Contact Language (Veronese)

According to the analysis put forth by Cinque (1990), supported by Kayne (1994), Germanic and Romance adjectives show different surface behavior through different derivations from the same underlying structure<sup>1</sup>, which is the shown on the left in (1). Germanic languages maintain this underlying structure (resulting in Adjective-Noun surface ordering), while Romance languages raise the noun head of this position and adjoin it to the head of a higher phrase, as shown in (1), on the right. As the Romance noun is raised into the middle of the adjective cloud, this can result in surface structures of the N-A, A-N-A, or even A-N type.<sup>2</sup>



Although the exact position of the recipient head varies across languages<sup>3</sup> in Romance (as well as within a language according to context), there is a fixed sequence of adjective types (developed in Crisma 1990), which appears to be stable cross-linguistically (Cinque 1996: 302),

<sup>1</sup> Most previous theories had assumed completely different underlying structures and no movement.

<sup>2</sup> Other languages (such as Thai and Indonesian, see Cinque 1996: 302) show pure N-A behavior and have an N-A underlying structure.

<sup>3</sup> For example, the movement of N in Walloon would be minimal, just past the 'nationality' AP, while in Sardinian it would raise past everything except a handful of 'quality' APs. Cinque (1996:303), quoting Bernstein (1991,1993).

and which allows us to determine the point to which the noun is raised in the different varieties of Romance. The adjective type sequences for event and object nominals are listed below, with examples from Italian<sup>4</sup> (raising, from Cinque 1996) and Germanic (non-raising).

Event: *possessive* > *cardinal* > *ordinal* > *speaker-oriented* > *subj-oriented* > *manner* > *thematic*

(2) a. Le sue due altre probabili goffe reazioni<sub>i</sub> immediate *t<sub>i</sub>* alla tua lettera. *ITA*  
 The his two other probable clumsy reactions immediate to your letter

b. Seine zwei anderen wahrscheinlichen unbeholfenen unmittelbaren Reaktionen auf deinen Brief.  
 his two other probable clumsy immediate reactions to your letter

Object: *possessive* > *cardinal* > *ordinal* > *quality* > *size* > *shape* > *color* > *nationality*

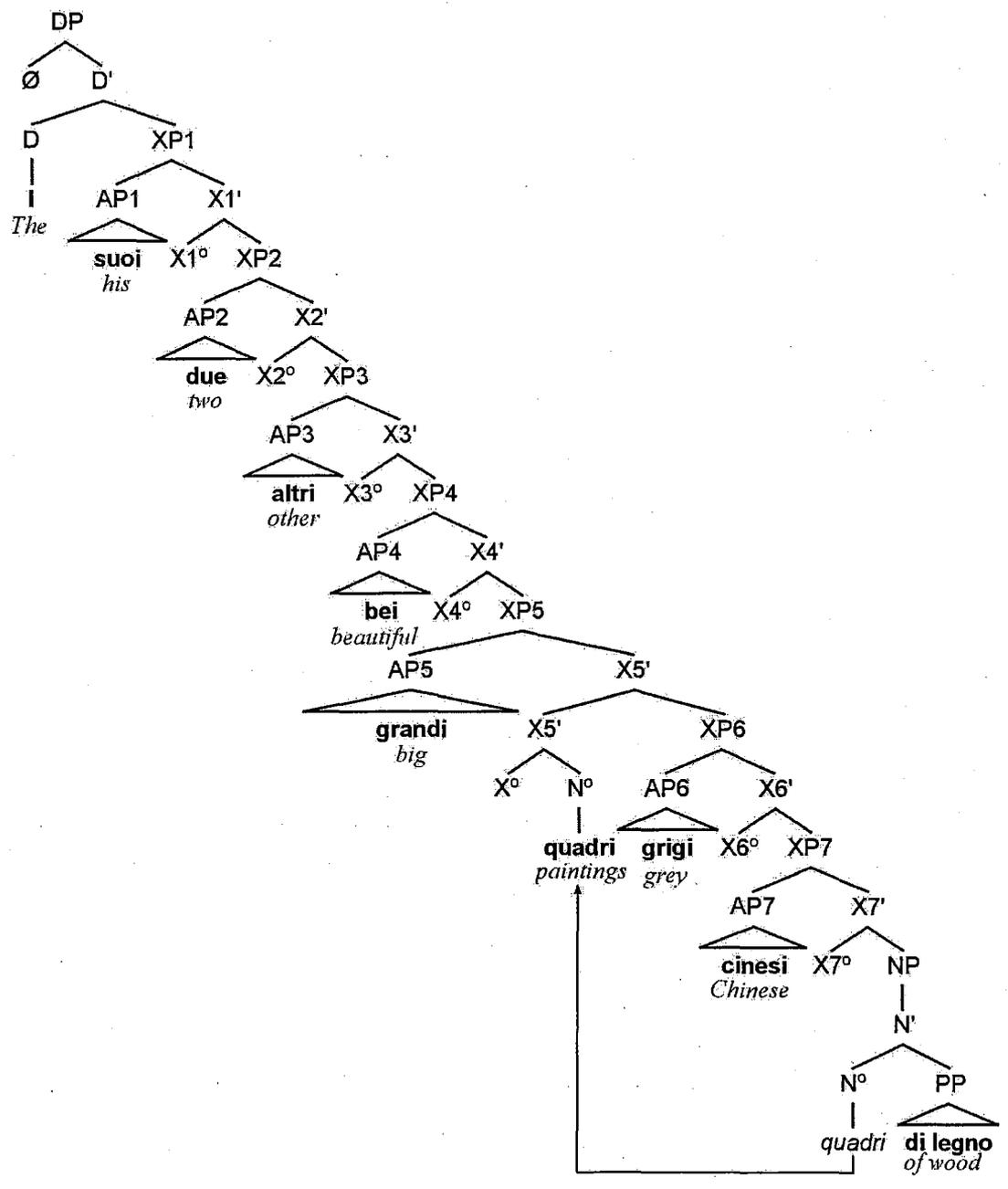
(3) a. I suoi due altri bei grandi quadri<sub>i</sub> tondi grigi cinesi *t<sub>i</sub>*. *ITA*  
 The his two other beautiful big paintings round grey Chinese

b. Seine zwei anderen schönen grossen runden grauen chinesischen Bilder. *GER*  
 His two other beautiful big round grey Chinese paintings

For the purposes of this study, due to the nature of the data collected in Veronese and in Cimbrian, I will occupy myself mostly with object nominals (as in 3, with concrete nouns), although any statements made apply just as well to so-called event nominals (as in 2, with abstract nouns). The Italian object-NP sentence in (3a) is illustrated in (4) on the next page, showing the noun raising into the middle of the structure, to be phonetically realized between the adjectives of size and shape.

<sup>4</sup> I was unable to discover any difference in the syntax of adjectives of Veronese and Standard Italian based on my own observations and data, nor was I able to find any work dealing specifically with the properties of adjectives in Veronese. There is however a sizeable body of work on Italian adjective structures, which, seeing the congruence of the structures, I will be citing as both theory and examples, without providing translations in Veronese.

(4)



Cinque proposes that the adjective phrases (AP) are found in the specifier positions of unidentified (XP) phrases, possibly iterations of DP, that occur between the determiner-carrying DP and the NP, and the Romance raising N head will adjoin to one of the head positions of these phrases: in Italian as well as Veronese, this appears to be the fifth phrase, labeled here as XP5.



- (6) a. \*Il caldo latte fa bene. ITA  
 b. Il latte<sub>i</sub> caldo t<sub>i</sub> fa bene.  
 The warm milk is good (for you)
- (7) a. Ho incontrato il nuovo parroco. ITA  
 b. Ho incontrato il parroco<sub>i</sub> nuovo t<sub>i</sub>.  
 I have met the new priest
- (8) a. Una bella ragazza é andata al mercato. ITA  
 b. ??Una ragazza<sub>i</sub> bella t<sub>i</sub> é andata al mercato.  
 A pretty girl went to the market

In Italian and Veronese, certain multiple adjective structures that would result in A-A-N or N-A-A orders are considered to be fairly awkward and are avoided by the use of repair strategies that transform these orders into A-N-A structures instead, by re-centering the noun via *secondary raising*. Not all adjective pairs force these repair strategies: it appears that the noun is free to move only as far to the right as after shape adjectives, or as far to the left as before quality adjectives, as shown in (9) below:

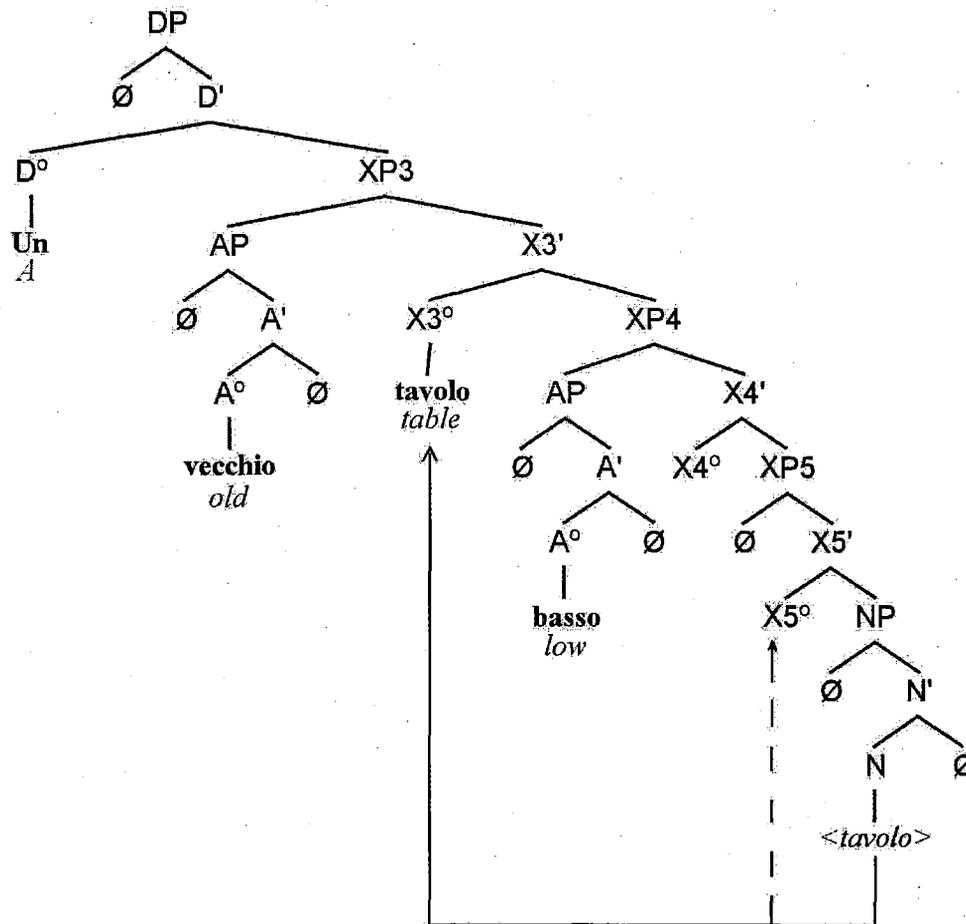
(9) possessive > cardinal > ordinal > N > quality > N > size > N > shape > N > color > nationality

Therefore, structures with two adjectives including possessives and numerals would be allowed to maintain the AAN order (see 11), which is otherwise considered awkward (see 10) and solved by means of secondary raising.

- (10) a. \*Un vecchio basso tavolo. [AAN order] ITA  
 b. Un vecchio tavolo<sub>i</sub> basso t<sub>i</sub>. [ANA order]  
 An old<sup>QUAL</sup> low<sup>SIZE</sup> table.  
 'An old low table'
- (11) a. I miei due angeli. [AAN order] ITA  
 b. \*I miei angeli<sub>i</sub> due t<sub>i</sub>. [ANA order]  
 The my<sup>POSS</sup> two<sup>CARD</sup> angels.  
 'My two angels'

In (12) I illustrate the secondary raising process for the Italian sentence in (10b). Primary noun raising (dotted line) brings the noun head to the XP5 position, but secondary raising will move it to XP3, between the two adjectives (found in [Spec, XP3] and [Spec, XP4]).

(12)



Lastly, in Italian and Veronese, a number of adjectival concepts, most notably 'material' (i.e. what a thing is made out of) can not be encoded in a single adjective but can only be described with a prepositional phrase + NP, found as a complement to the main NP phrase. The rest of the DP, including the other adjective orders and the secondary raising mechanisms, are not affected<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The PP can in turn contain an NP with adjectives, which would however agree with the noun in the PP, as in:  
 Una camicia bianca di cotone = a shirt white [of cotton] = a white cotton shirt  
 Una camicia di cotone bianco = a shirt [of cotton white] = a shirt of white cotton

- (13) un nuovo tavolo rettangolare [pp di legno]. ITA  
 a new table rectangular of wood  
 'a new rectangular wooden table'

## 5.2 Adjectives in Cimbrian

The Italian prompts were specifically constructed in order to determine the extent and properties of noun raising in Cimbrian, as well as those of the secondary (corrective) noun raising typical of Italian/Veronese. In Germanic languages, of course, all adjectives are rigidly to the left of the noun, since the noun never raises out of its base position, and adjectives are never adjoined to the right of it, as is demonstrated in (14) with older Cimbrian data.

- (14) Disan roatan Pfaffe, er ist user Bischof... CIM 1882  
 this red priest he is our bishop ...

... bo da ist ken hia tze fingan-us bar-andare arme Laute, und tze baigan-us.  
 ... who is come here to find us we other poor people and to bless us  
 'This red priest is our bishop, who came to visit us poor people here, and to bless us.'

(from "Tzwoa Håger..." Cipolla 1882; in Rapelli 1983:90)

To differentiate between these structures, the Italian prompts offered to the Cimbrian speakers for translations contained three different classes of adjectives, chosen for their position on the object-nominal scale: possessives (always to the left of the noun), quality adjectives (in the middle of the raising cloud), and color adjectives (always to the right of the noun), as shown below:

- (15) **possessive** > cardinal > ordinal > N > quality > N > size > N > shape > N > **color** > nationality

The prompts contained both single adjective structures, of both the AN and NA type, as well as some double adjective structures (with quality, size, and color adjectives) in either ANA (with and without secondary raising) or NA&A (conjoined) structures. In addition, a number of

sentences also contained an adjective in the PP complement (see 13) in order to elicit the most neutral (non-prompt-influenced) adjective position possible. In the following sections I describe the different prompt structures offered to the speakers, and the Cimbrian sentences that were produced in response. The distribution of such structures across speakers, speaker groups and contexts will be discussed more in depth in section 5.3.

### 5.2.1 Strictly A-N prompts

The AN prompt sentences included either possessive adjectives (see 16 below), or strictly low-noun quality adjectives (17), and all 46 sentences were uniformly translated as AN by all eight Cimbrian informants. This only shows that Cimbrian has not developed forced, or very high, noun raising, as the same structural translation is acceptable in both Germanic and Romance languages.

- (16) Mia hunt a gessat zai puan. *CIM* (AMB A19)  
 My dog has eaten his bone.
- (17) ... a Sona kitSe [pp um abato] *CIM* (DOM E13)  
 a pretty girl from Abato (town name).

### 5.2.2 Strictly N-A prompts

Other prompts contained color adjectives that, in Italian and most other Romance languages, are found below the position to which N normally raises, yielding an NA order via primary noun raising. In addition, in Italian and Veronese (but not necessarily in all other Romance languages), there is no possibility for the noun to raise to (or stay in) a position lower than XP6, which entails that color adjectives must always be pronounced to the right of (after) the noun. The prompts of this type presented to the speakers can be further divided into two categories: those that are 'new' adjective-noun pairings, and those that represent common idiom-



### 5.2.3 Variable-position (quality adjective) prompts

A number of quality adjectives were also included in the Italian prompts: these contained adjectives which in Italian and Veronese were allowed to be found both to the right and left of the noun (with and without secondary noun raising), without particular semantic or stylistic constrictions. These adjectives were presented in both AN and NA structures in the prompt, and the Cimbrian translation of these sentences was, to a great extent, identical to the structure of the prompt sentence. There were occasional reinterpretations, as well as a few minimal pairs in which the same structure was translated as both AN and NA by the same speaker:

- (21) a. In muljar is ha kost an naugan mul. *CIM* (CEL E04)  
b. In muljar is ha kost an mul; nauk t<sub>i</sub>. *CIM* (CEL E04)  
the miller he-has bought a new mill.  
'The miller bought a new mill(stone).'

### 5.2.4 Multiple-Adjective Coordinated Structures

Coordinated structures in Italian and Veronese, regardless of the original position of the adjectives, require noun raising above the adjective cluster, thus resulting in an NA-like surface order. In Germanic languages, however, the coordinated APs are to the left of the noun (see 22), suggesting that the coordinated structure is subject to the same rules of positioning as single adjectives, and is not right-adjoined or lowered due to its structural weight.

- (22) a. Un ragazzo; giovane e alto t<sub>i</sub> [N-raising] *ITA*  
b. A young and tall youth [non-N-raising] *ENG*

All of the prompts with coordinated structures, regardless of the adjectives' original position on the adjective scale given in (15), were translated in Cimbrian with the Veronese-like N raising:







- (32) a. ... una nuova camicia [PP di lana.] *ITA*  
 a new shirt of wool
- (33) a. ... a naugas heimade bonboulje. [ANA] *CIM* (RDB E21)  
 b. ... a naugas heimade [PP pi boulje.] *CIM* (BAT E21)  
 a new shirt woolen  
 '... a new green woolen shirt'

Those with three adjectives potentially modifying a single noun were always translated by a direct surface-calque of the structure, but in doing so the speakers reinterpreted the three adjectives (34a) as two sets of noun-adjective pairings (34b). In the example below, the feminine agreement on *azzurra* clearly indicates that it modifies *camicia* 'shirt' instead of *cotone* 'cotton', which would be masculine, but speakers would reinterpret the prompt in (34a) to form the structure of (34b) in their Cimbrian translations.

- (34) a. ... una nuova camicia [PPdi cotone] azzurra. *ITA* (Prompt E21)  
 b. ... una nuova camicia [PPdi cotone azzurro]. *ITA* (not a prompt)  
 a new shirt of cotton light blue  
 'a new light blue cotton shirt'

My hope when presenting these sentences was to derive a structure similar to the English 'a new light-blue cotton shirt' (A-A-A-N) but the results, when all adjectives were conserved, always maintained the split structure as in (35). Furthermore, both noun-adjective pairs in the sentence were unfailingly translated following the same structure of the Veronese prompt (AN-of-NA), and not according to the patterns of distribution described in 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above, whereby NA forms would be translated as AN about half the time, and kept NA in the remaining half.

- (35) ... a nawgas heimade [ un koton blau. ] *CIM* (DOM E21)  
 a new shirt of cotton (light)-blue.

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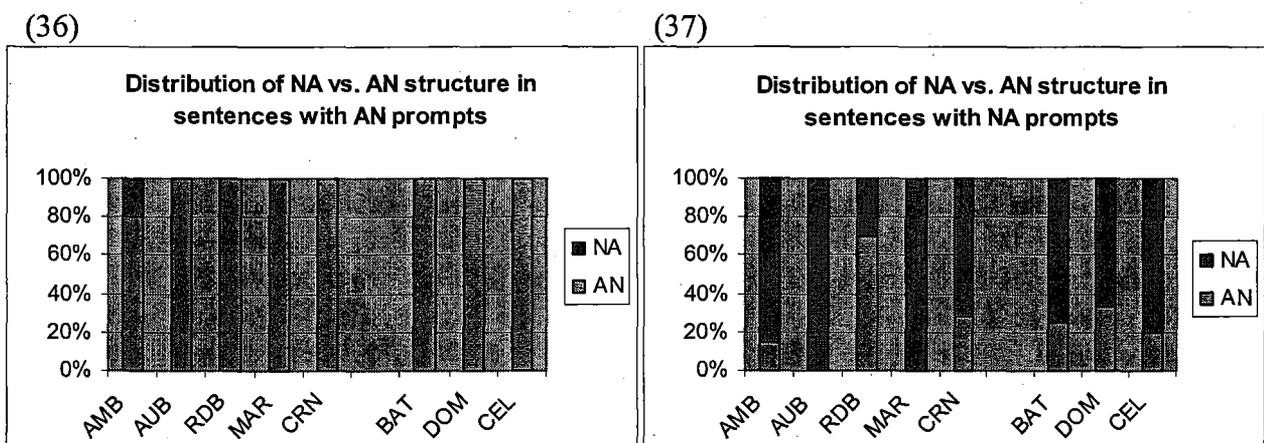
dropping an adjective (or more), substituting a different one for the one given in the prompt, thus prompts that were aiming at 3+ adjectives were often reclassified into this category by this process of reinterpretation.

### 5.3 Distribution of Structures

Although Cimbrian presents a variety of different structures that are occasionally at odds with each other, these are not in complimentary distribution across speaker groups or even individual speakers. The distribution of structures is constant, or at best random, across speakers, and as such indicative of a process of language change that has and is impacting the entirety of the community to the same extent.

#### 5.3.1 Single adjective structures

In the figures in (36) and (37) I include the distribution of single adjective structures produced in response to each prompt for each individual speaker. The speakers are ordered according to the dialect group to which they belong (Dialect N on the left, Dialect S on the right) thus allowing for inter- and intra-dialectal comparisons to be made.



In (36) I display the structure of the sentences produced in the translation of AN prompts: there was only 1 exception (a minimal pair) in a total of 37 sentences produced. In (37) I show the structure of the sentences produced in the translation of NA prompts: here there was more

variability across speakers, but with the exception of RDB, no significant difference across speakers, and more importantly, no visible difference across the two dialect groups.

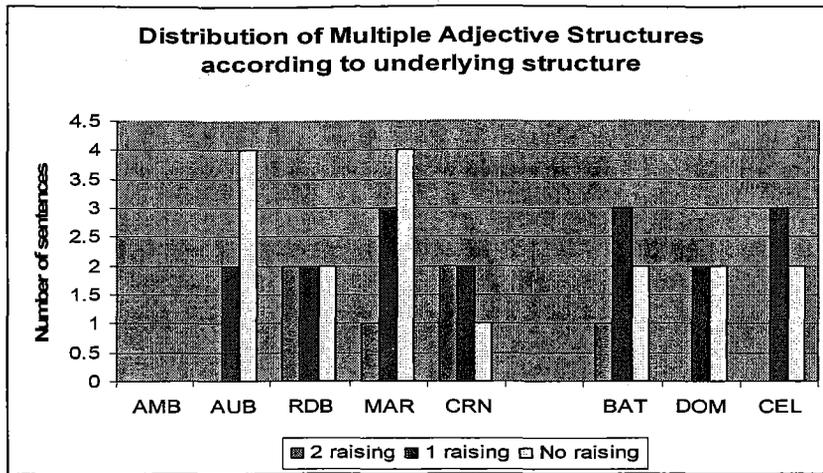
I have excluded from this count the Cimbrian fixed idioms discussed in section 5.2.2: these are very common adjective-noun pairings which I believe may have reached a compound-like status in the language, and which show a remarkable degree of consistency in their AN order despite the very rigid (fixed) NA ordering of the prompt. I believe they form a class on their own and should not be included in the figure in (37) with the other NA-prompt results, as they would only confound the results. Their data is also remarkably consistent across speakers, with only one exception (out of 17 total sentences) for speaker BAT.

### **5.3.2 Multiple adjective structures**

Analysis of multiple adjective structures is more difficult given the limited number of sentences available and the wide number of possible output structures. For this reason, I have divided the data not according to the form of the translation, but rather according to the grammar that would have produced that structure: one with no raising (of the Germanic type), with primary raising only, or with primary and secondary raising (of the Italian/Veronese type).

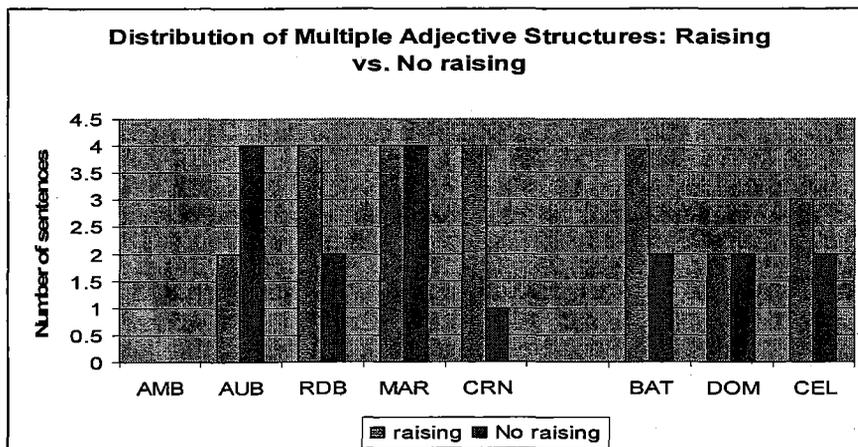
The results are shown in (38), where the speakers are shown individually but organized according to speaker group (Dialect N on the left, Dialect S on the right). There was no data available for speaker AMB in this section. As with the single-adjective structures, there does not appear to be any noticeable difference in the grammar used, either across individual speakers or across between the two dialect groups.

(38)



In (39) I have shown the same data but divided into the categories 'raising' (including instances of both primary and secondary raising) and 'non-raising' (with Germanic-like structure only). As with the previous chart, there appears to be no noticeable pattern or difference among or within the two dialect groups. Unfortunately, as is often the case, there is too little data available to make any broader statements, particularly with regards to Group S speakers. It is further interesting to note that all NA&A prompts were translated into NA&A structures in Cimbrian by all speakers and for all sentences and sentence types.

(39)



## 5.4 Analysis

The Cimbrian DP behavior described thus far can be categorized into three different classes, distinguished according to the presence or absence of noun raising within the DP clause, and to the presence of secondary noun-raising that adjusts the landing position of the noun within the existing adjectives. Determining which grammatical structure is responsible for the surface behavior in Cimbrian is difficult, since many surface word orders can be produced by two or three of the proposed analyses. However, there are also structures that can be explained by only one of the structures, and that therefore invalidate the others.

(40)

Primary Noun Raising?	Secondary Noun Raising?	Distinctive surface forms	Counterevidence	'strength'
No (Germanic)	X	AAN, AN	ANA; NA(A); NA&A; anything that shows evidence for noun raising	35%
Yes	No	AAN, ANA, NAA	Some AN and ANA; structure that does not conform to the adjective ordering scale	15%
Yes	Yes (Italian)	ANA, NA&A	AAN; NAA; forms that do not correspond to the prompt (unless it was 'flexible')	50%

In analyzing the data I have ignored all sentences that could be explained by more than one of these analyses, and counted only the sentences that could be explained by only one of the analyses (in other words, they would have to be counterevidence for two of the three structure types proposed in 40). The proportion of these sentences that could be explained by each theory is given in the last column of the table in (40), and could be taken as an indicator of the relative strengths of the different structures in Modern Cimbrian.

If one were to assume that the primary-raising-only sentences (4 examples) could be attributed to speaker mistakes or some other form of interference, we would have only 9

sentences providing clear evidence of Germanic behavior (no raising), versus 47 of Veronese behavior (with raising), making the structural shift towards the grammar of the contact language even more noticeable.

Even if we were to assume that the primary-raising-only sentences are representative of a legitimate and independent grammar, they would still be easily integrated into the process of language change occurring in Giazza. The primary-raising-only stage can be also viewed as an intermediate level during the process of grammar convergence towards the Veronese model, during which only one of the parameter resettings (primary raising) had taken place, and the second (secondary raising) was still in process.

## 5.5 Adjective Agreement

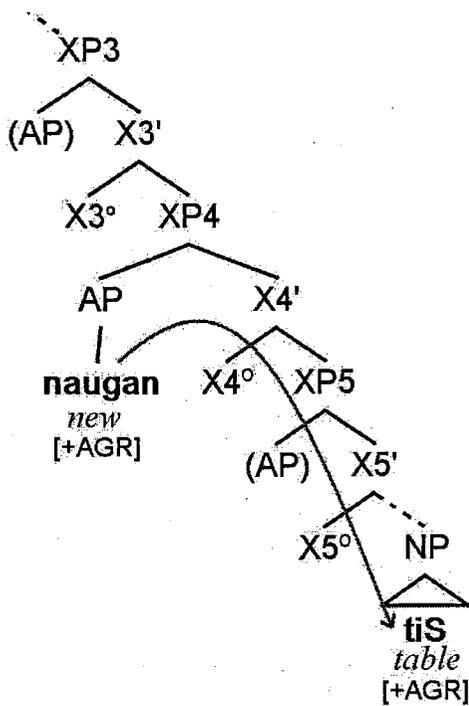
It could be argued, given the limited amount of data available for adjective structures in Modern Cimbrian, that patterns the variation in structures (Germanic, primary-raising-only, Veronese) is not (or not only) a product of the transitional stage in language change, but also symptomatic of a greater intra-dialectal difference in underlying grammars. A further argument for the uniformity of distribution and structure of Cimbrian adjectives across all speakers is the uniformity in use of gender agreement on adjectives. Unlike both Italian/Veronese (the contact language) and German/Bavarian (the matrix language), Cimbrian has over time developed a difference in the agreement of adjectives according to position. Adjectives that are to the left of the noun (structurally above it) have overt agreement with the noun, while adjectives that are found lower in the structure (to the right of the noun) do not carry such agreement, even in speakers producing minimal pairs:

- (41) a. ... an        **naugan mul.**  
 b. ... an mul; **nauk t<sub>i</sub>.**  
       a        new    mill.

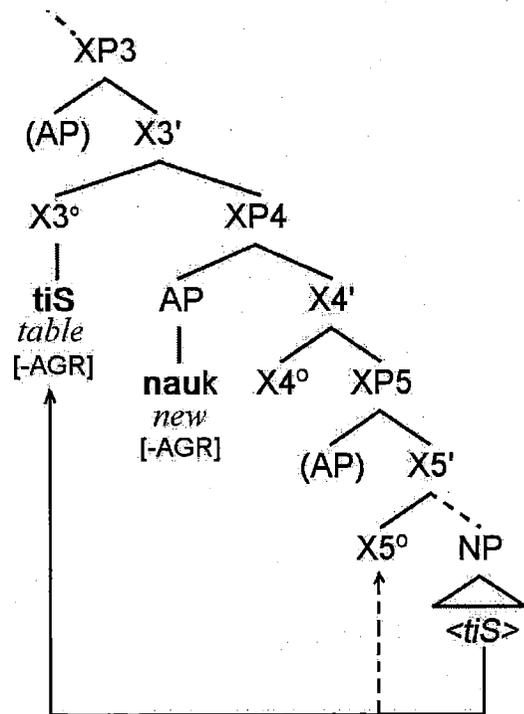
CIM (CEL E04)  
 (CEL E04)

In (42) I illustrate the underlying structures of the sentences in (41a) and (41b). Consistent with the assumed analysis of Romance raising structures, the sentence in (41a) with AN surface order is represented by the noun remaining in its base (unraised) position<sup>11</sup> (see 42a), while the sentence in (41b), with Romance-like noun raising to a higher XP (in this case, via secondary raising), is illustrated in (42b).

(42) a.



b.



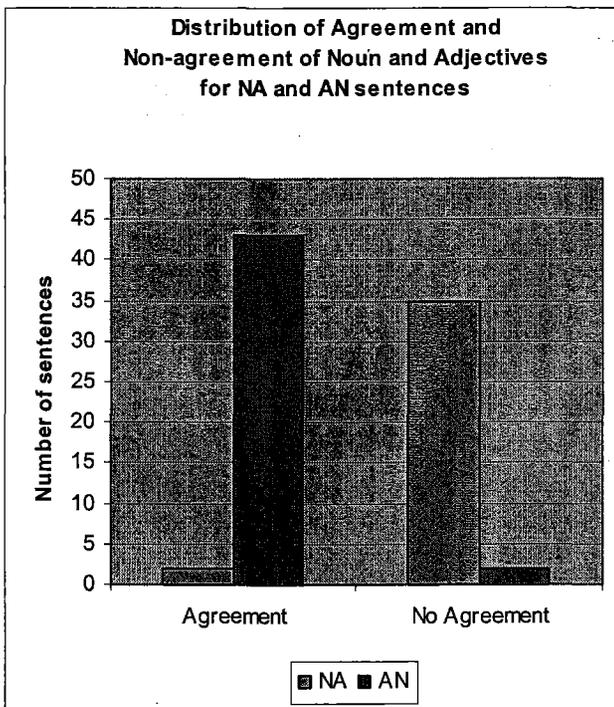
The AN structure (42a), with no noun raising shows overt agreement between noun and the adjective, while the NA structure (with noun raising, 42b) shows no adjective-noun agreement. This suggests that the agreement relation may be caused by feature checking from the

<sup>11</sup> In this particular example, there could be string-vacuous primary noun raising to X5. However, other utterances such as "an roatan Stual" (a red chair) vs. "an Stual roat" (a chair red), with the adjective in XP6, show that this can not be the case, and the sentences with A-N surface structure show no noun raising at all in this circumstance.

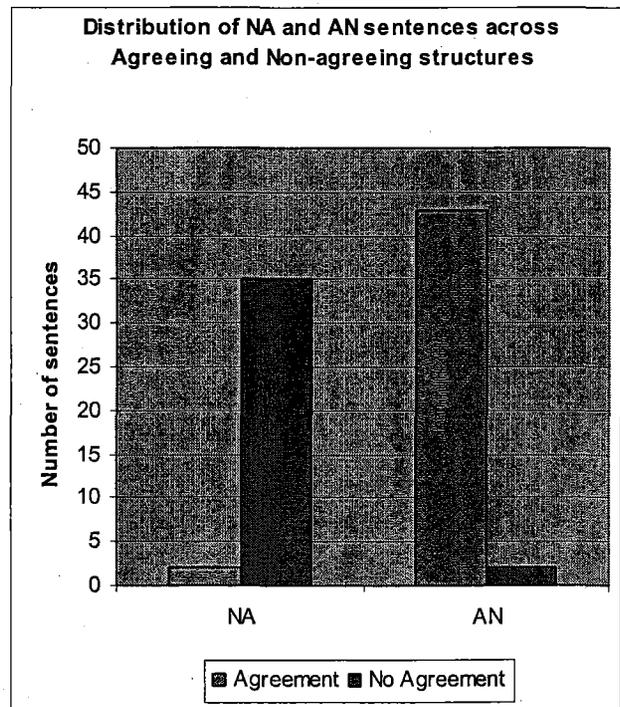
adjective onto the noun, only while the two are in a c-commanding relation (shown by the arrow in 42a). The agreement process must however take place after the raising process (if any) has taken place, in order to account for the non-agreement of structures in which the noun has raised out of its base position<sup>12</sup>.

As shown in (43) and (44), there is a very tight correlation between the presence of agreement and the AN (Germanic, non raising) structure, and conversely between the absence of agreement and the NA (Romance, raising) structure. This behavior is clearly constant across all speakers (the only exceptions are one each for BAT, CEL, DOM and RDB), and can be taken as further evidence for the uniformity of adjective behavior across the Cimbrian dialects.

(43)



(44)



<sup>12</sup> There are only four exceptions to this rule, two instances of overt agreement in an NA structure, and two instances of lacking agreement in AN structure (although the latter could also be caused by phonological erosion of the ending).

## 5.6 Conclusion

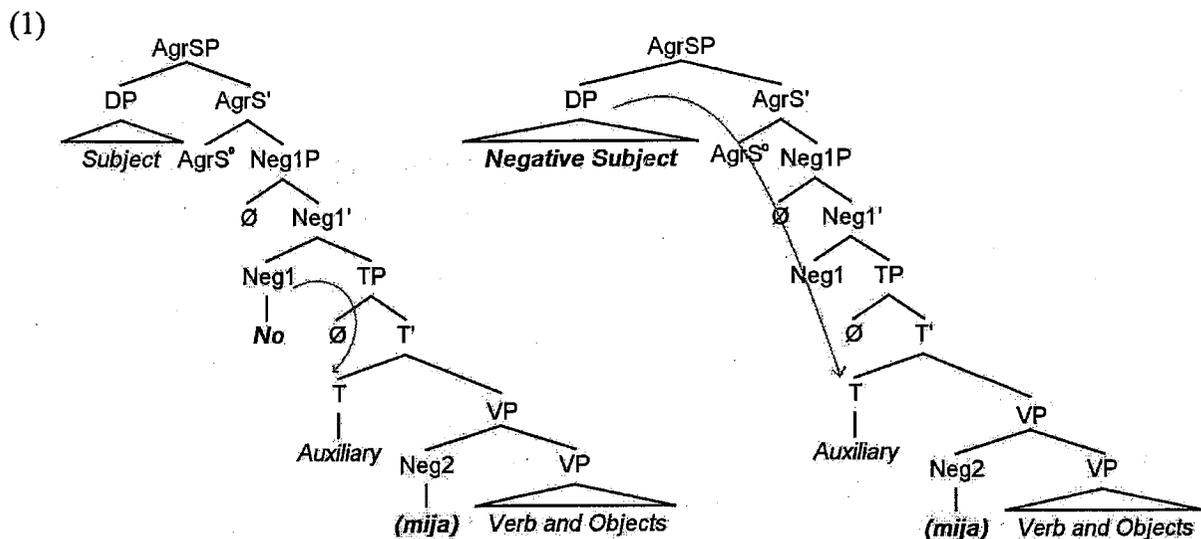
The data discussed in this chapter has shown that the structure of DPs, particularly with regards to noun raising, is in transition from a fully Germanic to a fully Veronese model, and although it still presents some elements of Germanic structure (in certain fixed forms as well as in a marginal part of the data), the transition to a noun-raising grammar is practically complete. The Cimbrian grammar is still in flux as to the precise details of the raising process, particularly with regards to secondary raising, which would cause it to approximate the Veronese grammar even more closely. However, the variability in structures is not confined to particular speakers, but is equally distributed across speakers as well as dialect groups. In addition, evidence from the behavior of agreement in Modern Cimbrian further suggests that the speaker community is accessing a homogeneous grammar of adjective behavior, indicating that this process of language change, classed at level 4 of Thomason and Kaufman's Borrowing Scale, is impacting the entire Cimbrian-speaking population to the same extent.

## CHAPTER 6: NEGATION

### 6.1 Negation in the Contact Language

Negation in Veronese has not been the focus of extensive research, and there is no single text that offers a comprehensive review of the phenomenon. What follows is a list of observations taken mostly from personal research, aided by work by Zanuttini (1997) and Pescarini (2005).

Negation in Veronese is subject to the rules of negative concord, which dictate that in a sentence with negative reading all relevant DPs or adverbials must carry negative force, of which one (and not more than one) negative element must c-command the T<sup>0</sup> head. This can either be the sentential negation, lexicalized as *no* in Veronese (see 2), or a negative subject (see 3), as shown in (1) below. Only one negative item is allowed to c-command the T<sup>0</sup> head (shown by arrows in 1), but there are no limits on the number of negative elements present lower in the structure.



(2) [SpecAgrSP El gianni [Neg1P no [T1 ga [Neg2P (mija) [DP la macchina. ]]]]] VER  
 Gianni neg1 he has neg2 the car  
 'Gianni doesn't have the car'

(3) [SpecAgrSP Nisuni [Neg1P Ø [T1 ga [Neg2P (mija) [DP la macchina. ]]]]] VER  
 nobody Ø they have neg2 the car  
 'Nobody has the car'

Veronese sentential negation may be amplified for emphasis by the marker *mija*, which is inserted in the Neg2 position below the auxiliary but above the verb. The Neg2 particle *mija* is optional in all contexts (see 4a and 4b), and may not be realized independently (without a higher negative c-commanding the T<sup>0</sup>, see 5c), even when this would be possible with the related Italian particle *mica* (cf. 5 and 6). Unlike the related Italian particle *mica*, Veronese *mija* is not pragmatically restricted by expectative readings<sup>1</sup>.

(4) a. El gianni no - l [I ga mija la machina. VER  
 b. El gianni no - l [I ga la machina.  
 c. \*El gianni el [I ga mija la machina.  
 the gianni neg1-he has neg2 the car.  
 'Gianni does not have the car'

(5) Fa mica freddo qui dentro. ITA  
 makes neg2 cold here inside  
 'It's not cold in here'

<sup>1</sup> The non-expectative reading of *mija* in Veronese is supported by a structural test, proposed in Zanuttini (1997), where the propositional reading of *mija* is tied to being base-generated above the adverb *giá* (already). A lower position of *mija* would allow for a neutral, discourse-isolated negative reading:

El bepi no-l e' mija za parti. VER  
 ?El bepi no-l e' za mija parti.  
 The bepi neg1-he is neg2 already neg2 left  
 'Bepi has not already left'

Beppe non e' mica gia partito. Colloquial ITA  
 \*Beppe non e' gia mica partito.  
 Beppe neg1 is neg2 already neg2 left.  
 'Beppe has not already left'

- (6) No ghe mija fredo ki dentro. VER  
 Neg1 is Neg2 cold here inside  
 'It's not cold in here'

The Veronese *mija* is allowed independently (i.e. without *no*) only in negative interrogative sentences. However, in this context, it appears that only one of the negative particles is necessary (see 6):

- (7) \_\_\_\_\_ a-lo mija magnà, el Bepi? VER  
No a-lo mija magnà, el Bepi?  
No a-lo \_\_\_\_\_ magnà, el Bepi?  
 a-lo \_\_\_\_\_ magnà, el Bepi? (positive interrogative)  
 Neg1 has-he Neg2 eaten, the Bepi  
 'Has Bepi not eaten?'

Veronese has negative DPs *niSuni* (nobody, see 3 above) and *njente* (nothing, see 8), the conjunctions *ne...ne* (neither...nor, see 9a) and *ne...njanka* (neither...not even; more emphatic see 9b), adverbial negation *mai* (never, see 10) and preposition *njanka* (not even, see 11). These are all subject to the rules of negative concord described above.

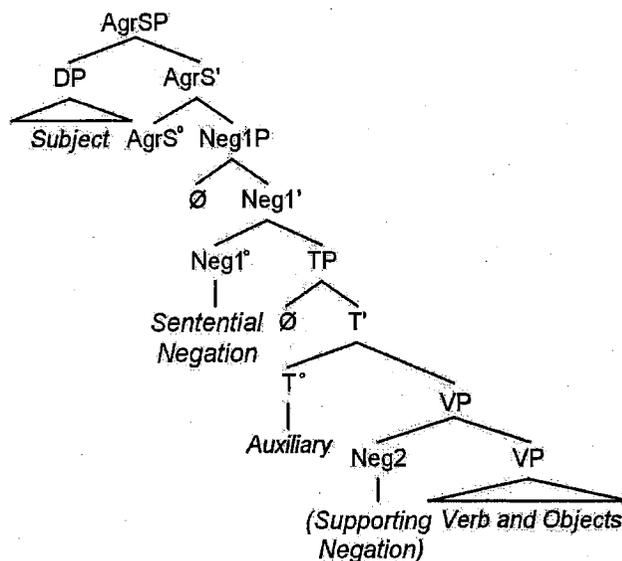
- (8) Mi no [I go' [v visto njente. ]] VER  
 I neg1 have seen nothing  
 'I didn't see anything.'
- (9) a. Mi no [I go' [v visto ne el Gianni ne la Maria. ]] VER  
 b. Mi no [I go' [v visto ne el Gianni e njanka la Maria. ]]  
 I neg1 have seen neither the Gianni (and) nor the Maria  
 'I saw neither Gianni nor Maria.'
- (10) Mi no [I go' [VP mai [v visto el Gianni. ]]] VER  
 I neg1 have never seen the Gianni  
 'I have never seen Gianni.'
- (11) Mi no [I go' [v visto [PP njanka el Gianni. ]]] VER  
 I neg1 have seen not even the Gianni  
 'I didn't get to see (anyone), even Gianni.' (emphatic)

### 6.1.1 Subject positions in Veronese

I take a moment here to describe the position of subjects in Veronese, as this will be relevant to the structures proposed in this chapter as well as in Chapter 7 (Resumptive Subjects). In the traditional Principles and Parameters framework it is assumed that the subject of a sentence occupies the [Spec, IP] position in SVO languages: this can not be the case in Veronese (as well as Italian) as the sentential negator and the corresponding Neg1 Phrase occupy the linear position between the subject and the auxiliary, traditionally held to be in I°: clearly it could not be intervening between the specifier and the head of the same phrase!

Following the analysis presented in Belletti (1990), the Inflectional Phrase (IP) is split into at least two projections, AgrSP and TP (more have been presented, but they are not relevant to this analysis and will therefore not be discussed here). In Veronese the higher Negative phrase (Neg1P) is inserted between the two highest projections, as shown in (12).

(12)



## 6.2 Lexical Negatives in Cimbrian

As this is the first work, as far as I know, to treat Cimbrian negation in any detail, I begin by describing all the forms and occurrences of negation in the elicited corpus. Although this is not a diachronic work, I will briefly discuss the use of these particles and the context of their presence in ‘Classical’ (pre-1914) Cimbrian, where relevant to illustrate the purposes of (lexical) language change. More significant (structural) change will be discussed in section 6.3. The distribution of the changes, structural and lexical, will be discussed in section 6.4.

### 6.2.1 *Nist* ‘not’

This is the standard form of sentential negation in Cimbrian, probably of Germanic origin (cf. Mod. German *nicht*). It is produced by all speakers, and is adjoined to the left edge of VP (see 13)<sup>2</sup>. Speaker RDB allows reduplication of the sentential negative for emphasis (see 14).

(13) Du [I hast nist [v gabeSat [DP is vurto. *CIM* (AMB D01)  
You have neg2 washed the apron  
‘You did not wash the apron.’

(14) I han nist nist boulje tse ghian kame marker. *CIM* (RDB D40)  
I have neg-neg desire to go to.the market.  
‘I have absolutely no desire to go to the market’

### 6.2.2 *Mija/Miga* ‘not’

This alternative form of sentential negation is a clear borrowing from the Veronese sentential negative *mija*. There is no clear distribution in structure, as *mija* is not limited to a

<sup>2</sup> Two speakers (RDB and AMB) allow 2 other positions for the sentential negative, in 15 (out of 262) utterances:

Du [I hast [v gabeSat nist [DP is vurto.  
Du nist [Ihast [v gabeSat [DP is vurto.  
You have not washed not the apron.

While the negation in the second sentence is in the same position as the Veronese sentential *no*, that of the first sentence, equally frequent, is rather unusual. In addition, the speakers are subject to self contradiction (AMB, for example, disallows negation raising in D41, D42, D45, while producing it in A01, D01, D56). This suggests that the sentences could be a result of speaker tiredness or experimenter interference, and for this reason, I will not consider them as evidence for structural rearrangement.

particular set of type of utterances, but it does appear to be favored by a particular group of speakers (discussed in section 6.4). However, among the speakers that use it, the same speaker may use *mija* in one sentence, and not in another with the same structure, while another speaker may use it in both or neither structures. Despite this variability in use across sentences and speakers, its position within the sentence structure is constant and invariable: it is pronounced in the same position as the equivalent Cimbrian negation *nist*, adjoined to VP, as in (15) below.

- (15) a. Das tot is mija de zonde. CIM (DOM D14)  
 b. Das tor is nist de zonde. CIM (BAT D14)  
 this there is Neg the sun  
 ‘That is not the sun.’

### 6.2.3 *Njeman* ‘no one’

This negative DP in Cimbrian appears to be of Germanic origin (cf. Mod German *niemand*) and to have changed little over time. Other than its regular use as a negative DP, it is once used (see 16a) in lieu of a negative determiner, as was present in the Italian priming sentence (see 16b). There were no other instances of this presumably innovative behavior in the dataset, so it appears to be only a semantic calque of the Italian prompt.

- (16) a. I han njeman pirn. CIM (DOM A07)  
 b. Io non ho nessuna pera ITA (prompt A07)  
 I neg1 have no one pears  
 ‘I have no pears’

### 6.2.4 *Nist* ‘nothing’

This negative DP meaning *nothing* is a homophone of the sentential negation *nist* described above, and certain structures are made ambiguous by this overlap, as when it appears to be used as a negative determiner (see 17). It displays no interesting behavior when used in a

non-ambiguous manner, and can even be noted in the same sentence as its homophone (see 18), if the sentence is subject to negative concord.

- (17) I han nist oupfil. CIM (CEL A07)  
I have no apples  
'I don't have any apples.'
- (18) I han nist gazest nist. CIM (GTL A08)  
I have Neg seen nothing.  
'I didn't see anything.'

### 6.2.5 *Koan* 'no/none'

*Koan* (cf. Mod. German *kein*) is clearly part of the classical Cimbrian vocabulary. It was successfully elicited (Italian has no similar particle) in the utterances of five speakers (AMB, AUB, GTL, MAR, RDB; out of a total of 12). It can be used as a negative determiner both in the presence and absence of overt DP, as in:

- (19) I han koane pir. CIM (AMB A07)  
I have no pears.
- (20) I han koane. CIM (AMB A06)  
I have none.

Alternative structures used in the elicitations of the same sentence include: *Nindert* (CEL A07b<sup>3</sup>); *Njanka* (CEL A07, FAU A07); *Njeman* (DOM A07, A07b); *Nist* (CEL A07, CRN A07, RDB A07, GCP A07), and are discussed in the appropriate sections.

### 6.2.6 *Njanka* 'not even'

This negative form is a clear borrowing from Veronese *njanka* (cf. Italian *neanche*), which appears to have replaced the archaic Cimbrian *mindur* (produced only once, in RDB D27,

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<sup>3</sup> This was the only occurrence, in the entire corpus, of this form. When the same sentence was offered to the speaker again, he produced a different negative circumlocution (CEL A07). No etymological origin within Veronese or Italian presents itself to mind, and further examinations of older texts must be performed to determine whether this is actually an archaic Cimbrian form.

see 24 below). *Njanka* (and its Italian and Veronese counterparts) do not have scope over the entire sentence: they appear to be negative polarity-type items, used to negate a restricted syntactic domain, which can be an bare NP<sup>4</sup> (see 21), a DP (see 22), or a VP (see 23).

- (21) Ber ha nist koupf, is hat njanka tSinke. CIM (CEL D12)  
 Who has Neg head, he has not even legs  
 'He who has not a head, also has no legs.'
- (22) I han njanka a peir. CIM (BAT D11)  
 I have not-even a pear  
 'I have no pears.'
- (23) De maria is ha nist gazingat e njanka gatantsat. CIM (BAT D49)  
 The maria she has Neg sung and not even danced  
 'Maria did not sing nor dance.'
- (24) Mindur in mario hatSi gafeistat tse helfanus CIM (RDB D27)  
 Not-even the Mario has-refl stopped to help-us  
 'Even Mario didn't stop to help us.'

### 6.2.7 *Ne* 'neither'

Several conjunction structures were elicited from the speakers, and most showed significant amounts of lexical borrowing from Veronese, including the forms *ne...ne*, also observed as *ne...un* and *ni...njanka*.

- (25) I bi nist ni te ne kafe CIM (BAT D52)  
 I want Neg neither tea nor coffee.  
 'I do not want neither tea nor coffee.'

### 6.2.8. *Mai* 'never'

This form of negation is surprisingly constant across all speakers: it has a fixed position, always being adjoined to the left edge of VP, and does not alternate with any other form.

<sup>4</sup> In line with principles of structural economy, I label as DPs those noun phrases which have an overt determiner (or anything that would require a greater amount of structure), while NPs are those bare noun phrases which do not require the presence of additional structure, under the assumption that vacuous (empty) structure is not realized. This assumption has no implications for my data or analysis, but only aids in describing the terminology used in this paper.

Although it appears to be of Romance origin (Veronese and Italian *mai*), its constant and stable use suggests that this is not a recent borrowing into Cimbrian.

- (26) a. I pi mai gabest ka bern. CIM (BAT D23)  
 b. Io non sono mai stato a Verona. ITA (prompt D23)  
 I neg1 have never been to Verona  
 'I have never been to Verona.'

One speaker (RDB) offered a rule to the effect that *mai* and *nist* (sentential negation) were in complementary distribution, and neither could occur with the other. No tests were performed to verify this (given the difficulty of obtaining accurate grammaticality judgments), but the data collected does appear to contradict this intuition. This might however only be a reflection of rules of negative concord and will be further discussed in section 6.3.1.

### 6.2.9 *Na mear* 'no more/any more'

This Cimbrian quantity adverb appears to be of Germanic origin (cf. Mod. German *mehr*), but is well preserved across speakers and structures. It behaves differently than its English counterpart (*more*), as it is found adjoined to the left VP edge (see 27), and like *mai* above also appears to be in complementary distribution with the sentential negative *nist*. It can, however, occur with negative objects, as in (28), and this form is discussed more in depth in section 6.4.2 on Negative Object Shift.

- (27) I, pan binte, hast na mear gazest. CIM (AUB D30)  
 I, after winter, have no more seen.  
 'After the winter, I didn't see him any more'
- (28) I bi na mear nist. CIM (AUB D54)  
 I want no more nothing.  
 'I don't want anything more'

### 6.3 The Syntactic Structure of Negation in Cimbrian

In section 6.2 I described the various forms of lexical negation (sentential or constituent) used by speakers of Modern Cimbrian in this study. The syntactic structure of these negative sentences is equally interesting in Modern Cimbrian, and will be described in this section. The distribution of negation (lexical as well as syntactic) across speakers and dialect groups will be discussed in section 6.4.

#### 6.3.1 Double Negation in Cimbrian

Although the Cimbrian data analyzed in this chapter shows large amounts of lexical borrowing as well as structural transfer from Veronese, it is clear from several constructions that this is not wholesale borrowing or calqueing of the Veronese structure. In particular, certain double-barreled Veronese constructions have been reinterpreted to fit the Cimbrian mono-negative structure.

As mentioned in section 6.1, the Veronese *mija* is an optional supporting negative, which must be subordinated to the sentential negator *no*<sup>5</sup>. The linear order of constituents in Veronese is exemplified in (27b) below, with the auxiliary bracketed by the two negatives. During the process of lexical transfer, the Veronese *no-mija* is reanalyzed according to Cimbrian structural rules and fit into the lower (neg2) position, yielding the surface order in (29a)<sup>6</sup>. Group S speakers produce this construction with greater frequency: CEL uses it in 100% of his *mija*

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<sup>5</sup> Unless the sentence has a negative subject, which can c-command the T<sup>0</sup> head and in so doing will carry the sentential negation without the need for the *no* particle.

<sup>6</sup> There is only one sentence in the whole dataset (DOM, D01) in which the construct is borrowed with auxiliary division. "Du no ga mija gabeSat is vurto". Seeing the phonetically-Veronese form of the Auxiliary, I believe this would be better called an instance of code-switching. The same speaker also produces sentences with a non-disjoined *na miga*, and with a bare *mija* as well.

sentences, DOM and BAT a little less frequently, and Group N speakers use it (and the *mija* substitution for *nist*) very rarely.

- (29) a. diza karege is [neg1 [TP ist [neg2 na-miga roat. ]]] CIM (CEL A13)  
 b. sta karega ki [neg1 no [TP l - é [neg2 mija rossa. ]]] VER  
 This chair here it neg1 it-is Neg 2 red.  
 'This chair isn't red'

A similar process can be noticed with the *na mear* cluster in Cimbrian, where only the first half (*no*) is borrowed from Veronese (the same *na* in *na miga*), while the latter half appears to be of Germanic origin (cf. Mod German *mehr*). This is pure semantic calque of the Veronese semantically-equivalent form *no pi* 'no more' (see 30), with syntactic reorganization to fit the Cimbrian structure, and appears to be older, as it is used equally by all speakers of both dialects.

- (30) a. Mi no voi pi njente. VER  
 b. I bi na mear nist. (=28 above) CIM (AUB D54)  
 I neg1 want no more nothing  
 'I don't want anything more.'

One speaker (presumably overcorrecting) produced a Cimbrian sentential negator *nist* in place of the Veronese *no*, and followed it by the supportive *mija* (see 31), offering further support for the hypothesized origin of *na* as the Veronese sentential negative *no*.

- (31) a. I [neg1 [IP pi [neg2 nist mija [VP gabest I. ]]]] CIM (DOM A12)  
 b. I [neg1 [IP pi [neg2 na miga [VP gabest I. ]]]] CIM (BAT A12)  
 I was Neg2 been I.  
 'It wasn't me'

These utterances clearly indicate that the Veronese double barreled structure (Neg1-Aux-Neg2) has been borrowed into Cimbrian with a significant structural alteration in order to make it fit into the Cimbrian model of negation. This is significant to the analysis of Cimbrian negation because, firstly, it shows that the sentences produced were not direct word for word glosses of

the Veronese form (as may occasionally seem, especially with negative concord structures), and secondly, it shows that the Neg1 position for speakers of Cimbrian, even of the Group S variety, does not allow to be phonetically realized, even with these double-barreled, very ‘Veronese’ structures.

### 6.3.2 Negative Concord

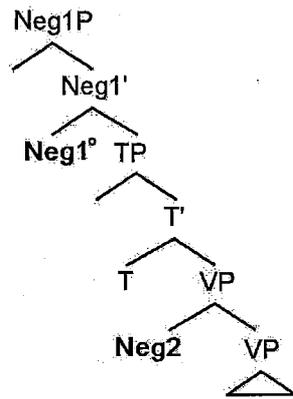
According to a cursory glance at classical Cimbrian data, it appears that the language originally lacked Negative Concord, a structural feature by which multiple negatives in a sentence do not contradict each other. In (32) below I have shown two examples, from Standard American English (not negative concord) and from Standard Italian (negative concord) which have a sentential negative and a positive indefinite verbal object (*anything, something*). In (33) I include two examples of the same languages with a sentential negative and a negative verbal object (*nothing*). The characteristic of non negative concord languages (-NC) is that sentences with double negatives will cancel each other out and produce a positive reading (equivalent to *I did see something* for (33b) below), while +NC languages require both words to be negative in order for the sentence to carry negative force.

- |         |            |           |           |           |                         |           |
|---------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| (32) a. | [SpecIP I  | [Idid     | [Neg2 not | [VP see   | anything <sup>+</sup> . | SAE (-NC) |
| b.*     | [SpecIP Io | [Neg1 non | [I ho     | [VP visto | qualcosa <sup>+</sup> . | ITA (+NC) |
| (33) a. | [SpecIP Io | [Neg1 non | [I ho     | [VP visto | niente <sup>-</sup> .   | ITA (+NC) |
| b.*     | [SpecIP I  | [Idid     | [Neg2 not | [VP see   | nothing <sup>+</sup> .  | SAE (-NC) |

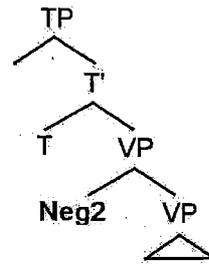
The classical Cimbrian sentential negation (*nist* or *mija*) is positioned pre-verbally (below TP but above VP), making Cimbrian fall perfectly within Haegemann and Zanuttini’s (1996) description of Germanic negation, where the sentential negator is argued to be adjoined to VP, and can have sentential scope without having to c-command T<sup>0</sup> (see 34b).

(34)

a.



b.



In most Romance languages, including Veronese and Italian, there is a NegP phrase (not just an adjoined position) within the IP field between AgrSP and TP, which contains the sentential negative: this c-commands the T<sup>0</sup> head, a necessary prerequisite for the correct interpretation of the sentence (see 34a). Furthermore, this position is, according to Zanuttini (1997), related to the presence of negative concord behavior for negative constituents lower in the sentence.

In Modern Cimbrian, we find sentential negation phonetically realized in the low (adjoined NegP) position: many sentences do not display negative concord behavior, as is standard behavior in most Germanic languages, including the matrix language (Middle High German/Bavarian). However, there is a substantial amount of Modern Cimbrian data that does not fit this framework, as it contains a low sentential negative but also displays negative concord, a characteristic permitted only in languages with a full and high NegP (instead of a low negative adjoined to VP).

A first explanation would be that, for these sentences, the +NC structure would have been borrowed wholesale from Veronese, but this is not the case (as seen in 35 below), as the position of the sentential negative in these Cimbrian sentences still follows the Germanic model and is

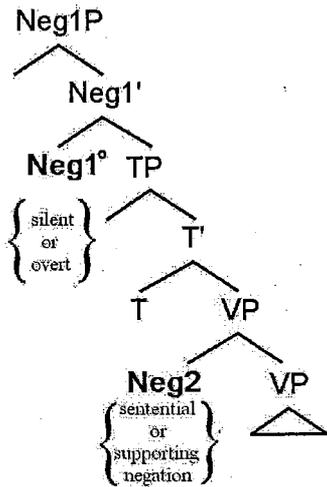
found between IP and VP, instead of above IP (as for all Romance languages). Furthermore, as shown in section 6.3.1, even constructions borrowed from Veronese maintain use of only the lower Neg2 projection.

- (35) a. I     \_\_\_ [I han niSt [VP gazest njeman̄. ]]
- b. mi no [I go \_\_\_ [VP visto niSunī. ]]
- I neg1 have neg2     seen   nobody
- ‘I didn’t see anyone’
- CIM (+NC)* (CEL A09)  
*VER (+NC)* (RAG A09)

Cimbrian appears to pattern with French-type Romance languages, in having a principal Neg head which is positioned below IP, but which still requires negative concord (see 36). In Cimbrian and French “there is no overt negative element c-commanding Infl, and yet negation has sentential scope” (Haegemann & Zanuttini 1996: 122). However, there is one important difference between the two languages: in French, the higher Neg1 head can be optionally filled by the particle *ne* (there is a little less optionality in formal or written French), while in Cimbrian there appears to be no particle that may even optionally occupy that space, as noted in the data in 6.3.1 and by the sheer absence of any IP-medial negatives.

- (36) a. J’ (ne) [I ai pas [VP vu rien̄. ]]
- b. I \_\_\_ [I han nist [VP gazest nist̄. ]]
- I neg1 have neg2     seen   nothing
- ‘I haven’t seen anything’
- FRE (+NC)*  
*CIM (+NC)* (GTL A08)

(37)



Based on this observation, Haegemann and Zanuttini (1996) suggest that the presence of Negative Concord is linked to the existence of a Neg1 projection above IP, which may, in certain cases (i.e. Colloquial French) be satisfied by a lexically empty head. This results in the structure shown in (37), which is consistent with the Romance model for negation, but allows a little

more freedom as to the phonetic realization of the structure: the higher projection may host either optionally silent (Colloquial French) or overt (Italian) negatives, and the lower adjunction position may host either the sentential (French) or the supporting (Veronese) negation.

A further characteristic of Cimbrian is the fact that all speakers (except CRN) show some negative concord in several constructions, but no speaker displays it in all (or even most) constructions where it could be possible. In fact, the same speaker can also produce, within minutes of each other, and with no grammaticality conflicts, two identical utterances differing only in negative concord:

- (38) a. Maria hat nist gabout reidan pi eibanuas<sup>+</sup> aus mun zi. *CIM -NC* (RDB D39)  
 b. Maria hat nist gabout reidan pi njeman<sup>-</sup> aus mun zi. *CIM +NC* (RDB D39)  
 Maria has not wanted speak with anyone except her  
 'Maria did now want to speak to anyone but her.'

This co-existing optionality, while holding constant the position of the sentential negative (see 38), suggests that it is unlikely that speakers of Cimbrian switch between having a Germanic (mono-negative) structure and a Romance (double-negative) structures during their speech, without showing any other surface representation of this change. Unlike Colloquial French,

Cimbrian shows absolutely no evidence for the existence of the higher Neg, as no particle may occupy it (or a similarly high position) under any circumstance.

In an adaptation of Zanuttini (1997), I propose that the two negative heads (one high in the IP domain and one adjoined to VP) are both present in Cimbrian (and, possibly, in all languages). The existence of the higher structure is a prerequisite for the use of negative concord which, at least in Cimbrian, appears to be governed by an independent parameter. The option and/or requirements on the phonetic realization of the higher phrase are set by language specific constraints: sentential negation can be hosted by either the higher or the lower structure, and the other position may be either optionally open for supporting negation (39a, 39b) or completely closed.

- (39) a. Je [<sub>Neg1</sub> (n')] [<sub>I</sub> ai [<sub>Neg2</sub> pas [<sub>VP</sub> vu rien. ]]]] *FRE +NC*  
 b. Mi [<sub>Neg1</sub> no [<sub>I</sub> go [<sub>Neg2</sub> (mija) [<sub>VP</sub> visto njente. ]]]] *VER +NC*  
 c. I [<sub>Neg1</sub> Ø [<sub>I</sub> han [<sub>Neg2</sub> nist [<sub>VP</sub> gazest nist. ]]]] *CIM +NC* (GTL A08)  
 I neg1 have neg2 seen nothing  
 'I haven't seen anything.'

The optional behavior of NC in Cimbrian would therefore be limited to parameter resetting in certain situations, and it is likely that this resetting be caused by contact with Veronese, which is a +NC language. The underlying structure (with two negative phrases) could, if it were not the universal underlying structure, have been borrowed from Veronese at an earlier stage, before Cimbrian started to adopt negative concord.

Until now I have discussed the instances of negative concord produced in sentences with a sentential negator, and the requirements posed by previous theories on the position of this particle. However, negative concord may also occur without sentential negation: for example,

when a negative particle is in the subject position ([Spec, IP] or higher<sup>7</sup>), this c-commands the Neg1 head (thereby canceling out the need for the sentential negative), but at the same time licensing other negative items lower in the structure.

- (40) a. Njeman hen gazest nist<sup>-</sup>. *CIM +NC* (AMB D25)  
 b. Njeman hen gazest eipas<sup>+</sup>. *CIM -NC* (AMB D25)  
 Nobody has seen nothing/anything

The development of these +NC structures in Cimbrian does not however entail that a process of language change is taking place. Several theories (for example the Simplification or Universal Grammar approaches discussed in section 3.1) predict that parameter resetting can occur language internally without the interaction of external (i.e. contact-induced) factors. However, the negative concord behavior in Cimbrian has developed some interesting behavior that appears to be specific to Veronese or other Northern Italian Dialects, and is lacking in Italian and in several other Romance varieties (suggesting that this may be a cross-linguistically marked structure).

In Veronese, it appears that PPs may act as 'barriers' that block the emergence of negative concord: a negative in a PP that c-commands the Neg1 position will allow for the optional insertion of the sentential negative (41a and 42a). In Italian, this is absolutely unacceptable (42b), and the negative PP has scope over and negates the entire sentence (41b).

- (41) a. Njanka el Mario el s é ferma a jutarne. *VER*  
 b. Nemmeno Mario si é fermato ad aiutarci. *ITA*  
 Not.even the Mario he refl. Aux stopped to help-us  
 'Even Mario didn't stop to help us.'

<sup>7</sup> If the sentential negator is pronounced, in both +NC and -NC languages, it is considered extremely awkward or ungrammatical:

Nisuni [Neg1 [I i ga [VP visto njente. ]] *VER (+NC)*  
 \*Nisuni [Neg1 no [I i ga [VP visto njente. ]]  
 Nobody neg1 he-has seen nothing  
 'Nobody saw anything' (vs. '\*Nobody did not see anything')

- (42) a. Njanka el Mario no l s é (mija) ferma a jutarne. VER  
 b. \*Nemmeno Mario non si é fermato ad aiutarci. ITA  
 Not.even the Mario neg1 he refl. Aux neg2 stopped to help-us  
 'Even Mario didn't stop to help us.'

In Cimbrian, the Veronese-like structure with a PP and a sentential negative (see 43) was produced by four of the five speakers interviewed<sup>8</sup> (AUB, BAT, CEL, MAR), while the fifth speaker used an archaic Cimbrian preposition and no sentential negative (which seems to be a – NC structure, see 44).

- (43) Njanka in Mario hatSi nist gafermart tse helfanuns. CIM (AUB D27)  
 Not even the Mario has-self not stopped to help-us  
 'Even Mario didn't stop to help us'

- (44) Mindur in Mario hatSi gafeistat tse helfanus. CIM (RDB D27)  
 Not even the Mario has-self stopped to help-us  
 'Even Mario didn't stop to help us.'

A further example is provided by the minimal pair included below, where the negative concord present in (45a) is blocked from reaching the first PP in (45b). Obviously, as can be seen from the behavior of the second PP in (45b) as with (38), only certain prepositions appear to have this blocking effect, while others seem to be transparent.

- (45) a. Mario hat nist<sup>-</sup> gareit un niste<sup>-</sup> pit njeman<sup>-</sup>. CIM +NC (RDB D56)  
 b. Mario hat nist<sup>-</sup> gareit un niste<sup>-</sup> pit eibaruas<sup>+</sup>. CIM –NC (RDB D56)  
 Mario has neg2 spoken of nothing with noone/someone  
 'Mario has not said anything to anyone'

A syntactic explanation of the phenomenon is, to the best of my knowledge, still lacking, but this resembles data discussed in Progovac (1999), who posits the presence of a logophoric scope-bound reading of negative particles that may be restricted to smaller than IP or CP. In

<sup>8</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, speakers were asked to translate only a selection of the total number of prompt sentences, which was chosen based on their performance on the pilot elicitation study. All speakers were asked some questions from each general area of interest, but not all questions were asked to every speaker: therefore, while I can comment on the general behavior with regards to Negation of every speaker in the study, points dealing with a very specific construction type, or single question, may not always be addressed in full for each speaker.

appendix 3.1 of her paper she examines some data showing negative extraction from PPs “suggesting that the material within PPs is inaccessible to the rules of negative concord” (Progovac 1999:111), while the bulk of her paper is devoted to discussing other negative concord violations in Serbo-Croatian<sup>9</sup>.

In Cimbrian, as well as in Veronese, the negative within the PP clause does appear to be semantically restricted to the DP/NP it modifies, and for (43) does not appear to have scope (c-command) over the entire phrase, while in (45) it is insensitive to the behavior of the rest of negation in the greater IP clause.

Progovac (1999) proposes the insertion of an empty phrasal category that would create extra distance between the isolated negatives and the rest of the sentence. She considers examples with a coordinated phrase in the subject position, and for that purpose suggests the existence of an ‘&P’ that would block a c-command relationship from emerging. I do not have examples of this structure in Modern Cimbrian, but this resembles the example in (43) with a PP instead of the &P). However, given the limited amount of data of this type available in the Cimbrian corpus, no amendment can be made to Progovac’s proposal to account for cases of PP blocking in a non-subject position and without negative extraction. Further research should attempt to examine this phenomenon, in both Modern Cimbrian as well as in the Northern Italian Dialects, including Veronese.

### 6.3.3 Negative Object Shift

Four speakers (AMB, CEL, CRN, RDB) display another interesting characteristic in negated environments, namely optional object shift for negatives. Harbert (2000) offers a review

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<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, there is no Modern Cimbrian data that exactly mirrors the structure of the negative concord violations in Serbo Croatian.

of different cases of negative constituent shifts in Modern Germanic languages, relating them to sentential scope of the negative, and the position of the main sentential negator. Negative Object Shift is a specific subclass of the Constituent Negation with Sentential Scope (CNSS) analyzed by Harbert, and one in which the negative object must physically raise to the position of the sentential negator in order to gain the necessary sentential scope.

Harbert observes that CNSS (with the exception of negative subjects) is possible only in languages with a low sentential negator position (NegP adjoined to VP), as are most Germanic languages, including Classical Cimbrian. Languages with a high sentential negator (NegP in the IP field) do not permit CNSS (except for negative subjects, as they c-command the T<sup>0</sup> head). Negative Object Shift is a subclass of constituent negation, which can occur in only some of the Germanic Languages that would otherwise allow CNSS. Negative Object shift requires a strong feature on the Neg<sub>2</sub> head that attracts the negative object to this position, displacing the sentential negator which is no longer phonetically realized. Negative Object shift is not possible in Veronese or Italian.

I do not think it necessary to posit what has been traditionally described as an underlying Germanic structure (no Neg<sub>1</sub> projection, only the Neg<sub>2</sub> adjunction position) in order to account for the existence of negative object shift, or even CNSS. It is sufficient to relate the position of sentential negation (which must be low) to the possibility of negative object shift or CNSS, thereby excluding most Romance Languages, such as Veronese and Italian. However, there are examples (in both Cimbrian and French) where the negative object shift co-exists with negative concord, which, as mentioned earlier, can only be licensed in structures that include the higher Neg<sub>1</sub> phrase.

- (46) Je [Neg1 n<sup>-</sup> [T ai [Neg2 rien<sub>i</sub><sup>-</sup> [VP vu t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]      *FRE (+NC)*  
 I not have nothing seen  
 'I didn't see anything'

The Cimbrian data collected presents several minimal pairs, often produced by the same speaker within a short interval of time, in which one sentence presents the object in its base (VP complement) position, and the other has the object raised to the left of the Verb, in the VP-adjoined position reserved for sentential negatives. Several examples are included below, demonstrating negative object shift both with and without overt negative concord, as well as with different negative objects.

- (47) a. Njeman<sup>-</sup> hen [VP gazest [DP nist<sup>-</sup> ]]]      *CIM +NC (AMB D25)*  
 b. Njeman<sup>-</sup> hen nist<sub>i</sub><sup>-</sup> [VP gazest [DP t<sub>i</sub> ]]]  
 Nobody has neg2 seen nothing

- (48) a. I han [VP gazest [DP nist asbia das da.]]      *CIM (AMB D55)*  
 b. I han nist<sub>i</sub> [VP gazest [DP t<sub>i</sub> asbia das da.]]  
 I have neg2 seen nothing like this here.

- (49) a. I bi na mear<sup>-</sup> nist<sup>-</sup>.      *CIM +NC (AMB D54)*  
 b. I bi nist<sub>i</sub><sup>-</sup> na mear<sup>-</sup> t<sub>i</sub>.  
 I want neg2 no.more nothing  
 'I don't want anything more.'

- (50) a. I han gazest nist.      *CIM (AMB A08)*  
 b. I han nist<sub>i</sub> gazest t<sub>i</sub>.      *(CRN A08)*  
 I have neg2 seen nothing.  
 'I didn't see anything.'

- (51) a. I han gazest njeman.      *CIM (MAR A09)*  
 b. I han njeman<sub>i</sub> gazest t<sub>i</sub>.      *(AMB A09)*  
 I have neg2 seen nobody.  
 'I didn't see anyone.'

## 6.4 Distribution of negative structures

As shown in the previous sections, Cimbrian negation has been influenced by contact with Veronese on both the lexical and structural/syntactic planes. The lexical borrowings are

simple transfers from Veronese to Cimbrian and may either coexist with, or completely replace, the archaic Cimbrian word. Structural contact-induced change is instead achieved by resetting the Cimbrian parameters in line with Veronese values. This may, however, not result in identical surface behavior, as more than one parameter is in play when producing any given surface structure.

#### 6.4.1 Lexical Borrowing

Even though this is not a diachronic analysis of Cimbrian negation, it is apparent from the forms and Veronese-cognates that certain elements of Cimbrian negation have undergone borrowing and shift to Veronese before others, while other Cimbrian elements are staunchly resisting substitution, and others still are dying out without being replaced by a Veronese counterpart. Of these, the clearest case of lexical borrowing which is currently underway is the shift from the sentential negative *nist* (Cimbrian) to *mija* (Veronese).

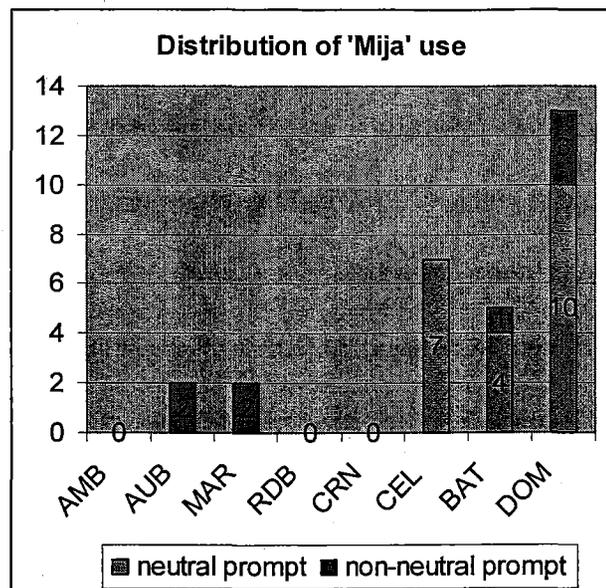
The entire Cimbrian community is undergoing this lexical shift, although to different degrees, as illustrated in (51). The first five speakers (AMB–CRN) are Group N speakers, while the latter three (CEL–DOM) are Group S speakers. AMB, RDB and CRN did not produce a single instance of *mija* during the elicitations, while AUB and MAR produced two *mija* structures in response to ‘non-neutral’ prompts. These ‘non-neutral’ sentences (D16–D22) were deliberately constructed with the Italian form *mica* in an attempt to prime the speaker into producing an utterance with *mija* in Cimbrian, and to determine the extent of the overlap between lexical and structural borrowings<sup>10</sup>.

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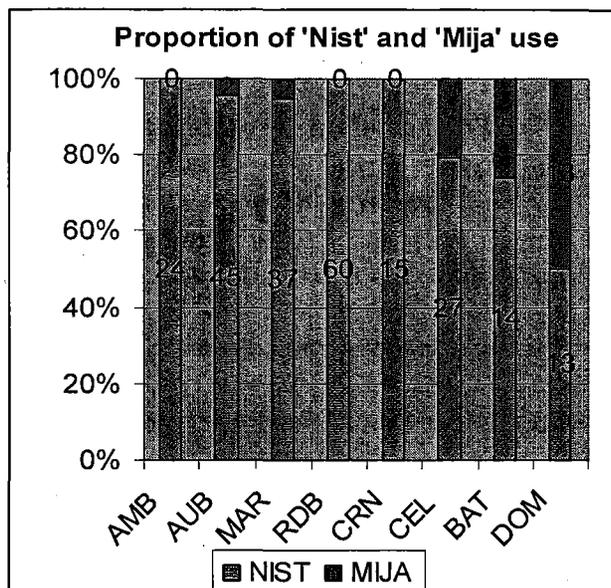
<sup>10</sup> In Veronese, the translations of the Italian prompt would all include a *no...mija* (double-barreled) construction, whereas in Italian they only contained a bare *mija* (with no *non*). The Cimbrian translations all included a bare *mija*, indicating that they were not simple syntactic calques of the Veronese construction.

Speakers CEL, BAT, DOM are all Group S speakers and are the only ones to use *mija* in a neutral situation (i.e. where it was not primed for); but even removing the separation between the two construction types leaves a strong discrepancy in the degree of *mija* use across dialectal boundaries.

(51)



(52)



In (56) I include the proportion of *nist* and *mija* use as a sentential negative for Cimbrian speakers. Group N speakers (AMB-CRN) show almost 100% use of *nist*, with the two exceptions each for MAR and AUB (the non-neutral *mija* sentences) while Group S speakers show between 20 and 50% of *mija* use: the numbers on the columns are the numbers of sentences recorded for each sentential negative, while the Y axis level records the percentage of use of each negative.

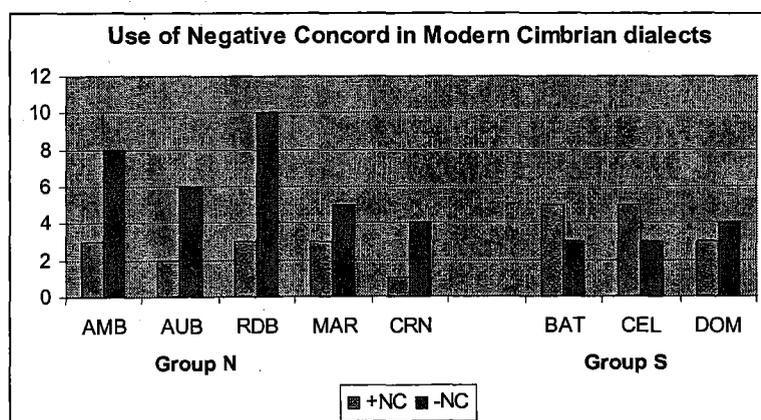
### 6.4.2 Structural Change

Both Negative Object shift and Negative Concord, the two most interesting features of Cimbrian negation discussed in this chapter, display a skewed distribution across dialect groups. Unfortunately, unlike the lexical change, the number of sentences collected displaying each

behavior is not large enough to perform statistical calculations, including tabulations of frequency and percentage of use. In this section I present the raw numbers of data collected and its distribution across speakers and dialect groups which, combined with the analyses presented in the previous sections, suggests that the two groups of speakers have significantly different grammars governing the behavior of negation in Cimbrian. The difference is not so much in the structure of the sentence, as all the data is consistent or supports the hypothesis that all speakers of Cimbrian access the structure with two negative positions (rather than the single adjunction structure normally posited for Germanic languages), but rather in secondary changes. Speakers of Dialect S show a secondary structural change, that is the resetting of the negative concord parameter to follow the Veronese (+NC) model, and appear to also have borrowed the structural PP-block discussed in section 6.3.2. Group N speakers, on the other hand, tend to produce sentences with negative object shift, discussed in section 6.3.3, and which has no structural rearrangement (or archaism) but seems to be guided only by stylistic considerations.

The distribution of use of Negative Concord structures shown in (53) clearly indicates a difference between the number of structures produced by speakers of Group S, who produce more sentences with Negative Concord (+NC) than without, and those of Group N, who produce more sentences without negative concord (-NC) than with.

(53)



The numbers were obtained by examining all of the sentences produced in the translation of prompts which contained more than one negative word, regardless of its position in the sentence. The Cimbrian sentences tabulated as having negative concord contained two or more negative words, regardless of identity or position, and sentences tabulated as not having negative concord contained only one negative word. The 'loss' of the second negative could occur either by inserting the positive counterpart (e.g. 'anything' for 'nothing'), or by eliminating the word altogether (in the case of sentential negation), for example. There being so little data, it is difficult to make great generalizations, but on average Group S speakers used negative concord around 57% of the time, whereas Group N speakers used it around 25% of the time.

There were only 5 instances of negative object shift in the entire corpus, which although incredibly low is still a surprising figure given that the structure could not be primed for (since Italian does not allow negative object shift), and since speakers did not give reliably correct answers to grammaticality judgment queries. These five sentences were only produced by Group N speakers (CRN, RDB and AMB), which also supports my proposal that the Group N dialect contains more archaic (Germanic) features than the southern counterpart.

## 6.5 Conclusion

The data presented in this section shows that there is a considerable amount of variation in the behavior of negation among the two dialects of modern Cimbrian. However, this difference is related to simple parameter resetting (Negative Concord) and possibly to stylistic choices (Negative object shift), as both dialects have access to the same underlying structure with two negative positions, of which only the lower one can be phonetically realized. The process of parameter resetting for Group S speakers is still in process, as they show only slightly

more instances of +NC than -NC (although this might be a function of the limited amount of data available) whereas Group N speakers produce three times as many -NC sentences than +NC. All instances of Negative object shift were documented for Group N speakers, indicating a stylistic attempt to recreate what is most certainly an older (Classical) Cimbrian structure. There is also evidence from the lexical substitution that the two groups are behaving in significantly different ways, with Group S displaying more contact-influenced behavior, and Group N preserving more classical Germanic behavior. The process of parameter shift towards the development of Negative Concord (classed at level 5 of the Thomason and Kaufman borrowing scale), is therefore certainly in progress of Group S speakers, and could be argued to be beginning (but however not yet significant, and clearly less advanced) even for Group N speakers.

## **CHAPTER 7: RESUMPTIVE SUBJECTS**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The topic of this chapter overlaps considerably with Scardoni's (2000) Master's thesis on the behavior of subjects in Contemporary Cimbrian. However, I can not use Scardoni's results directly in my paper her goals, as well as methodology, differed from mine on several counts. Firstly, I am interested in investigating the process of language variation and change occurring in the Giazza speaker community, whereas Scardoni was interested in exploring a larger panorama of the Cimbrian language: she interviewed four speakers (three of whom were not residents of Giazza and therefore not part of the only surviving XIII Comuni Cimbrian speaking community), whereas I interviewed 12 speakers from within the same speaker community. Secondly, I am interested in quantifying the 'Venetization' (L2 influence) of Cimbrian Syntax, and as such I find that Scardoni's data, obtained via translation of prompts in Veronese prompts (instead of in Standard Italian), may show 'distorted' levels of Veronese influence. Scardoni's aim was to provide a description of Contemporary XIII Comuni Cimbrian, and specifically document the presence of Veronese influence on subject clitic resumption, null subject behavior and expletives; my paper focuses on only one of her findings and aims to quantify it, showing the progression of this change in the different dialects of Cimbrian.

### **7.2 The Left Periphery**

#### **7.2.1 Subject Clitic Resumption in the Contact Language**

Veronese is a null subject language that also has obligatory subject clitics that precede the auxiliary verb, thus giving the impression of being non-null subject in certain contexts. The

distribution of subject clitics appears to vary across urban/rural varieties: in Giazza the subject clitics are used in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular, the 3<sup>rd</sup> persons singular and plural, of both genders.

- (1) a. Mi go' visto tuto. (1s) VER  
 b. Ti te ge' visto tuto. (2s)  
 c. Ela la ga' visto tuto. (3sf)  
 d. Lu el ga' visto tuto. (3sm)  
 e. Noialtri emo visto tuto. (1p)  
 f. Voialtri avete visto tuto. (2p)  
 g. Lori i ga' visto tuto. (3p)  
 'I/you/he/she/we/they have seen everything'

The exact structure of subject clitics, common to many Northern Italian Dialects (NIDs) has been debated over the years. Rizzi (1986) presents a series of tests and observations that help differentiate the subject clitic behavior of Northern Italian Dialects NIDs (see 2a) from the superficially similar topicalized behavior of resumptive subjects in non-null subject languages, such as French (2b)<sup>1</sup>.

- (2) a. El Gianni el-gà za magnà. VER (clitic)  
 b. Jean, il a déjà mangé. FRE (nonclitic)  
 John he has already eaten  
 'John has already eaten.'

The underlying structure proposed in Rizzi, and also adopted in Poletto (1996) is shown in (3) below. The NP subject in Veronese, and the pronoun in French, are generated in the [Spec, VP] position and raise through to [Spec, IP], whereas the subject clitic *el* in Veronese is said to be generated in the AgrS head (not shown) and to adjoin and raise to I with the movement of the verb.

- (3) a. [ [SpecTP El Gianni; [T el-ga' [VPadj za [SpecVP t<sub>i</sub> [v magna' ]]]]] = (2a)  
 b. [ Jean [SpecTP il<sub>i</sub> [T a [VPadj déjà' [SpecVP t<sub>i</sub> [v mange' ]]]]] = (2b)

<sup>1</sup> A brief note on the terminology: in the course of this chapter, I will refer to the particle in question as a *Subject Clitic* only when there is evidence that it is indeed encliticized to the verb; the terms *Resumptive Subject* or *Resumptive Pronoun* will be used in other environments.

I list the three tests proposed by Rizzi, with examples in Veronese (spoken in Giazza) when applicable:

A. Non-cooccurrence of the subject clitic with bare quantifiers: bare quantifiers can not be topicalized, and therefore the resumptive pronoun could not be present in structures that rely on topicalization (see 4a and 4b), whereas it would still be obligatory in true subject clitic structures (see 4c).

- (4) a. *Personne ne vient.* *FRE (nonclitic)*  
 b. \**Personne il ne vient.*  
 c. *Nisuni i vien.* *VER (clitic)*  
 Nobody he not comes.  
 'Nobody is coming'

B. Intervention of Negation between the resumptive pronoun and the auxiliary: this can not happen in true subject-clitic constructions, as no particle (negation or other adverbials) may insert itself between the clitic and the verb it is attached to, see (5b). However, negation must occur between the subject pronoun and the auxiliary when the former is in a regular subject position, as in the topicalized structures as seen in (5b)<sup>2</sup>.

- (5) a. [ Jean [SpecAgrS il [Neg1 n [T a [Neg2 pas [v mange' [DP le pain]]]]]]] *FRE*  
 b. [ El gianni [SpecAgrS [Neg1 no [T l-ga' [Neg2 mija [v magna' [DP el pan ]]]]]] *VER*  
 John (he) neg1 he-has neg2 eaten the bread  
 'John didn't eat the bread'

C. Presence of subject clitic in coordinated structures: this is obligatory in all true subject clitic structures, as the clitic must be attached to the verb in I<sup>o</sup> (see 6b and 6c), but it is optional in topicalized structures, depending on the depth of the adjunction/coordination node (see 6a).

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the relative positions of the subject and negation, as well as of its positioning in the Specifier of AgrS, please see Section 6.1.2 on Subject Positions in Veronese.

- (6) a. Jean, il mange du pain et (il) boit du vin. *FRE (nonclitic)*  
 b. \*El Gianni, el magna pan e beve vin. *VER (clitic)*  
 c. El Gianni, el magna pan e el beve vin.  
 John he eats bread and he drinks wine  
 'John eats bread and drinks wine.'

I have illustrated these tests with examples from French and Veronese, showing that the former is clearly a language with subject resumption caused by topicalization, while the latter is characterized by the presence of subject clitics. In section 7.4 I will apply these tests to the Cimbrian data collected, to determine the underlying structure of resumptive subjects in the two dialects (N and S) under investigation.

### 7.2.2 An Overview of Topicalization

In this paper, I will use *topicalization* to refer to a situation in which the constituent(s) being topicalized is/are at the very front (left edge) of the sentence. Topicalization can be further divided into two subcategories, *Suspended Theme* and *Left Dislocation*, which can both be present in the same language and which refer to slightly different syntactic processes. The line drawn between the two varies depending on the language being described, but for the purposes of this paper I will use the following distinctions, drawn from, although occasionally not entirely supporting, the works of Rizzi (1986), Haegemann (1994), Boeckx and Grohmann (2005) and Frazier and Potts (2006).

*Suspended Theme* (also called *Freies Thema*, *Nominativus pendens*, or often just *topicalization*) entails topicalization with resumption via a tonic pronoun. In some languages (i.e. English) the suspended theme requires extra emphasis (see 7), and in most languages the tonic pronoun can be found anywhere in the sentence, even several clauses below the left edge, containing the topicalized element (see 8). Given these considerations, it is generally assumed

that this type of topicalization does not rely on movement, because of the long distance between the resumptive pronoun and the topicalized element, but rather that the topicalized element is base-generated in the left periphery. The focus stress that often accompanies this structure suggests that the topicalized element may be in a TOP or FOC projection above the CP, rather than in an adjoined position. The link between the resumptive pronoun and the topicalized element is weaker than in the *Left Dislocation* counterpart, as in certain languages, despite evidence of movement, the resumptive pronoun does not have to be overtly present (e.g. English, see 7; and French, see 9), and in others there can be a case-mismatch between the resumptive pronoun and the topicalized element (i.e. German, see 10).

- (7) BAGELS<sub>i</sub>, I like t<sub>i</sub> (but not toast) ENG  
(Frazier and Potts 2006)
- (8) Simenon<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> I always wonder [<sub>CP</sub> when [<sub>IP</sub> I discovered him<sub>i</sub> ]]]. ENG  
(Haegeman 1994)  
# #
- (9) Les gateaux j'aime bien t<sub>i</sub> FRE  
the cakes I like very well  
'CAKES, I like very much'
- (10) a. Diesen Frosch<sup>ACC</sup>, den<sup>ACC</sup> hat die Prinzessin gestern geküßt. GER  
b. Dieser Frosch<sup>NOM</sup>, den<sup>ACC</sup> hat die Prinzessin gestern geküßt.  
This frog, it has the princess yesterday kissed.  
'This frog, the princess kissed yesterday'  
(Boeckx and Grohmann 2005)

*Left Dislocation*<sup>3</sup> (also called *Linksversetzung* or *Prolepsis*) is instead characterized by a resumptive pronoun which is often found in the left periphery of the phrase (*Vorfeld*), but is

<sup>3</sup> There is also such a thing as *Right Dislocation*, which is the same process of constituent movement and adjunction, but to the right (end) of the sentence, and is often used as a test of dislocation vs. suspended topic. Right dislocation is common in both Italian and Veronese, in constructions like *Ha telefonato Gianni* (has telephoned Gianni). There is no data on the grammaticality of such structures in Cimbrian, and I therefore refrain from a lengthier description of the phenomenon.

certainly found no lower than within the first IP (unlike example 8 above). The topicalized constituent is argued to raise from its base position to one of adjunction to CP. The resumptive pronoun is generally atonic or clitic, meaning that it can not carry stress. There appears to be a somewhat closer relationship between the resumptive pronoun and the topicalized element in these structures, than in suspended theme structures, mostly by virtue of the movement chain and adjunction structure. The ‘closeness’ is supported by several empirical observations: in English and French, the resumptive pronoun is obligatory (unlike the optionality in the suspended theme construction, see 7, 9 and 11, 12); and in German, case matching between the topicalized element and the resumptive pronoun is now obligatory, whereas it was optional in the suspended theme variant (see 10 and 13).

- (11) This guy I met, he knows John Gotti.  
 \*This guy I met, knows John Gotti.

*ENG*

(Frazier and Potts 2006)

- (12) Jean, il n’ a rien dit.  
 John he not has nothing said  
 ‘John didn’t say anything’

*FRE*

(Rizzi 1986)

- (13) Der<sup>NOM</sup> Mann, den ich getroffen habe, er<sup>NOM</sup> heißt John.  
 \*Den<sup>ACC</sup> Mann, den ich getroffen habe, er<sup>NOM</sup> heißt John.  
 The man whom I met have he named John  
 ‘The man whom I have met is called John.’

*GER*

The subject-clitic resumption behavior typical of Veronese has often been described as *Clitic Left Dislocation* (abbreviated CILD), on the grounds that the clitic pronoun is atonic (it cannot carry stress) and that it follows other characteristics of left dislocated topicalized elements. However, Rizzi’s tests, discussed in section 7.2.1, clearly show that it is not a case of topicalization at all, as the clitic nature of the resumptive pronoun does not require the subject to move out of its base position (discussed in section 6.1.2).

### 7.2.3 Classical Cimbrian Topicalization

Pili (2001) presents a diachronic study of Cimbrian topicalized structures, comparing the forms present in the Catechism translations of 1602 and 1813: she finds that Cimbrian has gone from a Germanic grammar to a Veronese grammar of topicalization, and describes this as a process of contact-induced language change.

Pili presents data from the 1602 Catechism that exemplify both suspended theme (14) as well as left-dislocated (15) constructions, as is suggested by both the form and the position of the resumptive pronoun:

- (14) Der Ghedingo, baròme stet er zùà Gott? *CIM 1602*  
 The hope why stands it by God  
 ‘Hope, why does it stand by God?’  
(Meid 1985a, from Pili 2001)

- (15) ...die andere sibna die lernt unz zo tunan bol in prossimen, *CIM 1602*  
 the other seven they teach us to do good to the next  
 ‘...the other seven teach us to do good onto others’  
(Meid 1985a, from Pili 2001)

The data she presents from the 1813 Catechism (in 16) is only of the left dislocated kind. However, I think it is important to note that all four constructions presented in her paper are interrogatives: as can be shown with both English (17) and Veronese data (18) (by the mandatory presence of the resumptive pronoun), interrogatives appear to only allow topicalization in the left dislocation mode, and do not support topicalization of the suspended theme sort.

- (16) Da Kercha ba langhe hat-se-da zo sainan? *CIM 1813*  
 The church how long has-it-there to be  
 ‘The church, how long has it been there?’  
(Meid 1985b, from Pili 2001)

- (17) The boy, what is his name? (left dislocation) *ENG*  
 \*The boy, what is name? (suspended theme)

- |      |                              |                    |            |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| (18) | El butel, kome se tSiama-lo? | (left dislocation) | <i>VER</i> |
|      | *El butel, kome se tSiama ?  | (suspended theme)  |            |
|      | the boy how refl called he   |                    |            |
|      | ‘The boy, what is his name?’ |                    |            |

Pili assumes that Veronese subject clitics are a type of left dislocated topicalization, and therefore concludes that the larger presence of left-dislocated topicalized elements in 1813 than in 1602 are evidence of a contact-induced language change towards Veronese.

However, in this paper I assume that the Veronese subject clitics are not serving as resumptive pronouns for any topicalized form: in fact, Rizzi (1986) clearly demonstrates how they can exist in several situations where topicalization is banned (see Test B). Without further data, I do not think that it can be shown that the structure of topicalized phrases in classical Cimbrian has undergone a change, nor that this change is in the direction of the contact language’s structure. I therefore disagree with the findings in Pili (2001) with regards to Cimbrian’s development of a Romance type of topicalization, and will not assume that Cimbrian has already developed Romance-like topicalization or clitic structure.

#### 7.2.4 Classical Cimbrian Subject Clitics

While discussing the structure of Classical Cimbrian, it is worthwhile to point out that Classical Cimbrian did have a number of clitic pronouns, for subjects, direct objects, indirect objects and reflexives, which could be used in non-resumptive situations (i.e. without topicalization). The clitics were all right adjoined to the auxiliary and could ‘stack’ on each other in a rigid order. While the latter three clitics (direct object, indirect object and reflexive) are still productive in modern Cimbrian, subject clitics appear to have become almost completely opaque and formulaic in modern speech. Subject clitics of this type in modern Cimbrian are limited to

the first person singular only, and often with an overt pronominal DP in the first position of the sentence.

- (19) I pin - i mai gabest ka bearn. *CIM* (DOM D23)  
I have-i never been to Verona.  
'I have never been to Verona'

They also appear to occur with a null subject (without anything necessarily being fronted in the XP1 position), but I did not find trace of them with a full DP subject, although this was not explicitly tested. The distribution of these forms varies across speakers but is not consistent within dialect groups, indicating a potentially idiolectal or stylistic variation.

### 7.3 Distribution of Subject Resumption in Cimbrian

The distribution of resumptive subject use is not uniform across speakers of Cimbrian: there is a marked distinction between speakers of the Group S dialect and those of the Group N dialect. All speakers produced at least one resumptive subject in the translated sentences, and not all sentences were translated in the same manner by all speakers. In calculating the percentage of resumptive subject use, I considered all monoclausal declarative sentences with third person<sup>4</sup> (singular and plural) NP subjects produced in the corpus, and then tallied the number of sentences with resumptive subject pronouns produced by each speaker. Interrogatives, imperatives, declaratives with weather verbs or pronoun subjects were excluded from this count; multi-clausal coordinate structures will be discussed in section 7.4 as part of Rizzi's subject-cliticization tests.

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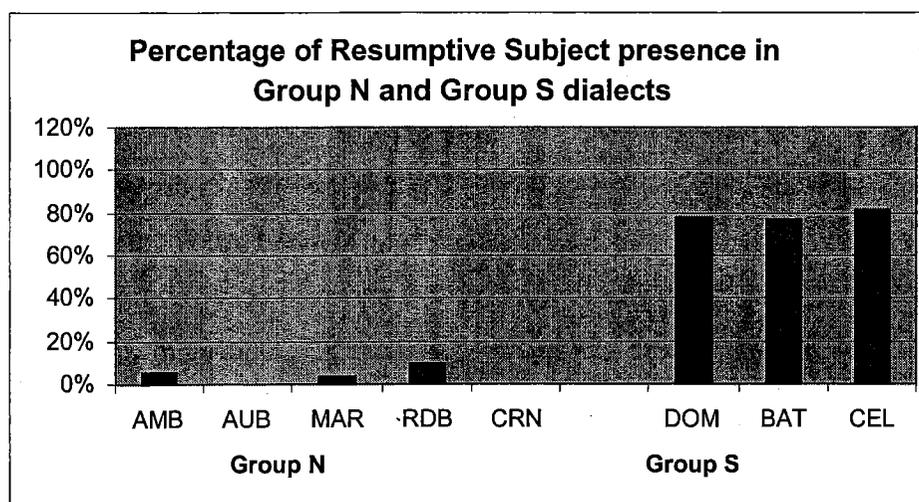
<sup>4</sup> I do not by this mean to exclude second person singular subject sentences (which in Veronese also require subject resumption), but I had no instances of declarative sentences with a second person singular DP subject in the corpus, as all second person subject sentences tended to either be non-declarative (interrogative or imperative) or have a pronoun subject, for ease of comprehension and translation.

This produced a total of 387 Cimbrian sentences, corresponding to 66 different prompts, as not every speaker was asked to translate every sentence (the sentences were drawn from various different sections of the questionnaire). Of these, 111 sentences had a resumptive subject (as in 20a below), and 276 did not (as in 20b). Of the prompts, 50 were translated as having a resumptive subject by at least one speaker, and 16 were never translated with a resumptive subject by any speaker, but qualified as part of this ‘total number of sentences’ by the criteria set forth above. As with other structures, there were occurrences of quasi-minimal pairs produced by the same speaker that differed only as to the presence/absence of the resumptive subject, as well as minimal pairs produced across speakers, but with exactly the same choice of lexical items.

- (20) a. De znaiderinj        ha-par    gafikat    a par pruxe gruan.        *CIM* (DOM E15)  
       b. De znaiderinj        is        ha        gamast    a gruan pruax.  
       The seamstress she has-me made    a (pair of) green trousers  
       ‘The seamstress made me a pair of green trousers’.

- (21) a. De ana    is    ha        gamaht    de pulte    ante salts.        *CIM* (BAT D31)  
       b. De ana        ha        gamast    de pulte    ante zalts.        *CIM* (AUB D31)  
       The anna she has    made        the polenta without salt

(22)



As shown in (22), speakers of dialect N produced sentences with resumptive subjects (21a) less than 10% of the time, and for the remaining over 90% produced sentences like (21b)

above. Speakers of dialect S produced sentences with a resumptive pronoun (21a) over 75% of the time.

#### **7.4 Modern Cimbrian: Subject Clitics, or Topicalization?**

The striking difference in the proportion of sentences using the resumptive subject pronoun (less than 10% for Group N speakers, and over 75% for Group S speakers) strongly suggests that there is a deeper, structural, split between the two dialect grammars. The sociolinguistic situation would predict that language contact would have influenced the grammar of Group S speakers (who have had greater exposure to the contact language) and caused them to adopt a Veronese-like structure. However, the subject-cliticization tests discussed by Rizzi (listed below, and discussed in section 7.2.1) make a series of predictions as to the presence of resumptive pronouns in languages with subject clitics (such as Veronese), that are not fulfilled in Cimbrian.

- **Test A:** Presence of resumptive subject in sentences with a quantifier subject indicates subject clitic status.
- **Test B:** Absence of interfering negation (or other adverbial) between the resumptive subject and the auxiliary indicates subject clitic status.
- **Test C:** Obligatory presence of resumptive subject in coordinated sentences indicates subject clitic status.

**Conversely**, the absence of a resumptive subject in quantifier-subject sentences (test A) or the presence of negation between the resumptive subject and the auxiliary would provide proof positive of a non-clitic (topicalized) structure (test B). Topicalized structures will however have optional presence of the resumptive subject in coordinated sentences (test C).

#### 7.4.1 Test A : Quantifier Subjects

Cimbrian sentences elicited to verify the results of the first of Rizzi's test were uniform across all speakers (see 23) and appear to reflect a French-type topicalized structure, rather than NID-like clitic, due to the absence of the resumptive pronoun with these quantifier subjects.

- |         |          |     |          |         |            |              |          |
|---------|----------|-----|----------|---------|------------|--------------|----------|
| (23) a. | Njeman   | hen | gazest   | nist.   | <i>CIM</i> | (AMB D25)    |          |
| b.      | Personne | a   | vu       | rien.   | <i>FRE</i> | (non-clitic) |          |
| c.      | Nisuni   | i   | ga'      | visto   | niente.    | <i>VER</i>   | (clitic) |
|         | Noone    | he  | has seen | nothing |            |              |          |

According to this test, both Group N and Group S speakers show non-subject-clitic structures, but rather a topicalized subject and a pronoun that would 'step in' to pick up stray features, since Cimbrian is not a null subject language.

#### 7.4.2 Test B : Intervening Negation

The structure of Cimbrian negation, with its low (VP-adjoined, not IP-adjoined) position does not allow for test B to be run on the Cimbrian data, as can be seen in (24). While the high negation in Veronese and French clearly allows for easy discrimination between subject clitics (to the right of the negator, 24b), or regular pronominal subjects (to the left of the negator, 24c), there is no way to tell where the Cimbrian resumptive subject should be slotted in the structure.

- |         |  |              |          |      |           |                  |                   |            |              |
|---------|--|--------------|----------|------|-----------|------------------|-------------------|------------|--------------|
| (24) a. | De pejr                                    | <u>is</u>    | ist      | niht | gwat      | for de hajar.    | <i>CIM</i>        | (BAT A03)  |              |
| b.      | I peri                                     | no           | <u>i</u> | e'   | mija boni | par i butei.     | <i>VER</i>        | (clitic).  |              |
| c.      | Les poires,                                | <u>elles</u> | ne       | sont | pas       | bonnes           | pour les enfants. | <i>FRE</i> | (non-clitic) |
|         | the pears                                  | neg1         | are      | neg2 | good      | for the children |                   |            |              |
|         | 'The pears are not good for the children.' |              |          |      |           |                  |                   |            |              |

I was not able to discover any other particle, adverbial or otherwise, that was positioned above the I° node and below the subject position [Spec, IP], which could provide alternative evidence for the separation or non-separation of the resumptive pronoun and the auxiliary.

### 7.4.3 Test C : Coordinate Structures

The third test involves examining coordinated structures, and the use/optionality of resumptive subjects in the second part of the clause. Although Rizzi's claim is that all subject clitic languages obligatorily require a subject clitic in the second (coordinated) structure as well, data collected on the Giazza-Veronese dialect suggests that Rizzi's third subject test might have to be slightly modified. As shown in (25), Veronese requires mandatory subject resumption only for sentences that coordinate above the I° node:

- (25) a. La maria **la** gà kantà ma no \_\_\_\_\_ balà. VER (RAG D47)  
 b. La maria **la** gà kantà ma no **la** gà mija balà. (RAG D47)  
 c. \*La maria **la** gà kantà ma no \_\_\_\_\_ gà mija balà.  
 the maria she has sung but Neg1 she has Neg2 danced.  
 'Mary sung but did not dance'

Therefore, in sentences with an overt auxiliary in the lower clause, the absence of a resumptive subjects indicates a topicalized-subject structure (like French). However, as Rizzi points out, topicalized subjects may optionally have a resumptive subject in the lower clause, meaning that the presence of a resumptive subject in the coordinated clause should not be taken as evidence for a subject-clitic structure. This poses a significant problem for Cimbrian, since there is no grammaticality judgment data available, and all the production data with the structure of (25b) above could be taken as evidence of either structure. I review the different types of outcomes of a coordinated sentence set and the implications of each sentence type in (26):

- (26) a. Mary \_\_\_\_\_ has sung and \_\_\_\_\_ has danced. (N-N: not applicable)  
 b. Mary \_\_\_\_\_ has sung and she has danced. (N-Y: non-clitic pronoun)  
 c. Mary she has sung and \_\_\_\_\_ has danced. (Y-N: non-clitic pronoun)  
 d. Mary she has sung and she has danced. (Y-Y: either clitic or pronoun)

The sheer percentage of resumptive use (less than 10%) for Group N speakers already strongly suggested that they were using a topicalized structure such as that of French, and the

data from this test further support this finding. There were only 4 instances of coordinate sentences with a Y-Y structure (26d), and these were all extremely long sentences united by a subordinating conjunction such as *ma* 'but'; all other instances (19 sentences) were of the N-N (26a) or N-Y (26b) type, lacking the resumptive pronoun even in the higher or main clause.

The structure of Group N sentences is harder to define, mostly because of the low number of sentences (and speakers) available. A number of sentences had to be excluded from this analysis as they presented a coordination point that was lower than  $I^0$ , as in (27) below.

- (27) De maria is ha [[vp nist gazingat] e [vp njanka gatantsat]]. *CIM* (BAT D49)  
 the maria she has neither sung and not-even danced  
 'Mary neither sung nor danced'

The remaining sentences (5) show Y-Y type coordination (as in 26d), which however could support either the subject clitic, or, if optional, the topicalization structure. The lack of Y-N structures with an overt auxiliary could suggest that this is not an optional presence, but a required one (thereby supporting the subject-clitic-structure). However, given the limited amount of sentences in the sample, and with the result of test A supporting a topicalization interpretation, I do not feel that it would be appropriate to propose the subject-clitic structure without further evidence or analysis.

In summary, the tests provided by Rizzi show that speakers of the Group N dialect maintain a non-Veronese, non-clitic subject structure with occasional and highly optional (although not semantically marked) topicalization of the subject and resumptive pronoun insertion. There is no clear or direct evidence to support the interpretation of Group S's production as having a subject clitic structure, and in fact evidence seems to disfavor this reading.

## 7.5 Topicalization in Modern Cimbrian: A Hypothesis

Although Rizzi's tests do not offer clear evidence favoring either structure, particularly with regards to the grammars of Group S speakers, it is consistent with the data to posit that the structural rearrangement has not gone so far as to develop subject clitics, but that the resumptive subjects of Group S speakers' grammar is also produced as a result of topicalization. Given this assumption, the difference in the proportion of resumptive pronoun use across the two groups becomes even more surprising.

In the absence of grammaticality judgments, and with the limited data available, especially since the prompts were not originally intended to elicit topicalized structures, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions. I would like to suggest that that the two dialects use different 'standard' modes of topicalization, which by no means implies that they do not have access to both (since most languages have both forms of topicalization available) but only that the dialects appear to prefer one over the other, and this preference is not the same for both groups<sup>5</sup>. It is possible, although this is not supported by any syntactic theory I am aware of, that this difference in underlying topicalization structures may be related to the higher rate of topicalization use for Group S speakers.

The data collected and examined in this chapter has shown one interesting characteristic, that is that speakers of Group N do not demonstrate gender distinctions on the resumptive pronoun. Group N speakers (with one exception) use the masculine form *is* even when the subject of the sentence is feminine:

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<sup>5</sup> It is suggested that Italian, Spanish and French (and perhaps Romance languages more generally) have a penchant for left-dislocation structures (Marianna Pool, in *Linguist List* Sum 5.1036 from Fri 23 Sep 1994. on topicalization in French available at <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind9409d&L=linguist&P=2479>. However, I was not able to find any data or analysis that would clearly support this hunch—which is also echoed (and supported by erroneous generalizations, as I pointed out earlier) by Pili (2001).

(28) Anna is ist kangan tse kofan ...  
 Anna he is gone to buy ...

CIM (MAR D35)

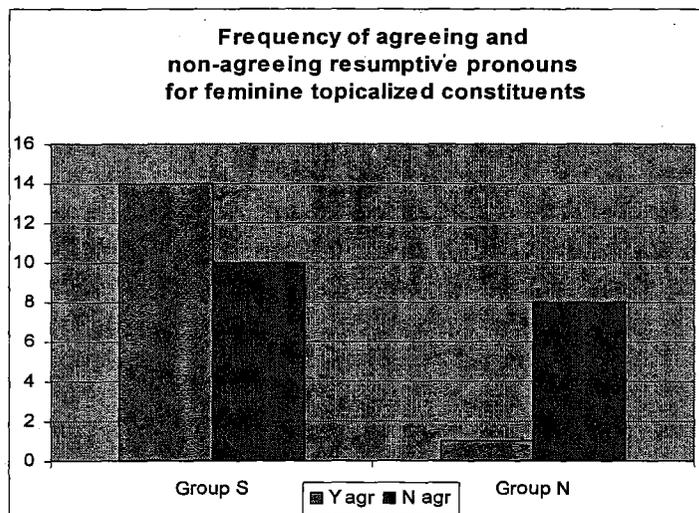
Speakers in Group S, who have borrowed more structure from the contact language Veronese and have a higher rate of resumptive subject use, maintain these gender and plural distinctions to a greater degree (with the exception of BAT, whose behavior is less regular than DOM or CEL).

(29) Mai svejstar si is kangat ka bearn.  
 My sister she is gone to Verona  
 'My sister she went to Verona.'

CIM (CEL D57)

The figures shown in (30) are derived by considering only those sentences with an overt resumptive pronoun and a feminine (singular or plural) subject. Resumptive pronouns of the form *si* or *se* are feminine, and counted as 'agreeing' resumptive pronouns, whereas the form *is* is masculine and counts as non-agreeing. Although Classical Cimbrian used to have a neuter gender, I was unable to find evidence of its existence in the Modern Cimbrian pronominal system. All speakers used the form *is* for all masculine topicalized DPs.

(30)



Unlike other frequency counts, this time Group N presents a lower number of sentences available for examination (despite the greater number of speakers) because of the extremely low

rate of resumption (under 10%); whereas Group S has more data available (despite the smaller number of speakers), because the average rate of resumption (over 75%) was much greater. Despite the limited amount of data available, there is still a substantial difference in the proportion of agreeing and non-agreeing resumptive pronouns between Group N and Group S, especially when keeping in mind that 6 of the 10 non-agreeing pronouns were produced by BAT, whom, as I mentioned above, appears to be somewhat of an outlier within the Group S informants.

The different patterns in agreement can, in my opinion, be retraced to different underlying syntactic structures. As described in section 7.2.2, resumptive pronouns in left dislocated structures have a closer syntactic relationship to the topicalized element than those in suspended theme structures. In Modern German, for example, case matching between the topicalized element and the resumptive pronoun is required in left dislocated constructions, but is only optional for suspended theme topicalizations. For the same reasons, I would like to argue that Group N speakers demonstrate suspended theme topicalization, whereas Group S speakers show left dislocated structures.

The syntactic explanation for this weakening of case/agreement in suspended theme constructions is that there is only a semantic link between the topicalized and resumptive elements: the topicalized constituent is base generated in FocP, and in many cases is separated from the resumptive pronoun by one or more barriers (IP projections). In left-dislocated constructions, on the other hand, the topicalized element is base generated in [Spec, IP] (since we are describing subject resumption here), and is raised to an adjoined position (IP or CP) during the course of the derivation, maintaining contact (through a chain or silent copy) with the base position, which is then filled with the resumptive pronoun. The locus of the topicalized

constituent's generation, as well as the existence of a trace chain ensures that the agreement (or case) features are spread to the resumptive pronoun in left-dislocated structures.

In addition, there is also independent evidence that suggests that Group N topicalized structures (which are more difficult to analyze, given the limited amount of data available) are of the suspended theme sort. There are two instances of minimal pairs in which speakers of Group N use the same structure with multiple topicalized elements, but which differ only as to the presence/absence of the resumptive subject.

(31) a. De anna haute hat vuntat ditsa roase untar de prukhe. *CIM* (RDB C27)

b. De anna haute zi hat vuntat ditsa roase untar de prukhe.  
The anna today she has found this flower under the bridge  
'Anna, today, found this flower under the bridge'

(32) a. Ime heart de baiber z hen galeit is gheissat. *CIM* (AMB F47)

b. Ime heart de baiber hen galeit is gheissat.  
In the hearth the wives they have laid the food  
'In the hearth the wives have laid the food'

The structure of these sentences, with the multiple topicalized phrases, suggests that the subject DP is always topicalized. With this assumption in mind, it would appear that the resumptive pronoun is optional for these Group N speakers, which in turn entails the presence of a suspended theme (rather than left dislocation) underlying structure. It would however also be possible to analyze both sentences (in the variant without the resumptive pronoun) as not having any form of topicalization whatsoever, and at that point it would be impossible to say whether topicalization for Group N speakers has a required or optional resumptive pronoun. More data, including grammaticality judgments, are necessary to clarify the situation and offer more substantial evidence in favor of this hypothesis by which the two dialects are relying on different underlying forms of topicalization.

## 7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that there is a substantial difference in the frequency of use of resumptive pronouns across the two dialects of Cimbrian spoken in Giazza. However, this difference is not caused by a complete shift (assimilation) of one of the dialects to the Veronese syntactic structure for subject clitics. Rather, it is a product of a stylistic difference, for which speakers of Group S tend to copy the surface behavior of the contact language, while requiring the slightest alteration possible to their own internal grammar.

It does appear that the syntax of Cimbrian has changed since earlier times, as with the loss of the subject clitic series and its partial replacement (in resumptive situations) with the full pronominal forms. There is some evidence that the two Cimbrian dialects examined in this paper may be favoring different modes of topicalization (in addition to different frequencies, although this might be related), but whether and how this fits into a theory of language change can only be determined with further research on the subject.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

In the course of this paper I have described a number of structures in Modern Cimbrian, produced by either one or both of the dialect groups, and have provided an analysis of their underlying form. Before discussing the greater arguments and their implications, I would like to review these minor findings.

In Chapter 5 I described the behavior of Adjectives in Modern Cimbrian, and I showed that although the language was still undergoing a large amount of variation as a result of this process of language shift, the different forms were equally distributed across speakers and dialect groups, suggesting that this process was impacting the community as a whole. I had previously described the structure as falling into Thomason and Kaufman's 'Level 4' description of significant word order changes, reflecting 'moderate structural borrowing' from the contact language.

In Chapter 6 I described the behavior of Negation in Modern Cimbrian, and I showed that there were significant differences across the behavior of the two dialect groups. I showed that both dialect groups were accessing the same underlying structure with two negative positions, but speakers of dialect S (the more innovative variety) are undergoing a second process of language shift towards the development of stable negative concord. Speakers of dialect N, the more conservative variety, show some of the same behavior indicating that they are also being affected by the contact language pressure and will eventually develop the same stable negative concord. However, lexical as well as stylistic (negative object shift) differences between the two groups show that the two dialects are clearly distinct from one another with regards to negation, unlike the behavior with adjective-noun order, where the uniform degree of variation suggested that both speaker groups were undergoing the same change at the same time. The development of

negative concord in Modern Cimbrian appears to be 'staggered' across groups, with the variety exposed to more Veronese contact leading the process of change, classed as level 5 on the borrowing scale, and the more conservative variety lagging behind.

In chapter 7 I described the behavior of resumptive pronouns in Cimbrian: there is a very large difference in the frequency of occurrence of these particles across the two groups, suggesting a sharp-cut and drastic difference between the two underlying grammars. However, during the analysis of the forms I showed that the underlying structure is actually remarkably similar, as both dialects are performing topicalization with subject resumption (rather than subject cliticization), and the difference between the two is more stylistic than structural. Based on observations on the agreement relationships between resumptive pronoun and topicalized subject, I suggested a possible structural difference between the two dialects: however, current syntactic theory has no way to relate the different forms of topicalization to such a drastic change in the frequency of topicalized sentences and in the behavior of resumptive pronouns. I suggested that the large discrepancy in the behavior of the two dialect groups was due to an ongoing process of language change for speakers of dialect S. The development of widespread topicalization is a way to mimic the surface behavior of the contact language (Veronese), while undergoing the least amount of structural change: in the future, particularly across inter-generational transmission, this topicalized structure could be reanalyzed as the Veronese subject-clitic structure and the shift, classed at level 5 of the Thomason and Kaufman scale, would then be complete.

Overall, the picture that emerges from this data is that speakers of dialect S, by virtue of their more extensive contact with Veronese, are undergoing a much more rapid and wide-ranging

structural change. They are, according to the distribution of structures on Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale, at Level 5 (Heavy Structural Borrowing). Speakers of dialect N are also undergoing language change, as exemplified by their variability with respect to adjective-noun ordering, but they are a step behind dialect S: their switch to a negative concord has barely started and they show no sign of converging towards the Veronese structure with regards to subject clitics.

These findings are in line with the predictions made by Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale and the extent of the two dialects' contact with Veronese. However, much more research could be done to clarify and help support these findings: to begin with, constraints limited me to interview only twelve of the twenty speakers present in Giazza, and it would be interesting to interview a few more speakers in order to increase the number of consultants representing each of the dialects. Secondly, the data here was collected only by means of translation elicitation, and it would be very interesting (although very difficult if not impossible) to obtain and analyze grammaticality judgment data for both dialect groups, in order to gain a better understanding of the exact details of the process of language change.<sup>1</sup>

The findings of this paper paint a bleak picture of the future of Cimbrian: not only is the language heading rapidly towards complete extinction, as by the time the current generation of speakers dies there will be no one left to speak it, but it is also disintegrating into different dialects by virtue of contact-induced change. If there were enough time, the process of language change would result in complete attrition of Cimbrian (in favor of Veronese) within individual speakers as well as across society, but it is probable that the language will die from having no

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<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, certain areas of the syntax examined in this paper could have benefited from having more data: these include multiple adjective structures, negative object shift, PP blocking of negative concord, as well as multiple- and right-topicalized structures. A number of these phenomena were discovered only after the fieldwork portion was due, thus preventing me from asking more questions, while others, such as negative object shift, were impossible to prime for with the Italian prompts, and for these grammaticality judgments would be very useful.

speakers before it dies because speakers cease to use it. Although there are several revival projects underway, in the form of language classes, media presence, and prestige-raising efforts, they appear to be too few, and come too late, to make a tangible difference in the future of the language. However, these will probably have an effect on the cultural and ethnic backing of the language, and coupled with the efforts at language documentation and preservation that are also underway, could set the stage for a future process of posthumous language revitalization, as was the case for Neo-Manx.

While there seems to be nothing we can do for Cimbrian, there are things it can do for us. The Cimbrian situation in Giazza can serve as a model in which to examine processes of contact-induced language change, and the dialect variation enables us to examine and quantify the causal link between extent of language contact and extent of language change. Further investigation into language attrition, the historical factors that caused it, the social factors that perpetuate it, as well as the linguistic changes that embody it, is necessary to develop the understanding necessary to help prevent or rectify other cases of language attrition and death.

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## APPENDIX

Below I include the list of prompts posed to the Cimbrian informants, and a sample Cimbrian answer, which may not be representative of the most common or interesting structure produced. The sentences are ordered according to prompt number, which is in turn related to the main characteristic of the sentence (i.e. interrogative, negative, subordinate, etc.), and do not reflect the actual order of the questions posed to the informants. Sentences offered by the speakers (not produced in response to a prompt) are not included here, although they have been taken into account during the data analysis. The Cimbrian translations are given here, as throughout the paper, in a very loose IPA transcription, there being no standard Cimbrian orthographical system. The translations included in the first column refer to the prompt sentence, not to the translated sentence, which may occasionally include different lexical items.

Sentence Code	Italian Prompt Sentence and English translation	Sample Cimbrian Translation (with speaker code)
A01	lo non ho rubato le mele. <i>I did not steal the apples.</i>	I han niht gastoult de oupfil (AUB)
A02	lo non devo dormire. <i>I should not sleep.</i>	I musa nist slafan (AUB)
A03	Le pere non sono per i bambini. <i>The pears are not for the children.</i>	de pirn zain niht for de hajar (AUB)
A04	Lui ha detto che non ha piovuto. <i>He said that it didn't rain.</i>	is ha kjout ke is hat niht garegat (AUB)
A05	lo credo che tu abbia rubato le mele. <i>I think that you have stolen the apples.</i>	I kjoube ke du hast niht gastoult de owpfil (AUB)
A06	lo non ne ho. <i>I don't have any.</i>	I han kone (AUB)
A07	lo non ho nessuna pera. <i>I don't have any pears.</i>	I han kone pir (AUB)
A08	lo non ho visto niente. <i>I didn't see anything.</i>	I han gazeht nist (AUB)
A09	lo non ho visto nessuno. <i>I didn't see anyone.</i>	I han gazest njeman (AUB)
A10	Si chiama Gianni. <i>He is called Gianni. (His name is...)</i>	is rwofatSi Gianni (AUB)
A11	Piove. <i>It's raining.</i>	is regat (AUB)
A12	Non sono mica stato io! <i>It wasn't me!</i>	I pi niht gabest I (AUB)
A13	Questa e' una sedia rossa. <i>This is a red chair.</i>	diza ist a karege roat (AUB)

A14	Questa e' mia moglie. <i>This is my wife.</i>	diza is ist mai baip	(AUB)
A15	Come ti chiami? <i>What are you called?</i>	bia ruofas tu di	(AUB)
A16	Lei si e' seduta. <i>She sat (herself) down.</i>	zi hatSi gazeitsat	(AUB)
A17	Tu hai paura? <i>Are you scared?</i>	vortast tu di	(AUB)
A18	Io non ho paura. <i>I am not scared.</i>	I vortami niht	(AUB)
A19	Il mio cane ha mangiato il suo osso. <i>My dog ate his bone.</i>	mai hunt hat gaesat zai pwan	(AUB)
B01	Cesare ha detto che ha visto un orco. <i>Cesare said he saw an ogre.</i>	in tSesare ha kout in ha gazest in pear njorke	(AUB)
B02	Io penso di aver finito la legna da ardere <i>I think I finished the firewood.</i>	I kjoube tse hen garist is holts tse prenan	(AUB)
B03	Mario crede che domani verra' da piovere. <i>Mario thinks it will rain tomorrow.</i>	in mario kjoubat ke morgan iz ken tse regan	(AUB)
B04	Il mulino ha bisogno di una nuova ruota. <i>The mill needs a new millstone.</i>	in muljat ha noat a nawga dzat	(AUB)
B05	Anna ha detto che a Verona faceva molto caldo. <i>Anna said that in Verona it was very hot</i>	de anna hat koute ke ka bearn is mahat vi barme	(AUB)
B06	Io speravo che tu avessi finito di lavorare. <i>I hoped you would have finished working.</i>	I han kajoubat ke du hast garist ts arbatan	(AUB)
B07	Noi vogliamo che tu ci legga il libro. <i>We want you to read us the book.</i>	barandre bou ke du lesast is puah	(AUB)
B08	Io vorrei che lui non portasse sempre il grembiule! <i>I wish he didn't always wear the apron!</i>	I boutate ke is tragast mai is vurto	(AUB)
B09	Lui vorrebbe che noi non andassimo al mulino. <i>He would like that we not go to the mill.</i>	er bout ke ber ghjan niht kame muljar	(AUB)
B10	Tu credi che io abbia completamente finito il lavoro. <i>You think that I have completely finished work.</i>	du kjoubast ke I han garist tsarbatan	(AUB)
B11	Se tu mi comprassi il libro, io lo leggerei <i>If you bought me the book, I would read it.</i>	se tu koufast is puah, I lezatas	(AUB)
B12	Se ieri avesse nevicato, sarei rimasto a casa. <i>If it had snowed yesterday, I would have stayed at home.</i>	se gheistar gasnaibat I hettate gastanat huan	(AUB)
B13	L'uomo che hai visto e' mio fratello. <i>The man you saw is my brother.</i>	In man bo I han gaest is ist mai pruoder	(AUB)
B14	Il ragazzo con il quale hai parlato e' il marito di anna. <i>The youth with whom you spoke is Anna's brother.</i>	is pubjar bo is hat gareite ezan is ist zain man un dar annan	(AUB)

C01	Sta tuonando. <i>It's thundering.</i>	s ist na se tondarn	(AUB)
C02	Ha nevicato. <i>It snowed</i>	is hat gasnaibat	(AUB)
C03	E' tardi. <i>It is late.</i>	s ist spete	(AUB)
C04	La neve e' bianca, cade dal cielo e imbianca i prati. <i>The snow is white, falls from the sky and whitens the fields.</i>	is snea is bais, kentaba un dar belt, un darbaissat de bisan	(AUB)
C05	Lui e' stanco perche' ha rastrellato il giardino. <i>He is tired because he raked the garden.</i>	is is muode parke is hat garexat de bize	(AUB)
C06	I bambini corrono attorno alle case e giocano a nascondino. <i>The children run around the houses and play hide-and-peek.</i>	de hajar springan umenume de hausadar un naran tse boporgazi	(AUB)
C07	Lei si siede. <i>She sits (herself) down.</i>	Si seitsatSi	(AUB)
C08	Sono stato sveglio tutta la notte ad aspettare l'orco, ma non si e' fatto vedere. <i>I stayed up all night to wait for the ogre, but he didn't show himself.</i>	I pi ges bach alja de nach tse paitan in taival ma is hatSi nist gamast segan	(AUB)
C09	Non si e' visto niente. <i>Nothing was seen.</i>	han gazest nist	(AUB)
C10	Mi sono lavato le mani. <i>I washed my hands.</i>	I hamar gabejSat de hente	(AUB)
C11	Mi sono addormentato. <i>I fell asleep.</i>	I hami inslafat	(AUB)
C12	Non si puo' saltare la messa. <i>One cannot skip mass.</i>	muspan nist springa de miSe	(AUB)
C13	Siediti che parliamo un poco. <i>Sit down so that we talk a little.</i>	zeisti ke ber reidan a bene	(AUB)
C14	Passami il coltello, per favore. <i>Pass me the knife please.</i>	gipar es mejsan	(AUB)
C15	Dammelo! <i>Give it to me!</i>	gi-par-s	(AUB)
C16	Il libro, dallo a Luigi. <i>The book, give it to Luigi.</i>	is puah gitse me ime luidzi	(AUB)
C17	Io invece l'ho visto, l'orco. <i>But I saw it, the ogre!</i>	I invese I hast gazest in taival	(AUB)
C18	L'ho vista al mercato, la Maria. <i>I saw her at the market, Mary.</i>	I han gazest in de kirxe, de maria	(AUB)
C19	Io ti aiuto, se vuoi. <i>I can help you, if you want.</i>	I helfadar se du bi	(AUB)
C20	Ti voglio bene. <i>I care for you. (= I like you)</i>	I bi dar bou	(AUB)
C21	Me lo dai? <i>Will you give it to me?</i>	ghes tu mar s	(AUB)
C22	Il mio cappello, non te lo presto. <i>My hat, I won't lend it to you!</i>	no, mai huat, I ge-dar-es nist	(AUB)

C23	Gianni mi legge il libro. <i>Gianni reads me the book.</i>	in dzani lesapar is puah	(AUB)
C24	Il muratore non ha lavorato bene. <i>The builder didn't do a good job.</i>	in maurar ha nist gaarbatat bou	(AUB)
C25	I bambini hanno cantato durante la messa. <i>The children sung during mass.</i>	de hajar hen gazingat in de kirxe	(AUB)
C26	Le donne lavano i panni nel progno. <i>The women wash the clothes in the brook.</i>	de baibar beSan de artan in pah	(AUB)
C27	Anna oggi ha trovato questo fiore sotto il ponte. <i>Anna found this flower today under the bridge.</i>	de anna haute ha vuntat de roase untar me pruxlja	(AUB)
C28	Voi ieri dal mulino avete preso la farina. <i>You all took the flour from the mill yesterday.</i>	gheistar seibar kangan kame muljar tse len iz botsa mel	(AUB)
D01	Tu non hai lavato il grembiule. <i>You didn't wash the apron.</i>	du hast nist gabeSat is vurto	(AUB)
D02	Noi non abbiamo i bicchieri. <i>We do not have the glasses.</i>	barandre hen koune tatsan	(AUB)
D03	Noi non abbiamo rotto i bicchieri. <i>We did not break the glasses.</i>	barandre hen nist gaspakart de tatsan	(AUB)
D04	Lui non si e' pettinato i capelli. <i>He did not brush his hair.</i>	is hatSi nist gastrelt is har	(AUB)
D05	Voi non avete lavorato. <i>You all did not work.</i>	Irandre het nist gaarbatat	(AUB)
D06	Non sta piovendo. <i>It is not raining.</i>	is regat nist	(AUB)
D07	Non ha piovuto. <i>It has not rained.</i>	Is hat nist garegat	(AUB)
D08	Non attraversate il ponte! <i>Do not cross the bridge!</i>	nist tse ghian oubar de prukhe	(RDB)
D09	Questo mantello non e' rosso. <i>This shawl is not red.</i>	disan kapot ist nist roat	(AUB)
D10	Non e' rosso questo mantello? <i>Isn't this shawl red?</i>	er ist nist roat disan kapot?	(AUB)
D11	Io non ho nessuna pera. <i>I don't have any (a single) pear.</i>	I han koune pir	(MAR)
D12	"Chi non ha testa, ha gambe." <i>He who doesn't have head, has legs.</i>	dar bo hat niht in koupf hat de tSinke	(AUB)
D13	Nessuna ragazza per bene andrebbe a Verona da sola. <i>No girl of good standing would go to Verona by herself.</i>	koune kitSan bortwatan upiS geatatan ka bearn an'jua	(AUB)
D14	Quello non e' il sole. <i>That is not the sun.</i>	das is nist de zoned	(AUB)
D16	Non fa mica freddo fuori. <i>It is not (at all) cold outside.</i>	is maha mija kalt ausan	(AUB)
D17	Mica fa freddo fuori. <i>It's not cold outside.</i>	is maha mija kalt ausan	(AUB)
D18	Non puo' mica averlo detto a tutti. <i>He really can't have told it to everyone</i>	is mougast nist hen kout in aljan	(AUB)

D21	Mica hai una sigaretta? <i>You don't happen to have a cigarette?</i>	hastu nist eipe tse piparn	(AUB)
D22	Mica e' arrivata Maria? <i>Maria hasn't happened to come yet?</i>	Is I nist nau ken de maria	(AUB)
D23	Non sono mai stato a Verona. <i>I haven't ever been to Verona.</i>	I pi mai gabest ka bern	(AUB)
D24	A nessuno, lo ha detto. <i>To no one, he said it.</i>	in njeman, has kout	(AUB)
D25	Nessuno ha visto niente. <i>Nobody saw anything.</i>	njeman hen gazest nist	(AUB)
D26	Qualcuno ha detto qualcosa. <i>Somebody said something.</i>	in paruas ha kout heaps	(AUB)
D27	Nemmeno Mario si e' fermato ad aiutarci. <i>Not even Mario stopped to help us.</i>	njanka in mario hatSi nist gafermart tse helfanuns	(AUB)
D28	Non c'e' niente qui dentro. <i>There isn't anything in here.</i>	ist a nist inar hiar	(AUB)
D29	Io non ho mai lavorato male. <i>I never worked badly (did a bad job).</i>	I han mai gaarbatat malamente	(AUB)
D30	Dopo l'inverno, non l'ho piu' visto. <i>After the winter, I haven't seen him.</i>	I, pan binte, hast na mear gasest	(AUB)
D31	Anna ha cucinato la polenta senza sale. <i>Anna made the polenta without salt.</i>	de anna ha gamast de pule ante zalts	(AUB)
D32	Invece di andare a tagliare la legna, sono andato per funghi. <i>Instead of going to cut wood, I went to collect mushrooms.</i>	invetSe tse ghjan tse hakan is holts, I pi kan tse fingan au de rozan	(AUB)
D33	Lasciate stare gli animali! <i>Leave the animals alone!</i>	lata twan de zake	(AUB)
D34	Non e' di questo che stiamo parlando. <i>It's not about this that we're talking.</i>	s ist nist un dizane ke de zein na tse rejdän	(AUB)
D35	Anna e' andata al mercato non con Mario, ma con Gianni. <i>Anna went to the market not with Mario, but with Gianni.</i>	de anna is ist kangan tse kofan nist piteme marjo, ma is ist kangan piteme gianni	(AUB)
D36	Non hai bevuto la medicina? <i>You didn't drink the medicine?</i>	du hast nist gatrinkat de medezin	(AUB)
D37	Resto finche' non arriva qualcuno. <i>I'm staying until someone comes.</i>	I ste hia finke nist kent in paruas	(AUB)
D38	Quella favola non mi e' piaciuta affatto. <i>I didn't like that tale at all.</i>	das bo to haspar kout is hapar gakavaljat nist	(AUB)
D39	Maria non ha voluto parlare che con lei. <i>Maria didn't want to speak to anyone but her.</i>	de maria hat gabout reidan taman pita miar	(AUB)
D40	Non ho assolutamente voglia di andare al mercato. <i>I have absolutely no desire to go to the market.</i>	I hasan proprio nist boulje tse ghian in de kirxe	(AUB)
D41	Credo che Gianni non arrivera' tardi. <i>I think that Gianni won't arrive late.</i>	I kjoube ke in giani is ken nist spete	(AUB)
D42	Non credo che Gianni arrivera' tardi. <i>I don't think that Gianni will arrive late.</i>	I kjoube nist in dzani is ken spete	(AUB)

D43	Penso che Mario non sia arrivato, perche' la porta della stalla e' ancora chiusa. <i>I think that Mario has not arrived yet, because the stable door is still closed.</i>	I kjoube ke mario is nist ken, perke de tur ume stajle is naw gasperrt	(AUB)
D44	Non penso che Mario sia arrivato, perche' la porta della stalla e' ancora chiusa. <i>I don't think that Mario has arrived yet, because the stable door is still closed.</i>	I kjoube nist ke mario is ken, perke de tur ume stajle is naw gasperrt	(AUB)
D45	Credo che lui non sia contento. <i>I think that he is not happy.</i>	I kjoube ke is ist nist kontente	(AUB)
D47	Non credo che lui sia contento. <i>I don't think that he is happy.</i>	I kjoube nist ke is ist kontente	(AUB)
D48	Maria ha cantato ma non ha ballato. <i>Mary has sung but she has not danced</i>	de maria ha gazingat ma is ha nist gatanzat	(AUB)
D49	Maria non ha cantato e non ha ballato. <i>Mary has not sung and has not danced</i>	de maria ha nist gazingat un ha njanka gatanzat	(AUB)
D50	Maria non ha cantato ma ha ballato. <i>Mary has not sung but has danced.</i>	de maria ha nist gazingat ma is ha gatantsat	(AUB)
D51	La pera non e' piccola, ma invece grossa! <i>The pear isn't small, but rather big!</i>	de pir ist nist kjain ma zist groas	(AUB)
D52	Io non voglio ne' te' ne' caffe'. <i>I don't want neither tea nor coffee.</i>	I bi nist ne iz bassar un ne in bain	(AUB)
D53	Non lo ha detto a nessuno. <i>He didn't tell it to anyone.</i>	I has kout in njeman	(AUB)
D54	Non voglio piu' niente. <i>I don't want anything anymore.</i>	I bi na mear nist	(AUB)
D55	Non ho mai visto niente di simile. <i>I never saw anything of the sort.</i>	I han mai gazest nist asow	(AUB)
D56	Mario non ha parlato di niente con nessuno. <i>Mario didn't tell anyone anything.</i>	in mario ha nist gareit un nisteme un pi njeman	(AUB)
D57	Mia sorella e' andata a Verona. <i>My sister went to Verona.</i>	mai svejstar is kangan ka bearn	(AUB)
D58	Ho dato un osso al tuo cane. <i>I gave a bone to your dog.</i>	I han get a puan in dajme hunte	(AUB)
D59	Il tuo bicchiere e' rotto. <i>Your glass is broken.</i>	Dai tatse ist gaspakart	(AUB)
E01	Il mio fiore preferito e' il rododendro. <i>My favorite flower is the rhododendron.</i>	de roase bo kavaljapar meru is zajn de lotar	(AUB)
E02	Al mercato ho visto un ragazzo giovane e alto. <i>At the market I saw a young and tall youth.</i>	ka ljetzan un pjats han gazest an brake djunk un hoah	(AUB)
E03	Mio fratello stupidotto ha venduto le sue pecore. <i>My dumb brother sold his sheep.</i>	mai pruodar nist djuste ha borkost alje de Sah	(AUB)
E04	Il mugnaio ha comprato una macina nuova. <i>The miller bought a new millstone.</i>	in muljar ha kost eipas nauh	(AUB)

E05	Tutte le ragazze sono andate al mercato. <i>All the girls went to the market.</i>	alje de kitSan zain kannan in de kirxe	(AUB)
E06	Le ragazze sono tutte andate al mercato. <i>The girls all went to the market.</i>	de kitSan zain kannan alje in de kirxe	(AUB)
E07	Questo e' un vecchio tavolo basso. <i>This is an old low table.</i>	ditsa ist an altan tiS bassut	(AUB)
E08	Quella e' una bianca candela consumata. <i>That is a white burnt-out candle.</i>	dau ist a baissa kertse gaprant	(AUB)
E09	Quello e' il falegname piu' bravo del paese. <i>That is the best carpenter of the village</i>	das ist de maurar mer bravut un ljetzan	(AUB)
E10	Questo e' il mio orticello. <i>This is my little vegetable-garden.</i>	ditsa ist main gertlja	(AUB)
E11	Questo e' mio figlio maggiore. <i>This is my oldest son.</i>	diza ist mai zon mear alt	(AUB)
E12	Ho raccolto un mazzo di fiori rossi per la mamma. <i>I gathered a bouquet of red flowers for mom.</i>	I han vuntat au an mats roazan roat fur main muotar	(AUB)
E13	Mario ha sposato una bella ragazza di Badia. <i>Mario married a pretty girl from Badia.</i>	in marjo ha gamegalt an Sona kitSe um abato	(AUB)
E14	Il nuovo prete e' un uomo grande e grosso. <i>The new priest is a big and fat man.</i>	de nauge pfaffe ist an man hoah un groas	(AUB)
E15	La sarta mi ha cucito un paio di pantaloni verdi. <i>The tailor (f) made me a pair of green trousers.</i>	de Snaiderin hat gafikjat a prwah gruan	(AUB)
E16	Vorrei un bicchiere di vino bianco. <i>I would like a glass of white wine.</i>	I bi an tatse bajsan bain	(AUB)
E17	Non posso tagliare la legna con una vecchia ascia arrugginita. <i>I can't cut the wood with an old rusty Axe.</i>	I mouge nist hakan is holts pit me pai alt un rowstak	(AUB)
E18	Il falegname ci ha costruito un tavolo di legno nuovo per la cucina. <i>The carpenter built us a new wooden table for the kitchen.</i>	in man hat uns gamast an tiS nauk pi holtz for me hause	(AUB)
E19	Ho preso dell'agrifoglio dai boschi sul sengio rosso. <i>I took some holly from the woods on the Red Rock.</i>	I pi kangan tse len iz gras ime roate bant	(AUB)
E20	Non trovo piu' il coltello da pane! <i>I can't find the bread knife anymore!</i>	I vinge na mear is mejser tse hakan is proat	(AUB)
E21	Mario ha una nuova camicia di cotone azzurra. <i>Mario has a new blue cotton shirt.</i>	in marjo hat a nawgas heimade pi boulje gel	(AUB)
E22	Ho rammendato l'asciugamano bianco. <i>I darned (sewed-up) the white towel.</i>	I han gafinkat is trukanhotse bais	(AUB)

E23	La mamma ha preparato una torta di mele. <i>Mom prepared an apple cake.</i>	de muotar ha gamast de voukatse pit anj oupfil	(AUB)
E24	Sono andato a vedere la caverna dell'orco. <i>I went to see the ogre's cave.</i>	I pi kan tse zegan is louh ume tajval	(AUB)
E25	La pecora con l'orecchio ed il codino nero ha saltato lo staccato. <i>The sheep with the black ear and tail jumped over the fence.</i>	d oube pitar oar ut is sbentsla Sbarts ha gaspringat de mandar	(RDB)
E26	Il bicchiere con il fiorellino giallo disegnato sopra e' crepato. <i>The glass with the yellow flower drawn on it is cracked.</i>	de tatse piteme ghele roasana is gakjebat	(RDB)
E27	La mamma ha tagliato una fetta dell'arrosto cucinato ieri. <i>Mom cut a slice of the roast cooked yesterday.</i>	de muotar ha gahakat a snitte prate mo si ha gazoutat gheistar	(RDB)
E28	Ho aggiustato la porta della gabbia del coniglio dello zio di Gianni. <i>I fixed the door of the cage of rabbit of Gianni's uncle. (I fixed Gianni's uncle's rabbit's cage-door)</i>	I han garistat de turla unar gebje ome vomise haze ome barba dzani	(RDB)
F02	Dove vai? <i>Where are you going?</i>	bo ghes to?	(AUB)
F03	Dove e' Gianni? E' in giardino. <i>Where is Gianni? He's in the garden</i>	bo is giani is ist ime houfe	(AUB)
F04	Qual'e' il tuo colore preferito? <i>What is your favorite color?</i>	beljes is el color vo de kavaljatar meru	(AUB)
F05	Quando vai a lavorare? <i>When are you going to work?</i>	benje gheas-to ts'arbatan	(AUB)
F06	Con chi sei andato a prendere i funghi ieri? <i>With whom did you go get mushrooms yesterday?</i>	pit beme bist kan tse len de snekan gheistar	(AUB)
F07	Di chi e' questo cane? <i>Whose is this dog?</i>	in beme istar dizan hunt	(AUB)
F08	Con cosa prendi i topi? <i>With what do you catch mice?</i>	pi pa vangas-to de mause	(AUB)
F09	Da dove vieni tu? <i>Where do you come from?</i>	da bo kisto du	(AUB)
F10	Con quale attrezzo si taglia la legna? <i>With what tool does one cut wood?</i>	ba bida tse hakan is holts	(AUB)
F11	Lo hai visto? <i>Did you see him?</i>	hastu is gazest	(AUB)
F12	Li hai visti? <i>Did you see them?</i>	hastu ze gazest	(AUB)
F13	Me lo dai? <i>Will you give it to me?</i>	ghes tu mar s	(AUB)
F14	Hai comprato ancora vino bianco? <i>Did you buy more white wine?</i>	hastu kost naw bajsan bain?	(AUB)
F15	Nevichera' domani? <i>Will it snow tomorrow?</i>	snaibat 's morgan	(AUB)

F16	Ho portato un fiore alla ragazza e lei mi ha ringraziato. <i>I brought a flower to the girl and she thanked me.</i>	I han gatrat a roaze de kitSe un is hapi gabozat	(AUB)
F17	Abbiamo aiutato il fornaio a portare la farina e lui ci ha regalato un panino. <i>We helped the baker carry the flower And he gave us a bread roll.</i>	bar hin gahest tse tragan iz boza mel un is ha uns get an tSelte proat	(AUB)
F18	Ho preso dell'acqua dal fiume, ma mi si e' rovesciata addosso durante il percorso verso casa. <i>I took some water from the river, but it spilled on me during the way home.</i>	I han galont iz bassar in pah, un benji piga kert I han mi aljes borneitsat	(AUB)
F19	Il cane ha morso il gatto. <i>The dog bit the cat.</i>	in hunt ha gapaist de katse	(AUB)
F20	Il gatto, lo ha morso il cane. <i>The cat, the dog bit him.</i>	de katse hatSe gapaitsat in hunt	(CRN)
F21	Il gatto e' stato morso dal cane. <i>The cat was bitten by the dog.</i>	de katse ist gabest gapaist ume hunte	(AUB)
F22	Il ghiaccio si e' sciolto. <i>The ice melted.</i>	is ais hatSi gadarmast	(AUB)
F23	La barca e' affondata. <i>The boat sunk.</i>	de tSikal is kangan untar bassar	(AUB)
F24	Ho sparato al lupo. <i>I shot at the wolf.</i>	I han gaSiaSt ime vokse	(AUB)
F25	Gianni ama Maria. <i>Gianni loves Maria.</i>	in dzani bi bou in dar maria	(AUB)
F26	Anna non e' capace di fare il pane. <i>Anna isn't able to make bread.</i>	de anna is nist guat tse mahan is proat	(AUB)
F27	Gianni si e' perso nel bosco. <i>Gianni lost himself in the wood.</i>	in dzani hatSi fiort ime balt	(AUB)
F28	Il prete ha sgridato i bambini che facevano rumore in chiesa. <i>The priest scolded the children that made noise in church.</i>	in pfaffe ha koutau in hajar perke zin gareit in de kirxe	(AUB)
F29	Che tempo fara' domani? <i>What will the weather be like tomorrow?</i>	bat a tsait mahat-s morgan	(AUB)
F30	Gianni ha scommesso alle corse e ha perso dei soldi. <i>Gianni bet at the races and lost some money.</i>	In dzani is ha gaskommejart tse springan ma is a fjort de markitan	(AUB)
F31	Maria non trova piu' il suo cappellino. <i>Maria can't find her hat anymore.</i>	maria vinga na mear zain hutla	(RDB)
F32	Io sono stato battuto da te. <i>I was beat by you.</i>	I pi gabest gamekart un dir	(RDB)
F33	Ieri ho incontrato il nuovo parroco. <i>Yesterday I met the new priest.</i>	gheistar I han gabokhet der nauge pfafe	(RDB)
F34	Lei si marito' di nuovo. <i>She married (husbanded) again.</i>	zi hatSi bidar gamannat	(RDB)
F35	Io vedo un uccello che vola. <i>I see a bird that flies.</i>	I zege an vougal bo snorat	(RDB)
F36	Io vedo delle mucche che mangiano erba. <i>I see some cows that eat grass.</i>	I zege a bene kue bo eitsan is gras	(RDB)

F37	Tu sei un uomo che ha fame. <i>You are a man that is hungry.</i>	du pist an man bo vungart	(RDB)
F38	Tu stai dicendo una bugia, perche' sei diventata rossa. <i>You are telling a lie, because you turned red.</i>	du pist na tse logan mo du roatast in bangan	(RDB)
F39	Loro bevono un bicchiere d'acqua perche' hanno sete. <i>They are drinking a glass of water because they are thirsty.</i>	zandre trinkan a tatse bassar mo ze durstan	(RDB)
F40	Noi dobbiamo andare a casa perche' e' tardi. <i>We should go home because it is late.</i>	bar mussan ghien huan mo is ist spete	(RDB)
F41	Loro tagliano la legna per riscaldarsi. <i>They cut wood to warm themselves.</i>	zandre hakan is holts mo ze mussasi berman	(RDB)
F42	Loro dicono che sono stanchi. <i>They say they are tired.</i>	zandre koun ke ze zain muode	(AMB)
F43	Voi vedete che la polenta e' cotta. <i>You all see that the polenta is cooked.</i>	iar segat ke de pulte is gazoutat	(AMB)
F44	Non si deve perdere tempo. <i>One should not waste time.</i>	mus-ma nist fjesan tsait	(AMB)
F45	Stanotte noi beviamo il latte caldo. <i>Tonight we drink warm milk.</i>	haint barandre trinkan de milah barme	(AMB)
F47	Nel focolare le donne hanno messo il mangiare. <i>In the fireplace, the women have put the food.</i>	ime heart de baiber hen galeit is gheissat	(AMB)
F48	Nel focolare io ho messo il mangiare. <i>In the fireplace, I have put the food.</i>	ime heart I han galeit is gheissat	(AMB)