A binary system of complementizers
in Cimbrian relative clauses

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Abstract

The system of Cimbrian relative clauses manifests itself in a complex scenario: two different complementizers occur in this context: i) the 'autochthonous' (Germanic) *bo*, cognate of Southern German *wo,* and ii) the 'allochthonous' *ke*, borrowed from Italian (*che*), which is gradually spreading. In our paper we provide empirical evidence for a crucial specialization of both complementizers: the former shows up only in restrictive relative clauses, the latter in both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives, giving rise to a binary system. In our analysis we aim to explain the binary system of Cimbrian relative complementizers directly addressing the general discussion about relative clauses, showing once more the relevance of both linguistic contact and microvariation for the theory of grammar.

Introduction[1]

Cimbrian is a minority language spoken in the area between the Province of Trento and the Veneto Region in Northeast Italy. It belongs to the group of Southern Bavarian-Austrian dialects. According to the traditional view, the first settlements of Southern German people in this area of Northern Italy occurred during the 11th Century (cf. Bidese 2004): Cimbrian has been isolated ever since from the Southern Bavarian-Austrian varieties, still, it has preserved

morpho(no)logical features in common with its medieval cognate languages (cf. among others Kranzmayer [1923] 1981–1985; Panieri 2008, 2010). Moreover, several syntactic features of Cimbrian have developed possibly under the influence of the Romance local varieties and Standard Italian (cf. Bidese/Tomaselli 2007; Bidese 2008). Nowadays, the three major varieties of Cimbrian are spoken in Luserna-Lusérn in the Province of Trento; in the so-called area of the *Tredici Comuni* (lit. "Thirteen Municipalities") in the Province of Verona (where Cimbrian is spoken in the village of Ljetzan-Giazza only); in the so-called area of the *Sette Comuni* (lit. "Seven Municipalities") close to Asiago in the Province of Vicenza (where only few speakers of Cimbrian are found in the village of Robaan-Roana. This paper focuses on the Cimbrian variety of Luserna, since the actual number of fluent speakers is still high in this village. Moreover, all the measures taken by the local government to endorse language planning make this variety the most fruitful to investigate.

As regards the main point of this paper, traditional grammatical descriptions[2] of Luserna Cimbrian have pointed out that the system of relative clauses (RC) manifests itself in a complex scenario. Even if Cimbrian disposes of just one relative complementizer, i.e. *bo* – the cognate of Southern German *wo* (for details on Bavarian, cf. Bayer 1984) – nevertheless this invariable form must co-occur with weak elements (either weak pronouns or the invariable particle *da*) in a non-trivial way.

Furthermore, Cimbrian displays a manifold, contact-induced condition w.r.t. relative clauses, since the invariant form *ke* (borrowed from Italian) can also show up, alternating with *bo* and acquiring a dedicated function as non-restrictive relative complementizer, as we will see.

The aim of this paper is twofold: (i) to provide evidence for a binary system of Cimbrian relative clauses (restrictive vs. non-restrictive) which has been hitherto neglected, to say the least; (ii) to provide an adequate analysis of this split.

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[2]Bacher (1905); Tyroller (2003); Panieri et al. (2006).

As for the structure of the paper, restrictive RCs are described in paragraph 1. Paragraph 2 is devoted to non-restrictive RCs. In paragraph 3 we propose an analysis of the phenomena taken into account in terms of (i) the different syntactic position of *bo* and *ke* and (ii) the specialization of *ke* for non-restrictive RCs showing in which way Cimbrian data contribute to the general discussion about the structure of RCs. In paragraph 4. we resemble the dichotomy between *bo* and *ke* in the Cimbrian relatives to the opposition *az* vs. *ke* in the declarative clauses as showed by Grewendorf/Poletto (2011) and Padovan (2011) proposing a similar analysis for both phenomena.

1. Restrictive relative clauses (RRs)

RRs behave differently with respect to the syntactic function (subject vs. object) of the relative element *bo*.

Let us consider **subject relatives** first: in this case, *bo* must always co-occur with the enclitic particle *-da*[3]. Therefore, we find the invariable complex form *bo-da,* used both for singular and plural reference[4]:

(1) a dar libar **bo**-*da* redet vo Lusérn ist vil interessånt

   b *dar libar **bo** redet vo Lusérn ist vil interessånt

      the book THAT tells about L. is very interesting

      (the book dealing with L. is very interesting)

   c di månnen **bo**-*da* arbatn in balt soin tschelln von Mario[5]

   d *di månnen **bo** arbatn in balt soin tschelln von Mario

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[3] *Da* is a polysemous element in Cimbrian: (i) it has a locative meaning, 'there'; (ii) is an allomorph of the III person plural tonic (/demonstrative) pronoun *se* 'they'/'these' and (iii) it shows up along with both relative and declarative complementizers. See Kolmer (2005) for a first analysis of the different functions of *-da*.

[4] All examples – except for those taken from Panieri et al. (2006) – come from the questionnaires we administered to our excellent Cimbrian consultants. Heartfelt thanks to Andrea and Luisa Nicolussi Golo, Adelia Nicolussi Baiz and Gisella Nicolussi.

[5] According to a recently introduced spelling reform, we use the grapheme <å> to indicate /ɔ/.

the men, THAT work in wood are friends of Mario

(the men working in the wood are Mario's friends)

Formally: (bo-da)$_{subj}$ V$_{fin}$/ *bo$_{subj}$ V$_{fin}$

Object relatives display a twofold behavior as regards the presence of *-da*: as a matter of fact, *-da* is obligatory if the internal subject is a full DP, see examples under (2):

(2) a   'z proat, **bo-***da* hatt gekhoaft dar nono...

     b   *'z proat, **bo** hatt gekhoaft dar nono

          the bread THAT has bought the grandpa

          (the bread that grandpa bought)

     c   di libardar **bo**-*da* lest dar Mario...

     d   *di libardar **bo** lest dar Mario...

          the books THAT the M. reads

Formally, (bo-da)$_{obj}$ V$_{fin}$ DP$_{subj}$ / *bo$_{obj}$ V$_{fin}$ DP$_{subj}$

Notice incidentally that the post-verbal position of subjects is the unmarked one, the pre-verbal being connected with a contrastive Focus reading:

(3) a   'z proat, **bo-***da* DAR NONO hatt gekhoaft (nètt di nona)...

          the bread THAT the grandpa has bought (not the grandma)

     b   di libardar **bo-***da* DAR MARIO lest (nètt dar Gianni)...

          the books that the M. reads (not the G.)

At any rate, the syntax of *bo-da* is not affected by the particular position of a subject DP.

On the contrary, if the subject is expressed by a pronoun, it must be enclitic onto *bo-*, the cooccurrence of *-da* definitely degrading the sentence:

(4) a 'z baibe **bo**-*bar* håm gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario

   b *'z baibe **bo**-*da-bar* håm gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario

       the woman *bo-WE* have greeted is the mother of M.

       (the woman we greeted is M.'s mother)

   c di turtn **bo**-*se* macht soin guat

   d *di turtn **bo**-*da-se* macht soin guat

       the cakes *bo-SHE* makes are good

       (the cakes she cooks are delicious)

Formally, bo$_{obj}$-Pron$_{Subj}$ V$_{fin}$/*(bo-da)$_{obj}$-Pron$_{Subj}$ V$_{fin}$

Finally, **ditransitive constructions** prove to be the trickiest ones: in fact, if the subject is a full DP occurring post-verbally – which is the most natural position, as we have seen in (2) – *-da* can, but need not, cooccur with *bo*:

(5) a 'z proat, **bo**-*da-mar* hatt gètt *dar nono* …

   b 'z proat, **bo**-*mar* hatt gètt *dar nono* … [Panieri et al. 2006:344]

       the bread *bo-(da)-to:me* has given the grandpa …

       (the bread that grandpa gave me …)

In case of contrastive Focus – which implies the preverbal position of the subject DP (cf. 3) – indirect object pronouns may also occur lower, in enclisis onto the finite verb: in this case, *-da* turns out to be obligatory again:

(6) a 'z proat, **bo**-*da* DAR NONO hatt-*mar* gètt …

   b *'z proat, **bo** DAR NONO hatt-*mar* gètt …

       the bread THAT the grandpa has-to:me given …

Formally, bo$_{obj}$-(da)-Pron$_{IO}$ V$_{fin}$ NP$_{subj}$ or bo$_{obj}$-da NP$_{subj}$-(FOC) V$_{fin}$-Pron$_{IO}$

To sum up, it seems that Cimbrian RRs show the following properties:

i) the complementizer that introduces RRs is always "complex" being made of an invariable element "*bo-*" and a referential element (either *-da* or a subject pronoun) cf. *bo-da* vs. *bo-bar* (or optionally *bo-mar*), but *bo* alone can never introduce a RR.

ii) the expletive element *-da* is clearly connected with the lower subject position forming a chain with it.

2. Non-restrictive relative clauses (NRRs)

Cimbrian NRRs can be introduced either by *bo-* (much in the same way as RRs, the distribution of *-da* w.r.t. *bo-* being the same) or – crucially – by *ke* both in subject and in object relatives (cf. examples 7 through 9 below).

As far as the alternation between *bo-da* and *ke* in NRRs is concerned, a sociolinguistic observation is in order here: when asked about their own insight into current aspects of Cimbrian language, older fluent speakers usually consider the use of the "Italian" complementizer *ke* as a sign of sloppy, juvenile style. In fact, these speakers are likely to prefer *bo-* despite the fact that *ke* has been fully integrated in the complementizer system for more than a century (as of 1905 – when Bacher gathered and published Cimbrian oral tales – the use of *ke* was already widespread). Conversely, younger fluent speakers spontaneously use *ke* alternating with *bo*, proving thus that younger generations of speakers feel "more comfortable" inside a binary system of relative clauses that has been showing signs of emergence for more than a century. In what follows, we go into the data concentrating in particular on *ke*-constructions: we put deliberately aside the parallel constructions with *bo-da* for the moment.

The most striking feature in the usage of *ke* lies in the fact that this comple-mentizer is a stand-alone element, the cooccurrence with *-da* being ungrammatical. Recall that in RRs introduced by *bo-*, *-da* is obligatory with subject relatives and object relatives with full DP subjects. Conversely, in non-

restrictive contexts this particle is totally out along with *ke* (cf. 7a-b and 8a-b):

(7) a dar Mario, **ke** z'iz a guatz mentsch, khinnt pitt üs

the M. WHO it is a good person comes with us

   b *dar Mario, **ke**-*da* iz a guatz mentsch, khinnt pitt üs

the M. WHO-*da* is a good person comes with us

(Mario, who is a nice guy, is coming along)

(8) a di lusernar, **ke** dar vorsitzar khenntze alle, soin guate laüt

the people from L. WHOM the president knows them all, are good

people

   b *di lusernar, **ke**-*da* dar vorsitzar khenntze alle, soin guate laüt

the people from L. WHOM-*da* the president knows them all, are

good people

(the inhabitants of L., whom the president all knows, are nice)

As *ke* refuses to incorporate *-da*, we expect that even weak pronouns are excluded in the same way. In fact, this is precisely what we find: if the subject is expressed by a pronoun, it has to be a strong one (cf. 9a) the clitic form being excluded (cf. 9b):

(9) a di Lusernar **ke** *biar* khennen se alle soin guate laüt

the people from L. WHOM we know all, are good people

   b *di Lusernar **ke**-*bar* khennen se alle, soin guate laüt

the people from L. WHOM-*we* know all, are good people

(the inhabitants of L., whom we know, are nice)

Now, the fact that *ke* cannot incorporate either *-da* or weak pronouns whereas *bo* can in both case, is crucially relevant to determine the syntactic nature of the

two complementizers: on the one hand, *bo-* seeks for an element to agree with, on the other hand, *ke* seems not to need a matching element. In the next paragraph, we give a detailed analysis of this dichotomy.

One last diverging aspect in the usage of *bo-da* and *ke* consists in the different word order triggered by either: *bo-da* gives rise to the typical Germanic asymmetry between matrix and subordinate word orders, like the one found in the Scandinavian languages.[6] *Ke* just triggers matrix word order as shown in the following examples where the negation and weak object pronoun appear post-verbally in the same fashion as in matrix clauses (cf. 10-11):

(10)   du, **ke** du boast *nicht* söllast sbaing!

      You ke you know nothing should shut up

      (you, who know nothing, should shut up!)

(11)   Di Ingrid **ke** du kennst *se* (du o) iz sa vortgånt

      the I. ke you know *her* (you also) is already away-gone

      (Ingrid, whom you've met too, has already left)

This fact is confirmed by the comparison with the same utterances provided by those consultants who alternate *bo-da* and *ke* in NRRs.

(12)   du, **bo**-do *nicht* boast söllast sbaing!

(13)   Di Ingrid **bo**-do kennst (du o) iz sa vortgånt

To sum up, as regards the difference between the two types of relative clauses, it must be emphasized that in Cimbrian the presence of *ke* in RRs is totally out, whereas the occurrence of *ke* alternating with *bo-da* is possible – and in some case even better – in NRRs. Moreover, as examples (10-11) already point out, *ke*

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[6] Cf. Grewendorf/Poletto (2005) and Bidese/Cognola/Padovan (2012).

and *bo-* trigger two different word orders w.r.t. negation and weak pronouns. As we will see in the next paragraph, this fact suggests that the two complementizers are merged in different positions and have a different internal structure.

3. Analysis

As already pointed out at the end of the preceding chapter, the differences between *bo-da* and *ke* could be summarized as follows:

a) Verb movement: *ke* triggers matrix clause word order i.e. [*ke* NP$_{Subj}$ **V$_{fin}$** - Cl$_{Obj}$ (Neg.) (Adv.)]: this implies that – in the same way as in matrix clauses – there is V-movement to a low C projection, whereas *bo-* forces the verb to stay in a lower T position (i.e. no V-to-C movement), [*bo-da* (Neg.) (Adv.) **V$_{fin}$**]. This word order maintains the well-known Germanic asymmetry between matrix and embedded clause.

b) Clitics: *ke* is an unsuitable landing site for clitics differently from *bo-* in RRs; this suggests that *ke* occupies a position higher than *bo-*.

c) Distribution of features: *ke* is opaque to matching relations as it is presumably not endowed with Φ-features. Possibly, this is the reason why the antecedent (head of the RC) has to be resumed by a personal pronoun in its thematic position (cf. 10–11).

3.1 *Bo-*

Let us now get into the details of our analysis. First of all, recall that *bo-* is a WH- word primarily meaning 'where' and is always interpreted as such when it shows up in isolation (*Bo?*= 'where?').

Differently from its WH- counterpart, which binds a variable to receive interpretation, relative *bo-* is endowed with an uninterpretable D feature (where [D] simply stands for $u\Phi$) and consequently acts as a probe seeking an element (crucially, a pronominal one) to check its unvalued Φ-features against. If we

assume that *-da* represents the prototypical *i*Φ goal (*i*Φ being the D feature which *bo-* looks for), the obligatory presence of either *-da* or the weak pronoun immediately follows.

Now, the next issue to be addressed concerns what *-da* and subject pronouns have in common.

Going back to the actual features that *-da* is endowed with, we assume *-da* to be underspecified w.r.t. personal pronouns:

(14)   a   *-da*   [**D**; +Case$_{(Nom)}$]

        b   personal pronoun [**D**; +Case; +Person; +Number]

Given this hypothesis, *-da* and clitic subject pronouns share exactly the feature required to satisfy the matching relation with *bo-*.[7]

Bo- searches for a [D] goal in the lower phase: the first element it finds on its way down is the subject pronoun in complementary distribution with expletive *-da*. In ditransitive constructions, there is one more goal available, namely the indirect object pronoun, that we take to occur in a lower position within the clitic layer.

Thus, what we propose under (15) explains why in relatives with a post (or pre)-verbal full DP subject *-da* must be present: (i) since it represents a goal for the *u*Φ of *bo-* and (ii) it enters a chain with the subject VP-internal position.

The hierarchy we propose can be represented as follows:

(15a) [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$ *bo-* [$_{ClP1}$ *-da$_i$/-bar* [$_{ClP2\ IndirObj}$ *-mar*...]]]]...[$_{VP}$ [$_{Subj.\ VP\text{-int.\ position}}$ DP$_i$]][8]

Our analysis in (15a) can be graphically represented as in (15b).

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[7] See Bidese (2008) and (2011) for a similar proposal concerning a D feature to be thought of as a 'deictic' or 'referential' characterization.

[8] All elements given in (15) – *da, bar, me* and *mar* – are not supposed to occur in the same sentence; they just instantiate a clitic of their class.

(15b)

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        CP
       /  \
     …     C'
          /  \
        bo-   ClP1
             /   \
      -da_i/-bar⁹  ClP2          ⌐ 
                  /   \          |
               -mar    …         ⊢ Wackernagel-position
                      /  \       |
                     VP          ⌐
                    /  \
            DP_(Nom)I   …
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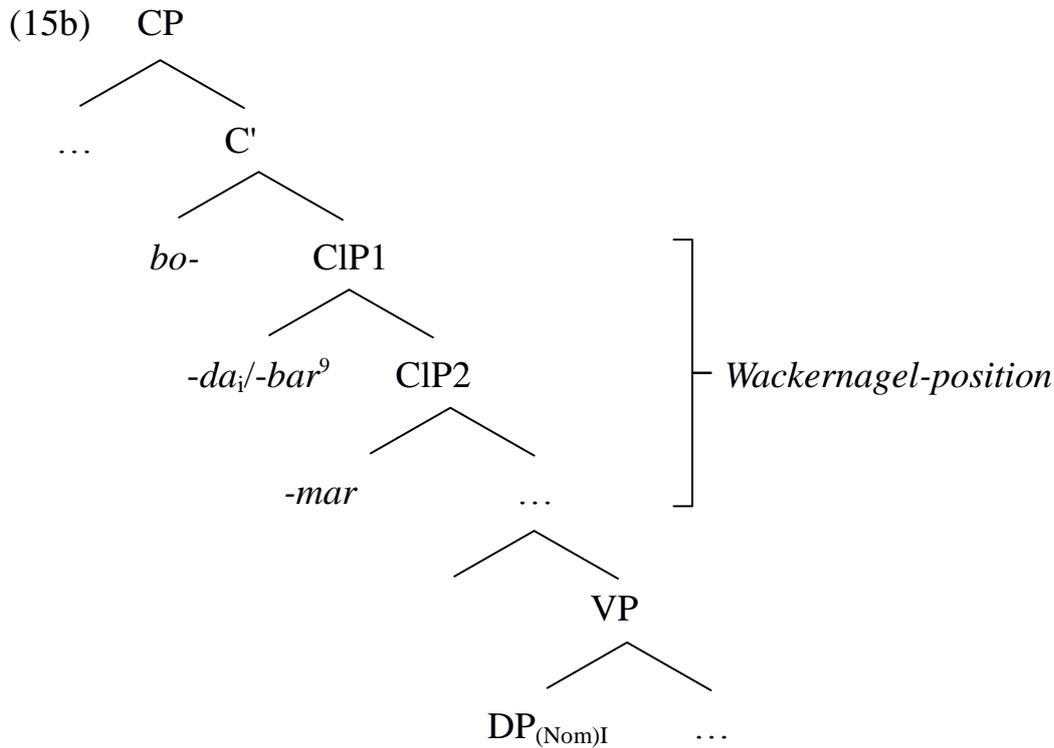
The analysis in (15) clearly implies that full subject DPs never represent a suitable goal for *bo-*: VP-internal subjects are too low, whereas DP subjects in preverbal position are always interpreted as Foci in Cimbrian relative clauses, (see examples 3 and 5 above) and hence are opaque occupying an A'-position.

Cimbrian data seems to confirm Haegeman/van Koppen's (2012:450, fn. 12) suggestion that both C^0 and T^0 are endowed with Φ-features probing for the subject (cf. also Carstens 2003). Moreover, the obligatory occurrence of Cimbrian *-da* (when the DP subject occurs in a lower VP position, i.e. is 'out of reach') constitutes indirect evidence for the presence of what they call 'high agreement'. In the context of the present article we cannot discuss these subjects leaving them for further examinations.

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[9] The hypothesis that *-da* occupies the same position as clitic subjects is not crucial here; the alternative assumption that *bo+da* is directly base-generated in C^0 does not compromise our analysis.

3.2 *Ke*

As we have seen, *ke* does not trigger a different word order in subordinate clauses (cf. 10–11 above and 16–17 below): this leads to the immediate conclusion that it is merged in a different position w.r.t. *bo-*.

Sticking to the fact that the dichotomy *bo* vs. *ke* mirrors the dichotomy *az* vs. *ke* in subordinate declarative clauses (cf. the chapter 4 below), we take relative *ke* to show up in the same position of declarative *ke*. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that both declarative *ke* and relative *ke* are to be analyzed as generalized subordinators. Following Grewendorf/Poletto's (2011) path, we take *ke* to be merged in the topmost C position, dubbed Subord(inator)P, hosting subordinating elements, crucially different from clause-typers:

$$[\text{SubordP } \textit{ke} \; [\ldots \; [\text{FinP } [\text{Fin}^0 \; V_{\text{fin}} \; [\text{TP}\ldots] \; \text{VP}]]]]^{[10]}$$

(16) a   dar Mario, **bo**-*da* iz a guatz mentsch, khinnt pitt üs
           the M. *bo-da* is a good man comes with us

     b   dar Mario, **ke** *z'*iz a guatz mensch, khimmt pitt üs
           he M. ke it-is a good person comes with us
           (Mario, who is a nice guy, is coming along)

(17) a   Di belesan **bo**-*da* trinkhan vil bira gevaln-mar
           the Italians *bo-da* drink lots-of beer indulge me
           (I like the Italians that-who drink a lot of beer) (ambiguous)

     b   Di belesan **ke** *se* o trinkhan vil bira gevaln-mar
           The Italians, *ke* they also drink lot of beer indulge me
           (I like the Italians, who also drink a lot of beer) (strictly NRR)

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[10] Independently from different hypotheses on the internal structure of CP, what matters for us is the assumption that *ke* realizes the topmost CP layer whereas *bo* realizes a position within FinP.

3.3 Two different derivations for Cimbrian RCs

The alternative choice between two different "types" of relative complementizers is not peculiar to Cimbrian syntax only, even if in this variety it is reinforced by the obvious fact that just one of them belongs to the German lexicon (*bo = wo*) while the other is borrowed from Italian (*ke = che*). Recall the differences between *who/that* in English (cf. 18, Comrie 1999) or *che/il quale* in Italian (cf. 19):

(18)　a　　The boy **who / that** collects stamps is sick

　　　b　　Peter, **who / *that** collects stamps, is sick[11]

(19)　a　　Il ragazzo **che / *il quale** colleziona francobolli è malato

　　　b　　Pietro, **il quale / che** colleziona francobolli, è malato

The fact that English *that* cannot be used in non-restrictive contexts (cf. 18b) and, on the other hand, that Italian *il quale* is restricted just to this context (cf. 19a) seems to suggest i) that the alternative choice between the two classes of relative complementizers is due to the different type of relative clause and ii) that the occurrence of both English *who* (the WH-type) and Italian *il quale* pertains to NRR clauses.

As a consequence, Cimbrian data does not represent such a 'wired' constellation as it could seem at a first glance. Rather, on the contrary, it enters directly the actual debate on the structure of RCs.

As recently proposed by Resi (2011) the opposition between the Movement Analysis (*Head Raising Analysis*) *a la* Kayne[12] and the Adjunction Analysis

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[11] Moreover, it is well-known that the complementizer *that* in (18a) can be elided, when it is not the subject of the relative verb, while *who* in (18b) cannot (cf. Comrie 1999:81):
(1)a　　The boy, **(that)** I gave my book to, is sick
　　b　　Peter, **whom** I gave my book to, is sick
[12] Cf. Kayne (1994) and more recently Cinque (2008).

(*Matching Analysis*) , newly reinterpreted as *Late Merge Hypothesis*[13], finds a reasonable solution assuming that the former represents the proper analysis for RRs, while the latter is more appropriate for NRRs, offering a straightforward explanation of some of the syntactic differences of NRRs such as: i) the non-deletability of the relative complementizer *who* in English (cf. the footnote 12), ii) the adjacency requirement between antecedent and NRRs in Standard German[14] and iii) the binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian RCs and their different syntax (cf. the contrast between *bo-* and *ke* as summed up in 3)[15].

In particular, the accuracy of the solution proposed by Resi (2011) is directly evidenced by two phenomena rising from Cimbrian data, namely a) the occurrence of the expletive particle *-da* in subject RRs and b) the restriction of the complementizer *ke* on NRRs only.

As shown in § 1, Cimbrian subject RRs require the occurrence of the particle *-da* encliticized to the relative element *bo-* (cf. above 1a, repeated here as 20):

(20)   dar libar **bo**-*da* redet vo Lusérn ist vil interessånt

the book THAT tells about L. is very interesting

(the book dealing with L. is very interesting)

According to the *Head Raising Analysis*, the subject NP *libar* has to be interpreted as an internal head, generated inside of the VP of the relative clause and moved to a SpecCP position, assuming RRs to be in fact CPs selected by an

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[13] Cf., among others, Chomsky (1965), Sauerland (1998), Fox/Niessenbaum (2000); for further literature concerning these two approaches see Resi (2011).

[14] For the adjacency requirement in Standard German, data are subtler and more controversial and could be exemplified as follows (cf. for the discussion Resi 2011):

(2)a   Nur Studenten haben mit dem Professor gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden haben (*RRs*)

b   ?*Karin hat mit dem Professor gesprochen, die die Prüfung nicht bestanden hat (*NRRs*)

[15] The hypothesis that RRs and NRRs imply different structural derivations has been already proposed even if in a slightly different approach by Platzack (2000), who assumes that the head of the RC (the antecedent) occupies N^0 in RRs and SpecNP in NRRs.

external D^0 (in 20 *dar*) as complements (cf. Resi 2011: 94):

(21) [$_{D°}$ dar [$_{CP}$[$_{NP}$ *libar*] [$_{C'}$ bo-da$_i$ [$_{VP}$[t$_{NP}$]$_i$ redet vo Lusérn]]]]] ist vil interessånt
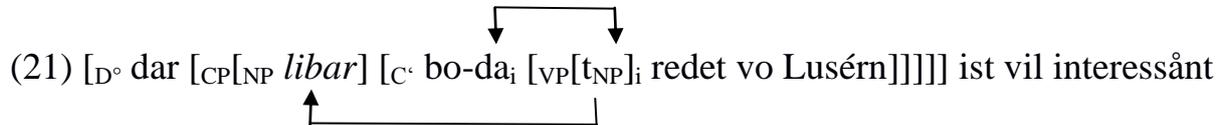
The Cimbrian sentence crucially requires the presence of *-da* which forms a chain with the VP-internal trace of the raised NP, providing, in this way, direct evidence for the main assumption of the *Head Raising Analysis* w.r.t. the structure of the RRs.

Of course, when the raised element is an object, as is the case of object RRs, the NP subject remains in its lower position forming a chain with *-da*:

(22)   [$_{D°}$ 'z [$_{CP}$ [$_{NP}$ *proat*] [$_{C'}$ bo-da$_i$ [hat gekhoaft [t$_{NPobj}$] dar nóno]]]]] …
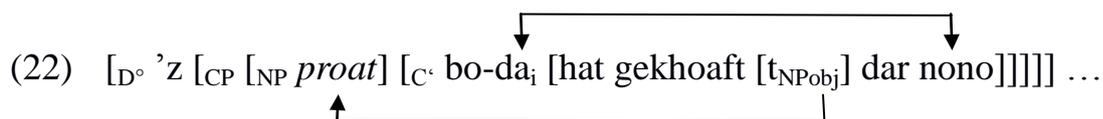
the bread THAT has bought the grandpa

(the bread that grandpa bought)

If the subject is a pronoun the presence of *-da* is ruled out since *bo-*'s unvalued feature is checked against the pronoun itself.

(23)   di turtn **bo**-*se* macht soin guat

the cakes *bo-SHE* makes are good

(the cakes she cooks are delicious)

The mandatory presence of *-da* in the subject RRs entering a chain with the NP trace of the raised element constitutes a direct evidence for movement as the *Head Raising Analysis* predicts.

Even with regard to the structure of NRRs the Cimbrian data seems to confirm that the *Matching Analysis* is the proper one, as shown in Resi (2011).

According to the *Matching Analysis* the head of the NRRs is not to be

interpreted as the result of a movement from inside the RC, like the RRs, but as an external nominal head, that is merged outside the RC matching with the phonologically identical head within the RC that can be elided. We can illustrate the two different types of RCs with the following formal strings (cf. 24):

(24) RRs   NRRs

$[_{DP} [_{D°} [_{CP= RC} NP [_{C'} ...]]]]$ vs. $[_{DP} [_{D°} [NP]]] [_{CP= RC} \text{NP} [_{C'} ...]]$

The crucial point is that the NRR clause behaves as an NP/DP apposition. The relationship between it and its antecedent is not established by a movement chain, but by the context as a free adjunct to the external NP head (cf. Resi 2011: 95). The relationship between the (external) head of the relative clause and the elements it refers to inside the relative clause must be established through the context/semantics instead of syntax (chain movement). Consequently, the antecedent of NRRs, introduced by *ke*, must be resumed by a personal pronoun in its thematic position (cf. 25 for subject NRRs and 26 for object NRRs):

(25) $[du]_i$, **ke** $[du]_i$ boast nicht söllast sbaing!
       You ke you knows nothing should shut up
       (you, who know nothing, you should shut up!)

(26) $[di\ Lusernar]_i$ **ke** biar khennen $[se]_i$ alle, soin guate laüt
       the people from L. WHOM we know all, are good people
       (the inhabitants of L., whom we know, are nice)

In order to explain where the relative complementizer *ke* is realized *ke* being borrowed from Italian lexicon, we assume that it is merged in a higher (presumably the highest) CP sublayer, possibly in a late phase of the merge operation, a topic we intend to discuss in the last part of our contribution.

4. Declarative complementizers and *-da*

The analogy between relative and declarative *ke* is further confirmed by the parallelism between relative *bo-* and declarative *az*: in fact, both of them occupy a suitable landing site for the expletive particle *-da* (cf. Kolmer 2005), as shown by the comparison of the following examples under (27) with the ones above (cf. 4), here repeated under (28):

(27)   a   i bill az-*(**ta**) dar Pürgarmaistar gea ka schual   (*-da* obligatory)

I want that-*da* the mayor go-SUBJUNCT. to school

(I want the mayor to go to school)

b   i bill az-(***ta**)-to geast ka schual   (*-da* impossible)

I want that-*da*-you go-SUBJUNCT to school

(I want you to go to school)

(28)   a   'z baibe **bo**-*bar* håm gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario

b   *'z baibe **bo**-*da-bar* hån gegrüazt iz di muatar von Mario

the woman *bo-WE* have greeted is the mother of M.

(the woman we greeted is M.'s mother)

c   di turtn **bo**-*se* macht soin guat

d   *di turtn **bo**-*da-se* macht soin guat

the cakes *bo-SHE* makes are good

(the cakes she cooks are delicious)

Thus, clitic subjects and *-da* are mutually exclusive in this case too. Further recall that the two complementizers give rise to different word orders (cf. 29a-b vs. 29c-d):[16]

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[16] Declarative *ke* is typically selected by strongly assertive verbs like 'say', perception verbs such as 'see' and some weakly-assertive/non-factive verbs like 'believe' as already noted by

(29) a   i boaz **ke** du geast *nètt* ka Tria   (V Neg)

    b   *i boaz **ke** du *nètt* geast ka Tria

       I know that you go not to Trento

       (I know you not to go to Trento)

    c   schraimar disa lettar, **as**-to *nètt* geast ka Tria(Neg V)

    d   *... **as**-to geast *nètt* ka Tria

       write to me if you not go to Trento

Given its resemblance to *az* – especially in its blocking V movement to C – we suggest that *bo-* is merged in the same CP layer as *az*.

This leads to assuming that the 'autochthonous' (Germanic) complementizers are merged lower giving rise to a subordinate structure while they establish a selecting relationship with the lower heads (T and V); on the contrary, the complementizers borrowed from Italian are merged very high into the syntactic spine; we take them not to select a dependent clause, but a root structure instead. Whether the tendency we observe for Cimbrian *ke* can be confirmed by data from other minority languages is an open question whose answer could contribute to a theory of language change in contact situation.

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