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The hybrid complementizer system of Cimbrian

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In this work we examine the syntactic properties of two classes of complementizers in Luserna Cimbrian, an endangered language spoken in the Dolomites, and show that they occupy distinct positions. The first type of complementizer starts out in the Fin° position and moves up to Force° thereby blocking the whole CP which is not available for the verb to move. The second type is external to the clause itself, which can behave as a main clause as its CP is entirely empty. The tests we use to show that this distinction is necessary are: the position of clitics and of the sentential particle /da/, the position of the inflected verb with respect to the negative marker /net/ and to verbal prefixes, and the distribution of the CP expletive /'z/, which is the Cimbrian counterpart of standard German /es/. This analysis has consequences on the one hand on the layering of the CP area and on the other on the V2 properties of Cimbrian.

1. Introduction

In this work we take into account the complementizer system of Cimbrian, a German dialect with very peculiar grammatical features spoken in some Veneto and Trentino villages in North-Eastern Italy. Given that Cimbrian is an endangered language, and is already dying out in most of the villages where it used to be spoken, we will restrict our empirical domain to the variety of Luserna, the only one where Cimbrian is still actively spoken by the majority of the population.[1] The complementizer system of this variety immediately draws attention because it looks like a mixture of Germanic elements and Romance borrowing. Although borrowing of functional words is quite rare across languages, we show that in this case it has integrated into the syntactic system of the language, which has now two types of complementizers with different morphosyntactic properties. The article is organized as follows: In section 2 we present the double complementizer system of Cimbrian and show that one subtype of complementizers patterns with main clauses with respect to the position of separable prefixes, the position of the negative marker with respect to the verb, the position of object and subject clitics and the position of the particle *da*, while a second type of complementizers displays a different pattern. In section 3 we interpret the data and claim that the distinction between the two types of embedded clauses is due to the different position of the two

[1] We thank our informant Fiorenzo Nicolussi for his help and patience with the data and the audience of the IGG conference held in Siena (Februar 2009) for helpful comments. For the purpose of the Italian academy, Cecilia Poletto is responsible for section 1-2.2 and Guenther Grewendorf is responsible for sections 2.3-4.

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complementizer classes. The first class embeds a whole main clause which displays the same properties as main clauses with respect to verb position, clitics, negation, separable prefixes and the expletive pronoun *z*. We will show that the left periphery of this type of embedded clauses displays the same properties as the left periphery of a main clause. By contrast, the second class shows a behaviour different from main clauses, because the lower position of the complementizer blocks head movement to the left periphery of the clause, yielding the typical main versus embedded clause asymmetry found in V2 languages.
The analysis of the two complementizer classes also sheds light on the position of Wackernagel clitics and on the sentential particle *da*. Section 5 concludes the article and provides some hints for future research.

2. Two types of complementizers

The system of Cimbrian complementizers can be split into two classes: we will refer to them as "*ke*-type complementizers" and "*az*-type complementizers" using the two complementizers which most frequently occur in embedded declarative clauses.
Here is the list of the complementizers belonging to each class reported in the Cimbrian Grammar 338-342

(1) *Ke* type	*Ke*, 'that'; *benn*, 'when'; *bia*, 'as'; *umbròmm* 'because'; *bia nå*, 'why';
Az- type	*Az*, 'if/that'; *bal*, 'when/if'; *benn*, 'if'; *intånto az* 'while'; *ånka az* 'even if'; *dopo az* 'after'; *fin az* 'until'; *ena az*[2] 'unless'; *bo* 'relative complementizer'.

The clauses following *ke*-type complementizers behave as main clauses in various respects, while clauses introduced by *az*-type complementizers display different properties. We illustrate the point with respect to four different properties, which we will discuss in turn.

2.1.Position of separable prefixes

On a par with other Germanic languages, Cimbrian has a set of separable prefixes. However, they are not unmovable as they are in standard German, but appear in at least two positions. As already shown in Grewendorf and Poletto (2005), separable prefixes can either precede or follow the past participle in a declarative clause, but always follow the auxiliary or a simple main verb in main clauses:

(2) a. I hon **au**-gehort die arbat ka Tria.
I have up-given the job in Trient

[2] Notice the combination of a Romance adverb with the Germanic complementizer rather than with the Romance one. Younger speakers tend to use *intanto ke*, *dopo ke*, *fin ke* instead, and this could be the key to the loss of the Germanic complementizer system. However, we will not investigate this phenomenon any further here.

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b. I hon gehort-**au** di arbat ka Tria
I have given-up the job in Trient
c. *I **au** hon gehort die arbat ka Tria
I up-have given the job in Trient

(3) a. I hon **offe**-geton die ture.
I have open-done the door
b. I hon geton-**offe** die ture.
I have done open the door
c. * I **offe** hon geton die ture.
I open have done the door

Embedded clauses with *ke* do not differ from main clauses and display the same two possibilities:

(4) a. Dar hat-mar khött ke dar hat **o**geheft die arbat an menta
he has-me told that he has pref.-begun the job on Monday
b. Dar hat-mar khött ke dar hat geheft **o** die arbat an menta
he has-me told that he has begun pref. the job on Monday

Notice that in sentences like (2)-(4), the prefix can never cross the inflected auxiliary (or any inflected verb), as shown by (5):

(5) a. *Dar hat-mar khött ke dar **o** hat geheft die arbat an menta
he has-me told that he pref. has begun the job on Monday
b. *Dar hat-mar khött ke dar **o** heft di arbat an menta
he has-me told that he pref. begins the job on Monday

This rather interesting oscillation between a pre- and a postparticipial position of the prefix might be interpreted in the following way. Assume that Cimbrian is not different from German with respect to the position of separable prefixes, which encode aspectual features and therefore must be located in some Aspectual projection in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. The pre- or postparticipial position of the prefix cannot be due to its optional movement in front of the past participle, given that generally verbal prefixes are unmovable, as German clearly shows. Rather, we surmise that the distinction between the two languages is to be attributed to verb movement: Cimbrian is a VO language, therefore, it must be different from German with respect to the movement possibilities of the verb in general and of the past participle too. Thus, we propose that the oscillation found in (2) to (4) is due to movement of the past participle, which can remain lower or raise higher than the prefix. The following structure illustrates the two possible orders:

(6) $[_{CP}...[_{IP}... [_{AspP}$ prefix $[_{VP}$ past participle DPobj]]]]
(7) $[_{CP}...[_{IP}...$ past participle $[_{AspP}$ prefix $[_{VP}$ ~~past participle~~ DPobj]]]]

Notice furthermore that embedded clauses of the *az*-type also display prefixes before or after the participle. In addition to that, they have a third option, which is impossible with *ke*-type embedded clauses: the prefix can be located in a position higher than the auxiliary (or the main inflected verb).

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(8) a. Dopo az-ar hat **o** geheft di arbat an menta
after that-he has pref. begun the job on Monday
b. Dopo az-ar hat geheft **o** di arbat an menta
after that-he has begun pref. thejob on Monday
c. Dopo az-ar **o** hat geheft di arbat an menta
after that-he pref. has begun the job on Monday

(9) a. dar mann bo da hat **o**-geheft a naüga arbat
the man that-da has up taken a new job
b. dar mann bo da hat geheft-**o** a naüga arbat
the man that-da has taken up a new job
c. dar mann bo da **o** hat geheft a naüga arbat
the man that-da up has taken a new job

The empirical generalization we can state is that *az*-type clauses have a syntax different from main and *ke*-type clauses. Elaborating on this empirical observation, we can assume that in *az*-type clauses the inflected auxiliary remains in a position lower than the prefix, while in main and *ke*-type clauses, it always raises higher and crosses the prefix.
There is independent empirical evidence that this hypothesis is correct: both higher and lower adverbs of the aspectual and modal type (as analyzed by Cinque (1999)) can occur higher than the auxiliary in *az*-type clauses, thus attesting that the order prefix-auxiliary is due to lack of movement of the auxiliary, not to prefix raising. The following examples show the case in point: while in main clauses the adverb *za* occurs to the right of the inflected verb, it occurs to its left in *az*-type embedded clauses. Given that adverbs do not move from their merge position (unless they are focussed, which is not the case here), we can conclude that the preverbal position of adverbs which usually occur postverbally shows that in this type of embedded clauses the verb has not moved as high as it does in main clauses.

(10) a. …az ar **za** **vort** is gont
…that he already away is gone
b. …* az ar **vort** **za** is gont
… that he prt. already is gone
c. …* az ar **vort** is **za** gont
… that he prt. is already gone
d. ...az ar **furse** **vort** is gont
...that he maybe prt. goes
e. …* az ar **vort** **furse** is gont
… that he prt. maybe is gone
f. …* az ar **vort** is **furse** gont
… that he prt. is maybe gone

(11) a. Dar hat za gerüaft
He has already phoned
b. Dar hat-mar khött ke dar hat za gerüaft
he has-me told that he has already phoned

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We can draw the following tentative conclusion: in *az*-type clauses, the inflected auxiliary can remain lower than in main and *ke*-type clauses. In what follows, we present additional tests which confirm this conclusion.

2.2. Position of negation

Another test which is often used to determine the position of the verb in VO languages with the V2 property like Scandinavian languages is the relative ordering of the inflected verb and the sentential negative marker. In Mainland Scandinavian the verb is usually analyzed as remaining in a lower position (inside the VP), given that the order is Neg-V, while in Islandic the fact that order V-Neg is possible is analyzed as raising of the verb higher than the negative marker to some I° projection. If the tentative conclusion presented above is correct, then we predict that the clauses selected by the two complementizer types should also differ with respect to the position of the standard negative marker.[3] Once again, we can observe that *ke*-type clauses pattern with main clauses: in both cases the negative marker obligatorily follows both main and auxiliary inflected verbs (and always precedes the past participle):

(12) a. I boas ke dar is **net** vortgont
I know that he is not away-gone
b. * I boas ke dar **net** is vortgont
I know that he not is away-gone
c. * I boas ke du **net** geast ka Tria
I know that you not go to Trient
d. Dar khüt ke dar steat **net** dahuam
he says that he stays not at-home

(13) a. Dar is **net** khent
he is not come
b. * Dar **net** is khent
he ot is come

With *az*-type complementizers the situation is different and more complex: in the case of main verbs, negation must precede the inflected verb:

(14) a. Dar hat geböllt azz-e **net** vortgea
he has wanted that-I not away-go
b. * Dar hat geböllt azz-e vortgea **net**

The contrast between (12)/(13) and (14) clearly shows that main verbs in *az*-type clauses cannot raise to cross negation, while main verbs in main and *ke*-type clauses must do so.

(15) a. I hebat geboellt az-ar-me **net** oruaf, ma dar hat-s getont
I had wanted that-he-me not phones,but he has-it done

[3] Notice incidentally that the negative marker *net* in Cimbrian seems etymologically and syntactically similar to the German 'nicht' type, and not to the higher one used in Italian, as it does not trigger negative concord. We assume here that it occupies the same position as German *nicht*.

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b. * I hebat geboellt az-ar-me oruaf **net**, ma dar hat-s getont
I had wanted that-he-me phones not, but he has-it done

An interesting difference is found as far as auxiliary and modal verbs are concerned, in this case negation can either occur before or after the auxiliary:

(16) a. …azz-a-dar **net** hat khött zu kemma
…that he to-you not has said to come
b. …azz-a-dar hat **net** khött zu kemma
…that he to-you has not said to come

(17) a. Onka az-ar hat **net** ogeheft a naüga arbat, issar herta toebig
even if-he has not begun a new job, is-he always nervous
b. Onka az-ar **net** hat ogeheft a naüga arbat, issar herta toebig
even if-he not has begun a new job, is-he always nervous

(18) a. Bal dar **nèt** bill gian, schikh-en vort
if he not wants go, send him away
b. Bal dar bill **nèt** gian, schikh-en vort

In this case we propose that auxiliaries and modals can but need not raise higher than the position of the negative marker. This difference between auxiliaries and main verbs is well known in the literature on verb raising: already Pollock (1989) notes the same difference between infinitival auxiliaries, which can (but need not) raise higher than negation in French, and main verbs, which cannot move past the negative marker *pas*.
We can conclude that the second test also goes in the same direction as the first one: in *az*-type clauses the inflected verb seems to be located lower than in *ke*-type clauses and in main clauses, where the verb must move past the negative marker *net*.

2.3. Position of the particle da
Another test showing that we are on the right track in assuming that in *az*-type clauses the verb does not raise as high as in main and embedded clauses introduced by *ke* has to do with the position of the particle *da*. [4] In main clauses

[4] The particle is homophonous with the locative element *da* 'there', though the fact that the two can cooccur shows that they are not the same item. We will not investigate the semantic import of the particle here, leaving it to future research. Here we limit ourselves to providing some information on its distribution *Da* is a particle occurring in Relative clauses (on the subject, object and other arguments)

(i) Dar libar bo da-r hat geschenkt in Gianni
the book that da-he has given to G.

Interrogative clauses

(ii) I boas net bo da-r hat gesek in pua
I know not where da he has seen the boy

Declarative clauses

(iii) Z' gen**da** di milch di bake
it give-da the milk the peasants

Da is not a locative: as it can cooccur with a locative instance of *da*

(iv) Dar libar bo da der Giani da hat gelek
the book that da the G. there has put

Da serves as a host to clitics

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the particle is always located after the inflected verb, as shown by the following example:

(19) a. Alle sunta han**da** gelaütet die klokkng
every Sunday have-da rung the bells
b. Alle sunta laütn**da** die klokkng
every Sunday ring-da the bells
c. * Alle sunta **da** laütn die klokkng
every Sunday da ring the bells

If the complementizer is of the *ke*-type, the particle *da* is again located immediately after the inflected verb, as shown by the following examples:

(20) Dar Mario hatt khött ke alle sunta han-**da** gelaütet die klokkng
the M. has said that every Sunday have-da rung the bells

(21) *I boas ke da khint di nona
I know that da comes the granny

In the case of *az*-type complementizers (like *bal*, in the example below) the particle is located immediately after the complementizer itself:

(22) Bàl**da** rivan di khindar, spèrr-bar di tür
when-da arrive the kids, close-we the door

Again, the empirical generalization we can state groups main and embedded *ke*-type clauses together, setting *az*-type clauses apart: *da* is located after the inflected verb in main clauses and in clauses introduced by *ke* but immediately after the complementizer in *az*-type clauses.
We can interpret this fact along the lines suggested above: the position of verbal prefixes, the position of the negative marker and the position of the particle *da* consistently show that the verb raises higher in *ke*-clauses than in *az*-clauses. The test on *da* takes us even further in the interpretation of the data: the fact that *da* is enclitic onto the verb in main clauses and embedded *ke*-type clauses and enclitic onto the complementizer in *az*-type clauses suggests that the position occupied by the inflected verb in main and embedded *ke*-type clauses is the same as the one occupied by the complementizer in *az*-type clauses: in other words verb second occurs in main clauses and in a subset of embedded clauses.

2.4. Position of clitic pronouns
Another test showing the complementary distribution of inflected verbs and *az*-type complementizers is the position of object clitics: with *ke*-type

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(v) S beibe bo da se putzt ist kronk
the woman that da-them cleans is sick
Da is incompatible with weak pronouns, but cooccurs both with clitic and tonic pronouns
(vi) a. Dar libar boma herta lesst worma geat in pett/
the book that one always reads when-one goes to bed
b. * Dar libar bo da ma herta lesst worma geat in pett/
the book that da one always reads when-one goes to bed

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complementizers object clitics must be in enclisis to the inflected verb, with *az*-type complementizers object clitics occur in enclisis to the complementizer itself (or to the particle *da* when it is present creating a cluster)

(23) a. Da soin vortgont ena az-ta-s niamat barn
they are away-gone before that-there-it nobody noticed
b. * Da soin vortgont ena az niamat barn-da-z
they are away-gone before that nobody noticed-there-it
c. I gloabe ke dar gebat-mar-s
I think that he gives-to.me-it

(24) a. * Dar hat-**mar** khött ke dar **en** sich morng
he has-to.me said that he him sees tomorrow
b. Dar hat-**mar** khött ke dar sich-**en** morng
he has-to.me said that he sees-him tomorrow

The tentative conclusion we reach on the basis of the contrast in (23) and (24) is that the finite verb in *ke*-clauses occupies the same position as the complementizer *az*.
Cimbrian also has subject clitics, which are obligatorily in enclisis to the verb in main clauses. They never occur in first position in V2 clauses, where either tonic or weak pronouns are used:

(25) Er/Dar khint
he comes

(26) * Ar khint
he comes

As expected by the V2 pattern, subject clitics occur in enclisis to *az***-**type complementizers, confirming the idea that the verb in main clauses occupies the same position occupied by the complementizer in *az*-type clauses:

(27) Z'tüat mar ont azz-**ar** sai za vorgont
it does me sorrow that-he is already away-gone

Given that we analyze *ke*-type clauses as embedding a whole main clause structure after *ke*-, we expect that no subject clitics are possible immediately after *ke***-**type complementizers, since this position corresponds to the prefield position in V2 clauses. This prediction is born out: no subject clitics are found after *ke*, tonic or weak pronouns are used instead like in main clauses:

(28) * I boas ke **ar** khint
I know that he comes

The last empirical generalization we formulate is the following: the first position to the right of *ke* in embedded clauses and the first position in main clauses cannot host clitics, the first position after *az* can host clitics.

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3. Refining the hypothesis

Summing up what we have discussed so far, we can state that elements like *da*, negation, separable prefixes and object clitics occur after the inflected verb in main clauses and *ke*-type clauses, while they occur before the verb in *az*-type clauses. We have suggested that this is a reflex of the well-known asymmetry between main and embedded clauses in V2 languages of the German type: if the verb raises to the C domain in main and *ke*-type clauses only but not in *az*-type clauses, then we expect it to cross: a) separable prefixes b) negation c) object clitics d) the particle *da.*

Therefore, we assume that in *az*-type clauses the complementizer is located in the same position where the verb ends up in main and *ke*-type clauses. However, if we adopt the by now standard idea of a split-CP,[5] this is not enough and we have to determine precisely the C° position target of verb movement i.e. the position of *az*. There are two plausible positions where *az*/the inflected verb can surface: FinP and ForceP. This gives rise to the three possible analyses for the surface structure illustrated below:

(29) $[_{ForceP}$ ke $[_{TopicP}$…..$[_{FocusP}$ $[_{FinP}$ az/V $[_{IP}$ ...$[_{WackP}$ da/clitics]...$[_{AspP}$ prefix $[_{NegP}$ net]...$[_{VP}$]]]]]]]

(30) $[_{SubordP}$ ke $[_{ForceP}$ az/V $[_{TopicP}$… $[_{WackP}$ clitics] $[_{GroundP}$ da$[_{TopicP}$….. $[_{FocusP}$ $[_{FinP}$ $[_{IP}$ ...$[_{AspP}$ prefix $[_{NegP}$ net]...$[_{VP}$]]]]]]]]]

(31) $[_{SubordP}$ ke $[_{ForceP}$ az/V $[_{TopicP}$… $[_{FocusP}$ $[_{FinP}$ $[_{IP}$ $[_{WackP}$ da/clitics] $[_{AspP}$ prefix $[_{NegP}$ net]...$[_{VP}$]]]]]]]

Az-type complementizers can either be high or low in the structure of the CP: if they are low complementizers located in Fin°, this means that clitics of the Wackernagel type and the particle *da*, which occur in enclisis to the complementizer/inflected verb, must be in some IP position, as shown in (29). According to this analysis, complementizers of the *ke*-type are located in ForceP.

The alternative is that *az*/the inflected verb are in Force: in this case Wackernagel clitics and the particle *da* could be located either in IP (as in (31)) or in CP (as in (30)).

If *az* occupies the Force position then complementizers of the *ke*-type are located in a projection even higher than Force, which we call here SubordinatorP.[6]

Notice that the two alternatives make distinct predictions concerning the position of Topics and Foci with respect to the complementizer: if *az* is a low complementizer, Topics and Foci should precede it, if *az* is a high complementizer, it is expected to be followed by Topics and Foci.

The following examples show that *az*-type complementizers such as *bo* are high complementizers, given that Topics and focussed elements occupy a position lower than these complementizers:

[5] We assume here Rizzi's (1997) original structure with the modification proposed in Benincà and Poletto (2004)

[6] See Bhatt/Yoon (1991) on the distinction between complementizers that act as mood-indicators and complementizers that act as pure subordinators.

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(32)	Dar	libar	bo	da	i	*in Giani*	za	on	get
	the	book	that	da	I	to-the-G.	already	have	given

(33)	a. Dar	libar	bo	da-r	IN GIANNI	hat	get
	the	book	that	da-he	THE G	has	given
	b. * Dar	libar	bo	IN GIANNI	dar	hat	get
	the	book	that	THE G:	da-he	has	given

Although (30)/(31) seem prima facie more complex than structure (29), as the additional projection SubordinatorP must be postulated, the order with respect to Topics and Foci shows that it is the correct one. Therefore, we exclude (29) on the basis of the examples above. Furthermore, we can also exclude (31) on the basis of the following argument. If *da* and clitics were located in IP, then we would predict that some specifiers can intervene between the complementizer and the clitic cluster.

(34) az-ta-r-en
that-da-he-him

(35)	*Fin	az-o-ar		net		rüaft
	until	that	prf.he	not		phones
	*Fin	az	net	ar	orüaft	
	until	that	not	he	phones	
	*Fin	az	furse		ar	orüaft
	until	that	maybe		he	phones

The examples above show that this is never the case, as complementizers and clitics always form a single unit: no prefix, adverb or negation can intervene betwenn *az* and a subject clitic. There are also phonological phenomena of assimilation between the complementizer and the particle *da*: for instance *az+da* = *azta* (*z* is pronounced as a voiceless sibilant /s/ and the voiced consonant of the particle becomes voiceless as well).[7]
Moreover, if we adopt an antisymmetric framework in which right adjunction is not allowed (see Kayne 1994), we cannot obtain the order *az-da-subject clitic-object clitics* through cliticization.

If we adopt structure (30) we solve both problems: *da* and Wackernagel clitics are in the CP domain and *az* moves from Fin° to Force° crossing the positions of *da* (here represented as GroundP and WackP) and adjoins to the left of the clitics creating a cluster which cannot be split by any specifier:[8]

[7] An additional indication comes from the fact that native speakers write the sequence complementizer-*da*-clitics as one single word.
[8] Empirical evidence for the existence of a left-peripheral Wackernagel position can be derived from an observation by Hubert Haider (see Haider 2009) according to which there is a garden path effect with the scrambled noun *Marga* in (i) but not with the pronoun in (ii), which may be attributed to the fact that there exists a left-peripheral syntactic position which is exclusively designed for pronouns:

(i)	weil	Marga	Kollegen	vorgestellt	bekamen
	since	Marga	colleagues	introduced	got
(ii)	weil	es	Kollegen	vorgestellt	bekamen
	since	it	colleagues	introduced	got

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(36)[$_{SubordP}$ *ke* [$_{ForceP}$ az-da-ar [$_{TopicP}$ ~~*az-da-ar*~~ [$_{WackP}$ clitics ~~*az-da-ar*~~ [$_{GroundP}$ ~~*az*~~*da* [$_{TopicP}$~~*-az*~~.[$_{FocusP}$ ~~*az*~~ [$_{FinP}$ ~~*az*~~
[$_{IP}$... [$_{AspP}$ prefix [$_{NegP}$ net]....[$_{VP}$]]]]]]]]]

In this way, we capture the fact that Topics and Foci are lower than the complementizer, and the fact that the clitic cluster is enclitic to *az*.[9]
Additional independent evidence that *ke* is a subordinator base-generated higher than ForceP and that *az* reaches Force° by movement is provided by the distribution of the expletive pronoun *'z*, which has the typical properties of CP expletives (it behaves like the German "Vorfeld-*es*"). In main clauses *'z* occurs in first position where no other element is found to the left of the inflected verb. If any XP is located in front of the inflected verb, *'z* disappears.[10]

(37) a. Z'handa gelaütet die klokkng alle sunta
it have-da rung the bells every Sunday
b. Alle sunta laütnda die klokkng
every Sunday ring-da the bells

The most plausible analysis of *'z* is that it is located in SpecForce: we can only account for the fact that expletive *'z* targets the first position of the clause by assuming that it is located in the highest specifier, namely SpecForce. If we assumed that it is located in SpecFin, then Focus and Topics could precede it, which is not true.
The fact that expletive *'z* can occur in embedded clauses introduced by *ke*-type complementizers, but not by *az*-type complementizers shows that *ke* is higher than Force:

(38) a. Dar Mario hatt khött ke z' handa gelaütet die klokkng alle sunta
the M. has said that z have-da rung the bells every Sunday
b. * Dar Mario hatt geböllt az z' handa gelaütet die klokkng alle sunta
the M. has wantedthat z have-da rung the bells every Sunday

(38) illustrates that the expletive pronoun *z*' can only occur with *ke*-type clauses but not with *az*-type clauses. On this basis we adopt the following structure:

(39) [$_{SubordP}$ [$_{Subord}$ *ke*] [$_{ForceP}$ *z*'[$_{TopicP}$ ..... [$_{FocusP}$ [$_{FinP}$]]]]]

This explains why *ke*-type clauses and main clauses behave exactly the same: in both cases there is no complementizer blocking the CP layer, and the inflected verb can raise to Fin and then up to Force (in which case we have a construction with Vorfeld '*z* or V2), or raise only to a lower projection in the CP yielding V3 by allowing Topic positions in front and still triggering subject clitic-V inversion, enclitic objects and *da* to V.

[9] Independent evidence for complementizer movement can be found in Watanabe (1993), Browning (1996), Poletto (2000), Roberts (2004), Rizzi/Shlonsky (2007), among others.
[10] Notice that Cimbrian has Romance "free" subject inversion and '*z* occurs also in these contexts:
(i) Z' hat-ta gerüaft die momma
it has-da phoned the mum

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Moreover, we also capture the fact that the class of /az/-complementizers does not allow for verb movement (as the order with negation and adverbs considered above shows), which in principle would be possible if the Fin position were empty. Lack of verb movement only in these constructions shows that the complementizer is not directly merged in Force but must start out in Fin and then move to Force.
We conclude that complementizers of the *az*-type reach the Force projection, but they must have been merged lower (in Fin°) in order to gather up clitics and the particle *da* and block verb movement to any position higher than its usual IP position. Therefore, the whole CP layer is not available to verb movement, not only Force but also Fin and any intermediate Topic or Focus head.

4. Conclusion

In this article we have discussed the distribution of two classes of complementizers in Luserna Cimbrian: one class embeds a structure analogous to the one of main clauses, the other class consists of complementizers merged in a low C position and then raised to the highest position. Complementizers like *az* move from Fin to Force dragging along all heads (the particle *da* and subject and object clitics) they find on their way. Complementizers like *ke* are located higher than the whole ForceP, hence the „main clause“ type of behaviour.
If our analysis is correct, it settles the matter of the position of Wackernagel clitics. Given that these clitics occur higher than Topic and Focus projections, they must be located in the CP layer.
From this analysis some general consequences for the structure of the left periphery and for V2 emerge: first of all, these data confirm the idea that V2 is not a unitary phenomenon in the old sense of a parameter triggering a cluster of phenomena which include the linear restriction, subject inversion and the main versus embedded clause asymmetry. Cimbrian is different from German, as it allows V3 orders and displays restrictions on inversion, but still maintains one class of embedded structures where the asymmetry is visible. The analysis of complementizers of the *az*-type could be extended to other languages which do not display any mixed system, like standard German, a problem we do not discuss here. Another research perspective which our analysis opens up concerns the other type of complementizers, the ones located outside the real CP structure. We have called the head where it occurs SubordinatorP, but this type of complementizers could actually derive from some sort of pronominal element located in the VP of the main clause, and occupy the object position as proposed by Schreiber (2009) for Gothic.
We also have further empirical work awaiting us as we have not established the complementary distribution of the two complementizers *ke* and *az*: as far as we know they never cooccur, as they are selected by different classes of main verbs. Complementizers like *az* are generally selected by verbs which have a modal complementizer (like 'want') in the Balkan languages and in Southern Italian dialects, while *ke*-type complementizers are selected by declarative verbs like 'say'. Notice furthermore that *az* is a possible translation for English 'if', though not the only one.
There is also empirical evidence (see Padovan and Nicolussi (to appear)) that the usage of *ke*-type complementizers is spreading across the language among younger speakers, who tend to use *ke* after borrowings like *dopo* ('after'),

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fin,('til'), *anka* ('even'). Whereas older speakers always use *az* after *dopo*, *fin* and *anka*, younger speakers can also produce *ke* in these contexts. The spreading of the complementizer *ke* and the progressive loss of the *az* complementizer will lead to the loss of the main versus embedded asymmetry in sentence structure. This in turn will probably weaken the evidence native speakers have of the V2 phenomenon, (recall that subject inversion is reduced to clitics and that the linear V2 restriction is not respected in Cimbrian). The loss of the „"Germanic" type of complementizer might be one of the factors which will eventually lead to the entire loss of any correlate of V2 (in our terms, loss of any V to C), hence, also of the cases of subject clitic inversion in declarative clauses, and of expletive *'z*.

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