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Crowdsourcing language contact *pronoun and article morphology in Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto*

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*Crowdsourcing language contact: pronoun and article morphology in
Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto - Anne Kruijt*

Doctoral thesis, Verona, 2021

“Placeless events are inconceivable, in that everything that happens must happen somewhere, and so history issues from geography in the same way that water issues from a spring: unpredictably but site-specifically.”
— Robert Macfarlane

Abstract

This dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the online crowdsourcing methodology and its use for the collection of linguistic data. The second part the pronominal and article case morphology of the linguistic varieties spoken in the Italian regions of Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto.

The first methodological part starts by discussing the larger project in which this dissertation was undertaken, VinKo ‘Varieties in Contact’. Vinko aims to collect linguistic data for all linguistic levels (e.g. phonology, morphology, and syntax) for the non-standard Germanic and Romance language varieties spoken in the Italian regions of Trentino-South Tyrol, Veneto, and Friuli Venezia Giulia. Through the VinKo website, linguistics questionnaires are crowdsourced among the populations of these regions. For this research, a morphological questionnaire composed out of picture-aided translation tasks and directed-free production tasks where presented in the form of two storyboard to participants. The questionnaire aimed to collected full paradigms for personal pronouns and definite articles in singular number in all language varieties. Due to the online methodology, a wide variety of speakers could be reached, resulting in a large dataset for all larger regional varieties (e.g. Tyrolean, Trentino, and Venetan) from a large number of different locations, ensuring that microvariation and internal variation would be captured. The smaller speech communities (e.g. Mòcheno and Cimbrian) have proven to be more difficult to reach and, while participants have been found, the numbers are low. Analysis of the collected data provides evidence that the tasks presented to speakers were successful in eliciting valid dialect production. The online medium of presenting the tasks was generally well-received by participants, and there are no indications that it caused issues for data collection.

The second part focuses on the pronominal and article case morphology of the language varieties under investigation: Tyrolean, Mòcheno, Cimbrian, Trentino, and Venetan. The targets of the research are full pronouns and definite articles in the singular number as these parts of speech are expected to show the largest variety in inflectional case marking and case patterning. The chapters of part two are divided per language variety, providing a comprehensive synchronic description of the pronominal and article paradigms attested in the VinKo data, and a brief discussion of the found case patterns. The final chapter of this part discusses the data from a cross-linguistic perspective. Across the varieties of Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto, the pronominal paradigms and case marking found across the German varieties show a large degree of variation between and within varieties. The pronominal paradigms of Mòcheno and Giazza Cimbrian use prepositional dative marking as an obligatory strategy, most likely supported by an equivalent pattern in the Romance varieties.

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Abbreviations

1	first person	GEN	genitive
2	second person	IMP	imperative
3	third person	M	masculine
ACC	accusative	N	neuter
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative
DEF	definite	OBJ	object
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DET	determiner	PRS	present
DIST	distal	REFL	reflexive
F	feminine	SBJ	subject
FUT	future	SG	singular

1. Introduction

This dissertation concerns the documentation and analysis of case systems of strong pronouns and definite articles in the dialects and minority languages spoken in the regions of Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto in Northern Italy (a general overview is presented in the following section 1.2). The research has been funded through the *Project of Excellence in Digital Humanities 2018-2022* at the University of Verona, Italy, and it has a strong focus on digital scholarship and research, particularly in the areas of (online) linguistic fieldwork methodologies and non-standard and minority language representation and preservation in the digital age. The linguistic data has been gathered using an online linguistic questionnaire composed out of two tasks which was *crowdsourced* via the VinKo “Varieties in Contact” platform of the University of Verona.

1.1 Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation is composed out of two main parts, the first of which is focused on the methodological and technical aspects of the project and the data collection, and the second part which deals with the linguistic data itself and its analysis.

Part I deals with the Digital Humanities aspects of the project and is composed of four chapters. The first chapter, 2, introduces some basic concepts in the field of digital humanities and the use of crowdsourcing. It situates this research in the larger context of digital projects concerning minority and/or non-standard languages in Italy and the larger Alpine region and introduces some of the issues and topics that part I sets out to address for the VinKo platform and the chosen methodology of the dissertation. The following chapter, 3, introduces in detail the larger VinKo project, its methodology, and the treatment of the resulting data. Chapter 4 discusses the questionnaire and task design used to create the morphological questionnaire which was distributed via the VinKo platform, and which forms the basis for the collected data discussed in part II. The final chapter of part I, chapter 5, evaluates the online methodology of the larger VinKo project in aspects of data quantity and data quality and discusses the implications of conducting online research for which type of participants can be reached, as well as participants’ responses to the tasks and the platform in general, serving to address the issues and questions raised in the previous chapters.

Part II focuses on the linguistic aspects of the research and provides detailed descriptions of the morphological case systems of the varieties under investigation. Each language variety has a dedicated chapter for the description and analysis of its pronominal and article systems, in the following order: Tyrolean (chapter 7), Mòcheno (chapter 8), Cimbrian (chapter 9), Trentino (chapter 10), and Venetan (chapter 11). These chapters are preceded by a brief overview of the used terminology concerning case, and the background literature and existing resources concerning the cases which

are expected to be present in the Triveneto area and on which parts of speech they occur. The final chapter of part II, chapter 12, combines the findings of the preceding chapters into a cross-linguistic overview of the linguistic area, discuss some emerging trends and the role that multilingualism and language contact might play in the development of the pronominal and article paradigms.

1.2 Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto

The linguistic data discussed in this dissertation relates to the Germanic and Italo-Romance linguistic varieties spoken in the autonomous region of Trentino-South Tyrol and the Veneto region in Italy. Both of these regions are border areas not just in a geopolitical sense, but crucially also in a linguistic sense. They form part of the long-term historic contact zone between the Germanic and Romance language families, but the two regions have their own distinct identities, particularly when considering the historic, political, and social aspects of the linguist situation and the current sociolinguistic identities of their inhabitants. There are also major geographic differences between the north and south areas. While the northern areas of the regions are mountainous with narrow valleys with larger cities and smaller more isolated hill towns, the southern parts of Veneto are plains populated with larger and smaller communities in a sprawling urban area. The geography of the areas has had a significant historical influence on linguistic identities and ties and, still today, it defines the contacts and relations between communities and speakers.

The bilingual name of the autonomous region of Trentino-South Tyrol is a clear indication of the region's multilingual and compositional nature. The region is made up out of two provinces; Trento and Bolzano. The region is home to many different linguistic varieties; the Tyrolean varieties (South Bavarian, Germanic), spoken mainly in the province of Bolzano, the Trentino varieties (Venetan, Romance), spoken mainly in the province of Trento, the Germanic minority languages of Mòcheno and (Lusérn) Cimbrian, and the Ladin varieties (part of the Rhaeto-Romance group) spoken in Val Gardena and Val Badia. Additionally, there are three official standard languages in the region: Italian, German, and Ladin. Under the 482/99 law of 1999, Mòcheno and Cimbrian are recognized minority languages within the state of Italy with the right to preservation and safeguarding. The autonomous region of Trentino-South Tyrol provides relative extensive regional support and funding for the development and dissemination of the recognized linguistic minority languages and cultures. As a result, there has been a strong push towards the development of orthographic conventions, teaching materials, and linguistic and cultural resources in recent years. Since both minority languages are classified as 'definitely endangered' under the UNESCO classification of linguistic vitality (Moseley 2010), this access to resources will prove crucial for the future of these varieties. While standard High German is recognized as a linguistic minority in Italy and it has official and equal status to Italian within the autonomous region, the Tyrolean varieties are not recognized in the region as minority language varieties, but they are commonly classified as dialects within the context of standard High German. The Trentino varieties are in a similar situation with respect to standard Italian. As dialects, they exist in a situation of diglossia with the standard languages (though with intermediate registers available), which are institutionalized and form the languages of education. The dialect classification severely limits their access to institutional support and recognition, which means that fewer resources and attention go into the support of these varieties than is the case for the recognized minority languages. Despite this, it can be said they are in much better shape with healthy speaker populations and active transmission to children. According to

census data, the German-speaking population in the province of Bolzano (South Tyrol) amounts to almost 340.000 speakers (estimate by Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019:1097, based on census data from 2011/2014), the vast majority of whom can be presumed to speak a Tyrolean variety including the younger generations (Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019:1100-1101). The Trentino varieties are spoken by (part of) the Italian population of Trentino-South Tyrol, living in the province of Trento and the Bassa Atesina/Unterland district in the province of Bolzano. As far as I am aware, there are no estimates of the number of speakers of Trentino varieties. The province of Trento has 545.000 inhabitants (census 2018/2019, but currently no data concerning their linguistic identity, and even if registered as part of the Italian speaking language group, it would not be limited to Trentino speakers, but would also include Italian speakers immigrated into the region from other parts of the country. Trentino varieties are generally spoken by all generations in informal domains, but, like all dialects in Italy, they experience considerable pressure from the standard and regional varieties of Italian.

The Veneto region is home to the Venetan varieties, Cimbrian of the VII and XIII Municipalities, and the Ladin varieties spoken in valleys of Fodom and Ampezzo in the province of Belluno. The official language of the Veneto is standard Italian. The minority languages of Cimbrian and the Ladin varieties are protected under the 482/99 law of 1999 for the protection of linguistic minorities, and there are regional statutes for the protection of the Venetan language varieties and their cultural heritage. However, overall there are fewer regional resources available in the Veneto than there are in Trentino-South Tyrol, and the Cimbrian varieties in the Seven and Thirteen Municipalities are almost extinct, despite local efforts. Regional identity in Veneto (as in many parts of the country), however, is very strong, and there are plenty of local initiatives towards the promotion of local linguistic and cultural practices, maintaining the Venetan linguistic varieties. Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2020) estimates that there are around 3,4 million speakers of Venetan in Italy, but it must be noted that this number includes the Trentino varieties.

The language varieties spoken in the Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto regions are represented on map 1.1. The color blue represents the Tyrolean varieties, the color yellow the Trentino varieties, the color red the Venetan varieties, the color cyan Mòcheno and the color purple indicates Cimbrian varieties. The Ladin varieties fall outside the scope of this dissertation and as such, they are not represented on the map. Multilingualism is difficult to adequately show on the map, particularly since it is highly variable across speakers. However, for the communities which are known to be bilingual, this has been indicated on the map by vertically striped areas with the two colors representing both varieties spoken in that specific area. It must be noted that the speakers of the minority languages will also have a strong competence or bilingualism in the local larger variety. Standard language proficiency is not marked on this map as this dimension is difficult to adequately represent, as depends in a great measure on the individual speaker, their age, sociolinguistic background, and schooling.

A brief note on terminology: the term ‘dialect’ is widely used for non-standard varieties spoken in Italy, but it carries a lot of negative stereotypes and prejudices, as an inferior variety, uneducated, or as a ‘bastardized’ form of the standard. These things are true for none of the ‘dialect’ varieties involved. Venetan and Trentino dialects are not descendent from standard Italian, nor do the Tyrolean dialect originate from standard German. However, the term ‘*dialetti*’ to describe the non-standard languages in Italy is very common and widely used across the country. Other groups have fought for their linguistic rights and recognition of their languages; officially Mòcheno, Cimbrian, and Ladin are recognized as minority languages, and labeling them ‘dialects’ would be inaccurate

at best, and grossly offensive at worst. Within each minority language, however, different dialects do exist. For example, VII Com., XIII Com, and Lusérn Cimbrian are ‘dialects’ of Cimbrian. To avoid terminological problems, the more neutral term ‘linguistic variety’ is used throughout this book as an alternative to ‘dialect’ or ‘minority language’. It is not the most commonly used label, but it allows one to focus on the similarities that all these varieties share: they are non-standardized varieties that are primarily oral in use and highly local in nature.

1.3 Digital tools and the linguistic data

Aside from the linguistic aspects, the field of *Digital Humanities* has a central role in this research, and it holds many exciting new possibilities for the social sciences, including linguistics. There is an increasing role that digital tools play not just in conducting research, but also in sharing, dissemination, and accounting for linguistic research and its results. This project works with digital tools and practices in the areas of data collection, data dissemination, public outreach, and engagement. The online data collection methodology is a core element of the overall project and it formed a decisive factor in the design of the stimuli, the recruitment of participants, and the registration of the data. The data is made available to a general audience through the VinKo platform a selection of audio files is made accessible and searchable for a general audience as a way to disseminate research results in an open and transparent manner with the goal to highlight multilingualism in the Triveneto area, situate dialects and minority languages in the context of validated linguistic varieties worthy of scientific study, and return collected data to its speech communities which supplied the data. This aspect is elaborated on and discussed in detail in part I of this dissertation.

The data on which this research has been based is open access data available to anyone interested. The full dataset is also shared and openly accessible to the scientific community, through either research admin access of the VinKo website or via the ERCC repository of Eurac using the following handle: <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12124/32> (Rabanus et al. 2021). All audio files connected to VinKo examples in this dissertation can be found using the provided label (e.g. T0101_vec_U0300) in the repository. For a full explanation of the labeling of the audio and the use of the repository, please see section 3.4.2.

1.3.1 Note on transcription

The project collected only audio recordings from speakers, meaning that the transcriptions were made at a later stage by the researchers, but not provided by the speakers themselves. The spelling conventions adopted throughout this publication differ per language variety. While some of the minority languages (Mòcheno and Cimbrian) have developed standardized orthographies, the majority of the linguistic varieties do not have conventionalized spelling and in many cases are not commonly used in the written domain. A unified orthography for all five varieties is not conceivable, as the existing standards and historical conventions must be taken into account. Therefore there is a separate system of transcription for each variety, with the existing minority orthographies respected, and a practical approach taken for those varieties lacking a written standard. As a result, the use of a particular grapheme in one variety should not necessarily be taken as equal in realization in another variety. For example, the letter <z> would be pronounced as [z], [s] or [ʃ] in Cimbrian, in Mòcheno and Tyrolean as [ts], in Trentino as [θ] or [ð], and in Venetan its pronuncia-

tion could range from [θ], [s], [tʃ] to [ð], [z], [dʒ]. Each chapter on a different variety is headed by a short explanation of the chosen conventions highlighting the elements most important for understanding the transcription¹. A complete overview of all used orthographies for all varieties can be found in appendix A.

1.3.2 Notes on glossing

Concerning the interlinear morphological glossing of the examples, the Leipzig Glossing Rules are adhered to as much as possible. The glosses are as detailed as necessary for the argument being made, but reduced in other parts for practical considerations, i.e. to keep the glossing manageable and examples as concise as possible. In practical terms, this means that verbs are not generally glossed, as they are not the topic of discussion, while the pronouns and articles are glossed completely (to illustrate, compare examples (1-a) and (1-b)). It also alleviates having to in detail determine glosses for specific localities. They are not the focus and would require a lot of research to gloss adequately for each specific locality.

- (1) a. *fa ti la= dis la putela svojara a*
do.IMP.SG 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= say.3SG.PRS DEF.F.NOM girl(F) lazy.F to
quela brava e ela l'= aiuta l' alber
DIST.DEM.F.SG good.F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= help.3SG.PRS DEF.M tree(M)
e lo= scórla
and 3SG.M.ACC= shake.3SG.PRS
(Trentino, Folgaria; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0571)
- b. *fa ti la= dis la putela svojara a quella brava e*
do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.NOM girl(F) lazy.F to that.F good.F and
ela l'= aiuta l' alber e lo= scórla
3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M tree(M) and 3SG.M.ACC= shakes
(Trentino, Folgaria; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0571)
'You do it, says the lazy girl to the good one and she helps the tree and shakes it.'

In line with the Leipzig Glossing Rules, clitics are indicated with an equal sign '=', but contrary to the Rules, this sign is followed by a space (2-b) where this is the orthographic convention in the given language (2-a). This diversion from the Rules aims to keep the examples more readable for those used to the orthographic conventions of separating the proclitics from the verb than the practice of attachment to the verb (2-c).

- (2) a. *El cazadore el ghe dise la stria de fermarse e ela la proa a farghe 'na magia.*
- b. *El cazadore el= ghe= dise la stria de*
DEF.M.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 3SG.DAT= says DEF.F.ACC witch(F) to
fermar=se e ela la= proa a far=ghe 'na magia
stop=REFL and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
(Venetan, Legnago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_vec_U0300)
- c. *El cazadore el=ghe=dise la stria de*
DEF.M.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM=3SG.DAT=says DEF.F.ACC witch(F) to

¹Please see for Tyrolean on page 70, Mòcheno on page 108, Cimbrian on page 122, Trentino on page 150, and Venetan on page 165.

fermar=se e ela la=proa a far=ghe 'na magia
 stop=REFL and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM=tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
 (Venetan, Legnago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_vec_U0300)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop, but she tries to hex him.’

In cases of a syncretism of a form, only the gloss appropriate to the given sentence is used and not all different meanings are provided (hence, the glossing provides morphosyntactic annotations). This is also a way to keep glossing and examples consistent, without having to include the full paradigmatic setting for a specific locality in examples where this is not the point. To exemplify, glossing like in (3-a) is never used since a word cannot be both nominative and accusative in a single sentence. Instead, only the function within a given sentence is glossed, as in (3-b).

- (3) a. *Si rennen in=s Dorf zurück und bitten*
 3PL.NOM/ACC run in=DEF.SG.N.NOM/ACC village(N) back and ask
in Jaagr um Hilfe
 DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter(M) for help
 (Tyrolean, Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0379)
- b. *Si rennen in=s Dorf zurück und bitten in*
 3PL.NOM run in=DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jaagr um Hilfe
 hunter(M) for help
 (Tyrolean, Montan/Montagna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0379)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

In both Romance and the Germanic language varieties, the same labels are applied, meaning that the terms ‘nominative’ (NOM), ‘accusative’ (ACC), and ‘dative’ (DAT) are used throughout. In some cases, this might seem slightly misleading as it suggests that the Romance varieties have distinct inflectional case marking similar to the Germanic varieties, e.g. compare examples (4-a) and (4-b), whereas it would be more accurate to say that a form is used in a specific grammatical relation. As one of the major aims of the project concerns the comparison of the different linguistic examples, it has been chosen to keep the examples consistently glossed across different varieties using the labels ‘nominative’, ‘accusative’, and ‘dative’ rather than using ‘subject’, ‘object’, and ‘indirect object’, (compare (4-b) and (4-c)).

- (4) a. *Mir sein entkemma, ober sui sein gfangen*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM are captured
 (Tyrolean, Latsch/Laces; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tir_U0365)
- b. *Noialtri semo scapè, mentre lori i= è stè ciapè*
 1PL.NOM are escaped while 3PL.NOM 3PL.NOM= are been captured
 (Venetan, Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0298)
- c. *Noialtri semo scapè, mentre lori i= è stè ciapè*
 1PL.SBJ are escaped while 3PL.SBJ 3PL.SBJ= are been captured
 (Venetan, Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0298)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured!”

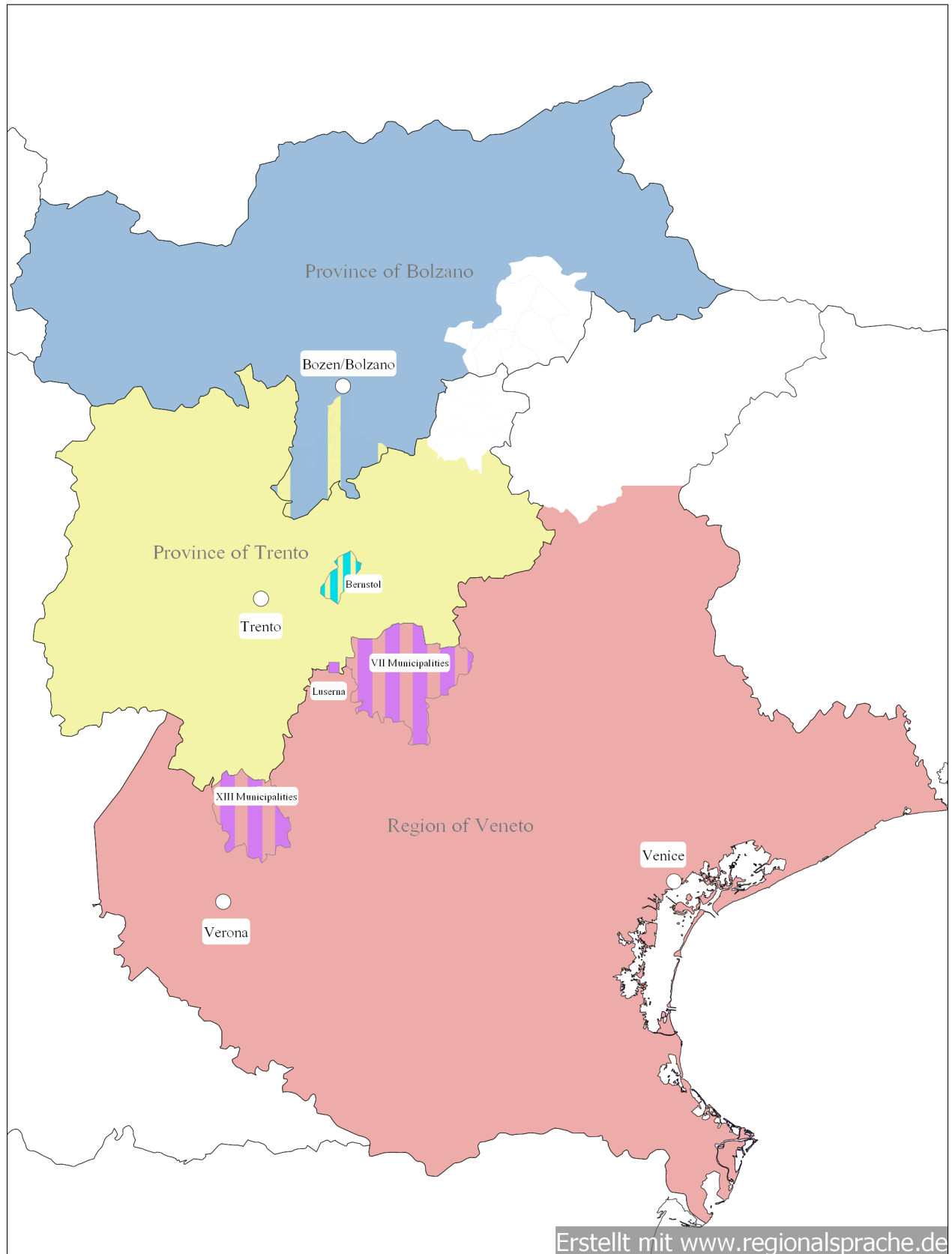


Figure 1.1: The autonomous region of Trentino-South Tyrol and the Veneto region; Tyrolean indicated in blue, Trentino in yellow, Mòcheno in cyan, Cimbrian in purple, and Venetan in red.

Part I

Crowdsourcing linguistic data

2. Crowdsourcing non-standard linguistic data

This book is composed out of two parts. The first part discusses and assesses the digital methodology used to gather the linguistic data for the second part. This chapter is similarly divided into two parts: the first section discusses some basic background on crowdsourcing scientific data, its applications in linguistics in general, and an overview of existing digital projects in the survey area. The second part focuses on the case paradigms of the Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto regions of the pronominal paradigms and the singular articles providing a detailed description of the surface forms and underlying case patterns found in the Tyrolean, Trentino, and Venetan dialects and the minority languages Mòcheno and Cimbrian.

The field of Digital Humanities and the use of digital and online tools have seen a major increase in the last decade as it is becoming increasingly clear that there are potentially huge amounts of data to be gained. Linguistics has traditionally been an early adapter of digital tools, and also outside of the corpus and computational linguistics, digital technologies are rapidly being adopted. For dialectology and non-standard language research, digital tools offer many new options by increasing access to geographically remote places, making it easier to include minority language groups, and broadening the pool of potential participants and survey locations. Apart from advances in data collection, the doors are opened to new and diverse ways of data distribution adapted to many different audiences; from complete open access data for more transparent and reproducible research to user-friendly online platforms for outreach and community engagement. Despite the technological advances, in many aspects, digital atlases and online linguistic projects are not fundamentally different from their offline historic counterparts. Large-scale linguistic atlases preceding the digital age, e.g. the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (Wrede, Martin, and Mitzka 1927) or the AIS (*Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz*) (Jaberg and Jud 1928), used what could be seen as a form of crowdsourcing, through the sending out of paper questionnaires or by conducting telephone questionnaires in order to gather a large selection of dialect language data. Nowadays, crowdsourcing is much more affordable and manageable for smaller projects resulting in a wide use for a vast array of different applications and objectives (more details in section 2.1). The accessibility and relative low cost of digital data collection has created a dynamic new field with smaller areas of investigation, and also very fast developments in terms of methodology, application, and research topics. This rapid development also raises questions regarding the validity of the collected data, how and where these strategies can be implemented, and how this affects the data and the project design. The area of the Triveneto is no exception to this trend, seeing the development of both online adaptations of older atlases (e.g. NavigAIS in Tisato 2010) as well as newer projects using online questionnaires (e.g. Verba Alpina, cf. Krefeld and Lücke 2014) (more details in 2.3).

2.1 Crowdsourcing data

While the principles behind crowdsourcing are not new, the term *crowdsourcing* as it is used today is tied deeply with the Internet and the online dimension. Broad definitions of the term do include instances of offline participatory projects and bottom-up approaches, while more narrow definitions restrict it only to top-down online projects (cf. Brabham 2013). Regardless of the definition handled, it cannot be denied that crowdsourcing has taken wing in the digital age, in which it has developed into a very cost-effective tool with a low participation threshold for all sorts of fields, ranging from serving as a cheap labor pool for large companies as well as cost-effective solutions for low-resourced languages. It harnesses the power of crowds by using people's expertise, creativity, and teamwork in combination with the statistical advantages of large data to arrive at reliable results. There are many different motivations for people to participate in crowdsourcing, which can be divided into two main types: extrinsic motivators (e.g. financial rewards) and intrinsic motivators (e.g. fun) (Brabham 2013:61-68). Extrinsic motivators are applied, for example, by providing monetary incentives through large crowdsourcing platforms like Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Platforms such as these have in the past successfully been used for tasks like speech processing (McGraw 2013). Intrinsic motivations tap into people's interests or their will to contribute to projects which are regarded as beneficial to their communities. Intrinsic motivations form the backbone of most academic projects, though the type of project, the tasks, and the targeted community largely determine what type of motivation can be and should be used in a given project. Tasks which are repetitive or boring or ones which seem to have minimal impact are unlikely to gather much intrinsic motivation from people, necessitating the use of monetary compensation. Practical and ethical considerations should be weighed carefully before deciding on a type of motivator. Rewarding people for their time and work, particularly if working with low-income and vulnerable communities, can be vital in creating mutually beneficial relationships and maximizing the positive social impact of a project (cf. Abraham et al. 2020). On the other hand, participants with intrinsic motivation have been known to outperform those with extrinsic motivators (Brabham 2013:62), and financial rewards can also function as motivators for supplying faulty data or cheating the system, necessitating very rigorous quality control (Wang et al. 2017).

Regardless of the motivations of participants, quality control of the data remains a pressing issue. There is persisting skepticism towards online anonymous data, perhaps because many of us still have dire warnings about the (un)reliability of Wikipedia from our teachers echoing in our ears, yet there is little evidence to base these suspicions on. There are potential risks and issues which must be considered and addressed in crowdsourced projects (cf. Wang et al. 2017), however, there is no indication that crowdsourced data are systematically less reliable than data collected through regular fieldwork. There are actually very positive reports from crowdsourcing projects both with monetary rewards (McGraw 2013; Abraham et al. 2020) and without (e.g. Semenzin et al. 2020), in which the crowd performed at a level of or even outperformed researchers in labelling or classification tasks. The factors influencing data quality and determining the inherent risks of using crowdsourcing mostly come down to the aims of the research, the type of data collected, and its intended applications. For example, a study collecting Japanese dialect data found that their audio data collected using online crowdsourcing was noisier and had some more mistakes than the recordings taken within a lab setting (Takamichi and Saruwatari 2018). There is anecdotal evidence that a small percentage of audio recordings collected in an online anonymous survey, were not in fact representative of the targeted dialect (for example, Leivada, D'Alessandro, and Grohmann

2019 mention some incorrect data for Cypriot Greek supplied by people who were not actually speakers of that variant). On the other hand, this issue is not restricted to online crowdsourcing, as the misrepresentation of linguistic knowledge by a participant is also a well-known risk of in-person fieldwork and, regardless of the used methodology, this risk should always be tested for (Chelliah and Reuse 2011:176-7). The risk of speakers misrepresenting their linguistic competence can be minimized by not incentivizing it (meaning no monetary rewards). The type of task also determines how susceptible a project is to such things: while active production is difficult to fake, it is much easier to bluff or skip your way through passive judgments or multiple choice.

The amount of data that can be collected using crowdsourcing is not just dependent on the motivations of participants, but also on the size of the participant pool and what expertise the provided tasks ask for. Larger platforms, like *Zooniverse*, are directed at a wide multinational and multilingual public, which with a minimum amount of training should be able to successfully complete tasks. These types of tasks can, for example, involve annotations tasks (e.g. infant speech vocalizations Semenzin et al. 2020) or digitization tasks, e.g. of paper maps where the automatic assignment of number and text using OCR is impossible (see Tisato 2020 for a very complete discussion of the technical and practical issues regarding the digitization of such data), as was done as part of the *Verba Alpina* project for the AIS (Jaberg and Jud 1928)(see their page at: *Verba Alpina* (*Zooniverse*)). In principle, participation in larger platforms, like *Zooniverse*, is open to anyone with access to the internet and a working knowledge of the English language, and they have proven to provide very active participant pools for non-expert tasks. The success of a project largely comes down to how easy tasks are to complete and its content, often the ones having direct and important social impacts (e.g. digitization of documents files of victims of National Socialism persecution) or those targeting people's specific interests shared across a wide audience (e.g. classifying galaxies or identifying Beluga whales) doing extremely well.

Crowdsourcing for the collection of dialect data requires participants with very specific expertise, severely limiting the potential pool of participants. Apart from being fluent or native speakers, most tasks also require a certain level of metalinguistic awareness, the ability to reflect on one's language, and, depending on the task, the ability to translate provided language stimuli. The more specific profile of participant targeted and the more expertise is needed for successful completion of the task, the smaller the potential population that can participate. The approach to crowdsourcing this type of data must be directly targeted at the interest groups, and cannot be offered in general open platforms. The smaller the target group is, the more effective the outreach efforts have to be. The outputs of the project have to be in line with the interests of the community to mobilize enough participants to collect a decent amount of data. As part of smaller speech communities, there might be positive or negative influence from language prestige and local linguistic and/or cultural identity. By tapping into people's interests and national or local identities, as well as making the tasks fun and short, participation can be encouraged. If these motivators are properly mobilized, they should result not only in an increase in the number of participants, but also in the promotion of the project through the participants' personal networks. Perhaps one of the most successful crowdsourcing projects making use of these principles is *Dialäkt Äpp* (cf. Leemann et al. 2016), which targeted Swiss dialect phonological features with a 'dialect guessing game' and gathered data from nearly 60,000 speakers. Such *gamification* or the use of 'GWAP' Games With A Purpose, can be a way to inspire interest among speakers and make the tasks more fun increasing the intrinsic motivation for participating and making it more likely to advertise to those around them. For example, this principle was applied in *metropolitalia*, which used two different games aimed at collecting

language perception data on Italian dialects (Bry et al. 2013). Players collect points while participating, rewarding participation and allowing for gaining different ranks, reaching 595 participants in a seven-month period.

Apart from expertise, another big factor that influences the potential participant pool is technology. First of all, there is a barrier of access to the used technology, as participants might need a digital device, active connection to the internet, and sometimes even a specific operating system (e.g. *Dialäkt Äpp* only worked on iOS devices). Secondly, participants need basic literacy and technical skills to successfully participate in the project (e.g. Abraham et al. 2020 provided solutions to some of these problems for collecting data in rural India). In most communities, there is a significant generational digital divide. While older or more rural speakers are quite commonly regarded as the best speakers of ‘authentic’ dialect varieties or can be the most knowledgeable about local lexicon or cultural practices, they are not best suited to online tasks. These types of issues may be minimized either by using technical solutions (e.g. offline working modes, use of icons, etc.) or by employing social networks to interact. For example, the *Microcontact* project aimed at collecting Romance dialect data in Europe and the Americas targeted its crowdsourcing at older speakers by encouraging younger users of the platform to turn to their older (less technologically aware so less likely to run into the project themselves) relatives to supply the data. This inter-generational data collection has the added bonus of encouraging participation across a larger social network. On the other hand, it has the downside of needing to mobilize two different participant groups (the younger need to mobilize the older) and this potentially makes the threshold to participation higher.

The medium in which the questionnaires are presented affects the type of tasks that can be offered and who can participate. Many of the aforementioned projects use websites, meaning that they are best accessed from devices with larger screens, e.g. computers or tablets. On the other side of the specter, there are projects with a dedicated app for data collection, which are therefore restricted to smart devices, e.g. phones or tablets. A few examples of this type of project include the aforementioned Swiss *Dialäkt Äpp*, a Luxembourgian app *Schnëssen* 2018, which collects audio data for Luxembourgish and publishes the results within the app as well as on its website, and the Dutch *Stimmen* 2017, which collects lexical data for Frisian and represents its results in a game. Projects run exclusively through an app interface necessarily also have to adapt their methods. Questionnaires are shorter by necessity and there is a real risk of more audio interference as tasks can be done on the go and outside of the home/office environment. Apps tend to have very short questionnaires, but frequent updates that provide users with new questionnaires in regular intervals. This means that participants are actively engaged and participating with the project over a longer period of time, and hopefully get more actively involved with the project as a result of this (Hasse, Bachmann, and Glaser 2020).

2.2 Online data representation

Apart from new ways of data collection, digital data also allows for many different representation opportunities. The digital representation of datasets and/or of research results comes in many shapes and sizes: they might be scholarly digital editions of classical works, translated and glossed videos of traditional storytelling, or interactive language maps. In theory, the options are limitless. In practice, the options are restricted by the format and structure of the original database.

The chosen format depends on the desired outcomes and technical possibilities, but above all,

the intended audience. Communication to the academic community comes in different shapes, but mainly focuses on the promotion of transparent research and sharing primary data which can be used in future research or for reproducing research results. This can be achieved by providing complete datasets with human-readable metadata which is sufficient for providing context and knowledge to actively examine and use the dataset itself. There are very general repositories, like *Zenodo* or *OSF*, which allow for easy uploading and archiving of the data and producing shareable links to the research and their datasets (for example see Griscom 2020). On the other hand, there are subject-specific repositories that specialize in a certain type of field or data and have added advantages of being able to provide expertise in the specific type of data being uploaded and situating datasets in a contextualized area that is recognizable to users (e.g. Endangered Language Archive (ELAR), e.g. Griscom and Harvey 2021).

While these sources are in principle also accessible to non-researchers (in some privacy restricted sections, even only accessible to community members), they often do not directly connect with the interest of the general public and do not easily engage people without prior knowledge and the right set of terminology (and language skills; in English). For communication to a general audience, short brief texts offering explanations with a selection of the data can be much more effective (e.g. *Verba Africana Verba Africana* on oral practices in Africa), or other more interactive formats like language games (e.g. *Ierappels-Game* (Stimmen 2017) on Frisian or *Hör mal, wo der spricht* pinpointing the German dialect) or interactive language maps which geographically locate their data, allowing speakers to explore their own interests within the scope of the dataset (e.g. *Verba Alpina* Krefeld and Lücke 2014).

2.3 Digital projects in the Triveneto

The field of online data collection projects is a dynamic and rapidly growing field, and the area of Triveneto is no exception to this. This section cannot offer an exhaustive overview of all digital projects in this area, but instead aims to highlight some of the most important projects, which shape the digital landscape in which the VinKo platform is situated, and to illustrate in what ways VinKo can contribute to this field.

The most online accessible data in the area comes from linguistic atlases, traditionally sourced with fieldwork, which have made their databases available online, often with a high degree of searchability, allowing for filtering of the data. Some examples of this are the *NavigAIS* (Tisato 2010) which is the online format of (a part of) the *AIS* (Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz) (Jaberg and Jud 1928), which includes data of the Romance language varieties spoken in Italy and Southern Switzerland, and the *AMDV* (Atlante Multimediale dei Dialetti Veneti) (Tisato et al. 2013) which aims to be its counterpart for the Veneto dialects. Half of the data from the *AIS* (Jaberg and Jud 1928) is online accessible via the *AIS reloaded* project (*AISr*) (Loporcaro et al. 2019) from the University of Zurich, which provides searchable digital version of the older maps in the areas of Switzerland and Italy and recent data collected using the same questionnaires, allowing for a diachronic comparison of the two datasets. Many of the linguistic atlas projects, particularly those incorporating audio data, take their inspiration from the *Atlante linguistico del ladino dolomitico e dei dialetti limitrofi* (Atlant linguistic dl ladin dolomitich y di dialec vejins) which is a long-running project which primary focus is documentation of the different varieties of Ladin, and includes data on Badiot, Fodom, Fassan, Ampezzano, and Gardenese. The *Atlante*

linguistico del ladino dolomitico e dei dialetti limitrofi started with publishing their audio data on CDs and has since progressed to audio maps (Goebl 1998). Another long-term and greatly influential project is *VIVALDI* (Vivaio Acustico delle Lingue e Dialetti d'Italia) (cf. Kattenbusch 1995), which has been running for more than twenty years (Tosques and Castellarin 2014) and at the moment includes linguistic data with audio files from all Italian regions, including the Triveneto. It also includes linguistic data on the non-Italo-Romance language varieties spoken in Italy, including Tyrolean, Cimbrian, Mòcheno, and the Ladin varieties. This project has a strong DH component and has started efforts towards formulating best practices and standards for online speech atlases (Müller 2008; Müller, Köhler, and Kattenbusch 2001). There are also other projects which are taking a more central role in paving the road towards creating and formulating standard practices for digital dialect libraries, so that results may be directly interoperable and comparable with other dialect collections abroad, e.g. *ASIt* (Poletto and Beninca 2007; Agosti et al. 2011; Agosti et al. 2012). The *ASIt* (Atlante Sintattico d'Italia) is a syntactic atlas and includes data from all over Italy, including the Romance dialects of the Triveneto area and the Ladin varieties. The largest databases on the German varieties in the area is the project *Regionalsprache.de* (REDE) (for extensive project descriptions in German see Ganswindt, Kehrein, and Lameli 2015 or in English see Limper, Pheiff, and Williams 2020). It includes digital copies of historic data on the Tyrolean dialects (e.g. incorporating the Digitaler Wenker-Atlas (DiWA), Lameli, Purschke, and Rabanus 2015 and the Tirolischer Sprachatlas (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965)). It is also a project which is taking a leading role in the creation of digital infrastructure and best practices in data management and online representation of research materials in the general field of linguistics. Their SprachGIS integrates the different databases in a geographically referenced representation, including links to copies of primary data like questionnaire pages and audio files.

Apart from functioning as a central digital infrastructure, REDE also works on the collection of regional language data of German by crowdsourcing short online questionnaires, which are updated from time to time, so that the same speakers can contribute multiple times to the project (Kasper and Pheiff 2019). They are among a growing number of projects that are using online tools not only for online representation but also for collecting data online. Over the larger Alpine area, including the Triveneto area, *Verba Alpina* is an online data project (Krefeld and Lücke 2014) which combines lexical data collection and representation with a fully-functional interactive map. It focuses in particular on lexical items which might be disappearing from the lexicon, as they are part of the more traditional occupations of farming or local practices, and collects data across Romance and Germanic varieties. Another project which collects data online, not only in the Northern Italian area but also in overseas dialect diaspora communities, is *Microcontact*, which combines a crowdsourcing approach with fieldwork. Their current online atlas includes only a small number of Veneto locations (5 in total), and they invite older speakers to record a short audio recording of free speech.

The VinKo project (for full project details, see chapter 3) aims to add to these existing resources and to offer something new to existing projects both in data and methodology. Where these projects often elicit a limited range of linguistic variables with, frequently, a strong emphasis on the lexicon (e.g. (*NavigAIS*, the *AMDV*, and *Verba Alpina*) or syntactical data (cf. *ASIt*), VinKo collects a larger range of variables, in the areas of phonology, morphology, and syntax, and focuses on collecting oral data through crowdsourcing. Apart from the tools used and the range of linguistic variables, VinKo has a very strong multilingual focus and specifically aims to collect this wide variety of linguistic variables across two structurally and typologically diverse language families, Romance

and Germanic, resulting in the creation of cross-linguistically comparable stimuli for the research of language contact effects. Lastly, the collected data is published in a repository for use of the academic community and on the public website primarily aimed at interacting with non-linguist users, lending the project a strong community-collaborative aspect, which at the moment is absent from many other projects working in the region.

2.4 Conclusions

On the background of the issues which have been introduced in the previous sections and with an eye on the literature on crowdsourcing, the digital humanities part of the dissertations aims to address and answer some of these issues. Chapter 3 first introduces the VinKo platform and its technical set-up, and chapter 4 discusses the set-up of the morphological questionnaire which formed the basis for the data collection.

Chapter 5 is focused on the assessment and evaluation of the chosen methodology. Firstly, it aims to evaluate the concrete quantitative effects of online crowdsourcing methodologies. The primary question to answer is: Do online crowdsourced methodologies supply the amount of data to warrant the investment into the digital infrastructure? Secondly, it critically evaluates the potential qualitative effects of online data collection. Its main questions are: Is online collected data valid and is the collected data reflective of true dialect systems? Thirdly, it evaluates the outreach efforts of the VinKo methodology and participants' responses to the tasks and questionnaires. It evaluates how effective VinKo's outreach strategies have been in mobilizing the crowd, and how task design influences participant evaluation.

3. VinKo (Varieties in Contact)

“Un po’ troppo lungo”

Anonymous user

VinKo stands for *Varieties in Contact/Varietà in Contatto/Varietäten in/m Kontakt* and it is the name used to denote both the larger project and the accompanying digital infrastructure. It nicely captures the multilingual nature of the project and its research goals, which concern the collection of linguistic data in a multilingual area and online representation of multilingualism and linguistic heritage. The project is funded by the *Progetto di Eccellenza* in Digital Humanities (2018-2022) at the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Verona and in co-operation with the University of Trento with collaborating researchers at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano and the University of L’Aquila. *VinKo* was first conceptualized as a result of the *AThEME* project at the University of Verona to address some of the limitations of traditional field-work methodologies and to aid in streamlining data management and storage (see section 3.1). The *VinKo* website <www.vinko.it> is built using open source softwares¹ and has two public interfaces: the data collection interface for participants, which requires the creation of log-in credentials and provides access to the linguistic questionnaires (see section 3.2), and the data representation interface for the general public, which does not require log-in credentials and provides access to the collected audio files and basic linguistic resources for the linguistic varieties under investigation (see section 3.3). For researchers, *VinKo* offers access to the complete database through the password-protected admin interface. The complete dataset is also available through a public repository to ensure the preservation and accessibility of the data for the long-term future (see section 3.4).

3.1 Origins and versions

VinKo is the intellectual offspring of an earlier project called *AThEME* (Advancing the European Multilingual Experience), which was a large-scale collaborative project funded by the European Union in the period of 2014-2019. The Northern Italian branch of the Regional Languages part of the project was based at the Universities of Verona and Trento. It focused on complementing the description and analysis of grammatical diversity of the regional languages of Trentino-South

¹Technical specifications: programming/scripting languages: HTML5, PHP, JavaScript; database management system: MySQL community edition; geographic information system: Leaflet JavaScript library for interactive maps, connected to OpenStreetMap; audio recorder: MediaStream Recording API; web server: Apache on Linux.

Tyrol and investigating the possible effects of multilingualism on grammar changes in a situation of contact between regional and standard languages. The AThEME research was conducted using 'traditional' offline data collection methods in the form of paper questionnaires with written responses and recorded oral responses. The resulting dataset was composed of large unsegmented audio files and scans of the paper transcriptions and notes. The project collected an extensive amount of data for each location, and worked with two questionnaires; a phonological questionnaire (on obstruents, sibilants, and rhotics) composed of 180 words and a morphosyntactic questionnaire (e.g. pro drop, syntax of clitics and auxiliary selection) ranging from 42 to 75 sentences depending on the language variety. Fieldwork was conducted in 11 different locations for 7 different linguistics varieties². Three participants, each from a different age group³ were interviewed for all locations. The resulting data were of good quality and revealed a higher level of microvariation than was previously predicted, with a high degree of surface variation. Despite these successes, there are considerable practical limitations to doing in-person fieldwork, as it is very time and labor-intensive with each location taking at least a full day to complete. As a result, it was beyond the scope of the project to gather data from the necessary number of locations to provide a large-scale and comprehensive analysis of microvariation in the area (Cordin et al. 2018).

VinKo was designed to solve the practical issues encountered in AThEME and to collect data for a high number of locations allowing for a finely meshed documentation of microvariation in the area. The first design and conceptualization of the VinKo project, here referred to as VinKo 1.0, was designed as part of the AThEME project and was, like AThEME, a collaboration of the Universities of Trento and Verona (see Cordin et al. 2018 on VinKo 1.0). VinKo 1.0 collected data using reduced versions of the AThEME questionnaires. The phonological questionnaire was reduced to 31-35 words and presented as a pronunciation task of words in the target-language specific transliterations (sometimes translations into the interface are added in order to avoid ambiguities, e.g. *presa* in Trentino dialect means *fretta* 'hurry' and not 'grip' as in standard Italian). The morpho-syntactic questionnaire was reduced to 43-55 sentences and presented as a translation task from standard Italian or German depending on the language variety chosen by the participant (Italian for speakers of Trentino, Venetan, Mòcheno, Cimbrian, and all Ladin varieties; German for speakers of Tyrolean). Contrary to AThEME, responses were not written down but recorded as oral responses by the participants themselves. The resulting audio files are segmented for each stimulus and stored in a central database. Apart from the data collection interface, the public website of VinKo 1.0 held little information, outside of participation instructions, a project description, and a static map showing all the locations for which questionnaires had been collected. VinKo version 1.0 was online in the period of 2017 to 2018 in which it collected 99 complete questionnaires from 58 locations. After 2018, it became part of the *Progetto di Eccellenza* of Digital Humanities program of the University of Verona and the PRIN "TREiL" project of the University of Trento, and it evolved into version 2.0.

The current version of VinKo, here referred to as VinKo 2.0, is the continuation of and improvement on VinKo 1.0. It shows the ongoing work in the realization of the initial concepts of the project in the areas of data representation, data management, and community engagement. It has seen further elaboration in the areas of online methodology for data collection and open data man-

²Trentino dialect (Brentonico, Fondo, and Salorno/Salurn); Fassan Ladin (Soraga, Vigo di Fassa); Fodom Ladin (Livinallongo); Tyrolean dialect (Salorno/Salurn, Mals/Malles, Landeck (AU)); Cimbrian (Lusérn); Mòcheno (Roveda/Oachleit); Venetan dialect (San Pietro Morubio).

³One participant under the age 35, one between the ages of 35 and 64, and one of 65 years or older.

agement and archiving. There are two major areas where VinKo 1.0 and 2.0 have crucial differences which make the distinction between the two versions meaningful: in the first place their questionnaire content and methods, and secondly the public interfaces. Where VinKo 1.0 had two, VinKo 2.0 has three questionnaires; a phonological, a morphological, and a syntactic questionnaire. The phonological and syntactic questionnaires are adapted versions of the VinKo 1.0 questionnaires, with the same methodology but (partial) differences in stimuli. The morphological questionnaire is entirely new and employs a picture-aided translation and guided free-production task (for a detailed description of its task design, see chapter 4). The public website of VinKo 2.0 has been greatly added to with respect to version 1.0 and now includes different sections specifically aimed at community engagement, minority language and dialect representation, and transparent research (more about this in section 3.3). VinKo 2.0 remains an ongoing project and in the period of 2018 to the moment of writing (2021) it has collected 193 questionnaires from 122 locations. While the differences between versions 1 and 2 of VinKo are crucial in showing the evolution of the project, throughout this book the term ‘VinKo’ can be taken to be synonymous with ‘VinKo 2.0’, unless specified otherwise.

3.2 Data collection

Anyone who is proficient in the Trentino, Tyrolean, or Venetan dialects or is a speaker of a minority language, meaning any Ladin variety, Mòcheno or Cimbrian, can participate in the VinKo project. By going to the VinKo website <www.vinko.it> and clicking ‘Participate!’, participants are asked to consent to the privacy and data-protection conditions (Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Italy (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IT)) and create a personal profile. An email address is needed in the creation of the profile, but this data is encrypted and not accessible to the research team ensuring that data collection is anonymous. The created profile enables participants to pause data collection and return to the questionnaires at a later point, and request deletion of their data should they wish to do so in the future (in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation of the European Union). During registration, participants are asked to supply some basic personal data; age, gender, linguistic variety, municipality of their linguistic variety (only Italian municipalities in the administrative regions of Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto can be chosen), and self-assessed proficiency, frequency of usage and interaction partners (family, friends) for the chosen linguistic variety. Participants are free to choose Italian or German as the interface language.

Once registered, participants are presented with the linguistic questionnaires. The questionnaires are labeled in understandable language and avoid using linguistic terminology; “Tales” for the morphological questionnaire, “Sentences” for the syntactic questionnaire, and “Words” for the phonological questionnaire. The morphological questionnaire “Tales” is presented first, the remaining two follow directly after in random order. Before the start of each task in the morphological section and the tasks of the syntactic and phonological sections, written instructions (in the morphological questionnaire including an example sentence with response) on how to complete the task are provided. Instructions are presented in Italian or German depending on the language variety indicated in a participant’s profile. During the questionnaires, participants are presented with the stimuli one by one. Participants are asked to record oral responses using the internal microphones of their computer or phone. Instructions on how to enable the microphone and how to operate the

recording buttons are presented at the beginning of the questionnaire and can be accessed at any time during the questionnaire. The questionnaires are self-timed and participants are free to correct or improve upon their initial recordings by recording a new response and deleting the faulty one. Allowing participants to listen to their own recordings straight away ensures that problems with the microphone can be caught and corrected at once. Once participants are satisfied with their response they move on to the next stimulus by clicking the ‘Next’ button. Stimuli that speakers are unsure about or prefer not to translate can be skipped by pressing ‘Skip’. The progress bar at the top of the page indicates how many stimuli are left within a particular section. See figure 3.1 for illustration. Registration can be stopped at any point during the questionnaire and progress is saved. With the log-in credentials, participants can return at a later point and continue the questionnaire from the point where they stopped. VinKo can be used on any digital device, e.g. computer, tablet, or smartphone, though the visualization at the moment is best suited to laptops and desktops and for the moment, it does not support iOS devices.



Figure 3.1: Example of presented stimulus

Since VinKo collects data remotely, participants have no direct access to researchers to ask for clarification about certain tasks or ask for help with technical issues. As such, VinKo aims to provide an intuitive user interface that is easy to operate, requiring no more than the most basic IT skills, and clear instructions for each task. For the most part, participants had no problems operating the audio recording system, only 14% experienced some technical problems with the audio registration. The lack of iOS support was the most commented upon technical issue and this will be addressed in the near future. Speakers participate voluntarily in their free time without monetary retribution, so the questionnaire overall aims to be of manageable length and be (relatively) fun to motivate participants to complete all sections. Participant evaluation shows that for a large part, these goals are being met since the questionnaires and the website overall have been generally reviewed favorably. Most commented upon is the length of the questionnaire, which is perceived to be too long (for detailed participant evaluation, see 5.3).

Finding participants was and still is one of the biggest challenges in the project. At different stages of the project, different strategies have been used. VinKo does not provide extrinsic motiva-

tions in the form of monetary rewards for participation but instead relies on participants' interest in local languages to supply sufficient intrinsic motivation to participate. Promotion of the VinKo platform and project has been done through various means.

The first version of VinKo mainly found its participants through some personal contacts at the local speech communities or through the student network at the university. The most outreach in VinKo 1.0 was done in the Trentino area. Apart from the promotion through the University of Trento and the personal networks of the researchers, the outreach efforts also included presentations at local institutions and the publication of articles in regional newspapers. As a result, the vast majority of speakers in VinKo 1.0 are from the Trentino area with 91 questionnaires. This resulted in Trentino dialect participants being good for 92% of the data, and all other varieties making up the remaining 8%.

The second version of VinKo used many of the same strategies, but this time organized from the University of Verona and the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. In the initial period after the publication of the new version, the platform was promoted to students in the Language departments of both universities, resulting in a sharp increase in Tyrolean participants and a smaller increase in Venetan speakers (it must be noted that Tyrolean dialect is spoken by speakers of all generations in Tyrol, while Venetan in the Veneto region is not spoken uniformly across the younger generation). In the following period, local institutions of the minority languages were contacted in an effort to find participants, and articles were written for publication in local periods and newspapers directed at Venetan dialect speakers, and Ladin speakers. The project was also featured on a news broadcast created in Cimbrian at the location of Lusérn. The most recent efforts are focused on the Veneto region, with a focus on the younger members of the communities. A currently ongoing sub-project of VinKo, called VinKiamo, educates Veneto high school students on dialect and non-standard languages and trains the students to assist older members of their local communities in participating with the VinKo survey (organized in the Italian "PCTO" system). Involving students has the added benefit of communicating research results to the general public, teaching them linguistic and communicative skills, and connecting the project on an intergenerational level. The first pilot in the spring of the 2020-2021 scholastic year has proved very promising. It resulted in 45 new questionnaires (around 6400 new audio recordings), which in relative terms meant a 50% increase in completed Venetan questionnaires and an 18% increase in locations in the Veneto region. The pilot was conducted in collaboration with three Veneto high schools, and future editions are aimed at including more schools and larger groups of students. For a more detailed account of the effects of different outreach initiatives on the participant numbers and profile, please see 5.1.

3.3 Data representation

Online technologies do not just offer new ways of sourcing language data, but also provide many opportunities for interactive data representation, increasing the potential diffusion of research results and improving the accessibility of research data for a general audience. Traditional language atlas outputs, e.g. books, maps, and CDs, are often kept behind a 'pay-wall' in libraries or private collections and might require physical presence to access. Free dissemination of research results is an important part of engaging the general public with scientific research, showcasing the work being done, and rendering research goals and outcomes visible, transparent and tangible. Online language atlases and linguistic repositories range in the aims of their online output. Many cater pri-

marily to the scientific community, e.g. *VIVALDI* (Vivaio Acustico delle Lingue e Dialetti d'Italia) (see Müller, Köhler, and Kattenbusch 2001), *ASIt* (Atlante Sintattico d'Italia) (see Agosti et al. 2011) or *REDE* (Regionalsprach.de) (cf. Fischer and Limper 2019), while others are aimed at the general public, primarily the communities of the research area, e.g. *Verba Alpina* (see Krefeld and Lücke 2014) being a good example of this for the larger Alpine region.

The public website of VinKo belongs to this second category and the target audiences are the communities that provide the research data. Since the data collection is entirely crowdsourced, the local speech communities are actively involved in the completion of the research project. The public website works from a ‘give-and-take’ approach, which repays the efforts put into the data provision by freely providing access to research results and focusing on the recognition of dialects and minority languages as important cultural heritage. The website has the general aim to promote the awareness of multilingualism in the area and showcase the amount of linguistic variety present. The two sections of the website aimed at fulfilling these goals are called ‘Listen & Explore’ and ‘Our varieties’. They can be accessed without credentials, and all pages are available in Italian and German, the standard languages of the local speech communities, and in English for a larger international audience.

The ‘Listen & Explore’ section is the core of the data representation area and contains audio data mapped by location on an interactive map, see figure 3.2. The map displays the audio recordings for selected sentences and words, which can be chosen from a drop-down menu and filtered for language variety or location. The data on display is a selection of the complete data set, made up out of 81% of the stimuli of the ‘Tales’ section, 20% of ‘Sentences’, and 16% of ‘Words’. The selected stimuli for ‘Tales’ and ‘Sentences’ are directly comparable across the different language groups of German, Italian, and Ladin. The ‘Word’ section presents different linguistic items for the varieties, which feature the same phonological feature, e.g. ‘How do we pronounce the sound [r]? *Jahr (anno) - morto / nord / smortsar (spegnere)*’. All data published on the public interface has been quality-checked to ensure that no empty or noisy audio files are present on the map. The general audience can use the map to learn more about the different varieties in their area and compare different language varieties. Those who participated in the questionnaires can find their own recordings on the map representing their local variety, rendering visible and validating their efforts⁴.

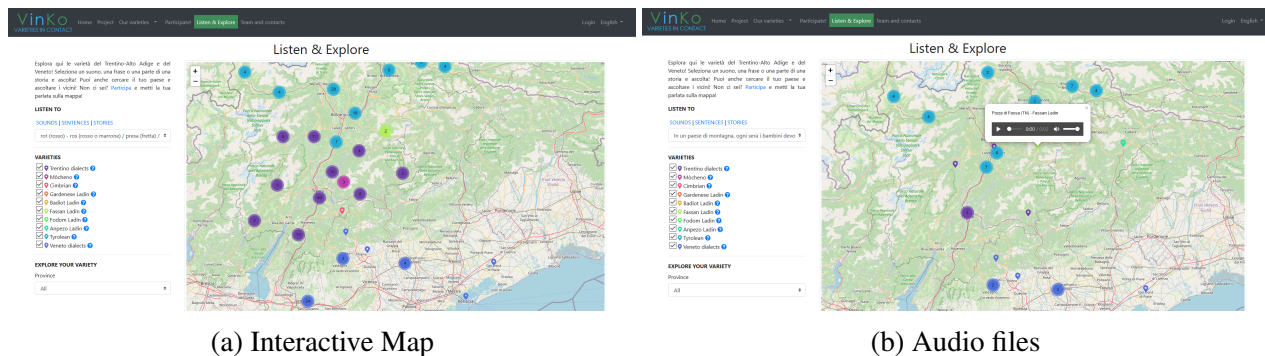


Figure 3.2: VinKo: Listen & Explore

⁴When speakers consent to the privacy and data protection form they are explicitly told that the audio files will be freely available online and, while completely anonymous, they do run the risk of being recognized by voice.

The second section ‘Our varieties’ contains general information about the linguistic varieties spoken in the area, e.g. language history, cultural identity, and existing resources. The main goal of these pages is to provide basic information into the rich histories of local varieties and to link users to the relevant linguistic sources and local institutions for further information. The language varieties and minority languages in the regions are spoken in communities with long-standing traditions of documentation and celebration of their cultures, languages, and history, and which house very well-functioning and actively involved community centers and cultural institutes. These institutions and interest groups are responsible for the creation and distribution of linguistic tools and resources concerning their communities. Especially many of the minority languages, e.g. Mòcheno, Cimbrian, and the Ladin varieties, have excellent linguistic resources available online which are open to anyone. These resources range from online dictionaries, like the online Cimbrian dictionary *Zimbarbort* (Nicolussi Golo, Nicolussi, and Panieri 2014), to linguistic tools, like spell checkers for different varieties of Ladin (*Correttore Ladino Val Badia*; *Correttore Ladino Gherdëina*), to multimedia libraries, like the *Mediateca Mochena* containing audiobooks and videos.

The community-directed website is not just a way to reward the efforts of the participants, but also serves to directly render the local languages more visible and include them as part of the digital domain, which can be a way of aiding the maintenance of local languages and raising prestige for the dialect varieties. Minority languages and dialects are experiencing not only linguistic pressure from the standard languages but also socioeconomic pressures. Younger generation speakers frequently move from rural communities to larger urban areas with more economic opportunities and in the process switch to speaking the standard or regional variety rather than local dialect or language. A large percentage of speakers stops using their local varieties when they move away from their place of birth and very few pass dialect knowledge on to their children. This is partly tied to linguistic surrounding and assimilation, but it is also intrinsically tied to the (generally low) prestige of local languages (for example, Cimbrian has seen challenges with families moving away from the Cimbrian core areas (Coluzzi 2005) and promoting local sustainable economic initiatives involving cultural tourism might help strengthen local languages (Lonardi, Martini, and Hull 2020)). An online presence and representation of minority and non-standard languages has been proven to have a positive effect on language prestige and language vitality and it can provide new domains of use for local varieties and be a way of strengthening relations in dispersed communities (cf. Eisenlohr 2004; Graziano 2020). The knowledge of having an ‘own’ language and being able to actively contribute to its documentation can be a powerful way of increasing the prestige and perceived value of the local languages in the eyes of participants. It can serve to reinforce local use and using the new technologies can stimulate contact between older and younger generations of speakers (cf. Dorian 2014; Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Jones 2014), which is further encouraged by the subproject VinKiamo in which high-school students are taught to assist older members of their local communities in participating at the VinKo survey.

The main aim of the public website is to showcase the linguistic variety in the survey area, to provide access to research results, to link to existing linguistic resources, and to ensure that the collaborating speech communities are well-represented online. To accomplish these goals the website must be well-structured, intuitive, and use understandable language rather than linguistic terminology. According to 96% of participants in the evaluation poll, the website managed to fulfill these goals. The ‘Listen & Explore’ section is positively evaluated with 92% indicating that they enjoy listening to the audio files available. ‘Our Varieties’ has also been well-received, with 90% of participants feeling that their dialect or minority language is satisfactorily represented on the

page and 85% found the provided resources sufficient. Most commonly heard feedback on these pages was the request for more detailed mapping of the linguistic varieties and more statistical data on the number of speakers or the extent of bilingualism, particularly concerning standard-dialect bilingualism. Unfortunately, census data concerning these types of bilingualism is lacking, but more detailed mapping can be provided in the future and the existing lists of resources and publications will be extended where needed.

3.4 Data management

Apart from the goal of gathering larger and more widespread data with VinKo, another important reason for the creation of the project was providing better data management by providing remote access to the data for researchers as well as long-term solutions for data storage and preservation. The data is currently stored on the server of the Department of Psychology and Cognitive Sciences (DIPSCO) at the University of Trento and will also be stored for a minimum of 5 years in the repository of the Project of Excellence in Digital Humanities of the University of Verona. For as long as the digital infrastructure can be maintained, the VinKo Admin interface remains available for the research community (see section 3.4.1). The long-term preservation of the data is ensured by storing all raw data at the Eurac Research Clarin Centre (ERCC) repository (see section 3.4.2).

3.4.1 Admin interface

Where the public website of VinKo contains only a selected part of the data, the admin interface provides the research community with access to the full database. The homepage of the admin interface is a dashboard that gives an overview of the total amount of questionnaires and the linguistic varieties they pertain to (see image 3.3a). Apart from the overview, it additionally links to pages containing the complete list of questionnaires and stimuli, a complete list of participant profiles and the accompanying speaker information (age, gender, location, variety, and usage), and all the audio files. Audio files can be filtered by stimuli, language variety, and for complete or partial questionnaires (see image 3.3b). Basic knowledge of Italian is needed to navigate the database, as this is currently the only supported interface language.

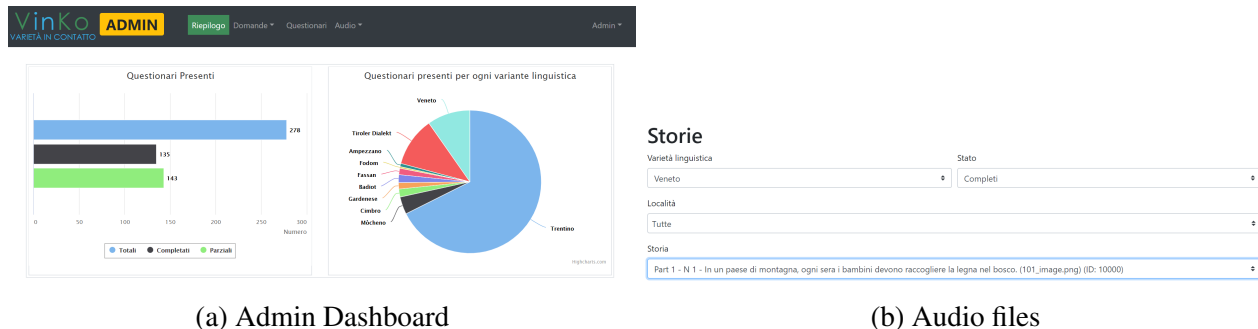


Figure 3.3: VinKo: Admin interface

Researchers or students who are interested in working with the data can request access to the admin area (which is password-restricted), which will be freely granted. Audio files can be down-

loaded directly from the admin interface so that they might be processed for phonological analysis programs like PRAAT or Audacity⁵. The database is not tagged or lemmatized, and filtering for linguistic features is not possible. The current query and filter options for the database are very limited and must be elaborated in the future to improve accessibility and usability (for example, the ASIt and VIVALDI databases have more extensive filter options). For the moment, it serves to make the data accessible for those interested, and the research reproducible and transparent.

3.4.2 Repository

The admin interface of VinKo is a good short-term solution for both storage and accessibility of the collected data, as it allows for easy remote access and filtering. However, this type of digital infrastructure requires maintenance, and since funding is ensured only in the short-term (up to 5 years after the ending of the Digital Humanities project at the University of Verona), the long-term future must be planned for. The new era of Digital Humanities brings opportunities and challenges in an equal measure when it comes to data preservation and dissemination. Digital media are notoriously short-lived with technological formats going obsolete roughly every 10 years, making their endurance and lifespan many times shorter than more traditional materials, like paper or stone⁶. To give our data the best chance at a long life, we strive to adhere as much as possible to FAIR data practices, which dictate that good data management for open research should aim for: Findability, Accessibility, Interoperability, and Reusability (Wilkinson et al. 2016). While seemingly straightforward and the expected standard for many funding agencies (e.g. large-scale research frameworks funded by the European Union like Horizon 2020 (*European Union* n.d.)), producing FAIR data is not without its challenges. Open access requires a critical look at privacy and data protection and provokes debate surrounding the concepts of data ownership and culturally sensitive materials, particularly when dealing with minority languages and communities (e.g. Turin, Wheeler, and Wilkinson 2013). The FAIR guidelines are open to interpretation and should function as goals to work towards rather than boxes to tick. Particularly for those working as individual researchers' or in small research groups, the prospect of needing to create fully FAIR datasets can be daunting, but luckily there are many platforms and tools freely available to aid in the first conceptualization of a data management plan⁷. There are many large non-specialized repositories in existence (e.g. *Zenodo*; *Figshare*; *Dryad*), but working with subject-specific repositories can combine knowledge of policy and long-term expertise with researchers' knowledge of their datasets and tools (Dunning, Smaele, and Böhmer 2017). Open data are a big step towards inclusive, transparent and reproducible research, and recent years have driven home the need for remote access and the significant benefits of fast and free sharing of research data.

The VinKo data is stored with the Eurac Research Clarin Centre (ERCC) repository located in Bozen/Bolzano, Italy, which is part of the larger European CLARIN (Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure) initiative. The ERCC is a subject-specific repository specializing in linguistic data and tools guaranteeing best practices following the CLARIN guidelines

⁵Downloads are currently only available in WebM format, so conversion might be needed.

⁶Probably the most ambitious long-term linguistic data storage project to date, the Rosetta Project *Rosetta Project* <<https://rosettaproject.org/>>, employs this very technique but on a bigger (literary smaller) scale.

⁷For example, there are free courses on open data management, research dissemination and much more on *FOSTER*; an overview of existing repositories and their specifications at *re3data*; how to create a Data Management Plan (DMP) detailed on *DMPonline*.

ensuring that deposited data ‘(...) is safely stored, everyone can find it, use it, and correctly cite it’ (Eurac n.d.). While the large general repositories, like *Zenodo*, are well-funded and strongly backed, most sources (e.g. Dunning, Smaele, and Böhmer 2017; *FOSTER*) recommend storing data with local disciplinary repositories. Disciplinary repositories specialize in the type of data your project collects, providing more expertise and quality control, and have the added benefit of storing your data in a similar space to other related data, which greatly benefits findability and increases the chance of reuse of the data. The ERCC supplies datasets with persistent identifiers, meta-data (both machine- and human-readable), and clear licensing.

At the time of writing, the data set in the repository contains all VinKo data from the period of June 2017 to May 2021 (including data from VinKo 1.0 and 2.0) which totals to 37.806 audio files. The data set will be periodically updated to include new data or future versions of VinKo. The data is cleaned only minimally, meaning that nonce participants (test profiles created by researchers or those not containing any data) have been cleared from the database. The data set includes all questionnaires, both complete and incomplete, so some files might prove empty, missing or faulty, due to noise or error. The VinKo Corpus consists of three main folders: the audio folder, containing the audio recordings; the metadata folder, containing tables with relevant linguistic information as well as sociolinguistic information about speakers; and the images folder, containing the pictures employed as visual context for the morphology section. See image 3.4.

The audio folder is organized by language variety and the audio file names contain information regarding the stimulus ID, the language variety, and the user ID. The naming convention is as follows. The first letter and four numbers denote the questionnaire⁸ and the stimulus, then a three-letter code specifying the linguistic variety⁹, followed by the participant ID (U + four digits), as illustrated in example (5).

- (5) **T0114_vec_U0408**
 MorphologyStimulus0114_Venetan_User0408

Some speakers recorded more than one audio file for the same stimulus. These files are reported in the corpus as follows: S001_cim_U0056a, S001_cim_U0056b. All examples in this dissertation are provided with the label of the corresponding audio file, so that the audio data can be freely accessed using the corpus. The format of the audio data is FLAC, which is a lossless compression format allowing for high quality without the space necessary for non-compressed formats like WAV. It is non-proprietary and has high interoperability (suitable for most programs of interest to linguists, like Audacity, Praat, or ELAN), all properties central to FAIR data management and best practice archiving for audio files (see *FOSTER*; Prentice and Gaustad 2005),

The metadata folder provides all the relevant information regarding the speakers and the linguistic stimuli. The speaker information includes their User ID, geographical location, personal information (age, gender), and their linguistic profile (language variety, proficiency, frequency, and contexts of use), which version of VinKo, and the period in which data was collected. It also in-

⁸The "S" stands for Sentences (syntactic questionnaire), the "T" for Tales (morphological questionnaire), and the "W" = Words (phonological questionnaire).

⁹"lldan" = Ampezzano (Ladin), "lldba" = Badiot (Ladin), "cim" = Cimbrian, "lldfa" = Fassan (Ladin), "lldfo" = Fodom (Ladin), "lldgh" = Gardenese (Ladin), "mhn" = Mòcheno, "zah" = Saurano, "tre" = Trentino, "tir" = Tyrolean, "vec" = Venetan. Where available the ISO 639-3 language codes were used, however for most varieties either no code was available or did not supply the desired nuance

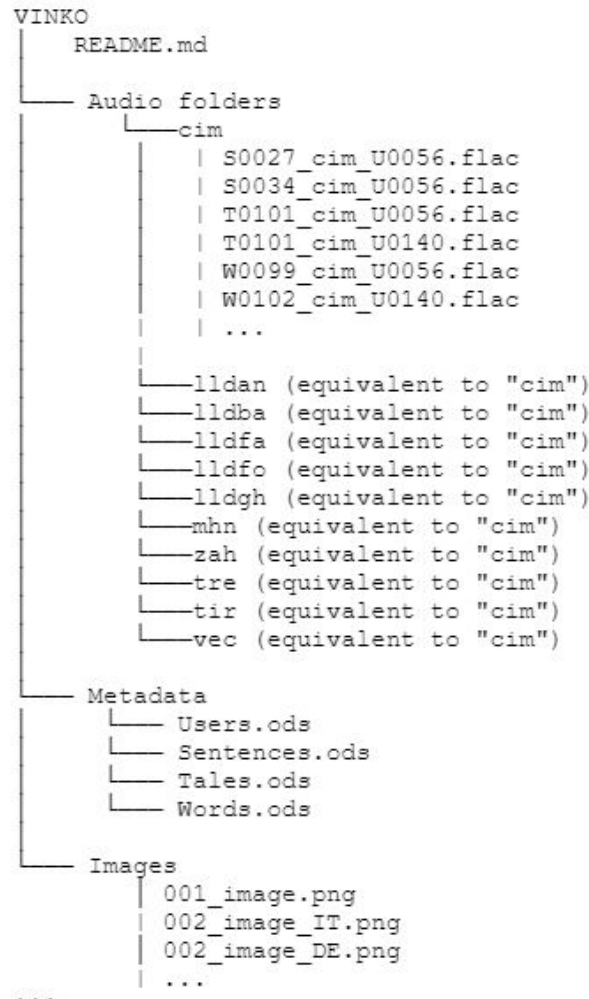


Figure 3.4: VinKo repository file structure

cludes a table with the full questionnaires, including information like stimuli ID's, translations, and research topics (viz. the linguistic variables under investigation). These files are in an ODS format, an open non-proprietary format based on XML which can be opened with proprietary (e.g. Excel) and non-proprietary (e.g. OpenOffice Calc) softwares. The final folder contains the images used as visual context for the morphological questionnaire in the open-source and lossless PNG format. A full account of the structure of the data set and how best to utilize can be found in the accompanying README file. While lacking the searchable interface of the admin section of VinKo, the complete data set with accompanying metadata should enable any researcher to reuse and access the data. The data is licensed under a *Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Italy (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IT)* license and can be freely used for noncommercial purposes.

While the need for curation and preservation of scientific data is shared among different fields, what constitutes best practices in a given project is highly dependent on the nature of the data, the availability of funding and time to dedicate to data preservation. In the end, the best that we can do is strive to do a job as well as possible the circumstances allow for. The current form of long-term stored VinKo data is not perfect: its reusability could be improved if the digital infrastructure of the

database could be shared and if the dataset was tagged and transcribed. Interoperability could be improved by integrating the dataset with external authority files, e.g. latitude/longitude coordinates or linking to existing resources like Geonames or Wikidata. Planning for data management at earlier stages in the project would have helped streamline data export and archiving. On the bright side, the data will remain accessible and reusable for the long-term foreseeable future and opens up the data to be improved upon and worked with in the future (for an inspiring example of combining existing datasets into a FAIR open form, please refer to Tisato 2020). If time and resources allow, future versions of VinKo would also have to consider the implementation of Linked Open Data (LOD) (Di Buccio, Di Nunzio, and Silvello 2014) or Geolinguistic Document Architecture (GDA) (Müller 2008) infrastructure, but for the moment that is simply not feasible.

3.5 Summary and discussion

VinKo <www.vinko.it> is combining online research methodology and crowdsourced online questionnaires in the areas of phonology, morphology, and syntax. It was designed to gather fine-grained linguistic data across a larger survey area and provide a central and structured dataset. Data collection is done using an online interface through which speakers record answers in response to written visual stimuli. The public website of VinKo includes community-directed resources, like an interactive map with search options and general information pertaining to the linguistic varieties in the survey area including links to existing linguistic resources. For the scientific community, VinKo provides access to the admin interface containing the whole database and low-level filtering of the data. The database is long-term stored at the Eurac Research Clarin Centre repository and freely accessible.

There is still much to learn and to gain from looking at existing projects, at the lessons drawn from their data collection methods, the representation of data, and the processing of the collected data. For example, the implementation of a VinKo app, and the necessary changes it would bring for its questionnaires would be an interesting new option to explore. Also including more thought on best practices and digital infrastructure would be important and vital things to consider for future development and further engagement with other projects. In the department of public engagement and outreach, there are also plenty of interesting options to explore, like the inclusion of language games, a multimodal free production area, and improvement of data querying.

4. Questionnaire and task design

The data for this research has been collected through the online platform VinKo (outlined in the previous chapter 3) using one of the online questionnaires on the platform: the morphological questionnaire. The morphological questionnaire is composed out of two different tasks; a picture-aided translation task and a direct free-production task. The tasks have been designed to produce as natural language use as possible, the stimuli are presented in the standard languages and the responses of participants are audio recorded (detailed discussion of these choices below in section 4.1). The chosen tasks aim to collect full paradigms of personal pronouns and definite articles in singular number in the target dialects and minority languages (further detailed in chapter 6) and are designed to ensure as much spontaneity and naturalness of the answers as possible, while also maintaining comparability between language varieties.

4.1 Questionnaire design

Creating tasks that produce accurate language samples from speakers is a difficult task, regardless of the medium in which it is done. It is a challenge that many fieldworkers have faced, and task design is largely shaped by the type of data being elicited. The anonymous online crowdsourcing method of VinKo does not allow for interaction between researchers and participants. The personal data protection policy does not even allow to associate the data to an email address that could be used for clarification questions, so within the current system, researchers cannot get into contact with participants. From the participant side, this means that they cannot ask further explanation about the tasks, should they need it, nor can they easily signal different options or particular difficulties with a given stimuli¹. On the plus side, the absence of direct contact with the researcher might help minimize the ‘Observer’s Paradox’ (Labov 1972:209) and eliminate the potential impact of the sociolinguistic identity of the interviewer, which might lead a participant to ‘standardize’ their speech.

4.1.1 Task design

In order to elicit legitimate dialect and language data, the task design is one of the most important parts of the questionnaire. Translation tasks form an integral part of many linguistic dialectal questionnaires, in older dialect surveys, e.g. Wenker’s *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* (1888–1923), and while modern dialectal atlases, e.g. *Syntaktischer Atlas der Deutschen Schweiz* (SADS) (cf. Bucheli and Glaser 2002) or the *Dynamische Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten*

¹Some speakers have circumvented this limitation by recording multiple responses to the stimuli, but this is rare.

(henceforth SAND) (cf. Barbiers and et al 2006), commonly work with a variety of tasks, translation tasks are often part of the sample. There are good reasons for their frequent use: they give the fieldworker very comparable results, they are relatively easy to create, and not very time-consuming. Researchers can target specific morphological or syntactic constructions, and even, providing proper contexts, quite complex or infrequent constructions can be elicited. This type of elicitation does require a specific speaker profile, as it can only be used successfully if speakers are at least bidialectal and if they are well aware of the differences between the standard and dialect languages (Llamas 2018). However, there are some well-known and widely studied problems with translation tasks (e.g. Chelliah and Reuse 2011; Cornips and Poletto 2005). Many speakers find translation tasks quite difficult and demanding, and the aim of the task is not always well-understood. As a result, translation tasks might elicit word-for-word translations, unnatural sentence structures, and are subject to a relatively high amount of interference from the standard language in which the stimuli are presented. Bucheli and Glaser (2002) showed how this caused poor results in eliciting syntactic structures in the SADS project.

Apart from translation tasks, there are many other types of tasks available. This section discusses just a few of the available options; visual tasks, storyboards, and question-answer tasks. Stimuli that are non-verbal alleviate many of the language interference problems commonly associated with translation tasks. They come in all forms and range from simplified drawings (e.g. the image set for the elicitation of topological relations (Bowerman and Pederson 1992)) to videos (e.g. the cut-and-break clips created by Bohnemeyer, Bowerman, and Brown 2001). Target structures, as well as cultural and practical considerations, play an important role in deciding for or against the use of visual stimuli. While picture tasks are relatively easy to create and are good for eliciting states, they do not so easily elicit actions or progression. These are more readily captured by videos, which are often quite time-intensive to create and can easily become confusing for speakers as they run at their own speed.

Lack of context is another major issue in eliciting natural language data. While it is particularly important to semantic constructions, the need for context spans many aspects of linguistics and is commonly present in natural language. A way to introduce context to a translation task is either to precede each stimulus with a short prelude setting the scene for an utterance, another way is to form the stimuli into a cohesive narrative. This is commonly done using either retelling a story or with a storyboard. Traditionally, storyboards do not have any verbal components. This means that speakers are completely free to choose their own phrase structures (Burton and Matthewson 2015). There are clear advantages to this: non-verbal stimuli minimize interference from a contact language, present completely comparative stimuli to speakers and elicit more fluent natural speech. On the downside, targeting specific structures is much more difficult and there will be more variation in the data, even though proper contextualization should reduce the extra-linguistic variables which should keep the amount of variability reasonably low (Burton and Matthewson 2015). They are also quite fun to do, making it is easier for speakers to finish the tasks and making participation more enjoyable. On the other hand, some participants perceive storyboard tasks as more difficult to perform as they require more creativity and the desired outcome might be harder to understand.

4.1.2 Standard language vs dialectalized stimuli

Stimuli can be presented to speakers either in the standard language or a dialectalized version of the stimuli. Different dialect atlases have taken different approaches to this in the past. While

projects like the *Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten* (henceforth AND) (Gerritsen 1991) and the *Dynamische Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten* (henceforth DynaSAND) (Cornips and Jongenburger 2001) elicited in the standard language (with some dialectalized items inserted, but standard Dutch structures nonetheless), other projects like the Frisian *Stimmen* project (Hilton, Gooskens, and Leemann 2017), and many modern German dialect atlases, like the *Syntaktischer Atlas der Deutschen Schweiz*(SADS), *Syntax hessischer Dialekte* (SyHD), or *Syntax des Alemannischen* (SynAlm) (cf. Brandner 2015) offer dialectalized stimuli instead.

Kasper and Pheiff (2019) discuss and test the methodological and theoretical implications of these two (or three, if counting regionalized stimuli) options. While offering dialectalized stimuli is more likely to trigger dialect competence in speakers, and in general tend to elicit more non-standard conform responses, the difference between standard and dialectalized stimuli is not significant for all tasks or locations. Standard conform variants might occur more frequently if stimuli are presented in the standard language than when using dialectalized stimuli, but there is a similar tendency to distort to the other end of the spectrum. Presenting speakers with dialectalized forms can lead to distortion towards archaic forms or hyper forms. Distortion to the standard language can relatively easily be spotted or at least taken into consideration, but distinguishing and checking the archaic or hyper forms is much more difficult and requires pre-existing in-depth knowledge of the dialect forms. Not to mention that creating dialectalized stimuli is a huge challenge, particularly in areas where there is considerable variation from village to village. It requires a huge amount of knowledge and time in order to produce multiple questionnaires with dialectalized data and extensive knowledge of where the dialect boundaries in the area are and which differences to expect from place to place. Since participants of VinKo can come from anywhere in the region, this would call for either very fine-grained questionnaires or the use of the regiolect. Additionally, previous studies on the Northern Italian dialects (Cornips and Poletto 2005:945-6) show that the use of standard Italian is not really problematic for research into the Northern Italian dialects, while the use of the Veneto regiolect might be much more problematic as it is more likely to lead to linguistic interference. In these regions, the influence of the regiolects, e.g. Venetan or Piedmontese, on the local variety is far greater than the influence of standard Italian, which is a bit further removed from the local dialect and therefore allows for an easier distinction between the two. As such both from the practical side and the theoretical side, dialectalized stimuli would not necessarily have been a better choice for morphological research. This is not to say that it is not possible or undesirable for other linguistic aspects. The phonological questionnaire on VinKo offers single-word dialectalized stimuli, as they are much easier to produce using word lists or dictionaries. Producing full dialectalized sentences for all speech varieties is simply not feasible.

4.1.3 Response registration

Participants do not write down their translations of the stimuli but instead are asked to record their responses using the audio recorder integrated in the questionnaire interface. This approach was chosen for a number of reasons. First of all, it eliminates any problems with the writing of the local dialect variety. The main varieties in terms of number of speakers (i.e. Tyrolean, Trentino, and Venetan varieties) do not have conventionalized nor widely known spelling systems. While Cimbrian, Mòcheno, and Ladin do have distinct orthographic systems, they remain primarily oral varieties and the orthographic systems are not universally known or accepted in all communities. Recording the responses rather than requiring written ones circumvents the immediate problems of

orthography and spelling, and instead allows participants to focus solely on the task itself. It is also hoped that the more natural mode of using the language results in more spontaneous and natural language production. It does make the work of the researcher more difficult. Cornips and Poletto (2005:949) rightly pointed out that, in some cases, it is impossible to disambiguate between certain structures in recorded responses (6), while a written version would eliminate the ambiguity.

- (6) *a riva* vs. *() arriva*
A arrive.3.PRS vs. () arrive.3.PRS
'he/she/it arrives'
(Venetan dialect, taken from Cornips and Poletto 2005:949)

On the other hand, the written modality also lacks many linguistic elements, like intonation and stress, which can be captured with audio recordings.

4.2 Morphological questionnaire tasks

Taking into consideration the issues discussed above, the resulting morphological questionnaire consists of two picture-aided translation storyboard narratives, each with its own question-and-answer section, which is formed by a directed free production task. All taken together the questionnaire amounts to a total of 42 separate stimuli. Stimuli were presented in either standard German or standard Italian, depending on the speech variety indicated by the participant (Tyrolean participants were presented with German stimuli, the rest with Italian). Participants recorded their responses to the tasks using the microphone of the device they were compiling the questionnaire on. The tasks are self-timed and speakers can rerecord sentences in case of malfunction or correction and skip stimuli they are uncertain of. Before the start of each task, the participant got a detailed explanation of the task at hand and an example audio recording.

4.2.1 Picture-Aided Translation Task

The bulk of the questionnaire is formed by a picture-aided translation task with a storyboard set-up and the recorded responses to this task form the basis of the majority of the data presented in the second part of this publication. The task has the following form: it presents participants with a written stimulus presented in standard Italian (all target varieties with the exception of Tyrolean) or standard German (only for participants registered as speakers of a Tyrolean dialect). The stimuli together form two different narratives; each based on the well-known Indo-European fairy tale motives (Propp 2010) (e.g. the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by the Brothers Grimm (1887) or *Fiabe Italiane* by Calvino (1993)) which would be recognizable by all participants. Each stimulus is accompanied by an image depicting the part of the story being told by the written stimulus. Stimuli could either be indirect speech from the perspective of a narrator, see figure 4.1a for example, or direct speech from one of the characters in the story, for example see figure 4.1b.

This format for the task was chosen in an attempt to alleviate some of the common problems with translation tasks and to provide participants with a slightly more natural setting and ample context for language production: the telling of a story. As with all translation tasks, participants need to be at least bilingual (in this case, standard/dialect) in order to produce translations. With

the given population this is a requirement for the overall use of the platform anyway, as all instructions and website infrastructure are only available in the standard languages. The goal of the accompanying picture is to provide participants with additional context to the story and an additional non-verbal stimulus side-by-side with the written stimulus (with the aim to minimize word-to-word translations). The narrative component serves to further deepen the provided context, actively engage speakers, and, hopefully, make the task more fun and therefore more likely that it will be completed.

Picture-aided translation tasks combine traditional translation tasks with more innovative methods like the storyboard and aim to retain the advantages of each task while alleviating some of their disadvantages. The added storyboard element aids a great deal of contextualization to the translation task through its narrative and the images clarify sentences by adding insight into the elocutionary force of the statements and emotional states of characters. For this research, contextualization is particularly important as the targeted data are full pronouns that need to have clearly understood references in the context in order to be properly produced (4.2.3). Proper contextualization makes it easier for speakers to translate sentences as they are embedded in a discourse and a more natural language setting, and it also greatly increases the chance of the use of pronouns. There is still debate on whether adding verbal stimuli to a storyboard provides better data or if it reintroduces the translation problems the storyboard method was originally trying to avoid. A study by Nouri-Hosseini 2018 has shown that picture-aided translation tasks have a higher faithfulness than storyboards, and seem to yield equally natural data though this was not systematically explored. Other studies however do report language interference and deem it better to stick to non-verbal storyboards (cf. Burton and Matthewson 2015). Since this research targets specific elements, i.e. pronouns and articles, and the questionnaires are taken completely online, it was decided to add verbal stimuli to the storyboard to ensure a higher degree of faithfulness of the data and keep the task as easy as possible for participants. The storyboard element should aid the translation task by providing participants with a comprehensive context, making the task easier, more fun² and reduce the chance of direct translation effects. Section 5.2 provides a detailed analysis of the quality and naturalness of the collected data.

²Since VinKo is crowdsourced and depends on people participating from home, the importance of 'fun' should not be underestimated. If tasks are difficult or very tedious, participants are unlikely to complete the questionnaire on their own and will not spread the word to friends and family.



La strega vuole cucinare i bambini presi.

(a) Indirect speech



(b) Direct speech

Figure 4.1: Picture-aided translation task

4.2.2 Directed Free Production Task

The directed free production task forms a smaller part of the overall questionnaire and was introduced for two different reasons: to see the effects on the collected data and to serve as a translation-effect free control for the previous task. The directed free production task was set up in the following way. Speakers were presented with a number of images containing characters from the preceding story. In each image, there is a question-answer pair of which the question is given in standard Italian or standard German, and the answer is left free for the speaker to decide, see figure 4.2.



Figure 4.2: Directed free speech task

Participants were asked to translate the question and supply the answer to the question in local dialect as they saw fit and natural. Participants should be able to answer all questions from what they learned in the story. This task borrows some features from language manipulation tasks, particularly from transformational tasks where speakers are asked to rephrase an existing one, for example from declarative to question (cf. Cornips and Poletto 2005; Chelliah and Reuse 2011). The set-up of the question-answer task has the advantage of avoiding direct translation effects, but may, depending on the creativity of the individual speaker, be more difficult to understand and complete. As with non-verbal storyboards, free production tasks are more likely to result in a higher degree of variability of the given responses, which makes it unsuitable for collecting full paradigms. For this reason, these stimuli are mainly used as added naturalness checks for the translation data, as well as a methodological experiment, in order to see how this type of task functions (if at all) through an online medium and if they result in different responses in comparison to the translation task. The directed free production task accounts for a fourth of the total of stimuli.

4.2.3 Challenges in stimuli design

This section discusses the design of the verbal³ stimuli that form the morphological questionnaire and the language-specific challenges; eliciting full pronouns in the Romance varieties and maintaining comparability between the German and Italian language stimuli.

Full pronouns vs. clitics

An important difference between Romance and Germanic varieties is that Romance varieties are commonly pro-drop languages that usually drop pronouns as the morphological information is already expressed on the verb (7-a). While the use of an overt pronoun is not syntactically ungrammatical (7-b), it is often pragmatically so, as overt pronouns tend to be used in cases of emphasis or contrast.

- (7) a. *È arrivato con il treno?*
b. *Lui è arrivato con il treno?*
‘Did he arrive by train?’

The Germanic varieties are not pro-drop language, which means that pronouns are obligatorily present (8-a) and are generally not allowed to be dropped (8-b).

- (8) a. *Kam er mit dem Zug an?*
b. **Kam mit dem Zug an?*
‘Did he arrive by train?’

Italian grammars, e.g. Battaglia (1951) or Maiden et al. (2014), state that overt pronouns in Italian are most commonly used for clarity (avoiding ambiguity and distinguishing referents), when following focusing words like *anche* ‘also’ or *solo* ‘just, only’, when emphasis or contrast is desired and when a preposition is used (which cannot govern a clitic). Cinque (1977:406) suggests that full subject pronouns appear in Italian when they convey ‘contrast’, meaning ‘new information’. Duranti (1984) argues that while ‘contrast’ holds in some cases, it does not explain all of them. Duranti (1984) states that spoken use of full pronouns is more commonly used to introduce and keep track of referents in discourse and that they function as attention-getting devices, to signal a shift of the topic or move from a more general statement to specific ones. Pronouns therefore usually refer to a ‘referent already established (overtly or implied) in the current narrative frame, but which cannot be assumed to be in the addressee’s working memory’ (Duranti 1984:286). As such, they are not ‘new information’, but rather ‘old’ ‘not given’ information. Full pronouns are also commonly used to refer to main characters in a narrative or discourse or to convey empathy or positive affect towards referents, whereas minor characters or negative empathy characters are more commonly denoted with demonstratives.

The stimuli used in the questionnaire employ multiple strategies for eliciting overt pronouns, like the use of contrastive focus (9-a), but also the adding of ‘focusing words’ like *solo* (9-b), or the switch of topic (9-c).

³The non-verbal stimuli were simply designed to fit the story, be as clear as possible, and inspired on non-copyrighted images which were further refined by the author.

- (9) a. *Se dai il fucile a lui, a me cosa dai?*
If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?
- b. *Ma l'albero ha chiesto a voi due, non solo a lei.*
But the tree asked both of you, not just her.
- c. *Il cacciatore dice alla strega di fermarsi, e lei tenta di fargli una magia.*
The hunter told the witch to stop, and she tried to hex him.

The stimuli are presented in two running narratives (4.2.1), which further help get referents that are 'old' but 'not given' information to speakers, which should stimulate the use of overt pronouns in place of or in addition to pronominal clitics.

Cross-linguistic comparative stimuli

One of the main aims of the project was to collect stimuli that are cross-linguistically comparable. The stimuli were semantically and pragmatically identical, which meant that participants were faced with the same narratives and context to stimuli. It does result in some differences between gender and in some cases, case assignment between the two language families. Lexical choice is irrevocably tied to the grammatical gender of nouns, and to the case selection of verbs. The Germanic varieties have three-way gender distinction: masculine, feminine, and neuter. The Romance varieties have two-way gender distinction: masculine and feminine. Assignment of grammatical gender is for the most part arbitrary, and therefore is highly likely to differ between lexical items of different languages. For example in Romance varieties 'a house' is feminine *la casa* (10-a), whereas in most Germanic varieties it is a neuter noun *das Haus* (10-b).

- (10) a. *La casa è vecchia e i bambini la trovano tremenda.*
b. *Das Haus ist alt und die Kinder finden es schrecklich.*
'The house is old and the children find it terrifying.'

An exception is the gender of animates which are more commonly motivated by biological distinctions, though not exclusively so. For example, standard German has *das Mädchen* 'the (neuter) girl', and its dialectal cognates *es Maadl*, *Maadele* (Scheutz 2016:138) in South Tyrolean varieties (11-b). Here the lexicon of a particular variety and the lexical choices made by speakers play a central role. South Tyrolean lexicon also includes *di Gitsch(e)*, *Gitschile* (Scheutz 2016) 'the (feminine) girl' (11-a), which has feminine gender and as such elicits different morphological case forms from the exact same stimulus.

- (11) a. *Während es fleißige Maadl am Brunnen arbeitet, fällt*
while the.N.SG.NOM diligent girl(N) at_the.M.SG.DAT well(M) works falls
si aus versehen ins Wasser
3SG.F.NOM by accident in.the.N water(N)
(Lajen/Laion; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0302_tir_U0373)
- b. *Während di fleißige Gitsch am Brunnen arbeitet, fällt*
while the.F.SG.NOM diligent girl(F) at_the.M.SG.DAT well(M) works falls
se infall innen
3SG.F.NOM by accident in
(Völs am Schlern/Fiè allo Sciliar; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0302_tir_U0372)
- 'While the diligent girl was working at the well, she accidentally fell in.'

Similarly, the case selection of specific verbs is not exclusively based on semantics but can be quite variable across languages and varieties. Some verbs in Romance might take direct objects (“accusatives”) whereas the semantically corresponding verb in German tends to take indirect objects in the dative case. For example, the German verb ‘to help’ *helfen* takes a dative object pronoun *ihm* (12-a), whereas the Italian *aiutare* takes an accusative object clitic *lo* (12-b).

- (12) a. ‘*Gut, dann helfe ich ihm*’, *sagt das fleißige Mädchen, und sie nimmt das Brot aus dem Ofen.*
b. ‘*Va bene, l’aiuto io*’, *dice la ragazza brava e lei prende il pane dal forno.*
“‘Fine, I will help him’, says the good girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’

Where possible and predictable the differences in gender and case assignment were taken into account, but it was decided that keeping the stimuli identical in context and pragmatics had priority, as not all cases will be predictable and might depend on the personal preference of the speaker. Also, these cases might prove to be particularly interesting for language contact phenomena. It was ensured that full paradigms for all genders and cases were collected regardless of these issues.

4.3 Summary

Data were collected using two different tasks: a picture-aided translation task and a directed free speech task. These methods were chosen to alleviate the issues surrounding translations tasks, to provide contexts in which Romance pronouns are commonly used, and as a way to make the questionnaire easier and more fun for participants, which is important due to its online medium. Stimuli were designed to be comparable across varieties and to elicit contrast and focus environments in which full pronouns are generally produced in the Romance varieties.

5. Assessment of methodology

Apart from the data collection, VinKo as a project also serves as a good test environment for the evaluation of online research methods, task design, and the practical side of using crowdsourcing in data collection. A commonly heard critique of crowdsourced data is that it does not collect ‘proper’ dialect data or that it is difficult to assess the quality of the data collected. At the same time, there is the question about the quantity of data being collected and if the efforts involved in getting the digital infrastructure set up are justified by the actual amount of data collected. This chapter serves to address both of these issues by critically evaluating the process of data collection, the amount of data collected, and the quality of that data. It also serves to reflect on improvements that could be made in future projects or developments in the project. The section 5.1 evaluates the quantity and spread of the data collection, in order to judge if one of the initial goals of the online method, namely more participants from more locations, has been reached and how the online medium has affected participant profiles and the data, as well as discusses and evaluate the successes (and failures) of the finding participants. Section 5.2 evaluates the responses for data quality and the validity of the data by comparing given responses to previously collected data from traditional fieldwork and available literature on the varieties. Section 5.3 discusses the participants’ evaluation of the questionnaires overall, and the specific task designs.

5.1 Quantity of the data

The initial drive towards an online methodology was the potential for a significantly larger amount of data from a wide variety of different locations (5.1.2). This section assesses whether this goal has been met and the effects of the online methodology as well as the participant recruitment strategies have had on the quantity and the sociolinguistic profiles of the participants (5.1.3). In sheer volume of data, the project can undoubtedly be counted as a success. VinKo 1.0 collected 99 complete questionnaires from 58 different locations and VinKo 2.0 currently has an additional 193 complete questionnaires from 122 locations, together totaling a sum of 292 questionnaires from 165 locations all across South Tyrol, Trentino, and Veneto within a time span of 4 years (if counting partial questionnaire another 54 participants from some around 20 more locations could be added). This is a vast numerical improvement upon the 32 participants from 11 locations collected during the AThEME project, as illustrated by table 5.1.

This success, however, comes with a caveat. The improvement lies primarily in the data collection for the larger dialect varieties, Trentino, Venetan, and Tyrolean, and much less with the minority languages. The numbers for the minority languages targeted in both projects (Mòcheno, Cimbrian, Fassan, and Fodom) differ very little between VinKo and AThEME. In VinKo, consid-

	VinKo		AThEME	
	Questionnaires	Locations	Questionnaires	Locations
<i>Trentino</i>	108	55	10	3
<i>Mòcheno</i>	5	2	2	1
<i>Cimbrian</i>	3	1	3	1
<i>Gardenese Ladin</i>	1	1	n/a	n/a
<i>Badiot Ladin</i>	6	2	n/a	n/a
<i>Fassan Ladin</i>	3	3	3	1
<i>Fodom Ladin</i>	2	1	3	1
<i>Anpezo Ladin</i>	4	2	n/a	n/a
<i>Tyrolean</i>	73	46	9	2
<i>Venetan</i>	91	52	3	1
Total	296	165	32	11

Table 5.1: Quantitative comparison of VinKo and AThEME

erable time and effort went into contacting the minority language communities, involving local cultural institutes, promoting the platform in local news outlets, and through social media, which yielded only small returns. Establishing more personal working relationships with minority communities takes time and effort, but might prove more effective. The evaluation poll made clear that while VinKo includes all officially and politically recognized Ladin varieties, in some cases the formally delineated varieties might not prove nuanced enough (e.g. a speaker remarked upon the internal varieties of Badiot Ladin, and similar complaints have been heard in Trentino for varieties like Noneso). Particularly in endangered speech communities, like Giazza or Asiago, analysis of the data would benefit from more detailed speaker information and more knowledge of linguistic profile, particularly concerning the acquisition and usage of the language. In these cases, traditional fieldwork might yield a better understanding of the local and individual linguistic context. Additionally, from an economical standpoint, traditional fieldwork would probably be more cost-effective (at least in sense of time and the amount of data collected).

Apart from its level of success in comparison to AThEME, VinKo is also delivering on contributing to the detailed description of the Northern Italian language varieties. When compared to the existing datasets of the VIVALDI (Müller, Köhler, and Kattenbusch 2001)¹ and ASIt², VinKo contains significantly more data for these regions. Also in comparison to projects actively collecting data in the region, it functions well as a supplementary source, e.g. the *Microcontact* currently containing only 5 Veneto samples, and *Verba Alpina* is restricted to the collection of lexical data. The amount of users that one can hope to gather also depends on the extent of the survey area (e.g. the *Dialäkt App* (DÄ) designed to document language change of Swiss German reached a staggering amount of speakers: 60,000 (Leemann et al. 2016) but had the whole of Switzerland as survey area) and the type of task (e.g. *metropolitalia* in 7 months had 595 users participating in their language perception games (Bry et al. 2013)). In the future, it could be considered using

¹VIVALDI contains 35 locations in the region of Veneto and 23 in Trentino-South Tyrol

²The ‘observed localities’ section of the database provides 38 Veneto and 12 Trentino locations, however, the exact number appears to vary in the database depending on the specific stimulus. There is no data on the Germanic varieties in ASIt

shorter questionnaires and retaining contact information from participants (if they are willing), so they can be contacted if a new version is uploaded on the platform to improve upon participant numbers in combination, which is used successfully in other projects, e.g. *REDE* (see Fischer and Limper 2019) and *Gschmöis* (see Hasse, Bachmann, and Glaser 2020)).

5.1.1 Outreach effects

For the larger dialect varieties, a comparison of the participants of VinKo 1.0 and 2.0 provides evidence that active and multifaceted outreach efforts pay off in the long run. VinKo 1.0 was actively and very successfully promoted in Trentino through the university, public events, local news, and personal connections of the research team resulting in 91 complete questionnaires making up the vast majority of the participants in VinKo 1.0. The outreach efforts for VinKo 2.0 were primarily undertaken from Bozen and Verona resulting in a surge of Tyrolean and Venetan participants, see table 5.2. Also here efforts were multifaceted in working through the university, personal networks, local news and, most recently, a collaboration with Veneto high schools through the Italian PTCO framework, which accounts for continuous growth in the numbers of Venetan speakers. The first pilot in the spring of the 2020-2021 scholastic year has proved very promising, with more than a 50% increase in completed Venetan questionnaires and an 18% increase in locations. The pilot was conducted in collaboration with three Veneto high schools, and future editions are aimed at including more schools and larger groups of students. The time and effort that go into the active outreach programs are considerable, but it does provide results that could not be equaled with fieldwork.

	VinKo 1.0		VinKo 2.0	
	Questionnaires	Locations	Questionnaires	Locations
<i>Trentino</i>	91	49	17	13
<i>Mòcheno</i>	4	2	1	1
<i>Cimbrian</i>	1	1	2	1
<i>Gardenese Ladin</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>Badiot Ladin</i>	0	0	6	2
<i>Fassan Ladin</i>	1	1	2	2
<i>Fodom Ladin</i>	0	0	2	1
<i>Anpezo Ladin</i>	0	0	4	2
<i>Tyrolean</i>	6	5	67	45
<i>Venetan</i>	n/a	n/a	91	52
Total	99	58	193	122

Table 5.2: Quantitative comparison of VinKo 1.0 and VinKo 2.0

The results indicate that crowdsourcing by word of mouth does not work in the case of VinKo. The moment that active promotion of the platforms stops, the participants' numbers cease growing. On the bright side, targeted outreach efforts do produce good results and are capable of mobilizing enough participation for obtaining the research goals.

5.1.2 Areal distribution of participants

Aside from overall numbers, the areal distribution of the speakers matters a great deal. In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the microvariation within varieties, questionnaires must be collected for a large sample of dialect zones and spread across the language areas. This goal has been met with a large measure of success, though progress could still be booked for some varieties, particularly around Padua and the northeastern zones of the Veneto region. The other dialect varieties are quite well-represented. Tyrolean is well-represented across all three major dialect zones (western, central, and eastern) and has an unrivaled good spread across the area, as represented by the blue squares on map 5.1. The Trentino area can be subdivided into six different dialect zones (cf. Casalicchio and Cordin 2020, see 10 for a more detailed description of the different dialect zones), all of which are represented in the VinKo dataset, e.g. see the yellow circles on map 5.1, including a number of speakers in the bilingual *Bassa Atesina/Unterland* region in South Tyrol. The Veneto participants are represented by the red circles on the map, and are found mostly clustered around Verona in the Western dialect zone. The Venetan dialects can be divided into four dialect zones; Western Venetan (including Veronese dialect), Central Venetan (including the Vicentino, Padovano, and Polesano dialects), Lagune Venetan (including Venezia and Chioggia dialects), and Northern Venetan (including the Trevigiano, Feltrino, and Bellunese dialects) (Zamboni 1974). Currently, the VinKo dataset has locations within all four of the larger dialect zones, but the Paduan area of the Central varieties and the Northerneastern Venetan varieties currently have little representation within the sample.

5.1.3 Participant profiles

The online modality and the different outreach initiatives greatly impact the type of participant. Traditionally, dialectology surveys have focused on so-called NORMs (nonmobile, older, rural males Chambers and Trudgill 1998:33), because they were believed to be more conservative in their speech and therefore be ‘uncorrupted’. Though this is no longer necessarily the preferred practice, some of these features are still held to be part of the ‘ideal’ consultant, depending on the type of research being done. For example the *Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten* (henceforth SAND) (cf. Barbiers and et al 2006) selected for subjects aged between 55 and 70. Other projects specifically look for a wide age-range for participants, like the *Atlante Sintattico dell’Italia Settentrionale* (henceforth ASIS) as they wanted to test young speakers to in order to look for diachronic change (Cornips and Poletto 2005:946). Both SAND and ASIS selected also for the following variables: all consultants were native speakers of the local dialect, the consultants and their parents were born and lived till adulthood in the same community, they did not leave the community for longer than seven years, they frequently use the local dialect in several functional domains, and belong to middle-low level employees³.

The selected social variables are partly determined by the focus and the scope of the research, but also by its modality and set-up. Since VinKo collects its data online and via crowdsourcing, speakers cannot be selected for and all participants are welcome. Many potential speaker biases,

³This parameter was adopted as work on a Swiss Atlas project by Bucheli and Glaser (2002). Bucheli and Glaser (2002) found that highly educated people, teachers, and subjects interested in dialectology are unreliable consultants, as they tend to show more normative judgments than other speakers, hypercorrection, and influence from the standard language.

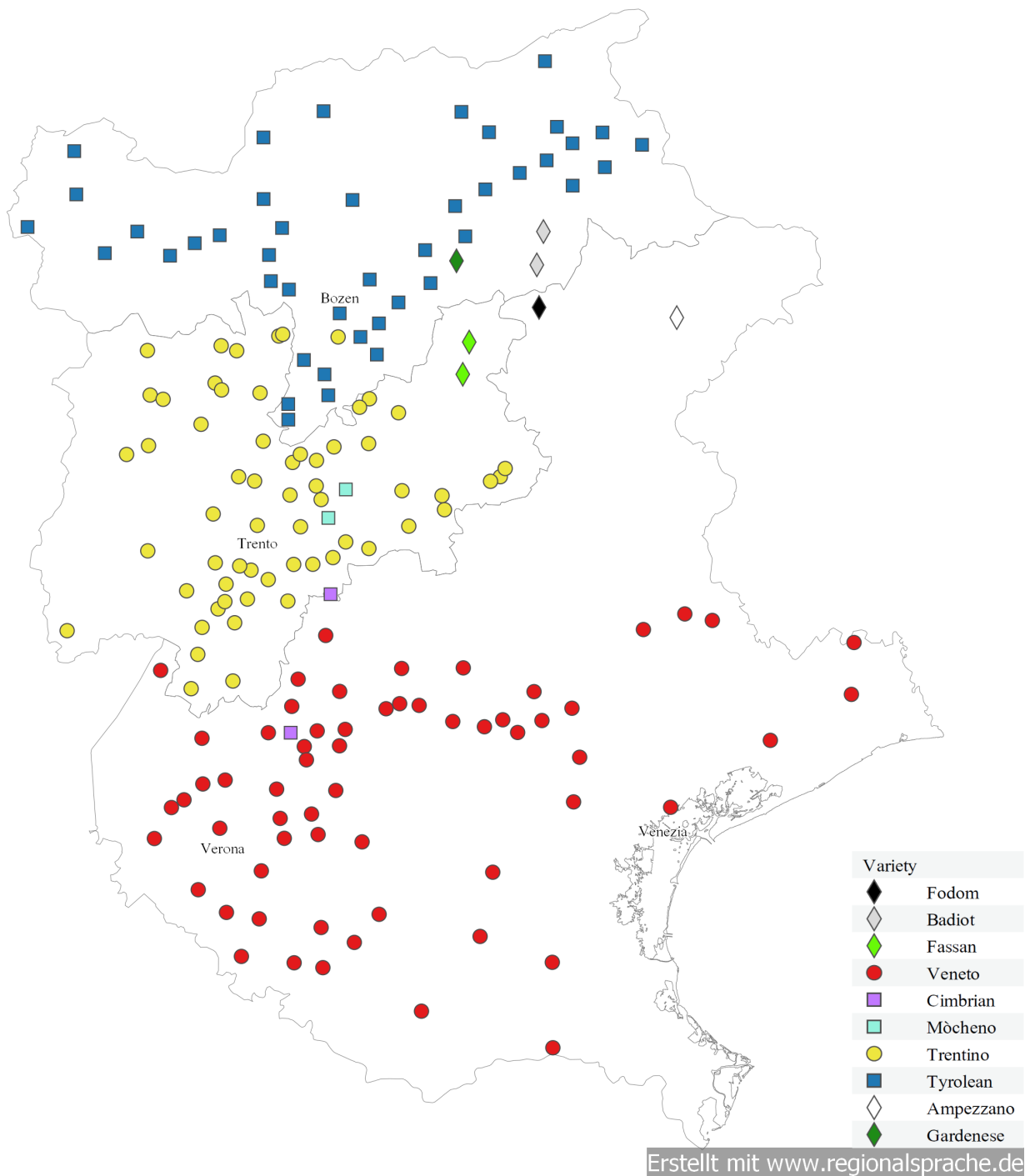


Figure 5.1: VinKo locations as of June 2021

like prescriptivism or personal preconceptions about their dialect (Cornips and Poletto 2005:946-7), or general language aptitude and attitude (Chelliah and Reuse 2011:161-195) have to be specifically tested for, which cannot be done in crowdsourced projects. Online data collection does not lend itself to these types of practices, and so researchers are dependent on speakers providing basic linguistic background information about themselves, to help judge the type of data they are likely to produce. The online data collection is a method which has proven to lend itself well to a younger generation of speakers (for example the participants of *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache* and *Dialäkt Äpp* (cf. Leemann et al. 2015)), though the hope is that older speakers are also able to participate, either on their own accord or with a little assistance from friends or family. A closer look at the participants' profiles in VinKo reveals that a majority of the participants does not fall into the NORM category, see table 5.3. Overall, the average age of the participants is 36 years (median of 27), and there is a slight skewing towards the female gender (62%).

	<i>Average Age</i>	<i>Gender F-M</i>	<i>Proficiency</i>	<i>Regular Usage</i>
<i>Tyrolean</i>	25	91%-9%	99%	96%
<i>Trentino</i>	39	45%-55%	88%	85%
<i>Mòcheno</i>	39	57%-43%	100%	100%
<i>Cimbrian</i>	50	40%-60%	100%	60%
<i>Gardenese Ladin</i>	39	100%-0%	100%	100%
<i>Badiot Ladin</i>	35	85%-15%	100%	85%
<i>Fassan Ladin</i>	23	75%-25%	100%	100%
<i>Fodom Ladin</i>	36	50%-50%	100%	100%
<i>Anpezan Ladin</i>	37	40%-60%	80%	60%
<i>Venetan</i>	44	56%-44%	83%	65%
Overall	35,8	62%-38%	91%	83%

Table 5.3: Sociolinguistic profile of VinKo participants, as of May 2021

The general low average age could potentially be a result of the digital format. For example, *Dialäkt Äpp* has a very similar average age of 32 (median 27) over its 60,000 participant sample (Leemann et al. 2016). On the other hand, it might only be a reflection of the outreach efforts. Overall, there is not one common sociolinguistic profile of participants, but depending on variety and used recruitment strategies there are trends. The majority of the larger section of the VinKo sample comes from the Tyrolean participants, who were recruited through the university. The Tyrolean speakers were almost exclusively targeted through the languages department of the Free University of Bozen/Bolzano and this fact is plainly reflected in the participants' profiles. The Tyroleans are by far the youngest participant population among the larger dialect areas with an average age of 25 and overwhelmingly female at 91%. This is in stark contrast to the Trentino and Venetan participants, which stem from a wider variety of recruitment forms and have much more equal gender distributions and a significantly higher average age at 39 years for Trentino and 44 years for Venetan participants. The samples for the minority varieties are too small to make any statements. When it comes to self-assessment given by participants of their dialect competence and use, there is more conformity across participants. A vast majority of the speakers judge that they speak the local variety well and a majority also uses it often in daily life. The biggest contrast for these variables are between the Venetan and Tyrolean dialect speakers, both representing large

dialect varieties with no official recognition as language. The Venetan speakers self-report general good proficiency (83%), but only 65% of speakers use their dialect on a regular basis. Within the Venetan participant group, younger generation speakers (25 or younger) are much more likely to self-report no proficiency (40%) and no regular usage than the older generation (55 or over) which rarely report no proficiency (3%), providing a clear generational trend of decline of proficiency and use of dialect. No such trend exists within the Tyrolean participants. There is a lack of older generation participants, so a comparison is impossible, but the scores of the younger generation participants can hardly be improved upon, with very high proficiency (99%) and usage (96%) percentages. The Trentino participants have in general lower proficiency (88%) and usage (85%) percentages than the Tyrolean participants, but higher than the Venetan speakers, and no strong indication of a generational decline⁴. The participant numbers for the other languages are too small to make real claims about.

5.2 Quality of the data

Another important aspect of the methodology to evaluate is the quality of the collected data. If the data is not representative of actual language use in the region, it is useless for linguistic research and could only serve as a methodological study on online data collection methods. This section compares some of the linguistic features present in the VinKo data with existing data and dialect descriptions to assess if the data correlates with expectations and resembles previously recorded language use for the specific locations.

The majority of this section focuses on the Venetan data, in specific from the Veronese dialect zone. The Northern Italian dialects are a long-term subject of dialect descriptions, and due to their complex clitic systems and high variability have received a considerable amount of attention from scholars. This section focuses on the subject clitics in particular. Subject clitics are a well-known phenomenon of the Northern Italian dialects and are well-described, providing ample material for comparison. Additionally, they are high-frequency items, so they are expected to be present in large numbers in the VinKo data, and they do not exist in standard Italian, excluding the possibility of transference or translation effects from the standard language and making them a clear sign of dialect use. Subject clitics can be enclitic and proclitic in Veronese (like Venetan in general). In the Veronese varieties the 2nd person singular and the 3rd person clitics, both singular and plural, subject clitics are obligatory (Bondardo 1972), as they are in most Venetan varieties (Zamboni 1974:21). The VinKo data therefore must contain them if the collected data reflect actual dialectal data. This is indeed the case with consistent attestations of the 2nd singular *te=* (see example (13-a) containing both the proclitic *te=* and enclitic form *=to*), the third singular masculine *el=* and feminine *la=* (13-b), and the 3PL.M *i=* (13-c) and 3PL.F in *le=* (13-d).

- (13) a. *Se te= dè 'l s-ciopo a lu, a mi 'sa me= dè=to?*
 if 2SG= give the.M gun(M) to 3SG.M to 1SG what 1SG= give=2SG
 (Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_vec_U0298)
 If you give the gun to him, what do you give to me?
- b. *El cassador el= ghe dise a la stria de fermar=se*
 the.M.SG hunter(M) 3SG.M= 3.DAT say.3SG.PRS to the.F witch(F) to stop=3.REFL

⁴Under 30 years proficiency 87% and usage 80%, over 50 years respectively 90% and 88%.

e ela la= tenta de far=ghe 'na magia
and 3SG.F 3SG.F tries to do=3.DAT a.F spell(F)
(Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_vec_U0307)

The hunter says to the witch to stop and she tries to hex him.

- c. *I= torna de corsa in paese e i= dimanda aiuto a=t*
3PL.M= return in run in village and 3PL.M= ask help to-DEF.M.SG
cacciatore.

hunter(M)

(Bonavigo; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_vec_U0408)

They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.

- d. *Dopo le butele le= torna a casa e le ciamà so mama*
then the.F.PL girls(F) 3PL.F= return to home and 3PL.F= call their mother
(Zevio; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0314_vec_U0310)

Then the girl return home and call their mother.

The remaining clitic forms of the first person, singular and plural, and the second person plural share a single form in the proclitic *a*, which is an optional clitic unlike the others (Bondardo 1972:139) and therefore expected to occur to a much lesser extent in the dataset. This is indeed the case, with instances of the *a* clitic in VinKo in the first person singular (14-a) and plural (14-b), and for the second person plural (14-c), but to a much lesser degree than the same sentences without the clitic (e.g. (14-d)).

- (14) a. *Perché mi a= son pessa brava di ti*
because 1SG A= am more good.F than 2SG
(Bonavigo id:408; stimulus 205) (Rabanus et al. 2021; T0205_vec_U0408)
(...) Because I am better than you.
- b. *A semo stà bravi a copare la strega?*
A are been good.PL to kill the.F witch(F)
(Valdagno id:573; stimulus 205)(Rabanus et al. 2021; T0205_vec_U0573)
Have we not been brave?
- c. *A si sta fortunai che ela la= ve ga mia isto*
A are been fortunate.PL that 3SG.F 3SG.F= 2PL.OBJ has not seen
(Montecchia di Crosara id:419; stimulus 105) (Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0419)
You have been lucky that she did not see you also!
- d. *Si fortunai che ela no la ve ga visto*
are fortunate.PL that 3SG.F 3SG.F= 2PL.OBJ has not seen
(Montecchia di Crosara id:415; stimulus 105) (Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0415)
You have been lucky that she did not see you also!

The *a* clitic been described for the Padova dialect in detail in Benincà (1994), who analyses it as a topicalization clitic occupying the TOP position in the clause rather than a subject clitic, which would be ranked lower. This would mean that the clitic should precede negation (see (15-a)), a position also found in the VinKo data (15-b).

- (15) a. *a non te parli mai*
(Benincà 1994:21)
- b. *a non t'= ho mia 'isto la'orare, go solo 'isto ela*
A not 2SG.OBJ= have not seen work have only seen 3SG.F

(Bonavigo id:450; stimulus 311) (Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_vec_U0450)

I haven't seen you work, I have seen only her.

It can be concluded that VinKo collects dialect data representative of dialect systems in line with previous attestations and offline fieldwork. There is insufficient data to compare the results regarding the enclitic systems, but considering the subject proclitics systems the VinKo data (table 5.4) are perfectly in line with the data from dialect grammars (table 5.5)

	SG	PL
1	a=	
2	te=	a=
3.M	el=	i=
3.F	la=	le=

Table 5.4: Veronese subject enclitics as attested in VinKo (Rabanus et al. 2021)

	SG	PL
1	a=	
2	te=	a=
3.M	el=	i=
3.F	la=	le=

Table 5.5: Veronese subject enclitics as reported by Bondardo (1972:137)

It is sufficiently clear that the collected data does not only reflect obligatory dialect forms, but even captures optional patterns, which seems a strong indication of natural language use. Seiler (2010:522) states that when using standard language stimuli rather than dialectalized stimuli, the non-obligatory variants that have an identical pendant in the standard language can come up, but non-obligatory variants unique to the dialect are less likely too. This brief investigation into the use of the subject clitics in the data provides evidence that, despite the use of standard language stimuli, non-standard conform dialect forms, both obligatory and optional, are still being produced by participants. Due to the larger volume of participants that VinKo can gather, there is a larger likelihood to capture these types of optional structures, which might go mostly unattested in smaller datasets, as in previous projects using traditional data collection methods like AThEME. While translation effects and language interference can never be ruled out, and individual speakers in cases might prove unreliable, the VinKo data shows to be of comparable quality with offline fieldwork results and to produce valid dialect data overall.

5.3 Participant evaluation

After the completion of the linguistic questionnaires in VinKo, participants were asked if they would agree to voluntarily participate in a short evaluation questionnaire about the VinKo questionnaires and the website. In total 63 speakers participated in the evaluation poll. The general evaluation of the VinKo questionnaires is fairly positive. The poll showed that 84% of the participants found the questionnaires overall clear and easy to complete and 85% found them overall enjoyable. However, the combined questionnaires were indicated by 63% of participants to be too long and the length has been commented upon to be “excessive”. By and large, the participant evaluation of the data collection interface is positive, but the length of the questionnaires must be critically evaluated in future versions of the project, and options for periodical smaller questionnaires could be explored (a technique employed by various other online linguistic projects, e.g. *REDE* (see Fischer and Limper 2019) and *Gschmöis* (see Hasse, Bachmann, and Glaser 2020)).

5.3.1 Task evaluation: performance and speaker judgments

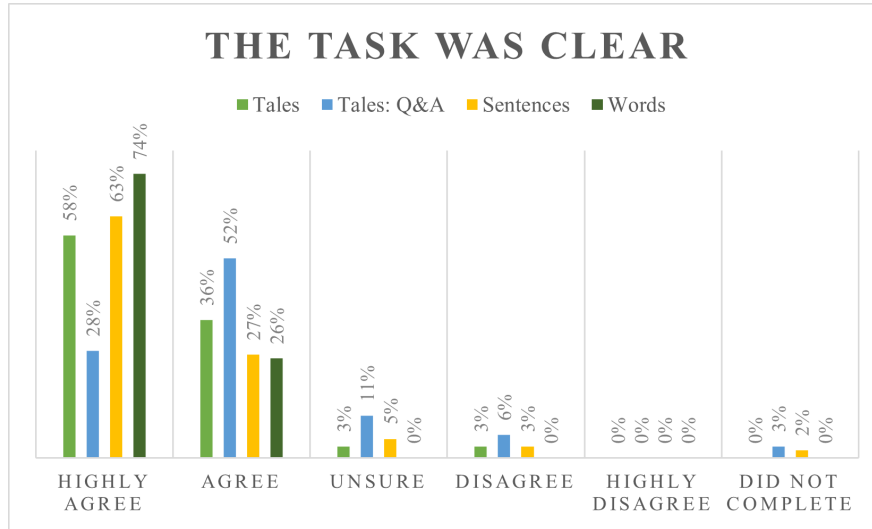
The evaluation poll also examined the evaluation of the individual tasks, to gauge if participants might show a clear preference for a certain task or if they might prove confusing or unclear. The evaluation poll used a 5 point Likert scale: highly agree, agree, unsure, disagree, and highly disagree. The results of which are listed in figure 5.2, with subfigure 5.2a for the question regarding the clarity of the task, subfigure 5.2b regarding the ease of the completion of the task, and subfigure 5.2c regarding the overall length of the task. Figure 5.3 indicates the relative ranking that participants gave to the individual tasks and how enjoyable they found them. The following paragraphs provide a more detailed description and interpretation of the data.

The ‘Words’ section, meaning the phonological questionnaire, got the best marks out of the participant evaluation. Comments agree that in general, the Words section was the easiest task, not needing any active translation from the participants and therefore being judged as the clearest and easiest task (see figures 5.2a and 5.2b) and no-one marked as having not completed the whole task. It ranked favorably in comparison to the other tasks and was most commonly seen as the most enjoyable task. A comment actually suggested ‘a mio parere un aspetto da migliorare potrebbe essere l’ordine in cui vengono somministrate le storie/parole/frasi poichè ritengo sia meglio iniziare con la sezione parole, per poi continuare con le frasi e infine le storie. in questo modo l’intervistato inizia con una sezione meno complessa così da sentirsi meno in difficoltà.’ a change which has since been implemented.

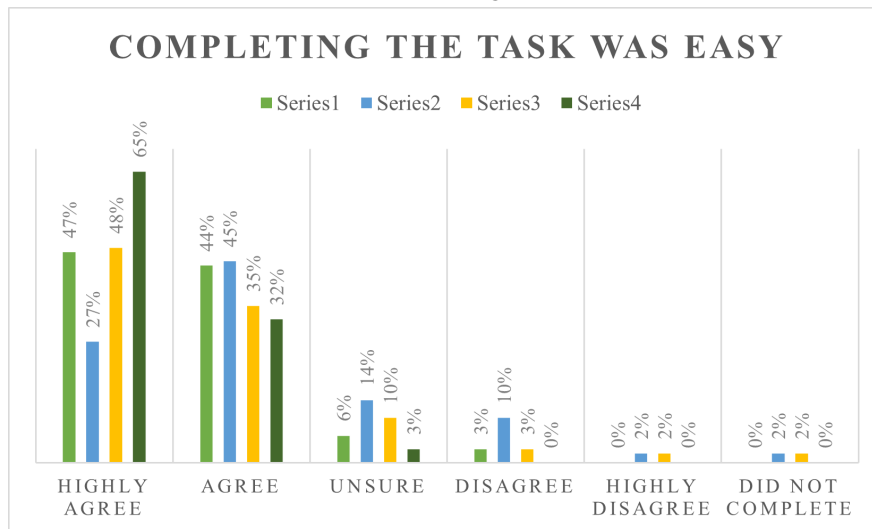
Overall all four tasks scored high in clarity and how easy they were to complete. The lowest scoring task in these categories was the free-directed question-answer section of the Tales section (marked as Tales Q&A in the figures), which was to be expected. Participants are asked to not only translate but come up with their own answers. Listening to the data further confirmed that some speakers had difficulty in understanding the task, with some not providing any answers, but only the responses or the other way around. And many clear hesitations. It also ranks as the least favorite task, probably due to the uncertainty factor, 5.3.

Looking only at the numbers, this seems to be confirmed by the participants’ behavior in the questionnaire. Table 5.6 shows a slight decrease of participants throughout the morphological questionnaire (which was offered first in the period until 2021), of which most participants are lost after the first narrative. Most participants who persist after the first narrative seem likely to finish both stories including the directed free production tasks. The directed free production tasks demand most creativity from speakers and are most likely to be perceived as confusing or unclear. The statistics however do not show a significant dip which cannot be tied to general participant decrease over the course of the questionnaire. A more detailed look at data indicates that speakers do feel free to skip items that they deem difficult or confusing and that they continue on with the questionnaire. One particular item rakes in only 44/68 responses of the Tyrolean participants, and 85/111 responses for Venetan. Stimulus 204 (*Sono stato bravo a salvarlo, no?/Toll, wie ich ihn beschützt habe!*) was already recognized as the most confusing/difficult to parse during the testing phase, but it was decided to include it nonetheless, in order to test how speakers would respond to such stimuli and how it would affect the data. It shows that if speakers are unsure about an item they are willing to skip it, and progress to the next item.

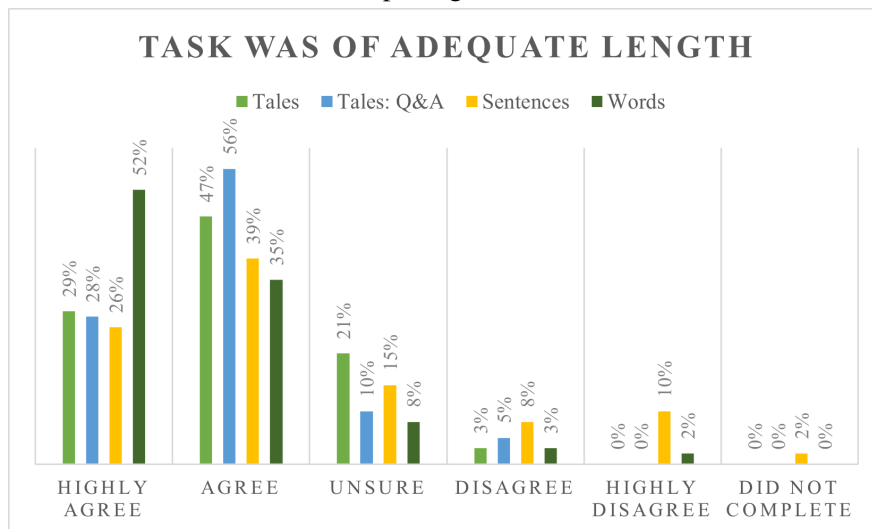
There is no reason to assume that the tasks collected different quality data. While the Words section is difficult to compare with the others, the Sentences and Stories are more easily comparable. The quality checks done in the previous section are applicable to both tasks. Participants



(a) Understanding the task



(b) Completing the full task



(c) Length of task

Figure 5.2: Participant evaluation of VinKo tasks

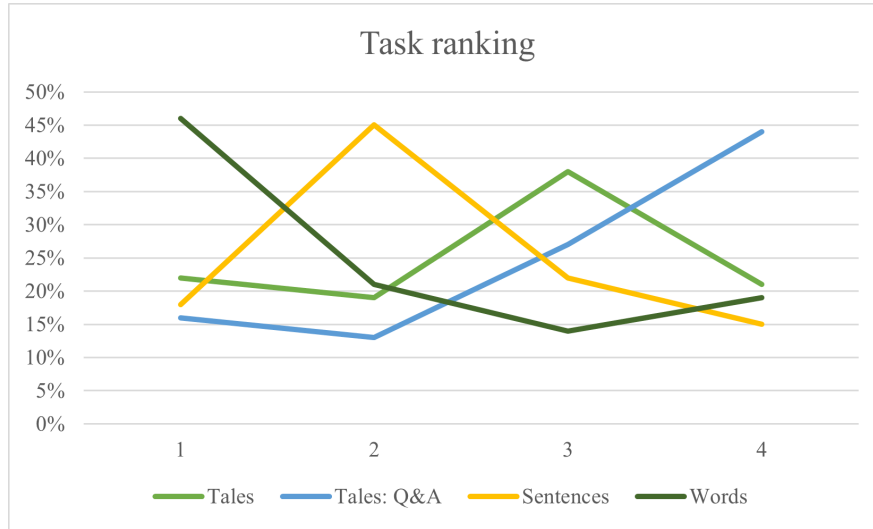


Figure 5.3: Relative ranking of VinKo tasks, with the horizontal axis ranking the most enjoyable task (1) to the least enjoyable (4) and the vertical axis, the percentage of participants who chose this option.

	<i>Tyrolean participants</i>	<i>Venetan participants</i>
<i>Narrative 1</i>	av. 71	av. 111
<i>QA Narrative 1</i>	av. 68	av. 106
<i>Narrative 2</i>	av. 66	av. 105
<i>QA Narrative 2</i>	av. 66	av. 105

Table 5.6: Number of responses across different tasks, as of June 2021

produce the obligatory subject clitics (e.g. examples (16-a), from the Tales section, and (16-b), from the Sentences section, attesting the third person feminine subject clitic *la*) as well as the optional structures (e.g. the clitic *a* compare examples from Tales (16-c) and Sentences (16-d)) in both tasks.

- (16) a. ‘*Va ben, ghe do ’na man mi’, la= dise la butela braa e*
 goes good 3.DAT give a.F hand(F) 1SG 3SG.F says the.SG.F girl(F) good.F and
la= ciapa ela ’l pan da=l forno
 3SG.F.NOM= takes 3SG.F the.SG.M bread(M) from-SG.M oven(M)
 (Zevio; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_vec_U0310)
 “‘Alright, I will help it”, says the good girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’
- b. *Non so mia parché la Maria la= pianse*
 not know why the.SG.F Maria(F) 3SG.F= cries
 (Zevio; S0109_vec_U0310)
 ‘I don’t know why Maria is crying.’
- c. *Noialtri a= semo scapà, invezze lori i= è stà caturà*
 1PL.M A= are escaped instead 3PL.M 3PL.M.NOM= are been captured
 (Bonavigo; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0408)
 “‘We have escaped, while they have been captured.’”

- d. *A = mandaremo via le lettere*
A = send away the.PL.F letters(F)
(Bonavigo; S0123_vec_U0408)
'We will sent out the letters.'

5.4 Summary and conclusions

This chapter has shown that VinKo is capable of collecting a large amount of data and is an effective tool for the collection of dialect data, particularly for larger dialect areas or speech varieties, where it has resulted in a large amount of data from geographically diverse communities. It also shows that minority languages or smaller communities are less easy to target using crowdsourcing. Passive crowdsourcing has been shown not to work for the VinKo platform, but focused and active promotion of the platform through official and personal channels does pay off. The way that the platform is promoted and advertised affects the type of participant that is reached, resulting in diverging participant profiles across the different varieties. The technical aspect of the project does appear to lend itself better to younger speakers, but older speakers can certainly be reached by involving younger generation speakers actively in the data collection process. VinKo collects valid dialect data, which is of comparable quality to data collected using traditional methods and the data conforms to expectations based on the available literature. Not only were the expected obligatory structures found in the data, but also optional patterns were present, that might be missed in smaller data sets. The questionnaires overall are well-received by participants, but often judged to be of inappropriate length. For the future, short and more frequent questionnaires could be considered, both to make the data collection more enjoyable for participants and to maintain active engagement with the project over a longer period of time. The easiest and most enjoyable task was judged to be the word-pronunciation task, while the free-production task proved to be the most difficult and least enjoyable. To ease participants in the questionnaires, the word-pronunciation task is presented first starting from June 2021.

Part II

Pronominal and article systems of the Triveneto

6. Case marking in Triveneto

This section serves to introduce the terminology applied within this thesis. Furthermore, it provides a short overview of the literature on the strong pronominal and article systems found in the Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto regions and discusses the choice for these particular paradigms for the research.

6.1 Case terminology

In this dissertation, case is defined as ‘marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads’ (Blake 1994:1). Case is traditionally considered to be a system of inflectional morphology, which can take the form of separate morphemes, portmanteau morphemes, or suppletive forms (Blake 1994:10-11). This definition of case as an inflectional category is not strictly followed within this dissertation, as it creates opposition to any type of adpositional marking. Adpositions can be considered analytical case markers as opposed to synthetic case markers. Haspelmath (2009:507) points out that terminology like case particles or case markers, which if not inflectional, are technically contradictory terms. From a broad perspective, there are differences between adpositional and inflectional case marking. Usually, inflectional case is more general, and the adpositions make the finer distinctions (Blake 1994:10-11). In the varieties of the Triveneto area, prepositional dative marking is an attested alternative or addition to inflectional case marking. In some varieties, e.g. Tyrolean, it is an optional pattern, whilst in others it has become an obligatory strategy, e.g. Mòcheno. Whereas the difference between inflectional and prepositional case marking is clearly signaled throughout the text, both strategies are labeled ‘case marking’, meaning that a strict definition of ‘case’ is not adhered to.

In addition to case marking via inflection or adpositions, there are other competing strategies in languages used to express certain grammatical functions or semantic roles. For example, similar functions can be served by word order, relator nouns, or possessive adjectives (Blake 1994:13). Word order and its rigidity or flexibility are obviously connected to the morphological marking of case. If a language uses word order to indicate grammatical relations, case marking can be redundant. Also, certain orders leave less question about the participants and their roles. For example, languages with SOV as basic word order tend to have case systems (like many German varieties), which are often absent for languages with a SVO basic word order (like many Romance varieties). Case marking is less needed since arguments are separated by the verb. Syntactic relations can be established from the get-go like this, getting all the grammatical relations and participant information across as soon as possible (Hasselbach 2013).

Across languages, the size and usages of case systems might vary quite considerably. Addition-

ally, there is overlap in the use of label being used (e.g. one label for two different semantic roles), or different labels relating to the same phenomenon. This can cause problems for cross-linguistic research if something labeled ‘accusative’ in language A differs significantly from the functions and use of the label ‘accusative’ in language B. The syncretism of two separate case forms can create additional obstacles for adequately labeling case forms, something which is a common issue within the German dialects. For example, in many German dialects, there is a merger of the accusative and dative cases (Rabanus 2008:33), as is also the case for some parts of the system in Tyrolean varieties, Mòcheno and Cimbrian. Case syncretisms can occur for a myriad of reasons, most commonly because phonological processes made the two distinct forms fall together, or a reinterpretation of the case system. Syncretism on basis of reinterpretation or conceptual extension usually follows certain patterns (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002). Varying traditions and conventions in the labeling of cases can be problematic for language typology and cross-linguistic comparison, however, despite these issues, most linguists will choose to use well-known descriptive labels, e.g. nominative, accusative, or dative, when describing phenomena in a particular language. As Haspelmath (2009:509) rightly points out, descriptive labels are simply the most practical way of going about it. Contrary to the use of numbers or forms, though this does create the problem that people see that they might compare the concepts without further question. However, as long as linguists remain aware that they are using language-specific labels, and not comparative concepts, this is not a major issue (Haspelmath 2009:510-511).

With that in mind, it is important to take stock of the cases present in the region and their comparability.

6.2 Cases of Trentino-Alto-Adige/Südtirol and Veneto

The regions of Alto-Adige/South Tyrol and Veneto are home to language varieties from two major Indo-European language families: Germanic and Romance. While both historically had extensive case marking, in modern times, only the Germanic varieties still maintain active case marking, whereas in the Romance varieties it remains only marginally present. This section aims to highlight which cases can still be found in the survey area and provide the basic definition of the functions and usages of those cases.

All Germanic varieties present in Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto are of Bavarian descent, and while Middle High German had four active cases (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:81), nowadays, for the major part, the Bavarian varieties have been reduced to the following three cases: nominative, accusative, and dative. The genitive case is as good as gone in the majority of the Germanic varieties in the Triveneto, many of its functions taken over by periphrastic constructions or the dative case. In Mòcheno the genitive case has been described as only occurring as a relic on personal pronouns (Rowley 2010:100-101), but no longer a productive part of the language’s case system. Cimbrian is described as having lost the genitive in all three varieties (Lusérn, VII and XIII Com.) its functions have been taken over by the dative (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:359). In the Tyrolean varieties, as well, many of the genitive functions have been taken over by the dative case or are now expressed via periphrastic constructions. Only in person designations (e.g. *der treesns kopftiachl* ‘Theresia’s headscarf’ (Scheutz 2016:65)) is it still an active strategy for some speakers, and it appears to be primarily used by the older generation speakers, but rarely by younger speakers (with exceptions in some specific locations) (Scheutz 2016:64-67; Kollmann 2012:85).

In the Northern Italian dialect varieties, we are not expecting to find much if any morphological case marking. While Classical Latin was a language rich in case, the Italo-Romance branch for a large part has lost its case marking. Exceptions to this are found in the pronominal clitic system, which has a subject-object distinction in all persons, and an additional dative form in the third person (more details in the following sections).

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Genitive
<i>Tyrolean</i>	yes	yes	yes	marginal
<i>Mòcheno</i>	yes	yes	yes	marginal
<i>Cimbrian</i>	yes	yes	yes	marginal
<i>Trentino</i>	marginal	marginal	marginal	no
<i>Venetan</i>	marginal	marginal	marginal	no

Table 6.1: Cases present in varieties of Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto

To summarize, as can be seen in table 6.1, there are three main cases present in the Triveneto area: nominative, accusative, and dative. For this reason, only these three cases are considered in this dissertation. While in some varieties, there might be marginal genitive case marking, it cannot be considered an active case in the region overall. The following sections will elaborate on each case and its functions in the language varieties present in the area.

6.2.1 Nominative case

In standard German, the nominative case is the neutral unmarked form of the case system, whose function is to designate the subject in both transitive and intransitive clauses. It is mainly used to express the semantic roles of agent or experiencer of the verbal event (Rabanus 2008:33). This description is equally valid for the Germanic language varieties spoken in the Triveneto. For example, the nominative case in Cimbrian is described as being equal to the subject in intransitive (S) and transitive (A) clauses, and so it always encodes the subject of the verb (Tyroller 2003:200). As such, it is also the case of the subject in passive constructions and the vocative (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:791-3). Also Mòcheno is described with the nominative being ‘the case of the subject of a clause’, and the following examples presented below in (17) are provided.

- (17) a. *i stea au*
 1 SG.NOM stand up
 ‘I stand up.’
 b. *i sich de*
 1 SG.NOM see 2 SG.ACC
 ‘I see you.’
 (Mòcheno, Rowley 2003:252, gloss and English translation mine)

In general, standard Italian does not have case as an inflectional category anymore, but there are lingering traces in the pronominal system. Standard Italian has a distinct nominative or subject form in personal pronouns in the first and second person singular¹. In the Venetan (Zamboni 1974:20)

¹Technically, standard Italian also still has distinct nominative forms for the third person singular, namely *egli* (3SG.M.SBJ), *ella* (3SG.F.SBJ), *esso/a* (3SG.N.SBJ), but nowadays these forms are strictly limited to the formal written

and Trentino (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:104-5) varieties, the nominative/subject forms in the first and second person full pronouns have been lost, resulting in the forms *mi* and *ti*, in both subject and object cases. However, the presence of pronominal subject clitics in these varieties reintroduces a subject/object distinction for some persons. For example, in Venetan and Trentino the third person is obligatorily marked with a nominative (subject) clitic, e.g. *el=* ‘3SG.M.NOM=’ which is distinct from the accusative (object) clitic *lo=* ‘3SG.M.ACC=’, see the following example (18).

- (18) *Marco, el gelato, el= lo= ga za magnà*
 Marco DEF.SG.M ice_cream(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 3SG.M.ACC= has already eaten
 ‘Marco, the ice cream, he has already eaten it.’
 (Trevigiano (Venetan), Casalicchio and Frasson 2018:120; gloss and English translation mine)

Overall, the label ‘nominative’ to express the subject in both transitive and intransitive clauses can be applied across the different language varieties and language families without difficulties.

6.2.2 Accusative case

Cross-linguistically, the accusative case is commonly defined as a primarily grammatical case used to mark the patient of transitive clauses (O) in an accusative system (Haspelmath 2009:512), and the core meaning of the accusative is to encode the affected participant in a transitive clause (Kittilä and Malchukov 2008:549). This general definition also applies to the accusative case in German and German varieties. Rabanus (2008:62) describes the accusative case in standard High German as the marked counter case to the nominative case, and that it symbolizes the direct object of transitive verbs. Semantically, it encodes the objects that are affected directly, and which become the theme or undergoer of the verbal event. The syntactical and semantic functions of the standard German accusative case are largely shared by the language varieties of Trentino-South Tyrol. Tyrolean, Mòcheno, and Cimbrian all use the accusative case for expressing the object of a transitive clause and the patient role. For example, in Cimbrian the accusative case of the first person singular is *me* (19). Some verbs, like *vorschan* ‘to ask’ in (19), can take double objects.

- (19) *dar hat me gevorscht a bort*
 3SG.M.NOM has 1SG.ACC asked a word
 ‘He has asked me for a word.’
 (Cimbrian, Tyroller 2003:208-9)

The accusative case is also common in adpositional phrases expressing, for example, a goal function. For example, in standard German, the prepositional phrase in *geht in die Schule* ‘goes to the.ACC school’ takes the accusative case (Kittilä and Malchukov 2008:558-60). Where the case is governed by a verb, the usage is identical across the Germanic varieties. Where it is governed by a preposition, there is more variation across varieties. While Cimbrian and the Tyrolean varieties, each has prepositions governing either the accusative or the dative case, this domain in Mòcheno is exclusively restricted to the dative case, which is therefore called “prepositional case” (Rowley 2013:59), see section 8.2.

domain, and are no longer used in spoken language (Rabanus 2008:41).

In the Romance varieties, as was the case for the nominative, the accusative case is generally not morphologically marked, with the exception of the pronominal system. As was mentioned above, in standard Italian full pronouns maintain a subject/object distinction, but this is not the case in the Trentino and Venetan varieties. In the clitic system, there is a residue of distinction between object and subject case. Only in the third person the clitic system retains a distinction between accusative (direct object) and dative (indirect object) case, as exemplified in (20) where the object clitic is *lo*= ‘3SG.M.ACC’ and the dative clitic *ghe*= ‘3SG.M.DAT’.

- (20) *Ghe l’ò presentà al Giorgio*
 him.DAT.CL him.CL-I.have introduced to-the Giorgio
 ‘I introduced him to Giorgio.’
 (Central Trentino; Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:64, example 2a)

6.2.3 Dative case

The dative is a more complicated case than the ones discussed above as it falls between the syntactical and the semantic cases. It is difficult to define cross-linguistically in a valid way. Usually, it is assumed that the dative case marks the indirect object, e.g. the indirectly affected (goal/recipient) object of a ditransitive construction. In the Indo-European tradition it is also commonly found on complements of verbs like ‘help’, ‘obey’, or ‘trust’. What is shared here is the ‘indirect affect’ from the verbal event (Næss 2008:573). Datives structurally can mark one of the objects of the ditransitive, semantically they encode experiencers or beneficiaries. Haspelmath (2009:512-3) says that using the term ‘dative’ for the indirect object is usually unproblematic.

In standard German, the dative case exists in opposition to the accusative and embodies mainly the semantic roles of recipient or benefactive (Rabanus 2008:33). The dative case is the one with the most variation across the German varieties in Triveneto. In all three varieties, it encodes the indirect object of a clause, eg. (21-a), and the complement of specific verbs, e.g. ‘to help’ (21-b).

- (21) a. *gi s en tata*
 give 3SG.N.ACC DEF.SG.M.DAT father(M)
 ‘Give it to father.’
 (Mòcheno, Rowley 2010:100)
- b. *de muter hölfet in lōüten*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM mother(F) helps DEF.PL.DAT people
 ‘The mother helps the people.’
 (Cimbrian, Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:769, 770)

In the description of Mòcheno, the dative case is also commonly called the prepositional case, since it is only found after a preposition. Also in the pronominal paradigm, prepositional dative marking is the prevalent strategy with the exception of the weak pronominal clitics (Rowley 2013:59). As discussed in the previous section, all prepositional phrases take the dative case. In Cimbrian, this is dependent on the preposition, which can take either accusative or dative case, resulting in a distinction between ‘accusative prepositions’ and ‘dative prepositions’ (Tyroller 2003:169). Which case a given preposition rules is however strongly dependent on the variety of Cimbrian (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:767). As such prepositional phrases are unreliable constructions for eliciting dative case in Cimbrian, since they could result in an accusative form in one variety and a dative

in another.

The Romance varieties mark indirect objects not with inflectional case marking, but with prepositional dative marking via the preposition *a*, see example (22-a) (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:106). In the pronominal clitic system, there is very marginal morphological dative case marking left, only for the third person, see (22-b).

- (22) a. *La Teresa la= ghe= dis sèmpre su a-l*
 DEF.SG.F Teresa(F) 3SG.F.NOM= 3SG.DAT= says always up DAT-DEF.SG.M
Pietro
 Pietro(M)
 ‘Teresa always complains to Pietro.’
 (Central Trentino, Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:223, example 13b)
- b. *Ge lo dago a Toni*
 to.him it= I.give to Toni
 ‘I give it to Toni.’
 (Veneziano; Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2016:923, example 48)

6.3 Parts of speech with case marking in Triveneto

Now that it has been established which cases are present in the area and what their functions are, it is important to establish which parts of speech commonly carry inflectional case marking, and which do not. The Trentino and Venetan varieties have no active case marking left, except for some remaining traces in the pronominal clitic system, so this will not be elaborated on in this section. In the Germanic varieties, case is marked on different parts of the linguistic system to varying degrees.

In noun phrases, there is only a limited amount of case marking left. The most extensive inflectional case marking is found in Cimbrian. In general, Cimbrian nouns do not decline for case, with the exception of the dative case, which can be marked by the suffix *-n* (Tyroller 2003:131; Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:359). However, it must be noted that this only occurs in some Cimbrian varieties (e.g. Lusérn) and only in specific environments, e.g. after a plural in *-dar/ar* or following a vowel or liquid (Tyroller 2003:131-5). There is also dative case marking present on adjectives in the strong declination, which is used if the indefinite article is used in the singular (Tyroller 2003:146-148; Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:389-390). It still has distinct dative forms in the masculine and neuter genders, as well as in the plural. However, the weak adjectival declension is almost completely leveled, with no distinctions left in the plural and only marginal distinction in the singular (Tyroller 2003:143). Definite articles decline for case in all genders in Cimbrian (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:412). The indefinite articles decline in some varieties, but only marginally so (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:411-2; Tyroller 2003:162).

In comparison to Cimbrian, Mòcheno has little case marking left within the noun phrase. Most varieties appear to have lost their case marking on nouns (Rowley 2010), though the Roveda/Eichleit variety shows some evidence for the use of a suffix *-n* in the dative plural on nouns in prepositional phrases (attested for Mòcheno in 1833 by Johann Andreas Schmeller). However, this is reported to have disappeared in most varieties and the noun following a preposition is now left unmarked (Bidese and Cognola 2013:59). The same goes for adjectives, which no longer decline for case, though some archaic forms have been attested for some older speakers, cf. Rowley 2010; Rowley

2003:166-170). Mòcheno still has an active declension of the definite articles (Rowley 2010:108-9), but in the indefinite paradigm case distinction has been lost. The neuter dative form is still distinguishable for some varieties, but in general, there are no more distinctions (Rowley 2010:110).

A general overview of case marking in the Tyrolean varieties is lacking. At least for some locations, e.g. Laurein, case marking on the noun is reported to be completely absent (Kollmann 2012:185). Adjectives in Laurein are reported to decline for case, in both the strong and weak declension patterns (Kollmann 2012:201-2). Definite and indefinite articles are both declined for case in Laurein (Kollmann 2012:226, 235).

In the pronominal category, the personal pronouns have the most extensive case marking across all varieties, maintaining active case marking across the paradigm for each variety (cf. Rowley 2010:124-27; Kollmann 2012:212-219). Some other types of pronouns, e.g. relative pronouns, are generally not declined. For example, in Mòcheno relative pronouns are not declined for nominative or accusative case (or gender). They have the invariant form *as* (or *das* in Palai), and can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun (which does indicate case, and therefore clarifies the grammatical construction) (Rowley 2010:130). In the Tyrolean variety of Laurein, there is a reduction in case marking of relative pronouns in the younger generation, which no longer maintains the dative marking on *bos* ‘what’, but retains it on *be:r* ‘who’ (Kollmann 2012:231-2). Demonstratives tend to maintain some case marking, though their declination varies across varieties and types. For example, Cimbrian proximal demonstratives ‘this’ decline according to the adjective pattern (and have in a similar fashion been losing case marking), whereas distal demonstrative ‘that’ are based on the definite article systems and decline in that, more robust, pattern (Tyroller 2003:163). The majority of the pronominal categories, like negation or possessive pronouns, show some residue of case marking, but none as extensive as the personal pronouns.

The data presented in the paragraphs above have been summarized in table 6.2. It is a bit of an oversimplification of the actual situation, as the Tyrolean varieties data has been taken from a few single locations, and Mòcheno has some exceptions in specific varieties and for an older generation of speakers.

	<i>nouns</i>	<i>adjectives</i>	<i>def. art</i>	<i>indef. art</i>	<i>pers. pron</i>	<i>poss. pron.</i>	<i>rel. pron</i>
<i>Tyrolean</i>	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	marginal
<i>Mòcheno</i>	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no
<i>Cimbrian</i>	marginal	reduced	yes	marginal	yes	yes	no

Table 6.2: Case marking on different parts-of-speech

While there is significant variation between varieties and considerable variation within varieties as well, clearly the most promising parts of speech for case marking research are the pronominal paradigm and the definite article paradigms, as shown by table 6.2. The following sections briefly introduce some of the issues regarding the pronominal systems and the article system within these varieties.

6.3.1 Pronouns in Triveneto

The personal pronominal system is one of the richest in case-assignment for all varieties. As high-frequency items, pronouns tend to maintain case marking the longest, even in varieties that

show strong signs of paradigm leveling and loss of case distinctions (Riehl 2018). The previous section gave an overview of the distribution of case marking across different parts of speech for the varieties in the area. This section serves to give a more precise picture of the pronominal systems in the area. Pronouns are inherently definite and their referents are uniquely determined in the context of the utterance. They refer to a Person, Gender, and Number. Gender in the Germanic and Romance languages refers to the grammatical gender of nouns, which is usually, but not always, in line with biological sex in case of humans, or animate nouns that specify the biological sex (Löbner 2013:63-68).

An important distinction in the pronominal system is that between strong and weak personal pronouns. Both the Romance and the Germanic varieties in the sample possess both categories, but they differ in significant ways in their usages and syntactic properties.

Full pronouns are found both in the Germanic and Romance language varieties. The Italo-Romance varieties are pro-drop languages, which generally drop the subject pronoun if not used for emphasis or disambiguation. Person and number features are marked on the verb and in the Northern Italian dialects also commonly with subject clitics. For example in sentence (23-a), there is no full pronoun present, as it is usually dropped in this environment, however, the subject features remain marked on the verb as well as by the subject clitic *el=* ‘3SG.M.NOM=’. In focus or emphatic environments or to indicate the change of subject, full pronouns are generally used, see the use of *lu* ‘3SG.M’ in example (23-b). The Germanic languages are not pro-drop languages and in most environments, they must produce a pronoun (either weak or strong), for example *er* ‘3SG.M.NOM’ in example (23-c). Dropping the pronoun would be ungrammatical, cf. (23-d).

- (23) a. *El= libera i buteleti e le= porta a casa*
 3SG.M.NOM= frees DEF.PL.ACC children and 3PL.ACC= brings to house
 (Venetan, Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_tir_U062)
- b. *Alora lu el= ciapa el so fusil e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 =’l *copa la strega*
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Venetan, Grezzana; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0563)
 ‘So he took out his gun and killed the witch.’
- c. *Er befreit di Kinder und bringt si hoam*
 3SG.M.NOM frees DEF.PL.ACC children and brings 3PL.ACC home
 (Tyrolean, Kurtatsch a.d.W./Cortaccia s.s.d.v.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_tir_U0385)
 ‘He frees the children and brings them home.’
- d. **Befreit di Kinder und bringt si hoam*

Apart from stressed pronouns, the varieties of both language families also have unstressed forms. Both types carry person and number features, but apart from those similarities, the clitic forms are not directly comparable linguistic structures across the different language families. The German weak pronoun forms directly descend from the strong forms of the pronouns, at least if considered diachronically. If considered from a synchronic perspective, in some varieties, including the Bavarian ones, they form two distinct systems. For example, in the Munich dialect the case patterning and syncretisms differ between the strong pronouns and the weak “clitics” (cf. Kufner 1961:66). On syntactical grounds, it has been proposed to make a four-way division of German dialect pronouns (cf. Weiß 2015) dividing the system beyond weak and strong, creating a difference between

weak pronouns which can occur in the SpecP and clitic pronouns which only occur in the Wackernagel position, and including null pronouns. However, morphologically the German dialects only ever make a two way distinction, therefor providing a mismatch between theoretical syntactic analysis and morphological analysis/realizations (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). The choice between the weak clitic or the strong pronoun generally depends on the position of the pronoun within the clause, and/or on emphasis and stress. For example, in Mòcheno the weak forms are commonly found behind the verb while the stressed pronouns are common when there is stress or focus (Rowley 2010:127), see examples (24-a) (weak) and (24-b) (stressed).

- (24) a. *nemet hot = 'n epes gem*
 no_one has =3SG.M.DAT something give
 'No one has given him anything.'
 (Mòcheno, Rowley 2010:125)
- b. *i sog s lai en im*
 1SG.NOM say =3SG.N.ACC only DAT 3SG.M.DAT
 'I see it only to him.'
 (Mòcheno, Rowley 2010:125-6)

The Italian clitics, on the other hand, are usually not considered weak counterparts of the full pronouns (Zwicky 1977; Cardinaletti and Starke 1999), but are commonly analysed as possessing affix-like properties, i.e. they basically form part of the verb morphology. Others have argued that these clitics have paradigms in their own rights, and are not just part of the verbal paradigm (Schwarze 2001). Romance subject clitics and verbal inflection tend to compensate for one another in circumventing syncretism, by providing distinct agreement marking for each person, e.g. third person subject clitics are obligatory in most Northern Italian varieties, since the verbal inflection is ambiguous; it could refer to both singular and plural number. The subject clitic removes this ambiguity by marking number as well as gender of the subject. However, the Northern Italian subject clitic systems have been described as being 'defective' (Benincà, Parry, and Pescarini 2016:196), meaning that they show systematic gaps (Pescarini 2016:745). Many Venetan varieties, for example, do not possess a subject clitic for marking the first person plural, while the third person plural is obligatorily marked with *i=*, see example (25). The Germanic weak pronoun systems are not 'defective' in this way, instead they have full paradigms available to all varieties.

- (25) *Semo scapè, ma quei altri i= è stà ciapè*
 are escaped but those others 3PL.M.NOM= are been captured
 (Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0439)
 "We have escaped, but they have been captured!"

Equating the German weak pronouns with the Romance pronominal clitics would be problematic from both a theoretical and a practical point of view. As one of the goals of the project is to produce directly comparable stimuli in order to investigate potential language contact effects between the two language families, it has been decided to focus on the full pronouns. Across language families, they fulfill a similar role, occur in contexts of emphasis and stress, and can be compared across language families without major issues.

6.3.2 Definite articles in Triveneto

Definite articles are generally used to refer to referents that have been introduced previously in the discourse, and are therefore indexical. The context that the article adds itself is that the given description is unique in the given context; there can only be one thing it refers to. Uniqueness can be due to the very meaning of the NP, independently of the particular context (semantic uniqueness), or it can be due to the special circumstances in the given context of utterance (pragmatic uniqueness) (Löbner 2013:74-77). In the language varieties of Trentino-South Tyrol, and in lesser measure, Veneto, definite articles are also commonly used in front of proper nouns (in some varieties also dependent on the gender of the person) (cf. Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:64-66; Panieri et al. 2006:92-3; Rowley 2010:108). This is a trend, which transcends language boundaries, and is found in both Germanic and Romance varieties, e.g. Trentino and Mòcheno (see examples in (26)). It is a regional feature of the non-standard varieties, which does not occur in standard German or standard Italian.

- (26) a. *i pin **der** Giokino va Oachlait*
 1SG.NOM am DEF.M.SG.NOM Giokino(M) of Eichleit
 ‘I am Giokino from Eichleit (Roveda)’
 (Mòcheno, Rowley 2010:108).
- b. *Stamatina ò **encontrà el** Giani.*
 this_morning I.have met DEF.M.SG Giani
 ‘This morning I met Giani.’
 (Trentino, Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:64)

The definite articles in the Romance varieties, Trentino and Venetan, come in two genders; masculine and feminine. Gender is marked both in the singular and the plural numbers. Case is not marked, but datives are preceded by the preposition *a* usually phonologically merged with the article. Definite articles are used when the noun has a referent of which the identity has been previously established. Casalicchio and Cordin (2020:63-67) also indicate that in Central Trentino, in some specific cases, the interpretation of a definite article is not definite, but the noun phrase has a ‘kind’ reading or is interpreted as the content of an indefinite container, e.g. *béver el caffè* ‘to drink some coffee (lit. to drink the coffee)’.

In the German varieties, the definite article has three genders in the singular number: masculine, feminine, and neuter. In the plural, gender is no longer overtly present. In Mòcheno, the plural definite has generalized into *de*, though the occurrence of the dative *-n* on preposition does occasionally still occur (e.g. *va de* or *van* ‘of the.DAT’) (Rowley 2010:109). The singular number is reported to have similar case leveling across the feminine gender, but retains case marking of at least the dative in the masculine and neuter gender (Rowley 2010:108-109). In most varieties of Cimbrian, the dative case remains marked in opposition to the general syncretism of the nominative and accusative case in the plural definite articles (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:412-3; Tyroller 2003:162; Rapelli 2016:15). This would also be the expected pattern for the Tyrolean varieties (e.g. as attested for the location of Laurein Kollmann 2012:226). Both varieties however have more extensive case marking in the singular paradigms, which includes the extra dimension of grammatical gender and which shows asymmetric case patterning. For Cimbrian, Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]:411-413) points to potential different case patterns across different varieties of Cimbrian, making it a potentially interesting area for language change.

Data collection was limited to singular number. Since the questionnaire had to be kept as short as possible, it was decided to cut out the plural definite articles from the targets. In the Germanic varieties, the definite articles in singular number show the most promise for research, including multiple grammatical genders and asymmetric paradigms. The inclusion of the plural articles would have further lengthened the questionnaire, and there was little shift or variation expected within the paradigms based on the existing literature.

6.4 Case loss and reduction

From a diachronic perspective, languages are shifting systems with intermediate steps in between constantly shifting patterns (Hasselbach 2013), and case marking is no exception to this. Case has always been a rich area for studies into language contact and language change. While case systems in principle may grow, e.g. through the grammaticalization of verbs, nouns, or adverbial particles (Blake 1994:163-9), these are not processes that are predicted to be present in the survey area. As the previous sections have illustrated, the German varieties show signs of the loss of case marking in many parts of speech and a general loss in the number of cases. For example, while maintaining inflectional case marking, most dialect systems have seen simplification of the case paradigm (see the previous remark on the disappearance of the genitive case in many German varieties) with respect to Old High German. Reduction in the number of cases within a case system can be the result of phonological reduction (e.g. assimilation, fusion, or vowel loss) resulting in syncretism or due to other factors, like an extension of semantics or reinterpretation of a particular case (Blake 1994:170-182).

German minority speech communities, and particularly those located in areas with non-case marking dominant languages, have been attested to undergo rapid loss or reduction of inflectional case marking. In German dialect diaspora communities, or ‘speech islands’, loss of case marking is well-attested (e.g. Texas German (USA) (Salmons 1994; Yager et al. 2015); Barossa German (Australia) (Riehl 2015); Misionero German (Argentina) (Yager et al. 2015); Volga German (Russia) (Rosenberg 2005). For example, the reduction of dative case marking is common, though this reduction does not occur equally throughout the system, but depends on various factors, like the type of construction in which it is presented (Salmons 1994; Faßmann et al. 2016), the frequency of lexemes (Zürner 1999) or the syntactic category (Rosenberg 2003, 2016). Where the reduction of case marking is due to language attrition and language endangerment, it is often not systematic, with a large degree of in-speaker variation (Riehl 2018:243). Depending on the speech community, reduction in case marking, rather than being seen as language loss or attrition, could be better analysed as a consistent change. Yager et al. (2015) attest the emergence of a subject/oblique system with DOM marking in German language islands spoken in the United States. Rather than analyzing this as an ‘incomplete acquisition’ or attrition, they see it as a structural change within the system of the languages. The term ‘incomplete acquisition’ can only apply if children have not fully acquired the heritage language. However, most speakers in Yager et al. (2015)’s study were monolingual speakers of German until the age of six, by which time the dative case would have normally been acquired (around the age of three) (Eisenbeiss, Bartke, and Clahsen 2006). Attrition, taken as the loss of some structural property after it has been successfully acquired, is common once speakers stop actively using their heritage language, often due to dominance in another language (Yager et al. 2015). Dominant languages of the speakers can play a role in maintaining active case systems,

e.g. by possessing equivalent inflectional patterns, or they might have an influence on the loss of inflectional case marking lacking such supportive structures in the dominant language (Riehl 2015).

In Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto, there are different German varieties and German language islands to be considered. The Tyrolean varieties are part of the Bavarian dialect continuum and are spoken as the dominant language within their speech communities and the wider area. Mòcheno and Cimbrian are ‘language islands’ and their speakers are bilingual in one or more of the dominant languages, e.g. standard Italian and local Trentino and Venetan varieties, in their areas. Both are listed as endangered languages and suffer from loss of domains of use, lack of younger speakers, and language pressure from surrounding languages.

Loss of inflectional case does not immediately signify the loss of all types of case marking. When case functions get lost, languages can develop other strategies to bear the functional load. For example, a rigid word order, e.g. the Italian SVO word order, makes inflectional case marking a less pressing matter, in comparison to SOV systems, as it has a verb interposing between the arguments, resulting in less need to overtly mark them. Prepositions can also take over some of the functions of case marking, or as Blake (1994:178) puts it ‘as cases decrease, prepositions may flourish’.

6.5 Summary

There are three main cases present in the Germanic language varieties spoken in the Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto: nominative, accusative, and dative case. Inflectional marking of these cases remains actively used primarily in the pronominal paradigms, and, in lesser measure, in the singular articles. Other word categories, like nouns and adjectives, are only marginally marked in some of the varieties and represent less productive areas of case marking. The Romance varieties spoken in these areas do not have inflectional case marking, with exception of some marginal remnants in the pronominal clitic paradigms, and instead use alternative strategies of marking syntactic relations, like word order and prepositional dative marking. Due to this typological difference between Romance and Germanic varieties, it is of interest to see what effects language contact might have on the use of inflectional and prepositional case marking, particularly in the endangered minority languages, and what language-internal variation and consistencies can be found across the area.

The elicited items have been narrowed down to full personal pronouns and definite articles in the singular number, as these categories can be compared from a cross-linguistic perspective and are the expected places for the largest degree of variation. From existing resources, it is evident that the Germanic varieties possess a large measure of variation in case patterning, loss of case marking, and use of alternative strategies, e.g. prepositional dative marking.

What makes this region particularly interesting for research is the multilingual environments in which these varieties co-exist. From previous research in the area, it is clear that despite language borders there might be neighborhood effects across language boundaries. A brief glance at the available data also makes it obvious that there is a lot of variation across the region, but no consistent attestations of full case paradigms across the regions. This research will fill this gap by providing synchronic mapping of case paradigms of the area.

7. Tyrolean

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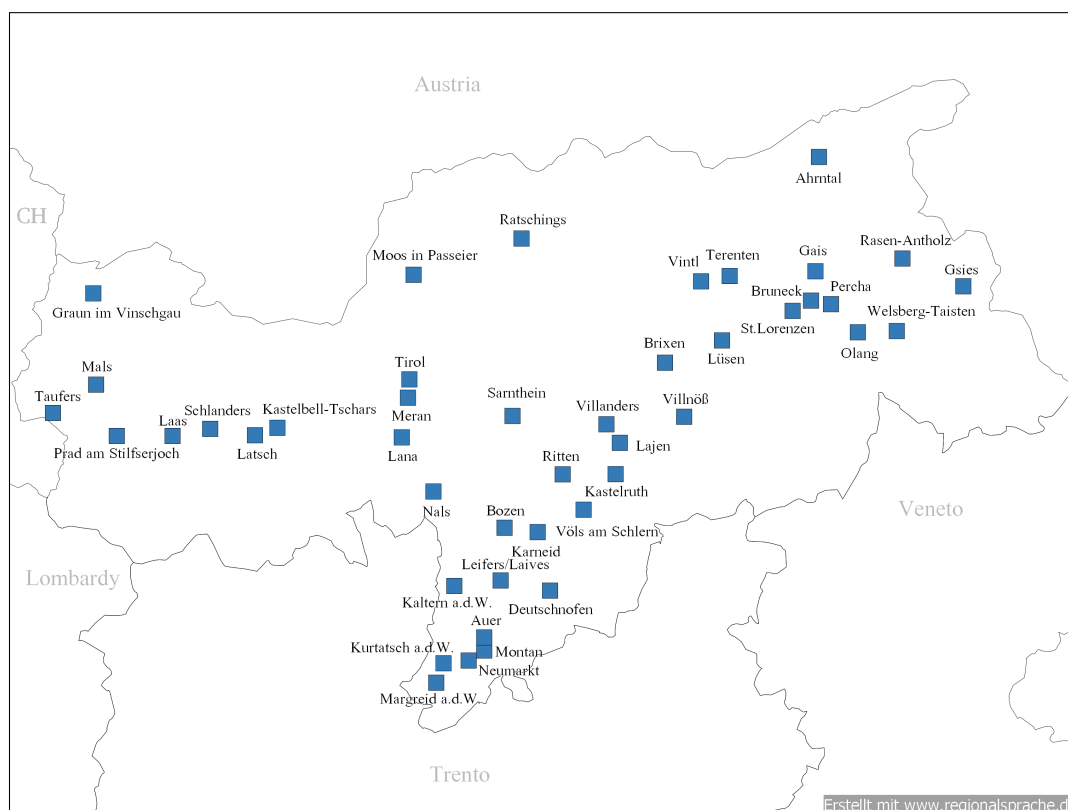


Figure 7.1: Tyrolean locations surveyed in VinKo

7.1 Introduction

The Tyrolean dialects are spoken in the autonomous province of Bolzano-South Tyrol (Italy) and the state of Tyrol (Austria) (Scheutz 2016:27). This dissertation only considers the Tyrolean dialects spoken in the autonomous province Bolzano-South Tyrol¹ (henceforth South Tyrol) as the data collection was restricted to Italy, and could therefore not gather data across the Italian-Austrian border. The Tyrolean dialects are relatively under-described with respect to morphology (phonology has a higher degree of descriptions, e.g. Insam 1936 and Hopfgartner 1970), with only few dialect grammars available (some complete descriptions, e.g. Kollmann 2012, others less extensive in scope, instead focusing on a selection of local features, e.g. Lanthaler 1971; Seeber 2016; Prieth 2020). There are two notable collected works on these varieties, Scheutz's (2016) modern overview of the Italian Tyrolean varieties and their characteristics, aimed at a wide general audience, and the maps of the *Tirolischer Sprachatlas* (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965) from the last century, which contain data on the larger South Bavarian language area, and whose primary focus are their phonological, morphological and lexical features. While *Insre Sproch: Deutsche Dialekte in Südtirol* (Scheutz 2016) and the *Tirolischer Sprachatlas* (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965) provide the areal distribution for a part of the personal pronouns and articles of the Tyrolean varieties, neither provides insight into the complete paradigms found for each location nor do they take the (Romance) contact languages into account.

The Tyrolean data presented in this chapter was collected from 70 participants, together representing the Tyrolean varieties as spoken in 44 different localities. These localities are spread across the width of the province of South Tyrol, which means that speakers of all three regional varieties (western, central and northeastern Tyrolean, see section 7.1.2 below) are present in the sample. See map 7.1 given above for all surveyed locations. The majority of the VinKo participants have been recruited through the Faculty of Education of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, resulting in a fairly homogeneous sample of speakers: young, female, and educated. The average age of the Tyrolean participants is 20 years and 96 percent of them identifies as female. This makes the VinKo dataset biased towards the Tyrolean language as spoken by the younger generation. The data for the *Tirolischer Sprachatlas* was collected in the periods of 1941-43, and 1960. Scheutz's work (2016) is more recent, and has a balanced sample with both older speakers (>70) and younger speakers (20-30). The book was published in 2016, but the exact date of data collection is not specified. It most probably took place sometime in the period 2000-2014. This means that the the younger generation as interviewed by Scheutz precedes the participants of VinKo by approximately 5 to 20 years.

7.1.1 Sociolinguistic situation

The province of South Tyrol is home to around 275 800 people who speak a Germanic variety as their mother tongue, and they represent 65,3% of the entire population of the province (SPA 2014). The remainder is made up of Italian speakers (27,4%) and communities of Ladin speakers (4,1%) (SPA 2014). While some areas, e.g. the upper valleys in the northern parts of the province, have a largely homogeneous German-speaking population, other parts of the province are more hetero-

¹*Bozen-Südtirol* in German, *Bolzano-Alto-Adige* in Italian, and *Balsan/Bulsan-Südtirol* in Ladin, the three official languages of the province.

geneous in nature. Some areas, like the *Unterland/Bassa Atesina*, are historic language contact zones of the local German and Italian varieties and the bigger cities have always played a big role in contact between different populations, representing major trade routes and offering economic opportunities.

Due to the multilingual nature of its inhabitants, the region recognizes three official languages: Italian, German, and Ladin. The legal protection and recognition of the multiple languages and cultures present in the area have been established in regional legislation (e.g. 1972 “Paket”) in addition to nation wide laws (482/99 law of 1999 for safeguarding minority languages and cultures). This extensive and institutionalized protection and validation of the German language in South Tyrol has not always existed. The premodern language ideology of ‘one nation, one language’ have historically led to the active repression of German in South Tyrol under fascist rule after the First World War, and from 1939 to 1943 Tyrolean speaking inhabitants of South Tyrol were forced to choose to either integrate into Italian language and culture or to emigrate to the German Reich. At the time, the heavy industrialization around Bozen also brought in a large number of Italian speakers into the region. After the Second World War, many of displaced Tyrolean returned to South Tyrol, and they advocated and fought for the recognition and protection of their languages and cultures as a vital part of the region and its governance. Eventually this led to far-reaching protection of the German and Ladin minorities in 1972, and the development of the current trilingual systems of governance and education (Eichinger 2002).

Strong regional and cultural identity, combined with the institutionalization of multilingualism and multiculturalism, have played a major part in the protection and maintained use of the Tyrolean dialect varieties. While all across Europe non-standard varieties are under heavy linguistic pressure from standardized national languages, the Tyrolean German varieties have a high level of linguistic vitality (as reported by Nelde 1996²) with strong intergenerational transfer, and they are spoken actively across all generations (Carroll 2020). While collective multilingualism is deeply entrenched in the area, the individual levels of bi-, tri- or even quadrilingualism are highly variable. The languages used the formal and/or written domain (e.g. in the schools) are the standard languages, meaning that the majority of Tyrolean speakers is minimally bilingual in their local dialect variety and standard German, but this is also dependent on age and their level of education. Exposure to the other language groups is heavily dependent the area in which speakers are located. Border zones, like the Bassa Atesina, and city centres, like Bozen and Meran, have formed melting pots and contact points between communities throughout history, while the remote mountain valleys communities have been and are only exposed minimally to speakers from outside their own speech communities (Eichinger 2002; Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019).

Being primarily oral varieties, there is no official standardized orthography for the Tyrolean dialects. In contrast to the minority languages, Cimbrian and Mòcheno, there has not been a drive towards the standardization of a written version of the Tyrolean dialects. Traditionally the dialect varieties are a primarily oral medium of communication, though new media, e.g. social media or messaging apps, have increased the use of written dialect in informal settings. In formal written registers, standard High German is most commonly used. Being the orthography most familiar to Tyrolean speakers, the rules and conventions of standard High German have been adopted in the transcription of the VinKo audio data wherever possible. This means that all graphemes must be

²The vitality rating takes into account the following factors: Family role in language group reproduction, role of community in language group production and reproduction, value of language for social mobility, language prestige, relevance of culture in reproduction, legitimization of language use, and institutionalization of language use.

pronounced in German fashion, e.g. *ch* signifies [x] as in standard German, not [k] as in standard Italian. It also means that nouns are capitalized, in line with standard German conventions, but in contrast to the other varieties transcribed in this dissertation, which follow Italian conventions without capitalization. Overall, a relatively fluid approach to transcription has been applied, in an attempt to accurately represent Tyrolean phonological features while maintaining readability. For example, the word for ‘tree’ is spelled *Paam* [pa:m], cf. *Baum* ‘tree’ in standard German, and the spelling of the word ‘hunter’ is dependent on individual pronunciation, e.g. spelled as *Jäger* for [jægər] and *Jaagr* for [ja:g(ə)r].

7.1.2 Linguistic features and documentation

The Tyrolean dialects are German dialect varieties that belong to the Bavarian dialect branch. Unlike Cimbrian and Möcheno, the Tyrolean dialects have never been a ‘*Sprachinsel*’, but simply form the southern most edge of continuum of the German speaking area. The Bavarian dialect group is composed out of the North Bavarian varieties (e.g. in Oberpfalz), the Middle Bavarian varieties (in Isar-Donau-Raum, from Munich to Vienna) and the South Bavarian varieties, to which the Tyrolean dialects belong. The South Bavarian varieties extend beyond the region of South Tyrol and into Austrian territories, where they are found in Nordtirol, Osttirol, Kärnten, Salzburger Lungau, and the southwestern part of Steiermark (Scheutz 2016:27). South Bavarian has distinguishing features from North and Middle Bavarian in all linguistic areas, e.g. it has the diphthongs *ea* and *oa* in words like *schnea* (st. German *schnee*) ‘snow’ or *groas* (st. German *groß*) ‘big’, morphology, e.g. the retention of the infinitival ending, and syntax, e.g. the use of participle forms of modal verbs like *gemusst* rather than *müssen* ‘must’ (which in Middle Bavarian is the form of the participle even if the modal does not form part of a verb clusters but is the only verb of the sentence) (cf. Scheutz (2016; Schatz 1903). In general, South Bavarian has retained more of the older dialect features than Middle Bavarian, which has undergone more innovations. Still, there is a broad transition area between the Southern and Middle Bavarian varieties, with some innovations making it across the Alps, while others stranded in the Prealpine area. This transition area is also known as South-Middle Bavarian and is located in Austria, more specifically from it runs from northeastern areas in North Tyrol around Kufstein and Kitzbühel over Salzburg, the Salzkammergut, the Northern and western Steiermark until Südburgenland (Scheutz 2016; Wiesinger 1983).

The Tyrolean varieties are internally divided by isoglosses which run through the area from north to south, splitting them in three distinct dialect varieties, namely Western, Central and North-Eastern Tyrolean dialects (e.g. Scheutz 2016; Lanthaler 1997). These isoglosses do not stop at the Italian-Austrian border, which is why the label ‘South Tyrolean’ to describe the Tyrolean varieties spoken in South Tyrol should be regarded as a geopolitical label, but one which is linguistically void. In favor of this, the term ‘Tyrolean’ is applied throughout this dissertation. Due to their relative lack of innovations, the Tyrolean dialects, together with the Carinthian dialects, form the core area of South Bavarian. Some areas have been shielded from innovations from the 1600’s on, while others received a longer period of contact with other groups and their innovations. Historically the city centres (e.g. Brixen, Bozen, and Meran) have functioned as sources of innovations, while many of the more isolated mountainous localities have retained older features. As discussed above, the Tyrolean varieties via a contact zone form a gradual continuum into their Bavarian neighbours. To the western neighboring Alemannic dialect area, the border is quite abrupt. Still there is influence both ways in the linguistic border region, particular in the lexicon, which means that some

Alemannic features can be found in the western Tyrolean varieties (Moser 1982:76-78, Lanthaler 1997:373-4).

There has been long-term language contact between the Germanic and Romance speaking communities in varying degrees since Bavarian settlement in the region in the early Middle Ages. Traces of this history are still very present in the lexicon, particularly in lexical domains like Alpine nature, religion and trade (Lanthaler 2018; Krefeld and Lücke 2014; Plangg 2016). There are also indications for language contact phenomena in other areas of speech, like in the intonation patterns (Riehl 2000), phonological (Vietti and Spreafico 2018) and pragmatic features (Moser and Putzer 1980). While local varieties of Italian have been a long-term neighbor to the Tyrolean German varieties, the modern influence of standard Italian is very limited (Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019:1102). The Italian of the German speaking population is strongly standard orientated, and many younger speakers will have had most exposure to Italian in a normative (schooling) setting where standard Italian is used (Eichinger 2002). The Tyrolean speaking population in general has a high exposure to standard German, which is held as the standard in schools, and is predominantly used in higher formal domains (Daniel, Egger, and Lanthaler 2001; Ciccolone and Franceschini 2015).

Language research into the Tyrolean varieties is quite limited, particularly when compared with other German dialect areas. There exist various descriptions of local dialect (in varying degrees of comprehensiveness) (e.g. Insam 1936; Hopfgartner 1970; Kühebacher 1978; Kollmann 2012; Seiber 2016) and a few dictionaries either on a whole Tyrolean or local level dictionaries (e.g. Schöpf 1866; Fink 1972; Schatz 1955; Moser 2020). A general overview of South Tyrol was lacking up until 2016 when Scheutz published his *Insre Sproch* Scheutz 2016, which specifically focused on the South Tyrolean area and provides an overview of various phonological, morphological, and lexical features in the area. There are some older language atlases which includes documentation of regional forms and morphology, like the *Tirolischer Sprachatlas* Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965 or phonology and lexicon in a very limited degree in Wiesinger's additional maps (Wiesinger 1962) to the Wenker maps of the *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* Wenker 1889. Four locations of South Tyrol are featured on the webpage of the *Deutsche Dialekte im Alpenraum* project (Scheutz 2009) which discloses some words and phrases for these locations. Apart from dialect descriptions, there are increasing articles on specific phenomena, e.g. obstruents Alber 2014 as well as research into language contact, as mentioned in the previous paragraph.

7.2 Personal pronouns

This section present an overview of the strong personal pronouns across the Tyrolean dialect varieties, first describing the forms and variation found for each pronoun, than summarizing and discussing the different syncretism patterns attested in the data. As was discussed in the previous chapter 6, Tyrolean pronouns occur in two forms: as strong stressed forms, which are independent words and can occur in any position in the clause (27-a), and as 'weak' forms, which are unstressed clitics, generally phonetically reduced (27-b). The clitics cannot occur sentence-initially as they must attach as enclitic to a host, which is usually a verb or a complementizer (Scheutz 2016:65).

- (27) a. *Der Jäger befiehlt der Hex aufzuhören, aber
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) orders DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) stop but
 si versucht in zu verzaubern
 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 Margreid a.d.W./Magr, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0346)*
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’
- b. *Während es fleißige Mädele am Brunnen arbeitet, fällt
 while DEF.SG.N.NOM diligent girl(N) at:DEF.SG.M.DAT well(M) works falls
 =se infall eini.
 =3SG.F.NOM accidentally in
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0302_tir_U0491)*
 ‘While the diligent girl is working next to the well, she accidentally falls in.’

As was also mentioned in section 6.3.1 of the previous chapter, strong and weak pronominal paradigms might have different case patterns (e.g. reported for the Munich dialect by Kufner (1961)). The data focuses on the strong pronominal paradigms. As with standard German, personal pronouns are found in three persons, in singular and plural number, and the third person singular distinguishes between three genders; feminine, masculine and neuter.

7.2.1 Singular pronouns

The singular pronouns maintain the largest amount of case marking across the pronominal paradigms. In the first and second person, there are distinct forms for nominative, accusative, and dative case in the majority of localities. The western-most varieties have lost distinct accusative case marking, resulting in a two-case system (for a detailed discussion of this reduced pattern and its distribution, see section 7.4). The third person masculine has been attested with three distinct case forms, but in the majority of cases it has a syncretism of the accusative and dative form. The feminine gender has a syncretism of nominative-accusative case in opposition to a dative case form in the majority of the Tyrolean varieties (as in standard German), though in the western varieties, there has been an accusative-dative merger instead.

	1SG	2SG	3SG.M	3SG.F	3SG.N
NOM	i	du	er	si	es
ACC	mi	di	in, im	in	
DAT	mir	dir	im	ir	in, im

Table 7.1: Singular pronouns in Tyrolean

The following sections discuss each person (and gender, in case of the third person) in detail, providing language examples and mapping the distribution of attested forms across the Tyrolean area.

First person singular

There is little to no phonetic variation in the production of the first person singular. The nominative case takes the form *i* (example (28-a)), which originates from the Middle High German *ich* (Klein,

Solms, and Wegera 2018:357) and which has lost its final consonant in all Tyrolean varieties. The accusative form is *mi* (example (28-b)), from Middle High German form *mich* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357), which has likewise lost its final fricative. The dative form is *mir* (example (28-c)), from the Middle High German form *mir* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357).

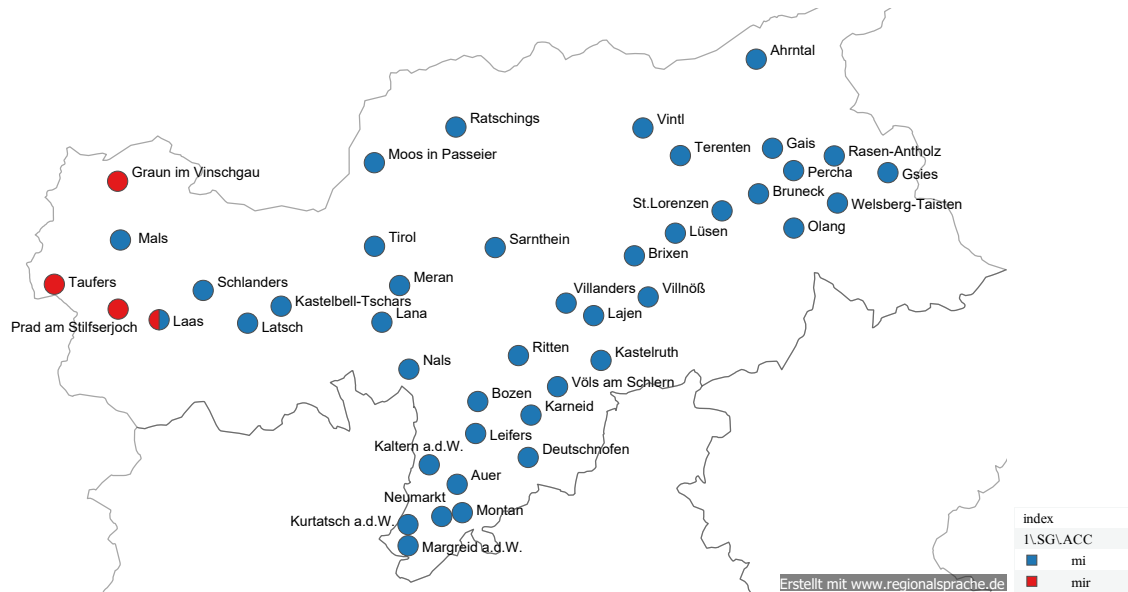
- (28) a. *Da isch ein Paam völler Äpfel, der zu imenen rieft: schuttelts mi,*
 there is a tree(M) full_of apples that.M to 3PL.DAT calls shake 1SG.ACC
i han reifen Äpfeln
 1SG.NOM have ripe apples
 (Montan/Montagna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0304_tir_U0379)
 ‘There is a tree full of apples, which calls to them: “Shake me, I have ripe apples!”’
- b. *Iss=nen net, iss mi! I bin viel dicker wie er!*
 eat=3SG.M.ACC not eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Ritten/Renon, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0355)
 ‘Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than him!’
- c. *Wenn du im ’s Gwehr gibst, was gibst mir?*
 when 2SG.NOM 3SG.M.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give what give 1SG.DAT
 (Bozen/Bolzano, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tir_U0348)
 ‘If you give your gun to him, what will you give to me?’

Aside from this ‘canonical’ three-way system, the VinKo data also attest a more reduced paradigm, which only has a nominative-object opposition. The nominative form is identical to those found in the other Tyrolean varieties (*i*, see example (29-a)), but the accusative form *mi* is not attested. Instead, the accusative case is expressed using the dative case form *mir*, compare examples (29-b) and (29-c).

- (29) a. *I han in Prot gholfen*
 1SG.NOM have DEF.SG.N.DAT bread(N) helped
 (Graun im Vinschgau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0403_tir_U0434)
 ‘I have helped the bread.’
- b. *Iss et im, iss mir! I bin viel dicker als er!*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Graun im Vinschgau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0492)
 ‘Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than him!’
- c. *Wenn du im ’s Gwehr gibst, was gibst dann mir?*
 when 2SG.NOM 3SG.M.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give what give than 1SG.DAT
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tir_U0429)
 ‘If you give your gun to him, what will you give to me?’

The three-way system is by far the most prevalent across the region, and is found in all central and northeastern varieties, marked on map 7.2 in blue. The reduced system is limited to a small area in the west, specifically the Upper Vinschgau area against the Swiss border, marked on map 7.2 in red.

The reduced system has been around for a while, as it has been attested already in older sources like the *Tirolischer Sprachatlas* (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965:94) (abbrev. TSA), which collected its data in 1941-43, and 1960. In the TSA maps, *mər/mr* is attested for the following accusative contexts (30).

Figure 7.2: *mi*, *mir*: attestations of 1 SG.ACC in Tyrolean

- (30) a. *ich fürchte mich*
 ‘I am afraid (reflexive)’
 b. *ich freue mich*
 ‘I am glad (reflexive)’
 c. *es reut mich*
 ‘I regret it (lit. it pains me)’
 (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965:94)

The western area as mapped in the TSA (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965:94) is more restricted than the VinKo data attestations of this pattern, see map 7.3 of the VinKo data overlaid with the TSA mapping. While the data corresponds for localities like Taufers, it extends further into places like Prad am Stilfersjoch, Graun am Vinschgau and Laas, which were not covered by the TSA attestations. This could suggest the pattern is spreading in the area. However, for the village of Mals, which according to TSA should have an accusative form in *mir*, this is not attested as such in the VinKo dataset. For the Central Tyrolean varieties, the *Tirolischer Sprachatlas* also attest the use of *mər/mr*, primarily in the Sarntal, coming down as far south as Ritten/Renon. However, while the western pocket has use of the *mər* for all three of the sentences in example (30), the middle part is only labeled to have a dative form for the first sentence (30-a). As such, it appears to be a marginal pattern, and could hypothesized to be restricted to a certain domains or with certain verbs, rather than a paradigmatic shift. There is no trace of *mər/mir* in accusative contexts for this area in the VinKo dataset.

Second person singular

As with the first person, there is little to no phonetic variation in the second person pronouns. The nominative case takes the form *du* (example (31-a)) which stems from the Middle High German *dū* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357). The accusative form is *di* (example (31-b)), which originates

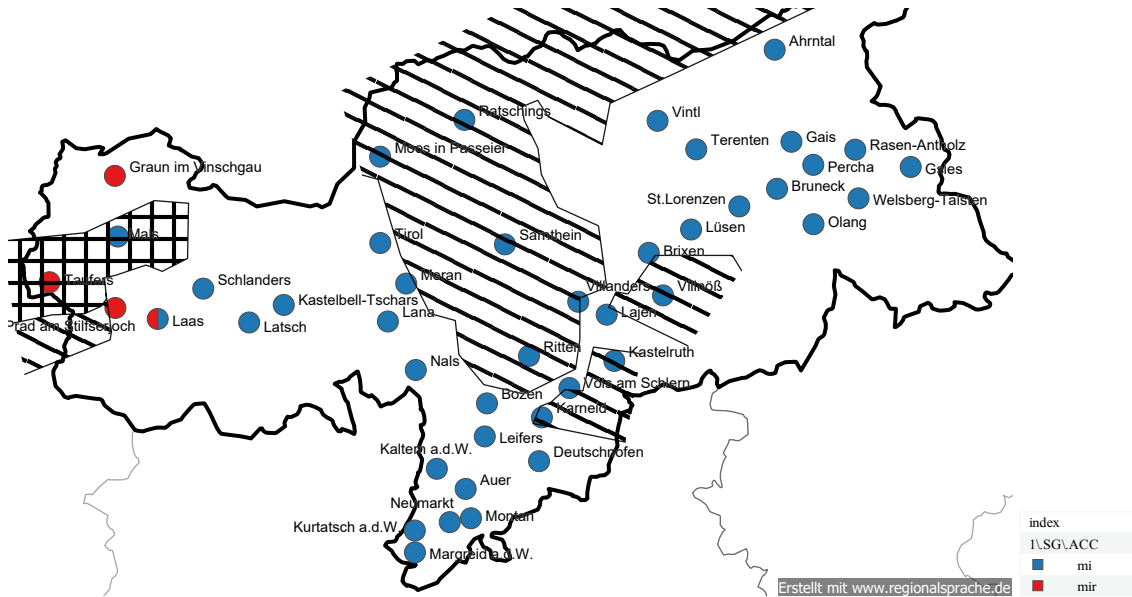


Figure 7.3: 1SG.ACC: TSA mapped against VinKo data (same data as in figure 7.2)

from the Middle High German form *dich* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357), and which has lost its final fricative. The dative form is *dir* (example (31-c)), from the Middle High German form *dir* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357).

- (31) a. *Mach **du** sel, sag **di** faulen Gitsch zu **de** fleißigen,*
do 2SG.NOM self says DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) to DEF.SG.F.DAT diligent
*und **disel** hilft **im** Paam, und schüttelt =n*
and DEM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes =3SG.M.ACC
(Rasen-Antholz/Rasun-Anterselva; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tir_U0490)
‘“You do it!”, says the lazy girl to the diligent one, and she helps the tree and shakes it.’
- b. *Naa, **si** darf aa **di** net essen, iss koan von ins.*
no 3SG.F.NOM must also 2SG.DAT not eat eat no_one of 1PL.DAT
(Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_tir_U0474)
‘“No, she musn’t eat you either! Don’t eat any of us!”’
- c. ***I** gib **dir** mein Gewehr zum Schutz*
1SG.NOM give 2SG.DAT my gun(N) for:DEF.SG.M.DAT protection(M)
(Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_tir_U0485)
‘“I am giving you my gun for protection.”’

The patterning of the second person is very much similar to the first person. For most of the Tyrolean area, it has a three-way case distinction, with a separate surface form for nominative, accusative, and dative form, as seen above. For a small number of western varieties the system is reduced to a two-way nominative-accusative/dative system. The nominative form of the reduced paradigm is identical to those found in the other Tyrolean varieties, *du* (32-a). The accusative case is expressed using the dative case form *dir*, respectively examples (32-b) and (32-c).

- (32) a. *Tu du es sag =’s faule Maadl zum*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.N.ACC says =DEF.SG.N.NOM lazy girl(N) to:DEF.SG.N.DAT
fleißigen und si hilft im Paam und schüttelt
 diligent_one and 3SG.F.NOM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes
 =n
 =3SG.M.ACC
 (Graun im Vinschgau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tir_U0434)
 “‘You do it!’”, says the lazy girl to the diligent one, and she helps the tree and shakes it.’
- b. *Naa, si därf aa dir nit essen! Iss koan von ins*
 no 3SG.F.NOM must also 2SG.DAT not eat eat no_one of 1PL.DAT
 (Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_tir_U0390)
 “No, she musn’t eat you either! Don’t eat any of us!”
- c. *Zum Schutz, gib i der mei Gwehr*
 for:DEF.SG.M.DAT protection(M) give 1SG.NOM 2SG.DAT my gun(N)
 (Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_tir_U0390)
 “I am giving you my gun for protection.”

The areal distribution of the second person singular is identical to that of the first person singular. The three-way distinction system is found across all central and northeastern Tyrolean varieties, marked in orange on map 7.4, while the two-way system is found in the western varieties in Upper Vinschgau next to the Swiss border, marked in green on 7.4.

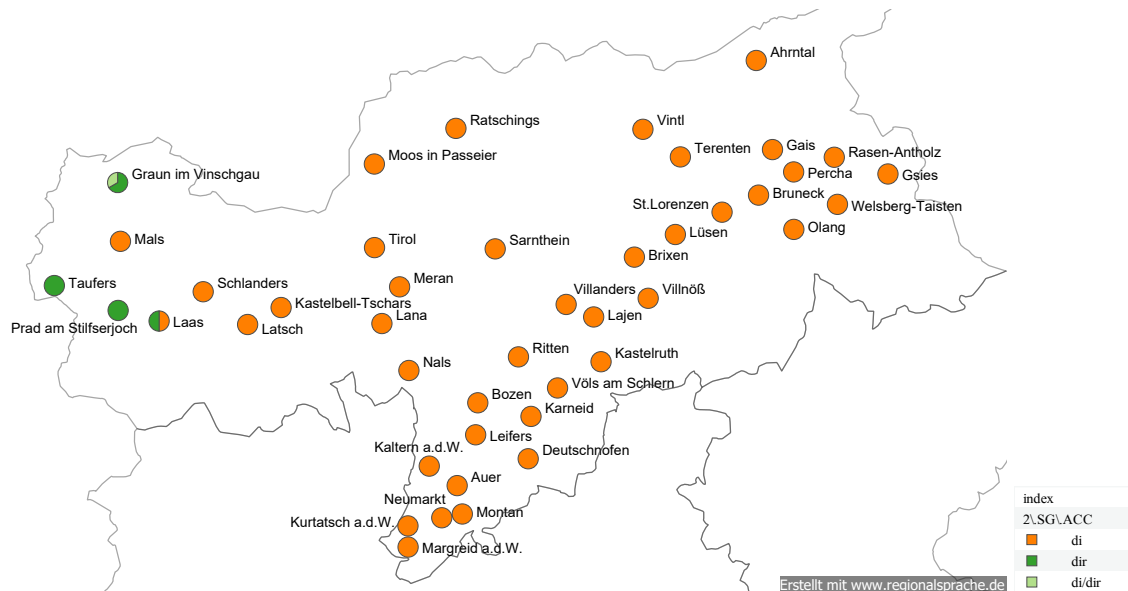


Figure 7.4: *di, dir*: attestations of 2SG.ACC in Tyrolean

The TSA does not contain a map with the attestation of *dir* in accusative context, so it cannot be mapped directly against the VinKo data as in Figure 7.3 for the 1SG.ACC. However, the notes accompanying map 94 (1SG.ACC) (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965:10) do note that for the second person a pattern similar to the first person was found. In general, it indicates that mainly in the Upper Vinschgau the dative case is the *herrschende Kasus* ‘ruling case’ found also in sentences

like *ich mōg diər* ‘I like you (Standard German: *ich mag dich*) and *i slōg diər* ‘I hit you’ (Standard German: *ich schlage dich*).

Third person singular masculine

The situation for the third person masculine is a bit more varied. In standard German, the third singular masculine has a three-way distinction, with nominative *er*, accusative *ihn*, and dative *ihm*, a system inherited from Middle High German (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357). In the majority of the Tyrolean varieties, the distinction between the accusative and dative forms has been lost, though whether it has unified into the historic accusative or dative form is variable across varieties (Scheutz 2016). The VinKo data attest syncretisms in accusative *in* as well as in dative *im*, but it also attest systems which have either preserved the accusative and dative case distinction, or perhaps have reintroduced it due to standard language interference, see table (7.2).

3SG.M			
NOM	er		
ACC	im	in	in
DAT			im

Table 7.2: 3SG.M in Tyrolean

The nominative form is unproblematic, and it is realized as *er* uniformly across western ((33-a)), central ((33-b)) or northeastern ((33-c)) varieties.

- (33) a. ***Er*** *nimmt es* *Gwehr und tötet di* *Hex*
 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F)
 (Laas/Lasa; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0432)
- b. ***Er*** *ober nimmt es* *Gwehr und tötet di* *Hex*
 3SG.M.NOM but takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F)
 (Leifers/Laives; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0386)
- c. ***Er*** *nimmt nou ober* *es* *Gwehr und tötet di*
 3SG.M.NOM takes now DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) but and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
Hexe
 witch(F)
 (Ahrntal/Valle Aurina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0489)
 ‘But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’

The analysis and evaluation of the accusative and dative forms is difficult to perform on the basis of the collected data. The VinKo data are of relatively good quality, but accurately determining the difference between the alveolar (*n*) and the bilabial (*m*) nasal for all speakers is not possible. Due to the aim of natural speech, the recordings are also quite fast and there is a high degree of assimilation between words. Depending on the speaker, this might make it difficult to judge which system they have. Historically most commonly described is the syncretism of the accusative and dative case in the historic accusative form *in* across the Tyrolean dialects (Scheutz 2016 :75-76). Scheutz (2016:75) marks it as characteristic of the Tyrolean area and while there is no map attached, he does provide an example, reproduced in (34).

- (34) (d)es hɔp **in** kholfn/ **in** gseechn
 ‘you.PL have helped him.DAT/seen him.ACC
 (Scheutz 2016:75; English translation mine)

This pattern is also found in the VinKo data, primarily in the central and northeastern areas. There are clear examples of this patterns produced by a speaker from Brixen/Bressanone, who uses *in* in the accusative case ((35-a)), and in the dative case, both in free speech production (35-b) and also when elicited using standard German stimuli (35-c).

- (35) a. *Iss net **in**, iss mi. I bin viel dicker als er.*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Brixen/Bressanone; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0364)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than him!”
- b. *Hat der Jäger dir des Gewehr geben? Naa,*
 has DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) 2SG.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) given no
*mir net, ober **in** hat des geben.*
 1SG.DAT not but 3SGM.DAT has that given
 (Brixen/Bressanone; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_tir_U0364)
 “Did the hunter give the gun to you?” “No, not to me, but he gave it to him.”
- c. *Wenn **in** es Gewehr gibts, was gibts dann mir?*
 when 3SG.M.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give what give than 1SG.DAT
 (Brixen/Bressanone; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tir_U0364)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”

The VinKo dataset also attests the pattern in which the object case aligns in *im* from the historic dative form *eam*. This forms is also found in Middle Bavarian (e.g. Munich dialect, Kufner 1961), and has been attested in western varieties (e.g. Laurein, Kollmann 2012:213) and in the fringe areas of the west (Langtaufers and Stilfs *im*) and east (Sexten *ime*) (Scheutz 2016:75). The VinKo data provide clear attestations of this pattern in the western varieties, for example Prad im Stilfersjoch (36).

- (36) a. *Iss nit **im**, iss mir, i bin viel dicker als er*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0429)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than him!”
- b. *Wenn du **im** ’s Gwehr gibts, was gibts dann mir?*
 when 2SG.NOM 3SG.M.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give what give than 1SG.DAT
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tir_U0429)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”

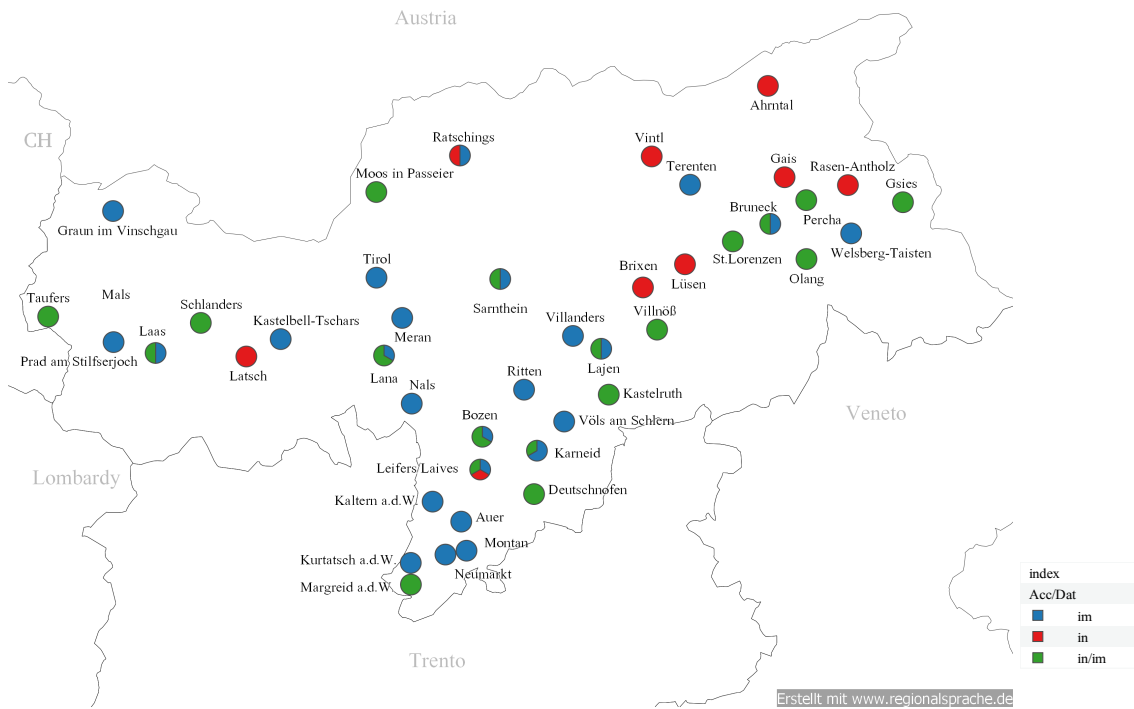
Finally, there is a pattern which is synonymous to that of standard German, with a distinct form for dative case *im* and accusative case *in*. Clear attestations of this pattern are found for at least some of the VinKo speakers, for examples compare sentences (37-a) and (37-b) for a speaker from Percha, and sentences (37-c) and (37-d) for a speaker from St. Lorenzen.

- (37) a. *Iss et **in**, iss mi, i bin viel dicker als er*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Percha/Perca; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0418)

- “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than him!”
- b. *Hat der Jaagr dir es Gewehr geben? Mir*
 has DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) 2SG.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) given 1SG.DAT
etta, ober im.
 not but 3SG.M.DAT
 (Percha/Perca; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_tir_U0418)
 “Did the hunter give the gun to you?” “Not to me, but to him.”
- c. *Toll wie i in beschützt han. Mi schön, ober si*
 great how 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC protected have 1SG.ACC indeed but 3SG.F.ACC
et
 not
 (St. Lorenzen/San Lorenzo di Sebato; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0204_tir_U0480)
 “Isn’t it great how I saved him? Me yes, but not her.”
- d. *Hat der Jaagr dir es Gewehr geben? Mir*
 has DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) 2SG.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give 1SG.DAT
etta, ober im schon.
 not but 3SG.M.DAT indeed
 (St. Lorenzen/San Lorenzo di Sebato; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_tir_U0480)
 “Did the hunter give the gun to you?” “Not to me, but to him he did.”

It could be argued that language interference from the standard German stimuli is playing a role here, however the rest of the questionnaire provided by these particular participants does appear to reflect valid dialect production. Since the available sources (TSA Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965; Scheutz 2016) provide no indication that this is a previously attested pattern, it could also be hypothesized that it is a recent innovation due to influence from standard German. In phonetically very similar words, the presence or absence of a written form of a language might play a role. Riehl (2018:258) states that in those type of forms like *dem* or *den* and *de* (reduced form of *die*) or *der*, having a visual representation present might cement in certain differences which to the ear are difficult or impossible to distinguish. Contact to the written standard where this difference is present might play a role in encouraging this distinction in the dialect varieties. Due to the difficulty of interpreting the audio data and the lack of written representations, this remains speculative at best. All Tyrolean participants are young and have had extensive knowledge of and schooling in standard German. Both *in* and *im* are not very marked dialect forms (as would be 2PL *enkh* for example), and are phonetically very close (and there are many intermediate forms) which might make these forms particularly sensitive to change and variation. While historically, this might have led to a reduction in the system to a single case, under influence of standard German for some younger speakers this trend might be reversing. Since the exact value of the nasal is not always easy to determine, map 7.5 is tentative at best.

While Scheutz (2016:75) only attests the syncretism in the dative form for fringes in the west (Langtaufers and Stilfs *im*) and east (Sexten *ime*), VinKo data as it is analyzed now finds the *im* forms in a larger area. When considering other sources, the predominance of *in* in the northeastern parts is expected (in general Scheutz 2016; for Ahrntal Seeber 2016), while there are also some attestation in the area around Meran (for Tisens Cordin et al. 2018, and Riffian Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli 2014:22). The form *im* is more widely attested than reported by Scheutz (2016), with previous documentation in Mals (Rabanus 2018b), Laurein (Kollmann 2012), and even way down south in Salurn (Rabanus 2018b).

Figure 7.5: *in, im, in/im*: attestations of 3SG.M.ACC/DAT in Tyrolean

Third person singular feminine

The third person in the feminine gender has a different syncretism pattern from the masculine, as it also has in standard German. The nominative and accusative cases group together in opposition to a distinct dative case form. Historically, in Middle High German, nominative and accusative case were still diverse; *siu* nominative and *sie* accusative (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357). Since then the forms have phonologically converged and have as such merged into a single form for both cases. The historical dative case is *ir(e)* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357), much like it is today. The phonetic realization of the *sie* forms varies across the region, also depending on stress and position in the clause. The most common realization is *si* in stressed or strong forms ((38-a)), and the form is often phonetically reduced to *sə* ((38-b)).

- (38) a. *Der Jaagr sag zu der Hex si soll*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says to DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must
aufheren, ober si versucht en zu verzaubern
 stop but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Ratschings/Racines; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0421)
- b. *Der Jaagr befiehlt der Hex aufzuheren, ober*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) orders DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) stop but
se versucht in zu verzaubern
 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Ratschings/Racines; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0394)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’

The dative form is mostly unvaried across different varieties, with the dominant form being *ir*. Some speakers use the demonstrative *der* form instead.

- (39) a. *Di faule Gitsch will ir noochen und beiden kemmen*
 DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) wants 3SG.F.DAT follow and both arrive
si in an andere Welt an.
 3PL.NOM in an other world at
 (Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0303_tir_U0444)
- b. *Das faule Maadl will der nooch und beide landen in anar*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM lazy girl(N) wants 3SG.F.DAT follow and both land in an
andere Welt.
 other world
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0303_tir_U0322)
 ‘The lazy girl wants to follow her and they both wind up in another world.’

The paradigm variation in the case alignment occurs the accusative case. The majority of the Tyrolean varieties have an accusative form in *si/sə* in line with the pattern of standard German. The varieties which deviate from this ‘canonical’ pattern are the usual suspects; the westernmost varieties up until the Swiss border. In these localities, the dative form *ir* is also used to express accusative case, see example (40-b). The result of this shift is an increased regularity in the pronominal paradigm overall: the feminine and masculine syncretism patterns are symmetric, which in the canonical pattern they are not.

- (40) a. *I han di net orbeiten geseegn, lei si*
 1SG.NOM have 2SG.ACC not work seen only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Meran/Merano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tir_U0361)
- b. *Dir han i ober net arbeiten gesechn, lei ir*
 2SG.ACC have 1SG.NOM however not work seen only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tir_U0434)
 ‘I haven’t seen you work, only her.’

The area where this is found is spread in the western varieties, which we have already seen to have dative extension in the Upper Vinschgau, but the feminine paradigm spreads further to the east than what we have seen for the first and second person singular, see figures 7.2 and 7.4. There does appear to be some insecurity about the forms, as for in those areas, there is some variation within the same speaker (the location of Schlanders), see map (7.6).

The distribution of the VinKo data lines up with what we find in earlier descriptions of Mals (Rabanus 2018b) (though the VinKo Mals speaker produces the canonical Tyrolean paradigm, not the reduced pattern). Across the rest of the area the use of the accusative form in *si* form is reported in the literature (e.g. Salurn (Rabanus 2018b), Laurein (Kollmann 2012:213), and Ahrntal (Seeber 2016:51). There are some areas where the existing maps do not line up. Both Scheutz 2016 and *Tirolischer Sprachatlas* (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965) predict the appearance of *sui* instead of *si* in the western region, see map 7.7. This form has been found in VinKo data for the third plural pronoun (across all cases, see section (48)), but there are no attestations of it in the third person singular feminine.

The TSA also indicates that there might be an alternative demonstrative *di* form (to the *si*) present for the third singular feminine (and the third plural), stemming from the Middle High

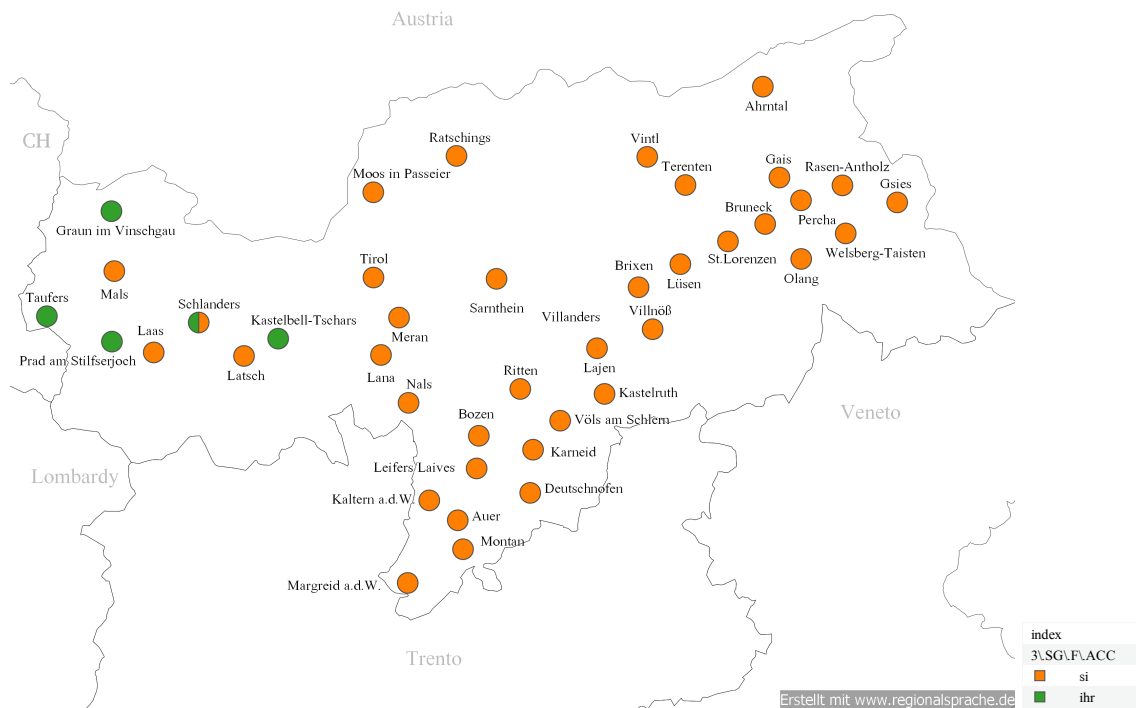


Figure 7.6: *si, ir*: attestations of 3SG.F.ACC in Tyrolean

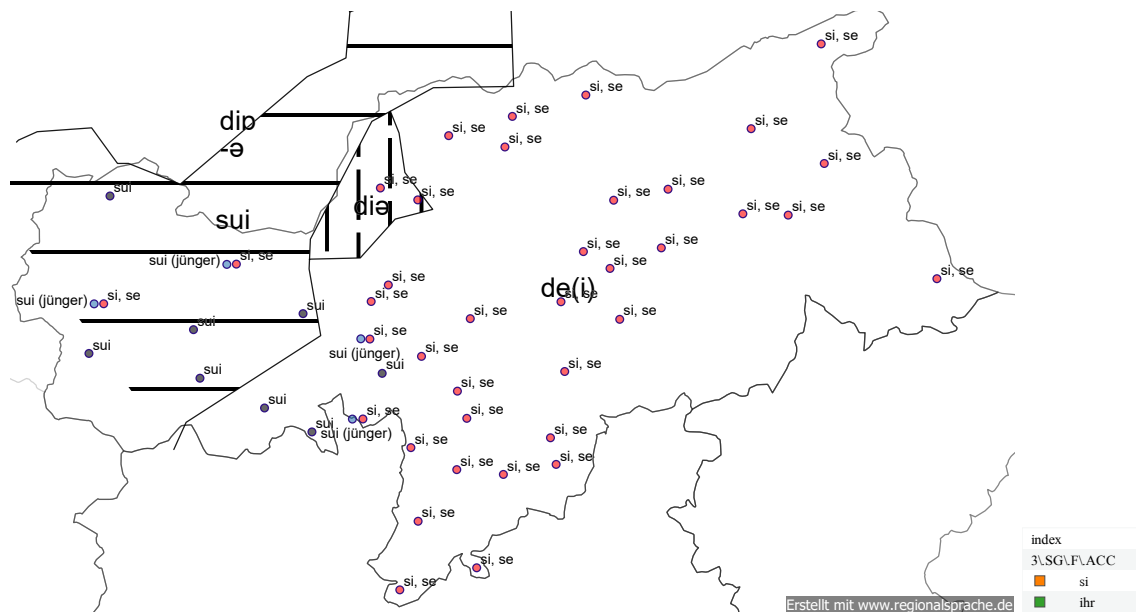


Figure 7.7: 3SG.F/3PL: TSA, horizontal and vertical striped areas, mapped against Scheutz (2016), pink and blue dots

German *siu/diu* respectively, which is pragmatically motivated. In the VinKo dataset, there are a few cases of the use of demonstratives instead of full pronouns, e.g. *dee/dei* and *disel*. These forms are mainly found in the east, particularly often for a speaker in Gsies (but all speakers have at least

a reduced form in *sə* and other Gsies speakers also a full *si*. The use of these demonstratives is largely motivated by pragmatics, and they are particularly common in environments of change of subject ((41-a)) or contrastive focus ((41-b)).

- (41) a. *Der Jaagr verlangt van de Hex aufzuheren, ober*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) wants of DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) stop but
disel probiert nou in zu verzaubern
 3SG.F.NOM tries now 3SG.M.ACC
 (Gsies/Valle di Casies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0363)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’
- b. *Di han i ober net arbeiten geseghn, lei dei*
 2SG.ACC have 1SG.NOM but not work seen only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Gsies/Valle di Casies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tir_U0363)
 ‘I haven’t seen you work, only her.’

Third person singular neuter

The third person singular neuter is similar to the standard German pattern, and has a nominative and accusative case form in *es* (from Middle High German *ez* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357)), see examples (42-a) and (42-b) respectively. The dative case is expressed via a distinct form in either *in* (184-b) or *im* (42-c) (though as for the masculine gender, the exact value of the nasal is difficult to determine for many of the varieties).

- (42) a. *Dann kemmen si zu ein Ofen, da si anschreit: ‘Nimmt*
 then come 3PL.NOM to a oven(M) that 3PL.ACC calls_to take
es Prot auser, es isch fertig!’
 DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) out 3SG.N.NOM is ready
 (Leifers/Laives; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_tir_U0465)
 ‘Then they arrive at an oven, that yells at them: “Take the bread out, it is ready!”’
- b. *Es Haus isch alt und di Kinder finden es*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find 3SG.N.ACC
schrecklich.
 scary
 (Meran/Merano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_tir_U0392)
 ‘The house is old and the children find it terrifying.’
- c. *Guat, dann hilf i im sagt’s fleißige Gitschele, und*
 fine then help 1SG.NOM 3SG.N.DAT says DEF.SG.N.NOM diligent girl(N) and
nimmt es Prot aus=em Ofen.
 3SG.F.NOM takes DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) out =DEF.SG.M.DAT oven(M)
 (Ritten/Renon; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tir_U0355)
- d. *Guat, dann hilf i in sagt di fleißige Gitsche, und*
 fine then help 1SG.NOM 3SG.N.DAT says DEF.SG.F.NOM diligent girl(F) and
di tut es Prot van Öfen.
 DEM.F.SG takes DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) of oven(M)
 (Ahrntal/Valle Aurina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tir_U0489)
 ‘“Fine, I will help him,” says the diligent girl, and she takes the bread out of the oven.’

A second pattern similar to the one described for the feminine gender, in which the canonical nominative-accusative is replaced by an accusative-dative syncretism, could be expected in the western Tyrolean varieties of the Upper Vinschgau. It has however not been attested. There is only a single stimulus sentence (T0109, see examples (42-b) and (164-b)). for eliciting the accusative case of the neuter, and due to its post-verbal position it is very frequently realized as a weak pronoun, and only by some speakers as a strong pronoun. This could also have to do with the fact that neuters commonly refer to inanimate objects, which rank lower of definiteness scales. When referring to animate objects, most speakers prefer to use a gendered pronoun referring to the biological sex of the referent rather than the grammatical gender. For example, where the neuter regional noun *Maadl* ‘girl (N)’ (there is also the regional word *Gitsch* available, which has feminine gender, but *Maadl* is also widespread), every single speaker in the VinKo sample opts for the feminine pronoun (see example (43)), rather than the neuter option, even though the standard German provides both options.

- (43) *Weil des fleißige Maadl am Brunnen arbeitet, fällt*
 while DEF.SG.N.NOM diligent girl(N) at:DEF.SG.M.DAT well(M) works falls
si infall eini.
 3SG.F.NOM accidentally in
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0302_tir_U0491)
 ‘While the diligent girl is working next to the well, she accidentally falls in.’

It must be noted, that while there is no positive evidence for the presence of an accusative-dative syncretism in *im* of the neuter pronoun for the western localities, its existence could be hypothesized based on circumstantial evidence. For a start, there is also no data disproving this theory. There have been no attestations of *es* in accusative contexts in the western varieties of Graun im Vinschgau, Taufers, or Prad am Stilfserjoch. The lack of evidence is due to the fact that no speaker in the western localities produces a full pronoun, instead opting for the use of the weak pronoun. The weak pronouns provide evidence for an accusative-dative syncretism, producing *=n* in accusative contexts, e.g. (164-b). There are no attestations of the weak pronoun *=s* in accusative case. Attesting this syncretism for the weak pronouns does not necessarily imply that the strong pronouns would have a similar syncretism, as their patterns may differ. However, they provide a strong indication nevertheless.

- (44) *Es Haus isch alt und di Kinder finden =n*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find 3SG.N.ACC
schrecklich.
 scary
 (Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_tir_U0382)
 ‘The house is old and the children find it terrifying.’

7.2.2 Plural pronouns

The plural pronouns have less paradigmatic variation, yet a higher degree of form variation, in comparison to the singular pronouns. There is no variation in the first person plural, but in the second person plural there are attestations of two different nominative forms, *(d)es* and *ir*. The third person plural has two distinct case patterns. The most common pattern has a nominative-accusative

syncretism in *si* and a distinct dative form. The realization of the dative is highly variable, and has been attested as *imenen*, *inen*, *imen*, and *imile*. The second pattern has a single form *sui* levelled across all cases.

	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	mir	es, des	ir
ACC	ins	enk(h)	si
DAT			imenen, inen, imen, imile
			sui

Table 7.3: Plural pronouns in Tyrolean

Table 7.3 presents an overview of the plural pronouns attested in the VinKo dataset. The following sections discuss each person in more detail and provide accompanying examples from the dataset.

First person plural

The first person plural takes the form of *mir* in the nominative case, see example (45-a), and *ins* in the accusative and dative cases, see examples (45-b) and (45-c) respectively. The nominative form *mir/miə/mr* is derived from the Middle High German *wir* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357), via assimilation in the Wackernagel position with the first plural verb ending *-en* (Howe 1996:280), creating a generalization of *m-* as the basis for the expression of the first person (Rabanus 2008:285) and a syncretism with the first person singular dative case form (*mir*, see section 7.2.1). The accusative and dative cases share a single form in *ins* from Middle High German *uns* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357).

- (45) a. *Mir sein enkemmen, ober si sein gfangen*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM are captured
 (Villnöss/Funes; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tir_U0350)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured!”
- b. *Hat ins di hex gsekh? Nein, ins hat si nit*
 has 1PL.ACC DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) seen no 1PL.ACC has 3SG.F.NOM not
gsekh, di ane hat si gsekh
 seen DEF.PL.ACC others has 3SG.F.NOM seen
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tir_U0322)
 “Did the witch see us?” “No, she hasn’t seen us, she has seen the others.”
- c. *Der Jäger hat ins a Gwehr geben, ober imenen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Ritten/Renon; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0355)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

There are a few cases in which a participant uses *uns* rather than *ins*, but only one does so consistently across the board, while for others it is limited to a single sentence (for example, a speaker from Bozen produces *uns* in one sentence (46-a), but in the rest of her questionnaire uses the ex-

pected *ins* in both translation and free production contexts ((46-b)). This seems to indicate that this is due to linguistic interference from standard German, rather than a proper variant.

- (46) a. *Der Jaagr hat uns a Gewehr gegeben, ober imenen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Bozen/Bolzano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0348)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”
- b. *Hat di Hex ins geseekhn? Si schön, ober ins*
 has DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) 1PL.ACC seen 3PL.ACC indeed but 1PL.ACC
net.
 not
 (Bozen/Bolzano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tir_U0348)
 “Did the witch see us? She did see them, but not us.”

Second person plural

The second person plural pronoun used to express the nominative case has been attested in three different forms across the Tyrolean varieties: *es* (47-a) or *eis* (47-b), *des* (47-c), and *ir* (47-d).

- (47) a. *Es hab Glück ghab das si enk nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Tirol/Tirol; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0376)
- b. *Eis hab Glück ghab das si enkh nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Kastell-Tschars/Castelbello-Ciardes; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0467)
- c. *Des hab Glück ghab das se enk nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0468)
- d. *Ir hab Glück ghab das si enkh nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Neumarkt/Egna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0396)
 “You (PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too.”

The *des* form is usually taken to be the innovative form, and has been analysed as the result of a reanalysis of verb ending and pronoun (Howe 1996:279-280; cf. Rabanus 2008:223, 284-285), stemming from contexts where the verb precedes the pronoun like *Helft es ins* (standard German: ‘*helft ihr uns?*’) ‘Do you.PL help us?’ (example taken from Scheutz 2016:77). *Es* (also spelled *ös*) and *des* (also spelled *dös*) are attested historically in a west-east distribution, see map 7.8, by the older maps of Wiesinger (WEK) (1962) and also by more modern sources like Scheutz (2016:76). While Scheutz (2016:76-7) mentions the verb-ending + pronoun analysis, he remarks upon the fact that the eastern appearance of *des* (including across the language border into the east and the north (Osttirol, Kärnten, Salzburger Oberpinzgau) in opposition to western *es* is rather odd, as the eastern parts are commonly held to be more conservative areas. This areal distribution would therefore suggest that *es* is the innovation, though this would not correlate with the suggested verb-ending + *es* origin of *des*. The distribution of *es* and *des* in both WEK and Scheutz 2016 are pretty much in

line with one another (Scheutz 2016 attesting *des* slightly further to the west than Wiesinger). If we compare this to the distribution of the VinKo attestations, map 7.9, the *es* forms are the most prevalent across the Tyrolean area, with the *des* forms being restricted to the eastern-most parts of the province. The VinKo data represents the language use of the youngest generation of speakers of the Tyrolean area (the WEK maps data have been collected around 1940's and Scheutz only has a map with forms for his older speakers, meaning speakers over the age of 70 at the time of data collection). Together they paint a picture of a general decrease of the *des* in favor of *es* in the central varieties. While from a diachronic perspective the *des* was innovative in the Tyrolean area, currently *es* can be seen as the innovative form which is spreading across the region amongst younger speakers.

The third nominative form, *ir*, has only been attested in the Unterland/Bassa Atesina. At first glance, this form might appear to be an interference from standard German, however historic attestations show that it has a long-term presence in this specific area (cf. Schatz 1903:34fn), and should therefore be regarded as a relic form of Middle High German *ir* (Klein, Solms, and Wegera 2018:357) instead. This specific zone in the Unterland diverges in more features from the 'areal norms' and the area of Eggental and Deutschnofen has been called a '*Sprachinsel*' (Schatz 1903:34,35) due to their retention of primary umlaut, indicating an early settlement in these parts. Comparing maps 7.8 and 7.9, it is clear that the *ir*-attestations in the VinKo dataset fall precisely in the same area as the *ir*-attestations in the WEK maps (Wiesinger 1962) and the area indicated in Scheutz (2016).

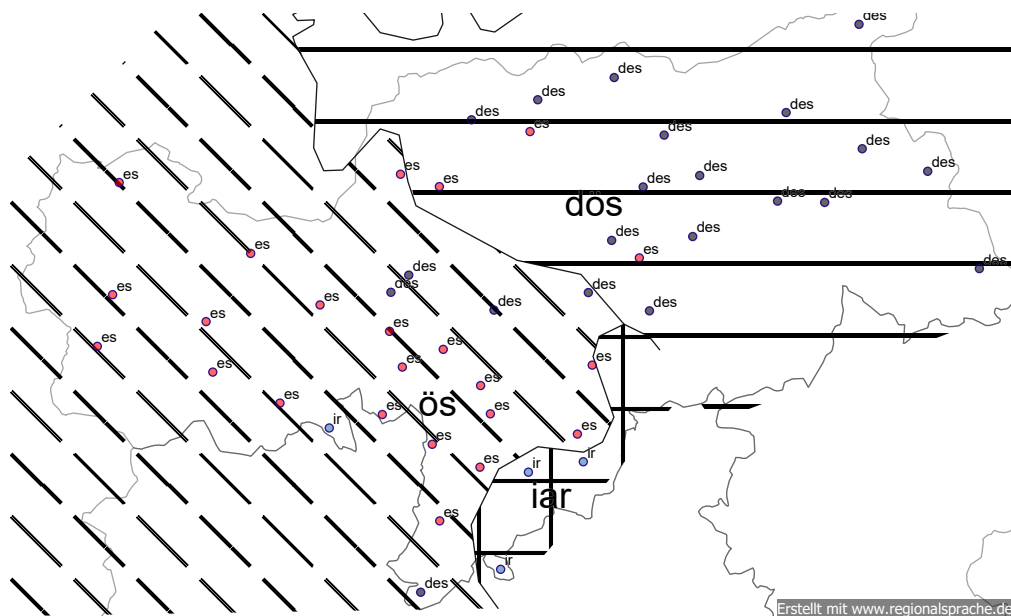
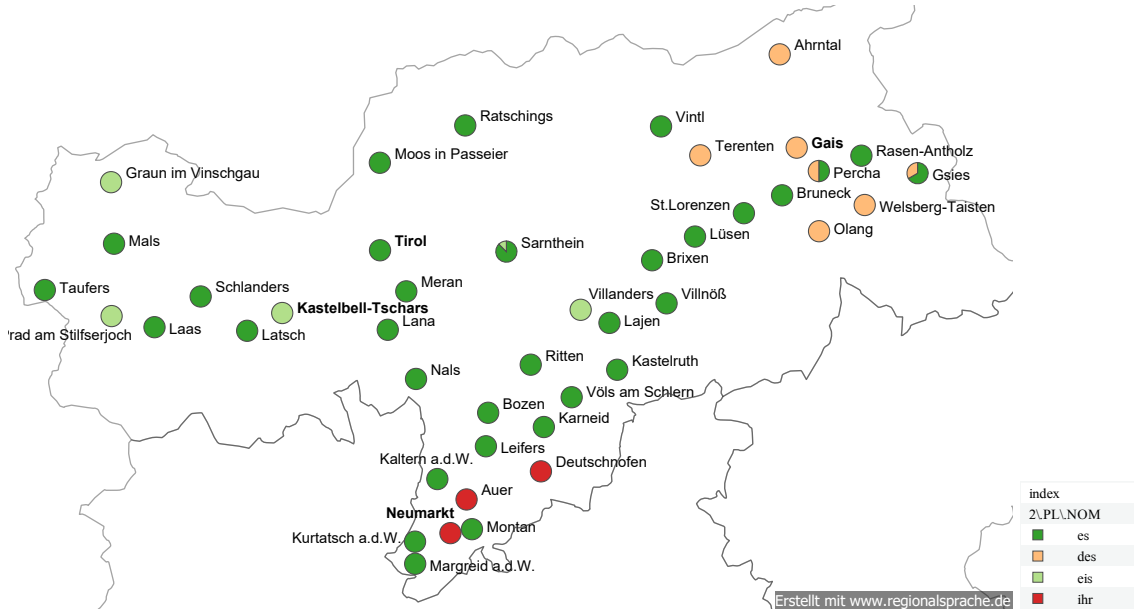


Figure 7.8: 2PL.NOM: as reported by (Wiesinger 1962), represented by striped overlay, and as reported in (Scheutz 2016), represented by single points

The accusative and dative cases have syncretized into a single form *enk(h)*, see examples (48-a) and (48-c) respectively. The final consonant varies in realization, and ranges from a voiceless stop, see examples (48-a) and (48-c), to a voiced fricative, see (48-b) and (48-d). A second person plural object form in *enk(h)* is a shared feature found among most Bavarian varieties (e.g Mitzka 1943:89; Scheutz 2016:76). While their precise historical reconstruction cannot be provided, these forms

Figure 7.9: *es, des, eis, ihr*: attestations of 2PL.NOM in Tyrolean

are assumed to be descendent for older dual forms, which in the time of Middle High German developed into a regular plural expression in Bavarian (e.g. Gradl 1872:194; Howe 1996:95/6,279; Scheutz 2016:76).

- (48) a. *Des hab Glück ghab das si enk nit gseechn hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0468)
- b. *Es hab es Glück ghab das si enkh ni gesechn hat*
 2PL.NOM have DEF.SG.N.ACC luck(N) had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0322)
 “You (PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too.”
- c. *Hat enk di Alte gold als Belohnung geben?*
 has 2PL.DAT DEF.SG.F.NOM old_one gold as reward given
 (Ahrntal/Valle Aurina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0317_tir_U0489)
- d. *Hat enkh di Alt gold als Belohnung geben?*
 has 2PL.DAT DEF.SG.F.NOM old_one gold as reward given
 (Graun in Vinschgau/Curon Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0317_tir_U0434)
 “Did the old woman give you a reward?”

Third plural

The third person plural pronouns occur in two different patterns across the Tyrolean varieties; one which has a syncretism of nominative and accusative in *si* and a distinct dative form, therefore a pattern similar to standard German, and one which has undergone complete case leveling into a single form *sui*, as was indicated in table 7.3 given above. In the nominative and accusative case the distinction between the two patterns is quite marginal, though noticeable. In careful speech,

there is a clear difference between *sui* and *si* (for the nominative case, compare (49-a) and (49-b), for the accusative compare (49-c) and (49-d)).

- (49) a. *Si* *rennen ins* *Dorf* *zurück und bitten in*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jaagr um Hilfe.
 hunter(M) for help
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0379)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’
- b. *Mir* *sein entkemma, ober sui* *sein gfangen*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM are captured
 (Latsch/Laces; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tir_U0365)
 ‘We have escaped, but they have been captured!’
- c. *Er* *befreit di* *Kinder und bringt si* *hoam*
 3SG.M.NOM frees DEF.PL.ACC children and brings 3PL.ACC home
 (Kurtatsch a.d.W./Cortaccia s.s.d.v.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_tir_U0385)
 ‘He frees the children and brings them home.’
- d. *Ein obends seechn zwa von di* *Kinder a Hex, di di* *anderen*
 One evening see two of DEF.PL children a witch(F) that DEF.PL.ACC other
Kinder gseechn hat, ober sui *netta.*
 children seen has but 3SG.ACC not
 (Laas/Lasa; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0102_tir_U0432)
 ‘One evening, two of the children see a witch, which has spotted the other children, but not them.’

In fast speech, however, *sui* is often produced as either *si* or *se*, compare (50-a) with (49-b) and (50-b) with (49-d).

- (50) a. *Der* *Jaagr hat ins* *a Gwehr geben, aber sui* *nit.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si *sein noch zu kloan.*
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Latsch/Laces; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0365)
 ‘The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.’
- b. *Er* *befreit di* *Kinder und bringt se* *hoam.*
 3SG.M.NOM frees DEF.PL.ACC children and brings 3PL.ACC home
 (Laas/Lasa; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_tir_U0432)
 ‘He frees the children and brings them home.’

Sometimes these pronouns are also replaced by the demonstrative *di*/*dia*/*de* (also attested by Scheutz 2016:78). The use of the demonstrative is pragmatically motivated, and all speakers that use these forms also provide audio data including the pronominal form *si*, compare (51-a) with (51-b) (both speaker U0322) and (51-c) with (51-d) (both speaker U0468).

- (51) a. *De* *Jaagr hat ins* *ein Gwehr geben, aber denen* *netta.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Dee *sein noch zu kli*
 3PL.NOM are still too small

(Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0322)

“The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

- b. *Si lopfen ins Dorf zrück und fragen der*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jaagr ob er en helfen kan
 hunter(M) if 3SG.M.NOM 3PL.DAT help can

(Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0322)

“They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.”

- c. *Hat di Hex ins gesechn? Na, ins net, aber dee*
 has DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) 1PL.ACC seen no 1PL.ACC not but 3PL.ACC
scho(n).
 indeed

(Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tir_U0468)

“Did the witch see us?” “No, not us, but she did see them.”

- d. *Dann kemm si zu ein Öfen, der si unschreit: 'Nehmt*
 then come 3PL.NOM to a oven(M) that 3PL.ACC calls_to take
es Proat auser, es isch fertig!’
 DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) out 3SG.N.NOM is ready

(Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_tir_U0468)

“Then they arrive at an oven, which calls to them: “Take the bread out, it is ready!””

The VinKo data shows a grouping of the *sui* forms in the nominative and accusative case in the western Tyrolean varieties, spreading as far east as Kastelbell-Tschars. The majority of the users of *dee* in these cases are huddled in the eastern varieties, but there are strong attestations for Mals all the way in the west as well. As was already discussed, all speakers also have the *si/sui* forms to their disposal, which means that this is an optional strategy, which appears to be favoured in certain focused expressions.

The VinKo data line up quite well with earlier attestations, if we compare it with the maps provided by Scheutz (Scheutz 2016:77) and the TSA (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965), see map 7.11 (reproduction of map 7.7 provided on page 84). Scheutz’s (2016:77) and the TSA’s border between *sui* and *si* is found slightly further to the east than the VinKo sample, but for a large part coincides. Scheutz (Scheutz 2016:77) also remarks on the same free variation between *si* and *sui*, given above, and he marked a variety as having *sui*, even if it only occurred in his questionnaire once for a given speaker. I have taken the same approach for the VinKo data. He also remarks on the feature seeming to be anchored in the younger generation, occurring more frequently and in a larger area for younger generation speakers as opposed to the older generation.

The most marked variation, both in pattern and in surface form, is found in the dative case forms. There are two case patterns. The first pattern has a distinctive form in the dative case in opposition to the nominative-accusative form *si*. This is the case pattern also found in standard German (*ihnen*), but there are at least four different surface realizations of the dative present in the area. The most common is *imenen* (52-a). The exact derivation of this form is unclear, but Scheutz (2016:79) suspects it is probably derived with the dative adjectival inflection (*-en*), with an additional plural ending (*-en*). The form without the additional plural *-en*, *imen*, is present as well, though less common (52-b). Another form is derived from the historic accusative form *in*, as in standard *ihnen*, and takes the form *inen* (52-c). There is also a single attestation of the form *imile*, (also attested in Scheutz 2016:79)).

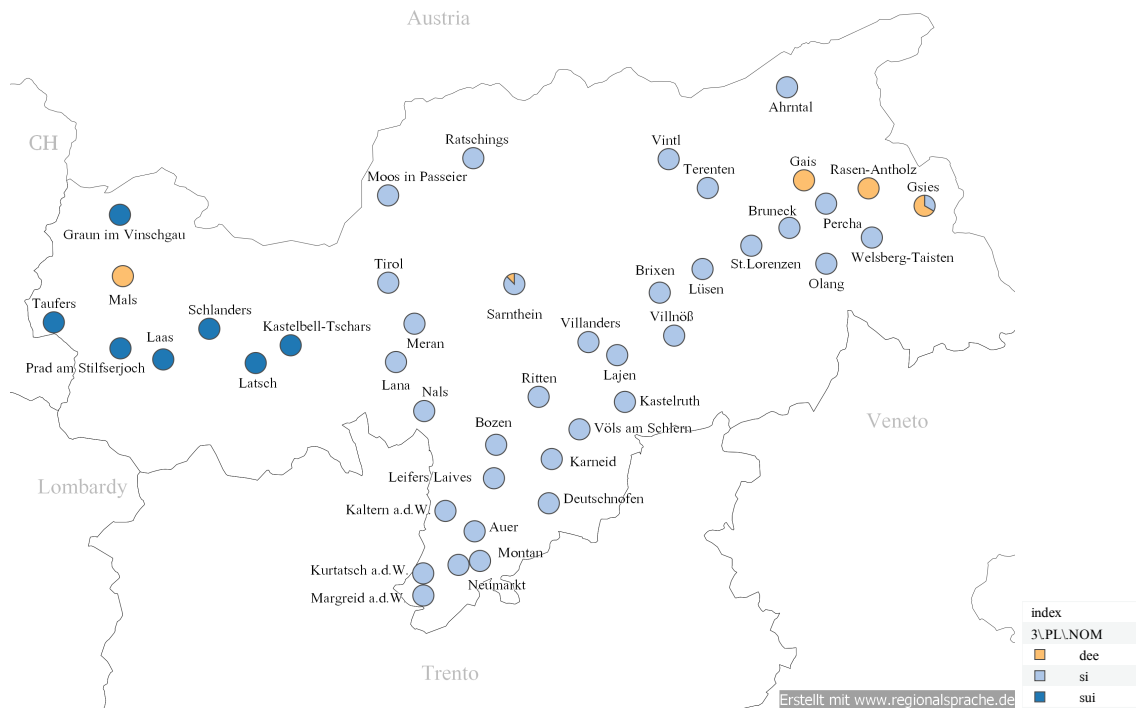
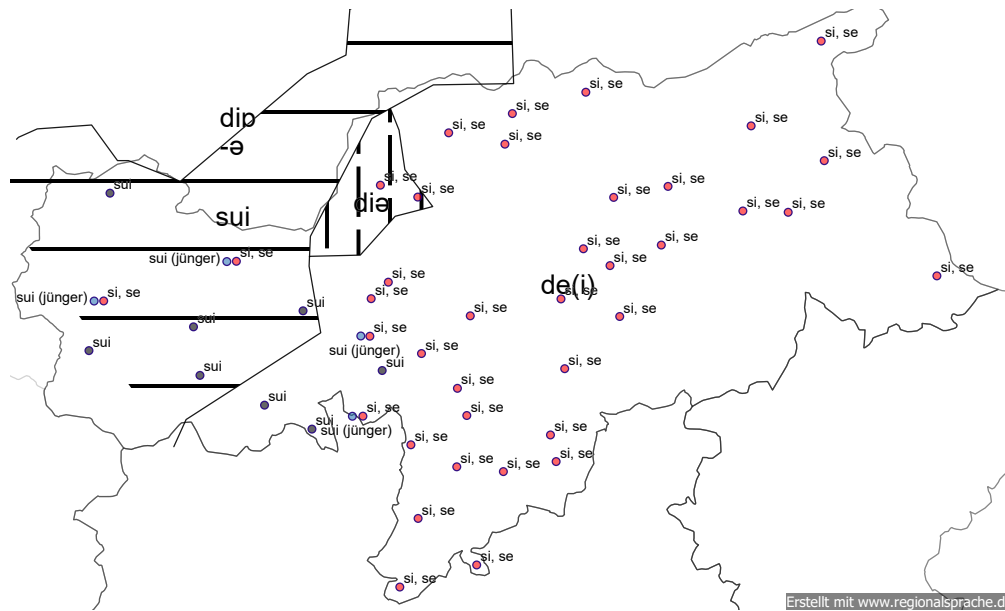
Figure 7.10: *si, sui, dee*: attestations of 3PL.NOM/ACC in Tyrolean

Figure 7.11: 3SG.F/3PL: TSA mapped against Scheutz's (2016) data

The second case pattern is a completely leveled paradigm, where the form is identical to that of the nominative and accusative case. This single pronoun always takes the form of *sui* (52-e).

- (52) a. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber imenen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Karneid/Cornedo all'Issarco; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0360)
- b. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber imen et.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Vintl/Vandoies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0472)
- c. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Picks gegeben, aber inen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloane
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Lüsen/Luson; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0482)
- d. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Picks gegeben, aber imile netta.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(F) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sei noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Moos in Passeier/Moso in Passiria id:479; stimulus 116)(Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0479)
- e. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber sui nit.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Sui sei noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch/Prato allo Stelvio; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0429)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

As map 7.12 illustrates, the western varieties have *sui* in the nominative and accusative cases are the ones that have the leveled paradigm in the dative case as well. This pattern of case-levelling appears to coincide with the use of the *sui* form. The distribution of the *imenen*, *imen*, *inen*, and *imile* forms is less well-delineated. By and large, the central varieties appear to use the form *imene(n)*, whereas in the eastern varieties *inen* is more commonly used. *Imile* is restricted to a single location, Moos in Passeier.

In the far east and the west corners, there are a few attestations of demonstrative *denen* as a dative form in the third plural. They occur in areas which also show the demonstrative pronoun *dee* in the nominative and accusative forms, for example Gais (53), as a common replacement for the personal pronoun.

- (53) *Der jager hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber denen net. Si*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(M) given but 3PL.DAT not 3PL.NOM
sein noch zu kloan.
 are still too small
 (Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0468)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

The mapping we see in VinKo data is roughly in line with previously attested patterns, see map 7.13. The use of the *sui* form in the dative case as attested by Scheutz (2016) is very similar in

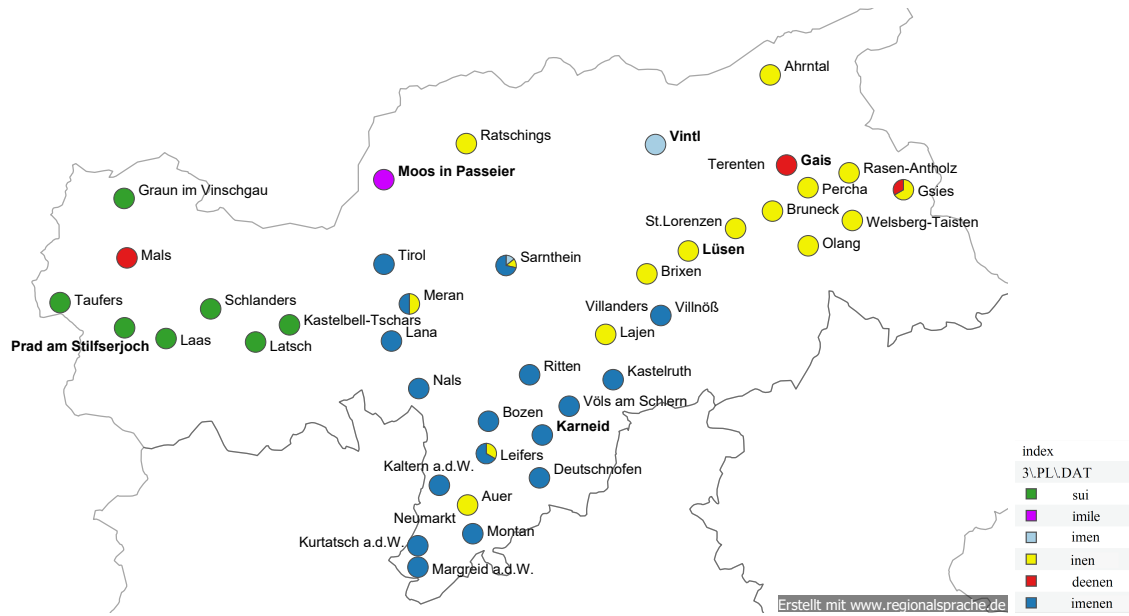


Figure 7.12: *imen(en)*, *inen*, *sui*, *imile*: attestations of 3PL.DAT in Tyrolean

distribution to the VinKo data, and this is further backed by Prieth (2020) who attested the case levelling of the third plural in *sui* for Graun im Vinschgau. The presence of the dative use of *sui* in Vinschgau is attested at least as far back as Schatz (1903:45), who documents the base form even in inflected forms of *sui* like *pa suiən* and *pa suiənə*, of which there do not appear to be any traces left. Scheutz's map (2016:79) only represents the older generation of speakers, so this might account for some of the differences with respect to the VinKo data. For example, the *imile* form is more widespread on his map, as is *deen*, which occupies the eastern and northern fringes.

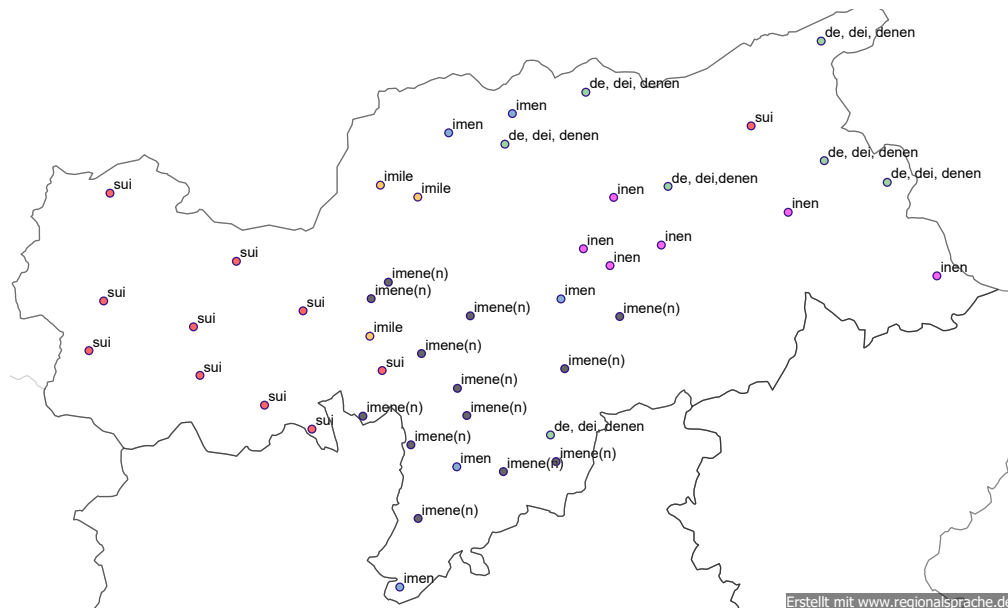


Figure 7.13: 3PL.DAT: as attested by Scheutz (2016:79)

7.3 Definite articles

Definite articles in Bavarian dialects are used very frequently, with respect to their use in standard German, i.e., they are systematically used with proper nouns (Eroms 1989 as referenced in Weiss 1998:69-70). There are two forms of the definite article, a stressed and a unstressed 'weak' form (Weiss 1998:72). This section discusses the singular definite article in the Tyrolean dialects for all three genders; masculine, feminine and neuter. Table 7.4 presents an overview of the attested article forms and case patterns in the Tyrolean varieties, to be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

	M	F	N
NOM	der	di	es
ACC	in, im		
DAT		dem	in, im

Table 7.4: Definite articles in singular number in Tyrolean

7.3.1 Masculine gender

The masculine singular article in the nominative case takes the form of *der* (54-a), and has a syncretism of the accusative and dative cases in a single form. This form for many varieties is *in*, e.g. examples (54-b) and (174-b).

- (54) a. **Der** *Jaagr hat ins a Gwehr geben, aber imenen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(M) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Karneid/Cornedo all'Issarco; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0360)
 ‘The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.’
- b. *Si rennen ins Dorf zrück und bitten in*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.ACC
Jäger um Hilfe
 hunter(M) for help
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0357)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’
- c. *Di Dorfbewohner danken in Jäger.*
 DEF.PL.NOM villagers thank DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0357)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’

A similar system, but with a form in *im* is also attested in the data, e.g. examples (55-a) and (55-b). As was the case with the third person masculine pronoun, reliably distinguishing the nasal quality for all varieties is not feasible with the current dataset. The case pattern remains the same between *in* or *im* system.

- (55) a. *Si rennen zurück zum Dorf und fragen im*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.ACC
Jäger ob er sui hilft.
 hunter(M) if 3SG.M.NOM 3PL.DAT helps
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0429)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’
- b. *Di Leit danken im Jaagr*
 DEF.PL.NOM people thank DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0429)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’

In the western corners of the Vinschgau, there are attestations of a second, very marginal, case pattern, with a nominative-accusative syncretism in *der* (or reduced *de*), see examples (56-a) and (56-b), and a dative case form *dem* (reduced form *em*), see example (56-c). It represents an influence from neighbouring Alemannic varieties, which as a group largely share this nominative-accusative merger, which is widespread in Switzerland and along the Rhine river (Eberle 1938:51, as cited in Ellsäßer 2020:64). It is also found further afield in the South Hessian dialects (cf. Dirani 2020). In the VinKo the only attestations of this pattern come from two localities close to the Swiss border in the Upper Vinschgau valley; Mals and Graun im Vinschgau. Of the three participants from Graun im.V., only one uses this pattern, the other two use the canonical Tyrolean pattern.

- (56) a. *Sui rennen in dorf zurück und bitten de*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.ACC
Jaagr um Hilfe.
 hunter(M) for help
 (Graun im Vinschgau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0382)
- b. *Si lopfen ins Dorf zurück und fragen der*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.ACC
Jaagr ob er en helfen kann
 hunter(M) if 3SG.M.NOM 3PL.ACC help can
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0322)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’
- c. *Di Bewohner von Dorf danken an em Jaagr*
 DEF.PL.NOM inhabitants of village thank to DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0322)

7.3.2 Feminine gender

The feminine singular articles show little to no variation across the Tyrolean varieties. The main pattern is that of a nominative-accusative syncretism in *di*, see examples (57-a) and (57-b), with a distinct dative form in *der*, see example (57-c).

- (57) a. *Di Hexe will di gfangn Kinder kochen.*
 DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) wants DEF.PL.ACC captured children cook
 (Percha/Perca; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_tir_U0418)
 ‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’

- b. *Er* *aber* *nimmt es* *Gwehr und tötet di*
 3SG.M.NOM however takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
Hexe.
 witch(F)
 (Welsberg-Taisten/Monguelfo-Tesido; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0464)
 ‘But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’
- c. *Der* *Jaagr* *sagt der* *Hexe si* *sall auhären,*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must stop
aber si *probiert in* *zu verzaubern.*
 but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0478)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’

In the strong forms, the difference between the nominative/accusative form *di* and the dative *der* is clear. However, in the weak forms, there is little to no difference between the cases, as they are phonetically reduced to *də*. In the nominative and accusative the vowel centralizes and in the dative case the final /r/ is deleted. There is a single case in Moos in Passeier which shows the use of the nominative/accusative case *di* also in the dative case. This could imply complete leveling of the system, but since there is only a single case of this, it might also mean speaker error.

There are also widespread attestations of prepositional dative marking in combination with the feminine article, see example (58). This alternative way of dative marking is a known strategy in Tyrolean, and is commonly found with feminine and plural definite articles (Scheutz 2016:67-71). See map 7.14 for the attested dative forms and prepositional dative marking.

- (58) *Der* *Jaagr* *sog in der* *Hex si* *söll auheren,*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must stop
aber si *versucht 'n* *zu verzaubern*
 but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Kaltertn a.d.W; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0391)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’

7.3.3 Neuter gender

The neuter gender singular article shows little to no variation across the varieties. The nominative/accusative case takes the form of *es* (sometimes the vowel is closer to *i*, *ɪ*, see examples (59-a) and (59-b). The article form in the dative is *im*, (59-c).

- (59) a. *Es* *Haus* *isch alt und di* *Kinder fingst unterschrecken*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find scary
 (Gsies/Valle di Casies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_tir_U0487)
 ‘The house is old and the children find it terrifying.’
- b. *Im* *dunklen Wald* *finden si* *noch es* *Haus*
 in:DEF.SG.M.DAT dark forest(M) find 3PL.NOM still DEF.SG.N.ACC house(N)
von di *Hex.*
 of DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F)

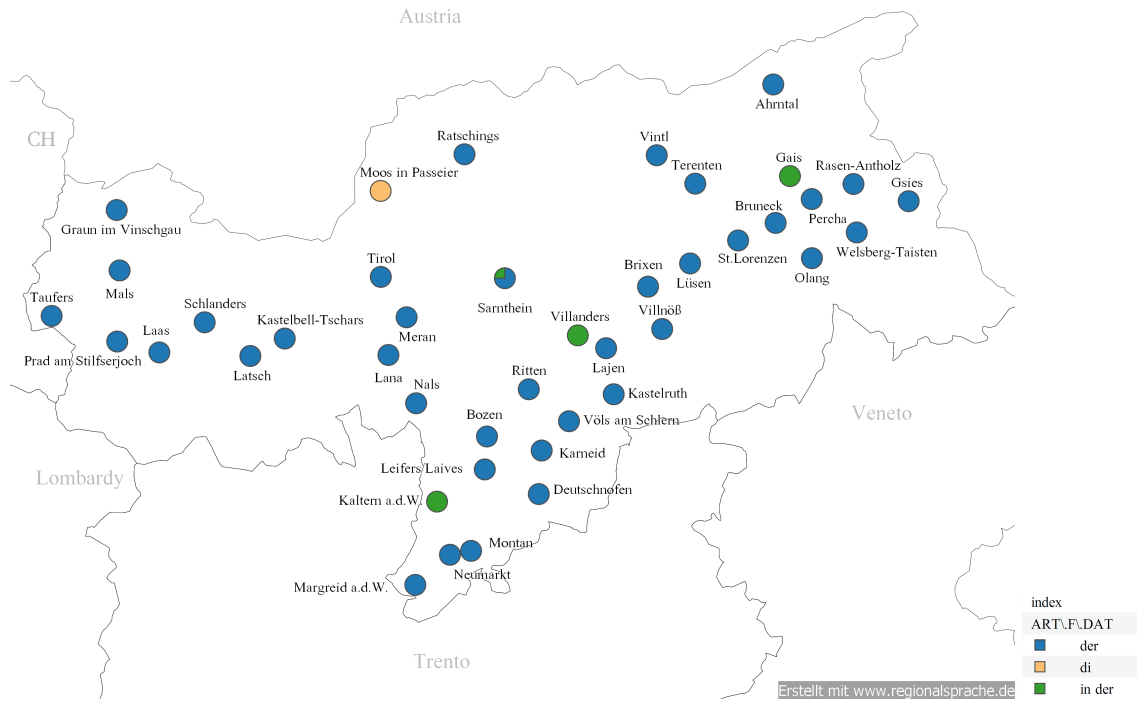


Figure 7.14: *der, di, in der*: attestations of DEF.SG.F in Tyrolean

(Kaltern a.d.W./Caldaro s.s.d.v.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_tir_U0391)

‘They find the house of the witch in the dark forest.’

- c. *Jetzt bis du ober drun sagt es fleißige Maadl*
 now are 2SG.NOM however at says DEF.SG.N.NOM diligent girl(N)
zum faulen, aber si hilft im Prot nit.
 to:DEF.SG.N.DAT lazy_one but 3SG.F.NOM helps DEF.SG.N.DAT bread(N) not
 (Tirol/Tirol; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_tir_U0376)

‘‘Now it is your turn,’’ says the diligent girl to the lazy one, but she doesn’t help the bread.’

The form *in* would also be expected to be present in the area, e.g. dialect descriptions (e.g. Laurein (Kollmann 2012:226) or Ahrntal (Seeber 2016:52)), but the nasal quality can be hard to determine. Furthermore, the stimulus sentence has it occurring in front of a labial, which assimilates into *im* in natural speech. As such, the presence of *in* would be expected, but cannot be mapped on basis of the VinKo data.

7.4 Discussion

This chapter aimed to provide a complete overview of the pronominal and article paradigms found in the Tyrolean varieties spoken in South Tyrol. While individual dialect descriptions and other overviews like Scheutz’s (2016) or the TSA (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965) might provide

some insight into the different surface forms found in the area, they do not provide an areal overview of the existing paradigms across different varieties. For example, while the *sui* case leveling in the third plural has been noted before for Graun am Vinschgau (Prieth 2020), individual descriptions do not provide insight into where this pattern occurs and what its boundaries are. The existing areal overview, like Scheutz (2016) and the TSA (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965), lack complete paradigms for all pronouns in all cases, and might notice some tendencies but cannot provide the complete picture. The VinKo data enables this overview, and therefore does not just map where certain surface forms appear, but more importantly how individual forms are part of the pronominal paradigms and their syncretism patterns. Rather than looking at the surface realizations, this section will look at the systems in which they occur from a more abstract perspective. The following tables use smallcaps to symbolize an underlying form rather than a concrete surface form. For example, while the third person plural dative form can be realized as *imenen*, *imen*, *inen*, or *imile*, in the table 7.5 it will be represented as a single form IMENEN to indicate the presence of a distinct dative form in opposition to the nominative/accusative form *si*.

If we combine the attested pronouns, discussed in section 7.2, for all varieties and consider them from a paradigmatic perspective, we find four different case patterns in the Tyrolean varieties. The most wide spread case paradigm is found in the central and northeastern varieties and it has the most extensive case marking across the board, see table 7.5. Additionally, two intermediate paradigms which shows signs of reducing their system (table 7.6 and 7.7), and a reduced case paradigm which is restricted to the fringes of the western varieties (table 7.8). The highlighted parts are paradigm cells where the intermediate and reduced paradigms differ from the canonical pattern. For this comparison, the neuter pronouns have not be taken into consideration because there are no attestations of strong pronouns in the western varieties, hence they cannot be compared to attestations found in other areas.

		1	2	3	
				M	F
SG.NOM	I	DU	ER	IN	SI
SG.ACC	MI	DI			IR
SG.DAT	MIR	DIR			
PL.NOM		ES		SI	
PL.ACC	INS	ENKH			
PL.DAT				IMENEN	

Table 7.5: ‘Canonical’ northeastern and central Tyrolean pronominal case pattern (1)

		1	2	3	
				M	F
SG.NOM	I	DU	ER	IN	SI
SG.ACC	MI	DI			IR
SG.DAT	MIR	DIR	SUI		
PL.NOM		ES			
PL.ACC	INS	ENKH			
PL.DAT					

Table 7.6: Western Tyrolean intermediate pattern 1 (2)

The intermediate paradigms occur on an implicational scale, as represented in example (60). If a variety has the dative extension in the first and second person singular, it also has the dative extension in the third singular feminine and the third plural is leveled. If a variety has the dative-accusative syncretism in the third singular feminine, this also necessarily implies the leveling of the third plural. Like all implicational scales, this is unidirectional.

$$(60) \quad 1/2SG > 3SG.F > 3PL$$

Map 7.15 shows the distributions of the paradigms across the region. The map clearly marks the

		1	2	3		
				M	F	
SG.NOM	I	DU	ER	SI		
SG.ACC	MI	DI	IN	IR		
SG.DAT	MIR	DIR				
PL.NOM		ES	SUI			
PL.ACC	INS	ENKH				
PL.DAT						

Table 7.7: Western Tyrolean intermediate pattern 2 (3)

	1	2	3		
			M	F	
SG.NOM	I	DU	ER	SI	
SG.ACC	MIR	DIR	IN	IR	
SG.DAT					
PL.NOM		ES	SUI		
PL.ACC	INS	ENKH			
PL.DAT					

Table 7.8: ‘Reduced’ western Tyrolean pronominal case pattern (4)

core area of the reduced pattern (4) to be the western area, whereas the standard pattern (1) is prevalent in the central and northeastern varieties. The intermediate patterns (2) and (3) are found in the boundary region between the two other paradigms, forming a contact zone. This findings are in line with previous dialect descriptions from the central dialect region, e.g. Laurein (Kollmann 2012), as well as dialect descriptions from the northeastern parts, e.g. Ahrntal (Seeber 2016), and the notes in the TSA on the dative case being the “ruling case” in the western parts (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965:10).

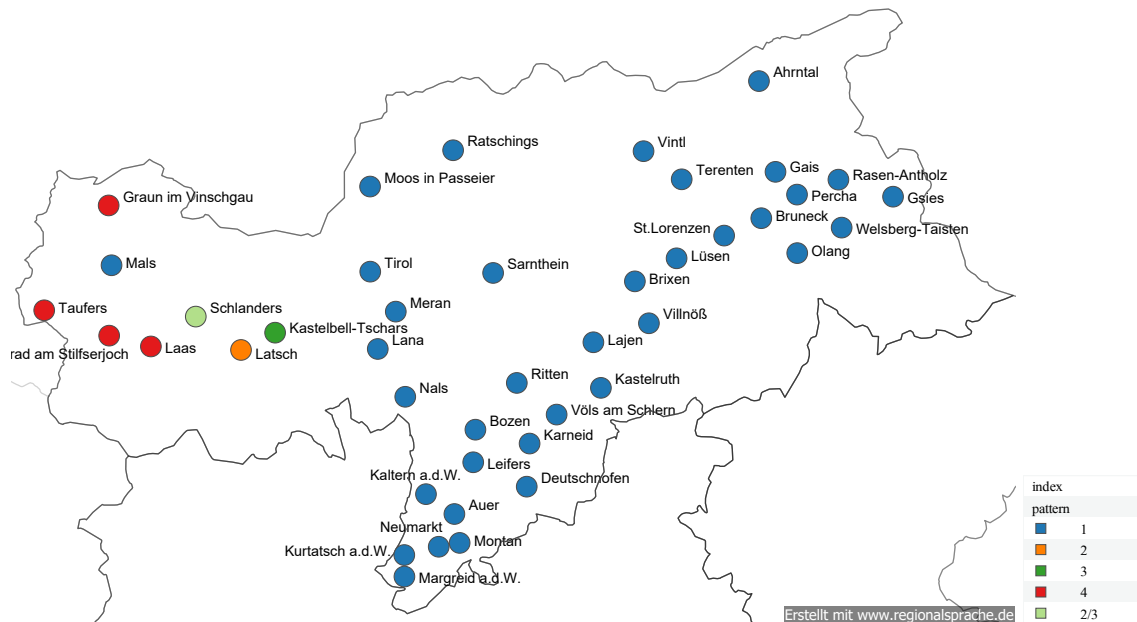


Figure 7.15: Pronominal case patterns in Tyrolean

While the area seems to have converged on the *im* masculine syncretism (and this fits the pattern), this is no indicator of the Western pattern since the audio quality makes it difficult to use it as a clear indicator of the area, and it seems to be diffused further than any of the paradigmatic variations. The third person singular feminine on the other hand is a much better indicator. Its accusative (*si*) and dative (*ir*) forms are phonetically very different, which makes any variation in the system immediately obvious not only to outside observers, but also for speakers acquiring the

dialect system. The occurrence of accusative-dative syncretism in the third person singular feminine is a bit more checkered, and it is hard to pinpoint why exactly. The eastern most attestation is in line with the third person plural, which makes sense as the third singular feminine and the third plural tend to move together. They share syncretism patterns in the standard varieties. It might also explain why there is more variation in this part of the paradigm. While extension of the dative case levels the whole paradigm, it goes against the general trend of the feminine third singular, and since the plural has lost all case distinctions, it has no supporting pattern in other parts of the pronominal paradigm. However, the ‘canonical’ Tyrolean and standard German paradigm might be providing pressure for a nominative-accusative syncretism in the third person singular feminine, even if it would introduce irregularity to the system. There are some intermingling cases where speakers either still or again use the *si* in the accusative case or switch between the two. Whether this is a case of non-complete shift or from pressure with the standard language or other dialect varieties is unclear.

There is no equivalent pattern to the reduced paradigm in the definite article domain. While the extended use of the dative form in accusative context has been noted also for the article in the TSA (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965:10)³, there is no indication for this pattern in the VinKo data. All speakers from areas which have fully reduced pronominal systems, e.g. Graun im Vinschgau or Taufers, show clear use of *di* in the accusative case, see examples (61-a) and (61-c), and *der* for the dative case, see examples (61-b) and (61-d).

- (61) a. *Er* *aber* *nimmt es* *Gewehr und tötet di*
 3SG.M.NOM however takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
Hex.
 witch(F)
 (Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0434)
 ‘But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’
- b. *Der* *Jaagr* *sagt zu der* *Hexe si* *sall*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says to DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must
auhären, aber si *probiert in* *zu verzaubern*
 stop but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0434)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’
- c. *Er* *ober* *nimmt’s* *Gewehr und bringt di*
 3SG.M.NOM however takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and brings DEF.SG.F.ACC
Hex um.
 witch(F) over
 (Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0390)
 ‘But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’
- d. *Der* *Jäger* *sagt der* *Hexe si* *soll aufhären,*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must stop
aber si *versucht in* *zu verzaubern.*
 but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0390)

³The following sentences are given: *i iḡug dər kxuə af dər wīs aui* ‘ich jage die Kuhe auf die Wiese hinauf’ (Taufers), *i gəvaf dər hqv d aui* ‘ich gehe auf die Heide hinauf’ (nach St. Valentin, Reschen), *in dər štqt oirənv n* ‘in die Stadt hinunterrennen’ (Klein, Schmitt, and Kühebacher 1965:10).

‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’

While there is no paradigmatic variation in the definite articles, they do exhibit the alternative optional strategy of prepositional dative marking. In the Vinko data this has been attested in the dative case of the feminine articles and, for some speakers, in plural articles. These were not targets of the stimuli sentences, but produced in some contexts by some participants anyway. Prepositional dative marking in Upper High German varieties has been described by Seiler (2003), who notes that there are two prepositions that can take the dative marking role; *in* ((62-b)) and *an* ((62-a)).

- (62) a. *du muasst es a deinà frau vaschraibn lassen*
 du musst es AN deiner:Dsf Frau verschreiben lassen
 (Malching; A. Ströbl 1970, S.66)
- b. *sàg’s in der frau*
 sag’s IN der:Dsf Frau
 (Oberinntal; J.B. Schöpf 1866, S.286)
 (Seiler 2003:15)

For South Bavarian, Seiler notes the construction is well-represented, though not in the western parts, and that the dative marker takes the form of *in* (Seiler 2003:96). Scheutz (2016:67-71) also includes a piece on the prepositional dative, and describes it as being characteristic for South- and Middle Bavarian and Alemannic. Historically the marker comes from a weakened (*d*-loss) article form *dem* in Tyrolean, which has been reduced to *i(n)* and reanalyzed as prepositional marker (Seiler 2007 as cited in Scheutz 2016). Scheutz remarks that while all South Bavarian dialects have use of this prepositional dative, its use is very diverse among varieties. Almost all dialects use the prepositional dative in the plural, but its use in the feminine and other noun groups is more rare, and in personal pronouns the dative marker is spread the least. It is clear that in most South- and Middle Bavarian dialects the prepositional dative marker is simply one of multiple dative strategies that speakers can employ. The construction with a prepositional dative marker and those without, are both equally valid, see examples in (63). Scheutz states that a more precise description in use and areal spread is yet to be done, but also remarks on its absence in the western locations, which makes it an exception both in Tyrolean and in the larger South Bavarian area.

- (63) a. *i gip di khindər epeš*
 b. *i gip in di khindər epeš*
 ‘I give the children something’
 (Scheutz 2016:69; English translation mine)

For the most part, these sources are corroborated by the VinKo data. The attested preposition is *in*, and in the majority of cases it is found with the plural definite article *di* (64-a), and also a fair few with the feminine singular definite article *der/de* ((64-b)).

- (64) a. *Der Jäger hat ins ən Gewehr geben und in di an*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(M) given but DAT DEF.PL others
netta. Si sei einfach noch zu kloan
 not 3PL.NOM are simply still too small
 (Lajen; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0395)
 ‘The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.’

- b. *Der Jaagr sog in der Hex si söll*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says to DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must
auhären, aber si versucht 'n zu verzaubern
 stop but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Kaltern a.d.W; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0391)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’

There is one exception, the participant from Mals who produces prepositional dative marking with *an*. The Upper Vinschgau is the generally assumed to be an area lacking prepositional dative marking. This might point at an Alemannic origin of this construction, which actively use PDM marking with AN (Seiler 2003), rather than from Bavarian heritage. This same participant also produced the marginal Alemannic pattern in the case pattern and form of the masculine definite article (as discussed in section 7.3.1).

- (65) *Di Bewohner von Dorf danken an em Jaagr*
 DEF.PL.NOM inhabitants of village thank to DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0322)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’

Overall, the attestations of prepositional dative marking fall precisely in the areas also described by Seiler (2003:95, map 5) (visualized in map 7.16) and based on data from the 70’s. Scheutz (2016) remarked that this feature seems to be anchored in younger speakers and therefore a robust dialect phenomena (which is remarkable as it has disappeared in most Middle Bavarian Austrian dialects).

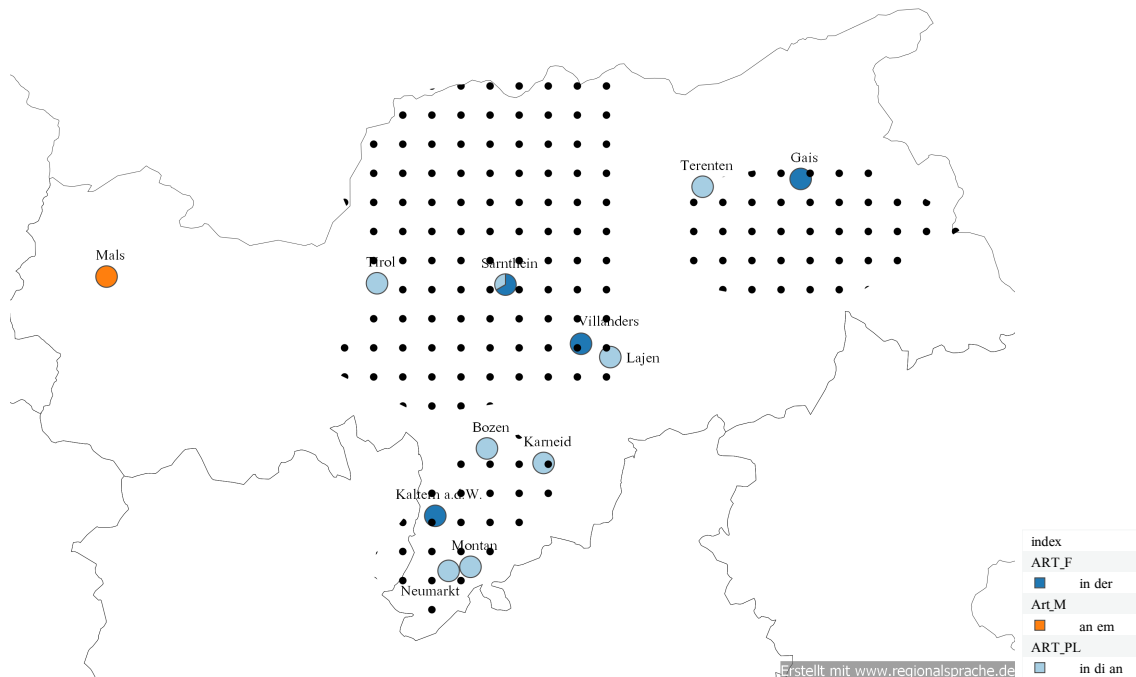


Figure 7.16: Prepositional dative marking in Tyrolean, VinKo (points) mapped against Seiler 2003:95, map 5 (dotted overlay)

8. Mòcheno

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Figure 8.1: Mòcheno location surveyed in VinKo

8.1 Introduction

Mòcheno is one of the Germanic languages islands of Italy and is a recognized minority language within the autonomous region of Trentino/South Tyrol. The language is spoken in the upper part of the Fèrsina valley, also known as the *Valle dei Mòcheni* or *Bernstol*, and specifically in the communities of Palù/Palai, Fierozzo/Vlarotz, Frassilongo/Garait, and Roveda/Oachlait in the province of Trento in Northern Italy. See map 10.1 with the Mòcheno speaking communities shaded in grey. The language is known under the denomination *Mòcheno* in Italian and English, and as *Fersentalerisch*, or more exactly as *Deutsch-Fersentalerisch* (cf. Rowley 2010) in German. Among the Mòcheno speech community, the language is also referred to as *de inger sproch* ‘our language’, *taitisch* ‘German’ or points to the specific variety like *Palaierisch* or *Vlarutzerisch* (cf. Rowley 2010:12). The term ‘Mòcheno’ is chosen in this dissertation, as it appears to be the most commonly used term by the local cultural institute *Bersntoler Kulturinstitut/Istituto Culturale Mòcheno*, indicating it is an accepted term, as well as it being the common denomination used the English and Italian language academic literature (cf. Bidese and Cognola 2013; Cognola 2013b) (in German-language publications *Fersentalerisch* is used, e.g. Rowley 2010, 2003; Brünger 2015; Schweizer and Rabanus 2012).

The total number of Mòcheno speakers is estimated to be around 580 in total (Alber 2011, see footnote 2) (the census from 2011 Provincia Autonoma di Trento 2014 reports a total of 1660, but this number can be drawn into question as municipality S. Orsola im Fersental counts for a large share of this number even though no Mòcheno is spoken in this location, cf. Alber 2015; Toller 2012). The majority of modern Mòcheno speakers are trilingual: they speak Mòcheno, the local Romance dialect of Central Trentino, and standard Italian which is the main language of education.

8.1.1 Sociolinguistic situation

Mòcheno speakers have had a long-term historic presence in the Trentino area, as they moved into the area from Tyrol in the 13th century, primarily living of agriculture, forestry, and mining. The language the early settlers spoke was of the South Bavarian type, but they were isolated soon after migration from the main South Bavarian dialect continuum, in a geographical sense by the mountain ranges and linguistically by the interluding Romance speaking areas of the surrounding valleys (Bidese and Cognola 2013). This means that the language has had separate linguistic developments from the rest of the South Bavarian dialect area. Since the 18th century, there was some peddling with Austro-Hungary for additional income, which means that there was some contact with Tyrolean-speaking communities during these times, however, the linguistic influence and contact from the other South Bavarian varieties during this time can be regarded as limited. As with Cimbrian, in the lexicon and phonology of Mòcheno conservative traits of South Bavarian can be found, though the language also has innovative features (e.g. phonology Alber 2015), as well as a considerable amount of language contact with Romance (Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019). There is a fair bit of scientific literature on the language, with extensive grammar and lexicon descriptions (cf. Rowley 1982; Rowley 1986; Rowley 2010; Schweizer and Rabanus 2012; Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019), as well as plenty of modern publications on varying features of the language, eg. OV/VO word order (Cognola 2013b; Cognola 2013a). There is no structural contact with standard German, apart from second language education as part of the individual linguistic repertoire. While the Mòcheno people were dissettled in the Second World War, as part

of Hitler-Mussolini agreement, many of the Mòcheno managed to return to their native lands after the completion of the conflict and the end of the agreement. Nowadays, the Mòcheno language and culture are protected by the national 482/99 law of 1999, which safeguards Italy's minority languages, as well as by regional legislation from 1987 which includes, among others, the Bernstol community in the Special Statute of the Trentino-South Tyrol Autonomous Region. As a result, the last decades have seen the foundations of the Mòcheno/Bernstol Cultural Institute, and there has been a growing interest in language revitalization and protection (Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019). There has been a fair number of language planning projects and activities undertaken in the Mòcheno communities, with backing of the Trentino-South Tyrol regional government. It has led to the development of a normative grammar (Rowley 2003), dictionaries (cf, Hofer 2004, and *S kloa' be. be., s kloa' bersntoler beirterpuach* = *Piccolo vocabolario mòcheno* = *Das kleine Fersentaler Wörterbuch, Palù del Fersina, Istituto culturale mòcheno*. 2009 with the online edition freely available at <http://kib.ladintal.it/>), language education books (Cognola 2016) for Mòcheno language courses, and the online magazine *Lem*¹ which features local stories and histories, in Mòcheno, Italian and German (Coluzzi 2005).

The official protection of minority languages in Italy led to a development of an orthography, which was used as part of the development of official signage in Mòcheno as well as language teaching materials in an effort to promote language teaching in local schools and centers. While Mòcheno has always primarily been used orally, historically the language has been written down, applying either the Italian or the German spelling conventions in doing so. Designing the Mòcheno orthography has not been without its challenges. In the 1950's Giacomo Hofer frequently applied a spelling which abounded with diacritics, and a 1992 orthography as proposed by the Cultural Institute '*Puechstömmen ver 'n bersntolerisch*' 'Spelling for Mòcheno' proved not to be exhaustive (Rowley 2003:24). An official orthography for Mòcheno was proposed in the grammar by Rowley (2003), which aimed to settle on a single spelling for all varieties of Mòcheno. While it was recognized that the acknowledgment of local variation and site-specific features was important, for the purpose of being able to provide teaching materials in Mòcheno in school settings, a unified grammar was needed. The result was Rowley's (2003) grammar, which is a normative, strongly regulated grammar, but supplied with plentiful notes on local peculiarities and variation, and adhering to certain practicalities, e.g. it only uses signs which are present on the Italian keyboard (e.g. barring the use of ß). The proposed system has not been without critique, for a more elaborate discussion on Mòcheno orthography, see Alber 2012 and Brünger 2015.

This dissertation is as faithful as possible to the standard Mòcheno orthography and its spelling conventions, except for cases where there is a clear discrepancy between the form used by the VinKo participant and what is seen as the 'standard' form. The VinKo data stems from a single location: Palù del Fersina. The sections dedicated to Mòcheno spelling in Rowley's grammar (2003:34-101) indicate that Palù noticeably differs from the other Mòcheno varieties in a few ways which could pose problems for the proposed spelling conventions. The Palù variety has centralization of many of its vowels, which can be represented orthographically with <ö>, for certain words which in other varieties are spelled with <i>, <e> or <o> (Rowley 2003:32). For most of the transcriptions, it was decided to stick to the standard transcription, and to treat the centralization of the vowel as a predictable feature. Only in a single case, it was decided to pick the known Palù

¹ Available at the website of the cultural institute, <https://www.bersntol.it/Risorse/Rivista-LEM/Lem-n.-27>

variant, *nia'met* ‘no one’, (as opposed to standard *nea'met*), as it was noted that this spelling is preferred by some speakers (Rowley 2003:52).

- (66) *De mias =de di anet èssn. De mias nia'met va nens èssn*
 DEM.F must =2SG.ACC 2SG.ACC also_not eat DEM.F must no_one of 1PL.DAT eat
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_mhn_U0585)
 “She must not eat you either. She mustn’t eat any of us!”

For the most part, Mòcheno spelling is in line with Italian and German orthographic conventions. There are some exceptions. The German convention of capitalizing nouns is not followed, in favor of the Italian spelling conventions of not capitalizing them. The lexemes <ch> and <g> are pronounced the German way, as respectively [x] and [g], and [ʃ] is spelled in the German fashion (<sch>) rather than Italian (<sc(i)>). Foreign to both standard language conventions is the use of an apostrophe to indicate nasalization of the preceding vowel (see (66)). It must also be noted that double consonants mark the preceding vowel as being short, and do not ever signify the presence of geminate consonants, as is also the case in standard German.

For a complete overview of the orthography of Mòcheno please refer to table A.1 on page 214 in appendix A.

8.2 Pronominal system

This chapter provides an overview of the pronominal system of the Mòcheno as attested in the VinKo data for the location of Palù del Fersina. Like many related Bavarian language varieties, Mòcheno has two sets of pronouns; stressed and unstressed clitic forms (Rowley 2003), for an overview of the full pronominal paradigm, see table 8.1. The forms in the tables shaded in grey have not been attested in the VinKo data set, and have instead been taken from the available literature (Rowley 2010).

		1SG	2SG	3SG		
				M	F	N
SG	NOM	i	du	er	si	-
		=e	=o	=er	=sa	=s
	ACC	mi	di	im	si	-
		=me	=de	=en	=sa	=s
	DAT	en miar	en diar	en im	en sir	-
		=mer	=der	=en	=en	=en
PL	NOM	biar	ir	sei		
		=der,ber	=er	=se		
	ACC	ins	enk	sei		
		=ens	=enk	=sa		
	DAT	en ins	en enk	en sei		
		=ens	=enk	=en		

Table 8.1: Pronominal paradigm of Palù Mòcheno

The weak forms are found very commonly in combination with the strong forms, as Mòcheno

‘pleonastic’ pronouns (Rowley 2003:262-4) (for example see (66) above), which are very actively used in the language and which represents to a large measure the clitic pronominal system. In sentences with pleonastic pronouns, the subject or the object can be marked multiple times, given particular circumstances. Regardless of gender, the pleonastic pronoun *s* is used wherever the noun is at the end of the phrase and there is nothing preceding the verb, or when there is an empty subject. When the subject is animate, especially a human, and is placed for emphasis either at the beginning or the end of the phrase, the pleonastic pronoun can be used, in which case it is sensitive to gender (67-a). Also personal pronouns are accentuated in this way of repetition, in the position responding to an atonic pronoun, both in main clauses and secondary clauses (67-b). This use of pleonastic pronouns is a common pattern throughout the VinKo dataset (67-c).

- (67) a. *der ist an rèchtn pauer nou er aa*
 ‘He also is still a good farmer.’ (Rowley 2003:264, English translation mine)
- b. *tua s sèll as e der i so*
 ‘Do what I told you to do.’ (Rowley 2003:264, English translation mine)
- c. *Ir sait glickle as si hòt =enk nèt tsechen enk*
 2PL.NOM are lucky that 3SG.F.NOM has =2PL.ACC not seen 2PL.ACC
 (Palù del Fersina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_mhn_U0585)
 “You (PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see **you** (PL) too.”

8.2.1 Singular pronouns

The singular pronominal paradigm has retained most case distinctions, see table 8.2, whose strong pronouns are replicated here from table 8.1 for convenience.

	1SG	2SG	3SG		
			M	F	N
NOM	i	du	er	si	-
	=e	=o	=er	=sa	=s
ACC	mi	di	im	si	-
	=me	=de	=en	=sa	=s
DAT	en miar	en diar	en im	en sir	-
	=mer	=der	=en	=en	=en

Table 8.2: Singular pronouns in Mòcheno

The first and second person singular retain the three-way distinction of nominative-accusative-dative case. The first person singular has a stressed nominative form in *i* (68-a), the accusative form in *mi* (68-b) and a dative form in *miar* (68-c). The dative is also obligatorily marked with the preposition *en*, refer to section 8.2.3 for a more in-depth discussion of the dative case. The weak clitics also have a three-way split according to case, in *=e*, *=me*, and *=mer*.

- (68) a. *I hòn =de nèt sechen òrbeten, i hòn =sa lai*
 1SG.NOM have =2SG.ACC not see work 1SG.NOM have =3SG.F.ACC only
si òrbeten sechen
 3SG.F.ACC work see

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_mhn_U0585)

“I haven’t see you work, I have only seen her work.”

- b. *Èss =en nèt im, èss =me mi. I pin bolten*
eat =3SG.M.ACC not 3SG.M.ACC eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am very
dick-er abia er.
fat-MORE than 3SG.M.NOM

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_mhn_U0585)

“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!”

- c. *Benns =o =n gibst de picks en im, en*
when =2SG.NOM =3SG.DAT give DEF.F.SG.ACC gun(F) DAT 3SG.DAT DAT
miar bos ges =o =mer?
1SG.DAT what give =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_mhn_U0585)

“If you give the gun to him, what do you give to me?”

The second person singular has a similar paradigm, with stressed pronouns in the nominative case *du* (69-a), in the accusative *di* (69-c) and *der* (69-d) in the dative. The clitic forms are *=o* (69-b), *=di* (69-c) and *=der* (69-e) respectively, also retaining three distinct case forms.

- (69) a. *‘Tua du’ sòk =se de failen diarn en de*
do 2SG.NOM says =3SG.F.NOM DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT
sèll braf, ont de doi hilft den pa’m ont schittlt
DEM obedient and DEF.SG.F.NOM DEM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes
=en
=3SG.M.ACC

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_mhn_U0585)

‘ “You do it,” says the lazy girl to the diligent one and she helps the tree and shakes it.’

- b. *Benns =o =n gibst de picks en im, en*
when =2SG.NOM =3SG.DAT give DEF.F.SG.ACC gun(F) DAT 3SG.DAT DAT
miar bos ges =o =mer?
1SG.DAT what give =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_mhn_U0585)

“If you give the gun to him, what do you give to me?”

- c. *De mias de di anet èssn. De mias nia’met va nens*
DEM.F must =2SG.ACC 2SG.ACC also_not eat DEM.F must no_one of 1PL.DAT
èssn
eat

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_mhn_U0585)

“She shouldn’t eat you either! She shouldn’t eat any of us!”

- d. *‘Iaz trèfft =s en dir’ sòk =se de braf*
now falls_to =3SG.N.NOM DAT 2SG.DAT says =3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.F.NOM diligent
diarn en de sèll faul ober si hilft nèt en
girl(F) DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT DEM lazy but 3SG.F.NOM not help DEF.SG.N.DAT
proat.
bread(N)

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_mhn_U0585)

“‘Now it’s your turn,” says the good girl to the lazy one, but she does not help the bread.’

- e. *Der jagerer hòt =er =der gem de picks?*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has =3SG.M.NOM =2SG.DAT give DEF.SG.F.ACC gun(F)
Miar nèt, ober en im bol.
 1SG.DAT not but DAT 3SG.M.DAT indeed

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_mhn_U0585)

“‘Has the hunter given you the gun?’” “‘Not me, but to him he did.’”

The third person singular pronouns come in three distinct genders; masculine, feminine and neuter. The masculine has a two-way nominative-oblique distinction, with the nominative in *er* (70-a) and both accusative (70-b) and dative (70-c) in *im*, the historic dative. The clitics have the same syncretism pattern, but with the nominative form in *=er* and an oblique form in *=en*, (70-c), the historic accusative form.

- (70) a. *Alura er nimmt de picks ont teated de hècks*
 so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.F.SG.ACC gun(F) and kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_mhn_U0585)
 ‘So he takes the gun and kills the witch.’
- b. *Èss =en nèt im, èss =me mi. I pin bolten*
 eat =3SG.M.ACC not 3SG.M.ACC eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am very
dick-er abia er.
 fat-MORE than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Palù del Fersina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_mhn_U0585)
 “‘Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!’”
- c. *Benns =o =n gibst de picks en im, en*
 when =2SG.NOM =3SG.DAT give DEF.F.SG.ACC gun(F) DAT 3SG.DAT DAT
miar bos ges =o =mer?
 1SG.DAT what give =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_mhn_U0585)
 “‘If you give the gun to him, what do you give to me?’”

The third person singular feminine has a different pattern, with a nominative and accusative syncretism, in opposition to a distinct dative form of the pronoun. The feminine nominative (71-a) and accusative (71-b) form is *si* in opposition to the dative form *sir* (71-c), which is a merged form between the historic dative *ir* and the nom-acc form *si*. The clitic system has a similar distribution with nominative and accusative, (71-b), in *=sa* and a dative form in *=en* (Rowley 2010.)

- (71) a. *Der jagerer sòk en de hècks za hòltn =se au ont*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DAT DEF.F.SG witch(F) to hold =3.REFL up and
si probiart za =n verhècksn =en
 3SG.F.NOM tries to =3SG.M.ACC enchant =3SG.M.ACC
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_mhn_U0585)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to hex him.’
- b. *I hòn de nèt sechen òrbeten, i hòn =sa lai*
 1SG.NOM have =2SG.ACC not see work 1SG.NOM have =3SG.F.ACC only

si òrbeten sechen

3SG.F.ACC work see

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_mhn_U0585)

“I haven’t see you work, I have only seen her work.”

- c. *Ober der pa’m hòt pfrok en enk peada, nèt lai en*
but DEF.M.SG.NOM tree(M) has asked DAT 2PL.DAT both not just DAT

sir

3SG.F.DAT

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_mhn_U0585)

“But the tree asked both of you, not just her!”

The neuter gender does not have full pronominal forms (Rowley 2010), so is instead restricted to the clitic system. It has a syncretism pattern like the feminine gender, with a merger of the nominative (72-a) and accusative case (72-b) in *=s* with dative form in *=(e)n* (72-c).

- (72) a. *Dòra kemmen se ka an ouven as =en schrain tuat ‘schiast*
then arrive =3PL.NOM at a oven(M) that =3PL.DAT yelling does take

heraus s= proat s= ist parogat’

out DEF.SG.N.ACC= bread(N) 3SG.N.NOM is ready

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_mhn_U0585)

“Then they arrive at an oven which shouts to them: “Take out the bread, it is ready!”

- b. *S haus is òlt ont de kinder vinn =es schriklech*
DEF.SG.N.NOM house is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find =3SG.N.ACC scary

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_mhn_U0585)

“The house is old and the children find it scary.”

- c. *‘Guat, i hilfe =n i,’ sòk =se de*
good 1SG.NOM help =3SG.N.DAT FirstSG.NOM says =3SG.F.NOM DEF.F.SG.NOM
braf diarn ont nimmp =s proat aus =en ouven
good girl(F) and takes =DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) from =DEF.M.SG.DAT oven(M)

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_mhn_U0585)

“‘Alright, I will help it,” says the diligent girl and she takes the bread from the oven.”

8.2.2 Plural pronouns

The plural paradigm is more reduced in overt case marking in comparison with the singular forms. There is only a nominative case versus oblique case distinctions, and in the case of third plural all inflectional case distinctions have been lost. As with the singular strong pronouns, the dative case is obligatorily marked with prepositionally with *en*. The weak pronouns of the third plural still have dative case marking.

The plural pronouns, similar to other varieties in the region (Tyrolean discussed above in chapter 7, and Cimbrian and Trentino in the following chapter 9 and 10 respectively), may take an additional element in *ònder* ‘other’, which adds more weight to the pronoun and might be used to provide emphasis (Rowley 2010 :180). However, for the Palù VinKo data, there are no instances of this.

The first plural has a singular form in **biar** (73-a), and a syncretism of the accusative (73-b) and dative form (73-c) in *ins*. The clitic system is much similar with a nominative in either *=der* or

	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	biar	ir	sei
	=der,ber	=er	=se
ACC	ins	enk	sei
	=ens	=enk	=sa
DAT	en ins	en enk	en sei
	=ens	=enk	=en

Table 8.3: Plural pronouns in Mòcheno

=ber (Rowley 2010), and accusative and dative clitics in =ens, respectively (73-b) and (73-c).

- (73) a. *Biar sai' pflouchen, ober sei hòt =se =sa pòckt*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM has =3SG.F.NOM =3PL.ACC captured
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_mhn_U0585)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured.”
- b. *De hècks hòt =se s=ens aa tsechen? Na,*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) has =3SG.F.NOM EXPL=1PL.ACC also seen no
ins nèt, ober sei dert bol.
 1PL.ACC not but 3PL.ACC there indeed
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_mhn_U0585)
 “Has the witch also seen us?” “No, not us, but them there yes.”
- c. *De jager hòt =ens a picks en ins geben, ober nèt*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =1PL.DAT a gun(M) DAT 1PL.DAT give but not
en sei, sei sai' nou za kloa'
 DAT 3PL.DAT 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_mhn_U0585)
 “The hunter has only given us a gun, not them. They are still too small.”

The second plural has the identical pattern to the first plural, with a distinct nominative case form in **i(a)r** (74-a), clitic form =er, and a syncretism of the accusative (74-a) and dative form (74-b) in *enk*, clitic form =enk.

- (74) a. *Ir sait glickle as si hòt =enk nèt tsechen enk*
 2PL.NOM are lucky that 3SG.F.NOM has =2PL.ACC not seen 2PL.ACC
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_mhn_U0585)
 “You (PL) have been lucky that she didn't see you(PL) too.”
- b. *Ober der pa'm hòt pfrok en enk peada, nèt lai en*
 but DEF.M.SG.NOM tree(M) has asked DAT 2PL.DAT both not just DAT
sir
 3SG.F.DAT
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_mhn_U0585)
 “But the tree asked both of you, not just her!”

The third plural is completely leveled, with a single form *sei* marking the nominative (75-a), the accusative (75-b) and the dative (75-a). In the clitic system, the distinct dative is preserved as =(e)n, in opposition to the nominative and accusative =sa clitic.

- (75) a. *De jager hòt =ens a picks en ins geben, ober nèt*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =1PL.DAT a gun(M) DAT 1PL.DAT give but not
en sei, sei sai' nou za kloa'
 DAT 3PL.DAT 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_mhn_U0585)
 “The hunter has only given us a gun, not them. They are still too small.”
- b. *Biar sai' pflouchen, ober sei hòm =se =sa pòckt*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.ACC has =3SG.F.NOM =3PL.ACC captured
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_mhn_U0585)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured.”

8.2.3 Discussion

There is only one variety of Mòcheno attested in VinKo, which means that local variation cannot be accounted for within the present data set. However, there are numerous modern sources on different varieties of Mòcheno, which help shed light on the expected variation and evaluate the VinKo data with previous sources.

Based on the available grammars (Rowley 2010) and 2015 data from the Roveda (Eichleit/Oachlait) variety of Mòcheno collected through the AThEME project (Rabanus 2018b), for the third person singular in the masculine and feminine gender, it can be concluded that while there is some internal variation in Mòcheno, for a major part the paradigms are similar or identical to the VinKo data, see table 8.4. The most variation is the third person singular feminine dative form, which is found in the forms *si*, *ir*, and *sir*. *Ir* is the historic dative form and maintains the opposition to the nominative/accusative form *si*. This opposition is maintained when using *sir*, but the form itself is built along with the ACC+*r* template of the first and second person singular dative forms. Case leveling has taken place in the varieties which use *si* in the dative case, and this creates symmetry between the third singular feminine and third plural patterns.

	3SG.M		3SG.F		3PL	
	<i>strong</i>	<i>weak</i>	<i>strong</i>	<i>weak</i>	<i>strong</i>	<i>weak</i>
NOM	er	er	si	se, sa	sei	sa, se
ACC	im	(e)n	si	sa	sei	sa, se
DAT	im	(e)n,	in si, ir (Roveda), sir (Palù)	(e)n	sei, sein	(e)n

Table 8.4: Third person pronominal forms in different varieties of Mòcheno, as attested in Rowley (2010:125-126) and Rabanus (2018)

The most notable part of the system is the dative case, which is consistently marked with the preposition *en* (also *in*). This obligatory pattern of dative marking with a preposition was previously noted for Roveda Mòcheno (Rabanus 2018b; Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli 2014), and is also a known phenomena of Giazza Cimbrian (discussed in more detail in the following chapter, in section 9.2.1, and cf. Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli 2012), and other German varieties, including the Bavarian ones (Seiler 2003). While the paradigms in Rowley (2010) do not include the preposition in the tables, he does describe the dative case as being the ‘prepositional’ case. Rowley does state that the only part of the language in which the dative might occur without prepositional support is the pronominal system (2010:158), but data shows that this is rarely the case, if ever. With

exception of the first and second singular (and third person feminine in some varieties) distinct dative, the syncretism of the accusative and dative full pronouns in the other persons leaves only the prepositional dative marker to disambiguate between the accusative and the dative forms.

8.3 Definite Articles

Definite articles are used to signal known concepts, either already noted, know from the textual context, or in the general knowledge. It is also used in front of proper names, a common feature in both the Romance and Germanic varieties spoken in the region (Rowley 2003:148-150, 159). The definite articles in Mòcheno are used in quite a similar manner to Italian, which means that they also appear in front of possessives and demonstratives and in locational prepositional phrases they may be omitted (contrary to standard German). The following table 8.5 provides an overview of the definite articles attested for Palù in the VinKo data. There is little case marking in the system, with the masculine and neuter articles retaining a distinct dative case whereas the feminine form has merged into a single form across all three cases.

	M	F	N
NOM	der	de	s
ACC			
DAT	en	en de	en

Table 8.5: Definite articles in Palù Mòcheno

The masculine singular definite article has a syncretism of the nominative (76-a) and accusative (76-b) case in the form *der* in opposition to a distinct dative form *en* (76-c).

- (76) a. *Der jagerer hòt =er =der gem de picks?*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has =3SG.M.NOM =2SG.DAT give DEF.SG.F.ACC gun(F)
Miar nèt, ober en im bol.
 1SG.DAT not but DAT 3SG.M.DAT indeed
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_mhn_U0585)
 ‘‘Has the hunter given you the gun?’’ ‘‘Not me, but him yes.’’
- b. *De lait van dorf padònken der jagerer*
 DEF.PL.NOM people of village thank DEF.SG.M.ACC
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_mhn_U0585)
 ‘‘The villagers thank the hunter.’’
- c. *‘Tua du’ sòk =se de failen diarn en de*
 do 2SG.NOM says =3SG.F.NOM DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT
sèll braf, ont de doi hilft en pa’m ont schittlt
 DEM obedient and DEF.SG.F.NOM DEM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes
 =en
 =3SG.M.ACC
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_mhn_U0585)
 ‘‘‘You do it,’ says the lazy girl to the diligent one and she helps the tree and shakes it.’

The feminine singular article in Palù has lost all case distinction and has a single marker *de* for the nominative (77-a), accusative (77-b), and dative (77-c) case. In the dative case, it is preceded by the prepositional dative marker *en*.

- (77) a. *‘Tua du’ sòk =se de failen diarn en de*
do 2SG.NOM says =3SG.F.NOM DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT
sèll braf, ont de doi hilft en pa’m ont schittlt
DEM obedient and DEF.SG.F.NOM DEM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes
= *en*
=3SG.M.ACC
(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_mhn_U0585)
‘“You do it,” says the lazy girl to the diligent one and she helps the tree and shakes it.’
- b. *Alura er nimmt de picks ont teated de hècks*
so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.F.SG.ACC gun(F) and kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_mhn_U0585)
‘So he takes the gun and kills the witch.’
- c. *Der jagerer sòk en de hècks za hòltn se au ont*
DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DAT DEF.F.SG witch(F) to hold =3.REFL up and
si probiart za =n verhècksn =en
3SG.F.NOM tries to =3SG.M.ACC enchant =3SG.M.ACC
(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_mhn_U0585)
‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to hex him.’

The neuter article has a paradigm similar to the masculine gender, with a single form *s* for the nominative (78-a) and accusative (78-b), and a distinct dative form in *en* (78-c).

- (78) a. *S haus is òlt ont de kinder vinn =es schriklech*
DEF.SG.N.NOM house is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find =3SG.N.ACC scary
(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_mhn_U0585)
‘The house is old and the children find it scary.’
- b. *Dòra kemmen se ka an ouven as =en schrain tuat ‘schiast*
then arrive =3PL.NOM at a oven(M) that =3PL.DAT yelling does take
heraus s= proat s= ist paroat’
out DEF.SG.N.ACC= bread(N) 3SG.N.NOM is ready
(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_mhn_U0585)
‘Then they arrive at an oven which shouts to them: “Take out the bread, it is ready!”
- c. *‘Iaz trèfft =s en dir’ sòk =se de braf*
now touches =3SG.N.ACC DAT 2SG.DAT says =3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.F.NOM good
diarn en de sèll faul ober si hilft nèt en
girl(F) DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT DEM lazy but 3SG.F.NOM not help DEF.SG.N.DAT
proat.
bread(N)
(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_mhn_U0585)
‘“Now it’s your turn,” says the good girl to the lazy one, but she does not help the bread.’

The paradigm found in the VinKo data is identical to the description of the definite articles found for Palù in (Rowley 2010:108-109). There is some degree of local variation in the definite article system, which points to a diachronic development towards the simplification of the paradigm. The Roveda (Eichleit) system has preserved a more complex paradigm compared to Palù. In Roveda the feminine article still has a distinct dative form *inder* (Rowley 2010:108-109) and the masculine article is attested to have a syncretism of the accusative and dative case in *en* with a distinct nominative case in *der*, resulting in a different syncretism pattern from the other Mòcheno varieties (see 8.6). Rowley (2010:109) refers to these alternative patterns as being 'archaic' and only still actively in use in Roveda amongst older speakers, and that in elicitation they are not always found.

	M	F	N
NOM	der	de	(e)s
ACC	en		
DAT		der	en

Table 8.6: Definite articles in Roveda Mòcheno (Rowley 2003:148)

According to Rowley (2010:158), all prepositions should be followed by the dative case forms², see (79).

- (79) *pet 'n Röss*
 'mit dem Pferd' 'with the horse' (Rowley 2010:158)

The reverse appears to be true as well, as all dative cases are preceded by the prepositional dative marker. The prepositional dative marker *en*, discussed above for the pronominal system, is also found in the definite article paradigm as would be expected. It can only be seen for the feminine gender since both the masculine and neuter have the dative article in *en*. Mòcheno does not allow for the double occurrence of *en*, in which cases one of the forms is deleted (Rowley 2010), e.g. *en en pa'm* 'to the tree' is reduced to *en pa'm* '(to) the tree'.

8.4 Summary and discussion

The pronominal system of Mòcheno is composed of a strong and weak form system, which are frequently used in combination. The first and second person singular have three distinct case forms in both the weak and the strong forms, whereas the third person is more reduced. The feminine and neuter both have a nominative and accusative merger in opposition to a distinct dative form. The masculine gender has a nominative versus oblique case opposition, in the historic dative case for the strong pronouns and in the historic accusative form in the weak system. A syncretism mismatch between the strong and weak form paradigms is also attested for some Tyrolean varieties (see chapter 7). The plural pronominal pattern is similar to the one found in Western Tyrolean

²Occasionally, there are also prepositions followed by what appears to be an accusative form. However, Rowley (2010:158) argues that these instances are not representative of the use of the accusative case, but represent the leveling of the case system in its entirety by speakers. He argues that since the feminine and plural articles have already merged into a single form, some speakers have extended this leveling also into the masculine and neuter articles (particularly neuter), resulting in the use of the nominative/accusative form in the dative domain.

varieties, which also see a syncretism of the accusative and dative form, and a complete leveling of the third plural into a single form in which the dative is marked only by prepositional dative.

Prepositional dative marking in Mòcheno appears to be similar to but more widespread than in Giazza Cimbrian. In Lusérn Cimbrian prepositional dative marking is not commonly produced (at least not in the pronominal paradigm, Rabanus 2018b), but in the Giazza variety it appears in a manner similar to Mòcheno on pronouns but is absent on definite articles. In Mòcheno both the pronominal and definite article systems appear to (obligatorily) mark dative cases with the prepositional dative *en*.

The definite article system of Palù Mòcheno is currently a fully symmetric system. The nominative/accusative syncretism is used across the board, regardless of gender or number. This symmetry is due to a shift in case patterning in the masculine gender, which historically had an accusative/dative syncretism.

9. Cimbrian

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Figure 9.1: Cimbrian locations surveyed in VinKo

9.1 Introduction

Cimbrian is a Germanic minority language from South Bavarian descent spoken in the border area between the region of Veneto and the province of Trento. Historically Cimbrian speakers came from the areas of West-Tyrol and Upper Bavaria in the 11th to 12th century, first settling the planes above Verona in the area known as the XIII Municipalities, and later spreading across a large section of the higher planes (including those above Vicenza in the VII Municipalities) and the Lessine Alps (Rabanus 2018a:56-57). Nowadays, the language is classified as ‘definitely endangered’ (Moseley 2010) and only spoken in some capacity in three distinct areas, each of which has its own dialect variety of Cimbrian.

The largest group of Cimbrian speakers can be found in the province of Trento, in the village of Lusérn (it. Luserna) where there are 238 speakers of Cimbrian. At 85%, they form the majority of the population of Lusérn. Another 834 speakers are reported for the rest of the province of Trento, a large part of which are found in the historic *Magnifica Comunità degli Altipiani Cimbri* (Folgaria, Lavarone, Luserna), but there are in total 27 municipalities in Trento where at least 5 Cimbrian speakers reside according to the census done by the region in 2014 (Provincia Autonoma di Trento 2014:3,6). It must be noted that these numbers could be an inflation of the actual numbers of speakers (for discussion on the census data for Cimbrian and Mòcheno see Alber 2015:20). It could be assumed that an estimate of around 300 speakers in Lusérn, with another 600 living in the rest of the Trento province is probably accurate (Schöntag and Linzmeier 2021:6). The Lusérn Cimbrian variety has a still active speech community, with a decent measure of active transmission of the language to the younger generation and it is the language used on a daily basis within the community at least in some domains (Coluzzi 2005). Due to the official recognition of Cimbrian as a minority language in the province of Trento, the community has significant institutional support, which translates into a variety of cultural and linguistic programs being offered at most educational levels within the community. In between the census of 2001 and 2011 the number of Lusérn Cimbrian speakers dropped somewhat (from 267 speakers in 2006 (Provincia Autonoma di Trento 2006) to 238 in 2014 (Provincia Autonoma di Trento 2014:6)), but with increasing materials and teachers for language teaching at the earliest levels of education and increased interest and development of the language Coluzzi 2005), there is reason for optimism for at least its short-term survival.

The Cimbrian communities located in the Veneto region, the VII Municipalities¹ (abbrev. VII Com.) in the province of Vicenza and the XIII Municipalities² (abbrev. XIII Com.) in the province of Verona, have been less fortunate, lacking the consistent regional support that the Lusérn variety benefits from and lacking an active speaker community. Both varieties are classified as either ‘critically endangered’ or ‘moribund’, and commonly disregarded as viable speech communities. In the XIII Municipalities, the remaining speakers are only found in a single location; the village of Giazza (cimb. Ljètzan) located in the municipality of Selva di Progno. The census from 2011 only counts 19 active speakers in Giazza (in the age range of 65-91 years old), with around 44

¹The seven municipalities are Asiago (cimb. Sleege), Enego (cimb. Gèneve), Foza (cimb. Vüutsche), Gallio (cimb. Gèlle), Lusiana (cimb. Lusaan), Roana (cimb. Robaan), and Rotzo (cimb. Rotz).

²The historic municipalities are the following, today consolidated into eight municipalities (those marked with a star no longer distinct municipalities): Velo Veronese (cimb. Vellje), Roverè Veronese (cimb. Roveràit), *Valdiporro (cimb. Porrental), *Azzarino (cimb. Asarin), *Camposilvano (cimb. Kampsilvan), Selva di Progno (cimb. Brunghe), Badia Calavena (cimb. kam’ Àbato), San Mauro di Saline (cimb. Salàin), Bosco Chiesanuova (cimb. Nuagankirchen), *Tavernole, Cerro Velonese (cimb. kame Cire), Erbezzo (cimb. gen Wiese), and *San Bartolomeo (cimb. Bòrtolom).

passive speakers (between 45 and 85 years of age), and a majority of Giazza residents (88 people) do not understand the language at all. Cimbrian is no longer used as the daily language in Giazza, and of the 19 active speakers only 6 use the language within the family (Stringher 2012:35). This is roughly in line with findings from fieldwork undertaken in the period of 2009-2011 by Alber (2015:20-21) who estimated the number of active speakers around 10 with an average age of 70. Even more dire is the situation for VII Com. Cimbrian. In the VII Municipalities, Alber (2015:20-21) only found two speakers in Roana (both aged over 90). The VII Com. were founded in 1216 (Stringher 2012:37), and have the oldest historic attestations of a Cimbrian written tradition (Rabanus 2018a:58). Nowadays only a handful of elderly speakers and a few younger speakers are reported (Stringher 2012:37). The VII Municipalities have an active cultural institute, providing language activities and courses as well as an online dictionary (*Dizionario - Bóartpuuch*), and a Cimbrian choir and folk group. It is also generally seen as the most conservative of the Cimbrian varieties, e.g. preserving Old High German final atonic vowels (Panieri 2010:32).

The VinKo data currently contains four questionnaires of Cimbrian, of which two completed and two partially completed. The completed questionnaires both come from the Lusérn Cimbrian variety and concern relatively young speakers at 30 and 32 years old. The remaining two questionnaires are from Giazza (XIII Com. Cimbrian) and Asiago (VII Com. Cimbrian) and have both only been completed partially, meaning that there are some gaps in the collected paradigms for these varieties. These speakers are both in their sixties and represent an older generation of speakers. Both the Giazza and the Asiago Cimbrian communities are considered as severely endangered speech communities, with very few speakers left and little active use of the language within the local life. This is also reflected in their answers to the sociolinguistic section in which both indicated that while they consider themselves proficient speakers, neither uses the language on a regular basis nor do they use the language in the family.

9.1.1 Sociolinguistics

All Cimbrian speakers are bilingual in Italian and/or the local Romance dialect, e.g. Central Trentino, Veronese, or High Vicentino. Historically, the italianization program during the Fascist period and the resettlement of German-speaking populations from Italian territories has led to a marginalization of the linguistic minorities in the regions. Nowadays, many Cimbrian speakers emigrate to other communities for work, which has led to a decline in the Cimbrian speaker populations. The language is under heavy pressure from the standard language Italian, which is the schooling language, and local or regional high prestige dialects which are spoken in the surrounding areas (Tyroller 2003:7). The recent decades have seen increasing interest in the stimulation, promotion, and teaching of Cimbrian, and there have been many active initiatives aimed at the revitalization and promotion of continuity of the language (Coluzzi 2005). Since the 482/99 law of 1999, concerning the protection of historic linguistic minorities, there has been official recognition on a national and regional level of Italian minority languages, including Cimbrian. Official recognition has made government funding available and has allowed for the set-up of language courses, publications, and as well as playing a role in creating a stronger presence in daily life and official signage in the Cimbrian areas (Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019).

The development of teaching materials, written literature, and local toponomastic street signs in Cimbrian created the need for a normative and standardized spelling of the language. Cimbrian, or perhaps more precisely, Lusérn Cimbrian begot an official orthography in 2006 with the publication

of the normative grammar by Panieri et al (2006). Since Lusérn Cimbrian is the only variety still actively spoken today, it needed an orthography most acutely. However, the three different varieties of Cimbrian are sufficiently different to cause problems in adopting a single spelling, particularly one based exclusively on a single variety. Even within the speech community in Lusérn the orthography was controversial and led to added notes to it in 2009 and an ongoing debate on certain lexemes and their uses, e.g. <s> and <z>, cf. Bidese 2015.

In order to respect the spelling conventions for each variety, the orthography used to represent Lusérn Cimbrian, VII Com. Cimbrian, and XIII Com. Cimbrian will all be slightly different. For a large part, the spelling conventions adopted are identical and closely linked to standard Italian or to High German, in the case of phonemes foreign to Italian (e.g. <ch> [x]). For a full account of the used spelling, please refer to table A.2 at page 215 in appendix A.

The transcription of the examples is done in line with the conventions of each variety. For the Lusérn Cimbrian examples, this means that the proposed spelling in Panieri et al. (2006) has been adopted, supplied with the spelling used in the online dictionary of Lusérn Cimbrian (*Zimbarbort*). In the case of the Giazza (XIII Com.) Cimbrian data, the used references are a publication on the spelling and grammar of Giazza *Tautsch: puox tze Lirnan Reidan un Scraiban iz Gareida on Ljetzan* ‘Tauc: a book for learning to speak and write the language of Giazza’ (Cappelletti 1942b)³ and Rapelli’s grammar (2016). While *Tautf* (Cappelletti 1942a) provides good sources for lexicon and grammar, the currently used spelling⁴ in Giazza is better reflected by the grammar by Rapelli (2016) and the dictionary by Bulgarelli (2007), which includes both modern spellings and older forms. This spelling is also used in language materials created for Giazza, e.g. children’s vocabulary (Patuzzi 2008). For the most part, the spelling is consistent with Italian spelling conventions, the exceptions are represented in table A.2. While for the most part, the spelling reflects the pronunciation, some forms are more part of the tradition than a reflection of modern pronunciation, e.g. <pf> for /f/ or the double <zz> for /s/. The transcription of the Asiago (VII Com.) Cimbrian data has been adopted from the language teaching book by Bidese (2001) and the online resources found at the website of Cimbri7comuni and their online dictionary.

The differences between the transcriptions are for the most part small. The Giazza spelling tends to be more faithful to the phonetic realization of items, than the Lusérn and Asiago Cimbrian spelling. For example, the word ‘not’ (DE: *nicht*, IT: *non*), which in Lusérn and the VII Com. is spelled as *nicht* (cf. *Dizionario - Bóartpuuch*; Nicolussi Golo, Nicolussi, and Panieri 2014), is in Giazza consistently spelled as *nist* /nist/, due to the /s/ pronunciation preceding the /t/ (cf. *nast* for *nacht*, etc.) (Cappelletti 1942a:6). Cappelletti actually proposed to write the sound as <x>, as the alternation /s/ and /x/ is regular and can be predicted by its phonological environment (similar reasoning has been applied in the adoption of <ch> in Lusérn). However, the Giazza spelling conventions stick closer to the pronunciation, and as such have instead opted for <ch> for /x/ and <s> when pronounced /s/. The Lusérn and Asiago varieties have more possibilities for the marking of vowel quality, using diacritics for both open and closed vowels, corresponding to a wider range of attested vowels, e.g. ö [œ], ü [y] both missing in Giazza.

(80) a. *esl* ‘donkey’ (Lusérn, XIII Com.) - *ésel* ‘donkey’ (VII Com.)

³Available at <https://www.dcuci.univr.it/documenti/0ccorrenzaIns/matdid/matdid591930.pdf> in Italian translation *Tautf: Libro per imparare a parlare e a scrivere la parlata di Giazza*.

⁴Modern spelling avoids, in my opinion wisely, the use of *f* which is both difficult to type and to read, and the use of <x> which is a foreign letter to most speakers of Cimbrian and Italian.

- b. *taütsch* ‘German’ (Lusérn, VII Com.) - *tauć* ‘Giazza Cimbrian’ (XIII Com.)
- c. *ãdarz* ‘other’ (Lusérn) - *andar* ‘other’ (VII Com., XIII Com.)

While it was attempted to keep the spelling for each variety as correct and consistent as possible, the transcriptions are likely to contain some errors. Not all lexical items could always be found attested in the sources for a given variety, so they are occasionally taken from one of the other varieties if available there were not present in the Giazza sources (Rapelli 2016; Bulgarelli 2007), so instead had to be taken from either the online Lusern dictionary (Nicolussi Golo, Nicolussi, and Panieri 2014), the online VII Com. dictionary (*Dizionario - Bóartpuuch*) or the linguistic atlas of Cimbrian and Mòcheno (Schweizer and Rabanus 2012). For some items, there are multiple spellings attested. For example, ‘children’ is spelled as *brachan* (Patuzzi 2008:16; Bulgarelli 2007:44-5) or as *bracan* and *brake* (sg.) (Bulgarelli 2007:44-5). In this case, *brachan* was chosen as it was found in most sources.

9.1.2 Linguistic features and documentation

Cimbrian is from South-Bavarian descent, and its lexicon and phonology show both Bavarian and Alemannic features (Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019:1105), with Bavarian *Kennwörter* still present e.g. *erta* ‘Tuesday’, compare with German *Dienstag* (Tyroller 2003:10). Almost immediately after settlement in the region, the contact with the rest of the South Bavarian-speaking area was lost and Cimbrian underwent independent developments and innovations from the rest of the dialect group. Long-term and intensive contact with Romance speaking-neighbors has left its traces in the language, e.g. large-scale borrowing of lexicon (Rabanus, Bidese, and Dal Negro 2019:1105). Cimbrian has been the object of scientific study for a long time, with first investigations dating from 1838 and 1883-1884 (Schmeller 1838; Cipolla and Cipolla [1883-1884] 1979). Nowadays, there has been relative large amount of scientific attention for Cimbrian, with extensive grammar and lexicon descriptions (for example, see Schmeller 1838, Schmeller 1855, Bacher 1905, Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952], Schweizer and Rabanus 2012, Tyroller 2003, Kranzmayer 1981/1985 [1923]) and many recent publications on different grammatical aspects of Cimbrian, e.g. sonorisation and desonorisation (Alber 2015), pro-drop (Bidese and Tomaselli 2018) or complementizers (Padovan and Tomaselli 2018). Apart from the online resources provided by the cultural centres, online digitized linguistic data for all three varieties have been preserved by the digital Atlante Sintattico d’Italia (ASIt) (<http://asit.maldura.unipd.it/>), where linguistic data of the Cimbrian dialects are collected and annotated (Agosti et al., 2012; Di Nunzio and Rabanus, 2014).

9.2 Pronominal systems

Cimbrian has two types of pronouns: stressed pronouns and weak pronouns. Similar to Mòcheno (previous chapter, see section 8.2), the stressed forms are full pronouns, whereas their weak counterparts are clitics. VinKo contains data on all three varieties of Cimbrian (for more details see section 9.1). The available data are presented in this chapter, and where possible, the missing data has been supplied with the expected forms from other existing sources (primarily Rapelli 2016, Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952], and Bidese 2001). All forms which have not been attested in VinKo, but instead have been taken from an external source are shaded in light grey in the tables.

Sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.2 discuss the available data for the singular and the plural pronominal paradigms respectively. Section 9.4 discusses the resulting paradigms and highlights the differences and similarities between the different varieties of Cimbrian.

9.2.1 Singular pronouns

The singular pronouns are the paradigms that show the largest degree of case marking. In all three Cimbrian varieties, the first and second person singular possess distinct forms for the nominative, accusative and dative cases. In Asiago (VII Com.) Cimbrian, the third person singular masculine pronoun also maintains this three-way distinction, while Lusérn Cimbrian, like the Tyrolean varieties, has a syncretism of the accusative and dative case forms. The feminine pronoun has a nominative-accusative syncretism across all three varieties, and a similar pattern is found for the neuter gender, though data is limited for this gender. The Giazza data concerning the accusative case is problematic, as this variety does not commonly produce full pronouns in the accusative case, but is limited to the use of pronominal clitics.

		1SG	2SG	3SG		
				M	F	N
<i>Asiago (VII Com.)</i>	NOM	ich	du	ear	si	iz
	ACC	mich	dich	in		
	DAT	miar	diar	ime	iar	ime
<i>Giazza (XIII Com.)</i>	NOM	i	du	er	si	iz
	ACC	mi	di	in(j)	si, se	
		=pi	=di	=ni	=si	=z
	DAT	in miar	in diar	in ime	inj er	in ime
<i>Lusérn</i>	NOM	i	du	er	si	'z
	ACC	mi	di			
	DAT	miar	diar	ime	irn	imen

Table 9.1: Singular pronouns in Cimbrian, non-attested forms in grey

An overview of the pronominal patterns of singular pronouns in Cimbrian is presented above in table 9.1. The following sections discuss the content of the table in more detail, with each section being dedicated to a specific case, since there are some peculiarities in both the accusative and the dative case paradigms that benefit from being discussed together, rather than divided per person.

Nominative case

The nominative forms of the singular pronouns found in the Cimbrian varieties are quite similar across varieties. The first person singular has a surface form in *i* in Giazza (81-a) and Lusérn Cimbrian (81-b), and is has retained its final consonant in Asiago, resulting in *ich* (81-c).

- (81) a. **I** *gibe =dar* *mai schioupo tze vuotan =di*
 1SG.NOM give =2SG.DAT my gun(M) to protect =2SG.ACC
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0576)

- b. *I* *gì=dar* *moin sklopp zo schütza =de*
 1SG.NOM give=2SG.DAT my gun(M) to protect =2SG.ACC
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0620)
- c. *Ich* *gibe=dar* *in* *main püks zo dorbéeran dich*
 1SG.NOM give=2SG.DAT DEF.SG.M.DAT my gun(M) to protect 2SG.ACC
 (Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0661)
 “I give you my gun to protect yourself.”

In the second person singular, there is no difference among varieties, all sharing the form *du*, see examples in (82).

- (82) a. *Mo du* *gaist in* *schioupo inj ime* *baz gaist*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.SG.M.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M.DAT what give
=o *=par* *in miar*
 =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT DAT 1SG.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0576)
- b. *An du* *gist in* *püks ime* *baz gist du* *miar*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.SG.M.ACC gun(M) 3SG.M.DAT what give 2SG.NOM 1SG.DAT
 (Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0661)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”
- c. *tüast du* *khiit di* *faulenzenta diarn dar* *brafata*
 do 2SG.NOM says DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) DEF.SG.F.DAT obedient
diarn, un si *helft in* *albar un schüttln=se*
 girl(F) and 3SG.F.NOM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes=3SG.F
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_cim_U0620)
 ““You do it” says the lazy girl to the diligent one and she helps the tree and shakes it.”

Similar to the second person singular, there are no real differences across varieties in the third person. The masculine pronoun takes the form *er* in Giazza (83-a) and Lusérn (83-b) and is spelled as *ear* in the Asiago Cimbrian variety (83-c), but is pronounced the same as the Lusérn and Giazza realizations. The feminine gender pronoun is *si*, spelled and produced consistently across all three varieties, see example a-c in (84).

- (83) a. *Alora er* *lent au sai schioupo un er* *toat de*
 but 3SG.M.NOM take out his gun(M) and 3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
marascha
 witch(F)
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0576)
- b. *Also er* *nimp soin sklopp un töatet di* *hèkse*
 so 3SG.M.NOM take his gun(M) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F)
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0638)
 “But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.”
- c. *Izz nèt in,* *izz mich.* *I* *pin hèftikh grözzar dan ear*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0661)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”
- (84) a. *Sait muntar ke si* *hata nist gasest irandre*
 be happy that 3SG.F.NOM has not seen 2PL.ACC

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0576)

- b. *Dar hatt gehatt glükh ke si hat =az nèt gesek*
 2PL.NOM have had luck that 3SG.F.NOM has =2PL.ACC not seen

(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0620)

- c. *Ar sait galükhe az si hat nèt gaséghet oghàndare*
 2PL.NOM are lucky that 3SG.F.NOM has not seen 2PL.ACC

(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0661)

“You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you.”

The neuter nominative pronoun *’z* is only attested in the Lusérn variety (85). Based on the literature, the expected forms for the other varieties would be the same as a weak form in *’z* or a strong form in *iz*.

- (85) *Spetar rivan =se kan an pachovan, bo=da hokat ’ziagat auz*
 later arrive =3PL.NOM at a oven(M) that=3PL.ACC yells take out
’z proat, ’z iz gekhócht!’

DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) 3SG.N.NOM is cooked

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_cim_U0620)

‘Then they arrive at an oven, which calls to them: “Take the bread out, it is ready!”

Accusative case

Contrary to the nominative case, the accusative case marking displays a large degree of variation between the varieties. In Lusérn and Asiago Cimbrian full pronouns in accusative case are attested and actively produced throughout the questionnaire. In Giazza Cimbrian, we find almost no full pronouns, but instead a full set of clitic forms, which is in line with the reported pronominal forms in the accusative case by Rapelli’s grammar (2016:22).

When comparing the production of the first and second person singular accusative forms in Lusérn and Asiago Cimbrian, the variation found is along the same line as in the first person singular nominative form. The loss of the historic final consonant in the Lusérn Cimbrian variety results in a first person form in *mi* (86-a) and the second person form in *di* (86-b). Asiago Cimbrian is more conservative and, as with the first person singular nominative form, retains the final /ch/, resulting in the forms *mich* (87-a) and *dich* (87-b). The differences in the third person masculine are more significant, as they represent a variation in case patterning across the two varieties. Asiago Cimbrian has maintained the masculine pronoun in *in* (87-a), which is in line with the historic accusative case pronoun and, as will be seen in the following section, maintains a distinct accusative marking in opposition to the dative pronoun. In Lusérn Cimbrian, the accusative and dative case have merged into a single form, with the historic dative form *imen* extended into the accusative domain (86-a). In the feminine gender, there is no difference between Lusérn and Asiago Cimbrian, both having the accusative pronoun in *si*, see examples (86-c) and (87-c) respectively, resulting in a syncretism between the nominative and the accusative case. The same syncretism is present for the neuter gender, which is only attested in Lusérn Cimbrian *’z* (86-d), but would be expected to be *’z* (Bidese 2001:38) in Asiago Cimbrian as well.

- (86) a. *Iss nèt imen, iss =me mi. I pin viel voaster baz*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than

er

3SG.M.NOM

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0638)

“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”

- b. *Si mögt njanka èzzan =de di. Si mögt niamat èzzan*
 3SG.F.NOM can neither eat =2SG.ACC 2SG.ACC 3SG.F.NOM can no_one eat
vo üs

of 1PL.DAT

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_cim_U0620)

“She can’t eat you either! She musn’t eat any of us!”

- c. *i hân =de nèt gesek arbatn, i hân gesek lei arbatn*
 1SG.NOM have =2SG.ACC not seen work 1SG.NOM have seen only work
si.

3SG.F.ACC

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_cim_U0620)

“I didn’t see you, I only have seen her do work.”

- d. *’Z haus iz alt un di khindar venna ’z ghântz*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find 3SG.N.ACC totally
schaüla
 ugly

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0638)

‘The house is old and the children find it terrifying.’

- (87) a. *Izz nèt in, izz mich. I pin hëftikh gröazzar dan ear*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0661)

“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”

- b. *Si töart nèt èzzan nennòch dich. Si töart nèt èzzan khòanas*
 3SG.F.NOM can not eat neither 2SG.ACC 3SG.F.NOM can not eat no_one
von osàndarn
 of 1PL.DAT

(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_cim_U0661)

“She can’t eat you either! She musn’t eat any of us!”

- c. *Saist du? Müzzist du noch dorretn si och.*
 been 2SG.NOM must 2SG.NOM still save 3SG.F.ACC also
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0204_cim_U0661)

(Response to: ‘Haven’t I been good to have saved him?’) “Have you? You still had to save her!”.

It must be noted that, in the masculine gender, there is a peculiar discrepancy between the two Lusérn Cimbrian speakers. One of them (speaker U0638) consistently produces the expected *imen* form, as was seen in example (86-a) given above, whereas the other (U0620) uses the nominative form *er* (88). This inter-speaker variation is not restricted to the third person singular masculine, and the issue is addressed in more detail in the following sections.

- (88) *Izz nèt er, izz mi. I pin dikhar baz er*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0620)

“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”

The Giazza speaker produces accusative pronominal clitics, but no full pronouns (with one exception, see below). The small Giazza grammar by Rapelli (2016:22) only reports on accusative clitics, but accounts no full pronouns, though the *Zimbrische Gesamtgrammatik* by Schweizer does account them for Giazza (2008 [1951/1952]:402). The VinKo data does attest some accusative full pronouns, particularly in the plural paradigm (see section 9.2.2), but only a single attestation of what can be argued to be a full pronoun in the singular forms, the second person singular *di* in example (89).

- (89) *Si hat nist ezzan njanka di. Si muzzat nist ezzan niaman un*
 3SG.F.NOM has not eat neither 2SG.ACC 3SG.F.NOM must not eat no_one of
usandre
 1PL.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_cim_U0576)
 “She shouldn’t eat you neither! She shouldn’t eat any of us!”

In all other sentences, even those with strongly stressed environments with contrastive focus, like example (90-a), no full pronouns are produced. For comparison, these contexts elicit full pronouns even in the Trentino and Venetan varieties (90-b), which as due to their extensive clitic systems, primarily produce them in stressed or focus constructions. In the other South Bavarian varieties, Tyrolean and Mòcheno, these contexts produce full accusative pronouns, see examples (90-c) and (90-d). It could be argued that the position of the verb is to blame, as post-verbal pronouns tend to be clitized in Cimbrian, however, similar rules apply in the other Cimbrian varieties (as well as Mòcheno) and the same stimuli do manage to produce full pronouns in these varieties (for Lusérn Cimbrian and Mòcheno in addition to resumptive clitics on the verb), see (86-a), (86-b), and (87-a) above. This does suggest that the full pronouns are not readily available to the Giazza speaker, i.e. there is a systematic difference between the Giazza Cimbrian varieties and the other Cimbrian varieties. The attested full pronoun in (89) is identical to the clitic form, so could therefore be actively available in the lexicon, while other forms are not.

- (90) a. *ezza =ti nist, ezza =pi i pi mear vòaste um ime*
 eat =3SG.M.ACC not eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0576)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”
 b. *No magnar lu, magna mi. Son piassè grassa de lu*
 (Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0298)
 c. *Iss nit in, iss mi. I bin viel dicker als er*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Magreid an der Weinstraße, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0346)
 d. *Èss =en nèt im, èss =mi mi. I pin bolten*
 eat =3SG.M.ACC not 3SG.M.ACC eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am very
dicker abia er.
 fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_mhn_U0585)

Despite it being an uncompleted questionnaire, the full singular pronominal clitic pattern of Giazza

is attested in the VinKo data, see the examples in (91). In the first person singular the form is *=pi* (also attested in Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]), the second person in *=di*, third person masculine in *=ni*, feminine gender in *=si*, and the neuter gender as *=z*.

- (91) a. *Ezza =ti nist, ezza =pi. I pi mear vòaste um ime*
eat =3SG.M.ACC not eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.DAT
(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0576)
“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”
- b. *I gibe =dar mai schioupo tze vuotan =di*
1SG.NOM give =2SG.DAT my gun(M) to protect =2SG.ACC
(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0576)
“I give you my gun to protect yourself.”
- c. *Pin =i gabeste braj(vo) tze salvaar =ni odar niat? Niat,*
am =1SG.NOM been good to save =3SG.M.ACC or not not
bar sain tzorna parche du hat =si niste gasalvaart
1PL.NOM are angry because 2SG.NOM have =3SG.F.ACC not saved
(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0204_cim_U0576)
“Have I not been great at saving him?” [Free produced answer: No, we are angry, because you have not saved her].
- d. *(d)itza haus-e ist alt-e un de bracha signa =z vij vortige*
this house-N is old and the.PL.NOM children think =3SG.N.ACC very scary
(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0576)
‘The house is old and the children think it very scary.’

It does appear that the accusative clitic set has been regularized to some extent. Historically, the grammars (Rapelli 2016:22; Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:403) attest the accusative singular form as *inj*, *in* and *=in(j)*, but the VinKo data has the form *=ni*. While this form is unattested in older sources, it can be argued to be a case of metathesis in the third person singular masculine leading to a regular pattern of a consonant followed by the vowel *i* (*Ci*) pattern for all accusative clitics. The pattern of a consonant followed by a vowel is also the regular clitic pattern of the Venetan varieties. Currently the dominant language within the XIII Com., including Giazza, is the local Venetan variety and as contact language, it might have served as additional reinforcement of this metathesis.

	1SG	2SG	M	3SG	
				F	N
<i>Cimbrian</i> (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952])	=pi, =mi	=di	=in	=sa	=z
<i>Giazza (XIII Com.)</i>	=pi	=di	=ni	=si	=z
<i>Venetan</i>	=mi	=ti	=lo	=la	n/a

Table 9.2: Accusative clitics in Giazza Cimbrian and Venetan

Dative case

In all three Cimbrian varieties, the dative case has a distinct form in the singular pronouns, with exception of the third singular masculine in Lusérn and Giazza, which share a form with the ac-

cusative case pronouns. In the Giazza variety, the pronouns in the dative case are almost always preceded by the preposition *in* which marks the dative case, similar to the prepositional dative marking of Mòcheno (discussed in the previous chapter 8).

The first and second person singular dative are respectively *miar* (92) and *diar* (93) in all three varieties. In Giazza, they are preceded with the prepositional dative marker (see examples (92) and (93-a)). In the third person singular masculine gender, Giazza and Asiago have a form in *ime*, see examples (92-a) and (92-c) (in Giazza preceded with the prepositional dative marker), and in Lusérn it is *imen* (92-b).

- (92) a. *Mo du gaist in schioupo in ime baz gaist*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M.DAT what give
=o =par in miar?
 =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT DAT 1SG.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0576)
- b. *Az du gist in sklopp imen, baz gist =to*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) 3SG.M.DAT what give =2SG.NOM
=mar miar?
 =1SG.DAT 1SG.DAT
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0620)
- c. *An du gist in püks ime baz gist du miar?*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.SG.M.ACC gun(M) 3SG.M.DAT what give 2SG.NOM 1SG.DAT
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0661)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”
- (93) a. *In jegar hat =er get in schioupo in*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) have =3SG.M.NOM given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT
diar? Niat, er hat in get in ime.
 2SG.DAT no, 3SG.M.NOM has 3SG.M.ACC given DAT 3SG.M.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_cim_U0576)
 “Did the hunter give you the gun?” (Free produced answer:) “No, he has given it to him”.
- b. *est trifft =dar diar khiüt=ar de bravat diarn*
 now falls_on =2SG.DAT 2SG.DAT says=3SG.F.DAT DEF.F.SG.NOM good girl(F)
dar faulenzlerin ma disa helft nèt in proat
 DEF.F.SG.DAT lazy_one(F) but this_one(F) helps not DEF.N.SG.DAT bread(N)
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_cim_U0638)
 “‘Now it is your turn,’ says the good girl to the lazy one, but this one does not help the bread.”

The third person singular feminine gender is queried only in the later parts of the questionnaire, and is therefore only attested in the Lusérn variety, which speakers produce *irn* (94).

- (94) *Ma dar puam hatt gevorst zboan, nèt lei irn.*
 but DEF.M.SG.NOM tree(M) has asked both not only 3SG.F.DAT
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_cim_U0638)
 “But the tree asked you both, not just her”

Prepositional dative marking is a known strategy in Giazza Cimbrian (Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli

2012), and is used in with all dative pronouns in the VinKo data, even where it is not be needed to disambiguation, cf. (95-a) and (95-b), with the double marking of the dative case by both the preposition and the pronoun form.

- (95) a. *Mo du gaist in schioupo inj ime baz gaist*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.SG.M.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M.DAT what give
=o =par in miar
=2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT DAT 1SG.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0576)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”
- b. *In jegar hat =er get in schioupo in*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) have =3SG.M.NOM given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT
diar? Niat, er hat in get in ime.
 2SG.DAT no, 3SG.M.NOM has 3SG.M.ACC given DAT 3SG.M.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_cim_U0576)
 “Did the hunter give you the gun?” “No, he has given it to him.”

The clitics cannot in any situation be preceded by a preposition. The VinKo data only has the first person singular dative clitic, which is *=par* (96-a) as would be expected and the third person masculine clitic which takes the form of *=in* (96-b), which is an unexpected form for Giazza. Commonly attested are *=me* and *=pe* for the dative third person singular masculine (Rapelli 2016:22; Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:404), though a *=en* dative clitic is attested for Lusérn Cimbrian (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]; Panieri et al. 2006).

- (96) a. *Mo du gaist in schioupo inj ime baz gaist*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.SG.M.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M.DAT what give
=o =par in miar
=2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT DAT 1SG.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0576) “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”
- b. *In jegar kout inar marascha tze veista =si un*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) to stop =3.REFL and
si probart tze túan =in a magia
 3SG.F.NOM tries to do =3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0576)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’

9.2.2 Plural pronouns

In the plural pronouns in general there is less case marking, as the first and second person plural have an accusative-dative syncretism resulting in a two-way subject-object distinction rather than a three-case system. However, there is an additional complication in the plural pronouns, since, similar to Mòcheno, the plural pronouns come in two forms; the standard ‘bare’ form and an extended form which adds *andre*, lit. ‘other’, to the pronoun.

The use of the extended *andre*-forms is very common and far outnumber the bare forms in the VinKo dataset. According to Rapelli (2016:21), in Giazza Cimbrian, the *andre*-forms occur when

the pronouns are separated from the verb. However, the extended forms are also found as regular pronominal forms in the VinKo data, irrespective of the presence of the verb, e.g. (97).

- (97) (...) **Sandre** *sain nau vij kljain*
 (...) 3PL.NOM be still very small
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0576)
 “(...) They are still too small.”

Overall, in all three Cimbrian varieties, the use of the extended form does not appear to be determined by the syntactic environment of the pronouns, but down to sentence pragmatics. Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]:403) describes the use of the extended forms as a way to emphasize the pronoun and to give it more weight, and calls it a formation to ‘Italian example’, referring to similar pronominal forms in neighboring Venetan and Trentino varieties, e.g. *noi-altri* ‘we-others’.

Apart from the added dimension of the extended pronominal forms, there is a relatively large amount of variation between varieties and even speakers of the same variety for the plural pronouns. The most consistent and regular of the paradigms can be extracted from the Asiago Cimbrian data. The first and second person plural have a distinct nominative case form, and in the bare pronoun forms, an accusative-dative syncretism in line with the Tyrolean varieties would be expected. The extended form however has provided space for the additional marking of the dative with *-n*, resulting in the reintroduction of accusative and dative distinction via the inclusion of *-àndare*. Since the extension *-àndare* has adjective inflection, it takes the dative marker *-n*, introducing overt case marking which would not be present in the bare pronouns. In the first plural, this results in *bar* for the nominative form (98-a), *osàndare* for the accusative (98-b), and *osàndarn* for the dative (98-c).

- (98) a. **Bar** *sain inkànt, abar sàndare sait ken gasnappet.*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM are instead captured
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_cim_U0661)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured.”
- b. **Di** *truta hat si gasècht osàndare och? Aa i han*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) has 3SG.F.NOM seen 1PL.ACC also ah 1SG.NOM have
vorte.
 fear
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_cim_U0661)
 “Has the witch also seen us?” “Ah, I am afraid.”
- c. **Dar** *huntar hatt gètt an püks osàndarn, badar inàndarn nèt.*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT but 3PL.DAT not
Si sain noch zovìl khlòan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0661)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

The pattern in the second person plural is very similar to the first person plural, with a distinct nominative form as bare pronoun *ar* (99-a) or the extended form *artàndare* (99-b). The accusative only appears in extended form *oghàndare* (99-a), as does the dative in *oghàndarn* (99-b).

- (99) a. **Ar** *sait galiükhe az si hat nèt gaséghet oghàndare*
 2PL.NOM are lucky that 3SG.F.NOM has not seen 2PL.ACC
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0661)

- “You (PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you.”
- b. *Dar huntar bill=ar géban pükse osàndarn och? Odar*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) will=3SG.M.NOM give guns 1PL.DAT also or
oghàndarn anlòan? Osàndarn anlòan, ambrümme artàndare sait noch zovìl
 2PL.DAT only 1PL.DAT only because 2PL.NOM are still too
khlòan.
 small
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0203_cim_U0661)
 “Will the hunter give guns to us too or only to you.PL?” “Only to us, you.PL are still too small.”

In the third plural, there is a nominative-accusative syncretism in the forms *si* (100-a) or *sàndare* (100-b). The dative case form is *inàndarn* (100-a), marked both by having a distinct pronominal form and by the *-n* dative suffix.

- (100) a. *Dar huntar hatt gètt an püks osàndarn, badar inàndarn nèt.*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT but 3PL.DAT not
Si sain noch zovìl khlòan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0661)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”
- b. *An aabènt habent se zbòà gaséghet an truta ba hat gaséghet andare*
 one evening have 3PL.NOM two seen a witch(F) that has seen other
khindar abar nèt sàndare
 children but not 3PL.ACC
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0102_cim_U0661)
 ‘One evening, two of them see a witch which has seen the other children, but not them.’

The paradigm in the Giazza variety is less regular. The accusative-dative syncretism in opposition to a distinct nominative case has been attested in the first person plural pronouns, with a nominative form in *bar* (101-a), and the oblique form in *usandre* (101-b) and . Contrary to the Asiago variety, Giazza Cimbrian does not have adjectival dative marking in *-n*, and therefore the accusative-dative syncretism remains present also in the extended forms. However, what Giazza lacks in inflectional dative marking, it makes up for with prepositional dative marking, in line with the singular pronouns, the plurals are also always preceded with the prepositional dative marking *in* (101-c).

- (101) a. *bar sain gaftjegat hi, in darbai sandre sain gabesta gagreifat*
 1PL.NOM are fled away in meanwhile 3SG.F.NOM are been captured
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_cim_U0576)
 “We managed to get away, but they have been caught.”
- b. *hata de marascha gasest anka usandre? Niat, si hata*
 has DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) seen also 1PL.ACC no 3SG.F.NOM has
gasest taman sandre.
 seen only 3PL.ACC
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_cim_U0576)

“Has the witch also seen us?” “No, she has seen only them.”

- c. *In jegar hat =ar geta an schioupo in usandre aber*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =3SG.M.NOM given a gun(M) DAT 1PL.DAT but
nist in inji. Sandre sain nau vij kljain
 not DAT 3PL.DAT 3PL.NOM are still very small

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0576)

‘The hunter gave us a gun, but not to them. They are still too small.’

The second person plural attested for Giazza Cimbrian diverges from the subject-object pattern. Instead, it appears to follow a nominative-accusative syncretism with distinct dative form, resulting in a core-oblique opposition. The nominative case form is not attested in the dataset, but can be presumed to be either *iar* or *irandre* (Rapelli 2016:22; Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:402). In the accusative case, the extended form *irandre* (102-a) is attested, which stands in contrast to the dative case form *in au* (102-b). The core-oblique pattern appears strange in comparison to Asiago Cimbrian (and the other South Bavarian varieties), but it confirms to a previous description of Giazza Cimbrian (Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli 2012), which reports on a paradigm-wide nominative-accusative merger. This general nominative-accusative pattern does appear to be innovative, as older sources, e.g. Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]), still report an accusative-dative syncretism.

- (102) a. *sait muntar ke si hat-a nist ga-ses-t irandre*
 be happy that 3SG.F.NOM has not seen 2PL.ACC

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0576)

‘You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you.’

- b. *In jegar kint er sai schioupo anka in usandre*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) gives 3SG.M.NOM his gun(M) also DAT 1PL.DAT
odar taman in au? Taman in usandre.
 or only DAT 2PL.DAT only DAT 1PL.DAT

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0203_cim_U0576)

‘Will the hunter also give us a gun or only/also to all? [Free produced answer: Only to us].’

It could be hypothesized that the second person plural has been regularized to fit the pattern of the third person plural. The third plural has syncretism of the nominative case, cf. (103-a) and (103-b), and the accusative case, cf. (103-c) and (103-d), in *se* or *sandre*, or clitic =*si*, and a distinct dative form in (*in*) *inj* (103-e).

- (103) a. *se kearna, lafinj in-z lante un se vorsan helpe*
 3PL.NOM return running in-DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) and 3PL.NOM ask help
ime jegar-e
 DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter(M)-DAT

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_cim_U0576)

‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

- b. *bar sain gafljegat hi, in darbai sandre sain gabesta gagreifat*
 1PL.NOM are fled away in meanwhile 3SG.F.NOM are been captured

(Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_cim_U0576)

‘We managed to get away, but they have been caught.’

- c. *hata de marascha gasest anka usandre? Niat, si hata*
 has DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) seen also 1PL.ACC no 3SG.F.NOM has
gasest taman sandre.
 seen only 3PL.ACC
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_cim_U0576)
 “Has the witch also seen us?” “No, she has seen only them.”
- d. *Er tziagat auz de brachan un er tragat =si*
 3SG.M.NOM pulls out DEF.PL.ACC children and 3SG.M.NOM brings =3.PL.ACC
hoam
 home
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_cim_U0576)
 ‘He frees the children and brings them home.’
- e. *In jegar hat =ar get-a an schioupo in usandre aber*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =3SG.M.NOM given a gun(M) DAT 1PL.DAT but
nist in inji. Sandre sain nau vij kljain.
 not DAT 3PL.DAT 3PL.NOM are still very small
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0576)
 “The hunter gave us a gun, but not to them. They are still too small.”

The Lusérn data is the most puzzling of the Cimbrian varieties, as it has the most internal variation. One of the speakers (U0638) produces the same case pattern as Asiago Cimbrian, with a nominative-accusative/dative opposition in the first and second person, and a nominative/accusative-dative in the third person. All extended forms are marked with the historic dative *-n*, both in the accusative and dative case, therefore the extended forms follow the same syncretism pattern as the bare forms. As was the case for the third person masculine pronouns, the variation in the pattern stems from speaker U0620, who appears to have relatively free variation in the usage of different pronouns, in the first person singular taking the form of the extension of nominative case into the other case-domains, and in the third person sees an overextension of the dative form.

The ‘regular’ first person pronouns are *bi(a)r* in the nominative case (104-a) and *üs(åndarn)* in the accusative and dative case (104-c), as produced by speaker U0638.

- (104) a. *Ja, be hãm =se abegelest biar*
 yes 1PL.NOM= have =3PL.ACC picked 1PL.NOM
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0310_cim_U0638)
 ‘Yes, we have picked them!’
- b. *Hatt =az geseκ üs o di hækse?*
 have =1PL.ACC seen 1PL.ACC also the.F.SG.NOM witch(F)
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_cim_U0638)
 “Has the witch also seen us?”
- c. *Dar katzadór hatt gèt an sklopp üs, ma nèt imenåndarn.*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT but not 3PL.DAT
Se soin no kartza khlumma
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0638)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

Speaker U0620 on the other hand has the use of *bir* and *beråndre* in the nominative (105-a), ac-

cusative (105-b), and dative case (105-c). This is not to say that this speaker does not have the pronoun in *üs*, as he does produce both *üs* and *üsåndarn* in a dative context (105-d).

- (105) a. *Ja, **bir** hām abegelest*
yes 1PL.NOM have picked
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0310_cim_U0620)
“Yes, we have picked them!”
- b. *di stria hat gesek **bir** au? ...*
DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) has seen 1PL.ACC also ...
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_cim_U0620)
“Has the witch also seen us?” “...”
- c. *Dar katzadór hatt gètt a sklopp **beråndre** un nèt imenåndarn.*
DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT and not 3PL.DAT
Ombrómm se soin no kartza khlumma.
because 3PL.NOM are still too small
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0620)
“The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”
- d. *Dar katzadór bart gem di sklöppn **üsåndarn** o odar lai*
DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) FUT give DEF.PL.ACC guns 1PL.DAT also or only
*aiichåndarn? Nò, lai **üs**.*
2PL.DAT no only 1PL.DAT
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0203_cim_U0620)
“Will the hunter also give us a gun or only to you(PL)?” “No, only to us.”

The second person plural forms in Lusérn are the most well behaved, with a nominative form in *eråndarn* (106-a), and an accusative-dative syncretism in *aiichåndarn*, (106-b) and (106-c).

- (106) a. *hatt =ar abegelest **eråndarn** di öpfln?*
have=2PL.NOM picked 2PL.NOM the.PL.ACC apples
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_cim_U0638)
“Have you (PL) collected the apples?”
- b. *S’ iz =sa stánt gerècht az =se nèt hām =a gesek **aiichåndarn** o*
3PL is =3PL been good that =SG.NOM not have =2PL seen 2PL.ACC also
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0638)
“You (PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you.”
- c. *Dar katzadór bart gem di sklöppn **üsåndarn** o odar lai*
DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) FUT give DEF.PL.ACC guns 1PL.DAT also or only
*aiichåndarn? Nò, lai **üs**.*
2PL.DAT no only 1PL.DAT
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0203_cim_U0620)
“Will the hunter also give us a gun or only to you(PL)?” “No, only to us.”

In the third person plural, speaker U0638 produces the expected nominative-accusative syncretism in *se*, (107-a) and (107-b), and a dative form in (107-c). Speaker U0620 shares the nominative form in *se*, and the dative form in *imenåndarn*, but also uses the dative form in the accusative domain (107-d).

- (107) a. *se khearn bodrùmm loavante in lãnte un vorsan hilfe in*
 they return back running in village and ask help DEF.M.SG.DAT
katzadór-e
 hunter-DAT
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_cim_U0638)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’
- b. *Dar lazzt gian di khindar un vüart se dahüam*
 3SG.M.NOM lets go DEF.PL children and takes 3PL.ACC home
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_cim_U0638)
 ‘He frees the children and brings them home.’
- c. *Dar katzadór hatt gètt an sklopp üs, ma nèt imenåndarn.*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT but not 3PL.DAT
Se soin no kartza khlumma
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0638)
 ‘The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.’
- d. *An abas zboa von se åndre haban gesek a hèks boda hatt gesek*
 one evening two of 3PL.ACC others have seen a witch(F) that has seen
åndre khindar ma nèt imenåndarn
 other children but not 3PL.ACC
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0102_cim_U0620)
 ‘One evening, two of them see a witch which has seen the other children, but not them.’

The following table, 9.3, provides an overview of the attested plural pronouns in all three varieties.

		1 PL	2 PL	3 PL
<i>Asiago (VII Com.)</i>	NOM	bar	ar, artåndare	se, si
	ACC	osåndare	oghåndare	såndare
	DAT	osåndarn	oghåndarn	inåndarn
<i>Giazza (XIII Com.)</i>	NOM	bar	iar	se, sandre
	ACC	usandre	irandre	
	DAT	in usandre	in au	in inj
<i>Luserna</i>	NOM	bir, beråndarn	eråndarn	se, sandre
	ACC	üs, üsåndarn	aüchåndarn	
	DAT			imenåndarn

Table 9.3: Plural pronouns in Cimbrian, non-attested forms in grey

9.3 Definite articles

The definite articles in singular follow for a large part the patterns found in the pronominal paradigms. Asiago Cimbrian is most conservative and has a full three-way distinction in the masculine gender between nominative, accusative, and dative case. Giazza and Lusérn Cimbrian both only have two-way distinction. In Lusérn Cimbrian, the masculine gender has an accusative-dative syncretism,

in contrast to the feminine and neuter gender which have a nominative-accusative syncretism. In Giazza Cimbrian, the nominative-accusative syncretism has regularized across the entire system, including the masculine gender.

		M	F	N
<i>Asiago (VII Com.)</i>	NOM	dar	de	'z
	ACC	in		
		DAT	me	der
<i>Giazza (XIII Com.)</i>	NOM	in	de	iz
	ACC			
		DAT	ime	inar
<i>Luserna</i>	NOM	dar	di	iz
	ACC	in		
			DAT	dar

Table 9.4: Definite articles in singular number in Cimbrian

Contrary to the pronouns, the definite articles in the dative case are not preceded by the preposition *in* for the variety of Giazza. It could be argued that this is due to the incorporation of the preposition in the article form itself. Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]:412) attest the forms *me* and *dar* for the masculine and feminine articles respectively. In the VinKo data and modern sources, (Rapelli 2016), the forms are *ime* (110-c) and *inar* (111-c), which Rapelli (2016:12) analyzed as derived from a preposition plus pronoun scheme *in+me* and *in+dar*. This could be argued to be the case since the dative forms are compound forms, which already includes the preposition (though the same could probably be argued for the 3SG.M.DAT *ime*), and which has grammaticalized into a single form.

Masculine gender

In the masculine gender definite articles, there is variation across the different varieties. Asiago has retained the most extensive case marking, with a distinct form in the nominative case *der* (108-a), in the accusative case *in* (108-b), and in the dative case *me* (108-c).

- (108) a. ***Dar*** *huntar* *khüt dar* *trut-en* *zo haltan au un*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)-DAT to hold up and
si *süuchart zo machar=me* *an zóobar*
 3SG.F.NOM tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(M)
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0661)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’
- b. *Ich* *gibe=dar* ***in*** *main püks* *zo dorbéeran dich*
 1SG.NOM give=2SG.DAT DEF.SG.M.ACC my gun(M) to protect 2SG.ACC
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0661)
 ‘I give you my gun to protect yourself.’
- c. *De* *vónar* *me lante* *khödent vorbaisgòtt* ***me***
 DEF.PL.NOM inhabitants of village(N) say thanks DEF.SG.M.DAT
huntar-e
 hunter(M)-DAT

(Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0661)

‘The villagers thank the hunter.’

In Lusérn, there is a distinct nominative case form in *dar* (109-a) with a syncretism of the accusative case and dative cases in *in*, see examples (109-b) and (109-c) respectively.

- (109) a. ***Dar*** *katzadór khüt dar hèks zo haltn se soin un*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) to stop 3PL? be and
si provàrt zo machan ’na magia
 3SG.F.NOM tries to make a spell(F)
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0620)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’
- b. ***Dar*** *katzadór hatt =dar gètt in sklopp? Miar*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =2SG.DAT given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) 1SG.DAT
nèt, imen bol.
 not 3SG.M.DAT indeed
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_cim_U620)
 ‘Did the hunter give you the gun?’ ‘Not to me, but he did to him.’
- c. ***Di*** *laüt vo lante khön vorgèllzgott in katzadór*
 DEF.PL.NOM people of village(N) say thanks DEF.M.SG.DAT hunter(M)
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0620)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’

For the masculine gender definite article in Giazza, the generalized nominative-accusative system as reported in Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli 2012, resulting in a single form in the nominative and accusative case in *in*, see examples (110-a) and (110-b), and a distinct dative form in *ime*, (110-c).

- (110) a. ***In*** *jegar kout inar marascha tze veista =si un*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) to stop ==3SG.F and
si probart tze túan =in a magia
 3SG.F.NOM tries to do =3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0576)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’
- b. ***De*** *laute ’ume lante ringraziano in jegar*
 DEF.PL.NOM people DEF.N.GEN village(N) thank(IT) DEF.M.SG.ACC hunter(M)
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0576)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’
- c. *se kearna laufinj in-z lante un se vorsan helfe*
 3PL.NOM return running in-DEF.N.ACC village(N) and 3PL.NOM ask help
ime *jegar-e*
 DEF.M.SG.DAT hunter-DAT
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_cim_U0576)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

Feminine gender

The feminine article is more consistent across the different varieties, with a single form in the nominative and accusative case, *de* and dative form in *inar* (*in* + *dar*) in the dative form in Giazza

(111) and respectively *di* and *dar/der* in Lusérn (112) and Asiago (113).

- (111) a. **De** marascha bi kouckan de haijar bo si
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) wants cook DEF.PL.ACC children that 3SG.F.NOM
hata gagraifat
 has captured
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_cim_U0576)
 ‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’
- b. *Alora er* lent au sai schioupo un er toat **de**
 so 3SG.M.NOM takes out his gun(M) and 3SG.M.NOM shoots DEF.F.SG.ACC
marascha
 witch(F)
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0576)
 ‘But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’
- c. *In* jegar kout **inar** marascha tze veista =si un
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) to stop and 3SG.F.NOM
si probart tze túan =in a magia
 tries to do =3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0576)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’
- (112) a. **Di** hèkse bill khochan di khindar bo =se
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) wants cook DEF.PL.ACC children that =3SG.F.NOM
hatt gevånk
 has captured
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_cim_U0638)
 ‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’
- b. *d’* alt gitt **dar** bravate diarn golt un diamantn
 DEF.F.SG.NOM old_one gives DEF.F.SG.DAT good girl(F) gold and diamonds
un dekht au di faulenzerin pitt èsch
 and covers up DEF.F.SG.ACC lazy_girl with ashes
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0313_cim_U0638)
 ‘The old woman gives gold and diamonds to the good girl and ashes to the lazy one.’
- (113) a. **Di** truta bill khochan di gasnappan khindar
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) wants cook DEF.PL.ACC captured children
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_cim_U0661)
 ‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’
- b. *Dénne limmet=ar* in sain püks un töotet **di**
 then takes=3SG.M.NOM DEF.SG.M.ACC his gun(M) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
truta
 witch(F)
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0661)
 ‘Then he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’
- c. *Dar* huntar khüt **dar** trut-en zo haltan au un
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)-DAT to hold up and
si süuchart zo machar=me an zóobar
 3SG.F.NOM tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(M)

(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0661)

‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’

Neuter gender

In the neuter gender, the forms in the nominative and accusative case are expected to be *’z* or *iz* in all varieties. This expectation is confirmed with attestations of *’z* in the nominative case in Lusérn and Asiago (114) (the speaker from Giazza produces the demonstrative *ditza* rather than the definite article, so the nominative neuter article is not present in the sample), and the same (*i*)*z* in all three varieties in the accusative case (115).

- (114) a. *’z haus iz alt un gevàll nèt in khindar-n*
 DEF.N.SG.NOM house is old and pleases not DEF.PL.DAT children-DAT.
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0620)
- b. *’z haus ist alt un in khindarn préert órran*
 DEF.N.SG.NOM house is old and DEF.PL.DAT children-DAT appears ugly
 (Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0661)
 ‘The house is old and the children don’t like it.’
- (115) a. *se vingan iz haus un-dar marascha*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.N.SG.ACC house(N) of-DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)
i-me tunkhlen balje
 in-DEF.M.SG.DAT dark forest(M)
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_cim_U0576)
- b. *se vennen iz haus vo dar hèkse*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.N.SG.ACC house(N) of DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)
in tunkhle balte
 in-DEF.M.SG.DAT dark forest(M)
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_cim_U0638)
- c. *Si vinnent ’z haus dar truten ime*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.N.SG.ACC house(N) DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) DEF.M.SG.DAT
tùnkhehn balle
 dark forest(M)
 (Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_cim_U0661)
 ‘They found the house of the witch in the dark forest.’

Unfortunately, the stimulus for the dative case in the neuter definite singular article is presented towards the end of the questionnaire and has not been produced by either the speaker from Giazza or from Asiago. For the Lusérn variety, the form *in* is attested.

- (116) *est trifft =dar diar khiüt =ar de bravat diarn*
 now falls_on =2SG.DAT 2SG.DAT says =3SG.F.DAT DEF.F.SG.NOM good girl(F)
dar faulenzlerin ma disa helft nèt in proat
 DEF.F.SG.DAT lazy_one(F) but this_one(F) helps not DEF.N.SG.DAT bread(N)
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_cim_U0638)
 ‘“Now it is your turn,” says the good girl to the lazy one, but this one does not help the bread.’

9.4 Summary and discussion

Variation is the name of the game in the Cimbrian varieties. Between varieties, there are significant differences in patterning across the pronominal and article paradigms.

Asiago Cimbrian represents the most conservative paradigm, with has maintained a three-way case distinction in the third singular masculine pronouns, not present in other Cimbrian varieties, and retains active use of nominal dative marking, which results in a three-way case distinction even in the extended first and second person plural forms, not attested in the other varieties. A similar pattern is seen in the definite articles, with the masculine gender having a three-way case distinction, and the feminine and neuter gender with a two-way core-oblique pattern.

The Giazza Cimbrian system is more reduced in comparison to the Asiago Cimbrian, as well as more irregular, with more inherent variation, irregular patterning, and additional dative marking through the use of the preposition *in*. It has lost the use of full singular pronouns in the accusative case, and therefore has a mixed system of full pronouns and clitics.

The in-speaker variation might be taken to be a sign of language loss and attrition, which is an attested pattern in endangered varieties (Riehl 2018:243). In the plural pronouns, the first and second person do not pattern in the same way; the first person has a distinct nominative case in opposition to an accusative-dative merger, while the second person patterns with the third person, with a syncretism of the nominative-accusative pronouns and a distinct dative form. With a single speaker in VinKo, no strong statements can be made about the prevalence of this pattern, but considering external sources, it might be hypothesized that the paradigm is not stable in this variety. For example, there are also considerable differences between the system as reported on by Rapelli (2016) and the Giazza data collected in 2010 as reported by Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli (2012). The comparison of these different sources of data reveals three quite significantly different paradigms. When we compare the paradigms as found in VinKo, table 9.5, with paradigms from Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli (2012) 9.6 and Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]) 9.7, we find a strange mix of different paradigms attested across speakers.

		1	2	3		
				M	N	F
SG	NOM	i	du	er	si	iz
	ACC	=pi	=di	=ni	=si	=z
	DAT	in miar	in diar	in ime	inj er	in ime
PL	NOM	bar	iar	se, sandre		
	ACC	usàndre	iràndre			
	DAT	in usàndre	in au	in inj		

Table 9.5: Pronominal paradigm of Giazza Cimbrian, attested in VinKo

The article by Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli (2012) reports that the Giazza pronouns lack masculine-neuter gender distinction, which has led to the generalization of the neuter pronoun into the masculine set (and to a more limited amount the feminine one), also reported for Giazza by Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]:712). The pronominal pattern they provide for Giazza is much reduced with respect to the Schweizer's (2008 [1951/1952]:402) description. Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli (Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli 2012) compare the Cimbrian paradigm with the Venetan

and the Tyrolean paradigms, concluding that the Cimbrian paradigm might be the result of or reinforced by the most commonly used linguistic variety of Giazza speakers, the Venetan dialect. Hence, the historic system documented in Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]) underwent reduction and regularization because of this language contact, compare tables 9.6 and 9.7.

Starting with the first and second person plural pronominal patterns, we can see an odd combination between the ‘old standard’ accusative-dative syncretism in the first person and, perhaps the contact-induced, nominative-accusative syncretism of the second person. The nominative-accusative pattern is also found for the third person, but this is in line with the historic pattern and does not represent an innovation. In the singular forms, the pattern is very much as would be expected from a diachronic point of view, cf. Schweizer 9.7, with a (presumed) three-way distinction in the first and second person. Unfortunately, there is little data on the third person full pronouns. The nominative forms of both the masculine and feminine gender are frequent in the dataset, but there is not a single occurrence of the neuter gender. This would suggest to me that there is no indication of the previously mentioned loss of gender in the VinKo data. What syncretism patterns they would have cannot be determined for sure, but the clitic pattern would suggest a nominative-accusative syncretism for the feminine and neuter gender. For the masculine gender, it would probably imply either a three-way distinct pattern (as reported by Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]), or an accusative-dative case syncretism. However, since the clitic systems are often the most conservative in case features (see the Tyrolean chapter), they might not show the pronominal syncretisms.

		1	2	3		
				M	N	F
SG	NOM	i	du	(er)	iz	si
	ACC	mi	di			
	DAT	mir	dir	in ime	in ir	in ime
PL	NOM	barandre	sandre, diandre	si, sandre, diandre		
	ACC					
	DAT	in usandre	in diandre	in, in sandre		

Table 9.6: Prominal paradigm of Giazza Cimbrian, reported by Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli (2012:11)

Apart from this variation, there are more signs of a language falling out of use. Some parts of the paradigm show further signs of language contact and influence from the regional Venetan variety and/or standard Italian. Looking at the clitic system, the accusative clitic =*ni* (given in red in the table), as previously discussed in 9.2.1, is likely due to metathesis in order to make the third person singular masculine conform to the Consonant-*i* template which is shared by the other accusative clitics. This process could either be due to a language-internal logic or could be motivated by the similar Consonant-Vowel pattern of the Venetan accusative clitics. The =*ni* form is not attested for other Cimbrian varieties, as far as I am aware. The other unexpected feature of the clitic system is the dative clitic =*in*, which in Giazza Cimbrian should be =*me* or =*pe* (derived from the full pronoun *ime*) (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:402-3; Rapelli 2016). The form =*en* as dative clitic is found in Lusérn Cimbrian (Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952] ; Panieri et al. 2006), so could perhaps be due to influence from other varieties or there could be two competing forms

		1	2	3		
				M	N	F
SG	NOM	i	du	er	si	iz
	ACC	mi	di	in(j)	si, se	iz
		=pi	=ti	=en	=sa	=iz
	DAT	miar	diar	ime	ir	ime
PL	NOM	biar	iar	sau		
	ACC	us	au	se		
	DAT			inj		

Table 9.7: Prominal paradigm of Giazza Cimbrian, reported by Schweizer (2008 [1951/1952]:402-4)

existing in Cimbrian in general. The VinKo data show interference from Romance also outside of the pronominal paradigm. Some lexical forms in the data, e.g. *schioupo* (117-a), appear to be a combination between Cimbrian *schioup* [ʃkjo̞p] and Venetan *sciopo* [stʃopo]. In other cases simply the Italian is inserted (117-b).

- (117) a. *I gibe =dar mai schioupo tze vuotan =di*
 1SG.NOM give =2SG.DAT my gun(M) to protect =2SG.ACC
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0576)
 ‘I give you my gun to protect yourself.’
- b. *De laute 'ume lante ringraziano in jegar*
 DEF.PL.NOM people DEF.N.GEN village(N) thank(IT) DEF.M.SG.ACC hunter(M)
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0576)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’

The syntax shows contact effects, too, e.g. in comparative structures. According to the grammars (Rapelli 2016; Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952]:731) comparatives should be formed with *mun* ‘than’ followed by the nominative case, (118-a). Instead, the comparative constructions found in VinKo use *um* ‘of’ plus the pronoun in the dative case *ime* (118-b). This is very similar to the Italian construction (118-c) and the Veronese dialect one (118-d), which are formed using *di* ‘of’ plus pronoun.

- (118) a. *i pi groazz-ur un èlt-ur mun du*
 1SG.NOM be.1SG.PRES big-COMP and old-COMP than 2SG.NOM
 ‘I am bigger and older than you.’
 (Rapelli 2016:33)
- b. *Ezza =ti nist, ezza =pi. I pi mear vòaste un*
 eat =3SG.M.ACC not eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than
ime.
 3SG.M.DAT
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0576)
 ‘Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!’
- c. *Sono più grasso di lui*
 I am more fat-COMP of 3SGM.DAT

- 'I am fatter than him.'
- d. (...) *Son piassè grassa de lu*
 (...) be.1SG.PRS more fat of 3SGM
 '(...) I am fatter than he is.'

(Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0403)

While it could be argued that these are the effects of the translation task, it is also a fact that the Cimbrian of Giazza has had a large amount of influence from Romance and that the dominant language of all its speakers is the local Venetan dialect. This must up to some degree be recognized as being part of the Giazza Cimbrian. For example, Rapelli's grammar indicates that most numerals nowadays are Veronese dialect words (except for up to 5), though older sources and lesson books might retain the Cimbrian forms. While Giazza has language courses in Cimbrian available and there are still some speakers, even amongst active speakers the language is not used in day-to-day life. Either way, a greater degree of variation both in forms and patterns, strong influence both lexical and structural from Veronese, and the use and creation of innovative forms should be taken as the result of this particular sociolinguistic situation.

While Giazza Cimbrian no longer has an active speech community and is generally regarded as a moribund language, the Lusérn Cimbrian variety is more vital and has more active speakers. This is reflected by the lower age of the Lusérn Cimbrian speakers, as well as their reporting the use of the language within the family and on a regular basis. Despite the more active use of the language, one of the Lusérn Cimbrian speaker (U0620) shows a large degree of language variation within the pronominal paradigm, appearing indicative of a lack of sensitivity to case in the use of pronominal forms. While the speaker clearly does have knowledge of the existing forms, he does not consistently use them in the expected contexts. This is in stark contrast to the other Lusérn speaker, who shows a consistent pattern throughout the questionnaire. Unfortunately, the amount of sociolinguistic background available on speakers within VinKo is limited and self-reported, making it impossible to determine whatever differences there might be in language use, language dominance, and language acquisition between these two speakers, making it impossible to judge if language attrition or incomplete acquisition might be the source to the documented variety.

A large degree of internal variation, and even speaker-internal variation, is a common phenomenon in languages that are in declining use. Particularly, as the VinKo speaker signaled to be a good speaker, but not to use the language on a regular basis nor was it the language of communication with friends and family, it might be argued that linguistic variation and influence from other languages would be expected. To summarize, there is a surprising variation in the pronominal system of Giazza Cimbrian as attested by the VinKo data, cf table 9.5, when compared to previous sources. This can be argued to be the result of language decay and language contact from other dominant languages in the region. When dealing with data from languages in situations of language shift or extinction, linguistic systems might become unstable in certain aspects, particularly in those domains rarely or not commonly used. In other areas, the system might simplify or regularize resulting in either the merging of forms or regularization of syncretism patterns.

10. Trentino

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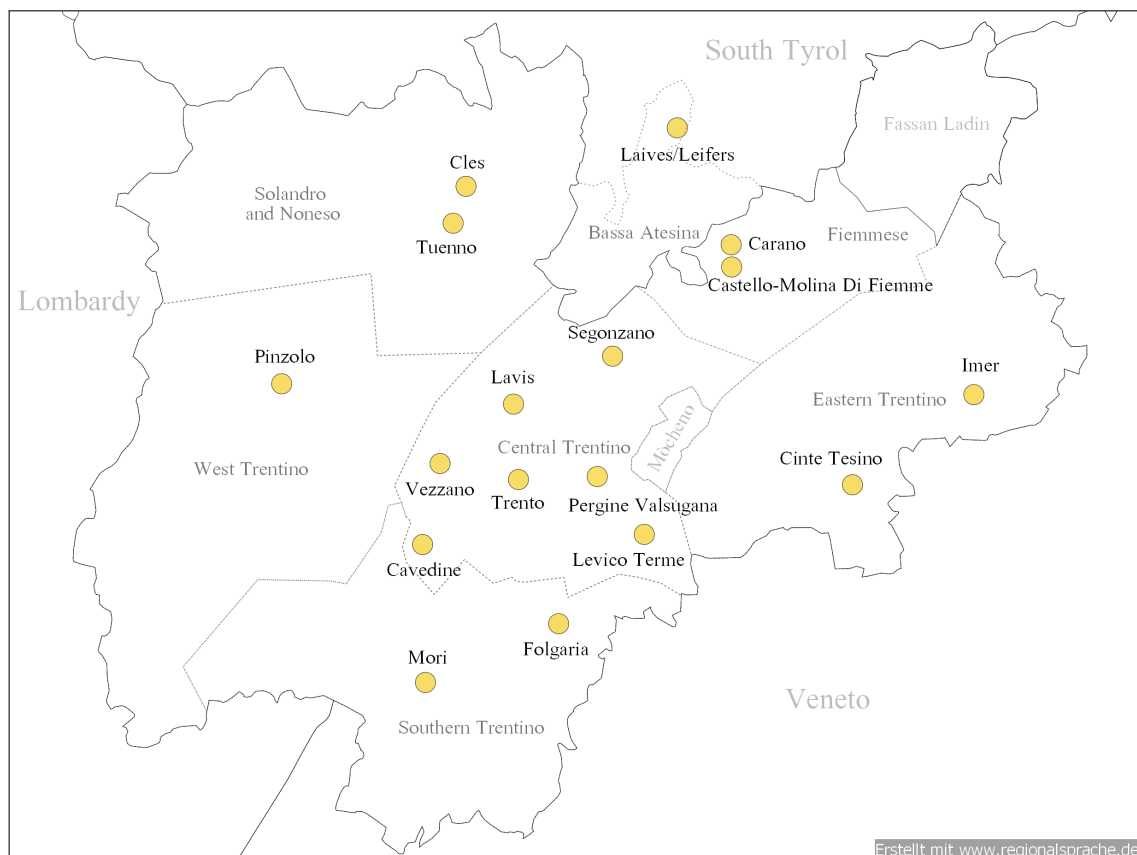


Figure 10.1: Trentino locations surveyed in VinKo

10.1 Introduction

The Trentino dialects are border varieties, spoken in the area where the Venetan and Lombard dialect groups meet and the Romance varieties are in direct contact with their Germanic northern neighbors. As a result, the Trentino varieties show an interesting mix of Venetan and Lombard dialect features, as well as effects of their long-term contact with Germanic varieties. While the Trentino dialects are not a recognized dialect group in the classical sense in Italian dialectology (Pellegrini 1975), but rather are part of the larger Venetan group, they are commonly treated as a distinct entity in dialect literature due to their intermediate nature and varying degrees of mixed features. The attribution of the label 'Trentino' therefore is primarily established by the political borders of the region Trentino-South Tyrol, rather than by linguistic criteria.

This choice results in a relatively high level of heterogeneity within the category of Trentino dialects. In the recently released *Grammar of Central Trentino*, Casalicchio and Cordin (2020:14) divide the Trentino area into the following 7 main groups: Central dialects (with urban and rural varieties), Western dialects, Eastern dialects, Southern dialects, Fiemme dialects, dialects from Val di Non and Val di Sol, and Fassan Ladin. The last group, Fassan Ladin, is part of the Rhaeto-Romance varieties and will not be discussed in this chapter. The remaining groups distinguishing features are commonly tied to their directly neighboring dialect varieties. Both the Eastern and Southern dialects share features with nearby Venetan varieties, respectively rural Vicenza and Feltre aspects and urban Veronese aspects (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:16-17). The Western dialects have more Lombard features, as do the varieties spoken close to the border with Lombardy in Val di Non and Val di Sol (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:15-18). In the western regions, however, particularly in Val di Non and Val di Sole, the linguistic varieties are quite diverse from the neighboring dialects and have in the past been analyzed as varieties with Ladin characteristics (Haiman and Benincà 1992) or as having maintained archaic Trentino features (Battisti 1937), both would be the result of their remote location and high level of isolation. While the lack of 'Nonese' label was noted by participants, the varieties spoken in Val di Non do not count as recognized Ladin varieties nor do the Val di Sol varieties. For this reason, they are grouped under the generic label 'Trentino', despite them being recognizably distinct from other Trentino varieties in many aspects. The Central and Fiemme dialects contain a mix of Lombard and Venetan features, with the rural varieties preserving the most Lombard elements and the urban varieties more oriented towards Venetan (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:14-15, 17-18).

The highest degree of contact with the German varieties is found in the area known as the *Bassa Atesina* or the *Bozner Unterland*, which has an enduring situation of bilingualism of Trentino and Tyrolean dialects (more recently also the increasing use of the standard varieties, Italian and German). This area has been very fruitful for language contact and bilingualism research (e.g. Dal Negro 2017; Rabanus and Tomaselli 2017; Alber, Rabanus, and Tomaselli 2012).

For a visual representation of the Trentino dialect sub-groups, please refer to map 10.1.

10.1.1 Localities and speakers

VinKo has a total of 23 Trentino participants from 17 different locations in its database at the time of writing. Most of the participants come from the Central Trentino group, in total 13 participants from 7 different locations in and around the city of Trento. Southern and Eastern Trentino are both represented by two localities, each with a single participant. For Western Trentino, there is a

single speaker from Pinzolo, which is part the Upper Rendena area and which has quite a distinct dialect, and Fiemmese is represented by two different locations, each with one participant. The varieties from Val di Non are represented by two locations; Cles and Tuenno, each with one speaker. From the bilingual area of the Bassa Atesina, in South Tyrol, there is a single Trentino participant from Laives/Leifers. On map 10.1 all the different localities for which there are participants are represented as well as the dialect group they belong to within the larger Trentino group.

10.1.2 Sociolinguistics

In contrast to the minority languages of the region Trentino-South Tyrol, e.g. Mòcheno, Cimbrian and diverse Ladin varieties, the Trentino dialects enjoy no official recognition and as such are not protected and safeguarded under the 482/99 law of 1999 for the protection of minority languages in Italy. While there are local and regional initiatives for the documentation of Trentino language and culture, the Trentino dialects cannot rely on systematic funding for these purposes. So far, no official orthography has been developed nor has there been the organized standardization which is characteristic of language planning and policy of the minority languages over the last few decades.

Due to the lack of any officially recognized or commonly used orthography or spelling conventions, it was decided to adopt the spelling conventions used in the *Grammar of Central Trentino* by Casalicchio and Cordin (2020:8-9), which they refer to as ‘simplified phonetic spelling’. The great strength of this spelling is the ability to represent local variation in pronunciation, e.g. *cazzadòr* (Imer) vs. *caciadòr* (Vezzano) ‘hunter’, though of course, the other side of the coin is that there is an overall lack of conventionality or consistency in the spelling of lexical items. For the most part, the spelling conventions are in line with those of standard Italian, making it very readable for anyone who is literate in Italian, a distinct advantage particularly when compared to spellings adopting ‘foreign’ signs like <k>, resulting in *ki* instead of *chi* ‘who’, or which adopt an extensive use of diacritics, leading to *čapa* instead of *ciapa*, (for example, see the transcription of Rendena varieties in Tomasini 1989). However, there are some marked differences from standard Italian, which are represented in table 10.1¹. The most important differences concern the marking of vowel quality, the spelling of sibilants, and the usage of double consonants. In standard Italian double consonants denote geminates, but these do not exist in most Northern Italian dialects, including the Trentino varieties. Instead the doubling of the consonant reflects a difference in the quality of the consonant (specifically on voiced/voiceless), for example <ss> should be taken to represent the [s] in opposition to the [z] pronunciation of <s> (in intervocalic position). Stress is marked with an accent grave, only when it is not on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *tàola* ‘table’. It is not marked on monosyllabic words, unless necessary for disambiguation of homophones, e.g. *la* ‘the (f)’ vs. *là* ‘there’. On the vowels <e> and <o>, the accent indicates the vowel quality in stressed syllables, as represented in table A.3.

¹Table 10.1 represents only the elements which are divergent from standard Italian and needed for the correct reading of the language examples in this chapter. For a complete overview of the spelling system please see table A.3 in Appendix A.

Spelling		IPA	Example
è		ɛ	<i>vècia</i> 'old woman'
é		e	<i>véra</i> 'true'
ò		ɔ	<i>s-ciòp</i> 'gun'
ó		o	<i>sóra</i> 'over'
ö		œ	<i>föch</i> 'fire'
ü		ʏ	<i>verdüra</i> 'vegetables'
c'		tʃ	<i>gac</i> 'cats'
s		s	<i>fòs</i> 'ditch'
s	intervocalic	z	<i>casa</i> 'house'
<u>s</u>		z	<i><u>s</u>dentà</i> 'toothless'
ss		s	<i>sassi</i> 'stones'
sci		ʃ	<i>liscio</i> 'smooth'
s-ci		s tʃ	<i>s-ciòp</i> 'gun'
z		θ	<i>vinzer</i> 'to win'
z	intervocalic	ð	<i>mèza</i> 'half'
zz		θ	<i>pózza</i> 'pool'
<u>z</u>		ð	<i><u>z</u>ènt</i> 'people'

Table 10.1: Trentino spelling, based on Casalicchio and Cordin (2020:8-10)

10.2 Pronominal paradigms

The Trentino dialects have a pronominal system composed out of two sets of personal pronouns: stressed free pronouns and the unstressed clitic pronouns (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020). Contrary to standard Italian, Northern Italian varieties, including Trentino and Venetan, have clitics denoting subjects in addition to the more usual clitics for direct and indirect objects (e.g. Renzi and Vanelli 1983; Poletto 2000; Poletto 1995; Benincà, Parry, and Pescarini 2016; Casalicchio and Frasson 2018; Casalicchio and Cordin 2020), though the sets of subject clitics are systematically 'deficient'. Many varieties do not have a complete set of subject clitics, but instead have a restricted set, which only marks certain persons. In the Northern Italian dialects, the third person (singular and plural) and the second person singular are the most commonly obligatorily marked with subject clitics (e.g. Benincà, Parry, and Pescarini 2016; Zamboni 1974). For the Trentino dialects, there are attestations of subject clitics for all persons with exception of the second person plural (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:107), though some only have enclitic form and not proclitics (1st person, both singular and plural).

This section provides a description of the stressed pronouns found in the Trentino varieties. Firstly the singular forms are discussed, followed by the plural forms in the second subsection. Finally, the summary presents the full pronominal paradigm(s) and the general patterns found for the Trentino dialects.

10.2.1 Singular Pronouns

This section discusses the singular pronouns found in the language varieties spoken in the province of Trento. Table 10.2 provides an overview of all the pronouns found in the singular in Trentino. The case labels in the table and in the glosses of the examples mainly serve for comparative purposes with the Germanic examples, but are not meant to imply that there is any overt case marking on either the pronouns or the articles.

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1SG		mi	a mi
2SG		ti	a ti
3SG	M	lu, elo, el/öl	a lu, elo, el/öl
	F	ela/öla	a ela/öla

Table 10.2: Singular pronouns in Trentino

From the table, it is clear that there is little variation across the area both in surface forms and in patterns. Only in the realization of the third person masculine is there some variation across different Trentino groups, but the first, second and third person feminine person are uniform across the Trentino area.

The first person singular pronoun is *mi* for all the Trentino varieties, regardless of their dialect group. For example, compare the Trento (Central Trentino) example in (119-a) with the same form from Castello-Molina di Fiemme (Fiemnese) in example (119-b).

- (119) a. *Va ben, l'= aiudo mi, la= dis la putela*
 goes good 3SG.M.ACC= help 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F)
brava e ela tole el pan dal forno
 good:F and 3SG.F.NOM takes DEF.M.ACC bread(M) from:DEF.M.SG oven(M)
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tre_U0410)
- b. *bom bom ti aido mi dis quella valenta e la=*
 good good 2SG.ACC= help 1SG.NOM says that_one:F good:F and 3SG.F.NOM=
tira fòra ela el pan dal forno
 pulls out 3SG.F.NOM DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from:DEF.M oven(M)
 (Castello-Molina di Fiemme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tre_U0561)
 “‘Alright, I’ll help him,” says the good girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’

There is no difference in the realization of the pronoun regarding case, resulting in exactly the same form in nominative (120-a), accusative (120-b), and dative(120-c).

- (120) a. *Va ben, te= aido mi, la= dis la putela*
 goes good 2SG.ACC= help 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F)
brava e ela tole fòra el pan dal
 good and 3SG.F.NOM takes out DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from:DEF.M.SG
forno
 oven(M)
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tre_U0646)
 “‘Alright, I’ll help him,” says the good girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’

- b. *Non sta magnar lu, magnà=me mi. Son molto pu staifa de*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am much more fat than
lu.
 3SG.M.ACC
 (Cinte Tesino, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tre_U0411)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!”
- c. *se te= ghe= dès el s-ciop a lu, a mi*
 if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M DAT 1SG.DAT
cosa te= ghe= me= dai?
 what 2SG.NOM= it= 1SG.DAT= give
 (Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tre_U0459)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”

The second person singular also only has a single surface form across the area, namely *ti*, which is found for all the different dialect areas. For comparison, see example (121-a) from Folgaria (Southern Trentino) and example (121-b) Carano (Fiemmesese).

- (121) a. *fa ti la= dis la putela svojara a quella*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy:F DAT that_one:F
brava e ela l'= aiuta l' alber e
 good:F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
lo= scórla
 3SG.M.ACC= shakes
 (Folgaria; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0571)
- b. *fai ti dis la ragazza pigra a quella brava e*
 do 2SG.NOM says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy:F DAT that_one:F good:F and
ela l'= aida l' alber a scórlar=lo su
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) to shake=3SG.M.ACC down
 (Carano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0624)
 ““You do it,” says the lazy girl to the good one and she helps the tree and shakes it.”

There is no case distinction in the realization of the pronoun, maintaining a single form for nominative (122-a), accusative (122-b), and dative case (122-c).

- (122) a. *fa ti la dise la ragaza falènzosa a quella*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy:F to that_one:F
brava e ela l'= aiuta l' alber e
 good:F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
lo= scórla
 3SG.M.ACC= shakes
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0351)
 ““You do it,” says the lazy girl to the good one and she helps the tree and shakes it.”
- b. *No la= deve magnar ngànca ti no, non la= deve*
 not 3SG.F.NOM= must eat neither 2SG.ACC not not 3SG.F.NOM= must
magnar ngànca uno dei noi
 eat neither one of 1PL
 (Levico Terme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_tre_U0565)

“She can’t eat you, she can’t eat any of us!”

- c. *Ades toca a ti dis la tosa valenta a quella lïpa*
 now touch DAT 2SG.DAT says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) good:F to that_one:F lazy:F
ma ela non ajut’ el pan
 but 3SG.F.NOM not help DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M)

(Imer, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_tre_U0607)

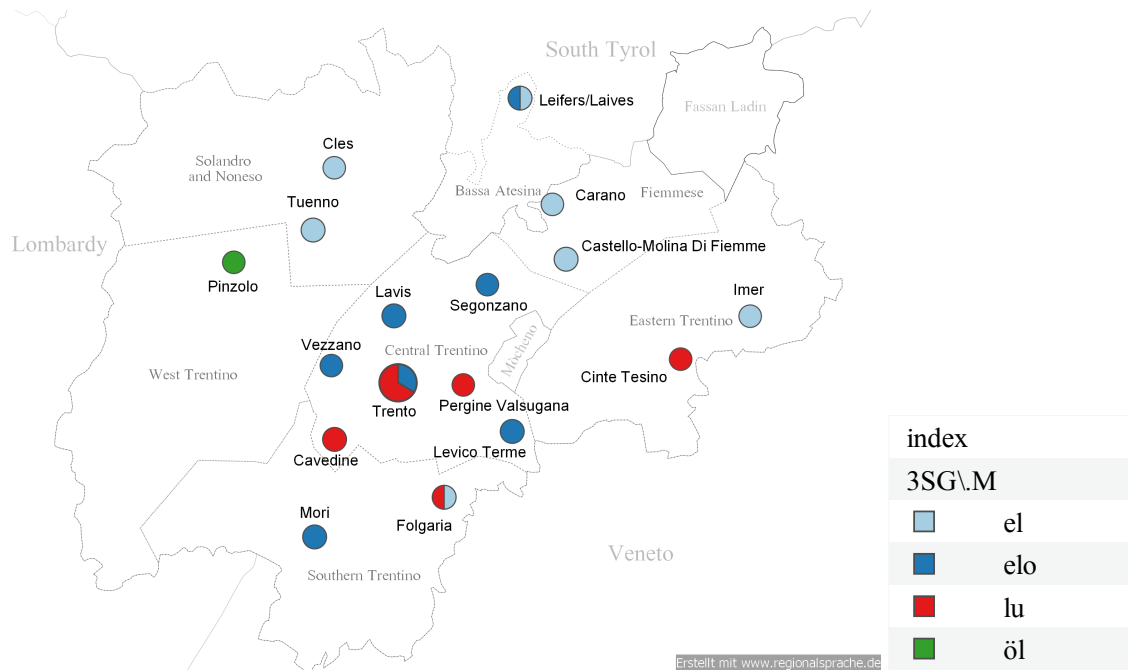
“‘It’s your turn!’, says the good girl to the lazy one, but she doesn’t help the bread.’

The third person singular masculine gender has the widest range of surface forms, with attestations in *lu*, *elo*, *el* and *öl*. Across most Trentino dialects it comes in three main varieties: *lu* (123-a), *elo* (123-b), and *el* (123-c). Only Pinzolo has the diverging vowel realization in *öl* (123-d).

- (123) a. *alora lu el= tol el so fussile e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 =’l *copa la stria*
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0451)
- b. *alora elo el= ciapa el so s-ciòpe e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 =’l *copa la strega*
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Mori, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0569)
- c. *alora el el= ciapa el so s-ciòp e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 el= *copa la strega*
 3SG.M.NOM= kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Folgaria, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0571)
- d. *Alora öl el= ciapa ’l so s-ciop e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 =’l *fa fòra la strega*
 =3SG.M.NOM makes out DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0578)
 ‘So he took out his gun, and he killed the witch.’

The distribution across the areas is as seen on map 10.2. The eastern and western areas have forms in *el* or *öl*. The center and southern areas are mainly populated with the *elo* and *lu* forms. It must be noted that both *elo* and *lu* are attested in the Venetan dialects (see chapter 11), but that *lu* is the main form overall. Based on the distribution of *lu*, it could be hypothesized that it is a Venetan influence in the Trentino varieties.

There is no indication that age plays a role in the usage of *elo* or *lu*. Of the six speakers from Trento, two use the *elo* form and both are in their early twenties. The four others consistently use *lu*, and range between 24 and 66 years. There does seem to be a degree of speaker internal variation, which might suggest it is a feature undergoing shift. The speaker from Folgaria uses both the *el*, potentially in the subject position more available due to the identical form of the pronominal subject clitic *el*, and the *lu* form which he uses in the object position, see (124).

Figure 10.2: *elo, lu, el/öl*: attestations of 3SG.M in Trentino

- (124) a. *No sta magnar **lu**, magna mi. Son molto pu ciciota de **lu***
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC am much more fat than 3SG.M
 (Folgaria; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tre_U0571)
 ‘Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!’
- b. *alora **el**, el= ciapa ’l so s-ciòp e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 =’l copa la strega
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Folgaria; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0571)
 ‘So he took out his gun and killed the witch.’

As stressed pronouns are used relatively little in the Romance varieties and there is likely exposure to both forms in roughly equal measure, it might be a feature inclined to change or shift, if there is a strong influence from neighboring communities. Due to the location of Folgaria, in close proximity to the Trentino-Veneto border, this shift could be expected to be in favor of *lu*, the dominant form in the Venetan varieties.

The third person singular feminine is consistently *ela* across the area, e.g. (125-a) and (125-b), with exception of Pinzolo, where it is *öla*, (125-c).

- (125) a. *Se sta fortunadi che **ela** non v’= abia visto*
 are been fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Vezzano, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0427)
- b. *se fortunai che **ela** non la= v’= abia vist*
 are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Mori, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0569)

- c. *Si fortunè chi öla no la= v'= abia vigiù*
 are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0578)
 “You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too!”

There is no indication that there is any difference regarding case marking on the free pronouns for the third person singular, neither for the masculine (126) nor the feminine gender (127).

- (126) a. *alora lu ciapa el so s-ciop e copa la*
 so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and kills DEF.F.SG.ACC
strega
 witch(F)
 (Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0459)
 ‘So he took out his gun, and he killed the witch.’
- b. *No sta magnar lu, magna mi. Son molto pu ciciota de lu*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC am much more fat than 3SG.M
 (Folgaria, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tre_U0571)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!”
- c. *se te= ghe= dai el fussil a lu, a mi*
 if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG gun(M) DAT 3SG.M.DAT DAT 1SG.DAT
cosa me= dat
 what 1SG.DAT= give
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tre_U0451)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”
- (127) a. *Se stadi fortunadi che ela non l’= ha vis voi*
 are been fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 2PL.ACC
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0351)
 “You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too!”
- b. *ma no t’= o vist laorar, o vist laorar demò ela*
 but not 2SG.ACC= have seen work have seen work only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tre_U0412)
 “I haven’t seen you work, I have only seen her work.”
- c. *ma l’ albor el= v’= a domandà a tute e*
 but DEF.M.SG.NOM tree(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 2PL.DAT= have asked to all:F and
doi, no solo a ela no.
 two not only DAT 3SG.F.DAT not
 (Tuenno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_tre_U0448)
 “But the tree asked it to both of you, not just to her.”

10.2.2 Plural pronouns

The plural pronouns are *noi(altri/e)* (*nuaftri* in Pinzolo), *voi(altri/e)* (*vuafttri* in Pinzolo), and *lori/e* or *ei/öi*, for the first, second and third person plural stressed pronouns respectively (128-a) and (128-b). See table 10.3 for an overview of the plural pronouns.

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1PL	noi(altri/e)		a noi(altri/e)
2PL	voi(altri/e)		a voi(altri/e)
3PL	M	lori, ei/öi	a lori, ei/öi
	F	lore	a lore

Table 10.3: Plural pronouns in Trentino

- (128) a. *noi sè scampai mentre lori stadi ciapai*
 1PL.NOM are escaped while 3PL.M.NOM been captured
 (Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tre_U0459)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured!”
- b. *Séu stai voi a binàr su i pómi?*
 are been 2PL.NOM to collect down DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
 (Levico Terme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_tre_U0565)
 “Have you(PL) picked the apples?”

Different from standard Italian, the third plural pronoun also indicates gender, e.g. *lori* for masculine or mixed referents and *lore* for feminine referents.

- (129) a. *El cazzador el= n'= a date un fussile a noi ma no a lori. Lori i= è ancora massa picioi*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 1PL.DAT= have given a gun(M) DAT
 1PL.DAT but not DAT 3PL.M.DAT 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too
 small:PL.M
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0451)
 “The hunter gave a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”
 Note: *them/they* here refers to a small group of children of both genders.
- b. *Poi le= riva a 'n forno che ghe= urla a lore: tiré fòra el pan, l'= è còt*
 then 3PL.F.NOM= arrive at an oven(M) that 3.DAT= yells DAT 3PL.DAT take out
 DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) 3SG.M.NOM= is cooked
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_tre_U0451)
 “Then they arrive at an oven that yells at them: “Take out the bread! It is ready!”
 Note: *Them* refers to two girls.

Two western localities, Cles in Val di Non and Pinzolo in Alta Rendena, have a form in respectively *ei* (130-a) and *öi* (130-b) rather than *lori*. In Val di Non, *ei* is the recognized local dialect variety, whereas *lori* is seen as a Trentino influence (Adami 2004:435fn). As was mentioned in the introduction, these varieties are assumed to have a Ladin substrate and share some Ladin features, even though they are not among the recognized Ladin communities. While the form for the third person plural in the nearby Ladin variety of Val di Fassa (*ic* ‘) is quite distinct from the Val di Non varieties, there are similar forms in the varieties of Badiot (*dei*, *ei*) and Fodom (*dëi*), see example (130-c). It must be noted that Fodom also has *lori* as an alternative to *dëi* (Masarei 2005:601).

- (130) a. *El ciaciador el= n'= a date 'n fusil a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 1PL.DAT= has given a gun(M) to
noi ma no a ei. Ei i= è a mò massa
 1PL.DAT but not to 3PL.M.DAT 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too
picioi
 small:PL.M
 (Cles, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0575)
- b. *El caciador el= n'= a date 'na s-ciòp a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 1PL.DAT= has given a gun(M) DAT
nuaftri ma mica cuaftri. Òi i= è a mu massa
 1PL.DAT but not those_others.M 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too
picioi
 small:PL.M
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0578)
- c. *el ciaciadou dá un sclòp a nosautri ma non a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) gives a gun(M) DAT 1PL.M.DAT but not DAT
dëi. Dëi é ancora massa pichi
 3PL.M.DAT 3PL.M.NOM are still too small:PL.M
 (Livinallongo del Col di Lana; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_ildfo_U0542)
 “The hunter gave a gun to us, but not to the others. They are still too small.”

There are no case distinctions in the forms of the plural pronouns, e.g. the accusative forms are the same as the nominative forms (131). Datives are marked with the preposition *a* (132).

- (131) a. *la strega l'= a vist anca noi? No, l'=*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM= has seen also 1PL.ACC no 3SG.F.NOM=
a vist sol lori
 have seen only 3PL.M.ACC
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tre_U0410)
 “Has the witch also seen us?” “No, she has seen only them.”
- b. *Se fortunadi che no la= ve= abia vedest voi*
 are fortunate that not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen 2PL.ACC
 (Imer, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0607)
 “You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too!”
- (132) a. *El cassador l'= a dato el s-ciop a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) to
noi, ma no a lori. Lori i= è ancora massa
 1PL.DAT but not DAT 3PL.M.DAT 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too
picoli
 small:PL.M
 (Folgaria, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0571)
 “The hunter gave the gun to us, but not to them! They are still too small.”
- b. *ma l' albor l'= a domandà a voi doi, no solo*
 but DEF.M.NOM tree(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has asked DAT 2PL.DAT two not only
a ela
 DAT 3SG.F.DAT

(Carano, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_tre_U0624)

“But the tree asked it to both of you, not just to her.”

While the simple forms of the plural pronouns are the most commonly used, the first and second person plural pronouns can be modified by adding *'altri/altre'* to the pronoun, (133-a), or in the case of Pinzolo *aftri/e* (247-b) due to velarization of the lateral [l] before a consonant turning it into fricative [f], which is known process for Rendena (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:15-6).

- (133) a. *la strega l'= a vist anca noi-altri?* *No, no,*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM= has seen also 1PL.ACC-others.M no no
l'= a vist sól lori
 3SG.F.NOM= has seen only 3PL.M.ACC
 (Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tre_U0459)

“Has she seen us too?” “No, no, she has seen only them.”

- b. *avé tirà su vo-aftre i póm?*
 have picked down 2PL.F.NOM-others.F DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_tre_U0578)

“Have you collected the apples?”

For some varieties and speakers, both forms are used intermittently. For the other speakers, only one form is present which is the simple form *noi/voi* without adding -others. The location of Pinzolo is the sole exception to this, as this speaker exclusively uses the forms *noaftri/e* and *voaftri/e*. According to Casalicchio and Cordin (2020:106) the *altri*-forms were originally used for emphasis and contrasting the addressee and the speakers (in first person) or the addressee and other people (in the second person). They state that currently in Central Trentino varieties this emphatic meaning has been lost and the *altri*-forms are used as ‘rustic’ synonyms of *noi* and *voi*. In the VinKo data, for most localities we find a strong preference for the use of the simple forms, with exception of Pinzolo, where the *altri*-forms are used in all instances, so they can be taken to be the neutral form of the pronoun. Other speakers all show variation in their use of either the simple form of *noi/voi* or the forms with *altri*. For some speakers, it could be argued that the original emphatic meaning is still maintained in some contexts. The VinKo data overwhelmingly shows that there is a preference for the use of the simple forms, as in all sentences they outnumber the *altri*-forms, see table 10.4. However, in the stimulus T203b, where there is a very strong contrast between addressees and speakers, the amount of *altri*-form is considerably higher when compared to other sentences. While other stimuli, e.g. T0104 and T0116, have strong contrasts between the speakers (first person) and third persons, these do not trigger the increased use of *-altri* forms. Casalicchio and Cordin (2020:106) only describe the emphatic use of *-altri* in contexts that include a contrast with the addressees (second person), not in those contrasting first and third persons. This is supported by the VinKo data.

Stimulus	Sentence	noi/voi	noialtri/voialtri
T0104	Noi siamo scappati, mentre loro sono stati catturati!	95%	5 %
T0112	Non deve mangiare neanche te! Non deve mangiare nessuno di noi !	84%	16%
T0116	Il cacciatore ha dato un fucile a noi , ma non a loro. Loro sono ancora troppo piccoli!	95%	5%
T0202	La strega ha visto anche noi ?	94%	6%
T0203a	Il cacciatore darà fucili anche a noi , o solo a voi?	90%	10 %
T0203b	Il cacciatore darà fucili anche a noi, o solo a voi ?	71%	29%
T0309	Avete raccolto voi le mele?	94%	6%
T0310	Sì, le abbiamo raccolte noi !	100%	0%

Table 10.4: Use of *noi/voi(-altri)* in Trentino

10.2.3 Discussion

The underlying case pattern is the same across the province, regardless of surface forms. There is a single form for the personal pronouns for all three cases and the dative form is symbolized by the prepositional marker *a*.

Nominative	Accusative	Dative
A		<i>a</i> A

Table 10.5: Pronominal case pattern of Trentino

For the most part, this is perfectly in line with the expected case pattern for Northern Italian dialect and historic and recent dialect descriptions. Only a few varieties might have Ladin features, like varieties from Alta Rendena, and Val di Non and Val di Sol, and, hence, diverge from this pattern. In the current data set, that would mean the locations of Pinzolo (Alta Rendena), and the varieties from Val di Non, Tuenno and Cles. For Pinzolo, Tomasini (1989:35) documents different forms for the nominative and the oblique cases in the first and second singular personal pronouns. The difference is quite minimal with in the nominative case forms in *mè* and *tè*, which in the accusative and dative are realized as *mi* and *ti*. In the VinKo data, we do not find such a distinction. While the data from Pinzolo is clearly divergent from the other Trentino varieties in surface forms, in the case patterning there is no observable difference. Pinzolo has the use of *mi* in all cases, (134).

- (134) a. *No sta magnàr öl, magna mi. Mi son molto pu grassa*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much more fat
de öl
 than 3SG.M
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tre_U0578)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is.”
- b. *s’ a öl ti dö il s-ciop, a mi cu*
 if to 3SG.M.DAT 2SG.NOM give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) to 1SG.DAT what
me= dè ?
 1SG.DAT= give
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tre_U0578)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”

The data in Tomasini 1989 was collected in 1948, so there is a considerable generation gap between the data.

10.3 Definite articles

Definite articles in the Trentino area are used much similar to those in standard Italian, but for some areas they are used in a broader range of contexts which would in standard Italian not apply, like in front of personal names, e.g. *la Maria* ‘(the) Maria’ (cf. Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:64-66). The system itself is quite straightforward. In the singular, there are two different genders; masculine and feminine. The dative is merely marked with the prepositional dative marker *a*, but definite article forms themselves are invariable, regardless of case, see table 10.6.

		NOM/ACC	DAT
DEF.SG	M	el	al
	F	la	a la

Table 10.6: Definite articles in singular number in Trentino

The masculine article takes the form of *el* and in the dative, it is obligatorily preceded by the preposition *a*.

- (135) a. *el cazzadòr el= ghe= dise a la strìa*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 3SG.DAT= says to DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)
de se fermar e ela la= prova de far ’na magia
 of 3.REFL stop and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= tries of make a spell(F)
 (Imer, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tre_U0607)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop, but she tries to hex him.’
- b. *alora el, el= ciapa el so s-ciòp e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
=’l copa la strega
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Folgaria, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0571)
 ‘So he took out his gun and killed the witch.’

- c. *i= torna a casa ntel paés e domanda aiuto*
 3PL.M.NOM= return to home in.DEF.M.SG village(M) and ask help
al cazzador
 to.DEF.M.SG.DAT hunter(M)
 (Castello-Molina di Fiemme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tre_U0561)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

The feminine article takes the form of *la* in both the nominative (e.g. *la vècia* ‘the old woman’) and the accusative case (*la pigrisia* ‘the lazy one’) and is preceded by the preposition *a* in the dative case (*ala matela brava* ‘to the good girl’), (136).

- (136) *la vècia la= ghi= dà a la matela brava*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM old_woman 3SG.F.NOM= 3SG.DAT= gives DAT DEF.F.SG girl(F) good:F
oro e diamanti e la= coèrze de zéndro la pigrisia
 gold and diamonds and 3SG.F.NOM= covers of ashes DEF.F.SG.ACC lazy_one:F
 (Pergine Valsugana, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0313_tre_U0619)
 ‘The old woman gives gold and diamonds to the good girl and ashes to the lazy one.’

10.4 Summary

The free pronouns in Trentino are consistent across the different Trentino dialect groups and show little surface variation and no pattern variation. For a full summary of the pronouns found in the Trentino dialects, see table 10.7.

NOM/ACC		DAT	
1SG	mi	a mi	
2SG	ti	a ti	
3SG	M	lu, elo, el/öl	a lu, elo, el/öl
	F	ela/öla	a ela/öla
1PL	M	noialtri/nuaftri	a noi
	F	noialtre/nuaftre	a noi
2PL	M	voialtre/vuaftre	a voi
	F	voialtre/vuaftre	a voi
3PL	M	lori, ei/öi	a lori, ei/öi
	F	lore	a lore

Table 10.7: Overview of personal pronouns in Trentino

NOM/ACC		DAT
DEF.SG	M	el
	F	la

Table 10.8: Overview of definite articles in Trentino

The case pattern of the pronominal pattern of a single form for the nominative, accusative, and dative case marked with the preposition *a* is paralleled in the patterning of the definite articles.

Nominative	Accusative	Dative
A		<i>a</i> A

Table 10.9: Case pattern of Trentino

11. Venetan

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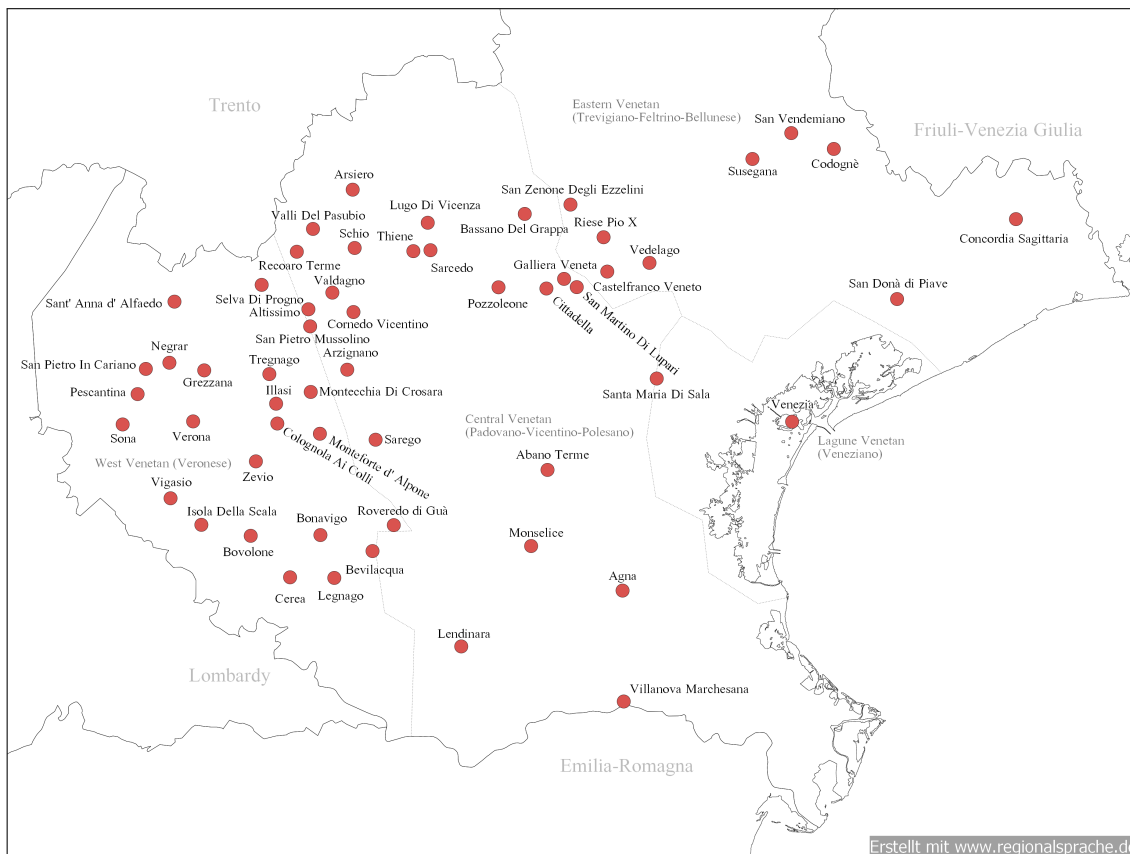


Figure 11.1: Venetan locations surveyed in VinKo

11.1 Introduction

The Veneto dialects are one of the major dialect groups of Northern Italy (Pellegrini 1977) and can be found from the eastern border with the region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia (some Venetan language islands are also present in this region, particularly along the coast) all the way to Lombardy in the west, and from the northern border with South Tyrol all the way down to Emilia Romagna in the south. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the Trentino dialects, though officially part of the Venetan group, are treated here as distinct dialects. In my dissertation, the Venetan dialects are limited to those found in the region of Veneto, as this was the scope of the platform and the data collection during this period. The Venetan dialects can be divided into four dialect zones; Western Venetan (including Veronese dialect), Central Venetan (including the Vicentino, Padovano, and Polesano dialects), Lagune Venetan (including Venice and Chioggia dialects), and Northern Venetan (including the Trevigiano, Feltrino, and Bellunese dialects) (Zamboni 1974), represented on map 11.1.

VinKo contains data for 76 participants (as for 11 June 2021) for the Venetan dialects, who come from 43 different locations in total. Most participants come from locations in the province of Verona or clustered around it, meaning that there is an over-representation of the Western Venetan dialects. There is some data from the other three groups, but to a much lesser extent, see map 11.1 for an overview of all locations.

11.1.1 Sociolinguistics

The Venetan dialects have a relatively high degree of vitality, yet like most Italian dialects they experience a lot of pressure from standard Italian. Younger speakers, in general, have standard Italian as their dominant language and Casalicchio and Frasson (2018) suggest that the acquisition of their dialect might be best seen as the acquisition of a heritage language (cf. also Klaschik and Kupisch 2016), and as such undergoing phenomena of language interference from standard Italian. In Casalicchio and Frasson (2018)'s large-scale study on Venetan dialects, 75,3% of older speakers (plus 55 years) reports having perfect dialect competence while this is only 24,3% under younger speakers (less than 25 years). VinKo data hints at a similar trend, as younger speakers are much more likely to answer 'no' to the question 'do you speak your dialect well?' (around 40%) than older speakers, who rarely respond in the negative (only 3%).

The Veneto region has, and has always had, a strong regional identity, which plays an important role in preserving and maintaining linguistic and cultural identity in the region. Despite the fact that Venetan does not have any official status as a regional language or minority language, there are regional schemes and protection for linguistic and cultural heritage in the region as well as plenty of local initiatives aimed at the promotion of the Venetan language. For example, in the city of Venice, most current street signs have been adapted to reflect the Venetian toponymy, written to reflect Venetan dialect (for example, no use of double consonants as Venetan does not have geminate consonants), and there are many regional periodicals which focus on local culture, history and language use and some of which are (partly) written in dialect.

Despite the fact that the Venetan dialects have a long history of written use, e.g. in plays, poetry, and books, there is no commonly accepted or unified orthography. In 1995 a common spelling, the *Grafia Veneto Unitaria*, (Unitaria 1995) was proposed by the Regional Council of Veneto. This proposed orthography is a very complete spelling, as it takes into consideration all

dialectal varieties spoken in Veneto. However, this completeness is accomplished by the use of a large number of diacritics, the use of which can result in significant problems regarding the comprehension and usability of the orthography by speakers. It also has the significant drawback that a single sound might be represented by completely different graphemes (e.g. <s> and <x> can both stand for [z]), which makes the spelling unsystematic and unpredictable. There has since been published a revised version, the *Grafia Veneta Riformata* (*L'alfabeto della Grafia Veneta Riformata JGY*), which solves some of these problems by being more condensed and aiming at a uniform way of writing Venetan dialect, while allowing speakers to maintain local pronunciation. However, it makes some unconventional choices for certain graphemes. For example the use of <y> for [j], which in most other proposed Venetan spellings is spelled as <j> (for a more complete overview of the history of Venetan spelling, please see Zanin (2016)). None of the above-mentioned proposed standard spellings has been widely or strictly adopted. Most modern written materials in Venetan, for example, the monthly magazine *Quàtro Ciàcoe* (<http://www.quattrociacoe.it/>) or the periodical journal *Raixe Venete* (<http://www.raixevenete.com/>), use their own particular spellings, which while based largely on the *Grafia Veneta Riformata* do not strictly adhere to it.

The spelling of the language examples of the Venetan varieties in this dissertation takes a similar approach by sticking to the standard Italian orthographic conventions where possible and adopting features from the common Venetan spelling conventions and the Trentino spelling where necessary. The graphemes which diverge significantly from standard Italian are represented in table 11.1, and for a complete overview of the used transcription, please refer to table A.4 in appendix A.

Spelling		IPA	Example
è		ɛ	<i>perèr</i> ‘pear tree’
é		e	<i>fémena</i> ‘woman’
ò		ɔ	<i>fiòco</i> ‘bow’
ó		o	<i>mónega</i> ‘nun’
s		s	<i>savèr</i> ‘to know’
	intervocalic	z	<i>tóse</i> ‘girls’
c’		tʃ	<i>ciuc’</i> ‘fresh cheese’
ṣ		z	<i>sénte</i> ‘people’
ss		s	<i>tósse</i> ‘cough’
s-ci		stʃ	<i>s-ciòpo</i> ‘gun’
		θ, s, tʃ	<i>zento</i> ‘a hundred’
z	intervocalic	ð, z, dʒ	<i>pèzo</i> ‘worse’
zz		s, θ, tʃ	<i>felizze</i> ‘happy’
ẓ		ð, d, z, dz	<i>ẓalo</i> ‘yellow’
j		j	<i>jutare</i> ‘to help’
ḷ		e, Ø	<i>vela</i> ‘sail’

Table 11.1: Venetan spelling, examples taken from Zanin (2016)

The biggest challenge of any Venetan dialect spelling is capturing the large amount of variation present in the region, while also keeping the text understandable and readable. Particularly challenging is the spelling of the sibilants and the lateral, the so-called “*elle evanescente*”. For the sibilants, I am broadly sticking to the system as proposed for the Trentino dialects by Casalicchio

and Cordin (2020, cf. Table 10.1). While the phonetic realizations of the sibilants do significantly differ, their phonology is largely the same (though there is some variation across the Venetan dialects). It also allows for a consistency between the Trentino and Venetan examples and increases readability. This choice means that the letter <x> for the voiced alveolar fricative [z] will not be used for the transcription. While the <x> is a strong marker of dialect identity for some varieties in the Veneto (also frequently used is <ś>), particularly around Venice, it is not recognized or commonly used in many other Veneto communities nor do many modern writers actively use it. In cases where it is used, very often (e.g. many of the articles in *Quàtro Ciàcoe*) it is used only for a few specific items, most commonly in the inflection of the verb *essare* ‘to be’, resulting in forms like *xe ze* ‘be.3.PRS’, which stand in contrast to other lexical items which are spelled with z, e.g. *zò* ‘down’. It is also very likely to lead to confusion because its pronunciation in most familiar languages (e.g. [ks] in German and English) is very distant from the intended [z] pronunciation. As illustrated by table 11.1, the transcriptions leave quite a lot of room for local pronunciation, particularly when it comes to the exact realization of the sibilant.

The second issue is the transliteration of the lateral. In some Venetan varieties, the lateral in a word-initial or intervocalic position might be pronounced either [i] (Lepschy 1962) or [e] (Zamboni 1974:13) and this is commonly referred to as the “*elle evanescente*”. In other varieties, in the same contexts the lateral might palatalize completely and not be pronounced at all (Tomasin 2010:729). The spelling of either of these allophones varies wildly between texts and can range from <j> (commonly used in scientific literature) to many different modified versions of <l> (e.g. <ł>, <ł̣> <ł̥>, <ł̧> <ł̨>) to closer to the phonetic realization as <é> or <ẽ> or reduced to a <’> or even not written at all in case of complete palatalization. The <j> overlaps with other phonemes, e.g. *jutare* ‘to help’ and the use of the vowel appears to hinder readability (or as Cortelazzo (2001: 53) puts it “*il suono più vicino è e (scoea), anche se disturba visivamente*”). Here I have decided for both evanescent and absent realizations to use the <ł>¹, as it indicates that the pronunciation differs, and it aids readability as the visual stays close to the full realization <l> and makes short forms like articles and pronouns more readable, for example compare *ła* with *a* and *ela* with *ea*.

11.2 Pronominal paradigms

The Venetan pronominal system, like the Trentino one, is composed out of a full set of stressed pronouns and a reduced set of clitics. As pointed out in the previous chapter, in contrast to standard Italian, Northern Italian varieties, including Trentino and Venetan, have clitics denoting subjects in addition to the clitics for direct and indirect objects, see section 10.2 in the previous chapter. In the Northern Italian dialects the third person (singular and plural) and the second person singular are the most commonly obligatorily marked with subject clitics (e.g. Benincà, Parry, and Pescarini 2016; Zamboni 1974). There is also a quite commonly found optional clitic *a*, particularly in the first person (singular and plural) and second person plural, which can be analyzed as either an optional subject clitic or a focus clitic (cf. Benincà 1994)

As the next two sections on singular and plural stressed pronouns illustrate, the Venetan dialects cover a large geographic area, yet have a relatively stable pronominal pattern across the different dialect areas.

¹Note that this grapheme does exist in other languages, but here it has a different pronunciation, e.g. Polish [w]. I am assuming the majority of Venetan have no or very limited knowledge of Polish.

11.2.1 Singular Pronouns

The singular pronouns form a pretty consistent and stable system across the region, with very little internal variation in surface realizations and no variation in underlying case patterns, see table 11.2.

	NOM/ACC	DAT
1SG	mi	a mi
2SG	ti	a ti
3SG	M lu/tu, elo/eło	a lu/tu, elo/eło
	F ela/eła	a ela/eła

Table 11.2: Singular pronouns in Venetan

In the first and second person, there is no variation in the surface forms across the different dialect regions. The first person singular nominative pronoun is *mi*, compare (137-a) from Veronese (Western Venetan) and (137-b) from San Donà di Piave, a Liventino variety in the east. For the second person singular nominative pronoun the realization is *ti*, a form which is consistent across the Venetan dialects, compare (137-c) Bassano del Grappa in the Veneto Centrale group and (137-d) Legnago in the southern edges of the Veronese group.

- (137) a. *Va ben, ghe= do una man **mi** la= dise*
 goes good 3SG.DAT= give a hand(F) 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says
la butela braa e ela la= tira fòra
 DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) good.F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= takes out
'l pan dal forno
 DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from.DEF.M.SG oven(M)
 (Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_vec_U0527)
- b. *Va ben, lo= jute **mi** dise la putela a quela*
 goes good 3SG.M.ACC= help 1SG.NOM says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) DAT this_one.F
brava e la= tole el pan dal camin
 good.F and 3SG.F.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from.DEF.M.SG oven(M)
 (San Donà di Piave, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_vec_U0425)
 “‘Alright, I’ll help him,” says the diligent girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’
- c. *fa **ti** la= dise la tosa prièga a quela*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy.F DAT that_one.F.SG
brava e ela la= juta l’ albero e
 good.F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
lo scorla
 3SG.M.ACC= shakes
 (Bassano del Grappa, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_vec_U0605)
- d. *fa **ti** la= dise la butela pigra cula brava*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy.F that_one.F good.F
e ela la= ghe= aiuta l’ albero e
 and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= 3SG.DAT helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
la= lo= scorla
 3SG.F.NOM= 3SG.M.ACC= shakes

(Legnago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_vec_U0300)

““You do it,” says the lazy girl to the good one and she helps the tree and shakes it.’

There is no case variation, and the forms *mi* and *ti* are consistent in the accusative, (138-a) and (138-c), and the dative, (138-b) and (138-d), cases as well.

- (138) a. *No sta magnare elo, magne=me mi, so molto pi grassa de*
not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am much more fat.F than
elo

3SG.M

(Agnà, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0553)

“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!”

- b. *Se lu te= ghe= dè 'l fusite, a mi coa*
if 3SG.M.DAT 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 1SG what
me= dè=to?

1SG.DAT= give=2SG.NOM

(Valdagno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_vec_U0401)

“If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”

- c. *No la= ga da magnare gnanca ti, no la= ga da*
not 3SG.F.NOM= has from eat neither 2SG.ACC not 3SG.F.NOM= has from
magnar nissun de nialtri

eat no_one of 1PL.M

(Arsiero, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_vec_U0447)

“She can’t eat you, she can’t eat any of us!”

- d. *Adesso toca a ti ghe= dise la tosa brava a quesà*
now touch DAT 2SG 3.DAT= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) good.F to that_one.F
scansafadie ma ela non aiuta el pan

lazybones but 3SG.F.NOM not helps DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M)

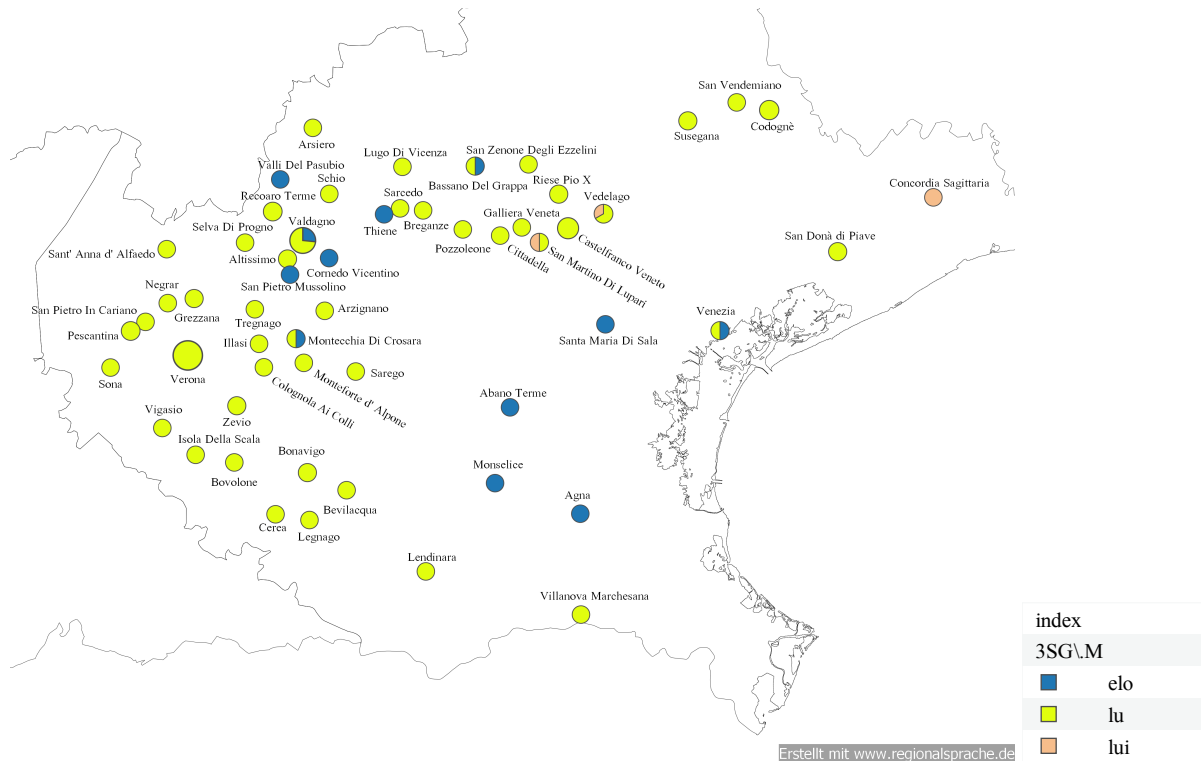
(San Martino di Lupari, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_vec_U0400)

““It’s your turn!” says the diligent girl to the lazy one, but she doesn’t help.’

The part of the paradigm where there is significant surface form variation is the third person singular masculine, with two existing forms scattered across Veneto. By far the most prevalent is *lu/tu*, which is found all across the region, and *elo/elo* which is also found scattered across Veneto.

For the larger Veneto area, it is not possible to find a clear pattern either areal or sociolinguistically to predict the use of *lu* or *elo*, or at least there is not enough data to make it statistically significant. Zamboni (1974) indicates that both forms exist but he does not include any data on their distribution. For Veronese Bondardo (1972:137-8) indicates that the current/modern form is *lu*, but historically it was *élo*, signaling a shift from historic *elo* to modern *lu*. This is in line with the data attested for the Western Venetan area, see map 11.2, as well as existing literature which report *elo* as a rare archaic form (cf. Bondardo 1972:137-8; Bonfante 2018:59)

In the Central Venetan area, it might be hypothesized that this shift is still underway. Unfortunately, there is no data in VinKo for Padovano dialect, but Benincà (1994:17) reports *lu* as the stressed pronoun for this variety and makes no mention of *elo*. However, there are sporadic attestations of *elo* particularly for the border area between the province of Verona and the Vicentino area. In some locations, a tentative link to the age of the speaker can be made. For example, from

Figure 11.2: *lu, elo*: attestations of 3SG.M in Venetan

Montecchia di Crosara there are two speakers present in the dataset; one of whom is 22 years old (U0415) and the other is 55 (U0419). The 22-year old speaker consistently uses *lu* (139-a), while the 55-year old speaker consistently uses *elo* (139-b).

- (139) a. *Alora lu el tòle la so s-ciopa e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.F.SG.ACC his gun(F) and
'l copa la stria
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Montecchia di Crosara, age:22, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0415)
- b. *Alora elo 'l ciapa la so s-ciopa e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.F.SG.ACC his gun(F) and
'l copa la stria
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Montecchia di Crosara, age:55, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0419)
 ‘So he took out his gun, and he killed the witch.’

In other locations, it appears that both forms co-exist, but that the most commonly used form is *lu*. For example, in Valdagno there are four speakers in the dataset, with the ages of 26, 39, 59, and 65. In both the youngest speaker and the oldest do we find both *lu* and *elo*. The oldest speaker most commonly uses *lu* (140-a), but for some sentences has chosen to translate *a lui* into *a elo* (140-b).

- (140) a. *Alora lu ciapa 'l fusile e copa la strega*
 so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) and kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Valdagno, age:65, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0573)

‘So he took out his gun, and he killed the witch.’

- b. *Sa te ghe dè 'l fusil a elo, a mi cosa*
 if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M DAT 1SG what
me= dè=to?

1SG.DAT= give=2SG.NOM

(Valdagno, age:65, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_vec_U0573)

‘If you give your gun to him, what will you give me?’

The younger speaker even uses both forms in a single sentence. In response to stimulus number 111 ‘Don’t eat **him**, eat me! I am much fatter than **he** is!’, she provides two audio files. In the first, she uses *lu* both in the accusative pronoun and the prepositional phrase (141-a). However, in the second one she substitutes the pronoun in the prepositional phrase with *elo*, but not the accusative form (141-b). Interestingly in Bassano del Grappa there is another speaker (23 years) who shows exactly the same alternation (141-c).

- (141) a. *No sta magnare lu, magna=me mi. Son pi ciona de lu*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am more fat than 3SG.M
 (Valdagno, age:26, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0303a)
- b. *No sta magnare lu, magna=me mi. Son pi ciona de elo*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am more fat than 3SG.M
 (Valdagno, age:26, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0303b)
- c. *Non sta magnar lu, magna mi. A= so molto pi grassa*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM= am much more fat
de elo
 than 3SG.M
 (Bassano del Grappa, age:23, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0605)
- ‘Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!’

Therefore it could be hypothesized that in the larger Vicentino area, there is an ongoing shift from the *elo* form to the *lu* form, resulting in the preservation of *elo* only in rural communities and older speakers and in some locations the co-existence of both forms in speaker’s lexicon. While there is no data from the main city in the area, Vicenza, a dictionary with grammatical notes from 1979 indicates the presence of both *elo* and *lu*, and even still documents the form *eli* for the third plural (now *lori*), which is no longer found today (Pajello 1979:x,75,130). In the southern Padovano locations of Monselice and Agna, we still find a consistent use the *elo* form.

In Lagune Venetian, there is no clear pattern, with one speaker using *lu* and the other *elo*, and both of them are in their early twenties. For the Northern Venetan group, there is no data.

The third person singular feminine form has no such variation, but is consistently *ela* across the Venetan dialect area, e.g. (142-a) and (142-b).

- (142) a. *Si sta fortuna voialtri che ela non ve= ga visto*
 are been fortunate 2PL.M.NOM that 3SG.F.NOM not 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Lugo di Vicenza, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0305)
- b. *Si fortunai che ela no la= ve= ga visto*
 are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Castelfranco Veneto, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0302)
- ‘You(PL) have been fortunate that she didn’t see you too.’

The third person singular does not show any alternations according to case, neither in the masculine gender (143) nor the feminine gender (144).

- (143) a. *Alora lu el= tòl el so fusil e copa*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and kills
la stria
 DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Cerea, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0510)
 ‘So he took out his gun, and he killed the witch.’
- b. *No sta magnar lu, magna mi. So molto piassè grossa de lu*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC am much more fat.F than 3SG.M
 (Bevilacqua, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0577)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!”
- c. *Se te= ghe= dè ’l fusil a lu, a mi sa*
 if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M DAT 1SG what
me= dè=to?
 1SG.DAT= give=2SG.NOM
 (Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_vec_U0539)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”
- (144) a. *Si fortunè che ela no l’= a mia visto voi*
 are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= have not seen 2PL.ACC
 (Negrar, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0440)
 “You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too!”
- b. *Mi non te= go vista lavorare, a= go visto solo che*
 1SG.NOM not 2SG.ACC= have seen work 1SG.NOM= have seen only that
ela lavorare
 3SG.F.ACC work
 (Arsiero, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_vec_U0477)
 “I haven’t seen you work, I haven only seen the other one (f) work.”
- c. *Ma la pianta la= v= a domandà a tute e*
 but DEF.F.SG.NOM tree(F) 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.DAT= have asked to all:F.PL and
do, no solo a ela.
 two not only DAT 3SG.F
 (Tregnago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_vec_U0312)
 “But the tree asked it to both of you, not just to her.”

11.2.2 Plural pronouns

The plural pronouns are very consistent across the Veneto region, with no local variation in the pronominal forms and little phonetic variation in their realization. An overview of the plural pronouns attested in the Venetan varieties is presented in table 11.3.

The historic first and second person plural pronoun have been combined with *-altri* ‘others’, resulting in composite forms like *noialtri* ‘we’ (lit. ‘we-others’) and *voialtri* ‘you’ (lit. ‘you-others’) (as was discussed for the Trentino varieties in section 10.2.2, and which is discussed in more detail from a cross-linguistic point of view in 12.2). These composite forms have grammaticalized and they have been phonetically reduced to varying degrees. Across the Venetan varieties, they are

		NOM/ACC	DAT
1PL	M	noialtri	a noialtri
	F	noialtre	a noialtre
2PL	M	voialtri	a voialtri
	F	voialtre	a voialtre
3PL	M	lori/lori	a lori/lori
	F	lore/lore	a lore/lore

Table 11.3: Plural pronouns in Venetan

attested ranging from fully pronounced, e.g. *noialtri* (145-a), to more phonetically reduced forms, e.g. *naltri* (145-b). In some rural varieties of Western Venetan, there is an assimilated variant in the first person plural, resulting in *noantri* (145-c) (also noted in Bondardo (1972:138) for Veronese). Gender is always marked on the first and second plurals formed with *-altri*. This results in a regular system of marking gender on the pronoun within the plural number for all persons.

- (145) a. *Noialtri semo scapè, mentre lori i è stè ciapè*
 1PL.NOM.M are escaped while 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are been captured
 (Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0298)
- b. *Naltri semo scapai, ma i altri tusiti i è stà ciapai*
 1PL.NOM.M are escaped but DEF.PL.M other children(M) 3PL.M.NOM= are been captured
 (Montecchia di Crosara, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0419)
- c. *Noantri semo scapeia, ma lori i è stè ciapè*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are been captured
 (Illasi, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0321)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured!”

For the second person, there are similar phonetic differences in surface realizations ranging from *voialtri* (146-a) to *valtri* (146-b) (with intermediate forms in *voaltri*, *vialtri*).

- (146) a. *No semo mia stè brai a copar la strega? Vardì che non si stè*
 not are not been good at killing DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F) look that not are been
mia voialtri, l'= è stài 'l caciator
 not 2.PL.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= is been DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M)
 (Illasi, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0205_vec_U0321)
 “Haven’t we been brave to have killed the witch?” “But look here, it wasn’t you, it was the hunter!”
- b. *Semo mia stà bravi a copar la stria? Ma va là, non si mia*
 are not been good at killing DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F) but go there not are not
stà valtri, è stà 'l caciatore che la= ga copà
 been 2.PL.M.NOM is been DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) that 3SG.F.ACC= has killed
 (Montecchia di Crosara, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0205_vec_U0419)
 “Haven’t we been brave to have killed the witch?” “But come, it wasn’t you, it was the hunter who killed her!”

The simple forms without *-altri* do of course also exist in the Venetan dialects, but they are rarely used, particularly when compared to their usage in the Trentino varieties, where the simple form is the most prevalent. All speakers that use a simple form in one stimulus, have multiple occurrences of the *-altri* form as well, so there are no patterns regarding the location or simply a single speaker. The few occurrences are centered around Verona, but due to the limited attestations, it cannot be said to be a pattern or by accident.

- (147) a. *El caciatore l'= a dato un fusil a noi ma no*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has given a gun(M) DAT 1PL but not
a lori. Lori i= è ancora massa picoli
 DAT 3PL.M 3.PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too small:PL.M
 (Negrar, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_vec_U0440)
 “The hunter gave a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”
- b. *gavio raccolto voi i pomi?*
 have gathered 2PL.NOM DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
 (Pescantina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_vec_U0529)
 “Was it you (pl) who collected the apples?”

Due to the presence of *-altri*, gender can also be indicated for the first and second person, resulting in the forms *noialtre* (148-a) and *voialtre* (148-b) for feminine plurals.

- (148) a. *Mario, si=to ti? No, sémo noialtre*
 Mario is=2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM no are 1PL.F.NOM
 (Roveredo di Guà, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0401_vec_U0552)
 “Mario, is that you? No mama, it is us!”
- b. *Si stè voaltre a catàr su i pomi?*
 is been 2PL.F.NOM at pull down DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
 (Zevio, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_vec_U0310)
 “Was it you(PL) who collected the apples?”

There are no case distinctions in the forms of the plural pronouns, e.g. the accusative forms are the same as the nominative forms (149). Datives are marked with the preposition *a* (150).

- (149) a. *la strega ga visto anca noialtri? No, la ga visto*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) has seen also 1PL.M.ACC no 3SG.F.NOM= has seen
sol che lori
 only that 3PL.ACC
 (Castelfranco Veneto, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_vec_U0302)
 “Has the witch also seen us?” “No, she has seen only them.”
- b. *Se stai fortunai che no la= gambia visto vialtri*
 are been fortunate that not 3SG.F.NOM= has seen 2PL.M.ACC
 (Venezia, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0454)
 “You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too!”
- (150) a. *El cassadore el= ga dato el fussil a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT
noialtri, ma no a lori. Parché lori i= è ancora massa
 1PL.M but not DAT 3PL.M because 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too

picinini

small:PL.M

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_vec_U0654)

“The hunter gave the gun to us, but not to them! They are still too small.”

- b. *ma pianta ve= ga domanda a voaltre do, no sofo che a*
but tree(F) 2PL.DAT= has asked DAT 2PL.F.DAT two not only that DAT
ela.

3SG.F.DAT

(Thiene, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_vec_U0634)

“But the tree asked it to you two, not just to her.”

11.3 Definite articles

The definite articles in the Veneto area are very similar to those of the Trentino dialect. They share many features with the standard Italian definite articles, but for certain varieties they are also used in front of proper names which is not acceptable in standard Italian. In singular number, there are two different genders; the masculine, *el*, and the feminine, *la*. The dative is merely marked with the prepositional dative marker *a*, but not with any case inflection, see table 11.4.

		NOM/ACC	DAT
DEF.SG	M	<i>el</i>	<i>al</i>
	F	<i>la/la</i>	<i>a la/la</i>

Table 11.4: Definite articles in singular number in Venetan

The masculine article takes the form of *el*, see examples (151-a) and (151-b), (or *l'* if followed by a word starting with a vowel), and in the dative it is obligatorily preceded by the preposition *a*, causing the deletion of the pronoun vowel and resulting in the form *al* (151-c).

- (151) a. *El cazadore el= ghe= dise la stria de*
DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 3SG.DAT= says DEF.F.SG witch(F) of
fermar=se e ela la= proa a far=ghe 'na magia
stop=3.REFL and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
(Legnago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_vec_U0300)
‘The hunter tells the witch to stop, but she tries to hex him.’
- b. *Alora lu el= ciapa el so fusil e*
so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
=l copa la strega
=3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
(Grezzana, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0563)
‘So he took out his gun and killed the witch.’
- c. *i= torna de corsa al paese e domanda aiuto*
3PL.M.NOM= return of running in:DEF.M.SG village(M) and ask help
a=l caciatore
DAT=DEF.M.SG hunter(M)

(Lendinara, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_vec_U0637)

‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

The feminine article takes the form of *la*, and is similarly preceded by the preposition *a* in the dative case, (152).

- (152) *la* *vècia* *dà* *a* *la* *brava ragassa oro e diamanti e*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM old_woman gives DAT DEF.F.SG good:F girl(F) gold and diamonds and
recopre de senere la *ragassa pigra*
 covers with ashes DEF.F.SG.ACC girl(F) lazy.F
 (Venezia, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0313_vec_U0454)
 ‘The old woman gives gold and diamonds to the good girl and ashes to the lazy one.’

11.4 Summary and discussion

To summarize, the full pronouns found in the Venetan varieties are for the most part consistent throughout the Veneto region, barring the third person singular masculine which shows variation between *lu* and *elo*, see table 11.5. Other differences between the surface forms are restricted to differences in the pronunciation of the lateral and the level of phonological reduction in the first and second person plural pronouns. There is no inflectional case marking, and as with most of the Northern Italian dialects (in contrast to standard Italian), there is no dichotomy between the nominative and the oblique cases (Zamboni 1974 :20).

The definite articles are also stable features across the different Venetan varieties, with no variation present in their realization, except for the variable pronunciation of the lateral, see table 11.6.

		NOM/ACC	DAT
1SG		mi	a mi
2SG		ti	a ti
3SG	M	lu/lu, elo/elo	a lu/lu, elo/elo
	F	ela/ela	a ela/ela
1PL	M	noialtri	a noialtri
	F	noialtre	a noialtre
2PL	M	voialtri	a voialtri
	F	voialtre	a voialtre
3PL	M	lori/lori	a lori/lori
	F	lore/lore	a lore/lore

Table 11.5: Overview of personal pronouns in Venetan

		NOM/ACC	DAT
DEF.SG	M	el	al
	F	la/la	a la/la

Table 11.6: Overview of definite articles in Venetan

The pronominal and definite article paradigms both lack any type of inflectional case marking, but obligatorily mark dative case using the prepositional dative marker *a*.

12. Areal and language contact effects

The previous chapters have discussed the pronominal and article systems of the individual language varieties spoken in the regions of Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto. This chapter considers the data presented in the previous chapters from a cross-linguistic comparative perspective, examining the case patterns found across Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto, and discussing their areas of overlap and divergence. The first section discusses the distribution of the different case patterns of the pronominal paradigms across all language varieties, mapping them across the regions in order to provide an overview of the similarities and divergences between different language families. It examines the data for the potential effects of language contact, including a discussion on the ‘other’ constructions found in the plural pronouns of Mòcheno, Cimbrian, Trentino, and Venetan. The second section discusses the distribution of the case systems of the definite articles and their cross-linguistic similarities. Section three elaborates on the topic of prepositional dative marking, and the use of this strategy with definite articles and personal pronouns.

12.1 Pronominal case patterns across Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto

There is a considerable degree of variation in the case paradigms found in Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto, between different language groups as well as within language varieties. A complete overview of the different pronominal case patterns is represented on map 12.1, which is detailed and described in the following paragraphs. Please note that the case patterns described in this section are the canonical patterns found for each variety, meaning that intermediate patterns and within-speaker variation are not discussed, unless they have a direct bearing on the discussion of the data. For a more detailed description of surface forms and discussion of intermediate marking or speaker individual variation, see the respective chapters.

Working our way down from north to south, first to be discussed are the Tyrolean varieties and the two main case patterns found here. As was discussed in detail in chapter 7, there are two main pronominal case patterns found in the Tyrolean varieties: the ‘canonical’ pattern which is spread across the central and eastern varieties represented by the dark blue squares on map 12.1, and the ‘reduced’ pattern, which is attested for the western varieties in the Upper Vinschgau area, represented by the dark green squares on the map¹. The reduced pattern represents a simplification of the canonical case pattern to what is essentially a two case system: subject-object. The object

¹The intermediate patterns found in the contact zone between the ‘canonical’ and ‘reduced’ paradigms are represented on the map with light green squares, but they will not be discussed in detail here, for this please refer to section 7.4 on page 99.

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1SG	A	B	C
2SG	A	B	C
3SG.M	A	B	
3SG.F	A		B
1PL	A	B	
2PL	A	B	
3PL	A		B

Table 12.1: ‘Canonical’ Tyrolean and Lusérn Cimbrian pronominal case pattern

	NOM	ACC/DAT
1SG	A	B
2SG	A	B
3SG.M	A	B
3SG.F	A	B
1PL	A	B
2PL	A	B
3PL	A	

Table 12.2: Reduced Tyrolean pronominal case pattern

case is formed with the historic dative case forms, meaning that the historic accusative forms (*mi*, *ti*) in the first and second person singular are no longer present in the system and that their function has been taken over by the historic dative forms (*mir*, *dir*). The third person singular in the feminine changes from a nominative/accusative syncretism in *si* to an accusative/dative syncretism in *ir*. In the third person plural, all case distinction is lost and only the form *si* remains. Together these changes result in a simplified and more symmetric case pattern with respect to the ‘canonical’ one, as can be seen from a comparison between the canonical pattern in table 12.1 and the reduced pattern in table 12.2.

The ‘reduced’ pattern is particular to the western Upper Vinschgau varieties and is not found in any of the other language varieties in the regions. The ‘canonical’ pattern, on the other hand, is also found in Cimbrian, specifically Lusérn Cimbrian². It must be kept in mind that while the case patterns of Tyrolean and Lusérn Cimbrian are identical, the surface forms are not, e.g. the first person plural pronoun in the Tyrolean varieties is *mir*, while it is *bir* or *biar* in Lusérn Cimbrian.

The other two Cimbrian varieties, Giazza and Asiago Cimbrian, have different case patterns, both from each other and from the other German varieties in the regions. The case pattern of Asiago Cimbrian is the most conservative and has the most extensive case marking across the entire area, see table 12.3. It is represented by the dark grey downward pointing triangle on map 12.1. There are two feature contexts in the pronominal paradigm where Asiago Cimbrian has more extensive case marking. The first place is in the third person singular masculine gender, where the historic distinction between the accusative and the dative forms has been preserved, in contrast to the general accusative/dative syncretism of the third person masculine in Tyrolean, Mòcheno, and Giazza and Lusérn Cimbrian. The second place is in the first and second person plural, and here it is innovative rather than a conservative trait. Similar to other varieties of Cimbrian and Mòcheno, Asiago Cimbrian has the option to extend the first and second plural pronouns with *-àndare* ‘-others’, e.g. *os-àndare* ‘1PL-others.ACC’. The extended forms take the adjectival dative marker *-n* in the dative, i.e. *os-àndar-n* ‘1PL-others-DAT’. This introduces a morphological distinction between the accusative and dative case, which is not present in the simple pronouns, e.g. *os* ‘1PL.ACC/DAT’ and *ar* ‘2PL.ACC/DAT’.

The Mòcheno variety attested in VinKo, the variety from Palù del Fersina, for a large part shares the pronominal case patterns of the Tyrolean and the Lusérn Cimbrian varieties. If, for the moment,

²Note that these data do not include the within-speaker variation found for U0620, who occasionally uses the nominative pronouns in other case contexts for some stimuli. For a more detailed discussion, see chapter 9.

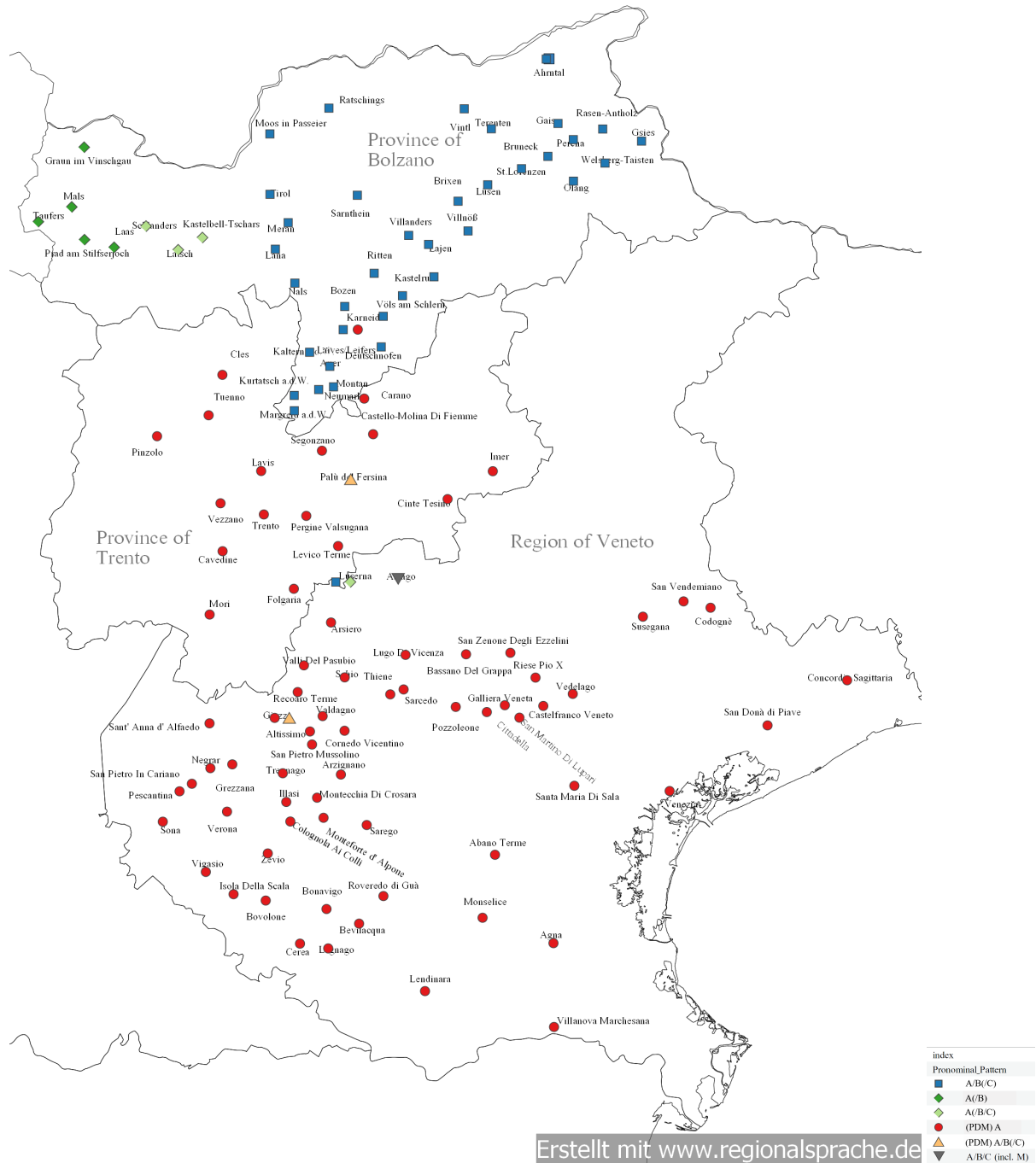


Figure 12.1: Pronominal case patterns in Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1SG	A	B	C
2SG	A	B	C
3SG.M	A	B	C
3SG.F	A		B
1PL	A	B	(-n)
2PL	A	B	(-n)
3PL	A		B

Table 12.3: Asiago Cimbrian pronominal paradigm, unattested forms in grey

we discard the obligatory prepositional dative marking in Mòcheno, the pronominal forms found for the locality of Palù del Fersina³ for the major part patterns according to the ‘canonical’ pattern, with the exception of the third person plural form which has levelled across all cases. This is reminiscent of the first intermediate variety of the Tyrolean varieties, where the first sign of reduction is the levelling of the third plural form. Based on the Tyrolean and Mòcheno data, this levelling of the third person plural *si* could be hypothesized to free up the way for an alternation in the patterning of the third person singular feminine. In the Tyrolean varieties, the next intermediate patterns sees the shifting of the third singular feminine to align with the masculine and the first and second plural syncretism patterns, introducing regularity, in an otherwise quite irregular, system, see table 12.5. In Mòcheno, the third singular feminine pronoun is notoriously variable, with attested forms in *si*, *ir* and *sir* (Rowley 2010:101), where the use of *si* would indicate a simplification of the system by following the example set by the third plural. In the case of *ir*, the historic form is maintained and the dative case remains morphologically marked. In the Mòcheno dialect spoken in Palù del Fersina, the VinKo data attest a dative form of the third person singular feminine *sir*, which is a composite form of *si* and *ir*. The presence of three different forms and two different case patterns is indicative of a system in shift. Due to the case levelling in the third plural, the third singular feminine lacks a symmetric pattern within the paradigm. The lack of this ‘paradigmatic support’ can be hypothesized to make the third singular feminine more susceptible to change. This change might take the form of a shift in syncretism to fit other parts of the pronominal paradigm, e.g. a shift from NOM/ACC to ACC/DAT for a symmetric pattern with the third person masculine, as in the western Tyrolean varieties, or complete case levelling to conform to the pattern of third plural, as is the case for some Mòcheno varieties with a form in *si*. It can also result in a change in the surface form, e.g. a shift from *ir* to *sir*, to fit the dative template of the first and second person ‘ACC+r’ (*mir* and *dir*), as found in Palù Mòcheno.

Where the Mòcheno paradigm differs significantly from the Tyrolean and Lusérn Cimbrian varieties is the obligatory and structural dative case marking by means of the preposition *en*. In this aspect, it is more similar to Giazza Cimbrian, and arguably the Romance varieties, both of which have obligatory prepositional dative marking. The preposition *in* is used to mark all dative pronouns in Giazza Cimbrian. The morphological case marking patterns of Giazza Cimbrian and Mòcheno are nearly identical, with the exception of the third person plural. In Giazza Cimbrian,

³Other Mòcheno varieties, e.g. Roveda, pattern a bit differently, and commonly have lost any case distinction in the third person singular feminine (Rabanus 2018b), resulting in a more reduced pattern from the ‘canonical’ pattern. VinKo, however, only includes data on the Palù variety, so it is this pattern which is used for the comparison.

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1 SG	A	B	PDM C
2 SG	A	B	PDM C
3 SG.M	A	B	PDM B
3 SG.F	A		PDM B
1 PL	A	B	PDM B
2 PL	A	B	PDM B
3 PL	A		PDM A

Table 12.4: Mòcheno pronominal paradigm

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1SG	A	B	C
2SG	A	B	C
3SG.M	A	B	
3SG.F	A	B	
1PL	A	B	
2PL	A	B	
3PL	A		

Table 12.5: Western Tyrolean intermediate pattern 2

apart from the prepositional dative marking, the third person plural is also morphologically marked for dative case. This is not the case for Mòcheno, which has complete levelling of the third plural form as was discussed in the previous paragraph. It must be kept in mind that comparing the Giazza Cimbrian data directly with the other paradigms is relatively tricky, as there are no attestations of the full pronouns in the accusative case for the first and third person singular⁴. As a result, it cannot be tested if Giazza Cimbrian would pattern according to Lusérn Cimbrian or Asiago Cimbrian in the third person masculine, see table 12.6. What is, however, clear is that irregardless of the clear distinction between nominative and dative pronominal forms, all dative cases are consistently additionally marked with the prepositional dative marker. The Trentino and Venetan varieties are grouped here, as they have the expected pronominal pattern of a single pronoun form, irregardless of case. The dative is obligatorily marked using the prepositional dative marker *a*, see table 12.7.

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1 SG	A		PDM C
2 SG	A	B	PDM C
3 SG.M	A		PDM B
3 SG.F	A		PDM B
1 PL	A	B	PDM B
2 PL		A	PDM B
3 PL	A		PDM B

Table 12.6: Giazza Cimbrian pronominal pattern

	NOM	ACC	DAT
1 SG	A		PDM A
2 SG	A		PDM A
3 SG.M	A		PDM A
3 SG.F	A		PDM A
1 PL	A		PDM A
2 PL	A		PDM A
3 PL	A		PDM A

Table 12.7: Trentino and Venetan pronominal pattern

12.2 Plural pronouns and ‘others’

As was alluded to in the section above, and as has been discussed in the previous chapters, many of the varieties in the Triveneto area have two different surface forms in the first and second person plural (and some also in the third plural); one is the bare pronoun, and the second is the pronoun with the respective word for ‘other’ added on. In the Romance varieties, this form is *altri* or

⁴See 8.2.1 for a detailed discussion of the accusative case forms in Giazza Cimbrian.

altre, in the Germanic varieties a form of *ander*. In both language families, the addition of ‘other’ increases the morphological complexity of the pronoun. In the Romance varieties, it introduces a gender distinction which is lacking in the bare pronouns in the first and second person plural, and regularizes the system across all plural forms (the third person *lori/lore* is always marked for gender). In the Germanic varieties, it opens up the possibility of adding inflectional dative case marking to the pronoun via the adjectival dative marking in *-n*.

This section focuses primarily on the formation of the first and second person plural pronouns. The third person forms are a case apart and will be discussed separately below. The option of adding *-other* to a first and second person plural pronoun exists in both Trentino and Venetan varieties, as well as in all varieties of Cimbrian and Mòcheno.

In Venetan and Trentino varieties the historic forms are respectively *nui/nu* and *vui/vu*, but nowadays in the Venetan varieties the *-other* forms have ‘triumphed’ (Bondardo 1972:138-139) and could be taken to be the unmarked form of the pronoun. In the Trentino varieties, as discussed in chapter 10, the bare forms are most prevalent, and according to the Grammar of Central Trentino (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:106) the *altri*-forms were originally used for emphasis and contrast between the addressee and the speakers (in 1st person) or the addressee and other people (in the 2nd person). However, nowadays they are commonly perceived to be ‘rustic’ synonyms of the simple forms *noi* and *voi*. As was discussed in section 10.2.2, there are some indications in the VinKo data that some Trentino speakers might have retained a sensitivity for contrast in the use of the ‘other’ forms.

The choice of pronoun with or without *-altri* represents a very strong areal divide between the Trentino and Venetan varieties, respecting largely the political borders between the regions, as illustrated by map 12.2. It would have been expected that at least the southern Trentino varieties, which are reported to have influences from the Veronese dialect (Casalicchio and Cordin 2020:16-17), would have a higher rate of *-altri* forms or that there would be a gradient zone in between the regions, but this does not appear to be the case. While I would argue that the ‘other’ forms in the Venetan varieties are the unmarked form of the pronoun, supported by assimilated realizations like *noantri* and *valtri*, the word formation remains completely transparent as pronoun plus *altri/e* to speakers. The bare pronouns correspond to the pronominal forms in standard Italian. For Venetan speakers, the use of simple forms appears to be an indication of influence from the standard language or a translation effect from the task. However, there is no reason to assume that the use of the simple pronouns in the Trentino varieties is directly correlated to standard Italian. As the presented stimuli in VinKo are identical across the areas, the clear preference of Venetan speakers for *-altri* and the disuse of it by the Trentino speakers cannot be due to any difference between context or standard language exposure. While Venetan speakers are slightly more frequent users of their dialects (73%) than Trentino speakers (68%), both groups judge themselves to be equally proficient (86%), so influence from standard Italian is unlikely to have caused the disparity.

Table 12.8 presents the percentages of use of bare and ‘other’ pronouns in the Trentino and Venetan varieties for two specific stimuli. Stimulus T0104 was chosen because it is representative of the most common pattern found for both variety. Within the Trentino varieties, only the speaker from Pinzolo produces exclusively ‘other’-forms. With this, he forms a permanent 5% exception to the overall use of the bare pronoun in Trentino. Stimulus T0203 represents the highest percentage of the ‘other’ forms attested for both varieties. As was discussed in 10.2.2, certain contrastive contexts increase the use of the ‘other’ forms in Trentino considerably. This effect is most visible in stimulus T0203, which has the highest percentage of ‘other’ forms produced by Trentino participants in the

sample (29%). The Venetan varieties produce steadily high percentages of the ‘other’ pronouns, with attestations between 97% and 100% for all stimuli.

	Trentino		Venetan	
	<i>voi/noi</i>	<i>voi/noi-altri/e</i>	<i>voi/noi</i>	<i>voi/noi-altri/e</i>
T0104	95%	5%	1,8%	98,2%
T0203	71%	29%	0%	100%
Overall average	86%	14%	2%	98%

Table 12.8: Trentino-Venetan pronoun plus *altri* comparison

All varieties of Cimbrian and Mòcheno have been reported to have the option of adding the noun for *other* to the first and second plural pronoun available. However, they are not produced in equal measure across the different varieties. For Mòcheno, it has been reported that *òndera* can be used to ‘strengthen’ the pronoun (Rowley 2010:125), yet there is little use of it in the VinKo data. The VinKo speaker of Mòcheno only produces one single *other* form throughout the entire questionnaire, despite the presence of numerous sentences featuring contrast and emphasis.

All speakers of Cimbrian in the VinKo sample produce both simple and ‘other’ forms, though the amount of usage varies between the different varieties. According to Rapelli (2016:21), Giazza Cimbrian uses the *andre*-forms when the pronouns are separated from the verb, e.g. *bo gían, sandre?* ‘where they go, those (lit. they-others)?’. In the VinKo dataset, there is no strong evidence that this is the case as the ‘other’ forms are produced in the same environments as the simple pronouns. Schweizer in his *Gesamtgrammatik* (2008 [1951/1952]:403) describes the addition of ‘other’ as a way to emphasize the pronoun and to give it more weight, and calls it a formation following the ‘Italian example’, referring to similar pronominal forms in neighbouring Venetan and Trentino varieties, e.g. *noialtri* ‘we-others’. Considering the VinKo data, however sparse for the minority languages, a Romance origin of the construction seems likely⁵. The varieties located in the Veneto region, Giazza and Asiago, are more inclined to use the ‘other’ forms than the ones located in the Trentino area, despite the fact that all four varieties have the option available. Due to the small amount of data, no strong claims can be made at this stage, but it seems likely that the dominant Romance variety plays a part in the amount of use of the ‘other’ extension.

	Mòcheno (Palu)		Giazza Cimbrian		Lusérn Cimbrian		Asiago Cimbrian	
	<i>pron</i>	<i>+other</i>	<i>pron</i>	<i>+other</i>	<i>pron</i>	<i>+other</i>	<i>pron</i>	<i>+other</i>
T0104	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0 %	100%	0%
T0203	100%	0%	33%	67%	33%	67%	0%	100%
Overall average	92%	8%	25%	75%	67%	33%	25%	75%

Table 12.9: Cimbrian and Mòcheno simple vs. ‘other’ forms

In the third plural, there is a common substitution of the pronoun with the noun phrase *di andere* ‘the others’ in the Tyrolean varieties (see example (153-a)). This substitution is also common in Trentino and Venetan, in which *lori/lore* ‘3PL.M/F’ can be replaced with *i/le altri/e* ‘the others.M/F’ (see example (153-b)). This construction is not the same as that of the first and second person

⁵Note that it is only the pronoun plus ‘other’ pattern which is borrowed, but not the Romance lexical items.

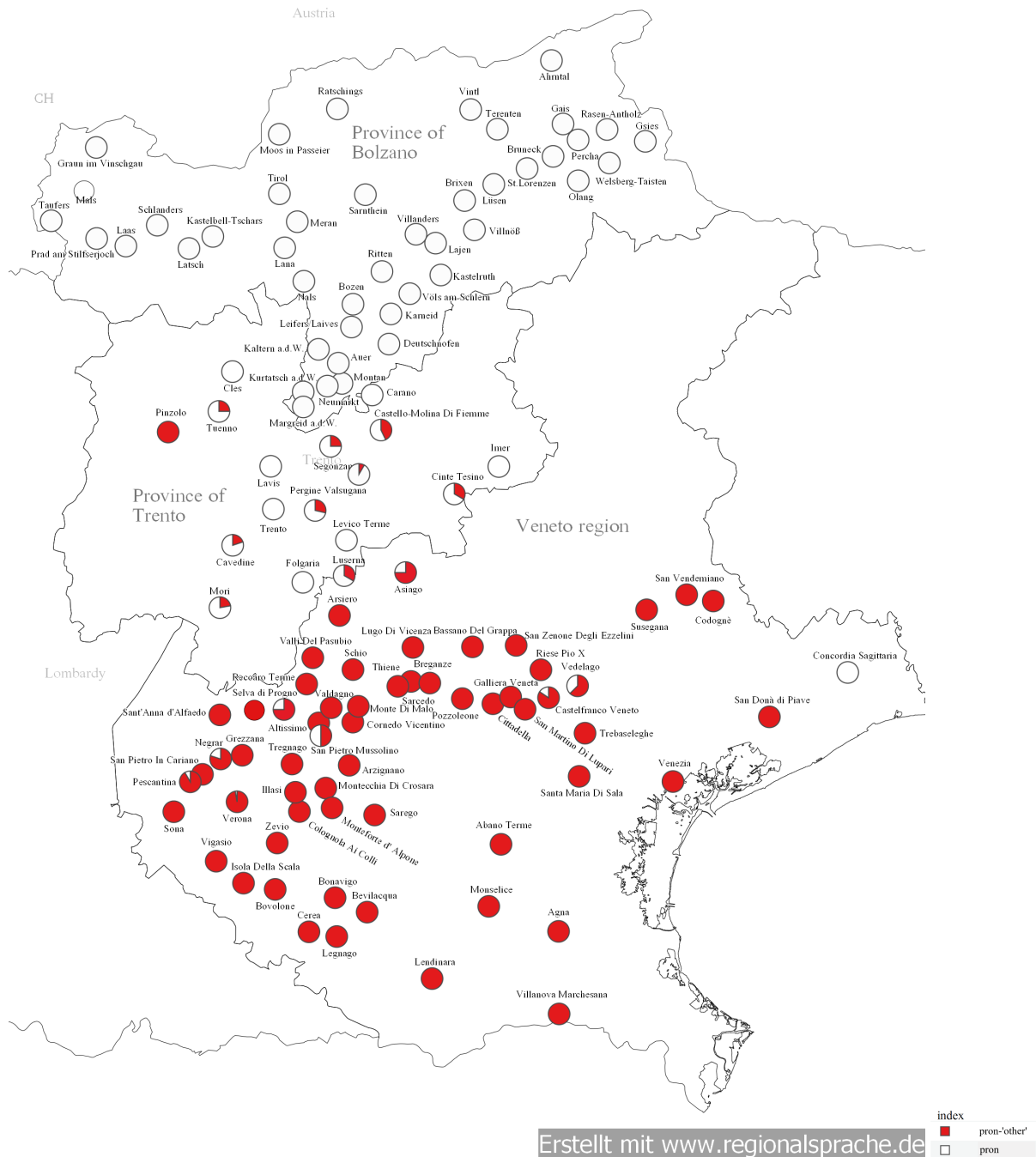


Figure 12.2: First and second plural 'other' pronouns across Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto

plural. The first and second plural ‘other’ pronouns are formed by combining the bare pronoun with *altri/e* ‘other’. In the case of the third plural, the pronoun is replaced by ‘the others’ and not modified by it. This is a more general strategy for introducing contrast⁶ rather than a language contact effect. The ‘the others’ constructions in the third plural are found all across the Tyrolean area, including non-contact zones, which are unlikely to pattern the ‘Italian’ way. This is in contrast to the Cimbrian third plural pronouns which do follow a pronoun plus ‘other’ pattern, e.g. see examples (153-c) and (153-d), and which are used in the same fashion as the first and second person pronouns. While the first and second plural *-andere* forms are the result of language contact with the Romance *noi/voialtri* forms, the third plural *sandre* cannot be based on Romance *i altri*. There are no comparable constructions to *sandre* ‘3PL’ in related language varieties (e.g. Tyrolean) nor neighboring varieties (e.g. Venetan, Trentino). The third plural form *sandre* must therefore be the result of a language-internal generalization of the pronoun plus *andere* template, which has entered the languages through contact with Romance in the first and second plural.

- (153) a. *Mir sein davun kemmen, ober di andern hat si*
 1PL.NOM are from_there escaped but DEF.PL.ACC others has 3SG.F.NOM
gfangen
 captured
 (Ritten/Renon; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tir_U0355)
- b. *Noaltri semo scapai via, mentre i altri i= è stà*
 1PL.NOM are escaped away while DEF.PL.ACC others 3PL.NOM= are been
portai via da la stria
 carried away by DEF.F.SG witch(F)
 (Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0307)
- c. *bar sain gaftjegat hi, in darbai s-andre sain gabesta*
 1PL.NOM are fled away in meanwhile 3SG.F.NOM-others are been
gagreifat
 captured
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_cim_U0576)
 “We managed to get away, but they have been caught.”
- d. *Dar katzadór hatt gètt an sklopp iis, ma nèt imen-åndarn.*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT but not 3PL.DAT-others
Se soin no kartza khlumma
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0638)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

12.3 Definite articles

The case patterns attested for the definite articles have a lesser degree of variation, with respect to the pronominal system, and they appear to be more stable systems, with less variation between and within language varieties. The definite article paradigms as attested in Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto are represented on map 12.3.

⁶Also available in languages like English and Dutch, so unlikely to be due to the copying of an Italian pattern.

In the Tyrolean varieties there is a dominant patterning of a nominative-accusative/dative opposition in the masculine gender, and a nominative/accusative in opposition to dative paradigm in the feminine and neuter gender, see table 12.10. The feminine gender article is occasionally preceded by a prepositional dative marker, but this is an optional pattern and less frequent than the bare pronoun⁷. The reduction in case marking and the use of the dative forms in the accusative domain, resulting in a subject-object system for all genders, which was found for the pronominal paradigms in the western Tyrolean varieties spoken in the Vinschgau area, does not show up in the definite article system. As with the central and eastern Tyrolean varieties, there is an accusative-dative merger in the masculine article, but the feminine and the neuter articles retain the nominative-accusative syncretism with a distinct dative form. On map 12.3 this pattern is marked in dark blue, with the square markers indicating the Tyrolean varieties.

This exact same asymmetric pattern of masculine NOM-ACC/DAT and feminine and neuter NOM/ACC-DAT is also found outside of the Tyrolean varieties, specifically in the Lusérn Cimbrian variety, see table 12.10. While there was variation in the case patterning of the pronominal system between the Lusérn Cimbrian speakers as well as considerable in-speaker variation, this is not the case for the article system. Both speakers produce the same forms in all contexts, and there does not appear to be any variety internal variation.

	NOM	ACC	DAT
M	A	B	
F	A		(PDM) B
N	A		B

Table 12.10: Definite articles in Tyrolean and Lusérn Cimbrian

Mòcheno⁸ and Giazza Cimbrian both have a symmetric NOM/ACC syncretism across all genders and the dative is marked with the prepositional dative marker, see tables 12.11 and 12.12 respectively. For Mòcheno in the feminine gender, this is the only overt case distinction as the article has levelled across all cases in *de*. In the case of Giazza Cimbrian, there are remnants of a distinct dative case form present in the definite article *inar*, which is formed by a combination of the prepositional dative marker *in* and the historic dative definite article *-ar*. The masculine and neuter gender definite articles in *ime* can be reconstructed in the same way, as being formed by the merger of the prepositional dative marker *in* and the dative article *-me*.

Asiago Cimbrian has the most extensive case forms available in the regions, with a full three way nominative, accusative, and dative distinction in the masculine gender. In the feminine and neuter gender, the pattern is in line with the Tyrolean varieties and Lusérn Cimbrian (and standard German), featuring a NOM/ACC merger and a distinct dative case form, see table 12.13.

The Romance varieties pattern exactly the same in the article system as they did in the pronominal system. There is only a single article form, which is obligatorily marked with the prepositional dative marker in the dative case, table 12.14.

⁷Some marginal patterns of prepositional dative marking in the masculine gender can be found in the western reaches of the province of Bolzano (65), most likely due to contact with Alemannic, but no there is no consistent pattern in these attestations.

⁸The Mòcheno speaker in the VinKo sample is from the locality of Palù del Fersina, where this symmetric pattern has also attested by the literature (cf. Rowley 2010). However note that Mòcheno in other localities, e.g. Roveda, are reported to be share the masculine NOM-ACC/DAT pattern with the Tyrolean varieties and Lusérn Cimbrian.

	NOM/ACC	DAT
M	A	(PDM) B
F	A	PDM A
N	A	(PDM) B

Table 12.11: Definite articles in Mòcheno

	NOM/ACC	DAT
M	A	PDM-B
F	A	PDM-B
N	A	PDM-B

Table 12.12: Definite articles in Giazza Cimbrian, cells shaded in grey not attested in the VinKo data

	NOM	ACC	DAT
M	A	B	C
F	A		B
N	A		B

Table 12.13: Definite articles in Asiago Cimbrian

	NOM/ACC	DAT
M	A	PDM A
F	A	PDM A

Table 12.14: Definite articles in Trentino and Venetan

12.4 Prepositional dative marking

Apart from marking dative case with inflection on the pronoun or article itself, it can also be signaled by prepositional dative marking, a periphrastic strategy in which the pronoun or article is preceded by a dedicated preposition signalling dative case. This strategy is found throughout the languages varieties of the Triveneto area, but which elements can be marked with the prepositional dative varies across varieties.

In the Romance varieties, it is the only way of marking dative case in the full pronouns and the definite articles, and it forms an obligatory part of the dative or indirect object construction. There have been plenty of examples presented in chapters 10 and 11, but to recap: prepositional dative marking is the common strategy in both pronominal and article marking of the indirect object. On maps 12.4 and 12.5 the Trentino and Venetan varieties are represented with red dots to indicate that both in the definite article system and the pronominal system, dative prepositional marking is the used strategy.

In contrast to the Romance varieties, the Germanic varieties have other dative strategies to their disposal, most importantly that of distinctive dative pronominal and article forms (either through suppletion or inflectional morphology). Despite having this strategy available, the Germanic varieties still possess prepositional dative marking as an available strategy, and particularly in cases where the pronoun or article is underspecified (due to syncretism or phonological reduction). This is not a contact-induced feature, but an often seen strategy also in other German varieties, most of all in Upper German dialects (Seiler 2003).

In the Tyrolean varieties prepositional dative marking is a known strategy, most commonly used in with the plural and singular feminine articles, arguably due to their general lack of case distinction. It is however only very rarely available in the pronominal paradigms (Scheutz 2016:67-71), and this is reflected by the VinKo data (see map 12.5). While the feminine definite article, in particular, is quite commonly found in prepositional dative constructions, there is not a single case of it with pronouns (This is in line with Seiler's (2003: 254) implicational scale for all Upper German varieties: if prepositional dative marking is present in the pronominal system, it is also

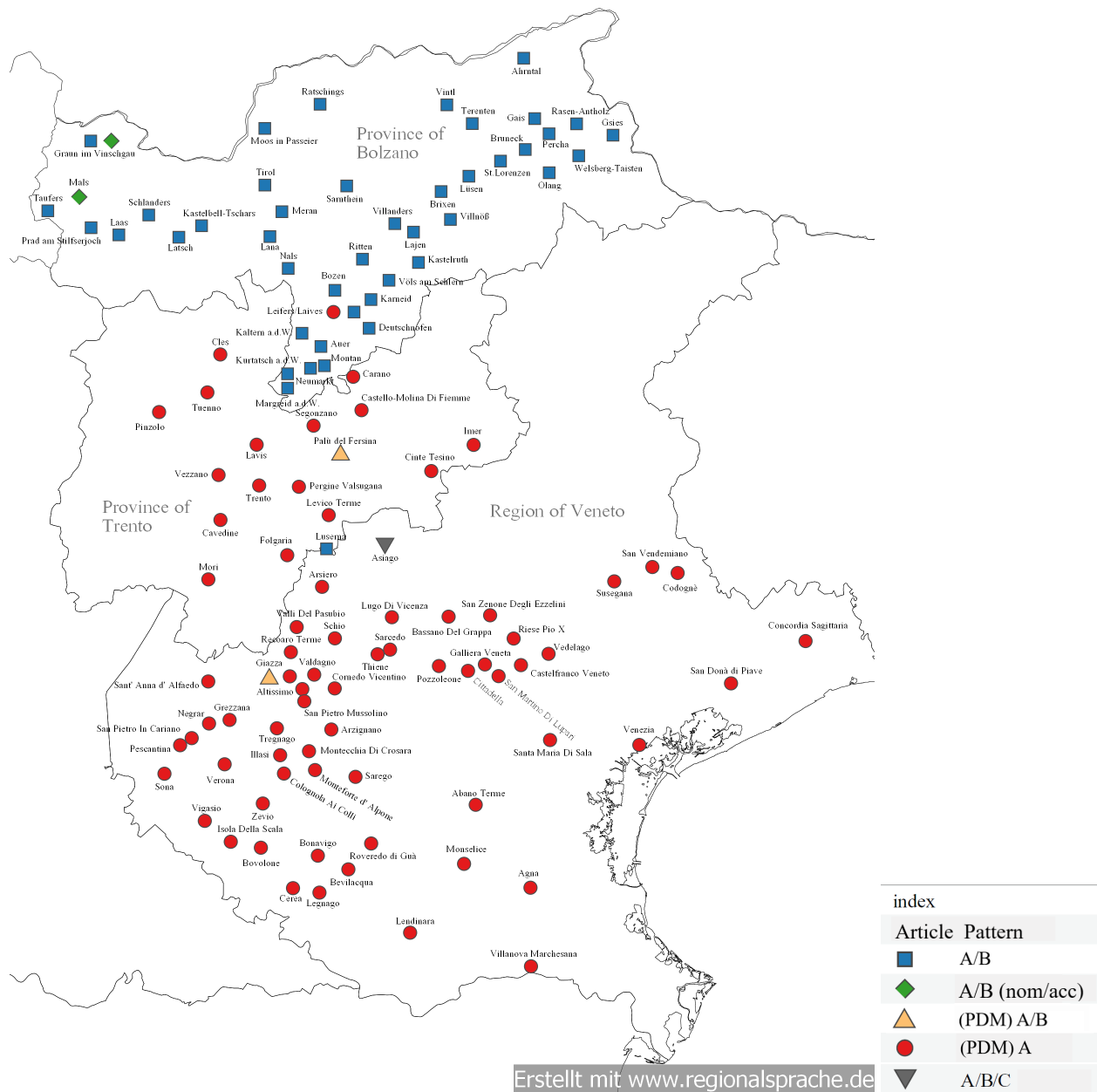


Figure 12.3: Definite article paradigms attested across Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto

present in articles and other determiners but not vice versa.). On map 12.4 the squares signal the locations for which the prepositional dative marking has been attested in constructions with definite articles. It must be noted that a construction without the prepositional marker is always also available and attested, as was attested in more detail in chapter 7. The form of the preposition is always *in* ‘to’, and its attestations are marked with the dark blue squares on map 12.4.

The Germanic minority languages show a large scale of variation with regards to prepositional dative marking. Mòcheno is known to have consistent and obligatory prepositional dative marking using the preposition *en*, which occurs in both the pronominal and article domains (cf. Rowley 2010; Rabanus 2018b). The VinKo data shows this exact pattern for Mòcheno. Despite having distinct case forms for the dative pronouns (in the first and second person singular pronouns and in masculine and neuter definite articles), the prepositional dative marker is always obligatorily present, as illustrated (154-a). The same is true for Giazza Cimbrian, the dative case is marked both with inflection on the pronoun and by the presence of the prepositional dative markers, as illustrated in (154-b).

- (154) a. *Benns =o =n gibst de picks en im, en miar*
 when =2SG.NOM =3SG.DAT give the.F.SG.ACC gun(F) to 3SG.DAT to 1SG.DAT
bos ges =o =mer?
 what give =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT
 (Mòcheno, Palù del Fersina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_mhn_U0585)
- b. *Mo du gaist in schioupo inj ime baz gaist =o*
 if 2SG.NOM give the.M.SG.ACC gun(M) to 3SG.M.DAT what give =2SG.NOM
 =par in miar
 =1SG.DAT to 1SG.DAT
 (Giazza Cimbrian, Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0576)
 “If you give the gun to him, what do you give to me?”

The Mòcheno definite articles in the masculine and neuter gender have an identical form to the prepositional dative marker *en*. To avoid a doubled construction like *en en*, in these cases one of the *en* forms is deleted (cf. section 8.3, example (76-c)). In the feminine gender (*de*), there is no such problem and the prepositional dative marker is present at the surface level (155-a). A very similar pattern is attested for Giazza Cimbrian and the presence of the preposition is more visible. The definite articles have grammaticalized to a large extent with the preposition, resulting in composite forms *ime* ‘DEF.SG.M/N’ and *inar* ‘DEF.SG.F’. The feminine form *inar* is transparently composed of the preposition *in* and the dative form of the article *-ar* (cf. Asiago Cimbrian *dar* ‘DEF.SG.F.DAT’). The lack of preposition with the masculine article *ime* is an indication that it should be analysed in the same way as the feminine, containing the preposition *in* and the dative form of the article *-me* (cf. Asiago Cimbrian *me* ‘DEF.SG.M/N.DAT’), see example (155-c). Mòcheno has no overt prepositional dative marker in the masculine and neuter gender, because it does not allow for the sequence *en en*. This cannot be the case for the Giazza Cimbrian articles, because in the pronominal system, the third person singular masculine *ime* is always preceded by the prepositional dative marker (see example (154-b) above), which means that there are no constraints against producing *in ime*. Therefore it can be assumed that the preposition has merged with the article form (*ime* < **in me*).

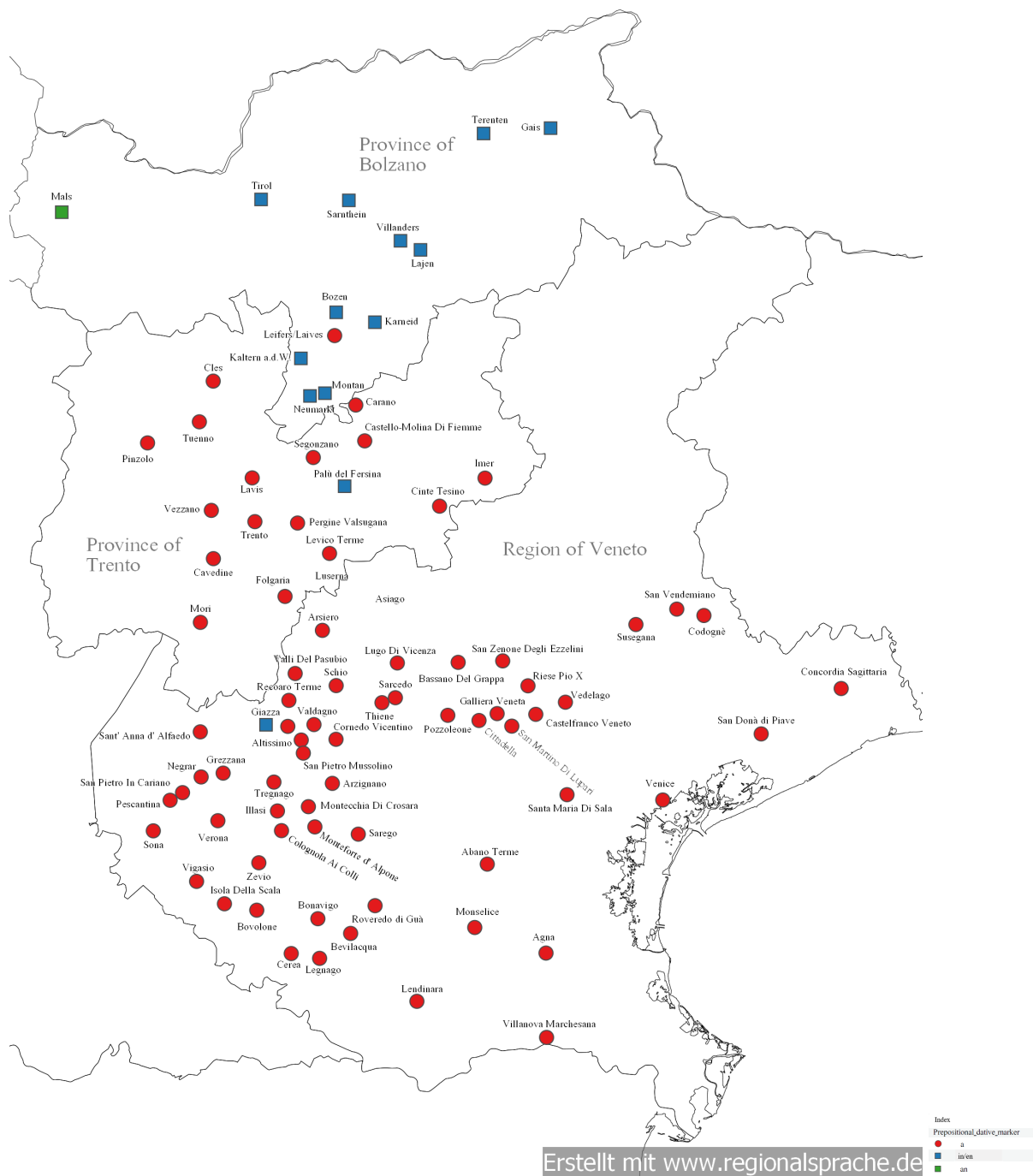


Figure 12.4: Prepositional dative marking attested with definite articles

- (155) a. *Der jagerer sòk en de hècks za hòltn se*
 ART.M.NOM hunter say.3SG.PRS to ART.F.DAT witch to.INF hold 3SG.RFL.ACC
au ont si probiart za =n verhècksn =en
 off and 3SG.F.NOM try.3SG.PRS to.INF =3SGM.ACC? bewitch.INF =3SGM.ACC
 (Mòcheno, Palù del Fersina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_mhn_U0585)

- b. *In jegar kout inar marascha tze veista =si un*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) to stop and 3SG.F.NOM
si probart tze túan =in a magia
 tries to do =3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
 (Giazza Cimbrian, Selva di Progno id:576; stimulus 113)(Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0576)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’
- c. *se kearna laufinj in-z lante un se vorsan helfe*
 3PL.NOM return running in-DEF.N.ACC village(N) and 3PL.NOM ask help
ime jegar-e
 DEF.M.SG.DAT hunter-DAT
 (Giazza Cimbrian, Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_cim_U0576)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

The other varieties of Cimbrian, Lusérn and the VII Municipalities, do not possess active or extensive prepositional dative marking, neither in the pronominal nor article system.

- (156) a. *Az du gist imen in sklopp, miar baz gist=to=mar*
 if 2SG.NOM give 3SG.M.DAT DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) 1SG.DAT what give
 =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0638)
 ‘If you give the gun to him, what do you give to me?’
- b. *Dar huntar khiit dar trut-en zo haltan au un*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)-DAT to hold up and
si siuchart zo machar=me an zóobar
 3SG.F.NOM tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(M)
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0661)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’

The obligatory prepositional dative marking in Mòcheno and Giazza Cimbrian in the pronominal system sets them apart from the more common prepositional marking of articles in the Tyrolean varieties. This is more similar to that of their neighboring Romance varieties (the dominant language variety in the area, and the second and often dominant language of Mòcheno and Giazza Cimbrian speakers), and it could be hypothesized that the extension of this construction is either driven or supported by language contact with the Romance varieties. However, prepositional dative marking is not uncommon in the Germanic languages, and has been well-attested for Upper German varieties which are not in contact with Romance (Seiler 2003), as well as in other Germanic languages, like for example the Dutch *aan*- and the English *to*-constructions, in which prepositional spatial markers have extended to acquire addressee and recipient semantics. The main difference in these cases is that both Mòcheno and Giazza Cimbrian still have distinct dative cases (at least for the singular pronouns), and therefore have no need to structurally expand the prepositional dative for disambiguation. While there is no indication that the prepositional dative marking is contact-induced, its systematic spread through the system might have been aided by a corresponding pattern in the dominant languages in the area.

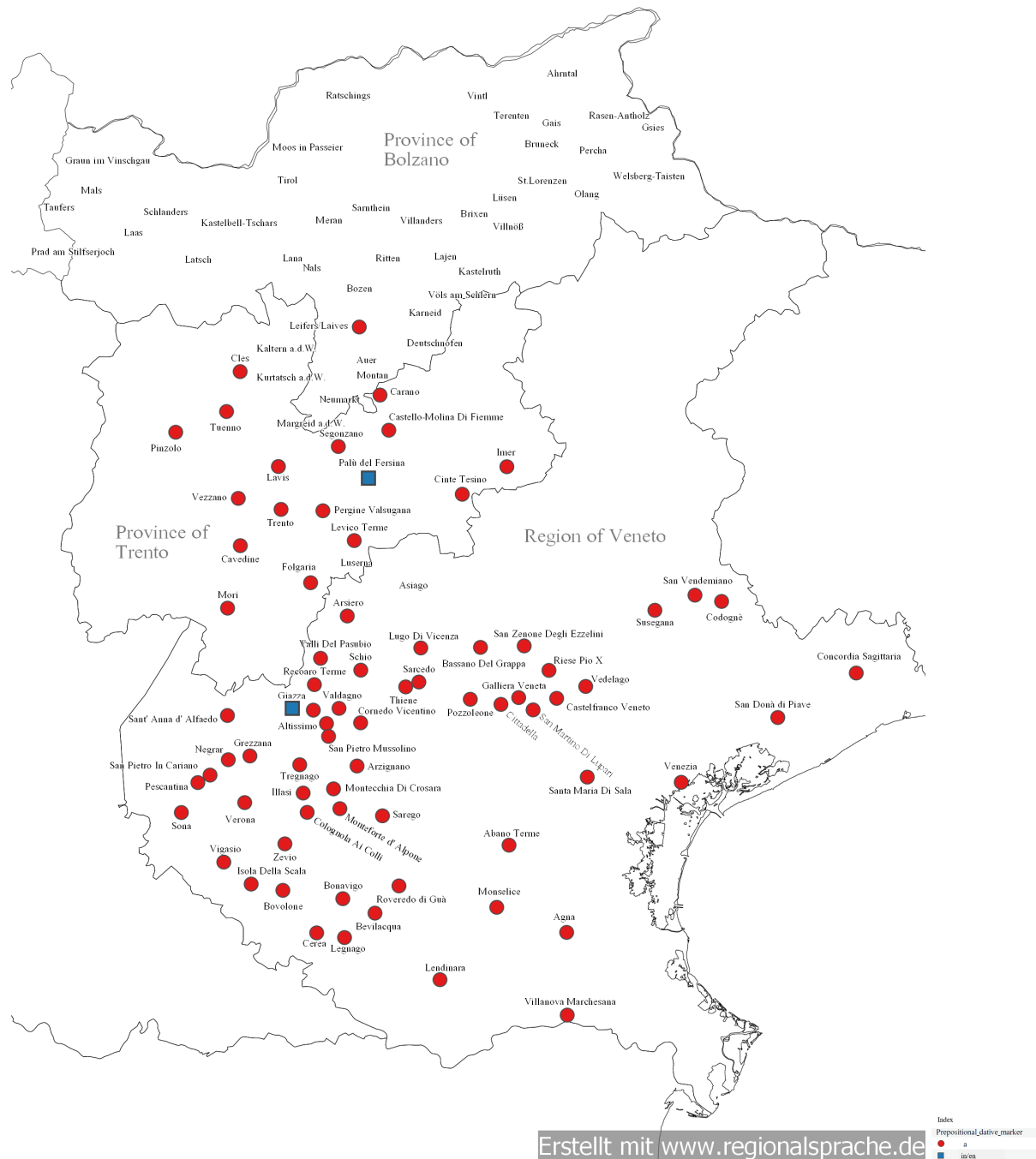


Figure 12.5: Prepositional dative marking attested with personal pronouns

12.5 Summary

There is a large degree of variation in case paradigms in the pronominal and article system both within and between the language varieties spoken within the Triveneto. One of the most common

areas of case loss and reduction is the third singular masculine pronoun and the masculine definite article, both of which tend to fall together in a single form in the accusative-dative domain. The sole exception to this is found in Asiago Cimbrian, which has retained this distinction in both the article and the pronominal paradigms. The second area which is sensitive to loss of overt case marking is the third person plural marker, in some varieties leveling into a single form across all cases. Once this leveling has occurred the third singular feminine can be pressured into regularizing with another part of the paradigm or to be induced to lose its dative case marking. There is evidence for pattern borrowing in the formation of the first and second person plural pronominal forms in the Germanic minority languages of Mòcheno and Cimbrian. These varieties have adopted and, in the case of Cimbrian, extended a Romance pronoun plus *-other* structure into their own pronominal paradigms. There is no evidence for the borrowing of any lexical material in the pronominal paradigms in these varieties. The obligatory use of prepositional dative markers in the varieties of Mòcheno and Giazza Cimbrian is likely due to a language-internal development, which might have been supported by a corresponding pattern in the dominant language varieties in their regions.

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A. Spelling conventions

A.1 Mòcheno

Mòcheno	IPA	Example	Alternative spellings
'	nasalization	<i>mai</i> 'mine'	n, -
a	a	<i>vassl</i> 'little bottle'	
b	b, v	<i>baib</i> 'woman'	
ch	x	<i>nòcht</i> 'night'	
(c)k	k	<i>kickera</i> 'cup'	cc
(c)kh	kx	<i>òckher</i> 'field'	cc
d	d	<i>dòch</i> 'roof'	
e	e, e:	<i>henn</i> 'hen'	
è	ɛ	<i>hòrt</i> 'difficult'	
ò	ɔ	<i>èssn</i> 'to eat'	
f	f	<i>khlòffen</i> 'to speak'	
g	g (/ʒ/ in Italian loans)	<i>moger</i> 'skinny'	
gn	ɲ	<i>bagno</i> 'bath'	nj
h	h	<i>der hunt</i> 'the dog'	
i	i, i:	<i>bissn</i> 'to know'	
j	j	<i>jagerer</i> 'hunter'	
l	l	<i>lònt</i> 'village'	
m	m	<i>mitta</i> 'wednesday'	
n	n	<i>khnia</i> 'knee'	
ng	ŋ	<i>ding</i> 'thing'	
o	o, o:	<i>bolf</i> 'wolf'	
ò	ɔ:	<i>bòsser</i> 'water'	
pf	pf	<i>pfaif</i> 'pipe'	
r	r	<i>grea</i> 'green'	
s	z, s	<i>greaser</i> 'bigger'	z
sch	ʃ	<i>schiasn</i> 'to shoot'	
t	t	<i>toat</i> 'dead'	
tsh	tʃ	<i>tschbissn</i> 'dirty'	
u	u	<i>hunt</i> 'dog'	
v	v	<i>vimva</i> 'five'	
z	ts	<i>der zuch</i> 'the train'	s, ss

Table A.1: Mòcheno spelling, examples taken from Rowley (2003:34-101) and Cognola (2016)

A.2 Cimbrian

Luserna (Panieri et al. 2006:28-35)	IPA	Examples (Panieri et al. 2006:28-35)	VII Com. (<i>Ortografia Cimbria</i>)	XIII Com. (Rapelli 2016:11-14)
a	a	alt ‘old’	a	a
å	o:	åndarz ‘other’	-	-
e	e	esl ‘donkey’	é	e
è	ɛ	èzzan ‘to eat’	è	è
i	i	igl ‘hedgehog’	i	i
o	o	obar ‘above’	ó	o
ò	ɔ	òkk ‘goose’	ò	ò
ö	œ	öbe ‘sheep’	ö	-
u	u	untar ‘below’	u	u
ü	y	ünsar ‘our’	ü	-
b	b	balt ‘wood’	b	b
ch	x	siach ‘sick’	ch	ch
d	d	debl ‘weak’	d	d
dj	ḋʒ	korédjarn ‘correct’	dj	dj
f	f	fluage ‘plow’	f	f
g	g	gel ‘yellow’	g	g
h	h	has ‘hare’	h	h
j	j	jutzan ‘to cheer’	j	j
k	k	kart ‘paper’	k	k
kh	kx	khalt ‘cold’	kh	kh
l	l	lirnen ‘to learn’	l	l
-	ʎ	Ljetzan ‘Giazza’	-	lj
n	n	vennen ‘to find’	n	n
nj	ɲ	njòkkn ‘gnocchi’	nj	nj
ng	ŋ	singen ‘to sing’	ng	ng
p	p	puach ‘beech tree’	p	p
pf	pf	khopf ‘head’	pf	[f]
r	r	ren ‘to speak’	r	r
S (_C, _#)	ʂ	khüssan ‘to kiss’	S (_C, _#)	S (_C, _#)
Z (_C, _#)			Z (_C, _#)	Z
sch	ʃ	schua ‘shoe’	sch	sch
t	t	töatn ‘to kill’	t	t
tsch	tʃ	tauć ‘Cimbrian’	tsch	ć
tz	ts	katz ‘cat’	tz	tz
Z (#_)			Z (#_)	
v	v	vestar ‘window’	v	v
S ((V)_V)	z	goazan ‘goats’	S ((V)_V)	S ((V)_V, _r)
Z (V_V)			Z (V_V)	

Table A.2: Cimbrian spelling, examples taken from Panieri et al. (2006:28-35)

A.3 Trentino

Trentino	Environment	IPA	Example
a		a	<i>albor</i> 'tree'
b		b	<i>bèn</i> 'well'
c	(<u>i</u> ,e)	tʃ	<i>ciapàr</i> 'to take'
	(<u>a</u> ,o,ö,ü)	k	<i>casa</i> 'house'
c'		tʃ	<i>gac</i> 'cats'
ch		k	<i>chi</i> 'here'
d		d	<i>dar</i> 'to give'
è		ɛ	<i>vècia</i> 'old woman'
é		e	<i>paés</i> 'village'
f		f	<i>forno</i> 'oven'
g	(<u>i</u> ,e)	dʒ	<i>magia</i> 'spell'
	(<u>a</u> ,o,ö,ü)	g	<i>gara</i> 'competition'
gh		g	<i>ghebón</i> 'smog'
i		i	<i>dir</i> 'to say'
i		j	<i>ièna</i> 'hyena'
l		l	<i>léor</i> 'hare'
m		m	<i>mar</i> 'sea'
n		n	<i>nas</i> 'nose'
gn		ɲ	<i>magnàr</i> 'to eat'
ò		ɔ	<i>s-ciòp</i> 'gun'
ó		o	<i>póm</i> 'apple'
ö		œ	<i>öl</i> 'he'
p		p	<i>pan</i> 'bread'
r		r	<i>ram</i> 'branch'
s	(<u>elsewhere</u>)	s	<i>fòs</i> 'ditch'
	(V_V)	z	<i>casa</i> 'house'
<u>s</u>		z	<i><u>s</u>vojà</i> 'listless, unwilling'
ss		s	<i>grasso</i> 'fat'
sci		ʃ	<i>liscio</i> 'smooth'
s-ci		stʃ	<i>s-ciòp</i> 'gun'
t		t	<i>tosa</i> 'girl'
u		u	<i>tuti</i> 'all.PL'
ü		ʏ	<i>verdüra</i> 'vegetables'
v		v	<i>vin</i> 'wine'
z	(<u>elsewhere</u>)	θ	<i>vinzer</i> 'to win'
	(V_V)	ð	<i>mèza</i> 'half'
zz		θ	<i>pózza</i> 'pool'
<u>z</u>		ð	<i><u>z</u>ènt</i> 'people'

Table A.3: Trentino spelling, based on Casalicchio and Cordin (2020:8-10)

A.4 Venetan

Venetan	Environment	IPA	Example
a		a	<i>àva</i> ‘bee’
b		b	<i>bèn</i> ‘well’
c	(<u>i</u> ,e)	tʃ	<i>césa</i> ‘church’
	(<u>a</u> ,o,ö,ü)	k	<i>casa</i> ‘house’
c’		tʃ	<i>ciuc</i> ‘fresh cheese’
ch		k	<i>che</i> ‘that’
d		d	<i>dar</i> ‘to give’
è		ɛ	<i>perèr</i> ‘pear tree’
é		e	<i>fémena</i> ‘woman’
f		f	<i>forno</i> ‘oven’
g	(<u>i</u> ,e)	dʒ	<i>magia</i> ‘spell’
	(<u>a</u> ,o,ö,ü)	g	<i>gavèr</i> ‘to have’
gh		g	<i>ghèt</i> ‘sprout’
i		i	<i>nissùn</i> ‘no one’
j		j	<i>jutare</i> ‘to help’
l		l	<i>laorare</i> ‘to work’
l̥		e, Ø	<i>vela</i> ‘sail’
m		m	<i>mare</i> ‘mother’
n		n	<i>nialtri</i> ‘we’
gn		ɲ	<i>gnénte</i> ‘nothing’
ò		ɔ	<i>fiòco</i> ‘bow’
ó		o	<i>mónega</i> ‘nun’
p		p	<i>pianta</i> ‘tree’
r		r	<i>racolto</i> ‘collection’
s	(<u>elsewhere</u>)	s	<i>savère</i> ‘to know’
	(V_V)	z	<i>tóse</i> ‘girls’
<u>s</u>		z	<i>sdopiarse</i> ‘to double’
ss		s	<i>tósse</i> ‘cough’
s-ci		stʃ	<i>s-ciòpo</i> ‘gun’
t		t	<i>tosa</i> ‘girl’
u		u	<i>ua</i> ‘grape’
v		v	<i>vècia</i> ‘old woman’
z	(<u>elsewhere</u>)	θ, s, tʃ	<i>zento</i> ‘a hundred’
	(V_V)	ð, z, dʒ	<i>pèzo</i> ‘worse’
zz		s, θ, tʃ	<i>felizze</i> ‘happy’
<u>z</u>		ð, d, z, dz	<i>zalo</i> ‘yellow’

Table A.4: Venetan spelling, examples taken from Zanin (2016) and Basso (2016)

B. Transcriptions

B.1 Tyrolean

(157) T0102_tir

- a. *Ein obends seechn zwa von di Kinder a Hex, di di anderen*
 One evening see two of DEF.PL children a witch(F) that DEF.PL.ACC other
Kinder gseechn hat, ober sui netta.
 children seen has but 3SG.ACC not
 (Laas/Lasa; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0102_tir_U0432)
 ‘One evening, two of the children see a witch, which has spotted the other children,
 but not them.’

(158) T0103_tir

- a. *Si lopfen ins Dorf zrück und fragen der*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jaagr ob er en helfen kan
 hunter(M) if 3SG.M.NOM 3PL.DAT help can
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0322)
- b. *Si rennen ins Dorf zrück und bitten in*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.ACC
Jäger um Hilfe
 hunter(M) for help
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0357)
- c. *Si rennen ins dorf zrück und bitten in*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jäger um hilfe
 hunter(M) for help
 (Bruneck/Brunico; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0377)
- d. *Si rennen ins Dorf zurück und bitten in*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jaagr um Hilfe.
 hunter(M) for help
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0379)
- e. *Sui rennen in Dorf zurück und bitten di*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jaagr um Hilfe.
 hunter(M) for help

(Graun im Vinschgau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0382)

- f. *Si rennen zurück zum Dorf und fragen im*
 3PL.NOM run in:DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) back and ask DEF.SG.M.DAT
Jäger ob er sui hilft.
 hunter(M) if 3SG.M.NOM 3PL.DAT helps
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tir_U0429)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

(159) T0104_tir

- a. *Mir sein enkommen, ober si sein gfangen*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM are captured
 (Villnöss/Funes; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tir_U0350)
 b. *Mir sein entkommen, ober sui sein gfangen*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM are captured
 (Latsch/Laces; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tir_U0365)
 “We have escaped, but they have been captured!”

(160) T0105_tir

- a. *Es hab es Glück ghab das si enkh ni*
 2PL.NOM have DEF.SG.N.ACC luck(N) had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not
gesechn hat
 seen has
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0322)
 b. *Es hab Glück ghab das si enk nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Tirol/Tirol; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0376)
 c. *Ir hab Glück ghab das si enkh nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Neumarkt/Egna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0396)
 d. *Eis hab Glück ghab das si enkh nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Kastbell-Tschars/Castelbello-Ciardes; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0467)
 e. *Des hab Glück ghab das se enk nit gsekhen hat*
 2PL.NOM have luck had that 3SG.F.NOM 2PL.ACC not seen has
 (Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tir_U0468)
 “You (PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too.”

(161) T0106_tir

- a. *I gib=der mein Gewehr zum Schutz*
 1SG.NOM give 2SG.DAT my gun(N) for:DEF.SG.M.DAT protection(M)
 (Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_tir_U0349)
 b. *Zum Schutz, gib i der mei Gwehr*
 for:DEF.SG.M.DAT protection(M) give 1SG.NOM 2SG.DAT my gun(N)
 (Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_tir_U0390)
 c. *I gib der mein Gewehr zum Schutz*
 1SG.NOM give 2SG.DAT my gun(N) for:DEF.SG.M.DAT protection(M)
 (Lajen/Laion; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_tir_U0395)
 d. *I gib dir mein Gewehr zum Schutz*
 1SG.NOM give 2SG.DAT my gun(N) for:DEF.SG.M.DAT protection(M)

Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_tir_U0485)

“I am giving you my gun for protection.”

(162) T0107_tir

- a. *Wenn du im 's Gwehr gibst, was gibst mir?*
 when 2SG.NOM 3SG.M.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give what give 1SG.DAT
 (Bozen/Bolzano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tir_U0348)
- b. *Wenn in es Gewehr gibst, was gibst dann mir?*
 when 3SG.M.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give what give than 1SG.DAT
 (Brixen/Bressanone; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tir_U0364)
- c. *Wenn du im 's Gwehr gibst, was gibst dann mir?*
 when 2SG.NOM 3SG.M.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give what give than 1SG.DAT
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tir_U0429)
- “If you give your gun to him, what will you give to me?”

(163) T0108_tir

- a. *Si finden es Haus von di Hexe*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.SG.N.ACC house(N) of DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F)
im dunklen Wald.
 in:DEF.SG.M.DAT dark forest(M)
 (Meran/Merano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_tir_U0361)
- b. *Im dunklen Wald finden si noch es*
 in:DEF.SG.M.DAT dark forest(M) find 3PL.NOM still DEF.SG.N.ACC
Haus von di Hex.
 house(N) of DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F)
 (Kaltern a.d.W./Caldaro s.s.d.v.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_tir_U0391)
- c. *Si finden es Haus von di Hexe*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.SG.N.ACC house(N) of DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F)
im dunklen Wald.
 in:DEF.SG.M.DAT dark forest(M)
 (Lana; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_tir_U0466)
- ‘They find the house of the witch in the dark forest.’

(164) T0109_tir

- a. *Des Haus isch alt und di Kinder finden des*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find 3SG.N.ACC
fruchbar.
 scary
 (Meran/Merano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_tir_U0361)
- b. *Es Haus isch alt und di Kinder finden =n*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find 3SG.N.ACC
schrecklich.
 scary
 (Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_tir_U0382)
- c. *Das Haus isch alt und die Kinder finden es*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find 3SG.N.ACC
schrecklich.
 scary

(Meran/Merano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_tir_U0392)

- d. *Es Haus isch alt und di Kinder fingst unterschrecken*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find scary
 (Gsies/Valle di Casies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_tir_U0487)
 ‘The house is old and the children find it terrifying.’

(165) T0110_tir

- a. *Di Hexe will di gfangn Kinder kochen.*
 DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) wants DEF.PL.ACC captured children cook
 (Percha/Perca; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_tir_U0418)
 ‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’

(166) T0111_tir

- a. *Iss=nen net, iss mi! I bin viel dicker wie er!*
 eat=3SG.M.ACC not eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Ritten/Renon; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0355)
- b. *Iss net in, iss mi. Ich bin viel dicker als er.*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Brixen/Bressanone; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0364)
- c. *Iss et in, iss mi, i bin viel dicker als er*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Percha/Perca; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0418)
- d. *Iss nit im, iss mir, i bin viel dicker als er*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0429)
- e. *Iss et in, ist mi, i bin viel dicker wie er*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (St. Lorenzen/San Lorenzo di Sebato; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0480)
- f. *Iss et im, iss mir! I bin viel dicker als er!*
 eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
 (Graun im Vinschau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tir_U0492)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than him!”

(167) T0112_tir

- a. *Naa, si därf aa dir nit essen! Iss koan von ins*
 no 3SG.F.NOM must also 2SG.DAT not eat eat no_one of 1PL.DAT
 (Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_tir_U0390)
- b. *Naa, si darf aa di net essen, iss koan von ins.*
 no 3SG.F.NOM must also 2SG.DAT not eat eat no_one of 1PL.DAT
 (Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_tir_U0474)
 “No, she musn’t eat you either! Don’t eat any of us!”

(168) T0113_tir

- a. *Der Jäger befiehlt der Hex aufzuhären, aber*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) orders DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) stop but
si versucht in zu verzaubern
 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 Margreid a.d.W./Magr; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0346)

- b. *Der Jaagr verlangt van de Hex aufzuheren, ober*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) wants of DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) stop but
disel probiert nou in zu verzaubern
 3SG.F.NOM tries now 3SG.M.ACC
 (Gsies/Valle di Casies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0363)
- c. *Der Jäger sagt der Hexe si soll*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must stop
aufhären, aber si versucht in zu verzaubern.
 but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0390)
- d. *Der Jaagr sog in der Hex si söll*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says to DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must
auheren, aber si versucht 'n zu verzaubern
 stop but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Kaltera a.d.W.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0391)
- e. *Der Jaagr befiehlt der Hex aufzuheren, ober*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) orders DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) stop but
se versucht in zu verzaubern
 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Ratschings/Racines; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0394)
- f. *Der Jaagr sag zu der Hex si soll*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says to DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must
aufheren, ober si versucht en zu verzaubern
 stop but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Ratschings/Racines; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0421)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’

(169) T0113_tir2

- a. *Der Jaagr sagt zu der Hexe si sall*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says to DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must
auhären, aber si probiert in zu verzaubern
 stop but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0434)
- b. *Der Jaagr sagt der Hexe si sall auhären,*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.SG.F.DAT witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM must stop
aber si probiert in zu verzaubern.
 but 3SG.F.NOM tries 3SG.M.ACC to hex
 (Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tir_U0478)
 ‘The hunter orders the witch to stop, but she attempts to hex him.’

(170) T0114_tir

- a. *Er ober nimmt es Gewehr und tötet di Hex*
 3SG.M.NOM but takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F)
 (Leifers/Laives; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0386)
- b. *Er aber nimmt 's Gewehr und bringt di*
 3SG.M.NOM however takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC

- Hex um.*
witch(F)
(Taufers/Tubre; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0390)
- c. *Er nimmt es Gewehr und tötet di Hex*
3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F)
(Laas/Lasa; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0432)
- d. *Er aber nimmt es Gewehr und tötet di*
3SG.M.NOM however takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
Hex.
witch(F)
(Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0434)
- e. *Er aber nimmt es Gewehr und tötet di*
3SG.M.NOM however takes DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
Hexe.
witch(F)
(Welsberg-Taisten/Monguelfo-Tesido; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0464)
- f. *Er nimmt nou ober es Gewehr und tötet di*
3SG.M.NOM takes now DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) but and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
Hexe
witch(F)
(Ahrntal/Valle Aurina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tir_U0489) ‘But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’
- (171) T0115_tir
- a. *Er befreit di Kinder und bringt si hoam*
3SG.M.NOM frees DEF.PL.ACC children and brings 3PL.ACC home
(Kurtatsch a.d.W./Cortaccia s.s.d.v.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_tir_U0385)
- b. *Er befreit di Kinder und bringt si hoam.*
3SG.M.NOM frees DEF.PL.ACC children and brings 3PL.ACC home
(Laas/Lasa; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_tir_U0432)
‘He frees the children and brings them home.’
- (172) T0116_tir
- a. *De Jaagr hat ins ein Gwehr geben, aber denen netta.*
DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Dee sein noch zu kli
3PL.NOM are still too small
(Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0322)
- b. *Der Jaagr hat uns a Gwehr gegeben, ober imenen net.*
DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
3PL.NOM are still too small
(Bozen/Bolzano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0348)
- c. *Der Jäger hat ins a Gwehr geben, ober*
DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT
immenen net. Si sein noch zu kloan.
not 3PL.NOM are still too small
(Ritten/Renon; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0355)

- d. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber imenen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Karneid/Cornedo all'Issarco; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0360)
- e. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gwehr geben, aber sui nit.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Latsch/Laces; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0365)
- f. *Der Jäger hat ins an Gewehr geben und in di an*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(M) given but DAT DEF.PL others
netta. Si sei einfach noch zu kloan
 not 3PL.NOM are simply still too small
 (Lajen; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0395)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

(173) T0115_tir2

- a. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber sui nit.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Sui sei noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch/Prato allo Stelvio; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0429)
- b. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber denen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(M) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0468)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”
- c. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Gewehr geben, aber imen et.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Vintl/Vandoies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0472)
- d. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Picks gegeben, aber imile netta.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(F) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sei noch zu kloan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Moos in Passeier/Moso in Passiria id:479; stimulus 116)(Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0479)
- e. *Der Jaagr hat ins a Piks gegeben, aber inen net.*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has 1PL.DAT a gun(N) given but 3PL.DAT not
Si sein noch zu kloane
 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Lüsen/Luson; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tir_U0482)
 “The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

(174) T0117_tir

- a. *Di Bewohner von Dorf danken an em Jaagr*
 DEF.PL.NOM inhabitants of village thank to DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0322)
- b. *Di Dorfbewohner danken in Jäger.*
 DEF.PL.NOM villagers thank DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0357)
- c. *Di Leit danken im Jaagr*
 DEF.PL.NOM people thank DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Prad am Stilfersjoch; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0429)
- d. *Di Dorfbewohner danken in Jaagr.*
 DEF.PL.NOM villagers thank DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter()
 (Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_tir_U0485)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’

(175) T0201_tir

- a. *Hat der Jäger dir des Gewehr geben? Naa,*
 has DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) 2SG.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) given no
mir net, ober in hat des geben.
 1SG.DAT not but 3SGM.DAT has that given
 (Brixen/Bressanone; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_tir_U0364)
 “Did the hunter give the gun to you?” “No, not to me, but he gave it to him.”
- b. *Hat der Jaagr dir es Gewehr geben? Mir*
 has DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) 2SG.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) given 1SG.DAT
etta, ober im.
 not but 3SG.M.DAT
 (Percha/Perca; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_tir_U0418)
 “Did the hunter give the gun to you?” “Not to me, but to him.”
- c. *Hat der Jaagr dir es Gewehr geben? Mir*
 has DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) 2SG.DAT DEF.SG.N.ACC gun(N) give 1SG.DAT
ettə, ober im schon.
 not but 3SG.M.DAT indeed
 (St. Lorenzen/San Lorenzo di Sebato; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_tir_U0480)
 “Did the hunter give the gun to you?” “Not to me, but to him he did.”

(176) T0202_tir

- a. *Hat ins di Hex gsekh? Nein, ins hat si nit*
 has 1PL.ACC DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) seen no 1PL.ACC has 3SG.F.NOM not
gsekh, di ane hat si gsekh
 seen DEF.PL.ACC-other has 3SG.F.NOM seen
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tir_U0322)
 “Did the witch see us?” “No, she hasn’t seen us, she has seen the others.”
- b. *Hat di Hex ins gesehn? Si schon, ober ins*
 has DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) 1PL.ACC seen 3PL.ACC indeed but 1PL.ACC
net.
 not
 (Bozen/Bolzano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tir_U0348)
 “Did the witch see us?” “She did see them, but not us.”

- c. *Hat di Hex ins geseehn? Na, ins net, aber dee*
 has DEF.SG.F.NOM witch(F) 1PL.ACC seen no 1PL.ACC not but 3PL.ACC
scho(n).
 indeed
 (Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tir_U0468)
 ‘‘Did the witch see us?’’ ‘‘No, not us, but she did see them.’’

(177) T0204_tir

- a. *Toll wie i in beschützt han. Mi schön, aber si*
 great how 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC protected have 1SG.ACC indeed but 3SG.F.ACC
et
 not
 (St. Lorenzen/San Lorenzo di Sebato; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0204_tir_U0480)
 ‘‘Isn’t it great how I saved him? Me yes, but not her.’’

(178) T0302_tir

- a. *Während des fleißige Maadl am Brunnen arbeitet, fällt*
 while DEF.SG.N.NOM diligent girl(N) at:DEF.SG.M.DAT well(M) works falls
si infall eini.
 =3SG.F.NOM accidentally in
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0302_tir_U0491)
 ‘‘While the diligent girl is working next to the well, she accidentally falls in.’’

(179) T0303_tir

- a. *Das faule Maadl will der nooch und beide landen in anar*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM lazy girl(N) wants 3SG.F.DAT follow and both land in an
andere Welt.
 other world
 (Mals/Malles Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0303_tir_U0322)
- b. *Di faule Gitsch will ir noochen und beiden kemmen*
 DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) wants 3SG.F.DAT follow and both arrive
si in an andere Welt an.
 3PL.NOM in an other world at
 (Sarnthein/Sarentino; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0303_tir_U0444)
 ‘‘The lazy girl wants to follow her and they both wind up in another world.’’

(180) T0304_tir

- a. *Da isch ein Paam völler Äpfel, der zu imenen rieht: schuttelts mi,*
 there is a tree(M) full_of apples that.M to 3PL.DAT calls shake 1SG.ACC
i han reifen Äpfeln
 1SG.NOM have ripe apples
 (Montan/Montagna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0304_tir_U0379)
 ‘‘There is a tree full of apples, which calls to them: ‘‘Shake me, I have ripe apples!’’’

(181) T0305_tir

- a. *Tu du es sag =’s faule Maadl zum*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.N.ACC says =DEF.SG.N.NOM lazy girl(N) to:DEF.SG.N.DAT

fleißigen und si hilft im Paam und schüttelt
 diligent_one and 3SG.F.NOM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes
 = 'n

=3SG.M.ACC

(Graun im Vinschau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tir_U0434)

- b. *Mach du sel, sag di faulen Gitsch zu de fleißigen,*
 do 2SG.NOM self says DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) to DEF.SG.F.DAT diligent
und disel hilft im Paam, und schüttelt' =n
 and DEF.SG.F.NOM self helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes

=3SG.M.ACC

(Rasen-Antholz/Rasun-Anterselva; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tir_U0490)

“‘You do it!’, says the lazy girl to the diligent one, and she helps the tree and shakes it.’

(182) T0306_tir

- a. *Dann kemmen sie zu an Ofen, das se unschreit: 'Nimmt*
 then come 3PL.NOM to a oven(M) that 3PL.ACC calls_to take
es Prot auser, sel is fertig!'

DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) out 3SG.N.NOM is ready

(Deutschnofen/Nova Ponente; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_tir_U0435)

- b. *Dann kemmen si zu ein Ofen, da si anschreit: 'Nimmt*
 then come 3PL.NOM to a oven(M) that 3PL.ACC calls_to take
des Prot auser, es isch fertig!'

DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) out 3SG.N.NOM is ready

(Leifers/Laives; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_tir_U0465)

- c. *Dann kemm si zu ein Öfen, der si unschreit: 'Nehmt*
 then come 3PL.NOM to a oven(M) that 3PL.ACC calls_to take
es Proat auser, es isch fertig!'

DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) out 3SG.N.NOM is ready

(Gais; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_tir_U0468)

‘Then they arrive at an oven, which calls to them: “Take the bread out, it is ready!”’

(183) T0307_tir

- a. *Jetzt bis du ober drun sagt es fleißige Maadl*
 now are 2SG.NOM however at says DEF.SG.N.NOM diligent girl(N)
zum faulen, aber sie hilft im Prot nit.

to:DEF.SG.N.DAT lazy_one but 3SG.F.NOM helps DEF.SG.N.DAT bread(N) not

(Tirol/Tirol; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_tir_U0376)

“‘Now it is your turn,” says the diligent girl to the lazy one, but she doesn’t help the bread.’

(184) T0308_tir

- a. *Guat, dann hilf i im sagt 's fleißige Gitschele, und*
 fine then help 1SG.NOM 3SG.N.DAT says DEF.SG.N.NOM diligent girl(N) and
si nimmt es Prot aus =em Ofen.
 3SG.F.NOM takes DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) out =DEF.SG.M.DAT oven(M)

(Ritten/Renon; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tir_U0355)

- b. *Guat, dann hilf i in sagt di fleißige Gitsche, und*
 fine then help 1SG.NOM 3SG.N.DAT says DEF.SG.F.NOM diligent girl(F) and
di tut es Prot van Öfen.

DEM.F.SG takes DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) of oven(M)

(Ahrntal/Valle Aurina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tir_U0489)

“‘Fine, I will help him,” says the diligent girl, and she takes the bread out of the oven.’

(185) T0311_tir

- a. *I han di net arbeiten geseegn, lei si*
 1SG.NOM have 2SG.ACC not work seen only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Meran/Merano; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tir_U0361)
- b. *Di han i ober net arbeiten geseegn, lei de(i)*
 2SG.ACC have 1SG.NOM but not work seen only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Gsies/Valle di Casies; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tir_U0363)
- c. *Dir han i ober net arbeiten geseegn, lei ir*
 2SG.ACC have 1SG.NOM not work seen only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Graun im V./Curon V.; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tir_U0434)
- “‘I haven’t see you work, only her.’”

(186) T0317_tir

- a. *Hat enkh di Alt gold als Belohnung geben?*
 has 2PL.DAT DEF.SG.F.NOM old_one gold as reward given
 (Graun in Vinschau/Curon Venosta; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0317_tir_U0434)
- b. *Hat enk di Alte gold als Belohnung geben?*
 has 2PL.DAT DEF.SG.F.NOM old_one gold as reward given
 (Ahrntal/Valle Aurina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0317_tir_U0489)
- “‘Did the old woman give you a reward?’”

(187) T0403_tir

- a. *I han in Prot gholfen*
 1SG.NOM have DEF.SG.N.DAT bread(N) helped
 (Graun im Vinschau; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0403_tir_U0434)
- “‘I have helped the bread.’”

B.2 Mòcheno

(188) T0104_mhn

- a. *Biar sai’ pflouchen, ober sei hòm se sa pòckt*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM has =3SG.F.NOM =3PL.ACC captured
 (Palù del Fersina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_mhn_U0585)
- “‘We have escaped, but they have been captured.’”

(189) T0105_mhn

- a. *Ir sait glickle as si hòt =enk nèt tsechen enk*
 2PL.NOM are lucky that 3SG.F.NOM has =2PL.ACC not seen 2PL.ACC

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_mhn_U0585)

“You (PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you(PL) too.”

(190) T0107_mhn

- a. *Benns =o =n gibst de picks en im, en*
 when =2SG.NOM =3SG.DAT give DEF.F.SG.ACC gun(F) DAT 3SG.DAT DAT
miar bos ges =o =mer?
 1SG.DAT what give =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_mhn_U0585)

“If you give the gun to him, what do you give to me?”

(191) T0109_mhn

- a. *S haus is òlt ont de kinder vinn =es*
 DEF.SG.N.NOM house is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find =3SG.N.ACC
schriklech
 scary

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_mhn_U0585)

‘The house is old and the children find it scary.’

(192) T0111_mhn

- a. *Èss =en nèt im, èss =me mi. I pin bolten*
 eat =3SG.M.ACC not 3SG.M.ACC eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am very
dick-er abia er.
 fat-MORE than 3SG.M.NOM

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_mhn_U0585)

“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!”

(193) T0112_mhn

- a. *De mias de di anet èssn. De mias nia’met va nens*
 DEM.F must =2SG.ACC 2SG.ACC also_not eat DEM.F must no_one of 1PL.DAT
èssn
 eat

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_mhn_U0585)

“She must not eat you either. She mustn’t eat any of us!”

(194) T0113_mhn

- a. *Der jagerer sòk en de hècks za hòltn =se au ont*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DAT DEF.F.SG witch(F) to hold =3.REFL up and
si probiart za =n verhècksn =en
 3SG.F.NOM tries to =3SG.M.ACC enchant =3SG.M.ACC

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_mhn_U0585)

‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to hex him.’

(195) T0114_mhn

- a. *Alura er nimmt de picks ont teated de hècks*
 so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.F.SG.ACC gun(F) and kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)

(Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_mhn_U0585)

‘So he takes the gun and kills the witch.’

- (196) T0115_mhn
 a. *Lòk =er vrai de kinder ont tròk =se hoa'm*
 lets =3SG.M.NOM free DEF.PL.ACC children and carries =3PL.ACC home
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_mhn_U0585)
 ‘He frees the children and brings them home.’
- (197) T0116_mhn
 a. *De jager hòt =ens a picks en ins geben, ober nèt*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =1PL.DAT a gun(M) DAT 1PL.DAT give but not
en sei, sei sai' nou za kloa'
 DAT 3PL.DAT 3PL.NOM are still too small
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_mhn_U0585)
 “The hunter has only given us a gun, not them. They are still too small.”
- (198) T0117_mhn
 a. *.De lait van dorf padònken der jagerer*
 DEF.PL.NOM people of village thank DEF.SG.M.ACC
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_mhn_U0585)
 ‘The villagers thank the hunter.’
- (199) T0201_mhn
 a. *Der jagerer hòt =er =der gem de picks?*
 DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) has =3SG.M.NOM =2SG.DAT give DEF.SG.F.ACC gun(F)
Miar nèt, ober en im bol.
 1SG.DAT not but DAT 3SG.M.DAT indeed
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_mhn_U0585)
 “Has the hunter given you the gun?” “Not me, but to him he did.”
- (200) T0202_mhn
 a. *De hècks hòt =se s=ens aa tsechen? Na,*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) has =3SG.F.NOM EXPL=1PL.ACC also seen no
ins nèt, ober sei dert bol.
 1PL.ACC not but 3PL.ACC there indeed
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_mhn_U0585)
 “Has the witch also seen us? No, not us, but them there yes.”
- (201) T0305_mhn
 a. *‘Tua du’ sòk =se de failen diarn en de*
 do 2SG.NOM says =3SG.F.NOM DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT
sèll braf, ont de doi hilft den pa'm ont schittlt
 DEM obedient and DEF.SG.F.NOM DEM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes
=en
=3SG.M.ACC
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_mhn_U0585)
 ““You do it,” says the lazy girl to the diligent one and she helps the tree and shakes it.”
- (202) T0306_mhn

- a. *Dòra kemmen se ka an ouven as =en schrain tuat ‘schiast*
 then arrive =3PL.NOM at a oven(M) that =3PL.DAT yelling does take
heraus s= proat s= ist parogat’
 out DEF.SG.N.ACC= bread(N) 3SG.N.NOM is ready
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_mhn_U0585)
 ‘Then they arrive at an oven which shouts to them: “Take out the bread, it is ready!”’
- (203) T0307_mhn
- a. *‘Iaz trèfft =s en dir’ sòk =se de*
 now falls_to =3SG.N.NOM DAT 2SG.DAT says =3SG.F.NOM DET.SG.F.NOM
braf diarn en de sèll faul ober si hilft nèt
 diligent girl(F) DAT DEF.SG.F.DAT DEM lazy but 3SG.F.NOM not help
en proat.
 DEF.SG.N.DAT bread(N)
 (Palù del Fersina; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_mhn_U0585)
 “‘Now it’s your turn,” says the good girl to the lazy one, but she does not help the bread.’
- (204) T0308_mhn
- a. *‘Guat, i hilfe =n i,’ sòk =se*
 good 1SG.NOM help =3SG.M.DAT FirstSG.NOM says =3SG.F.NOM
de braf diarn ont nimmp =s proat aus
 DEF.F.SG.NOM good girl(F) and takes =DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) from
=en ouven
 =DEF.M.SG.DAT oven(M)
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_mhn_U0585)
 “‘Alright, I will help it,” says the diligent girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’
- (205) T0311_mhn
- a. *I hòn =de nèt sechen òrbeten, i hòn =sa lai*
 1SG.NOM have =2SG.ACC not see work 1SG.NOM have =3SG.F.ACC only
si òrbeten sechen
 3SG.F.ACC work see
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_mhn_U0585)
 “‘I haven’t see you work, I have only seen her work.’”
- (206) T0312_mhn
- a. *Ober der pa’m hòt pfrok en enk peada, nèt lai en*
 but DEF.M.SG.NOM tree(M) has asked DAT 2PL.DAT both not just DAT
sir
 3SG.F.DAT
 (Palù del Fersina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_mhn_U0585)
 “‘But the tree asked both of you, not just her!’”

B.3 Cimbrian

- (207) T0102_cim

- a. *An abas zboa von se åndre haban gesek a hèks boda hatt gesek*
 one evening two of 3PL.ACC others have seen a witch(F) that has seen
åndre khindar ma nèt imenåndarn
 other children but not 3PL.ACC
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0102_cim_U0620)
 ‘One evening, two of them see a witch which has seen the other children, but not them.’
- b. *An aabènt habent se zbòà gaséghet an truta ba hat gaséghet andare*
 one evening have 3PL.NOM two seen a witch(F) that has seen other
khindar abar nèt sàndare
 children but not 3PL.ACC
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0102_cim_U0661)
 ‘One evening, two of them see a witch which has seen the other children, but not them.’

(208) T0103_cim

- a. *se kearna, laufinj in-z lante un se vorsan helfe*
 3PL.NOM return running in-DEF.SG.N.ACC village(N) and 3PL.NOM ask help
ime jegar-e
 DEF.SG.M.DAT hunter(M)-DAT
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_cim_U0576)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’
- b. *se khearn bodrùmm loavante in lante un vorsan hilfe in*
 they return back running in village and ask help DEF.M.SG.DAT
katzadóre
 hunter-DAT
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_cim_U0638)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

- (209) a. *bar sain gafljegat hi, in darbai sandre sain gabesta gagreifat*
 1PL.NOM are fled away in meanwhile 3SG.F.NOM are been captured
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_cim_U0576)
 ‘We managed to get away, but they have been caught.’
- b. *Bar sain inkànt, abar/bei sàndare sait ken gasnappet.*
 1PL.NOM are escaped but 3PL.NOM are instead captured
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_cim_U0661)
 ‘We have escaped, but they have been captured.’

(210) T0105_cim

- a. *Sait muntar ke si hata nist gasest irandre*
 be happy that 3SG.F.NOM has not seen 2PL.ACC
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0576)
- b. *Dar hatt gehatt glükh ke si hat =az nèt gesek*
 2PL.NOM have had luck that 3SG.F.NOM has =2PL.ACC not seen
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0620)
- c. *Ar sait galükhe az si hat nèt gaséghet oghàndare*
 2PL.NOM are lucky that 3SG.F.NOM has not seen 2PL.ACC
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_cim_U0661)

“You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you.”

(211) T0106_cim

- a. *g_ibe =dar mai schioupo tze vuotan =di*
 1SG.NOM give =2SG.DAT my gun(M) to protect =2SG.ACC
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0576)
- b. *I gî=dar moin sklopp zo schiütza =de*
 1SG.NOM give=2SG.DAT my gun(M) to protect =2SG.ACC
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0620)
- c. *Ich gibe=dar in main püks zo dorbéeran dich*
 1SG.NOM give=2SG.DAT DEF.SG.M.DAT my gun(M) to protect 2SG.ACC
 (Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0106_cim_U0661)
- “I give you my gun to protect yourself.”

(212) T0107_cim

- a. *Mo du gaist in schioupo inj ime baz gaist*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.SG.M.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M.DAT what give
 =o =par in miar
 =2SG.NOM =1SG.DAT DAT 1SG.DAT
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0576)
- b. *Az du gist in sklopp imen, baz gist =to*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) 3SG.M.DAT what give =2SG.NOM
 =mar miar?
 =1SG.DAT 1SG.DAT
 (Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0620)
- c. *An du gist in püks ime baz gist du*
 if 2SG.NOM give DEF.SG.M.ACC gun(M) 3SG.M.DAT what give 2SG.NOM
 miar
 1SG.DAT
 (Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_cim_U0661)
- “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”

(213) T0108_cim

- a. *se vingan iz haus un-dar marascha*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.N.SG.ACC house of-DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)
i-me tunkhlen balje
 in-DEF.M.SG.DAT dark forest(M)
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_cim_U0576)
 ‘They found the house of the witch in the dark forest.’
- b. *se vennen iz haus vo dar hëkse*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.N.SG.ACC house of the.F.SG.DAT witch(F)
in tunkhle balte
 in.DEF.M.SG.DAT dark forest(M)
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_cim_U0638)
 ‘They found the house of the witch in the dark forest.’
- c. *Si vinnent ’z haus dar truten ime*
 3PL.NOM find DEF.N.SG.ACC house(N) DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) DEF.M.SG.DAT

tùnkhehn balle

dark forest(M)

(Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0108_cim_U0661)

‘They found the house of the witch in the dark forest.’

(214) T0109_cim

- a. *(d)itza haus-e ist alt-e un de bracha signa =z vij vortige*
this house-N is old and the.PL.NOM children think =3SG.N.ACC very scary

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0576)

‘The house is old and the children think it very scary.’

- b. *’z haus iz alt un gevàll nèt in khindar-n*
DEF.SG.N.NOM house is old and pleases not DEF.PL.DAT children-DAT.

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0620)

‘The house is old and the children don’t like it.’

- c. *’Z haus iz alt un di khindar venna ’z*
DEF.SG.N.NOM house(N) is old and DEF.PL.NOM children find 3SG.N.ACC
ghàntz schaüla

totally ugly

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0638)

‘The house is old and the children find it terrifying.’

- d. *’z haus ist alt un in khindarn préert órran*
DEF.N.SG.NOM house is old and DEF.PL.DAT children-DAT appears ugly

(Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0109_cim_U0661)

‘The house is old and the children don’t like it.’

(215) T0110_cim

- a. *De marascha bi kouckan de haijar bo si*
DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) wants cook DEF.PL.ACC children that 3SG.F.NOM
hata gagraifat

has captured

(Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_cim_U0576)

‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’

- b. *Di hèkse bill khochan di khindar bo =se*
DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) wants cook DEF.PL.ACC children that =3SG.F.NOM
hatt gevànk

has captured

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_cim_U0638)

‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’

- c. *De truta bill khochan di gasnappan khindar*
DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) wants cook DEF.PL.ACC captured children

(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0110_cim_U0661)

‘The witch wants to cook the captured children.’

(216) T0111_cim

- a. *ezza =ti nist, ezza =pi i pi mear vòaste um ime*
eat =3SG.M.ACC not eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.DAT

(Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0576)

‘Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!’

- b. *Izz nèt er, izz mi. I pin dikhar baz er*
eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0620)
“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”
- c. *Iss nèt imen, iss =me mi. I pin viel voaster baz*
eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat =1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than
er
3SG.M.NOM
(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0638)
“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”
- d. *Izz nèt in, izz mich. I pin hèftikh grözzar dan ear*
eat not 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much fatter than 3SG.M.NOM
(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_cim_U0661)
“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am fatter than he is!”

(217) T0112_cim

- a. *Si hat nist ezzan njanka di. Si muzzat nist ezzan niaman*
3SG.F.NOM has not eat neither 2SG.ACC 3SG.F.NOM must not eat no_one
un usandre
of 1PL.DAT
(Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_cim_U0576)
- b. *Si mögt njanka èzzan =de di. Si mögt niamat*
3SG.F.NOM can neither eat =2SG.ACC 2SG.ACC 3SG.F.NOM can no_one
èzzan vo üs
eat of 1PL.DAT
(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_cim_U0620)
“‘She can’t eat you either! She musn’t eat any of us!’”
- c. *Si mögt èzzan njanka di. Si mögt èzzan niamat vo*
3SG.F.NOM can eat neither 2SG.ACC 3SG.F.NOM can eat no_one of
us
1PL.DAT
(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_cim_U0638)
“‘She shouldn’t eat you neither! She shouldn’t eat any of us!’”
- d. *Si töart nèt èzzan nennòch dich. Si töart nèt èzzan khòanas*
3SG.F.NOM can not eat neither 2SG.ACC 3SG.F.NOM can not eat no_one
von osàndarn
of 1PL.DAT
(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_cim_U0661)
“‘She can’t eat you either! She musn’t eat any of us!’”

(218) T0113_cim

- a. *In jegar kout inar marascha tze veista =si un*
DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) to stop =3.REFL and
si probart tze túan =in a magia
3SG.F.NOM tries to do =3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)
(Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0576)
‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’

- b. *Dar katzadór khüt dar hèks zo haltn se soin un*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F) to stop 3PL? be and
si provàrt zo machan 'na magia
 3SG.F.NOM tries to make =3SG.M.DAT? a spell(F)
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0620)

‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’

- c. *Dar huntar khüt dar trut-en zo haltan au un*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) says DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)-DAT to hold up and
si süuchart zo machar=me an zóobar
 3SG.F.NOM tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(M)
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_cim_U0661)

‘The hunter tells the witch to stop and she tries to bewitch him.’

(219) T0114_cim

- a. *Alora er lent au sai schioupo un er toat de*
 but 3SG.M.NOM take out his gun(M) and 3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
marascha
 witch(F)
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0576)

- b. *Un alóra er nimp in sklopp un darschózt di*
 and so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) and shoots DEF.F.SG.ACC
stria
 witch(F)
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0620)

‘So he takes out the gun and shoots the witch.’

- c. *Also er nimp soin sklopp un töatet di hèkse*
 so 3SG.M.NOM take his gun(M) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F)
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0638)

‘But he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’

- d. *Dénne limmet=ar in sain püks un töotet di*
 then takes=3SG.M.NOM DEF.SG.M.ACC his gun(M) and kills DEF.SG.F.ACC
truta
 witch(F)
 (Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_cim_U0661)

‘Then he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’

(220) T0115_cim

- a. *Dar lazzt gian di khindar un vüart se dahùam*
 3SG.M.NOM lets go DEF.PL children and takes 3PL.ACC home
 (Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0115_cim_U0638)

‘He frees the children and brings them home.’

(221) T0116_cim

- a. *In jegar hat =ar geta an schioupo in usandre aber*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =3SG.M.NOM given a gun(M) DAT 1PL.DAT but
nist in inji. Sandre sain nau vij kljain
 not DAT 3PL.DAT 3PL.NOM are still very small
 (Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0576)

“The hunter gave us a gun, but not to them. They are still too small.”

- b. *Dar katzadór hatt gètt an sklopp üs, ma nèt imenåndarn.*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT but not 3PL.DAT

Se soin no kartza khlumma
 3PL.NOM are still too small

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0638)

“The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

- c. *Dar huntar hatt gètt an püks osåndarn, badar inåndarn nèt.*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has given a gun(M) 1PL.DAT but 3PL.DAT not

Si sain noch zovìl khlòan.
 3PL.NOM are still too small

(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_cim_U0661)

“The hunter has given a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

(222) T0117_cim

- a. *De laute 'ume lante ringraziano in jegar*
 DEF.PL.NOM people DEF.N.GEN village(N) thank(IT) DEF.M.SG.ACC hunter(M)

(Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0576)

“The villagers thank the hunter.”

- b. *Di laüt vo lante khön vorgèllzgott in katzadór*
 DEF.PL.NOM people of village(N) say thanks DEF.M.SG.DAT hunter(M)

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0620)

“The villagers thank the hunter.”

- c. *Di laüt vo lante khön vorgèllzgott in katzadór*
 DEF.PL.NOM people of village(N) say thanks DEF.M.SG.DAT hunter(M)

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0620)

“The villagers thank the hunter.”

- d. *De vónar me lante khödent vorbaisgòtt me*
 DEF.PL.NOM inhabitants of village(N) say thanks DEF.M.SG.DAT
huntar-e
 hunter(M)-DAT

(Asiago; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0117_cim_U0661)

“The villagers thank the hunter.”

(223) T0201_cim

- a. *In jegar hat =er get in schioupo in*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) have =3SG.M.NOM given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT

diar? Niat, er hat in get in ime.

2SG.DAT no, 3SG.M.NOM has 3SG.M.ACC given DAT 3SG.M.DAT

(Selva di Progno; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_cim_U0576)

“Did the hunter give you the gun?” (Free produced answer:) “No, he has given it to him”.

- b. *Dar katzadór hatt =dar gètt in sklopp? Miar*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) has =2SG.DAT given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) 1SG.DAT

nèt, imen bol.

not 3SG.M.DAT indeed

(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0201_cim_U0620)

“Did the hunter give you the gun?” “Not to me, but he did to him.”

(224) T0202_cim

- a. *hata de marascha gasest anka usandre? Niat, si hata gasest*
 has DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) seen also 1PL.ACC no 3SG.F.NOM has seen
taman sandre.
 only 3PL.ACC

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_cim_U0576)

“Has the witch also seen us?” “No, she has seen only them.”

- b. *Di truta hat si gasècht osàndare och? Aa i*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) has 3SG.F.NOM seen 1PL.ACC also ah 1SG.NOM
han vorte.
 have fear

(Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_cim_U0661)

“Has the witch also seen us?” “Ah, I am afraid.”

(225) T0203_cim

- a. *In jegar kint er sai schioupo anka in usandre*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) gives 3SG.M.NOM his gun(M) also DAT 1PL.DAT
odar taman in au? Taman in usandre.
 or only DAT 2PL.DAT only DAT 1PL.DAT

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0203_cim_U0576)

“Will the hunter also give us a gun or only/also to all? [Free produced answer: Only to us].”

- b. *Dar huntar bill=ar géban pükse osàndarn och? Odar*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) will=3SG.M.NOM give guns 1PL.DAT also or
oghàndarn anlòan? Osàndarn anlòan, ambrümme artàndare sait noch zovìl
 2PL.DAT only 1PL.DAT only because 2PL.NOM are still too
khlòan.
 small

(Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0203_cim_U0661)

“Will the hunter give guns to us too or only to you.PL?” “Only to us, you.PL are still too small.”

(226) T0204_cim

- a. *Pin =i gabeste braj(vo) tze salvaar =ni odar niat? Niat,*
 am =1SG.NOM been good to save =3SG.M.ACC or not not
bar sain tzorna parche du hat =si niste gasalvaart
 1PL.NOM are angry because 2SG.NOM have =3SG.F.ACC not saved

(Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0204_cim_U0576)

“Have I not been great at saving him?” [Free produced answer: No, we are angry, because you have not saved her].

- b. *... Saist du? Müzzist du noch dorrettn si och.*
 ... been 2SG.NOM must 2SG.NOM still save 3SG.F.ACC also

(Asiago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0204_cim_U0661)

(Response to: ‘Haven’t I been good to have saved him?’) “Have you? You still had to save her!”

(227) T0305_cim

- a. *tüast du khiit di faulenzenta diarn dar brafata*
do 2SG.NOM says DEF.SG.F.NOM lazy girl(F) DEF.SG.F.DAT obedient
diarn, un si helpt in albar un schüttln=se
girl(F) and 3SG.F.NOM helps DEF.SG.M.DAT tree(M) and shakes=3SG.F
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_cim_U0620)
“‘You do it’ says the lazy girl to the diligent one and she helps the tree and shakes it.’

(228) T0306_cim

- a. *Spetar rivan =se kan an pachovan, bo=da hokat ‘ziagat auz*
later arrive =3PL.NOM at a oven(M) that=3PL.ACC yells take out
’z proat, ’z iz gekhöcht!’
DEF.SG.N.ACC bread(N) 3SG.N.NOM is cooked
(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_cim_U0620)
‘Then they arrive at an oven, which calls to them: “Take the bread out, it is ready!”’

(229) T0307_cim

- a. *est trifft =dar diar khiit=ar de bravat diarn*
now falls_on =2SG.DAT 2SG.DAT says=3SG.F.DAT DEF.F.SG.NOM good girl(F)
dar faulenzerin ma disa helpt nèt in proat
DEF.F.SG.DAT lazy_one(F) but this_one(F) helps not DEF.N.SG.DAT bread(N)
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_cim_U0638)
“‘Now it is your turn,” says the good girl to the lazy one, but this one does not help the bread.’

(230) T0311_cim

- a. *i hân =de nèt gesek arbatn, i hân gesek lei arbatn*
1SG.NOM have =2SG.ACC not seen work 1SG.NOM have seen only work
si.
3SG.F.ACC
(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_cim_U0620)
“‘I didn’t see you, I only have seen her do work.’”

(231) T0312_cim

- a. *Ma dar puam hatt gevorst zboan, nèt lei irn.*
but DEF.M.SG.NOM tree(M) has asked both? not only 3SG.F.DAT
(Luserna; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_cim_U0638)
“‘But the tree asked you both, not just her’”

(232) T0313_cim

- a. *d’ alt gitt dar bravate diarn golt un diamantn*
DEF.F.SG.NOM old_one gives DEF.F.SG.DAT good girl(F) gold and diamonds
un dekht au di faulenzerin pitt èsch
and covers up DEF.F.SG.ACC lazy_girl with ashes
(Luserna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0313_cim_U0638)
‘The old woman gives gold and diamonds to the good girl and ashes to the lazy one.’

B.4 Trentino

(233) T0103_tre

- a. *i= torna a casa ntel paés e domanda aiuto*
 3PL.M.NOM= return to home in:DEF.M.SG village(M) and ask help
al cazzador
 to:DEF.M.SG.DAT hunter(M)
 (Castello-Molina di Fiemme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_tre_U0561)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

(234) T0104_tre

- a. *noi sè scampai mentre lori stadi ciapai*
 1PL.NOM are escaped while 3PL.M.NOM been captured
 (Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_tre_U0459)
 ‘‘We have escaped, but they have been captured!’’

(235) T0105_tre

- a. *Se stadi fortunadi che ela non l’= ha vis voi*
 are been fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 2PL.ACC
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0351)
 ‘‘You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too!’’
- b. *Se sta fortunadi che ela non v’= abia visto*
 are been fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Vezzano, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0427)
- c. *se fortunai che ela non la= v’= abia vist*
 are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Mori, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0569)
- d. *Si furtunè chi öla no la= v’= abia vigiù*
 are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0578)
- e. *Se fortunadi che no la= ve= abia vedest voi*
 are fortunate that not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen 2PL.ACC
 (Imer, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_tre_U0607)
 ‘‘You(PL) have been lucky that she didn’t see you too!’’

(236) T0107_tre

- a. *se te= ghe= dai el fussil a lu, a mi cosa*
 if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG gun(M) DAT 3SG.M DAT 1SG what
me= dat
 1SG.DAT= give
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tre_U0451)
- b. *se te= ghe= dës el s-ciop a lu, a mi cosa*
 if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M DAT 1SG what
te= ghe= me= dai?
 2SG.NOM= it.IND.OBJ= 1SG.DAT= give
 (Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tre_U0459)

- c. *s' a öl ti dö il s-ciop, a mi cu*
 if to 3SG.M.DAT 2SG.NOM give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) to 1SG.DAT what
me= dè ?
 1SG.DAT= give
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_tre_U0578)
 “If you give the gun to him, what will you give to me?”

(237) T0111_tre

- a. *Non sta magnar lu, magnà=me mi. Son molto pu staifa de*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am much more fat than
lu.
 3SG.M.ACC
 (Cinte Tesino, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tre_U0411)
- b. *No sta magnar lu, magna mi. Son molto pu ciciota de lu*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC am much more fat than 3SG.M
 (Folgaria; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tre_U0571)
- c. *No sta magnàr öl, magna mi. Mi son molto pu grassa*
 not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM am much more fat
de öl
 than 3SG.M
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_tre_U0578)
 “Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is.”

(238) T0112_tre

- a. *No la= deve magnar ngànca ti no, non la= deve*
 not 3SG.F.NOM= must eat neither 2SG.ACC not not 3SG.F.NOM= must
magnar ngànca uno dei noi
 eat neither one of 1PL
 (Levico Terme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_tre_U0565)
 “She can’t eat you, she can’t eat any of us!”

(239) T0113_tre

- a. *el cazzadòr el= ghe= dise a la strìa*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 3SG.DAT= says to DEF.F.SG.DAT witch(F)
de se fermar e ela la= prova de far 'na magia
 of 3.REFL stop and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= tries of make a spell(F)
 (Imer, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_tre_U0607)
 ‘The hunter tells the witch to stop, but she tries to hex him.’

(240) T0114_tre

- a. *alora lu el= tol el so fussile e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
=’l copa la strìa
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0451)
- b. *alora lu ciapa el so s-ciop e copa la*
 so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and kills DEF.F.SG.ACC

strega

witch(F)

(Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0459)

- c. *alora elo el= ciapa el so s-ciòpe e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 = 'l *copa la strega*
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)

(Mori, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0569)

- d. *alora el el= ciapa el so s-ciòp e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 el= *copa la strega*
 3SG.M.NOM= kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)

(Folgaria, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0571)

- e. *Alora öl el= ciapa 'l so s-ciop e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 = 'l *fa fòra la strega*
 =3SG.M.NOM makes out DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)

(Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_tre_U0578)

'So he took out his gun, and he killed the witch.'

(241) T0116_tre

- a. *El cazzadór el= n'= a date un fussile a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 1PL.DAT= have given a gun(M) DAT
noi ma no a lori. Lori i= è ancora massa picioi
 1PL but not DAT 3PL.M 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too small:PL.M
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0451)

- b. *El cassador l'= a dato el s-ciop a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) to
noi, ma no a lori. Lori i= è ancora massa
 1PL.DAT but not DAT 3PL.M 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too
picoli
 small:PL.M

(Folgaria, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0571)

- c. *El ciaciadór el= n'= a date 'n fusil a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 1PL.DAT= has given a gun(M) to
noi ma no a ei. Ei i= è a mò massa
 1PL.DAT but not to 3PL.M.DAT 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too
picioi
 small:PL.M

(Cles, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0575)

- d. *El caciadór el= n'= a date 'na s-ciòp a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 1PL.DAT= has given a gun(M) DAT
nuaftri ma mica cuaftri. Öi i= è a mu massa
 1PL but not those_others.M 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too
picioi
 small:PL.M

(Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_tre_U0578)

“The hunter gave a gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

(242) T0202_tre

a. *la strega l' = a vist anca noi? No, l' =*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM= has seen also 1PL.ACC no 3SG.F.NOM=
a vist sol lori
 have seen only 3PL.M.ACC
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tre_U0410)

b. *la strega l' = a vist anca noi-altri? No, no,*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) 3SG.F.NOM= has seen also 1PL.ACC-others.M no no
l' = a vist sol lori
 3SG.F.NOM= has seen only 3PL.M.ACC
 (Cavedine, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_tre_U0459)

“Has the witch also seen us? No, she has seen only them.”

(243) T0305_tre

a. *fa ti la dise la ragazza falènzosa a quella*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy:F to that_one:F
brava e ela l' = aiuta l' alber e
 good:F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
lo = scórla
 3SG.M.ACC= shakes
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0351)

b. *fa ti la = dis la putela svojara a quella*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy:F DAT that_one:F
brava e ela l' = aiuta l' alber e
 good:F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
lo = scórla
 3SG.M.ACC= shakes
 (Folgaria, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0571)

c. *fai ti dis la ragazza pigra a quella brava e*
 do 2SG.NOM says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy:F DAT that_one:F good:F and
ela l' = aida l' alber a scórlar=lo su
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) to shake=3SG.M.ACC down
 (Carano, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_tre_U0624)

““You do it,” says the lazy girl to the good one and she helps the tree and shakes it.’

(244) T0306_tre

a. *Poi le = riva a 'n forno che ghe = urla a lore: tiré fòra*
 then 3PL.F.NOM= arrive at an oven(M) that 3.DAT= yells DAT 3PL take out
el pan, l' = è còt
 DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) 3SG.M.NOM= is cooked
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0306_tre_U0451)

“Then they arrive at an oven that yells at them: “Take out the bread! It is ready!””

Note: *Them* refers to two girls.

(245) T0307_tre

- a. *Ades toca a ti, dis la tosa valenta a quela lipa ma*
 now touch DAT 2SG says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) good:F to that_one:F lazy:F but
ela non ajut' el pan
 3SG.F.NOM not help DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M)
 (Imer, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_tre_U0607)
 “‘It’s your turn!”, says the good girl to the lazy one, but she doesn’t help the bread.’

(246) T0308_tre

- a. *Va ben, l’= aiudo mi, la= dis la putela*
 goes good 3SG.M.ACC= help 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F)
brava e ela tole el pan dal forno
 good:F and 3SG.F.NOM takes DEF.M.ACC bread(M) from:DEF.M.SG oven(M)
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tre_U0410)
- b. *bom bom ti aido mi dis quela valenta e la=*
 good good 2SG.ACC= help 1SG.NOM says that_one:F good:F and 3SG.F.NOM=
tira fòra ela el pan dal forno
 pulls out 3SG.F.NOM DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from:DEF.M oven(M)
 (Castello-Molina di Fiemme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tre_U0561)
- c. *Va ben, te= aido mi, la= dis la putela*
 goes good 2SG.ACC= help 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F)
brava e ela tole fòra el pan dal
 good and 3SG.F.NOM takes out DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from:DEF.M.SG
forno
 oven(M)
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_tre_U0646)
 “‘Alright, I’ll help him,” says the good girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’

(247) T0309_tre

- a. *Séu stai voi a binàr su i pómi?*
 are been 2PL.NOM to collect down DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
 (Levico Terme, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_tre_U0565)
- b. *avé tirà su vo-aftre i póm?*
 have picked down 2PL.NOM-others.F DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
 (Pinzolo, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_tre_U0578)
 “‘Have you(PL) picked the apples?’”

(248) T0311_tre

- a. *ma no t’= o vist laorar, o vist laorar demò ela*
 but not 2SG.ACC= have seen work have seen work only 3SG.F.ACC
 (Trento, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_tre_U0412)
 “‘I haven’t seen you work, I have only seen her work.’”

(249) T0312_tre

- a. *ma l’ albor el= v’= a domandà a tute e*
 but DEF.M.SG.NOM tree(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 2PL.DAT= have asked to all:F and
doi, no solo a ela no.
 two not only DAT 3SG.F not
 (Tuenno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_tre_U0448)

- b. *ma l' albor l'= a domandà a voi doi, no solo a*
 but DEF.M.NOM tree(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has asked DAT 2PL two not only DAT
ela
 3SG.F
 (Carano, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_tre_U0624)
 ‘‘But the tree asked it to both of you, not just to her.’’

(250) T0313_tre

- a. *la vècia la= ghi= dà a la matela*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM old_woman 3SG.F.NOM= 3SG.DAT= gives DAT DEF.F.SG girl(F)
brava oro e diamanti e la= coèrze de zéndro la
 good:F gold and diamonds and 3SG.F.NOM= covers of ashes DEF.F.SG.ACC
pigrisia
 lazy_one:F
 (Pergine Valsugana, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0313_tre_U0619)
 ‘The old woman gives gold and diamonds to the good girl and ashes to the lazy one.’

B.5 Venetan

(251) T0103_vec

- a. *i= torna de corsa al paese e domanda aiuto*
 3PL.M.NOM= return of running in:DEF.M.SG village(M) and ask help
a=l caciatore
 DAT=DEF.M.SG hunter(M)
 (Lendinara, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0103_vec_U0637)
 ‘They run back to the village and ask the hunter for help.’

(252) T0104_vec

- a. *Noialtri semo scapè, mentre lori i è stè ciapè*
 1PL.M.NOM are escaped while 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are been captured
 (Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0298)
 b. *Noantri semo scapeia, ma lori i è stè ciapè*
 1PL.M.NOM are escaped but 3PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are been captured
 (Illasi, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0321)
 c. *Naltri semo scapai, ma i altri tusiti i è stà*
 1PL.M.NOM are escaped but DEF.PL.M other children(M) 3PL.M.NOM= are been
ciapai
 captured
 (Montecchia di Crosara, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0104_vec_U0419)
 ‘‘We have escaped, but they have been captured!’’

(253) T0105_vec

- a. *Si fortunai che ela no la= ve= ga visto*
 are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.ACC= have seen
 (Castelfranco Veneto, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0302)
 b. *Si sta fortunà voialtri che ela non ve0 ga visto*
 are been fortunate 2PL,NOM that 3SG.F.NOM not 2PL.ACC= have seen

(Lugo di Vicenza, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0305)

- c. *Si fortunè che ela no l'= a mia visto voi*
are fortunate that 3SG.F.NOM not 3SG.F.NOM= have not seen 2PL.ACC
(Negrar, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0440)

- d. *Se stai fortunai che no la= gabia visto vialtri*
are been fortunate that not 3SG.F.NOM= not has seen 2PL.M.ACC
(Venezia, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0105_vec_U0454)
“You(PL) have been fortunate that she didn’t see you too.”

(254) T0107_vec

- a. *Se lu te= ghe= dè 'l fusile, a mi coa*
if 3SG.M.DAT 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 1SG what
me= dè=to?
1SG.DAT= give=2SG.NOM
(Valdagno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_vec_U0401)

- b. *Se te= ghe= dè 'l fusil a lu, a mi sa*
if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M DAT 1SG what
me= dè=to?
1SG.DAT= give=2SG.NOM
(Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_vec_U0539)

- c. *Sa te ghe dè 'l fusil a elo, a mi cosa*
if 2SG.NOM= 3SG.DAT= give DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT 3SG.M DAT 1SG what
me= dè=to?
1SG.DAT= give=2SG.NOM
(Valdagno, age:65, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0107_vec_U0573)
“If you give your gun to him, what will you give me?”

(255) T0111_vec

- a. *No sta magnare lu, magna=me mi. Son pi ciona de lu*
not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am more fat than 3SG.M
(Valdagno, age:26, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0303a)

- b. *No sta magnare lu, magna=me mi. Son pi ciona de elo*
not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am more fat than 3SG.M
(Valdagno, age:26, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0303b)

- c. *No sta magnar lu, magname mi. Son piassè grassa de lu*
not be eating 3SG.M.ACC, eat=1SG.ACC am more fat of 3SG.M
(Verona; Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0403)

- d. *No sta magnare elo, magne=me mi, so molto pi grassa de*
not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat=1SG.ACC 1SG.ACC am much more fat.F than
elo
3SG.M
(Agna, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0553)

- e. *No sta magnar lu, magna mi. So molto piassè grossa de lu*
not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC am much more fat.F than 3SG.M
(Bevilacqua, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0577)

- f. *Non sta magnar lu, magna mi. A= so molto pi grassa*
not be eat 3SG.M.ACC eat 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM= am much more fat

de elo

than 3SG.M

(Bassano del Grappa, age:23, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0111_vec_U0605)

“Don’t eat him, eat me! I am much fatter than he is!”

(256) T0112_vec

- a. *No la= ga da magnare gnanca ti, no la= ga da*
 not 3SG.F.NOM= has from eat neither 2SG.ACC not 3SG.F.NOM= has from
magnar nissun de nialtri
 eat no_one of 1PL.M

(Arsiero, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0112_vec_U0447)

“She can’t eat you, she can’t eat any of us!”

(257) T0113_vec

- a. *El cazadore el= ghe= dise la stria de*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= 3SG.DAT= says DEF.F.SG witch(F) of
fermar=se e ela la= proa a far=ghe ’na magia
 stop=3.REFL and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= tries to make=3SG.M.DAT a spell(F)

(Legnago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0113_vec_U0300)

‘The hunter tells the witch to stop, but she tries to hex him.’

(258) T0114_vec

- a. *Alora lu el tòle la so s-ciopa e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.F.SG.ACC his gun(F) and
’l copa la stria
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Montecchia di Crosara, age:22, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0415)
- b. *Alora elo ’l ciapa la so s-ciopa e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.F.SG.ACC his gun(F) and
’l copa la stria
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Montecchia di Crosara, age:55, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0419)
- ‘So he took out his gun, and he killed the witch.’
- c. *Alora lu el= tòl el so fusil e copa*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and kills
la stria
 DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Cerea, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0510)
- d. *Alora lu ciapa ’l fusile e copa la strega*
 so 3SG.M.NOM takes DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) and kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Valdagno, age:65, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0573)
- e. *Alora lu el= ciapa el so fusil e*
 so 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= takes DEF.M.SG.ACC his gun(M) and
 =’l *copa la strega*
 =3SG.M.NOM kills DEF.F.SG.ACC witch(F)
 (Grezzana, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0114_vec_U0563)
- ‘So he takes out his gun and kills the witch.’

(259) T0116_vec

- a. *El caciatore l'= a dato un fusil a noi ma no*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has given a gun(M) DAT 1PL but not
a lori. Lori i= è ancora massa picoli
 DAT 3PL.M 3 PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still too small:PL.M
 (Negrar, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_vec_U0440)
- b. *El cassadore el= ga dato el fussil a*
 DEF.M.SG.NOM hunter(M) 3SG.M.NOM= has given DEF.M.SG.ACC gun(M) DAT
noialtri, ma no a lori. Parché lori i= è ancora massa
 1PL.M but not DAT 3PL.M because 3 PL.M.NOM 3PL.M.NOM= are still
picinini
 too small:PL.M
 (Selva di Progno, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0116_vec_U0654)
 “The hunter gave the gun to us, but not to them. They are still too small.”

(260) T0202_vec

- a. *la strega ga visto anca noialtri? No, la ga visto*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM witch(F) has seen also 1PL.M.ACC no 3SG.F.NOM= has seen
sol che lori
 only that 3PL.ACC
 (Castelfranco Veneto, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0202_vec_U0302)
 “Has the witch also seen us? No, she has seen only them.”

(261) T0205_vec

- a. *No semo mia stè brai a copar la strega? Vardì che non si stè*
 not are not been good at killing DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F) look that not are been
mia voialtri, l'= è stài 'l caciator
 not 2.PL.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM= is been DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M)
 (Illasi, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0205_vec_U0321)
 “Haven’t we been brave to have killed the witch?” “But look here, it wasn’t you, it was the hunter!”
- b. *Semo mia stà bravi a copar la stria? Ma va là, non si mia*
 are not been good at killing DEF.SG.F.ACC witch(F) but go there not are not
stà valtri, è stà 'l caciatore che la= ga copà
 been 2.PL.M.NOM is been DEF.SG.M.NOM hunter(M) that 3SG.F.ACC= has killed
 (Montecchia di Crosara, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0205_vec_U0419)
 “Haven’t we been brave to have killed the witch?” “But come, it wasn’t you, it was the hunter who killed her!”

(262) T0305_vec

- a. *fa ti la= dise la butela pigra cula brava*
 do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy.F that_one.F good.F
e ela la= ghe= aiuta l' albero e
 and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= 3SG.DAT helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
la= lo= scorla
 3SG.F.NOM= 3SG.M.ACC= shakes
 (Legnago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_vec_U0300)

- b. *fa ti la= dise la tosa prièga a quela*
do 2SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) lazy.F DAT that_one.F.SG
brava e ela la= juta l' albero e
good.F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= helps DEF.M.SG.ACC tree(M) and
lo scorla
3SG.M.ACC= shakes
(Bassano del Grappa, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0305_vec_U0605)
“‘You do it,’ says the lazy girl to the good one and she helps the tree and shakes it.’

(263) T0307_vec

- a. *Adesso toca a ti ghe= dise la tosa brava a quesa*
now touch DAT 2SG 3.DAT= says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) good.F to that_one.F
scansafadie ma ela non aiuta el pan
lazybones but 3SG.F.NOM not helps DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M)
(San Martino di Lupari, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0307_vec_U0400)
“‘It’s your turn!’ says the diligent girl to the lazy one, but she doesn’t help.’

(264) T0308_vec

- a. *Va ben, lo= jute mi dise la putela a quela*
goes good 3SG.M.ACC= help 1SG.NOM says DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) DAT this_one.F
brava e la= tole el pan dal camin
good.F and 3SG.F.NOM= takes out DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from.DEF.M.SG
oven(M)
(San Donà di Piave, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_vec_U0425)
b. *Va ben, ghe= do una man mi la= dise*
goes good 3SG.DAT= give a hand(F) 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= says
la butela braa e ela la= tira fòra
DEF.F.SG.NOM girl(F) good.F and 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.F.NOM= takes out
l' pan dal forno
DEF.M.SG.ACC bread(M) from.DEF.M.SG oven(M)
(Verona, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0308_vec_U0527)
“‘Alright, I’ll help him,’ says the diligent girl and she takes the bread from the oven.’

(265) T0309_vec

- a. *gavio raccolto voi i pomi?*
have gathered 2PL.NOM DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
(Pescantina, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_vec_U0529)
b. *Si stè voaltre a catàr su i pomi?*
is been 2PL.F.NOM at pull down DEF.M.PL.ACC apples(M)
(Zevio, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0309_vec_U0310)
“‘Have you(PL) collected the apples?’”

(266) T0311_vec

- a. *Mi non te= go vista lavorare, a go visto solo*
1SG.NOM not 2SG.ACC= 1SG.NOM= have seen only 3SG.F.ACC work
che ela lavorare

(Arsiero, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0311_vec_U0477)

“I haven’t seen you work, I haven only seen the other one (f) work.”

(267) T0312_vec

- a. *Ma la pianta la= v= a domandà a tute e do,*
 but DEF.F.SG.NOM tree(F) 3SG.F.NOM= 2PL.DAT= have asked to all:F and two
no solo a ela.
 not only DAT 3SG.F

(Tregnago, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_vec_U0312)

“But the tree asked it to both of you, not just to her.”

- b. *ma pianta ve= ga domanda a voaltre do, no solo che a ela.*
 but tree(F) 2PL.DAT= has asked DAT 2PL.F two not only that DAT 3SG.F

(Thiene, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0312_vec_U0634)

“But the tree asked it to you two, not just to her.”

(268) T0313_vec

- a. *la vècia dà a la brava ragassa oro e*
 DEF.F.SG.NOM old_woman gives DAT DEF.F.SG good:F girl(F) gold and
diamanti e recopre de senere la ragassa pigra
 diamonds and covers with ashes DEF.F.SG.ACC girl(F) lazy.F

(Venezia, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0313_vec_U0454)

‘The old woman gives gold and diamonds to the good girl and ashes to the lazy one.’

(269) T0401_vec

- a. *Mario, si=to ti? No, sémo noialtre*
 Mario is=2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM no are 1PL.F.NOM

(Roveredo di Guà, Rabanus et al. 2021; T0401_vec_U0552)

“Mario, is that you? No mama, it is us!”

C. Questionnaire: stimuli and images

T0101

IT: In un paese di montagna, ogni sera i bambini devono raccogliere la legna nel bosco.

DE: In einem abgelegenen Dorf müssen die Kinder jeden Abend im Wald Feuerholz sammeln.



T0102

IT: Una sera, due di loro vedono una strega che ha visto altri bambini, ma non loro.

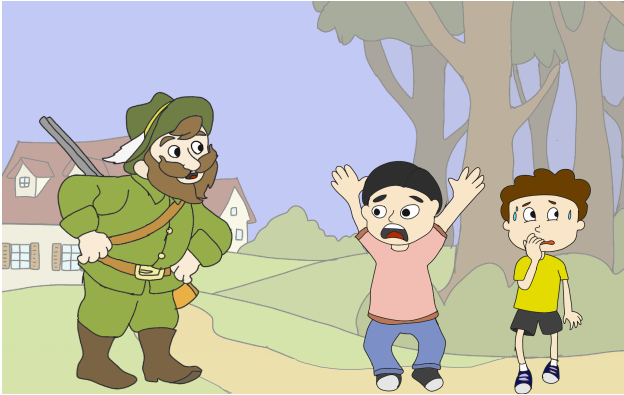
DE: Eines Abends sehen zwei von den Kindern eine Hexe, die die anderen Kinder gesehen hat, aber sie nicht.



T0103

IT: Tornano di corsa in paese e chiedono aiuto al cacciatore.

DE: Sie rennen ins Dorf zurück und bitten den Jäger um Hilfe.



T0104

IT: Noi siamo scappati, ma loro sono stati catturati.

DE: Wir sind entkommen, aber sie sind gefangen.



T0105

IT: Siete fortunati che lei non abbia visto voi!

DE: Ihr habt Glück gehabt, dass sie euch nicht gesehen hat!



T0106

IT: Ti do il mio fucile per difenderti.

DE: Ich gebe dir mein Gewehr zum Schutz.



T0107

IT: Se dai il fucile a lui, a me cosa dai?

DE: Wenn du ihm das Gewehr gibst, was gibst du mir?



T0108

IT: Trovano la casa della strega nel bosco buio.

DE: Sie finden das Haus der Hexe im dunklen Wald.



T0109

IT: La casa è vecchia e i bambini la trovano tremenda.

DE: Das Haus ist alt und die Kinder finden es schrecklich.



T0110

IT: La strega vuole cucinare i bambini presi.

DE: Die Hexe will die gefangenen Kinder kochen.



T0111

IT: Non mangiare lui, mangia me! Sono molto più grassa di lui!

DE: Iss nicht ihn, iss mich! Ich bin viel dicker als er!



T0112

IT: Non deve mangiare neanche te! Non deve mangiare nessuno di noi!

DE: Nein, sie darf auch dich nicht essen! Iss kleinen von uns!



T0113

IT: Il cacciatore dice alla strega di fermarsi, e lei tenta di fargli una magia.

DE: Der Jäger befiehlt der Hexe aufzuhören, aber sie versucht ihn zu verzaubern.



T0114

IT: Allora lui prende il suo fucile e uccide la strega.

DE: Er aber nimmt das Gewehr und tötet die Hexe.



T0115

IT: Libera i bambini e li porta a casa.

DE: Er befreit die Kinder und bringt sie nach Hause.



T0116

IT: Il cacciatore ha dato il fucile a noi, ma non a loro. Loro sono ancora troppo piccoli!

DE: Der Jäger hat uns ein Gewehr gegeben, aber ihnen nicht. Sie sind noch zu klein!



T0117

IT: Gli abitanti del paese ringraziano il cacciatore.

DE: Die Dorfbewohner danken dem Jäger.



T0201

IT: Il cacciatore ti ha dato il fucile?

DE: Hat der Jäger dir das Gewehr gegeben?



T0202

IT: La strega ha visto anche noi?

DE: Hat die Hexe uns gesehen?



T0203

IT: Il cacciatore darà fucili anche a noi, o solo a voi?

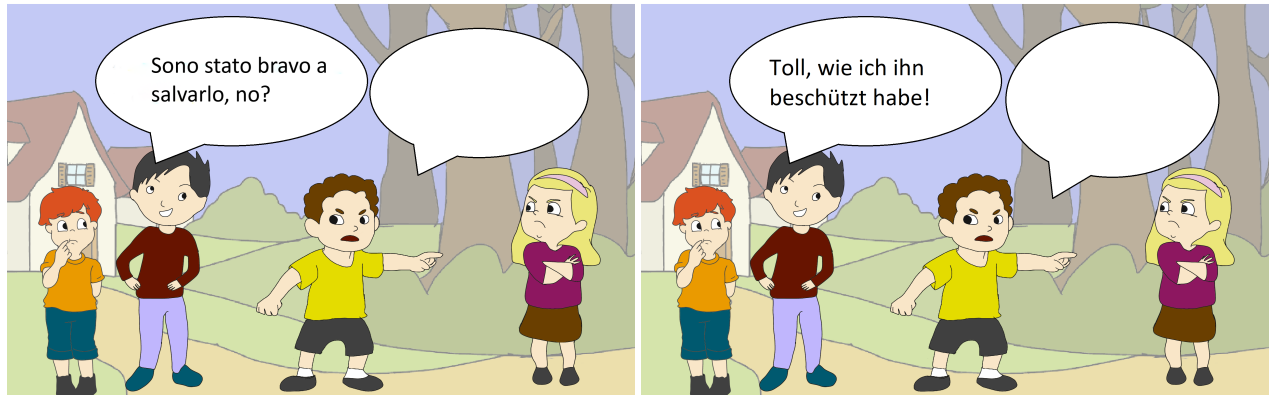
DE: Wird der Jäger uns auch Gewehre geben oder nur euch?



T0204

IT: Sono stato bravo a salvarlo, o no?

DE: Toll, wie ich ihn beschützt habe!



T0205

IT: Non siamo stati bravi ad uccidere la strega?

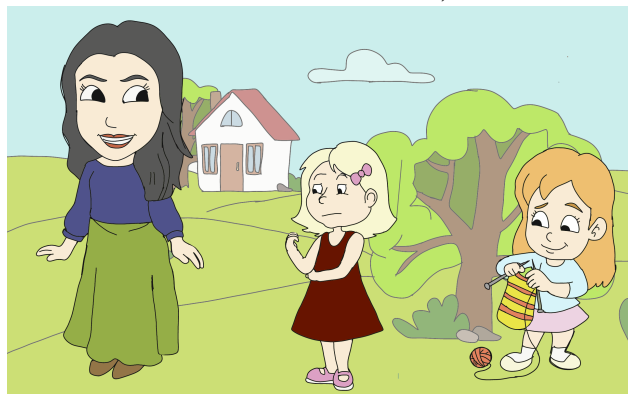
DE: Toll, wie wir die Hexe getötet haben!



T0301

IT: C'è una madre che ha due figlie, di cui una è molto pigra mentre l'altra è molto brava.

DE: Eine Mutter hat zwei Töchter, von denen eine sehr faul ist, während die andere sehr fleißig ist.



T0302

IT: La ragazza molto brava è seduta sul bordo del pozzo e ci cade dentro.

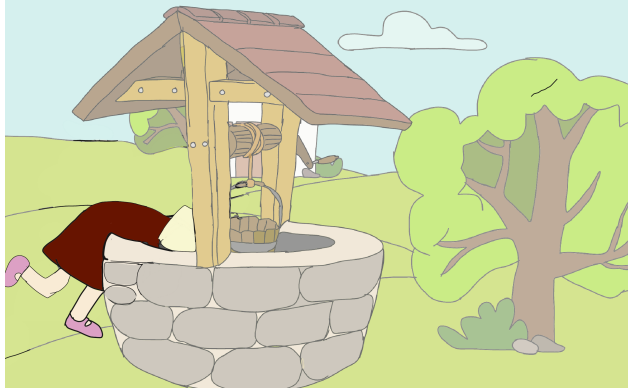
DE: Während das fleißige Mädchen am Brunnen arbeitet, fällt sie/es aus Versehen hinein.



T0303

IT: La ragazza pigra decide di seguirla e insieme arrivano in un altro mondo.

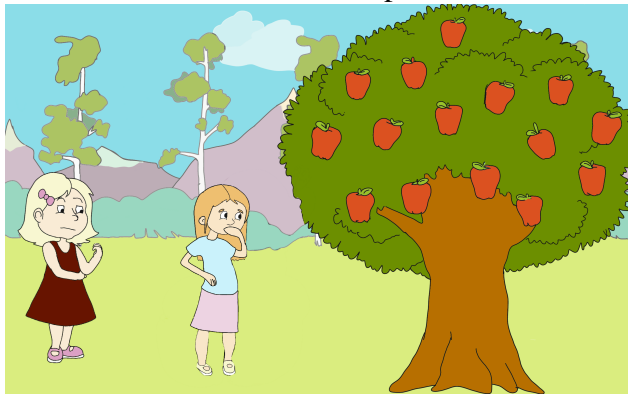
DE: Das faule Mädchen will ihr folgen und beide landen in einer anderen Welt.



T0304

IT: C'è un albero pieno di mele che le chiama: "Scuotetemi, ho frutti maturi!"

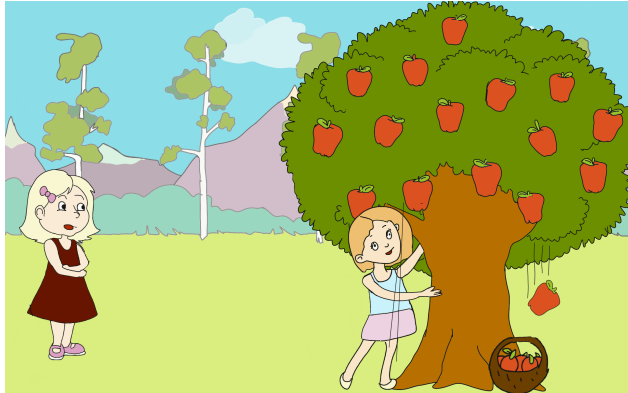
DE: Da ist ein Baum voller Äpfel, der zu ihnen ruft: 'Schüttelt mich, ich habe reife Äpfel!'



T0305

IT: "Fai tu" dice la ragazza pigra a quella brava e lei aiuta l'albero e lo scuote.

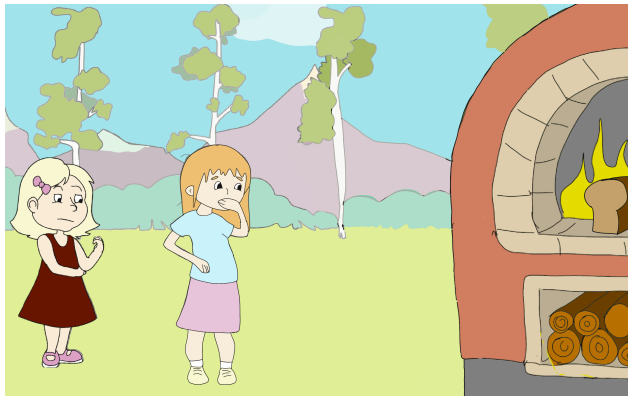
DE: 'Mach du es!', sagt das faule Mädchen zu dem fleißigen, und sie hilft dem Baum und schüttelt ihn.



T0306

IT: Poi arrivano a un forno che urla loro: "Tirate fuori il pane, è pronto!"

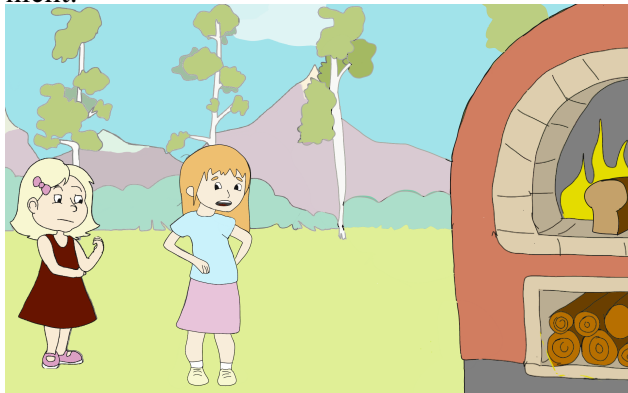
DE: Dann kommen sie zu einem Ofen, der sie anschreit: 'Nehmt das Brot raus, es ist fertig!'



T0307

IT: "Adesso tocca a te", dice la ragazza brava a quella pigra, ma lei non aiuta il pane.

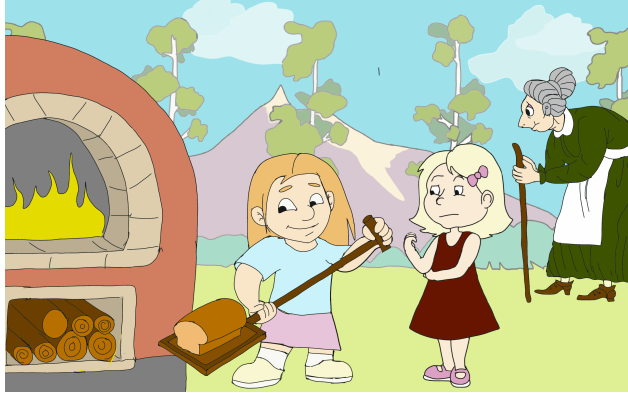
DE: 'Jetzt bist du aber dran', sagt das fleißige Mädchen zu dem faulen, aber sie hilft dem Brot nicht.



T0308

IT: "Va bene, l'aiuto io", dice la ragazza brava e lei prende il pane dal forno.

DE: 'Gut, dann helfe ich ihm', sagt das fleißige Mädchen, und sie nimmt das Brot aus dem Ofen.



T0309

IT: Avete raccolto voi le mele?

DE: Habt ihr die Äpfel gepflückt?



T0310

IT: Sì, le abbiamo raccolte noi!

DE: Ja, wir haben es gemacht!



T0311

IT: Non ti ho visto lavorare, ho visto lavorare solo lei.

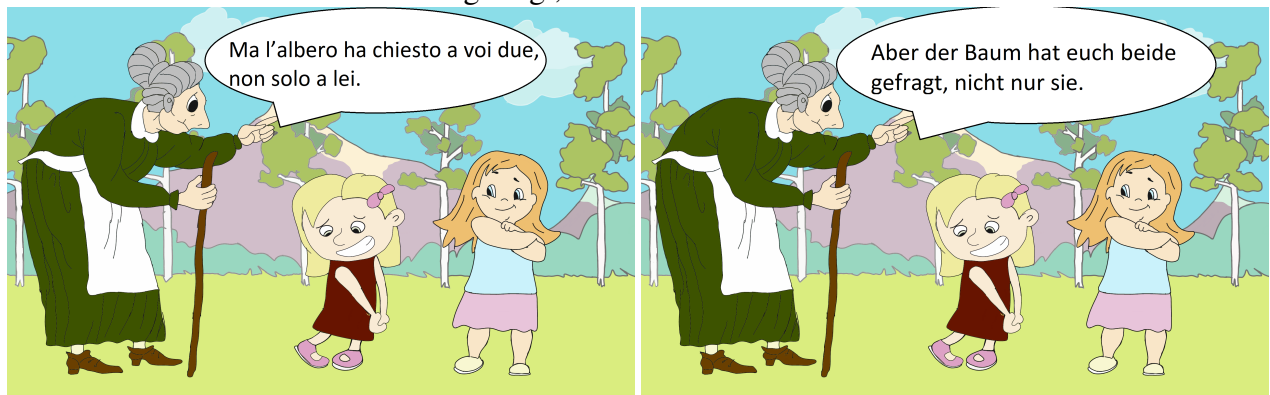
DE: Ich habe dich nicht arbeiten sehen, nur sie.



T0312

IT: Ma l'albero ha chiesto a voi due, non solo a lei.

DE: Aber der Baum hat euch beide gefragt, nicht nur sie.



T0313

IT: La vecchia dà alla brava ragazza oro e diamanti e ricopre di cenere la ragazza pigra.

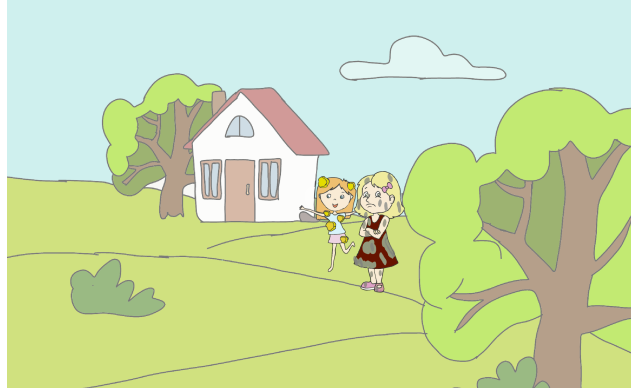
DE: Die alte Frau gibt dem fleißigen Mädchen Gold und Diamanten und dem faulen nur Asche.



T0314

IT: Poi le ragazze tornano a casa e chiamano la mamma.

DE: Dann kehren die Mädchen nach Hause zurück und rufen ihre Mutter.



T0315

IT: La vecchia vi ha dato qualcosa per il vostro lavoro?

DE: Hat euch die alte Frau für die Arbeit belohnt?



T0316

IT: Non ha dato qualcosa a noi, ma solo a me!

DE: Sie hat nicht uns belohnt, nur mich!



T0317

IT: La vecchia vi ha dato dell'oro come ricompensa?!

DE: Hat die Alte euch Gold als Belohnung gegeben?!



T0401

IT: Mario, sei tu?

DE: Hans, bist du das?



T0402

IT: Perché tu hai ricevuto l'oro e io no? Perché sono più brava di _.

DE: Warum hast du Gold bekommen, ich aber nicht? Weil ich besser bin als _



T0403

IT: Il pane l'ho aiutato io...

DE: Ich habe dem Brot geholfen...

