Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics manuscript No.
(will be inserted by the editor)

Overextension in Gottscheerisch (negative) imperatives: Proclisis at the edge of the first phase

Michael T. Putnam & Andrew D. Hoffman

Received: date / Accepted: date

Abstract Gottscheerisch, a Southern Bavarian heritage grammar from Kočevje (Gottschee) in southern Slovenia, has existed in steady contact with Slovene for centuries, with arguably only negligible effects on its syntax with respect to the linear ordering of elements. An exception to this statement can be found in Gottscheerisch imperatives−in particular, negative imperatives−where this German-based dialect patterns with Slovene. Following Aboh (2015), we propose that this contact-induced change is simultaneously a case of *pattern* and *feature transmission* that can be captured in a straightforward and conceptually appealing manner. Adopting a late-insertion derivational approach to morphosyntax, we show how separable prefixes (p-elements) exhibit clitic climbing-like behavior to the edge of the first (vP) phase. Finally, we sketch out an analysis of the overextension of Slovene-like (negative) imperatives in Gottscheerisch in connection with the complex nature of V2.

Keywords Language contact · Syntactic change · Post-syntactic morphology · Gottscheerisch · Negation · Proclisis · Separable Prefixes · Germanic · Slavic · Slovene · Cyclicity · Reprojection

1 Introduction

Recent treatments of syntactic properties of heritage languages−and in language contact scenarios more generally−suggest that the syntactic properties of these grammars remain ostensibly immune to rapid, large-scale changes or attrition (e.g., for an overview of this position see Polinsky (2018) and Lohndal (2021)). Based on this body of research, a reasonable hypothesis to entertain is that when/if syntactic change does occur in these grammars it will likely (1) be highly conservative, targeting only a finite domain; (2) be small-scale in scope and application; and (3) result in the amplification−or *recycling*−of already existing properties in the less dominant grammar in the contact dyad (see, e.g., Putnam and Schwarz (2014), Kupisch (2014), Hopp and Putnam (2015), and Polinsky (2018)).

Adopting the Minimalist proposal that functional categories and their accompanying formal features are the locus of parametric variation across languages (Chomsky 1995), Aboh (2015) presents two possible outcomes, sketched out in (1).[1]

Michael T. Putnam Penn State University, 239 Burrowes Building, University Park, PA 16802, USA
E-mail: mike.putnam@psu.edu

[1] Heine and Kuteva (2005, 81) propose a similar model that systematically captures contact-induced grammaticalization (or change) involving a feature or structure from the **model grammar (M)** transferring to the **replica language (R)** involving the following mechanisms:

(1) Two primary possibilities in language contact (Aboh 2015, 9):

a. F_x[Functional (semantics) = L_x; Syntax = F_x] → Pattern transmission

b. F_y[Functional (semantics) = L_x; Syntax = ...] → Feature transmission

The first scenario entails the emergent properties of a grammar retaining both the syntax and semantics from one of the competing source grammars, which he calls *pattern transmission*. Here a property of the syntax of one of the source grammars in contact with the other transmits (elements of) a structural pattern (Fx) to the other. A second option also exists where a grammar in contact creates, or reconfigures, a functional category that can result from the recombination of semantic feature accompanied by syntactic structure from one of the source grammars. Aboh refers to this state of affairs as *feature transmission*.

The aforementioned options proposed by Aboh (2015) align well with current proposals that model language change and developmental trajectories of features. Within these models, the *scattering* (Giorgi and Pianesi 1996; Bianchi 1999; Poletto 2000) or *reassembly* (Putnam et al. 2019) of features allow for the reassignment (or realignment) of certain grammatical features with existing functional heads in syntactic structure. Under such an approach, the rearrangement of features to align with various functional heads within a syntactic hierarchy, or spine, occurs in order to create a new structure that abstractly resembles (on the surface) observable outputs from the model grammar. Crucially, however, such a model would predict that instances of restructuring should not result in wide-scale changes of pre-established core elements of the replica grammar's underlying system.

In this paper we provide evidence of an instance of syntactic change that employs both *pattern* and *feature transmission*. Here we take a closer look at the syntax of imperatives in a contact variety of German called Gottscheerisch. Although Gottscheerisch primarily exhibits German-like syntactic traits such as asymmetric V2 in matrix and subordinate clauses respectively (see Sect. 4 for a detailed treatment), imperatives in Gottscheerisch have adopted structures that are unique when compared with German and other non-standard (including heritage and contact) varieties. In (2a), we observe that Gottscheerisch has adopted negative imperatives where negation structurally dominates the finite verb, as is common in Slavic languages such as Slovene (the Slavic language this German-based dialect has been in steady contact with for centuries). The contrast between (2a) and (2b) illustrates that the negative particle *et* and separable prefixes (particles) exist in complementary distribution with one another, whereas inseparable prefix verbs can occur at the left edge of the clause in neutral and negative imperatives (cf. (2c) and (2d)). Finally, in extended imperatives such as (2e) and (2f), we once again observe that the negative particle and separable prefixes are in complementary distribution; however, in the absence of the negative particle, the separable prefix adjoins to the auxiliary verb which appears at the left edge of the clause. The Gottscheerisch imperatives display marked similarities with those found in Slovene (cf. (2) and (3)). In both languages, we find negative particles functioning as proclitic elements that appear immediately before the predicate.

i. Mechanisms of contact-induced grammaticalization

a. Speakers notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.

b. They create an equivalent category **Rx** in language **R** on the basis of the use patterns available in **R**.

c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction **Ry** in order to develop **Rx**.

d. They grammaticalize **Ry** to **Rx**.

(2) Gottscheerisch imperatives

a. Et **graif** dos **ūn**.
NEG *touch*.IMP *that* PRT
'Don't touch that.'

b. **Aüf-šraib** mər's af a tsēdl.
PRT-*write*.IMP *me=it on a piece.of.paper*
'Write it down on a piece of paper for me.'

c. Et **vərliəž** də höffnünkh.
NEG *lose*.IMP *the hope*
'Don't lose hope.'

d. **Vəržbint** as main āgn.
disappear.IMP *out my eyes*
'Get out of my sight.'

e. Et lūs dər a pārn **aüf-pintn**.
NEG *let*.IMP *you a bear* PRT-bind.INF
'Don't fall for it.'

f. **Aüs**-luəs es **khüəl**.
PRT-*let*.IMP *it cool*.INF
'Let it cool down.'

(3) Slovene imperatives

a. Ne **napiši** teksta.
NEG *write*.IMP *text*.GEN
'Don't write a text.'

b. **Napiši** tekst.
write.IMP *text*.ACC
'Write a text.'

c. Ne **piši** teksta.
NEG *write*.IMP *text*.GEN
'Don't write a text.'

d. **Piši** tekst.
write.IMP *text*.ACC
'Write a text.'

e. Ne pojdi **(na)pisat** teksta.
NEG *go*.IMP *write*.SUP *text*.GEN
'Don't go write a text.'

f. Pojdi **(na)pisat** tekst.
go.IMP *write*.SUP *text*.ACC
'Go write a text.'

g. Naj (ne) **gre** ven.
PTCL NEG *go*.3SG *outside*
'(Don't) let him go outside.'

The structure of Gottscheerisch imperatives contrasts with those found in Standard German and most other dialectal varieties:

(4) German imperatives

a. **Greif** das nicht **an**.
touch.IMP *that* NEG PRT
'Don't touch that.'

b. *Nicht **greif** das **an**.

c. **Schreib** das nicht **aus**.
write.IMP *that* NEG PRT
'Don't write that out.'

d. ***Ausschreib** das nicht.

e. **Verlier** das nicht.
lose.IMP *that* NEG
'Don't lose that.'

f. *Nicht **verlier** das.

g. Lass das nicht **auskühlen**.
let.IMP *that* NEG PRT.*cool*
'Don't let that cool down.'

h. *Nicht lass es **auskühlen**.

i. ***Aus**-lass es (nicht) **kühlen**.

Examples (4b,f,h) show that Slavic-like negative imperatives, where negation precedes the finite verb, are not possible in German. Separable particles are stranded in German imperatives when they exist as the only verb (4c); pied-piping of the separable particle with the verb is not permitted (4d). Finally, the incorporation of the separable particle with the auxiliary verb *lassen* 'to allow' is not licensed (4i).

We propose that these divergent, Slovene-resembling imperative structures present in modern-day Gottscheerisch can be accounted for in a straightforward and economical manner by making use of Aboh's (2015) proposal. Gottscheerisch, which also has a proclitic negation marker *et* (from its Bavarian heritage) that is functionally similar to the negative marker *ne* in Slovene, has (over)extended the categorization of proclisis to separable prefixes. Adopting a late-insertion model of morphosyntax, we argue that the Gottscheerisch grammar has *overextended* its application of the negative proclitic *et* to also include separable prefixes (via *pattern transmission*) (see Kupisch (2014), Rinke and Flores (2014), Rinke et al. (2018), and Westergaard (2019) for similar arguments).[2] These proclitic elements are in complementary distribution with the proclitic negation marker *et*, competing for a head position at the edge of the vP-phase (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2007). The verbal stem in v head-adjoins with either the negative proclitic *et* or the separable prefix, here x, prior to the completion of the vP-phase. Upon the completion of the the first phase, reserved for the completion of event structure, the reprojected complex head $\{x/et + v\}$ raises to its final position in the left-periphery, here C.

In this paper, we examine this proposal in detail, demonstrating that only minor adjustments are needed in order to derive these structures observed in contact-induced Gottscheerisch imperatives. In Sect. 2 we provide a brief overview of the Gottscheerisch dialect and the conditions of its development and maintenance. We flesh out our theoretical assumptions of the syntax of imperatives in Sect. 3, based primarily on work by Alcázar and Saltarelli (2014) while simultaneously revisiting the core contrasting properties of Germanic and Slavic imperatives through the lens of this proposal. In Sect. 4 we review the fundamental properties of the clausal architecture in Gottscheerisch regarding the placement of finite verbs in matrix and embedded clauses in the presence of negation. We show that Gottscheerisch robustly exhibits an asymmetric verb second (V2) ordering commonly found in German and its dialects, and has maintained negation properties commonly found in Bavarian German dialects. We lay out our detailed analysis of Gottscheerisch imperatives in Sect. 5. Following proposals by Svenonius (2003, 2007), Biskup and Putnam (2012), and Biskup (2019), we assume that predicates modified by separable and inseparable prefixes are derived in the syntax. These complex lexical items are instantiated by a series of cyclic head-movement operations and spell-out/lexicalization procedures. Therefore, although similar structure-building machinery is responsible for deriving these items and clause-level structures, we assume a complex syntax in the vP, where traditional 'lexical items' resemble chains (see Uriagereka (2008), Gallego (2016), and Svenonius (2016) for related proposals). As a secondary contribution, we advance the proposal that some version of the V2-(micro)parameter may also be at play here, mutually reinforcing the Slovene-influenced imperatives found in Gottscheerisch. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to engage in any exhaustive treatment of the exact mechanisms of V2, here we explore the possibility that the implementation of V2 in some instances is linear, rather than hierarchical in nature. Such an interpretation of V2 reveals its complex nature, supporting the position that V2 is perhaps a cover term for ostensibly related micro-parameters (Westergaard 2009; Holmberg 2015; Lohndal et al. 2020).

[2] Another instance of *overextension* mentioned in research on grammars in sustained contact with another grammar concerns the over-application of particular morphosyntax and morphophonological patterns, such as the shift towards a masculine default gender in American Norwegian (Lohndal and Westergaard 2016).

2 Gottscheerisch

Gottscheerisch is a Southern Bavarian dialect of Kočevje (Gottschee) in southern Slovenia. It is currently spoken primarily in diaspora in Austria, the United States, and Canada. It is most similar to the Zarzer German dialect of Sorica (Zarz) in northern Slovenia. As a Southern Bavarian dialect, Gottscheerisch also shares many features common to other German dialects of the area, e.g. Tyrolian and Carinthian, although it also maintains some distinct features not shared with those dialects. In toto, the structure of Gottscheerisch remains principally Germanic.

While the origin of the Gottscheers is debated, most historical accounts seem to converge on the idea that the Gottscheers are the descendents of German-speaking colonists from the southern regions of German-speaking Europe, e.g. Tyrol and Carinthia, who migrated to the region towards the end of the Middle High German period. By 1377, Gottschee had been raised to the status of a market town. In 1393, the first priest of Gottschee, known as Hermann, was named, and by 1398, when the area around Gottschee is to have had roughly 3000 inhabitants, the first urbarium had already been established (Baum 1981). Forced resettlement during World War II signalled the end for the Gottscheer Sprachinsel in Slovenia, although documentation efforts following the war have been made to preserve the language, including the publication of the *Wörterbuch der Gottscheer Mundart* by Walter Tschinkel, from which the Gottscheerisch examples in this paper were sourced (unless otherwise noted). Today Gottscheerisch is a moribund heritage language, with only a limited number of speakers in Slovenia, the United States (near Cleveland, OH, and Queens, NY), and Austria (near Graz and Klagenfurt). Preliminary field work over the past three years (2018−20) with remaining speakers in these aforementioned communities confirmed the acceptability of these imperative structures that we analyze here.

3 The syntax of imperatives

According to Alcázar and Saltarelli (2014), there are two primary subclasses of imperatives: (i) **canonical imperatives** (*go!*), and (ii) **extended** (hortative) **imperatives** (*let...go!*). We illustrate their structures in (5a) and (5b) below:

(5) Primary types of imperatives (A=Speaker, B=Addressee, C=Performer)

a. **Canonical imperatives**
[$_{\text{CP}}$ C-[IF*] [$_{v\text{P}}$ A [v' *v*-prescribe* [$_{v\text{P}}$ B/C [v' v ...]]]]]

b. **Extended imperatives**
[$_{\text{CP}}$ C-[IF*] [$_{v\text{P}}$ A [v' *v*-prescribe* [$_{v\text{P}}$ B [v' v-cause [$_{v\text{P}}$ C [v' v VP]]]]]]]

The speaker (A) is the agentive entity that delivers the imperative expression (or prescription), while the adddressee (B) is the intended goal, or recipient of the action. The final argument is the performer of the action (C). The verb that resides as the highest v-head at the conclusion of the highest vP-phase will move to occupy a position in the higher CP-phase. This move is driven by a strong feature value for Illocutionary Force (IF).

Canonical imperatives consisting of a single verb in Gottscheerisch follow the expected pattern of the verb moving to C, being the initial element in the clause (see (6)). Example (7) contains an adverbial *liftikh* 'quickly' which precedes the predicate *lāf* 'run', and in (8) an entire prepositional phrase is fronted, showing that in some instances a complex XP can precede the predicate.

(6) **Pring** nöx drai limōnain vər də potītsn.
*bring.*IMP *still three lemons for the poticas*
'Bring three more lemons for the poticas.'

(7) Liftikh **lāf**.
quick *run.*IMP
'Run quickly'

(8) Lai voar a žlextn mennišə **vīrxt** di
just of *a bad* *person* *fear.*IMP ANPH
'Only be afraid of a bad person.'

In the presence of the negative proclitic *et*, this element must accompany the predicate as illustrated in (9).

(9) Et **nim** vūdn, tsbiərn **nim** viər's khneppfənānen
NEG *take.*IMP *thread yarn* *take.*IMP *for=the button.sewing*
'Don't take the thread, take the yarn for sewing [on] buttons.'

With respect to negative imperatives in Germanic languages, following Han (2004) and Zeijlstra (2013), negation cannot operate on the illocutionary force of a sentence (i.e., a negative command is still a command). In V2-languages such as Dutch and German, complex negative expressions, traditionally regarded to be XPs, can occur in initial position, however simple negation (i.e., *nicht* 'not' (German) and *niet* 'not' (Dutch)) cannot. The Dutch examples in (10) and (11) illustrate this contrast.

(10) Niemand komt.
nobody *comes*
'Nobody comes.'

(11) *Niet komt Jan.
NEG *comes Jan*
'John doesn't come.'
(Zeijlstra 2013, Sect. 1.2)

The Gottscheerisch negation marker is, like its Slovene counterpart, a proclitic element. In terms of its realization in the syntax, we classify these instances of proclitic negation as heads of a Neg-projection, and their more complex counterparts, such as *nicht* in German, as residing in Spec,NegP. In examples (12a) and (12b), the verb appears at the beginning of the clause in positive imperatives and is preceded by the negative particle *et*[3] in the negative imperative.[4]

[3] The initial *n-* inherited from MHG *niht, nit* 'not' has generally been lost in Gottscheerisch, only appearing in hiatus contexts, e.g. Gott. *Ix boas a net* 'I also don't know', but Gott. *Ix boas et* 'I don't know'. This proclitic negation is still commonplace today in certain varieties of vernacular Bavarian; see *Sprechender Sprachatlas for Bayern* (https://sprachatlas-schwaben.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/).

[4] An anonymous reviewer points out that in Norwegian imperatives also, in most environments, the negation marker *ikke* 'not' appears as the initial element in imperatives:

i. **Ikke** hopp på møblene!
NEG *jump on furniture.*DEF
'Don't jump on the furniture!'

Aside from this structural parallel that exists between Norwegian and Gottscheerisch negative imperatives, the former are additionally constrained by phonological and prosodic factors, such the sonority of the onset of the root predicate (Rice 2003, 2007), that do not play a role in determining the well-formedness of (negative) imperatives in Gottscheerisch.

(12) Canonical imperatives with inseparable particle

a. **Pəklaüb** di.
disappear.IMP ANPH
'Get out of here.

b. **Et pəgīb** di in dai gəvuər.
NEG *put*.IMP ANPH *in this danger*
'Don't put yourself in this danger.'

In Slovene, canonical imperatives are similar to those found in Gottscheerisch; an imperative form of the verb surfaces in the initial position in positive commands and is preceded by a negative particle in negative commands. Unlike Gottscheerisch, however, verbal prefixes (which are uniformly inseparable in Slovene) have no effect on word order in imperatives in Slovene. In (13a) and (13b), basic positive and negative imperatives are given for the verb *pustiti* 'to let go'. In (14a) and (14b), positive and negative imperatives are given for the prefixed verb *zapustiti* 'to leave alone'. In these examples, it is clear that the presence of a verbal prefix does not alter the syntax of imperatives in Slovene (see Sheppard and Golden (2002) for an overview).

(13) a. Pusti me.
let.go.IMP *me*
'Let me go.'

b. Ne pusti me
NEG *let.go*.IMP *me*
'Don't let me go.'

(14) a. Zapusti me.
leave.alone.IMP *me*
'Leave me alone.'

b. Ne zapusti me.
NEG *leave.alone*.IMP *me*
'Don't leave me alone.'

Canonical imperatives in Gottscheerisch that occur with predicates that also license a separable particle display a similar pattern when compared with negated imperatives in that the linearization properties of the separable element are identical to the the negative proclitic *et*.

(15) a. Canonical imperatives with separable particle
Uən-tsint də lotearə.
PRT-*light*.IMP *the lantern*
'Light the lantern.'

b. **Et khrittsl** mər aus **ūn**.
NEG *scribble*.IMP *me all* PRT
'Don't scribble all over me.'

In positive commands (15a), the prefix remains attached to the main verb and the entire complex moves to the left periphery, but remains detached from its verbal stem in negative imperatives (15b). Example (15b) also confirms that Gottscheerisch has maintained the separable vs. inseparable status of certain particles and that separable particles and the negative proclitic *et* exist in complementary distribution, i.e., the presence of negation blocks the raising of the separable particle.[5]

Extended imperatives, i.e., those that contain both a light and lexical predicate, perform more or less as expected in Gottscheerisch, the negative proclitic *et* appearing as the leftmost element in the left periphery immediately adjacent to the light verb as shown in (16).

[5] Another factor that may reinforce and promote this overextension pattern can be found in Slavic languages such as Serbo-Croatian and Slovene in which pronominal clitics always appear in second position in imperatives (Rivero and Terzi 1995; Zanuttini 1997).

(16) Extended imperatives with negation

a. **Luəs** mi **lābm**.
*let.*IMP *me live.*INF

'Let me live.'

b. **Et luəs** dain štuədəl **tsəlempərn**.
NEG *let.*IMP *your barn* *go.to.ruin.*INF
'Don't let your barn go to ruin.'

In extended imperatives that co-occur with predicates with separable prefixes, we find a pattern that to the best of our knowledge is unattested in other diasporic varieties of German. In (17a) we see that the separable particle adjoins to the light verb *luəsn* 'allow' and moves to the left periphery of the clause. As expected, the presence of the negative proclitic *et* in (17b) blocks the raising of the separable particle, forcing it to remain *in situ*.

(17) Extended imperatives with separable particles

a. **Ū**-luəs nən **khüəl**.
PRT-*let.*IMP *it* *cool.down.*INF

'Let it cool down.'

b. **Et lūs** dər a pārn **aüf-pintn**.
NEG *let.*IMP *you a bear* PRT-*bind.*INF
'Don't fall for it'
German: Lass dir nicht einen Bären **aufbinden**.

Recall, however, that the combination of inseparable particles and predicates is not prevented from moving to the left periphery by the co-occurrence of the negative proclitic *et* (cf. (12b) & (17b)). This evidence suggests that the derivational histories and resulting underlying structures for separable and inseparable particles are distinct (as well as their relation to proclitic negation).

To summarize, although Gottscheerisch has maintained the German-rooted distinction between separable and inseparable particles that can combine with predicates, it has adopted Slovene-resembling imperatives where proclitic negation precedes the highest predicate in v - which is the lone predicate in canonical imperatives and the light verb in extended ones. In the absence of negation, separable particles adjoin to the predicate in v and move to the left periphery; however, the co-occurrence of proclitic negation and inseparable prefixes is licit. Before moving to the analysis of these imperatives in Sect. 5, the subsequent section surveys the general properties of Gottscheerisch syntax with a focus on the position of the finite verb (in both matrix and subordinate clauses) and the placement of negation in non-imperative contexts. With respect to the placement of negation, we compare Gottscheerisch with Slovene. In Sect. 4.3.1 we present an overview of the basic properties of negation in Slovene. Following Ilc (2011) and other scholars (Bošković 2001, 2004; Tomić 2004; Marušič 2008; Marušič and Žaucer 2016), we analyze the proclitic negation marker *ne* residing between TP and vP in its base position. A key contrast between Slovene and Gottscheerisch is that in the former, proclitic negation always proceeds finite verbs even in declarative clauses (see (18)):

(18) Janez **ne** bo pisal.
Janez NEG *be.*AUX *write.*IMPF.SG.MASC.
'John will not write.' ('John will not be writing.')

As we discuss in more detail in the subsequent section, we take this as evidence that Gottscheerisch has largely retained a German-based negation system.

4 The (Bavarian) German heritage of Gottscheerisch syntax

Here we provide a brief overview of the syntax of Gottscheerisch, paying particular attention to the placement of finite verbs and negation. In Sect. 4.1 we show that Gottscheerisch continues to overwhelmingly adhere to V2-ordering in matrix clauses. With respect to subordinate clauses, in Sect. 4.2 we highlight an interesting aspect of the asymmetric V2-property in Gottscheerisch, in which the finite verb appears to the right of the past participle. Following Evers (1975, 2003) we refer to these configurations as *cluster creepers*, and discuss their connection with Gottscheerisch imperatives in Sect. 4.2.1. Finally, we turn our attention to clausal negation in Gottscheerisch and Slovene in Sect. 4.3 and demonstrate that although certain structural similarities exist, Gottscheerisch has retained a Bavarian German-based negation system.

4.1 The position of finite verbs in matrix clauses

Gottscheerisch continues to display strong V2 characteristics in matrix clauses (including the placement of non-finite verb forms at the rightmost edge of the clause), V(verb)-final in subordinate clauses, and the morphosyntactic distinction between separable and inseparable prefixes. Each of these (Germanic) syntactic characteristics will play a pivotal role in the representation of Gottscheerisch syntax to follow.

In matrix clauses in Gottscheerisch, as in modern Standard German, the finite verb may be preceded by a subject (19), object (20), adverb (21), prepositional phrase (22), and a topicalized subordinate clause (23).

(19) Dār hüngrigə **rēdət** von proatə.
*the hungry talk.*3SG *of bread*
'The hungry (man) talks of bread.'

(20) Bompmvlakkhə **is** i von taigl et gearn.
*tripe eat.*1SG *I from devil* NEG *gladly*
'I really don't like eating tripe.'

(21) Haint **hon** i's gətrābikh.
*today have.*1SG *I=it rushed*
'Today, I'm in a hurry.'

(22) In dār tsbelftn štünt **khāmmənt** də gaištər.
*in the twelfth hour come.*3PL *the spirits*
'In the twelfth hour, the spirits come.'

(23) Ben a diərnle bərt gəpoarn, **jō̄knt** də vēgəlain.
*when a girl become.*3SG *born.*PTCP *weep.*3PL *the birds*
'When a girl is born, the birds weep.'

While finite forms consistently appear in the second syntactic position (V2) in Gottscheerisch matrix clauses, non-finite forms consistently appear clause-finally, as in most other varieties of German, thus displaying the 'verbal bracket'. This occurs irrespective of the number of non-finite verbs in the clause. The particular kind of non-finite verbs in the clause (i.e., infinitives or participles) is similarly inconsequential. This can be seen in clauses with modal verbs (24), the past tense ((25) & (26)),[6] future tense (27), and passive constructions (28).

[6] Although most non-standard German vernaculars have a significantly reduced inventory of simple past verbs, Gottscheerisch appears to lack this category in its entirety. There are no simple past tense forms in Gottscheerisch. Past tense forms of modal verbs, 'to be', and 'to have' are all built using periphrastic constructions.

(24) Mon **deaf** in boldə et kātšə **žūgn**.
*one may.*3SG *in forest* NEG *snake say.*INF
'You can't say 'snake' in the woods.'

(25) Abakh **hot** də khüə in tsākəvits **gəhot**.
*once have.*3SG *the cow a udder.infection have.*PTCP
'Once, the cow had an udder infection.'

(26) Ār **hot** niš **khen** **moxxn**.
*he have.*3SG *nothing can.*INF *do.*INF
'He couldn't do anything.'

(27) Dər jaükh **bərt** in žneap **vrassn**.
*the jauk become.*3SG *the snow eat.*INF
'The jauk will eat the snow.'

(28) Mit *hohóp* **bərt**'s khint ībər'n tsaün **gəhēvət**.
*with hohop become.3*SG*.the child over.the fence lift.*PTCP
'With a 'hohop' the child is lifted over the fence.'

4.2 Position of finite verbs in subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses, Gottscheerisch exhibits an asymmetric V2 structure found in other non-standard varieties of German. Verbs appear clause-finally in subordinate clauses in Gottscheerisch; however, in juxtaposition to German, the finite verb does not appear as the rightmost element at the edge of the subordinate clause, but rather at the leftmost edge of a verbal cluster. This can be seen in the examples below. In (29), this structure is evinced by a single present-tense verb appearing clause-finally. Example (30) shows a verb cluster with a modal verb and a lexical verb, where the conjugated modal verb is the first element in the cluster. Examples (31) and (32) show two subordinate clauses with auxiliary constructions (passive and past tense respectively), where the conjugated auxiliary verb similarly appears as the first element in the verb cluster. Example (33) shows as well that regardless of the number of verbs in the cluster, the conjugated verb is the first element.[7]

(29) ... bai žai žō̄ šean **žingənt**.
*... because they so beautifully sing.*3PL
'...because they sing so beautifully.'
German: ...weil sie so schön **singen**

(30) ... buəs i von dər štot **məs**$_1$ **pringən**$_2$.
*... what I from the city must.*1SG *bring.*INF
'...what I must bring from the city.'
German: ...was ich von der Stadt **bringen**$_2$ **muss**$_1$

(31) Ben an voššonkhtūgn vīl **bərt**$_1$ **gətontsət**$_2$...
*when on Carnival much become.*3SG *dance.*PTCP
'When there is a lot of dancing during Carnival...'
German: Wenn an den Faschingtagen viel **getanzt**$_2$ **wird**$_1$...

[7] The glosses including standard German equivalents are for the sake of ease of exposition for readers more familiar with German and should not be mistaken as a direct comparison between Gottscheerisch and standard German.

(32) Ben i in də šuələ **pin**$_1$ **gəgean**$_2$...
*when I in the school be.*1SG *go.*PTCP
'When I went to school...'
German: Wenn ich in die Schule **gegangen**$_2$ **bin**$_1$...

(33) ... abai žī et **hot**$_1$ **khen**$_2$ **šraibm**$_3$
... because she NEG *have.*3SG *can.*INF *write.*INF
'... because she could not write.'
German: ... weil sie nicht **hat**$_1$ **schreiben**$_3$ **können**$_2$

A final element, emphasizing the German core of Gottscheerisch syntax and germane to our analysis of imperatives in this dialect to follow, is the maintained distinction between separable and inseparable prefixes in Gottscheerisch. In (34a) and (34b) (present tense forms of separable and inseparable prefix verbs respectively), the Gottscheerisch examples resemble other varieties of German(ic), with the inseparable prefixes remaining attached to the verb stem (as expected) and the separable prefixes appearing detached, at the end of the clause. In (35a) and (35b) (past tense), another similarity between Gottscheerisch and German is affirmed, with the participial forms of the inseparable prefix verbs appearing without the perfective aspectual *ge-* marker, and the separable prefix verbs appearing with this marker between the prefix and the verb stem. Additionally, the difference may also be seen in marked infinitives (i.e. the 'to'-infinitive vs. the morphological infinitive), where separable prefix verbs in Gottscheerisch show the infinitive marker *tsə* (cf. Ger. *zu*) surfacing between the separable prefix and the verb stem and the infinitive marker appearing to the left of the inseparable prefix verb (see (36a) and (36b) below). In future constructions (examples (37a) and (37b)) and matrix clauses with present tense modal verbs (examples (38a) and (38b)), this distinction is lost, as verbs appear in their simple, morphological, infinitive forms, similar to what is found in German in standard and non-standard vernaculars.

(34) a. Dər vēgl **khlüštərt** ži **aüf**.
*the bird ruffle.*3SG ANPH PRT
'The bird ruffles its feathers.'
German: Der Vogel **plustert** sich **auf**.

b. Dər biəštnar **tsəbüələt** an gontsə guərtə.
*the mole disturb.*3SG *on whole garden*
'The mole makes a mess of the whole garden.'
German: Der Maulwurf **zerwühlt** den ganzen Garten.

(35) a. A tsrākəlitsə **hot** diə gontsn vēglaštlain **aüsgərābət**.
*a magpie have.*3SG *the all bird's.nests.*DIM PRT.*rob.*PTCP
'A magpie robbed all the little birds' nests.'
German: Eine Elster **hat** alle Vogelnestlein **ausgeräubert**.

b. Də hiəndər **hont** as gontsə roppox **tsəkošpət**.
*the chickens have.*3PL *the whole garbage.heap spread.around.*PTCP
'The chickens spread the garbage heap around.'
German: Die Hühner **haben** den Abfallhaufen **zerscharrt**.

(36) a. 's išt et **aüs**-tsə-**denkhn**.
it is NEG PRT-*to-think.*INF
'It's inconceivable.'
German: Es ist nicht **aus**zu**denken**.

b. Mit dāmon is et güət kātšn tsə **dəržlūgn**.
with this *be.*3SG NEG *good snakes to* *kill.*INF
'It's no good killing snakes with that.'
German: Mit dem ist nicht gut Schlangen zu **erschlagen**.

(37) a. Də hellə bərt **aüfpraštn**.
the hell *become.*3SG PRT.*break.*INF
'Hell will break loose.'
German: Die Hölle wird **aufbrechen**.

b. ... dü bəršt di **vərkhiəl**.
*... you become.*2SG ANPH *catch.a.cold.*INF
'You will catch a cold.'
German: ... du wirst dich **verkühlen**.

(38) a. Ī məs šmoaronš tsaitiš **aüfštean**.
*I must.*1SG *mornings* *early* PRT.*wake.*INF
'I must get up early in the morning.'
German: Ich muss morgens früh **aufstehen**.

b. ... ār bil aus **tsəraisn**.
*... he want.*3SG *everything rip.*INF
'He wants to rip up everything.'
German: ... er will alles **zerreißen**.[8]

There is a phenomenon in Gottscheerisch that is similar to the structure observed in (36a) known as a *cluster creeper*, in which (verbal) particles in clause-final position may appear detached from their stem. Cluster creepers are common in Germanic languages, and have been most widely discussed in the literature on Dutch and its dialects (Evers 1975; Haegeman and van Riemsdijk 1986; Zwart 1995; Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000), but are also present in many German dialects, where the terms *Binnenspaltung* or *particle split* are also used (Haider 2003).

In non-standard varieties of German, cluster creeper phenomena are less well-attested, although the construction was more prominent in older stages of the language, e.g. during the Middle High German (MHG) period (ca. 1050-1350). In his series on German syntax, Behaghel (1932) notes the variation in the placement of finite verbs in verb clusters in MHG. Germane to the discussion here is his observation that finite verbs could surface between non-finite verb forms (i.e., infinitives and participles) and what he termed 'closely related adverbs', i.e. separable prefixes. He notes as well that this construction continued to appear in many Early New High German texts (ca. 1350−1650). Example (39) (cited in Behaghel (1932)) comes from a MHG text and illustrates the cluster creeper phenomenon with the conjugated modal verb *solltent* 'wanted' appearing between the separable prefix and the verb stem of *uffston* 'to get up'. Similarly, example (40), also from Behaghel (1932), shows the construction, with the conjugated auxiliary verb *han* 'have' surfacing between the separable prefix and participial stem of *ansehen* 'to see, look at' (see also Sapp (2011) for a detailed overview of the development of verbal clusters from Medieval to Modern Day German).

(39) so sy **uff** solltent **ston** (Stagel 37, 8)
when they PRT *should.*3PL *stand.*INF
'when they wanted to get up'
German: 'wenn sie **aufstehen** sollten.'

[8] The Gottscheerisch form *aus*, cognate with German *alles*, shows the *l*-vocalization present in many other Austrian German dialects. Despite similarity to the Gottscheerisch separable prefix *aüs-* (Ger. *aus-*), it is a pronoun rather than a part of the verb.

(40) daz wir **an** han **gesehen** (Friedbg. Urkb. 167)
that we PRT *have.*1PL *see.*PTCP
'that/which we looked at.'
German: 'dass wir **angesehen** haben.'

Cluster creepers occur in some non-standard vernaculars of German today, with some notable cases found in Hessian and Thuringian, and are also attested in contact varieties (see, for example, Bancu (2019) for a treatment of verbal clusters in Viscri Saxon, a Transylvanian Saxon dialect). These cases are exemplified in (41) and (42) below. In (41) the non-finite separable prefix verb *uffsach* 'to recite' is split by the finite verb in the clause. In example (42) the same process can be seen, whereby the conjugated modal verb surfaces between the separable prefix and verb stem of *uufang* 'to start' (see Dubenion-Smith (2010) and Schallert and Schwalm (2015) for a more recent overview of non-canonical orderings in West Central German dialects).

(41) Hessian

na hett ses **auf** sölt **sach**.
then would.have she PRT *should said*

'then she should have recited it.'
German: dann hätte sich es **aufsagen** sollen. (Pfeufer 1938, 13)

(42) Thuringian

Ich wäß net, wa ich zeörscht **uu** söll **fang**.
I know not where I first PRT *should start*

'I don't know where to start.'
Ich weiß nicht, was ich zuerst **anfangen** soll. (Lösch et al. 1999, 180)

Finally, the occurrence of cluster creepers are not only restricted to the right periphery of subordinate clauses (43), but also occur in matrix clauses. Cluster creepers appear in virtually all contexts where the phenomenon is theoretically possible; for example, we find attestations of cluster creepers in verb clusters with other lexical verbs (44), the light verb *let* (45), modal verbs (46), and auxiliary verbs (47).

(43) ... heantar dər khriəkh **aüs**-išt-**gəpröxxn**.
... before the war PRT-*be.*3SG-*break.out.*PTCP
'...before the war broke out.'
German: ...bevor der Krieg **ausgebrochen** ist.

(44) I hon də pöpplmüəmə **aüsar**-žāhn-**gean**.
*I have.*1SG *the midwife* PRT-*see.*INF-*go.out.*INF
'I saw the midwife go out.'
German: Ich habe die Hebamme **herausgehen** sehen.

(45) Nüə't ar ži hettnai dürrai mərxxə **ūn**-lūt-**heng**.
*now=have.*3SG *he* ANPH *such scrawny nag* PRT-*allow-hang.on.*INF
'now he's got himself such a scrawny old nag.'
German: Nun hat er sich so eine dürre Mähre **anhängen** lassen.

(46) Oxt tūgə hot də praüt et **huaim**-deaft-**gean**.
*eight days have.*3SG *the bride* NEG PRT-*may-go.home.*INF
'The bride couldn't go home for eight days.'
German: Acht Tage hat die Braut nicht **heimgehen** dürfen.

(47) Də rūvm hent mit tībl **uən**-ma-**gənūgl**.
*the rafters be.*3PL *with dowels* PRT-*become.*PTCP-*nail.on.*PTCP
'The rafters have been nailed down with dowels.'
German: Die Sparren sind mit Dübeln **angenagelt** worden.

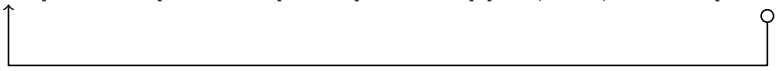
4.2.1 Theoretical relevance of cluster creepers

Although an in depth comparison of competing analyses of *cluster creepers* is beyond the scope of this article,[9] their existence makes a strong case in support of post-syntactic morphological operations (see Salzmann (2019) for similar arguments). If we assume that light verbs are base-generated in v, we see that a structural element in pP moves to occupy the left-edge of the vP-phase, which we label xP.[10] We illustrate this state of affairs below in (50), which we assume to the be derivational history of (49):

(48) Ī bös et, bū i dan štraüxn hon **dərbiššn**.
I know NEG *where I this cold have.*1SG *catch.*PTCP
'I don't know where I caught this cold.'
German: Ich weiß nicht, wo ich diesen Schnupfen erwischt habe.

(49) Də rūvm hent mit tībl **uən**-ma-**gənūgl**.
the rafters have with dowels PRT-*become-nailed.on*
'The rafters have been nailed down with dowels.'
German: Die Sparren sind mit Dübeln **angenagelt** worden.

(50) [xP **uən** [vP v-**ma** [PartP **gə** [AspP [perfective] [vP (*agent*) v' **nūgl** [pP p ...]]]]]]



The structure in (50), based on von Stechow (1998), shows that the particle element moves to the edge of the vP-phase.[11] The auxiliary verb *ma* 'become' (German: *werden*) is base-generated in v (also note that this head is left-branching in Gottscheerisch). In Gottscheerisch we never observe the sequence **p-ge-aux*, showing that the separable particle cannot raise to the edge of the phase in the absence of a light verb in v. Simply put, the separable particle in xP cannot appear at the edge of vP unless v is filled with a light verb or a verbal stem. The movement of this separable particle exhibits behavior similar to clitic climbing, which we motivate here with the presence of an EPP-like feature on x (when it projects).

There are two important consequences of our treatment of cluster creepers that co-occur with separable particles for our analysis of the current state of Gottscheerisch imperatives. First, separable particles move (at least as far as) to the edge of the vP-phase, suggesting that they exist as part of the edge material that is eligible for additional movement operations that may take place at the next, higher phase (here, CP). Second, Gottscheerisch still retains the distinction of separable vs. inseparable verbal affixes common in Standard German and the vast majority of related non-standard vernaculars. Recall that although the negative element *et* can occur with inseparable particles and their verbal stems in auxiliaries, which is not possible in separable affixes, this is

[9] See Evers (1975) and Haegeman and van Riemsdijk (1986) for generalizations that cluster creepers involve some form of structural deletion, and Zwart (1995), Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000), and Müller (2004, 2018) who support an analysis of these structures involving the evacuation of material from the (complex) VP-cluster followed by the subsequent raising of the particle element.

[10] Here we do not weigh in on the status of this projection, but see Borer (2005) for a proposal in which xP has an aspectual quality.

[11] The predicate *nūgl* 'nail' is introduced by the a light v-head to determine its categorial status.

allowed in Gottscheerisch (51a); however, it is possible for verbal stems with inseparable affixes to appear as the leftmost element in an imperative in the absence of negation; see (51b):

(51) a. Et **vərliəž** də höffnünkh.
NEG *lose*.IMP *the hope*
'Don't lose hope.'

b. **Vəržbint** as main āgn.
disappear.IMP *from my eyes*
'Get out of my sight.'

In Sect. 5 we offer a unified derivational analysis of separable and inseparable particles that functions as a key component of our extended treatment Gottscheerisch imperatives; however at this point, the theoretical significance of cluster creepers should be clear in connection with Gottscheerisch imperatives: Separable particles undergo clitic climbing-like behavior to the edge of the first phase in environments beyond imperatives. In both instances, the edge of the first phase (vP) is the targeted end point, at which complex predicates are Spelled-Out.

4.3 Clausal negation in Gottscheerisch

The placement of clausal negation in declarative statements in Gottscheerisch also robustly reflects its German roots. Here we take a closer look at the distribution of clausal negation in the environments of declarative main clauses (52), declarative subordinate clauses (53), narrow scope negation (54), negation modifying infinitival clauses (55), and negation modifying prepositional phrases (56). Although a detailed treatment of the properties of negation in Gottscheerisch is beyond the scope of the present paper, from a cursory comparison of the Gottscheerisch examples with Standard German (provided in the fourth line of the glosses), we can see that the syntactic attributes of negation reflect the Germanic heritage of the vernacular. We begin our brief discussion of negation in Gottscheerisch by taking a closer look at declarative main clauses.

(52) Clasual negation in declarative main clauses

a. Ī dərlāb dər's **et**, vrūgn tüə ammain nöx abakh.
I allow.1SG *you=it* NEG *ask*.INF *do*.IMP *mother still again*
'I won't let you, ask your mother again.'
German: Ich erlaube es dir **nicht**, frag noch einmal die Mutter.

b. Hairotn tüə nüə, bēlai dü bilšt, ūvər innar ībər main haüžntīr
marry.INF *do*.IMP *now which*.FEM *you want*.2SG *but in over my house.door*
khimmət ži **et**.
come.3SG *she* NEG
'Now marry who you want, but she won't come in through my door'
German: Heirate nun, welche du willst, aber (herein über) meine Haustür kommt sie **nicht**.

c. Ahö tsə žlūgn prāxaišt dü in **et**, ār išt gonts štriəmat aühar an
so to hit.INF *need*.2SG *you him* NEG *he be*.3SG *completely covered.in.welts around on*
āržə.
butt
'You didn't have to hit him like that, he's covered in welt on his backside.'
German: So zu schlagen brauchtest du den Buben **nicht**, er ist ganz striemig am Hintern.

d. 's vakkhle vrissət haint **et**...
the pig *eat.*3SG *today* NEG...
'The pig isn't eating today...'
German: Das Schwein frisst heute **nicht**...

e. Ār't žain boart **et** gəhautn.
*he=have.*3SG *his* *word* NEG *hold.*PTCP
'He didn't keep his word.'
German: Er hat sein Wort **nicht** gehalten.

The examples in (52) reveal two important aspects of Gottscheerisch syntax. First, the negation marker *et* dominates the *v*P (see (52e)). Second, as is the case in standard and non-standard varities of German, in the remaining instances of negation in declarative main clauses (52a-d), the negation marker appears as the final element in the main clause. This is due to the fact that Gottscheerisch appears to license object scrambling.

The placement of the negation marker *et* in declarative subordinate clauses adduces further support for the claim that negation in Gottscheerisch immediately dominates *v*P.

(53) Clausal negation in declarative subordinate clauses

a. Ix pin gonts dərlābət, bai ar **et** išt khām.
I *be.*1SG *completely disappointed because he* NEG *be.*3SG *come.*PTCP
'I upset, because he didn't come'
German: Ich bin ganz enttäuscht, weil er **nicht** gekommen ist.

b. Žai'nt **et** gearn gəlīhn, ben žai abakh eppos **et**
*they=have.*3PL NEG *like* *lend.*PTCP *when they once* *something* NEG
tsərükh-hont-pəkhām.
PRT-*have.*3PL-*get.back.*PTCP
'People didn't like to lend, when they had already not gotten something back.'
German: Man hat **nicht** gerne hergeliehen, wenn man einmal etwas **nicht** zurückbekommen hat.

c. Pšt, štellə žai, as žai enš **et** hearnt.
psst *quite* *be.*IMP *that they us* NEG *hear.*3PL
'Psst, be quiet so they don't hear us.'
German: Pscht, sei still, dass sie uns **nicht** hören.

In each of the examples above in (53) we observe *et* modifying a *v*P in the environments of present perfect (53a), a cluster creeper (53b), and a present tense verb (53c). Once again, the placement of negation in Gottscheerisch matches what is found in German.

The remaining examples of negation in Gottscheerisch reinforce its German-based nature. Narrow scope negation (54), negation modifying infinitival phrases (55), and negation modifying prepositional phrases (56) are identical to their German counterparts.

(54) Narrow scope negation

a. Dü bəršt dərkhreppm, ben dü **et** mear af di šagəšt.
*you will.*2SG *die.*INF *when you* NEG *more* *on you look.*2SG
'You'll die if you don't look after yourself more.'
cf. Du wirst eingehen, wenn du **nicht** mehr auf dich schaust.

b. Ben mon in paüxə **et** güət painonder išt, žöl mon hērmontē
when one *in.the stomach* NEG *good together* *be.*3SG *should.*3SG *one* *yarrow.tea*
trinkhn.
*trink.*INF

'When your stomach is unwell, you should drink yarrow tea.'
cf. Wenn man im Bauch **nicht** gut beisammen ist, soll man Schafgarbentee trinken.

c. Ī hon's **et** earnaišt gəmönt.
*I have.*1SG=*it* NEG *serious* *mean.*PTCP
'I wasn't being serious.'
cf. Ich habe es **nicht** ernst gemeint.

(55) Negation with infinitives

a. Buəs dai gəraxtə hont gait, prāx dai gətankə **et** tsə bessn.
what the right *hand give.*3SG *need.*3SG *the left* NEG *to* *know.*INF
'The left hand doesn't need to know what the right one is doing (lit. giving).'
German: Was die rechte Hand gibt, braucht die Linke **nicht** zu wissen.

b. Ben dər žmit a tsongə hot, prāx ar ži **et** tsə pren.
when the blacksmith a tongs *have.*3SG *need.*3SG *he* ANPH NEG *to* *burn.*INF
'If the blacksmith has tongs, he doesn't have to burn himself.'
German: Wenn der Schmied eine Zange hat, braucht er sich **nicht** zu brennen.

(56) Negation modifying a prepositional phrase

a. Gean tüə vürt tsə'n žmīdə, **et** tsə'n žmīdlain.
*go.*INF *do.*IMP *now* *to.the blacksmith* NEG *to.the blacksmith.*DIM
'Go to the (main) blacksmith's now, not the little one.'
German: Geh gleich zum Schmied, nicht zum Schmiedlein.

b. Inžər Hanžə tüət nindərt a güət: **et** in dər šüəl, **et** in dər learə.
our *Hans* *do.*3SG *nowhere a good* NEG *in the school* NEG *in the apprenticeship*
'Our Hans isn't good anywhere: not in school, not in (his) apprenticeship'
German: Unser Hans tut nirgends gut: **nicht** in der Schule, **nicht** in der Lehre.

The examples above evince that clausal negation dominates the *v*P in Gottscheerisch in declarative sentences, reflecting the maintenance of this feature of German(ic) syntax. As we discuss immediately below, there are quite a few environments in which, at least on the surface, it is difficult to establish clear-cut differences between the placement of negation between Gottscheerisch and Slovene; however, it is clear that proclitic negation does not appear before T in the former.

4.3.1 Negation in Slovene

The negation marker in Slovene *ne* is a proclitic attached to the highest finite verb (Ilc 2011). As is also the case in Czech and Sorbian, in present perfect constructions *ne* is a proclitic that attaches to the auxiliary verb in T, and attracts word-initial stress (Sussex and Cubberley 2006, Sect. 7.1.3).

(57) Janez **ne** bo pisal.
Janez NEG *be.*FUT.3SG *write.*IMPF.SG.MASC.
'John will not write.' ('John will not be writing.')
(Rivero 1991)

(58) Ùpamo, da se **ne** bóste jezíli, če bomo málo zamudíli.
*hope.*1PL *that you* NEG *be.*FUT *angry if* *be.*FUT.2PL *somewhat late*
'We hope that you will not be angry if we are a little late.'
(Herrity 2000, 342)

Examples (57) and (58) show that in Slovene, negation structurally dominates TP in declarative main and subordinate clauses respectively. Marušič and Žaucer (2016) suggest that *ne* is commonly situated between *v*P and TP in Slovene (but see Rivero (1991) for an alternative proposal where NegP is base-generated above T). Marušič (2008) contends that although the placement of *ne* as a proclitic that seeks a verbal host is undisputed, its initial position in the syntax is still debated, which is a noted challenge that we do not consider further in this paper. A cursory comparison of the placement of proclitic negation in Gottscheerisch above in Sect. 4.3 shows that Gottscheerisch does not license the raising of its proclitic negation marker *et* above *v*P in declarative statements.

Pronominal clitics, which usually appear in second position in Slovene, are blocked in negative imperatives:

(59) a. Beri jo!
*read.*2SG.IMP *it.*ACC
'Read it!'

b. *Jo beri!

c. **Ne** beri je!
NEG *read.*2SG.IMP *it.*GEN
'Don't read it!'

d. ***Ne** jo beri!
(Sheppard and Golden 2002, 256)

An interesting anomaly to this pattern is found in (60b), where an additional element besides the pronominal clitic−in this instance, the anaphor *sam*−occupies the first position of the imperative clause.

(60) a. *Jo beri!
*it.*ACC *read.*2SG.IMP
'Read it!'

b. Sam jo beri!
ANPH *it.*ACC *read.*2SG.IMP
'Read it yourself!'
(Sheppard and Golden 2002, 257)

It is tenuous at best to advance the proposal that Slovene negation has made significant inroads into the Gottscheerisch grammar. The proclitic negation marker *et* is a dialectal relic that finds its origins in the Middle High German period (Jäger 2008) and is also attested in modern Alemannic and Bavarian dialects (p.c., Alfred Wildfeuer, see fn.3). Based on these data, we can assert that the negative imperatives in Gottscheerisch are the result of contact-induced change, albeit with the complex interaction of the retention of the separable vs. inseparable particle distinction from German.

5 Overextension in Gottscheerisch imperatives

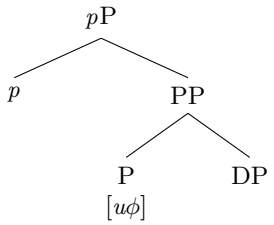
The overextension of Slovene-influenced patterns in the imperatives of Gottscheerisch involves both *pattern* and *feature transmission* (Aboh 2015; Putnam et al. 2019). We capture these effects in an exo-skeletal, late-insertion model of grammar. Following Borer (2005, 11), exo-skeletal models classify the general properties of syntactic structure according to the following generalizations: "(a) all aspects of the computation emerge from properties of structure, rather than properties of (substantive) listemes, and (b) the burden of the computation is shouldered by the properties of functional items." The first phase of syntactic computation houses components of the grammar

responsible for the 'Lexical Syntax' (Hale and Keyser 1993; Ramchand 2008), with higher domains specified for functional attributes. Although an exo-skeletal view of syntactic computation entails that there are no unique operations responsible for the generation of lexical material, we recognize the tight connection between items in 'Lexical Syntax', with their resulting structures resembling chains (Uriagereka 2008; Gallego 2016).

5.1 P-elements & the structure of (in)separable particles

The lexical-functional division of the first phase is not reserved exclusively for the event/verbal domain. Recent proposals have adopted and extended seminal suggestions by Talmy (1975) and Riemsdijk (1990), adopting the position that the argument structure of prepositional phrases can be represented syntactically. For example, in relation to motion events, prepositions can be classified as two-place arguments, requiring a Figure (locatum), which is the entity that is located or characterized with respect to the Ground argument (the reference object, relatum). Koopman (2000), Svenonius (2003), Biskup and Putnam (2012), and Biskup (2019) advance this proposal, suggesting that the structure of prepositional phrases is analogous to the vP; suggesting that prepositional phrases be split into a higher functional domain pP, which houses the Figure-argument, and PP, which houses the Ground-argument. Svenonius (2007) proposes that prepositional phrases contain (at least)[12] a functional layer (pP) and a lexical layer (PP) as illustrated in (61).

(61)



In line with Biskup and Putnam (2012) and Biskup (2019), we propose that prepositions possess uninterpretable ϕ-features that motivate their movement to the edge of pP, and in some cases beyond this phase-edge.[13] These architectural assumptions regarding the internal structure of pP provide insight into long-standing debates regarding the purported 'semi-lexical' morphological-syntactic status of prefix and particle verbs. Contra Lüdeling (2001), we believe that these two classes of predicates can be treated as a unified class. Following a host of proposals (Jackendoff 1973; Edmonds 1985; Zwanenburg 1992; den Dikken 1995; Zeller 1999, 2001; Matushansky 2002; Gehrke 2008; Biskup and Putnam 2012; Biskup 2019), we adopt the position that prefixes, particles, and prepositions collectively represent a unified class which we call **P-elements**. Finally, Biskup and Putnam (2012) and Biskup (2019) extend this treatment of pP to include transitive, unergative, and unaccusative variations.

Predicates modified by inseparable particles differ from their separable counterparts principally with respect to which position they Merge/incorporate into in the phase they modify, here the

[12] Svenonius (2007) lays out a detailed cartography for the internal structure of pP including projections designated for spatial configurations such as AxialPartP, PlaceP, and PathP (ordered hierarchically in top-down fashion).

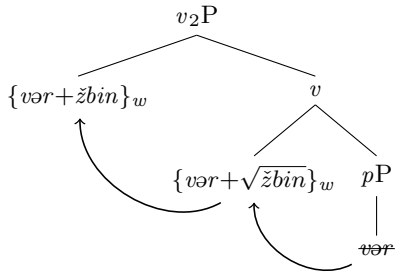
[13] Biskup (2019) proposes that prepositions (P) also possess valued tense features, but these do not play a critical role in the analysis developed here.

vP.[14] Inseparable particles undergo rolled-up head-movement (i.e., P-p) to the categorizing v-head as in (62).

(62) Derivation of inseparable p-element

a. **Vəržbint**
disappear.IMP
'disappear'

b.



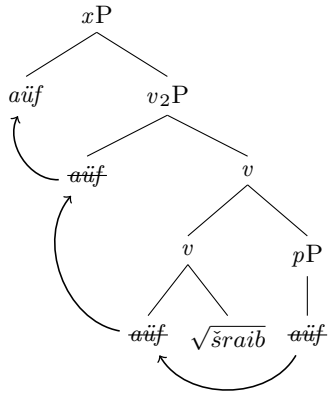
The p-element *vər* incorporates into the categorizing head v. At this juncture, the unit $\{vər + \sqrt{\check{z}bin}\}$ is spelled out and lexicalized as a single unit, which we represent with the diacritic 'w'. This single unit then moves to the head position of its phase (here represented as v_2P).

In contrast, separable particles participate in an additional head movement step to a modifying position at (xP) at the edge of the this first phase (v_2P) before the entire phase is lexicalized. We represent this derivation in (63).

(63) Derivation of separable p-element

a. **Aüf-šraib**
PRT-*write*.IMP
'Write (it) down'

b.



The raising of the separable particle *aüf* to the edge of the v_2P phase is reminiscent of clitic climbing in Romance languages and provides a straightforward account for the late insertion of such elements in cluster creepers and *zu*-insertion in non-standard varieties of German (Salzmann

[14] Here we adopt the concept of categorizing light heads (such as v) and categorial neutral $\sqrt{roots}$. We acknowledge that the analysis we lay out here could also be couched in slightly different exo-skeletal desiderata involving spans (Svenonius 2016; Fábregas and Putnam 2020) and 'naked' roots (Ramchand 2008, 2018).

2019). A key difference between the derivational histories outlined in (62) and (63) is that in the latter there is no diacritic 'w' assigned prior to the completion of the v_2P phase. Postponing the lexicalization until the completion of this phase also accounts for why perfective *-ge-* infixes−headed by an Asp(ectual)P dominated by the phase head−are possible in combination with separable prefix verbs (recall the underlying structure proposed in (50)). In both cluster creepers (e.g., Sect. 4.2.1) and imperatives with separable p-elements, this element undergoes cyclic head movement driven by an EPP-like feature in x.

Our analysis also avoids violating the No Tampering Condition (Chomsky 2007). Here we adopt the stance adopted by Uriagereka (2008) and Gallego (2016) who suggest a *reprojectionist* approach, at least with respect to the formation of lexical items. These syntactic units, which are then cyclically fed to PF, are then reintroduced into the syntax for further operations−such as movement of these 'verbs' to higher projections (like C in the case of imperatives).[15] We therefore propose that the internal structure and desiderata responsible for deriving separable vs. inseparable particles in Gottscheerisch−and Germanic more generally−are analogously related to chains that are lexicalized and whose internal structure cannot be further altered post Spell-Out. Equipped with this distinction between separable and inseparable particles, in the following sections we turn to our analysis of Gottscheerisch imperatives.

5.2 Canonical imperatives

The structure of canonical imperatives, i.e., those consisting of only one predicate, in Gottscheerisch can be summarized as follows:[16]

(64) Canonical imperatives

a. Neg + separable p-element: [NegP *et* [v_2P *v*-$\sqrt{pred}$ [*v*P *v*-prescribe* [*v* ~~*v*-$\sqrt{pred}$~~ [*p*P *p*]]]]]

b. Separable p-element: [*x*P *p* [v_2P *p* [~~*v*P~~ *v*-prescribe* [*v* *v*-$\sqrt{pred}$ [*p*P ~~*p*~~]]]]]

c. Inseparable p-element: [v_2P {*p* + *v*-$\sqrt{pred}$}$_w$ [*v*P *v*-prescribe* [*v* ~~{*p* + *v*-$\sqrt{pred}$}~~$_w$ [*p*P ~~*p*~~]]]]

d. Neg + inseparable p-element: [NegP *et* [v_2P {*p* + *v*-$\sqrt{pred}$}$_w$ [*v*P *v*-prescribe* [*v* ~~{*p* + *v*-$\sqrt{pred}$}~~$_w$ [*p*P ~~*p*~~]]]]]

Although we will consider the underlying structure of each of these in turn below, here we briefly acknowledge the fact that the proclitic nature of the Gottscheerisch negative marker *et*−reinforced by the same structure in Slovene−is an ideal environment to facilitate the pattern transmission observed in these structures. The presence of *et* prevents the raising of separable particles in Gottscheerisch imperatives, which, as we have seen previously, is obligatory otherwise. The preference for *et* represents a Merge-over-Move preference at the edge of this phase.

We begin our illustration of the underlying structures of the canonical imperatives examples in (64) with the combination of the negative proclitic and the separable p-element (cf. (64a)).[17]

[15] Due to our appeal to a derivation-by-phase account of locality, our approach avoids violations of excorporation (Roberts 1997).

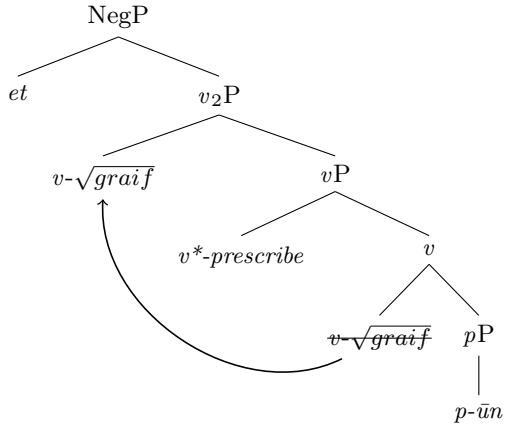
[16] To clarify a point raised by an anonymous reviewer, there is no *a priori* reason for equating xP and NegP as the same projection; we simply use both labeling preferences to demonstrate that proclisis of separable particles is banned in the presence of negation.

[17] Technically the p-elements also move through *v*-prescribe*; however, for ease of exposition, we have left this step out in the derivations that follow.

(65) Negation + separable p-element

a. Et **graif** dos **ūn**.
NEG *touch*.IMP *that* PRT
'Don't touch that.'

b.



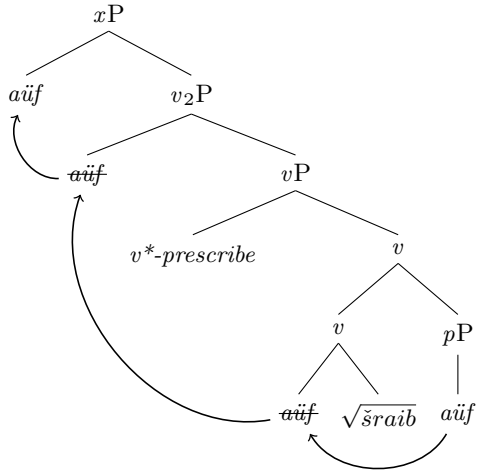
As illustrated in (65b), the p-element *ūn* is stranded *in situ* and cannot engage in roll-up movement to the edge of the first phase due to the presence of the proclitic negative marker *et*. Prior to the completion of this phase, the proclitic *et* and predicate undergo fusion to become recognized as one *word*, or *span* in the sense of Svenonius (2016), Ramchand (2018), and Fábregas and Putnam (2020). In the current analysis, this fused syntactic object is reprojected into the syntax as a head which will undergo movement to C.

Next we take a closer look at the structure of canonical imperatives with separable p-elements in the absence of negation in (66); cf. (64b).

(66) Separable p-element

a. **Aüf-šraib** mər's af a tsēdl.
PRT-*write*.IMP *me=it on a piece.of.paper*
'Write it down on a piece of paper for me.'

b.



The absence of proclitic negation allows the p-element to roll-up to the edge of this first phase. Upon completion of this phase, it is shipped off in its entirety to PF, where it is fused together, i.e. lexicalized, as a single unit. At this point, the $\{aüf + šraib\}_w$ unit is reprojected as a head and undergoes further instances of head-movement to C.

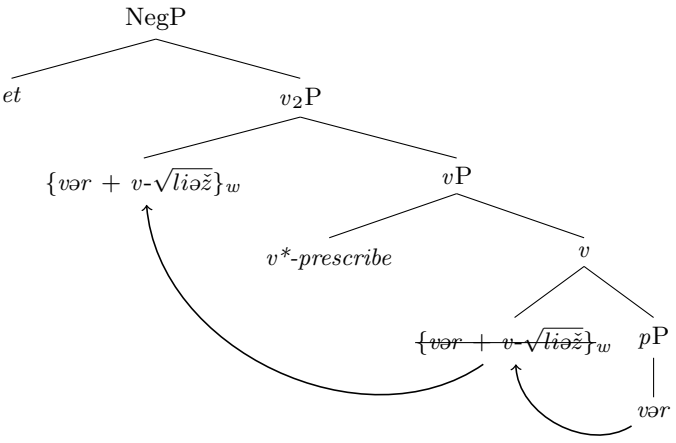
The situation with inseparable p-elements—both in the occurrence and absence of negation—is easily accounted for in this system. Recall from our discussion above in Sect. 5 that one of the fundamental differences in the syntactic structure of separable and inseparable p-elements is that in the former the p-element incorporates into the lower categorizing head in the first phase and is transferred to PF prior to the completion of the entire first phase. This allows this complex predicate to be reprojected as a head that can undergo an additional instance of head movement prior to the completion of the first phase, as illustrated in (67); cf. (64c). Upon completion of this entire phase, the proclitic negation marker and this complex predicate with an inseparable p-element are transferred and reprojected once more as a complex head that moves to C.

(67) Negation + inseparable p-element

a. Et **vərliəž** də höffnünkh.
NEG *lose*.IMP *the hope*

'Don't lose hope.'

b.



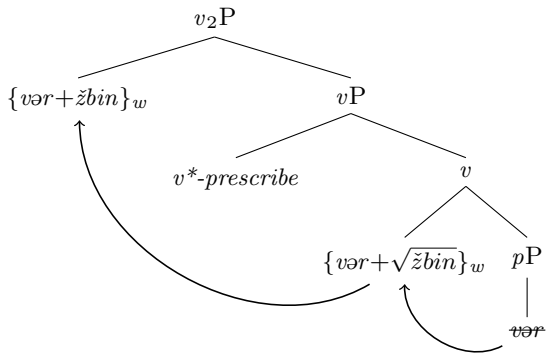
The derivational history of canonical imperatives in Gottscheerisch involving inseparable p-elements in the absence of negation is identical to their counterparts that occur with negation. As shown in (68) (cf. (64d)), the p-element head-adjoins with the categorizing v and is then transferred to PF and reprojected as a complex head that undergoes further head movement to the edge of this phase and then onward to C.

(68) Inseparable p-element

a. **Vəržbint** as main āgn.
disappear.IMP *out my eyes*

'Get out of my sight.'

b.



Our analysis makes a strong case for a cyclic, phase-based nature of derivations. At the conclusion of this first phase, the material present at the edge of the phase in addition to any modifying elements−here separable p-elements in x or the proclitic negative *et*−are lexicalized and reprojected as a complex head.

5.3 Extended imperatives

The structural analysis of extended imperatives, i.e., those containing both a predicate and a light verb, bears strong resemblance to the one established for canonical imperatives. In extended imperatives the highest v-head introduces the light verb:

(69) Extended imperatives

a. Neg + separable p-element: [NegP *et* [v_2P *v*-$\sqrt{aux}$ [vP *v*-prescribe* [*v p v*-$\sqrt{pred}$ [pP ~~*p*~~]]]]]

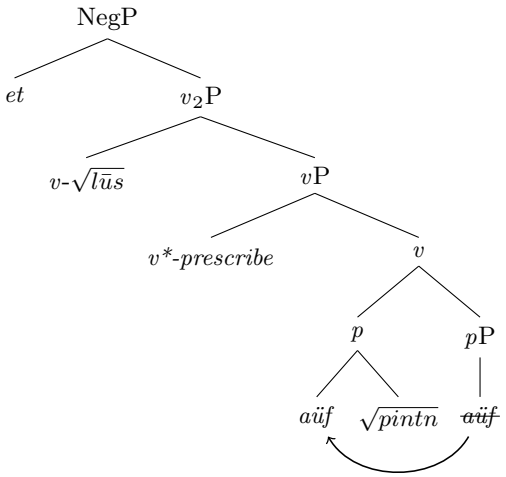
b. Separable p-element: [xP *p* [v_2P ~~*p*~~ *v*-$\sqrt{aux}$ [vP *v*-prescribe* [*v* ~~*p*~~ *v*-$\sqrt{pred}$ [pP ~~*p*~~]]]]]

In many respects, the analysis of extended imperatives is quite similar to their canonical counterparts; however, the additional auxiliary verb (here *lūs* 'allow') presents interesting scenarios. Example (70) (cf. (69a)) represents the structure of a negated extended imperative that co-occurs with a separable p-element:

(70) Negation + separable p-element

a. Et lūs dər a pārn **aüf-pintn**.
NEG *let.*IMP *you a bear* PRT-*bind.*INF
'Don't fall for it.'

b.



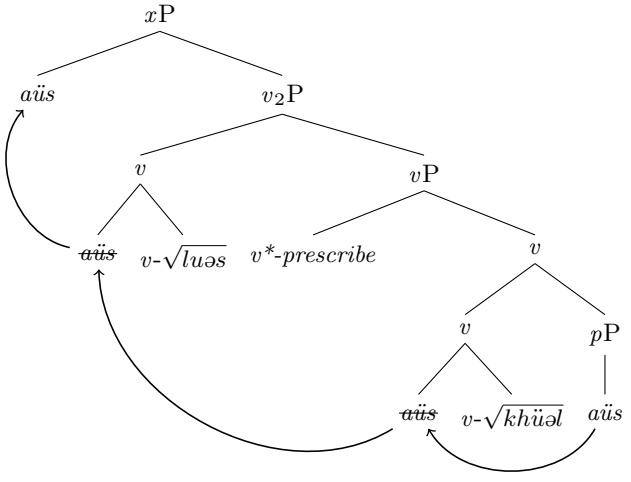
The p-element head-adjoins into the lower categorizing v-head, but crucially, it does *not* undergo transfer and fusion at this point, although the presence of the proclitic negation at the edge of the v_2P phase blocks further movement of this p-element. At the completion of this phase, predicates are transferred and reprojected as complex heads, with the topmost one, $\{et + l\bar{u}s\}_w$ being eligible to move to C.

The situation involving extended imperatives with predicates modified by separable p-elements in the absence of negation is slightly different (71); cf. (69b).

(71) Separable p-element

a. **Aüs**-luəs es **khüəl**.
PRT-*let*.IMP *it* *cool*.INF
'Let it cool down.'

b.



The derivation in (71b) makes a strong case for the distinct derivational histories proposed in Sect. 5 for separable and inseparable p-elements. Due to the fact that separable prefixes are not spelled

out until the completion of the first phase (v_2P), the p-element *aüs* can undergo a series of roll-up movmements to the edge of this phase, and upon completion of this phase, it will be transferred to PF and be reprojected as a complex head with the auxiliary verb, $\{aüs + luəs\}_w$, which will then undergo movement to C. This analysis also demonstrates the connection between cluster creepers (see Sect. 4.2.1) and the patterns observed in Gottscheerisch imperatives to the extent that in both instances separable p-elements undergo clitic climbling-like behavior to the edge of the first phase whenever possible.

5.4 Reassessing V2

We conclude this paper with a perhaps tangentially related observation regarding the status of V2 and its potential role in reinforcing the structure of Gottscheerisch imperatives. Here we draw upon data from instances of *do*-periphrasis in imperatives that co-occur with *tüən* 'to do'. What is of possible interest for us here is that only infinitives can be fronted in these structures, to the exclusion of separable prefixes.

(72) **Moxxn** tüə a tšeak in prīgl.
*make.*INF *do.*IMP *a notch in log*
'Make a notch in the log.'

(73) **Tsūl** tüə mon's töpplt **tsərükh**.
*pay.back.*INF *do.*IMP *him=it double* PRT
'Pay him back double.'

(74) **Lūsn** tüə in nöx eppos **tsappain**.
*allow.*INF *do.*IMP *him still something fidget.*INF
'Let him fidget a bit more.'

(75) **Tüən** tüə's khint in žluf **hüttsn**.
*do.*INF *do.*IMP*=the child in sleep rock.*INF
'Cradle the child to sleep.'

(76) **Baššn** gea di.
*wash.*INF *go.*IMP ANPH
'Go wash yourself.'

Although the fronting of infinitival phrases, generally argued to be the result of VP-topicalization, is also possible in standard German and most of its diasporic varieties, the lack of complex p-element + infinitival predicates in these Gottscheerisch imperatives is somewhat surprising. As noted in our treatment of extended imperatives (see Sect. 5.3), the use of auxiliary verbs such as *luəsn* 'to let' to build extended imperatives is widespread in Gottscheerisch. The use of *luəsn* may also be combined with the imperative form of *tüən* 'to do', as in (74). In some cases, the imperative form of *tüən* may even be doubled, with a fronted infinitive form of *tüən*, and the lexical verb appearing clause-finally as in (75). Finally, in an analogous type of imperative, infinitives may also be fronted with a light verb such as *gean* 'to go', as demonstrated by example (76).

In these examples, the fronted initial element consists of an infinitival form of a verb accompanied by either the imperative form of *tüən* (*tüə*) or, less frequently, a semi-auxiliary verb such as *gean* (*gea*). Assuming that the periphrastic verb is in C, one could argue that some variant of the V2 constraint is operable here, requiring the left-edge of the CP to consist of no more than two elements. This hypothesis is also consistent with the canonical and extended imperatives analyzed here, in which the left-edge of the CP consists of either a singleton predicate, or a complex head consisting of two elements. Crucially, although we are dealing with head movement in canonical and

extended imperatives, one could appeal to a *linear* version of V2 here. Although this may appear slightly unorthodox compared to traditional treatments of V2 involving the movement of finite verbs to C (or Fin in an extended CP-layer), it is consistent with recent appeals to interpreting the V2-constraint, whatever its nature may be, as a cover term for a collection of more loosely related constraints−both hierarchical and linear in nature (Westergaard 2009; Holmberg 2015; Lohndal et al. 2020).[18]

A detailed treatment of the exact V2-properties of Gottscheersich, especially those concerning the topicalization of elements from the first phase, is a complex topic, which we leave for future research. For example, consider (77), which suggests that perhaps the entire vP is fronted in these constructions:

(77) [$_{v\text{P}}$ Inin ischt kâm] də moirarin.
PRT *be.*3SG *come.in.*PTCP *the housekeeper*
'The housekeeper has entered/come in.' (Hauffen 1895, 334)

The ordering of the elements in the fronted constituent in (77) is not possible in Standard German (cf. (77) & (78b)):

(78) a. [$_{\text{VP}}$ Hinein gekommen] ist die Beschließerin.
PRT *come.in.*PTCP *be.3*SG *the housekeeper*
'The housekeeper has entered/come in.'
b. *[$_{v\text{P}}$ Hinein ist gekommen] die Beschließerin.

We leave a more detailed treatment of the properties of v/VP-topicalization in Gottscheerisch for future research.

6 Conclusion

The Slovene-like imperatives found in Gottscheerisch are ostensibly the result of *pattern transmission* (in Aboh's (2015) terms), with the domain of said transmission (Fx) identified as the first phase. The proclitic status of the negation marker *et* has been extended to include separable p-elements, since the separable vs. inseparable distinction of p-elements has been retained in this grammar. With respect to *feature transmission*, the clitic climbing-behavior of separable p-elements in instances of cluster creepers, likely motivated by an EPP-like feature, are also observed now in imperatives. The overextension of patterns such as these has been noted in the previous literature on contact varieties of German and other languages (Kupisch 2014; Rinke and Flores 2014; Rinke et al. 2018; Westergaard 2019), including moribund heritage grammars (Putnam and Sánchez 2013; Hopp and Putnam 2015; Polinsky 2018; Perez-Cortes et al. 2019; Bousquette and Putnam 2020; Lohndal 2021), which is also an apt description of the current state of Gottscheerisch.

The analysis advanced here supports the application of the cyclic nature of syntactic derivations of locally-derived units such as phases (Chomsky 2000, 2001). If we assume that some linear version of V2 provides additional reinforcement for the overextension of this pattern, the proliferation of

[18] An anonymous reviewer raises a concern of our appeal to a linearized version of V2 based on data introduced previously in this paper (8), which we repeat below for the sake of the reader:

i. Lai voar a žlextn mennišə **vīrxt** di
*just of a bad person fear.*IMP ANPH
'Only be afraid of a bad person.'

Two points are are in order here: First, the example above does not involve *tüən*-periphrasis. Second, the status of *lai* 'just' in Gottscheerisch is debatable, with some classifying it as a coordinating conjunction.

this pattern should come as little surprise. From an acquisitional standpoint, the extension of the underlying representations and operations responsible for generating V2 into another related structural domain makes sense in light of the robustness of this cue in the input (Lohndal et al. 2019).

Acknowledgements

The ideas developed in this article have benefited from the comments and queries of participants at GLAC-24 and members of the Theoretical Linguistics Group at the University of Oslo. We would especially like to recognize the following individuals for thought-provoking discussions and assistance with theoretical concepts and Bavarian and Slovene data: Elly van Gelderen, Bill Keel, Terje Lohndal, Lisa Reed, Joe Salmons, Adrian Stegovec, Nora Vosburg, Marit Westergaard, & Alfred Wildfeuer. Finally, we wish to thank three anonymous JCGL reviewers for their assistance in helping us strengthen this manuscript. Lastly, many thanks to Jonathan Crum and Ashley Pahis for help with LaTeX-troubleshooting. All remaining errors are shouldered by the authors.

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