26. Ladin

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Abbreviazioni:

Grd. = Gardenese
Czt. = Cazét (Upper Fassan)
Bra. = Brach (Lower Fassan)
Fod. = Fodom
Fas. = Fascian
Gad. = Gaderan
WGad. = Written (Standard) Gaderan
Bad. = Badiot
UBad. = Upper Badiot
LBad. = Lower Badiot
Mar = Mareo

Altre abbreviazioni (sciolte nel testo la prima volta che compaiono):

DA = Domain of Association
DP = Determiner Phrase
NIDs = Northern Italian Dialects
PP = Prepositional Phrase
TP = Tense Phrase
V+Loc = 'Verb + locative' construction

1. Introduction

Ladin is a regional language spoken in the Dolomites (Northern Italy). The precise delimitation of the Ladin area depends on which linguistic and cultural factors are taken into account. In this chapter, I follow the approach based on internal linguistic criteria, which considers four varieties, each spoken in one valley: Gardenese (*Gherdëina* in the local language), spoken in the Gardena valley; Gaderan (*Ladin dla Val Badia*), spoken in the Badia valley; Fassan (*Fascian*), spoken in the Fassa valley; and Fodom (*Fodom*), spoken in the Livinallongo area. Gardenese is a homogeneous variety with no subdialects (with just minimal lexical differences between the various villages), while the others show internal variation: Gaderan is made up of Upper Badiot, Lower Badiot and Mareo (spoken in a lateral valley of the Badia valley), Fascian of Upper Fascian (*Cazét*), Lower Fascian (*Brach*) and Moenat; finally, the Fodom variety spoken in Livinallongo has some variants in the neighbouring villages (in particular *Collese*, spoken in the small village of Colle Santa Lucia). At a broader level, Gardenese and Gaderan are part of Northern Ladin, while Fascian and Fodom form Southern Ladin.

Traditionally, Ladin is considered related to Romansh (see Chap. ###) and Friulian. As Romansh, Ladin is in a geographically isolated position and has lived for centuries in contact with German

(Tyrolean) dialects, which are spoken in the North and West of the Ladin territory. This has led to several contact-induced phenomena, which are absent in other Romance languages.
Ladin has no standard variety; in the last decades, some linguists tried to develop a standard, but it was not accepted by most of the speakers and institutions. Therefore, the term 'Ladin' as such is a cover term that comprises all the Ladin varieties. The properties that I discuss in this chapter are sometimes present in all dialects, but in other cases they are limited to a subgroup of varieties. Nevertheless, they are discussed in this chapter because they concern interesting peculiarities that are seldom in Romance, and sometimes even at a broader typological level.
This chapter is organised as follows: Section 2 offers an overview of the word classes in Ladin and focuses on some of their peculiarities. It also introduces the properties that are discussed in Section 3, which deals with the most interesting cases, in which Ladin challenges the traditional classification of word classes, either because the borders between the different classes are blurred, or because a single category appears to be "split" into two different classes. Section 4 contains the conclusions.
The Ladin examples cited in this chapter follow the official Ladin orthography. Unless indicated otherwise, I use the Gardenese form in the description of the phenomena.

2. An overview of Ladin word classes

In this section, I offer a short overview of the general system of word classes in Ladin. This will serve as background for the discussion of specific peculiarities that is the focus of Section 3. Given the introductory nature of this section, the illustration follows the current division in nine word classes (on which the chapters of this volume are based). For a general overview of Ladin, see Haiman/Benincà (1992), Gallmann/Siller-Runggaldier/Sitta (2007-2021), Salvi (2016; 2020), Casalicchio (2020), a.o.

Several studies on Ladin have identified the nine word classes typically ascribed to Romance languages. **Determiners** are used in prenominal position, and they consist of articles, demonstratives, and even prenominal possessives (except in *Brach* and *Moenat*): possessives' status as determiners is witnessed by the fact that they are in complementary distribution with articles (unlike Italian and most Italo-romance dialects):

(1) a. Grd. {**la** / **mi**} cësa
'the/my house'
b. Czt. {**l** / **nosc**} giat
'the/our cat'

For a comparison with Northern Italian Dialects ('NIDs'), see Chapter XX.
In addition, the Ladin determiner system has two peculiarities: first, the numeral 'one' is distinct from the indefinite article 'a' (§ 3.1). Second, in some cases the demonstrative is used as definite article or as introducer of a relative clause (§ 3.2).

Adjectives have the property that they are all inflected not only for number, but also for gender (except for some non-integrated neologisms from Italian): even the adjectives that in Latin did not distinguish between masculine and feminine gender have been reassigned to the class of gender-distinguishing adjectives, e.g. Grd. *dëibl* 'weak.M.SG' *dëibla* 'weak.F.SG', *dëibli* 'weak.M.PL' and *dëibles* 'weak.F.PL' (Lat. DEBILEM 'weak.M/F.SG' vs. DEBILES 'weak.M/F.PL'). Therefore, in Ladin all adjectives inflect for gender, unlike other Romance languages, which have usually maintained a class of adjectives that has a unique form for masculine and feminine (cf. It. *debole* 'weak.SG' vs. *deboli* 'weak.PL'). Another peculiarity is that many Prepositional Phrases (PPs) have an adjectival function (§ 3.3).

Nouns have two genders, and show various peculiarities:

- there are different plural types for masculine nouns (in *-i*, in *-s*, with palatalization of the last consonant and with no change with respect to the singular);
- in Gardenese and Upper Fascian, some Determiner Phrases (DPs) in the plural show plural inflection only on some elements (so called *lazy concord*, Belardi 1984; Chiocchetti 2002-2003; Rasom 2008):

(2) a. Czt. la nigola bienc**es**
the.F cloud(F).SG white. F.PL

b. Czt. la nigol**es** bienc**es**
the.F clouds(F).PL white. F.PL
'the white clouds'

In Upper Fascian, this phenomenon occurs with all feminine DPs: here the plural inflection can occur only on the last element (2a), or on the noun and the postnominal adjectives (2b); the prenominal elements are always uninflected. The two phrases in (2) are related to different semantic nuances (which are sometimes hard to grasp even for native speakers): when the noun is uninflected (2a), the adjective has restrictive meaning; when the noun is inflected (2b), on the other hand, the adjective has a generic descriptive meaning. In Gardenese, lazy concord is found in all feminine DPs and in some masculine DPs. In this variety the noun and the postnominal adjectives are always inflected for plural, while prenominal elements are not (as in (2b).

An additional peculiarity of Ladin varieties is that the third person subject pronouns have been lexicalised with the meaning 'man' and 'woman' (§ 3.4).

In addition to this lexicalisation of personal **Pronouns**, this class shows some additional particularities in Ladin, compared to other Romance languages (§ 3.5). The main properties are the existence of two classes of subject pronouns (usually referred to as "strong" and "clitic", § 3.5.1), the use of the dative clitic as a morphological marker (§ 3.5.2) and the co-occurrence of the expletive pronoun with postverbal non-given subjects when they are focalised (§ 3.5.3).

Concerning the **verbal** system, one peculiarity of Gardenese is the existence of six different modal verbs and one modal periphrasis: apart from the verbs deriving from *VOLĒRE (*ulëi*), *POTĒRE (*pudëi*) and DEBĒRE (*duvëi*), there is one additional form indicating a permission (or prohibition, if

negated: *daussëi* ‘to be allowed’ < AUSĀRE, cf. German *dürfen*), while the remaining three forms all indicate an obligation, with various nuances (*avëi drë de* “have really to”, *dassëi* ‘shall, should’ < AUSĀRE, cf. German *sollen*, and *messëi* ‘must’ < Ger. *müssen*; cf. EWD s.v. *àlsa*). In this respect, Ladin seems to follow the German pattern, with various modal verbs indicating different shades of obligation and permission. In addition, Ladin has no conditional verb form, and it uses the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive forms instead. Finally, it displays a high amount of “verb + locative” constructions, which resemble English phrasal verbs (and German “particle verbs”), because the verb is followed by a locative element (usually an adverb; § 3.6).

The **adverbial** domain shows various peculiarities. First, negation is as a rule bipartite in Northern Ladin, as in French (with the preverbal element that tends to be dropped in informal spoken language), while in Southern Ladin it consists of a preverbal element only. In addition, Northern Ladin is characterised by the widespread use of modal particles (§ 3.7); Gardenese displays the additional peculiarity that two distinct forms for the additive particle ‘also’ exist (§ 3.8). Finally, as mentioned above, adverbs co-occur with verbs in the “verb + locative” construction.

As far as **prepositions** are concerned, Ladin distinguishes between *de* and *da* (< DE AB), as Italian, but the latter is much more widespread in Ladin than in Italian, since it is used for adjectival expressions (see above). In addition, Ladin distinguishes between the preposition *n* from IN, and *te* from INTUS (*n merdi* ‘on Tuesday’ vs. *te doi enes* ‘in two weeks’). A peculiarity of some Ladin varieties is the existence of various locative prepositions that originated from the merge of two different prepositions (as *da*), or an adverb and a preposition: *sa* ‘up to’ (SŪSUM + AD), *ja* ‘down to’ (< *IŪSUM + AD), *jun* ‘down in’ (< *IŪSUM + IN), *ta* ‘into’ (< INTUS + AD).

As far as **conjunctions** and **interjections** are concerned, Ladin does not differ substantially from other Romance languages.

3. Peculiarities of the Ladin varieties

In this section I discuss some peculiarities of the Ladin system, which were selected because they either show a blurring of the traditional distinctions, or they represent cases in which the same element can belong to different word classes. This usually happens when an element that belongs to a single class develops a further meaning, which is typically expressed by a different class.

3.1 The numeral *one*

In all Romance varieties, the indefinite article derives from the numeral ŪNUS ‘one’. While in most languages the article and the numeral are homophonous (e.g., Fr. *un*), a few varieties also have a reduced form: cf. informal spoken It. *na* vs. *una*, Trentino *en*, *na* vs. *un(o)*, *una*. The full form is used as both the article and the numeral, while the short form tends to be used as article only.
In Ladin, the two forms have clearly distinct functions: the full form (*un/una*) is used as numeral, the reduced form (*n/na*) as indefinite article. In Northern Ladin, evidence for the functional distinction comes from the fact that the numeral ‘one’ must be followed by the indefinite article.

With indefinite nouns, on the other hand, the article *n/na* occurs alone (cf. Haiman/Benincà 1992, 152; Rasom 2008, 296, 310; for an analysis, see Cinque 2020, 14ss.):

(3) a. Grd. **una** *(**na**) muta
one a girl
'one girl'
b. Grd. **na** muta
'a girl'

(4) a. LBad. **un** *(**n**) möt
one a boy
'one boy'
b. LBad. **n** möt
'a boy'

The main difference between Northern Ladin and the other Romance varieties is that in the latter the indefinite article and the numeral are in complementary distribution, therefore forms like *un*, *una* are ambiguous between the two readings; at the same time, it is unclear whether the indefinite article and the numerals in general exhibit intrinsic, structural differences. In Northern Ladin, on the other hand, the obligatory use of *n/na* if the numeral *un/una* is used shows not only that the two elements are different forms, but also that they occupy different positions within the Determiner Phrase: *un/una* is merged in the head of a Numeral Phrase (NumP), while the indefinite article *n/na* is merged in a lower projection, as head of an indefinite Determiner Phrase (abbreviated as dP in Cinque's 2020 analysis).

3.2 The use of the demonstrative as definite article and as relative pronoun

In Romance, both the definite article and the distal demonstrative are usually derived from the demonstrative ILLUM, with some exceptions (e.g. Sardinian, Chap. ###). However, while the former is based on a reduced form (*il*, *el*, *le* etc.), the demonstrative is a reinforced form (e.g. It. *quello*, Sp. *aquel*), and the two have clearly separate functions.
In Ladin, the definite article has the form *l* (or *le*) and *la*, the distal demonstrative *chël* and *chëla*: *l giat* 'the cat' vs. *chël giat* 'that cat'. However, Gsell (1986) reports that in many cases the distal demonstrative (in Fascian the proximal demonstrative) can be used as definite article, as in the following examples (taken from Gsell 1986, 276):

(5) a. Gad. na pert parâ les biesces te chi ćiamp dai atri
a part led the sheep in those fields of-the others
'Some of them led the sheep to the fields that belonged to the others.'
b. Grd. miliardes te ch 'la casses ncantëur
billions in that savings.banks around
'[there are] billions in the surrounding savings banks'

c. Fas. de lavaröi dojù ste roste no se 'n spia ennio più
of wash basins down these banks not IMP.CL of.them.CL see any more

‘[nowadays] you see no more wash basins down the banks.’

d. Fod. tournè nte chi ufizi del Comune
go.back in those offices of-the municipality
‘[Dario, who is an employee at the local municipality, became president of a local society. Since he didn’t know if he would like his new job, he thought that in case he could] go back to the municipality offices’

Crucially, in these examples the demonstrative has no deictic function, but it just expresses definiteness, as definite articles do.
The use of the demonstrative is attested since the Late Middle Ages in toponyms that are reported in notarial documents. Nowadays, they are used in these contexts:

i) in the form *Chël Bel Die* ‘God’ (literally “That Beautiful God”);
ii) in toponyms (e.g. *Chël Busc* ‘The Hole’, a neighbourhood located down in the Gardena valley; *Chël Piz* ‘The Peak’, a mountain peak and locality in the Gardena valley; *Chi Jus* ‘The Passes’, the peaks of two rounded mountains in the Badia valley);
iii) with proper (first) names: in this use they survive at least in some Gaderan dialects (*la Maria* or *chë Maria* ‘Maria’, *le Paul* or *chël Paul* ‘Paul’).

The use of a different type of article with proper names is reminiscent of the Central Catalan pattern. However, in Catalan the “personal article” *en/na* is used with proper names only (*en Pau*, *na Maria*), not with toponyms, and it is not derived from the demonstrative (cf. Bernstein/Ordóñez/Roca 2019). As in Badiot, in many Central Catalan dialects the personal article freely alternates with the unmarked article *el* with masculine proper nouns (*el/en Pau*).

The distal demonstrative *chël* has a second peculiarity: it is used as introducer of relative clauses. There are two contexts in which *chël* is used: first, it occurs optionally in non-restrictive relative clauses on the subject or direct object (6a); second, the demonstrative occurs mandatorily in Northern Ladin (and less frequently in Fascian) when the relativized phrase is introduced by a preposition (6b-c):

(6) a. Bra. Maria, (**chela**) **che** tu cognosce ence tu,
Maria that.DEM that.COMP you.CL know also you
l’ à maridà mi jerman.
she.CL has married my cousin
‘Maria, who you also know, married my cousin.’

b. Bra. No é mai vedù to sor Anna, **de chela** **che**
not I.have never seen your sister Anna of that.DEM that.COMP
tu me as rejonà n muie.
you me.CL have told a lot
‘I have never seen your sister Anna, about whom you have told me a lot.’

c. Grd. La ëila **cun** **chëla** **che** son jita a jadiné
the woman with that.DEM that.COMP I.am gone to skate
ie na maestra de schi.
is a teacher of ski
‘The woman with whom I went skating is a ski instructor.’

Note that the demonstrative is always followed by the complementiser *che* in relative clauses. As far as the origin of this use is concerned, we can just offer some tentative hypotheses. A first option is that this structure is a calque of the neighbouring German (Tyrolean) dialects, which can introduce relative clauses with the nexus "relative pronoun + complementiser" (cf. Gallmann/Siller-Runggaldier/Sitta 2010, §§ 189, 196). However, the overlap with Tyrolean is not complete because these German dialects have dedicated relative pronouns that are homophonous with the proximal demonstrative, while Ladin has the distal demonstrative *chël*. It must be noted that both languages use the unmarked demonstrative (which is the proximal in German, the distal in Romance).
If we discard the hypothesis of cross-linguistic influence, a second possible explanation could interpret the nexus *chël che* as derived from free relatives introduced by the same nexus, as in (7):

(7) Fod. **Chël** **che** plu se fajëva ntëne […] a la fin fin
that.DEM that.COMP more self.CL made understand at the end end
l lo fajëva per el ben de duta na comunité.
he.CL it.CL made for the benefit of all a community
'At the end, who was more persuasive […] did that for the sake of the whole community.' (C)

3.3 Prepositional phrases used as adjectives

The Ladin varieties have a limited number of productive affixes that allow the creation of new derived words (cf. Siller-Runggaldier 1989). Therefore, neologisms are often created through loanwords. For adjectives, another common strategy to express both "traditional" and new concepts is the use of a PP with attributive meaning. These PPs are most often headed by the preposition *da*, but there are cases in which other prepositions (especially *de* and *a*) are used. Some examples for common concepts are:

(8) a. Grd. *n mus da antidles* 'a freckly face' (lit. "a face of freckles")
b. *lech da mont* 'mountain lake' (lit. "a lake of mountain")
c. *beca da tuesse* 'poisonous snake' (lit. "snake of poison")
d. *bosch da sales* 'a willow wood (lit. "wood of willows")
e. *plata da chedres* 'a graph paper' (lit. "paper of squares")
f. *arani da la crëusc* 'cross spider (lit. "spider of the cross")
g. *roda da dënz* 'sprocket' (lit. "wheel of teeth")
h. *amalà da murì* 'deadly ill' (lit. "ill of die.INF")
i. *da vënt* 'windy' (lit. "of wind")

PPs are also used as calques of German and Italian attributive expressions; in particular, they render German compounds, and in this case usually the pattern 'N de (article) N' is used. The second noun is articleless unless it is in the plural:

(9) a. Grd. *dutor di dënz* 'dentist' (lit. "doctor of the teeth", cf. Ger. *Zahnarzt* "tooth-doctor")

b. *jonta de chemun* ‘municipal council’ (lit. “council of municipality”, cf. Ger. *Gemeinderat*, It. *giunta comunale* “municipality-council”)
c. *tier de cësa* ‘pet’ (lit. “animal of house”, cf. Ger. *Haustier* “house-animal”, It. *animale domestico* “domestic animal”)
d. *medejina de cësa* ‘home remedy’ (lit. “medicine of house”, cf. Ger. *Hausmittel* “house-remedy”)
e. *verdia de finanza* ‘customs corps’ (lit. “guard of finance”, cf. It. *guardia di finanza*)

3.4 The use of 3rd person pronouns as nouns

In many Romance varieties, the lexemes for ‘man’ (HOMO) and ‘woman’ (FEMINA) are also used to indicate ‘husband’ and ‘wive’ (e.g. Northern Italian dialects and French). In most Ladin varieties, this has become the main meaning of *uem* and *fëna* (10). Apart of this use, HOMO has retained its original meaning in some specific cases, e.g. in fixed expressions (11a-b) or calques (11c). In some varieties, HOMO is also used in the negative expression *da uem*, which means ‘arrogant, proud, bossy’:

(10) a. SGad. Tone é l’**om** de Tarina. (M)
‘Tone is Tarina’s husband.’
b. Grd. **Uem** y **fëna** messëssa se ujiné.
‘Husband and wife should get along.’

(11) a. Grd. **uem** de chemun (F)
man of municipality
‘city councilor’
b. Fod. **om** salvare (Masarei 2005)
‘the savage man (a mythological being)’
c. Grd. uem d’afares
‘businessman’ (cf. It. *uomo d’affari*)

To express the generic meaning ‘woman/man’, the Ladin varieties have adopted the third person pronouns *ël* ‘he’, *ëila* ‘she’, *ëi* ‘they.M’, *ëiles* ‘they.F’ as nouns; except for Fascian, where this use is not documented in the dictionaries:

(12) a. WGad. n guant da **ël** (M)
a suit of man
‘a man’s suit’
b. Fod. le cropie dei **ëi** (Masarei 2005)
the benches of-the men
‘the church benches where men sit’
c. Grd. La **ëila** auta che lëura te butëiga ie si fëna.
the woman tall that works in shop is his wife

'The tall woman who works in the shop is his wife.'

d. Grd. i dërc dl' **ëiles** (F)
the rights of-the women
'Women's rights.'

Note that *ëila* and *ël* behave as full nouns (also in the plural), as they are preceded by the article and can be modified by adjectives, relative clauses or demonstrative pronouns (12). They are completely homophonous with the personal pronouns, but they are disambiguated by the syntactic context in which they occur, as visible in (13), where the nominal *ël* is preceded by the article, while the pronoun *ël* is not:

(13) a. Grd. **Ël** à cherdà su Melissa per la nvië a cëina.
he has called up Melissa to her.CL invite to dinner
'He phoned Melissa to invite her to dinner.'

b. Grd. **L ël** à cherdà su Melissa per la nvië a cëina.
the man has called up Melissa to her.CL invite to dinner
'The man phoned Melissa to invite her to dinner.'

According to Plangg (1995), this use is due to Tyrolean influence, since in this German dialect the pronoun *ear* ('he') can be used to indicate a young (both human and animal) male (Tyr. *an ear* 'a male').

3.5 Clitic pronouns used as morphological markers

Ladin has two series of personal pronouns, usually referred to as free (strong) and clitic pronouns. As discussed in this section, the latter class shows a series of properties that are rare in Romance. I focus on the nature and role of subject clitics (§ 3.5.1), indirect object clitics (§ 3.5.2) and on the co-occurrence of the expletive subject with non-topical lexical subjects in Gardenese (§ 3.5.3).

3.5.1 Subject clitics

Ladin has two series of subject pronouns, strong pronouns and clitics (see Chap. ### on pronouns). Superficially, this pattern corresponds to what we find in Northern Italian dialects and French, both of which have the same double series. However, there are clear syntactic differences between NIDs and French: in the former, subject clitics are usually analysed as morphological (agreement) markers, while French subject clitics behave like weak pronouns in Cardinaletti/Starke's (1999) sense (on subject clitics in Romance see Brandi/Cordin 1981; 1989; Renzi/Vanelli 1983; Poletto 1993, 2000; Cardinaletti/Starke 1999; Manzini/Savoia 2005, Chapter 2; Pescarini 2019; a.o.).
In Ladin, there is a high degree of microvariation concerning both the inventory and the syntactic structure of subject clitics (cf. Rasom 2003; Salvi 2016; Casalicchio 2017). As far as the inventory is concerned, Lower Badiot and Mareo have a full paradigm, while the other varieties have a reduced number of subject clitics: Upper Badiot and Fodom have a defective series of proclitic

pronouns, while Fascian and Gardenese have both proclitic and enclitic defective paradigms (see Tables 1-2):

Person	Fascian	Fodom	Gardenese	Upper Badiot	Mareo
1st sing.	-	-	-	i	i
2nd sing.	te	te	te	te	te
3rd sing.	el/la	l/la	l/la	al/ala	al/ara
1st pl.	-	-	-	(i)	i
2nd pl.	-	-	-	(i)	i
3rd pl.	i/les	i/le	i/les	ai/ales	ai/ares
Table 1: The inventory of subject clitics used as proclitics (based on Salvi 2020)					

Person	Fascian	Fodom	Gardenese	Upper Badiot	Mareo
1st sing.	(-e)	-jo	-i	-i	-i
2nd sing.	-te	-to	-	-te	-te
3rd sing.	-(e)l/-(e)la	-(e)lo/-(e)la	-(e)l/-(e)la	-(e)l/-(e)la	-(e)l/-(e)ra
1st pl.	-e	-so	-s	-s(e)	-se
2nd pl.	-	-o	-	-(e)	-e
3rd pl.	-i/-(e)les	-(e)li/-(e)les	-i/-(e)les	-i/-(e)les	-ai/-(e)res
Table 2: The inventory of subject clitics used as enclitics (based on Salvi 2020)					

In (14), I cite some examples for the use of proclitic subject pronouns, while (15) exemplifies the use of enclitic pronouns. Note that the conditions governing the choice between proclitic and enclitic position differ between Northern Ladin, where there is a Verb-second rule, and Southern Ladin, where enclisis is only found in interrogatives (so-called "residual Verb-second", cf. Rizzi 1996):

(14) a. Fod. **L** é inamoré. (A)
'He's in love.'

b. Bra. Nsera **t'**es jit a dormir bonora. (A)
'Yesterday evening you went to bed early.'

c. Mar. **I** sun stés a Venezia. (A)
'We went to Venice.'

d. UBad. **I** sun sté a Venezia. (A)
'I went to Venice.'

(15) a. LBad. Insëra es-**te** jü a durmí adora. (A)
yesterday.evening are-you.CL gone to sleep early
'Yesterday evening you went to bed early.'

b. Fod. Steis-**o** méio? (A)
are-you.CL.PL better
'Are you feeling better?'

c. Bra. A chi à-**l** manà cala letra? (A)
to whom has-he.CL sent that letter

‘Who did he send that letter to?’

Concerning the syntactic structure of subject clitics, a first divide is found between Southern and Northern Ladin: in the former, subject clitics generally behave like agreement markers, as in Northern Italian dialects (but with some minor differences). Evidence for this comes from clitic doubling: in Southern Ladin, subject clitics double a 2nd person singular subject (16); with 3rd person subjects (17), doubling is optional but tends to become obligatory (Salvi 2020):

(16) a. Fod. **Ti t’** es plu gaièrt de mi. (A)
you you.CL are more strong than I

b. Czt. **Tu ti** es più fort che ie. (A)
you you.CL are more strong that I
‘You are stronger than me.’

(17) a. Fod. **Bepo el** no sa ncora da nodé. (A)
Bepo he.CL not knows yet of swim.INF

b. Czt. **Giosèf** no **l** sa amò nodèr. (A)
Giosèf not he.CL knows yet swim.INF
‘Joseph cannot swim yet.’

Note that in (17b) the subject clitic occurs between the negation and the verb, the typical position of Trentino and Venetan subject clitics (which are analysed as agreement markers).
A second piece of evidence comes from the fact that in these varieties the subject clitic is repeated in coordination:

(18) a. Fod. **Le** jiva a daidé i vejins a laoré n campagna
they.F.CL went to help the neighbours to work in fields
e **le** tournáva dagnëra con ròba da mangé (C)
and they.F.CL came.back always with stuff to eat
‘They went to help the neighbours in the fields and they always came back with something to eat.’

b. Czt. **L** cianta e **l** bala duta la seres. (ASIt)
he.CL sings and he.CL dances all the evenings
‘He sings and dances every evening.’

These data show that subject clitics are not proper subjects, but they should be analysed as part of the verbal inflection, together with the verbal ending. The same analysis applies for enclitic pronouns, which behave like the proclitics in these tests (for more details on the analysis of subject clitics as morphological markers, see Chap. ###).
In Northern Ladin, on the other hand, the situation is more complex, and there is variation between Gaderan and Gardenese. Starting with Gardenese, we first have to distinguish between enclitic and proclitic pronouns (cf. Salvi 2003). In the case of enclitic pronouns, the data available show that they share some traits with the Fascian and Fodom pronouns, thus they resemble agreement markers. In particular, they are repeated in coordination and they double pronominal subjects (but

not DP subjects). On the other hand, proclitic subject pronouns behave like "true" subjects, because they never double a subject:

(19) a. Grd. **Ujep** (***l**) ne sa mo nia da nudé. (adapted from A)
Ujep he.CL NEG knows yet not of swim.INF
'Joseph cannot swim yet.'

b. Grd. **Tu** (***t'**) ies plu ghert che ie. (adapted from A)
you you.CL are more strong that I
'You are stronger than me.'

In addition, the subject clitic needs not be repeated in coordination:

(20) Grd. **L** cianta y bala duta la sëires.
he.CL sings and dances all the evenings
'He sings and dances every night.'

If we consider just these properties, these Gardenese clitics behave like the French subject pronouns *je*, *tu* etc., which are classified as "weak" in Cardinaletti/Starke's (1999) system. However, from other points of view Gardenese does not pattern with French: first of all, systems with weak pronouns usually have a full series, while in Gardenese today there are only three forms for proclitic pronouns (Table 1). In addition, Gardenese subject clitics are phonologically reduced forms that are homophonous with object clitic pronouns (which are undoubtedly clitics, and not weak pronouns):

(21) Grd. **La** uel **la** cumpré.
she.CL wants her.CL buy
'She wants to buy it.'

Finally, the third person proclitic pronouns have the same form as the corresponding enclitic pronouns, which are best analysed as agreement markers.
In conclusion, the data point to the fact that Gardenese proclitic pronouns are neither agreement markers as in NIDs, nor weak pronouns of the French type. To analyse their structure, a fixed point is that they are arguments, because they never co-occur with any other type of subject. Thus, they can probably be assigned the same structure as Romance object clitics, which cannot be analysed as weak pronouns or agreement markers either. The same syntactic behaviour is attested in the non-strong subject pronouns found in Northern Italy in the *Rinascimento* period (Vanelli 1987); so, Gardenese seems to have retained an older stage in the evolution of these pronouns from weak to agreement marker.

Finally, let's turn to Gaderan, which has been less studied in this respect. In general, subject clitics seem to behave in a similar way as in Gardenese: they do not double any subject, and they need not be repeated in coordination:

(22) a. LBad. **Pepi** ne sa nia ciamò da nodè. (A)
Pepi NEG knows not yet of swim.INF

'Joseph cannot swim yet.'

b. LBad. **Tö** es plü gaièrt co iö. (A)
you are more strong that I
'You are stronger than me.'

(23) WGad. **Al** tëgn jö l' ćé y ne dij nia. (C)
he keeps down the head and NEG says nothing
'He keeps the head down and doesn't say a word.'

However, there is microvariation within Gaderan: in Upper Badiot the pattern has some resemblances with the Southern Ladin system. In particular, the second person singular allows doubling, unlike in Gardenese and in the other Gaderan varieties (Pizzinini/Plangg 1966; Rasom 2003; Videsott 2013):

(24) a. UBad. **Tö t** ciantes. (Pizzinini/Plangg 1966, XLIV)
you you.CL sing
'You sing.'

b. UBad. **Tö t'** as de bi edli. (Videsott 2013, 154)
you you.CL have of beautiful eyes
'You have beautiful eyes.'

c. UBad. I n' sa nia, sce **tö t'** os jì fora. (*ibid*.)
I.CL NEG know not if you you.CL want go out
'I don't know if you want to go out.'

Summing up, subject clitic pronouns behave as agreement markers in Southern Ladin; in Northern Ladin they only have this status when they are used as enclitics. Conversely, Northern Ladin proclitics behave like true clitics because they realise an argument of the verb and cannot double any other type of subject. In Upper Badiot, however, subject clitics behave in some respects as agreement markers, as in Southern Ladin.

3.5.2 Clitic doubling of indirect objects

As most Romance languages, Ladin has accusative and dative clitics, whose main function consists in realising the direct or indirect object of the verb. In addition, they are used in clitic resumption structures, in particular when an object is left- or right-dislocated. In Ladin, dative clitics display another property that is only found in some Romance languages (e.g., in Spanish and in NIDs, see e.g. Cordin 1993 for Trentino), namely the obligatory doubling of all dativa l prepositional phrases. In this function, they differ from accusative clitics, which never double a direct object, unless it is dislocated. Dative doubling is independent of the type of indirect object, which might be a pronoun (25), a noun (26), a quantifier (27) or even a wh-pronoun (28):

(25) a. Fod. se te **me** spache **a mi** la páncia me ven fòra

if you.CL me.DAT.CL break to me the belly me.DAT.CL comes out
na ròba sèla e bláncia. (C)
a thing yellow and white
'(Riddle:) If you break my belly something yellow and white will come out (answer: the egg)

b. WGad. Tone é tl ospedel y **a nos se** manćel n müt
Tone is at.the hospital and to us us.DAT.CL misses-it.CL a boy
pur fà la partida! (C)
to do the match
'Tone is at the hospital and we need one more player for our match!'

(26) a. Fod. N di, d' auton via, la **ne** disc la mama
a day of autumn away she.CL us.DAT.CL says the mom
a mi e a la Lisa n eté da scòla: … (C)
to me and to the Lisa in age of school
'One day, in autumn, the mom says to me and to Lisa, who was in school age: …'

b. WGad. La jócera de Scimun ê cun borjù te let y atira
the mother-in-law of Simon was with fever in bed and immediately
i l' ài dit **a Gejù**. (C; St. Mark's gospel)
him.DAT.CL it.CL have-they.CL said to Jesus
'Simon's mother-in-law was in bed with fever, and Jesus was immediately informed of that.'

(27) a. Czt. Ma sa Lurènz i no sà amò chel che te spetarà
but at Lurènz they.CL not know yet that.DEM that you.DAT.CL awaits.FUT
se no te volarès **ge** dèr fé **a negugn**! (C)
if not you.CL want.FUT him.DAT.CL give faith to nobody
'But at Lurènz they don't know yet what awaits you if you won't trust anybody!'

b. Bra. Ela me à racomanà tant de no **ge** dir **a nesciugn**
she me.CL has recommended much of not him.DAT.CL say to nobody
can che vae a scoer da ela, e che vegne soul. (C)
when that I.go to sweep at her and that I.come alone
'She warned me insistently that I should not tell anybody when I go to clean her palace, and that I go alone.'

(28) a. Fod. **A chi i** à-lo spedì chëla lëtra? (A)
to whom him.DAT.CL has-he.CL sent that letter
'Who has he sent that letter to?'

b. Grd. **A ciuna ëila ti** es' a scincà chël liber?
to which woman her.DAT.CL you.have PRT given that book
'To which woman have you given that book as gift?'

Note that in (26a) the dative clitic *ne* 'to us' doubles two coordinated indirect objects, one formed with a strong pronoun and one with a proper noun (*Lisa*).
In the data, there is only a small minority of cases in which dative doubling is absent. Therefore, its nearly obligatory character seems to indicate that in Ladin the dative clitic can be used as an agreement marker that signals the presence of a dative PP. However, it has also retained its original function as dival argument/adjunct because there are many cases in which the clitic is used alone, without other dival PPs.
Note that doubling is generally out (in Ladin as well as in Northern Italian Dialects) when there are other types of arguments headed by the preposition *a*, for example in locative PPs. In this case, however, it is important to consider that Ladin does not have a locative clitic (corresponding to Italian *ci*, French *y*), so doubling would be impossible anyway.

3.5.3 The use of the expletive clitic with non-topical subjects

All Ladin varieties have an expletive clitic pronoun, which is used with meteorological verbs:

(29) Fod. **L** pluof.
'It's raining.'

Northern Ladin varieties also use the expletive clitic with impersonal expressions (30) and with postverbal subjects (31). The expletive subject occurs in enclitic position when another constituent precedes the verb, as required by the Verb-second rule of Northern Ladin (31b):

(30) Grd. **L** suzed suvënz che…
'It often happens that…'

(31) a. Grd. **L** ie unì duta la mutans.
it.CL is come.PTCT.M.SG all the girls
b. Grd. Unì ie-**l** duta la mutans.
come.PTCT.M.SG is-it.CL all the girls
'All the girls arrived.'

In Southern Ladin, on the other hand, the expletive is used in cases like (30)-(31) only when there is an auxiliary that begins with a vowel or an impersonal verb (provided no other clitic is present), cf. Rasom (2003); Siller-Runggaldier (2012); Salvi (2020).
Concerning Northern Ladin, the subject occurs in postverbal position, and thus requires an expletive clitic (as exemplified in (31)), in two pragmatic configurations: with thetic sentences (i.e., in all-new sentences with broad focus, example (32a)), and when the subject is focused (narrow focus, (32b), to be compared with (32c)). Examples (32b-c) are taken from Siller-Runggaldier (2012, 27):

(32) a. (Context: *Why are you so happy?*)
Grd. Ncuei vën-**iel** Silvia.
today comes-it.CL Silvia
'Silvia comes today.'

b. Grd. Puech do ie-**l** ruvà te hotel **i** **turisć**.
shortly afterwards is-it.CL arrived.M.SG in hotel the tourists
c. Grd. Puech do ie **i** **turisć** ruvei te hotel.
shortly afterwards are the tourists arrived.M.PL in hotel
'Shortly after the tourists got to the hotel.'

The sentence in (32a) comes out of the blue, because none of its elements is mentioned in the previous context; therefore, the whole sentence constitutes a broad focus. In (32b-c), the different position of the subject *i turisć* 'the tourists' is related to two different information structures: in (32b) the subject is located after the past participle and the PP *te hotel* 'to the hotel', while in (32c) it immediately follows the auxiliary. The word order in (32b) leads to interpret 'the tourists' as a focused element (either as a new information focus or as a contrastive focus), while (32c) is compatible with a context in which the DP 'the tourists' has already been mentioned. Note that the expletive is present only in (32b), and in this example the verb agrees with the expletive clitic; in (32c), instead, the verb agrees with the DP subject 'the tourists' (as visible from the past participle, since the inflected verb forms are syncretic for the 3SG and 3PL forms).
Therefore, the presence of the expletive in (32b) correlates with (and is due to) the position of the subject on the right of the auxiliary and the past participle. This correlation has led Siller-Runggaldier (2012) to suggest that the expletive clitic *l* has developed a pragmatic function, since it occurs in thetic sentences (32) and when the subject is focalised (33a). It has to be noted, however, that this pragmatic configuration is already expressed through the postverbal position of the subject itself. In fact, as shown in Casalicchio/Cognola (2020), sentences with focalised subjects can just be characterized by the postverbal (and post-participial) position, without the occurrence of the expletive:

(33) (Context: *Who has always bought the flour in the shop?*)
Grd. Te butëiga, la farina l' à for cumpreda **la** **l'oma**
in shop the flour it.CL has always bought the mum
'The mum has always bought the flour in the shop.'
(Casalicchio/Cognola 2020, 603)

In any case, note that this pattern is in sharp contrast with another Verb-Second language like German, where the expletive *es* has a more limited function, since it realises the preverbal position so that the verb occurs in second position. Coherently with this function, *es* does not appear in postverbal position, because in this case the respect of the V2-rule is guaranteed by the presence of another constituent in front of the verb.

3.6 The "Verb + Locative" construction

In the verbal domain, the Ladin varieties are characterized by the "Verb + Locative" construction (V+L), in which the verb is combined with a locative element to express a single meaning, in a way similar to English phrasal verbs:

(34) Grd. L giat ie **sautà ora** dala tascia.
'The cat jumped out of the bag.'

The locative elements used in this construction are homonymous with adverbs (as *ora* 'out' in (34)), but in this cluster they form a unit with the verb. Note that this cluster does not trigger a full incorporation, because the V+L cluster is incompatible with nominalisation (unlike in German or English):

(35) a. Grd. cialé ju → *la/na cialeda ju
look down the/a looking down
'look down'
b. Grd. abiné via → *la/na abineda via
find away the/a find away
'extort, take away'

In addition, the sequence V + L can be interrupted not only by "weak" elements (e.g. clitics), as in other Romance languages, but also by spatial PPs, a pattern that is generally absent in other Romance varieties. Spatial PPs can thus occupy two positions in the clause, one between the verb and the locative element and one after the whole cluster. The two positions are associated with two different meanings, witness (36a–b) (examples taken from Bidese/Casalicchio/Cordin 2016, 130):

(36) a. Fas. L va su **da** **Vich**.
he.CL goes up from Vich
'He goes uphill, starting from Vich.'
b. Fas. L va **da** **Vich** su.
he.CL goes from Vich up
'He goes uphill, taking the path that passes through Vich.'

The two orders in (36) express two different meanings: in (36a), the PP indicates the origin (the village of Vich), while in (36b) it describes the path taken by the subject: there are various paths or roads to go uphill, and one of them passes through Vich. Thus, in the second example Vich is not the origin, but it is a point between the origin and the destination that is mentioned to single out a specific route.
As far as the value of the locative element is concerned, in some cases it retains its original locative meaning (37a), which might be metaphorical (37b). In other cases, the locative element evolved as an aspectual marker (38):

(37) a. WGad. Öjep é **jü** **fora** de strada.
Öjep is gone out of road
'Joseph got off the road.'
b. WGad. Öjep è **jü** **fora** de ce.
Öjep is gone out of head.
'Joseph went crazy.'
(38) Grd. É **lavà** **ora** la taces da mi sbeter. (F)

I.have washed out the spots from my sweater
'I have washed away the spots from my sweater.'

Note that in Ladin, especially in the Northern varieties, there are many calques from German, e.g. *dé su* 'give up' and 'send' (as in Ger. *auf-geben*), *cialé do* 'check' (literally "look after", as in Ger. *nach-schauen*). Note that in Ladin the locative element always follows the verb, while in German its position depends on the form of the verb and on the syntactic contexts.

3.7 Modal particles

Modal particles (also called discourse particles; see chap. ### Moroni/Cognola) are elements that do not contribute to the meaning (in terms of propositional content), but they inform about the epistemic state of the discourse participants. They are frequent in German, where there is a high number of different modal particles. In Romance their inventory is generally more reduced, but Northern Ladin constitutes an exception, because it has a rich number of particles that are used in different contexts. This fact has often been attributed to cross-linguistic influence from German; but, actually, if we consider the data carefully it is evident that the very existence of modal particles in Ladin cannot be attributed to contact with German, because modal particles exist in all Romance varieties. The contact with German has probably led to an extension of their number and uses in Ladin, as witnessed by the fact that several Ladin modal particles overlap with those of German, as far as their function is concerned. Note that this contact-induced extension of an already existing function is a common pattern of cross-linguistic influence (see e.g. Benincà's 1985–1986 seminal work on the German-Ladin contact).
In Ladin, as in Romance more generally, modal particles are derived from adverbs, and they are usually analysed as weak elements hosted in the Tense Phrase (TP), the projection dedicated to the verb inflection above the Verb Phrase (Coniglio 2008; Cardinaletti 2011). In Ladin, this analysis is confirmed by the fact that they have a fixed position in the clause: they always occur immediately after the inflected verb, and only clitics or other weak elements can interrupt the sequence 'verb - modal particle'.
To illustrate the rich inventory of Ladin modal particles, I propose an inventory of the most significant ones in Gardenese (Table 3). Note that since they do not contribute any meaning to the propositional content of the utterance, only an approximative English translation can be offered.

Modal particle	**Meaning of the adverb**	**Use**	**Example**
bën	'well'	Negates a negative proposition (which might be implicit or explicit)	A: "I don't believe your story, it's false." B: *L ie* ***bën*** *vëira.* 'It is indeed true.'
danz	'unfortunately'	Expresses regret	*Śën iel* ***danz*** *ëura de jì a cësa!* 'Now it's really time to go home.' (F)
ënghe	'also'	Adds a personal perspective,	*Ie son* ***ënghe*** *mé na persona.*

		mitigates an affirmation or expresses deontic meaning	'At the end, I'm just a human being.' (F)
feter	'almost'	Attenuates the utterance	*Me ntënde bën che son **feter** a la fin.* 'I feel that I have come to the end.' (C)
gor	'even'	Indicates the opinion that something is exaggerated	*Śën uelel **gor** se maridé!* 'Now he even wants to marry!' (F)
ma	'but'	Expresses annoyance or that the speaker is sick with something	*Spieta **ma**!* 'Now wait a moment please!' (F)
medrë, menadrë	'simply, only'	Invites somebody to do something without being worried, or introduces an example	*Cëla **menadrë**!* (to a child:) 'Don't be worried, look!' (C) *Pensa **medrë** ai jëuni!* 'Think of the young people, for example!'
mefun	'really'	Indicates that the reality cannot be changed	*Te muesses **mefun** fé zënza.* 'You'll just have to go on without it.' (F)
mei	'never'	Indicates that an event was considered improbable or impossible (in exclamatives) or that the speaker has no idea of the answer (in interrogatives)	*Ce ons'a **mei** udù!* 'What on earth did we see!' *Ulà saràl pa **mei** ruvà?* 'Where the hell will he have arrived?' (C)
mia no	'hardly, at all'	Negates a positive proposition (which might be implicit or explicit)	*L ne ie **mia no** mat.* 'He's certainly not mad.'
mpo, purempò	'nevertheless'	Indicates a concessive interpretation of the event by the speaker	*Sce nëus an gran festa passova chëi da San Michiel **mpo** cun fën.* 'If we were having a big festival [on the day of our patron saint], those from the village of San Michiel came along with their hay as always.' (C)
urmei	'by now'	Expresses that an event is seen as far away in the past or that it cannot be changed	*L ie **urmei** mënsc che ne se udon nia plu.* 'We haven't met for ages (lit. "for months").'
pa	'then, possibly'	Obligatory in interrogatives; in other clause types the speaker confirms that an event is true (often with scalar events)	*Chi ie **pa** unì?* 'Who has come?' *Iniër al **pa** nevët!* 'Yesterday it really snowed!'

propi	'precisely'	Stresses the truth of a predicate	*Semiëis **propi** doi tel tloces cun i punjins*. 'You look exactly like two hens with their hatchlings.' (C)
pu	'but'	The speakers communicates that he/she wishes an event were true	*Fossel **pu** vëira!* 'If only it were true!' (F)
Table 3: The most common modal particles of Gardenese			

In various cases two modal particles can co-occur in the same sentence, e.g. *Fossi pa pu iló!* 'If only I were there!'.

The high number of modal particles is a property of all Northern Ladin varieties. For Badiot, the pervasiveness of modal particles is attested by Poletto/Zanuttini (2003), who show that Badiot imperatives cannot be uttered without a modal particle. More precisely, four modal particles are available in imperatives: *ma*, *mo*, *pö* and *pa*. *Ma* indicates the point of view of the hearer/addressee, *mo* that of the speaker, *pö* expresses that the imperative goes against an expectation and *pa* focuses on the order itself (examples from Poletto/Zanuttini 2003, 178–183):

(40) a. UBad. Màngel **ma** che spo crësces-te!
eat-it.CL *ma* that then grow-you.CL
'Eat it, so you will grow!'

b. UBad. Fà-l **mo**, che i l' adori!
do-it.CL *mo* that I.CL it.CL need
'Do it, because I need it!'

c. UBad. Va **pö** tres adërta fora!
go *pö* always straight ahead
'Keep going straight ahead!'

d. UBad. Fajé-l **pa** dessigü!
do.IMP.2PL-it.CL *pa* definitely
'Definitely do it!'

In (40a), the order goes to the vantage of the addressee, in (40b) of the speaker; (40c) is felicitous if the speaker expects the hearer to turn (e.g., if the latter does not know the road); finally, (40d) focuses on the event.

3.8 Additive particles

All Ladin varieties have an additive focal particle (see Chap. ### on focalizers) that derives from Late Latin *ANCA (Fas.Fod. *ence*, Grd. *nce*, Gad. *ince*). In addition, Gardenese has developed a form from *ANQUE, namely *ënghe* (EWD, s.v. *ince*; for the relation between these two Late Latin forms, see Bidese et al. 2019). The two particles *nce* and *ënghe* are generally found in complementary distribution, which can be explained if we consider that the Gardenese system of additive particles shows influences from German (see also Fiorentini 2017): the prototypical

function of *nce* is to add an item (defined as "Domain of Association", DA) to a list of elements for which an utterance holds. In this use, *nce* precedes the DA, as in Italian and German:

(41) (Context: *Marco was born in Verona*)
Grd. [**Nce** Maria] ie nasciuda a Verona.
'Maria, too, was born in Verona.'

The second particle, *ënghe*, is used as focalised additive particle, as in German. In this pattern, the additive particle has a fixed post-verbal position, while the DA is usually fronted in preverbal position:

(42) (Context: *I have a son, Marco, who was born in Verona. I also have a daughter, Maria)*
Grd. Maria ie **ënghe** nasciuda a Verona.
'Maria was born in Verona, too.'

The main difference is that in (41) *Maria* is focalised: she is mentioned for the first time, in order to add her to a given set of people born in Verona. Conversely, in (42) *Maria* is given: she was already mentioned in the discourse, but now the speaker adds the information that she belongs to the set of people born in Verona.
While Italian only allows the pattern (41), in German we find both (41) and (42), cf. Bidese et al. (2019). Gardenese has adopted the German pattern, but with an original innovation: it uses two different forms to express the two functions; in German, on the other hand, the same particle (*auch* 'also') is used with both functions, and they are kept distinct by word order and intonation.

4. Conclusions

Ladin is a Romance language that displays the main characteristics of the language family it belongs to. However, its geographical position led to less contact with the neighbouring Italo-romance varieties and to increased contact with German varieties; this made it develop a series of peculiarities that are rare, or less extended, in other Romance languages. Some of the outcomes of this situation (e.g., the co-occurrence of the numeral 'one' and the indefinite article) are original and rare even in a broader typological context, as stated in the introduction. This makes the Ladin varieties particularly interesting for studies that aim at investigating the definitions and delimitations of the different word classes. When doing so, it is important to keep in mind that language contact operates at a non-trivial level: it does not lead to the adoption of structures that are completely absent in the target language, but rather it triggers innovations that lead to a reshaping of some of its structures, and that represent original evolutions of internal patterns.

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