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The development of the Latin gerund in Rhaeto-Romance

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Abstract

L gerundie indichea la modalitèdes o la condizions de n'azion. L vegn durà demò te la forma prejenta; tel passà se doura de outra construzions perifrastiches. [...] De spes se pel l transformèr te n complement indiret de temp, de meso, de modo o te na frasa temporèla, ipotetica, e c.i.

This is how the Grammar of Fascian Ladin (issued by the Ladin Cultural Institute in Vigo di Fassa) describes this grammatical category. However, there is a discrepancy between the canonical functions of the gerund as usually presented and described in traditional grammars and its actual use. The results of a pilot study conducted at the University of Verona with the help of a limited number of Ladin speakers have highlighted this divergence, where alternative non gerundial constructions, such as an instrumental expression, temporal, causal and similar, are preferred instead of the canonical one. For example, we find *Col dormir l se a remetù*, instead of the expected **Dormian l se a remetù*.

Few studies have recently examined this category, but none of them provide a full overview of the gerundial structures. For instance, Casalicchio (2013) illustrates different types of gerund constructions with perception verbs in Gardesene. He claims that sentences with a subordinate verb use the gerund, instead of infinitive, as in Italian. In his view, the use of the gerund in perceptive constructions may have developed in Vulgar Latin.

In this project, I detect the contexts in which the gerund - in terms of its etymological definition - is used, but also which functions this so-called “gerund” has. Such a work is supported by an extensive fieldwork that covers two varieties of Ladin, Friulan and a smaller amount of data from Swiss Romansh. Data was collected via a survey conducted as a written translation task from Italian/German into the speakers variety. In addition to this corpus retracing the oral speech, I included a corpus of written texts and a smaller corpus of diachronic data. The analysis provides a larger picture on the development of the Latin gerund in this Alpine area. The final outcome allows us to assess variation and possible contact-induced phenomena in synchrony drawing on the analysis of processes of change in diachrony.

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Abbreviations

AA	Ablativus absolutus
abl.	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
CL	Classical Latin
COND	Conditional
ind.	Indicative
LL	Late Latin
VL	Vulgar Latin
dat.	Dative
epex.	Epexegetic
EXPL	Expletive
FUT	Future
GER	Gerund
GERV	Gerundive
IE	Indo-European
IMPR	Imperative
IMPS	Impersonal
ind.	Indicative
IndObj	Indirect Object
IPFV	Imperfective
NOM	Nominative
obj.	Object
NP	Noun Phrase
part	particle
PASS	Passive
PC	Participium coniunctum
PDE	Present-Day English
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
pl.	Plural
PP	Present participle
PRES	Present
PRF	Perfect
PstP	Past participle
REFL	Reflexive
RG	Rumantsch Grischun
sbjv.	Subjunctive
sg.	Singular
subj.	Subject
SUP	Supine

A NOTE ON THE CONVENTIONS AND ANNOTATIONS

The linguistic examples in this dissertation are given in italics. The glosses used for the relevant examples are presented as word-by-word translations into English or as morpheme-by-morpheme correspondences for the relevant elements of the example, following the Leipzig glossing rules. Verbs in the present tense only present the person and number gloss, for instance Friul. *cjali*, watch.1SG. The symbol + is used to combine multiple elements within one word which require two distinct glosses.

The > symbol is used as 'changed into' as a standard convention in historical linguistics.

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1

Introduction

1.1 What is a gerund?

It is relatively challenging to define what a gerund is. It is normally considered as one of the “mixed categories” (Ackema *et al.* 2004; Aarts 2007; Lowe 2016, among others), engaging in a partially (or entirely) nominal or verbal behaviour. A glance in typology shows a variety of functional behaviors which could be assigned to the mixed gerundial category. Here are some examples of such forms and functions. Modern Italian has two forms named as gerund, which display different morphological forms and different functions: 1) the adverbial use in subordination, i.e. the clausal gerund (*gerundio di frase*, cf. Lonzi 1988 and previously Jaeggli 1986) to express cause, manner or time and derived from the Classical Latin ablative of the gerund (e.g. *Conoscendo la situazione, Maria non ha voluto intervenire* ‘Knowing the situation, Maria did not want to intervene’); 2) to express progressive, i.e. the predicative gerund, through a progressive periphrasis (e.g. *Sto annaffiando i fiori del vicino* ‘I’m watering the neighbor’s flowers’), derived from a Vulgar Latin innovation (Squartini, 1998; Bertinetto, 1997; Bertinetto *et al.*, 2000). Modern English, on the other hand, employs a syncretic *-ing* suffix for 1) a purely nominal function (e.g. *His stupid missing of the penalty lost us the game*; cf. Lowe 2016:402¹); 2)

¹The reference applies to all the Modern English examples.

a purely verbal function (e.g. *Him stupidly missing the penalty lost us the game*); 3) a hybrid construction, the logical object and the modifier being of the verbal type and the logical subject being a possessive phrase (e.g. *His stupidly missing the penalty lost us the game.*). To these three functions, I would add 4) the periphrastic construction (e.g. *I am running*) and 5) a purely adjectival use (e.g. *a caring person*). Serbo-Croatian has an analogous construction, the so-called ‘verbal adverb’, which is clearly used to express an adverbial function, both in simultaneity and anteriority (cf. Gabrić-Bagarić 1995) and derives from the present active participle (e.g. *Prolazi kraj nas ne primećujući nas* ‘He is passing us by without noticing us’). Hebrew, instead, has a gerund construction which is used as a temporal adverb to convey the meaning of attendant circumstances (e.g. *[bi- re’ot Dan et Dina] hu yaca me ha-xeder* ‘When Dan saw Dina he left the room’; Hazout 1992). These few examples should be sufficient to demonstrate the general domain of this category, but also the variation that comes with it. It is noticeable that all the above-mentioned instantiations of gerunds or of this mixed category represent a typological category that at its core has an adverb-like or subordinating function. Other functions such as the adjectival one or the expression of the progressive require specific syntactic configurations and could therefore be taken as accessory or additional to the least common denominator. The overall picture underlines a metalinguistic issue in defining the boundaries of the label of ‘gerund’ which seemingly developed as a proper grammatical category only in Latin. Subsequently, this label has been extended to name other categories expressed by non-finite verbal forms outside of Romance as well.

1.2 The need for clarity: non-finite verbal categories in Romance and Rhaeto-Romance

The variation illustrated in the previous section indicates that 1) the gerund covers a great variety of functions ranging from adjectival to nominal and adverbial ones, 2) the above-mentioned forms display a high degree of syncretism, therefore, these may not (exclusively) represent one type of function. Since the category of gerund is well-defined in morphological and functional terms in Latin,² one may expect a somewhat similar scenario in Romance, as well. However, the post-Latin developments have contributed to forming a dynamic environment with no precise phonological and functional boundaries.

²A detailed overview of the Latin gerund will follow in chapter 3.

For instance, the Ladin [...] *l Crist sangonan* may indicate ‘the bleeding Christ’, but also ‘the Christ while/because (he was) bleeding’, expressing the adverbial-gerund-like, but also the attributive-participle-like value. Such constructions displaying a formal-functional one-to-one mismatch will be examined in the course of this dissertation with a focus on the Romance Alpine varieties, namely Ladin (whose main subvarieties are Badiotto, Gardenese, Fassano, Ampezzano and Fodom), Swiss Romansh (the main subvarieties being Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmiran, Vallader and Puter) and Friulan. The aim of this dissertation is therefore to provide an overview of the functional domain of the gerund in the diachronic perspective, ranging from Latin to the modern Rhaeto-Romance³ varieties through a critical survey of the existing literature and an in-depth data analysis based on the use of three corpora specifically designed for the purpose of this study.

1.3 Overview and structure of the dissertation

Chapter 2 of this dissertation presents as a two-tiered description of the varieties dealt with on the one hand and of the sociolinguistic aspects of this broad and diversified area on the other hand. The reason why such a comprehensive contextualization was deemed necessary was due to the presence of some unresolved questions, such as that of *questione ladina* (illustrated in Section 1) which may appear as issues related to the past, but the absence of agreement in the scientific community still makes it a hot topic in the domain of Rhaeto-Romance studies. This dissertation by no means aims to find the ultimate solution to a long-lasting argument, but rather to provide an additional piece to the big genealogical/areal puzzle illustrated in Ch.2 through the lens of the non-finiteness. Section 2 of this chapter focuses on the main sociolinguistic aspects, by providing a sketch of the language policies in all three areas and concentrating on the schooling systems and the process of standardization of these linguistic minorities.

After an overview of the linguistic area, chapter 3 concentrates on the category of the gerund itself by contributing with a detailed review of the main scientific works on the diachronic path of the gerund starting from the early traces of the Romance *-nd-* suffix and retracing the main macro stages of Romance history until the most recent literature on Ladin, Romansh and Friulan

³‘Rhaeto-Romance’ is used as a cover term across this work and the three macro-areas will be addressed individually. By no means this terminology is to be intended as a clue for the genealogical issue related to these varieties.

taken separately. The chapter is organized on the basis of the chronology and the development of the category. The first section of this chapter deals with the origin of the gerundial suffix, the discussion on the primacy between the gerund and the gerundive and main functional aspects of the gerund in comparison with the possible non-finite competitors in Classical, Late and Vulgar Latin. Section 2 provides an analogous inspection in Old Italian and Old French by introducing some innovations related to the verbal periphrases and absolute constructions. In addition, this section reports the testimony of the few traces of the use of gerund in older stages of Rhaeto-Romance.

Chapter 4 illustrates the latest studies mentioning the category of gerund in Friulan, Ladin and Romansh individually. In addition, this chapter describes in detail the methodology of research by clarifying the purpose and structure of each corpus individually.

Chapter 5 provides the analysis of all the gathered data by distinguishing the three macro varieties and the use of gerund in different corpora. Specifically, the first section of this chapter is dedicated to the main functions detected in the Ladin data across the three corpora designed for the purpose of this study. Sections 2 and 3 describe the Romansh and Friulan data respectively in a similar fashion, whereas section 4 performs a statistical analysis of the presented data set.

Finally, chapter 6 contextualizes the corpus results by attempting to discriminate between inherited and borrowed constructions and frames the results within the discussion on the *questione ladina*.

2

Genealogy of Rhaeto-Romance and its sociolinguistic background

This chapter will illustrate some genealogy-related issues regarding the Alpine area⁴ in focus and provide a broad picture of the sociolinguistic context in the three main areas of interest. The understanding of these two aspects, illustrated in section 1 and 2 respectively, will shed light on internal dynamics of the three main areas individually, but also on the points of contact and possible areal/typological/genealogical relatedness.

2.1 *Questione ladina*

By *questione ladina* we refer to the academic and political debate, concerning the existence of a possible linguistic *continuum*, involving Ladin, Swiss Romansh and Friulan. A central question also concerns the status of Friulan and whether it is part of the Rhaeto-Romance group or not. Numerous scholars and researchers have come up with interesting, but also conflicting conclusions over time. The essay which gave rise to *questione ladina* is Ascoli (1873),

⁴I refer to the Alpine area in a broad sense for the purpose of completeness. However, it must be noted that the Friulan area is not exclusively mountainous, as it includes a hilly-lowland territory southern from Udine. See fig.2.2 for the partition of Friulan.

the first study on Romance Dialectology. Graziadio Isaia Ascoli published his investigation on Romance ‘idioms’ spoken in the Alps in the *Archivio glottologico italiano*. According to his terminology, these varieties are subdivided into three main areas: a) a western area in the Kanton Grisons in Switzerland, b) a central area in Italy, where three varieties of Ladin are spoken (‘Tridentino-occidentale’, ‘Tridentino-orientale’ and ‘alto-bellunese’) and c) an eastern area in Friuli. The dialects he mentions are “stretti fra di loro per vincoli di affinità peculiare” (‘close to each other by bonds of peculiar affinity’; Ascoli 1873:1) and he names them *dialetti ladini* or *la denominazione generica di favella ladina*. Ascoli (1882:99)⁵, defines the dialectal groupings with a “centripetal” procedure. In the following order he acknowledges:

1. Dialects that depend on neo-Latin systems which are not peculiar to Italy (Provençal, Franco-Provençal and Ladin);
2. Dialects which are distinguishable from the Italian system, but are part of any Latin system (Gallo-Italic and Sardinian);
3. Dialects that can form a special system of the neo-Latin dialects with Tuscan (Venetian, central-southern dialects, Corse);
4. Tuscan.

However, there have been previous attempts to collocate at least one of the above-mentioned varieties. Indeed, the earliest testimony of Dolomitic Ladin is provided by S.P. Bartolomei (1709-1763), a lawyer from Pergine Valsugana, whose evidence can be found in Kramer (1978). Bartolomei studied Badiot, one of the Dolomitic Ladin varieties and he speculates that the Etruscan population had an important role in the evolution of the Alpine area. In his opinion, Ladin is just a "romanized" version of the pre-Latin varieties. He reported his data in the *Catalogus* (probably 1763), a small dictionary of 2500 Badiot words, translated into Latin. After this pioneering work, the 19th century (and onwards) works almost exclusively deal with the neo-Latin varieties in the Alpine area. Indeed, two separate and rather different theories developed during the second half of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century. On the one hand, we find a group of scholars claiming the Rhaeto-Romance integrity, having as pioneers Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (1829-1907) with his *Saggi Ladini* and Theodor Gartner (1843-1925) with his *Raetoromanische Grammatik*. On the other hand, we find a group of scholars denying the existence of a possible *continuum* and therefore, the existence of a Rhaeto-Romance family which

⁵Cited in Loporcaro (2009:66-69).

includes Friulan. Within this group, we find a group of Italian dialectologists, such as Carlo Battisti (1882-1977) and Giovan Battista Pellegrini (1921-2007). Let us now explore both paths.

2.1.1 The "unitarian" side

The unitarian side claims that the three varieties, namely Ladin, Friulan and Swiss Romansh form a continuum and that these varieties are genetically more closely related than neighboring varieties. Despite variation in the use of terminology when it comes to labelling the varieties of interest, scholars sharing this viewpoint consistently refer to the above-mentioned varieties.

Following Ascoli (1873), Gartner (1883, 1910) groups three languages: Bündnerromanisch, Dolomitenladinisch and Friulanisch into a single Rhaeto-Romance group. His work was further conducted by Gerhard Rohlfs, who made a dialectological inquiry at Rocca Pietore (Belluno) in September 1939, but due to the outbreak of World War II was forced to return to Germany. Nevertheless, an informant and speaker of the local dialect remained in Livinallongo, where he transcribed the ancient legends and old chronicles. The informant in question was the municipal secretary, Valerio Troi, who was also Pellegrini's informant (below).⁶ Rohlfs (1952, 1972, 1975, 1981) argues that Rhaeto-Romance is an autonomous language. It is however not clear what exactly Rhaeto-Romance refers to, although Pellegrini (1982) interprets it as Dolomitic Ladin including Friulan. The Rhaeto-Romance⁷, according to Rohlfs, exists as a single linguistic group and is in between "dem italienische Sprachtyp und dem Galloromanischen" ('the Italian language type and the Gallo-Romance'), but it gravitates more towards French than towards Italian. The name *Rhaeto-Romance* derives from the Rhaetian language, which is different and separated from the Romance or Italic varieties and is part of the Tyrrhenian or Tyrsenian family, being a sister language to Etruscan, Lemnian and Camunic. The fundamental characteristic of the Rhaetoromantic (or Rhaeto-Romance), according to Rohlfs (1972), is the formation of the plurals with final -s, as in western Romania. Other characteristics of Rhaeto-Romance are the "delabialization", "hardening" of some sub-dialects of Friuli, and the lexicon.

Goebel (1977, 1978, 1981, 1984, 2000, 2007, 2011, 2018) and later Bauer (2003, 2010, 2014) represent crucial literature belonging to the unitarian ap-

⁶Pellegrini's family was originally from Rocca Pietore and his grandfather, also called Giovan Battista Pellegrini, was in turn Ascoli's informant.

⁷The terminology changes once again. Here Rohlfs (1981) refers to Rhaeto-Romance, i.e. Dolomitic Ladin and Friulan according to his view.

proach, dealing with synchronic and geotypical aspects. Goebel is a defender of the “unità ladina” (‘Ladin unity’), although under completely different methodological conditions than his predecessors. His dialectometry is a technically sophisticated inductive method that creates a “geo-type” - in this case a Rhaeto-Romance geotype, based on the inventory of linguistic features in space and their quantitative calculation. It consists in the use of numerical (statistical) techniques in order to offer a measurement of similarities and dissimilarities between locations and linguistic forms and in order to obtain a correlation between linguistic variation and spatial configuration. Such research is based on a large number of qualitative data pulled from linguistic atlases, which are turned into a smaller number of “dialectal classes/groups/families” via an inductive method (cf. Goebel 2007). The result of such calculation in the Alpine area provides the map in Fig.2.1.

The yellow polygons in Fig.2.1 symbolize 56 dialects spoken in the area of Graubünden, Trentino-Alto Adige and Friuli. These dialects have a 47,3-61% of similarity, which is a number greater than the average value. Hence, these varieties form the Rhaeto-Romance or Ladin⁸ family (cf. Bauer 2007).

2.1.2 The “negationist” side

Several generations of Italian dialectologists have made a strong case for the claim that the Rhaeto-Romance group, also called Ladin, consists of Dolomitic Ladin and Swiss Romansh. This, therefore, does not include Friulan, which instead, belongs to the Italo-Romance continuum, a territory on which the dialects evolved *in loco* starting from Latin are linked together by a “chain of intercomprehensibility”. Friulan itself can internally be further divided into different varieties, briefly mentioned in Loporcaro (2009) and illustrated in Fig.2.2 below.

Starting with Tagliavini (1934) and Battisti (1938, 1969), a set of features allegedly belonging to the unitary Rhaeto-Romance group was cautiously analyzed and demonstrated that the whole range of dialects in question showed only a few common and exclusive characteristics, whereas the majority of the listed features were closely related to neighbouring Lombard and Venetian varieties.

Pellegrini (1982, 1987, 1991), who taught Ladin linguistics at the University of Padua, further strengthened the opinion of his predecessors (later followed by his students, Paola Benincà and Laura Vanelli from Padua) and

⁸Ladin is used as an umbrella term, comprising Romansh and Western-Friulan varieties.

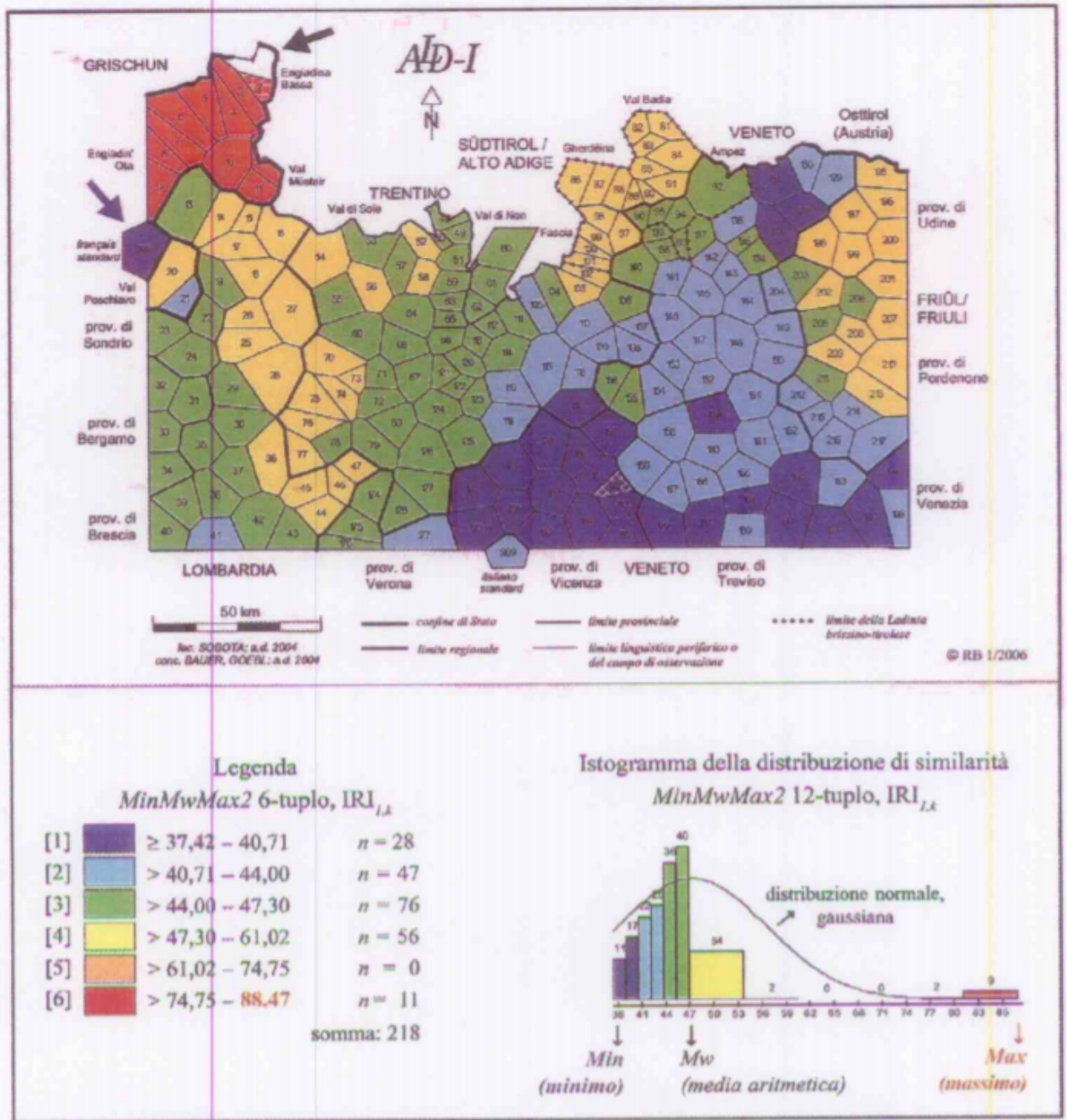


Figure 2.1: Chart of shared features (Bauer 2007:68)

heavily criticized the first attempts of establishing a Rhaeto-Romance unity in multiple occasions. Indeed, in his answer to Rohlfs (1981)⁹, Pellegrini points out that there does not seem to be a clear distinction between Rhaeto-Romance and northern Italian. What Pellegrini (1982) proposes instead, is an intermediate position between Gallo-Italic and Gallo-Romance, but also adds that such a definition is not very precise on a diachronic level. The following features were listed by Ascoli (1873) as belonging to Rhaeto-Romance (including Friulan) and later examined and criticized in Pellegrini (1982, 1991) and Loporcaro (2009):

- the conservation of the Latin consonant *-l-*, as in Friul. [kla:f] ‘key’;
- the conservation of the final *-s* in nominal and verbal inflection, such as Friul. [tu dwarmis] ‘you sleep’ or [paris] ‘fathers’;
- the use of the nominative 1st and 2nd person clitics, rather than full pronominal forms EGO and TU.

Such features are also identifiable in Venetian (the conservation of the consonant *-l-*, e.g. *clave* and the final *-s*, as in *debis*, and even more in the entire northern area of Italy, which in its old form had the pronouns *ego* and *tu*, that turned into clitics during the Renaissance period, as Loporcaro (2009) points out. Nonetheless, Pellegrini himself admits that certain proposals of isoglosses do not stand up to a more careful examination. However, he adds that two out of these three areas are today Italian in a political-administrative sense, but only Friulian, whose partition is illustrated in Fig.2.2 has a unique relationship with Italian, being a *Dachsprache*¹⁰, whereas Graubünden has had an orientation towards the Germanic linguistic and cultural area for centuries. According to Pellegrini (1982), the Graubünden (Grigioni/Grisons) presents the influence of the ancient Cisalpine stream, the ancient dependence on the Milan diocese and also lexical influences from the North-West and France. The affinities between the Graubünden and the Lombard languages at the lexical and phonetic level can be traced back to pre-Roman times (Stampa, 1937 - a contribution to the pre-Roman vocabulary of Lombard-Alpine and Roman dialects). However, all three languages under examination, i.e. Ladin, Romansh

⁹First version in German released in 1952 in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.

¹⁰This sociolinguistic terminology was created by Kloss (1978) (the first edition was, however, published in 1952), but it is properly explained in Muljačić (1982, 1986, 1989). Precisely, *Dachsprache* stands for an “umbrella” language or a “roofing” language, i.e. a variety used as a standard language over other dialects.

and Friulan, are peripheral varieties of the Cisalpine area in Pellegrini's view and as such, they should be treated individually. Similarities which can be noticed on a horizontal level, i.e. features which are assumed to belong the Rhaeto-Romance group, are considered as conservative features of the overall northern area.

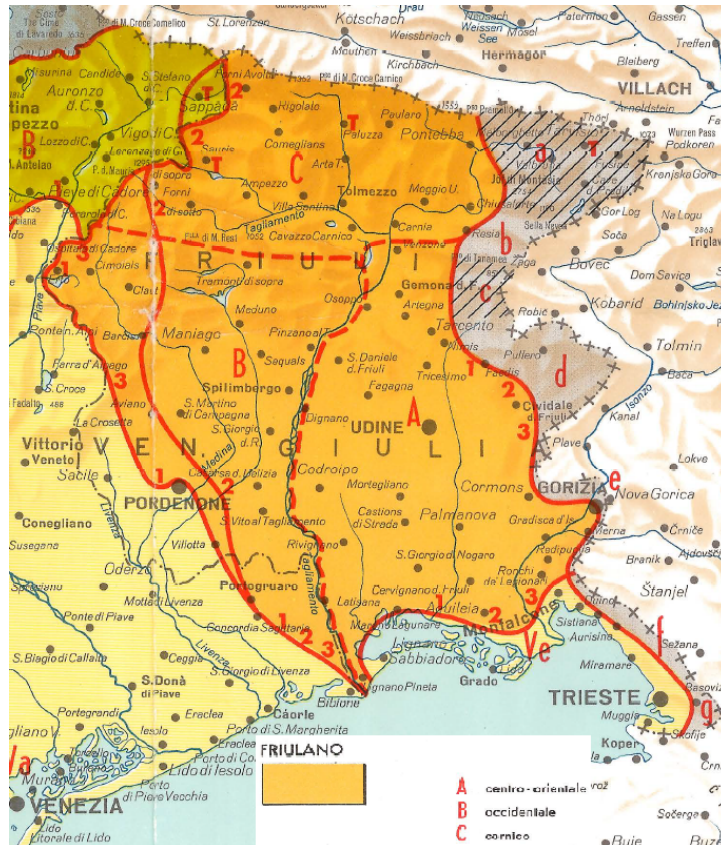


Figure 2.2: Internal partition of Friulan varieties according to Pellegrini (1977)

2.1.3 Discussion

To sum up both proposals and ideas of the “unitarian” and “negationist” sides, which internally present different opinions, we should note that both approaches certainly provide useful information for better understanding of the Romance-speaking Alpine area. What we can extrapolate from these two approaches, if mainly taking into consideration Goebel (1978, 1981, 1984), Bauer (2003, 2007, 2010, 2014) and Pellegrini (1977, 1982, 1987, 1991), is a confirmation of a connection between Swiss Romansh, Ladin and Friulan, however, on

different levels. The two models of analysis adopt different strategies, thus, providing different results. On the one hand, the investigation of systematic phonetic correspondences conducted by Italian dialectologists is meant to determine any genealogical relatedness. This comparative method resulted in attributing to Ladin, Swiss Romansh and Friulan an individual status, failing to confirm any kinship bond between the three varieties. On the other hand, the dialectometric approach provides proof of an areal connection, but does not give an insight into the genealogy of Rhaeto-Romance¹¹.

An additional critical approach can be found in (Loporcaro, 2009:22-26,66-69), who tried to trace the timeline and to reconsider the dimension of the analyzed linguistic entities. He identifies a problem in putting the Gallo-Romance dialects and Ladin on the same level, as they represent two different levels of analysis. In other words, entities found on the axis of variation cannot be compared to an entity which can be regarded as a unity. On the contrary, only corresponding entities can be examined in contrast.

He also criticizes the dialectometrical approach, which is not based on “real” linguistic data and states that:

“Prodotto estremo della prospettiva geolinguistica è la dialettometria, metodo per la misurazione e la cartografazione della distanza strutturale fra dialetti [...]. È da sottolineare che la dialettometria nega statuto di scientificità (cfr. Goebel 2003:634-635) ad ogni considerazione della variazione dialettale che prescindendo da tale elaborazione cartografica sistematica. I risultati degli studi dialettometrici sono interessanti e rivelatori, benché resti - a parere di chi scrive - un’aporia di fondo: si tratta dell’elaborazione sistematica di un input asistemico. Gli atlanti costituiscono infatti una raccolta di risposte che rappresentano atti di parole. Non vi è contenuta alcuna analisi del sistema (langue) delle singole varietà. Se ne deduce che, a rigore, la dialettometria misura distanze “strutturali” senza passare per una razionalizzazione della struttura linguistica. In altre parole, la cartografazione è fondamentale, l’analisi della struttura è secondaria.”¹²

¹¹Additional and more detailed information on “questione ladina” can be found in Vanelli (2004) and Heinemann (2015)

¹²The extreme product of the geolinguistic perspective is the dialectometry, a method for measuring and mapping the structural distance among dialects [...]. It should be noted that dialectometry denies the status of scientificity to any consideration on the dialectal variation that is independent of this systematic cartographic elaboration. The results of the dialectometric studies are interesting and revealing, although it remains - in the opinion of the writer - an issue: it is the systematic elaboration of an asystematic input. The atlases in fact constitute a collection of responses that represent acts of *parole*. There is no analysis of the system (*langue*)

As indicated by the above citation, Loporcaro's criticism states that the methodology of the dialectometrical approach consists of a "systematic elaboration of a non systematic input". In other words, linguistic atlases are sets of acts of *parole*¹³ and as such, do not provide any analysis of the systems (*langue*) of the target varieties. What this methodology provides is the cartographic mapping of the varieties in examination, but it lacks a systematic analysis of the data. Therefore, this approach does not seem to provide a solution to the genealogical issue of the *questione ladina*, but it rather gives an insight into the linguistic area.

In addition to Loporcaro's comments, it is necessary to point out that neither the unitarian nor the negationist side present a vision of a whole, but are rather vague in this respect.

Firstly, it appears to be obscure what a continuum is and how both approaches define it. A *continuum* can be formed in synchrony by means of contact, but also diachrony through different stages of change of a (set) of variet(ies).

Secondly, both approaches have their own claim on the existence of a group named Rhaeto-Romance. However, there is no mention of where this Rhaeto-Romance could or should be placed within the genealogical tree. Is it a subgroup of the Indo-European family? Is it a subtype of the Italic group? Is it to be assumed as an additional branch of Latin, which, therefore, is parallel to Romance languages or is it more ancient and as such, parallel to Latin? Such questions might appear to be too simplistic, but are a necessary basis for any further analysis. In fact, this introductory consideration on the derivation of the Rhaeto-Romance group could be placed in a pre-Romance or in a Romance period. By placing the group in a pre-Romance (i.e. Latin) period, it could be supposed that a possible basic linguistic system of Rhaeto-Romance was a mixed language which resulted from language contact between Rhaetian¹⁴ and a Latin. In such a case, the Rhaeto-Romance in the making would have been a contemporary language to Latin. If, on the other hand, Rhaeto-Romance is placed within the Latin group, then an additional consideration on the Celtic substrate is needed. Certain scholars, such as Bossong (2008), place Rhaeto-

of the individual varieties. It follows that dialectometry measures "structural" distances without going through a rationalization of the linguistic structure. In other words, mapping is fundamental, but the structure analysis is secondary.'

¹³*Langue* and *parole* are to be intended in Saussurian terms (cfr. de Saussure 1916).

¹⁴It must be noted that our knowledge of Rhaetic/Rhaetian is rather limited. Indeed, there are approx. 280 inscriptions, therefore, a hypothesis along these lines would be difficult to substantiate.

Romance within the group of Romance languages, next to Portuguese, Catalan, Occitan, etc. The *Glottolog* online atlas¹⁵ provides a more detailed, but very different genealogy by placing Friulan, Ladin, Romansh and Oil¹⁶ within the same Gallo-Rhaetian subgroup, which is part of the larger Romance group:

Indo-European
 Italic
 Latino-Faliscan
 Latinic
 Imperial Latin
 Romance
 Italo-Western-Romance
 Western-Romance
 Shifted Western Romance
 Northwestern Shifted Romance
 Gallo-Rhaetian
 Friulan
 Ladin
 Oil
 Romansh

The multiplicity of possible combinations shows uncertainty and a possible lack of necessary features in order to locate our set of varieties within the tree and to establish an uncontroversial genealogy.

Lastly, the features listed by Ascoli as to belonging to this unifying Rhaeto-Romance group can be directly projected into the Indo-European perspective, especially when it comes to the use of the sigmatic plural. This feature is normally used to make a distinction between eastern and western Romance languages, but it does not provide any information on the dynamics of Friulan, Ladin and Romansh. On the contrary, the investigation on the *-nd-* suffix of the verbal adjective might provide hints on the chronology of the suffix itself, on the functions covered by it and on its development in our varieties as its behavior and appearance are more subtle than the ones of the sigmatic plural. This examination will follow in the coming chapters.

¹⁵Retrieved from <https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/oila1234>

¹⁶Oil is currently spoken in France and Italy, but also in (former) French colonies across the world, according to *Glottolog*. It further subdivides into Central Oil (Cajun French, Macro-French and Picard), Francoprovençal, Old French and Walloon.

2.2 Language policy and sociolinguistic background

In this section I will portray the geographic and linguistic landscape of the main areas of interest with the addition of a brief overview of language policy. This furnishes a revealing insight into the societies of minorities and provides a solid ground for the following chapters based on fieldwork and corpus data.

The sociolinguistic background turns out to be relatively complex and quite diverse among the three macro areas. The population in all three areas is aware of the existence of a minority language, yet the attitude towards it and the actual use are quite divergent. We will examine each area in turn. To begin with Friulan, we note that the speakers completely identify themselves with their own language and culture. We find both older and younger speakers, which should indicate continuity and existence of the language, at least when it comes to orality. According to ARLeF (*Agenzie Regionâl pe lenghe furlane*), Friulan is spoken in 173 municipalities in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region and in 3 additional municipalities in the Veneto region. However, the precise number of speakers is unknown, although already in Francescato (1989) we find observations of a constant decrease in the number of speakers and of the “quality” of the spoken Friulan. In his view, it is a fundamental task of the schooling system to preserve the language.¹⁷

The overall written production in Friulan seems to be somewhat limited, as we find journals discussing matters related to Friuli as a region¹⁸ (e.g. *Sot la Nape* or *Friûl*¹⁹) or scientific journals discussing linguistic issues related to Friulan (*Ce fastu?*²⁰), though almost entirely written in Italian. The only journal entirely published in Friulan to my knowledge is *LA PATRIE DAL FRIÛL*²¹, which publishes 11 issues per year²². Among literary works, it is worth mentioning *Contecurte - Ostarie leterarie di pocjis peraulis*²³, a modern platform which publishes short stories in Friulan and aims at contributing to the spread of Friulan

¹⁷A detailed sociolinguistic overview of the Friulan area can be found in Pecile (2018)

¹⁸An exhaustive list of journals related to Friuli and to the Friulan culture which are not published any longer can be found at <http://periodicifriulani.sbhu.it/>

¹⁹*Friûl* is a unique special edition, published in 2019 by the Friulan Philological Society for its 100th anniversary.

²⁰Both journals are published once per year by the Friulan Philological Society and can respectively be found at <http://www.filologicafriulana.it/publicazioni/sot-la-nape-1838/> and <http://www.filologicafriulana.it/ce-fastu/>

²¹<http://www.lapatriedalfriul.org/>

²²It is also worth mentioning *Gjornâl Furlan des Siencis*, a Friulan scientific journal which used to be published twice per year up to 2018.

²³<https://www.contecurte.eu/>

literacy.

The recognition of the Friulan language is regulated by the regional law 15/95 and by the subsequent 482/99 national law. In addition, the Friulan flag (Fig.2.3) is protected by the article 2 of the 6/2001 regional law, whereas road signs, which are bilingual in Italian and Friulan, are regulated by the L.R. 29/2007 in order to fully respect the regional toponymy.



Figure 2.3: The flag of Friuli - a golden heraldic eagle on light blue background

Remarkably, out of the three areas, Ladin Valleys are surely the best example of preservation of both language and culture. The language is being cultivated by all generations, who not only refer to it as Ladin, but the speakers also recognize and are aware of their local varieties, whose distribution is illustrated in Fig.2.4.

It is important to mention that according to the results of the *Survey Ladins*, a sociolinguistic study conducted on language attitude in Ladin valleys, the speakers tend to restrict Ladin to personal and family contexts (Rasom, 2006), whereas German and Italian dominate in reading and writing. Nonetheless, much of the promotional work is done by the cultural institutes, particularly by the Ladin Institute “Micurà de Rù”, which also organizes promotional events of books²⁴ related to the Dolomites. Ladin can easily be heard in any of the valleys and it is constantly present in the daily life. It is protected by the 482/99 law on the safeguard of the historical linguistic minorities.

According to Belardi (1994) and Fiorentini (2017), there are no monolingual Ladin speakers. Starting from the 20th century, Ladin territories have moved towards a context of *diglossia* or *polyglossia*. What is more, nowadays any public working position in Val Badia and Val Gardena requires an Italian-

²⁴One of the recent events was the presentation of the new Gardenesse grammar, *Gramatica Ladin Gherdëina*, by Marco Forni, organized by the *Istitut Ladin Micurà de Rù* - 29.11.2019.



Figure 2.4: The internal partition of Ladin²⁵

German-Ladin certificate of trilingualism, according to the D.P.R. 752/76 law, whereas a high proficiency of Ladin and Italian is required in Val di Fassa. After conducting fieldwork in several Ladin areas, my general impression is that Ladin speakers in Val Badia have a high proficiency of German and Italian, whereas speakers of Val di Fassa have a very high proficiency in Italian.

When it comes to the written production in Ladin, the local newspaper *La Usc di Ladins*²⁶ is surely a valuable resource and an important reference, as it contains general articles related to all the valleys in Standard Ladin, in addition to targeted articles in local sub-varieties. Another important source is the *Calènder Ladin*²⁷, a yearly publication of the annual calendar, along with poems and short stories. Concerning literary production, a detailed and exhaustive list incorporating authors from all the Ladin valleys can be found in Bernardi (2002).

Ladins also have their own flag unifying all the valleys (Fig. 2.5). The colours of the flag symbolize the nature of the valleys, the blue colour standing for the sky, the white standing for the snow and the green symbolizing the woods and the lawns. It uniquely represents the Ladin community (the Trentino-Alto Adige regional flag is different), but is not regulated by specific

²⁶Available both online at <https://www.lausc.it/> and in a paper version.

²⁷The 1962-2012 can be found at <http://www.ladinart.org/calenderladin.html>

laws. There do not seem to be specific regulations when it comes to bilingual/multilingual signs in Ladin areas. The national and regional regulations mention German-Italian bilingual signs whose font size needs to be equal, whereas the order is indifferent, but there is no indication of Ladin. Therefore, the self-regulation of this aspect is up to single municipalities²⁸. Normally, larger road signs are trilingual (Italian/German/Ladin), whereas smaller signs are usually



Figure 2.5: The Ladin flag

bilingual (Ladin-Italian in Val di Fassa and Ladin-German in Val Badia and Val Gardena). Rarely, it is possible to spot purely Ladin-written signs, typically signaling smaller streets.

Contrarily, the position of Swiss Romansh is nowhere near the other languages discussed here. According to the Swiss Federal Office for Statistics, only 15,4% of the inhabitants of Kanton Graubünden have Romansh as their “main language”²⁹. The speakers label their language as “Raetoromanisch” or “Bündnerromanisch”, not taking into account its sub-varieties. In fact, both the peripheral and the central area of Kanton Grischun appear to be very germanized, as already noted by Grünert *et al.* (2008). The current state, however, does not mirror the political and institutional status of Swiss Romansh. Indeed, some major institutions in Chur bear a trilingual sign, yet others, e.g. the police station in Chur, are exclusively represented in German. Such aspects, i.e. road signs and a flag, are not regulated by specific laws in the Grisons, indicating that the linguistic factor is not a differentiation factor.

Romansh gained the official recognition as the fourth federal language in Switzerland next to Swiss German, French and Italian in 1996, although it was first recognized by the Swiss Federation in 1938. Despite relatively low percent-

²⁸Bortolotti & Videsott (2011) provide a good overview of the Ladin (and specifically Fassano) toponymy, also mentioning different appellatives on road signs.

²⁹https://www.atlas.bfs.admin.ch/maps/13/fr/14114_3078_10470/22607.html Previously to 1990, it was referred to a *Muttersprache*.

ages of L1 Romansh speakers, the language might be maintained in a more private, family context, despite the overall image appearing as very germanized. Such a scenario is confirmed by Grünert *et al.* (2008), a volume offering a very detailed sociolinguistic analysis of the Graubünden. Specifically, according to Grünert *et al.* (2008), the use of Romansh in a family context is the key to the maintenance of the language, which, as a consequence, gains importance when used in other contexts as well, external to the family nucleus. However, the federal census has shown that the number of speakers decreased between 1990 and 2000 (29.679 / 17,1% of speakers having Romansh as their main language in 1990 -> 27.038 / 14,5% speakers in 2000). What is more, fig. 2.6 (Grünert *et al.* 2008) illustrates a decreasing trend in the use of both Romansh and Italian in the Kanton Graubünden from 1970 to 2000.

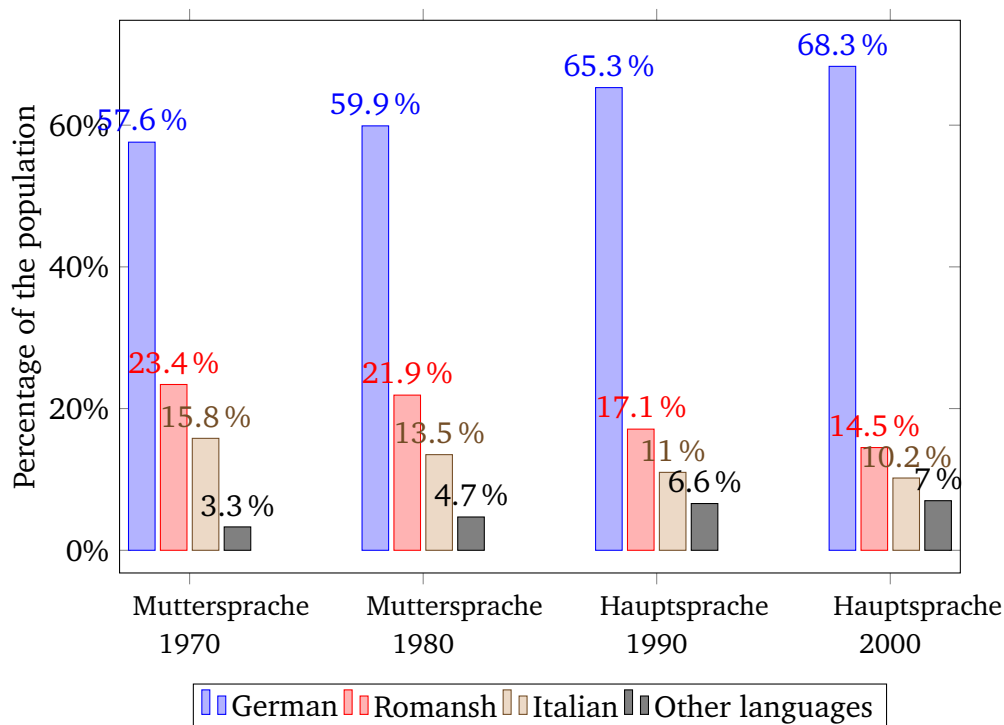


Figure 2.6: Language use in Kanton Grisons

In spite of this germanization of the Kanton Graubünden, the Romansh written sources are quite many. Indeed, we find the local newspaper *La Quotidiana* as the main journalistic publication in Romansh, but also occasional issues of *RTR Accents*³⁰, the journal of the local radio and television. In addition, the

³⁰*RTR Accents* is issued four times per year.

area of Engadina (the yellow area in fig.2.7 below) has its own newspapers, *Engadiner Post*, which is normally published in German, but also includes sporadic Romansh articles. The literary production is also rich. Some of the contemporary stand-out authors are Arno Camenisch³¹, Hedy Imboden-Spescha³², Hendri Spescha³³ and more.



Figure 2.7: The distribution and internal partition of Romansh varieties
Retrieved from: *Bundesamt für Statistik* (BFS), Themakart

³¹<https://arnocamenisch.ch/>

³²<http://www.imbodenspescha.ch/>

³³<http://www.hendrispescha.ch/>

2.2.1 Attempts of standardization of Ladin, Romansh and Friulan

All three areas of interest have eventually faced a common challenge: the process of standardization, or better, attempts of standardization. The choice of a unique model is a demanding and complex task. This ‘standard’ cannot prevail over the existing set of subvarieties, but rather to act as a gluing artificial superstrate, used in public communication and official acts. Following Haugen (1983)³⁴, the scheme for creating and actualizing a standardized variety consists of the following steps:

1. the choice of a norm, i.e. the selection of a variety that will prevail over other (sub)varieties;
2. the codification of the graphic system and the normativization of the lexicon;
3. the actualization of the process of standardization, i.e. the territorial diffusion and acceptance by the community;
4. the elaboration and change in time of the standard variety.

Note that Haugen (1983) does not mention the standardization of an oral variety, but only refers to the written language in his second point in the list. Let us now examine the outcome of this process in the three Alpine areas.

The project of creating a unified, standardized Ladin was first proposed in 1988 by two cultural institutes, namely “Micurà de Rü” and “Majon of Fascegn” through the project SPELL (*Servisc de Planificazion y Eleborazion dl Lingaz Ladin*). The idea was to create a supra-dialectal model, common to all the valleys and based on the model of Rumantsch Grischun in Switzerland, hence, the project was commissioned with the same scholar, Heinrich Schmid. As for Rumantsch Grischun, the nucleus of the standardized Ladin was made of a set of features shared by all the varieties (cf. Schmid 2000), such as the use of the sigmatic plural, the use of the imperfect subjunctive as conditional, the conservation of clusters *-pl-*, *-bl-*, *-fl-*, *-cl-*, *-gl-* and more. Apart from the set of common features, Schmid (2000) provides further criteria for the choice of a suitable candidate claiming that:

³⁴The Hungarian translation of the paper is cited in Salamon (2006) and applied to the Friulan and Sardinian context.

“Dove i singoli idiomi divergono viene generalmente preferita la forma che, all'interno dell'area complessiva, gode della maggior diffusione e ha di conseguenza la maggior probabilità di essere accettata senza problemi dalla maggior parte dei ladini (rispettivamente delle valli ladine). Laddove i rapporti di maggioranza si presentano precari e non sufficientemente chiari - cosa che non avviene proprio raramente a causa della complessa articolazione interna del ladino dolomitico e del diverso peso delle singole zone - vengono presi in considerazione ulteriori criteri (chiarezza, facilità di comprensione ecc.).”³⁵

This supra-dialectal variety named Ladin Dolomitan or (later) Ladin Standard, involving the standardization of the writing system, the grammar and the lexicon was fairly successful. In 2001 the first edition of the *Gramatica dl ladin standard* was published, followed by the *Dizionar dl ladin standard*³⁶, published in 2002. However, the actualization of this project was put to an end when one of the northern valleys, Val Gardena, refused to accept Ladin Standard. As Chiocchetti (2007) points out, such outcome could have been predicted, as there were divergent views since the very beginning of the SPELL project. On one hand, the supporters of the Ladin unity claim that all varieties have equal prestige and importance, whereas the group of negationists, on the other hand, believe that the northern varieties, namely Badiotto and Gardenese, are to be considered as pure and should be the dominant ones when it comes to normativization. Nowadays, Val di Fassa, Val Gardena and Val Badia have their own standardized written varieties, based on one of the internal (sub)varieties, used for official acts and documents.

The idea of creating a unique artificial variety that would somehow merge the five main Romansh varieties spoken in Kanton Grisons (Fig. 2.7) for purposes related to official administrative use was conceived by Lia Rumantscha, an organization promoting Romansh language and culture, and put into practice in 1982 by the philologist Heinrich Schmid, who was a speaker of Romansh himself. This supra-dialectal version called Rumantsch Grischun (RG hereafter) is based on the varieties of Surselvan, Surmiran and Vallader³⁷. The

³⁵The preferred form, in case the individual idioms diverge, is the one that within the overall area is more widespread and is more likely to be accepted by the majority of the Ladins (by the Ladin valleys respectively). When [where] the majority relations are precarious and not sufficiently clear - an event which does not occur rarely due to the complex internal articulation of the Dolomitic Ladin and of the weight of individual areas - further criteria are taken into consideration (clarity, ease of understanding, etc.).’

³⁶Available online at <http://dls.ladintal.it/>

³⁷Vallader is the variety spoken in the Lower Engadine, whereas Puter is the variety of the Upper Engadine.

Sursilvan	Surmiran	Vallader	RG	Proportion
pasch	pasch	pasch	pasch	3:0
viadi	viadi	viadi	viadi	3:0
alv	alv	alb	alv	2:1
notg	notg	not	notg	2:1
sempel	sempel	sempel	sempel	2:1
siat	set	set	set	2:1
ura	oura	ura	ura	2:1
fil	feil	fil	fil	2:1
cudisch	codesch	cudesch	cudesch	2:1

Table 2.1: Set of Romansh cognates

resulting set of features was chosen by a ‘majority rule’ (cf. Anderson 2016) and by minimizing irregularity. This means that the winner is chosen according to the written form shared by the majority of the cognates, as in 2.1 (cf. Gross 1999). RG has had a considerable success as it is the official language of the Kanton Graubünden, along with German and Italian and is also used in the schooling system. According to Roseano (2010:10), RG currently has a written form, but a standardized oral version is in the making, even to this day.

Friulan has, according to Martinis (2019:11-27), always been able to maintain its vitality, by resisting to “external” influence, such as Venetan. It has lost ground in peripheral and urban areas in favor of “socially stronger” varieties, but it survives in rural contexts and mountain areas. Martinis (2019:11-27) claims that there are ca.500.000 L1 Friulan speakers in the region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, excluding all the L1 Friulan and heritage Friulan speakers currently living abroad. In order to understand the present-day situation, it is necessary to take a step back and examine the dynamics of official nature and promotion of Friulan (cf. Frau 2006 for a good overview of the standardization of Friulan and language planning). After the regional 15/1996 law and the national 482/1999 law on the legal protection of Friulan (among other minority languages existing on Italian territory) the OLF (Regional observatory of Friulan language and culture) identified 3 main domains in order to implement the above-mentioned laws, i.e. by working on 1) the standardization of Friulan, 2) a Friulan schooling system and 3) the advertising of the Friulan linguistic status (cf. Frau 2002). In 2019, 57,2% out of the 463 interviewees claimed to actively speak Friulan (in contrast to the 75% of active speakers in the province of Udine in 1977), according to Picco (2001:23-63).

Several scholars (Roseano 2010; Turello 2015, among others) claim that the process of standardization of Friulan could be further improved. As of today, there seem to be three main concerns regarding the outcome of the Friulan standardization. They regard: 1. the writing system, 2. the grammar, 3. the oral language.

After multiple attempts of normativization³⁸ dating before 1996, the current official writing system is criticized for “excessive purism” on one hand and for leading towards an “italianization” of Friulan, on the other hand. The official writing system was forged according to the following criteria (cfr. Turello 2015:516-517):

1. it has to take into account different varieties;
2. it has to be functional;
3. it has to respect the Friulan tradition;
4. it needs to avoid possible clashes or similarities to Italian;
5. it needs to have a high correspondence between signs and sounds.

The current official writing system is contained in Lamuela (1987), designed on the basis of the literary *koiné* which reflects the features of the Central Friulan (of the Udine area). However, the newspapers and journals using the official writing system are very few. Journals which do not opt for the official writing often end up including elements belonging to the Italian writing system, e.g. *genâr* ‘January’ instead of *Zenâr*.

Unlike the writing system, which has a standardized form, there is no Friulan grammar that is considered standard. There exist, however, various editions of grammars, such as the 2008 edition of the *Gramatiche de lenghe furlane* by Fausto Zof and *Scrivi par furlan* by Paolo Roseano and Anna Madriz, published by the Friulan Philological Society in 2017, as the latest issues. The latter can probably be considered the main reference when it comes to providing a good and relatively detailed description of the language. This specific issue is the

³⁸A good overview of the main stages and versions of the Friulan writing system, which were often competing with one another, can be found in Turello (2015). He lists and describes: the writing system of the *Vocabolario friulano* created by J. Pirona and published in 1871; the proposal by Ugo Pellis (director of the Friulan Philological Society in 1921) of establishing the *Norme per la grafia Friulana*; Marchetti’s 1952 reform; the proposal by Francescato (1967) for a precise, logical and symmetrical writing system; and the writing system of the *Vocabolario della lingua friulana* by Giorgio Faggin, published in 1985.

result of “didactic laboratories” conducted in various locations in Friuli in order to contribute to the spread of Friulan literacy. Nevertheless, the main issue lies in the choice of variety (or model). As Turello (2015:520) points out, there are three types of Friulan: 1. Friulan spoken in the area of Udine, 2. the literary *koiné* developed in the last two centuries, 3. the “common” language. The regional 29/2007 law imposes the use of the “common” language for official acts and documents, however, since there is no official norm of the “common” language, Lamuela (1987) is still used as the main reference.

Roseano (2010) criticizes the approach to the standardization which lays in the prestige of literary texts and is exclusively restricted to the written language. Although already in 1990, 73,4% of the Friulan population affirmed not to read any Friulan texts at all (Strassoldo 1993, cited in Turello 2015:516, there is no oral standard. Roseano (2010) questions a possible oral norm, as its success and diffusion solely depends on the acceptance and use by Friulans themselves.

2.2.2 The schooling system

Another crucial aspect to examine in order to have a complete picture of the status of the varieties of interest is the schooling system. Unlike in previous sections, I will not go into detail and I will not digress on previous stages, but rather describe the current situation which could prove to be useful in the understanding of certain dynamics in the following chapters related to fieldwork data gathered in schools.

The integration of Friulan within the schooling system is regulated by the national 482/1999 law and by the regional 29/2007 law. Schooling activities, specifically referring to compulsory education³⁹, are organized by the Regional school office on a yearly basis by gathering students interested in learning Friulan and suitable and available lecturers to teach Friulan language and/or culture. The targets for the teaching of Friulan are kindergartens, primary schools and middle schools⁴⁰ and activities obviously vary according to the targeted level, ranging from playful activities in kindergartens to didactic activities aiming to strengthen writing skills of the ‘common language’ through the production of texts in middle schools. Moreover, the enhancement of a metalinguistic competence, the basic study of etymology and comparisons between Friulan and Italian (or other studied languages) are encouraged in middle schools Burelli (2015:581). However, the same author claims that the teaching of cultural

³⁹Italian government imposes a 10-year compulsory education between the age of 6 and 16.

⁴⁰Middle school is the first stage of the secondary education in Italy. It lasts three years, from the age of 11 to 14.

aspects often prevails over the teaching of language. This schooling system, as it can be noticed, does not provide for schooling curricula in Friulan, but rather the teaching of Friulan language and culture as an extra subject, which cannot be inferior to 30 hours per year. Starting from 2008 (after the promulgation of the regional 29/2007 law), instead, the regional authority switched to the *CLIL* (Content and Language Integrated Learning) method, which supports a more blended approach to language teaching by merging the content with the linguistic component. In addition, the teaching of Friulan is extended to adults and non-compulsory education through the offer of additional training initiatives. All the informational and promotional work, the organization of training sessions for teachers and the collection and distribution of materials are carried out by *Docuscuele*, the documentation center for research and didactic experimentation for the Friulian school - a project implemented by the Friulan Philological Society.

According to the Regional school office, more than half of the students from the provinces of Gorizia, Udine and Pordenone are interested in learning Friulan in school (cf. Sguerzi 2006; Perini 2011; Burelli 2015). The latest data related to the academic year 2019/2020⁴¹ shows that 67% (37.327 out of 55.654) of pre-CLIL students⁴² from the entire Friuli-Venezia Giulia region adhered to the teaching of Friulan. The province having the largest number of adherents is Udine, where 73% (31.630 out of 43.197) students chose to study Friulan, compared to Pordenone with 46% (4.383 out of 9.455) of students and to Gorizia with 44% (1.314 out of 3,002) of students. The overall number of CLIL students⁴³ is higher, having 76% of students (29.992 out of 39.267) studying Friulan within the CLIL project, 81% (25.084 out of 30.797) in the province of Udine, 61% (1.232 out of 2.021) in Gorizia and 57% (3.676 out of 6.449) in Pordenone respectively.

The situation in Ladin valleys is relatively different, if compared to Friulan. Just as with the standardization of language, the schooling system varies across the valleys. I will mainly refer to the schooling system in Val Badia, Val Gardena and Val di Fassa, as both the literature and my personal experience are related to these three areas.

The schooling organization is regulated by the 482/1999 law which imposes the use of the local minority language in education. Although all the valleys respect local and national regulations, the difference in their actualization is

⁴¹Retrieved from <https://arlef.it/lenghe-e-culture/scuele/>

⁴²This data refers to kindergartens, primary schools and middle schools.

⁴³The data related to the post-29/2007 law concern kindergartens and primary schools exclusively.

of considerable importance. Just as in Friuli, the regulations establish Ladin schooling for mandatory education, however, Ladin teaching is kept in local high schools as well in the form of CLIL. Students in Val Badia and Val Gardena are exposed to an “equal” schooling system, providing lectures in German and Italian, in addition to the local variety, which is used to a greater extent in the first grade of the primary school in order to facilitate the transition from the language spoken at home to a multilingual environment in school. The layout of the first grade in primary school is the only difference between these two valleys. Primary school students in Val Badia immediately start with a trilingual setting, although there is no use of written German, which is only introduced orally. On the contrary, first grade students in Val Gardena can choose between two curricula: Ladin-Italian and Ladin-German. Furthermore, the third language (either Italian or German) is practiced once per week. Starting from the second grade, students in both valleys have an equal number of subjects taught in German and Italian and in addition, two hours of Ladin language and culture per week. Two additional hours of English per week are added in third grade. Middle schools and high schools in both northern valleys share the program, which maintains the equal partition of subjects taught in German and Italian. In addition, there are 2 lessons of Ladin language and culture per week, along with 3 lessons of English. Art schools, unlike any other school in Ladin valleys, are the only exception having curricula that do not require the teaching of Ladin.

To sum up, school curricula in both Val Badia and Val Gardena⁴⁴ require the use of Italian and German when teaching regular subjects, plus the Ladin language and culture as a subject on its own, along with English.

Val di Fassa offers a more blended version of the CLIL project. This form provides 1 hour of curricular Ladin language and culture per week, whereas all the remaining subjects are taught in Ladin, Italian, German and English and are split in equal parts. This specific curriculum was limited to primary and middle school, but was supposed to be extended to high schools as well. Current high school curricula, however, do not propose the language-content integration of Ladin. Just as in the northern valleys, Ladin is not taught in art schools. Nonetheless, school curricula in Val di Fassa might be changed in the nearest future due to the removal of the obligation of the CLIL project in the province of Trento (December 2019).

When it comes to the teaching of Ladin in Val di Fassa, it should be mentioned

⁴⁴A good overview of the schooling system in Ladin valleys, with particular emphasis on Val Gardena, is provided by Colla (2017).

that this valley adopts *Cazet*, the standardized version of the local variety, to the detriment of *Brach* and *Moenese*. This causes certain issues for students who are speakers of the latter and who struggle with this *Dachsprache* which is in some aspects distant from their own variety (cf. Rasom 2011).

The schooling system in Switzerland is regulated by the BR 421.010 law. Nevertheless, each canton can shape the school apparatus in its own way, as long as the basic federal rules are respected. The overall picture of the Kanton Graubünden appears to be more complex than the one of other cantons. As previously mentioned, the Grisons has three official languages (Swiss German, Italian and Romansh), therefore it allows for German-speaking, Italian-speaking and Romansh-speaking schools (Fig. 2.8), in addition to a few schools offering bilingual curricula (mainly German-Romansh).

Articles 30 and 31 of the 421.000 school law provide some further details on the language use in schools. There is no mention of any “hybrid” curricula, however, primary and secondary schools need to guarantee the teaching of two foreign languages, one of them being a cantonal language (starting from the 3rd grade) and the other one being English (starting from the 5th grade). Apart from such broad regulations, there is neither obligation nor indication on the choice of languages. This means that the local community can decide whether to activate a specific curriculum or not. Due to the ongoing germanization of the Grisons, the decisions taken by the community could not assist and preserve Romansh in certain areas. What is more, peripheral areas seem to struggle with maintaining the Romansh schooling, due to low numbers of students with adequate proficiency. It appears that only two to three proficient students per class are not a sufficient number in order to activate the Romansh curriculum. This leaves peripheral areas, such as the area of Sils, uncovered from Romansh schooling.

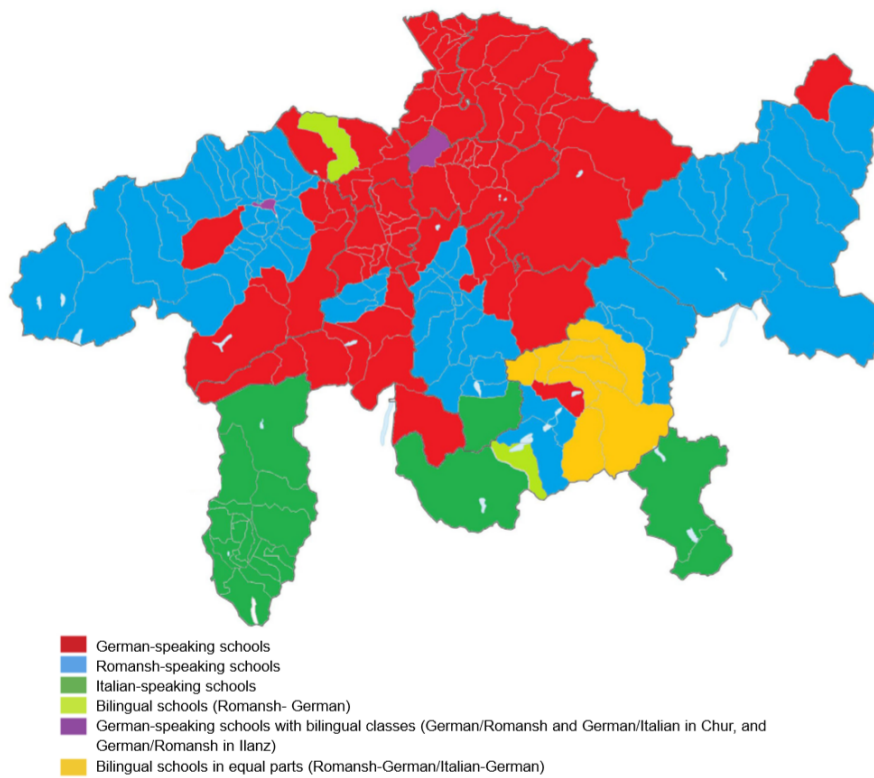


Figure 2.8: School types in the Grisons according to Gross (2017:13)

3

The diachrony of gerund from Latin to Romance

This chapter will focus on the history of the gerund by tracing its development from a pre-Latin period to Ladin, Romansh and Friulan. After a broad discussion in the introductory chapter on the problematic label which links a variety of functions and more or less syncretic forms such as that of the PDE *-ing* to the gerund, I will focus on the history of this category in a restricted environment of the Romance languages to provide some further clues on the metalinguistic notion of the gerund. The typological description highlights remarkable variation in both the use and the form of this category, therefore I will define a set of semantic values expressed by the gerund in Classical Latin to disambiguate and subsequently illustrate the relevant morphological structures. The same pattern will be repeated for the main stages of the development of Romance and, more precisely, Rhaeto-Romance by investigating the expression of specific semantics functions in Late and Vulgar Latin, Old Italian and Old French and in Romansh, Ladin and Friulan. Specifically, in section 1, I examine the category of gerund in the IE perspective in order to discuss its origin from ancient Indo-European languages. Section 2 illustrates gerunds in Classical, Vulgar and Late Latin, also exploring possible overlapping structures. Section 3 explores gerundial functions in Old Romance, whereas section 4 of this chapter provides an account of the literature on older stages of Rhaeto-Romance.

3.1 The origin of the Latin gerund

The origin of the Romance gerund is a puzzle, which still needs to be solved. Numerous scholars (Horton-Smith 1894, 1895, 1897; Aalto 1949 and many more) have attempted to solve it, by mainly referring to the Latin data. Jeffers & Kantor (1984), who worked on Sanskrit instead, claim that the category of gerund cannot be projected into PIE, as it is an innovation of later stages. Indeed, that of the gerund could be a novel category of Latin or Italic as there are no directly comparable verbal categories in other IE languages. In the following subsections I list the main proposals by exploring the etymology of the suffix *-nd-*, shared by the categories of the gerund and the gerundive. I also attempt to understand whether scholars give priority to one category and I investigate some competing constructions to the Latin gerund.

3.1.1 Etymology of the Latin suffix *-nd-*

The first two articles on the origin of the Latin gerund and gerundive, which share the suffix *-nd-* were published by Edwin W. Fay and Lionel Horton-Smith in 1894, presenting two different explanations for the provenance of the suffix *-nd-*. According to Fay (1894), the Latin suffix *-dae*, as in e.g. *ferendae*, derives from **-dhi* (e.g. Skr. **bharadhi*). In addition, he claims that there might be a syntactic correlation between the Sanskrit dative infinitive construction and a Latin dative gerund + ACC. that can become a dative of “both gerundive and governed noun”. This would be confirmed by the fact that the Sanskrit object noun is attracted into the dative case and such correspondence cannot be unnoticed. On the other hand, Horton-Smith (1894, 1895, 1897) does not agree with this theory, due to consequences that E. W. Fay might not have foreseen. Indeed, his claim does not take into account any Osco-Umbrian forms, which have little to do with the suffix *-dh-*, despite the extensive contact and genealogical relatedness between Oscan, Umbrian and Latin (Adams *et al.*, 2003:112-158). In fact, according to Weiss (2009:443-444) and others, the gerund/gerundive represents a common Italic innovation, which is reflected in Oscan *úpsannúm* ‘faciendum’, Umbrian *pelsans* ‘sepliendus’, where *-nd-* has developed into *-nn-*.⁴⁵

With regard to the etymology of the suffix *-nd-*, Aalto (1949) expresses his dissatisfaction with the results of the comparative method and believes that the only possible origin of the suffix must be *-n/m + d*. Indeed, certain Latin nouns

⁴⁵This suggestion is also found in some very early literature on the matter, such as Buck (1904:181).

and adjectives in *-nd-*, such as *crepundia* and *larunda*, allegedly of Etruscan origin (cf. also Leumann (1977)), may be examined in contrast to the apparent closest morphological *comparandum*, namely the Balto-Slavic *-nda* suffix. However, the Balto-Slavic *-nda* only occurs in lexical elements,⁴⁶ and due to the incompatibility of the Latin and Balto-Slavic form, i.e. the two forms do not form a set of cognates, the reconstruction stops at this stage.

More recent publications (for instance, Risch 1984, Meiser 1998 and Jasanoff 2006) are also sceptical about the possibility to reconstruct the suffix for the protolanguage. Among the cited publications, Risch (1984) laid a solid foundation with his monograph where he presented a historical development of the uses of both gerund and gerundive from Old to Vulgar Latin. Along with Sturtevant (1944), he functionally compares the Latin gerundive to the Hittite abstract verbal noun in *-atar*, gen. *-annaš*⁴⁷ < **-atnaš*. According to his approach, Latin *-ndus* comes from the nom. sg. in **-tn-o-s* for a hypothetical derived thematic adjective in **-tn-o-*. This is comparable to the Lithuanian participle of necessity in *-tinas*. He also claims that Latin gerundive suffix *-ndo-* deriving from **-tno-* and Balto-Slavic participle in *-tinas* coming from **-třno* were originally heteroclitic abstract verbal substantives in *-tr-/-tn-*⁴⁸. This explanation would seem to presuppose an earlier stage of a voiceless dental stop + the nasal and a later stage (or potentially multiple stages) of a nasal + a voiced dental. The explanation, as it stands, presumably assumes a **-tn-* to **-nt-* metathesis with a subsequent voicing of the dental occlusive (**-nt-* > **-nd-*). Risch (1984:169-172) does not provide a straightforward explanation for this phonetic change, but rather a series of attestations and reconstructions of the suffix, which are **-tn-*, but also **-dn-* and **-dhn-*, through more or less solid and convincing examples. The metathesis **-nd-* < **-dn-* can be noticed in the comparison with Greek, as in *-unda* < *-udnā*, ἄλωσούδνη, *-nd-* < **-dhn-* in *fundus* < **bhudhnós*, while *-nd-* < **-th-*⁴⁹ can be observed in *pandere* < **patnō*/**patnāmi*. Jasanoff (2006), however, does not consider Risch's proposal to be fully satisfactory and points out several phonological and typolog-

⁴⁶See Bauer (2000:223-257) for a good overview of the nominal forms in Latin.

⁴⁷The genitive expresses necessity, for instance *kuiš arha tarnummaš* 'he who is to be released' (KUB 13.20 i 11; cf. Hoffner & Melchert 2008:331).

⁴⁸From a derivational point of view, **-tn-o* also belongs to the heteroclitic type. This explains the adjectival derivation from the suffix of the indirect cases (*-tn-* vs. *-tar*) of the verbal noun for all the forms.

⁴⁹It must be specified that most current research within PIE phonology does not postulate aspirated voiceless stops of the type **th*, **kh* or **ph* for PIE. Indeed, the LIV (*Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*) reconstructs the root as **peth₂-*, *h₂* being a distinct laryngeal phoneme. The origin of the present form is **pt-né*/*N-h₂-* (N = syllabic nasal).

ical issues. He claims that the only possible connection of this suffix is the one with the Sabellic gerundive. In fact, we find *sakrannas* (Lat. *sacrandae*) ‘to be consecrated’, and *úpsannam* (probably Lat. *operandam*), ‘to be made’ in Oscan and *pihaner* (Lat. *piandi*) ‘to be purified’ and *anferener* (Lat. *(circum)ferendi*) ‘to be purified by going round’ in Umbrian. Because Latin and Osco-Umbrian forms are most likely cognates, respectively having *nd-* and *-n(n)-* as suffixes, it is ineluctable to postulate that the gerundive which is ancestral comes from Proto-Italic.

Two additional important works worth mentioning are Rasmussen (1996) and Meiser (1998). Rasmussen, on one hand, attempts to explain the origin of the Latin gerundive, claiming that it derives from the PIE middle participle in **-m(h₁)nós*. The phonological change from IE **-m(h₁)nós* to *-ndo* is relatively uncomplicated: Rasmussen suggests the deletion or unvocalization of the schwa⁵⁰ and an *-mn-* > *-md-* dissimilation. At a subsequent stage, the final part of the nasal cluster loses a part of its nasality, resulting in *-nd-*. The form **-m(h₁)nós* synchronically maintains the function of a middle participle (e.g. *secundus* ‘second, following’). The gerundive, however, in its meaning of necessity is also found in Sabellian. In fact, according to Meiser (1998:228), we find Umbr. *ocrer pihaner* ‘arcis piandae’ and Osc. *sakrannas* ‘sacrandae’. The summary of the above-listed accounts seems to lead towards the conclusion that the origin of the *-nd-*⁵¹ suffix is not reconstructable for the IE protolanguage, but rather for Italic.

3.1.2 Gerund vs. gerundive

After discussing the phonological issues related to the gerund and the gerundive, I will now focus on the functional dimension. Just like the etymology of the suffix *-ndo*, the issue of gerund continues with the debate on whether the category of gerund derives from gerundive or vice versa. What all scholars agree on is the fact that one of the two categories is anterior to the other. The controversy starts with Aalto (1949) (even though it is mentioned in Horton-Smith (1894), where two separate Indo-European source constructions were identified), who defended the priority of gerund over gerundive. However,

⁵⁰It is worth noting that the schwa represents the regular outcome of the laryngeals occurring between consonants. For this reason, the reconstruction of the middle participle could be **-m(e)n-ó-* as well.

⁵¹Following current PIE research (cf. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*), one now assumes a cluster of stop + laryngeal 2, **t+h₂*, so that the reconstruction of the present stem underlying Latin *pandere* looks like **pt-né/N-h₂-*.

some more recent works claim the opposite, starting with Risch (1984), who gives diachronic priority to the gerundive over the gerund based on a detailed diachronic analysis of the material and analyzes the use of Old and Classical Latin, both through poetry and prose. Gerundive, according to Risch (1984:3-4) is a hyperonym of the gerund with passive diathesis and represents a verbal adjective or a participial formation bearing gender, number and case inflection. Gerund, in turn, developed as a substantival form of the impersonal *us* of the gerundive⁵² (such as *scribundo*), which is analogous to the substantivization of a past participle, like *auspicato*. The meaning of necessity comes from expressions such as *exdeicendum censuere* (SCBacch 3, CIL 581), which is a command. Similarly, according to Meiser (1998), the gerundive is the basis for the development of gerund and its nominative is replaced by the active present infinitive. This last assumption should be somewhat reconsidered, as the gerund itself completes the paradigm of the infinitive. The distribution of the latter was somewhat limited in Latin and the various case forms of the gerund were used in its place, for instance after prepositions.

Another contribution is provided by Jasanoff (2006) who argues that the most important indication revealing priority of gerundive is the existence of adjectival relic forms, such as *-cundus* (e.g. *iracundus*, though the origin of *-cundus* remains shady), *-bundus* (e.g. *moribundus*, most likely deriving from the tense stem with a *b*-future) and *-undus* (lacking the necessitative meaning). However, the origin of Latin gerundive is to be attributed to Proto-Italic adjective of **sekwondos* type, following Jasanoff's approach.

A more recent approach is given by Garnier (2020) who specifically addresses the predecessor of the Latin gerund by relying on Hettrich (1993) and validates his claims through typological correlations. The idea is that the gerundives are generally derived from a verbal noun in oblique case, precisely from a dative of purpose in our case. In fact, the reconstructed Proto-Italic suffix **-ātor* (PIE < **eh₂-tr* could have been used to denote purpose, as in Proto-It. **opesāttan-ei* 'to be built', which originates from a deontic adjective, namely **opesātan-ó-*.

⁵²On this matter Pieroni (2011) discusses a "decomposition" of the subject in relation to the ablative of the gerund. She distinguishes between impersonal and non-impersonal subjects. The former is interpreted independently in regard to the gerundival structure, whereas the latter is related to the gerundial proposition and seeks a "controller" in such constructions. This view could explain the very late use of the gerund with the nominative.

3.2 The gerund in Latin

After having explored the gerund and the gerundive in a pre-Latin context and having determined that the gerund most likely derives from the gerundive, I will now focus on the former category delineating its form and its semantic features in Classical Latin (3.2.1) and Vulgar and Late Latin (3.2.2).

3.2.1 Classical Latin

The gerund in Classical Latin is a verbal noun, the neuter of the gerundive, used substantively in the genitive, dative, accusative, and ablative. Generally, its functions are the following:

1. specification of the predicate in genitive;
e.g. *consilium est aliquid faciendi aut non faciendi excogitata ratio.*
'consilium is a reasoned plan of doing or not doing something'
(Cic. *Inv.* 1, 36; cf. Maltby & Belcher 2013)
2. purpose through dative, though very rare;
e.g. *Ego...Epidicum operam quaerendo dabo.*
'I'll make an effort to find Epidicus'
(Pl. *Epid.* 605; cf. Pinkster 2021:225)
3. direction or purpose via the accusative, when preceded by the preposition *ad*;
e.g. *Quae est enim aut utilior aut ad bene vivendum aptior partitio quam illa, qua est usus Epicurus?*
'for what is more useful or more fitting inheritance for the purpose of living well than that which Epicurus enjoyed?'
(Cic. *Fin.* 1, 45; cf. Maltby & Belcher 2013)
4. adverbial function expressed through the ablative.
e.g. [...] *osculando ego ulciscar potissimum.*
'and that will be my favorite method of revenge - kissing him'
(Pl. *As.* 903; cf. Pieroni 2011)

Syntactically speaking, the gerund expresses active voice and can be formed from all types of verbs, active and deponent. Keeping this schematized view, I will now explore each reading individually, illustrating the expression of specification, purpose and adverbial uses and listing alternative syntactic configurations which may fall within the same semantic domain.

3.2.1.1 Specification

The broad term of specification refers to an epexegetical function, i.e. an explanatory behavior which instantiates a contextually determined relation with the head noun⁵³ or with the matrix clause, for instance *Magnum hoc ego duco, quod placui tibi [...]* (Hor. *Ser.* 1, 6) ‘This I consider important, that you liked me’. This use, as Sæbø (2019) affirms, is polymorphic and can be extended to different levels of logical types. Having such a wide scope, specification may occur at the complement, but also clausal level. This function is generally conveyed through the use of the epexegetical genitive⁵⁴ (ex.1), but it can rarely be encoded in the ablative (ex.2) or accusative⁵⁵ (ex.3) case as well.

- (1) *Aliis ego te virtutibus, continentiae,*
 other.ABL.PL I part. virtue.ABL.PL self-control.GEN.SG
gravitatis, iustitiae, fidei, ceteris
 authority.GEN.SG justice.GEN.SG trust.GEN.SG further.ABL.PL
omnibus, consulatu et omni honore
 all.ABL.PL comfort.SUPPASS and every.ABL.SG respect.ABL.SG
semper dignissimum iudicavi.
 always the_most_deserving.ACC.SG consider/feel.PRF.1SG
 ‘I have always felt that other qualities self-control, dignity, uprightness,
 sense of duty and all the others have made you thoroughly deserving
 of the consulship and every other office.’
 (Cic. *Mur.* 23, 4; cf. Pinkster 2015:1024)
- (2) *sunt enim homines non re sed nomine*
 be.3PL in_fact men.NOM not fact.ABL but name.ABL
 ‘For they are men not in fact, but in name’
 (Cic. *Off.* 1, 105, 10; cf. Key 1846:191)
- (3) *Caput nectentur*
 head.ACC bound.FUT.PASS.3PL
 ‘Their head will be bound’ lit. ‘They will be bound about the head’
 (Verg. *A.* 5, 309)

Nevertheless, when it comes to specification at the clausal level, particularly referring to non-finite structures, the only valid option is the genitive of the

⁵³Cf. Gianollo (2011).

⁵⁴Epexegetical genitives are intended as explanatory genitives (*‘génitif explicatif ou de définition’* in Ernout & Thomas (1951).

⁵⁵The accusative of specification is also called the Greek accusative and is mainly used in poetic contexts.

gerund (4) or the gerundive (5). The two constructions however do not fully overlap in their use as the gerundive always carries a meaning of necessity.

(4) *Vivendi ars est prudentia*
 live.GEN.GER art.NOM is wisdom.NOM
 ‘The wisdom is the art of living’ (Cic. *Fin.* 5, 16, 14)

(5) [...] *quamquam alia ratio scribendae*
 [...] however in_other_way reason.NOM.SG write.GERV.GEN
epistulae fuerit
 letter.GEN.SG be.SBJV.PRF.3SG
 ‘however, the reason to write the letter (of writing the letter) was other’
 (Plin.Iun. *Ep.* 7, 6, 8, 2)

3.2.1.2 Purpose

Purpose is a future-oriented, prospective type of relation and it may be expressed through several structures in Classical Latin. Tab. 3.1 provides an exhaustive list of both finite and non-finite structures expressing this function.

It may be noted from the table that the gerund has quite a few apparent competitors even within the non-finite domain and different genitive, dative and accusative constructions all convey purpose. Nonetheless, the dative gerund is very rare in the Classical literature and in its place the genitive is preferred. The genitive, however, involves an *ablativus causae* to form a final clause, e.g. *Metellus [...] exercitum in provincia [...] hiemandi gratia conlocat.* (Sal. *Iug.* 61, 3, 1) ‘Metellus locates the army in the province in order to pass the winter there.’; therefore these two constructions, i.e. the genitive and the dative ones, are remarkably different from a syntactic point of view. Similarly, the prepositional accusative presents a very specific construction which in addition conveys an indication of a direction. The analogous gerundive constructions present the same opposition, but by denoting necessity. The construction involving the active supine, on the other hand, is limited to the group of motion verbs, while the infinitival attestations⁵⁶ are very few. Therefore, each of the involved cases has its own syntactic or semantic specificity and/or frequency of use.

⁵⁶Jøhndal (2012) affirms that the active supine is diachronically a type of infinitive as the suffix *-re* derives from a dative-locative of a verbal noun (see also Leumann 1977). In fact, there is evidence of infinitival forms expressing purpose in older IE languages, for instance in Vedic with dative and accusative infinitives in *-tave/-tavai* and *-tum* respectively (cf. Jeffers & Pepicello 1979).

Purpose function	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ut/ne</i> + subjv.; e.g. <i>Pompeius ne duobus circumcluderetur exercitibus, ex eo loco discedit.</i> (Caes. Civ. 3, 30, 7, 2) ‘In order not to be stuck between two armies, Pompey decides to go away from that place.’ • <i>qui/quae/quod</i> + subjv. as a relative purpose clause; e.g. <i>Caesar [...] exploratores centurionesque praemittit qui locum idoneum castris deligant.</i> (Caes. Gal. 2, 17, 1, 1) ‘Caesar sends explorers and centurions so that they can choose a suitable place for the camp.’ • <i>quo</i> + subjv. - exclusively with a comparative; e.g. <i>Libertate usus est, quo impunius dicax esset.</i> (Cic. Quinct. 11, 13) ‘He took advantage of liberty, in order to bluster with more impunity.’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • genitive of the gerund + <i>causa/gratia</i>; e.g. cf. <i>Metellus [...] exercitum in provincia [...] hiemandi gratia conlocat.</i> (Sal. Iug. 61, 3, 1) ‘Metellus locates the army in the province in order to pass the winter there.’ • genitive of the gerundive + <i>causa/gratia</i> when expressing necessity; e.g. <i>Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur.</i> (Caes. Gal. 4, 22, 1, 1) ‘Caesar hesitates in order to prepare the ships.’ • dative of the gerund (very rare); e.g. <i>Scribendo adfuisti.</i> (Cic. Fam. 15, 6, 2, 13) ‘You were there at the writing (to write)’ • dative of the gerundive (also rare), when expressing necessity; e.g. <i>Tempora...pecipiendis fructibus accomodata.</i> (Cic. Sen. 71, 1) ‘The right season to harvest’ • <i>ad</i> + the accusative of the gerund - expressing direction; e.g. <i>Paratus ad dimicandum animus.</i> (Caes. Gal. 2, 21, 5, 2) ‘A spirit (which is) ready to fight.’ • <i>ad</i> + the accusative of the gerundive - exclusively with the meaning of necessity; e.g. <i>Catilina...erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia.</i> (Sal. Car. 31,7,1) ‘Cathiline was ready to conceal everything.’ • active supine - mainly used with motion verbs; e.g. <i>Lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque.</i> (Hor. S. 1, 5, 48) ‘Maecenas goes to play, Virgil and I to sleep.’ • active present infinitive; e.g. <i>militis parasitus modo venerat aurum petere hinc</i> (Pl. Bac. 631; cf. Jøhndal 2012:158) ‘The soldiers parasite just came to demand the money from here’

Table 3.1

3.2.1.3 Adverbial uses

The adverbial function presents a variety of semantic functions, including temporal, causal and modal relations. A detailed overview of all the finite and non-finite constructions expressing each function is presented in tables 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5. These show that the adverbial function can potentially be covered by the ablative of the gerund, the gerundive, a bare present participle (henceforth PP⁵⁷) and precisely by the *participium coniunctum* (henceforth PC), but also by the *ablativus absolutus* (henceforth AA) when it comes to non-finite forms. Indeed, these structures show some degree of overlap when it comes to their semantic value, however, their syntax plays the key role in framing each structure within a specific configuration to avoid interchangeability.

Specifically, the PC is always linked to a noun head and as such, necessitates a specific syntactic arrangement. The PC and the AA are often introduced as complementary structures, inasmuch both structures contain a participle.⁵⁸ However, the participle of the PC construction always agrees in case, number and gender⁵⁹ with the noun it refers to, whereas the AA, contrarily, is loose of syntactic bonds with the matrix clause. The PC containing a present participle and the AA, also containing a present participle, all bear a relation of contemporaneity to the matrix clause. Contrarily to the participial constructions, the gerund only exhibits case sensitivity.

⁵⁷When strictly referring to a bare present participle, I intend the predicative use of the present participle. I do not relate to the attributive use of the PP, which operates as an attributive relative clause. For a detailed overview of the Latin participles and other verbal adjectives and nouns see Kühner (1912:687-702).

⁵⁸The PC and the AA can be formed by a present or perfect participle. They express contemporaneity in case of a PP and anteriority if consisting of a perfect participle. As clarified above, the two constructions are nearly functionally equivalent, predominantly having an adverbial role. Nonetheless, the PC can also express purpose or aim.

⁵⁹The PP specifically, exhibits the following declension:

	Masculine/Feminine		Neuter	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	-ns	-ntes	-ns	-ntia
Genitive	-ntis	-ntium	-ntis	-ntium
Dative	-nti	-ntibus	-nti	-ntibus
Accusative	-ntem	-ntes	-ns	-ntia
Ablative	-nti	-ntibus	-nti	-ntibus

Table 3.2

Causal function	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>quod/quia/quoniam</i> + ind.; e.g. <i>Maior part mortalium...de naturae malignitate conqueritur quod in exiguum aevi gignimur, quod haec tam velociter dati nobis temporis spatia decurrant.</i> (Sen. <i>Phil.Dial.</i> 10, 1, 1, 2) 'A large portion of the mortals complain about the evilness of nature, because we are born (generated) for a short existence, because these intervals given to us pass so quickly.' • <i>cum</i> + subjv.; e.g. <i>Sed egredere prope, ne alios corumpas, cum me non potueris.</i> (Nep. <i>Vit.Ep.</i> 4, 3, 3) 'But leave quickly, in order to avoid to bribe others, since you could not (bribe) me.' • <i>quando/quandoquidem/siquidem</i> + ind.; e.g. <i>Vivas ut possis, quando nequis ut velis.</i> (Caecil. <i>pall.</i> 177) 'Live as you can, since you cannot (live) as you want.' • <i>ut/uti</i> + ind.; e.g. <i>Uti planities erat...octo cohortes in fronte constituit.</i> (Sal. <i>Cat.</i> 59, 2, 1) 'Since it was a valley, s/he arranged eight cavalry squadrons in the front line.' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participial constructions: Ablativus absolutus / Participium coniunctum; e.g. <i>Exhaustis iam patriae facultatibus (Hannibal) cupivit impraesentiarum bellum componere.</i> (Nep. <i>Vit.Han.</i> 6, 2, 2) 'Since the resources of the homeland were finished, Hannibal wished to cease the war under the current circumstances.' • Ablative of the gerund; e.g. <i>ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim</i> (Liv. <i>AUC.</i> 22, 39, 9, 2) 'for I have exceeded rather in despising than in seeking glory'

Table 3.3

Temporal function	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cum</i> + ind.;; e.g. <i>Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Haedui, alterius Sequani.</i> (Caes. Gal. 6, 12, 1, 1) ‘When Caesar arrived to Gaul, the rules of one faction were the Haedui, of the other one the Sequani.’ • <i>quotiens/quotienscumque</i> + ind.;; e.g. <i>Hannibal...quotienscumque cum eo congressus est in Italia, semper discessit superior.</i> (Nep. Vit.Han. 1, 2, 1) ‘Every time Hannibal faught with (against) them (the Romans), he always won.’ • <i>cum primum/simul ac/ubi/ut</i> + ind.;; e.g. <i>Sulmonenses simulatque signa nostra viderunt, portas aperuerunt.</i> (Caes. Civ. 1, 18, 2, 3) ‘The Sulmonenses, as soon as they saw our flags, they opened the doors.’ • <i>dum/quoad/donec/quamdiu</i> + ind.;; e.g. <i>Dum ea Romani parant...iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur.</i> (Liv. AUC. 21, 7, 1, 1) ‘While the Romans prepare these measures, Sagunt was already besieged with great violence.’ • <i>antequam/priusquam/postquam</i> + ind.;; e.g. <i>Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum.</i> (Cic. Sen. 10, 6) ‘In fact, he was consul for the first time the year after I was born.’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participial constructions: Ablativus absolutus / Participium coniunctum; e.g. <i>Mortuo Tullio res... ad patres redierat.</i> (Liv. AUC. 1, 32, 1, 2) ‘After Tullio died the power returned to the senators.’ • Ablative of the gerund; e.g. <i>consul, cum revocando nequiquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit</i> (Liv. AUC. 2, 59, 9) ‘the consul, after he had vainly followed his men while calling them back, fixed the camp on a peaceful territory.’

Table 3.4

Manner function	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ut / velut / sicut / quemadmodum</i> + ind.; <p>e.g. <i>Ut sementem feceris, ita metes.</i> (Cic. <i>deOrat.</i> 2, 261, 6) ‘As you seed, you will harvest.’</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ablative of the gerund; <p>e.g. <i>sed etiam opera, consilio, domum veniendo, conveniendis meis nullum onus officii cuiquam reliquum fecisse</i> (Cic. <i>Fam.</i> 3, 13, 1);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ablative of the gerundive; <p>e.g. <i>sed etiam opera, consilio, domum veniendo, conveniendis meis nullum onus officii cuiquam reliquum fecisse</i> (Cic. <i>Fam.</i> 3, 13, 1) ‘but also by personal exertion, by offer of advice, by coming to my house and calling on my friends, you left nothing, however troublesome, for anyone else to do’.</p>

Table 3.5: Manner function

The overall picture of the distribution of different syntactic constructions does not seem to provide evidence of functional overlaps at a first glance. In fact, it seems that the expression of causality and temporality differ from the expression of manner⁶⁰, as manner is conveyed through the ablative of the gerund and the gerundive (the latter is bound to contexts of necessity or obligation), whereas the participial constructions mainly operate in the domains of the cause and temporal relations. On this matter, Kühner & Stegmann (1955) and later Galdi & Vangaever (2019) label the temporal bare ablative gerunds as "semantically bleached or weakened" ones. Galdi & Vangaever (2019), specifically, affirm that the modal reading of the bare gerund prevails over temporal and causal ones within a restricted corpus of Classical Latin technical texts (84,85% of modal/circumstantial interpretations vs. 5,05% and 4,04% of temporal and causal ones respectively). Following this view, it seems that despite possible semantic interference, different (morpho-) syntactic processes, such as the gender and number inflection, provide specific operational contexts for

⁶⁰Manner is intended in a broader way as a circumstance, an instrument and when possible, as the way an event takes place.

each construction. However, apart from technical literature, a closer look at the texts shows a slightly different impression on the distinction between the three main adverbial values. Indeed, the distinction between an instrumental and a causal value is not clear-cut and is subjected to interpretation, particularly in metonymic-type of contexts. Therefore, examples such as *ego contemnendo potius quam appetendo gloriam modum excesserim* may have both a causal and a circumstantial reading. This matter is somewhat simplified in less formal contexts, such as in Cicero's *Epistulae*, where the use of prepositional ablative gerunds makes the semantic value more explicit, for instance *Adiungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satis faciendo ac disputando diligentia* (Cic. *Qfr.* 1, 1, 21, 1) 'There must also be solicitude in listening, gentleness in deciding, accuracy in satisfying and discussing'.

3.2.1.4 Further discussion

Before providing some final considerations on the use of the gerund in Classical Latin, I will briefly reinspect the behavior of the main categories which potentially show some degree of overlap with the gerund. These categories traditionally outline the following system of non-finite verbal forms⁶¹ (Vangaever 2018a⁶², who in turn, cites Kühner & Stegmann 1914, Ernout & Thomas 1951, Hofmann & Szantyr 1965, Menge *et al.* 2000, Pinkster 2015):

Non-finite verbal form	Morpho-syntactic category 1 (external syntax)	Morpho-syntactic category 2 (internal syntax)	Definition ⁶³
Infinitive	verb	noun	verbal noun
Gerund Supine Gerundive Participle		adjective	verbal adjective

Table 3.6: Non-finite verbal system in Latin according to Vangaever (2018a:2)

⁶¹For the purpose of completeness, the supine is included in this table.

⁶²External syntax is intended by Vangaever (2018a:3) as the general category, whereas internal syntax stands for the concrete, instantiated form.

Firstly, it is worth mentioning the relationship between the gerund and the infinitive being complementary categories, since the infinitive may appear in object or (more restrictedly) in subject function, while the gerund completes the declension of the infinitive (Risch 1984, Vangaever 2018a). The present infinitive⁶⁴ can have a nominal function, occurring as a neuter nominative (ex.6) / accusative (ex.7) substantive (Pinkster, 2015, 2021:57-58).

- (6) *Petere honorem pro flagitio more fit.*
 ‘To seek public office as a reward for criminal behaviour is the custom’
 (Pl. *Trin.* 1035)
- (7) *At ego amo hanc. # At ego esse et bibere*
 ‘Ah, but I love this girl! # Ah, but I love to eat and drink’
 (Pl. *Poen.* 313)

However, the two categories, being in complementary distribution, do not have a common ground of usage. In addition, they differ in tense and voice, the infinitive having active and passive voice and a present, past and future form and the gerund only having active voice.

Secondly, the gerundive, which shares the morphological structures of the gerund, is a verbal adjective, which is formed from an infinitive stem and the suffix *-ndus, a, um*. It is accompanied by a substantive and it is always in the passive voice, meaning that it exclusively refers to active transitive and deponent verbs. It denotes necessity and obligation and in specific cases, particularly in the genitive and the ablative can become a variant for the gerund followed by a direct object⁶⁵:

- (8) *Tempus scribendi epistulam* (gerund + direct object)
- (9) *Tempus epistulae scribendae* (gerundive)
 ‘The moment / time to write a letter’

The two categories, however, diverge despite overlapping semantic interpretations. In fact, their contrast is visible on different levels: the distinctive criteria are identified on the morphological, syntactic and semantic level. Despite the

⁶³The definition refers to the traditional categorial assignment on the basis of derivational morphology.

⁶⁴The infinitive, however, can be substituted by a present participle if and only if the main predicate is a *verbum sentiendi* and the sentences rigorously expresses contemporaneity. e.g. *Video discipulum legre vs. Video discipulum legentem.*

⁶⁵The following examples are taken from two textbooks, namely Flocchini *et al.* (1998) and Padovan (2014), or from *The Packhum corpus*.

apparent contradiction in relation to the previous statements on the suffix, a specific concern is needed for the grammatical morpheme. The gerund indeed is a noun which only inflects for case, whereas the gerundive agrees in case, gender and number with the head due to its adjectival nature. Their syntactic environments are also distinct, as they differ in voice, the gerundive having a passivized argument structure, the gerund, as explained above, having active voice. Lastly, the crucial distinction related to the meaning of necessity or obligation should be recalled. A feasible immediate separation may be accomplished, as Jøhndal (2012) suggests, through the absence of a logical object which classifies a form as a gerund. Jøhndal's additional claim is that all of the remaining arrangements involving *-nd-* forms are gerundives. Indeed, Haspelmath (1987) affirms in his paper on these two categories in Latin that "the gerund is thus only a special case of the gerundive. It is a gerundive without a direct object to agree with."

Lastly, a few words should be added for the participle. The Latin participle is traditionally classified as an adjectival form taking part in the tense category and inflecting for case, number and gender. Apart from its typical adjectival behavior, participles are also engaged in a variety of functions, such as (cf. Pinkster 2015:59-62: i. a subject complement (e.g. *Omnino est amans sui virtus*. (Cic. *Amic.* 98) 'I grant that Virtue loves herself'); ii. a subordinate clause with the use of the ablative absolute (e.g. *Sed mirus invaserat furor...ut pugnare cuperent, me clamante nihil esse bello civili miserius* (Cic. *Fam.* 16, 12, 2) 'But a strange madness was abroad...they were possessed with the lust of battle, while I cried aloud that nothing is worse than civil war. '); iii. a secondary predicate (e.g. *...prius quam istam adii atque amans ego animum meum isti dedi* (Pl. *As.* 141) '...before I came to her and, being in love, gave her my heart'); iv. a noun phrase level modified (e.g. *Canum vero tam fida custodia tamque amans dominorum adulatio...quid significat aliud nisi se ad hominum commoditates esse generatos* (Cic. *N.D.* 2, 158) 'Then think of the dog, with its trusty watchfulness, its fawning affection for its master...what do these qualities imply except that they were created to serve the conveniences of man?'); v. a substantive (e.g. *Nam ubi amans complexust amantem...* (Pl. *Ps.* 1259) 'Yes, when a male lover embraces his female lover...'). The functional overlap with the gerund, as explained in the previous subsection, is limited to its predicative use, but the syntactic arrangement should work as a distinctive criterion. However, a crucial point should be added to this matter regarding contexts of combinational uses of both the PP and the ablative of the gerund. Indeed, authors such as Livy or Tacitus provide numerous examples of this stylistic variation, such as *deinde in edita adsurgens et rursus inferiora populando* (Tac. *Ann.* 15, 38,

11) 'then it went up to the hills and then again invaded, devastating the low places' or *breui deinde ceteros tutores summouet Adranodorus, iuuenem iam esse dictitans Hieronymum ac regni potentem; deponendoque tutelam ipse [...]* (Liv. AUC. 24, 4, 9, 2) 'Subsequently Adranodorus dismissed the other tutors, saying that Hieronymus was by now a young man already capable of reigning; he himself then, by renouncing protection [...]'. The use of both the PP and the ablative of the gerund in same or similar contexts signals an overlapping in the functions of the two categories, making the gerund a polysemic class.

Table 3.7 summarizes the main functions of the gerund along with possible competing categories to the general function of the specific case. It can be noticed that the main competitor, even on the functional level, is the gerundive according to this rather schematic comparison. Its use is indeed parallel to the of the gerund, however, as previously mentioned, the gerundive lays over the gerund only in its attributive use and when the predicate is followed by a direct object. However, the gerundive always carries a semantics of 'necessity' and thereby does not fully overlap with the use of the gerund, whose use is more generic.

At this point, it is possible to affirm that Classical Latin had a fairly fine-grained non-finite verbal system involving the interweaving of the syntax, semantics and frequency of use. However, variation is notable at lower registers where the present participle and the ablative of the gerund show some extent of functional overlap. This piece of evidence shows a degree of dynamicity within the non-finite domain of Classical Latin and may be particularly relevant for the explanation of subsequent stages of Romance. For purpose of completeness, I also include the relevant tables (3.8, 3.9, 3.10 & 3.11) of the functions which do not strictly relate to the Classical Latin gerund, but may turn out to be useful for the clarification of the following stages from a comparative perspective.

Case	Function in Classical Latin	Main competitor
Genitive	specification purpose	GERUNDIVE e.g. <i>Hostibus spes potiendi oppidi discessit</i> (Caes. B.G. 2, 7) ‘The enemies lost hope of taking over the town’ lit. ‘The hope of taking over the town abandoned the enemies’
Dative	purpose	GERUNDIVE e.g. <i>Ti. Gracchus [...] triumviros agris dividendis coloniisque deducendis creavit [...]</i> (Vell. Hist. 2, 2) ‘Tiberius Gracchus appointed triumvirs to divide the fields and to establish colonies’
Accusative	purpose/direction	ad + GERUNDIVE e.g. <i>Catilina erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia</i> (Sal. Cat. 31, 7) ‘Catiline was ready to hide everything’
Ablative	adverbial function	GERUNDIVE e.g. <i>Omnis loquendi elegantia [...] augeatur legendis oratoribus et poetis</i> (Cic. De Or. 3, 10, 39) ‘Every elegance of speech is enhanced by reading oratories and poets’ ABLATIVUS ABSOLUTUS e.g. <i>Id ea de causa faciebat quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut oportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat.</i> (Caes. Gal. 3, 17, 22) ‘He did this for this reason because he thought that with such a great multitude of enemies, especially the one who had the supreme command being absent, one should not fight as a lieutenant except in an appropriate place and given some security.’ PARTICIPIUM CONIUNCTUM e.g. <i>Occisus est a cena rediens [...]</i> (Cic. Or. 2, 235) ‘He was killed while coming back from the dinner’

Table 3.7: Possible competitive structures to the Classical Latin gerund

Complement clause	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subject, object and epexegetic clauses introduced by <i>quod</i> + ind.; e.g. <i>Opportune accidit quod Caesar venit</i>⁶⁶. ‘It happens in an appropriate manner that Caesar arrives.’ • Subj./obj./epex. clauses introduced by <i>ut/ut non</i> + subjv.; e.g. <i>Accidit mihi ut consilium sequerer periculosum</i> (Cic. <i>Fam.</i> 10, 18, 1, 3) ‘It happened to me to supervise a risky project.’ • Subj./obj./epex. clauses expressing volition, introduced by <i>ut/ne</i> + subjv.; e.g. <i>Caesar...ad se ut (captivi) reducerentur imperavit.</i> (Caes. <i>B.G.</i> 6, 32, 2) ‘Caesar ordered that (the prisoners) should be sent back to him’ • Subj./obj./epex. clauses, used with <i>verba timendi</i>, introduced by <i>ne/quin/quominus</i> + subjv.; e.g. <i>Intellexi te vereri ne superiores (litterae) mihi redditae non essent.</i> (Cic. <i>Fam.</i> 14, 5, 1, 7) ‘I understood that you were afraid that the previous letter had not been delivered to me.’ • Subj./obj./epex. clauses as indirect questions + subjv.; e.g. <i>Non refert quam multos libros, sed quam bonos habeas.</i> (Sen. <i>Phil.Ep.</i> 45, 1, 1) ‘It does not matter how many books you have, but how many good (books) you have.’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subj./obj./epex. expressed through the infinitive; e.g. <i>...boni viri est parere legibus.</i> (Cic. <i>Rep.</i> 3, 18, 2) ‘It is proper to an honest man to obey the laws’

Table 3.8

⁶⁶The examples with no reference are short *ad hoc* examples made up for explanatory purpose.

Attributive (relative) clause	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative pronoun <i>qui/quaе/quod</i> + ind.; e.g. <i>Apud Hypanim fluvium, qui ab Europae parte in Pontum influit, Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci, quae unum diem vivant.</i> (Cic. <i>Tusc.</i> 1, 94, 12) ‘Aristotle states that at the Ipani river which flows from Europe into the Black Sea, little animals are born which live only one day.’ • Interrogative adjectives <i>qualis / quantus / quot</i> + ind. / subj.; e.g. <i>itaque evocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, [...] quanta esset insulae magnitudo reperire poterat</i> (Caes. <i>Gal.</i> 4, 20, 4) ‘therefore after having called up to him the merchants from all parts, he could learn what was the size of the island’ • Relative adverbs <i>ut / quantum / quanti / quanto / ubi / quo / unde / qua</i> + ind.; e.g. [...] <i>ubi acrior flatus existit</i> (Curt. <i>Alex.</i> 4, 2, 8, 8) ‘[...] where stronger wind exists’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present/perfect/future participle; e.g. <i>Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit</i> (Tac.<i>Ann.</i> 1, 28, 1) ‘The fate brought calm on a threatening night which was about to lead to a crime.’

Table 3.9

Concessive clause	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>etsi/tametsi/quamquam</i> + ind.; <p>e.g. <i>Caesar, etsi in his locis...maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit.</i> (Caes. Gal. 4, 20, 1, 1) 'Although winters are precocious in those regions, Caesar establishes to leave (to go) to Britain.'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>quamvis</i> + sbjv.; <p>e.g. <i>Quamvis amemus Gnaeum nostrum...tamen...laudare non possumus.</i> (Cic. Att. 8, 9a, 1, 12) 'No matter how well we wish to our Gneum, we cannot however praise him.'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>etiamsi/licet/ut/ut non</i> + sbjv.; <p>e.g. <i>Nec me ulla res delectabit, licet sit eximia et salutaris.</i> (Sen. Phil.Ep. 6, 4, 3) 'Nothing will give me joy, despite being special and useful.'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>cum</i> + sbjv.; <p>e.g. <i>Socrates...cum facile posset educi e custodia, noluit.</i> (Cic. Tusc. 1, 71, 15) 'Socrates, although he could easily go out of the prison, he did not want to.'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participium coniunctum; <p>e.g. <i>...ut eum cupientes tenere nequeamus.</i> (Cic. deOrat. 2, 235, 7) 'that we cannot hold it despite wanting it.'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ablativus absolutus; <p>e.g. <i>Nostri olim urbe reliqua capta arcem tamen retinuerunt.</i> (Cic. Att. 7, 11, 3, 8) 'Although the remaining part of the city was taken, ours however kept the fortress.'</p>

Table 3.10

Conditional clause	
Finite form	Non-finite form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>dum/modo/dummodo</i> + sbjv.; <p>e.g. <i>Oderint, dum metuant.</i> (Cic. <i>Sest.</i>, 102, 13) ‘May they hate me, as long as they hate me’</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participium coniunctum; <p>e.g. <i>Neque rogemus res turpes nec faciamus rogati.</i> (Cic. <i>Amic.</i> 40, 1) ‘We do not ask for shameful things and we do not do it if we are asked.’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ablativus absolutus; <p>e.g. <i>Reluctante natura, inritus labor est.</i> (Sen. <i>Phil.Dial.</i> 9, 7, 2, 12) ‘If the nature is reluctant, the work is useless.’</p>

Table 3.11

3.2.2 Gerund in Late and Vulgar Latin

This section aims to portray the divergence in terms of functions of the gerund between Classical, Late and Vulgar Latin (CL, LL and VL hereafter). I will address this issue by providing a general overview of the main innovations listed in current literature. I will present the comparison between the macro-period of Classical (Republican) Latin and Late (Imperial)/Vulgar Latin on the diachronic axis, on one hand, and, when possible, diamesic (and possibly, diastatic) variation between Late and Vulgar Latin, on the other hand. Concerning the problematic aspect of defining Vulgar Latin, I assume (Castellani, 2000:1-28) and specifically, his bi-dimensional representation of the sociolinguistic variation and change (vertical dimension) and geolinguistics (horizontal dimension, below).

DIMENSIONE VERTICALE:

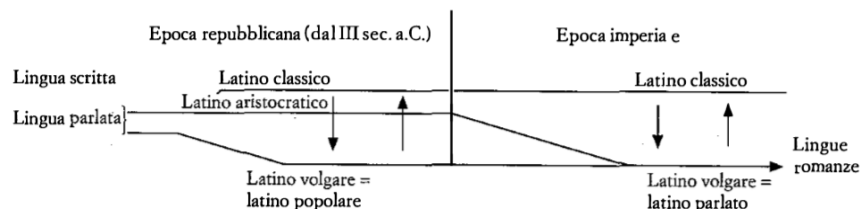


Figure 3.1: The vertical dimension of the sociolinguistic variation between Late and Vulgar Latin (Castellani, 2000)

DIMENSIONE ORIZZONTALE:

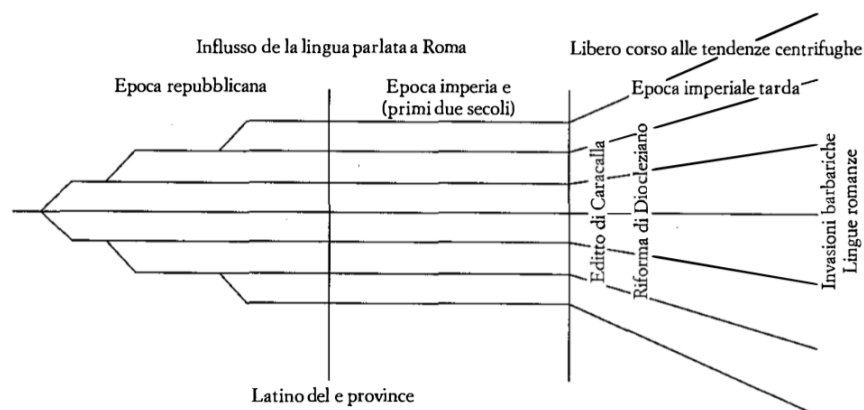


Figure 3.2: The horizontal dimension of the sociolinguistic variation between Late and Vulgar Latin (Castellani, 2000)

The literature on Late and Vulgar Latin generally examines the adverbial function of the gerund exclusively, due to the apparent loss of the inflectional system out of which the ablative in its adverbial function is the only residue. In the following subsection I explore the adverbial function for a better understanding of the internal dynamics.

3.2.2.1 Adverbial functions

The expression of the adverbial functions in the post-Classical period shows a range of participial and gerundial structures among which we find some rather new constructions. Here I exclusively focus on the expression of cause, time

and manner through the innovative absolute constructions, namely the nominative and the accusative absolute. In addition, I discuss an early juxtaposition of stative verbs and a gerund or a participle which could represent an incipient ground for the subsequent grammaticalization of the progressive periphrasis.

An insightful investigation on the Vulgar Latin absolute constructions is provided by Väänänen (1985:280-284)⁶⁷, whose research reveals remarkable variation in the use of the absolute structures in comparison to CL. The ablative absolute, being a structure which is mainly peculiar to classical prose (cf. Rovai 2014) is often replaced by other constructions in *Vetus Afra*⁶⁸, specifically into a coordinated structure or substituted by a finite embedded clause, e.g. *et aperitis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera* (Matth. 2, 11 Vulg.) vs. *et aperuerunt thesauros suos et obtulerunt ei dona* (Afra; Väänänen 1985:280). However, the absolute constructions appear in a new formula in the nominative (ex.10) or the accusative (ex.11) by expliciting the semantic roles, but by maintaining the grammatical detachment from the matrix clause. The latter specifically, spread from the 3rd century onwards though it is more frequently used in the late period narrative writers such as Jordanes and Gregory of Tours⁶⁹ (cf. Biese 1928).

(10) *nascente vulnus*
 be_born.PPABL.SG wound.NOM/ACC.SG
 ‘when the wound appears’ (Väänänen, 1985:282)

(11) *regina... neminem scientem*
 queen.NOM.SG no_one.ACC.SG knowing.PPACC.SG
subterfugit
 run_away.PRF.3SG
 ‘The queen ran away with no one knowing’

(Väänänen, 1985:283)

These examples are very interesting from a syntactic point of view. In (10) specifically, the lack of case agreement between the participle and the pronoun leads the ablative of the participle to crystallize. Thus, the participle provides

⁶⁷Väänänen’s view is mainly, but not exclusively, confined within the epigraphic material used for his research, but the explanation of the few examined categories is accompanied by a rich set of examples.

⁶⁸*Vetus Afra*, is a set of translations of the Bible in Latin coming from the African continent, ca. II-IV c. Along with *Vetus Itala*, the two sets form the *Vetus Latina* collection which precedes the *Vulgata*, the edition edited by Jerome of Stridon (Sofronius Eusebius Hieronymus).

⁶⁹

the category of temporality or causality, whereas the nominal element maintains its original semantic role. The ablative is therefore substituted by the nominative. On the other hand, both elements take accusative case agreement in (11), distancing itself even more from the original Classical Latin ablative absolute. Such examples of the accusative absolute⁷⁰ with a present participle are however relatively rare, as the PP indicates the temporal relation of simultaneity to the matrix clause (both in the present and the past).

Other constructions worthy of attention consist of *esse/stare* + imperfective participle or gerund. These can be taken as a pre-step of the grammaticalization of the progressive periphrasis, as they still convey the full meaning of the single units expressing a circumstance or an instrument. The following examples are mainly found in the New Testament (*Vetus Latina, Vulgata*) and are retrieved from Bertinetto (2000:562) (cf. Dietrich (1973:283-299)):

- *esse*+imperfective participle

(12) [...] *gemens et tremens eris* [...]

... moaning and trembling be.FUT.2SG

'You will be moaning and trembling [...]'⁷¹

- *esse*+ablative gerundive

(13) [...] *erat Darius vociferando et congregando multitudinem*

... was Darius shouting and gathering crowd.ACC

'Darius was shouting and gathering the people'

- *stare*+imperfective participle

(14) [...] *stabant autem [...] scribae constanter accusantes eum*

... be.IPFV.3PL thus ... scribes constantly accuse.PP him

'Thus [...] the scribes were constantly accusing him'

- *stare*+ablative gerundive

(15) *stetit dux diu cunctando* []

was chief long_time hesitate.GER

'The chief stood for a long time, hesitating [...]'

⁷⁰For a good overview on the origin and the structure of the accusative absolute see Helttula (1987) and Bertoldi (2021).

⁷¹Examples 12-15 contain the original translations provided by Bertinetto (2000:562).

It can be observed that at this stage the constructions have not yet become (fully) grammaticalized,⁷² despite the potentially-misleading original translations. The readings are that of ‘X is/was there in this way/in these conditions’ and put together a stative and a non-stative condition which occur simultaneously. Generally speaking, the appearance of juxtaposed constructions such as the ones presented above is to be attributed to the role of Greek and specifically to the New Testament which served as a model for subsequent translations in other languages.⁷³

3.2.2.2 Traces of language change

In order to have an overall picture of the dynamics in VL and LL it is necessary to provide some more general information on the behavior of the participle and the gerund before touching upon the novel structures.

A very early and schematic description of the use of the gerund is provided by Grandgent (1907:49), who claims that gerund is replaced by the (prep.+)
infinitive, except for the ablative case (e.g. *Quomodo potest hic nobis carnem dare ad manducare*, R.430). Furthermore, the ablative gerund more and more often occurs in contexts previously occupied by the present participle (e.g. *angeli canendo*, Greg. Tur. *VM*, 1.4, 140, retrieved from Rohlfs 1970:107) and can also hold a conditional reading (e.g. *cavendo salvi erimus*, Tert. *Cult.fem.* 2, 2, retrieved from Grandgent 1907:89⁷⁴).

The major structural and functional change of the gerund can be observed in the transition between CL and LL, where a gradual loss of the gerund declension occurs (discussed in detail in (Vangaever, 2018a; Galdi & Vangaever, 2019) by acquiring, or better maintaining its circumstantial or instrumental feature in the ablative case. In particular, Vangaever’s ongoing corpus-based research aims to examine gerund as a non-finite verb form displaying verbal, nominal and adverbial properties. He has hitherto analyzed a corpus of 75 texts comprising historical, religious and juridical documents, from 4th-10th century AD. The results are illustrated in fig.3.3 and show a gradual change in terms of functional loss and restriction of morphological uses. This process is

⁷²This observation is particularly relevant for Tuscan and northern Italo-Romance, whereas southern varieties, such as Neapolitan or Calabrese already had a productive grammaticalized periphrasis at this stage, for instance *sta morendu* ‘he is dying’ (cf. Rohlfs (1970:108)).

⁷³Drinka (2011, 2017:94-143) addresses this phenomenon as the “sacral stamp of Greek” by investigating the spread of the periphrastic perfect in various Indo-European varieties. On a similar note, Amenta (2003) explores the role of Greek in the development of the periphrastic structures, by setting up a ‘Christian accent’ in Latin.

⁷⁴The author in turn cites Hoppe (1903) which is a valuable source for studies on Tertullian.

called converbialization of the gerund, due to the loss of the genitive, dative and accusative, along with the loss of the set of functions related to those specific cases. It must be noted that converbialization is intended by Vangaever (2018a) as a process of erosion of the gerund case system on the one hand and a gradual increase of the use of the ablative of the gerund as a non-finite verbal form expressing adverbial subordination. This development does not include any participial constructions which could share the same semantic scope, but may have been the trigger for the reconfiguration of non-finite forms which occurred at a later stage.

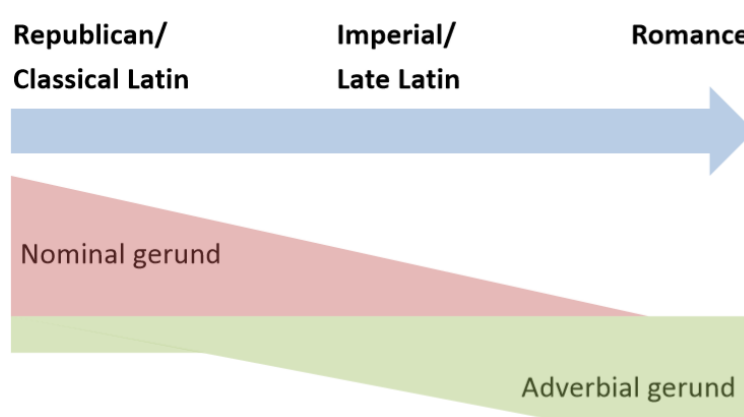


Figure 3.3: Converbialization of the Latin gerund

Assuming that the morphosyntactic categorization of the gerund can be determined on the basis of an external syntax (cf. tab.3.6), which detects the general category and of an internal syntax, which determines the function, Vangaever's corpus-based research generates the results presented in 3.12⁷⁵

His results show a slight increase in the use of the adverbial gerund in the 9th and 10th century, despite a very conspicuous presence of the nominal gerund as well. Vangaever claims that the gerund specializes into a converb during the passage from Latin to Romance, but in a “nuanced way”. This means that the recategorialization of the gerund is a gradual process, displaying a double nominal and adverbial use in Late Latin. Subsequently, the genitive, dative and accusative case of gerund are in large measure replaced by the infinitive, whereas the ablative crystallizes in its form and maintained the original adverbial use. Specifically, the nominal gerund, i.e. the inflected gerund express-

⁷⁵Tables and schemes of this section are heavily based on Vangaever, presentation held in Budapest, 6 September 2018.

Century	Noun	Adverb
4 th	16 (6,6%)	23 (5,2%)
5 th	2 (0,8%)	7 (1,6%)
6 th	89 (36,6%)	127 (28,9%)
7 th	111 (45,7%)	229 (52%)
8 th	13 (5,3%)	12 (2,7%)
9 th	10 (4,1%)	37 (8,4%)
10 th	2 (0,8%)	5 (1,13%)
Total	243	440

Table 3.12: Results of the corpus-based study (Vangaever, 2018b)

ing the functions illustrated in section 3.2.1, decreases in frequency (4,1% vs. 8,4% in the 9th century and 0,8% vs. 1,13% in the 10th century), whereas the adverbial gerund gradually outnumbers it in the very Late Latin. What is thus the driving force behind the categorial shift from the nominal gerund to the adverbial gerund? According to Vangaever (2018a), a possible functional “competition” cannot be considered a valid motivation, due to the fact that the nominal and the adverbial gerund possess a different functional and morpho-syntactic profile and are not competitive. Vangaever concludes that the gradual converbialization of the gerund in Romance is most likely a result of a gradual loss of the inflected nominal gerund in favor of the expansion of the infinitive. The adverbial gerund, which did not have competitive structures, remained stable on the diachronic axis and was preserved in Romance (Fig. 3.4).

	Republican/ Classical Latin	Imperial/ Late Latin	Romance
Nominal functions	Gerund		Infinitive
	Infinitive		
Adverbial functions	Gerund		

Figure 3.4: Results of the converbialization in Latin (Vangaever, 2018, presentation)

Another important work providing insight in the nature of gerund in Late Latin is Galdi & Vangaever (2019), comparing semantic and pragmatic profiles of the adjunct clauses introduced by a bare ablative gerund and a nominative present participle in technical literature. The aim of their work is to detect the trigger for each of the two structures. The results show a difference in the semantic values, as the gerund structure presents traces of semantic bleaching⁷⁶ and maintains its instrumental or manner reading at the expense of its non-manner/instrumental values, whereas the participle appears to be more versatile by allowing the temporal, causal and modal force. This configuration, however, is not an innovation of Late Latin, but rather a continuation of a process dating back to earlier stages of Latin. The Late Latin sources, however, exhibit an increase in the use of the semantically bleached gerund structures. The pragmatic background also shows two different contexts when it comes to the information structure. The gerund expresses focal information, whereas the participle frames the predicate of the main clause in a specific setting. As a result, the gerund and the participle “appear at different content-levels of the clause in that the former are specialized as a predicate adjunct, and hence appears at the level of the nuclear predication, while the latter tend to behave like a predication adjunct, and hence belong to the level of the core predication” (Galdi & Vangaever, 2019:18).

I do not find myself in full agreement with this view, mainly for the reasons which are found in the previous section on Classical Latin. My concern is about the semantic functions which seem to be distributed in a somewhat polarized measure, attributing a causal and a temporal value to the participle and a circumstantial one to the gerund. The tables summarizing the main structures for the expression of manner, cause and time in CL (namely, tab.3.3, 3.4 and 3.5) all show examples of gerundial constructions implying remarkable polysemy of the gerund. While I do agree with the fact that at this stage participial constructions convey the meaning of causal and temporal relations, I highly doubt that a strict distinction on the semantic level can be made at any point due to the absence of clear-cut boundaries between the semantic values in examination. For this reason I believe that the distinction between these two categories mainly relies on the morpho-syntactic level, particularly with regards to the explicitness of syntactic relations.

On this note we may add a few words concerning the absolute construc-

⁷⁶Other works, such as Lyer 1932, Kühner & Stegmann 1955:1751-1752 and Adams 2013:725-740 claim that the bleaching or weakening effect is carried out on the instrumental function in order for the gerund to be replaceable with a present participle, which in turn conveys a relation of simultaneity with the main predicate.

tions. Sihler (2008:625-629) claims that the LL gerund emerges as an indeclinable present participle, which formerly was in the ablative case and is the source of the Romance present participle. Some fixed and isolated substantivized forms of the original present participle are maintained to this day, for instance *oriente* ‘east’⁷⁷. Although the author juxtaposes the gerund to the absolute participial construction, an important claim is made on the participle in the structure of the AA: it crystallizes in the ablative form. This fossilization of the PP is a consequence of the explicitation of the syntactic relations and is particularly visible in the nominative absolute, where we find an ablative participle in combination with a nominative noun indicating the unambiguous subject of the subordinate.

The use of the ‘accusative absolute’ instead may have emerged through a phonetic convergence between the case marking suffix of the ablative and the one of the accusative and could be related to a more general alignment issue and a morphosyntactic change from a nominative-accusative system to a stative-active one (cf. Rovai 2014). Helttula (1987), however, believes that the origin lies in a common accusative participial construction, for instance, *P. Scipio...donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro contione Iugurtham in praetorium abduxit* (Sall., *Iug.*, 8, 2) ‘Scipio at first in the presence of the army rewarded and praised Jugurtha beautifully and led him to the praetorium’, containing a past PC. Nonetheless, this construction is not to be regarded as a ‘vulgar’ construction, as Helttula (1987) suggests, given its participial nature which belongs to a literary written language. The author also affirms that the accusative absolute is more expressive⁷⁸ than the ablative, but the two are semantically equivalent (cf. also Ruiz 2000 for an extensive discussion on participial absolute constructions in Gregory of Tours).

Concerning the use of gerund or participle in combination with a stative verb, we may consider this as a transitional stage where this juxtaposition stands for a stable single event which is framed in a specific context denoted by the gerund/participle. This environment was potentially the breeding ground for the development of progressive constructions (cf. Vangaever 2019 for discussion). These structures are regarded as ‘vulgarisms’ and are very rare in the written language until the 3rd century AD, but lightly increase in the following centuries, particularly in religious texts (Eklund, 1970; Pinkster, 1998; Haverling, 2010; Vangaever, 2018b).

To sum up, it is noticeable that diamesic variation plays an important role

⁷⁷According to Coleman (1989:353) such forms developed by including the agent nouns and adjectives into the predicative verbal constituent.

⁷⁸I believe that the author refers to explicitness when discussing the expressiveness.

as early as in Classical Latin where we find traces of prepositional gerunds expressing specific adverbial values. This need for explicitation is seen in later stages with the nominative and the accusative absolute. As a consequence, we observe a change from more compact structures to a higher degree of syntactic explicitness in the domain of nonfiniteness. Further innovations will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

3.3 Gerundial structures in Old Romance

The Old Romance data, unlike Late Latin, has a rich secondary literature and provides a notable contribution in the understanding of the dynamics in the domain of non-finite categories. When it comes to the gerund specifically, Škerlj (1926:75) points out that the ablative of the gerund has replaced the PP in the majority of the non-adjectival functions in Old Romance⁷⁹. Building upon this consideration, I will briefly discuss the development of gerundial and its competing structures in Old Italian and Old French in this section. In addition, I will list the existing literature on the older stages of Ladin, Romansh and Friulan.

3.3.1 Functions of the gerund in Old Italian

Old Italian literature is very rich and exhaustive, thereby providing a good overview of the overall functions of the gerund. The uses of gerund in Old Italian are notably wider compared to that in CL and LL/VL. As De Roberto (2013) points out, the gerund takes over the functions where the present participle has ‘lost ground’. This innovation does not only include the predicative function of the PP, but it further extends by incorporating new syntactic constructions. I will therefore explore the expression of purpose, temporal relation, causality and circumstance, but I will also include a dedicated space to the supposed functional overlap between the gerund and the infinitive, in addition to the innovative verbal periphrases. I will conclude this section with a general discussion and a summary of the Old Italian data.

⁷⁹“C’est un fait connu et constaté depuis longtemps que le participe présent apparait dans les anciennes langues romanes presque totalement privé de sa nature verbale primitive: la plupart des formes participiales ont une valeur parfaitement adjective, et le participe présent, en tant que forme verbale, a été remplacé d’ordinaire par l’ancien ablatif du gérondif.”

3.3.1.1 Purpose

In Old Italian we observe a *continuum* of the CL prepositional gerunds, though in the expression of purpose. Classical Latin literature identifies the bare genitive and dative, but also the prepositional (*ad*) accusative for this function. However, the lack of inflection at this stage seems to condense this function within the gerundial range as well. In fact, we find the combination of the preposition *a*+GER (ex.16), which very much resembles the structure of the CL accusative of the gerund, expressing a deontic-purpose meaning (cf. De Roberto 2013:884). As an alternative to the preposition *a*, we also find *pre*+GER (ex.17).

- (16) *Le terre ho dato a lavoranno, / a li vassalli a*
 DET fields AUX give.PSTP to work.GER / to DET vassals to
coltivanno; / li frutt'arendo enn anno enn anno /
 cultivate.GER / DET fruits+surrender.GER in year in year /
tantè la me' cortesia.
 this_much+be.3SG DET my courtesy
 'I gave these lands to the vassals to work, so that they cultivate them;
 from year to year I renounce its fruits, such is my courtesy.'

(Iacopone, XLVII, 31-34)

- (17) *Non vol sol dunque om far quanto pò fare, / ma chedre e*
 not want only therefore man do as can do / but ask and
mendicare, / vole scienza e poder per più mertando
 beg / want science and power for more deserve.GER
 'Therefore a man must not only do what he can do, but he must ask
 and beg for science and power to acquire greater merit.'

(Guittone, *Lettere*, XXX, 36-38; cf. De Roberto 2013:885)

3.3.1.2 The temporal relation

Temporal relations are conveyed through gerundial forms which are placed in an environment which very much resembles that of a participial structure. In fact, examples such as (18) can also be paraphrased into a relative clause⁸⁰.

⁸⁰The paraphrasis of all the examples is exclusively based on my personal intuition, therefore, any possible mistakes in the interpretation are my own. The reading through a relative clause in ex.18 is due to the gerund providing additional information relevant to the noun

- (18) *E al palagio giunte a assai buona ora, ancora quivi*
 and at+DET palace came at very good hour still there
trovarono i giovani giucando dove lasciati gli aveano
 found DET young_people play.GER where left them have
 ‘And (because they) arrived early at the palace, they found the young
 people still playing (who were still playing / while they were still play-
 ing), where they had left them.’

(Dec., VI, Concl., 33, p.781; cf. De Roberto 2013:126)

This specific use is particularly outstanding, having a notably different structure if compared to the typical application of the gerund. In fact, the structure leaves room for a relative reading, as *giucando* functions as a modifier of the noun phrase *i giovani*, rather than as an adjunct, since the corefentiality emerges clearly. In other words, it does not function as an adjunct to the main predicate, but as an adjunct to the NP, i.e. the head. In addition, the clause *ancora quivi trovarono i giovani* and *giucando* are in a relation of partial simultaneity, notably contributing to building the ground for a present participle / gerund syncretism. Although the translation may not be very helpful in this respect, an additional interpretation could be that of durativity, such as ‘while they were playing’ (the young people kept playing since the moment they were left). This example displays in a nice way the mismatch between the functional and the structural domain, showing a gerundial form in a participial syntactic setting⁸¹, but allowing for a temporal interpretation. This dynamic environment suggests that this could be a transitional stage for language change.

Apart from bare and prepositional gerunds, Old Italian presents a large number of absolute constructions. Unlike the Latin absolute constructions which only display a participial structure, Old Italian conveys a temporal and causal reading through a gerund (ex.19). Such constructions using gerunds, according to Aalto (1951), syntactically correspond to the Late/Vulgar Latin nominative absolute and occur in substitution to the already existing participial absolute constructions. Their main characteristic is that of referential discontinuity with respect to the matrix clause and the anchorage to the main clause through asyndeton or juxtaposition (De Roberto 2012b,a, 2016:217-295). The construction, made of a verbal component and a nominal one which

immediately preceding it (*i giovani*), although there is lack of agreement. This specific configuration matches the use of the Latin *participium coniunctum*.

⁸¹The CL system would have probably displayed a bare present participle *ludentes*, having both the features of durativity and simultaneity.

differs from the subject of the matrix clause, can contain a gerundial, but also a participial (both present and past) or rarely, a non-verbal form⁸².

- (19) *Bene rimase in vita, regnando Ugo Ciappetta [...]*
 good remain.PRF in life reign.GER Ugo Ciappetta [...]
 ‘The good remained in life while Ugo Ciappetta reigned (during Ugo Ciappetta’s reign)’

(Villani, *NC*, II, 24, 91; De Roberto 2012c)

However, as De Roberto shows through a large number of examples, both the participial and the gerundial absolutes are productive, unlike what is stated in Maraldi (1994) or Aalto (1951), who claim that the gerund substitutes the participle. The distinction between the two constructions on the functional level does not seem to be functionally/semantically relevant at this point, but it is relevant to add a note on the connection of these structures to the Latin ablative absolute. Indeed, following De Roberto (2012a) once again, the gradience of the referentiality of the subject plays a key role in determining how distant the Old Italian structure is from the Latin one. The greater the gradient of referentiality is, the farther the construction is from the original AA. This means that the event which is being described is more applicable to the characterization of the subject of the matrix clause, while the syntactically loose AA provides an element which frames the action within a specific context.

3.3.1.3 Causality

The parallel function to the temporal relation and generally, another widely used context is that of causality. Just as described in the previous subsection, causal relations are expressed through a bare gerund, but show a morphosyntactic behavior which typically has a participial nature. Somewhat similarly, ex. 20 is addressed as an attributive function (cf. Egerland 2010:903) which is to be paraphrased into a relative structure (cf. Da Milano & Ramat 2011:3).

- (20) *Leggesi della bontà del Re Giovane guerreggiando*
 it_is_read of bravery of+DET king Giovane do_war.GER/PP
col padre per lo consiglio di Beltrame dal Bornio:
 with+DET father for DET advice of Bertran from+DET Born

⁸²Mastrantonio (2018) provides a good overview of the Old Italian participial absolute construction with a specific focus on the past participle indicating a temporal relation of anteriority between the independent clause and the absolute clause.

*lo quale Beltrame si vantò ch'elli avea più senno che
 who Bertran REFL bragged that+he AUX more sense than
 niuno altro.
 everyone else*

'We read of the bravery of King Giovane because he was fighting with his father, thanks to Bertran from Born: who bragged that he was wiser than anyone else.'

(*Novellino*, 18, 1-3; cf. Egerland 2010)

This specific example does not appear to be semantically transparent in providing a clear-cut function because of a possible morphological convergence between the PP and the gerund. Alternatively, it can be assumed that the gerund in (20) echoes its original function, as the ablative of the gerund *bellando* would be a suitable option for this context in CL.

The causal gerund can also bear an argument structure, as in ex. 21. Such a condition is however, due to the valency of the *verba existimandi*.

- (21) *Molto fu bello ad vederli, con segno di pace, stando
 much be.PRF nice to see.INF+them with sign of peace stand.GER
 schierati. Il caldo era grande, si' che pareva che
 lined_up.PL DET heat be.PST big so_much that seem.IPFV that
 l'aria ardesse. I loro scorridori a pie' e a cavallo
 DET+air burn.SBJV DET their rescuers on foot and on horseback
 si strinsono alla citta' e vennono alla porta
 REFL intertwine.PRF to+DET city and come.PRF to+DET door
 degli Spadai, credendo il Baschiera avervi amici
 of+DET Spadai believe.GER DET Baschiera have.INF+you friends
 e entrarvi senza contesa
 and enter_there without contention*

'It was nice to see them, with a sign of peace, while they were lined up. The heat was great, so much that it seemed that the air was burning. Their rescuers tightened on foot and on horseback around the city and they came to the door of the Spadai, (because) Baschiera believing (believed) to have friends in there and to enter without contention.'

(*Compagni*, III, X, 59-60)

Causality is also conveyed in numerous gerundial absolute constructions, such as (22).

- (22) *E nello equinozio sempre queste e quelle che temporali si*
 and in+DET equinox always these and those that seasonals REFL
chiamano sono una cosa: però che, essendo lo dì eguale della
 call.3PL are a thing but that be.GER DET day equal of+DET
notte, conviene così avvenire.
 night worth this_way happen
 ‘And on the day of the equinox these and what are called seasonals
 are always one thing: because of the day being equal to the night, it
 manifests this way.’

(Cv., III, 6, 8)

In addition, Old Italian data displays ‘compromise’ structures standing between a fully absolute (syntactically detached) structure and an adjunct. De Roberto (2012a:514-515) labels such structures as ‘pseudoabsolutes’, differing from the canonical absolutes in the referentiality of the subject (ex.23).

- (23) *La seconda moglie [Nerone] amò molto teneramente ed essendo*
 DET seconda wife Nero loved much dearly and be.GER
[la moglie] gravida col calcio [Nerone] l’uccise.
 DET wife pregnant with+DET kick Nero her+killed
 ‘Nero loved his second wife dearly and being the wife pregnant, Nero
 killed her with a kick.’

(Fiori, 16-18; De Roberto (2012a:505))

The noun of the absolute construction can, however, be related to other constituents of the main clause, showing full referentiality, as stated in De Roberto (2012a:480). Ex. 24 which contains a past participle⁸³ in fact displays referentiality between the object of the matrix clause and the nominal element of the absolute construction.

- (24) *Esauriti i biglietti presso i botteghini, abbiamo dovuto*
 run_out.PstP DET tickets at DET box_office AUX need.PstP
acquistarli presso privati a prezzo maggiorato.
 buy.INF+them at private_sellers at price higher

⁸³The past participle conveys anteriority, unlike the present participle which conveys a relation of simultaneity to the matrix clause. Concerning the latter, it is usual to find constructions of two elements in which the verbal component is unaccusative (e.g. *to come*) or indicating a temporal order (e.g. *to enter, to exit*), as in *entrante lo mese di febbraio* ‘entering the month of February’.

‘Sold out the tickets at the box office (because the tickets sold out at the box office), we had to buy them from a private individual at a higher price.’

(Modern Italian, cf. De Roberto 2012a:480)

3.3.1.4 Circumstance

I will only briefly touch upon the expression of circumstance, as this function is traditionally linked to the gerundial constructions. An alternative to the bare option is provided in (25) with prepositional gerunds which can express a circumstance, an instrument or manner in addition to purpose.

- (25) *E questo fanno in tre modi. L'uno modo si è di raffrenando la podestà del demonio, com'è scritto ne hold_back.GER DET authority of+DET devil how+is written in l'Apocalisso [...] Il secondo modo si è DET+Apocalypse [...] DET second way IMPS be.3SG rifrigerando la concupiscienza [...] Il terzo modo si è cooling_down DET lust [...] DET third way IMPS is mettendo ne li nostri cuori la memoria de la passione put.GER in DET our hearts DET memory of DET passion*
 ‘And this they do in three ways. One way is to hold back the authority of the devil, as it is written in the Apocalypse [] The second way is to cool down the lust [] The third way is to hold in our hearts the memory of the passion.’ (Leggenda Aurea, 140; cf. De Roberto 2013:884)

3.3.1.5 Gerund as a direct competitor of the infinitive

Several apparent overlaps with the infinitive can be observed in the Old Italian data. As previously explained, the traditional use of the infinitive was that of a subject or direct object and as a consequence, the extension of the gerund to an argument position comes as a surprise. For this reason I believe that this matter which requires further investigation should be addressed on its own. Examples (26) and (27) display a gerund in nominal positions.

- (26) *Or so' cusì desfatto, en tutto escuntraffatto, a onn'omo mette and am that prostrate in all deformed to every_man put pagura vedeano mea figura fear see.GER my shape*

‘And I am so prostrate, all deformed, that every man is afraid of seeing my shape.’ (Iacopone, VII, 158-162; cf. De Roberto 2013:881)

(27) *Oimè, e o so menato a ssi forte languire? Vivendo ssi*
 Oh and am this beaten to this strong complain live.GER this_way
è morire
 is die.INF

‘Oh why am I so frustrated / persecuted to complain this much? Living this way (keeping on living this way) is dying the burning is so strong.’

(Iacopone, *Amor de Caritate, perché m’ài ssi feruto?*, 9-10)

This nominal use of gerund occurs rather often in Iacopone da Todi’s literary work, but it is not exclusive to his production⁸⁴. However, Dardano (2007) claims that some of the nominal gerunds may be induced by the rhyme, nonetheless, the productivity of its use is confirmed by its employment in the prose. When it comes to ex. 26 specifically, I believe it is possible to postulate additional interpretations to the assumption that the relevant example takes over the infinitive, thereby occupying an argument position. Indeed, we may also assume that *a onn’omo mette pagura* and *vedenno mea figura* are in a relation of causality. In fact, the man is scared because s/he sees someone or alternatively, by seeing someone. By assuming the latter, the gerund takes a manner function. However, in both cases, it seems that the gerund maintains its traditional CL function. Ex. 27, on the contrary, is more explicit and seems to be a better candidate for a functional overlap with the infinitive. De Roberto (2013), however, argues that the presence of a gerund might highlight the durativity or non-punctuality of the action, rather than the stativeness provided by the infinitive, as in *vivendo*, carrying the meaning of “continuing to live this way”. In fact, she claims that the gerund may be emphasizing continuity or durativity of the verbal action in a syntax, such as that of Old Italian, which does not have a well-defined domain of functions per each category. This specific use, however, was not limited to the gerund, as the parallel infinitival construction was still productive.

Another example which is worth mentioning is surely (28), presenting an argument structure with a perceptive verb.

(28) “*Summae Deus clementiae*” *nel seno / al grande ardore*
 Summae Deus clementiae in+DET middle / to+DET big burning

⁸⁴Additional works quoted by De Roberto (2013) are that of Guittone d’Arezzo and Piovano Arlotto.

allora udi cantando, / che di volger mi fé caler non
 then heard sing.GER / that of turn to_me make continue not
meno;
 less

‘Then in the midst of the heat of the flames I heard the hymn *Summae Deus clementiae* being sung and this made me eager to watch as much as to continue.’

(Dante, *Pg.*, XXV, 121-123; cf. De Roberto 2013:883)

This example can be rearranged into a temporal relation along the lines of ‘I heard the hymn *Summae Deus clementiae* while it was being sung’ or potentially, ‘which was being sung’. In both cases a focus on durativity is observable and this feature may be distinctive in the choice between the gerund and the infinitive. Nonetheless, this additional use confirms the multifunctionality of the gerund, as stated by Da Milano & Ramat (2011).

3.3.1.6 Verbal periphrases as an innovative use

In Old Italian, various periphrastic structures arise, some of which are gerundial. An exhaustive overview of the Old Italian periphrases can be found in Squartini (2010a), whereas here I will list the main constructions for the purposes of completeness, but exclusively focus on the relevant gerundial ones.

Squartini (2010a:540-545) distinguishes between three types of periphrases: 1. durative periphrases, 2. habitual periphrases, 3. deontic modal periphrases. The Old Italian durative periphrases are grammaticalized constructions of *andare/venire* + gerund (ex. 29 and 30) or *stare a* + infinitive (ex.31).

(29) *onde io ne la mia puerizia molte volte l'andai cercando*
 so I in DET my childhood many times it+go.PRF look_for.GER
e vedeala di sì nobili e laudabili portamenti, che
 and see.IPFV.1SG+her of so noble and laudable deportment that
certo di lei si potea dire quella parola del poeta
 certainly of her IMPS could say.INF that word of+DET poet
Omero
 Homer

‘so, during those early years I often went looking for her, and I found her to be of such natural dignity and worthy of such admiration that the words of the poet Homer suited her perfectly.’

(Dante, *Vita nuova*, ch.2, par. 8)

- (30) *Un giorno avvenne che, cavalcando, Davit vide*
 one day happen.PFV.3SG that ride.GER David see.PRF
l'angelo di Dio con una spada ignuda, ch'andava uccidendo
 DET+angel of God with a sword naked, that+go.IPFV kill.GER
il popolo
 DET people
 'One day it happened that riding his horse, Davit saw the angel of God with a naked sword, that was killing the people with it.'

(Novellino, 5, 19-20)

- (31) *Et posso ben dire manifestamente che ciascuna persona sarà*
 and can well say.INF manifestly that every person will_be
intenta e starà ad intendere se io nel mio
 intent and stay.FUT.3SG to intend if I in+DET my
cominciamento dico ch'io voglia trattare di cose grandi e
 beginning say.1SG that+I want discuss of things big and
d'alta materia
 of+high matter
 'And I can manifestly say that every person will pay attention and will try to understand if I at the beginning say that I want to discuss great things and of great matter.'

(Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p.188, 10-13)

Specifically, *andare+ger.* is used with continuous or iterative aspect, *venire+ger.* combines with telic⁸⁵ predicates, whereas *stare a+inf.* denotes the persistence of a non-telic durative context. Habitual periphrases, instead, are of two types: *usare / essere usato di+inf.* (ex.32) and *solere+inf.*, mainly used with non-agentive predicates (ex.33).

- (32) *E quando io avea veduto compiere tutti li dolorosi mestieri che*
 and when I had see.PstP fulfill.INF all DET painful jobs that
a le corpora de li morti s'usano di fare, mi
 to DET bodies of DET deads REFL+use.3PL of do.INF to_me

⁸⁵For aspectual matter, I assume Comrie (1976), Dahl (2010:1-96) and Smith (2013), but also Bertinetto (1986, 1997) with a specific focus on Romance. A good overview of the actional classes in a more general Indo-European perspective can be found in Cotticelli Kurras (2015, in press) and Pisaniello (2020:15-40), among others. Further discussion on aspectual matter related to the gerundial periphrases will follow in chapter 6.

parea tornare ne la mia camera, e quivi mi
 seem.IPFV.3SG return.INF in DET my room and where to_me
parea guardare verso lo cielo
 seem.IPFV.3SG look.INF towards DET sky

‘And when I had witnessed the administering of the sorrowful rites customarily performed on the bodies of the dead, it seemed I returned to my room and from there looked toward Heaven.’

(Dante, *Vita nuova*, ch.23, par.10)

- (33) *Et sopra ciò dicono l'antiche storie di Roma che questa causa*
 and above that say.3PL DET_old stories of Rome that this oratory
dimostrativa si solea trattare in Campo Marzio, nel
 epideictic REFL used_to debate in Campus Martius in+DET
quale s'assemblava la comunanza a llodare alcuna
 which IMPS+gather.IPFV.3SG DET community to praise.INF some
persona ch'era degna d'aver dignitate e signoria et a
 person that+was worthy to+have.INF dignity and lordship and to
biasmare quella che non era degna
 blame.INF that that not be.IPFV.3SG worthy

‘And ancient stories say that this epideictic oratory was debated in Campus Martius where the community used to gather to praise people who were worthy of having dignity and lordship and to blame those who were not worthy.’

(Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, p.36, 12-15)

Finally, the deontic periphrasis combines the deontic modality with i. a future temporal reference, as in *essere a* + infinitive, ii. a passive-like construction *essere da* + infinitive (ex.34) and iii. an active form *avere a* + infinitive.⁸⁶

- (34) “*È da impendere Guido ch'à fatto furto, o no?*” *Od*
 be.3SG to hang.INF Guido that+AUX do.PstP theft or not or
 “*È da guidardonare Julio Cesare ch'à conquistata*
 be.3SG to reward.INF Julius Caesar that+AUX conquer.PstP
Francia, o no?”
 France or not

‘Is Guido to be hung for stealing or isn’t he? Or is Julius Caesar to be rewarded for conquering France or isn’t he?’

⁸⁶I omit an exhaustive explanation of the deontic modal periphrases here due to the lack of relevance to the main topic of this work. A good description, along with a set of Old Italian examples for each type is provided by Squartini (2010b).

(Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, 3-5; Squartini 2010b:588)

Interestingly, the VL and LL structures containing imperfective participles are not found in the Old Italian literature. Furthermore, the above-listed examples provided by Squartini (2010a) do not include the *stare/esse+gerund*, which in his view are not fully grammaticalized at this stage. Contrarily, Da Milano & Ramat (2011:44-45) classify both constructions as periphrastic forms (ex. 35, 36 and 37) expressing durativity.

- *esse+gerundive*

- (35) *Le mani me son lavando [...]*
 DET hands REFL be.1SG wash.GER [...]
 ‘I am washing my hands [...]

(Bonv. *Tre scritt.* 961; cf. Da Milano & Ramat 2011:44)

- *stare+gerundive*

- (36) [...] *stetti molt’anni libertà sognando*
 [...] be.PRF.1SG many_years freedom dream.GER
 ‘[...] for many years I dreamed of freedom’

- (37) *Le notti e la die sta plorando.*
 DET night and DET day be/stay.3SG cry.GER
 ‘He cries night and day.’

(Elegia Giudeo-Cristiana, 12th-13th century; Bertinetto 2000:563)

These potentially contrastive claims can be seen from a different perspective from my personal standpoint. Before providing any (possible) answers as to whether the examples above can count as grammaticalized periphrastic constructions or whether any interpretation can be furnished at all, it is crucial to set up a series of criteria which would serve as the necessary conditions for the identification and evaluation of the degree of grammaticalization in periphrases. Starting from the definition of periphrasis itself, Brown *et al.* (2012) see it as “the situation where we find two (or more) words even though we had a reasonable, morphology-based, expectation of finding only one.” This rather broad definition can be enhanced through the notion that the semantic value of the periphrasis should be greater than the sum of single components if taken individually (Squartini, 1990). Ideally, for the purpose of verification

of the degree of grammaticalization of the periphrases, the following semantic and syntactic criteria, listed in Bertinetto (1990) and based on Martin (1971), Dietrich (1973:9, 56-57, 153-154), Blücher (1973:14-15), Coseriu (1976:99), Böckle (1980) and Schemann & Schemann-Dias (1983:5) can be used:

1. the semantic integration of the periphrasis (as confirmed in Squartini (1990));
2. the morphological structure - made up of an inflected auxiliary verb and a main non-finite verb;
3. the restricted number of modifiers⁸⁷, among which we find stative verbs, such as *essere* 'to be' or *stare* 'to stay/be located', motion verbs such as *andare* 'to go', *venire* 'to come', *tornare* 'to return', verbs with a specific actional denotation, such as *cominciare* 'to begin', *continuare* 'to continue', *finire* 'to conclude', etc.;
4. the desemantization of the modifiers;
5. the semantic subordination of the modifier;
6. the syntactic organicity - syntactically compact vs. non-compact structures;
7. the semantic organicity - the possibility of insertion of an adverb within the structure;
8. the functional opposition - the minimal pair opposition only possible in the integrity of the periphrasis (AUX + 'main' verb);
9. the generalizability - potentially unlimited combinations when it comes to the choice of the main verb, except for fewer exceptions (e.g. **andava andando*);
10. the tense-aspect relevance - *Schau* 'the view' and *Phase* 'the phase' in Coseriu's terms⁸⁸.

⁸⁷Dietrich (1973:9) provides the complete list of modifiers.

⁸⁸Squartini (1998:140-142) provides a good explanation of Coseriu's terminology, which notably differs from traditional aspectual accounts. Indeed, *Schau* stands for a global or a fractionative view (terminology which has likely been borrowed from Keniston (1936), intending that the speaker can visualize the entire or a part of the verbal action which is located between two points. *Phase*, on the other hand, indicates a specific phase of the verbal situation.

As specified by Bertinetto (1990:344), the first three criteria in the list are typologically generalizable, being descriptive and treated as the minimal prerequisite for the periphrasis. The remaining criteria, instead, are not to be taken as absolutes, but rather as scalarly quantifiable. Bertinetto's major criticism to the above list concerns the lack of precision/specificity and relevant arguments, as these criteria could be applied to e.g. idiomatic expressions as well. However, having "relatively ambiguous and elusive outlines" (Bertinetto 1990:342), the periphrases are generally hardly delimitable. Out of the above-mentioned criteria, I personally consider the following ones (also built on Heine 1993, Hopper & Traugott 2003 and Maienborn 2005) to be typologically relevant:

1. the degree of desemantization / auxiliation of the motion verb;
2. the ability of forming monoclausal structures (vs. biclausal);
3. the adjacency between the two verbal components; the insertion of additional material, e.g. adverbs of manner, between the single periphrastic constituents;
4. the movement of the constituents;
5. the existence of an alternative structure substituting the periphrasis.

Among the above-listed criteria, 1 and 2 should be regarded in parallel, as the gradual desemantization of the stative or motion verb leads to the formation of a monoclausal structure. In other words, for the periphrasis to grammaticalize or for the process of grammaticalization to occur, a gradual loss of the lexical component in *stare/andare/venire* needs to take place, leading to its recategorization into an auxiliary, merging with the gerund (which does not lose its semantics) into a single predicative formation. The juxtaposition of the two elements generates a single monoclausal structure (having started from a biclausal one), which gains new semantics, as clearly visible in Modern Italian.

Considering examples with *stare* and *essere*, 35 may be somewhat challenging to analyze, being the only example with *essere* within the sources and literature consulted. Ex. 36 and 37, however, can be examined as a minimal pair, specifically related to the syntactic criteria. Strictly considering the example 36, it appears clear at first sight that there could be two clauses expressing 'X is/was standing there in Y way'. If this is the case, as a consequence the verb *stare* maintains its full semantic value, whereas the gerund acts as an adverbial modifier of the predicate. Following this reasoning, we may preliminarily conclude that the structure in 36 is not grammaticalized. Bertinetto (2000)

provides a satisfactory explanation, bridging the gap between the two points of view, by distinguishing between purely durative or static contexts and the progressive ones, which developed at a later stage. Indeed, “the verbal noun often fulfilled a purely adjectival function, and as such could combine with a habitual or an imperative meaning [...], in which the event is not viewed with respect to a focalized point in time, but rather relative to an unrestricted interval” (cf. Bertinetto 2000:563). We may, therefore, partially conclude that the above-mentioned structures do not express progressive and are not grammaticalized in Old Italian. As such, they convey a continuous reading through a biclausal structure.

Similarly, we can analyze another minimal pair, involving motion verbs + gerund.

- (38) *andrà per la città e per lo contado uccidendo et*
 go.FUT.3SG for DET town and for DET countryside kill.GER and
rubando et ardendo amico et nemico
 steal.GER and burn.GER friend and enemy
 ‘He will go through town and countryside killing and stealing and burn-
 ing friends and enemies.’

(Fra’ Guidotto, *Mcr.57*, 122; cf. Da Milano & Ramat 2011:44)

- (39) *Or ti piaccia gradir la sua venuta / libertà va cercando,*
 so to_you like enjoy DET her arrival / freedom go.3SG look.GER
ch’è sì cara, / come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta
 that+is so dear / as know.3SG who for her life refuse.3SG
 ‘So welcome her arrival: she is looking for freedom, which is so pre-
 cious, as anyone who sacrifices their life knows well.’

(Dante, *Purg.* 1, 70-72)

The above-listed criteria apply in the same way as for *stare/essere* constructions. In example (38) both the inflected verb of motion and the gerund seem to convey (their full) meaning, forming a bi-clausal structure and indicating ‘X that goes/will go to do Y in the Z way/manner’, indicating the gerund the circumstance of the main action. To my personal judgment, ex.39 notably differs from the other member in its minimal pair, providing potentially a grammaticalized, monoclausal structure. Parameters 3 and 4 are both related to word order. They aim to verify whether the movement of the single constituents, e.g. the inversion, or the insertion of additional material, such as manner adverbs, determine the degree of grammaticalization. Following Amenta (2001,

2003) and her work on Ancient Greek, the contiguity of verbal components is an indicator of the process of grammaticalization and the more contiguous the elements are, the higher the degree of grammaticalization is.⁸⁹ However, the fifth criterion should serve as the ultimate verification, as the maintained productivity of a potential direct non-periphrastic structure may indicate the lack of need of a specific periphrasis.

Going back to the scalar interpretation of the criteria for the verification of the degree of grammaticalization in a periphrasis, Bertinetto (1990) lists ranges from a more featured into a less featured construction for each scale⁹⁰.

- a) Desemantization scale - *stare*+GER > *cominciare a* 'to start to'+INF > *riuscire a* 'to manage to'+INF;
- b) Syntactic organicity scale - *sta studiando* 's/he is studying' > *sta in camera, studiando accanitamente* 's/he is in her/his room, studying relentlessly';
- c) Non-switchability scale - *stare*+GER > *solere* 'to have the habit of' (*solere* allows for alternative combinations, such as *essere solito*+INF);
- d) Generalizability scale - *cominciare a* 'to start to'+INF > *scoppiare a* 'to burst'+INF;
- e) Temporal-aspectual relevance scale - *andare*+GER > *cominciare a*+INF > *andare*+PstP⁹¹;
- f) Defectivism scale - *stare*+GER > *andare*+GER⁹².

⁸⁹Cf. the grammaticalization of the Latin periphrastic constructions on the basis of the Greek model in Amenta (2003).

⁹⁰The following hierarchies are calibrated based on Modern Italian.

⁹¹This hierarchy is based on Coseriu (1976). The aspectual viewpoint is more central with respect to the phase (cf. Bertinetto 1990:334).



⁹²The *stare*+GER periphrasis, exclusively allowing imperfectives, is more integrated in the Modern Italian aspectual system according to Bertinetto.

Both the list of criteria and the scalar method surely provide further clues in the understanding of these structures. However, a more specific analysis regarding the degree of grammaticalization of the periphrastics is not feasible, given the impossibility of further inquiry due to the closed corpus and the evident lack of native speakers. A few comments, following a brief consultation with prof. Giampaolo Salvi and with prof. Mario Squartini, are, nonetheless, necessary. Besides what could be a more systematic method, explained above, we can in principle assume that the semantic change precedes the syntactic readjustment which can last for centuries (cf. Haspelmath 2010 and the behavior-before-coding principle). An example is that of the grammaticalization of the perfect in Old and Modern Italian (Loporcaro 1995, but also Salvi 1982 on the structural change of *habeo* + participle). The Latin participle, being the modifier of the direct object, agreed with the latter. This operation is, indeed, maintained in Modern Italian, despite the obvious semantic change, which, however, was not followed by a syntactic rearrangement and should be considered as a partial or uncompleted grammaticalization. Similarly, we find cases of *andare*+GER in Modern Italian which suggest the biclausal reading with a modal /instrumental gerund, despite the presence of a grammaticalized *andare*+GER periphrasis. However, analogous assumptions on the Old Italian data are challenging, due to the relatively free word order, which restrains the analysis according to syntactic criteria. Overall, we can assume an incomplete grammaticalization in this case as well, as Modern Italian provides minimal pairs, such as *Vado raccontando storie* 'I go telling stories' (continuous, monoclausal) and *Vado verso casa raccontando storie* 'I go home by telling stories' (biclausal), signaling the co-existence of both structures. Therefore, we can conclude that only semantically univocal and unambiguous sentences can be taken into consideration when deducing the degree of grammaticalization, as the syntactic requirements do not fully apply to Old Italian data. In fact, the 'fixation' of syntactic elements occurs at a later stage. Finally, regarding the above-analyzed examples, the literature does not provide unambiguous data which are suitable for detailed testing.

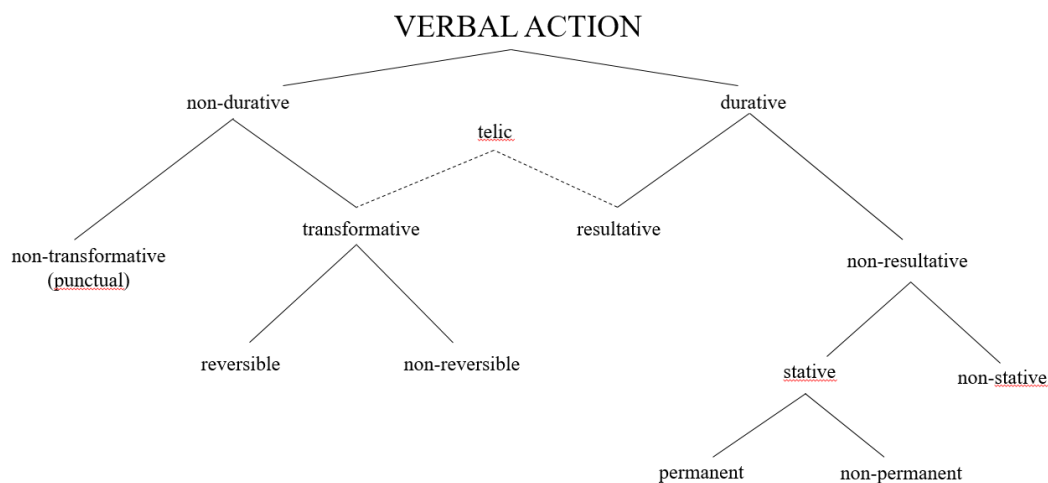
What we know about later stages of *andare*+GER as Brianti (1992); Giacalone Ramat (1995); Squartini (1995, 1998); Bertinetto (1998a,b, 2000); Amenta & Strudsholm (2002), among others, suggest, is that it develops in parallel to the progressive periphrasis. Following Bertinetto (1998a) specifically, the two share their morphological structure, however, display different semantic properties, as well as different restrictions of use. Their aspectual values are in contrast as well, the *stare* + GER being a progressive periphrasis, whereas *venire/andare* + GER is considered as continuous (Squartini 1990,

1995; Bertinetto 1998b; Cerruti 2012; D’Amato 2017 among others)⁹³.

3.3.1.7 Further discussion

To sum up, it can be noted that the syntax in Old Italian is still relatively compact. The above-listed examples provide evidence of a remarkable extension of the use of gerund, which covers the adnominal and predicative use of the PP, but also the nominal use of the infinitive, along with the purely adverbial use through the bare or prepositional gerund and its use to express purpose via preposition + gerund. However, both the category of the infinitive and the present participle do not completely cease in use, but are bound to specific contexts, as in ex.40 and 41:

⁹³Assuming some traditional literature in the aspectual domain, such as Comrie (1976:1-40), it may sound contradictory to define the *andare* + gerund as a continuous periphrasis, providing a rather iterative meaning. Unlike Comrie, Bertinetto (1986) does not distinguish between continuous and habitual aspect within imperfectivity. On the contrary, his view embraces both the proper aspect and actionality, resulting in the following structure (which incorporates the actional classes defined by Vendler (1957):



This view, therefore, does not contradict Comrie, but it rather emphasizes an aspectual system which does not include iterativity. As Pisaniello (2020:24) points out: “risulta chiaro che l’iteratività non può essere considerata parte del dominio aspettuale, combinandosi tanto con l’aspetto perfettivo quanto con quello imperfettivo: essa è una proprietà azionale che, con Bertinetto (1986: 87), può essere ragionevolmente considerata ‘una sottospecie della duratività’, ‘it is clear that iterativity cannot be considered part of the aspectual domain, combining both the perfective and the imperfective aspects: it is an actional property that in Bertinetto (1986: 87) is reasonably be considered as ‘a subspecies of durativity’.

- (40) *vidi più mille angeli festanti*
 see.PRF.1SG more thousand angels cheer.PP
 ‘I saw more than a thousand angels cheering.’

(Dante, *Par.* 31, 131; cf. De Carvalho 2003)

- (41) *e vidi spirti per la fiamma andando*
 and see.PRF.1SG spirits for DET flame go.GER
 ‘and I saw the spirits going for the flame (and I saw the souls which were walking through the flames).’

(Dante, *Purg.* 25, 124; cf. De Carvalho 2003)

De Carvalho (2003) claims that the gerund highlights the reference to the place of an event, whereas the participle aims at defining the subject of the conveyed verbal notion (“le propos vise, à l’évidence, la définition du sujet de la notion verbale véhiculée”). I believe that his definition should be somewhat expanded, as it exclusively refers to the general structure of the gerund and the participle constructions through the lens of a modern Romance interpretation. The author, indeed, relies very much on what could be intended as the general guidelines in the distinction between the PP and the gerund: the gerund, on the one hand, behaves as an adjuncts and provides the context of an event (‘the reference to the place’), whereas the participle on the other hand defines a nominal element of the matrix clause. The rich set of Old Italian data shows that the range of application of the morphological (-ndo/-nno) form of the gerund is notably wider and includes the syntactic configurations which are typical of the participle and the infinitive, however, the semantic interpretation of these examples seems to maintain the core adverbial values.

Tab.3.13 provides a summary of the semantic functions by outlining the main readings of each construction and visually representing previously-examined examples of the section 3.3.1 on Old Italian. This ordering shows a notable concentration in the area of the traditional domain of the gerund (in gray) and the present participle, i.e. the expression of time, cause and manner, with two additional values denoting purpose/aim and argument structure. The examples expressing purpose and complement could, again, be interpreted in terms of the trait of durativity, standing for e.g. ‘so that they can keep cultivating the fields’ in 16. The structure preposition+gerund is infrequent at this stage, but it is likely to mirror the Latin gerund accusative which is preceded by *ad* and expresses purpose or generally, the CL explicitated prepositional gerund. When it comes to all the remaining examples, I speculate that the PP leaves the floor

to the gerund, by fixating as an adjectival form, while the infinitive may be the underspecified category in durative context. Given this “extended” use of the gerund in Old Italian, it is claimed that, post-CL, it crystallized in its ablative form, losing its inflection. However, when it comes to the grammatical relation of the gerund to other elements, the above-illustrated examples provide evidence of the incorporation of several settings traditionally attributed to the infinitive and to the present participle within the paradigm of the *-ndo* form. Nonetheless, the semantic analysis does not highlight any major difference in the interpretation of the gerund. These considerations would however benefit from an in-depth scrutiny of a larger amount of data, though this general inspection of Old Italian examples provides some clues on the ongoing development of the gerund, the infinitive and the participle.

	Complement	Purpose / Aim	Cause	Time	Manner
Ex.16		X			
Ex.17		X			
Ex.18				X	
Ex.19			X		
Ex.20			X		
Ex.21 "stando schierati"				X	
Ex.21 "cre- dendo..."			X		
Ex.22			X		
Ex.23			X		
Ex.25			X		
Ex.26					X
Ex.27	X				
Ex.28	X				

Table 3.13: The functional distribution in Old Italian examples

3.3.2 Gerund in Old French

Contrarily to Old Italian, Old French already displays a hybrid *-ant* form, incorporating both the functions of the CL ablative gerund and present participle and displaying a neutralized *-a-* theme vowel which absorbs all the conjugations. The classification of this hybrid structure has been a matter of discussion for decades in the literature of Old French. More outdated works, such as Weerenbeck (1927), attribute a predominance to the participle over the gerund, particularly when it comes to absolute constructions (for instance, *la grâce aidant*). These constructions should be the continuation of the Latin employment, nevertheless, the scholar acknowledges specific cases of dubious interpretation, which make the identification of the category rather difficult and challenging.

Post-Weerenbeck and more recent research give more weight to the gerund (cf. Aspland 1968, 1972) and emphasize the shady areas, claiming that the

-ant syncretism requires new, univocal and unambiguous terminology. In the attempt of disambiguation, I will now explore the only domain which represents the safe ground in terms of functions of the gerund, namely the adverbial use.

3.3.2.1 Adverbial functions

The Old French gerundial constructions typically convey the meaning of a circumstance, causality or temporality (ex.42). Despite the ambiguity of the suffix, the two categories are normally distinguished on a formal basis and specifically, the gerund is often preceded by a preposition *en* (ex.42), while the participle is not (ex.43).

- (42) *en dormant a veü celi por cui ses cuers*
 in sleep.GER AUX see.PstP this+DET for who/which his/her heart
muert
 die.3SG
 ‘while he was sleeping, he saw the lady for whom his heart is dying.’

(*Bel Inconnu*, 2466, cf. Jensen 2012:232)

- (43) *devons tout estre en lui creant*
 must.1PL all be.INF in him believe.PP
 ‘we must all believe in him’ lit. ‘we must all be believing in him.’

(*Boron*, 2328, cf. Jensen 2012:325)

However, the preposition *en* can often be omitted, fully clashing with the non-inflected present participle and having both constructions express simultaneity to the matrix clause, as in (44). Therefore, due to syncretism, the distinctive measures are provided by the function, but also by the syntactic structure, as the gerund operates as an adjunct, while the participle acts as a modifier of a nominal element.

- (44) *Grâce à ce subterfuge, les plus maladroits chasseurs,*
 thanks to this trick DET more clumsy hunters
chassant la nuit, voient accourir un gibier abundant.
 hunt.GER/PP DET night see.3PL rush a game abundant
 ‘Thanks to this trick, the most clumsy hunters, hunting (who hunt / while they hunt) at night, see abundant game rushing.’

(cf. Weerenbeck 1927)

What is more, in addition to the *-ant* gerund/participle, the present participle has its own non-syncretic morphology (cf. Jensen 2012:322-334) presenting number, gender and case agreement⁹⁴. While the non-inflected *-ant* form is used in contexts retaining some sort of verbal force (for instance, ex.43), the inflected participle mainly has an adjectival role (e.g. *l'ève estoit roide et bruianz* 'the stream was swift and noisy'; *Yvain*, 3085, cf. Jensen 2012:323) or is used in contexts of periphrasis similar to that of the LL *esse*+PP type (e.g. *il dist qu'il seroit remembranz de ceste chose* 'he said that he would remember this thing'; *Queste*, 171.32, cf. Jensen 2012:324).

Aspland (1972) identifies some of the features which he attributes to the gerund. What could certainly be labelled as gerund is the prepositional *-ant* form, which is typically used with an intransitive verb or absolutely. The bare gerund / present participle instead can take both a direct or an indirect object. The remaining features are those of the PP in the function of a relative clause / a quality of the noun it refers to (ex.45), along with the functions of the Old Italian adverbial gerund which shows subject referentiality and expresses circumstance, time, manner or cause, but also purpose and condition (ex.46).

- (45) *Quant un vallet grant dol menant / Enmi le*
 when a man big grief manifest.GER/PP / in_the_middle_of DET
chemin encontra
 path meet.PRF.3SG

'When he met on the road a young man who was manifesting great grief', lit. 'When a man great grief manifesting in the middle of the (my) path I met.'

(*Perceval*, 2366-2367, cf. Aspland 1972:52)

- (46) *De paiz requerre desirant / Unt au duc*
 of peace request.INF desire.GER/PP / are.3PL to+DET duke
tramis lor message
 send.PstP their message

'Since they wanted to ask for peace, they sent their messenger to the duke.'

(*Ducs de Normandie*, 10928-10929, cf. Aspland 1972:50)

⁹⁴Specifically, we find the following forms: *-anz* for the nominative masculine and feminine singular, the oblique case masculine plural and the feminine plural; *-ant* for the oblique case masculine singular, the nominative masculine plural and the feminine singular (cf. Nguissaly 2000). From the 13th century onwards, the *-anz* suffix is replaced by *-ans* due to the deaffrication of the affricate sound [ts] corresponding to the grapheme ⟨z⟩.

When the gerundial/participial form is used in absolute-type constructions, it mainly conveys causal or temporal readings. Aspland (1968) distinguishes between true absolutes (*le cas échéant* ‘should the occasion arise / should it so happen / in case of need’; Littré III, 393; Harrap I, 290), which display the same configuration as the Old Italian one, but with a syncretic *-ant* suffix, and the so-called absolute constructions. The latter refer to the process of grammaticalization in the creation of prepositions, such as *pendant* ‘during’, *moyennant* ‘by means of’, etc. The reason why these constructions are worth being mentioned is their productivity in the early 12th century texts, specifically when it comes to *voiant* (ex.47) and *oiant*, respectively ‘in the seeing of’ and ‘in the hearing of’ which maintain their lexical value at this stage. Aspland claims that this is a unique creation to French which only resembles the Latin absolute constructions, being accompanied by a noun. Both *voiant* and *oiant* are substituted by forms such as *devant* ‘in front of’ towards the end of the 12th century.

- (47) *Ge tres l'espee, [...] / A mon nu brant en*
 I draw.PRF.1SG DET+sword [...] / to my naked blade part.
ocis set des lor, / Voiant lor euz abati lor seignor.
 kill.PstP seven of them / see.PP them kill.PRF their lord
 ‘I drew the sword [...]; with my bare blade I killed seven of theirs, and in their seeing (sight), I killed their lord.’

(*Charroi de Nîmes*, 197-198; cf. Aspland 1968)

Another occurrence of the *-ant* form which is worth mentioning is the continuation of the Late Latin motion verb+gerund⁹⁵ to denote an ongoing, continuous action⁹⁶ (ex.48). Just like in the case of Old Italian, I believe that such constructions should not be assumed as fully grammaticalized at this

⁹⁵Vangaever & Carlier (2020) provide a good diachronic overview of the continuous periphrasis focusing on Modern French. The scholars affirm that the use of this construction is rather different compared to Italian or Spanish, as it specializes “in scenarios which express a gradual change of the state of the subject, performing the semantic role of patient or theme”.

⁹⁶According to Jensen (2012:324-329), Old French also exhibits the Latin locution *esse*+participle to express a continuous action by using an inflected PP, in addition to the innovative Romance construction involving a motion verb and a form which mirrors the Latin ablative of the gerund, for instance:

- (1) *li rois fu demandans se Brunehaut ert laens*
 DET king was.3SG ask.PP if Brunehaut be.IPFV.3SG in_there
 ‘the king was asking whether Brunehaut was in there.’

(*Auberon*, 990, Jensen 2012:324)

stage, being able to maintain a bi-clausal structure and therefore a circumstantial/instrumental reading.

- (48) *Looïs s'en vait fuiant a pié*
 Looïs REFL+part go.3SG flee.PP/GER on foot
 'Louis flees on foot.'

(*Couronnement*, 2311, *ibid.*)

For the purpose of completeness, I also include the substantival use of the *-ant* form (ex.49), however it is not clear whether Jensen (2012:324) addresses such instantiations as gerunds or participles.

- (49) *paradis est overs des l'ajornant*
 paradise be.3SG open from DET+day-breaking.GER/PP
 'Paradise is open already at breaking of the day.'

(*Aspremont*, 4403, *ibid.*)

This use comes as no surprise, as it regards the crystallization of the PP as a common noun is present all across Romance, for instance *cantante* 'singer / the one who sings (is capable of singing)' in Spanish/Italian or *enseignant* 'teacher / the one who teaches' in French. This characteristic is intrinsic to the PP exclusively, as it originates from a characteristically agentive adjective, while the gerund has a very different origin as previously explained.

To sum up, unlike Old Italian data which illustrates potential functional ambiguity and major categorical dynamicity, Old French adopts a phonologically neutralized *-ant* form for the gerund and for partially to convey participial values as well. These are however two separate categories standing for an adjunct of the predicate and a noun modifier/adjunct of the antecedent nominal element. In addition, when preceded by a motion verb, the mixed category may form a (partially grammaticalized) continuous periphrasis. The inflected participle instead is used as a substantival/adjectival element, but it can also be used in the LL *esse*+PP type of periphrasis.

3.3.3 A glance into the diachrony of Rhaeto-Romance

Having examined two Old Romance varieties which, on the one hand, retain two distinct morphological configurations for the gerund and the participle in case of Old Italian and a hybrid syncretic gerund/participle form in case of Old French, this short section will focus on the very scarce Rhaeto-Romance data. Concerning specific literature on gerund or non-finite categories in general, the

only authentic and relatively accurate work is an unpublished 1909 PhD dissertation by Archangelus Lardschneider on the syntax of Gardenesse. His work is written in a form of a summary and resembles the structure of a grammar, rather than a handbook on syntax with detailed descriptions. However, the added value of this work is the evidence of the early 20th century Ladin and the listing of structures involving non-finite categories, among others. I will list the relevant structures in the same way they are presented in Lardschneider, by adding the related examples when present. In addition, I will incorporate the results provided by Casalicchio (2016a) who attempted a reconstruction of perceptive constructions based on his synchronic research on Modern Ladin. Therefore, the two main functions which will be addressed are the adverbial and the complement function.

3.3.3.1 Adverbial uses

The gerund in Ladin is mainly linked to three different contexts: the adverbial function, the continuous periphrasis and the perceptive-verb construction. The adverbial use is surely the one expected as the continuation of the Latin ablative of the gerund, for instance *L nous tumón ruel, i ión tumán rián*, German translation provided by Lardschneider: ‘und wir fallen bisweilen, und lachen, trotzdem wir fallen auf unserem Wege’, Eng. ‘and we sometimes fall and laugh, although we fall on our way’. In addition, early-20th-century Ladin also shows a continuous periphrasis, such as *L va kuntan* ‘he goes around talking/chatting’, where the finite verb has “given up” its meaning and become entangled with the gerund. The author hints at the process of grammaticalization here, by which the inflected verb has undergone a recategorialization resulting in a monoclausal structure. However, Lardschneider affirms the possibility of a double reading as ‘he goes around talking’, but also as ‘he goes while talking’ meaning two actions - the talking/chatting activity lasts during the interval of going. This outcome comes as no surprise and in fact, Old Italian data portrayed earlier in this chapter display the same results.

An early Friulan example of the adverbial use can be found in Casalicchio (2016), who attempted to reconstruct the diachrony of the Ladin gerund on the basis of Joppi (1878). The Friulan texts contained in Joppi’s collection are mainly 14th and 15th-century notary acts which display a few examples of the predicative use of the gerund (50 for a temporal reading).

- (50) *Questo si é lu miò articul, ch’iò sint in lu chiamin di*
 this part. is DET my article that+I be.GER in DET walk of

Stephin a circha un'hora di notte, iò domandai al
 Stephin to around one+hour of night I ask.PRF.1SG to+DET
Chargenl soldli 40
 Chargenl money 40

'This is my act, namely that I, while I was on Stephin's path at about one hour after sunset, I asked to Chargenl 40 money coins.'

(Notary act by Valvasone, p. 217; cf. Casalicchio 2016a:11)

3.3.3.2 Complement function

The perceptive constructions show an unusual use of gerund where we would typically expect an infinitive in a complement function. Examples such as (51) are not infrequent, according to Lardschneider, and indeed are once again retrievable from Old Italian (cf. ex.19).

- (51) *N audíva tantán*
 REFL hear.IPFV.3SG sing.GER
 lit. 'One was hearing singing.'

The example 51, however, allows for secondary interpretations. The gerund in this specific instantiation could be depicted as a substantivization of the act of singing. Nonetheless, ex.52 displays the full structure of what could be interpreted as a relative⁹⁷ and discredits the way of substantivization.

- (52) *N udóa káter seniaures tlupán tšofes*
 REFL see.IPFV.3SG four men/gentlemen pick.GER flowers
 'Four men were seen picking flowers' lit. 'One saw four men picking (while they were picking / who were picking) flowers.'

Lardschneider precises that such structures occur with the verbs *udái* 'to see' and *audi* 'to hear'.

According to Casalicchio (2016a), the Friulan attestations, along with analogous instances in Old Romance (cf. ex.19) and the use of crystallized expressions such as *A uedl udan* 'visibly', lit. 'by eye seeing' in Present-Day Ladin, imply a possible existence of the predicative use (potentially of pseudorelatives⁹⁸) of the gerund in (post-) Medieval Ladin as well.

⁹⁷Precisely, in Casalicchio's terms (below) are classified as pseudo-relatives. The terminological mismatch in this section is determined by the use of different sources.

⁹⁸For a detailed description of the pseudorelative constructions check Casalicchio (2013, 2016a).

In addition to the structures involving the use of gerund, Lardschneider (1909) briefly and schematically mentions some of the functions and/or uses of the PP and the infinitive as well. On the one hand, the present participle seems to be used in its adjectival function, while the absolute constructions are absent in the every-day language use. On the other hand, the infinitive in Gardenese can be used as a substantival element, although this usage is rare (ex. *Lauré jê san* ‘working is healthy’). When preceded by the *a/ad* preposition, the infinitive can express the following meaning:

- purpose: *šta tlo a lauré* ‘stay there to work’;
- condition/cause: *a ve-la di dúta ie-l da uní mata* ‘if I also wanted to tell you everything, I would become insane’;
- time: *la seniáura, al audí kašta kosa* ‘when the lady heard this thing’;
- cause: *a savái k’l uníva, dovez ašpité* ‘because you knew that he was coming, you should have waited’⁹⁹.

These apparently innovative uses of the infinitive overlapping with the gerund are observable all across Romance. In fact, Tekavčić (1972) affirms that the switch from the gerund to a prepositional infinitive occurs in the change from a context of synthetic forms to that of analytic ones and specifically in the contamination between the bare infinitive of the Classical Latin and the prepositional infinitive expressing purpose in Vulgar Latin (cf. Casalicchio 2013:315-316).

⁹⁹This example can potentially be interpreted as a condition as well, such as ‘If you had known that he was coming, you should have waited.’

4

Current literature on Rhaeto-Romance and Corpus description

This chapter combines an up-to-date overview of the literature on Rhaeto-Romance and a description of the corpora used for the purpose of this study. Section 1 therefore outlines the relevant information on the use of gerund in Ladin, Romansh and Friulan separately. Section 2 provides an explanation on the methodology of work and the composition of the corpora.

4.1 Current literature on Ladin, Romansh and Friulan

The general literature on constructions involving gerund in Ladin, Romansh and Friulan is not abundant and it mainly concerns the narrow contents found in local grammars. However, two additional notable contributions are important pieces of evidence on the use of gerund in Ladin (particularly Gardenese) and Romansh (the Sursilvan variety), namely the recent studies by Jan Casalicchio (2011, 2013, 2016b, 2019) and Florentin Lutz (1980) respectively. In this section I will list all the constructions involving gerunds in the relevant scien-

tific production starting with an overview of the general grammars, followed by a close-up on the specific relevant studies.

4.1.1 Ladin

The general descriptive material on Ladin is more fine-grained and representative of diatopic variation as opposed to the Friulan and Romansh one, mainly focusing on the superstrate (and normativized) variety. In fact, there exist several more or less extensive grammars representing different local subvarieties of Ladin. Here I will touch upon the two major projects, namely the *Gramatica Ladin Gherdëina* and the *Gramatica del Ladin Fascian* serving as sample models of the northern and the southern areas. Nonetheless, the descriptive information is available for each variety, i.e. Badiotto¹⁰⁰, Gardenese¹⁰¹, Fassano, Ampezzano¹⁰² and Fodom (Livinallongo)¹⁰³. Different uses which will be presented below may be summarized into the following points:

- the indication of manner, time, cause of condition (very rare);
- the expression of simultaneity;
- the perceptive constructions.

Starting with Chiocchetti & Iori (2002), it seems evident that the forms such as the gerund or the PP are not highly productive¹⁰⁴, as very little attention is devoted to their description. However, the information found in the Fassano grammar delimits the use of both. In short, the overall presentation resembles the pattern of Old French, presenting two morphological structures, namely *-ant / -ent* for the PP and a neutralized *-an* suffix¹⁰⁵ for the gerund and three main functional domains which are distributed in the following way: i. the

¹⁰⁰A new extensive grammar of Badiotto is currently in the works. However, there exists a short booklet grammar, *Grafia nöia. Ladin scrit dla Val Badia por les scolines y les scores ladines*, in addition to the 2000 *Gramatica ladina por les scores*.

¹⁰¹It is worth mentioning the *Gröden der Grödner und seine Sprache* as one of the earliest attempts of providing a general description of the Gardenese variety.

¹⁰²*Grammatica del dialetto ampezzano. Osservazioni sulla parlata ampezzana con relativi esempi* by Bruno Apollonio and the 2003 *Grammatica ampezzana*.

¹⁰³*Grammatica Ladino-Fodoma* by Adalberto Pellegrini, but also the *Il ladino della Val Pettorina - grammatica* of the neighbouring Pettorina valley.

¹⁰⁴Previous works such as Elwert (1943) have already claimed the lack of productivity of the gerund in the Fassano variety.

¹⁰⁵The first three conjugations adopt *-an*, while the additional *-ian* suffix is used in the fourth conjugation. However, the neutralized theme vowel in all four conjugations is *-a-*.

-ant / -ent form only functions as an adjective/substantive, e.g. *lurent* ‘laborious’, *abondant* ‘abundant’; ii. the *-an* form in the participial function, intended as having verbal force in the function of a relative clause, as in ex.53 where we find a crystallized expression; iii. the *-an* form in the gerundial/adverbial function, expressing manner or the condition of an action, for instance *dijan* ‘by saying’.

- (53) *I*¹⁰⁶ *à* *l* *Crist* *flagelà*, *i* *à* *l* *Crist*
 they have.3PL DET Christ scourge.PstP they have.3PL DET Christ
sangonan, *te* *leja* *lassù*.
 bleed.GER in church up_there
 ‘There is the scourged Christ, the bleeding Christ, in the church up there.’

The overall setting may be illustrated through the following Venn diagram:

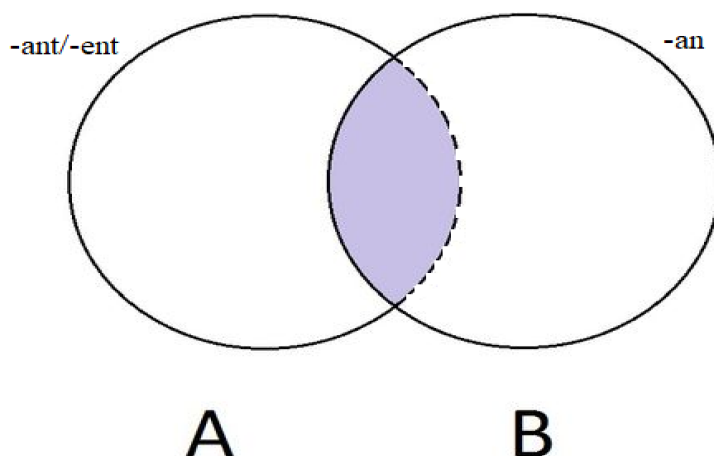


Figure 4.1: The distribution of Ladin functions on the basis of the morphological structure according to Chiocchetti & Iori (2002)

Assuming the partition provided by Chiocchetti & Iori, the A set represents the participial morphological structure and functions, namely the attributive value whereas the B set represents the gerundial equivalent in the function of a circumstance. The intersection depicts a common ground which is that of the attributive value represented through the uninflected theme-vowel-neutralized *-an* form (hence the dashed line of the A set) which operates as a noun modifier. This use seems to be productive in idiomatic expressions, such as (54).

¹⁰⁶*I* is the plural impersonal particle.

- (54) *L'é vegnù co la mans scorlan.*
 he+AUX come.PstP with DET hand shake.GER
 'He came with empty hands' lit. 'He came with his hand shaking (shaking his hand / with his hand that was shaking).'

Nonetheless, the overall use of the *-an* forms is limited. The circumstantial gerunds are mainly used with activities or “concrete actions” (cf. Chiocchetti & Iori 2002:104), such as ‘to run’, ‘to do’, etc, but when possible, the gerund is transformed into a complement (of time, manner, etc.).

Forni (2019) addresses the gerund in a very similar way to Chiocchetti & Iori (2002), affirming that the gerundial form is not very productive. In addition, the author claims that it only has a present form (*tuman* ‘by falling’, *lauran* ‘by working’) and when employed, it expresses cause, time or manner in relation to the matrix clause. An additional use explained by Forni (2019) is that in juxtaposition with a perceptive verb (ex.55) expressing a simultaneous action to the matrix clause (ex.56).

- (55) *Ie é audi svaian.*
 I AUX hear.PstP shout.GER
 ‘I heard (someone) shouting.’
- (56) *Ël ie levà su suflan y svaian.*
 he AUX get.PstP up blow.GER and shout.GER
 ‘He got up blowing and shouting (because he was blowing and shouting / while blowing and shouting).'

As for Fassano, Forni (2019) affirms that gerundial expressions, when present, indicate cause, time or manner of the action. However, these are often replaced by the prepositional (*a*) infinitive.

Additional evidence of the Ladin gerund is provided by some early works, such as Apollonio (1930) on the Ampezzano variety. The author claims that the gerund is totally absent, however, due to the education system in Italian which in the 1930s did not provide any bi-/multi-lingual teaching system¹⁰⁷ borrowed forms such as *sentendo* in ex.57 started to appear. Due to the absence of literature on previous stages of Ampezzano, it is not possible to determine whether this variety exhibited a gerundial form at that stage and if it did, what precise morphological structure it had.

¹⁰⁷Cf. Colla (2017) on language teaching system in the Ladin area.

- (57) *Sentendo sta nóa, ón fato presto a paricià i nostre*
 hear.GER this news AUX do.PstP quickly to balance.INF DET our
conte.
 accounts
 ‘Hearing the news, we quickly settled accounts.’

The scholar solely lists three indefinite types of mood for Ampezzano, namely the "indefinite" (past, present and future), the gerund (past and present¹⁰⁸) and the participle mood (only past)¹⁰⁹. Nonetheless, Lardschneider (1909) shows traces of a gerundial *-an* form in Gardenese, however the productivity of such form in Ampezzano in the early 20th century is not attested to the best of my knowledge. Apollonio (1930) mentions some alternative constructions for the Ampezzano gerund, involving prepositional infinitives (e.g. *A lòurà a chera magnèra el s'a róinà ra salute* ‘By working that way he ruined his health’) or finite structures (e.g. *In chera che vegnaón fora de gégia, ón senti a sonà ciampagna a martèl* ‘While we were coming out of the church, we heard the warning bell ringing’). An interesting detail which can be spotted in the last example illustrating a finite structure shows the use of a prepositional infinitive in combination with a perceptive verb. Such constructions will be examined below.

A great contribution to the studies of Ladin gerund is made by Casalicchio (2009, 2013, 2015, 2016a,b, 2019, 2020) who has conducted extensive research on pseudorelative constructions in Ladin, mainly focusing on Gardenese. His work provides further evidence of perceptive constructions with a gerundial structure (ex.58, see also ex.55) by analyzing the synchronic dimension of present-day Gardenese and framing it in a wider Romance diachronic perspective.

- (58) *Vëije i mutons jugan.*
 see.1SG DET kids play.GER
 ‘I see the kids playing.’

Casalicchio (2009, 2013) offers a structure mapping across the Ladin valleys, showing a complementary distribution of gerundial constructions (occurring in Gardenese and Badiotto), prepositional infinitives (Fodom-Livinallongo) and bare infinitives (Fassano and Ampezzano). Fig.4.2 zooms in to illustrate the

¹⁰⁸The presence of a past gerund form further corroborates the hypothesis of a borrowed form from Italian, which exhibits a present-synthetic (e.g. *sentendo* ‘(by) hearing’) and a past-analytic form (e.g. *avendo sentito* ‘having heard’).

¹⁰⁹No examples are provided by the author.

territorial distribution. The use of gerund, specifically, is restricted to the combination with the verbs *udëi* ‘to see’, *audi* ‘to hear’ and *sentì* ‘to touch’.

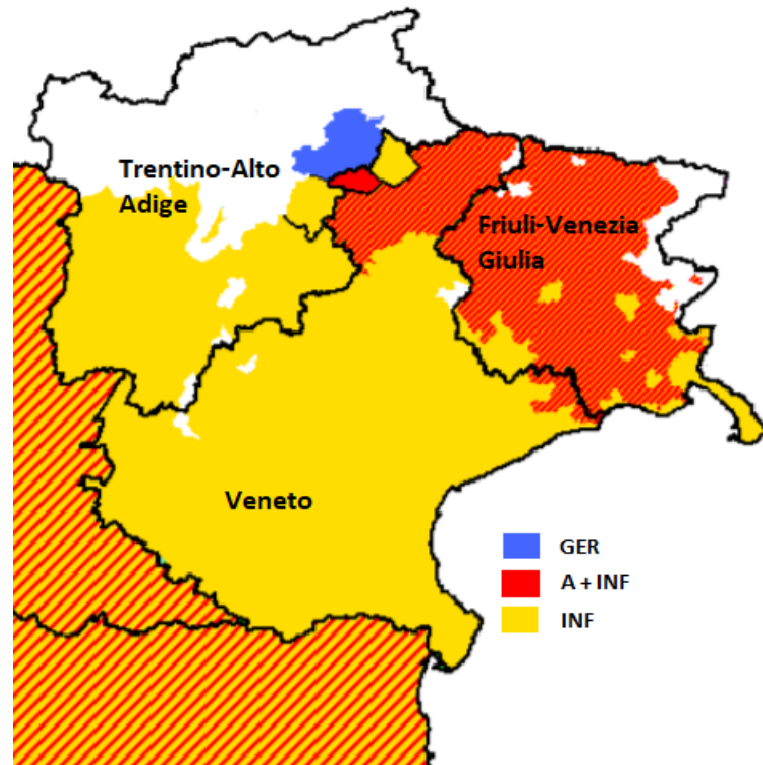


Figure 4.2: The distribution of verbal forms in perceptive constructions (Casalicchio, 2013:337)

Fig.4.2 delineates a picture which resembles the distribution of (non-) perceptive constructions based on the data pulled from the grammars. In general, the “gerund areas” are those of Gardenesè and Badiotto, while consistent variation can be found in the use of (prepositional) infinitives (cf. the use of the prepositional infinitive in Ampezzano). The main claim is that these structures notably vary in the synchrony of the present-day Ladin. However, in light of the fact that the gerundial structure can be found in the diachrony of Romance, Casalicchio (2013) assumes that this must be the preservation of an older stage, which in Modern Italian was reorganized into bare or prepositional infinitives. Indeed, the possible absence of bare infinitives in the older stages of Ladin and the presence of pseudorelative constructions such as (58) have fixated the

gerund in such contexts which has lost its predicative value.

4.1.2 Romansh

Earlier works on Romansh, such as the 1924 *Grammatica teoretica, pratica ed istorica della lingua ladina d'Engiadin'Ota* by Antonius Velleman suggest that the gerund as a morphological form may have been introduced in the 16th century by Jacob Bifrun in his translation of the New Testament from Latin to Engadinese. Bifrun, who used the Old French and Old Italian Bible versions as *comparanda*, may have formed a calque based on the use of the gerund in these varieties (cf. Velleman 1924:1034-1035). As a consequence, the gerundial form only generalized in the written language, whereas it notably lacks productivity in orality.¹¹⁰ Independently of the origin of the gerund, whether it is inherited or induced, it is necessary to acknowledge a certain degree of mismatch in its use between the written and the oral form.¹¹¹

Recent grammatical descriptions provide an exhaustive overview of the form and functions of the Romansh gerund. For instance, the *Grammatica per l'instrucziun dal rumantsch grischun* outlines this category in the following way:

- unlike the Ladin suffix, the Romansh gerund presents a range of theme vowels employed in the suffix which vary depending on the variety under examination¹¹²;
- it expresses simultaneity to the action of the matrix clause;
- it has a present (e.g. *vegnind* 'coming/by coming') and a past form (e.g. *avend finì* 'having finished');
- it has a passive form made of the gerund of *vegnir* + past participle, e.g. *vegnind clamà/-ada* '(while) being called'.

The *Elemaints d'una grammatica cumparatistica dal rumantsch* by Jachen Curdin Arquin published in 2020, on the other hand, provides some further clues:

¹¹⁰The unproductiveness of the gerund in oral speech is confirmed by recent works, such as Maurer-Cecchini (forthcoming), a grammar of Tuatschin, a subvariety of Sursilvan.

¹¹¹This claim applies to the Ladin data as well.

¹¹²Specifically, we find: *-ond* in the 1st conjugation, *-end* in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th conj. in Sursilvan; a neutralized *-and* in Sutsilvan; *-ond* in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd conj. and *-end* in the 4th conj. in Surmiran; *-and* in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd conj. and *-ind* in the 4th conj. in Puter; *-ond* in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd conj. and *-ind* in the 4th conj. in Vallader; *-ond* in the 1st conj., *-end* in the 2nd and 3rd conj. and *-ind* in the 4th conj. in Rumantsch Grischun.

- the gerund is not frequently used;
- it indicates a circumstance and the subject of the gerundial clause is coreferent to that of the matrix clause, e.g. Sutsilvan *Magliànd ligeva el la gaseta* ‘While eating, he was reading the journal’;
- it can express continuous aspect or add a value of intensity to the action through *ir* + GER;
- it may be combined with verbs expressing visual or acoustic perception, such as *guardar*¹¹³ ‘to watch’, *udir*¹¹⁴ ‘to listen’, e.g. *Ins auda a cantond da forza*. ‘One hears singing loudly (strongly)’ (cf. Spescha 1989);
- *a* + GER is particularly used in the Sutsilvan and Sursilvan varieties¹¹⁵ - with perception verbs (cf. the previous point) or with movement verbs¹¹⁶ (e.g. *Els vegnan a riend*. ‘They come laughing’) - but also in Engadinese in the formula *in*+GER (cf. Ganzoni 1983).

The author claims that the prepositional gerund in a perceptive construction is a productive form and is equivalent to the prepositional infinitive. Such a claim bears a strong resemblance to the Ladin setting described in Casalicchio (2013) and there may be a sort of continuity between the Romansh and the Ladin areas with respect to a distinguished treatment of perceptive constructions. The investigation on this feature will follow in chapter 5.

Another important source of information on the use of gerund in Romansh is Lutz (1980) providing a comparative gerund vs. present participle analysis on the basis of a large corpus containing approx. 1800 written (mainly Sursilvan) texts and 25 colloquial documents. The author identifies different uses of both the present and the past gerund, listing the main functions. As the past form or the “composed” gerund (cf. Lutz 1980:58) expresses anteriority¹¹⁷ to the main event, I exclusively focus on the present gerund form:

¹¹³*Guardar* in Puter/Vallader/Rumantsch Grischun, *mirar* in Sursilvan and *vurdar* in Sutsilvan and Surmiran.

¹¹⁴*Udir* in Sursilvan/Sutsilvan/Puter/Rumantsch Grischun, *santeir* in Surmiran, *dudir* in Vallader variety.

¹¹⁵Nonetheless, Arquint (2020) provides some examples of other varieties as well, Surmiran, Vallader and Puter, which use a bare gerund.

¹¹⁶This use is presented in addition to the *ir*+GER combination. Specifically, the prepositional gerunds occur with a list of movement verbs, for instance *arrivar* ‘arrive’, *cuorer* ‘run’, *marschar* ‘march’, *passar* ‘pass’, *s’approximar* ‘approach’, *s’avischinar* ‘approach’, *sefierer* ‘throw’, *serender* ‘go (to)’, *siglir* ‘jump’, *sortir* ‘exit’, *vegnir* ‘come’ (cf. Spescha 1989).

¹¹⁷The expression of anteriority is however not limited to the analytic past gerund, although the author does not mention this piece of information explicitly.

- temporal reading - e.g. *Vegnend jeu sur la punt neu, ei l'auter untgius encunter tiu mantun gera.* (Halter, Fein, 75) 'Driving over the bridge/as I drove over the bridge, the other dodged towards your pile of gravel';
- cause¹¹⁸ - e.g. *Havend els buca in'autra mesira per giudicar ina muntanera da cavals che quella, ein els cuntents.* (Halter, Cavale' 26) 'Having no other standard than this to judge a herd of horses/Since they have no other standard than this to judge a herd of horses, they are satisfied';
- purpose - e.g. *Vus pudeis haver raschun, silmeins in bieton', ditsch jeu, quietond il pur che selai nuota marcadar.* (Sialm, Schiember 29) 'You could be right, at least to a large extent, I say, in order to appease/appeasing the farmer who does not allow to be talked to.';
- instrument - e.g. *Igl um emprova da spuentar la bestia fomentada, alzond la vusch.* (Halter, Diari 175) 'The man tries to chase away the hungry beast by making his voice louder';
- manner - e.g. *Las spundas tshessan, fagend lartg alla Rona.* (Nay, Prosa e Poesia 21) 'The slopes recede giving the Rhone more space';
- circumstance - e.g. *Il plevon studegia priedi, fimond la pipa.* (Halter, Diari 27) 'The pastor rehearses the sermon smoking the pipe'.

In addition to these functions, Lutz (1980) also identifies gerundive contexts which may be interpreted as a consecutive¹¹⁹ (e.g. *Las varts carschevan successivamein ad ault, formond aschia ina bufatga concava* 'The side walls gradually grew in height forming a rather large cavity', Candinas, Entangls 25), conditional (e.g. *Nuot auter che grazias ch'il tschiel ha amogna, sinaquei che ti, segidond cu ellas, possies contonscher la beadadad perpetna.*¹²⁰ (Tuor, Ovras 163) 'Nothing else but graces that heaven (sky) gives, so that if you strive as well, you can reach eternal bliss'), coordinative (e.g. *Mes Signurs, la suppa ei cheu, di la survienta, mettend vitier: Bien appetit!* 'Gentlemen, the soup is there (ready), says the maid, adding: Bien appetit', Sialm, Schiember 34) and

¹¹⁸Lutz (1980:57-63) provides a further partition between examples displaying an explicit subject and those with an implicit one. Both show referential dependencies between the subject of the gerundial and the matrix clause. This distinction is not relevant for the purpose of description of the functions.

¹¹⁹This specific reading is however somewhat dubious, as the example is more likely to have an instrumental interpretation.

¹²⁰This examples though could be interpreted as conveying the function of manner as well.

appositive-participial structure (e.g. *Martin da Reina, sesend sin in crap sigl ault dil Set, respira profund*. ‘Martin da Reina, sitting on a stone at the top of the Septimer Pass, breathes deeply’, Halter, *Diari* 81). I personally find some of the author’s interpretations uncertain, specifically when it comes to extending the functional domains out of the traditional circumstantial-temporal-causal values dating back to the Latin ablative of the gerund and in order to have a better understanding of the quoted examples a wider context would be necessary. Although it should not be excluded that additional readings could have emerged in the Romance period, the interpretation and translation into German¹²¹ provided by the author seems to be an adaptation based on the target language (i.e. German), but not on the source language (i.e. Romansh). However, Lutz (1980:80) specifies that the identified functions occur at a different frequency rate in the corpus in examination. Precisely, he lists 403 occurrences of the circumstantial value, 276 occurrences of the temporal-durative reading, 129 occurrences of the causal value, 125 occurrences of the modal (manner) reading, 60 occ. of the instrumental reading, 30 occ. of the temporal-durative value, 16 occurrences of purpose, 11 occurrences of coordinative structures and 3 occurrences of the appositive structures. His conclusion is that the gerund is a verbal category which exceptionally can have the attributive function as well, whereas the participle/adjective (e.g. *supplicont* ‘pleading’) is a category belonging to the nominal system.

4.1.3 Friulan

The *Gramatiche de lenghe furlane* and *Scrivi par furlan* provide very short descriptions of the Friulan gerund. Both grammars fully omit the PP¹²² as a category, presenting three gerundial forms, namely a present (e.g. *amant* ‘by loving’ showing two neutralized *-and/-int* forms - the *-i-* theme vowel neutralizes the second, the third and the fourth conjugation), a past (e.g. *vint amât* ‘having loved’) and a double compound form¹²³ (or “*passât bicomponût*”, e.g. *vint vût amât* ‘having loved’). The gerund is used in the following contexts:

¹²¹The translation of these examples into English is yet another compromise structure provided by myself, standing in between the Romansh original examples and the German translations provided by the author.

¹²²The present participle does not “exist” as a category in Friulan ((Marchetti, 1952:149)). Participles only display a past form.

¹²³Precisely, this form is only mentioned by Roseano & Madriz (2017) and there are no relevant examples in the cited grammar. However, the absence of mentions of this form in other Friulan grammars and the general lack of information makes its productivity questionable.

1. to express the adverbial function - *Studiant, si impare*. 'One learns studying'. Roseano & Madriz (2017), however, argue that a prepositional infinitive is more suitable in contexts such as this one. Therefore, *cul studiâ* 'by/with the studying' seems to be a more productive option;
2. to express simultaneity through the particle *biel* - *Biel cjaminant pal zardin al cjatà un tacuin* 'While walking in the garden he found a wallet';
3. in the continuous periphrasis - *Al va dissint le stesse cjosse a ducj* 'He goes around saying the same things to everyone';
4. in the progressive periphrasis - *O stoi lavorant* 'I am working'. However, Zof (2008) suggests the locative-type periphrasis as a better option for progressive. For instance, *O soi daûr a mangjâ la mignestre* 'I am eating the soup' lit. 'I am behind to eat the soup' or *O soi che o lavori par une Dite di Manzan* 'I am (that I) work(ing) for a company from Manzan'.

It can be noted that the overall use of gerund in Friulan partially mirrors the use of gerund in Modern Italian, but also that of the surrounding Romance varieties, such as Veneto, Trentino and Ladin. The structures which are shared with Modern Italian are mainly optional or not preferred, namely the adverbial use¹²⁴, the gerund-type progressive periphrasis and the continuous periphrasis. On the other hand, the prevailing locative-type periphrasis is very common in the surrounding Veneto varieties, for instance *son drio (a)+INF* in Veronese (cf. Bonfante 2018) or *son (dò) che chante* in Fassano (cf. Gsell 2008; Maraffino submitted). A detailed overview of these constructions will follow in ch. 5.

4.2 Corpus description

In order to attempt to provide a picture that would be as complete as possible of the uses of gerund in Rhaeto-Romance and to trace its development from Latin I adopt the following approach. I combine three corpora to capture both variation and change of the category of gerund from Latin to current spoken and written Rhaeto-Romance varieties. One corpus out of three is made of fieldwork data - written data representing orality and gathered via the administration of a specific test. The second corpus is made of contemporary purely

¹²⁴This data does not provide sufficient grounds for making assumptions on the possible distinction between the specific readings, i.e. whether the instrumental/circumstantial, temporal, causal, or other types of readings may be relevant.

written texts containing 4 subcategories: a. school texts, b. newspapers articles, c. scientific articles, d. literary texts. Finally, the third corpus is made of more heterogeneous 17th-19th century texts, in order to provide multiple synchronies, which, if put in a sequence, should allow for a projection over time in a diachronic perspective. The association of elicited data made of written texts, but resulting from an interaction with native speakers and non-elicited purely written data is supposed to compensate for the lack of purely oral data. The overall results will range over both the axis of synchrony and diachrony by providing an insight into the current picture and the tracing of the category of gerund from previous stages to now.

4.2.1 Moral corpus

The corpus of contemporary data representing orality (henceforth Moral) is the result of extensive fieldwork conducted in 3 macro-areas in Italy and in Switzerland (Fig. 4.3). It must be pointed out that all three corpora are sets of written data, therefore, despite the Moral corpus representing orality, this study does not involve the use of recorded oral data.

Friulan data was gathered in a Middle School in Cisterna (a small village close to Coseano), in the province of Udine, the region of Friuli-Venezia. Ladin data was collected in La Villa, in the province of Bolzano, Val Badia and in Pozza di Fassa, in the province of Trento, Val di Fassa, both in the region of Trentino-Alto Adige, therefore, covering two varieties of Ladin Badioto and Fassano. Lastly, Romansh data was collected in the Scola chantunala grischuna in Kanton Graubünden, Switzerland. This school specifically is attended by students coming from different areas of the Grisons, therefore the data collected in this areas may show some degree of variation. The participants were chosen by the teachers based on their proficiency of the target language.

The tests, which will be described in detail in the following sections, consisting in a written translation task from Italian/German into the speakers local variety, were approved by the Ethical Committee of the Social Sciences Department of the University of Verona in April 2018 and March 2019. Each participant (or parent, in case of minors) signed an informed consent, containing all the necessary information on the test, the possibility of the participant to make a decision and to withdraw from the experiment at any stage, the voluntary nature of the decision and the complete anonymity of gathered data. The test was made of two major parts: an introduction requiring some information about the speaker and the translation task (see Appendix A). Participants were asked to fill in some personal information, such as a self-evaluation of



Figure 4.3: Fieldwork map

the known languages, the language spoken at home and the language spoken to friends. This was meant to clarify possible interference of other languages.

4.2.1.1 Ladin test

Ladin data, as mentioned above, were collected in two areas, Val Badia and Val di Fassa in Spring 2018. The mentioned areas represent two varieties of Ladin, namely Badioto, a northern variety and Fassano, a southern variety of Ladin, out of 5 total varieties.

In total, 56 participants took part in this study, 33 from a High School in La Valle, Val Badia and 23 from a High School in Pozza di Fassa, Val di Fassa. Note that the test in the Ladin valleys was done on paper (Cf. Appendix B), whereas Friulan and Romansh tests were conducted digitally. The aim was to verify which functions and structures bear the Ladin gerund on the basis of an Italian input. The test contains 12 sentences, 2 of which target progressive, whereas the remaining 10 sentences involve subordination. The input structures therefore represent the use of the gerund in Italian in contexts of a common register (hence the absence of the continuous periphrasis which is used in more formal registers, cf. Bertinetto 1996). As for all the tests, the input contains a gerundial form, whether as a non-finite form introducing subordination (ex.59) or as a finite form in a periphrastic structure (ex.60).

- (59) *Leggendo il giornale sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi.*
 ‘I came across Valentino Rossi’s victory by reading the newspapers’

- (60) *Sto mangiando un pezzo di torta.*
 ‘I am eating a piece of cake’

4.2.1.2 Swiss Romansh test

Swiss Romansh data was collected in the Scola chantunala grischuna (Bündner Kantonsschule) in Kanton Graubünden. There were 8 participants in total, who were asked to complete a translation task from German into Romansh. The input language was different due to a very low proficiency of Italian of the speakers. The test itself was slightly different compared to the Ladin one due to the ongoing development of the research project¹²⁵ and was made of 12 sentences, involving subordination, but also expressions with diverse non-finite forms. Precisely, 6 input sentences target the adverbial use of gerund, 3 sentences targeted perceptive constructions, 1 sentence involved the use of the infinitive in its nominative form and 2 sentences targeted the use of progressive.

4.2.1.3 Friulan test

The methodology for Friulan data gathering mirrors the methodology used to collect Swiss Romansh data. 33 participants were asked to fill in a translation task from Italian into Friulan. Fieldwork was conducted in the Middle school “Giuseppe Ungaretti” in Cisterna, a rural area of Udine. Again, the test was made of 12 sentences, involving subordination, but also expressions with diverse non-finite forms. 6 input sentences targeted the adverbial use of gerund (the Latin ablative of the declension of infinitive), 3 sentences targeted perceptive constructions, 1 sentence involved the use of the infinitive in its nominative form and 2 sentences targeted the use of progressive. It should be specified the translation tasks do not contain any continuous periphrastic structures, as this kind of construction is generally found in higher levels of diaphasic, but also diamesic variation. Indeed, the complementary Mitten corpus (presented below) will be helpful in the identification of possible examples of continuous periphrasis.

In total, the results of the data gathering in all three areas provided 1036 sentences for the analysis.

¹²⁵In fact, the Ladin test was carried out in April 2018, whereas the Romansh and the Friulan one were performed in April and May 2019.

4.2.2 Mitten corpus

The corpus of modern written data (henceforth Mitten) contains 120 texts in total, all published (except for a few exceptions) in the last 20 years. Each area consists of 40 texts of different genres: a. newspapers articles, b. scientific articles, c. school texts and d. literary texts. Such variety should allow us to take control over possible diaphasic variation¹²⁶. The overall corpus contains 223 analyzable examples (8292 words).

4.2.3 Diachro corpus

This corpus (henceforth Diachro) is fairly reduced as opposed to the corpus of modern data. It contains 15 Romansh texts from the 17th and 18th century¹²⁷ and a collection of two volumes of Friulan poetry written by Ermes Co. di Colloredo in the 17th century, but published in 1828. This corpus includes no primary sources of Ladin, as there are no ancient written records of Ladin to my knowledge. In fact, I will use two secondary sources: Forni (1996)¹²⁸, who incorporates the original version of the *Vedla muta*, an ancient text in Gardenesse written by Mathias Ploner in 1864 and a dissertation written by Archangelus Lardschneider in 1909, which contains valuable information on the syntax of Gardenesse. The corpus contains 16 analyzable sentences (621 words).

4.2.4 Limitations to the methodology

It is only fitting to add a few lines on the difficulties and as a consequence, on the limitations of this methodology. As the overall sociolinguistic context is relatively complex, particularly due to three macro areas, which share many (socio-)linguistic features, but are three separate territories, and the research project is supposed to be completed within a reasonable span of time, some complications need to be taken into account, mainly dealing with fieldwork.

¹²⁶It should be specified that the Ladin texts of this kind, particularly the newspaper articles, may also be found in the existing online corpus *TALL CorpusLad*, containing approx. 6.500.00 tokens, pulled out from a large number of texts which consist of 52,1% of newspaper articles, 9,8% of cultural texts, 6,3% of scientific texts, etc. The Mitten corpus however presents a heterogeneous, yet rigorous selection of Ladin, Romansh and Friulan texts which could highlight possible variation.

¹²⁷Some texts, however, are undated.

¹²⁸I also incorporate the additional comment on *Vedla muta* in Belardi (1996).

First of all, it is necessary to consider possible interference due to the choice of the type of task and setting. Indeed, the written input of the translation task might play an important role and participants might be inclined to replicate the structure of the input, thereby using more gerundial structures. This is particularly relevant for the Romansh test, as it was made as a Swiss German replica of the Ladin/Friulan test in Italian. Certain structures contained in the German-Romansh translation task might be considered as borderline, because of their low degree of productivity (e.g. *Lachend und scherzend kamen wir nach Rom!*). This choice is justified by the strict need of a non-finite input structure (see Appendix D for the complete Romansh test).

In addition, the obtained target structures are not extrapolated from a free production, but are rather artificially extracted. The free production is certainly the best option for collecting unconstrained and uncontaminated data. However, such a task would require extensive recording and transcribing sessions and would most likely not provide an exhaustive description of all the uses of the target form. Moreover, non-finite forms, such as gerunds, are mainly (but not exclusively) used in subordination, to which parataxis is preferred in contexts of oral narration. Alternatively, in case of use of subordination and embedded structures, finite forms are favored as opposed to non-finite ones. The elicitation task, on the other hand, allows a targeted and in-depth gathering in large quantities, which in turn, provide the possibility of doing statistical analysis.

The school setting is another possible disadvantage to take into consideration, as students are used to rigorous and regular supervisions of their learning process. Indeed, students were struggling to understand the aim of the research and the concept of doing a task which would not provide a right or wrong answer. Following the task, in fact, students requested to check the correct answers of the exercise. This behaviour could have prevented the students from using their local non-standardized variety as opposed to the local standardized variety.

The limitation of fieldwork is balanced by the use of the corpus of non-elicited contemporary written texts.

5

Corpus analysis and discussion

This chapter will focus on the analysis of the gathered data, illustrating the results of each variety individually and addressing the three corpora separately. After having examined the history of the category of gerund in Ch.3 and the application and use of this category in Rhaeto-Romance, the analysis presented here will examine the productivity of the above-mentioned functions. Summing up the overall previously described behavior of the Ladin gerund, we may encounter: a general low productivity, gerundial structures expressing adverbial function, gerundial structures with attributive value, the use of the gerund in perceptive constructions and the use of gerund in continuous periphrastic constructions. When it comes to Swiss Romansh, we may find the expected adverbial function, in addition to the use of gerund in perceptive constructions and in the continuous periphrasis. I also intend to investigate whether the gerundial structures in use could potentially bear conditional or consecutive values, as stated by Lardschneider (1909). The reader should be reminded that the Romansh gerund has a present and a past form. Lastly, the Friulan gerunds should exhibit a wider range of use, as the literature suggests. In fact, we may find the adverbial function, the gerundial continuous and progressive periphrasis, in addition to the gerunds preceded by the particle *biel*. Furthermore, it should be noted that the tense-wise, Friulan exclusively presents three forms, i.e. a present, a past and a double compound past.

It is clear at this point that the three varieties present specific common

characteristics, but also differences when it comes to the use of gerund. Indeed, all three maintain the adverbial value inherited from the Latin ablative of the gerund and in addition, all the varieties seem to exhibit to a greater or lesser extent a continuous periphrasis involving a motion verb and a gerund. Furthermore, the synthetic (also called the present) form expresses simultaneity to the event of the matrix clause in all the areas. On the other hand, some of the peculiar characteristics to each variety emerging from the literature are: the use of the gerund in argument structures involving a perception verb in Ladin and Romansh and the gerundial progressive periphrasis in Friulan. Therefore, some of the main questions arising from this illustration which could be answered by the data analysis are: i. How productive are the mentioned functions?, ii. How productive are the different forms, namely the past gerund in Romansh and the past and the bound compound past in Friulan? And is there any difference in the temporal relation of these forms?, iii. What can the data analysis tell us on the previous historical stages of Rhaeto-Romance?.

The outcome of the data analysis will provide further clues on the current use of the gerund in “Rhaeto-Romance”¹²⁹ illustrating variation on different levels. The combination of this scenario along with the data presented in the previous chapter will put the pieces together into a clearer picture of the Alpine area in its current state in comparison with an older 17th-19th century stage, thereby providing novel information for the historical stages of Romansh and Friulan, but not for Ladin due to the absence of relevant texts in the Diachro corpus. Once again, it is necessary to point out that the analysis presented in this chapter is based on a set of exclusively written data.

5.1 The use of gerund in Ladin

This extended introductory part on the Ladin data analysis provides an overview of the Italian input structures and presents the general results by distinguishing between the Moral and Mitten corpus results. Each of the identified functions of the Ladin gerund, namely the circumstantial / instrumental / modal, causal / temporal and attributive value, is further explained and exemplified in a single subsection below. An example of the Ladin test can be found in Appendix

¹²⁹I purposely put Rhaeto-Romance in quotes, due to the disputed genealogical situation of Friulan towards Ladin and Romansh. Therefore, this is a cover term, as anticipated in Casalicchio & Cognola (2018).

B.¹³⁰

Ladin data generally shows a somewhat limited use of the gerund and its application is linked to the adverbial domain, in addition to the attributive-participial use and the employment of a gerund in perceptive constructions. When it comes to the input items containing a progressive periphrasis with gerund instead, the results are sharp and clear. None of the speakers has used a gerundial structure, suggesting that there is no progressive periphrasis with a gerund¹³¹. Therefore, as this syntactic context has very little to do with the Ladin gerundial domain, it will not be addressed in this chapter.

The Moral corpus, specifically, provides an overview of the Ladin gerundial constructions in an elicited environment. In other words, the results of the test tell us whether specific non-finite Italian input structures are acceptable and productive in Ladin. It is important to recall that data contained in the Ladin Moral corpus lightly differs from that of Romansh and Friulan as the Ladin test consisted of 12 sentences, 2 of which contain a progressive periphrasis in the input structure, while the remaining 10 input sentences target the adverbial use of the gerund (cf. Appendix B: Ladin test). The verification of additional constructions matching the Friulan and the Romansh test was accomplished through the request of judgments to a small group of Ladin speakers.

Before focusing on the Ladin results and the interpretation provided by the Ladin speakers, it is worth spending a few words on the Italian input examples in order to understand what functions are represented in the test by the Italian gerund. Firstly, the Italian gerund is a very versatile non finite verbal category acting in place of a modal, causal, temporal, conditional and relative clause according to Serianni (2006:140-144).¹³² Out of the listed functions, the most common one is surely the one of manner. I must admit that I do not find myself in agreement when it comes to including a relative clause among the possible alternative finite structure for the Italian gerund. In fact, the role of the nominal modifier is typically attributed to the present participle. In general, the Italian input structures could be distinguished between examples denoting

¹³⁰Specifically, Appendix B lists all the items that the Ladin speakers were asked to translate from Italian into their local variety.

¹³¹Nonetheless, Ladin shows a grammaticalized structure for this purpose, namely a locative-type *tl lëur de/é*, lit. ‘in the work of’ in Gardenesse and Badiotto and *son qua che*, lit. ‘am here that’ in Fassano.

¹³²An alternative and more systematic classification of gerundial clauses is provided by Lonzi 2001, who distinguishes adverbial gerundial clauses, predicative gerundial clauses and clausal gerunds. According to her view, the majority of the following examples belong to the first type, i.e. adverbial gerunds.

a straightforward logical relation (along the lines of König 1991, 1995) and the ones expressing the polysemic notion of manner/circumstance/instrument.¹³³ On this basis we distinguish the following functional clusters in the Italian input structures:

(i) Causal relations

- (1) *Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata* ‘Being on a diet, I cannot eat chocolate’;
- (2) *Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca* ‘By finishing work late every day, I never have time to go to the bank’;

(ii) Strictly circumstantial relations

- (3) *Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina* ‘Every morning I go to work singing at the top of my lungs in my car’;
- (4) *Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!* ‘Laughing and joking, it is already 3am.’;

(iii) Circumstantial / instrumental / modal value

- (5) *Mangiando in un ristorante stellato ho scoperto combinazioni del tutto nuove* ‘By eating in a starred restaurant I discovered brand new combinations’;
- (6) *Lavando i piatti ho rotto la mia tazza preferita* ‘While washing the dishes I broke my favorite cup’;
- (7) *Sono caduto guidando la bici e ho rotto il polso* ‘I fell while riding my bike and I broke my wrist’;

¹³³The approach I follow lightly differs from König (1991, 1995). Precisely, the scholar distinguishes between “elementary” or “primary” relations expressing the notions of place, time and manner on the one hand and “logical” relations denoting amongst others the relation of causality, concession, instrument and purpose on the other hand. The former are obtained through a simple answer to the interrogative pronouns such as When? Where? and How?. The latter cannot be conveyed through a simple adverbial element and are typically semantically compositional as they are based on one of the primary relations. As stated earlier, for the purpose of convenience I include the instrumental value amongst the modal and circumstantial notions. However, despite this arrangement, I acknowledge the distinction between single specific behaviors within this complex unit.

- (8) *Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento* ‘I got my pants dirty by sitting on the ground’;
- (9) *Avremmo potuto finire molto prima unendo le forze* ‘We could’ve finished much earlier by joining our forces’;
- (10) *Leggendo il giornale sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi* ‘While reading the journal, I came across Valentino Rossi’s big victory’.

The reason why I distinguish these three groups is to emphasize on the one hand the Italian examples which in my personal opinion do not leave much room for additional interpretations other than the causal and the circumstantial one. On the other hand I group examples whose primary interpretation is circumstantial or instrumental, however, each of these could bear an alternative temporal, causal or conditional reading.

After the examination of the input, we can now focus on the output structures. It emerges from the results that gerundial structures turned out to be infrequent in the fieldwork data. Indeed, the participants had a strong preference towards paraphrasing the entire structure and favored a finite form for the output (ex.61) or an alternative (non gerundial) non-finite structure (ex.62), as opposed to the gerundial Italian input.

- (61) Ita. *Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento.*

I m à ijiè la braie canche i mo son sontada jò por
 I REFL AUX dirty DET pants when I REFL AUX sat down for
funz.
 floor

‘I got my pants dirty by sitting on the floor’ (Badiotto)

- (62) Ita. *Lavando i piatti ho rotto la mia tazza preferita.*

A laver ju, é rot mi chichera preferida.
 to wash.INF down AUX broke.PstP my cup favorite

‘By washing I broke my favorite cup’ (Fassano)

Fig. 5.1 illustrates the use of gerundial structures in adverbial contexts by showing the raw data¹³⁴. Precisely, the bar chart presents the number of Ladin

¹³⁴The results, as previously explained in ch.4, are based on the translation task performed by 33 speakers of Val Badia and 23 speakers of Val di Fassa. Therefore, each bar represents the total number of answers containing a gerund per item, distinguishing between Badiotto and Fassano data.

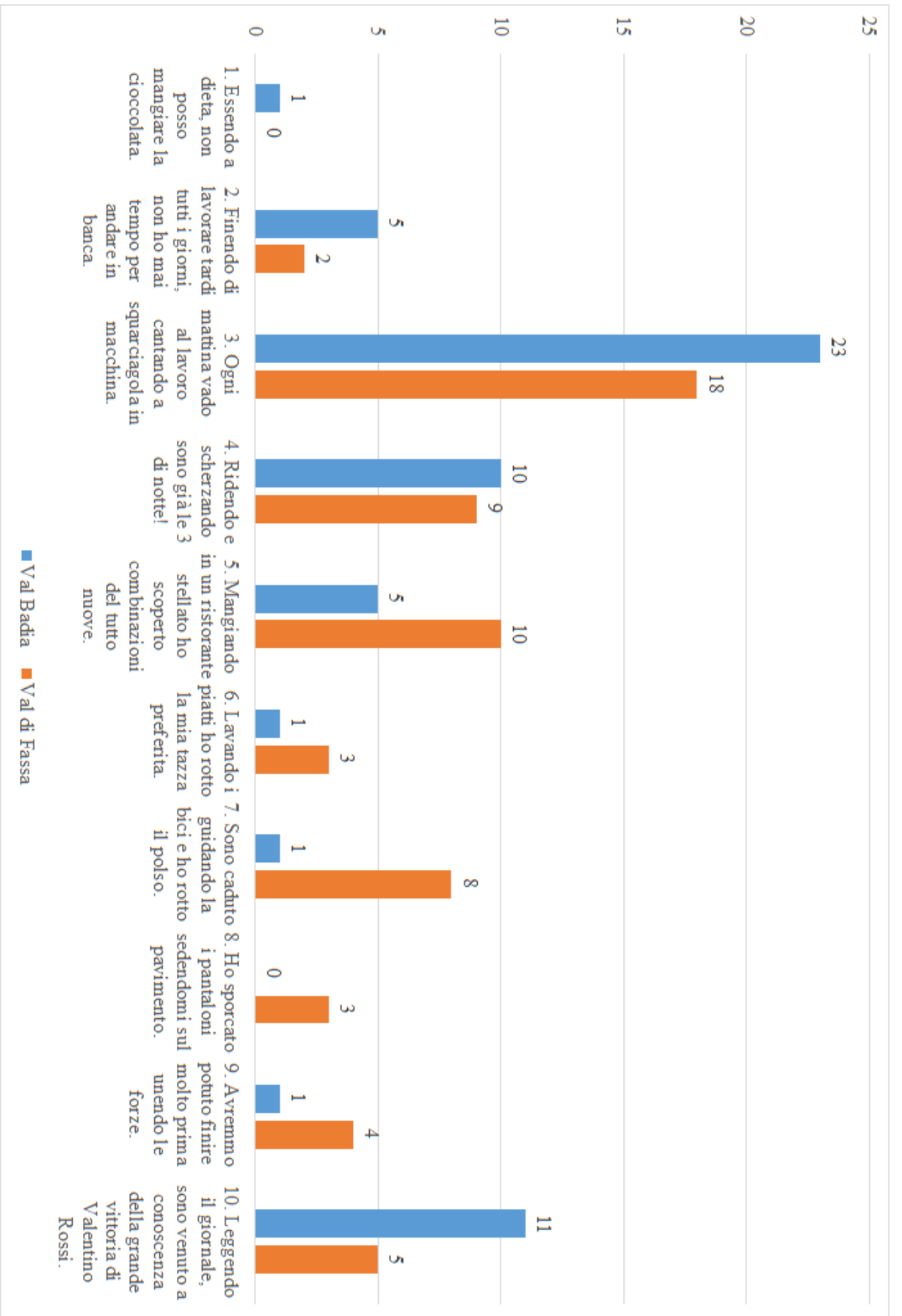


Figure 5.1: The use of the explicit constructions in Ladin translations

structures containing a gerund which resulted from the translation task. The results visually indicate that a few specific constructions had a major inclination for the gerunds, precisely the item n.3 in the figure (*Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina* ‘Every morning I go to work by singing out loud’), but to a certain extent also the items n.4 (*Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!* ‘Laughing and joking, it’s already 3 a.m!’), n.5 (*Mangiando in un ristorante stellato ho scoperto combinazioni del tutto nuove* ‘Eating in a starred restaurant I discovered entirely new combinations’), and n.10 (*Leggendo il giornale sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi* ‘By reading the newspaper I learned of the great victory of Valentino Rossi’). The chart therefore shows that: i. the structures having a strictly causal reading in Italian are rarely expressed through a gerund in Ladin. This either suggests that examples 1 and 2 from the chart were interpreted in a different way or it indicates that causality in Ladin is not conveyed through a gerundial structure; ii. the strictly circumstantial examples in Italian are expressed via a gerund in Ladin. This is particularly significant for example n.3, whereas the example n.4 shows a decrease of the gerundial structures; iii. the non-strictly circumstantial examples illustrate consistent variation. In the functionally non-transparent contexts (i.e. 5-10), the structures with gerunds are generally more frequent in the Fassano variety, except for n.10 where we observe the reverse trend.

In order to fully understand whether the interpretation of the input structures matches the interpretation of the output structures (i.e. whether the Ladin speakers interpret the ex. n.1 as a causal structure, the ex. n.3 is interpreted as circumstantial, etc.), the Ladin “discarded” non-gerundial structures require more attention. Indeed, the analysis *ex negativo* could be useful in this respect.

The distribution of the main functions expressed through finite structures in the Ladin translations is summarized in tab. 5.1. Each of the identified values will be further elaborated and explained in the subsections below on Ladin by including the expression of manner / circumstance / instrument, which may preferentially be expressed through non-finiteness due to the absence of explicit modal structures.

It may be noted that certain constructions provide more than just one meaning, although we would normally expect an unambiguous result. The presence of both a causal and a manner value signalizes exceptions which show a degree of overlap between the causal and temporal reading. However, the circumstantial / instrumental / modal is not represented at all in this table, indicating that such values are not expressed via a finite structure in Ladin. In general, we observe that the strictly causal examples in Italian are also interpreted as

temporal, the circumstantial example n.3 does not show any of the reported interpretations, whereas the remaining structures mainly bear the temporal reading, except for n.9. In order to verify the productivity of such structures, tables 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate the raw frequencies of all the structures, including the gerundial and the discarded non-gerundial ones.

	Cause	Time	Condition
1. Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata.	X	X	
2. Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca.	X	X	
3. Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina.			
4. Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!		X	
5. Mangiando in un ristorante stellato ho scoperto combinazioni del tutto nuove.		X	
6. Lavando i piatti ho rotto la mia tazza preferita.		X	
7. Sono caduto guidando la bici e ho rotto il polso.		X	
8. Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento.	X	X	
9. Avremmo potuto finire molto prima unendo le forze.			X
10. Leggendo il giornale sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi.	X	X	

Table 5.1: Alternative paraphrases of gerunds in the Ladin Moral corpus

Among the alternative (non-gerundial) options we find: finite temporal struc-

tures (ex.63a), finite causal structures (ex.63b), finite conditional structures (ex.63c), prepositional infinitive structures (*da*+INF in Badiotto, ex.64 and *a*+INF in

	Ex. n.1	Ex. n.2	Ex. n.3	Ex. n.4	Ex. n.5	Ex. n.6	Ex. n.7	Ex. n.8	Ex. n.9	Ex. n.10
Finite temporal clause	1	0	1	2	19	22	8	7	0	3
Finite causal clause	30	20	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	1
Finite conditional clause	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	0
Gerundival structures	1	5	23	10	5	1	1	0	1	11
Prepositional infinitive (DA + INF)	0	5	2	13	5	9	16	17	1	12
Coordinative structure	1	2	3	0	3	0	5	0	0	1
Substantival structures (prep. + DET + INF)	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fully paraphrased structures	0	0	3	0	1	1	3	0	0	3
No answer	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	3	2

Table 5.2: The raw frequencies of the Moral Badiotto structures

	Ex. n.1	Ex. n.2	Ex. n.3	Ex. n.4	Ex. n.5	Ex. n.6	Ex. n.7	Ex. n.8	Ex. n.9	Ex. n.10
Finite temporal clause	0	0	0	1	3	11	10	4	0	6
Finite causal clause	19	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Finite conditional clause	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	0
Gerundival structures	0	2	18	9	10	3	8	3	4	5
Prepositional infinitive (A + INF)	1	5	3	5	8	8	2	14	2	8
Coordinative structure	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Substantival structures (prep. + DET + INF)	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Fully paraphrased structures	2	0	2	7	1	0	1	1	1	2
No answer	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

Table 5.3: The raw frequencies of the Moral Fassano structures

Fassano, ex.65), substantivized structures (prep.+DET+INF, ex.66) and coordinate structures (ex.67). In addition, a few speakers skipped a translation item or opted for a full reorganization of the information structure¹³⁵, for instance *Nos grignon ma l'é jà les 3 de net!* 'We laugh but it's already 3AM!' in the Fassano translation of n.3.

- (63) a. Ita. *Mangiando in un ristorante stellato ho scoperto combinazioni del tutto nuove.*

Tratan che i mangiâ te restaurant da steres ai
while that I eat.1SG.IPFV in restaurant to stars AUX
ciafè fora coses nees.
found.PstP out green_beans new

'While I was eating in a starred restaurant I found out new green beans'¹³⁶ (Badiotto)

- b. Ita. *Essendo a dieta non posso mangiare la cioccolata.*

I ne pó nia mangé la ciuculada, deache i sun a dieta.
I not can nothing eat.INF DET chocolate because I am at diet

'I cannot eat any chocolate because I am on a diet' (Badiotto)

- c. Ita. *Avremmo potuto finire molto prima unendo le forze.*

Sci essun fat düc empera spo
if have.SBJV.1PL do.PstP everything together then
essun roé denant.
have.SBJV.1PL finish.PstP before

'If we had done everything together then we would have finished in advance' (Badiotto)

- (64) Ita. *Sono caduto guidando la bici e ho rotto il polso.*

I sun tomé da ji cun la roda y i me é
I AUX fall.PstP from/since go.INF with the bike and I REFL AUX
rot la conëdla.
break.PstP DET wrist

¹³⁵Examples involving a substantial reorganization of the information structure will not be examined, since these do not contain any of the relevant constructions.

¹³⁶A short clarification on the Badiotto term *cose* is needed. Although it may seem somewhat odd to observe 'green beans' instead of 'things', this lexeme truly bears the meaning of 'green beans' or 'pods' (*coso* in Gardenese, *cusol-oi* in Fassano, *cosol* in Fodom and *cóso* in Ampezzano). However, I believe that this use was unintentional, as 'thing-s' has a geminated sibilant, *cosa/e*.

‘I fell since (I was) going with my bike and I broke my wrist’

(Badiotto)

- (65) *Son crodà a jir co la roda, e me é rot*
 AUX fall.PstP to go.INF with DET bike and REFL AUX break.PstP
la conoia.
 DET wrist

‘I fell going with the bike and I broke my wrist’

(Fassano)

- (66) Ita. *Lavando i piatti ho rotto la mia tazza preferita.*

Tel lavar i piac é rot mia chichera preferida.
 in+DET wash.INF DET dishes AUX break.PstP my cup favorite

‘In (the process of) washing the dishes, I broke my favorite cup’

(Fassano)

- (67) Ita. *Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca.*

I roi de lauré tert vigni dé y i ne á mai
 I finish.1SG to work.INF late every day and I not have.1SG never
tëmp da jí te banca.
 time to go.INF in bank

‘I finish to work late every day and I never have time to go to the bank’

(Badiotto)

An interesting detail standing out and emerging from the tables 5.2 and 5.3 is the use of prepositional infinitives which is concentrated in some examples, mainly in non-strictly circumstantial contexts in Badiotto, whereas in Fassano it seems to be distributed across several domains. However, both varieties show an increase in the use of the prep. infinitive in n.8. This specific example appears to be representing manner rather than a circumstance or an instrument, explaining how he got his pants dirty. This issue will be further explored in the discussion below.

Another matter which is worth exploring and which will be tackled in the discussion concerns examples showing no gerundial instantiations. In the Badiotto results, n.8 is the only item with no gerundial structures, whereas in Fassano no gerunds can be found in n.1. In both examples there seem to emerge

straightforward readings, namely the modal and the causal one respectively. However, further investigation on this matter is necessary.

The Ladin part of the Mitten corpus on the other hand exclusively focuses on the examples containing gerundial constructions and the interpretation is given by the context. The raw data presented in tab.5.4 shows the overall numbers of gerunds per text genre.

	Newspaper texts	School texts	Scientific articles	Literary texts
Ladin	3	1	22	15

Table 5.4: The distribution of gerundial structures in the Ladin Mitten corpus

The total number of examples extracted from 40 texts is relatively low, which however comes as no surprise, recalling the information provided by the Ladin grammars, specifically Chiocchetti & Iori (2002). It may look surprising that out of the 41 total examples, 22 gerundial constructions are found in scientific articles and 15 in literary texts, while the newspaper articles and school texts only contain 3 and 1 respectively. However, it must be acknowledged that the general length of scientific articles and literary texts was notably different compared to the remaining two types. Taking a step forward in the investigation of the distribution of gerunds, tables 5.5 and 5.6 provide a closer look on the amount of gerundial structures in each scientific and literary text.

It may be noted that a significant amount of texts (both scientific and literary) contain one or no gerundial structures at all, whereas a limited number of texts contains the vast majority of gerunds. A possible non-Ladin L1 interference could be hypothesized as we find Italian scholars among the writers¹³⁷ as well. However, the two texts containing the largest number of gerunds, namely *L ladin tl sistem formatif dla provinzia de Bulsan* and *La Mpermetuda* are written by a Gardenesse author¹³⁸ and in the Gardenesse variety respectively. The examples which mainly represent the circumstantial, causal and attributive functions are examined in the following subsections, thereby indicating that the gerund mainly operates in its traditional adverbial domain, along with the

¹³⁷For instance, Vittorio dell'Aquila is the author of the text *L ladin dolomitan: propostes de svilup*.

¹³⁸The author of *L ladin tl sistem formatif dla provinzia de Bulsan* is Roland Verra, a scholar and teacher, born in Brixen and raised in Ortisei, Val Gardena.

Parores danfora <i>Ladinia XLIII</i>	3
LADINITE TLA VITA PRATIGA DA VIGNE DE	0
L ladin dolomitan: propostes de svilup	7
L ladin tel sistem formatif de la Val de Fascia	0
1977-2006: atività dl Istitut Ladin Micurà de Rü	1
Parores danfora <i>Ladinia XL</i>	1
10 ani de Repartizion ladina (Rifesser)	1
Prejentazion dl segundo volum dla seria Sprachen im Vergleich	0
L ladin tl sistem formatif dla provinzia de Bulsan	9
10 agn de Repartiziun ladina (Videsott)	0

Table 5.5: The distribution of gerundial structures in the Ladin scientific texts

Le grof y le bau de Plan dles Cialdires	0
Spirit de contradiziun	1
Le meder de Col dles Scofes	0
La prinzëssa dala ria	0
L'artist dl scarpel berba Tone Daprè	0
Saluc Ladins	0
Le iat viandant	0
La Mpermetuda	9
Le früt cudugn	0
L'aisciöda. Vjinanza	5

Table 5.6: The distribution of gerundial structures in the Ladin literary texts

more innovative participial-type of use. The full list of Ladin examples extracted from the Mitten corpus can be found in the List of Examples.

In addition to the functions identified in the Mitten corpus, the following subsections will also illustrate the expression of the time and condition on the basis of the Moral examples. Since the gerund as a category does not seem to be involved in the expression of the progressive periphrasis, despite some early periphrastic uses detected by Lardschneider (1909), this chapter will not deal with progressive, whose structures will be examined in ch.6. Due to the absence of relevant ancient Ladin texts no consideration on the Diachro corpus can be made.

5.1.1 Circumstantial value

5.1.1.1 Moral corpus

It may be noted that one specific construction stands out in the results of the Moral corpus in terms of use as opposed to all the other tested items, both in Badiotto and Fassano (ex.68a and 68b respectively).

Ita. Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina.

- (68) a. *Vigni de vai al laur ciantan dadalt tl auto.*
 every day go.1SG to+DET work sing.GER aloud in car
 ‘Every day I go to work singing aloud in the car’ (Badiotto)
- b. *Dute le bonore vae a lurar ciantan adaut te auto.*
 every DET morning(early) go.1SG to work.INF sing.GER aloud
 in car
 ‘Every morning I go to work singing aloud in the car’ (Fassano)

Unlike other constructions which show a clear reading on the basis of a large number of explicit forms, this particular example seems to suggest that there could be a connection between the expression of a circumstance and the use of gerund. Specifically, the translation of *Ogni giorno vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina* provides 23 out of 33 gerundial instantiations in Badiotto and 18 out of 23 in Fassano. Alternative constructions are very few and involve a variety of structures, precisely 1 example of a temporal reading, 3 examples of coordination, 2 examples of *da*+INF, 3 examples of full periphrasis (whose information structure is not relevant for this study) and 1 no

answer in Badiotto and 3 examples of *a*+INF in addition to 2 fully paraphrased structures in Fassano.

Other examples showing a significant number of gerundial instantiations are the following:

- n.5 of Fig.5.1, namely *Mangiando in un ristorante stellato ho scoperto combinazioni del tutto nuove* with 5 instantiations in Badiotto and 9 in Fassano;
- n.7, *Sono caduto guidando la bici e ho rotto il polso*, with 8 instantiations in Fassano;
- n.4, *Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!*, with 10 gerundial examples in Badiotto and 9 in Fassano;
- n.10, *Leggendo il giornale, sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi*, with 11 gerundial structures in Badiotto and 5 in Fassano.

The reason behind the use of non-finite gerundial constructions in these examples lies in a possible circumstantial or instrumental reading of the reference structures. Additionally, the example n.4 represents a fixed idiomatic-type of expression, thereby not being fully transparent interpretation-wise and resulting in a difficult and problematic translation. Thus, the gerundial construction could be a structural replica. Alternatively, concerning the example n.4, speakers have opted for the non finite prepositional infinitive (13 instantiations in Badiotto and 5 in Fassano, ex.69a and 69b respectively), substantival preposition+DET+INF constructions (5 in Badiotto), full paraphrase (7 in Fassano), causal (1 in Badiotto) and temporal constructions (2 in Badiotto and 1 in Fassano), in addition to 1 untranslated example in Fassano.

- (69) a. *Da rí y da fá damat, él bel les trei de not.*
 to laugh.INF and to joke.INF he right DET three of night
 ‘Laughing and joking (to laugh and to joke) it is right 3am (of the night).’ (Badiotto)
- b. *A grignar e a scherzar l’è jà le 3 de not!*
 to laugh.INF and to joke.INF it_is already DET 3 of night
 ‘Laughing and joking (to laugh and to joke) it is already 3am (of the night)’ (Fassano)

The remaining examples will be discussed in the following sections.

5.1.1.2 Mitten corpus

The Mitten corpus presents a large number of constructions expressing circumstantial / instrumental value through a gerund. Precisely, we find 30 circumstantial examples out of 41 total gerundial representations extracted from 40 Ladin texts. This function is therefore the predominant one and this piece of information is a crucial puzzle piece, signaling that the gerund in Ladin maintains its traditional adverbial function, despite its relatively low productivity as stated in the literature, for instance:

- (70) a. *N'otra costion portèda dant dal Consei de la Neva UAL l'é chela del redit de zitadinanza, che la Neva UAL is that of+DET income of citizenship that DET Provinzia de Busan no à tout sù, tegnan sia Province of Bolzano not AUX remove.PstP EXPL hold.GER [...] mesures jà en esser perché miores per i sentadins, measures already in be.INF because better for DET citizens enveze Trent l'à, tout sù dijan che coscì instead Trento it_AUX remove.PstP EXPL say.GER that this_way la Provinzia aessa sparagnà ressorses da poder durèr DET province AUX save.PstP resources to can support.INF per intervenc de sostegn a la natalità e investimenc, for interventions of support to DET natality and investments ma da Roma no lé ruà i scioldi per corir but from Rome not AUX arrive.PstP DET money to cover.INF l redit de garanzia, donca l sparagn emprometù no DET income of warranty therefore DET savings promised not lé stat. it_AUX be.PsTP*

'Another matter brought to the Board of the Neva UAL is that of the Citizens' income that the Province of Bolzano has not removed, maintaining the already existing measures being better for the citizens, whereas Trento has removed it saying that this way the Province has saved resources in order to be able to endure interventions of support to the natality and investments, but from Rome, the money to cover the warranty has not arrived, therefore the promised savings did not occur.'

- b. *Do lintruduziun che vá ite tla storia dl after DET+introduction that enter.3SG in+DET history of+DET*

alpinism y (porchël ince) dl turism dl raiun
 alpinism and therefore also of+DET tourism of+DET territory
dolomitich, che vá zoruch tl XIX. secul y che
 Dolomitic that go.3SG back in+DET XIX century and that
á ciafé na sbürla determinanta cun la
 AUX take.PstP a encouragement decisive with DET
costruziun dla Gran Strada dles Dolomites (rovada
 construction of+DET big road of+DET Dolomites finish.PstP
tl 1909), vëgnel sciöche pert zentrala n
 in+DET 1909 come.3SG+he/it - as part central - a
escurs sön "l'invenziun di Crëps Stlauris, te chëra
 excursus in DET+invention of Mount Pale in that
ch'ara ilustrëia te na manira critica la vita y
 that+she illustrate.3SG in a way critical DET life and
lopera de K.F. Wolff, conscidran dantadt süa
 DET+work of K.F. Wolff, consider.GER especially his
Monographie der Dolomitenstraße (Monografia dla Strada
 Monographie der Dolomitenstraße Monograph of+DET Road
dles Dolomites) dada fora tl 1908 y dles
 of+DET Dolomites publish.PstP in+DET 1908 and of+DET
Dolomitensagen (Liëndes dles Dolomites) süa opera
 Dolomiternsagen Legends of+DET Dolomites - his work
prinzipala publicades por le pröm iade tl 1913 y
 main - publish.PstP for DET first time in+DET 1913 and
rovades intratan ala 18a ediziun.
 reach.PstP meanwhile to+DET 18th edition

'After the introduction that makes the history of the alpinism and (therefore, also) of the Dolomitic territory, that goes back to the XIX century and that has found decisive encouragement with the construction of the "Big Road of the Dolomites" (finished in 1909), it comes - as central part - an excursus in the "invention of the Pale Mountains¹³⁹", which illustrates in a critical way the life and the work of K.F. Wolff, by especially considering his "Monographie der Dolomitenstraße" (Monograph of the Road of the Dolomites) published in 1908 and the "Dolomitensagen" (Legends of the Dolomites) - his main work - published for the first time in 1913 and got to the 18th edition.'

¹³⁹*Pale Mountains* or *Monti pallidi* is another appellative for the Dolomites. The "invention" refers to the creation of the name *Monti pallidi* according to the legend of the Dolomites.

An interesting adjacent piece is the example 71 showing a *variatio* involving a prepositional infinitive in conjunction with a gerundial structure.

- (71) *A veder l cian, la tousa, co la mans ti*
 to see.INF DET dog DET young_lady with DET hand you.INDOBJ
ciavei la é sciampèda cigan [...]
 hair she AUX run_away.PstP yell.GER
 ‘Seeing the dog, the young lady with her hand in the hair ran away
 yelling...’

The general use of the prepositional infinitives comes as no surprise, as such constructions in addition to the gerundial ones are observed by Casalicchio (2011, 2013) in pseudorelative constructions. Example 71 presents the combined use of what seem to be two functionally equivalent structures in the circumstantial / instrumental domain. However, a distinction could be made on the basis of the temporal relation¹⁴⁰, the prepositional infinitive expressing anteriority to the main event, along the lines of ‘after seeing the dog, the young lady ran away...’ and the gerund expressing simultaneity to the main event. In this way, the two structures anchored to the matrix clause assume different roles, providing a subtle chronological order of the events, namely at first the young lady saw the dog and then she ran away and yelled. This explanation cannot however be generalized, as it has been suggested by the results of the Ladin Moral corpus. In fact, the partial Moral corpus data illustrated in the previous subsection highlights the use of prepositional infinitives as parallel/alternative structures to the gerunds in those particular functions.

5.1.2 The expression of causality and time¹⁴¹

5.1.2.1 Moral corpus

Causality is mainly expressed through finite structures in the Moral corpus, therefore little attention will be given to this function in the context of Moral data. The examples that explicitly provide a causal reading are mainly n.1 (*Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata*) and n.2 (*Finendo di lavorare*

¹⁴⁰It is necessary to specify that temporal relation does not refer to the temporal dimension per se, but rather to the relation between two events which could refer to an event A occurring in an indefinite moment during an interval B ($A \subseteq B$), to an event A occurring after B ($B < A$), etc.

¹⁴¹The decision to incorporate these two functions is motivated by the fact that both are expressed through finite clauses in the Moral corpus, whereas in the Mitten corpus only few examples of causality are detected.

tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca.) with 30 and 20 instantiations in Badiotto and 19 and 14 explicit structures in Fassano (ex.72) respectively. Additional minor percentages of explicit causal constructions can be spotted in Badiotto, particularly in n.6 (*Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento*) with 6 exemplifications and n.7 (*Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!* with only 1 instantiation.

- (72) Ita. *Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca.*

Ajache fenesse de lurar tart duc i dis, no é
 because finish.SBJV.IPFV.1SG to work.INF late every DET days not is
mai temp de jir de banca.
 never time to go.INF of bank

‘Because I finish to work late every day I never have time to go to the bank’
 (Fassano)

The same explanation applies to the temporal reading which however is more distributed among the examples of the Moral corpus, particularly in the Fassano variety. In fact, we find:

- 19 instantions of finite temporal constructions in Badiotto and 3 in Fassano in the translation of n.1 (*Mangiando in un ristorante stellato ho scoperto combinazioni del tutto nuove.*);
- 1 finite temp. constr. in Badiotto in n.2 (*Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata*);
- 1 example in Badiotto in n.3 (*Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina*);
- 22 finite temp. constr. in Badiotto and 11 in Fassano in n.4 (*Lavando i piatti ho rotto la mia tazza preferita*, cf. ex.73);
- 8 temp. constr. in Badiotto and 10 in Fassano in n.5 (*Sono caduto guidando la bici e ho rotto il polso*, cf. ex.74);
- 7 examples of the finite temporal clause in Badiotto and 4 in Fassano in n.6 (*Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento*, cf. ex.75);
- 2 finite temp. constr. in Badiotto and 1 in Fassano for n.7 (*Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte*);
- 3 finite temporal constructions in Badiotto and 6 in Fassano in n.10 (*Leggendo il giornale sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi*, cf. ex.76).

- (73) Ita. *Lavando i piatti ho rotto la mia tazza preferita.*

Indèna che lavèe ju é spacà mia chichera
 meanwhile that wash.IPFV.1SG down AUX broke.PstP my cup
preferida.
 favorite

‘While I was washing up I broke my favorite cup’ (Fassano)

- (74) Ita. *Sono caduto guidando la bici e ho rotto il polso.*

I sun tomé canche i jô con la roda y i me á
 I AUX fall.PstP when I go.IPFV.1SG with DET bike and I REFL AUX
rot le polso.
 break.PstP DET wrist

‘I fell when I was riding the bike and I broke the wrist’ (Badiotto)

- (75) Ita. *Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento.*

I á ajié la braia canche i ma sonté ia por tera.
 I AUX dirty.PstP DET pants when I REFL sit.PstP to at ground

‘I got my pants dirty when I sat on the ground’ (Badiotto)

- (76) Ita. *Leggendo il giornale sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi.*

Endèna che leje l sfoi, son vegnuda a conoscenza de
 during that read.1SG DET journal am come.PstP at knowledge of
la gran venta de Valentino Rossi.
 DET big victory of Valentino Rossi

‘While I am (was?) reading the journal, I went to know of Valentino Rossi’s big victory’ (Fassano)

It is worth mentioning that Ladin temporal constructions that are used in the translations of the examples from Italian are normally interpreted as durative actions, introduced by *intratan che* (Badiotto) / *indèna che* / *endèna che*¹⁴² (Fassano), lit. ‘in the meantime that’ and suggesting that the event of the matrix

¹⁴²There is consistent variation in the orthography, suggesting a less strict normative-type of schooling in Ladin.

clause has occurred in an unspecified time within the interval of the subordinate event. A different perspective is provided by ex.74, introduced by the subordination conjunction *canche* ‘when’, suggesting a punctual reading or a change of state, along the lines of ‘the moment I sat down, I got my pants dirty’, rather than ‘while I was sitting on the floor, I got my pants dirty’. However, this type of reading seems to be encoded in the input structure, as *stando seduto* ‘being seated’ would have been a likelier option for a durative interpretation. Such considerations however do not interfere with the temporal relation, which is that of contemporaneity.

5.1.2.2 Mitten corpus

Unlike the Moral corpus which does not show direct traces of gerundial constructions in a causal or temporal interpretation, the Mitten corpus provides the following four examples bearing causal value, for instance:

- (77) *Ch'i che lëura tl Istitut muessa perchël se*
 those that work.3PL in+DET Institute must.PL therefore REFL
rënder cont de ne lauré nia te na sort de turris eburnea, ma
 realize of not work.INF nothing in a sort of turris eburnea but
te na strutura al servisc dla jënt ladina, de si
 in a organization to+DET service of+DET people Ladin of its
cultura y rujeneda, purvan a tenì plu aut che l ie
 culture and language attempt.GER to keep.INF more high that it is
mesun l livel scientifich de si lëur.
 mean DET level scientific of its work

‘Those who work at the Institute must therefore be aware of not working in a *turris eburnea*, but in an organization at the service of the Ladin people, of the culture and language, attempting to keep the scientific level of the work higher than the means.’

Example 77 shows a somewhat weak causal reading, as the relation between the cause and the effect is not straightforward. It could be intended as something along the lines of “because the Institute at the service of the Ladin people, of culture and language attempts to keep the scientific level high [...], those who work there must understand that they do not work in a *turris eburnea*”. However, it may also be assumed as a modal example as well, or as a participial kind of construction. Specifically, the gerundial structure could be indicating the way in which the people at the Institute work or alternatively, it could be a modifier of the noun *strutura*. The complexity and lack of transparency

make examples such as (77) relatively ambiguous, although the modal reading seems to prevail due to the change of the subject (*ch'i che lëura - na strutura*).

- (78) a. *Savan che te ch"esta età dai 3 ai 6 ani*
 know.GER that in this age from+DET 3 to+DET 6 years
ie l cervel dl mënder dassënn elastic y che
 be.3SG DET brain of+DET younger very elastic and that
l potenzial de tò su fenomenns linguistics y de
 DET potential of acquire.INF phenomena linguistic and of
i interiorisé ie scialdi plu daviert che no
 them internalize.INF be.3SG abundantly more open than no
plu inant ti ani de scola, messëssa la
 more before in years of school must.SBJV.3SG DET
scolina se purvé dassënn n ch"esc cont.
 kindergarten engage.INF much in this account

‘Knowing that at this age between 3 and 6 years the brain of the young is very elastic and that the potential of acquiring linguistic phenomena and of internalizing them is abundantly greater than the school years, the kindergarten should¹⁴³ engage much on this account’

- b. *Savan che i candidac ladins arjonj mo for*
 know.GER that DET candidates Ladin obtain.3PL still
scialdi de miëur resultac pra l ejam de bilinguism
 abundantly of better results to DET exam of bilingualism
provinziel, ne ie chësta regulamentazion nia drëta y l
 provincial not be.3SG this regulation not right and it
ie gran ëura che n chiere na soluzion
 be.3SG great time that IMPS find.SBJV.3SG a solution
giuridica che respetea i dërc di ladins.
 legal that respect.3SG DET rights of Ladins

‘Knowing that the Ladin candidates still abundantly obtain better results at the provincial bilingualism exam, this regulation is not right and it is time to find a legal solution that respects the rights of the Ladin.’

- c. *Restan l jëunn dassënn buli a si ideal de uem y*
 stay.GER DET young much anchored to his ideal of man and

¹⁴³The Ladin varieties make use of the subjunctive imperfective paradigm to express the conditional.

de crestian, dajov-l audida al etiërn cherdé
of christian give.IPFV.3SG+he listening to+DET eternal call
dl amor y dla speranzaia.
of+DET love and of+DET hope

‘Remaining the young much anchored (Because the young person remained anchored) to his ideal of a man and of a Christian, he listened to the eternal call of love and hope’

Examples 78a, 78b and 78c are on the other hand more transparently intended as causal. Surely, the order of the clauses is helpful in this respect and the gerundial clause preceding the matrix one displays the events in a chronological order. Moreover, the gerundial structure represents the factual character of the given information, further enhancing the notion of a background assumption (particularly in ex. 78a and 78b). When it comes to the temporal relation of all four given examples, we may assume that all of them express simultaneous events to the main clause, although ex. 78c could be interpreted as an analytic gerund as well, namely ‘having remained’. However, the obtained reading in such case would not be strictly sequential, due to the presence of an imperfective form in the main clause indicating an iterative event. Therefore, the two possible interpretations of ex.78c could be: i. ‘Because he remained (having remained) anchored to this ideal of a man and a Christian, he listened to the eternal call of love and hope’, indicating one confined event when he decided to remain anchored to the ideal and a repeated event of the listening to the eternal call (less likely due to the presence of the imperfective); ii. ‘Because he remained anchored to his ideal, he listened to the eternal call’ intended as fully overlapping repeated events (a likelier interpretation). Specifically, the remaining anchored occurrence could be interpreted as a singular event¹⁴⁴ which is constant throughout the iteration of listening to the eternal call of love and hope. For this reason, none of the presented examples fits within the category of only expressing anteriority.

5.1.3 Attributive and argument functions

5.1.3.1 Mitten corpus

This subsection focuses on two functions which are grouped due to the limited productivity of both. On the one hand, with attributive function I intend the

¹⁴⁴By singular event I intend a non-dynamic event, conceptualized as occurring in a unique time interval (cf. Dahl 2010:39-40).

participle-like construction acting as a nominal modifier which is introduced by Chiocchetti & Iori (2002). On the other hand, by argument structure I intend the constructions involving perception verbs which are identified by Forni (2019) and examined in depth by Casalicchio (2011, 2013, 2016b). These constructions are exclusively found in the Mitten corpus, as the Ladin Moral data focus on the adverbial domain. Precisely, we find 5 relevant examples, out of which 1 represents the attributive function (ex.79), whereas 4 examples illustrate the perceptive construction (ex.80).

- (79) *La sienes busiova, furmiéntes de caidli y de fueia*
 DET bushes heave.IPFV.3SG teem.PP of sprouts and of leaves
nueva, na plueia de flureles blancs y nrusedes mpudrova
 new a rain of petals white and pink powder.IPFV.3SG
la ciuries stlinedes di lens da meiles, y datrai na
 DET crowns messy of trees to/of apples and sometimes a
venteda, rabian adalerch, ti zarova demez i
 gust wander.GER here to_them rip.IPFV.3SG out DET
chélesc flurii, i purtan dalonc a muri.
 glass in_bloom them take.GER far_away to die.INF

‘The hedges swarmed with sprouts and new leaves, a shower of white and pink petals powdered the matted foliage of the apple trees and sometimes a gust of wind wandering here ripped out their the corollas in bloom, taking them to die far away’

- (80) *An vëiga les löms dl iastel y an alda cherdon*
 IMPS see.3SG DET lights of+DET castle and IMPS hear.3SG
linom dla prinzëssa.
 call.GER DET+name of+DET princess

‘One sees the lights of the castle and one hears the name of the princess being called’

It must be specified that only one of the two gerunds in ex.79 is relevant to the analysis in the present section, namely *rabian*. In fact, the second gerund, *purta*n expresses the adverbial function and belongs to the type discussed in section 5.1.1.2, whereas *rabian* refers to the noun immediately preceding the gerund.¹⁴⁵ What is more, the author of this Gardenesse literary text provides

¹⁴⁵*Rabian* could potentially be interpreted as an adverbial gerund as well, along the lines of ‘while a gust of wind was wondering here’. However, the author himself provides a translation of the text *La Mpermetuda* from Gardenesse to Italian, suggesting the attributive reading ‘una ventata improvvisa’, Eng. ‘a sudden gust’.

a translation into Italian, using an adjective for the translation of the gerund. Therefore, *na venteda, rabian adalerch* is rephrased into ‘a sudden gust’ suggesting an explanatory role of the gerund. The ex.80 instead is part of a Badiotto literary text containing a pseudorelative or completive/content clause. Such constructions, as both the literature and the data suggest, is still productive in Ladin, particularly in the northern varieties.

5.2 The use of gerund in Swiss Romansh

Swiss Romansh shows a general increase in the use of gerund as opposed to Ladin. By increase I only intend the number of gerundial instantiations which does not imply a wider spectrum of functional domains. Furthermore, the Romansh data includes additional evidence of older stages of this variety provided by the Diachro corpus.

Before focusing on the results, a few words on the data collection and database are needed. While the data of the Mitten and Diachro corpora was collected in a more systematic way, the Moral corpus required some adjustment due to the diversity of three main areas of interest. In fact, as opposed to the Ladin (and Friulan) task, the Romansh test employed for the fieldwork in Kanton Graubünden is partly different as it consisted in a translation task from German into the speaker’s local variety. Therefore, I will briefly sketch the use of the gerund in German in order to have a better overview of the input form by first presenting the functional domain of the employed German structures and subsequently I will analyze the translated examples.

Most German grammars do not indicate a specific morphological form for the gerund or explicitly affirm that German has no such category as the gerund (cf. Hentschel 2010:115, but also Helbig & Buscha 1990 and Engel 2008:430-432). Instead the participle I, having the *-end* ending, shows a variety of uses.¹⁴⁶ Specifically, this form can be used as an attribute (e.g. *der zögernde Eigentümer* ‘the hesitant owner’), as a relative clause expressing simultaneity to the matrix clause (e.g. *die weidende Kuh* ‘the grazing cow’) or in an adverbial function, once again expressing simultaneity (e.g. *Sie las, auf der Treppe sitzend, in einem kleinen Buch* ‘Sitting on the stairs, she was reading a little book’). The first two functions use the inflected participle, whereas the adverbial domain adopts the uninflected version. The translation task made substantial use of the uninflected adverbial participle and is an adaptation of the Italian input test.

¹⁴⁶For a full overview see Engel (2008:430-435).

The translation task from German into Romansh consisted of 12 sentences. The input items involving participial-gerundial, but also non-gerundial structures can be grouped according to the following functions:

(i) The circumstantial / instrumental / modal function

- (1) *Die Zeitung lesend erfuhr ich von Valentino Rossis großem Sieg* ‘By reading the journal, I came across Valentino Rossi’s big victory’;
- (2) *Jeden Morgen fahre ich lauthals singend im Auto zur Arbeit* ‘Every morning I go to work by singing at the top of my lungs in my car’;
- (3) *Lachend und scherzend kamen wir nach Rom!* ‘Laughing and joking we came to Rome!’;
- (4) *Mich auf den Boden setzend habe ich mir die Hose schmutzig gemacht* ‘By sitting on the floor I got my pants dirty’;

(ii) The causal function

- (5) *Da ich auf Diät bin, kann ich keine Schokolade essen* ‘Because I am on a diet, I cannot eat chocolate’;
- (6) *Da ich jeden Tag lang arbeite, habe ich nie Zeit zur Bank zu gehen* ‘Because I work long every day, I don’t have any time to go to the bank’.

(iii) Argument function

- (7) *Ich habe dich kommen sehen* ‘I saw you coming’;
- (8) *Jeden Nachmittag beobachte ich die Kindern beim Spielen von meinem Balkon* ‘Every afternoon I watch the kids play from my balcony’;
- (9) *Einen Oscar zu gewinnen ist der Traum eines jeden Schauspielers* ‘It is every actor’s dream to win an Oscar’;
- (10) *Ich dachte, du würdest morgen abfahren*¹⁴⁷ ‘I thought you would leave tomorrow morning’.

(iv) Progressive constructions

- (11) *Ich war am fernsehen, als ich ein verdächtiges Geräusch hörte* ‘I was watching the TV when I heard a suspicious noise’;

¹⁴⁷This item is meant to be a disambiguation example, checking the use of the *consecutio temporum*.

- (12) *Ich sehe, du liest gerade Italo Calvino, meinen Lieblingsautor* 'I see, you are reading Italo Calvino, my favorite author'.

Out of the 12 total sentences, 6 target the adverbial use (by combining 4 circumstantial / instrumental / modal and 2 strictly causal examples items), 3 examples involving argument functions (2 of which contain perceptive verbs), 2 examples targeting the use of the progressive and 1 item targeting the prospective aspect. The full test can be found in Appendix D.

At first glance it is noticeable that some German structures differ remarkably from their equivalents in Italian. In fact, the German *-end* form is used in circumstantial (or instrumental or modal) contexts, whereas the strictly causally interpretable structures make use of a finite clause. When it comes to the progressive, German uses a grammaticalized construction 'to be at' or the aspectual marker *gerade*, but no participial/gerundial forms. The argument structure examples are meant to investigate the preferred structure in argument perceptive and non-perceptive contexts.

The results, which are based on the translation task provided by 8 overall speakers, show a relatively clear-cut picture. The output items may be grouped according to their structure in the following way:

(i) Gerundial structures

- (1) *Die Zeitung lesend erfuhr ich von Valentino Rossis großem Sieg* - all the speakers used a gerundial form (ex.88);
- (2) *Jeden Morgen fahre ich lauthals singend im Auto zur Arbeit* - 7 examples of the bare gerund, 1 example of a prepositional (*a*) gerund;
- (3) *Lachend und scherzend kamen wir nach Rom!* - all the speakers opted for a bare gerund.

(ii) Finite causal structures

- (4) *Da ich auf Diät bin, kann ich keine Schokolade essen* - all the speakers opted for a finite structure (ex.90a);
- (5) *Da ich jeden Tag lang arbeite, habe ich nie Zeit zur Bank zu gehen* - all the speakers used a causal finite form;
- (6) *Mich auf den Boden setzend habe ich mir die Hose schmutzig gemacht* - once again the speakers only opted for a causal finite structure (ex.90b).

(iii) Argument construction

- (7) *Einen Oscar zu gewinnen ist der Traum eines jeden Schauspielers* - 7 speakers opted for a prepositional infinitive (*da* + INF, ex.91)), whereas 1 speaker used a bare infinitive.
- (8) *Ich dachte, du würdest morgen abfahren* - all the speakers respected the prospective time relation.

(iv) Perceptive constructions

- (9) *Ich habe dich kommen sehen* - 3 speakers used a prepositional *gerund* in the translation (ex.92a), 2 speakers opted for a prepositional infinitive (ex.92b), 2 speakers used a bare infinitive (ex.92c), whereas 1 speaker used a finite structure (ex.92d);
- (10) *Jeden Nachmittag beobachte ich die Kindern beim Spielen von meinem Balkon* - 2 speakers used a prepositional *gerund* (*a* + *termagliond*, ex.93a), 1 speaker opted for a prepositional infinitive (ex.93b), 4 speakers paraphrased the construction into a relative clause (ex.93c), whereas 1 participant did not provide the translation.

(v) Progressive constructions

- (11) *Ich war am fernsehen, als ich ein verdächtiges Geräusch hörte* - 1 speaker used a bare gerundial structure, 5 speakers opted for a grammaticalized *vid+(a)+lunder* construction, 2 speakers paraphrased the structure using the imperfective;
- (12) *Ich sehe, du liest gerade Italo Calvino, meinen Lieblingsautor* - 1 speaker used the grammaticalized *vid+(a)+lunder* construction, 7 speakers used the aspectual marker *gist*.

As indicated in the summary of the Romansh Moral corpus data, the results are sharp and relatively transparent, specifically when it comes to the structures used for the expression of manner and causality. Examples which have been interpreted as modal (or circumstantial / instrumental, but potentially also temporal) only exhibit a gerundial structure, for instance:

- (81) *Legind la gasetta, hai jau survegnì cun la victoria da*
 read.GER DET journal AUX I discover.PstP with DET victory of
Valentino Rossi.
 Valentino Rossi
 ‘Reading the journal I received (the news/I acknowledged) of the victory of Valentino Rossi’

On the contrary, examples expressing causality only display the structure of a finite causal clause, as in ex.82.

- (82) a. *Perquai ch' jau fatsch ina dieta na dastg jau betg mangiar*
 since I do.1SG a diet not can I not eat.INF
tschigulatta
 chocolate
 'Since I do diet (I am on a diet) I cannot eat chocolate'
- b. *Perquai ch jau sun sesida sin il plantschieu, hai jau*
 since I AUX sit.PstP on DET ground AUX I
tschuffentà mias chautschas
 dirty.PstP my pants
 'Since I am seated on the ground I got my pants dirty'

While the translations of items n.3 (*Da ich auf Diät bin, kann ich keine Schokolade essen*) and 4 (*Da ich jeden Tag lang arbeite, habe ich nie Zeit zur Bank zu gehen*) mirror the types of structures used in the German source, all the Romansh speakers who took part in the study unanimously judged *Mich auf den Boden setzend habe ich mir die Hose schmutzig gemacht* as causal (represented in ex.82b), despite a non-finite input. Such an indication discredits the general idea of contact-related issues where the speakers could have been biased by the input structure. The example 82b is peculiar for the interpretation provided by the speakers. Unlike the judgments of the Ladin speakers where we find a focus on the dynamic event of "sitting down", 7 out of 8 Romansh speakers interpret the same type of information as a stative "being seated". According to my personal interpretation of "being seated", the ground is always dirty and every time I sit on the ground I get my pants dirty, whereas in "sitting down" it is assumed that the ground was dirty in that moment and by sitting on it I got my pants dirty. In other words, the stative interpretation indicates a stable feature of the ground, whereas the dynamic analysis indicates the quality of the ground at the moment of sitting down which may not be a constant condition. Only one Romansh speaker opted for the latter interpretation (e.g. *Perquai che jau ma hai sa tschentà sin il plaun, èn mias chautschas daventadas tschuffas* 'Since I sat down on the ground, my pants became dirty').

The remaining structures show some degree of variation, unlike the circumstantial and causal examples. Specifically, Romansh speakers make a rather clear distinction among clauses of the argument domain, as presented in the examples below.

- (83) *Da guadagnar in oscar è il siemi da mintgactur*
 of/to win.INF a oscar be.3SG DET dream of every+actor
 ‘To win an Oscar is the dream of every actor’
- (84) *Jau hai pensà, che ti partias damaun*
 I AUX think.PstP that you leave.SBJV.2SG tomorrow
 ‘I thought that you would leave tomorrow’
- (85) a. *Jau hai vis tai a vegnend*¹⁴⁸
 I AUX see.PstP you to come.GER
 ‘I saw you coming’
- b. *Jau ta hai vis a vegnir*
 I you AUX see.PstP to come.INF
 ‘I saw you coming’
- c. *Jau hai vesì tai vegnir*
 I AUX see.PstP you come.INF
 ‘I saw you come (coming)’
- d. *Jau hai vis che ti vegns*
 I AUX see.PstP that you come.SBJV.2SG
 ‘I saw that you come’
- (86) a. *Mintga suentermezdi observel jeu ils uffants a*
 every afternoon observe.1SG I DET children to
*termaglions*¹⁴⁹*da mes balcun*
 play.GER from my balcony
 ‘Every afternoon I observe the children playing from my balcony’
- b. *Mintga suenter miezdi contemplel jeu da miu balcun ils*
 every after midday watch.1SG I from my balcony DET
affons a giugar
 young to play.INF
 ‘Every afternoon I watch the young kids play from my balcony’

¹⁴⁸There is consistent variation in the use of theme vowels in the Romansh gerunds, as previously observed in Ladin. No specific patterns in the choice of the theme vowel can be detected.

¹⁴⁹The *-ont* suffix used in place of the *-ond* could indicate a free variation, possibly due to word-final devoicing.

- c. *Mintga suentermezdi observesch jau ils uffants che*
 every afternoon observe.1SG I DET children that
giogan avant mes balcun
 play.3PL in_front_of my balcony
 ‘Every afternoon I observe the children that play in front of my
 balcony’

The expected form in perceptive constructions is *a*+GER on the basis of the grammar data mentioned in the previous chapter (cf. particularly Spescha 1989 and Arquint 2020). The variation encountered in example 85 is however not surprising, as various factors could have played a role in the choice of the suitable structure. On the hand, the finite relative-type structures are the regular finite counterparts of the perceptive constructions which are also intended as pseudo-relatives (cf. Casalicchio 2013, but also Graffi 1980 and Cinque 1992 for a more general account of the pseudorelative construction). On the other hand, the bare infinitival structures could be examples of language contact retracing the bare-infinitival German input, whereas the prepositional infinitives are attested in the Engadinese perceptive constructions as equivalent structures to the gerundive ones (e.g. *Luca l’oda a chanter dal chor* ‘Luca hears her singing from the choir’, cf. Casalicchio 2013:331). Taking a step back, it could be noticed that in Romansh the perceptive pseudo-relative construction structurally differs from a more general argument domain such as that in ex.83 displaying a non-finite *da*+INF structure or in ex.84 showing a finite structure.

Romansh does not make use of the *a* gerundial construction to express the progressive, just as Ladin. This condition emerges rather transparently from the results of the translation task and is represented in ex.87 and 88.

- (87) a. *Jau era vida guardar televisiun, cura ch jau hai udí ina ramur suspectusa*
 I be.IPFV.1SG vid+a watch.INF television when I AUX hear.PstP a
 noise suspicious
 ‘I was watching television when I heard a suspicious noise’
- b. *Jau guardava la televisiun cura ch’ jau hai udì*
 I watch.IPFV.1SG DET television when I AUX hear.PstP
ina ramur suspecta
 a noise suspicioius

‘I watched (was watching) the television when I heard a suspicious noise’

- (88) *Jau vesel, ti legias gist Italo Calvino, mes autur preferí!*
 I see.1SG you read.2SG ASP Italo Calvino my author favorite
 ‘I see, you are reading Italo Calvino, my favorite author!’

The speakers therefore mainly opted for two grammaticalized forms: i. *be + vid + (a) + (lunder) + INF* (or *vidlunder*) construction, or ii. the aspectual marker *gist*. In addition, as mentioned in the general list presenting the results, one speaker used a gerundial structure, namely *Guardond televisiun hai jau udi ina ramur suspectusa* ‘Watching the television I heard a suspicious noise’. However, there is an evident restructuring of the information and the gerund has the function of manner or circumstance, rather than indicating the progressive.

The Romansh Mitten corpus also provides a relatively clear and transparent picture of the data. Specifically, the data was extracted from four types of texts, presenting the following numbers of gerundial structures per genre:

	Newspaper texts	School texts	Scientific articles	Literary texts
Romansh	6	2	71	7

Table 5.7: The distribution of gerundial structures in the Romansh Mitten corpus

Unlike the Ladin data showing a limited number of gerundial constructions, the Romansh corpus is consistently larger. The partition of the relevant structures and the amount of gerundial constructions that are found in each group is notably greater in scientific articles, as opposed to the newspaper, school and literary texts. Once again, it should be recalled that the genre of scientific literature contains considerably longer texts, therefore the chances of detecting some evidence of structures of interest is greater. The overall amount of gerunds in each scientific text is represented in tab.5.8.

Catechissemes reformatories sco perdetgas dalla midada spirtalreligiusa el Grischun	15
La situaziun actuala dal rumantsch	10
Chantai rumantsch!	3
Communitgar en pliras linguas e mintgatant era cunmauns e pes	2
Il rumantsch chantunal e federal sco lingua da translaziun	5
Il sursilvan el contact cul talian	15
Rezensiun von: Hans Goebel, <i>et al.</i>	11
La posiziun dal rumantsch sco linguatg giudizial	4
Lingua e dretg	6
Alois Carigiet ed il moviment rumantsch	4

Table 5.8: The distribution of gerundial structures in the Romansh scientific texts

It should also be recalled that some authors, particularly authors of scientific articles, may not be L1 Romansh speakers. Therefore, the use of the Romansh gerund in some of the texts may be influenced by the producer's L1 use of gerund (or any other source variety). This could justify the light disproportion in the distribution of forms per text, ranging from 2 up to 15. Nonetheless, this potential bias does not prevent us from observing some general tendencies, due to the variety of genres and texts, but also due to the large number of authors.

The overall results show the predominance of the circumstantial / instrumental / modal reading over all the others. In fact, out of the total 91 gerundial instantiations, only 5 examples do not have the modal value, namely one example expressing straightforward causality and four examples showing a participial type of function. Each type of structure will be illustrated in the following subsections.

The added value of the Romansh data is given by a considerable amount of written records dating back to the 17th century. The full list of inscriptions used for this analysis can be found in the List of examples at the end of this dissertation. Out of a total of 12 examples containing a *-ond/-end/-ind* form and extracted from the Diachro corpus, we identify 4 modal values, 7 causal readings and 1 periphrastic continuous structure. The relevant examples contain-

ing gerundial structures will be examined in the following subsections which group instantiations extracted from all three corpora on the basis of the shared function.

5.2.1 Circumstantial value

5.2.1.1 Moral corpus

As it emerges from the introductory section on the Romansh data, the Moral corpus results provide a sharp picture, by restricting the use of the gerund to three constructions illustrated in ex.89a, 89b and 89c.

- (89) a. *Legind la gasetta, hai jau survegnì cun la victoria*
 read.GER DET journal AUX I discover.PstP with DET victory
da Valentino Rossi
 of Valentino Rossi
 ‘By reading the journal I discovered of the victory of Valentino Rossi’
- b. *Mintga damaun char jau chantand cun il auto a la*
 every morning drive.1SG I sing.GER with DET car to DET
lavor
 work
 ‘Every morning I drive to work singing’
- c. *Riond e fagiond sgnoccas essan nus vegnì a Roma*
 laugh.GER and do.GER jokes AUX we come.PstP to Rome
 ‘Laughing and making jokes we came to Rome’

Such a clear-cut distinction between circumstantial / instrumental / modal (but potentially also temporal) examples and the causal ones indicated in the general section suggests that the Romansh speakers have a relatively clear idea on the functional domain of the gerund. The limited data of the Moral corpus does not allow us to draw any preliminary conclusions on the more precise functional sphere, however, the following data extracted from the Mitten and Diachro corpora indicate a predominance of the modal domain.

5.2.1.2 Mitten corpus

The Mitten corpus data provides a very large number of bare (ex.90a), but also prepositional gerundial instantiations (ex.90b) within the circumstantial-modal value. For instance:

- (90) a. *La Constituziun da lonn 1815 ha tegnì ensemen*
 DET constitution of DET+year 1815 AUX keep.PstP together
la Confederaziun durant la restauraziun, permettend als
 DET confederation during DET restoration allow.GER to
chantuns ina gronda independenza.
 cantons a big independence
 ‘The 1815 Constitution kept the Confederation together during the restoration, allowing to the cantons a big independence’
- b. *Pro l’ALD nu s’haja be profità da*
 by DET+ALD not REFL+AUX only take_advantage.PstP to
la pussibilità da controllar la transcripziun (fatta la
 DET possibility to verify DET transcription do.PstP DET
prüma jada d’ürant l’intervista) in tadlond davopro
 first time during DET+interview in hear.GER retroactively
la registraziun sonora
 DET registration voiced
 ‘By(At) the ALD s/he has not only taken advantage of the possibility to verify the transcription (done the first time during the interview) hearing retroactively the voiced registration [...]’

The data extracted from this corpus predominantly indicate a circumstantial, instrumental or modal reading. The possible existing temporal value raised in the previous subsection on the Moral corpus does not seem to surface transparently, that is, the temporal reading is not the primary one. This view could be extended to the Romansh Moral data, implying the circumstantial¹⁵⁰ value as the primary one.

5.2.1.3 Diachro corpus

The hypothesis of the circumstantial value as being the primary reading of the Romansh (bare) gerundial constructions is further strengthened by the examples from the Diachro corpus.

- (91) *à gl’ in & gl’ auter da si relegrar dalla vossa*
 to DET one & DET other to cheer_up.INF from+DET your
conuersioun, & relegrond possi per quell respect offerir
 conversion & cheer_up.GER may for that respect offer.INF

¹⁵⁰Unless stated otherwise, with ‘circumstantial’ I also include the instrumental and modal readings.

al *noss creatur*
 to+DET our creator
 ‘[...] to one and the other to cheer up for your conversion and by cheering up, may you offer that respect to our Creator’

(Curt Mossament)

The overall interpretation of ex.91¹⁵¹ may be questionable, however, the meaning conveyed by the gerundial form can be outlined. I believe that it may be interpreted through an instrumental readings, indicating the instrument or way of paying respect to the Creator. Along with the data extracted from the Moral and Mitten corpus and indicating, we observe a homogeneous group of examples which show evidence of the maintenance of the use of the Latin ablative of the gerund circumstantial reading.

5.2.2 The expression of causality

5.2.2.1 Mitten corpus

There are very few instantiations of transparently causal readings conveyed through a gerund. Indeed, the Moral corpus data shows a straightforward preference for an explicit causal structure. On the contrary, data extracted from the Mitten corpus exhibits one example of this kind, for instance:

- (92) *Havend el en egl de far igl emprem plaz sin la*
 have.GER he at eye on do/make.INF DET first place on DET
cuorsa ha el nungrazia vuliu [...]
 race AUX he impossible want.PstP
 ‘Having an eye on making the first place at the race, he has not wanted [...]’

The overall interpretation is ‘because he had an eye on the first place of the race...’ indicating a clear relation of cause and effect. This example is however likely to represent an exception, as it appears in a literary text and could be a case of stylistic variation due to its very limited productivity.

5.2.2.2 Diachro corpus

The Diachro corpus presents 7 overall instantiations of causally-interpretable sentences, some of which are exemplified in 93. Once again, the full list is

¹⁵¹The contextualized version of this example is found in the List of examples.

available at the end of this work within the List of examples containing both data extracted from the Moral and the Diachro corpus.

- (93) a. *La pli da vos dubitatioun non potend els easser*
 DET majority of your doubts not be_able.GER it be.INF
tschearts, dalla lur cretta [...]
 sure from+DET your belief [...]
 ‘Not being able the majority of your doubts to be sure, from your belief [...]’
- b. *Baselgia, (la quala confessond, ear els sez)*
 church that confess/acknowledge.GER also they self
hà mossau la schobradad dil Euangeli
 AUX accept.PstP DET superiority of+DET gospel
 ‘The church, (that acknowledging, also themselves) accepted the superiority of the gospel’

(Curt Mossament)

Despite yet other overall dubious interpretations, ex.93a and 93b could be made explicit through a transformation into a causal clause along the lines of ‘Because the majority of your doubts cannot be verified by your belief...’ in 94a. As for 94b, the church accepts the superiority of the gospel because the church acknowledged/confessed it.¹⁵²

Causal readings are attested to a certain extent in the Diachro corpus, however, we could observe the variation between the three corpora as a gradual disappearance of this function from the gerundial domain in Romansh. Indeed, we find 7 gerundial attestations yielding a causal interpretation in the Diachro corpus, 1 such attestation in the Mitten corpus literary text and no gerundial examples in the Moral corpus. The important piece of evidence for this claim is the systematic transformation of strictly-causally interpretable clauses into finite structures, which completely excludes this semantic function from the gerundial domain in common-register Modern Romansh. Surely, the limited amount of data confines this hypothesis of change within the context of analyzed texts, however, the fact that in the transition from Latin to Romance we assist to a rearrangement in terms of semantic functions¹⁵³ is not surprising and unforeseen.

¹⁵²Despite the overall interpretation within the domain of causality, additional alternative readings are not to be fully excluded, as the Romansh Diachro corpus data generally presents non-transparent syntax and information structure. This data was extracted from a set of religious texts, mainly from the 1611 *Curt Mossament* written in Old Sutsilvan.

¹⁵³I specifically intend the presence of a causal reading in Old Romansh texts which

5.2.3 Attributive and argument functions

For the purpose of continuity and in order to distinguish the domains which are traditionally attributable to the gerund, such as the circumstantial one, from the traditionally non-gerundial ones, I group the attributive and the argument domain, despite the undeniable functional difference. Therefore, this section portrays the non-circumstantial (or causal) ground of the Romansh gerund. Precisely, we observe gerundial structures in argument position only in some examples extrapolated from the Moral corpus, but not in the Mitten or Diachro data. Vice versa, the attributive function is only observable across the Mitten corpus, while no attestations of this function encoded by the gerund are to be found in the Moral and Diachro corpora.

5.2.3.1 Moral corpus

By argument function, I here intend the gerundial pseudo-relative structures governed by a perceptive verb. Such structures typically bear the prepositional gerund and despite their apparent relative nature, they contribute to saturate the valency of the predicate. For instance we find:

- (94) a. *Jeu hai viu tei a vegnond*
 I AUX see.PstP you to come.GER
 ‘I saw you coming’
- b. *Mintga suentermezdi observel jau ils uffants a*
 every afternoon observe.1SG I DET young to
termaglions¹⁵⁴da mes balcun
 play.GER from my balcony
 ‘Every afternoon I observe the young kinds play from my balcony’

I will not focus on the alternative constructions which have been illustrated in the general introductory section.

structurally-speaking present a more synthetic, Latin-type of syntax as opposed to a more explicit, analytic-type of structures and representation of functions in Modern Romansh varieties.

¹⁵⁴The *-ont* suffix is likely an allophone of *-ond*, graphically representing the word-final obstruent devoicing (cf. Montreuil 2012 and Anderson 2016 for an overview of the Romansh syllable and for a general overview of the phonological and morpho-syntactic features of Romansh respectively).

5.2.3.2 Mitten corpus

The Mitten corpus presents a set of 4 total examples illustrating the attributive use of the *-ond* form, two of which are illustrated in ex.95.

- (95) a. *A la Landi, lexposiziun naziunala a Turitg lonn*
 at the Landi DET+exposition national in Zürich DET+year
1939, vegn la musica da chor rumantscha preschentada ad in
 1939 AUX DET music of choir Romansh present.PstP to a
publicum (inter)naziunal sco "la veritabla purtadra da la
 public (inter)national as DET real bearer of DET
cultura musicala en il Grischun" e Hans Erni, il "bab
 culture musical in DET Grisons and Hans Erni DET father
da la chanzun rumantscha", lauda ils Rumantschs sco
 of DET song Romansh praise.3SG DET Romansh as
"pievel cantond per excellenza"
 people sing.GER for excellence

'At the Landi, the national exposition in Zürich in 1939, the Romansh choral music is presented to the (inter)national public as "the real bearer of the musical culture in the Grisons" and Hans Erni, the "father of the Romansh song" praises the Romansh as the "singing people *par excellence*"

- b. *Ed els renvieschan a leffect unifitgond e*
 and they refer_back.3PL to DET+effect standardize.GER and
educativ dal chant tradiziunal cuminaivel che vegnia
 educational from+DET chant traditional together that AUX
pli e pli stgatschà dal chant
 more and more erase.PstP from+DET chant
instituziunalisà da chor:
 institutionalize.PstP of choir

'And they refer back to the standardizing and educational effect from the traditional chant that was more and more erased from the institutionalized choral chant'

As previously attested in Ladin, Romansh also exhibits a syncretic suffix which may express both participial-like and gerund-like functions. This condition in Romance is somewhat surprisingly not defined in the main grammars and literature and in general very little (if any) attention is given to the category of the present participle. The overall data examined in this dissertation does not provide ambiguous examples which could be interpreted as both adverbial-like

and adjectival-like cases. In fact, the attested forms which behave as participles express in a transparent way the notion of quality of a noun.

5.2.4 Gerund in contexts of continuous periphrasis

5.2.4.1 Diachro corpus

The overall data provides only one attestation of the continuous periphrasis and this example is extracted from the Diachro corpus.¹⁵⁵

- (96) *quellas ghiausas, las qualas vann strologand & infenschend della mutatioun [...] della religioun ... catolica,*
 those accusations which go.3PL question.GER and damage.GER of+DET
 mutation [...] of+DET religion catholic

‘those accusations which question and damage (are hostile to) the mutation of the catholic religion’ lit. ‘those accusations which go questioning and damaging the mutation of the catholic religion’

(Curt Mossament)

The presence of this structure is very significant for the general description of the diachrony of the category of gerund. The productivity of such constructions can surely be questioned, but the attestation itself is meaningful and important. In fact, the previous chapter has highlighted the gradual appearance and formation of periphrastic constructions, one of them being the juxtaposition of a motion verb and a gerund. This construction shows partial or full grammaticalization as continuous periphrasis and is widely attested across Old Romance varieties. This example extracted from the *Curt Mossament* provides additional evidence of the fact that the continuous periphrasis is attested in Old Romansh besides Old Italian, Old French and to a certain extent, Ladin¹⁵⁶ as well.

¹⁵⁵The absence of periphrastic examples in the corpus of modern texts does not indicate the overall disappearance of continuous periphrasis in Romansh, but it rather indicates its lack of productivity in these corpora.

¹⁵⁶It must be specified that the only traces of this construction in older stages of Ladin are found in Lardschneider (1909), an overview of the end-of-19th-century Gardenese syntax. Therefore, the Ladin data is chronologically very distant from that of other varieties.

5.3 The use of gerund in Friulan

The first three sections of this chapter present a general gradual increase in the number of gerundial constructions in use. In fact, the Friulan data shows a generous increment if compared to the Ladin and Romansh data.

The Friulan data collection mirrors the Romansh one when it comes to the fieldwork (Moral corpus), whereas the Mitten and Diachro data was once again gathered in a systematic way by choosing the relevant texts on the basis of the suitable genres. Specifically, the Moral corpus data was collected via a translation task from Italian into the speaker's local variety. It should be recalled that the Italian gerund, already outlined in section 5.1 on Ladin, presents an extended functional domain of the *-ando/-endo* which ranges from a circumstantial-instrumental-modal to the temporal and conditional one (cf. Serianni 1989, 2006:484-486¹⁵⁷). However, the use of the gerund in Italian is confined within the adverbial domain, in addition to its use in the periphrastic progressive and continuous constructions. Hence, it neither directly interferes with the functional domain of the present participle, which has its own semantic sphere and its morphological structure,¹⁵⁸ nor with the domain of the infinitive, which is used in argument positions and also differs morphologically.¹⁵⁹

The translation task consisted of 12 sentences containing gerundial and non-gerundial structures, which can be grouped in the following way:

(i) Circumstantial / Instrumental / modal value

- (1) *Leggendo il giornale, sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi* 'By reading the journal, I came across Valentino Rossi's big victory';

¹⁵⁷Serianni's 1989 grammar extends the domain of the Italian gerund even further by incorporating the "coordinative gerund" (e.g. *Va su' sempre diritto, leggendo i nomi delle vie a tutte le cantonate; finirai con trovare la tua* 'Go up straight, reading the names of the streets at every corner; you will end up finding yours', De Amicis, *Cuore*) and the appositive gerund (e.g. "*Niente, niente*" - *rispose don Abbondio, lasciandosi andar tutto ansante sul suo seggiolone* 'Nothing, nothing - don Abbondio replied, letting himself go all out of breath on his chair', Manzoni, *I Promessi Sposi*, I, 67). However, these additional functions do not mirror the use of the gerund in Modern Italian, but are rather representative of the 19th century language, as highlighted by the choice of the relevant examples.

¹⁵⁸The participial *-ante/-ente* suffix in Italian is inflected for number.

¹⁵⁹The Italian present infinitive bears the *-are/-ere/-ire* suffix. The past form of the Italian infinitive is not taken into consideration, as it does not interfere anyhow with the gerundial domain.

- (2) *Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento* 'I got my pants dirty by sitting on the ground'.
- (3) *Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina* 'Every morning I go to work by singing at the top of my lungs in my car';
- (4) *Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!* 'Laughing and joking, it is already 3am.'
- (5) Causal value
 - (1) *Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata* 'Being on a diet, I cannot eat chocolate';
 - (2) *Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca* 'By finishing work late every day, I never have time to go to the bank';

(ii) Argument function

- (7) *Ti ho visto arrivare* 'I saw you coming';
- (8) *Ogni pomeriggio guardo i ragazzi giocare dal mio balcone* 'Every afternoon I watch the kids play from my balcony';
- (9) *Vincere un Oscar è il sogno di ogni attore* 'To win an Oscar is every actor's dream';
- (10) *Pensavo che saresti partito domani* 'I thought you would leave tomorrow morning'.

(iii) Progressive constructions

- (11) *Stavo guardando la televisione quando ho sentito un rumore sospetto* 'I was watching the TV when I heard a suspicious noise';
- (12) *Vedo che stai leggendo Italo Calvino, il mio autore preferito!* 'I see, you are reading Italo Calvino, my favorite author!'.

The results, which are based on the translation task provided by 33 speakers highly reflect the input structure and show little variation. The outcome structures can therefore be function-wise grouped in the same way as the Italian constructions, namely:

- (i) Circumstantial / instrumental / modal value

- (1) *Leggendo il giornale, sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi* - 32 speakers used a bare gerundial structure (ex.97), while 1 speakers paraphrased the non-finite gerund into a coordinative structure;
- (2) *Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento* - 20 speakers opted for a bare gerundial structure, 10 speakers used the substantival construction *cul sentami* (ex.100), 1 speaker opted for the analytic gerund form *stando seduto* and 2 more speakers paraphrased the structure into a finite temporal clause (ex.99);
- (3) *Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina* - all the speakers used a bare gerundial structure;
- (4) *Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!* - all the speakers used the bare gerund.
- (5) Causal value
 - (1) *Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata* - 32 speakers opted for a bare gerundial structure, 1 speaker opted for a coordinative construction (ex.105);
 - (2) *Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca* - all the speakers used the bare gerund;
- (ii) Argument function
 - (7) *Ti ho visto arrivare* - all the speakers opted for a bare infinitival structure (ex. 110a);
 - (8) *Ogni pomeriggio guardo i ragazzi giocare dal mio balcone* - 31 speakers used a bare infinitival structure (ex.110b), 1 speaker opted for a prepositional [*a* infinitive (ex.109), 1 speaker used a finite relative-type of clause (ex.110);
 - (9) *Vincere un Oscar è il sogno di ogni attore* - all the speakers opted for a bare infinitival structure (ex.110c);
 - (10) *Pensavo che saresti partito domani* - 32 speakers used an analogous construction to the Italian one (ex.110d), 1 speaker opted for a gerundial structure (ex.111).
- (iii) Progressive constructions
 - (11) *Stavo guardando la televisione quando ho sentito un rumore sospetto* - all the speakers opted for a progressive periphrastic construction;

- (12) *Vedo che stai leggendo Italo Calvino, il mio autore preferito!* - all the speakers opted for a progressive periphrastic construction.

As it may be noted, the circumstantial and causal values are generally expressed via a bare gerundive structure (ex.97). The constructions deviating from the input structure are only a few and are illustrated as follows:

- (97) *Leint il giornal, soi venut a save la vitorie di*
 read.GER DET newspapers AUX come.PstP to know DET win of
valentino rossi.
 Valentino Rossi
 ‘By reading the newspapers I came across Valentino Rossi’s big win’
- (98) a. *I let il giornal, i son vignut a conoscenze dela*
 I read.PstP DET journal I AUX come.PstP to knowledge of+DET
grand vittorie di Valentino Rossi
 big victory of Valentino Rossi
 ‘Read the newspaper (having read the newspaper) I came to know
 of the big victory by Valentino Rossi’
- b. *Io ai¹⁶⁰ soi in diete e no pos mangja cjocolade*
 I unfortunately be.1SG in diet and not can eat.INF chocolate
 ‘I unfortunately am on a diet and I cannot eat chocolate’
- (99) *Hai sporcjât i miei pregons intânt che mi sentavi*
 AUX dirty.PstP DET my pants while REFL sit.IPFV.1SG
sul pavement
 on+DET ground
 ‘I got my pants dirty while I was sitting on the ground’
- (100) *I hai sporchiat i bregons cul sentami sul pavimênt.*
 I AUX dirty.PstP DET pants by sit.INF+REFL on ground
 ‘I got my pants dirty by sitting on the ground’

The examples 98a and 98b representing coordination and an alternative finite temporal structure are not surprising results, as their use is exclusively due to the speaker’s personal preference. In fact, alternative constructions occur in relatively small numbers. The example 100 on the other hand is more

¹⁶⁰The presence of two verbs, namely *ai* and *soi*, is surely a mistake provided by the speaker which unintentionally kept forms.

interesting, as the use of a substantival construction of this type suggests an instrumental reading, implying that the pants got dirty through/via/because of the event of sitting down to the ground. Along with ex.99 focusing on the action of sitting, these two do not represent different structural realizations of one reading, but are rather more transparent occurrences indicating different interpretations of the somewhat ambiguous gerundial input structure. In other words, the input sentence presents more than one interpretation, thereby triggering different realizations implying in turn different readings.

The argument function is expressed through structures which are analogous to the Italian input, presenting only 3 examples of variation. The example 101 groups instantiations which do not diverge structurally from the input construction, whereas ex.102, 103 and 104 illustrate the use of the prepositional infinitive, of a finite relative-type of clause and of a gerundial clause respectively.

- (101) a. *Ti hai¹⁶¹ vedut riva*
 you AUX see.PstP come.INF
 'I saw you come (coming)'
- b. *Ogni dopo di misdii o cjali i frus zuià*
 every after of midday I watch.1SG DET young play.INF
dal me balcon
 from+DET my balcony
 'Every afternoon I watch the young kids play from my balcony'
- c. *Vinci un oscar é il sogn di ogni attor*
 win.INF a Oscar be.3SG DET dream of every actor
 'To win an Oscar is the dream of every actor'
- d. *I crodevi che tu saressis partit doman*
 I believe.IPFV.1SG that you would.2SG leave.PstP tomorrow
 'I believed that you would leave tomorrow'
- (102) *Ogni pomeriggio o chiali i frus a zuià dal me balcon*
 every afternoon I watch.1SG DET young to play.INF from+DET my balcony
 balcony
 'Every afternoon I watch the young kids play from my balcony'

¹⁶¹We find consistent variation in the orthography of Friulan data, just as in Ladin and Romansh. This aspect is however not significant to the purpose of this study.

- (103) *Ogni pomeriggio i cjali i fantas ca giuin*
 every afternoon I watch.1SG DET children that play.3PL
dal me balcon
 from+DET my balcony
 ‘Every afternoon I watch the children that play from my balcony’
- (104) *Pensand che saresti partit doman*
 think.GER that would.2SG leave.PstP tomorrow
 ‘Thinking that you would leave tomorrow’

Despite the overall use of bare infinitives in implicit argument contexts, the employment of a prepositional infinitive in a pseudorelative domain in 102 does not represent a novel construction. Indeed, it has already been identified in Casalicchio (2013:337) as the predominant structure of the Friulan area (cf. fig.4.2 for the illustration of the Friulan and Ladin area in terms of the use of gerundial and infinitival structures in perceptive contexts). These structures present some degree of variation¹⁶², but they seem to be in complementary distribution. Furthermore, the prepositional gerunds employed in certain Romansh varieties, for instance in Sursilvan, are to be included in the general overview. In fact, the overall representation of the perceptive constructions of the Alpine area (from West to East) involves the use of prepositional gerunds in Sursilvan (cf. Spescha 1989), prepositional infinitives in Engadinese (cf. Casalicchio 2013), gerunds in Gardenese and Badiotto (cf. Casalicchio 2011, 2013), bare infinitives in Fassano (cf. Casalicchio 2013:273-281) and bare/prepositional infinitives in Friulan (cf. Casalicchio 2013 and the results of the current section). The use of an infinitival structure in Friulan derives from a gerundial proposition which was employed until the 16th century (e.g. *Tuest che vedè l soldât vignint pe vie...* ‘As soon as she saw the soldier coming along that way’, *Trav.dell’Orl.Fur.* I, 11, cf. Casalicchio 2013:322). The use of a bare infinitival structure in the current analysis could represent an influence of the Italian input structure.

The use of a finite structure in ex.103 is yet another finite and explicit variety of the pseudo-relative described above, whereas the gerundial structure in 111 must be an attempt of analogy provided by the speaker in order to regularize the translation within a context of gerundial constructions. However, this sentence is not a standalone construction and the reorganization of the information structure is not in compliance with the over analysis provided in this section.

¹⁶²For instance, Casalicchio (2013) claims that gerunds and prepositional infinitives in perceptive contexts differ in terms of availability of verb movement.

The progressive constructions only exhibit the use of the grammaticalized periphrasis, as in ex.105.

- (105) *Stavi cjalant la television quant o ai sentut*
 be/stay.IPFV.1SG watch.GER DET television when I AUX hear.PstP
un rumor sospiet
 a noise suspicious
 ‘I was watching the television when I heard a suspicious noise’

The Mitten corpus presents a very large number of gerundial examples. Specifically, we find 115 total examples extracted from a set of 40 texts. The following table illustrates the partition of gerundial structure within the Mitten corpus, i.e. it signalizes the amount of gerunds per text type.

	Newspaper texts	School texts	Scientific articles	Literary texts
Friulan	15	26	68	6

Table 5.9: The distribution of gerundial structures in the Friulan Mitten corpus

As expected, the scientific literature provides the largest portion of the relevant examples. The overall amount of gerundial constructions per scientific text is represented in tab.5.10. Once again we observe an uneven distribution of gerunds, which indicates a possible stylistic variation or personal choice of the writer or it could depend on the overall Friulan proficiency of the writer.

The Mitten corpus presents a very large and homogeneous group of examples expressing a circumstantial / instrumental or modal value, for instance:

- (106) *Il "fave votis" si è studât come un paveri fumant,*
 DET fave votis IMPS be.3SG study.PstP as a candle smoke.GER
lassant sbrendui ecuivocs dificii di decifrâ
 leave.GER shreds ambiguous difficult to decipher.INF
 ‘The “fave votis” was studied as a smoking candle, leaving ambiguous shreds, difficult to decipher’

The example 106 is particularly interesting, as it provides evidence of both the adverbial use of the *-ant*¹⁶³ form, namely *lassant*, but also a case of the adjectival function in *fumant*. Once again we observe a syncretic form displaying

¹⁶³For the purpose of simplicity, I gloss *-ant* forms as gerunds by providing an additional explanation on the intended function.

Il cjamp semantic de art di scampanotâ tal furlan etal sloven	20
CJARTE EUROPEANE DES LENGHIS REGJONÂLS O MINORITARIIS	25
Doi autografs di Toni Broili framieç dai manuscrits furlans di Berlin conservâts a Cracovie	2
Il furlan : Storie, societât e la part dai Slovens	3
I NONS LOCÂI DAL COMUN DI GONÂRS	1
La tutele de lenghe furlane	2
La intonazion des frasis declarativis e des domandis polârs par furlan	2
Fondis fonetichis e dialetologjichis de grafie uficiâl: il câs de peraule bâr	0
Review of the book <i>Advances in the Neurolinguistics of Bilingualism</i>	10
Risorziment a Colorêt e dulintor	3

Table 5.10: The distribution of gerundial structures in the Friulan scientific texts

functions which are typically attributed to the gerund and the present participle. The latter is in fact, omitted as a category on its own from the relevant grammars (for instance, Roseano & Madriz (2017) only includes the past participle as a participial form). In addition to the participial-gerundial forms, several examples of the progressive periphrasis can be detected. All the relevant gerundial functions will be clarified in the following subsections.

The Diachro corpus, despite the very limited amount of relevant structures, provides attestations of the continuous periphrasis in the 17th century poems written by Ermes Colloredo, in addition to the adverbial function expressed by the bare gerundial structures. The following subsections will therefore illustrate the expression of the circumstantial and causal value, the attributive use of the gerund and its employment in the continuous and progressive periphrasis in the Moral, Mitten and Diachro corpus. As in the previous sections, each close-up illustrates the corpora containing the relevant gerundial examples.

5.3.1 Circumstantial value

5.3.1.1 Moral corpus

The Moral corpus provides a series of translations which illustrate the employment of the gerund in the adverbial function in a somewhat analogous way to the Italian input structures. It is therefore challenging to properly distinguish the semantic functions of the *-ant* form, since it is not perfectly understandable whether the reasoning behind the translations was done on the basis of the Italian forms (in such case the translations would be an adaptation of the Friulan structures to the Italian ones) or on the basis of the range of functions that the Friulan gerund has. The relevant circumstantial examples are the following:

- (107) a. *Lejnt il ghiornâl, soi vigniût a conoscince*
 read.GER DET newspaper AUX come.PstP to knowledge
dalla grande vitorie di Valentino Rossi
 of+DET big victory of Valentino Rossi
 ‘Reading the newspaper, I went to know about the big victory of Valentino Rossi’
- b. *Ogni binore i vai a lavorà cjantânt a squarcegole in*
 every morning I go to work.INF sing.GER out loud in
machine.
 car
 ‘Every morning I go to work by singing out loud in my car’
- c. *Ridint e scherzant, son già las 3 di gniot!*
 laugh.GER and joke.GER be.3PL already DET 3 of night
 ‘Laughing and joking, it is already 3AM!’
- d. *Hai sporcjat i bregons sentandomi par cjere*
 AUX dirty.PstP DET pants sit.GER+REFL to ground
 ‘I got my pants dirty sitting (myself) onto the ground’

In this respect the substantival construction *cul sentami* ‘by sitting’, lit. ‘with/by the sitting myself’, is certainly helpful in the disambiguation of the intended reading. However, the precise semantic value which is attributed to the gerundial structures is still dubious.

5.3.1.2 Mitten corpus

The Mitten corpus presents a very large number of examples which fit within the polysemic function of circumstance (for instance, ex.108). The full list can

be found in the List of examples.

- (108) “*La idee mi è vignude scoltant il program Rai Radio 3*
 DET idea to_me AUX come.PstP listen.GER DET program Rai Radio 3
Scienza di Filippo Pagan”
 Science of/by Filippo Pagan
 ‘The idea came to my mind by listening to the Rai Radio 3 Science
 program by Filippo Pagan’

Within this corpus we also find attestations of the use of the *biel* particle, which in the terms of Roseano & Madriz (2017:188) indicates contemporaneity.

- (109) *Biel fevelant de persone che e prodûs lis cjampanis, il*
 biel speak.GER of person that she produce.3SG DET bells he
stes autôr al dopre cualchi volte la variante fondidôr e
 himself author he use.3SG sometimes DET variant fondidôr and
cualchi volte cjampanâr.
 sometimes cjampanâr
 ‘Speaking of the person that produces bells, the author himself some-
 times uses the variant *fondidôr* and sometimes *cjampanâr*’

This specific example can also be interpreted as a temporal clause, indicating that the author uses the terms *fondidôr* and *cjampanâr* when he has to name the producer of bells. However, the temporal relation of simultaneity is not strictly conveyed via the use of the *biel* particle, as shown in ex.108 which also expresses a simultaneous relation to the matrix clause. Therefore, the use of *biel* seems to be optional in the Friulan data, which is confirmed by its lack of productivity in the corpora used for this study, ex.109 being the only attestation.

5.3.1.3 Diachro corpus

The circumstantial value is also attested in the Diachro corpus with two examples.

- (110) a. *Chel tic e toc, cu conte ogni moment | ju pass, che*
 that tic and toc that count.3SG every moment | DET steps that
il timp misure in nestri dan, | e veloz trapassand
 DET time measure.3SG in our damage | and fast pass.GER

dal mes a lan, cun chei pass nus condûs
 from+DET month to DET+year with those steps us lead.3SG
al monument.
 to+DET grave

‘That tic and toc that counts every moment | the steps, that the time measures in our damage and fast passing from month to year, with those steps it leads us to the grave’

- b. *Polimie, è grand eccess di crudeltat | A volemi*
 Polimia be.3SG big excess of cruelty | to want.INF+me
contindi cun rigor, | Che nè manco esalà
 resist.INF with strictness | that not even spread.INF
puessi lardor | Chiantand par esaltà la to
 can.SBJV.1SG DET+ardor | sing.GER to glorify.INF DET your
beltat.
 beauty

‘Polimia, it is a big excess of cruelty to want to resist me with rigor that I cannot even spread the ardor by singing to glorify your beauty’

5.3.2 The expression of causality

5.3.2.1 Moral corpus

Instantiations of the causal relation are found in the Moral and Mitten corpus. The examples expressing causality which are extracted from the Moral corpus contain bare synthetic gerunds as in ex.111.

- (111) a. *Essint a diete, no pos mangja la cjocolate*
 be.GER at diet not can.1SG eat.INF DET chocolate
 ‘Being on a diet, I cannot eat chocolate’
- b. *Finint di lavorà tard duçu i dîs, no hai*
 finish.GER to work.INF late every DET days not have.1SG
mai timp di lâ in bançe
 never time to go.INF to bank
 ‘Finishing to work late every day, I do not have time to go to the bank’

As stated in the general overview of the Friulan data, one translation of the item *Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata* presents an alternative

coordinated structure to the gerundial one. The choice of the explicit structure is meaningful and may be used to corroborate the semantic domain of this construction *ex negativo*, in the same way as for the Ladin analysis. Indeed, the causal relation, which implies that one event contributes to the making or producing of another event, indicates a sequential reading, which in turn is a suitable context for a coordinative structure. Therefore, coordinative structures may be taken as (one of the) explicit counterpart(s) of gerundial causal structures.

5.3.2.2 Mitten corpus

The Mitten corpus presents examples of both the synthetic and compound (or present and past) gerunds, as in ex.112 and 113 respectively. We find one attestation of the compound gerund in the overall data.

(112) *Frequentant il Liceu di Gurize al sune il piano ducj*
 attend.GER DET high_school of Gorizia he play.3SG DET piano all
i dîs, ma la sô ativitât favoride al è il cjant liturgjic.
 DET days but DET his activity favorite it be.3SG DET chant liturgical
 ‘Attending the high school in Gorizia, he plays the piano every day, but his favorite activity is the liturgical chant’

(113) *Il furlan e il sloven tal Gurizan jessint stadis*
 DET Friulan and DET Slovenian in+DET Goriziano be.GER be.PstP
di secui dôs lenghis tacadis, no nus da di
 since centuries two languages connected not to_us give.3SG of
maravee che i furlanofons gurizans a vedin acetât
 surprise that DET Friulanophones Gorizians they AUX accept.PstP
il lesseme sloven par chest component.
 DET lexeme Slovenian for this component
 ‘It is no wonder that the Friulanophones from Gorizia have accepted the Slovene lexeme for this component, having been the Friulan and Slovenian in Gorizia, two connected languages for centuries’

The compound gerund in 113 is constituted by the gerund of the auxiliary ‘be’ (*jessint*) and the past participle differs from the synthetic (present) form in the expression of the temporal relation. Indeed, the present form of the Friulan gerund may express both the relation of simultaneity and anteriority to the main event, whereas the compound form only conveys the relation of anteriority in relation to the event of the main clause.

5.3.3 Attributive function

5.3.3.1 Mitten corpus

We find two overall examples attesting a well-defined attributive-adjectival function. Apart from the ex.106 presented earlier, here we find the additional attestation of the Mitten corpus:

- (114) "*Cul fin di otignî une sieradure plui biele e plui facile*
 with+DET aim to obtain.INF a lock more nice and more easy
dal toc di scampanotament i covente graduelmentri
 of+DET touch of bell_ringing to_him necessary gradually
ridot il slanç de cjampane sunant"
 reduce.PstP swing of bell ring.GER¹⁶⁴
 'With the aim to obtain a nicer and easier lock of the touch of a ringing bell, the swing of the ringing bell must be gradually reduced'

5.3.4 Gerund in contexts of continuous periphrasis

5.3.4.1 Diachro corpus

Interestingly, examples of the continuous periphrasis are only attested in the Diachro corpus. For instance, we find:

- (115) a. *Chiante il vilan, e in fetis va tajant lu dur*
 sing.3SG DET peasant and in slices go.3SG cut.GER DET hard
teren [...]
 land [...]
 'The peasant sings and goes cutting (slicing) the hard land'
- b. *Chiante il bêolc, e mentri vâ pascint la freschie*
 sing.3SG DET boor and while go.3SG graze.GER DET fresh
jarbe lu cornut arment [...]
 grass DET horned herd [...]
 'The boor sings and while the horned herd goes grazing the fresh grass [...]'

The presence of periphrastic continuous constructions is particularly significant, as it confirms the wide distribution of this structure across Old Romance varieties. The lack of attestations in the Mitten corpus however is exclusively

¹⁶⁴Once again, I gloss the *-ant* form as a gerund only for the purpose of continuity.

an indication of the absence of relevant structures within the set of data used for the purpose of this study.

5.3.5 Gerund in contexts of progressive periphrasis

5.3.5.1 Moral corpus

Unlike Ladin and Romansh, Friulan data exclusively presents a periphrastic progressive construction with a gerund. This construction is widely attested in the Moral corpus and specifically, all the speakers have used the gerundial periphrasis in the translation of both examples targeting this structure.

- (116) a. *Stavi viodint la television quant o ai sintit*
 be/stay.IPFV.1SG see.GER DET television when I AUX hear.PstP
un rumor sospiet
 a noise suspicious
 ‘I was seeing the television when I heard a suspicious noise’
- b. *O iot che tu stas lejint Italo Calvino il me*
 I see.1SG that you be/stay.2SG read.GER Italo Calvino DET my
autor preferit
 author favorite
 ‘I see that you are reading Italo calvino, my favorite author’

5.3.5.2 Mitten corpus

The progressive periphrasis is also attested in the Mitten corpus, although we find a very limited number of instantiations. Precisely, we find one attestation in the set of school texts and three attestations in the literary documents.

- (117) *A prepararan lôr li domandis e a registrararan*
 they prepare.FUT.3PL they DET questions and they register.FUT.3PL
lis respuestis, fasint ancje, salacor, i confronts
 DET answers do.GER also for_the_occasion DET comparison
cul lavôr teatrâl che o stin preparant pe
 with+DET work theatrical that we be/stay.3PL arrange.GER for
primevere e che aromai al je un apontament fis de
 spring and that already it be.3SG a appointment fixed of
scuelute.
 kindergarten

‘They will prepare the questions and they will register the answers, also making for the occasion a comparison with the theatrical work that they are arranging for spring and that is already a fixed appointment of the kindergarten’

The limitations of use of the grammaticalized progressive periphrasis and the productivity of such forms within the domain of literary and school texts may suggest that the application of such constructions is confined within a common, but not high register, as it occurs in Modern Italian. However, in order to have a clearer picture of the precise use of the gerundial progressive periphrasis in Friulan, a greater number of attestations is necessary.

5.4 Discussion of the results

The corpus analysis provides an interesting picture on the use of gerund in the Swiss-Italian Alpine area. The overall examination of the three corpora furnishes the relevant information on each area taken individually. Here I will attempt to provide a systematization of the provided analysis and to link the varieties of interest by grouping the shared features and functions and by identifying variation. The discussion within the genealogical domain, i.e. the relation and mapping of the attested forms and functions to the Latin and Old Romance data is left for the following chapter, as well as the examination of possible language contact phenomena.

It is only fitting to start by focusing on the gerundial form first and subsequently on the expressed functions. I provide a short statistical analysis on the relevant morphological forms, namely the Ladin *-an/-en*, the Romansh *-ond/-end* and the Friulan *-ant/-int*, and on their frequency of use in order to verify the expected results on the basis of the observed ones. The descriptive statistics performed through the R Core Team (2019) environment only refers to the Moral and Mitten corpus, namely the corpus of fieldwork data and the corpus of modern written texts respectively. The Diachro corpus data provide a very limited number of attestations therefore they are not suitable for the purpose of the statistical analysis.

The Moral corpus provides a total number of 545 translations in Ladin (specifically 314¹⁶⁵ in Badiotto and 231 in Fassano), 95 overall translations in Ro-

¹⁶⁵The reason why we find a discrepancy in the overall amount of translations in comparison to the expected number of answers (for instance, we would expect to have 393 total answers in Badiotto, as 33 participants took part to the study by translating 12 items) is due to the fact that some speakers did not complete the translation of all 12 requested items.

mansh and 396 in Friulan. With the total number I intend the overall sum of all the provided answers by the speakers. For the sake of identifying variation within Ladin, the Badiotto and Fassano varieties will be addressed separately, as the data collection was conducted independently. By looking at the raw numbers it may look like there is no significant variation among these varieties, specifically between Badiotto and Fassano, if we take the data in relation to the total number of speakers.¹⁶⁶ The analysis based on the Moral corpus data specifically refers to the distribution of gerundial structures, prepositional gerunds and prepositional infinitives, being the structures which occur with a certain systematicity across this corpus, precisely in the following way:

	Badiotto	Fassano	Romansh	Friulan
Gerund	58	63	17	248
Prepositional Gerund	0	0	5	0
Prepositional Infinitive	80	55	10	11
Others	176	113	63	137

Table 5.11: The contingency table - Badiotto, Fassano, Romansh and Friulan (Moral corpus)

The presented data should be intended as follows: "gerund" and "prepositional infinitive" refer to the number of gerundial and infinitival structures in the translations, whereas "other" refers to any alternative structures used by the speakers (finite embedded structures, coordinated structure, etc.).

The chi-square test comparing Badiotto, Fassano, Romansh and Friulan data provided the following results: $X^2 = 264.79$, $df = 9$, $p\text{-value} < 2.2e-16$. However, since the prepositional gerund values are very low (below the qualifying limits of the chi-square test, which typically equals 5), I apply the Fisher Exact test to the data presented in Table 5.11. The results are the following:

¹⁶⁶For the purpose of convenience, I here report the overall number of the speakers who participated to the translation test: 33 speakers in the Badiotto area, 23 speakers of the Fassano area, 8 Romansh speakers and 33 Friulan speakers.

	Badiotto	Fassano	Romansh	Friulan
Gerund	-2.2e-16	-0.0002026	-1.522e-05	+2.2e-16
Prepositional Gerund	-0.1637	-0.2825	+7.644e-06	-0.08943
Prepositional Infinitive	+1.984e-09	+3.889e-05	-0.1237	-2.2e-16
Others	+0.0001097	+0.302	+6.571e-05	-9.726e-11

Table 5.12: The results of the Fisher Exact test applied to Badiotto, Fassano, Romansh and Friulan (Moral corpus)

It can be observed that out of all the examined varieties, Friulan exhibits high attraction to the bare gerundial structures. On the contrary, Badiotto and Fassano show some degree of attraction to the prepositional infinitives, whereas Swiss Romansh shows a very high attraction for prepositional gerunds compared to the other varieties. Both Ladin varieties and Romansh exhibit repulsion for the bare gerundial structures.

An additional test can be applied to the Badiotto and Fassano data on its own. The contingency table¹⁶⁷ for the chi-squared test is presented in tab.5.13.

	Badiotto	Fassano
Gerund	58	63
Prepositional infinitive	80	55
Other	176	113
Total responses	314	231

Table 5.13: The contingency table for the chi-squared test, Badiotto vs. Fassano, Moral corpus

The chi-square analysis is: $X\text{-squared} = 6.0702$, $df = 2$, $p\text{-value} = 0.04807$, showing some degree of significance. The expected values¹⁶⁸ are therefore the following:

¹⁶⁷In addition to the instructions provided above, the "total responses" in the following tables refer to the overall number of translations provided by the speakers per area.

¹⁶⁸The expected values are based on the null hypothesis, i.e. they refer to the numbers we would expect if the variables were independent.

	Badiotto	Fassano
Gerund	69.71376	51.28624
Prepositional infinitive	77.77982	57.22018
Other	166.50642	122.49358

Table 5.14: The expected values for Badiotto and Fassano, Moral corpus

By comparing the observed results in tab.5.13 with the expected values in tab.5.14, we may notice that Fassano generally uses gerundial constructions more often (observed=63 vs. expected=51), whereas Badiotto has a general preference for prepositional infinitival constructions (observed=80 vs. expected=78). Such results are marginally significant, as we do not observe a great statistical distance.

The Mitten corpus statistical analysis compares the use of gerundial structures in Ladin, Romansh and Friulan on the basis of their distribution in different text genres. The contingency table for the chi-squared test is the following:

	Ladin	Romansh	Friulan
newspaper texts	3	6	15
school texts	1	2	26
scientific articles	22	71	68
literary texts	15	7	6

Table 5.15: The observed values across Rhaeto-Romance, Mitten corpus

The expected results on the basis of this observation are illustrated in tab.5.16. The outcome of this analysis provides slightly different values. What we notice from the comparison between the observed and the expected values may be summarized as follows: i. Ladin uses gerundial structures somewhat less frequently in the newspaper articles, school texts and in scientific articles (observed=22, expected=27.4), whereas the gerundial structures in literary texts are generally used more often (observed=15, expected=4.6); ii. the observed

	Ladin	Romansh	Friulan
newspaper texts	4.149798	8.528926	11.63968
school texts	4.813765	10.305785	13.50202
scientific articles	27.388664	57.214876	76.82186
literary texts	4.647773	9.950413	13.0364

Table 5.16: The expected values across Rhaeto-Romance, Mitten corpus

values are generally lower than the expected ones in Romansh, however, the trend is inverted when it comes to the scientific literature (observed=71, expected=57.2 gerundial structures); iii. as for Friulan, only the group of scientific articles presents a lower value in the observed data (observed=68, expected=76.8), whereas the newspaper, school and literary texts generally contain a greater number of gerundial structures than expected. Therefore, we observe a light partition between the overall use of gerunds in Ladin and Romansh on the one hand and Friulan on the other hand.¹⁶⁹

When it comes to the functional domain, the in-depth scrutiny of the three corpora provides the following summary of the observations:

- all three macro areas present to some extent a functional neutralization within the morphological suffix which is identified as the gerundial one (cf. Chiocchetti & Iori 2002, Forni 2019, Arquint 2020 Roseano & Madriz 2017 as the main relevant grammars);
- the circumstantial value is the predominant semantic domain in all the varieties and across all the corpora;
- additional functions which are attested to a certain degree in all three areas are the causal value and the attributive one, indicating a mixed adverbial-participial nature of the gerund;
- gerundial structures are used to express specific argument structures, i.e. the so-called pseudo-relative one, in Ladin and Romansh, but not in Friulan;

¹⁶⁹Nonetheless, the statistical results should not be taken as absolute, as they represent one puzzle piece of the overall information on the category of gerund, but they do not provide the full picture.

- the gerundial form is also employed in grammaticalized periphrases, such as the continuous and the progressive periphrasis;
- the gerundial continuous periphrasis is attested in the older stages of each variety (Lardschneider 1909 used as the integration of Ladin data attesting the end-of-the-19th century situation);
- the gerundial progressive periphrasis is only attested in Friulan.

The following chapter will address the results of the corpus analysis by attempting to frame the depicted outcome within the diachrony of Romance gerund.

6

Inherited and Contact features in the development of the Rhaeto-Romance gerund

The previous chapters, particularly chapters 3 and 4, provide a good overview of the use of gerund at different stages of Latin and Romance, with a focus on Rhaeto-Romance in Ch.4. Chapter 5 provides an in-depth analysis of some novel heterogeneous data addressing different historical stages of Rhaeto-Romance, but also accounting for elicited vs. non-elicited data and different text genres. The present chapter frames the results of the corpus analysis in the diachronic perspective by attempting to delineate inherited and contact structures in section 1 and provides some further notions on the *questione ladina* when it comes to the use of the gerund.

6.1 Inherited features vs. language contact

The diachronic overview of the gerund indicates the main functions conveyed by this category at different stages of Latin and Romance, allowing us to trace the constant or inherited functions, but also to identify the novel ones. Once again I must specify that with gerund I refer to the *-ndo* form deriving from

the Classical Latin ablative and to all its phonological realizations across the examined varieties (for instance *-an* in Ladin or *-ant/-int* in Friulan). Therefore, by taking into account one type of morphological form we may observe the relevant functional variation and change.

When it comes to the overall constructions emerging from the corpus analysis which are summarized in the last section of Ch.5, we can identify the following macro functional domains for the Rhaeto-Romance gerund:

1. The adverbial function involving the circumstantial, instrumental, causal, temporal and other values;
2. the argument function in pseudo-relative constructions;
3. the adjectival function;
4. the use of gerund in periphrastic grammaticalized constructions.

At first glance, we immediately notice the functional domains belonging to the Latin period and those which emerged at a certain stage in Romance. In fact, the adverbial function seems to be the only stable feature which has been entirely preserved from the Classical Latin ablative of the gerund. It is indeed a widespread function in Rhaeto-Romance, particularly in its circumstantial / instrumental and modal value which is also attested in varieties showing limited use of the gerund form, such as Ladin.

The pseudo-relatives are on the other hand subjected to considerable variation in Rhaeto-Romance, having (prepositional) infinitival structures as direct competitors (cf. Casalicchio 2013).

The adjectival function attributed to the gerund represents a post-Latin innovation which emerged in a dynamic environment where the boundaries between different non-finite categories are blurry. Such a setting is to a certain extent reflected in modern Rhaeto-Romance, as we find a syncretic suffix, but the functions seem to be easily identifiable as adverbial or adjectival.¹⁷⁰ The attributive value does not seem to be attested in older stages of Rhaeto-Romance, however, it must be specified that we do not find any attestations within the corpus of the 16th-19th century texts (the Diachro corpus) which contains a very limited amount of data.

Particularly interesting is the domain of periphrastic constructions which are suitable for an overview of potential contact phenomena. However, I will only

¹⁷⁰This is particularly applicable to Romansh and Friulan, whereas the Ladin data presents some degree of functional overlap as well, e.g. *Lé vegnù co la mans scorlan* 'He came with empty hands' lit. 'He came with his hand shaking/shaking his hand'.

deal with the domain of the progressive periphrasis, as the grammaticalization process of this construction is not fully transparent. In fact, we recall the participial and gerundial attestations of the New Testament in combination with a stative verb, provided by Bertinetto (2000) and Amenta (2003) (for instance, *stetit dux diu cunctando* ‘the chief hesitated for a long time’), which do not appear as grammaticalized (or, not fully grammaticalized) forms at this stage. The continuous periphrasis, on the other hand, is a partially grammaticalized structure already at the stage of Old Italian, which is also attested across Old Rhaeto-Romance varieties (*Chiante il vilan, e in fetis va tajant lu dur teren cui braz e cul versor* ‘The peasant sings and goes cutting (slicing) the hard land’). I will now examine the Friulan progressive construction, which is exclusively found in this area, unlike the Ladin and Romansh one. A subsequent overview of the equivalent structures in Ladin and Romansh will also be presented.

6.1.1 The progressive periphrasis in Friulan

Friulan is the only Rhaeto-Romance area exhibiting a grammaticalized periphrasis, such as:

- (118) *Ti stan robant tal’ort!*
 to_you be/stay.3PL steal.GER in+DET+garden
 ‘They are stealing (to you) in your garden!’

Constructions such as this one are attested in the Moral and Mitten corpus, therefore they are only found in Modern Friulan. Indeed, the Diachro corpus data only shows uses of the continuous periphrasis. This sort of isolation of Friulan in terms of the use of the grammaticalized progressive periphrasis is an interesting case of partition among the Alpine Romance varieties. The general lack of information on the older stages of Friulan is not helpful in this respect, however, an analysis *ex negativo* on the basis of equivalent structures in Ladin and Romansh may contribute to the general knowledge on how progressive is conveyed in these varieties and potentially on the internal dynamics. It should be recalled that Friulan is spoken in a very specific sociolinguistic context, having Modern Italian as a strong superstrate. Therefore, a contact-induced development of the gerundial progressive periphrasis is not to be excluded as well.

6.1.2 The equivalent of the progressive periphrasis in Ladin and Romansh

As already mentioned, neither Ladin nor Romansh exhibit instantiations of a progressive periphrasis with a gerund. However, both varieties show specific non-gerundial constructions for the expression of progressive which are extracted from the corpus of fieldwork data (Moral corpus). Precisely, we find one peculiar constructions of Ladin Badiotto, represented in ex.119 and two additional structures for Romansh, represented in ex.120 and 121.

- (119) *I e tl laur da ji cun la roda canche al a metu man da pluvei.*
 I be.IPFV.1SG in+DET work to go.INF with DET bike when it AUX start.PstP to rain.INF
 ‘I was riding the bike when it started raining’

(Ladin Badiotto)

- (120) *Jeu erel vid mirar televisiun cu che jeu hai udiu ina ramur.*
 I be.IPFV.1SG vid watch.INF TV when that I AUX hear.PstP a noise
 ‘I was watching TV, when I heard a noise’

(Romansh)

- (121) *Jau ves, ti legias gist Italo Calvino, mes autur preferí*
 I see.1SG you read.2SG gist Italo Calvino my author favorite
 ‘I see you’re reading Italo Calvino, my favorite author’

(Romansh)

The three examples represented here are equivalent translated constructions to the Italian and German input structures. Specifically, ex.119 is the equivalent structure of the Italian *Stavo guidando la bici quando ha cominciato a piovere* ‘I was riding my bike when it started raining’, containing a *stare*+GER progressive periphrasis. Examples 120 and 121 are instead the equivalent representations of *Ich war am fernsehen, als ich ein verdächtiges Geräusch hörte* ‘I was watching TV when I heard a suspicious noise’, containing the *am*-Progressive (cf. Van Pottelberge 2004 for a detailed overview and distribution of the *am*-progressive construction) and of *Ich sehe, du liest gerade Italo Calvino, meinen Lieblingsautor!* ‘I see, you are reading Italo Calvino, my favorite author!’, expressing the progressive via the aspectual marker *gerade*, respectively.

Taking a closer look at the Rhaeto-Romance constructions, we may notice that the Romansh translations notably resemble the German input structure. Indeed, ex.120 retraces the German structure *sein+am+verbal noun* (lit. ‘to be at X’) to generate *esser+vid+(a/vidlunder+INF* (lit. ‘to be at to X’). Similarly, ex.121 makes use of what could be intended as a German calque of the aspectual marker *gerade*, conveyed via *gist* in Romansh. The matching distribution between the German input and the Romansh output of the two available forms makes the idea of contact-induced structures plausible. The general idea of the involvement of language contact mainly refers to contact intended as the elicited translation task which manipulates the choice provided by the speaker. The participants, therefore, are likely to have been influenced by the German input structure, which reflects in the translated forms. Language contact is however, also intended as a phenomenon per se which suggests that the development of progressive structures in Romansh could have been induced by the German constructions. Due to the lack of lack of relevant literature and data, it is not possible to establish with certainty whether the Romansh constructions represent the German replica, although this hypothesis is very likely, as it is likely that the German input has played a crucial role in the translation task.

A similar explanation does not seem suitable for the Ladin translation illustrated in ex.119. The Italian input structure indeed is a grammaticalized gerundial progressive periphrasis *stare+GER*, whereas the output structure presents a *ester tl laur de+INF*. However, although the input construction does not influence the choice or type of the Ladin output - this Badiotto structure is likely to be yet another replica structure along the lines of the *am* progressive from Modern German. Somewhat similarly, the language contact hypothesis is further corroborated by Gsell (2008) and Maraffino (2021), who provide evidence of the diatopic variation in the expression of progressive across the Alpine area. Particularly significant in this respect is the evidence of the Fassano construction, *son (do) che* ‘am behind that’ (ex.122, reflecting the Veneto¹⁷¹ locative-type constructions *son qui che canto* (lit. ‘I am here that I sing’).

- (122) *son (dò) che chante*
 be.1SG behind that sing.1SG
 ‘I am singing lit. ‘I am behind that I sing’

(Gsell 2008)

¹⁷¹As previously explained, the Fassano variety is more exposed to (regional) Italian and Veneto rather than German. For this reason, “contact-prone constructions” such as this one are more likely to have been influenced by the former.

Such consideration may imply some further considerations on the Friulan progressive construction, which brings us to the next section of this discussion, namely the *questione ladina*. Nonetheless, issues related to language contact, which represent a suitable continuation of this dissertation to pursue in the future, require substantial evidence in order to provide a strong claim. In addition, it should be recalled that the direction of possible contact may not be unidirectional, i.e. German → Badiotto/Romansh and Veneto → Fassano, but it could be circular, for instance Latin → German → Romansh, due to the development and extensive contact between these varieties.

6.2 Some implications on the *questione ladina*

The *questione ladina* refers to an academic debate which nowadays is disregarded, but it is far from being solved. This contribution does not aim to fulfill that task by any means, but rather to add some considerations on the basis of this study on the category of gerund in order to provide an additional piece of information in this respect.

The ongoing debate on the genealogy of Rhaeto-Romance questions the inclusion of Friulan and the constitution of this language group. In this study I have provided several pieces of evidence through the direct comparison between Friulan, Ladin and Romansh, the analysis of the corpora and the statistical investigation that Friulan lightly deviates from the two remaining macro-varieties. By strictly considering such surface information, it may seem that there could be some structural differences, which in turn would imply the distancing of Friulan.¹⁷² For instance, we may think of the use of progressive and the singular evidence of periphrastic progressive constructions surfacing from both the Moral and the Mitten data. However, the matter on whether the basis for comparison is inherited or perhaps contact-induced is often neglected. Indeed, when it comes to the Friulan progressive periphrasis, the development of this construction in this variety is very untransparent. The apparent contact-induced development of periphrastic constructions in Ladin and Romansh examined in the previous section may suggest an analogous outcome in Friulan. However, there is insufficient evidence in diachrony to conclude

¹⁷²An additional piece of evidence of the distancing of Friulan is provided by Castro (2021:145-148), who presents an overview of the use of the conditional in northern Italian dialects by including a brief description of Ladin and Friulan as well. Castro points out that the Ladin varieties make use of the imperfect subjunctive, whereas Friulan has a synthetic *-res* conditional form common to the northern Italian varieties.

whether the Friulan progressive construction is a common Romance development or rather the result of an intense contact with Italian (also knowing the overall sociolinguistic context). The lack of data and relevant literature does not allow to draw any preliminary conclusions with respect to the genealogy of Rhaeto-Romance.

7

Conclusion

In this dissertation I attempted to shed light on the process of change regarding the category of gerund from the Classical Latin period to the Present-day Ladin, Swiss Romansh and Friulan. This investigation has been motivated by a wish to have a better understanding of the domain of non-finite verbal forms in Romance and specifically of the gerund, where we observe a notable dynamicity. The initial goal may have been very optimistic, however, I believe that bringing so many puzzle pieces to the table through the comparative multi-level analysis of novel heterogeneous data is what makes this contribution unique. Starting with a major morphological-structural change that can be observed from Latin to Romance through the loss of inflection of the gerund and its crystallization in the ablative form, I have examined the functional development of the *-ndo* (and the varieties of *-ndo* across Romance) form at different stages, showing that the gerund in Ladin, Romansh and Friulan is an inherited structure and that its use fits within the general picture of the Romance gerund. Specifically, the research was articulated as follows.

The introductory chapter of this dissertation has highlighted some of the core issues related to the gerund as a label. Crosslinguistically and specifically out of the Romance domain we find elements such as converbs, rather than gerunds indicating the function of this mixed category which typically has an adverbial-like behavior. Therefore, we understand that the gerund as such is a notion which is linked to the literature on Latin and Romance.

Chapter 2 has outlined the relevant background information by providing the relevant information on the context, the use and the normativization of the areas of interest. The three macro-varieties share their main sociolinguistic aspects and are recognized by the law of the respective countries. This means that not only is the identity status of the minority recognized, but also the main satellite aspects are regulated, such as the existence of a flag, the use of the target variety on the road signs and more importantly, the incorporation of these varieties within the local school system. Furthermore, all three varieties have undergone a more or less successful standardization process. In addition to the sociolinguistic overview, this chapter has offered an insight into the *questione ladina*, an academic debate on the genealogical relation between Ladin, Romansh and Friulan by presenting both the unitarian and the negationist point of view. Following Loporcaro's (2009) perspective which is very critical, neither of the two seems to solve the *questione ladina* through solid proof in the linguistic data.

Chapter 3 has retraced the main stages of the development of the category of gerund, starting with a pre-Latin contextualization and the origin of the *-nd-* suffix, continuing with a detailed description of the main functions of the gerund in Classical Latin, Vulgar and Late Latin, Old Italian, Old French and finally, in the diachrony of Rhaeto-Romance. Precisely, the Classical Latin stage defines the gerund as an inflected verbal noun in the genitive, dative, accusative and ablative. Its functional domains are well delineated, although diaphasic variation can be detected in informal texts such as Cicero's *Epistulae*. A different picture is provided by the Late and Vulgar Latin setting, where a clear-cut definition of the boundaries of non-finite categories notably changes. Particularly, I refer to the process of making grammatical relations more explicit in the context of absolute constructions, such as the ablative absolute, suggesting a possible realignment of the structures. In addition, at this stage we find traces of juxtapositions of the verbs *stare* and *esse* to a gerundial form, indicating a breeding ground for the development of a grammaticalized progressive periphrasis using a gerund, which however is absent in Old Romance varieties.

Old Italian data illustrates a major functional ambiguity, as the *-ndo* form seems to take over some of the domains which are attributable to the present participle or the infinitive, such as that of the absolute constructions and the argument function respectively. However, it emerges that the use of the gerund in competing and contested structures provides a focus on the non-stativity and non-punctuality of an event (cf. De Roberto 2013), therefore it neither replaces the present participle, nor the infinitive. At this stage we also ob-

serve the juxtaposition of motion verbs and a gerund, suggesting the (partial) grammaticalization of the continuous periphrasis.

Old French, on the contrary, illustrates a less ambiguous use of the forms, despite the phonologically neutralized *-ant* suffix. Indeed, the data shows a polarized employment of this hybrid form either as an adjunct of the predicate or as a noun modifier. Furthermore, Old French presents traces of a (partially) grammaticalized continuous periphrasis with a gerund.

The few existing works on older stages of Rhaeto-Romance, mainly represented by Lardschneider (1909), provide witness to the adverbial use of the gerund in older stages of Ladin. In addition, we find gerundial structures in contexts of perception, such as *N audíva tantán* ‘one was hearing singing’ and in dually-interpretable constructions with motion verbs, such as *L va kuntan* ‘he goes around talking’/‘he goes around while talking’.

Chapter 4 has described the main functions of the Modern Ladin, Romansh and Friulan gerund by furnishing the relevant information provided by the existing grammars of each variety and of specific scientific literature. The emerging environment suggests a common adverbial function of the gerund across Rhaeto-Romance, though signaling a somewhat limited use of the gerundial form in Ladin and Romansh. These two varieties, specifically, also exhibit the use of the gerund in perceptive constructions in its bare or prepositional form. In the analogous contexts, Friulan displays an infinitival structure. Romansh and Friulan, on the other hand, provide indication of the use of the periphrases. Specifically, Arquint (2020) signals the expression of the continuous aspect in Romansh, whereas Roseano & Madriz (2017) illustrate the use of both the progressive and the continuous periphrases in Friulan.

In addition, chapter 4 has outlined the data collection which consisted of 3 corpora assessing diaphasic and diachronic variation and incorporating elicited and non-elicited data.

Chapter 5 has provided an in-depth descriptive and statistical analysis and inspection of the data by outlining the relevant functions expressed by the gerund in each variety and corpus. The emerging picture confirms the use of the adverbial gerund in all three areas, generally expressing circumstantial and causal values. Any additional uses of the gerund are specific to only one or two varieties and require further specification. To be precise, the contested participle-like and infinitive-like ground shows the presence of gerundial structures which are applied in perceptive constructions in Ladin and Romansh (as previously attested by the literature), but not in Friulan. On the contrary, all the varieties show some degree of overlap of the participle and the gerund in the attributive function, although this use seems to be specific to the corpus of

modern written texts (the Mitten corpus). Finally, the use of the periphrastic constructions illustrates a prevalence of such structures in Friulan, showing a large number of attestations of the progressive periphrasis in the fieldwork and modern written data. Ladin, on the other hand, provides only one attestation of this kind in the Mitten corpus, whereas all three languages show evidence of the motion verb+gerund combination in older stages. For the purpose of clarity, I summarize here the core domains of the gerund in each variety, combining the data provided by the Moral and Mitten corpora and the literature. Specifically, the Ladin gerund operates in the following functions/contexts¹⁷³:

- in the adverbial function expressing circumstantial and causal values;
- in the attributive function;
- as a pseudo-relative structure in perceptive constructions;
- as a grammaticalized continuous periphrasis.

The Romansh gerund is used in the following domains:

- in the adverbial function expressing circumstantial and causal values;
- in the attributive function;
- as a pseudo-relative structure in perceptive constructions;
- as a grammaticalized continuous periphrasis (only attested by the data provided by Arquint 2020).

The Friulan gerund is employed in the following contexts:

- in the adverbial function expressing circumstantial and causal values;
- in the attributive function;
- as a grammaticalized continuous periphrasis (only attested in Roseano & Madriz 2017);
- as a grammaticalized progressive periphrasis.

¹⁷³This list represents a very schematized summary of the main gerundial functions which show different levels of productivity, as explained in the previous chapters.

Finally, chapter 6 has attempted to contextualize the results of the corpus analysis by providing some final thoughts with respect to the Romance inheritance, language contact and the *questione ladina*. The claim is that there are core functions which are inherited and dating back to the use of gerund in Latin. I precisely refer to the adverbial domain which has remained constant through the diachrony of Romance, but it can also be projected crosslinguistically and echoes in the use of converbial structures outside of the Romance domain. Subsequently, we find inherited functions and structures which are entirely Romance (therefore, post-Latin) uses, such as the employment of the gerund in attributive and argument functions. On the contrary, the domain of the gerundial periphrastic constructions is potentially subjected to external influence, being the structures which to the best of my knowledge grammaticalized in Old Romance or later.¹⁷⁴ It is important to mention that hierarchically, the continuous periphrasis is a stronger candidate than the progressive one for a common Romance structure as it is attested in Old (Rhaeto-)Romance varieties, whereas the gerundial periphrastic construction is likely to be a relatively recent grammaticalization which is also attested in Friulan (but not in Ladin and Romansh). As a consequence, it can be concluded that the functions which are attested in the oldest stages show the least variation and the more recent the function, the greater the variation is. This is particularly visible in Rhaeto-Romance.

When it comes to the *questione ladina*, as previously mentioned in Ch.6, the present data does not allow to draw any conclusions in this respect, as the lack of knowledge of a well-defined diachrony of each examined variety prevents the reconstruction of the genealogy of Rhaeto-Romance.

Having provided a general overview of the use of gerund in Rhaeto-Romance from a comparative perspective, this study also suggests a general tendency towards embedded constructions when it comes to gerundial structures in modern Romance varieties.

¹⁷⁴Here I only refer to the periphrasis using a gerund (i.e. the predicative gerund). In fact, it should be noted that periphrastic progressive constructions were already productive at an earlier stage, precisely in the New Testament Latin (cf. Amenta 2003).

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- (101) Arlevis de classe 2 A Scuele di San Denêl. 2020 (February). Marilenghe: la fuarce di ognidun di nô. *Une rêt di amîs: Gjornalin de Scuelis di Collinrete*, 4-5.
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- (103) Classe 1 C Scuele di Glemone. 2019 (February). Liendis furlanis inventadis. *Une rêt di amîs: Gjornalin de Scuelis di Collinrete*, 14-16.
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- (106) Classe 3B Scuele di San Denêl. 2020 (February). Let par voaltris: Una bambina ad Auschwitz di Arianna Szõrényi. *Une rêt di amîs: Gjornalin de Scuelis di Collinrete*, 14-15.
- (107) Classis 2 B e 2 C Scuele di Sedean. 2019 (February). Laboratori di chimiche...cul sindic! *Une rêt di amîs: Gjornalin de Scuelis di Collinrete*, 7-8.
- (108) Decoradõrs de Scuele Sedean. 2020 (February). LArbul di Nadâl in place. *Une rêt di amîs: Gjornalin de Scuelis di Collinrete*, 2-3.
- (109) Scuele di Sedean. 2019 (February). Musiche di squadre al Festival dai Fruts furlans. *Une rêt di amîs: Gjornalin de Scuelis di Collinrete*, 11-12.
- (110) Scuele Primarie di Cicunins. 2020 (February). A spas par Cicunins. *Une rêt di amîs: Gjornalin de Scuelis di Collinrete*, 11.

Literary texts

The following texts are some of the Friulan traditional tales.

- (111) A riva la Mari di San Pieri

- (112) El mûs el purcet
- (113) Giacomo Bonutti
- (114) Giucs su la manute
- (115) La mesta cuinçada
- (116) La Vite
- (117) Toni e la femine
- (118) Un gran
- (119) Une picjule sturiute
- (120) Vigni Creato Spiritus

Diachro corpus data

Ladin texts

Swiss Romansh texts

- (121) Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. Curt Mossament.
- (122) Camen, Alexius. Anatomia dil svlaz.
- (123) Bonifaci, Daniel. 1601. Catechismus.
- (124) Fuormas dils seraments. N.d.
- (125) Fuorma u Ceremonial. N.d.
- (126) Gabriel, Luci. 1648. Ilg Nief Testament.
- (127) Gabriel, Steffan. Ilg ver sulaz da pievel giuvan 1625.
- (128) Ilg celestial Hierusalem. 1620.
- (129) Orden per ilg gij de cumin. N.d.
- (130) Rhetus. Ilg vêlg Grischun, schqitschau, anno 1621.
- (131) Statuts dil Cumin da Trin. N.d.

- (132) Statuts dilg Cumin d' Uors. N.d.
- (133) Travers, Gian. 1865. La chianzun dalla guerra dagl Chiaste da Mùs.
- (134) Uvesck, Heinrich (da Coira). Documents. N.d.
- (135) Volkslieder (surselvisch).

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- (136) Di Colloredo, Ermes. 1992. *Poesie scelte edite ed inedite in dialetto friulano* (Vol. 1). Società filologica friulana.
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List of examples

The following examples are an exhaustive list of all the gerundial examples extracted from the Mitten corpus (the Diachro corpus data immediately follow this list). The entries are first grouped according to the macro variety, namely Ladin, Romansh and Friulan and subsequently, within each group, they are combined on the basis of the conveyed function. The numeration of examples in this section is independent of the previous chapters.

When possible, the sub-variety is indicated per each example of this list. The full bibliography related to the Mitten and Diachro corpora can be found in the List of texts prior to this section.

LADIN

Circumstance / Instrument / Manner

- (1) *Nautra costion portèda dant dal Consei de la Neva UAL lé chela del redit de zitadinanza, che la Provinzia de Busan no à tout sù, **tegnan** sia mesures jà en esser perché miores per i sentadins, enveze Trent là tout sù **dijan** che coscì la Provinzia aessa sparagnà ressorses da poder durèr per intervenc de sostegn a la natalità e investimenc, ma da Roma no lé ruà i scioldi per corir l redit de garanzia, donca l sparagn emprometù no lé stat.*
(Fassano; Trent é dò a perder sia autonomia, retrievable from *La Usc di Ladins*)
- (2) *La dotora Arianna Giuliani, de la Federazion Trentina de la Cooperazion, là dat na pruma definizion de cooperazion **sotrissan** latenzion che na coprativa là envers la comunanza e leconomia del teritorie.*
(Fassano; Riz, M. *L'importanza de la Cooperazion*, retrievable from *La Usc di Ladins*)
- (3) ***Vardan** i dac de la Stazion de Meteo Trentino de Pecé a Moena, loghèda a 1200 metres de auteza, Claudio de Pavarin ne met dant desvalives etres dac e curiositèdes.*
(Fassano; Lg. *Co él stat l temp te Fascia del 2019?*, retrievable from *La Usc di Ladins*)
- (4) *A veder l cian, la tousa, co la mans ti ciavei la e la sciampèda **cigan** [...]*
(Fassano; *La vivènes e l cian*, retrievable from *Liber de Ladin per la scola auta*)

- (5) *L significat de chisc dac ne é nia univoch, souraldut **tolan** en conscidrazion les valedes che se declara plu a pro.*¹⁷⁵
(Dell'Aquila, 2006:254)
- (6) *Atualmenter à i sostantifs masculins che va fora con -e aton does tips de plural: per les paroles arpedes l féjen **enjontan** la desinenza -sc al singlar (pere peresc, vare varesc) entant che i neologisms y i cultisms enjonta la desinenza -s (stude studes, ministere ministeres).*
(Dell'Aquila, 2006:260)
- (7) *Samben essa l prum cajo debujegn de n pice mudament tla morfologia: en é i sostantifs masculins con -e final tl pice grop de chi che fej l plural con -sc (sing. stome vs. plur. stomesc da lat. STOMACHU(M) sciche pere vs. peresc da lat. PATRE(M)), ma con chest mudament passenâssei adum con chi masculins, encuei conscidrés ezezions, che i forma l plural **baratan** fora -ch con -sc: *stomech/stomesc, *manech/manesc, *mon-ech/monesc sciche fuech (lat. FOCU(M)), juech (lat. IOCU(M)) y sterch (tod. vedl o mesan stark) che i fej sie plural te fuesc, juesc y stersc.*
(Dell'Aquila, 2006:262)
- (8) *L ladin dolomitan à codifiché desinenzes per la formazion dl plural di sostantifs y di agetifs les **cernan** fora da cheles doredes ti idioms aldò di criteres de majera difujion, de clareza y de regolarité y **proponan** les formes che i locuteurs ladins essa conscidré plu azetables.*
(Dell'Aquila, 2006:263)
- (9) *Do l'introduziun che vá ite tla storia dl alpinism y (porchël ince) dl turism dl raiun dolomitich, che vá zoruch tl XIX. secul y che á ciafé na sbürla determinanta cun la costruziun dla Gran Strada dles Dolomites (rovada tl 1909), vëgnel sciöche pert zentrala n escurs sön linvenziun di Crëps Stlauris, te chëra chara ilustrëia te na maniera critica la vita y lopera de K.F. Wolff, **conscidran** dantadöt süa Monographie der DolomitenstraSse (Monografia dla Strada dles Dolomites) dada fora tl 1908 y dles Dolomitensagen (Liëndes dles Dolomites) süa opera prinzipala publicades por le pröm iade tl 1913 y rovides intratan ala 18a ediziun.*
(Bauer & Moroder, 2019:5)
- (10) *Por stlüje jö podunse informé nüsc leturs afezioná che tl ann 2019 é la revista "Ladinia" gnüida tuta sö tla Nordic List che á na gran valüta, **ciafan** insciö ciamó n iade n re-conescimënt internazional.*
(Bauer & Moroder, 2019:7)

¹⁷⁵This example could potentially be interpreted as a conditional clause. The same applies to (64) and (111) below.

- (11) *Per jì segures à chisc trat ntëur i programs che fova unic laurei ora dala cumiscion Stoll che ei bele numinà dessëura y ova tëut i programs nazionei che ëi cunesciova tres si universiteies **dijan** nce che n ëssa pudù i mudé bele l ann do.*
(Rifesser, 2011:24)
- (12) *Al didancuei vëniel nsenià la doi variantes de Gherdëina y dla Val Badia, **lecurdan** che l vën nce azetà dai nseniànc la variantes de paes tla Val Badia, a cundizion che l vënie respetà la grafia ufiziela y che l sculé adrove n sistem coerënt de scrittura.*
(Verra, 2011:58)
- (13) *Do mi ntënder iel dassënn mpurtant che la scolina se tole sëura dl ladin cun duta la grupa, chël uel di nce **purvan** a tò ite i mutons fulestieres y chëi che rejona d'autri lingac te familia che no l ladin.*
(Verra, 2011:58)
- (14) *Daviadechël sons nce dla minonga che l ne ie nia drët purté i mëndri migranc n cuntat mé cun una na rujeneda, for mé **pensan** alalfabetisazion dla scola elementera.*
(Verra, 2011:58)
- (15) *Chësc lëer de fundamënta dla scolina ne possa nia finé te n colp, canche l sculé va per l prim iede tla scola elementera: perchël ons nvià via n cunzet nuef de alfabetisazion plurilinguala che porte l sculé var per var a se fé patron dla tecniches cultureles fundamenteles, se **juan** de duc trëi i lingac de nosc urdenamënt.*
(Verra, 2011:58)
- (16) *Nëus ulessan depierpul surpassé n mumënt storich, ulache la scola elementera alfabetisova belau defin mé per tudësch o per talian, **purtan** pro purtrüep a fé prescion sun la families per ladurvanza dla majera rujenedes a desiaut dl ladin.*
(Verra, 2011:59)
- (17) *l dëssa comuniché y argumenté minonghes, sentimënc y ntenzioms y purté dant cun cuntenuc **tenian** cont dla formes de prejentazion.*
(Verra, 2011:59)
- (18) *Chësc ie plu saurì da di che da realisé, **tenian** cont dl gran strabaciamënt dl ladin che n aud nia mé danter i jëuni, coche l vën for dit, ma suvënz mo piec danter i granc.*
(Verra, 2011:59)
- (19) *Se **basan** sun n corpus de talian rejoné, coiiù adum te na maniera empirica con 44 informadours y che respidleia i liviei stilistics desvalifs y deplù sortes de descurs (eserzizies de letura, taialonges, intervistes y dialogs) analiseia la autouria doi aspec: 1. la pronunzia dles africates dentales /dz/ y /ts/ dal pont de veduda soziofonetich (ei vs. eles), y 2. l comportament linguistich de chi che rejona en confront al talian de Bulsan, sun la basa dla analisa de conversazion.*
(Moroder & Bauer, 2016:5)

- (20) *La sienes busiova, furmiëntes de caidli y de fueia nueva, na plueia de flureles blancs y nrusedes mpudrova la ciuries stlinedes di lëns da mëiles, y datrai na venteda, rabian adalerch, ti zarova demez i chélesc flurii, i **purtan** dalonc a muri.*
(Gardenese; Tozzi, M., *La Mpermetuda*)
- (21) *La streda asfauteda, turmenteda dai ciars, giaudova sn de n struf rer de trieva y parova che la pausséssa, stancia de si fruéda de uni di, canche n auto da céria, res de saudeies y de rmes, ä tumbretä jmusént do la raida via, **rudlan** y **banderlan** sun la sustes te na niblea de tanf, **arlevan** n cor de scibli y de blestemes.*
(Gardenese; Tozzi, M., *La Mpermetuda*)
- (22) *La uss de Chël Bel Die ti dajova ardimënt, l **cunsian** de no se després.*
(Gardenese; Tozzi, M., *La Mpermetuda*)
- (23) *L ova cumbatu cun ardimënt sarëinn **ntendan** che l ciambonfé de viërs dia salvëza ne fova stat debant, che l fabricoz mostruëus dia crëusc regueda y dl vencëi dala manea scavedova triblmënter sot al jmartelé dla iustizia.*
(Gardenese; Tozzi, M., *La Mpermetuda*)
- (24) *Ël se ä dejgort da si pensé sëura, ti ä dat na udleda cumpasciunëula a si ciauzei menei dala ciavatedes vagabundëntes, **auzan** tosc l cë cun urgolie.*
(Gardenese; Tozzi, M., *La Mpermetuda*)
- (25) *Le scagn odôn iamò jon fora por rü dlun se **nainan**, mo la fomena de Iöre ê sparida daldöt.*
(Badiotto; Comploj, R., *Spirit de contradiziun*, retrievable from *Calënder ladin 2008*)
- (26) *La grafia ofiziala dl gherdeina, per ejempl, scriv la alternanza regolare anter /o/ tonich y /u/ aton tl gherdeina ne él nia l son [o] tla posizion pretonica **obligan** a mudé la raisc di verbs te sia coniugazion: /purté/, infinitif vs. /porta/, 3. pers. sing. prej., con na alternanza /purt-/ vs. /port-/ dla raisc.*
(Dell’Aquila, 2006:250)
- (27) *Cun l’aiüt de tesc abiná fora dles croniches dla C’öra y dl Comun da inlaota, é lauturia bona da dé da capí le gran pëis che jënt messâ soporté, **renforzan** so scrit cun cater articui originai dl foliet edemal “Il Ponte” (1922), che ê ma gnü dé fora por n tëmپ cört, publicá t’injunta.*
(Bauer & Moroder, 2019:5)
- (28) *Ara dô les cinch da doman sön ciampanin, can che Gabriel gnô dlun **saltàn** cuntra ciasa.*
(Badiotto; M.A., *Laisciöda. Vijnanza*, retrieved from *Calënder ladin 1980*)
- (29) *Ch’i che lëura tl Istitut muessa perchël se rënder cont de ne lauré nia te na sort de turris eburnea, ma te na strutura al servisc dla jënt ladina, de si cultura y rujeneda, **purvan** a tení plu aut che l ie mesun l livel scienti ch de si lëur.*
(Moroder, 2006:7)

Causality

- (30) **Savan** che te chësta età dai 3 ai 6 ani ie l cervel dl mënder dassënn elastich y che l potenzial de tò su fenomenns linguistics y de i interiorisé ie scialdi plu daviert che no plu inant ti ani de scola, messëssa la scolina se purvé dassënn n chësc cont.
(Verra, 2011:58)
- (31) **Savan** che i candidac ladins arjonj mo for scialdi de miëur resultat pra l ejam de bilinguism provinziel, ne ie chësta regulamentazion nia drëta y l ie gran ëura che n chiere na soluzion giuridica che respetea i dërc di ladins.
(Verra, 2011:60)
- (32) **Restan** l jëunn dassënn buli a si ideal de uem y de crestian, dajov-l audida al etiërn cherdé dl amor y dla speranza.
(Gardenese; Tozzi, M., *La Mpermetuda*)

Attributive and argument function

- (33) *La sienes busiova, furmiëntes de caidli y de fueia nueva, na plueia de flureles blances y nrusedes mpudrova la ciuries stlinedes di lëns da mëiles, y datrai na venteda, **rabian** adalerch, ti zarova demez i chélesc flurii, i purtan dalonc a muri.*
(Gardenese; Tozzi, M., *La Mpermetuda*)
- (34) *An vëiga les löms dl iastel y an alda **cherdon** l'inom dla prinzëssa.*
(Penazzi, E., *La prinzëssa dala ria*, retrieved from *Calënder ladin 2008*)
- (35) *Tla bassa Val Badia vëigun de merz bele i paurs te chi ciamp, che mëna cultöra y spann cultöra, y sce l'tëmp é aladô, i vëigun ince bele **rundian** te chi ciamp.*
(Badiotto; Merz, retrieved from *Calënder ladin 1980*)
- (36) *Ara dô n chert passé les döes, che Gabriel ê lafora te chël bosch jônne de Trates, ch' al siâ jo y taiâ, èi ch' al pordüjô, zënza misericordia, tan dassënn, che l' suiûs rogorô mâ inscio jo y an l'ess aldi **soflàn** y **crisàn** scioche n salvadrin feri a mort.*
(Badiotto; M.A., *Laisciöda. Vijinanza*, retrieved from *Calënder ladin 1980*)
- (37) *Sëgn essun messé aldi **baiàn** jënt.*
(Badiotto; M.A., *Laisciöda. Vijinanza*, retrieved from *Calënder ladin 1980*)

SWISS ROMANSH

Circumstance / Instrument / Manner

- (38) *Ordavant va la societad da musica "Harmonie Appenzell" **sunond** in marsch plaun.*
(*Svilup da la democrazia direcra en Svizra*, retrieved from *La Quotidiana*)

- (39) *La Constituziun da l'onn 1815 ha tegnì ensemen la Confederaziun durant la restauraziun, **permettend** als chantuns ina gronda independenza.*
(*Svilup da la democrazia direcra en Svizra*, retrieved from *La Quotidiana*)
- (40) *Il cuntegn dal LIR tracta oravant tut il spazi grischun, **dond** lemprima prioritad als territoris anc oz rumantschs, alura a las parts oriundamain da lingua rumantscha e finalmain a las autras regiuns linguisticas dal Grischun.*
(*Il Lexicon Istorico Retic*, retrieved from *La Quotidiana*)
- (41) *Als socialistas accentueschan per ordinari las valurs fundamentalas egalitad, gistadad e solidaritad e suttastritgan la muntada tant da moviments socials pratics sco er dina critica da la societad teoretica; lur finamira è dunir quests dus pols **prendend** en mira in urden social ed economic gist.*
(*Necessitad u utopia?*, retrieved from *La Quotidiana*)
- (42) *Il chastè da Müsch è stà dapi il 1406, sco feud milanais, en possess da la famiglia Malacrida, enturn il 1500 è el passà al feldmarschal Gian Giacomo Trivulzio aveva laschà renovar la fortezza e construir in port, **rendend** qua tras lareal fortitgà quasi inquistabel.*
(Bundi, M. & Wieser, C., *Las guerras da Müsch (1525/1531)*, retrieved from *La Quotidiana*)
- (43) *Adina puspei audins dina tatta ni basatta chei naschida a Paris, a Lyon, a Florenza, e chha stuiu returnar, **passentond** ina veta mudesta da pura cun numerus affons.*
(Sursilvan; *L'Alma ei buca turnada bugen*, retrieved from *La Quotidiana*).
- (44) *Il vegl è sa zaccudì, ha bandunà la chasa ed è sa mess sin via **scurlattond** il chau.*
(*L'utschè pitschnin*, retrieved from *Istorgias curtas 1*)
- (45) *La constituziun federala da 1848, **numnond** trais linguatgs ufzials, ha muntà in sigl da qualitad per la Svizra, ma nossa scola chantunala è restada monolingua.*
(Sobiela-Caanitz, G., *Naschida cun ina lingua, oz cun trais*, retrieved from *Bulletin 33*)
- (46) *Secundo stat il term, sa **fundond** surtut sin las teorias da Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels e Wladimir Iljitsch Lenin, per ideas economicas e politicas chhan la finamira da crear ina societad senza classas e libra da tut domini.*
(*Necessitad u utopia?*, retrieved from *La Quotidiana*)
- (47) *Lur catechissem ein qua si pli creativs ed 'in de pen dents' ch'ìls suranumnai, selain pia bu ca semplamein metter en ina lin gia da tra di ziun, **cumparegliond** 'Jud Co man der/ Blasius Bifrun Chiam pell'.*
(Bernhard, 2017:31)
- (48) *La decisiun da Johannes Comander e Johannes Blasius da midar la posiziun da Leo Jud, e da priorisar la cardientscha avon ils diesch c amon da ments 40 ha giu grondas*

consequenzas per la consolidaziun dal la cardientscha reformada: Bifrun, Chiampell e pli tard era Planta en siu Un cuort nuzaivel e bsognius Catechismus (Poschiavo 1582) han mess la cardientscha avon ils diesch camondaments, **accentuond** era il sola fide. (Bernhard, 2017:18)

- (49) Bifrun lai en siu catechissem (1552), **sebasond** sil catechissem da Comander e Blasius respectivamein sin Leo Jud, aunc naven il text nunbiblic, che deriva ord la Didache (entuorn 100 s. Cr.) e chei vegnius duvraus sco responsori ella liturgia dalla ba sel gia romana. (Bernhard, 2017:21)
- (50) Il secund text liturgic ei la Confessiun dalla cretta, il schinum nau Apostolicum che las baselgias reformatricas han surpriu, **accentuond** chigl Apostolicum seigi ina resumaziun concisa dallas verdads las pli impurtontas ella Bibla. (Bernhard, 2017:22)
- (51) Negri serevelescha sco humanist biblic che cumprova igl Apostolicum vid la sontga Scartira, **accentuond** che quel seigi la somma delle cose contenute nella santa scrittura (Bernhard, 2017:22)
- (52) En quei connex ha Heinrich Bullinger scret Der alt Gloub (Basilea 1537), **argumentond** ch'ei setracti tier la cardientscha evangelica dalla veglia cretta catolica (transl. 'universala') ed ortodoxa (transl. 'ver cartent'). (Bernhard, 2017:22-23)
- (53) La ductrina da Jean Calvin ch'il carstgaun sappi buca retscheiver il salit sen za Deus ei igl empren artechel dil catechissem da Comander e Bla sius, **menziunond** la relaziun denter enconuschientscha e car dientscha. (Bernhard, 2017:24)
- (54) En mintga artechel vegn la ductrina dall'enconuschientscha menziunada, **accentuond** regularmein ch'ei seigi "dad imprendder a cunguoscher Deis, é la uaira cretta, [...]" (Bernhard, 2017:24)
- (55) Il vierv summum bonum deriva dalla filosofia stoica, ei denton vegnius duvraus regularmein da Zwingli, **renviond** a Deus chei sco sulet bonus (rom. buns), cumpa regliau cun ils carstgauns. (Bernhard, 2017:25)
- (56) Tenor Comander e Blasius, **sebasond** sin Zwingli e Bullinger, ei la ligia unica ed eterna fundada ella ligia che Deus ha fatg cun Abraham. (Bernhard, 2017:26)
- (57) Ils dus sacraments batten e s. Tscheina vegnan defini sco "ün signel da üna sainchia chiosa" e sco "segni visibili della gratia di Dio" formulaziuns chins enconuscha dils re-

- formaturs Calvin, Bullinger, Jud ni Zwin gli, **sebasond** sil plaid dad Augustin.*
(Bernhard, 2017:27)
- (58) *Perencunter maunca la salidada (Avemaria) en tut ils catechissems, **accentuond** chei seigi buca in text biblic.*
(Bernhard, 2017:28)
- (59) ***Examinond** il paternies ei la formaziun dil patertgar reformau era evidenta [...]*
(Bernhard, 2017:29)
- (60) *Vergerio, Instruttione, bv. Sco ils luterans ed ils catolics pren Vergerio **sebasond** silla Vulgata ils emprems dus camondaments ensemen, e partga il davos camondaments en duas parts.*
(Bernhard, 2017:29)
- (61) *Il vast diever da quels ei documentaus dina vart entras igl uorden sinodal (1552/53), da l'autra vart ellas pre- e postfaziuns dils differents catechissems, **accentuond** che la giuventetgna dueigi vegnir instruida els artechels centrals dalla car dien tscha.*
(Bernhard, 2017:30)
- (62) *Per il moviment rumantsch duain numnadain era ils chors sa spruvar da salvar **chantond** la lingua e cultura rumantscha.*
(Decurtins, 2018:8)
- (63) ***Resumond** constatescha Grin per la Svizra che 3.7% da la paja resultan da cumpetenzas da lingua, en il sectur da servetsch ed en il sectur da finanzas cumporta quella part da la paja schizunt 5%.*
(Etter, 2012:26)
- (64) ***Cumparegliond** questas cifras cun il diever dal rumantsch, pon ins constatar, che gist a bucca vegn il rumantsch tuttina duvrà da bleras fatschentas e quai en las regiuns rumantschas sco er en las regiuns plurilinguas.*
(Etter, 2012:41)
- (65) *En quests cas pudess ins simplifitgar, **renunziond** a la preposiziun che mar chescha il tema: "Quai che sto vegnir meglierà tenor la regenza è oravant tut la cumpatibilitad da la tgira d'uffants e da la professiun", "La Porta Alpina n'è betg ina fermada supplementara" (cfr. la versiun ta lia na: "La Porta Alpina non è una fermata supplementare", *Vot. chant.* 12.2.2006:3).*
(Grünert, 2008:21)
- (66) *En in context, nua ch'il provediment vegn chapì surtut sco potenzialitad, sco disponibilitad generala (da servetschs medicinal), pudess ins translatar *Gesundheitsversorgung* er cun sistem da sanadad, **suandond** la versiun taliana che dovra sistema di sanità pubblica.*
(Grünert, 2008:28)

- (67) *Il plan ('Abschussplan') determinesch'ins lura, **precison**d sia relaziun culs animals ch'èn da sajettar: sajettar ils pli blers animals (pussaivels) ch'il plan pre vesa.*
(Grünert, 2008:31)
- (68) *Il Pledari Grond resguarda be l'emprim term, **inditgond** imponibladad (da taglia) e taxabilitad (da taglia) sco equivalents rumantschs.*
(Grünert, 2008:34)
- (69) *En in studi che tracta semegliadetgnas e differenzas denter dialects sin basa da datas dil Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz (AIS) oppona Goebel (2008:54s.) la Surselva all'Engiadina, **puntuond** d'ina vart la posiziun perifera dalla Surselva ord vesta dall'Italia e dall'otra vart l'aviartadad dall'Engiadina viers il spazi dalla planira dil Po [...].*
(Grünert, 2012:48)
- (70) *L'emigraziun commerciala viers Venezia ha entschiet leu ella secunda mesadad dil 16avel tschentaner; q. v. d. in tschentaner pli tard che ell'Engiadina (cf. Bundi 1988:162), **sesvilupp**ond lu era en dimensiuns pli mudestas ch'en lezza vallada.*
(Grünert, 2012:50)
- (71) ***Resumond** san ins concluder ch'ils emigrants dalla Surselva che serendevan viers sid havevan ina peisa relativamein pintga en lur regiun, e denter quels pli paucs che mavan ell'Italia formavan quels che prenda van domicil leu per menar fatschentas ina gruppa aunc pli pintga.*
(Grünert, 2012:50)
- (72) *Ina relaziun differenta ei seconstituïda cull'Engiadina: il territori ladin, convertius al protestantissem, han ils missiunaris talians bandunau ualti spert, **seconcentrond** sils territoris dil Grischun renan, nua ch'il catolicissem saveva aunc vegnir defendius.*
(Grünert, 2012:51)
- (73) *El romontschescha lu bein l'expressiun dil subject generic, **remplazzond** si culla fuorma indigena sa ed integrond il pronom subject ei, mo la frequenza dalla construcziun tradescha vinavon l'influenza dil talian.*
(Grünert, 2012:58)
- (74) *Nus discurren pia da calques, sch'in plaid romontsch slarga la semantica **s'adattond** al plaid talian, cul qual el parta ina muntada (calque semantic).*
(Grünert, 2012:67)
- (75) *Da Salò scriva pia, enstagl dad -ai ed -i, savens -adi ed -idi, en analogia cun -ada(s) ed -ida(s) ed **imitond** per part la regularitad dils particips talians che han adina il consonant dental intervocalic [...]*
(Grünert, 2012:69)

- (76) *Graziadio Isaia Ascoli che ha commentau il text el medem tom da quella revista (1880 /83:417s.) renda attent alla fontauna taliana dalla versiun sursilvana, **renviond** all'ediziun da Bini (1852) dalla Leg genda di santo Iosafat.*
(Grünert, 2012:77)
- (77) *Linder 1987:96s. presenta, **renviond** a Hilty, l'hipotesa d'in'omissiuun regulara dil pronom enclitic en in stadi precedent dil lungatg, in'atgnadad che havess schau fastitgs el diever documentau.*
(Grünert, 2012:85)
- (78) *Carli Decurtins, conventual a Mustér da 1680 tochen 1712, ha tschentau la basa dall'ovra, **publicond** all'entschatta 62 canzuns e lu, ell'ediziun da 1703, ina collecziun augmentada che cumpeglia 112 canzuns.*
(Grünert, 2012:89)
- (79) *Quei stat en cuntrast culla separaziun relativa dil sid ch'ins percorscha, **cumparegliond** la Surselva cullas autras regiuns romontschas arisguard la relaziun cuagl intschess talian.*
(Grünert, 2012:98)
- (80) *Suenter haver scret ina grammatica sursilvana (1864) s'avischina Bühler cun siu romon-sch fusionau adina dapli al ladin, **s'orientond**, tenor sia atgna declaraziun, era vid ils auters lungatgs neolatins, surtut denton vid il talian, sco quei che sias novel las e sia prosa publicistica muossan.*
(Grünert, 2012:100)
- (81) *Ordavon eis ei da distinguer denter duas gruppas d'auturs, numnadamein denter auturs talians ch'ei secasai el Grischun ed han scret per romontsch ed auturs romontschs che han stabiliu contacts da different gener cul mund da lungatg talian, **furnend** en quei connex perdetgas d'in romontsch cun emprests particulars dil talian.*
(Grünert, 2012:51)
- (82) *El Grischun saveva da Salò propi contonscher lecturs reformai **scrivend** per talian: d'ina vart eran la Bergaglia ed ina part dil Puschlav reformadas.*
(Grünert, 2012:62)
- (83) *In auter autur, Flaminio da Sale, surfa ell'applicaziun dalla regla davart il verb ella secunda posiziun, **extendend** ella a construcziuns subordinadas.*
(Grünert, 2012:83)
- (84) *Sia biografia ei ligiada stretgamein all'Italia, nua ch'il studi dalla teologia e l'instrucziun sco professor da teologia havevan menau el e nua ch'el viva dapi 1975, **mantenend** il contact cun sia regiun d'origin tras l'activitad litterara e publicistica e tras dimoras regularas sco *ńrandulinž* en in temps ch'enconuscha mo paucs randulins pli.*
(Grünert, 2012:100)

- (85) *El ha analisà datas dal Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Süd schweiz (AIS), s'inservind d'üna vart da la dialectometria per masürar sum glientschas e distanzas linguisticas chi vegnan visualisadas cartograficamaing (p. ex. Goebel 1977 e 2008) e calculond da l'otra vart la preschentscha e la distribuziun da trats linguistics aint il spazi examinà, quai chi vain vi sua li sà in cartas sinopticas ("Dichtekarten" o "Kombinationskarten"; Goebel 1990).*
(Grünert, 2013:2)
- (86) *Intant cha la dialectometria renda quint da talas relaziuns tanter lös selecziunats (**palesond** tanter oter l'ot grà da diversità chi characterisescha ils lös i'l nord dal Grischun rumantsch e da la Ladinia dolomitana visavi al talian), [...].*
(Grünert, 2013:2)
- (87) *Differentas relaziuns aint il spazi illustreschan per exaimpel ils noms da man sterans, interessants eir pel svilup istoric chi's po observar in **congualond** las datas da l'ALD cun quellas l'AIS, l'atlas linguistic da l'Italia e da la Svizra dal süd chi refletta il stadi da la lingua dals ons 1920.*
(Grünert, 2013:4)
- (88) *Pro l'ALD nu s'haja be profità da la pussibilità da controllar la transcripziun (fatta la prü ma jada d'ürant l'intervista) in **tadlond** davopro la registraziun sonora, ma bain i s'ha eir miss online las bancas da datas sonoras, creadas per chi's possa "as catapultar" tenor giavüsch in üna passascha da l'intervista, per tadlar il discuors ingio chi'd es gnüda furnida l'infuormaziun per ün tschert punct dal questunari (cf. ALD-II, tom 1:XVIII).*
(Engadinese; Grünert 2013:9)
- (89) *As **basond** süls princips da la geografia linguistica classica, ha l'ALD per böt da documentar tanter ils differents registers linguistics chi vegnan dovrats in ün lö exclusivamaing il basilect discurrü, q. v. d. quai cha'ls infuormants locals considereschon sco lur agen dialect (cf. ALD-II, tom 1:VIII.).*
(Grünert, 2013:10)
- (90) *Sün dumonda da l'exploratur ha'l lura articulà l'expressiun amo duos jadas, **separond** a la fin cleramaing ils duos elemaints [...]*
(Grünert, 2013:11)
- (91) *Merits han ils autuors da quist'ouvra eir per lur staintas da tilla render accessibla, sco ediziun stampada per ün pretsch fich favuraivel e sco corpus da datas sonoras accumpagnà dad ulteriuras infuormaziuns online, **mettond** a disposiziun da la cumünanza interessada ün instrumaint da fich gronda valor.*
(Grünert, 2013:12)
- (92) *Ils autuors mettan eir a disposiziun tuot las datas sonoras, q. v. d. cha tuot las intervistas cha'ls exploraturs han fat aint ils 217 lös tschernüts culs infuormants locals,*

- seguind** ün questiunari cun 806 dumondas per ALD-I e cun 1063 gruppas da dumondas per l'ALD-II, pon gnir tadladas.
(Grünert, 2013:3)
- (93) *Ils autuors sun consciaints cha la selecziun da quist register our da la cumpetenzza multipla dals infuormants succeda ním Wege eines sehr bewusst vollzogenen Übersetzungs-Transfersz, **partind** da las linguas da standard, il talian e/o il tudaisch.*
(Grünert, 2013:10)
- (94) *Ferton che quellas han supprimiu lur plurilinguitad, buca mo entenbucapromover las minoritads Hnguisticas, mobein **scumandond** per part schizun ils auters lungatgs ch'igl ufficial, havein nus scret en Svizra sin la bandiera nossa plurilinguitad.*
(Nay, n.d.b:33)
- (95) *En la medema mesira sco l'acceptanza ed il diever dil Rumantsch Grischun creschan p.ex. - aschia san ina resumar empau **simplificond** -, s'augmenta era sia renconuschientscha statala e cun quei il dretg dallas autoritads da duvrar e sustener quel.*
(Nay, n.d.b:39)
- (96) **Concludend** lessei aschunscher e punetuar che las tesas presentadas ein miu meini personal e vegnan formuladas per metter sin via la discussiun necessaria, cunzun en vosta dallas traetativas vegnentas dallas Combras federalas sur la revisiun digl art. 116 dalla constituiun federala.
(Nay, n.d.b:41)
- (97) *En connex cun las lavurs legislativas concernent la lescha federala davart il process civil (PCF) dals 4 da december 1947 ha il cussegl federal, **renviend** a l'art. 116 al. 2 CF, proponl da declerar ils linguatgs uffizials sco linguatgs giudizials.*
(Nay, n.d.a:14)
- (98) *Il dretg da linguas svizzer parta dal fatg ch'ils organs statals sa drizzan, **exequind** lur funcziuns, entaifer ils linguatgs uffizials da princip en illinguatg dals adressats.*
(Nay, n.d.a:13)
- (99) *La cumissiun dal cussegl dals stadis ha perö fatg ina cuntraproposta sa **referind** a l'alinea l da l'art 116 CF ed ha designà ils linguatgs naziunals sco linguatgs giudizials.*
(Nay, n.d.a:14)
- (100) **Profitond** da quellas experientschas ha el er decorà la "stiva grischuna" sin il palc dal Kongresshaus a Turitg.
(Valär, 2015:280)
- (101) *Carigiet sez scriva, **ludond** il mund muntagnard e il mund citadin: Mein ganzes Bestreben war, dem Kind in der Welt, insbesondere dem Kind in den grauen Strassen und Häusern der Stadt, etwas vom Licht und dem Glanz einer Kindheit in den Bergen zu*

vermitteln.)

(Valär, 2015:287)

- (102) *Ed ei han cantau aunc inagada "Clara notg". "Quei ei schon in adattau termagl per emprender ded ir entuorn cun la gliעד", di la mumma **mirond** da finiastra ora sch'ei neivi.*
(Sursilvan; Derungs, U., *Il Schuldau de plum*)
- (103) *E la gliעד defilava dil passapei si e gi **admirond** nies defile perpeten.*
(Sursilvan; Derungs, U., *Il Schuldau de plum*)
- (104) *Jeu vevel secapescha in hazer quet **vesend** co jeu e mes camerats secumprovavan sco termagls per affons.*
(Sursilvan; Derungs, U., *Il Schuldau de plum*)
- (105) *Igl affon sviluppescha egl e sentiment **tenend** nus enta maun.*
(Sursilvan; Derungs, U., *Il Schuldau de plum*)
- (106) *Mo tgei surstada. tut a **buffond** vegn l'onda Marionna dad esch en.*
(Sursilvan; Imboden Spescha, H., *Co mia mumma ei ida egl jester*)
- (107) *Ils affons mavan a cattar bienmaun ed ils carschi visitavan in l'auter **agurond** tut il bien per igl onn niev.*
(Sursilvan; Imboden Spescha, H., *Co mia mumma ei ida egl jester*)
- (108) *La mumma ha savens detg pli tard a nus che la sora dil bab hagi bargiu grossas larmas pervia da quei ani **vesend** che la Catrina purtava quel.*
(Sursilvan; Imboden Spescha, H., *Da pli baul Affonza*)
- (109) *Malgrà quest'enorma preschientscha da gliעד che s'adattava mo pauc per part bain perquai che bliers immigrants vegnan, sco ch'i sa mussa, mo per in temp, na sviluppan betg in grond liom cun la regiun, e van puspè per lur fatg **laschond** il post a novs esters temporars, n'ha la populaziun rumantscha betg cedì ed ha anzi mussà ditg ina tendenza da crescer tuttina.*
(Furer, 2005:27)
- (110) *Duas vischnancas (5260 abitants, 711 scolars e students) mainan dapi il 1996 resp. 2003 ina scola tras e tras bilingua rumantsch-tudestg. A Beiva (204 abitants, 22 scolars u students) finalmain vegn instrui per talian e tudestg **ignorond** totalmain il rumantsch.*
(Furer, 2005:50)
- (111) ***Cumparegliond** ils cocs da las quatter communitads linguisticas naziunalas il 1990 ed il 2000 pon ins far pliras constataziuns.*
(Furer, 2005:93)
- (112) *Malgrà quai mussa la Lumnezia ozendi in coc tudestg che nè betg pli negligibel, num-nadamain 13,9% (1990 10%), **surpassond** schizunt ils 20% en las classas da 30 a*

44 onns; era la part monolingua (8,6%) cuntanscha anc 14,1% en la classa 40-44, sa reducescha dentant a 3% en quella da 10 a 14 onns (effect da la scola!).

(Furer, 2005:103)

- (113) *Sche las cundiziuns actualas restan sco chellas èn e na sa midan betg fundamentalmain e spert, segiramain betg (**resalvond** miraculs).*

(Furer, 2005:127)

- (114) *Quai che pertutga la lingua discurrenza en scola ston ins anc tegnair quint dal suandant: **studegiend** ils resultats concernents da la dumbraziun 1990, han ins constatà chils scolars e students avevan savens inditgà betg mo la(s) lingua(s) ch'els duvravan efectivamain per communitgar en l'ambient da la scola, mabain era talas chels "mo" studegiavan.*

(Furer, 2005:137)

- (115) *Quai che pertutga percunter ils 1244 auters esters (tranter auter Portugais e Spagnols) che, **vivend** ordaiifer il Grischun, han era lezs menziunà il rumantsch, pon ins supponer che lur indicaziuns eran il bler ina malchapientscha.*

(Furer, 2005:64)

- (116) ***Prendend** l'emprim il Grischun rumantsch e tudestg ensemen, constatesch'ins ch'il rumantsch vegn chapì tant il 1992 sco era il 2003 da 42% da la populaziun concernenta.*

(Furer, 2005:70)

- (117) *Surava percunter ha reintroducì il rumantsch sco rom, e San Murezzan ha rinforzà la posiziun dal rumantsch **mantegnend** la scola tudestga.*

(Furer, 2005:80)

- (118) *Ins na po betg sclauder da princip la pussaivladad china vischnanca, **inditgond** co ch'ella sa considerescha, na prendia betg in pau sco realitad quai ch'è plitost in giavisch.*

(Furer, 2005:79)

Causality

- (119) ***Havend** el en egl de far igl emprem plaz sin la cuorsa ha el nungrazia vuliu star anavos e fatg ellas caultschas.*

(Sursilvan; Imboden Spescha, H., *Da pli baul - Casa pintga*)

Attributive and argument function

- (120) *Ella disputaziun, **basond** sillas tesas da Comander, ha denton buca mo Comander, mobein era Schlegel e quei ston ins accentuar ar gu men tau culla scartira, schegie chei capevan lezza en differenta uisa.*

(Bernhard, 2017:10)

- (121) *Ils catechissem, **cuntegnend** damondas e rispostas, eran la schinumada leyen biblia, vul gir quella Bibla che veva la pli gronda muntada, il pli bia influenza pils laics, pil pievel cumin.*
(Bernhard, 2017:13)
- (122) *Il resultat da questas stentas e pretaisas è ina cultura populara da chor ordvart ferma e dominante: A la Landi, lexsposiziun naziunala a Turitg lonn 1939, vegn la musica da chor rumantscha preschentada ad in publicum (inter)naziunal sco "la veritabla purtadra da la cultura musicala en il Grischun", e Hans Erni, il "bab da la chanzun rumantscha", lauda ils Rumantschs sco "pievel **cantond** per excellenza"*
(Decurtins, 2018:1)
- (123) *Ed els renvieschan a leffect **unifitgond** e educativ dal chant tradiziunal cuminaivel che vegnia pli e pli stgatschà dal chant instituziunalisà da chor.*
(Decurtins, 2018:10)

FRIULAN

Circumstance / Instrument / Manner

- (124) ***Tabaiant** cun Stefano Marotta e Roberto Russo, nígraphic designersz udinês di talent, bisugne ricrodisi.*
(Adami, E., *La tecnologjie e devente cjalde: la creativitat di Marotta & Russo*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (125) ***Saltant** fûr de parêt, la risulte e sarà plui materiche, vicine ae sculpture.*
(Adami, E., *La tecnologjie e devente cjalde: la creativitat di Marotta & Russo*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (126) *"La idee mi è vignude **scoltant** il program Rai Radio 3 Scienza di Filippo Pagan" al conte il condutôr "o ai pensât che al sarès stât biel fânt un simil par furlan.*
(Angeli, F., *Nol è dut fum tai voi... grignei di sience par furlan*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (127) *30 pontadis di 30 minûts ognidune "La durade juste par frontâ in maniere serie, ma no masse pesante, i argoments **lassant** ancje il timp pes telefonadis dal public" al dês Paolo Corelli.*
(Angeli, F., *Nol è dut fum tai voi... grignei di sience par furlan*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (128) *Par savêlu, e par leilu in marilenghe, cumò al baste lâ a dâ un cuc sul sît regionâl dal OSMER (www.meteo.fvg.it) e **fracant** su la vôs "fur" si cjamin lis previsionis dal timp par furlan.*
(Bressan, S., *Il cîl parsore il Friûl*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)

- (129) *Il president de Conseu, il catalan Aureli Argemí, al à viert lis voris **afermant** che lis Istituzions internazionâls a àn di diventâ un pont di riferiment indipendent, **disvilupant, difindint e esercitant** i dirits umans individuâi, personâi e coletîfs dai popui, pe convivence e pe pâs.*
(Corraïne, D., *Nazions cence stât e istituzions internazionâls*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (130) *Il catalan Josep Xercavinis al à tratât de situazion e prospetivis de pussibile riforme des istituzions internazionâls, **tornant** a bati sul fat che chestis a son coerentis cu lis volontâts dai Stâts e pôc disponibilis a molâ in mert aes esigjencis dai popui se no ur vignarà contraponude la fuarce des organizacions de societât civîl.*
(Corraïne, D., *Nazions cence stât e istituzions internazionâls*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (131) *Alessandra Burelli, segretarie de socie dal 2002, e vuide la Patrie dal Friûl te vite dal sodalizi, **scomençant** a mutivâ il parcè di un apontament anuâl gjeneralist.*
(Lanfrit, A., *Science e tecnologie furlanis: un corpus in salût*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (132) *I francs, jentrâts a Cividât, si son sustâts **cjalant** chês glesiis e chês scritis che a olsavin preâ Diu intune lenghe pagane e cun preieris diviersis di chês di Rome come che al voleve Carli il Grant.*
(Nazzi, F., *Il "missus dominicus" Paulin di Aquilee*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (133) *Il "fave votis" si è studât come un paveri fumant, **lassant** sbrendui ecuivocs dificii di decifrà anje pal diu dai Francs.*
(Nazzi, F., *Il "missus dominicus" Paulin di Aquilee*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (134) *Cun di plui, a son stâts presentâts une vore di emendaments sedi par diluîle in mò di plui, **rindint** in pratiche inutil il test, sedi par cirî di mendâ lis tantis pecjis che a àn indebulît la prime version: par esempli, a son in vore tratativis frenetichis par cirî di tornâ a meti in leç la inversion de opzion pal insegnament de lenghe furlane, ven a stâi, la pussibilitât par duçj di podê rinunciâ al insegnament daûr di une declarazion esplicite di contrarietât.*
(Romanini, C., *E tache la Via Crucis... ma al è za dut fer*, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (135) ***Aderint** al Proget internazionâl ECCA "European Charter Classroom Activities" (ECCA) puartt indenat dal NPD (Network Promoting Language Diversity), nô arlêfs di 2A o vin vude la ocasion de resonâ su la nestre Marilenghe, **definint** prime quale che e je, dulâ che le fenelìn, cui che nus e à insegnade, se a scuele le podìn doprâ, cun cui e cuant, ma soledut **considerant** ce che e rapresente par nô e se o calcolìn che e sedi in pericul.*
(Marilenghe: *la fuarce di ognidun di nô*, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)

- (136) *Pûr trop une zornade Mandi, **fevelant** cuntun amî, si visà che a vevin scomençt a sparî no dome cualchi persone di s cognossince, ma adiriture fameis interiis.*
(*Marilenghe: la fuarce di ognidun di nô, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (137) *Ancje se al jere cetant intimorît al decidè di jentr e al cjatà un strion, che i fevelà **disint**: "Ten cheste spade, ti coventarà par copâ il zigant".*
(*Liendis furlanis inventadis, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (138) *Dut un colp in chel pont al colà un clap dal cjistiel e al colpì il cjarut **ribaltant** dut il fier e **sdrumant** la place intierie.*
(*Liendis furlanis inventadis, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (139) *Il zovin no rivave a sveâsi parcè che cheste femine a lave indenant a tabaiâ, **disint** che a jere une sante clamade Agnês.*
(*Liendis furlanis inventadis, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (140) *La scuele secondarie di prin grât "Gjen A. Cantore" e à proponût ai students l'iniziativa de riduzion de plastiche, **domandant** ai fruts di puartâ, ogni vinars, una merinde cence la confezion in plastiche.*
(*Merinde cence plastiche ta scuele "Gen. A. Cantore", retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (141) *A chêt pont lis feminis a tornavin a cjase **puartant** la blancjarie in muel.*
(*Mistîrs di une volte: lis lavenderis, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
*Arianna e jere nassude a Flum ai 18 di Avrîl dal 1933, e tal 1943 e veve scugnût trasferîsi cun la numerose famee a Sant Denêl, **vignint** a stâ intune cjase che e ancjemò vuê e puarte su la façade une targhe in memorie.*
(*Let par voaltris: "Una bambina ad Auschwitz" di Arianna Szörényi, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (142) *La stesse robe e je capitade, **miscliçant** altris dôs soluzions similis a chês di prime.*
(*Laboratori di chimiche...cul sindic!, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (143) *Il prin panel, fat da Giulia di Bernardo, Giulia Franzoso, Sofia Infanti e Eric di Lenarda **doprant** il blanc, il turchin e il blu, al rapresente la inocence dai fruts, la lôr energjie, il lôr entusiasim.*
(*LArbul di Nadâl in place, retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (144) *Par pandi al miôr lis emozions e la energjie di chest cjant si sin impegnâts une vore, sedi dal pont di viste vocâl (in fuarce de partecipazion di Elettra, Cristian e Nicola tant che vôs solistis) sedi te realizazion di une coreografie ninine **doprant** ancje pon pon blancs e neri.*
(*Musiche di squadre al Festival dai "Fruts furlans", retrieved from Une rêt di amîs*)
- (145) *La sfide e je stade grande: o vevin di montâ sù suntun palc prestigjôs, superâ la prove denant di una jurie di esperts, riv a entusiasmâ un public di cuasi 500 personis e, tal*

- timp stes, contribuî par mieç dal cjant ae valorizazion de nestre lenghe **puartant** in alt il spirt dal Friûl (cemût che e pant, a un ciert pont, ancje la cjançon...)*
(Musiche di squadre al Festival dai "Fruts furlans", retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (146) *La nestre cjançon no je risultade ch vincidore ma cheste esperience nus è coventade par preseâ simpri di plui il podê de musiche: la musiche che e met dongje, che nus fâs cressi, che nus miore, **regalant** ogni volte emozions unichis.*
(Musiche di squadre al Festival dai "Fruts furlans", retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (147) *Si à cjapât spont de presince sul teritori de Associazion culturâl "Un grup di amis" che si ocupe de valorizazion des tradizions, in particolâr **realizant** la Sacre Raprezentazion su lis culinîs.*
(A spas par Cicunins, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (148) *A prepararan lôr li domandis e a registrarán lis rispuestis, **fasint** ancje, salacor, i confronts cul lavâr teatrâl che o stin preparant pe primevere e che aromai al je un apontament fis de scuelute.*
(A spas par Cicunins, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (149) *Ogni joibe cul preside j lavoravin **cercjant** poesiis, articui di gjornâl, fotografiis e cjançons come "Torpedo blu" e "La ballata dei Cerutti", che dopo j cjantavin fin a sgosâsi cun lui, **ridint, çant** ma ancje **imparant**.*
(Cree il lunari, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (150) *La opare che daûr dal Arcivescul di Gurize Francesc Borgia al jere fin al an 1925 lunic manuâl par scampanotâ lis cjampanis des glesiis daûr dai numars in Europe (cf. Mercina 1926, 2), lautôr le scrivè a 75 agns, viers la fin de sô vite, **dedicantsi** cuntune grande passion ae art des cjampanis.*
(Bizjak, 2017:110)
- (151) *Cul consei dai scampanotadôrs gurizans inte traduzion dal volum di Mercina e ven doprade la variante batocj, cun dut che chei dai teritoris di Palme e Udin a insistin sul banducel o batecul, **zontant** adiriture une cuarte variante, martiel, che no je registrade cun chest valôr semantic in nissun vocabolari dit parsore.*
(Bizjak, 2017:115)
- (152) *I scampanotadôrs, chei des dôs bandis dal confîn, al contrari, a fasin cheste distinzion **doprant** il lôr zergon, in maniere spontanee e coerente, parcè che ur ven, naturâl, dal subcussient.*
(Bizjak, 2017:118)
- (153) *"Par rindisi la vore plui facile, cierts scampanotadôrs a lein i batocjs ai tràfs di sostegn, **lassant** une distance piçulute tra la bale e la sacume, [...]"*
(Bizjak, 2017:119)

- (154) *Biel fevelant de persone che e prodûs lis cjampanis, il stes autôr al dopre cualchi volte la variante fondidôr e cualchi volte cjampanâr.*
(Bizjak, 2017:120)
- (155) *Ancje il FSS (Brecej 2005, L. butice e butize, 87) nus al conferme, **disint** che dutis dôs lis variantis slovenis a corispuindin al sememe di "grues baston che si pues doprâlu ancje tant che une arme", **ricuardant** lesempli vivarôs dal sproc Butice stor pravice! ("Che le mazze portino la giustizia!"), pronunziât dai ribei tulminots in timp des rivoltis de Ete di Mieç.*
(Bizjak, 2017:121)
- (156) *E lôr, di sigûr, no àn confermât la siele di cierts lessemis, massime chei gurizans, **propoint** plui prest sinonims carateristics de fevele furlane centrâl, in cualchi câs sporadic invezit a àn metût fûr come just un tierç lesseme.*
(Bizjak, 2017:112)
- (157) *"**Compoint** la scjalute bisugne tignî cont ancje de abilitât e capacitât dai scampanotadôrs"*
(Bizjak, 2017:113)
- (158) ***Tradusint**, par cuintri, il titul dal cjapitul I, Pritrkavanje častno opravilo (Mercina 1926, 14), il tradutôr par furlan al dopre ancje il verp sostantivât, **disint** "Il scampanotâ, une vore nobile" (Bizjak 2016, 156), diviers dal tradutôr par talian che si zove in chest câs di une descrizion plui lungje, midiant dal verp e sostantîf, "Suonare le campane: un gesto degno d'onore" (Ghiretti 2016, 220).*
(Bizjak, 2017:118)
- (159) ***Cirint** sot il leme dal sostantîf talian campanaro, l'utent dal GDBTF al cjate la esplicazion "intune glesie o intun convent, cui che al sune lis cjampanis" e il sinonim furlan proponût al è cjampanâr.*
(Bizjak, 2017:118)
- (160) *Cun di plui, il snoj al met in evidence la pussibilitât che la antighe forme slovene dialetâl buta ("om cuntun cjâf grues") e dute une schirie di peraulis slovenis modernis di chê stesse lidrîs **pandint** la idee di "stupiditât" (butelj, butec, butast, butalci e v.i.), a sedin colegadis cul verp sloven butati ("pocâ") e cul rus dialetâl butét ("ingrassâ").*
(Bizjak, 2017:121)
- (161) *Però **vierzint** il sît Campana su la plateforme wikipedia (sottitul Le dimensioni, il suono e la nota) o lein la propueste che il profîl de cjampane al puarti il non di "sagoma" e il non al ven metût tra virgolutis.*
(Bizjak, 2017:123)
- (162) *Lis lenghis a son une des carateristichis che a definissin une comunitât, **esprimint** e*

- rinfuarçant** la sô identitât culturâl.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (163) Par resons politichis, militârs e economicis, ciertis lenghis si son slargjadis in zonis grandis dal mont, **deventant** lenghis internazionâls, che al vûl dî che a son feveladis a larc e imparadis tant che lenghis francjis in dut il mont.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (164) A puedin fâlu **incressint** la cussience de lôr esistence dentri dal Païs e **adotant** un model di coesistenza là che la diversitât linguistiche e devente l'argument centrâl.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (165) Il sisteme scolastic al à di combati chescj prejudizis e al à di impegnâsi intune impostazion inclusive di dutis lis lenghis, **evidenziant** il lôr valôr e la lôr ricjece.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (166) L'obietf al è ancje chel di dâur la oportunitât di disvilupâ lis lôr competencis linguisticis midiant de leture di notiziis e di libris, **scoltant** cjançons, **visionant** oparis teatrâls o cinematografichis, o midiant de lôr stesse partecipazion ae profession di gjornaliscj, di regjiscj e di interpretis.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (167) Par esempi, un Stât al pues sielzi di garantî l'aprendiment di dutis o dome di cualchi materie scolastiche **doprant** la lenghe minoritarie, o di imparâle tant che materie scolastiche.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (168) La leç dal 2005 e oblee il Stât polac a proviodi par che chescj dirits a sedin esercitâts te pratiche, **specificant** lis cundizions di aplicazion.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (169) L'insegnant al presente une descrizion curte di dutis lis lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis feveladis intal Stât in conformitât cu la Cjarte, **doprant** dâts statistics cjapâts di censiments, o altris dâts uficiâi statâi/regjonâi.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (170) La diversitât linguistiche e je stade tal centri di tancj dibatiments, cualchi volte fondâts su prejudizis e mîts che, **tacant** dal sisteme de istruzion, si à di judâ a superâ.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (171) Passâ dal paisaç al audiopaisaç (o ben, identificâ lis lenghis daûr di cemût che "a sunin", **doprant** il materiâl registrât)
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (172) **Cjalant** lis fotografiis, sono presintis intai segnâi bilengâi dutis lis lenghis elencadis tant che minoritariis?
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)

- (173) *Creazion di un ornament o di une altre opare di art **doprant** tocs di tescj
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (174) ***Tignint** cont dal fat che i sistemis educatîfs in Europe a son diferents e che a vivin ancje intun procès continui di cambiament, lis ativitâts che si cjatin in cheste publicazion a son stadis pensadis par permeti l'adatament ai contescj dai singui Paîs.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (175) *La Svuiszare si je disvilupade tal timp e in maniere graduâl dal 1291 a vuê, **partint** di une aleance di trê Cjantons par rivâ a une confederazion une vore decentralizade di 26 Cjantons.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (176) ***Tignint** iniment che a son une vore pocjîs lis localitâts dulà che lis minorancis a tocjin la cuote dal 20%, e dome la minorance lituane e rapresente une maiorance intune uniche e piçule aree municipâl, al devente plui clâr parcè che lesercitâ i dirits contignûts inte suaze legâl al è limitât di problemis pratics.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (177) ***Tignint** iniment la ratificazion de Cjarte e i contignûts de Leç su lis minorancis, al è clâr che di un pont di viste legâl lis lenghis di minorance a son tratadis tant che une part impuartante e di valôr de ereditât culturâl polache.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (178) ***Tignint** cont dai diviers sistemis di istruzion in Europe, il consei al è che ogni scuele/regjon e adati lis ativitâts ai diviers nivei di istruzion in maniere flessibile.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (179) *Vierzi une discussion di grup sul presint e sul futûr des lenghis minoritariis, **metint** tal centri dal dibatiment il rûl dai gnûfs locutôrs
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (180) *Presentazion dal argument, brainstorming su la trasmission di messaçs in forme orâl, scrite o cui segns, cognossi personalitâts, leterature, cines associâts cu lis lenghis dai segns, **sclarint** in classe il significât di bilengâl/multilengâl in chest contest.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)*
- (181) *Prime di publicâle, leditôr al à fat un esat studi filologicj, **passant** ducj i 7 manuscrits dal fonz Jop, disponibil li de Biblioteche Civiche "V. Jop" di Udin, che nus testimonein la elaborazion fate dal poete, che i lavorà parsore dal 1864 al 1868.
(Cadorini, 2009:223)*
- (182) *Chi daûr o publichi pe prime volte il sonet, **doprant** la redazion Aa cun in note chês dôs variants che si cjatin inte redazion A.
(Cadorini, 2009:233)*

- (183) **Scrutinant** il furlan, o viodìn che lis vocâls tonichis si mudin in maniere une vore sistematiche cence considerâ se la silabe e je vierte o sierade (ruede, cueste, cfr. lat. rota, costa).
(Cadorini, 2018:14)
- (184) Une version inzornade dal Grant dizionari, che e permet la consultazion ancje **domandant** la peraule furlane, e je chê intai Dizionaris furlans (Cescje 2013).
(Cadorini, 2018:19)
- (185) Tal sîl si cjatin ancje un dizionari dai sinonims e dai contraris e un formari, che al permet di burî fûr i paradigms morfologjics **partint** di cualsisei forme di une peraule.
(Cadorini, 2018:19)
- (186) Di fat, intal compit di descrivi une schirie di vignetis che, une daûr chê altre, a fasin sù une conte, il pazient al met sot pression dutis lis sôs cognossincis gramaticâls, **mostrant** problemis che magari intun test seletîf no vegnin fûr.
(Tavano, 2002:184)
- (187) Paradis (2001), **studiant** 132 câs di afasie bilengâl presentâts inte leterature, e Fabbro Frau (2001), **studiant** 20 câs di afasie bilengâl furlan-talian, a àn verificât che pôc plui dal 60% al mostre un recupar paralêl, ator dal 20% un recupar diferenziâl de prime lenghe (la seconde e je plui ruvinade) e ator dal 15% un recupar diferenziâl de seconde lenghe (cun plui dams da la prime).
(Tavano, 2002:185)
- (188) L'isotop, di durade une vore curte (duncje no pericolôs pe salût dal pazient), al bute fûr une vore di positrons che, **cjatant** i eletrons, si anulin emetint rais gamma, registrâts di un computer: da cheste regjistrazion e ven fûr limagjin.
(Tavano, 2002:189)
- (189) I autôrs a discutin i doi concets su la base dai dâts di pazients afasics, **rivant** a la conclusion che i sistemis che a controlin la siele des peraulis a son neurofunzionalmentri diviers di chei che a controlin la siele de lenghe, seont il model proponût di Paradis (1980).
(Tavano, 2002:190)
- (190) La paziente e mostre une dissociazion sorprendente tra la L1 (Veronês) e la L2 (Talian), **recuperant** dome la L2 che e veve imparât a scuele par pôc timp di frute e no veve mai doprât par comunicâ (recupar paradossâl des lenghis).
(Tavano, 2002:191)
- (191) Par esempi, strukturis sotcorticâls si ativin insiemit cun areis corticâls, **mostrant** un complès sisteme di relacions.
(Tavano, 2002:192)

- (192) *E dongje dai experiments di nature, come che il câs di Paradis al insegne, Fabbro al riten impuartant svilupâ modei neurofunzionâi basâts su dâts clinics che a permetin di avanzâ te ricercje, ancje **proviodont** la existence di patologjiis particolârs che i sta a la cliniche cjatâ e documentâ.*
(Tavano, 2002:192)
- (193) *La istituzion regionâl e je clamade a jessi protagoniste di chest percors, **stanziant** i fonts che a coventin par meti in vore une politiche linguistiche zovevule, ma ancje **creant** un contest propositîf e positîf.*
(Retrieved from *La tutele de lenghe furlane: un strument di coesion sociâl*, retrieved from *ATS de 2e Conference regionâl di verifiche e di propueste su la atuaziunde Leç regionâl 29/2007*)
- (194) *Se, però, si ten presint che la forme "bâr", che e fâs stât su la pronuncie dal furlan centrâl, e à za une cierte tradizion e che, cun di plui, no je une peraule cuntune frecuece di ûs alte te lenghe scrite (Burelli/Miculan 2002), **sacrificant** la coerence ae praticitât si podarès ancje pensâ di ameti dutis dôs lis soluzions.*
(Roseano, 2015:82)
- (195) *Si scomence **fasint** un struc des diferencis che a son, tra i dialets dal furlan, in merit ae lungjece de vocâl toniche denant di //.*
(Roseano, 2015:77)
- (196) *Ai 3 di Jugn i austriacs e i cravuats a son diventâts 3.400, a jentrin a For Disot bandonât e a tachin a fiscâ il paîs, **cirint** vin, cjar e robis di robâ.*
(Varutti, 2018:381)
- (197) *A jentravin tes buteghis dai paîs cu la sclope pontade, a domandavin ce che a volevin e dopo a lavin vie, **disint**: "Pacherà Garibaldo".*
(Varutti, 2018:386)
- (198) *Une zornade intant cal lave ator pai cjamps, **butant** el voli partiare al viot un gran di blave, dut content lu cjape su e lu met te sachete.*
(Un gran (chicco))
- (199) *A un cert pont al rive in tun pais e **pasant** denant de buteghe dal pizzighèt al viot che e stan preparant par un funeral, si ferme e al domande*
(Un gran (chicco))
- (200) *Lui le cjale un nenen di stuar, al ringrazie e al va, **pensant** tra se e se -: e tu frute, no tu fasis par me.*
(Une picjule sturiute)

Causality

- (201) **Frequentant** il Liceu di Gurize al sune il piano ducj i dîs, ma la sô ativitât favoride al è il cjant liturgjic.
(Bizjak, 2017:110)
- (202) Ogni tant, par vie di insigurece, lautôr nol saveve cemût sielzi il lesseme furlan che al varès coventât miôr; **esitant** jenfri lis soluzions proponudis dai scampanotadôrs gurizans e chês cjatadis tai vocabolaris.¹⁷⁶
(Bizjak, 2017:112)
- (203) Ma l'ûs dal sloven butica cun chest sememe al è metût al secont puest, come forme arcaiche (cf. sazu 1994, 78), il so prin sememe **jessint** chel di "palla, testa".
(Bizjak, 2017:121)
- (204) Il furlan e il sloven tal Gurizan **jessint stadis** di secui dôs lenghis tacadis, no nus da di maravee che i furlanofons gurizans a vedin acetât il lesseme sloven par chest component.
(Bizjak, 2017:121)
- (205) **Jessint** un Stât cuntun nivel alt di atenzion, la Spagne e varès di sigurâ l'adempiment dai siei oblics e ancje che lis sfidis a sedin stadis frontadis inte maniere juste.
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regionâls o minoritariis)
- (206) Udin, liberade dai rivoluzionaris mazinians, e à durât fin ai 22 di Avrîl, dopo i cravuats e i austriacs dal gjenerâl e cont Laval Nugent von Westmeath, cui siei canons, le àn vude vinte, **vignint** sù dai Cjasâi di Baldassarie, fûr dal borc di Aquilee.
(Varutti, 2018:379)

Attributive function

- (207) Il "fave votis" si è studât come un paveri **fumant**, lassant sbrendui ecuivocs dificii di decifrà ancje pal diu dai Francs.
(Nazzi, F., Il "missus dominicus" Paulin di Aquilee, retrieved from *La Patrie dal Friûl*)
- (208) "Cul fin di otignî une sieradure plui bieie e plui facile dal toc di scampanotament i covente graduementri ridot il slanç de cjampane **sunant**"
(Bizjak, 2017:117)
- (209) Lis associazions di scampanotadôrs dal Friûl a metin scuasit dutis lis informazions sui sîts e depliants par talian, ma un talian cun tancj lessemis regionâi dentri, ven a stâi furlanisims, soledut jenfri dai lessemis **riferintsi** ai nons di elements constitutîfs de cjampane.
(Bizjak, 2017:111)

¹⁷⁶This example, as well as (206) and (213) could also be interpreted as circumstantial/modal.

- (210) *Il lesseme sloven standard corispondent, zvonik, al à ancje un sinonim arcaic, turen, di chê stesse origin che la variante furlane tor, **partignint** però al registri popolâr.*
(Bizjak, 2017:114)
- (211) *A cognossin personis **doprant** la lenghe dai segns*
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (212) *Chel altri esempli naturâl al è chel de mobilitât, ven a stâi dal numar **cressint** di personis che si movin par lavorâ e che a vivin intun altri teritori.*
(Cjarte europeane des lenghis regjonâls o minoritariis)
- (213) *La fase acute e je une vore dinamiche, **presentant** ancje fenomens di mutisim.*
(Tavano, 2002:190)

Gerundival progressive periphrasis

- (214) *Cualchi mê s indaûr , siôr Pieri al **stave mostrant** a sô fie Anute il so biel dizionari di Furlan, un autentic Jacop Pirona, daûr dal prin studiôs furlan che al à rivât a meti dongje dutis lis peraulis de lenghe furlan intun vocabolari.*
(Marilenghe: la fuarce di ognidun di nô, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (215) *Il prin di chescj al à metût in lûs i eletrons dai atoms di cualchi element intant che a **stavin saltant** di un scus electronic a un altri.*
(Laboratori di chimiche...cul sindic!, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (216) *Une nature che i **stin maltratant** e che nus **stâ mandant** segnus une vore fuarts.*
(L'Arbul di Nadâl in place, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (217) *A prepararan lôr li domandis e a registrara ma ancje imparant lis respuestis, fasint ancje, salacor, i confronts cul lavôr teatrâl che o **stin preparant** pe primevere e che aromai al je un apontament fis de scuelute.*
(A spas par Cicunins, retrieved from *Une rêt di amîs*)
- (218) *A un cert pont al rive in tun pais e pasant denant de buteghe dal pizzighèt al viot che e **stan preparant** par un funeral, si ferme e al domande*
(Un gran (chicco))
- (219) *TI **STAN ROBANT TAL'ORT!***
(Un gran (chicco))
- (220) *El plevan al **stave preparant** dut, par fa in mut che al sedi dut pront pe grande messe di resurezion dal Signor!*
(Vigni Creato Spiritus)

Diachro corpus

SWISS ROMANSH

Circumstance / Instrument / Manner

- (1) *Et che schdegn & dolor vegneinza à gir 20 che haigi Christus noss Signur & derschader, cura ch' el vezza la sia purschealla ... à gliu consacrada & ligida agl seu honnur, vâ con in auter, & qual peina quitainza nus che schmanatschi à simil personas che rompon la legg. S. Hieronimus, **tschantschond** d' in Diacon, il qual haueua surmenau in Mongia, vschia gil al Sabin: Rogo quantum crimen est, ubi stuprum & adulterium parum est?*
(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. Curt Mossament)
- (2) *[...] à gl' in & gl' auter da si relegrar dalla vossa conuersioun, & **relegrond** possi per quell respect offerir al noss creatur l' offici della Messa.*
(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. Curt Mossament)
- (3) *Ilz Raffaders dellas purscheallas ò dallas veuuas ò Diaconessas (schi bain consenghient) las qualas si saran consacradas, ... & benedidas à Deu, **faschend** in tottauia grand pughiau, determinainza ... ò schezzagianza ch' els siã castigiaus per peina della testa, perche non solettameng, si fâ firstmoch alla gliued, ma si fâ in grand gspott agl 10 sez Deu omnipoteint, & Soing Ciprian aber vischin als Apostels, entil prim codisch Epist.*
(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. Curt Mossament)
- (4) *ils quals si han schonscheu con Caluin, Lutter, Pacimontan, **mettend** ora sott il baung & schgirezia in glisch & aueartameng gl' Euangeli, & han confessau, ch' els sian ritirau dalla Baselgia nō viseula, alla viseula, che 30 renascheua [...]*
(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. Curt Mossament)

Causality

- (5) *Et tras quei nus eschen culpans di ubedir con tutt flis, et la tiers commanda che nus douein reconoscher niun auter Deu che el, et douein era dar hunur alla santa Crusch; et sanghiadads, et allas santas figiras, perche **hauond** quellas nus honorein quels, ils quals vegnen representaus, per quellas figiras, et sanghiadads, quel è noss Segnor, nossa donna, et auters sants.*
(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. Curt Mossament)
- (6) *La prima, chi è quell, che mai entin la primitiua Baselgia (la quala **confessond**, ear els sez) hà mossau la schobradad dil Euangeli, & soueinter hauer preu gl' orden da Sacerdot, soueinter gl' orden 30 haigi preu donna, oder ch' haigi defendeu che si possi conuegneuelmeng prender, specialmeng ina purschealla che haigi il vud, & consacrada à Deu?*
(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. Curt Mossament)
- (7) *Sina quei che nus intelligeien, che nus hauein da besegns da ricorer sauenz al' agitt de Deu, e dels saings: **essend** nus entin mez dels inimigs viseuels et inviseuels, et che nus*

doueïn bigga soletameng dourar l' arma della oratiõ entin l' intschiata dellas nossas ouras, ma che nus doueïn far il medesim nel passar del teimps, et entil fin.

(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. *Curt Mossament*)

- (8) *La seconda dubitatioü **essend** la schobradad dil Euägeli cuzzada per zuquaunt teimps, in qual teimp [...]*

(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. *Curt Mossament*)

- (9) ***Essend** aug per schriuer pli ghiausas quellas pli fearmas, sch' o ieu vegn à sauer che questas vi sian stadas ghiaras.*

(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. *Curt Mossament*)

- (10) *La pli da vos dubitaioun non **potend** els easser tschearts, dalla lur cretta, 40 sch' non aung tschearts, dalla lur cretta, sch'non aung tschearts, - che quels codischs, dals quals ghiaua ils artichels, della cretta, sian canonigs oder soings*

(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. *Curt Mossament*)

- (11) *quest è, la dreggia strada dil salid, sina quegl ch' in questa guisa, **hauend** compleneu quest continuo & perpettan gareggiamaint, dal 15 qual nigina ghiausa entil tott il mond, mi pò easser ne pli ghiara, ne pli desidrata, contaunschis quel ventireuel & alleger gi, entil qual sij conuegneuel [...]*

(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. *Curt Mossament*)

The continuous periphrasis

- (12) *Sch' à questas ghiausas rispondan con las lur insennas, si mossan ... talpas, & fann adaiert à tott il mond, tott à quellas ghiausas, las qualas **vann strologand** & infenschend della mutatioun ò midada della religioun ... catolica, & schobradat dil Euangeli*

(Calvenzano, Gion Antoni. 1611. *Curt Mossament*)

FRIULAN

Circumstance / Instrument / Manner

- (13) *Chel tic e toc, cu conte ogni moment | ju pass, che il timp misure in nestri dan, | e veloz **trapassand** dal mes a lan, cun chei pass nus condûs al monument.*

(Ermes di Colloredo, *Chel tic e toc, cu conte ogni moment*)

- (14) *Polimie, è grand ecess di crudeltat | A volemi contindi cun rigor, | Che nè manco esalà puessi lardor | **Chiantand** par esaltà la to beltat.*

(Ermes di Colloredo, *Polimie, è grand ecess di crudeltat*)

The continuous periphrasis

- (15) *Chiante il vilan, e in fetis **va tajant** lu dur teren cui braz e cul versor*

(Ermes di Colloredo, *Chiante il vilan, e in fetis vâ tajant*)

- (16) *Chiante il bëolc, e mentri v`a pascint la freschie jarbe lu cornut arment*
(Ernes di Colloredo, *Chiante il vilan, e in fetis v`a tajant*)

Appendix

A THE INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE TEST

Angaben zur Person

Geschlecht: Männlich Weiblich

Geburtsdag
gg/mm/aaaa

Welcher SPRACHE sprichst du? und auf welchem Niveau von 1 bis 5? Mit 1 bezeichnen wir elementare Sprachkompetenz, mit 5 bezeichnen wir höhere Sprachkompetenz.

Sprache 1	1	2	3	4	5
Sprechen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Schreiben	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Verstehen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hören	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Weitere Sprachen

Welcher Sprache sprichst du zu Hause?

Welcher Sprache sprichst du mit deinen Freunden?

WEITER

Figure A.1: Initial questionnaire of the test in German

NOME COGNOME _____

GENERE M F DATA DI NASCITA _____

Quali LINGUE conosci? e a quale livello da 1 a 5? Con 1 si indica competenza elementare, con 5 livello superiore/madrelingua per parlato, lettura, scrittura e comprensione su ascolto.

LINGUA 1 _____

Parlato	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Scrittura	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Comprensione	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Ascolto	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

LINGUA 2 _____

Parlato	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Scrittura	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Comprensione	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Ascolto	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

LINGUA 3 _____

Parlato	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Scrittura	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Comprensione	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Ascolto	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

LINGUA 4 _____

Parlato	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Scrittura	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Comprensione	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Ascolto	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

LINGUA 5 _____

Parlato	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Scrittura	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Comprensione	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Ascolto	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

Quale/i lingua/e utilizzi in casa? _____

Quale/i lingua/e utilizzi per comunicare con gli amici? _____

Figure A.2: The initial questionnaire of the Friulan and Ladin test

B LADIN TEST

(list of items along with the English translation)

1. Mangiando in un ristorante stellato ho scoperto combinazioni del tutto nuove.
By eating in a starred restaurant I discovered brand new combinations
2. Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata.
Being on a diet, I cannot eat chocolate
3. Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina.
Every morning I go to work by singing at the top of my lungs in my car
4. Lavando i piatti ho rotto la mia tazza preferita.
By washing the dishes I broke my favorite cup
5. Sono caduto guidando la bici e ho rotto il polso.
I fell while riding my bike and I broke my wrist
6. Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento.
I dirtied my pants by sitting on the ground
7. Ridendo e scherzando sono già le 3 di notte!
Laughing and joking, it is already 3am.
8. Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca.
'By finishing work late every day, I never have time to go to the bank
9. Avremmo potuto finire molto prima unendo le forze.
We couldve finished much earlier by joining our forces
10. Leggendo il giornale sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi.
By reading the journal, I came across Valentino Rossi's big victory
11. Sto mangiando un pezzo di torta.
I am eating a piece of cake
12. Stavo andando in bici quando ha cominciato a piovere.
I was riding my bike when it started raining

C FRIULAN TEST

Test sulla lingua friulana

Tradurre le seguenti frasi dall'italiano al friulano.

1. Leggendo il giornale, sono venuto a conoscenza della grande vittoria di Valentino Rossi.

2. Ti ho visto arrivare.

3. Pensavo che saresti partito domani.

4. Ogni mattina vado al lavoro cantando a squarciagola in macchina.

5. Ridendo e scherzando, sono già le 3 di notte!

6. Stavo guardando la televisione quando ho sentito un rumore sospetto.

7. Vedo che stai leggendo Italo Calvino, il mio autore preferito!

8. Ho sporcato i pantaloni sedendomi sul pavimento.

9. Essendo a dieta, non posso mangiare la cioccolata.

10. Vincere un Oscar è il sogno di ogni attore.

11. Ogni pomeriggio guardo i ragazzi giocare dal mio balcone.

12. Finendo di lavorare tardi tutti i giorni, non ho mai tempo di andare in banca.

AVANTI

Figure C.1: The complete form of the Friulan test

D ROMANSH TEST

Übersetzungstest

Übersetze die folgenden Sätze auf Deutsch ins Bündnerromanische

1. Die Zeitung lesend, erfuhr ich von Valentino Rossis großem Sieg.

2. Ich habe dich kommen sehen.

3. Ich dachte, du würdest morgen abfahren.

4. Jeden Morgen fahre ich lauthals singend im Auto zur Arbeit.

5. Lachend und scherzend kamen wir nach Rom!

6. Ich war am Fernsehen, als ich ein verdächtiges Geräusch hörte.

7. Ich sehe, du liest gerade Italo Calvino, meinen Lieblingsautor!

8. Weil ich mich auf den Boden hinsetzte, machte ich mir die Hose schmutzig.

9. Da ich auf Diät bin, darf ich keine Schokolade essen.

10. Einen Oscar zu gewinnen ist der Traum eines jeden Schauspielers.

11. Jeden Nachmittag beobachte ich die Kindern beim Spielen von meinem Balkon.

12. Da ich jeden Tag bis spät arbeite, habe ich nie die Zeit, zur Bank zu gehen.

WEITER

Figure D.1: The complete form of the Romansh test

