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The expression of additivity in the Alps:

German *auch*, Italian *anche*

and their counterparts in Gardenese Ladin

Ermenegildo Bidese, Jan Casalicchio, Manuela C. Moroni,
Alessandro Parenti

Abstract: Additive particles (e.g. English *also*) usually operate on a constituent ('domain of association') signaling that it has to be added to a list of items already introduced in the context or inferable. In addition, they can also exhibit a more grammatical function acting as a focused constituent itself or a modal particle. In the present contribution, we aim to provide a classification of the usage patterns and main grammatical functions of the additive item *also* in the standard languages spoken in the alpine region of Trentino-South Tyrol, i.e. German (*auch*) and Italian (*anche*) and in a regional language, Gardenese Ladin (belonging to the Rhaeto-romance group), which displays two forms: *nce* and *ënghe*. The data show that *also* fulfills the same functions in all the languages investigated; however, the use of German *auch* is the most evenly distributed among the different functions, while Italian *anche* is overwhelmingly used as additive particle in the narrow sense (its original function). Finally, Gardenese shows a mixed behaviour: the use of *nce* resembles that of Italian *anche*, but *ënghe* is frequently used as focalised constituent, like in German. However, its use as modal particle is much more restricted than in German.

Keywords: focus particles, additive particles, Italian *anche*, German *auch*, Gardenese Ladin, modal particles

1. Introduction¹

In the alpine region of Trentino-South Tyrol, two main languages are spoken: Italian and German. Moreover, various regional and minority languages are in use in this area: within the German(ic) group, we find Tyrolean dialects in the northern part of the region, and the isolated languages Mòcheno and Cimbrian

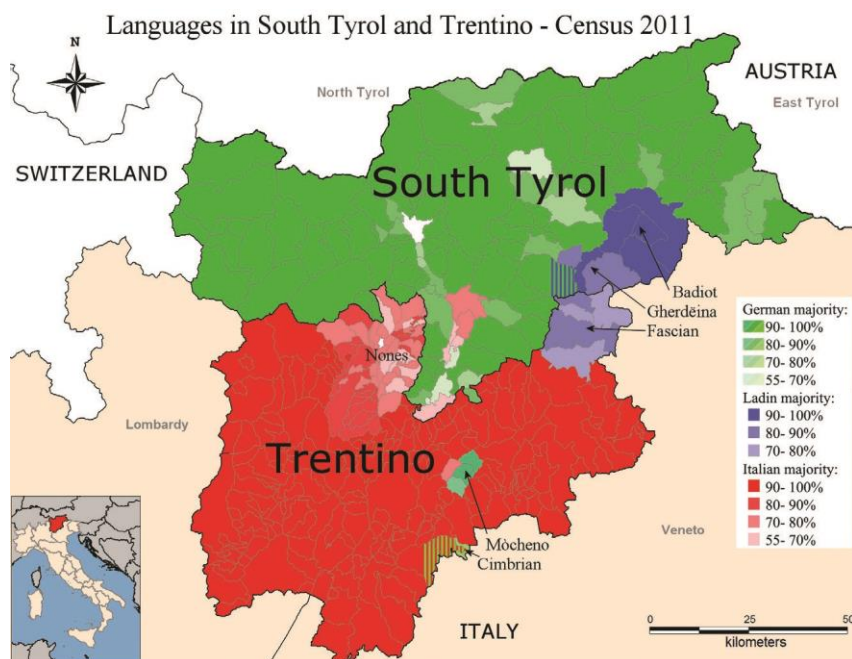
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in the south. Romance varieties are the dialects of Trentino (which belong to the Italo-Romance group) and Ladin, which comprises different dialects (Fascian, Badiot and Gardenese) belonging to the Raeto-Romance group. The following map shows the language distribution in the region of Trentino-South Tyrol.

¹ This contribution was written by the authors in complete collaboration. For the formal definition of scholarly responsibility, as required by the Italian academic system, we declare that Ermenegildo Bidese draws up the Sections 1., 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, Jan Casalicchio Section 4, Manuela C. Moroni the Sections 3.4, 3.5, 3.6 and 5, and Alessandro Parenti Section 2. We thank Anna-Maria De Cesare for comments on an earlier version of this paper.

Image 1: Language distribution in the region of Trentino-South Tyrol²



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(https://commons.wikimediaorg/wiki/File:Language_distribution_in_South_Tyrol_and_Trentino.png 2322019)

The main aim of this contribution is to describe the syntax and semantics of additive particles in three languages spoken in this region: German, Italian, and Gardenese Ladin. In particular, we will focus on German *auch* and Italian *anche*, which have both been investigated from different perspectives. Investigations into the expression of additivity and the use of additive particles in the regional and

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² The map also mentions the variety Nones, which refers to conservative dialects of the Non Valley. These are generally taken to be Ladin-based dialects (see Mastrelli Anzilotti 1997).

minority languages of Trentino-South Tyrol are still underrepresented, with the main exception of Fiorentini (2017). Among these varieties, the Gardenese Ladin variety is particularly interesting because it exhibits two lexical forms specialised for specific patterns, namely *nce* and *ënghe*.

In this paper, we will first delve into the origin of German *auch* and Italian *anche* (Section 2). In the second step, we will provide a classification of their patterns of use and main functions via a comparative perspective (Section 3). Section 4 is devoted to the discussion of data taken from Gardenese Ladin. In particular, we will check the extent to which our generalisations hold for the counterparts of *auch/anche* in this minority language. In addition to data already discussed in the literature, we will draw on examples of written and spoken language. The results are summarised in Section 5.

2. The origin of German *auch* and Italian *anche*

2.1 German *auch*

German *auch* descends from the Old High German *ouh* and has evident correspondences in the other Germanic languages: see Old Saxon *ōk*, Old English *ēac*, and Old Norse *auk*, all meaning ‘also’, and Gothic *auk*, which has a different function, as it is a translation of the Greek conjunction γάρ (*gár*) ‘for’. Starting from Grimm (1831: 274), these particles have been connected repeatedly with a Germanic verb that can be represented by Gothic *aukan* ‘increase’; more precisely, the word would be an old imperative **auke*, originally meaning ‘add’ (see Seebold 2011: 70). Note that Gothic also has the prefixed verbs *ana-aukan* and *bi-aukan*, both meaning ‘add’ (see Seebold 1970: 84). However, as Grimm himself admitted, the Gothic conjunction *auk* ‘for’ does not fit into this explanation well.

For this reason, Grimm’s hypothesis was soon criticised by Bopp (1837: 548–50), who also noted that conjunctions generally derive from pronouns; therefore, he was of the opinion that Gothic *auk* and the other forms should be connected to the pronominal stem attested by Avestan *ava-* ‘that’. Most etymological dictionaries follow Bopp: that stem yielded

Latin *aut* ‘or’, *autem* ‘but’ and Greek αὖ (aû) ‘again, moreover’, the emphatic form of which, αὖτε (aûte), is seen as possible parallel Germanic *auke (see Pokorny 1959: 74). The meaning ‘again, moreover’ seems to be compatible with ‘also’. A recent lexicon (Kroonen 2013: 42) starts from a Proto-Indo-European adverb *h₂eu ‘away’, but maintains the connection of *auke with Latin *aut*, *autem* and Greek αὖ, αὖτε. This hypothesis, however, whether in its old or in its new version, does not explain Gothic *auk* ‘for’; in other words, it does not solve the problem for which it was proposed.

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In summary, the etymology of *auch* remains uncertain. However, considering the Old English adverb *þæ̆r-tō-ēacen* ‘besides, moreover’ cited by Seebold (2011: 70; correctly *þæ̆r-tō-ēacan*, a form that includes the noun *ēaca* ‘addition’), one may incline towards Grimm’s hypothesis. See also Old English *tō-ēacan* ‘in addition (to)’, adverb and preposition (Bosworth & Toller 1898: 996).

2.2 Italian *anche*

The etymological problem of *anche* involves the entire family as well, the Romance languages in this case, although forms similar to *anche* used as additive particles are found only in Italian (standard language, northern and central dialects: *anche*, *anca*, *anco* and other variants), in Dolomitic Ladin (for example, Gardenese *ënghe* and *nce*), in Friulian (*ancie*) and in Old Sardinian (*ancu*). Traditionally, Italian *anche* ‘also’ is seen as inseparable from the phasal adverb *ancora* ‘still, yet’, which is often traced back to Latin *hanc hōram*, expressing the putative meaning ‘in this hour, in this moment’, and more than one scholar has proposed that *anche* could have been extracted from *ancora* (see Diez 1853: 16; Cortelazzo & Zolli 1999: 101, svv *anche* and *ancora*¹). From a Romance perspective, however, this hypothesis does not hold, since it contrasts with the fact that forms clearly related to *anche* are found in Romance languages – such as Romansh (*auncha*, *aunc*), Sardinian (*anca*) and Romanian (*încă*; all these words mean ‘still, yet’) – where the type *ancora* is not attested. There is

another problem: forms similar to *ancora* and meaning ‘still, yet’ are found in French (*encore*), Occitan (*ancara* and variants) and Old Catalan (*ancara*, later *encara*), where the quality of the stressed vowel, [ɔ] or [a], exclude a provenance from Latin *hanc hōram*: the segments *-ore* and *-ara*, through **aora*, descend from Latin *hāc hōrā* ‘in this moment’; therefore, the initial segments require another explanation. It must be added that Old Occitan and Catalan also have an adverb *anc* ‘ever’ (see Jensen 1986: 321; Coromines 1983: 298).

With regard to the form, most scholars agree about reconstructing a Vulgar Latin **anque*, with a variant **anca* (by the way: *anque* ‘also’ is found in medieval texts from Central Italy, see Castellani 2000: 365; in Gardenese, *ënghe* comes from **anque*, while *nce* comes from **anca*, see Kramer 1991: 59); the problem is how to explain its genesis. Meyer-Lübke (1935: 488), next to the lemma **anque*, wrote: “woher?” (whence?). Coromines (1983: 298–302) proposed the hypothesis of a pre-Roman element, still of Proto-Indo-European origin, involving a cognate of the Latin conjunction *an* ‘or’, which introduces interrogative sentences. Pfister (1987: 1517) preferred to move directly from Latin *an*, which would have been contaminated by Latin *ac* ‘and’; an early outcome of this contamination would be the Medieval Latin form *anc* ‘or’, attested in some Spanish documents (see Löfstedt

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1959: 48–49). As a support to the extension of the form, Pfister quoted Vulgar Latin *dunc* > Italian *dunque* (and *dunqua*) ‘then’. The conjunction *an*, however, whether pre-Roman or Latin, does not match the meaning ‘also’; and there are no traces of **anque* in Spanish.

We do not aspire to solve the problem here, but we would like to make a remark about the original meaning of Vulgar Latin **anque*/**anca*, which, rather than ‘also’, could have been ‘still, yet’: this is the meaning of Romansh *auncha*, *aunc*, Sardinian *anca* and Romanian *încă*; and if we start from this meaning, we may be able to derive the temporal function of Old Occitan and Old Catalan *anc* ‘ever’ more easily. If this was the case, forms such as *ancora* would be more recent, joining and then replacing the type *anche* for the meaning ‘still, yet’. In Old Italian, in fact, the

usages of *anche* and *ancora* largely overlap, each functioning both as an additive focus marker ‘also’ and as a phasal adverb ‘still, yet’ (Ricca 2000). Thus, if **unque/*anca* meant ‘still, yet’, one could reconsider an old etymology proposed by Diez (1853: 16–17), who noticed that, with regard to the meaning, a derivation from Latin *adhūc* ‘until now’ and ‘still, yet’ would suit perfectly; this explanation would also keep together **unque/*anca* with Spanish *aún* ‘still, yet’ and *aun* ‘even’, which undoubtedly derive from *adhūc*. The problem with this etymology is that it implies a loss of *-d-* in Vulgar Latin (*adhūc* > **auc*, then **aunc*), which is difficult to defend. The other changes would not give rise to significant difficulties: see Spanish *aunque* ‘even if, although’ (from *aun* + *que* ‘that’), which becomes *unque* and *enque* in popular language (García de Diego 1961: 24).

3. German *auch* and Italian *anche*

3.1 Overview

From a semantic point of view, the particles *auch* and *anche* share the same basic meaning, namely additivity. In general, additive particles operate on a constituent signalling in that this constituent has to be added to a list of items that have already been introduced in the context, or which are inferable. Furthermore, they can also exhibit a more grammatical function when acting as a focused constituent or as a modal particle. In this case, the additive semantic component is bleached. Despite these common features, research on *auch* and *anche* has already shown that they pattern differently (see Benazzo & Dimroth 2015) with regard to both the syntax and the information structure of the sentence in the two languages (see De Cesare 2015); moreover, they differ with regard to their usage in conversation. For this reason, a form-to-function approach would prevent us from capturing grammatical generalisations about these particles. Instead, through a function-to-form

approach, it is possible to detect the four main functional patterns under which all usages of *auch* and *anche* can be subsumed in both Italian and German. This approach allows us to compare the two particles independently of the specific syntax and information structure of the two languages, and to conceive of these four patterns as being distributed along a grammaticalisation continuum starting from the more lexical meaning with regard to the original additive semantics to the most abstract/grammaticalised one. The following functions of *auch* and *anche* can be identified (see also Pasch et al. 2003: 138–139.144–148.575ff):

- (i) Additive particles in the narrow sense. This is the basic usage of *auch* and *anche* in which they display their prototypical additive meaning. They operate on a phrasal constituent by adding it to a list of elements that have already been introduced in the context, or which are inferable from it.
- (ii) Sentence connectives. *Auch* and *anche* connect the sentence in which they appear with the preceding one. In this case they have scope over the entire sentence and operate at the textual level.
- (iii) Focus domain. *Auch* and *anche* build the focus domain of the sentence, whereas the rest of the utterance encodes the background information.
- (iv) Modal particles. *Auch* and *anche* have an indexical meaning and refer to knowledge and expectations (see Diwald 2007).

Depending on the context, the particles in (i)–(iii) can be interpreted in a merely quantificational way or according to a scalar one (see Altmann 1976; Sudhoff 2011: 170).³ In the first case, *auch/anche* signals that the constituent on which it operates belongs to a list of items. On the other hand, scalar *auch/anche* conveys an interpretation of the constituent as an unexpected member of this list of items. A scalar reading of *auch/anche* is similar to German *sogar* and Italian *addirittura* (≈ ‘even’). Under this interpretation, German *auch* can often be intensified by other particles such as *noch* (*auch noch*) and *ja* (*ja auch*).

³ German *auch* as the focus domain (see below) can only be interpreted in a quantificational way.

The functions (i)-(iv) hold for both *auch* and *anche*. Nevertheless, their syntax and semantics differ with regard to the two languages. For example, for function (ii), German *auch* is always integrated syntactically in the sentence; that is, it can occur alone in the so-called pre-field (Pasch et al. 2003: 576). By contrast, Italian *anche* only appears in parenthetical structures (see De Cesare 2004: 193). With

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regard to function (iv), the semantics of German *auch* covers a much wider range of usages in conversation than the semantics of Italian *anche* does.⁴

3.2 *Auch* and *anche* as additive particles in the narrow sense

When used as additive particles in the narrow sense, *auch* and *anche* display the following properties:

- (i) They do not bear the focus accent;
- (ii) they are adjacent to (they precede, or may also follow in a few cases) their domain of association (henceforth DA); that is, the phrasal constituent on which their additivity operates;
- (iii) their DA bears the focus accent and constitutes the focus domain of the sentence; and
- (iv) they can be omitted; in this case, the focus-background structure of the sentence remains the same, whereas the additive meaning disappears.

⁴ Beyond these four functions, Italian *anche* can also mark reference/topic continuity. In this case *anche* can operate on constituents of different complexity, like in function (i), but does not encode additivity. Rather, it signals the discourse continuity of the referent encoded by a constituent. De Cesare & Grassino (2015) discuss some examples of this type of *anche* in cleft sentences, which we refer to. See also Andorno (2000: 237). In what follows we will not go into this special – and also quite rare – usage of *anche*.

The following two examples illustrate the typical use of *auch/anche* as an additive particle preceding its DA:

- (1) Neben der Balkontür links sah er eine Kochstelle, daneben einen in die Wand eingebauten Kleiderschrank. Da war **auch** [ein Tisch mit zwei Stühlen]_{DA}
 ‘Next to the balcony door on the left he saw a cooking place, next to it a wardrobe built into the wall. There also was a table with two chairs’
 (COSMAS II, DIV/SHS.00000 Schneeweiß, Heinrich G.F.: Aus Sternenschaub. Oberhausen, 2003: 32)
- (2) (*The article deals with new investigations about the parents of the former Italian Prime Minister, Matteo Renzi*)
 I genitori di Matteo Renzi sono indagati **anche** [in un’inchiesta della procura di Firenze su un giro di false fatture]_{DA}
 ‘Matteo Renzi’s parents also are being investigated in an inquest by the Florence Public Prosecutor’s Office concerning false invoices’
 (<https://www.toscanamedianews.it/la-madre-di-renzi-indagata-anche-a-cuneo.htm> 9/7/2018)

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When *auch/anche* appear in the first position of the sentence (*auch* in the so-called German pre-field), their DA is restricted to the adjacent constituent.

- (3) Hans und Anna haben bei Lucie angerufen
Auch [Peter]_{DA} hat bei Lucie angerufen
 ‘Hans and Anna called Lucie. Also Peter called Lucie’
 (Pasch et al. 2003: 139)
- (4) Gianni e Anna hanno telefonato a Lucia
Anche [Pietro]_{DA} ha telefonato a Lucia
 ‘Gianni and Anna called Lucie. Also Pietro called Lucie’

By contrast, if *auch* occupies a position in the German middle field or *anche* follows the finite verb, their DA must be disambiguated by the context.

(5) Peter hat **auch** [[bei Lucie]_{DA2} angerufen]_{DA1}

(6) Pietro ha **anche** [telefonato [a Lucia]_{DA2}]_{DA1}

The postponed *auch* was judged to be ungrammatical by Pasch et al. (2003: 577):

(7) *[Meine Freundin in Australien]_{DA} **auch** hat davon gehört
'My friend in Australia has also heard about that'
(Pasch et al. 2003: 577)

Nevertheless, in our opinion, this pattern is possible, even if extremely rare:

(8) A: Er hat Hefte und Stifte gekauft
B: ?[Das BUCH]_{DA} **auch** hat er gekauft
'A: He has bought notebooks and pens B: He has bought the book also'

The same holds for Italian *anche* as well:

(9) A: ha comprato quaderni e penne
B: ?[il LIBRO]_{DA} **anche** ha comprato
'A: He has bought notebooks and pens. B: He has bought the book also'

As will become clear, this is the only functional pattern in which *auch* and *anche* behave in the same way from both a syntactic and an information structural point of view. This means that there is a one-to-one correspondence between function and form in both languages.

3.3 *Auch* and *anche* as sentence connectives

When used as sentence connectives, *auch* and *anche* have scope over the entire proposition (see Reis & Rosengren 1997: 241), which is their DA. They connect the clause of which they are part with one or more clauses in the preceding context. The type of connection they encode is additive. This means that they add

one clause to a list of other clauses, thus contributing to the text's cohesion (see De Cesare 2004: 192). As in 31, *auch* and *anche* realise a prototypical additive meaning. In this function, they display following properties: page | xii

- (i) They do not bear the focus accent/nuclear accent;
- (ii) From a syntactic point of view, they are major constituents of the sentence and have an adverbial function (conjunctive adverb).

Despite these common properties, *auch* and *anche*, as sentence connectors, show a different pattern from a syntactic point of view. The German *auch* occurs either in the pre-field as in (10) or in the middle field of the sentence, as in (11) and (12) (see also Reis & Rosengren 1997: 246–247):

- (10) Wolfgang Petry veröffentlichte ein Album auf Englisch. [**Auch**]_{pre-field} [hat sich der Schlagersänger von seinen langen Haaren getrennt]_{DA}
'Wolfgang Petry published an English-language album. Moreover, the pop singer has had his long hair trimmed.'
(Huffington Post 29.09.2017)
- (11) Magnus beobachtet sie schon eine Weile, ihn interessiert ihr seltsames Wesen. Seit er vor einem Jahr in diese gottverlassene Gegend gezogen ist, begegnet er ihr immer wieder, eher unvermutet, horcht auf den Dorfklatsch, wenn er von ihr handelt. Früher muss sie einmal etwas ganz Besonderes gewesen sein, jetzt gehen ihr die Leute aus dem Wege; [im Gefängnis soll [sie **auch** schon]_{middle field} gegessen haben]_{DA}.
'Magnus has been watching her for a while, he's interested in her strange personality. Since he moved to this godforsaken area a year ago, he has been meeting her again and again, rather unexpectedly, listening to the village gossip when it's about her. In the past she must have been something very special, now people avoid her; she's supposed to have been in jail before too.'
(COSMAS II, DIV/SRF.00000 Schoof, Renate: In ganz naher Ferne. – Oberhausen, 2003: 11)

- (12) (AM tells his friend what he found when he went to his old flat)
 0 658 AM: [es hat [**auch** noch niemand ein neues Namensschild]_{middle field}
 reingemacht]_{DA} und [mein Zimmer war [**auch** leer.]]_{middle field}]_{DA}
 '0568 AM: There was no new name on the door and, moreover, my room
 was empty.'
 (FOLK_E_00049 Studentisches Alltagsgespräch)

In our opinion, *auch* alone in the pre-field as in (10) belongs to a written formal register. No occurrence of this use of *auch* was found in 100 randomly extracted

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tokens of *auch* in the FOLK-corpus (a digital corpus of spoken German in different types of interactions).⁵

By contrast, Italian *anche* is used in a parenthetical way as a sentence connective; that is, it occurs in a syntactically non-integrated position and can appear at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of an utterance between punctuation marks such as commas or full stops or – in spoken language – separated by pauses or prosodic boundaries. Moreover, it is characterised by a high register. De Cesare (2004: 193) referred to the following examples taken from an Italian dictionary (Sabatini & Coletti 1997), which stem from literary texts in the two cases:

- (13) preparati per tempo a una professione; **anche**, evita la compagnia dei perdigiorno
 'Prepare yourself for a profession in time; also, avoid the company of losers!'
- (14) "Ma smettila", disse brutalmente, "ora, **anche**, mi vuoi fare male" (Moravia)
 "'Stop it!", s/he brutally said, "now you also want to hurt me"

⁵ IDS, Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch (DGD), FOLK [<http://dgdids-mannheim.de>, 17162019].

- (15) “ I signori fanno le iniezioni E lei si è abituata con loro. Ma forse ha un po’ di tisi, **anche**” (Vittorini)
 ‘The lords give injections. And she got used to them. But, maybe she has consumption, as well’.

3.4 Focus domain

German *auch* and Italian *anche* can bear the nuclear/focus accent of the sentence constituting the focus domain. In this case, they refer back to their DA, which is a topic (see Krifka 1999: 113). In contrast to *auch/anche* as an additive particle in the narrow sense (see Section 3.1), the DA of which constitutes the focus domain of the sentence, the DA of the focused *auch/anche* is always a topic. The crucial difference between the two patterns concerns the information structure: In pattern 1 (an additive particle in the narrow sense), the DA is the focus of the sentence; in pattern 3 (*auch/anche* as a focus domain), *auch/anche* acts as the focus, whereas its DA turns out to be a topic. This third pattern is prototypical for Germanic languages such as German and Dutch (see Benazzo & Dimroth 2015: 12), whereas it is considered to be marked in Italian (see De Cesare 2015: 37–38).

When German *auch* builds the focus domain, its DA is always preposed and the scalar interpretation is ruled out (see Altmann 1976: 261, Sudhoff 2010: 109). We consider the following example from Benazzo & Dimroth (2015: 12) as the prototypical instantiation of this pattern:

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- (16) (*Paul went on holiday*)
 [Johannes_{Topic/DA} ist]_{Background} [AUCH]_{Focus} [in den Urlaub gefahren]_{Background}
 Johannes is also on (the) holiday gone
 ‘Johannes also went on holiday’

In this case, the DA *Johannes* is in the pre-field and the particle *auch* appears in the middle field; that is, they are not contiguous. From the point of view of the information structure, the DA *Johannes* realises a topic with regard to *Paul*, and is part of the background of the utterance. According to the classification proposed by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 88),

there are three main types of topics: familiar, aboutness/shift and contrastive. In this case, *Johannes* is a contrastive topic since it induces alternatives such as *Paul*. This structure resembles the well-known cases of discontinuous constituents. In fact, we take *Johannes* to be the complement of the phrase [*Johannes AUCH*] in the middle field from which *Johannes* has been moved to the pre-field:

- (17) (*Paul went on holiday*)
Johannes ist [~~Johannes~~ **AUCH**] in den Urlaub gefahren.

It is interesting to note that this pattern appears in a phraseological construction in which the verb is dropped:

- (18) Das **AUCH** noch!
this also even
'What next?'

Also in this construction, the focused *auch* refers back to the topic *das* in the prefield (*das kommt AUCH noch dazu*, 'What next?')⁶.

All other instantiations of this pattern in which the DA precedes the focused *auch* can be derived from (17). In the following cases, the DA and *auch* are adjacent to each other and can appear either in the pre-field or in the middle field. The pre-field position has been judged as being ungrammatical by some authors (see Pasch et al. 2003: 577):

- (19) (*Paul went on holiday*)
?~~[Johannes AUCH]~~_{pre-field} ist in den Urlaub gefahren
- (20) (*Paul went on holiday*)
Außerdem ist [~~Johannes AUCH~~ in den Urlaub]_{middle field} gefahren

⁶ It is interesting to note that a similar elliptical phraseological construction appears as an instantiation of our first pattern with *auch* as an additive particle:

(i) Auch DAS noch!
'What next?'

According to Reis & Rosengren (1997: 249) and Sudhoff (2008: 455, 2010: 64), the DA of *auch* can also be dropped. This holds for a subject (see 21 a) as well as for an object (see 21 b):

- (21) a. Ist **AUCH** schon fertig
is also already finished
'It is also already finished.'
(Sudhoff 2010: 64)
- b. Hab ich **AUCH** schon erledigt.
have I already also finished
'I have already finished this, too.'
(Reis & Rosengren 1997: 249)

In this case, the DA is always a familiar topic; in other words, it refers to a discourse-linked element that has already been mentioned, as shown in the following example that we constructed:

- (22) A: Im Sommer werde ich Urlaub machen und den Aufsatz fertig schreiben.
B: Und wie sieht es mit deinem Buch aus?
A: werde ich **AUCH** fertig schreiben.
'A: In summer I will go on holiday and finish the paper.
B: And what about your book?
A: I will also finish it.'

In (22), *auch* operates on the dropped constituent *mein Buch* in the pre-field that is mentioned in B's question.

With regard to Italian, the acceptability of *anche* as a focus domain is controversial. According to De Cesare (2015: 37–38), this pattern of *anche* as a focus domain "is perceived as less natural [...] and more marked":

- (23) Gianni **ANCHE** ha preteso il rimborso del viaggio.
'Gianni also pretended to receive reimbursement for the trip.'
(De Cesare 2015: 38)

Andorno (2008) pointed out that this markedness could be due to the violation of the principle of right scope according to which Italian *anche* prototypically operates on a constituent to its right. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that a repair strategy with a pronominal copy is much more common in Italian than is the usage of *ANCHE* in sentence (23). As noted by Kolmer (2012: 191), when *anche* follows its DA and is not adjacent to it, it is usually resumed by a tonic pronoun that appears crucially to the right of *anche*. In this way, the principle of right scope can be fulfilled/satisfied (see also De Cesare 2015: 40).

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- (24) [I bambini europei]_i possono **anche** loro_i supportare il tour di Nuna₂
 the European children can also they support the tour of Nuna₂
 'The European children can also support the tour of Nuna₂'
 (Kolmer 2012: 191)
- (25) Stella]_i legge **anche** lei_i
 Stella reads also she
 'Stella also reads'
 (De Cesare 2015: 40)

To summarise, German *auch* can constitute the focus domain of the sentence, with its DA typically appearing in the pre-field and constituting a topic. By contrast, Italian *anche* does not seem to permit this structure due to the principle of right scope. The strategy of the pronominal copy is preferred instead.

3.5 Modal particle

When used as modal particles, *auch* and *anche* display the following properties:

- (i) they are syntactically integrated
- (ii) they do not bear the nuclear accent
- (iii) they have scope over the entire clause
- (iv) their additivity is realised at a modal level

With regard to German, as a modal particle, *auch* must be realised in the middle field of the sentence:

- (26) Ali: Ich hab von dem Text nicht alles verstanden.
 Max: Naja, Deutsch ist [**auch** nicht einfach]_{middle field}
 'Ali: I didn't understand everything about the text.
 Max: Well, German is not easy at all.'
 (Thurmair 1989: 155)

If *auch* is realised outside of the middle field⁷, a modal interpretation is not possible (see 27a-c):

- (27) Ali: Ich hab von dem Text nicht alles verstanden.
 (a) Max: *Naja, **auch** Deutsch ist nicht einfach.
 (b) Max: *Naja, **auch** ist Deutsch nicht einfach.
 (c) Max: *Naja, Deutsch **auch** ist nicht einfach.

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As is the case for all German modal particles, *auch* can only appear in sentences with specific illocutionary force. According to Thurmair (1989: 155–160, 2013: 632, see also Abraham 2017: 88), *auch* appears in following sentence types:

- a. declarative
- b. wh-interrogative
- c. wh-exclamative
- d. polar interrogative e imperative

In the following section, we illustrate the different contexts in which the modal particle *auch* can be used and explain the different types of modal meaning it conveys. In (28), *auch* appears in a declarative sentence:

⁷ The position of modal particles within the middle field is not free. It is generally assumed that they appear to the right of the Wackernagel-Position and before the sentence negation. For further details, see Coniglio (2011).

- (28) 0508 NL Aber des is doch mit dem Übersetzen ganz gut ge[gangen, gut des war jetzt]
 0509 SMA [Ja, waren **auch**] relativ einfache Sätze.
 '0508 NL But that went quite well with the translation, well, that was actually
 0509 SMA Yes, they were also relatively simple sentences'
 (FOLK E_0177, Sprachbiographisches Interview)

In this case, *auch* has an epistemic meaning since participant SMA adds new information as well as his own perspective concerning what NL has already said. In contrast to *auch* as a sentence connective (see Section 32), the modal particle encodes the speaker's perspectivation of a previous utterance or a state of affairs (see Abraham 2017: 81). In this example, SMA's utterance has the function of integrating and confirming NL's assessment.

In the following examples, *auch* is used in wh-interrogatives and in wh-exclamatives:

- (29) „Und wer soll das aufräumen?“, fragte ich ärgerlich. „Na du, warum hast du **auch** all meine Sachen in den alten Schrank gestopft?“
 ““And who's going to clean it up?” I asked angrily. “Well you! Why did you also cram all my things in the old wardrobe?””
 (COSMAS II, DIV/HFT.00001 Fischer, Hella: Teufels-Spiele. Förritz, 2005: 75)
- (30) Sitah rang um Beherrschung. Die schmerzende Blockade in ihrem Hals stand kurz davor, die Tränen vorbeizulassen. Nun war sie es, die drohte, vom Strom mitgerissen zu werden. Selbst schuld, warum hatte sie **auch** das geschützte Ufer verlassen. Aber sie gab ihre Tränen nicht frei.
 ‘Sitah struggled for control. The painful lump in her throat was about to let the tears pass. It was she, now, who threatened to be carried away by the stream. It was her own fault! Why had she also left the sheltered shore? But she did not release her tears.’
 (COSMAS II, DIV/JDS.00001 Dietrich, Jutta: Sprung ins Leben. Förritz, 2006: 49)

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- (31) „Du hast eine Leiche gefunden“, stöhnte Juli am anderen Ende. „Oh Gott, Jana, was dir **auch** immer für Sachen passieren: Letztes Jahr der Mord in

deinem Büro und dieses Jahr findest du eine Leiche im See. Wie alt war denn das Mädchen?"

"“You found a body,” Juli groaned on the other end. “Oh God, Jana, why do these things happen to you? Last year the murder in your office and this year you find a body in the lake. How old was the girl?”"

(COSMAS II, DIV/GAL.00001 Gardener, Eva B: *Lebenshunger*. Meßkirch, 2005)

- (32) *(In a forum on electronic devices, someone asks why his audio boxes boom after he has pulled the plug. Another participant replies)*

Was seid ihr **auch** für nerds! Niemals eine unter Strom stehende Verbindung trennen, mehr muss dazu nicht gesagt werden.

‘Are you also nerds! Never disconnect a live connection, nothing more needs to be said about it.’

(<http://www.hifi-forum.de/viewthread-30-21734.html> 02.08.2018)

Examples (29) and (30) are rhetorical questions; that is, they are not produced in order to obtain information, but rather to express reproach. This is made clear by the context of the two questions: In (29), it is made evident by the discourse particle *na* and by the expression *selbst schuld* (‘it’s her own fault’) in (30). By using *auch*, the speaker signals that the content of the sentence is unexpected in his opinion. In this way, he intensifies his reproach. This analysis also holds for (31) and (32): (31) is a verb final wh-exclamative and (32) a verb second wh-exclamative. From an illocutionary point of view, they both convey a kind of reproach. The modal particle *auch* enhances this illocutionary value by stressing – from the point of view of the speaker – the unexpectedness of the content of the sentence. For example, in (32), the speaker uses *auch* to point out the fact that someone who participates on a forum for electronic devices is not expected to simply pull out the plug while an audio box is still on. When used in these kinds of sentences (that is, rhetorical questions and wh-exclamatives), *auch* conveys a scalar interpretation (see the beginning of Section 3 above), as it indicates that – from the perspective of the speaker – the people involved are not expected to behave in the way that they do.

For polar interrogatives and imperative sentences, *auch* also modifies the illocutionary force that is encoded by the sentence mode. Let us look first at (33) and (34), with *auch* in being used in polar interrogatives:

- (33) (*The author refers to warnings in German trains*)
 Haben Sie **auch** nichts vergessen?, fragte die Anzeige über der automati-
 schen Glastür.
 have you also nothing forgotten?, asked the plate above the automatic glass
 door

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‘Make sure you aren’t forgetting anything!’ stated the plate above the auto-
 matic glass door’

(Antonia Michaelis, *Die Allee der verbotenen Fragen*. Knaur, 2016)

- (34) „Und was gedenkst du weiter zu tun?“, fragte er dann. „Erzählst du mir
auch brav alles, oder hast du deine kleinen Geheimnisse?“
 “What do you plan to do next?”, he asked then. “Will you tell me every-
 thing, too, or do you have your little secrets?”
 (DIV/BHK.00001 Bauer, Hermann: Karambolage. Meßkirch, 2009)

As with the rhetorical wh-questions with *auch* discussed above, the polar interrogatives in these two examples do not convey an information request. In polar interrogatives, *auch* adds the content of the request to a list of other expectations that are assumed to be typical of the situation. For example, (33) refers to the fact that every traveller is expected not to forget anything on the train. In this way, the adhortative force of the request is mitigated. The same modification of the deontic value is also conveyed in imperative sentences with *auch* such as (35), taken from Thurmaier (1989: 158):

- (35) Und sei **auch** brav!
 ‘You be good, okay?’

Nevertheless, this kind of sentence seems to be idiomatic and to become outdated.⁸

⁸ We searched the “Belletristik des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts” corpus in COSMAS II for “sei/seid auch” and “sei/seid auch brav” and other verbs such as mach/macht, geb/gebt in combination with *auch* without obtaining any result.

With regard to Italian, the use of *anche* as a modal particle is much more restricted in terms of both the type of illocutionary force of the sentence and the modal values it conveys. The modal *anche* can only be used in declarative clauses, whereas it is impossible in all other types of sentences, as in (36), (37), (38) and (39), which are the Italian counterparts of (29), (32), (33) and (35):

- (36) *Eh tu, perché hai {**anche**} ficcato {**anche**} tutte le mie cose nel vecchio armadio? (wh-interrogative)
 'Well you! Why have you also crammed also all my things in-the old wardrobe?'
- (37) *Che razza di nerd {**anche**} siete {**anche**}! (wh-exclamative)
 'What kind of nerds also are-you also'
- (38) *Sicuro anche di non aver dimenticato niente? (polar interrogative)
 'Sure also of not having forgotten nothing'
- (39) *Fa {anche} il bravo, {anche}! (imperative)
 'Be also (the) good, also'

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In (36), (38) and (39), *anche* can only be interpreted as an additive particle in the narrow sense; a modal, deontic, value is ruled out. In (37), the insertion of *anche* is ungrammatical. The only sentence type in which the modal *anche* can appear is the declarative one:

- (40) A: Ho fatto fatica a capire il testo
 B: Beh, il tedesco è **anche** una lingua difficile
 'A: I didn't understand everything about the text.
 B: Well, German is not easy at all.'
- (41) A: Oggi mi sono alzato con il mal di testa
 B: Per forza, vai **anche** sempre a letto tardi.
 'A: Today I got up with a headache.
 B: Of course, you always go to bed late.'

In (40), speaker B offers a justification for A's difficulty in understanding a text in German. In fact, he stresses that, in his opinion, German is a difficult language, thus mitigating A's statement. In (41), speaker B establishes a causal connection between A's headache and his habit of going to bed late, thus formulating a reproach concerning A's behaviour.

Although the use of the modal *anche* is much more limited in Italian, it has been observed that, in combination with a modal verb in a past tense (*imperfetto* or *condizionale passato*), *anche* has a deontic value (see Andorno 2000: 53, 54, 81):

- (42) Potevi **anche** pensarci! (Andorno 2000: 54)
'You should have thought of that!'

A similar meaning can also be expressed by *dovere* ('should/ought to').

In conclusion, we would like to point out that all the interpretations of modal *auch/anche* result from the interaction of the sentence, its context and the basic additive semantics of the particles. This means that *auch* and *anche* do not encode reproach or mitigation by themselves, but only through the interplay of additivity, epistemicity/deonticity and the illocutionary force of the sentence.

3.6 Summary

Let us attempt to summarise our analysis. Despite their different semantics and syntax, the additive particles *auch/anche* in both languages encode the same four functions:

- (i) Additive particle in the narrow sense
- (ii) Sentence connective
- (iii) Focus domain
- (iv) Modal particle

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In (i)-(ii)-(iii), *auch/anche* operates on a DA, which is a phrasal constituent in the case of (i) and (iii), or an entire clause in (ii). In all these usages, the

particle displays its basic additive meaning which –depending on the context – can be quantificational or scalar. In (iii), the additivity is realised at a more abstract level since the additivity itself constitutes the focus domain of the sentence, whereas the added element (the DA) is expressed as a topic. The information structure and the syntax that characterise this pattern are highly specific, since a contrastive or a familiar topic always precedes the accented *auch/anche*, and this pattern is bound to declarative sentences. The additivity of *auch/anche* in (iv) is exploited at an abstract level. In fact, the operation of adding an element to a list of alternatives concerns propositions in which an epistemic or deontic perspectivation of the speaker is involved. In German, the range of usages of the modal *auch* is much wider than is that of *anche* in Italian. Nevertheless, the modal values conveyed by the sentences containing *anche* (mitigation and reproach) are the same as those found for *auch*.

In conclusion, the additive semantics of *auch* and *anche* turns out to be comparable for all four patterns in both languages, with the only difference being that *anche* in (iii) and (iv) has more restrictions.

4. Additive particles in the Raeto-Romance variety Gardenese: An overlapping system⁹

In the previous sections, we saw that the additive particles can have four different values. Although both German and Italian use *auch/anche* in all

⁹ The description of the use of additive particles in Gardenese is based, in addition to some notices in the literature, on data taken from the following sources:

- the on-line corpus Corpuslad ([www.http://corpuslad.ladintal.it](http://corpuslad.ladintal.it)), which contains written texts: we consulted Gardenese texts from the beginning and the end of the twentieth century (abbreviated as ‘CL’ followed by the abbreviation of the text); the corpus Kontatti (University of Bolzano, <http://kontatti.projects.unibz.it/what-is-kontatti/>), which contains oral data gathered in a “map description task” and in spontaneous production (abbreviated as ‘K_Gar’ followed by the number of the interview);
- our own transcription of a video of an elderly man from the village of Selva, who was taped while he was talking about his life (this video is part of the production of about 60 videos, in different Ladin varieties, produced by the Ladin Institute Micurà de Rü). It is abbreviated as ‘VL-SD’.

four of the contexts, these two languages differ both in the frequency and the distribution of the particle in different contexts. In particular, the use of *anche* as a focus domain and as a modal particle is much more restricted in Italian than it is in German. In

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this section, we focus on the Romance variety Gardenese, which is spoken in the homonymous *Val Gardena*. This variety belongs to the Ladin (or Raeto-Romance) group spoken in the Dolomites in the provinces of Trento, Bolzano and Belluno. The Ladin varieties are minority languages characterised by a strong conservative character due to their peripheral position with regard to the rest of the Romance domain. In addition, they have been in contact with the Tyrolean varieties (and, to a lesser extent, with German) for more than a millennium. This is particularly the case for Gardenese: the Gardena Valley is adjacent to territories in which Tyrolean is spoken, and the main markets and cities that constitute reference points for the Gardenese community are in South Tyrol, where Tyrolean was the (almost) exclusive variety spoken until 1919.

Therefore, Gardenese presents a number of features due to contact with Tyrolean that particularly affect the lexicon. In the case at hand, however, we show that the contact with Tyrolean has also influenced the interface between pragmatics and syntax. As a matter of fact, Gardenese has two different particles, the etymology of which is related to the Italian *anche*, namely *nce* ([ntʃə], written as *encie* in older texts) and *ënghe* ([ˈɛŋə]¹⁰; *ënche* in older texts). As a first approximation, we can define them as the unstressed and stressed form, respectively. In fact, the prototypical functions of the two forms are different: *nce* is mainly used as an additive particle in the narrow sense (type (i)) and, more generally, whenever it does not bear the focus accent. The use of *ënghe*, on the other hand, is linked particularly to the function (iii), where the additive particle bears the focus accent and constitutes the focus domain of the utterance. The grammars of Gardenese give the rule of thumb that *nce* is used

¹⁰ The vowel written as <ë> is typical of Ladin, and it is pronounced as a very open, front vowel, halfway between a schwa (/ə/) and /æ/.

when it precedes its DA, and *ënghe* when it follows it (that is, when it is used as a focus domain with the function (iii)). The complementary distribution can be observed clearly in this example, in which *encie* occurs to the left of its DA (*a si uem Adam*), and *ënche* to the right of *ël* ('he'):

- (43) Dièva i cialòva sën al frutt y cunsideròva che l
 Eva him.DAT.CL looked now to-the fruit and thought that it
 fòssa bël y bón. La n' à tètut jiù y
 was.SBJV beautiful and good. She of-it.CL has taken down and
 n' à maià. Pò i n' à la dat **encie** [a si
 of-it.CL has eaten. Then to.him.CL of-it.CL has her.CL given also to her

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uem Adàm]_{DA} y [ël]_{DA} n' à **ËNCHE** maià (CL-PSB)
 husband Adam and he of.it.CL has also eaten
 'Eve looked at the fruit now and thought that it was beautiful and good.
 She took it down and ate it. Then, she also gave it to her husband, Adam,
 and he ate it as well.'

However, in contemporary speech, the complementary distribution of *nce* and *ënghe* is not always respected because the stressed form, sometimes shortened to *ënghe*, tends to be used even as an additive particle in the narrow sense (i). Thus, there seems to be an on-going simplification of the system, with the form *nce* being used less and less frequently. The types (ii) and (iv), on the other hand, are never mentioned in the extant works on Gardenese; thus this article offers a first overview of their use.

In the following paragraphs, we discuss and exemplify the four functions of the additive particle and the distribution of *nce* and *ënghe*. In section 45, we focus on a particular property of Gardenese: unlike German, it allows to refer back to a null subject in internal position – recall that in German, on the other hand, only null constituents in topic-drop instances (thus, in first sentence position) can be referred back by *auch*.

4.1 *Nce* as an additive particle

One of the main characteristics of additive particles in the narrow sense is that they precede their Das. Gardenese uses *nce* here, as the following examples show:

- (44) (*God created the world and the material creatures*)
 Iddie à **encie** cherià [en gran numer de cröatures spirituèles]_{DA} (...).
 (CL-PSB)
 God has also created a big number of creatures spiritual
 ‘God also created many spiritual creatures.’
- (45) Duc chëi dla val se nuzea pa de tl auto. Po cul tëmp
 all those of-the valley se use PART of any car then with-the time
 ruverëis bën **nce** [Vo]_{DA} pro n auto, sce l’idie uel. (CL-PPSR)
 reach surely also you to a car if God wants
 ‘All the inhabitants of the valley use a car. Some day you will also be able
 to have a car, if God wants.’
- (46) sën chësc ie bel i ani dijon do la- do la viera,
 now these are already the years we.say after the after the war
 do l’ultima viera su scola tudëscia deguna y po foa
 after the last war on.school German none and then was
 l tëmp che te Südtirol y **nce** [te Gherdëina]_{DA} messò unida-
 the time that in South.Tyrol and also in Gardena had.to come
 unida metuda su la scola. (VL-SD)
 come put up the school

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‘Now these are the years, let’s say after the war, after the last war. There was no German school at all. And then the time came when in South Tyrol, and in Gardena as well, the school had to be re-established.’

The data above come from different sources: (44) and (45) are taken from texts written in different periods ((44) is a translation of a short version of the Bible in German, published in 1913, and (45) is from an original theatre comedy first presented in 2001). The data in (46), on the other hand, come from the video interview. In (44) and (45), the DAs of *nce* are

two DPs, which have the role of the object and the subject, respectively. Note that, in (44), the additive particle and its DA are not adjacent because the participle is located between them. This is a common pattern when the DA is post-verbal, both in Gardenese and in Italian (the translation of (44) would be *Dio ha (anche) creato (anche) le creature spirituali*). In any event, the context makes it clear that *nce* has scope over the direct object and not over the participle because the different creations of God are described in the previous sentence. In (46), on the other hand, the DA is a prepositional phrase.

As noted above, younger speakers tend to extend the use of *ënghe* to these cases too: In fact, in the recordings of the corpus *Kontatti* (see footnote 5), we found no instance of *nce*, while *ënghe* (sometimes in the shortened form *ëngħ*) was used in all contexts. The following examples show this extension:

- (47) (A reads aloud the question “With whom would you never speak Italian?”)
(K_Gar01A)

B: eh # chël ven bën **ënghe** [da me]DA dant! # chël ie
eh that comes indeed also at me before that is
bën **ënghe** [da me!]DA
indeed also at me

‘Yeah, this question is also written in my questionnaire. I also have it.’

- (48) A: l ie suënz chëi che reiona tudësch # dijon me n- #
it are often those that speak German we.say only a
sciche n cumpani Roman (...) y po ie ei bën
such.as a friend Roman and then I have indeed
scumencià a rujenë cun ël # ladin # hãlt ie rejoni sciald
begun to speak with him Ladin at.least I speak much
B: cun ël ladin # eh
with him Ladin yeah
A: y **ënghe** [Samira]DAche lëura cun me # rejoni ie # scialdi
and also Samira that works with me speak I much
ladin **ËNGHE** (K_Gar03A)
Ladin also

- 'A: There's often someone that speaks German, let's say a friend, like Roman (...) and then I started using Ladin with him, I mean, I speak often
 B: Ladin with him, yeah.
 A: And Samira as well, the girl that works with me, I also use a lot of Ladin [with her].'

As with *nce*, *ënghe* can also be associated with both PPs (47) and DPs (48). Note that there are two instances of *ënghe* in the last example: the first is an instance of an additive particle in the narrow sense, while the second is the focalised particle (iii).

4.2 *Nce* and *ënghe* as sentence connectors

In the section above, we saw that the use of *auch/anche* as a sentence connector is quite restricted, and its use differs in German and Italian. In Gardenese, we found some instances that all seem to follow the same pattern, independently of the additive form used: *ënghe/nce* is always in the post-verbal position, and can be separated from the verb simply by clitic forms or other particles. Note that this is the same position as the focalised *ënghe* (see 43), the difference between the two functions being signalled only by intonation (see above): When used as sentence connectors, both *nce* and *ënghe* are unstressed, as shown by the fact that the final *-e* of *ënghe* is often dropped. Note that the alternation between *nce* and *ënghe* in this use was already found in the *Pitla Bibia* (1913), examples (49–50):

- (49) [Joseph was Jacob's favourite son. Therefore, his brothers started hating him.]
 La ie **ënche** suzzedùda, che Usciöpp s' à semìa en iède
 it is also happened that Joseph self has dreamed one time
 zöcche de straórdinarió. (CL-PSB)
 something of extraordinary
 'In addition, once it happened that Joseph had an extraordinary dream.'
- (50) Usciöpp i à pò dat a si père l paisc de Ghèssen
 Joseph him.DAT.CL has then given to his father the village of Ghèssen
 per stè illó. Chesc paisc fòva ric de pastures.
 for stay there. This village was rich of pastures

Usciöpp i mantenìva **encie** de dutt, chël che i adurvòva.
(CL-PSB)

Joseph them.CL fed also of everything that that they.CL needed
'Joseph gave then his father the village of Ghessen as place to live. This village
had many pastures. Joseph supported them also with everything they needed.'

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- (51) fineda la magistrale, tlo te Gherdëina, [foel] **ënghe**
finished the teachers.school here in Gardena was-it.cl also
[grandiscima ëura de abiné ca nsegnanc per ch'sta scola tla
very.big hour of find here teachers for this school in-the
tla Ladinia]
in-the Ladinia
'I finished the school for teachers, and here in Gardena it was also really ur-
gent to find teachers for this school in the Ladin valleys.'
- (52) B: ce es'a scri dala undesc? # savos' a iló
you.have PART written of-the eleven you.know PART there
ce scri? (...)
what write
C: eh chël che Sara à di ie # d' un cont vëira (.) o scenó [ie
eh what that Sara has said is # of one side right or otherwise I
m' ei] **ënghe** [mpensà]_{DA} # l ie pa bën tel cërta
me.CL have also thought it.CL is PART really such some
jënt che n ie usei a rujené tudësch # ënghe sc' i
people that one.CL is used to speak German also if they.CL
sà ladin! (K_Gar03A)
know Ladin
'B: What have you written for the question 11 ["with whom do you speak La-
din?"]? Did you know what to say there? (...)
C: Well, on the one hand, what Sara said is right. Or otherwise, I was also
considering that there are people with whom one is used to speaking German,
even if these people also know Ladin.'

In all these examples, the sentence containing *nce/ënghe* is an addition to what has been said before, and the additive particle does not have scope over a specific DA, but over the entire sentence. This can be seen by the fact that *nce/ënghe* can be replaced by another adverb, such as 'in addition, moreover'.

4.3 *Ēnghe* as focus domain

The use of *ĕnghe* as focalised element, thus bearing a focus accent and referring to a preposed DA, is very common in Gardenese, as it is in German. Note that we have not found any occurrence of *n̄ce* for this function; only *ĕnghe* is used since the oldest texts and this explains why *ĕnghe* is considered to be the ‘strong’ (or stressed) form. page | xxxi

- (53) Iló fajjòvi nòzza y **encie** [l’ óma de Gesc’ù]_{DA} fòva da
 there made-they.CL marriage and also the mother of Jesus was of
 nòzza [Gesc’ù y si sculèies]_{DA} fòva **ĒNCHE** enviëi. (CL-PSB)
 marriage Jesus and his disciples were also invited

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‘A marriage was celebrated and Jesus’s mother was also invited. Jesus and his disciples were also invited.’

- (54) Sën ne se desperon me nia y penson plutosc a nosc afari
 now NEG.CL SE lose.hope only not and we.think rather to our business
 Me per di tl pitl manz (...) chël se á pa zidlá bēdebo bel.
 only to say that small bull this se has PART reared quite beautiful
 [Iló]_{DA} musseral pa bēn **ĒNCHE** cialé óra zeche. (CL-PPSR)
 there will.have.to-IT.CL PART surely also watch out something
 ‘Now we shouldn’t lose hope and we should rather think of our business. To give an example, that small bull (...) has grown up to be quite beautiful. We should get a good amount of money for him.’

- (55) ma roba de dlíeja oi fat “lauda ala madona” (...) pooo tei pitli
 but things of church had.I done “lauda to-the Madonna then such small
 sātze sciche “pra capela sun nosc pra flēur na siena for
 music.pieces suchas “at.the chapel on our lawn flowers a bush always
 d’ instà” (...) [na mēssa]_{DA} éi **ĒNGH** fat (VL-SD)
 of summer (...) a mass have-I.CL also done
 ‘As far as church music is concerned, I wrote a “lauda for the Madonna” (...) and then small pieces such as “At the chapel on our lawn a bush always flowers in summer” (...) I also composed a mass.’

- (56) A: eh # eh # B es dit ie ilò! # Eh!
 yeah yeah B you.have said is there yeah

- B: B # B ie ilò # [da me]_{DA} ĒNGHE. (K_Gar01B)
 B B is there at me also
 'A: Yes, yes, you have said that the point B is over there, on the map.
 B: Point B is over there... on my map as well.'

As the examples show, the DA can have different syntactic roles even in these cases: It can be the subject (53), an adverb ('there', 54), the direct object (55) or a prepositional phrase (56).

4.4 *Nce/ēnghe* as a modal particle

Finally, the last use of additive particles is the modal one. As we have seen, this use is also more common in German than it is in Italian. In Gardenese, we found a number of occurrences, the amount of which may be related to the contact with Tyrolean. In the older texts, we found the exclusive use of *nce* with this function (although a deeper analysis is needed), and the same holds for the video interview with the older speaker. The recent theatre comedy uses both *nce* and *ēnghe*, while the younger speakers, as noted above, only use *ēnghe* for all functions, this one included.

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- (57) 'L fòva pò 'n drē' bon crestián, 'n gran amíc di prövesc y
 he was then a really good Christian a big friend of-the priests and
 di capuzíneri; y can che i univa a petlè, i dajòve-l
 of-the Capuchins and when that they.CL came to beg them.CL gave-he.CL
 for de böla gran turnèdes de smauz; per chël òve-l 'nce la
 always of nice big pieces of butter; for that had-he.CL also the
 benedesción te cësa y dlonc òra per si campagna. (CL-SVM)
 blessing in house and along outside for his country.
 'He was really a good Christian and a good friend of priests and monks, and
 when someone asked for charity, he gave them big pieces of butter; therefore,
 his house and his fields were blessed.'
- (58) Piere ie cresciú sú valënt y volontif te si lëur.
 Peter is grown up good and willing in his work.
 Perchël se al nce giatá sú na bravia fëna (CL-PPSR)
 Therefore se has-he.CL also found up a good wife

‘Peter grew up as a good person and a great worker. Therefore, he found a good wife.’

- (59) Chësta jëuna me á fat a bona mprescion. E he, chesta muta
 this young me.CL has made a good impression well this child
 muessa sen avëi fat pea zeche bele dal’ infanzia
 must se=of.it.CL have done with something already from-the childhood
 nsú, sceno ne pudëssla rujené tan da fundamënt.
 upwards otherwise not.CL could=she.CL speak so.much of wisdom
 Puere muta, muessa se n jí da n luech al auter a se crí
 poor girl must se of.it.CL go from a farm to-the other to se look.for
 n patron, y po n urté n drët, chël ie pa **ënghe** sche tre
 an employer and then of.it.CL find a right.one that is PART also like pull
 óra dl lôt.
 out of-the Lotto

‘This girl gave me a good impression. Well, her life must have been not very easy since childhood, otherwise she wouldn’t talk with so much wisdom. Poor girl, she must go from one farm to the other to find an employer, and moreover it’s not easy to find a good one, that’s like winning the Lotto.’

- (60) a cësa ans te n pachetl de ti pitli libri: *Erzählungen*, sce n
 at home had.we such a packet of so small books tales if one
 possa di per tudësch sën (...) y un n tel librët me dajova l’
 can say for German now (...) and one a such booklet me.CL gave the
 oma for pea (...) a cësa rujenans dialect. tirolerisch, nsci,
 mother always with at home spoke-we dialect Tyrolean so
 chël savoa duc. ma a chëla maniera éi **nce** mparà a
 that knew everybody but in this manner have-I.CL also learned to

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cunëscer chël n pue (VL-SD)
 know that a bit

‘At home we had a packet of small books: “*Erzählungen*” (tales), if I may say it in German (...). And my mother always gave me one of these booklets (...) at home we spoke [German] dialect. Tyrolean was known by everybody, but in this way (i.e. by reading books) I learned a bit of written German.’

In all these examples, *nce* and *ënghe* operate over the entire sentence at a modal level. This means that a new proposition is added to the preceding

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In the preceding sections, we saw that Gardenese has quite a peculiar system of additive particles due to the coexistence of two forms: *ncc*, which is the additive particle in the narrow sense, and *ënghe*, which is used first of all in focal contexts, and the frequency of which in the data resembles German. However, in the corpus of oral data, *Kontatti*, we found evidence for one more feature of Gardenese, which is also found in German (see Section 33), namely the use of the focalised *ënghe* with a phonologically empty DA. Consider the following examples:

- Both examples have a focal *ɛ̃nghe*, the DA of which is, as the context shows, a silent first person singular pronoun: both speakers express here that they have

the same symbol B on the map that the other informant has.¹¹ The origin of these examples can be imagined as a crossing of the Romance nature of Gardenese, which is a partial pro-drop language (that is, it uses null subjects in unmarked contexts for the first person singular, as well as for the first and second person plural) with the strong influence of German, which has led to the introduction of the focal *ënghe* in Gardenese. The outcome “*pro* + focal *ënghe*” seems thus to be an original property of Gardenese, which is structurally different from the German use of *auch* with topic drop (note that the *pro* is not in the sentence initial position in these examples, see above, Section 34, example 21a), and which deserves more attention and research in the future.

5. Conclusions

In the present contribution, we provided a classification of the usage patterns and main functions of German *auch*, Italian *anche* and Gardenese Ladin *nce/ënghe*. We showed that:

- (i) Despite structural and typological differences, all particles displayed the same four main functions (additive particle in the narrow sense, sentence connective, focus domain and modal particle).
- (ii) The usage pattern of the focus domain is typical of Germanic languages such as German and Dutch. Ladin also exhibits this pattern, which corresponds to the usage of the focused *ënghe*. In Italian, by

¹¹ Note that the ending *-i* of the verb was originally a subject clitic pronoun. However, most speakers have now reanalysed it as a pure verbal ending, including the informants cited, who used the *-i* for all verbs in the first person, irrespective of the context, which may or may not require an enclitic subject pronoun. Therefore, in the examples at hand, we really have to posit a null subject in the DA.

contrast, *anche* as a focus domain is very marked due to the principle of right scope. In this case, the strategy of pronominal copy is usually preferred.

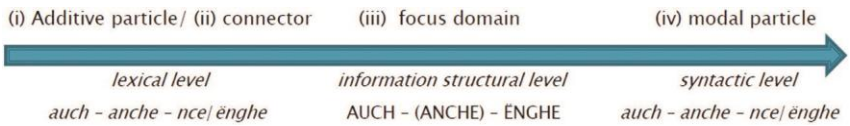
- (iii) German *auch* as a modal particle is both much more frequent and more extensive than are Italian *anche* and Gardenese Ladin *nce/ënghe*, since it appears in different sentence types, whereas the modal interpretation is only possible in declarative sentences in the Romance varieties. With regard to the pragmatic contexts, German *auch* and Italian *anche* both appear in utterances that express either mitigation or reproach. By contrast, *nce/ënghe* only occur in utterances with a mitigating/justifying function in our Ladin data.

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These four functions can be conceived of as being distributed along a continuum that begins with the more lexical meaning and concludes with the most grammatical one. In fact, the additive particle in the narrow sense and as sentence connective displays its basic additive meaning at a lexical level operating on a DA, which can be a phrasal constituent or an entire clause. When the particle is focused, the abstract operation of adding an element to a list is itself the focus, whereas the added element (the DA) is expressed as a topic that can also be dropped in certain contexts. As a focus domain, the additive particle operates on the information structure. In the modal particle pattern, the additivity is exploited at a highly abstract level. In fact, the particle operates syntactically by projecting a proper modality layer.

Image 2: Additivity continuum



Many questions are still open within this main area of research; for example, the criteria according to which speakers choose between patterns 1 and 3 in German and Ladin are anything but clear. In (63), the two patterns are repeated for German:

- (63) a. (*Paul went on holiday*)
AUCH [Johannes]_{DA} ist in den Urlaub gefahren
 'Johannes also went on holiday'
- b. Johannes ist **AUCH** in den Urlaub gefahren
 Johannes is also on (the) holiday gone
 'Johannes also went on holiday'

As observed in the literature, the focused *AUCH* (63b) does not admit the scalar interpretation. The same holds for the Gardenese Ladin *ĒNGHE*. Furthermore, the two patterns display different information structures. In this regard, the question that arises is the conversational contexts in which each pattern fits. In fact, in the following example taken from FOLK, only pattern three seems to be felicitous in the given context (see (64) compared to (65)):

- (64) (*PA is talking about the food of the evening before and mentions turkey. Speaker JO intervenes*)
 JO: Pute kann ich gar net mehr essen (.) seit ich irgendwie se ma gesehen hab wie se die züchten

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'I haven't been able to eat turkey since I kind of saw it, how they breed them'
 PA: Gott, schweine kannst dann **AU** nimmer essen
 God, pigs can-you then **ALSO** no-more eat
 'God, you can't eat pigs anymore then.'
 (FOLK_00066)

- (65) ?PA: Gott, **au** schweine kannst dann nimmer essen
 God, also pigs can-you then no-more eat

In (64), the focalisation of additivity also seems to imply the focalisation of the truth value of the sentence (see Gutzmann 2010: 126), which is ruled out in (65). This requires further investigation.

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