

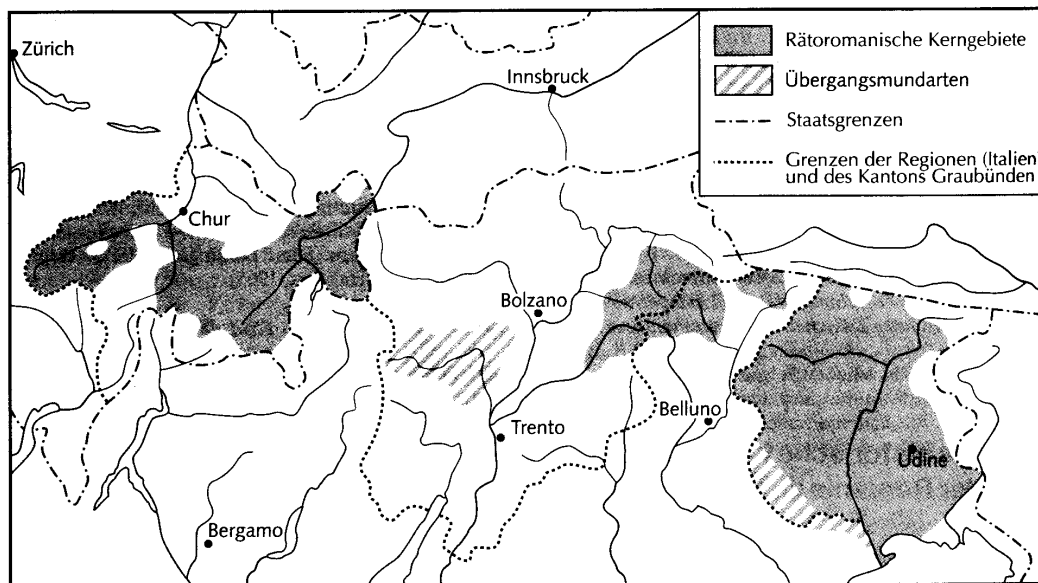
# Looking for partitives in Alpine Romance

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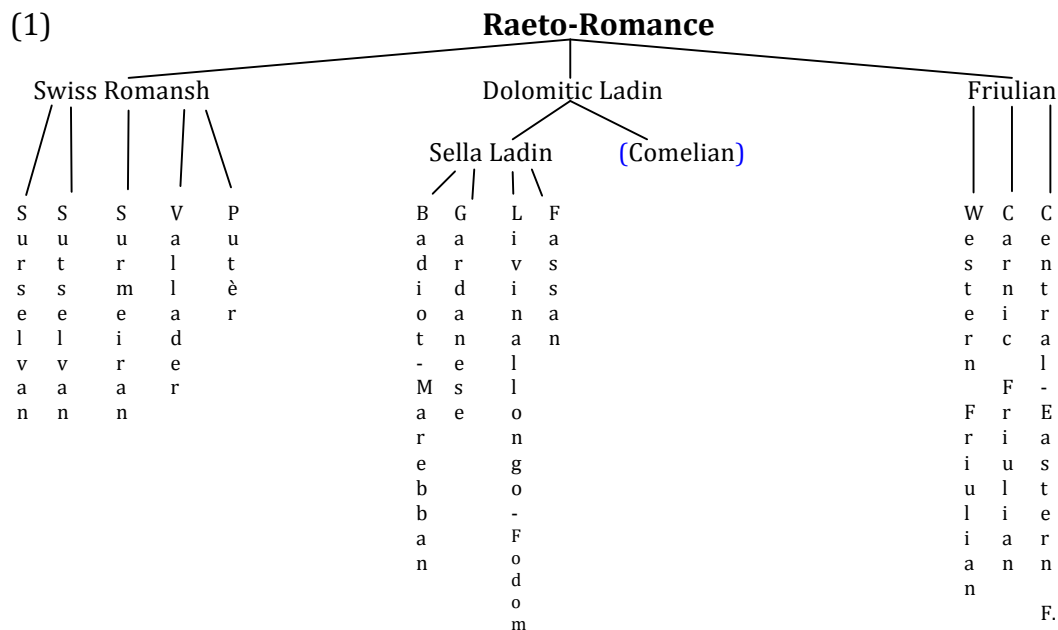
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## 1 Introduction: Alpine Romance Varieties



(nach Ladinia 1, 1977)

Fig. 1: The Raeto-Romance language territories today (Kristol 1998:938)



(Kaiser, Carigiet & Evans 2001: 185)

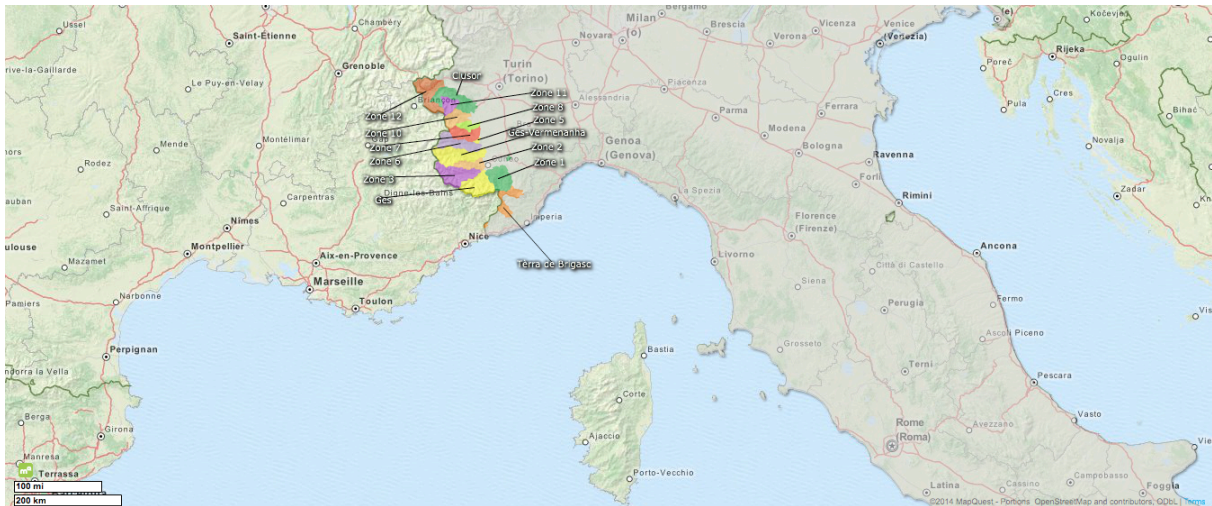


Fig. 2: The Occitan speaking valleys in Piedmont (Valadas occitanas)  
<http://www.targetmap.com/viewer.aspx?reportId=13517>

## 2 Research methods

- ⇒ research on parallel texts (Stolz 2007, Wälchli 2007):
  - enables the comparison of the very same kind of construction, expression or lexical item in texts from different languages (or different varieties of languages)
  - constitutes a large data base for research
- ⇒ using Bible translations as parallel texts (Kaiser 2005, Enrique-Arias 2013):
  - highest number of texts
  - highest number of languages
  - suited for diachronic studies - even for very early periods
  - relatively easy access to texts in electronic format and relatively easy transformation into digital corpora
  - usually no copyright problems
  - in spite of representing a very archaic text type and having a quite specialized register, the bible contains a considerable amount of natural-sounding direct speech
  - high number of translations available for minority languages (and varieties)
- ⇒ the present contribution mainly bases on bible translations (New Testament)
  - comparing translations into French and Italian with translations into Friulian, Dolomitic Ladin and Swiss Raeto-Romance
- ⇒ in addition, we also started data collection by means of questionnaires

### 3 Research questions and results

#### 3.1 The *what-* and the *where-*question

⇒ do we find partitive articles, partitive pronominals and/or specialized partitive cases etc. in Raeto-Romance (and Occitan)?

⇒ if yes, in which varieties do they appear?

- a disclaimer on terminology:

Throughout this paper, we will refer to elements like Italian *del/della, de(gl)i/delle* in (2) with the label PARTITIVE DETERMINERS:

- (2) a. Gli ho versato **del** vino // **della** birra.  
 DAT.3SG.M have-1SG poured PD-M.SG wine PD-F.SG beer
- b. Ho visto **dei** ragazzi // **delle** ragazze.  
 have-1SG seen PD-M.SG boys PD-F.SG girls

Nonetheless, we adopt this rather traditional characterization just for descriptive purposes. At a deeper level of linguistic analysis, we agree with contributions that point out the fundamental difference between the constructions in (2) and 'true' partitive constructions, both syntactically and semantically (cf. Cardinaletti & Giusti 2014; Tovina & Giusti 2013; Storto 2003).

- general observations:

➤ there are crucial differences with respect to the distribution of PARTITIVE DETERMINERS when comparing French and Italian:

(3)	Swiss Raeto-Romance	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	Ed el als dschet: Seguitai a mai, schi vögl eu far our da vus <b>peschaders da glieud!</b>	Y ël dij a d'ëi: "Unide, stajëme do! Le ve fajeré <b>pescadëures</b> de jënt!"	E ur dîs: «Vegnît daûr di me e jo us fasarai deventâ <b>pescjadors</b> di umign».	E disse loro: «Venite dietro a me e vi farò <b>pescatori</b> di uomini».	Jésus leur dit: «Venez avec moi et je ferai de vous <b>des pêcheurs</b> d'hommes.»
Mt 4:19	And He said unto them, "Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men."				

(4)	Swiss Raeto-Romance	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	Ma pro el gnit blera glieud chi avaiva cun sai <b>zops,</b> <b>strupchats,</b> <b>orbs, müts</b> e blers oters, ed els ils mettaivan davant seis peis. E Gesu ils guariva,	Po iel unit n grum de jënt da d'ël y ova pea <b>stoms, vierces,</b> <b>sturpiei</b> y truep d'autri melciafiei y amalei; chisc duc ai lascià sëura dan si piesc y ël i à varii.	Alore j va dongje unevore di int che veve cun sè çuèts, <b>pidimentâts,</b> <b>vuarps, muts</b> e unevore di altris malâts, ju poin denant dai siei pîs, lui ju vuarîs	e gli si avvicinò una grande folla che aveva con sé <b>degli zoppi, dei</b> <b>ciechi, dei muti,</b> <b>degli storpi</b> e molti altri malati; li deposero ai suoi piedi <sup>[1]</sup> ed egli li guarì.	Des foules nombreuses vinrent à lui, amenant avec elles <b>des boiteux,</b> <b>des aveugles, des</b> <b>infirmes, des</b> <b>muets</b> et beaucoup d'autres malades. On les déposa aux pieds de Jésus et il les guérit.
Mt 15:30	And great multitudes came unto Him, having with them those who were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet, and He healed them,				

(5)	Swiss Raeto-Romance	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	Ingün nu metta neir <b>vin nouv</b> in uders vegls, uschigliö schloppan ils uders, il vin va spans, e'ls uders van in malura; blerant as metta <b>vin nouv</b> in <b>uders nouvs</b> , ed amenduos as mantegnan.	N ne mêt nce no <b>vin nuef</b> te de vedla baghes, la baghes stlopa su scenó y l vin regor ora y la baghes ie ruinedes. Ma n mêt <b>l vin nuef</b> te <b>baghes nueves</b> y nsci se cunservea tramedoi."	No si met <b>vin gnûf</b> in bufulis vecjis, se-no lis bufulis si sprècin, il vin si spant e lis bufulis si butin vie, ma a metin <b>vin gnûf</b> in <b>bufulis gnovis</b> e ducjdoi a si conservin».	Neppure si mette <b>vin</b> <b>nuovo</b> in otri vecchi; altrimenti gli otri scoppiano, il vino si spande e gli otri si perdono; ma si mette <b>il vino nuovo</b> in <b>otri nuovi</b> e l'uno e gli altri si conservano».	On ne verse pas non plus <b>du vin nouveau</b> dans de vieilles outres; sinon les outres éclatent, le vin se répand et les outres sont perdues. On verse au contraire <b>le vin nouveau</b> dans <b>des outres neuves</b> et ainsi le tout se conserve bien.»
Mt 9:17	Neither do men put new wine into old wineskins, else the wineskins burst and the wine runneth out and the skins perish. But they put new wine into new wineskins, and both are preserved."				

(6)	Swiss Raeto-Romance	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	al dettan els da baiver <b>vin masdà</b> cun feil; ma apaina insajà, nu vulet el plü baiver.	ti ai dat da beber <b>vin mescedà</b> cun fiel; ma do l avèi ciarcià, ne l al nia ulù beber.	j dan di bevi <b>vin messedât</b> cun jerbis maris: lu cercje ma nol ûl bèvilu.	gli diedero da bere <b>del vino mescolato</b> con fiele; ma Gesù, assaggiatolo, non volle berne.	Et là, ils donnèrent à boire à Jésus <b>du vin mélangé</b> avec une drogue amère ; après l'avoir goûté, il ne voulut pas en boire.
Mt 27:34	they gave Him vinegar to drink mingled with gall. And when He had tasted thereof, He would not drink.				

- PARTITIVE DETERMINERS in Raeto-Romance:
  - it seems that PARTITIVE DETERMINERS are very rare in Raeto-Romance varieties
  - the only instances attested in the Bible corpus are arguably stuck in lexicalized expressions:

(7)	Swiss Raeto-Romance	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	Ma quant daplü ais ün uman co ün besch! Uschè esa permiss da far <b>dal bain</b> il sabat!	Y tan deplù vel pa na persona che no na biescia? Daviadechèl iel lezit fé <b>de bèn</b> l di de sada."	E un om al vâl unevore di plui di une piore! Duncje si pò fâ <b>dal ben</b> in dì di sabide.»	Certo un uomo vale molto più di una pecora! È dunque lecito far <b>del bene</b> in giorno di sabato».	Et un homme vaut beaucoup plus qu'un mouton! Donc, notre loi permet de faire <b>du bien</b> à quelqu'un le jour du sabbat.»
Mt 12:12	How much then is a man better than a sheep? Therefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days."				

- observation: in the translation into Sursilvan, the most ‘peculiar’ Raeto-Romance variety, a PARTITIVE DETERMINER is absent even in this context:  
 (8) Ed in carstgaun vala bein dapli ch'ina nuorsa! Consequentamein eis ei lubiu da far **ina bun'ovra** il sabat! (Mt 12:12)

Nonetheless, a preliminary questionnaire revealed that PARTITIVE DETERMINERS do exist in certain varieties of Friulian, e.g. the one spoken in Majano (UD):

- (9) Majano (UD)  
 a. Jar o ai viodut **des volps**.  
 yesterday SUBJCL.1SG have-1SG seen PD-F.PL foxes  
 b. Ue e vin cjolt **dei lens**.  
 today SUBJCL.1PL have-1PL bought PD-M.PL woods  
 ‘Today I bought some wood.’

Interestingly enough, though, the neighbouring variety of San Daniele (UD) shows a certain tendency in avoiding this type of determiner with mass nouns<sup>1</sup>:

- (10) San Daniele (UD)  
 a. Jar iaj vjodùt **das volps**.  
 yesterday have-1SG seen PD-F.PL vixen  
 b. Vuè ivin cjolt **i lens**.  
 today have-1PL bought DEF-M.PL woods

- a little remark on Piedmont Occitan:

- (11) San Michele (CN)  
 a. Ier ai vist **de vurp**.  
 yesterday have-1SG seen PD foxes  
 ‘Yesterday I saw some foxes.’  
 b. Enquei aven catà **de bosc**.  
 today have-1PL bought PD wood  
 ‘Today I bought some wood.’

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<sup>1</sup> Certain speakers appear to dislike plural PARTITIVE DETERMINERS, too, thus preferring constructions with quantifying nouns:

(i) Iar iai vjodùt **une grampe di volps**  
 yesterday have-1SG seen INDEF-F.SG a bunch of foxes

- PARTITIVE PRONOMINALS in Raeto-Romance:
  - a dedicated PARTITIVE PRONOMINAL form is attested in all Raeto-Romance varieties (in every case, the pronominal stems from Latin INDE):

(12)	Swiss Raeto-Romance	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	E d'vantet, cur cha Gesu eira a maisa in chasa da quel, cha eir b'blers publicans e pechaders as mettettan a maisa cun el e seis scholars; perche id eiran in b'blers chi'l seguivan.	Canche Gejù fova pra mëisa te cësa de chësc, s'ova nce sentà ju truep publicans y piciaďeures pra Gejù y si discepuli; l <b>nen</b> fova bele de plu che ti jiva do.	Po, j sucët di cjatâsi a taule in cjase di lui; ancje tancj di chëi des tassis e di pecjadors a jerin a taule cun Gjesù e i siei dissepui; a'nd'jere unevore, e j lavin dauri.	Mentre Gesù era a tavola in casa di lui, molti pubblicani e peccatori erano anch'essi a tavola con lui e con i suoi discepoli; poiché ce <b>n</b> 'erano molti che lo seguivano.	Jésus prit ensuite un repas dans la maison de Lévi . Beaucoup de collecteurs d'impôts et autres gens de mauvaise réputation étaient à table avec lui et ses disciples, car nombreux étaient les hommes de cette sorte qui le suivaient.
Mk 2:15	"While Jesus was having dinner at Levi's house, many tax collectors and sinners were eating with him and his disciples, for there were many who followed him.				

(13)	Swiss Raeto-Romance	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	Eir quel chi avaiva survgni ils duos talents gnit e dschet: Patrun, duos talents m'hast tū affidà. Guarda, duos oters <b>n</b> 'ha eu guadagnà pro quels!	Po iel unit chël che ova giatà doi talënc y dij: «Seniëur, tu m'es sëurandat doi talënc, cëla, <b>nen</b> é davanìa doi leprò.»	Al rive dopo chel dai doi talents, al presente altris doi e al dîs: "paron tu mi âs dât doi talents; viôt ch'o'nd'ài vuadagnâts altris doi".	Poi, si presentò anche quello dei due talenti e disse: "Signore, tu mi affidasti due talenti; ecco, [con quelli] ho guadagnato altri due talenti".	Jésus prit ensuite un repas dans la maison de Lévi . Beaucoup de collecteurs d'impôts et autres gens de mauvaise réputation étaient à table avec lui et ses disciples, car nombreux étaient les hommes de cette sorte qui le suivaient.
Mt 25:22	'The man with two bags of gold also came. 'Master,' he said, 'you entrusted me with two bags of gold; see, I have gained two more.'				

- Special partitive(-like) cases:
  - There is no 'special' partitive, or partitive-like case, i.e. there is no dedicated exponent separated from the one also encoding GENITIVE case

### 3.2 The *why*-question

⇒ why don't we find specialized elements to express partitivity in the Raeto-Romance Bible texts?

- hypothesis A:  
partitive articles correlate with the absence of a sigmatic, agglutinative kind of nominal plural marking, permitting to signal unambiguously countability, and with the absence of alternative morphological means to encode 'mass' (Stark 2008, 2013)
  - note that one of the crucial common characteristics of *all* Raeto-Romance varieties is the nominal plural marking with -s (Kristol 1998:942, Kaiser, Carigiet & Evans 2001:186) (see e.g. (3))
  - since, as demonstrated by Ihsane (2013), pronominals like French *en* are not bijectively associated with partitive determiners, the existence (and relatively frequent use) of *en*-like clitic pronouns in Raeto-Romance varieties does not qualify as a counter-argument
  - nonetheless, if partitive determiners indeed belong to the current inventory of functional items of Friulian (as our preliminary questionnaires suggest), a different explanation should be sought, or the proposed explanation should be refined.

=> need for further research on the geographical distribution of partitive determiners in Friulian varieties

- hypothesis B:  
partitive elements might correlate with the absence of strategies for marking individuated (i.e. definite, specific, animate) nominals, such as differential object marking (Körner 1987).
  - the only variety exhibiting DOM in Raeto-Romance is Engadine Swiss Raeto-Romance (Vallader and Putèr)

(14)	Swiss Raeto-Romance (Putèr)	Dolomitic Ladin	Friulian	Italian	French
	Ed els gettan in prescha e chattettan <b>a Maria, a Josef</b> , e'l <b>nouvnaschü</b> lovà aint il parsepan.	Y debota iesi jic y à giatà <b>Maria</b> y <b>Ujep</b> y <b>n fantulin</b> metù te na cianel.	A van di corse e a cjatin <b>Marie</b> e <b>Josèf</b> cul frutin poiât jù te grepie.	Andarono in fretta e trovarono <b>Maria</b> e <b>Giuseppe</b> e <b>il bambino</b> , adagiato nella mangiatoia;	Ils se dépêchèrent d'y aller et ils trouvèrent <b>Marie</b> et <b>Joseph</b> , et <b>le petit enfant</b> couché dans la crèche.
Lk 2:16	And they came with haste and found Mary and Joseph, and the Babe lying in a manger.				

(15)	Swiss Raeto-Romance (Sursilvan)	Swiss Raeto-Romance (Putèr)	Spanish	Rumanian	Sardinian
	Ed els ein I cun prescha ed han anflau <b>Maria</b> e <b>Giusep</b> ed <b>igl affon</b> tschentaus el pursepen.	Ed els gettan in prescha e chattettan <b>a Maria, a Josef</b> , e'l <b>nouvnaschü</b> lovà aint il parsepan.	Y fueron a toda prisa, y encontraron <b>a María</b> y <b>a José</b> , y <b>al niño</b> acostado en el pesebre.	Și, grăbindu-se, au venit și au aflat <b>pe Maria</b> și <b>pe Iosif</b> și <b>pe Prunc</b> , culcat în iesle.	E funt andaus de pressi e ant agatau e <b>a Maria</b> e <b>a Giusepi</b> e <b>a su pipieddu</b> crocau in sa papadroxa.
Lk 2:16	And they came with haste and found Mary and Joseph, and the Babe lying in a manger.				

➤ excursus: DOM in Swiss Raeto-Romance (Stimm 1986, 1987)

“Das [...] Akkusativobjekt [...] wird im E[ngadinischen], wenn es eine Person ist, in der Regel mit *a* eingeleitet:

*ę na tχatà a tai i na pęrs a męs bap* (ich habe dich gefunden und habe meinen Vater verloren). *no vain tramis a nos fameł* (wir haben unseren Knecht geschickt).

Eine Ausnahme können die unbestimmten Pronomina machen, wo neben der Form mit *a* auch das einfache Objekt stehen kann:

*vętsas intχün ?* (siehst du jemanden?), *na, ę na vets indyün* (nein ich sehe niemanden).

Steht ein Zahlwort vor dem Objekt, so fällt *a* weg:

*no vain tramis dus męs* (wir haben zwei Boten geschickt); *badyà dus ufants* (zwei Kinder getauft).“ (Augustin 1903: 45)

Study on DOM relaization in Swiss-Raeto-Romance (Mt 1-10)

object [+human]	Swiss Raeto-Romance (Vallader and Putèr)						Spanish	
	Bifrun 1560		Vulpius-Dorta 1743 [11679]		Samedan 1953		Reina Valera 1985	
	+ DOM	- DOM	+ DOM	- DOM	+ DOM	- DOM	+ DOM	- DOM
personal pronoun					3		3	
proper name & vocative („Good’)		2		6	4	4	3	1
definite DP [+topical]	1		1	1		1	1	
definite DP		34	2	44	8	40	36	3
indefinite DP		7		9		14	2	9

- hypothesis C:
  - partitive elements spread due to language contact and might form a 'partitive area' from South-Western Occitan across Southern France up to the Franco-Provençal area, French, Romansh and Northern Italian dialects, as well as Alemannic and Bavarian varieties in contact with them (Glaser 1993).
  - which insights can Slovenian-based varieties spoken in Eastern Friuli bring to the characterization of North-Eastern Italy as a possible partitive area?

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