Rebuilding the Rhaeto-Cisalpine written language: guidelines and criteria. Part III. Morphology, II: adjectives, pronouns, invariables

Claudi Meneghin
Institud de studis Rhaeto-Cisalpins
<claudi.meneghin@gmail.com>

Abstract

This paper is the third one of a series aimed at reconstructing a unitary Rhaeto-Cisalpine written language, including ISO 639-3 Piedmontese, Ligurian, Lombard, Emilian-Romagnol, Venetan, Ladin, Romansh, Istriot and Friulian. Following the assumptions and the conclusions of Part I we deal with the morphology of the adjective, adverb and invariables in the Padanese varieties.

Keywords: Rhaeto-Cisalpine, Padanese, written language, parts of the speech, morphology, Piedmontese, Ligurian, Lombard, Emilian-Romagnol, Venetan, Ladin, Romansh, Istriot, Friulian, classical and ancient Lombard.
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1 Introduction

This paper is the third one of a series aimed at reconstructing a unitary written-language system for the Rhaeto-Cisalpine (or *Padanese*) domain. The general framework we are working in is described in part I (Meneghin 2007) and II (Meneghin 2008) of this work; as far as specifically morphological issues are concerned, the reader is specifically referred to the introduction of Part II. This paper deals with matters related to the morphology of adjectives, pronouns and invariables in the Padanese varieties. As usual, phonological issues concurring to the formation of desinences will be discussed as well.

2 The adjective: making up the feminine inflexion

The general pattern of the adjective mostly coincides with that of the noun and, as such, it has been discussed in section 2 of part II. Here we will discuss in detail the formation of the feminine inflexion from the thematic root. According to Hull (1982, 455 ff.):

> adjectives derived from the Latin third declension tended to be assimilated to the first-second pattern in Gallo-Roman, although a distinct declension with common masculine and feminine endings survived, especially in the speech of the educated classes. Today, third declension adjectives of popular formation assume distinctive feminine endings throughout the Padanian amphizone, while Italian influence has reversed this pattern in many learned forms but the Ladin dialects, immune to Italian influence, retain intact the analogical feminine forms of Gallo-Roman.

This analogical form consists in forming the marked feminine form of the adjectives by adding the desinence *-a* to the thematic root (we deal only with singular declension: plural formation has been discussed in section 2 of part II, jointly with the morphology of nouns).

The AIS maps I; 186 (strong), VIII; 1578 (green) and VIII; 1583 (tender) essentially confirm the above view: the feminine inflexions of the above adjectives are: *fòrta* (everywhere except in Ligurian and southern Venetan, where we find the italianate *fòrte* instead), *verda* (almost everywhere: exceptions are Genova and Venice hinterlands, where we find *verde*) and the virtually universal *mòlla* `/m'Ola/`.

The AIS map VII, 1410 records the types *à la Piemontèisa*, *à la Francèisa* (in the Piedmontese, resp. French way) at point 181. Of course the title of Brero (1967) conforms to the above types.

Also interesting, as to this issue, the AIS table VII; 1266: here the adjective under scrutiny is *dolç* / *dolça* 'sweet, soft', but the lexical item investigated is «a sweet apple». Now «apple» admits the translation types *pom* (m.), *poma* (f.), *meil* (m.) and *meila* (f.), so the information conveyed by the table about the formation of the feminine inflexion is partial (the types *pom* and *meila* largely prevail). However, when the feminine vernacular forms of 'apple' are in force,

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only the adjective *dolça* is attested (Lombardy, Piedmont, Emilia-Romagna and the Ligurian AIS point 190: `/na m'era d'u:sa/`): this agrees with Milanese too, see here below.

Local contemporary grammatical treatises confirm the above view:

Romansh: Puter, Vallader; (Ganzoni 1983b, 54; Ganzoni 1983a, 55): *ün cudesch frances d'istorgia* 'a French book about history'; *ün cudesch d'istorgia francesa* 'a book about French history'; *ella tuorna trista* 'she comes back sad'; Romansh: Sursilvan (Spescha 1989, 279): «La fuorma feminina digl adjectiv anflan ins partend dalla fuorma predicativa digl adjectiv masculin. Enstagl digl *-s* predicativ aschuntan ins in *-a*.» For instance, we have the following Sursilvan forms for «green»: attribuitive adjective *verd*, predicative adjective *verds*, feminine *verda*; analogously *grond*, *gronds*, *gronda* 'big, large'. Standard *Rumantsch Grischun* of course fully retains this feature (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 91): «las furmas regularas dals adjectivs vegnan furma das cun: agiuntar in *-a* al masculin singular per designar il feminin: *curt-curta*, *brin-brina* ['short, brown']». See also Stich (2007, 75): «le féminin des adjectifs est formé par l'adjonction d'un *-a*, mais avec quelques aménagements orthographiques, en particulier pour les masculins proparoxytons.»

The situation in Dolomitic Ladin is completely analogous (Valentini 2001, 38): «La formazion dl feminin: sciche regola de basa per la formazion dl feminin vélel: feminin = mascolin + -a [...] Ejempli de agetifs: bel / bela, fort / forta, dur / dura, curious / curiousa, bon / bona, cuecen / cuecena ['nice, strong, hard, curious, good, red']»; also according to Schmid (1994, 68):

> die Bildung der Femininform ist insofern relativ einfach und unproblematisch, als -a (fas- sanisch -å) in allen Talschaften als spezifische Endung des Femininums dient (nur Ampezzo und in einigen Fällen Buchenstein verwenden daneben noch den wesentlich selteneren Typus forte m. = forte f.). Wo die Talschaften in der Behandlung einzelner Adjektive differieren, empfiehlt sich die Wahl jener Variante, die am besten dem genuin- ladinischen Laut- oder Formenstand entspricht, zB. franch / franca (so grd. fas.), nicht franco / franca (gad. fod. anp.), ebenso gop / goba, nicht gobo / goba oder gobe / goba, ferner cer / cera, nicht cere / cera, usw.

Friulian generally conforms to this model too (Zof 2008, 77), with the relevant exception of the adjectives with suffix *-âl*, which stay uniflected when turned to the feminine (but form the plural by adding *-s* and do not conform to the masculine model *-âi*). Of course, it should be kept into account that the singular feminine marker in Friulian is *-e*: *une impleade regionâl*, *dôs impleiadis regionâls* 'a regional (female) employee, two regional (female) employees', *atent* / *atente* 'careful', *dificil* / *dificile* 'difficult', *sutîl* / *sutîle* 'thin', *blanc* / *blancje* 'white'...

The situation in the Cisalpine subdomain is similar, but locally more variegated: for Piedmontese we have, from Brero (1967, 44, 34, 35), that the adjectives «a formo 'l feminin [...] second le régole studià për ël nòm sostantiv», which forms the feminine «pijand una *-a* a la fin». However, Italian influences are recorded, because the adjectives in *-al* stay uninflected when turned to feminine and those in *-il* admit both the feminine forms *-ila* and *-il*: *postal*, *trivial*, *carnal*

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'postal, trivial, carnal'; *vos sutila / sutil* 'light voice', *na cosa útil / útila* 'a useful thing'. The transitional dialect of Casale Corte Cerro (toward western Lombard) constructs the feminine inflexion always by adding *-a* (here phonetically realised as /6/) to the thematic root (Weber Wetzel 2002, 110).

As to western Lombard, in the Swiss domain (Tessin and Grisons) the feminine inflexion is carried out by the regular addition of the desinence *-a* (Giovanna Ceccarelli and Dario Petrini, p.c.).

According to Johannes Galfetti (p.c.), the suffix *-al* is a partial exception: some speakers could use *-al* as a feminine inflexion too, in in some contexts (compare Friulian above). The Swiss scholar proposes the following efficacious explanation: if a word is taken from the Italian superstartum (e.g. *normale* 'normal', both masc. and fem.), then it undergoes a first phonological adaptation to Ticinese by the elimination of the final *-e* («tücc i vocaj finaj diferent de *-a* i cròda»), inasmuch as a final vowel different from *-a*. This yields the feminine form in *-al*. Only if the current use of the word makes it '*organic*' to a local dialect, then an '*elaboration*' follows and a final *-a* is added to carry out feminine declension.

As a matter of fact, only a few items (less than 90 out of more than 57,000 in LSI 2004) display the suffix *-al* in Swiss Lombard, confirming that this desinence is somewhat extraneous to the present situation of the above linguistic system (this can be in turn imputed to the loss of the scientific ambit, where this kind of suffixes are rather important: this importances is of course carried over the context of language planning, see § 2.1.2).

The situation can be locally more regular notwithstanding: for instance the feminine of *bestial* 'bestial' is *bestiala* according to VSI (1957, vol. 2, 403); also, in Poschiavo valley (Grisons), «adjektiva der 3. Dekl. nehmen im Fem. die Endung *-a* an: forta (fort), granda, sitila, dulza, verda» (Michael 1905), while in Bregaglia valley the adjectives «follow the scheme of nouns, with the desinence -a when turned to feminine» (Giacometti 2003, 42–44), with the usual adaptation in case of epenthesis in a *muta cum liquida* group: *müt / müta* 'mute', *groi / groia* 'rough', *tevi / tevia* 'tepid' (cf. Fr. *tiède*), *blecc / blecia* 'very wet', *ideäl / ideäla* 'ideal', *legäl / legäla* 'legal', *ägar / ägra* 'sour', *combal / combla* 'full and convex' (cf. Fr. *comble*), *fleival / fleivla* 'feeble'. By contrast, the suffixed adjectives in *-äl / -äla* are accounted to tend to be replaced by the corresponding Italian ones in *-ale* without adaptation.

Milanese (Nicoli 1983, 116 ff) forms the feminine of the adjectives generally by adding *-a* to the thematic root (apart from the usual orthographical particularities), but it surrenders to the Italian superstratum for the adjectives ending in *-al*, *-él*, *-il*, *-z* when masculine (invariable when inflected to the feminine), with the following exception, worth citing: *dolz / dolza* 'sweet, soft'. Examples: *grand / granda* 'big, large', *smòrt / smòrta* 'pale', *verd / verda* 'green'.

In eastern Lombard (Bergamasque), «the feminine inflexion of the adjective ending by consonant is formed by adding the desinence -a for the singular» (Zanetti 2004, 48); of course a denasalised thematic *-n* appears again in the feminine inflexion: *sà / sana* 'healthy'. Examples: *bèl / bèla* 'nice', *longh / longa* 'long', *cört / córta* 'short', *fess / fessa* 'dense'; see also Razzi (1984, 130) and Bazzani

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& Melzani (2002, 29).

In Emilian Romagnol (Bolognese: Vitali & Lepri 2000, 16; Lepri & Vitali 2007, xiii, xiv) we find again the usual Padanese way of forming of the feminine inflexion by adding *-a* to the thematic root, but Italian influences are recorded for the adjectives ending in *-el*, *-il* which «tend to become invariable when inflected to the singular». Examples: *grand* / *granda* 'big, large', *bèl* / *bèla* 'nice', *sutîl* / *sutîla* 'thin'.

As to Venetan, an Italian-like two-class declensional pattern is accounted for in Brunelli (2005, 9–10) for central dialects, but more peripheral ones show Gallo-Roman analogical patterns: for instance, in the dialects of Valsugana (Prati 1917, 28) feminine inflexion is always formed by means of the desinence *-a*.

In Istrian, according to Deanović (1954, 28), adjectives follow a one class declensional pattern (*-o* for masculine and *-a* for feminine) in the dialect of Rovigno d'Istria, and according to Ive (1900, 49, 82, 117) similar conditions hold for the dialects of Rovigno, Pirano, Dignano and Gallesano.

The Ligurian situation is more complex: in Genoese, many adjectives follow an Italian-like two-class declensional pattern, but according to Toso (1997, 73), the Gallo-Roman analogical pattern comes to be re-established in the plural inflexions: e.g. *l'ommo forte*, *a dònna forte*, *i òmmi forti*, *dònne fòrte* 'the strong man, the strong woman, the strong men, the strong women'. Also, *grande* is the common masculine and feminine singular form for the adjective *big*, but the plural ones are *grændi* / *grænde*, both displaying metaphonic evolutions (Toso 1997, 73).

It is also worth noting that the Latin suffixation *-ale* yields *-â* for the masculine and *-æa* for the feminine, thus matching the Gallo-Roman pattern of analogical declension (Toso 1997, 281).

In the western Ligurian dialect of Olivetta San Michele (Azaretti 1989, 145), the Gallo-Roman analogical pattern is stronger: we have «first class feminine adjectives with sing. in *-a* and pl. in *-e*»: `/b'ela, b'ele/`, and also `/tS'ena`, `har'aja`, `kr'ya`, `byj'enta`, `d'uha`, `f'orta`, `iJur'anta`, `v'erda/` 'nice, full, salty, raw, boiling, sweet, strong, ignorant, green'.

To envisage the standard formation of the feminine for the Padanese adjective, we will make a departure from the usual elasticity which these pieces of language planning are inspired to. Indeed, in this framework, our major concern should be the reversal of language shift to Italian which is running, in this framework, by impairing the naturally established Gallo-Roman declensional pattern of the adjective.

Thus we recommend the standard Padanese singular feminine inflexion to be formed by adding *-a* to the thematic root of the adjective. The standard feminine plural will be *-es*, as for nouns: the localised variants *-a* / *-as* (Romansh) and *-e* / *-is* (Friulian) will be also allowed.

Of course, appropriate linguistic policy measures should be put in place to facilitate the convergence of the various local forms to the above proposed ones.

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2.1 Miscellaneous examples

2.1.1 *Granda*

The Rhaeto-Cisalpine toponym *Granda* (meaning 'large' – feminine) is rather vital: the following list of toponyms is a result of a query in the database of the Tessiner state archive (Archivio dei nomi di luogo – Archivio di stato – Repertorio toponomastico Ticinese). We first record municipalities, identified by their numebr in VSI followed by their official names (in Italian). Local toponyms follow (in Lombard, LSI fully accented broad-phonetic orthography):[1]

TABLE 1. *Ticinese local toponyms containing granda.*

10	Medeglia	bola gránda
12	S. Antonio	val gránda
15	Camorino	val gránda
22	Montecarasso	stála gránda di giüdes, er
		pciánc'a de cargagránda, er
23	Carasso	pastura gránda
24	Gorduno	mòto gránda
		vasca gránda
25	Gnosca	val gránda
26	Preonzo	via gránda
32	Darò	strada gránda, la
33	Arbedo-Castione	Cápela Gránda, la – Capelóna, la
		Crus Magna, la – Crus Gránda, la
		Cava Gránda, la – Cava dal Ambrosin, la
34	Lumino	Scára Gránda, la
40	Glaro	cápele gránda
41	Cresciano	Cava Gránda, la
		Vigna Gránda, la
		Sélva Gránda, la
42	Lodrino	mónda gránda
45	Biasca	Crós Gránda, ra
		Pèzza Gránda, ra
51	Malvaglia	cassína da spúnda gránda,ra
		brüsèda gránda
62	Prugiasco	ör péiscia gránda
68	Torre	cara gránda, la
		boca d'val gránda, la
		büzz val gránda, i
		val gránda, ra
		pass val gránda, ul
71	Aquila	valégia gránda
		scára gránda
		scára gránda

[1] Ticinese toponyms, as recorded by the state archive, in the local variety of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine language, ISO 639-3 Lmo (Lombard) (Stefano Vassere, p.c. 2008).

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72	Olivone	bola gránda, la
		crèss gránda
		dü'cia gránda, ra
		fáura gránda
		val gránda
		val gránda
80	Pollegio	monda gránda, la
		riva gránda, la
81	Personico	pastü'ra gránda
		val gránda
		zòta gránda
82	Bodio	gana gránda
83	Giornico	schèra gránda
		stála gránda
84	Sobrio	cróusc gránda, la
		gísgi gránda, la
		rivi gránda, la
		gísgi gránda
		val gránda, la
85	Cavagnagó	val gránda
86	Anzonico	biezz gránda
		funtána gránda
90	Chironico	áqua gránda, a l'
		lància gránda
		lö'ita gránda
		rivi gránda, la
91	Chiggiogna	cava gránda
		stréda gránda
93	Rossura	val gránda
94	Campello	géra gránda
95	Calpiogna	géra gránda
96	Faido	piazza gránda; (piazza gránda, la)
		gésa gránda, la
		val gránda, la
97	Mairengo	val gránda
98	Osco	val gránda
100	Dalpe	cápela gránda
		lüína gránda, la
		ri det la lüína gránda, u
		sáutro de la lüína gránda
101	Prato Lev.	bola gránda, la
		furnèsa gránda, la
		mota gránda
102	Quinto	brüsèda gránda, la
		bola gránda
		lö'ita gránda
		lö'ita gránda

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110	Airolo	dúcia gránda, la
		fópa gránda
		pèzza gránda
		sera gránda
111	Bedretto	lö'ita gránda, la
		pèzza gránda, la
		lö'ita gránda
120	Fusio	corona gránda, la
		zòta gránda bássa
		zòta gránda alta
		pizz da zòta gránda, lu
121	Feccia	corona gránda
		sáchia gránda; (sác'a gránda)
		mött da sáchia gránda, el
		zóta gránda
		zóta gránda
124	Menzonio	valmála gránda
130	Cavergno	valégia gránda
		coróna gránda
		coróna gránda
		sóstan gránda
		pòrta gránda
		coróna gránda
131	Bignasco	cápela gránda
133	Linescio	sgrússa gránda
134	Cerentino	faída gránda
135	Campo VMa.	buchèta gránda
		cápela gránda
		cápela gránda
		faèda gránda
140	Someo	mött da l'èrta gránda, al
143	Lodano	Sgérbia Gránda, la
		Còsta Gránda, la
145	Moghegno	Lüèta Gránda, la
147	Gordevio	pèzza gránda
		còsta gránda, la
148	Avegno	bássa gránda, la
152	Berzona	sulíva gránda, la
154	Russo	Campagna Gránda, la
		Sótt la Campagna Gránda
156	Vergeletto	val gránda
157	Crana	Fümèla Gránda, la
		Sérta Gránda, la - Serta, la
158	Comologno	Curúna Gránda, la
170	Brissago	bola gránda, la
173	Losone	bola gránda
		vòlta gránda
180	Solduno	tana gránda, la
181	Locamo	piazza gránda

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182	Orselina	spónda gránda
204	Gerra Verz.	Stála Gránda di Svampídri, er
215	Piazzogna	vigna gránda, la
216	Vira Gamb.	strada gránda
221	Bironico	valégia gránda
		zòta gránda
235	Breno	cort de gránda
236	Miglieglia	gránda, ra piánca
		piánca gránda, ra
241	Sessa	gésa gránda, ra
		gránda, ra gésa
255	Curio	val gránda
		piazza gránda
273	Vezia	piazza gránda
273a	Savosa	sélva gránda
275	Canobbio	Partida Gránda, la
280	Origlio	strada gránda, ra
284	Cagiallo	val gránda, ra
289	Corticiasca	piazza gránda
293	Colla	val gránda, la
333	Arogno	piazza gránda
		piazza da l'óa gránda
352	Novazzano	val gránda
		piána gránda
360	Coldrerio	crus gránda, la
363	Mendrisio	crus gránda
372	Balerna	Gésa Gránda, la

The following toponyms, containing the adjective *granda* (or its companion *gronda*) are official:

(1) Piazza Granda, Morcote; Piazza Granda, Sonvico; Strada Granda, Origlio (Ticino, Switzerland); Plazza Gronda, Lavin; Plazza Gronda, Almens (Grisons, Switzerland).

(2) Piazza Granda, Cles (province of Trent, Italy); Strada Granda, Colico (province of Lecco, Italy); Strada Granda, Nago-Torbole (province of Trent, Italy);

(3) Via Granda, Faver (province of Trent, Italy); Via Granda, Marano di Valpolicella (province of Verona, Italy); Via Ca Granda, Milan.

We cite also: the *Ciäsa Granda* museum at Stampa (Bregaglia valley, GR – CH) and the Piedmontese idiomatic expression *provincia granda* (`/pruv'intS@ gr'aNd@/`), or simply *la granda* used to refer to Cuneo Province. This locution percolated in Italian, mostly with the orthographical pronunciation `/prov'intSa gr'anda/` (thus via written language).

According to the web site Bulgnaiś and confirmed by Vitali (p.c.), the official Italian *Piazza Maggiore* in Bologna is traditionally named *piâza granda* (`/pj'a:T@`

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gr'aNd@/) in Bolognese (ORS: *plaça granda*); Via XX Settembre in Conegliano (province of Treviso, Italy) is traditionally known as *Contrada Granda* (see Köhler & Romor 2007), as well as Via Garibaldi in Monticelli d'Ongina (province of Piacenza, Italy; see this municipality's website: Monticelli D'Ongina, accessed on 2008 August).

The feminine *granda* also appears within commercial names, often mixed with Italian words: as a matter of fact, a google search for «granda» returned 30,700 results from Switzerland (Google 2008 Granda CH, accessed on 2008 July) and 437,000 from Italy (Google 2008 Granda IT, accessed on 2008 July). The Romansh form *gronda* yielded 94,200 results from Switzerland (Google 2008 Gronda CH, accessed on 2008 July).

2.1.2 Feminine adjectives in mathematics

We propose some examples of standard mathematical idioms, featuring feminine declensed adjectives, for Rhaeto-Cisalpine: Latin suffix *-alis* can yield both *-ala* (lesser used words) and *-ela* (high frequency words), matching French diachronic development. Of course, the final choice will be necessarily up to the users of the language.

TABLE 2. *Some mathematical idioms containing feminine adjectives.*

Continuation maximala	'Maximal continuation'
Frontera naturela/naturala	'Natural boundary'
Derivada partiala	'Partial derivative'
Derivada covarianta	'Covariant derivative'
Geometria diferentiala	'Differential geometry'
Convergença absoluda et conditionala	'Absolute and conditioned convergence'
Analysa complexa	'Complex analysis'
Seqüença convergenta	'Convergent sequence'
Curva regulera	'Regular curve'
Transformation inversibla	'Invertible transformation'
Forma quadràtiga	'Quadratic form'
La partida prinicipala del desenvilupament de Taylor arent una singularitat essentiala islada	'The principal part of the Taylor development near an isolated essential singularity'

3 The demonstrative pronoun/adjective

No particularly problematic issues are at stake about this item, so we confine ourselves in showing our proposed ORS orthographical standard, alongside with some local pronunciations and morphological features. We will also shortly discuss the leveling dynamics of this kind of pronouns / adjectives. The

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diachronical development of the Padanian demonstrative pronoun has been efficaciously described in Hull (1982, 490 ff.).

3.1 First and third person forms

TABLE 3. *The Rhaeto-Cisalpine demonstratives.*

First person Type *quest* < *ECCU ISTE				**Third person** Type *quel* < *ECCU ILLU			
singular		plural		singular		plural	
MASC.	FEM.	MASC.	FEM.	MASC.	FEM.	MASC.	FEM.
quest	questa	quistg questg quist quests	questes questas	quel	quela	quiy quilh quels	queles quelas

The orthographical groups *que* / *qui* will account for the various kind of pronunciations attested in Padania, like `/ke`, `ki/`, `/kwe`, `kwi/`, `/ku/`, `/kve`, `kvi/` and so forth (Hull 1982, 490); as usual, the group *st* will admit the pronunciations `/st/` or `/St/` according to the corresponding Indoeuropean isogloss (see Schmid 1956, maps).

Consonant *l* in third person forms has been degeminated in the ORS forms due to high-frequency character of these words.

The Occitano-Catalan demonstrative types *aquest* < *ACCU-ISTE and *aquel* < *ACCU-ILLE are sometimes attested in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain: if, on the one hand, «the Old Piedmontese *aquest* and *aquel*, alternating with *quest* and *quel* in the Subalpine Sermons, are doubtless Occitanisms», on the other hand «the forms *aquaist*, *aquel* [are] used in one Engadinish text of the early seventeenth century alongside the more usual *quaist*, *quel*» (Gartner 1883, 121 quoted in Hull 1982, 489); Hull (1982, 489) also accounts for *aquest* `/akw'est/` in the Bregaglia Valley, not accounted instead by Giacometti (2003).

Locally, there exists the first person type *est* < ISTE too: according to Hull (1982, 490), it «persists in its integral form only in Western Liguria and adjacent areas of Piedmont and Monferrat (Lig. *estu*, *esti*, *esta*, *este*; Monf. *ist*, *isti*, *ista*, *iste*). Elsewhere this pronoun, generally restricted to the adjectival function, was reshaped on the model of the definite article.»

3.2 Second Person Forms

The type *ess* < IPSE too is a Rhaeto-Cisalpine local type, persisting «in the Valsesia-Ossola zone, Piedmont, Monferrat and Western Liguria»; its vernacular outcomes are: Valses. `/is/` (`/jes/`) m. sg.pl., `/'isa/` (`/j'esa/`) f.sg, `/'isi/` (`/j'esi/`) f. pl., Monf. `/is/` (`/jis/`) m. sg., `/itS/`, `/its/` m. pl., `/'isa/`

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(/j'isa/) f. sg., /'ise/ (/j'ise/) f. pl., VLig. (Pigna) /'esu, -i, -a, -e/ (Hull 1982, 490).

This pronoun, like *est*, «has often been assimilated to the definite article», e.g. Pm. /@s mant'el/ 'that mantle', /sa v'aka/ 'that cow', /si pr'Eive/ 'that priests', /se t'Ote/ 'those girls', Valses. /is p'aN/ 'that piece of bread', /'isa r'ova/ 'that wheel' (Hull 1982, 490).

Also, «*su*, *si*, *sa*, *se* have assumed first person functions in the modern vernacular of Ventimglia», e.g. /su str'unku/ 'this twig', /sa st'ansja/ 'this room' (Azaretti 1977, 174, quoted in Hull (1982, 490)).

3.3 Neuter Forms

We recommend the generalised adoption of the neuter pronouns *çò/çòn* < *ECCE HOC and *lò/lòn* < ILLU HOC still widespread in Liguria and Piedmont (here *sòn* /sON/ and *lòn* /lON/), preserving the semantic distinction between *çò* (1st person) and *lò* (3rd person), e.g. Piedmontese: *i veuj sòn e pa lòn* (classical Piedmontese orthography), /iv'2js'ON ep'a l'On/ – *I vuelh çò(n) et pas lò(n)* (ORS orthography), 'I want this and not that', Fr. *Je veux ceci et non pas cela*.

3.4 Leveling of demonstrative pronouns/adjectives

According to Wartburg (1950, 100 ff.) the Teutonic superstratum led to the elimination of the second person demonstratives; also Hull (1982, 493):

> The South German substitution of a common demonstrative form (*dëë* in Swiss German) for the traditional first and third person pronouns *dieser* and *jener* is reflected in the general replacement of quest by quel in the vernacular of the Vorderrhein Valley and the recently extinct Ladin dialect of Samnauntal, e.g. Surs(ilvan) [/kwela kaza/] 'this house' ([/kweSta kaza/] in the literary language), compare the substitution of *cest* for *cel* in Late Old French .

A similar leveling of demonstratives is taking place in the Cisalpine domain, raising the need for the qualified nouns to be suffixed with adverbs of place compensating the loss of information: *quela cadrega-quilò* 'this chair', *quela cadrega-là* 'that chair', compare Fr. *cette chaise-ci* and *cette chaise-là*. This point of view is shared by Hull (1982, 493): «adverbs of place, suffixed to the pronoun or placed after qualified nouns, are regularly used to compensate for the loss of the three demonstrative degrees»; many examples are offered (quoted verbatim): Vent. sta kar'ega ki 'this chair', stu k'i 'this one' (compare Fr. *celui-ci*), stu l'i 'that one', sta d'Ona la 'that woman' (compare Fr. *cette femme-là*); Lom. kwest kurt'El k'i 'this knife' (compare Fr. *ce couteau-ci*), kwi: pjat-l'i 'those dishes', kw'ela t'Ola la 'that table' (compare Fr. *cette table-là*), Sern'is kw'esta k'i m'iga kw'ela-l'i 'choose this one and not that one'; cf. Surs. kwel-k'eu e tSel-l'eu 'this and that' (compare Fr. *celui-ci et celui-là*); Fri. kest frut ka e kel la 'this child and that one'.

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See also Nicoli (1983, 174 ff.) accounting for this leveling in contemporary Milanese.

4 The possessive pronoun/adjective

The structure of the Proto-Padanian possessive pronoun/adjective has been reconstructed by Hull (1982, 495 ff.). As to 1st, 2nd and 3rd person adjective pronouns, their declensional pattern was:

TABLE 4. *The Rhaeto-Cisalpine demonstratives.*

	Masculine			Feminine			
NOM. SG.	MEUS	>	*mès*	MEA	>	*me(i)a*	
OBL. SG.	MEUS	>	*mieu*				
NOM. PL.	MEI	>	*miei*	MEAS	>	*me(i)as*	(→*me(i)es*)
OBL. PL.	MEOS	>	*mès*				
NOM. SG.	TOUS	>	*tòs*	TUA	>	*toa*	
OBL. SG.	TOU	>	*tuou*				
NOM. SG.	TOI	>	*tuoi*	TUAS	>	*toas*	(→*tóes*)
OBL. SG.	TOOS	>	*tòs*				
NOM. PL.	SOUS	>	*sòs*	SUA	>	*soa*	
OBL. PL.	SOU	>	*suou*				
NOM. SG.	SOI	>	*suoi*	SUAS	>	*soa*	
OBL. SG.	SOOS	>	*sòs*				

whereas «the Padanian forms of NOSTRU and *VOSTRU (C.L. VESTRU) fit into the normal adjectival patterns» and «for the sixth person possessive the medieval dialects could use either the traditional *suou* [...] or the invariable genitive-dative pronoun *lor*» (Hull 1982, 497–498).

Today, a ususal amount of linguistic variation notwithstanding, the structure of this part of the speech is essentially unitary and the above pattern mostly preserved.

In the following table we display some local contemporary forms:

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TABLE 5. *Possessive adjectives/pronouns in Padania.* [2]

	ROH (1)	LLD (2a)	LLD (2b)	E-LMO (3)	W-LMO (4)
1st M	mes	mi	mie/miei	mé	mè
1st F	mia/mias	mia/mies	mia/mies	méa/mée	mia/mè
2nd M	tes	ti	tie/tiei	tò	tò
2nd F	tia/tias	tia/ties	tia/ ties	tò	tua/ tò
3rd M	ses	si	sies/siei	sò	sò
3rd F	sia/sias	sia/sies	sia/ sies	sò	sua/ sò
4th M	noss	nost	nost/nosc	nòst/ nòs-cc	nòst
4th F	nossa/ nossas	nosta/ nostes	nosta/ nostes	nòsta/ nòste	nòsta/nòst
5th M	voss	vost	vost/ vosc	vòst/ vòs-cc	vòst
5th F	vossa/ vossas	vosta/ vostes	vosta/ vostes	vòsta/ vòste	vòsta/vòst
6th M	lur	si	sie/siei	sò	sò
6th F	lur	sia/sies	sia/ sies	sò	sò

	PMS (5)	LIJ (6)	EML (7)	VEC (8)	FUR (9)
1st M	mè	mæ	mî	mé	gno/miei
1st F	mia/mie	mæ	mî	mé	mê/mês
2nd M	tò	tò	tô/tû	tó	to/tiei
2nd F	toa/toe	tò	tô/tåu	tó	tô/tôs
3rd M	sò	sò	sô/sû	só	so/ siei
3rd F	soa/soe	sò	sô/såu	só	sô/sôs
4th M	nòstr/ nòstri	nòstro/ nòstri	nòster/ nûster	nostro/ nostri	nestri/ nestris
4th F	nòstra/ nòstre	nòstra/ nòstre	nòstra/ nòstri	nostra/ nostre	nestre/ nestris
5th M	vòstr/ vòstri	vòstro/ vòstri	vòster/ vûster	vostro/ vostri	vuestri/ vustris
5th F	vòstra/ vòstre	vòstra/ vòstre	vòstra/ vòstri	vostra/ vostre	vuestre/ vuestris
6th M	sò	sò	sô/sû	só	lôr
6th F	soa/soe	sò	sô/såu	só	lôr

M = masculine; F = feminine; in each column plural forms follow the singular ones unless the two forms coincide; in western Lombard, plural feminine forms may be used for the singular ones too. Language ISO 639-3 code.

[2](1) Rumantsch Grischun, Rumantsch orthography (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 82); (2a) attr. adjetives and (2b) pronouns and pred. adjectives, Ladin Dolomitan, Ladin Dolomitan orthography (Valentini 2001, 49); (3) Bergamasque dialect, Dücat orthography (Zanetti 2004, 53 ff.); (4) Mendrisiot dialect, LSI orthography (Lurà 1987, 142); (5) Turinese dialect, classical Piedmontese orthography (Brero 1967, 46–47); (6) Genoese dialect, classical Ligurian orthography (Toso 1997,

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As an overall comment, we note the usual Rhaeto-Cisalpine distribution of plural forms (mainly feminine in-es and masculine in *-i*, sometimes in metaphonetic conditions). These local forms do not prevent mutual intelligibility, so they could be fully retained in global usage according to the principle of the respect of linguistic variation (compare Linell 2005, 11.1). Since there are no apparent 'most conservative' forms, two series of leveled common forms, using ORS orthography could be envisaged instead. This would follow the principles of *Rumantsch Grischun* (cf. Stich 2007, 136: «le Romanche Grison est, d'un certain point de vue, une forme plus évoluée que l'ensemble des variétés dont il est issu»):

Table 6. *Common forms for possessive adjectives/pronouns.*

	Masculine	**Feminine**		**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	mè/mes	mè/mes	4th	nost/nostg (nosts)	nosta/nostes
2nd	tè/tes	tè/tes	5th	vost/vostg (vosts)	vosta/vostes
3rd	sè/ses	sè/ses	6th	sè/ses	sè/ses

Plural forms follow singular ones.

We will not discuss here the various possible combinations of articles and possessives: this will be carried out in the part of this article dealing with syntax.

5 Relative and interrogative pronouns/adjectives

5.1 Outcomes of *qui, quis*

According to Hull's (1982, 502) reconstruction, the Proto-Padanian declension of this pronoun was:

Table 7.

			Tonic (Interrogative)	**Atonic (Relative)**
Nom. m.f.	QUI	>	quí	quí
Acc. m.f.	QUEM	>	qüin	que
Nom. Acc. neuter	QUID	>	qüe(i), que(i)	
Gen. Dat.	CUI	>	cui	cui

In the above scheme we have used ORS orthography.

99); (7) Bolognese dialect, Vitali-Lepri's orthography (Vitali 2005, 58); (8) supradialectal Venetan, Brunelli's orthography (Brunelli 2005, 5); (9) standard Friulian, standard orthography (Zof 2008, 67).

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While Monferrat, Norther Piedmont and Valsesia retained the Latin group /kw/ in the form /kwe/ and Sursilvan in the form /kwin/ (<QUEM?), the types *quí* (/ki/ < *quī*) and *que* (/ke/ < QUĬD) are mostly widespread in Padania alongside whith their palatalised counterparts *tgi* /tSi/ and *tge* /tSe/, typical of the Alpine domains (*tgi de nous?* /tSi da nu:s/ 'who of us?', Sursilvan).

Also widespread in western Padania are compound expressions like *que-còsa*, simplified to *còsa*, then sometimes crossed with *es* < EST and simplified further to give the interrogative particle *se*: *se veu-tu que a faga?* /sev'2t ka f'aga/ 'what do you want me to do?' (western Lombard). *Que-ròba* /ker'Oba/ and *que-laour* /kelau:r/ may also be found, the former being typical of eastern Piedmontese / western Lombard and the latter of the Bressan dialect.

According to Hull (1982, 504), the ancient distinction between the nominative relative pronoun *qui* and its accusative counterpart *que* has been lost today, with the exception of Engadine dialects (see also Ganzoni 1983a, 71; 1983b, 70); this feature has not been retained in Rumantsch Grischun (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 29).

5.2 Outcomes of *qualis*

The interrogatives *que* or *tge* can be replaced, following the French pattern, by *qual/qüel*: *in qüela tgesa stest-tu?* (/in kw'ela tS'eza SteSt ty/ 'in which house do you live?', upper Engadinian; *qual leit?* /kwal letS/ 'which bed?', Lombard; *quales carriegues* /kw'ale karj'ege/ 'which chairs?', Venetan, Hull (1982, 507)).

Also, the relative *qual* can be preceded by the definite article to replace a relative pronoun if semantic details are needed: this constructions fully parallels the French or the Italian ones.

6 Indefinite pronouns/adjectives

No particularly problematic issues are at stake concerning this item, so we confine in drawing a table with vernacular forms and proposed common ones, indexed on an English basis (source: Hull 1982, 510–518):

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TABLE 8. *Indefinite adjectives/pronouns.*

English	Source	Ors Rhaeto-Cisalpine type (ORS)	Vernacular types and examples (Sampa, except ancient scripta, in original form)
a little	PAUCUS	pauc/pauque	Sursilvan p'auk (pauks, pauka, -s), UEng. poc (-s, -a, -as), LEng. pak (-s, -a, -as); Lom. p0k, Pm. p0k (m. pl. p0ki), Lig. p'0ku (<pouku), Rom. p'oak (m. pl. puk); Ven. p'0ko, Anaun. p'2c, Gard. p'uek (p'uetS, p'uetSa, -es), Bad. p'yk (p'ytS, p'ytSa, -es); Fri. po:k (-s, -a/e, -is), Istr. pu'oko.
all	*TOTTU	tot	Rhen. tut, -s, -a, -as; Eng. t'uot, -s, -a, -as.
all	*TOTTU	tut/dut	Lig. t'ytu, Pm.WEm.Wlom. t'yt, ELom. t'2t, EEm.Plav. tut, Rom. tot, Ven. t'uto Dol. dut, d'yt, Cad. d'uto, Fri. dut, Triest. d'uto, Istr. d'outo.
any	Padanian internal construction	quí-se-seia / quí-que-seia / etc.	Lom. Trent. Ven. kises'ia, Pm. kisis'ia, ks@s'ia, Eng. ci ci s'aja, Nov. kikas'ia, Gard. ki ke s'ibe, Rom. kikas'Eja, Fri. kui k'al s'Ei, Lig. ki ke se s'edZe.
any	Padanian internal construction	que-se-seia	Eng. ce ci s'aja, Lom. keses'ia, Fri. tSe k'al s'Ei.
any	Padanian internal construction	qual-se-seia	Pm. kwals@s'ia s'yd'Ent, Lom. kwalses'ia prubl'ema, Ven. kwalses'ia s'erva, Venetian kwalses'ia.
certain	CERTUS	cèrt	SVen. na s'erta k'0sa, s'erti ma'istri. Friulan una tal f'Emine, un tal 0mp, una riss'orsa t'ala, +(*ed*)*un* Istr. sertid'ouN (pl. sertid'ouni 'certuni'), Rom. tsart'o˜n, Eng. tSert'yns (tSertad'yns) diZ'an.
every	OMNIS	onyi / onhi / onya / onha	OLom. *ogno ben*, *ogno tenor*, *ogna l'e*, *omnia cossa*; OVen. *ogno corno*, *ogna femena*; OVer. *ogna tempo*, *ogna mal*, *ogna cortesia* (Giacomino), OFri. *ogna anno*, *ogna domenica* (Statuti di Cividale); OMil. *onna gran*, *ognia bono*, *ugni fructo* (Barsegap'e); OGen. *ogni greco*.
every	Provençal *chasque*	chaque	WLig. tS'ake.
everyone	OMNIUNQUAM	onyonca / onhonca / omionca / minca	OLom. *omiunca*, *ognunca*, modern Rhaetian m'inca and Piedmontese m'inka, cf. Eng. m'inca di, Pm. m'inka di.

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everyone	*OMNIUNCANA	onyoncana/ onhoncana	OGen. *ognunchana fornimento*, OVer. *d'ognuncana grameça*. +(*ed*)*un*: Pm.Lom. `uJid'yN`, Lig. `uJ'yN`, Em. `oJid'2(i)N`, `oJid'2uN`, Rom. `iJ'o~n`, Ven. `oJi(d)'uN`, Gard. `uJ'oN`, Bad. `viJ'yN`, Fri. `oJid'uN`; Rhen. `minc'iN`, Eng. `minc'yn`, (Pm. `miNka 'yn`). +HOMO OVen. *ognom*, OMil. *omihomo*, OGen. *Ognomo*.
everyone	Old French *chascun* and Old Occitan *cadaun*	chascun/ cadaun	OLom. *çascun*, *zascaun*, *çascaun*, *chascun*; OVer. *cascun*, *cascaun*; OBol. *zascuno*, *cascuno*, *zaschauno*, OPm. *zaschaun*; OFri. *zaschaduno*, Piedmontese `tSask'yN`, `tSasked'yN`, Ligurian `tSask'yN`, Friulan `kada'uN`.
many	*EGO NON SAPIO QUANTI, -OS	ençaquantg/ ençaquants	Surs. `entsak'Ons`, `entsak'Ontas`; Eng. `varsakw'ants`, `-as` (x. DIVERSOS), Em. `insokw'ant`, `emsokw'ant` (`-i`, f. pl.), Ven. `rekw'anti`, `-e` (x. ?ALIQUANTI), Fri. `nasikw'aJ`, `nasikw'antS`;
many	MILLIARIU	milyer/bler	Rhen. `bi'a` (`bi'ars`, `biara`, `-s`), UEng. `bJ\er` (`-s`, `-a`, `-as`), LEng. `bler` (`-s`, `-a`, `-as`);
much	MULTU	molt	OLom. *molt*, OVen. *molto*, OGen. *monto*, OPm. *mult*, Em-Rom. `dimondi`, Pm. `mutubin @d`; *un molt de* (Fri. `unmOnt di formadi`, `unmOnte di paste`, `unmOntS di lo:r`, `unm'Ontis di f'Eminis`); `una u'ovra de` (Fri. `une v'Ore di r'Oba`).
much, many	TANTU	tant	Lig. `t'antu viN`, `tanta 'Egua`, `t'anti dr'api`; Lom. `t'ant am'u:r`, `t'antS am'i:s`, `t'anta b'ira`; Ven. `t'anto paN`, `t'anti 'ani`, `t'ante t'Ole`.
much, many	*TROPPU	truop / truep / tròp	Gard. `tr'uep` (`-(e)s`, `-a`, `-es`), Bad. `tr'2p` (m. pl. `tr'2c`, f. `tr'2pa`, `-es`), Fod. `trOp` (m. pl. `trOp`, `trOpa`, `-e`), Fri. `trOp` (`trOs`, `tr'Ope`/`tr'Opa`, `tr'Opis`).
nobody/ no	*NEC-ŪNUS	negun	Surs. `neJíN`, Surm. Eng. `inJýn`, `ynJýn`, UValt. `neg'uN`, `nig'uN`, `Jug'uN`, `Jig'uN`, Lom. `neg'yN`, `nig'yN`, OPm. `ne'un`, Pm. `ni'yN`, OBol. *negono*, OVen. *negun*, Dol. `deg'yN` (with dissimilation of the initial *n*-), Mar. `dang'yJ`, Fri. `ni'uN`, Istr. `iJi'ouN`, `niNg'ouN`.
nobody/ no	*NE-IPSI-UNUS	neixun	OLom. OVen. *nesun*, *nexun*, WLom. `nes'yN`, `nis'yN`), VBlen. `onts'yJ`, ELom. `nis'y`, `nis'2`, Lig. `niS'yN`, Em. `(a)ns'2N`, Lun. `ns'yN`, OBol. *nesono*, Bol. `intSON`, Rom. `ans'o~`, Pol. `Jis'uN`, Ven. Trent. `nes'uN`, `nis'uN`, Anaun. `ans'yN`, Fri. `nis'uN`, `Jis'uN`.

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nothing	*NŪLLIA (RES)	nulya/nulha	OVen. *nuja*, Eng. n'yL\a, n'2L\a, Posch. n'yL\a, Dol. Plav. nia, Fri. nuja, nuje, nu'e, nije, ni'e; to the Gallo-Roman neg'ota correspond the OLom. *negota*, OPm. *neota*, Surs. nuot, Eng. iNgw'ota, yNgw'ota, Valt. nig'Ot, Tic. nag'ut, nig'ut,
nothing	*NE GUTTA (lit. 'not a drop')	negota	NWLom. n'ota, n'uta, n'ot, Mil. nag'Ot(a), Em. ng'uta, Bol. Rom. ng'Ota, ELom. ang'ot, Anaun. eng'ota.
one	HOMO	om	OLom. *qè maior de negun como vedhes ancor* (Uguçon, 18), *qe vol ben com ie 'nsegne* (Pateg, 38); OPm. *aquela gent que hom apelava Philistiim* (Sermons, XVI): OGen. *mester è como li caze*; OVen. *como po omo credere*. Berg. am kanta, cf. pop. Fr. *on chante = nous chantons*.
one	UNUS	uns	Rhen. ins di, ins plid'ava rom'OntS a Kw'era; Engadinish 'yn, cf. 'yn pO.
other	ALTER / ALTERA / ALTERI / ALTEROS / ALTERAS	aultre / ailtre / aultres / aultra / aultras / aultres	Surs. 'auter ('auters, autra, -s), Eng. 'Oter ('Oters, 'Otra, -s), Valt. 'Oltru ('Oltri, 'Oltra, 'Oltri), Berg. 'Oter ('Oter, 'Otra, 'Otre), Fra. 'auter ('autri, 'autra, -e), Lig. 'atru, -i, -a, -e; Rom. 'Etar ('etar, 'Etra, -i); Ven. 'altro, -i, -a, -e; Gard. 'auter (autri, autra, -es); Fri. 'altri ('altris, 'altre/'altra, 'altris).
same	*METIPSIMU	medem	OLom. OVen. *med(h)esemo*, OPm. *meesme*, *meisme*, Pm. mid'em (also med'ezim, cf. Lig. m'eiZimu), Lom. Em. med'Em, Rhet. med'em, Ven. med'emo, Dol. med'em(o), Istr. mad'imo.
same	*IST-IPSU	estess	Pm. l'ist'esa stOria (for la mid'ema stOria), jist'esi dut'ur; RoM. e st'Es kr, al st'Esi p'igvar; Fri. l'ist'Es pi:t, lis ist'Esis c'azis, Engadinish (l'iSt'es), Cisalpine (l'inst'Es, l'ist'Es, l'ist'eso, etc.).
so great	TAM MAGNUS	tamany	OGen. OLom. *tamagno*, Bol. tamOJ, Fri. tamaJ, tomaJ, Carn. tav'aJ; tale' (Pirona).
so much / so many	TANTU	tant	Pm. t'aNte p'eNe, Surs. tOn p'auN, t'Ontas g'adas, Fri. tant timp, t'antis l'agrimis e tantS d'olors.
some	QUALIS + *QUE (cf. Fr. *quelque*, Occ. *qualque*, It. *qualche*)	qualque	Fri. kw'alki, Istr. k(w)'alko, Ven. kw'alke, Em-Rom. kv'Elk, Lun. k(w)'ark, Lom. kw'ai, kw'ei, kw'ak, Eng. kw'alce, Pm. kw'aik, kw'Eik, k'Eik, Gen. kw'arke, WLig. k'aike; *bon*, *ben* + *quagl* = 'many' Valtellinese bonakw'ai, benkw'ai.
some	*ALICŪNUS (ALIQUIS + UNUS)	alcun	OLom. *alcun*, OGen. *alcum*, Rhen. anc'iN, Eng. alc'yN (m. pl. alc'yns).

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some	*ALICŪNU	algun	OLom. *algun*, OBol. OVen. *algun(o)* and Dol. valg'uN.
some	TALIS	tal	Surs. in tal k'udiS, 'ina t'ala lav'ur, t'alas tS'ontSas; SVen. un t'alo birb'ante, na t'ala t'oza, t'ai pensi'eri, t'ale pars'one.
some/ someone	ALIQUID	alc/alg	LEng. m'yst. Alc, Gard. v'Elk, Bad. valk, Cad. 'algo, Fri. alk, OLom *alget*, Engadinish alc'et.
someone/ something	QUAL	quaydun/ quaycòs	*qual*, *quagl* + UN 'someone' UValt. kwal'uN, kwaj'uN, Lom. kwaid'yN, Pm. kwaid'yN, kwaikad'yN, kwaik'yN, Gen. kwarked'yN, Vent. kaik'yN, Rom. valkad'o˜n, Ven.Trent. kwalke(d)'uN, Fod. kelke'uN, Plav. kalke'uni, Fri. kwalkid'uN, Istr. kwalk'ouN, kwalkud'ouN; + cOsa Eng. 'ynkwalcosa, Lom. kwaikOs(a), kweikOs(a), Pm. kwaikOz(a), keikOz(a), Lig. kwarkOza, kaikOza, WEm. kwaikOza, kwarkOza, EEm. kval(k)kOza, Rom. kvalkoza, Pol. kolkOsa, Ven. Trent. kwalkOsa, Lun. kwarkO. Istrian k'alko, west Lombard un kwaikOs and na kwai rOba.
someone	*EGO NON SAPIO QUI	ençaquí,ençatgí	Rhen. entsac'i.
something	VERA GUTTA	vergota (cf. negota)	OLom. *vergota*, WLom. verg'ut(a), varg'Ot, ELom. erg'ot(a), arg'ot, Trent. verg'ota 'qualcosa'; verg'yN (erg'y) by analogy of *vergota*.
something	*EGO NON SAPIO QUID	ençaquei,ençatgé	Rhen. entsacei, Istrian nosk'e, n'oske, Gardenese ts'eke and Badiot c'etse, cits'e (cf. Fr. *je ne sais quoi*) un sok'e, Valses. un sokw'E (cf. Fr. *un truc*, *un machin*).
too much	*TROPPU	tròp	Lom. trOp 'Odi, tr'Opa pa'yra.

Finally, even if, according to Hull (1982, 550), «the declinable *nul* did not outlive the Old Padanian period (OPm. OLom. *nul*, OBol. *nulo*) ['nonetheless'], a variant, *nugl*, derived from a Vulgar Latin *NŪLLIUS, was represented in the Middle Ages by the declinable OLom. and OVen. *nui* (f. *nuja*) and the Old Piedmontese *nuil* (f. *nuilla*) and continues in modern times as the invariable Sutsilvan *nui*» as an alternative form for *negun/neixun*.

In the context of language planning, the declinable form, still being alive in Romansh and of course in French (*nul/nulle*), can be extended to the whole Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain, yielding the natural forms *nul–nulh* (sing.masc.) *nulya–nulha* (sing. fem.) *nuls–nulh* (pl.masc.) and *nulyes–nulhes* (pl. fem.).

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7 The numerals

7.1 Cardinal numerals

Before discussing and proposing standard Rhaeto-Cisalpine solutions for cardinal numerals, we gather into the Table 9 a bit of vernacular forms we have been able to find.[3] (We have consulted also AIS tables 284 to 305, which cannot be reproduced here.) The Table 9 information should be supplemented by that in Hull (1982, 519–525), which we record too in the Table 10.

Also, very interesting are the following Rhaeto-Romance forms for «fifteen» recorded in Clifford (1964, 24):

(4) Gradisca: /kw'indis/, Colloredo: /kw'indis/, Pesariis: /kw'indiS/, Livinallongo: /k'indeS/, Moena: /k'indeS/, Gardena: /k'ind@S/, San Vigilio: /k'ineS/, Scuol: /kwindS/, Cunter: /kendS/, Trun: /kw'endiS/, Proto Rhaeto-Romance (reconstructed): /kwindS/.

The following criteria can thus be set up to construct Rhaeto-Cisalpine standard forms:

1. as usual, all final vocalism other than *-a* is discarded, but a neutral final *-e* is used whenever possible, as in Part II (see Meneghin 2008, § 2.1.2);
2. **1**, **2** and **3** admit different feminine and masculine forms; the masculine forms of **2** and **3** are constructed with the desinence *-i* (see Hull 1982, 519–520), the feminine ones with *-es*, see Part I (Meneghin 2007, § 3.1);
3. all compounds of **7** retain the etymological *p* as in French;
4. all compounds of **8** (resp. **9**) admit both *eu/ue* and *oi/ô* (resp. *eu/ue* and *ô*) as thematic vowel in tonic position;
5. both a 'short' pattern (Ligurian and western Piedmontese, partially matching the Occitan, Catalan and French ones) and a 'long' one (mimicking the rest of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain) for the cardinals from **11** to **16** are envisaged; the Rhaeto-Cisalpine grapheme **x** is kept whenever possible in compound forms of **10**, because of the motivations alleged in Part I (Meneghin 2007, § 3.6) and of the fact that the syllable *-dex* in atonic position can be interpreted as /d/ + mute *e* + /Z/, thus accounting for the current Emilian-Romagnol pronunciations /d-Z/ and /dZ/.

Of course, the final choice among the proposed forms will be up to the writers/speakers. The above criteria yield the proposed forms in Table 11.

[3] Masculine and feminine forms are separated by a comma, whereas alternative ones by a slash. (1) Rumantsch Grischun, Rumantsch orthography (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 100); (1a) Rumantsch Sursilvan, Sursilvan orthography (Spescha 1989); (2) Ladin, Ladin Dolomitan orthography (Valentini 2001, 57); (3) Lower Bressan, phonetic transcription (Sanga 1979, 330); (4) Mendrisiot, LSI orthography (Lurà 1987, 151–152); (5) Alessandrine, classical Piedmontese orthography (Garuss 2003, 2nd ch.); (6) Genoese, classical Ligurian orthography (Toso 1997, 82–83); (7) Bolognese, Vitali-Lepri's orthography (Vitali & Lepri 2000, 58); (8) supradialectal Venetan, Brunelli's orthography (Brunelli 2005, 33); (9) Friulian, standard orthography (OLF 2002a, 13–14).

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TABLE 9. *Vernacular forms form cardinal numerals.*

ROH (1)	ROH (1a)	LLD (2)	E-LMO (3)	W-LMO (4)	PMS (5)	LIJ (6)	EML (7)	VEC (8)	FUR (9)
0 nulla	nul, nulla	nul/zero							
1 in, ina	in,ina	un, una	giü, giöna	vü(g)n, vüna	jën, jën-na	un, unn-a	ón	un(o), una	un, une
2 dus, duas	dus, duaŝ, dua	doi, does	du, dò	düü, dó	dòi, doi>do′	doí, doe, doa	dû	dó (du/doi), dó	doi, dôs
3 trais	treis, trei	trei	tré, trè	trii, tré	tréj	trei, træ	trî	tre (tri), tre	trê
4 quatter	quater	cater	quàter	quatar/quatru	quàter, quat(r)	quattro	quâter	quatro	cuatri
5 tschintg	tschun	cinch	sich	cinch	sinch, singh	çinque	zénc(v)	zsinque	cinc
6 sis	sis	sies	sés	sés	ses	sei	sî	sie (pron. sie/sié)	sîs
7 set	siat	set	sèt	sètt	set	sette	sèt	sete	siet
8 otg	otg	ot	òt	vòtt	òt	eutto	òt	oto	vot
9 nov	nov	nuef	nöif	nöif	nòv	neuve	nôv	nóve	nûf
10 diesch	diesch	diesc	dés	dés	des	dexe	dîs	diéxe	dîs
11 indesch	endish	undesc	öndes	vündas	òndes	unze	óng′	óndexe	undis
12 dudesch	dudisch	dodesc	dúdes	dódas/dúdas	dódes	dozze	dågg′	dódexe	dodis
13 tredesch	tredisch	tredesc	trédes	trédas	trödes	trezze	tragg′	trédexe	tredis
14 quattordesch	quitordisch	catordesc	quatórdes	quatòrdas	quatòrdes	quattòrze	quatôrg	quatòrdexe	cutuardis
15 quindesch	quendisch	chindesc	quíndes	quíndas	quéndes	chinze	quéng′	quíndexe	cuindis
16 sedesch	sediusch	seidesc	sédes	sédas	sëdes	sezze	sagg′	sédexe	sedis
17 deschset	gissiat	dejesset	didisèt	derzètt	disset	dïsete	darsèt	di(xi)sete	disesiet

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ROH (1)	ROH (1a)	LLD (2)	E-LMO (3)	W-LMO (4)	PMS (5)	LIJ (6)	EML (7)	VEC (8)	FUR (9)
18 deschdotg	schotg	dejedot	desdòt	desdòtt/ disdòtt	disdòt	dixeutto	dsdòt	disdoto	disevot
19 deschnov	scheniv	dejenuef	desnöf	desnöf/ disnöf	disnòv	dixineuve	dsnôv	disnóve	disenûf
20 ventg	vegn	vint	vint	vint	vent	vinti	vént	vinti	vinçj
21 ventgin	ventgin	vintun	vintü	vintü(g)n	ventën	vintun	ventión	vinti-un	vinçjeun
22 ventgadus	ventgadus	vintedoi – vintedoes	vintidú	vintidüü, vintidó	ventedòi	vintidoi	ventedû		vinçjedoi, vinçjedôs
23	ventgatreis	vintetrei	vintitré	vintitrii, vintitré	ventetréj	vintitrei	ventetrî		vinçjetrê
24	ventgaquater	vintecater			ventequàter		ventquâter		vinçjecuatri
25	ventgatschun	vintecinch			ventessingh		ventzénc		vinçjecinc
26	ventgasis	vintesies			ventesses		ventsî		vinçjesîs
27	ventgasiat	vinteset			ventesset		ventsèt		vinçjesiet
28	ventgotg	vintot		vintòtt	ventòt		ventiòt		vinçjevot
29	ventganov	vintenuef	vintinöf	vintinôf	ventenòv		ventnôv		vinçjenûf
30 trenta	trenta	trenta	trènta	trénta	träntа	trenta	träntа	trenta	trente
31	trentin	trentun				trentun	trántón		trenteun
32	trentadus	trentedoi – trentedoes				trentetrei	trántadû		trentedoi
33		trentetrei							trentetrê
38		trentot							
40 quaranta	curonta	caranta	quarantå	quaranta	quaränta	quaranta	quaranta	quaranta	cuarante
50 tschuncanta	tschunconta	cincanta	sinquantå	cinquanta	sinquänta	çinquanta	zincuanta	zsinquanta	cincuante
60 sessanta	sissonta	sessanta	sessantå	sessanta	sessänta	sciuscianta	ssanta	sesanta	sessante
70 settanta	siatonta	setanta	setantå	setanta	setänta	settanta	stanta	setanta	setante
80 otganta	otgonta	otanta	otantå	vutanta	otänta	ötanta	utanta	otanta	otante

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	ROH (1)	ROH (1a)	LLD (2)	E-LMO (3)	W-LMO (4)	PMS (5)	LIJ (6)	EML (7)	VEC (8)	FUR (9)
90	novanta	navonta	nonanta	noantå	nu(v)anta	novänta	novanta	nuvanta	novanta	nonante/ novante
100	tschient	tschien	cent	sènt	cént	sent	çento	zänt	zsento	cent
101	tschientedin	tschienedin	centeun	sengiü	cenvü(g)n	sent e jën	çentoun	zänt e ón		cent e un
102		tschienedus	centedoi – centedoes	sendú	cendüü, cendó					
103			centetrei		centrii, centré					
108					cenvòtt					
110						sent e des		zäntdîs		cent e dîs
122										cent e vincjedoi
200	duatschient	duatschien	doicent	dusent	düsent	dosent	duxento	dusänt	doxento	dusinte
300	traiatschient, traitschient	treitschien	treicent	tresènt	tresént	tërzent	trexento	tarsant	trexento	tresinte
400	quatter-tschient			quatersènt	quatarsént	quatsent	quattroçento	quaterzänt	quatroxento	cuatricent
500	tschintg-tschient			sichsènt	cincént	sinchsent	çinqueçento	zenczänt	zsinque-zsento	cinccent
600			siescent		ses-cént	sessent		sizänt	siezsento	sîscent
700					sett-cent	setsent		setzänt	setezsento	sietcent
800					vott-cént	òt-sent		otzänt	otozsento	votcent
900					nöfcent	nòv-sent		novzänt	novezsento	nûfcent
1000	milli	melli	mile	mila	mila	mila	mille	méll	mile	mil
1001				mila e giü	mila vü(g)n					mil e un
1002			miledoi							mil e doi
1100								méll e zänt		

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	ROH (1)	ROH (1a)	LLD (2)	E-LMO (3)	W-LMO (4)	PMS (5)	EML (7)	VEC (8)	FUR (9)
2000	duamilli	duamelli			dümila, domila	dòi-mila	dâu mélla		doi mil
3000	trai(a)milli				trimila, tremila	tréj-mila			trê mil
4000						quatmila		diéxe mila	
10000	dieschmilli	dieschmelli						zsento mila	cent mil
100000		tschienmelli			cenmila	sentmila			dusinte mil
200000									
900000						novsentmila			
1000000		in milliun	(un) n milion	un miliú	un miliun	in miliòn	un migliấn	un milion	un milion
2000000							dû migliôn		
10000000								diéxe miliuni	
1000000000		ina milliarda	(un) n miliard			in miliard	un miglièrd		un miliart

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TABLE 10. *Vernacular forms of cardinal numerals recorded by G. Hull.* [4]

1	Surs. WLig. iN, 'ina; Sut. Surm. eJ, 'eJa; Eng. Lom. Trent. yN, 'yna; Pm. Lig. yN, 'yna; WEm. 2N, '2Na; EEm. Rom. o˜, 'o˜na; Plav. Dol. WFri. uN, 'una; Bad. uN, 'yna; EFri. uN, 'une; Istr. 'OuN, 'Ouna; West Lombard vyN, East Lombard jy, j2, dZy, Monferrine jyN, jiN; Siculo-Padanian ju˜.
2	Müst. duOi, UValt. d2i, Oss. NTic. dyi, d'oi, d'ui, NPm. d'yi, Pm. Lig. dui, Gen. du'I, WLom. dy, ELom. du, Em. du, dy, Rom. du, dO, VBreg. Posch. Trent. Plav. Dol. d'oi, Bad. Istr. d'ui, Ven. do, Fri. dOi, Sic-Pad. du'oi, d'oi, d'ui; Surs. Sut. dus, Surm. Eng. d'uos; Rhet. d'uas, UValt. d'oa; Lig. Pm. due, Em-Rom. Lom. do, dO, Gard. d'oves, Bad. dyes, dys, Fri. dos.
3	Surs. tr'eis, tr'ais, tr'Ois, Surm. tre:s, treks, Eng. tr'ais; Surs. trei(a) p'Era < TRIA PARIA, trei(a) d'eta < TRIA DIGITA; Eng. traia p'era, traia dainta 'three fingers', trea via 'thrice' (Barsegap'e, 1233); WLig. tr'ei l'yvi 'three wolves' ~ tre r'2ze 'three roses'; Nov. tri Oman 'three men', tri suld'a 'three soldiers' ~ trE d'Oni 'three women', tr'E dZurn'ai 'three days'; Pm. tr'E(i), Velses. Oss. NTic. tr'ei, tr'ai, tr'Oi, WLom. tri, ELom. tre, Pol. Ver. Rom. Istr. tri, Trent. Plav. Dol. tr'ei, Carn. tr'ei, tr'io, tr'ia, SFri. tre.
4	Rhet. kw'at@r, Valt. kw'atro, kw'atru, Lom. Trent. kw'ater, Pm. kwat(r), Em-Rom. kv'atar, Lig. kw'atru, WLig. k'atru, SRom. kw'atre, Ven. Istr. kw'atro, Plav. kw'atro, kw'atre, Dol. k'at@r, Fri. kw'atri.
5	Cf. Surs. tSun, Sut. tS'eun(k), Surm. tSenc, Eng. tSinc, WLom. tSiNk, SiNk, Pm. siNk, ELom. siNk, sik, hi(N)k, Trent siNk, Pol. tSiNk, Plav. TiNk, NFri. tSiNk, SFri. siNk; Istr. s'eiNkwe, ts'iNkve, Ven. s'iNkwe, Comel. T'iNki, T'iNke, Mil.UValt. tS'iNkw, VColla: tS'iNkwe, Em-Rom. s'eiNko, s'eiNkav, se˜kv, Lig. s'iNkwe, WLig. s'iNke.
6	Surs.Sut. sis, Surm. s'eis, seks, Eng. ses, UValt. s'eiS, Pm. WLom. Em. ses, ELom. ses, heh, Rom. si@, Lig. s'ei, Ven. si'e, s'ie, Trent. s'ei, Fass. si'ei, Gard. s'ies, Bad. sis, Liv. si'ei, si'ek, Fri. si:s, seis, SFrat. si'ei, Istr. s'e(j)e.
7	s'Et, cf. Surs. si'at, Surm. Lom. Pm. Em. Trent. Dol. s'Et, ELom. h'Et, Rom. s'Eat, Lig. Ven. s'Ete, Istr. si'ete.
8	VBreg. Liv. 2c, Pm. 2t, Lig. 2tu, Fri. vOt, SFrat. w'ot; Rhen. Oc, Eng. Ot, WLom. OtS, ELom. Em-Rom. Trent. Dol. Ot, Ven. 'Oto, Istr. (v)u'oto.
9	Rhen. nOf, nOkf, Eng. nOkf, n'ouf, Oss. nOf, nOw, Rom. n'Oaf, Lom. Tic. Trent. n2f, Pm. n2v, n2w, Lig. n'2ve, Em. n2v, n'ov, SFrat. nu'ov, Gard. n'uef, Bad. ny, Fass. nef, Fod. nu'of, Plav. n'of, Ven. nove, Comel. nu'Evi, WFri. n'ouf, EFri. n'u:f, Istr. JOve, Ju'ove.
10	Rhen. d'ieS, Eng. de:S, UValt. d'eiS, Lom. Em. Pm. des, Rom. diZ, Lig. deZe, Ven. di'eze, d'ieze, Anaun. di'es, d'es, Dol. d'ieS, WFri. deiS, EFri. di:S, Istr. dZize, SFrat. d'ieS.

[4] Hull's shorthand notations are to be found in Meneghin (2007, appendix); Hull's phonetic transcriptions have been turned into Sampa ones.

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11	Rhen. 'endiS, Eng. 'yndeS, UValt. 'undeS, WLom. v'yndes, Pm. 'undez, Em. v'yndaz, 'undaz, Rom. 0nd-z, 0ndZ, Ven. 'undeze, Fass. 'uneS, Gard. Fod. 'undeS, Bad. 'yneS, '2neS, Plav. 'undes, NFri. 'undiS, SFri. 'undis, Istr. '0ndaze; Lig. 'ynze, Pettinengo (AIS, point 135): 'yndzi, Rhen. d'udiS, d'odiS, UEng. d'ugdeS, LEng. d'udeS, d'odeS, UValt. d'odeS, WLom. Pm. d'udes, Em. d'odaz, Rom. d0dz, d0dZ, Ven. d'odeze, Fass. d0udeS, Dol. d'odeS, NFri. d0diS, SFri. d0dis, Istr. dudaze, SFrat. daudiS, Lig. d'uze, Pettinengo (AIS, point 135): d'udzi.
13	Rhen.UEng. tr'EdiS, LEng. tr'aideS, UValt. tr'edeS, WLom. tr'edes, Pm. t@rdez, Em. tr'edaz, Rom. tr'Edz, tr'EdZ, Ven. tr'edeze, ELom.Plav. Trent. tr'edes, Dol. tr'&deS, NFri. tr'EdiS, SFri. tr'Edis, Istr. tr'idaze, SFrat. tr'aidiS, Lig. tr'eze, Pettinengo (AIS, point 135): tr'6dzi.
14	Surs.Sut. kwit'0rdiS, Surm. kit'0rdeS, kat'0rdeS, Eng. k(w)at'0rdeS, UValt. kwat'0rdeS, Lom.Pm.Trent.Plav. kwat'0rdes, Em. kwat'ordaz, Ven. kwat'0rdeze, Anaun. kat'0rdes, Dol. kat'0rdeS, NFri. kutu'ardiS, katu'ardiS, SFri. kutu'ardiS, Istr. kwatu'ordaze, SFrat. kwat'ardiS, Lig. kat'0rze, Pettinengo (AIS, point 135): kwat'0rdzi.
15	Surs. kw'indiS, Sut. kw'endiS, Surm.UEng. k'indeS, LEng.UValt. kw'indeS, Pm.Lom.Trent.Plav. kw'indes, Em. kwe(i)ndaz, Rom. kv'Endz, kv'EndZ, Anaun. k'indes, Dol. k'ineS, Ven. kw'indeze, Fri. kw'indiS, kw'indis, Istr. kw'eindaze, SFrat. kw'inis Lig. k'inze, Pettinengo (AIS, point 135): kw'indzi.
16	Rhen. s'EdiS, Eng. s'aideS, WLom. s'Edes, Pm. s@dez, Em. s'edaz, ELom.Trent.Plav. s'edes, Fass. s'EideS, Gard. s@ideS, Bad.Fod. s@de'i, Ven. s'edeze, Rom. s'Edz, s'EdZ, Fri. s'EdiS, s'Edis, Istr. s'idaze, SFrat. saidiS, Lig. s'eze, Pettinengo (AIS, point 135): s'6dzi.
17	Surs. Sut. J\isi'at, Surm. diSs'Eat, Eng. UValt. diSs'Et, Pm. dis'Et, Lig. dis'Ete, Lom. ders'Et, dars'Et, Em. dars'Et, Rom. dis'Eat, Ven. dis'Ete, dizis'Ete, Judic. deres'Et, Trent. dezes'Et, Dol. deZes'Et, Fri. dizisi'Et, Istr. dizisi'ete, SFrat. diSs'Et.
18	Surs.Sut. Z0c, Surm. diZd'0c, UEng. diZd'0c, LEng. deZd'0t, Liv. deSd'2c, UValt. diZd'0t, Lom. dezd'0t, Pm. dizd'2t, Lig. diZ'2tu, Em. dezd'0t, dazd'0t, Rom. (d)zd'0t, Ven. dizd'0to, Gard.Fod.Fass. deZd'0t, Bad. deZ(e)d'0t, Fri. diZiv'0t, dizev'0t, Istr. dizdu'oto, SFrat. diZeru'ot.
19	Surs.Sut. Z'Enif, Surm. diZn'of, UEng. LEng. deZn'0uf, deZn'0f, UValt. diSn'2f, ELom. dehn'2f, WLom. dezn'2f, Pm. dizn'2f, dizn'2u, Lig. diZin'2ve, Em. dezn'2v, dazn'ov, Rom. dzn'0af, dZn'0af, zn'0af, Ven. dizin'ove, Trent. dezn'2f, Fass. deZn'2f, deZn'ef, Gard. deZn'uef, Bad. deZ(e)n'y, Fod. deZenu'of, NFri. diZin'u:f, diZin'ouf, SFri. dizen'u:f, dizen'ouf, Istr. disJu'ove, SFrat. diZnu'ov.
20	Rhen. veJ, venc, Eng. v'ainc, vanc, Liv. venc, UValt. v'inti, VBreg. vinc, VLev. VBlen. vintS, OsB. Lom. Pm. Em. vint, Lig. v'inti, v'inte, Rom. v'e~i(n)t, Ven. Trent. v'inti, Dol. v'int, Cad. vinti, v'inte, Fri. vinc, vintS, Istr. v'Einti, v'inti, SFrat. vint.
30	Surs. tr'Enta, Sut. tr'Einta, tr'ainta, tr'0inta, Eng. Lom. Lig. Ven. Trent. WFri. tr'enta, Pm. tr'aNta (x. kwar'aNta, etc.), Em. tr'e~inta, Rom. tr'e~(n)ta, Dol. tr'@nta, EFri. tr'Ente.

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40	Surs. kur'Onta, Sut. kur'aunta, kur'Eunta, Surm. kur'anta, UEng. kar'ainta, kar'Enta, UEng. Lom. Pm. Ven. WFri. Istr. kwar'anta, WLig. Anaun. kar'anta, Carn. kor'anta, EFri. kwar'ante, Em-Rom. kvar'anta.
50	Surs. tSuNk'Onta, Sut. tSuNk'aunta, tSuNk'Eunta, Surm. tSaNk'anta, UEng. tSiNk'ainta, tSiNk'Enta, LEng. tSuNkw'anta, tSyNkw'anta, WLom. tSiNkw'anta, SiNkw'anta, ELom. si(N)kw'a(n)ta, hikw'anta, Pm.Lig. siNkw'anta, WLig. Anaun. siNk'anta, Em-Rom. ziNkv'anta, Ven. siNkw'anta, TiNkw'anta, Dol. tSiNk'anta, Nfri. tSiNkw'anta, tSiNkw'ante, SFri. siNkw'anta, siNkw'ante.
60	Surs. sis'Onta, Sut. sis'aunta, sis'Eunta, Surm. ses'anta, UEng. sas'ainta, sas'Enta, LEng. ses'anta, Müst. ses'aunta, UValt. seS'anta, Lom. Pm. ses'anta, Lig. SyS'anta, Em-Rom. ss'anta, Ven. Trent. Dol. WFri. ses'anta, EFri. ses'ante, Istr. sas'anta.
70	Surs. siat'Onta, Sut. set'Eunta, Surm. zat'aunta, UEng. sat'ainta, zat'Enta, LEng. Müst. set'anta, zet'aunta, ELom. het'a(n)ta, WLom. set'anta, Pm. st'anta, Em-Rom. st'anta, st{nta, Lig. Ven. Trent. Dol. WFri. setanta, Bad. s(e)tanta, Istr. sat'anta.
80	Surs. ocOnta, Sut. oc'Eunta, ocaunta, Surm. ucaNta, UEng. uc'Enta, LEng. otanta, otaunta, VBreg. ucanta, Lom. utanta, vutanta, otanta, Em-Rom. otanta, ot'{nta, ut'anta, Pm. ut'aNta, Lig. 2t'anta, yt'anta, Ven. Trent. Dol. WFri. ot'anta, EFri. ot'ante, Istr. (v)ut'anta, SFrat. uot'anta.
90	ELom. Ven. Trent. Dol. WFri. non'anta, EFri. non'ante, Istr. EEm. Rom. nun'anta, UEng. nun'ainta, nun'Enta, Müst. non'aunta; nov'anta (< *NOVA(GI)NTA): Surs.Sut. nav'Onta, nov'Onta, LEng.UValt. nov'anta, WLom. nuv'anta, Anaun. no'anta, Fri. nov'ante, Pm. nuv'aNta, Lig. nyv'anta; Ogen. nor'anta, Mil.Pm. nur'anta.
100	Pm. s'ENt, Lig. s'entu, App.Lig. z'entu, Em-Rom. z'e˜int, se˜t, WLom. tS'ent, ELom. set, hent, Trent. sent, Ven. s'ento, Tento, Dol. tS@nt, Fri. tS'ent, s'ent, Istr. s'einto; ci'ent (metaphonic): Surs.Sut. tS'ien, Surm. tSi'Ent, Eng. tS'ient.
200	UValt. doZ'ent, Lom. duz'ent, doz'ent, dyz'ent, Pm. duz'Ent, Lig. dyZ'entu, Em-Rom. duz'e˜int, doz'e˜int, NLun. duz'@nt, Ven. doz'ento, Istr. duz'Ento; Fri. doz'inte (f.).
300	UValt. treZ'ent, Lom. trez'ent, Em. trez'e˜int, Rom. tars'e˜nt, Pm. t@rs'Ent, Lig. treZ'entu, tryZ'entu, Ven. trez'ento, Istr. traz'Ento; Fri. trez'inte.
1000	Em. Lun. Fri. mil, Rom. m'El; Pm. Lom. VEm. Trent. m'ila; Rhet. mili, m'eli, Dol. m'ile, Ven. m'ile, m'ili, SEFri. m'ili, Istr. m'eile, Lig. m'ile; Lom. m'ilia.

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TABLE 11. *Proposed standard forms for cardinal numerals.*

0	nul, nulla/zero	31	trentun
1	un, una	38	trenteut / trentuet / trentòit
2	dui, does	39	trentaneuv / trentanuev / trentanôv
3	trei, tres	40	quaranta
4	quatre	50	cinquanta
5	cinq/cinque	60	seixanta
6	seix	70	septanta
7	sept	80	oitanta
8	eut / uet / oit	90	noranta / nonanta / novanta
9	neuv / nuev / nôv	100	cent
10	dex	101	cent-et-un
11	unze/undex	102	cent-et-dui, cent-et-does
12	douze/doudex	103	cent-et-trei, cent-et-tres
13	treize/treidex	200	duxent
14	quatorze/quatordex	300	trexent
15	quinze/qüindex	400	quatrexent
16	seize/seidex	500	cinqcent
17	dixsept	600	seixcent
18	dixeut / dixuet / dixòit	700	septcent
19	dixneuv / dixnuev / dixnôv	1000	mila
20	vint/vintg	1001	mila-et-un
21	vintun/vintgun	1002	mila-et-dui, mila-et-does
22	vint-et-doi, vint-et-does/vintg-et-doi, vintg-et-does	1003	mila-et-trei, mila-et-tres
23	vint-et-trei, vint-et-tres/vintg-et-trei, vintg-et-tres	1100	mila-et-cent
24	vint-et-quatre/vintg-et-quatre	2000	dui-mila, does-mila
30	trenta	3000	trei-mila, tres-mila

7.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals will be constructed as proposed by Hull (1982, 666) in his translation of Saint Mark's Gospel («the resurrected Cisalpine ordinals *dexein* 'tenth', *undexein* 'eleventh' are considered preferable»), thus they will be of the form «number root» + *ein/eina* (m./f.) for numerals form **6** onwards (and for **0**), whereas the following forms will be attached to the numerals form **1** to **5** (Hull 1982, 525): *prim / -a* (also *emprim / -a* and *primeir / -a*), *segond / -a*, *terç / -a*, *quart / -a*, *qüint / -a* (also *quint / -a*).

8 The adverb

The standard Romance mode of making adverbs from adjectives, i.e. suffixing the outcomes of Lat. MENTE to feminine forms, see e.g. Hull (1982, 619 ff.) is

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shared by the Rhaeto-Cisalpine system. The standard Romance outcome *-ment* < MENTE is widespread, alongside woth the localised types *-meint* (Romagnol), *-mein* (Sursilvan, see Spescha 1989, 494), *-maintg* (Engadinian; the local orthography is: *-maing*, see e.g. Ganzoni (1983a, 141; 1983b, 146), *-mét* (eastern Lombard, see e.g. Zanetti 2004, 107) and the ancient texts in Bressani (1554, 83 ff.) and *-mente/-menti* (Ligurian, see Toso 1997, 220); according to Hull (1982, 619) in the Rhaeto-Romance domain and in old eastern Lombard, a crossing of Lat. -MENTE with Lat. *-enter* took place from which the type *-mentre* originated, realised in the localised types *-menter* (Dolomitic Ladin, Old eastern Lombard), *-mentri* (Friulian), *-mentre* (Old Venetian):

(5) [...] da chel che on relaté fin chilò resulteiel **clermenter** che la coscienza etnica di Ladins à fat de gran varesc ti ultims vint agn (Richebuono 1990–1991, 169, 171, quoted in Schmid 1994, 114; our emphasis, cf. Fr. *clairement*).

(6) [...] il sun sibilant palatâl sort si lu scrîf **semplicementri** cul segn *s*, ancje se si trate di une scriture di variante dal furlan, cuant che al è denant di consonante e nol à valôr distintîf. (OLF 2002b, 10, our emphasis).

(7) Quand veniara ol di de la sentenzia // Che vo sie denanz al nostro seniore. // Cum **dolzamenter** vo l'imparturisef // Xi granda festa che li angey fasiva, // E ilora fosef madr graciosa. (Old Bergamasque text, «Salve Regina, Salutacio virginis Mariae», see Lorck (1893, 75); our emphasis).

A preference for analytical forms like *en/de* + *manera* + ADJECTIVE is accounted for in Nicoli (1983, 229) for Milanese (western Lombard) and Garuss (2003, § 2.7) for Alessandrine (Piedmontese); a similar construct is *à* + *la* + FEMININE ADJECTIVE: *à la svelta* 'quickly' is accounted for Milanese (Nicoli 1983, 232), and Romansh (Vallader, Puter) (Ganzoni 1983a, 141; 1983b, 146).

This situation is not widespread: for instance, the Dolomitic Ladin model of formation of adverbs by suffixation with *-menter* has been deemed *bendebot produtif*; «na gran pert di averbs derivés con *-menter*, ma nia duc, é neologisms» (Valentini 2001, 88); coming back to Piedmontese, an analogous view can be deemed to be implicitely stated by (Nòste Rèis 2000, «Lession neuv»): if on the one hand this online course of Piedmontese (Turinese) states that «the Italian adverbs in *-mente* are not used in Piedmontese», on the other hand it accounts for the following adverbs: *dosman* 'sweetly', *maloreusman* 'unluckily' (also attested in western Lombard, see LSI, vol. 3, item *malorosomént*), *notaman* 'chiefly' and *vitman* 'fast'. Now the first three ones are evident French loanwords (cr. Fr. *doucement*, *malheureusement*, *notamment*); the fourth one has been built up by an analogical formation upon a French loanword root (*vit* < Fr. *vite*) by suffixation with *-man* < Fr. *-ment*.

Since **vitement* is not accounted for in French, the former construction witnesses in our view a (potential) vitality of this suffixation in Piedmontese (as in Ladin here above). This view is reinforced by Brero (1967, 90) accounting for adverb formation by suffixation of *-ment* (/meN/) to the feminine form of the adjective, without any particular warning.

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The refusal in Nòste Rèis (2000) of the suffixed adverbs in *-ment* could be probably imputed to the fact that they are deemed *too Italian* if compared to more analytical adverbial constructions like *an manera* + ADJECTIVE [=*in a/the* + ADJECTIVE + *way*], whereas the French like suffixation *-man* is accepted inasmuch as *not Italian* (there is more evidence for this attitude: e.g. according to Tosco (2008, 10–11) «faced with Italian *grazie* /ˈgrattsje/ 'thank you' and its modern, everyday Piedmontese counterpart *grassie* /ˈgrasje/, the reshaped variety of Piedmontese reverts to French *merci* in the form of *mersì*. But this was not enough, and one reads and hears the expression *mersì a...* 'thanks to', where French actually has *grâce à....* The logic is that *grassie a...* would be too similar to Italian *grazie a...*, while *mersì a*, although wrong in French, does sound French —or at least "un-Italian".»

This is of course chiefly due the situation of linguistic anormality for Piedmontese overwhelmed by the Italian language. Notwithstanding, all these reactions witness some kind of vitality of this variety of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine language. Analogous argumentations can be carried out for the other Rhaeto-Cisalpine dialects.

As an overall comment, it seems that the western Romance standard type *-ment* well fits with the global morphology of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine language, alongside with the diphtongued outcome *-meint*; as to the crossed standard type springing from the crossing of -MENTE and -ENTER, according to the discussion carried out in § 2.1.2 of part II (Meneghin 2008) about the neutral final vowel *-e*, it will be written *-mentre*.

8.1 Examples

We propose three tables of adverbs: the first one (Table 12) is based upon the French reference grammar *Bescherelle* (1997, 62)[5] and proposes some synthetic Padanese types as well as comparisons with other Romance languages, and English translations.[6]

The second table (Table 13), resp. the third one, presents a few samples from Hull (1982, 621–642), resp. from the results got by a query in LSI database, both with more actual vernacular forms, English translations and proposed ORS forms (we recall that Hull's shorthand notations are recorded in Part II of this article).[7] Etymologies will be discussed in the framework of further investigations; adverbial expressions and combinations of different adverbs have been essentially left out; they will be discussed in the part of this article concerning syntax.

[5]Some items have been added. A = Adverbs of assertion, D = Adverbs of doubt, M = Adverbs of manner, N = Adverbs of negation, P = Adverbs of place, Q = Adverbs of quantity, T = Adverbs of time. Translations from French: into Catalan, Castellanos & Castellanos (2003); into Occitan, Lagarde (1996); into Italian, Boch (2007); into English, Knight et al. (Knight et al.).

[6]Sources for the Padanese synthetic forms are Bignami (1993), Hull (1982), LSI, Caduff, Caprez & Darms (2006), OLF (2002a), Lepri & Vitali (2007), Brero (1967), Toso (1997), Stich (2007).

[7]The corresponding ORS types are displayed in the first column on the left; explanations of Hull's shorthand notations can be retrieved in the appendix of Part II of this work, see Meneghin (2008).

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Finally, the Table 14 consists of a few excerpts from the results of a query in LSI database; the corresponding ORS types have been added beteween square brackets; English translations are displayed, instead of the Italian ones in LSI.

TABLE 12. *Rhaeto-Cisalpine adverbs, sorted by semantic classing.*

Semantic class	French	Padanese (ORS)	Catalan	Occitan	Italian	English
A	certainement	certament, certanament, -meint	certament	de segur	certamente	certainly
A	oui	xi, oy, est, aé, gea	sí	òc	sí	yes
A	précisement	precisament, -meint	precisament	precisament	precisamente	precisely
A	si	xi	sí	òc	sí	yes
A	volontiers	volonteira, bonteira	de bon grat	volontièr	volentieri	willingly
A	vraiment	debon, de-veira	de debó	de vertat	veramente	really
D	peut-être	peul-vess, davess, sela-cad	potser	benlèu	forse	maybe
D	probablement	probablament, -meint	probablement	probablament	probabilmente	probably
D	sans doute	sença dubi / sença dúbit	sense dubte	bensai	senza dubbio	without doubt
M	aussi	eir, anc(a), assí, decò	també	tanben	anche	also, too, as well
M	bien	bein, ben	bé	plan	bene	well
M	mal	mal	mal	mal	male	badly
M	mieux	melh, melhor	millor	mièlhs	meglio	better
M	parce que	perquei que, parce que	perquè	perque, per ço que	perché	because
M	plutôt	plutòst, algamiga	més aviat	puslèu	piuttosto	rather
M	pourquoi	perquei	perquè	perqué	perché	why
M	pourtant	pourtant, de tuta manera	tantmateix	çaquelà	tuttavia	notwithstanding

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Semantic class	French	Padanese (ORS)	Catalan	Occitan	Italian	English
M	seulement	nomay	només	sonque	solamente	only
M	vite	de pressa, aviad	de pressa	d'aviat	velocemente	quickly
N	guère	mia tant, mia gueri, ne ... gueri	no ... gaire	gaire	non molto	not much/not very
N	jamais	mai, jamai	mai, jamai	jamai	mai	never
N	ne	ne	no	—	non	—
N	non	non	no	non	no	no
N	pas	pa(s), mia, brixa	pas	pas	mica, punto	(do) ... not
N	point	brixa, brica	de cap manera	pas brica	punto	not at all
N	rien	negot(a)	res	res	niente	nothing
P	ailleurs	aultró	en un altre lloc	endacòm mai	altrove	elsewhere
P	autour	atour, da quendre, quileunt, sorent	al voltant	al torn	intorno	around
P	dedans	dent	dins	dedins	dentro	inside
P	dehors	feu, feura/fuera	fora	defòra	fuori	outside
P	derrière	davors, de drera	endarrere	darrèr	dietro	back
P	dessus	souvra/soura	damunt	dessús	sopra	above
P	devant	devant	davant	davant	davanti	in front
P	ici	ci, ça, quilò	aquí, ací	aicí	qui	here
P	là	ilò, ilòga, là/quí	allà/aquí	aquí	qui/ci	there/here
P	nulle part	nelhour	enlloc	enlòc	da nessuna parte	nowhere
P	où	ó, ond	on	ont	dove	where

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Semantic class	French	Padanese (ORS)	Catalan	Occitan	Italian	English
P	quelque part	(en)algò, ençanó(va), ençaónd, ençaola	en algun lloc	endacòm	da qualche parte	somewhere
Q	assez	avond, abòt, assé	prou	pro	abbastanza	enough
Q	aussi	eir, anc(a), assí, decò	també	tanben	anche	also, too, as well
Q	autant	tant	tant	tant	così ... (come)	as (... as)
Q	beaucoup	bler, fitg, un mont, guaire	molt	fòrça	molto	a lot
Q	fort	bombein	fort	fòrt	molto	very
Q	moins	meny(s), men	menys	mens	meno	less
Q	peu	poc/poque	poc	pauc	poco	a little
Q	presque	debot, asquas, guaire	gairebé	gaireben	quasi	almost
Q	si	enxí	tant	tant	così	so
Q	tant	tant	tant	tant	tanto	so / a lot
Q	très	bombein	molt	fòrça	molto	very

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Semantic class	French	Padanese (ORS)	Catalan	Occitan	Italian	English
T	alors	aloura	llavors	alara	allora	then
T	après	daprèss	després	aprèp	dopo	afterwards
T	aujourd'hui	encuey/vuei	avui	uèi	oggi	today
T	déjà	ja	ja	ja	già	already
T	demain	deman	demà	deman	domani	tomorrow
T	depuis	davors	des de llavors	dempuèi	dacché	afterwards
T	enfin	enfin	per fi	enfin	infine	eventually
T	hier	hier	ahir	ièr	ieri	yesterday
T	jamais	mai, jamai	mai, jamai	jamai	mai	never
T	maintenant	avoura, adess, desseny, essa, mò	ara	ara	ora	now
T	quand	quand, coura	quan	quora	quando	when
T	soudain	debòt, endeit, exebrupt	de sobte	de còp	all'improvviso	suddendly
T	toujours	aduna, sempre, delongue, sald	sempre	tofjorn, sempre	sempre	always
T	trop	massa, tròp	massa	tròp	troppo	too / too much

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TABLE 13. *A few samples from Hull (1982, 621–642).*

ORS	Hull's types	English	Vernacular types (Sampa, except ancient scripta, in original form)
Adverbs of Place			
arent	arent	beside, by	Lig. `ar'ente`, Nov. `r'enta`, Lom. `ar'e:nt`, Em-Rom. `ar'eint`, Ven. `ar'ente`, `r'ente`.
davend	davend	away	Surs. `nav'en`, Eng. `dav'ent`.
despous	despos, despus	behind	WLom. `dep'us`, `dap'us` (whence `ap'us`); Valt. `desp'ys`, Fri. `disp'us`.
ilò, ilòga	ilò, ilòga	right there	OLom. *ilò*, *inlòga*, *illòga*, *alòga*, *alò*; Lom. `il'O`, `il'2ga`; Dol. `il'O`; Valt. `ili'O`, `ili'a`, `ili'E` (with palatalization); `ival'O(ga)`; OVen. *invel'O*, *ivaloga*.
lointan	lointaun	far (also adj.)	OLom. OVen. *luitan*. This form has been generally replaced by the Italianism `lontaun` < *lontano* without palatalization of *n*.
lueny	luonj, luogn	far	Eng. `dal'2nc` 'long ago'; Pm. `l2J`, `lOJ` (this second type possibly influenced by the Occ. *luenh*, *lonh*).
quenç	quenç	hereabouts	OVen. *quence*, *quenze*, Fri. `k'EntSi`, `kov'EntSi`; `k'Enti` (x. `v'Enti`, cf. *infra*).
radent	radent	beside, by	OLom. *radent*, Eng. `ard'aint`; `arad'ent`: OVer. `are'ente`, Berg. `ared'et`.
Adverbs of Time			
avuey	—	today	Fri. `avu'ei`.
depè, pospè	depè, pospè	again	OMil. *da pei* (Bonvesin), Posch. `dap'E`; Surs. `puSp'ei`.
ensacour	—	at some time	Surs. `entsak'u`.
ensaquand	enzaquand	years ago, in the past	Dol. `tsak'an`, `ntsak'an`.
fit	fit	at once; early	Lig. `f'itu` 'early', Lun. `fit` 'at once'.
mincatant/ mint-gatant	mincatant	sometimes	Surs. `mincat'On`, Eng. `mincat'ant`, Pm. `miNkataNt`; `ognit'ant` 'ogni tanto': Lom. `oJit'a:nt`, Ven. `oJit'anto`, Fri. `oJit'ant`.
stèrça(s)	stèrza(s)	the day before yesterday	Surs. `Stiarts'as`, Eng. `Stertsa(s)`. Synonymous compounds include *posier* (<POST HERI): Lom. `puzi'er` (Crema), Lucano-Pad. `pus'i eri` (Tito); `enantsj'er`: Tic. `inants'er`; (l')`aultrj'er`: Pm. `l'autr'Er`, Lom. `l'oltr'er`; (d)`avantj'er`: Lig. `avant'Ei`, Fod. `ndavanti'er`, Gard. `dant'i er`; *ier l'aultre*: Rom. `jirl'Etar`, Ven. `dZeri l'altro`.

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Adverbs of Manner and Measure			
almeins	almeins	at least	Eng. alm'aiN, Pm. Lom. Trent. alm'eN; alm'anc: Lom. alm'aNk, Em-Rom. alm'{Nk, Ven. Dol. alm'aNko, Fri. alm'aNkul.
amenç, ament	amenz, ament	by heart; in mind	Fri. am'Ens; reinforced forms: Fri. dam'Ents, inim'Ent; Dol. adam'9nts, Eng. adim'aint, Surs. endam'en.
bonament	bonament	almost	Valt. bonam'E, bon'E, Surs. bunam'ein, Eng. bunam'ainc; manam'aun: Lom. manam'aN, manem'aN, Em. manam'{N, Pm. maram'aN. The Cisalpine adverb deb'Ot 'soon' may also be used in the sense of «almost» (Em. db'Ot pi'eN, Fri. deb'Ot pl'EN 'quasi pieno'). The Piedmontese pr'eske is from Occitan or French (*presque*).
empey	empè, empié	instead	Surs. emp'ei, Eng. Lom. Em-Rom. imp'E, Ven. imp'e, inp'E, Fri. inp'i, inp'in, inp'i:t, Istr. np'ei, inpi'er. The Italian *invece* is in general use as an alternative form, cf. Eng. inv'etsa, Mil. inve'tSe, Fri. inv'Etsit, etc.
ençacò	enzacò	somehow	Dol. tsak'0, Surs. entsak'0.
gaujend	gaujend	willingly, gladly	Surs. buJ\'en, Eng. guJ\'ent, jent, Gard. dZ'9n, Bad. dZan, dZ'9n, jan, Fod. dZen.
just(a)	just(a)	just	Surs. J\eSt, Eng. J\ySt, Lom. dZ'ysta, Em. j'ust, Pm. dZ'yst(a), Lig. dZ'ystu, Ven. dZ'usto, Fri. j'uste, j'usta.

Finally, the adverbs *tambein* 'also' and *tampoc* 'not ... even', with the localised forms *tanben/tanbé* and *tampoque/tanpoque* could be added to the above lists guided by the fact that Dolomitic Ladin uses the correlative conjunctions *tamben ... que* (see § 10.2 below and Valentini (Valentini, 97)) in the meaning of 'both ... and' and the Ticinese Lombard dialect of Cavergno uses *tambegn* as a concessive conjunctions, meaning 'even if' (LSI 2004, vol. 5, p. 412).

An immediate semantic extension allows *tamben/tambein* to mean «also, too» as an adverb as well. Since this matches the corresponding Occitan and Catalan usage (Salvat 1943, 139, 148; Fabra 1918, 104–107), the corresponding negative *tampoc* (alongside with its analogous forms) could be introduced by analogy, on the same guidance.

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TABLE 14. *A few excerpts from the results of a query in LSI database – Giovanna Ceccarelli (p.c.).*

LSI sources	ORS types	Vernacular types	Other grammatical categories	English translations
a l'abrí	à l'abrí / à l'abri	—	—	Under shelter (Bedretto)
aprövˇ	apreuv, apruev	(SopraCeneri, Val Poschiavo, Bernina district), *aprǘ* (Preonzo, circ. Giornico, Locarno district), *aprǘv* (Loco), *aprév* (Gordúno, Claro, Locarno district, Mesolcina district), *aprïu* (Sobrio), *aprövˇ* (Crana), *aprö̈* (Maggia), *aprövˇ* (SopraCeneri), *aproïi* (Lodrino), *aprówˇ* (Palagnedra), *aprówˇ* (Olivone), *aprów* (Brione Val Verzasca, Palagnedra), *aprówˇ* (Palagnedra), *dapréu* (circ. Giornico, Verscio, Cavigliano, Losone), *dapréuv* (Russo), *daprév* (Lumino, Locarno district, Mesolcina district), *dapréva* (Lumino), *dapríu* (Sobrio), *dapröu* (SopraCeneri), *dapröïi* (Pollegio), *dapröv* (SopraCeneri), *deprév* (Biasca), *deprövˇ* (Sementina), *eprév* (Biasca), *eprövˇ* (Montecarasso), *prév* (Ons, Verscio, Cavigliano), *préi* (Biasca), *prév* (Gordúno, Locarno district, Soazza), *pröu* (SopraCeneri), *pröi* (Lodrino), *pröuv*, *prövˇ* (Palagnedra), *prövˇ* (Sementina, Aquila, Val Maggia district, Locarno district)	adj.	Beside; near; at one's back, at someone's expense (Poschiavo); exclamation expressing disappointment (Mesocco).
brica	brica	(Ble., Grig.), *bríca* (Biasca, Lavertezzo), *bricca* (Val Calanca, Soglio), *bricch* (Rasa, Val Verzasca, Val Bregaglia, Val Poschiavo, Bernina district), *bricchi* (Landarenca)	pron.	Not, not at all, nothing (Val Verzasca, Val Calanca, Val Bregaglia, Val Poschiavo, Bernina district); nobody (Val Bregaglia, Poschiavo).
brisa	brixa	(Gerra Val Verzasca, Sonogno, Gandria, Ceresio), *copé* (Certara), *copè* (Balerna, Poschiavo), *copéi* (Olivone), *cupé* (Novazzano, Balerna), *cupè* (Balerna, Poschiavo), *cupée* (Gudo, Lavertezzo, Brione Val Verzasca, Mendrisio district), *cüpée* (Gerra Gambarogno), *cupégn* (Brione s. Minusio), *cupéi* (Olivone), *cupii* (Auressio)	—	Not, not at all (Malvaglia, Chiasso).
copée (a –)	copé (à –)			Upside down; the way of two persons sleeping in one bed, lying toward opposite directions (Brusino Arsizio); crutch-like, way of planting vine (Gandria); new paragraph, the following line (Balerna); the opposite way (Novazzano).
pardessü	perdessus	—	prep.	Above (Rossura).

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9 Prepositions

According to Hull (1982, 643), «the Padanian dialects have some dozen simple prepositions, most of which do not also function as adverbs».

We propose here a table of Rhaeto-Cisalpine simple or compound prepositions, specifying for each one the appropriate corresponding standard ORS type; English and French translations are offered too.[8]

TABLE 15. *Main Padanian prepositions, with English and French translations.*

ORS	English	French
(d')aprèss de	after	après
(d)reit	near	près de
(en)cerc	around	autour de
à	to, at	à
à clav de	at the head of	en tête de
à cost de	on one side of	à côté de
adrer	behind	derrière
apous	behind	derrière
aprèss	in face of	devant
apreuv/apruev	near	près de
arent	near	près de
asca	besides	en plus de
astier	besides, apart from	au-delà de
avant	before of	avant
avoltra/avoltre	beyond	au-delà de, outre
avoultra	beyond	au-delà de, outre
ca de	at	chez
con	with	avec
conforma	depending on	en dépendance de
contra/contre	against	après
danour	except	sauf
daour	behind	derrière
darer	behind	derrière
davous	besides	au-delà de
davous	after	après
de/da	of, from	de, dès
dentre	between, among, within	entre
depous	behind	derrière
despuei	after	depuis
devant	in front of	devant
devart	as to	quant à, concernant
devart de	on the side of	de la part de

[8]Sources are (in aphabetical order): Brero (1967, 88), Brunelli (2005, 31), Caduff, Caprez & Darms (2006, 103–105), Ganzoni (1983b, 154–162; 1983a, 150–158), Hull (1982, 643–645), LSI (2004, database), Nicoli (1983, 244–269), Spescha (1989, 531–545), Stich (2007, 91), Toso (1997, 121–139), Valentini (2001, 92–95), Vitali (2005, 322), Zanetti (2004, 115–116), Zof (2008, 51–54).

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drera/drer	behind	derrière
durant	during	pendant
durant	during	pendant
eintasom	at the end of	tout à la fin de
emmez	in the middle of	au milieu de
en	in	en
en canvi de	instead	au lieu de
en cimma de	at the top of	en haut de
en pont de	as to	concernant
enandevart	on this side of	en deça
enfra/enfre	below, under, within [also temporal]	sous, dans le délai de
enpe(i) de	instead	au lieu de
ensemma à	with	avec
ensom de	at the end of	tout au bout de
ent	in	en
entourn	around	autour de
entre	between, among, within	entre
entrò	within [also temporal]	dans, dans le délai de
envèrs	towards	envers
feura/fuera	out of	hors (de)
fin	as far as, until	jusqu'à
gavad, gavant	except	sauf
inanç	before, in front of	à côté de
javad/javant	except	sauf
jos	down	le long de
josom	down	tout en bas de
levad	except	sauf
long	along	le long de
nanasom	on this side of	tout en deça de
oltra/oltre	beyond; besides, apart from	au-delà de, outre
ourasom	at the end of	tout au bout de
pardessus	above/over	au-dessus de
per amour de	because of	à cause de
per via de	because of	à cause de
per/par	for	par
permis	under the lee of	à l'abri de
persota	below/under	au-dessous de
persoura	above/over	au-dessus de
contre	pòs	after
pro	pro	au bénéfice de
radent	near	près de
scap	except	sauf
segond	according to	selon
sein/seina	without	sans

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sença/seinça	without	sans
sorent	above/over	au-dessus de
sota à	below/under	au-dessous de
sotent	below/under	au-dessous de
soura	above/over	au-dessus de
soura de	above/over	au-dessus de
souvra/souvre	above/over	au dessus de
sper	near	près de
sueintre	according to	selon
sur/sus	on	sur
susom	at the top of	là haut de
tacad de	near	près de
tar	near	près de
tar	at	chez
tenour	according to	d'après, selon
torn	around	autour de
tramezz	between	entre
tras	through	à travers
vèrs	towards	vers
vexin	near	près de
vi(a)	to, towards	à, vers
trò	within [also temporal]	dans, dans le délai de
vi(a) de	to, for	à, par
visavis	in front of	en face de
visom	on that side of	tout en delà de

Preposition *à* is written as in French, because of the need to distinguish it from *a* clitic and *ha* verb: see Meneghin (2007, § 3.17); this choice has been made in Toso (1997, 121) as well.

According to Hull (1982, 643), verncular forms of *de/da* are: Fri. *di*, *da*, Pm.Em-Rom. /d@/, /@d/, *ad*; prevocalic forms are /d/ and /dad/, the latter used in the Grisons; the former is used also preconsonantally in Em.Rom.

Vernacular forms for *en* are: Eng.Lom.Em-rom.Lig.Ven.Trent.Dol.Fri.Istr. *in* (*'n*), Pm. *ën*, *an*; *ent* is mainly used in prevocalic position and before articles in Piedmontese (Nòste Rèis 2000, Lesson 3).

9.1 Prepositions linked with determinate articles

Since our proposal of ORS standard articles is manifold (see Meneghin 2008, § 3), our proposal of linked prepositions will be as well. We will conform to the criterion set up in Valentini (2001, 31) for Dolomitic Ladin, which can be synthesised as: «one syllable, one word, two syllables two words.» This follows Schmid's (1994, 109) recommendation for Dolomitic Ladin:

> Ein Blick über die Grenzen des Dolomitenladinischen zeigt, daß alle andern romanischen Sprachen, soweit beim Artikel keine Geminaten notieren

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(Französisch, Okzitanisch, Katalanisch und Spanisch), zur Getrenntschreibung gelangt sind, vgl. die Tabelle auf der folgenden Seite. Auch das Engadin und die Sutselva haben diesen Schritt vollzogen, als sie in der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts von den italianisierenden Formen della, dalla, alla usw. zum eigenständigeren da la, a la (nicht dala, ala!) übergingen.

See also OLF (2002a, 11) about the analogous Friulian solution.

Linkage will be performed only between masculine articles and prepositions *à*, *de/da*, *per/par*, *sus* and *jos*. Preposition *à*, when linked, will always have its grave accent dropped.

Also, following the customary rules for French, Occitan and Catalan, linkage will be avoided when singular masculine determinate article is followed by a word beginning by vowel (e.g. *al covert*, but *à l'abrí*, both meaning 'at shelter').

As to the linkage with feminine articles, on the one hand this will be never performed with *la* and *les*, the forms of determinate article retaining thematic *l*, since this would yield bisyllabic words; on the other hand, the forms *â* and *ês* will be allowed to be linked, since the resulting linked prepositions are monosyllabic. Analogously, contracting prepositions with the 'nominative' plural determinate articles *elh/ey* will be allowed as well, underpinned by the same argumentations.

The above yields the following scheme, which is partly analogous to the Occitan one (see e.g. Salvat 1943, 18), with the additions described in the above paragraph.

Table 16. *Prepositions contracted with determinate articles.*

Preposition	**Articles**						
	el	*ô*	*â*	*els*	*elh*	*ey*	*ês*
à	al	au	aâ	als	alh	ay	aes
de/da	del/dal	dô, du	dâ	dels/dals	delh/dalh	dy	des
per/par	pel/pal	pau	pea, pâ	pels/pals	pelh/palh	pey	pes
sus	sul	sô	sâ	suls	sulh	suy	ses
jos	jol	jô	jâ	jols	jolh	joy	jes

For plural ones, both oblique and nominative determinate articles have been considered.

10 Conjunctions

We propose here some tables of Rhaeto-Cisalpine conjunctions, specifying for each one the appropriate corresponding standard ORS type; English and French translations are proposed too.[9]

[9]Sources are (in aphabetical order): Brero (1967, 89), Brunelli (2005, 33), Caduff, Caprez & Darms (2006, 105–109), Ganzoni (1983b, 163–165; 1983a, 158–160), Hull (1982, 647–650), LSI (2004, database), Nicoli (1983, 270–276), Spescha (1989, 526–530), Stich (2007, 91–93), Toso (1997, 121–141), Valentini (2001, 96–100), Vitali (2005, 321), Zanetti (2004, 115–116), Zof (2008, 137–146).

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10.1 Coordinating conjunctions

Main coordinating conjunctions are the following:

TABLE 17. *Main coordinating conjunctions.*

ORS	English	French
donca	so	donc
ender(a)	instead	mais, par contre
enpei	instead	mais, par contre
enxí	so	ainsi
et	and	et
ma, mai	but	mais
ne, ni, no	nor	ni
negotameny(s)	however, yet, nevertheless	quand même
nha, nhe, nhi	nor	ni
obein	or else	ou bien
opur(a)	or else	ou bien
ou	or	ou
però	but	mais
plutost	rather	plutôt
pur	however, yet, nevertheless	quand même
totun(a)	however, yet, nevertheless	quand même

10.2 Correlative conjunctions

Main correlative conjunctions are the following:

TABLE 18. *Main correlative conjunctions.*

ORS	English	French
tamben ... que; tant ... que	both ... and	soit ... et
o ... o; o que ... o que	either ... or	soit ... soit
ne ... ne; ni ... ni; no ... no	neither ... nor	ni ... ni
mia noma ... mai anca; mia doma ... ma anca	not only ... but also	non seulement ... mais aussi
con plui/meny(s) (que) ... con plui/meny(s) (que)	the more/less ... the more/less	plus/moins ... plus/moins

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Main subordinating conjunctions are: *que* (locally *che/tge*; Eng. *that*, Fr. *que*); *si/se* (locally *shi/she*, Eng. *if*, Fr. *si*); *de/da* (locally *ed*, Fr. *de*; in English replaced by finite or infinitive forms: *I pense de venyir*, Fr. *Je pense de venir*, Eng. *I think I'll come*; *La em demanda de fer vergota*, Fr. *Elle me démande de faire quelque chose*, Eng. *She asks me to do something*.

10.3 Subordinating conjunctions: secondary forms

According to Hull (1982, 649), «most other subordinating conjunctions are made up of adverbs and the most common secondary subordinating conjunctions are»:

TABLE 19. *Main subordinating conjunctions, secondary constructions.*

ORS	English	French
(em)per çò que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
(em)per quel que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
(en)tròc que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
à çò que	so that [final]	de façon à
à condition que	provided that	pourvu que, à condition que
à fin que	so that [final]	de façon à
à que	so that [final]	de façon à
adèss que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
agual que	before	avant que
alò que	as soon as	dès que
aloura que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
anç que	before	avant que
anc(a)	also, too	aussi
anc(a) quand	even if, even though	même si
anc(a) se	even if, even though	même si
anc(a)bein que	even if, even though	même si
ant que	before	avant que
apeina que	as soon as	dès que
assí que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
avant que	before	avant que
basta que	provided that	pourvu que, à condition que
bein que	although	bien que, quoique
bèl que	while	lorsque, pendent que
bèl que	although	bien que, quoique
car	because	parce que
cas mai	in case, if ever	pourvu que, à condition que
cas que	in case, if ever	pourvu que, à condition que

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co (que)	when	quand
co (que)	as [modal]	comme
cò que	how [interrogative]	comment
com(a) (que)	as [modal]	comme
com(a) (que)	as [modal]	comme
com(a) que	how [interrogative]	comment
combein que	although	bien que, quoique
con dut que	although	bien que, quoique
contut que	although	bien que, quoique
cossí que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
coura (que)	when	quand
davant que	before	avant que
davors que depuis que	after	
de maniera que	so that [final]	de façon à
de muod que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
de quand que	since	depuis que
de que / da que	since	depuis que
de qui (à) que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
de vòltes mai	in case, if ever	pourvu que, à condition que
de(s)puoi que	after	depuis que
defina que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
dejà que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
del moment que / dal moment que	since	depuis que, puisque
delongue que	as soon as	dès que
demai que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
denanç que	before	avant que
dentant que	while	lorsque, pendent que
depuoi que	since	depuis que
despuoi que	since	depuis que
devia que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
domentre que	while	lorsque, pendent que
dond que	where	où
durant que	while	lorsque, pendent que
en cas que	in case, if ever	pourvu que, à condition que
en maniera que	so that [final]	de façon à
en meud que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
enanç que	before	avant que
enant que	before	avant que
endó(va) que	where	où
enfin que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
enquina que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que

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ensí que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
entant que	while	lorsque, pendent que
entgeben que	although	bien que, quoique
entrà que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
er(a)	also, too	aussi
èr(a) se	even if, even though	même si
essend que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
except que	except, but, save	sauf que
fin(a) que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
fin(a)tant que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
fuera que	except, but, save	sauf que
gavad que	except, but, save	sauf que
issa que	as soon as	maintenant que
ja que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
javad que	except, but, save	sauf que
magara que	although	bien que, quoique
malgrad que	although	bien que, quoique, malgré (que)
mentre que	while	lorsque, pendent que
mò que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
ó que	where	où
nanc(a)/nantg(a)	nor, neither	non plus
nhanc(a)/nhantg(a)	nor, neither	non plus
nyanc(a)/nyantg(a)	nor, neither	non plus
nèr(a) / nhèra / nyèra	nor, neither	non plus
olà que	where	où
ond que	so that [final]	de façon à
parelh que / parey que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
per enant que	as soon as	dès que
per que	so that [final]	de façon à
percòse	because	parce que
però que	because	parce que
perquei (que)	because	parce que
perquei que, pertgei che	why	puorqoui
pertgei (que)	because	parce que
pervia que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
pòst que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
pour quel que	although	bien que, quoique
pourtant que	although	bien que, quoique
prima que	before	avant que
pur que	provided that	pourvu que, à condition que
quand (que)	when	quand
quant que	how much	combien

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se anc(a)	even if, even though	même si
se cas que	in case, if ever	pourvu que, à condition que
se de nò	otherwise	sinon
se entg(a)	even if, even though	même si
sebein que	although	bien que, quoique
seguentre que	after	depuis que
sempre mai que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
sí que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
siand que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
sico(ma) que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
sin que	until	tant que, jusqu'à ce que
sina quel que	so that [final]	de façon à
stand que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque
tant que	so that [consecutive]	pour que
tòst que	as soon as	dès que
vist que	as, since [causal]	car, puisque

Finally, the conjunctions *tambein* 'also' and *tampoc* 'nor, neither', with the localised forms *tanben/tamben/tanbé* and *tampoque/tanpoque* could be added to the above lists on the same guidance of the argumentations at the end of § 7.1.

Appendix

In this part of our work, we start a preliminary investigation two kinds of phenomena of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine written language, (different from books or printed paper texts), revealing some kind of vitality, and which are of special interest for morphology: **A) commercial names** and **B) street name plates**.

In the framework of this article, this section should be regarded of as an expanded section consisting of concrete morphological examples, whereas no completeness should be expected about the very subjects A) and B), since data are still rather difficult to collect. In all examples, the original orthographies will be kept.

A) Commercial names

We refer the reader to Bogaro (2005) for a general account of the use of Friulian in enterprise names. First we propose a few names we have found of special morphological (and semantic) interest (this list is of course incomplete, being the outcome of a short period of investigations, from 2008 Aug. to 2008 Nov.):

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TABLE 20.

Firm	City/Town	Italian province or Swiss canton	Commerce	Comments and sources
Birreria dal Campett sun bar	Lugano	Ticino (CH)	Bar	This firm has an English/Lombard mixed name. Source: Gelben Seiten CH, accessed on 2008 October.
Bistro Staziun	Lavin	Grisons (CH)		French, German and Romansh mixed into two words. Source: Bistro Staziun, accessed on 2009 February.
Burdun Café	La Punt-Chamues	Grisons (CH)	Bar	In Romansh, but modelled on Germanic syntax Source: Gelben Seiten CH 2008.
Ciapa sù e porta a ca	Cusago	Milan (I)	Grocer's shop	Meaning «take away», lit. *take up and bring home*, quoting a Milanese idiom. Source: Direct inspection.
Confiserie Bülètt	Bellinzona	Ticino (CH)	Baker's and confectioner's shop	This firm has a French/Lombard mixed name. Source: Direct inspection.
Contra' Granda Srl	Bassano del Grappa	Vicenza (I)	Real estate agency	A commercial name in Venetan, due to the traditional name of the street the agency is located at. Source: Contrà Granda, accessed on 2009 January.
Formadi cui baus	S.Giovanni al Natisone	Udine (I)	Audio Services	It means «Cheese with holes» instead. Source: Bogaro (2005, 40, 46).
Ibis Ca Granda Hotel	Milan	Milan (I)	Hôtel	A commercial name in Milanese, due to the homonymous street the hotel is located at. Source: Direct inspection.
Il Fundeghè	Cabiate	Como (I)	Beer house	Meaning «grocer's shop» instead; formed by suffixation of *fundegh* 'vault', here meant as «beer vault» or «wine vault». This is a noteworthy semantic extension. The article *il* seems to be in Italian instead. Source: Il Fundeghé, accessed on 2008 October.
La Buvette Da Burbane'	Borgomanero	Novara (I)	Bar	This firm has a French/Lombard mixed name. Source: Direct inspection.

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La cadrega – Hosteria Tipica	Milan	Milan (I)	Restaurant	Meaning «the chair – typycal inn». The etymological *h* in *hosteria* is noteworthy and coincides with our ORS standard. Source: Direct inspection.
Pomis International	Palmanova	Udine (I)	Horticulture	This firm has an Friulian/English mixed name. Source: Bogaro (2005, 40, 49).
Scarpèt à porter	Majano	Udine (I)	Shoes, production and commerce	This firm has a Friulian/French mixed name. Source: Bogaro (2005, 40, 49).
Stüa Granda	Soglio	Grisons (CH)	Hôtel	Source: Stüa Granda 2008.
Stüa Pusciavina	Poschiavo	Grisons (CH)	Restaurant	Source: Direct inspection.
Ul Furmighin	Sagno	Ticino (CH)	Grocer's shop	Meaning «the little ant», referring to the parsimoniuos attitude of this kind of insect. Source: Ul Furmighin, accessed on 2008 October.
A xatta câda	Genoa	Genoa (I)	'Focaccia' and 'Farinata' shop	Meaning «the warm bowl», compare French *la jatte chaude*. Source: Direct inspection.
Zena Café	Genoa	Genoa (I)	Bar	In Genoese, but modelled on Germanic syntax. Source: Direct inspection.

Next, we propose some enterprises containing the names *Grot*, *Crota*, *Boteiga* alongside with some of their customary variants; a list of various baker's shop names follows. The Ticinese word *Grot* and the Piedmontese one *Crota* literally mean 'grotto', but a semantic drift towards the meaning «vault» has occurred: they mean: «inn», «tavern» or «restaurant». The universal Rhaeto-Cisalpine *Boteiga* means «shop».

a1) **Grot**: all in Ticino, Switzerland, except «Grott Stube»: *Al Grott Cafe*, Brione s/ M.; *Grott dal Magnan*, Bogno; *Grott dal Galett*, Scareglia; *Grott dal Mött*, Ronco sopra Ascona; *Grott dal Purcel Risc*, Bellinzona; *Grott Dötra*, Olivone; *Grott Stube*, Folgaria (province of Trent, Italy).[10]

a2) **Crota**: all in Piedmont, except *Crota Piemunteisa*: *La Crota*, San Maurizio Canavese (TO); *Crota 'D Calos*, Calosso (AT); *La Crota*, Morozzo (CN); *La Crota*, Limone Piemonte (CN); *Crota Piemunteisa*, Milan; *La Crota dl'ours*, Torre Pellice (TO); *Enoteca La Crota*, Turin (TO); *Cantina La Crota*, Chieri (TO).[11]

[10] Source: Google, accessed on 2008 August, s.v. grott.
[11] Source: Google, accessed on 2008 December, s.v. crota.

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a3) **Boteiga**: The following information has been arranged in this way: name of the shop, city or town, Swiss canton or Italian province; the commerce type of each shop has been recorded too, if available.

A butega di caruggi, Toirano (SV), typical products; *A butega d'u marengon*, Bedonia (PR), carpenter; *Botega da gera*, Gerra (Ticino, Switzerland), grocer's shop; *Botega del bön potagi*, Alpignano (TO), grocer's shop; *Butea da Quint*, Quinto (Ticino, Switzerland), sculptress, goldsmith; *Butega*, Lerici (SP), interior decoration; *Butega*, Sarzana (SP), interior decoration; *Butega dal curan Edith*, Badia (BZ), shoe shop; *Butega du lema*, Miglieglia (Ticino, Switzerland), grocer's shop / artisan; *Buteiga berna*, St. Ulrich (BZ); *Buteiga dl mond gherdeina*, St. Ulrich (BZ), Artisan's shop; *Buteiga mata*, Casalgrande (RE), lingerie, interior decoration; *Buteiga mata ferrari e della casa*, Casalgrande (RE), men's and women's wear shop; *Feur buteiga l'antica*, St. Ulrich (BZ), Newspaper shop; *Forno la butega ad franton*, Guastalla (RE), baker's shop; *Hofer buteiga dal pan*, St. Ulrich (BZ), grocer's shop; *La botega*, Tremosine (BS), grocer's shop; *La botega de Barlo'*, Fontanafredda (PN), restaurant; *La botega del geato*, Caorle (VE), icecream shop; *La botega del pitor*, Riva del garda (TN), painter; *La botega du pais*, Palmanova (UD), grocer's shop; *La boteia*, Dalpe (Ticino, Switzerland); *La boteiga da pinter*, Moena (TN), cooper; *La butea du pan*, Airolo (Ticino, Switzerland), baker's shop; *La butega*, Camino (AL), grocer's shop; *La butega*, Rimini (RN), grocer's shop; *La butëga*, Badia (BZ), bicycle shop; *La butega*, Druogno (VB); *La butega*, Romagnano Sesia (NO); *La butega ad giorgioni*, Bagnacavallo (RA), herbalist's shop; *La butega da la pitina*, Tramonti di Sopra (PN), delicatessen shop; *La butega da la val*, Pianezzo (Ticino, Switzerland), grocer's shop; *La butega dal pan*, San Martino in Rio (RE), baker's shop; *La butega del pais*, Casapinta (BI); *La butega del pais*, Vallanzengo (BI); *La butega dil pais*, Castagnole Monferrato (AT); *La buteiga*, Comelico Superiore (BL), gift shop; *La buteiga*, Sant'Ilario d'Enza (RE), wine shop; *La buteja da la viera*, Coggiola (BI); *Lura la butega dal paes sagl*, Canobbio (Ticino, Switzerland), grocer's shop; *Ra botega da Curzönas*, Corzoneso (Ticino, Switzerland), grocer's shop.[12]

a4) **Baker's shops**: The following information has been arranged as in point a3): commerce is always baker's shop.

The recorded variants are *prestin* '[the] soon-awakening person', *forner* '[the] oven-worker', *panater* '[the] bread-maker', with their obvious common alterations.

Al furner, Fiorano Modenese (MO); *Al mi furner*, Bologna (BO); *Dal furner*, Viadana (MN); *Dal furner*, Casale Cremasco (CR); *Dal furner*, Bologna (BO); *Dal furner*, Fontanella (BG); *El forner*, Brescia (BS); *El furnèer*, Cremona

[12]Source: Google, accessed on 2008 October, s.v. botega, boteia, boteiga, butea, butega, butëga, buteiga. buteja.

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(CR); *El furnèer*, Castelleone (CR); *El furner*, Fiesse (BS); *El prestin de Brisag*, Brissago (Ticino, Switzerland); *El prestin de la via Inganni*, Milan (MI); *El prestin del cantun*, Milan (MI); *El prestinée*, Bellinzona (Ticino, Switzerland); *El prestinee*, Lumino (Ticino, Switzerland); *La butaiga dal furner*, Castello Di Serravalle (BO); *La butea du pan*, Airolo (Ticino, Switzerland); *O panatte'*, Genoa (GE); *Piron al furner*, Bologna (BO).[13]



FIGURE 1. *Some commercial signboards, photos by the author.*

Finally, an interesting matter to hint at is the prevalence of the resonance of Rhaeto-Cisalpine forms *café/cafè* with the «continental» European analogous ones. In Milan and Genoa, these forms overwhelmingly prevail on the theorically mandatory Italian one *caffè*; elsewhere we have a more variegated situation; the forms *café/cafè* are weaker, however, in eastern Padania.

The strenght of this phenomenon seems mostly due to English and French, but the importance of the resonance with the local forms should not be underestimated, since this is just another evidence of Rhaeto-Cisalpine's belonging to western Romance.

To corroborate the above conjecture, we allege an abiding and not marginal presence of French in commercial signboards in western Padania: we are not yet in position to measure it, but it is interesting to note that French is not confined in Milan (where a relevant presence should be deemed natural enough), but we encounter it even in medium size towns; as sparse examples, we record e.g.: *Café de Paris*, Bergamo; *Le petit boulanger*, Cesano Maderno (Milan), a baker's shop abiding since 1890; *Déjavu*, Crema (Cremona), outlet; *Blanche*, Cusano Milanino (Milan), bar; *Café étoile*, Novara, restaurant; *Le torchon à carreaux*, Novara, gift shop; *Élite café*, Pavia; *La croisette*, Sestri Levante (Genoa), boutique; *Café touché*, Sestri Levante (Genoa), *Café de la gare*, Cernusco Lombardone (Lecco), Felizzano (Alessandria) and Tirano (Sondrio). This kind of resonance could be explained by the lack of a Rhaeto-Cisalpine written standard, which has partially deviated the natural reaction against italianisation towards a more affine language such as French.

The above examples (as well as many others) have been recorded through direct inspection by the author.

[13]Source: Google, accessed on 2008 September, s.v. prestin, prestinee, prestinée, forner, furner, furnèer, panaté, panatté.

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We show here, for some cities, the ratios between the forms *café/cafè* and *caffè* (in this order: the higher this number, the more *café/cafè*'s we have with respect to *caffè*'s): *Verona: 0.38*, *Brescia: 0.50*, *Turin: 0.80*, *Bologna: 0.87*, *Genoa: 2.30*, *Milan: 2.64*; the above ratios show a striking contrast with the analogous ones for the following two naturally Italian speaking large cities: *Florence: 0.21*, *Rome: 0.43*.

The above comparison has been set up by retrieving and merging data from Pagine Gialle IT (accessed on 2008 October), Pronto Imprese (accessed on 2008 October) and Tonight.eu (accessed on 2008 November). Some names in Milan have been corrected by direct inspection, since the author has spotted out a tendency to deal with the forms *café/cafè* as if they were «orthography mistakes» and to replace them with the Italian standard form *caffè*, especially in Pagine Gialle.

The following image reports some café signboards in Milan, documenting the resonance between Milanese and continental/English forms: four *cafés* are in Milanese (*Café del binari*, *El café de Milan*, *Gibigiana café* and *El tasinin del café*), two are in French (*Café coin*, *Le café bon ton*), one is ambiguous French/Milanese (*Café Paris*), one is Venetan (*Café Berton*), one is «generic» (*Café Binda*, taking name from the street it is located it), one is ambiguous English/French (*Richard café*) and two are in English (*Off side café* and *Chill out café*):



FIGURE 2. *Some café signboards in Milan, photos by the author.*

B) Street name plates

We offer some sparse examples (confined in dealing with ISO 639-3 Lombard only):

- The following municipalities in Canton Ticino (Switzerland) have street name plates in Lombard only: Aurigeno, Brusino, Cadenazzo, Cagiallo, Camorino, Giornico, Maggia, Montecarasso, Morcote, Origlio, Pambio-Noranco, Verscio; the following ones have street name plates in both Lombard and Italian: Arzo, Barbengo, Besazio, Bissone, Bodio, Brè s. Lugano, Brione Verzasca, Castel San Pietro, Coldrerio, Cureglia, Davesco Soragno, Gerra Piano, Lamone, Ligornetto, Meride, Mezzovico, Morbio Inf., Novazzano, Pura, Rancate, Ronco s. Ascona, Sant'Antonino, Sementina, Sonvico, Stabio, Torricella, Vacallo, Vico Morcote (Stefano Vassere, p.c., 2008).

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- The following is the official street directory of Montecarasso (near Bellinzona, Ticino): Burg'ère Ferè, Busc' del Ram, Camp di Nav, Carà de Pedmunt, Carà del Curt de fund, Carà di Gai, Carà di Sai, Carà di Soi, Carà d'Urènn, Chiblèe, Cios di Murun, Curt de fund, Curt di Marciunitt, Curt di Paitign, Curt di Sgiö, el Ciòs, el Cunvént, el Garuf, el lagmall, el Lòri, el Müröö, el Puz d'Urènn, el Ram, el Rïaa, el Runchetign, el Sai, el Sementéri, el Sgérbi, el Stradun, el Temeris, el Törc, el Valècc, er Capèle, er Carensgiada, er Mòto, er Pulverina, er Puzzetascia, er Runsgète, i Campagnòi, i Fracc, i Gasg, i Gasgiun, I Mundasc, Mött di Russign, Pedmunt, Puncète in Pciagn, Strada del Tasign, Strada nòvo, suta el Ciòs, Urènn. (Monte Carasso 1996; note that the feminine singular determinate article takes the form *er* in the dialect of this town, instead of the neighbouring's *la*).

The following are some Lombard street name plates at Morcote (near Lugano, Ticino), first line, and Poschiavo (Grisons), second line:



FIGURE 3. *Some Lombard street name plates at Morcote, photos by the author.*

Finally, the following is the official street directory of Livigno, together with the hamlet of Trepalle (province of Sondrio, Italy) — Cristoforo Domiziano Franzini (p.c., 2008):

- **Livigno**: Plàza dal Comùn, Plazàl dali Sckòla, Via Àll, Via Belträm, Via Bóndi, Via Bóndi, Via Bórch, Via Bóscola, Via Botarèl, Via Campàcc, Via Campaciòl, Via Cantón, Via Chestèl, Via Compàrt, Via Confortìna, Via Contìn, Via Crosàl, Via dala Gésa, Via dala Vàl, Via dali Croscéta, Via dali Mìna, Via dali Strózia, Via Domenión, Via Fedarìa, Via Florìn, Via Fontàna, Via Fórcola, Via Fréita, Via Gerùs, Via Ìsola, Via la Córta, Via Marangóna, Via Molìn, Via Mónt dala néf, Via Motolìn, Via Òlta, Via Ostarìa, Via Palipért, Via Paré, Via Pedràna, Via Pemónt, Via Picéir, Via Piénz, Via Pizabèla, Via Plàn, Via Pónt Lónch, Via Pontìglia, Via Pózz, Via Préstèfan, Via Ràsia, Via Restèl, Via Rìn, Via Sant 'Antòni, Via Saròch, Via Steblìna, Via Svanón, Via S.S. 301 – Livigno, Via Tagliéda, Via Teòla, Via Tresénda, Via Vinécc.

- **Trepalle**: Plazàl deli Sckòla, Via Arnéira, Via Chésa Véglia, Via de Pìla, Via del Pónt, Via dela Gésa, Via dela Córta, Via deli Croscéta, Via Ìsola, Via lì Crapéna, Via lì Dórna, Via lì Bàita, Via Plàn, Via Presót, Via Róss, Via S.S. 301 Trepalle, Via Stèfan, Via Valècia.

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Claudio Meneghini
Institud de studis Rhaeto-Cisalpins
Fermo Posta Chiasso 1
CH 6830 Chiasso
Switzerland

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