

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

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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: *fôrta* (everywhere except in Ligurian and southern Venetan, where we find the italianate *fôrte* instead), *verda* (almost everywhere: exceptions are Genova and Venice hinterlands, where we find *verde*) and the virtually universal *mòlla* /m'01a/.

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,

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»: attributive 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 = masculin + -a [...] Ejempli de agetifs: *bel / bela*, *fort / forta*, *dur / dura*, *curious / curiosa*, *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 -â) in allen Talschaften als spezifische Endung des Femininum 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 uninflected 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 pèr 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*

'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 superstratum (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 importance 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* / *äggra* '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', *còrt* / *còrta* 'short', *fess* / *fessa* 'dense'; see also Razzi (1984, 130) and Bazzani

& 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', *sutìl* / *sutìla* '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 donna forte*, *i òmmi forti*, *dònne forte* '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'e₁la, b'e₁le/, 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.

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 number 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 | mónnda 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 |

¹Ticinese 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).

| | | |
|-----|------------|--|
| 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 | pastú'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 lò'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 | Oscò | val gránda |
| 100 | Dalpe | cápela gránda lüina gránda, la ri det la lüina gránda, u sáutro de la lüina gránda |
| 101 | Prato Lev. | bola gránda, la furnèsa gránda, la mota gránda |
| 102 | Quinto | brüsèda gránda, la bola gránda lò'ita gránda lò'ita gránda |

| | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| 110 | Airolo | dúcia gránda, la fópa gránda pèzza gránda sera gránda |
| 111 | Bedretto | lò'ita gránda, la pèzza gránda, la lò'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 | Cavergho | valégia gránda coróna gránda coróna gránda sóstán 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 - Sèrta, 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 |

| | | |
|------|-------------|--|
| 182 | Orselina | spóna 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 | Migliaglia | 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'ints@ gr'anda/ (thus via written language).

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

gr' aNd@/) in Bolognese (ORS: *plāca 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 diferenciala | 'Differential geometry' |
| Convergença absoluta et conditionala | 'Absolute and conditioned convergence' |
| Analysa complexa | 'Complex analysis' |
| Seqüença convergenta | 'Convergent sequence' |
| Curva regulara | 'Regular curve' |
| Transformation inversibla | 'Invertible transformation' |
| Forma quadrätiga | 'Quadratic form' |
| La partida principala 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

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 | | | | Third person | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|---------|-------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|
| Type <i>quest</i> < *ECCU ISTE | | | | Type <i>quel</i> < *ECCU ILLU | | | |
| singular | | plural | | singular | | plural | |
| MASC. | FEM. | MASC. | FEM. | MASC. | FEM. | MASC. | FEM. |
| quest | questa | quistg | questes | quel | quela | quiy | queles |
| | | questg | questas | | | quilh | queLas |
| | | quist | | | | quels | |
| | | quests | | | | | |

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 Indo-European 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 *aqwest* < *ACCU-ISTE and *aquel* < *ACCU-ILLE are sometimes attested in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain: if, on the one hand, «the Old Piedmontese *aqwest* 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 *aqwest* /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/

(/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'eI/ 'that mantle', /sa v'aka/ 'that cow', /si pr'Eive/ 'that priests', /se t'0te/ '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 Ventimiglia», 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 $\zeta\grave{o}/\zeta\grave{o}n < *ECCE$ HOC and $\grave{l}\grave{o}/\grave{l}\grave{o}n < ILLU$ HOC still widespread in Liguria and Piedmont (here $\grave{s}\grave{o}n$ /sON/ and $\grave{l}\grave{o}n$ /lON/), preserving the semantic distinction between $\zeta\grave{o}$ (1st person) and $\grave{l}\grave{o}$ (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) [/kweIa 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'0la 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'.

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

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 usual 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:

TABLE 5. *Possessive adjectives/pronouns in Padania.*

2

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

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

As an overall comment, we note the usual Rhaeto-Cisalpine distribution of plural forms (mainly feminine in-es and masculine in -i, sometimes in meta-phonetic 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 |
|-----------------|-----------|----------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1 st | mè/mes | mè/mes | 4 th | nost/nostg (nosts) | nosta/nostes |
| 2 nd | tè/tes | tè/tes | 5 th | vost/vostg (vosts) | vosta/vostes |
| 3 rd | sè/ses | sè/ses | 6 th | 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).

While Monferrat, Norther Piedmont and Valsesia retained the Latin group /kw/ in the form /kwe/ and Sursilvan in the form /kwɪn/ (<QUEM?), the types *quí* (/ki/ < *quī*) and *que* (/ke/ < *quē*) are mostly widespread in Padania alongside with their palatalised counterparts *tgi* /tʃi/ and *tge* /tʃe/, typical of the Alpine domains (*tgi de nous?* /tʃi 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* /ke1au: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'e1a tʃ'eza SteSt ty/ 'in which house do you live?', upper Engadinian; *qual leit?* /kwal 1etʃ/ '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):

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'Osa, s'erti ma'istri. Friulan una tal f'Emine, un tal Omp, una riss'orsa t'ala, +(ed)un Istr. sertid'ouN (pl. sertid'ouni 'certuni'), Rom. tsart'o'n, Eng. tSert'yms (tSertad'yms) diZ'an. |
| every | OMNIS | onyi / onhi / onya / onha | OLom. <i>ogno ben, ogno tenor, ogna l'e, omnia cossa</i> ; OVen. <i>ogno corno, ogna femena</i> ; OVer. <i>ogna tempo, ogna mal, ogna cortesia</i> (Giacomino), OFri. <i>ogna anno, ogna domenica</i> (Statuti di Cividale); OMil. <i>onna gran, ognia bono, ugni fructo</i> (Barsegap'e); OGen. <i>ogni greco</i> . |
| every | Provençal <i>chasque</i> | chaque | W Lig. tS'ake. |
| everyone | OMNIUNQUAM | onyonca / onhonca / omionca / minca | OLom. <i>omiunca, ognunca</i> , modern Rhaetian m'inca and Piedmontese m'inca, cf. Eng. m'inca di, Pm. m'inca di. |

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

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|---|
| nothing | *NŪLLIA (RES) | nulya/nulha | OVen. <i>nuya</i> , Eng. n'yL\ə, n'2L\ə, Posch. n'yL\ə, Dol. Plav. nia, Fri. nuja, nuje, nu'e, ni je, ni'e; to the Gallo-Roman <i>neg'ota</i> correspond the OLom. <i>negota</i> , OPm. <i>neota</i> , 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. <i>qè maior de negun como vedhes ancor</i> (Uguçon, 18), <i>qe vol ben com ie 'nsegne</i> (Pateg, 38); OPm. <i>aquela gent que hom apelava Philistiim</i> (Sermons, XVI); OGen. <i>mester è como li caze</i> ; OVen. <i>como po omo credere</i> . Berg. am kanta, cf. pop. Fr. <i>on chante = nous chantons</i> . |
| one | UNUS | uns | Rhen. ins di, ins plid'ava rom'ontS a Kw'era; Engadinish 'yn, cf. 'yn p0. |
| 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. <i>med(h)esimo</i> , OPm. <i>meesme, meisme</i> , 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 st0ria (for la mid'ema st0ria), 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. <i>tamagno</i> , Bol. tam0J, Fri. tamaJ, tomaJ, Carn. tav'aJ; tale' (Pirona). |
| so much / so many | TANTU | tant | Pm. t'aNte p'eNe, Surs. t0n p'auN, t'Ontas g'adas, Fri. tant timp, t'antis l'agrimis e tantS d'olors. |
| some | QUALIS + *QUE (cf. Fr. <i>quelque</i> , Occ. <i>qualque</i> , It. <i>qualche</i>) | 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, WFig. k'aike; <i>bon, ben + quagl = 'many'</i> Valtellinese bonakw'ai, benkw'ai. |
| some | *ALICŪNUS (ALIQUIS + UNUS) | alcun | OLom. <i>alcun</i> , OGen. <i>alcum</i> , Rhen. anc'iN, Eng. alc'yN (m. pl. alc'yns). |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| some | *ALICŪNU | algun | OLom. <i>algun</i> , OBol. OVen. <i>algun(o)</i> and Dol. <i>valg'uN</i> . |
| some | TALIS | tal | Surs. in <i>tal k'udiS</i> , '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 <i>alget</i> , Engadinish alc'et. |
| someone/ something | QUAL | quaydun/ quaycòs | <i>qual</i> , <i>quagl</i> + 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; + c0sa Eng. 'ynkwalcosa, Lom. kwaik0s(a), kweik0s(a), Pm. kwaik0z(a), keik0z(a), Lig. kwark0za, kaik0za, WEm. kwaik0za, kwark0za, EEm. kval(k)k0za, Rom. kvalkoza, Pol. kolk0sa, Ven. Trent. kwalk0sa, Lun. kwark0. Istrian k'alko, west Lombard un kwaik0s and na kwai r0ba. Rhen. entsac'i. |
| someone | *EGO NON SAPIO QUI VERA GUTTA | ençaquí, ençatgí vergota (cf. negota) | OLom. <i>vergota</i> , WLOm. <i>verg'ut(a)</i> , <i>varg'ot</i> , ELOm. <i>erg'ot(a)</i> , <i>arg'ot</i> , Trent. <i>verg'ota</i> 'qualcosa'; <i>verg'yN</i> (<i>erg'y</i>) by analogy of <i>vergota</i> . |
| something | *EGO NON SA- PIO QUID | ençaquei, ençatgé | Rhen. entsacei, Istrian nosk'e, n'oske, Gardenese ts'eke and Badiot c'etse, cits'e (cf. Fr. <i>je ne sais quoi</i>) un sok'e, Valses. un sokw'E (cf. Fr. <i>un truc</i> , <i>un machin</i>). |
| too much | *TROPPI | tròp | Lom. <i>trOp '0di</i> , <i>tr'0pa pa'yra</i> . |

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. *nulla*) and continues in modern times as the invariable Sutsilvan *nui*» as an alternative form for *negun/nexun*.

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.).

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/ò* (resp. *eu/ue* and *ò*) 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.

³Masculine 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).

TABLE 9. *Vernacular forms from cardinal numerals.*

| | ROH (1) | ROH (1a) | LLD (2) | E-LMO (3) | W-LMO (4) | PMS (5) | LJ (6) | EML (7) | VEC (8) | FUR (9) |
|----|--------------|-------------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------|------------------------|------------|
| 0 | nulla | nul, nulla | nul/zero | giù, giòna | vù(g)n, vùna | jèn, jèn-na | un, un-n-a | òn | un(o), una | un, une |
| 1 | in, ina | in, ina | un, una | | | | | | | |
| 2 | duș, duas | duș, duas, dua | doi, does | du, dò | düü, dó | doi, doi>do' | doi, doe, doa | dà | dó (du/ doi), dó | doi, dôș |
| 3 | trais | treis, trei | trei | trè, trè | trii, tré | tréj | trei, traè | trî | tre (tri), tre | trè |
| 4 | quatter | quater | cater | quàter | quatar/ quattru | quàter, quatt(r) | quattro | quàter | quatro | cuatri |
| 5 | tschintg | tschun | cinch | sich | cinch | sinch, singh | cinque | zènc(v) | zsinque | cinc |
| 6 | sis | sis | sies | sés | sés | ses | sei | sî | sie (pron. sîe/sîe) | 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 | nuèf | nòf | nòf | nòv | neuve | nòv | nòve | nûf |
| 10 | diesch | diesch | diesc | dés | dés | des | dexe | dîs | diéxe | dîș |
| 11 | indesch | endish | undesc | òndes | vündas | òndes | unze | òng' | òndexe | undîș |
| 12 | dudesch | dudisch | dodesc | dúdes | dódas/ dúdás | dódés | dozze | däg' | dódexe | dodîș |
| 13 | tredesch | tredisch | trelesc | trédés | trédás | trédés | trezze | trag' | trédexe | tređîș |
| 14 | quattordesch | quitordisch | catordesc | quatòrdes | quatòrdas | quatòrdes | quattòrze | quatòrg | quatòrdexe | cutuardîș |
| 15 | quindesch | quendisch | chindec | quindés | quindás | quéndes | chinze | quèng' | quindexe | cuinđîș |
| 16 | sedesch | sedusch | seidesc | sédés | sédás | sédés | sezze | sagg' | sédexe | sedîș |
| 17 | deschset | gissiat | dejeset | didisèt | derzèt | disset | disete | darset | di(x)sete | disesiet |

| ROH (1) | ROH (1a) | LLD (2) | E-LMO (3) | W-LMO (4) | PMS (5) | LJ (6) | EML (7) | VEC (8) | FUR (9) |
|----------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 18 deschnov | schootg | déjédot | desdöt | desdöt/ disdött | disdöt | dixeuutto | dsdöt | disdoto | disevot |
| 19 deschnov | scheniv | dejenuef | desnöf | desnöf/ dis- nöf | disnöf | dixineuve | dshöv | disnöve | disenüf |
| 20 ventg | vegn | vint | vint | vint | vent | vinti | vént | vinti | vinçj |
| 21 ventgin | ventgin | vintun | vintü | vintü(g)n | ventën | vintun | ventiön | vinti-un | vinçjeun |
| 22 ventgadus | ventgadus | vintedoi – vintedoes | vintidü | vintidüü, vintidó | ventedoi | vintidoi | ventedü | ventedü | vinçjedoi, vinçjedós |
| 23 | ventgatreis | vintetrei | vintitri | vintitri, vintitrié | ventetrij | vintitrei | ventetrij | ventetrij | vinçjetrij |
| 24 | ventgaquater | vintecater | | | ventequäter | | ventequäter | ventequäter | vinçjequatri |
| 25 | ventgatschun | vintecinch | | | ventessingh | | ventzënc | ventzënc | vinçjecinc |
| 26 | ventgasis | vintesies | | | ventesses | | ventsí | ventsí | vinçjesís |
| 27 | ventgasiat | vinteset | | | ventesseset | | ventsët | ventsët | vinçjesiet |
| 28 | ventgofg | vintot | | vintött | ventöt | | ventiöt | ventiöt | vinçjevot |
| 29 | ventganov | vintenuef | vintinöf | vintinöf | ventenöv | | ventnöv | ventnöv | vinçjenüf |
| 30 trenta | trenta | trenta | trënta | trënta | trënta | trenta | trënta | trenta | trente |
| 31 | trentin | trentun | | | trëntun | trentun | trëntun | trëntun | trenteun |
| 32 | trentadus | trentedoi – trentedoes | | | trëntadü | trentetrei | trëntadü | trëntadü | trentedoi |
| 33 | | trentetrei | | | | trentetrei | | | trentetrij |
| 38 | | trentot | | | | trentot | | | trentot |
| 40 quaranta | curonta | caranta | quarantã | quaranta | quarãnta | quaranta | quaranta | quaranta | cuarante |
| 50 tschunconta | tschunconta | cincanta | sinquantã | cinqunta | sinquãnta | çinquanta | zincuenta | zinquanta | cincuante |
| 60 sessanta | sissona | sessanta | sessantã | sessanta | sessãnta | sciuscianta | ssanta | sesanta | sessante |
| 70 settanta | siatonta | setanta | setantã | setanta | setãnta | settanta | stanta | setanta | setante |
| 80 otganta | otgonta | otanta | otantã | vutanta | otãnta | ötanta | utanta | otanta | otante |

| | ROH (1) | ROH (1a) | LLD (2) | E-LMO (3) | W-LMO (4) | PMS (5) | LJ (6) | EML (7) | VEC (8) | FUR (9) |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|----------------------|------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 90 | novanta | navonta | nonanta | noanță | nu(V)anta | novănta | novanta | nuvanta | novanta | nonante/ novante |
| 100 | tschient | tschien | cent | sènt | cént | sent | çento | zânt | zsentto | cent |
| 101 | tschientedin | tschienedin | centleun | sengitiü | cenviü(g)n | sent e jën | çentoun | zânt e ón | | cent e un |
| 102 | | tschienedus | centedoi – | sendú | centdütü, centdó | | | | | |
| 103 | | | centedoes | | centriü, cen- tré | | | | | |
| 108 | | | centetrei | | centvòht | | | | | |
| 110 | | | | | | sent e des | | zântdís | | cent e dis |
| 122 | | | | | | | | | | cent e vingjedoi |
| 200 | duatschient | duatschien | doicent | dusent | düsent | dosent | duxento | dusânt | doxento | dusinte |
| 300 | traitschient, traitschient | treitschien | treicent | tresènt | tresént | tërzent | trexento | tarsant | trexento | tresinte |
| 400 | quatter- tschient | | | quatersènt | quatarésént | quatsent | quattroçento | quaterzânt | quattroxento | cuatricent |
| 500 | tschintg- tschient | | | sichsènt | cincént | sindhsent | çinqueçento | zenczânt | zsiñque- zsentto | cincicent |
| 600 | | | siescent | | ses-cént | sessent | | sizânt | siezsentto | siescent |
| 700 | | | | | sett-cent | setsent | | setzânt | setezsentto | sietcent |
| 800 | | | | | vòht-cént | òt-sent | | otzânt | otozsentto | voicent |
| 900 | | | | | nóicent | nòv-sent | | novzânt | novezsentto | núicent |
| 1000 | milli | melli | mile | mila | mila | mila | mille | mëll | mile | mil |
| 1001 | | | | mila e giü | mila viü(g)n | | | | | mil e un |
| 1002 | | | miledoi | | | | | | | mil e doi |
| 1100 | | | | | | | mëll e zânt | | | |

| | ROH (1) | ROH (1a) | LLD (2) | E-LMO (3) | W-LMO (4) | FMS (5) | EML (7) | VEC (8) | FUR (9) |
|-----------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|
| 2000 | duamilli | duamelli | | | dumila, domila | dôi-mila | dâu mélla | | dôi mil |
| 3000 | trai(a)milli | | | | trimila, tremila | tréj-mila | | | trê mil |
| 4000 | | | | | | quatmila | | | |
| 10000 | dieschmilli | dieschmelli | | | cenmila | sentmila | | diéxe mila | cent mil |
| 100000 | | tschienmelli | | | | | | zsento mila | cent mil |
| 200000 | | | | | | | | | duisinte mil |
| 900000 | | | | | | novsentmila | | | |
| 1000000 | | in milliun | (un) n million | un miliú | un miliun | in milion | un miglián | un milion | un milion |
| 2000000 | | | | | | | dú miglión | | |
| 10000000 | | | | | | | | diéxe miliuni | |
| 100000000 | | ina milliarda | (un) n miliard | | | in miliard | un migliard | | un miliart |

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

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | Surs. W ^L ig. 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-Padania ju~. |
| 2 | Müst. du0i, UValt. d2i, Oss. NTic. dyi, d'oi, d'ui, NPm. d'yi, Pm. Lig. dui, Gen. du'I, W ^L om. dy, E ^L om. du, Em. du, dy, Rom. du, d0, VBreg. Posch. Trent. Plav. Dol. d'oi, Bad. Istr. d'ui, Ven. do, Fri. d0i, 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, d0, 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); W ^L ig. 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, W ^L om. tri, E ^L om. 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, W ^L ig. 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, W ^L om. tSiNk, SiNk, Pm. siNk, E ^L om. 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, W ^L ig. s'iNke. |
| 6 | Surs.Sut. sis, Surm. s'eis, seks, Eng. ses, UValt. s'eiS, Pm. W ^L om. Em. ses, E ^L om. 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, E ^L om. h'Et, Rom. s'Eat, Lig. Ven. s'Ete, Istr. si'ete. |
| 8 | VBreg. Liv. 2c, Pm. 2t, Lig. 2tu, Fri. v0t, SFrat. w'ot; Rhen. Oc, Eng. Ot, W ^L om. OtS, E ^L om. Em-Rom. Trent. Dol. Ot, Ven. 'Oto, Istr. (v)u'oto. |
| 9 | Rhen. n0f, n0kf, Eng. n0kf, n'ouf, Oss. n0f, n0w, Rom. n'0af, 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. J0ve, 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. |

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

- 11 Rhen. 'endiS, Eng. 'yndeS, UValt. 'undeS, WLom. v'yndes, Pm. 'undez, Em. v'yndaz, 'undaz, Rom. Ond-z, OndZ, Ven. 'undeze, Fass. 'uneS, Gard. Fod. 'undeS, Bad. 'yneS, 'zneS, Plav. 'undes, NFri. 'undiS, SFri. 'undis, Istr. 'Ondaze; 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'OrdiS, Surm. kit'OrdeS, kat'OrdeS, Eng. k(w)at'OrdeS, UValt. kwat'OrdeS, Lom.Pm.Trent.Plav. kwat'Ordes, Em. kwat'ordaz, Ven. kwat'Ordeze, Anaun. kat'Ordes, Dol. kat'OrdeS, NFri. kutu'ardiS, katu'ardiS, SFri. kutu'ardiS, Istr. kwatu'ordaze, SFrat. kwat'ardiS, Lig. kat'Orze, Pettinengo (AIS, point 135): kwat'Ordzi.
- 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'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. diZu'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'Ointa, 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.

- 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, Tenta, 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.

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 from 6 onwards (and for 0), whereas the following forms will be attached to the numerals from 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

shared by the Rhaeto-Cisalpine system. The standard Romance outcome *-ment* < MENTE is widespread, alongside with the localised types *-meint* (Romagnol), *-mein* (Sursilvan, see [Spescha 1989](#), 494), *-maintg* (Engadinian; the local orthography is: *-maing*, see e.g. [Ganzoni \(1983a, 141; 1983b, 146\)](#)), *-mêt* (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 **semplimentri** cul segn s, anje se si trate di une scriture di variante dal furlan, cuant che al è denant di consonante e nol à valôr distintif. ([OLF 2002b](#), 10, our emphasis).
- (7) Quand veniara ol di de la sentenza // Che vo sie denanz al nostro seniore. // Cum **dolzamenter** vo l'impaturisef // 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 implicitly stated by ([Nòste Rèis 2000](#), «Lesson neu»): 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.

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* /'grattsje/ 'thank you' and its modern, everyday Piedmontese counterpart *grassie* /'grasje/, 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.

⁵Some 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.).

⁶Sources 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).

⁷The 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).

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 between 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 | certainament, certanament, | certament | de segur | certainente | certainly |
| A | oui | -meint xi, oy, est, aé, gea | sí | òc | sí | yes |
| A | précisément | precisament, - meint | precisament | precisament | precisamente | precisely |
| A | si volontiers | xi volonteira, bonteira | sí de bon grat | òc volontèr | sí volentieri | yes willingly |
| A | vraiment | debon, de- veira | de debó | de veritat | veramente | really |
| D | peut-être | peul-vess, davess, sela- cad | potser | benlèu | forse | maybe |
| D | probablement | probablament, | probablement | probablament | probabilmente | probably |
| D | sans doute | -meint sença dubi / sença dúbít | sense dubie | bensai | senza dubbio | without doubt |
| M | aussi | air, anc(a), assí, decò | també | tanben | anche | also, too, as |
| M | bien | bein, ben | bé | plan | bene | well |
| M | mal | mal | mal | mal | male | badly |
| M | mieux | melh, melhor | millor | mièlts | miglio | better |
| M | parce que | perquei que, parce que | perquè | perque, per ço que | perché | because |
| M | plutôt | plutòst, | més aviat | que puslèu | piuttosto | rather |
| M | pourquoi | algamma perquei | perquè | perquè | perché | why |
| M | pourtant | pourtant, de tuta manera | tantmateix | çaquelà | tuttavia | notwithstanding |

| 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, brixà | pas | pas | mica, punto | (do) ... not |
| N | point | brixà, brixà | de cap man- era | pas brixà | punto | not at all |
| N | rien | negot(a) | res | res | niente | nothing |
| P | ailleurs | aultro | 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 dtera | endarrere | darrèr | dietro | back |
| P | dessus | souvra/soura | damunt | dessus | sopra | above |
| P | devant | devant | davant | davant | davanti | in front |
| P | ici | ci, ça, quilo | 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 |

| Semantic class | French | Padanese (ORS) | Catalan | Occitan | Italian | English |
|----------------|--------------------|--|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| P | quelque part | (en)alگو, ençano(va), ençaðnd, ençola | en algun lloc | endacòm | da qualche parte | somewhere |
| Q | assez | avond, abòt, assé | prou | pro | abbastanza | enough |
| Q | aussi | eir, and(a), assi, decò | també | tanben | anche | also, too, as well |
| Q | autant beaucoup | tant bler, fig, un mont, guaire | tant molt | tant fôrça | così ... (come) molto | as (... as) a lot |
| Q | fort moins | bonbein meny(s), men | fort menys | fòrt mens | molto meno | very less |
| Q | peu | poc/poique | poc | pauc | poco | a little |
| Q | presque | debot, asquas, guaire | gatrebé | gatreben | quasi | almost |
| Q | si | enxi | tant | tant | così | so |
| Q | tant | tant | tant | tant | tanto | so / a lot |
| Q | très | bonbein | molt | fôrça | molto | very |

| Semantic class | French | Padanese (ORS) | Catalan | Occitan | Italian | English |
|----------------|-------------|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| T | alors | aloura | llavors | alara | allora | then |
| T | après | dapress | després | aprip | 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 | ierà | 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 | debot, endeit, exebrupt | de sobte | de còp | all'improvviso | suddenly |
| T | toujours | aduna, sempre, delongue, sald | sempre | toforn, sempre | sempre | always |
| T | trop | massa, tròp | massa | tròp | troppo | too / too much |

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. |
| despos | despos, despus | behind | WLom. dep'us, dap'us (whence ap'us); Valt. desp'ys, Fri. disp'us. |
| ilò, ilòga | ilò, ilòga | right there | OLom. <i>ilò, inlòga, illòga, alòga, alò</i> ; Lom. <i>il'0, il'2ga</i> ; Dol. <i>il'0</i> ; Valt. <i>ili'0, ili'a, ili'E</i> (with palatalization); <i>ival'0(ga)</i> ; OVen. <i>invel'O, iualoga</i> . |
| lointan | lointaun | far (also adj.) | OLom. OVen. <i>luitan</i> . This form has been generally replaced by the Italianism <i>lontaun</i> < <i>lontano</i> without palatalization of <i>n</i> . |
| lueny | luonj, luogn | far | Eng. <i>dal'2nc</i> 'long ago'; Pm. 12J, 10J (this second type possibly influenced by the Occ. <i>luenh, lonh</i>). |
| quenç | quenç | hereabouts | OVen. <i>quence, quenze</i> , Fri. <i>k'EntSi, kov'EntSi; k'Enti</i> (x. <i>v'Enti</i> , cf. <i>infra</i>). |
| radent | radent | beside, by | OLom. <i>radent</i> , Eng. <i>ard'aint; arad'ent</i> : OVer. <i>are'ente, Berg. ared'et</i> . |
| Adverbs of Time | | | |
| avuey | — | today | Fri. <i>avu'ei</i> . |
| depè, pospè | depè, pospè | again | OMil. <i>dapei</i> (Bonvesin), Posch. <i>dap'E</i> ; Surs. <i>puSp'ei</i> . |
| ensacour | — | at some time | Surs. <i>entsak'u</i> . |
| ensaquand | enzaquand | years ago, in the past | Dol. <i>tsak'an, ntsak'an</i> . |
| fit | fit | at once; early | Lig. <i>f'itu</i> 'early', Lun. <i>fit</i> 'at once'. |
| mincatant/ mint-gatant | mincatant | sometimes | Surs. <i>mincat'On</i> , Eng. <i>mincat'ant</i> , Pm. <i>miNkataNt</i> ; <i>ognit'ant</i> 'ogni tanto': Lom. <i>oJit'a:nt</i> , Ven. <i>oJit'anto</i> , Fri. <i>oJit'ant</i> . |
| stèrça(s) | stèrza(s) | the day before yesterday | Surs. <i>Stiarts'as</i> , Eng. <i>Stertsas(s)</i> . Synonymous compounds include <i>posier</i> (<POST HERI): Lom. <i>puzi'er</i> (Crema), Lucano-Pad. <i>pus'i eri</i> (Tito); <i>enantsj'er</i> : Tic. <i>inants'er</i> ; (l') <i>aultrj'er</i> : Pm. <i>l'autr'Er</i> , Lom. <i>l'oltr'er</i> ; (d) <i>avantj'er</i> : Lig. <i>avant'Ei</i> , Fod. <i>ndavanti'er</i> , Gard. <i>dant'i er</i> ; <i>ier l'aultre</i> : Rom. <i>jirl'Etar</i> , Ven. <i>dZeri l'altro</i> . |

| 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 (<i>presque</i>). 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 <i>invece</i> is in general use as an alternative form, cf. Eng. inv'etsa, Mil. inve'tSe, Fri. inv'Etsit, etc. |
| ençacò gaujend | enzacò gaujend | somehow willingly, gladly | Dol. tsak'0, Surs. entsak'0. 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 Caveragno 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.

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

| LSI sources | ORS types | Vernacular types | Other grammatical categories | English translations |
|-------------|---------------------|--|------------------------------|--|
| a l'abri | à l'abri / à l'abri | — | — | Under shelter (Bedretto) |
| aprov | apreuv, aprivev | (Sopraceneri, Val Poschiavo, Bernina district), <i>apréu</i> (Preonzo, circ. Giornico, Locarno district), <i>apréuv</i> (Loco), <i>apréu</i> (Gorduno, Claro, Locarno district, Mesolcina district), <i>apriu</i> (Sobrio), <i>apriar</i> (Crana), <i>apriöö</i> (Maggia), <i>apriü</i> (Sopraceneri), <i>aprioi</i> (Lodrino), <i>apriuv</i> (Palagnedra), <i>apriuv</i> (Olivone), <i>apriü</i> (Brione Val Verzasca, Palagnedra), <i>apriuv</i> (Palagnedra), <i>dapriü</i> (circ. Giornico, Verscio, Cavigliano, Losone), <i>dapriuv</i> (Russo), <i>dapriev</i> (Lunnino, Locarno district, Mesolcina district), <i>daprieva</i> (Lunnino), <i>dapriü</i> (Sobrio), <i>dapriü</i> (Sopraceneri), <i>dapriü</i> (Pollegio), <i>dapriuv</i> (Sopraceneri), <i>dapriev</i> (Biasca), <i>dapriuv</i> (Sementina), <i>epriü</i> (Biasca), <i>epriuv</i> (Montecarasso), <i>priü</i> (Ons, Verscio, Cavigliano), <i>preü</i> (Biasca), <i>preu</i> (Gorduno, Locarno district, Soazza), <i>prüu</i> (Sopraceneri), <i>prüü</i> (Lodrino), <i>prüuv</i> , <i>prüv</i> (Palagnedra), <i>prüv</i> (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.), <i>brica</i> (Biasca, Lavertezzo), <i>bricca</i> (Val Calanca, Soglio), <i>bricci</i> (Rasa, Val Verzasca, Val Bregaglia, Val Poschiavo, Bernina district), <i>bricchi</i> (Landarocca) | pron. | Not; not at all, nothing (Val Verzasca, Val Calanca, Val Bregaglia, Val Poschiavo, Bernina district); nobody (Val Bregaglia, Poschiavo). |
| brisa | brixa | — | — | Not; not at all (Malvaglia, Chiasso). |
| copée (a →) | copé (à →) | (Gerra Val Verzasca, Sonogno, Gandria, Ceresio), <i>copé</i> (Cerrara), <i>copé</i> (Balerna, Poschiavo), <i>copéi</i> (Olivone), <i>cupé</i> (Novazzano, Balerna), <i>cupé</i> (Balerna, Poschiavo), <i>cupé</i> (Gudo, Lavertezzo, Brione Val Verzasca, Mendrisio district), <i>cupé</i> (Gerra Gambarogno), <i>cupégn</i> (Brione s. Minusio), <i>cupéi</i> (Olivone), <i>cupii</i> (Auressio) | — | 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). |

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')apress 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 |
| apress | 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, | entre |
| | within | |
| depous | behind | derrière |
| despuei | after | depuis |
| devant | in front of | devant |
| devert | as to | quant à, concernant |
| devert de | on the side of | de la part de |

⁸Sources are (in alphabetical 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).

| | | |
|---------------|---|------------------------|
| 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 tempo- ral] | 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 |

| | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 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 tempo- ral] | 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 \(1982, 643\)](#), vernacular 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 preconsonantly in Em.Rom.

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

(Französisch, Okzitanisch, Katalanisch und Spanisch), zur Getrennschreibung 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!) übergangen.

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

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

⁹Sources are (in alphabetical 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).

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 |

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 demande 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 |
| aņç 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 |

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 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 |
| coś 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 condi- tion 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 condi- tion 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 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 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 | puorquoui |
| 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 |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 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.):

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. <i>take up and bring home</i> , 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: Contra' 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 <i>fundegh</i> 'vault', here meant as «beer vault» or «wine vault». This is a noteworthy semantic extension. The article <i>il</i> 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. |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------------------------|---|
| La cadrega – Hosteria Tipica | Milan | Milan (I) | Restaurant | Meaning «the chair – typical inn». The etymological <i>h</i> in <i>hosteria</i> 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 Puscia ciavina | Poschiavo | Grisons (CH) | Restaurant | Source: Direct inspection. |
| Ul Furmighin | Sagno | Ticino (CH) | Grocer's shop | Meaning «the little ant», referring to the parsimonious 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 <i>la jatte chaude</i> . 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 Döttra*, 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

¹⁰Source: Google, accessed on 2008 August, s.v. [grott](#).

¹¹Source: Google, accessed on 2008 December, s.v. [crota](#).

- 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

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

(CR); *El furnèr*, 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/café* with the «continental» European analogous ones. In Milan and Genoa, these forms overwhelmingly prevail on the theoretically mandatory Italian one *caffè*; elsewhere we have a more variegated situation; the forms *café/café* 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.

¹³Source: Google, accessed on 2008 September, s.v. [prestin](#), [prestinee](#), [prestinée](#), [fornier](#), [furner](#), [furnèr](#), [panaté](#), [panatté](#).

We show here, for some cities, the ratios between the forms *café/café* and *caffè* (in this order: the higher this number, the more *café/café*'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/café* 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 *café*s 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, Origgio, 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).

- 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 Ríaa, 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 Beltràm, Via Bóndi, Via Bóndi, Via Bórch, Via Bóscola, Via Botarèl, Via Campàcc, Via Campaciòl, Via Cantón, Via Chestèl, Via Compàrt, Via Confortina, Via Contin, Via Crosàl, Via dala Gésa, Via dala Vàl, Via dali Croscéta, Via dali Mìna, Via dali Strózia, Via Domeniòn, 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 Steblina, 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 li Crapéna, Via li Dórna, Via li Bàita, Via Plàn, Via Presót, Via Róss, Via S.S. 301 Trepalle, Via Stèfan, Via Valècia.

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