Rebuilding the Rhaeto-Cisalpine written language: Guidelines and criteria. Part II. Morphology, I: noun, article and personal pronoun

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Abstract

This paper is the second 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 noun, article and personal pronoun in the Padanese varieties. Phonological issues related to the formation of desinences will be also discussed. We offer both a way of writing the parts of speech in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine language(s) aimed at emphasising etymological similarities and, as far as morphology is concerned, the guidelines of an open written standard.

Keywords: Rhaeto-Cisalpine, Padanese, written language, parts of the speech, morphology, western-Romance languages, ISO 639-3, Piedmontese, Ligurian, Lombard, Emilian-Romagnol, Venetan, Ladin, Romansh, Istriot, Friulian, classical Lombard, ancient Lombard, Cisalpine.
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1 Introduction

This paper is the second one of a series aimed at reconstructing a unitary written-language system for the Rhaeto-Cisalpine (or *Padanese*) domain. As to the general framework (with particular attention paid to the independence from Italo-Romanceof both the Rhaeto-Romance and Cisalpine systems) we are working in and the description of our orthographical device ORS, the reader is referred to part I of this work (Meneghin 2007) and to the references therein. This paper specifically deals with matters related to the morphology of noun, adjective, article and personal pronoun in the Padanese varieties. Phonological issues related to the formation of desinences will be discussed as well.

Within the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain three main local standards are today in place: *Rumantsch Grischun*, *Ladin Dolomitan* (both initially developed by Schmid (1982) and Schmid (1994)) and Standard Friulian, developed by the philological Friulian association (Osservatori 2002). No standards having been explicitely developed elsewhere, some koiné facts do appear notwithstanding: the Piedmontese linguistic domain has to some extents a koiné (Clivio 1976); there exists a Swiss-Lombard koiné, the so called *koiné da la feruvia*, 'Railway Koiné' (Petrini 1988), in Tessin and part of Graubünden, Switzerland; a Ligurian koiné is envisaged in Toso (1997). Finally, according to Trumper (1977) an urban koiné is in use in the Venetan domain and some kinds of koiné are supposed for the Italian side of the Lombard domain, whereas no such facts have so far emerged in the Emilian Romagnol system; thus we will mainly use Bolognese as a reference (Vitali & Lepri 2000).

An interesting account of contact phenomena between Lombard and Romansh varieties can be found in Moretti, Picenoni & Stavridou (2001). Various forms of written koiné arose in the past in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain, see e.g. Hull (1982); Sanga (1990); IS (1995).

As depicted in the introduction of part I, this work is aimed at creating some background material to promote the reversal of language shift (see e.g. Fishman (1991)) to Italian, where it is actually in place: in this part of our work, we will mainly deal with morphological aspects, our reconstruction of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine morphology being aimed at detecting the most «natural» form that the part of the speech should carry.

Also, it seems rather clear to us that morphology is specially at stake in this framework: an «open» written morphological standard would maximise the capability of the language to form new words or to adapt ancient ones to new usage. In the special case of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine system, words could also be freely transferred from one subdomain to another, thus maximising the adaptability of the language; this would improve its chances of survival.

Thus, «natural» will mean herein: (i) as close as possible to the medieval form; (ii) purified to the largest extent from Italian superstratum effects, compare e.g. Guidon's (1990, 2) aim in: «l'intent da nettiar la lingua dad influenzas estras (üna jada d'eira quai surtuot il talian!).»

As a matter of fact, we will be aimed at re-implementing the following eigen dynamics of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine linguistic domain, already shown in the past:

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> The essential unifying elements are: a constant reference to medieval Latin model; the **decisive contribution** (mainly for literary usage) **of Galloroman models (Provençal and French)**, very close by a structural point of view to the vulgar languages of upper Italy [...]
>
> **The koiné formation is carried out by:**
>
> **a. the reference to mediolatin, Provençal, French literary models** [...];
>
> b. the acceptance of widespread forms in the whole territory [...];
>
> c. the generalisation of local forms, i.e. the diffusion of linguistic features beyond their originary ambits [...];
>
> d. the progressive exclusion of local features [...].

The above words are from Sanga (1990, 93 ff.), about the so called *Lombard tongue*, actually dealing with one of the historical Cisalpine koinés, and not with today's Lombard language identified by the ISO 639-3 code LMO (our translation, our emphasis). Sanga's words well fit with Schmid's and Hull's: on the one hand, claiming Padanese to belong to Italo-Romance would prove the «italianity» of French (Schmid 1956, 79-80); on the other hand, Padanese varieties «have conserved, and in many cases have developed further, their original Gallo-Roman structure» (Hull 1982, 660).

Summing up, if the extension of Italian tongue had been a chancellery affair for centuries and people had been essentially uninvolved, the state of affairs of the second half of 20th century is deeply different and a forced italianisation on misguided scientific grounds has been driven through the school system.

As an overall depiction of this long term process, we could say with Phillipson (1992, 47), quoted in Beaugrande (1999) that «centuries of linguistic discrimination have convinced most speakers [...] that their own speech is irredeemably inferior and thus improper for participating in socially or professionally significant discourse.»

The above process seems to have been driven through the following loop, which has positive retroaction (and thus should be broken as soon as possible): 1) convincing most speakers that their own speech is irredeemably inferior; 2) wiping the high register of a language; 3) reducing it to spoken vernaculars; 4) depreciate the spoken vernaculars themselves.

It is apparent that (4) loops (1) and this contributes to reinforce the process itself which thus becomes an effective tools to drive language shift. As stated in part I, thit is clearly an *exclusive* operation, which can be deconstructed by promoting «a dialectic between inclusive theories and inclusive practices» (Beaugrande 1999). One of the aspects of this dialectic will be the respect of linguistic variation (compare Linell (2005, §11.1)), that is clearly both inclusive theory and practice. A way to break the above loop should start from (4): while it is clear that a language cannot survive without a high register, it is also clear that such a reconstruction should be based upon the natural sap of the actual spoken vernaculars. As stated above, morphology has an obvious importance in this framework.

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2 The noun and the general pattern of the adjective

2.1 Final atonic vocalism

According to Hull (1982, 211) one of the most important Gallo-Roman features of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine system is the apocope of all final vowels but *-a*, which «remains the norm in the Grisons, most of Lombardy, Piedmont, Emilia-Romagna (with upper Lunigiana and Montefeltro), Trentino, the Dolomites and Friuli.»

As a general rule, thus, nouns and adjectives will end by a consonant or by *-a*. In particular, the feminine declension of the adjectives will always end by *-a* (phonetically realised also as *-e* and *-o*, see below §2.1.1); as a matter of fact notwithstanding, more final atonic vocalism is displayed at various degrees in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain. Some pieces of this phenomenon are intrinsically Rhaeto-Cisalpine (§§2.1.1–2.1.5), whereas others are due to Italian adstratum effects and characteristic of Liguria, pieces of Lombardy/Piedmont and Venetia (§2.1.6).

Now we will carefully analyse these features and propose to how large an extent final atonic vocalism should be retained in our written standard.

2.1.1 Final atonic vocalism in *-a*; plural marker

Final post tonic *-a* is generally preserved today within the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain, but it underwent some tranformations by the diachronical point of view: according to Hull (1982, 209), it was first transformed into `/6/`, which endures in «those areas of the Padanian amphizone least susceptible to Peninsular Italian influences on final atonic vocalism, namely Montefeltro, Romagna, Emilia, upper Lunigiana, northern Monferrat and eastern Piedmont, lower Valsesia, Ossola, most of Canton Ticino, the Grisons, lower Valtellina, West Lombardy, southeastern Lombardy and Verona province.»

Other reshapings were `/@/` in the some districts of the Grisons, `/E/` or `/e/` in Friuli, Pavia province (see Galli (1965), quoted in Hull (1982)) and some districts of Tessin; as to the latter, see LSI (2004, vol. 4: 95) e.g. at the item *pòrta*, admitting the variant *pòrte* at Medeglia, Robasacco, Gerra Gambarogno, Fescoggia and Breno; according to Hull (1982, 210) also the «Occitan-like» outcome `/O/` «has been reached in the vernaculars of Vuorz (Surselva), Val di Sole, Val di Rumo and Forni Avoltri (Carnia).» We should record even the «French-like» phase /ø/ at Motta Visconti and Casorate Primo (both in Pavia province). This phase has been recorded by Daniele Vitali and the author during *in loco* investigations; see also Bossi (1989) (The final *-a* has nevertheless been kept in *liason* phenomena: `/dZe:z/` 'church', but `/dZezagr'a:nd/` 'big church'; a closer look at this local feature revails a more complex phonological framework, which we will not discuss here).

We recommend the use of final graphical *-a* everywhere in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain.

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As to the corresponding plural marker, this will be *-es*, according to the discussion performed in §3.1 of part I, with the admitted localisations *-as*, (the upper Luganese Colla Valley, upper Valtellina, Livigno) and *-an/-as* (Bregaglia valley).

An obvious exception will be Friulian, which will have its localised ORS solution *-e/-is* (instead of *-a/-es*) borrowed from standard Friulian orthography (see Osservatori 2002). Note that this will partially collide with the neutral final vowel *-e* described in §2.1.2; incompatibility is only partial, however, since the feminine singular article is *la*, and this fact clarifies the ambiguity in between *-e* meant as singular feminine marker *-e* meant as neutral vowel.

Finally, Greek origin masculine nouns like *theorema*, *problema*, *poeta*, etc. will be adapted to the above Rhaeto-Cisalpine morphological structure, thus will be plural inflected *theoremes*, *problemes*, *poetes*, etc. (compare the analogous solutions for the Catalan language).

2.1.2 Final atonic vocalism after muta cum liquida group; plural marker

Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.3 prove that the only final atonic vowel in Rhaeto-Cisalpine which is a direct continuation of a medieval Latin one is *-a*. The other vowels generally fall (see §2.1.6 for exceptions): this fact has negative retroaction after *muta cum liquida* group, i.e. *consonant+l,m,n,r*: according to the diachronical development, in this case a supportive schwa was normally added, e.g. `/ventr/` > `/ventr@/`, `/dobl/` > `/dobl@/`. This schwa either fell again, implying in most cases the epenthesis of atonic `/e/`, `/E/`, `/a/` or again `/@, 6/` in the *muta cum liquida* group: `/l'iber, l'ibar, l'ib@r, l'ib6r/`, or admitted several phonetic realisations: `/l'ibru, l'ibra, l'ibri, l'ibre/` (Erto, Cimolais, some Bergamasque valleys, most of Friuli, upper Lombardy, Tessin, Val Poschiavo, see Hull (1982, 212)). Even if with negative feedback, the above dynamics is genuinely Rhaeto-Cisalpine: there does exist a «natural» written device to summarise all this phenomena: the French neutral final vowel *-e*: compare for instance Zink (2006, 43):[1]

> Les groupes consonantiques conjoints en précession exercent la même contrainte que les prétoniques pour retenir la voyelle comme appui, mais avec passage obligé à ẹ: dúplu > *afr.* doble, mátrem > *afr.* mere, nóstrum > *afr.* nostre.[2]

The use of this device would be precluded if we didn't use the etymological feminine plural marker *-es* instead of the phonetic one *-e* (where it is in force), because the two would unrecoverably collide: compare e.g. Schmid (1994, 101-102) while discussing the problem of the standard definite article for *Ladin Dolomitan*:

[1] Here *afr.* = ancient French.
[2] Here ẹ = SAMPA `@`.

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> Das ist der Grund, warum — schließlich mit Erfolg — versucht wurde, die ennebergischen Formen le und l' auch im Haupttal (Unter- und Oberbadiotisch) zu propagieren; und heute wird man von gadertalischer Seite beharrlich ermahnt, bei der Schaffung einer gesamtdolomitischen Schriftsprache nach dem gleichen Muster zu verfahren. Das ist leichter gesagt als getan. Die Variante le (LD *le signour, *le maester, *le student usw.) wäre als Form des Mask. Sing. insofern höchst problematisch, als genau dieselbe Artikelform in Buchenstein und Unterfassa/Moena eine völlig andere Funktion hat: die des Fem. Plur. (le signore/sciore, le maestre, le studente.).

We will now propose our ORS regularisations (with neutral final vowel -*e*) of a series of vernacular examples taken from Hull (1982, 212 ff.):

Table 1.

Place	SAMPA	ORS	English
Erto and Cimolais	altre	altre	other
Erto and Cimolais, Val Brembana, Val San Martino	kw'atre	quatre	four
Feltre	`m'endre`, `v'endre`	mendre, vendre	smaller, Friday
Friuli	`v'intri`, `'altri`, `qw'atri`, `d'Opli`, `m'askli`, `m'agri`, `l'ibri`	vintre, altre, quatre, dòple, mascle, magre, libre	abdomen, other, four, double, male, slim, book
Istria, Lower Venetia, Upper Lombardy, Brianza and Liguria	`v'entru`, `v'edru`, `'altru`, `d'oplu`, `kw'atru`, `k'ablu`, `v'erklu`	ventre, vedre, altre, dople, quatre, cable, vercle	abdomen, glass, other, double, four, loop, cover
Surselva	`enk'unt@r`, `'aut@r`, `v'ent@r`, `medj'Ok@r`, `p'aSt@r`	encuntre, autre, ventre, mediocre, pastre	meeting, other, abdomen, mediocre, shepherd
Engadin	`kan'aist@r`, `f'av@r`, `s'aimp@l`, `komun'iz@m`	canaistre, favre, saimple, communisme	basket, blacksmith, simple, communism
Bergamo	`'agEr`, `k'arEn`, `k'OrEn`, `k'ulEm`, `l'2stEr`, `redZ'istEr`	agre, carne, corne, coulme, lustre, registre	bitter, round, meat, horn, full, lustre, register
V. Anzasca	`l'ad6r`, `v'ed6r`, `l'ib6r`, `nuv'Oimb6r`	ladre, vedre, libre, novòimbre	thief, glass, book, november

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Place	SAMPA	ORS	English
Turin	`l'avEr`, `kw'adEr`, `v'EntEr`, `m'etEr`	lavre, quadre, vèntre, metre	lip, painting, abdomen, meter (but *mèistr* 'school-master', *autr* 'other', `kwatr` 'four')
Bologna	`l'Ed@r`, `m'Eg@r`, `ut'ab@r`, `m'Erum`, `s'Eluv`, `n'eruv`, `f'airum`, `'aulum`, `f'aur@n`	lædre, mægre, octòbre, mærme, sælve, nerve, fairme, aulme, faurne	thief, slim, october, marble, safe, nerve, firm, elm, oven
Ferrara	`al'Eg6r`, `p'ig6r`, `m'ad6r`, `pul'ast6r`, `f'elt6r`, `inv'er6n`, `ol6m`	allègre, pigre, madre, pollastre, feltre, inverne, olme	glad, lazy, mother, cockerel, felt, winter, elm
Grödner valley	`'aut@r`, `lj'eg@r`, `tS'end@r`, `k'at@r`, `tSav'est@r`, `f'Ev@r`, `fi'ast@r`	autre, liegre, cendre, catre, chavestre, fævre, fiastre	other, glad, ash, four, halter, blacksmith, stepson (but *uedl* < OCLU (eye), *dópl* < DUPLU (double))
Milan	`f'urEn`, `inf'erEn`, `inv'erEn`; `f'urna`, `inf'erna`, `inv'erna`	fourne, inferne, inverne	oven, hell, winter

2.1.3 *-s* or *-es* as general purpose orthographical plural markers: a genuine Rhaeto-Cisalpine solution

Now we will develop further the discussion started in §3.2 of part I about masculine plurals (whereas feminine ones will fall under the issues pointed out in part I, §3.1): this will countinued in §§2.1.5–2.1.6.

As far as the plural marker is concerned for the above words, we have to keep into account that:

1. feminine plurals are derived from oblique medieval Latin forms (*-as* > *-es* or simply *-s* for other plural classes);

2. both nominative and oblique medieval Latin forms are sources for Rhaeto-Cisalpine masculine plural, according to geographic localisation (see Hull 1982, 430 ff.).

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Now the generalisation of the feminine plural marker *-es* to masculine nouns and adjectives is admissible for Rhaeto-Cisalpine, even at a phonetic level (consider e.g. Gardenese, (Minach & Gruber 1972, 17-18; Bernardi 2002, 53-62); according to Hull (1982, 435), «in Gardenese the feminine plural ending -es (< -AS) was extended to masculine plurals of this type, e.g. bolpes (m.) *(foxes)* têmpes *(times)*, kunsêjes *(advises)*, bračes *(arms)*, čêives *(foods)*, nierves *(nervs)*, mures *(walls)*, dutòres *(doctors)*, fiêres *(tools)*, čares *(carts)*, súenes *(dreams)*, kòrves *(crows)* (sg. kòrf).»

Thus we propose the adoption of the plural form *-es* for all nouns and adjectives ending in neutral *-e* when singular, even if masculine. The actual phonetic realisations will vary according to the different places under consideration: *-es* will either sound `/-es, -is/` or `/-e, -i/` or will even be mute as in western Lombard.

Let us for instance examine the orthographical couple *padre/padres* (concurring with *pare/pares*).

The singular inflected form *padre* admits, amongst the other ones, the following phonetic realisations:

1. `/p'adre, p'adar, p'ader, padr, p'adra, p'adri, p'adru, p'Edar, p'Eder, p'edri, pEdri/` in the Swiss-Lombard domain (LSI 2004, vol. 4, 678);
2. `/p'ader/` (most Lombard varieties);
3. `/p'Eder/` (Bolognese).

The plural inflected form *padres* is realised in most cases as `/p'ader, p'adar/`.

Elswhere the forms *pare/pares* without *d* prevail; we report them here due to the obvious etymological correlation between the two forms: (i) `/p'ari, p'aris/` (Friulian); (ii) `/p'are, p'are/` (Piedmontese); (iii) `/p'ere, p'ereS/` (Dolomitic Ladin) (but `/bap, baps/`, Rumantsch Grischun); (iv) `/p'are, p'ari/` (Venetan); (v) `/p'Oe, p'Oi/` (Ligurian).

The above phonologically simplified forms *pare/pares* should be deemed belonging to the above group, since their actual form arises from an internal dynamics in the final *muta cum liquida* syllable. We suggest these forms as Rhaeto-Cisalpine standards, due to their major closeness to the corresponding French ones *père*, *pères* and Occitan ones *paire*, *paires*, see again Sanga (1990, 93 ff).

2.1.4 Feasible semplifications

In this section we propose two feasible semplification of the above scheme: in words ending by *cons.+m+e* and *cons.+n+e* the final *-e* could be dropped thus yielding e.g. *communism*, *carn*, *corn*, *coulm*, *fairm*, *aulm*, *faurn*, *fourn*, *infern*, *invern*. In this case, the plural marker could be in turn simplified to *-s*, as in §3.1 of part I (we recall that we are once more generalising the feminine plural marker to a wider class: more in detail, we are making the above words collapse into IIa feminine plural class, see Hull (1982, 442)). The phonetic treatment

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of this desinence would be analogous to §2.1.2. However, this device would partially collide with the issues depicted in §2.1.6: it could notwithstanding be adopted at least in the areas not affected by the medieval restoration of final atonic vocalism.

2.1.5 Secondary *-i/-e*; plural marker

Some Cisalpine dialects show a characteristic desinence *-i* (*-e* in East Lombardy) for some nouns and adjectives springing from medieval Latin words ending in -IU(M), -EU(M). This is also a Rhaeto-Cisalpine genuine dynamics, since it springs by the fall of a final vowel as well: a group of two final vowels has been driven to one vowel only. We offer some examples (see Hull 1982, 213); as usual, places have been put on the left, ORS transcriptions, Sampa phonetic renderings and English translations follow:

TABLE 2.

Place	SAMPA	ORS	Local plural	ORS plural	English
West Lombardy	`ez'empi`, `dZ'ili`, `k'ambi`, `s'atsi`, `ur'ari`, `pru'Erbi`, `rem'edi`, `serv'itsi`	exempi, gili, cambi, sati, horari, proèrbi, remedi, serviçi	invariable	+s	example, lily, changement, ???? , timetable, proverb, remedy, service
Engadin	`kum'Ertsi`, `privil'edzi`, `ordin'ari`, `pr'emi`, `kuntr'ari`, `'2li`	commerçi, privilegi, ordinari, premi, contrari, ueli	+s	+s	commerce, privilege, ordinary, award, contrary, oil
Friul	`sal'ari`, `sakrif'itsi`, `petr'Oli`, `malef'itsi`, `fast'idi`, `mist'eri`	salari, sacrifiçi, petròli, maleficiçi, fastidi, misteri	+s	+s	wage, sacrifice, petroleum, withcraft, nuisance, mistery
Piedmont	`div'Orsi`, `dZyd'isi`, `naufr'adZi`, `kur'adZi`, `vi'adZi`, `pelerin'adZi`	divorçi, judiçi, naufragi, coragi, viagi, pelerinagi	invariable	+s	divorce, judgement, shipwreck, courage, journey, pilgrimage

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Place	SAMPA	ORS	Local plural	ORS plural	English
East Lombardy	`serv'ese`, `sil'ense`, `predZ2d'ese`, `s'ae`, `del'2e`, `dem'One`, `of'ese`	serveçe, silençe, prejudeçe, sae, delúe, demòne, ofeçe	invariable	+s	service, silence, prejudice, wise, deluge, demon, office

While local ORS scripta will be allowed to retain local features, such as the above uninflected plurals, the global Rhaeto-Cisalpine solution deserves to be the most conservative one, i.e. singular in *-i* and plural in *-is*.

Of course, there still holds the warning that the above final *-s* can be locally deemed mute: for instance, *misteris* (misteries) will be allowed the pronunciations `/mist'eris, mist'eri, mist'ere/`.

2.1.6 Final atonic vocalism in Liguria, pieces of Piedmont/Lombardy and Venetia; plural markers

As far as nouns and adjectives are involved, this matter mainly concerns final `/-e/`, `/-o/` and `/-u/` in masculine singular inflections and `/-i/` in the plural ones (note that semiconsonatal final `/-j/`, which we render either by *-ly* or *-y* is explitely left out of this discussion, even if some orthographies now in place render it just by *-i*: within our general framework, the latter is wrong by a phonological point of view).

This vocalism is partially unnatural for the Rhaeto-Cisalpine system: according to Hull (1982, 214 ff.)), «the progress of final -o at the expense of the original Gallo Roman. conditions of apocope in Venice (as in Genoa) began as a characteristic trait of the speech of the mercantile classes, exposed as it was to the influence of the Pan-Italian koinē in use in the ports of the Peninsula; [...] By the end of the fourteenth century conditions of final vocalism seem to have become stabilized in the dialect of Venice. The compromise between the popolar inclination towards general apocope and the upper-class dislike of it consisted of a restoration of -e and -o (< Lat. -u and -o) after all consonants except -l, -r and -n.» The fact that this phenomenon originates in Venice is proved by the fact that «at the opening of the fourteenth century apocope was still normal in the dialect of Treviso: Dante (De Vulg. Eloq. I xiv, 5) criticized the pronunciations nof 'nove', vif 'vivo', and the Canzon d'Auliver, composed probably in Treviso at the same period, offers abundant examples of the phenomenon: greuf < *GREVE, far, dir, tut, men, poch, desvolger, trop, long, temp, stad, lad, plangent 'piangenti', mat, tal, quand, def 'deve', bon, mal, percever, pert 'perde', serf 'serve', sotilment etc.»

An analogous argumentation has been carried out in Sanga (1990, 35-49) by M.A. Grignani, mainly following the argument that final *-o*'s appeared where etymology would have produced *-e*'s instead.

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As to Liguria, the situation is analogous, even if «there seems to be no documentary evidence to suggest a reversal of Gallo-Roman apocope in the dialect of Genoa and the Ligurian coast and hinterland. Nevertheless there are several indirect indications of such a retrogressive change» (Hull 1982, 221); first of all, once more, «the numerous cases of 'incorrect' restitution of final -e and -o in Ligurian, reminiscent of those occurring in some varieties of Southern Venetian, e.g. Gen. /apr'2vu/ < AD PROPE.»

The same framework holds in a section of the Lower Ticino Basin comprising the districts of Borgomanero and Galliate (Novara), Busto Arsizio (Varese) and Bienate (Milan): the reader is referred to Hull (1982, 222 ff.) for more details.

It should be taken into account that this kind of final vocalism may be bound today to local identitarian issues: a complete refusal of final atonic vocalism on purism grounds would end up in the refusal of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine writen language by the populations involved. Our ORS orthography has been set up to admit localisations: as to this issue, consider that both final *-o* and *-u* have been left functionally free, so we suggest to use them whenever locally needed (even instead of the neutral final *-e* of §2.1.2; see 3 below for examples).

As to the masculine plural markers, a brief scrutiny is needed. While the above discussion proves the masculine plural marker *-i* in Ligurian, Venetan and some dialects in Piedmont and Lombardy to have been caused from Italian adstratum medieval effects (Hull 1982, 216, 220, 223), and, as such, to be an indirect nominative derivation, an innovative masculine plural marker *-i* also originated in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine non metaphonic areas in the same period, as a result of internal dynamics: those dialects having lost the masculine singular/plural distinction reintroduced a plural marker, and that marker was *-i*. This marker can be supposed to have been modeled upon the old Cisalpine plural masculine article *li*, in a similar way to Provençal, where the final *-s* marker tended to lose its phonetic value (Anglade 1921, 229-230).

Thus the two markers *-i* and *-s* can be crossed again in a natural fashion, giving rise to the following orthographical solution: when using general or semilocalised ORS orthography, the Rhaeto-Cisalpine areas with phonetic masculine plural marker *-i* will write *-is* (thus make essentially the whole corpus of masculine plural inflections collapse into the type depicted in §2.1.5).

This device has the advantage of being partially adherent to the contemporary morphology of those dialects and of reinforcing the orthographical relationships with the Rhaeto-Cisalpine varieties with both phonetic and graphic *-s* plural marker.

We would like to underline that this device is proposed for *Ladin Dolomitan* as well, when displaying masculine plurals in *-i* (the reader is warned that *Ladin Dolomitan* currently uses *-i* as an orthographical device for final semiconsonatal /-j/ as a marker for plurals of singular words ending in *-l*: we do not, instead, so this discussion does not deal with that case). For instance, the singular/plural pair *númer/númeris* will be an ORS rendering of the *Ladin Dolomitan* pair *numer/numeri* (see Valentini 2001, 34).

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We offer a few examples, with phonetic transcriptions (the following table anticipates some features dealing with final consonantism as well, see below §2.2):

TABLE 3.[3]

ORS	**ORS localisations and Sampa transcriptions for**				
	LIJ (1)	PMS (2)	W-LMO (3)	E-LMO (4)	EML (5)
SINGULAR					
camp/	canpo/-u	camp	camp	cap	canp
champ	k'aNpu	kaNp	k'a:~p	kap	kaNp
expert	experto/-u	expert	expert	expert	expert
	esp'Ertu	esp'Ert	eSp'E:rt esp'E:rt	esp'Ert	esp'E:rt
gat	gato/-u	gat/chat	gat	gat	gat
	g'atu	gat/tSat	gat	gat	ga:t
libre	libro/-u	libre	libre	libre	libre
	l'ibru	l'iber	l'ibru/ l'ibar; l'ibri/ l'ibra	l'iber	l'i:ber
proverbi	proverbio/-u	proverbi	proverbi	proèrbe	proverbi
	pruv'ErbJu	pruv'Erbi	pruv'Erbi	pro'Erbe	pruv'E:rbi
PLURAL					
camps/	canpis	camp(s)	camp(s)	cap(s)	canp(s)
champs	k'aNpi	k'aNp	k'a:~p	k'ap	kaNp
expertg/	expertis	expert(s)	expert(s)	expertg	expert(s)
experts	esp'Erti	esp'Ert	eSp'E:rt esp'E:rt	esp'ErtS	esp'E:rt
gait/gats	gatis	gat(s)	gat(s)	gait	gat(s)
/gatis	g'ati	gat	gat	gatS	ga:t
libres	libris	libres	libres	libres	libres
	l'ibri	l'iber	l'ibar	l'iber	l'i:ber
proverbis	proverbis	proverbis	proverbis	proèrbes	proverbis
	pruv'Erbi	pruv'Erbi	pruv'Erbi	pro'Erbe	pruv'E:rbi

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ORS	ORS localisations and Sampa transcriptions for			
	VEC (6)	FUR (7)	LLD (8)	ROH (9)
SINGULAR				
camp/	canpo	champ	champ	champ
champ	`k'aNpo`	`camp`	`tS'amp`	`tS'amp`
expert	experto	expert	expert	expert
	`esp'Erto`	`esp'Ert`	`eSp'Ert`	`eSp'Ert`
gat	gato	jat/giat	jat/giat	jat/giat
	`g'ato`	`J\at`	`dZat`	`dZat`
libre	libro	libre	libre	(coudex)
	`l'ibro`	`l'ibri`	`l'iber`	—
proverbi	proverbio	proverbi	proverbi	proverbi
	`prov'ErbJo`	`prov'Erbi`	`prov'Erbi`	`prov'Erbi`
PLURAL				
camps/	canpis	champs	champs	champs
champs	`k'aNpi`	`c'amps`	`tS'amps`	`tS'amps`
expertg/	expertis	expertg	expertg	experts
experts	`esp'Erti`	`esp'Ert`	`eSp'ErtS`	`eSp'Erts`
gait/*gats*	gatis	jats/giats	jait	jats/giats
/*gatis*	`g'ati`	`J\ats`	`dZatS`	`dZats`
libres	libris	libres	libris	(coudex)
	`l'ibri`	`l'ibris`	`l'ibri`	—
proverbis	proverbis	proverbis	proverbis	proverbis
	`prov'Erbi`	`prov'Erbis`	`prov'Erbis`	`prov'Erbis`

Finally, it should be considered that appropriate policies aimed at linguistic convergence should be put in place, partially promoting the fall of final vowels other than *-a*.

2.2 Final consonantism; plural markers

With the exceptions described in the above discussion, the general rule holds that masculine nouns (except those with Greek origin like *poeta*, already discussed in §2.1.1), some feminine nouns of class II and masculine inflected adjectives end by consonants. Oversynthesising, the latter are generally voiceless in the north of Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain and can also be voiced in the south; this is explained by Peninsular Italian influences which promoted a return of final vocalism (see Hull 1982, 258). The relationship between phonemic vowel length and *graphic* voiceless vs. voiced consonants has already been discussed in §3.12 of part I. It remains to discuss the orthographic formation of plural inflection after consonant.

The Rhaetian standard one amounting to simply adding *-s*, we will discuss the features of the Cisalpine one (summarising Hull's 'Cisalpine' and 'Friulian',

[3]Here *W = Western; E = Eastern.* Rhaeto-Cisalpine varieties have been identified according to their ISO 639-3 codes; (1) Genoese; (2) Turinese; (3) Ticinese; (4) Bergamasque; (5) Bolognese; (6) Supradialectal Venetan; (7) Standard Friulian; (8) Ladin Dolomitan; (9) Rumantsch Grischun.

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see Hull (1982, 431, 436)): special localisation issues will be at stake for Friulian, *Ladin Dolomitan* and Eastern Lombard. As to Ligurian and Venetan, the reader is referred to §2.1.6.

In the old period, feminine nouns ending by consonant always turned to plural by adding *-s* (see Hull 1982, 442); this was phonetically crossed out in western and central Padania in subsequent periods. As a consequence, the etymological device *-s* (sounding or silent) will be the ORS norm in these cases.

On the other side, Cisalpine masculine plural formation mainly shows the following dynamics (see Hull 1982, 431 ff.):

1. the standardisation of the nominative Latin marker *-i*;
2. the fall of the above marker, leaving metaphonesis of the preceding vowel as a residue;
3. the disgregation of most metaphonic plurals and the rise of a new marker *-i*;
4. the retraction of *-i* before the preceding consonant, potentially progressing up to its palatalisation;
5. a new fall of the above *-i*, when incapable of palatalising the subsequent consonant, somewhere followed by the addition of *-es* to the residual word;
6. preservation of the oblique *-s* marker (phonetically effaced in the west) otherwise.

Thus, Cisalpine ORS orthographical standard should represent masculine plural inflection mainly taking into account the interaction of *-i* and *-s* described in 4), 5) and 6) above and locally retaining metaphonic plurals.

The consonants admitting (maybe only graphical) palatalisation are (see Valentini 2001, 34-36; Osservatori 2002; Hull 1982, 434-435):

Table 4. *Palatalasible consonants in plural inflections*

ORS singular	**Sampa**	**ORS plural**	**Sampa**	**Linguistic subdomain**
c	/k/	*ch*	/tS/	LLD
ç	/ts/	*ch*	/tS/	LLD
d	/d, t/	*ch*	/tS/	E.LMO
l	/l/	*ly*, *y*, *lh*	/j/	general
*n**	/n/	*ny*, *nh*	/J/	LLD, E.LMO
s	/s/	*sch*, *sh*	/S/	LLD
VOWEL + *t*	/t/	VOWEL + *it*/*tsh*	/t, tS/	LLD, E.LMO
CONS. + *t*	/t/	CONS. + *tg*, *tj*, *tsh*	/tS/	LLD, E.LMO

*Atonic syllable only.

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In the above table a wider spectrum of options has been offered than the one in §3.2, part I: note the feasibility of the rise of a general final masculine plural marker *-h* in connection with palatalised consonants.

In any other case, the oblique plural marker *-s* will be added to inflect singular masculine forms to plural, thus generalising the Friulian solution (see Hull 1982, 436). When the phonetic distinction between singular and plural masculine has been moslty lost, (PMS, LMO, EML) this device will be essentially orthographical, i.e. it will have no phonetic value at all. It will not necessarily be etymological either, since it will come to be applied even to masculine plurals springing from an ancient form in *-i*; notwithstanding, it does fit with the internal Rhaeto-Cisalpine dynamics of generalising feminine plural markers to masculine forms as discussed in §2.1.3.

Here the desinence *-es* has been shrunk to *-s* to improve the surveyability of written texts and the chances for readers of distinguishing masculine plurals from feminine ones at a glimpse; this separation cannot be complete, though, due to the partially colliding needs illustrated in §2.1.2.

From the above discussion we can state the general rule for the Rhaeto-Cisalpine masculine plural: nouns and adjectives ending by a consonant other than *c*, *ç*, *d*, *l*, *n* in atonic syllable, *s*, *t*, or *z* are inflected to plural by adding an orthographical *-s* (maybe locally silent); those ending by *c*, *d*, *l*, *n* in atonic syllable, *t* either palatalise according to local context, or they add an orthographical *-s*; those ending by *ç*, *s*, or *z* either palatalise or they stay uninflected.

2.3 Final tonic vocalism as a localisation issue; plural markers

The general ORS orthography is set up in such a way that no final graphical tonic vocalism can occur; some localised versions could display final tonic vowels notwithstanding. We briefly hint at this aspect: the outcomes of the Latin types -ATE(M) and -UTE(M) are *-at* and *-ut* in general ORS orthography, e.g. *libertat* and *virtut*. They form plural by adding *-s*. The obviously indigenous type *liberté / libertè / libertæ* (for which a super-localised form *libertät* could be envisaged as well) is also widespread in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain (Liguria, Piedmont, Emilia-Romagna, Dolomitic Ladinia, Alpine Lombardy, upper Tessin and val Bregaglia), while the types *libertà/libertaa* could be probably driven back to Italian adstratum effects: as such they should be discarded. For the localised forms with final tonic vowel we advise to proceed as in *Ladin Dolomitan* (see Valentini 2001, 33) for their plural inflections, adding *-s* and keeping the tonic accent in force, even for *-ús* (with acute accent on *u*).

It is nevertheless interesting to note that the fragmentation of the whole Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain to this effect almost completely affects the Dolomitic Ladin subdomain (Schmid 1994, 60)):

> Von verwirrender Buntheit ist das Bild bei den Resultaten der häufigen Endungen lat. -ATUM und -ATEM (z.B. PECCATUM, res VERITATEM): bad.

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Sing. -é / Plur. -á, fas. gerade umgekehrt Sing. -à / Plur. -é, grd. -à/-éi, fod. -é/-éi, mar. -é/-és, an meistens -à/-às.

Note that a full localisation of these types for Romansh yields *libertad* and *virtud*; such a localisation would be coherent for Friulian as well in the ORS framework, since the actual phonetic realisations of these words are `/liberta:t/` and `/virtu:t/`: the graphical voiced consonant would thus point at the lenght of the preceding vowel. Such choices would maybe entail the need for different suffixions for past participles like *cantad* and *sentud*, for the sake of stressing the semantic differentiation between the two categories. Alternatively, this explicit differentiation could be expressly dropped.

We recommend the orthographical types *libertat* and *virtut* for the abstract nouns, alongside with *cantad* and *sentud* for past participles, everywhere, even in those contexts where they do not completely fit with local phonology, as described above.

As to the Latin types -ANE(M)/-ANU(M), -INU(M) and -ONE(M), they yield the ORS types *-an*, *-in* and *-on*; the above form are recorded here because they could carry nasalised phonetic realisations `/a~, o~, O~, u~/`, sometimes with velarised nasal consonant.

The following are localised forms for Eastern Lombardy yielding final tonic vocalism: *-à* (Eastern Lombardy), always with grave accent and *-í*, *-ó* (`/-i/`, `/-u/`, Eastern Lombardy) always with acute accent.

Graphical plurals inflections will be got by adding *-s* and restoring the underlying *n* if the localised forms *à*, *í* and *ó* are used.

Finally, as to the Latin type -ARIU(M) we recommend the generalised use of the Padanian outcome *-er*, without accent (the phonetic value of *e* could be `/e, E/`), the final *-r* being either mute or sounding according to local linguistic variation. Thus, this item does not gives rise to any final atonic vocalism and its orthographical plural is formed by adding *-s* as in §2.2.

3 The article

The article-standardisation related issues are rather problematic in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain, since the dialect fragmentation of the article has progressed so far to a great extent («In keinem andern Teilbereich stehen einer Einigung so große Schwierigkeiten im Weg wie beim Artikel» (Schmid 1994)). Yet it is readily shown that this fragmentation is not subdomain based (i.e. most linguistic subdomains show a fragmentation of the article analogue to that of the whole Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain), nor follows it, in general, the administrative borders.

The sole Swiss-Lombard domain summarises a good deal of the total linguistic variation of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine definite singular article (see LSI 2004, vol. 1: 55, vol. 3: 77, vol. 2: 825) and of the undefinite one (see LSI 2004, vol. 5: 675):

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TABLE 5. *The articles in Swiss Lombard*[4]

Definite	SG. MASC.	al, el, er, il, lo, lu, ol, öl, or, ro, ru, u, ul, ur
	SG. FM.	la, a, ar, ara, er, era, le, ora, ore, ra, re, ula, ura
	PL. MASC.	i
	PL. FM.	i, al, la, lan, li, re
Undefinite	SG. MASC.	un , on, an, em, om, um, üm, ün
	SG. FM.	una, na, ona, ene, ne, no, nu, one, ono, onu, üna, une, uno, unu, ünü

An analogous fragmentation is accounted for in Schmid (1994, 101 ff.) as to Dolomitic Ladin:

TABLE 6. *The articles in Ladin Dolomitan*[5]

Definite	SG. MASC.	l, el, le
	SG. FM.	la, ra
	PL. MASC.	i
	PL. FM.	les, la, le, ra, res
Undefinite	*sg. masc.*	en, n, un
	SG. FM.	na

Ladin Dolomitan has the standard articles *l/l'*, *la/l'*, *i*, *les*, *n*, *na* (see Valentini 2001, 31; Schmid 1994, 58); in Valentini (2001, 28) some idiosyncratic apostrophe-related issues are at stake; see also below, after table 8). Here and in the following, the apostrophised forms are meant to preceed nouns and adjectives beginning by a vowel.

Standard Friulian articles are *il/l'*, *la/l'*, *i*, *lis*, *un*, *une* (Osservatori 2002, 11); `/lu/` is also attested for sg. masc. def. art. at AIS 1933 point 318, `/ju/` for pl. masc. def. art. (Hull 1982, 529).

The Romansh domain (see also Stich (2007, 70)) for an overview of the Romansh articles) displays a substantially unitarian character with the following sets of articles:

a) Vallader and Puter: *il/l'*, *la/l'*, *ils*, *las*, *ün*, *üna* (Ganzoni 1983b, 30; Ganzoni 1983a, 30);

b) Sursilvan: *il / igl / gl'*, *la/l'*, *ils*, *las*, *in*, *ina* (Spescha 1989, 201 ff.);

c) Surmiran: *igl*, *la/l'*, *igls*, *las*, *en*, *ena* (Conforti & Cusimano 2006, 9);

[4]LSI broad phonetic transcriptions.

[5]The singular masculine definite article *l* can be apostrophised in several ways, including the empty one.

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d) Sutsilvan: *igl/gl'*, *la/l'*, *igls/ils*, *las*, *egn*, *egna* (Schaller-Gabriel, Frigg & Tscharner 1991, 98-99);

e) *Rumantsch Grischun* standard ones are *il/l'*, *la/l'*, *ils*, *las*, *in*, *ina* (Menzli 1990, 93-94; Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 72).

Ligurian mainly displays (Classical Genoese orthography) *o/l'*, *a*, *i*, *e*, *un*, *unna*, `/u, l, a, i, e, yN, 'yNna/` (Petrucci 1984, 48-49); also attested in the vernaculars of Monaco and Menton are the rhotacised forms `/ru, ri, ra, re/`, also spread to various extents in Western Lombary, Southern Valsesia and Monferrat (Hull 1982, 529-530).

Piedmontese koiné shows *ël / lë / l'*, *ij / jë / j'*, *la/l'*, *le/j'*, *un/në*, *una / na / n'* (Classical Piedmontese orthography, `/@l, l@, l, i, j@, j, la, l, le,j, aN, n6, 'yNa, na, n/`, Brero (1967, 25-26)), with slightly complex coupling rules with nouns and adjectives; Southern Ticinese has (LSI broad phonetic transcriptions) *ul∼al/l'*, *la/l'*, *i*, *un*, *una*, `/ul, l, la, l, i, uN, 'una/` (Lurà 1987, 116), classical Milanese *el/l'*, *la/l'*, *i*, *on*, *ona* (Classical Milanese orthography, `/El, l, la, l, i, uN, 'una/`, Nicoli (1983, 87-90)), Bergamasque *ol/l*, *la/l'*, *i*, *ü*, *öna* (`/ol, l, la, l, i, y, '2na/`, Tiraboschi (1873, vol. 1: 35-36)).

The following table displays the articles of some varieties spoken in Brescia province together with their Sampa rendering (Bazzani & Melzani 2002, 27; Bononi 1995; Sabbadin 2000, 103; Razzi 1984, 129; Sanga 1979, 305-306):

TABLE 7. *The articles in Brescia province*

	Definite							
	SG. MASC.		SG. FM.		PL. MASC.		PL. FM.	
Bagolino	el/l'	`el/l`	la/l'	`la/l`	i	`i`	le	`le`
Cigole	el/l'	`el/l`	lä/l'	`l@/l`	i	`i`	le	`le`
Desenzano	el/l'	`el/l`	la/l'	`la/l`	i	`i`	le	`le`
Sabbia Valley	ol/l'	`ol/l`	la/l'	`la/l`	i	`i`	le	`le`
Salò	el/l'	`el/l`	la/l'	`la/l`	i	`i`	le	`le`

	Undefinite			
	SG. MASC.		SG. FM.	
Bagolino	ön/n	`2n/n`	öna/na	`2na/na`
Cigole	un/en/n	`un/en/n`	unä/enä/nä	`un@/en@/n@`
Desenzano	en/n	`en/n`	ena/na	`ena/na`
Sabbia Valley	ü	`y`	öna	`2na`
Salò	en/n	`en/n`	ena/na	`ena/na`

Venetan generally shows *el/l'*, *la/l'*, *i*, *le*, *un*, *na* (locally also *al*, *an* instead of *el*, *un*; Brunelli (2005, 5)) and Bolognese *al/l*, *la/l'*, *i/j*, *äl/äli*, *un*, *una/na*

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(`/al, l, la, l, i, j, {l, {L, u~, una, na/`, Vitali & Lepri (2000)).

As we have already stated, this kind of linguistic variation should be fully respected; some kind of super-graphemes for the articles should be envisaged notwithstanding, for the sake of:

a. making communication across the different linguistic subdomains easier;

b. stressing their overall unitarian character.

If suitable etymological considerations are carried out, the actual situation proves to be relatively simple: according to Hull (1982, 527), the Gallo-Roman and Early Old Padanian forms of the definite article, derived from the Latin demonstrative ILLE, may be reconstructed as follows:

TABLE 8. *Derivations of the Padanian articles*[6]

	Masculine		**Feminine**	
NOM. SG.	ILLE	> el (pre-consonantal) > egl (prevocalic)	ILLA	> ella > la (pre-cons.) > ell' > l' (pre-voc.)
OBL. SG.	ILLU	> lo (pre-consonantal) > l' (pre-vocalic)		
DAT. SG.	ILLI	> (g)li		
NOM. PL.	ILLI	> li (pre-cons.) > egl (pre-voc.)		
OBL. PL.	ILLOS	> els	ILLAS	> ellas > las > elles > les

All the above types have been continued to date; thus the overall Rhaeto-Cisalpine situation can be described as follows:

1. both nom.sg. and obl.sg. outcomes are present in most varieties, so the singular masculine definite article is a «mixed» type between nom.sg and obl.sg.; the pre-vocalic obl.sg. type is mandatory before words beginning with vowels (Hull 1982, 528): this diachronic argumentation fully warrants the apostrophe in the grapheme *l'* (thus we recommend it to be kept, compare the analogous solution for the Catalan language);

2. obl.pl. outcomes are present in Friuli, Rhaenania and Engadina, whereas nom.pl. ones are widespread elsewhere; moreover the latter replaced the feminine articles in Western Lomabrdy and northern Piedmont (Hull 1982, 531);

3. the feminine types *la/l'* are virtually universal (Hull 1982, 531);

[6]Hull's unified Padanian orthography is used, see Hull (1982, xxxii).

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4. the feminine plural articles are outcomes of the obl.pl Latin one ILLAS: the correct derivations are *la/lan* < *las*, *li* < *lei* < *les* < *las*, *le* < *li* < *lei* < *les* < *las*, *le* < *les* < *las* and *lis* < *les* < *las*, see e.g. Hull (1982, 439-440).

As to point 4), some comments are needed. In our view, Wartburg's (1950) bipartition of the Romance domain according to plural derivation (from oblique cases in western Romania, from nominative ones in eastern Romania, the two being divided by La Spezia-Rimini line) remains unchallenged (see D'hulst (2006) for recent developments).

The attempts (as e.g. in Rohlfs (1949, 362)) at deriving the Cisalpine feminine plural article *le* or *li* from the nom. pl. ILLAE, as in Italian, seem misguided: for instance they are uncapable of accounting for the proximity of forms like *li* (<*lei* < *les* < *las*, Lower Valtellina, Poschiavo Valley, old eastern Lombard) and *la/lan* (<*las*, Upper Valtellina, Bregaglia Valley), or, in an analogous fashion, of the forms *le* and *les / la / ra / res* (see table 6) within the Dolomitic Ladin subdomain.

Conversely, Zörner's (1995) alleged conclusion that, since the Cisalpine plural feminine desinences spring from latin *-as*, so does the Italian one, seems rather arbitrary and offers an example the *confusion* arising by referring to the Cisalpine dialects as *'Italian dialects' or even 'dialects of Italian'*, which is absurd (Haiman & Benincà 1992, 7).

Conformally to points 1–4 above, our proposal of ORS standard articles is manifold:

TABLE 9. *The Rhaeto-Cisalpine definite articles, two standard solutions*

	Solution I				**Solution II**			
	SINGULAR		PLURAL		SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	MASC.	FM.	MASC.	FM.	MASC.	FM.	MASC.	FM.
PRE-CONS.	l, el ô	la â	iy, y î els	les ês las	l, el ô	la â	lh, elh î els	les ês las
PRE-VOC.	l'	l'	iy, y els	les ês las	l'	l'	lh, elh els	les ês las

Circumflex accents have been introduced to distinguish the short forms of the article from other parts of the speech which would be omographical instead: *o* is also a first person clitic pronoun in Friulian, *a* has various uses has a clitic pronoun as well (we recall that the proposition *à* is characterised by a grave accent instead); *es* can be a weak object personal pronoun too (see §4.2). This usage comes to agree in this case with the local traditional orthographical usage, since *ô*, *â* and *ês* mainly concern the Ligurian subdomain (Petrucci 1984, 47-48). Of course it agrees with the French usage too of pointing out the diachrinical fall of one ore more letters.

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The usage of *y* could collide instead with the local Dolomitic Ladin practice of writing *y* for Eng. *and* (= ORS standard *et*). If the global choice for representing the palatalised plurals of singulars ending in *-l* is *-lh* (see table 2), then the natural choice for the pl.masc. article would be *y* or *ly* as in solution I; if *-l* is inflected to plural by using *-ly* or *-y* instead then the natural choice for the pl.masc. article would be *lh* or *elh* as in solution II. The italianate solution *i* has been avoided instead, since the grapheme *i* has the natural usage of waek personal pronoun (see §4.2–4.3).

The solution *l* shows a consonant in isolation, as in *Ladin Dolomitan*: should this feature come to be refused, we suggest *el* or *le* instead, the latter meant to have been constructed by adding the neutral vowel *e* in a *muta cum liquida* framework (see §2.1.2); yet, in our view, the solution *l* well synthesises the mixed nature (NOM. SG. + OBL. SG.) of the sg. masc. Rhaeto-Cisalpine article.

The oblique masculine plural article *els* (mostly realised as *ils*) is somewhat localised to Friuli, Rhaenania and Engadina, but we recommend that its usage should be allowed elsewhere as well, for instance as a kind of literary register.

A good deal of localised ORS forms could be envisaged, with special attention paid to the so called longer feminine forms of the definite article of the type *ela/era* and *eles/eres*, but we will not discuss this issue further here. According to the general ORS philosophy, we recommend the final *-s* to be never dropped.

Finally, as to the indefinite article, we simply propose the ORS forms *un/una* to account for most of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine phonetic outcomes like `/y, yN, uN, u~, 2N, eN, aN, @N/`, `/'yna, 'una, '2na, 'ena, na/` and so forth.

Two special kinds of localised forms will be envisaged:

1. *in/ina* for those varieties having delabialised `/yN, 'yna/`, like in parts of Liguria, Monferrat (Hull 1982, 532) and Rhaetia (Spescha 1989, 173) and for *Rumantsch Grischun* (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 74);

2. *un/une* for Standard Friulian (Zof 2008, 49). Following French orthography, we recommend the feminine forms *una–ina–une* to be never apostrophised.

The partitive will be rendered by the articulated forms of the proposition *de*, or simply by *de* itself, according to syntactical issues which will be discussed in one of the next parts of this paper (see also Hull (1982, 533)).

4 The personal pronoun

In spite of a seeming fragmentation, the structure of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine personal pronoun is readily shown to be fully unitary instead. According to Hull (1982, 468 ff.), the Rhaeto-Cisalpine personal pronoun consists in four sets of declensed forms (subject / direct oblique / indirect oblique; for tonic oblique forms, the distinction direct/indirect has collapsed almost everywhere): (i) tonic forms; (ii) proclitic atonic forms, (iii) enclitic atonic forms.

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According to Hull (1982, 482-483), proclitic subject forms have been abandoned in Rhaetia, due to German superstratum, which is also responsible for syntactical restriction in the coupling of tonic and proclitic subject forms in some Ladin valleys: this issue will be analysed in the part of this article about syntax.

A major reason of the seeming fragmentation is the semantic drift occurrred in the Cisalpine domain, bringing the tonic oblique forms to replace the corresponding tonic subject ones (Hull 1982, 474). The question could be raised if the above tonic oblique forms are outcomes of direct or indirect ones: we agree with Hull's implicit suggestion that tha latter hypothesis is correct, evidence for this being represented by the comparison with French; cfr. e.g. Western Lombard *mi a canti* 'I sing' vs. French *moi* (<MIHI) *je chante* (Hull (1982, 482); see also Spiess (1985, 79)).

The above drift comes together with the converse one: the tonic subject forms `/je, J\e/` and `/ty/` (ORS types *jau* and *tu*) have replaced the corresponding tonic indirect oblique pronouns (Giacometti 2003, 62; Hull 1982, 475), as in Occitan (Salvat 1943, 62): both can naturally be deemed epiphenomena of the running case neutralisation.

In the following sections we will discuss the morphology of the proposed synthetical sets of synthetical Rhaeto-Cisalpine personal pronouns. Many of the present vernacular outcomes will be shown as well. On the contrary, we will not carry out here a complete discussion about the ORS localised written forms as for noun and adjectives: this issue will be the object of further investigations.

4.1 The subject tonic pronoun

The series of tonic nominative subject pronouns entirely survives only in the Rhaeto-Romance domain and in the Romansh/Lombard dialect of Bregaglia valley. The third and sixth person pronouns are preserved in Venet as well. The fourth and fifth person pronouns coincide with their oblique counterparts. From Hull (1982, 467) a table of syntetic types and vernacular ones can be extracted. We also display our ORS synthetic solutions. The vernacular types have been transcribed into Sampa if they are contemporary; the old ones (recovered from ancient written texts) are recorded as in Hull (1982) instead.

TABLE 10. *The Rhaeto-Cisalpine tonic subject pronouns*[7]

ORS	**Hull's synthetic types**	**Vernacular realisations**
jau	*ieu*	Rhen. `j'eu`, `j'au`, `j'ou`; Surm. `'ie`; Eng. `e'au`, `'eu`, `'euJ\`; VBreg. `je`, `J\e`; Müst. `E`; Gard. `'ie`; Bad. `j2`, `ju`; SicPad. `j'eu`, `j'ia`, `ja`; OVen. `'io`
tu	*tu*	Surs. `ti`, `te`; Sut. Surm. `t'ei`, `t'ai`, `t'E`, `t2`; Eng. VBreg. `ty`; Gard. Fri. `tu`; Bad. `t2`

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ORS	Hull's synthetic types	Vernacular realisations
el	*el*	Rhet. Trent. Dol. Plav. `el`; Ven. `'elo`; WLig. `'elu`; OGen. `elo`; OBol. `ello`; Istr. `dZil`, `jil`, `j'elo`; Fod. `d@\l` (with *d-*); Pm. (crossed with the demonstrative *quel*, cf. Nov. `kul-l'a` 'he'), 'thus': `kiel`, `ki'al`, `tS2l`, `tSel`
ela	*ella*	Rhet. Trent. Plav. Ven. `ela`; OCis. `ella`, `ela`; Istr. `dZ'ila`, `j'ila`, `j'ela`; Gard. `'@\ila`; Bad. `'@\la`, `v'@\ra`; Fod. `d'@\la`; Pm. `k'ila` (x. *quella*, cf. Nov. `kula-l'a` 'she')
nous	*no(u)s*	Surs. `nu:s`; Sut. Surm. `noks`, `nous`; UEng. `nu:ks`; LEng. `nu:s`, `no`; OPm. `nos`, `noi`; OLom. `nui`; Lig. Pm. Lun. `n'ui`; Oss. Tic. `n'oi`, `n'yi`; WLom. `nyN`, `n2J`; ELom. Em. `nu`; Rom. `no~`; Trent. Ven. `n'oi`; Istr. `n'ui`; Gard. `n'@\us`; Bad. Fod. `n'os`; Carn. `noN`, `n'uo`; Wri. `n'ou`; EFri. `no`
vous	*vo(u)s*	Rhet. `vu:s`, `vu:ks`, `v'ous`; Pm. Lig. Lun. `v'ui`; WLom. `vy`; ELom. LEng. `vo`; Em. `vu`, `vy`; Rom. `v'o`; Gard. `v'@\us`; Bad. Fod. `v'os`; Comel. `v'oi`, `vu'Ei`; Ven. `vu`; Fri. `v'o`, `v'ou`, `v'oo`, `v'os`; Istr. `vui`; OCis. `voi`, `vui`
ey/elh	*egl*	Rhen. `ei`; Trent. Gard. Bad. `ei` (`'@\i`); Pol. `'ii`; Padu. `idZi`. The types `'eli`, `'ili` (OCis. `illi`, `eli`; OGen. `eli`, `ili`; Ven. `eli`) are semi-learned or Italo-Padanian).
eles	*ellas*	Rhet. `elas`; OVen. OLom. `el(l)e`; Istr. `dZ'ile`, `j'ile`, `j'ele`; Comel. `v'Ele`, `'ili`, `'ele`; Bad. `'@\les`, `v'@\res`; Gard. `'@\iles`; Fod. `d'@\le`; WLig. `'ele` < *elles*

We have chosen the first person pronoun *jau* (as in Rumantsch Grischun) even if, in the ORS orthography, the etymological grapheme *j* is mainly realised as `/dZ, Z, dz, z/` and only locally as `/j/` (see e.g. Brunelli (2005, 4)).

This is due to the following two motivations:

1. This form has more chances to be accepted in the Rhaeto-Romance domain;

2. The phonetic outcome `/J\e/` in upper Bregaglia valley is an evidence of the fact that, should this tonic pronoun have survived in the Cisalpine domain as well, the phonetic outcomes of *j* would probably have been the «natural» ones `/dZ, Z, dz, z/`. The geminated consonants in *ella* and *ellas* have been reduced in view of the high-frequency-word character of these particle. This agrees too with a partial reshaping on the model of the definite article.

[7] See the Appendix for an explanation of G. Hull's shorthand notation.

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According to Hull (1982, 477-478), the 4th and 5th person pronouns gave rise to the compound pronominal types NOS-ALTERI, VOS-ALTERI, occurring in all western varieties of Romance. Some vernacular realisations are (Hull 1982, 478): *Istr.* `nuj'altri`, `ni'altri`, `vujaltri`, `vi'altri`, *Fri.* `no'altris`, `vo'altris`, *Ven.* `nu'altri`, `niialtri`, `vu'altri`, `viialtri`, *Bur.* `n'antri`, `v'altri`, *Rom.* `nuj'etar`, `vuj'etar` (*f.* `nuj'etri`, `vuj'etri`), *Em.* `nu'altar`, `nu'atar`, `vu'altar`, `vu'atar`, *Lom.* `ny'Olter`, `ni'alter`, `vyj'Olter`, `vi'Olter`, `vi'alter`, *UValt.* no'altri, vo'altri, valtri, *Eng.* nu'Oters, vuz'Oters, *Rhen.* `nuzautri`, `nuzauters`, `vuzautri`, `vuz'auters`, *Pm.* `nuj'autri`, `vuj'autri`, *Lig.* `nuj'autri`, `ni'atri`, `vuj'autri`, `vi'atri`.

Also, *analogical sixth person forms have evolved in Cispadane territory*: *Pm.* `lur'autri`, *Em.* `lur'altar`, `lur'atar`, *Rom.* `luj'etar` (*f.* `luj'etri`).

The ORS synthetic types will be *nosaltres* and *vosaltres*, using the ORS universal plural desinence *-es*, valid for both masculine and feminine inflections (see §2.1.3).

4.2 The subject atonic pronoun

When in atonic position (proclitic or enclitic) the subject pronouns gave rise to locally different, but structurally analogous, series of weak subject particles:

TABLE 11. *Proclitic weak subject pronouns*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1st	—	i	—	a (—)	—	i	—	—
2nd	—	te	te	a tó (tó)	te	ti	—	ta
MASC. 3rd	i	al	l	al (l)	el	u	al	al
FEM. 3rd	i	ala	la	NR	la	NR	la	la
4th	—	i	am	am	—	i	um	—
5th	—	i	—	(a)	—	i	u	—
MASC. 6th	i	ai	i	i (ai)	i	i	i	i
FEM. 6th	i	ales	i	NR	le	NR	la	li

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1st	— (a)	a	a	i	—	e	a	—	o
2nd	te	ta	ët	it (ët)	ti	ti	t (et)	te	tu
MASC. 3rd	el	al	ël	a	o	r	al	el	al
FEM. 3rd	la	la	la	a	a	NR	la	la	e
4th	— (a)	a	a	i	—	e	a	—	o
5th	— (a)	a	i	i	—	e	a	—	o
MASC. 6th	— (a) (i)	i, a	i	a	—	li	i	i	a
FEM. 6th	— (a) (i)	i, a	i	a	—	NR	äl	le	a

NR = not recorded.

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TABLE 12. *Enclitic weak subject pronouns*[8]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1st	a	i	i	i	i	—	i	ja
2nd	—	te	t	t	t	—	t	—
masc. 3rd	l (i)	el	l	l	l	—	l	l
fem. 3rd	la (i)	ela	la	NR	NR	—	la	la
4th	sa	se	i	m (ai)	e	—	l	juma
5th	—	e	v	v	f	—	v	f
masc. 6th	i	ei	i	i	i	—	i	i
fem. 6th	i	eles	le	NR	NR	—	lan	NR

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1st	—	—	jo	ne	—	NR	ia	i (nti) (e)	o
2nd	—	t	t (ti)	to	—	NR	et	to (stu)	tu
masc. 3rd	—	l	l (li)	lo	—	NR	el	elo (lo)	al
fem. 3rd	—	la	la	la	—	NR	la	ela (la)	e
4th	—	—	jo (ne)	ne	—	NR	gna	i (nti)	o
5th	—	—	v (vi)	—	—	NR	v	o (u)	o
masc. 6th	—	ei	jo	ne	—	NR	i	eli (li)	o
fem. 6th	—	ei	jo	ne	—	NR	li	ele (le)	o

NR = not recorded.

[8]Shorthand notations and references for tables 11 and 12:

(1): Rumantsch Grischun —Rumantsch Orthography— (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 77-78; Stich 2007, 83); (2) Ladin Dolomitan —Ladin Dolomitan Orthography— (Valentini 2001, 44); (3): Bergamasque —Dücat Orthography— (Zanetti 2004, 84, 100); (4): Old Bergamasque —Tiraboschi's Orthography— (Tiraboschi 1873, 39, 43); (5): dialect of Salò (Bs) —LSI Orthography— (Razzi 1984, 132, 135); (6): dialect of Airolo (Ti – Ch) —LSI Orthography— (Beffa 1998, 345-362); (7): Dialect of Bregaglia Valley —LSI Orthography— (Giacometti 2003, 63, 125); (8): Poschiavino —LSI Orthography— (Joos 1998, 28, 34-36); (9): Milanese —Classical Milanese Orthography— (Nicoli 1983, 138, 283); (10): Mendrisiot —LSI Orthography— (Lurà 1987, 154, 159); (11): Alessandrine —Classical Piedmontese Orthography— (Garuss 2003, §2.5); (12): Turinese —Classical Piedmontese Orthography— (Brero 1967, 54-58); (13): Genoese —Classical Ligurian Orthography— (Petrucci 1984, 64); (14): Dialects of Rialdo and Vedeggia (Im) —Classical Ligurian Orthography— (Massajoli (1984), quoted in Petrucci (1984, 64); Hull (1982, 473)); (15): Bolognese —Vitali-Lepri' Orthography— (Vitali & Lepri 2000, 20-21, 26); (16): supradialectal Venetan —Brunelli's Orthography— (Brunelli 2005, 13-14); (17): standard Friulian —Standard Orthography— (Zof 2008, 85; Osservatori 2002, 17, 20-22).

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Despite of the seeming high fragmentation, a reconstruction as in Hull (1982, 468-469) yields the results shown in the following table, where more vernacular forms are recorded as well:

TABLE 13. *Hull's reconstruction of proclitic and enclitic weak subject pronouns*

Hull's synthetic types		**Vernacular realisations**
eu	Proclitic	OCis. `eu`, `eo`; OLom. OGen. OPm. OBol. WLig. SWPm. `e`; Pm. Nov. Valses. VBreg. Istr. `i`; Lun. Em-Rom. Lom. Lig. Padu. UEng. `a`; Bol. `'ai`; Fri. `o`, `a`, `e`, `i`
	Enclitic	Fri. `-o`; Istr. Ven. `-jo`; SVen. `-i`; Em-Rom. `-ja`
tu	Proclitic	Posch. Anaun. Judic. `ty`; VBlen. Fri. Grado. Plav. `tu`; Dol. `t(e)`; OMil. *to*; NWLom. WTic. Istr. Lig. `ti`; Ven. Lom. `te` (`t'`); Pm. Em-Rom. `t`, `at`, `et`, `it`
	Enclitic	Istr. SVen. `-to`; Ven. Pm. `-tu`; Em-Rom. Trent. Lom. `-t`; Trent. `-ty`; Lun. `-ty`, `-t`
egl		Rhen. `el`, `il`, `aj`, `ej`; Surm. `i`; UEng. `a` (`ad` prevocalic); LEng. `i` (`id`)
el	Proclitic	Ven. Lom. `el` (`l'`); Nov. Em. Fri. Istr. `al` (`l'`); ELom. `al`, `ol` (`l'`); Valses. Oss. VBlen. Frign. Monf. Lig. `u` (`l'`); VLev. `o` (`l'`); Dol. Valt. `l`; Lun. `i` (`j'`); ERom. `uj`; Pm. `a`
	Enclitic	Pm. Fri. Istr. `-lu`; Ven. `-lo`; Lom. Trent. Dol. Em-Rom. `-l`
ella	Proclitic	Lom. Em-Rom. Ven. Trent. Istr. `la` (`l'`); OBerg. `'ala`; WEm. SLom. `'era`, `ra` (`r'`); Lig. `a` (`al'`); Pm. `a`; Fri. `a`, `e` (< `liei`)
	Enclitic	Pm. Em-Rom. Lom. Ven. Trent. Istr. `-la`; Fri. `-(j)e`
nos		Fri. `-no`; Pm. `-ne`
vos		Pm. `-ve`; Lom. `-(e)f`; Em-Rom. `-(e)v`; Ven. `-o`, `-u`; Istr. `-vo`
egl		Ven. Lom. Em-Rom. Lig. `i` (`j'`); OMil. OBerg. Bust. `ai`; Pm. Fri. `a`; Fri. Rhen. `e`
ellas > *elles*		Ven. ELom. `le`; Lig. `e`; WLom. `i` (= `egl`); Fri. `as`, `e`; Em-Rom. `al`, `il`, `el` (`ali`, `ili`, `eli` prevocalic; `-li` enclitic); Pm. `a`; Rhen. `las` (< `ellas`), `ei` (< `egl`)

Our ORS Rhaeto-Cisalpine synthesis will be inspired to slightly different principles; it can be deduced from tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.5 that:

1. the outcomes of first, fourth and fifth person have often been merged: that is apparent, for instance, by comparing Alessandrine (11) and Turinese (12) enclitic subject pronouns or Bolognese (15) and standard Friulian

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(17) proclitic ones (see also Hull (1982, 473)). A comparison between western Ligurian (14) and Dolomitic Ladin (2) proclitics or Old Bergamasque (4) and Bregagliot (7) enclitics suggest the same conclusion to be driven. Probably Bolognese (15) fourth person enclitic *gna* is a crossed form of *n* < NOS and `/ja/` < EGO. Some fourth person pronouns have also been crossed with *m* < HOMO (of course this is evident for Bergamasque (3): a proof for this is the fact that, in the declarative conjugation, the fourth person of the verb is conjugated by means of the model *am* + third person: *am parla* 'we speak', cf. French *on parle*; possibly *am* is in turn a crossing of *a* < EGO + *m* < HOMO);

2. the outcomes of the Latin first person pronoun EGO in weak position are many-sided: `/a, e, i, o, ja, jo/` among the others;

3. some dialects lack some clitics (but never all clitics).

Only the regular contact among speakers (or, as far as written language is concerned, writers) can help common forms to come to the surface: the general situation described by the points 1, 2, 3 above and by tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.5 suggest the following manifold standard to be proposed, at least at a first stage:

TABLE 14. *Proposed ORS standard of proclitic and enclitic weak subject pronouns*

	Proclitic series			**Enclitic series**		
	CV	VC	befor vowel	CV	VC	after vowel
1st	i	i	i	i	i	i
2nd	te	et	t'	te	et	't
MASC. 3rd	el	el	l'	le	el	'l
FEM. 3rd	la	la	la	la	la	la
4th	e	e	e	ne	en	'n
5th	e	e	e	ve	ev	'v
MASC. 6th	i	i	i	i	i	i
FEM. 6th	les	eles	les	les	les	les

As to the the first person pronouns, we have chosen the strongest form *i*, attested in almost every linguistic subdomain. The proclitic form will be always written with uppercase letter, for the sake of distinguishing it by the sixth person clitic and the plural masculine article *î*: this is not neeed for the enclitic form. The second person pronouns give rise to no problematic issues, mostly as the third person ones, once accepted the *-s* plural marker.

The fourth and fifth person proclitic forms have been chosen according to a sort of «mean value» criterion (*a*, *e*, *i* are attested) and in view of the fact that

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ORS orthography grants the grapheme *e* the status of «neutral vowel». This choice respects the etymological merging with the first person weak pronoun *e* < EGO (but the first person pronoun itself differentiates to *i*).

A *trait d'union* will be always needed to join verbal inflections and enclitic pronouns.

4.3 The oblique pronoun

The object pronouns gave rise, in the same way as the subject ones to locally different, but structurally analogous, couples of series, a clitic one (of which we display the proclitic only, see the references below in table 9 for more details) and a tonic one:

TABLE 15. *Atonic oblique pronouns*[9]

		1st	2nd	3rd		4th	5th	6th	
				MASC.	FEM.			MASC.	FEM.
1	D	ma	ta	al	la	ans	as	als	las
	I								
2	D	me	te	l	la	nes/se	ves/se	i	les
	I	me	te	ti/i	ti/i	nes	ves	ti/i	ti/i
3	D	me	te	l	la	me	ve	i	i
	I	me	te	ghe	ghe	me	ve	ghe	ghe
4	D	ma	ta	al	la	an/na, ma ga	va	i	ia
	I	ma	ta	ga	ga	an/na, ma ga	va	ga	ga
5	D	ëm	ët	l/li	la	ën	ëv	j	j
	I	ëm	ët	j	j	ën	ëv	j	j
6	D	me	te	l	la	ne	ve	i	e
	I	me	te	ghe	ghe	ne	ve	ghe	ghe
7	D	m	t	al	la	s	v	i	li
	I	m	t	i	i	s	v	i	i
8	D	me	te	lo	la	ne	ve	li	le
	I	me	te	ghe	ghe	ne	ve	ghe	ghe
9	D	mi	ti	lu	le	nus	us	ju	lis
	I	mi	ti	i	i	nus	us	ur	ur

[9] Shorthand notations and references for tables 15 and 16:

(1): Rumantsch Grischun —Rumantsch Orthography— (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 79); (2): Ladin Dolomitan —Ladin Dolomitan Orthography— (Valentini 2001, 46); (3): Bergamasque —Dücat Orthography— (Zanetti 2004, 61); (4): Mendrisiot —LSI Orthography— (Lurà 1987, 155); (5): Alessandrine —Classical Piedmontese Orthography— (Garuss 2003, §2.5); (6): Genoese —Classical Ligurian Orthography— (Petrucci 1984, 63 ff); (7): Bolognese —Vitali-Lepri' Orthography— (Vitali & Lepri 2000, 20); (8): supradialectal Venet —Brunelli's Orthography— (Brunelli 2005, 12-

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TABLE 16. *Tonic oblique pronouns*[9]

		1st	2nd	3rd		4th	5th	6th	
				MASC.	FEM.			MASC.	FEM.
1	D	mai	tai	el	ella	nus	vus	els	ellas
	I	mai	tai	el	ella	nus	vus	els	ellas
2	D	me	te	el	ela	nos	vos	ei	eles
	I	mi	ti	el	ela	nos	vos	ei	eles
3	D	me	te	lü	la	nóter	vóter	lur	lure
	I	me	te	lü	la	nóter	vóter	lur	lure
4	D	mi/mé	ti/té	lüü	lée	nün/ nügn/ nüm	vialtri/ violtri/ violtar	lur	lur
	I	mi/mé	ti/té	lüü	lée	nün/ nügn/ nüm	vialtri/ violtri/ violtar	lur	lur
5	D	me/méj	te/téj	lu	le	nòi/ nojàter	vòi/ vojàter	lor/ loràter	loratri
	I	me/méj	te/téj	lu	le	nòi/ nojàter	vòi/ vojàter	lor/ loràter	loratri
6	D	mi	ti	lê	lê	noiatri	voiatri	loiatri	loiatre
	I	mi	ti	lê	lê	noiatri	voiatri	loiatri	loiatre
7	D	mé	té	ló	lî	nó/ nuèter	vó/ vuèter	låur	låur
	I	mé	té	ló	lî	nó/ nuèter	vó/ vuèter	låur	låur
8	D	mi	ti	elo/lu	ela	noaltri/ nu	voaltri/ vu	luri/ eli	lure/ ele
	I	mi	ti	elo/lu	ela	noaltri/ nu	voaltri/ vu	luri/ eli	lure/ ele
9	D	me	te	lui	jê	nô/ noaltris	vô/ voaltris	lôr	lôr
	I	mi	ti	lui	jê	nô/ noaltris	vô/ voaltris	lôr	lôr

As to the series of tonic oblique pronouns, we can proceed as in §4.1 for the subject tonic pronouns and extract from Hull (1982, 468-469) a table of syntetic types and further vernacular ones. We also display our ORS synthetic solutions:

14); (9): standard Friulian —Standard Orthography— (Zof 2008, 86-87).

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TABLE 17. *The Rhaeto-Cisalpine tonic oblique pronouns*

ORS	**Hull's synthetic type**	**Vernacular realisations**
mei	*me(i)*	Surs. Sut. m'ei; Surm. mE; Eng. m'ai; Monf. m'Ei; Dol. Comel. Fri. mE
mi	*mi*	Rhen. Cis. mi; ELom. me; Rom. me, mE; Istr. m'ei(o); Bust. meN; Moneg. miN
tei	*te(i)*	Rhen. t'ei; Eng. t'ai; Monf. t'Ei; Comrl. Dol. Fri. t'E
ti	*ti*	Rhen. Cis. ti; ELom. te; Rom. te, tE
el	*el*	(as for the subject pronoun)
ela	*ella*	(as for the subject pronoun)
lu/lui	*lui*	OBol. OVen. l'ui; OPm. OLom. Tic. l'yi; WLom. ly; ELom. l2; Em. ly, lu; Rom. lo, l0; Ven. lu; Trent. ly, lu; Fri. lui; Istr. l'ou, l'ui, lu
le/lei	*liei*	OVen. liei; Cim. li'ei; Fri. je, jei, 'io, li:; OBol. OLom. lei; Ven. Lom. Em. le; Rom. li; Lig. SWPm. le
nous	*no(u)s*	(as for the subject pronoun)
vous	*vo(u)s*	(as for the subject pronoun)
els	*els*	Rhen. els, elz; Eng. 'Elz, e'aus, 'eas, 'ees, es; Müst. 'Es; OPm. els
eles	*ellas*, *elles*	(as for the subject pronoun)
lour	*lo(u)r*	OCis. lor; Lom. lur; Em-Rom. l'our, l'or, lur; WLom. lu:r; VLev. lo; ELom. l'or; SRom. l'o; WFri. l'our; EFri. lo:r; Carn. lo:r, l'uor, l'uar
sei	*sei*	Rhen. s'ei; Eng. s'ai, se; Fri. s'E
si	*si*	Cis. si

As for subject pronouns, the ORS synthetic compound types will be *nosaltres* and *vosaltres*.

Finally, as far as the atonic (or clitic) oblique pronouns are concerned, we propose the following synthetic series:

TABLE 18. *The Rhaeto-Cisalpine synthetic atonic, or clitic, oblique pronouns*

	proclitic CV series		**proclitic VC series**		**enclitic series**	
	D	I	D	I	D	I
1st	me	me	em	em	me	me
2nd	te	te	et	et	te	te
MASC. 3rd	le	i/ghe	el	i	le	le
FEM. 3rd	la	i/ghe	la	i	la	la
4th	nes/se	nes	ens	ens	nes/se	nes/se
5th	ves/se	ves	ev/us	ev/us	ves/se	ves/se
MASC. 6th	i	i/ghe	i	i	i	i/ghe
FEM. 6th	les	i/ghe	es	i	les	i/ghe

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The masculine third person clitic pronouns le (CV series) and el (VC series) will be interchangeable across the two series. The combinations of different pronouns (and of pronouns with other parts of the speech) will be dealt with in the part of this paper about the syntax.

Note that the simultaneous use of che CV and VC series makes the Rhaeto-Cisalpine system comparable (as to this issue) to the Occitano-Catalan one, considered as a whole; proclitic particles can be reduced when preceeding vowel and enclitic ones when following a vowel in a fashion analogous to table 14.

4.4 The reflexive pronoun

We will discuss the weak reflexive pronoun only: the tonic post-verbal forms can be assumed to coincide with the correspondent tonic direct oblique pronouns: the reinforced forms will be discussed in the part of this article concerning syntax.

A drift has been (and at present is) progressing in the Rhaeto-Cisalpine domain, the third-singular object pronoun tending to replace all the other ones in the reflexive conjugation. According to Hull (1982, 472), this process begun with the replacement of the fourth person object pronoun *nos* by *se/es*. However, a crossing of the subject clitic *a* with the fourth person object pronoun could have taken place too: *a nos* > *a nes* > *ans* > *as* thus giving rise to a VC-type fourth person reflexive person matching the third person one: from this starting point this innovation could have propagated. In fact a similar development is likely for third person reflexiv pronoun: `/al s@/` > `/als/` > `/as/`: consider e.g. the Emilian dialects (27) and (28) in table 19, which still vacillate between *als* and *as*: thus the above suggested development of the fourth person reflexive pronoun could have paralleled the analaogous one of third person one.

Another impulse towards the establishment of the third person weak object pronoun as a reflexive particle has begun in the second person, due to syntactical motivations, which we will discuss just now by virtue of their morphological consequences: in the Cisalpine domain,

1. the subject pronoun, either tonic or atonic, must be always explicitely stated (except for contemporary Italian influences, which we will not take into account here);

2. if the tonic pronoun is omitted, the atonic one is mandatory, e.g. Ticinese *ti ta nètat/nètas* ‘you clean’, *ta nètat/nètas* ‘you clean’;

3. both of the above forms are not prone to the insertion of a further 2nd person object pronoun (with reflexive function), because it would be identical to the subject one: the role of *ta* in the hypothetical sentences **ti ta ta nètat/nètas* or **ta ta nètat/nètas* (Ticinese) would be fairly ambiguous, thus an impulse took place towards semantic dissimilation. This brought to the adoption of the 3rd and 6th person reflexive pronoun *se* (Ticinese *ti*

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ta sa nètat/nètas, *ta sa nètat/nètas* 'you clean yourself', here *se* being realised as *sa*); this trend was reinforced by the fact that the above pronouns were already different from their object and subject counterparts (see Hull 1982, 472), thus they could be used without being affected by the above idosyncrasy.

This view is partially confirmed by the fact that dialects (as Piedmontese or Emilian) with different second person subject and object clitics have not been affected by the drift towards the employement of the third person reflexive pronoun in the second person: see again table 19.

This drift has so far progressed to various extents, and it is now complete in Sursilvan and Sutsilvan (Romansh), where this «generalized atonic reflexive object has been prefixed to all parts of the modern [...] verb» (Hull 1982, 473), see also Spescha (1989, 389), Schaller-Gabriel, Frigg & Tscharner (1991, 118), Stich (2007, 108). It is noteworthy that, as to this issue, Sursilvan, «the most archaic of the modern Padanian dialects» (Hull 1982, 73) shows —as to this issue— the most innovating behaviour instead. Quoting Spescha (1989, 345): «Il pronom reflexiv *se* ei il sulet pronom nunaccentuau ch'ei restaus egl idiom sursilvan. En texts vegls, cunzun en cunzuns veglias, anflans ins aunc fuormas cun *me* e *te*: *jeu me legrel*, *ti te legras*. *Te legra!* *Te regorda, olma mia*.»

The present Rhaeto-Cisalpine situation is variegated: a wide spectrum of local examples follows, showing a good deal of local situations as to the above morphosyntactic drift (see the caption of the table 19 for the grasp of its structure).

TABLE 19. *Infinitive and present indicative of the Rhaeto-Cisalpine reflexive conjugation of 'to wash oneself'*[10]

	1	2	3	4	5
	AS LAVAR	SELAVAR	SALAVAR	SA LAVAR	SA LAVAR
1st	eu am lav	jeu selavel	jou salavel	ia ma lav	jau ma lav
2nd	tü at lavast	ti selavas	tei salavas	te ta lavas	ti ta lavas
3rd	el as lava	el selava	el salava	el sa lava	el sa lava
4th	nus ans lavain	nus selavein	nus selavagn	nous ans lavagn	nus ans lavain
5th	vus as lavais	vus selaveis	vus salavaz	vous az lavez	vus as lavais
6th	els as lavan	els selavan	els salavan	els sa lavan	els sa lavan

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	6	7	8	9	10
	SE LAVÉ	SE LAVÉ	SE LAVÈ	LAÀS	LAÀS
1st	ie me lave	ie me leve ju	iö/i me lavi	mé me se làe	me ma sa lae
2nd	tu te làves	tu te leves ju	tö/te te laves	té te se làet	te ta sa laet
3rd	el se lava	ël se leva ju	ël/al se lava	lü l' se làa	lüü el sa laa
4th	nos nes (se) lavon	nëus nes/se lavon ju	nos/i se lavun	nóter a m' se làa	nóter sa laom
5th	vos ves (se) laveis	vo ve lavëis ju	os/i se lavëis	óter ve se laí	vóter va sa laíf
6th	ei se lava	ël se leva ju	ël/ai se lava	lur i se làa	lur i sa laa

	11	12	13	14	15
	LAVÀSS*	AS LAVÄR	SA LAVÁ	LAVÀSS	LAVÁSS
1st	mi im lavi	ie 'm läv	mi ma lavi	mi me lavi	mi ma (sa) lavi
2nd	ti ti t s làvat	tü 't läva	ti ta sa (ta) làvas	ti te se làvet	ti ta sa làvat
3rd	lüi us lava	lü as läva	lü al sa lava	lu el se lava	lüü al sa lava
4th	nüi is làvum	nualtri um as läva	nualtri ma (sa) làvum	numm se làvom	nün sa làvum
5th	viáutri if laví	ualtri uv (us) lavà	vualtri va (sa) làvuv	viàlter ve lavii	vialtri sa (va) làvuf / lavée / lavii
6th	ló is làvan	lur is lävan	lur i sa làvan	lor se làven	lur i sa lava/làvan

*Nonreflexive infinitive is: *lavè*.

	16	17	18	19	20
	LAVÁSS	LAVÁSS	LAVÁSS	LAVARSE	LAVÒSSE
1st	mi ma (sa) lavi	mi ma sa lavi	mi a m lavi	mi me lavo	mi am lòvu
2nd	ti ta sa làvat	ti ta sa làvat	ti tu s lavi	ti te te lave	ti tit lòvi
3rd	lüü al sa lava	lüü al sa lava	lüü u s lava	lu el se lava	le us lòva
4th	nüm sa làvum	nüm a sa làvum	nüm um es lave	noaltri ne lavém	nuj'Otri as lav'uma
5th	vialtri sa (va) làvuf	vialtri a sa làvuf	vialtri a s lavii	voaltri ve lavé	vujòtri iv lavè
6th	lur i sa lava	lur i sa lava	luur is lave	lóri i se lava	lu is lòva

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	21	22	23	24	25
	LAVÉSSE	LAVÉSS(I)	LAVÉSSE	LAVÂ-SE	LAVÂS
1st	mi em läv	me am lav	mi im lavo	mi me lavo	mé me lavi
2nd	ti ti't lävi	te 't ët lavi	ti i't (it ët) lave	ti ti te lavi	té te làvet
3rd	chiel os läva	lu os lava	chiel as lava	lê o se lava	lü el se lava
4th	noi es lavoma	nòi as lavoma	noi is lavoma	niâtri se lavemmo	nuâlter se làvum/lavúm
5th	voi ev lävi	vòi iv lavi	voi iv lave	viâtri ve lavæ	vuâlter ve lavée
6th	chiej es lävo	lor is lavo	lor as lavo	lô se làvan	lur i se lava
	26	27	28	29	30
	LAVÈS	LAVÈRS	LAVÈRS	LAVARSE	LAVÂSI
1st	me am lèv	mé am lèv	mé a m lèv	mi me lavo	jo/o mi lavi
2nd	te at ta lèv	té t at lèv	té t at lèv	ti te te lave	tu/tu ti lavis
3rd	lu us lèva	lö al s lèva / lö as lèva	ló al s lèva / ló as lèva	elo el se lava	lui/al si lave
4th	nun as lavuma	nüètar as lavóma	nó (nuèter) a s lavän	noaltri se lavémo/lavòn	nô (noaltris)/o si lavín
5th	viètar av laví	vüètar av lavè	vó (vuèter) a v lavè	voaltri ve lavè	vô (voaltris)/o si lavais
6th	lu is lèva	lûr i s lèvan	låur i s lèven	lóri i se lava	lôr/a si lavin

[10]Shorthand notations and references for table 19:

(1): Vallader, Puter [ROH] (Ganzoni 1983b; Ganzoni 1983a, 67); (2): Sursilvan [ROH] (Spescha 1989, 345); (3): Sutsilvan [ROH] (Schaller-Gabriel, Frigg & Tscharner 1991, 118); (4): Surmiran [ROH] (Conforti & Cusimano 2006, 20, 25); (5): Rumantsch Grischun [ROH] (Caduff, Caprez & Darms 2006, 49); (6): Ladin Dolomitan [LLD] (Valentini 2001, 48); (7): Gherdëina [LLD] (Bernardi 2002, 77–87); (8): Val Badia [LLD] (Valentin 2004, «Curs de Ladin»: 90, 34–35, 38; «Glossar»: 43); (9): Bergamasque [E-LMO] (Zanetti 2004, 69); (10): Bressan [E-LMO] (interview); (11): Airolo [W-LMO] (Beffa 1998, 346); (12): Bregagliot [LMO] (Giacometti 2003, 122); (13): Poschiavino [LMO] (Joos 1998, 49, 50); (14): Milanese [W-LMO] (Nicoli 1983, 322); (15): Mendrisiot [W-LMO] (Lurà 1987, 161); (16): Luganese [W-LMO] (Vassere 1993, 31); (17): Dialect of Collina d'Oro, upper Luganese [W-LMO] (interview with a native speaker); (18): Dialect of Medeglia, Tessin [W-LMO] (interview with a native speaker); (19): Dialect of Riva – TN [LMO] (interview with a native speaker); (20): Orbasque – dialect of Capriata d'Orba [PMS] (interview with a native speaker); (21): Dialect of Ceva – CN [PMS] (interview with a native speaker); (22): Alessandrine [PMS] (Garuss 2003, §2.5); (23): Turinese [PMS] (Brero 1967, 55); (24): Genoese [LIJ] (Petrucci 1984, 65); (25): Cremonese [LMO] (Rossini 1975, 89, 135); (26): Dialect of Bobbio – PC [EML] (interview with a native speaker); (27): Dialect of Roccabianca – PR [EML] (interview with a native speaker); (28): Bolognese [EML] (Vitali & Lepri 2000, 20–21); (29): Supradialectal Venetan [VEC] (Brunelli 2005, 32); (30): Standard Friulian [FUR] (Osservatori 2002, 17–18, 20).

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Our proposal of standard forms will be analogous to the one for clitic oblique pronouns (table 18) and will synthesise the present situation (only compete forms are displayed: prevocalic forms can be constructed as in table 14):

TABLE 20. *The Rhaeto-Cisalpine atonic weak reflexive pronouns*

	Proclitic series					**Enclitic series**	
	CV		VC	before vowel		general	after vowel
1st	me	se	em	m’	s’	me	’m
2nd	te	se	et	t’	s’	te	’t
MASC. 3rd	se	se	es	s’	s’	se	’s
FEM. 3rd	se	se	es	s’	s’	se	’s
4th	nes	se	es	n’	s’	nes	’n
5th	ves	se	ev	v’	s’	ves	’v
MASC. 6th	se	se	es	s’	s’	se	’s
FEM. 6th	se	se	es	s’	s’	se	’s

A thorough discussion of the usage of these particle will be carried out in the part of this article concerning syntax.

4.5 The impersonal pronoun

According to Hull (1982, 475), «the development of a pleonastic neuter or impersonal pronoun in French and Padanian is attributable to the Germanic superstratum of the Middle Ages, cf. Lat. TARDE EST, It. è tardi, S es tarde ∼ Pad. type el es tard, Fr. il est tard (c’est tard) Ger. es ist spät; Lat. PLUIT, It. piove, S llueve ∼ Pad. types el plòv, el pluov Fr. il pleut Ger. es regnet.»

This particle is mandatory in impersonal clauses. The above Padanese types should be written *el est tard* and *el plòv / el pluev —el pleuv* in the ORS orthography. The localised types *al* and *il/i* are also widespread.

Also, an «absolute impersonal» (singular verb followed by plural subject) construction is recorded: *al s’è rot dua scani* ‘two chairs got broken’ (lit. ‘it has broken itself two chairs’) (Joos 1998, 30); *a riva i mè soci* ‘my friends come’ (lit. ‘it comes my friends’) (Vassere 1993, 21).

Appendix: G. Hull’s shorthand notations[11]

Agord.: *Agordine*. Dialect of Agordo district (Belluno); *Al.*: Alemannic (West High German); *Alp.*: Alpine; *Anaun.*: Dialect of Val di Non and Val di Sole (Trent); *Ar.*: Arabic; *Bad.*: *Badiot*. D. of Val Badia (Dolomites; Bozen); *Bav.*: Bavarian (East High German);

[11]See Hull (1982, xxvi).

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Bell.: Bellunese (*It.* bellunatto); *Berg.*: Bergamasque; *Bresc.*: Brescian; *Bol.*: Bolognese; *Borm.*: D. of Bormio (Upper Valtellina; Sondrio); *Bur.*: D. of Burano (Venice); *Bust.*: D. of Busto Arsizio (Milan); *Cad.*: Cadorine. D. of Cadore district (Belluno); *Can.*: D. of Canavese district (Turin); *Carn.*: Carnian (North Friulan); *Cat.*: Catalan; *Celt.*: Celtic; *Cim.*: D. of Cimolais (Pordenone); *Cis.*: Cisalpine; *Clav.*: D. of Val Chiavenna (Como); *Com.*: *Comasque.* D. of Como; *Comel.*: *Comelican.* D. of Comelico district (Belluno); *Cort.*: D. of Cortina d'Ampezzo (Dolomites; Belluno); *Crem.*: Cremonese; *Dol.*: Dolomitic; *E.*: East, Eastern; *Em.*: Emilian; Em-*Rom.*: Emilian-Romagnol; *Eng.*: *Engadinish.* D. of Engadine and Val Müstair.; *Engl.*: English; *Ert.*: D. of Erto (Pordenone); *Fass.*: *Fassan.* D. of Val dl Fassa (Dolomites; Trent); *Feltr.*: Feltrine. (Rural) dialect of Feltre (Belluno); *Ferr.*: Ferrarese; *Flem.*: D. of Val di Fiemme (Trent); *Flor.*: Florentine; *Fod.*: *Fodóm.* D. of Val Livinallongo (Buchenstein, Dolomites; Belluno); *Fr.*: French; *Frank.*: Frankish; *Fri.*: Friulan, Friulian; *Frign.*: D. of Frignano district (Emilian Appenines) ; *Gall.*: Gallic, Gaulish; *Gen.*: Genoese; *Ger.*: German; *Germ.*: Germanic; *Gk.*: Greek; *Goth.*: Gothic; *G.R.*: Gallo-Roman, Gallo-Romance; *Istr.*: (South-West) Istrian (*It.* istriòto); *It.*: Italian; *Judic.*: *Judicarian. DD.* of the Valli Giudicarie (Trent); L: Low, Lower; *Lad.*: Ladin; *Lat.*: Latin; *Lig.*: Ligurian; *Liv.*: *Livignasque. D.* of Livigno (Sondrio); *Livent.*: *Liventine.* D. of lower Piave Basin; *Lod.*: D. of Lodi (Milan); *Lom.*: Lombard; *Long.*: Longobard, Langobard, Lombard (Germanic language); *Lorr.*: Lorrain (*D.* of French); *Lun.*: D. of Lunigiana (Massa); *Mant.*: Mantuan; *Mar.*: D. of Val Marebbe (Dolomites; Bozen); *Med.*: Medieval; *Ment.*: *Mentonasque.* D. of Menton (Alpes Marittimes); *Mil.*: Milanese; *Mir.*: Mirandolese. D. of Mirandola (Modena); *Mod.*: Modern; *Monf.*: Monferrine. D. of Monferrat; *Moneg.*: *Monegasque.* D. of Principality of Monaco; *Mugg.*: Extinct Friulanoid dialect of Muggia (Trieste); *Müst.*: D. of Val Müstair (Grisons); N: North, Northern; *Nov.*: Novarese; *O*: Old; *Occ.*: Occitan; OHG: Old High German; OP: Old Padanian; *Oss.*: Ossolasque. D. of Ossola district (Novara); *Pad.*: Padanian; *Padu.*: Paduan; *Parm.*: *Parmesan.* D. of Parma; *Pav.*: Pavian. D. of Pavia (*It.* pavese); *Piac.*: D. of Piacenza; *Plav.*: Plavian. D. of (middle) Piave Basin; *Pm.*: Piedmontese; *Pol.*: D. of Polesine (Rovigo); *Posch.*: D. of Val Poschiavo (Grisons); *Prov.*: Provençal (D. of Occitan); *Ptg.*: Portuguese; *Rav.*: *Ravennate.* D. of Ravenna; *Regg.*: D. of Reggio Emilia; *Rhen.*: Rhenanian (Sursilvan, Sutsilvan and Surmiran); *Rhet.*: Rhaetian (Rhenanian and Engadinish); *Rom.*: Romagnol; *Rum.*: Rumanian, Romanian; *S*: South, Southern; *Sav.*: Savoyan; *SFrat.*: D. of San Fratello (Sicily); Sic-Pad.: Siculo-Padanian, Gallo-Sicilian; *Slov.*: Slovene, Slovenian; *Sol.*: D. of Val di Sole (Trent; *It.* solandro); *Sp.*: Spanish; *Surm.*: Surmiran; *Surs.*: Sursilvan; *Sut.*: Sutsilvan; *Tic.*: *Ticinese.* D. of Canton Ticino; *Trent.*: Tridentine. D. of Trent or the Trentino; *Trev.*: Trevisan; *Triest.*: Triestine; *Tur.*: Turinese; *Tusc.*: Tuscan; U: Upper; *Valses.*: Valsesian; *Valsug.*: D. of Valsugana (*It.* valsuganotto); *Valt.*: Valtellinese; *VBlen.*: D. of Val Blenio (Ticino); *VBreg.*: *Bregagliot.* D. of Val Bregaglia (Grisons); *VCam.*: D. of Valcamonica (Brescia); *Ven.*: *Venetian.* D. of Venice or Venetia; *Vent.*: D. of Ventimiglia (Imperia); *Ver.*: Veronese; *Vic.*: Vicentine; *VLev.*: D. of Val Leventina (Ticino); *VMal.*: D. of Valmalenco (Sondrio); W: West, Western; *Wall.*: Walloon.

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