Minor Romance Languages: Dalmatian

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LUCL

Intro

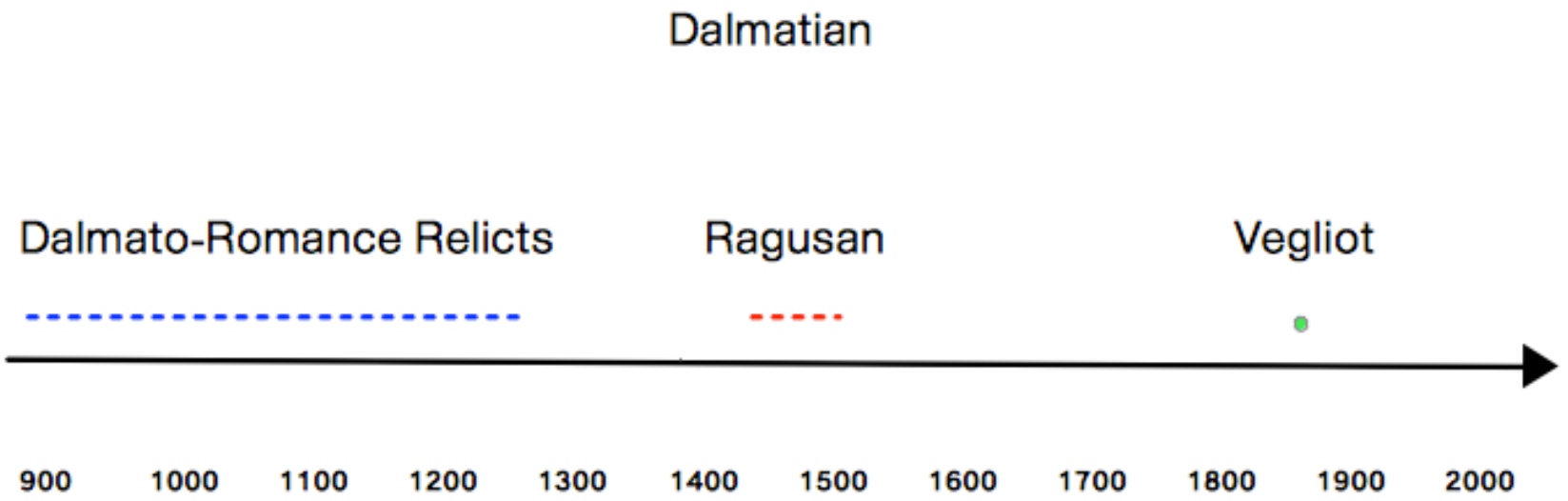
Dalmatian

1. Vegliot (Island of Veglia/Krk)
veklisun $<$ VETULA + -ENSIS + -ANUS
Known: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon.
Went extinct: 6:30AM, 14 Jun, 1898

2. Ragusan (Ragusa/Dubrovnik)
Known: phonology (partim), lexicon (partim)
Went extinct: 15th c.

3.''Dalmato-Romance Relicts" (via Serbo-Croatian)
Known: phonology, morphology (partim), lexicon
Went extinct: cca 13th c.

Intro



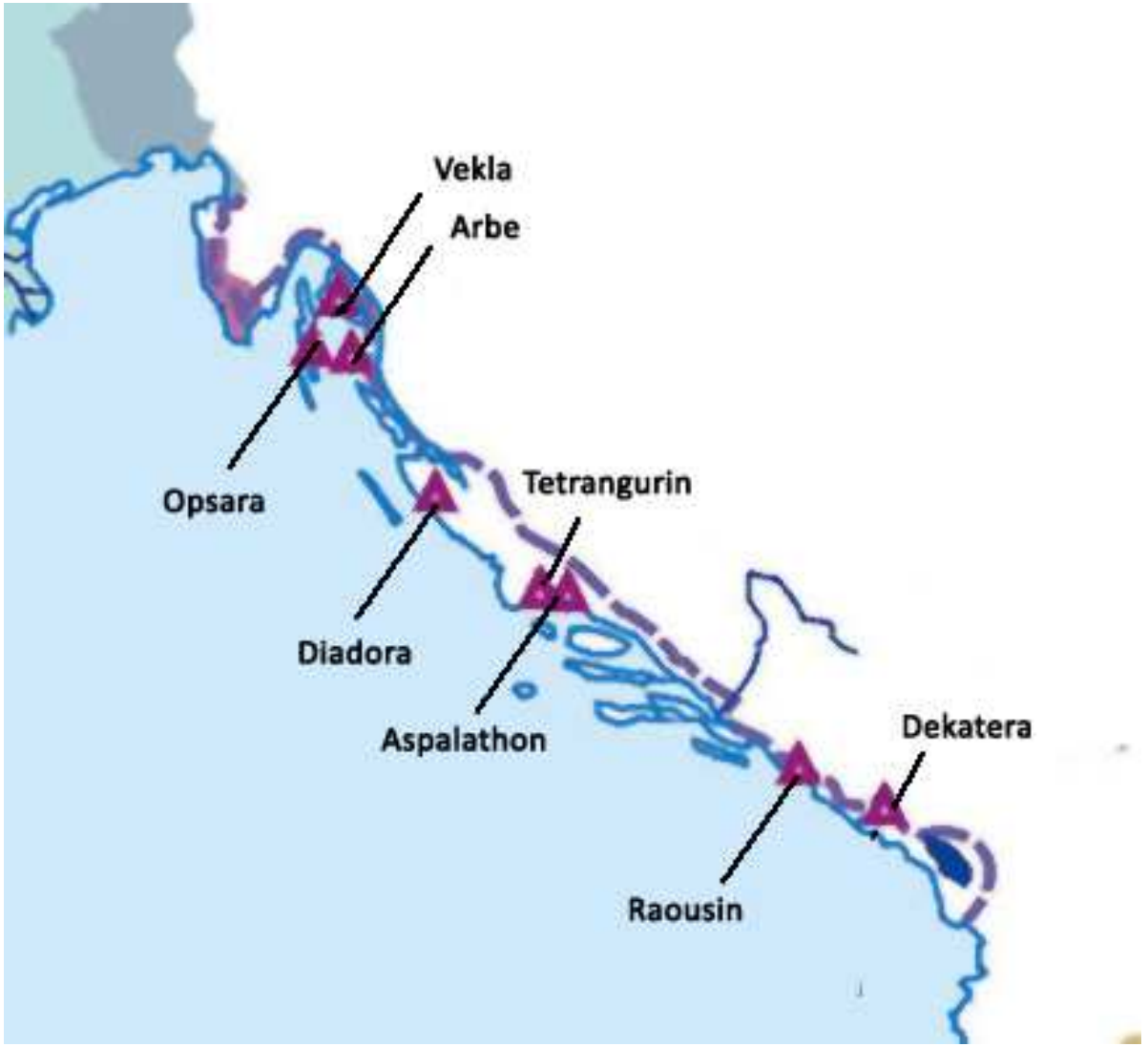
Dalmato-Romance Relicts = Proto-Dalmatian

Testimonies

τοὺς Ῥωμάνους τοὺς εἰς τοὺς κάμπους καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑψηλότερα μέρη κατοικοῦντες ἠφάνισαν καὶ τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν κατεκράτησαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Ῥωμᾶνοι εἰς τὰ τῆς παραλίας κάστρα διεσώθησαν, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κρατοῦσιν αὐτά. ἅτινά εἰσι τάδε κάστρα, τὸ Ῥαοῦσιν, τὸ Ἀσπάλαθον, τὸ Τετραγγούριν, τὰ Διάδωρα, ἡ Ἄρβη, ἡ Βέκλα καὶ τὰ Ὄψαρα. Ὧν τινῶν καὶ οἰκήτορες μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Ῥωμᾶνοι καλοῦνται.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos
De administrando imperio, 29

Testimonies



Testimonies

...me puero (n. 1463) memini nonnullos senes Romana lingua, quae tunc Rachusaea dicebatur causas actitare solitos.

Ilija Crijević/Aelius Lampridius Cerva
Starine IV 171sq., Bartoli (I, 209)

Testimonies

Prima pars est, quod in consiliis nostris ad arengarias nullus possit uti nisi lingua veteri Ragusea aut Latina vulgari.

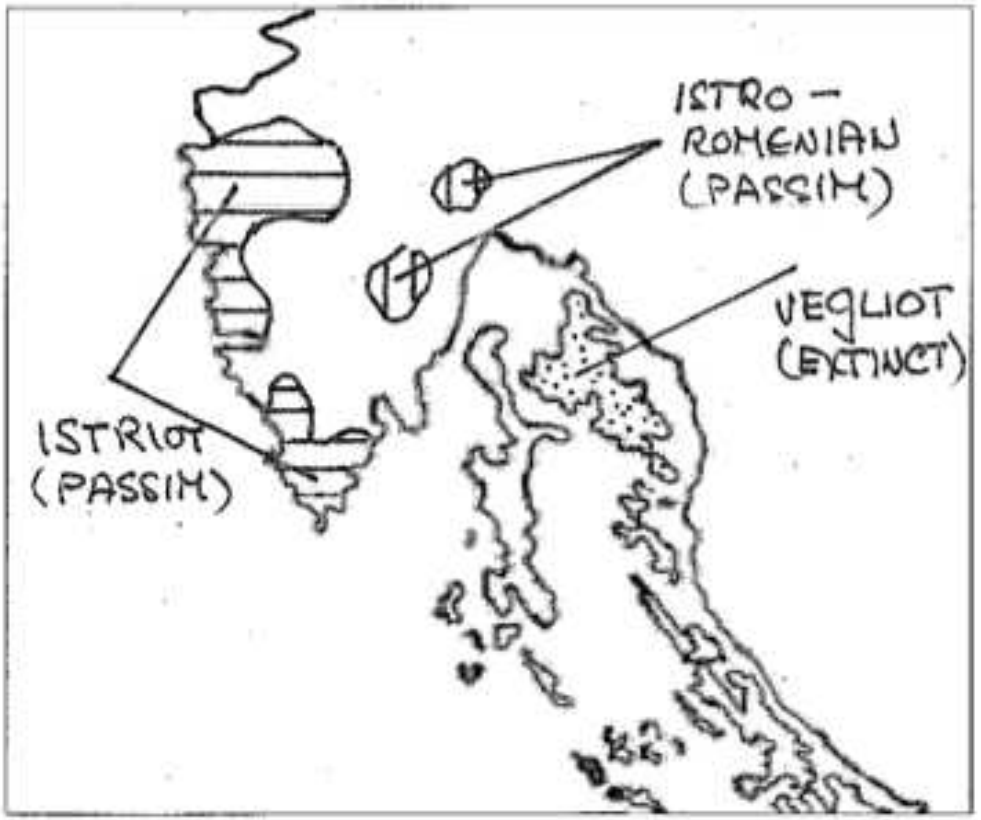
Consilium Rogatorum, 5. Feb. 1472

Absence of Evidence

= Evidence of Absence, e.g.

> *[Pope Alexander III welcomed in Zadar 1177. . .] cum inmensis (sic) laudibus et canticis altisone resonantibus in eorum Slavica lingua.*

Vegliot, Istro-Romanian and Istriot



Dalmatian, Albanian and Romanian

*ry > Romn. Vegl. *yr

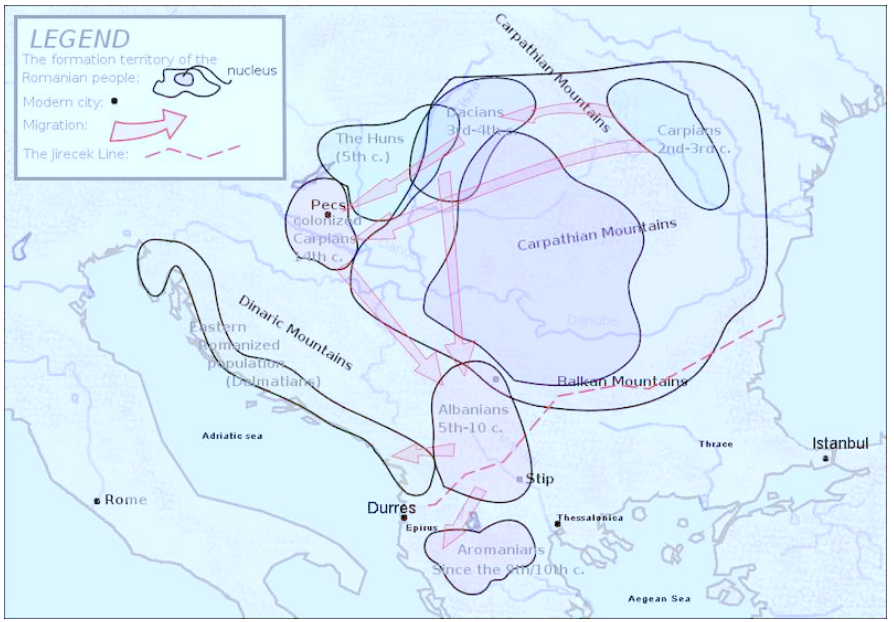
RUBEU ‘red’ > Romn. roib, Dalm. (SCr.) rujba

*ct > Dalm. Alb. (younger) yt

TRACTA ‘net’ > Dalm. (SCr.) trajta

DIRECTU ‘straight’ > Alb. drejt (younger)

LUCTA ‘battle’ > Romn. luptă, Alb. luftë (older)



Vegliot Vowels

Breaking of *ẹ and *ọ:

OS:[1] PETRA 'stone' > *pyetra > Vegl. pitra, cf. It. pietra

OS: LOCU 'place' > *lwoku > Vegl. luk, cf. It. luogo

CS: FESTA 'party' > Vegl. fyesta, cf. It. festa

CS:MORTE 'death' > Vegl. mwart, cf. It. morte

Breaking of *ẹ and *ọ:

OS: SĬTI 'thirst' > Vegl. sayt, cf. Fr. soif

OS: NEPŌTE 'grandson' > Vegl. nepawt, cf. Fr. neveu

but

CS: PĬSCE 'fish' > Vegl. pask

CS: FŌRMA 'form' > Vegl. furm

Breaking of *i and *u:

OS: LŪNA 'Moon' > *luyna > Vegl. loyna, cf. Abr. liunə

OS: AMĪCU 'friend' > Vegl. amayk, Abr. amejkə

[1] OS - Open syllable, CS - closed syllable.

Parallels for Breaking of *ẹ and *ọ

French: *ẹ > [we] > [wa]; *ọ > [ow] > [oe] > [ø]

Engadin: *ẹ > [aj]; o > [wo]

Bolognese: *ẹ > [ej] > [aj]; *ọ > [ow] > [aw]

West Friulan: *ẹ > [ej]; *ọ > [ow]

Vegliot: *ẹ > [aj]; *ọ > [aw]

Abbruzzese: *ẹ > [äj]; *ọ > [äw]

Eastern Lucano: *ẹ > [aj]; o > [ow]

SĬTIM 'thirst' > Fr. soif, Eng. said, Bol. said, Friul. seit, Vegl. sayt, Abr. säjtə, Luc. sejtə

NEPŌTEM 'nephew' > Fr. neveu, Eng. nef, Bol. amvaud, Friul. nevoud, Vegl. napawt, Abr. napäwtə, Luc. nəpowtə

Parallels for Breaking of *i and *u

Vegliot: *i > [ej] > [aj]; *u > [y] > [oj]

Istriot: *i > [ej]; o > [ow]

Eastern Lucano: *i > [ej]; o > [ow]

Abbruzzese: *i > [ej]; o > [ju]

AMĪCUM 'friend' > Vegl. amajk, Istr. amejk, Luc. Abr. amejkə

LŪNA 'Moon' > Vegl. lojna, Istr. lowna, Luc. lounə, Abr. liunə

Vegliot Vowels

Merging of *a and *ǫ:

OS: PLACET 'is pleasurable' > *plwak > Vegl. pluk

CS: FALSU 'false' > Vegl. fwals

Preserved *au:

AURU 'gold' > Vegl. jaur, cf. Romn. aur, Po. ouro

Syncope of protonics and intertonics:

DURACĬNU 'kind of fig' > Vegl. drukno

DICĔRE 'say' > Vegl. dekro

Apocope of all final vowels save for *-a and *-i:

MALE 'bad' > Vegl. mul

DICO 'say' > Vegl. dayk

FOCU 'fire' > Vegl. fuk

o-paragoge:

FRATRE 'brother' > Vegl. frutro

Vegliot Consonants

Preservation of *-VCV-:

RIPA 'shore' > Vegl. raypa, cf. It. ripa

MENSE 'month' > Vegl. mays, cf. It. mese

Palatalization in front of *i, but not *e:

CIMICE 'bebug' > Vegl. činko, cf. Sard. chimighe

CENA 'dinner' > Vegl. kajna, cf. Sard. chena

Secondary Palatalization (Iotation):

CAELU 'sky' > *kyel > Vegl. tšil

Preservation of *Cl- clusters:

PLENU 'full' > Vegl. playn, cf. It. pieno

CLAVE 'key' > Vegl. kluf, cf. It. chiave

Degemination:

SELLA 'seat' > Vegl. syala

OSSU 'bone' > Vegl. vwas

Cf. Romn. stea < STEA 'star'

Parallels for Unpalatalized C

	CENA	CIMICEM/ CIVITATEM	PLACERE/ FACERE	COCINA
CSard.	[ʔ]ena	[ʔ]imi[ʔ]e	fa[ʔ]ere	ko[ʔ]ina
Log.	[k]ena	[k]imi[γ]e	fa[γ]ere	ko[γ]ina
Campid.	[ž]ena		fa[ž]ere	ko[ž]ina
Vegl.	kajna	[tš]inko	pla[k]ar	ko[tvs]ajna
Rag.		[k]ima[k] (SCr.)	fa[k]ir	
Romn.	[tš]ină	[tš]etate	fa[tš]e	
South Italy	[tš]ena	[tš]ime[tš]e	kja[tš]e	ku[tš]ina
It.	[tš]ena	[tš]imi[tš]e	pia[tš]ere	co[tš]ina
Eng.	[tš]aina	[tš]ited	pla[ž]air	cu[ž]ina
Fr. arch.	[s]ener	i[s]té	plai[z]ir	cui[z]ine
Occ.	[s]enar	[s]iutat	pla[z]er	co[z]ina
Cat.	[s]enar	[s]iutat	plaer	cuina
Sp.	[θ]ena	[ts]isme	ha[θ]er	co[θ]ina
Moz.	[ts]anach			ko[tš]ina
Port.	[s]ea	[s]incho	fa[z]er	co[z]inha

Parallels for Unpalatalized G

	GELARE	MULGERE	GYRARE	FUGIRE/ FRIGERE
CSard.	[g]elare	mur[γ]ere		fri[γ]ere
Log.	[b]elare	mur[γ]ere		frìere
Campid.	[dí]elar	mur[dí]ere		frì(ri)
Vegl.	[g]elut			
Romn.	[dž]er		mul[dž]e	fu[dž]i
South It.	[j]elo	[j]ira		fu[j]ire
It.	[dž]elo	mun[dž]ere	[dž]irare	fu[dž]ire
Eng.	[dž]hel	mun[dž]er	[dž]irer	fž[dž]ir
Fr.	[ž]el	moudre	[dž]irer	fuir
Occ.	[ž]el	mol[z]er	[dž]irar	fu[íž]ir
Cat.	[dž]el	munyir	[dž]irar	fu[dž]ir
Sp.	hielo	muñir	[x]irar	huir
Moz.	[j]elid			
Port.	[ž]elo	mun[ž]ir	[ž]irar	fu[ž]ir

Vegliot Consonants

Preservation of *pt and *mn:

SEPTE '7' > Vegl. syapto, cf. It. sette

DAMNU 'ruin' > Vegl. damno, It. danno

Simplification of *ct:

NOCTE 'night' > Vegl. nwat, cf. It. notte

but OCTO '8' > Vegl. (g)wapto, cf. Romn. opt

Simplification of *yw-:

ANNU 'year' > *ywan > yan

ANIMA 'soul' > *ywanma > yamna

New palatals from *-nyV-, *-lyV-:

VINEA 'vineyard' > Vegl. vayńa, It. vigna

Simplification of *-ryV-:

AREA 'area' > Vegl. jara

Elimination of *-VbV-:

DICEBAM 'I said' > Vegl. dekaya

Vegliot Morphology

Absence of s-plural:

Metaphonic plural: Vegl. kan ‘dog’, pl. kin

Article derived from ILLU

Comparison by means of PLUS

Preservation of 4 conjugation system:

Cf. -ĀRE > - ur; -ĒRE > -ar; -ERE > -ro; -ĪRE > -er.

Infix *-ay- in the 1, 2, 3sg. and 3pl. ind. present:

FACIT ‘does’ > Vegl. fakaya

Absence of synthetic preterite:

Exc. FUIT ‘was’ > Vegl. foyt

Future II features as Future I:

CANTAVERO ‘I shall sing’ > Vegl. kantura

HABERE features as auxiliary:

*HABEO VENUTU ‘I came’ > Vegl. yay venuyt

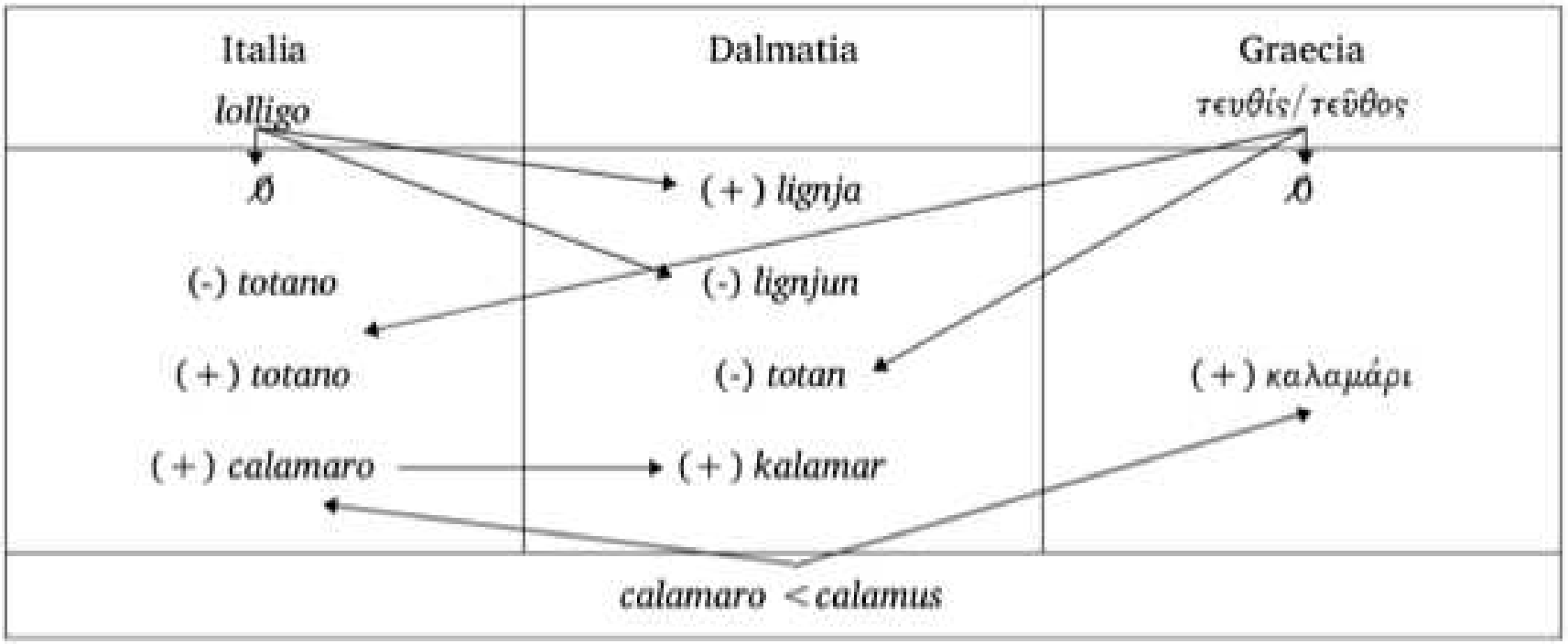
Vegliot Lexicon

Innovations:

PATER - TATA, Vegl. twota ‘father’
ECCLESIA - BASILICA, Vegl. basalka ‘church’
SPONSUS - NOVUS NUPTUS, Vegl. ninapto ‘groom’
SPONSA - NOVA NUPTA, Vegl. ninapta ‘bride’
FRIGIDUS - GELATUS, Vegl. gelut ‘cold’
GRANDIS - MAIOR, Vegl. maúr
TABULA - MENSA, Vegl. maysa
NIGER - FUSCUS, Vegl. fosk ‘black’
SEPTIMANA - HEBDOMAS, Vegl. yedma ‘week’
MERCURII DIES - MEDIA HEBDOMAS, Vegl. misedma ‘Wednesday’

Vegliot Lexicon

Archaisms:



(+) - Loligo vulgaris
(-) - Todarodes Sagittatus

Tuone Udaina Burbur



(1821-1898)

Tuone Udaina Burbur

Bartoli in La Sera (Trieste):

> *''...alle 6:30, sulla strada che conduce alla località campestre 'ai campi' e che si sta riattando, mentre si caricava una mina questa improvvisamente scoppiò uccidendo quasi sul colpo certo Antonio Udina, buon vecchietto di 77 anni, che stava sopra il sasso per tenere il ferro di carica... Era l'ultimo d'una generazione che se ne va ed era il solo che conosceva e parlava perfettamente l'antico dialetto romanico di Veglia."*
>
> *Das is das Vegliotische, und das war sein Ende.*

Vegliot: Example

*yu yay foyt a skol day tšink yeyn e dapú yu yay stat a skol tra yeyn; yu yay stdyút fenta i vapto yeyn, yu yay studyút. E dapú el mi twota si o amalwót e yu dzay dal su patrawn, minsina'wr véskovi. Dekaja el mi twota: ''Yu non lo potaja lasúr a skol, perké yu non potaya kaminúr ple. Yu avás kwatri pire; ke-l dzay fure a menurle al dizmún e a la sar levurle a kwasa."**

*Adapted.

Bartoli (II, 9)

Ragusan

De Diversis' corpus:

teta 'father', chesa 'house', pen 'bread', fachir 'do'

Palatalization of *a:

OS: PANE 'bread' > Rag. pen
OS: CASA 'house' > Rag. chesa
OS: TATA 'father' > Rag. teta

Absence of palatalization:

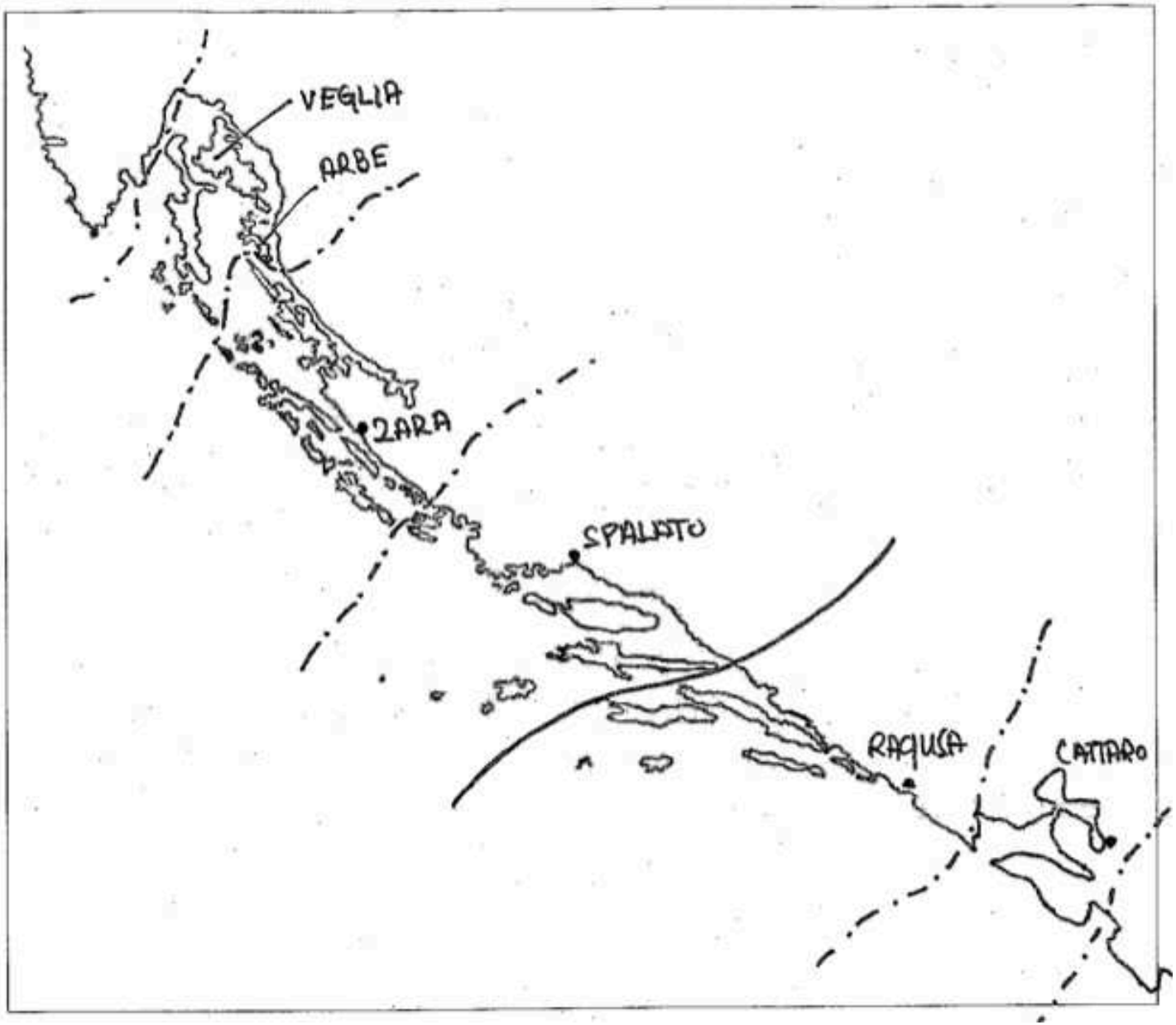
FACERE 'do' > Rag. fachir
CIMICE 'bedbug' > Rag. *kimk > > SCr. kimak

Ragusan: Example

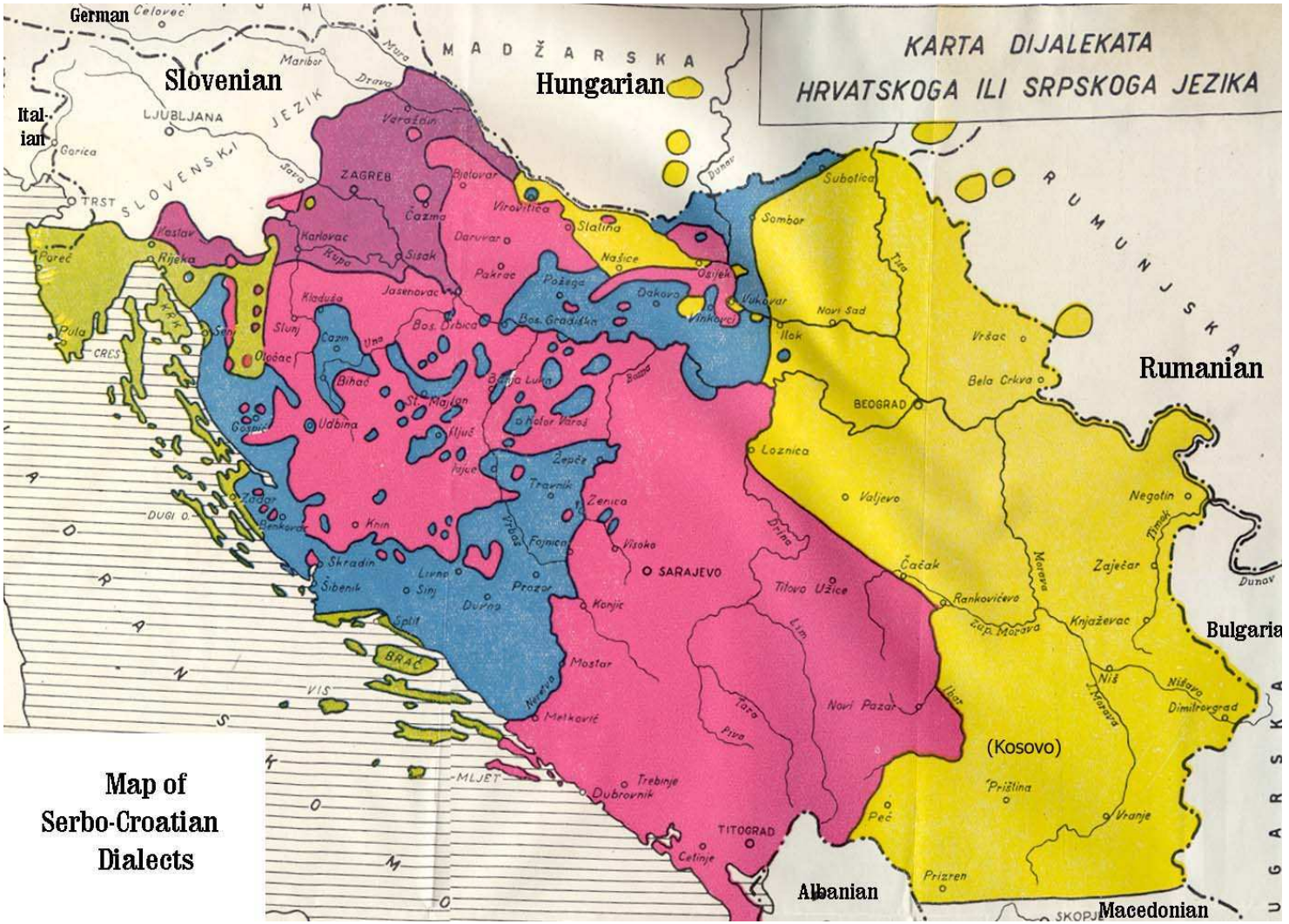
In praescriptis omnibus consiliis et officiis civilium et criminalium oratores seu arengatores, advocati, iudices et consules legis statuto Latine loquuntur non autem Sclave, nec tamen nostro idiomate Italico, in quo nobiscum fantur et conveniunt, sed quodam alio vulgari idiomate eis speciali, quod a nobis Latinis intelligi nequit, nisi aliqualis, imo magna, eiusmodi loquendi habeatur (saltem audiendo) consuetudo: panem vocan pen, patrem dicunt teta, domus dicitur chesa, facere fachir et sic de ceteris, quae nobis ignotum idioma parturiunt.

Philippus de Diversis,
Situs aedificorum. . . civitatis Ragusii, 1499, Bartoli (I, 208)

Northern and Souther Dalmatian dialects



Serbo-Croatian as a Source for Dalmatian



Serbo-Croatian as a Source for Dalmatian

'Dalmato-Romance Relicts'

South and North Dalmatian:

SCr. uliganj, oliganj (SDalm.)
SCr. liganj, ligna (NDalm.)
Dalm. *(l)oligin < LOLLIGINE

SCr. gera (SDalm.)
SCr. gira (NDalm.)
Dalm. *gera < GERRES

Only South or only North Dalmatian:

SCr. gljara, glara, gralja (SDalm.)
SDalm. *gyarla < GERRULA (GERRES)

Either South or North Dalmatian compared to Vegliot:

SCr. dinigla (SDalm.)
Vegl. denakle
Dalm *denikla < *GENICULA

Vulgar Latin and Dalmatian in Serbo-Croatian



Palatalization of A

In: French, Rhaeto-Romance, Piedemontese (partim), Lombardo (partim), Emiliano-Romagnolo, Tuscan (partim), Umbro (partim), Adriatic South Italian, Ragusan.

Palatalization of VLat. A in Abruzzese:

CANEM 'dog' > Abr. *kɛnə*, cp. Fr. *chien* vs. It. *cane*

CATTUM 'cat' > Abr. *gɛttə*, vs. Fr. *chat*, It. *gatto*

Palatalization of A

Imola (Romagnolo)

Paroxytona with open syllable:
PATRE 'father' > *pe̯ədər*
STRATA 'street' > *stre̯ə*

Paroxytona with syllable closed with R, L:
BARBA 'beard' > *be̯ərbə*
SALTAT 'jump' > *se̯ltə*

Paroxytona with syllable cosed with a stop:
FACTUM 'deed' > *fat*
ACQUA 'water' > *akwə*

Proparoxytona and oxytona:
MACHINA 'machine' > *me̯əznə*
DAT 'give' > *da*

Sociolinguistic issues

Indisputably languages (*Ausbausprachen, lingue per elaborazione*):
a. National languages: Portuguese, Spanish, French, Rhaeto-Romance, Romanian.
b. Regional languages:

Aranese	Vall d'Aran (Catalonia)
Friulian	Friuli (1999)
Galician	Galicia (1981)
Catalan	Andora, Catalonia (1979), Balears (1983), Valencia (1982)
Leonese	Mirando do Douro (1999)
Sardinian	Sardinia (1997)

2. *Abstandsprachen, lingue per distanzione*: Dalmatian, Franco-Provençal, Istriot, Occitan and Sardinian.

3. Disputable languages (Muljačić *Wiesosprachen?!*): Aragonese [or Spanish], Asturian [or Spanish], Gascon [or Occitan]

Dialect issues

H. Kloss:

Abstand-und-Ausbausprachen (e.g. French) owe their language status to both sociolinguistic and structural independence.

Nur-Abstandsprachen (e.g. Dalmatian, Sardinian etc.) owe their language status to structural independence.

Nur-Ausbausprachen (e.g. Galician, Portuguese) owe their language status to the sociolinguistic independence even though they belong to the same overall system.

Ž. Muljačić:

lingue basse: dialects subordinated to a super-dialect;

lingue medie: dialects sub- and superordinated at the same time;

lingue alte: in fact *Abstand-und-Ausbausprachen*.

Dialect issues

The issue of *historical language* (Coseriu)

LAT. OLEUM 'oil' >

	Italian	vs.	French
Piedmont:	[œ:ri]	Isère:	[œrju]
Florence:	[lɔʎɔ]	Occitan:	[oli]
Bari:	[ɖɖ'uɖɖjə]	Charente:	[oel]
Salento:	[u'weju]	Franco-Provençal:	[ul]
Sicily:	[u:ɖj]	North-French:	[wil]

Cp. AIS (1012 l'olio) and ALF (702 huile).

Sardinian

Intro

Languages of Sardinia:

1. Gallurese (Gallura), Sassarese (Sassari)
Not Sardinian.

2.Logudorese (Logudoro), Nuorese (Nuoro)
Sardinan (sardu, saldu) par excellence

3. Campidanese (Campidano)
Sardinian (sardu, sadru)

4. Catalan, Ligurian
Not Sardinian.

Intro


SARDEGNA
SARDIGNA
LINGUA SARDA [sc]
Logudorese [src]
Nuorese [src]
Campidanese [sro]
LINGUA CORSA [co]
Corso oltramontano [co]
Gallurese [sdn]
Sassarese [sdc]
ALTRE LINGUE
Catalano [ca]
Ligure [lij]
0
50 km
Mar Tirreno
Mare Tirrenu
MARE MEDITERRANEO
MARE MEDITERRANEU
Mare di Sardegna
Mare de Sardigna
Golfo dell'Asinara
Golfu de l'Asinara
Golfo di Orosei
Golfu de Orosei
Golfo di Oristano
Golfu de Aristanis
Golfo di Cagliari
Golfu de Casteddu
Bocche di Bonifacio
Bouches de Bonifacio
Bocchi di Bunifaziu
Isola della Maddalena
Isula di a Madalena
Isola di San Pietro
Uiza de San Pé
Isola di Sant'Antioco
Isula de Santu Antiogu
Uiza de Sant'Antioccu
SASSARI
NUORO
NUGORO
ORISTANO
ARISTANIS
OLBIA
TERRANOA
TARRANOA
TEMPIO PAUSANIA
TEMPIU
ALGHERO
L'ALGUER
LANUSEI
TORTOLÌ
SANLURI
SEDDORI
VILLACIDRO
BIDDACIDRU
IGLESIAS
IGRESIAS
CARBONIA
CAGLIARI
CASTEDDU
Quartu Sant'Elena
Quartu Sant'Aleni
8°
9°
10°
41°
40°
39°

Intro

Northern Sardinian

(Logu de Torres, Nuoro/Nugoro)
sardu, saldu

Transitional Sardinian

(Barigadu, Mandrolisai, etc.)
limba de Mesania

Southern Sardinian

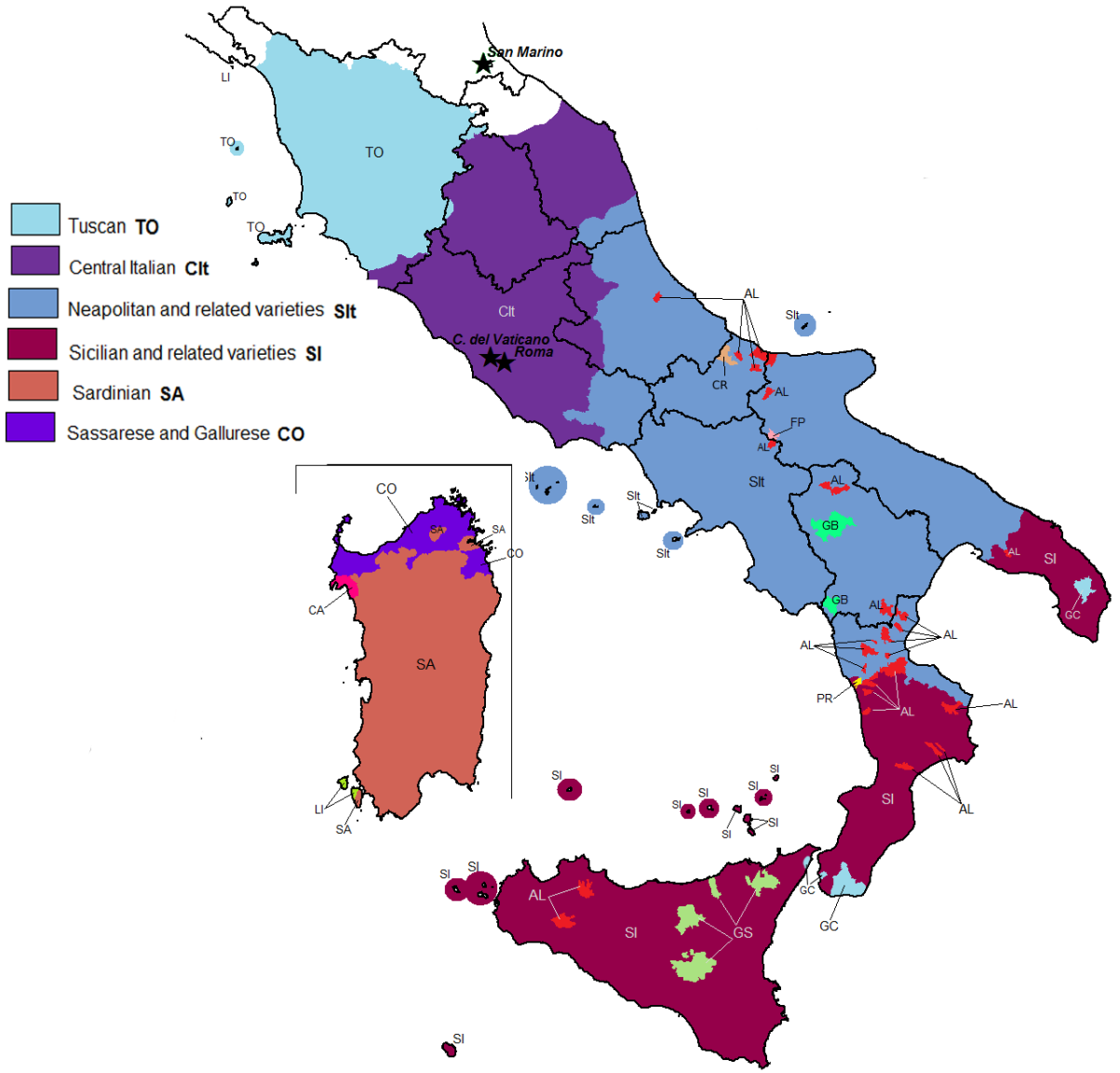
(Provnce of Cagliari/Caralis)
sardu, sadru

Intro

Sardos etiam, qui non Latii sunt sed Latiis associandi videntur, eiciamus, quoniam soli sine proprio vulgari esse videntur, grammaticam tanquam simiae homines imitantes: nam domus nova et dominus meus locuntur.

Dante,
De vulgari eloquentia, I 11, 7

Intro


Tuscan TO
Central Italian CIt
Neapolitan and related varieties SIt
Sicilian and related varieties SI
Sardinian SA
Sassarese and Gallurese CO
San Marino
C. del Vaticano
Roma

Sardinian Vowels

Romance 7-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i	ẹ		ę	a	ǫ	ọ		u

Sardinian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a	o		u	

Romanian 6-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i	ẹ		ę	a	o		u	

Sicilian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ū	ŭ
	i		e	a	o		u	

Lucanian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a	o		u	

Sardinian Vowels

FĪLU 'thread' > It. *filo*, Sard. *filu*, Sic. filu

NĬVE 'snow' > It. *neve*, Sard. *nive*, Sic. *nivi*

CATĒNA, TĒLA 'chain, cloth' > It. *catena*, Sard. *kadena*, Sic. *tila*

PĔLLE, FĔLLE, *MĔLLE, 'hide, bile, honey' > It. *pelle*, Sard. *fele*, Sic. *meli*

ŎSSU, RŎTA 'bone, wheel' > It. *osso*, Sard. *roda*, Sic. *rota*

SŌLEM 'Sun' > It. *sole*, Sard. *sole*, Sic. *suli*

CRŬCE, NŬCE 'cross, nut' > It. *croce*, Sard. *kruke*, Sic. *nuci*

DŪRU, LŪNA 'hard' > It. *duro*, Sard. *duru*, Sic. *luna*

Sardinian Vowels

. . . non elucet legenti, utrum correpta littera os pronuntiet, an producta.

Augustin,
De doc. christ. III, 3

Sardinian Vowels: Archaisms

VLat. Ĭ, Ŭ retained:

VIRIDEM 'green' > Sard. birde, cf. It. verde

BUCCA 'mouth' > Sard. bukka, cf. It. bocca

Cf. Berber loans:

PĬRUM 'pear' > *ti-firest*

ŬLMUM 'elm' > *ulmu*

Sardinian Vowels (Unstressed)

Romance 7-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a		o		u

Sardinian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a		o		u

Romanian 6-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
i		e		a		u		

Sicilian 5-vowel system:

ī	ĭ	ē	ĕ	ā, ă	ŏ	ō	ŭ	ū
	i			a		u		

Sardinian Vowels

kane $>$ Camp. kani

> *. . . et ipso quoque sermo Sardorum adhuc retinet non pauca verba sermonis Graeci atque ipse loquentium sonum Graecisanum quendam prae se fert*

Roderigo Hunno Baeza
Caralis Panegyricus (1516)

Cf. itacism (Byz. Gr. i $<$ i, ē, u, ei, oi . . . .). Also Sicilian.

Sardinian Vowels

ŭNDA ‘wave’ > Sard. _nda

vīNU ‘wine’ > Sard. b_nu

ŭMBRA ‘shadow’ > Sard. _mbra

lūCE ‘light’ > Sard. l_ghe, Camp. ?

fūNE ‘rope’ > Sard. f_ne, Camp. ?

lĭGNA coll. ‘wood’ > Sard. l_nna

Sardinian Diphthongs

No breaking:

BONUM 'good' > Sard. bonu, cf. It. buono, Sp. bueno

PETRA 'stone' > Sard. pedra, cf. It. pietra, Sp. piedra

DĔCE '10' > d_ke

SCHŎLA 'school' > isk_la

TEMPUS 'time' > t_mpus

VENTU 'wind' > b_ntu

Languages Without Diphthongization

	PĔTRA	HĔRBA	CAELUM	FĔRRUM
Sard.	pedra	erba	kelu	ferru
Port.	pedra	erva	céu	fer
Gal.	pedra	herba	ceo	ferro
Occ.	peira	herba	cel	ferro
Cat.	pedra	herba	cel	ferro

	RŎTA	PŎRTA	FŎCUM	GRŎSSUM
Sard.	roda	porta	fogu	
Port.	roda	porta	fogo	grosso
Gal.	roda	porta	fogo	groso
Occ.	roda	porta	fuec	gros
Cat.	roda	porta	foc	gros
Romn.	roată	poartă	foc	gros

Sardinian Consonants

No palatalization:

CERVUM 'deer' > Sard. kervu, cf. It. cervo

QUINQUE 'five' > Sard. kimbe, cf. It. cinque

Sardinian : gingiva (Nuoro, Lollove, Orani), gingia (Siniscola, Orosei, Dorgali, Posada), ingia (Busachi).

Sardinian (x Italian): bendzias (Ploaghe); bendzia (Ozieri); sar vendzias (Bono); sal vendzias (Oschiri)

Sardinian (X Italian): dzindzia (Macomer, Scano, Sennariolo, Padria, Olmedo, Osilo, Senori, Lucas); dzendzia (S. Lussurgiu)

Sardinian (X Spanish): θenθia (Urzulei, Villagrande, Strisaile); θensia (Bauneu); sentsia (Perdas de Fogu, Tortoli); sintsia (Cagliari, Escalaplano, S. Nicolo Gerrei); sintsua (Mogoro, Samassi); sintsa (Villacidro, S. Antioco)

Sardinian Consonants

Tenues retained (Nuorese):

APEM 'bee' > Nu. ape, cf. Camp. abi

New mediae (Logudorese, Capmpidanese):[2]

LOCUM 'place' > Camp. Log. logu, cf. Nu. loku

PRom. *-ll-, *-ld- > Sard. -ḍḍ-:

VILLA 'town' > Sard. biḍḍa cf. It. villa

SOLIDUS 'money' > Sard. soḍḍu cf. It. soldo

Cf. BELLU 'pretty', MOLLE 'soft' > Sic. beḍḍu, moḍḍu

PRom. *pl-, *fl-, *cl- > Sard. pr-, fr-, cr-:

PLATEA 'street' > Sard. pratsa, cf. It. piazza

FLORE 'flower' > Sard. frore, cf. fiore

(EC)CLESIA 'church' > Sard. kresia cf. It. chiesa

[2] Sandhi: PORCUM > Camp. Log. *porku* vs. IPSUM PORCUM 'the pig' > *su borku*

*Cl- clusters

	PLANUS	CLAVE	FLORE
CSard.	[pr]anu	[kr]abi	[fr]ore
Log.	[pr]anu	[kr]ae	[fr]ore
Romn.	[pl]an	[k']eie	[fl]oare
Vegl.		[kl]uf	
Friul.	[pl]an	[kl]âf	[fl]or
Istr.	[pj]an	[tš]ave	[fj]ur
It.	[pj]ano	[kj]ave	[fj]ore
Eng.	[pl]aun	[kl]ev, [kl]av	[fl]ur
Friul.	[pl]ain	[kl]é	[fl]eur
Occ.	[pl]a	[kl]au	[fl]or
Cat.	[pl]a	[kl]au	[fl]or
Sp.	[ʎ]ano	[ʎ]ave	[fl]or
Ast.	[j]anu	[j]anu	[fl]or
Moz.	[pl]an	[kl]aw	[fl]orentsija
Port.	[tš]ao	[tš]ave	[fl]or

Sardinian Consonants

Merger of *-b- and *-v-:

*VOLERE 'want' > Sard. bolere, cf. Cat. voler

Prothesis:

STELLA 'star' > Log. isteḍḍu, cf. Sp. estrella

ROTA 'wheel' > Camp. arroda

ROMA > Basq. Erroma

ROTA 'wheel' > Gasc. arròda

*-kw-, *-gw- > Sard. -b-/-bb-:

AQUA 'water' > Sard. abba, cf. It. acqua

LINGUA 'language' > Sard. limba, cf. It lingua

VLat. *-LY-, *-RY-, *-NY- > OSard. dž > Sard. (d)z:

OLEU 'oil' > Sard. odzu

MOLINARIU 'miller' > Sard. molinarzu

TESTIMONIU 'testimony' > Sard. testimonzu

Sardinian Consonants

SPICA ‘ear, spike’ $>$ Log. ?

ARGILLA ‘clay’ $>$ Nu. ?

FLORE ‘flower’ $>$ Camp. ?

CAVALLU ‘horse’ $>$ Nu. ?

OCLU ‘eye’ $>$ Nu. ?

HOMINE ‘man’ $>$ Camp. ?

RADIU ‘ray’ $>$ Nu.

Sardinian Morphology

Neutra preserved:

tempus ‘weather’, pecus ‘cattle’, latus ‘side’. (Camp. pl. in -us.)

Absence of i-plural:

lupu - lupos ‘wolf’, lupa - lupas ‘she-wolf’, cane - canes ‘dog’

Article derived from IPSU

Cf. m. su, sos, f. sa, sas. Cf. Cat. es, sa.

II conjugation merges with III:

TENĒRE ‘hold’ $>$ t’ennere, cf. It. tenere.

An archaic conjugation system:

Pres. ind. canto, -as, -at, -a(m)us, -ades, -ant
Perf. ind. OSard. canta(v)i, -asti, -a(v)it, -avimus, -astis, -arunt
Fut. OSard. aet facher $<$ HABET FACERE
Impf. ind. OSard. edificarent (AEDIFICARENT), ponerent (PONERENT)
Strong PPP. tentu (TENTU), frissu (FRIXU), lintu (LINCTU)

Negative imperative replaced by probihitive:

no benzas! ‘don’t come!’, cf. Sp. ino vengas!

Sardinian Lexicon

Archaisms:

VETERE - VETERE, Sard. vetere 'old' (VECLU)
ALBU - ALBU, Sard. albu 'white' (BLANCU)

Shared with Berber:

SUBULA 'awl' > Berb. ti-subla
PIRU 'pear' > Berb. ti-firest

LACARTA 'lizard' > ti-likerta

Shared with Basque:

Sard. zerru, Ba. zerri 'pig'
Sard. sekaju, Ba. zekail 'lamb'
(Prothesis in front of *r)

Shared with Sicilian:

(Retroflexivization of *-ll-) Proparoxytona in -VnarV:

Palaeosardinian (Nuragic) Substratum



Sardinian: Example

Et in custu tempus in sa insula de Sardigna regnabat pro Juyghe et Signore de su Regnu de Logudore su christianissimu Constantinu, figiu, qui fuit de Juyghe Mariane quondam, una cum sa prudente de Deu devota donna Marcusa, mugiere sua, sa quale fuit de Arvare de su samben de Gunale.

Condaghe ($<$ Gr. kontakion, 11th c.),
Codex diplomaticus Sardiniae, I 192sq.

Sardinian: Example

‘Serata rossa o tramontana o acqua.’

Gallurese	séra ruya o tramontana o èa
Logudorese	sèro irruyδu o δramontana o abba
Nuorese	séro rruyu o éntu o abba
Campidanese	mériδi arrubyu o tramontana o akkwa

Bec (1971: 208)

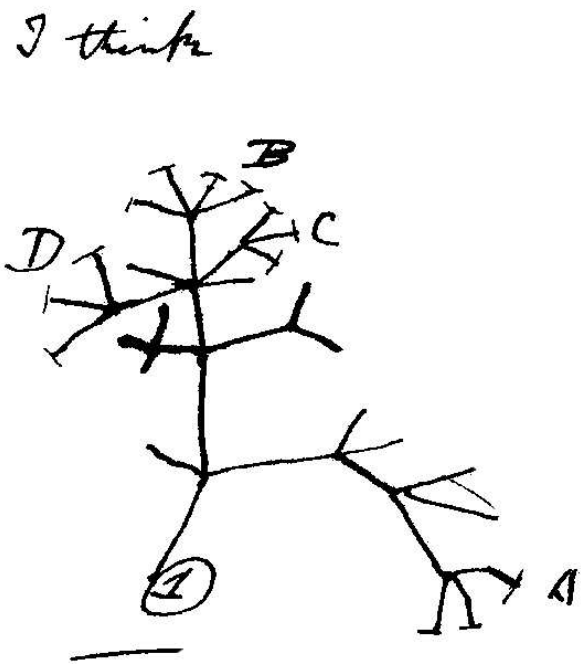
Classification of Dalmatian and Sardinian

Intro

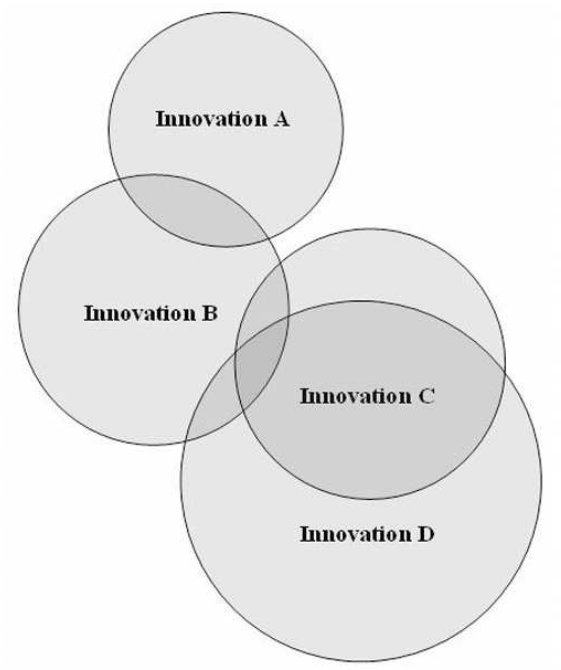
Classification:

1. genetic
2. typological

Models:



VS.



F. Diez's Model (1836-44)

East Romance

Romanian

Italian

North-West Romance

French

Provençal, incl. Catalan

South-West group

Spanish, incl. Asturian-Leonese and Aragonese

Portuguese

Comm.

1. Dalmatian, Istriot and Franco-Provençal not yet known;
2. Sardinian and Rhaeto-Romance not included - not Schriftsprachen.

W. Meyer-Lübke's Model (1920)

Balkan-Romance

- Romanian
- Dalmatian

Italo-Romance

- Italian

Rhaeto-Romance

- Friulian
- Ladin
- Romansh

Gallo-Romance

- French
- Occitan, incl. Catalan

Ibero-Romance

- Spanish, incl. Asturian-Leonese and Aragonese
- Portuguese

Comm.

1. Based on arbitrary criteria (by author's own admission); 2. First to include

M.G Bartoli's Model (1903, 1906)

Apennino-Balkan Romance

- Italian
- Romanian
- Albano-Romanian
- Dalmatian

Pyrenaeo-Alpine Romance

- Rhaeto-Romance
- French
- Provençal
- Spanish
- Portuguese

Comm.

Largely based on substrates; other criteria include development of intervocalic stops and final -S, extent of palatalization, positioning of possessive pronouns etc. Also proposed: Illyro-Romance (Muljačić)

W. von Wartburg's Model

East Romance Romanian, Dalmatian, Italian

West Romance French, Spanish...

Separated by La Spezia-Rimini line (Massa-Senigallia line).

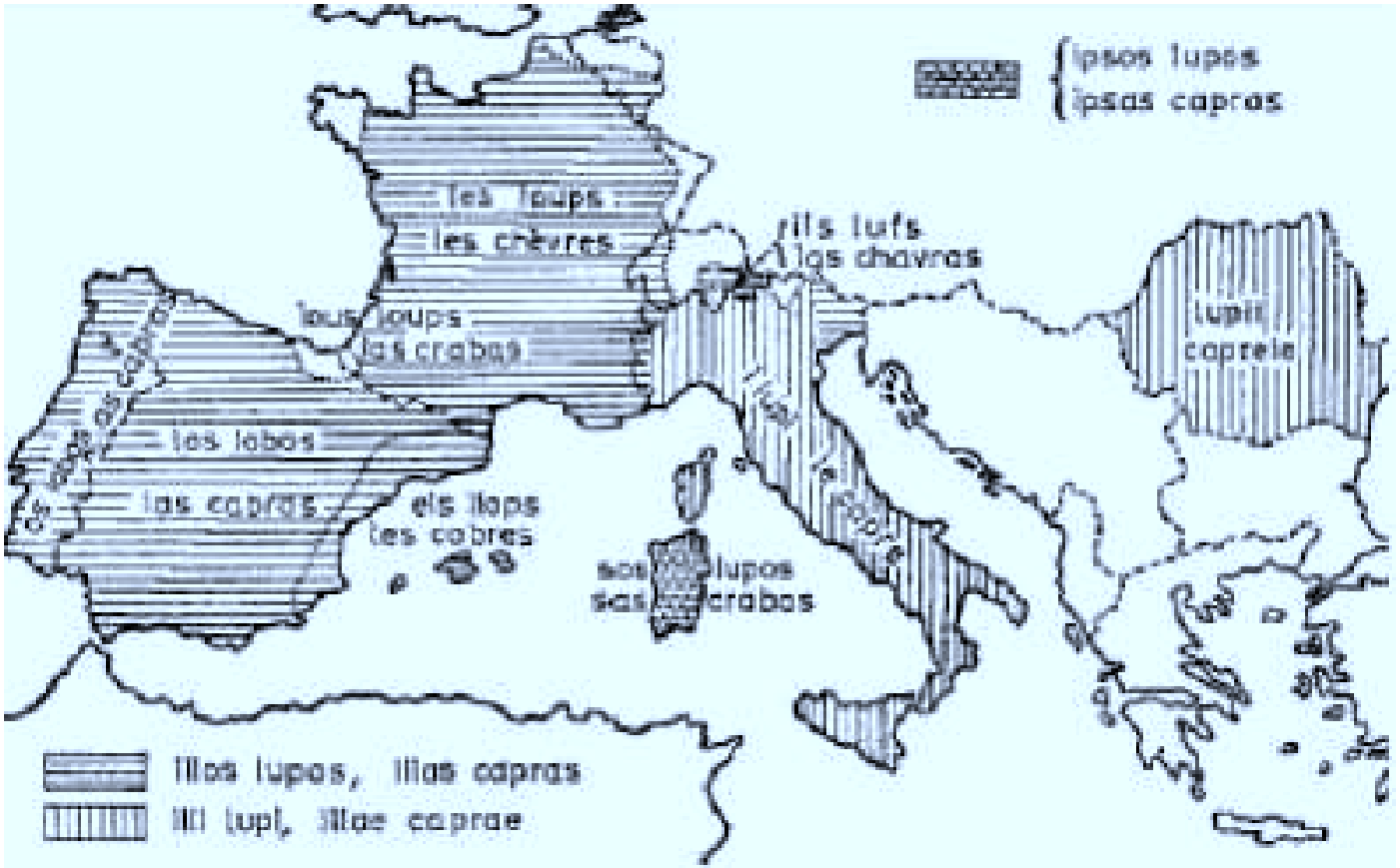
Criteria:

	Loss of -S	Sonorization of -P-, -T-, -K-
East Romance	+	-
West Romance	-	+
Sard., Arag., Gascon	-	-

Comm.

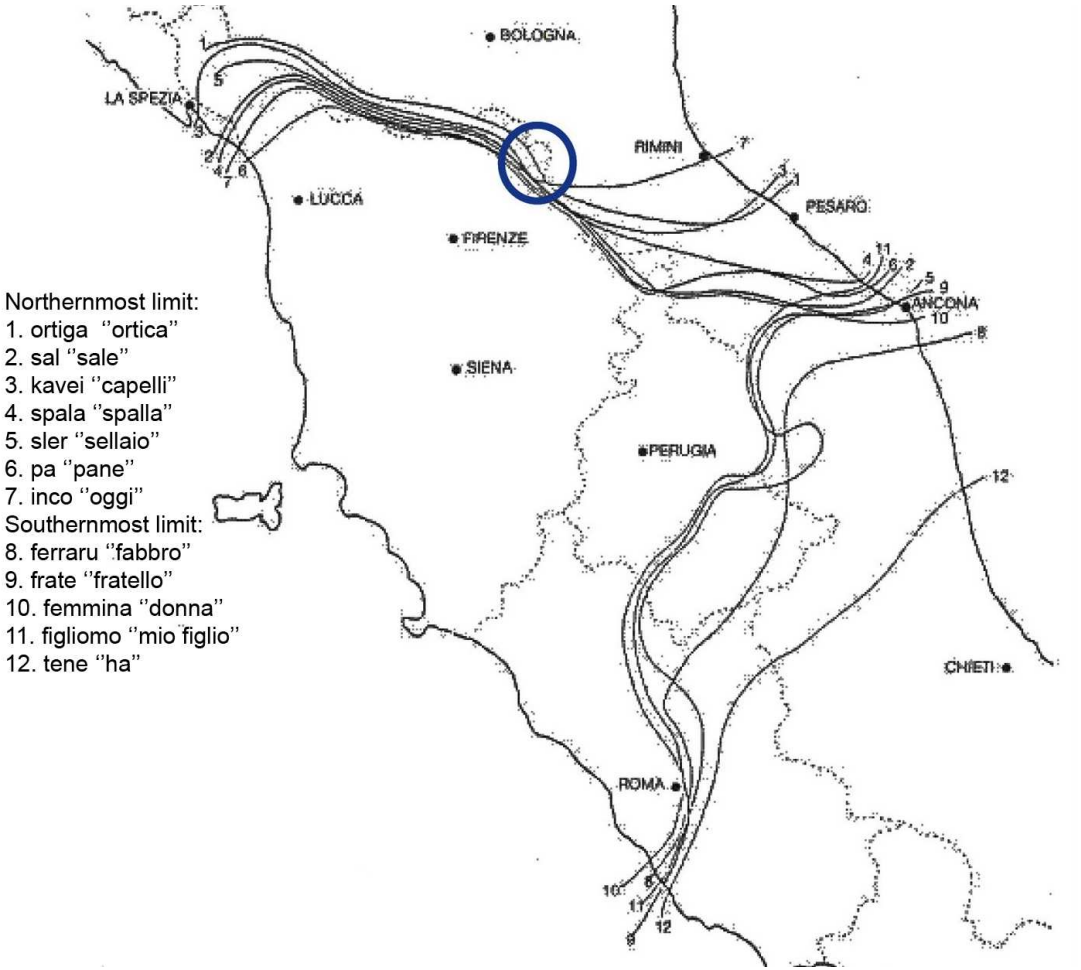
1. Bartoli already used both criteria;
2. Politzer showed that the sonorization in the North Italy was rather recent;
3. Fricativization in ERom. as well, cp. *gorgia toscana*: MATURU $>$ *maθuro*;
4. in Sardinian too, cp. NEPOTE, SECARE $>$ *neβoδe, seγare* (Campidanese, Logudorese).

Bartoli's and von Wartburg's Model



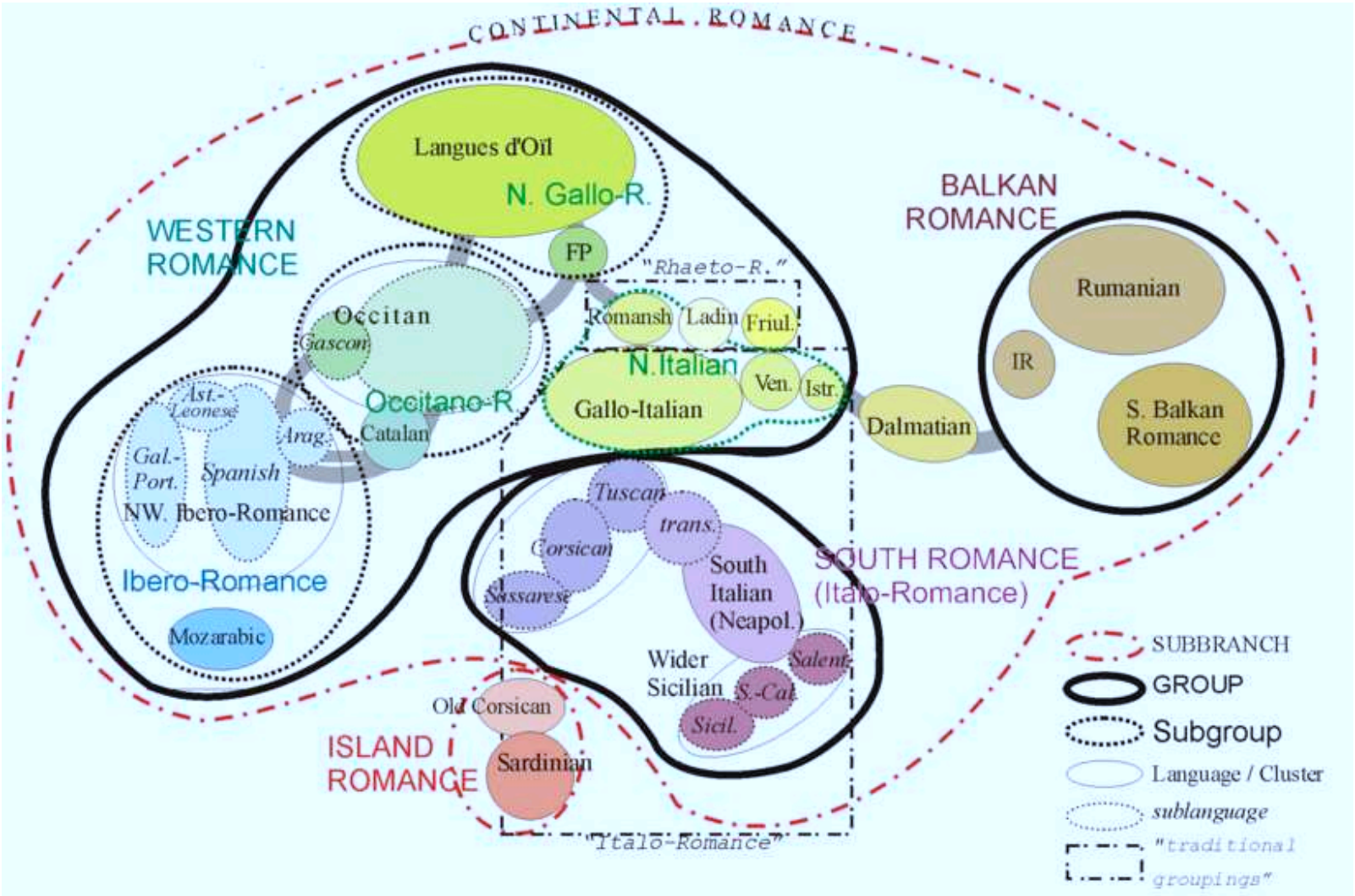
The article and the reflexes of Lat. -S in East and West Romania

Classification: La Spezia-Rimini line



Cf. Allières (2001: 265)

Conclusion



Cf. Koryakov (2001)