Negative microfilm received from university

65-11,016

REDFERN, James Gerald, 1930-
A LEXICAL STUDY OF RAETO-ROMANCE AND CONTIGUOUS ITALIAN DIALECT AREAS.

The University of Michigan, Ph. D., 1965
Language and Literature, linguistics

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

A LEXICAL STUDY OF RAETO-ROMANCE AND CONTIGUOUS ITALIAN DIALECT AREAS

by
James Gerald Redfern

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan
1965

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Ernst Pulgram, Chairman
Professor W. H. Bennett
Associate Professor F. F. Gray
Professor L. B. Kiddle
Associate Professor Ladislav Matejka

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is the result of several academic interests which I developed under the guidance of four professors of Romance Linguistics in the University of Michigan between 1960 and 1963.

To Visiting Professor Alwin Kuhn of the University of Innsbruck I owe my introduction to the field of Raeto-Romance studies, and to his enthusiasm and high competence in this area I credit my own initial interest in it.

Professor Robert L. Politzer, now of Stanford University, was the first to demonstrate for me the linguistic atlas and its potential as a research tool, and to point out, subsequent to his own field work in the Val di Non in 1962, some of the limitations as well as the enduring advantages of the AIS.

My approach to the subject--the inclusion of historical and geographical as well as linguistic data in the dissertation--reflects a research philosophy I owe to Visiting Professor Hans E. Keller, presently at the Rijksuniversiteit in Utrecht. It was he who suggested a lexical investigation of Raeto-Romance, who insisted on depth and completeness of research, and whose patient hours of personal guidance gave shape and direction to a pretty formidable body of data-cards

and maps.

To Professor Ernst Pulgram, more than to any other individual, I credit my general formation as a student of Romance linguistics in all its varied aspects, from the pre-Italic dialects to spectrography and modern phonemic theory. Professor Pulgram has seen this dissertation through its final stages--rereading drafts, supplementing and correcting facts, eliminating inconsistencies, and contributing immeasurably to the over-all effectiveness of style and language.

I want finally to express gratitude to Professor Jakob Urech of Niederhallwil who kindly provided a copy of his Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Mundart der Val Calanca, which proved most helpful in my work.

Without the help of these scholars, this study would not have been possible in its present form, and I thank them here for their expert and understanding assistance.

J.G.R.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS v

PART I

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. THE RAETI AND RAETIA 9

III. TERMINOLOGY 14

IV. THE LINGUISTIC STATUS OF RAETO-ROMANCE . 18

PART II

V. TRANSITIONAL ZONES 23

VI. EASTERN RAETO-ROMANCE 45

VII. CENTRAL RAETO-ROMANCE 56

VIII. WESTERN RAETO-ROMANCE 67

IX. LEXICAL STATISTICS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS 101

ABBREVIATIONS 108

BIBLIOGRAPHY 110

NOTES 117

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	Base Map	5
2.	Geographical Map Corresponding to Figure 1	6
3.	Transitional Zones	25
4.	The Ticino	29
5.	Transitional Zones: East-Lombardian/Raeto-Romance	33
6.	Transitional Zones: Venetian/Central Raeto-Romance	39
7.	Transitional Zones: Venetian/ Eastern Raeto-Romance	41
8.	The Raeto-Romance Domain	43
9.	Eastern Raeto-Romance	46
10.	Internal Distribution of Eastern Raeto-Romance Words	48
11.	Distribution of Supplementary Eastern Raeto-Romance Words	50
12.	Eastern Raeto-Romance Lexical Concentration	53
13.	Political Units: Provinces	55
14.	Ecclesiastical Units: Dioceses	55
15.	Central Raeto-Romance	57
16.	Internal Distribution of Central Raeto-Romance Words	60
17.	Internal Distribution of Supplementary Central Raeto-Romance Words	62
18.	Central Raeto-Romance Lexical Concentration	63

19. Western Raeto-Romance 68

20. Internal Division of AIS Points within Western Raeto-Romance 69

21. Internal Distribution of Selected Western Raeto-Romance Words 72

22. Percentage of Departure from Western Raeto-Romance Lexical Base 74

23. Percentage of Departure from Selvan Lexical Base . 86

24. Ecclesiastical Divisions within Western Raeto-Romance 93

25. Etymological Sources of Raeto-Romance Words . . 101

26. Basic Semantic Categories of Raeto-Romance Words 105

Part One

I. Introduction

Since the appearance of G. I. Ascoli's "Saggi ladini,"[1] there have been numerous and frequently conflicting attempts to establish the position of the Raeto-Romance (RR) dialects within the family of Romance languages. Ascoli himself was of the opinion that the original Latin of the area had survived as an individual type of Romance speech.[2] Carlo Battisti, inspired perhaps by ideas more nationalistic than linguistically sound, maintained that "i dialetti ladini dell' Ascoli si devono . . . aggregare come periferici agli altri dialetti italiani; . . . che non esiste e non è mai esistita un'unità linguistica particolare grigione-dolomitica-friulana dal Reno al Risano."[3]

At the present time, the position taken by Ascoli and his supporters enjoys more general acceptance, yet their definition, in line with the historical school of thought prevalent in their day, is based chiefly on phonological criteria. Since this phonological definition represents but a single point of view, I have attempted to approach the problem in another way, namely, on grounds of lexicology.

---

[1] AGI 1(1873)1-556. (All subsequent footnotes, arranged and numbered by chapters, are on pp. 117-131.)

Such an approach is not new to Romance studies. Toward the end of the last century, Friedrich Diez sought to describe in lexical terms the divisions among the Romance languages,[4] and Gustav Gröber attempted shortly thereafter to discover the cause of lexical innovation.[5] Serious attention to geographical factors led Matteo Bartoli to outline in the 'twenties certain principles of spatial linguistics in which the chronological relationship between pairs of lexemes (e.g. plus - magis), the reasons underlying the rise and adoption of the displacing item, and the geographical centers from which such innovations emanate were worked out in detail according to a series of "area norms."[6] These norms were based on consideration of lexically contrasting areas in the Romance world, their geographical isolation, comparative size, and chronology of colonization. Later critics of Bartoli's method, such as Gerhard Rohlfs, questioned the soundness of conclusions reached by means of the scholar's own normative criteria, reproaching as well his partiality and oversimplification with regard to lexical problems of great complexity.[7] It must be remembered, however, that Bartoli's work was undertaken before most of the great Romance linguistic atlases had been compiled.

The present lexical study is based primarily on the maps of K. Jaberg and J. Jud's Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz, Zofingen, 1928-1940, normally referred to as the AIS. The atlas reflects the lexical status of the RR areas between 1919 and 1926, that is, the time during which field work for those areas was accom-

plished.

A careful search through the 1705 maps and charts of the AIS discloses more than 500 maps which are characterized by the occurrence, in the northernmost, Alpine regions, of lexical items which delineate a linguistic zone distinct from the Lombardic and Venetian dialect areas which lie immediately to the south. This separate linguistic zone stretches from the St. Gotthard Pass in the Swiss canton of Grisons eastward along a somewhat discontinuous and irregularly shaped belt as far as Gorizia, a city in northeastern Italy on the Italo-Yugoslavian border. It is the lexicon of this general area, then, which is the object of investigation, and a number of the 500 pertinent maps just mentioned have been selected to exemplify not only the RR area in its entirety, but also the smaller geographical and linguistic units of which it is composed.

Since it is a question here of a Romance-speaking area surrounded by German, Slavic, and Romance speakers, it is not surprising to observe a rather sharply drawn linguistic border on the Austrian, Swiss German, and Yugoslavian sides, in contrast with vague delimitations and broad transitional zones along the Italian front. Supporting Gaston Paris' belief that within one language or language family well-defined dialect boundaries do not exist,[8] Theodor Gartner wrote in 1910:

> Wo unsere mundarten mit den italienischen benachbart sind, da gibt es begreiflicherweise übergangs- und mischmundarten, während gegen das deutsche und das slawische sprachgebiet die

> grenzen scharf gezogen und nur im lauf der zeit einer verrückung ausgesetzt sind. Die schärfe und bestimmtheit der begrenzung hängt auch noch davon ab, ob die sprachgrenze offen, durch kein verkehrshindernis gestützt ist, oder mit einer natürlichen, oder wenigstens einer politischen grenze zusammenfällt.[9]

Accordingly, among the lexical examples contained in this study will be found words which, although basic to the RR area, are nevertheless attested, sporadically, well to the south. Into this category go such items as ˈkalúnˈ [10] (It. anca) attested at Medola, south of Ravenna; ˈšplémˈ (It. milza) attested in Sardinia; and ˈsúgaˈ (It. corda) attested below the Po at Sologno, west of Bologna. Occasional attestations such as these do not, of course, allow postulation of a vast RR domain encompassing Sardinia, or even the Po valley; in this study, the tenuous southern boundary of the RR territory has been drawn rather in terms of the relative frequency of lexical items.

The base map (Fig. 1) used during the initial research for this work exceeded generously and intentionally the estimated RR area in order to provide ample space for a visual display of lexical zones of transition, corridors of linguistic innovation, and patterns of dialectal influence emanating from powerful cultural and economic centers, such as Venice or Milan. In the later stages of analysis, however, the region north of the Po was found to be in itself sufficiently broad to include all such lexical features of RR and adjacent (Italian) dialect areas as might be pertinent to this investigation. Figure 2 is a geographic representation of the general area included in Figure 1.

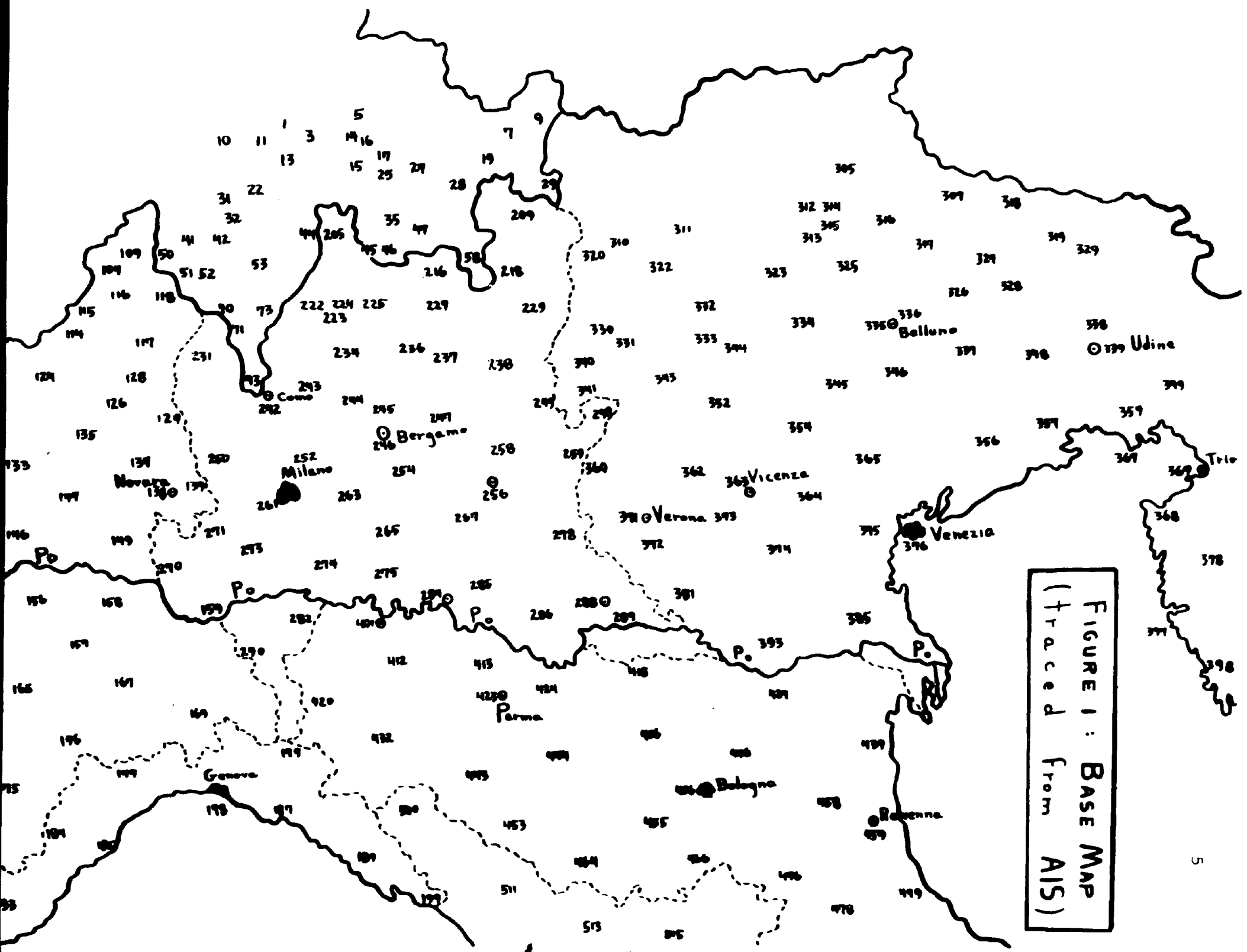
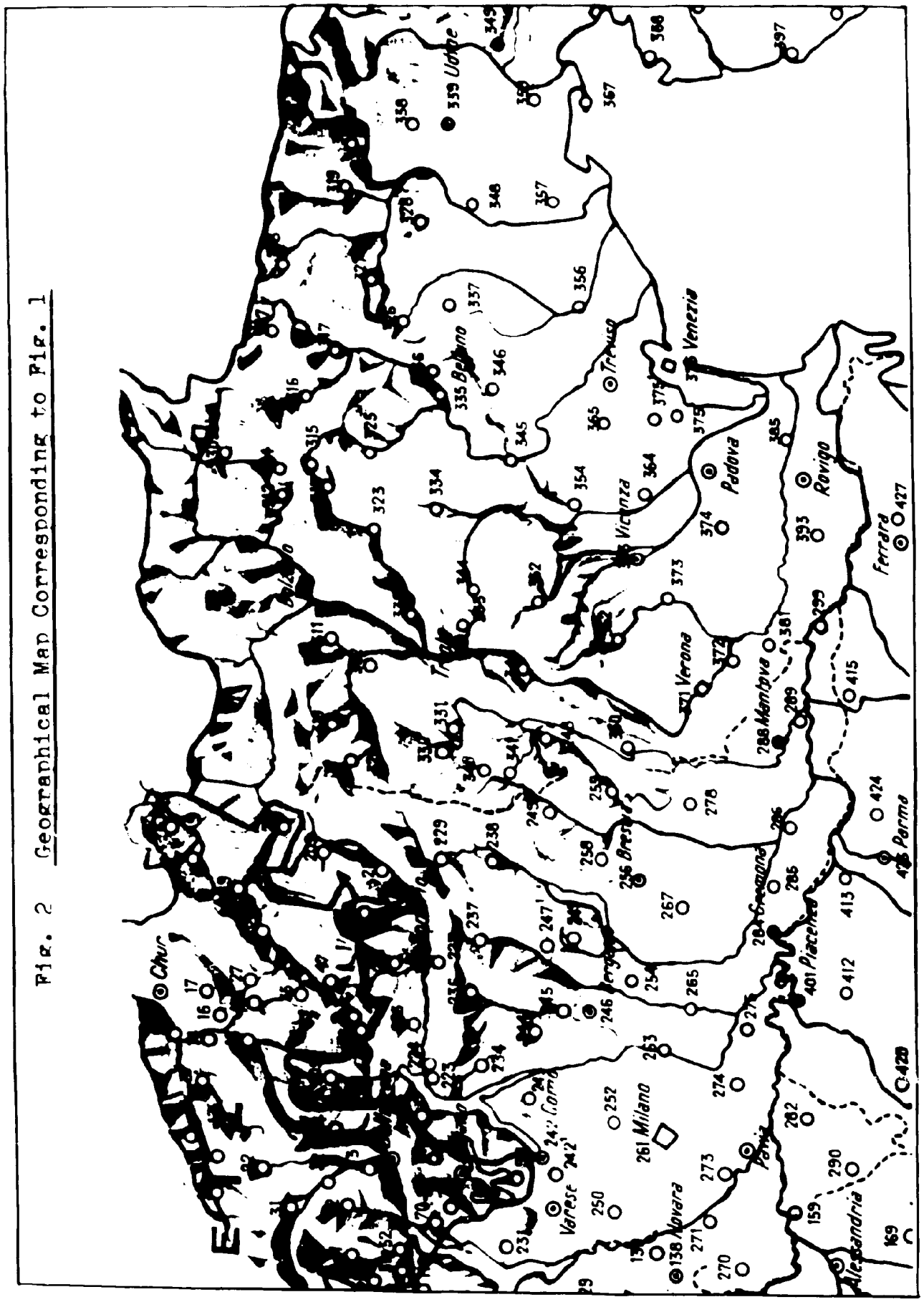


FIGURE 1: BASE MAP (traced from AIS)

Fig. 2 Geographical Map Corresponding to Fig. 1



Concerning the reliability of the AIS as a source of representative lexical data, there is the question of whether the network of points is fine enough to prevent important words from passing through undetected. Jaberg and Jud tried to answer this question by studying the results of investigations made by independent scholars in the same area as the AIS, but not at precisely at the same points.[11] Comparison showed a good deal of agreement in the lexicon; nevertheless, some of the words brought to light by detailed studies clearly escaped the AIS network. The same result was observed when dialect dictionaries by Bertoldi and Merlo were consulted for comparison. The co-authors of the AIS concluded therefore that "die Detailforschung wird die Angaben der Sprachatlanten immer in sehr willkommener Weise ergänzen und vervollständigen."[12] In keeping with this view, and in order to update the AIS material where possible, I have at times supplemented the basic source with relevant linguistic articles and monographs. It is interesting to observe that atlases subsequent to the AIS have in fact been mostly of the regional type, as first suggested by A. Dauzat, in order to permit much more detailed coverage.[13]

There is also the question of just how characteristic the performance of a single informant is of the local dialect.[14] Jaberg and Jud chose points in the AIS which had previously been studied by competent investigators such as Battisti, Salvioni, and Morosi. Their findings were then compared with those of two of the AIS field workers, G. Rohlfs and P. Scheuermeier. Whereas the use of a single informant

per point showed quite a bit of phonological fluctuation, only seven out of 160 compared words failed to correspond lexically. This means a correspondence in terms of the lexicon of just over 95 per cent, and attests to a high degree of reliability in one-informant responses.

Dialects which are scattered over a mountainous terrain have, I believe, to be studied in relation to this important geographical circumstance. By the same token, a serious study of the RR dialects cannot fail to take into account the historical traditions of the Alpine and northern Italian peoples. It is, therefore, against a geographical and historical background that I present my lexical findings in terms of their frequency, distribution, and typology. I hope that this procedure will result in a contribution to a more accurate understanding of a problematic area in Romance studies.

II. The Raeti and Raetia

Just who the Raeti of antiquity were and where they came from has long been, and still is, largely a matter of conjecture. The name itself is a collective term which refers to a group of tribes formerly found in the upper valley of the Rhine from the lofty mountains of the Swiss canton of Grisons to Lake Constance. They are described as a "fierce and warlike people, organized in ciuitates; their hamlets were perched upon the hilltops and their country was given up to pasture or --as to this day--to the cultivation of the famous Raetica uua, and also produced timber (especially larch), resin, pitch, honey, wax, and cheese."[1]

Although these tribes of the Upper Rhine made occasional forays into the Po plain, they were not in close contact with Roman civilization until 15 B. C., when they were conquered by Drusus and Tiberius, stepsons of Augustus, and incorporated into the expanding Empire.[2]

Historical mention of the Raeti is first made in an account of the Alpine passes written by Polybius, a Greek historian of the second century B. C. Latin authorities claim that the Raeti were actually Etruscans who had been driven from the Po valley into the Alps, there to be isolated by the invasions of the Gauls. Concluding a discussion

of Etruscan expansion, Livy asserts dogmatically that among the Alpine peoples unquestionably descended from the Etruscans were the Raeti who, because of the rough terrain, went wild and retained only the contaminated relics of the sounds of their original language.[3] This view became somewhat traditional by virtue of reiteration by Pompeius Trogus[4] and Pliny,[5] the latter of whom also provided scholars with a list of the names of Raetic tribes, among which names currently used in the Italian Tyrol are recognizable.[6]

"Livy says the Raeti were of Etruscan origin. I say that they were not."[7] With this statement Whatmough takes a position contrary to that of classical authority, a position supported, moreover, by a greater number of reliable sources than Livy could have had access to in his time. Toponymy, for example, does not at all sustain the theory of Etruscan origin; Whatmough long ago made a complete collection of ancient Raetic place names and found no trace in it of Etruscan influence. Less exclusive than this toponymical evidence is that proferred by the archaeologists.[8] From it, Whatmough concludes that "it is admissible to regard the Raeti as Etruscanized, probably at second-hand, but, so far as the available archaeological evidence goes, not as Etruscan by blood and race."[9]

The tendency to link the Raeti with the Veneti, a name given to inhabitants of a district in the north of ancient Italy, is not uncommon in historical and linguistic scholarship. This supposed kinship is based partly on written evidence, for in both Raetic and Venetic inscriptions

certain linguistic parallels are observed, notably the presence in each of apparently meaningful puncts.[10] At least one modern Italian scholar places the language of the Raeti among the non-Indo-European tongues: "Il Retico, per quel poco che ne sappiamo, appare come una lingua certamente anaria (cioè non indoeuropea), affine alle lingue preindoeuropee del bacino del Mediterraneo, che formano una lunga catena dai Pirenei al Caucaso, e solo più tardi etruschizzata."[11]

The qualification "per quel poco che ne sappiamo" is quite appropriate, considering the fragmentary nature and the brevity of most Raetic inscriptions, to say nothing of the consequent difficulties in deciphering them. They are, however, geographically distributed in such a way as to suggest a division of the Raetian territory into three parts; alphabetic variations support this tripartition, and "one or two linguistic peculiarities serving to distinguish the third or westerly group may also be observed."[12]

In terms of culture, the inscriptions are considered by some to be representative not of Alpine but of northern Italian civilization: "Die Südalpentäler gehörten kulturell zu Oberitalien, daher sind die dort gefundenen Inschriften im Kapitel Tessin aufgeführt."[13] Viewed as lexical landmarks, the Raetic inscriptions contain very little of substance which is trustworthy.

Just as the territory inhabited by the Raeti is difficult to circumscribe with certainty, so is the Roman province of Raetia, (the name of which is of course derived from the name Raeti), although

somewhat less so.[14] In approximate terms, Raetia corresponded to what is now Grisons, most of the Austrian and Italian Tyrol, and part of Lombardy. It was bounded on the west by the land of the Helvetii,[15] on the east by Noricum (Austria), on the north by Vindelicia (Bavaria), and on the south by Cisalpine Gaul.

From its establishment fifteen years before the Christian era until the Germanic invasions of the fifth century, Raetia was an important segment of the Empire and the center of much activity. The province lay athwart two vital commercial and military routes. One great Roman road system stretched from Verona to Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum) by way of Trento (Tridentum), the Brenner Pass, and Innsbruck (the Roman station of Veldidena). The other principal road system linked Bregenz (Brigantium) on Lake Constance with Milan (Mediolanum) via Chur,[16] Chiavenna, and Como. A great deal of linguistic and cultural exchange accompanied the material traffic along these routes, even though they were but secondary roads when compared with such arteries as the one connecting Lyon (Lugdunum) and Cologne (Colonia Agrippina).

Inscriptions from Roman times are so far non-existent, according to some authorities: "In den zur heutigen Schweiz gehörenden alpinen Gebieten der Provinz Raetien ist bisher noch keine erhaltene Inschrift römischer Zeit zutagegekommen."[17]

Raetia was affected perhaps more profoundly than any other Romanized area by the relentless onslaughts of Germanic invaders.

Between 455 and 480 A. D., the Alemanni, one of two Germanic tribes to sweep across Raetia, entered Alsace and occupied that part of Switzerland which lies north of the Alps. Comparatively sluggish in their initial attacks of the fifth century, but moving in large numbers thereafter, were the eastern neighbors of the Alemanni, the Baiuwarii, who spearheaded a southward invasion which eventually separated the western and central areas of RR. From the thirteenth century onward, descendants of the Alemanni are found in valleys south of the Alps, in the vicinity of Gressoney, Pomat, Lugnez, and Davos. And today, as we shall see, the discontinuity of the RR territory is due in many cases to intrusive wedges or detached islands of German-speaking descendants of these former invaders.

III. Terminology

There is no precise and universally acceptable term with which to label the broad area referred to thus far as the Raeto-Romance territory. A variety of terms has, therefore, come into use, and a brief review of them is necessary in order to understand the inconsistent terminology relating to this area.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the dialects in the Swiss canton of Grisons began to be written, the term Romaunsch, spelled thus and in various other ways, was widely adopted by inhabitants of that canton to refer to their (newly literary) language. Nevertheless, there remained certain areas inside that canton where Romaunsch was not used: in a part of the Engadine, the valley of the upper Inn river, the indigenous term for the dialect was ladino (<latīnus). This name, moreover, happened to be indigenous also among speakers in the Badia valley in southern Tyrol, northeast of Bolzano, and far to the east of the Engadine territory.

Ladino was first generalized by Josef Haller, who introduced it into scholarly literature to refer to zones much broader than these two separated valleys.[1] The use of this term has been attacked for three chief reasons: (1) as a general term for the RR dialects, ladino fails to convey its previous, indigenous meaning applicable only to

certain dialects of the Inn and Gadera river valleys; (2) as an adjective, ladino has come to mean 'nimble' or 'quick-witted' in several Romance dialects, and is therefore subject to misunderstanding; (3) as a noun, ladino has long been used to refer to the speech of the Jews who, before the Inquisition, inhabited Spain and Portugal, the so-called Sephardim, whose descendants are today scattered chiefly around the northern and eastern Mediterranean. These arguments have not, however, influenced Italian scholars. Ever since G. I. Ascoli published the first detailed phonological study of the RR dialects,[2] calling them 'i dialetti ladini,' this term has prevailed in Italian scholarship on this subject.

The first scholar to study the dialects in the vicinity of the Dolomites referred to them as raetoladinisch, a name which has not reappeared in subsequent literature.[3] In an early attempt to describe accurately the linguistic unity he was the first to observe, Christian Schneller compounded the term friaulisch-ladinisch-churwälscher Sprachkreis, obviously too unwieldy a designation to serve scholars conveniently.[4]

The most widely used term at the present time is Raeto-Romance, the first part of which displays in English a variety of spellings. This word occurred at least as early as 1848,[5] and received the support of Theodor Gartner, one of the major contributors to our knowledge of the RR dialects, especially those spoken in and around the Dolomites.[6] By rhaetoromanisch the Swiss people meant originally to designate only the dialects of the Grisons, bringing to mind the

'Rhaetians,' as the peoples of the Gray League and the Gotteshausbund called themselves when, at the end of the fifteenth century, they became allies of the Swiss confederation.[7] Later, this meaning was extended to include the various dialects of Tyrol, which implies an historical justification based on the Roman province of Raetia, which extended eastward as far as the Dolomites. Finally, an additional extension of the meaning allowed the inclusion of the Friulan spoken in the northern Italian province of Udine. This final connotation has been attacked on the grounds that the Friulan area was never a part of Raetia; therefore, the term Raeto-Romance implies an administrative relationship which never existed. Supporters of the term argue, however, that the Friulan dialects deserve to be included in the designation for reasons both linguistic and historic. The pertinent linguistic reasons will be commented on in the dialectal portion of this study. Historically, this eastern portion of the RR territory was settled by Latin speakers of Noricum (Austria) fleeing before the attacks of the Slavs. In Langobard times (about 600-800 A. D.), Latin speakers who had previously fled the territory in the face of invasions by the Goths and Huns gradually spread their culture, including their language, back over the Friulan plain.

The term Raeto-Romance has been used throughout the German scholarship--which is the most profuse--except for a comparatively recent attempt by Ernst Gamillscheg to avoid the historical and cultural inexactitudes by means of the designation Alpine Romance.[8] This al-

ternative is itself, however, inexact in the geographical sense, because it brings to mind Franco-Provençal, Piedmontese, and other Romance dialects which are spoken in the Alps, but outside the linguistic domain in question; Gamillscheg's term neglects, moreover, the area around the city of Udine where RR is spoken in the plain.

I shall continue to use the term Raeto-Romance for my purposes here, dividing it geographically, when necessary, into three parts: Western (Grisons), Central (near the Dolomites), and Eastern (around Udine). The boundaries between these three areas will be worked out in detail and fully illustrated in lexical terms in the main body of this dissertation.

IV. The Linguistic Status of Raeto-Romance

Just as the inhabitants of the three RR areas have never developed a general name covering their various dialects, neither have they ever shared a single literary language, nor at any time formed a political unity.[1] Still, there are grounds on which a number of scholars base the unity and interdependence of the three zones. Their reasons are linguistic--chiefly phonological--and concern a greater number of shared phenomena than can be assumed to have come about independently and by chance.

Two or three main phonological traits do indeed characterize all the RR dialects, but they are not features unique to RR alone: most of them are found in varying degrees in the neighboring Gallo-Italian or Franco-Provençal dialects as well. These unifying features are: (1) preservation of final -s,[2] (2) retention of initial cluster consonant+l-, (3) palatalization of velar stops before a. The first two features are conservative in nature, and provide the most effective argument against classification of RR among the Italian dialects; all three features are typical of Gallo-Romance.

A controversy has developed over whether RR is related more to Gallo-Romance or to Italo-Romance. Caspar Pult and others judge RR to be closer to Gallo-Romance.[3] Carlo Tagliavini, on the other

hand, presents phonetic data to demonstrate that RR and Gallo-Romance are not of the same origin, and that wherever phonological features coincide, "questa [concordanza di evoluzione] è avvenuta in modo ed epoche indipendenti."[4] Seeking rather to show the unity of the RR domain than the extent of its relationship with another Romance language, G. I. Ascoli based his views on a number of phonological and morphological resemblances.[5] He viewed the transitional areas between RR and contiguous northern Italian dialects as instances of chronologically different strata, the older RR lying partially submerged beneath Lombardic or Venetian superstrata.

Unity among the RR areas is rejected by a number of scholars, mostly Italian nationals, whose spokesman has long been Carlo Battisti, a specialist in Tridentine dialectology.[6] As early as 1910, he wrote: "non v'ha . . . stacco tra le varietà ladine e le italiane, ma una zona di transizione variabile di fonema in fonema."[7] Not only does Battisti deny RR a place alongside other Romance languages, but he also refutes the whole idea of any historical or generic unity among the western, central, and eastern areas. For him, the western variety is directly related to the speech of Lombardy through transitional, Ladino-Lombardic zones of dialectal flux and intermixture. The central and eastern varieties, likewise, are to him but fringes of a powerful and expansive Venetian dialect.

Taking a stand nearer the middle ground, Walther von Wartburg concedes a definite RR unity, but chooses to describe it as a negative

unity which no longer manifests itself actively.[8]

In order to trace the tradition favoring unity and independence, a sampling of original commentary by adherents to this view will be presented. Theodor Gartner was among the first to take this position when he wrote as the opening sentence in his now famous Handbuch: "In den rätischen Alpen finden sich an der deutschen sprachgrenze einige mundarten vor, die sich nicht zum Italienischen schlagen lassen, obwohl sie südwärts an norditalienische mundarten grenzen."[9] In the initial volume of a prominent Italian learned journal, Clemente Merlo declared that "l'unità ladina a me par più salda che mai."[10] A specialist in the western RR dialects, and a native speaker of one of them, Caspar Pult, declared that RR is "eine für sich stehende besondere Sprache . . . die vom Italienischen sich scharf unterscheidet."[11] Elemér Vidos, a Hungarian by birth who has spent most of his scholarly life in Holland, recently affirmed "che non si può dubitare dell' unità, cioè della interdipendenza linguistica dei tre territori retoromanzi . . . È infatti accertato che le diversità nel campo della fonetica e del lessico tra le tre regioni retoromanze sono troppo piccole per poter dubitare della loro unità originaria."[12] He alludes in his conclusion to Battisti's theory: "Dunque, dato che non si può mettere in dubbio l'unità e indipendenza originaria dei dialetti retoromanzi, la tesi che nega questa indipendenza deve decisamente essere rifiutata, ciò che naturalmente non vuol dire che il retoromanzo non abbia delle strette corrispondenze sia con il galloromanzo che con l'italoromanzo."[13]

A more recent Italian opinion was expressed by Carlo Tagliavini, who wrote: "Per parte mia, ho cercato di dimostrare (Il dialetto del Comelico in ArchRom, X (1926), pp. 1-200; Il dialetto del Livinallongo, Bolzano, 1934; Studi linguistici ladino-veneti, Venezia, 1944,) che il Ladino, PUR AVENDO UNA SUA INNEGABILE UNITÀ, è strettamente connesso coll'Alto-italiano e che l'area di parecchie voci caratteristiche ladine scende molto più a Sud di quanto si credeva. Tali risultati sono stati confermati dalle indagini sistematiche sul lessico dei dialetti ladino-veneti e veneto-alpini condotte negli ultimi anni dagli allievi dell'Istituto di Glottologia dell'Università di Padova."[14] (Capitals mine.)

Finally, and of primary importance to the lexical part of this study, there is the statement by R. von Planta in his review of the AIS:

> Ueber letzteres [i.e., das trotzig eigenartige Rätoromanische] stehen sich zwei Anschauungen gegenüber: die eine betrachtet mit Ascoli, Gartner u. A. das Rät. als selbständige Sprache neben dem It., die andere will im Rät. Graubündens nur einen besonders altertümlichen Dialekt des Lombardischen, im Osträtischen des Venezianisch sehen. Das bisher vorgebrachte Material genügte vielleicht noch nicht recht zur vollen Bestätigung der erstgenannten Ansicht, zu der auch Ref. sich bekennt. Schon der vorliegende Band des AIS macht aber den Eindruck einer kommenden Entscheidung im ersteren Sinne. Wie oft spannt sich im Kartenbilde jener Bogen zu den Westalpen! Wenn dahinter als grosses Reservoir Frankreich (nebst dem ausgestorbenen Romanisch nördlich der jetzigen rät. Ueberreste) steht, ist natürlich von italienischen Randrelikten keine Rede. Solche können nur in Frage kommen, wenn eine rät. Erscheinung lateinischen Ursprungs im grossen West-Nord-Blocke fehlt, was in diesem Bande nicht vorzukommen scheint.[15]

In the following pages of this dissertation, I shall attempt to lend lexical support to the phonological and morphological arguments

in favor of RR unity and independence.

Part Two

V. Transitional Zones

Looking page by page through the maps of the AIS, one does not get very far into Volume I before coming to a pattern of lexical data which is noticeably different from that of the preceding pages. Map number eighteen, for example, which shows local equivalents of the phrase 'our nephews,' is one such display. Throughout most of Italy, the response recorded beside the point numbers is one of the phonetic variants of standard Italian i nostri nipoti. In the north, however, principally in Switzerland and at a few neighboring points, the word nipoti is replaced by a completely different lexical item: beadis. On the following map, illustrating the phrase 'their uncle,' standard Italian zio gives way throughout the broad Po valley and its dependencies to the word barba. Contrasting with these widely used terms is the word awk, which is attested in the several communities dotting the valleys of the Vorderrhein and the Hinterrhein. Map number twenty--'their aunt'--exhibits standard Italian zia as the majority nominal response, while from the Ticino eastward to the Dolomites stretches a belt inside which onda, ameda, meda, etc., --all continuations of Latin amita--are commonly used.

Observations of this nature can be made in each volume of the AIS; approximately one-third of all the maps, in fact, display lexical contrast in the RR domain as against the north Italian dialects. Sometimes this contrast is extensive, uniting the western, central, and eastern RR zones by means of a single word. At other times only one of the zones, or even a part of one zone, may use a distinguishing word, while the rest of the RR area reflects in that instance the standard Italian response.

From the numerous possibilities, I have set aside only a certain number of AIS maps as most appropriate for illustrating in lexical terms the existence of a RR domain, its extent, and its importance. There is one village in Switzerland--Breil/Brigels, in the Upper Rhine valley--where nearly 50 per cent of these selected words occur. Down at the Po, in the town of Mantua, not a single one of them is attested. And there are intermediate figures at every point between these two extremes. Based on the study of these selected AIS maps, I propose to construct, word by word, the various RR areas, subdivisions, and transitional zones so that there results a lexical whole which will vary in relief and dimension and contrast.

In the introductory chapters, the RR domain was described in vague terms as consisting of the Swiss canton of Grisons, the northern Italian areas around the Dolomites, and of the province of Udine. Figure 3 presents in more exact detail the increasing fre-

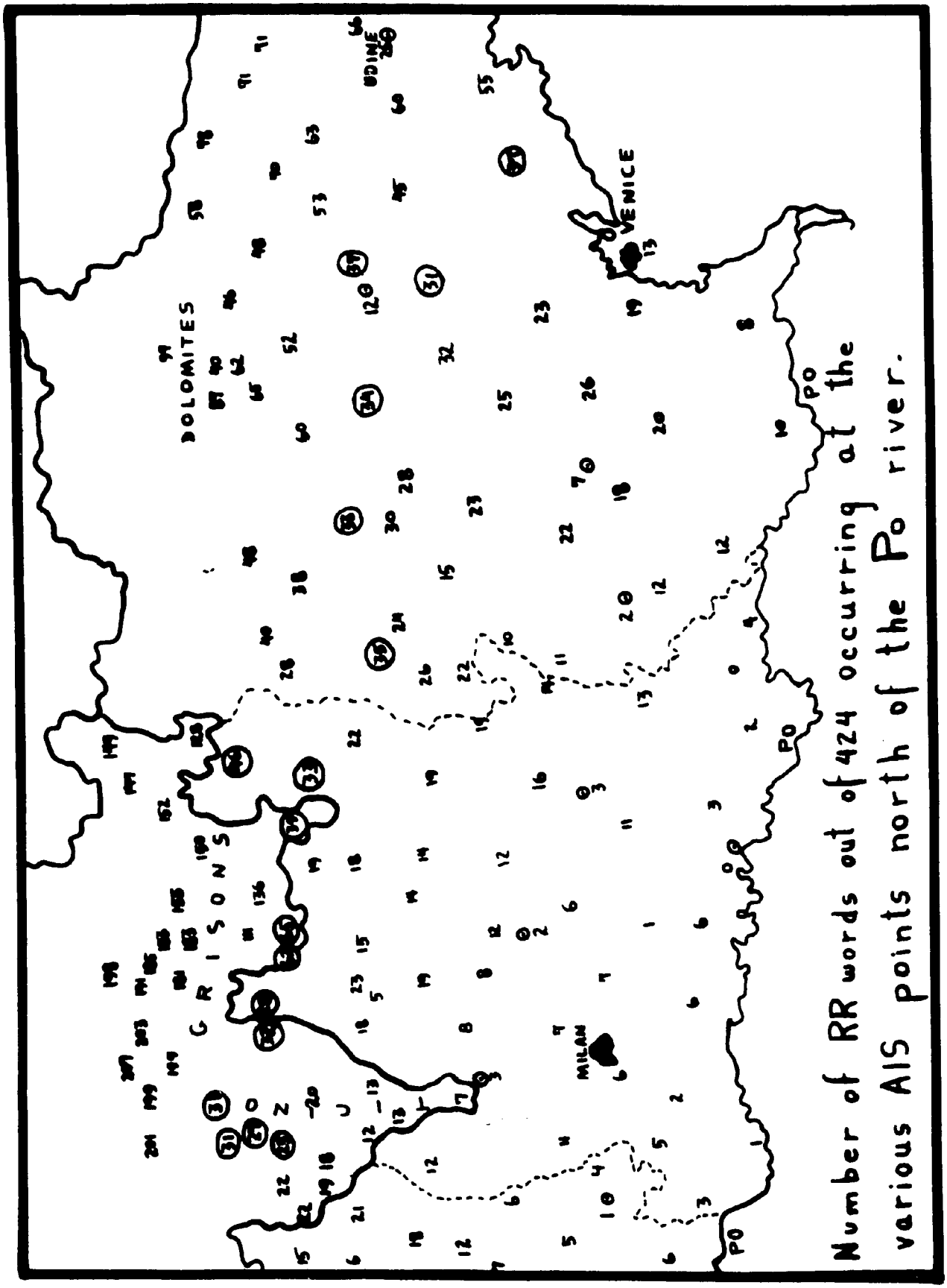


FIGURE 3 : TRANSITIONAL ZONES (circled)

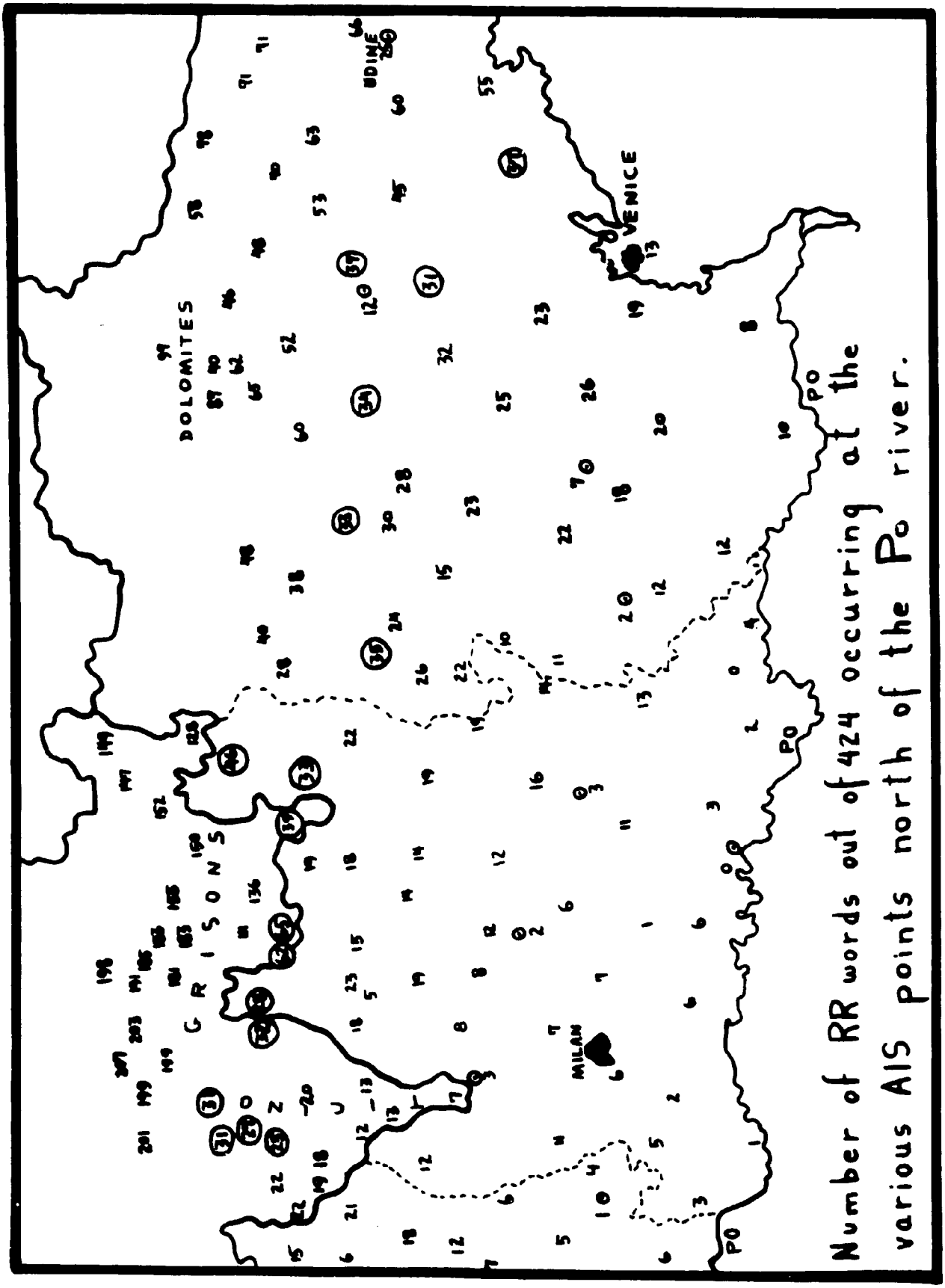


FIGURE 3 : TRANSITIONAL ZONES (circled)

quency of RR words as one moves from the Po valley northward toward these three regions. Along the southern edge of the Grisons, I have circled numbers which fall far short of the high lexical concentrations to the north, yet exceed the totals appearing to the south, in the plain around Milan. The circles represent transitional points, and shall be defined as those points which, with respect to western RR, have between 25 and 65 RR words attested. The contrast between the Lombardian dialect (center: Milan) and the RR of Switzerland is obviously much sharper and more intense than that between the Venetian dialect and the RR of either the Dolomites or the province of Udine. In the latter case the boundary is much vaguer, and the progression from south to north much more gradual, as might be expected in an area where the geographical transition from plain to mountain is less abrupt. Transitional points cannot, therefore, be established as securely as in the case of western RR, nor can the same criteria be used, for the lexical concentrations of the central and eastern RR areas comprise far fewer RR words than occur in Switzerland. For the sake of uniformity, however, and in order later to be able to set apart the RR domain, I have suggested half a dozen transitional points bordering the central and eastern RR areas, and have circled them. Here a point is transitional if it has between 33 and 37 RR words attested. One exception--a point with only 31 words--has been made on the basis of non-lexical findings by two modern Romance scholars which corroborate the transitional designation (see p. 42).

It will be noticed that at larger towns and cities (designated by the symbol ⊙) the lexical count of RR items is frequently inconsistent with that of adjacent villages. This is due in part to the frequent difficulty faced by the investigators in finding in such centers informants whose speech remained uncontaminated by the unstable language habits of a shifting population. Granting even that suitable informants were found, they often proved unable to respond meaningfully to the many questions requiring familiarity with names of rural implements or farming methods. But within the RR domain, the only sizeable town in which the RR lexical density is strikingly below that of surrounding villages is Udine (pop. 79,000 in 1957).

Joining the areas of high RR lexical concentration with those obviously representative of other dialects are intermediate or transitional zones corresponding, in lexical terms, to what the pre-Alpine heights or foothills represent in geographical terms. These transitional zones, determined often by their proximity to key Alpine passes, are for the most part valleys along which goods, people, and languages have moved for centuries. A few words concerning these Alpine passes are appropriate here to give perspective to the zones of transition.

The main passes in Switzerland giving access to Italy are, from west to east, the Great St. Bernard, Simplon, St. Gotthard, Lukmanier, San Bernardino, Splügen, Septimer, the Julier-Maloja system, Bernina, and the Fuorn-Flüela system. All but the St. Gotthard and Septimer were known and used in Roman times.[1] Link-

ing Austria with northern Italy, the most prominent is the Brenner. Among the chief ancient routes over the Alps were the Brenner, Splügen, Great St. Bernard, and San Bernardino, several of which were built by Augustus. The busiest single pass in Roman times was certainly the Great St. Bernard, "whence ran the great military road along the sub-Jurassic trough to Windisch, and then across the Rhine and Zurzach to the sources of the Danube. This route continued to carry much traffic in the middle ages; the hospice on the pass for the comfort of travellers, of which we first have record in 1125, had been founded in the previous century by St. Bernard, archdeacon of Aosta."[2] Before the thirteenth century, the Simplon was of little importance. In the early middle ages the Lukmanier and the Septimer, south of Chur, were heavily used, but traffic shifted later to the St. Gotthard, which offered a more direct route from Italy to the Upper Rhine.

The numbers circled in Figure 3 skirt in a general sense the southern rim of the RR domain and represent the transitional zones between it and the Lombardian/Venetian dialects of northern Italy. These areas will be considered individually, starting in the west and moving eastward.

The Ticino--one of the Swiss cantons--contains a group of valleys which tend to converge toward the south. Figure 4 presents the AIS points located in the Ticino, and the principal valleys in which they lie. The transitional zones are once again circled, although the

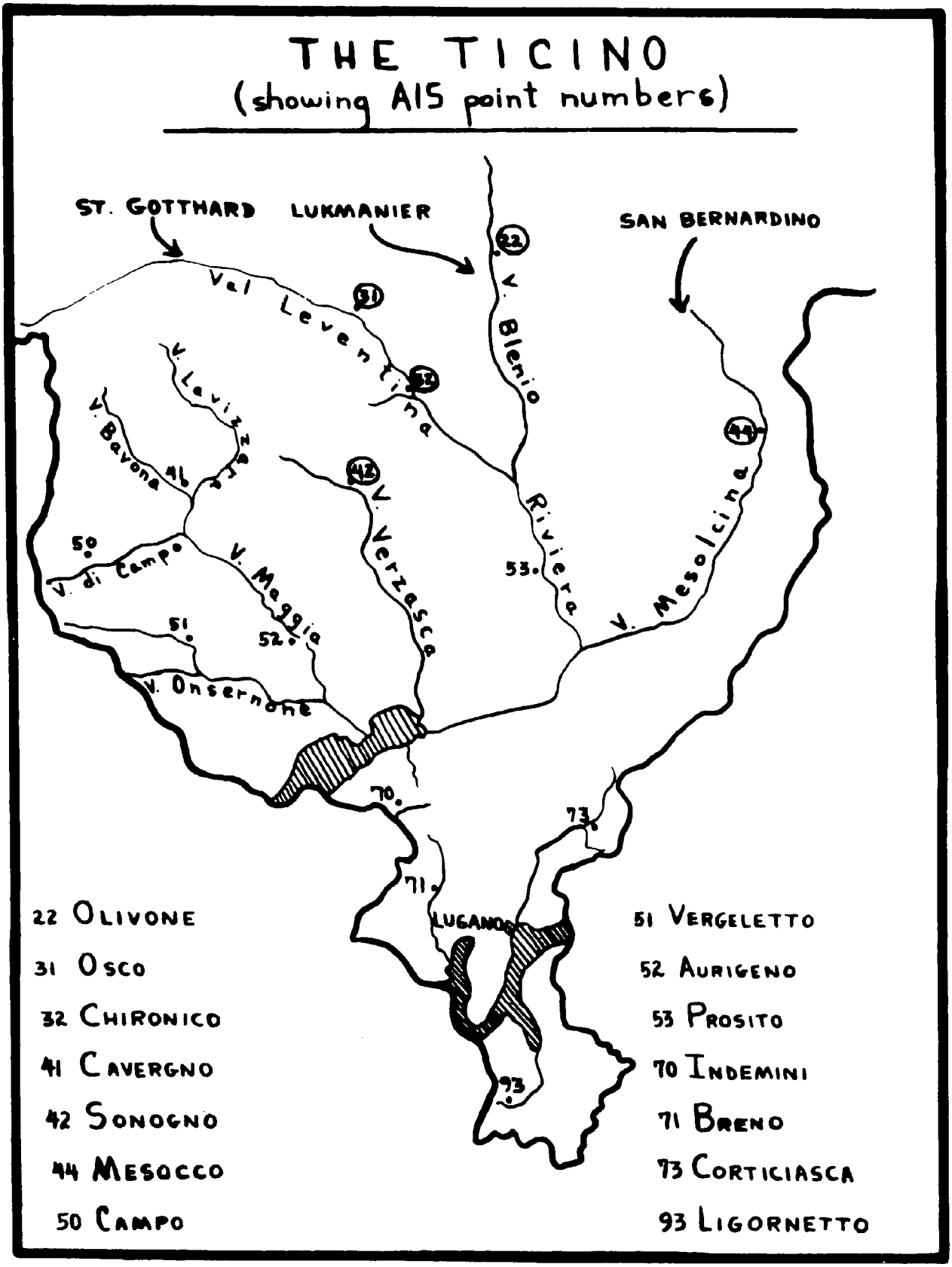

THE TICINO
(showing AIS point numbers)
ST. GOTTHARD
LUKMANIER
SAN BERNARDINO
Val Leventina
V. Blenio
V. Leventina
V. Bavona
V. Verzasca
Riviera
V. Mesolcina
V. di Campo
V. Maggia
V. Onsernone
LUGANO
22 OLIVONE
31 OSCO
32 CHIRONICO
41 CAVERGNO
42 SONOGNO
44 MESOCCO
50 CAMPO
51 VERGELETTO
52 AURIGENO
53 PROSITO
70 INDEMINI
71 BRENO
73 CORTICIASCA
93 LIGORNETTO

FIGURE 4

numbers represent in this case the AIS point numbers and not, as in Figure 3, a lexical count. The St. Gotthard, Lukmanier, and San Bernardino passes lead directly in the Leventina, Blenio, and Mesolcina valleys, respectively, as indicated by the arrows.

The earliest inhabitants of the Ticino were the so-called Ligurians,[3] whose culture presumably influenced the one later superimposed there by the conquering Leponti.[4] About 25 B. C., the Romans overcame these Leponti, and the Ticino found a place in recorded history. Apparently the Romans settled there in small numbers, enough only to build and protect the roads across the passes, and their approaches.[5] At the end of the sixth century the Langobards took over northern Italy, penetrating the Ticino early in the seventh. As in the case of the Romans, the scarcity of archaeological findings representing Langobard culture[6] suggests that the settlers there were few in number.[7] It follows plausibly that the Ticino--an area thinly settled by both Romans and Langobards, and developed mainly for the support of people and goods in transit to and from the important passes--might still possess linguistic evidence reflecting its earlier use and importance. The zones of transition, determined by my criteria (see p. 26) and shown in Figure 4, illustrate this conjecture.

Influencing the abrupt lexical change between the Ticino and the RR area are both geographical and administrative factors. The canton of the Ticino marks the geographic descent from high Alps to plain and is, therefore, a land of climatic as well as linguistic tran-

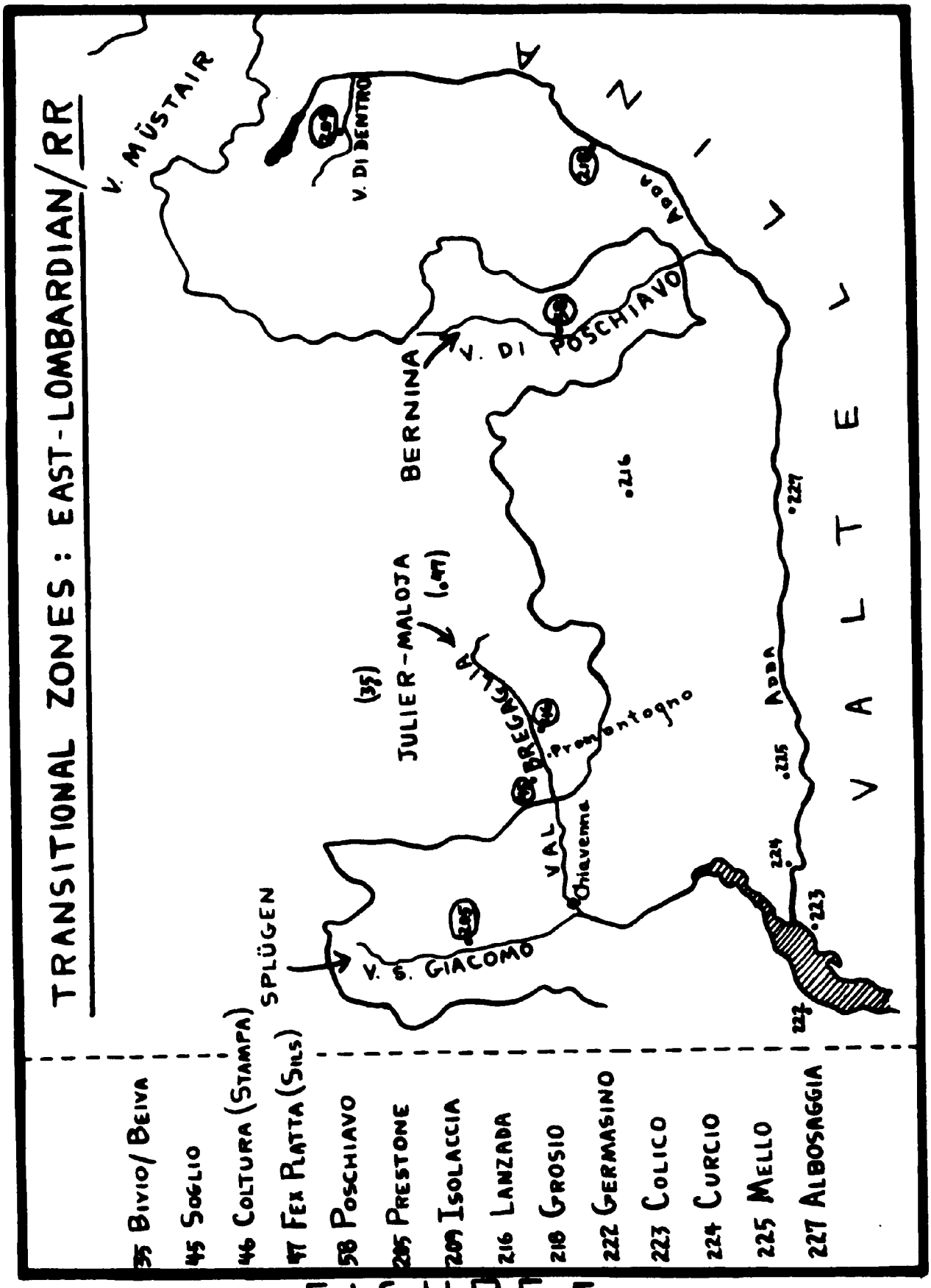
sition, where heat and abundant moisture favor almonds, figs, and all the fruits common to southern Europe, except the olive.[8] The boundary of the diocese of Lugano cuts across the northern part of the canton, leaving all of Figure 4 oriented toward the South, except point 44, which lies within the diocese of Chur. The influence of the ecclesiastical unit on a speech community was brought to light in 1911 by Heinrich Morf, who showed, in a study of the French dialects, that linguistic boundaries frequently parallel diocesan boundaries.[9] That the Ticino has been affected by this southern influence is seen even more clearly in special references by Jaberg and Jud to the fact that the Ambrosian[10] rite still prevails at points 22, 31, and 32--three important transitional points in the Ticino.[11] From the Leventina and Mesolcina valleys--particularly from points 31 and 44--increasing contact with speakers of other dialects has brought about noticeable modernization of the local speech.[12]

In a recent discussion of Lombardian dialects, Clemente Merlo refers to a good many of the points here considered transitional.[13] Dividing the Lombardian dialect into western (cisabduana) and eastern (transabduana) varieties, he classifies as Lombarde Alpino the Verzasca, Leventina, Mesolcina, and Maggia valleys of the Ticino. The last (point 52) has not been circled as an intermediate point because its vocabulary contains too small a number of RR words. The Blenio valley (point 22), which I submit as a transitional zone in Figure 4, is not referred to in Merlo's classification, but Tagliavini names it specifi-

cally as one of the areas which "segnano una transizione tra il Ladino e il Lombardo."[14]

Those valleys not in the Ticino but which, nevertheless, serve as corridors of Lombardian influence into the western RR area are displayed in Figure 5: the San Giacomo (called by Merlo the Liro), Bregaglia, Poschiavo, and Dentro valleys. In comparison with analogous valleys in the Ticino, the transitional zones circled in Figure 5 show in most cases a proportionately higher lexical count and are situated more often on the border of the western RR area. Here, too, access to the valleys from the north is provided by important passes: the Splügen, the Julier-Maloja system, and the Bernina. In the case of the Val di Dentro, access is chiefly from Bormio in the east. Those points in Figure 5 within Italy belong to the diocese of Como; those in Switzerland, to that of Chur. Points 45 and 46, however, are today mainly Protestant. Although point 58 in the Poschiavo valley is predominantly Catholic, a Protestant minority is strong enough to make a dialectal schism apparent.[15]

It so happens that many of the Alpine valleys in general, and the transitional zones in particular, are not rich enough to support all of the inhabitants on a year-round basis, so that heads of families are required frequently to ply seasonal trades or engage in migratory agriculture, either of which usually involves a movement of language up and down the valleys and the intermingling of dialect features, including lexical innovations. Inhabitants of point 45 in the Val Bregaglia, for


TRANSITIONAL ZONES : EAST-LOMBARDIAN/RR
35 Bivio/ Beiva
45 Soglio
46 Coltura (Stampa)
47 Fex Platta (Sils)
58 Poschiavo
205 Prestone
209 Isolaccia
216 Lanzada
218 Grosio
222 Germasino
223 Colico
224 Curcio
225 Mello
227 Albosaggia
V. MÜSTAIR
V. DI DENTRO
V. DI POSCHIAVO
BERNINA
JULIER-MALOJA
(35)
SPLÜGEN
V. S. GIACOMO
VAL
Chiavenna
ADDA
VALTELLINA
FIGURE 5

example, own property also east of the Maloja pass in the Upper Engadine area, which necessitates a constant shuttling of farmers between these two regions.[16] The informant used at point 205 in the Val S. Giacomo had formerly been a migratory worker, moving south into the plain during the winters.[17] Such regular shifts of speakers help to perpetuate these zones of transition.

RR influence as reflected in the lexical count in Figure 3 is much greater in the Val Bregaglia than in the other valleys, and is due partly to geographical circumstances. The Bregaglia serves in effect as an extension of the long valley of the Inn river, and communicates therefore with the Engadine by means of the easily traversable Maloja pass (see Fig. 5). On phonological grounds, Ascoli divided the Bregaglia into two sections at the little village of Promontogno, which lies between points 45 and 46.[18] As far as the vocabulary is concerned, no such division need be made, for the lexical responses at both AIS points are in almost every instance identical.

Walther von Wartburg has written a brilliant study on this valley, showing political, commercial, religious, and geographical reasons why it is transitional in its speech.[19] Whereas Ascoli, Morf, Gartner, and Salvioni classify its language as principally Lombardian with strong secondary RR influence, von Wartburg, on the basis of more evidence and a more objective analysis of phonological, morphological, and syntactic features, concludes that "das Bergellische mindestens vom Beginn des 9. Jahrhunderts zum Rätoromanischen

tendiert, dass es heute noch, entgegen der bisherigen Ansicht, eher als ein rätoromanischer denn als ein lombardischer Dialekt aufzufassen ist, dass es aber seit der Reformation dem italienisch-lombardischen Einfluss in hohem Masse ausgesetzt ist, und dieser vielleicht mit der Zeit imstande sein wird, die Sprachgrenze an die Wasserscheide zurückzudrücken."[20]

According to my criteria, the Bregaglia is a transitional zone in which numerous RR words survive; lexical groupings which will appear later in this dissertation would make it impractical to include points 45 and 46 among those belonging to western RR proper. In his classification of the dialect areas of the Grisons, P. Scheuermeier likewise considers them outside the RR domain.[21] Points 35 and 47, incidentally, occupy a comparable but reverse position: they are not transitional because many more than 65 RR words are attested at each point. Within the western RR frame of reference, however, their lexical count is relatively low, so that I have put them inside parentheses. This is intended to signify a considerably Lombardized RR zone.

"Quanto è più arduo il passo del Bernina che non sia quello del Maloggia, e tanto è meno abondante la vena ladina in Val Poschiavo che non sia in Valle Bregaglia."[22] The relationship observed by Ascoli between the relative traversability of Alpine passes and the resulting RR influence is supported by the lexical facts shown in Figure 3: from the Bregaglia to the Poschiavo valley there occurs a six per cent drop

in the lexical frequency count. The linguistic dichotomy between speakers of Catholic and Protestant faiths in this particular valley has already been mentioned. Geographically, it is one of the few southward-draining valleys located within the political limits of Switzerland, communicating over the Bernina pass with the Engadine, but cut off from the Valtellina near Tirano by a gorge.[23] This last condition must have favored retention of RR features while discouraging wholesale Lombardization.

The great Valtellina begins at the mouth of the Adda on Lake Como and moves east to Tresenda, then curves northeast as far as Bormio. Halfway up this final arch lies Grosio (point 218), at the place where two small valleys (both named Val Grosina) converge at the Valtellina. Communication with the RR territory is feasible via Tirano and the Poschiavo valley. Passes are frequent, for the Grosina Alps are considerably lower than the Bernina, west of Poschiavo, and communication with the Bormio and Livigno basins on the east and north is easy. The Adda river, with sources lying beyond Bormio near the Val Müstair (RR), carries southward a certain amount of RR influence. West of Bormio lies the small Val di Dentro (point 209), which displays slightly more RR items in its lexicon than does Grosio. Proximity to the Val Müstair, which is accessible via the much-used Stelvio pass, and the communication afforded by the Adda, likewise are responsible for its RR coloring. The Valtellina, however, was never a one-way passage south, but served also as a means for the

northward spread of Lombardian influence.

The history of Bormio, and of the Valtellina, is a tale of political struggles and forced concessions for their control. Bormio, where the Val di Dentro joins the Valtellina, was "costituita in curtis in età carolingia, quindi possesso dei vescovi di Coira, che la cedettero ai Visconti verso la metà del sec. 14°, fu poi contesa fra Como e i Grigioni, che dal 1512 l'occuparono stabilmente. Nel 1727, con la Valtellina, fu riunita alla Lombardia."[24] This comparatively late transfer to Lombardian administration accounts to some extent for the persistence of RR characteristics and the transitional nature of Grosio and the Val di Dentro.

Compared with those bordering the Grisons, the transitional zones which stand between central and eastern RR and Venetian are half as numerous and much more subtle in their intermediate rôles. I have already proposed a geographical reason for the more gradual increase in lexical count as one moves from the Venetian plain northward. This comparative absence of major geographical obstacles must have influenced the Romans in their decision to build their most important administrative arteries to the northern provinces across the plain and the lower Alpine regions. Such roads were of course heavily travelled and easily passable during the winter months.[25] They also gave the Venetian dialect a distinct advantage over the Lombardian by providing a superior means of northward expansion and dissemination. What is more, the dialect features which did

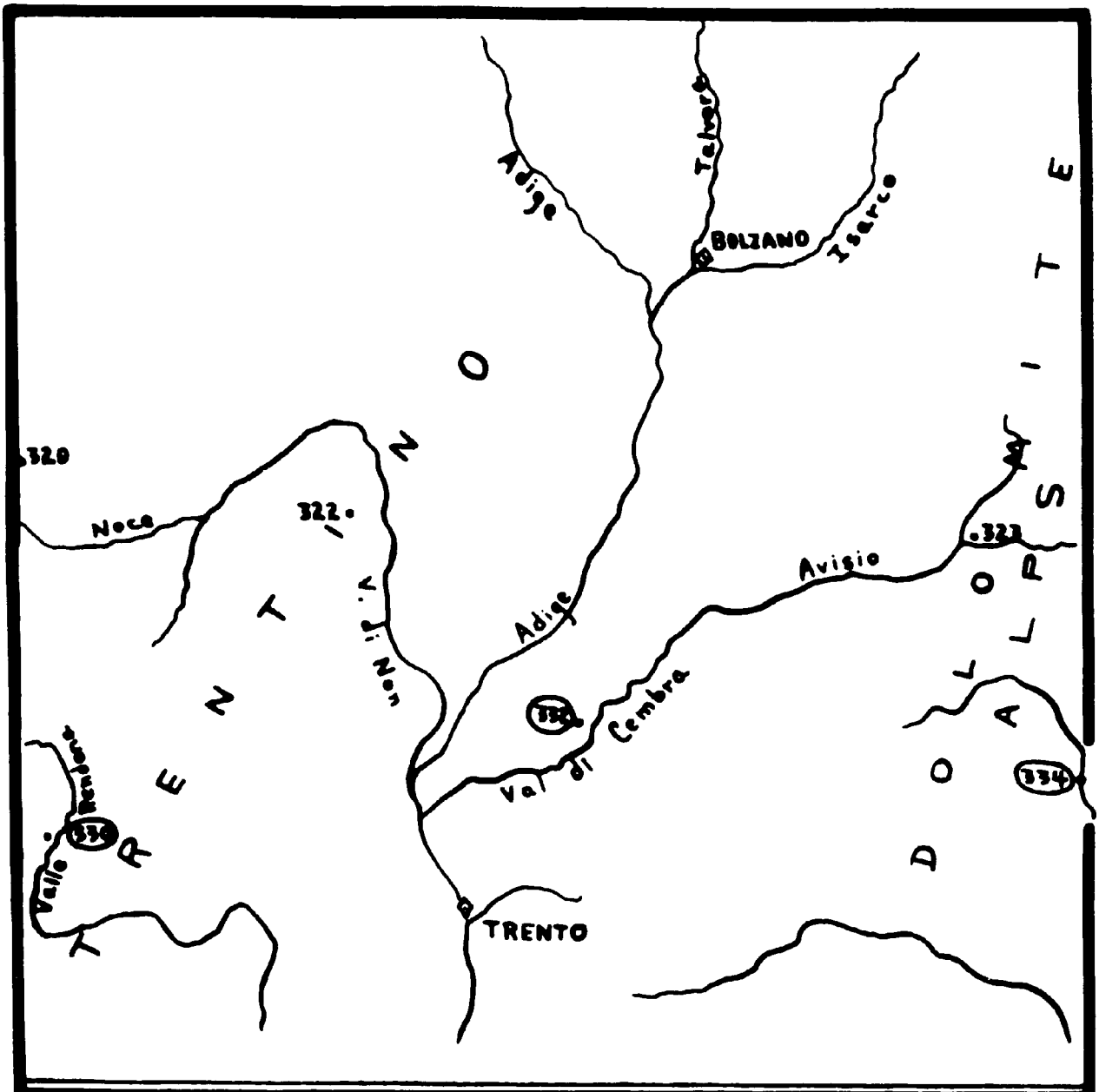
radiate from Venezia were perpetuated by greater numbers of people, for the eastern RR area contains ten times as many speakers as does the western area in Switzerland. All of these factors, then, have shared in the dilution of both Venetian and RR speech, and the development of a border between them so subtle that transitional zones are few, and the degree of transition, small.

Figure 6 shows the three transitional zones bordering the central RR territory; all are located inside the provincial and diocesan boundaries of Trento, but not right on the border in either case. If one were to single out the points on the base map (Figure 1) which have been subjected to special study by linguists, it would be seen that the points in the Trentino to the south of this transitional zone have been investigated by Karl von Ettmayer (points 331, 340, 341, etc.) and by Angelico Prati (point 344). On the north, studies have been made by Ettmayer (points 310, 311, 320), Battisti (points 310, 311, 313, 315, 320, 322, 323, 326), and Gartner (points 313, 315, 323, etc.). But of the three points proposed as transitional in Figure 6 on lexical grounds--points 330, 332, and 334--no specific studies have been made. Lack of attention to these points by either the specialist in RR or the student of Trentino-Venetian dialects implies perhaps, in negative terms, their nature as zones of transition.

The original speech of all three points has become modernized due to contact with non-local dialect elements. The Val di Cembra, which contains point 332, is thus described: "Hoch oben an den Hängen

FIGURE 6

TRANSITIONAL ZONES: VENETIAN/CENTRAL RR



320 PEJO
322 TUENNO
323 PREDAZZO
330 MORTASO
332 FAVER
334 CANALE SAN BOVO

des steil abfallenden Val di Cembra liegen die ärmlichen Dörfer, die unter starker Auswanderung leiden und mundartlich modernisiert sind. Als wirtschaftlich selbständig und sprachlich konservativ wird Faver empfohlen."[26]

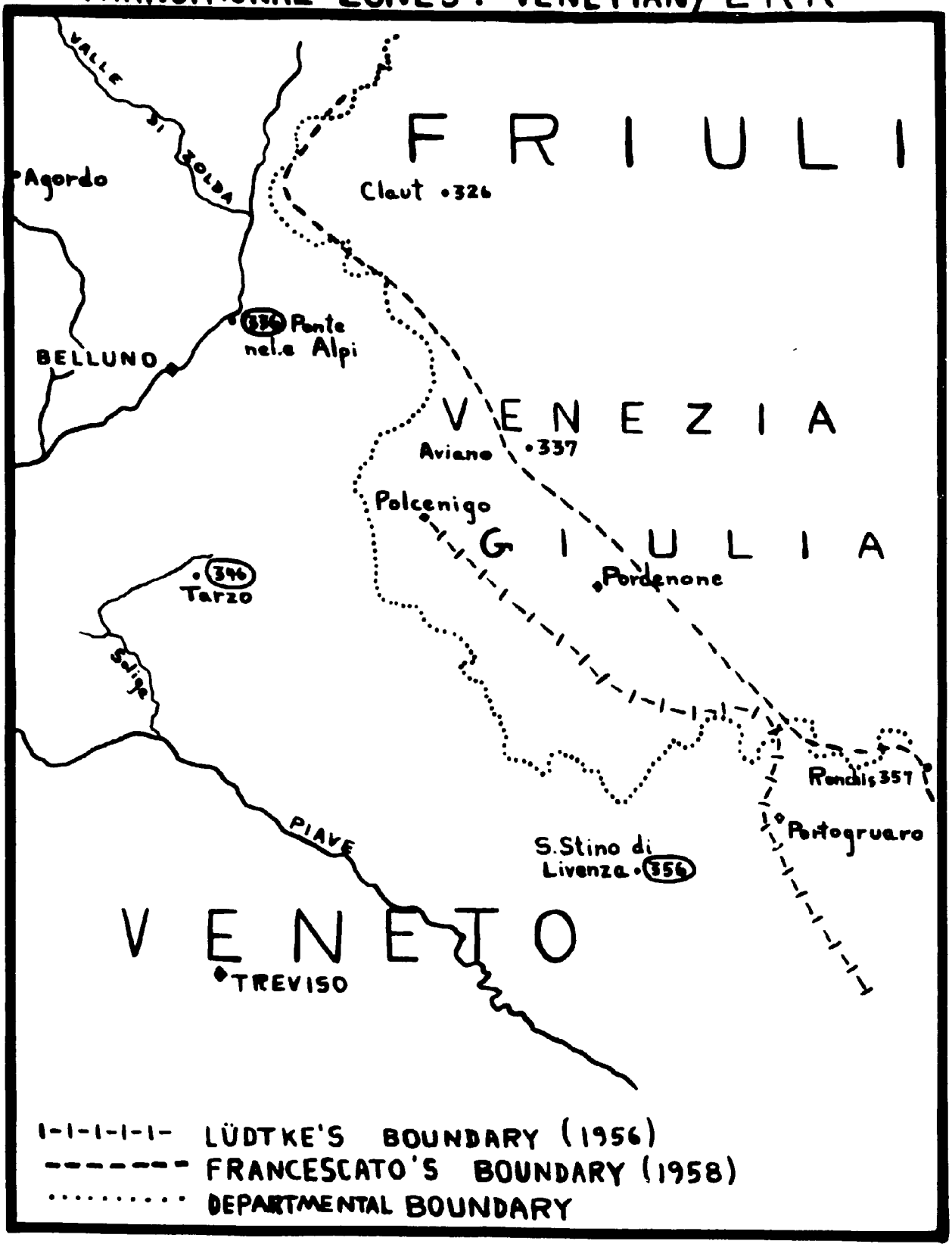
Venetian elements have moved easily into the central and eastern RR areas by way of the Piave valley, while strong German influence has wedged in between, occupying much of the Adige and Isarco valleys. In such non-Romance-speaking intrusions, evidence of a RR substratum is chiefly toponymic.[27] This is not to say that Venetian influence is altogether absent in the Trentino. Field studies of the Val di Non carried out in 1962 by Robert L. Politzer show, when compared with the earlier work of Battisti and Ettmayer, that the general Venetian vowel system has been adopted there during the last forty years.[28]

The last three points which are going to be discussed as transitional zones are circled in Figure 7. Points 346 and 356 skirt the eastern RR area, while point 336 occupies a position bordering both that and central RR. These points have very little in common: all are in different dioceses and provinces, and they share no particularly outstanding geographical feature. Their populations are mobile, judging from the fact that the informants for both points 336 and 346 spent their young adult years practicing their trades in Germany and Switzerland.[29]

The status I have assigned to these three bordering points,

FIGURE 7

TRANSITIONAL ZONES: VENETIAN/ERR



chiefly on the basis of my lexical criteria (see p. 26), is consistent with rather recent findings of two Romance scholars. By means of twenty-six phonological and morphological isoglosses resulting from a year's field work in 1956, Helmut Lüdtke established the border between eastern RR and Venetian, as represented in Figure 7.[30] He concludes that "si può affermare senz'altro che il confine geografico fra il veneto e friulano si sta gradualmente spostando verso est, e che parecchi paesi sono in procinto di passare dal bidialettalismo alla monoglossia veneta."[31]

A boundary drawn by Giuseppe Francescato two years later around the eastern RR area appears to verify the gradual eastward progress of this border as the result of manifest encroachment of the Venetian dialect.[32] With merely two years' time elapsed between the establishment of the lines, however, a more plausible explanation is that Professors Lüdtke and Francescato have different opinions concerning what does, and what does not, constitute eastern RR.

Excluding all of the transitional zones discussed in this chapter, the remaining RR (RR proper) includes all of the AIS points north of the heavy double line in Figure 8, and will henceforth be referred to as the General RR (GRR) domain. It must be clearly understood from the outset that very few, if any, linguistic boundaries occur with the preciseness and clear definition exhibited by the line in Figure 8. I have drawn it for convenience in organization, bearing always in mind

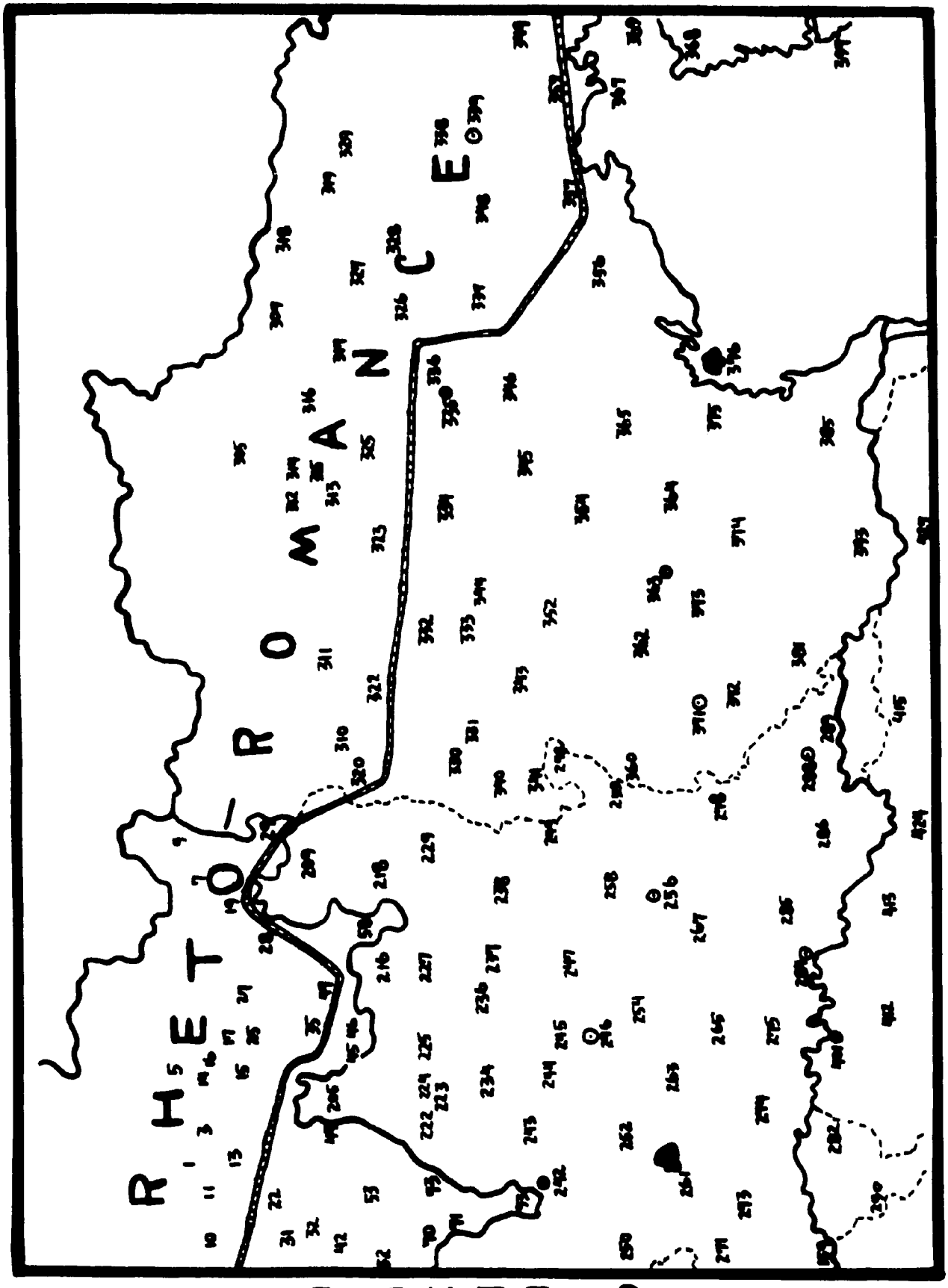


FIGURE 8

that it is the single representation of multiple factors, and that later on some of the words which are to be grouped under RR will of course appear frequently at the transitional points, and occasionally below them.

VI. Eastern Raeto-Romance

Concentrated in the easternmost section of the zone represented in Figure 8 are nearly half a million speakers of RR--ten times the number found in the central and western parts combined. There is evidence, moreover, that during the Middle Ages an even greater number of such speakers flourished on the Friulan plain and in adjacent areas. The Istrian peninsula, regardless of its former control by Austria and present-day political identity with Yugoslavia, still retains vestiges of its former RR speech; indeed, the entire peninsula was included in the AIS investigations. The city of Trieste retained RR speech until the growth of Venice caused the influence of the Venetian dialect to become overwhelming. As late as 1828, literary publications in RR were appearing in Trieste.[1]

Eastern RR has for centuries been subjected to a great deal of external influence, facilitated chiefly by the ease of communication afforded by a broad plain, as I have mentioned in chapter V. The result of this is that ERR, with its numerous speakers, retains fewer RR words than the western RR area, and contains today the greatest proportion of extraneous, non-RR language elements. This circumstance of course reduces to a relatively small number the inventory of lexical items typical of ERR. There are, however, about forty of

these words which occur only in this eastern zone, and which must figure importantly in a lexical study of the present sort.

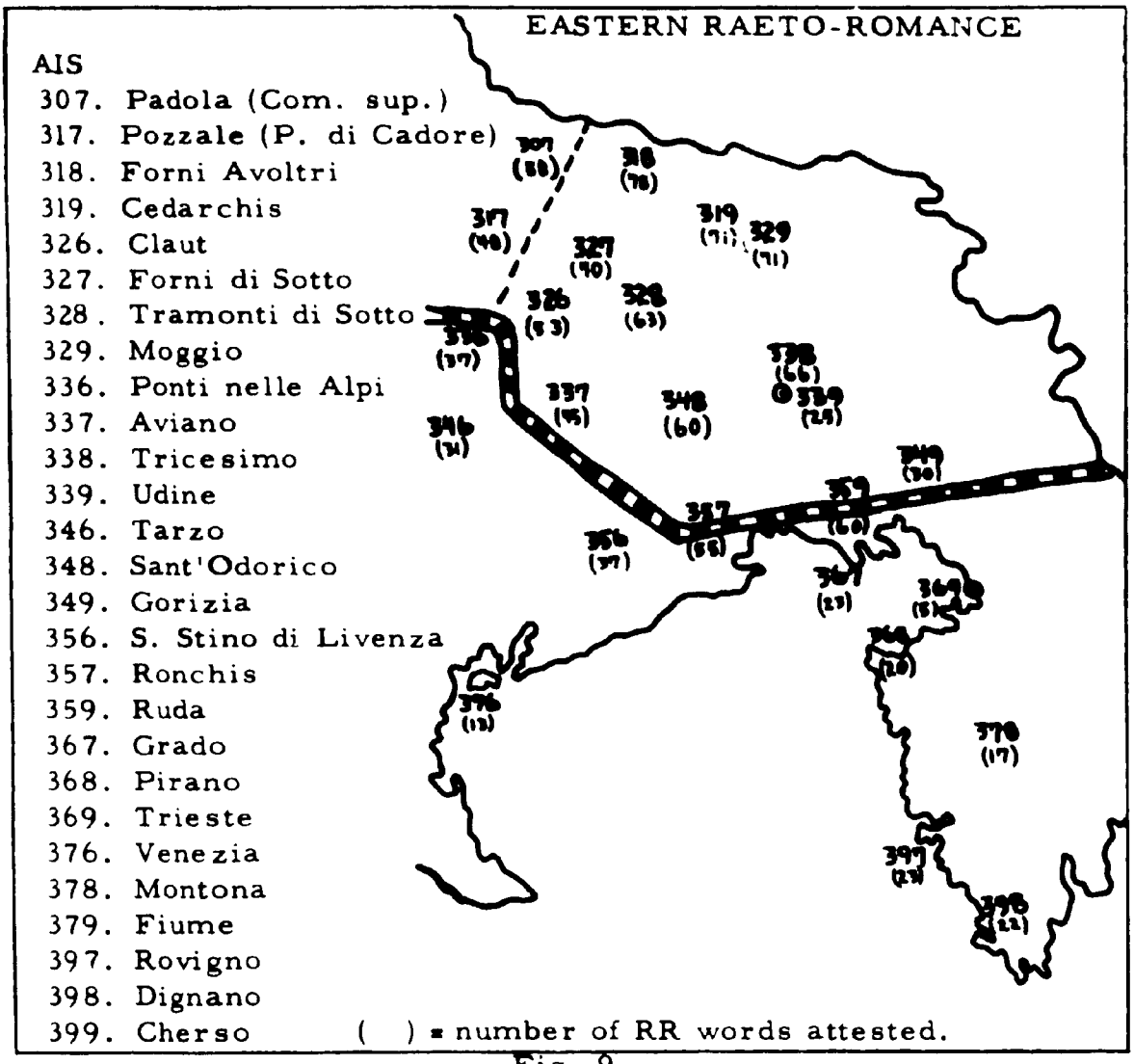


Fig. 9

Figure 9 is a reproduction of the northeastern section of the AIS work map showing, below the point numbers, the corresponding RR lexical count. The heavy double line represents the southern limit of the RR domain, exclusive of the transitional zones, as illustrated in Figure 8. The dotted line above is a tentative boundary between east and central RR based, for the time being, only on the lexi-

cal count . A moment's observation reveals a noticeable drop in the count immediately west of the dotted line. Considering then solely the thirteen points thus circumscribed, it is clear from Figure 3 that as one moves northward from the plain into the Carnic Alps there is concomitant increase in RR lexical density. Some of the northern villages register up to seven per cent more RR words than their southern neighbors, disregarding of course the larger towns such as Udine (339) and Gorizia (349) which, for reasons discussed earlier, do not yield significant statistics.

Unlike the lexical data of western RR (Chapter VIII), which fall into numerous and well-defined patterns, those of ERR lack such extensive and intricate geographical structure, and are therefore best displayed in terms of their frequency alone. The following words are ones which occur only within the thirteen-point area illustrated in Figure 9.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	ERR	Etym.
447	talpa	mole (animal)	˹fark˺	Ger. Ferk(el)
1095	lardo	lard, fat	˹arǧél˺	ARGILLA
204	cenciaiuolo	ragman	˹pėcoṭár˺	PĬCĀRE+TARIU
459	chiocciola	snail	˹káy˺	COACŬLA
1418	solco	furrow	˹aǧár˺	ĂGER
1447	orzo	barley	˹vwärdi˺	(GRANUM) HORDEI
1228	sala	axle	˹"čarpínt˺	CARPĔNTU
1207	burro	butter	˹špóṇga˺	SPONGIA

947	stoviglie	dishes	ˈmasarïę	*MASSA+ILLA
99	fronte	forehead	ˈcarnę́li	CĔRNĬCULU
888	chiavistello[2]	door-bolt	ˈklǫ́štri	CLAUSTRU
1454	covone	sheaves	ˈbálts	BALTĔUS
375	brina	white-frost	ˈǧilúñe	GĔLU
1544	ditale	thimble	ˈvìñarų́lį	Ger. Fingerhut
568	resina	resin	ˈpę́š	PIX / Ger. Pech
438	donnola	weasel	ˈbilíte	pop. *BELLITA
42	bambino	child (m.)	ˈfrút	FRUCTU
417	ghiaia	gravel	ˈgrava	Pre-Lat. *GRAVA
452	serpe	snake	ˈmadrák	Gaul. matăris (ML5402) MANDRAGORAS (?)
1219	ricotta	cheese	ˈškwę́tę	*EXCŎCTA
1531	lenzuolo	bedsheet	ˈblę́ǫ́ŋs	Langob. blahha
1198	caciaio	cheese-maker	ˈfędár	FĒTĀRE
134	reni	kidneys	ˈkúdule[3]	CŌTE+ILLA
1393	falciata	swath	ˈsǫ́lć	SŬLCU
140	fiele	gall	ˈmárį	(A)MĀRU

Some idea of the internal distribution of these twenty-five words can be obtained by referring to Figure 10.

	318	319	329	327	338	328	348	359	357	326	337	349	339
447	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
1095	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		
204	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
459	x	x	x		x		x	x	x			x	x
1418	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		
1447	x	x	x	x	x			x				x	x
1228	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x				

1207	x	x	x	x	x		x	x					x
947	x	x	x		x		x	x	x			x	
99	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
888		x	x		x	x	x	x	x				
1454	x	x			x		x	x	x				x
375	x	x	x		x			x				x	x
1544	x	x	x	x	x							x	x
568	x	x	x		x	x	x	x					
438		x		x	x	x	x	x	x				
42	x	x	x		x		x	x	x				
417	x		x	x		x				x	x		
452	x		x	x				x	x	x			
1219	x		x	x	x	x	x						
1531	x	x		x		x	x						
1198	x	x	x	x		x							
134	x		x		x	x		x					
1393	x	x	x	x									
140	x				x		x						

Fig. 10

In addition to this basic list, there is a supplementary group of fourteen words which occur with varying frequency inside the postulated ERR area of Fig. 9, and which are seen from time to time in adjacent regions as well.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	ERR	Etym.
450	ramarro	green lizard	˹bórf˺	brr (ML1331a)/BREVIS (?)
203	arrotino	knife-grinder	˹gūę˺	ACŪTU
1150	anatra	duck	˹rátsę˺	RĪT+ICA
196	porro	wart	˹ricúl˺	(VER)RŪCŬLU
453	rana	frog	˹krót˺	Ger. Kröte
1507	arcolaio	skein-winder	˹divòltędȯr˺	*DE+VOLTATORE
96	ciocca	lock (hair)	˹grampa˺	Germanic *krâppa

428	valle	valley	⌜čanal⌝	CANĀLIS
812	incubo	nightmare	⌜vęŋkul⌝	VEHICULU
200	arnesi	tools	⌜imprę́šč⌝	*IN PLASTICUS
1222	carro	cart	⌜barę́le⌝	*BARRILLA
1376	piselli	peas	⌜čę́žarǫ⌝	CĬCERO
600	salcio	willow	⌜vę́nčę⌝	VINCA

The distribution of these words falls into the following arrangement.

	318	319	329	327	338	328	348	359	357	326	337	349	339
450	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	
203	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		
1150		x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		
196	x	x	x		x	x		x	x				x
453		x	x		x	x		x				x	x
1507					x	x	x		x		x	x	
96	x	x			x	x							
428	x	x	x	x									
812	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				
200	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		
1222			x			x	x		x				
1376	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				x	x
600	x	x	x		x	x	x	x					

Fig. 11

Most of these supplementary words (items 450-428) recur along the southern edge of the proposed ERR zone, with occasional attestations on the Istrian peninsula. Item 203 occurs additionally in Venice, possibly the center from which the word originally fanned out to the northeast. Likewise attested in Istria is item 812, which recurs also at point 307 (Padola, Comelico Superiore), beyond the dotted line in Figure 9. Items 200 and 1222 in the foregoing list over-

lap the basic area in the direction of Venice, decidedly so in the case of item 1222, reaffirming the importance of that city as a center of linguistic influence. The last item occurs also at points normally classified as central (307, 317, 305).

This state of affairs would suggest a speech domain formerly more extensive but now curtailed and receding before stronger influences and general standardization.

If the thirty-eight entries appearing on distributional Figures 10 and 11 are combined to show the number of times per point an ERR lexical item occurs, the following correspondence results:

Point	318	319	329	327	338	328	348	359	357	326	337	349	339
Total	32	30	32	23	30	23	25	25	20	4	7	10	10

From these data the various degrees of lexical concentration within the ERR domain can be worked out.

The area of highest concentration is at once seen to comprise points 318 (Forni Avoltri), 319 (Cedarchis, Arta), 329 (Moggio), and 338 (Tricesimo). The first three are, not surprisingly, the northernmost points, which lie well inside the Alpine recesses so favorable to retention of linguistic habits. That Tricesimo, which is definitely situated in the plain, should exhibit this linguistic similarity to Alpine neighbors is not extraordinary in the light of its historical function as a mansio, or stopover, thirty miles north of Aquileia, on an important road leading precisely into that region of the Alps.

A zone of secondary concentration borders the southwestern

rim of the above area and includes points 327 (Forni di Sotto), 328 (Tramonti di Sotto), 348 (Sant'Odorico), 357 (Ronchis), and 359 (Ruda).

Skirting the secondary zone are three points of peripheral interest only--326 (Claut), 337 (Aviano), and 349 (Gorizia)--where the degree of lexical concentration is relatively slight.

All of these areas of lexical concentration are displayed in Figure 12, so that the nucleus of ERR and the adjacent zones of diminishing intensity are readily discernible. In addition to this, exterior (non-RR) points at which ERR words have been attested sporadically are represented in order to give some idea of the more extensive area which formerly comprised the ERR domain.

I want now to return to Figure 9, and to the dotted line which was more or less arbitrarily set up for the purpose of delimiting the border separating the central and eastern RR zones. Some of the words in this chapter, taken together with data to appear in subsequent pages, will show that speakers at the AIS points on either side of this line use words which occur now in the ERR, now in the CRR lexical inventory. Tendencies of the individual points to favor either one or the other area have been tallied, with the following results.

Point	Total RR Words Occurring	With Central	With East	Lexical Orientation	By
307	32	19	13	Central	18%
317	40	28	12	Central	40%
318	65	10	55	Eastern	69%
326	35	13	22	Eastern	26%
327	57	11	46	Eastern	61%

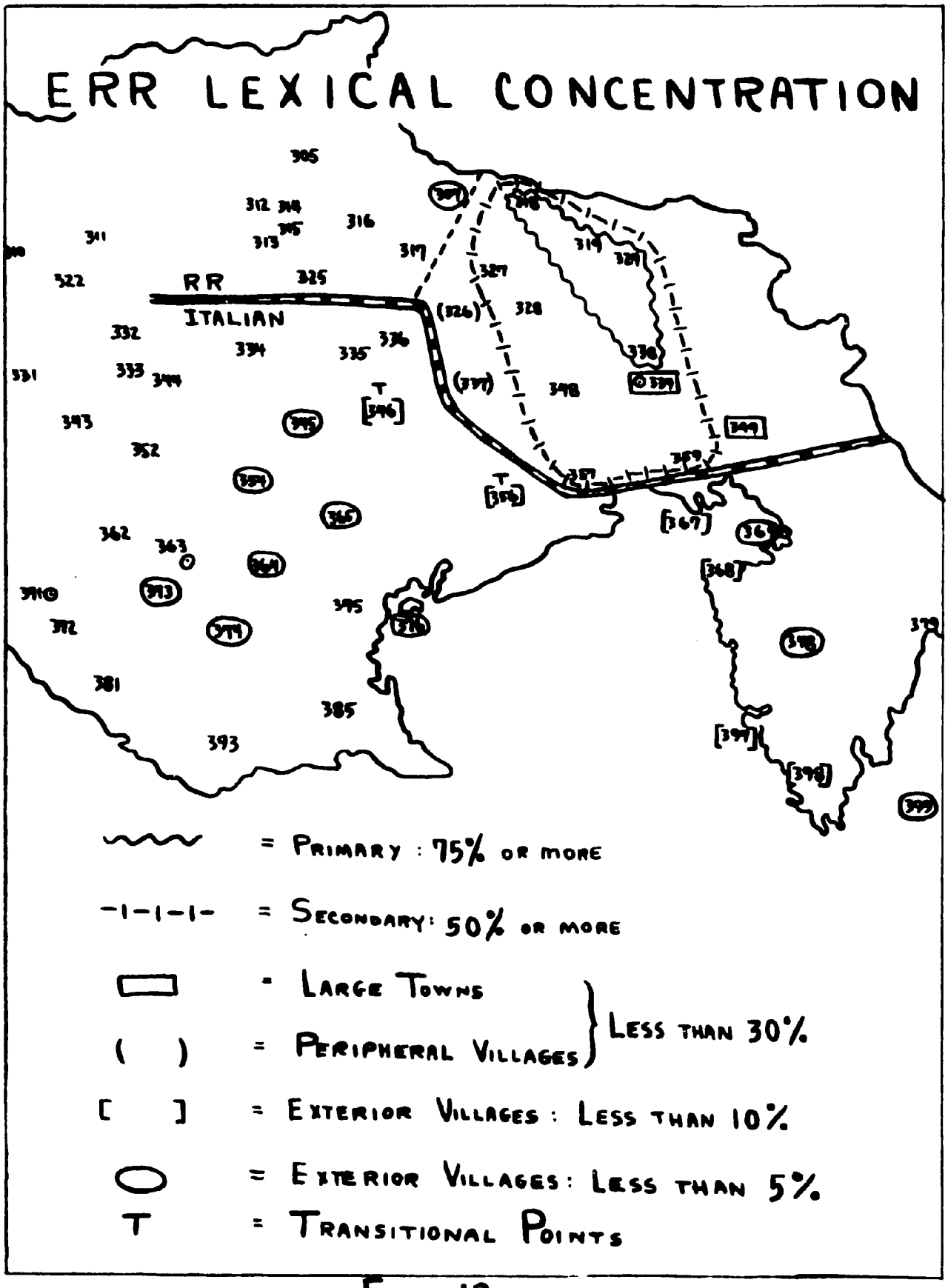

ERR LEXICAL CONCENTRATION
RR
ITALIAN
= PRIMARY : 75% OR MORE
= SECONDARY: 50% OR MORE
= LARGE TOWNS
= PERIPHERAL VILLAGES
LESS THAN 30%
= EXTERIOR VILLAGES : LESS THAN 10%
= EXTERIOR VILLAGES: LESS THAN 5%
= TRANSITIONAL POINTS

FIG. 12

This means that there is lexical justification behind this seemingly arbitrary line, and that it is now permissible to regard it as a reasonable and valid boundary. Moreover, there are additional factors which further substantiate such a view.

An important geographical divider--the Piave river--parallels this dividing line between CRR and ERR. Figure 13, which shows the political boundaries, demonstrates quite clearly that the boundary between the provinces of Belluno and Udine likewise separates the two areas. The configuration of ecclesiastical boundaries, as illustrated in Figure 14, provides further evidence of an administrative break between the diocese of Belluno, on the one hand, and those of Udine and Concordia, on the other.

To summarize, then, the area I have established lexically and called ERR corresponds to the Italian province of Udine, less point 367 (Grado), which is actually a maritime rather than a lowland or Alpine community.[5] The lexical evidence is to an extent supported by a noteworthy geographical factor, namely, the course of the Piave river; and administrative divisions of political and religious unities coincide with that natural boundary.

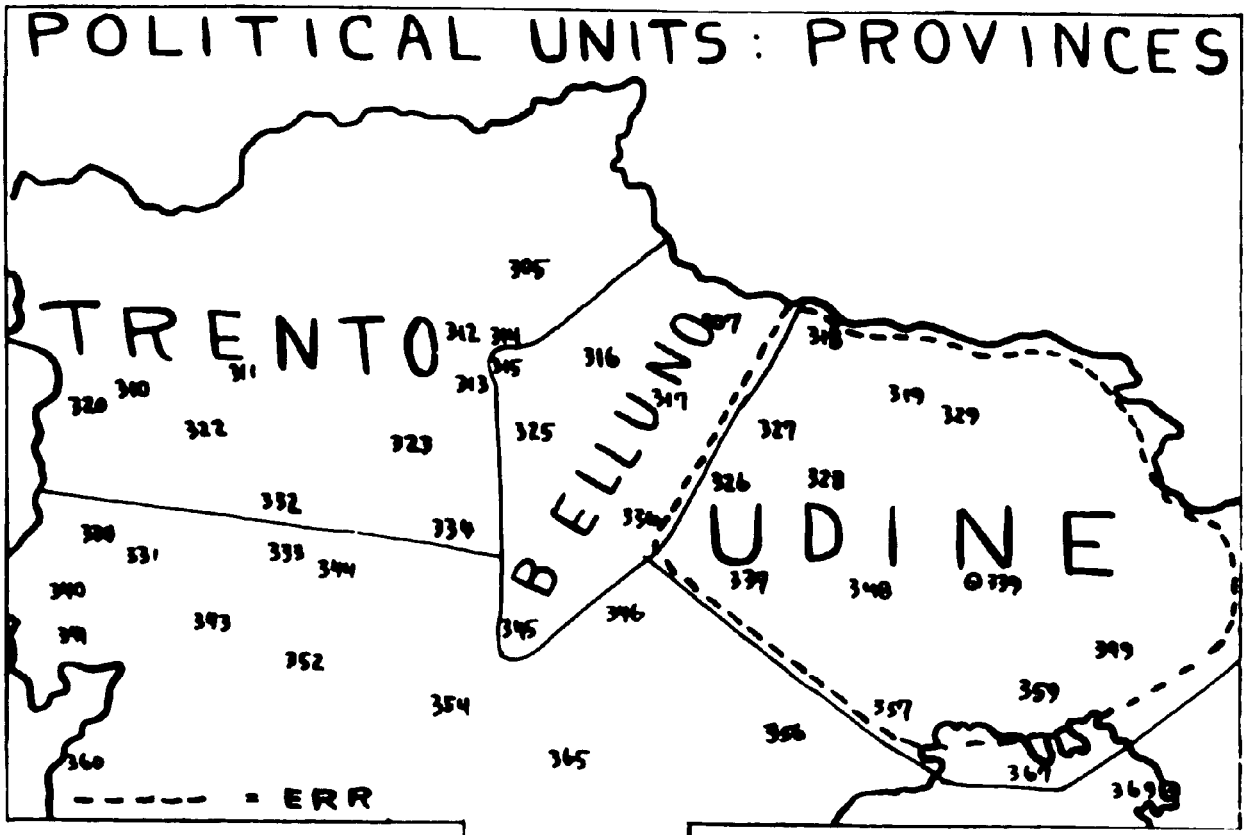

POLITICAL UNITS: PROVINCES
TRENTO
BELLUNO
UDINE
GORIZIA
= ERR

FIG. 13

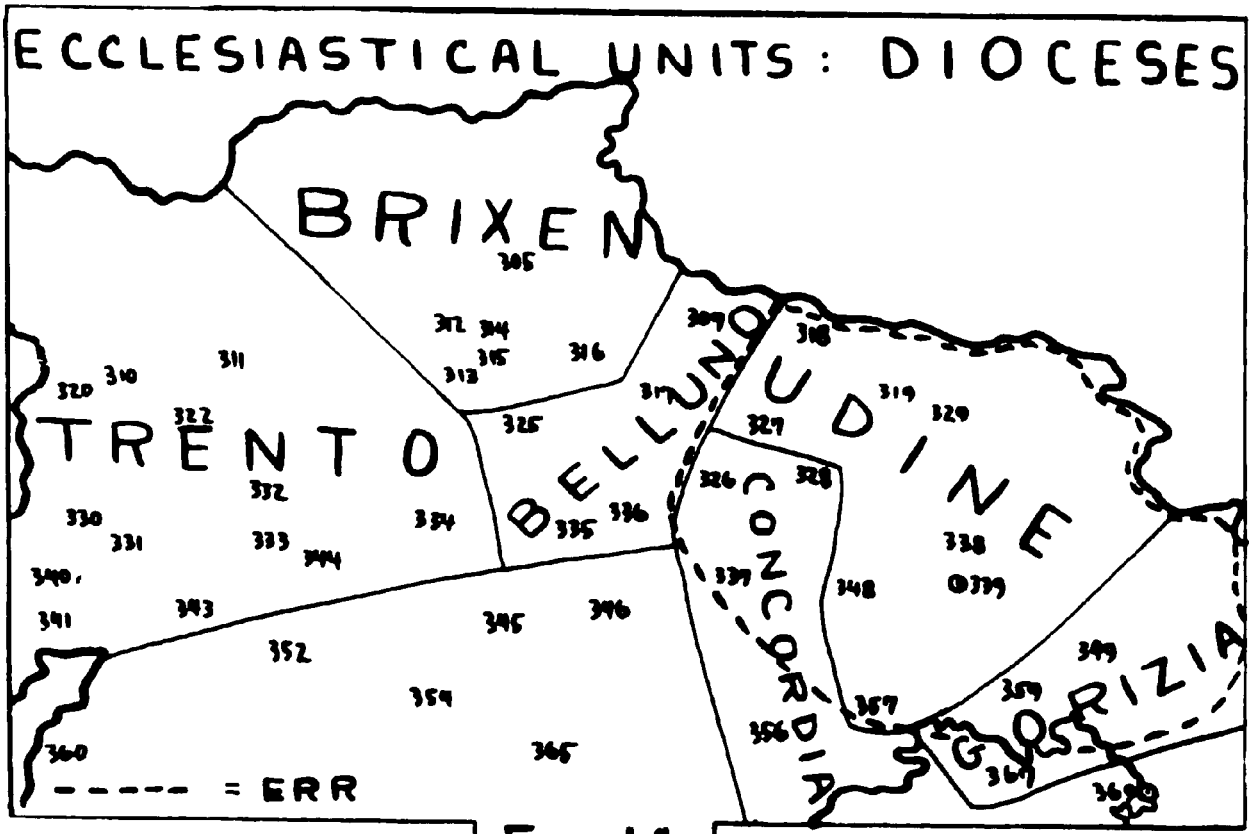

ECCLESIASTICAL UNITS: DIOCESES
BRIXEN
TRENTO
BELLUNO
UDINE
CONCORDIA
GORIZIA
= ERR

FIG. 14

VII. Central Raeto-Romance

Lying west of the ERR territory, in the higher Alps, is a region of massive carbonate rocks fashioned by eons of weathering into craggy, imposing forms: the Dolomites.[1] A few kilometers north of Mount Marmolada, at just under 11,000 feet the highest peak in this region, is the massif of La Sella, a central mountain core from which four important valleys radiate: the Gadera and Gardena river valleys toward the north, the Avisio and Cordevole river valleys toward the south. In this isolated region, until recently sheltered by nature against outside influence, Raeto-Romance speakers are concentrated, though in lesser numbers than are found either in the ERR or WRR zones. If one includes also those speakers living in scattered islets further west, beyond the Adige, along small valleys branching for the most part off the Val di Sole, there are some 12,000 persons still speaking RR in the central zone.

The eastern limit of the CRR territory is of course coincidental with the western border of the ERR zone, as seen in Figure 12. The southern boundary of the CRR territory likewise coincides with part of the heavy double line in Figure 8. The central-western division has been fixed by examining the tendencies of bordering villages to favor one or the other lexical stock. Points 9 (Remüs) and 29 (Santa Maria),

inside Switzerland, are definitely WRR points, as the next chapter will clearly show. The following tabulation is based on a stock of more than 200 words.

Point	With West	With Central	Lexical Status	By
209	12%	6%	Western	6%
218	7%	3%	Western	4%
229	3%	1%	Western	2%
310	6%	15%	Central	9%
311	7%	18%	Central	11%
320	4%	10%	Central	6%
322	6%	16%	Central	10%

This means that the lexical border separating central from western RR parallels the Italo-Swiss national frontier south to the vicinity of the Val Müstair, continuing southward where the national boundary turns to the west, as seen in Figure 15.

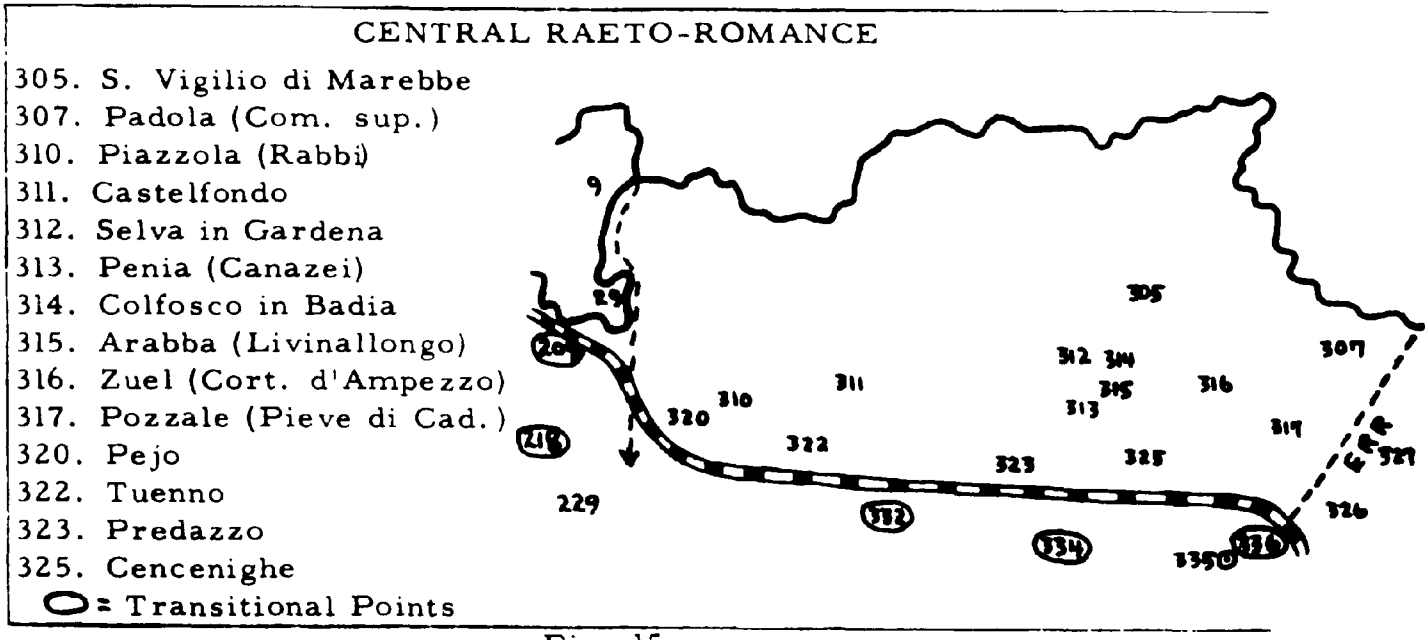


Fig. 15

As I have already emphasized in earlier pages, clean breaks between linguistic areas, represented by a line, are useful in sorting

data into major categories, but cannot easily or often depict in detail the linguistic realities of a given zone. In the preceding chapter, there are examples (items 600, 1069) of words which, although essentially ERR in incidence, are attested a few times also in the central zone. Before presenting the strictly CRR words, I am going to list a few items which also signal transition from ERR to CRR. These words are attested chiefly in the central zone, and at two or three points in the eastern zone.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	CRR	Etym.
515	nido	nest	˹kǫ̊a˺	CUBĀRE
862	canter	rafter	˹dęgǫrę́nts˺	DĒCŬRRĔNDO
425	pascolo	meadow	˹pala˺	Pre-Lat. *pala
1541	cugliata	threaded needle	˹tré̯w˺[2]	TRACTU
201	battaio	cooper	˹pínt∂r˺	Ger. Binder
812	incubo	nightmare	˹tróta˺	der. Germanic trottŏn (?)

Item 201 occurs not only at ERR point 318 (Forni Avoltri) but also at WRR point 9 (Remüs), so that the CRR area in this instance actually bridges the gap between the extreme zones. The last word does not occur in the ERR zone, but does appear at point 29 (Santa Maria) in the WRR area.

The next group of words includes only those attested within the fourteen-point CRR area illustrated in Figure 15.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	CRR	Etym.
1207	burro	butter	˹zmálts˺	Ger. Schmalz

1222	carro	cart	˹gratún˺	AS craet◆ŌNE
1173	bovina	dung	˹ćǭrda˺	Frank. *krotta
1200	colostro	first milk	˹lat vę́rt˺	LACTE VIRIDE
404	fil di ferro	wire	˹fǫltrát˺	FILU TRACTU
961	padella	skillet	˹fána˺	PANNA
774	carnevale	carnival	˹kárlašę́˺	CARNE LAXĀRE
1471	trebbiare	thrash	˹fǫrlę́˺[3]	*FALCULĀRE
934	treppiede	tripod	˹faná˺	Ger. Pfanne(ngestell)
926	favilla	spark	˹títsa˺	*(SCIN)TICULA
791	cimitero	cemetery	˹kǫrtína˺	CORTĪNA
1069	montone	ram	˹bagǫ́t˺	der. BERBEX
1177	letame	dung	˹kortúra˺	CŬLTŪRA
719	pigro	lazy	˹frāt˺	FRACTU
105	labbro	lip	˹urél˺	*ORILLU
1574	nero	black	˹fǫ́šk˺	FŬSCU
1207	burro	butter	˹ǫ́ntǫ˺	der. UNGUEN
1391	bisogna	one must	˹męsún˺	Ger. müssen
1095	lardo	bacon	˹ćǫ́ćę˺	COQUERE
607	sambuco	elder-tree	˹ǫ́laṣalts˺	OLEASTELLUS
1234	finimenti	harness	˹gwánt˺	Frank. want
617	scopa	heather	˹lǫzǫ̆́ra˺	LUXURIA
568	resina	resin	˹mę́štra˺	MAGISTRA
42	bambino	child (m.)	˹mut˺	MŪTUS

1022 amaro bitter ˈantɑ Ger. hantig

The distribution of these words is described in the following table.

	305	312	313	315	323	314	307	325	317	316	311	310	322	320
1207	x	x	x	x	x	x					x	x		
1222	x	x	x		x		x			x				
1173	x	x	x	x				x		x				
1200	x	x	x	x	x			x						
404	x	x	x		x			x						
961	x	x	x	x		x								
774	x	x	x			x								
1471	x	x	x		x									
934	x	x	x	x										
926	x	x	x			x								
791	x	x	x	x										
1069	x	x		x		x								
1177	x	x				x								
719	x	x				x								
105							x		x	x				
1574	x	x				x								
1207							x		x	x				
1391	x	x		x										
1095	x	x		x										
607	x	x												
1234	x	x												
617	x			x										
568	x							x						
42	x	x												
1022	x	x												

Fig. 16

In addition to this basic list, there is a supplementary group of words which occur with varying frequency inside the CRR area, and which are observed from time to time to the south.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	CRR	Etym.
1107	ricevuto	received	ˈcapá	*CAPITATA
867	canale	gutter	ˈšilám	Gaul. *seliāre

959	catena	chain	˹ṣẹgóṣṭa˺	*CĬCŌNIŎLA (?)
186	forte	strong	˹gayart˺	*GALLEUS+Ger.-hard
1452	mietitore	reaper	˹sòžaradú˺	*SĒCŬLATŌREM
1524	mastello	wash tub	˹bréṇta˺	BRENTA
691	rosolia	measles	˹fẹ́rsa˺[14]	Sw. Ger. fersse
1174	sterco	manure	˹fík˺	FĪCU
42	bambino	child (m.)	˹tózo˺	TŌ(N)SU
792	cassa di morto	coffin	˹bára˺	MHG. bare
100	tempie	temples	˹sóno˺	SŎMNU
1204	panna	cream	˹tẹ́la˺	TĒLA
935	soffietto	bellows	˹mánṭaš˺	MANTĬCA
42	bambino	child (m.)	˹putél˺	*PŬLLĬCĔLLU
1182	trogolo	trough	˹bréñ˺	Gaul. *brenno

Outside the CRR domain, the frequency of occurrence of the foregoing words varies from one to several dozen attestations. Item 867 recurs south of the Valtellina at point 236 (Branzi), in the Ticino at point 51 (Vergeletto), and southwest of Domodossola at point 115 (Antronapiana)--suggesting either westward expansion of this CRR word along the Valtellina transversal, or submergence of a formerly more common RR word by encroaching Lombardian influence. Item 935, recurring at point 222 (Germasino) in the Valtellina, would allow a similar explanation. Item 691 is extremely widespread, being attested in the broad section of continental Italy lying between Milan-Bologna-Venice-Bolzano. Item 100 occurs often around Venice and

may well have spread northward from that source.

Inside the CRR domain, the distribution of the above words is as follows.

	305	312	313	315	323	314	307	325	317	316	311	310	322	320
1107			x	x	x		x	x		x	x		x	
867			x		x			x		x	x	x	x	x
959		x	x		x						x	x	x	x
186	x	x		x	x							x		x
1452	x	x			x						x		x	
1524		x			x							x		x
691											x	x	x	x
1174					x						x	x	x	x
42				x	x			x	x					
792					x						x	x	x	
100		x					x		x					
1204											x	x		x
935	x									x	x			
42											x		x	
1182												x		

Fig. 17

In order to get a clear idea of the relative degree of lexical concentration within the CRR domain proper, the entries in Figures 15 and 16 have been combined and tallied to show the number of times per point a CRR word occurs.

Point	305	312	313	315	323	314	307	325	317	316	311	310	322	320
Total	26	26	14	13	14	8	5	7	4	7	11	10	8	7

Once again it is evident that the points farthest north, being the most isolated from the influence of strong Italian dialects, retain the largest corpus of RR lexical stock. Unlike the vaguely concentric areas of lexical concentration found in ERR, the three areas of CRR cross and overlap each other, as Figure 18 shows.

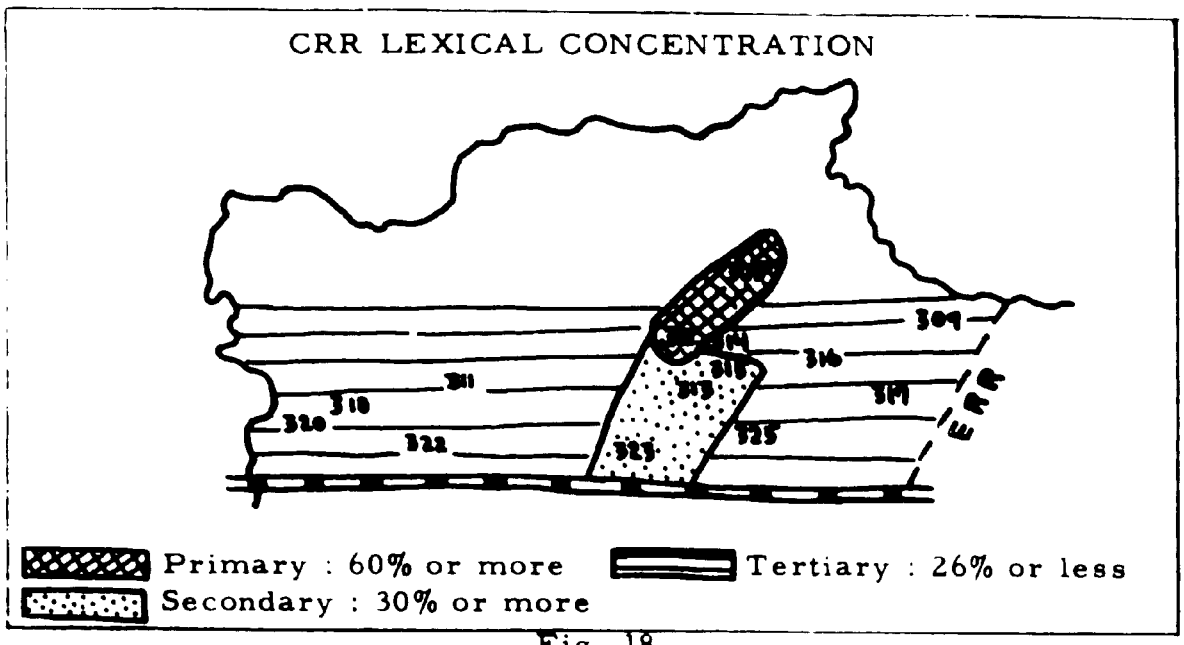


Fig. 18

CRR points of primary lexical importance are situated along the Gadera and Gardena river valleys, which belonged to Austria until 1919,[5] so that the Germanic influence there has long been particularly intense.[6] In one sense, this factor may have worked to the advantage of CRR, for the non-Romance language is not likely, in a bilingual situation, to have brought about extensive alterations in the fundamental structure of CRR. Only in the lexicon--that most vulnerable and adaptable element of a language--can one observe wide-spread Germanic influence. Compare in this respect those points lying to the south of the massif of La Sella, where the influence of a strong Romance dialect has left a much heavier imprint on the RR lexicon. On the other hand, the Germanic influence at northern points has been something of an obstacle to investigators, at least insofar as the linguistic inquiries for the AIS are concerned. At point 314 (Colfosco in Badia), for exam-

ple, the inquiries, instead of being made in the local dialect or in standard Italian, had to be conducted in German. This perhaps explains why that point displays such a meager statistical response, in comparison with other points in the Sella cluster.

At the four points nearest the WRR zone, lexical concentration is less dense. Proximity to western influence, relative accessibility of the area, and a considerable degree of emigration combine to explain this circumstance. In this region, particularly at point 322 (Tuenno), the RR speech is regarded by its speakers as a special and individual type of language.[7]

Comparison of Figures 13, 14, and 18 does not reveal any particularly congruent features shared by the political, ecclesiastical, and lexical divisions inside the CRR domain.

Before passing on to the WRR lexicon, it is appropriate to insert here a rather considerable number of RR words amply attested in both the CRR and ERR domains. The first group includes words that occur only in the RR domain proper.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	CRR+ERR	Etym.
1168	greppia	corn crib	ˈcanél	CĂNĀLIS
1616	marcio	decayed	ˈfrät	FRACTU
1399	mucchio	haystack	ˈkoǫ́l[8]	*COCULA
1204	panna	cream	ˈbráma[9]	Gaul. *crama
1041	toro	bull	ˈmáɳts	*MANDIUS

There is a much larger group of words which spill over the southern RR limit, appearing with varying frequency in the Venetian and Lombardian plains.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	CRR+ERR	Etym.
556	asse	board	⌜bréya⌝	Goth. brĭkan
1066	asino	ass	⌜múš⌝[10]	*MŪSCĔLLA
845	sentiero	path	⌜trú⌝[11]	*TROJU
31	suocero	father-in-law	⌜misér⌝	MEŬ+SĔNIOR
995	salsa	sauce	⌜tǫ́ŋkǫ⌝[12]	Gr. tonikos
227	succiello	auger	⌜foradǫ́rie⌝	FORĀTORIU
35	padrino	godfather	⌜sántol⌝	SANCTULU
281	portamonete	billfold	⌜takwiŋ⌝[13]	It. taccuino (notebook)
1463	granturco	maize	⌜sǫ́rk⌝	It. sorgo (sorghum)
375	brina	white-frost	⌜broža⌝	Germanic brŏjan
1298	noce	nut	⌜kǫ́kulę⌝	*CŎCULA
679	gratta	scratch	⌜rüšate⌝	*RUSSA(RE)+TE
867	canale	gutter	⌜gǫ́rnǫ⌝	der. URNA (?)
1507	arcolaio	skein-winder	⌜kǫ́rlǫ⌝	der. CŬRRĔRE
1068	pecora	sheep	⌜fę́da⌝	*FĒTA (ML3269)
116	mascella	jaw(s)	⌜grámule⌝	It. gramola
1203	vaso	receptacle	⌜čadíŋ⌝	*CYATHĪNA
1204	panna	cream	⌜kaǫ⌝	CAPUT

Some of the above words are distributed in such a way as to suggest probable northward expansion from the Venetian sphere of in-

fluence. Very few appear in significant concentration south of the Po river; they might well constitute the remains of words formerly in common usage in the coastal areas around the gulf of Venice and northern Adriatic waters, as they are occasionally attested also in the Istrian peninsula.

In this chapter I have shown that the CRR area consists of fourteen lexically definable points, with three degrees of lexical frequency, the most intense concentration being attested in villages around the massif of La Sella, in the Dolomites. The illustrations show, furthermore, that the CRR points present an irregular, somewhat discontinuous pattern when compared with the relatively equidistant disposition of the ERR points. This is due to geographical conditions. Finally, I have demonstrated that CRR and ERR share a certain lexical stock.

In the next chapter, in addition to the detailed study of WRR, further such examples of lexical items shared by two or more RR zones will be presented.

VIII. Western Raeto-Romance

Practically nothing was known about the RR language in Switzerland until, almost two hundred years ago, the Grisons historian and philologist, Joseph von Planta, published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of 1776 a treatise which made its existence known to a wider public. Since that time, numerous societies and civic organizations have devoted much enthusiasm and limited funds to the dissemination and perpetuation of RR. Within the context of the entire Swiss population, however, the language is being gradually supplanted by German or Italian. During the twelfth century, RR was spoken throughout the Grisons.[1] In 1806 there were 36,000 RR speakers, representing 50% of the cantonal population (German: 26,000; Italian: 10,000). By 1900 the statistics definitely favored German and Italian with a combined 65%, against 35% for RR. By 1945 the RR percentage had fallen to 31%. In spite of this marked decline in the number of speakers, RR has been officially recognized as Switzerland's fourth national language, a noteworthy accomplishment for advocates of a language spoken by a bare 1% of the national population.[2]

There are just under 50,000 speakers of RR in the western zone today, not a great number when compared with the ERR zone, yet it is in WRR that by far the greatest concentration of RR words

remains. Not only is the WRR area as a whole the repository of the majority of RR words, but within this area several discrete zones detach themselves lexically to form regional patterns a good deal more definite and independent than those illustrated in Figures 12 and 17 for ERR and CRR, respectively.

To establish the WRR domain it is necessary merely to examine that part of the RR area which remains after the ERR and CRR zones have been subtracted. What is left is a group of nineteen points--all of them in Switzerland--as represented below.

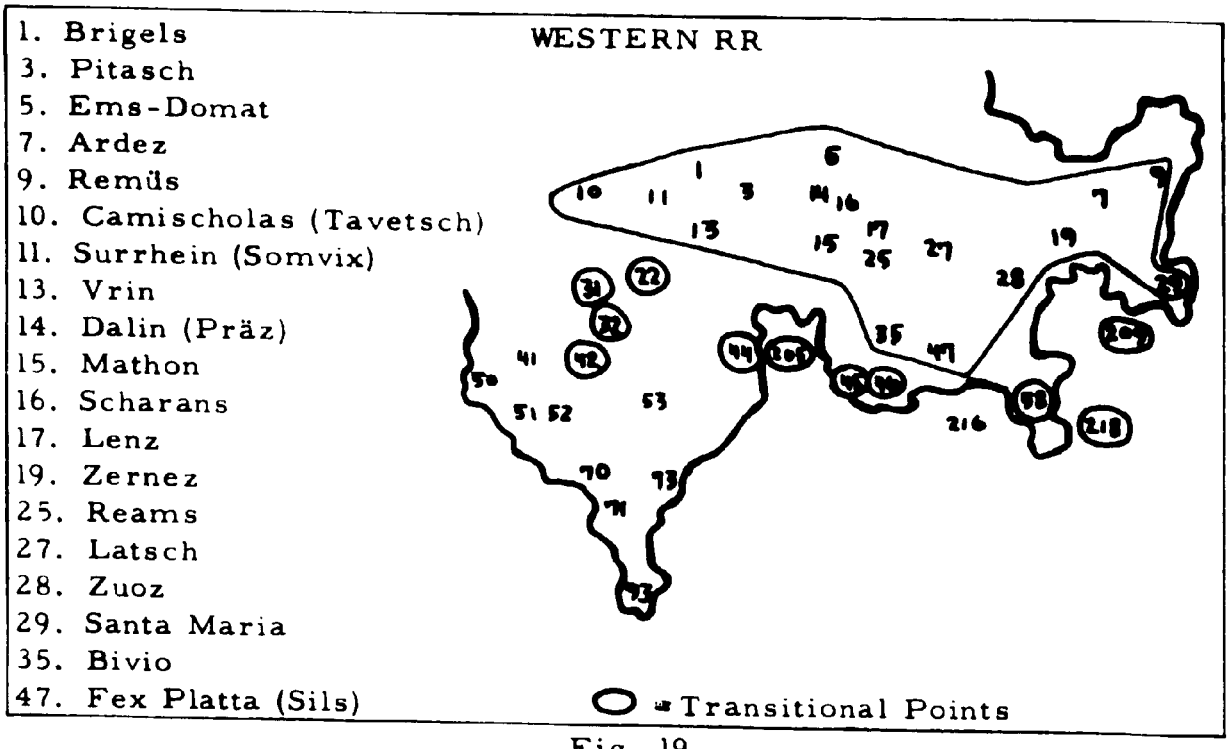


Fig. 19

Figure 3 (p.25) shows quite clearly the very high degree of lexical concentration inside this zone. The five westernmost points, lying for the most part along the Upper Rhine[3] and above the forest of Flims, constitute the area of greatest lexical intensity, and are called

the Surselvan group. The Subselvan group comprises the adjacent six points which form a zone of secondary lexical concentration. The remaining eight points are located principally along the Inn river, half of them in the upper reaches. These are the Upper and Lower Engadinish areas, where WRR lexical items are less concentrated and somewhat more whimsical in their behavior. Figure 20 depicts this internal grouping which I shall presently substantiate with examples.

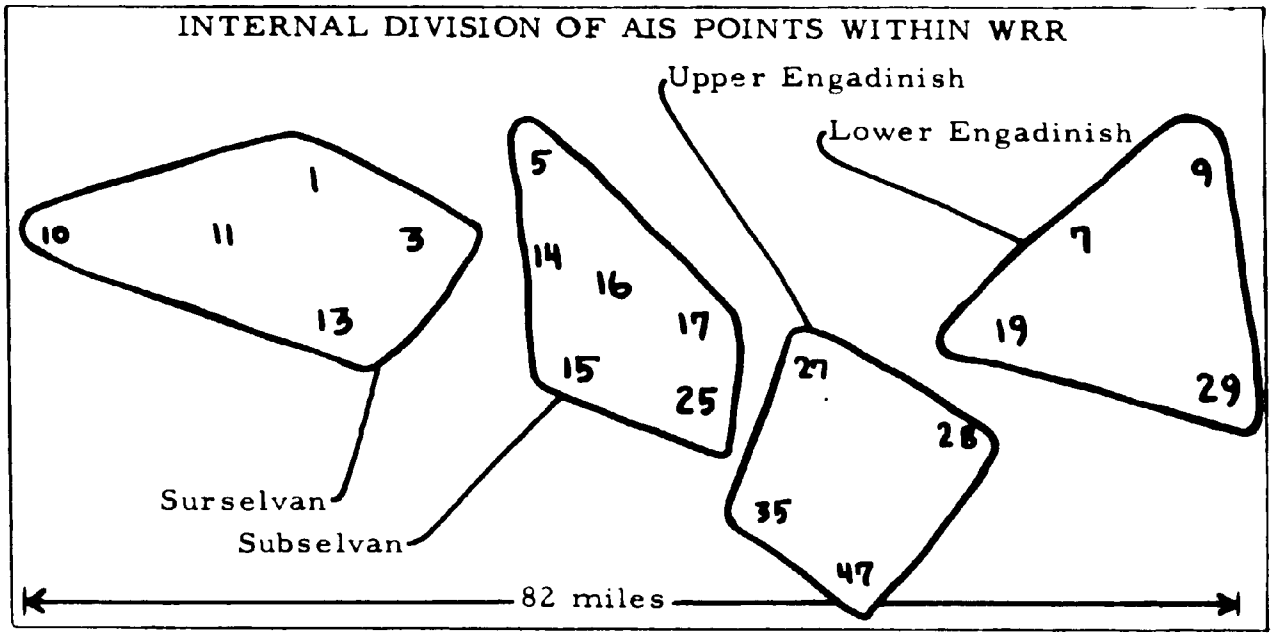


Fig. 20

The subdivisions here shown are not meant to imply that general lexical unity is altogether absent from this area. On the contrary, about fifty maps give evidence in support of such general unity. The following group shows a common lexical item for every point within the area, and for no other points.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
186	forte	strong	"férm"	FIRMU

763	libro	book	ˈkʊ̑ḍeṣ	CODEX
788	campane	bells	ˈsę́nts	SIGNOS
1423	porta	gate	ˈg̈ę́na	*JENUA (ML4575)
1575	bianco	white	ˈâlf	ALBU

Supplementary to this perfect set are the following words which occur at all of the WRR points, and at one or more of the transitional points, chiefly T-45 and T-46.

227	succiello	gimlet	ˈtrâdar	Gaul. taratrum
350	ier l'altro	day before yesterday	ˈštę́rtsa	ISTU HERI IPSU (?)
530	bosco	wood	ˈvawt	Ger. Wald
725	paura	fear	ˈtę́mma	der. TIMERE
783	chiesa	church	ˈbaṣélga	BASILICA
799	sagrestano	sexton	ˈkalúštar	der. CLAUSTRU
866	lastra	flagstone	ˈpláta	PLATEA
1200	colostro	first milk	ˈkǫ́t	CŎL(ŎSTRU)
1509	gomitolo	ball of yarn	ˈkanę́	Ger. Knäuel+ELLU

A sizeable number of maps display a common lexical unity in all but a few of the points within the WRR area.

42	bambino	child (m.)	ˈufánt	INFANTE
196	porro	wart	ˈvríkla	*VERRUCULA
351	bisogna	one must	ˈin štǫ́	HOMO STUPET (?)
400	terremoto	earthquake	ˈtę́ratríambal[14]	TERRAE *TREMULU
444	topo	mouse	ˈmür	MŪRE
473	cimice	bedbug	ˈpę̄dra	PETRA

755	danzare	dance	ˈsaltá	SALTARE
1107	ricevuto	received	sụrñí	* SUPER VENITU
1192	cascina	chalet	ˈtẹ̆ga	TEGIA
1198	caciaio	cheese-maker	ˈsañúŋ	*SANNIONE (Ger. Senn)
1339	acquavite	brandy	ˈvinárs	VINEARIUS
1583	molle	soft	ˈlọ́m	Langob. lam
487	scricciolo	wren	ˈpóliš	PŎLLEX
1196	scanno	stool	ˈsọ́pča	SŬBLĬCA
1204	panna	cream	ˈgrọ́mma	Sw. Ger. grŭmmele
724	rubare	steal	ˈaŋgulá	INVOLARE
1028	fare prima colazione	breakfast	ˈǧantá	JENTARE
1471	trebbiare	thrash	ˈškŭdar	EXCUTERE
1577	giallo	yellow	ˈmétan	MĔLĬNUS
1580	leggero	light	ˈlẹ́f	LEVE
1625	ascolta	listen	ˈtaykla	*TĬTŬLA
120	fico d'Adamo	Adam's apple	ˈnúf	NŌDU
947	stoviglie	dishes	ˈvašẹ́la	VASCĔLLU
959	catena	chain	ˈplimáṫ	PLICARE+CREMACULU (?)
1234	finimenti	harness	ˈkọ́mat	MHG. komat
1677	bagnati	soaked	ˈblẹ́ʦ	Alem. bleich
1679	giumella	two hands full	ˈbọ́fa	Gaul. *bosta
845	sentiero	path	ˈsénda	SĒMĬTA
438	donnola	weasel	ˈmüštayla	MUSTELA
801	pregare	pray	ˈurá	ORARE

1281	nocciolo	pit (fruit)	⌜krêš⌝	Gaul. *crōdius
1498	pettinare	card (wool)	⌜čarzá⌝	*CARDIARE
125	petto	chest	⌜brušt⌝	Ger. Brust
172	sputo	spittle	⌜škrák⌝	(onomat.)
201	bottáio	cooper	⌜küafar⌝	Ger. Küfer
201	bottaio	cooper	⌜vašlé⌝	VASCELLARIU
898	scanno	stool	⌜hókar⌝	Ger. Hocker
1022	amaro	bitter	⌜pétar⌝	Ger. bitter

The distribution of the foregoing words is shown below. The entry "o" signifies the point at which the lexical item in question does not occur.

	10	11	1	13	3	5	14	15	16	17	25	27	28	35	47	19	7	9	29
42														o					
196			o																
351														o					
400														o					
444																			o
473														o					
755														o					
1107															o				
1192														o					
1198														o					
1339															o				
1583																			o
487										o				o					
1196														o		o			
1204														o	o				
724													o		o	o			
1028								o	o								o		
1471														o	o				
1577																o		o	o
1580													o		o		o		
1625		o										o		o					
120	o													o	o				o
947												o		o	o				o

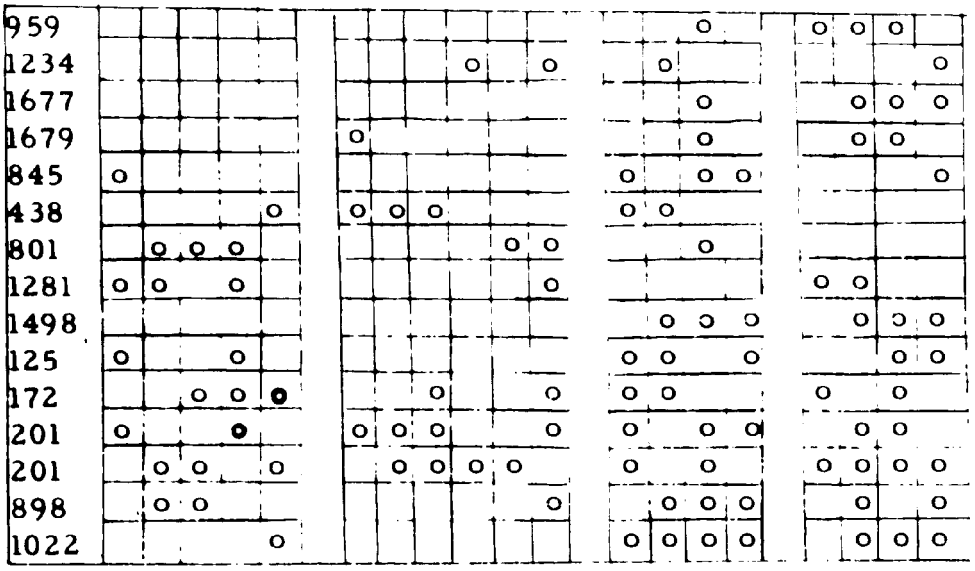


Fig. 21

In addition to giving evidence of lexical unity within the WRR area, these words, viewed statistically, show the relative degree of lexical conservatism both between the Selvan and Engadinish groups as well as among their respective subdivisions. Taking into consideration the preceding chart--that is, points within WRR at which generally distributed lexical items do not appear--let us calculate the total number of times a given point is listed there.

Brigels (5)	Ems (3)	Latsch (9)	Ardez (11)
Pitasch (4)	Dalin (3)	Zuoz (9)	Remüs (10)
Camischolas (5)	Mathon (5)	Bivio (24)	Zernez (7)
Surrhein (5)	Scharans (3)	Fex Platta (14)	Santa Maria (14)
Vrin (5)	Lenz (3)		
	Reams (6)		

If now these totals are converted into percentile evaluations and displayed in their relative geographical positions, they result in the

following scheme.

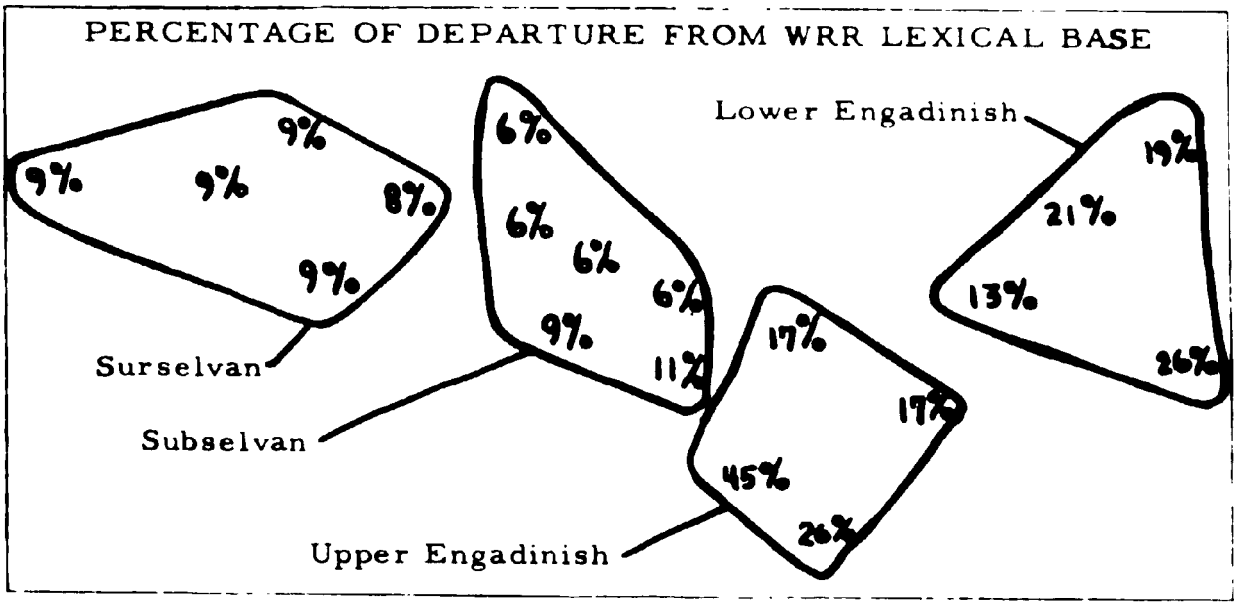


Fig. 22

From the statistical point of view, the Selvan groups clearly constitute the less deviant, hence the most conservative area in terms of the general lexicon, with a point-average deviation of 8%, as opposed to an average deviation of 23% per point in the combined Engadinish groups. The most conservative single area is the Subselvan, with only an average 7.3% per point deviation, while the least conservative is the Upper Engadinish, in which an average per point deviation of 26.2% from the general WRR lexical base is attested. (It is important to bear in mind that the percentages in Figure 22 are based on lexical items occurring generally in all of the sub-areas comprising WRR. Figure 3, on the other hand, is based not only on these generalized lexical items, but also on items of purely sub-areal occurrence. This would account for the fact that in Figure 3 the Surselvan area appears

to be the most conservative, whereas in Figure 22 it is rather the Subselvan area which displays this characteristic).

If a parallel statistical calculation is applied to the lexical items occurring sporadically at transitional points adjacent to the southern limit of the WRR area, the following percentages result.

T-22 Olivone (3%). T-45 Soglio (13%). T-58 Poschiavo (5%).
T-205 Prestone (2%). T-46 Coltura (14%). T-209 Isolaccia (3%).

Figure 21 shows that at points 35 (Bivio) and 47 (Fex Platta) a very high percentage of departure from the WRR lexical base is reached; yet it is precisely to points T-45 (Soglio) and T-46 (Coltura)--those geographically nearest points 35 and 47--that lexical items typical of WRR most frequently extend, whenever they go beyond the circumscribed area at all--a circumstance to be expected since transitional points are involved.

During the sixteenth century there occurred an important degree of immigration to Bivio (35) from Soglio in the Val Bregaglia (45), with the accompanying Italianization of schools, municipal offices, and courts of law. There are at present families in the valley who own property in Bivio, so that they spend two or three months of the year there to manage their interests. German is spoken by almost all the inhabitants of Bivio who have travelled outside that village. Almost everybody speaks the dialect of the Val Bregaglia as well. Finally, there are immigrants from the Oberhalbstein (the

upper valley of the Julia) who preserve their original dialect alongside the local one in Bivio. There has likewise been much immigration from the Val Bregaglia to Fex Platta (47), so much so that the AIS investigator appended to his data a note to the effect that the younger generation (of 1920) spoke only "Schriftengadinisch."[6] Another important factor which promotes unity among points 35, 47, T-45, and T-46 is that the inhabitants of these villages share the Protestant faith, and are entirely surrounded by Catholic communities.

Before considering the various divisions within the WRR area, attention must be given to a number of RR words which occur not only inside the WRR zone proper, but also beyond its southern limit.

The first group consists of words which extend in three general directions: southwest toward the Ticino and Piedmont; south toward the Valtellina and Bergamo; and southeast toward Trentino and the Lago di Garda.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
448	pipistrello	bat	˹medzrâtemèdzulhâl˺[7]	MEDIU RATTU ET MEDIU AUCELLU[8]
1168	greppia	crib	˹purzepan˺	PRAESĔPIUM
1211	torno	suspension arm	˹siguña˺	CĬCŌNIA
1222	carro	cart	˹béna˺	Gaul. benna

Item 448 covers essentially all the WRR area and reaches southwest to point 117 (Ornovasso), south to point 225 (Mello), and southeast to point 322 (Tuenno, in CRR). Such a distribution sug-

gests a Lombardian expression which gained access to WRR by way of the interconnected Ossola-Antigorio-Formazza valleys, the Ticino, Val Bregaglia, Val Poschiavo, and Val Müstair, and which followed the Valtellina and Val di Sole to penetrate into the CRR area.

Item 1168, which covers the entire WRR area and extends southwest to point 135 (Pettinengo), south to point 234 (Introbio), and southeast to point 248 (Limone), likewise shows traces of northern expansion of a Lombardian word.

The same general factors may be responsible also for the distribution of item 1211, which extends as far as point 53 (Prosito) in the Ticino, and south-southeast as far as point 258 (Lumezzane-Sant'-Apolonio), but touches the WRR area only at point 35 (Bivio) in Upper Engadinish. This unique occurrence is perhaps traceable to Bivio's singular position as a key fork (BI+VIUM) along the heavily travelled Roman road from Chiavenna up to Chur.[9]

Attested only in the Selvan groups and in a mere seven non-RR points is item 1222, which reaches southwest to point 115 (Antrona-piana), south to point 234 (Introbio), and southeast to point 218 (Grosio), and which admits of a similar Lombardian explanation.

There are certain words which are similar to the previous four, except that they extend only in two directions: southwest and south.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
18	nipoti	nephews	˹beédis˺	BEATUS

670	nudo	naked	˹blųt˺	Langob. bloz
938	stufa	stove	˹píña˺	PĪNEU
1219	ricotta	curd	˹caqrún˺	COAGULUM
1387	patate	potatoes	˹tartífuy˺	Ger. Kartoffel
1394	falciatore	reaper	˹pradęr˺	PRATARIU

Item 18 covers essentially all of the WRR area, reaching beyond the Ticino to point 231 (Arcumeggia), and south to point 244 (Sant'-Ombono). Item 670 is found only in the Selvan groups, within the WRR domain, but fans out broadly as far as point 123 (Brusson, east of the Val d'Aosta), and as far south as point 290 (Godiasco, below Alessandria). Item 938 is attested throughout WRR, down the Ticino to point 70 (Indemini), and south to point 234 (Introbio). Item 1219 is essentially universal within WRR, extending beyond the Ticino to point 124 (Selveglio), and appearing sporadically at point 222 (Germasino) to the south. Item 1387, along with variants ˹tríful˺ and ˹trúfals˺, is attested in all of WRR except Lower Engadinish, where ˹malįntera˺ [10] is used. The former extend southwest as far as point 182 (Limone Piemonte), and south as far as point 234 (Introbio). Item 1394 appears in most of WRR, southwest as far as point 118 (Malesco), and south as far as point 224 (Curcio).

The third group comprises words which extend southwest into the Ticino, and occasionally beyond.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
60	pezza	diaper	˹štraš˺ [11]	It. straccio

128	ventre	belly	ˈbüzɛ̈lɑ	BASĬLĬCA (?)
546	ritorta	withe	ˈligǫ́m	LIGAMEN
1402	guaime	aftercrop	ˈrižd́iʃ	RECIDIVUM

Item 60 is a rare word within WRR, occurring only at Surselvan points 1 and 11. It stretches down a narrow corridor beyond the Ticino to point 137 (Carpignano, above Novara), following interlocking systems of valleys and lakes. Item 128 is likewise a rarity for WRR, appearing only at Upper Engadinish point 28. The word is, however, widespread in the Ticino, and reaches southwest as far as point 117 (Ornavasso). Item 546 occurs fairly frequently throughout WRR, reaching just beyond the Ticino to point 118 (Malesco). Item 1402 is quite generally attested within WRR and the Ticino, extending southwest as far as point 231 (Arcumeggia).

The fourth group includes words distributed in such a way as to merit special comment.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
935	soffietto	bellows	ˈfǫ́l	FŎLLE
1204	panna	cream	ˈflúʀ	FLŌRE
1405	falce	sickle	ˈfaɾkla	FALCŬLA

Item 935 appears throughout WRR, but at no adjacent points; far to the squtheast, in Istria, the form recurs at points 397 (Rovigno) and 398 (Dignano). Between these extreme areas, in the roughly triangular zone of Venezia-Belluno-Trieste, there are some ten attestations of the variant ˈfǫ́to.

Item 1204 occurs only at Upper Engadinish points 35 and 47 (rendered accessible by the Val Bregaglia) within the WRR domain, but appears at a dozen adjacent points to the south, reaching well down into the Ticino as far as point 71 (Breno). Beyond this, the word is attested at fourteen points in the southwest, as far down as point 181 (Valdieri), which is actually a Gallo-Romance point.

Item 1405 occurs generally throughout WRR and along the southern rim of transitional points, extending southward to point 267 (Dello), below Brescia.

The subdivisions indicated in Figure 20 show the geographical relationship among four areas of approximately equivalent size. The Surselvan and Subselvan areas, separated by the forest of Flims, are located in a large valley formed by the upper reaches of the Rhine river. Points within the Upper and Lower Engadinish areas lie along the valley of the Inn river, except for point 29 (Santa Maria) to the southeast. This point belongs to the WRR domain today because the Val Müstair, in which it lies, leads into the Val Venosta, which today is Germanized, so that the speakers in the Val Müstair had to orient themselves toward the north.

Lexical items exist which, while not common to all of the WRR area, occur in one or more of its subdivisions, and support the groupings shown in Figure 20. It is to this internal distribution of lexical items that the next section will be devoted.

The following words occur generally throughout the Upper and

Lower Engadinish areas.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
183	brutto	ugly	ˈtrít	TRĪTU
200	arnesi	tools	ˈüzaylas	USU+ELLAS
365	nebbia	fog	ˈčiẹ́ra	CĒRA
459	chiocciola	snail	ˈlidọ́rna	MHG. lendern
857	buco	hole	ˈfọ́ra	*FORA
951	acquario	sink	ˈaqwaráẹl	AQUARIOLU
1128	becco	beak	ˈpíkal	*PICCU+ELLU
1174	sterco	manure	ˈčavarlína	CABALLINA
1203	vaso	cream-making receptacle	ˈmụ́ta	Germanic motta
1235	redini	reins	ˈmaštrínas	MAGISTRINAS
1544	ditale	thimble	ˈdaŋklẹ́r	*TANGULARIUS
1658	capire	understand	ˈinkléar	INTELLEGERE

Rather than set up a separate chart to show the distribution of these words, it is sufficient to observe that points 27 (Latsch), 29 (Santa Maria), and 35 (Bivio) are the ones which most often fail to participate in the above grouping. There is a good geographical reason for this, in that these are the only Engadinish points which do not actually lie along the Inn river valley, hence are Engadinish only by virtue of over-all lexical statistics. Some of these words, moreover, are attested at one or two places in the adjacent Subselvan area. Items 183, 1658, and 1544 occur also at point 25 (Reams), the last appearing as well at point 17 (Lenz). Both of these points lie in

the Val Sursett leading northward toward Chur. Mena Grisch has pointed out the transitional nature of the Surmeir (points 15, 17, 25, 27, 35) so that such a pattern of distribution is not unexpected.[12] Item 1128 occurs also at point 14 (Dalin) in the adjacent Sotmeir (points 5, 14, 16). Other lexical items appear outside WRR, at adjacent transitional points. Item 365 occurs at point T-205 (Prestone). Item 1235 is attested at points T-45 (Soglio), T-46 (Coltura), and T-209 (Isolaccia). Item 951 appears at the four transitional points referred to immediately above, as well as at points T-44 (Mesocco) and T-58 (Poschiavo). Item 1174 occurs at Subselvan point 15 (Mathon), at transitional points T-45 and T-46, and in the Ticino at point 53 (Prosito). Item 1203 recurs to the southwest at six points in the Ticino.

The following words occur primarily in the Lower Engadinish zone.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
139	fegato	liver	ˈniróm	Ger. Nieren
1279	susina	prune	ˈbrümblas	MHG. brombeere (blackberry)
1387	patate	potatoes	ˈmalintéra	MELU IN TERRA
147	gomito	elbow	ˈčandún	*CUBITŌNE
1073	pecoraio	shepherd	ˈbeséṛ	*BĔRBĒCARIU
74	gravida	pregnant	ˈin šprántsa	IN *SPERANTIA[13]
531	cespugli	bushes	ˈċépa	*CIPPA
1135	torlo	egg yolk	ˈyélk	Germanic yelke

It is not surprising to note that whenever these words are at-

tested outside the Lower Engadinish area, such attestations occur at point 28 (Zuoz, the nearest point) in the Upper Engadinish zone.[14] By the same token, it is at point 29 (Santa Maria) in the Val Müstair that typically Lower Engadinish items most frequently fail to occur, doubtless owing to that valley's peculiar geographical position. Item 1135, although exclusively Lower Engadinish within WRR, appears sporadically in the Ticino, and as far southwest as point 117 (Ornavasso).

There is only a single lexical item which is found exclusively at all four points comprising Upper Engadinish, and it appears on AIS map 1449 (avena - oats - "flɑdar" < Frank. fōdr). AIS 138 (polmone - lung - "kuradęla" < COR+ATELLU), touches two points within this area: 28 (Zuoz) and 47 (Fex Platta). But it cannot really be considered an exclusively Upper Engadinish lexical item because it reaches southeast as far as point 229 (Sonico). It is most likely an intrusive borrowing from Bergamese.

More numerous are the words characteristic of the combined Surselvan and Subselvan areas, in accordance with the relatively higher degree of conservatism in this region, as shown in Figure 21. The following may be included in this category.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
139	fegato	liver	"dír"	DŪRU
787	suona	(it) rings	"túka"	*TOCCA
1014	mangiare	eat	"matá"	*MAGULARE
306	dozzina	dozen	"tǫtsal"	DUODECIM+ELLU

421	montagna	mountain	ˈkúlm	CULMEN, Ger. Kulm
485	ragno	spider	ˈfilían	*FILIANUS
908	lucignolo	wick	ˈlimɛ̨ʏ	der. LŪCĬNIUM, LUMEN
1119	zampa	paw	ˈtó̜pa	Sw. Ger. tape
917	esca	tinder	ˈšu̜m	Ger. (Feuer)schwamm
1226	barella	cart	ˈqrát	CARRU+ETTA
1426	canale	ditch	ˈdúč	DUCTU
1504	aspo	winder	ˈškáf	SCABĔLLUM
1524	mastello	washtub	ˈtsɛ̨var	der. Ger. Zuber
119	nuca	nape	ˈtatɔ̨na	*TACTIŌNA
321	giugno	June	ˈtsarkladúr	*SARCULARE+ATORE
322	luglio	July	ˈfanadúr	*FĒNU+ATORE
719	pigro	lazy	ˈmarš	MARCĬDU
774	carnevale	carnival	ˈšɛ̨var	INCIPERE
1028	prima colazione	breakfast	ˈsólvar	*SOLVERE
1556	toppa	patch	ˈškrota	Germanic scrotan
19	zio	uncle	ˈawk	AVŬNCŬLUS
212	carbone	coal	ˈkɔ̨čla	Ger. Kohle
532	abbattere	fell	ˈpiné	PĪNUS+ĀRE
607	sambuco	elder	ˈsuič	SABŪCU
1358	boccio	bud	ˈbru̜mbal	Sw. Ger. Blümli (?)
1359	annusare	smell	ˈfardá	*FRAGRĬTĀRE
113	guancia	cheek	ˈvɛ̨šta	*VISTA
759	masticare	chew	ˈšlaná	Ger. schlingen

926	favilla	spark	ˈbrášča	Gaul. brasa
1176	zanella	gutter	ˈfusáw	FOSSĀTU
1203	vaso	cream-making receptacle	ˈkurté	QUARTU
1207	burro	butter	ˈpižęda	PĬCEA
1399	mucchio	haystack	ˈmałaks	*MARRA+ACUS

Seven of the above words (items 206, 421, 485, 908, 1119, 1426, and 1524) are attested also at point 27 (Latsch) in the Upper Engadinish area, which supports C. M. Lutta's classification of this point as linguistically intermediate between Engadinish and Subselvan.[15] In line with Mena Grisch's similar conclusion (note 12) with respect to nearby points, we find that twenty of the remaining words are not attested at point 17 (Lenz), or point 25 (Reams), or both. Items 1504, 1524, 113 and 759 show sporadic instances of non-occurrence at points 3 (Pitasch), 10 (Camischolas), and 11 (Surrhein), which possibly signals the intrusion of a Lombardian type which did not reach the extremity of the upper Rhine. Nineteen of the above words fail to appear at point 15 (Mathon), or point 16 (Scharans), or both,[16] the first being included among Mena Grisch's intermediate points of the Surmeir.

On the basis of these thirty-three examples, which obviously do not appear with the same frequency at each point, the percentage of lexical non-participation of each point is illustrated in Figure 23, on the following page.

Comparison with the percentages shown in Figure 22 reveals that quite a different statistical aspect is presented for the Selvan

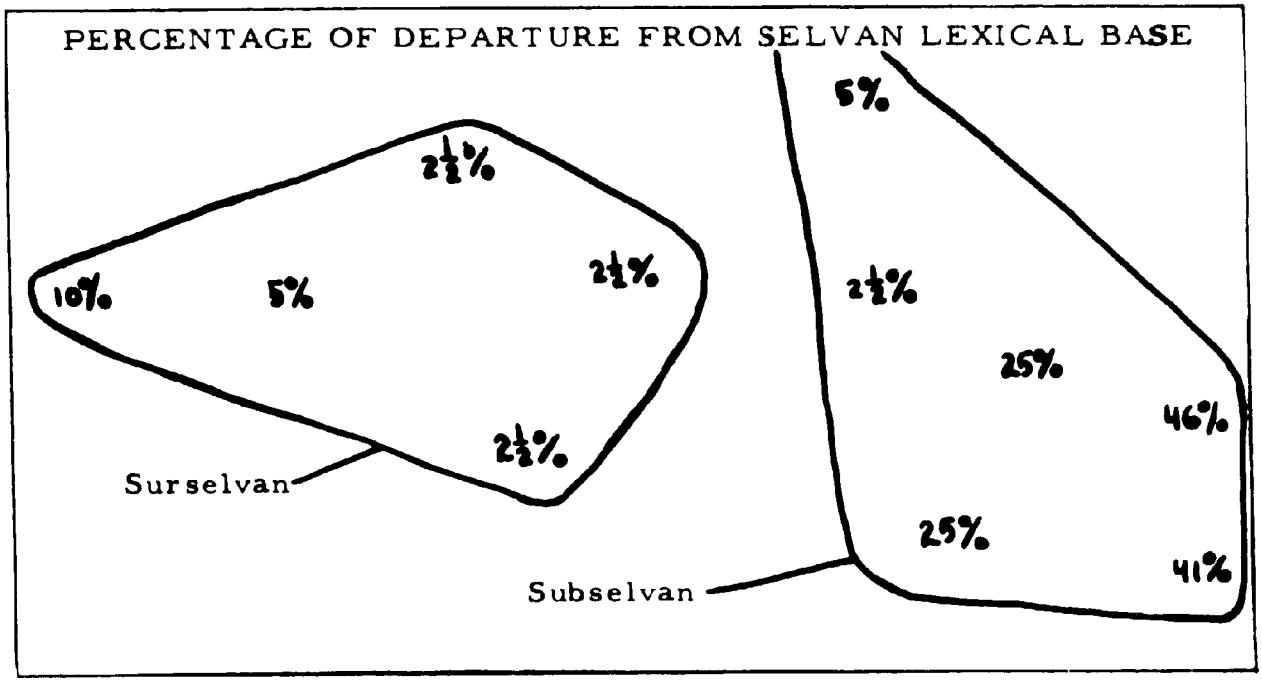


Fig. 23

points when that area alone is taken into account. Most striking is the fact that point 17 (Lenz), one of the most conservative points (6% departure) with respect to all of WRR, is by far the least conservative point (46% departure) when considered within an exclusively Selvan context. Certainly the difference between the total number of words upon which each calculation was based--56 for Figure 20, 39 for Figure 22--is in part responsible for this statistical incongruity.

Words typical of the Selvan area which appear sporadically elsewhere do so chiefly in the adjacent Upper Engadinish zone, where point 27 (Latsch), the nearest point geographically, shows the highest incidence (17%) of common lexical items of any point outside the Selvan area proper.

The following forms may be classified as typically Surselvan.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
115	mento	chin	ˈbadiċún	*MENT+ICIU+ONE
160	torte	twisted	ˈuáršas	MHG. dwer
211	carbonaio	coalman	ˈbrížakǫ́ċla	BRISARE + Ger. Kohle
1269	gambo	stem	ˈfuštę́ċ	FŪSTĬCŬLUS
1447	orzo	barley	ˈdumíak	*DOMECU
810	bestemmiare	swear	ˈtsundrá	EX+HŎNŎRĀRE
818	borgata	hamlet	ˈuklawn	*VICULANU
869	soffitta	attic	ˈşurkǫ́mbras	SUPRA CAMERAS
1174	sterco	manure	ˈgráša	*CRASSA
1213	batterella	churner	ˈturžę́t	*TRUSARE

Item 1447 occurs nowhere else within WRR, but the variant ˈdumę́ga is found immediately to the southeast, at points T-58 (Poschiavo), T-218 (Grosio), and 227 (Albosaggia). Item 1174 recurs outside WRR at point T-22 (Olivone) on the southern edge of Surselvan, and at point 216 (Lanzada), bordering Upper Engadinish--points which by lexical count or position are transitional. Item 1213 is attested to the south at six points in the Ticino, as far as point 52 (Aurigeno), marking one of the routes common to north-bound lexical items of Lombardian origin. Considering only the Surselvan zone, the least stable points are the outlying 10 (Camischolas) and 11 (Surrhein), which are also the two westernmost points of the entire RR domain, and the two points nearest to the influence of Disentis, Surselvan's principal city. The point which exhibits the greatest number of typically Sur-

selvan lexical items but which is not itself within this zone is point 5 (Ems), in the adjacent Subselvan area. The increased lexical frequency of that particular point can be explained by its location right in the upper Rhine valley, along with three of the Surselvan points, whereas no other Subselvan points enjoy such a geographical position.

In contrast to Surselvan, Subselvan is in no instance set apart by a single word in the AIS as the well-defined zone presented in Figure 20, and this lack of homogeneity, as observed also by Mena Grisch and C. M. Lutta, has been referred to in the preceding pages. Only the following four maps display a general tendency toward unity in this area.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
812	incubo	nightmare	˹tóki˺	Gmc. tokken (ML8768)
951	acquaio	sink	˹turę́ra˺	*TURRELLA
1571	cuffia	coif	˹capę́ca˺	Ger. Kapuze
1658	capire	understand	˹antalóyr˺	INTELLEGERE

Items 812, 951, and 1571 all recur at one or more nearby points within the Subselvan zone. Among these additional occurences, points 27 (Latsch) and 35 (Bivio) are once again to be numbered, which is further evidence of their truly intermediate nature. Item 1658 does not recur outside Subselvan, but a variant, ˹inklę́ar˺, appears throughout the Engadinish areas, except at point 35 (Bivio).

In addition to the basic patterns of lexical distribution dealt with thus far, there are various other combinations of the Selvan and Engadinish areas and sub-areas which display lexical unity, and which

will be the subject of the following sections.

The largest group of such words covers the Surselvan, Subselvan, and Upper Engadinish zones, and includes the data below.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
131	schiena	spine	ˈdiəs [17]	*DOSSU<DORSU
817	villaggio	village	ˈvišnǫ́ŋkə [18]	*VICINANCA
876	pavimento	floor	ˈpalanšę́	* PALANCINU
1121	gallo	cock	ˈčiat [19]	CAUTU
16	nonno	grand-father	ˈtat	Sw. Ger. tätti
74	gravida	pregnant	ˈpurtǫ́ntsə [20]	*PORTANTIA
122	spalla	shoulder	ˈžuví	*GAVELLU
200	arnesi	tools	ˈwáfəns	Ger. Waffen+s
237	impastare	knead	ˈtrużá	*TRŬDĬCĀRE
862	canter	rafter	ˈansę́rkalʦ	ASSERCULU
1068	pecora	sheep	ˈnúərsə	*NURSA
1071	agnello	lamb	ˈčúť	ČOTT<? (ML2454)
1135	torlo	eggyolk	ˈmę́lan	MELANU
1153	pungiglione	stinger	ˈuę́ť [21]	*(A)CULU
1416	campo	field	ˈę́r	*AREU
1645	rumore	noise	ˈkanę́ra	*CANTARIA

Item 237 is attested at point T-45 (Soglio), adjacent to the Upper Engadinish zone, and in the Ticino at points 41 (Cavergno) and 50 (Campo). Item 862 is found likewise at transitional points T-45 (Soglio), T-46 (Coltura), and T-209 (Isolaccia). Items 74, 1068, and

1153 recur sporadically at one or more of the adjacent transitional points. Items 74 and 1416 appear each at one point in the Lower Engadinish area; the scarcity of such attestations is due both to the relative isolation of the Lower Engadinish zone at the extremity, and to the relatively high degree of German intrusion there, and the resultant word borrowings.[22]

Words common to the Engadinish zones and Subselvan area include the following.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
869	soffitta	attic	palancín	*PALANCINU
1069	montone	ram	bǫ́c	Ger. Bock
1207	burro	butter	pañc	PĬNGUIS
1213	batterella	churner	rúpc	RUPTU
1404	manico	handle	šíabar	Ger. Schieber

The sparseness of the attestations reveals an area which is but loosely integrated with respect to a common and individual lexicon, as opposed to the rest of WRR. Attestations outside the areas involved here display the usual tendency to occur at the customary transitional points, in this instance, points T-45 (Soglio), T-46 (Coltura), and T-209 (Isolaccia). All of the foregoing words fail to appear at least at three and sometimes at as many as seven of the points pertinent to the composite area under discussion. In spite of the meager representation here, the impression of unity still persists, and may be ascribed to a basic geographical coherence of the Inn river valley and the adjacent Guglia, Alvra, and Hinterrhein river valleys.

Comparable both in lexical inventory and sparseness of attestations are the words which are common to the Selvan zones and the Lower Engadinish area.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR	Etym.
711	avaro	miserly	ˈramvę̀	*REMALIFATIU
621	fungo	mushroom	ˈbulę́w	BOLETU
810	bestemmiare	swear	ˈšmaladí	*EX+MALE+DICERE
849	fango	mud	ˈlǫ́tsa	*LŌTIUM
1425	irrigare	water	ˈšuá	SUDARE

Item 621 is unique in that it defines exactly the Surselvan, Subselvan and Lower Engadinish zones as described in Figure 20. Item 1425 covers the same area, with the exception of one point (29), but shows at certain places the variant ˈsawár. All of the remaining items fail to show attestations at points 16 (Scharans), 19 (Zernez) and 29 (Santa Maria), and at two or three other points within the area in question.

Three final lexical items require special commentary.

138	polmone	lung	ˈlę́f	LĔVIS
812	incubo	nightmare	ˈdižarial	DIGERERE+ELLU
1095	lardo	bacon	ˈčarnpursé	CARNE PORCELLU

Item 138 represents the only common lexical items exclusive to the Lower Engadinish and Subselvan zones. The Surselvan counterpart is ˈlǫ́m <Ger. Lunge; the Upper Engadinish equivalent is ˈkuradę́la or ˈkurata < COR+ATELLA. Item 1095 is attested throughout the

Engadinish zones and in Surselvan. The Subselvan area uses the word ˈʃpekˈ < Ger. Speck; at Subselvan point 17 (Lenz), both words are attested. Item 812 likewise is restricted chiefly to the Engadinish and Surselvan zones, although attestations in the former are sparse. The same word is used at transitional points T-46 (Coltura) and T-205 (Prestone). The Subselvan word here is ˈtókiˈ < Germanic tokken. At Lower Engadinish point 29 (Santa Maria), the word ˈtrótaˈ < Germanic trottōn (?), typical of CRR, is current, demonstrating once again the geographical relationship between the Val Müstair and Val Venosta, as brought out in earlier pages.

Figure 13 showed how political divisions in Italy provided useful support for dialect boundaries established by lexical means. In the case of Switzerland, the comparatively smaller area and more varied geographical conditions have led to administrative units so small that scarcely any two of the villages under discussion find themselves in the same district (Kreis). The administrative organization for WRR is as follows.

Kreis	AIS Points	WRR Division
Disentis	1, 10, 11	Surselvan
Lungnez	13	
Ilanz	3	
Rhäzüns	5	Subselvan
Thusis	14	
Schams	15	
Domleschg	16	
Belfort	17	
Oberhalbstein	25	

Oberhalbstein	35	Upper Engadinish
Bergün	27	
Oberengadin	28, 47	
Remüs	9	Lower Engadinish
Obtasna	7	
Surtasna	19	
Val Müstair	29	

The ecclesiastical boundaries, on the other hand, provide a more manageable grouping, as seen in Figure 24.

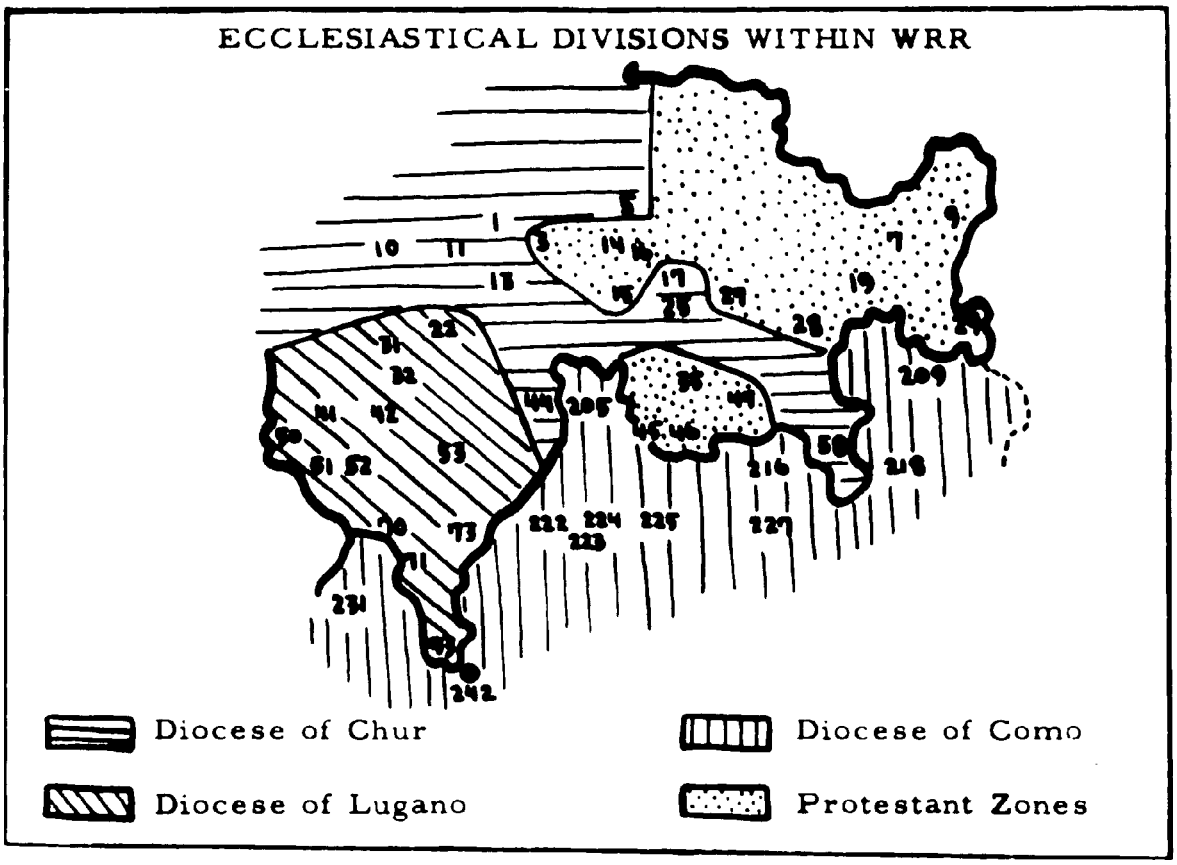


Fig. 24

Several lexical partitions are supported by the above administrative divisions. The Ticino is, almost as a unit, set apart from the WRR area. The reasons for grouping Subselvan point 5 with Surselvan points, for the attraction of Upper Engadinish points 35 and 47 to tran-

sitional points T-45 and T-46, for the uncharacteristic behavior of Subselvan points 17 and 25, and for lexical similarities shared by Lower Engadinish and Subselvan points, are further clarified by this illustration.

At the end of Chapter VII there appeared a list of words common to both the CRR and ERR domains. There is also of course a number of words which appear in various combinations with the WRR area, and it is appropriate to present these words at this time. The first group is a rather large number of words attested both in the WRR and CRR areas.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR+CRR	Etym.
1169	pavimento	floor	˹pantúṇ˺[23]	*PONTŌNE
1267	agra	bitter	˹āš˺[24]	ACĬDU
1567	lustrare	shine	˹viksár˺	Ger. wichsen
894	tavola	table	˹méza˺	MĒ(N)SA
1576	rosso	red	˹kócan˺	CŎCCĬNU
328	settimana	week	˹emda˺[25]	Gk. HĔBDŎMAS
466	cavalletta	grasshopper	˹salép˺	der. SALĪRE
1508	dipanare	unwind	˹plagá˺[26]	PLĬCĀRE
712	bugiardo	liar	˹mandznér˺	*MENTIŌNIA+ARIU
918	fiammifero	match	˹sulpríṇṣ˺	*SULPUR+INUS
134	reni	kidneys	˹kruž˺	Ger. Kreuz
820	mercato	market	˹fíara˺	FĒRIA (ML3250)

1477	loppa	chaff	ˈpálaˈ[27]	Langob. palla
1020	volontieri	willingly	ˈbuǧẹ́nˈ[28]	*VOJENDO<VOLIENDO
425	pascolo	meadow	ˈbláyšˈ	Frank. *blâd
1342	cantina	cellar	ˈcalẹˈ[29]	CELLĀRIUM
206	saldare	solder	ˈlụʦárˈ	Ger. löten+ARE
1081	capretto	kid-goat	ˈanziálˈ[30]	*HAEDIŎLUS (?)
792	cassa di morto	coffin	ˈvasíˈ	VASCĔLLUM
1136	gallare	fecundate	ˈkapunárˈ	Gk. kapŏn+ARE
428a	avallamento	sunken spot	ˈfọ́p(a)ˈ	FŎVEA

These words are distributed more or less evenly throughout the nineteen WRR points; the CRR attestations center chiefly around the region of La Sella, which is the heart of the CRR zone. Some of the words overlap the combined RR areas to the south. Item 134 is rather sparsely attested outside the RR domain, but does appear to the southwest as far away as point 131 (Noasca), in an area influenced by Gallo-Romance. Item 136 appears also in the southwestern region, as well as south as far as point 267 (Dello), near Brescia. Item 428a is scattered thinly over the Lombardian and Piedmont plains, occurring southwest at point 147 (Cavaglia) and south at point 258 (Lumezzane-Sant'Apolonio) in metathesized form ˈpọ́faˈ.

The following words appear at one or more of the internal divisions within WRR, and at a number of CRR points.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR+CRR	Etym.
272	bilancia	scale	ˈštadéraˈ	STATĒRA

1676	puzzare	stink	ˈtufá	Gk. typhos
331	mercoledi	Wednesday	ˈmɑzyámnɑ	MEDIU+(SEPTI)MANA
226	trucioli	shavings	ˈštélɑs	STĒLLAS
1247	quest'anno	this year	ˈuǫ̃n[31]	HOC ANNO
1463	granturco	maize	ˈtẹ́rk	It. (gran)turco
459	chiocciola	snail	ˈšnék	Ger. Schnecke
1176	zanella	gutter	ˈfusɑw[32]	FOSSĀTUM
1571	cuffia	coif	ˈšlapɑ	Ger. schlafen
1095	lardo	bacon	ˈšpek	Ger. Speck
1359	annusare	smell (flower)	ˈsɑvụ́r	SAPOR+ARE
426a	ghiacciaio	glacier	ˈvedréta	der. VETUS (ML9292)
942	cucina	kitchen	ˈčɑdɑfǫ́	CALDA+FOCU
226	trucioli	shavings	ˈtsíplɑs	Langob. zippel
1005	pappa	pap	ˈmǫ́zɑ	*MOLLISIA
237	impastare	knead	ˈmɑždár	MACĚRĀRE
1157	arnia	beehive	ˈvɑšél	VASCELLU
879	soglia	sill	ˈlímo	LĪMES
1068	pecora	sheep	ˈbíɑša[33]	BESTIA
1084	si cozzano	are butting	ˈpúɑñɑn	PŬGNANT
1359	annusare	smell (flower)	ˈtọfẹ́	Gk. typhos

About half of the words appearing above are seen at a number of points outside the RR domain, chiefly in the Ticino and in the Lombardian plain. The first nine words--items 272 through 1571--occur within WRR mostly at Selvan points. Item 1095 appears only at Subselvan and

CRR points. Items 1359 through 226 are chiefly Engadinish-CRR words, whereas items 1005 through 1068 constitute a group of Lower Engadinish-CRR words. Item 1084 occurs at a few Selvan and Lower Engadinish points as well as at five points in CRR. Item 1359 is not attested inside the WRR domain, but it does appear at several points in the Ticino, and at western transitional points T-31, T-32, and T-205, in addition to three attestations in La Sella. If these forty-two WRR-CRR words are tallied to see the frequency and distribution inside the CRR domain, the following totals result.

Point:	305	312	313	314	315	316	325	323	311	310	322	320	307	317
Total:	21	21	12	9	13	3	3	7	13	12	8	6	4	1

No examples occur at CRR points 318, 327, or 326--that is, at the points directly bordering the ERR area. Comparison of these totals with Figure 18 shows approximate correlations. The area of highest lexical concentration is again proved to be the Sella group in general, and points 305 and 312 in particular.

There is a small group of words which appear in WRR and ERR but not in the central zone. This sort of distribution would suggest strong inroads made by Germanic and Italian elements intruding into the CRR area from both north and south, thus eradicating a formerly generalized RR word, except at the extremities of the RR domain.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	WRR+ERR	Etym.
170	sbadigliare	yawn	sužd- [67, 34]	SUSCITARE

1249	frutti	fruit	˹pǫ́ma˺	PŌMU
1673	sasso	stone	˹krap˺[35]	(onomat.)
34	nuora	daughter-in-law	˹brit˺	Ger. Braut
1069	montone	ram	˹anų́t˺[36]	AGNELLU

Item 1249, insofar as it occurs within the WRR domain, is principally a Selvan word. Item 1673 occurs throughout the two areas, at western transitional point T-209, and at point 307 (Padola) in the CRR area, right on the border of ERR. Item 1069 is highly restricted in extent, appearing within WRR only at Surselvan points, and at a mere two ERR points near Udine.

Finally, there are some lexical items, few in number, which are attested in all three of the major RR areas, and which can be referred to as General RR items.

AIS	Ital.	Eng.	GRR	Etym.
1476	paglia	straw	˹strom˺	It. stram(azzo)
974	tondo	plate	˹talíar˺[37]	Ger. Teller
982	cucchiaio	spoon	˹ċadǫ̈́ŋ˺[38]	Goth. skeiþo > *SCETONE
689	crosta	scab	˹rúña˺	RŪMGA
646	andata	gone	˹íd˺[39]	ITU
208	lesina	awl	˹síbla˺[40]	SIBILA/SUBOLA
1454	corona	wreath	˹mǫ́na˺	*MANIA
31	suocero	father-in-law	˹sír˺[41]	*SEIOR<SENIOR
141	milza	spleen	˹šplę́m˺	SPLEN

540	spacca	splits	ˈfę́ndaˈ	FINDIT
234	fornaio	baker	ˈpékˈ[42]	Ger. Bäcker
242	corda	rope	ˈsṹqaˈ[43]	SŌCA
93	testa	head	ˈčawˈ[44]	CAPUT
1483	vagliare	sift	ˈdarǫ́ˈ[45]	DRAGIU+ARE
908	lucignolo	wick	ˈpavéʧˈ[46]	PAPĪLIUS
799	sagrestano	sexton	ˈmǫ̨nę̨kˈ[47]	MŎNĂCHUS

Only the first two words in the above list are attested solely within the RR domain; the rest exceed that basic area. Items 208, 31, 141, and 908 are attested extensively throughout the Venetian plain and Istrian peninsula and may therefore reflect usage current at one time in Venice and Trieste, although the words have since vanished from these populous centers. Item 234, not surprising as a Germanic intrusion in the RR domain, occurs also in Trieste and in the Istrian peninsula. Item 242 occurs at a cluster of villages near Verona and Mantova as well as at point 453 (Sologno) in Emilia, south of the Po. Item 93, in the variant ˈkóˈ, is attested in ample numbers around Milan, at one or two points in CRR, and at point 5 (Ems) in the WRR area--additional evidence of the influence of Lombardy on the RR zone. The last word, item 799, does not actually appear at any of the WRR points at all,[48] yet so many western transitional points, as well as many points in the Ticino, show this word that it seems appropriate to include it in the present GRR category.

This completes the analysis of WRR lexical items, both as a discrete body of words and in combination with other RR zones. I have shown that WRR by far surpasses the other two RR areas in terms of vocabulary size, which we may ascribe to the conservative nature of the WRR area in general, and specifically to the tendency to retain and preserve local dialect features. I have demonstrated, too, that whereas lexical sub-areas within WRR can be circumscribed and their homogeneity felt, there is as much that is arbitrary in the setting up of internal demarcations as there was in the separation of the basic RR areas by means of composite isoglosses. The transitional points skirting the RR area find their counterparts in small communities whose speech has to be classified as intermediate, and constant accommodation has to be made for exceptional data. It is much more evident in the case of WRR that the transitional points function as sensitive nerve endings fringing a living language, providing frequent access for incoming elements and infrequent egress of native features. That RR is subjected to more linguistic influence than it is exerting testifies to its lack of vitality as a language, and foreshadows its eventual absorption by surrounding languages. The relatively small number of words representative of GRR is a function of the increasing expansion of more viable tongues.

IX. Lexical Statistics and Concluding Remarks

This study has involved the handling in detail of 315 AIS maps, 256 of which were actually used as the source of the lexical items here presented. From these 256 AIS maps, I have selected the 409 RR words cited in Chapters VI, VII, and VIII, that is, the specifically dialectal portion of the dissertation. If these words are grouped according to etymological source, there results the following scheme.

From	Number of Words				Percentage
	ERR	CRR	WRR	Total	
Latin	34	57	215	306	75%
German(ic)	4	7	40	51	
Gaulish	1	4	5	10	
Italian	-	4	3	7	
Greek	-	2	5	7	
Langobardic	1	-	5	6	
Swiss German	-	2	4	6	25%
Middle High German	-	1	4	5	
Frankish	-	2	2	4	
onomatopoeic	-	-	3	3	
Gothic	-	1	2	3	
Anglo-Saxon	-	1	-	1	
Alemannic	-	-	1	1	
Total:	40	81	289	410	

Fig. 25

With regard to typically RR lexical items, then, Latin is the source of about three times as many of the words as all of the other languages combined, although noticeable traces remain in the lexicon of the many invasions and conquests by the Germanic peoples. The importance of languages other than Latin or the Germanic group as sources

of distinctive RR words is very slight indeed.

I have found that almost 60 per cent of the total number of RR words fall into fourteen discrete semantic categories, and I want now to discuss these categories to show just what kinds of words constitute the lexical core of the RR language.

The first group comprises domestic or common household terms. From Latin there are words for: thimble, skein-winder, unwind, card, threaded-needle, dishes, ring, skillet, stove, sink, wash-tub, cream-making receptacle, churner, table, match, wick, bellows, tinder, swath, dozen, black, white, yellow, red. From the various Germanic languages come words for: tripod, patch, coif, ball (of yarn), bedsheet, coal, spoon, plate. There is a word from Latin as well as a word from Germanic for: stool. From Gaulish, words for: two-hands-full, spark. From Italian: billfold, diaper.

Another group includes words concerning food and drink. From Latin: eat, smell, barley, peas, fruit, raspberry, mushroom, first-milk, curd, cheese, fat, nut, breakfast, knead, sift, pap, brandy, water. From Germanic: chew, prune, oats. From both, words for: potato, butter, bacon, egg yolk, bitter, light. From Gaulish: pit (of fruit). From Latin and Gaulish: cream. From Italian: maize. From Greek: sauce.

Animals and related words form a large group. From Latin come words for: weasel, duck, bull, kid, butt, lamb, sheep, mouse, ass, wren, bat, cock, spider, bedbug, grasshopper, beak, stinger,

hole, nest, beehive, manure, fecundate. From Germanic, there are words for: paw, mole. From both Latin and Germanic come different words for: snail, dung, ram. From Gaulish: snake.

Terms relevant to the body comprise a separate group. From Latin: chin, forehead, head, kidneys, spine, spleen, wart, lip, nape of the neck, temples, cheek, shoulder, Adam's apple, belly, elbow, lung, scratch, yawn, listen, pregnant, decayed (tooth), ugly. From Germanic: chest, lock of hair, naked. From both: liver, strong.

The category concerning people includes professions, kinship terms, trades, and the like. From Latin: baby, child (four words), father-in-law, godfather, uncle, nephews, ragman, cheesemaker, knifegrinder, sexton, shepherd, liar. From Germanic: grandfather, baker, coalman, daughter-in-law. From each, a word for: cooper.

Various implements and materials constitute a category. From Latin: tools, awl, auger, suspension arm, axle, wire, rope, chain, bells, sickle, shavings, reins, flagstone, gravel. From Germanic: harness, handle, board, solder. From Gaulish: gimlet. From Latin and Gaulish: cart.

Farming terms include, from Latin: furrow, sheaves, reaper, thresh, corn-crib, haystack, withe, aftercrop, ditch. From Germanic: chaff. From Gaulish: trough. From Latin and Gaulish: gutter. From Italian: straw.

Related to forestry and plants are, from Latin: bushes, willow, elder, heather, stem, resin, fell, split. From Germanic: bud, woods.

Words concerning dwellings comprise the following. From Latin: gate, door-bolt, rafter, chalet, sill, floor, kitchen, cellar, attic. Germanic borrowings are absent from this category.

Geographical terms comprise another small group. From Latin: valley, path, mountain, field, sunken spot, earthquake. From Latin and Germanic: meadow.

Common divisions of time include the following. From Latin: Wednesday, June, July, week, this year, day-before-yesterday. There are no Germanic derivations in this group.

Terms related to weather and climate are included in this group. From Latin: glacier, mud, fog. From Germanic: soaked. From Germanic and Latin, words for: white frost.

There are a few religious words, mostly related to death. From Latin: church, cemetery, wreath, pray. From both Latin and Germanic, words for: coffin.

Basic social concepts are represented by the following, all from Latin: hamlet, village, market.

It is clear from this detailed listing that the words which serve to set RR apart from the neighboring speech areas are for the most part ordinary, everyday words concerning persons, animals, and things which are found in and around a rural or mountain dwelling. They are the words of unassuming, down-to-earth people, concerned with the essentials of daily existence. There is a noticeable scarcity of abstract terms, urban expressions, and words reflecting modern ideas

of technology. Interesting is the fact that specifically Germanic lexical contributions are absent from the categories of items which migrant peoples or armies cannot conveniently (if at all) uproot and transport: dwellings, geography, time, religious practices, and social units.

All of this information about semantic categories in correlation with etymological origins can be seen more easily in Figure 25 below.

Basic Semantic Categories of RR Words														
Origin	Domestic	Food-Drink	Animals	Body	People	Implements	Farming	Forestry	Dwellings	Geography	Time	Weather	Religious	Social
Latin	24	18	22	22	15	14	9	8	9	6	6	3	4	3
Germanic	8	3	2	3	4	4	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
Latin & Germanic	1 1	6 6	3 3	2 2	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 1	- -	1 1	1 1	-
Gaulish	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Latin & Gaulish	- -	1 1	- -	- -	- -	1 1	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	-
Italian	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Greek	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	38	38	31	29	21	21	14	10	9	8	6	6	6	3

Fig. 26

I have outlined the history of RR studies and terminology, discussed the ancient Raeti and the geographical extent of their territory,

presented the ideas of leading authorities as to the linguistic status of RR, and determined by means of lexical analyses the extent of the RR speech area, its three principal zones, main sub-areas, and transitional southern fringe, as they existed at the time the AIS was prepared. I have not only described typical RR words in their various categories, but also illustrated them in such a way as to take into account political, ecclesiastical, and geographical factors which very often parallel and support the lexical findings. I shall not repeat here the conclusions reached at the end of the individual chapters, other than to point out that this lexical approach has revealed a most complex, intricately organized, yet basically coherent language area, and that, however discontinuous and unrelated the three RR zones may appear in the twentieth century, there is certainly enough lexical evidence to make a good case for greater linguistic unity at an earlier time.

At the end of the last century, Gaston Paris observed:

> Chaque trait linguistique occupe d'ailleurs une certaine étendue de terrain dont on peut reconnaître les limites, mais ces limites ne coïncident que très rarement avec celles d'un autre trait ou de plusieurs autres traits; elles ne coïncident pas surtout, comme on se l'imagine souvent encore, avec des limites politiques anciennes ou modernes (il en est parfois autrement, au moins dans une certaine mesure, pour les limites naturelles, telles que montagnes, grands fleuves, espaces inhabités).[1]

Lexical evidence does not support all of this statement, for I have shown that lexical isoglosses coincide often with modern administrative boundaries of various kinds, as well as with geographical limits.

Six years after the AIS volumes had been published, A. Dauzat

wrote: "On ne peut fonder de classification des patois sur le vocabulaire, dont les éléments sont trop complexes et trop irregulièrement répartis. Force est de s'adresser à la phonétique, qui nous offre des éléments précis et un ensemble de limites plus ou moins nettes."[2] I hope I have shown in this dissertation that a lexical study is not only a promising approach to scholarly analysis, but also one likely to produce valid results, and that the vocabulary of a language can, on the contrary, be the source of much useful linguistic information.

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals

AAA	Archivio per l'Alto Adige
AGI	Archivio glottologico italiano
ALL	Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik
AR	Archivum Romanicum
ASR	Atti della Società Retoromanza
CQ	Classical Quarterly
FM	Le français moderne
GL	Glotta
HCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
ID	Italia dialettale
PC	Pro Cultura
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RH	Romanica Helvetica
RLR	Revue de linguistique romane
RPG	Revue des patois gallo-romans
RSFF	Rivista della Società Filologica Friulana
WS	Wörter und Sachen (neue Folge)
ZrPh	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

Others

AIS	K. Jaberg and J. Jud, Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz, Zofingen, 1928-40.
Alem.	Alemannic
AS	Anglo-Saxon
CRR	Central Raeto-Romance
Der.	Derived from some form of...
ERR	Eastern Raeto-Romance
Frank.	Frankish
Gaul.	Gaulish
Ger.	Standard Contemporary German
Gk.	Greek
Gmc.	Germanic
Goth.	Gothic
GRR	General Raeto-Romance
It.	Italian
Langob.	Langobardic
MHG	Middle High German
ML	W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3d ed., Heidelberg, 1935.
Onomat.	Onomatopoeia
Pop.	Popular
RR	Raeto-Romance
Sw. Ger.	Swiss German
WRR	Western Raeto-Romance

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alton, J. Die ladinischen Idiome in Ladinien, Gröden, Fassa Buchenstein, Ampezzo, Innsbruck, 1879.

Arnold, W. The Roman System of Provincial Administration to the Accession of Constantine the Great, 3d ed., rev. by E. S. Bouchier, Oxford, 1914.

Ascoli, G. I. "Saggi ladini," AGI 1(1873)1-556.

_____. "Il dialetto tergestino," AGI 10(1886-88)447-465.

Bartoli, M. Introduzione alla neolinguistica, Geneva, 1925.

_____. "Ultime reliquie friulane di Muggia," AGI 20(1926) 166-171.

Battisti, C. "Lingue e dialetti del Trentino," PC 1(1910)1-30.

_____. "Questioni linguistiche ladine : le premesse storiche dell'unione linguistica grigione-dolomitica," RSFF 2(1922)106-135.

_____. "Sulla pretesa unità ladina," AGI 22/23(1929)409-444.

_____. "L'Ascoli et la questione ladina," AAA 24(1929)1-51.

_____. Popoli e lingue nell'Alto Adige, Firenze, 1931.

_____. Storia della questione ladina, Firenze, 1937.

_____. Storia linguistica e nazionale delle valli dolomitiche atesine, Firenze, 1941.

Bezzola, R., and Tönjachen, R. Dicziunari tudaisch-rumantsch ladin, Samedan, 1945.

Boettcher, P. Das Tessintal, Basel, 1936.

Bonjour, E., Offler, H., and Potter, G. A Short History of Switzerland, Oxford, 1952.

Bourciez, E. Éléments de linguistique romane, 4th ed., Paris, 1946.

Boyd, C. Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy, Ithaca, 1952.

Bruppacher, H. "Die Namen der Wochentage im Italienischen und Rätoromanischen," RH 28, Bern, 1948.

Bury, J. A History of the Later Roman Empire, London, 1923.

Caduff, L. Essai sur la phonétique du parler rhétoroman de la Vallée de Tavetsch, Lausanne, 1952.

Carisch, O. Taschenwörterbuch der rhaetoromanischen Sprache in Graubünden, Chur, 1848-1852.

Cloetta, G. "Il rumantsch da Bravuogn," ASR 59(1945)33-68.

Conway, R. S., Johnson, S. E., Whatmough, J. The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy, Cambridge, Mass., 1933.

Dauzat, A. La Suisse illustrée, Paris, 1913.

_____. "Nouvel Atlas linguistique de la France par régions," FM 10(1942)1-10.

_____. Les patois: évolution-classification-étude, Paris, 1946.

Diez, F. Romanische Wortschöpfung, Bonn, 1875.

Eggenschwiler, E. Die Namen der Fledermaus auf dem französischen und italienischen Sprachgebiet, Leipzig, 1934.

d'Elia, A. 'A Bibliography of Italian Dialect Dictionaries, Chapel Hill, 1940.

Elwert, W. "Die Mundart des Fassa-Tales," WS Beiheft 2, Heidelberg, 1943.

Fermin, M. Le vocabulaire de Bifrun dans sa traduction des Quatre Evangiles, Amsterdam, 1954.

Francescato, G. "Classificazione dei dialetti friulani," Il Tesaur 7(1955)104-110.

_____. "Il friulano oggi," Orbis 7(1958)198-204.

Gamillscheg, E. Romania Germanica, Berlin-Leipzig, 1934-1936.

_____. "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Alpenromanischen," RF

61(1948)267-299.

Gartner, T. Die Grödner Mundart, Linz, 1879.

_____. "Die judicarische Mundart," Sitz.-Ber. d.k. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 100, Wien, 1882.

_____. Rätoromanische Grammatik, Heilbronn, 1883.

_____. "Die Mundart von Erto," ZrPh 16(1892)183-209.

_____. Handbuch der rätoromanischen Sprache und Literatur, Halle, 1910.

_____. "Ladinische Wörter aus den Dolomitentälern," ZrPh Beiheft 73, Halle, 1923.

Goidànich, P. Intorno alle reliquie del dialetto tergestino-muglisano, Padova, 1904.

Graf, A. Zur Geschichte von lat. FRATER und SOROR im Italienischen und Rätoromanischen, mit Ausblicken auf die Frühromania, Zürich, 1955.

Great Britain. Naval Intelligence Division BR 517, Geographical Handbook Series, Italy, I, II, Oxford, 1942.

Grisch, M. "Die Mundart von Surmeir (Ober- und Unterhalbstein); Beitrag zur Kenntnis einer rätoromanischen Sprachlandschaft," RH 12, Paris-Zürich-Leipzig, 1939.

Gröber, G. "Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter," ALL 1(1884)204-254.

Gwatkin, H., and Whitney, J. (editors). The Cambridge Medieval History, Cambridge, 1936.

Haller, J. Versuch einer Parallele der ladinischen Mundarten in Enneberg und Gröden in Tirol, dann im Engadin und der romanischen in Graubünden, Innsbruck, 1832.

Heuberger, R. "Rätien im Altertum und Frühmittelalter, Forschungen und Darstellung," Band I, Schlern-Schriften, Veröffentlichungen zur Landeskunde von Südtirol, 20, Innsbruck, 1932.

Howald, E., and Meyer, E. Die römische Schweiz, Zürich, 1940.

Huber, J. "Zur Mundart von Trepalle, der höchstgelegenen italienischen Siedlung in der Provincia di Sondrio," ZrPh 76(1960)376-445.

Hubschmid, J. "Zur Charakteristik der Mundart des Fassatales, mit Ausblicken auf andere ladinische Mundarten," ZrPh 66(1950)338-350.

Huonder, J. "Der Vokalismus der Mundart von Disentis," RF 11(1900)431-566.

Ilié, A. Die friaulische Mundart von Görz, Wien, 1944.

Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Dizionario enciclopedico italiano, Roma, 1955.

Ive, A. I dialetti friulo-istriani, Strasbourg, 1900.

Jaberg, K., and Jud, J. Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument, Halle, 1928.

_____. Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz, Zofingen, 1928-1940.

Jamison, E., et al. Italy, Medieval and Modern, Oxford, 1919.

Kuen, H. "Die ladinischen Dolomitenmundarten in der Forschung der letzten zehn Jahre," ZrPh 57(1937)481-520.

_____. "Die Sprachgeographie als Helferin der Etymologie gezeigt an einem ladinischen Beispiel," Etymologica (Mélanges. . . von Wartburg), Tübingen, 1958, 455-475.

Kuhn, A. Die romanischen Sprachen, Bern, 1951.

Lardschneider-Ciampač, A. "Wörterbuch der Grödner Mundart," Schlern-Schriften 23, Innsbruck, 1933.

Larousse Encyclopedia of Geography: Europe. Translated by P. Spink, A. Brodrick, and M. Heron, New York, 1961.

Lüdtke, H. "Inchiesta sul confine dialettale fra il veneto e il friulano," Orbis 6(1957)122-125.

Lutta, C. "Der Dialekt von Bergün und seine Stellung innerhalb der rätoromanischen Mundarten Graubündens," ZrPh Beiheft 71, Halle, 1923.

Luzi, J. "Lautlehre der sutselvischen Dialekte," RF 16(1904)757-846.

Mainati, D. Dialoghi piacevoli in dialetto vernacolo triestino colla versione italiana di D. Giuseppe Mainati sagrestano e vicario corale della cattedrale di S. Giusto coll'aggiunta di nove lettere . . . e d'una nuova pianta di Trieste, Trieste, 1828.

Majoni, A. Cortina d'Ampezzo nella sua parlata; vocabolario ampezzano, con una raccolta di proverbi e detti dialettali, Forlì, 1929.

Martin, P. "La Rhétie de Coire," Études critiques sur la Suisse à l'époque mérovingienne, Geneva, 1910, 443-458.

Martini, G. "Vocabolarietto badiotto-italiano," AAA 44(1950)1-166.

_____. Vocabolarietto gardense-italiano, Firenze, 1953.

Merlo, C. "L'Italia dialettale," ID 1(1924)12-26.

_____. "I dialetti lombardi," ID 24(1960-61)1-12.

Meyer-Lübke, W. Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3d ed., Heidelberg, 1935.

Michael, J. Der Dialekt des Poschiavotals, Halle, 1905.

Mitterutzner, J. Die raetoladinischen Dialekte in Tirol und ihre Lautbezeichnung, Brixen, 1856.

Morf, H. Zur sprachlichen Gliederung Frankreichs, Berlin, 1911.

Mussafia, A. Beitrag zur Kunde der norditalienischen Mundarten im XV. Jahrhunderte, Wien, 1873.

Pallioppi, Z., and E. Dizionari dels idioms romauntsch d'Engiadin Ota e Bassa, della Val Müstair, da Bravuogn e Filisur, Samedan, 1895-1902.

Paris, G. "Les parlers de France," RPG 7(1888)161-175.

Pellegrini, G. "Appunti etimologici lessicali sui dialetti ladino-veneti dell'Agordino," Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti 106(1947-48)251-279.

Pirona, G. Vocabolario friulano di G. A. P., sotto gli auspici della Società filologica friulana, Udine, 1928.

Pirona, G., et al. Il nuovo Pirona, vocabolario friulano, Udine, 1935.

von Planta, R. Review of Jaberg and Jud AIS : Band I, and Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument, Litteris 6(1929)135-153.

Politzer, R. "Diachronic Phonemics and Dialectology." Paper read before the Linguistic Club of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, July 16, 1963.

Pult, C. Le parler de Sent, Lausanne, 1897.

_____. "Die rätoromanische Schweiz," Zofingia (April 1931)419-433.

_____. "Impronte grigioni," RLR 7(1931)108-118.

Rohlfs, G. Die lexicalische Differenzierung der romanischen Sprachen, München, 1954.

Salvioni, C. "Nuovi documenti per le parlate mugisana e tergestina," RIL 41(1908)573-590.

Sandys, J. (ed.) A Companion to Latin Studies, Cambridge, 1910.

Schaad, G. Terminologia rurale di Val Bregaglia, Bellinzona, 1936.

Scheuermeier, P. Bauernwerk in Italien und der italienischen und und rätoromanischen Schweiz, Zürich, 1943.

Schneller, C. Die romanischen Volksmundarten in Südtirol, Gera, 1870.

Schorta, A. "Lautlehre der Mundart von Müstair," RH 7, Paris-Zürich-Leipzig, 1934.

Schweizer Lexicon, Encyclios-Verlag Ag. Zürich, 1945-48.

Staehelin, F. Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit, 3d ed., Basel, 1948.

Stampa, G. Der Dialekt des Bergell, Aarau, 1934.

Stampa, R. Contributo al lessico preromanzo dei dialetti lombardo-alpini e romanici, Zürich, 1937.

Täckholm, R. Études sur la phonétique de l'ancien dialecte sous-selvan, Upsala, 1895.

Tagliavini, C. "Il dialetto di Livinallongo; saggio lessicale, Bolzano, 1934.

Tagliavini, C. "Il dialetto del Comelico," AR 10(1926)1-200.

_____. "Studi linguistici ladino-veneti. I. Nuovi contributi alla conoscenza del dialetto di Comelico," Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti 102 (1942-43)843-884.

_____. Le origini delle lingue neolatine, 3d ed., Bologna, 1959.

Theus, H. "Il dialect de Domat," ASR 34(1920)101-121.

Vidos, E. Manuale di linguistica romanza, Firenze, 1959. (Trans. from Dutch by G. Francescato.)

Vieli, R. Vocabulari scurziniu romontsch-tudestg, Mustér, 1938.

Walberg, E. Saggio sulla fonetica del parlare di Celerina-Cresta, Lund, 1907.

Walker, D. A Geography of Italy, London, 1958.

von Wartburg, W. "Zur Stellung der Bergeller Mundart zwischen dem Lombardischen und dem Rätischen," Bündnerisches Monatsblatt 11(1919)329-348.

_____. Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bonn, 1922-

_____. Bibliographie des dictionnaires patois, Paris, 1934.

_____. Die Ausgliederung der romanischen Sprachräume, Bern, 1950.

Whatmough, J. "Inscriptions from the Magré and the Raetic dialect," CQ 17(1923)61-72.

_____. "The Raeti and their Language," GL 22(1934)27-31.

_____. "Tusca origo Raetis," HCP 48(1937)181-202.

Wlcek, M. Das Friaulische gehört zum rätoromanischen und nicht zum italienischen Sprachgebiet, Wien, 1942.

Notes: Introduction

[2]In this opinion he was subsequently supported by such prominent scholars as G. Bertoni, E. Gamillscheg, Th. Gartner, J. Jud, C. Merlo, R. von Planta, C. Pult and W. von Wartburg.

[3]Battisti, "Pretesa unità." B. Gerola, G. Pellegrini, and C. Salvioni sided with Battisti on this question.

[4]Diez 1875.

[5]Gröber 1884. He ascribes lexical differences in the Romania chiefly to the fact that the various areas were colonized by Rome at different times, so that the Latin was in each instance at a different stage of development.

[6]Bartoli 1925.

[7]Rohlfs 1954, 9.

[8]Paris 1888.

[9]Gartner 1910, 1.

[10]Transcriptions here and throughout this study are reproduced exactly as they appear in the AIS; the key to phonetic equivalents is in Jaberg and Jud 1928, 24-36. The half brackets indicate a lexical type, and represent as well all the other phonetic variations of the word so enclosed.

[11]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 232-237.

[12]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 234.

[13]Dauzat 1942.

[14]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 226.

Notes: The Raeti and Raetia

[1]Conway et al., 1933, II, 4.

[2]Heuberger 1932, 51: "Die Räter und andere alpine Völkerschaften machten sich aber immer wieder durch Überfälle auf die ihr Land durchreisenden Römer und durch Plünderungszüge in das Potiefland unangenehm bemerkbar..."

[3]Livy V. 33. 11: "Alpinis quoque ea [sc. Tusca] gentibus haud dubie origo est, maximeque Raetiis; quos loca ipsa efferarunt, ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum, retinerent."

[4]Pompeius Trogus Ap. Iustin XX, 5, 9: "Tusci quoque duce Raeto auitis sedibus amissis Alpes occupauere et ex nomine ducis gentem Raetorum condiderunt."

[5]Pliny Nat. Hist. iii, 133: "Raetos Tuscorum prolem arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos duce Raeto."

[6]Pliny Nat. Hist. iii, 135-137: Breuni or Breones (Brenner), Isarci (Isarco), Venostes (Venosta), Camuni (Camonica), Trumplini (Trompia), Anauni (Val di Non), Sabini (Sabbia), et al., from the Tropaeum Alpium, an imposing monument erected in seven or six B. C., to commemorate Augustus' victories a decade before.

[7]Whatmough 1937, 181.

[8]The major collections of Raetic archaeological findings can be viewed in the museums of Trento, Sondrio, Bolzano, Asiago, Verona, Este, Padua, and Innsbruck.

[9]Whatmough 1934, 28.

[10]Conway et al., 1933, II, 10: "Noteworthy are the puncts appearing with certain letters, sometimes on each side (ist·i·, cf. the enclitic ϵστί, Skt. asti?), in addition to the interpunctuation which is everywhere multiple, usually triple."

[11]Tagliavini 1959, 93.

[12]Conway et al., 1933, II, 7.

[13]Howald and Meyer 1940, 316.

[14]Spelled thus in inscriptions; in classical manuscripts the orthography is often Rhaetia.

[15]A Celtic tribe conquered by the Romans in 58 B. C.

[16]The chief towns of Raetia were Tridentum (Trento) and Curia (Coire, Chur).

[17]Howald and Meyer 1940, 316.

Notes: Terminology

[1]Haller 1832.

[2]Ascoli 1873.

[3]Mitterrutzner 1856.

[4]Schneller 1870.

[5]Carisch 1848-1852.

[6]Gartner 1910, 8.

[7]The Gray League and the Gotteshausbund were late fourteenth-century alliances founded to consolidate the power of feudal lords and counts against external politico-religious influences.

[8]Gamillscheg 1948.

Notes: The Linguistic Status of Raeto-Romance

[1]Gartner 1910, 7.

[2]In addition to its phonological import, this feature has morphological significance in both the nominal and the verbal systems.

[3]Pult 1931, Impronte.

[4]Tagliavini 1959, 328.

[5]Ascoli 1873.

[6]Battisti has authored numerous articles and monographs in support of his views; the principal ones appear in the Bibliography.

[7]Battisti 1910, 29.

[8]von Wartburg 1950, 149.

[9]Gartner 1910, 1.

[10]Merlo 1924.

[11]Pult 1931, Rätoromanische.

[12]Vidos 1959, 332-333.

[13]Vidos 1959, 334.

[14]Tagliavini 1959, 324.

[15]von Planta 1929.

Notes: Transitional Zones

[1]Bonjour et al., 1952, 2.

[2]Bonjour et al., 1952, 11.

[3]A term (< Lat. LIGURI) seized upon by scholars and rendered imprecise by having different connotations for the geographer, the archaeologist, the ethnologist, and the linguist. The suffixes -asca and -asco, found in an inscription dated 117 B. C., which was called Ligurian, occur in thirty-six place names in the Ticino; see Boettcher 1936, 75f. Compare also AIS points 31 (Osco), 73 (Corticiasca), and the Val Verzasca.

[4]Another vague term derived from references made by ancient authors to early dwellers around the western lake districts of northern Italy.

[5]Boettcher 1936, 77.

[6]All that has been found thus far is a combat knife (Kriegsmesser), in All'Acqua, and it may well have been brought in from elsewhere.

[7]Boettcher 1936, 78.

[8]Bonjour et al., 1952, 8.

[9]Morf 1911.

[10]After Saint Ambrose, bishop of Milan in the fourth century A. D.

[11]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 41-44.

[12]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 44-45.

[13]Merlo 1960-61.

[14]Tagliavini 1959, 323.

[15]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 47-48: "Fühlbare Unterschiede in der Mundart bestehen zwischen den Protestanten, die vorwiegend im Flecken wohnen, und den Katholiken, die hauptsächlich in den Frazioni niedergelassen sind."

[16]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 46.

[17]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 63.

[18]Ascoli 1873.

[19]von Wartburg 1919.

[20]von Wartburg 1919, 207.

[21]Scheuermeier 1943, x-xi.

[22]Ascoli 1873, 280.

[23]Great Britain, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Handbook 1942, I, 5.

[24]Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Dizionario enciclopedico italiano "Bormio," II, 413.

[25]Battisti 1929, 411: "Resultano invece abitate, ma sempre meno nella Rezia che nel Norico, le grandi valli di transito, in cui i Romani sostituirono gradatamente alle vie preistoriche le note arterie stradali che congiunsero le due pianure al sud e al nord delle Alpi."

[26]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 81.

[27]Tagliavini 1959, 321.

[28]Politzer 1963.

[29]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 82, 85.

[30]Lüdtke 1957.

[31]Lüdtke 1957, 125.

[32]Francescato 1958.

Notes: Eastern Raeto-Romance

[1]Mainati 1828.

[2]The etymology of this word appears to be a contamination of *CLAUSTRELLU by CLAVE, the latter perhaps a popular intrusion encouraged by the semantic attraction between the 'key' and 'bolt' concepts.

[3]The variant "kòdarùal" also occurs.

[4]The variant "qúċafwártis" is also attested.

[5]This area, furthermore, is the same as that circumscribed in Francescato 1958.

Notes: Central Raeto-Romance

[1]Named after the French geologist Gratet de Dolomieu, 1750-1801.

[2]The variant ˈtrádo is also attested.

[3]The variants ˈflelé and ˈferlér are also attested.

[4]The variant ˈfézne is also attested.

[5]Only two years before the linguistic inquiries were made there.

[6]At point 305 (San Vigilio di Marebbe) the investigator notes that the informant "verlangt deutsches Quest., da er das Deutsche besser beherrscht als das Italienische . . . sucht etwa auch als Purist geläufige deutsche Lehnwörter zu vermeiden, is aber syntaktisch, wohl mehr als ihm bewusst ist, durch das Deutsche beeinflusst." The informant at point 312 (Selva in Gardena) "spricht Deutschtiroler Mundart, aber noch besser italienisch, das er in der Schule und im Heeresdienst gelernt hat." Jaberg and Jud 1928, 73-75.

[7]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 78.

[8]In the vicinity of Udine, the variant ˈkol is attested.

[9]This form is CRR only; ERR shows the variant ˈbrúmę.

[10]The variant ˈmúso is also attested.

[11]Variants ˈtroy, ˈtrozo, and ˈtrodo occur as well.

[12]The variant ˈtóco occurs also.

[13]The variant ˈkatuí, showing metathesis, appears in Emilia, south of the Po.

Notes: Western Raeto-Romance

[1]Dauzat 1946, 239.

[2]On February 20, 1938, more than 90% of the Swiss population voted RR one of the four national languages of the Swiss confederation. This is not to say that RR is one of Switzerland's official languages. Article 116 of the Constitution reads in part: "Das Deutsche, Französische, Italienische und Rätoromanische sind die Nationalsprachen der Schweiz. Als Amtsprachen des Bundes werden das Deutsche, Französische und Italienische erklärt."

[3]The course of the northward-flowing Rhine marks not only this important linguistic zone but also a significant geological boundary: the tectonic break between the eastern and western Alps.

[4]This word is attested also at point T-46.

[5]This word is attested also at point T-209.

[6]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 46.

[7]In Lower Engadinish, the variant 'ʊ̀imɛtsmʊ́r' prevails.

[8]Eggenschwiler 1934. Cf. German Fledermaus 'birdmouse'.

[9]Grisch 1939, 3.

[10]An interesting loan translation (< Lat. MELU IN TERRA) of German Erdapfel.

[11]This word has a basic meaning of 'piece of material, sacking,' and has developed the narrower connotation in WRR.

[12]Grisch 1939, 228.

[13]Compare German 'in der Hoffnung.'

[14]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 43: "Die oberengadinische Gemeinsprache hat die Ortsmundart (28) der älteren Generation stark zurückgedrängt."

[15]Lutta 1923, 335.

[16]Jaberg and Jud 1928, 41: "Romanisch mit Deutsch durchsetzt und im Rückgang begriffen. Die Schulkinder reden meist Deutsch. Schwierig, ein zuverlässiges Suj. zu finden."

[17]The variant 'dæs' also occurs.

[18]This occurs throughout the Subselvan and Upper Engadinish zones, while the variant 'vič' characterizes the Surselvan zone, except at point 3 (Pitasch), where a separate lexical type ('lewk' < LOCU) is attested.

[19]The variant 'kół' appears throughout the Subselvan zone, and at the intermediate points 27 (Latsch) and 35 (Bivio), which have been grouped lexically with the Upper Engadinish points.

[20]This occurs alongside 'in sprantsa' (< IN *SPERANTIA), which is the expression generally current in the Lower Engadinish zone.

[21]The variants 'qwęt' and 'aqwęy' occur to the southeast, as far as point 249 (Bagolino).

[22]Tagliavini 1959, 259: "I secolari contatti con popolazioni parlanti dialetti alemannici (svizzeri-tedeschi) arricchiscono il lessico dei dialetti ladini occidentali con molti prestiti di epoca medio-tedesca e tedesca moderna, i quali si fanno sempre più numerosi nei territorî in cui la germanizzazione è più forte."

[23]This form prevails in the Engadinish and Subselvan areas. Surselvan shows mostly 'pún', while CRR uses 'pónt'.

[24]This form is typical of WRR; CRR shows variants 'ǽže' and 'ęža'.

[25] Most of the Inn river valley shows the variant ⌜efna⌝.

[26] The variant ⌜šplęér⌝ characterizes most of the Engadinish points, and CRR shows ⌜dęšpleyár⌝.

[27] CRR shows the variant ⌜páya⌝.

[28] Upper Engadinish has the variant ⌜guǧęńt⌝; Lower Engadinish and CRR share the form ⌜yęńt⌝.

[29] The variant ⌜šlęr⌝ appears in the Engadinish area; CRR point 312 shows ⌜čulę́⌝.

[30] The variants ⌜uzę́l⌝ and ⌜azǫ́⌝ are also attested.

[31] CRR and two Lower Engadinish points have the variant ⌜aqǫ́n⌝.

[32] The CRR variant is generally ⌜fós⌝.

[33] The CRR variant, which appears also at WRR points 28 and 29, is ⌜čatbę́š⌝.

[34] This is the WRR variety; ERR shows ⌜šosędá⌝.

[35] This is the WRR variant; ERR uses ⌜klap⌝.

[36] This form is typical of WRR; ERR has the variant ⌜añę́l⌝.

[37] The sole ERR attestation, at point 357, is the variant ⌜taęr⌝.

[38] This is the WRR and CRR form; ERR shows ⌜sędǫ́n⌝.

[39] This is the WRR form; CRR and ERR show the variant ⌜žúda⌝.

[40] The variants ⌜súbla, súbia, súbule⌝ occur as well.

[41] This is WRR; CRR and ERR use the form ⌜misér⌝.

[42]The variant ˹pękar˺ is attested also.

[43]The variant ˹sūa˺ is also seen.

[44]The variants ˹čaf˺ and ˹kó˺ are attested also.

[45]The variant ˹drasá˺ exists also.

[46]This is the WRR form; CRR and ERR use ˹pavér˺.

[47]The variant ˹mūni˺ is also attested.

[48]The word ˹kalúštar˺ does.

Notes: Lexical Statistics and Concluding Remarks

[1]Paris 1888, 163.

[2]Dauzat 1946, 136.