[Text version of database, created 9/09/2016].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Romance group (Indo-European family).

<u>Languages included</u>: Archaic Latin [rom-plt]; Late Classical Latin [rom-apl]; Megleno Romanian [rom-ruq]; Istro Romanian [rom-ruo]; Aromanian [rom-rup]; Romanian [rom-ron]; Dalmatian [rom-dlm]; Friulian [rom-fur]; Gardenese Ladin [rom-grd]; Fassano Ladin [rom-fas]; Rumantsch Grischun [rom-roh]; Sursilvan Romansh [rom-srs]; Surmiran Romansh [rom-srm]; Vallader Romansh [rom-val]; Lanzo Torinese Piemontese [rom-ltr]; Barbania Piemontese [rom-brb]; Carmagnola Piemontese [rom-crm]; Turinese Piemontese [rom-tur]; Vercellese Piemontese [rom-vrc]; Bergamo Lombard [rom-brg]; Plesio Lombard [rom-pls]; Ravennate Romagnol [rom-rvn]; Ferrarese Emiliano [rom-frr]; Carpigiano Emiliano [rom-crp]; Reggiano Emiliano [rom-reg]; Rapallo Ligurian [rom-rpl]; Genoese Ligurian [rom-gen]; Stella Ligurian [rom-stl]; Venice Venetian [rom-vec]; Primiero Venetian [rom-pri]; Bellunese Venetian [rom-bel]; Italian, Old [dan-rom]; Standard Italian [rom-ita]; Grosseto Tuscan Italian [rom-gro]; Foligno Italian [rom-fol]; Neapolitan [rom-nap]; Logudorese [rom-src]; Campidanese [rom-sro]; Palermitan Sicilian [rom-plr]; Messinese Sicilian [rom-msn]; Catanian Sicilian [rom-ctn]; South-Eastern Sicilian [rom-ses]; Central Catalan [rom-ctc]; North-Western Catalan [rom-cnw]; Minorcan Catalan [rom-min]; Castelló de la Plana Catalan [rom-cdp]; Valencia Catalan [rom-vln]; Manises Catalan [rom-man]; Castilian Spanish [rom-cas]; Asturian [rom-ast]; Standard Portuguese [rom-por]; Galician [rom-glg]; Provençal Occitan [rom-opr]; Savoyard Franco-Provençal [rom-frp]; French, Old [rom-chr]; Standard French [rom-fra]; Picard [rom-pcd]; Walloon [rom-wln].

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Orel 1998 = Orel, Vladimir. *Albanian Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill. // *One of the latest major reference works on Albanian etymology. Contains important original work on the reconstruction of Proto-Albanian and its external connections, with references to etymological research of all of the author's predecessors.*

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I. Latin.

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Cato's *De agri cultura* is quoted in W. D. Hooper's and H. B. Ash's translation (available at:
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cato/De̱Agricultura/home.html).

Quotations from "Metamorphoses" are given in the English translation done by A. S. Kline (available at: http://www.poetryintranslation.com/klineasapuleius.htm), which is written in a more modern language than the classic translation by W. Adlington (1566). "Apology" was translated by H. E. Butler (available at: http://www.chieftainsys.freeserve.co.uk/apuleiu̱sapology01.htm), "Florida" is quoted according to http://www.attalus.org/translate/florida.html.

Translation of "Attic Nights" (books 1-13) can be found at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Gellius/home.html; books 14-20 are available in an older translation: https://archive.org/stream/atticnightsaulu02gellgoog#page/n335/mode/2up.

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II. Megleno Romanian.

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III. Istro Romanian.

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IV. Aromanian

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Gołąb 1984 = Gołąb, Z. *The Aromanian dialect of Kruševo in SR Macedonia SFR Yugoslavia.* Skopje. // *Brief Aromanian-English glossary, collected by Z. Gołąb in 1968 in Kruševo, where the Gramustean dialect is spoken.*

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V. Romanian

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Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990 = Борш, А.; Запорожан, И. *Дикционар рус-молдовенеск* [Borsh, A., Zaporozhan, I. Russian-Moldavian dictionary]. Кишинэу: Редакция принчипалэ а енчиклопедией советиче молдовенешть. // *Large Russian-Moldavian dictionary (about 30 000 words).*

Ciorănescu 2007 = Ciorănescu A. *Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române.* București: Editura Saeculum I. O. // *Romanian etymological dictionary.*

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VII. Friulian

Decorte 2015 and Virili 2015 = Information kindly provided by Mr. Andrea Decorte (Palmanova) and Mrs. Astrid Virili (Udine), who filled the questionnaire and gave comments where necessary.

Narumov & Sukhachev 2001 = Нарумов, Б. П.; Сухачёв, Н. Л. *Фриульский язык* [Narumov, B. P., Sukhachev, N. L. Friulian language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 365-391. // *A grammar sketch of the Friulian language.*

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VIII. Ladin

DILF 2001 = *Dizionario Italiano – Ladino Fassano.* Vigo di Fassa. // *Large Italian-Fassano and Fassano-Italian dictionary.*

Forni 2013 = Forni, M. *Dizionario Italiano-Ladino Gardenese. Dizioner Ladin de Gherdëina-Talian.* San Martino in Badia: Istitut Ladin Micurà de Rü. // *Comprehensive Italian-Gardenese and Gardenese-Italian dictionary.*

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IX. Romansh

Schmid 2015, Conrad 2015, Cadruvi 2015, Vital 2015 = The majority of data was provided by Mr. Lino Schmid (Rumantsch Grischun and Surmiran dialect), Mrs. Maria Cadruvi (Sursilvan dialect), Mr. Giancarlo Conrad and Mrs. Bettina Vital (Vallader dialect), and who kindly agreed to fill in the questionnaire and gave some further comments on Romansh.

Decurtins 2001 = Decurtins, A. *Niev vocabulari romontsch: surslivan-tudestg*. Chur: Legat Anton Cadonau. // *Comprehensive German-Sursilvan and Sursilvan-German dictionary.*

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Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895 = Pallioppi, Z.; Pallioppi, E. *Dizionari dels idioms romauntschs d'Engiadin' ota e bassa, della Val Mustair, da Bravuogen e Filisur*. Samedan: Stamperia da Simon Tanner. // *Large Romansh-German dictionary (Puter and Vallader dialects).*

Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001 = Сухачёв, Н. *Л.*; Горенко, Г. М. *Реторома́нский язык* [Sukhachev, N. L, Gorenko, B. P. Rhaeto-Romance language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 335-391. // *A grammar sketch of the Romansh language.*

There are also on-line dictionaries of Romansh (http://www.pledari.ch/ ; http://www.udg.ch/dicziunari/vallader/impressum ; http://www.udg.ch/dicziunari/puter/impressum), but we did not use them in our work.

X. Piemontese

Gisolo 2015, Fiandro 2015, 2016, Senero 2015, Davico 2016, Noris 2015 = Most of the information was provided by Mr. Paolo Gisolo (Lanzo Torinese dialect), Mr. Federico Fiandro (Barbania dialect), Mr. Giuseppe Senero (Carmagnola dialect), Mr. Loris Davico (Turinese dialect) and Mr. Maurizio Noris (Vercellese dialect), who were so kind to fill the questionnaire and comment on some sophisticated cases.

Brero 1976 = Brero, C. *Vocabolario Italiano-Piemontese*. Torino: Editrice Piemonte in Bancarella. // *Short Italian-Piemontese dictionary*.

There are also on-line and self-made dictionaries of Piemontese (http://www.piemunteis.it/dep/dizionario.dep ; ttp://www.piemonteis.com ; http://www.piemondo.it/dizionario-della-lingua-tedesca-e-piemontese.html), but we did not use them in our work.

XI. Lombard

Selva 2015, Garlini 2015 = Most of the information was provided by Mr. Bruno Garlini (Bergamo dialect) and Mr. Franco Selva (Plesio dialect), who were so kind to fill the questionnaire and comment on some complicated cases.

XII. Emiliano-Romagnol

Ercolani 1960 = Ercolani L. *Vocabolario romagnolo-italiano.* Monte di Ravenna. // *Dictionary of the Ravennate dialect (Romagnol).*

Piacentini 2015, Sacchi 2015, Chertein 2015, Pucci 2015 = The majority of information was kindly provided by Mr. Diego Piacentini (Ferrarese dialect, Emiliano), Mrs. Gloria Sacchi (Carpigiano dialect, Emiliano), Mr. Gabriele Chertein (Reggiano dialect, Emiliano) and Mr. Alessandro Pucci (Marchigiano dialect, Romagnol), who filled the questionnaire and gave comments where necessary. Unfortunately Mr. Pucci's idiolect is highly influenced by literary Italian, so we don't have enough material to make a separate Marchigiano list and have to give only some Marchigiano forms in the

comments to the Ravennate dialect.

XIII. Ligurian

Fasce 2015, Parodi 2015, Piccone 2015 = All the data were provided by Mr. Maurizio Fasce, a native speaker of the Rapallo subdialect, which is very close to the Genoese dialect, Mr. Piero Parodi, a native speaker of the Genoese dialect, and Mr. Antonello Piccone, a native speaker of the Stella dialect (Province of Savona), who kindly agreed to fill in the questionnaire and gave some further comments on Ligurian.

XIV. Venetian

Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015; Gaio 2015; Caneve 2015 = The data provided by Mr. Leonardo Tosi, Mr. Germano Gasparini (the dialect of Venice), Mr. Massimo Tre (the dialect of Padua), Mr. Mauro Melon (the dialect of Este), Mr. Tiziano Busato (the dialect of Treviso), Mrs. Katia Poletto (the dialect of Salgareda), Mr. Alessio Cortiana, Mr. Silvio Ricchieri (the dialect of Vicenza), Mr. Moreno Clementi (the dialect of Schio), Mr. Daniele Serena (the dialect of Arzignano), Mr. Paolo Pezzin (the dialect of Marostica), Mr. Cristian Zanetti (the dialect of Verona), Mr. Paolo Gaio (the dialect of Primiero), Mr. Marco Caneve (the dialect of Belluno), who kindly agreed to fill in the questionnaire and gave some further comments on Venetian.

XV. Italian

Battaglia = Battaglia S. *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*. Torino: Union Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1980-2002. // *Comprehensive Italian explanatory dictionary in 21 volumes.*

Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001 = Челышева И. И.; Черданцева, Т. З. *Итальянский язык* [Chelysheva, I. I, Cherdantseva, T. Z. Italian language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 56-90. // *A grammar sketch of the Italian language.*

Cherdantseva 2005 = Черданцева, Т. З. *Краткий грамматический справочник по итальянскому языку* [Cherdantseva, T. Z. A brief manual of Italian grammar]. Москва:

ЧеРо. // *A grammar sketch of the Italian language.*

Marcelli 2015; Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016 = Information provided by Mr. Massimiliano Marcelli (the Tuscan dialect of Grosseto) and Mr. Mr. Edmondo David Monti Barnocchi-Moscati (the Umbrian dialect of Foligno) who were so kind to fill the questionnaire and comment on some complicated cases.

Michel 2011 = Michel A. *Einführung in die italienische Sprachwissenschaft*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter. // *A study on Italian linguistics*

Passerini Tosi 1989 = Passerini Tosi C. *Dizionario italiano-inglese, english-italian.* Torino: Paravia. // *Comprehensive Italian-English and English-Italian dictionary.*

Patota 2002 = *Lineamenti di grammatica storica dell'italiano*. Bologna: il Mulino. // *A historical grammar of Italian*

TsLJdO 2016 = *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini*. Available at: tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO // *The project of Italian historical dictionary.*

Vitali 2015 = Comments on some sophisticated cases, provided by Dr. Daniele Vitali.

Zingarelli 1980 = Zingarelli N. *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*. Bologna: Zanichelli. // *Italian explanatory dictionary.*

Zorko et al. 2002 = Зорько Г. Ф., Майзель Б. Н., Скворцова Н. А. *Большой итальянско-русский словарь* [Zorko G. F., Mayzel B. N., Skvortsova N. A. Big Italian-Russian dictionary]. М.: Русский язык. // *Comprehensive Italian-Russian dictionary.*

XVI. Neapolitan

Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015 = Information, provided by Mr. Luca Esposito, Mr. Vincenzo Russo, Mr. Roberto Matarazzo, Mr. Enrico Cirillo, Mr. Riccardo Nagar, Mr. Davide Mancusi, Mr. Dario Musella (all -

Naples), Mr. Antonio Fattoruso (Sant'Antonio Abate), Mr. Jenni Morelli (Grottaminarda), Mr. Mirko Cerrone (Salerno), Mr. Francesco Alois (Caserta), who were so kind to fill the questionnaire and comment on some complicated cases.

XVII. Logudorese

Buttu 2015 = Information kindly provided by Mr. Gianfranco Buttu, who filled the questionnaire and gave comments where necessary.

Narumov 2001 = Нарумов, Б. П. *Сардинский язык* [Narumov, B. P. Sardinian language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 160-186. // *A grammar sketch of the Sardinian language.*

There is also an on-line dictionary of Logudorese (http://vocabolariocasu.isresardegna.it/index.php), but we have not used it in our work.

XVIII. Campidanese

Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015, Fadda 2015 = Information kindly provided by Mr. Simone Ballicu, Mr. Marco Pintus (Cagliari dialect) and Mrs. Alessia Fadda (the subdialect of Domus de Maria (Cagliari dialect)), who filled the questionnaire and gave comments where necessary.

Narumov 2001 = Нарумов, Б. П. *Сардинский язык* [Narumov, B. P. Sardinian language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 160-186. // *A grammar sketch of the Sardinian language.*

XIX. Sicilian

Messina 2015, Ornato 2015, La Bua 2015, Salzano 2015, Stornanti 2015, Sorbello 2015, Corsaro 2015, La Mattina 2015, Salerno 2015, Leggio 2015, Miccichè 2015, Coccimiglio 2016 = Information kindly provided by Mr. Salvatore Messina, Mr. Fulvio Ornato (the dialect of Palermo), Mr. Salvatore La Bua (the subdialect of Termini Imerese), Mr. Alessio Salzano (the dialect of Messina), Mr. Vincenzo Stornanti (the subdialect of

Spadafora), Mr. Giuseppe Sorbello (the subdialect of Giarre), Mr. Alessandro Corsaro, Mr. Ferdinando La Mattina, Mr. Federico Salerno (the dialect of Catania), Mr. Carmelo Leggio (the subdialect of Ragusa), Mr. Agostino Miccichè (the subdialect of Agrigento) and Mr. Luigi Coccimiglio (the subdialect of Buscemi) who filled the questionnaire and gave comments where necessary.

XX. Catalan

DCVB 2015 = *Diccionari català-valencià-balear.* Available at: http://dcvb.iec.cat // *Electronic version of a Catalan explanatory dictionary.*

EDCC 1993 = *Essencial diccionari castellà-català, català-castellà.* Barcelona: Biblograf, 1993. // *Small Spanish-Catalan and Catalan-Spanish dictionary.*

Narumov 2001 = Нарумов, Б. П. *Каталанский язык* [Narumov, B. P. Catalan language]. // Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, 2001. P. 492-517. // *A grammar sketch of the Catalan language.*

Alòs i Font 2015, Llorens 2015, Cardona 2015, Barreda 2015, Pérez i Sanchis 2015, Montagut 2015, Balletbò 2015 = The majority of data was provided by Mr. Hèctor Alòs i Font, Mr. Josep Llorens (Central dialect, Barcelona), Mr. Ciceró Pascual Cardona (Maon Minorcan subdialect), Mr. David Barreda (a subdialect of Castelló de la Plana), Mr. Guillermo Pérez Sanchis (a subdialect of Valencia), Mr. Toni Pedrós (a subdialect of Manises) Mr. Abel Montagut (a subdialect of Les Garrigues) and Mr. Eloi Balletbò (a subdialect of Oliana) who kindly agreed to fill in the questionnaire and gave some further comments on Catalan.

XXI. Spanish

Corominas 1997 = Corominas, J. *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana.* Madrid: Gredos. // *An etymological dictionary of the Spanish language.*

Narumov 2001 = Нарумов, Б. П. *Испанский язык* [Narumov B.P. Spanish language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 411-462. // *A*

grammar sketch of the Spanish language.

Valén 2015 = Information provided by Mr. Antonio Valén, a native speaker of Castilian Spanish (a subdialect of Soria), who filled the questionnaire and gave some further comments.

XXII. Asturian

Narumov 2001 = Нарумов, Б. П. *Астурийский язык* [Narumov, B. P. Asturian language]. In: Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 535-550. // *A grammar sketch of the Asturian language*.

Riego-Delgado 2016, González Rato 2016 = Information kindly provided by Mr. Abraham Riego-Delgado (Candás, Central dialect) and Mr. Xesús González Rato (Langreo, Central dialect), who filled the questionnaire and gave some further comments. Unfortunately, neither of the informants answered all our additional questions, which could have been very useful in some difficult cases.

XXIII. Standard Portuguese

Costa & Melo 1975 = Almeida Costa, J., Sampaio e Melo, E. *Dicionário da língua portuguesa*. Porto: Porto Editora. // *Portuguese explanatory dictionary.*

Cândido de Figueiredo = Cândido de Figueiredo, A. *Dicionário da língua portuguesa*. Amadoro: Bertrand, 1978 // *Portuguese explanatory dictionary in two volumes*.

Pimentel Ferreira 2016 = Information provided by Mr. João Pimentel Ferreira (a native speaker of Lisboa Portuguese), who was so kind to comment on some sophisticated cases.

Feyershtein & Starets 2005 = Феерштейн, Е. Н., Старец, С. М. Большой португальско-русский словарь [Feyershtein Y. N., Starets S. M. Big Portuguese-Russian dictionary]. М: Живой язык. // *Comprehensive Portuguese -Russian dictionary.*

Nascentes 1955 = Nascentes, A. Dicionário etimológico da língua portuguêsa. Rio de Janeiro. // *Etymological dictionary of the Portuguese language.*

Nechayeva 2009 = Нечаева, К. К. Португальский язык. Справочник по грамматике [Nechayeva K. K. Portuguese language. Grammar reference book]. М: Живой язык. // *A grammar sketch of the Portuguese language.*

Voinova et al. 1989 = Воинова, Н. Я., Старец, С. М., Верхуша В. М., Здитовецкий А. Г. Русско-португальский словарь [Voinova N. Y., Starets S. M., Verkhusha V. M., Zditovetskiy A. G. Russian Portuguese dictionary]. М.: Русский язык. // *Comprehensive Russian-Portuguese dictionary.*

Volf 2001 = Вольф, Е. М. *Португальский язык* [Volf Y. M. Portuguese language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 462-491. // *A sketch of the Portuguese language.*

CdP 2016 = O Corpus do Português, compiled by M. Davies and M.J. Ferreira. Available at: http://www.corpusdoportugues.org/x.asp // A Portuguese Corpus.

XXIV. Galician

Carré Alvarellos 1972 = Carré Alvarellos L. *Diccionario galego-castelán e vocavulario castelán-galego*. La Coruna: Moret // *Small Galician-Spanish and Spanish-Galician dictionary.*

DRAG 2016 = *Dicionario da Real Academia Galega*. Available at: http://academia.gal/dicionario#inicio.do // *Galician explanatory dictionary.*

Fernández Armesto 1981 = Fernández Armesto F. *Dicionario castelán-galego*. Sada (A Coruña): Ediciós do Castro // *Small Spanish-Galician dictionary*.

Franco Grande 1968 = Franco Grande X. L. *Diccionario Galego-Castelan e vocabulario Castelan-Galego*. Vigo: Galaxia // *Small Galician-Spanish and Spanish-Galician dictionary.*

Montoya Bolaños 2015, 2016 = Information provided by Mr. Alejandro Montoya

Bolaños (living in Lugo, native speaker of Central Galician dialect) who kindly agreed to fill in the questionnaire and gave some further comments on sophisticated cases.

Narumov 2001 = Нарумов, Б. П. *Галисийский язык* [Narumov B. P. Galician language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 517-534. // *A grammar sketch of the Galician language.*

XXV. Occitan

Coupier 1995 = Coupier J. Dictionnaire Français – Provençal. Gignac-la-Nerthe: Association Dictionnaire Français – Provençal. // *Comprehensive French-Provençal dictionary.*

Lobodanov, Morozova, Chelysheva 2001 = Лободанов, А. П., Морозова, Е. В., Челышева, И. И. *Окситанский язык* [Lobodanov A. P., Morozova E. V., Chelysheva I. I. Occitan language]. // Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, 2001. P. 278-303. // *A grammar sketch of the Occitan language.*

XXVI. Franco-Provençal

Viret 2013 = Viret, R. Dikchonéro Fransé-Savoyв. Dictionnaire Français-Savoyard. // Comprehensive French- Savoyard Franco-Provençal dictionary. Available at: http://www.arpitania.eu/aca/documents/DictionnaireViretFrancaisSavoyard.pdf

Viret's dictionary contains rich material from many Savoyard subdialects. We have chosen the subdialect of the Albanais region as the main source of data, while giving the forms of other subdialects in comments in case different terms are used there.

XXVII. French

Chelysheva 2001 = Челышева, И. И. *Старофранцузский язык* [Chelysheva, I. I, Old French language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. М.: Academia, pp. 250-278. // *A grammar sketch of the Old French language.*

Collins-Robert 1989 = *Collins-Robert French-English, English-French dictionary*. Paris: Le Robert. // *Comprehensive French-English and English-French dictionary.*

Einhorn 1999 = Einhorn, E. Old French. A concise handbook. Cambridge: University Press.

EDCT 2014 = Electronic Dictionary of Chrétien de Troyes, created by Pierre Kunstmann (University of Ottawa), Hiltrud Gerner (Université de Lorraine) and May Plouzeau (Université de Provence). Available at http://www.atilf.fr/dect/lexique/DECTEnglish20141201.pdf // *A comprehensive dictionary of Chrétien de Troyes' language, including data on frequency of attestation.*

Godefroy = Godefroy, F. *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et tous ses dialects du IXe et XVe siècle*. Genève, Paris: Slatkine, 1982. // *An Old French dictionary in 10 volumes.*

LGR = *Le grand Robert de la langue française*. Paris: Le Robert, 1986. // *Comprehensive French explanatory dictionary in 9 volumes.*

Lonsdale & Le Bras 2009 = Lonsdale, D., Le Bras, Y. *A Frequency Dictionary of French*. London, New York: Routledge. // *Short French frequency dictionary, including 5 000 words and based on 23 millions words corpus.*

Rayevskaya 2013 = Раевская, О. В. *Новый французско-русский, русско-французский словарь* [Rayevskaya O. V. New French-Russian, Russian-French dictionary]. M.: ABYY Press. // *Medium dictionary (about 40 000 words and expressions).*

Referovskaya et al. 2001 = Реферовская, Е. А.; Бокадорова Н. Ю.; Гулыга О. А.; Челышева И. И. *Французский язык* [Referovskaya Y. A.; Bokadorova N. Y.; Gulyga O. A.; Chelysheva, I. I, French language]. **In:** Языки мира. Романские языки. M.: Academia, pp. 194-249. // *A grammar sketch of the French language.*

Robert-Collins 1989 = *Robert-Collins dictionnaire français-anglais, anglais-français*. Paris: Le Robert. // *Comprehensive French-English and English-French dictionary.*

XXVIII. Picard

Leplubo 2016 = Information provided by Mr. Jean-Claude Leplubo, a native speaker of Picard (a subdialect of Grandvilliers), who filled the questionnaire and gave comments where necessary.

XXIX. Walloon

Mahin 2016 = Information provided by Mr. Lucien Mahin, who kindly filled the questionnaire in his native Transinne Walloon (Southern dialect) and in standardized Rifondou Walloon, and was so kind to comment on some sophisticated cases.

NOTES

I. Latin.

The Archaic Classical Latin list is based on the plays of Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 254–184 BC, born in Sarsina) plays. In difficlult cases the list is supported by data from "De agri cultura" by Marcus Porcius Cato (234–149 BC, born in Tusculum).

The Late Classical Latin list is based on works by Apuleius (c. 124 – c. 170 AD, born in Madaurus, Numidia): "Metamorphoses", "Apologia", "Florida", "De dogmate Platonis", "De mundo". (It should be noted that Apuleius' mother tongue was probably Phoenician or Greek, but he learned Latin at a very young age and mastered it to a very high level while living in Rome.) In some particularly complex cases we have also quoted material from Aulus Gellius' (c. 125 – after 180 AD, born in Rome) "Attic Nights", Petronius' (c. 27 – 66 AD, born in Massalia (Marseille)) "Satyricon", and Vulgata (translated by St. Jerome, c. 347 – 420 AD, born near Emona, Venetia et Histria).

Abbreviations: Amph. = Amphitruo; Asin. = Asinaria; Aul. = Aulularia; Bac. = Bacchides; Capt. = Captivi; Cas. = Casina; Cist. = Cistellaria; Curc. = Curculio; Epid = Epidicus; Men. = Menaechmi; Merc. = Mercator; Mil. = Miles gloriosus; Most. = Mostellaria; Poen. = Poenulus; Pseud. = Pseudolus; Rud. = Rudens; Trin. = Trinummus;

Truc. = Truculentus; Vid. = Vidularia.

II. Megleno Romanian.

II.1. *General*.

The village named Oșani in Capidan's works bore the name Ossiani or Xifiani in Greek. On 6/6/1925 it was renamed to Archangelos The village Lugunța bore the name Lunguntsa and was renamed to Lankadia / Langadia on 2/3/1926. The village Țârnareca bore the name Tserna Reka and was renamed to Karpi on 1/11/1926.

All the verbs are given in the first-person singular present tense form, as in [Capidan 1935].

II.2. *Transliteration*.

Capidan's transcription is transliterated as follows:

[Capidan 1935]	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
dz	ʒ
ts	c
z	z
s	s
dž	ǯ
tš	č
j	ž
ș	š

gi̯	d͡ʑ
chi̯	t͡ɕ
g	g
c	k
h	x
m	m
n	n
ń	ɲ
r	r
l	l
ľ	ʎ
ł	ɫ
u̯	w
i̯	y
i	i
e	e
ę	ɛ
ă	ə
a	a
ạ	ɐ
ọ	ɔ
u	u
ea	e̯a
oa	o̯a
V̄	V:
V́, V̀	ˈV

III. Istro Romanian.

III.1. *General*.

The Istro Romanian language has two main dialects: one spoken in Žejane and the other spoken in all the rest of the villages located to the South of Žejane. Žejane is separated

from the southern villages by Croatian-speaking territory. There are two mismatches between the Žejane dialect and the southern dialect ('far', 'leaf') plus three additional mismatches caused by loanwords in one of the dialects ('belly', 'dog' and 'rain').

The available sources cover both dialects, and the main source, Kovačec's dictionary, marks all the forms precisely with the name of the village where they were written down.

This list is based primarily on the Southern dialect, but Žejane forms are given as well.

The names of Istro Romanian villages are given in their Croatian form, the correspondences between the Croatian and Istro Romanian names are: Brdo = Bârdo, Jesenovik = Sucodru, Kostrčan = Costârčan, Nova Vas = Nosolo / Noselo, Šušnjevica = Susńeviţę / Șușńeviţę, Žejane = Žeįân.

III.2. *Transliteration*.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Byhan 1899	Glavina 1905	Kovačec 2010	Modified Croatian Orthography	GLD
b	b	b	b	b
p	p	p	p	p
v, w	v	v	v	v
f	f	f	f	f
d	d	d	d	d
t	t	t	t	t
ts	ţ	ţ	c	c
dz		ḍ	dz	ʒ
z	z	z	z	z
s	s	s	s	s
tŝ	c before i and e; cǐ, ci	č	č	č

Byhan 1899	Glavina 1905	Kovačec 2010	Modified Croatian Orthography	GLD
		ǧ	đ	ǯ
ẑ, ž	j	ž	ž	ž
ŝ, š	ș	ș	š	š
		ć, t″	ć	ƫ
g	g	g	g	g
k	c, ch before i and e	c, k before i and e	k	k
ɣ, g		ɣ	g	ɣ
h	h	h	h	x
m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n
ń	nĭ	ń	nj	ɲ
ñ	n	n, ŋ	n	ŋ
r	r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l	l
ľ	lĭ	ľ	lj	ʎ
i̭	ĭ	i̭	j	y
i	i	i	i	i
e	e	e	e	e
ę	ea	ę	ę	ä
ǫ	î, ă	â	â	ə
a	a	a	a	a
ọ	ạ	å	å	ɒ
o	o	o	o	o
u	u	u	u	u
V́	V̀	V́		'V

1. Sârbu and Frățilă use the same transcription as Kovačec, the only exception is *j* instead of *ž*.

2. The sound *g* has shifted to *ɣ* in the Žejane dialect in almost all positions, with the

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exception of clusters *ŋg* and *gʎ* [Narumov 2001: 659], so they must be regarded as allophones of one phoneme. This is why there is no difference between *g* and *ɣ* in so-called Modified Croatian Orthography.

IV. Aromanian

IV.1. *General*.

All the verbs are given in the first-person singular present tense form.

IV.2. *Transliteration*.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Dalametra	Papahagi	Gołąb	Bara et al.	Cunia	GLD
b	b	b	b	b	b
p	p	p	p	p	p
v	v	v	v	v	v
f	f	f	f	f	f
δ	δ	δ	δ	dh	ð
θ	θ	θ	θ	th	θ
d	d	d	d	d	d
t	t	t	t	t	t
ţ	ţ	c	ţ	ts	c
dz	dz	ʒ	ḑ	dz	ʒ
z	z	z	z	z	z
s	s	s	s	s	s
c before e, i	č	č	č	c before e, i	č
g before e, i	ǧ	ǯ	ǧ	g before e, i	ǯ
j	j	ž	ž	j	ž
ș	ș	š	ș	sh	š
gh before e, i	┐	g'	g'	gh before e, i	ḑ
ch before e, i	k	k'	k'	ch before e, i	ţ

Dalametra	Papahagi	Gołąb	Bara et al.	Cunia	GLD
h	h	h'	h'	h	ş
ɣ	ɣ	ɣ'	ɣ'	y	ʑ
g	g	g	g	g	g
c	c	k	k	c	k
ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	ɣ	gh	ɣ
h	h	h	h	h	x
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
nĭ	n'	n'	n'	nj	ɲ
r	r	r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l	l	l
lĭ	ľ	ľ	ľ	lj	ʎ
ĭ	ĭ	i̯	ĭ	i	y
ŭ	ŭ	u̯	u	u	w
i	i	i	i	i	i
e	e	e	e	e	e
î	î	–	–	–	ɨ
ă	ă	ə	ā	ã	ə
a	a	a	a	a	a
o	o	o	o	o	o
u	u	u	u	u	u
ea	ea	ea	ea	ea	e̜a
oa	oa	oa	oa	oa	o̜a
–	-; ŭ after dz, j, ț, ş	ᵘ	ᵘ	–	ŭ
–	-; ĭ	ⁱ	ⁱ	–	ĭ
–	–	ᵊ	ᵃ	–	ə̆
V̀	V́	V́	'V	–	'V

V. Romanian

V.1. *General*.

According to [Lukht & Narumov 2001: 575], the Romanian and Moldavian literary languages are identical. We have tried to verify this statement by constructing a separate Swadesh list for Moldavian, based on two large Russian-Moldavian dictionaries [Podiko 1973; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990]. As may be seen from the listing in the notes section, they do indeed coincide on all 110 points, so there is no reason to separate these idioms from the lexicostatistical point of view.

V.2. *Transliteration*.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Modern Romanian orthography	Moldavian Cyrillic orthography	GLD
b	б	b
p	п	p
v	в	v
f	ф	f
d	д	d
t	т	t
ţ	ц	c
z	з	z
s	с	s
c before e, i	ч	č
g before e, i	ӂ	ǯ
j	ж	ž
ş	ш	š
g, gh before e, i	г	g
k, ch before e, i	к	k
h	х	h
m	м	m

Modern Romanian orthography	Moldavian Cyrillic orthography	GLD
n	н	n
l	л	l
r	р	r
i	й	y
u	у	w
i	и	i
e	е	e
î, â	ы	ɨ
ă	э	ə
a	а	a
o	о	o
u	у	u
ea	я	ea̦
oa	оа	o̦a

Note: In word-final position, consonants before *i* become palatalized, in which case *i* is not pronounced.

VI. Dalmatian

VI.1. *General.*

The majority of Dalmatian data are written down after Antonio Udina, the last native speaker of Dalmatian. In making this list, we tried to use mainly Udina's contexts, but if it was necessary, we also added information from other sources. Prior to being interviewed by researchers, Udina had not used Dalmatian for a few decades, so his Dalmatian is heavily influenced by Venetian. Taking this into account, we do not regard the Dalmatian words whose phonetics is partly influenced by Venetian as borrowings. Examples of such words include *nwat* 'night' or *pyat* 'breast' with *-t* instead of *-pt* in the place of Latin *-ct-*.

VI.2. *Transliteration*.

Bartoli's transcription is transliterated as follows:

Bartoli	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
ż	ʒ
z	c
ṡ	z
s	s
ǧ	ǯ
č	č
g	g
k	k
m	m
n	n
ń	ɲ
ṅ	ŋ
r	r
l	l
ľ	ʎ
u̯	w
i̯, i̯	y
i	i
e	e
a	a
o	o
u	u

Note: there is also an allophone of /u/, transcribed by Bartoli as {u͡ǫ}.

VII. Friulian

VII.1. *General.*

The Friulian language is divided into three dialectal groups: Central-Oriental, Western and Carnian. Unfortunately, we managed to collect the wordlist only for the common Friulian koine, based on the Central-Oriental dialect.

VII.2. *Transliteration*.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Pirona	Modern Orthography	GLD
b	b	b
p	p	p
v	v	v
f	f	f
d	d	d
t	t	t
	z	ʒ
z	z	c
s between two vowels	s between two vowels	z
s, ss between two vowels	s, ss between two vowels	s
z	z	ž
ç, c before e and i	ç, c before e and i	č
gi	gj	d̦
çh	cj	ț
g, gh before e and i	g, gh before e and i	g
c, ch before e and i	c, ch before e and i	k
m	m	m
n	n	n

Pirona	Modern Orthography	GLD
gn	gn	ɲ
n	n	ŋ
r	r	r
l	l	l
u	u	w
j	j	y
i	i	i
é, e	e	e
è	e	ɛ
a	a	a
ó, o	o	o
ò	o	ɔ
u	u	u
V̂	V̂	V:
V́, V̀	V̀	'V

Notes:

1. We use the transcriptional signs *ɟ* and *c̜* for the Friulian sounds designated in modern orthography as *gj* and *cj*, but in fact these sounds are post-palatal/prevelar, not palatal [Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 371].

2. The short high vowels *i* and *u* are normally realized as *ɪ* and *ʊ* respectively.

VIII. Ladin

VIII.1. *General*.

Ladin is a language with a high degree of dialectal diversity. Unfortunately, we were unable to collect full lists for all the dialects; complete lists are available only for Gardenese and Fassano dialects. However, the notes section on the Gardenese dialect contains partial data on the corresponding equivalents for the Marebbano, Badiotto, Livinallese, and Nones dialects.

For lexicostatistical discrepancies between the Gardenese and Fassano lists see: 'black', 'hear', 'leaf', 'lie', 'man', 'tree', 'woman', 'snake'.

VIII.2. *Transliteration*.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Gartner	DILF	Forni	GLD
b	b	b	b
p	p	p	p
v	v	v	v
f	f	f	f
d	d	d	d
t	t	t	t
ts	z	z	c
z	s between two vowels; ś in the very beginning of the word	s between two vowels	z
s	s, ss between two vowels	s, ss between two vowels	s
dy	g before e, i	g before e, ë, i	ǯ
tš	c before e, i or at the end of a word	c before e, ë, i or at the end of a word	č
ž	j	j	ž
š	sc before e, i or at the end of a word	sc before e, ë, i or at the end of a word	š
tχ	c before e, i	c before e, ë, i	ç
g	g	g	g
k	c	c	k
m	m	m	m
n	n	n, -nn	n
ny	gn		ɲ
ŋ	n	n	ŋ
r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l

Gartner	DILF	Forni	GLD
ᵘ	u	u	w
ⁱ	i	i	y
i	i	i	i
e	e	e	e
ẹ	è, e	o	ɛ
a	a	a	a
a., ə	-	ë, e	ə
o	o	o	o
ọ	ò, o	o	ɔ
u	u	u	u
ʋ	-	-	ü
-	V.	-	'V

IX. Romansh

IX.1. *General*.

The Romansh language has five main dialects: Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmiran, Puter, Vallader, and the literary language (Rumantsch Grischun). Unfortunately, we had no possibility to collect the lists for Sutsilvan and Puter.

For the discrepancies between the lists see: 'burn', 'eat', 'feather', 'hear', 'kill', 'mountain', 'not', 'person', 'that', 'tree', 'woman', 'yellow', 'near'.

IX.2. *Transliteration*.

Romansh orthography is transliterated as follows:

Romansh orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v

Romansh orthography	GLD
f	f
d	d
t	t
z	c
s between vowels	z
s; ss between vowels	s
g before e and i	ǯ
tsch	č
sch; s before a voiced consonant	ž
sch; s before a voiceless consonant	š
tg	ȶ
ch, tg (Grischun)	ɕ
g	g
c	k
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
ng	ŋ
r	r
l	l
gl	ʎ
u	w
j, i	y
i	i
e	e
e, è	ɛ
u	ʊ
a	a
o	o
o	ɔ
u	u
-, ˋV	ˈV

X. Piemontese

X.1. *General*.

The Piemontese language has two main dialects: High Piemontese (divided into Turinese, Canavese, Biellese, Langarolo, Monferrino and other dialects) and Low Piemontese [Chelysheva 2001: 95]. Unfortunately, we were unable to collect lists for all these dialects. We only present the lists for the idioms of Lanzo Torinese, Barbania and Carmagnola (close subdialects of the Turinese dialect) and the Vercellese dialect, which is sometimes claimed as transitional between Piemontese and Lombard below.

For discrepancies between the lists see 'bark', 'big', 'breast', 'many', 'swim', 'tree', 'what', 'woman', 'heavy', 'wind'.

X.2. *Transliteration.*

Piemontese orthography is transliterated as follows:

Piemontese orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
z, s between two vowels	z
s	s
g before e, i	ž
c before e, i	č
g; -gh	g
c; -ch	k
m	m

Piemontese orthography	GLD
n	n
gn	ɲ
n; n-	ŋ
r	r
l	l
u	w
j, i	y
i	i
u	ü
é	e
è	ɛ
eu	ö
ë	ə
a	a
ó	o
ò	ɔ
o	u
V́, V̀	'V

Note: Mr. Noris gave all the forms in the IPA transcription, so we do not discuss the forms in Piemontese orthography for the Vercellese dialect.

XI. Lombard

XI.1. *General*.

The Lombard language is divided into many dialects. Unfortunately, we had no possibility to collect the full list for all the dialects, so we only present the lists for the Bergamo dialect and the dialect of Plesio below.

For discrepancies between the lists see 'bark', 'big', 'bite', 'dry', 'kull', 'stone', 'woman', 'heavy', 'snake', 'thin'.

XI.2. *Transliteration.*

The Lombard orthography is transliterated as follows:

Lombard orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
z	c
z	z
s	s
g before e, i	ǯ
c before e, i or on the end of word	č
sc before e, i	š
g	g
c	k
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
n before consonants	ŋ
r	r
l	l
CC	C:
u before vowels	w
i	y
i	i
ü	ü
e, é	e
e, è	ɛ

Lombard orthography	GLD
a	a
o, ó	o
ò	ɔ
u	u
V́, V̀	'V

Note: In word-final position, consonants become devoiced.

XII. Emiliano-Romagnol

XII.1. *General*.

Emiliano-Romagnol is divided into Emilian and Romagnol dialect groups, with many dialects and subdialects in every group.

For discrepancies between the lists see 'bark', 'big', 'bite', 'breast', 'cold', 'feather', 'head', 'kill', 'lie', 'many', 'not', 'person', 'rain', 'stone', 'swim', 'what', 'thin', 'worm'.

XII.2. *Transliteration*.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Ercolani	Modern Orthography	GLD
b	b	b
p	p	p
v	v	v
f	f	f
d	d	d
t	t	t
ẓ	z	ʒ
z⁺		c
ş	ś	z

Ercolani	Modern Orthography	GLD
s·	s	s
g before e, i	g before e, i	ǯ
c before e, i; cc on the end of the word	c before e, i; ć (Carpigiano); çč (Reggiano)	çč
g	g	g
c	c	k
m	m	m
n	n	n
gn	gn	ɲ
n	n	ŋ
r	r	r
l	l	l
j	i	y
i	i	i
e	é	e
ē	ē	e:
ê	-	ee̯
é	-	ẽ
è	è	ɛ
ë	-	ɛe̯
a	a	a
â	-	ã
ó	ó	o
ô	ou	ow
ò	ò	ɔ
ö	-	ɔe̯
u	u	u
-	V̂	V:

XIII. Ligurian

XIII.1. *General*.

The Ligurian language is divided into four dialects: Intemelio, Western, Genoese, and Cinque Terre. Unfortunately, we had no possibility to collect the full list for all the dialects, so we only present the lists for the Genoese dialect, the Rapallo subdialect, and the dialect of Stella below.

For discrepancies between the lists see 'breast', 'feather', 'lie', 'many', 'mountain', 'person', 'rain', 'sand', 'warm', 'snake'.

XIII.2. *Transliteration.*

The Ligurian orthographies are transliterated as follows:

Ligurian orthographies	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
z	ʒ
z	c
s	z
s, ç	s
g before e, i, æ	ǯ
c before e, i, æ	č
x	ž
sci	š
g	g
c	k

Ligurian orthographies	GLD
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
-n	ŋ
r	r
l	l
u, ou before vowels	w
ü before vowels	ɥ
j, i	y
CC	C:
i	i
ü	ü
é	e
ê	eː
è	ɛ
eu; ö	ö
æ	ä
a	a
o	o
ô	oː
ò	ɔ
ö	ɔː
u; ŏ	u
V̂	V:

Note: Mr. Fasce gave all the forms in the IPA transcription, so we do not discuss the forms in Ligurian orthography for the Rapallo dialect.

XIV. Venetian

XIV.1. *General*.

The Venetian language is divided into Central Venetian (Padua, Vicenza, Polesine), North-Eastern Venetian (Treviso, Feltre, Belluno), Western Venetian (Verona), Trentinian, Venetian Proper (Venice) and different "colonial" dialects [Chelysheva 2001: 116]. Although we have lists for different dialects, most of them don't demonstrate significant differences in the 110-item list. The dialects, which really stand out, are the Bellunese one and the Primiero one (the subdialect of Bellunese). So we present three Venetian lists below: common Venetian, Bellunese and Primiero.

XIV.2. *Transliteration.*

The Venetian orthography is transliterated as follows:

Venetian orthographies	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
đ (Primiero dialect)	ð
ẑ (Primiero dialect)	θ
z	c
x; z	z
s; ç	s
g before e, i	ǯ
c before e, i	č
g; gh before e, i	g
c; ch before e, i	k
m	m

Venetian orthographies	GLD
n	n
gn	ɲ
n on the end of a syllable or a word	ŋ
r	r
l	l
u	w
i	y
ł	ɯ; ə̞
i	i
e; é	e
è	ɛ
a	a
o; ó	o
ò	ɔ
u	u
V̀, V́	'V

Note 1: the letters {x} and {z} are used for the sound z in different variants of the Venetian orthography. Some informants prefer the first (more traditional) variant, some prefer the second (more similar to the Italian orthography).

Note 2: the pronunciation of {ł} can vary depending on dialect.

XV. Italian

XV.1. *General*.

We present the lists for Dante's Italian, Standard Italian, the Tuscan dialect of Grosseto and the Umbrian dialect of Foligno.

Dante's Italian wordlist is based on Dante Alighieri's works. Dante (1265-1321, born in Florence) is considered the father of the literary Italian language. The main source for

the wordlist was the Divine Comedy (1306-1321), but in some difficult cases we have also consulted Dante's minor works written in Italian (Vita nuova, Convivio, Il Fiore, Rime, Detto d'Amore). For the examples, we have chosen to use Longfellow's translation of Divine Comedy which is closest to the original, being a nearly literal translation. In the most ambiguous cases we resort to the aid of Petrarch's (1304-1374, born in Arezzo) poems and Boccaccio's (1313-1375, born in Florence) prose.

All of Dante's works are available online in Italian and English at Princeton Dante Project: http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/pdp
Longfellow's translation of the Divine Comedy may be found at Project Gutenberg: http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1004/pg1004.html

Abbreviations: Inf. = Inferno; Purg. = Purgatorio; Par. = Paradiso; VN = Vita nuova; Conv. = Convivio; Dec. = Decameron.

XV.2. *Transliteration.*

The Italian orthography is transliterated as follows:

Italian orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
z	ʒ
z	c
s	z
s	s
g before e, i	ǯ
c before e, i	č
sc before e, i	š

Italian orthography	GLD
g	g
c	k
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
n before g,c	ŋ
r	r
l	l
gl	ʎ
CC	C:
u	w
i	y
i	i
e	e
e	ɛ
a	a
o	o
o	ɔ
u	u

XVI. Neapolitan

XVI.1. *General*.

Unlike the lects of Northern Italy, Neapolitan dialects do not feature as many discrepancies between them in the Swadesh list. For this reason, we prepared only one list for Neapolitan.

XVI.2. *Transliteration*.

The Neapolitan orthography is transliterated as follows:

Neapolitan orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v between two vowels	β
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
d between two vowels	ɾ
z	c
s	s
g before e, i	ǯ
c before e, i	š
cc before e, i	č:
g	g
c	k
g between two vowels	ɣ
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
n before g, c	ŋ
r	r
l	l
gl	ʎ
CC	C:
u	w
j	y
i	i
e	e, ɛ
unstressed e, o; unstressed a on the end of a word	ə
a	a
o	o, ɔ
u	u

Neapolitan orthography	GLD
Ѵ́, Ѵ̀	ˈV

Although the Neapolitan orthography does not make any distinctions between open and closed vowels, the relevant information was provided to us by the informants.

XVII. Logudorese

XVII.1. *General*.

There is no consensus as to the dialectal division of Logudorese [Narumov 2001: 161]. According to the Glottolog scheme, Logudorese Sardinian is divided into Barbaricino, Northwestern Logudorese and Southwestern Logudorese. Unfortunately, we had no possibility to collect the full lists for all the dialects, so only the list for the Barbaricino dialect is provided.

XVII.2. *Transliteration*.

The Logudorese orthography is transliterated as follows:

Logudorese orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
th	θ
dz	ʒ
z	c
s	s
dd	ḍː
j	ž

Logudorese orthography	GLD
g	g
c	k
m	m
n	n
r	r
l	l
i	y
CC	C:
i	i
e	e
a	a
o	o
u	u
V̀	'V

XVIII. Campidanese

XVIII.1. *General*.

Campidanese Sardinian is divided into Western Campidanese, Sub-Barbaricino, Ogliastrino, Central Campidanese, Sarrabense, Sulcitano, and Cagliari dialects (South Campidanese) [Narumov 2001: 161]. Unfortunately, we had no possibility to collect full lists for all the dialects. The list for the Cagliari dialect serves as our primary object of comparison; additionally, the notes section also include data on the Domus de Maria subdialect.

XVIII.2. *Transliteration*.

The Campidanese orthography is transliterated as follows:

Campidanese orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
b	β
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
d	ð
z	c
s	s
g before e, i	ž, ʒ
c before e, i	č
x	ž
sc	š
g	g
c	k
g	ɣ
m	m
m	n
r	r
l	l
CC	C:
u	w
i	y
i	i
e	e, ɛ
a	a
o	o, ɔ
u	u
-	'V

Although the Campidanese orthography does not make any distinctions between open

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and closed vowels, they do exist; the information was provided by Mr. Pintus and Mrs. Fadda.

XIX. Sicilian

XIX.1. *General*.

Below we present the lists for Palermitan, Messinese, Catanian and South-Eastern (comprises the lists for the dialects of Ragusa and Agrigento) dialects, which slightly differ from each over, see 'big', 'burn', 'feather', 'lie', 'man', 'rain', 'small', 'tree', 'warm', 'snake'.

Although Buscemi is geographically closer to Ragusa and Agrigente, the Buscemese list was added to the Palermitan comments due to its close resemblance (only three items differ: 'man', 'rain' and 'tree').

XIX.2. *Transliteration.*

The Sicilian orthography is transliterated as follows:

Sicilian orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
z	c
s	s
dd	ɖː
dr	ɖr
tr	ʈʈ
rr	z_i r: (depending on dialect)

Sicilian orthography	GLD
str	ʂɽ
g before e, i	ž
c before e, i	č
sc before e, i	š
g	g
c	k
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
n before c, g	ŋ
r	ɾ
l	l
CC	C:
u before a vowel	w
i before a vowel	y
i	i
i (unstressed and non-initial)	ɨ (Messinese dialect)
e	ɛ
a	a
o	ɔ
u	u
V̀	'V

XX. Catalan

XX.1. *General*.

The Catalan language is divided into two major groups of dialects: eastern (Northern, Central, Balearic and Algherese dialects) and western (North-Western and Valencian dialects). The Maon Minorcan subdialect belongs to the Balearic dialect, the subdialects of Castelló de la Plana, Valencia and Manises belong to the Valencian dialect. The subdialects of Les Garrigues and Oliana belong to the North-Western dialect.

XX.2. *Transliteration.*

Catalan orthography is transliterated as follows:

Catalan orthography (Central Catalan pronunciation)	GLD
v, b in the beginning of a word or after m	b
v, b	β
p	p
f	f
d in the beginning of a word or after n, m, l	d
d	ð
t	t
s between two vowels or before a voiced consonant	z
s; ss between two vowels; ç; c before e, i	s
tg	ǯ
tx	č
j	ž
x	š
g in the beginning of a word or after ŋ, m	g
g	ɣ
c	k
m	m
n	n
ny	ɲ
n	ŋ
r	ɾ
rr, r at the beginning of a word	r
l	ł
ll	ʎ
u	w
i	y
i	i

Catalan orthography (Central Catalan pronunciation)	GLD
e	e
e	ɛ
unstressed e and a	ə
a	a
o	o
o	ɔ
u, unstressed o	u
-	ˈV

Note: In word-final position, consonants become devoiced.

The transcription for Central Catalan, Minorcan and Les Garrigues dialects was made by Mr. Alòs i Font, Mr. Cardona and Mr. Montagut respectively.

XXI. Spanish

Spanish orthography is transliterated as follows:

Spanish orthography	GLD
b, v in the beginning of a word or after n, m	b
p	p
b	β
f	f
d in the beginning of a word or after n, l	d
t	t
d	ð
c before e, i; z	θ
s before a voiced consonant	z
s	s
ch	č
g in the beginning of a word or after n, but not before e, i; gu before e, i	g

Spanish orthography	GLD
qu before e, i; c	k
g	ɣ
j; g before e, i	x
m	m
n	n
ñ	ɲ
n before c, g	ŋ
rr or r in the beginning of a word	r
r	ɾ
l	l
ll	ʎ
y	ʑ
u, ü	w
i	y
i	i
e	e
a	a
o	o
u	u
Ѵ́	'Ѵ

XXII. Asturian

The Asturian language uses Spanish orthography. The main difference is that the letter x is used for the sound š. Apart from that, there are no sounds β, ð and ɣ.

XXIII. Standard Portuguese

XXIII.1. *General*.

The pronunciation and semantics are restricted to Portugal Portuguese language (especially in its Lisboa variant).

XXIII.2. *Transliteration.*

Portuguese orthography is transliterated as follows:

Portuguese orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
b between two vowels	β
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
d between two vowels	ð
z, s between two vowels	z
s; ss; ç	s
j; g before e, i; s before a voiced consonant	ž
ch; z, s in the end of a word or before an unvoiced consonant	š
g; gu before e, i	g
c; qu before e, i	k
g between two vowels	ɣ
m	m
n	n
nh	ɲ
n before g, c	ŋ
rr; word initially; after l, n	ʁ
r	ɾ
l	l
word finally; before a consonant	ɫ
lh	ʎ
u	w
i	y
i; unstressed e word initially	i

Portuguese orthography	GLD
in, im	ĩ
e, é	e
e, ê	ɛ
en, em	ẽ
unstressed e in the word-final position or before a consonant	ə
stressed a	a
unstressed a; stressed a before m, n, nh; e before ɲ, ʎ, ž, š, y	ɐ
an, am	ɐ̃
ãe, em, ens word finally	ɐ̃ỹ
ão, am word finally	ɐ̃w̃
o, ó	o
o, ô	ɔ
on, om	õ
u; unstressed o	u
um	ũ
ui	ũỹ
-	'V

XXIV. Galician

The Galician orthography is transliterated as follows:

Galician orthography	GLD
b, v	b
p	p
b, v between two vowels	β
f	f
d	d
t	t
d between two vowels	ð
z; c before e, i	θ
s	s

Galician orthography	GLD
ch	č
x	š
g	g
c	k
g between two vowels	ɣ
m	m
n	n
ñ	ɲ
nh; n word finally	ŋ
rr, r word initially	r
r	ɾ
l	l
ll	ʎ
eu	ew
ou	ow
ei	ey
oi	oy
i	i
e	e
e	ɛ
a	a
o	o
o	ɔ
u	u
-	ˈV

XXV. Occitan

XXV.1. *General*.

The Provençal dialect belongs to the southern Occitan dialects, besides the Languedocian dialect [Lobodanov, Morozova, Chelysheva 2001: 280].

XXV.2. *Transliteration.*

Coupier's transcription is transliterated as follows:

Coupier	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
s between two vowels	z
s; ss; ç; c before e, i	s
j	ž
ch	č
g	g
c	k
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
before g, c; word finally	ŋ
rr; word initaially; after n, l, s, z	ʁ
r	ɾ
l	l
u	w
i	y
i	i
u	ü
e	e
è	ɛ
a	a
o	o

Coupier	GLD
ò	ɔ
ou	u
V̀, V́	'V

Note: In word-final position, consonants become devoiced.

XXVI. Franco-Provençal

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Viret's transcription	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
zh	ð
sh	θ
z	z
s; s between two vowels	s
dj	ǯ
j	ž
ch	š
g	g
k	k
m	m
n	n
ny	ɲ
r	r
l	l
ly	ʎ

Viret's transcription	GLD
w	w
i	y
i	i
u	ü
é	e
eu	ö
ê, è	ɛ
eu	œ
a	a
ô	o
o	ɔ
ou	u
ihn	ĩ
in	ɛ̃
an	ã
on	õ
circumflex sign	V:
-	ˈV

XXVII. French

XXVII.1. *General*.

Here we present the lists for Chrétien de Troyes' Old French and Modern Standard French.

Chrétien de Troyes (1130-1191) is the author of five poems: *Erec and Enide*; *Cligès*; *Yvain, the Knight of the Lion*; *Lancelot, the Knight of the Cart*; *Perceval, the Story of the Grail*. Full texts are available at http://www.atilf.fr/dect. English translation of the first four poems can be found at http://omacl.org.

XXVII.2. *Transliteration*.

Old French words are transcribed according to XII century French phonetics sketch made by E. Einhorn [Einhorn 1999: 2-13].

The Old French orthography is transliterated as follows:

Old French orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
z; c before e, i	c
s between two vowels	z
s; ss between two vowels	s
j; g before e, i	ž
ch	č
g, gu before e, i	g
c; qu before e, i	k
m	m
n	n
gn; ng word finally	ɲ
n before c, g	ŋ
r	r
l	l
il, ill	ʎ
u after vowel	w
u before vowel	ɥ
i	y
i	i
u	ü
e	e, e:

Old French orthography	GLD
e	ɛ
e	ə
a	a
o	o, oː
o	ɔ
ai	ey
oi	oy
en	ãn
-	ˈV

Note: vowels before *m* and *n* become nasalized.

Standard French orthography is transliterated as follows:

French orthography	GLD
b	b
p	p
v	v
f	f
d	d
t	t
z, s between two vowels	z
s; ss; ç	s
j; g before e, i	ž
ch	š
g; gu before e, i	g
c; qu before e, i	k
m	m
n	n
gn	ɲ
n before g, c	ŋ
r	ʁ

French orthography	GLD
l	l
u before a voweil	ɥ
i, ill	y
i	i
u, û	ü
e, é	e
e, ê, ai	ε
in, im, ein not before a vowel	ɛ̃
eu, œu	œ, ö
un	œ̃
unstressed e in some positions	ə
a, à	a, ɑ
en, em, an, am	ɑ̃
o, ó, au, eau	o
o, ô	ɔ
on, om	ɔ̃
ou	u
oi	wa

XXVIII. Picard

The Picard words are written in the Feller-Carton orthography, which is based on that of Standard French. The main discrepancies are: pronunciation of *en* as *ɛ̃*; use of the letter *k* before e and i for the sound *k*; use of the trigraph *tch* for *č*; use of *oé* for the diphthong *we*.

XXIX. Walloon

The Walloon orthographies are transliterated as follows:

Transinne (Feller orthography)	Rifondou	GLD
b	b	b

Transinne (Feller orthography)	Rifondou	GLD
p	p	p
v	v	v
f	f	f
d	d	d
t	t	t
z	z	z
s; ȝ; ss between two vowels; c before e, i	s; ȝ; ss between two vowels; c before e, i	s
sc	sch	sk
dj, g before e, i	dj, g before e, i	ǯ
tch	tch	č
j	jh	ž
ch	xh	š
-	xh word finally	ʃ
g	g	g
c, k	c, k	k
m	m	m
n	n	n
gn	gn	ɲ
r	r	ʀ
l	l	l
w	w	w
y	y	y
h	h	h
i	i	i
u	u	ü
é, e	é, e	e
ê	ea	ɛː
eu	eu	ö
è, e	è, e	ɛ
eu	eu	œ
a	a	a

Transinne (Feller orthography)	Rifondou	GLD
-	e	ɔː
ô, aw	ô	o
o	o	ɔ
ou	ou	u
-	oe	wɛ
aw	e	aw
an, am	an, am	ã
in	in	ɛ̃
-	én	ẽ
on	on	ɔ̃
circumflex sign	circumflex sign	V:

Note 1: Consonants in word-final position become voiceless.

Note 2: Vowels *ü* and *i* (in Rifondou only *i*) are lost in the first syllable if a preceding word ends in a vowel, cf. {in ptit gamin} "a small boy" and {ene pitite gamine} "a small girl".

SOME PREVIOUS ARTICLES ON ROMANCE LEXICOSTATISTICS:

Rea J.A. Concerning the Validity of Lexicostatistics **In:** International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1958, pp. 145-150. // *A critical review of the lexicostatistical method on the basis of eight Romance languages (French, Spanish, Romanian, Catalan, Italian, Sardinian, Portuguese, Rheto-Romance), wordlists for all of whom are included into the article.*

Kroeber A. L. Romance history and glottochronology. **In:** Language, Vol. 34, No 4, 1958, pp. 454-457. // *A response to Rea's article.*

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Database compiled and annotated by:

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Istro Romanian, Aromanian: Mikhail Saenko, March 2015.

Romanian: Mikhail Saenko, March 2015. Revised April 2016 (some comments on the etymology are added).

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Foligno Italian, Old Italian: Mikhail Saenko, April 2016.
Old French, Walloon, Franco-Provençal: Mikhail Saenko, May 2016.
Latin, Asturian: Mikhail Saenko, June 2016.

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1. ALL

Archaic Latin ˈɔmn-ɪs {omnis} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈɔmn-ɪs {omnis} (1) / tˈoːt-ʊs {totus} (2), Megleno Romanian *tot {tot}* (2), Istro Romanian *tot {tot}* (2), Aromanian *tˈut-ŭ {tut}* (2), Romanian *tot {tot}* (2), Dalmatian *toč {toč}* (2), Friulian *dut {dut}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *dut {dut}* (2), Fassano Ladin *dut* {dut} (2), Rumantsch Grischun *tut {tut}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *tut {tut}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *tot {tot}* (2), Vallader Romansh *twot {tuot}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *tüt {tut}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *tüt {tut}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *tüyt {tùit}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *tüt {tut}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *tüč* (2), Bergamo Lombard *töt {töt}* (2), Plesio Lombard *tüčː {tücc}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *tot {tót}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *tut {tùtt}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *tut {tùt}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *tot {tótt}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *tˈüt:-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *tütː-u {tüttu}* (2), Stella Ligurian *tˈütː-u {tüttu}* (2), Venice Venetian *tˈut-o {tuto}* (2), Primiero Venetian *tut {tut}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *tˈut-o {tuto}* (2), Old Italian *tˈutː-o {tutto}* (2), Standard Italian *tˈutː-o {tutto}* (2), Grosseto Italian *tˈutː-o {tutto}* (2), Foligno Italian *tˈutː-u {tuttu}* (2), Neapolitan *tˈutː-ə {tutto}* (2), Logudorese *tˈotː-u {tottu}* (2), Campidanese *tˈotː-u {tottu}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *tˈutː-u {tuttu}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *tˈutː-u {tuttu}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *tˈutː-u {tuttu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *tˈutː-u {tuttu}* (2), Central Catalan *tot {tot}* (2), North-Western Catalan *tot {tot}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *tot {tot}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *tot {tot}* (2), Valencia Catalan *tot {tot}* (2), Manises Catalan *tot {tot}* (2), Castilian Spanish *tˈoð-o {todo}* (2), Asturian *tˈo-o {too}* (2), Standard Portuguese *tˈoð-u {todo}* (2), Galician *tˈoð-o {todo}* (2), Provençal Occitan *tut {tout}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *to {to} ~ tot {tot}* (2), Old French *tot {tot}* (2), Standard French *tu {tout}* (2), Picard *tu {tout}* (2), Walloon *tu {tout}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {fugite omnes, abite et de via decedite} "fly all of you, be off, and get out of the way" [Curc. 281]; {At ego deos quaeso, ut quidquid in illo vidulost, si aurum si argentum est, omne id ut fiat cinis} "Then I pray the Gods that whatever's in that wallet, whether it's gold, or whether silver, it may all become ashes" [Rud. 1266-1267].

    Distinct from *tˈoːt-ʊs* {totus} 'all (whole, ganz)', cf. {Timeo quid rerum gesserim, ita dorsus totus prurit} "I fear for the thing I have done; my back does so tingle all over" [Mil. 397]; {quas hodie adulescens Diabolus ipsi daturus dixit, ut hanc ne quoquam mitteret nisi ad se hunc annum totum} "the young man, Diabolus, declared that he would give her this day, in order that she mightn't send her anywhere, for this whole year" [Asin. 634-635].

Late Classical Latin: It seems that in Apuleius' times the classical distinction between {omnis} and {totus} had already been lost and they were used interchangeably, cf. the following examples: {tergus omne rasura studiosa tenuamus et minuto cinere perspersum soli siccandum tradimus} "we flayed the whole skin neatly, sprinkled it with fine ash, and pegged it in the sun to dry" [Met. 4: 14]; {ceteram vero carnem omnem operariorum cenae reserva} "throw his guts to the dogs but keep the rest of the meat for our meal" [Met. 7: 22]; {et in extimis palmulis perdito numero toti digiti coguntur in singulas

ungulas} "my fingers and toes merged with hands and feet, squeezing together into individual hooves" [Met. 3: 24]; {Namque ille alius asinus divinato et antecapto meo cogitatu statim se mentita lassitudine cum rebus totis offudit} "The other ass somehow divined and anticipated my scheme, pretending to exhaustion and falling to the ground with his load" [Met. 4: 5]; {eiusque probe nudatum carnibus corium servatis sollerter totis unguibus} "we carefully stripped the flesh from the hide, taking care to keep the claws" [Met. 4: 14]; {et profusa in medium sportula iubet officialem suum insuper pisces inscendere ac pedibus suis totos obterere} "and he emptied my basket out on the pavement, and ordered an assistant to crush them to pulp with his feet" [Met. 1: 25]. We include both terms in the list.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 297. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Cf.: {tots alb, ịeł negru} "all are white, he is black", {toată lumea} "all the world" [Capidan 1928: 152].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 289; Byhan 1899: 361. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Cf. {toˊtile pemiˊntu} 'all the earth' and {toˊţ oˊmiri} 'all the people' [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1059-1060; Cunia 2010: 1052; Dalametra 1906: 212; Bara et al. 2005: 118; Gołąb 1984: 256. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Cf.: {tuţ voř si sicáţ} "if you all are exhausted" [Papahagi 1963: 1059]; {tùtă casa lîvîşìaşti} "he dirties all the house" [Dalametra 1906: 123].

Romanian: DER 2004: 25; Bolocan et al. 1985: 120; Gancz 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. Cf. {toată lumea} "all the world" and {voi toţi} "all of you" [DER 2004: 25]. Moldavian: *tot* {tot} 'all' [Podiko 1973: 64; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 38].

Dalmatian: Numerous attestations. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {toče le moľér} "all women" and {la tára toča} "all earth" [Bartoli 2002: 249].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 707, 147. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {dut il mont} "all the world"; {dutis lis stelis} "all the stars" [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 27, 117. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf.: {nia duc ie a una} "not all (the people) agree" and {chësc ie dut} "that is all" [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 339-340. Polysemy 'all (omnis) / all (totus)': {duta la jent} "all the people" (literally: "all the folk"); {duc i dis} "all the days" [DILF 2001: 340].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {Tut las steilas} "All the stars" [Cadruvi 2015] and {tutta notg} "All the night" [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 781. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {Tuot las stailas} "All the stars" and {Tuot la terra} "All the earth" [Conrad 2015].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 384. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tute le stèile} "all the stars" and {tuta la tèra} "all the earth".

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 384. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tute le stèile} "all the stars" and {tuta la tera} "all the earth".

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tute le stèile} "all the stars" and {tuta la tèra} "all the earth".

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tute le steile} "all the stars" and {tuta la tera} "all the earth".

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {ťüt-i ya sťɛli} "all the stars" and {ťüt-a la ťɛra} "all the earth".

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {töte i stèle} "all the stars" and {töta la tèra} "all the earth" [Garlini 2015].

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tücc i stell} "all the stars" and {tüta la tera} "all the earth" [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 466. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tot i ẓug} "all the colors" [Ercolani 1960: 92] and {tot e mēş tond} "all the month". Marchigiano: *tut* {tutt} 'all' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tut il stel} "all the stars" and {tuta la tera} "all the earth" [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tùti el stèli} "all the stars" and {tùta la tèra} "all the earth" [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {totì al strèli} "all the stars" and {totà la tèra} "all the earth" [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutte e stele} "all the stars" and {tutta a tæra} "all the earth" [Fasce 2015].

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tütte e stelle} "all the stars" and {tütta a têra} "all the earth" [Parodi 2015].

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tütte e stèje} "all the stars" and {tütta a tǽra} "all the earth" [Piccone 2015].

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *tut* {tut} 'all' [Poletto 2015]. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tute łe stełe} "all the stars" and {tuta ła tera} "all the earth" [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Poletto 2015; Busato 2015; Serena 2015]; {tute le stele} "all the stars" and {tuta la tera} "all the earth" [Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015]. In the Paduan and Salgareda dialects can be emphasized by adding the term *kw'aŋt-o* {quanto}, cf. {El ga copà tuti i animałi} "He has killed all animals" and {Sti omani i xe tuti fradełi} "All these men are brothers", but {El ga tirà basso tuti quanti i albari} "He has cut down all the trees" [Tre 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tute le stele} "all the stars" and {tuta la tèra} "all the earth" [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tute le stele} "all the stars" and {tuta la tera} "all the earth" [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Polysemy: 'all (omnis)' / 'all (totus)', cf. the following examples: {Elle giacean per terra tutte quante} "They all were lying prone upon the earth" [Inf. 6]; {per tutto il tempo che 'l foco li abbruscia} "for all the time the fire is burning them" [Purg. 25].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1330. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutto il cibo fu mangiato} "all the food was eaten" and {tutti gli uomini sono uguali} "all men are equal" [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1330]. Distinct from *int'er-o* {intero} 'whole, entire' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 592].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutte le stelle} "all the stars" and {tutta la terra} "all the earth" [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutte le stelle} "all the stars" and {tutta la terra} "all the earth" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutte 'e stelle} "all the stars" and {tutta 'a terra} "all the earth" [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tottu sas isteddas} "all the stars" and {tottu sa terra} "all the earth" [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 436. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tottus is istedhas} "all the stars" and {totta sa terra} "all the earth" [Ballicu 2015]. Domus de Maria: *t'ot:-u* {tottu} 'all' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutti 'i stiddi} "all the stars" and {tutta 'a tierra} "all the earth" [Messina 2015; Ornato 2015]. Buscemese: *t'ut:-u* {tuttu} 'all' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutti i stiddi} "all the stars" and {tutta a tera} "all the earth" [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutti li stiddi} "all the stars" and {tutta la terra} "all the earth" [Corsaro 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tutti i stiddi} "all the stars" and {tutta 'a terra} "all the earth" [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 278. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {totes les estrelles} "all the stars" and {tota la terra} "all the earth" [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {totes les estrelles} "all the stars" and {tota la terra} "all the earth" [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {totes ses estrelles} "all the stars" and {tota sa terra} "all the

earth" [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {totes les estreles} "all the stars" and {tota la terra} "all the earth" [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {totes les estreles} "all the stars" and {tota la terra} "all the earth" [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. *t'ot-ez lez=estr'ɛt-es* {totes les estreles} "all the stars" and *t'ot-a la=t'ɛr-a* {tota la terra} "all the earth" [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {todas las estrellas} "all the stars" and {toda la tierra} "all the earth" [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {toles estrelles} 'all the stars' and {tola tierra} 'all the earth'. Langreo: *t'o-u* {tou} 'all' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 60-61. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {de todos os lados} "from all sides" and {em todo o mundo} "in all the world" [Voinova et al. 1989: 60-61].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 707; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1032, 835-836. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {todas as estrelas} "all the stars" and {toda a Terra} "all the Earth" [Montoya Bolaños 2015].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1414-1415. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tóut ils ome} "all the men" [Coupier 1995: 1414-1415] and {touto la niue} "all the night" [Coupier 1995: 1414].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2127-2129. The form *tot* {tot} is used before a vowel.

Old French: Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but occurs in numerous examples, from other entries. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tot son aé} "all his life" and {toz les jorz de son ahé} "all the days of his life" [EDCT 2014: 16].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 15-16; Rayevskaya 2013: 356. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. the examples: {tous les habitants} 'all the inhabitants' [Rayevskaya 2013: 356] and {toute ma vie} 'all my life' [Robert-Collins 1989: 15-16].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {tous chés étoéles} "all the stars" and {tout la tière} "all the earth" [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)', cf. {toutes lès stwâyes} 'all the stars' and {toute la tère} 'all the earth'. Rifondou: *tɔ* {tot} 'all' ({totes les stoeles} 'all the stars', {tote li tere} 'all the earth').

2. ASHES

Archaic Latin *k'ɪnɪs {cinis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *k'ɪnɪs {cinis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *čən'uš-ə {tšănúşă}* (1) / *skrum {scrum}* (-1), Istro Romanian *čer'uš-e {čerúşe}* (1), Aromanian *čin'uš-e {činúşe}* (1) / *skr'um-ŭ {scrum}* (-1), Romanian *čen'uš-ə {cenuşă}* (1), Dalmatian *kan'ays-a {canáissa}* (1), Friulian *čin'iz-e {cinise}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *č'əndər {cënder}* (1), Fassano Ladin *č'endɛr {cẹnder}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *č'ɛndr-ə {tschendra}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *č'ɛndr-ə {tschendra}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *č'ɛndr-ə {tschendra}* (1), Vallader Romansh *č'ɛndr-ə {tschendra}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *s'ənɛr {sënner}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *s'ənɛr {sënner}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *s'ənɛr {sënner}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *s'inər {sinner}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *s'öŋdr-i* (1), Bergamo Lombard *s'ɛnder {sènder}* (1), Plesio Lombard *š'endɛr {scender}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *c'ɛndr-a {zˌèndra}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *c'ɛndar {zèndar}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *s'ɛndr-a {sendra}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *s'ɛndr-a {sèndra}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *s'eŋy-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *č'ener-i {ceneri}* (-1), Stella Ligurian *sr'en:-e {çrenne}* (1), Venice Venetian *s'ɛner-i {sèneri}* (1), Primiero Venetian *θ'eŋdr-e {ẑendre}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *θ'eŋdr-o {zendro}*

(1), Old Italian *č'ener-e {cenere}* (1), Standard Italian *č'ener-e {cenere}* (1), Grosseto Italian *č'ener-e {cenere}* (1), Foligno Italian *č'enːer-e {cennere}* (1), Neapolitan *š'ɛnːər-ə ~ š'enːər-ə {cennera}* (1), Logudorese *kis'in-a {chisìna}* (1), Campidanese *čin'iž-u {cinixu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *č'inːir-i {cinniri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *č'inɨr-ɨ {ciniri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *č'inːir-i {cinniri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *č'inːir-i {cinniri}* (1), Central Catalan *s'ɛndɾ-ə {cendra}* (1), North-Western Catalan *s'ɛndɾ-ɛ {cendra}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *s'ɛndɾ-ə {cendra}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *s'ɛndɾ-a {cendra}* (1), Valencia Catalan *s'ɛndɾ-a {cendra}* (1), Manises Catalan *s'ɛndɾ-a {cendra}* (1), Castilian Spanish *θen'iθ-a {ceniza}* (1), Asturian *θen'iθ-a {ceniza}* (1), Standard Portuguese *s'ĩzɐ {cinza}* (1), Galician *θ'inθ-a {cinza}* (1), Provençal Occitan *s'ɛndɾ-e {cèndre}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *f'ɛ̃dr-a {findra} ~ f'ɛdr-a {fêdra}* (1), Old French *c'ãndr-ə {cendre}* (1), Standard French *sãdʁ {cendre}* (1), Picard *šɛ̃n {chennes}* (1), Walloon *sɛn {cènes}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *k'nɛr-ʁ* {cineris}. The examples are: {At ego deos quaeso, ut quidquid in illo vidulost, si aurum si argentum est, omne id ut fiat cinis} "Then I pray the Gods that whatever's in that wallet, whether it's gold, or whether silver, it may all become ashes" [Rud. 1266-1267]; {Optimo iure infringatur aula cineris in caput} [Amph. 1034d]; {Nam quid id refert mea, an aula quassa cum cinere effossus siet?} "What matters it to me, pray, if it had been knocked out by a broken pot with cinders in it?" [Curc. 395-396]; {edepol huius sermo haud cinerem quaeritat} "I' faith, her language stands in need of no ashes" [Mil. 1000].
Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {tergus omne rasura studiosa tenuamus et minuto cinere perspersum soli siccandum tradimus} "we flayed the whole skin neatly, sprinkled it with fine ash, and pegged it in the sun to dry" [Met. 4: 14]; {Nam corium adfirmavit cineris inspersum dominis referemus eiusque mortem de lupo facile mentiemur} "We can stiffen the hide by rubbing ashes on it, take it back to the master, and say he was killed by a wolf " [Met. 7: 22].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 94. There are two documented expressions for 'ashes': *čən'uš-ə* {tšănúșă} (glossed as Romanian *cenușă* [Capidan 1935: 94]) and *skrum* {scrum} (glossed as Romanian *scrum* [Capidan 1935: 261]). Available contexts do not allow to differentiate between these words: {s-la arzu ăn furnă di cu scrum treatsi} "she stroke the stove, because they run out of ashes" [Capidan 1935: 261]; {fitšoru si la friz, di cu scrumu si mi ung și si-ń treacă} "the boy stroke the stove to rub me with ashes, because we run out of it" [Capidan 1928: 60]; {si fats ună poịni di tšănușă} "to make bread from ash" [Capidan 1928: 95]; {și că vinì lă tărbușǫ́ńă, tsela fitšoru scǫti izmęnili, li ampľă cu tšinușă și fęta si dusi s-li mănāncă; și că lăpnì cu rostu di izmeni, și rostu ăľ tsi ampľă di tšinușă și fitšoru lo migdan și fuzì} "and when it came to the stomach, the guy took out the fake one, which was filled with ash and gave it to the girl to eat. And when she started eating the fake, her mouth was filled with the ash and the guy run away to the square" [Capidan 1928: 36–37]; {ca si ardicat-aụ nāltu pănă 'n tser și ca zăbubutit-aụ, la fat-aụ tšănușă} "he was rising higher and higher up to the sky when it thundered so that the ashes could be seen" [Capidan 1928: 103], {pra și tšănúșă di tini} "dust and ashes of yours" [Capidan 1928: 197], {ăị jar cupirit că tšănușă} "coal covered with ash" [Capidan 1928: 217].

We have to treat *čən'ušə* and *skrum* as synonyms.Capidan 1935: 261. Borrowed from Albanian *škrumb* {shkrumb} [Orel 1998: 423–424].
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 366. The Slavic loanword *popel* {popel} 'ashes' is used as well. Cf. {cu ča popel, ali čerușa} "with this *popel*, or ashes".
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 358; Cunia 2010: 306; Dalametra 1906: 58; Gołąb 1984: 210. There are two documented expressions for 'ashes': *čin'uš-e* {činúșe} (glossed as "cenușă, cendre" [Papahagi 1963: 358]) and *skr'um-ŭ* {scrum} (glossed as "scrum, residu carbonisé de toute chose brûlée" [Papahagi 1963: 933]). Available contexts do not allow to differentiate between these words: {nu-avea činúșe tu vátră de multe orĭ} "for a long time he did not even have ashes in his fireplace" (about a poor person); {feáta ľĭ-alăsăčinúșea arấțe tu vátră} "the girl left cold ashes for her/him in the fireplace"; {scrum ș' činúșe bașĭ}

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"you kiss ashes" [Papahagi 1963: 358]; {u feáţe scrum} "he has produced ashes"; {ĭ́ĭ-anˈĭurdí scrum} "it smelled like ashes to her/him"; {ĭ́ĭ-si feáţe gura scrum di seáte} "thirst could make ashes appear in his mouth" [Papahagi 1963: 933]. We have to treat *čin'uše* and *skr'umŭ* as synonyms.

Distinct from *spr'un-ə* {sprúnă} 'hot ashes, embers' [Papahagi 1963: 970; Cunia 2010: 963-964; Dalametra 1906: 195].Papahagi 1963: 933; Cunia 2010: 914; Dalametra 1906: 185. Borrowed from Albanian *škrumb* {shkrumb} [Orel 1998: 423-424].

Romanian: DER 2004: 49; Bolocan et al. 1985: 443, 948; Gancz 2015. There are two expressions for 'ashes': inherited *čen'uš-ə* {cenuşă} and *skrum* {scrum} of Albanian origin. According to [Gancz 2015], the first one is more common and more frequent, while the second one is more rare and is used for cigarette ashes and ashes remaining from a conflagration. Distinct from *sp'uz-ə* {spuză} "hot ashes mixed with embers" [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *čen'uš-ə* {cenuşă} 'ashes', *skrum* {scrum} 'ashes' [Podiko 1973: 266, 569; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 145, 280].

Dalmatian: This word is written down by Bartoli as {kanaẓa} [Bartoli 2002: 245], but the form {canáissa} attested by Cubich [Bartoli 2002: 285] seems to be more reliable. There is also a word *cyanṛ* {ziánr} ({el pizariáụl i fazúa i vetrúni e-i lo metúa sote la ziánr} "The ancient used to make focaccia and put it under the ashes" [Bartoli 2002: 242]), which seems to be of Venetian origin [Bartoli 2002: 172].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 661, 63. Distinct from *buy'ad-e* {bujàde} 'hot ashes with small embers' [Pirona 1871: 39].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 100, 119. Marebbano: *č'ɛnder* {tšȩnder} 'ashes'; Badiotto: *č'əyndər* {tšăⁱndər} 'ashes'; Livinallese: *č'endɛr* {tšéndȩr} 'ashes'; Nones: *č'endɛr* {tšéndȩr} 'ashes' [Gartner 1923: 119].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 59; Gartner 1923: 119.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 774.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 50.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 50.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Plural form; singular is *s'öŋdr-a*.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 503. Distinct from *burniz-a* {burnişa} 'hot ashes' [Ercolani 1960: 62] and *cniz-a* {z·nişa} 'hot ashes' [Ercolani 1960: 509].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *brɛːz* {brês} 'embers'.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Borrowed from Italian {cenere} 'ashes'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Plural form. Padua: *s'enar-e* {sénare} (sg.) / *s'ener-i* {séneri} (pl.) 'ashes' [Tre 2015]. Este, Salgareda: *c'ɛner-e* {zènere} 'ashes' [Melon 2015; Poletto 2015]. Treviso: *s'enar-e* {çénare} ~ *θ'enar-e* {sénare} 'ashes' [Busato 2015]. Vicenza, Schio: *s'ɛnar-e* {senare} (sg.) / *s'ɛnar-i* {senari} (pl.) 'ashes' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015]. Arzignano: *s'enar-i* {senari} (pl.) 'ashes' [Serena 2015]. Verona: *s'eŋdr-o* {sendro} (sg.) 'ashes' (an Italianism *č'ener-i* {ceneri} (pl.) is used as well) [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Vedeva Troia in cenere e in caverne} "I saw there Troy in ashes and in caverns" [Purg. 12]; {Cenere, o terra che secca si cavi, // d'un color fora col suo vestimento} "Ashes, or earth that dry is excavated, // of the same colour were with his attire" [Purg. 9].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1359.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. The plural form *č'enːer-i* {cenneri} is applied to ashes as a product of human body cremation [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 113. Domus de Maria: *čin'iž-u* {cinixiu} 'ashes' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *č'inir-i* {ciniri} 'ashes' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 54. Plural form.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Plural form.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Plural form.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Plural form.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Plural form.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. For example: {tira la ceniza del cigarro} "throw the ashes of the cigarette". The plural form *θen'iθ-es* {cenices} is applied to ashes as a product of human body cremation [Riego-Delgado 2016]. Langreo: *θen'iθ-a* {ceniza} 'ash', *bor'ay-a* {borraya} 'ash' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 197, 407.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 778, 247; Fernández Armesto 1981: 177; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 938, 270.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 213.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 429-430.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 164.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 31; Rayevskaya 2013: 425, 522.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Can be used both in plural and singular form. The example is: {des peumes ét tiére tchuites dins chés chennes} "potatoes baked in ashes" [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *sẽt* {cindes} 'ashes'.

3. BARK

Archaic Latin *l'ɪb-ɛr {liber}* (1), Istro Romanian *k'or-a {córa}* (-1), Aromanian *k'o̯až-e {coáje}* (2), Romanian *sk'o̯arc-ə {scoarţă}* (3), Friulian *sk'us-e {scusse}* (3), Gardenese Ladin *šk'ɔrc-a {scorza}* (3), Fassano Ladin *šk'orc-a {scorza}* (3), Rumantsch Grischun *šk'ɔrs-ə {scorsa}* (3), Sursilvan Romansh *šk'ɔrs-ə {scorsa}* (3), Surmiran Romansh *šk'ɔrs-ə {scorsa}* (3), Vallader Romansh *šk'ɔrc-ə {scorza}* (3), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pl'öy-a {pleuja}* (4), Barbania Piemontese *sk'ɔrs-a {scòrsa}* (3), Carmagnola Piemontese *sk'ɔrs-a {scòrsa}* (3), Turinese Piemontese *sk'ɔrs-a {scorsa}* (3), Vercellese Piemontese *sk'ɔrs-a* (3), Bergamo Lombard *r'ösk-a {rösca}* (5), Plesio Lombard *pɛl: {pell}* (6), Ravennate Romagnol *sk'o̯arc-a {scörzₑa}* (3), Ferrarese Emiliano *kurt-'ɛč-a {curtecia}* (7), Carpigiano Emiliano *kurt-'ɛs-a {curtèsa}* (7), Reggiano Emiliano *sk'ɔːrs-a {scôrsa}* (3), Rapallo Ligurian *sk'ɔrs-a* (3), Genoese Ligurian *sk'ɔrs-a {scorça}* (3), Stella Ligurian *sk'ɔːrs-a {scörça}* (3), Venice Venetian *sk'ɔrs-a {scòrsa}* (3),

Primiero Venetian *sk'ɔrθ-a {scòrẑa}* (3), Bellunese Venetian *sk'ɔrθ-a {scorza}* (3), Old Italian *sk'ɔrc-a {scorza}* (3) / *kort-'eč:-a {corteccia}* (7), Standard Italian *kort-'eč:-a {corteccia}* (7), Grosseto Italian *b'uč:-a {buccia}* (8), Foligno Italian *kort-'eč:-a {corteccia}* (7), Neapolitan *šk'ɔrc-ə {scorza}* (3), Logudorese *koθ-ik-'in-a {cothichìna}* (7), Campidanese *skr'oẑ-u {scroxu}* (3), Palermitan Sicilian *šk'wɔrč-a {scuorcia}* (3), Messinese Sicilian *sk'ɔč:-a {scoccia}* (3), Catanian Sicilian *sk'ɔrč-a {scorcia}* (3), South-Eastern Sicilian *šk'ɔč:-a {scoccia}* (3), Central Catalan *əsk'ɔrs-ə {escorça}* (3), North-Western Catalan *ask'ɔrs-ɛ {escorça}* (3), Minorcan Catalan *əsk'ɔrs-ə {escorça}* (3), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kr'ɔst-a {crosta}* (9), Valencia Catalan *ask'ɔrs-a {escorça}* (3), Manises Catalan *k'ɔrf-a {corfa}* (-1), Castilian Spanish *kort-'eθ-a {corteza}* (7), Asturian *kort-'eθ-a {corteza}* (7), Standard Portuguese *k'ašk-ɐ {casca}* (10), Galician *kort-'eθ-a {corteza}* (-1), Provençal Occitan *r'üsk-o {rusco}* (5), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ek'ö:rs-a {ékeûrsa}* (3), Old French *esk'ɔrc-ə {escorce}* (3), Standard French *ekɔʁs {écorce}* (3), Picard *plat {plate}* (11), Walloon *skwa:s {scwâce}* (3).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Polysemy: 'bast / bark / book'. There are two words for 'bark' in Latin: *k'ɔrt-ɛk-s* {cortex} (genitive: *k'ɔrt-k-ʙ* {corticis}) and *l'bɛr* {liber}. It is usually assumed that {cortex} designated the outer layer of bark and {liber} the inner one ('rind', 'bast') [OLD 1968: 1024]. But some passages from Cato's texts convince us that in Archaic Latin {liber} was used for all types of tree bark, cf. {Altera insitio est: si vitis vitem continget, utriusque vitem teneram praeacuito, obliquo inter sese medullam cum medulla libro conligato} "A second method is: If the vines touch each other, cut the ends of a young shoot of each obliquely, and tie pith to pith with bark" [De agri cultura 41]; {Taleae ubi trimae sunt, tum denique maturae sunt, ubi liber sese vertet} "The slips are ready for transplanting at three years, when the bark turns" [De agri cultura 45]; {Quod genus aut ficum aut oleam esse voles, inde librum scalptro eximito, alterum librum cum gemma de eo fico, quod genus esse voles, eximito, adponito in eum locum unde exicaveris in alterum genus facitoque uti conveniat} "Remove with a knife the bark from any variety of fig or olive you wish, and take off a piece of bark containing a bud of any variety of fig you wish to graft" [De agri cultura 42]. In the first context {liber} is definitely used in the meaning 'inner layer of bark', but the second and especially the third indicate the meaning 'outer layer of bark' (buds grow on the outer part of a tree).

 As for {cortex}, Cato uses it twice, once for wheat ({Selibram tritici puri in mortarium purum indat, lavet bene corticemque deterat bene eluatque bene} "Pour ½ pound of clean wheat into a clean bowl, wash well, remove the husk thoroughly, and clean well" [De agri cultura 86]) and once for grapes ({Mustum si voles totum annum habere, in amphoram mustum indito et corticem oppicato, demittito in piscinam} "If you wish to keep grape juice through the whole year, put the grape juice in an amphora, seal the stopper with pitch, and sink in the pond" [De agri cultura 120]). Taking this into acount, we come to the conclusion that initially {liber} was used both for 'bast' and 'bark', while {cortex} was applied to 'peel', and only later {cortex} extends its meaning to the outer layer of tree bark.

Late Classical Latin: Not attested in Apuleius or in Gellius' text.

 The only term for 'bark' in Vulgata is {cortex}: {Tollens ergo Iacob virgas populeas virides, et amygdalinas, et ex platanis, ex parte decorticavit eas: detractisque corticibus, in his, quae spoliata fuerant, candor apparuit} "Jacob cut branches from some poplar trees and from some almond and evergreen trees. He peeled off part of the bark and made the branches look spotted and speckled" [Genesis 30: 37]; {et mandebant herbas et arborum cortices et radix iuniperorum erat cibus eorum} "They gather tasteless shrubs for food and firewood" [Job 30: 4]; {aut si quis artifex faber de silva lignum rectum secaverit et huius docte eradat omnem corticem et arte sua usus diligenter fabricet vas utile in conversatione vitae} "A woodcutter may saw down a small tree, then peel off the bark and skillfully make something worthwhile from the wood" [Wisdom 13: 11]; {posuit vineam meam in desertum et ficum meam decorticavit nudans spoliavit eam et proiecit albi facti sunt rami

eius} "Our grapevines and fig trees are stripped bare; only naked branches remain" [Joel 1: 7].

Megleno Romanian: Not attested.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 272. Borrowed from Croatian {kora} 'bark'. Byhan also mentions the word *k'ož-ä* {kóẑ̦ę} 'bark' of Slavic origin [Byhan 1899: 250], but it is absent from Kovačec's dictionary in this meaning.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 300; Cunia 2010: 326; Dalametra 1906: 67. Polysemy: 'bark of tree / peel of fruit / nutshell / crust of bread'. An old borrowing from some Slavic source. Papahagi also mentions the Slavicism *k'o̩ar-ə* {coáră} 'bark of tree / crust of bread', but gives no examples [Papahagi 1963: 300]. Distinct from *fl'uð-ə* {flúðă} 'thin peel / shell of an egg / scale of fish' of Greek origin [Papahagi 1963: 465; Cunia 2010: 459; Dalametra 1906: 93] and from *ɡə'o̩aʎ-e* {gǎoáľe} 'shell of an egg / peel of a fruit' of unknown origin [Papahagi 1963: 491; Cunia 2010: 486].

Romanian: DER 2004: 70; Bolocan et al. 1985: 544-545; Gancz 2015. There are two expressions for 'bark': *sk'o̩arc-ə* {scoarţă} with polysemy: 'bark of tree / brain cortex / earth shell / book cover' and *k'o̩až-ə* {coajă} with polysemy: 'bark of tree / peel of fruit / nutshell / crust of bread'. According to [Gancz 2015], *k'o̩aže* is used in the meaning 'thin bark' (like birch bark). Moldavian: *sk'o̩arc-ə* {scoarţă} 'bark' [Podiko 1973: 328; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 171].

Dalmatian: Not attested.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 665, 374. Besides this term, *sk'warc-e* {scuarze} 'bark' is also used [Pirona 1871: 372], probably influenced by Italian {scorza} 'bark'.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 85, 170.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 78.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *kr'ušt-ə* {crusta} 'crust' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 660.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 73, 321.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 73, 321.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *kr'ust-a* 'crust'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 387. Distinct from *boc-a* {bóz·a} 'peel (of a fruit)' [Ercolani 1960: 53]. Marchigiano: *k'urteč-a* {curteccia} 'bark' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *sk'ɔːrs-a* {scorsa} 'peel (of a fruit)'.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Zanetti 2015. Tosi and Pezzin mention the term *kort'eč-a* {cortecia} 'bark' [Tosi 2015; Pezzin 2015], which seems to be an Italianism. Padua: *kort'eč-a* {cortecia} 'bark' [Tre 2015]. Borrowed from Italian {corteccia} 'bark'. Distinct from *sk'ɔrs-a* {scorsa} 'peel' [Tre 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Probably one of the most difficult cases. The term *kort-'eč̩-a* {corteccia} 'bark' is attested neither in Dante's nor in Petrarch's works. The term *sk'ɔrc-a* {scorza} occurs in the Divine Comedy only once in the meaning 'bark'; furthermore, it is found at the end of the line, so it could be used for rhyming purposes: {com' io vidi calar l'uccel di Giove // per l'alber giù, rompendo de la scorza} "As I beheld the bird of Jove descend // down through the tree, rending away the bark" [Purg. 32]. Another example in the meaning 'layer': {perché non ti ritemi // sì di rodermi il core a scorza a scorza, // com'io di dire altrui chi ti dà forza?} "why do you not refrain // from so gnawing my heart through // layer by layer, as I do from revealing // who she is who gives you strength?" [Rime 103]. Petrarch uses {scorza} 8 times, but, just like Dante, always at

the end of lines, so he cannot be regarded as a reliable source, since {scorza} rhymes much easier than {corteccia}. More important is the fact that Boccaccio uses both terms in the meaning 'bark of a tree' in his prose: {I loro scudi erano ad alcuni le dure scorze del morbido ciriegio} "the shields of some of them were made of hard bark of soft cherry tree" [Filocolo 5, 38]; {I piedi, gia stati presti, in radici, e 'l corpo in pedale, e le braccia in rami, e i capelli in frondi di questo albero trasmutɾ, con dura corteccia cignendomi tutto quanto} "My feet, that were fast before, turned to roots, and my body – into the trunk, and my arms – into branches, and my hair – in leaves of the tree, all covered with hard bark" [Filocolo 5, 8]. According to [TsLJdO 2016], both terms have been used in Tuscan Italian in this meaning since the XIII century, so we include both of them on the list.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1380. Polysemy: 'bark / cortex'. Distinct from *sk'ɔrc-a* {scorza} 'rhytidome' [Zingarelli 1980: 1597]. Distinct from *b'uč:-a* {buccia} 'peel of a fruit' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 193].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *sk'ɔrc-a* {scorza} 'crust' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Besides this term, the word *kurt'ɛš:-ə* {curteccia} 'bark' is used [Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015], but according to [Russo 2015], it is an Italianism.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 378. Domus de Maria: *kr'ɔž-u* {croxiu} 'bark' [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 139].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. La Bua also mentions the term *kurt'ič:-a* {curticcia} 'bark' [La Bua 2015], which is probably an Italianism. Buscemi: *sk'ɔrč-a* {scorcia} 'bark' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *šk'ɔrč-a* {scorcia} 'bark' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 72.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Polysemy: 'bark / crust'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'bark / peel'. Of Arabic origin [DCVB 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *kort'ey-a* {corteya} 'bark' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 240.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015. Borrowed from Spanish {corteza} 'bark'. There is also a word *kort-'iθ-a* {cortiza} mentioned by Fernández Armesto as 'bark' [Fernández Armesto 1981: 224], but according to [Montoya Bolaños 2016] it rather means 'cork'. Distinct from *k'ask-a* {casca} (native term) or *k'ask-ar-a* {cáscara} (borrowed from Spanish) 'peel of a fruit / egg's shell' [Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 456. The form *esk'ɔrs-o* {escorço} 'bark' is less frequent [Coupier 1995: 456].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 803. Bas-Faucigny: {égueurfa} 'bark'; Semine: {égorsa} 'bark'; Samoëns: {égourfa} 'bark'; Quintal: {égrufa} 'bark'. These forms may be of Arabic origin or at least influenced by it (see the comment on Manises Catalan). Lanslebourg: {rufi} 'bark'; Montagny vers Bozel: {pèla'ra} 'bark'; Cordon: {peleura} 'bark'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 429.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 44; Rayevskaya 2013: 450.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. The example is: {i détintche un molé d'plate ed l'abe} "He tore some bark off the tree" [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *skwas* {schoice} 'bark'.

4. BELLY

Archaic Latin *w'ɛntɛr {venter}* (1), Late Classical Latin *v'ɛntɛr {venter}* (1), Megleno Romanian *fo̯al-i {foáli}* (2), Istro Romanian *tərb'ux {târbúh}* (-1), Aromanian *p'ɨntik-ŭ {pîˊntic}* (3), Romanian *b'urt-ə {burtă}* (-1), Dalmatian *vy'antr-o {viantro}* (1), Friulian *p'anc-e*

{panze} (3), Gardenese Ladin *vˈəntər {vënter}* (1), Fassano Ladin *vˈenter {vẹnter}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *vˈɛntər {venter}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *vˈɛntər {venter}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *vˈayntər {vainter}* (1), Vallader Romansh *vˈayntər {vainter}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pˈaŋs-a {pansa}* (3), Barbania Piemontese *pˈaŋs-a {pansa}* (3), Carmagnola Piemontese *pˈaŋs-a {pansa}* (3), Turinese Piemontese *pˈaŋs-a {pansa}* (3), Vercellese Piemontese *pˈaŋs-a* (3), Bergamo Lombard *pˈans-a {pànsa}* (3), Plesio Lombard *vˈentr-u {ventru}* (-1), Ravennate Romagnol *pˈãnc-a {pânz·a}* (3), Ferrarese Emiliano *pˈanc-a {pànza}* (3), Carpigiano Emiliano *pˈans-a {pansa}* (3), Reggiano Emiliano *pˈaːns-a {pânsa}* (3), Rapallo Ligurian *pˈaŋs-a* (3), Genoese Ligurian *pˈaŋs-a {pança}* (3), Stella Ligurian *pˈaŋs-a {pança}* (3), Venice Venetian *pˈaŋs-a {pansa}* (3), Primiero Venetian *pˈaŋθ-a {panẑa}* (3), Bellunese Venetian *pˈaŋθ-a {panza}* (3), Old Italian *vˈɛntr-e {ventre}* (1), Standard Italian *vˈɛntr-e {ventre}* (1), Grosseto Italian *pˈanč-a {pancia}* (3), Foligno Italian *trˈipː-u {trippu}* (4), Neapolitan *pˈanc-ə {panza}* (3), Logudorese *frˈent-e {frente}* (1), Campidanese *brˈɛnt-i {brenti}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *pˈanc-a {panza}* (3), Messinese Sicilian *pˈanc-a {panza}* (3), Catanian Sicilian *pˈanc-a {panza}* (3), South-Eastern Sicilian *pˈanc-a {panza}* (3), Central Catalan *pˈaɲš-ə {panxa}* (3), North-Western Catalan *pˈaɲč-ɛ {panxa}* (3), Minorcan Catalan *pˈaɲš-ə {panxa}* (3), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pˈaɲč-a {panxa}* (3), Valencia Catalan *pˈaɲč-a {panxa}* (3), Manises Catalan *pˈaɲč-a {panxa}* (3), Castilian Spanish *trˈip-a {tripa}* (4), Asturian *barˈig-a {barriga}* (5), Standard Portuguese *beʁˈiɣ-ɐ {barriga}* (5), Galician *barˈiɣ-a {barriga}* (5), Provençal Occitan *vˈɛntr-e {vèntre}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *vˈɛtr-o {vêtro}* (1), Old French *vˈãntr-ə {ventre}* (1), Standard French *vãtʁ {ventre}* (1), Picard *pãš {panche}* (3), Walloon *vẽt {vinte}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *wˈɛntr-ʁ {ventris}*. Some examples are: {nam iam quasi zona liene cinctus ambulo, geminos in ventre habere videor filios} "For now I walk, girded with my spleen as though with a belt; in my stomach do I seem to be holding a twin offspring" [Curc. 220-221]; {Quis hic est homo cum collativo ventre atque oculis herbeis?} "Who is this fellow with extended paunch, and eyes as green as grass?" [Curc. 230-231]; {ita venter gutturque resident esurialis ferias} "So much do my stomach and my throat take rest on these fasting holidays" [Capt. 468]. The word *pˈant-ɛk-s {pantex}* is attested only once: {eo vos vestros panticesque adeo madefactatis, quom ego sim hic siccus} "You are a-soaking away yourselves and your paunches too, at the very time that I'm here a-dry" [Pseud. 184].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {inter quos pectus et venter crustata crassitie relucitabant} "through which a muscular chest and stomach gleamed" [Met. 6: 5]; {venter obesus resident} "my sagging paunch grew trim" [Met. 11: 13]. The term {pantex} is not attested.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 128. Polysemy: 'bag / bellows / belly'. Distinct from *burˈik {buríc}* with polysemy: 'navel / stomach / heart / mind' [Capidan 1935: 50]. Cf. some contexts: {Am un cał, șaua sub foali u poartă} "I have a horse that carries a saddle under its belly" (swings) [Capidan 1928: 156]; {Am un foali plin di alb mătšcats} "I have a bag, full of white crumbs" (white wheat flour) [Capidan 1928: 155]; {picat că ti purtọ ăn foali} "unhappiness which you bore in your womb" (about a naughty child)

[Capidan 1928: 194]; {și fitšoru si dusi la apu și ạmpľo un foali} "and the boy went to the water and filled a waterskin" [Capidan 1928: 142]; {umpľară treị foľ di apă} "they filled three waterskins with water" [Capidan 1928: 110]; {ca viniră tseľă noịľ, lară un doụ foľur...} "came those nine, carrying one or two bags" [Capidan 1928: 45]; {nu-ľ tăľai buricu} "his umbilical cord was left uncut" (about a man whom one does not know at all or cannot say anything good about); {că di buric cătsat} "as if grown from the navel" (about a weak person); [Capidan 1928: 169]; {buric mi nveaști ca șarpi} "I have a stomachache" (literally "my stomach is twisted by a snake") [Capidan 1935: 210]; {cu dracu'n buric amnă} "to walk with a devil in the stomach" (about an angry man) [Capidan 1928: 168]; {s-nu ịeș pri goł buric} "do not go out with an empty stomach" [Capidan 1928: 181]; {ịeľ buricu tsireà si la veadă} "he wanted to see how clever they were" (literally "to see their minds") [Capidan 1928: 60]; {cọti ari ăn buric} "he has so much in his mind!" (about a clever man) [Capidan 1928: 169].

Although Capidan also translates *bur'ik* as "belly", it is clearly seen from the contexts cited above that 'belly' as a body part is designated by the word *fọali*, while *bur'ik* means 'navel' or 'stomach'.

Distinct from *tərbuš'ɔɲ-ə* {tărbușọ́ńă} 'belly or stomach of an animal' [Capidan 1935: 290] and from *kɔrc* {cọrts} 'omasum' [Capidan 1935: 1962].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 287; Byhan 1899: 362. Borrowed from Croatian {trbuh} 'belly'. Byhan also mentions the words *med'ul* {medúl} belly' [Byhan 1899: 273] and *r'ɒns-ä* {rọ́nsẹ} 'swollen belly' [Byhan 1899: 330-331], which are absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Distinct from *št'umig* {ştúmig} 'stomach' (and a contaminated form *štulbix* {ştulbih}) [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 285-286], *yedɲak* {iedńac} 'stomach' and *želudac* {jeludaţ} 'stomach' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 218], *buḑ'il-ä* {budílẹ} or *mɒc* {mâţ} 'guts' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 226], *drob* {drob} 'intestines' [Kovačec 2010], Borrowed from Croatian {trbuh} 'belly'.

Žejane: *fol-e* {fóle} 'belly' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 213; Byhan 1899: 216-217].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 858; Cunia 2010: 800; Dalametra 1906: 167; Bara et al. 2005: 333; Gołąb 1984: 241. Papahagi also mentions two borrowings, used in the meaning 'belly': *sțimb-'e* {skimbé} of Turkish origin [Papahagi 1963: 958; Cunia 2010: 908] and *strəbəš'in-ə* {străbăśínă} of Slavic origin [Papahagi 1963: 978; Cunia 2010: 973]. Distinct from *b'ik-ə* {bícă} 'belly', used in baby talk [Papahagi 1963: 205; Cunia 2010: 195; Dalametra 1906: 38]. Distinct from *stum'aʂ-e* {stumáhe} 'stomach' [Papahagi 1963: 985; Cunia 2010: 980; Dalametra 1906: 198; Bara et al. 2005: 338; Gołąb 1984: 251], *pləst-ur-ə* {plăstură} 'a stomach with its content' [Papahagi 1963: 863; Cunia 2010: 836]; *b'urik-ŭ* {buric} 'navel' (which is occasionally used in the meaning 'belly' as well) [Papahagi 1963: 231; Cunia 2010: 218-219; Dalametra 1906: 46; Bara et al. 2005: 333] and *m'ac-ŭ* {maţŭ} 'gut / intestine' [Papahagi 1963: 659; Cunia 2010: 617; Dalametra 1906: 128] ('umbilical cord' in Turia [Bara et al. 2005: 333]).

Romanian: DER 2004: 83; Bolocan et al. 1985: 356; Gancz 2015. There are two expressions for 'belly': *b'urt-ə* {burtă} and *p'inteč-e* {pântece}, the latter with polysemy: 'belly, stomach / womb'. According to [Gancz 2015], they are synonyms, but the first one is more frequent. Has no certain etymology. Distinct from *abdom'en* {abdomen} of French origin, used as a scientific term [Gancz 2015], *v'intr-e* {vintre} 'belly', which is used in some dialects [DEaLR 2015] and *stom'ak* {stomac} 'stomach' of Greek origin [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *b'urt-ə* {burtă} 'belly' [Podiko 1973: 209; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 112].

Dalmatian: Attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 270]. Occurs in Cubich's notes in the context {e el bramó emplar el vianter de sillot} "and he desired to fill his belly with acorns" [Bartoli 2002: 281] and twice in the prayer "Hail Mary": {frut benedát del viantro to} "praised the fruit of thy womb" (written down by Ive) [Bartoli 2002: 301], {benedát el fróit del viantro to} (written down by Zonca) [Bartoli 2002: 293].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 708, 283. Distinct from *v'intr-i* {vintri} 'insides' [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 108, 122. Marebbano: *'ɔnter* {ọnter} 'belly'; Badiotto: *v'ɒntər* {văntər} 'belly'; Livinallese: *v'entɛr* {véntẹr} 'belly'; Nones: *p'anʧ-a* {pantχa} 'belly' [Gartner 1923: 122]. Gartner also mentions the word *p'anc-a* {pantsa} 'Bauch, Wanst' ('belly, paunch') of Italian origin [Gartner 1923: 64], but Forni marks it as obsolete and translates it as 'pancione' ('paunch') [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 348; Gartner 1923: 122.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *p'anc-ə* {panza} 'rumen / paunch' and from *buţ'ač* {buttatsch} 'belly (of animal) / paunch' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 796. Pallioppi also mention the term *p'anc-ə* {panza}, which they gloss as 'Wanst, Bauch' ('paunch, belly') [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 516].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 394.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 394. Distinct from *ambur'i* {amburì} 'navel' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *imbul'i:k* 'navel'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Borrowed from Italian {ventre} 'belly', replacing *p'anc-a* {panza}, which now has an archaic or a more colloquial shade of meaning [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 292. Ercolani also mentions the word *v'entar* {véntar} 'belly' [Ercolani 1960: 491], but does not provide any context. Distinct from *utar* {ùtar} 'womb' [Ercolani 1960: 241]. Marchigiano: *p'anc-a* {panza} 'belly' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *p'aŋc-a* {pansa} 'belly' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {le cosce con le gambe e 'l ventre e 'l casso // divenner membra che non fuor mai viste} "the thighs and legs, the belly and the chest // members became that never yet were seen" [Inf. 25]; {Qual sovra 'l ventre e qual sovra le spalle // l'un de l'altro giacea} "This on the belly, that upon the back // one of the other lay" [Inf. 29]. The term *p'anč-a* {pancia} 'paunch' occurs only three times: {Co' piè di mezzo li avvinse la pancia // e con li anterïor le braccia prese} "With middle feet it bound him round the paunch, // and with the forward ones his arms it seized" [Inf. 25]; {e quella ponta // sì, ch'a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia} "and that he thrusts // so that he makes the paunch of Florence burst" [Purg. 20]; {Di buon' morselli i' sì m'empiola pancia} "With tasty morsels I fill my belly" (at the end of the line) [Il Fiore 105].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1392. Distinct from *p'anč-a* {pancia} 'stomach, tummy, belly' (colloquial) [Passerini Tosi 1989: 785] and from *st'ɔmak-o* {stomaco} 'stomach, belly' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1155-1156].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *b'uc:-a* {buzza} 'paunch' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. In the Standard Italian the word {trippa} is used in the meaning 'entrails' or as a pejorative word for 'belly' [Zorko et al. 2002: 938].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *imb'ilig-e* {imbìlighe} 'navel' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 90. Domus de Maria: *br'ɛnt-i* {brenti} 'belly' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *p'anc-a* {panza} 'belly' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; EDCC 1993: 292. The word *b'entɾ-ə* {ventre} 'belly' is used as well, but according to [Alòs i Font 2015], it is less common. Distinct from *ʎumβɾ'iɣuɫ* {llombrígol} 'navel' and *məl'ik* {melic} 'navel', spreading from the Western dialects [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. There is also a more formal synonym *b'entɾ-e* {ventre} 'belly' [Montagut 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *vəntr-'ɛy* {ventrell} 'insides' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Of unknown origin [Corominas 1997: 584]. The term *bar'iɣ-a* {barriga} 'belly' is more colloquial. The

word *b'yentɾ-e* {vientre} 'belly' is rare and restricted to the medical sphere [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *baɾ'ig-a* {barriga} 'belly', *b'yentɾ-e* {vientre} 'belly' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 158. Although the dictionaries mention the term *v'ẽntɾ-ə* {ventre} as the basic word for 'belly' and *beʁ'iɣ-e* {barriga} as 'paunch' [Voinova et al. 1989: 158; Feyershtein & Starets 2005: 130], in modern Lisboa Portuguese the term *beʁ'iɣ-e* {barriga} is used for both outer and inner part of belly, while the old word *v'ẽntɾ-ə* {ventre} 'belly / womb' is restricted to inner part. *v'ẽntɾ-ə* {ventre} has also more formal or poetical shade [Pimentel Ferreira 2016]. Distinct from *p'ẽs-e* {pança} 'the first stomach of Ruminantia, paunch' [Feyershtein & Starets 2005: 595; Cândido de Figueiredo II: 572].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016. Distinct from *b'ɛntɾ-e* {ventre} 'belly' [Franco Grande 1968: 849, 730; Fernández Armesto 1981: 744; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1041, 869], which is used in formal speech [Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1469.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2210-2211. Viret also mentions the term *b'od-a* {bôda} 'belly' without differentiating them, but *b'od-a* {bôda} also occurs in another entry as a translation of French {panse} 'paunch', so we do not include it in the list. Distinct from *p'ãf-a* {panfa} 'belly', which is pejorative.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1134-1135. Generic term for both human and animal belly. Can be used in the figurative meaning 'the inside of the body (where the heart is)'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 52; Rayevskaya 2013: 409. Polysemy: 'belly / womb'. Distinct from *pɑ̃s* {panse} 'big belly' [Robert-Collins 1989: 52].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vɛ̃t* {vinte} 'belly'.

5. BIG

Archaic Latin *m'aŋn-ʊs {magnus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *gr'and-ɪs {grandis}* (2), Megleno Romanian *m'ar-i {mári}* (3), Istro Romanian *m'ʋr-e {mắre}* (3), Aromanian *m'ar-e {máre}* (3), Romanian *m'ar-e {mare}* (3), Dalmatian *mawr {mau̯r}* (4), Friulian *grant {grant}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *grant {grant}* (2), Fassano Ladin *gran {gran}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *grɔnt {grond}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *grɔnt {grond}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *grɔnt {grond}* (2), Vallader Romansh *grɔnt {grond}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *graŋd {grand}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *grɔs {gròs}* (5), Carmagnola Piemontese *graŋd {grand}* ~ *graŋ {gran}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *graŋd {grand}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *grɔːs* (5), Bergamo Lombard *grɔs {gròs}* (5), Plesio Lombard *graːnt {grand}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *grãnd {grând}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *grand {grand}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *grɔːs {grôs}* (5), Reggiano Emiliano *graːnd {grând}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *gr'ɔsː-u* (5), Genoese Ligurian *gr'ösː-u {grössŏ}* (5), Stella Ligurian *gr'ɔːsː-u {grössu}* (5), Venice Venetian *gr'aŋd-o {grando}* (2), Primiero Venetian *graŋt {grant}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *graŋt {grant}* (2), Old Italian *gr'and-e {grande}* (2), Standard Italian *gr'and-e {grande}* (2), Grosseto Italian *gr'ɔsː-o {grosso}* (5), Foligno Italian *gr'os-u {grossu}* (5), Neapolitan *r'wosː-ə {gruosso}* (5), Logudorese *m'anː-u {mannu}* (1), Campidanese *m'anː-u {mannu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ɾ'anː-i {ranni}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *ɾ'ɔsː-u {rossu}* (5), Catanian Sicilian *ɾ'anː-i {ranni}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *ɾ'anː-i {ranni}* (2), Central Catalan *gran {gran}* (2), North-Western Catalan *gran*

{gran} (2), Minorcan Catalan *gɾɔs {gros}* (5), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *gɾan {gran}* (2), Valencia Catalan *gɾan {gran}* (2), Manises Catalan *gɾan {gran}* (2), Castilian Spanish *gɾ'and-e {grande}* (2), Asturian *gɾ'and-e {grande}* (2), Standard Portuguese *gɾ'ɐnd-ə {grande}* (2), Galician *gɾ'and-e {grande}* (2), Provençal Occitan *gɾant {grand}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *gɾã {gran}* (2), Old French *grãnt {grant}* (2), Standard French *gʁã {grand}* (2), Picard *gʁã {grand}* (2), Walloon *gʁɑ̃ {grand}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Comparative: *m'a:-yor* {maior} ({Aulam maiorem, si pote, ex vicinia pete} "Seek of the neighbours a bigger pot if you can" [Aul. 390-391]), superlative: *m'ak-sʉm-ʊs* {maxumus} ~ {maximus}: {maxumum infortunium} "a very great calamity" [Merc. 165]; {maximam hercle habebis praedam} "you'll be having an immense profit" [Merc. 442].

The term {magnus} is most common and may be applied both to concrete and abstract nouns, cf. {pater oneravit navem magnam multis mercibus} "the father freighted a large ship with much merchandise" [Men. 24-25]; {Magna est praeda cum magno malo} "'Tis great booty with great risk" [Asin. 317]; {admodum magnis pedibus} "and very large feet" [Pseud. 1220]; {in ignem coniciam teque ambustulatum obiciam magnis avibus pabulum} "and throw you into the fire, and, half-roasted, I'll throw you out as food for the great birds" [Rud. 769-770]; {sunt alii puniceo corio, magni item; atque atri} "some are of a purple skin, there are great and black ones also" (about fish) [Rud. 998].

The term *gr'and-ɮ* {grandis} is applied to abstract nouns, cf. {dabit haec tibi grandis bolos} "she'll be producing you fine hauls" [Persa 658]; {tantum a portu adporto bonum, tam gaudium grande adfero} "Blessings so great am I carrying from the harbour, joys so extensive am I bringing" [Stichus 295]; {quamquam ibi labos grandis capitur} "although, in that, great labour is undergone by the mind" [Trin. 272]; {quos tam grandi sim mercatus praesenti pecunia?} "whom I purchased with so large a sum of ready money?" [Capt. 258]; especially with alliteration: {inibis a me solidam et grandem gratiam} "you will be doing me a real and a great service" [Curc. 405]; {Abire hinc ni properas grandi gradu} "If thee doesn't make haste to get away from this with prodigious speed" [Truc. 286]; {Di immortales te infelicent, ut tu es gradibus grandibus} "May the immortal Gods confound you, with what huge strides you do walk!" [Epid. 13]. This term is frequently applied to designations of age: {Soror illi est adulta virgo grandis} "He has a sister - a fine young woman now grown up" [Trin. 374]; {sed est grandior natu: media est mulieris aetas} "But she's somewhat aged; she's of the middle-age of woman" [Aul. 159]; {virginem habeo grandem} "I've a grown-up girl" [Aul. 191]; {MEG. Aetatem meam scis? EVCL. Scio esse grandem, item ut pecuniam} "MEG. Do you know my years? EUCL. I know that they are plentiful, just like your money" [Aul. 214]; {At ego hunc grandis grandem natu ob furtum ad carnificem dabo} "But now, grown up, I shall give him grown up to the executioner for his thieving" [Capt. 1019]. In one instance, both terms appear side by side so as to avoid repetition: {poculum grande, aula magna, ut satis consilia suppetant} "a good-sized cup and a capacious pot, that counsel enough may be forthcoming" [Curc. 368]. Only once do we find {grandis} used with a concrete noun: {NIC. Euge litteras minutas. CHRYS. Qui quidem videat parum; verum, qui satis videat, grandes satis sunt} "NIC. Bless me! the letters are small. CHRYS. To one, indeed, who cannot see well with his eyes but they are quite large enough for one who can see well" [Bac. 991-992].

As for Cato's texts, the term {grandis} occurs only twice (as opposed to the very frequent {magnus}), and both times it is applied to fruits of plants (barley and cabbage): {Vinum si voles experiri duraturum sit necne, polentam grandem dimidium acetabuli in caliculum novum indito et vini sextarium de eo vino quod voles experiri eodem infundito et inponito in carbones} "If you wish to determine whether wine will keep or not, place in a new vessel half an acetabulum of large pearl barley and a sextarius of the wine you wish to test; place it on the coals and bring it to a boil two or three times" [Cato De agri cultura 108]; {Sed quae vocantur septem bona in conmixtura, natura omnia haec habet brassica. Nunc uti cognoscas naturam earum, prima est levis quae nominatur; ea est grandis, latis foliis, caule magno, validam habet naturam et vim magnam habet} "The cabbage has naturally all the virtues of the so-called "Seven Blessings" mixture. To give, then, the several varieties: the first is the so-called smooth; it is large, with broad leaves and thick stem; it is hardy and has great potency" [Cato De agri cultura 157]. Anyway, the word {grandis} seems to be less frequent and restricted in

use, so we include only {magnus} in the list.

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {et de spinae meae termino grandis cauda procedit} "and a long tail shot from the tip of my spine" [Met. 3: 24]; {isto tamen vel unico solacio aerumnabilis deformitatis meae recreabar, quod auribus grandissimis praedibus cuncta longule etiam dissita facillime sentiebam} "at least I had gained one solace from that wretched and painful change of form, namely that with my vast ears I could hear everything clearly, even at some considerable distance" [Met. 9: 15]; {tanto damno cognito cum grandi baculo furens decurrit} "a young man with a large stick came running, in a fury" [Met. 4: 3].

The term *m'aŋn-vs* {magnus} had become more restricted in use, applied primarily as a divine epithet: {pastor ille cuius iustitiam fidemque magnus comprobavit Iuppiter} "that shepherd, whose just and honest verdict was approved by almighty Jove" [Met. 4: 30]; {Ante lectuli pedes iacebat arcus et pharetra et sagittae, magni dei propitia tela} "At the foot of the bed lay his bow, and his quiver full of arrows, the graceful weapons of the powerful god" [Met. 5: 22]. In the meaning 'great' can be applied to people too: {Iam tu quidem magna videris quaedam mihi et alta prorsus malefica} "I'm certain you must be some kind of high and mighty witch" [Met. 6: 16]; {tantum potest nutus etiam magni principis} "and we instantly disbanded such is the strength of a nod from an emperor" [Met. 7: 7]; {litteras ad magnum scriptas principem Romam versus perlaturus} "the tribune sent him with despatches to the Emperor in Rome" [Met. 10: 13]; {de libro de litteris fausta vota praefatus principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo} "Then from a high dais he read aloud from a book, Latin prayers for the mighty Emperor's health, for the Knights, the Senate and the Roman People" [Met. 11: 17].

Used also as an intensifier, mostly with abstract nouns, 'great, very', especially about high price or huge riches: {tam magnis pretiis pisces frivolos indicatis} "You mark up worthless goods to stupid prices" [Met. 1: 25]; {qui metu officiorum ac munerum publicorum magnis artibus magnam dissimulabat opulentiam} "who hid his vast assets with skill, in fear of having to pay the levy" [Met. 4: 9]; {et altrinsecus aedium horrea sublimi fabrica perfecta magnisque congesta gazis conspicit} "On the far side of the palace she found storerooms made with noble skill, heaped to the roof with mounds of treasure" [Met. 5: 2]; {Sed omnem pristinam sociorum fortium multitudinem magnesque illas opes exiguo temporis amisi spatio} "But in a brief moment of time I lost a whole host of courageous comrades" [Met. 7: 6]; {Me denique ipsum pauperculus quidam hortulanus comparat quinquaginta nummis, magno, ut aiebat} "a poor market-gardener bought me for fifty sestertii, a high price for him to pay, as he said" [Met. 9: 31]; about loud voice or noise: {magnaque voce praeconis pretia singulis nuntiantis} "In a loud voice the auctioneer announced our prices" [Met. 8: 23]; {Magnus denique continuo clamor exortus est et emensis protinus scalis iniecta manu quidam me velut captivum detrahunt} "Some of them ran upstairs, grabbed hold of me, and dragged me downstairs as their prisoner" [Met. 9: 42]; {ad ipsam praesidis domum magnoque fidem eius protestata clamore} "She ran to the governor's house, and appealing loudly for his protection" [Met. 10: 28]. With other abstract nouns: {nunc enim gloriam satis floridam, nunc historiam magnam et incredundam fabulam et libros me futurum} "on the one hand it appears my reputation will truly grow, on the other hand my future will be a long story, one in several volumes, a tale no one will believe" [Met. 2: 12]; {Perfidae lupulae magnis conatibus nefarias insidias tibi comparant} "Those treacherous she-wolves are working hard to execute some evil act against you" [Met. 5: 11]; {in summo pulvinari locatus cena poculisque magnis inauguratur} "took his seat at the head of the table, and his inauguration was celebrated with a meal and a drinking bout" [Met. 7: 9]; {et magnis suis laboribus perfectum desiderium Philesithero laetitia percitus nuntiat statimque destinatum praemium reposcit} "He cheerfully announced to Philesitherus that his efforts had furthered the youth's wishes" [Met. 9: 19]; {magnaque cura requisitam veteratricem quandam feminam} "after careful inquiry, she found an old witch" [Met. 9: 29]; {Et tam magnam domus cladem ratus indigere consilio pleniore ad quendam compertae gravitatis educatorem senem protinus refert} "Deciding that such a challenge to the family honour needed wise counsel, he took the matter to his old and learned tutor" [Met. 10: 4]; {Tunc infelix duplici filiorum morte percussum magnis aerumnarum procellis aestuat} "So now the poor husband, blown about by the winds of misfortune, was threatened with the death of his other son" [Met. 10: 5]; {Nec tantillum cruciarius ille vel fortuna tam magni indicii vel confertae conspectu curiae} "That candidate for the gallows was not the least bit deterred by the magnitude of the charge, the sight of the packed council-chamber" [Met. 10: 7]; {Magno denique delibutus gaudio dominus, vocatis servis suis, emptoribus meis, iubet quadruplum restitui pretium meque cuidam acceptissimo liberto suo et satis peculiato magnam praefatus diligentiam tradidit} "The master was filled with delight, summoned the servants who'd bought me, then acquired me for four times the price. Next he turned me over to his favourite freedman, a man of means, ordering him to take good care of me" [Met. 10: 17]; {magnisque imperiis eius intentus monitionis ordinem recolebam} "reviewing intently her series of potent commands" [Met. 11: 7]; {magnoque procellarum sedato fragore} "for the winter gales had ceased"

[Met. 11: 7]; {Ecce pompae magnae paulatim praecedunt anteludia votivis cuiusque studiis exornata pulcherrume} "Now the vanguard of the grand procession slowly appeared, its participants in holiday attire each in finery of their choosing" [Met. 11: 8]; {magnae religionis terrena sidera} "the earthly stars of the great rite" [Met. 11: 10]; {altioris utcumque et magno silentio tegendae religionis argumentum ineffabile} "being the ineffable symbol somehow of a deeper sacredness, to be cloaked in awful silence" [Met. 11: 11]; {Multis et variis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, venisti} "Lucius, after suffering many labours, buffeted by Fortune's mighty tempests, by the fierce winds of fate, you reach at last the harbour of Peace, the altar of Mercy" [Met. 11: 15].

Sometimes the word can still be used in the direct meaning: {cum viderem canes et modo magnos et numero multos et ursis ac leonibus ad compugnandum idoneos in me convocatos exasperari} "seeing those dogs large in size and many in number, fit to fight bears or lions, gathered and ranged against me" [Met. 4: 3]; {meis tam magnis auribus accipiens} "all ears as I was" [Met. 6: 32]; {senex alius, magnum ille quidem, gravatus annis} "a second old man approached on the road, tall and bent with the years" [Met. 8: 19]; {"O grande" inquam "et extremum flagitium, magnam et vere pretiosam perdimus bestiam"} "It's a crime to kill so large a beast" [Met. 4: 20]; {At enim casulae parvulae conterminos magnos et beatos agros possidebat vicinus potens et dives} "a certain poor neighbour whose modest cottage adjoined a large and prosperous estate owned by a wealthy and important young nobleman" [Met. 9: 35].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 183.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 226; Byhan 1899: 281.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 656; Cunia 2010: 613; Dalametra 1906: 127; Gołąb 1984: 233.

Romanian: DER 2004: 89; Bolocan et al. 1985: 83; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {mas} 'male, masculine' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *m'ar-e* {mare} 'big' [Podiko 1973: 40; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 28].

Dalmatian: There are two documented expressions for 'big': *mawr* {mau̯r} and *grwont* {gru̯ǫnt} ~ *grwond* {gru̯ǫnd}. It seems that the most common term for 'big' is *mawr*, cf. {joi̯n vu̯aṡ máu̯ro} "a big vase" [Bartoli 2002: 244]; {joi̯na dindi̯u̯ǫta máu̯ra} "a big turkey" [Bartoli 2002: 238]; {joi̯na skodelu̯ǫta mau̯ra} "a big bowl" [Bartoli 2002: 243], while *grwont* means rather 'great / huge': {l-amu̯ǫr fero gru̯ǫnt} "love is great" [Bartoli 2002: 246]; {joi̯n prat gru̯ǫnd} "a great priest" [Bartoli 2002: 246]; {munčái̯ grúnt} "big mountains" [Bartoli 2002: 235] (but {joi̯n pu̯ǫṅ grúnd} "big bread" [Bartoli 2002: 251]), so we choose the first word as more in line with GLD specifications.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: LI.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 35, 144.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 132.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 339.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 144. The word grɔs {gròs} 'big' is used as well, but according to [Gisolo 2015], it is less common.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *grɔs* {gròss} 'big / thick', which is rather restricted to designating thickness, big volume, cf. {Un cit grand} "A big/tall child" and {Un cit gròss} "A fat child".

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *grɔs* {gross} 'big / thick', which is more restricted to designation of thickness, big volume.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Distinct from *grant* {grànt} 'great' [Garlini 2015].

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *grɔs:* {gross} 'big / thick', which is rather restricted to the designation of 'thickness', 'big volume' [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 181. Polysemy: 'big / adult'. Marchigiano: *grɔs* {gròss} 'big' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *grɔs* {gròs} 'big / thick' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *gran* {gran} ~ *grand* {grand} 'big / adult', representing high style [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda, Arzignano, Marostica: *gr'aŋd-e* {grande} 'big' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The main term for 'big', used with a broad range of objects: {grand' arco tra la ripa secca e 'l mezzo} "a great arc 'twixt the dry bank and the swamp" [Inf. 7]; {d'un grand' avello, ov' io vidi una scritta} "of a great tomb, whereon I saw a writing" [Inf. 11]; {Quando s'ebbe scoperta la gran bocca} "After he had uncovered his great mouth" [Inf. 12]; {per lo furto che frodolente fece // del grande armento ch'elli ebbe a vicino} "by reason of the fraudulent theft he made // of the great herd, which he had near to him" [Inf. 25]; {Sotto ciascuna uscivan due grand' ali} "Underneath each came forth two mighty wings" [Inf. 34]; {e come ai rivi grandi si convene} "and as it mingled with the mighty torrents" [Purg. 5].

The term *gr'ɔs:-o* {grosso} 'big, thick' seems to be restricted to the designation of big volume as in modern Italian, cf. some examples: {a tale imagine eran fatti quelli, // tutto che né sì alti né sì grossi, // qual che si fosse, lo maestro félli} "in such similitude had those been made, // albeit not so lofty nor so thick, // whoever he might be, the master made them" [Inf. 15]; {E un che d'una scrofa azzurra e grossa // segnato avea lo suo sacchetto bianco} "And one, who with an azure sow and gravid // emblazoned had his little pouch of white" [Inf. 17]; {Le cappe rance // son di piombo sì grosse, che li pesi // fan così cigolar le lor balance} "These orange cloaks // are made of lead so heavy, that the weights // cause in this way their balances to creak" [Inf. 23].

Very infrequently, the term *m'aɲ-o* {magno} 'great' can also be used; it usually occurs at the end of a line, possibly due to rhyming purposes: {Colà diritto, sovra 'l verde smalto, // mi fuor mostrati li spiriti magni} "There opposite, upon the green enamel, // were pointed out to me the mighty spirits" [Inf. 4]; {Tosto fur sovr' a noi, perché correndo // si movea tutta quella turba magna} "Full soon they were upon us, because running // moved onward all that mighty multitude" [Purg. 18]; {li occhi rivolgi al logoro che gira // lo rege etterno con le rote magne} "thine eyes lift upward to the lure, that whirls // the Eternal King with revolutions vast" [Purg. 19]; {Non pur per ovra de le rote magne, // che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine // secondo che le stelle son compagne} "Not only by the work of those great wheels, // that destine every seed unto some end, // according as the stars are in conjunction} [Purg. 30]; {Per questo l'Evangelio e i dottor magni // son derelitti} "For this the Evangel and the mighty Doctors // are derelict" [Par. 9]; {Grato e lontano digiuno, // tratto leggendo del magno volume // du' non si muta mai bianco né bruno} "Hunger long and grateful, // drawn from the reading of the mighty volume // wherein is never changed the white nor dark" [Par. 15].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1397-1398. Distinct from *gr'ɔs:-o* {grosso} 'big / thick', which is more or less restricted to designation of 'thickness', 'big volume'.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. The term *gr'and-e* {grande} 'big' is used as well, but it is much less frequent [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. The term *gr'an:-e* {granne} 'big' is much less frequent [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *r'ɔs:-ə* {ròss'} 'big' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 264. Domus de Maria: *m'an:-u* {mannu} 'big' [Fadda 2015]. Distinct from *gr'and-u* {grandu} 'big' (figurative) [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 205].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015. Distinct from *r'wɔs:-u* {ruossu} 'big / thick', which is more or less restricted to the designation of 'thickness', 'big volume' [Messina 2015; Ornato 2015]. Termini Imerese: *r'ɔs:-u* {rossu} 'big' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *r'an:-i* {ranni} 'big' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *r'an:-i* {ranni} 'great' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *r'ɔs:-u* {rossu} 'big / thick', which is more or less restricted to the designation of 'thickness', 'big volume' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 143. Distinct from *grɔs* {gros} 'big / thick', which is more restricted to the designation of thickness, big volume, cf. {Aquesta persona té un nas gros, aquesta altra un nas petit} "This person has a big nose, that one has a small nose" and {Una pedra grossa} "A big stone", but {Una fulla gran} "A big leaf", {Un

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arbre gran} "A big tree" (cf. {Un arbre gros} "A thick tree"), {Un mar gran} "A big sea" (cf. {Un mar gros}, when there are big waves) and {Un noi gran} "A big child" (cf. {Un noi gros} "A fat child") [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *grɔs* {gros} 'big / thick', which is more restricted to designation of thickness, big volume.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *grɔs* {gros} 'big / thick', which is more restricted to the designation of thickness, big volume, cf. {Aquesta persona té un nas gros, eixa té un nas xicotet} "This person has a big nose, that one has a small nose" and {Una pedra grossa} "A big stone", but {Una fulla gran} "A big leaf", {Un arbre gran} "A big tree", {Un mar gran} "A big sea" and {Un xiquet gran} "A big child" [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *grˈand-e* {grande} 'big' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 45.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 804; Fernández Armesto 1981: 408.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 664. Distinct from *grɔs* {gros}, which is more restricted to the designation of thickness, big volume [Coupier 1995: 673-674].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1091-1092. Viret mentions two words for 'big': *grã* {gran} in accordance with French {grand} [Viret 2013: 1091-1092] and *gru* {grou} in accordance with French {gros} [Viret 2013: 1109-1110]. Based on these data, we include only the first term in the list; see notes on the list for Standard French.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 559-561. As in Modern French, there are two terms for 'big': *grãnt* {grant} and *grɔs* {gros} [EDCT 2014: 568]. It seems that the difference between them correlates with the Modern one, cf. {n'orent mie lances menues, // ainz furent grosses et plenees, // et si estoient bien fenees, // s'an furent plus roides et forz} "The lances they had were not light, but were big and square; nor were they planed smooth, but were rough and strong" (Erec 5890-5893); {toz d'une esmeraude anterine, // et si avoit plain poing de gros} "all of one solid emerald, fully as large as your fist" (Erec 6812-6813). The diagnostic context is: {Mout feisoient de lui grant los // petit et grant, et gresle et gros; // tuit prisent sa chevalerie} "Great and small, thin and stout - all make much of him and praise his knighthood" (Erec 1245-1247). As in the case with Modern French, we include only *grãnt* {grant} in the list.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 56; Rayevskaya 2013: 346. There are two words for 'big': *ʁʁã* {grand} and *gʁo* {gros} [Robert-Collins 1989: 56; Rayevskaya 2013: 346]. The term *gʁo* {gros} is restricted to designation of big surface and/or big volume: {une grosse pierre} 'a big stone', {un gros nuage} 'a big cloud', {une grosse larme} 'a big tear'; it is used mostly for designation of cylindrical objects: {un gros fil} 'a thick thread', {un gros bâton} 'a big stick', {un gros canon} 'a big gun', people and animals (then meaning 'thick'): {un gros chat} 'a thick cat', {un gros rat} 'a thick rat', {une grosse fille} 'a thick girl', and for some body parts: {un gros ventre} 'a big/thick belly', {une grosse tête} 'a big head', {un gros cou} ' a big/thick neck', {un gros nez} 'a big nose' [LGR 5: 17-19]. Since *ʁʁã* {grand} has a much broader meaning (see [LGR 4: 1008-1012]), we include only this term in the list.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *gʁo* {gros} 'big (having a big volume)'. See notes on Standard French.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Distinct from *g ʁ* {gros} 'big (having a big volume)'. See notes on Standard French.

6. BIRD

Archaic Latin ˈaw-ɪs {avis} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈav-ɪs {avis} (1), Megleno Romanian *puʎ {puľ}* (2), Istro Romanian *puʎ {puľ}* (2), Aromanian *pˈuʎ-ŭ {puľĭŭ}* (2), Romanian *pˈasər-e {pasăre}* (3), Dalmatian *učˈul {učúl} ~ očˈel {očél}* (1), Friulian *učˈɛl {ucel}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *učˈel {ucel}* (1), Fassano Ladin *učˈel {ucẹl}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *učˈɛ {utschè}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *učˈi {utschi}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *učˈel {utschel}* (1), Vallader Romansh *učˈɛ {utschè} ~ ušˈɛ {uschè}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *uzˈɛl {osel}* (1),

Barbania Piemontese *uz'ɛl {osel}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *uz'ɛl {osel}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *uz'ɛl {osel}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *üz'ɛl* (1), Bergamo Lombard *oc'ɛl {ozèl}* (1), Plesio Lombard *ulč'ɛl: {ulcell}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *uz'ɛəl {uşël}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *uz'ɛl {usèl}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *uz'ɛːl {uśêl}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *uz'ɛl {uśèll}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *ɔwž'el:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *awž'el:-u {aŏxellŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *ɔːwž-'eː {oouxê}* (1), Venice Venetian *oz'ɛ-o {osèo} ~ {oxèło}* (1), Primiero Venetian *uz'ɛl {uxèl}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *oz'ɛl {osel}* (1), Old Italian *uč'ːɛl:-o {uccello}* (1), Standard Italian *uč'ɛl:-o {uccello}* (1), Grosseto Italian *uč'ɛl:-o {uccello}* (1), Foligno Italian *č'el:-u {céllu}* (1), Neapolitan *awš'yel:-ə {auciello}* (1), Logudorese *puʒ-'on-e {pudzone}* (2), Campidanese *pil:-'ɔn-i {pilloni}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *ač'yɛɖ:-u {acieddu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *ač'iɖ:-u {aciddu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *ač'ɛɖ:-u {aceddu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *awč'yɛɖ:-u {aucieddu}* (1), Central Catalan *us'eʎ {ocell}* (1), North-Western Catalan *miš-'o {mixó}* (4), Minorcan Catalan *pərð'aɬ {pardal}* (5), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *parð'aɬ {pardal}* (5), Valencia Catalan *parð'aɬ {pardal}* (5), Manises Catalan *parð'aɬ {pardal}* (5), Castilian Spanish *p'axaɾ-o {pájaro}* (3), Asturian *p'ašaɾ-o {páxaro}* (3), Standard Portuguese *'av-ə {ave}* (1), Galician *'aβ-e {ave}* (1), Provençal Occitan *aws'ɛw {aucèu}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ayž'o {aijô}* (1), Old French *'oyzel {oisel}* (1), Standard French *wazo {oiseau}* (1), Picard *ɔzyo {osiau}* (1), Walloon *ɔže: {ojê}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {quovis admittunt aves} "do the birds give good omens" [Asin. 259]; {in ignem coniciam teque ambustulatum obiciam magnis avibus pabulum} "and throw you into the fire, and, half-roasted, I'll throw you out as food for the great birds" [Rud. 769-770]; {soleamne esse avis squamosas, piscis pennatos?} "Or whether I'm wont to eat birds with scales, or fish with wings?" [Men. 918].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Iamque alternis conatibus libratis brachiis in avem similis gestiebam} "Then I spread out my arms and flapped them up and down one after the other, trying my best to become a bird" [Met. 3: 24]; {Tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aves caelo meantes, ferae montibus errantes, serpentes solo latentes, beluae ponto natantes} "The birds flying in the sky, the wild beasts that prowl the mountains, the serpents that lurk underground, the very monsters of the deep tremble at your power" [Met. 11: 25].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 239. Polysemy: 'chick / bird'. Cf.: {una gă'ină cu puľ} "a chicken with chicks" [Capidan 1928: 123] and {ară corbu zisi: "na ună peană di la mini, cǫn si-u jigneş si ti fats puľ di, cari si tser si fuz, pots} "the raven also said: "take my feather; whenever you wish, it will help you to become a bird if you want to escape from somewhere" [Capidan 1928: 71].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 263; Byhan 1899: 321. Polysemy: 'bird / chick'. Byhan also mentions the word *p'ʋsər-ä* {pósorẹ} 'bird' [Byhan 1899: 316], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 893; Cunia 2010: 613 865-866; Dalametra 1906: 178; Gołąb 1984: 246. Polysemy: 'bird / chicken'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 92; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1200; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {passer} 'sparrow'. See the same semantic shift in the Castillian Spanish. Moldavian: *p'asər-e* {pasăre} 'bird' [Podiko 1973: 745; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 359].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 238. Some examples are: {joi̯n čap di učéi̯} "a swarm of birds"; {el bekanu̯át fero joi̯n očél máu̯ro koi̯śa i gardelu̯ọti} "A snipe is a bird as big as a goldfinch" [Bartoli 2002: 238]. Besides this inherited term, Udina once uses the Venetian borrowing *oc'el* {ozél}: {kosta artańa fero vív … gu̯ọrda ke gru̯ọnde jál ke avás kol ozél} "this heron is alive, it is looking at the big

wings which that bird has" [Bartoli 2002: 238].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 707, 455.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 107, 192. Polysemy: 'bird / penis (vulgar)' (cf. the same polysemy in Czech). Marebbano: *vič'el* {vitšél} 'bird'; Badiotto: *vič'el* {vitšél} 'bird'; Livinallese: *uč'el* {utšél} 'bird'; Nones: *awč'ɛl* {aᵘtšęl} 'bird' [Gartner 1923: 192].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 341; Gartner 1923: 192.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. The plural form is *uč'al-s* {utschals}.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 792-793.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 385.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 385.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 483.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Polysemy: 'bird / membrum virile' [Melon 2015]. Treviso: *oz'ɛɥ-o* {oxèło} ~ *oz'ɛl* {oxèl} 'bird' [Busato 2015]. Salgareda, Schio: *oz'ɛl* {osèl} 'bird' [Poletto 2015; Clementi 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {De l'empiezza di lei che mutò forma // ne l'uccel ch'a cantar più si diletta} "Of her impiety, who changed her form // into the bird that most delights in singing" [Purg. 17]; {sì come far suole // chi dietro a li uccellin sua vita perde} "as he is wont to do // who wastes his life pursuing little birds" [Purg. 23]; {le membra d'oro avea quant' era uccello} "his limbs were gold, so far as he was bird" [Purg. 29]. The variant *awž'ɛl:-o* {augello} is also possible: {e tal ne la sembianza sua divenne, // qual diverrebbe Iove, s'elli e Marte // fossero augelli e cambiassersi penne} "and even such in semblance it became // as Jupiter would become, if he and Mars // were birds, and they should interchange their feathers" [Par. 27].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1400. Distinct from *vol-'at-il-e* {volatile} 'bird', used to designate all flying animals (including bats), and may be used as a synonym of {uccello} in literary or official language [Vitali 2015].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 317. Domus de Maria: *pil:'ɔn-i* {pilloni} 'bird' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *ač'ɛɖ:-u* {aceddu} 'bird' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *uč'yɛɖ-u* {uciedu} 'bird' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora, Giarre: *ač'ɛɖ:-u* {aceddu} 'bird' [Stornanti 2015, Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina also mentions the form *awč'ɛɖ:-u* {auceddu} [La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 210. Distinct from *aw* {au} 'bird', which is rather rare, although there is a tendency to calque the Spanish distinction of {ave} 'bird, big bird' – {pájaro} 'small bird (especially able to fly)' with the opposition

aw - us'eʎ. Distinct from *pərð'ał* {pardal} 'small bird' [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. The Central Catalan form *aws'eʎ* {ocell} 'bird' is used as well, spreading with the help of school and television [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Goes back to Latin {pardalis} 'panther, leopard', which is borrowed from Ancient Greek {πάρδαλις} 'panther, leopard, Lanius' [Beekes 2010: 1152], but we do not regard this word as a borrowing, since the meaning shift took place already in Catalan.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Used especially for small birds. Distinct from *'aβ-e* {ave}, which is more scientific [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *p'ašaɾ-u* {páxaru} 'bird' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 511; Cândido de Figueiredo I: 336. Distinct from *p'asɐ-u* {pássaro} 'passerine, small bird' [Cândido de Figueiredo II: 605].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 927. Generic term for birds. Distinct from *p'ašaɾ-o* {páxaro} 'small bird' [Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 961.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1499.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 766. In the plural can mean 'poultry (as food)'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 57-58; Rayevskaya 2013: 561.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *užɛː* {oujhea} 'bird'.

7. BITE

Archaic Latin *mɔrd-'eː-rɛ* {mordere} (1), Late Classical Latin *mɔrd-'eː-rɛ* {mordere} (1), Megleno Romanian *m'učk-u* {mútšcu} (2), Istro Romanian *mučk-'ʋ* {muččǎ} (2), Aromanian *m'ɨ̃šk-u* {mî̃şcu} ~ *m'ušk-u* {muşcu} (2), Romanian *a=mušk-'a* {a muşca} (2), Dalmatian *morsk-'wo-r* {morskûo̯r} (3), Friulian *m'ward-i* {muardi} (1), Gardenese Ladin *m'ɔrd-ə-r* {morder} (1), Fassano Ladin *m'ord-e-r* {mọrder} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *m'ɔrd-ə-r* {morder} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *m'ɔrd-ə-r* {morder} (1), Surmiran Romansh *m'ɔrd-ə-r* {morder} (1), Vallader Romansh *m'ɔrd-ə-r* {morder} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *m'ɔrd-i* {mòrdi} (1), Barbania Piemontese *m'ɔrd-e* {mòrde} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *m'ɔrd-e* {mòrde} (1), Turinese Piemontese *m'ɔrd-e* {morde} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *m'ɔːrd-i* (1), Bergamo Lombard *p'i-a* {pìa} (4), Plesio Lombard *kaɲ-'a* {cagnà} (5), Ravennate Romagnol *murs-'eə̯* {mursêr} (3), Ferrarese Emiliano *z=gaɲ-'a-r* {sgagnàr} (5), Carpigiano Emiliano *muzg-'ɛː-r* {muśghèr} (3), Reggiano Emiliano *muzg-'ɛː-r* {mušghêr} (3), Rapallo Ligurian *m'ɔrd-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *mɔːrd-e* {môrde} (1), Stella Ligurian *m'ɔːrd-e* {mörde} (1), Venice Venetian *morseg-'a-r* {morsegàr} (3), Primiero Venetian *m'ɔrð-e-r* {mòrđer} (1), Bellunese Venetian *m'ɔrð-a-r* {mordar} (1), Old Italian *m'ɔrd-e-re* {mordere} (1), Standard Italian *m'ɔrd-e-re* {mordere} (1), Grosseto Italian *mors-ik-'a-re* {morsicare} (3), Foligno Italian *moč-ik-'a* {moccicà} (3), Neapolitan *muc-ək-'a* {muzzecà} ~ *murc-ək-'a* {murzecà} (3), Logudorese *mosː-*

ig-ˈa-re {mossigàre} (3), Campidanese *musː-y-ˈay {mussiai}* (3), Palermitan Sicilian *muᴄː-ik-ˈa-ri {muzzicari}* (3), Messinese Sicilian *muᴄː-ik-ˈa-rɨ {muzzicari}* (3), Catanian Sicilian *muᴄː-ik-ˈa-ri {muzzicari}* (3), South-Eastern Sicilian *muᴄː-ik-ˈa-ri {muzzicari}* (3), Central Catalan *mus-əɣ-ˈa {mossegar}* (3), North-Western Catalan *mos-eɣ-ˈa {mossegar}* (3), Minorcan Catalan *mus-əɣ-ˈa {mossegar}* (3), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *mos-eɣ-ˈa-ɾ {mossegar}* (3), Valencia Catalan *mos-eɣ-ˈa-ɾ {mossegar}* (3), Manises Catalan *mos-eɣ-ˈa-ɾ {mossegar}* (3), Castilian Spanish *moɾð-ˈe-ɾ {morder}* (1), Asturian *moɾd-ˈe-ɾ {morder}* (1), Standard Portuguese *muɾð-ˈe-ɾ {morder}* (1), Galician *moɾð-ˈe-ɾ {morder}* (1), Provençal Occitan *mˈɔrd-re {mordre}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *mˈöːrd-re {meûrdre}* (1), Old French *mˈɔrd-rə {mordre}* (1), Standard French *mɔʁd-ʁ {mordre}* (1), Picard *mɔʁd {morde}* (1), Walloon *aɲ-e {hagner} ~ {agner}* (-1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Attested as a verb only once: {signum esse oportet in manu laeva tibi, ludenti puero quod memordit simia} "there ought to be a mark upon your left hand, a bite which an ape gave you when a child" [Poen. 1073-1074], but there are also some examples of the derivates: {Namque edepol si adbites propius, os denasabit tibi mordicus} "Yes, for, by my faith, if you approach nearer, he'll be taking your nose off with his teeth" [Capt. 604-605]; {teneris labellis molles morsiunculae} "the soft, dear kisses impressed on our tender lips" [Pseud. 67]; {meus est istic clam mordax canis} "my dog is there concealed that bites" [Bac. 1146]; {ianua est mordax mea} "is my door apt to bite" [Truc. 352]. The term {morsicare} is not attested in Plautus' texts.
Late Classical Latin: There are no good examples on the usage of 'to bite' in Apuleius or Gellius' texts. Apuleius does not use {mordere} at all, while for *mɔrs-k-ˈaː-rɛ* {morsicare} there are just two unreliable examples: {Nam imaginem etiam savii mentiendo ore improbo compulsat ac morsicat} "He pretends to kiss them too, fondling and biting them with his vile lips" [Met. 7: 21]; {Tum illa cervicem intorsit et ad me conversa limis et morsicantibus oculis} "She twisted her neck towards me then, and turned to me with a sidelong glance of those sharp eyes" [Met. 2: 10].

In Vulgata {morsicare} never occurs, while {mordere} is quite a common term, usually applied to snakes, but also to animals and people: {Quod si invicem mordetis, et comeditis: videte ne ab invicem consumamini} "But if you keep attacking each other like wild animals, you had better watch out or you will destroy yourselves" [Galatians 5: 15]; {qui adtonitis oculis cogitat prava mordens labia sua perficit malum} "When someone winks or grins behind your back, trouble is on the way" [Proverbs 16: 30].

Since the occurrence of the term {morsicare} as the main word for 'to bite' in some Romance languages belongs to rather late stages of their history, we prefer to regard {mordere} as the only term for 'to bite' in Apuleius' times, although, accidentally, it did not occur in his own texts.
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 200.
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 230; Byhan 1899: 285. Polysemy: 'to bite / to itch'. Cf. {brécu rę muččå} "the dog would bite" (Brdo); {múčkę me cǎpu} "my head itches" (Šušnjevica) [Kovačec 2010].
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 719; Cunia 2010: 633-634; Bara et al. 2005: 53; Dalametra 1906: 135; Gołąb 1984: 235.
Romanian: DER 2004: 93; Bolocan et al. 1985: 576; Gancz 2015. Doesn't have a generally accepted etymology. Possibly goes back to the Vulgar Latin {*muccicare}, based on {*mucculare}, which is derived from {muccus} 'mucus, snot'; another version traces this term to {mucceus} influenced by the verb {morsicare} 'to bite' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *a=mušk-ˈa* {a muşca} 'to bite' [Podiko 1973: 346; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 181].
Dalmatian: Some examples are: {el ku͡ọṅ ke bú i̯ no morsigúa} "the dog which barks does not bite" [Bartoli 2002: 229]; {el kuṅ me ju morsigu͡ọt, ku͡ọṅa} "the dog bit me, she-dog" [Bartoli 2002: 237].
Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 685, 262.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 55, 123.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 189.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 471.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 206.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 206.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 272.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Less frequent is *muzg-ˈar* {musgàr} 'to bite' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *morseg-ˈa-re* {morsegare} 'to bite' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015, Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {ambo le man per lo dolor mi morsi} "both of my hands in agony I bit"} [Inf. 33]; {quant' io vidi in due ombre smorte e nude, // che mordendo correvan di quel modo // che 'l porco quando del porcil si schiude} "as I beheld two shadows pale and naked, // who, biting, in the manner ran along // that a boar does, when from the sty turned loose" [Inf. 30]. The term *mors-ik-ˈa-re* {morsicare} 'to bite' is not attested in Dante's works.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1401. Used in relation to animals and people [Battaglia X: 892-895]. Distinct from *mors-ik-ˈare* {morsicare}, which is applied to animals, especially wild and harmful ones [Battaglia X: 928-929].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. The term *mˈɔrd-e-re* {mordere} 'to bite' is used as well, but it is less frequent [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 283. Domus de Maria: *musːy-ˈay* {mussiai} 'to bite' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *mucik-ˈa-ri* {muzzicari} 'to bite' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Salerno also mentions the form *mɔsːik-ˈa-ɾi* {mossicari}, borrowed from Italian {morsicare} 'to bite' [Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 195.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *moɾd-ˈe-ɾ* {morder} 'bite' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 254.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 821; Fernández Armesto 1981: 524.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 909.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1427. Côte-d'Aime: *ĩ=bok-'a:* {ihnbôkâ} 'to bite'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 726-727.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 58; Rayevskaya 2013: 457. Distinct from *pik-e* {piquer}, which is used when speaking of a snake or insect [Robert-Collins 1989: 58; Rayevskaya 2013: 457].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Apart from this term, there are also such equivalents as *aɲ-e* {hagner} 'to bite' or *aʁp-e* {harper} 'to bite', which are much less frequent [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *aɲ-i:* {hagnî} 'to bite'.

8. BLACK

Archaic Latin ˈaːtɛr {ater} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈaːtɛr {ater} (1), Megleno Romanian nˈegr-u {négru} (2), Istro Romanian nˈegr-u {négru} (2), Aromanian lˈay-ŭ {laĭŭ} (3), Romanian nˈegr-u {negru} (2), Dalmatian nyar {niár} (-1), Friulian nˈer-i {neri} (2), Gardenese Ladin fošk {fosch} (4), Fassano Ladin nˈeyger {nẹigher} (2), Rumantsch Grischun nayr {nair} (2), Sursilvan Romansh ner {ner} (2), Surmiran Romansh nˈeər {near} (2), Vallader Romansh nayr {nair} (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese nɛyr {neir} (2), Barbania Piemontese nɛyr {nèir} (2), Carmagnola Piemontese nɛyr {nèir} (2), Turinese Piemontese nɛyr {neir} (2), Vercellese Piemontese nˈeːr-u (2), Bergamo Lombard nˈigɛr {nìghèr} (2), Plesio Lombard nˈegr-u {negru} (2), Ravennate Romagnol nˈigar {nìgar} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano nˈɛgar {nègar} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano nˈeger {negher} (2), Reggiano Emiliano nˈiːger {nîgher} (2), Rapallo Ligurian nˈeygr-u (2), Genoese Ligurian nˈeːygr-u {nêigró} (2), Stella Ligurian nˈɛːygr-u {nèigru} (2), Venice Venetian nˈer-o {néro} (2), Primiero Venetian nˈegr-o {negro} (2), Bellunese Venetian nˈer-o {nero} (2), Old Italian nˈer-o {nero} (2), Standard Italian nˈer-o {nero} (2), Grosseto Italian nˈer-o {nero} (2), Foligno Italian nˈir-u {niru} (2), Neapolitan nˈir-ə {niro} (2), Logudorese nigˈeɖ-u {nighèddu} ~ nyˈeɖ-u {nièddu} (2), Campidanese nˈyed-u {nieddu} (2), Palermitan Sicilian nˈivur-u {nivuru} (2), Messinese Sicilian nˈiur-u {niuru} (2), Catanian Sicilian nˈiur-u {niuru} (2), South-Eastern Sicilian nˈivir-u {niviru} (2), Central Catalan nˈɛɣr-ə {negre} (2), North-Western Catalan nˈeɣr-e {negre} (2), Minorcan Catalan nˈɛɣr-ə {negre} (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan nˈeɣr-e {negre} (2), Valencia Catalan nˈeɣr-e {negre} (2), Manises Catalan nˈeɣr-e {negre} (2), Castilian Spanish nˈeɣr-o {negro} (2), Asturian nˈegr-o {negro} (2), Standard Portuguese prˈet-u {preto} (5), Galician nˈeɣr-o {negro} (2), Provençal Occitan nˈegr-e {negre} (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal nay {nai} (2), Old French noyr {noir} (2), Standard French nwaʁ {noir} (2), Picard nweʁ {nouér} (2), Walloon nwaːʀ {nwâr} (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: There are two terms for 'black' in Latin: *a:tɛr* {ater} and *n'igɛr* {niger}. A popular theory claims that {ater} was applied to "dull" things and {niger} to "bright" ones [Solopov 2007: 72-73]. Yu. V. Normanskaya, however, believes that the difference is rather chronological: {ater} was an old term, eventually replaced by the innovative {niger} [Normanskaya 2005: 160-187].

There are not many examples for 'black' in Plautus' plays, but it seems that the difference cannot be described as 'dull black' – 'bright black'. The term {niger} and its derivates {subniger} 'blackish' and {perniger} 'very black' are restricted in use to eyes or skin colour: {macilento ore, naso acuto, corpore albo, oculis nigris, subrufus aliquantum, crispus, cincinnatus} "with a thin face, sharp nose, light hair, dark eyes, somewhat ruddy, with hair rather crisp and curling" [Capt. 647-648]; {Specie venusta, ore atque oculis pernigris} "Of agreable form, with a small mouth, and very dark eyes" [Poen. 1113]; {Rufus quidam, ventriosus, crassis suris, subniger, magno capite, acutis oculis, ore rubicundo, admodum magnis pedibus} "A certain red-haired fellow, pot-bellied, with thick calves, swarthy, with a big head, sharp eyes, red face, and very large feet" [Pseud. 1218-1220]; {canum, varum, ventriosum, bucculentum, breviculum, subnigris oculis, oblongis malis, pansam aliquantulum} "red-headed, bandy-legged, pot-bellied, wide-mouthed, of stunted figure, with darkish eyes, lank jaws, splay-footed rather" [Merc. 639-640].

The distribution of {ater} is much broader. It designates the colour of bile, pitch, hair, fish, cloud, human skin, wine: {Si canum seu istuc rutilum sive atrumst, amo} "Whether that is hoary, or whether red, or whether black, I'm in love" (about hair) [Merc. 306]; {viden tu illi maculari corpus totum maculis luridis? atra bilis agitat hominem. ARIST. At pol te, si hic sapiat senex, pix atra agitet apud carnificem tuoque capiti inluceat} "Black bile is disordering the man. ARIST. And, by my faith, if this old gentleman is wise, black pitch will be disordering you with the executioner, and giving a light to your head" [Capt. 594-596]; {Atra bili percita est} "She's attacked with black bile" [Amph. 727]; {atrior multo ut siet, quam Aegyptini} "she should be much more swarthy than the Egyptians" [Poen. 1290-1291]; {Sol est ad eam rem pictor: atrum fecerit} "The sun's a painter who'll attend to that, sir: he'll soon put the black on" (about skin) [Vid. 36]; {sunt alii puniceo corio, magni item; atque atri} "some are of a purple skin, there are great and black ones also" (about fish) [Rud. 998]; {nonne ex advorso vides, nubis atra imberque} "Black clouds and showers are coming on" [Merc. 878-879]; {Dic mihi hoc quod te rogo: album an atrum vinum potas?} "Tell me this that I ask of you; do you drink white wine or dark-coloured?} [Men. 914-915]; {atrum holus} 'Smyrnium olusatrum' [Pseud. 814]. Because of this, we assume that in Plautus' Latin {ater} was the basic term for 'black', while (niger} was restricted to eye colour (like Russian {kariy}).

In Cato's texts, {niger} occurs more frequently, but it is always collocated with words for 'olives', 'myrtle' and 'wine': {vel orcites ubi nigrae erunt et siccae, sale confriato dies V} "When the orcites are black and dry, powder them with salt for five days" [De agri cultura 7] (the English translation is incorrect, Cato uses the word {orcites} in the meaning 'a kind of olive having an oblong shape' [OLD 1968: 1265]); {Sub urbe hortum omne genus, coronamenta omne genus, bulbos Megaricos, murtum coniugulum et album et nigrum} "Near a town it is well to have a garden planted with all manner of vegetables, and all manner of flowers for garlands — Megarian bulbs, conjugulan myrtle, white and black myrtle" [De agri cultura 8]; {Olea ubi nigra erit, stringit} "Pick olives after they have turned black" [De agri cultura 65]; {Antequam nigrae fiant, contundantur et in aquam deiciantur} "Bruise the olives before they become black and throw them into water" [De agri cultura 117]; {Epityrum album nigrum variumque sic facito. Ex oleis albis nigris variisque nuculeos eicito} "Recipe for a confection of green, ripe, and mottled olives. Remove the stones from green, ripe, and mottled olives" [De agri cultura 119]; {Murtam nigram arfacito in umbra} "Dry out black myrtle in the shade, and when dried keep it until vintage" [De agri cultura 125]; {XXX mala Punica acerba sumito, contundito, indito in urceum et vini nigri austeri congios III} "Take 30 acid pomegranates, crush, place in a jar with 3 congii of strong black wine, and seal the vessel" [De agri cultura 126]; {murtum coniugulum et murtum album et nigrum} "conjuglan myrtle, as well as white and black myrtle" [De agri cultura 133].

The term {ater} is used by Cato with words for 'figs', 'hornbeam', 'hellebore', 'wine', 'ulcer' and 'bile': {Ficos mariscas in loco cretoso et aperto serito; Africanas et Herculaneas, Sacontinas, hibernas, Tellanas atras pediculo longo, eas in loco crassiore aut stercorato serito} "Plant mariscan figs in chalky, open soil. The African, Herculean, Saguntine, the winter variety, the black Tellanian with long pedicles, in soil which is richer or manured" [De agri cultura 8]; {Prelum ex carpino atra potissimum facito} "Make the press-beam preferably of black hornbeam" [De agri cultura 31]; {Veratri atri radices contundito in pila, eas radices dato circum vitem} "Pound roots of black hellebore in the mortar, and apply around the vines" [De agri cultura 114]; {In vinum mustum veratri atri manipulum coicito in amphoram} "Throw in a handful of black hellebore to the amphora of must" [De agri cultura 115]; {Tris fasciculos veratri atri circumponito circum radices et

terram insuper inicito} "place three bundles of black hellebore around the roots and cover with earth" [De agri cultura 115]; {Et si sine febre erit, dato vini atri duri aquatum bibat quam minimum; si febris erit, aquam} "If the patient has no fever, administer a very little strong, dark wine, diluted; but if he has fever give only water" [De agri cultura 156]; {Et si bilis atra est et si lienes turgent et si cor dolet et si iecur aut pulmones aut praecordia, uno verbo omnia sana faciet intro quae dolitabunt} "Also if you are bilious, if the spleen is swollen, if the heart is painful, or the liver, or the lungs, or the diaphragm — in a word, it will cure all the internal organs which are suffering" [De agri cultura 157]; {Et si febrim non habebit, dato vinum atrum bibat; cito sanus fiet} "and if he has no fever he may have some dark wine" [De agri cultura 157]; {Cancer ater, is olet et saniem spurcam mittit; albus purulentus est, sed fistulosus et subtus suppurat sub carne} "The black ulcer has a foul odour and exudes putrid pus, the white is purulent but fistulous, and suppurates under the surface" [De agri cultura 157].

It seems that in Cato's Latin {ater} is universally applicable and more frequent than {niger} as well, so we include only {ater} in the list. Since the etymology of {niger} is unknown [de Vaan 2008: 409], it is probably a borrowing that gradually replaced the old term {ater}.

Late Classical Latin: The term {ater} clearly prevails in Apuleius' texts: {et, quae longe longeque etiam meum confutabat optutum, palla nigerrima splendescens atro nitore} "and what dazzled me most of all was her jet-black cloak with its full sheen" [Met 11: 3]; {iam taedae lumen atrae fuliginis cinere marcescit} "the flames of the wedding torches grew dim with black smoky ash" [Met. 4: 33]; {Inter haec quaedam mulier per medium theatrum lacrimosa et flebilis atra veste contecta parvulum quendam sinu tolerans decurrit} "To top it all a woman dressed in black with a child in her arms came hastening through the theatre, and behind her an old lady clothed in rags both of them wailing equally mournfully" [Met. 3: 8]; {de quo fontis atri fuscae defluunt undae} "Dark waters flow from a black fount there" [Met. 6: 13]; {ante ipsum limen et atra atria Proserpinae semper excubans} "He keeps constant guard at the threshold of Proserpine's dark halls" [Met. 6: 19]; {nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis, attollens canis cervices arduas, Anubis} "Anubis <…>, with a face one side black the other gold, his jackal's neck erect" [Met. 11: 11]; {Nec mora, cum noctis atrae fugato nubilo sol exsurgit aureus} "Soon the dark shades of night were dispelled, a golden sun arose" [Met. 11: 7]; {etiam libenter te nuper usque albus an ater esses ignoraui, et adhuc hercle non satis noui} "and secondly I am glad to say that until quite recently you might have been white or black for all I knew" [Apologia 16: 9]; {Nam quae, malum, ratio est linguam mundam et laetam, uocem contra spurcam et tetram possidere, uiperae ritu niueo denticulo atrum uenenum inspirare?} "Is it reasonable, wretch, that your tongue should be fresh and clean, when your voice is foul and loathsome, or that, like the viper, you should employ snow-white teeth for the emission of dark, deadly poison?" [Apologia 8: 4]; {Enimuero si perniciosa illa dulcedo intus cohibita et bili atrae sociata uenis omnibus furens peruasit} "But if, on the other hand, this dangerous corruption be contained within the body and mingle with the black bile, and so run fiercely through every vein" [Apologia 50: 4]; {Praeterea fumi tantam uim fuisse, ut parietes atros redderet, eamque deformitatem, quoad habitauit, passum in cubiculo suo Quintianum!} "Or further that the smoke should have been strong enough to blacken the walls and that Quintianus should have suffered such defacement of his bedroom for as long as he lived there!" [Apologia 58: 6]; {pictura ex discordibus pigmentorum coloribus, atris atque albis, luteis et puniceis, confusione modica temperatis, imagines iis quae imitatur similes facit} [Florida 20].

The only example of *n'igεr* {niger} is: {Falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aenis pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte ueneni} "Rank herbs are sought, with milky venom dark by brazen sickles under moonlight mown" [Apologia 30: 8], although the derivate term {nigredo} 'blackness' occurs as well: {corvina nigredine caerulus columbarum colli flosculos aemulatur} "now with raven blackness imitating the purple collar of a pigeon's neck" [Met. 2: 9].

However, it is clear that in Petronius' language {niger} becomes a basic word for 'black': in Satyricon it occurs five times, designating the colour of olives, crow, stone, dog and clothes, cf. {Sed corneolus fuit, aetatem bene ferebat, niger tanquam corvus} "but he was as tough as horn, carried his age well, and was as black as a crow" [Satyricon 43]; {Ceterum in promulsidari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat olivas in altera parte albas, in altera nigras} "On the tray stood a donkey made of Corinthian bronze, bearing panniers containing olives, white in one and black in the other" [Satyricon 31]; {Pro calculis enim albis ac nigris aureos argenteosque habebat denarios} "for instead of black and white pieces, he used gold and silver coins" [Satyricon 33]; {Puer autem lippus, sordidissimis dentibus, catellam nigram atque indecenter pinguem prasina involuebat fascia, panemque semissem ponebat supra torum, ac nausia recusantem saginabat} "He was playing with a little black bitch, disgustingly fat, wrapping her up in a leek-green scarf and teasing her with a half-loaf of bread which he had put on the couch; and when from sheer nausea, she refused it, he crammed it down her throat" [Satyricon 64]; {sed chaos et nigro squalentia pumice saxa // gaudent ferali circum tumulata cupressu}

"But chaos, volcanic black boulders // Of pumice lie Happy within their drear setting of cypress" [Satyricon 120]; {intravit delubrum anus laceratis crinibus nigraque veste deformis} "a hideous crone with disheveled hair, and clad in black garments which were in great: disorder, entered the shrine" [Satyricon 133]. The term {ater} is attested only once and it is used in a figurative, poetical sense: {et vatis fides // Calchantis atro dubia pendebat metu} "the honor of Calchas // The prophet, hung wavering deep in the blackest despair" [Satyricon 89].

The same seems to be true for Gellius' language: {"fulvus" enim et "flavus" et "rubidus" et "poeniceus" et "rutilus" et "luteus" et "spadix" appellationes sunt rufi coloris aut acuentes eum quasi incendentes aut cum colore viridi miscentes aut nigro   infuscantes   aut   virenti   sensim   albo   illuminantes} "For fulvus, flavus, rubidus, poeniceus, rutilus, luteus and spadix are names of the colour red, which either brighten it (making it fiery, as it were), or combine it with green, or darken it with black, or make it luminous by a slight addition of gleaming white" [Attic Nights 2: 26].

We regard this as a matter of geographic distribution: the language of Apuleius, born in Africa, retains the archaic term {ater} in the meaning 'black', while in Rome it had already been replaced by {niger}.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 205.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 236; Byhan 1899: 286.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 614; Cunia 2010: 573; Dalametra 1906: 118; Gołąb 1984: 231. Polysemy: 'black / poor / unfortunate / bad'. Papahagi also mentions the word *n'egr-u* {négru} 'black' [Papahagi 1963: 748], but the only examples he cites are the phrase {dă-ńǐ un négru} 'give me a cup of Turkish coffee' and the toponym {Keátra-neágră}.

Romanian: DER 2004: 93; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1643; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *n'egr-u* {negru} 'black' [Podiko 1973: 1029; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 488].

Dalmatian: There are three documented expressions for 'black': *nyar* {niár}, *ri* {ri} and *fosk* {fosc}. The second one means 'ugly / bad / black', according to Bartoli, and can be found in the meaning 'black' only once: {l-avás el koláu̯r… sp̦atái̯te uṅ páu̯k… náu̯n-e ri…} "it has a colour… wait a moment… it is not black…" [Bartoli 2002: 240]. The third word is mentioned only by Cubich in his vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 269] and in two contexts: {Jaime de vain vetrún, juálb, fosc, ruass, dole, garb} "We have wine old, white, black, red, sweet, gentle} [Bartoli 2002: 288-289]; {el jéra spuárc e fosc} "he was dirty and black" [Bartoli 2002: 288]. The first word is written down by Ive from Udina and it means 'black' without any doubts ({fúrme un páuk de pun juálb e un páuk de niár} "we will make some white bread and some brown (literally 'black')" [Bartoli 2002: 297-298]; {túnte tiáste de píre blánke e niáre} "a multitude of white and black sheep" [Bartoli 2002: 299-300]), so we choose it for the list. The form *nyar* {niár} is a "dalmatianized" borrowing from Venetian.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 270.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 31, 178. Goes back to Latin {fuscus} 'dark-coloured, somber, dusky'.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 195.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *mor* {mor} 'black (about animals)' and *n'egər* {negher} 'with black skin' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 482-483.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 212.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 212.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 277.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Treviso: *n'egr-o* {negro} 'black' [Tre 2015; Busato 2015]. Arzignano, Marostica: *n'ɛr-o* {nèro} 'black' [Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {come procede innanzi da l'ardore, // per lo papiro suso, un color bruno // che non è nero ancora e 'l bianco more} "E'en as proceedeth on before the flame // upward along the paper a brown colour, // which is not black as yet, and the white dies" [Inf. 25]; {un serpentello acceso, // livido e nero come gran di pepe} "a small fiery serpent, // livid and black as is a peppercorn" [Inf. 25].

The term *'atr-o* {atro} 'black' is used only three times in the Divine Comedy, always for rhyming purposes: {Li occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta e atra // e 'l ventre largo, e unghiate le mani //graffia li spirti ed iscoia ed isquatra} "Red eyes he has, and unctuous beard and black // and belly large, and armed with claws his hands; // he rends the spirits, flays, and quarters them." (about Cerberus) [Inf. 6]; {Piangene ancor la trista Cleopatra, // che, fuggendoli innanzi, dal colubro // la morte prese subitana e atra} "Still doth the mournful Cleopatra weep // because thereof, who, fleeing from before it, // took from the adder sudden and black death" [Par. 6]; {né quantunque perdeo l'antica matre, // valse a le guance nette di rugiada, // che, lagrimando, non tornasser atre} "Nor whatsoever lost the ancient mother // availed my cheeks now purified from dew, // that weeping they should not again be darkened" [Purg. 30]. It is once attested in the figural meaning in his minor work: {poi non mi sarebb'atra la morte} "For then that death would not seem black to me" [Rime 103].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1402-1403.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 287. Domus de Maria: *n'yed:-u* {nieddu} 'black' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *n'iuɾ-u* {niuru} 'black' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *n'iuɾ-u* {niuru} 'black' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Sorbello 2015. Spadafora: *n'iɾ-u* {niru} 'black' [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *n'iuɾ-u* {niuru} ~ *n'ivuɾ-u* {nivuru} 'black' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 200.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Distinct from *pɾ'yet-o* {prieto} 'black / dark'. Langreo: *pɾ'yet-u* {prietu} 'black', *n'egɾ-u* {negru} 'black' (more modern and probably influenced by Spanish) [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 697. There are two terms for black: *n'eɣɾ-u* {negro} and *pɾ'et-u* {preto} [Voinova et al. 1989: 697]. The search within [CdP 2016] shows that these terms are partly synonyms, but there is a distinct tendency to use the old term {negro} in collocations or in a figural sense ('bad, unlucky'), while the new term {preto} is used mostly with concrete terms, cf. the distribution of combinatory according to the Corpus (proper names are mostly excluded): {Mar negro} 'Black Sea', {buraco negro} 'black hole', {mercado negro} 'black market', {fumo negro} 'black smoke', {humor negro} 'black humor', {chão negro} 'black soil', {corpo negro} 'blackbody' (a physical concept), {vulto negro} 'sulky face', {pó} 'black powder', {sangue negro} 'black blood', {livro negro} 'black book', {ano negro} 'bad year', {lista negra} 'blacklist', {vida negra} 'bad life', {raça negra} 'black race', {maré negra} 'oil spill' (literary 'black tide'), {terra negra} 'black earth', {massa negra} 'black mass of something', {peste negra} 'pest', {noite negra} 'black night', {população negra} 'black population' and

{gato preto} 'black cat', {carro preto} 'black car', {chá preto} 'black tea', {lenço preto} 'black scarf', {bigode preto} 'black moustache', {pau preto} 'black wood', {minino preto} 'black boy', {vestido preto} 'black dress', {casaco preto} 'black coat', {chapéu preto} 'black hat', {cerveja preta} 'brown ale', {charrete preta} 'black cart', {barca preta} 'black boat', {espada preta} 'black sword', {seda preta} 'black silk', {gravata preta} 'black necktie', {saia preta} 'black skirt'. Both words can be used with such terms as {cor} 'color', {cabelo} 'hair', {ouro} 'gold', {quadro} 'blackboard', {veludo} 'velvet', {tinta} 'ink', {coloração} 'colouring', {plumagem} 'plumage' and some others. Evidently we deal with the situation when one term is being gradually replaced with another. Though the process is far from its final stage, we regard it as an innovation and include only {preto} into the list.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 533; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 992, 654.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 939-940.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1472-1473.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 750. Polysemy: 'black / darkened / sad'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 59; Rayevskaya 2013: 640.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *nwɛ ʁ*{noer} 'black'.

9. BLOOD

Archaic Latin *sˈaŋgʷiː-s {sanguis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *sˈaŋgʷiː-s {sanguis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *sˈɔnz-i {sǫnzi}* (1), Istro Romanian *sˈənz-e {sắnze}* (1), Aromanian *sˈɨnʒ-e {sî́ndze}* (1), Romanian *sˈɨnʒ-e {sânge}* (1), Dalmatian *swoŋg {su͡oṅg}* (1), Friulian *saŋk {sanc}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *saŋk {sanch}* (1), Fassano Ladin *saŋk {sanch}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *saŋk {sang}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *sawŋk {saung}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *saŋk {sanc}* (1), Vallader Romansh *saŋk {sang}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *saŋg {sangh}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *saŋg {sang}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *saŋg {sangh}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *saŋg {sangh}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *saŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *saŋk {sanch}* (1), Plesio Lombard *saŋk {sangh}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *sãŋgv {sângv}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *saŋg {sang}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *sˈaŋgev {sanghev}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *sˈaːŋgov {sângov}* ~ *sˈaːŋgev {sanghev}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *sˈaŋgw-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *sˈaŋgw-e {sangue}* (1), Stella Ligurian *sˈaːŋgw-e {sângue}* (1), Venice Venetian *sˈaŋgw-e {sàngue}* (1), Primiero Venetian *sˈaŋgw-e {sàngue}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *sˈaŋgw-e {sangue}* (1), Old Italian *sˈaŋgw-e {sangue}* (1), Standard Italian *sˈaŋgw-e {sangue}* (1), Grosseto Italian *sˈaŋgw-e {sangue}* (1), Foligno Italian *sˈaŋgw-e {sangue}* (1), Neapolitan *sˈaŋg-ə {sanghe}* (1), Logudorese *sˈamben-e {sàmbene}* (1), Campidanese *sˈaŋgun-i {sanguni}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *sˈaŋg-u {sangu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *sˈaŋg-u {sangu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *sˈaŋg-u {sangu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *sˈaŋk-u {sancu}* (1), Central Catalan *saŋ {sang}* (1), North-Western Catalan *saŋ {sang}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *saŋk {sang}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *saŋk {sang}* (1), Valencia Catalan *saŋk {sang}* (1), Manises Catalan *saŋk {sang}* (1), Castilian Spanish *sˈaŋgɾ-e {sangre}* (1), Asturian *sˈaŋgɾ-e {sangre}*

(1), Standard Portuguese *s'ẽŋg-ə {sangue}* (1), Galician *s'aŋg-e {sangue}* (1), Provençal Occitan *saŋk {sang}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sã {san}* (1), Old French *sãŋk {sanc}* (1), Standard French *sã {sang}* (1), Picard *sã {sang}* (1), Walloon *sã {sang}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *s'aŋgᵘⁱn-ɞ* {sanguinis}. Some examples are: {iam dudum sputo sanguinem} "I'm spitting blood already" [Mer. 138]; {adulescens quom sis, tum quom est sanguis integer, rei tuae quaerundae convenit operam dare} "When you are young, then, when the blood is fresh, it's right to devote your exertions to acquiring your fortune" [Merc. 550-551]; {Guttam haud habeo sanguinis} "I have not one drop of blood!" [Most. 508]; {iam nunc ego illi egredienti sanguinem exsugam procul} "Even now, as he comes forth, I'll suck out his blood at this distance" [Poen. 614].

    The term *kr'ʋɔr* {cruor} 'blood from a wound' is attested neither in Plautus' texts nor in Cato's.

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {et sanguinis eruptionem utriculo admoto excipit diligenter} "Then she held a flask of leather against the wound and carefully collected the spurt of blood" [Met. 1: 13]; {ut per summam cutem roraverint parvulae sanguinis rosei guttae} "so that tiny drops of crimson blood moistened the skin" [Met. 5: 23]. Distinct from *kr'ʋɔr* {cruor} 'blood from a wound': {et illa spongia de eo repente devolvitur eamque parvus admodum comitatur cruor} "and out flew the sponge, with a little trickle of blood" [Met. 1: 19].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 270.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 271; Byhan 1899: 347. Sârbu and Frăţilă also mention the Croatism *kʲərʋ* {cârv} [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 197].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 955-956; Cunia 2010: 896-897; Dalametra 1906: 190; Bara et al. 2005: 338; Gołąb 1984: 247.

Romanian: DER 2004: 99; Bolocan et al. 1985: 563-564; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *s'inǯ-e* {sânge} 'blood' [Podiko 1973: 339; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 177].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 242.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 695, 346.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 79, 126.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 271.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 636.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 306.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 306.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 360. Marchigiano: *saŋgʋ* {sangue} 'blood' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto} "These did their faces irrigate with blood" [Inf. 3]; {vidine un'altra come sangue rossa} "another of them saw I, red as blood" [Inf. 17].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1406-1407.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 361. Domus de Maria: *s'aŋgun-i* {sanguni} 'blood' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *s'aŋk-u* {sancu} 'blood' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 258.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *s'aŋgɾ-e* {sangre} 'blood' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 249.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 839, 673; Fernández Armesto 1981: 659; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1021, 794.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1264-1265.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1934.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1003-1004. Can be used in the figurative meaning 'temper'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 62; Rayevskaya 2013: 454.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *sɔ̃* {sonk} 'blood'.

10. BONE

Archaic Latin *ɔs {os}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ɔs {os}* (1), Megleno Romanian *wos {u̯os}* (1), Istro Romanian *os {os}* (1), Aromanian *'os-ŭ {os}* (1), Romanian *os {os}* (1), Dalmatian *vwas {vuass}* (1), Friulian *vwɛs {vues}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ɔs {os}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ɔs {os}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɔs {oss}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *yes {ies}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ɔs {oss}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ɔs {oss}* ~ *ös {öss}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *ɔs {òss}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *ɔs {òss}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *ɔs {òss}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *ɔs {oss}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *ɔːs* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ɔs {òs}* (1), Plesio Lombard *ɔsː {oss}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *ɔs {òs·}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ɔs {òss}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *ɔːs {ôs}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ɔːs {ôs}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *'ɔsː-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *'ösː-u {össŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *'osː-u {ossu}* (1), Venice Venetian *'ɔs-o {òsso}* (1), Primiero Venetian *ɔs {òs}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *ɔs {os}* (1), Old Italian *'ɔsː-o*

{osso} (1), Standard Italian ˈɔsː-o *{osso}* (1), Grosseto Italian ˈɔsː-o *{osso}* (1), Foligno Italian ˈosː-u *{ossu}* (1), Neapolitan ˈwosː-ə *{uosso}* (1), Logudorese ˈosː-u *{ossu}* (1), Campidanese ˈosː-u *{ossu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian ˈwɔsː-u *{uossu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian ˈɔsː-u *{ossu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian ˈɔsː-u *{ossu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian ˈwɔsː-u *{uossu}* (1), Central Catalan ɔs *{os}* (1), North-Western Catalan ɔs *{os}* (1), Minorcan Catalan ɔs *{os}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan ɔs *{os}* (1), Valencia Catalan ɔs *{os}* (1), Manises Catalan ɔs *{os}* (1), Castilian Spanish ˈwes-o *{hueso}* (1), Asturian gˈwes-o *{güeso}* (1), Standard Portuguese ˈos-u *{osso}* (1), Galician ˈɔs-o *{óso}* (1), Provençal Occitan ɔs *{os}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal ɔ *{o}* (1), Old French ɔs *{os}* (1), Standard French ɔs *{os}* (1), Picard ɔš *{oche}* (1), Walloon ɔš *{och}* ~ ɔš-eː *{ochê}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: ˈɔsː-ʙ *{ossis}*. Cf. some examples: {ita mihi imperas ut ego huius membra atque ossa atque artua comminuam illo scipione quem ipse habet} "you bid me break in pieces his limbs, and bones, and members with that walking-stick which he himself is holding" [Men. 855-856]; {advenisti huc te ostentatum, cum exornatis ossibus} "Hast thee come hither to tempt me with thy decked out bones" [Truc. 270]; {ossa atque pellis sum miser a macritudine} "I'm but skin and bone through leanness" [Capt. 135].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {ut ossa tantum viduata pulpis nitore nimio candentia funestae cohaererent arbori} "and his body stripped to the bare bones which, gleaming a brilliant white, were left tied to the tree" [Met. 8: 22]; {flagro illo pecuinis ossibus catenato verberantes paene ad extremam confecerant mortem} "then they flogged me with one of those whips of theirs strung with sheepbones, until I was well-nigh dead" [Met. 8: 30].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 316.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 244; Byhan 1899: 294.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 809; Cunia 2010: 778; Dalametra 1906: 161; Bara et al. 2005: 338; Gołąb 1984: 240.

Romanian: DER 2004: 106; Bolocan et al. 1985: 552; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: ɔs *{os}* 'bone' [Podiko 1973: 332; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 173].

Dalmatian: Attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 274]. The example is: {san joit fent alle uásse} "I get soaked to the skin" (literally "to the bones") [Bartoli 2002: 276].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 687, 455-456.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 62, 154. Polysemy: 'bone / kernel of fruit'. Marebbano: ɔs *{os}* 'bone'; Badiotto: ɔs *{os}* 'bone'; Livinallese: ɔs *{os}* 'bone'; Nones: ɔs *{os}* 'bone' [Gartner 1923: 154].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 205; Gartner 1923: 154.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. The plural form is ˈɔs-ə *{ossa}*.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 507.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 226.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 226.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 284. Marchigiano: ɔs *{oss}* 'bone' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: ɔs {òs} 'bone' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {l'ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora // in co del ponte presso a Benevento} "the bones of my dead body still would be // at the bridge-head, near unto Benevento" [Purg. 3]; {l'altr' era come se le carni e l'ossa} "the second was as if her flesh and bones" [Purg. 29].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1413. Distinct from *l'isk-a* {lisca} 'fishbone' and *sp'in-a* {spina} 'fishbone' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1413].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 298. Domus de Maria: ˈosː-u {ossu} 'bone' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: ˈɔsː-u {ossu} 'bone' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: ˈwɔsː-u {uossu} 'bone' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 152.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: gˈwes-u {güesu} 'bone' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 243. Distinct from išpˈiɲ-ɐ {espinha} 'fishbone' [Voinova et al. 1989: 243].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 807, 581; Fernández Armesto 1981: 431; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 972, 669.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 976.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1512.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 781. Designates also bone as a material.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 66; Rayevskaya 2013: 452. Distinct from aʁɛt {arête} 'fishbone' [Robert-Collins 1989: 66; Rayevskaya 2013: 452].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: ɔš {oxh} ~ ɔš-ɛː {oxhea} 'bone'.

11. BREAST

Archaic Latin *pˈɛktʊs {pectus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *pˈɛktʊs {pectus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *ʦept {chiépt}* (1) / *sin {sin}* (2), Istro Romanian *kʎept {cľept}* (1), Aromanian *ʦ'ept-u {képtu}* (1), Romanian *pyept {piept}* (1), Dalmatian *pʸat {pi̯at}* (1) / *syaɲ {si̯áɲ}* (2), Friulian

pɛt {pet} (1), Gardenese Ladin *pyet {piet}* (1), Fassano Ladin *pyet {piẹt}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *pɛc {pèz}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *pɛc {pèz}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *pɛc {pèz}* (1), Vallader Romansh *pet {pet}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pɛt {pèt}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *pɛt {pèt}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *st'ɔmi {stòmi}* (3), Turinese Piemontese *pɛt {pèt}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *st'ɔːmik* (3), Bergamo Lombard *stom'ɛk {stomèch}* (3), Plesio Lombard *št'umɛk {stumegh}* (3), Ravennate Romagnol *pɛə̯t {pët}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *pɛt {pètt}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *pɛːt {pêt}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *st'ɔmeg {stòmegh}* (3), Rapallo Ligurian *kaš'eːt-a* (4), Genoese Ligurian *p'et:-u {péttŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *p'ät-u {pætu}* (1), Venice Venetian *p'et-o {péto} ~ p'ɛt-o {pèto}* (1), Primiero Venetian *t'et-e {tete}* (5), Bellunese Venetian *pɛt {pet}* (1), Old Italian *p'ɛt:-o {petto}* (1), Standard Italian *p'ɛt:-o {petto}* (1), Grosseto Italian *p'ɛt:-o {petto}* (1), Foligno Italian *p'et:-u {pettu}* (1), Neapolitan *p'yet:-ə {pietto}* (1), Logudorese *pet:'or:-a {pettorra}* (1), Campidanese *pit:'ur-a {pitturra}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *p'yɛt:-u {piettu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *p'ɛt:-u {pettu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *p'ɛt:-u {pettu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *p'yɛt:-u {piettu}* (1), Central Catalan *pit {pit}* (1), North-Western Catalan *pit {pit}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *pit {pit}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pit {pit}* (1), Valencia Catalan *pit {pit}* (1), Manises Catalan *pit {pit}* (1), Castilian Spanish *p'eč-o {pecho}* (1), Asturian *p'eč-o {pecho}* (1), Standard Portuguese *p'ɐyt-u {peito}* (1), Galician *p'eyt-o {peito}* (1), Provençal Occitan *peytɾ-'in-o {peitrino} ~ p'itɾ-e {pitre} ~ pyɛs {pies} ~ pyes {piés}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ɛst'ɔma {èstoma}* (-1), Old French *pic {piz}* (1), Standard French *pwatʁ-in {poitrine}* (1), Picard *pwetʁ-ɛ̃n {pouétrinne}* (1), Walloon *pwatʁ-in {pwatrine}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *p'ɛktɔr-ʁ* {pectoris}. Polysemy: 'breast / female breast'. Cf. some examples: {Nebula haud est mollis aeque atque huius est pectus} "A mist is not so soft as is a pretty little bosom, upon my faith" [Cas. 847]; {abite et de via decedite, ne quem in cursu capite aut cubito aut pectore offendam aut genu} "get out of the way, lest I should hurt any person in my speed with my head, or elbow, or breast, or with my knee" [Curc. 281-282]; {pectus digitis pultat, cor credo evocaturust foras} "He strikes his breast with his fingers I fancy he's about to call his heart outside" [Mil. 202].

   Distinct from *m'am:-a* {mamma} 'female breast': {ita forma simili pueri, ut mater sua non internosse posset quae mammam dabat} "their own foster-mother, who gave the breast, was not able to distinguish them" [Men. 19-20]. The term *s'n-ʊs* {sinus} 'bosom' is not attested in Plautus' texts.

Late Classical Latin: Generic term for both male and female breast: {inter quos pectus et venter crustata crassitie relucitabant} "through which a muscular chest and stomach gleamed" (about man's breast) [Met. 6: 5]; {et pectus etiam palmis infestis tundere et faciem illam luculentam verberare incipit} "and began to torment herself more violently than before, pounding her breast and tearing her pretty face" (about woman's breast) [Met. 4: 25].

Megleno Romanian: There are two documented expressions for 'breast': *sin* {sin} (glossed as Romanian *sân* [Capidan 1935: 265]) and *țept* {chiépt} (glossed as Romanian *piept* [Capidan 1935: 68]). Available contexts do not allow to differentiate between these words: {aľ ạntrọ un dinti ăn chiẹpt și murì} "a tine pierced his breast and he died" [Capidan 1928: 64]; {aľ tsọnu chiẹpt} 'to

resist' (literally "to hold one's chest") [Capidan 1928: 171]; {amă lę-mi ăn sinu tǫu̯} "take me to your chest" [Capidan 1928: 23]; {na-ts trei̯ meari și si li puń la noștri fitšor ăn sin căti ună meară di fitšor} "take three measures and put each on our boys' chests" [Capidan 1928: 96]; {mǫń ăn sin} "he has hands on his chest" (about a tawpie) [Capidan 1928: 188].

We have to treat *sin* and *țept* as synonyms.Capidan 1935: 68.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 197; Byhan 1899: 242. Distinct from *sir* {sir} 'female breast' [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 338]. In Brdo the word *št'umig* {štúmig} 'stomach' can be used in the meaning 'breast' as well [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 598; Cunia 2010: 285; Dalametra 1906: 50; Bara et al. 2005: 333, 337; Gołąb 1984: 230. Distinct from *s'in-ŭ* {sin} [Papahagi 1963: 948; Cunia 2010: 947; Dalametra 1906: 190; Bara et al. 2005: 333, 337; Gołąb 1984: 248] 'woman's breast' and *c'ic-ə* {țí ță} 'woman's breast' [Papahagi 1963: 1075; Cunia 2010: 1036; Bara et al. 2005: 333; Gołąb 1984: 209].

Romanian: DER 2004: 116; Bolocan et al. 1985: 272; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *sin* {sân}, which basically means 'female breast', but can be used in the generic meaning 'chest, breast' as well [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *pyept* {piept} [Podiko 1973: 153; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 83].

Dalmatian: There are two documented expressions for 'breast': *pyat* {pi̯at}, translated by Bartoli as 'petto' and *syaŋ* {si̯áń}, translated by Bartoli as 'seno'. In Italian {seno} means 'female breast', while {petto} is breast in general. But the Dalmatian words do not seem to reflect this difference, cf. two contexts, in which Udina tells about his own breast: {el pi̯at me dúl fu̯artemi̯ánt} "My breast strongly hurts" [Bartoli 2002: 240] and {ju siante ke me dolúa el si̯áń} "I feel, that my breast hurts, here, at the front" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. So we have to treat these words as synonyms. The other example is {toč el pi̯át se vedúa} "all the breast is seen" [Bartoli 2002: 232].Apart from the context cited above, there is only one example: {mi̯at kost fi̯áu̯r iń si̯áń} "Put this flower on breast" [Bartoli 2002: 244].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 291. Distinct from *sɛŋ* {sèn} 'female breast' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 378].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 68, 128. Polysemy: 'breast / chest / female breast'. Marebbano: *pyet* {pięt} 'breast'; Badiotto: *pyet* {pięt} 'breast'; Livinallese: *pyet* {pięt} 'breast' [Gartner 1923: 128].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 219; Gartner 1923: 128. Polysemy: 'breast / chest / female breast'. DILF also mentions the Germanism *prušt* {prust} 'breast' [DILF 2001: 219].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *sɛyn* {sein} 'female breast', *t'et-ə* {tétta} 'mother's breast / female breast' and *t'ɛt-ə* {tètta} 'female breast' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 539. Distinct from *sayn* {sain} 'female breast' [Conrad 2015]. Apart from this term the Germanism *brwɔst* {bruost} 'breast' is used as well [Vital 2015].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 246. Distinct from *p'up-e* {pupe} 'female breast' [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Distinct from *sɛŋ* {sen} 'female breast' and *p'up-e* {pupe} 'female breast' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast. Goes back to Latin {stomachus} 'gullet / stomach', which was borrowed from Ancient Greek {στόμαχος} 'gullet / stomach'; however, we do not regard this word as a borrowing, since the semantic shift 'stomach' > 'breast' took place already in Carmagnola.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Generic term for both male and female breast. In the written language the form *p'ɛt:-o* {petto}, borrowed from the Standard Italian can be used as well. Distinct from *stom'i* {stomì} 'stomach'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. See notes on 'breast' for the Carmagnola Piemontese list.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. A generic term for both male and female breast. See notes on 'breast' for the Carmagnola Piemontese list.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 305. Polysemy: 'breast / female breast'. Distinct from *sēn* {sén}, which is used only in the expression {mèts' in sén} 'to lie down on one's breast' [Ercolani 1960: 397]. Marchigiano: *pɛt* {pètt} 'breast' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *t'ɛt-i* {tèti} (plural) 'female breast' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *t'ɛt-i* {tèti} (plural) 'female breast' and from the obsolete term *st'ɔmeg* {stòmeg} 'breast' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. See notes on 'breast' in the Carmagnola Piemontese list. Distinct from *t'ɛt-i* {tèti} (plural) 'female breast' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Polysemy: 'breast / box'. Distinct from *p'et:-u* 'female breast'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *s'en-i* {séni} 'female breast'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast. Distinct from *tet:-'iŋ:-e* {tettì-nne} 'female breast'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Distinct from *t'et-e* {téte} (pl.) 'female breast' [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015], although the term *s'en-o* {séno} can be sometimes used as well [Gasparini 2015]. Salgareda: *st'omeg-o* {stomego} 'breast' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast. The term *p'ɛt-o* {pèto} 'breast' is rare [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Come per sostentar solaio o tetto, // per mensola talvolta una figura // si vede giugner le ginocchia al petto} "As to sustain a ceiling or a roof, // in place of corbel, oftentimes a figure // is seen to join its knees unto its breast" [Purg. 10]; {due branche avea pilose insin l'ascelle; // lo dosso e 'l petto e ambedue le coste // dipinti avea di nodi e di rotelle} "two paws it had, hairy unto the armpits; // the back, and breast, and both the sides it had // depicted o'er with nooses and with shields" [Inf. 17]. Distinct from *s'en-o* {seno} 'bosom', cf. {Cerca, misera, intorno da le prode // le tue marine, e poi ti guarda in seno, // s'alcuna parte in te di pace gode} "Search, wretched one, all round about the shores // thy seaboard, and then look within thy bosom, // if any part of thee enjoyeth peace!" [Purg. 6]; {come poté trovar dentro al tuo seno // loco avarizia, tra cotanto senno // di quanto per tua cura fosti pieno?} "how was it possible within thy breast // for avarice to find place, 'mid so much wisdom // as thou wast filled with by thy diligence?" [Purg. 22].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1424. Distinct from *s'en-o* {seno} 'female breast' [Battaglia XVIII: 626-628]. Distinct from *tor'ač-e* {torace} 'thorax' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1218].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *p'oč:-e* {pocce} 'female breast' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Generic term for both female and male breast [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Alois 2015]. Apart from this term, the words *s'in-ə* {sine} (pl.) and *c'ic:-ə* {zizza} (sg.) can also be used for the designation of the female breast. They have more familiar or vulgar connotations [Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *t'it:-a* {titta} (singular) 'female breast' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 320. Generic term for both male and female breast [Ballicu 2015]. Domus de Maria: *p'et:-u* {pettu} 'breast' [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 314]. Distinct from *pit:-'ur-a* {pitturra} 'female breast' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Distinct from *m'in:-i* {minni} (plural) 'female breast' [Messina 2015]. Termini Imerese: *p'ɛt:-u* {pettu} 'breast' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *p'yɛt:-u* {piettu} 'breast', *m'in:-i* {minni} (pl.) 'female breast' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *m'in:-ɨ* {minni} (plural) 'female breast'.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Distinct from *m'in:-i* {minni} (plural) 'female breast'.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *m'in:-i* {minni} (plural) 'female breast' [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 216. Generic term for both male and female breast [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *mam'eʎ-a* {mamella} 'female breast' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast. Distinct from *mam'eʎ-a* {mamella} 'female breast' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Generic term for both male and female breast. In the colloquial speech for female breast the term *t'et-as* {tetas} (plural) can also be used [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *p'eč-u* {pechu} 'male breast / female breast', *m'am-a* {mama} 'female breast' and *t'et-a* {teta} 'female breast' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 119. Generic term for both male and female breast. Distinct from *s'ɐy-u* {seio} 'female breast' [Voinova et al. 1989: 119; Feyershtein & Starets 2005: 740; Cândido de Figueiredo II: 1001].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 828, 600; Fernández Armesto 1981: 569; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1002, 696.

Distinct from *s'e-o* {seo} 'female breast' [Franco Grande 1968: 840, 678; Fernández Armesto 1981: 665; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1022, 801] and from *t'et-a* {teta} 'female breast', used in colloquial speech [Montoya Bolaños 2015].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1075. Distinct from *sen* {sen} 'female breast'. Distinct from *tet'e* {teté} 'female breast', used in familiar speech or in baby talk [Coupier 1995: 1283].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1676-1677. Distinct from *p'ɛtr-o* {pètro} 'gizzard'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 847. Generic term for human and animal breast. The most frequent term for 'breast' (25 occurences); much more rare are the terms *mam'el-ə* {mamele} 'breast' (both male and female), which occurs 7 times [EDCT 2014: 673] and *p'oytr-ĩn-ə* {poitrine} 'chest' with only 3 occurences [EDCT 2014: 866]. Distinct from *g'ol-ə* {gole} 'human throat / the front part of the neck / woman breast / animal mouth' [EDCT 2014: 555]. Distinct from *sēỹn* {sein} 'bosom, space between a person's clothing and his chest' [EDCT 2014: 1014].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 73; Rayevskaya 2013: 387. Used both for male and female breast. Distinct from *sɛ̃* {sein}, which is applied mostly to female breast and from *mamɛl* {mamelle} 'female breast', which has a literary shade [Robert-Collins 1989: 73; Rayevskaya 2013: 387].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *tɛt* {tette} 'female breast' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Generic term for both male and female breast. Rifondou: *pwɛt ʀɛn* {pwetrene} 'breast'.

12. BURN TR.

Archaic Latin *'uːr-ɛ-rɛ* {urere} (1), Late Classical Latin *'uːr-ɛ-rɛ* {urere} (1), Megleno Romanian *art* {ard} (2), Istro Romanian *pal-'i* {palí} (-1), Aromanian *'ard-u* {árdu} (2), Romanian *a='ard-e* {a arde} (2), Friulian *brus-'a:* {brusâ} (1), Gardenese Ladin *bruž-'ɛ* {brujé} (1), Fassano Ladin *bruž-'ɛ-r* {brujèr} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *'ard-ə-r* {arder} (2), Sursilvan Romansh *bərš-'a-r* {barschar} (1), Surmiran Romansh *'ard-ə-r* {arder} (2), Vallader Romansh *'ard-ə-r* {arder} (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *brüz-'e* {brusé} (1), Barbania Piemontese *brüz-'e* {brusé} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *brüz-'e* {brusé} (1), Turinese Piemontese *brüz-'e* {brusé} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *brüz-'ɛ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *brüc-'a* {brüzà} (1), Plesio Lombard *brüz-'a* {brüsà} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *bruz-'eə* {bruʂêr} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *bruz-'a-r* {brusàr} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *bruz-'ɛ:-r* {bruśèr} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *bruz-'e-r* {brušér} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *brüž-'a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *brüž-'a:* {brüxâ} (1), Stella Ligurian *brü:ž-'ä* {bruüxæ'} (1), Venice Venetian *bruz-'a-r* {brusàr} (1), Primiero Venetian *bruz-'a-r* {bruxar} (1), Bellunese Venetian *bruz-'a-r* {brusar} (1), Old Italian *bruš-'a-re* {brusciare} ~ *a=b:ruš-'a-re* {abbrusciare} (1), Standard Italian *bruč-'a-re* {bruciare} (1), Grosseto Italian *bruč-'a-re* {bruciare} (1), Foligno Italian *vruč-'a* {vrucià} (1), Neapolitan *a=b:ruš:-'a* {abbruscià} (1), Logudorese *brusy-'a-re* {brusiare} (1), Campidanese *a=bruž-'ay* {abruxai} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *a=b:ruč-'a-ri* {abbruciari} (1), Messinese Sicilian *bamp-'a-rɨ* {bampari} (3), Catanian Sicilian *bruč-'a-ri* {bruciari} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *a=b:ruš-'a-ri* {abbrusciari} (1), Central Catalan *kɾəm-'a* {cremar} (4), North-Western Catalan *kɾem-'a* {cremar} (4), Minorcan Catalan *kɾəm-'a* {cremar} (4), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kɾem-'a-ɾ* {cremar} (4), Valencia Catalan *kɾem-'a-ɾ* {cremar} (4), Manises Catalan *kɾem-'a-ɾ* {cremar} (4),

Castilian Spanish *kem-ˈa-ɾ {quemar}* (4), Asturian *kem-ˈa-ɾ {quemar}* (4), Standard Portuguese *keym-ˈa-ɾ {queimar}* (4), Galician *keym-ˈa-ɾ {queimar}* (4), Provençal Occitan *brül-ˈa {brula}* (-1) / *kɾem-ˈa {crema}* (4), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *brü:l-ˈa: {brûlâ}* (-1) / *kra:m-ˈa: {krâmâ}* (4), Old French *ˈard-rə {ardre}* (2), Standard French *bʁül-e {brûler}* (1), Picard *bʁül-e {bruler}* (1), Walloon *bʁü:l-e {brûler}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The basic term for 'to burn' was probably *ˈu:r-ɛ-rɛ {urere}*. Although it occurs in Plautus' texts only twice, once in passive voice: {Da illi cantharum, extingue ignem, si cor uritur, caput ne ardescat} "put out the fire, if his heart's in flames, that his head mayn't be burnt" [Persa 801-802] and once used figuratively: {calidum hoc est: etsi procul abest, urit male} "This is of a hot nature; although it is at a distance off, it scorches badly" [Most. 609], it is attested in this meaning already in 'Lex Aquilia' (3rd century BC) [OLD 1968: 2107]. In addition, it is attested in the derivates (*kɔmb=ˈu:r-ɛ-rɛ {comburere}* 'to burn up' and *ɛks=ˈu:r-ɛ-rɛ {exurere}* 'to burn out') in Plautus' plays: {tuos arbitratus sit, comburas, si velis} "let it be considered as your own; you to burn it if you like" [Asin. 766]; {Clam uxoremst ubi pulchre habeamus atque hunc comburamus diem} "where, unknown to my wife, we will erect the funeral pile ... and let us consume this day upon it" [Men. 152]; {Immo hasce ambas hic in ara ut vivas comburam, id volo} "No, but I'll burn both of these alive here upon the altar" [Rud. 68]; {At enim illi noctu occentabunt ostium, exurent fores} "But then at night they'll be singing before your threshold, and be burning down your door" [Persa 569]; {MEN. Ecce, Apollo mi ex oraclo imperat, ut ego illi oculos exuram lampadibus ardentibus. MAT. Perii, mi pater, minatur mihi oculos exurere} "MEN. Lo! by his oracle, Apollo bids me burn out her eyes with blazing torches. MAT. I'm undone, my father; he's threatening to burn my eyes out" [Men. 840-842]; {Quin inhumanum exuras tibi?} "What, to be burning mortuary sacrifice for yourself?" [Rud. 767]; {Si ligna et virgas non poteris vendere neque lapidem habebis, unde calcem coquas, de lignis carboreas coquito, virgas et sarmenta, quae tibi ustioni supererunt, in segete conburito. Ubi conbusseris, ibi papaver serito} "If you cannot sell your firewood and faggots, and have no stone to burn for lime, make charcoal of the firewood, and burn in the field the faggots and brush you do not need. Where you have burned them plant poppies" [De agri cultura 38].

> Distinct from *n=kˈɛnd-ɛ-rɛ {incendere}* 'to set on fire / to burn over': {Quid? me, volturi, tuan causa aedis incensurum censes?} "What, you vulture, do you suppose that for your sake I'm going to set my house on fire?" [Capt. 844-845]; {si istuc, ut conare, facis indicium tuom incendes genus} "If you attempt to do according as you are now showing signs, you will cause the conflagration of your family" [Trin. 675]; {Age sane igitur, quando aequom oras, quam mox incendo rogum?} "Well, come then, since you request what's fair, how soon am I to set fire to the pile?" [Men. 153]; {Ibi corrudam serito, unde asparagi fiant. Nam convenit harundinetum cum corruda, eo quia foditur et incenditur et umbram per tempus habet} "Plant there also the wild asparagus, so that it may produce asparagus; for a reed thicket goes well with the wild asparagus, because it is worked and burned over, and furnishes a shade when shade is needed" [De agri cultura 6]; {Semen maturum fit ad autumnum. Ita, cum sumpseris semen, incendito, et cum coeperit asparagus nasci, sarito et stercorato} "The seed ripens in autumn; when you have gathered it, burn over the bed, and when the asparagus begins to grow, hoe and manure" [De agri cultura 161]; {Post annum tertium quam severis, incendito vere primo; deinde ne ante sarueris quam asparagus natus erit, ne in sariendo radices laedas} "The third year after planting burn it over in the early spring; after this do not work it before the shoots appear, so as not to injure the roots by hoeing. In the third or fourth year you may pull asparagus from the roots; for if you break it off, sprouts will start and die off" [De agri cultura 161].
>
> Distinct from *a:rd-ˈe:-rɛ {ardere}* 'to burn (intransitive)': {ardere censui aedis, ita tum confulgebant} "I fancied that the house was in flames" [Amph. 1067]; {Codicillos oleagineos et cetera ligna amurca cruda perspargito et in sole ponito, perbibant bene. Ita neque fumosa erunt et ardebunt bene} "Wet olive logs and other firewood with crude amurca and expose them to the sun so that they will absorb it thoroughly; with this treatment, they will not be smoky, but will burn well" [De agri cultura 130].
>
> Distinct from the collocation {ignem facere} 'to make a fire': {Ignem ingentem fieri} "A large fire to be made" [Capt. 843]; {Inde ignem in aram} "Put fire on the altar" [Mil. 411]; {Ignem magnum hic faciam} "I'll be making a great fire here" [Rud. 767].
>
> The term {cremare} is not attested.

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {in honorem dei scilicet qui et ipsas aquas urere} "respecting the god who can make even water burn" [Met. 5: 25]; {Nam si te vel modice meus igniculus afflaverit, ureris intime} "If the tiniest flame should touch you even lightly, you'll be badly burned" (in figurative meaning) [Met. 2: 7]. Distinct from *krem-'aː-rɛ* {cremare}, which occurs only once in the meaning 'to burn (alive)', cf. {ut primus vivam cremari censeret puellam} "that the girl should be burned alive" [Met. 6: 31]. Distinct from *aːrd-'eː-rɛ* {ardere} 'to burn (intransitive)': {Tunc de brachiorum suorum cita fatigatione conquesta procurrit ad focum ardentemque titionem gerens mediis inguinibus obtrudit usque} "Then complaining that her arms were too quickly tired, she ran to the hearth and chose a red-hot brand which she shoved between my haunches" [Met. 7: 28]; {plerique tamen ardentibus facibus proterrebant feras} "and they carried fiery torches to scare off the ravening wolves" [Met. 8: 16]; in figurative meaning: {At illa: "Opportune" inquit "ardenti prorsus isto meo pectori volentiam scilicet perpetraturae venitis"} "How opportune," she cried, "my heart is ablaze and here you come to do me a kindness" [Met. 5: 31]; {sed medullitus dolore commotus acerrimaeque bilis noxio furore perfusus exin flagrantissimi febribus ardebat} "felt the furious workings of poisonous bile, and began to burn with such fiery fevers that he seemed in need of soothing drugs" [Met. 10: 25].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 26.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 246. Borrowed from Croatian {paliti} 'to burn'. Distinct from *ʋrde* {årde} 'to burn' (intr.) [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 188; Byhan 1899: 297] and *usturʋ* {usturå} 'to sting' (intr.) [Byhan 1899: 377].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 137; Cunia 2010: 115; Dalametra 1906: 22; Bara et al. 2005: 432; Gołąb 1984: 201. Polysemy: 'burn (transitive) / burn (intransitive)'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 126; Bolocan et al. 1985: 355; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {ardere} 'to burn (intransitive)' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *a='ard-e* {a arde} 'to burn' [Podiko 1973: 208; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 111].

Dalmatian: Not attested. However, there are two terms for 'burn (intrasitive)': bruč-'ua {bručúa} 'it burns' ({avás brušút tóč} "All burnt"; {kuꭒ̑n̑ ke bručúa la praꭒ̑ma nṵát e-l praꭒ̑mo dáꭒ̑ <...>} "When it was burning the first night and the first day <...>" [Bartoli 2002: 222]) and ard'wor {arduꭒ̑r} ({la lún̑ no potája ple arduꭒ̑r} "The lamp can burn no more"; {la lóꭒ̑s̑a ardꭒ̑ava bún̑} "The lamp burns good" [Bartoli 2002: 245]). Possibly, the first of them is used as transitive as well, but we have no contexts for it.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 657, 37. Distinct from *'ard-i* {ardi} ~ *'ard-e:* {ardê} 'to burn' (intransitive) [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 19, 127. Polysemy: 'to burn (transitive) / to burn (intransitive)'. Distinct from *v'ɛrd-ər* {verder} 'to burn (intransitive)' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 109, 127].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 49. Distinct from *'ɛrd-ər* {èrder} 'to burn (intransitive)' [DILF 2001: 49].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *'ard-ər* {arder} 'to burn' (intransitive) [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 58. Distinct from *brüš-'er* {brüscher} 'to smolder' [Conrad 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 117].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 37.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 37.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 57.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano,

Marostica: *bruz-ˈa-re* {bruxare} 'to burn' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {ma perch' io mi sarei brusciato e cotto, // vinse paura la mia buona voglia} "but as I should have burned and baked myself, // my terror overmastered my good will" [Inf. 16]; {per tutto il tempo che 'l foco li abbruscia} "for all the time the fire is burning them" [Purg. 25].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1436. Distinct from *ˈard-e-re* {ardere} 'to burn', which is used in more poetical contexts [Vitali 2015].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Musella 2015. Under the influence of Italian {bruciare} 'to burn' can be modified to *bruš-ˈa* {brucià} [Esposito 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015] or *a=b:ruš-ˈa* {abbrucià} [Cirillo 2015]. Distinct from *a=p:ič-ˈa* {appiccià} 'to set fire, to set light' [Russo 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 13. Domus de Maria: *a=bruž-ˈay* {abruxiai} 'to burn' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *a=b:ruč-ˈa-ri* {abbruciari} 'to burn' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora: *bruʧ-ˈa-ri* {bruciari} 'to burn'. Giarre: *a=b:ruč-ˈa-ri* {abbruciari} 'to burn'. Distinct from *v:amp-ˈa-ri* {vvampari} 'to catch fire' [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from the obsolete term *yard-ˈi-ri* {jardiri} 'to burn', which is now used only in the context of the traditional wood oven [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 236.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *kem-ˈa-ɾ* {quemar} 'to burn' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 158. Distinct from *ɐɾð-ˈe-r* {arder} 'to burn (intransitive)' [Voinova et al. 1989: 119].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 833, 629; Fernández Armesto 1981: 613; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1011, 736.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 181. There are two expressions for 'to burn': *brül-ˈa* {brula} and *krem-ˈa* {crema}. Coupier mentions them as synonyms.Coupier 1995: 181.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 379-380. Along with this term, Viret also mentions *fwa:ʎ-ˈi:* {fwâlyî} and *kra:m-ˈa:* {krâmâ}, without differentiating them. In another entry he translates *fwa:ʎ-ˈi:* {fwâlyî} as 'to blaze (intransitive)', so we include only *brü:l-ˈa:* {brûlâ} and *kra:m-ˈa:* {krâmâ} in the list.Viret 2013: 379-380.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 73-74. Polysemy: 'to burn (transitive) / to burn (intransitive)'. Distinct from *esčawf-ˈe:-r* {eschaufer} 'to burn', used in the figurative meaning, for example, about love [EDCT 2014: 425]. The term {brusler} 'to burn' cannot be found in any of Chretien's works.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 81; Rayevskaya 2013: 409.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *bʀu:l-e* {broûler} 'to burn'.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Archaic Latin *ˈʋŋgʷ-ɪs* (1), Late Classical Latin *ˈʋŋgʷ-ɪs {unguis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *ˈungʎ-ə {úngľă}* (1), Istro Romanian *ˈuŋgʎ-e {úngľe}* (1), Aromanian *ˈungʎ-e {úngľe}* (1), Romanian *ˈuŋgy-e {unghie}* (1), Dalmatian *ˈoŋgl-a {oṅgla}* (1), Friulian *oŋgul-ˈe {ongule}* (1),

Gardenese Ladin ˈondl-a {ondla} (1), Fassano Ladin ˈomby-a {ọmbia} (1), Rumantsch Grischun ˈuŋgl-ə (1), Sursilvan Romansh ˈuŋgl-ə (1), Surmiran Romansh ˈuŋgl-ə (1), Vallader Romansh ˈuŋgl-ə (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese ˈuŋʒ-a {ongia} (1), Barbania Piemontese ˈuŋʒ-a {ongia} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese ˈuŋʒ-a {ongia} (1), Turinese Piemontese ˈuŋʒ-a {ongia} (1), Vercellese Piemontese ˈoːŋʒ-a (1), Bergamo Lombard ˈonʒ-a {óngia} (1), Plesio Lombard ˈunʒ-a {ungia} (1), Ravennate Romagnol ˈonʒ-a {óngia} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano ˈɔnʒ-a {òngia} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano ˈunʒ-a {ùngia} (1), Reggiano Emiliano ˈonʒ-a {óngia} (1), Rapallo Ligurian ˈunʒ-a (1), Genoese Ligurian ˈuŋʒ-a {ungia} (1), Stella Ligurian ˈuŋʒ-a {ungia} (1), Venice Venetian ˈoŋʒ-a {óngia} (1), Primiero Venetian ˈoŋʒ-a {ongia} (1), Bellunese Venetian ˈoŋʒ-a {ongia} (1), Old Italian ˈuŋgy-a {unghia} (1), Standard Italian ˈuŋgy-a {unghia} (1), Grosseto Italian ˈuŋgy-a {unghia} (1), Foligno Italian ˈoɲː-a {ogna} (1) / rˈunč-u {runciu} (2), Neapolitan ˈoɲː-ə ~ ˈɔɲː-ə {ogna} (1), Logudorese ˈuŋgr-a {ungra} (1), Campidanese ˈuŋg-a {unga} (1), Palermitan Sicilian ˈuɲː-a {ugna} (1), Messinese Sicilian ˈuɲː-a {ugna} (1), Catanian Sicilian ˈuɲː-a {ugna} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian ˈuɲː-a {ugna} (1), Central Catalan ˈuŋgɫ-ə {ungla} (1), North-Western Catalan ˈuŋgɫ-ɛ {ungla} (1), Minorcan Catalan ˈuŋgɫ-ə {ungla} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan ˈuŋgɫ-a {ungla} (1), Valencia Catalan ˈuŋgɫ-a {ungla} (1), Manises Catalan ˈuŋgɫ-a {ungla} (1), Castilian Spanish ˈuɲ-a {uña} (1), Asturian ˈuɲ-a {uña} (1), Standard Portuguese ˈuɲ-ɐ {unha} (1), Galician ˈunʎ-a {unlla} (1), Provençal Occitan ˈuŋgl-o {ounglo} (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal ˈɔ̃gʎ-a {onglya} (1), Old French õŋgl-ə {ongle} (1), Standard French ɔ̃gl {ongle} (1), Picard ɔ̃g {ongue} (1), Walloon ɔ̃k {ongue} (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {quin ipsi pridem tonsor unguis dempserat} "Why, the other day, the barber had cut his nails" [Aul. 312]; {si hercle tu ex istoc loco digitum transvorsum aut unguem latum excesseris} "By my faith, if you budge a finger's breadth, or a nail's width from that spot" [Aul. 56-57].
Late Classical Latin: Polysemy: 'nail / claw': {ab imis unguibus sese totam adusque summos capillos perlinit multumque} "then smeared all over herself from the tips of her toes to the crown of her head" [Met. 3: 21]; {Non enim ovum, quod scimus, illud; sed pinnis et unguibus et oculis et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum} "and not the usual egg but a fully-fledged chick, with claws and feathers, an ominous portent, that with open eyes" [Met. 9: 33].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 315.
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 293; Byhan 1899: 375.
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1085; Cunia 2010: 1061; Dalametra 1906: 214; Bara et al. 2005: 336; Gołąb 1984: 256.
Romanian: DER 2004: 631; Bolocan et al. 1985: 782; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: ˈuŋgy-e {unghie} 'nail' [Podiko 1973: 472; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 237].
Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 242. Attested by Cubich as yˈoŋgla {jóngla} 'nail' [Bartoli 2002: 284].
Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 707, 275. Distinct from sgrˈif-e {sgrìfe} ~ sgrˈinf-e {sgrìnfe} 'claw' of Germanic origin [Pirona 1871: 386].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 136, 163, 62. Polysemy: '(finger)nail / hoof'. Distinct from *žgrˈiɲfl-a* {sgrinfla} 'claw' of Germanic origin [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 112, 155].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 342.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 786.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 387.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 387.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 282. Polysemy: 'fingernail / claw / hoof'.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Zanetti 2015. Marostica: *ˈɔŋʒ-a* {òngia} 'nail' [Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {e sì traevan giù l'unghie la scabbia, // come coltel di scardova le scaglie} "and the nails downward with them dragged the scab, // in fashion as a knife the scales of bream" [Inf. 29]; {di quella sozza e scapigliata fante // che là si graffia con l'unghie merdose} "of that uncleanly and dishevelled drab, // who there doth scratch herself with filthy nails" [Inf. 18].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1989

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. The form *ˈuɲː-a* {ugna} 'nail' is more old-fashioned [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. There are two terms: *ˈoɲː-a* {ogna} 'nail' and *rˈunč-u* {runciu} 'claw / nail'. Since both can be applied to a human nail, cf. {L'omu c'ha cingue deta pe manu e gni detu c'ha n'ogna / u'runciu} "Man has five fingers on each hand, and each finger has a nail" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016], we treat them as synonyms.Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 448. Domus de Maria: *ˈung-a* {unga} 'nail' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; La Bua 2015. Ornato mentions the term *ˈuŋgy-a* {unghia} 'nail', which seems to be an Italianism [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *ˈuɲː-a* {ugna} 'nail' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the term *ˈugːy-a* {ugghia} 'nail', which seems to be an Italianism [La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 287.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: ˈuɲ-a {uña} 'nail' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 348.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 847, 723; Fernández Armesto 1981: 730; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1036, 861. The Spanish borrowing ˈuɲ-a {uña} 'nail' can be sometimes used as well [Montoya Bolaños 2016; Fernández Armesto 1981: 730].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 965.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1503.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 770. Polysemy: 'human nail / claw (of a carnivorous mammal)'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 440; Rayevskaya 2013: 496.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: ꝛ {ongue} 'nail'.

14. CLOUD

Archaic Latin nˈuːb-ɪs *{nubis}* (1), Late Classical Latin nˈuːb-eːs *{nubes}* ~ nuːb-ˈiːɫ-ũ *{nubilum}* (1), Megleno Romanian nor *{nor}* (1), Istro Romanian oblˈʋk *{oblắc}* (-1), Aromanian niˈor-ŭ *{niór}* (1), Romanian nor *{nor}* (1), Dalmatian nˈuvol *{núvol}* (1), Friulian nuːl *{nûl}* (1), Gardenese Ladin nˈibl-a *{nibla}* (1), Fassano Ladin nˈigol-a *{nìgola}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun nˈivəl *{nivel}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh nˈibəl *{nibel}* (1), Surmiran Romansh nˈɛɣvəl *{neivel}* (1), Vallader Romansh nˈüvl-ə *{nüvla}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese nˈivul-a *{nìvola}* (1), Barbania Piemontese nˈivul-a *{nìvola}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese nˈivul-a *{nìvola}* (1), Turinese Piemontese nˈuvul-a *{nuvola}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese nˈiːwl-a (1), Bergamo Lombard nˈiol *{nìol}* (1), Plesio Lombard nˈigul-a *{nigula}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol nˈuvl-a *{nùvla}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano nˈuval *{nùval}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano nˈuvl-a *{nùvla}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano nˈovl-a *{nóvla}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian nˈüvːu-a (1), Genoese Ligurian nˈüvi-a *{nüvia}* (1), Stella Ligurian nˈiːɣɥ-a *{nìgüa}* (1), Venice Venetian nˈuvoe̯-a *{nuvoła}* (1), Primiero Venetian nˈuvol-a *{nùvola}* (1), Bellunese Venetian nˈuvol-a *{nuvola}* (1), Old Italian nˈub-e *{nube}* ~ nˈuvol-a *{nuvola}* (1), Standard Italian nˈuvol-a *{nuvola}* (1), Grosseto Italian nˈuvol-a *{nuvola}* (1), Foligno Italian nˈuol-a *{nuola}* (1), Neapolitan nˈuvəl-ə *{nuvula}* (1), Logudorese nˈu-e *{nùe}* (1), Campidanese nuy *{nui}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian nˈuvul-a *{nuvula}* (1), Messinese Sicilian nˈuvul-a *{nuvula}* (1), Catanian Sicilian nˈuvul-a *{nuvula}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian nˈuvul-a *{nuvula}* (1), Central Catalan nˈuβuɫ *{núvol}* (1), North-Western Catalan nˈuβoɫ {núvol} (1), Minorcan Catalan nivuɫ-ˈat *{nivolat}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan nˈuvoɫ *{núvol}* (1), Valencia Catalan nˈuβoɫ *{núvol}* (1), Manises Catalan nˈuβoɫ *{núvol}* (1), Castilian Spanish nˈuβ-e *{nube}* (1), Asturian nˈub-e *{nube}* (1), Standard Portuguese nˈuvẽỹ *{nuvem}* (1), Galician nˈuβ-e *{nube}* (1), Provençal Occitan nˈiv-e *{nive}* ~ nˈiv-o *{nivo}* ~ nyew *{niéu}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal ɲˈol-a *{nyôla}* (1), Old French nˈü-ə *{nüe}* (1), Standard French nɥaž *{nuage}* (1), Picard nɥaž *{nuage}* (1), Walloon nuw-ač *{nouwadje}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {nonne ex advorso vides, nubis atra imberque} "Black clouds and showers are coming on" [Merc. 878-879]; {Neque nubes omnes quantumst} "Nor as many as there are clouds" [Poen. 433].

> Distinct from *n'ɛbʋɫ-a* {nebula} 'fog, cloud (of steam)': {ex spiritu atque anhelitu nebula constat} "of breaths and pantings a cloud is formed" [Amph. 233-234]; {Nebula haud est mollis aeque atque huius est pectus} "A mist is not so soft as is a pretty little bosom, upon my faith" [Cas. 847]; {quoius ego nebulai cyatho septem noctes non emam} "seven nights with whom I wouldn't purchase at a cupful of vapour" [Poen. 274]; {Sunt quae te volumus percontari, quae quasi per nebulam nosmet scimus atque audivimus} "There are some things about which we wish to inquire of you, which we ourselves know and have heard of as though through a cloud of mist" [Pseud. 462-463]; {nunc edepol demum in memoriam regredior, audisse me quasi per nebulam, Hegionem meum patrem vocarier} "do now at last recall to memory that I had heard, as though through a mist, that my father was called Hegio" [Capt. 1023-1024].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Cedunt nubes et Caelum filiae panditur} "Thus the clouds parted, the Heavens opened, to welcome their daughter" [Met. 6: 6]; {Tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina} "At your order breezes sigh, clouds yield nourishment, seeds quicken and seedlings grow" [Met. 11: 25]. Distinct from *n'ɛbʋɫ-a* {nebula} 'fog / mist / cloud (of sleep)': {in cuius hospitio nec fumi nec nidoris nebulam vererer} "at least there'll be no smoking fires or cooking fumes to fear" [Met. 1: 22]; {postremum iniecta somni nebula eoque} "At last they veiled him in the mists of sleep" [Met. 2: 30]; {eam crassaque soporis nebula cunctis eius membris perfunditur} "enveloping her entire body in a dense cloud of somnolence" [Met. 6: 21].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 208. Distinct from *mɔgl-ə* {moglǎ} 'fog', of Slavic origin [Capidan 1935: 194].

Istro Romanian: Sârbu & Frǎţilǎ 1998: 240; Byhan 1899: 291. There is no word for 'cloud' either in Kovačec's dictionary or in the texts. Borrowed from Croatian {oblak} 'cloud'. Distinct from *m'ɔɣl-a* {máɣla} (Žejane) 'fog' of Croatian origin [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 282].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 769; Cunia 2010: 740; Dalametra 1906: 147; Bara et al. 2005: 325; Gołąb 1984: 237. Distinct from *n'egur-ə* {négurǎ} 'fog' [Papahagi 1963: 748; Cunia 2010: 724; Dalametra 1906: 144; Bara et al. 2005: 328; Gołąb 1984: 237].

Romanian: DER 2004: 175; Bolocan et al. 1985: 801; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *č'ɟac-ə* {ceaţǎ} 'fog', *n'egur-ə* {negurǎ} 'dense fog' and *p'ɨkl-ə* {pâclǎ} 'morning or evening mist' of Slavic origin [DER 2004: 377; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1522; DEaLR 2015; Ciorǎnescu 2015]. Moldavian: *nor* {nor} 'cloud' ~ *nowr* {nour} 'cloud' [Podiko 1973: 483; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 241].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {fero núvol} "there is a cloud" [Bartoli 2002: 236]. Attested by Cubich as {néolo} 'cloud' [Bartoli 2002: 284].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 686, 272. Distinct from *fum-'at-e* {fumàte} 'fog' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 685, 177] and *kalig-'ɛr-e* {calighère} ~ *kaɫ'ig-o* {calìgo} 'mist' of Venetian origin [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 685, 47].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 59, 197. Marebbano: *ɕar-'ü* {tχarú} 'cloud'; Badiotto: *n'io* {nío} ~ *n'eor-a* {néora} 'cloud'; Livinallese: *n'eol-a* {néola} 'cloud' [Gartner 1923: 197]. Distinct from *nibl* {nibl} 'fog' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 59]. Marebbano: *n'io* {nio} 'fog'; Badiotto: *ɕar-'ü* {tχarú} 'fog'; Livinallese: *n'iol* {niol} 'fog' [Gartner 1923: 164].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 198; Gartner 1923: 197. Distinct from *m'oc-a* {moza} 'haze, fog' [DILF 2001: 194, 497; Gartner 1923: 164] and *g'eb-a* {gheba} 'fog' [DILF 2001: 194, 460].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *č'əg'er-a* {tschaghera} 'dense fog', *n'ɛbl-ə* {nebla} 'fog' and *brənt-'in-ə* {brentina} 'fog' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 495. Distinct from *n'üvəl* {nüvel} 'fog' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 495].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 216. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nebia} 'fog' [Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 211].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 216. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nebia} 'fog' [Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 211].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *n'eby-a* {nebia} 'fog'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nebia} 'fog'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* 'fog'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nebia} 'fog'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 280. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nèbia} 'fog' [Ercolani 1960: 276].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nèbia} 'fog' [Piacentini 2015: 276].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nebia} 'fog' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nèbia} 'fog' [Chertein 2015: 276].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *n'eʒ-a* 'fog'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *n'eʒ-a* 'fog' or *n'eːbːy-a* {nebbia} 'fog' of Italian origin.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *n'eːʒ-a* 'fog'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Serena 2015. Treviso, Salgareda: *n'uvoɱ-a* {nuvoła} 'cloud' [Busato 2015; Poletto 2015]. Este, Vicenza, Schio, Marostica, Verona: *n'uvol-a* {nùvola} 'cloud' [Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nèbia} 'fog' [Tre 2015; Ricchieri 2015] and *ka'ig-o* {całigo} [Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015] ~ *kal'ig-o* {caligo} 'fog' [Melon 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Distinct from *n'ɛby-a* {nebia} 'fog' [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Come si volgon per tenera nube // due archi paralelli e concolori} "And as are spanned athwart a tender cloud // two rainbows parallel and like in colour" [Par. 12]; {Buio d'inferno e di notte private // d'ogne pianeto, sotto pover cielo, // quant' esser può di nuvol tenebrata} "Darkness of hell, and of a night deprived // of every planet under a poor sky, // as much as may be tenebrous with cloud" [Purg. 16].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1486-1487. Distinct from *n'ub-e* {nube} 'cloud', which is used in higher style texts [Vitali 2015]. Distinct from *n'ebːy-a* {nebbia} 'fog' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1710].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *n'ebːy-a* {nebbia} 'fog' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *n'ebːy-a* {nebbia} 'fog' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *n'eʎ̠ː-ə* {neglia} 'fog' [Russo 2015; Mancusi 2015] and from *n'egːy-a* {negghia} 'fog' [Nagar 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *n'eul-a* {nèula} 'fog' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 289. Distinct from *n'eb-id-a* {nebida} 'fog' [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *nuɣ* {nui} 'cloud' [Fadda 2015]. Distinct from *n'ebːy-a* {nebbia} 'fog' [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 286].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Distinct from *n'yɛɖ̠ː-a* {niegghia} 'fog' [Ornato 2015; Sorbello 2015]. Buscemi: *n'iul-a* {niula} 'cloud' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *n'iɖ̠ː-a* {nìgghia} 'fog' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015. Salerno mentions the form *n'uul-a* {nuula} [Salerno 2015]. Distinct from *n'ɛɖ̠ː-a* {negghia} 'fog' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *n'uvɔl-a* {nuvola} 'cloud', borrowed from Italian [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 202. Distinct from *b'ɔyɾ-ə* {boira} 'fog' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *b'ɔyɾ-ɛ* {boira} 'fog' [Montagut 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *b'ɔyɾ-ə* {boira} 'fog' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *b'ɔyɾ-a* {boira} 'fog' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *b'ɔyɾ-a* {boira} 'fog' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *b'ɔyɾ-a* {boira} 'fog' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *n'yeβl-a* {niebla} 'fog' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ɲ'ub-e* {ñube} 'cloud', *boɾ-'in-a* {borrina} 'fog' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 355. Distinct from *nəβl'in-ɐ* {neblina} ~ *n'ɛvu-ɐ* {névoa} ~ *nəvu-'ɐyɾ-u* {nevoeira} 'fog' [Voinova et al. 1989: 646].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 823, 570; Fernández Armesto 1981: 537. Distinct from *n'eβo-a* {néboa} 'fog' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 534; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 653].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 947-948. Distinct from *n'ɛbl-o* {nèblo} 'fog' [Coupier 1995: 179].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1485-1486.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 758. In the plural can be used in the figurative meaning 'sky'. The term for fog is not attested.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 112; Rayevskaya 2013: 499. The form *nɥe* {nuée} 'cloud' belongs to the literary language.

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Distinct from *bʁuyaʁ* {brouillard} 'fog' and *bʁüm* {brume} 'mist' [Robert-Collins 1989: 247; Rayevskaya 2013: 616].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *bʁœm* {breume} 'fog' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *nü:leːy* {nûlêye} ~ *nuw-ač* {nouwaedje} 'cloud'. Distinct from *b ʁːyaːʁ* {broûyârd} 'fog' (Rifondou: *b ʁhœ ʁ*{brouheur} ~ *b ʁːyɔː ʁ*{brouyård} 'fog').

15. COLD

Archaic Latin *frˈiːgɪd-ʊs {frigidus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *frˈiːg-ɪd-ʊs {frigidus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *rˈac-i {rátsi}* (2), Istro Romanian *rˈʊč-e {rǻče}* (2), Aromanian *arˈac-e {aráţe}* (2), Romanian *rˈeč-e {rece}* (2), Dalmatian *gelˈwat {gheluat}* (3), Friulian *freːt {frêt}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *frəyt {frëit}* (1), Fassano Ladin *freyt {frẹit}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *frayt {fraid}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *frɛyt {freid}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *frɛyt {freid}* (1), Vallader Romansh *frayt {fraid}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *frɛyd {frèid}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *frɛyd {frèid}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *frɛyd {frèid}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *freyd {freid}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *fröč* (1), Bergamo Lombard *frɛč {frèc}* ~ *frɛt {frèt}* (1), Plesio Lombard *freč: {fregg}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *žac-ˈeə {giaz⸱ê}* (4), Ferrarese Emiliano *fred {frédd}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *frɛd {frèd}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *frɛd {frèdd}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *frˈeyd-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *frˈeyd-u {freidŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *frˈeʒ:-u {fréggiu}* (1), Venice Venetian *frˈed-o {frédo}* (1), Primiero Venetian *fret {fret}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *fret {fret}* (1), Old Italian *frˈedː-o {freddo}* (1), Standard Italian *frˈedː-o {freddo}* (1), Grosseto Italian *dˈyač:-o {diaccio}* (4), Foligno Italian *frˈidː-u {friddu}* (1), Neapolitan *frˈidː-ə {friddo}* (1), Logudorese *frˈitː-u {frittu}* (1), Campidanese *frˈið-u {fridu}* ~ *frˈi-u {friu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *frˈidː-u {friddu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *frˈidː-u {friddu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *frˈidː-u {friddu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *frˈidː-u {friddu}* (1), Central Catalan *frɛt {fred}* (1), North-Western Catalan *fret {fred}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *frɛt {fred}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *fret {fred}* (1), Valencia Catalan *fret {fred}* (1), Manises Catalan *fret {fred}* (1), Castilian Spanish *frˈi-o {frío}* (1), Asturian *frˈi-o {frío}* (1), Standard Portuguese *frˈi-u {frio}* (1), Galician *frˈi-o {frío}* (1), Provençal Occitan *fre {fre}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *fray {frai}* (1), Old French *froyt {froit}* (1), Standard French *fʁwa {froid}* (1), Picard *fʁwe {froéd}* (1), Walloon *fʁɛ {frèd}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {aquam frigidam subdole suffundunt} "underhandedly they pour cold water upon us" [Cist. 35]; {aufer illam offam porcinam, probus hic conger frigidus} "put aside that piece of pork; this conger's good when cold; remove it, take and put it aside" [Mil. 760]; {Ne thermipolium quidem ullum instruit, ita salsam praehibet potionem et frigidam} "No hot liquor-shop at all for sure does he provide; so salt and cold the potions that he prepares" [Rud. 529-530].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Haec ego ut accepi, sudore frigido miser perfluo} "When I heard that, my wretched flesh

dissolved in a cold sweat" [Met. 11: 13]; {sacra differuntur, templa deformantur, pulvinaria proteruntur, caerimoniae negleguntur; incoronata simulacra et arae viduae frigido cinere foedatae} "Her rites were neglected, her temples abandoned, her cushions were trodden underfoot, the ceremonies uncelebrated, the statues un-garlanded, the altars cold with forsaken ashes" [Met. 4: 29].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 247.

Istro Romanian: Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 264. Kovačec mentions this word only as an adverb, but in the texts it is also used as an adjective, cf.: {E a no av fost råče dela craỵ, råče čǎ hrana} "But it was cold from the end, the food was cold". Byhan also mentions the word *fr'id-u* {frídu} [Byhan 1899: 219], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 128; Cunia 2010: 100-101; Dalametra 1906: 22; Gołąb 1984: 200. In the Turia dialect we also have *arkur'os-ŭ* {arkur'os} 'cold' [Bara et al. 2005: 324]; in the other dialects this word means 'sensitive to cold / who is cold' [Papahagi 1963: 136; Cunia 2010: 101; Dalametra 1906: 22].

Romanian: DER 2004: 181; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1620; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {recens} 'recent, fresh, young' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Distinct from *rǝk-or-'os* {răcoros} 'cool' and *frig-ur-'os* {friguros} 'not protecting from cold (about clothes) / hardly heatable (about a house) / a person, who is sensitive to cold' [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *r'ec-e* {reče} 'cold' [Podiko 1973: 1016; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 482].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {el viant fuoro gheluat} "the wind will become cold" [Bartoli 2002: 275]; {la cuórne, que se manáica sant gheluáta} "the meat which is eaten is cold" [Bartoli 2002: 287].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 172.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 32, 151.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 120.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 306.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 130.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 130.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 176. Polysemy: 'cold / icy'. Marchigiano: *fred* {frédd} 'cold' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Arzignano: *fr'ɛd-o* {frèdo} [Serena 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Io sono al terzo cerchio, de la piova // etterna, maladetta, fredda e greve} "in the third circle am I of the rain // eternal, maledict, and cold, and heavy" [Inf. 6]; {ché tutti questi n'hanno maggior sete // che d'acqua fredda Indo o Etïopo} "for all of these have greater thirst for it // than for cold water Ethiop or Indian" [Purg. 26].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1492. Distinct from *ȝel-'a-t-o* {gelato} 'ice-cold, frozen, freezing' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 487].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *fr'ed-o* {freddo} 'cold', used to denote air temperature [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 193. Domus de Maria: *fr'ïð-u* {fridu} 'cold', applied to objects and distinct from *fri-u* {friu} 'cold', applied to weather [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *fr'id:-u* {friddu} 'cold' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 137.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *žeł'at* {gelat} 'frozen' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *fr'i-u* {fríu} 'cold' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 686; Cândido de Figueiredo I: 1250; Costa & Melo 1975: 678. Distinct from *fr'ižið-u* {frígido} 'very cold, frozen' [Cândido de Figueiredo I: 1250; Costa & Melo 1975: 677].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 391.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 628. Distinct from *frež'us* {frejous} 'cold', used while speaking about weather [Coupier 1995: 628].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1032-1033.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 528.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 115; Rayevskaya 2013: 635.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *frw'ɛ:* {froed} 'cold'.

16. COME

Archaic Latin *wɛn-'i:-rɛ* {venire} (1), Late Classical Latin *vɛn-'i:-rɛ* {venire} (1), Megleno Romanian *vin* {vin} (1), Istro Romanian *ver-'i* {verí} (1), Aromanian *ʒ'in-ŭ* {γin} (1), Romanian *a=ven-'i* {a veni} (1), Dalmatian *ven-'a-r* {venár} (1), Friulian *viɲ-'i:* {vignî} (1), Gardenese Ladin *un-'i* {unì} (1), Fassano Ladin *veɲ-'i-r* {vegnịr} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *vəɲ-'i-r* {vegnir} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *vəɲ-'i-r* {vegnir} (1), Surmiran Romansh *n-ɛk-r* {neir} (1), Vallader Romansh *ɲ-i-r* {gnir} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *vn-i* {vnì} (1), Barbania Piemontese *vn-i* {vnì} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *vn-i* {vnì} (1), Turinese Piemontese *v'eŋ-e* {ven-e} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *ɲ-i:* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ɛɲ* {ègn} (1), Plesio Lombard *veɲ-'i* {vegnì} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *vn-i* {vnìr} ~ *a=vn-'i* {avnìr} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ɲ-i-r* {gnir} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *ɲ-i:-r* {gnìr} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ɲ-i:-r* {gnîr} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *veɲ-'i* (1), Genoese Ligurian *veɲ-'i:* {vegnî} (1), Stella Ligurian *ve:ɲ-'i* {vêgnì} (1), Venice Venetian *ven-'i-r* {venìr} (1), Primiero Venetian *v'ɛɲ-e-r* {vègner} (1), Bellunese Venetian *veɲ-'a-r* {veniar} (1), Old Italian *ven-'i-re* {venire} (1), Standard Italian *ven-'i-re* {venire} (1), Grosseto Italian *ven-'i-re* {venire} (1), Foligno Italian *vin-'i* {vinì} (1), Neapolitan *vən-'i* {venì} (1), Logudorese *b'en:-e-re* {bènnere} (1), Campidanese *bɛn:-'i* {benni} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *v'yɛn-i-ɾi* {vieniri} (1), Messinese

Sicilian *vˈɛn-i-ɾɨ {veniri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *vˈɛn-i-ɾi {veniri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *vˈɛn-i-ɾi {veniri}* (1), Central Catalan *bən-ˈi {venir}* (1), North-Western Catalan *bˈind-ɾe {vindre}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *vən-ˈi {venir}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *vˈind-ɾe {vindre}* (1), Valencia Catalan *bˈind-ɾe {vindre}* (1), Manises Catalan *bˈind-ɾe {vindre}* (1), Castilian Spanish *ben-ˈi-ɾ {venir}* (1), Asturian *ben-ˈi-ɾ {venir}* (1), Standard Portuguese *v-i-ɾ {vir}* (1), Galician *b-i-ɾ {vir}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ven-ˈi {veni}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *mɲ-i {mnyi}* (1), Old French *vən-ˈi-r {venir}* (1), Standard French *vən-i-ʁ {venir}* (1), Picard *vn-i-ʁ {vˈnir}* (1), Walloon *vün-ü {vunu} ~ vn-ü {vnu}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {scin quid est quod ego ad te venio?} "Do you know why it is that I'm come to you?" [Men. 677]; {Quia nos honoris tui causa ad te venimus} "Because for the sake of your own well-doing we came hither" [Poen. 638]; {heri venisti media nocte, nunc abis} "Yesterday, in the middle of the night, you came, and now you are going away" [Amph. 514].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {An potius maritum, qui tuo vulnere periclitatur, intervisere venisti?} "Or are you here to visit that husband of yours, laid low by your own hand?" [Met. 6: 9]; {Nec mora, cum ad flumen mortuum venies} "Not long afterwards you'll reach the river of the dead" [Met. 6: 18].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 326-327.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 297; Byhan 1899: 379.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 524; Cunia 2010: 1110; Dalametra 1906: 105; Bara et al. 2005: 223; Gołąb 1984: 221.

Romanian: DER 2004: 186; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1132; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *a=sos-ˈi* {a sosi} 'to arrive' of Greek origin. Cf. {Vin la București cu trenul. Sosesc la ora 10} "I'll come to Bucharest by train. I'll arrive at 10 o'clock" [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *a=ven-ˈi* {a veni} 'to come' [Podiko 1973: 711-712; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 345-346].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju viṅ da dú ke ti víṅa té} "I come from where you come from" [Bartoli 2002: 250]; {no potaja venár vu̯aị} "I cannot come today" [Bartoli 2002: 237].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 708, 467.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 106, 154. Distinct from *ruv-ˈe* {ruvé} 'to arrive' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 77].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 348. Distinct from *ru-ˈɛr* {ruèr} 'to arrive' [DILF 2001: 546].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 331.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 394.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 394.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 496, 30. Marchigiano: *ni* {nì} 'to come' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Padua: *v'eɲ-a-re* {végnare} 'to come' [Tre 2015]. Este: *veɲ-'i-r* {vegnir} [Melon 2015]. Treviso: *veɲ-'e-r* {vegnér} ~ *v'ɛɲ-a-r* {vègnar} 'to come' [Busato 2015]. Salgareda, Verona: *veɲ-'e-r* {vegnér} 'to come' [Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *veɲ-'e-re* {vegnére} 'to come' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Per che, se del venire io m'abbandono, // temo che la venuta non sia folle} "Therefore, if I resign myself to come, // I fear the coming may be ill-advised" [Inf. 2]; {vegno del loco ove tornar disio} "I come from there, where I would fain return" [Inf. 2].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1496-1497. Distinct from *a=r:iv-'a-re* {arrivare} 'to arrive' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 119].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 82. Domus de Maria: *bɛn:-'i* {benni} 'to come' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *v'ɛn-i-ɾi* {veniri} 'to come' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *v'ɛn-i-ɾi* {veniri} 'to come' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 290. Colloquial form: *b'ind-ɾə* {vindre} 'to come' [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ben-'i-ɾ* {venir} 'to come' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 483. Distinct from *ʃɣ-'a-r* {chegar} 'to arrive' [Feyershtein & Starets, 2005: 197; Cândido de Figueiredo I: 613].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 849, 734; Fernández Armesto 1981: 738; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1040, 875-876. In colloquial speech, the Spanish borrowing *ben-'i-ɾ* {venir} can be used as well [Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1467-1468.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2206-2208.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1127-1132.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 117-118; Rayevskaya 2013: 551.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vin-i* {vini} ~ *vn-i* {vni} 'to come'.

17. DIE

Archaic Latin *m'ɔr-i:* {mori} (1), Late Classical Latin *m'ɔr-i:* {mori} (1), Megleno Romanian *mor* {mor} (1), Istro Romanian *mur-'i* {murí} (1), Aromanian *m'or-ŭ* {mor} (1), Romanian *a=mur-'i* {a muri} (1), Dalmatian *mor-'a-r* {morár} (1), Friulian *mur-'i:* {murî} (1), Gardenese Ladin *mur-'i* {murì} (1), Fassano Ladin *mor-'i-r* {moriɾ} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *mur-'i-r* {murir} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *mur-'i-r* {murir} (1), Surmiran Romansh *mur-'ɛk-r* {mureir}

(1), Vallader Romansh *mur-ˈi-r {murir}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *mˈöyr-e {meuire}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *mˈöyr-e {meuire}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *mˈöyr-e {meuire}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *mˈör-i {meuire}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *mˈör-i* (1), Bergamo Lombard *mör {mör}* (1), Plesio Lombard *mur-ˈi {murì}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *mur-ˈi {murir}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *mur-ˈi-r {murìr}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *mur-ˈiː-r {murìr}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *mur-ˈiː-r {murîr}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *mu-ˈi* (1), Genoese Ligurian *mu-ˈiː {muî}* (1), Stella Ligurian *mi-ˈi {miì}* (1), Venice Venetian *mor-ˈi-r {morìr}* (1), Primiero Venetian *mor-ˈi-r {morir}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *mor-ˈi-r {morir}* (1), Old Italian *mor-ˈi-re {morire}* (1), Standard Italian *mor-ˈi-re {morire}* (1), Grosseto Italian *mor-ˈi-re {morire}* (1), Foligno Italian *mur-ˈi {murì}* (1), Neapolitan *mur-ˈi {murì}* (1), Logudorese *mˈorː-e-re {mòrrere}* (1), Campidanese *mɔrː-ˈi {morri}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *mˈwɔr-i-ri {muoriri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *mˈɔr-ɨ-rɨ {moriri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *mˈɔr-i-ri {moriri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *mˈɔʐ-i {morri}* (1), Central Catalan *mur-ˈi {morir}* (1), North-Western Catalan *mor-ˈi {morir}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *mur-ˈi {morir}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *mor-ˈi-ɾ {morir}* (1), Valencia Catalan *mor-ˈi-ɾ {morir}* (1), Manises Catalan *mor-ˈi-ɾ {morir}* (1), Castilian Spanish *mor-ˈi-ɾ {morir}* (1), Asturian *mor-ˈe-ɾ {morrer}* (1), Standard Portuguese *muʁ-ˈe-ɾ {morrer}* (1), Galician *mor-ˈe-ɾ {morrer}* (1), Provençal Occitan *mur-ˈi {mouri}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *mor-ˈi {mori}* (1), Old French *mor-ˈi-r {morir}* (1), Standard French *muʁ-i-ʁ {mourir}* (1), Picard *mweʁ-i-ʁ {mouérir}* (1), Walloon *mɔʀ-ü {moru}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {cur non morior?} "Why don't I die?" [Merc. 471]; {Quem di diligunt adulescens moritur, dum valet sentit sapit. hunc si ullus deus amaret, plus annis decem, plus iam viginti mortuom esse oportuit} "if any God had favoured him, ought to have been dead more than ten years - aye, more than twenty years ago" [Bac. 816-819]; {sues moriuntur angina acerrume} "the hogs die there most shockingly of inflammation in the throat} [Trin. 540].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Nam etsi tu alicuius facinoris tibi conscius scilicet mori cupis, nos cucurbitae caput non habemus ut pro te moriamur} "Even if you've a crime on your conscience and want to die, I'm not pumpkinheaded enough to let you" [Met. 1: 15]; {Sed prius <…> centies moriar quam tuo isto dulcissimo conubio caream} "I'd rather die a hundred times than be robbed of your sweet caresses" [Met. 5: 6].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 195.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 231; Byhan 1899: 284. Distinct from *krep-ˈɐ* {crepå} 'to die (about animals)' [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 201].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 702; Cunia 2010: 665-666; Dalametra 1906: 139; Bara et al. 2005: 346; Gołąb 1984: 236. Distinct from *sups-ˈesk-u* {supséscu} or *psus-ˈesk-u* {psuséscu} 'to die (about animals)' [Papahagi 1963: 993, 889; Cunia 2010: 987; Dalametra 1906: 177-178; Gołąb 1984: 251].

Romanian: DER 2004: 270; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1555; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *a=mur-ˈi* {a muri} 'to die' [Podiko 1973: 982; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 466].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju bule morár} "I want to die" [Bartoli 2002: 250]; {morúa} "he dies" [Bartoli 2002: 255].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 685, 266.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 57, 183. Distinct from *špir-ˈɛ* {spiré} 'to pass away' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 88, 183].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 189. Distinct from *se=kop-ˈɛr* {se copèr} 'to perish' [DILF 2001: 189, 407].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 472.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 207.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 207.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *mˈür-e* {mur-e} 'to die', which is more formal and from *kerp-ˈɛ* {cherpè} 'to die', which is used mostly in informal speech.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *krep-ˈa* {crepà} 'to die', which is more archaic and colloquial [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 272. Marchigiano: *mur-ˈi* {murì} 'to die' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *kerp-ˈɛːr* {cherpèr} 'to die' (colloquial).

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *kerp-ˈɛːr* {cherpêr} 'to die' (colloquial).

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica, Verona: *mor-ˈi-re* {morire} 'to die' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {che la fenice more e poi rinasce} "the phoenix dies, and then is born again" [Inf. 24]; {ma l'un di voi dica // dove, per lui, perduto a morir gissi} "but one of you declare // whither, being lost, he went away to die" [Inf. 26].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1581. Distinct from *per-ˈi-re* {perire} 'to perish' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 818].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *krep-ˈa-re* {crepare} 'to die' and *styant-ˈa-re* {stiantare} 'to die', which are very colloquial [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 279. Domus de Maria: *mɔrː-ˈi* {morri} 'to die' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *mˈɔr-i-ɾi* {moriri} 'to die' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *mˈɔʐ-i-ɾi* {morriri} 'to die' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *mˈɔr-i-ɾi* {moriri} 'to die' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 196.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *mor-ˈe-ɾ* {morrer} 'to die' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 659. There are two words for 'to die': *muʁ-ˈe-ɾ* {morrer} and *feləs-ˈe-ɾ* {falecer}. Comparison

of their preterit forms ({morreu} and {faleceu}) in the Corpus [CdP 2016] shows that {falecer} is used mostly in obituaries, in sentences like {José Vieira de Carvalho faleceu aos 64 anos, vítima de doença cardíaca} "José Vieira de Carvalho died at the age of 64 years because of heart disease", {Mário Castrim faleceu aos 82 anos em Lisboa, vítima de pneumonia} "Mário Castrim died at the age of 82 years, in Lisbon, because of pneumonia", {Hugo Banzer faleceu aos 75 anos, vítima de cancro} "Hugo Banzer died at the age of 75 years because of cancer", although the use of {morrer} in the obituaries is possible too: {Heinz G. Konsalik morreu aos 78 anos, vítima de apoplexia} "Heinz G. Konsalik died at the age of 78 years because of apoplexy", {Artur Semedo morreu com 76 anos, em Lisboa, vítima de doença prolongada} "Artur Semedo died at the age of 76 years, in Lisbon, because of long disease". The verb {morrer} is much more common in connection with unnatural death causes: in the collocation {morreu/faleceu num accidente} 'to die in an accident' there are 13 examples with {morreu} and only one with {faleceu}. The proportion in collocation with {desastre} 'disaster' is 6:2 in favour of {morreu}. In collocation with {combate} 'battle' the proportion is 5:1. Only {morrer} is used in collocations with {fome} 'hunger' and {medo} 'fear'. Taking these facts into account, we come to the conclusion that {falecer} is much more restricted in use and means simply 'to pass away'. This semantic difference is confirmed by Pimentel Ferreira [Pimentel Ferreira, 2016].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 821, 562; Fernández Armesto 1981: 524; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 991, 642.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 916.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1440-1441.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 727-729. With compound tense forms can be used as the transitive verb 'to kill'. Distinct from *de=vi-'e:-r* {devïer}, which is translated in the EDCT as 'to die' [EDCT 2014: 339], but means rather 'to pass away', cf. the only example: {Dame, mes peres me pria, // qant il morut et devia, // que por rien nule ne leissasse // que je an Bretaigne n'alasse, // tantost con chevaliers seroie} "Lady, my father, before he departed this life and died, begged me not to fail to go to Britain as soon as I should be made a knight" (Cligès 4269-4271). The verbs *e=st'ēȳnd-rə* {esteindre} 'to extinguish' and *tres=pas-'e:-r* {trespasser} 'to pass' can be sometimes also used in the meaning 'to die' [EDCT 2014: 457-458; 1104-1105].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 169; Rayevskaya 2013: 623. Distinct from *de=sed-e* {décéder}, which is used in formal language, and *s=etēd-ʁ* {s'éteindre}, which has a euphemistic shade [Robert-Collins 1989: 169].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *mɔ ʁi* {mori} 'to die'.

18. DOG

Archaic Latin *k'an-ɪs {canis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *k'an-ɪs {canis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *k'ɔyn-i {cǫini}* (1), Istro Romanian *brek {brec}* (-1), Aromanian *k'ɨn-e {cî́ne}* (1), Romanian *k'ɨyn-e {câine}* (1), Dalmatian *kwoŋ {kuọ̆ň}* (1), Friulian *ʈaŋ {cjan}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ɕaŋ {cian}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ɕaŋ {ciaṇ}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɕawŋ {chaun}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ɕawn {tgaun}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʈaŋ {tgang}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ɕan {chan}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kaŋ {can}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *kaŋ {can}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *kaŋ {can}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *kaŋ {can}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *kaŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ka {cà}* (1), Plesio Lombard *kaŋ {can}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *kãn {cân}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kan {can}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *kaŋ {càṅ}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ka:n {cân}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *kaŋ* (1), Genoese Ligurian *kaŋ {can}* (1), Stella Ligurian *kaŋ {cà-n}* (1), Venice Venetian *kaŋ {can}* (1), Primiero Venetian *kaŋ {can}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *kaŋ {can}* (1), Old Italian *k'an-e {cane}* (1), Standard Italian *k'an-e {cane}* (1), Grosseto Italian *k'an-e {cane}* (1), Foligno Italian *k'an-e {cane}* (1), Neapolitan *k'an-ə {cane}* (1), Logudorese *k'an-e {cane}* (1), Campidanese *k'a-i*

{cani} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *k'an-i {cani}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *k'an-i {cani}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *k'an-i {cani}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *k'an-i {cani}* (1), Central Catalan *gos {gos}* (2), North-Western Catalan *gos {gos}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *ka {ca}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *gos {gos}* (2), Valencia Catalan *gos {gos}* (2), Manises Catalan *gos {gos}* (2), Castilian Spanish *p'er-o {perro}* (3), Asturian *p'er-o {perro}* (3), Standard Portuguese *kɐ̃w̃ {cão}* (1), Galician *kaŋ {can}* (1), Provençal Occitan *čiŋ {chin}* (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *θɛ̃ {shin}* (1), Old French *čyɛ̃ {chien}* (1), Standard French *šyɛ̃ {chien}* (1), Picard *kyɛ̃ {kien}* (1), Walloon *čɛ̃ {tchin}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {si ita non reperio, ibo odorans quasi canis venaticus} "If so I don't find the man, just like a hound I'll go smelling about" [Mil. 268]; {Mane sis videam, ne canis} "Stop, please; let me see whether the dog" [Most. 848].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {obtruncato protinus eo intestina quidem canibus nostris iacta, ceteram vero carnem omnem operariorum cenae reserva} "Slaughter him now, my lad,' he added, 'throw his guts to the dogs but keep the rest of the meat for our meal" [Met. 7: 22]; {cum viderem canes et modo magnos et numero multos et ursis ac leonibus ad compugnandum idoneos in me convocatos exasperari} "seeing those dogs large in size and many in number, fit to fight bears or lions, gathered and ranged against me" [Met. 4: 3].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 75.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 193; Byhan 1899: 199. Probably borrowed from Italian {bracco} 'hound' of Germanic origin. Byhan also mentions the word *k'uc-ä* {kútsę} of Croatian origin, which is used in baby talk [Byhan 1899: 260]. Žejane (also occurs in Nova Vas): *k'ɔr-e* {cɛ́re} 'dog' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 197; Byhan 1899: 253].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 287; Cunia 2010: 254; Dalametra 1906: 58; Bara et al. 2005: 53; Gołąb 1984: 225. Distinct from *k'ut-ə* {cútă} 'dog', used in baby talk [Papahagi 1963: 344; Cunia 2010: 254].

Romanian: DER 2004: 290; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1392-1393; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *k'in-e* {câne} [Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 417].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 237. Some examples are: {el ku͡ọṅ ke bú į no morsigúa} "the dog which barks does not bite" [Bartoli 2002: 229]; {el kuṅ me ju morsigu͡ọt, ku͡ọńa} "the dog bit me, a she-dog" [Bartoli 2002: 237].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 659, 108.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 103, 149. Marebbano: *ҫaŋ {tҫaŋ}* 'dog'; Badiotto: *ҫaŋ {tҫaŋ}* 'dog'; Livinallese: *ҫaŋ {tҫaŋ}* 'dog'; Nones: *kaŋ {kaŋ}* 'dog' [Gartner 1923: 149].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 54; Gartner 1923: 149.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 150.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 43.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 43.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *tab'ui* {tabui} 'dog', which is more archaic.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 74. Distinct from *brak* {brac} 'hound' [Ercolani 1960: 53]. Marchigiano: *kɛn* {chèn} 'dog' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {del mar si fu la dolorosa accorta, // forsennata latrò sì come cane} "of ocean was the dolorous one aware, // out of her senses like a dog she barked" [Inf. 30]; {Vassi caggendo; e quant' ella più 'ngrossa, // tanto più trova di can farsi lupi} "It goes on falling, and the more it grows, // the more it finds the dogs becoming wolves" [Purg. 14].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1603-1604.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 100. Domus de Maria: *kʼan-i* {cani} 'dog' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *kʼan-i* {cani} 'dog' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 220.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Of uncertain origin [Corominas 1997: 453].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *pʼer-u* {perru} 'dog' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 588. The term {cachorro} which means 'dog' in Brasilian Portuguese is not used in Lisboa Portuguese [Pimentel Ferreira 2016].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 829, 212; Fernández Armesto 1981: 578; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1004, 230.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 237-238. Borrowed from French {chien} 'dog'.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 499-500. Distinct from *wuwʼu* {wouwou} 'dog', which is used in child speech.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 195. Distinct from *goc* {goz} 'small dog / midget (pejorative)' [EDCT 2014: 557].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 181-182; Rayevskaya 2013: 592.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *čẽ* {tchén} 'dog'.

19. DRINK

Archaic Latin *bʼɪb-ɛ-rɛ {bibere}* (1), Late Classical Latin *bʼɪb-ɛ-rɛ {bibere}* (1), Megleno Romanian *bea̯-w {beáṷ}* (1), Istro Romanian *bä {bę}* (1), Aromanian *bea̯-w {beáŭ}* (1), Romanian *a=bʼea̯ {a bea}* (1), Dalmatian *b-a-r {bar}* (1), Friulian *bʼɛv-i {bevi}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *bʼev-ə-r {bever}* (1), Fassano Ladin *bʼeyv-e-r {bęiver}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *bʼayv-ə-r {baiver}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *bʼɛyb-ə-r {beiber}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *bʼev-ə-r {bever}*

(1), Vallader Romansh *b'ayv-ə-r {baiver}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *b'ɛyv-e {bèive}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *b'ɛyv-e {bèive}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *b'ɛyv-e {bèive}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *b'eyv-e {beive}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *b'e:v-i* (1), Bergamo Lombard *bif {bif}* (1), Plesio Lombard *be:f {bev}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *be: {bēr}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *b'ɛ-a-r {bèar}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *b'ɛv-e-r {bèver}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *b'ɛv-e-r {bèver}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *b'ey-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *b'ɛyv-e {beive}* (1), Stella Ligurian *b'ɛyv-e {bèive}* (1), Venice Venetian *b'ɛv-e-r {bèver}* ~ *b'ev-e-r {béver}* ~ *b'ev-a-r {bévar}* (1), Primiero Venetian *b'ev-e-r {béver}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *b'e-re {bere}* (1), Old Italian *b'e-re {bere}* (1), Standard Italian *b'e-re {bere}* (1), Grosseto Italian *bɛ {bè}* (1), Foligno Italian *be: {bé}* (1), Neapolitan *v'ɛβ-ə-rə* ~ *v'eβ-ə-rə {vevere}* (1), Logudorese *buf:-'a-re {buffare}* (2), Campidanese *buf:-'ay {buffai}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *v'iv-i-ri {viviri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *b'iv-ɨ-rɨ {biviri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *v'iv-i-ri {viviri}* ~ *b'iv-i-ri {biviri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *v'iv-i-ri {viviri}* ~ *b'iv-i-ri {biviri}* (1), Central Catalan *b'ɛw-rə {beure}* (1), North-Western Catalan *b'ew-re {beure}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *b'ɛw-rə {beure}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *b'ew-re {beure}* (1), Valencia Catalan *b'ew-re {beure}* (1), Manises Catalan *b'ew-re {beure}* (1), Castilian Spanish *beβ-'e-r {beber}* (1), Asturian *beb-'e-r {beber}* (1), Standard Portuguese *bəβ-'e-r {beber}* (1), Galician *beβ-'e-r {beber}* (1), Provençal Occitan *b'ew-re {béure}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *b'ay-re {baire}* (1), Old French *b'oyv-rə {boivre}* (1), Standard French *bwa-ʁ {boire}* (1), Picard *bwe-ʁ {bouére}* (1), Walloon *bwa:-ʀ {bwâre}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {quicum ego bibo, quicum edo et amo} "together with whom I drink, with whom I eat and go a-courting" [Bac. 646]; {De mendico male meretur qui ei dat quod edit aut bibat} "He deserves ill of a beggar who gives him what to eat or to drink" [Trin. 339]; {Pal. Neque tu bibisti? Lvc. Di me perdant, si bibi, si bibere potui} "PAL. And you didn't just drink as well? LUC. The Gods confound me if I did drink - if I could drink" [Mil. 833-834].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {flore persperso adripit poculum ac desuper aqua calida iniecta porrigit bibam} "she showered me with petals, before pouring warm water into a cup of wine and handing it me to drink" [Met. 2: 16]; {sitiensque pocillatore respecto, ciliis alterna conivens, bibere flagitarem} "when I was thirsty I'd look round at a servant and alternately wink my eyes to request a drink" [Met. 10: 17].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 37.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 191; Byhan 1899: 193.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 203; Cunia 2010: 193; Dalametra 1906: 37; Bara et al. 2005: 84; Gołąb 1984: 208. Polysemy: 'to drink / to suck / to tear / to smoke'. Distinct from the onomatopoeic term *cuk-uy-'esk-u* {ţucuǐéscu} [Papahagi 1963: 1076; Cunia 2010: 1043; Dalametra 1906: 210-211].

Romanian: DER 2004: 301; Bolocan et al. 1985: 994; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *a=b'ęa* {a bea} 'to drink' [Podiko 1973: 599; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 295].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {barme mu̯alt vén} "we drink a lot of wine"; {ju bla̯i̯ bár deśmúṅ uṅ pau̯k di asi̯ánz} "I want to drink a little absinth tomorrow" [Bartoli 2002: 242].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 656, 24. In Pirona's dictionary there is also a term *čumb-ˈa:* {çumbâ} ~ *žumb-ˈa:* {zumbâ} 'to drink' [Pirona 1871: 656], which is not known to Decorte, so it should be obsolete [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 17, 187.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 43.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 90.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 32.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 32.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *trink-ˈɛ* {trinchè} 'to drink' of German origin, used in informal speech.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 45. Marchigiano: *bˈɛv-a* {bèva} 'to drink' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Melon 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica, Verona: *bˈev-a-re* {bévare} 'to drink' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Climenti 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {ché Branca Doria non morì unquanche, // e mangia e bee e dorme e veste panni} "for Branca d' Oria is not dead as yet, // and eats, and drinks, and sleeps, and puts on clothes" [Inf. 34]; {Di bere e di mangiar n'accende cura} "Desire to eat and drink enkindles in us" [Purg. 23].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1615-1616.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Musella 2015; Alois 2015. Sant'Antonio Abate: *bˈeβ-ə-rə* {bevere} 'to drink' [Fattoruso 2015]. Grottaminarda: *bˈeβ-ə* {bev'} 'to drink' [Morelli 2015]. Salerno: *vˈeβ-ə* {veve} 'to drink' [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 92. Domus de Maria: *buf:-ˈay* {buffai} 'to drink' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *vˈiv-i-ɾi* {viviri} 'to drink' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 35.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *beb-ˈe-ɾ* {beber} 'to drink' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 424-425. Distinct from *tum-ˈa-r* {tomar} 'to take, to consume, to drink, to eat' [Feyershtein & Starets 2005: 795-796] which is used in the meaning 'to drink' mostly with a specified object: {tomar agua} "to drink water", {tomar

chá} "to drink tea", {tomar café} "to drink coffee" [Voinova et al. 1989: 424-425].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 122; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 931, 166.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 156-157.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 318-319.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 143-144.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 189-190; Rayevskaya 2013: 527.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *bwɛ: ʁ*{boere} 'to drink'.

20. DRY

Archaic Latin *sˈɪk:-ʊs {siccus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *sˈɪk:-ʊs {siccus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *usk-ˈa-t {uscát}* (2), Istro Romanian *usk-ˈʋ-t {uscåt}* (2), Aromanian *usk-ˈa-t-ŭ {uscát}* (2), Romanian *usk-ˈa-t {uscat}* (2), Dalmatian *swat {su̯at} ~ sot {sot}* (2), Friulian *sut {sut}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *sut {sut} ~ syəwt {siëut}* (2) / *sək {sëch}* (1), Fassano Ladin *sut {sut}* (2) / *sek {sech}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *siɕ {sitg}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *šeɕ {schetg}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *siţ {sitg}* (2), Vallader Romansh *süt {süt}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *süyt {suit}* (2) / *sɛk {sèch}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *sɛk {sec}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *sɛk {sech}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *sɛk {sech}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *sök* (1), Bergamo Lombard *sɛk {sèch}* (1), Plesio Lombard *süč: {sücc}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *sɛk {sec}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *sut {ˈssut}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *sut {sùt}* (2) / *sɛk {sèc}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *sot {sótt}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *sˈek:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *sˈek:-u {séccŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *sˈek:-u {séccu}* (1), Venice Venetian *sˈek-o {séco}* (1), Primiero Venetian *sut {sut}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *sek {sec}* (1), Old Italian *sˈek:-o {secco}* (1), Standard Italian *sˈek:-o {secco}* (1), Grosseto Italian *sˈek:-o {secco}* (1), Foligno Italian *sˈik:-u {siccu}* (1), Neapolitan *sˈik:-ə {sicco}* (1), Logudorese *sˈik:-u {siccu}* (1), Campidanese *sik:-ˈaw {siccau}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *sˈik:-u {siccu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *sˈik:-u {siccu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *sˈik:-u {siccu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *sˈik:-u {siccu}* (1), Central Catalan *sɛk {sec}* (1), North-Western Catalan *sek {sec}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *sɛk {sec}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *sek {sec}* (1), Valencia Catalan *sek {sec}* (1), Manises Catalan *sek {sec}* (1), Castilian Spanish *sˈek-o {seco}* (1), Asturian *sˈek-o {seco}* (1), Standard Portuguese *sˈek-u {seco}* (1), Galician *sˈek-o {seco}* (1), Provençal Occitan *se {se}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sɛ {sè}* (1), Old French *sɛk {sec}* (1), Standard French *sɛk {sec}* (1), Picard *se {sé}* (1), Walloon *sɛč {sètch}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Polysemy: 'dry / sober / thirsty'. The examples are: {At scelesta ego praeter alios meum virum frugi rata, siccum,

frugi, continentem, amantem uxoris maxume} "Wretched then am I, who have supposed that, beyond others, my husband was sober, decent, chaste, and especially fond of his wife" [Asin. 856-857]; {Vinipollens lepidus Liber, tibi qui screanti, siccae, semisomnae adfert potionem et sitim sedatum it} "The all-powerful in wine, jolly Bacchus; he who, when you're hawking, parched, and half asleep, brings you a draught and comes to quench your thirst" [Curc. 116-118]; {Egon salva sim, quae siti sicca sum?} "How can I have health, who am parched with thirst?" [Curc. 121]; {iam diu factum est, postquam bibimus; nimis diu sicci sumus} "it's a long time now since we last drank; we've been athirst too long" [Persa 822]; {eo vos vestros panticesque adeo madefactatis, quom ego sim hic siccus} "You are a-soaking away yourselves and your paunches too, at the very time that I'm here a-dry" [Pseud. 184]; {quia isti umbram aestate tibi esse audivit perbonam sub sicco lumine usque perpetuom diem} "It was because he heard that here the summer heat was much modified; that this house was wont to be inhabited each day all day long." [Most. 764-765]. Although {siccus} is not attested in the meaning 'dry' in Plautus' plays (there are plenty of examples in the later texts), there is the derivate {siccoculus} 'dryeyed' ({Genus nostrum semper siccoculum fuit} "My family was always a dryeyed one" [Pseud. 77]).

Distinct from *'aːr ɨd-ʊs* {aridus} 'dried up / lean / stingy / ready (money)': {At vides me ornatus ut sim vestimentis uvidis: recipe me in tectum, da mihi vestimenti aliquid aridi} "But do you see me, in what wet clothes I'm dressed? Do take me under shelter; lend me some dry clothes" [Rud. 573-574]; {Nullum habemus ignem, ficis victitamus aridis} "We keep no fire, we live upon dried figs" [Rud. 764]; {nam id demum lepidumst, triparcos homines, vetulos, avidos, aridos bene admordere, qui salinum servo obsignant cum sale} "for this, in fact, is a delightful thing, handsomely to bite your thrice-dotted niggardly, antiquated, covetous, spiritless people, who against their servant seal up the saltcellar with the salt" [Persa 266-267]; {pumex non aeque est aridus atque hic est senex} "A pumice stone isn't so dry as is this old fellow" [Aul. 297]; {tu, senex, si istas amas, huc arido argentost opus} "If you are in love with them, old gentleman, you must down here with the ready cash" [Rud. 726].

Late Classical Latin: The examples are: {aequalitas ista sicci atque umidi} 'that equality of dry and humid' [De dogmate Platonis 17]; {de illa superiore, quam diximus siccam} "about the one mentioned above, which we called dry" (about exhalation) [De mundo 8]. The term *ɛk=s'uːk-t-ʊs* {exsuctus} 'dried up' is not attested in Apuleius' texts.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1928: 319. Capidan also mentions a term *sęak* {seác} [Capidan 1935: 262], but it doesn't occur in the texts.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 294; Byhan 1899: 337. Byhan also mentions the word {sek} [Byhan 1899: 335], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1094; Cunia 2010: 1070-1071; Dalametra 1906: 216; Bara et al. 2005: 328; Gołąb 1984: 257. The term *s'ek-ŭ* {sec} 'exhausted / dried up / impoverished' can sometimes be used in the meaning 'dry' as well [Papahagi 1963: 937-938; Cunia 2010: 918-919; Dalametra 1906: 186].

Romanian: DER 2004: 303; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1467; Gancz 2015. The participle of the verb {a usca} 'to dry', which goes back to Vulgar Latin {*usticare} 'to burn' or {exsucare} 'to dry'. Ciorănescu regards the first version as more probable [Ciorănescu 2015]. There is also another term, *sek* {sec} 'dry / empty', whose use is restricted [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *usk-'at* {uscat} 'dry' [Podiko 1973: 923; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 436].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 256. Some examples are: {polịanta sóta} "dry polenta" [Bartoli 2002: 243]; {joịna faịka sóta} "a dry fig" [Bartoli 2002: 239].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 698, 424. There are two expressions for 'dry': *sut* {sut} and *sɛk* {sec} [Pirona 1871: 375-376] with polysemy: 'dry / lean'. The latter is more restricted in use (cf. the translations of contexts from the GLD specifications: {tiere sute} / {tiere secje} 'dry earth', but {I miei vistîts a son za suts, ma i siei a son ancjemò bagnâts} 'My clothes are already dry, but his are still wet' [Decorte 2015]), so we include only *sut* {sut} on the list.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 81, 83, 187. There are two terms for 'dry': *sək* {sëch} and *sut* {sut} / *syʒwt* {siëut}. The available contexts do not allow to differenciate between these terms, cf: {avëi la giames sëces} "to have dry legs"; {l pan devënta sëch do n di} "a bread becomes dry after a day"; {l verzon ie sëch} "the garden is dried up"; {lënia sëcia} "dry wood"; {na resposta sëcia} "a bare answer" (literally "dry"); {ti dé fuech ala pleces sëces} "to set dry leaves on fire"; {avëi la pel suta} "to have dry skin"; {la besc ie suta} "the washing is dry"; {sce ne n'é nia i ciavëi suc ne vedi nia dedora} "if I my hair isn't dry, I don't go out" [Forni 2015]. We have to treat both words as synonyms. Marebbano: *sœt* {sœt} 'dry'; Badiotto: *süt* {sʊt} 'dry'; Livinallese: *sut* {sut} 'dry' [Gartner 1923: 187].Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 78, 187. Marebbano: *sɛk* {sęk} 'dry'; Badiotto: *sək* {săk} 'dry'; Livinallese: *sək* {săk} 'dry' [Gartner 1923: 187].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 30, 588; Gartner 1923: 187. Same synonymy as in the Gardenese.DILF 2001: 30, 561; Gartner 1923: 187. Same synonymy as in the Gardenese.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *sɛk* {sec} 'dried out' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 739. Distinct from *seɕ* {sech} 'dried out' [Conrad 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 667].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 323, 19. There are two expressions for 'dry': *süyt* {suit} and *sɛk* {sèch}. According to [Gisolo 2015], they are synonyms.Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 323, 19.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 323, 19.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *süyt* {sùit} 'dried up'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *süyt* {suit} 'dried up'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *süč* 'not wet'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *sɛk:* {secch} 'dried up' [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 27. Distinct from *asˈot* {aṣo´t} 'dried up' [Ercolani 1960: 396]. Marchigiano: *sek* {sécch} 'dry' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. There are two expressions for 'dry': *sut* {sùt} and *sɛk* {sèc}. According to [Sacchi 2015], they are synonyms.Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *šˈüt-u* {sciütŏ} 'dried up'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *sˈüč-u* {sücciu} 'dried up'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Distinct from *sˈut-o* {sùto} 'dried up' [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015]. Salgareda: *sek* {sec} 'dry' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *sek* {sech} 'dry', used mainly for soil [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {grand' arco tra la ripa secca e 'l mezzo} "a great arc 'twixt the dry bank and the swamp" [Inf. 7]; {Cenere, o terra che secca si cavi, // d'un color fora col suo vestimento} "Ashes, or earth that dry is excavated, // of the same colour were with his attire" [Purg. 9]. The term *ašˈut:-o* {asciutto} 'dried up' is also attested: {già t'ho veduto coi capelli asciutti} "I have already seen thee with dry hair" [Inf. 19].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1619. Distinct from *ašˈut:-o* {asciutto} 'dried up' [Vitali 2015].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *ašˈut:-o* {asciutto} 'dried up' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *šˈut:-u* {sciuttu} 'dried up' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Mancusi 2015; Morelli 2015; Musella 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *ašˈut:-ə* {asciutto} 'dried up' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *as:ˈut:-u* {assuttu} 'dried up' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 388. Distinct from *ašˈut-u* {asciuttu} 'dried up' [Ballicu 2015; Casciu 2006: 64]. Domus de Maria: *sˈik:-u* {siccu} [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Distinct from *ašˈut:-u* {asciuttu} 'dried up' [Messina 2015; La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *sˈik:-u* {siccu} 'dry' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Salerno 2015. Distinct from *ašˈut:-u* {asciuttu} ~ *šˈut:-u* {sciuttu} 'dried up' [Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *ašˈut:-u* {asciuttu} 'dried up' [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 259. Distinct from *əšut* {eixut} 'dried up', which tends to go extinct under Spanish influence [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *šut* {eixut} 'dried up' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *eyšˈut* {eixut} 'dried up' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *eyšˈut* {eixut} 'dried up' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Distinct from *en=s'uč-o* {ensucho} 'dried up'. Langreo: *s'ek-u* {secu} 'dry', *en=s'uč-u* {ensuchu} 'dried up' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 621. Distinct from *ẽš'ut-u* {enxuto} 'dried up' and from *'arið-u* {árido} 'dry' (about soil) [Voinova et al. 1989: 621].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 840; Fernández Armesto 1981: 662; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1021, 797.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1278-1279.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1956.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1010-1011. Can be used in the figurative meaning 'hard, indifferent'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 192; Rayevskaya 2013: 605.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Sometimes the term *eʁlɛ* {hérlè} 'dry' can also be used: {ch'blé il est hérlè} "the wheat is dry" [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *sɛč* {setch} 'dry'.

21. EAR

Archaic Latin *'awr-ɪs {auris}* (1), Late Classical Latin *'awr-ɪs {auris}* (1), Megleno Romanian *ur'e̯akʎ-ə {ureácľă}* (1), Istro Romanian *ur'äkʎ-e {urę́cľe}* (1), Aromanian *ur'e̯akʎ-e {ureácľe}* (1), Romanian *ur'ek-e {ureche}* (1), Dalmatian *or'akl-a {orákla} ~ r'akl-a {rákla}* (1), Friulian *or'ɛl-e {orele}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ur'ədl-a {urëdla}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ur'ey-a {urẹia}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ur'eʎ-ə {ureglia}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ur'eʎ-ə {ureglia}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ur'ey-ə {ureia}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ur'aʎ-ə {uraglia}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *ur'iy-a {orija}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *ur'iy-a {orija}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *ur'iy-a {orija}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *ur'iy-a {orija}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *ur'öʒ-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *or'ɛʒ-a {orègia}* (1), Plesio Lombard *ur'eʒ-a {uregia}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *ur'ɛč-a {urècia}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ur'ɛč-a {urècia}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *ur'ɛč-a {urècia}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ur'ɛč-a {urècia}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *aw'eʒ-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *w'ɛʒ-a {uegia}* (1), Stella Ligurian *w'ɛʒː-a {ouèggia}* (1), Venice Venetian *r'ɛč-a {rècia} ~ r'eč-a {récia}* (1), Primiero Venetian *r'eč-a {recia}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *r'eč-a {recia}* (1), Old Italian *or'ekː-y-a {orecchia}* (1), Standard Italian *or'ekː-y-o {orecchio} ~ or'ekː-y-a {orecchia}* (1), Grosseto Italian *or'ekː-y-o {orecchio}* (1), Foligno Italian *r'ekː-y-a {recchia}* (1), Neapolitan *r'ekː-y-ə {recchia}* (1), Logudorese *or'ikː-r-a {oriccra}* (1), Campidanese *or'iɣ-a {origa}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *aɾ'ikː-y-u {aricchiu} ~ aɾ'ikː-y-a {aricchia}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *ɾ'ikː-ɨ {ricchi}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *aɾ'ikː-y-u {aricchiu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *awr'ič:-a {auriccia}* (1), Central Catalan *ur'ɛʎ-ə {orella}* (1), North-Western Catalan *awr'eʎ-ɛ {orella}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ur'ɛ-ə {orella}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *or'eʎ-a {orella}* (1), Valencia Catalan *or'eʎ-a {orella}* (1), Manises Catalan *or'eʎ-a {orella}* (1), Castilian Spanish *or'ex-a {oreja}* (1), Asturian *or'ey-a {oreya}* (1), Standard Portuguese *or'eʎ-ɐ {orelha}* (1), Galician *or'eʎ-a {orella}* (1), Provençal Occitan *awr'i-o*

{auriho} (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal ˈɔrʎ-o {orlyo} (1), Old French orˈɛʎ-ə {oreille} (1), Standard French ɔʁɛy {oreille} (1), Picard ɔʁɛl {orèle} (1), Walloon ɔʁɛy {orèye} (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {nam illius oculi atque aures atque opinio transfugere ad nos. usque adhuc actum est probe} "For his eyes, and ears, and thoughts have come over to us" [Mil. 589-590]; {ne tu quod istic fabuletur auris immittas tuas} "Don't you give ear to what he prates about" [Capt. 548].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {aures enormes repetunt pristinam parvitatem} "my huge ears shrank back to their former size" [Met. 11: 13]; {frontem curiose exfrico, auris remulceo} "I rubbed the sweat from his forehead, carefully, stroked his ears" (about horse's ears) [Met. 1: 2].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 318.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 293; Byhan 1899: 376.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1089; Cunia 2010: 1065-1066; Dalametra 1906: 215; Bara et al. 2005: 335; Gołąb 1984: 257. Distinct from the pejorative term zˈiʎ-e {zíʎe} 'ear' [Papahagi 1963: 1042; Cunia 2010: 1128].

Romanian: DER 2004: 309; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1582-1583; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: urˈek-e {ureche} 'ear' [Podiko 1973: 996; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 474].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju me dolúa la orákla} "my ear hurts" [Bartoli 2002: 241]; {la portúa la mojér su le rákle i rečáįni} "the woman has golden earrings in her ears" [Bartoli 2002: 244].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 687, 276-277.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 106, 166.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 203.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 789.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 223.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 223.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 481.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Un altro, che forata avea la gola // e tronco 'l naso infin sotto le ciglia // e non avea mai ch'una orecchia sola} "Another one, who had his throat pierced through, // and nose cut off close underneath the brows, // and had no longer but a single ear" [Inf. 28]; {ond' io li orecchi con le man copersi} "whereat mine ears I covered with my hands" [Inf. 29].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1624.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Musella 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 296. Domus de Maria: *or'iɣ-a* {origa} 'ear' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *uˈrikːy-a* {uricchia} 'ear' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *aˈrikːy-a* {aricchia} 'ear' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *awrˈič-i* {auricci} 'ear' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 208.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *oˈrey-a* {oreya} 'ear' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 669. Distinct from *ovˈið-u* {ouvido} 'ear (including inner parts)' [Cândido de Figueiredo II: 549].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 826, 580; Fernández Armesto 1981: 548-549; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 997, 668.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 972.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1507-1508.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 777.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 195-196; Rayevskaya 2013: 627.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ɔɻ̯y* {oraye} 'ear'.

22. EARTH

Archaic Latin *tˈɛrː-a {terra}* (1), Late Classical Latin *tˈɛrː-a {terra}* (1), Megleno Romanian *cˈar-ə {tsáră}* (1), Istro Romanian *pemˈint {pemínt}* (2), Aromanian *cˈar-ə {ţáră}* (1), Romanian *pəmˈint {pământ}* (2), Dalmatian *tˈar-a {tára} ~ tˈyar-a {tiára}* (1), Friulian *tˈyɛr-e {tiere} ~ tˈyar-e {tiare}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *tˈyər-a {tiera}* (1), Fassano Ladin *tˈer-a {tera}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *tˈɛr-ə {terra}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *tˈyar-ə {tiara}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *tˈer-ə {tera}* (1), Vallader Romansh *tˈɛr-ə {terra}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *tˈer-a {tera}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *tˈɛr-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Plesio Lombard *tˈɛr-a {tera}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *tˈɛər-a {tëra}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *tˈär-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Stella Ligurian *tˈär-a {tæra}* (1), Venice Venetian *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Primiero Venetian *tˈɛr-a {tèra}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *tˈɛr-a {tera}* (1), Old Italian *tˈɛrː-a {terra}* (1), Standard Italian *tˈɛrː-a {terra}* (1), Grosseto Italian *tˈɛrː-a {terra}* (1), Foligno Italian *tˈɛrː-a*

{terra} (1), Neapolitan *t'ɛr:-ə {terra}* (1), Logudorese *t'er:-a {terra}* (1), Campidanese *t'ɛr:-a {terra}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *t'yɛʐ-a {tierra}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *t'ɛr:-a {terra}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *t'ɛr:-a {terra}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *t'ɛʐ-a {terra}* (1), Central Catalan *t'ɛr-ə {terra}* (1), North-Western Catalan *t'ɛr-ɛ {terra}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *t'ɛr-ə {terra}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *t'ɛr-a {terra}* (1), Valencia Catalan *t'ɛr-a {terra}* (1), Manises Catalan *t'ɛr-a {terra}* (1), Castilian Spanish *t'yer-a {tierra}* (1), Asturian *t'yer-a {tierra}* (1), Standard Portuguese *t'ɛʁ-ɐ {terra}* (1), Galician *t'ɛr-a {terra}* (1), Provençal Occitan *t'ɛʁ-o {terro}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *t'ɛr-a {têra}* (1), Old French *t'ɛr-ə {terre}* (1), Standard French *tɛʁ {terre}* (1), Picard *tyɛʁ {tière}* (1), Walloon *tɛʀ {tère}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The basic word for 'earth / land / world', cf. some examples: {facite inter terram atque caelum ut sit <situs>, discindite} "Make him to be between heaven and earth" [Mil. 1395]; {tum genu quemque icero ad terram dabo} "then against whomsoever I dart my knee, I shall bring him to the ground" [Capt. 797]; {Principio ut illo advenimus, ubi primum terram tetigimus} "In the first place, when we arrived there, when first we made land" [Amph. 203]; {postquam id actum est, tubae contra utrimque occanunt, consonat terra, clamorem utrimque efferunt} "After that was done, the trumpets on either side gave the signal; the earth re-echoed, they raised a shout on either side" [Amph. 227-228]; {semul radebat pedibus terram} "he was both scratching the ground with his feet" [Aul. 625]; {foras, lumbrice, qui sub terra erepsisti modo} "Out, out, you earthworm, who have this instant crept out of the earth" [Aul. 628]; {perditissimus ego sum omnium in terra} "I'm the most utterly ruined of all men upon the earth!" [Aul. 723].

> Distinct from *h'ʋm-ʋs {humus}* 'earth / soil'; the only example is {Age tu ocius pinge, humum consperge ante aedis} "Come, do you quickly sweep the ground, and sprinkle before the house" [Stichus 353-354].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {atque ego de alto recidens Socraten - nam iuxta me iacebat - superruo cumque eo in terram devolvor} "and I crashed down on top of Socrates who was lying there beside me, and rolled with him on to the ground" [Met. 1: 16]; {vel certe rursum novo caelestium stillarum germine non maria sed terras} "then earth not ocean had given rise to a new creation" [Met. 4: 28].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 306. Distinct from *pim'int {pimínt}* [Capidan 1935: 222], designating earth as a surface as opposed to *c'arə* 'earth as soil'. Cf. some contexts: {mǎ̩i̩rǎ cu grǫp di tsarǎ} "he threw a lump of earth"; {Cǫn si-ń punǎ tsarǎ pri u̯ocľi} "when my eyes will be covered with earth" (= when I die) [Capidan 1928: 211]; {unǎ mardzinǎ di pimintu} "the edge of earth" [Capidan 1928: 111]; {u̯a ǎn lumea noastrǎ ari acmuǎ unǎ lǎmńǎ cari sta sub pimīnt și-u bea toatǎ āpa} "now there is a dragon in our world, he lies under the earth and he drank all the water" [Capidan 1928: 119]; {pimīntu cǎtso s-creapǎ și feata zǎcǎtso s-plongǎ} "the earth began to split and the girl started to cry" [Capidan 1928: 119].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frǎțilǎ 1998: 248; Byhan 1899: 304. Polysemy: 'earth / country', cf.: {cadẹ́ pre pemínt} "to fall on earth"; {noi̩ lucrǎn pemíntu} "we work the land" [Kovačec 2010]; {Ân čuda peminture âi̩ već, pri Europa} "It is in many countries of Europe".

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1065; Dalametra 1906: 203; Cunia 2010: 1033. Sometimes the term *l'ok-ŭ {lok}* 'place / land / country' can be used in the meaning 'earth' as well. Cf. {s' cutreámburǎ lóclu} "the earth quaked"; {mérlu lócu s' feáțe} "the apple became soil"; {mî̩scǎ´ lóclu} "he bit the dust" (he died) [Papahagi 1963: 637-638]. There is also a less common term *pim'int-u {pimíntu}* 'earth', mainly used in proverbs [Papahagi 1963: 844; Cunia 2010: 822; Dalametra 1906: 167].

Romanian: DER 2004: 310; Bolocan et al. 1985: 436; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {pavimentum} 'a paved surface or floor, pavement' [Ciorǎnescu 2015]. Distinct from *sol {sol}* 'soil' of French origin [DEaLR 2015] and *usk-'at {uscat}* '(dry) land' [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *pəm'int {pǎmânt}* 'earth' [Podiko 1973: 261; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 143].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {lau̯da el múr e ti̩ánte a la tár} "praise the sea, but hold the earth" [Bartoli 2002: 229]; {gu̯aliṡu̯o̩r la tara} "to level the earth" [Bartoli 2002: 235]; {la puo̯s sau̯pra la ti̩ár} "peace on Earth" [Bartoli 2002: 247].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 704, 437-438.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 94, 134.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 328.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *trač* {tratsch} 'soil' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 753.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 371.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 371.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 461. Marchigiano: *t'ɛr-a* {téra} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Elle giacean per terra tutte quante} "They all were lying prone upon the earth" [Inf. 6]; {Cenere, o terra che secca si cavi, // d'un color fora col suo vestimento} "Ashes, or earth that dry is excavated, // of the same colour were with his attire" [Purg. 9].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1625. Distinct from *s'wɔl-o* {suolo} 'ground' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1176].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 431. Domus de Maria: *t'ɛr:-a* {terra} 'earth' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *t'ɛʐ-a* {terra} 'earth' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *t'eʐ-a* {terra} 'earth' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 276.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *t'yer-a* {tierra} 'earth' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 194.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 844, 701; Fernández Armesto 1981: 704; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1031, 831.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1386. Earth as soil. Distinct from *sɔw* {sòu} 'earth as surface' [Coupier 1995: 1386].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2085-2086.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1074-1076. Polysemy: 'ground / battle place / large place, country / arable soil / substance of the land surface / world'. Distinct from *s'yekl-ə* {siecle} 'era, age / Earth, world' [EDCT 2014: 1033-1034], cf. {Ne sai, tote an sui esgaree, // car onques mes ne panssai // tant a nul home el siegle vivant} "I do not know; I am all confused; for I never thought so much about any man in the world" (Cligès 912-914); {Mes de grant force estoit li cuens // et chevaliers hardiz et buens, // que el siegle meillor n'eüst, // se fel et traïtres ne fust} "But the Count was a powerful man and a good and hardy knight, whose match it would have been hard to find, had he not been a base traitor" (Cligès 1887-1890).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 196; Rayevskaya 2013: 423.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *tɛ ʀ*{tere} 'earth'.

23. EAT

Archaic Latin *'eːd-ɛ-rɛ {edere}* (1), Late Classical Latin *'eːd-ɛ-rɛ {edere}* (1), Megleno Romanian *mən'ank {mănánc}* (2), Istro Romanian *məŋk-ʋ {mâ̂ncǎ}* (2), Aromanian *m'ɨk-ŭ {mîc}* (2), Romanian *a=mɨŋk-'a {a mânca}* (2), Dalmatian *man'ayk-o {manai̯ko}* (2), Friulian *mandʑ-'aː {mangjâ}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *may-'ə {maïë}* (3), Fassano Ladin *maɲ-'ɛ-r {magnèr}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *mənʒ-'a-r {mangiar}* (-1), Sursilvan Romansh *məʎ-'a-r {magliar}* (3), Surmiran Romansh *məʎ-'e-r {magler}* (3), Vallader Romansh *mənʒ-'a-r {mangiar}* (-1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *maŋʒ-'e {mangé}* (-1), Barbania Piemontese *maŋʒ-'e {mangé}* (-1), Carmagnola Piemontese *maŋʒ-'e {mangé}* (-1), Turinese Piemontese *maŋʒ-'e {mangé}* (-1), Vercellese Piemontese *maŋʒ-'ɛ* (-1), Bergamo Lombard *maŋʒ-'a {mangià}* (-1), Plesio Lombard *maŋʒ-'a {mangià}* (-1), Ravennate Romagnol *maɲ-'eə̯ {magnêr}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *maɲ-'a-r {magnàr}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *maɲ-'ɛː-r {magnèr}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *maɲ-'ɛː-r {magnêr}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *maŋʒ-'a* (-1), Genoese Ligurian *maŋʒ-'a {mangiâ}* (-1), Stella Ligurian *maŋʒ-'ɛ {mangiè}* (-1), Venice Venetian *maɲ-'a-r {magnàr}* (2), Primiero Venetian *maɲ-'a-r {magnar}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *maɲ-'a-r {magnar}* (2), Old Italian *manʒ-'a-re {mangiare}* (-1), Standard Italian *manʒ-'a-re {mangiare}* (-1), Grosseto Italian *manʒ-'a-re {mangiare}* (-1), Foligno Italian *maɲː-'a {magnà}* (2), Neapolitan *maɲː-'a {magnà}* (2), Logudorese *mandig-'a-re {mandigare}* (2), Campidanese *papː-'ay {pappai}* (4), Palermitan Sicilian *manč-'a-ri {manciari}* (-1), Messinese Sicilian *manč-'a-ɾɨ {manciari}* (-1), Catanian Sicilian *manč-'a-ri {manciari}* (-1), South-Eastern Sicilian *manč-'a-ri {manciari}* (-1), Central Catalan *məɲʒ-'a {menjar}* (-1), North-Western Catalan *meɲʒ-'a {menjar}* (-1), Minorcan Catalan *məɲʒ-'a {menjar}* (-1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *meɲʒ-'a-r {menjar}* (-1), Valencia Catalan *meɲč-'a-r {menjar}* (-1), Manises Catalan *meɲč-'a-ɾ {menjar}* (-1), Castilian Spanish *kom-'e-ɾ {comer}* (1), Asturian *kom-'e-ɾ {comer}* (1), Standard Portuguese *kum-'e-ɾ {comer}* (1), Galician *kom-'e-ɾ {comer}* (1), Provençal Occitan *maŋʒ-'a {manja}* (-1),

Savoyard Franco-Provençal *bʒ-i: {bdjî}* (-1), Old French *mãnʒ-ˈye-r {mangier}* (2), Standard French *mãʒ-e {manger}* (2), Picard *mɛ̃ʒ-e {minger}* (2), Walloon *muɲ-e {mougner}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {quicum ego bibo, quicum edo et amo} "together with whom I drink, with whom I eat and go a-courting" [Bac. 646]; {De mendico male meretur qui ei dat quod edit aut bibat} "He deserves ill of a beggar who gives him what to eat or to drink" [Trin. 339]; {quas herbas pecudes non edunt, homines edunt} "Herbage which the cattle eat not, men eat themselves" [Pseud. 825].

Late Classical Latin: The only example of usage for {edere} is: {Estur ac potatur incondite, pulmentis acervatim, panibus aggeratim, poculis agminatim ingestis} "They ate and drank with abandon, downing mounds of meat, banks of bread and swilling wine like water" [Met. 4: 8], but the frequentative form *eː-s t-ˈaː- rɛ {esitare}* occurs twice: {Quo facto et ipse aliquid indidem sumo eumque avide essitantem aspiciens aliquanto intentiore macie atque pallore buxeo deficientem video} "Having done so, I took something from the sack for myself, and watched him eating avidly, but visibly weaker, somehow more drawn and emaciated, and with the pallor of boxwood" [Met. 1: 19]; {nec tantillum commotus securus esitabam} "I felt quite at ease and went on eating unconcernedly" [Met. 10: 16]. The only example of usage for *manduːk-ˈaː-rɛ {manducare}* is {Nec me tamen instanter fortiter manducantem vel somnus imminens impedire potuit} "I kept bravely, vehemently chewing away; even impending drowsiness had no effect on me" [Met. 4: 22]. The term *kɔm=ˈeːd-ɛ-rɛ {comedere}* is not attested.

> In Gellius' text {manducare} does not occur, but Gellius mentions a good example of {edere} from contemporary speech: {et fetidum potare, "hic" inquit "eques Romanus apludam edit et flocces bibit"} "This Roman knight," said he, "eats apluda and drinks flocces." (quoting a Roman man) [Attic Nights 11: 7].
>
> In the text of Vulgata both {manducare} and {comedere} are used as synonyms in the meaning 'to eat', cf. the following context: {Maledictus vir, qui comederit panem usque ad vesperam, donec ulciscar de inimicis meis. Et non manducavit universus populus panem} "Cursed be the man that eateth any food until evening, that I may be avenged on mine enemies. So none of the people tasted any food" (Jacob's Bible translation) [1 Samuel 14: 24].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 180.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 226; Byhan 1899: 282.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 693; Cunia 2010: 619-620; Dalametra 1906: 129; Bara et al. 2005: 84.

Romanian: DER 2004: 311; Bolocan et al. 1985: 347; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *a=miŋk-ˈa {a mânca}* 'to eat' [Podiko 1973: 202-203; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 108].

Dalmatian: The present form. The infinitive form was probably borrowed from the Italian {mangiare}. Some examples are: {ju manai̯ko vuai ku͡orno per prínz, pi̯as.} "Today I eat meat for lunch, fish" [Bartoli 2002: 242]; {pu̯arta káu̯k uṅ pàu̯k si skalúṅ ke ju bùle mančúr kol pu͡oṅ} "bring here some shallot which I want to eat with bread" [Bartoli 2002: 239].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 246.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 50, 135. Marebbano: *mandy-ˈe {mandyé}*; Badiotto: *mandy-ˈe {mandyé}*; Livinallese: *mandy-ˈe {mandyé}*; Nones: *maɲ-ˈar {manyar}* [Gartner 1923: 135].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 177; Gartner 1923: 135.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 439-440. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'. Distinct from *məʎ-ˈar {magliar}* 'eat (of animal)' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 435].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 194. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 194. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016 Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'. The term *may-ˈa {maià}* 'to eat' is less frequent and more

colloquial [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 245. Marchigiano: *maɲ-ˈɛ* {magnè} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *maɲ-ˈa-re* {magnare} 'to eat' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Di bere e di mangiar n'accende cura} "Desire to eat and drink enkindles in us" [Purg. 23]; {ché Branca Doria non morì unquanche, // e mangia e bee e dorme e veste panni} "for Branca d' Oria is not dead as yet, // and eats, and drinks, and sleeps, and puts on clothes" [Inf. 34]. The form *manduk-ˈa-re* {manducare} 'to eat' is attested twice, both times in the end of a line: {e come 'l pan per fame si manduca} "and even as bread through hunger is devoured" [Inf. 32]; {che ogni senso // co li denti d'Amor già mi manduca} "which already // is devouring all my senses with the teeth // of Love" [Rime 103].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1627. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 303. Domus de Maria: *pap:-ˈay* {pappai} 'to eat' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015. Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'. Distinct from *pisti-ˈa-ri* {pistiari} of Greek origin, which is more vulgar [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *manč-ˈa-ri* {manciari} 'to eat' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *manʒ-ˈa-ri* {mangiari} 'to eat' [Sorbello 2015]. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'. Distinct from the obsolete term *man:uk-ˈa-ri* {mannucari} 'to eat' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 61. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Distinct from *šint-ˈa-ɾ* {xintar} 'to have lunch'. Langreo: *kom-ˈe-ɾ* {comer} 'to eat', *šint-ˈa-ɾ* {xintar} 'to eat' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 154.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 198; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 940, 280. Distinct from *manš-ˈa-ɾ* {manxar}, used in high style [Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 851. Borrowed from Old French {mangier} 'to eat'.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1325-1328. Phonetic variants: *bdy-i:* {bdyî} ~ *bžy-i:* {bdjyî} ~ *mdy-i:* {mdyî} ~ *mžy-i:* {mdjyî} ~ *mž-i:* {mdjî}. Distinct from *kas-ˈa:* {kassâ} 'to eat', which belongs to informal speech. Annecy: *mdy-i:* {mdyî} 'to eat', *pek-ˈa:* {pekâ} 'to eat'; Saint-Pierre-de-Genebroz, Saint-Pierre-de-Soucy: *pek-ˈa:* {pekâ} 'to eat'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 675-676. Applied to people and animals.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 197; Rayevskaya 2013: 405.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *maɲ-i:* {magnî} ~ *mɛ̃ʒ-i:* {mindjî} 'to eat'.

24. EGG

Archaic Latin ˈoːw-ũ {ovum} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈoːv-ũ {ovum} (1), Megleno Romanian *wow {* u̯óu̯} (1), Istro Romanian *ov {ov}* (1), Aromanian *ow {oŭ}* (1), Romanian *ow {ou}* (1), Dalmatian *yuv {juv}* (1), Friulian *uːf {ûf}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *wef {uef}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ef {ef}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *of {ov}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *yef {iev}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *of {ov}* (1), Vallader Romansh *öf {öv}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *öv {euv}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *öv {euv}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *öw {euv}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *öv {euv}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *öf* (1), Bergamo Lombard *of {öf}* (1), Plesio Lombard *öːf {öv}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *ɔɐv {öv}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ɔv {òv}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *oːv {ōv}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *oːv {ōv}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian ˈöv-u (1), Genoese Ligurian ˈöv-u {övǒ} (1), Stella Ligurian ˈöːv-u {euvu} (1), Venice Venetian *vˈɔv-o {vòvo}* ~ *vˈov-o {vóvo}* (1), Primiero Venetian *ow {ou}* ~ ˈov-o {ovo} (1), Bellunese Venetian ˈov-o {ovo} (1), Old Italian ˈwɔv-o {uovo} (1), Standard Italian ˈwɔv-o {uovo} (1), Grosseto Italian ˈɔv-o {ovo} (1), Foligno Italian ˈɔ-u {ou} (1), Neapolitan ˈwov-ə {uovo} (1), Logudorese ˈov-u {ovu} (1), Campidanese *ow {ou}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian ˈwɔv-u {uovu} (1), Messinese Sicilian ˈɔv-u {ovu} (1), Catanian Sicilian ˈɔv-u {ovu} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian ˈwɔv-u {uovu} (1), Central Catalan *ɔw {ou}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ɔw {ou}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ɔw {ou}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ɔw {ou}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ɔw {ou}* (1), Manises Catalan *ɔw {ou}* (1), Castilian Spanish ˈweβ-o {huevo} (1), Asturian gˈweb-o {güevo} (1), Standard Portuguese ˈov-u {ovo} (1), Galician ˈɔβ-o {ovo} (1), Provençal Occitan *yɔw {iòu}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *wa {wà}* (1), Old French *wœf {uef}* (1), Standard French *œf {œuf}* (1), Picard *ɥe {ué}* (1), Walloon *ü: {û}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The word for 'egg' is not attested in Plautus' texts, but there are numerous attestations in Cato's texts. Cf. some examples: {Sesquilibram salis frigito, eodem indito et rude misceto usque adeo, donec ovum gallinaceum coctum natabit, desinito miscere} "parch 1½ pounds of salt, add it, and stir with a rod until a boiled hen's egg will float; then stop the stirring" [De agri cultura 106]; {Bos si aegrotare coeperit, dato continuo ei unum ovum gallinaceum crudum; integrum facito devoret} "If an ox begins to sicken, administer at once one hen's egg raw, and make him swallow it whole" [De agri cultura 71].
Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Non enim ovum, quod scimus, illud; sed pinnis et unguibus et oculis et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum} "and not the usual egg but a fully-fledged chick, with claws and feathers, an ominous portent, that with open eyes" [Met. 9: 33]; {taeda lucida et ovo et sulpure, sollemnissimas preces de casto praefatus ore} "taking a lighted torch, an egg, and some sulphur, he uttered solemn prayers with reverent lips" [Met. 11: 16].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 316.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 245; Byhan 1899: 296. Žejane: *oš'or* {oșór} 'egg' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 245], with a diminutive suffix (cf. Romanian {oușor} 'small egg').

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 809-810; Cunia 2010: 779; Dalametra 1906: 161; Bara et al. 2005: 390; Gołąb 1984: 240.

Romanian: DER 2004: 314; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1698; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *ow* {ou} 'egg' [Podiko 1973: 1058; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 501].

Dalmatian: Attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 269].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 707, 458.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 105, 131. Marebbano: *ü* {ʊ} 'egg'; Badiotto: *ü* {ʊ} 'egg'; Livinallese: *wof* {ᵁof} 'egg'; Nones: *œf* {œf} 'egg' [Gartner 1923: 131]. Distinct from *k'oko* {coco} used in baby talk [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 342-343; Gartner 1923: 131. Distinct from *kok* {coch} used in baby talk [DILF 2001: 342, 400].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. The plural form is *ɔfs* {ovs}.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 509.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 387-388.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 387-388.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 285. Marchigiano: *ɔv* {ov} 'egg' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica, Verona: *'ov-o* {ovo} 'egg' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The examples are: {ché [lo circulo che] ha figura d'uovo non è nobile} "therefore the circle that has the shape of an egg is not noble" [Conv. 4, 16]; {Se non son bionde, tingale in erbag[g]io // e a l'uovo} "If her hair is not blonde, let her dye it with herbs // and eggs" [Il Fiore 166].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1630.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. The form *'ɔv-o* {ovo} 'egg', borrowed from Standard Italian, can be used as well [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 299. Domus de Maria: *ow* {ou} 'egg' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *'ɔv-u* {ovu} 'egg' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *'wɔv-u* {uovu} 'egg' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 152.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.
Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.
Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.
Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.
Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.
Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *g'web-u* {güevu} 'egg' [González Rato 2016].
Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 721.
Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 807, 583; Fernández Armesto 1981: 431; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 972, 673-674.
Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 959.
Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1496-1497. Distinct from *kok-'ɔ* {kokon} 'egg', used in child speech.
Old French: EDCT 2014: 1112.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 200; Rayevskaya 2013: 653.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *u:* {oû} 'egg'.

25. EYE

Archaic Latin ˈɔkʊɫ-ʊs {oculus} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈɔkʊɫ-ʊs {oculus} (1), Megleno Romanian wˈokʎ-u {u̯óćl'u} (1), Istro Romanian ˈokʎ-u {óčl'u} (1), Aromanian ˈokʎ-u {óčl'ĭu} (1), Romanian okʸ {ochi} (1), Dalmatian vˈakl-o {vaklo} (1), Friulian vˈoːl-i {voli} (1), Gardenese Ladin *wedl* {uedl} (1), Fassano Ladin ˈey-e {ẹie} (1), Rumantsch Grischun eʎ {egl} (1), Sursilvan Romansh eʎ {egl} (1), Surmiran Romansh iʎ {igl} (1), Vallader Romansh öʎ {ögl} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese öy {euj} (1), Barbania Piemontese öy {euj} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese öy {euj} (1), Turinese Piemontese öy {euj} (1), Vercellese Piemontese öč (1), Bergamo Lombard öč {öc} (1), Plesio Lombard öč: {ögg} (1), Ravennate Romagnol ɔč {òcc} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano oč {ócc} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano ɔ:č {ôĉ} (1), Reggiano Emiliano ɔ:č {ôç} (1), Rapallo Ligurian ˈöʒ:-u (1), Genoese Ligurian ˈöʒ:-u {öggiŏ} (1), Stella Ligurian ˈö:ʒ:-u {euggiu} (1), Venice Venetian ˈɔč-o {òcio} (1), Primiero Venetian ˈɔč-o {òcio} (1), Bellunese Venetian ˈɔč-o {ocio} (1), Old Italian ˈɔk:y-o {occhio} (1), Standard Italian ˈɔk:y-o {occhio} (1), Grosseto Italian ˈɔk:y-o {occhio} (1), Foligno Italian ˈok:y-u {occhiu} (1), Neapolitan ˈwok:y-ə {uocchio} (1), Logudorese ˈok:r-u {occru} (1), Campidanese ˈoɣ-u {ogu} (1), Palermitan Sicilian ˈwɔk:y-u {uocchiu} (1), Messinese Sicilian ˈɔk:y-u {occhiu} (1), Catanian Sicilian ˈɔk:y-u {occhiu} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian ˈwɔč-u {uocciu} (1), Central Catalan uʎ {ull} (1), North-Western Catalan uʎ {ull} (1), Minorcan Catalan uy {ull} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan uʎ {ull} (1), Valencia Catalan uʎ {ull} (1), Manises Catalan uʎ {ull} (1), Castilian Spanish ˈox-o {ojo} (1), Asturian gˈwey-o {güeyo} (1), Standard Portuguese ˈoʎ-u {olho} (1), Galician ˈɔʎ-o {ollo} (1), Provençal Occitan ɥɛy {uei} ~ ˈiwe {iue} ~ iw {iu} (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal žü {ju} ~ žü: {jû} (1), Old French wœʎ {ueil} (1), Standard French œy {œil} (1), Picard æl {eule} (1), Walloon u:y {oûy} (1).

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References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Quis hic est homo cum collativo ventre atque oculis herbeis?} "Who is this fellow with extended paunch, and eyes as green as grass?" [Curc. 230-231]; {Specie venusta, ore atque oculis pernigris} "Of agreable form, with a *small* mouth, and very dark eyes" [Poen. 1113]; {minatur mihi oculos exurere} "he's threatening to burn my eyes out" [Men. 842].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Non enim ovum, quod scimus, illud; sed pinnis et unguibus et oculis et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum} "and not the usual egg but a fully-fledged chick, with claws and feathers, an ominous portent, that with open eyes" [Met. 9: 33]; {oculi caesii quidem, sed vigiles et in aspectu micantes, prorsus aquiline} "the same alert blue-grey eyes, with a brilliant gaze like an eagle's" [Met. 2: 2].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 315-316.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 241; Byhan 1899: 293.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 804-805; Cunia 2010: 772-774; Dalametra 1906: 160; Bara et al. 2005: 334; Gołąb 1984: 239. Distinct from the pejorative term *ʒ'if-ŭ* {dzif} 'eye' Papahagi 1963: 804-805; Cunia 2010: 428.

Romanian: DER 2004: 341; Bolocan et al. 1985: 244-245; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *ok^y* {ochi} 'eye' [Podiko 1973: 135-136; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 73].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {le popái̯le dei vákli} "the eyelids of the eyes"; {nel vaklo el avás joi̯na pogániz} "he has a stye on his eye" [Bartoli 2002: 241].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 686, 470-471.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 105, 120.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 199.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 499-500.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 218.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 218.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 281.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Li occhi ha vermigli} "Red eyes he has" [Inf. 6]; {li occhi lor, ch'eran pria pur dentro molli, // gocciar su per le labbra, e 'l gelo strinse // le lagrime tra essi e riserrolli} "their eyes, which first were only moist within, // gushed o'er the eyelids, and the frost congealed // the tears between, and locked them up again" [Inf. 32].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1668-1669.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015;

Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *'wokːiy* {uocchij} 'eye' [Morelli 2015].

Loguodorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 293. Domus de Maria: *oɣ-u* {ogu} 'eye' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *ɔkːy-u* {occhiu} 'eye' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *wɔkːy-u* {uocchiu} 'eye' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 207.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *g'wey-u* {güeyu} 'eye' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 107.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 825; Fernández Armesto 1981: 544-545; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 666, 996.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 957-958.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1494-1496.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1112-1113.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 222; Rayevskaya 2013: 381. Plural form: *yö* {yeux}.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *uːy* {ouy} ~ *iːy* {iy} 'eye'.

26. FAT N.

Archaic Latin *p'ɪŋgʷ-ɛ* {pingue} (1), Megleno Romanian *grəs-'im-i* {grăsími} (2), Istro Romanian *mʋst* {måst} (-1), Aromanian *grəs-'im-e* {grăsíme} (2), Romanian *grəs-'im-e* {grăsime} (2), Dalmatian *gres* {gres} (2), Friulian *gras* {gras} (2), Gardenese Ladin *gras* {gras} (2), Fassano Ladin *gras* {gras} (2), Rumantsch Grischun *gras* {grass} (2), Sursilvan Romansh *gras* {grass} (2), Surmiran Romansh *gras* {grass} (2), Vallader Romansh *gras* {grass} (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *gras* {grass} (2), Barbania Piemontese *gras* {grass} (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *gras* {grass} (2), Turinese Piemontese *gras* {grass} (2), Vercellese Piemontese *gras* (2), Bergamo Lombard *gras* {gràs} (2), Plesio Lombard *grasː* {grass} (2), Ravennate Romagnol *gras* {gras⨪} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *gras* {grass} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *graːs* {grâs} (2), Reggiano Emiliano *graːs* {grâs} (2), Rapallo Ligurian *gr'asː-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *gr'asː-u* {gràssŏ} (2), Stella Ligurian *gr'aʃː-a* {grascia} ~ *gr'asː-u* {grassu} (2), Venice Venetian *gr'as-o* {gràsso} (2), Primiero Venetian *gras* {gras} (2), Bellunese Venetian *gras* {gras} (2), Old Italian *gr'asː-o* {grasso} (2), Standard Italian *gr'asː-o* {grasso} (2), Grosseto Italian *gr'asː-o* {grasso} (2), Foligno Italian *l'ard-u* {lardu} (3), Neapolitan *gr'asː-ə* {grasso} (2), Loguodorese *r'asː-u* {'rassu} (2), Campidanese *gr'asː-u*

{grassu} (2), Palermitan Sicilian *ɾˈasː-u {rassu}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *ɾˈasː-u {rassu}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *ɾˈasː-u {rassu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *ɾˈasː-u {rassu}* (2), Central Catalan *gɾeš {greix}* (2), North-Western Catalan *gɾeyš {greix}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *sɛw {sèu}* (4), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *gɾeyš {greix}* (2), Valencia Catalan *gɾeyš {greix}* (2), Manises Catalan *gɾeyš {greix}* (2), Castilian Spanish *gɾˈas-a {grasa}* (2), Asturian *gɾˈas-a {grasa}* (2), Standard Portuguese *guɾð-ˈuɾ-ɐ {gordura}* (5), Galician *gɾˈaš-a {graxa}* (2), Provençal Occitan *gɾas {gras}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *gɾˈes-a {gréssa}* (2), Old French *kɾˈeys-ə {craisse}* (2), Standard French *gʁɛs {graisse}* (2), Picard *kʁa {cras}* (2), Walloon *kʁaš {crache}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: There were four terms for 'fat' in Latin: *pˈŋgʷ-ɛ {pingue}* 'fat, oil' [OLD 1968: 1380-1381], *ɫaːɾ d-ʋm {laridum}* 'bacon' [OLD 1968: 1003], *sˈeːb-ʋm {sebum}* 'hard animal fat, suet, tallow' [OLD 1968: 1716], and *ˈadɛp-s {adeps}* 'soft animal fat, lard, grease' [OLD 1968: 39]. It seems that the Latin of Plautus confirms to this scheme. Although the term {pingue} is not attested in Plautus' texts, he uses its derivate {pinguis} 'fat' (adj.): {CONG. Hercle iniuria dispertivisti: pinguiorem agnum isti habent. PYTH. At nunc tibi dabitur pinguior tibicina} "CONG. By my troth, you've made an unfair division; they've got the fattest lamb. PYTH. But the fattest music-girl shall be given you then" [Aul. 330-332]; {atque agnum afferri proprium pinguem} "and one lamb to be brought here with all haste, a fat one" [Capt. 862]. In addition, Cato provides a good example of the use of {pingue}: {Si ungulam non habebis, addito de perna frustum P. S quam minime pingue} "if you have no hock, a half-pound of ham-scraps with as little fat as possible" [De agri cultura 158].

> Examples of {laridum} are: {glandionidam suillam, laridum pernonidam} "or bacon off the gammon" [Men. 210]; {iuben an non iubes astitui aulas, patinas elui, laridum atque epulas foveri foculis ferventibus?} "Will you order, or will you not order, the pots to be put on, and the saucepans to be washed out, the bacon and the dainties to be made warm in the heated cooking-stoves" [Capt. 846-847]; {quanta pernis pestis veniet, quanta labes larido <...> nunc ibo, ut pro praefectura mea ius dicam larido, et quae pendent indemnatae pernae, eis auxilium ut feram} "Now will I go off to my government, to give laws to the bacon, and, those gammons that are hanging uncondemned, to give aid to them" [Capt. 903-908]. The only example of the use of {sebum} is {Vnde excoquat sebum senex} "Enough for him, even, when an old man, to be melting out the tallow" [Capt. 281]. The term {adeps} is not attested.

Late Classical Latin: Not attested in Apuleius' or in Gellius' texts.

> In Vulgata {adips} clearly prevails as a designation of fat: {prodiet quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum transierunt in affectum cordis} "Their eyes poke out with fat, and their minds are flooded with foolish thoughts" [Psalms 72: 7]; {Non immolabis super fermento sanguinem victimae meae, nec remanebit adeps solemnitatis meae usque mane} "Do not offer bread made with yeast when you sacrifice an animal to me. And make sure that the fat of the animal is burned that same day" [Exodus 23: 18]; {Sumes et adipem totum qui operit intestina, et reticulum iecoris, ac duos renes, et adipem qui super eos est, et offeres incensum super altare} "Then take the fat from the animal's insides, as well as the lower part of the liver and the two kidneys with theirfat, and send them up in smoke on the altar" [Exodus 29: 13]; {tolles adipem de ariete, et caudam et arvinam, quae operit vitalia, ac reticulum iecoris, et duos tenes, atque adipem, qui super eos est, armumque dextrum, eo quod sit aries consecrationis} "This ram is part of the ordination service. So remove its right hind leg, its fat tail, the fat on its insides, as well as the lower part of the liver and the two kidneys with their fat" [Exodus 29: 22]. The term {pingue}, however, also occurs in this meaning once: {et erit in die illa adtenuabitur gloria Iacob et pingue carnis eius marcescet} "When that time comes, the glorious nation of Israel will be brought down; its prosperous people will be skin and bones" [Isaiah 17: 4]. The term {crassus} is still used only as an adjective in Vulgata.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 143. Distinct from *sew {séŭ}* 'animal fat' [Capidan 1935: 263].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 226. Polysemy: 'lard / fat'. Borrowed from Croatian {mast} 'fat'. Distinct from *zˈʋbil-ä {zăbiłę}* 'roux' [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 499; Cunia 2010: 512; Bara et al. 2005: 387. Distinct from *sew* {seŭ} 'animal fat' [Papahagi 1963: 939; Cunia 2010: 920; Bara et al. 2005: 387; Gołąb 1984: 248], *l'igd-ə* {lígdă} 'lard' [Cunia 2010: 586; Gołąb 1984: 232], *lərd'i-e* {lărdíe} 'lard, bacon' [Papahagi 1963: 621; Cunia 2010: 580], *umt-'ur-ə* {umtúră} 'melted pig fat' [Papahagi 1963: 1083; Cunia 2010: 1059]. In Turia there are also such terms as *šƫ'ep-i* {şk"epi} 'suet' and *kəm'ɛaš-ə* {kāme'aşā} 'suet' [Bara et al. 2005:387].

Romanian: DER 2004: 350; Bolocan et al. 1985: 358; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *sew* {seu} 'tallow' [DEaLR 2015], *unt-'ur-ə* {unturǎ} 'melted animal fat' [DEaLR 2015], *slən'in-ə* {slănină} 'the living pig's fat, except the lard / the pig's fat prepared for eating' [Gancz 2015] and *os'ɨnz-ə* {osânză} 'lard' [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *grəs-'im-e* {grăsime} 'fat' [Podiko 1973: 210; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 112].

Dalmatian: The examples are: {la gres del búč} "ox fat" [Bartoli 2002: 238]; {el gres del pu̯árk} "pig fat" [Bartoli 2002: 238]. Distinct from *loyt* {lói̯t} 'fat, tallow' [Bartoli 2002: 318] (the context is {ju viš konpru͡o̯r uṅ pau̯k di lói̯t} "I go to buy some tallow" [Bartoli 2002: 237]).

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 193.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015. Distinct from *ont* {ont} 'grease / fat' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 62, 136].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 133. Distinct from *ont* {ont} 'fat / '(solid) lubrificant / ointment', *str'ut-o* {struto} 'lard' of Italian origin and *s'ony-a* {sonja} 'pork fat' [DILF 2001: 133].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 145.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 145.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 181. Marchigiano: *gras* {grass} 'fat' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. The second form is Italianized. The collective noun *gr'aš-:um-e* {grasciumme} is used as well. Distinct from *l'ard-u* {lardu} 'lard' [Piccone 2015].

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *gras* {gras} 'fat' [Poletto 2015]. Distinct from *'oŋt-o* {ónto} 'pork fat, fat as food' [Busato 2015; Clementi 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: This term occurs in the Divine Comedy only once and not exactly in the meaning 'fat', but rather as an abstract concept: {esto pianeto, o, sì come comparte // lo grasso e 'l magro un corpo, così questo // nel suo volume cangerebbe carte} "Or else, as in a body is apportioned // the fat and lean, so in like manner this // would in its volume interchange the leaves" [Par. 2]. However, we have no reason to doubt that this Common Romance term already meant 'fat' in Dante's times.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1679. Distinct from *'adip-e* {adipe} 'fat', which is used in scientific language [Vitali 2015].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. The form *l'ard-o* {lardo} 'fat', influenced by Standard Italian, can be used as well [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016]. Used for solid fat. Distinct from *'unt-u* {untu} 'liquid fat' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015. Domus de Maria: *gr'as:-u* {grassu} 'fat' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *r'as:-u* {rassu} 'fat' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 144.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *greš* {greix} 'machine grease' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Distinct from *'unt-o* {unto} 'animal fat' [Riego-Delgado 2016]. Langreo: *gr'as-a* {grasa} 'fat', *'unt-u* {untu} 'fat' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 159. Distinct from *s'eβ-u* {sebo} 'suet' [Feyershtein & Starets 2005: 737] and from *b'eɲ-ɐ* {banha} 'animal fat' [Feyershtein & Starets 2005: 127].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 804, 485; Fernández Armesto 1981: 409; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 967, 541.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 666.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1090-1091.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 265.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 229; Rayevskaya 2013: 409.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *kʁɒːʃ* {cråxhe} 'fat'.

27. FEATHER

Archaic Latin *p'ɛn:-a* {penna} ~ *p'ɪn:-a* {pinna} (1), Late Classical Latin *p'ɪn:-a* {pinna} (1), Megleno Romanian *p'e̯an-ə* {peánă} (1), Istro Romanian *p'äna* {pẹ́na} (1), Aromanian *p'e̯an-ə* {peánă} (1), Romanian *p'an-ə* {pană} (1), Dalmatian *p'ayn-a* {paɪna} (1), Friulian *pl'um-e* {plume} (2), Gardenese Ladin *pl'um-a* {pluma} (2), Fassano Ladin *p'yum-a* {piuma} (2), Rumantsch Grischun *pl'im-ə* {plima} (2), Sursilvan Romansh *pl'em-ə* {plema} (2), Surmiran Romansh *pl'em-ə* {plema} (2), Vallader Romansh *p'ɛn-ə* {penna} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *p'yüm-a* {piuma} (2), Barbania Piemontese *p'yüm-a* {piuma} (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *p'yüm-a* {piuma} (2), Turinese Piemontese *p'yüm-a* {piuma} (2), Vercellese Piemontese *p'yü:m-a* (2), Bergamo Lombard *p'yöm-a* {piöma} (2), Plesio Lombard *p'yüm-a* {piüma} (2), Ravennate Romagnol *p'ɛn-a* {pèna} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *p'ɛn-a* {pena} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *p'ɛn-a* {pèna} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *p'yom-a* {pióma} (2), Rapallo Ligurian *p'eŋ:-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *p'en:-a* {penna} (1), Stella Ligurian *č'üm:-a* {ciümma} (2), Venice Venetian *p'en-a* {pena} (1), Primiero Venetian *p'yum-a* {piuma} (2), Bellunese Venetian *p'en-a* {pena} (1), Old Italian *p'en:-a* {penna} (1), Standard Italian *p'en:-a* {penna} (1), Grosseto Italian *p'en:-a* {penna} (1), Foligno Italian *p'en:-a* {penna} (1), Neapolitan *p'en:-ə* {penna} (1), Logudorese *pr'um:-a* {prumma} (2), Campidanese *p'in:-a* {pinna} (1), Palermitan

Sicilian *p'in:-a {pinna}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *p'in:-a {pinna}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *p'in:-a {pinna}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *p'yum-a {piuma}* (-1), Central Catalan *pɫ'om-ə {ploma}* (2), North-Western Catalan *pɫ'om-ɛ {ploma}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *pɫ'om-ə {ploma}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pɫ'om-a {ploma}* (2), Valencia Catalan *pɫ'om-a {ploma}* (2), Manises Catalan *pɫ'om-a {ploma}* (2), Castilian Spanish *pl'um-a {pluma}* (-1), Asturian *pl'um-a {pluma}* (-1), Standard Portuguese *p'en-ɐ {pena}* (1), Galician *pl'um-a {pluma}* (-1), Provençal Occitan *pl'üm-o {plumo}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pʎ'ɔ̃m-a {plyonma}* (2), Old French *plũm-ə {plume}* (2), Standard French *plüm {plume}* (2), Picard *plœm {pleume}* (2), Walloon *plüm {plume}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {ut quisque acciderat, eum necabam ilico per cerebrum pinna sua sibi, quasi turturem} "As each one dropped, I straightway pierced him through the brain with his own feathers, just like a turtle-dove" [Poen. 486-487]; {Sine pennis volare hau facilest: meae alae pennas non habent} "Without feathers it isn't easy to fly: my wings have got no feathers" [Poen. 871]; {age sis, tu sine pennis vola} "come now, fly you without wings, please" [Asin. 93]. See also the derivates: {ego has habebo usque in petaso pinnulas} "I always shall carry these little wings here upon my broad-brimmed cap" [Amph. 143]; {soleamne esse avis squamosas, piscis pennatos?} "Or whether I'm wont to eat birds with scales, or fish with wings?" [Men. 918]. Another Latin term for 'feather', *pɫ'u:m-a {pluma}*, is only used figuratively (with such connotations as 'light' or 'insignificant') in Plautus' texts. Probably {pluma} was used for down feathers, as in later Latin or other Romance languages, cf. {verum ita sunt isti nostri divites: si quid bene facias, levior pluma est gratia, si quid peccatumst, plumbeas iras gerunt} "But such are all these rich people of ours: if you do anything of service, their thanks are lighter than a feather; if there's any offence, they show vengeance like lead" [Poen. 811-814]; {Quid ais, homo levior quam pluma, pessime et nequissime, flagitium hominis, subdole ac minimi preti?} "What say you, you fellow lighter than a feather, most rascally and most abandoned - you disgraceful man - you cheat, and most worthless fellow?" [Men. 487-489]; {Pluma haud interest, patronus an cliens probior siet} "It matters not a feather whether a patron or a dependant is the nearest" [Most. 407-408].

Late Classical Latin: Polysemy: 'feather / wings (in plural)'. Some examples are: {Non enim ovum, quod scimus, illud; sed pinnis et unguibus et oculis et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum} "and not the usual egg but a fully-fledged chick, with claws and feathers, an ominous portent, that with open eyes" [Met. 9: 33]; {quae pinnis explicitis sine gressu pilae volubilis instabile vestigium plantis roscidis delibantes nec ut maneant inhaerent et iam volare creduntur} "wings outspread, the motionless dew-wet feet barely touching the polished surface of the spinning globe, so as to appear in flight not stationary" (about goddess' statues) [Met. 2: 4]; {eique donaturam istas pinnas et flammas et arcum et ipsas sagittas} "and grant him your wings and torches, bow and arrows" (about Cupid's wings) [Met. 5: 29]; {Iamque alternis conatibus libratis brachiis in avem similis gestiebam; nec ullae plumulae nec usquam pinnulae} "Then I spread out my arms and flapped them up and down one after the other, trying my best to become a bird, as Pamphile had. No plumage appeared, not a single feather!" [Met. 3: 24]. Distinct from *pɫ'u:m-a {pluma}* 'down feather / down': {sed color psittaco viridis et intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis, nisi quod sola cervice distinguitur} "The parrot is green from the roots of its feathers to their very tips, save only for the markings on the neck" [Florida 12].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 218-219. Distinct from *mow {móu̯}* 'down' [Capidan 1935: 196].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 248; Byhan 1899: 306. Polysemy: 'leaf / feather / peel / fountain pen'. Byhan also mentions the Croatism *per {per}* [Byhan 1899: 305], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 835; Cunia 2010: 812; Dalametra 1906: 165; Bara et al. 2005: 390; Gołąb 1984: 242. Distinct from *p'ux-ŭ {puh}* 'down' of Slavic origin [Papahagi 1963: 890; Cunia 2010: 864].

Romanian: DER 2004: 352; Bolocan et al. 1985: 986; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *puf {puf}* 'down' of Slavic origin [Bolocan et al. 1985: 1206]. Moldavian: *p'an-ə {pană}* 'feather' [Podiko 1973: 593; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 292].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 255.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 307. Polysemy: 'feather / down' [Virili 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 70, 135. Marebbano: *pl'əm-a* {plăma} 'feather'; Badiotto: *pl'üm-a* {plʋma} 'feather'; Livinallese: *pl'um-a* {pluma} 'feather'; Nones: *p'yüm-a* {pⁱʋma} 'feather' [Gartner 1923: 135].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 215; Gartner 1923: 135.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. Decurtins also mentions the term *flum* {flum} 'down' of Swiss German origin, but according to Cadruvi, it is not used any more.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 531. Distinct from *pl'üm-ə* {plüma} 'down' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 550].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 240. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Distinct from *pyüm-'iŋ* {piumin} 'down' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *pyüm-'iŋ* {piumin} 'down'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. Apart from this term, there is also another word: *p'ɛn-a* 'feather', borrowed from Italian {penna} 'feather'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 302. Distinct from *p'yom-a* {pióma} 'down feather' [Ercolani 1960: 312]. Marchigiano: *p'yum-a* {piuma} 'feather' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *pl'um-a* {pluma} 'down feather' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *p'yum-a* {piùma} 'down / nice feather / plumage' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *č'ümː-a* 'down'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *č'ümː-a* {ciümma} 'down'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *p'ɛŋː-a* {pènna} 'very long feather'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Zanetti 2015. Distinct from *p'yum-a* {piuma} 'down feather' [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Pezzin 2015; Ricchieri 2015]. Distinct from *pyum-'iŋ* {piumìn} [Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015] ~ *pe'ury-a* {pełuria} [Tre 2015] ~ *pel'ury-a* {peluria} [Ricchieri 2015] ~ *spen'ɔt-i* {spenòti} (plural) [Busato 2015] 'down'.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / pen'. Distinct from *p'yum-a* {piuma} 'down feather' [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: The term for the outer feathers: {Non avean penne, ma di vispistrello // era lor modo} "No feathers had they, but as of a bat // their fashion was" (about birds) [Inf. 34]; {Vedi come l'ha dritte verso 'l cielo, // trattando l'aere con l'etterne penne} "See how he holds them pointed up to heaven, // fanning the air with the eternal pinions" (about angel) [Purg. 2] {Verdi come fogliette pur mo nate // erano in veste, che da verdi penne // percosse traean dietro e ventilate} "Green as the little leaflets just now born // their garments were, which, by their verdant pinions // beaten and blown abroad, they trailed behind" (about angels) [Purg. 8]; {in sogno mi parea veder sospesa // un'aguglia nel ciel con penne d'oro} "in dreams it seemed to me I saw suspended // an eagle in the sky, with plumes of gold" [Purg. 9]; {Mosse le penne poi e ventilonne} "He moved his pinions afterwards and fanned us" (about angel) [Purg. 19]; {Tanto voler sopra voler mi venne // de l'esser sù, ch'ad ogne passo poi // al volo mi sentia crescer le penne} "Such longing upon longing came upon me // to be above, that at each step thereafter // for flight I felt in me the pinions growing" [Purg. 27]; {Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali; // le penne piene d'occhi} "Plumed with six wings was every one of them, // the plumage full of eyes" (about the four beasts) [Purg. 29]; {salvo ch'a le penne // Giovanni è meco e da lui si diparte} "saving that in their plumage // John is with me, and differeth from him"(about the four beasts) [Purg. 29]; {e 'l grifon mosse il benedetto carco // sì, che però nulla penna crollonne} "and the Griffin moved his burden benedight, // but so that not a feather of him fluttered" [Purg. 32]; {l'aguglia che lasciò le penne al carro} "the Eagle that left his plumes upon the car" [Purg. 33]; {Siate, Cristiani, a muovervi più gravi: // non siate come penna ad ogne vento, // e non crediate ch'ogne acqua vi lavi} "Christians, be ye more serious in your movements; // be ye not like a feather at each wind, // and think not every water washes you" [Par. 5]; {e sotto l'ombra de le sacre penne // governò 'l mondo lì di mano in mano} "and under shadow of the sacred plumes // it governed there the world from hand to hand" (about eagle) [Par. 6]; {che guidò le penne // de le mie ali a così alto volo} "who piloted // the plumage of my wings in such high flight" [Par. 25]; {e tal ne la

sembianza sua divenne, // qual diverrebbe Iove, s'elli e Marte // fossero augelli e cambiassersi penne} "and even such in semblance it became // as Jupiter would become, if he and Mars // were birds, and they should interchange their feathers" [Par. 27]; {e a quel mezzo, con le penne sparte, // vid' io più di mille angeli festanti} "and at that centre, with their wings expanded, // more than a thousand jubilant Angels saw I" [Par. 31]; {ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne} "but my own wings were not enough for this" [Par. 33]. Used also in the figural meaning: {Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso, // ad aspettar più colpo} "Thou oughtest not to have stooped thy pinions downward // to wait for further blows" [Purg. 31]; {poi che le prime etadi fuor compiute, // convenne ai maschi a l'innocenti penne // per circuncidere acquistar virtute} "after the earlier ages were completed, // behoved it that the males by circumcision // unto their innocent wings should virtue add" [Par. 32]; {che rïavesse le maschili penne} "ere he could have again his manly plumes" (= gained his primary appearance; about Tiresias) [Inf. 20]. Polysemy: 'feather / pen': {e qui mi scusi // la novità se fior la penna abborra} "and here be my excuse // the novelty, if aught my pen transgress" [Inf. 25]; {Io veggio ben come le vostre penne // di retro al dittator sen vanno strette} "I do perceive full clearly how your pens // go closely following after him who dictates" [Purg. 24]

> Distinct from p'yum-a {piuma} 'down feather': {ché, seggendo in piuma, // in fama non si vien, né sotto coltre} "for sitting upon down, // or under quilt, one cometh not to fame" [Inf. 24]; {pesa il gran manto a chi dal fango il guarda, // che piuma sembran tutte l'altre some} "weighs the great cloak on him from mire who keeps it, // for all the other burdens seem a feather" [Purg. 20]; {tal mi senti' un vento dar per mezza // la fronte, e ben senti' mover la piuma, // che fé sentir d'ambrosïa l'orezza} "so did I feel a breeze strike in the midst // my front, and felt the moving of the plumes // that breathed around an odour of ambrosia" [Purg. 24]; {Quel che rimase, come da gramigna // vivace terra, da la piuma, offerta // forse con intenzion sana e benigna} "That which remained behind, even as with grass // a fertile region, with the feathers, offered // perhaps with pure intention and benign" [Purg. 32].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1682. Distinct from *p'yum-a* {piuma} 'down / feather' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 840] and *kal'užin-e* {calugine} 'down' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1609].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *p'yum-a* {piuma} ~ *p'yum-in-o* {piumino} 'down' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *p'yum-a* {piuma} 'down feather' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. In addition to this term, the Italian loanword *p'yum-ə* {piuma} 'feather' can be used as well [Esposito 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Fattoruso 2015]. Grottaminarda: *k'yum-ə* {chiùme} 'feather' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 318. Domus de Maria: *p'in:-a* {pinna} 'feather' [Fadda 2015]. Distinct from *fras:'ad-a* {frassada} 'down' of Catalan origin [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. Buscemi: *p'in:-a* {pinna} 'feather' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *k'yum-a* {chiuma} 'down' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / pen' [Salerno 2015]. Distinct from *k'yum-a* {chiuma} 'down' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Borrowed from Italian {piuma}. Distinct from *p'in:-a* {pinna} 'pen, pencil, membrum virile' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 224. Distinct from *pɫum-is-'ɔɫ* {plomissol} 'down' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 224].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down' [Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *pɫom-'is-a* {plomissa} 'down'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Borrowed from Latin {pluma} 'feather'. Distinct from *plum-'on* {plumón} 'down' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Borrowed from Latin {pluma} 'feather'. Langreo: *pl'um-a* {pluma} 'feather / down' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 421. Distinct from *pl'um-ɐ* {pluma} 'down feather' [Costa & Melo 1975: 1114]. Distinct from *pən-'užẽɣ̃* {penugem} ~ *pəl-'užẽɣ̃* {pelugem} 'down' [Voinova et al. 1989: 513].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 588. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. Borrowed from Latin {pluma} 'feather'.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1067. Distinct from *plüm-ač-'ol-o* {plumacholo} 'down' [Coupier 1995: 445].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1646.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 860. Polysemy: 'feather / down'. Distinct from *pēn-'õn* {penon} 'feather on the tail of an arrow / pennon (on a spear)' [EDCT 2014: 826].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 231; Rayevskaya 2013: 526. Distinct from *pɛn* {penne} 'long feather from bird's wing or tail' [Robert-Collins 1989: 231].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *düvɛ* {duvet} 'down' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *plɔm* {plome} 'feather'. Distinct from *bü:z-e:* {bûzê} 'down' (Rifondou: *büz-ɛ:* {buzea} 'down').

28. FIRE

Archaic Latin ˈɪŋn-ɪs {ignis} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈɪŋn-ɪs {ignis} (1), Megleno Romanian *fok {foc}* (2), Istro Romanian *fok {foc}* (2), Aromanian *fok-ŭ {foc}* (2), Romanian *fok {foc}* (2), Dalmatian *fuk {fuk}* (2), Friulian *fu:k {fûc}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *fwek {fuech}* (2), Fassano Ladin *fek {fech}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *fyew {fieu}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *fyuk {fiug}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *fi {fi}* (2), Vallader Romansh *fö {fö}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *fö {feu}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *fö {feu}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *fö {feu}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *fö {feu}* ~ *fög {feugh}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *fök* (2), Bergamo Lombard *fök {föch}* (2), Plesio Lombard *fö:k {fögh}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *fug {fug}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *fɔg {fòg}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *fo:g {fōg}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *fɔ:g {fôgh}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *fö:g-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *fög-u {fögǒ}* (2), Stella Ligurian *fö {feu}* (2), Venice Venetian *fɔg-o {fògo}* ~ *fog-o {fógo}* (2), Primiero Venetian *fok {foch}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *fog-o {fogo}* (2), Old Italian *fwɔk-o {fuoco}* (2), Standard Italian *fwɔk-o {fuoco}* (2), Grosseto Italian *fɔk-o {foco}* (2), Foligno Italian *fok-u {focu}* (2), Neapolitan *fok-ə {foco}* ~ *fwok-ə {fuoco}* ~ *f:'wok-ə {ffuoco}* (2), Logudorese *fog-u {fogu}* (2), Campidanese *foɣ-u {fogu}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *fwɔk-u {fuocu}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *fɔk-u {focu}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *fɔk-u {focu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *fwɔk-u {fuocu}* (2), Central Catalan *fɔk {foc}* (2), North-Western Catalan *fɔk {foc}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *fɔk {foc}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *fɔk {foc}* (2), Valencia Catalan *fɔk {foc}* (2), Manises Catalan *fɔk {foc}* (2), Castilian Spanish *fweɣ-o {fuego}* (2), Asturian *fwe-u {fuéu}* (2), Standard Portuguese *foɣ-u {fogo}* (2), Galician *fɔɣ-o {fogo}* (2), Provençal Occitan *fyɔ {fiò}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *fwa {fwà}* (2), Old French *few {feu}* (2), Standard French *fö {feu}* (2), Picard *fü {fu}* (2), Walloon *fö: {feû}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The basic term for 'fire'. The word *fɔk-ʊs* {focus}, which would replace {ignis} in the Romance languages, in Plautus' times meant 'hearth, fire in the hearth'. Some examples of the use of {ignis} are: {ille olim habuit ignem qui signum daret, hunc ipsum exurit; ego sum Vlixes, cuius consilio haec gerunt} "just as the other formerly had the fire with which to give the signal" [Bac.

939-940]; {Aulas peruortunt, ignem restingunt aqua} "They are upsetting the pots, and putting out the fire with the water" [Cas. 775]; {Inde ignem in aram} "Put fire on the altar" [Mil. 411]; {Iam iubebo ignem et sarmenta, carnifex, circumdari} "I shall at once, you villain, order fire and faggots to be placed around you" [Most. 1114]; {Da illi cantharum, extingue ignem, si cor uritur, caput ne ardescat} "put out the fire, if his heart's in flames, that his head mayn't be burnt" [Persa 801-802];{Quia non iam dudum ante lucem ad aedem Veneris venimus, primae ut inferremus ignem in aram} "Why, because we didn't come long since, before daylight, to the Temple of Venus, to be the first to place fire upon her altar" [Poen. 318-319]; {semper petunt aquam hinc aut ignem aut vascula aut cultrum aut veru aut aulam extarem, aut aliquid} "They are always asking here for water, or for fire, or for vessels, or for a knife, or for a spit, or for a pot for cooking, or something or other" [Rud. 133-135]; {LORARIVS Nullum habemus ignem, ficis victitamus aridis. DAEM. Ego dabo ignem, siquidem in capite tuo conflandi copiast} "SERV. We keep no fire, we live upon dried figs. DÆM. I'll find the fire, if only I have the opportunity of kindling it upon your head" [Rud. 764-765]; {Ignem magnum hic faciam} "I'll be making a great fire here" [Rud. 767]; {Iam hercle ego te barba continuo arripiam, in ignem coniciam} "For, by my troth, I'll forthwith seize you by the head and throw you into the fire" [Rud. 769]; {Facilest inventu: datur ignis, tametsi ab inimico petas} "'Tis easy to be found: fire is granted, even though you should ask it of a foe" [Trin. 679]; {date mi huc stactam atque ignem in aram} "Bring me hither some myrrh and fire for the alta" [Truc. 476].

> Examples of use of {focus} are: {convenit, victi utri sint eo proelio, urbem agrum aras focos seque uti dederent} "which ever side should be conquered in that battle, they should surrender up their city, lands, altars, hearths. and themselves" [Amph. 225-226]; {sed mi avos huius obsecrans concredidit thensaurum auri clam omnis: in medio foco defodit, venerans me ut id servarem sibi} "He deposited it in the midst of the hearth, praying me that I would watch it for him" [Aul. 6-8]; {nunc tusculum emi hoc et coronas floreas: haec imponentur in foco nostro Lari, ut fortunatas faciat gnatae nuptias} "Now I've bought a bit of frankincense, and these chaplets of flowers; these shall be placed upon the hearth for our household God, that he may grant a propitious marriage to my daughter" [Aul. 385-387]; {ibi ubi tibi erat negotium, ad focum si adesses, non fissile auferres caput: merito id tibi factum est} "If you had stopped by the fireside, where it was your business, you wouldn't have had your head broken" [Aul. 439-440]; {iuben an non iubes astitui aulas, patinas elui, laridum atque epulas foveri foculis ferventibus?} "Will you order, or will you not order, the pots to be put on, and the saucepans to be washed out, the bacon and the dainties to be made warm in the heated cooking-stoves" [Capt. 845-848].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {nec mirum, licet modicum igniculum et manibus humanis laboratum, memorem tamen illius maioris et caelestis ignis velut sui parentis} "But it's no surprise that your tiny flame lit by human hands still retains awareness of that greater celestial fire, as if it was its begetter" [Met. 2: 12]; {ipsum ignis totius deum aduris} "scorching the god of flame himself" [Met. 5: 23]. The term *fɔk-vs* {focus} is still used in the meaning 'hearthfire, campfire': {"Discede," inquit "miselle, quam procul a meo foculo, discede} "Away with you, my lad, keep far away from the heat" [Met. 2: 7]; {gregariisque omnibus adfirmavit me sponte vicinorum foculos transeuntem titubanti gradu prolapsum ignem ultroneum accersisse mihi} "telling the farmer I'd purposely walked over a neighbour's outside fire, and deliberately stumbled and slipped" [Met. 7: 20]; {Tunc de brachiorum suorum cita fatigatione conquesta procurrit ad focum} "Then complaining that her arms were too quickly tired, she ran to the hearth" [Met. 7: 28]; {non est ueri simile, nisi forte Crassus non in cubiculum reuersus perrexit, sed suo more recta ad focum} "There is no probability in the story, unless indeed Crassus on his return went not to the bedroom, but after his fashion made straight for the kitchen" [Apologia 58: 7].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 128-129.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 213; Byhan 1899: 216.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 466; Cunia 2010: 460-461; Dalametra 1906: 93; Bara et al. 2005: 414; Gołąb 1984: 215.

Romanian: DER 2004: 364; Bolocan et al. 1985: 833; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: {fok} {foc} 'fire' [Podiko 1973: 502; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 250].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {el ju čapùt fúk tòč el palúz del komisari̯u̯o̯t} "The palace, where the police station was located, was taken by fire" [Bartoli 2002: 222]; {ju vis levúr joi̯n fu̯ás si brúskole per il fuk} "I go to take a bundle of firewood for the fire" [Bartoli 2002: 240].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 673, 176.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 33, 136.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 122.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 301-302.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 133.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 133.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 161.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The form *fɔk-o* {foco}, influenced by Old Sicilian, is possible as well [Patota 2002: 57]. Some examples are: {ch'i' vidi fuochi e senti' pianti} "I fires beheld, and heard laments" [Inf. 17]; {Dentro dai fuochi son li spirit} "Within the fires the spirits are" [Inf. 26]; {per tutto il tempo che 'l foco li abbruscia} "for all the time the fire is burning them" [Purg. 25]. The term *'iɲ-e* {igne} 'fire' occurs only twice, both time Dante needed it for rhyme: {ma leggi Ezechïel, che li dipigne // come li vide da la fredda parte // venir con vento e con nube e con igne} "But read Ezekiel, who depicteth them // As he beheld them from the region cold // Coming with cloud, with whirlwind, and with fire" [Purg. 29]; {distante intorno al punto un cerchio d'igne // si girava sì ratto, ch'avria vinto // quel moto che più tosto il mondo cigne} "Thus distant round the point a circle of fire // So swiftly whirled, that it would have surpassed // Whatever motion soonest girds the world" [Par. 28].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1694-1695.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 189. Domus de Maria: *foɣ-u* {fogu} 'fire' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *fɔk-u* {focu} 'fire' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *fwɔk-u* {fuocu} 'fire' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 137.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *fwe-u* {fueu} 'fire' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 367. There are two terms for fire: *foɣ-u* {fogo} 'fire' and *l'um-ə* {lume} 'light, fire' [Voinova et al. 1989: 367]. The second is used mostly for the designation of a small fire, especially of artificial origin: {tem lume?} "have you got a light (= lighter)?", {acender o lume} "build a fire (= campfire)", {ter o leite ao lume} "to set the milk on fire (= stove)", {em lume brando} "on low heat" (about cooking), while the first term is more common and used for designation

of big and/or natural fire: {a casa foi consumida pelo fogo} "the house was consumed by fire" [Pimentel Ferreira 2016].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 801; Fernández Armesto 1981: 392; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 964. There are two terms for 'fire': *fɔɣ-o* {fogo} and *l'um-e* {lume}. It seems that there is no semantic or any other difference between them [Montoya Bolaños 2016; DRAG 2016], so we include both words into the list as synonyms.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 586-587.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 965-966.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 497.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 238-239; Rayevskaya 2013: 504.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *fö:* {feu} 'fire'.

28.
Galician *l'um-e {lume}* (3).

References and notes:

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 801; Fernández Armesto 1981: 392; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 964.

29. FISH

Archaic Latin *p'ɪsk-ɪs {piscis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *p'ɪsk-ɪs {piscis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *p'ẹašt-i {peáști}* (1), Istro Romanian *r'ib-ä {ríbẹ}* (-1), Aromanian *p'esk-u {péscu}* (1), Romanian *p'ešt-e {pește}* (1), Dalmatian *pɣas {pi̯as}* (-1), Friulian *pɛs {pes}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *pəš {pësc}* (1), Fassano Ladin *peš {pesc}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *peš {pesch}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *pɛš {pèsch}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *peš {pesch}* (1), Vallader Romansh *peš {pesch}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pɛs {pess}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *pəs {pëss}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *pɛs {pess}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *pes {pess}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *pös* (1), Bergamo Lombard *pɛs {pès}* (1), Plesio Lombard *pɛs: {pess}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *pɛs {pès·}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *pɛs {pes}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *pɛs {pès}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *pɛs {pèss}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *p'ɛš:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *p'eš:-u {pésciŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *p'äš:-u {pæsciu}* (1), Venice Venetian *p'es-e {pésse}* (1), Primiero Venetian *pes {pes}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *pes {pes}* (1), Old Italian *p'eš:-e {pesce}* (1), Standard Italian *p'eš:-e {pesce}* (1), Grosseto Italian *p'eš:-e {pesce}* (1), Foligno Italian *p'eš:-e {pesce}* (1), Neapolitan *p'eš:-ə {pesce}* (1), Logudorese *p'isk-e {pische}* (1), Campidanese *p'iš:-i {pisci}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *p'iš:-i {pisci}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *p'iš:-i {pisci}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *p'iš:-i {pisci}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *p'iš:-i {pisci}* (1), Central Catalan *peš {peix}* (1), North-Western Catalan *peyš {peix}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *peš {peix}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *peyš {peix}* (1), Valencia Catalan *peyš {peix}* (1), Manises Catalan *peyš {peix}* (1), Castilian Spanish *peθ {pez}* (1), Asturian *p'eš-e*

{pexe} (1), Standard Portuguese *p'ɐyš-ə {peixe}* (1), Galician *p'eyš-e {peixe}* (1), Provençal Occitan *pɛys {pèis}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *p'ays-ɔ̃ {paisson}* ~ *p'ɛs-ɔ̃ {pêsson}* (1), Old French *p'oys-õn {poisson}* (1), Standard French *pwas-ɔ̃ {poisson}* (1), Picard *piš-ɔ̃ {pichon}* (1), Walloon *pɛš-ɔ̃ {pèchon}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {soleamne esse avis squamosas, piscis pennatos?} "Or whether I'm wont to eat birds with scales, or fish with wings?" [Men. 918]; {Tum piscatores, qui praebent populo pisces foetidos} "Then the fishmongers, who supply stinking fish to the public" [Capt. 813]; {Piscibus in alto, credo, praebent pabulum} "Supplying food for the fishes at the bottom, I suppose" [Rud. 513].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {et profusa in medium sportula iubet officialem suum insuper pisces inscendere ac pedibus suis totos obterere} "and he emptied my basket out on the pavement, and ordered an assistant to crush them to pulp with his feet" [Met. 1: 25]; {ille porcorum, pullorum, piscium et cuiusce modi pulmentorum largissima reliquias} "the chef bringing ample portions of fish, roast-pork, chicken, and other meats" [Met. 10: 13].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 219.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 268; Byhan 1899: 328. Borrowed from Croatian {riba} 'fish'. Byhan also mentions the word *pešt* {peŝt} [Byhan 1899: 305], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 838; Cunia 2010: 815; Dalametra 1906: 165; Gołąb 1984: 242.

Romanian: DER 2004: 366; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1303; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *p'ešt-e* {pește} 'fish' [Podiko 1973: 815; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 394].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 237. Some examples are: {ju manai̯ko vuai ku̯o̯rno per prínz, pi̯as} "Today I am having meat for lunch, fish" [Bartoli 2002: 242]; {pi̯as frit} 'fried fish' [Bartoli 2002: 243].The form *pyas* {pi̯as} is a "dalmatianized" borrowing from Venetian. The inherited form is attested by Cubich as {pasch} [Bartoli 2002: 280] and by Petris as {pask} [Bartoli 2002: 295].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 295.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 65, 136.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 219.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 538.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 244-245.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 304.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *pes* {pes} 'fish' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {e sì traevan giù l'unghie la scabbia, // come coltel di scardova le scaglie // o d'altro pesce che più larghe l'abbia} "and the nails downward with them dragged the scab, // in fashion as a knife the scales of bream, // or any other fish that has them largest" [Inf. 29]; {disparve per lo foco, // come per l'acqua il pesce andando al fondo} "he vanished in the fire // as fish in water going to the bottom" [Purg. 26].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1696-1697.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 319. Domus de Maria: *p'iš-i* {pisci} 'fish' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *p'iš-i* {pisci} 'fish' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 221.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Live fish. Distinct from *pesk-'að-o* {pescado} 'caught fish' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *p'eš-e* {pexe} 'fish' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 549. Live fish. Distinct from *pəšk-'að-u* {pescado} 'caught fish' [Costa & Melo 1975: 1093; Cândido de Figueiredo II: 664].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 830, 601; Fernández Armesto 1981: 580; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1004, 696.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1074-1075. Sea fish. For freshwater fish the term *peys-'uŋ* {peissoun} is used [Coupier 1995: 1074-1075].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1676.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 865-866.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 240; Rayevskaya 2013: 578.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *pɛš-꞉* {pexhon} 'fish'.

30. FLY V.

Archaic Latin *wɔɫ-'aː-rɛ {volare}* (1), Late Classical Latin *vɔɫ-'aː-rɛ {volare}* (1), Megleno Romanian *pər-əy-'es {părăi̯és}* (-1), Istro Romanian *let-'i̯ {letí}* (-1), Aromanian *as=b'o̯air-ŭ {asboáir}* (1), Romanian *a=z=bur-'a {a zbura}* (1), Friulian *z=vol-'aː {svolâ}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ž=ul-'ɛ {julé}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ž=gol-'ɛ-r {sgolèr}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ž=gul-'a-r {sgular}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ž=gul-'a-r {sgular}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ž=gul-'a-r {sgular}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ž=vəl-'a-r {svolar}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *vul-'e {volé}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *vul-'e {volé}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *vul-'e {volé}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *vul-'e {volé}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *vul-'ɛ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ul-'a {ulà} ~ gul-'a {gulà}* (1), Plesio Lombard *gul-'a {gulà}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *vul-'eə*

{vulêr} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *vul-ˈa-r {vulàr}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *vul-ˈɛː-r {vulèr}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *vul-ˈɛː-r {vulêr}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *žu-ˈa* (1), Genoese Ligurian *žo-ˈaː {xoâ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *ž=vu-ˈɛ {svuè}* (1), Venice Venetian *vol-ˈa-r {volàr}* ~ *z=voẹ-ˈa-r {svołàr}* (1), Primiero Venetian *vol-ˈa-r {volar}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *vol-ˈa-r {volar}* (1), Old Italian *vol-ˈa-re {volare}* (1), Standard Italian *vol-ˈa-re {volare}* (1), Grosseto Italian *vol-ˈa-re {volare}* (1), Foligno Italian *vol-ˈa {volà}* (1), Neapolitan *vul-ˈa {vulà}* (1), Logudorese *bol-ˈa-re {bolare}* (1), Campidanese *bol-ˈay {bolai}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *vul-ˈa-ri {vulari}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *vul-ˈa-rɨ {vulari}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *vul-ˈa-ri {vulari}* ~ *a=bːul-ˈa-ri {abbulari}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *a=bːul-ˈa-ri {abbulari}* (1), Central Catalan *buɫ-ˈa {volar}* (1), North-Western Catalan *boɫ-ˈa {volar}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *vuɫ-ˈa {volar}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *voɫ-ˈa-r {volar}* (1), Valencia Catalan *boɫ-ˈa-r {volar}* (1), Manises Catalan *boɫ-ˈa-ɾ {volar}* (1), Castilian Spanish *bol-ˈa-ɾ {volar}* (1), Asturian *bol-ˈa-ɾ {volar}* (1), Standard Portuguese *vu-ˈa-ɾ {voar}* (1), Galician *bo-ˈa-ɾ {voar}* (1), Provençal Occitan *vul-ˈa {voula}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *vol-ˈaː {volâ}* (1), Old French *vol-ˈeː-r {voler}* (1), Standard French *vɔl-e {voler}* (1), Picard *vɔl-e {voler}* (1), Walloon *vɔl-e {voler}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {Sine pennis volare hau facilest: meae alae pennas non habent} "Without feathers it isn't easy to fly: my wings have got no feathers" [Poen. 871]; {is odos dimissis manibus in caelum volat} "all then does the odour fly towards heaven with its handhanging down" [Pseud. 841].

Late Classical Latin: The example is: {quae pinnis explicitis sine gressu pilae volubilis instabile vestigium plantis roscidis delibantes nec ut maneant inhaerent et iam volare creduntur} "wings outspread, the motionless dew-wet feet barely touching the polished surface of the spinning globe, so as to appear in flight not stationary" [Met. 2: 4].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 215. *-əy-* is an imperfective suffix. Probably borrowed from Slavic (cf. Old Church Slavonic {pariti} 'soar, hover').

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 305; Byhan 1899: 263. Borrowed from Croatian {letjeti} 'to fly'.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 160; Cunia 2010: 170; Dalametra 1906: 29; Gołąb 1984: 204.

Romanian: DER 2004: 376; Bolocan et al. 1985: 589; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *a=zbur-ˈa* {a zbura} 'to fly' [Podiko 1973: 354; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 185].

Dalmatian: Not attested.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 709, 425-426.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 114, 137.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 353.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 741.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 401.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 401.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 498. Marchigiano: *vul-'ɛ* {vulè} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Padua: *voę-'a-re* {vołare} 'to fly' [Tre 2015]. Este: *z=vol-'a-r* {svolar} 'to fly' [Melon 2015]. Treviso: *vouɹ-'a-r* {vołàr} ~ *z=vouɹ-'a-r* {svołàr} 'to fly' [Busato 2015]. Salgareda: *voę-'a-r* {vołar} 'to fly' [Poletto 2015]. Vicenza, Marostica: *vol-'a-re* {volare} 'to fly' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015]. Schio: *zol-'a-re* {xolare} 'to fly' [Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Arzignano: *voę-'a-re* {vołare} 'to fly' [Serena 2015]. Verona: *vol-'a-r* {volar} 'to fly' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {E quale il cicognin che leva l'ala // per voglia di volare} "And as the little stork that lifts its wing // with a desire to fly" [Purg. 25]; {Poi, come grue ch'a le montagne Rife // volasser parte, e parte inver' l'arene} "Then as the cranes, that to Riphaean mountains // might fly in part, and part towards the sands" [Purg. 26].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1709. Distinct from *z=vol-ac:-'a-re* {svolazzare} 'to flit, to flutter' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1184-1185].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 87. Domus de Maria: *bʼɔl-ay* {bolai} 'to fly' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *a=bːul-'a-ri* {abbulari} 'to fly' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *vul-'a-ɾi* {vulari} 'to fly' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 294.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *bol-'a-ɾ* {volar} 'to fly', *es=nal-'a-ɾ* {esnalar} 'to fly' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 261.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 849, 735; Fernández Armesto 1981: 748; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1042, 878.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1495-1496.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2251.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1162. Polysemy: 'to fly (about bird) / to circulate in the air (about wind) / to fly off (about a thing or a body part)'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 246-247; Rayevskaya 2013: 460.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vɔl-e* {voler} 'to fly'.

31. FOOT

Archaic Latin *pe:-s {pes}* (1), Late Classical Latin *pe:-s {pes}* (1), Megleno Romanian *pičˈor {pitšór}* (1), Istro Romanian *pičˈor {pičór}* (1), Aromanian *čičˈor-ŭ {čičór}* (1), Romanian *pičˈor {picior}* (1), Dalmatian *pins {pins}* (1), Friulian *pi:t {pît}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *pe {pe}* (1), Fassano Ladin *pe {pe}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *pe {pe}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *pey {pei}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *pe {pe}* (1), Vallader Romansh *pɛ {pè} ~ pe {pe}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pe {pé}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *pe {pé}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *pe {pé}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *pe {pé}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *pɛ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *pe {pe}* (1), Plesio Lombard *pɛ {pè}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *pe {pe}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *pyɛ {piè}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *pe: {pē}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *pɛ {pè}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *pe* (1), Genoese Ligurian *pe: {pê}* (1), Stella Ligurian *pe {pé}* (1), Venice Venetian *pie {pìe}* (1), Primiero Venetian *pie {pìe} ~ pɛ {pè}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *pie {pie}* (1), Old Italian *pˈyɛ {piè} ~ pˈyɛd-e {piede}* (1), Standard Italian *pˈyɛd-e {piede}* (1), Grosseto Italian *pˈyɛd-e {piede}* (1), Foligno Italian *f̵et:-a {fetta}* (2), Neapolitan *pˈɛr-ə {pede}* (1), Logudorese *pˈed-e {pede}* (1), Campidanese *pɛy {pei}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *pˈyɛr-i {pieri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *pˈɛr-i {peri} ~ pˈɛd-i {pedi}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *pˈɛd-i {pedi}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *pˈɛr-i {peri}* (1), Central Catalan *pɛw {peu}* (1), North-Western Catalan *pɛw {peu}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *pɛw {peu}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pɛw {peu}* (1), Valencia Catalan *pɛw {peu}* (1), Manises Catalan *pɛw {peu}* (1), Castilian Spanish *pye {pie}* (1), Asturian *pye {pie}* (1), Standard Portuguese *pɛ {pé}* (1), Galician *pɛ {pé}* (1), Provençal Occitan *pɛt {pèd}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pi: {pî}* (1), Old French *pye {pié}* (1), Standard French *pye {pied}* (1), Picard *pye {pié}* (1), Walloon *pi: {pî}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *pˈɛd- ҕ {pedis}*. Some examples are: {itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego; sura, pes, statura, tonsus, oculi, nasum vel labra, malae, mentum, barba, collus: totus} "His leg, foot, stature, shorn head, eyes, nose, even his lips, cheeks, chin, beard, neck - the whole of him" [Amph. 443-445]; {deduco pedes de lecto clam, ne miles sentiat} "and took my legs quietly from off the couch, so that the Captain mightn't perceive it" [Curc. 361]; {Agite apponite obsonium istuc ante pedes illi seni} "Come, do you set down those provisions before the feet of that old gentleman" [Merc. 779-780].

>   Distinct from *kru:s {crus}* 'leg', cf. {cecidissetve ebrius aut de equo uspiam, metuerem ne ibi diffregisset crura aut cervices sibi} "Or if one, in liquor, had tumbled anywhere from his horse, I should have been afraid that he had broken his legs or neck on that occasion" [Mil. 721-722]; {Crura hercle diffringentur} "By the powers, your legs shall be broken" [Asin. 474].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {manus non iam pedes sunt, sed in erecta porriguntur officia} "my hands were no longer feet but reached out in a proper manner" [Met. 11:13]; {et profusa in medium sportula iubet officialem suum insuper pisces inscendere ac pedibus suis totos obterere} "and he emptied my basket out on the pavement, and ordered an assistant to crush them to pulp with his feet" [Met. 1: 25]. Distinct from *kru:s {crus}* 'leg': {At Psyche statim resurgentis eius crure dextero manibus} "Yet, as he rose, Psyche clasped his right leg with both hands" [Met. 5: 24]; {Tunc uxor egregia diras devotiones in eum deprecata et crurum ei fragium amborum ominata} "That brazen wife cursing him passionately, expressing the hope he'd trip and break a leg" [Met. 9: 23].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 224. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 249; Byhan 1899: 308. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Cf. {pičórle rabę́ za mnå̊} "Feet are for walking", {stópa de pičór} "the sole of the foot" [Kovačec 2010]. Distinct from *sťopä* {stópę} 'foot, sole of the foot' [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 355]. In some idiomatic expressions the Croatism *nʹog-a* {nóga} can be used as well. Cf. {și i̯o dela i̯urdan am na noge verit ân Žei̯ân ânsa} "and I walked from Jurdani to Žejane all alone" (literally "came on foot"); {ân Učca, na noge se mežęi̯a} "we used to walk on foot to Učka".

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 354; Cunia 2010: 301-302; Dalametra 1906: 54; Bara et al. 2005: 336; Gołąb 1984: 210. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Distinct from *pʹat-ə* {pátă} 'sole of the foot' [Papahagi 1963: 821; Cunia 2010: 792-793] and *pət'un-ə* {pătúnă} 'sole of the foot' [Papahagi 1963: 834; Cunia 2010: 810; Bara et al. 2005: 337] (both terms are borrowed from some Slavic source). In the Kruševo dialect we also have the term *ləpʹud-ə* {ləpúdə} 'foot' of Slavic origin [Gołąb 1984: 231], which means 'sock' in other dialects [Papahagi 1963: 621; Cunia 2010: 580].

Romanian: DER 2004: 379; Bolocan et al. 1985: 781-782; Gancz 2015. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Distinct from *lʹaba pičʹoruluy* {laba piciorului} 'foot' (literally 'the paw of the leg'), used when one wants to avoid confusion between 'foot' and 'leg' [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *pičʹor* {picior} 'foot / leg' [Podiko 1973: 471-472; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 236-237].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju nu se potaja muvúr perké me dùl i pins} "I cannot move because my feet hurt"; {join pins grés} "a big foot" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. Distinct from *gwonb* {gu͡onb} 'leg', cf. {me dùl la gu̯ánb} "my leg hurts"; {el e kaskút a gu͡onb levúte} "he took his heels" (literally "he fell on his raised legs") [Bartoli 2002: 241].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 690, 298. Distinct from *ǯʹamb-e* {gjambe} 'leg' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 674, 185].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 66, 139. Marebbano: *pe* {pe} 'foot'; Badiotto: *pe* {pe} 'foot'; Livinallese: *pe* {pe} 'foot'; Nones: *pɛ* {pę} 'foot' [Gartner 1923: 139]. Distinct from *šʹam-a* {giama} 'leg' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 27].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 221; Gartner 1923: 139. Distinct from *ʒʹam-a* {giama} 'leg' [DILF 2001: 125].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *kʹɔmb-ə* {comba} 'leg' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 528. Distinct from *ɕʹɔm-ə* {chomma} 'leg' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 140].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg' [Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 135].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg' [Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 135].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *gʹaːŋb-a* 'leg'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 300. Distinct from *gʹãmb-a* {gâmba} 'leg' [Ercolani 1960:170].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *gʹaːmb-a* {gâmba} 'leg' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* 'leg'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Treviso, Arzignano: *pyɛ* {piè} 'foot' [Busato 2015; Serena 2015]. Distinct from *gʹaŋb-a* {ganba} 'leg' [Tosi 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Poi che l'un piè per girsene sospese} "After one foot to go away he lifted" [Inf. 28]; {Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto, // che, mischiato di lagrime, a' lor piedi // da fastidiosi vermi era ricolto} "These did their faces irrigate with blood, // which, with their tears commingled, at their feet // by the disgusting worms was gathered up" [Inf. 3]. Distinct from *gʹamb-a* {gamba} 'leg': {Tra le gambe pendevan le minugia} "Between his legs were hanging down his entrails" [Inf. 28].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1712. Distinct from *g'amb-a* {gamba} 'leg' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1902].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *g'amb-a* {gamba} 'leg' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. The examples are: {S'è missu la scarpa su la fetta} "He put the shoe on his foot", {Le fette sò pe camminà} "Feet are for walking" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016]. In Standard Italian this word means 'slice, piece, strip'; in some dialects it is also used as a pejorative word for 'foot' [Zorko et al. 2002: 342-343]. It has no further certain etymology [Prati 1951: 425]. Distinct from *ʒ'amp-a* {zampa} 'leg' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *k'ɔš:-ə* {coscia} 'leg' [Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Alois 2015; Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *'aŋk-a* {anca} 'leg' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 310. Distinct from *k'amb-a* {camba} 'leg' [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *pɛy* {pei} 'foot'. Distinct from *g'amb-a* {gamba} 'leg' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *p'ɛɾ-i* {peri} 'foot' [La Bua 2015]. Distinct from *'am:-a* {amma} 'leg' [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *p'yɛɾ-i* {pieri} 'foot', *y'am:-a* {jamma} 'leg' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *y'am:-a* {iamma} 'leg' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015. Distinct from *y'am:-a* {iamma} 'leg' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *y'am:-a* {iamma} 'leg' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 221. Distinct from *k'am-ə* {cama} 'leg' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015] and from *p'ɔt-ə* {pota} 'paw' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *k'am-ɛ* {cama} 'leg' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *k'am-ə* {cama} 'leg' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *k'am-a* {cama} 'leg' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *k'am-a* {cama} 'leg' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *k'am-a* {cama} 'leg' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *p'yeɾn-a* {pierna} 'leg' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *pye* {pie} 'foot', *p'yern-a* {pierna} 'leg' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 348. Distinct from *p'ɛɾn-ɐ* {perna} 'leg' [Voinova et al. 1989: 348].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 830, 598; Fernández Armesto 1981: 581; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1004, 692. Distinct from *p'ern-a* {perna} 'leg' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 606; Fernández Armesto 1981: 582; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1004, 702-703].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1045-1046. Distinct from *k'amb-o* {cambo} 'leg' [Coupier 1995: 778].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1610-1612.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 840-842. Polysemy: 'human foot / animal foot / lower part of something / foot (unit of measure)'. Distinct from *ʒ'ãmb-ə* {jambe} 'leg' [EDCT 2014: 599-600].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 249; Rayevskaya 2013: 496. Distinct from *žãb* {jambe} 'leg' [Robert-Collins 1989: 376; Rayevskaya 2013: 496]. Distinct from *pat* {patte} 'paw' [Robert-Collins 1989: 249].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *gãb* {gambe} 'leg' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *pi:* {pî} 'foot'. Distinct from *ʒãp* {djambe} 'leg'.

32. FULL

Archaic Latin *pɫ'e:n-ʋs* (1), Late Classical Latin *pɫ'e:n-ʋs {plenus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *ɐm=pl'in {ạmplín}* (1), Istro Romanian *pʎir {pľir}* (1), Aromanian *pl'in-ŭ {plin}* ~ *m=pl'in-ŭ {mplin}* (1), Romanian *plin {plin}* (1), Dalmatian *playn {plaịn}* (1), Friulian *plɛŋ {plen}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *pləŋ {plën}* (1), Fassano Ladin *pyeŋ {pięn}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *playn {plain}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *plɛyn {plein}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *plaɲ {plagn}* (1),

Vallader Romansh *playn {plain}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pуεŋ {pien}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *pуεŋ {pien}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *pуεŋ {pien}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *pyeŋ {pien}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *pi:ŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *pye {pìe}* (1), Plesio Lombard *pʹye-e {piee}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *pin {pin}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *pin {pin}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *pi:n {pîn}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *pi:n {pîn}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *piŋ* (1), Genoese Ligurian *piŋ {pin}* (1), Stella Ligurian *čäŋ {cǽ-n}* (1), Venice Venetian *pуεŋ {pièn} ~ pyeŋ {pién}* (1), Primiero Venetian *pyeŋ {pien}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *pyeŋ {pien}* (1), Old Italian *pʹyεn-o {pieno}* (1), Standard Italian *pʹyεn-o {pieno}* (1), Grosseto Italian *pʹyεn-o {pieno}* (1), Foligno Italian *pʹyen-u {pienu} ~ pʹin-u {pinu}* (1), Neapolitan *kʹin-ə {chino}* (1), Logudorese *prʹen-u {prenu}* (1), Campidanese *prʹen-u {prenu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *kʹin-u {chinu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *kʹin-u {chinu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *kʹin-u {chinu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *čʹin-u {cinu}* (1), Central Catalan *pɫε {ple}* (1), North-Western Catalan *pɫe {ple}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *pɫε {ple}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pɫe {ple}* (1), Valencia Catalan *pɫe {ple}* (1), Manises Catalan *pɫe {ple}* (1), Castilian Spanish *ʎen-o {lleno}* (1), Asturian *en=ʎen-o {enlleno}* (1), Standard Portuguese *šʹey-u {cheio}* (1), Galician *čʹe-o {cheo}* (1), Provençal Occitan *pleŋ {plen}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pʎε: {plyê}* (1), Old French *plẽỹn {plein}* (1), Standard French *plɛ̃ {plein}* (1), Picard *plɛ̃ {plein}* (1), Walloon *plɛ̃ {plin}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {apud mensam plenam homini rostrum deliges} "do you bind down the mouth of a man to a full table" [Men. 89]; {librorum eccillum habeo plenum soracum} "I've got a whole carriage-full of books at home" [Persa 392].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {sed cum primum praegnationem tuam plenus maturaverit uterus, opimiore fructu praeditam devoraturum} "but once your pregnancy reaches full term and burdens you with its richest fruit, he'll devour you" [Met. 5: 18]; {Sic acceptam cum gaudio plenam urnulam Psyche Veneri citata rettulit} "So Psyche regained the little jar, now full, and quickly brought it to Venus" [Met. 6: 16].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 13. The plain prefixless form *plin* {plin} 'full' is also attested [Capidan 1925: 108], occurring in texts: {ań am ună băsearică plină cu caľ aľbị} "I have a church full of white horses" [Capidan 1928: 156], {tipsịǎ plină di butsmani} "tray full of grape bunches" [Capidan 1928: 98]; however, this form is not found in the dictionary.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 251; Byhan 1899: 310; Glavina 1905: 75.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 704-705, 865; Cunia 2010: 670-671; Bara et al. 2005: 233; Gołąb 1984: 204.

Romanian: DER 2004: 392; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1061; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *plin* {plin} 'full' [Podiko 1973: 644; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 316].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {toče le kale fero plájne} "all the roads are full (of men)" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {joịna mišaráụla plaịna di veṅ} "a mezzaruola full of wine" [Bartoli 2002: 235].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 690, 306.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 69, 192.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 221.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 546.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 248.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 248.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 311. Marchigiano: *pin* {pìn} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {e le cocolle // sacca son piene di farina ria} "and the cowls // are sacks filled full of miserable flour" [Par. 22]; {La tua città, ch'è piena // d'invidia sì che già trabocca il sacco} "Thy city, which is full // of envy so that now the sack runs over" [Inf. 6].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1729-1730. Distinct from *kʹolm-o* {colmo} 'full to the brim' [Battaglia III: 303].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 328. Domus de Maria: *prʹen-u* {prenu} 'full' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *kʹin-u* {chinu} 'full' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 180.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *en=ʎʹen-u* {enllenu} 'full' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 451-452.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 816, 296; Fernández Armesto 1981: 489; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 984, 324.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1063.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1639-1640.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 856-857. Polysemy: '(completely) full / having or holding the abundance of something / entire, complete'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 260; Rayevskaya 2013: 537.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *plɛ̃* {plin} 'full'.

33. GIVE

Archaic Latin *dˈa-rɛ {dare}* (1), Late Classical Latin *dˈa-rɛ {dare}* (1), Megleno Romanian *da-u̯ {dáṷ}* (1), Istro Romanian *dʋ {då}* (1), Aromanian *da-u̯ {daŭ}* (1), Romanian *a=dˈa {a da}* (1), Dalmatian *dwo-r {du͡o̯r}* (1), Friulian *da: {dâ}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *dɛ {dé}* (1), Fassano Ladin *dɛ-r {dèr}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *da-r {dar}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *da-r {dar}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *da-r {dar}* (1), Vallader Romansh *da-r {dar}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *dɛ {dè}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *de {dé}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *de {dé}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *dɛ {dè}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *dɛ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *da {dà}* (1), Plesio Lombard *da {dà}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *deə {dêr}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *da-r {dar}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *dɛ:-r {dèr}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *dɛ:-r {dêr}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *da* (1), Genoese Ligurian *da: {dâ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *dɛ {dè}* (1), Venice Venetian *da-r {dar}* (1), Primiero Venetian *da-r {dar}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *da-r {dar}* (1), Old Italian *dˈa-re {dare}* (1), Standard Italian *dˈa-re {dare}* (1), Grosseto Italian *dˈa-re {dare}* (1), Foligno Italian *da {dà}* (1), Neapolitan *dˈa {dà}* (1), Logudorese *dˈa-re {dare}* (1), Campidanese *don-ˈay {donai}* (-1), Palermitan Sicilian *dˈa-ɾi {dari} ~ ɾˈa-ɾi {rari}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *dˈa-ɾɨ {dari}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *dˈa-ɾi {dari}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *dˈa-ɾi {dari}* (1), Central Catalan *dun-ˈa {donar}* (2), North-Western Catalan *don-ˈa {donar}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *dun-ˈa {donar}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *don-ˈa-ɾ {donar}* (2), Valencia Catalan *don-ˈa-ɾ {donar}* (2), Manises Catalan *don-ˈa-ɾ {donar}* (2), Castilian Spanish *da-ɾ {dar}* (1), Asturian *d-a-ɾ {dar}* (1), Standard Portuguese *da-ɾ {dar}* (1), Galician *da-ɾ {dar}* (1), Provençal Occitan *dun-ˈa {douna}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *baʎ-ˈiː {balyî}* (3), Old French *dõn-ˈeː-r {doner}* (2), Standard French *dɔn-e {donner}* (2), Picard *bay-e {bailler}* (3), Walloon *dün-e {duner} ~ n:-e {dner}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Da mi, optuma femina, manum} "Best of women, give me your hand" [Aul. 135]; {is nunc ducentos nummos Philippos militi, quos dare se promisit, dabit} "He now will give the two hundred Philippean pieces to the Captain, which he has promised that he will give" [Bac. 969-970].
Late Classical Latin: An example is: {dedi quidem potionem} "I gave him the poison" [Met. 10: 9].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 105-106.
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 205; Byhan 1899: 207.
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 376-377; Cunia 2010: 375-377; Bara et al. 2005: 205; Gołąb 1984: 211.
Romanian: DER 2004: 410; Bolocan et al. 1985: 281; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *a=dˈa* {a da} 'to give' [Podiko 1973: 156-157; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 85-86].
Dalmatian: Some examples are: {el majèstr̩ niderkúrn toče daị ɡe dúa uṅ miṡúl de veṅ} "Mister Niederkorn gave them a glass of wine every day"; {ju te dú joịna pu̯art} "I will give you a part of it" [Bartoli 2002: 242].

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Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 121-122.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 21, 140.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 83.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 231-232.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 79.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 126. Marchigiano: *d-e* {dé} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *d'a-re* {dare} 'to give' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {era una biscia, // forse qual diede ad Eva il cibo amaro} "a serpent was; perchance // the same which gave to Eve the bitter food" [Purg. 8]; {lume v'è dato a bene e a malizia} "light has been given you for good and evil" [Purg. 16].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1747-1748.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 165. Borrowed from Catalan {donar} 'to give' [Narumov 2001: 184]. Domus de Maria: *d'ɔn-ay* {donai} 'to give' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *d'a-ɾi* {dari} ~ *ɾ'a-ɾi* {rari} 'to give' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *ɾ'a-ɾi* {rari} 'to give' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 81. There is also a term *d-'a* {dar}, which is less frequent [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *don-'a-ɾ* {donar} 'to offer, to gift' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *d-a-ɾ* {dar} 'to give' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 123.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 251; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 945, 334-335.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 433-434. Coupier mentions the term *bay-'a* {baia} as a synonym, but *dun-'a* {douna} prevails in the examples that are provided in the dictionary.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 763-765. Saxel, Annecy: *dɛn-'aː* {dènâ} 'to give'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 353-355. Distinct from *baʎ-'ye-r* {baillier} 'to give, to hand over, to deliver / to take, to take hold of' [EDCT 2014: 117].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 273; Rayevskaya 2013: 390.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *din-e* {diner} ~ *nː-e* {dner} 'to give'.

34. GOOD

Archaic Latin *b'ɔn-ʋs {bonus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *b'ɔn-ʋs {bonus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *bun {bun}* (1), Istro Romanian *bur {bur}* (1), Aromanian *b'un-ŭ {bun}* (1), Romanian *bun {bun}* (1), Dalmatian *buŋ {buṅ}* (1), Friulian *bɔŋ {bon}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *boŋ {bon}* (1), Fassano Ladin *boŋ {bon}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *bun {bun}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *byen {bien}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *buŋ {bung}* (1), Vallader Romansh *bun {bun}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *buŋ {bon}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *buŋ {bon}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *buŋ {bon}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *buŋ {bon}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *boːŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *bü {bü}* (1), Plesio Lombard *buŋ {bun}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *bown {bôn}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *bon {bón}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *bɔwn {bòun}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *bɔwn {bòun}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *buŋ* (1), Genoese Ligurian *buŋ {bun}* (1), Stella Ligurian *buŋ {bù-n}* (1), Venice Venetian *boŋ {bón}* (1), Primiero Venetian *bɔŋ {bòn}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *boŋ {bon}* (1), Old Italian *b'wɔn-o {buono}* (1), Standard Italian *b'wɔn-o {buono}* (1), Grosseto Italian *b'ɔn-o {bono}* (1), Foligno Italian *b'on-u {bonu}* (1), Neapolitan *b'won-ə {buono}* ~ *bː'won-ə {bbuono}* (1), Logudorese *v'on-u {vonu}* (1), Campidanese *b'on-u {bonu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *b'wɔn-u {buonu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *b'ɔn-u {bonu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *b'ɔn-u {bonu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *b'wɔn-u {buonu}* (1), Central Catalan *bɔ {bo}* ~ *bɔn {bon}* (1), North-Western Catalan *bɔ {bo}* ~ *bɔn {bon}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *bɔ {bo}* ~ *bɔn {bon}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *bɔ {bo}* ~ *bɔn {bon}* (1), Valencia Catalan *bɔ {bo}* ~ *bɔn {bon}* (1), Manises Catalan *bɔ {bo}* ~ *bɔn {bon}* (1), Castilian Spanish *b'wen-o {bueno}* (1), Asturian *boŋ {bon}* (1), Standard Portuguese *bõ {bom}* (1), Galician *bo {bo}* (1), Provençal Occitan *boŋ {bon}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *bɔ̃ {bon}* (1), Old French *bõn {bon}* (1), Standard French *bɔ̃ {bon}* (1), Picard *bwɛ̃ {boin}* (1), Walloon *bɔ̃ {bon}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {mi vir, lanam, unde tibi pallium malacum et calidum conficiatur tunicaeque hibernae bonae, ne algeas hac hieme'} "Buy me some wool, my dear, with which a soft and warm cloak may be made, and good winter under-clothes, that you mayn't catch cold this winter-weather" [Mil. 687-689]; {specimen specitur, nunc certamen cernitur, sisne necne ut esse oportet, malus, bonus quoivis modi} "whether you are or are not such as you ought to be; good or bad, of whichever kind" [Bac. 399-400]; {bonus sit bonis, malus sit malis} "Good with the good let him be, bad with the bad" [Bac. 660].

> Comparative form: *m'ɛl- ɒr* {melior} ({uter ibi melior bellator erit inventus cantharo, tuest legio adiudicato, cum utro hanc noctem sies} "Him shall you choose that shall be found there the better warrior with the goblet" [Men. 187-188]). Superlative form: *'ɔpt-ʉm-ʊs* {optumus}: {Da mi, optuma femina, manum} "Best of women, give me your hand" [Aul. 135]; {calidum hercle esse audivi optimum mendacium} "I' faith, I've heard say that a lie piping-hot is the best lie" [Most. 665].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {"At hic bonus" inquit "consiliator Aristomenes"} "And this is his good counselor Aristomenes" [Met. 1: 12]; {per dexteram Martis per fidem sacramenti bonum commilitonem cruciatu simul et captivitate liberaremus} ""By the right hand of Mars," he cried, "and you loyalty to our oath, free a good comrade from capture and torture both" [Met. 4: 11].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 48-49.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 194; Byhan 1899: 201.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 228-229; Cunia 2010: 216-217; Dalametra 1906: 45; Gołąb 1984: 209.

Romanian: DER 2004: 419; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1621-1622; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *bun* {bun} 'good' [Podiko 1973: 1016; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 482].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {deṡmúṅ lo tastúrme el véṅ se-l fero buṅ} "Tomorrow we will taste if the wine is good" [Bartoli 2002: 242]; {kosti persigu͜ọti noṅ fero fu̯at, matu͡ọr, non fero buni jamo} "these peaches are not mature, they are not good yet" [Bartoli 2002: 239].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 30.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 18, 144. Distinct from *val'ɔnt* {valënt} 'good / kind' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 108].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 50, 382. Distinct from *val'ent* {valȩnt} 'amiable / good' [DILF 2001: 50, 609].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 119-120.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 38.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 38.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Alternately, the term *brav* {brav} is applied to persons, cf. the following examples: {Ti tses un-a brava person-a, chiel l'è un-a person-a grama} "You are a good man, he is a bad man".

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 52. Marchigiano: *bɔn* {bòn} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Arzignano: *bɔŋ* {bòn} 'good' [Serena 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {la buona compagnia che l'uom francheggia} "that good companion which emboldens man" [Inf. 28]; {ancora era quel popol di lontano, // i' dico dopo i nostri mille passi, // quanto un buon gittator trarria con mano} "still was that people as far off from us, // after a thousand steps of ours I say, // as a good thrower with his hand would reach"

[Purg. 3].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1757-1758.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 88. Domus de Maria: *b'on-u* {bonu} 'good' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *b'ɔn-u* {bonu} 'good' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *b'wɔn-u* {buonu} 'good' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 41.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *b'on-u* {bonu} 'good' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 686.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 171; Fernández Armesto 1981: 139; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 933, 179.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 158-159.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 324-325.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 145-146.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 281-282; Rayevskaya 2013: 635.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *bɔ̃* {bon} 'good'.

35. GREEN

Archaic Latin *w'ɪr-ɪd-ɪs {viridis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *v'ɪr-ɪd-ɪs {viridis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *v'e̯ard-i {veárdi}* (1), Istro Romanian *zel'en {zelén}* (-1), Aromanian *v'e̯ard-e {veárde}* (1), Romanian *v'erd-e {verde}* (1), Dalmatian *vyard {vi̯árd}* (-1), Friulian *vɛrt {vert}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *vərt {vërt}* (1), Fassano Ladin *vert {vert}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *vɛrt {verd}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *vɛrt {verd}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *vɛrt {verd}* (1), Vallader Romansh *vɛrt {verd}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *vɛrd {verd}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *vɛrd {vèrd}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *vɛrd {verd}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *vɛrd {verd}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *veːrt* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ert {ert} ~ vert {vert}* (1), Plesio Lombard *veːrt {verd}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *veːr {vēr}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *verd {vérd}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *verd {verd}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *vɛyrd {vèird}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *v'erd-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *v'ɛrd-e {vèrde}* (1), Stella Ligurian *v'ɛːrd-e {vèrde}* (1), Venice Venetian *v'erd-e {vérde}* (1), Primiero Venetian *vert {vert}* (1), Bellunese

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Venetian *vert {vert}* (1), Old Italian *v'erd-e {verde}* (1), Standard Italian *v'erd-e {verde}* (1), Grosseto Italian *v'erd-e {verde}* (1), Foligno Italian *v'erd-e {verde}* (1), Neapolitan *v'ɛrd-ə {verde} ~ v:'ɛrd-ə {vverde}* (1), Logudorese *v'ird-e {virde}* (1), Campidanese *b'ird-i {birdi}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *v'ird-i {virdi}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *v'id:-ɨ {viddi}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *v'ird-i {virdi}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *v'ird-i {virdi}* (1), Central Catalan *bɛrt {vert}* (1), North-Western Catalan *bɛrt {vert}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *vɛrt {vert}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *vɛrt {vert}* (1), Valencia Catalan *bɛrt {verd}* (1), Manises Catalan *bɛrt {verd}* (1), Castilian Spanish *b'erð-e {verde}* (1), Asturian *b'erd-e {verde}* (1), Standard Portuguese *v'erð-ə {verde}* (1), Galician *b'erd-e {verde}* (1), Provençal Occitan *vert {verd}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *vɛ {vê}* (1), Old French *vɛrt {vert}* (1), Standard French *vɛʁ {vert}* (1), Picard *vɛʁ {vèrt}* (1), Walloon *vɛʀ {vèrt}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The only example is {ut viridis exoritur colos ex temporibus atque fronte} "How a green colour is arising on his temples and his forehead" [Men. 829-830]. Distinct from *h'ɛrb-ɛ-vs* {herbeus} 'grass-green': {Quis hic est homo cum collativo ventre atque oculis herbeis?} "Who is this fellow with extended paunch, and eyes as green as grass?" [Curc. 230-231].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Sed inde de fluvio musicae suavis nutricula leni crepitu dulcis aurae divinitus inspirata sic vaticinatur harundo viridis} "But a green reed, that piper of sweet music, stirred by the touch of a gentle breeze" [Met. 6: 12]; {sed color psittaco viridis et intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis, nisi quod sola cervice distinguitur} "The parrot is green from the roots of its feathers to their very tips, save only for the markings on the neck" [Florida 12]. The term {virens}, derived from the same root, can be used as well: {et de ore pastoricii canis virens exsiluit ranula} "a bright green frog leapt from a sheep-dog's mouth" [Met. 9: 34].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 324.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 304. Borrowed from Croatian. The inherited term for 'green' *v'ärd-e* {vérde} is preserved in the meaning 'unripe' and in the term for an evergreen tree {vérdele spir} [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 297; Byhan 1899: 380]. Cf. {veɾdu nǎp} 'raw turnip'.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1106; Cunia 2010: 1081-1082; Dalametra 1906: 217; Gołąb 1984: 258.

Romanian: DER 2004: 427; Bolocan et al. 1985: 435; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *v'erd-e* {verde} 'green' [Podiko 1973: 260; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 143].

Dalmatian: Atteted in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 269]. Some examples are: {pletu̯ást la butúa la koláu̯r vi̯árd} "rather tends to be of green colour" [Bartoli 2002: 240]; {col cóplo viard in tiásta} "with a green hat on her head" [Bartoli 2002: 299-300]. The form *vyard* {vi̯árd} is a "dalmatianized" borrowing from Venetian.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 463.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 108, 144.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 348.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 803.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 394.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 394.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 491. Marchigiano: *vɛrd* {vèrd} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015. Verona: *v'ɛrd-o* {verdo} 'green' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Non fronda verde, ma di color fosco} "Not foliage green, but of a dusky colour" [Inf. 13]; {Verdi come fogliette pur mo nate // erano in veste} "Green as the little leaflets just now born // their garments were" [Purg. 8].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1764-1765.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Alois 2015. Salerno: *v'ɛrd-ə* 'green' {verde} [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 85. Domus de Maria: *b'ird-i* {birdi} 'green' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *v'ird-i* {virdi} 'green' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 291.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *b'ɛrd-e* {verde} 'green' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 194.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 739; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1040.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1474.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2221.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1142.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 286; Rayevskaya 2013: 423.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vɛ ʁ* {vert} 'green'.

36. HAIR

Archaic Latin *k'apɪɫ-ʊs* {capillus} (1), Late Classical Latin *k'apɪɫ-ʊs* {capillus} (1), Megleno Romanian *per* {per} (2), Istro Romanian *per* {per} (2), Aromanian *p'er-ŭ* {per} (2), Romanian *pər* {păr} (2), Dalmatian *kap'e-ɣ* {kapéi̯} (1), Friulian *ʧav'ɛ-ɣ* {cjavei} (1), Gardenese Ladin

ɕavˈə-y {ciavëi} (1), Fassano Ladin *ɕavˈe-y {ciavei̯}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɕəvˈɛl-s {chavels}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *kəvˈɛʎ-s {cavegls}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʦəvˈɛl-s {tgavels}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ɕəvˈɛl-s {chavels}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kavɛ-y {cavèj}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *kavɛ-y {cavèj}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *kavɛ-y {cavej}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *kavˈey {caveij}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *kavˈö-y* (1), Bergamo Lombard *kˈye-y {chìei}* (1), Plesio Lombard *kavˈɛl: {cavell}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *kavˈɛl {cavèl}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kav-ˈi {cavì}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *kav-ˈi: {cavî}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *kav-ˈi: {cavî}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *kavˈel:-i* (1), Genoese Ligurian *kavˈel:-i {cavélli}* (1), Stella Ligurian *kavˈä:y-i {cavǽiì}* (1), Venice Venetian *kavˈe-i {cavéi}* (1), Primiero Venetian *kavˈe-i {cavei}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *kavˈe-i {cavei}* (1), Old Italian *kapˈel:-o {capello}* (1), Standard Italian *kapˈel:-o {capello}* (1), Grosseto Italian *kapˈel:-i {capelli}* (1), Foligno Italian *kˈapil:-u {capillu}* (1), Neapolitan *kapˈil:-ə {capille}* (1), Logudorese *pˈil-os {pìlos}* (2), Campidanese *pˈilu-zu {pilusu}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *kapˈiɖ:-i {capiddi}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *kapˈiɖ:-ɨ {capiddi}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *kapˈiɖ:-i {capiddi}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *kapˈiɖ:-i {capiddi}* (1), Central Catalan *kəβˈɛʎ {cabell}* (1), North-Western Catalan *kaβˈeʎ {cabell}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *kəβˈɛy {cabell}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kaβˈeʎ {cabell}* (1), Valencia Catalan *kaβˈeʎ {cabell}* (-1), Manises Catalan *mˈoɲ-o {monyo}* (3), Castilian Spanish *pˈel-o {pelo}* (2), Asturian *pˈel-o {pelo}* (2), Standard Portuguese *kɐβˈel-u {cabelo}* (1), Galician *kaβˈel-o {cabelo}* (1), Provençal Occitan *pɛw {péu}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ševˈö: {cheveû}* (-1), Old French *čəvˈel {chevel}* (1), Standard French *šəvˈö {cheveux}* (1), Picard *kavyo {caviaus}* (1), Walloon *čüvɛ {tchuvès} ~ čvɛ {tchvès}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {sed quis hic est qui me capillo hinc de curru deripit} "But what person is this that is tearing me hence by the hair down from the chariot?" [Men. 870]; {me istanc capillo protracturum esse in viam } "I'll drag this woman by the hair into the street" [Merc. 798]; {PHILEM. Suo quique loco (viden?) capillus satis compositust commode. SC. Vbi tu commoda es, capillum commodum esse credito} "PHILEM. Will you see that each hair is nicely arranged in its own place? SC. When you yourself are so nice, do believe that your hair must be nice" [Most. 254-255]; {capillum promittam optimumst occipiamque hariolari} "It were better I should let my hair grow, and set up for a soothsayer" [Rud. 377].

    Distinct from *krˈiːn-ɐ* {crinis} 'lock of hair', cf. {Vt ad te eam iam deducas itaque eam huc ornatam adducas, ex matronarum modo, capite compto, crinis vittasque habeat} " For you to bring her home at once to your house as your wife, and, for that reason, to bring her there dressed out, so that she may wear her locks with her hair arranged, and fillets after the fashion of matrons" [Mil. 790-792]; {soli gerundum censeo morem et capiundas crines} "I think that you ought to devote yourself to him alone, and assume the character of a wife" [Most. 226] ({crines capere} "to plait one's hair" = "to get married" [OLD 1968: 459]). The term *pˈɨ-ʊs* {pilus} 'hair' is not attested' in Plautus' texts.

Late Classical Latin: Head hair, cf. some examples: {Ipse denique dux et signifer ceterorum validis me viribus adgressus ilico manibus ambabus capillo adreptum ac retro reflexum effligere lapide gestit} "Their general and standard-bearer made for

me at once, grasped my hair with both hands, bent me backwards, and was about to finish me off with a stone" [Met. 3: 6]; {Sic illos capillos in mutuos nexus obditos atque nodatos cum multis odoribus dat vivis carbonibus adolendos} "Then she bound the hairs together and knotted them into braids, and threw them onto the live coals with several kinds of incense" [Met. 3: 18]; {quamvis auro veste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata mulier incedat, tamen, nisi capillum distinxerit, ornata non possit audire} "such is the glory of a woman's hair that though she adorns herself with garments, gold and gems and other finery, unless her hair is groomed she cannot be called well-dressed" [Met. 2: 9]. Distinct from *p'ɫ-ʊs* {pilus} 'body hair / animal hair': {plane pili mei crassantur in setas} "Instead the hair on my body turned to bristles" [Met. 3: 24]; {pilum liberali nitore nutriverat} "my coat polished to a noble sheen" [Met. 10: 15]; {Ac primo quidem squalens pilus defluit} "First the coarse hair fell from my body" [Met. 11: 13].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 219. A generic term applicable to human head hair and body hair.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 248; Byhan 1899: 305. A generic term applicable to human head hair and body hair.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 837; Cunia 2010: 814-815; Dalametra 1906: 165; Bara et al. 2005: 336; Gołąb 1984: 242. A generic term, applicable to human head hair and body hair.

Romanian: DER 2004: 436; Bolocan et al. 1985: 161; Gancz 2015. A generic term, applicable to human head hair and body hair [DEaLR 2015]. The term *pər* is a collective noun; one hair is designated by the expression *fir de=p'ər* {fir de păr}, literally 'a thread of hair'. Moldavian: *pər* {păr} 'hair' [Podiko 1973: 86; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 48].

Dalmatian: Along with the inherited term {kapéi̯} 'hair', speakers also used the Venetian borrowing {kavi̯úi} 'hair', cf. the context {ju me maṅkúa toč, nel mi kúp, toč i kavi̯úi. i ge ǧu kaskuót i kupli} "I have lost all my hair from my head. The hair fell away" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. Also attested by Cubich as {capei} 'hair' [Bartoli 2002: 267] and in the context {int-el kúp lu portúa iṅ kola kál, de zùpra i kapéi̯ - in taľáṅ še i kavéi̯. le portúa doi̯ i̯ág de arjánt} "at the time, on their heads they were wearing, in their hair – *i kavéi̯* in Italian – they were wearing two silver needles" [Bartoli 2002: 232] (actually, *i kavéi̯* is a Venetian form, not Italian). Distinct from *payl* {pail} 'body hair', attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 273].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 660, 117. Plural form. A singular hair is *ʦav'ɛl-i* {cjaveli}. Distinct from *pe:l* {pêl} 'a body hair' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 292].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 105, 155. Plural form. A singular hair is *ɕav'əl* {ciavël}. Distinct from *pəyl* {pëil} 'body hair' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 63, 144]. Marebbano: *pol'aŋ* {poláŋ} 'body hair'; Badiotto: *pol'aŋ* {poláŋ} 'body hair'; Livinallese: *pel'am* {pelám} 'body hair' [Gartner 1923: 144].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 54. Plural form. A singular hair is *ɕav'el* {ciaveḽ}. Distinct from *peyl* {pȩil} 'body hair' [DILF 2001: 214; Gartner 1923: 144].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. Plural form.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Plural form. A singular hair is *kəv'eʎ* {cavegl}. Distinct from *pəl'eɲ* {pelegn} 'body hair' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. Plural form.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 152. Plural form. A singular hair is *ɕav'ɛ* {chavè} [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 152]. Distinct from *payl* {pail} 'body hair' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 512].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 44. Plural form. Distinct from *pɛyl* {pèil} 'body hair' [Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 239].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 44. Plural form. Distinct from *plük* {pluch} 'body hair' and *pɛyl* {pèil} 'body hair' [Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 239].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *pɛyl* {pèil} 'body hair'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *pɛy* {pej} ~ *pɛyl* {peil} 'body hair' and *plük* {pluch} 'body hair'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *pe:l* 'body hair'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *p'y-i* {pìi} 'body hair' [Garlini 2015].

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *pe:l* {pel} 'body hair' [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 89. Singular form. Distinct from *pe:l* {pēl} 'body hair' [Ercolani 1960: 301].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *pɛl* {pèl} 'body hair' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Plural form. A singular hair is *kap'ɛ:l* {capêl} (obviously of Italian origin). Distinct from *pe:l* {pēl} 'body hair' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *pɛyl* {pèil} 'body hair' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *pe* 'body hair'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *p'el-i* {péli} (pl.) 'body hair'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *p'e-y* {pèi} (pl.) 'body hair'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Serena 2015. Plural form. Singular hair is *kav'e-o* {cavéo} [Gasparini 2015]. Padua, Schio, Marostica, Verona: kav'ey-i {caveji} 'hair' [Tre 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Plural form. Singular hair is *kav'ey-o* {cavejo} [Tre 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Treviso: *kav'euɪ-i* {cavéɫi} ~ *kav'e-i* {cavéi} (plural), *kav'euɪ-o* {cavéɫo} ~ *kav'el* {cavél} 'hair' [Busato 2015]. Distinct from *p'ɛ-o* {pèo} [Tosi 2015; Tre 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015] ~ *p'ɛl-o* {pelo} [Melon 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015] 'body hair'.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Plural form. Singular hair is *kav'el* {cavel}. Distinct from *p'e-l* {pel} 'body hair' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *p'e-i* {pei} 'body hair' (plural) [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Along with *kap'el:-o* {capello}, which usually means 'head hair' in modern language, Dante can use the term *p'el-o* {pelo} in this meaning (in modern Italian {pelo} is restricted to the designation of body hair). Since it is impossible to differentiate between these synonyms, we have included both of them on the list. Examples on *kap'el:-o* {capello}: {già t'ho veduto coi capelli asciutti} "I have already seen thee with dry hair" [Inf. 19]; {Io avea già i capelli in mano avvolti} "I had his hair in hand already twisted" [Inf. 32].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1775. Singular form. Distinct from *p'el-o* {pelo} 'body hair' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1775].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *p'el-o* {pelo} 'body hair' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. A singular form. Distinct from *p'il-u* {pilu} 'body hair' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Plural form. Russo also mentions the term *c'il:-ə* {zille} 'hair', which is more pejorative [Russo 2015]. Distinct from *p'il-ə* {pilo} 'body hair' (singular) [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Plural form. A generic term, applicable both to human head hair and body hair.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 317. Plural form. Polysemy: 'hair / body hair'. Domus de Maria: *p'ilu-zu* {pilusu} 'hair / body hair' (plural) [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Plural form. Singular is *kap'iḍ:-u* {capiddu}. Distinct from *p'il-u* {pilu} 'body hair' [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *kap'iḍ-i* {capidi} (pl.) 'hair' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Plural form. Singular is *kap'iḍ:-u* {capiddu}. Distinct from *p'il-u* {pilu} 'body hair' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Plural form. Singular is *kap'iḍ:-u* {capiddu}. Distinct from *p'il-u* {pilu} 'body hair' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *p'il-a* {pila} 'body hair' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 43. Distinct from *pɛɫ* {pèl} 'body hair' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 217].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *pɛɫ* {pel} 'body hair' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *pɛɫ* {pel} 'body hair' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *pɛɫ* {pèl} 'body hair' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *pɛɫ* {pèl} 'body hair' [Pérez i Sanchis]. Borrowed from the Standard Catalan [Pedrós 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *pɛɫ* {pel}, which is used in refering to a single hair of the body or the head [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. There is also the term *kaβ'eʎ-os* {cabellos} (plural) 'hair', which is less frequent. Distinct from *b'eʎ-o* {vello} 'body hair' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *p'el-u* {pelu} 'hair' (sg.) 'head hair / body hair' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 75. Distinct from *p'el-u* {pelo} ({pêlo} in old orthography) 'body hair' [Voinova et al. 1989: 75].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 194; Fernández Armesto 1981: 571; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1002, 209. Singular form. There are two terms for 'hair' in Galician: *kaβ'el-o* {cabelo} 'head hair' and *p'el-o* {pelo} 'head hair / body hair'. Since both can be applied to 'head hair': {Ten o pelo longo} and {Ten o cabelo longo} "He's got long hair" [Montoya Bolaños

2016], we include both terms in the list.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 236, 1071. Generic term for both head and body hair. Distinct from the obsolete term *kabˈɛw* {cabèu} 'hair' and from the Gallicism *čevˈü* {chevu} ~ *čivˈü* {chivu}, used in colloquial speech [Coupier 1995: 236].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 494-495. Borrowed from French {cheveu} 'hair'. Distinct from *pay* {pai} 'body hair' [Viret 2013: 1667-1668].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 193. The term *krĩn* {crin} 'hair / horse hair' is much less common; it is applied to denote human hair only 3 times [EDCT 2014: 271] (the term *čəvˈel* {chevel} occurs 33 times). Distinct from *poyl* {poil} 'coat (of a horse)' [EDCT 2014: 861].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 294-295; Rayevskaya 2013: 364. Plural form. Distinct from *pwal* {poil} 'body hair' [Robert-Collins 1989: 294-295; Rayevskaya 2013: 364].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Plural form. Distinct from *pwal* {poille} 'body hair' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Plural form. Rifondou: *čivɛ:* {tchiveas} ~ *čvɛ:* {tchveas} 'hair'. Distinct from *pwa* {poy} 'body hair' (Rifondou: *pwɛl* {pwel} ~ *pwa* {poy} 'body hair').

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Old Italian *pˈel-o {pelo}* (2), Galician *pˈel-o {pelo}* (2).

References and notes:

Old Italian: Some examples for the meaning 'head hair' are: {un vecchio, bianco per antico pelo} "an old man, hoary with the hair of eld" [Inf. 3]; {e quella fronte c'ha 'l pel così nero} "that forehead there which has the hair so black" [Inf. 12]; {e vidi due sì stretti, // che 'l pel del capo avieno insieme misto} "and saw two so close, // the hair upon their heads together mingled" [Inf. 32].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 829; Fernández Armesto 1981: 571; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1002, 697. Polysemy: 'head hair / body hair'.

37. HAND

Archaic Latin *mˈan-ʊs {manus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *mˈan-ʊs {manus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *mˈɔn-ə {mǫnă}* (1), Istro Romanian *mər {mâr}* (1), Aromanian *mˈɨn-ə {mî́nă}* (1), Romanian *mˈɨn-ə {mână}* (1), Dalmatian *mwoŋ {muǫ̯n}* (1), Friulian *maŋ {man}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *maŋ {man}* (1), Fassano Ladin *maŋ {man}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *mawn {maun}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *mawn {maun}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *maŋ {mang}* (1), Vallader Romansh *man {man}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *maŋ {man}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *maŋ {man}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *maŋ {man}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *maŋ {man}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *maŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ma {mà}* (1), Plesio Lombard *maŋ {man}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *mãn {mân}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *man {màn}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *maŋ {màṅ}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *maːn {mân}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *maŋ* (1), Genoese Ligurian *maŋ {man}* (1), Stella Ligurian *maŋ {mà-n}* (1), Venice Venetian *maŋ {man}* (1), Primiero Venetian *maŋ {man}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *maŋ {man}* (1), Old Italian *mˈan-o {mano}* (1), Standard Italian *mˈan-o {mano}* (1), Grosseto Italian *mˈan-o {mano}* (1), Foligno Italian *mˈan-o {mano}* (-1), Neapolitan *mˈan-ə*

{mano} (1), Logudorese *m'an-u {manu}* (1), Campidanese *m'an-u {manu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *m'an-u {manu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *m'an-u {manu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *m'an-u {manu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *m'an-u {manu}* (1), Central Catalan *ma {mà}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ma {mà}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ma {mà}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ma {mà}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ma {mà}* (1), Manises Catalan *ma {mà}* (1), Castilian Spanish *m'an-o {mano}* (1), Asturian *m'an-o {mano}* (1), Standard Portuguese *mẽw̃ {mão}* (1), Galician *maŋ {man}* (1), Provençal Occitan *maŋ {man}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *mã {man}* (1), Old French *mẽỹn {main}* (1), Standard French *mɛ̃ {main}* (1), Picard *mɛ̃ {main}* (1), Walloon *mwɛ̃ {mwin}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {Da mi, optuma femina, manum} "Best of women, give me your hand" [Aul. 135]; {signum esse oportet in manu laeva tibi, ludenti puero quod memordit simia} "there ought to be a mark upon your left hand, a bite which an ape gave you when a child" [Poen. 1073-1074]; {ipsusque Amphitruo regem Pterelam sua obtruncavit manu} "Amphitryon himself, with his own hand, struck off the head of Pterelas their king" [Amph. 252]; {quasi pueri qui nare discunt scirpea induitur ratis, qui laborent minus, facilius ut nent et moveant manus} "Just as a float of bulrushes is placed beneath boys who are learning to swim, by means of which they may labour less, so as to swim more easily and move their hands" [Aul. 595-596].

> Distinct from *br'ak:-ꞃũ {bracchium}* ~ *br'ak-ꞃũ {brachium}* 'arm' of Greek origin, cf. {id conexum in umero laevo, exfafillato bracchio} "have it fastened over the left shoulder, your right arm projecting out" [Mil. 1180]; {circumda torquem brachiis, meum collum circumplecte} "enfold me in your arms, and embrace my neck" [Asin. 695-696].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {manus non iam pedes sunt, sed in erecta porriguntur officia} "my hands were no longer feet but reached out in a proper manner" [Met. 11:13]; {Cupidinis buccula manuque ad os suum relata consaviat atque sic ad illum} "Jupiter tweaked Cupid's cheek, raised the lad's hand to his lips, kissed it and replied" [Met. 6: 22]; {Sed privatus humana manu, privatus digitis, ungula rutunda atque mutila gladium stringere nequaquam poteram} "But without human hands and fingers, only misshapen hooves, I couldn't even draw a sword" [Met. 10: 29]; {Ipse denique dux et signifer ceterorum validis me viribus adgressus ilico manibus ambabus capillo adreptum ac retro reflexum effligere lapide gestit} "Their general and standard-bearer made for me at once, grasped my hair with both hands, bent me backwards, and was about to finish me off with a stone" [Met. 3: 6]. Distinct from *br'ak-y-ũ {brachium}* 'arm': {Iamque alternis conatibus libratis brachiis in avem similis gestiebam} "Then I spread out my arms and flapped them up and down one after the other, trying my best to become a bird" [Met. 3: 24].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 194. Distinct from *brac {brats}* 'arm' [Capidan 1935: 44].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 227; Byhan 1899: 282. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'. The difference between 'hand' and 'arm' has apparently disappeared under the influence of the Croatian language. The old term for the arm - *brac {braţ}* - is preserved only in the expression {ân braţ} 'in the arms'. In some expressions the Croatism *r'uk-a {rúca}* 'hand' is used as well. Cf. {E tot na ruke, tot} "So, all by hand, everything".

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 694-695; Cunia 2010: 624-626; Dalametra 1906: 132; Bara et al. 2005: 336; Gołąb 1984: 234. Distinct from *br'ac-ŭ {braţŭ}* 'arm' [Papahagi 1963: 217; Dalametra 1906: 42; Bara et al. 2005: 336; Gołąb 1984: 208] and *p'alm-ə {pálmă}* 'palm' [Papahagi 1963: 813; Dalametra 1906: 162; Bara et al. 2005: 336].

Romanian: DER 2004: 440; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1299-1301; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *brac {braţ}* 'arm' [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *m'ɨn-ə {mână}* 'hand' [Podiko 1973: 813-814; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 393].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {la mu͡on zu͡onka} "the left hand"; {al manái̯ka ko la muň sinístra perkó ke-l fero zankíń} "He eats with his left hand, because he is left-handed" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. Distinct from *brac {braz}* 'arm' [Bartoli 2002: 240].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 245. Distinct from *brač {braç}* 'arm' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 34].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 50, 145. Distinct from *brač {brac}* 'arm' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 18, 119].

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Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 177. Distinct from *brač* {brac} 'arm' [DILF 2001: 48].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *brač* {bratsch} 'arm' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 450-451. Distinct from *brač* {bratsch} 'arm' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 113-114].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 195. Distinct from *bras* {brass} 'arm' [Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 36].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 195. Distinct from *bras* {brass} 'arm' [Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 36].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *bras* {brass} 'arm'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *bras* {brass} 'arm' and *maŋ-drit:-a* {mandritta} 'right hand'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *bra:s* 'arm'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *braš* {brasc} 'arm'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960:247. Distinct from *brac* {braz·} 'arm' [Ercolani 1960: 54-55]. Marchigiano: *men* {men} 'hand' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *brac* {bràz} 'arm' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *bra:s* {brâs} 'arm' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *bra:s* {brâs} 'arm' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *br'as:-u* 'arm'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *br'as:-u* {brassǒ} 'arm'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *br'ɔc:-u* {brozzu} 'arm'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Distinct from *br'as-o* {bràsso} 'arm' [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *braθ* {braẑ} 'arm' [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Distinct from *braθ* {braz} 'arm' [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {ond' io li orecchi con le man copersi} "whereas mine ears I covered with my hands" [Inf. 29]; {ancora era quel popol di lontano, // i' dico dopo i nostri mille passi, // quanto un buon gittator trarria con mano} "still was that people as far off from us, // after a thousand steps of ours I say, // as a good thrower with his hand would reach" [Purg. 3]. Distinct from {braccio} 'arm': {Fersi le braccia due di quattro liste; // le cosce con le gambe e 'l ventre e 'l casso // divenner membra che non fuor mai viste} "Of the four lists were fashioned the two arms, // the thighs and legs, the belly and the chest // members became that never yet were seen" [Inf. 25].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1778-1779. Distinct from *br'ač:-o* {braccio} 'arm' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1355-1356].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *br'ač:-o* {braccio} 'arm' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Probably influenced by Standard Italian {mano} 'hand'. Distinct from *vr'ač:-u* {vracciu} 'arm' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *vr'ač:-ə* {vraccio} 'arm' [Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *br'ac:-u* {bratzu} 'arm' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 264. Distinct from *br'ac-u* {bratzu} 'arm' [Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 89]. Domus de Maria: *m'an-u* {manu} 'hand'. Distinct from *br'ac:-u* {brazzu} 'arm' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Distinct from *vr'ac:-u* {vrazzu} 'arm' [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *m'an-u* {manu} 'hand' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *br'ac:-u* {brazzu} 'arm' (Giarre: *br'ac:-a* {brazza} ~ *vr'ac:-a* {vrazza} 'arm') [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Distinct from *vr'ac:-u* {vrazzu} ~ *r'ac:-u* {razzu} 'arm' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *ur'ac:-u* {urazzu} 'arm' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 184-185. Distinct from *bras* {braç} 'arm' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015;

EDCC 1993: 40].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *bɾas* {braç} 'arm' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *bɾas* {braç} 'arm' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *bɾas* {braç} 'arm' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *bɾas* {braç} 'arm' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *bɾas* {braç} 'arm' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *bɾ'aθ-o* {brazo} 'arm' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *m'an-o* {mano} 'hand', *bɾ'aθ-u* {brazu} 'arm' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 548. Distinct from *bɾas-u* {braço} 'arm' [Voinova et al. 1989: 548].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 819, 535; Fernández Armesto 1981: 498; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 986, 608. Distinct from *bɾ'aθ-o* {brazo} 'arm' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 136; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 933, 194].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 840-841. Distinct from *bras* {bras} 'arm' [Coupier 1995: 173-174].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1310.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 662-664. Distinct from *brac* {braz} 'arm' [EDCT 2014: 152-153].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 295-296; Rayevskaya 2013: 577. Distinct from *bʁa* {bras} 'arm' [Robert-Collins 1989: 28; Rayevskaya 2013: 577].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *bʁo* {bros} 'arm' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *mwɛ̃* {mwin} 'hand'. Distinct from *b ʁ* {brès} 'arm' (Rifondou: *b ʁs* {bresse} 'arm').

38. HEAD

Archaic Latin *k'apʊt {caput}* (1), Late Classical Latin *k'apʊt {caput}* (1), Megleno Romanian *kap {cap}* (1), Istro Romanian *kʊp {cåp}* (1), Aromanian *k'ap-ŭ {cap}* (1), Romanian *kap {cap}* (1), Dalmatian *kup {kúp}* (1) / *t'yast-a {ti̯asta}* (-1), Friulian *ʦaːf {cjâf}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *čə {cë}* (1), Fassano Ladin *čef {cef}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɕaw {chau}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ɕaw {tgau}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʦ'e-ə {tgea}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ɕew {cheu}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *t'est-a {testa}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *t'est-a {testa}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *t'ɛst-a* (2), Bergamo Lombard *ko {có}* (1), Plesio Lombard *k'o-o {coo}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *t'ɛəst-a {tësta}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *kɔ {cò}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *t'ɛst-a {tèsta}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *t'est-a* (2), Genoese Ligurian *t'est-a {tésta}* (2), Stella Ligurian *t'ɛːst-a {tësta}* (2), Venice Venetian *t'ɛst-a {tèsta}* (2), Primiero Venetian *t'ɛst-a {tèsta}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Old Italian *k'ap-o {capo}* (1) / *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Standard Italian *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Grosseto Italian *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Foligno Italian *kap-'ɔč̌ː-a {capoccia}* (1), Neapolitan *k'ap-ə {capa}* (1), Logudorese *k'oŋk-a {conca}* (3), Campidanese *k'ɔŋk-a {conca}* (3), Palermitan Sicilian *t'yɛst-a {tiesta}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *t'ɛst-a {testa}* (2), Central Catalan *kap {cap}* (1), North-Western Catalan *kap {cap}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *kap {cap}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kap {cap}* (1), Valencia Catalan *kap {cap}* (1), Manises Catalan *kap {cap}* (1), Castilian Spanish *kaβ'eθ-a*

{cabeza} (1), Asturian *t'yest-a {tiesta}* (2) / *kab'eθ-a {cabeza}* (1), Standard Portuguese *keβ'es-ɐ {cabeça}* (1), Galician *kaβ'eθ-a {cabeza}* (1), Provençal Occitan *t'ɛst-o {tèsto}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *t'et-a {téta}* (2), Old French *čyef {chief}* (1), Standard French *tɛt {tête}* (2), Picard *tyɛt {tiète}* (2), Walloon *tyɛːs {tiêsse}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *k'ap ɪt-ɞ {capitis}*. Some examples are: {capiam coronam mi in caput} "I'll place a chaplet on my head" [Amph. 999]; {devolant angues iubati deorsum in impluvium duo maximi: continuo extollunt ambo capita} "two immense crested serpents glided down through the skylight; instantly they both reared their heads" [Amph. 1107-1109]; {abite et de via decedite, ne quem in cursu capite aut cubito aut pectore offendam aut genu} "get out of the way, lest I should hurt any person in my speed with my head, or elbow, or breast, or with my knee" [Curc. 281-282].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {et capite Socratis in alterum dimoto latus per iugulum sinistrum capulo tenus gladium totum ei demergit} "And with that she pushed Socrates' head to the side and buried her blade in the left of his neck all the way to the hilt" [Met. 1: 13]; {ipso etiam bestiae capite adusque confinium cervicis solido relicto} "and leave the head intact down to the neck" [Met. 4: 14]; {nisu quam valido noxii serpentis nodum cervicis et capitis abscide} "and with the firmest stroke you can muster sever the venomous serpent's head from his body" [Met. 5: 20]; {Ipse denique dux et signifer ceterorum validis me viribus adgressus ilico manibus ambabus capillo adreptum ac retro reflexum effligere lapide gestit} "Their general and standard-bearer made for me at once, grasped my hair with both hands, bent me backwards, and was about to finish me off with a stone" [Met. 3: 6].

The term *t'ɛst-a {testa}* is attested only in the meanings '(clay) receptacle / shell': {nudatus ipse delato numine scabiem vetustam cariosae testae occipit exsculpere} "he took off his shirt, lowered the lamp inside, and began to hack at the solid crust inside the ancient receptacle" [Met. 9: 7]; {Quin ergo dicitis me eadem opera pretio impenso per plurim[is]os piscatoris quaesisse de litore conch*u*lam striatam, testam h*e*be[n]tem, calculum teretem} "Why do you not say that at the same time I commissioned large numbers of fishermen to secure for me at a price striped sea-shells, rough shells, smooth pebbles" [Apologia 35: 3].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 58. Distinct from *'kok-ə {cócă}* which is glossed as 'cap (întrebuinţat numai în înţeles fig.)' in [Capidan 1935: 75] without further specifications.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 196; Byhan 1899: 251. The Croatism *gl'ɒv-a {glåva}* is used as a count term for cattle, as in {sto glåv de oi} "one hundred heads of sheep" [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 214].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 244-245; Cunia 2010: 232-233; Dalametra 1906: 48; Bara et al. 2005: 334; Gołąb 1984: 224.

Romanian: DER 2004: 448; Bolocan et al. 1985: 252-253; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *kap {cap}* 'head' [Podiko 1973: 141-142; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 77].

Dalmatian: Besides the inherited term *kup {kúp}*, there is also a Venetian borrowing *t'yasta {tɪ̯asta}* 'head'. Both terms are used by Udina, sometimes in neighbouring sentences: {int-el kúp lu portúa iṅ kola kál, de zùpra i kapéi̯ - in taľáṅ še i kavéi̯. le portúa doi̯ jág de arjánt. kosái̯k ko la tɪ̯asta i fero, ke se vedua da lontu͡oṇ} "At the time, on their heads they were wearing, in their hair – i kavéi̯ in Italian – they were wearing two silver needles. They were attached to their heads in such a way that they were seen from afar" [Bartoli 2002: 232]. Some other examples: {le vetrune sińáu̯re le portúa le redái̯ne sul kúp} "the old ladies were wearing a hairnet on their heads" [Bartoli 2002: 233]; {me dùl el kúp} "my head hurts" (Petris) [Bartoli 2002: 256]; {col cóplo viard in tiásta} "with a green hat on her head" [Bartoli 2002: 299-300]. We treat these words as synonyms.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 705, 116.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 103, 155. Polysemy: 'head / mind'.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 329.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. There are two expressions for 'head' in Rumantsch Grischun: *ɕaw {chau}* and *t'ɛšt-ə {testa}*. According to Schmid, they are synonyms, but we presume that the difference is the same as in Sursilvan and Vallader, so we include only the first word in the list.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *t'ɛšt-ə {testa}* 'head' (familiar) [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. There are two expressions for 'head' in Surmiran: *ʈ'e-ə {tgea}* and *t'ɛšt-ə {testa}*. According to

Schmid, they are synonyms, but we presume that the difference is the same as in Sursilvan and Vallader, so we include only the first word in the list.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 155. Distinct from *t'ɛšt-ə* {testa} 'head' (pejorative) [Conrad 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 754-755].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 372.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 372.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *b'yok-a* {bioca} 'head / brain / consciousness, intelligence' used in the informal speech, especially in the figural meaning, cf. {esè sansa bioca} "to behave in a dumb/stupid way", literally "to be without head".

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *kr'ap-a* {crapa} 'head' of substrate origin, which is more archaic, preserved in certain collocations, such as {crapa de mort} 'skull' or {crapa mata} 'fool' [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 461. Marchigiano: *t'est-a* {tésta} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *s'uk-a* {sùca} 'head (pejorative)' (literary 'pumpkin') of Italian origin and from the obsolete term *kɔ:* {cô} 'head' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *kaw* {cau} 'head / top' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: There are two terms for 'head': *k'ap-o* {capo} and *t'ɛst-a* {testa}. They are comparable in frequency, and it seems that there is no difference between them in semantics or stylistics: both can be applied to the speaker's own head ({leva' il capo a proferer più erto} "I lifted more erect my head to speak" [Par. 3]; {Drizzai la testa per veder chi fossi} "I raised my head to see who this might be" [Purg. 24]), another person's head ({Questi fuor cherci, che non han coperchio // piloso al capo} "Clerks those were who no hairy covering // have on the head" [Inf. 7]; {ch'a lui fu' giunto, alzò la testa a pena} "I came to him he hardly raised his head" [Purg. 4]) and fantastic creature's head ({Cagnazzo a cotal motto levò 'l muso, // crollando 'l capo} "Cagnazzo at these words his muzzle lifted, // shaking his head" [Inf. 22]; {Oh quanto parve a me gran maraviglia // quand' io vidi tre facce a la sua testa!} "O, what a marvel it appeared to me, // when I beheld three faces on his head!" [Inf. 34]).

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1788. Distinct from *k'ap-o* {capo} 'head', which is either obsolete, or dialectal, or used in a figurative sense (chief of a tribe etc.) [Vitali 2015].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Goes back to Latin {concha} 'mollusc, shell-fish, shell, shell-like object', which is borrowed from Ancient Greek {κόγχη} 'mussel, cockle, shell-like object' of substrate origin [Beekes 2010: 728], but we do not technically regard this word as a borrowing, since the meaning shift {'shell-like object' > 'head'} took place already in Logudorese.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 122. See comment on 'head' in the Logudorese list. Domus de Maria: *k'ɔŋk-a* {conca} 'head' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. A generic and more widespread term for both human and animal head. Distinct from *k'ap-a* {capa} 'human head' [Messina 2015]. Termini Imerese: *t'ɛst-a* {testa} 'head' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *t'ɛst-a* {testa} 'head', distinct from {'n capu} 'upon', cf. {pigghia u telefunu [i]n capu ô tavulu} "take the phone upon the table" [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 43. Distinct from the obsolete term *t'est-ə* {testa} 'head' [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. There are two terms for 'head': *t'yest-a* {tiesta} and *kab'eθ-a* {cabeza}. According to Riego-Delgado, they are synonyms. Langreo: *t'yest-a* {tiesta} 'head' [González Rato 2016].Riego-Delgado 2016.

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 110.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 773; Fernández Armesto 1981: 143; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 935, 209. Distinct from *t'ɛst-a* {testa} 'forehead', which can also be used in colloquial speech in the meaning 'head' [Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1389-1390.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2088-2089. There are also a lot of pejorative words for 'head', which we do not include into the list [Viret 2013: 2088-2089].

Old French: There are two terms for 'head': *čyef* {chief} 'head / end, extremity', which occurs 139 times [EDCT 2014: 194-195] and *t'ɛst-ə* {teste} 'head', which is attested 79 times [EDCT 2014: 1078]. It seems that the second one in Chrétien's times still had a slightly pejorative shade. Generally it is used in the contexts of battle, especially in the situation of decapitation of an enemy, cf. the following examples: {jusqu'au test l'espee n'areste, // .i. os li tranche de la teste, // mes nel tocha an la cervele} "The sword even reaches the skull and cuts a bone of his head, but without penetrating the brain" (Erec 975-977); {Quant lui remanbre de l'outrage // que ses nains li fist el boschage, // la teste li eüst colpee colpee // se il n'eüst merci criee} "When Erec thinks of the insult done him by the dwarf in the wood, he would have cut off his head, had he not cried for mercy" (Erec 985-988); {Ou soit a certes ou a geus, // feites le prandre et afoler // ou de la teste decoler} "Either in earnest or in jest, have him seized and treated ill, or strike his head off, if you will" (Erec 3384-3386); {Assez i ot testes colpees} "Though they struck off many a head" (Cligès 1330), this term is used in similar negative contexts: {Bien ot la parole et les diz, // mes tote voie outre s'an passe: // ne tint mie la teste basse, // ne fist pas sanblant de coart} "He hears clearly the words and what they said; but notwithstanding, he passes on without lowering his head, and without the bearing of a craven" (Erec 5672-5675); {Vos conparroiz ancui mout chier // vostre folie, par ma teste} "You will pay dearly for your presumption, by my head!" (Erec 5862-5863). It is also applied to animal heads: {La pane qui i fu cosue // fu d'unes contrefetes bestes // qui ont totes blondes les testes} "The fur lining that was sewed within, belonged to some strange beasts whose heads are all white" (Erec 6732-6734). It can be also used in more neutral contexts ({onques nus ne vint d'autre terre // la Joie de la Cort requerre // qu'il n'i eüst honte et domage // et n'i leissast la teste an gage} "no one ever came from another land to claim the ʹJoy of the Court' who did not receive shame and harm, and leave his head there as a forfeit" (Erec 5465-5468); {Des ore an savez vos itant // que li piex vostre teste atant} "For this much we know, that the stake awaits your head" (Erec 5757-5758)), but the term *čyef* {chief} seems more universal, it can be applied both to positive and negative heroes: {le hiaume brun li met el chief, // mout l'arme bien de chief an chief} "the gleaming helmet she sets upon his head, and thus arms him well from tip to toe" (about Erec's head; Erec 715-716); {Qant la bele pucele estrange // vit toz les chevaliers an range // qui l'esgardoient a estal, // son chief ancline contreval} "When the stranger maiden saw all the knights arrayed looking steadfastly at her, she bowed her head in embarrassment" (Erec 1707-1710); {Erec par le hiaume le sache, // a force del chief li arache // et la vantaille li deslace, // le chief li desarme et la face} "Erec grabs him by the helmet and forcibly drags it from his head, and unlaces the ventail, so that his head and face are completely exposed" (Erec 981-984). We regard *čyef* {chief} as the more neutral and frequent word and include only this term in the list.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 302-303; Rayevskaya 2013: 383.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *tyɛs* {tiesse} 'head'.

39. HEAR

Archaic Latin *awd-ˈï:-rɛ {audire}* (1), Late Classical Latin *awd-ˈï:-rɛ {audire}* (1), Megleno Romanian *ut {ud}* (1), Istro Romanian *avz-ˈi {avzí}* (1), Aromanian *ˈavd-u {ávdu}* (1), Romanian *a=awz-ˈi {a auzi}* (1), Dalmatian *sent-ˈa-r {sentár}* (2), Friulian *sint-ˈi: {sintî}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *awd-ˈi {audì}* (1), Fassano Ladin *sent-ˈi-r {sentįr}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *ud-ˈi-r {udir}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ud-ˈi-r {udir}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *sant-ˈɛk-r {santeir}* (2), Vallader Romansh *dud-ˈi-r {dudir}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *sˈɛŋt-e {sente}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *sˈɛŋt-e {sènte}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *sˈɛŋt-e {sente}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *sˈeŋt-e {sente}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *sˈe:ŋt-i* (2), Bergamo Lombard *sint-ˈi {sintì}* ~ *sent-ˈi {sentì}* (2), Plesio Lombard *sent-ˈi {sentì}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *sint-ˈi {sintìr}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *sint-ˈi-r {sintìr}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *siŋt-ˈi:-r {sintìr}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *sˈɛynt-e:-r {sèintēr}* ~ *sint-ˈɛy-r {sintèir}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *seŋt-ˈi* (2), Genoese Ligurian *seŋt-ˈi: {sentî}* (2), Stella Ligurian *seŋt-ˈi {sentì}* (2), Venice Venetian *seŋt-ˈi-r {sentìr}* (2), Primiero Venetian *seŋt-ˈi-r {sentir}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *seŋt-ˈi-r {sentir}* (2), Old Italian *ud-ˈi-re {udire}* (1), Standard Italian *sent-ˈi-re {sentire}* (2), Grosseto Italian *sent-ˈi-re {sentire}* (2), Foligno Italian *sint-ˈi {sintì}* (2), Neapolitan *sənt-ˈi {sentì}* (2), Logudorese *in=tˈend-e-re {intèndere}* (3), Campidanese *in=tˈɛnd-i {intendi}* (3), Palermitan Sicilian *sˈyɛnt-i-ɾi {sientiri}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *sˈɛnt-i-ɾɨ {sentiri}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *sˈɛnt-i-ɾi {sentiri}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *sˈɛnt-i-ɾi {sentiri}* (2), Central Catalan *sənt-ˈi {sentir}* (2), North-Western Catalan *sent-ˈi {sentir}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *sənt-ˈi {sentir}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *sent-ˈi-ɾ {sentir}* (2), Valencia Catalan *sent-ˈi-ɾ {sentir}* (2), Manises Catalan *sent-ˈi-ɾ {sentir}* (2), Castilian Spanish *o'i-ɾ {oír}* (1), Asturian *sent-ˈi-ɾ {sentir}* (2), Standard Portuguese *owv-ˈi-ɾ {ouvir}* (1), Galician *owβ-ˈi-ɾ {ouvir}* (1), Provençal Occitan *en=tˈend-ɾe {entèndre}* (-1) / *awz-ˈi {ausi}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *aw-ˈi-re {awire}* (1) / *ɛ̃=tˈɛ̃d-re {intindre}* ~ *ɛ=tˈɛd-re {êtêdre}* (-1), Old French *o-ˈi-r {öir}* (1), Standard French *ã=tãd-ʁ {entendre}* (3), Picard *ɛ̃=tɛ̃d {intinde}* (3), Walloon *a=tɛ̃t {atinde}* (3).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {Egomet mihi non credo, cum illaec autumare illum audio} "I do not trust my own self, when I hear him affirm these things" [Amph. 416]; {Dum haec aguntur, interea uxorem tuam neque gementem neque plorantem nostrum quisquam audivimus; ita profecto sine dolore peperit} "While these things were passing, meanwhile, not one of us heard your wife groaning or complaining; and thus, in fact, without pain was she delivered" [Amph. 1098-1100]; {est profecto deus, qui quae nos gerimus auditque et videt} "There is undoubtedly a God, who both hears and sees the things which we do" [Capt. 313].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Audivi vesperi, meis his, inquam, auribus audivi} "I heard her this evening – heard her with my very own ears" [Met. 3: 16]; {Ego sum Byrrhena illa, cuius forte saepicule nomen inter tuos educatores frequentatum retines} "I am Byrrhena, whose name I think you'll often have heard among those who educated you" [Met. 2: 3].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 312. Distinct from *skult* {scult} 'to listen' [Capidan 1935: 261] and from *čul* {tšul} 'to listen' of Slavic origin [Capidan 1935: 101].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 188; Byhan 1899: 190. Distinct from *askut-ʋ* {ascutå} 'to listen' Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 272; Byhan 1899: 189.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 180; Cunia 2010: 163; Dalametra 1906: 34; Bara et al. 2005: 291; Gołąb 1984: 204. In the Northern dialects an Albanian loanword *dəguy'-esk-u* {dăguéscu} 'to hear' is used as well [Papahagi 1963: 377; Cunia 2010: 377]. Distinct from *ask'ult-u* {ascúltu} 'to listen, to obey' [Papahagi 1963: 163; Cunia 2010: 142; Dalametra 1906: 30; Gołąb 1984: 202].

Romanian: DER 2004: 449; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1379; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *a=askult-'a* {a asculta} 'to listen' [DER 2004: 567; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1379]. Moldavian: *a=awz-'i* {a auzi} 'to hear' [Podiko 1973: 862; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 413-414].

Dalmatian: Polysemy: 'to hear / to feel'. Some examples are: {te sįánte ke fero uṅ tṵáṅ} "hear a clap of thunder" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {ju nu sįante de kó ke tu dekája} "I do not hear what you are saying" [Bartoli 2002: 250]; {ju siante ke me dolúa el sįáṅ} "I feel that my breast hurts, here, at the front" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. Distinct from *skult-'ua* {skultúa} 'I am listening', cf. {ju skultúa de kó ke-i parlúa} "I am listening to what are they talking about" [Bartoli 2002: 253].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 707, 389. Distinct from *skolt-'a:* {scoltâ} 'to listen' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 367].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 62, 149. Distinct from *škut-'e-su* {scuté su} 'to listen' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 86, 200].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 341. There is also an obsolete term *ud-'ir* {udįr} 'to hear' [DILF 2001: 341]. Distinct from *skut-'ɛr* {scutèr} 'to hear' [DILF 2001: 30].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *tɛdl-'ar* {tedlar} 'to listen' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 783. Distinct from *əškəlt-'er* {ascolter} 'to listen' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 67].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 385. Distinct from *skut-'e* {scoté} 'to listen' [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 385. Distinct from *skut-'e* {scoté} 'to listen' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *skut-'e* {scoté} 'to listen'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *skut-'e* {scoté} 'to listen'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'to hear / to listen'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Distinct from *skolt-'a* {'scoltà} 'to listen'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *škult-'a* {scultà} 'to listen'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 414. Distinct from *st'eǥ=d=ask'owlt* {stê d'ascôlt} 'to listen' [Ercolani 1960: 26]. Marchigiano: *sent-'iy* {sentìi} 'to hear' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *skult-'ar* {scultàr} 'to listen' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *askult-'ɛr* {ascultèr} 'to listen' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *skult-'ɛːr* {scultêr} 'to listen' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *askurt-'a* 'to listen'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *askolt-'a:* {ascoltâ} 'to listen'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *št-'ɛ=a=seŋt-'i* {stè a sentì} 'to listen' (literary 'to stay hearing').

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *seŋt-'i-re* {sentire} 'to hear' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Distinct from *skolt-'a-r* {scoltàr} [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015] ~ *skolt-'a-re* {scoltare} 'to listen' [Tre 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Distinct from *skolt-'a-r* {scoltar} 'to listen' [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Dante uses three verbs in the meaning 'to hear': *ud-'i-re* {udire}, *sent-'i-re* {sentire} and *in=t'ɛnd-e-re* {intendere}. We include *ud-'i-re* {udire} as the most universal equivalent, cf. the following examples: {ove udirai le disperate strida} "where thou shalt hear the desperate lamentations" [Inf. 1]; {Non odi tu la pieta del suo pianto} "Dost thou not hear the pity of his plaint?" [Inf. 2]; {io mi sia tardi al soccorso levata, // per quel ch'i' ho di lui nel cielo udito} "I too late have risen to his succour, // from that which I have

heard of him in Heaven" [Inf. 2]; {che è quel ch'i' odo?} "what is this which now I hear?"" [Inf. 3]; {udito questo, quando alcuna pianta // sanza seme palese vi s'appiglia} "this being heard, whenever any plant // without seed manifest there taketh root" [Purg. 28]; {E come a messagger che porta ulivo // tragge la gente per udir novella} "And as to messenger who bears the olive // the people throng to listen to the news" [Purg. 2].

The term *in=t'ɛnd-e-re* {intendere} underlines that the listener understands what he hears. It is used when someone hears some information. The following examples show it clearly: {sentia dir lor con sì alti sospiri, // che la parola a pena s'intendea} "I heard them say with sighings so profound, // that hardly could the words be understood" [Purg. 19]; {come a colui che non intende e ode} "as unto him who hears and comprehends not" [Par. 24]. Some other examples on {intendere}: {Gran duol mi prese al cor quando lo 'ntesi} "Great grief seized on my heart when this I heard" [Inf. 4]; {dirotti perch' io venni e quel ch'io 'ntesi // nel primo punto che di te mi dolve} "I'll tell thee why I came, and what I heard // at the first moment when I grieved for thee" [Inf. 2]; {Per quest' andata onde li dai tu vanto, // intese cose} "Upon this journey, whence thou givest him vaunt, // things did he hear" [Inf. 2].

The term *sent-'i-re* {sentire} 'to hear / to feel', which replaced *ud-'i-re* {udire} in modern Italian, can be used as a synonym of *ud-'i-re* {udire} already in Dante's language, but usually it is applied when someone hears something unintelligible, not containing information: {Maestro, quai son quelle genti // che, seppellite dentro da quell' arche, // si fan sentir coi sospiri dolenti?} "My Master, what are all those people // who, having sepulture within those tombs, // make themselves audible by doleful sighs?" [Inf. 9]; {però ch'i' vidi fuochi e senti' pianti} "because I fires beheld, and heard laments" [Inf. 17]; {Io senti' mormorare a tutti «Adamo»} "I heard them murmur altogether, "Adam!"" [Purg. 32]. It seems that in Dante's times the process of replacement had only just began.

The following example, containing all three verbs (*sent-'i-re* {sentire}, however, in the meaning 'to feel, to perceive' and *in=t'ɛnd-e-re* {intendere} rather in the meaning 'to understand'), demonstrates that the basic word for 'to hear' was *ud-'i-re* {udire}: {Allora udi': «Dirittamente senti, // se bene intendi perché la ripuose // tra le sustanze, e poi tra li argomenti} "Then heard I: "Very rightly thou perceivest, // if well thou understandest why he placed it // with substances and then with evidences." [Par. 24].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1790. Polysemy: 'to feel / to hear'. The old term *ud-'i-re* {udire} 'to hear' is used more seldom now [Vitali 2015]. Distinct from *askolt-'a-re* {ascoltare} 'to listen' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1915]

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'to feel / to hear'. Distinct from *in=t'ɛnd-e-re* {intendere} 'to hear', which is obsolete. Distinct from *askolt-'a-re* {ascoltare} 'to listen' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *škord-'a* {'scordà} 'to listen' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *awsuly-'a* {ausulià} 'to listen' [Russo 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *askurt-'a-re* {ascurtàre} 'to listen' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 239. Distinct from *askut:-'ay* {ascuttai} 'to listen' [Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 64]. Domus de Maria: *in=t'ɛnd-i* {intendi} 'to listen'. Distinct from *askut:-'ay* {ascuttai} 'to listen' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *s'ɛnt-i-ri* {sentiri} 'to hear' [La Bua 2015]. Distinct from *aškut-'a* {ascuta} 'to listen' [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *s'ɛnt-i-ri* {sentiri} 'to hear', *askut-'a-ri* {ascutari} 'to listen' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *skut-'a-ri* {scutari} 'to listen' (Giarre: a*skut-'a-ri* {ascutari} 'to listen') [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from a*škuyt-'a-ri* {ascuitari} 'to listen' [Leggio 2015]. Agrigento: a*škut-'a-ri* {ascutari} 'to listen' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 206. Distinct from *əskuɫt-'a* {escoltar} 'to listen' and from the more literary term *u-'i* {oir} 'to hear' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *askoɫt-'a* {escoltar} 'to listen' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *əskuɫt-'a* {escoltar} 'to listen' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *askoɫt-'a-ɾ* {escoltar} 'to listen' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *askoɫt-'a-ɾ* {escoltar} 'to listen' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *askoɫt-'a-ɾ* {escoltar} 'to listen' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *eskuč-'a-ɾ* {escuchar} 'to listen' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. An example: {De sópito sentí un disparo} "Suddenly I heard a shot". Distinct from *eskuč-'a-ɾ*

{escuchar} 'to listen'. Langreo: *sent-'i-ɾ* {sentir} 'to hear', *oy-'e-ɾ* {oyer} 'to hear' (more modern and probably influenced by Spanish), *eskuč-'a-ɾ* {escuchar} 'to listen' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 582-583. Distinct from *iʃkut-'a-ɾ* {escutar} 'to listen' [Voinova et al. 1989: 582].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 825, 583; Fernández Armesto 1981: 544; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 996, 673. Distinct from *eskoyt-'a-r* {escoitar} 'to listen' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 796, 403; Fernández Armesto 1981: 348; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 958, 438].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 502-503. Borrowed from Old French {entendre} 'to hear'. There are two expressions for 'to hear': *en=t'ɛnd-re* {entèndre} and *awz-'i* {ausi}. Coupier mentions them as synonyms. Distinct from *eskut-'a* {escouta} 'to listen' [Coupier 1995: 457].Coupier 1995: 502-503.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 863-864. There are two terms for 'to hear': *aw-'i-re* {awire} and *ɛ̃=t'ɛ̃d-re* {intindre} ~ *ɛ=t'ɛd-re* {êtêdre}. Viret provides two terms without differentiation in this case. We include both in the list. Giettaz: {chantre} 'to hear'; Bourg-Saint-Maurice, Côte-d'Aime: {chintre} 'to hear'; Bessans {sintré} 'to hear'; Bonneval en Tarentaise: {sîntre} 'to hear'; Montagny vers Bozel: {sintre} 'to hear'.Viret 2013: 863.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 764-766. The process of gradual replacement of *o-'i-r* {öir} by *ãn=t'ãnd-rə* {entendre} had just begun. In Chrétien's times *o-'i-r* {öir} is still more frequent (368 versus 139 occurences) and *ãn=t'ãnd-rə* {entendre} has a connotation of intellectual perception, understanding [EDCT 2014: 400-401]. We include only *o-'i-r* {öir} in the list. Distinct from *eskowt-'e:-r* {escouter} 'to listen' [EDCT 2014: 430].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 304; Rayevskaya 2013: 589. Distinct from *ekut-e* {écouter} 'to listen' [Robert-Collins 1989: 387; Rayevskaya 2013: 589].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. The examples are: {i n' intind rien} "I don't hear anything", {os intindons l'cloke} "we hear the bell". Much less frequent is the term *aw-i-ʁ* {aouïr}, which also means 'to hear': {j'ai aoui ène canchon} "I've heard a song". Distinct from *akut-e* {acouter} 'listen' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. There are two terms for 'to hear' : *o:- ʁ*{ôre} and *a=tɛ̃t* {atinde}. According to [Mahin 2016], the first term is now perceived as slightly more archaic, so we include only *a=tɛ̃t* {atinde} in the list. Rifondou: *o:- ʁ*{ôre} 'to hear', *e=tɛ̃t* {etinde} 'to hear' with the same difference (*o:- ʁ*{ôre} is mostly used in the regions of Liège and Ardennes, seldom in Namur, never in Charleroi) [Mahin 2016]. Distinct from *šu:t-e* {choûter} 'to listen' (Rifondou: *sku:t-e* {schoûter} 'to listen').

40. HEART

Archaic Latin *kɔr {cor}* (1), Late Classical Latin *kɔr {cor}* (1), Megleno Romanian *bur'ik {buríc}* (2), Istro Romanian *y'irim-ä {i̯írimẹ}* (3), Aromanian *'inim-ə {ínimă}* (3), Romanian *'inim-ə {inimă}* (3), Dalmatian *kwor {ku̯o̯r}* (1), Friulian *ku:r {cûr}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *kwer {cuer}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ker {cher}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *kor {cor}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *kor {cor}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *kor {cor}* (1), Vallader Romansh *kɔwr {cour}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kör {cheur}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *kör {cheur}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *kör {cheur}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *kör {cheur}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *kör* (1), Bergamo Lombard *kör {cör}* (1), Plesio Lombard *kö:r {cör}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *kɔə̯r {cör}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kɔr {còr}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *ko:r {cōr}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ko:r {cōr}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *kö* (1), Genoese Ligurian *kö {cö}* (1), Stella Ligurian *kö {ceu}* (1), Venice Venetian *kwɔr {cuòr}* (1), Primiero Venetian *kɔr {cor}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *kɔr {cor}* (1), Old Italian *k'wɔr-e {cuore}* (1), Standard Italian *k'wɔr-e {cuore}* (1), Grosseto Italian *k'ɔr-e {core}* (1), Foligno Italian *k'ɔr-e {core}* (1), Neapolitan *k'ɔr-ə {core}* (1), Logudorese *k'or-o {coro}* (1), Campidanese *k'ɔr-u {coru}* (1),

Palermitan Sicilian *kˈwɔr-i {cuori}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *kˈɔr-i {cori}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *kˈɔr-ɨ {cori}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *kˈɔr-i {cori}* (1), Central Catalan *kɔr {cor}* (1), North-Western Catalan *kɔr {cor}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *kɔ {cor}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kɔr {cor}* (1), Valencia Catalan *kɔr {cor}* (1), Manises Catalan *kɔr {cor}* (1), Castilian Spanish *kor-aθ-ˈon {corazón}* (1), Asturian *kor-aθ-ˈoŋ {corazón}* (1), Standard Portuguese *kur-ɐs-ˈẽw̃ {coração}* (1), Galician *kor-aθ-ˈoŋ {corazón}* (1), Provençal Occitan *kɔr {cor}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *köː {keû}* (1), Old French *kwær {cuer}* (1), Standard French *kœʁ {cœur}* (1), Picard *čœʁ {tchœur}* (1), Walloon *kœːʀ {keûr}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *kˈɔrd-ʁ {cordis}*. Some examples are: {pectus digitis pultat, cor credo evocaturust foras} "He strikes his breast with his fingers I fancy he's about to call his heart outside" [Mil. 202]; {Iam horret corpus, cor salit} "Now my body's in a shudder, my heart is throbbing" [Cist. 551]; {Lien enecat, renes dolent, pulmones distrahuntur, cruciatur iecur, radices cordis pereunt, hirae omnes dolent} "My spleen is killing me, my reins are in torment, my lungs are being torn asunder, my liver is being tortured, my heart-strings are giving way, all my intestines are in pain" [Curc. 236-238].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {immissa dextera per vulnus illud ad viscera penitus cor miseri contubernalis mei Meroe bona scrutata protulit} "she stuck her right hand into the wound right down to his innards, felt for my poor comrade's heart, and plucked it out" [Met. 1: 13]; {Tunc ego trepidans, adsiduo cursu micanti corde, coronam, quae rosis amoenis intexta fulgurabat, avido ore susceptam cupidus promissi devoravi} "My heart leapt with a rapid beat, and I trembled as I tore with eager mouth at the glistening wreath woven of lovely roses, which greedy for the outcome promised I greedily devoured" [Met. 11: 13].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 50. Polysemy: 'navel / stomach / heart / mind'. This seems to be the basic term for 'heart' in both anatomic and metaphoric senses. Cf. the available examples: {i̯o tser ună niveastă cum ăi̯ meu buric, tari si i̯ă} "I'm searching for the one who lives in my heart, to marry her" [Capidan 1928: 97], {și feata ạnmărọtă și ạnrușinată tucum stricnì la buric} "and the heart of the sad and embarrassed girl suddenly started beating faster" [Capidan 1928: 93], {ạľ si lipì la buric} "she fell in love with him" (literally "he stuck to her heart") [Capidan 1928: 83]; {ań ișọ di la buric} "gone from my heart" (= I don't care about it anymore) [Capidan 1928: 169]. Distinct from the more archaic and apparently obsolete term for 'heart', *ˈiŋəm-ə {ińămă}* which is, however, also attested: {aľ rupsi ińămă} "she is heartbroken" (about a mother who lost her child), {ari cucot la ińămă} "he has a rooster in his heart' (about enterprising people) [Capidan 1935: 156].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 233; Glavina 1905: 72.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 576; Cunia 2010: 560; Dalametra 1906: 115; Bara et al. 2005: 338; Gołąb 1984: 222. Polysemy: 'heart / middle'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 449-450; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1345; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {anima} 'soul'. Moldavian: *ˈyinim-ə {inimă}* 'heart' [Podiko 1973: 840; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 45].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ire are ku͡ọr mi bún no me abàndunúre} "Ire Are, my heart, don't abandon me" [Bartoli 2002: 231]; {Jú vis in cur máj} "I go into my heart" [Bartoli 2002: 290].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 666, 95.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 42, 147. Marebbano: *köːr {kœ̄r}* 'heart'; Badiotto: *köːr {kœ̄r}* 'heart'; Livinallese: *kwor {kʰor}* 'heart'; Nones: *köːr {kœ̄r}* 'heart' [Gartner 1923: 147].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 82; Gartner 1923: 147.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 201-202.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 78.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 78.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 100. Marchigiano: *kɔr* {còr} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015. Padua, Verona: *kɔr* {cor} 'heart' [Tre 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Este, Arzignano: *kˈɔr-e* {kore} 'heart' [Melon 2015; Serena 2015]. Vicenza, Schio, Marostica: *kˈwɔr-e* {cuore} 'heart' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The form *kˈɔr-e* {core}, influenced by Old Sicilian, is possible as well [Patota 2002: 57]. Some examples are: {da quella parte onde 'l cuore ha la gente} "upon that side where people have their hearts" [Purg. 10]; {Gran duol mi prese al cor quando lo 'ntesi} "Great grief seized on my heart when this I heard" [Inf. 4].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1790.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 133. Domus de Maria: *kˈɔr-u* {coru} 'heart' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *kˈɔr-i* {cori} 'heart' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *kˈɔr-i* {cori} 'heart' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 70. A more colloquial pronunciation is *kɔrt* [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *koɾ-aθ-ˈoŋ* {corazón} 'heart' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 567-568.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 782, 265; Fernández Armesto 1981: 219; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 292.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 256-257.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 529-530.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 276-277. Polysemy: 'heart / centre of inner life'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 304; Rayevskaya 2013: 585.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ku ʁ*{cour} 'heart'.

41. HORN

Archaic Latin *k'ɔrnu: {cornu}* (1), Late Classical Latin *k'ɔrnu: {cornu}* (1), Megleno Romanian *korn {corn}* (1), Istro Romanian *korn {corn}* (1), Aromanian *k'orn-u {córnu}* (1), Romanian *korn {corn}* (1), Dalmatian *kwarŋ {kuarṅ}* (1), Friulian *kwa:r {cuar}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *kɔrn {corn}* (1), Fassano Ladin *kɔrn {corn}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *k'ɔrn-ə {corna}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *k'ɔrn-ə {corna}* ~ *ɕyern {tgiern}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *k'ɔrn-ə {corna}* (1), Vallader Romansh *k'ɔrn-ə {corna}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kɔrn {còrn}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *kɔrn {còrn}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *kɔrn {corn}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *kɔrn {corn}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *k'ɔːrn-u* (1), Bergamo Lombard *k'ören {cören}* (1), Plesio Lombard *k'ɔrn-u {cornu}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *k'ɔərän {cöran}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *k'ɔran {còran}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *k'ɔren {coren}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *k'ɔːren {côren}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *k'ɔrn-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *k'ɔːrn-u {côrnŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *k'ɔːrn-u {cörnu}* (1), Venice Venetian *k'ɔrn-o {còrno}* (1), Primiero Venetian *k'ɔrn-o {còrno}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *k'ɔrn-o {corno}* (1), Old Italian *k'ɔrn-o {corno}* (1), Standard Italian *k'ɔrn-o {corno}* (1), Grosseto Italian *k'ɔrn-o {corno}* (1), Foligno Italian *k'orn-u {cornu}* (1), Neapolitan *k'ɔrn-ə {corno}* (1), Logudorese *k'or:-u {corru}* (1), Campidanese *k'ɔr:-u {corru}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *k'wɔrn-u {cuornu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *k'ɔn:-u {connu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *k'ɔrn-u {cornu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *k'wɔrn-u {cuornu}* (1), Central Catalan *b'aɲ-ə {banya}* (-1), North-Western Catalan *b'aɲ-ɛ {banya}* (-1), Minorcan Catalan *b'aɲ-ə {banya}* (-1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *b'aɲ-a {banya}* (-1), Valencia Catalan *b'aɲ-a {banya}* (-1), Manises Catalan *b'aɲ-a {banya}* (-1), Castilian Spanish *k'wern-o {cuerno}* (1), Asturian *k'wern-o {cuerno}* (1), Standard Portuguese *k'orn-u {corno}* (1) / *š'ifr-ə {chifre}* (-1), Galician *k'ɔrn-o {corno}* (1), Provençal Occitan *b'an-o {bano}* (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *k'öːrn-a {keûrna}* (1), Old French *kɔr {cor}* (1), Standard French *kɔʁn {corne}* (1), Picard *kɔʁn {corne}* (1), Walloon *kwãn {cwan.ne}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {asini me mordicibus scindant, boves incursent cornibus} "the asses would tear me with their teeth, the oxen would butt at me with their horns" [Aul. 234]; {Ah ah, abi atque cave sis a cornu} "Be off, and do be careful, will you, of the horns" [Persa 316-317]; {ne malus item erga me sit ut erga illum fuit, ne in re secunda nunc mi obvertat cornua} "lest in his prosperity he may now turn his horns against me, if he finds an opportunity" [Pseud. 1020-1021].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {nec vero istud horae contra formidabiles oves feras aditum, quoad de solis fraglantia mutuatae calorem truci rabie solent efferri cornuque acuto et fronte saxea et non nunquam venenatis morsibus in exitium saevire mortalium} "Don't go near those dreadful sheep right now, as they soak up heat from the burning sun and burst out in wild fits of madness, venting their fury on passers-by with those sharp horns set in stony foreheads and their venomous bite" [Met. 6: 12]; {nec

enim Charite maritum suum quaerere patiebatur bestias armatas dente vel cornu} "Charite being unable to endure the thought of her husband seeking creatures armed with tusks or horns" [Met. 8: 4].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 77.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 200; Byhan 1899: 247.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 307; Cunia 2010: 332; Dalametra 1906: 68; Bara et al. 2005: 386; Gołąb 1984: 227.

Romanian: DER 2004: 467; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1292; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *korn* {corn} 'horn' [Podiko 1973: 808; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 391].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 237.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 665, 88.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 41, 149. Marebbano: *ko:r* {kōr} 'horn'; Badiotto: *ko:rn* {kōrn} 'horn'; Livinallese: *kɔrn* {kǫrn} 'horn'; Nones: *kɔrn* {kǫrn} 'horn' [Gartner 1923: 149].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 77; Gartner 1923: 149.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 197.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 72.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 72.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 100.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Le prime eran cornute come bue, // ma le quattro un sol corno avean per fronte} "The first were horned like oxen; but the four // had but a single horn upon the forehead" [Purg. 32]; {quando 'l corno // de la capra del ciel col sol si tocca} "what time the horn // of the celestial Goat doth touch the sun" [Par. 27].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1809.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Alois 2015. Sant'Antonio Abate, Salerno: *k'worn-ə* {cuorno} 'horn' [Fattoruso 2015 Cerrone 2015]. Grottaminarda: *k'ɔrn-ə* {ccòrno} 'horn' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 133. Domus de Maria: *k'ɔr:-u* {corru} 'horn' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *k'ɔrn-u* {cornu} 'horn' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *k'wɔrn-u* {cuornu} 'horn' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *k'ɔrn-u* {cornu} 'heart' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *k'ɔrn-u* {kornu} 'horn' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 75. Of Gaulish origin. The inherited term *kɔrn* {corn} is preserved in the meaning 'horn (instrument)' [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Of Gaulish origin.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Of Gaulish origin.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Of Gaulish origin.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Of Gaulish origin.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Of Gaulish origin.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *k'wern-u* {cuernu} 'horn' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 544-545. There are two words for 'horn': *k'orn-u* {corno} and *š'ifr-ə* {chifre} [Voinova et al. 1989: 544-545]. According to [Pimentel Ferreira 2016], the first term tends to be applied to conical curved horns such as bull, rhino and goat horns, while the second term is used mostly to designate horns with ramifications, such as moose horns, but both terms can often be used interchangeably. We treat them as synonyms.Voinova et al. 1989: 544-545. Borrowed from old Spanish {chifle} 'horn', derived from {chiflar} 'to whistle' [Nascentes 1955: 114].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 783, 267; Fernández Armesto 1981: 236; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 942, 294.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 305. Of Gaulish origin. Distinct from *k'ɔrn-o* {corno} 'horn as substance' [Coupier 1995: 305].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 588-589.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 242. Polysemy: 'horn (of an animal) / horn (musical instrument) / end, extremity'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 316; Rayevskaya 2013: 576.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *kwan* {coine} 'horn'.

42. I

Archaic Latin ˈɛgoː ~ ˈɛgɔ {ego} (1) / meːd {med} (2), Late Classical Latin ˈɛgɔ {ego} (1) / meː {me} (2), Megleno Romanian *yo* {i̯o} ~ *yew* {i̯eu̯} ~ *iwə* {iu̯ắ} (1) / *mini* {mini} (2), Istro Romanian *yo* {i̯ó} (1) / *m'ire* {míre} (2), Aromanian *yo* {ĭo} (1) / *m'ine* {mine} (2), Romanian *yew* {eu} (1) / *m'ine* {mine} (2), Dalmatian *yu* {ju} (1) / *me* {me} ~ *mi* {mi} (2), Friulian *yo* {jo} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Gardenese Ladin *ye* {ie} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Fassano Ladin *že* {gé} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Rumantsch Grischun *yaw* {jau} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *yew* {jeu} (1) / *mey* {mei} (2), Surmiran Romansh ˈiə {ia} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Vallader Romansh ɛw {eu} (1) / *may* {mai} (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *mi* {mi} (2), Barbania Piemontese *mi* {mi} (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *mi* {mi} (2), Turinese Piemontese *mi* {mi} (2), Vercellese Piemontese *miː* (2), Bergamo Lombard *me* {mé} (2), Plesio Lombard *mi* {mì} (2), Ravennate Romagnol *me* {me} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *mi* {mi} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *mɛ* {mè} (2), Reggiano Emiliano *me* {mé} (2), Rapallo Ligurian *mi* (2), Genoese Ligurian *mi* {mi} (2), Stella Ligurian *mi* {mì} (2), Venice Venetian *mi* {mi} (2), Primiero Venetian *mi* {mi} (2), Bellunese Venetian *mi* {mi} (2), Old Italian ˈio {io} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Standard Italian ˈio {io} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Grosseto Italian ˈio {io} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Foligno Italian ˈio {io} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Neapolitan ˈiyə {je} ~ *i* {i'} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Logudorese *d'eo* {déo} (1) / *me* {me} (2), Campidanese *dɛw* {deu} (1) / *mɛy* {mei} (2), Palermitan Sicilian *yɔ* {iò} ~ *yu* {iu} (1) / *mi* {mi} (2), Messinese

Sicilian *yɔ {iò}* (1) / *mi {mi}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *yu {iu}* (1) / *mi {mi}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *yu {iu}* (1) / *mi {mi}* (2), Central Catalan *žɔ {jo}* (1) / *mə {me}* (2), North-Western Catalan *yɔ {jo}* (1) / *me {me}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *žɔ {jo}* (1) / *mɛ {mè}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *yɔ {jo}* (1) / *me {me}* (2), Valencia Catalan *yɔ {jo}* (1) / *me {me}* (2), Manises Catalan *yo {jo}* (1) / *me {me}* (2), Castilian Spanish *ʑo {yo}* (1) / *mi {mí}* (2), Asturian *yo {yo}* (1) / *mi {mi}* (2), Standard Portuguese *ew {eu}* (1) / *mə {me}* (2), Galician *ɛw {eu}* (1) / *miŋ {min}* (2), Provençal Occitan *yew {iéu}* (1) / *me {me}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *dɛ {dè}* (1) / *may {mai}* ~ *mɛ {mê}* (2), Old French *žə {je}* (1) / *moy {moi}* (2), Standard French *žə {je}* (1) / *mwa {moi}* (2), Picard *ež {éj}* (1) / *mi {mi}* (2), Walloon *žü {dju}* (1) / *mi {mi}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Paradigm: *ˈɛgoː* ~ *ˈɛgɔ* {ego} [nom.] / *mˈɛiː* {mei} [gen.] / *mˈhɪ* ~ *mˈhiː* {mihi} ~ *miː* {mi} {dat.} / *meːd* {med} ~ *meː* {me} [acc.] / *meːd* {med} ~ *meː* {me} [abl.]. Some examples are: {eo vos vestros panticesque adeo madefactatis, quom ego sim hic siccus} "You are a-soaking away yourselves and your paunches too, at the very time that I'm here a-dry" [Pseud. 184]; {contagione mei patris metuo malum} "through my relationship to my father, stand in dread of ill" [Amph. 31]; {cedo soleas mihi } "Give me my shoes" [Most. 383]; {Da mi, optuma femina, manum} "Best of women, give me your hand" [Aul. 135]; {Tu negas med esse?} "Do you deny that I am?" [Amph. 434]; {Di me perdant, si bibi} "The Gods confound me if I did drink" [Mil. 834]; {ecastor med haud invita se domum recipit suam} "By my faith, against no inclination of mine has he betaken himself home" [Amph. 663]; {Vel hercle enica, numquam hinc feres a me} "Even kill me outright, i' faith, you never shall get it hence of me" [Aul. 833-834].Accusative form.

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Ego sum Byrrhena illa, cuius forte saepicule nomen inter tuos educatores frequentatum retines} "I am Byrrhena, whose name I think you'll often have heard among those who educated you" [Met. 2: 3]; {Me denique ipsum pauperculus quidam hortulanus comparat quinquaginta nummis} "a poor market-gardener bought me for fifty sestertii" [Met. 9: 31].Accusative form.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 156; Capidan 1925: 151. Direct stem. Paradigm: *yew {i̯eu̯}* ~ *yo {i̯o}* ~ *iwə {iu̯ǎ}* [nom.] / *la=mini* {la mini} ~ *mi {mi}* (clitic) ~ *ɐɲ {ańʹ}* (clitic) ~ *ɲ {ńʹ}* (clitic) ~ *ɲə {ńǎ}* (clitic) [dat.] / *mini* {mini} ~ *mi {mi}* (clitic) [acc.].Capidan 1925: 151. Accusative form.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 219; Byhan 1899: 234; Narumov 2001: 667. Direct stem. Paradigm: *yo {i̯ó}* [nom.] / *mˈiye {míi̯e}* ~ *əm {âm}* (clitic) ~ *m {m}* (clitic) ~ *əmy {âmi̯}* (clitic) ~ *my {mi̯}* (clitic) ~ *mi {mi}* (clitic) [dat.] / *mˈire {míre}* ~ *me {me}* (clitic) ~ *m {m}* (clitic) [acc.].Narumov 2001: 667. Accusative form.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 577; Cunia 2010: 561; Dalametra 1906: 115; Bara et al. 2005: 100; Gołąb 1984: 223; Capidan 1932: 408, 411. Paradigm: *ew {eŭ}* ~ *yo {i̯o}* ~ *yow {i̯oŭ}* ~ *mˈine {mine}* (North) ~ *mˈini {mini}* (North) [nom.] / *ˈaɲya {ańia}* ~ *iɲĭ {ińʹ}* (clitic) ~ *ɲi {ńʹi}* (clitic) ~ *ɲĭ {ńʹ}* (clitic) [dat.] / *mˈine {mine}* ~ *mˈini {mini}* ~ *me {me}* (clitic) ~ *mi {mi}* (clitic) [acc.].Capidan 1932: 408, 411. Accusative form.

Romanian: DER 2004: 476; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1695; Gancz 2015. Paradigm: *yew {eu}* [nom.] / *mˈi-e {mie}* ~ *im^y {îmi}* (clitic) ~ *m^y {mi}* (clitic) [dat.] / *mˈine {mine}* ~ *mə {mă}* (clitic) ~ *m {m-}* [acc.] [Lukht & Narumov 2001: 618]. Moldavian: *yew {eu}* 'I' [Podiko 1973: 1065-1057; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 500].DER 2004: 476; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1695; Gancz 2015. Accusative form.

Dalmatian: Repina & Narumov 2001: 692. Numerous attestations. According to [Repina & Narumov 2001], the paradigm of this pronoun is as follows: *yu {iu}* [nom.] / *me {me}* [dat.] / *me {me}* ~ *mi {mi}* [acc.].Repina & Narumov 2001: 692. Accusative form.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 225; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 115, 120; Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 381. Paradigm: *yo {jo}* ~ *o {o}* (clitic) [nom.] / *a=mˈi {a mi}* ~ *mi {mi}* (clitic) [dat.] / *me {me}* ~ *mi {mi}* (clitic) [acc.].Haiman & Benincà 1992: 115, 120; Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 381. Accusative form.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 36; Narumov 2001: 405. Paradigm: *ye {ie}* [nom.] / *a=mi {a mi}* ~ *me {me}* [obl.].Narumov 2001: 405. Oblique form.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 160; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 114, 119. Paradigm: *že {gé}* ~ *e {e}* (clitic) [nom.] / *a=mi {a mi}* ~ *me {me}*

[obl.].DILF 2001: 180-181; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 114. Oblique form.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 111, 115; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 351-352. Paradigm: *yew* {jeu} [nom.] / *ə=m'i* {a mi} [dat.] / *mey* {mei} [acc.].Cadruvi 2015; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 352. Oblique form.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. Haiman & Benincà 1992: 112, 117. According to [Haiman & Benincà 1992], the paradigm of this pronoun in Surmiran is as follows: *'iə* {ia} ~ *a* {a} (clitic) [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *am* {am} (clitic) [obl.].Schmid 2015. Haiman & Benincà 1992: 112. Oblique form.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 260; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 351-352; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 113, 118. Paradigm: *ɛw* {eu} ~ *a* {a} (clitic) [nom.] / *may* {mai} ~ *əm* {am} (clitic) ~ *m* {m} (clitic) [obl.].Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 352; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 113. Oblique form.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 75.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 75.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Paradigm: *mi:* ~ *i* (clitic) [nom.] / *mi* [dat.] / *am* [acc.].

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Paradigm: *mi* {mì} [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *m* {m'} (before a vowel) [obl.].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 258. Marchigiano: *mɛ* {mè} 'I' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Indeclinable.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Paradigm: *mɛ* {mè} [nom.] / *mɛ* {mè} ~ *m* {m'} (clitic) [obl.].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. The oblique form is *me*.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. The oblique form is *me* {me} ~ *m* {m'} (before a vowel).

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. The oblique form is *me* {me} ~ *m* {m'} (before a vowel).

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Paradigm: *mi* {mi} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} ~ *me* {me} (clitic) [obl.] [Chelysheva 2001: 122; Tre 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Paradigm: *mi* {mi} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} (after prepositions) ~ *me* {me} [obl.].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {And I, who have been lying in this pain // five hundred years and more} "E io, che son giaciuto a questa doglia // cinquecent' anni e più" [Purg. 21]; {novi tormenti e novi tormentati // mi veggio intorno, come ch'io mi mova} "new torments I behold, and new tormented // around me, whichsoever way I move" [Inf. 6].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1820; Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 81. Paradigm: *'io* {io} [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *mi* {mi} (clitic) [obl.].Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 81. The oblique stem.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Paradigm: *'io* {io} [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *mi* {mi} (clitic) [obl.].Marcelli 2015. Oblique stem.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Paradigm: *'io* {io} [nom.] / *me* {me} [obl.].Oblique stem.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Paradigm: *'iyə* {je} ~ *i* {i'} [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *m:e* {mme} (after some prepositions) [obl.].Oblique stem.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015; Narumov 2001: 177. More formal word *'ego* {ego} 'I' is more formal; the variants *'eo* {éo} and *'yeo* {ieo} 'I' are more colloquial [Buttu 2015]. Paradigm: *d'eo* {déo} [nominative] / *m'i-me* {mime} ~ *m'i-m:e* {mimme} ~ *m'i-m:i* {mimmi} ~ *me* {me} ~ *m'e-ne* {mene} ~ *mi* {mi} (clitic) ~ *m* {m'} [obl.].Buttu 2015; Narumov 2001: 177. Oblique stem.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 153; Narumov 2001: 177. Paradigm: *dew* {deu} [nom.] / *m'i-mi* {mimi} ~ *mɛy* {mei} ~ *mi* {mi} (clitic) ~ *m* {m'} (clitic) [obl.]. Domus de Maria: *dɛw* {deu} [Fadda 2015].Oblique form. Narumov 2001: 177.

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Paradigm: *yɔ* {iò} ~ *yu* {iu} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} [obl.] [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *yu* {ju} 'I' [Coccimiglio 2016].Oblique stem.

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Paradigm: *yɔ* {iò} [nom.] / *m'ia* {mìa} (after a preposition) ~ *mi* {mi} [obl.] [Stornanti 2015].Oblique stem.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Paradigm: *yu* {iu} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} [obl.] [Salerno 2015].Oblique stem.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Paradigm: *yu* {iu} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} [obl.] [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015].Oblique

stem.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 296; Narumov 2001: 508. A more colloquial pronunciation is *ˈiɔ ~ yɔ*. Paradigm: *žɔ* {jo} [nom.] / *mə* {me} (enclitic) ~ *əm* {em} (proclitic) ~ *m* {m'} ~ {'m} (elided) [obl.].Narumov 2001: 508. Oblique form.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.Oblique form.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Paradigm: *žɔ* {jo} [nom.] / *mɛ* {mè} (enclitic) ~ *mə* {em} (proclitic) ~ *m* {m'} ~ {'m} (elided) [obl.].Cardona 2015. Oblique form.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Paradigm: *žɔ* {jo} [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *m* {m'} ~ {'m} (elided) [obl.].Barreda 2015. Oblique form.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Paradigm: *yɔ* {jo} [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *m* {m'} ~ {'m} (elided) [obl.].Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Oblique form.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Paradigm: *yɔ* {jo} [nom.] / *me* {me} (enclitic) ~ *mi* (mi) (after prepositions) ~ *em* {em} (proclitic) ~ *m* {m'} ~ {'m} (elided) [obl.].Pedrós 2015. Oblique form.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Paradigm: *ʐo* {yo} [nom.] / *mi* {mí} ~ *me* {me} (clitic) [obl.].Valén 2015. Oblique form.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016; Narumov 2001: 545. Paradigm: *yo* {yo} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} ~ *miŋ* {min} ~ *me* {me} (clitic) [obj.]. Langreo: *yo* {yo} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} ~ *miŋ* {min} ~ *me* {me} (clitic) [obj.] [González Rato 2016].Oblique stem.

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 720; Volf 2001: 479. Paradigm: *ew* {eu} [nom.] / *mə* {me} ~ *m* {m-} ~ *mĩ* {mim} (after prepositions) [obj.].Oblique stem.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 851, 436; Fernández Armesto 1981: 753; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1043, 477; Narumov 2001: 530. Paradigm: *ɛw* {eu} [nom.] / *miŋ* {min} ~ *me* {me} (clitic) [obj.].Oblique stem.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 899; Lobodanov, Morozova, Chelysheva 2001: 299. Paradigm: *yew* {iéu} [nom.] / *me* {me} [obl.].Oblique stem.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1208-1210.Viret 2013: 1408-1409.

Old French: Chelysheva 2001: 268. Paradigm: *žə* {je} [nom.] / *moy* {moi} ~ *me* {me} (clitic) [obj.]. Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but very frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {tant com il sont ancor si pres // je et vos iriens après} "while they are still nearby, I and you will ride after them" (Lancelot 229-230); {Dites moi, biax ostes, fet il} ""Tell me, fair host", he asked" (Erec 505); {Merci! Ne m'ocirre tu pas!} "Mercy now, and do not kill me" (Erec 990).Oblique stem.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 323; Rayevskaya 2013: 653; Referovskaya et al. 2001: 230. Paradigm: *žə* {je} [nom.] / *mwa* {moi} ~ *mə* {me} (with verbs) [obj.].Oblique stem.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Paradigm: *ež* {éj} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} ~ *m* {m'} (elided) [obl.]. Examples are: {i m'donnoait un life} "He gave me a book", {i m'connoait} "He knows me" [Leplubo 2016].Oblique stem.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Paradigm: *žü* {dju} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} [obl.]. Rifondou: *ži* {dji} [nom.] / *mi* {mi} [obl.].Oblique stem.

43. KILL

Archaic Latin *ɔ=kːˈiːd-ɛ-rɛ {occidere}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ɔ=kːˈiːd-ɛ-rɛ {occidere}* (1), Megleno Romanian *nek {nec}* (2), Istro Romanian *uǯid-e {uǯíde}* (1), Aromanian *vˈat-əm {vátăm}* (3), Romanian *a=uǯid-e {a ucide}* (1) / *a=omor-ˈɨ {a omorî}* (-1), Dalmatian *dram-ˈwo-r {dramu͡ọr}* (4), Friulian *kop-ˈaː {copâ}* (5), Gardenese Ladin *mac-ˈɛ {mazé}* (6), Fassano Ladin *mac-ˈɛ-r {mazèr}* (6), Rumantsch Grischun *məc-ˈa-r {mazzar}* (6), Sursilvan Romansh *məc-ˈa-r {mazzar}* (6), Surmiran Romansh *məc-ˈa-r {mazzar}* (6), Vallader Romansh *kəp-ˈa-r {coppar}* (5), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *mas-ˈe {massé}* (6), Barbania Piemontese *mas-ˈe {massé}* (6), Carmagnola Piemontese *mas-ˈe {massé}* (6), Turinese Piemontese *mas-ˈɛ {massè}* (6), Vercellese Piemontese *mas-ˈɛ* (6), Bergamo Lombard *köp-ˈa {cöpà}* (5), Plesio Lombard *mac-ˈa {mazà}* (6), Ravennate Romagnol *a=kup-ˈeə̯ {acupêr}* (5), Ferrarese Emiliano *mac-ˈa-r {mazàr}* (6), Carpigiano Emiliano *mas-ˈɛː-r {masèr}* (6), Reggiano Emiliano *mas-ˈɛː-r {masêr}*

(6), Rapallo Ligurian *a=m:as:-ˈa* (6), Genoese Ligurian *mas:-ˈa: {massâ}* (6), Stella Ligurian *mac:-ˈɛ {mazzè}* (6), Venice Venetian *kop-ˈa-r {copàr}* (5), Primiero Venetian *kop-ˈa-r {copar}* (5), Bellunese Venetian *kop-ˈa-r {copar}* (5), Old Italian *an=čˈid-e-re {ancidere}* (1), Standard Italian *učːˈid-e-re {uccidere}* (1), Grosseto Italian *a=m:ac:-ˈa-re {ammazzare}* (6), Foligno Italian *m:ac:-ˈa {ˈmmazzà}* (6), Neapolitan *a=čˈir-ə-rə {accìdere}* (1), Logudorese *bok:-ˈi-re {bocchire}* (7), Campidanese *bočˈir-i {bocciri}* (7), Palermitan Sicilian *a=m:ac:-ˈa-ɾi {ammazzari}* (6), Messinese Sicilian *a=m:ac:-ˈa-ɾɨ {ammazzari}* (6), Catanian Sicilian *a=m:ac:-ˈa-ɾi {ammazzari}* ~ *m:ac:-ˈa-ɾi {mmazzari}* (6), South-Eastern Sicilian *a=m:ac:-ˈa-ɾi {ammazzari}* (6), Central Catalan *mət-ˈa {matar}* (8), North-Western Catalan *mat-ˈa {matar}* (8), Minorcan Catalan *mət-ˈa {matar}* (8), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *mat-ˈa-r {matar}* (8), Valencia Catalan *mat-ˈa-ɾ {matar}* (8), Manises Catalan *mat-ˈa-ɾ {matar}* (8), Castilian Spanish *mat-ˈa-ɾ {matar}* (8), Asturian *mat-ˈa-ɾ {matar}* (8), Standard Portuguese *mɐt-ˈa-ɾ {matar}* (8), Galician *mat-ˈa-ɾ {matar}* (8), Provençal Occitan *tü-ˈa {tua}* ~ *tüy-ˈa {tuia}* (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *twa: {twâ}* (-1), Old French *oc-ˈi-rə {ocire}* (1), Standard French *tɥ-e {tuer}* (9), Picard *tɥ-e {tuer}* (9), Walloon *tuw-e {touwer}* (9).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The most frequent and neutral term for 'to kill'. Some examples are: {Memini: centum in Cilicia et quinquaginta, centum in Scytholatronia, triginta Sardos, sexaginta Macedones sunt homines quos tu occidisti uno die} "I do remember this. In Cilicia there were a hundred and fifty men, a hundred in Cryphiolathronia, thirty at Sardis, sixty men of Macedon, whom you slaughtered altogether in one day" [Mil. 42-45]; {Quid in Cappadocia, ubi tu quingentos simul, ni hebes machaera foret, uno ictu occideras?} "Besides, in Cappadocia, you would have killed five hundred men altogether at one blow, had not your sabre been blunt" [Mil. 52-53]; {cedo soleas mihi, ut arma capiam. iam pol ego occidam patrem} "Give me my shoes, that I may take up arms. On my word, I'll kill your father this instant" [Most. 383-384]; {Quin occidisti extemplo?} "Why didn't you kill him on the instant?" [Rud. 841]; {Atque occidi quoque, potius quam cibum praehiberem} "Aye, and killed them, too, rather than find them food" [Pseud. 367-368]; {Pterela rex qui potitavit, quem ego mea occidi manu} "from which king Pterelas used to drink, he whom I slew with my own hand" [Amph. 535]; {tum patrem occidisse et matrem vendidisse etiam scio} "I know, too, that you murdered your father and sold your mother" [Men. 944]; {Quippe qui ex te audivi, ut urbem maximam expugnavisses regemque Pterelam tute occideris} "Why, I heard it from your own self, how you had taken a very large city, and how you yourself had slain king Pterelas" [Amph. 745-746]; {quom sexaginta milia hominum uno die volaticorum manibus occidi meis} "in one day, I slew sixty thousand flying men" [Poen. 472-473].

> The term *nɛk-ˈa:-rɛ* {necare} 'to kill' is much less frequent. The examples are: {di deaeque me omnes pessumis exemplis interficiant, nisi ego illam anum interfecero siti fameque atque algu} "May all the Gods and Goddesses destroy me in the worst of fashions, if I don't kill this old hag with thirst, and hunger, and cold" [Most. 192-193]; {Hospes necavit hospitem captum manu; iste, ut ego opinor, qui has tibi aedis vendidit} "A host slew his guest, seized with his hand; he, I fancy, who sold you the house" [Most. 479-480]; {si quod peperissem id <non> necarem ac tollerem, bona sua med habiturum omnia [esse]} "If I should raise and bring up the child which I should bear, that then I should have all his property" [Truc. 399-400].
>
> Distinct from *ɔp=trʊŋk-ˈa:-rɛ* {obtruncare} 'to slaughter / to kill', which had an expressive connotation: {ipsusque Amphitruo regem Pterelam sua obtruncavit manu} "Amphitryon himself, with his own hand, struck off the head of Pterelas their king" [Amph. 252]; {seu patrem sive avom videbo, obtruncabo in aedibus} "whether father or whether grandfather, I'll behead that person in the house" [Amph. 1050]; {et legiones Teloboarum vi pugnando cepimus, et ipsus

Amphitruo optruncavit regem Pterelam in proelio} "and the legions of the Teleboans in fighting we took by arms, and Amphitryon himself cut off the head of king Pterelas in battle" [Amph. 414-415]; {ita mihi pectus peracuit: capio fustem, obtrunco gallum, furem manufestarium} "So exasperated were my feelings, I took a stick, and knocked off the head of the cock - a thief caught in the act" [Aul. 468-469]; {nam ni illic hodie forte fortuna hic foret, miles Mnesilochum cum uxore opprimeret sua atque obtruncaret moechum manufestarium} "But if he hadn't, by lucky chance, been here today, the Captain would have surprised Mnesilochus with his wife, and have killed him as an adulterer detected in the fact" [Bac. 916-918]; {nisi ego teque tuamque filiam meque hodie obtruncavero, poste autem cum primo luci cras nisi ambo occidero, et equidem hercle nisi pedatu tertio omnis efflixero} "if I don't this very day murder you and your daughter and myself, and after that, with the break of day, if I don't to-morrow kill you both, and indeed, by all the powers, if at the third onset I don't demolish you all" [Cist. 524-526].

Distinct from *eː=n k-ˈaː-rɛ* {enicare} 'to kill / to torture to death / to hurt (about organs) / to tire, to bore / to kill (in the figurative sense)', cf. 1) 'to kill': {Vel hercle enica, non tacebo umquam alio pacto, nisi talento comprimor} "Troth now, do you kill me even; I'll never be silent on any terms, unless my mouth is shut with the talent" [Rud. 1401-1402]; {Puer ambo angues enicat} "The child slew both the serpents" [Amph. 1119]; {Pacisce ergo, obsecro, quid tibi lubet, dum ne manifesto hominem opprimat neve enicet} "Make terms, then, I beg, for what you like; so that he mayn't, in our presence, fall upon the young man, or kill him outright" [Bac. 866-867]; {Vel hercle enica, numquam hinc feres a me} "Even kill me outright, i' faith, you never shall get it hence of me" [Aul. 833-834]; {Celabat metuebatque te, ne tu sibi persuaderes, ut abortioni operam daret puerumque ut enicaret} "She concealed it from you and was afraid, lest you should persuade her to have recourse to abortion, and so destroy the child" [Truc. 200-201]; 2) 'to torture to death': {At ego deos credo voluisse ut apud me te in nervo enicem} "But I believe that the Gods have willed that I should be the death of you in fetters" [Aul. 743]; {Perii hercle, ni ego illam pessumis exemplis enicasso} "Heavens, I'm a dead man if I don't torture her to death after the most shocking fashion" [Most. 212]; {In anginam ego nunc me velim verti, ut veneficae illi fauces prehendam atque enicem scelestam stimulatricem} "I could wish myself this instant changed into a quinsy, that I might seize the throat of that old witch, and put an end to the wicked mischief-maker" [Most. 218-219]; {et ni Scapham enicasso} "and if I don't torture Scapha to death" [Most. 223]; {Emitte sodes, ne enices fame; sine ire pastum} "don't starve them with hunger - do let them go to pasture" [Persa 318]; {nempe optimo <me> iure in vinclis enicet magistratus si quis me hanc habere viderit} "In such case, with very good reason, the magistrate will be letting me die in prison, if any one shall see me holding this" [Rud. 476-477]; 3) 'to hurt (about organs)': {simul enicat suspiritus} "troth, I can hardly fetch my breath" [Mer. 114]; {Lien enecat, renes dolent, pulmones distrahuntur, cruciatur iecur, radices cordis pereunt, hirae omnes dolent} "My spleen is killing me, my reins are in torment, my lungs are being torn asunder, my liver is being tortured, my heart-strings are giving way, all my intestines are in pain" [Curc. 236-238]; 4) 'to tire, to bore': {Pol me quidem miseram odio enicavit} "Troth, he really will this day be the death of wretched me, through sheer disgust" [Asin. 920-921]; {Ah, lassitudinem hercle verba tua mihi addunt, enicas} "Ah! your words, upon my faith, are increasing my weakness. You are worrying me to death!" [Merc. 156-157]; {enicas} "You are worrying me to death"" [Merc. 493]; {Ah, odio me enicas} "you are worrying me to death" [Persa 48a]; {Enicas} "You worry me to death" [Persa 485]; {Enecas} "You plague me to death" [Cas. 233]; {Enicas me} "you torment me to death" [Poen. 1267a]; {Enicas iam me odio, quisquis es} "Then, whoever you are, you are worrying me to death with your annoyance" [Rud. 944]; {Oh, enicas me miseram, quisquis es} "O dear, you're teazing wretched me to death, whoever you are" [Truc. 118-119]; 5) 'to kill (in the figurative sense)': {auctor sum ut me amando enices} "I give you leave to torture me to death here with being in love" [Merc. 312]; {uxor me exspectat iam dudum esuriens domi; iam iurgio enicabit, si intro rediero} "my wife has been some time expecting me at home quite hungry: now, she'll be worrying me to death with her scolding" [Merc. 556-557]; {Quia aequalem et sodalem, liberum civem, enicas} "Because you are killing your year's-mate and friend, a free citizen" [Merc. 612]; {Quin me eradicas miserum} "Why, you are utterly ruining wretched me" [Merc. 775]; {enicas me miserum tua reticentia} "you are torturing to death wretched me by your silence" [Merc. 893]; {E. Tempus non est intro eundi. CH. Enicas} " E. It's not a convenient moment to go into the house. CH. You are torturing me to death" [Merc. 916]; {Absolve hunc quaeso, vomitu ne hic nos enecet} "Prithee, do dismiss this puking fellow, that he mayn't worry us to death" [Most. 652].

There is also the term {effligere} 'to kill / to destroy', which occurs three times: {non tu scis, quam efflictentur homines noctu hic in via?} "Don't you know how men are set upon here in the street at night?" [Stichus 606]; {iam quidem hercle ad illam hinc ibo, quam tu propediem, nisi quidem illa ante occupassit te, effliges scio, luxuriae sumptus suppeditare ut possies} "On my honor, I'll really go this instant hence to her whom I'm sure that you'll very soon be destroying, in order that you may be able to supply your extravagance, unless, indeed, she shall first prevent you" [Asin. 817-819]; {nisi ego

teque tuamque filiam meque hodie obtruncavero, poste autem cum primo luci cras nisi ambo occidero, et equidem hercle nisi pedatu tertio omnis efflixero} "if I don't this very day murder you and your daughter and myself, and after that, with the break of day, if I don't to-morrow kill you both, and indeed, by all the powers, if at the third onset I don't demolish you all" [Cist. 524-526].

Late Classical Latin: According to Lewis and Short's dictionary, *nɛk-ˈaː-rɛ* {necare} means 'to kill, usually without a weapon (by poison, hunger, etc.)' [Lewis & Short 1958: 1196], but this does not seem to apply to Apuleius' language. Examples of the usage of this word are relatively few, but those that are attested have the meaning 'to murder' (regardless of method): {Quin potius effaris ubi puerum eiusdem agasonem, necatum scilicet, occultaris?} "Tell us instead what you've done with the boy who was driving him. No doubt you've murdered him" [Met. 7: 25]; {Diu denique ac multum mecum ipse deliberavi, an nequissimam facinerosissimamque illam feminam spissis calcibus feriens et mordicus adpetens necare deberem} "So I held long and earnest debate in my mind with regard to that utterly worthless and felonious woman, as to whether to kick her again and again with my hooves, bite her with my teeth, and destroy her" [Met. 3: 26]; {ut, si sexus sequioris edidisset fetum, protinus quo esset editum necaretur} "to kill the infant at once if it chanced to be female" [Met. 10: 23]; {regressoque iam marito natam necatamque nuntiavit} "on her husband's return, announced the birth and death of a girl" [Met. 10: 23]; {atque cuncta fingentem titione candenti inter media femina detruso crudelissimae necavit} "went on to murder her savagely with a burning brand thrust between the thighs" [Met. 10: 24]; {Habebat filiam parvulam de marito, quem nuper necaverat} "She had a baby daughter by the husband she had murdered" [Met. 10: 28]; {nec ad exemplum naccinae truculentiae sulpuris te letali fumo necabo} "I'll not take the fuller's savagery as my model and stifle you with lethal fumes" [Met. 9: 27].

Some examples of {occidere}: {quem nocte ebrius occisum a me calumniabaris} "whom you in your drunken state accused me, slanderously, of murdering" [Met. 1: 17]; {Occisa sum misera} "I'm done for!" [Met. 3: 25]; {Igitur Pontianum fratris sui filium, quem paulo prius occisum a me clamitarat} "and began to charge me with practice of the black art and with the murder of my step-son Pontianus" [Apologia 1: 7]; {quis aequo animo pateretur, si me per haec ueneficii arcesseres, quod ex illis potest homo occidi?} "Who would endure it if you made this a ground for accusing me of being a poisoner, merely because those drugs are capable of killing a man?" [Apologia 32: 8].

Gellius material seems to confirm this hypothesis. The term {necare} means 'to murder / to put to death': {et, si de praemio conveniret, promisit regem venenis necare idque facile esse factu dixit, quoniam filii sui pocula in convivio regi ministrarent} "and asked a reward, promising that if they could come to terms, he would poison the king" [Attic Nights 3: 8]; {qui filium suum, quod contra suum dictum in hostem pugnaverat, securi necavit} "who behaded his son for engaging the enemy contrary to his orders" [Attic Nights 17: 21]; {delati ad populum proditique sunt et, cum de perfidia confessi essent, necati sunt} "they were betrayed and brought to trial before the people, and having confessed their duplicity, were put to death" [Attic Nights 4: 5].

Some of Gellius' examples for {occidere} 'to kill' (especially in battle): {eodem tempore etiam hostem occiderat neque locum in ea pugna reliquerat} "at the same time slain the enemy who threatened him, and had not given ground in that battle" [Attic Nights 5: 6]; {Nam gladiatori composito ad pugnandum pugnae haec proposita sors est aut occidere} "For to a gladiator ready to fight the fortune of battle offers the alternative, either to kill" [Attic Nights 6: 3]; {Nam furem, qui manifesto furto prensus esset, tum demum occidi permiserunt} "For they permitted a thief who was caught in the act to be put to death" [Attic Nights 11: 18].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 205. Polysemy: 'to choke / to kill / to drown'.

In the dialect of Țârnareca there is also a word *v'at-ɐm* {vátăm} 'to kill' [Capidan 1935: 324].

Distinct from *dutɐlčɔs* {dutăltšǫs} 'to beat up' ({muraru mi dutăltšì di chjutec} "the miller beat me up in a fight" [Capidan 1928: 118]) and *spark* {sparg} 'damage, break, beat' [Capidan 1935: 271] ({acu mi sparzi, du-ti tu cu mlaznitsili, ca să mi duc cu stęrpili} "You can beat me up, but you will tend milk sheep while I will tend dry sheep" [Capidan 1928: 31]).

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 292; Byhan 1899: 377.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1101; Cunia 2010: 1074-1075; Dalametra 1906: 220-221; Gołąb 1984: 258. Goes back to the Latin {victimare} 'to offer (an animal) in sacrifice'. The term *m'or-ŭ* {mor} 'to die' can be sometimes used in the meaning 'to kill' as well. Cf. {muríţ-ľi Çíne} "kill them well"; {a ta boáţe că n'-mi moáre} "your voice which kills me" [Papahagi 1963: 702].

Romanian: DER 2004: 536; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1530; Gancz 2015. There are two expressions for 'to kill': *a=učid-e* {a ucide} and *a=omor-ˈɨ* {a omorî}. They are synonyms, but *a=učid-e* is stylistically stronger, cf. {El nu a fost atent când conducea și a omorât un om care traversa} "He did not pay attention when he was driving and he killed a man who was crossing the street" and {Criminalul a ucis victima cu sânge rece} "The murderer killed the victim in cold blood" [Gancz 2015]. We have

to treat these words as synonyms. Moldavian: *a=uč'id-e* {a ucide} 'to kill' [Podiko 1973: 966; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 457].DER 2004: 536; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1530; Gancz 2015. Borrowed from some Slavic source [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *a=omor-'ɨ* {a omorî} 'to kill' [Podiko 1973: 966; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 457].

Dalmatian: Bartoli translates this verb as 'ammazzare' ('to kill with violence'), but the contexts do not confirm this translation: {ju ja̤ jo̤i̯na járma per dramu͡o̯r} 'I have a weapon to kill' [Bartoli 2002: 251]; {lo ju dramút koṅ jo̤i̯na petrúta} "he was killed with a throw of a stone" [Bartoli 2002: 252]. In Dubrovnik in the year 1364 the form {anchidere} 'to kill' is attested [Bartoli 2002: 352].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015. Used for people and animals. Distinct from *mač-'a:* {maçâ} 'to kill', used mostly for people [Virili 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: There are two expressions for 'to kill' in Forni's dictionary: *mac-'ɛ* {mazé} (glossed as 'schlachten, abstechen; ermorden, umbringen' ('to slaughter; to murder, to kill') by Gartner [Gartner 1923: 52]) and *kup-'ɛ* {cupé} (glossed as 'abstechen, schlachten; umbringen' by Gartner [Gartner 1923: 45]). According to the contexts provided in Forni's dictionary, the second one seems to be more restricted and means 'to kill by hitting', cf. {l giat à mazà la suricia} "the cat killed the mouse"; {l ie unì mazà cun l tuesse} "he/she was killed with poison"; {mazé cun n colp de pistola} "to kill with a pistol shot"; {mazé n cërf} "to kill a deer"; {mazé na persona} "to kill a person"; {se mazé cun l tuesse} "to kill oneself with poison"; {mazé ju} "to massacre"; {mazé ju duc} "to exterminate"; {cupé n armënt} "to kill cattle"; {cupé zachei de striches} "to beat to death"; {cupé ju} "to massacre". As it seems that *mac-'ɛ* better satisfies the GLD specifications, we do not include *kup-'ɛ* in the list.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 341. As in the Gardenese, there are two expressions for 'to kill' in Fossano: *mac-'ɛr* {mazèr} (glossed as 'abbattere, accoppare, ammazzare, eliminare, macellare, sopprimere, uccidere' [DILF 2001: 489]) and *kop-'ɛr* {copèr} (glossed as 'abbattere, accoppare, ammazzare, eliminare, macellare, uccidere' [DILF 2001: 407]). There is no possibility to differenciate between them on the DILF material, but we presume that the difference is the same as in Gardenese, so we include only the first word in the list.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 385.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 385.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *kup-'ɛ* {copè} 'to murder'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *kup-'a* {cupà} 'to kill', which is more archaic and colloquial [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 3. Marchigiano: *mac-'ɛ* {mazè} 'to kill' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *kup-'ɛ:r* {cupèr} 'to kill (animals)'.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *kop-'a-re* {copare} 'to kill' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Poi vidi genti accese in foco d'ira // con pietre un giovinetto ancider} "Then saw I people hot in fire of wrath, // with stones a young man slaying" [Purg. 15]; {per non smarrirsi e per non dar di cozzo // in cosa che 'l molesti, o forse ancida} "lest he should wander, or should strike against // aught that may harm or peradventure kill him" [Purg. 16]; {nel quale un cinquecento dieci e cinque, // messo di Dio, anciderà la fuia} "within which a Five-hundred, Ten, and Five, // One sent from God, shall slay the thievish woman" [Purg. 33]; {poscia li ancide come antica belva} "thereafter

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slaughters them like ancient beeves" [Purg. 14]; {'Anciderammi qualunque m'apprende} "Shall slay me whosoever findeth me!" [Purg. 14]. Only once does it occur in the form *u=čˈid-e-re* {uccidere}: {ché questa bestia, per la qual tu gride, // non lascia altrui passar per la sua via, // ma tanto lo 'mpedisce che l'uccide} "because this beast, at which thou criest out, // suffers not any one to pass her way, // but so doth harass him, that she destroys him" [Inf. 1]. The terms *a=mːacː-ˈa-re* {ammazzare} and *a=kːopː-ˈa-re* {accoppare} are not attested.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1881. Distinct from *a=mːacː-ˈa-re* {ammazzare} 'to kill', which is more affected, from *a=kːopː-ˈa-re* {accoppare} 'to kill', which is colloquial and less frequent and [Vitali 2015] and from *a=sːasːin-ˈa-re* {assassinare} 'to murder, to kill' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 126].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. The term *učˈid-e-re* {uccidere} 'to kill' is used as well, but it is much less frequent [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Alois 2015. Salerno: *a=čˈir-ə* {accire} [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. In the perfect tense the construction {hàer mortu}, literally 'to have dead', is used instead of this verb [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 87. Domus de Maria: *bˈočːir-i* {bocciri} 'to kill' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *a=mːacː-ˈa-ɾi* {ammazzari} 'to kill' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 187. Distinct from the obsolete term *uks-ˈi* {occir} 'to kill' [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *mat-ˈa-ɾ* {matar} 'to kill' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 650.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 504; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 987, 619.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1447. Distinct from the obsolete term *mat-ˈa* {mata} 'to kill' [Coupier 1995: 1447].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2171.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 762-763. Applied to people and animals. Another term for 'to kill', *tü-ˈeː-r* {tüer} is more than 10 ten times less frequent (159 versus 15 occurences) [EDCT 2014: 1110-1111]. Distinct from *a=fol-ˈeː-r* {afoler} 'to harm, to hurt / to kill' [EDCT 2014: 21], from *des=fey-rə* {desfaire} 'to kill (a hunted beast)' [EDCT 2014: 320], from *des=trụ-ˈi-rə* {destruire} 'to ruin, to devastate / to kill, to annihilate (a person, a group of persons)' [EDCT 2014: 336] and from *mor-ˈi-r* {morir} 'to die', which can be used as a transitive verb 'to kill' with compound tense forms [EDCT 2014: 727-729].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 360; Rayevskaya 2013: 618. Distinct from *asasin-e* {assassiner} 'to murder' [Robert-Collins 1989: 360].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. The example is: {L'onme il o tué l'biète} "The man killed a beast". Less frequent is the term *eskɔfy-e* {éscofier} ({L'onme il o éscofié l'bète} "The man killed a beast") [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *tuw-e* {touwer} 'to kill'.

44. KNEE

Archaic Latin *gˈɛnʋ {genu}* (1), Late Classical Latin *gˈɛnʋ {genu}* (1), Megleno Romanian *zinˈukʎ-u {zinúcľu}* (1), Istro Romanian *žerˈuŋkʎ-u {žerúŋcľu}* (1), Aromanian *ʒinˈukʎ-u {dzinúcľŭ}* (1), Romanian *ženˈuŋkʸ {genunchi}* (1), Dalmatian *žinˈwak {ǧinuák} ~ žinˈawk*

{ğináu̯k} (1), Friulian *žen'ɔl-i {zenoli}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *žən'odl {jenodl}* (1), Fassano Ladin *žən'ey-e {jenęie}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *žən'uʎ {schanugl}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *žən'uʎ {schanugl}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *žən'uʎ {schanugl}* (1), Vallader Romansh *žnwoʎ {schnuogl}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *žin'uy {ginoj}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *žin'uy {ginoj}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *žin'uy {ginoj}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *ž'inuy {ginoj}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *znöč* (1), Bergamo Lombard *zön'öč {zönöc}* (1), Plesio Lombard *žin'öč: {ginögg}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *ʒnɔč {znòcc}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ʒnɔč {znòc}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *znɔ:č {śnôč}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *znɔ:č {znôc}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *zen'už:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *ʒen'už:-u {zenŏggiŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *ʒen'už:-u {zenùggiu}* (1), Venice Venetian *zen'ɔč-o {zenòcio}* (1), Primiero Venetian *den'ɔč-o {denòcio}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *den'ɔč-o {denocio}* (1), Old Italian *žin'ɔk:y-o {ginocchio}* (1), Standard Italian *žin'ɔk:y-o {ginocchio}* (1), Grosseto Italian *žin'ɔk:y-o {ginocchio}* (1), Foligno Italian *žin'ok:y-u {ginocchiu}* (1), Neapolitan *dən'uk:y-ə {denucchio}* (1), Logudorese *ben'uk:r-u {benuccru}* (1), Campidanese *žen'uɣ-u {genugu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ɾin'wɔk:y-u {rinuocchiu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *žin'ɔk:y-u {ginocchiu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *žin'ɔk:y-u {ginocchiu} ~ din'ɔk:y-u {dinocchiu} ~ in'ɔk:y-u {inocchiu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ɾin'wɔč:-u {rinuocciu}* (1), Central Catalan *žən'oʎ {genoll}* (1), North-Western Catalan *žin'oʎ {genoll}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *žun'oy {genoll}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *žin'oʎ {genoll}* (1), Valencia Catalan *čin'oʎ {genoll}* (1), Manises Catalan *čen'oʎ {genoll}* (1), Castilian Spanish *roð'iʎ-a {rodilla}* (2), Asturian *roð'yeʎ-a {rodiella}* (2), Standard Portuguese *žu'ɐʎ-u {joelho}* (1), Galician *še'onʎ-o {xeonllo}* (1), Provençal Occitan *žeyn'uy {geinoui} ~ žin'uŋ {ginoun}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ðɛn'œ {zhèneu} ~ ðɛn'ɔ {zhènò} ~ ðɛn'oy {zhènoy}* (1), Old French *žən'oʎ {genoil}* (1), Standard French *žənu {genou}* (1), Picard *ežnu {éjnou}* (1), Walloon *žünɔ {djuno} ~ ɲ:ɔ {djno}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {tum genu quemque icero ad terram dabo} "then against whomsoever I dart my knee, I shall bring him to the ground" [Capt. 797]; {abite et de via decedite, ne quem in cursu capite aut cubito aut pectore offendam aut genu} "get out of the way, lest I should hurt any person in my speed with my head, or elbow, or breast, or with my knee" [Curc. 281-282]; {lassitudine invaserunt misero in genua flemina} "has the congested blood, from weariness, come down into the knees of poor me" [Epid. 670].
Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Adsurgit et oppertus paululum pleniorem ripae marginem complicitus in genua adpronat se avidus adfectans poculum} "He rose and after a brief search for a level place at the edge of the bank, he sank down on his knees and bent forward ready to drink" [Met. 1: 19]; {complicitis denique pedibus ac palmulis in alternas digitorum vicissitudines super genua conexis sic grabattum cossim insidens ubertim flebam} "and I sat there hunched on my bed, feet crossed, hands locked together, the fingers clasped across my knees, weeping profusely" [Met. 3: 1].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 339.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 389.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 434; Cunia 2010: 428-429; Dalametra 1906: 87; Bara et al. 2005: 337; Gołąb 1984: 261.

Romanian: DER 2004: 539; Bolocan et al. 1985: 526; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *ženˈuŋkʸ* {genunchi} 'knee' [Podiko 1973: 317; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 166].

Dalmatian: The examples are: {i artist portúa el kapu̯át fenta káu̯k i ǧinákli} "The grooms wore coats that reached to their knees" [Bartoli 2002: 232]; {i ǧinakli me dulúa il ǧinu̯ák me dulúa} "my knees hurt, my knee hurts" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. In one folk song, the form *denˈakle* {denakle} 'knees' of Venetian origin is also attested: {la n̨éna de dí denakle nói̯de la pregúa dí} "The Virgin Mary on her bare knees prays to God" [Bartoli 2002: 230].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 675, 475.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 113, 154. Marebbano: *žənˈedl* {žənedl} 'knee'; Badiotto: *žonˈədl* {žonădl} 'knee'; Livinallese: *žənˈogl-e* {žənogle} 'knee'; Nones: *žanˈoy-a* {žanoi̯a} 'knee' [Gartner 1923: 149].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 128; Gartner 1923: 149.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 654.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 139.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 139.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 509.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015. Este: *zenˈɔky-o* {zenochio} 'knee' [Melon 2015]. Salgareda: *denˈɔč-o* {denòcio} ~ *zenˈɔč-o* {zenòcio} 'knee' [Poletto 2015]. Verona: *denˈɔč-o* {denocio} 'knee' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {E un di lor, che mi sembiava lasso, // sedeva e abbracciava le ginocchia} "And one of them, who seemed to me fatigued, // was sitting down, and both his knees embraced" [Purg. 4]; {Come per sostentar solaio o tetto, // per mensola talvolta una figura // si vede giugner le ginocchia al petto} "As to sustain a ceiling or a roof, // in place of corbel, oftentimes a figure // is seen to join its knees unto its breast" [Purg. 10].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1883.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *rənˈukːiy-ə* {re'nùcchijo} 'knee' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 200. Domus de Maria: *žˈinoɣ-u* {ginogu} 'knee' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *ɾinˈɔkːy-u* {rinocchiu} 'knee' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *ɾinˈwɔkːy-u* {rinuocchiu} 'knee' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *ɾinˈɔkːy-u* {rinocchiu} 'knee' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *ɾin'ɔč-a* {rinoccia} 'knee' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 253. A more colloquial pronunciation is *žun'oʎ* [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *rod'i-a* {rodía} 'knee' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 232.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016; Franco Grande 1968: 838, 742, 743; Fernández Armesto 1981: 649-650; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1019, 890.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 649.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1066.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 548.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 362; Rayevskaya 2013: 445.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *žinɔ* {djino} ~ *ɲːɔ* {djno} 'knee'.

45. KNOW

Archaic Latin *sk'iː-rɛ {scire}* (1), Late Classical Latin *sk'iː-rɛ {scire}* (1), Megleno Romanian *šti-w {ştiu̯}* (1), Istro Romanian *šti {şti}* (1), Aromanian *šti-w {ştiŭ}* (1), Romanian *a=št'i {a şti}* (1), Dalmatian *sap-'a-r {sapár}* (2), Friulian *sav-'eː {savê}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *sav-'əy {savëi}* (2), Fassano Ladin *sa-'e-r {saẹr}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *səv-'ay-r {savair}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *səv-'e-r {saver}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *səv-'ɛk-r {saveir}* (2), Vallader Romansh *səv-'ay-r {savair}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *sav-'ɛy {savèj}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *sav-'ɛy {savèj}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *sav-'ɛy {savej}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *sav-'ey {savej}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *sav-'ey* (2), Bergamo Lombard *sa-'ï {saì}* (2), Plesio Lombard *sav-'ɛ {savè}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *sav-'eː {savēr}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *sa-'ɛ-r {saèr}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *sav-'e-r {savér}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *sav-'ɛy-r {savèir}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *sav-'ey* (2), Genoese Ligurian *sav-'eː {savê}* (2), Stella Ligurian *sav-'ɛy {savèi}* (2), Venice Venetian *sav-'e-r {savér}* (2), Primiero Venetian *sa-'e-r {saer}* ~ *sav-'e-r {saver}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *sav-'e-r {saver}* (2), Old Italian *sap-'e-re {sapere}* (2), Standard Italian *sap-'e-re {sapere}* (2), Grosseto Italian *sap-'e-re {sapere}* (2), Foligno Italian *sap-'e {sapé}* (2), Neapolitan *sap-'ɛ {sapè}* ~ *sap-'e {sapé}* (2), Logudorese *isk-'i-re {ischire}* (1), Campidanese *š'ir-i {sciri}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *s'ap-i-ɾi ~ sap-'i-ɾi {sapiri}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *sap-'i-ɾɨ {sapiri}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *sap-'i-ri {sapiri}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *sap-'i-ɾi {sapiri}* (2), Central Catalan *saβ-'ɛ {saber}* (2), North-Western Catalan *saβ-'e {saber}* ~ *sapiɣ-'e {sapiguer}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *s'ɛβ-ɾə {saber}* (2), Castelló

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de la Plana Catalan *saβ-ˈe-ɾ {saber}* (2), Valencia Catalan *saβ-ˈe-ɾ {saber}* (2), Manises Catalan *saβ-ˈe-ɾ {saber}* (2), Castilian Spanish *saβ-ˈe-ɾ {saber}* (2), Asturian *sab-ˈe-ɾ {saber}* (2), Standard Portuguese *seβ-ˈe-ɾ {saber}* (2), Galician *saβ-ˈe-ɾ {saber}* (2), Provençal Occitan *sˈawp-ɾe {saupre} ~ sač-ˈe {saché}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sav-ˈay {savai}* (2), Old French *sav-ˈoy-r {savoir}* (2), Standard French *sav-wa-ʁ {savoir}* (2), Picard *sav-we-ʁ {savouér}* (2), Walloon *saw-ɛ {sawè} ~ saw-ɛ-ʀ {sawèr}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {LEON. Quot pondo ted esse censes nudum? LIB. Non edepol scio. LEON. Scibam ego te nescire, at pol ego, qui ted expendi, scio} "LEON. When naked, how many pounds do you say you are in weight? LIB. Upon my faith, I don't know. LEON. I know that you don't know; but, i' faith, I who have weighed you do know" [Asin. 299-300]; {Aetatem meam scis?} "Do you know my years?" [Aul. 214].

> Distinct from *nˈɔsk-ɛ-ɾɛ {noscere}* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted / to recognize', cf. {Non nos novisti?} "don't you know us?" [Mil. 428]; {is me novit} "He knows me" [Capt. 528]; {Hau nosco tuom: bonis tuis rebus meas res inrides malas} "I really don't understand your ways; amid your prosperity you are laughing at my adversity" [Trin. 445-446]; {tonstricem Suram novisti nostram} "You know Syra, the female hair-dresser" [Truc. 405-406].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {non quidem curiosum sed qui velim scire vel cuncta vel certe plurima} "I'm not inquisitive but I love to know everything, or at least most things" [Met. 1: 2]; {"Unde autem" inquit "scio an convectore illo tuo, cum quo sero devorteras"} "How do I know you haven't slit the throat of that traveler you were with last night" [Met. 1: 15]; {et hercules dicerem quod sciebam} "indeed I'd have told them what I knew" [Met. 7: 26].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 286. Distinct from *kunˈosk {cunós(c)}* 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Capidan 1935: 86].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 351. Distinct from *konˈošt-e {conóște}* 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 199; Byhan 1899: 258]. Cf. {i̯o nu l-am conoskut. i̯o n-am štivut čire i̯e} "…whom I did not know. I did not know who he was".

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1012; Cunia 2010: 936-937; Dalametra 1906: 196; Bara et al. 2005: 291; Gołąb 1984: 252. Distinct from *kunˈosk-u {cunóscu}* 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Papahagi 1963: 330; Cunia 2010: 354-355; Dalametra 1906: 72; Gołąb 1984: 229].

Romanian: DER 2004: 540; Bolocan et al. 1985: 442; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *a=kunˈọašt-e {a cunoaște}* 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: a=šťi {a ști} 'to know' [Podiko 1973: 264-265; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 145].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {no sái̯} "I don't know" [Bartoli 2002: 227]; {ju blái̯ sapár} "I want to know" [Bartoli 2002: 253]; {el véṅ, zapai̯te, me plúk tu͡ọnt} "wine, you know, I like it all" [Bartoli 2002: 242]. Distinct from *konwask {konu̯ask}* 'I know (a person), I am acquainted' {ju jai̯ kunusùt un zi̯art Vasílič di nàu̯n tune} "I have known a certain Vasilič, Tune by name" [Bartoli 2002: 250].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 348. Distinct from *koɲˈɔs-i {cognòsci}* 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Pirona 1871: 665, 69].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 79, 197. Distinct from *kunˈəš-ər {cunëscer}* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 44, 152].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 271. Distinct from *koɲˈoš-er {cognọscer}* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [DILF 2001: 73].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *ənkənˈuš-ər {enconuscher}* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 636-637. Distinct from *kuɲˈwoš-ər {cugnuoscher}* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Conrad 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 166]. Cf. {Eu sa cha} "I know, that…" and {Eu cugnuosch la via} "I know the road" [Conrad 2015].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. Distinct from *kunˈɔs-e {conòsse}* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Gisolo 2015; Brero

1976: 66].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Distinct from *kun'ɔs-e* {conòsse} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Fiandro 2015; Fiandro 1976: 66].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *kun'ɔs-e* {conòsse} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *kunos-'e* {conossè} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *kuɲ'ɔːs-i* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *kuɲ'us:* {cugnuss} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 365. Distinct from *kn'oz-ar* {cnóʂar} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Ercolani 1960: 97].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *ʈɲ'os-ar* {tgnóssar} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *kɲ'us-er* {cgnùser} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *kɲ'ɔs-er* {cgnòser} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *kunuž-'e* 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *kunuš-'e* {cŏnŏsce} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *kun'uš-e* {cunùsce} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *sav-'ɛ-re* {savere} 'to know' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Distinct from *konos-'a-re* {conossare} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Tre 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *koɲos-'e-r* {cognoser} ~ *konos-'e-r* {conoser} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Distinct from *konos-'a-r* {conosar} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Saper d'alcuno è buono} "To know of some is well" [Inf. 15]; {Non so che disse} "I know not what it said" [Inf. 24].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1885. Distinct from *kon'oš-e-re* {conoscere} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1885].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *kon'oš-e-re* {conoscere} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *kon'uš-e* {conusce} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *kunəš-'e-rə* {cunoscere} ~ *kanəš-'e-rə* {canoscere} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Fattoruso 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *kon:'osk-e-re* {connòschere} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 373. Domus de Maria: *š'ir-i* {sciri} 'to know' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Distinct from *kan'uš-i-ri* {canusciri} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *sap-'i-ri* {sapiri} 'to know', *kan'uš-i-ri* {canusciri} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Distinct from *kan'uš-i-ɾɨ* {canusciri} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. Distinct from *kan'uš-i-ri* {canusciri} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; EDCC 1993: 256. A more colloquial form is *sapiɣ-'ɛ* {sapiguer} 'to know'. Distinct from *kun'ɛš-ə* {conèixer} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 66].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *kun'ɛš-ə* {conèixer} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *kon'eš-e-ɾ* {conèixer} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *kon'eyš-e-ɾ* {conèixer} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *kon'eyš-e-ɾ* {conèixer} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *konoθ-'e-ɾ* {conocer} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *sab-'e-ɾ* {saber} 'to know' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 197. Distinct from *kuɲəs-'e-ɾ* {conhecer} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Voinova et al. 1989: 197].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 654; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1020, 789. Distinct from *koɲeθ-'e-ɾ* {coñecer} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 781; Fernández Armesto 1981: 209; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 291].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1273. The form *sab-'e* {sabé} is less frequent [Coupier 1995: 1273]. Distinct from *kun'ɛys-e* {counnèisse} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Coupier 1995: 285].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1946-1947. Distinct from *ko=ɲ'ayt-re* {konyaitre} 'to know (a person), to be acquainted' [Viret 2013: 564-565].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1008-1010. Polysemy: 'to have knowledge concerning something, to learn, see, notice something / to have knowledge of the existence of something or somebody / to master (a language), to be able to speak (a language) fluently / to have in one's mind some knowledge about something'. Distinct from *ko=n'oyst-rə* {conoistre} 'to know somebody, to be aware of somebody's existence / to get to know somebody / to recognize somebody / to notice somebody, to spot somebody among others / to be conscious of somebody's qualities or defects / to have sexual relations with somebody / to perceive, to find out, to notice / to have an idea of something, to know what it is' [EDCT 2014: 228-230].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 364; Rayevskaya 2013: 424. Distinct from *kə=nɛt-ʁ* {connaître} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Robert-Collins 1989: 364; Rayevskaya 2013: 424].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *kə=nwɛt* {connoète} 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *saw-ɛ* {sawè} ~ *sav-œ- ʁ* {saveur} 'to know'. Distinct from *ku=nüʃ* {counuche} (Rifondou: *ki=nɔʃ* {kinoxhe} ~ *knɔʃ* {cnoxhe}) 'to know (a person) / to be acquainted'.

46. LEAF

Archaic Latin *fɔl-ɪ-ũ {folium}* (1), Late Classical Latin *fɔl-y-ũ {folium}* (1), Megleno Romanian *fr'unz-ə {frúnză}* (2), Istro Romanian *foʎ-e {fóľe}* (1), Aromanian *fr'inʒ-ə {frî ́ndză}* (2), Romanian *'frunz-ə {frunză}* (2), Dalmatian *fwaʎ-a {fu̯áľa}* ~ *fwaʎ {fu̯aľ}* (1), Friulian *fwe-e {fuee}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *pl'eč-a {plecia}* (3), Fassano Ladin *fo-a {foa}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *feʎ {fegl}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *feʎ {fegl}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *fiʎ {figl}* (1), Vallader Romansh *föʎ-ə {föglia}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *föy-a {feuja}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *föy-a {feuja}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *föy-a {feuja}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *föy-a {feuja}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *fɔːy-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *fɔy-a {fòja}* (1), Plesio Lombard *föy-a {föia}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *foy-a {fója}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *fɔy-a {fòia}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *foy-a {fója}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *fɔy-a {fòja}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *föʒ-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *föʒ:-a {föggia}* (1), Stella Ligurian *föːy-a {feuia}* (1), Venice Venetian *fɔy-a {fòia}* (1), Primiero Venetian *fɔy-a {foia}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *fɔy-a {foia}* (1), Old Italian *fɔʎ:-a {foglia}* (1), Standard Italian *fɔʎ:-a {foglia}* (1), Grosseto Italian *fɔʎ:-a {foglia}* (1), Foligno Italian *fɔy-a {foja}* (1), Neapolitan *fɔʎ:-ə {foglia}* (1), Logudorese *foʒ-a {fodza}* (1), Campidanese *fɔl:-a {folla}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *fwɔɖ:-a {fuogghia}* (1) / *p'ampin-a {pampina}* (4), Messinese Sicilian *fɔɖ:-a {fogghia}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *fɔɖ:-a {fogghia}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *fɔɖ:-a {fogghia}*

(1) / p'am:in-a {pammina} (4), Central Catalan *fuʎ-ə {fulla}* (1), North-Western Catalan *fuʎ-ɛ {fulla}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *fu-ə {fulla}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *fuʎ-a {fulla}* (1), Valencia Catalan *fuʎ-a {fulla}* (1), Manises Catalan *fuʎ-a {fulla}* (1), Castilian Spanish 'ox-a {hoja} (1), Asturian *fwey-a {fueya}* (1), Standard Portuguese *foʎ-ɐ {folha}* (1), Galician *foʎ-a {folla}* (1), Provençal Occitan *fɥɛy-o {fueio}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *foʎ-e {fôlye}* (1), Old French *fwœʎ-ə {fueille}* (1), Standard French *fœy {feuille}* (1), Picard *fœl {feule}* (1), Walloon *fuy {fouye}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {Involvolum, quae in pampini folio intorta implicat se} "A caterpillar, which twisting about winds itself in the leaf of the vine" [Cist. 729]; {folia nunc cadunt praeut si triduom hoc hic erimus: tum arbores in te cadent} "The leaves are falling now; in comparison with this, if we shall be here for three days, the trees will be tumbling upon you" [Men. 375-376]; {quasi ventus folia aut paniculum tectorium} "just as the wind blows away leaves or the reed-thatched roof" [Mil. 18]; {viscum legioni dedi fundasque; eo praesternebant folia farferi} "I gave birdlime and slings to my troops; beneath it they laid leaves of coltsfoot" [Poen. 477-478]. The term *frɔn-s {frons}* 'foliage' is not attested in Plautus' texts.

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {anethi modicum cum lauri foliis immissum rori fontano datur lavacrum et poculum} "Sprinkle a pinch of aniseed on laurel leaves steeped in spring water; use as lotion and potion" [Met. 3: 23]; {Pone tergum deae saxum insurgit in speluncae modum muscis et herbis et foliis et virgultis} "Behind the goddess was a cave in the rock, with moss and grass, and leaves, and bushes" [Met. 2: 4].

> Distinct from *fro:n-s {frons}* used as a collective term: {tegumentis frondis vel arboribus latenter abscondimus} "so we fled and hid behind tree-trunks and bushes" [Met. 8: 5]; {Inter medias frondes lapidis Actaeon simulacrum} "Actaeon was represented too, amongst the marble foliage" [Met. 2: 4]; {Mons horridus silvestribusque frondibus umbrosus et in primis altus fuit} "The mountain was rugged, shaded by leafy forests, and very high" [Met. 4: 6]; {percussis frondibus attigui nemoris lanosum aurum reperies, quod passim stirpibus conexis obhaerescit} "just explore the trees in the wood nearby, and you'll find the golden wool clinging here and there to the bent branches" [Met. 6: 12]; {aut spelunca frondibus inumbrata} "no grotto shadowed with foliage, no oak bedecked with horns, no beech garlanded with the skins of beasts" [Florida: 1].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 131. Capidan also mentions a word *štef {ştef}* [Capidan 1935: 285], which occurs in Atlasul lingvistic Român, but not in the texts.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 213; Byhan 1899: 217. Weigand also mentions that the Croatism *lišt {list}* can be used in the meaning 'leaf' [Weigand 1899: 397]. Žejane: *p'än-a {pĕ̦na}* [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 248] with polysemy: 'leaf / feather / peel / fountain pen'.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 471-472; Cunia 2010: 462-463; Dalametra 1906: 94; Gołąb 1984: 216. Polysemy: 'leaf of a plant / leaf of paper / newspaper'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 552; Bolocan et al. 1985: 593; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {frondia} 'foliage' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: 'frunz-ə {frunză}' 'leaf' [Podiko 1973: 357; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 187].

Dalmatian: The example is: {la fu̯áľa…la sau̯ma…ju dikaja su̯o̯m…la su̯o̯m fero la fu̯aľ ke fero su̯i járbur} "The leaf. The sau̯ma … I pronounce su̯o̯m… the su̯o̯m is the leaf on the tree [Bartoli 2002: 239]. Attested in Cubich's vocabulary as {fuaia} 'leaf' [Bartoli 2002: 267].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 672, 176.

Gardenese Ladin: In the meaning 'leaf' Gartner mentions the term *fwey-a {fueᵢa}* [Gartner 1923: 33, 125], but in Forni's dictionary *fwey-a {fueia}* is glossed as 'fogliame, foglia' ('leafage, leaf') and Italian {foglia} 'leaf' is translated as *pl'eč-a {plecia}* [Forni 2015]. Gartner glosses the last word as 'großes Blatt' ('big leaf') [Gartner 1923: 69]. This is possibly a recent replacement, so we include the term *pl'eč-a {plecia}* in the list.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 117.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 302.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 126.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 126.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 156. Marchigiano: *ʃoy-a* {fojia} 'leaf' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Gasparini mentions the form *ʃɔʒ-a* {fògia} 'leaf' [Gasparini 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Come d'autunno si levan le foglie // l'una appresso de l'altra, fin che 'l ramo} "As in the autumn-time the leaves fall off, // first one and then another, till the branch" [Inf. 3]; {l'albero che vive de la cima // e frutta sempre e mai non perde foglia} "the tree that liveth by its summit, // and aye bears fruit, and never loses leaf" [Par. 18]. Distinct from *frˈɔnd-a* {fronda} 'frond, leafage': {poi cerchiaro una pianta dispogliata // di foglie e d'altra fronda in ciascun ramo} "then circled they about a tree despoiled // of blooms and other leafage on each bough" [Purg. 32]; {Non fronda verde, ma di color fosco} "Not foliage green, but of a dusky colour" [Inf. 13].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1898-1899.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 189. Domus de Maria: *fɔlː-a* {folla} 'leaf' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. There are two terms for 'leaf' in Palermo Sicilian: *fwɔ ɟ-a* {fuogghia} and *pˈampin-a* {pampina}. According to [Messina 2015; Ornato 2015], they are synonyms. Termini Imerese: *fɔɟː-a* {fogghia} 'leaf' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *pˈamːin-a* {pammina} 'leaf / wine leaf' [Coccimiglio 2016].Messina 2015; Ornato 2015.

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015. Salerno mentions the term *pˈampin-a* {pampina} 'leaf' [Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 151.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *fwey-a* {fueya} 'leaf' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 262-263.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 806, 456; Fernández Armesto 1981: 426; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 971, 505.
Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 587.
Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 967.
Old French: EDCT 2014: 529.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 373; Rayevskaya 2013: 461.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *fɔy* {foye} 'leaf'.

47. LIE

Archaic Latin *yak-ˈeː-rɛ {iacere}* (1), Late Classical Latin *yak-ˈeː-rɛ {iacere}* (1), Megleno Romanian *zak {zac}* (1), Istro Romanian *zač-ˈʋ {začắ}* (1), Aromanian *ʒˈak-ŭ {dzac}* (1), Romanian *a=st=ˈa=kulk-ˈat {a sta culcat}* ~ *a= fˈi=kulk-ˈat {a fi culcat}* (2), Friulian *yes=i=dis=tir-ˈaːt {jessi distirât}* (3), Gardenese Ladin *št=ˈɛ=pund-ˈu {sté pundù}* ~ *vešt=ˈə=r=pund-ˈu {vester pundù}* (4) / *ʒˈəž-ə-r {gëjer}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ˈes=e=r=but-ˈa-žˈu {ęsser butà jù}* ~ *št=ˈe=r=but-ˈa-žˈu {stèr butà jù}* (5), Rumantsch Grischun *ʒəž-ˈay-r {giaschair}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *že-r {scher}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *št'=a=r=tˈarə {star taro}* (6), Vallader Romansh *ʒəž-ˈay-r {giaschair}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *st=ˈe=kuž-ˈa {sté cogià}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *st=ˈe=kuž-ˈa {sté cogià}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *st=ˈe=kuž-ˈa {sté cogià}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *st=ˈɛ=kuž-ˈa {stè cogià}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *st=ɛ=kwat-ˈaː ~ ves=i=kwat-ˈaː* (2), Bergamo Lombard *böt-ˈa-s-sˈo {bötàs só}* (5), Plesio Lombard *büt-ˈa-sː- žˈu {bütass giù}* (5), Ferrarese Emiliano *kuč-ˈa-r-s {cuciàrs}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *zak-ˈɛː-r {śachèr}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ʒak-ˈɛː-r {zachêr}* ~ *ʒakw-ˈe-r {zaquer}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *sdrˈay-aː-se* (7), Genoese Ligurian *ˈeːse=a=kwˈeːg-oːw {êse acuêgôǒ}* (2), Stella Ligurian *ru=vers-ˈeː-se {ruversēse}* (8), Venice Venetian *st=ˈa=r=des=tir-ˈa {stàr destirà}* (3), Primiero Venetian *st=ˈa=r=but-ˈa-do {star butà do}* (5), Bellunese Venetian *st=ˈa=r=but-ˈa-do {star buta do}* (5), Old Italian *ʒač-ˈe-re {giacere}* (1), Standard Italian *ˈesː=e=re=zdray-ˈa-t-o {essere sdraiato}* (7), Grosseto Italian *ˈesː=e=re=zdray-ˈa-t-o {essere sdraiato}* (7), Foligno Italian *št'ɛnː-e-se {stennese}* (9), Neapolitan *st=ˈa=kuk-ˈat-ə {stà cuccato}* ~ *kukː-ˈa {cuccà}* (2), Logudorese *esː=ˈe=re=kolk-ˈad-u {essère colcadu}* ~ *ist-ˈa-re=kolk-ˈad-u {istare colcadu}* (2), Campidanese *abarː=ˈay=krokː-ˈaw {abarrai croccau}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *kuɽk-ˈa-ɾɨ-si {curcarisi}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *kukː-ˈa-ɾɨ-sɨ {cuccarisi}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *kuɽk-ˈa-ɾi-si {curcarisi}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *štinː-ˈi-ri-si {stinnirisi}* (9), Central Catalan *əst=ˈa=stiɾ-ˈa-t {estar estirat}* (3), North-Western Catalan *ast=ˈa=a=stiɾ-ˈa-t {estar estirat}* (3), Minorcan Catalan *ž'ɛw-ɾə {jeure}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *est=ˈa=ɾ=tomb-ˈa-t {estar tombat}* (10), Valencia Catalan *čit-ˈa-r-se {gitar-se}* (11), Manises Catalan *est=ˈa=ɾ=čit-ˈa-t {estar gitat}* (11), Castilian Spanish *est=ˈa=ɾ=tumb-ˈað-o {estar tumbado}* (10), Asturian *est=ˈa=ɾ=tumb-ˈa-o {estar*

tumbao} (10), Standard Portuguese *išt=ˈa=ɾ=dɐyt-ˈað-u {estar deitado}* (12), Galician *deyt-ˈa-r-se {deitarse}* (12), Old French *ʒez-ˈi-r {jesir}* (1), Standard French *ɛt=ʁ=kuš-e {être couché}* (2), Picard *ɛt=kuč-e {ète coutché}* (2), Walloon *ɛs=kuːč-eː {èsse coûtché}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {quisque ut steterat iacet optinetque ordinem} "each, as he stood, lay there and kept his rank in death" [Amph. 241]; {Spes atque opes vitae meae iacent sepultae in pectore} "The hopes and resources of my life lie buried in my breast" [Amph. 1053]; {quis hic est senex, qui ante aedis nostras sic iacet?} "Who's this old man that's lying thus before our house?" [Amph. 1072].

    Distinct from *kʊb-ˈaː-rɛ* {cubare} 'to lie (in bed, while sleeping) / to lie (being ill) / to have a sexual intercourse', cf. some examples: {Cubare in navi lippam atque oculis turgidis} "she was in bed, on board the ship, with sore and inflamed eyes" [Mil. 1108]; {Vbi sunt isti scortatores, qui soli inviti cubant?} "Where are those wenchers, who unwillingly lie a-bed alone?" [Amph. 287]; {Immo mecum cenavisti et mecum cubuisti} "On the contrary, you dined with me, and you slept with me" [Amph. 735]; {AMPH. Vbi tu cubuisti? ALC. In eodem lecto tecum una in cubiculo} «AMPH. Where did you lie? ALC. In the chamber, in the same bed together with yourself" [Amph. 808].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {atque ego de alto recidens Socraten - nam iuxta me iacebat - superruo cumque eo in terram devolvor} "and I crashed down on top of Socrates who was lying there beside me, and rolled with him on to the ground" [Met. 1: 16]; {Nec deus amator humi iacentem deserens} "As she lay there, her divine lover chose not to desert her" [Met. 5: 24]; { at ille vulnere lucernae dolens in ipso thalamo matris iacens ingemebat} "while he lay in his mother's chamber groaning with pain from his scorched shoulder " [Met. 5: 28]; {Qui praeter altitudinem miniam super quendam etiam vastissimum lapidem propter iacentem} "and he fell from no mean height, onto a huge rock near the house" [Met. 4: 12].

    Distinct from *kʊb-ˈaː-rɛ* {cubare} 'to lie asleep / to have a sexual intercourse': {Ianitor pone stabuli ostium humi cubitans etiam nunc semisomnus} "The porter was lying on the ground at the entrance to the inn, still half-asleep when I cried" [Met. 1: 15]; {tori qua parte cubare consuesti latenter absconde} "hide it in your palm then place it secretly under the pillow where you lie" [Met. 5: 20]; {et pudicissima illa uxore alterorsus disclusa solus ipse cum puero cubans gratissima corruptarum nuptiarum vindicta perfruebatur} "Locking his disgraced wife in another room, he had the boy, and enjoyed the perfect revenge for his ruined marriage" [Met. 9: 28].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 322. Distinct from *mi=kulk* {mi culc} 'to lie down' [Capidan 1935: 84]. Cf. {i̯o s-mi culc la ună mărzini, tu la lāntă} "I'll lie down on the one side, you will on the other" [Capidan 1928: 35].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 300; Byhan 1899: 388. Distinct from *kukˈʋ-se* {cucă se} 'to lie down, to go in bed' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 201; Byhan 1899: 256; Glavina 1905: 72].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 430; Cunia 2010: 424; Dalametra 1906: 86. In the Kruševo dialect there is a construction *ˈesku bəɡˈat-ŭ* {ésku bəgátʷ} 'to lie' [Gołąb 1984: 207]. Distinct from *kʹulk-u* {cúlcu} 'to lie down' [Papahagi 1963: 323; Cunia 2010: 347; Dalametra 1906: 71].

Romanian: DER 2004: 559; Bolocan et al. 1985: 585; Gancz 2015. Literally 'to stay laid' and 'to be laid'. The verb {a culca} 'to lie down' goes back to the Latin {collocare} 'to put in a particular place' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Distinct from *a=zəč-ˈea* {a zăcea} 'to lie very tired, sick or dead' [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *a=stʹa kulk-ˈat* {a sta culcat} 'to lie' [Podiko 1973: 351; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 184].

Dalmatian: Not attested.

Friulian: Decorte 2015. Literally = 'to be laid'. Distinct from *di=stir-ˈaː-si* {distirâsi} 'to lie down' [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 70, 159. Literally = 'to stay put', 'to be put'. Besides this term, Forni also mentions the word *ʒˈəž-ər* {gëjer}, glossed as 'giacere, covare' ('to lie, to become ill') [Forni 2015]; however, it is absent from Gartner's dictionary. Following Forni, we treat these words as synonyms.Forni 2015.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 128. Literally = 'to be laid down', 'to stay laid down'.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *štar=ʒu* {star giu} 'to lie down' and *štar=per=lyuŋ* {star per liung} 'to

lie down' [Cadruvi 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. Less frequent in Surmiran is the term *žer* {scher} [Schmid 2015].

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 323. Distinct from *əs=mət-'er=ʒɔ* {as metter giò} 'to lie down' [Conrad 2015].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 138. Distinct from *büt-'e-si=ʒ'ü* {butési giù} 'to lie down' [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 138. Distinct from *kuʒ-'e-se* {cogesse} 'to lie down' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *kuʒ-'e-se* {cogesse} 'to lie down'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *st-'ɛ=ʒ'ü* {ste giù} 'to lie down'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Not attested.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *zak-'ɛ:r-es* {śachèr-es} 'to lie down' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *körik-'a-se* 'to lie down'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *a=kweːg'aː-se* {acuêgâse} 'to lie down'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *ru=vers-'ɛ* {ruversè} 'to lie down'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015. Padua, Este: *st-'a-r=dis=t'ez-o* {star distexo} ~ *st-'a-r=dis=t'es-i* {star distesi} ~ *des=tir-'a-r-se* {destirarse} ~ *st-'a-r=des=tir-'a* {stàr destirà} 'to lie', *steŋd-'a-r-se* {stendarse} ~ *des=teŋd-'a-r-se* {destendarse} 'to lie down' [Tre 2015; Melon 2015]. Salgareda: *st-'a-r=des=tir-'ay* {star destirài} ~ *st-'a-r=but-'ay* {star butài} 'to lie', *des=tir-'a-r-se* {destirarse} 'to lie down' [Poletto 2015]. Vicenza: *st-'a-r=but-'a=zo* {star butà zo} ~ *but-'a-r-se* {butarse} 'to lie' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015]. Schio: *st-'a-r=poy-'a* {star poià} 'to lie', *st-'a-r=but-'a=do* {star butà do} 'to lie down' [Clementi 2015]. Arzignano: *st'eŋd-a-r-se* {stendarse} 'to lie / to lie down' [Serena 2015]. Marostica, Verona: *zdray-'a-r-se* {sdraiarse} 'to lie / to lie down' [Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *but-'a-r-se=do* {butarse do} 'to lie down' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Distinct from *but-'a-r-se* {butarse} 'to lie down' [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Elle giacean per terra tutte quante} "They all were lying prone upon the earth" [Inf. 6]; {chi è quel grande che non par che curi // lo 'ncendio e giace dispettoso e torto} "who is that mighty one who seems to heed not // the fire, and lieth lowering and disdainful" [Inf. 14]; {And I, who have been lying in this pain // five hundred years and more} "E io, che son giaciuto a questa doglia // cinquecent' anni e più" [Purg. 21]. Neither *'ɛs:-e-re=zdray-'a-t-o* {essere sdraiato} nor *'ɛs:-e-re=korik-'a-t-o* {essere coricato} are attested.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1908. Distinct from *'ɛs:-e-re=korik-'a-t-o* {essere coricato} 'to lie', which is old-fashioned and from *ʒač-'e-re* {giacere} 'to lie', which is less frequent [Vitali 2015]. Distinct from *zdray-'a-r-si* {sdraiarsi} 'to lie down', *st'ɛnd-e-r-si* {stendersi} to lie down', *korik-'a-r-si* {coricarsi} 'to lie down' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1908].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Besides this term, the word *ʒač-'e-re* {giacere} ~ *dyač-'e-re* {diacere} 'to lie' is used as well, but it is old-fashioned [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *zdray'a-s:e* {sdrajasse}, cf. {sdrajasse su lu divanu} "to lie down on the sofa" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Mancusi 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *sə=kuk:-'a* {se cuccà} 'to lie down' [Mancusi 2015] and from *st'ɛn:-ə-rə* {stennere} 'to lie down' [Russo 2015; Alois 2015]. Salerno: *kurk-'a* {curcà} 'to lie' [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie' / 'to lie down'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Domus de Maria: *krok:-'ay* {croccai} 'to lie'. Distinct from *si=kr'ok:-ay* {si croccai} 'to lie down' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Termini Imerese: *kurk-'a-ri* {curcari} 'to lie' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *st=ˈa=ɾi=kuɾk-'a-t-u* {stari curcatu}, cf. {N'òmu pò stari a dditta, assittatu o curcatu} "Man can stand, sit, or lie". Distinct from *kuɾk-'a-ri-si* {curcarisi} 'to lie down' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015 Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Giarre: *kuk:-'a-ɾi* {cuccari} 'to lie', *st'ɛn:-i-ɾi* {stenniri} 'to lie down' [Sorbello 2015]. Spadafora: *stɨn:-'i-ɾi-si* {stinnirisi} 'to lie / to lie down' [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *kuk:-ˈa-ɾi-si* {cuccarisi} (Agrigento: *kuk:-ˈa-ɾi* {kukkari}) 'to go to bed' [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Distinct from the obsolete and literary term *žˈɛw-ɾə* {jeure} 'to lie', restricted to animals in spoken language [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Montagut also mentions the term *žˈɛw-ɾe* {jeure} ~ *žˈaw-ɾə* {jaure} 'to lie' [Montagut 2015]. Balletbò mentions the construction derived from this verb: *ast-ˈa=ažag-ˈut* {estar ajagut} 'to lie' [Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *tomb-ˈa-ɾ-se* {tombar-se} 'to lie down' and from *žit-ˈa-ɾ-se* {gitar-se} 'to lie down' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *čit-ˈa-ɾ-se* {gitar-se} 'to lie down' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. There is also the term *ʒaθ-ˈe-ɾ* {yacer} 'to lie', but it is almost out of use. Distinct from *akost-ˈa-ɾ-se* {acostarse} 'to lie down'. Distinct from *est-ˈa-ɾ=akost-ˈað-o* {estar acostado} 'to lie in bed' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *tumb-ˈa-ɾ* {tumbar} 'to lie / to lie down' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 258. Distinct from *žaz-ˈe-ɾ* {jazer} 'to lie (suffering, wounded or dead) [Pimentel Ferreira 2016]. Distinct from *dɐyt-ˈa-ɾ-sə* {deitar-se} 'to lie down' [Voinova et al. 1989: 261].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

Provençal Occitan: Not attested.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Not attested.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 601-602. Polysemy: 'to lie, to be lying down / to be bedridden / to pass the night / to sleep with somebody, have sexual relations with somebody / to be (in a certain state (in the figural use))'. Distinct from *kouč-ˈye-r* {couchier} 'to put sb. to bed / to lay the body of a person or of an animal somewhere / to lie down, to go to bed to spend the night' [EDCT 2014: 258].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 381; Rayevskaya 2013: 459. Apart from this term, the expression *ɛt=ʁ=a=l ʒ̃-e* {être allongé} 'to lie' is used as well, but it is applied to people or animals that are lying stretched out [Collins-Robert 1989: 22]. Distinct from *sə=kuš-e* {se coucher} 'to lie down' and *s=al ʒ̃-e* {s'allonger} 'to lie down' [Robert-Collins 1989: 381-382; Rayevskaya 2013: 460].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *alɔ̃ž-e* {allonger} 'to lie down' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ɛs=kuːč-iː* {esse coûtchî} 'to lie'. Distinct from *süː=kuːč-e* {su coûtcher} 'to lie down' (Rifondou: *siː=kuːč-iː* {si coûtchî}) 'to lie down'.

48. LIVER

Archaic Latin *yˈɛk-ʋr {iecur}* (1), Late Classical Latin *yˈɔk-ʋr {iocur}* (1), Megleno Romanian *drop {drob}* (-1), Istro Romanian *fikˈʋc {ficåţ}* (2), Aromanian *ʃikˈat-ŭ {hicát} ~ ixkˈat-ŭ {ihcát}* (2), Romanian *fikˈat {ficat}* (2), Dalmatian *figˈwot {figuo͡t}* (2), Friulian *fiˈaːt {fiât}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *fuy=ˈa= fošk {fuià fosch}* (2), Fassano Ladin *fyˈa=nˈeygɛr {fià nẹigher}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *ɲirˈom {gnirom}* (4) / *dir {dir}* (5), Sursilvan Romansh *dir {dir}* (5), Surmiran Romansh *nirˈom {nirom}* (4) / *dɛkr {deir}* (5), Vallader Romansh *ɲərˈom {gnarom} ~ ɲirˈom {gnirom}* (4), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *fˈidik {fidich}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *fˈidik {fidich}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *fˈidik {fidich}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *fˈedik {fedich}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *fiːdik* (2), Bergamo Lombard *fˈidek {fidech}* (2), Plesio Lombard *fˈidɛk {fidegh}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *feːgat {fēgat}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *fɛgat {fêgat}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *fedeg {fedeg}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *fedeg {fédegh}*

(2), Rapallo Ligurian *fig'ɛːt-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *ʄegat-u {fégatŏ}* (2), Stella Ligurian *ʄegat-u {fégatu}* (2), Venice Venetian *fig'a {figà}* (2), Primiero Venetian *ʄɛgat-o {fègato}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *ʄegat-o {fegato}* (2), Old Italian *ʄegat-o {fegato}* (2), Standard Italian *ʄegat-o {fegato}* (2), Grosseto Italian *ʄegat-o {fegato}* (2), Foligno Italian *ʄekat-u {fecatu}* ~ *feðig-u {fedigu}* (2), Neapolitan *ʄɛɣat-ə* ~ *feɣat-ə {fegato}* ~ *fekat-ə {fecato}* (2), Logudorese *fikad-u {fìcadu}* (2), Campidanese *fig'aw {figau}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *fikat-u {ficatu}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *fikat-u {ficatu}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *fikat-u {ficatu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *fikit-u {fichitu}* (2), Central Catalan *feʒ-ə {fetge}* (2), North-Western Catalan *feʒ-e {fetge}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *feʒ-ə {fetge}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *feʒ-e {fetge}* (2), Valencia Catalan *feč-e {fetge}* (2), Manises Catalan *feč-e {fetge}* (2), Castilian Spanish *'iɣaðo {hígado}* (2), Asturian *ʄegad-o {fégado}* (2), Standard Portuguese *fiɣeð-u {fígado}* (2), Galician *fiɣað-o {fígado}* (2), Provençal Occitan *feʒ-e {fege}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ʄɛð-o {fêzho}* (2), Old French *foy-ə {foie}* (2), Standard French *fwa {foie}* (2), Picard *fwɛ {fouè}* (2), Walloon *fwa {fwa}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The example is {Lien enecat, renes dolent, pulmones distrahuntur, cruciatur iecur, radices cordis pereunt, hirae omnes dolent} "My spleen is killing me, my reins are in torment, my lungs are being torn asunder, my liver is being tortured, my heart-strings are giving way, all my intestines are in pain" [Curc. 236-238].

Late Classical Latin: The examples are: {An hariolis licet iocinera rimari} "Are augurs to be allowed to explore the livers of victims" [Apologia 41: 3]; {lienem vero iocineri non frustra esse finitimum} "It is not a mere coincidence that a spleen is located near a liver" [De dogmate Platonis 1: 15]. It is worth mentioning that Caelius Aurelianus (V century) defines {iecur} using {ficatum}: {ex jecore, hoc est ficato, sanguis proicitur} [Lewis & Short 1958: 744].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 117. Borrowed from Macedonian {crn drob} 'liver' or Bulgarian {čeren drob} 'liver'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 212; Byhan 1899: 215. Sârbu and Frăţilă also mention the Croatism *yetr-a* {ietra} 'liver' [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 218].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 554-555; Cunia 2010: 541; Dalametra 1906: 109. Because of the Slavic influence in Turia and Kruševo, this word is used in combination with the adjective *l'ay-ŭ* 'black' [Bara et al. 2005: 338; Gołąb 1984: 220].

Romanian: DER 2004: 568; Bolocan et al. 1985: 990; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *fik'at* {ficat} 'liver' [Podiko 1973: 596; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 293].

Dalmatian: The example is: {ju blaɪ̯ friguͦr uṅ pauk de figuͦt} "I want to fry a bit of liver" [Bartoli 2002: 243].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 671, 158.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 33, 158. Marebbano: *fyˈa=ʄošk* {fʲa fošk} 'liver'; Badiotto: *fyˈa=ʄošk* {fʲa fošk} 'liver'; Livinallese: *figˈa=nˈegɛr* {figá négɛr} 'liver'; Nones: *figˈa=nˈegɛr* {figá négɛr} 'liver' [Gartner 1923: 149]. Literally = 'black *fuià*'. *fuyˈa=blˈaŋk* {fuià blanch} 'white *fuià*' means 'lung' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 33, 159]. Marebbano: *fyˈa=blˈaŋk* {fʲa blaŋk} 'lung'; Badiotto: *fyˈa=blˈaŋk* {fʲa blaŋk} 'lung'; Livinallese: *figˈa=blˈaŋk* {figá blaŋk} 'lung'; Nones: *figˈa=blˈaŋk* {figá blaŋk} 'lung' [Gartner 1923: 159].

    Probably should be regarded a semantic borrowing from Turkish {karaciğer} 'liver' and {akciğer} 'lung' via Serbo-Croatian ({crna džigerica} 'liver' and {bela dhigerica} 'lung' (as food)) and Slovene ({črna jetra} 'liver' and {bela jetra} 'thymus / sweetbread', recorded by Oroslav Caf in the XIX century [Pleteršnik 2014]. Bulgarian {čeren drob} 'liver' and {byal drob} 'lung') are semantic borrowings from Turkish as well. Cf. also Lezgian and Khinalug terms for 'liver'.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 112; Gartner 1923: 149. Literally = 'black *fià*'; fyˈa=byaŋk {fià bianch} means 'lung' [DILF 2001: 451].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. There are two terms for 'liver' in Rumantsch Grischun: *dir* {dir} and *ɲirˈom* {gnirom}. According

to Schmid, they are synonyms.Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. There are two terms for 'liver' in Surmiran: *nir'om* {nirom} and *dɛkr* {deir}. According to Schmid, they are synonyms.Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 331-332.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 119.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 119.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 150. Marchigiano: *feget* {féghet} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Clementi 2015. Salgareda, Vicenza, Arzignano, Marostica. *fɛgat-o* {fègato} 'liver' [Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. In Venice and Padua both forms are used [Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Not attested in Dante's and Petrarch's works, but Boccaccio provides a good example: {un fegato con tutto il polmone d'un vecchissimo cervio} "a liver with all the lung of a very old deer" [Filocolo 4, 31].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1917.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *feɣət-ə* {fegh'to} 'liver' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 186. Domus de Maria: *fig'aw* {figau} 'liver' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *figat-u* {figatu} 'liver' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *fikut-u* {ficutu} 'liver' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora: *figut-u* {figutu} 'liver' [Stornanti 2015]. Giarre: *fikut-u* {ficutu} 'liver' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015. Salerno also mentions the form *figut-u* {figutu} 'liver' [Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *fikat-u* {ficatu} 'liver' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 150.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *fegad-u* {fégadu} 'liver' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 425.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016; Franco Grande 1968: 806, 452; Fernández Armesto 1981: 424; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 970, 499.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 604.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 992.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 509.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 310; Rayevskaya 2013: 527.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *fwɛt* {foete} 'liver'.

49. LONG

Archaic Latin *ɬ'ɔŋg-ʊs {longus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ɬ'ɔŋg-ʊs {longus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *lunk {lung}* (1), Istro Romanian *luŋ {luŋg}* (1), Aromanian *l'ung-u {lúngu}* (1), Romanian *luŋg {lung}* (1), Dalmatian *luŋg {lúng}* (1), Friulian *luŋk {lunc}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *loŋk {lonch}* (1), Fassano Ladin *loŋk {lonch}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *luŋ {lung}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *lyuŋ {liung}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *luŋ {lung}* (1), Vallader Romansh *luŋ {lung}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *luŋg {longh}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *luŋg {longh}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *luŋg {longh}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *luŋg {lungh}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *lo:ŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *loŋk {lónch}* (1), Plesio Lombard *loŋk {longh}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *loŋg {long}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *luŋg {lung}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *luŋg {lung}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *lɔŋg {lòngh}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *l'uŋg-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *l'uŋg-u {lŏngŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *l'uŋg-u {lungu}* (1), Venice Venetian *ɛ̯'oŋg-o {ɬóngo}* (1), Primiero Venetian *lɔŋk {lònch}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *lɔŋk {lonc}* (1), Old Italian *l'uŋg-o {lungo}* (1), Standard Italian *l'uŋg-o {lungo}* (1), Grosseto Italian *l'uŋg-o {lungo}* (1), Foligno Italian *l'oŋg-u {longu}* (1), Neapolitan *l'woŋg-ə {luongo}* (1), Logudorese *l'oŋg-u {longu}* (1), Campidanese *l'oŋg-u {longu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *l'wɔŋg-u {luongu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *l'ɔŋg-u {longu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *l'ɔŋg-u {longu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *l'wɔŋk-u {luoncu}* (1), Central Catalan *ʎark {llarg}* (2), North-Western Catalan *ʎark {llarg}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *ʎark {llarg}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ʎark {llarg}* (2), Valencia Catalan *ʎark {llarg}* (2), Manises Catalan *ʎark {llarg}* (2), Castilian Spanish *l'arg-o {largo}* (2), Asturian *ʎarg-o {llargo}* (2), Standard Portuguese *kõm=pr'ið-u {comprido}* (3), Galician *l'oŋg-o {longo}* (1), Provençal Occitan *loŋk {long}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *lɔ̃ {lon}* (1), Old French *lõŋk {lonc}* (1), Standard French *lɔ̃ {long}* (1), Picard *lɔ̃ {long}* (1), Walloon *lɔ̃ {long}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {TR. Quin ego ipse et Philolaches in publico omnis porticus sumus commensi. TH. Quid igitur? TR. Longe omnium longissima est} "TR. Why, I myself and Philolaches have taken the measure sure of all the porches in the public buildings. TH. Well, what then? TR. This is far larger than all of them" [Most. 910-911]; {Ita sunt Persarum mores, longa nomina, contortiplicata habemus} "Such is the way with the Persians; we have long names of many words twisted together" [Persa 707-708]; {quis hic homo est cum tunicis longis quasi puer cauponius?} "Who's this fellow with the long skirts, just like a tavern-boy?" [Poen.

1298].

Late Classical Latin: An example is: {Dextra laevaque cautibus cavatis proserpunt ecce longa colla porrecti saevi dracones inconivae vigiliae luminibus addictis et in perpetuam lucem pupulis excubantibus} "On either side fierce serpents slithered from holes in the cliffs, extending their heads, eyes given to unblinking vigil, their pupils on watch at every moment" [Met. 6: 14].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 175.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 227; Byhan 1899: 269.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 643; Cunia 2010: 603-604; Dalametra 1906: 125; Gołąb 1984: 232.

Romanian: DER 2004: 572; Bolocan et al. 1985: 309; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *luŋg* {lung} 'long' [Podiko 1973: 176; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 94].

Dalmatian: The contexts are: {la fero lúo͡ṅga…ko blái̯te...čiṅk píns} "it is long...if you want...five feet" [Bartoli 2002: 240]; {i kapu̯át ke-i nu̯éstri vetruni zapatáu̯r portúa, el fero lúṅg fenta le skírp} "The coat that our old diggers wore was long to the shoes" [Bartoli 2002: 233].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 239-240.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 48, 157.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 172.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 430.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 188.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 188.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 237. Marchigiano: *luŋg* {lùng} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Padua, Este, Salgareda, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostico, Verona: *lˈɔŋg-o* {longo} 'long' [Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Treviso: *u̯ˈoŋg-o* {łóngo} 'long' [Busato 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {le minuzie d'i corpi, lunghe e corte} "the particles of bodies long and short" [Par. 14]; {Noi discendemmo in su l'ultima riva // del lungo scoglio} "We had descended on the furthest bank // from the long crag" [Inf. 29].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1921-1922.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 256. Domus de Maria: *lˈong-u* {longu} 'long' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *lˈɔŋg-u* {longu} 'long' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *lˈwɔŋk-u* {luoncu} 'long' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *l'ɔŋk-u* {loncu} 'long' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 173.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ʎarg-u* {llargu} 'long' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 135. According to [Pimentel Ferreira 2016], the term *kõm=pr'ið-u* {comprido} is usually used in spoken language, while *l'õŋg-u* {longo} occurs mostly in the literary one.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 813, 522; Fernández Armesto 1981: 474; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 980, 593.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 826-827.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1287-1288.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 652-653. Polysemy: 'long (in space) / tall (about a person) / long (in time)'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 392-393; Rayevskaya 2013: 396.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *lɔ* {long} 'long'.

50. LOUSE

Archaic Latin *p'e:d-ɪs {pedis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *p'e:d-ɪs {pedis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *pid'ukʎ-u {pidúcľu}* (1), Istro Romanian *ped'ukʎ-u {pedúcľu}* (1), Aromanian *pid'ukʎ-u {pidúcľĭu}* (1), Romanian *pəd'uk-e {păduche}* (1), Dalmatian *ped'okl-o {pedóclo}* (1), Friulian *ped'ɔl-i {pedoli}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *podl {podl}* (1), Fassano Ladin *p'oy-e {pọie}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *pluʎ {plugl}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *pluʎ {plugl}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *pluʎ {plugl}* (1), Vallader Romansh *plwoʎ {pluogl}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *puy {poj}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *puy {poj}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *puy {poj}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *puy {poj}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *pyöč* (1), Bergamo Lombard *pyöč {piöc}* (1), Plesio Lombard *pyöč: {piögg}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *bdɔč {bdòcc}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *vdɔč {vdòc}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *pyo:č {piōč}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *pyo:č {piōç}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *pig'öʒ:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *pig'öʒ:-u {pigöggiŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *p'yöʒ:-u {pieuggiu}* (1), Venice Venetian *pe'oč-o {peòcio} ~ pe'oč-o {peócio}* (1), Primiero Venetian *ped'ɔč-o {pedòcio}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *ped'ɔč-o {pedocio}* (1), Old Italian *pid'ɔk:y-o {pidocchio}* (1), Standard Italian *pid'ɔk:y-o {pidocchio}* (1), Grosseto Italian *pid'ɔk:y-o {pidocchio}* (1), Foligno Italian *piđ'ok:y-u {pitocchiu}* (1), Neapolitan *pər'uk:y-ə {peducchio}* (1), Logudorese *pre'uk:-u {preùccu}* (1), Campidanese *pri'oɣ-u {priogu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *pir'wɔk:y-u {piruocchiu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *pir'ɔk:y-u {pirocchiu} ~ pid'ɔk:y-u {pidocchiu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *pir'ɔk:y-u {pirocchiu} ~ pid'ɔk:y-u {pidocchiu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *pr'uč:-u {prucciu}* (1),

Central Catalan *poʎ {poll}* (1), North-Western Catalan *poʎ {poll}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *poy {poll}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *poʎ {poll}* (1), Valencia Catalan *poʎ {poll}* (1), Manises Catalan *poʎ {poll}* (1), Castilian Spanish *pˈyox-o {piojo}* (1), Asturian *pˈyoy-o {pioyo}* (1), Standard Portuguese *piˈoʎ-u {piolho}* (1), Galician *piˈoʎ-o {piollo}* (1), Provençal Occitan *pezˈu {pesou}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pyü {pyu} ~ pyü: {pyû}* (1), Old French *peˈoʎ-ə {pëoille}* (1), Standard French *pu {pou}* (1), Picard *pu {pou}* (1), Walloon *pö: {peû}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {item genus est lenonium inter homines meo quidem animo ut muscae, culices, cimices pedesque pulicesque} "The race of Procurers, among mortals, in my way of thinking at least, are just like flies, gnats, bugs, lice, and fleas" [Curc. 499-500]; {Vbi quamque pedem viderat, subfurabatur omnis} "Every louse he saw, he'd emboodle 'em all" [Vid. 220].

Late Classical Latin: Not attested in Apuleius' or in Gellius' text, but there is no doubt that it was {pedis}, attested already in Plautus' texts and survived in all contemporary Romance languages.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 221.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 248; Byhan 1899: 304.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 842; Cunia 2010: 819-820; Dalametra 1906: 38; Gołąb 1984: 242.

Romanian: DER 2004: 577; Bolocan et al. 1985: 174; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *pədˈuk-e {pǎduche}* 'louse' [Podiko 1973: 93; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 52].

Dalmatian: Attested by Cubich [Bartoli 2002: 284].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 690, 291.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 70, 157. Marebbano: *pyedl {pⁱedl}* 'louse'; Badiotto: *pyedl {pⁱedl}* 'louse'; Livinallese: *pˈyegl-e {pⁱegle}* 'louse'; Nones: *poy {poⁱ}* 'louse' [Gartner 1923: 157].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 221; Gartner 1923: 157.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 551.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 247.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 247.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 43.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *l'enden-a {léndena}* 'nit'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Este: *peˈɔky-o {peochio}* 'louse' [Melon 2015]. Salgareda: *pedˈɔč-o {pedòcio}* 'louse' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Not attested in Dante's, Petrarch's or Boccaccio's works, but occurs already in the XIII century with some other authors

[TaLJdO 2016].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1926.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 331. Domus de Maria: *pri'oɣ-u* {priogu} 'louse' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *pir'ɔkːy-u* {pirocchiu} 'louse' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *pr'wɔkːy-u* {pruocchiu} 'louse' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *pir'ukːy-u* {pirucchiu} 'louse' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *pir'wɔčː-u* {piruocciu} 'louse' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 222.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *p'ɣoɣ-u* {pioyu} 'louse' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 89.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 830, 613; Fernández Armesto 1981: 584; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1005, 713.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1090.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1698.

Old French: Not attested in Chrétien's texts, but there is an adjective *pe'oʎ-os* {pëoillos} 'infested with lice' [EDCT 2014: 830]; moreover, the Latin term {pediculus} is preserved in all Romance languages, including Modern French.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 397; Rayevskaya 2013: 367.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *pü:* {pû} ~ *pyu* {piou} 'louse'.

51. MAN

Archaic Latin *wɪr {vir}* (1), Late Classical Latin *vɪr {vir}* (1) / *'ɔm-oː {homo}* (2), Megleno Romanian *bərb-'at {bărbát}* (3), Istro Romanian *m'uški {múṣki}* (-1), Aromanian *bərb-'at-ŭ {bărbát}* (3), Romanian *bərb-'at {bărbat}* (3), Dalmatian *om {om} ~ yom {jom}* (2), Friulian *ɔm {om}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *əl {ël}* (4), Fassano Ladin *om {om}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *um {um}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *um {um}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *om {om}* (2), Vallader Romansh *om {om}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *'ɔm {òm}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *'ɔm {òm}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *'ɔm {òm}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *ɔm {om}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *'oːm-aŋ* (2), Bergamo Lombard *öm {öm}* (2), Plesio Lombard *om: {omm}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *om {óm}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *'ɔm-an {òman}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *'ɔm {òm}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *om {óm}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *'ɔmː-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *'ɔmː-u {òmmŏ}* (2), Stella Ligurian *'ɔmː-u {òmmu}* (2), Venice

Venetian ˈɔm-o {òmo} (2), Primiero Venetian ɔm {òm} (2), Bellunese Venetian ɔm {om} (2), Old Italian ˈwɔm-o {uomo} (2) / mˈasky-o {maschio} (5), Standard Italian ˈwɔm-o {uomo} (2), Grosseto Italian ˈɔm-o {omo} (2), Foligno Italian ˈɔm-e {ome} (2), Neapolitan ˈɔmː-ə {ommo} (2), Logudorese ˈomː-in-e {òmmine} (2), Campidanese ˈomː-in-i {ommini} (2), Palermitan Sicilian mˈaškul-u {masculu} (5), Messinese Sicilian mˈaskul-u {masculu} (5), Catanian Sicilian ˈɔm-u {omu} (2), South-Eastern Sicilian ˈwɔmː-in-u {uomminu} (2), Central Catalan ˈɔmə {home} (2), North-Western Catalan ˈɔme {home} (2), Minorcan Catalan ˈɔmu {home} (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan ˈɔme {home} (2), Valencia Catalan ˈɔme {home} (2), Manises Catalan ˈɔme {home} (2), Castilian Spanish ˈombɾ-e {hombre} (2), Asturian ˈom-e {home} (2), Standard Portuguese ˈɔmẽỹ {homem} (2), Galician ˈɔm-e {home} (2), Provençal Occitan ˈɔme {ome} (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal ˈõm-o {omo} (2), Old French ˈõm-ə {ome} (2), Standard French ɔm {homme} (2), Picard ɔ̃m {onme} (2), Walloon ɔm {ome} (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Some examples are: {perpetuom annum hunc mihi uti serviat nec quemquam interea alium admittat prorsus quam me ad se virum} "throughout all this year she is to be at my service, and that, in the meantime, she is to admit no other man whatever to her, besides myself" [Asin. 235-236]; {qui omnis se amare credit, quaeque aspexerit mulier: eum oderunt qua viri qua mulieres} "who thinks that, whatever woman sees him, all are in love with him; whom all, both men and women, detest" [Mil. 1391-1392]; {hau placet, neque id viri officium arbitror} "It pleases me not, nor do I think that the duty of a man" [Stichus 297]; {Ecastor lege dura vivont mulieres multoque iniquiore miserae quam viri. nam si vir scortum duxit clam uxorem suam, id si rescivit uxor, impunest viro; uxor virum si clam domo egressa est foras, viro fit causa, exigitur matrimonio. utinam lex esset eadem quae uxori est viro; nam uxor contenta est, quae bona est, uno viro: qui minus vir una uxore contentus siet? ecastor faxim, si itidem plectantur viri, si quis clam uxorem duxerit scortum suam, ut illae exiguntur quae in se culpam commerent, plures viri sint vidui quam nunc mulieres} "I' faith, the women do live upon hard terms, and, wretched creatures, on much more unjust ones than the men. For if a husband has been keeping a mistress without the knowledge of his wife, if the wife comes to know it, the husband gets off with impunity; if, unknown to the husband, the wife goes from the house out of doors, a pretext arises for the husband, the marriage is dissolved. I wish the law was the same for the husband as for the wife; for the wife that is a good one, is content with one husband; why, any the less, should the husband be content with one wife? By my troth, I'd give cause, if men were punished in the same way (if any one should be keeping a mistress unknown to his wife), as those women are repudiated who are guilty of a slip, that there should be more divorced men than there are women now" [Merc. 817-829]; {Meus vir hic quidem est} "Surely, this is my husband" [Amph. 660].

Distinct from maːs {mas} 'male', which can be applied to human beings as well: {nam tu quidem ad equas fuisti scitus admissarius, qui consectare qua maris qua feminas} "You have your hands quite full enough with the women" (literary: which chase both men and women) [Mil. 1111-1113]; {patefeci fores, eaque eduxi omnem legionem, et maris et feminas} "I opened the door; and by that road I led out all the troop, both men and women" [Most. 1046-1047]; {non hercle hisce homines me marem, sed feminam vicini rentur esse servi militis} "Faith, but these men here, these servants of my neighbour the Captain, take me not to be a man, but a woman, so much do they trifle with me" [Mil. 486-487]; {tune hic amator audes esse, hallex viri, aut contrectare quod mares homines amant?} "What, do you dare to be *acting* the lover here, you great toe of a man, or to be meddling with an object which masculine men are fond of?" [Poen. 1309-1310]; SCEP. Sed utrum tu masne an femina es, qui illum patrem voces? PL. Vir sum equidem} "SCEP. But whether are you male or female, who are calling him father? PL. Why really, I'm a man" [Rud. 105-106]. As the last context shows, in certain contexts {mas} and {vir} could be synonyms, but {mas} is definitely less frequent, so we include only {vir} in the list.

Along with {mas}, Plautus also once uses its derivate mˈas-kʊɫ-ʊs {masculus}: {Bona femina et malus masculus volunt te} "A

good female and a bad male want you" [Cist. 705].

Late Classical Latin: Polysemy: 'man / husband': {Tunc influunt turbae sacris divinis initiatae, viri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis} "A mighty throng of men and women of every age and rank, initiates of the sacred mysteries" [Met. 11: 10]; {Proclamares saltem suppetiatum, si resistere vir tantus mulieri nequibas} "You could at least have shouted for help, if a great man like you couldn't handle the women by yourself" [Met. 1: 14]; {"Magnum" inquit "istum virum ac strenuum negotiatorem nacta sum"} "What a brilliant husband I've got, a masterly negotiator!" [Met. 9: 6].

However the term *ɔm-oː* {homo} is used in the meaning 'man (male)' as well: {suaeque dominae custodelam omnem permittit, carcerem et perpetua vincula, mortem denique illam lentam de fame comminatur, si quisquam hominum vel in transitu digito tenus eam contigisset} "he charged him with guarding the lady, threatening incarceration, everlasting chains, violent and shameful death, if any man so much as brushed her in passing with his fingertips" [Met. 9: 17]; {Sed postquam non cervam pro virgine sed asinum pro homine succidaneum videre, nare detorta magistrum suum varie cavillantur} "But on seeing me, no doe replacing a sacrificial virgin, but an ass instead of a boy, they turned up their noses" [Met. 8: 26]; {Et impulsa mensa protenus remotaque cavea producit hominem crebros anhelitus aegre reflantem} "Pushing the table aside, he raised the cage and dragged out the youth who was struggling for breath" [Met. 9: 25]. It seems that in Apuleius' times {homo} had already become the synonym of {vir} in this meaning, so we include both words in the list.

Distinct from *mar-'iːt-ʊs* {maritus} 'husband': {nec enim Charite maritum suum quaerere patiebatur bestias armatas dente vel cornu} "Charite being unable to endure the thought of her husband seeking creatures armed with tusks or horns" [Met. 8: 4]; {Quo dolore commota statim fletu cum clamore sublato maritum suum pastorem illum suppetiatum ciet} "When she felt the sudden pain she screamed and wept, shouting out to her husband, my overseer" [Met. 8: 17].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 33-34. Goes back to the Latin {barbatus} 'bearded'. Distinct from {máscur} 'hero, strong man' [Capidan 1935:184].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 231; Byhan 1899: 285. Borrowed from Croatian {muški} 'male, masculine' (adjective). Cf. the informal nominalized adjective {mužský} 'man' in Czech. Another Croatism, *muškarac* {mușcaraț} 'man' is mentioned by Sârbu and Frățilă [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 231]. Byhan also mentions the word *bərb'ʊt* {bọrbọ́t} 'man' [Byhan 1899: 198], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 198; Cunia 2010: 189-190; Dalametra 1906: 39; Bara et al. 2005: 346, 355; Gołąb 1984: 207. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. In the Turia dialect the term *mis'okup-ŭ* {mis'okupᵘ} 'man' is also used [Bara et al. 2005: 346].

Romanian: DER 2004: 588; Bolocan et al. 1985: 660; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *soc* {soț} 'husband' [DER 2004: 473; Bolocan et al. 1985: 659]. Moldavian: *bərb'at* {bărbat} 'man' [Podiko 1973: 401; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 203].

Dalmatian: Polysemy: 'man / person'. Some examples are: {káu̯k fero tu͡onta ži̯ant; joi̯na kál fero tu͡onti jóṅ, ne la jultra kál fero tu͡onte muľér} "here are a lot of people, one part of us is a lot of men, the other is a lot of women" [Bartoli 2002: 251]; {toče le moľér stentúa: le arúa, le zapúa la tára toča ku̯anta e i ómiṅ tenúa la píp iṅ bu̯ák e kosái̯k i stùa da gu̯ardúrle} "all the women work: they plow, they dig all the ground and the men keep the pipes in their mouth and so they stand watching" [Bartoli 2002: 249]. Distinct from *mar'ayt* {marái̯ț} 'husband'. The example is {el mi marái̯ț} "my husband" [Bartoli 2002: 246].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 707, 274. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 12, 160. Goes back to the Latin {ille} 'that / he'. Distinct from *wem* {uem} 'husband' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 106, 160].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 342. Polysemy: 'man / husband' [DILF 2001: 506].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *mər'iw* {mariu} 'husband and *kəns'ɔrt* {consort} 'spouse' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 347.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 387. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 387. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'. Distinct from *mar'i* {marì} 'husband' and *spus* {spos} 'spouse' [Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 198].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Distinct from *mar'i* {marì} 'husband'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'. Distinct from *masč* 'male'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 282.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *mar'i* {marì} 'husband' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *mar'i* {marì} 'husband' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *mar'iː* {marì} 'husband' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *m'ay-u* 'husband'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *m'ay-u* {maiǒ} 'husband'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *maː'i* {maaì} 'husband'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *ɔŋ* {òn} 'man / person / husband' [Poletto 2015]. Distinct from *mar'i-o* {marìo} 'husband' [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Busato 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Dante uses two terms for 'man': *'wɔm-o* {uomo} (variant: *'ɔm-o* {omo}) and *m'asky-o* {maschio}. The first one is more frequent in his prosaic texts: {ingegnati, se puoi, d'esser palese // solo con donne o con omo cortese} "do what you can to show your meaning only to ladies, or to men who may be worthy" [VN 19]; {*Bieltate appare*, dico come questa potenzia si riduce in atto; e prima come si riduce in uomo, poi come si riduce in donna} "And then the beauty, I explain how this potentiality is realized in action: first, how it is realized in a man, then how it is realized in a lady" [VN 20]; {E con ciò sia cosa che, secondo l'usanza de la sopradetta cittade, donne con donne e uomini con uomini s'adunino a cotale tristizia} "And since it was the custom of this city for ladies to gather with ladies and men with men on such occasions" [VN 22]; {Cristo, figliuolo del sovrano Dio e figliuolo di Maria Vergine (femmina veramente e figlia di Giovacchino e d'Adamo); uomo vero, lo quale fu morto da noi, per che ci recò vita} "Christ, son of the sovereign God and son of the Virgin Mary, the true woman and daughter of Joachim and of Adam, the true man who was slain by us, by which he brought us to life" [Conv. 2]; {Dico che "qual donna gentile non crede quello ch'io dico, che vada con lei, e miri li suoi atti" - non dico quale uomo, però che più onestamente per le donne [di donna] si prende esperienza che per l'uomo} "I say that "if some gentle lady disbelieves what I say let her walk with her and mark her gestures" - I do not say "any man," because experience can be acquired more decorously from the example of women than from that of men" [Conv. 3]; {per questi addornamenti vedere cominciaro li uomini ad innamorare di questa donna} "by the sight of these beauties men began to fall in love with this lady" [Conv. 2]. In the Divine Comedy Dante prefers the term *m'asky-o* {maschio}: {poi che l'ardite femmine spietate // tutti li maschi loro a morte dienno} "after the daring women pitiless // had unto death devoted all their males" [Inf. 18]; {quando Grecia fu di maschi vòta} "at the time when Greece was void of males} [Inf. 20]; {Vedi Tiresia, che mutò sembiante // quando di maschio femmina divenne} "Behold Tiresias, who his semblance changed, // when from a male a female he became" [Inf. 20]; {poi che le prime etadi fuor compiute, // convenne ai maschi a l'innocenti penne // per circuncidere acquistar virtute} "after the earlier ages were completed, // behoved it that the males by circumcision // unto their innocent wings should virtue add" [Par. 32]; {and many other noble people, not only men but women} "e molt'altra nobile gente, non solamente maschi ma femme" [Conv. 1]. The attested material does not allow us to differentiate between these terms. In a single occasion, he uses the form *v'ir-o* {viro}, possibly for rhyming purposes: {ciò avvenia di duol sanza martìri, // ch'avean le turbe, ch'eran molte e grandi, // d'infanti e di femmine e di viri} "and this arose from sorrow without torment, // which the crowds had, that many were and great, // of infants and of women and of men" [Inf. 4].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1939. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *m'asky-o* {maschio} 'male' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 674-675], *mar-'it-o* {marito} 'husband', *sp'ɔz-o* {sposo} 'husband, spouse' and *k'ɔn=yuʒ-e* {coniuge} 'spouse' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1816].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *mar-'it-o* {marito} 'husband' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *mar'it-u* {maritu} 'husband' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *mar'it-ə* {marito} 'husband' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *maɾˈid-u* {maridu} 'husband'.

Campidanese: Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 294. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *pobˈid:-u* {pobiddu} 'husband' [Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 322]. Domus de Maria: *ˈom:in-i* {ommini} 'man / person'. Distinct from *madˈir-u* {madiru} 'husband' [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 265].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *ˈɔm:-u* {ommu} 'man' [La Bua 2015]. Distinct from *maɾˈit-u* {maritu} 'husband' [Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *ˈɔm-u* {omu} 'man', cf. {I fimmini figghiunu, l'uomini no} "Women bear children, men do not" [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *maɾˈit-u* {maritu} 'husband' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the term *mˈaskul-u* {masculu} 'man' [La Mattina 2015]. Distinct from *maɾˈit-u* {maritu} 'husband' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigente: *maškˈul-u* {masculu} 'man' [Miccichè 2015]. Distinct from *maɾˈit-u* {maritu} 'husband' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 151. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'. For an officially married man the word *maɾˈit* {marit} 'husband' is also used [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 186].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband' (more formal word for 'husband' is *maɾˈit* {marit} [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015]).

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *maɾˈit* {marit} 'husband' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *maɾˈit* {marit} 'husband' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'. Distinct from *maɾˈit* {marit} 'husband' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *maɾˈið-o* {marido} 'husband' and from *baɾˈon* {varón} 'male' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ˈom-e* {home} 'man / person / husband', *maɾ-ˈi-u* {maríu} 'husband', *espˈos-u* {esposu} 'husband' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 293. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *meɾˈið-u* {marido} 'husband' and *išpˈoz-u* {esposo} 'husband' [Voinova et al. 1989: 292].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 807, 490; Fernández Armesto 1981: 427; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 971, 552-553. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *maɾˈið-o* {marido} 'husband' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 502; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 987].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 699. Distinct from *maɾˈit* {marit} 'husband' [Coupier 1995: 859].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1145-1146. Polysemy: 'man / husband / person'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 768-769. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *espˈos* {espos} 'husband' [EDCT 2014: 449] and *maɾˈi* {mari} 'husband' [EDCT 2014: 679].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 405-406; Rayevskaya 2013: 476. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Distinct from *maʁi* {mari} 'husband' and *epu* {époux} 'spouse' [Robert-Collins 1989: 321; Rayevskaya 2013: 476].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *baʁɔ̃* {baron} 'husband' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Rifondou: *ɔm* {ome} 'man / husband'.

52. MANY

Archaic Latin *mˈʊɫt-ʊs {multus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *mˈʊɫt-ʊs {multus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *mult {mult}* (1), Istro Romanian *čˈuda {čúda}* (-1) / *maɣ=mˈunt {maị múnt}* (1), Aromanian *mˈult-u {múltu}* (1), Romanian *mult {mult}* (1), Dalmatian *mwalt {mu̯alt}* (1), Friulian *tanʦ {tancj}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *trwep {truep}* (3), Fassano Ladin *trop {trop}* (3) / *n=mˈuye {n mụie}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *bler {bler}* (4), Sursilvan Romansh *bya {bia}* (4), Surmiran Romansh *bler {bler}* (4), Vallader Romansh *bler {bler}* (4), Lanzo Torinese

Piemontese *t'aŋt {tant}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *əŋ=m'üč {ën mucc}* (1) / *t'aŋt-i {tanti}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *t'aŋt-i {tanti}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *t'aŋt {tant}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *aŋ=m'üč* (1) / *t'aŋč-i* (2), Bergamo Lombard *t'anč-e {tance}* (2), Plesio Lombard *t'aːnt-i {tanti}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *un=m'ownt {un mônt}* (5), Ferrarese Emiliano *par'ɛč {parècc}* (6), Carpigiano Emiliano *tant {tant}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *taːnt {tânt}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *m'uǯː-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *iŋ=m'uǯː-u {in mŏggiŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *di=b'äl-i {di bǽli}* (7), Venice Venetian *t'aŋt-i {tanti}* (2), Primiero Venetian *t'aŋt-i {tanti}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *t'aŋt-i {tanti}* (2), Old Italian *m'olt-o {molto}* (2), Standard Italian *m'olt-o {molto}* (1) / *t'ant-o {tanto}* (2), Grosseto Italian *t'ant-o {tanto}* (2), Foligno Italian *t'ant-u {tantu}* (2), Neapolitan *asː'ay-ə {assaje}* (8) / *par'ikːy-ə {paricchie}* (6), Logudorese *m'ed-as {medas}* (9), Campidanese *m'eða {meda}* ~ *m'era {mera}* (9), Palermitan Sicilian *asː'a-i {assai}* (8), Messinese Sicilian *asː'a-i {assai}* (8), Catanian Sicilian *asː'a-i {assai}* (8), South-Eastern Sicilian *asː'a-i {assai}* (8), Central Catalan *moɫ {molt}* (1), North-Western Catalan *moɫ {molt}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *moɫt {molt}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *moɫt {molt}* (1), Valencia Catalan *moɫt {molt}* (1), Manises Catalan *moɫt {molt}* (1), Castilian Spanish *m'uč-o {mucho}* (1), Asturian *m'unč-o {muncho}* (1), Standard Portuguese *m'ũỹt-u {muito}* (1), Galician *m'oyt-o {moito}* (1), Provençal Occitan *f'ɔrs-o {forço}* (10) / *brav-am'eŋ {bravamen}* (11), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *byɛ {byê}* (12), Old French *mẽỹnt {maint}* (-1), Standard French *boku {beaucoup}* (13), Picard *gʁã-mẽ {granmint}* (14), Walloon *bʁaː-mẽ {brâmint}* (11).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Edepol, ne tu, aula, multos inimicos habes} "By my faith, you pot, you surely have many enemies" [Aul. 580]; {Cum illa quam tuos gnatus annos multos deamat, deperit, ubi fidemque remque seque teque properat perdere} "With her whom your son has been loving and doting on for years, with whom he's making all haste to ruin credit, property, himself, and yourself" [Epid. 220-221]; {Pauci ex multis sunt amici, homini qui certi sient} "Out of many, there are but few friends that are to be depended upon by a person" [Pseud. 390].

> Comparative form: *pɫuːs* {plus}: {quid ego nunc agam? ne ego edepol veni huc auspicio malo. nummo sum conductus: plus iam medico mercedest opus} "I was hired for a didrachm; I stand in more need now of a surgeon than of wages" [Aul. 447-448]. Superlative form: *pɫ'uːr-um-ʋs* {plurumus}: {apud aediles pro eius factis plurumisque pessumisque dixi causam, condiciones tetuli tortas, confragosas} "Before the Aedile, in behalf of his doings, very many and very disgraceful, did I plead his cause" [Men. 590-591].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {multarum civitatium obitu et variorum populorum cognito summas adeptum virtutes cecinit} "rightly chose to sing of Odysseus whose powers were refined by seeing many cities and knowing the minds of many men" [Met. 9: 13]; {Multis et variis exanclatis laboribus magnisque Fortunae tempestatibus et maximis actus procellis ad portum Quietis et aram Misericordiae tandem, Luci, venisti} "Lucius, after suffering many labours, buffeted by Fortune's mighty tempests, by the fierce winds of fate, you reach at last the harbour of Peace, the altar of Mercy" [Met. 11: 15].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 197-198.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 372; Glavina 1905: 71. Borrowed from Croatian Chakavian {čuda} 'much, a lot, many'. In the comparative form *may=mʹunt* {maĭ múnt} the old term is preserved [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 231; Byhan 1899: 284; Glavina 1905: 74]. There are also Croatisms *nʹoɣo* {nóɣo} 'many' and *vet̨* {vet″} / *vʹiše* {víşe} 'more', which are sometimes used as well [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 298].Comparative form.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 711; Cunia 2010: 679-680; Dalametra 1906: 138; Gołąb 1984: 236. The term *mʹal-ə* {málă} ~ *maʎ-ŭ* {maľ} 'wealth / richness' of Turkish origin can be occasionally used in the meaning 'many / much' as well. [Papahagi 1963: 652; Cunia 2010: 610; Dalametra 1906: 127]. In the Kruševo dialect the Turkish borrowing *bʹad̨i* {bág'i} is also used [Gołąb 1984: 207].

Romanian: DER 2004: 590; Bolocan et al. 1985: 644; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *mult* {mult} 'many' [Podiko 1973: 391; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 199].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 255. Some examples are: {barme mu̯alt véɳ} "we drink a lot of wine" [Bartoli 2002: 242]; {mu̯alt debiţi̯áɳ} "many debts" [Bartoli 2002: 248].

Friulian: Virili 2015. Plural form. Used with both countable and uncountable nouns. Distinct from *uŋ=grʹum* {un grum} 'many' (literally 'a heap, a pile') and *uŋ=mʹɔnt* {un mont} (literally 'a mountain'), used only with uncountable nouns [Virili 2015; Decorte 2015, Pirona 1871: 684, 456, 260].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 95, 192. Distinct from *šʹaldi* {scialdi} 'very' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 83, 192]. Cf. some examples: {l fova truepa jënt} "there were a lot of people"; {truepa mutans} "many girls"; {la ie scialdi bela} "she is very beautiful"; {l fova scialdi frëit} "it was very cold". Distinct from the term *grum* {grum} 'heap', which can be used in the meaning 'many', but it has an expressive shade [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 36].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 188. There are two equivalents for 'many' in Fassano: *trop* {trop} and *n=mʹuye* {n mu̯ie} and they seem to be synonymous, cf. {ne é vedù tropes} 'I haven't seen a lot' and {ne é vedù n muie} 'I haven't seen a lot' [DILF 2001: 188].DILF 2001: 188.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *mʹas-ə* {massa} 'mass' and *rʹoš-ə* {roscha} 'heap' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 105.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 205. It is the only term for 'many' in the Lanzo dialect.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. There are two expressions for 'many': *əŋ=mʹüč* {ën mucc} and *tʹaŋt-i* {tanti}. According to [Fiandro 2015], they are synonyms (although the second one is an Italianism, as he asserts).Fiandro 2015.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Plural form. Distinct from *üŋ=mʹüč* {un mucc}, which is less common and used figuratively [Sanero 2015].

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *əŋ=müč* {ën mucc} 'many, a lot of', which is very informal.

Vercellese Piemontese: There are two expressions for 'many': *tʹaŋč-i* (adjective, pl.) and *aŋ=mʹüč* (adverb). According to [Noris 2015], they are synonyms, cf. *yɛ tʹaŋči prʹɛyi par tʹera* "There is a lot of stones on the ground" and *aŋ mʹüč ad prʹɛyi par tʹera* "There is a lot of stones on the ground"; *yo tʹaŋči amʹis* "I have a lot of friends" and *aŋ mʹüč d amʹis* "I have a lot of friends". Distinct from *aŋ=muŋtʹoːŋ* 'a heap'.Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Plural form.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Plural form.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 266. Literally 'a mountain'.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *na=mʹuča=d* {na mùcia 'd} 'many' (colloquial) and from *di=mʹɔnd-i* {dimòndi} 'many', used for designation of the multitudes, which include various and different objects.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Masculine form. Feminine is *de=bʹäl-e* {de bǽle}. Cf. {Mi de amixi ghe n'ho di bǽli} ~ {Mi ghe n'ho di bǽli amixi} "I have many friends" and {Preie pe taera u ghe n'è de bǽle} "There is a lot of stones on the ground" [Piccone 2015].

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Plural form. In colloquial speech the expression *un=sʹak-o=de* {un saco de} (literally 'a bag

of') is also used [Tosi 2015]. Tre, Busato and Poletto also mention the term *un=m'uč-o=de* {un mucio de} 'many' as a synonym [Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015]. Among *t'aɲt-i* {tanti} Melon mentions the term *m'olt-i* {molti} 'many', which should be an Italianism [Melon 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Plural form.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Plural form.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {fu imperadrice di molte favelle} "the empress was of many languages" [Inf. 5]; {D'anime nude vidi molte gregge} "Of naked souls beheld I many herds" [Inf. 14]. Distinct from *t'ant-o* {tanto} 'so many / very', which has an intensified meaning: {e perché tanti secoli giaciuto // qui se'} "and why so many centuries thou hast here // been lying" [Purg. 21]; {e noi venimmo al grande arbore adesso, // che tanti prieghi e lagrime rifiuta} "and now we came unto the mighty tree // which prayers and tears so manifold refuses" [Purg. 24].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1942. Polysemy: 'many / very'. There are two expressions for 'many': *m'olt-o* {molto} and *t'ant-o* {tanto}. According to [Vitali 2015], they are synonyms.Passerini Tosi 1989: 1942.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. The form *m'olt-o* {molto} 'many' is used as well, but it is less frequent [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Apart from this term, the equivalent *n=ʒ'ak:-u* {'n zaccu} 'a lot of' (literary 'a bag of') can also be used [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Cerrone 2015. There are two words for 'many' in Neapolitan: *as:'ay-ə* {assaje} and *par'ik:y-ə* {paricchie}. According to [Russo 2015], they are synonymous. Distinct from *t'ant-ə* {tanto} 'many', which is less frequent, from *nu=s'ak:-ə =ə* {nu sacco 'e} 'many' (litterally: 'a bag of'), *nu=k'wofan-ə =ə* {nu cuofano 'e} 'many' (litterally: 'a chest of'), *nu=t'um:ul-ə =ə* {nu tummulo 'e} 'many' and *nu=munt'on-ə =ə* {nu muntone 'e} 'many', which are more colloquial and emphatic [Russo 2015].Russo 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Plural form.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 269. Domus de Maria: *m'eða* {meda} 'many' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. There is also a term *un=s'ak:-u* {un saccu} 'many' (literally 'a bag') [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *as:'a-i* {assai} 'many' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. There is also a term *un=s'ak:-u* {un saccu} 'many' (literally 'a bag').

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *m'aɲ-u* {magnu} 'for a long time' [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 197.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Cf. the following example: {Tengo munchos collacios} "I have many friends". Langreo: *m'unč-u* {munchu} 'many' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 286.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 822, 559; Fernández Armesto 1981: 526-527; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 991, 637.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 140-141. There are two expressions for 'many': *f'ɔrs-o* {forço} and *brav-am'eŋ* {bravamen}. Coupier mentions them as synonyms. Two other expressions for 'many' listed by Coupier are *ab'ɔrt* {abord} and *tutpl'eŋ* {tout-plen} [Coupier 1995: 140-141].Coupier 1995: 140-141.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 278-279. Saxel: *br'a:v-o* {brâvo}, *gɛʎa:* {guèlyâ} 'many'; Samoëns: *brav-amā* {bravaman} 'many'; Billième, Attignat-Oncin, Bourget-en-Huile: *bra:v-am'ɛ* {brâvamê} 'many'; Beaufort, Boëge: *gaʎa:* {galyâ} 'many'; Saint-Jean-de-Belleville: *gɛʎa:r* {galyâr} 'many'; Peisey-Nancroix: *gɛʎa:rt* {galyârt} 'many'; Chamonix: *gɛʎa:* {guèlyâ}, *w'ero* {wêro} 'many'; Montagny vers Bozel: *gɛy'a:r* {guèyâr} ~ *güʎa:r* {gulyâr} 'many'; Chambéry, Moûtiers: *g'ero* {guéro} 'many'; Manigod: *g'ero* {guéro} ~ *w'ero* {wêro} 'many'; Saint-Jean-Aulps, Taninges: *w'ɛro* {wêro} 'many'.

Old French: Most probably of Germanic origin. Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but very frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {.I. cercle d'or ovré a flors // de maintes diverses colors // les puceles el chief li metent} "The maids, moreover, wove a fillet of flowers of many various colours and placed it upon her head" (Erec 1639-1641); {antor li avoit mainte dame} "round about her was many a fair lady" (Erec 2405); {Se li ciax chiet et terre font, //

dons sera prise mainte aloe} "if the sky fails and the earth melts, then many a lark will be caught" (Erec 4408-4409); {li rois Evrains, cui niés je sui, // m'adoba veant mainz prodomes} "King Evrain, whose nephew I am, dubbed me a knight in the presence of many honourable men" (Erec 6020-6021). The inherited term *mowt* {mout} is usually used in the meaning 'very', but occasionally occurs as 'many', cf. {Lucans i fu li botelliers; // mout i ot de boens chevaliers} "Lucan the cupbearer was there, too, and many another doughty knight" (Erec 1509-1510).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 407-408; Rayevskaya 2013: 473.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. The example is: {j'ai granmint d' amis} "I have many friends" [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. There are two terms for 'many': *b ʀ:mɛ̃* {brâmint} and *be:kõ:* {bêcônp}. Their distribution is such that the first one can be used in positive and negative sentences, whereas the second one may only be used in negative contexts, cf. the examples: {gn aveut brâmint des djins} "there were many people" and {i gn aveut nin bêcôp des djins} "there were not many people". We include only the first term in the list. Rifondou: *b ʀ:mɛ̃* {bremint} 'many', *bɛ:k ̣:* {beacôp} '(not) many'.

53. MEAT

Archaic Latin *kˈar-o:* {caro} (1), Late Classical Latin *kˈar-o:* {caro} (1), Megleno Romanian *kˈarn-i* {cárni} (1), Istro Romanian *kˈʋrn-e* {cårne} (1), Aromanian *kˈarn-e* {cárne} (1), Romanian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Dalmatian *kˈworn-o* {ku͡ọrno} (1), Friulian *ʦar* {cjar} (1), Gardenese Ladin *ɕərn* {cërn} (1), Fassano Ladin *ɕɛrn* {cèrn} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɕarn* {charn} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *karn* {carn} (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʦɛrn* {tgern} (1), Vallader Romansh *ɕarn* {charn} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *karn* {carn} (1), Barbania Piemontese *karn* {carn} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *karn* {carn} (1), Turinese Piemontese *karŋ* {carn} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *kˈarn-e* (1), Bergamo Lombard *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Plesio Lombard *kˈarn-a* {carna} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *kˈeə̯rn-a* {chêrna} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kˈaran* {càran} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *kˈɛrn-a* {cherna} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *kˈɛ:rn-a* {chêrna} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *kˈarn-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Stella Ligurian *kˈa:rn-e* {càrne} (1), Venice Venetian *kˈarn-e* {càrne} (1), Primiero Venetian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Bellunese Venetian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Old Italian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Standard Italian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Grosseto Italian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Foligno Italian *čˈič:-a* {ciccia} (2), Neapolitan *kˈarn-ə* {carne} (1), Logudorese *pˈec:-a* {petza} (3), Campidanese *pˈɛc:-a* {pezza} (3), Palermitan Sicilian *kˈarn-i* {carni} (1), Messinese Sicilian *kˈan:-i* {canni} (1), Catanian Sicilian *kˈarn-i* {carni} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *kˈarn-i* {carni} (1), Central Catalan *karn* {carn} (1), North-Western Catalan *karn* {carn} (1), Minorcan Catalan *karn* {carn} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *karn* {carn} (1), Valencia Catalan *karn* {carn} (1), Manises Catalan *karn* {carn} (1), Castilian Spanish *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Asturian *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Standard Portuguese *kˈarn-ə* {carne} (1), Galician *kˈarn-e* {carne} (1), Provençal Occitan *vˈyand-e* {viande} (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *vˈyãd-a* {vyanda} (-1), Old French *čar* {char} (1), Standard French *vɥãd* {viande} (4), Picard *vyãn* {vianne} (4), Walloon *čo:ʀ* {tchaur} (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *kʼarn- ʙ* {carnis}. The example is: {adveniens deturbavit totum cum carne carnarium: arripuit gladium, praetruncavit tribus tegoribus glandia} "On his arrival, the whole larder, with the meat, he turned upside down. He seized a knife, and first cut off the kernels of the neck from three sides" [Capt. 914-915].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {obtruncato protinus eo intestina quidem canibus nostris iacta, ceteram vero carnem omnem operariorum cenae reserva} "throw his guts to the dogs but keep the rest of the meat for our meal" [Met. 7: 22]; {id offerebant mihi, carnes lasere infectas} "they offered me meat seasoned with giant fennel" [Met. 10: 16].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 61. Capidan also mentions a word *ʼbib-ə* {bíbă} of Albanian origin, referring to an informant from Oṣani village [Capidan 1935: 38], but it does not occur in the texts.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 196; Byhan 1899: 251. Sârbu and Frăţilă also mention a Croatism *mʼes-o* {meso} 'meat' [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 228].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 248; Cunia 2010: 236; Dalametra 1906: 49; Bara et al. 2005: 385; Gołąb 1984: 224.

Romanian: DER 2004: 598; Bolocan et al. 1985: 665; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *kʼarn-e* {carne} 'meat' [Podiko 1973: 404; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 205].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju manai̯ko vuai ku͡o̯rno per prínz, pi̯as...} "Today I am having meat for lunch, fish…" [Bartoli 2002: 242]; {joi̯n bàr de luṡmaríń ke se mi̯at dránte ne la ku͡o̯rno ráu̯sta} "A tuft of rosemary which is put on the roasted meat" [Bartoli 2002: 239].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 660, 111.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 104, 137.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 56.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 146-147.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 46.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 46.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 91.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Zanetti also mentions the term *čʼič-a* {cicia} 'meat' as a synonym in the Veronese dialect [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {ciascun rivederà la trista tomba, // ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura} "each one shall find again his dismal tomb, // shall reassume his flesh and his own figure" [Inf. 7]; {l'altr' era come se le carni e l'ossa} "the second was as if her flesh and bones" [Purg. 29].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1952.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. In Standard Italian it is used as a word for 'meat' in children's speech. Originates from "baby talk" [Zarko et al. 2002: 170; Prati 1951: 277].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Goes back to Vulgar Latin {petia} 'piece', which is borrowed from Gaulish {*pettia} 'piece' < Proto-Celtic {*kʷezdi-} 'piece, portion', which is probably of substrate origin [Matasović 2009: 179], but we do not regard this word as a borrowing, since the meaning shift {'piece (of meat)' > 'meat'} took place already in Logudorese.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 315. See notes on 'meat' for the Logudorese list. Domus de Maria: *pʲɛcːa* {pezza} 'meat' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *kʲaɾn-i* {carni} 'meat' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 50.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *kʲaɾn-e* {carne} 'meat' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 295.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 776; Fernández Armesto 1981: 165; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 937, 245.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1476. Borrowed from French {viande} 'meat'. Distinct from *kaɾ* {car} 'meat', which is less frequent [Coupier 1995: 1476].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2226-2227.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 179-180. Polysemy: 'human flesh / meat'. Distinct from *viãnd-ə* {vïande} 'food' [EDCT 2014: 1146].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 414; Rayevskaya 2013: 478.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *šaʁ* {char} 'flesh', borrowed from Standard French [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *čɔː* {tchå} 'meat'.

54. MOON

Archaic Latin *ɫˈuːn-a {luna}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ɫˈuːn-a {luna}* (1), Megleno Romanian *lˈun-ə {lúnă}* (1), Istro Romanian *lˈur-ä {lúrę}* (1), Aromanian *lˈun-ə {lúnă}* (1), Romanian *lˈun-ə {lună}* (1), Dalmatian *lˈoyn-a {loi̯na}* (1), Friulian *lˈun-e {lune}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *lˈun-a {luna}* (1), Fassano Ladin *lˈun-a {luna}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ʎˈin-ə {glina}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ʎˈin-ə {glina}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʎˈiɲ-ə {gligna}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ʎˈün-ə {glüna}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *lˈüŋ-a {lun-a}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *lˈüŋ-a {lun-a}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *lˈüŋ-a {lun-a}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *lˈüŋ-a {lun-a}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *lˈüŋ-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *lˈün-a {lüna}* (1), Plesio Lombard *lˈün-a {lüna}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *lˈown-a {lôna}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *lˈun-a {luna}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *lˈun-a {lùna}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *lˈuːn-a {lûna}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *lˈüŋː-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *lˈüŋː-a {lün-na}*

(1), Stella Ligurian *l'ü:ŋ:-a {lû-nna}* (1), Venice Venetian *l'un-a {luna}* ~ *ʮ'un-a {łuna}* (1), Primiero Venetian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Old Italian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Standard Italian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Grosseto Italian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Foligno Italian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Neapolitan *l'un-ə {luna}* (1), Logudorese *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Campidanese *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Central Catalan *ʎun-ə {lluna}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ʎun-ɛ {lluna}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ʎun-ə {lluna}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ʎun-a {lluna}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ʎun-a {lluna}* (1), Manises Catalan *ʎun-a {lluna}* (1), Castilian Spanish *l'un-a {luna}* (1), Asturian *ʎun-a {lluna}* (1), Standard Portuguese *l'u-ɐ {lua}* (1), Galician *l'u-a {lúa}* (1), Provençal Occitan *l'ün-o {luno}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *lna {lnà}* (1), Old French *lũn-ə {lune}* (1), Standard French *lün {lune}* (1), Picard *lœn {leune}* (1), Walloon *lün {lune}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {nam neque se Septentriones quoquam in caelo commovent, neque se Luna quoquam mutat atque uti exorta est semel} "for neither does the Wain move itself in any direction in the sky, nor does the Moon bestir herself anywhere from where she first arose" [Amph. 273-274]; {Si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceres, se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies} "That if you were to say that this sun was the sun, he would believe it was the moon, and that that is the night which is now the day" [Bac. 699-700]; {non ego item facio ut alios in comoediis <vi> vidi amoris facere, qui aut nocti aut die aut soli aut lunae miserias narrant suas} " I am not doing like as I have seen other lovers do in Comedies, who relate their woes either to the night or to the day, or to the Sun or to the Moon" [Merc. 3-5].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum conligari, ventos inanimes exspirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri} "Now that story was about as true as if you'd said magic spells can make rivers flow backwards, chain the sea, paralyze the wind, halt the sun, squeeze dew from the moon, disperse the stars, banish day, and lengthen night!" [Met. 1: 3]; {video praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus} "saw the moon's orb at the full, shining with dazzling brilliance, emerging from the sea" [Met. 11: 1].

> Distinct from *m'e:ns-ɐ {mensis}* 'month': {Sed ecce siderum ordinatis ambagibus per numeros dierum ac mensuum remeans annus post mustulentas autumni delicias ad hibernas Capricorni pruinas deflexerat} "But when the stars, moving in their appointed courses, had passed through days and months and the year declined from the delights of the autumn vintage to wintry frosts under Capricorn" [Met. 9: 32].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 175. Distinct from *mes {mes}* «month»: {după noŭ meş} "after the new moons"; {pristi un mes di văcŏt} "in a month" [Capidan 1935: 188]; {şi tsela fitšoru di una săptămŏnă ca si feasi, ra ca di un an, di un mes ca si feasi, ra ca di zatsi ań. şi tsela fitšoru ca si feasi di un doĭ meş <...>} "And when the boy was one week old, he looked if he were one year old, when he was a month year old, he looked as if he were 10 years old. And when the child was two-months old <...>" [Capidan 1928: 130]; {dupu uneac timp muľarea chinisi greaŭă şi dupu un mes feasi un fitšor} "not long after this woman became pregnant and a month later she gave birth to a son" [Capidan 1928: 74].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 225; Byhan 1899: 269. Distinct from *m'isec {míseţ}* 'month' of Croatian origin [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 228].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 642; Cunia 2010: 603; Dalametra 1906: 125; Gołąb 1984: 232. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Distinct from *m'es-ŭ {mes}* 'month / menstruation' [Papahagi 1963: 678; Cunia 2010: 645; Dalametra 1906: 129; Gołąb 1984: 235].

Romanian: DER 2004: 619; Bolocan et al. 1985: 603; Gancz 2015. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Moldavian: *l'un-ə* {lună} 'moon' [Podiko 1973: 363-364; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 189].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 236. Some examples are: {toč i ku̯árt de la lójna} "all the quarters of the moon" (Udina) [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {Jáj̯me la loina pláina} "We have the full moon"; {For la loina nua} "It becomes a new moon" (Cubich, Trieste) [Bartoli 2002: 276]. Distinct from *mis* {mis} 'month' {joj̯n ją́j̯n e joj̯n mís} "a year and a month" [Bartoli 2002: 226].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 239. Distinct from *meːs* {mês} 'month' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 254].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 49, 162. Distinct from *məŋs* {mëns} 'month' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 50, 162].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 171. Distinct from *meys* {mȩis} 'month' [DILF 2001: 183].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *mɛys* {meins} 'month' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 330. Distinct from *mays* {mais} 'month' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 436].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 188. Distinct from *mɛys* {mèis} 'month' [Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 200].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 188. Distinct from *mɛys* {mèis} 'month' [Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 200].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *mɛyz* {mèis} 'month'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *mɛys* {meis} 'month'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Disinct from *meːs* 'month'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 236-237. Distinct from *m'eːz-e* {mēşe} 'month' [Ercolani 1960: 262]. Marchigiano: *l'un-a* {lùna} 'moon' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *meːz* {mēś} 'month' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *mɛys* {mèis} 'month' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *m'eyz-e* 'month'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *m'eyz-e* {meise} 'month'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *m'eyz-e* {méise}.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Distinct from *m'ez-e* {mése} 'month' [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Distinct from *m'ez-e* {mese} 'month' [Caneve 2015].

Old Italian: Some examples are: {e già iernotte fu la luna tonda} "and yesternight the moon was round already" [Inf. 21]; {pria lo scemo de la luna} "sooner had the moon's decreasing disk" [Purg. 10].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1976. Distinct from *m'es-e* {mese} 'month' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1975].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *m'es-e* {mese} 'month' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *m'es-e* {mese} 'month' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *m'es-ə* {mese} 'month' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *m'es-e* {mese} 'month' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 257. Distinct from *m'ez-i* {mesi} 'month' [Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 272]. Domus de Maria: *l'un-a* {luna} 'moon'. Distinct from *m'ez-i* {mesi} 'month' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *l'un-a* {luna} 'moon', *m'is-i* {misi} 'month' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *m'is-i* {misi} 'month' [Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Distinct from *m'is-i* {misi} 'month' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *m'is-i* {misi} 'month' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 179. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ʎun-a* {lluna} 'moon', *mes* {mes} 'month' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 267. Distinct from *meʃ* {mês} 'month' [Voinova et al. 1989: 280].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 815, 525; Fernández Armesto 1981: 487; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 983, 595. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 513; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 989, 628].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 833-834. Distinct from *mes* {mes} 'month' [Coupier 1995: 900].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1303-1304. Distinct from *may* {mai} 'month' [Viret 2013: 1410].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 658. Distinct from *moys* {mois} 'month' [EDCT 2014: 721-722].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 431; Rayevskaya 2013: 463. Distinct from *mwa* {mois} 'month' [Robert-Collins 1989: 431; Rayevskaya 2013: 470].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *mwe* {moés} 'month' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *lün* {lune} 'moon'. Distinct from *mwɛ* {mwès} 'month' (Rifondou: *mwɛ* {moes} 'month').

55. MOUNTAIN

Archaic Latin *moːn-s* {mons} (1), Late Classical Latin *moːn-s* {mons} (1), Megleno Romanian *m'unt-i* {munti} (1), Istro Romanian *k'odr-u* {códru} (2), Aromanian *m'unt-e* {múnte} (1), Romanian *m'unt-e* {munte} (1), Dalmatian *mwant* {mu̯ánt} (1), Friulian *mɔnt* {mont} (1), Gardenese Ladin *krəp* {crëp} (-1), Fassano Ladin *kr'ep-a* {crepa} (-1), Rumantsch Grischun *munt-'oɲ-ə* {muntogna} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *kwɔlm* {cuolm} (4), Surmiran Romansh *munt-'oɲ-ə* {muntogna} (1), Vallader Romansh *munt-'oɲ-ə* {muntogna} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *muŋt-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Barbania Piemontese *muŋt* {mont} ~ *muŋt-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *muŋt-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Turinese Piemontese *muŋt-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *muŋt-'aːɲ-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *mont-'aɲ-a* {montàgna} (1), Plesio Lombard *munt-'aɲ-a* {muntagna} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *mownt* {mônt} ~ *munt-'ãɲ-a* {muntâgna} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *munt-'aɲ-a* {muntàgna} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *munt-'aɲ-a* {muntàgna} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *munt-'aːɲ-a* {muntâgna} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *munt-'aɲ-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *br'ikː-u* {briccŏ} (5), Stella Ligurian *br'ikː-u* {brìccu} (5), Venice Venetian *moɲt-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Primiero Venetian *moɲt-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Bellunese Venetian *moɲt-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Old Italian *m'ont-e* {monte} ~ *mont-'aɲ-a* {montagna} (1), Standard Italian *mont-'aɲː-a* {montagna} ~ *m'ont-e* {monte} (1), Grosseto Italian *mont-'aɲː-a* {montagna} ~ *m'ont-e* {monte} (1), Foligno Italian *m'ont-e* {monte} (1), Neapolitan *munt-'aɲː-ə* {muntagna} (1), Logudorese *m'ont-e* {monte} (1), Campidanese *m'ɔnt-i* {monti} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *munt-'aɲː-a* {muntagna} (1), Messinese Sicilian *m'unt-i* {munti} ~ *munt-'aɲː-a* {muntagna} (1), Catanian Sicilian *munt-'aɲː-a* {muntagna} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *munt-'aɲː-a* {muntagna} (1),

Central Catalan *munt-ˈaɲ-ə {muntanya}* (1), North-Western Catalan *munt-ˈaɲ-ɛ ~ mont-ˈaɲ-ɛ {muntanya}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *munt-ˈaɲ-ə {muntanya}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *munt-ˈaɲ-a {muntanya}* (1), Valencia Catalan *munt-ˈaɲ-a {muntanya}* (1), Manises Catalan *munt-ˈaɲ-a {muntanya}* (1), Castilian Spanish *mont-ˈaɲ-a {montaña}* (1), Asturian *mont-ˈaɲ-a {montaña}* (1), Standard Portuguese *mõnt-ˈɐɲɐ {montanha} ~ m'õnt-ə {monte}* (1), Galician *mont-ˈaɲ-a {montaña}* (1), Provençal Occitan *munt-ˈaɲ-o {mountagno}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *mɔt-ˈaɲ-e {montanye}* (1), Old French *mõnt-ˈẽɲ-ə {montaigne}* (1), Standard French *mɔ̃t-aɲ {montagne}* (1), Picard *mɔ̃t-ɛɲ {montaingne}* (1), Walloon *mɔ̃t-aɲ {montagne}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *m'ɔnt-ʙ {montis}*. Some examples are: {neque mihi ulla obsistet amnis nec mons neque adeo mare, nec calor nec frigus metuo neque ventum neque grandinem} "and neither shall any river stand in my way, nor mountain, nor the sea, indeed, nor heat, nor cold" [Merc. 859-860]; {tum argenti montes, non massas habet, Aetna mons non aeque altos} " Then, of silver, he has mountains, not ingots; Aetna is not so high" [Mil. 1065]; {Picis divitiis, qui aureos montes colunt, ego solus supero} "I, by myself, exceed the riches of the Griffins, who inhabit the golden mountains" [Aul. 701-702].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Mons horridus silvestribusque frondibus umbrosus et in primis altus fuit} "The mountain was rugged, shaded by leafy forests, and very high" [Met. 4: 6]; {Nam collo constrictum reductum eum pastores molesti contra montis illius silvosa nemora unde lignum puer solebat egerere} "The aggrieved men roped him by the neck and dragged him towards the forested slope of the mountain where the lad had gone to fetch timber" [Met. 7: 25]; {Tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aves caelo meantes, ferae montibus errantes, serpentes solo latentes, beluae ponto natantes} "The birds flying in the sky, the wild beasts that prowl the mountains, the serpents that lurk underground, the very monsters of the deep tremble at your power" [Met. 11: 25].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 198.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 243. In the southern dialects 'mountain' is designated by the word *k'odru*, which, however, means 'woods' in Žejane (in the southern dialects the woods are designated by the word *b'oškä {boŝkę}* [Byhan 1899: 196]). Cf. {E din codru cu başkerle} "From the mountain down in bundles" (Nova Vas); {Su codru åto nu bivescu mę mǎịe ni čǎče} "My mother and my father no longer live under the mountain" (Jesenovik); {Męre voị ân te codru neziręị lu stele} "I will go to the mountain to look at the stars" (Jesenovik); {Viro, viro-m nåsta, codru Ân me somnu. Codru, viro...} "Come, come back to me, mountain in my dream. Mountain, come..." (Jesenovik); {Mę selişta şi me codru şi våle} "My village and my mountain and valley" (Jesenovik); {Co de dvaịspetega av česta codru raspartit} "They divided these woods around [the year nineteen] twenty-five" (Žejane); {E mǎịa av fost ân codru tota ziịa} "And my mother was in the woods all day" (Žejane); {Užeịt-av ịi čuda vote pârla mǎịa-betâra preste codru, ịuva av biveịt. Mǎịa av le Roịşebaretiţe vâc cuvintăt neca prin codru vred męže, neca nu ľi se čeva fǎče. Şi o zi av Roịşebaretiţa ân codru ânịurbăt lupu.} "She often went across the wood to visit her grandmother who lived there. Her mother always advised Little Red Riding Hood to walk fast across the wood so nothing happens to her. One day, Little Red Riding Hood ran into a wolf while walking in the wood." (Žejane). In the Žejane dialect the Croatism *plan'in-a {planina}* is used in the meaning 'mountain' [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 250]. Cf. {Sus ân česta planína, sta vârh če se vęde colę Şíịa se cľama} "Above this mountain there is a peak, which can be seen from here, its name is Şíịa" [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 52]. The meaning shift 'woods' > 'mountain' (cf. Romanian {codru} 'woods, forest'), is perhaps the result of Slavic influence (cf. Bulgarian {gora} 'woods, forest' < PSl. {*gora} "mountain"). Byhan also mentions three following Slavicisms: *briɣ {brig}* 'mountain, bank' [Byhan 1899: 199], *v ʰ {vrh}* 'top, mountain' [Byhan 1899: 386] and *g'or-ä {górę}* 'mountain' [Byhan 1899: 224]. Only the first one is present in Kovačec's dictionary, where it is translated as Croatian {brijeg} and {brdo} 'hill'. In Sârbu and Frăţilă glossary this word has the same translation as Romanian {deal} and {colină} 'hill' [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 193]. Apparently, the second one has the same meaning as Croatian {vrh}: 'top, peak'. Cf. some examples: {vrh de vetrina ân cuhińe câtra gǎịba} "the cupboard which has a bird cage on top of it"; {la vŕhu de Utška} "auf Höhe von Utschka" [Weigand 1894: 150-151]. The third one is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 714; Cunia 2010: 682; Bara et al. 2005: 311; Dalametra 1906: 139; Gołąb 1984: 236.

Romanian: DER 2004: 624; Bolocan et al. 1985: 257; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *mˈunt-e* {munte} 'mountain' [Podiko 1973: 144; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 73].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {munčáị grúnt} "big mountains" [Bartoli 2002: 235] {ju vìs sul muánt} "I walk on the mountain" [Bartoli 2002: 252].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 685, 260.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015. A possible substrate borrowing. There are two expressions for 'mountain' in Forni's dictionary: *krəp* {crëp} and *mont* {mont}. The second one is used mostly in the meaning 'mountain pasture', figuratively and in some collocations (cf. {jì sa mont a sië} "to go to the mountain pasture to scythe grass"; {na mont de libri} "a heap of books" (literally "a mountain"); {na utia da mont} "alpine refuge"; {l nëiv sun la montes} "it is snowing on the relief"; {jì da mont su} / {jì sa mont} / {jì su per chëla montes} "to go to mountains" [Forni 2015]), while the first one is more common.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 188, 410. A possible substrate borrowing. Distinct from *mont* {mont} 'heap / mountain' [DILF 2001: 496].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *muntˈoɲ-ə* {muntogna} 'mountain range' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 477.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 206.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 206.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 266-267; 270. Marchigiano: *munt-ˈaɲ-a* {muntagna} 'mountain' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *brˈik:-u* 'peak'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Of uknown origin. Besides this term, the Italianism *munt-ˈaɲ-a* {muntagna} can be used as well.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Polysemy: 'hill / mountain'. Distinct from *munt-ˈaɲ-a* {muntàgna}, which is rather unfrequent and reserved for very big and high mountains (such as Mont Blanc or Mount Everest) [Piccone 2015].

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. The term *mˈoɲt-e* {monte} 'mountain' is used as well [Tre 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {così com' ella sie' tra 'l piano e 'l monte} "even as it lies between the plain and mountain" [Inf. 27]; {chi m'avria tratto su per la montagna?} "who would have led me up along the mountain?" [Purg. 3].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1980.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015. Domus de Maria: *mˈɔnt-i* {monti} 'mountain' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *munt-ˈaɲ:-a* {muntagna} 'mountain' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 195.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.
Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.
Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.
Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.
Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.
Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *m'ont-e* {monte} 'mountain' [González Rato 2016].
Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 112.
Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 821; Fernández Armesto 1981: 522; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 990, 639.
Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 905.
Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1418-1419.
Old French: EDCT 2014: 724.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 434; Rayevskaya 2013: 384.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *m ɟ-ɛ̃n* {montinne} ~ *m ɟ-aɲ* {montagne} 'mountain'.

56. MOUTH

Archaic Latin *oːs {os}* (1), Late Classical Latin *oːs {os}* (1), Megleno Romanian *rost {rost}* (2), Istro Romanian *gʹur-ä {gúrę}* (3), Aromanian *gʹur-ə {gúră}* (3), Romanian *gʹur-ə {gură}* (3), Dalmatian *bwak {bu̯ak}* (-1), Friulian *bʹɔʄ-e {bocje}* (4), Gardenese Ladin *bʹoč-a {bocia}* (4), Fassano Ladin *bʹoč-a {bọcia}* (4), Rumantsch Grischun *bʹuk-ə {bucca}* (4), Sursilvan Romansh *bʹuk-ə {bucca}* (4), Surmiran Romansh *bʹuk-ə {bucca}* (4), Vallader Romansh *bʹɔk-ə {bocca}* (4), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *bʹuk-a {boca}* (4), Barbania Piemontese *bʹuk-a {boca}* (4), Carmagnola Piemontese *bʹuk-a {boca}* (4), Turinese Piemontese *bʹuk-a {boca}* (4), Vercellese Piemontese *bʹuk-a* (4), Bergamo Lombard *bʹok-a {bóca}* (4), Plesio Lombard *bʹuk-a {buca}* (4), Ravennate Romagnol *bʹok-a {bóca}* (4), Ferrarese Emiliano *bʹɔk-a {bòca}* (4), Carpigiano Emiliano *bʹɔk-a {bòca}* (4), Reggiano Emiliano *bʹɔk-a {bòca}* (4), Rapallo Ligurian *bʹukː-a* (4), Genoese Ligurian *bʹukː-a {bŏcca}* (4), Stella Ligurian *bʹukː-a {bucca}* (4), Venice Venetian *bʹok-a {bóca}* (4), Primiero Venetian *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Bellunese Venetian *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Old Italian *bʹokː-a {bocca}* (4), Standard Italian *bʹokː-a {bocca}* (4), Grosseto Italian *bʹokː-a {bocca}* (4), Foligno Italian *vʹokː-a {vocca}* (4), Neapolitan *vʹokː-ə {vocca}* (4), Logudorese *vʹukː-a {vucca}* (4), Campidanese *bʹukː-a {bucca}* (4), Palermitan Sicilian *vʹukː-a {vucca}* (4), Messinese Sicilian *bʹukː-a {bucca}* (4), Catanian Sicilian *vʹukː-a {vucca} ~ ʹukː-a {ucca}* (4), South-Eastern Sicilian *vʹukː-a {vucca} ~ ʹukː-a {ucca}* (4), Central Catalan *bʹok-ə {boca}* (4), North-Western Catalan *bʹok-ɛ {boca}* (4), Minorcan Catalan *bʹok-ə {boca}* (4), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Valencia Catalan *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Manises Catalan *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Castilian Spanish *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Asturian *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Standard Portuguese *bʹok-ɐ {boca}* (4), Galician *bʹok-a {boca}* (4), Provençal Occitan *bʹuk-o {bouco}* (4), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *grwɛ̃ {grwin}* (3), Old French *bʹoč-ə {boche}* (4),

Standard French *buš {bouche}* (4), Picard *buk {bouke}* (4), Walloon *buč {boutche}* (4).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *'o:r- ʙ {oris}*. Polysemy: 'mouth / face'. Cf. some examples: {Specie venusta, ore atque oculis pernigris} "Of agreable form, with a *small* mouth, and very dark eyes" [Poen. 1113]; {eripe ex ore tibias} "Take your pipes out of your mouth" [Stichus 718].

Late Classical Latin: Used both for human and animal mouth: {iam patentis oris inhalatu cinnameo et occursantis linguae inlisu nectareo prona cupidine adlibescenti} "her mouth opened, her breath was like cinnamon, and her tongue darted against mine with a taste of nectar, in unrestrained desire" [Met. 2: 10]; {Propheta sic propitiatus herbulam quampiam ob os corporis et aliam pectori eius imponit} "The seer, yielding to his request, touched the corpse's mouth with a certain little herb and placed another on its chest" [Met. 2: 28].

> The term *b'ʋk:-a {bucca}* still means 'cheek': {sic tuis istis micantibus oculis et rubentibus bucculis et renidentibus crinibus et hiantibus osculis et flagrantibus papillis in servilem modum addictum atque mancipatum teneas volentem} "a slave, and a willing one, to your flashing eyes and blushing cheeks, your gleaming hair, your parted lips, your fragrant breasts" [Met. 3: 19]; {Cupidinis buccula manuque ad os suum relata consaviat} "Jupiter tweaked Cupid's cheek, raised the lad's hand to his lips, kissed it and replied" [Met. 6: 22]. But Petronius already uses {bucca} also in the meaning 'mouthful': {Non mehercules hodie buccam panis invenire potui} "I couldn't even get a mouthful of bread today" [Satyricon 44].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 251. Distinct from *'gur-ə {gúrə}* 'mouth of an animal'. Cf. {ari rostu răşărit (dispicat) ca gură di măgar} "his mouth is as big as a donkey's" (about a man who has a stentorian voice) [Capidan 1928: 219].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 216; Byhan 1899: 227.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 507; Cunia 2010: 521-522; Dalametra 1906: 103; Bara et al. 2005: 335; Gołąb 1984: 218.

Romanian: DER 2004: 624; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1297; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {gula} 'gullet, throat' [Ciorănescu 2015].

> Moldavian: *g'ur-ə {gúrə}* 'mouth' [Podiko 1973: 812; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 392]. Distinct from *b'uk-ə {bucă}* 'buttock / cheek (of the face)' [Andronescu 1964: 25]

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju aị la bu̯ak stu̯árt e la me dúl} "I have a twisted mouth and it hurts me" [Bartoli 2002: 240]; {el avás la čík iṅ bu̯ák} "He has a cigarette stub in his mouth" [Bartoli 2002: 233]. A Venetian borrowing.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 656, 28.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 18, 163.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 46.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *byuč {biutsch}* 'mouth' (pejorative) [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 120-121.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 34.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 34.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 51.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015;

Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Generic term for human and animal mouth: {la bocca mi basciò tutto tremante} "kissed me upon the mouth all palpitating" [Inf. 5]; {le bocche aperse e mostrocci le sane} "His mouths he opened, and displayed his tusks" (about Cerberus) [Inf. 6].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1981.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *m'us:-ə* {musso} 'lips' [Russo 2015; Mancusi 2015]. Grottaminarda: *v'ɔk:-ə* {vòccha} 'mouth' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 91. Domus de Maria: *b'uk-a* {bucca} 'mouth' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *'uk:-a* {ucca} 'mouth' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *v'uk:-a* {vucca} ~ *'uk:-a* {ucca} 'mouth', *m'us:-u* {mussu} 'animal mouth / human mouth (pejorative)' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *'uk:-a* {ucca} 'mouth' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 38.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *b'ok-a* {boca} 'mouth' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 547.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 770; Fernández Armesto 1981: 129; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 932, 179.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 163.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 336-337. Goes back to Latin {gula} 'throat'. In some villages reflexes of Latin {bucca} are used in the meaning 'mouth' as well (usually along with the reflexes of {gula}) [Viret 2013: 336-337].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 141-142. Distinct from *g'ol-ə* {gole} 'human throat / the front part of the neck / woman breast / animal mouth' [EDCT 2014: 555].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 434; Rayevskaya 2013: 577. Distinct from *gœl* {gueule} 'mouth of an animal' [Robert-Collins 1989: 434].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *bok* {boke} ~ *buč* {boutche} 'mouth'.

57. NAME

Archaic Latin *n'oː-mɛn {nomen}* (1), Late Classical Latin *n'oː-mɛn {nomen}* (1), Megleno Romanian *n'um-i {númi}* (1), Istro Romanian *l'ume {lúme}* (1), Aromanian *n'um-ə {númă}* (1), Romanian *n'um-e {nume}* (1), Dalmatian *naŋ {nauɲ}* ~ *nam {nam}* (1), Friulian *nɔŋ {non}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *in'wem {inuem}* (1), Fassano Ladin *in'om {inọm}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *num {num}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *num {num}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *nom {nom}* (1), Vallader Romansh *nom {nom}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *nɔm {nòm}* (1),

Barbania Piemontese *nɔm {nòm}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *nɔm {nòm}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *nɔm {nom}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *nɔːm* (1), Bergamo Lombard *nɔm {nòm}* (1), Plesio Lombard *nom: {nomm}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *nom {nóm}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *nom {nóm}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *nɔm {nòm}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *nɔm {nòm}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *n'umː-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *n'umː-e {nŏmme}* (1), Stella Ligurian *n'umː-e {numme}* (1), Venice Venetian *n'ɔm-e {nòme}* (1), Primiero Venetian *n'ɔm-e {nòme}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *n'ɔm-e {nome}* (1), Old Italian *n'om-e {nome}* (1), Standard Italian *n'om-e {nome}* (1), Grosseto Italian *n'om-e {nome}* (1), Foligno Italian *n'om-e {nome}* (1), Neapolitan *n'ɔmː-ə {nomme}* (1), Logudorese *l'umːen-e {lùmmene}* (1), Campidanese *n'ɔmin-i {nomini}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *n'wɔm-u {nuomu}* ~ *n'wɔmː-u {nuommu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *n'um-i {numi}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *n'ɔm-u {nomu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *n'ɔm-i {nomi}* (1), Central Catalan *nɔm {nom}* (1), North-Western Catalan *nɔm {nom}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *nɔm {nom}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *nɔm {nom}* (1), Valencia Catalan *nɔm {nom}* (1), Manises Catalan *nɔm {nom}* (1), Castilian Spanish *n'ombr-e {nombre}* (1), Asturian *n'om-e {nome}* (1), Standard Portuguese *n'om-ə {nome}* (1), Galician *n'om-e {nome}* (1), Provençal Occitan *num {noum}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *nɔ̃ {non}* (1), Old French *nõm {nom}* (1), Standard French *nɔ̃ {nom}* (1), Picard *nɔ̃ {nom}* (1), Walloon *nɔ̃ {nom}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Nunc cuius iussu venio et quam ob rem venerim dicam simulque ipse eloquar nomen meum} "I'll tell you, and at the same time, myself, I will disclose my name" [Amph. 17-18]; {nam iam ex hoc loco ibo ego ad tres viros vostraque ibi nomina faxo erunt} "for now from this spot will I go to the Triumvirs, and there I'll take care your names shall be" [Asin. 130-132]; {immutat nomen avos huic gemino alteri; ita illum dilexit, qui subruptust, alterum: illius nomen indit illi qui domi est, Menaechmo, idem quod alteri nomen fuit; et ipsus eodem est avos vocatus nomine (propterea illius nomen memini facilius, quia illum clamore vidi flagitarier). ne mox erretis, iam nunc praedico prius: idem est ambobus nomen geminis fratribus} "the grandfather changed the name of that other twin. So much did he love that one which had been stolen, that he gave his name to the one that was at home. That you may not mistake hereafter, I tell you then this beforehand; the name of both the twin-brothers is the same. He gave the same name of Menaechmus to this one as the other had; and by the same name the grandfather himself was called" [Men. 40-48].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Ego sum Byrrhena illa, cuius forte saepicule nomen inter tuos educatores frequentatum retines} "I am Byrrhena, whose name I think you'll often have heard among those who educated you" [Met. 2: 3]; {inter ipsas turbelas Graecorum genuino sermone nomen augustum Caesaris invocare temptavi} "I tried to shout Caesar's august name, among those Greeks, in my native tongue" [Met. 3: 29].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 209.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 269; Glavina 1905: 73. In some idiomatic expressions the Croatism *'ime* {íme} ~ *'yime* {i̯íme}is used as well [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 218].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 788; Cunia 2010: 763; Dalametra 1906: 150; Gołąb 1984: 239.

Romanian: DER 2004: 631; Bolocan et al. 1985: 470; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *n'um-e* {nume} 'name' [Podiko 1973: 283].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {fero kos náu̯n̄ ne l-antìk vetrùn̄ diskṷárs} "this name is from the ancient language" [Bartoli 2002:

229]; {ju jaɪ̯ kunusùt un zɪ̯art Vasílič di nàʊ̯n tune} "I have known a certain Vasilič, Tune by name" [Bartoli 2002: 250]; {noṅ biśúṅ numinúr el nam di dí perkó ju jaɪ̯ táj̯ma} "it should not take the name of God, because I have fear"; {in nam del tu͡oṭa e del fél e de lo spìrito su͡oṇt} "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" [Bartoli 2002: 247].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 272.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 37, 164.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 196.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 489.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 214.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 214.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 278. Marchigiano: *nɔm* {nòm} 'name' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Schio: *nˈom-e* {nóme} 'name' [Clementi 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Le sue parole e 'l modo de la pena // m'avean di costui già letto il nome} "His language and the mode of punishment // already unto me had read his name" [Inf. 10]; {Guido Guerra ebbe nome} "His name was Guidoguerra" [Inf. 16].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1989-1990.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda, Salerno: *nˈɔm-ə* {nome} 'name' [Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 288. Domus de Maria: *nˈɔmin-i* {nomini} 'name' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *nˈɔm-i* {nomi} 'name' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *nˈɔm-i* {nomi} 'name' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora: *nˈɔm-i* {nomi} [Stornanti 2015]. Giarre: *nˈɔm-u* {nomu} 'name' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 201.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *n'om-e* {nome} 'name' [González Rato 2016].
Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 208.
Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 824, 673; Fernández Armesto 1981: 536; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 993, 658.
Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 940.
Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1475.
Old French: EDCT 2014: 752. Polysemy: 'name / title / word'.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 440-441; Rayevskaya 2013: 431.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *no* {no} 'name'.

58. NECK

Archaic Latin *k'ɔɫ:-ũ {collum}* (1), Late Classical Latin *k'ɔɫ:-ũ {collum}* (1), Megleno Romanian *g'uš-ə {gúṣă}* (2), Istro Romanian *čerb'ič-e {čerbíče}* (3), Aromanian *g'uš-e {gúṣe}* (2), Romanian *gɨt {gât}* (4), Dalmatian *kwal {kṷal}* (1), Friulian *kwɛl {cuel}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *kɔl {col}* (1), Fassano Ladin *kɔl {col}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *kul-'yec {culiez}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *kul-'yec {culiez}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *kul-'yec {culiez}* (1), Vallader Romansh *kul-'öc {culöz}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kɔl {còl}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *kɔl {còl}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *kɔl {còl}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *kɔl {col}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *kɔl* (1), Bergamo Lombard *kɔl {còl}* (1), Plesio Lombard *kɔl: {coll}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *kɔl {còl}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kɔl {col}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *kɔ:l {côl}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *kɔ:l {côl}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *k'ɔl:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *k'öl:-u {cöllŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *k'o:l:-u {côllu}* (1), Venice Venetian *k'ɔę-o {còło}* (1), Primiero Venetian *kɔl {còl}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *kɔl {col}* (1), Old Italian *k'ɔl:-o {collo}* (1), Standard Italian *k'ɔl:-o {collo}* (1), Grosseto Italian *k'ɔl:-o {collo}* (1), Foligno Italian *k'ol:-u {collu}* (1), Neapolitan *k'wol:-ə {cuollo}* (1), Logudorese *k'oɖ:-u {coddu}* (1), Campidanese *c'uɣ-u {tzugu}* (5), Palermitan Sicilian *k'wɔɖ:-u {cuoddu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *k'ɔɖ:-u {coddu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *k'ɔɖ:-u {coddu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *k'wɔɖ:-u {cuoddu}* (1), Central Catalan *kɔʎ {coll}* (1), North-Western Catalan *kɔʎ {coll}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *kɔy {coll}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kɔʎ {coll}* (1), Valencia Catalan *kɔʎ {coll}* (1), Manises Catalan *kɔʎ {coll}* (1), Castilian Spanish *k'weʎ-o {cuello}* (1), Asturian *pesk'weθ-o {pescuezo}* (6), Standard Portuguese *pəšk'os-u {pescoço}* (6), Galician *pesk'ɔθ-o {pescozo}* (6), Provençal Occitan *kɔw {còu} ~ kuy {coui}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ku {kou} ~ ku: {koû}* (1), Old French *kol* {col} (1), Standard French *ku {cou}* (1), Picard *kɔ {co}* (1), Walloon *kõ: {côn}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego; sura, pes, statura, tonsus, oculi, nasum vel labra, malae, mentum, barba, collus: totus} "His leg, foot, stature, shorn head, eyes, nose, even his lips, cheeks, chin, beard, neck - the whole of him} [Amph. 443-445]; {ipse in meo collo tuos pater cruminam collocavit} "your own father himself placed this purse around my neck" [Epid. 360]; {Decide collum stanti, si falsum loquor} "Cut my throat, if it's false, what I'm saying" [Merc. 308].

> Distinct from *k'ɛrviːk-s* {cervix} 'back of the neck / nape', the only example is {cecidissetve ebrius aut de equo uspiam, metuerem ne ibi diffregisset crura aut cervices sibi} "Or if one, in liquor, had tumbled anywhere from his horse, I should have been afraid that he had broken his legs or neck on that occasion" [Mil. 721-722].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Nam collo constrictum reductum eum pastores molesti contra montis illius silvosa nemora unde lignum puer solebat egerere} "The aggrieved men roped him by the neck and dragged him towards the forested slope of the mountain where the lad had gone to fetch timber" [Met. 7: 25]; {corvina nigredine caerulus columbarum colli flosculos aemulatur} "now with raven blackness imitating the purple collar of a pigeon's neck" [Met. 2: 9].

> Distinct from *k'ɛrviːk-s* {cervix} 'nape': {ipso etiam bestiae capite adusque confinium cervicis solido relicto} "and leave the head intact down to the neck" [Met. 4: 14]; {prius dextera sursum elata, nisu quam valido noxii serpentis nodum cervicis et capitis abscide} "and with the firmest stroke you can muster sever the venomous serpent's head from his body" [Met. 5: 20]; {sed color psittaco viridis et intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis, nisi quod sola cervice distinguitur} "The parrot is green from the roots of its feathers to their very tips, save only for the markings on the neck" [Florida 12].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 148.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 204; Byhan 1899: 365. Polysemy: 'neck / back of the neck'. Byhan also translates the word *gət* {gọt} as German {Hals} 'neck' [Byhan 1899: 225], but in Kovačec's dictionary this word (as *gut* {gut}) is specified as Croatian {grlo}, {grkljan} 'throat' [Kovačec 2010]. Sârbu and Frăţilă also translate *gut* as Romanian {gât} 'neck' [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 216], but it contradicts the contexts. Cf. {Ş-atunče sânze låslu la ɣut} "And then blood flowed to his throat" [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 271]; {N-ăm cântât, ke m-å ɣútu durút} "I did not sing, because my throat hurt".

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 509; Cunia 2010: 524; Dalametra 1906: 104; Bara et al. 2005: 335; Gołąb 1984: 218. Distinct from *kəšinʒ'ik-ŭ* {căşinğíc} 'nape' [Papahagi 1963: 280; Cunia 2010: 270], *n'uk-ə* {núcă} 'nape' [Papahagi 1963: 787; Dalametra 1906: 150], *zv'erk-ə* {zvércă} 'nape' [Papahagi 1963: 1150; Cunia 2010: 1133-1134; Dalametra 1906: 226; Bara et al. 2005: 336], *p'util-ŭ* {pútil} 'nape' [Papahagi 1963: 900; Cunia 2010: 874], *gərgəl-'an-ŭ* {gărgălán} 'throat' [Papahagi 1963: 491; Cunia 2010: 487; Dalametra 1906: 99; Bara et al. 2005: 336], *grum'aʒ-ŭ* {grumádz-ŭ} 'throat' [Papahagi 1963: 503; Cunia 2010: 518; Gołąb 1984: 218].

Romanian: DER 2004: 635; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1663; Gancz 2015. Origin is uncertain. Possibly goes back to the Vulgar Latin {*guttura} 'throat' influenced by Slavic {*glъtъ} 'throat', or, less probable, directly to Slavic {*glъtъ} [Ciorănescu 2015]. Distinct from *čerb'ič-e* {cerbice} 'nape of the neck' [DEaLR 2015], *č'eaf-ə* {ceafă} 'nape of the neck' [DEaLR 2015] of uknown origin [Ciorănescu 2015] and dialectal *grum'az* {grumaz} 'neck / nape of the neck' [DEaLR 2015] of uncertain origin [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *gɨt* {gât} 'neck' [Podiko 1973: 1041; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 493].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {me dolùa el kuál} "My neck hurts" [Bartoli 2002: 241]; {el uár ke la portúa kola troka al kuál} "The gold which that girl wore on her neck" [Bartoli 2002: 240]. In Cubich's vocabulary, the form *ʒoglo* {soglo} 'neck' is also attested [Bartoli 2002: 270].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 664, 90.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 40, 145. Marebbano: *kɔːl* {kộl} 'neck'; Badiotto: *kɔːl* {kộl} 'neck'; Livinallese: *kɔl* {kọl} 'neck'; Nones: *kɔl* {kọl} 'neck' [Gartner 1923: 145].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 65; Gartner 1923: 145.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. Distinct from *tət'on-ə* {tatona} 'nape of the neck' of substrate origin.

Sursilvan Romansh: Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *tət'on-ə* {totona} 'nape of the neck' of substrate origin [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. Distinct from *tut'on-ə* {tutona} 'nape of the neck' of substrate origin.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 212.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 58.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 58.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 99. Marchigiano: *kɔl* {coll} 'neck' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Serena 2015. Treviso: *k'ɔu̯-o* {còło} 'neck' [Busato 2015]. Salgareda: *kɔl* {còl} 'neck' [Poletto 2015]. Este, Vicenza; Schio, Marostica, Verona: *k'ɔl-o* {colo} 'neck' [Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {che dal collo a ciascun pendea una tasca} "that from the neck of each there hung a pouch" [Inf. 17]; {e in sul nodo // del collo l'assannò} "and by the nape // seized with its teeth his neck" [Inf. 30].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1993-1994.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 461. Domus de Maria: *c'uɣ-u* {tzugu} 'neck'. Distinct from *k'od-u* {coddu} 'nape of the neck' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *k'ɔɖ-u* {coddu} 'neck' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *k'wɔɖ-u* {cuodu} 'neck' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 75.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Distinct from *k'weʎ-o* {cuello} 'neck', which is more poetic. Langreo: *pesk'weθ-u* {pescuezu} 'neck' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 707. Distinct from *k'ɔl-u* {colo} 'upper part of a body, including neck and shoulders' [Costa & Melo 1975: 337].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016; Fernández Armesto 1981: 235; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 942, 279. The old term for 'neck', *k'ɔl-o* {colo}, shifted its meaning to 'place where one takes a child (lap if seating, arms if standing)' [DRAG 2016; Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 311.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 597-598.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 210-211. Generic term for animal and human neck. Polysemy: 'neck / collar'. Distinct from *g'ol-ə* {gole} 'human throat / the front part of the neck / woman breast / animal mouth' [EDCT 2014: 555], from *čev'ec-ə* {chevece} 'base of the neck' [EDCT 2014: 193], from *g'orǯ-ə* {gorge} 'front part of the neck' [EDCT 2014: 556]. The term *ater'el* {haterel} 'neck'

is much less frequent [EDCT 2014: 581-582].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 444; Rayevskaya 2013: 644.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *at ʁ:* {hatrea} 'neck', *ko:* {cô} 'neck'.

59. NEW

Archaic Latin *n'ɔw-ʊs {novus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *n'ɔv-ʊs {novus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *now {nóu̯}* (1), Istro Romanian *nov {nóv}* (1), Aromanian *now {noŭ}* (1), Romanian *now {nou}* (1), Dalmatian *nuf {nuf}* ~ *nwaf {nu̯af}* (1), Friulian *ɲu:f {gnûf}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *nwef {nuef}* (1), Fassano Ladin *nef {nef}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *nof {nov}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *nɛyf {neiv}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *nof {nov}* (1), Vallader Romansh *nowf {nouv}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *növ {neuv}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *növ {neuv}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *nöw {neuv}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *növ {neuv}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *nöf* (1), Bergamo Lombard *nöf {nöf}* (1), Plesio Lombard *nö:f {növ}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *nɔɐv {növ}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *nov {nóv}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *no:v {nōv}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *no:v {nōv}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *n'ö:v-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *n'öv-u {növŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *n'ö:v-u {neuvu}* (1), Venice Venetian *n'ov-o {nóvo}* (1), Primiero Venetian *nɔw {nòu}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *n'ov-o {novo}* (1), Old Italian *n'wɔv-o {nuovo}* (1), Standard Italian *n'wɔv-o {nuovo}* (1), Grosseto Italian *n'ɔv-o {novo}* (1), Foligno Italian *n'ɔ-u {nou}* (1), Neapolitan *n'wov-ə {nuovo}* (1), Logudorese *n'ov-u {novu}* (1), Campidanese *now {nou}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *n'wɔv-u {nuovu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *n'ɔv-u {novu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *n'ɔv-u {novu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *n'ɔv-u {novu}* (1), Central Catalan *nɔw {nou}* (1), North-Western Catalan *nɔw {nou}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *nɔw {nou}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *nɔw {nou}* (1), Valencia Catalan *nɔw {nou}* (1), Manises Catalan *nɔw {nou}* (1), Castilian Spanish *n'weβ-o {nuevo}* (1), Asturian *n'we-u {nuéu}* (1), Standard Portuguese *n'ov-u {novo}* (1), Galician *n'ɔβ-o {novo}* (1), Provençal Occitan *nuv'ɛw {nouvèu}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *nov'e {nové}* (1), Old French *n'ovel {novel}* (1), Standard French *nuvo {nouveau}* (1), Picard *nuvyö {nouvieu}* (1), Walloon *nove: {novê}* ~ *nü: {nû}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {quae vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova?} "Why, what new names every year these women are finding for their clothing" [Epid. 229]; {redde cantionem veteri pro vino novam} "Give us a new tune in return for the old wine" [Stichus 768]; {servate vostros socios, veteres et novos} "defend your allies, both ancient ones and new" [Cist. 199].
Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {densa inhabitantium aedificia locum novo hospiti non dabant} "the densely-packed homes of those folk left no room for the new guest" [Met. 1: 10]; {Talibus aerumnis edomitum novis Fortuna saeva tradidit

cruciatibus} "Utterly broken as I was by such suffering, cruel Fortune designed new torments for me" [Met. 7: 16].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 208.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 238; Byhan 1899: 269.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 780; Cunia 2010: 753; Dalametra 1906: 150; Gołąb 1984: 237.

Romanian: DER 2004: 639; Bolocan et al. 1985: 781; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *now* {nou} 'new' [Podiko 1973: 471; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 236].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {kosta travársa fero nu͡ọva; kost vesti̯át fero núf} "this apron is new; these clothes are new" [Bartoli 2002: 244].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015. Distinct from *rez'int* {resìnt} 'recent' [Pirona 1871: 686, 329].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 61, 164.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 198.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 492.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 216.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 216.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 279. Marchigiano: *nɔv* {nòv} 'new' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Zanetti 2015. Treviso, Salgareda, Marostica: *n'ɔv-o* {nòvo} 'new' [Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The form *n'ɔv-o* {novo}, influenced by Old Sicilian, is possible as well [Patota 2002: 57]. Some examples are: {novi tormenti e novi tormentati // mi veggio intorno, come ch'io mi mova} "new torments I behold, and new tormented // around me, whichsoever way I move" [Inf. 6]; {A la man destra vidi nova pieta, // novo tormento e novi frustatori} "Upon my right hand I beheld new anguish, // new torments, and new wielders of the lash" [Inf. 18].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1998.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 289. Domus de Maria: *now* {nou} 'new' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *n'ɔv-u* {novu} 'new' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *n'wɔv-u* {nuovu} 'new' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *n'ɔv-u* {novu} 'new' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 202.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *n'web-u* {nuevu} 'new' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 348.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 824, 574; Fernández Armesto 1981: 538; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 994, 659.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 946.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1483.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 755-756. Polysemy: 'new / young / fresh'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 448; Rayevskaya 2013: 496. The form *nuvɛl* {nouvel} is used before a vowel.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *novɛ:* {novea} ~ *nu:* {noû} 'new'.

60. NIGHT

Archaic Latin *nɔk-s {nox}* (1), Late Classical Latin *nɔk-s {nox}* (1), Megleno Romanian *nˌo̯apt-i {noápti}* (1), Istro Romanian *nˈopt-e {nópte}* (1), Aromanian *nˌo̯apt-e {noápte}* (1), Romanian *nˈo̯apt-e {noapte}* (1), Dalmatian *nwat {nu̯át}* (1), Friulian *ɲɔt {gnot}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *nwet {nuet}* (1), Fassano Ladin *net {net}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *noɕ {notg}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *noɕ {notg}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *noʨ {notg}* (1), Vallader Romansh *not {not}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *nöyt {neuit}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *nöyt {neuit}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *nöyt {neuit}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *nöyt {neuit}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *nöč* (1), Bergamo Lombard *nöč {nöc}* (1), Plesio Lombard *nɔč: {nocc}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *nˈɔt-a {nòta}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *nɔt {not}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *nɔ:t {nôt}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *nɔ:t {nôt}* ~ *nˈɔ:t-a {nôta}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *nˈöt:-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *nˈöt:-e {nötte}* (1), Stella Ligurian *nˈöč:-e {neucce}* (1), Venice Venetian *nˈɔt-e {note}* (1), Primiero Venetian *nɔt {nòt}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *nɔt {not}* (1), Old Italian *nˈɔt:-e {notte}* (1), Standard Italian *nˈɔt:-e {notte}* (1), Grosseto Italian *nˈɔt-e {note}* (1), Foligno Italian *nˈɔt:-e {notte}* (1), Neapolitan *nˈɔt:-ə {notte}* (1), Logudorese *nˈot:-e {notte}* (1), Campidanese *nˈɔt:-i {notti}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *nˈwɔt:-i {nuotti}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *nˈut:-i {nutti}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *nˈɔt:-i {notti}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *nˈɔt:-i {notti}* (1), Central Catalan *nit {nit}* (1), North-Western Catalan *nit {nit}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *nit {nit}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *nit {nit}* (1), Valencia Catalan *nit {nit}* (1), Manises Catalan *nit {nit}* (1), Castilian Spanish *nˈoč-e {noche}* (1), Asturian *nˈweč-e {nueche}* (1), Standard Portuguese *nˈoyt-ə {noite}* (1), Galician *nˈoyt-e {noite}* (1), Provençal Occitan *nɥe {nue}* ~ *nˈiw-e {niue}* ~ *niw {niu}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ne*

{né} (1), Old French *nɥit {nuit}* (1), Standard French *nɥi {nuit}* (1), Picard *nɥi {nuit}* (1), Walloon *nüt {nut'}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *n'ɔkt- ʙ {noctis}*. Some examples are: {ita statim stant signa, neque nox quoquam concedit die} "In such a fashion are the stars standing stock-still, and the night is yielding not a jot to the day" [Amph. 276]; {Si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceres, se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies} "That if you were to say that this sun was the sun, he would believe it was the moon, and that that is the night which is now the day" [Bac. 699-700]; {non ego item facio ut alios in comoediis <vi> vidi amoris facere, qui aut nocti aut die aut soli aut lunae miserias narrant suas} "I am not doing like as I have seen other lovers do in Comedies, who relate their woes either to the night or to the day, or to the Sun or to the Moon" [Merc. 3-5].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum conligari, ventos inanimes exspirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri} "Now that story was about as true as if you'd said magic spells can make rivers flow backwards, chain the sea, paralyze the wind, halt the sun, squeeze dew from the moon, disperse the stars, banish day, and lengthen night!" [Met. 1: 3]; {nox ibat in diem} "As night crept towards day" [Met. 1: 14].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 207.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 238; Byhan 1899: 288. The Croatism *noţ {noć}* is used in the idiomatic expression {lahcu noć} 'good night' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 238].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 777; Cunia 2010: 750; Dalametra 1906: 150; Bara et al. 2005: 55; Gołąb 1984: 238.

Romanian: DER 2004: 641; Bolocan et al. 1985: 787; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *n'ɒapt-e {noapte}* 'night' [Podiko 1973: 475; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 237].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {le stal del zíl se vit toč le nŭát ke fero bĭal tĭánp} "The stars on the sky are seen every night, when the weather is good" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {la nŭát dal júltim di karnevúl} "the night of the last carnival" [Bartoli 2002: 222].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 686, 189.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 61, 163.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 197.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 491.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 215.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 215.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 279. Marchigiano: *nɔt {nòtt}* 'night' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *nɔt {nòt}* 'night' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Quiv' era men che notte e men che giorno // sì che 'l viso m'andava innanzi poco} "There it was less than night, and less than day, // so that my sight went little in advance" [Inf. 31]; {All of that day, nor yet the night thereafter, // until another sun rose on the world} "tutto quel giorno né la notte appresso, // infin che l'altro sol nel mondo uscìo" [Inf. 33].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2000.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. There is also a term *nut.ˈat-ə* {nuttata} 'night as a period of time' [Russo 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 289. Domus de Maria: *nˈɔt:-i* {notti} 'night' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *nˈɔt:-i* {notti} 'night' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *nˈɔt:-i* {notti} 'night' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora, Giarre: *nˈɔt:-i* {notti} [Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 201.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *nˈweč-e* {nueche} 'night' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 350.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 823, 573; Fernández Armesto 1981: 535; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 993, 657.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 948-949.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1486-1487.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 759-760.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 450; Rayevskaya 2013: 496.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *nüt* {nute} ~ *nyü:* {niût} 'night'.

61. NOSE

Archaic Latin *nˈaːs:-ũ {nasum}* (1), Late Classical Latin *nˈaːs:-ʊs {nasus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *nas {nas}* (1), Istro Romanian *nʋs {nås}* (1), Aromanian *nˈar-e {náre}* (2), Romanian *nas {nas}* (1), Dalmatian *nwos {nuos}* (1), Friulian *naːs {nâs}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *nɛs {nés}* (1), Fassano Ladin *nɛs {nès}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *nas {nas}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *nas {nas}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *nas {nas}* (1), Vallader Romansh *nas {nas}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *nas {nas}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *nas {nas}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *naz {nas}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *nas {nas}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *nas* (1), Bergamo Lombard *nas {nàs}* (1), Plesio Lombard *nas {nas}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *neɘz {nêş}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *nas {nas}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *nɛːz {nêś}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *nɛːs {nês}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *nˈaz-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *nˈaz-u {nasŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *nˈaːz-u {nāsu}* (1), Venice Venetian *nˈaz-*

o {nàso} (1), Primiero Venetian *nas {nas}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *nas {nas}* (1), Old Italian *nˈas-o {naso}* (1), Standard Italian *nˈas-o {naso}* (1), Grosseto Italian *nˈas-o {naso}* (1), Foligno Italian *nˈas-u {nasu}* (1), Neapolitan *nˈas-ə {naso}* (1), Logudorese *nˈas-u {nasu}* (1), Campidanese *nˈaz-u {nasu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *nˈas-u {nasu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *nˈas-k-a {nasca}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *nˈas-u {nasu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *nˈas-u {nasu}* (1), Central Catalan *nas {nas}* (1), North-Western Catalan *nas {nas}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *nas {nas}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *nas {nas}* (1), Valencia Catalan *nas {nas}* (1), Manises Catalan *nas {nas}* (1), Castilian Spanish *narˈiθ {nariz}* (2), Asturian *nˈariθ {nariz}* (2), Standard Portuguese *nɐɾˈiš {nariz}* (2), Galician *naɾˈiθ {nariz}* (2), Provençal Occitan *nas {nas}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *na: {nâ}* (1), Old French *nes {nés}* (1), Standard French *ne {nez}* (1), Picard *naz {nase}* (1), Walloon *ne {nez}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego; sura, pes, statura, tonsus, oculi, nasum vel labra, malae, mentum, barba, collus: totus} "His leg, foot, stature, shorn head, eyes, nose, even his lips, cheeks, chin, beard, neck-the whole of him} [Amph. 443-445]; {Naso pol iam haec quidem plus videt quam oculis} "she really sees better with her nose than with her eyes" [Mil. 1259].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Iniecta manu nasum prehendo} "I clapped my hand to my face, and grasped my nose" [Met. 2: 30]; {duratur nasus incurvus} "her nose grew curved and hardened" [Met. 3: 21].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 203.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 234; Byhan 1899: 289.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 728; Cunia 2010: 696; Dalametra 1906: 143; Bara et al. 2005: 334; Gołąb 1984: 237. Polysemy: 'nose / nostril'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 645; Bolocan et al. 1985: 785; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *nas* {nas} 'nose' [Podiko 1973: 473; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 237].

Dalmatian: This form is attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 267]. Udina mentions only *zɲunf* {śńunf} 'a little nose' [Bartoli 2002: 240].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 269.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 58, 164.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 193.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 487.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 210.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 210.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 277. Marchigiano: *nɛs* {nès} 'nose' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Un altro, che forata avea la gola // e tronco 'l naso infin sotto le ciglia} "Another one, who had his throat pierced through, // and nose cut off close underneath the brows" [Inf. 28]; {Qui distorse la bocca e di fuor trasse // la lingua, come bue che 'l naso lecchi} "Then twisted he his mouth, and forth he thrust // his tongue, like to an ox that licks its nose" [Inf. 17].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2007.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *n'ar-e* {nare} 'nostrils' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 285. Domus de Maria: *n'az-u* {nasu} 'nose' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Distinct from *n'ašk-a* {nasca} 'nostril', which can be however used in the meaning 'nose' in the colloquial speech [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *n'as-u* {nasu} 'nose', *n'ask-a* {nasca} 'nostril', which however can be used in the meaning 'nose' in the colloquial speech [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora, Giarre: *n'as-u* {nasu} 'nose' [Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *n'ašk-a* {nasca} 'nostril', which can, however, be used in the meaning 'nose' in the colloquial speech [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 199.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ɲ'aɾiθ* {ñariz} 'nose' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 349. Distinct from *nɐɾ'in-ɐ* {narina} 'nostril' [Voinova et al. 1989: 349].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 823, 569; Fernández Armesto 1981: 531; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 992, 652.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 936.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1466-1467.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 745. Can be applied to some beasts as well.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 454; Rayevskaya 2013: 496.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ne* {nez} 'nose'.

62. NOT

Archaic Latin *noːn {non}* (1), Late Classical Latin *noːn {non}* (1), Megleno Romanian *nu {nu}* (1), Istro Romanian *nu {nú}* (1), Aromanian *nu {nu}* (1), Romanian *nu {nu}* (1), Dalmatian *noŋ {noṅ}* ~ *no {no}* (1), Friulian *nɔ {no}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ne=n'ia {ne…nia}*

(1), Fassano Ladin *no {no}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *beɕ {betg}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *buk {buc} ~ bukə {buca}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *beʈ {betg}* (2), Vallader Romansh *nu {nu ~ nun}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *nɛŋ {nen}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *nɛŋ {nen}* (1) / *pa {pà}* (-1), Carmagnola Piemontese *nɛŋ {nen}* (1) / *pa {pa}* (-1), Turinese Piemontese *nɛŋ {nen}* (1) / *pa {pa}* (-1), Vercellese Piemontese *neːŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *mˈia {mìa}* (3), Plesio Lombard *mˈiɲa {migna}* (3), Ravennate Romagnol *n {n'}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *brˈiza {brìsa}* (4), Carpigiano Emiliano *nɔ-mˈia {no...mia}* (1) / *nɔ=mˈia {no...mia}* (4), Reggiano Emiliano *mˈia {mia}* (3), Rapallo Ligurian *nu* (1), Genoese Ligurian *nu {nŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *nɛ {nè} ~ nu {nù}* (1), Venice Venetian *no {no}* (1), Primiero Venetian *no {no}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *no {no}* (1), Old Italian *non {non}* (1), Standard Italian *non {non}* (1), Grosseto Italian *un {un}* (1), Foligno Italian *non {non}* (1), Neapolitan *nun {nun}* (1), Logudorese *non {non}* (1), Campidanese *nɔ {no}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *nɔ {no}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *nɔ {no}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *nɔ {no} ~ nun {nun}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *nun {nun}* (1), Central Catalan *no {no}* (1), North-Western Catalan *no {no}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *no {no}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *no {no}* (1), Valencia Catalan *no {no}* (1), Manises Catalan *no {no}* (1), Castilian Spanish *no {no}* (1), Asturian *noŋ {non}* (1), Standard Portuguese *nẽw̃ {não}* (1), Galician *noŋ {non}* (1), Provençal Occitan *nuŋ {noun} ~ nani {nàni}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ne-paː {ne...pâ} ~ ne-paːz {ne...pâz}* (1) / *ne=paː {ne...pâ} ~ ne=paːz {ne...pâz}* (5), Old French *nə-pas {ne…pas}* (1) / *nə=pas {ne…pas}* (5), Standard French *nə-pa {ne…pas}* (1) / *nə=pa {ne…pas}* (5), Picard *n-pwɛ̃ {n'…poin}* (1) / *n=pwɛ̃ {n'…poin}* (6), Walloon *nü=nɛ̃ {nu… nin}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Non nos novisti?} "don't you know us?" [Mil. 428]; {cur non morior?} "Why don't I die?" [Merc. 471]; {si ita non reperio, ibo odorans quasi canis venaticus} "If so I don't find the man, just like a hound I'll go smelling about" [Mil. 268]; {quas herbas pecudes non edunt, homines edunt} "Herbage which the cattle eat not, men eat themselves" [Pseud. 825]; {Egomet mihi non credo, cum illaec autumare illum audio} "I do not trust my own self, when I hear him affirm these things" [Amph. 416]; {Tempus non est intro eundi} "It's not a convenient moment to go into the house" [Merc. 916]; {non tu scis, quam efflictentur homines noctu hic in via?} "Don't you know how men are set upon here in the street at night?" [Stichus 606].

> There is also a related particle {nec} ~ {neque}, used under some special conditions (see [OLD 1968: 1171-1172]). Some examples are: {abite et de via decedite, ne quem in cursu capite aut cubito aut pectore offendam aut genu} "get out of the way, lest I should hurt any person in my speed with my head, or elbow, or breast, or with my knee" [Curc. 281-282]; {Ne thermipolium quidem ullum instruit, ita salsam praehibet potionem et frigidam} "No hot liquor-shop at all for sure does he provide; so salt and cold the potions that he prepares" [Rud. 529-530]; {Neque tu bibisti?} "And you didn't just drink as well?" [Mil. 833]; {ne tu quod istic fabuletur auris immittas tuas} "Don't you give ear to what he prates about" [Capt. 548]; {deduco pedes de lecto clam, ne miles sentiat} "and took my legs quietly from off the couch, so that the Captain mightn't perceive it" [Curc. 361]; {cecidissetve ebrius aut de equo uspiam, metuerem ne ibi diffregisset crura aut cervices sibi} "Or if one, in liquor, had tumbled anywhere from his horse, I should have been afraid that he had broken his legs or neck on

that occasion" [Mil. 721-722]; {mi vir, lanam, unde tibi pallium malacum et calidum conficiatur tunicaeque hibernae bonae, ne algeas hac hieme} "Buy me some wool, my dear, with which a soft and warm cloak may be made, and good winter under-clothes, that you mayn't catch cold this winter-weather" [Mil. 687-689]; {Emitte sodes, ne enices fame; sine ire pastum} "don't starve them with hunger - do let them go to pasture" [Persa 318].

Apart from {non}, there is also a particle {haud}, used under more restricted conditions [OLD 1968: 787]. Some examples are: {edepol huius sermo haud cinerem quaeritat} "I' faith, her language stands in need of no ashes" [Mil. 1000]; {Nebula haud est mollis aeque atque huius est pectus} "A mist is not so soft as is a pretty little bosom, upon my faith" [Cas. 847].

Contrary to Classical Latin, in Plautus' times the use of {noli} with imperative was not obligatory, but there are already some examples: {Frater, obsecro te, noli hunc condemnatum perdere} "Brother, I do beseech you, don't ruin him uncondemned" [Curc. 697].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {quamvis auro veste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata mulier incedat, tamen, nisi capillum distinxerit, ornata non possit audire} "such is the glory of a woman's hair that though she adorns herself with garments, gold and gems and other finery, unless her hair is groomed she cannot be called well-dressed" [Met. 2: 9]; {Non enim ovum, quod scimus, illud; sed pinnis et unguibus et oculis et voce etiam perfectum edidit pullum} "and not the usual egg but a fully-fledged chick, with claws and feathers, an ominous portent, that with open eyes" [Met. 9: 33].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 208. Used in the prohibitive function as well, for example, {s-nu i̯eș pri goł buric} "don't go out with an empty stomach" [Capidan 1928: 181].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 289-290. A proclitic, used in the prohibitive function as well, for example: {nú mę́re!} / {nú i̯í!} "do not go!" [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 787; Cunia 2010: 762; Dalametra 1906: 150; Bara et al. 2005: 208.

Romanian: DER 2004: 645; Bolocan et al. 1985: 721-722; Gancz 2015. A proclitic, used in the prohibitive function as well, for example: {Nu râde!} "Don't laugh!" [Lukht & Narumov 2001: 608]. Moldavian: *nu* {nu} 'not' [Podiko 1973: 435; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 220].

Dalmatian: Repina & Narumov 2001: 691. Numerous attestations. A proclitic, used in the prohibitive function as well, for example: {ire are ku͡o̯r mi bún no me abàndunúre} "Ire Are, my heart, do not abandon me" [Bartoli 2002: 231].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 271. Used also in a prohibitive function: {No stâ lâ} "Do not go!" [Decorte 2015; Virili 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 164. In Gardenese and Badiotto dialects there is a discontinuous negation: Gardenese {Ana ne ven nia} "Ana will not come"; Badiotto {Ana ne vëgn nia} "Ana will not come". But in other dialects only one negative particle is used: Fassano {Ana no ven} "Ana will not come"; Livinallese {la Ana la no ven} "Ana will not come"; Ampezzano {Ana ra no vien} "Ana will not come" [Narumov 2001: 403-404]. The first part of this construction is used in prohibitive sentences: Gardenese {no/ne i tuché} "Don't touch them"; Badiotto {no i tuchè} "Don't touch them". The Ampezzano dialect uses the construction with the verb 'to stay': {no sta a i tocià} "Do not touch them" [Narumov 2001: 404].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 196; Narumov 2001: 403-404. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {no tocèr} 'don't touch!' [DILF 2001: 598].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Used also in the prohibitive function: {Buca va!} "Don't go!" [Cadruvi 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 490. In the prohibitive function, the particles *na* {na} and *nˈüʎə* {nüglia}: {Nüglia ir!} / {Na ir!} "Don't go!" are used [Conrad 2015].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 214. Used also in the prohibitive function, cf. {Va nen!} "Don't go!" [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 214. Apart from this term, there is also a negative particle *pa* {pà}, which seems to be of French origin. According to [Fiandro 2015], they are synonyms, cf. {i capisso pà} 'I don't understand' and {i capisso nen} 'I don't understand'.Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 214. Used also in the prohibitive function, cf. {Va pa!} "Don't go!" [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Apart from this term, there is also a negative particle *pa* {pa}, which seems to be of French origin. According to [Sanero 2015], they are synonyms.Sanero 2015. Used also in prohibitive function, cf. {Va pa!} "Don't go!" [Sanero 2015].

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Used also in prohibitive function, cf. {Va nen!} "Don't go!". Apart from this term, there is also a negative particle *pa* {pa}, which seems to be of Franco-Provençal origin.Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Used also in the prohibitive function, cf. *va n'e:ŋ* "Don't go!".

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Also used in the prohibitive function, cf. {'A mia!} "Don't go!" [Garlini 2015].

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Also used in the prohibitive function, cf. {Và migna via!} "Don't go!" [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 275. Marchigiano: *en* {en} 'not' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Stà brisa andàr!} "Don't go" [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Discontinuous particle. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Ann'andèr mia vìa!} "Don't go". Distinct from the obsolete term *br'iza* {bríśa} 'not' [Sacchi 2015].Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Andêr mia!} "Don't go" [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. *nu an:-'a* "don't go!" [Fasce 2015].

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {Nu anâ!} "don't go!" [Parodi 2015].

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {né stè ā 'ndè} "don't go!" [Piccone 2015].

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015. Arzignano, Verona: *noŋ* {non} 'not' [Serena 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No sta ndar!} [Tosi 2015; Busato 2015; Ricchieri 2015] ~ {No sta andàr!} [Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015] ~ {No sta ndare!} [Tre 2015; Pezzin 2015] ~ {No ndar!} [Poletto 2015] ~ {Non'dare!} [Cortiana 2015] ~ {No stà nar!} [Clementi 2015] ~ {Non sta nare!} [Serena 2015] "Don't go!".

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No sta ndar!} "Don't go!" [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015 . Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No sta andar!} "Don't go!" [Caneve].

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {ma, poco appresso, // ella, non tu, n'avrà rossa la tempia} "but soon after // they, and not thou, shall have the forehead scarlet" [Par. 17]; {non vi movete} "do not move on" [Inf. 26].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2007; Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 86. Used also in the prohibitive function: {non parlare!} "don't talk!" [Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 81].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Used also in the prohibitive function: {Un andà} "Don't go!" [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Non annà!} "Don't go!" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {Nunn ì!} ~ {Nun te ne ì!} ~ {Nun te n'jì!} ~ {Nun te ne jì!} "Don't go!" [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015]. Grottaminarda, Caserta: *no* {no} 'not' [Morelli 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No àndes!} "Don't go!" [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 288. Used also in the prohibitive function, cf. {No andisi!} "Don't go!" [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *nɔ* {no} 'not', used also in the prohibitive function: {No andisti!} "Don't go!" [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *un* {'un} 'not' [La Bua 2015]. In the prohibitive function the form *un* {'un} is used, cf. {'Un ti nni iri!} (Termini Imerese: {'Un iri!}) "Don't go!" [Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *nun* {nun} 'not' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. In the prohibitive function the form *un* {'un} is used, cf. { Un tinn'annari} "Don't go!" [Salzano 2015]. Spadafora, Giarre: *nɔn* {non} ~ *nun* {nun} 'not' is also used in the prohibitive function, cf. {Nun ti nn'annari!} (Spadafora) and {Non ci iri!} (Giarre) "Don't go!" [Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Also used in the prohibitive function, cf. {Nun annari!} "Don't go!" [Corsaro 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Also used in the prohibitive function, cf. {Nun ti n'iri!} "Don't go!" [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 201; Narumov 2001: 506. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No hi vagis!} 'Don't go!". For an emphasized negation the discontinous particle *no=pas* {no...pas} can be used, cf. {No menjo pas} "I don't eat" [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No hi vagis!} 'Don't go!" [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No hi vagis!} 'Don't go!" [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No hi vagis!} 'Don't go!" [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No te'n vages!} 'Don't go!" [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {No vages!} 'Don't go!" [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {¡No vayas!} "Don't go!" [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {¡Non vayas!} "Don't go!". Langreo: *nuŋ* {nun} 'not' ({¡Nun vaigas!} "Don't go!") [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 321. Used in the prohibitive function as well, cf. {não partirás} "you won't leave / don't leave" [Volf 2001: 474].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 823; Fernández Armesto 1981: 535; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 658. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {Non vaias!} "Don't go!" [Montoya Bolaños 2015].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 941-942.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1555-1556. The first form is used before a consonant; the second one occurs before a vowel.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 813. A discontinuous particle, as in Modern French. An example is: {Folie n'est pas vaselages} "Rashness is not bravery" (Erec 231); {n'est pas a droit partiz li jeus // d'un chevalier ancontre trois} "the contest is not fair between one knight and three" (Erec 2832-2833). Used in the prohibitive meaning as well: {Merci! Ne m'ocirre tu pas!} "Mercy now, and do not kill me" (Erec 990).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 454; Rayevskaya 2013: 487. In spoken French the first element can be elided [Referovskaya et al. 2001: 238]. Used also in the prohibitive function: {ne me dérangez pas} "Don't disturb me" [Collins-Robert 1989: 465].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Used in the prohibitive function as well: {N'y va poin} "Don't go!" [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Discontinuous particle. Rifondou: *ni=nẽ* {ni… nén} 'not'.

63. ONE

Archaic Latin ˈuːn-ʊs {unus} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈuːn-ʊs {unus} (1), Megleno Romanian *un* {un} (1), Istro Romanian *ur* {ur} (1), Aromanian ˈun-ŭ {un} (1), Romanian *un* {un} (1), Dalmatian *γoγŋ* {jóịn} (1), Friulian *uŋ* {un} (1), Gardenese Ladin *uŋ* {un} (1), Fassano Ladin *uŋ* {un} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *en* {en} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *in* {in} (1), Surmiran Romansh *en* {en} (1), Vallader Romansh *ün* {ün} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *üŋ* {un} (1), Barbania Piemontese *üŋ* {un} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *üŋ* {un} (1), Turinese Piemontese *üŋ* {un} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *yüŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ü* {ü} (1), Plesio Lombard *vüŋ* {vün} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *own* {ôn} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *un* {un} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *un* {ùn} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *uːn* {ûn} ~ *vɔn* {vòn} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *üŋ* (1), Genoese Ligurian *uŋ* {ŏn} (1), Stella Ligurian *üːŋ* {û-n} (1), Venice Venetian ˈun-o {ùno} (1), Primiero Venetian *uŋ* {un} (1), Bellunese Venetian ˈun-o {uno} (1), Old Italian ˈun-o {uno} (1), Standard Italian ˈun-o {uno} (1), Grosseto Italian ˈun-o {uno} (1), Foligno Italian ˈun-u {unu} (1), Neapolitan ˈun-ə {uno} (1), Logudorese ˈun-u {unu} (1), Campidanese ˈun-u {unu} (1), Palermitan Sicilian ˈun-u {unu} (1), Messinese Sicilian ˈun-u {unu} (1), Catanian Sicilian ˈun-u {unu} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian ˈun-u {unu} (1), Central Catalan *un* {un} (1), North-Western Catalan *un* {un} (1), Minorcan Catalan *un* {un} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *un* {un} (1), Valencia Catalan

un {un} (1), Manises Catalan *un {un}* (1), Castilian Spanish *un {un}* (1), Asturian *uŋ {un}* (1), Standard Portuguese *ũ {um}* (1), Galician *uŋ {un}* (1), Provençal Occitan *üŋ {un}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *yɔ̃ {yon}* ~ *{hyon}* ~ *yɔ̃n {yon-n}* (1), Old French *ũn {un}* (1), Standard French *œ̃ {un}* (1), Picard *œ̃ {un}* (1), Walloon *ɛ̃ {in}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Memini: centum in Cilicia et quinquaginta, centum in Scytholatronia, triginta Sardos, sexaginta Macedones sunt homines quos tu occidisti uno die} "I do remember this. In Cilicia there were a hundred and fifty men, a hundred in Cryphiolathronia, thirty at Sardis, sixty men of Macedon, whom you slaughtered altogether in one day" [Mil. 42-45]; {Quia enim intellego, duae unum expetitis palumbem} "Because, in fact, I understand how you two are aiming at one poor pigeon" [Bac. 50-51].
Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {cum sim paratus vel uno saviolo interim recreatus super istum ignem porrectus assari"} "if you'll revive me with a little kiss, I'm ready to be stretched out over the flame and roasted" [Met. 2: 10]; {accepturus indicivae nomine ab ipsa Venere septem savia suavia et unum blandientis adpulsu linguae longe mellitum} "the reward offered is seven sweet kisses from Venus herself, and one more deeply honeyed touch of her caressing tongue" [Met. 6: 8].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 315.
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 293; Byhan 1899: 375; Glavina 1905: 77. The feminine form is *o* {o} ~ *ˈurä* {úrę} [Kovačec 2010].
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1084; Cunia 2010: 1059; Dalametra 1906: 214; Bara et al. 2005: 132; Gołąb 1984: 256.
Romanian: DER 2004: 659-660; Bolocan et al. 1985: 836; Gancz 2015. The feminine form is *o* {o}. Moldavian: *un* {un} 'one' [Podiko 1973: 504; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 251].
Dalmatian: Some examples are: {no-i ju sapút naṅka jói̯n de jáli ke féro iṅ ku͡oza sóa} "he didn't know even one (person) among those, who were in his house"; {naṅka jói̯n dei̯ sińáu̯ri noṅ sapája favlúr iṅ veklisúṅ} "Not even one of the lords could speak Dalmatian" [Bartoli 2002: 222].
Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 456.
Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 106, 132.
Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 342.
Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.
Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.
Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.
Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 786.
Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 387.
Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 387.
Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.
Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.
Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.
Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.
Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.
Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 282. Marchigiano: *un* {un} 'one' [Pucci 2015].
Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.
Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.
Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.
Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.
Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.
Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.
Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *uŋ* {un} 'one' [Poletto 2015].
Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Tre donne in giro da la destra rota // venian danzando; l'una tanto rossa // ch'a pena fora dentro al foco nota} "Three maidens at the right wheel in a circle // came onward dancing; one so very red // that in the fire she hardly had been noted" [Purg. 29]; {This on the belly, that upon the back // one of the other lay} "Qual sovra 'l ventre e qual sovra le spalle // l'un de l'altro giacea" [Inf. 29].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2024-2025.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 449. Domus de Maria: *un-u* {unu} 'one' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *un-u* {unu} 'one' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 287.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *uŋ* {ún} 'one' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 368.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 847, 723; Fernández Armesto 1981: 730; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1036, 861.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1451.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2176-2177. The first form is used before a consonant or at the end of a word group; the second one occurs before a vowel.

Old French: Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {mes ancor vos voel querre un don} "but there is one more boon I wish to ask of you" (Erec 631); {n'est pas a droit partiz li jeus // d'un chevalier ancontre trois} "the contest is not fair between one knight and three" (Erec 2832-2833).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 468; Rayevskaya 2013: 504-505.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ɔ*{on} 'one'.

64. PERSON

Archaic Latin *hˈɔm-oː {homo}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ˈɔm-oː {homo}* (1), Megleno Romanian *wom {u̯om}* (1), Istro Romanian *om {om}* (1), Aromanian *ˈom-ŭ {om}* (1), Romanian *om {om}* (1), Dalmatian *om {om} ~ yom {jom}* (1), Friulian *ɔm {om}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ˈwomo {uomo}* (-1), Fassano Ladin *om {om}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *kəršɕˈawn {carstgaun}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *kəršɕˈawn {carstgaun}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *kəršt̹ˈaŋ {carstgang}* (2), Vallader Romansh *um-ˈan {uman}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *ˈɔm {òm}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *ˈɔm {òm}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *ˈɔm {òm}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *ɔm {om}* (1) / *persˈoŋ-a {person-a}* (3), Vercellese Piemontese *ˈoːm-aŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *öm*

{öm} (1), Plesio Lombard *om:* {omm} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *sčãn* {sˑ-ciân} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *styan* {stiàn} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *ɔm* {òm} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *om* {óm} (1), Rapallo Ligurian ˈɔm:-u (1), Genoese Ligurian ˈɔm:-u {òmmŏ} (1), Stella Ligurian *krist'yaŋ* {cristià-n} (2), Venice Venetian ˈɔm-o {òmo} (1), Primiero Venetian *ɔm* {òm} (1), Bellunese Venetian *ɔm* {om} (1), Old Italian ˈwɔm-o {uomo} (1), Standard Italian ˈwɔm-o {uomo} (1), Grosseto Italian ˈɔm-o {omo} (1), Foligno Italian ˈɔm-u {omu} (1), Neapolitan *krəst'yan-ə* {cristiano} (2), Logudorese ˈom:-in-e {òmmine} (1), Campidanese ˈom:-in-i {ommini} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *krišty'an-u* {cristianu} (2), Messinese Sicilian *krɨsty'an-u* {cristianu} (2), Catanian Sicilian *kristy'an-u* {cristianu} (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *krišty'an-u* {cristianu} (2), Central Catalan ˈɔmə {home} (1), North-Western Catalan ˈɔme {home} (1), Minorcan Catalan ˈɔmu {home} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan ˈɔme {home} (1), Valencia Catalan ˈɔme {home} (1), Manises Catalan ˈɔme {home} (1) / *peɾs'on-a* {persona} (3), Castilian Spanish ˈombɾ-e {hombre} (1), Asturian ˈom-e {home} (1), Standard Portuguese ˈɔmẽỹ {homem} (1), Galician ˈɔm-e {home} (1), Provençal Occitan ˈɔme {ome} (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal ˈom-o {omo} (1), Old French ˈõm-ə {ome} (1), Standard French *ɔm* {homme} (1), Picard *ɔ̃m* {onme} (1), Walloon *ʒɛ̃* {djin} (4).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *h'ɔm- n- ʙ* {hominis}. Cf. some examples: {quas herbas pecudes non edunt, homines edunt} "Herbage which the cattle eat not, men eat themselves" [Pseud. 825]; {quin divom atque hominum clamat continuo fidem, de suo tigillo fumus si qua exit foras} "Why, he's forever crying out for aid from Gods and men, that his property has gone, and that he is ruined root and branch, if the smoke by chance escapes out of doors through the rafters of his house" [Aul. 300-301].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Sub oculis tuis homo iugulatur, et siles?} "A man has his throat cut before your eyes, and you do nothing!" [Met. 1: 14]; {Mirus prorsum homo immo semideus vel certe deus} "They were the work of some eminent master, or a demigod or god perhaps" [Met. 5: 1].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 316.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 242; Byhan 1899: 293.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 806-807; Cunia 2010: 775; Dalametra 1906: 161; Bara et al. 2005: 144; Gołąb 1984: 240.

Romanian: DER 2004: 588; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1639-1640; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *om* {om} 'person' [Podiko 1973: 1027; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 487].

Dalmatian: Polysemy: 'man / person'. Some examples are: {jail ke stentúa, kosti sis jóm, fero forláń} "those who were working, those six men were Friulians" [Bartoli 2002: 224]; {jara uṅ jóm ple rispetábil de toči ku̯ínč perkó el era ré} "there was a man, the most respectable man, because he was a king" [Bartoli 2002: 229].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 707, 274. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 106, 161. Borrowed from Italian {uomo} 'man / person'. Gartner also mentions the term *krišt'yaŋ* {krištˈiáŋ} 'Christian / man' [Gartner 1923: 42, 161] (see the Romansh word for 'man / person'), but in Forni's dictionary it is used only in the first meaning [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 342.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. The term *kəršҫ'awn* {carstgaun} has a synonym in Rumantsch Grischun: *um'an* {uman} 'person / human being'. Romansh *kəršҫ'awn* goes back to Latin {Christianus} 'Christian', which is borrowed from Ancient Greek {χριστιανός} 'Christian' < {Χριστός} 'Christ', but we do not regard this word as a borrowing, because the meaning shift 'Christian' > 'person /

human being' took place already in Romansh. See 'red' for a similar problem.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Turinese Piemontese: According to the information provided by [Davico 2016], *pers'oŋ-a* {person-a} is the general term, used regardless of gender, while *ɔm* {om} is applied in the meaning 'human being' mostly while speaking about male persons. We include both terms in the list.Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 384. See notes on 'person' in the Romansh list.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. See notes on 'person' in the Romansh list.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Less frequent in this meaning is the term *krist'yaŋ* {cristiàṅ}. In politically correct speech the term *pers'ɔwn-a* {persòuna} 'person' is also used.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. See the comment for 'person' in the Romansh list.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *ɔŋ* {òn} 'person' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The form *'ɔm-o* {omo}, influenced by Old Sicilian, is possible as well [Patota 2002: 57]. Some examples are: {qual che tu sii, od ombra od omo certo!} "Whiche'er thou art, or shade or real man!" [Inf. 1]; {Uomini fummo, e or siam fatti sterpi} "Men once we were, and now are changed to trees" [Inf. 13].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1939. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Cerrone 2015. In some contexts the term *'ɔm:-ə* {ommo} 'man' can be used in this meaning as well [Mancusi 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 294. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Domus de Maria: *'om:in-i* {ommini} 'man / person' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. The term *'wɔm-u* {uomu} can be used as well [Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015]. See notes on 'person' in the Romansh list. Buscemi: *kristy'an-u* {cristianu} 'person', cf. {I cristiani puònu parràri, n'armalu nun pò} "Men can talk, an animal cannot" [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. The term *'ɔm-u* {omu} 'person' can be sometimes used as well [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015]. See notes on 'person' in the Romansh list.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015. Distinct from *'ɔm-in-i* {omini} 'mankind' [Salerno 2015]. See notes on 'person' in the Romansh list.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. The term *'ɔm:-in-u* {omminu} 'person' can be sometimes used as well [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015]. See the comment for 'person' in the Romansh list.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'. In politically correct speech the term *pərs'on-ə* {persona} 'person' is also used [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'. In politically correct speech the term *pers'on-ɛ* {persona} 'person' is also used [Montagut 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person / husband'.There are two terms for 'man (person)': ˈɔme {home} and pɛrsˈon-a {persona}. The first one is used when speaking about humans as species, as in {L'home és un animal molt paregut als grans monos} "Man is an animal very close to big apes" and when speaking about a group of people, consisting of men only. The term {pesona} is used to designate a group of people of both genders, as in {Hi havien una o dos persones} "There were one or two people" [Pedrós 2016]. We include both terms into the list.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'. There is also the term ser=umˈan-o {ser humano} 'human being' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: ˈɔm-e {home} 'man / person / husband' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 695. Polysemy: 'man / person'. In politically correct speech the term pəsˈo-ɐ {pessoa} 'person' is also used [Pimentel Ferreira 2016].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 699.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1145-1146. Polysemy: 'man / husband / person'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 768-769. Polysemy: 'man / person'.

Standard French: Rayevskaya 2013: 639. Polysemy: 'man / person'. Can be applied to mixed groups, including both men and women, but never to groups consisting only of women [LGR 5: 220-223]. The term pɛʁsɔn {personne}, defined as "individual of human species, considered as conscious and free subject" can be used in this meaning as well: {une brave personne} 'a brave person', {c'est une excellente personne} 'it is an excellent person', {les personnes qui nous entourent} 'the people who surround us' [LGR 7: 299-301].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Cf. the following context: {(i) gn è yauk ki rmoûe dins lès buchons, dju n' sê (nin) si c' èst-st ène djin û ène bièsse} "there is something moving in the bushes, I do not know if it is a man or a beast". Rifondou: ʒɛ̃ {djin} 'person'.

65. RAIN

Archaic Latin pɫˈʋw-ɪ-a {pluvia} (1), Late Classical Latin pɫˈʋʋ-y-a {pluvia} (1), Megleno Romanian plˈo̯ay-ə {ploái̯ă} (1), Istro Romanian plˈoy-e {plói̯e} (1), Aromanian plˈo̯ay-e {ploái̯e} (1), Romanian plˈo̯ay-e {ploaie} (1), Dalmatian plovay-a {plovaja} ~ pluv {pluv} (1), Friulian plˈɔy-e {ploie} ~ plˈɔ-e {ploe} (1), Gardenese Ladin plˈwey-a {plueia} (1), Fassano Ladin pˈyevy-a {pięvia} (1), Rumantsch Grischun plˈyɛvʒ-ə {plievgia} (1), Sursilvan Romansh plˈyɛvʒ-ə {plievgia} (1), Surmiran Romansh plˈyɛvʒ-ə {plievgia} (1), Vallader Romansh plˈövʒ-ə {plövgia} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese pˈyöv-a {pieuva} (1), Barbania Piemontese pˈyöv-a {pieuva} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese pˈyöv-a {pieuva} (1), Turinese Piemontese pˈyöv-a {pieuva} (1), Vercellese Piemontese pˈyɔv-a (1), Bergamo Lombard ˈakːw-a {acqua} (2), Plesio Lombard ˈakːw-a {acqua} (2), Ravennate Romagnol pˈyuv-a {piùva} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano pˈyɔv-a {piòva} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano pˈyov-a {pióva} (1), Reggiano Emiliano ˈaːkv-a {âcva} ~ ˈaːkw-a {âqua} (2), Rapallo Ligurian pˈuy-a (1), Genoese Ligurian ˈægw-a {ægŏa} (2), Stella Ligurian ˈäːgw-a {ægua} (2), Venice Venetian pˈyɔv-a {piòva} ~ pˈyov-a {pióva} (1), Primiero Venetian pˈyov-a {piova} (1), Bellunese Venetian pˈyov-a {piova} (1), Old Italian pˈyɔʒː-a {pioggia} (1), Standard Italian pˈyɔʒː-a {pioggia} (1),

Grosseto Italian *p'yɔʒ:-a {pioggia}* (1), Foligno Italian *p'yɔʥ:-a {piogghja}* (1), Neapolitan *k'yɔʒ:-ə {chioggia}* (1), Logudorese *pr'og-id-a {pròghida}* (1), Campidanese *'ab:-a {abba}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *'ak:w-a {acqua}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *kyuv-'ut-a {chiuvuta}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *kyuv-'ut-a {chiuvuta}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *'ak:w-a {accua}* (2), Central Catalan *pʎ'už-ə {pluja}* (1), North-Western Catalan *pʎ'už-ε {pluja}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *pʎ'už-ə {pluja}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pʎ'uʒ-a {pluja}* (1), Valencia Catalan *pʎ'uč-a {pluja}* (1), Manises Catalan *pʎ'uč-a {pluja}* (1), Castilian Spanish *ʎuβy-a {lluvia}* (1), Asturian *ʎuby-a {lluvia}* (1), Standard Portuguese *š'uv-ɐ {chuva}* (1), Galician *č'oyβ-a {choiva}* (1), Provençal Occitan *pl'yεy-o {plueio}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pʎod-e {plyôzhe}* (1), Old French *pl'yi-ə {pluie}* (1), Standard French *plyi {pluie}* (1), Picard *plœv {pleuve}* (1), Walloon *plü:f {plûve}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: There are two terms for 'rain': *pʎ'vw- ɬa* (pluvia) and *'mbεr* {imber}. According to OLD, the first word means 'rainfall / rain' [OLD 1968: 1394], while the second one means 'rain / a shower or storm of rain' [OLD 1968: 832]. The first one is not attested in Plautus' texts, but he uses the related verb {pluit} instead: {eodem amictus, eodem tectus esse soleo, si pluit} "I'm wont to be clothed, by that same protected, when it rains" [Rud. 577]; {ecce autem bibit arcus, pluet credo hercle hodie} "but see, the rainbow's drinking; I' faith, I do believe it will rain to-day" [Curc. 132-133]; {nam rus ut ibat forte, ut multum pluerat} "For as, by chance, he was going into the country, when it had rained heavily" [Men. 63]; {tam hoc quidem tibi in proclivi quam imber est quando pluit} "Why really, that's down as pat for you, as the shower is when it rains" [Capt. 336].

As for the term {imber}, Plautus uses it in the meaning 'shower of rain': {nonne ex advorso vides, nubis atra imberque} "Black clouds and showers are coming on" [Merc. 878-879]; {venit imber, perlavit parietes, perpluont, tigna putefacit, perdit operam fabri} "A shower comes on and streams down the walls; the rafters admit the rain; the weather rots the labours of the builder" [Most. 111-112]; {continuo pro imbre amor advenit [in cor meum], is usque in pectus permanavit, permadefecit cor meum} "at once passion like a torrent entered my heart; it flowed down even unto my breast, and soaked through my heart" [Most. 142-143]; {satis esse nobis non magis potis quam fungo imber} "'Tis no more possible for there to be enough of this for us than for there to be too much rain for a mushroom" [Stichus 773]; {non pluris refert quam si imbrem in cribrum geras} "of no more value than if you were to pour water into a sieve" [Pseud. 102]; {imbres fluctusque atque procellae infensae frangere malum, ruere antemnas, scindere vela} "storms and waves, and raging squalls were about to roar, to break the mast, to bear down the yards, to split the sails" [Trin. 836-837]; {imbrem perpetiar, laborem sufferam, solem, sitim} "I dread neither wind nor hail; the torrents of rain I'll submit to; labour, heat, and thirst, will I endure" [Merc. 861]; {tam hoc quidem tibi in proclivi quam imber est quando pluit} "Why really, that's down as pat for you, as the shower is when it rains" [Capt. 336].

Cato uses the term {pluvia} several times: {Cum tempestates pluviae fuerint, quae opera per imbrem fieri potuerint} "If it has been a rainy season, remind him of the work that could have been done on rainy days" [De agri cultura 2]; {Unde vinum Coum facere voles, uvas relinquito in vinea, sinito bene coquantur, et ubi pluerit et siccaverit, tum deligito et ponito in sole biduum aut triduum sub dio, si pluviae non erunt. Si pluvia erit, in tecto cratibus conponito, et siqua acina corrupta erunt, depurgato} "Allow the grapes from which you intend to make the Coan wine to remain on the vine, let them ripen thoroughly, and pick them when they have dried after a rain. Place them in the sun for two days, or in the open for three days, unless it is raining, in which case put them under cover in baskets; clear out any berries which have rotted" [De agri cultura 112]; {Cum tempestates pluviae fuerint, quae opera per imbrem fieri potuerint} "If it has been a rainy season, remind him of the work that could have been done on rainy days" [De agri cultura 2]. The contexts for {imber} are: {Caveto, quom ventus siet aut imber, effodias aut feras; nam id maxime cavendum est} "Be careful not to dig them up or transport them when the wind is blowing or when it is raining, for this is especially to be avoided" [De agri

cultura 28]; {Post imbrem autumnum rapinam, pabulum lupinumque serito} "Sow turnips, forage crops, and lupines after the autumn rains" [De agri cultura 5]; {Per imbrem in villa quaerito quid fieri possit} "In rainy weather try to find something to do indoors" [De agri cultura 39]; {Cum tempestates pluviae fuerint, quae opera per imbrem fieri potuerint} "If it has been a rainy season, remind him of the work that could have been done on rainy days" [De agri cultura 2]. Cato's contexts do not reveal much, but they do not seem to contradict the OLD definitions, so we include {pluvia} in the list.

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Nam forte pluviae pridianae recens conceptaculum aquae lutulentae proximum conspicatus ibi memet inprovido saltu totum abicio} "I saw a puddle of water nearby, fresh from yesterday's rain, and without further thought I got down and rolled right in it" [Met. 7: 20]; {et adsiduis pluviis nocturnisque rorationibus sub dio} "the rain fell all day long and the nights were wet with dew" [Met. 9: 32].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 227.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 251; Byhan 1899: 309. Žejane: *ɣʼodin-a* {ɣódina} of Slavic origin [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 224].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 868; Cunia 2010: 841; Dalametra 1906: 174; Bara et al. 2005: 326; Gołąb 1984: 244.

Romanian: DER 2004: 760; Bolocan et al. 1985: 315-316; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *plʼǫaɣ-e* {ploaie} 'rain' [Podiko 1973: 181-182; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 97].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 236. Some examples are: {di mái̯, mandu͡ǫte uṅ páṷk di pluv} "My Lord, send a little rain" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {la pluvaja joi duot la puolver} "the rain washed the dust away" (Cubich) [Bartoli 2002: 276]. The form *pluv* {pluv} is of Venetian origin [Bartoli 2002: 171].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 690, 306.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 70, 170. Marebbano: *plʼöy-a* {plœⁱa} 'rain'; Badiotto: *plʼöy-a* {plœⁱa} 'rain'; Livinallese: *plʼoy-a* {ploⁱa} 'rain' [Gartner 1923: 170].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 222; Gartner 1923: 170.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Valloder Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 550.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 249.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 249.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 315.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Polysemy: 'rain / water'. Distinct from *čuv-ˈi:* {ciǒvî} 'to rain'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Polysemy: 'rain / water'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Examples: {come tu vedi, a la pioggia mi fiacco} " I, as thou seest, am battered by this rain" [Inf. 6]; {parvemi tanto allor del cielo acceso // de la fiamma del sol, che pioggia o fiume // lago non fece alcun tanto disteso} "then seemed to me so much of heaven enkindled // by the sun's flame, that neither rain nor river // e'er made a lake so widely spread abroad" [Par. 1]. The term *pʼyɔv-a* {piova}, newly derived from {piovere} 'to rain" is also possible: {Io sono al terzo cerchio, de la piova // etterna, maladetta, fredda e greve} "in the third circle am I of the rain // eternal, maledict, and cold, and heavy" [Inf. 6].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2147-2148.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Less frequent is the form *p'yɔʊ-a* {piova} 'rain' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015. Apart from this term, the Italian loanword *p'yɔǯ-ə* {pioggia} 'rain' can be used as well [Esposito 2015; Cirillo 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Used unfrequently; as a rule, the verb *pr'og-e-re* {pròghere} ~ *pr'o-e-re* {pròere} is used to designate the situation of raining [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'. Domus de Maria: *'akːw-a* {acqua} 'water / rain' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; La Bua 2015. Distinct from *k'yɔʊ-i-ɾi* {chioviri} 'to rain' [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *kyuv'ut-a* {chiuvuta} 'rain' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Sorbello 2015. Spadafora: *p'yɔǯ-a* {pioggia} of Italian origin [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the form *k'yɔǯ-a* {chioggia} [La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 180.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from the verb *pɫ'ɔw-ɾə* {ploure} 'to rain' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ʎuby-a* {lluvia} 'rain' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 139.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 817, 307; Fernández Armesto 1981: 489; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 984, 332.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1067.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1645-1646.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 860.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 556; Rayevskaya 2013: 398.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *pluːf* {plouve} 'rain'.

66. RED

Archaic Latin *r'ʊb-ɛr* {ruber} (1), Megleno Romanian *roš* {roș} (2), Istro Romanian *r'oys-u* {róįsu} (2), Aromanian *ar'oš-ŭ* {aróṣ̌ŭ} (2), Romanian *r'oš-u* {roșu} (2), Dalmatian *raws* {raṷs} ~ *rwas* {rṷas} (2), Friulian *rɔs* {ros} (2), Gardenese Ladin *k'wečuŋ* {cueciun} (3), Fassano Ladin *k'ečeŋ* {chécen} (3), Rumantsch Grischun *k'očən* {cotschen} (3), Sursilvan Romansh *ɟ'yečən* {tgietschen} (3), Surmiran Romansh *k'očən* {cotschen} (3), Vallader Romansh *k'očən* {cotschen} (3), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *rus* {ross} (2), Barbania Piemontese *rus* {ross} (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *rus* {ross} (2), Turinese Piemontese *rus* {ross} (2), Vercellese Piemontese *rus* (2), Bergamo Lombard *ros* {ros} (2), Plesio Lombard *rusː* {russ} (2), Ravennate Romagnol *roz* {róṣ} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *ros* {rós} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *rɔs* {ròs} (2), Reggiano Emiliano *rɔs* {ròss} (2), Rapallo Ligurian *r'už-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *r'usː-u* {rŏssŏ} (2), Stella Ligurian *r'usː-u* {russu} (2), Venice Venetian *r'os-o* {rósso} (2), Primiero Venetian *ros* {ros} (2), Bellunese Venetian *ros* {ros} (2), Old Italian *r'osː-o*

{rosso} (2), Standard Italian *rˈosː-o {rosso}* (2), Grosseto Italian *rˈosː-o {rosso}* (2), Foligno Italian *rˈušː-u {rusciu}* (2), Neapolitan *rˈusː-ə {russo}* (2), Logudorese *rˈuvy-u {rùviu}* (1), Campidanese *arˈuby-u {arrubiu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ʑˈusː-u {russu}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *rːˈusː-u {russu}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *rːˈusː-u {russu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *ʑˈusː-u {russu}* (2), Central Catalan *bərmˈɛʎ {vermell}* (4), North-Western Catalan *rɔč {roig}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *vərmˈɛɣ {vermell}* (4), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *rɔč {roig}* (1), Valencia Catalan *rɔč {roig}* (1), Manises Catalan *rɔč {roig}* (1), Castilian Spanish *rˈox-o {rojo}* (2), Asturian *koʎor-ˈa-o {collorao}* (5), Standard Portuguese *vərmˈeʎ-u {vermelho}* (4), Galician *bermˈeʎ-o {vermello}* (4), Provençal Occitan *ʁˈuʒ-e {rouge}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *rˈoð-o {rozho}* (1), Old French *rˈoʒ-ə {roge}* (1), Standard French *ʁuž {rouge}* (1), Picard *ʁuš {rouche}* (1), Walloon *ʁuč {roudje}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The most common Latin word for 'red' {ruber} [Solopov 2007: 73] is not attested in Plautus' texts, but there are some related words: *rˈub-ɔr* {rubor} 'red colour' ({At ego faciam ut pudeat, nam in ruborem te totum dabo} "But I'll make you to be ashamed; for I'll cause you to be blushes all over" [Capt. 962]), *eː=rub-ˈeːsk-ɛ-rɛ* {erubescere} 'to blush', *rub-r-ˈiːk-a* {rubrica} 'red ochre' ({Itane? erubuisti? quasi vero corpori reliqueris tuo potestatem coloris ulli capiendi, mala. buccas rubrica, creta omne corpus intinxti tibi} "And is it so? Thee coloured? As though, hussy, thee really hadst left to thy skin the power of receiving any colour. Redden up thy cheeks, thee hast given all thy skin its colour with chalk" [Truc. 292-295]), *rub-ḭk-ˈund-us* {rubicundus} 'ruddy': {Rufus quidam, ventriosus, crassis suris, subniger, magno capite, acutis oculis, ore rubicundo, admodum magnis pedibus} "A certain red-haired fellow, pot-bellied, with thick calves, swarthy, with a big head, sharp eyes, red face, and very large feet" [Pseud. 1218-1220]; {ecquem adulescentem huc, dum hic astatis, strenua facie rubicundum fortem} "Have you seen to-day, while you've been standing here, any young man, of courageous aspect, ruddy, stout" [Rud. 313-314]. In Cato's text the term {ruber} occurs in the following context: {Si in loco crasso aut calido severis, hostus nequam erit et ferundo arbor peribit et muscus ruber molestus erit} "If you plant it in heavy or warm soil the yield will be worthless, the tree will exhaust itself in bearing, and a reddish scale will injure it" [De agri cultura 6].

> Another related term, *rˈuːb-ḭd-us* {rubidus}, is used in an uncertain meaning: {robiginosam strigilem, ampullam rubidam} "a rusty flesh-scraper, too; a rusty-coloured brown bottle" [Stichus 230]; {Vna edepol opera in furnum calidum condito atque ibi torreto me pro pane rubido, era, qua istuc opera a me impetres quod postulas} "By my faith, all in an instant shut me up in a hot furnace, and parch me there for a hard-baked biscuit, good mistress, before you shall gain that point of me which you desire" [Cas. 309-311].
>
> Distinct from *rˈuːf-us* {rufus} 'red (of hair)' (derivates: {rufulus}, {subrufus}): {Rufus quidam, ventriosus, crassis suris, subniger, magno capite, acutis oculis, ore rubicundo, admodum magnis pedibus} "A certain red-haired fellow, pot-bellied, with thick calves, swarthy, with a big head, sharp eyes, red face, and very large feet" [Pseud. 1218-1220]; {Macilentis malis, rufulus aliquantum, ventriosus} "Lantern-jawed, with reddish hair, a little pot-bellied" [Asin. 400]; {macilento ore, naso acuto, corpore albo, oculis nigris, subrufus aliquantum, crispus, cincinnatus} "with a thin face, sharp nose, light hair, dark eyes, somewhat ruddy, with hair rather crisp and curling" [Capt. 647-648].
>
> Distinct from *rˈut-ḭl-us* {rutilus} 'red (about hair) / rusty': {Si canum seu istuc rutilum sive atrumst, amo} "Whether that is hoary, or whether red, or whether black, I'm in love" (about hair) [Merc. 306]; {nam hoc quidem pol e robigine, non est e ferro factum, ita quanto magis extergeo, rutilum atque tenuius fit} "But surely this, i' faith, has been made of rust, and not of iron; so that the more I rub it, it becomes quite red and more slender" [Rud. 1299-1301].
>
> Distinct from *puːnḭk-ˈɛ-us* {puniceus} 'scarlet' ({sunt alii puniceo corio, magni item; atque atri} "some are of a purple skin, there are great and black ones also" (about fish) [Rud. 998]; {Quin tu me interrogas, purpureum panem an puniceum soleam ego esse an luteum?} "Why don't you ask whether I'm wont to eat dark bread, or purple, or yellow?" [Men. 916]).

The terms {russus} and {russeus} are not attested in Plautus' texts.

Late Classical Latin: There are no good examples of words denoting 'red' in Apuleius' texts: {Ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta et russea fasceola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas succinctula} "She was neatly dressed in a linen tunic gathered in with a bright red band beneath her breasts" [Met. 2: 7]; {dentem atque russam pumicare gingiuam} "Polish his teeth and ruddy gums" [Apologia 6]; {Commodum poenicantibus phaleris Aurora roseum quatiens lacertum caelum inequitabat} "No sooner had Dawn, her rosy arm uplifted, begun to drive her steeds with purple trappings over the sky" [Met. 3: 1]; {Tunica multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida} "Her multi-coloured robe was of finest linen, gleaming here pure white, here a saffron yellow, there flaming rose-red" [Met. 11: 3]

However, Gellius gives us the following description: {Quippe qui "rufus" color a rubore quidem appellatus est, sed cum aliter rubeat ignis, aliter sanguis, aliter ostrum, aliter crocum, aliter aurum, has singulas rufi varietates Latina oratio singulis propriisque vocabulis non demonstrat omniaque ista significat una "ruboris" appellatione, cum ex ipsis rebus vocabula colorum mutuatur et "igneum" aliquid dicit et "flammeum" et "sanguineum" et "croceum" et "ostrinum" et "aureum". "Russus" enim color et "ruber" nihil a vocabulo "rufi" dinoscuntur neque proprietates eius omnes declarant, xanthos autem et erythros et pyrrhos et irros et phoinix habere quasdam distantias coloris rufi videntur vel augentes eum vel remittentes vel mixta quadam specie temperantes} "For the colour red (rufus) does in fact get its name from redness, but although fire is one kind of red, blood another, purple another, saffron another, and gold still another, yet the Latin tongue does not indicate these special varieties of red by separate and individual words, but includes them all under the one term rubor, except in so far as it borrows names from the things themselves, and calls anything 'fiery,' 'flaming,' 'blood-red,' 'saffron', 'purple' and 'golden.' For russus and ruber are no doubt derived from rufus, and do not indicate all its special varieties, but ξανθός and ἐρυθρός and πυρρός and κιρρός and φοῖνιξ seem to mark certain differences in the colour red, either intensifying it or making it lighter, or qualifying it by the admixture of some shade" [Attic Nights 2: 26], and further: {Non enim haec sunt sola vocabula rufum colorem demonstrantia, quae tu modo dixisti, "russus" et "ruber", sed alia quoque habemus plura, quam quae dicta abs te Graeca sunt: "fulvus" enim et "flavus" et "rubidus" et "poeniceus" et "rutilus" et "luteus" et "spadix" appellationes sunt rufi coloris aut acuentes eum quasi incendentes aut cum colore viridi miscentes aut nigro infuscantes aut virenti sensim albo illuminantes. Nam "poeniceus", quem tu Graece phoinika dixisti, et "rutilus" et "spadix" poenicei synonymos, qui factus e Graeco noster est, exuberantiam splendoremque significant ruboris, quales sunt fructus palmae arboris non admodum sole incocti, unde spadici et poeniceo nomen est: spadika enim Dorici vocant avulsum e palma termitem cum fructu} "Forrussus and ruber, which you have just mentioned, are not the only words that denote the colour red, but we have others also, more numerous than those which you have quoted from the Greek. For fulvus, flavus, rubidus, poeniceus, rutilus, luteus and spadix are names of the colour red, which either brighten it (making it fiery, as it were), or combine it with green, or darken it with black, or make it luminous by a slight addition of gleaming white. For poeniceus, which you call φοῖνιξ in Greek, belongs to our language, and rutilus andspadix, a synonym of poeniceus which is taken over into Latin from the Greek, indicate a rich, gleaming shade of red like that of the fruit of the palm-tree when it is not fully ripened by the sun. And from this spadix and poeniceus get their name; for spadix in Doric is applied to a branch torn from a palm-tree along with its fruit" [Attic Nights 2: 26]. This passage and use of {rufus} a bit further ({"Flavus" contra videtur e viridi et rufo et albo concretus} "Flavus on the other hand seems to be compounded of green and red and white" [Attic Nights 2: 26]) correlate well with its use as the main designation of red in Vulgata.

Although what we observe here might seem similar to the situation with 'yellow', it is in fact different. In the latter case we have to choose between two close cognates ({fulvus} and {flavus}) which did not survive in this meaning in Romance languages, so it does not make much of a difference which term we choose. Regarding {ruber}, {rufus}, and {russus}, we have another kind of situation: although they go back to the same PIE root ({rufus} is borrowed from an Italic language), they should be considered different roots for the Latin language. In addition, {ruber} and {russus}, through {rubeus} and {russeus}, have descendants meaning 'red' in different branches of Romance family. Taking these facts into account, we do not include any term in the list based on Apuleius, due to lack of data needed to make such an important choice.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 251.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 268; Byhan 1899: 329.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 150; Cunia 2010: 127; Dalametra 1906: 27; Gołąb 1984: 201.

Romanian: DER 2004: 774; Bolocan et al. 1985: 557; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {russus} 'red' or {roseus} 'pink' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *rʹoš-u* {roşu} 'red' [Podiko 1973: 335; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 175].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 256. Some examples are: {fero ru̯as el ǵéler} "The bodice was red" [Bartoli 2002: 232]; {Jaime de vain vetrún, juálb, fosc, ruass, dole, garb} "We have wine old, white, black, red, sweet, gentle" (Cubich) [Bartoli 2002: 288-289]. The form *rwas* {ru̯as} is a "dalmatianized" borrowing from Venetian [Bartoli 2002: 169].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 695, 339. Distinct from *ravˈɔst* {ravòst} 'reddish' [Pirona 1871: 695, 326].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 43, 171. Besides this term, Gartner also mentions the word *rwənt* {rua̤nt}, glossed as 'rot' ('red') [Gartner 1923: 77, 171], but Forni translates this word as 'rovente' ('red-hot') [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 267. There are two terms for 'red' in DILF: *kʲečeŋ* {chécen} and *ros* {ros}. Unfortunately, the dictionary does not explain the difference between them. The latter word also exists in the Gardenese dialect, where it means 'brown' [Forni 2015] or 'red-yellow' [Gartner 1923: 77, 126], so we found it possible to extrapolate this difference onto the Fossano dialect.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. Goes back to Latin {coccinus} 'scarlet-dyed, scarlet', borrowed from Ancient Greek {kókkinos} 'scarlet' [Walde & Hofmann 1938: 241] < {kókkos} 'kernel of fruits / gall of Quercus coccifera', which is probably of substrate origin [Beekes 2010: 733]. Nevertheless, we do not regard this word as a borrowing, because the meaning shift 'scarlet' > 'red' took place already in Romansh. See 'person' for a similar problem.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 201.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 301.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 301.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 349. Marchigiano: *rɔsk* {ròsch} 'red' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015. Salgareda: *ros* {rós} 'red' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The main designation for the red colour, which is confirmed by the following context: {vidine un'altra come sangue rossa} "another of them saw I, red as blood" [Inf. 17]. Other examples are as follows: {Lo strazio e 'l grande scempio // che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso} "The slaughter and great carnage // which have with crimson stained the Arbia" [Inf. 10]; {né con ciò che di sopra al Mar Rosso èe} "nor with whatever on the Red Sea is!" [Inf. 24]; {ma 'l bollor de l'acqua rossa // dovea ben solver l'una che tu faci} "but the boiling of the red // water might well solve one of them thou makest" [Inf. 14]; {Tre donne in giro da la destra rota // venian danzando; l'una tanto rossa // ch'a pena fora dentro al foco nota} "Three maidens at the right wheel in a circle // came onward dancing; one so very red // that in the fire she hardly had been noted" [Purg. 29]; {e or parëan da la bianca tratte, // or da la rossa} "and now they seemed conducted by the white" [Purg. 29]; {ma, poco appresso, // ella, non tu, n'avrà rossa la tempia} "but soon after // they, and not thou, shall have the forehead scarlet" [Par. 17]; {e ch'i' son stato così sottosopra, // ch'el non starà piantato coi piè rossi} "and here have been in this way upside down, // than he will planted stay with reddened feet" [Inf. 19]; {e già mai non si videro in furnace // vetri o metalli sì lucenti e rossi} "and never in a furnace was there seen // metals or glass so lucent and so red" [Purg. 24].

Another term for 'red' is *verm-ˈiʎ-o* {vermiglio}, which occurs as a designation of the vermilion colour. Dante uses it for the colour of fire: {La terra lagrimosa diede vento, // che balenò una luce vermiglia} "The land of tears gave forth a blast of wind, // and fulminated a vermilion light" [Inf. 3];{Maestro, già le sue meschite // là entro certe ne la valle cerno, //

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vermiglie come se di foco uscite} "Its mosques already, Master, clearly // within there in the valley I discern // vermilion, as if issuing from the fire" [Inf. 8]; the colour of the hell beasts body parts: {Li occhi ha vermigli, la barba unta e atra} "Red eyes he has, and unctuous beard and black" (about Cerberus) [Inf. 6]; {con li altri, innanzi a li altri aprì la canna, // ch'era di fuor d'ogne parte vermiglia} "before the others did his gullet open, // which outwardly was red in every part" [Inf. 28]; {Oh quanto parve a me gran maraviglia // quand' io vidi tre facce a la sua testa! // L'una dinanzi, e quella era vermiglia} "O, what a marvel it appeared to me, // when I beheld three faces on his head! // The one in front, and that vermilion was" [Inf. 34]; {le membra d'oro avea quant' era uccello, // e bianche l'altre, di vermiglio miste} "his limbs were gold, so far as he was bird, // and white the others with vermilion mingled" [Purg. 29]; and for Aurora's cheeks: {sì che le bianche e le vermiglie guance, // là dov' i' era, de la bella Aurora} "so that the white and the vermilion cheeks // of beautiful Aurora, where I was" [Purg. 2]. It is also applied to the flowers and mulberry: {allor che 'l gelso diventò vermiglio} "what time the mulberry became vermilion" [Purg. 27]; {volsesi in su i vermigli e in su i gialli // fioretti verso me} "on the vermilion and the yellow flowerets // she turned towards me" [Purg. 28]; {anzi di rose e d'altri fior vermigli} "but of the rose, and other flowers vermilion" [Purg. 29]; {tanto che 'l giglio // non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso, // né per divisïon fatto vermiglio} "that the lily // never upon the spear was placed reversed, // nor by division was vermilion made." [Par. 16]. Once it is used as a synonym of {rosso}, possibly because of rhyme: {Or ci movemmo con la scorta fida // lungo la proda del bollor vermigli} "We with our faithful escort onward moved // along the brink of the vermilion boiling" [Inf. 12].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2162-2163.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 61. Domus de Maria: *ar:'uby-u* {arrubiu} 'red' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *ʐ'us:-u* {russu} 'red' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 253. Distinct from the obsolete term *rɔč* {roig} [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Balletbò mentions the term *berm'eʎ* {vermell} as a synonym [Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. The examples are: {Esti sombrero ye collorao} "This hat is red", {Her scarf is red} "La so bufanda ye collorá". Distinct from *r'oš-o* {roxo} 'red (about hair)': {Ye una moza roxa} "She is a ginger girl" [Riego-Delgado 2016]. Langreo: *en=kaɾn-'a-u* {encarnáu} 'red', *r'oš-u* {roxu} 'blond (about hair)' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 246.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 731; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1019, 871. Distinct from *r'oš-o* {roxo} 'blond', for example {ten o pelo roxo} "he has blond hair" [Montoya Bolaños 2016; Franco Grande 1968: 838].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1248-1249.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1893-1894.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 983. Distinct from *verm'eʎ* {vermeil} 'bright-red, vermilion' [EDCT 2014: 1141] and from *paõn'ac* {päonaz} 'purple-red' [EDCT 2014: 797].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 565; Rayevskaya 2013: 453. Distinct from *ʁu* {roux} 'red (about hair)' [Robert-Collins 1989: 565; Rayevskaya 2013: 578].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ʁǒč* {rodje} 'red'.

67. ROAD

Archaic Latin *w'ɪ-a {via}* (1), Late Classical Latin *v'ɪ-a {via}* (1), Megleno Romanian *drum {drum}* (-1), Istro Romanian *k'ʋl-e {cåle}* (2), Aromanian *k'al-e {cále}* (2), Romanian *drum {drum}* (-1), Dalmatian *kal {kal}* (-1), Friulian *str'ad-e {strade}* (3), Gardenese Ladin *štr'ɛd-a {streda}* (3), Fassano Ladin *štr'ɛd-a {strèda}* (3), Rumantsch Grischun *v'i-ə {via}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *v'i-ə {via}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *v'ey-ə {veia}* (1), Vallader Romansh *v'i-ə {via}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *stra {stra}* (3), Barbania Piemontese *stra {strà}* (3), Carmagnola Piemontese *stra {stra}* (3), Turinese Piemontese *stra {strà}* (3), Vercellese Piemontese *stra* (3), Bergamo Lombard *str'ad-a {strada}* (3), Plesio Lombard *štr'ad-a {strada}* (3), Ravennate Romagnol *streə {strê}* (3), Ferrarese Emiliano *str'ad-a {strada}* (3), Carpigiano Emiliano *str'ɛd-a {streda}* (3), Reggiano Emiliano *str'ɛːd-a {strêda}* (3), Rapallo Ligurian *str'ad:-a* (3), Genoese Ligurian *str'ad:-a {stradda}* (3), Stella Ligurian *štrɔ {strò}* (3), Venice Venetian *str'ad-a {stràda}* (3), Primiero Venetian *str'að-a {strađa}* (3), Bellunese Venetian *str'að-a {strada}* (3), Old Italian *str'ad-a {strada}* (3), Standard Italian *str'ad-a {strada}* (3), Grosseto Italian *str'ad-a {strada}* (3), Foligno Italian *štr'ad-a {strada}* (3), Neapolitan *st'rat-ə {strata}* (3), Logudorese *istr'ad-a {istrada}* (3), Campidanese *ar.'uɣ-a {arruga}* (4), Palermitan Sicilian *ʂɻ'at-a {strata}* (3), Messinese Sicilian *ʂɻ'at-a {strata}* (3), Catanian Sicilian *ʂɻ'at-a {strata}* (3), South-Eastern Sicilian *ʂɻ'at-a {strata}* (3), Central Catalan *kəm'i {camí}* (-1), North-Western Catalan *kam'i {camí}* (-1), Minorcan Catalan *kəm'i {camí}* (-1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kam'i {camí}* (-1), Valencia Catalan *kam'i {camí}* (-1), Manises Catalan *kam'i {camí}* (-1), Castilian Spanish *kam'in-o {camino}* (-1), Asturian *kam'iŋ {camín}* (-1), Standard Portuguese *ištr'að-e {estrada}* (3), Galician *kam'iɲ-o {camiño}* (-1), Provençal Occitan *kam'iŋ {camin}* (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *r'ot-a {rota}* (5), Old French *v'oy-ə {voie}* (1), Standard French *ʁut {route}* (5), Picard *ʁut {route}* (5), Walloon *võːy {vônye}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {video recipere se senem; ille me non videt, nam ego declinavi paululum me extra viam} "he didn't see me, for I turned a little on one side, out of the path" [Aul. 710-711]; {decedam ego illi de via, de semita, de honore populi} "I would make place for him on the highway, on the footpath, in the canvass for public honors" [Trin. 481-482].

    Distinct from ˈɪt-ɛr {iter} 'way', cf. {At censebam attigisse propterea, huc quia habebas iter} "Why I thought that you had touched it, because you were steering your course in that direction" [Asin. 385-386]; {nunc tibimet illuc navi capiundumst iter, ut illud reportes aurum ab Theotimo domum} "Now, you yourself must take a voyage there on board ship, to carry home this gold from Theotimus" [Bac. 325-326]; {Non pol per tempus iter huc mihi incepi} "On my word, I've not started for my call at a convenient time" [Cas. 164]; {Sospes iter incipe hoc, ut uiro tuo semper sis superstes} "prosperously commence this journey, that you may always be alive for your husband" [Cas. 819]; {mei homines, mei spectatores, facite

indicium, si quis vidit, quis eam abstulerit quisve sustulerit et utrum hac an illac iter institerit} "My good sirs, my kind Spectators, do give me information if any one has seen it, if any one has taken it away, or any one picked it up" [Cist. 678-679]; {Quid ais? certumnest celare, quo iter facias, pessuma?} "Are you quite determined, you hussy, to conceal whither you are going?" [Persa 222]; {Dic quo iter inceptas; quis est quem arcessis?} "He, that you are on your road to, who is it that you're going to fetch?" [Truc. 130]; {Facere certumst. proinde ita omnes itinera insistant sua} "I threaten, and I strictly charge no person to stand in my way" [Capt. 794]; {In urbem non redibit: Plautus noluit: pontem interrupit, qui erat ei in itinere} "he will not, in this Play, to-day, return to the city. Plautus did not choose it: he broke down the bridge that lay before him in the way" [Cas. 65-66]; {ut, si haec non sint vera, inceptum hoc itiner perficere exsequar} "if these things are not true, I may hasten to go upon this intended journey" [Merc. 912]; {Quin tu ergo itiner exsequi meum me sinis?} "Why, then, don't you allow me to proceed upon my journey?" [Merc. 929]; {si unum quidquid singillatim et placide percontabere, et meum nomen et mea facta et itinera ego faxo scias} "If you will ask each thing singly, and in a quiet manner, I'll both let you know my name, and my business, and my travels" [Trin. 881-882].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Tantaque trepidatione festinabat ut me plagis multis obtundentes propellentesque super lapidem propter viam positum deicerent} "They were in haste and so agitated the relentless beating and prodding made me tumble over a stone at the edge of the road" [Met. 6: 25]; {Quorsum istam festinanti vestigio lucubratis viam nec noctis intempestae Manes Larvasque formidatis?} "'Where are you off to in the night,' cried one, 'aren't you afraid of midnight ghosts and wandering spirits?" [Met. 6: 30]. The term *str'a:t-a* {strata} is not attested.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 118. Distinct from *k'al-i* {cáli} 'way' [Capidan 1935: 56]. Cf. {feata află tru cali un zaptiu} "the girl met a guard on her way" [Capidan 1928: 109]; {džumiteata di cali} "a half of the way" [Capidan 1928: 111]; {mejlucu di cali} "a middle of the way" [Capidan 1928: 117].
Borrowed from Greek {δρόμος} 'road'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 195; Byhan 1899: 250. The Croatism *cest-a* {țesta} 'road' [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 291] is sometimes used as well. Cf. some examples: {pa c-av o mârle câre c-av verit ân căle} "that a huge dog came in front of him on the road" (Žejane); {trecaveit av ča vetura čă ista căle prende av nesričân Ćić} "their car took the same road on which the miserable Ćić" (Žejane); {fost-a căla reskinita} "there was a damaged road" (Šušnjevica); {Mes-am pre căle} "I went on the road" (Jesenovik), but {Ča biveit-a pľire țestele de mlădić și de fețe} "The roads were full of young men and girls then" (Kostrčan); {și tonče se ča tražeia pre țesta. Țesta n-a fost așvalteita} "and we'd run with it on the road. The road was not paved" (Nova Vas); {Și neca pâște pringa țeste} "And may he eat grass by the road" (Nova Vas). Byhan also mentions the word *drum* {drum} 'road' [Byhan 1899: 210], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 240-241; Cunia 2010: 229-230; Dalametra 1906: 47-48; Bara et al. 2005: 321; Gołąb 1984: 223. In the northern dialects the Greek loanword *dr'um-ŭ* {drum} 'road' is used as well [Papahagi 1963: 415; Cunia 2010: 417].

Romanian: DER 2004: 800; Bolocan et al. 1985: 325-326; Gancz 2015. Borrowed from Greek {δρόμος} 'road' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Distinct from *k'al-e* {cale} 'way' [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *drum* {drum} 'road'[Podiko 1973: 188; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 100].

Dalmatian: Polysemy: 'road / time (as in {tra kál} 'three times')'. In Bartoli's vocabulary the inherited term *str'wot-a* {stru͡ota} 'road' serves as the main equivalent [Bartoli 2002: 256], but in the texts Udina uses only the word *kal* {kal} 'road' (attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 269]), of Venetian origin. Some examples are: {la sińaura strasinúa per la kál el su vistiát} "the lady drags her dress crossing the road" [Bartoli 2002: 244]; {toče le kale fero jelu͡ote} "all the roads are frozen" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {toče le kale fero plái̯ne} "all the roads are full (of men)" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {le kal fero strét} "the roads are narrow" [Bartoli 2002: 247].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 413. Distinct from *ȶam'iŋ* {cjamin} 'way / country road' of Celtic origin [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 91, 194. Distinct from *v'i-a* {via} 'way' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 109, 194].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 313-314, 585. There are two words for 'road' in Fassano: *štr'ɛd-a* {strèda} and *v'i-a* {via} 'way'. There is no possibility to differentiate between them on the DILF material, but we presume that the difference is the same as in Gardenese, so we include only the first word in the list.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. Distinct from *štr'ad-ə* {strada} 'street'.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *štr'ad-ə* {strada} 'street' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 806. Distinct from *štr'ad-ə* {strada} 'street' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 723].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 356.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 356.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 443. There are two equivalents for 'road' in Ercolani's dictionary: *streə* {strê}, glossed by Italian 'strada' and *vi* {vi}, glossed by Italian 'via, strada' [Ercolani 1960: 492]. Taking into account the data from other Emiliano-Romagnol dialects, we have decided to only include the first word in the list. Marchigiano: *str'ɛd-a* {strèda} 'road' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. The form *str'ad-a* {stràda} 'road' can be used as well [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Out of the two main contenders, *v'i-a* {via} and *str'ad-a* {strada}, we prefer the latter, because of the following context: {ïo stancato e amendue incerti // di nostra via, restammo in su un piano // solingo più che strade per diserti} "I wearied out, and both of us uncertain // about our way, we stopped upon a plain // more desolate than roads across the deserts" [Purg. 10], where {via} is clearly opposed to {strada} as a more abstract term. Some other examples with {strada}: {Io non osava scender de la strada // per andar par di lui} "I did not dare to go down from the road // level to walk with him" [Inf. 15]; {onde la traccia vostra è fuor di strada} "therefore your footsteps wander from the road" [Par. 8]; {Noi eravam partiti già da esso, // e brigavam di soverchiar la strada} "From him already we departed were, // and made endeavour to o'ercome the road" [Purg. 20]. However, sometimes {via} can also be used in the meaning 'road': {e io rimasi in via con esso i due // che fuor del mondo sì gran marescalchi} "and on the road remained I with those two, // who were such mighty marshals of the world" [Purg. 24]; {parsi la ripa e parsi la via schietta // col livido color de la petraia} "so seems the bank, and so the road seems smooth, // with but the livid colour of the stone" [Purg. 13].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2198. Distinct from *v'i-a* {via} 'public road' [Battaglia XXI: 835-837]. Distinct from *kam:'in-o* {cammino} 'walk, way, path' of Gaulish origin [Passerini Tosi 1989: 205].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. There are two words for 'road': *štr'ad-a* {strada} and *v'i-a* {via}. Although both terms can be, to a certain extent, used interchangeably, *v'i-a* {via} is applied to roads/streets within city boundaries, while the term *štr'ad-a* {strada} usually describes the road between two settlements. Both terms can be used in the meaning 'way', cf. {La via è longa} "The way is long" and {C'ho tanta strada da fà} "I have all the way to go" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016]. Since *štr'ad-a* {strada} seems to be more suitable for GLD semantic specifications, we include it into the list. Distinct from *trag'it:-u* {traghjttu} 'path' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015. May be used in the Italianized form *st'rad-ə* {strada}. Distinct from *v'i-ə* 'street' [Russo 2015; Mancusi 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *kam:'in-u* {camminu} 'way' of Gaulish origin and from *g'ut:ur-u* {gùtturu} 'path' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 61. Domus de Maria: *ar:'uɣ-a* {arruga} 'road' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *ʂʈ'at-a* {strata} 'road' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 46. Borrowed from Gaulish {cammano-} 'path, way' < Proto-Celtic

{*kanxsman} 'step' via Vulgar Latin {*camminus} 'path, way' [Matasović 2009: 188-189]. Distinct from *kərət-'eɾ-ə* {carretera} 'asphalt road' [Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Borrowed from Gaulish.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Borrowed from Gaulish.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Borrowed from Gaulish.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Borrowed from Gaulish.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Borrowed from Gaulish. Distinct from *karet-'eɾ-a* {carretera} 'asphalt road' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Borrowed from Gaulish {cammano-} 'path, way' < Proto-Celtic {*kanxsman} 'step' via Vulgar Latin {*camminus} 'path, way' [Matasović 2009: 188-189]. Distinct from *karet-'eɾ-a* {carretera} 'highway, asphalt road' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Distinct from *karet'eɾ-a* {carretera} 'asphalted road'. Langreo: *kam'iŋ* {camín} 'road', *karet'eɾ-a* {carretera} 'asphalted road' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 144. Distinct from *kɐm'iɲ-u* {caminho} 'path' (as the road, which can use only pedestrians, but not vehicles) and from *v'i-ɐ* {via} 'way' [Pimentel Ferreira 2016].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016; Franco Grande 1968: 775, 211; Fernández Armesto 1981: 153; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 936, 229. Example: {Vai camiñando polo camiño} "He is walking on the road" [Montoya Bolaños 2016]. Distinct from *estɾ'að-a* {estrada} 'asphalted road' [Montoya Bolaños 2016]. Distinct from *v'i-a* {vía} 'way, road' in a broad or specific meaning (for example, {vía do tren} "train track", {Vía Láctea} "Milky Way" or {vía de servicio} "service way") [Montoya Bolaños 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 232-233. Of Gaulish origin. Distinct from *ʁ'ut-o* {routo} 'highway, asphalt road' [Coupier 1995: 1251-1252].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1899-1900. In Côte-d'Aime, besides *r'ot-a* {rota} ~ {rôta}, the term *vya* {vya} 'road' is also used [Viret 2013: 1899].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1155. Polysemy: 'path, way / road / street'. There are also less frequent terms: *ad=r'ɛc-ə* {adrece} 'road, path', which occurs only once [EDCT 2014: 15] and *čawc'ye-ə* {chauciee} 'road', attested 4 times [EDCT 2014: 186]. Distinct from *čem'ĩn* {chemin} 'path, way' [EDCT 2014: 187-188], from *čar-'yer-ə* {charriere} 'road suitable for carts' [EDCT 2014: 183] and from *r'ü-ə* {rüe} 'street' [EDCT 2014: 990].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 586-587; Rayevskaya 2013: 400. Distinct from *šəmɛ̃* {chemin} 'country road / path'. Cf. the definitions: "route – way of terrestrial communication of primary importance (in contrast to *chemin*) belonging to the main communication network" [LGR 8: 492-493] and "chemin – way specially arranged in the country (in contrast to *rue*) for making possible walking without difficulties from one place to another" [LGR 2: 538-540].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vɔy* {voye} 'road'. Distinct from *čümɛ̃* {tchumin} ~ *čmɛ̃* {tchmin} (Rifondou: *čimɛ̃* {tchimin} ~ *čmɛ̃* {tchmin}) 'path'.

68. ROOT

Archaic Latin *r'a:d-i:k-s {radix}* (1), Late Classical Latin *r'a:d-i:k-s {radix}* (1), Megleno Romanian *k'orin {córin}* (-1), Istro Romanian *k'oren {córen}* (-1), Aromanian *arədəc-'in-ə {arădăţínă}* (1), Romanian *rədəč'in-ə {rădăcină}* (1), Dalmatian *rad'ayk-a {radaɪka}* (1), Friulian *lidr'i:s {lidrîs}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *rav'iz-a {ravisa}* (1), Fassano Ladin *reyš {rẹisc}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *rəž'iš {ragisch}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *rəž'iš {ragisch}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *rɛyš {reisch}* (1), Vallader Romansh *rəž'iš {ragisch}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *rɛys {rèis}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *rɛys {rèis}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *rɛyz {rèis}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *rad'is {radis}* ~ *rays {rais}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *rad'i:s* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ra'is {raìs}* (1), Plesio Lombard *rad'i:s {radis}* (1), Ravennate

Romagnol *rad'iz-a {radişa}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *rad-'is {radìs}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *rai:z {raîŝ}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *yar'i:s-a {jarîsa} ~ ra'i:z-a {raîša}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *rad'ič-i* (-1), Genoese Ligurian *r'eyž-a {reixa}* (1), Stella Ligurian *r'äyž-e {rǽixe}* (1), Venice Venetian *ra'iz-a {raìsa}* (1), Primiero Venetian *r'aðis {rađis}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *rað'iz-a {radisa}* (1), Old Italian *rad'ič-e {radice}* (1), Standard Italian *rad'ič-e {radice}* (1), Grosseto Italian *b'arb-a {barba}* (2), Foligno Italian *r'adik-a {radica}* (1), Neapolitan *r'arək-ə {radeca} ~ r'arik-ə {radica} ~ r'ariš-ə {radice}* (1), Logudorese *rayg'in-a {raighìna}* (1), Campidanese *ar:'ežin-i {arrexini}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ʐ'arik-a {rarica}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *r:'adik-a {radica}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *r:'adik-a {radica}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ʐ'arik-a {rarica}* (1), Central Catalan *ər'eł {arrel} ~ reł {rel}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ar'eł {arrel} ~ reł {rel}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *rɛł {rel}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ar'ɛł {arrel}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ra'ił {raïl} ~ ara'ił {araïl}* (1), Manises Catalan *ra'ił {raïl}* (1), Castilian Spanish *ra'iθ {raíz}* (1), Asturian *ra'iθ {raíz}* (1), Standard Portuguese *ʁe'iš {raiz}* (1), Galician *ra'iθ {raíz}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ʁas'in-o {racino}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ras'in-a {rassina}* (1), Old French *rac'ĩn-ə {racine}* (1), Standard French *ʁasin {racine}* (1), Picard *ʁašɛn {rachène}* (1), Walloon *ʁüsin-e:y {rucinêye} ~ ʁsin-e:y {rcinêye}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *ra:d-'i:k- ʁ {radicis}*. Not attested in the meaning 'root of a plant' in Plautus' texts, but there are two examples of figurative use: {Lien enecat, renes dolent, pulmones distrahuntur, cruciatur iecur, radices cordis pereunt, hirae omnes dolent} "My spleen is killing me, my reins are in torment, my lungs are being torn asunder, my liver is being tortured, my heart-strings are giving way, all my intestines are in pain" [Curc. 236-238]; {Si hercle ego te non elinguandam dedero usque ab radicibus} "By the powers, if I don't give you up to have your tongue cut out by the roots" [Aul. 250]. Once it desegnates some vegetable, probably radish: {OL. Sed quom cogito, non habuit gladium: nam esset frigidus. PAR. Eloquere. OL. At pullet. PAR. Num radix fuit? OL. Non fuit. PAR. Num cucumis? OL. Profecto hercle * * * non fuit quicquam holerum} (left without translation in English text) [Cas. 910-912].

> In Cato's text the term {radix} occurs very frequently. Some examples are: {eo lotium suillum aut stercus ad radicem addere oportet, uti pabulum malorum fiat} "the urine or dung of swine should be applied around the roots of these to serve as food for the fruit" [De agri cultura 7]; {Oleas, ulmos, ficos, poma, vites, pinos, cupressos cum seres, bene cum radicibus eximito cum terra sua quam plurima circumligatoque, uti ferre possis} "In transplanting olives, elms, figs, fruit trees, vines, pines, and cypresses, dig them up carefully, roots and all, with as much of their own soil as possible" [De agri cultura 28]; {Ex radicibus bene exfodito, usque radices persequito et caveto ne radices saucies} "clear the dirt thoroughly from the roots over their full length, and be careful not to injure them" [De agri cultura 49].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {haud ita longe radices platani lenis fluvius in speciem placidae paludis ignavus ibat} "A gentle stream flowed sluggishly not far from the plane-tree's roots, flowing on through a quiet pool" [Met. 1: 19]; {At uos soli reperti estis ex omni memoria, qui uim erbarum et radicum et surculorum et lapillorum quasi quadam colluuione naturae de summis montibus in mare transferatis et penitus piscium uentribus insuatis} "You alone within the memory of man have been found to sweep as it were by some convulsion of nature all the powers of herbs and roots and young shoots and small pebbles from their hilltopsinto the sea, and there confine them in the entrails of fish" [Apologia 31: 8].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 77. Borrowed from Macedonian {koren} 'root' or Bulgarian {koren} 'root'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 200; Byhan 1899: 247. Borrowed from some Slavic source.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 129; Cunia 2010: 105; Dalametra 1906: 24; Gołąb 1984: 201.

Romanian: DER 2004: 804; Bolocan et al. 1985:545-546; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *rədəč'in-ə* {rădăcină} 'root' [Podiko 1973: 328-329; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 171].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 239.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 692, 321.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 74, 197.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 246.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 591.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 275.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 275.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 334. Marchigiano: *rayk* {raich} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Borrowed from Italian {radice} 'root'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *rad'iz-a* {radìsa} 'root' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Io fui radice de la mala pianta} "I was the root of that malignant plant" [Purg. 20]; {Vedi lei sotto la fronda // nova sedere in su la sua radice} "Behold her seated underneath // the leafage new, upon the root of it" [Purg. 32].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2202.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'root / beard' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda, Salerno: *r'arək-ə* {rareca} 'root' [Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 58-59. Domus de Maria: *ar:'ežin-i* {arrexini} 'root' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *ʐ'arik-a* {rarica} 'root' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 238.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Although Pérez i Sanchis mentioned the form *ar'ɛɫ* {arrel} [Pérez i Sanchis 2015], it seems to be rather influenced by the Standard Catalan and a more commonly used form in the Valencia is *ra'iɫ* {raïl} ~ *ara'iɫ* {araïl} [Pedrós 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *rayg-'aɲ-u* {raigañu} 'root' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 241.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016; Fernández Armesto 1981: 617.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1148.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1771.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 911.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 590; Rayevskaya 2013: 451.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ʁsɛn* {raecene} ~ *ʁsin-eːy* {raecinêye} 'root'.

69. ROUND

Archaic Latin *rʊt-'ʊnd-ʊs* {rutundus} (1), Late Classical Latin *rʊt-'ʊnd-ʊs* {rutundus} (1), Megleno Romanian *gurguʎ-at* {gurguľát} (2), Istro Romanian *tond* {tond} (-1), Aromanian *gurguʎ-'e̯at-ŭ* {gurguľeát} (2) / *arukut-'os-ŭ* {arucutós} (3), Romanian *rot'und* {rotund} (1), Friulian *tar'ɔnt* {taront} (1), Gardenese Ladin *tur'ont* {turont} (1), Fassano Ladin *tor'oŋ* {torǫn} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *rəd'unt* {radund} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *rəd'unt* {rodund} (1), Surmiran Romansh *rəd'ɔnt* {radond} (1), Vallader Romansh *rəd'wɔnt* {raduond} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *rut'uŋd* {rotond} (1), Barbania Piemontese *rut'uŋd* {rotond} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *rut'uŋd* {rotond} (1), Turinese Piemontese *rut'uŋd* {rotond} ~ *ryuŋd* {riond} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *rut'oːŋt* (1), Bergamo Lombard *rot'ont* {rotónt} (1), Plesio Lombard *red'uːnt* {redund} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *tond* {tónd} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *tond* {tond} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *rot'ɔnd* {rotònd} ~ *tɔnd* {tond} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ard'ɔnd* {ardònd} ~ *rut'ɔnd* {rutònd} ~ *t'ɔnd* {tònd} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *r'yuŋd-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *r'yuŋd-u* {riǒndǒ} (1), Stella Ligurian *r'yuŋd-u* {riundu} (1), Venice Venetian *t'oŋd-o* {tóndo} (1), Primiero Venetian *t'oŋd-o* {tondo} (1), Bellunese Venetian *t'oŋd-o* {tondo} (1), Old Italian *t'ond-o* {tondo} (1), Standard Italian *rot'ond-o* {rotondo} ~ *t'ond-o* {tondo} (1), Grosseto Italian *t'ond-o* {tondo} (1), Foligno Italian *t'onː-u* {tonnu} (1), Neapolitan *t'unː-ə* {tunno} ~ *rut'unː-ə* {rutunno} (1), Logudorese *t'und-u* {tundu} (1), Campidanese *t'und-u* {tundu} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *t'unː-u* {tunnu} (1), Messinese Sicilian *t'unː-u* {tunnu} (1), Catanian Sicilian *t'unː-u* {tunnu} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *t'unː-u* {tunnu} (1), Central Catalan *ruð'o* {rodó} (1), North-Western Catalan *roð'o* ~ *reð'o* {rodó} (1), Minorcan Catalan *rəð'o* {redó} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *reð'o* {redó} (1), Valencia Catalan *reð'o* {redó} (1), Manises Catalan *reð'o* {redó} (1), Castilian Spanish *reð'onð-o* {redondo} (1), Asturian *red'ond-o* {redondo} (1), Standard Portuguese *ʁəð'õnd-u* {redondo} (1), Galician *reð'ond-o* {redondo} (1), Provençal Occitan *ʁed'uŋ* {redoun} ~ *ʁund* {round} (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ryɔ̃* {ryon} (1), Old French *re'õnt* {rëont} (1),

Standard French ʁɔ̃ {rond} (1), Picard ʁɔ̃ {rond} (1), Walloon ʀɔ̃ {rond} (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Not attested in Plautus' texts. The only example in Cato is: {Aram ubi facies, pedes V fundamenta alta facito, lata P. VI, aram et canalem rutundam facito latam P. IIII S} "Where you are to build a seat for the press make a foundation 5 feet deep, 6 feet across; the seat and circular conduit 4½ feet in diameter" [De agri cultura 18]. Taking into account the lack of better examples, we have to tentatively accept this one.

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Sed privatus humana manu, privatus digitis, ungula rutunda atque mutila gladium stringere nequaquam poteram} "But without human hands and fingers, only misshapen hooves, I couldn't even draw a sword" [Met. 10: 29]; {urnula faberrime cavata, fundo quam rutundo} "it took the form of a little hollow urn <…> with a rounded base" [Met. 11: 11].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 147. Apparently with polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 361. Apparently with polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'. Probably borrowed from Italian or Venetian {tondo} 'round'.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 508; Cunia 2010: 522; Dalametra 1906: 103. There are two documented expressions for 'round': *gurguʎ-ˈḛat-ŭ* {gurguḽeát} and *arukut-ˈos-ŭ* {arucutós}. Available contexts do not allow to differentiate between these words: {cheàtră arucutoàsă} "a round stone" [Dalametra 1906: 27]; {ˈnă băseárică gurguḽeátă} "a round church" [Papahagi 1963: 508]; {grùnĭŭ gurgulĭitòs} "a round chin"; {chiàtră gurgulĭàtă} "a round stone" [Dalametra 1906: 103]. We have to treat *gurguʎḛatŭ* and *arucutˈosŭ* as synonyms. Apparently there is no difference between 'round 3D' and 'round 2D' in Aromanian.

> Papahagi also mentions the Greek borrowing *strˈonḑil-ŭ* {strónÇil} 'round' [Papahagi 1963: 984; Cunia 2010: 978].Papahagi 1963: 153; Cunia 2010: 125; Dalametra 1906: 27; Gołąb 1984: 202.

Romanian: DER 2004: 806; Bolocan et al. 1985: 566; Gancz 2015. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D' [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *rotˈund* {rotund} 'round' [Podiko 1973: 340-341; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 178].

Dalmatian: Not attested.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 695, 432. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D' [Decorte 2015; Virili 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 103, 172. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D' [Gartner 1923: 103].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 267.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 590. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 301. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 301. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 465. Marchigiano: *tond* {tond} 'round' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Venice Venetian: Gasparini 2015l Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015**.** Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Tu sai che 'l loco è tondo} "Thou knowest the place is round" [Inf. 14]; {e vidi gente per lo vallon tondo} "and people saw I through the circular valley" [Inf. 20].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2204-2205.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 2D", cf.: {Lu taulinu è tonnu} "The table is round" and {La palla è tonna} "The ball is round" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Besides this term, the Italianism *rut'und-ə* {rutondo} can be used as well [Esposito 2015]. Polysemy: round 2D / round 3D'.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 445. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'. Domus de Maria: *t'und-u* {tundu} 'round 2D / round 3D' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'. Buscemi: *t'un:-u* {tunnu} 'round 2D / round 3D' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 243. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Polysemy : 'round 2D / round 3D' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *red'ond-u* {redondu} 'round' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 250.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 627; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1014. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1245.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1887.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 952-953.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 591; Rayevskaya 2013: 455. Distinct from *siʁkül-ɛʁ* {circulaire} 'circumscribing the circle / resembling the circle' [LGR 2: 622-623].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D'.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ʀɔ̃* {rond} 'round'. Polysemy: 'round 2D / round 3D', cf. {ene ronde pîre} 'a round stone', {on rond frut} 'a round fruit'.

70. SAND

Archaic Latin *har'e:n-a {harena}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ar'e:n-a {harena}* (1), Megleno Romanian *pis'ok {pisóc}* (-1), Istro Romanian *salb'un {salbún}* (-1), Aromanian *ar'in-ə {arínă}* (1), Romanian *nis'ip {nisip}* (-1), Dalmatian *salb'woɲ {salbůoɲ̃}* (2), Friulian *saval'ɔŋ {savalon}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *sabl'oɲ {sablon}* (2), Fassano Ladin *saol'oɲ {saolọɲ}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *səbl'un {sablun}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *səbl'un {sablun}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *səvl'uŋ {savlung}* (2), Vallader Romansh *səbl'un {sablun}* ~ *sibl'un {siblun}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *s'aby-a {sabia}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *s'aby-a {sabia}* (2),

Carmagnola Piemontese *sˈaby-a {sabia}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *sˈaby-a {sabia}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *sˈaby-a* (2), Bergamo Lombard *sˈabːy-a {sabbia}* (2), Plesio Lombard *sˈaby-a {sabia}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *sabˈyown {sabiôn}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *sˈaːby-a {sàbia}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *sˈaby-a {sàbia}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *sˈaby-a {sâbia}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *sˈabːy-a* (2), Genoese Ligurian *ˈäŋː-a {ænn-a}* (1), Stella Ligurian *sˈaːbːy-a {sâbbia}* (2), Venice Venetian *sˈaby-a {sàbia}* (2), Primiero Venetian *sˈaby-a {sabia}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *sˈaby-a {sabia}* (2), Old Italian *rˈen-a {rena}* (1) / *sabːy-ˈon-e {sabbione}* (2), Standard Italian *sˈabːy-a {sabbia}* (2), Grosseto Italian *rˈen-a {rena}* (1), Foligno Italian *sˈabːy-a {sabbia}* (2), Neapolitan *rˈen-a {rena}* (1), Logudorese *ren-a {rena}* (1), Campidanese *arˈɛn-a {arena}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ʒˈin-a {rina}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *rːˈin-a {rina}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *rːˈin-a {rina}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ʒˈin-a {rina}* (1), Central Catalan *sˈor-ə {sorra}* (2), North-Western Catalan *arˈen-ɛ {arena}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ərˈɛn-ə {arena}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *arˈen-a {arena}* (1), Valencia Catalan *arˈen-a {arena}* (1), Manises Catalan *arˈen-a {arena}* (1), Castilian Spanish *arˈen-a {arena}* (1), Asturian *arˈen-a {arena}* (1) / *sˈabl-e {sable}* (2), Standard Portuguese *ɐrˈɐyɐ {areia}* (1), Galician *arˈe-a {area}* (1), Provençal Occitan *sˈabl-o {sablo}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sˈabʎ-a {sablya}* (2), Old French *arˈẽỹn-ə {areine}* (1), Standard French *sabl {sable}* (2), Picard *sab {sabe}* (2), Walloon *saːp {sâbe}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Not attested in Plautus' texts. Cato's examples are: {Hae rei materiem et quae opus sunt dominus praebebit et ad opus dabit, serram I, lineam I (materiem dumtaxat succidet, dolabit, secabit facietque conductor), lapidem, calcem, harenam, aquam, paleas, terram unde lutum fiat} "The owner will furnish the timber and necessary material for this and deliver it on the ground, and also 1 saw and 1 plumb-line (but the contractor will fell, hew, square, and finish the timber), stone, lime, sand, water, straw, and earth for making mortar" [De agri cultura 14]; {Sesquipedalem parietem dominus fundamenta faciat et ad opus praebeat calcis in P. singulos in longitudinem modium unum, harenae modios duos} "The owner shall build the foundation 1½ feet thick, and will furnish one modius of lime and two modii of sand for each linear foot" [De agri cultura 15]; Argillam vel cretam coaddito, harenae paululum et fimum bubulum, haec una bene condepsito, quam maxime uti lentum fiat} "Mix clay or chalk, a little sand, and cattle dung, and knead them thoroughly so as to make a very sticky mass" [De agri cultura 40].

Late Classical Latin: The example is: {mollissimo harenae gremio lassum corpus porrectus refovero} "I stretched out full length on a soft bed of sand to ease my weary body" [Met. 10: 35]. The term *sˈabuɫ-ū {sabulum}* is not attested.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 224. Borrowed from Macedonian {pesok} 'sand'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 333. Probably borrowed from some Romance language, cf. Romansh {sablun} 'sand'. Sârbu and Frățilă also mention the Croatism *pesak* {pesac} 'sand' [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 249].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 141; Cunia 2010: 119; Dalametra 1906: 24; Gołąb 1984: 201.

Romanian: DER 2004: 816; Bolocan et al. 1985: 987; Gancz 2015. Borrowed from some Slavic source [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *nisˈip {nisip}* 'sand' [Podiko 1973: 594; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 293].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju vis levúr uṅ pau̯k de salbu͡o̯ṅ} "I go to take a little sand" [Bartoli 2002: 240]; {ma lu͡o̯k la tara parúa ke fu̯às el sabi̯úṅ} "but there the earth seems to be of sand" [Bartoli 2002: 249] (in this example the influence of Italian {sabbia} 'sand' is evident); {la tiara <…> san salbaun} "the earth and sand" (Cubich) [Bartoli 2002: 279]. Udina considers the form {salbu͡o̯ṅ} to

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be of Croatian origin.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 693, 695.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 78, 172. Marebbano: *sawr'uŋ* {saᵘrún} 'sand'; Badiotto: *sawr'uŋ* {saᵘrún} 'sand'; Livinallese: *sawl'oŋ* {saᵘlóŋ} 'sand'; Nones: *saby'oŋ* {sabⁱóŋ} 'sand' [Gartner 1923: 172]. Distinct from *lim* {lim} 'river sand' [Gartner 1923: 47, 172]. Badiotto: *le:* {lē} 'river sand' [Gartner 1923: 172].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 28, 269; Gartner 1923: 172.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 628.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 304.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 304.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 355.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Besides this term, the Italianism *s'ab:y-a* {sabbia} can be used as well.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *r'eŋ:-a* {ré-nna} 'beach sand' [Piccone 2015].

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Este, Salgareda: *saby-'oŋ* {sabión} 'sand' [Melon 2015; Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *saby-'oŋ* {sabion} 'gravel' and *žar'ɛl-a* {giarèla} 'gravel' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: There are two terms for 'sand': *r'en-a* {rena} and *sab:y-'on-e* {sabbione}. It seems that there is no difference in semantics between the two. As for frequency, {rena} is slightly more frequent, but the majority is not a decisive one (10 to 4), so we include both terms in the list. The examples with {sabbione}: {che tu verrai ne l'orribil sabbione} "thou comest out upon the horrible sand" [Inf. 13]; {Sovra tutto 'l sabbion, d'un cader lento, // piovean di foco dilatate falde} "O'er all the sand-waste, with a gradual fall, // were raining down dilated flakes of fire" [Inf. 14]; {però ch'i' veggio // là surger nuovo fummo del sabbione} "for that I behold // new smoke uprising yonder from the sand" [Inf. 15]; {così la fiera pessima si stava // su l'orlo ch'è di pietra e 'l sabbion serra} "so that vile monster lay upon the border, // which is of stone, and shutteth in the sand" [Inf. 17]. Some examples with {rena}: {Lo spazzo era una rena arida e spessa} "The soil was of an arid and thick sand" [Inf. 14]; {e guarda che non metti, // ancor, li piedi ne la rena arsiccia} "and mind thou do not place // as yet thy feet upon the burning sand" [Inf. 14]; {Però scendemmo a la destra mammella, // e diece passi femmo in su lo stremo, // per ben cessar la rena e la fiammella. // E quando noi a lei venuti semo, // poco più oltre veggio in su la rena // gente seder propinqua al loco scemo} "We therefore on the right side descended, // and made ten steps upon the outer verge, // completely to avoid the sand and flame; // and after we are come to him, I see // a little farther off upon the sand // a people sitting near the hollow place" [Inf. 17]. Once it occurs in the form {arena}: {Poi, come grue ch'a le montagne Rife // volasser parte, e parte inver' l'arene} "Then as the cranes, that to Riphaean mountains // might fly in part, and part towards the sands" [Purg. 26].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2217. Distinct from *r'en-a* {rena} 'sand', which is more literary [Vitali 2015].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. The term *s'ab:y-a* {sabbia} 'sand' is used as well, but it is less frequent [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Sant'Antonio Abate, Grottaminarda: *s'ab:y-a* {sabbia} 'sand' of Italian origin [Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 51. Domus de Maria: *ar'ɛn-a* {arena} 'sand' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *ʒ'iːn-a* {rîna} 'sand' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the form *sˈaɟ̶-a* {sagghia} 'sand' [La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 23.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. The Central Catalan form *sˈor-ɛ* {sorra} 'sand' is used as well, spreading due to the influence of school and television [Montagut 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. There are two terms for 'sand': *arˈen-a* {arena} and *sˈabl-e* {sable}. Unfortunately, Mr. Riego-Delgado did not explain the difference between them, so we include both in the list. Langreo: *arˈen-a* {arena} 'sand' [González Rato 2016].Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *sˈabl-e* {sable} 'sand' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 422.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 765, 101; Fernández Armesto 1981: 83; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 923, 99.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1256.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1909. In Esserts-Blay and Bonneval en Tarentaise, besides *sˈabl-a* {sabla} 'sand', the term *arˈen-a* {arêna} ~ *arˈɛn-a* {arin-na} ~ *aːrˈɛːn-a* {ârîn-na} is also used. Viret defines the latter as 'sable pris dans les terrains' ('sand taken from the earth') [Viret 2013: 1909].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 74. One of the most sophisticated cases. We include in the list only *arˈēỹn-ə* {areine}, which is attested only once, because another candidate, *sabl-ˈõn* {sablon} (4 occurences) is attested only in the meaning 'sandy place' in Chrétien's works [EDCT 2014: 992]. Distinct from *gravˈɛl-ə* {gravele} 'grains of sand' [EDCT 2014: 561].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 601; Rayevskaya 2013: 526.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *sɔːvl ɔ̃*{såvlon} 'sand'.

71. SAY

Archaic Latin *dˈe̬ːk-ɛ-rɛ* {dicere} (1), Late Classical Latin *dˈiːk-ɛ-rɛ* {dicere} (1), Megleno Romanian *zik* {zic} (1) / *spun* {spun} (2), Istro Romanian *zˈič-e* {zíče} (1), Aromanian *ʒˈɨk-ŭ* {dzîc} (1) / *a=spˈun-ŭ* {aspún} (2), Romanian *a=zˈič-e* {a zice} (1) / *a=spˈun-e* {a spune} (2), Dalmatian *dˈek-ro* {dékro} (1), Friulian *diː* {dî} (1), Gardenese Ladin *di* {dì} (1), Fassano Ladin *di-r* {dir} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *di-r* {dir} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *di-r* {dir} (1), Surmiran Romansh *dɛk-r* {deir} (1), Vallader Romansh *di-r* {dir} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *di* {dì} (1), Barbania Piemontese *di* {dì} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *di* {dì} (1), Turinese Piemontese *di* {dì} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *diː* (1), Bergamo Lombard *di* {dì} (1), Plesio Lombard *di* {dì} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *di* {dir} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *di-r* {dir} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *diː-r* {dìr} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *diː-r* {dîr} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *di* (1), Genoese Ligurian *di* {dì} (1), Stella Ligurian *di* {dì} (1), Venice Venetian *di-r* {dìr} (1), Primiero Venetian *di-r* {dir} (1), Bellunese Venetian *di-r* {dir} (1), Old Italian *dˈič-e-re* {dicere} ~ *dˈi-re* {dire} (1), Standard Italian *dˈi-re* {dire} (1), Grosseto Italian *di* {dì} (1), Foligno Italian *di* {dì} (1), Neapolitan *dˈiš-ə-rə* {dìcere} (1), Logudorese *nˈarː-e-re* {nàrrere} ~

nar-ˈa-re {narare} (3), Campidanese *nay {nai}* (3), Palermitan Sicilian *ɾˈi-ɾi {riri} ~ dˈi-ɾi {diri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *dˈi-ɾɨ {diri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *dˈi-ɾi {diri} ~ dˈič-i-ɾi {diciri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ɾˈi-ɾi {riri}* (1), Central Catalan *di {dir}* (1), North-Western Catalan *di {dir}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *di {dir}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *di-ɾ {dir}* (1), Valencia Catalan *di-ɾ {dir}* (1), Manises Catalan *di-ɾ {dir}* (1), Castilian Spanish *deθ-ˈi-ɾ {decir}* (1), Asturian *diθ-ˈi-ɾ {dicir}* (1), Standard Portuguese *diz-ˈe-ɾ {dizer}* (1), Galician *diθ-ˈi-ɾ {dicir}* (1), Provençal Occitan *dˈi-re {dire}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *dˈi-re {dire}* (1), Old French *dˈi-rə {dire}* (1), Standard French *di-ʁ {dire}* (1), Picard *di-ʁ {dire}* (1), Walloon *di:-ʀ {dîre}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {eumque filium suom esse qui illos angues vicerit; alterum tuom esse dixit puerum} "and that he was his own son who had overcome those serpents; the other, he said, was your child" [Amph. 1123-1124]; {nec quo me pacto abstulerit possum dicere} "and in what manner he carried me off I cannot say" [Curc. 650].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {ioco, parens optima, dic oro et cuiatis sit et quibus deversetur aedibus} "Joking apart,' I said 'tell me, good mother, what sort he is and where he lives" [Met. 1: 21]; {et hercules dicerem quod sciebam} "indeed I'd have told them what I knew" [Met. 7: 26].

Megleno Romanian: There are two documented expressions for 'to say': *zik* {zic} (glossed as Romanian *zic* [Capidan 1935: 338]) and *spun* {spun} (glossed as Romanian *spun* [Capidan 1935: 272-273]).

>As a rule, *zik* is used in the author's voice, while *spun* is used in the direct speech of fairy tale characters: {și i̯a zisi: "nu ti spun"} "And she said: "I won't tell you" [Capidan 1928: 85]. However there are cases when this rule is reversed: {tsi ziseș, Ierdu?} "What did you say, Reynard?" [Capidan 1928: 118], {și bāba spusi: "cum șa si spun, nu spun". și fitšoru zisi: <…> și bāba zisi: <…>} "And the old woman said: "This I cannot say". And the boy said: <…>And the old woman said <…>" [Capidan 1928: 84] [Capidan 1928: 84]. Apart from that, *spun* can indicate a continuous action 'speak, tell': {și murāru cătsǫ să spună și zisi} <…> "And the miller started speaking and said <…>" [Capidan 1928: 29]. All of the above makes us regard this pair as synonyms.Capidan 1935: 272-273.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 305; Byhan 1899: 392. Distinct from *gan-ˈäy* {ganéi̯}, *kuvint-ʋ* {cuvintă} 'to speak' [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 222, 261] and from *spˈur-e* {spúre} 'to tell' [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 279; Byhan 1899: 350; Glavina 1905: 76], which, however, occasionally can be used in the meaning 'to say' ({Putę ręm spure ke <…>} "You could say that <…>").

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 435; Cunia 2010: 425-426; Dalametra 1906: 87; Gołąb 1984: 261. Polysemy: 'to say / to sing'. There are two documented expressions for 'to say': *ʒˈik-ŭ* {dzîc} and *aspˈun-ŭ* {aspún}. Available contexts do not allow to differentiate between these words: {dzî́ sit voǐ aéstu lúcru?} "have you said this thing?"; {dzî-nˈĭ: țe vreǐ s' țî dzî́cŭ?} "tell me: what do you want me to tell you?" [Papahagi 1963: 435]; {lǐ dzîșŭ ùnă cuvéndă} "I have said to him a word" [Dalametra 1906: 75]; {si-aspuneárim ĭo...; si-aspuneáriși tíne} "I would say...; if you would say" [Papahagi 1963: 169]; {spùni alìθhia} "he tells the truth" [Dalametra 1906: 11]; {aspùni chirtùrĭ} "he says nothing / babbles" [Dalametra 1906: 53]. We have to treat *ʒˈikŭ* and *aspˈunŭ* as synonyms.Papahagi 1963: 169; Cunia 2010: 964-965; Dalametra 1906: 195. Polysemy: 'to say / to show'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 820; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1355; Gancz 2015. There are two expressions for 'to say': *a=zˈič-e* {a zice} and *a=spˈun-e* {a spune}. According to [Gancz 2015] there is no difference between them. Moldavian: *a=zˈič-e* {a zice} 'to say' [Podiko 1973: 140].DER 2004: 820; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1355; Gancz 2015. Polysemy: 'to say / to tell'. Moldavian: *a=spˈun-e* {a spune} 'to say / to tell' [Podiko 1973: 140].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {volúa dékro} "I wanted to say" [Bartoli 2002: 228]; {dekaja el mi tu͡ota} "my father says" [Bartoli 2002: 223]; {la lèǧ dekúa} "the law says" [Bartoli 2002: 247]; {ju nu si̯ante de kó ke tu dekája} "I do not hear what you are saying" [Bartoli 2002: 250].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 667, 127.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 24, 172.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 90.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 241-242.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 89.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 89.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 128. Marchigiano: *di* {dì} 'to say' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *d'i-re* {dire} 'to say' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {E io ch'avea d'error la testa cinta, // dissi: «Maestro, che è quel ch'i' odo?} "And I, who had my head with horror bound, // said: "Master, what is this which now I hear?"" [Inf. 3]; {Mäometto mi disse esta parola} "this word did Mahomet say unto me" [Inf. 28].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2221.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *ri* {rì} [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 285. Domus de Maria: *nay* {nai} 'to say' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *d'i-ri* {diri} ~ *r'i-ri* {riri} 'to say' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Sorbello 2015. Spadafora: *d'iʃ-i-ri* {diciri} 'to say' [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *d'i-ri* {diri} 'to say' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 82.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *diθ-'i-ɾ* {dicir} 'to say' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 572. Distinct from *fɐl-'a-ɾ* {falar} 'to speak' [Feyershtein & Starets 2005: 386].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 345; Fernández Armesto 1981: 252; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 945, 371.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 416-417.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 747-750.
Old French: EDCT 2014: 346-348.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 603-604; Rayevskaya 2013: 586.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *di:- ʁ*{dire} 'to say'.

72. SEE

Archaic Latin *wɪd-ˈeː-rɛ {videre}* (1), Late Classical Latin *vɪd-ˈeː-rɛ {videre}* (1), Megleno Romanian *vet {ved}* (1), Istro Romanian *ved-ˈä {vedę́}* (1), Aromanian *vˈed-ŭ {ved}* (1), Romanian *a=ved-ˈẹa {a vedea}* (1), Dalmatian *ved-ˈa-r {vedár}* (1), Friulian *vˈyɔd-i {viodi}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ud-ˈəy {udëi}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ved-ˈe-r {vedẹr}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *vəz-ˈayr {vesair}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *vəz-ˈer {veser}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *vɛk-r {veir}* (1), Vallader Romansh *vɔc-ˈer {vezzer} ~ vər-ˈer {verer}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *vˈəd-i {vëddi}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *vˈəd-e {vëdde}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *vˈəd-e {vëdde}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *vˈəd-e {vëdde}* (1) / *s=čar-ˈɛ {s-ciairè}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *vˈög-i* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ɛt {èt}* (1), Plesio Lombard *ved-ˈɛ {vedè}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *vd-eː {vdēr} ~ a=vd-ˈeː {avdēr}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *vˈɛd-a-r {vèdar}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *vˈɛd-e-r {vèder}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *vˈɛd-e-r {vèder}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *vˈed:-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *vˈed:-e {vedde}* (1), Stella Ligurian *vyɛy {vièi}* (1), Venice Venetian *vˈɛd-e-r {vèder} ~ vˈed-e-r {véder} ~ ved-ˈe-r {vedér} ~ vˈed-a-r {védar}* (1), Primiero Venetian *vˈeð-er {véđer}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *vˈeð-er {veder}* (1), Old Italian *ved-ˈe-re {vedere}* (1), Standard Italian *ved-ˈe-re {vedere}* (1), Grosseto Italian *ved-ˈe-re {vedere}* (1), Foligno Italian *ved-ˈe {vedé}* (1), Neapolitan *vər-ˈɛ {vedè} ~ vər-ˈe {vedé}* (1), Logudorese *bˈi-e-re {bìere}* (1), Campidanese *bˈi-ri {biri} ~ bˈi-ði {bidi}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *vˈir-i-ɾi {viriri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *vˈid-i-ɾɨ {vidiri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *vˈid-i-ri {vidiri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *vˈiʐ-i {virri}* (1), Central Catalan *bˈɛw-rə {veure}* (1), North-Western Catalan *bˈɛw-re {veure}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *vˈɛw-rə {veure}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *vˈɛw-re {veure}* (1), Valencia Catalan *bˈo-re {vore}* (1), Manises Catalan *bˈo-ɾe {vore}* (1), Castilian Spanish *be-ɾ {ver}* (1), Asturian *be-ɾ {ver}* (1), Standard Portuguese *ve-ɾ {ver}* (1), Galician *be-ɾ {ver}* (1), Provençal Occitan *vˈɛy-re {vèire}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *vi {vi}* (1), Old French *ve-ˈoy-r {vëoir}* (1), Standard French *vwa-ʁ {voir}* (1), Picard *vi-ʁ {vir}* (1), Walloon *vɛy {vèy}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {est profecto deus, qui quae nos gerimus auditque et videt} "There is undoubtedly a God, who

both hears and sees the things which we do" [Capt. 313]; {ita sum, ut videtis, splendens stella candida, signum quod semper tempore exoritur suo hic atque in caelo: nomen Arcturo est mihi} "I am, as you see, a bright and shining star, a Constellation that ever in its season rises here on earth and in the heavens. Arcturus is my name" [Rud. 3-5]; {NIC. Euge litteras minutas. CHRYS. Qui quidem videat parum; verum, qui satis videat, grandes satis sunt} "NIC. Bless me! the letters are small. CHRYS. To one, indeed, who cannot see well with his eyes but they are quite large enough for one who can see well" [Bac. 991-992]; {Hac nocte in somnis visus sum viderier procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium, neque eum ad me adire neque me magni pendere visumst} "Last night I seemed in my sleep to behold Æsculapius, seated at a distance far away from me; and it seemed that he didn't come near me, or set any value upon me" [Curc. 260-264].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {video mulieres duas altioris aetatis} "I watched two women of rather ripe years" [Met. 1: 12]; {video praemicantis lunae candore nimio completum orbem commodum marinis emergentem fluctibus} "saw the moon's orb at the full, shining with dazzling brilliance, emerging from the sea" [Met. 11: 1].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 324-325. Distinct from *məntr-'es* {măntrés} 'to look' (Ţârnareca) of Slavic origin [Capidan 1935: 182].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 296; Byhan 1899: 378. Distinct from *k'avt-å* {cavtå} 'to look' [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1106; Cunia 2010: 1083-1084; Dalametra 1906: 218; Bara et al. 2005: 291; Gołąb 1984: 258.

Romanian: DER 2004: 833-834; Bolocan et al. 1985: 131-132; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *a=se=wit-'a* {a se uita} 'to look' and *a=priv-'i* {a privi} 'to look' of Slavic origin [DER 2004: 573-574; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1386; Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *a=ved'ea* {a vedea} 'to see' [Podiko 1973: 70-71; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 41].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {jo no lo blaị vedár el dotụár} "I do not want to see the doctor" [Bartoli 2002: 241]; {fero joịn pịazár da vedár} "It is a pleasure to see it" [Bartoli 2002: 252].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 708, 468.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 105, 179.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 347.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 806.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 392.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. There are two terms for 'to see': *v'əd-e* {vëdde} and *s=čar-'ɛ* {s-ciairè} with complementary distribution between them. The first term is used in positive sentences, while the second one mostly in negatives, cf. the following examples: {Da le montagne, t-peule vedde il panorama} "From the mountains, you can see the panorama"; {In una giornà pien-a 'd sul, t-peule vedde luntan} "In a very sunny day, you can see far away"; {Sto post l'è trop scur, peus nen s-ciairè} "This place is too dark, I can't see"; {Sansa luce, t-peule nen s-ciairè niente} "Without a light, you can't see anything"; {Quand l'erò pì giouv, poudìa vedde ben sia da luntan, sia d'avzìn. Adès, sun d-ventà pì veij, rèss nen a s-ciairè ben, sansa baricule} "When I was younger, I could see both from distance both from near. Now, I'm become older, I can't see without glasses". We include both words in the list.

> Distinct from *gward-'ɛ* {guardè} 'to look' and from *beyk-'e* {beiché} 'to look around (seeking for someone or something, or observing)' [Davico 2016].Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 489, 28. Marchigiano: *v'ed-a* {véda} 'to see' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Padua, Este, Vicenza, Arzignano: *v'ed-a-re* {vedare} 'to see' [Tre 2015; Melon 2015;

Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015]. Marostica: *v'ed-e-re* {vedere} 'to see' [Pezzin 2015]. Treviso: *v'ed-a-r* {védar} 'to see' [Busato 2015]. Salgareda, Verona: *v'ed-e-r* {véder} 'to see' [Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {e vidi gente per lo vallon tondo} "and people saw I through the circular valley" [Inf. 20]; {Vedeva Troia in cenere e in caverne} "I saw there Troy in ashes and in caverns" [Purg. 12].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2236.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 86. Domus de Maria: *b'i-ri* {biri} 'to see' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *v'iẓ-i-ri* {virriri} 'to see' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Distinct from *tali-'a-ri* {taliari} 'to look' [Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 291. Distinct from *miɾ-'a* 'to look' [Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *be-ɾ* {ver} 'to see' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 65. Distinct from *ɔʎ-'a-ɾ* {olhar} 'to look' [Voinova et al. 1989: 585-586].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 849; Fernández Armesto 1981: 739; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1040.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1492-1493.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2247-2249.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1135-1138.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 614-615; Rayevskaya 2013: 358.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vɛɣ* {vey} ~ *viː-ʀ* {vir} 'to see'.

73. SEED

Archaic Latin *s'eː-mɛn* {semen} (1), Late Classical Latin *s'eː-mɛn* {semen} (1), Megleno Romanian *sim'inc-ə* {simíntsă} (1), Istro Romanian *sem'inc-ä* {semínţę} (1), Aromanian *sim'inc-ə* {simínţă} (1), Romanian *səm'ɨnc-ə* {sămânţă} (1), Dalmatian *sem'ɣanc* {semi̯anz} (1), Friulian *sem-'ɛnč-e* {semence} (1), Gardenese Ladin *sum-'ənc-a* {sumënza} (1), Fassano Ladin *səm-'enc-a* {semenza} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *sem* {sem} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *sem* {sem} (1), Surmiran Romansh *sem* {sem} (1), Vallader Romansh *sem* {sem} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *smɛns* {smens} (1), Barbania Piemontese *smɛns* {smèns} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *smenz* {smens} (1), Turinese Piemontese *smɛns* {smens} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *samn-'ɛ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *s'om-es-a* {sómesa} (1), Plesio Lombard *sum-*

'enc-a *{sumenza}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *sm-ˈẽnt-a {s·ménta}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *sm-ɛnt {smènt}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *sem-ˈɛyns-a {semèinsa}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *sm-ˈɛyns-a {smèinsa} ~ sm-ˈɛynt-a {smèinta}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *sˈem-i* (1), Genoese Ligurian *sˈemː-e {semme}* (1), Stella Ligurian *sem-ˈäːŋc-a {semǽnza}* (1), Venice Venetian *sˈem-e {séme} ~ sˈem-a {séma}* (1), Primiero Venetian *sem {sem}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *sem-ˈɛŋθ-a {semenza}* (1), Old Italian *sˈem-e {seme} ~ sem-ˈenc-a {semenza}* (1), Standard Italian *sˈem-e {seme} ~ sem-ˈent-e {semente}* (1), Grosseto Italian *sˈem-e {seme}* (1), Foligno Italian *sˈem-e {seme}* (1), Neapolitan *səmː-ˈɛnt-ə {semmenta} ~ səmː-ˈɛnc-ə {semmenza}* (1), Logudorese *sˈemː-en-e {sémmene}* (1), Campidanese *sˈɛmː-in-i {semmini}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *sim-ˈyɛnc-a {simienza}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *sim-ˈɛnc-a {simenza}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *sim-ˈɛnc-a {simenza}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *sim-ˈɛnc-a {simenza}* (1), Central Catalan *ʎəβˈo {llavor}* (2), North-Western Catalan *ʎaβˈo ~ ʎaˈo {llavor}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *ʎəvˈo {llavor}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ʎavˈoɾ {llavor}* (2), Valencia Catalan *ʎaβˈoɾ {llavor}* (2), Manises Catalan *ʎaβˈoɾ {llavor}* (2), Castilian Spanish *sem-ˈiʎ-a {semilla}* (1), Asturian *sim-ˈyent-e {simiente}* (1), Standard Portuguese *səm-ˈẽnt-ə {semente}* (1), Galician *sem-ˈent-e {semente}* (1), Provençal Occitan *gɾˈan-o {grano}* (3), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *grˈãn-a {gran-na}* (3), Old French *sẽm-ˈãnc-ə {semence}* (1), Standard French *gʁɛn {graine}* (3), Picard *gʁɛ̃n {grainne}* (3), Walloon *ɢʁɛ̃n {grin.ne}* (3).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The term {semen} occurs only in the meaning 'sperm' in Plautus' plays, but there are numerous attestations in Cato's text. Some examples are: {Pinus eo, quia semen viride et maturum habet (id semen de cupresso, de pino quidvis anni legere possis), item quidvis anni matura est et tempestiva} "The pine, because it has both green and ripe seed (such seed may be gathered from the cypress and the pine at any season) is ripe and ready at any season" [De agri cultura 17]; {Cereri porca praecidanea porco femina, priusquam hasce fruges condas, far, triticum, hordeum, fabam, semen rapicium} "Offer a sow as porca praecidanea to Ceres before harvesting spelt, wheat, barley, beans, and rape seed" [De agri cultura 134].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {lactucae veteres et insuaves illae, quae seminis enormi senecta ad instar scoparum in amaram caenosi sucus cariem exolescunt} "old bitter lettuces run to seed so long ago they were thin as broom, in a muddy mess of bitter-tasting juice" [Met. 9: 32]; {Tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt germina} "At your order breezes sigh, clouds yield nourishment, seeds quicken and seedlings grow" [Met. 11: 25].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 265.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 273; Byhan 1899: 335.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 947; Cunia 2010: 946-947; Dalametra 1906: 189; Gołąb 1984: 248.

Romanian: DER 2004: 834; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1343; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *sˈɨmbur-e {sâmbure}* 'stone of a fruit' [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *səmˈinc-ə {sămânţă}* 'seed' [Podiko 1973: 839; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 404].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 239. Also glossed by Ive as {semiánsa} 'seed' [Bartoli 2002: 296].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 377.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 83, 172. Marebbano: *somˈɔnc-a {somǫntsa}* 'seed'; Badiotto: *somˈənc-a {somăntsa}* 'seed'; Livinallese: *səmˈenc-a {səmentsa}* 'seed'; Nones: *sabyˈoŋ {sabⁱóŋ}* 'seed' [Gartner 1923: 172].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 286; Gartner 1923: 172.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 670.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 325.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 325.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 419. Marchigiano: *sɛm* {sèm} 'seed' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Padua: *sˈem-e* {seme} 'seed' [Tre 2015]. Este, Salgareda: *sem-ˈeŋc-a* {semenza} 'seed' [Melon 2015; Poletto 2015]. Treviso, Schio, Marostica: *sem-ˈeŋs-a* {seménça} 'seed' [Busato 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Vicenza: *sem-ˈeŋt-e* {semente} ~ *sem-ˈeŋs-a* {semensa} 'seed' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015]. Arzignano: *sem-ˈeŋt-a* {sementa} 'seed' [Serena 2015]. Verona: *som-ˈen-a* {somena} 'seed' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. The collective form is *sem-ˈeŋθ-a* {semènża} [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Tant' è del seme suo minor la pianta, // quanto, più che Beatrice e Margherita, // Costanza di marito ancor si vanta} "The plant is as inferior to its seed, // as more than Beatrice and Margaret // Costanza boasteth of her husband still" [Purg. 7]; {Non parrebbe di là poi maraviglia, // udito questo, quando alcuna pianta // sanza seme palese vi s'appiglia} "It should not seem a marvel then on earth, // this being heard, whenever any plant // without seed manifest there taketh root" [Purg. 28]; {E saper dei che la campagna santa // dove tu se', d'ogne semenza è piena, // e frutto ha in sé che di là non si schianta} "And thou must know, this holy table-land // in which thou art is full of every seed, // and fruit has in it never gathered there" [Purg. 28].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2236.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Alois 2015. Collective noun. Sant'Antonio Abate: *sum:-ˈɛnt-ə* {summente} 'seed' [Fattoruso 2015]. Grottaminarda: *sˈem-i* {semi} 'seed' [Morelli 2015]. Salerno: *sum-ˈɛnt-ə* {sumenta} 'seed' [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 382. Domus de Maria: *sˈem:-in-i* {semmini} 'seed' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *sim-ˈɛnc-a* {simenza} 'seed' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *sim-ˈɛnc-a* {simenza} 'seed' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora: *sˈem-i* {semi} 'seed' [Stornanti 2015]. Giarre: *sim-ˈɛnt-i* {simenti} 'seed' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *sim-ˈɛnt-a* {simenta} 'seed' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 260.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *sem-ˈyent-e* {semiente} 'seed' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 567.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 840, 677; Fernández Armesto 1981: 665; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1022, 800.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 663.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1090.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1019. Polysemy: 'seed / man's semen'. Distinct from *grˈēȳn-ə* {graine} 'a scarlet dye made from cochineal / grain of paradise (Aframomum melegueta), a spice close to cardamom / female seed (similar to male sperm and considered as necessary for conception)' [EDCT 2014: 559].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 615.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *gʁɛ̃n* {grinne} 'seed'.

74. SIT

Archaic Latin *sɛd-ˈeː-rɛ* {sedere} (1), Late Classical Latin *sɛd-ˈeː-rɛ* {sedere} (1), Megleno Romanian *šɔt* {șọd} (1), Istro Romanian *šed-ˈä* {ședέ} (1), Aromanian *šˈed-ŭ* {șed} (1), Romanian *a=šed-ˈe̯a* {a ședea} (1), Dalmatian *sed-ˈwo-r* {sedu͡or} ~ *sent-ˈwo-r* {sentu͡or} (1), Friulian *st=aː=sent-ˈaː-t* {stâ sentât} (1), Gardenese Ladin *vˈešt=ə=r=sant-ˈa* {vester sentà} (1), Fassano Ladin *ˈes=e=r=sent-ˈa* {ęsser sentà} ~ *ˈes=e=r=sent-ˈa-žˈu* {ęsser sentà jù} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *sˈes-ə-r* {seser} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *sˈes-ə-r* {seser} (1), Surmiran Romansh *čənt-ˈa-r* {tschantar} (1), Vallader Romansh *sˈɛc-ə-r* {sezzer} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *st-ˈe* {sté} (1), Barbania Piemontese *st=ˈe=sɛt-ˈa* {sté setà} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *sˈe-se* {stesse} (1), Turinese Piemontese *st=ˈɛ=set-ˈa* {stè setà} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *satˈɛ-si* (1), Bergamo Lombard *sent-ˈa-sˈo* {sentà só} (1), Plesio Lombard *set-ˈa-s-ʒˈu* {setass giù} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *zd-eː* {șdēr} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *sant-ˈa-r-as* {santàras} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *sˈed-e-r* {séder} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *sˈeːd-e-r* {sēder} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *set:-ˈa-se* (1), Genoese Ligurian *ˈeːs=e=set-ˈɔw* {êse setòǒ} (1), Stella Ligurian *set-ˈɛ* {setè} (1), Venice Venetian *seŋt-ˈa-r-se* {sentarse} ~ *st-ˈa-r=seŋt-ˈa* {stàr sentà} (1), Primiero Venetian *seŋt-ˈa-r-se* {sentarse} (1), Bellunese Venetian *seŋt-ˈa-r-se=do* {sentarse do} (1), Old Italian *sed-ˈe-re* {sedere} (1), Standard Italian *sed-ˈe-re* {sedere} (1), Grosseto Italian *sˈyɛd-e* {siede} (1), Foligno Italian *sed-ˈe* {sedé} (1), Neapolitan *st=ˈa=a=s:ət-ˈat-ə* {stà assettato} ~ *a=s:ət-ˈa* {assettà} (1), Logudorese *sˈed-e-re* {sédere} (1), Campidanese *sˈɛc:-i* {setzi} ~ *sˈic:-i* {sitzi} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *a=s:it:-ˈa-ri-si* {assittarisi} (1), Messinese Sicilian *sɨt:-ˈa-ri-sɨ* {sittarisi} (1), Catanian Sicilian *a=s:it:-ˈa-ri-si* {assittarisi} ~ *sit:-ˈa-ri-si* {sittarisi} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *a=s:it:-ˈa-ri-si* {assittarisi} (1), Central Catalan *sˈɛw-rə* {seure} (1), North-Western Catalan *sˈɛw-re* {seure} (1), Minorcan Catalan *sˈɛw-rə* {seure} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *sˈɛw-re* {seure} (1), Valencia Catalan *sent-ˈa-r-se* {sentar-se} (1), Manises Catalan *est=ˈa=r=a=sent-ˈa-t* {estar assentat} (1), Castilian Spanish *est=ˈa=r=sent-ˈað-o* {estar

sentado} (1), Asturian *sent-ˈa-se {sentase}* (1), Standard Portuguese *išt=ˈa=ɾ=sẽnt-ˈað-u {estar sentado}* (1), Galician *sent-ˈa-r-se {sentarse}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ˈɛst=re=a=set-ˈa {èstre asseta}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ˈet=re=a=št-ˈa: {étre achtâ}* (1), Old French *seˈoy-r {sëoir} ~ s=a=seˈoy-r {sʹassëoir}* (1), Standard French *ɛt=ʁ=a=si {être assis}* (1), Picard *ɛt=a=si {ète assi}* (1), Walloon *ɛs=a=si: {èsse assî}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Non sedeo istic, vos sedete; ego sedero in subsellio.} "I'll not sit there; do you sit down; I'll sit on the bench" [Stichus 93]; {Hac nocte in somnis visus sum viderier procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium} "Last night I seemed in my sleep to behold Æsculapius, seated at a distance far away from me" [Curc. 260-261].
Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Humi sedebat scissili palliastro semiamictus} "sitting on the ground, half-concealed in a ragged old cloak" [Met. 1: 6]; {Demonstro seniculum: in angulo sedebat} "I pointed out a little old man sitting in a corner" [Met. 1: 25]. Distinct from {adsidere} 'to sit down': {"Adside" inquit "istic"} "'Sit here,' he said" [Met. 1: 23].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 285. Distinct from *mi=ɐncˈap {mi aṇtsáp}* 'to sit down' [Capidan 1935: 22].
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 284; Byhan 1899: 334.
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1004-1005; Cunia 2010: 930; Dalametra 1906: 188; Gołąb 1984: 252. Polysemy: 'sit / sit down'.
Romanian: DER 2004: 859; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1350; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *a=se=a=šez-ˈa {a se aşeza}* 'to sit down' [Bolocan et al. 1985: 1347]. Moldavian: *a= šed-ˈẹa {a şedea}* 'to sit' [Podiko 1973: 843; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 406].
Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju blái̯ sedu͡o̯r iṅ kosta sedu͡o̯la} "I want to sit on this seat" [Bartoli 2002: 253]; {pu͡o̯rta káu̯k joi̯na katrái̯da ke ju búle sentu͡o̯r} "bring here the chair which I want to sit on" [Bartoli 2002: 253].
Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 698, 378. Literally: 'to be sat'. Distinct from *sentˈa:-si {sentâsi}* 'to sit down' [Decorte 2015].
Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 80, 180. Literally: 'to stay sitting'.
Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 285. Literally: 'to be sitting' / 'to be sat down'.
Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.
Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down' [Decurtins 2015].
Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.
Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 676. Polysemy: 'to sit' / 'to sit down'.
Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. Distinct from *st-ˈe=ʒˈü {sté giù}* 'to sit down' [Gisolo 2015].
Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Distinct from *sɛt-ˈɛ-se {setese}* 'to sit down' [Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 323].
Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *set-ˈɛ {setè} ~ set-ˈɛ-se-ʒˈü {setesse giù}* 'to sit down'.
Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.
Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 395. Marchigiano: *sˈɛd-a {sèda}* 'to sit / to sit down' [Pucci 2015].
Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down' [Piacentini 2015].
Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *sˈedr-es {séd'r-es}* 'to sit down' [Sacchi 2015].
Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down' [Chertein 2015].
Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *set-ˈa:-se {setâse}* 'to sit down'.
Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Can be expanded with the adverb *do* {do} 'down'.
Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {gente seder propinqua al loco scemo} "a people sitting near the hollow place" [Inf. 17]; {E un di lor, che mi sembiava lasso, // sedeva e abbracciava le ginocchia} "And one of them, who seemed to me fatigued, // was sitting down, and both his knees embraced" [Purg. 4].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2271. Distinct from *sed-'e-r-si* {sedersi} 'to sit down' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 2271].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *st-'a-re a=s:ed-'ɛ* {stare assedè} 'to sit down' (literally 'to stay sat') [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *sed-'ɛ:-se* {sedesse} 'to sit down', cf {perché non ve sedete?} "why don't you sit down?" [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *a=s:ət:-'ar-sə* {assettarse} ~ *s=a=s:ɔ't:-'a* {s'assettà} 'to sit down' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Mancusi 2015]. Sant'Antonio Abate: *a=s:it:-'a* {assittà} 'to sit' [Fattoruso 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *as:et:y-'a-re* {assettiare} 'to sit down' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 385. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Domus de Maria: *s'ɛc:-i* {sezzi} 'to sit / to sit down' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Termini Imerese: *a=s:it:-'a-ri* {assittari} 'to sit' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *st='a=ri=a=s:it:-'a-t-u* {stari assittatu} 'to sit', cf. {N'òmu pò stari a dditta, assittatu o curcatu} "Man can stand, sit, or lie". Distinct from *a=s:it:-'a-ri-si* {assittarisi} 'to sit down' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Giarre: *a=s:it:-'a-ri-sɨ* {assittarisi} 'to sit / to sit down' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Agrigento: *a=s:it:-'a-ri* {assittari} 'to sit' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015. Distinct from *ə=s'ɛw-rə-s* {asseure's} 'to sit down'.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015. Balletbò mentions the construction *ast-'a=asent-'at* {estar assentat} 'to sit' [Balletbò 2015], which is possibly a Hispanism. Distinct from *a=s'ɛw-re* {asseure's} 'to sit down' [Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *sent-'a-ɾ-se* {sentar-se} 'to sit down' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *a=sent-'a-ɾ-se* {assentar-se} 'to sit down' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *sent-'a-ɾ-se* {sentarse} 'to sit down' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *sent-'a-ɾ* {sentar} 'to sit / to sit down' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 570. Distinct from *sẽnt-'a-ɾ-sə* {sentar-se} 'to sit down' [Voinova et al. 1989: 568-569].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 666. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 101. Distinct from *s=a=set-'a* {s'asseta} 'to sit down' [Coupier 1995: 100].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret's dictionary does not provide a separate entry for 'être assis' 'to sit', but the construction {étre achtâ}, which appears in the entry for 'siéger' 'to sit (for example, in the senate)', is glossed as 'être assis' [Viret 2013: 1987]. Taking into account that it literally means 'to be sat' (cf. {achtâ} 'to sit down (transitive)' [Viret 2013: 190-191]), this seems to be a good candidate for the list. Distinct from *s=a=št-'a:* {s'achtâ} 'to sit down (intransitive)' [Viret 2013: 191].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1025-1026, 87-88. Distinct from *a=se'oy-r* {assëoir} 'to get somebody to sit down, to seat somebody' and from *sə=se'oy-r* {se sëoir} 'to sit down'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 641; Rayevskaya 2013: 585. Distinct from *s=aswa-ʁ* {s'asseoir} 'to sit down' [Robert-Collins 1989: 641; Rayevskaya 2013: 585].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *s=a=si-ʁ* {s'assir} 'to sit down' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ɛs=a=ši:* {esse ashî} ~ *ɛs=a=š-y-u* {esse ashiou} 'to sit'. Distinct from *s=a=š-i:- ʁ* {s'assîre} 'to sit down' (Rifondou: *s=a=š-i- ʁ* {s'ashire} 'to sit down').

75. SKIN

Archaic Latin *k'ʋt-ɪs {cutis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *k'ʋt-ɪs {cutis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *k'o̯až-ə {coájă}* (-1), Istro Romanian *k'oz-e {cóze}* (-1), Aromanian *ʦ'e̯al-e {keále}* (2), Romanian *p'yel-e {piele}* (2), Dalmatian *pyal {pi̯al}* (2), Friulian *pyɛl {piel}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *pel {pel}*

(2), Fassano Ladin *pel {pel}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *pel {pel}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *pyal {pial}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *pel {pel}* (2), Vallader Romansh *pel {pel}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pɛl {pel}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *pɛl {pel}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *pɛl {pel}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *pɛl {pel}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *pɛl* (2), Bergamo Lombard *pɛl {pèl}* (2), Plesio Lombard *pɛl: {pell}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *p'ɛəl-a {pëla}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *pel {pél}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *p'ɛl-a {pèla}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *p'ɛl-a {pèla}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *p'el:-e* (2), Genoese Ligurian *p'el:-e {pelle}* (2), Stella Ligurian *p'ɛ:l:-e {pëlle}* (2), Venice Venetian *p'ɛ-e {pèłe}* (2), Primiero Venetian *pɛl {pèl}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *pɛl {pel}* (2), Old Italian *p'ɛl:-e {pelle}* (2), Standard Italian *p'ɛl:-e {pelle}* (2), Grosseto Italian *p'ɛl:-e {pelle}* (2), Foligno Italian *p'ɛl:-e {pelle}* (2), Neapolitan *p'ɛl:-ə {pelle}* (2), Logudorese *p'eɖ:-e {pedde}* (2), Campidanese *p'ɛd:-i {peddi}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *p'yɛɖ:-i {pieddi}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *p'ɛɖ:-ɨ {peddi}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *p'ɛɖ:-i {peddi}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *p'ɛɖ:-i {peddi}* (2), Central Catalan *peʎ {pell}* (2), North-Western Catalan *peʎ {pell}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *pey {pell}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *peʎ {pell}* (2), Valencia Catalan *peʎ {pell}* (2), Manises Catalan *peʎ {pell}* (2), Castilian Spanish *pyel {piel}* (2), Asturian *pyel {piel}* (2), Standard Portuguese *p'ɛl-ə {pele}* (2), Galician *pɛl {pel}* (2), Provençal Occitan *pɛw {pèu}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pe {pé}* (2), Old French *pɛl {pel}* (2), Standard French *po {peau}* (2), Picard *pyo {piau}* (2), Walloon *pe: {pê}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: There are three terms for 'skin' in Plautus' texts: *k'ʋt-ʙ* {cutis}, *p'ɛl:-ʙ* {pellis}, and *k'ɔr-ɾũ* {corium}. The term {cutis} is used only figuratively, in the phrase 'to shear (as sheep) to hide': {adibo hunc, quem quidem ego hodie faciam hic arietem Phrixi, itaque tondebo auro usque ad vivam cutem} "I'll accost him, whom for sure this day I'll make a ram of Phryxus of; so, even to the quick, will I shear him of his gold" [Bac. 241-242]; {Atque tu Persa es, qui me usque admutilavisti ad cutem} "Why, you are the Persian that has been fleecing me to the quick!" [Persa 829].

  The term {pellis} occurs only in the phrase 'skin and bone': {Quia ossa ac pellis totust, ita cura macet} "Because it's all skin and bone, so lean is it with care" (about lamb) [Aul. 564]; {ossa atque pellis sum miser a macritudine} "I'm but skin and bone through leanness" (about man) [Capt. 135].

  The term {corium} is applied to skin of animals (elephants and fishes) or to human skin, but mainly in contexts related to beating: {Erus meus elephanti corio circumtentust, non suo, neque habet plus sapientiai quam lapis} "My master is surrounded with the hide of an elephant, not his own, and has no more wisdom than a stone" [Mil. 235-236]; {Pol si quidem conisus esses, per corium, per viscera perque os elephanti transmineret bracchium} "Troth, if, indeed, you had put forth your strength, your arm would have passed right through the hide, the entrails, and the frontispiece of the elephant" [Mil. 28-30];{GR. Quo colore est, hoc colore capiuntur pauxilluli; sunt alii puniceo corio, magni item; atque atri. TRACH. Scio. tu hercle, opino, in vidulum te bis convertes, nisi caves: fiet tibi puniceum corium, postea atrum denuo} "GR. Of this colour very few are caught: some are of a purple skin, there are great and black ones also. TRACH. understand; by my troth, you'll be turning into a wallet-fish I fancy, if you don't take care; your skin will be purple, and then afterwards black} [Rud. 997-1000]; {quod periit, periit: meum corium <cum> cistella} "hat's lost is lost; my hide along

with the casket" [Cist. 703]; {Detegetur corium de tergo meo} "The hide will be stripped from off my back" [Epid. 65]; {si sibi nunc alteram ab legione adduxit animi causa, corium perdidi nam ubi senex senserit. sibi data esse verba, virgis dorsum despoliet meum} "He now, to please his fancy, has brought another one from the army. I've lost my hide, for when the old man finds out that he has been played tricks with, he'll be flaying my back with twigs" [Epid. 91-93]; {Ex tuis verbis meum futurum corium pulchrum praedicas, quem Apella atque Zeuxis duo pingent pigmentis ulmeis} "Judging from your words you are foretelling that my hide will be beautifully painted; me, whom Apelles and Zeuxis, the pair of them, will be painting with elm-tree pigments" [Epid. 625-626]; {ut adhuc fuit, mihi corium esse oportet, sincerum atque ut votem verberari} "As hitherto it has been, so does it become my hide still to be, without a bruise, and such that I should decline its being beaten" [Most. 868-869]; {ego illum ante aedis praestolabor ludificatorem meum, cuius ego hodie ludificabor corium, si vivo, probe} "I'll wait before the house for this fellow that makes a fool of me, whose hide I'll make a fool of in fine style, if I live" [Most. 1066-1067]; {Vt enim ubi mihi vapulandum sit, tu corium sufferas} "when I'm to have a beating, you yourself may substitute your hide" [Poen. 855]; {hoc quoque etiam mihi <pater> in mandatis dedit, ut conquaestores fierent histrionibus: qui sibi mandasset delegati ut plauderent quive quo placeret alter fecisset minus, eius ornamenta et corium uti conciderent} "he who should have contrived for another give less satisfaction, from the same they might strip off his dress and leather mask" [Amph. 81-85]; {cum legeres, si unam peccavisses syllabam, fieret corium tam maculosum quam est nutricis pallium} "if you made a mistake in a single syllable, your skin would be made as spotted as your nurse's gown" [Bac. 433-434]; {postea aspicito meum, quando ego tuom inspectavero: ni erit tam sincerum, ut quivis dicat ampullarius optimum esse operi faciundo corium et sincerissimum, quid causae est quin virgis te usque ad saturitatem sauciem?} "Afterwards, do you examine mine, when I've examined yours; if it shall not prove to be so untouched, that any leather flask maker will say that it is a hide most capital and most sound for the purposes of his business, what reason is there why I shouldn't mangle you with stripes?" [Rud. 755-758]; {cras Phoenicium poeniceo corio invises pergulam} "Phœnicium, with a true Phœnician hide, you'll pay a visit to the strumpets" [Pseud. 228-229].

The examples from Cato do not shed any light on this situation. The term {pellis} is used twice, while speaking about snake skin and hides: {Pellem anguinam ubi videris, tollito et condito, ne quaeras cum opus siet. Eam pellem et far et salem et serpullum, haec omnia una conterito cum vino, dato bubus bibant omnibus} "When you see a snake skin, pick it up and put it away, so that you will not have to hunt for one when you need it. Macerate this skin, spelt, salt, and thyme with wine, and give it to all the cattle to drink" [De agri cultura 73]; {Auctionem uti faciat: vendat oleum, si pretium habeat; vinum, frumentum quod supersit, vendat; boves vetulos, armenta delicula, oves deliculas, lanam, pelles, plostrum vetus, ferramenta vetera, servum senem, servum morbosum, et si quid aliud supersit, vendat} "Sell worn-out oxen, blemished cattle, blemished sheep, wool, hides, an old wagon, old tools, an old slave, a sickly slave, and whatever else is superfluous" [De agri cultura 2]. {cutis} occurs only once, reffering to pig skin: {In fundo dolii aut seriae sale sternito, deinde pernam ponito, cutis deorsum spectet, sale obruito totam} "Spread salt on the bottom of the jar or pot; then lay a ham, with the skin facing downwards, and cover the whole with salt" [De agri cultura 162].

Although {corium} occurs several times, it means just 'leather / hide': {In torcularium in usu quod opus est. Urceum unum, ahenum quod capiat Q. V, uncos ferreos III, orbem aheneum I, molas, cribrum I, incerniculum I, securim I, scamnum I, seriam vinariam unam, clavem torculari I, lectum stratum ubi duo custodes liberi cubent (tertius servus una cum factoribus uti cubet), fiscinas novas, veteres, epidromum I, pulvinum I, lucernas, corium I, craticulas duas, carnarium I, scalas unas} "The following equipment is needed for the pressing-room at the time of pressing: A pitcher, 1 copper vessel holding 5 quadrantals, 3 iron hooks, 1 copper disk, — millstones, 1 strainer, 1 sieve, 1 axe, 1 bench, 1 large wine-jar, 1 key for the pressing-room, 1 complete bed for two free workmen who act as watchmen to sleep on (while the third, who is a slave, should sleep with the labourers), — new and — old baskets, 1 net-cord, 1 cushion, — lanterns, 1 hide, 2 gridirons, 1 meat-rack, 1 ladder" [De agri cultura 13]; {Amurca decocta axem unguito et lora et calciamenta et coria; omnia meliora facies}; "Grease the axle, belts, shoes, and hides with boiled amurca; you will make them all better" [De agri cultura 97]; {Eo indere oportet coria bona III nostratia, recentia quae depsta sient, quam minimum sallis habeant} "Eight good native hides, freshly tanned, should be used for these, and should have very little salt" [De agri cultura 135].

Taking into account that in later Latin the main term for 'skin' was {cutis}, which also has a number of IE cognates with the same meaning [de Vaan 2008: 160], we include only this term in the list.

Late Classical Latin: Polysemy: 'human skin / animal skin': {nudam pulchritudinem suam praebere se gestiunt magis de cutis roseo rubore quam de vestis aureo colore placiturae} "knowing they will be better liked for the blushing glow of their skin than the gilded tissue of silks" [Met. 2: 8]; {prius a me concisus atque laceratus interibit ipse quam tuam plumeam lacteamque contingat cutem} "but it will rather perish, slashed to pieces by me, than touch your feather-soft milk-white skin" [Met. 3:

14]; {et punctu pollicis extremam aciem periclitabunda trementis etiam nunc articuli nisu fortiore pupugit altius, ut per summam cutem roraverint parvulae sanguinis rosei guttae} "testing the point against her thumb-tip, but her hand was still trembling and pressing too hard she pricked the surface, so that tiny drops of crimson blood moistened the skin" [Met. 5: 23]; and {aper immanis atque invisitatus exsurgit toris callosae cutis obesus} "a huge wild boar, the largest ever seen, bulging with muscle under its coarse hide" [Met. 8: 4]; {ac dehinc cutis crassa tenuatur} "my dense hide grew thin" [Met. 11: 13].

The context {et cutis tenella duratur in corium} "and my soft skin hardened to hide" [Met. 3: 24] shows that *k'ɔr-y-ū* {corium} denotes rougher skin than {cutis}, therefore, it is more usual in the meaning 'animal skin': {de meo parabat corio} "and bit my hide all over" (about donkey skin) [Met. 7: 15]; {eiusque probe nudatum carnibus corium servatis sollerter totis unguibus} "we carefully stripped the flesh from the hide, taking care to keep the claws" (about bear skin) [Met. 4: 14]; {Nam corium adfirmavit cineris inspersum dominis referemus eiusque mortem de lupo facile mentiemur} "We can stiffen the hide by rubbing ashes on it" (about donkey skin) [Met. 7: 22]; {corium arvina suculenta molliveram} "my sleek hide shiny with grease" (about donkey skin) [Met. 10: 15]; {Nam et illa ipsa praeclara magia tua vultum laboresque tibi tantum asini, verum corium non asini crassum sed hirudinis tenue membranulum circumdedit} "That marvelous magic spell of yours may have given you an ass's form, and its labours to perform, but rather than its thick hide it wrapped you in a skin thin as a leech's" [Met. 6: 26].

The term *p'ɛl:-ʙ* {pellis} occurs only three times: {pelle illa contectus ursae subiret effigiem} "would volunteer to dress in the skin and imitate a bear" [Met. 4: 14]; {Hercules lustrator orbis, purgator ferarum, gentium domitor, is tamen deus, cum terras peragraret, paulo prius quam in caelum ob uirtutes as[s]citus est, neque una pelli uestitior fuit neque uno baculo comitatior} "Hercules that roamed the whole world, exterminated monsters, and conquered races, god though he was, had but a skin for raiment and a staff for company in the days when he wandered through the earth. And yet but a brief while afterwards he was admitted to heaven as a reward for his virtue" [Apologia 22: 10]; {Neque enim iustius religiosam moram viatori obiecerit aut ara floribus redimita aut spelunca frondibus inumbrata aut quercus cornibus onerata aut fagus pellibus coronata} "I cannot conceive anything that could give a traveller juster cause to halt in sign of reverence; no altar crowned with flowers, no grotto shadowed with foliage, no oak bedecked with horns, no beech garlanded with the skins of beasts" [Florida 1].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 74. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / nutshell'. Apart from *'kọažə* in Capidan's dictionary, there are also such words as *ț'al-i* {chịáli} [Capidan 1935: 68] and *miš'in* {mișín} [Capidan 1935: 192], but they cannot be found in texts. Borrowed from Slavic.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 198; Byhan 1899: 250. Polysemy: 'skin / hide'. Borrowed from some Slavic source.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 595-596; Cunia 2010: 283; Dalametra 1906: 50-51; Bara et al. 2005: 334; Gołąb 1984: 229. In the dialect of Kruševo the Slavicism *k'ọaž-i* {koáži} is used in the meaning 'skin, leather' as well [Gołąb 1984: 227].

Romanian: DER 2004: 861; Bolocan et al. 1985: 524; Gancz 2015. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / leather'. Moldavian: *p'el-e* {pele} 'skin' [Podiko 1973: 315-316; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 165].

Dalmatian: Attested by Cubich as {la pial} 'skin' [Bartoli 2002: 267]. Probably with polysemy: 'skin / leather', cf. {la bụál di pél} "the ball made of leather" [Bartoli 2002: 233].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 689, 298.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 66, 146. Polysemy: 'skin / leather'.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 214; 517.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 530. Polysemy: 'skin / leather'.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 239.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 239.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 302. Marchigiano: *pel* {péll} 'skin' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015. Este, Schio, Marostica, Verona: *p'ɛl-e* {pele} 'skin' [Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Treviso, Arzignano: *p'ɛɥ-e* {pèłe} 'skin' [Busato 2015; Serena 2015]. Salgareda: *pɛl* {pèl} 'skin' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Generic term for human and animal skin: {A quel dinanzi il mordere era nulla // verso 'l graffiar, che talvolta la schiena // rimanea de la pelle tutta brulla} "To him in front the biting was as naught // unto the clawing, for sometimes the spine // Utterly stripped of all the skin remained" (about Judas) [Inf. 34]; {quella fiera a la gaetta pelle} "the variegated skin of that wild beast" [Inf. 1]. The term *k'ut-e* {cute} is not attested.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2273-2274.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *p'el:-ə* {péll'} 'skin' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 310. Domus de Maria: *p'ɛd:-i* {peddi} 'skin' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *p'ɛɖ-i* {peddi} 'skin' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *p'ɛɖ-i* {pedi} 'skin' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 221.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *pyel* {piel} 'skin', *peʎ-'ey-u* {pelleyu} 'animal skin' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 232. Distinct from *k'owr-u* {couro} 'leather' [Voinova et al. 1989: 232].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 830, 601; Fernández Armesto 1981: 582; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1004, 696.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1015.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1571.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 823-824. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide, skin of an animal (used as a protection by the giant Harpin)'. Distinct from *kɥir* {cuir} 'skin / hide / leather' [EDCT 2014: 279].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 643; Rayevskaya 2013: 445. Distinct from *kɥiʁ* {cuir} 'leather' [Rayevskaya 2013: 445].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *pɛ:* {pea} 'skin'.

76. SLEEP

Archaic Latin *dɔrm-'iː-rɛ {dormire}* (1), Late Classical Latin *dɔrm-'iː-rɛ {dormire}* (1),

Megleno Romanian *dorm {dorm}* (1), Istro Romanian *durm-ˈi {durmí}* (1), Aromanian *dˈorm-u {dórmu}* (1), Romanian *a=dorm-ˈi {a dormi}* (1), Dalmatian *dorm-ˈa-r {dormár}* (1), Friulian *durm-ˈi: {durmî}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *durm-ˈi {durmì}* (1), Fassano Ladin *dorm-ˈi-r {dormịr}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *durm-ˈi-r {durmir}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *durm-ˈi-r {durmir}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *durm-ˈɛk-r {durmeir}* (1), Vallader Romansh *durm-ˈi-r {durmir}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *dˈörm-e {deurme}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *dˈörm-e {deurme}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *dˈörm-e {deurme}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *dˈörm-e {deurme}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *dˈɔ:rm-i* (1), Bergamo Lombard *dürm-ˈi {dürmì}* (1), Plesio Lombard *durm-ˈi {durmì}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *durm-ˈi {durmir}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *durm-ˈi-r {durmìr}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *durm-ˈi:-r {durmìr}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *durm-ˈi:-r {durmîr}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *durm-ˈi* (1), Genoese Ligurian *durm-ˈi: {durmî}* (1), Stella Ligurian *durm-ˈi {durmì}* (1), Venice Venetian *dorm-ˈi-r {dormìr}* (1), Primiero Venetian *drom-ˈi-r {dromir}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *dorm-ˈi-r {dormir}* (1), Old Italian *dorm-ˈi-re {dormire}* (1), Standard Italian *dorm-ˈi-re {dormire}* (1), Grosseto Italian *dorm-ˈi-re {dormire}* (1), Foligno Italian *durm-ˈi {durmì}* (1), Neapolitan *durm-ˈi {durmì}* (1), Logudorese *drom:-ˈi-re {drommire}* (1), Campidanese *drˈom:-i-ri {drommiri}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *rˈwɔrm-i-ri {ruormiri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *dˈɔm:-i-rɨ {dommiri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *dˈɔrm-i-ri {dormiri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *rˈɔrm-i-ri {rormiri}* (1), Central Catalan *durm-ˈi {dormir}* (1), North-Western Catalan *dorm-ˈi {dormir}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *durm-ˈi {dormir}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *dorm-ˈi-r {dormir}* (1), Valencia Catalan *dorm-ˈi-r {dormir}* (1), Manises Catalan *dorm-ˈi-r {dormir}* (1), Castilian Spanish *dorm-ˈi-r {dormir}* (1), Asturian *durm-ˈi-r {durmir}* (1), Standard Portuguese *durm-ˈi-r {dormer}* (1), Galician *durm-ˈi-r {durmir}* (1), Provençal Occitan *durm-ˈi {dourmi}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *drom-ˈi {dromi}* (1), Old French *dorm-ˈi-r {dormir}* (1), Standard French *dɔʁm-i-ʁ {dormir}* (1), Picard *dœʁm-i-ʁ {deurmir}* (1), Walloon *dwa:ʁm-ü {dwârmu}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Pastor harum dormit, quom haec eunt sic a pecu balitantes} "Their shepherd's asleep, as they come straying thus from the flock" [Bac. 1122-1123]; {nimium difficilest reperiri amicum ita ut nomen cluet, quoi tuam quom rem credideris, sine omni cura dormias} "'Tis an extremely difficult thing for a friend to be found really such as the name imports, to whom, when you have entrusted your interests, you may sleep without any care" [Trin. 620-621].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {vivit et quiescit et dormit et protinus marcido sopore discusso remeabit ad diem lucidam} "is still alive, and in a sleep. Once rested, he will rouse from his deep coma and return to a waking state" [Met. 10: 11]; {Heus pueri, quam maribus animis et viribus alacribus dormientes adgrediamur} "Hey, lads, let's attack them while they're sleeping with all our strength and manly courage" [Met. 3: 5].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 115-116.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 208; Byhan 1899: 211.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 412; Cunia 2010: 414; Dalametra 1906: 85; Bara et al. 2005: 347; Gołąb 1984: 213.

Romanian: DER 2004: 864; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1420; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *a=dorm-'i* {a dormi} 'to sleep' [Podiko 1973: 890; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 424].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 241. Some examples are: {l-e tu̯o̯rt: ża͜i̯me dormár} "it's late: we go to sleep" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. {e jal el du̯ármi?} "Does he sleep?" [Bartoli 2002: 250].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 146.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 27, 175.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 98.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 253.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 98.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 98.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 136. Marchigiano: *durm-'i* {durmì} 'to sleep' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *dorm-'i-re* {dormire} 'to sleep' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {ché Branca Doria non morì unquanche, // e mangia e bee e dorme e veste panni} "for Branca d' Oria is not dead as yet, // and eats, and drinks, and sleeps, and puts on clothes" [Inf. 34]; {sì che là giù, non dormendo, si sogna} "so that below, not sleeping, people dream" [Par. 29].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2276.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Alois 2015. Salerno: *ɾɑrm-'e* {rorme} 'to sleep' [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 166. Domus de Maria: *drom:-'i-ri* {drommiri} 'to sleep' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *d'ɔrm-i-ɾi* {dormiri} ~ *ɾ'ɔrm-i-ɾi* {rormiri} 'to sleep' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *ɾ'ɔrm-i-ɾi* {rormiri} 'to sleep' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *d'ɔrm-i-ɾi* {dormiri} 'to sleep' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 104.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.
Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.
Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.
Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.
Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *dorm-'i-r* {dormir} 'to sleep' [González Rato 2016].
Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 601.
Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 791, 349; Fernández Armesto 1981: 307; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 952, 378.
Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 435.
Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 765-767.
Old French: EDCT 2014: 356.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 645-646; Rayevskaya 2013: 597.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *dwa ʀn-i* {doirmi} 'to sleep'.

77. SMALL

Archaic Latin *p'arw-ʋs {parvus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *p'arv-ʋs {parvus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *mik {mic}* (2), Istro Romanian *mik {mic}* (2), Aromanian *ɲ'ik-ŭ {n'ic}* (2), Romanian *mik {mic}* (2), Dalmatian *p'el-o {pelo}* (3), Friulian *p'ič-ul {piçul}* (3), Gardenese Ladin *pit-l {pitl}* (3), Fassano Ladin *p'ik-ol {pìcol} ~ p'ič-ol {pìciol}* (3), Rumantsch Grischun *p'ič-ən {pitschen}* (3), Sursilvan Romansh *piɲ {pign}* (3), Surmiran Romansh *p'ič-ən {pitschen}* (3), Vallader Romansh *p'ič-ən {pitschen}* (3), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *čit {cit}* (3), Barbania Piemontese *čit {cit}* (3), Carmagnola Piemontese *čit {cit}* (3), Turinese Piemontese *čit {cit}* (3), Vercellese Piemontese *p'i:č-u ~ pi:čn-'i:ŋ* (3), Bergamo Lombard *pič-'ɛn {picèn} ~ pič-in-'i {picinì}* (3), Plesio Lombard *pen-'iŋ {penin}* (3), Ravennate Romagnol *cn-in {z·nìn}* (3), Ferrarese Emiliano *p'ik-ul {pìcul}* (3), Carpigiano Emiliano *čik {cìc}* (3), Reggiano Emiliano *čɛk {cèch}* (3), Rapallo Ligurian *pič-'in* (3), Genoese Ligurian *pič:-'in {piccin}* (3), Stella Ligurian *pič-'i:t-u {picìtu} ~ č'i:t-u {cìtu} ~ č'it:-u {cìttu}* (3), Venice Venetian *p'ik-oʐ-o {pìcoło}* (3), Primiero Venetian *p'ik-ol {pìcol}* (3), Bellunese Venetian *ček {cek}* (3), Old Italian *p'ič:-ol-o {picciolo}* (3), Standard Italian *p'ik:-ol-o {piccolo}* (3), Grosseto Italian *pič:-'in-o {piccino}* (3), Foligno Italian *p'ik:ul-u {picculu}* (3), Neapolitan *pič:-ir'-il:-ə {piccirillo} ~ pič:-ər'-il:-ə {piccerillo} ~ pič:-ər'-el:-ə {piccerello} ~ pəč:-ər'-il:-ə {peccerillo} ~ pic:-ər'-il:-ə {pizzerillo}* (3), Logudorese *min'už-u {minuju}* (4), Campidanese *pit:-'ik-u {pitticu}* (3), Palermitan Sicilian *n'ik-u {nicu}* (-1), Messinese Sicilian *pič:iriɖ:-u {picciriddu}* (3), Catanian Sicilian *n'ik-u {nicu}* (-1), South-Eastern Sicilian *n'ik-u {nicu}* (-1), Central Catalan *pət'it {petit}* (3), North-Western Catalan *pet'it {petit}* (3), Minorcan Catalan *pət'it {petit}* (3), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *men'ut {menut}* (4), Valencia Catalan *čikot-'et {xicotet}* (5), Manises Catalan *čikot-'et {xicotet}* (5), Castilian Spanish *pek-'eɲ-o {pequeño}* (3), Asturian *pek-'eɲ-o {pequeño}* (3), Standard Portuguese *pək'en-u {pequeno}* (3), Galician *pek'en-o*

{pequeno} (3), Provençal Occitan *pič-ˈot {pichot}* ~ *pič-ˈuŋ {pichoun}* (3), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ptyu {ptyou}* (3), Old French *pət'it {petit}* (3), Standard French *pəti {petit}* (3), Picard *tyo {tiot}* (3), Walloon *piti {pitit}* ~ *pti {ptit}* (3).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {Aulam maiorem, si pote, ex vicinia pete: haec est parva, capere non quit} "Seek of the neighbours a bigger pot if you can" [Aul. 390-391]; {velut haec mi evenit servitus, ubi ego omnibus parvis magnisque miseriis praefulcior} "Just as this servitude has turned out to me, where I am set over duties great and small" [Pseud. 771-772]; {parvam esse apud te mihi fidem ipse intellego} "I see that you have but little confidence in me" [Pseud. 467]; {haec Athenis parva fuit virgo surpta} "she was stolen at Athens when a little girl" [Rud. 1105]. Comparative form: *mˈn-ɔr {minor}*. Superlative form: *mˈn-ʉm-ʊs {minumus}*.

Distinct from *pˈawk-ʊs {paucus}* 'few', used usually in the plural: {in maximam illuc populi partem est optimum in pauciores avidos altercatio est} "In the greater part of the people this is a most just way of thinking; in the smaller portion there is an objection among the avaricious" [Aul. 485-486]; {At ea subterfugere potis es pauca, si non omnia} "Still, it is in your power to escape a small portion of it, if not the whole" [Capt. 970]; {huius modi paucas poetae reperiunt comoedias, ubi boni meliores fiant} "The Poets find but few Comedies of this kind, where good men might become better" [Capt. 1033-1034]; {Facit hic quod pauci, ut sit magistro obsequens} "He does what few do, in being attentive to their masters even" [Curc. 258]; {Pauci ex multis sunt amici, homini qui certi sient} "Out of many, there are but few friends that are to be depended upon by a person" [Pseud. 390]; {O Zeu, quam pauci estis homines commodi} "O Zeus, Zeus! how few in number are you considerate men" [Pseud. 443]; {Pauci istuc faciunt homines quod tu praedicas} "Few persons do that which you mention" [Pseud. 972]; {nimioque hic pluris pauciorum gratiam faciunt pars hominum quam id quod prosint pluribus} "and here a set of men are making the favour of a few of much more value than that in which they may benefit the many" [Trin. 34-35]; {hoc ita si fiat, publico fiat bono, pauci sint faxim qui sciant quod nesciunt} "I would cause those to be but few, who now that which they do not know" [Trin. 220-221]; {nimis quam paucae sunt defessae, male quae facere occeperunt, nimisque paucae efficiunt, si quid facere occeperunt bene} "How very few are tired who have commenced to do what's wrong; how very few carry it out, if they have commenced to do anything aright" [Truc. 468-469]; with the expressions of time: {pater eius autem postquam puerum perdidit, animum despondit, eaque is aegritudine paucis diebus post Tarenti emortuost} "But its father, after he had lost the child, took it heavily to heart, and through grief at it he died a few days after at Tarentum" [Men. 34-36]; {Liberum caput tibi faciam <cis> paucos mensis} "I'll make you a free man within a few months" [Merc. 152-153]; {cis hercle paucas tempestates, Tranio, augebis ruri numerum, genus ferratile} "Within a short period, i' faith, Tranio, you'll full soon be adding to the iron-bound race in the country" [Most. 18-19]; {paucorum mensum sunt relictae reliquiae} "remnants to last for a few months only are left" [Most. 81]; {Nos fore invito domino nostro diebus paucis liberas} "That we should be free in a few days, in spite of our owner" [Poen. 1207]; {nulla faxim cis dies paucos siet} "in a few days I'd make there to be none at all" [Truc. 348]; {ego faxo dicat me in diebus pauculis crudum virum esse} "I'll make her to be saying in a very few days that I'm a cruel man" [Truc. 643-644].

Examples of {paucus} with the expressions for brief speech: {de ea re signa atque argumenta paucis verbis eloquar} "upon that subject I will in a few words discover some tokens and some proofs" [Amph. 1087]; {nunc verba in pauca conferam quid te velim} "Now I'll compress into a few words what I want of you" [Asin. 88]; {Ne quis miretur qui sim, paucis eloquar} "Lest any one should wonder who I am, I will tell you in a few words" [Aul. 1]; {Da mi operam parumper. paucis, Euclio, est quod te volo de communi re appellare mea et tua} "I wish to address you in a few words, about a common concern of yours and mine" [Aul. 199-200]; {paucis: me misit miles ad eam Cleomachus, vel ut ducentos Philippos reddat aureos} "Cleomachus, has sent me to her, either for her to pay back the tyro hundred golden Philippeans, or to go hence this day, together with him, to Elatia" [Bac. 589-590]; {sed etiam est, paucis vos quod monitos voluerim} "But there is, besides, a thing which, in a few words, I would wish to inform you of" [Capt. 53]; {Sed hoc quicquid est eloquere, in pauca confer: quid intus tumulti fuit?} "But whatever this is, tell it; relate in a few words what has been the disturbance in-doors" [Cas. 648-649]; {respondit mihi paucis verbis, atque adeo fideliter} "In a few words he answered me" [Curc. 333]; {Volo te verbis pauculis, si tibi molestum non est} "I want a few words with you, if it is not inconvenient to you" [Epid. 460-461]; {nunc argumentum accipite atque animum advortite; quam potero in verba

conferam paucissuma} "Now learn the argument, and give your attention; in as few words as possible will I be brief" [Men. 5-6]; {non potuit paucis plura plane proloqui} "he couldn't in a few words have said more in a plain-spoken way" [Men. 252]; {loquere, uter meruistis culpam? paucis, non longos logos} "Say, in few words, which of the two is in fault: no long speeches, though" [Men. 779]; {sed paucis verbis te volo, Palaestrio} "But I want a few words with you; prithee, Palaestrio" [Mil. 375]; {cum ero pauca volo loqui} "I wish to speak a few words with my master" [Mil. 1353]; {Nisi molestum est, percontari hanc paucis hic volt} "Unless it's troublesome, he's desirous to make a few enquiries of her" [Persa 599]; {Tum tu pauca in verba confer} "Do you compress it then into a few words" [Persa 661]; {Paucis verbis rem divinam facito} "Perform the ceremony in few words" [Poen. 408]; {In pauca confer} "Compress it in a few words" [Poen. 1224]; {Audio. atque in pauca, ut occupatus nunc sum, confer quid velis} "I am attending; but compress into a few words what you want, as I'm busy now" [Pseud. 277-278]; {sed nisi molestumst, paucis percontarier} "But, unless it's troublesome, I wish to make enquiry of you in a few words" [Rud. 120]; {tu paucis expedi, quid postulas} "You explain in a few words what it is you want?" [Rud. 1102]; {paucis in viam deducam} "in a few words I will conduct you into the right path" [Trin. 4-5]; {Pro di immortales, verbis paucis quam cito alium fecisti me, alius ad te veneram} "O ye immortal gods! how soon, in a few words, you have made another man of me" [Trin. 160-161]; {paucis ut rem ipsam attigit} "How, in a few words, has she hit upon the very point!" [Truc. 864].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Nec iuxta quicquam quam parva casula cannulis temere contecta} "Nearby, there was nothing except a little hut badly thatched with cane" [Met. 4: 6]; {Habebat filiam parvulam de marito, quem nuper necaverat} "She had a baby daughter by the husband she had murdered" [Met. 10: 28]; {et illa spongia de eo repente devolvitur eamque parvus admodum comitatur cruor} "and out flew the sponge, with a little trickle of blood" [Met. 1: 19]; {Nam et hic apud nos multa multis similiter effatus non parvas stipes} "He'd amassed rich profits, not just small donations" [Met. 2: 13].

Distinct from *p'awk-ʊs* {paucus} 'few': {Ad hunc modum transactis voluptarie paucis noctibus} "We passed not a few nights in like pleasures" [Met. 3: 21]; {Nec paucos fortissimi collegii sollers species ad munus obeundum adrexerat} "The cleverness of the plan prompted several of our brave lads to offer themselves for the task" [Met. 4: 15]; {Inter istam spicarum congeriem patere vel pauculos dies delitescam} "Let me hide for a few days here at least among your store of grain" [Met. 6: 2]; {paucis admodum confectis passibus ad domum Byrrhenae pervenimus} "we had walked a short distance, and reached Byrrhena's house" (literary: 'few steps') [Met. 2: 3].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 189. In his dictionary Capidan also mentions *mi'nut* {minút} 'small' [Capidan 1935: 191], but *mik* is much more frequently used in texts; furthermore, it is *mik* that is opposed to the word 'big' in the riddle {Mic sam, mari sam, toată lumea u ạnves} "I am small, I am big, I clothed all the world" [Capidan 1928: 152].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 228; Byhan 1899: 276. In Šušnjevica dialect, there is also a Croatism: *m'iţi* {mići} 'small' [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 796; Cunia 2010: 746-747; Dalametra 1906: 151; Gołąb 1984: 239. Distinct from *min'ut-ŭ* {minút} 'tiny' [Papahagi 1963: 686; Cunia 2010: 656-657; Dalametra 1906: 132].

Romanian: DER 2004: 867; Bolocan et al. 1985: 611; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Vulgar Latin {*miccus}, which can be related with {mica} 'crumb', or be borrowed from Greek {μικρός} (Doric {μικκός}) 'small' or be of expressive origin [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *mik* {mic} 'small' [Podiko 1973: 369; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 191].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {iṅ joịna pela botičál} "in a small barrel" [Bartoli 2002: 235]; {i peli gatičíṅ} "small cats" [Bartoli 2002: 237].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 690, 304.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 69, 153. Gartner also mentions the word *mən'ut* {mənut}, glossed as 'klein, fein' ('small, fine') [Gartner 1923: 53, 153], but Forni gives the only translation 'minuto' ('small, minute, tiny') [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 221.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 544-545.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 247.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 247.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 509. Marchigiano: *pčin* {pcin} 'small' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015. Padua: *pič-ˈen-o* {piceno} ~ *če-o* {ceo} 'small' [Tre 2015]. Este, Vicenza, Marostica: *pˈik-ol-o* {pìcolo} 'small' [Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Treviso: *pˈik-oṷ-o* {pìcoło} ~ *če-o* {cèo} 'small' [Busato 2015]. Schio: *pˈikol-o* {pícolo} ~ *če-o* {ceo} 'small' [Clementi 2015]. Arzignano: *pˈik-oẹ-o* {picoło} ~ *pič-in-ˈiŋ* {picinin} 'small' [Serena 2015]. Verona: *pˈik-ol-o* {picolo} ~ *piče-n-ˈiŋ* {picenin} 'small' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {tacendo divenimmo là 've spiccia // fuor de la selva un picciol fiumicello} "speaking no word, we came to where there gushes // forth from the wood a little rivulet" [Inf. 14]; {Da quella parte onde non ha riparo // la picciola vallea, era una biscia, // forse qual diede ad Eva il cibo amaro} "Upon the side on which the little valley // no barrier hath, a serpent was; perchance // the same which gave to Eve the bitter food" [Purg. 8]; {Questa picciola stella si correda // d'i buoni spirti che son stati attivi} "This little planet doth adorn itself // with the good spirits that have active been" [Par. 7]. Much less frequent is the term *pˈarv-o* {parvo} 'small': {che noteranno molto in parvo loco} "which shall make note of much in little space" [Par. 19]; {ai voti manchi sì con altri beni, // ch'a la vostra statera non sien parvi} "for broken vows with other good deeds, so // that in your balance they will not be light" [Par. 4].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2280-2281. Distinct from *pič-ˈin-o* {piccino} 'very small, tiny' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 831] and from *minˈut-o* {minuto} 'very small, tiny, minute' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 700].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Generic term, applied to all sorts of small objects. The term *čˈuk-u* {ciucu} can also be used in relation to animals, fruit and vegetables [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *pič-ˈol-ə* {picciol'} 'small' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 320. Domus de Maria: *pit:-ˈik:-u* {pitticcu} 'small' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *nˈik-u* {nicu} 'small' [Coccimiglio 2016]. Borrowed from Old Greek {μικρός} 'small'.

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *nˈik-u* {nicu} 'small' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Borrowed from Old Greek {μικρός} 'small'.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Borrowed from Old Greek {μικρός} 'small'.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 218. Distinct from *mən'ut* {menut} 'small', which is more restricted in use [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *pek-ˈeŋ-u* {pequeñu} 'small' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 270.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 829, 604; Fernández Armesto 1981: 574; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1003, 701.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1036-1037. The comparative form is *m'endɾ-e* {mendre} ~ *m'ɛndɾ-e* {mèndre} [Coupier 1995: 899].
Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1597-1599.
Old French: EDCT 2014: 838-840. Polysemy: 'small / of little importance'.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 650; Rayevskaya 2013: 465.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *piti* {pitit} ~ *pti* {ptit} 'small'.

78. SMOKE

Archaic Latin *fuːm-ʋs {fumus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *fuːm-ʋs {fumus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *fum {fum}* (1), Istro Romanian *dim {dim}* (-1), Aromanian *fum-ŭ {fum}* (1), Romanian *fum {fum}* (1), Friulian *fum {fum}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *fum {fum}* (1), Fassano Ladin *fum {fum}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *fim {fim}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *fem {fem}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *fem {fem}* (1), Vallader Romansh *füm {füm}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *füm {fum}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *füm {fum}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *füm {fum}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *füm {fum}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *füm* (1), Bergamo Lombard *fŏm {fŏm}* (1), Plesio Lombard *füm: {fümm}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *fom {fóm}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *fum {fum}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *fum {fùm}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *fom {fóm}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *füm:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *füm:-u {fümmŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *füːm:-e {fûmme}* (1), Venice Venetian *fum-o {fùmo}* (1), Primiero Venetian *fum {fum}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *fuŋ {fun}* (1), Old Italian *fum:-o {fummo}* (1), Standard Italian *fum-o {fumo}* (1), Grosseto Italian *fum-o {fumo}* (1), Foligno Italian *fum-u {fumu}* (1), Neapolitan *fum:-ə {fummo}* (1), Logudorese *fum-u {fumu}* (1), Campidanese *fum:-u {fummu} ~ fum-u {fumu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *fum-u {fumu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *fum-u {fumu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *fum-u {fumu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *fum-u {fumu}* (1), Central Catalan *fum {fum}* (1), North-Western Catalan *fum {fum}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *fum {fum}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *fum {fum}* (1), Valencia Catalan *fum {fum}* (1), Manises Catalan *fum {fum}* (1), Castilian Spanish *'um-o {humo}* (1), Asturian *fum-o {fumo}* (1), Standard Portuguese *fum-u {fumo}* (1), Galician *fum-e {fume}* (1), Provençal Occitan *füm {fum}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *fm-'iːre {fmîre} ~ fom-'iːre {fomîre}* (1), Old French *fũm {fum}* (1), Standard French *füm-e {fumée}* (1), Picard *fœm-ɛ {feumèe}* (1), Walloon *füm-iːʀ {fumîre}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {flamma fumo est proxima; fumo comburi nil potest, flamma potest} "flame follows very close on smoke; with smoke, nothing can be burnt, with flame, it can" [Curc. 53-54]; {quin divom atque hominum clamat continuo fidem, de suo tigillo fumus si qua exit foras} " Why, he's forever crying out for aid from Gods and men, that his property has gone, and that he

is ruined root and branch, if the smoke by chance escapes out of doors through the rafters of his house" [Aul. 300-301]; {PHAN. Vah, oculi dolent. PIN. Cur? PHAN. Quia fumus molestust} "PHAN. O dear, my eyes do ache. PIN. Why so? PHAN. Because the smoke's so troublesome" [Most. 890-891].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {in qua totiugis iam diebus ne fumus quidem visus est ullus} "There's been no food, not a puff of smoke in the house for days on end" [Met. 2: 24]; {eundem illum subiectum contegit viminea cavea, quae fustium flexu tereti in rectum aggerata cumulum lacinias circumdatas suffusa candido fumo sulpuris inalbabat} "hid her pale and trembling lover, under a large wooden tub used for sifting flour" [Met. 9: 24].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 131.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 206; Byhan 1899: 207. Borrowed from Croatian {dim} 'smoke'.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 477; Cunia 2010: 471-472; Dalametra 1906: 95; Gołąb 1984: 216.

Romanian: DER 2004: 868; Bolocan et al. 1985: 341-342; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *fum* {fum} 'smoke' [Podiko 1973: 199; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 106].

Dalmatian: Not attested.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 177.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 33, 169.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 122.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 312.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 133.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 133.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 157. Marchigiano: *fum* {fùm} 'smoke' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {sanza la qual chi sua vita consuma, // cotal vestigio in terra di sé lascia, // qual fummo in aere e in acqua la schiuma} "withouten which whoso his life consumes // such vestige leaveth of himself on earth, // as smoke in air or in the water foam" [Inf. 24]; {Vedi l'albor che per lo fummo raia} "Behold the dawn, that through the smoke rays out" [Purg. 16].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2282.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 195. Domus de Maria: *fum-u* {fumu} 'smoke' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *fum-u* {fumu} 'smoke' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 153.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ʄum-u* {fumu} 'smoke' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 151.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2016; Fernández Armesto 1981: 432; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 972, 518.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 632. Coupier also mentions the terms *tüb-ˈɛy-o* {tubèio} and *tüb-ˈad-o* {tubado} as synonyms [Coupier 1995: 632].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1040. Côte-d'Aime: *tür-ˈiʎe* {turilye} 'smoke'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 531.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 651; Rayevskaya 2013: 403.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *fum-i ʁ*{foumire} 'smoke'.

79. STAND

Archaic Latin *stˈaː-rɛ {stare}* (1), Late Classical Latin *stˈaː-rɛ {stare}* (1), Megleno Romanian *sta-w {staṷ}* (1), Istro Romanian *stʋ {stå}* (1), Aromanian *šˈed=ŭ=m=prˈost-u {șed mpróstu}* (-1), Romanian *a=st=ˈa=in=pičˈo͡ar-e {a sta în picioare}* (2), Dalmatian *stʋor=iŋ=pˈins {stu͡oȓ iṅ píns}* (2), Friulian *staː=im=pˈins {stâ impins}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *št=ˈɛ=m=pˈe {sté mpe}* (2), Fassano Ladin *št=ˈɛ=r=en=pˈe {stèr en pe}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *št-a-r {star}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *št-a-r {star}* ~ *št=ˈa=r=ən=pˈey {star en pei}* ~ *št=ˈa=r=sin=pˈɛys {star sin peis}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *št-a-r {star}* (1), Vallader Romansh *št-a-r {star}* ~ *št=ˈa=r=in=pˈe {star in pe}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *st=ˈe=drit {sté drit}* (3), Barbania Piemontese *st=ˈe=ɛn=pˈe {sté en pé}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *st=ˈe=drit {sté drit}* (3), Turinese Piemontese *st=ˈɛ=aŋ=pˈe {stè an pé}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *st=ɛ=ŋ=pˈeː ~ ves-i=ŋ=pˈeː* (2), Bergamo Lombard *st=ˈa=n=pˈe {stà 'n pe}* (2), Plesio Lombard *št=ˈa=in=pˈe-e {stà in pee}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *st=ˈar=in=pyˈe {star in pié}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *st=ˈɛː=r=in=pˈeː {stèr in pē}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *st=ˈɛː=r=in=pˈe-e {stêr in pée}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *st=ˈa=iŋ=pˈe* (2), Genoese Ligurian *st=ˈaː=iŋ=pˈeː {stâ in pê}* (2), Stella Ligurian *št=ˈe=im=pˈe {sté in pé}* (2), Venice Venetian *st=ˈa=r=iŋ=pˈie {stàr in pìe}* (2), Primiero Venetian *st=ˈa=r=iŋ=pˈɛ {star in pè}* ~ *st=ˈa-r=iŋ=pˈyɛy {star in piei}* ~ *st=ˈa-r=iŋ=pˈie {star in pìe}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *st=ˈa=r=iŋ=pˈie {star in pie}* (2), Old Italian *st=ˈa=re=dr'ɪt̪ː-o {stare dritto}* ~ *ˈɛsː=e=re=dr'ɪt̪ː-o {essere dritto}* (3), Standard Italian *st=ˈa=re=in=pˈyɛd-i {stare in piedi}* (2), Grosseto Italian *st=ˈa=re=in=pˈyɛd-i {stare in piedi}* (2), Foligno Italian *št=ˈa=r̩ˈɪt̪ː-u {stà rrittu}* (3), Neapolitan

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st=ˈa=al:ˈyert-ə {stà allierta} ~ *st=ˈa=al:ˈert-ə {stà allerta}* (4), Logudorese *ist=ˈa=re=a=sa=rˈic:-a {istare a sa ritza}* (5), Campidanese *abar:=ˈay=i= βˈey {abarrai in pei}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *st=ˈa=ɾi=a=gɾˈit:a {stari a gritta}* (3), Messinese Sicilian *st=ˈa=ɾi=a=ɖːɣˈit:a {stari addritta}* (3), Catanian Sicilian *st=ˈa=ɾi=a=d:ˈit:a {stari additta}* ~ *st=ˈa=ɾi=a=ɖːɣˈit:a {stari addritta}* (3), South-Eastern Sicilian *st=ˈa=ɾi=a=dˈit:a {stari a ditta}* (3), Central Catalan *əst=ˈa=ðɾɛt {estar dret}* (3), North-Western Catalan *ast=ˈa=ðɾɛt {estar dret}* (3), Minorcan Catalan *əst=ˈa=ðɾɛt {estar dret}* (3), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *est=ˈa=ɾ=de=pɛw {estar de peu}* (2), Valencia Catalan *est=ˈa=ɾ=de=pɛw {estar de peu}* (2), Manises Catalan *est=ˈa=ɾ=dɾet {estar dret}* (3), Castilian Spanish *est=ˈa=ɾ=de=pˈye {estar de pie}* (2), Asturian *t=ˈa=ɾ=de=pˈye {tar de pie}* (2), Standard Portuguese *išt=ˈa=ɾ=ẽỹ=pˈɛ {estar de pé}* (2), Galician *est=ˈa=ɾ=de=pˈɛ {estar de pé}* (2), Provençal Occitan *ˈɛst=re=dɾˈe {èstre dre}* (3), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ˈet=re=dɛ=pˈi: {étre dêpî}* ~ *ˈet=re=dɛ̃=pˈi: {étre dinpî}* (2), Old French *est=ˈe=r=ãn=pˈyec {ester en piez}* ~ *est=ˈe=r=sor=pˈyec {ester sor piez}* (2), Standard French *ɛt=ʁ=də=bu {être debout}* ~ *sə=tən=i=ʁ=də=bu {se tenir debout}* ~ *ʁɛst=e=də=bu {rester debout}* (6), Picard *ɛt=d=bu {ète dbout}* (6), Walloon *ɛs=dʀɛs-e {èsse drèssé}* (3).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {Quia Alcumenam ante aedis stare saturam intellego} "Because I see Alcmena standing before the house, with her stomach-full already" [Amph. 667]; {Hos quos videtis stare hic captivos duos, illi qui astant, hi stant ambo, non sedent} "these two captives, whom you see standing here, are standing here because - they are both standing, and are not sitting" [Capt. 1-2]; {Quid stamus? quin ergo imus atque obsonium curamus, pulchre ut simus?} "Why are we standing here? Why then don't we be off and procure the provisions, that we may be comfortable?" [Merc. 582-583].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {fixus in lapidem steti gelidus nihil secus quam una de ceteris theatri statuis vel columnis} "I'd been standing there frozen, transformed to stone, just like one of the theatre's columns or statues" [Met. 3: 10]; {Quid stas, Luci, vel quid iam novissimum exspectas?} "Lucius, what are you standing here for, awaiting the end of all?" [Met. 6: 26]. Distinct from {exsurgere} and {adsurgere} 'to stand up': {Ad haec nescio an casu nostro an illius absono clamore experrectus Socrates exsurgit prior} "Then Socrates, woken by our fall, or by the fellow's raucous yelling, got to his feet first" [Met. 1: 17]; {Adsurgit et oppertus paululum pleniorem ripae marginem complicitus in genua adpronat se avidus adfectans poculum} "He rose and after a brief search for a level place at the edge of the bank, he sank down on his knees and bent forward ready to drink" [Met. 1: 19].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 274. Distinct from *mi=skoł* {mi scoł} 'to stand up' [Capidan 1935: 260].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 280; Byhan 1899: 352-353. Distinct from *skul-ʋ-se* {sculă se} 'to stand up' [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 705; Cunia 2010: 671-672; Gołąb 1984: 250. The second part of this construction is borrowed from some Slavic source, while the first one means 'to sit'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 893-894; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1450; Gancz 2015. Literally means 'to stay on one's feet'. Distinct from *a=se=skul-ˈa* {a se scula} 'to wake up / to stand up' [Bolocan et al. 1985: 186]. Moldavian: *a=stˈa in=pičˈǫar-e* [Podiko 1973: 912; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 432].

Dalmatian: The example is: {ju jai̯ su̯áṅ: noṅ potaja stu͡o̯r iṅ píns ke kaskúa} "I have a dream: I can't stand, so I'm falling" [Bartoli 2002: 241]. The collocation *st-wor iŋ pˈins* = 'to be (*st-*) on the feet (*pˈins*)'.

Friulian: Decorte 2015. Virili 2015; Literaly 'to be on feet'. Distinct from *alčˈa:-si* {alçâsi} 'to stand up' [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015. Literally 'to stay on feet'.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 311. Literally 'to stay on feet'.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *št-'ar=si* {star si} 'to stand up' and *št-ar=sidr'e͡ɕ* {star sidretg} 'to stand up' [Cadruvi 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 716-717. Distinct from *št'ar=sü* {star sü} 'to stand up' [Conrad 2015].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Distinct from *aws'ɛ-se* {aussese} ~ *aws'ɛ-se=ɛn=p'e* {aussese en pé} 'to stand up' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *aws'e-se* {aussese} 'to stand up'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *bit-e-s'e-aŋ-p'e* {bitessé an pè} 'to stand up'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Literally 'to stay on feet'. Distinct from *le-'a=n=p'e* {leà 'n pe} 'to stand up'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Literally 'to stay on feet'. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Not attested. Marchigiano: *st-'ɛ=in-p'yed* {stè inpiéd} [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *alv'ar-as* {alvàras} 'to stand up' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *alv'ɛr-es* {alvères} 'to stand up' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *als-'ɛːr* {alsêr} ~ *alv-'ɛːr* {alvêr} 'to stand up' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *isː'aː-se* {issâse} 'to stand up'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *iːs-'ɛ* {īsè} 'to stand up'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Serena 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Marostica: *st-'a-re=iŋ=p'ie* {stare in pìe} 'to stand' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Treviso: *st-'a-r=iŋ=p'ye* {star in piè} 'to stand' [Busato 2015]. Verona: *st-'a-r=eŋ=p'ye* {star en pié} 'to stand' [Zanetti 2015]. Distinct from *als-'a-r-se* {alsàrse} [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Busato 2015] ~ *alc-'a-r-se* {alzarse} [Poletto 2015] ~ *lev-'a-r-se* {levarse} 'to stand up' [Melon 2015; Busato 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *lev-'a-r-su* {levar su} 'to stand up' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: In most of the Romance languages the Latin verb {stare} became an auxiliary and was expanded by some elements in the meaning 'to stand'. In modern Italian it is {stare in piedi}, literally 'to stay on feet'. Dante confines himself to the term *st-'a-re* {stare} while speaking about location in space. Some examples are: {quivi vid' ïo Socrate e Platone, // che 'nnanzi a li altri più presso li stanno} "there I beheld both Socrates and Plato, // who nearer him before the others stand} [Inf. 4]; {Stavvi Minòs orribilmente, e ringhia} "There standeth Minos horribly, and snarls" [Inf. 5]; {Sempre dinanzi a lui ne stanno molte} "Always before him many of them stand" [Inf. 5]; {Tal mi fec' io, quai son color che stanno, per non intender ciò ch'è lor risposto} "Such I became, as people are who stand, // not comprehending what is answered them" [Inf. 19]; {quando si strinser tutti ai duri massi // de l'alta ripa, e stetter fermi e stretti // com' a guardar, chi va dubbiando, stasis} "when they all crowded unto the hard masses // of the high bank, and motionless stood and close, // as he stands still to look who goes in doubt" [Purg. 3]; {Come le pecorelle escon del chiuso // a una, a due, a tre, e l'altre stanno // timidette atterrando l'occhio e 'l muso} "As sheep come issuing forth from out the fold // by ones and twos and threes, and the others stand // timidly, holding down their eyes and nostrils" [Purg. 3]; {sì si starebbe un agno intra due brame // di fieri lupi, igualmente temendo; // sì si starebbe un cane intra due dame} "so would a lamb between the ravenings // of two fierce wolves stand fearing both alike; // and so would stand a dog between two does" [Par. 4].

> When he needs to underline that someone is being in the vertical position, he uses collocations. The most frequent one is {stare dritto} ~ {essere dritto}: {Dentro dal monte sta dritto un gran veglio} "A grand old man stands in the mount erect" [Inf. 14]; {Quel ch'era dritto, il trasse ver' le tempie} "He who was standing drew it tow'rds the temples" [Inf. 25]; {"Prima ch'io de l'abisso mi divella, // maestro mio", diss' io quando fui dritto, // "a trarmi d'erro un poco mi favella"} //"Ere from the abyss I tear myself away, // my Master," said I when I had arisen, // "To draw me from an error speak a little} [Inf. 34]; {Già era dritta in sù la fiamma e queta} "Already was the flame erect and quiet" [Inf. 27]; {Vedi là Farinata che s'è dritto: // da la cintola in sù tutto 'l vedrai} "Behold there Farinata who has risen; // from the waist upwards wholly shalt thou see him" ("Look, there Farinata stands erect - // you can see all of him from the waist up" in another translation) [Inf. 10]; {E se uno uomo fosse dritto in Maria} "If a man were standing upright in Mary" [Convivio III, 5, 15]; {E se uno uomo fosse in Lucia dritto} "And if a man were standing upright in Lucy" [Convivio III, 5, 17].

The collocation {stare in piedi} occurs only once: {che là si graffia con l'unghie merdose, // e or s'accoscia e ora è in piedi stante} "who there doth scratch herself with filthy nails, // and crouches now, and now on foot is standing" [Inf. 18]. We have also one example for {stare erto}: {Altre sono a giacere; altre stanno erte} "Some prone are lying, others stand erect" [Inf. 34]. It seems obvious that already in Dante's times {stare} used on its own was not enough to express the idea of standing, so we include {stare dritto} ~ {essere dritto} into the list.

 We find a similar situation in Boccaccio's prose. Some examples of {stare} when it refers to being in space are as follows: {la giovane, il cui nome era Efigenia, prima che alcun de' suoi si risenti, e levato il capo e aperti gli occhi e veggendosi sopra il suo bastone appoggiato star davanti Cimone} "the damsel, whose name was Iphigenia, came to herself, before any of her people, and opening her eyes, saw Cimon standing before her, leant on his staff" [Dec. 5, 1]; {Ercolano, che alquanto turbato con la moglie era per ciò che gran pezza ci avea fatti stare all'uscio senza aprirci} "Ercolano, who was somewhat vexed with his wife for that she had kept us a great while standing at the door, without opening to us" [Dec. 5, 10]; {Bruno e Buffalmacco vennono con una scatola di galle e col fiasco del vino: e fatti stare costoro in cerchio} "whereupon Bruno and Buffalmacco came with a box of pills and the flask of wine and made the folk stand in a ring" [Dec. 8, 6]; {Li quali stando a udir, sentirono alla donna dirgli la maggior villania che mai si dicesse a niun tristo} "and standing hearkening, they heard the lady give him the foulest rating was ever given poor devil" [Dec. 8, 6]; {e in quello, nella più folta parte che v'era, si nascose, stando attenta e guardando or qua or là se alcuna persona venir vedesse} "and hid herself in the thickest part thereof, standing attent and looking now here and now there, an she should see any one come" [Dec. 9, 7].

 Boccaccio also uses collocations, while underlying the vertical position, but in contrast to Dante he prefers {stare in piè}: {stando tu in piè, vi possi le reni appoggiare e, tenendo i piedi in terra, distender le braccia a guisa di crocifisso} "standing upright, thou mayst lean thy loins against it and keeping thy feet on the ground, stretch out thine arms, crucifix fashion" [Dec. 3, 4]; {a costui venne un sonno subito e fiero nella testa, tale che stando ancora in pie s'adormento e adormentato cadde} "Ferondo was taken with so sudden and overpowering a drowsiness, that he slumbered as yet he stood afoot and presently fell down fast asleep" [Dec. 3, 8]; {e cio che vedeva credeva che gru fossero che stessero in due piè} "and took all he saw for cranes standing on two feet" [Dec, 6, 4]. However, {essere diritto} is also possible: {la quale sopra una colonna che nel mezzo di quella diritta era} "by a figure that stood on a column in its midst" [Dec. 3, 1]. We should also mention that Boccaccio almost always uses the collocations {levare in piè} and {dirizzare in piè} ~ {drizzare in piè} 'to stand up' with the element {in piè}.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2313-2314. Distinct from *alc-ˈar-si=in=pˈyɛd-i* {alzarsi in piedi} 'to stand up' and from *lev-ˈar-si=in=pˈyɛd-i* {levarsi in piedi} 'to stand up' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 2314].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *alc-ˈa-sːe* {alzasse} 'to stand up' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *aycˈar-sə* {aizarse} 'to stand up' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Nagar 2015] and *səs-ˈe-r-se* {soserse} 'to stand up' [Russo 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *pes-ˈa-re=a=sa=rˈicː-a* {pesare a sa ritza} 'stand up' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Pintus 2015. Distinct from *arci-ˈa-re* {artziare} 'to stand up' [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *strantˈaž-i* {strantaxi} 'to stand / to stand up' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Distinct from *sus-ˈi-ɾi-si* {susirisi} 'to stand up' [Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *stˈa=ɾi=aː=dˈitːa* {stari âdditta} 'to stand' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *sus-ˈi-ɾi-sɨ* {susirisi} 'to stand up' [Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the form *stˈa-ɾi=a=gɾˈit:a* {stari a gritta} [La Mattina 2015]. Distinct from *sus-ˈi-ɾi-si* {susirisi} 'to stand up' [La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *stˈa-ɾi=a=dːˈit:a* {stari additta} 'to stand' [Miccichè 2015]. Distinct from *sus-ˈi-ɾi-ri* {susiriri} 'to stand up' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015. Distinct from *ə=šək-ˈa-ɾ-sə* {aixecar-se} 'to stand up' [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Montagut also mentions the term *ast-ˈa=pɫant-ˈat* {estar plantat} 'to stand' [Montagut 2015]. Distinct from *ay=šek-ˈa-ɾ-se ~ ay=šek-ˈa-s* {aixecar-se} 'to stand up' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *šik-at-sˈɛ* 'to stand up' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *als-ˈa-ɾ-se* {alçar-se} 'to stand up' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. In colloquial speech the variant *est-'a-ɾ=de=m=pɛws* {estar dempeus} 'to stand'is also used. Distinct from *als-'a-ɾ-se* {alçar-se} 'to stand up' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *als-'a-ɾ-se* {alçar-se} 'to stand up' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *leβant-'a-ɾ-se* {levantarse} 'to stand up' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *t='a-ɾ=de=p'yes* {tar de pies} 'to stand', *ʎeb-ant-'a-ɾ* {llevantar} 'to stand up' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 614. Distinct from *ləvẽnt-'a-r-sə* {levantar-se} 'to stand up' and *p'oɾ-sə=ẽỹ=p'ɛ* {pôr-se em pé} 'to stand up' [Voinova et al. 1989: 84].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015. Distinct from *leβant-'a-ɾ-se* {levantarse} 'to stand up' [Montoya Bolaños 2015].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 347-348.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret's dictionary does not provide a separate entry for 'être debout' 'to stand', but there is an entry for 'debout', and in the Albanais dialect this adverb sounds as *dɛ=p'i:* {dêpî} or *dɛ̃=p'i:* {dinpî} [Viret 2013: 670]. Consequently, we suppose that 'to stand' is *'et=re=dɛ=p'i:* {étre dêpî} ~ *'et=re=dɛ̃=p'i:* {étre dinpî} in Albanais, cf. {a dromi dêpî} 'to sleep standing' [Viret 2013: 1177], {k'tin pâ dêpî} 'absurd, improbable' (literally 'that which does not keeps on its feet') [Viret 2013: 73, 1199] and {étre d'pwinta} 'to stand' (Les Villards-sur-Thônes) [Viret 2013: 670]. Distinct from *sɛ=lv-'a:* {sè lvâ} ~ *s=lɛv-'a:* {s'lèvâ} ~ *sɛ=pt-'a:-dɛ-p'i:* {sè ptâ dêpî} 'to stand up' [Viret 2013: 1270].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 459. The collocation *soy=ten='i=r=ãn=p'yec* {soi tenir en piez} can be used in this function as well [EDCT 2014: 842]. Distinct from *ləv-'e:-r* {lever} 'to rise to one's feet, to stand up' [EDCT 2014: 637-639].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 678-679; Rayevskaya 2013: 602. Distinct from *sə=ləv-e* {se lever} 'to stand up' and *sə=mɛt-ʁ=də=bu* {se mettre debout} 'to stand up' [Robert-Collins 1989: 678-679; Rayevskaya 2013: 369].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *s=atãp-i-ʁ* {s'atampir} 'to stand up' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ɛs=d ʁs-i:* {esse dressî} 'to stand'. Distinct from *sü=lv-e* {su l'ver} 'to stand up' (Rifondou: *si=lɛv-e* {si lever} 'to stand up').

80. STAR

Archaic Latin *st'e:ɫ:-a {stella}* (1), Late Classical Latin *st'e:ɫ:-a {stella}* (1), Megleno Romanian *st'ew-ə {stéu̯ă}* (1), Istro Romanian *stä {ste̯}* (1), Aromanian *st'e̯a-o {steáo}* (1), Romanian *ste̯a {stea}* (1), Dalmatian *st'al:-a {stalla}* (1), Friulian *st'ɛl-e {stele}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *št'əyl-a {stëila}* (1), Fassano Ladin *št'eyl-a {ste̯ila}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *št'ayl-ə {staila}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *št'ɛyl-ə {steila}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *št'ɛyl-ə {steila}* (1), Vallader Romansh *št'ayl-ə {staila}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *st'ɛyl-a {stèila}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *st'ɛyl-a {stèila}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *st'ɛyl-a {stèila}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *st'eyl-a {steila}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *st'öl-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *st'ɛl-a {stèla}* (1), Plesio Lombard *št'ɛl-a {stela}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *st'ɛəl-a {stëla}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *st'ɛl-a {stèla}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *st'ɛl-a {stèla}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *str'ɛl-a {strèla}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *st'el:-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *st'el-a {stela}* (1), Stella Ligurian *št'ɛy-a {stèja}* (1), Venice Venetian *st'e-a {stéła}* (1), Primiero Venetian *st'el-a {stela}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *st'el-a {stela}* (1), Old Italian *st'el:-a {stella}* (1), Standard Italian *st'el:-a {stella}* (1), Grosseto Italian *st'el:-a {stella}* (1), Foligno Italian *št'el:-a {stella}* (1), Neapolitan *st'el:-ə {stella}* (1), Logudorese *ist'eɖ:-a {istedda}* (1), Campidanese *st'ɛd:-a {stedda}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *št'iɖ:-a {stidda}* (1), Messinese Sicilian

st'iɖ̠-a {stidda} (1), Catanian Sicilian *st'iɖ̠-a {stidda}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *št'iɖ̠-a {stidda}* (1), Central Catalan *əstr'eʎ-ə {estrella}* (-1), North-Western Catalan *estr'eʎ-ɛ ~ str'eʎ-ɛ {estrella}* (-1), Minorcan Catalan *əstr'eʎ-ə {estrella}* (-1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *estr'eʎ-a {estrella}* (-1), Valencia Catalan *astr'eɫ-a {estrela}* (-1), Manises Catalan *estr'ɛɫ-a {estrela}* (-1), Castilian Spanish *estr'eʎ-a {estrella}* (1), Asturian *estr'eʎ-a {estrella}* (1), Standard Portuguese *ištr'el-ɐ {estrela}* (1), Galician *estr'el-a {estrela}* (1), Provençal Occitan *est'el-o {estello}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *et'ayl-a {étaila}* (1), Old French *est'oyl-ə {estoile}* (1), Standard French *etwal {étoile}* (1), Picard *etwɛl {étoèle}* (1), Walloon *stwaːy {stwâye}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {Inde usque ad diurnam stellam crastinam potabimus} "then will we booze away even to the morrow's morning star" [Men. 175]; {ita sum, ut videtis, splendens stella candida, signum quod semper tempore exoritur suo hic atque in caelo: nomen Arcturo est mihi} "I am, as you see, a bright and shining star, a Constellation that ever in its season rises here on earth and in the heavens. Arcturus is my name" [Rud. 3-5]; {Neque stellae in caelo} "Nor as there are stars in heaven" [Poen. 434].
Late Classical Latin: An example is: {istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum conligari, ventos inanimes exspirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri} "Now that story was about as true as if you'd said magic spells can make rivers flow backwards, chain the sea, paralyze the wind, halt the sun, squeeze dew from the moon, disperse the stars, banish day, and lengthen night!" [Met. 1: 3].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 275.
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 280; Byhan 1899: 351. Byhan also mentions the word *zv'izd-ä* {zvízdę} 'star' [Byhan 1899: 396], which is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts. It is probably an occasional Croatism.
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 973; Cunia 2010: 968; Dalametra 1906: 196; Gołąb 1984: 250.
Romanian: DER 2004: 894; Bolocan et al. 1985: 431; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *stę̯a* {stea} 'star' [Podiko 1973: 258; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 141].
Dalmatian: Attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 275]. The examples are: {le stal del zíl se vit toč le nu̯át ke fero bi̯al ti̯ánp} "The stars in the sky are seen every night, when the weather is good" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {le stalle, que le loic} "the stars are shining" (Cubich) [Bartoli 2002: 276].
Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 410.
Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 88, 183.
Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 311.
Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.
Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.
Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.
Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 713.
Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 354.
Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 354.
Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.
Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.
Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.
Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.
Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.
Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 439. Marchigiano: *st'ɛl-a* {stèla} [Pucci 2015].
Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Poletto 2015; Serena 2015. Este, Vicenza, Schio, Marostica, Verona: *stˈel-a* {stela} 'star' [Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Treviso: *stˈeu̯-a* {stéła} 'star' [Busato 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Non pur per ovra de le rote magne, // che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine // secondo che le stelle son compagne} "Not only by the work of those great wheels, // that destine every seed unto some end, // according as the stars are in conjunction} [Purg. 30]; {l'amor che move il sole e l'ấltre stelle} "the Love which moves the sun and the other stars" [Inf. 33].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2315-2316.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. There is also a less common masculine form: *istˈed̪:-u* {isteddu} 'star'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 409. Domus de Maria: *stˈel:-a* {stella} 'star' of Italian origin [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *stˈid̪-a* {stida} 'star' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 125. There are two terms for 'star' in Central Catalan: *əstɾˈeʎ-ə* {estrella} and *əstˈɛɫ* {estel}. The second one is inherited, while the first one is borrowed from Spanish {estrella} 'star'. The first one is more frequent, but due to puristic tendencies, the second one is currently gaining in frequency [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Borrowed from Spanish {estrella} 'star'.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Borrowed from Spanish {estrella} 'star'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Borrowed from Spanish {estrella} 'star'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Borrowed from Spanish {estrella} 'star'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Borrowed from Spanish {estrella} 'star'.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *estɾˈeʎ-a* {estrella} 'star' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 192.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 798, 433; Fernández Armesto 1981: 360; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 960, 472.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 537.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 905.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 461.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 680; Rayevskaya 2013: 422.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *stwɛl* {stoele} 'star'.

81. STONE

Archaic Latin *ɫˈapɪ-s {lapis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ɫˈapɪ-s {lapis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *rˈɔp-ə {rǫpă}* (2), Istro Romanian *ˈərp-a {ắrpa}* (2), Aromanian *ȶˈe̯atr-ə {keátră}* (-1), Romanian *pˈi̯atr-ə {piatră}* (-1), Dalmatian *pˈitr-a {pítra}* (-1), Friulian *klap {clap}* (-1), Gardenese Ladin

sas {sas} (3), Fassano Ladin *sas {sas}* (3), Rumantsch Grischun *krap {crap}* (-1), Sursilvan Romansh *krap {crap}* (-1), Surmiran Romansh *krap {crap}* (-1), Vallader Romansh *krap {crap}* (-1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *pˈɛr-a {pera}* (-1), Barbania Piemontese *pˈɛr-a {pera}* (-1), Carmagnola Piemontese *pˈer-a {pera}* (-1), Turinese Piemontese *pˈɛr-a {pera}* (-1), Vercellese Piemontese *prˈɛy-a* (-1), Bergamo Lombard *prˈed-a {preda}* (-1), Plesio Lombard *sas: {sass}* (3), Ravennate Romagnol *sas {sˌasˌ}* (3), Ferrarese Emiliano *prˈɛd-a {prèda}* (-1), Carpigiano Emiliano *žar-ˈɔwn {giaròun}* (4), Reggiano Emiliano *prˈeːd-a {prēda}* (-1), Rapallo Ligurian *prˈi-a* (-1), Genoese Ligurian *prˈiː-a {prîa}* (-1), Stella Ligurian *prˈɛy-a {prèia}* (-1), Venice Venetian *pˈyɛr-a {pièra}* (-1), Primiero Venetian *sas {sas}* (3), Bellunese Venetian *pˈyɛr-a {piera}* (-1), Old Italian *pˈyɛtr-a {pietra}* (-1), Standard Italian *pˈyɛtr-a {pietra}* (-1), Grosseto Italian *sˈasː-o {sasso}* (3), Foligno Italian *sˈasː-u {sassu}* (3), Neapolitan *prˈɛt-ə {preta}* (-1), Logudorese *pˈerd-a {perda}* (-1), Campidanese *pˈerd-a {perda} ~ pˈedr-a {pedra}* (-1), Palermitan Sicilian *pˈyɛʈʂ-a {pietra}* (-1), Messinese Sicilian *pˈɛʈʂ-a {petra}* (-1), Catanian Sicilian *pˈɛʈʂ-a {petra}* (-1), South-Eastern Sicilian *pˈɛʈʂ-a {petra}* (-1), Central Catalan *pˈeðɾ-ə {pedra}* (-1) / *rɔk {roc}* (5), North-Western Catalan *pˈeðɾ-ɛ {pedra}* (-1) / *rɔk {roc}* (5), Minorcan Catalan *pˈeðɾ-ə {pedra}* (-1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pˈeðɾ-a {pedra}* (-1), Valencia Catalan *pˈeðɾ-a {pedra}* (-1), Manises Catalan *pˈeðɾ-a {pedra}* (-1), Castilian Spanish *pˈyeðɾ-a {piedra}* (-1), Asturian *pˈyedɾ-a {piedra}* (-1), Standard Portuguese *pˈɛðɾ-ɐ {pedra}* (-1), Galician *pˈɛðɾ-a {pedra}* (-1), Provençal Occitan *pˈɛyɾ-o {pèiro}* (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pˈyɛr-o {pyêro}* (-1), Old French *pˈyer-ə {piere}* (-1), Standard French *pyɛʁ {pierre}* (-1), Picard *pyɛʁ {pierre}* (-1), Walloon *piːʁ {pître}* (-1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *ɫˈapɨd-ɛ {lapidis}*. Some examples are: {Num me illuc ducis, ubi lapis lapidem terit?} "Will you, then, be sending me there, where stone grinds stone" [Asin. 31]; {altera manu fert lapidem, panem ostentat altera} "in the one hand he is carrying a stone. while he shows the bread in the other" [Aul. 195]; {Crucior, lapidem non habere me, ut illi mastigiae cerebrum excutiam} "I'm vexed that I haven't a stone, to knock out the brains of that whip-scoundrel" [Capt. 600-601]; {haud quisquam hodie nostrum curret per vias, // neque nos populus pro cerritis insectabit lapidibus} "not any one of us will this day be running through the streets, nor yet shall the people pelt us with stones for madmen" [Poen. 527-528]; {Erus meus elephanti corio circumtentust, non suo, neque habet plus sapientiai quam lapis} "My master is surrounded with the hide of an elephant, not his own, and has no more wisdom than a stone" [Mil. 235-236].

> Distinct from *sˈaks-ū {saxum}* 'rock / cliff / stone knife for a sacrifice / blockhead': {verum video med ad saxa ferri saevis fluctibus} "but I see that by the raging waves I am being hurried towards the rocks" [Merc. 195-197]; {iterum iam ad unum saxum me fluctus ferunt} "Once more, now, are the surges bearing me upon the self-same rock" [Most. 677]; {Nunc ambo in saxo, leno atque hospes, simul sedent eiecti: navis confracta est eis} "Now, cast ashore there, both the Procurer and his guest are sitting upon a rock; their ship is dashed to pieces" [Rud. 72-73]; {nunc eas ab saxo fluctus ad terram ferunt ad villam illius, exul ubi habitat senex} "At this moment the waves are bringing them from the rocks to land, to the cottage of this old man, who is living here in exile" [Rud. 76-77]; {ab saxo avortit fluctus ad litus scapham} "The surge is driving the

boat away from the rock towards the shore" [Rud. 165]; {Si ad saxum quo capessit, ea deorsum cadit, errationis fecerit compendium} "If she should fall down from that rock towards which she is wending her way, she'll be putting a period to her wandering" [Rud. 179-180]; {hic saxa sunt, hic mare sonat} "Here are the rocks, here roars the sea" [Rud. 206]; {ad saxa navem ferrier} "the ship was being borne upon a rock" [Rud. 367]; {nam qui in amorem praecipitavit, peius perit quasi saxo saliat} "For he who plunges into love, perishes more dreadfully than if he leapt from a rock" [Trin. 265-266]; {nunc ego inter sacrum saxumque sto} "now between the sacrifice and the stone do I stand" ({inter sacrum saxumque} 'between the sacrificial animal and the stone knife' = 'between the hammer and the anvil') [Capt. 617]; {Nullumst hoc stolidius saxum} "There is no stone more stupid than this fellow" [Mil. 1024].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {et arbusculis alibi de lapide florentibus} "and little trees blossoming in stone" [Met. 2: 4]; {Ipse denique dux et signifer ceterorum validis me viribus adgressus ilico manibus ambabus capillo adreptum ac retro reflexum effligere lapide gestit} "Their general and standard-bearer made for me at once, grasped my hair with both hands, bent me backwards, and was about to finish me off with a stone" [Met. 3: 6]; {Qui praeter altitudinem miniam super quendam etiam vastissimum lapidem propter iacentem} "and he fell from no mean height, onto a huge rock near the house" [Met. 4: 12].

The term *p'ɛtr-a* {petra} 'stone' occurs in Apuleius' works only once: {Rostri prima duritia: cum in petram quampiam concitus altissimo volatu praecipitat, rostro se velut ancora excipit} "Its beak is extraordinarily hard. If after it has soared to a great height it swoops headlong on to some rock, it breaks the force of its fall with its beak, which it uses as an anchor" [Florida 12].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 251. In the dialect of Ţârnareca there is also an Aromanian borrowing *ţ'atr-ə* {chi̯átră} [Capidan 1935: 68].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 190; Byhan 1899: 301-302; Glavina 1905: 73. Sârbu and Frăţilă also mention the Croatism *k'ʋmen* {cåmen} 'stone' [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 195].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 596-597; Cunia 2010: 284; Dalametra 1906: 51. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. Distinct from *bərc'ir-e* {bărţíre} 'big stone, rock' [Papahagi 1963: 201; Cunia 2010: 191; Dalametra 1906: 40].

Romanian: DER 2004: 901; Bolocan et al. 1985: 497-498; Gancz 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. Moldavian: *p'yatr-ə* {piatră} 'stone' [Podiko 1973: 300-301; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 158].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 240. Some examples are: {ju i̯ai̯ avùt tái̯ma dei̯ tróki, de kṷo̯lke pítra ke-i me butúa} "I was afraid of the lads who threw a few stones at me" [Bartoli 2002: 225]; {ju kavúa le pítre} "I dig up stones" [Bartoli 2002: 240]. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 65-66. A substrate borrowing. Distinct from *p'yɛr-e* {piere} 'stone as material' [Decorte 2015; Pirona 1871: 690, 298-299].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 79, 183. Inherited from the Vulgar Latin term for 'stone', *p'yer-a* {piera}, preserved only in some collocations (for example, {piera preziëusa} 'precious stone') [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 221.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. A substrate borrowing.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. A substrate borrowing.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. A substrate borrowing.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 203. A substrate borrowing.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 248. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 248. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. Distinct from *ruk* {roch} 'rock' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 364. Polysemy: 'stone / rock'. The old term for 'stone', *preː* {prē}, has undergone the meaning shift 'stone' > 'brick', but preserved the old meaning in some phrases and proverbs (cf. {l'è una prē ch' mena int un sas} "there is a stone, which beats a rock" (about two equivalent forces) [Ercolani 1960: 364]).

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *pr'ed-a* {préda} 'brick / non-round stone' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Zanetti 2015. Schio, Arzignano: *pr'i-a* {prìa} 'stone' [Clementi 2015]. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. Marostica: *s'as-o* {sasso} 'stone' [Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Poi vidi genti accese in foco d'ira // con pietre un giovinetto ancider} "Then saw I people hot in fire of wrath, // with stones a young man slaying" [Purg. 15]; {Luogo è in inferno detto Malebolge, // tutto di pietra di color ferrigno} "There is a place in Hell called Malebolge, // wholly of stone and of an iron colour" [Inf. 18]. Distinct from *s'as:-o* {sasso} 'rock' ({Più che tu non speri // s'appressa un sasso che da la gran cerchia // si move e varca tutt' i vallon feri} "Nearer than thou hopest // there is a rock, that forth from the great circle // proceeds, and crosses all the cruel valleys" [Inf. 24]), which sometimes, however, can be used in the meaning 'stone' too: {E s'io non fossi impedito dal sasso // che la cervice mia superba doma} "And were I not impeded by the stone, // which this proud neck of mine doth subjugate" [Purg. 11]. The term *l'apid-e* {lapide} is not attested.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2327. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. Distinct from *s'as:-o* {sasso} 'rock, stone' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1017-1018], *r'ɔč:-a* {roccia} 'rock' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1000], *m'as:-o* {masso} 'boulder, rock, stone' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 676] and from *mač'iɲ:-o* {macigno} 'rock, boulder, stone' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 651].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. The term *p'yɛtr-a* {pietra} 'stone' is used as well, but it is less frequent [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *pr'et-ə* {préta} 'stone' [Morelli 2015]. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 311. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. Domus de Maria: *p'erd-a* {perda} 'stone' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. Termini Imerese: *p'ɛʈ-a* {petra} 'stone' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *p'ɛʐ-a* {petra} 'stone', *t'imp-a* {timpa} 'stone' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 221. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'. There are two expressions for 'stone' in Central Catalan: *p'eðr-ə* {pedra} and *rɔk* {roc}. According to [Alòs i Font 2015] there is no difference between them, although there is a tendency to use the second word in the meaning 'rock / big stone' (under the influence of Spanish {roca} 'rock / big stone').Alòs i Font 2015; EDCC 1993: 221. Of unknown origin [Prati 1951: 837-838].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.Montagut 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *p'yedr-a* {piedra} 'stone' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 219. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 830, 599; Fernández Armesto 1981: 581; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1004, 693. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1046-1047. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1614-1615.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 844. Designates precious stones as well. Distinct from *čaʎ-o* {chaillo} 'stone, pebble' [EDCT 2014: 170] and *per-'õn* {perron} 'block of stone, stone slab' [EDCT 2014: 836].
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 688-689; Rayevskaya 2013: 438. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.
Picard: Leplubo 2016. A common Romance borrowing from Greek {πέτρα} 'stone'.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *pi ʁ*{pire} 'stone', *kayo:* {cayô} 'stone'.

82. SUN

Archaic Latin *so:ɫ {sol}* (1), Late Classical Latin *so:ɫ {sol}* (1), Megleno Romanian *s'o̯ar-i {soári}* (1), Istro Romanian *s'or-e {sóre}* (1), Aromanian *s'o̯ar-e {soáre}* (1), Romanian *s'o̯ar-e {soare}* (1), Dalmatian *sawl {sau̯l}* (1), Friulian *sor'ɛl-i {soreli}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *sur'ədl {surëdl}* (1), Fassano Ladin *sor'ey-e {sorẹie}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *sul'eʎ {sulegl}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *sul'eʎ {sulegl}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *suʎeʎ {suglegl}* (1), Vallader Romansh *sul'ay {sulai}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *sul {sol}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *sul {sol}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *sul {sol}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *sul {sol}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *sul* (1), Bergamo Lombard *sul {súl}* (1), Plesio Lombard *s'u-u {suu}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *sowl {sôl}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *sol {sól}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *so:l {sōl}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *sɔwl {sòul}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *su* (1), Genoese Ligurian *su: {sû}* (1), Stella Ligurian *su {sù}* (1), Venice Venetian *sol {sól}* (1), Primiero Venetian *sol {sol}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *sol {sol}* (1), Old Italian *s'ol-e {sole}* (1), Standard Italian *s'ol-e {sole}* (1), Grosseto Italian *s'ol-e {sole}* (1), Foligno Italian *s'ol-e {sole}* (1), Neapolitan *s'ol-ə {sole}* (1), Logudorese *s'ol-e {sole}* (1), Campidanese *s'ɔl-i {soli}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *s'ul-i {suli}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *s'ul-i {suli}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *s'ul-i {suli}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *s'ul-i {suli}* (1), Central Catalan *sɔɫ {sol}* (1), North-Western Catalan *sɔɫ {sol}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *sɔɫ {sol}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *sɔɫ {sol}* (1), Valencia Catalan *sɔɫ {sol}* (1), Manises Catalan *sɔɫ {sol}* (1), Castilian Spanish *sol {sol}* (1), Asturian *sol {sol}* (1), Standard Portuguese *sɔɫ {sol}* (1), Galician *sol {sol}* (1), Provençal Occitan *sul'ɛw {soulèu}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sɛl'wa {sèlwà}* (1), Old French *sol'ɛʎ {soleil}* (1), Standard French *sɔlɛy {soleil}* (1), Picard *sɔle {solé}* (1), Walloon *sɔl-ɛ: {solê}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *s'o:l-ʁ* {solis}. Some examples are: {Si tu illum solem sibi solem esse diceres, se illum lunam credere esse et noctem qui nunc est dies} " That if you were to say that this sun was the sun, he would believe it was the moon, and that that is the night which is now the day" [Bac. 699-700]; {non ego item facio ut alios in comoediis <vi> vidi amoris facere, qui aut nocti aut die aut soli aut lunae miserias narrant suas} "I am not doing like as I have seen other lovers do in Comedies, who relate their woes either to the night or to the day, or to the Sun or to the Moon" [Merc. 3-5].
Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {tergus omne rasura studiosa tenuamus et minuto cinere perspersum soli siccandum

tradimus} "we flayed the whole skin neatly, sprinkled it with fine ash, and pegged it in the sun to dry" [Met. 4: 14]; {istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum conligari, ventos inanimes exspirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri} "Now that story was about as true as if you'd said magic spells can make rivers flow backwards, chain the sea, paralyze the wind, halt the sun, squeeze dew from the moon, disperse the stars, banish day, and lengthen night!" [Met. 1: 3].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 269.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 277; Byhan 1899: 345.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 961-962; Cunia 2010: 955; Dalametra 1906: 193; Gołąb 1984: 249.

Romanian: DER 2004: 914; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1404-1405; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *sˈọar-e* {soare} 'sun' [Podiko 1973: 881; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 421].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {joịn ruś del sụál ke se vedája} "a ray of sun is seen" [Bartoli 2002: 236]; {nenćjóin súbatu siánsa sáụl e nenćjóina tróka siánsa amáur} "there is no Saturday without sun and no girl without love" (written down by Ive) [Bartoli 2002: 300]. The form *swal* {sụal} is a "dalmatianized" borrowing from Venetian, while *sawl* {saụl} is a native form [Bartoli 2002: 169].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 700, 396.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 83, 180.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 297.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 693.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 338.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 338.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 422. Marchigiano: *sɔl* {sòl} 'sun' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Arzignano: *sˈoe* {sółe} 'sun' [Tre 2015; Serena 2015]. Vicenza, Schio, Marostica: *sˈol-e* {sole} 'sun' [Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle} "the Love which moves the sun and the other stars" [Inf. 33]; {quando 'l corno // de la capra del ciel col sol si tocca} "what time the horn // of the celestial Goat doth touch the sun" [Par. 27].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2347.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 395. Domus de Maria: *sˈɔl-i* {soli} 'sun' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *sˈul-i* {suli} 'sun' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 265.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *sol* {sol} 'sun' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 594.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 683; Fernández Armesto 1981: 677; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1024, 810.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 925-926. Polysemy: 'to swim / to float'. Distinct from the obsolete term *nad-'a* {nada} 'to swim / to float' [Coupier 1995: 925-926]. Distinct from *flut-'a* {flouta} 'to float' of Germanic origin [Coupier 1995: 603].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1999.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1041.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 703-704; Rayevskaya 2013: 594.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *sɔl-ɛː* {solea} ~ *sɔl-o* {solo} ~ *sl-o* {slo} 'sun'.

83. SWIM

Archaic Latin *n'aː-rɛ* {nare} ~ *nat-'aː-rɛ* {natare} (1), Late Classical Latin *nat-'aː-rɛ* {natare} (1), Megleno Romanian *pliv-əy-'es* {plivăi̯és} (-1), Istro Romanian *pliv-'i* {pliví} (-1), Aromanian *an'ot-ŭ* {anót} (1), Romanian *a=ɨnot-'a* {a înota} (1), Dalmatian *not-'wo-r* {notu̯o̯r} (1), Friulian *nad-'aː* {nadâ} (1), Gardenese Ladin *nud-'ɛ* {nudé} (1) / *žbimən-'ɛ* {sbimené} (-1), Fassano Ladin *nod-'ɛ-r* {nodèr} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *nud-'a-r* {nudar} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *sə=nud-'a-r* {senudar} (1), Surmiran Romansh *nud-'a-r* {nudar} (1), Vallader Romansh *nəd-'a-r* {nodar} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *nu-'e* {noé} (1), Barbania Piemontese *nu-'e* {noé} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *nu-'e* {nové} (1), Turinese Piemontese *nu-'e* {noé} ~ *nuat-'ɛ* {noatè} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *nav-'ɛ* (2), Bergamo Lombard *nüd-'a* {nüdà} (1), Plesio Lombard *nud-'a* {nudà} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *navig-'eə* {navighêr} ~ *nuvig-'eə* {nuvighêr} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *nud-'a-r* {nudàr} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *nud-'ɛː-r* {nudèr} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *nud-'ɛː-r* {nudêr} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *ɲu-'a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *nö-'aː* {nöâ} (1), Stella Ligurian *nö-'ɛ* {neuè} (1), Venice Venetian *nu-'a-r* {nuàr} (1), Primiero Venetian *nog-'a-r* {nogar} (2) / *noð-'a-r* {nođar} (1), Bellunese Venetian *noð-'a-r* {nodar} (1), Old Italian *nwot-'a-re* {nuotare} (1), Standard Italian *nwot-'a-re* {nuotare} (1), Grosseto Italian *not-'a-re* {notare} (1), Foligno Italian *not-'a* {notà} (1), Neapolitan *nat-'a* {natà} (1), Logudorese *nad-'a-re* {nadare} (1), Campidanese *nad-'ay* {nadai} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *nat-'a-ri* {natari} (1), Messinese Sicilian *nat-'a-rɨ* {natari} (1), Catanian Sicilian *nat-'a-ri* {natari} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *nat-'a-ri* {natari} (1), Central Catalan *nəð-'a* {nedar} (1),

North-Western Catalan *nað-'a {nedar}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *nəð-'a {nedar}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *nað-'a-ɾ {nadar}* (1), Valencia Catalan *nað-'a-ɾ {nadar}* (1), Manises Catalan *nað-'a-ɾ {nadar}* (1), Castilian Spanish *nað-'a-ɾ {nadar}* (1), Asturian *nad-'a-ɾ {nadar}* (1), Standard Portuguese *nɐð-'a-ɾ {nadar}* (1), Galician *nað-'a-ɾ {nadar}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ned-'a {neda}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *nað-'i: {nazhî}* (1), Old French *no-'e:-r {nöer}* (1), Standard French *naž-e {nager}* (2), Picard *naž-e {nager}* (2), Walloon *nɛž-e {nèdjer}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {quasi pueri qui nare discunt scirpea induitur ratis, qui laborent minus, facilius ut nent et moveant manus} "Just as a float of bulrushes is placed beneath boys who are learning to swim, by means of which they may labour less, so as to swim more easily and move their hands" [Aul. 595-596]; {Hui, homunculi quanti estis. eiecti ut natant} "Oh dear! what unfortunate creatures you are; how the shipwrecked people are swimming" [Rud. 154-155].

> Distinct from *naːw-ɡ-'aː-rɛ* {navigare} 'to sail, to go by ship', cf. {quam mox navigo in Ephesum, ut aurum repetam ab Theotimo domum?} "How soon do I set sail for Ephesum, to bring back the gold home from Theotimus?" [Bac. 775-776]; {Censebam me effugisse a vita marituma, ne navigarem tandem hoc aetatis senex} "Meanwhile, from harbour our ship set sail" [Bac. 342-343].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aves caelo meantes, ferae montibus errantes, serpentes solo latentes, beluae ponto natantes} "The birds flying in the sky, the wild beasts that prowl the mountains, the serpents that lurk underground, the very monsters of the deep tremble at your power" [Met. 11: 25]; {Ibi commodum Venerem lavantem natantemque propter assistens} "found Venus where she swam and bathed in the deep" [Met. 5: 28]. The prefixed form *ɪɴːat-'aː-rɛ* {innatare} is used as well: {Quid, oro, me post Lethea pocula iam Stygiis paludibus innatantem ad momentariae vitae reducitis officia?} "Why do you bring me back to life an instant, when I was close to drinking Lethe's draught, and about to swim the Stygian Lake?" [Met. 2: 29]; {et nunc senex ille dolium innatans vini sui adventores pristinos in faece submissus officiosis roncis raucus appellat} "now the old man swims in a vat of his own wine, hides in the dregs, and calls out humbly to his past customers with raucous croaks" [Met. 1: 9]; {Et multi coloni quique circumsecus venantur et accolae plurimi viderunt eum vespera redeuntem e pastu proximique fluminis vadis innatantem} "Hunters, and farmers, and others round about have seen the thing returning from its predations, swimming in the shallows ofthe nearby river" [Met. 5: 17].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 22. *-əy-* is an imperfective suffix. Borrowed from Macedonian {pliva} 'swim' or Bulgarian {plivam} 'swim'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 251; Byhan 1899: 309. Polysemy: 'to swim / to float'. Borrowed from some Slavic source.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 111; Cunia 2010: 78; Gołąb 1984: 199. Distinct from *avuz-'esk-u* {avuzéscu} 'to float' [Papahagi 1963: 183; Cunia 2010: 166-167] and *am=plət-'esk-u* {amplătéscu} 'to float' [Papahagi 1963: 96; Cunia 2010: 670].

Romanian: DER 2004: 920; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1004; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *a=plut-'i* {a pluti} 'to float, to soar' [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *a=ɨnot-'a* {a înota} 'to swim' [Podiko 1973: 599-600; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 295].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {el notaja} "he swims"; {se no te saį fenta ke jal viš notu͡or} "If you are not able to swim, you drown" [Bartoli 2002: 234].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 686, 268.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 61, 179. Apart from the inherited term *nud-'ɛ* {nudé}, there is also a Germanism *žbimən-'ɛ* {sbimené} [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 111, 183]. The examples given by Forni do not allow to differentiate between these words (cf. {jì a nudé} "to go to swim" and {jì a sbimené} "to go to swim"; {savëi da nudé} "to be able to swim" and {savëi da sbimené} "to be able to swim" [Forni 2015]), so we treat them as synonyms.Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 111, 183. Borrowed from German {schwimmen} 'to swim'.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 198.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Polysemy: 'to swim / to float'.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 493. Polysemy: 'to swim / to float'.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 216. Distinct from *gal-eʒ-ˈe* {galegé} 'to float' [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 216. Distinct from *gal-eʒ-ˈe* {galegé} 'to float' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *st-ˈe=a=gˈal-a* {sté a gala} 'to float'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *st=ˈɛ=a=gˈal-a* {stè a gala} 'to float'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *gal-iʒ-ˈɛ* 'to float'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *št-ˈa=a=gˈal-a* {stà a gala} 'to float' [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 276, 280.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *st-ˈɛr a gˈal-a* {stèr a gala} ~ *galeʒ-ˈɛːr* {galegèr} 'to float' of Italian origin [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *galeʒ-ˈɛːr* {galegêr} 'to float' of Italian origin [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *gal:eʒ-ˈa* 'to float' of Italian origin.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *gal:eʒ-ˈaː* {gallezzâ} 'to float'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *gal:eʒ-ˈɛ* {gallezzè} 'to float'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica, Verona: *no-ˈa-re* {noare} 'to swim' [Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Treviso: *no-ˈa-r* {noàr} 'to swim' [Busato 2015]. Salgareda: *nod-ˈa-r* {nodàr} 'to swim' [Poletto 2015]. Zanetti also mentions the word *og-ˈa-r* {ogar} 'to swim' as a synonym of *no-ˈa-re* {noare} [Zanetti 2015]. Distinct from *gaez-ˈa-r* {gałesàr} ~ *st-ˈa-r a=gˈaẹ-a* {star a gała} [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Poletto 2015] ~ *galeʒ-ˈa-r* {galegiar} [Melon 2015] ~ *gaeʒ-ˈa-re* {gałegiare} [Tre 2015] ~ *galey-ˈa-re* {galeiare} [Ricchieri 2015] 'to float'.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. There are two terms for 'to swim' in the Primiero dialect: *nog-ˈa-r* {nogar} and *noð-ˈa-r* {nođar}. According to [Gaio 2015], they are synonyms, but under the influence of Standard Italian {nuotare} 'to swim' the second one becomes more frequent.Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Ella sen va notando lenta lenta} "Onward he goeth, swimming slowly, slowly" [Inf. 17]; {qui si nuota altrimenti che nel Serchio!} "Here swims one otherwise than in the Serchio" [Inf. 21].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2358. Distinct from *gal:-eʒ:-ˈa-re* {galleggiare} 'to float' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1704-1705].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *gal:-eʒ:-ˈa-re* {galleggiare} 'to float' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *gal:eʥ:-ˈa* {gallegghjà} 'to float' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015. Besides this term, the Italianism *nwot-ˈa* {nuotà} is used as well [Esposito 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Morelli 2015; Alois 2015]. Distinct from *flut:-ˈa* {fluttà} 'to float' of Germanic origin and from *gal:oʒ:-ˈa* {galleggià} of Italian origin [Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'to swim / to float'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 41. Distinct from *gal:-iʒ-ˈay* {galligiai} 'to float' of Italian origin [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *nad-ˈay* {nadai} 'to swim / to float' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *nat-ˈa-ri* {natari} 'to swim' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *gal:iʒ:-ˈa-ri* {galliggiari} 'to float' [Salzano 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *gal:iʥ:-ˈa-ri* {galligghiari} ~ *stap-ˈi-ri a=gˈal:-a* {stapiri a galla} 'to float' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 199. Distinct from *suɾ-ˈa* {surar} 'to float' and *ɸut-ˈa* {flotar} 'to float' of Germanic origin (via French) [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 134].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *ɸot-ˈa* {flotar} 'to float' of Germanic origin (via French). [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *ɸot-ˈa-ɾ* {flotar} 'to float' of Germanic origin (via French) [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *flot-'a-ɾ* {flotar} 'to float' of Germanic origin (via French) [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *flot-'a-ɾ* {flotar} 'to float' of Germanic origin (via French) [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *flot-'a-ɾ* {flotar} 'to float' of Germanic origin [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *nal-'a-ɾ* {nalar} 'to swim', *flot-'a-ɾ* {flotar} 'to float' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 425, 428. Distinct from *flutu-'a-ɾ* {flutuar} 'to float', *buy-'a-ɾ* {boiar} 'to float', *nevəɣ-'a-ɾ* {navegar} 'to float' [Voinova et al. 1989: 425, 428].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 568; Fernández Armesto 1981: 530; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 992, 651. Distinct from *fɾot-'a-ɾ* {frotar} 'to float' [Franco Grande 1968: 464; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 963].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1143.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1454. Distinct from *fʎot-'a:* {flyotâ} 'to float' (the collocation {tnyi su l'éga} 'to hold on water' can also be used in this meaning) [Viret 2013: 991].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 749. Distinct from *flot-'e:-r* {floter} 'to float' [EDCT 2014: 507].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 711; Rayevskaya 2013: 529. Distinct from *flɔt-e* {flotter} 'to float' [Robert-Collins 1989: 244]. Distinct from *navig-e* {naviguer} 'to sail' [Rayevskaya 2013: 529].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *flɔt-e* {flotter} 'to float' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *nɛvy-i:* {naivyo} ~ *now-e* {nower} 'to swim', *nɛʒ-i:* {nedjo} 'to swim'. Distinct from *flɔt-e* {floter} 'to float' (Rifondou: *flɔt-e* {floter} 'to float').

84. TAIL

Archaic Latin *k'awd-a {cauda}* # (1), Late Classical Latin *k'awd-a {cauda}* (1), Megleno Romanian *k'o̯ad-ə {coádă}* (1), Istro Romanian *k'od-ä {códę}* (1), Aromanian *k'o̯ad-ə {coádă}* (1), Romanian *k'o̯ad-ə {coadă}* (1), Dalmatian *kud {kud}* ~ *kwod {ku͡ọd}* ~ *kwad {ku̯ad}* (1), Friulian *k'ɔd-e {code}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *k'od-a {coda}* (1), Fassano Ladin *k'owd-a {co̯uda}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *k'u-ə {cua}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *k'u-ə {cua}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *k'u-ə {cua}* (1), Vallader Romansh *k'u-ə {cua}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *k'u-a {coa}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *k'u-a {coa}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *k'u-a {coa}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *k'u-a {coa}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *k'u-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *k'u-a {cúa}* (1), Plesio Lombard *k'u-a {cua}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *k'owd-a {côda}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *k'ɔ-a {còa}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *k'ɔv-a {còva}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *k'ɔv-a {còva}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *k'u-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *k'u:-a {cûa}* (1), Stella Ligurian *k'u-a {cùa}* (1), Venice Venetian *k'o-a {cóa}* (1), Primiero Venetian *k'o-a {coa}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *k'oð-a {coda}* (1), Old Italian *k'od-a {coda}* (1), Standard Italian *k'od-a {coda}* (1), Grosseto Italian *k'od-a {coda}* (1), Foligno Italian *k'o-a {coa}* (1), Neapolitan *k'oɾ-ə {coda}* (1), Logudorese *k'o-a {còa}* (1), Campidanese *k'ɔ-a {coa}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *k'uɾ-a {cura}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *k'ud-a {cuda}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *k'ud-a {cuda}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *k'uɾ-a {cura}* (1), Central Catalan *k'u-ə {cua}* (1), North-Western Catalan *k'u-ɛ {cua}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *k'o-ə {coa}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *k'u-a {cúa}* (1), Valencia Catalan *k'u-a {cua}* (1), Manises Catalan *k'u-a {cua}* (1), Castilian Spanish *k'ol-a {cola}* (1) / *r'aβ-o {rabo}* (2), Asturian *k'ol-a {cola}* (1) / *r'ab-o {rabo}* (2), Standard Portuguese

k'awð-ɐ {cauda} (-1), Galician *k'ɔl-a {cola}* (1) / *r'aβ-o {rabo}* (2), Provençal Occitan *ko {co}* ~ *k'u-a {coua}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *k'av-a {kava}* (1), Old French *k'oː-ə {cöe}* (1), Standard French *kö {queue}* (1), Picard *čö {tcheue}* (1), Walloon *kö: {keûe}* (-1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The term for 'tail' is not attested in either Plautus' or Cato's texts. However, there is a derivate {caudeus} 'made of tops of reed' ({Cistellam isti inesse oportet caudeam in isto vidulo} "There ought to be a casket of wicker-work" [Rud. 1109]), which supposes that {cauda} had the meaning 'the extreme part of anything' (see [OLD 1968: 287]). It is more than probable that {cauda} meant 'tail' already in Plautus' times, so we include it in the list.

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {et de spinae meae termino grandis cauda procedit} "and a long tail shot from the tip of my spine" [Met. 3: 24]; {et, quae me potissimum cruciabat ante, cauda nusquam!} "and what had tormented me most of all, my tail, existed no more" [Met. 11:13].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 73-74.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 198; Byhan 1899: 243. Polysemy: 'tail / handle'.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 299-300; Cunia 2010: 325-326; Dalametra 1906: 66; Bara et al. 2005: 387; Gołąb 1984: 227.

Romanian: DER 2004: 924-925; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1611; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *k'ọad-ə {coadă}* 'tail' [Podiko 1973: 1010; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 479].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 237. The form *kwad {kụad}* is a "dalmatianized" borrowing from Venetian [Bartoli 2002: 169]. The form *kud {kud}* is of Venetian origin [Bartoli 2002: 171].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 69.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 40, 178.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 64.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 210.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 57.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 57.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 98.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Salgareda: *k'od-a {coda}* 'tail' [Poletto 2015]. Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Insieme si rispuosero a tai norme, // che 'l serpente la coda in forca fesse, // e 'l feruto ristrinse insieme l'orme} "Together they responded in such wise, // that to a fork the serpent cleft his tail, // and eke the wounded drew his feet together" [Inf. 25]; {A Minòs mi portò; e quelli attorse // otto volte la coda al dosso duro} "He bore me unto Minos, who

entwined // eight times his tail about his stubborn back" [Inf. 27].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2364-2365.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *kˈɔɾ-ə* {còra} 'tail' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 116. Domus de Maria: *kˈɔ-a* {coa} 'tail' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *kˈuɾ-a* {cura} 'tail' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Giarre: *kˈuɾ-a* {cura} 'tail' [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 238.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. There are two terms for 'tail': *kˈol-a* {cola} and *rˈaβ-o* {rabo}. According to [Valén 2015], they are synonyms.Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. There are two terms for 'tail': *kˈol-a* {cola} and *rˈab-o* {rabo}. Unfortunately, Mr. Riego-Delgado didn't explain the difference between them, so we include both into the list. Langreo: *kˈol-a* {cola} 'tail', *rˈa-u* {rau} 'tail' (more colloquial) [González Rato 2016].Riego-Delgado 2016.

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 681. Borrowed from Latin {cauda} 'tail'. Although according to [Voinova et al. 1989: 681], the term *ʁˈaβ--u* {rabo} is used in the meaning 'tail' as well, Pimentel Ferreira mentions {rabo} in the meaning 'bottom' or as cat's/dog's tail in informal contexts. According to him the collocation {a cauda do gato} "cat's tail" is more preferable than {o rabo do gato} [Pimentel Ferreira 2016].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 939. There are two terms for tail: *kˈɔl-a* {cola} and *rˈaβ-o* {rabo}. The first is applied to horse or cow tails, while the second is used for dog or cat tails [Montoya Bolaños 2016]. We include both terms in the list.Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 634; Fernández Armesto 1981: 193, 616; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 939.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1143.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1764-1765.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 208.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 715; Rayevskaya 2013: 633.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Borrowed from Standard French; has replaced the inherited term *kaw* {cawe}. Rifondou: *kaw* {cawe} 'tail'.

85. THAT

Archaic Latin ˈɪl:-ɛ *{ille}* (1) / ˈɪst-ɛ *{iste}* (2), Late Classical Latin ˈɪl:-ɛ *{ille}* (1) / ˈɪst-ɛ *{iste}* (2), Megleno Romanian *cˈe-la {tséla}* (1), Istro Romanian *ačˈe-la {ačéla}* (1), Aromanian *acˈe-lŭ {aţél}* (1), Romanian *ačˈe-l {acel}* (1), Dalmatian *kol {kol}* (1), Friulian *kɛl {chel}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *kəl {chël}* (1), Fassano Ladin *kel {chel}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *čel {tschel}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *čel {tschel}* (1), Surmiran Romansh ˈawtər *{auter}* (3), Vallader Romansh *kwel {quel}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *čəl {cël}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *kul {col}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *kul {col}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *kul*

{col} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *kul=l'a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *k'ɛl {chèl}* (1), Plesio Lombard *kw'ɛl:=l'a {quell là}* (4) / *kw'ɛl:=l'i {quell lì}* (5), Ravennate Romagnol *kwɛl {quèl}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kwel {quél}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *kwɛ:l {quêl}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *kɔl {còll}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *kw'ɛl:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *kw'ɛl-u=l'i {quelŏ lì}* (1), Stella Ligurian *kw'ɛ:l:-u {quëllu}* (1), Venice Venetian *kw'ɛ-o {quèo}* ~ *kw'e-o {quéo}* (1), Primiero Venetian *kwel {cuel}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *kwel {quell}* (1), Old Italian *k'wel:-o {quello}* (1), Standard Italian *k'wel:-o {quello}* (1), Grosseto Italian *k'wel:-o {quello}* (1), Foligno Italian *kw'il:-u {quillu}* (1), Neapolitan *k'il:-ə {chillo}* (1), Logudorese *k'uḍ:-u {cuddu}* (1) / *k'us:-u {cussu}* (6), Campidanese *k'ud:-u {cuddu}* (1) / *k'us:-u {cussu}* (6), Palermitan Sicilian *k'iḍ:-u {chiddu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *k'iḍ:-u {chiddu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *k'iḍ:-u {chiddu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *k'iḍ:-u {chiddu}* (1), Central Catalan *ək'ɛʎ {aquell}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ak'eʎ* {aquell} (1), Minorcan Catalan *ək'ɛy {aquell}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ak'eʎ {aquell}* (1) / *'eyš-e {eixe}* (6), Valencia Catalan *ak'eʎ {aquell}* (1) / *'eyš-e {eixe}* (6), Manises Catalan *ak'eʎ {aquell}* (1) / *'eyš-e {eixe}* (6), Castilian Spanish *ak'el {aquel}* (1) / *'es-e {ese}* (6), Asturian *ak'el {aquel}* (1) / *'es-i {esi}* (6), Standard Portuguese *ɐk'el-ə {aquele}* (1) / *'es-ə {esse}* (6), Galician *ak'ɛl {aquel}* (1) / *'es-e {ese}* (6), Provençal Occitan *ak'ew {aquéu}* ~ *ak'el {aquel}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *šo-le {chô…lé}* (2) / *šo-tyɛ {chô…tyè}* (7), Old French *cil {cil}* (1), Standard French *sə=la {ce…là}* (5), Picard *š=lo {ch…lo}* (5), Walloon *sü=la {çu…la}* ~ *süt=la {çut…la}* (5).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Distal demonstrative, applied to objects that are near the third person. Cf. some examples: {postquam conspexit angues ille alter puer, citus e cunis exilit, facit recta in anguis impetum} "After that one of the children caught sight of the serpents, he quickly leapt from the cradle, straightway he made an attack upon them" [Amph. 1114-1115]; {illic servom se assimulabat, hic sese autem liberum} "The other one pretended that he was the servant, and this one that he himself was the master" [Capt. 654].Medial demonstrative, applied to objects that are near the listener. Some examples are: {A. Ain, verbero? me rabiosum atque insectatum esse hastis meum memoras patrem, et eum morbum mi esse, ut qui me opus sit insputarier? HEG. Ne verere, multos iste morbus homines macerat, quibus insputari saluti fuit atque is profuit} "A. Do you say, you whipp'd knave, that I am mad, and do you declare that I have followed my own father with spears? And that I have that malady, that it's necessary for me to be spit upon? HEG. Don't be dismayed; that malady afflicts many a person to whom it has proved wholesome to be spit upon, and has been of service to them" [Capt. 551-554]; {nam iste quidem gradus succretust cribro pollinario, nisi cum pedicis condidicistis istoc grassari gradu} "Why sure, this pace was bolted through a fine floursieve; unless you have been practising in fetters to creep along thus with this step" [Poen. 513-514].

Late Classical Latin: Distal demonstrative: {Nam vespera post opiparas cenas eramque splendidissimo apparatus multas numero partes in cellulam suam mei solebant reportare domini: ille porcorum, pullorum, piscium et cuiusce modi pulmentorum largissima reliquias, hic panes, crustula, lucunculos, hamos, lacertulos et plura scitamenta mellita} "In the evening after some luxurious banquet with all the trimmings, they would return to their lodgings with the remains; the chef bringing ample portions of fish, roast-pork, chicken, and other meats; his brother carrying bread and croissants, cakes, tarts, biscuits and many a honeyed dainty" [Met. 10: 13]; {Tunc influunt turbae sacris divinis initiatae, viri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis, linteae vestis candore

puro luminosi, illae limpido tegmine crines madidos obvolutae, hi capillum derasi funditus verticem praenitentes} "A mighty throng of men and women of every age and rank, initiates of the sacred mysteries, poured on behind, their linen robes shining radiantly, the women's hair in glossy coils under transparent veils, the men's heads closely shaved and glistening, the earthly stars of the great rite " [Met. 11: 10].Medial demonstrative: {cave tibi, sed cave fortiter a malis artibus et facinorosis illecebris Pamphiles illius, quae cum Milone isto, quem dicis hospitem, nupta est} "beware especially of the evil arts and immoral charms of that woman Pamphile, the wife of Milo who you say is your host" [Met. 2: 5].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 307; Capidan 1925: 153.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 186; Byhan 1899: 365.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 177; Cunia 2010: 159; Dalametra 1906: 33; Bara et al. 2005: 114; Gołąb 1984: 195; Capidan 1932: 419-423.

Romanian: DER 2004: 939; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1504; Gancz 2015; Lukht & Narumov 2001: 611-612. Moldavian: *ačel* {acel} 'that' [Podiko 1973: 949; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 449].

Dalmatian: Repina & Narumov 2001: 691. A good context for both demonstratives: {ju me plúk kost véń de plé de kol de jára} "I like this wine more than that of yesterday" [Bartoli 2002: 242].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 692, 60; Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 379. Often used with the particles {lì} and {là} 'there'.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 37; 150.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 243.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from the anaphoric pronoun *lec* {lez}, which can be used instead of both 'this' and 'that' [Haiman & Benincà 1992: 106; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 348-349; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 587. According to [Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 348-349], there are three series of demonstrative pronouns in Puter and Vallader: {quist} (proximal) – {quel} (medial) – {tschel} (distal), but Conrad states that only two series are used with *čel* {tschel} when speaking of an indefinite object.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 272; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. A discontinuous pronoun. Distal demonstrative.Selva 2015. A discontinuous pronoun. Medial demonstrative.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 332.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Discontinous pronoun.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Serena 2015. Este, Schio, Marostica, Verona: *kw'el-o* {quélo} 'that' [Melon 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Treviso: *kw'eʊ̯-o* {quéło} 'that' [Busato 2015]. Salgareda: *kwel* {quel} 'that' [Poletto 2015]. Can be emphasized by the particle *la* {là} 'there', cf. {So ben sta storia, ma queła no me là ricordo} "I am well acquainted with this tale, but do not remember that one" but {Conosso sto omo, ma no conosso queło là no} "I know this man, but I do not know that one" [Tre 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Poi, come grue ch'a le montagne Rife // volasser parte, e parte inver' l'arene, // queste del gel, quelle del sole schife} "Then as the cranes, that to Riphaean mountains // might fly in part, and part towards the sands, // these of the frost, those of the sun avoidant" [Purg. 26]; {e questo è contra quello error che crede // ch'un'anima sovr' altra in noi s'accenda} "and this against that error is which thinks // one soul above another kindles in us" [Purg. 4].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2381-2382; Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 76. In Literary Italian, there are three series of demonstrative pronouns: {questo} (proximal), {codesto} (medial) and {quello} (distal), but in the spoken language only two series are used [Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 76].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Grottaminarda: *kʼel:-ə* {chéllo} 'that' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. There are three series of demonstative pronouns in Logudorese: *kʼust-u* {custu} (proximal), *kʼus:-u* {cussu} (medial) and *kʼuḍ:-u* {cuddu} (distal) [Narumov 2001: 174].Buttu 2015. Medial demonstrative.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 140. There are three series of demonstrative pronouns in Campidanese: *kʼust-u* {custu} (proximal), *kʼus:-u* {cussu} (medial) and *kʼud:-u* {cuddu} (distal) [Narumov 2001: 174]. Domus de Maria: *kʼud:-u* {cuddu} 'that' [Fadda 2015].Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 146. Medial demonstrative. Domus de Maria: *kʼus:-u* {cussu} 'that' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *kʼiḍ-u* {chidu} 'that' (distal), *kʼis:-u* {chissu} (medial) [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 22.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015; Narumov 2001: 506. Distal demonstrative.Barreda 2015; Narumov 2001: 506. Medial demonstrative.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015; Narumov 2001: 506. Distal demonstrative.Pérez i Sanchis 2015; Narumov 2001: 506. Medial demonstrative.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015; Narumov 2001: 506. Distal demonstrative.Pedrós 2015; Narumov 2001: 506. Medial demonstrative.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015; Narumov 2001: 439. A distal demonstrative.Valén 2015; Narumov 2001: 439. A medial demonstrative.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Distal demonstrative. Langreo: *akʼel* {aquel} 'that' [González Rato 2016].Riego-Delgado 2016. Medial demonstrative. Langreo: *ˈes-i* {esi} 'that' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 638; Volf 2001: 477. Distal demonstrative.Voinova et al. 1989: 718; Volf 2001: 477. Medial demonstrative. The distinction between *ˈes-ə* {esse} (medial) and *ˈɛšt-ə* {este} (proximal), however, becomes neutralized in spoken Portuguese [Volf 2001: 477].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Narumov 2001: 528; Franco Grande 1968: 764, 98; Fernández Armesto 1981: 81; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 923, 95. Distal demonstrative.Montoya Bolaños 2015; Narumov 2001: 528; Fernández Armesto 1981: 349. Medial demonstrative.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 211.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 425. Distal demonstrative.Viret 2013: 425. Medial demonstrative.

Old French: Chelysheva 2001: 264. Some examples demonstrating the opposition of demonstratives: {Cil estoit noirs et cist est sors} "That other one was dappled, this one was sorrel" (Erec 5274); {Ensi demande cist et cil} "Thus one man and another asks" (Cligès 2931); {Ne cil ne cist ne s'an recroit // Que tot sanz conte et sanz mesure} "neither one holds back from repaying promptly capital and interest, without accounting and without measure" (Cligès 4038-39); {Et dit chascuns et cil et cist : // "Entre nos est cil qui l'ocist"} "And each one to his neighbour said: "The murderer is among us here" (Yvain 1197); {Ne cist ne cil ne la vialt prendre} "while neither one of them will accept it" (Yvain 6353).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 726; Rayevskaya 2013: 612-613.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. The first form is used before a consonant, while the second one occurs before a vowel. Rifondou: *si=la* {ci…la} ~ *sit=la* {cit…la} ~ *sist=la* {cist…la} 'that'.

86. THIS

Archaic Latin *hɪ-k {hic}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ɪ-k {hic}* (1), Megleno Romanian *cʹi-sta {tsísta}* (2), Istro Romanian *čʹe-sta {čésta}* (2), Aromanian *aʹe-stu {aéstu}* (2), Romanian *ačʹest {acest}* (2), Dalmatian *kost {kost}* (2), Friulian *kɛst {chest}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *kəšt {chëst}* (2), Fassano Ladin *kešt {chest}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *kwɛl {quell}* (3), Sursilvan Romansh *kwel {quel}* (3), Surmiran Romansh *ɕel {chel}* (3), Vallader Romansh *kwist {quist}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kust {cost}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *kust {cost}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *kust {cost}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *kust {cost}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *kus=kʹi:* (2), Bergamo Lombard *kʹɛst-o {chèsto}* (2), Plesio Lombard *kwʹɛst-u:=kʹi {questu chì}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *kwest {quest}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *kwest {quést}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *kwɛst {quèst}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *kɔst {còst}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *kwʹɛst-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *stʹu=kʹi {stŏchí}* (2), Stella Ligurian *kwʹɛ:st-u {quëstu}* (2), Venice Venetian *kwʹest-o {quésto} ~ st-o {stó}* (2), Primiero Venetian *st-o {sto}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *kwʹest-o {questo}* (2), Old Italian *kʹwest-o {questo}* (2), Standard Italian *kʹwest-o {questo}* (2), Grosseto Italian *kʹwest-o {questo}* (2), Foligno Italian *tʹist-u {tistu}* (2), Neapolitan *kʹist-ə {chisto}* (2), Logudorese *kʹust-u {custu}* (2), Campidanese *kʹust-u {custu}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *kʹist-u {chistu}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *kʹist-u {chistu}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *kʹist-u {chistu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *kʹist-u {chistu}* (2), Central Catalan *ək'ɛt ~ ək'ɛst {aquest}* (2), North-Western Catalan *ak'et {aquest}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *ək'ɛt {aquest}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ʹest-e {este}* (2), Valencia Catalan *ʹest-e {este}* (2), Manises Catalan *ʹest-e {este}* (2), Castilian Spanish *ʹest-e {este}* (2), Asturian *ʹest-i {esti}* (2), Standard Portuguese *ʹešt-ə {este}* (2), Galician *ʹest-e {este}* (2), Provençal Occitan *ak'est {aquest} ~ ak'este {aqueste}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sti-tyɛ {sti…tyè}* (2), Old French *cist {cist}* (2), Standard French *sə=si {ce…ci}* (4), Picard *š=ši {ch…chi}* (4), Walloon *sü=si {çu...ci} ~ süt=si {çut…ci}* (4).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Hi loci sunt atque hae regiones quae mi ab ero sunt demonstratae} "This is the place, and this the spot, which was pointed out to me by my master" [Pseud. 594-595]; {ego has habebo usque in petaso pinnulas} "I always shall carry these little wings here upon my broad-brimmed cap" [Amph. 143]; {Hac nocte in somnis visus sum viderier procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium} «Last night I seemed in my sleep to behold Æsculapius, seated at a distance far away from me" [Curc. 260-261].

Late Classical Latin: See the contexts for 'that'.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 309; Capidan 1925: 153.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 204; Byhan 1899: 372. Sârbu and Frățilă also mention the Croatism *ovay {ovai}* 'this' [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 245].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 60; Cunia 2010: 1044; Dalametra 1906: 4; Bara et al. 2005: 114; Gołąb 1984: 196; Capidan 1932: 419-423.

Romanian: DER 2004: 942-943; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1692; Gancz 2015; Lukht & Narumov 2001: 611-612. Moldavian: *ačʹest {acest}* 'this'

[Podiko 1973: 1055; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 499].

Dalmatian: Repina & Narumov 2001: 691. See notes on 'that'.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 692, 61; Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 379. Often used with the particle {chi} 'here'.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 38, 130.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 243.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 348.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 584.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 272; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 272; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015; Chelysheva 2001: 110.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. A discontinuous pronoun.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 332. Marchigiano: *kwest* {quest} 'this' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Discontinous pronoun, cf. {st'ò ŏxello chì} 'this bird'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015: Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015. Treviso: *kw'est-o* {cuésto} ~ *st-'o=kwa* {stó cua} 'this' [Busato 2015]; Salgareda: *st-'o=kwa* {sto qua} 'this' [Poletto 2015]; Arzignano: *st-'o=ki* {sto chi} 'this' [Serena 2015]; Verona: *k'est-o* {chesto} 'this' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: See contexts on 'that'.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2389; Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 76.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 146. Domus de Maria: *k'ust-u* {custu} [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *k'ist-u* {chistu} 'this' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the form *k'is:-u* {chissu} 'this' [La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 124.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015; Narumov 2001: 506.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015; Narumov 2001: 439. A proximal demonstrative.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *'est-i* {esti} 'this' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 718; Volf 2001: 477.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Narumov 2001: 528; Franco Grande 1968: 428; Fernández Armesto 1981: 357.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 211.
Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 423-424.
Old French: Chelysheva 2001: 264. See the examples on 'that'.
Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 730; Rayevskaya 2013: 651.
Picard: Leplubo 2016.
Walloon: Mahin 2016. The first form is used before a consonant; the second one occurs before a vowel. Rifondou: *si=si* {ci…ci} ~ *sit=si* {cit…ci} ~ *sist=si* {cist…ci} 'this'.

87. THOU

Archaic Latin *tuː {tu}* (1), Late Classical Latin *tuː {tu}* (1), Megleno Romanian *tu {tu}* (1), Istro Romanian *tu {tú}* (1), Aromanian *t'ine {tine}* (1), Romanian *tu {tu}* (1), Dalmatian *tu {tu}* ~ *te {te}* ~ *ti {ti}* (1), Friulian *tu {tu}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *tu {tu}* (1), Fassano Ladin *tu {tu}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ti {ti}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ti {ti}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *te {te}* (1), Vallader Romansh *tü {tü}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *ti {ti}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *ti {ti}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *ti {ti}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *ti {ti}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *tiː* (1), Bergamo Lombard *te {te}* (1), Plesio Lombard *ti {tì}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *te {te}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ti {ti}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *tɛ {tè}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *te {té}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *ti* (1), Genoese Ligurian *ti {ti}* (1), Stella Ligurian *ti {tì}* (1), Venice Venetian *ti {ti}* (1), Primiero Venetian *ti {ti}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *ti {ti}* (1), Old Italian *tu {tu}* (1), Standard Italian *tu {tu}* (1), Grosseto Italian *te {te}* (1), Foligno Italian *te {te}* (1), Neapolitan *tu {tu}* (1), Logudorese *t'u-e {tue}* (1), Campidanese *tuy {tui}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *tu {tu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *tu {tu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *tu {tu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *tu {tu}* (1), Central Catalan *tu {tu}* (1), North-Western Catalan *tu {tu}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *tu {tu}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *tu {tu}* (1), Valencia Catalan *tu {tu}* (1), Manises Catalan *tu {tu}* (1), Castilian Spanish *tu {tú}* (1), Asturian *tu {tú}* (1), Standard Portuguese *tu {tu}* (1), Galician *ti {ti}* (1), Provençal Occitan *tü {tu}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *tɛ {tè}* (1), Old French *tü {tu}* (1), Standard French *tü {tu}* (1), Picard *tü {tu}* (1), Walloon *tü {tu}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Paradigm: *tuː* {ego} [nom.] / *t'ʋiː* {tui} [gen.] / *t'bɪ ~ t'biː* {tibi} {dat.} / *teːd* {ted} ~ *teː* {te} [acc.] / *teːd* {ted} ~ *teː* {te} [abl.]. Cf. some examples: {si veniat nunc dominus cuiust, ego qui inspectavi procul te hunc habere, fur sum quam tu?} "If now the owner, whose property it is, were to come, how am I, who espied from afar that you had taken this, a bit the less the thief than yourself?" [Rud. 1021-1022]; {Quia nos honoris tui causa ad te venimus} "Because for the sake of your own well-doing we came hither" [Poen. 638]; {At nunc tibi dabitur pinguior tibicina} "But the fattest music-girl shall be given you then" [Aul. 332]; {Scibam ego te nescire, at pol ego, qui ted expendi, scio} "I know that you don't know; but, i' faith, I who have weighed you do know" [Asin. 300]; {Quippe qui ex te audivi} "Why, I heard it from your own self" [Amph. 745].
Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {"Heus tu" inquam "qui sermonem ieceras priorem, ne pigeat te vel taedeat reliqua

pertexere"} "Don't be annoyed, you who began the tale; don't weary of spinning out the rest" [Met. 1: 3]; {nos cucurbitae caput non habemus ut pro te moriamur} "Even if you've a crime on your conscience and want to die, I'm not pumpkinheaded enough to let you" [Met. 1: 15].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 302. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *la=tini* {la tini} ~ *ɐc* {ațs} (clitic) ~ *c* {-ts} (clitic) ~ *cu* {tsu} (clitic) ~ *cə* {tsă} (clitic) [dat.] / *tini* {tini} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [acc.] [Capidan 1925: 151].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 290; Byhan 1899: 373; Narumov 2001: 667. Paradigm: *tu* {tú} [nom.] / *c'iye* {țíi̯e} ~ *ɔc* {âț} (clitic) ~ *c* {ț} (clitic) ~ *ɔcy* {âți̯} (clitic) ~ *cy* {ți̯} (clitic) ~ *ci* {ți} (clitic) [dat.] / *c'ire* {țíre} ~ *te* {te} (clitic) ~ *t* {ț} (clitic) [acc.].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1051; Cunia 2010: 1044; Bara et al. 2005: 100; Capidan 1932: 409, 411. Paradigm: *t'ine* {tine} ~ *t'ini* {tini} ~ *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *ac'ɨ-ya* {ațî̯a} ~ *acəya* {ață̯a} ~ *cɨ* {țî} (clitic) ~ *cə* {ță} (clitic) ~ *ic* {îț} (clitic) ~ *c* {ț} (clitic) [dat.] / *t'ine* {tine} ~ *t'ini* {tini} ~ *te* {te} (clitic) ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [acc.].

Romanian: DER 2004: 1053; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1525; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *dumnẹa-t'a* {dumneata} 'you' (singular, polite form) and *dumnẹa-vǫastr-ə* {dumneavoastră} 'you' (singular and plural, polite form) [Lukht & Narumov 2001: 611]. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *c'i-e* {ție} ~ *icʸ* {îți} (clitic) ~ *cʸ* {ți} (clitic) [dat.] / *t'ine* {tine} ~ *te* {te} (clitic) [acc.] [Lukht & Narumov 2001: 618]. Moldavian: *tu* {tu} 'you (thou)' [Podiko 1973: 962; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 455].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ju nu si̯ante de kó ke tu dekája} "I do not hear what you are saying" [Bartoli 2002: 250]; {tu sài̯ muš di móṅ} "you are a fool" [Bartoli 2002: 252]; {ju viṅ da dú ke ti víńa té} "I come from where you come from" [Bartoli 2002: 250]; {te ai̯ la ku̯álp} "you are guilty" [Bartoli 2002: 251]; {ju bule ke te sapája} "I want you to know" [Bartoli 2002: 253]; {ti fero joi̯n maniɡóld} "you are a rascal" [Bartoli 2002: 251]; {ti fèro joi̯n mostríč} "you are a little rogue" [Bartoli 2002: 252].

According to [Repina & Narumov 2001: 692], the paradigm of this pronoun is as follows: *toy* {toi} ~ *tu* {tu} ~ *te* {te} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *ti* {ti} [dat.] / *te* {te} [acc.].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 115, 120; Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 381. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} ~ *tu* {tu} (clitic) [nom.] / *a=t'i* {a ti} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [dat.] / *te* {te} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [acc.].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 102; Narumov 2001: 405. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} ~ *te* {te} [nom.] / *a=ti* {a ti} ~ *te* {te} [obl.].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 339; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 114, 119. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} ~ *te* {te} [nom.] / *a=ti* {a ti} ~ *te* {te} [obl.].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Decurtins 2015; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 111, 115; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 351-352. Paradigm: *ti* {ti} [nom.] / *ə=t'i* {a ti} [dat.] / *tey* {tei} [acc.].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 112, 117. According to [Haiman & Benincà 1992], the paradigm of this pronoun in Surmiran is as follows: *te* {te} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *at* {at} (clitic) [obl.].

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 779; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 351-352; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 113, 118. Paradigm: *tü* {tü} [nom.] / *tay* {tai} ~ *ət* {at} ~ *t* {t} (clitic) [obl.].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 382.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 382.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Paradigm: *ti:* ~ *i* (clitic) [nom.] / *ti* [dat.] / *at* [acc.].

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Paradigm: *ti* {tì} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *t* {t'} (before a vowel) [obl.].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 459.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Indeclinable.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Paradigm: *tɛ* {tè} [nom.] / *tɛ* {tè} ~ *t* {t'} (clitic) [obl.].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. The oblique form is *te*.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. The oblique form is *te* {te} ~ *t* {t'} (before a vowel).

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. The oblique form is *te* {te} ~ *t* {t'} (before a vowel).

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Paradigm: *ti* {ti} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} ~ *te* {te} (clitic) [obl.] [Chelysheva 2001: 122; Tre 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Paradigm: *ti* {ti} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} (after prepositions) ~ *te* {te} [obl.].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. an example: {Da questa tema acciò che tu ti solve} "That thou mayst free thee from this apprehension" [Inf. 2].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2352-2353; Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 81. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [obl.].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Paradigm: *te* {te} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) [obl.].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Indeclinable pronoun.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *te* {te} [obl.].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015; Narumov 2001: 177. Paradigm: *t'u-e* {tue} [nom.] / *t'ie* {tie} ~ *t'ene* {tène} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) ~ *t* {t'} (clitic) [obl.].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 445; Narumov 2001: 177. Paradigm: *tuy* {tui} [nom.] / *tuy* {tui} ~ *ti* {ti} (clitic) ~ *t* {t'} (clitic) [obl.]. Domus de Maria: *tuy* {tui} [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} [obl.] [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *tu* {tu} 'thou' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *t'ia* {tìa} (after a preposition) ~ *ti* {ti} [obl.] [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} [obl.] [Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} [obl.] [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; EDCC 1993: 284; Narumov 2001: 508. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *tə* {te} ~ *t* {t'} ~ {'t} (elided) [obl.].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *tɛ* {tè} (enclitic) ~ *tə* {te} (proclitic) ~ *t* {t'} ~ {'t} (elided) [obl.].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *t* {t'} ~ {'t} (elided) [obl.].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *t* {t'} ~ {'t} (elided) [obl.].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *te* {te} ~ *et* {et} ~ *t* {t'} ~ {'t} (elided) [obl.].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015; Narumov 2001: 444. The paradigm: *tu* {tú} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} ~ *te* {te} (clitic) [obl.].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016; Narumov 2001: 545. Paradigm: *tu* {tú} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} ~ *te* {te} (clitic) [obj.]. Langreo: *tu* {tu} 'you' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 647; Volf 2001: 479. Paradigm: *tu* {tu} [nom.] / *tə* {te} ~ *t* {t-} ~ *ti* {ti} (after prepositions) [obj.].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Narumov 2001: 530; Franco Grande 1968: 702; Fernández Armesto 1981: 725; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1035, 833. Paradigm: *ti* {ti} [nom.] / *te* {te} [direct object] / *ti* {ti} (after preposition) ~ *če* {che} [indirect object].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1399-1400; Lobodanov, Morozova, Chelysheva 2001: 299. Paradigm: *tü* {tu} [nom.] / *te* {te} [obl.].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2170, 2101. Paradigm: *tɛ* {tè} [nom.] / *tay* {tai} [obj.].

Old French: Chelysheva 2001: 268. Paradigm: *tü* {tu} [nom.] / *toy* {toi} ~ *te* {te} (clitic) [obj.]. Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {Tu es mes sers, je sui tes sire} "Thou art my slave and I thy master" (Cligès 5428); {Toi et ta pucele et ton nain // li deliverras an sa main} "Thou shalt hand over to her thyself, thy damsel, and thy dwarf" (Erec 1031-1032); {Donc te desfi ge tot de bot} "Then I defy thee here and now" (Erec 858).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 831; Rayevskaya 2013: 616-617; Referovskaya et al. 2001: 230. Paradigm: *tü* {tu} [nom.] / *twa* {toi} ~ *tə* {te} (with verbs) [obj.].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Paradigm: *tü* {tu} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} ~ *t* {t'} (elided) [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Paradigm: *tü* {tu} [nom.] / *tü* {tu} ~ *twɛ* {twè} (independent or stressed use or after prepositions) [obj.]. Rifondou: *ti* {ti} (Paradigm: *ti* {ti} [nom.] / *ti* {ti} ~ *twɛ* {twè} [obj.]).

88. TONGUE

Archaic Latin *l'ɪŋgʷ-a {lingua}* (1), Late Classical Latin *l'ɪŋgʷ-a {lingua}* (1), Megleno Romanian *l'imb-ə {límbă}* (1), Istro Romanian *l'imb-ä {límbę}* (1), Aromanian *l'imb-ə {límbă}* (1), Romanian *l'imb-ə {limbă}* (1), Dalmatian *l'aŋg-a {laṅga}* (1), Friulian *l'ɛŋg-e {lenghe}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *l'əŋg-a {lënga}* (1), Fassano Ladin *l'eŋg-a {lenga}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *l'ɣewŋg-ə {lieunga}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *l'ɣewŋg-ə {lieunga}* (1), Surmiran

Romansh *ʎaŋg-ə {glianga}* (1), Vallader Romansh *l'ew-ə {leua}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *l'ɛŋg-a {lenga}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *l'ɛŋg-a {lenga}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *l'eŋg-a {lenga}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *l'ɛŋg-a {lenga}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *l'eːŋgw-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *l'ɛŋgw-a {lèngua}* (1), Plesio Lombard *l'eːŋgw-a {lengua}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *l'engv-a {lengva}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *l'ɛŋgw-a {lèngua}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *l'ɛŋgv-a {lengva}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *l'ɛŋgw-a {lèngua} ~ l'ɛŋgv-a {lèngva}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *l'iŋgw-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), Stella Ligurian *l'äːŋgw-a {lǽngua}* (1), Venice Venetian *'eŋgw-a {łengua} ~ 'iŋgw-a {łingua}* (1), Primiero Venetian *l'eŋgw-a {léngua}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *l'eŋgw-a {léngua}* (1), Old Italian *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), Standard Italian *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), Grosseto Italian *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), Foligno Italian *l'eŋgw-a {lengua}* (1), Neapolitan *l'eŋgw-ə {lengua} ~ l'eŋg-ə {lenga}* (1), Logudorese *l'imb-a {limba}* (1), Campidanese *l'imb-a {limba}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *l'iŋkw-a {lincua}* (1), Central Catalan *ʎeŋgw-ə {llengua}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ʎeŋgw-ɛ {llengua}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ʎeŋg-u {llengua}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ʎeŋgw-a {llengua}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ʎeŋgw-a {llengua}* (1), Manises Catalan *ʎeŋgw-a {llengua}* (1), Castilian Spanish *l'eŋgw-a {lengua}* (1), Asturian *ʎiŋgw-a {llingua}* (1), Standard Portuguese *l'ĩgw-ɐ {língua}* (1), Galician *l'iŋgw-a {lingua}* (1), Provençal Occitan *l'eŋg-o {lengo}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *l'eg-a {lêga}* (1), Old French *l'ãŋg-ə {langue}* (1), Standard French *lãɡ {langue}* (1), Picard *lãg {langue}* (1), Walloon *lɛ̃k {lingue}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {iam quidem hercle ego tibi istam scelestam, scelus, linguam abscidam} "Surely now, by the powers, I'll cut out that villanous tongue of yours, you villain" [Amph. 556-557]; {fac proserpentem bestiam me, duplicem ut habeam linguam} "make of me the reptile that crawls, so that I may have a double tongue" [Asin. 695].
Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {accepturus indiciuae nomine ab ipsa Venere septem savia suavia et unum blandientis adpulsu linguae longe mellitum} "the reward offered is seven sweet kisses from Venus herself, and one more deeply honeyed touch of her caressing tongue" [Met. 6: 8]; {iam patentis oris inhalatu cinnameo et occursantis linguae inlisu nectareo prona cupidine adlibescenti} "her mouth opened, her breath was like cinnamon, and her tongue darted against mine with a taste of nectar, in unrestrained desire" [Met. 2: 10].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 170.
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 223; Byhan 1899: 264. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 629; Cunia 2010: 587-588; Dalametra 1906: 120-121; Bara et al. 2005: 335; Gołąb 1984: 232. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.
Romanian: DER 2004: 958-959; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1697; Gancz 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. Moldavian: *l'imb-ə* {limbă} 'tongue / language' [Podiko 1973: 1058; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 501].
Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 242. Polysemy: 'tongue / language', cf. {ju pakura dik ducat per sapu͡or kosta laṅga fuvlúr} "I would pay 10

ducats to master this language" [Bartoli 2002: 252].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 681, 234. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 46, 200. Distinct from *ružn-'ɛd-a* {rujeneda} 'language / speech' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 78, 182] and *liŋg-'ac* {lingaz} 'language' [Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 48, 182].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 169. Distinct from *leŋg-'ac* {lengaz} 'language' [DILF 2001: 169].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Distinct from *luŋg'aɕ* {lungatg} 'language' and *l'iŋgw-ə* {lingua} 'language', both of Italian origin [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 185. Distinct from *liŋgw'aʒi* {linguagi} 'language' of Italian origin [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 185. Distinct from *liŋgw'aʒi* {linguagi} 'language' of Italian origin and from *parl'e* {parlé} 'language' of French origin [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *leŋg-'aʒ-i* {lengagi} 'language'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 231. Marchigiano: *l'ɛŋgw-a* {lèngua} 'tongue' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *liŋgw'aːʒ* {linguâg} 'language' of Italian origin [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *parl-'ɛ* {parlè} 'language'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Serena 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. Padua, Este, Salgareda, Vicenza, Schio, Marostica, Verona: *l'eŋgw-a* {lengua} 'tongue / language' [Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015, Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Treviso: *ʯ'eŋgw-a* { łéngua} ~ {łéngoa} 'tongue / language' [Busato 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Qui distorse la bocca e di fuor trasse // la lingua, come bue che 'l naso lecchi} "Then twisted he his mouth, and forth he thrust // his tongue, like to an ox that licks its nose" [Inf. 17]; {ma prima avea ciascun la lingua stretta // coi denti, verso lor duca, per cenno} "but first had each one thrust his tongue between // his teeth towards their leader for a signal" [Inf. 21].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2404. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *al:'eg-a* {allèga} 'language' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 254. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. Domus de Maria: *l'ingw-a* {lingua} 'tongue / language' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. Buscemi: *l'iŋgw-a* {lingua} 'tongue' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. Giarre: *l'iɲw-a* 'tongue / language' {lingnua} [Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *l'iŋgw-a* {lingua} 'tongue' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 175. A more colloquial pronunciation is *ʎeŋɣ-ə* [Alòs i Font 2015].

Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. In the meaning 'language' the word *iði'om-ə* {idioma} of Greek origin can be used as well [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. In the meaning 'language' the word *iði'om-ə* {idioma} of Greek origin can be used as well.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *ʎeŋɣw-'ač-e* {llenguatge} 'language'.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *iðy'om-a* {idioma} 'language' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. In the meaning 'language' the term *ið'yom-a* {idioma} of Greek origin can be used as well [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. Langreo: *ʎ'iŋgw-a* {llingua} 'tongue / language', *idi'om-a* {idioma} 'language', *ʎiŋgw-'aš-e* {llinguaxe} 'language' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 721. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 814; Fernández Armesto 1981: 478; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 981, 589. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. In the meaning 'language', the term *iði'om-a* {idioma} may also be used [Montoya Bolaños 2015].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 801. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'. Distinct from *p'aɾl-a* {parla} 'language' [Coupier 1995: 801].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1250. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 627. Polysemy: 'tongue / speech, language'. Distinct from *lãŋg-'aʒ-ə* {langage} 'language of a particular community' [EDCT 2014: 627].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 741; Rayevskaya 2013: 653. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Polysemy: 'tongue / language' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *lɛ̃w* {linwe} 'tongue'. Distinct from *lãk* {langue} ~ *lɛ̃g-ač* {lingadje} 'language' (Rifondou: *lãk* {langue} ~ *lɛ̃g-ač* {lingaedje} 'language').

89. TOOTH

Archaic Latin *deːn-s {dens}* (1), Late Classical Latin *deːn-s {dens}* (1), Megleno Romanian *d'int-i {dínti}* (1), Istro Romanian *d'int-e {dínte}* (1), Aromanian *d'int-e {dínte}* (1), Romanian *d'int-e {dinte}* (1), Dalmatian *dyant {diant}* (1), Friulian *dint {dint}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *dənt {dënt}* (1), Fassano Ladin *dent {dent}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *dɛnt {dent}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *dɛnt {dent}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *daynt {daint}* (1), Vallader Romansh *daynt {daint}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *dɛɲt {dent}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *dɛɲt {dènt}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *dɛɲt {dent}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *dɛɲt {dent}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *deːɲč* (1), Bergamo Lombard *det {dét}* (1), Plesio Lombard *deːnč {denc}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *dẽt {dént}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *dent {dént}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *dɛynt {dèint}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *dɛynt {dèint}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *d'ɛnt-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *d'ent-e {dente}* (1), Stella Ligurian *d'äːɲč-u {dænciu}* (1), Venice Venetian *d'eɲt-e {dénte}* (1), Primiero Venetian *dɛɲt {dènt}* ~ *ðɛɲt {ðènt}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *dɛɲt {dent}* (1), Old Italian *d'ɛnt-e {dente}* (1), Standard Italian *d'ɛnt-e {dente}* (1), Grosseto Italian *d'ɛnt-e {dente}* (1), Foligno Italian *d'ɛnt-e {dente}* (1), Neapolitan *d'ɛnt-ə {dente}* (1), Logudorese *d'ent-e {dente}* (1), Campidanese *d'ɛnt-i {denti}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ɾ'yɛnt-i {rienti}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *ɾ'ɛnt-ɨ {renti}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *d'ɛnt-i {renti}* ~ *ɾ'ɛnt-i {renti}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ɾ'ɛnt-i {renti}* (1), Central

Catalan *den {dent}* (1), North-Western Catalan *den {dent}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *dent {dent}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *dent {dent}* (1), Valencia Catalan *dent {dent}* (1), Manises Catalan *dent {dent}* (1), Castilian Spanish *d'yent-e {diente}* (1), Asturian *d'yent-e {diente}* (1), Standard Portuguese *d'ẽnt-ə {dente}* (1), Galician *d'ent-e {dente}* (1), Provençal Occitan *dɛnt {dènt}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *dɛː {dê'}* ~ *dẽ {din}* (1), Old French *dãnt {dent}* (1), Standard French *dã {dent}* (1), Picard *dẽ {dint}* (1), Walloon *dẽ {dint}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Genitive form: *d'ɛnt- ƀ {dentis}*. Some examples are: {itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego; sura, pes, statura, tonsus, oculi, nasum vel labra, malae, mentum, barba, collus: totus} "His leg, foot, stature, shorn head, eyes, nose, even his lips, cheeks, chin, beard, neck - the whole of him" [Amph. 443-445]; {MESS. quot eras annos gnatus, quom te pater a patria avehit? MEN. Septuennis: nam tunc dentes mihi cadebant primulum} "MESS. How many years old were you when your father took you from your native country? MEN. Seven years old; for just then my teeth were changing for the first time. And never since then have I seen my father" [Men. 1115-1116].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {dentes saxei redeunt ad humanam minutiem} "my craggy teeth reduced to a human scale" [Met. 11: 13]; {Quam rem procul dubio sentiebam ego illius ursae dentibus esse perfectam} "I was certain beyond doubt it had been done by the bear" [Met. 7: 26].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 110.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 207; Byhan 1899: 208.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 388; Cunia 2010: 393; Dalametra 1906: 77; Bara et al. 2005: 335; Gołąb 1984: 212. Distinct from *ž'ong-ə {jóngǎ}* used in baby talk [Papahagi 1963: 592; Cunia 2010: 570; Dalametra 1906: 117].

Romanian: DER 2004: 959; Bolocan et al. 1985: 445; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *d'int-e {dinte}* 'tooth' [Podiko 1973: 267; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 146].

Dalmatian: Attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 267] and Cubich's notes: {blaj me scutro un diant dal medco} "I want the doctor to pull my tooth out" [Bartoli 2002: 279]; {blái me scútro join diánt} "I want to pull my tooth out" [Bartoli 2002: 287].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 667, 129.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 21, 198. Marebbano: *dɔnt {dǫnt}* 'tooth'; Badiotto: *dənt {dǎnt}* 'tooth'; Livinallese: *dent {dent}* 'tooth'; Nones: *dent {dent}* 'tooth' [Gartner 1923: 198].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 86; Gartner 1923: 198.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 219-220.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 83.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 83.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 125. Marchigiano: *dɛnt {dent}* 'tooth' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015. Verona: *d'eŋt-o* {dento} ~ *d'eŋt-e* {dente} 'tooth' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {cangiar colore e dibattero i denti} "their colour changed and gnashed their teeth together" [Inf. 3]; {ma prima avea ciascun la lingua stretta // coi denti, verso lor duca, per cenno} "but first had each one thrust his tongue between // his teeth towards their leader for a signal" [Inf. 21].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2405.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 151. Domus de Maria: *d'ɛnt-i* {denti} 'tooth' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *r'ɛnt-i* {renti} 'tooth' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *r'ɛnt-i* {renti} 'tooth' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora, Giarre: *d'ɛnt-i* {denti} 'tooth' [Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 100.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *d'yent-e* {diente} 'tooth' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 198.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 790, 314; Fernández Armesto 1981: 297; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 950, 345.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 380.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 704-705.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 305. Polysemy: 'tooth / a toothlike part of an instrument'.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 741; Rayevskaya 2013: 425.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *dɛ̃* {dint} 'tooth'.

90. TREE

Archaic Latin ˈ*arbɔr {arbor}* (1), Late Classical Latin ˈ*arbɔr {arbor}* (1), Megleno Romanian ˈ*arbur {árbur}* (1), Istro Romanian *l'emən {lémân}* (2), Aromanian ˈ*arbur-ĭ {árbur}* (1), Romanian *kop'ak {copac}* (-1), Dalmatian *y'arbur {járbur}* ~ *y'arber {járber}* ~ *y'arbul {járbul}* (1), Friulian ˈ*arbul {arbul}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ləŋ {lën}* (2), Fassano Ladin *'ɛlber* {èlber} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *pl'ant-ə {planta}* (3), Sursilvan Romansh *pl'ɔnt-ə {plonta}* (3), Surmiran Romansh *pl'ant-ə {planta}* (3), Vallader Romansh *bœšɕ {bös-ch}* (4), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *p'yaŋt-a {pianta}* (3), Barbania Piemontese ˈ*ɛrb-u {erbo}* (1),

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Carmagnola Piemontese ˈɛrb-u {erbo} (1), Turinese Piemontese ˈarbr-a {arbra} (-1), Vercellese Piemontese pˈyaŋt-a (3), Bergamo Lombard pˈyant-a {pianta} (3), Plesio Lombard pˈyant-a {pianta} (3), Ravennate Romagnol ˈeəlbar {êlbar} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano ˈarbul {àrbul} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano ˈelber {élber} (1), Reggiano Emiliano ˈɛːlber {êlber} (1), Rapallo Ligurian ˈäːrb-u (1), Genoese Ligurian ˈeːrb-u {êrbŏ} (1), Stella Ligurian ˈäːrb-uː {ǽrbu-ù} (1), Venice Venetian ˈalber-o {àlbero} (1), Primiero Venetian ˈalber {àlber} (1), Bellunese Venetian ˈalber-o {albero} (1), Old Italian ˈalber-o {albero} (1), Standard Italian ˈalber-o {albero} (1), Grosseto Italian pˈyant-a {pianta} (3), Foligno Italian pˈyant-a {pianta} (3), Neapolitan ˈaβər-ə {àvero} ~ ˈarbər-ə {arbero} (1), Logudorese ˈarvur-e {àrvure} ~ ˈarvul-e {àrvule} (1), Campidanese mˈatː-a {matta} (-1), Palermitan Sicilian ˈarbul-u {arbulu} (1), Messinese Sicilian ˈabːur-u {abburu} (1), Catanian Sicilian ˈarvul-u {arvulu} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian mˈačː-a {maccia} (-1), Central Catalan ˈaβɾ-ə {arbre} (1), North-Western Catalan ˈaβɾ-e {arbre} (1), Minorcan Catalan ˈaβɾ-ə {arbre} (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan ˈaβɾ-e {arbre} (1), Valencia Catalan ˈaβɾ-e {arbre} (1), Manises Catalan ˈaβɾ-e {arbre} (1), Castilian Spanish ˈaɾβol {árbol} (1), Asturian ˈarbol {árbol} (1), Standard Portuguese ˈaɾvur-ə {árvore} (1), Galician ˈaɾβoɾ-e {árbore} (1), Provençal Occitan ˈawbɾ-e {aubre} (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal ˈaːbr-o {âbro} ~ ˈaːrbr-o {ârbro} (1), Old French ˈarbr-ə {arbre} (1), Standard French aʁbʁ {arbre} (1), Picard ab {abe} (1), Walloon oːp {aube} (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {nam fulguritae sunt alternae arbores} "For there every other tree has been blasted with lightning" [Trin. 539]; {iam ego illuc praecurram atque inscendam aliquam in arborem indeque observabo, aurum ubi abstrudat senex} "Now will I run before to that place, and climb up into some tree, and thence will I watch where the old fellow hides the gold" [Aul. 678-679]; {multo illo adveni prior multoque prius me conlocavi in arborem indeque spectabam aurum ubi abstrudebat senex. ubi ille abiit, ego me deorsum duco de arbore} "I arrived there much the first, and, long before, I placed myself in a tree, and thence observed where the old fellow hid the gold. When he departed thence, I let myself down from the tree" [Aul. 705-708]; {folia nunc cadunt praeut si triduom hoc hic erimus: tum arbores in te cadent} "The leaves are falling now; in comparison with this, if we shall be here for three days, the trees will be tumbling upon you" [Men. 375-376].
Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Quid quod arbores etiam, quae pomifera subole fecundae quaeque earum tantum umbra contentae steriles} "Even the trees, both the orchard trees that bear fruit and those simply content to give shade" [Met. 11: 7]; {tegumentis frondis vel arboribus latenter abscondimus} "so we fled and hid behind tree-trunks and bushes" [Met. 8: 5].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 26. Distinct from *lem* {lem} 'wood' [Capidan 1935: 26]. Distinct from *kuˈpač* {cupátš} 'tree, log' of Albanian origin [Capidan 1935: 87].
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'. Cf. {Lęmne pripravi i̯a docle fost-a vręme} "The wood would be prepared when the weather was still nice"; {Lęmne nasečii̯a, pa složii̯a} "They would cut the trees and put them together". Byhan also mentions the words *kopˈvč* {kopǫ́tš} [Byhan 1899: 246-247], *ˈvrbur-e* {ǫ́rbure} [Byhan 1899: 297] and *stˈabl-ä* {stǫ́blę} [Byhan 1899: 353]. The first is translated by Kovačec as 'bush, bushes, thicket', the second and the third are absent from his dictionary as well as from texts [Kovačec 2010]. Glavina translates the word *dˈebl-ä* {deblea} as 'tree' [Glavina 1905: 71], but Kovačec translates this word as 'tree trunk'. Sârbu and Frățilă also mention the Croatism *dˈarv-o* {dârvo} 'wood' [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 206].
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 136; Cunia 2010: 114; Dalametra 1906: 22; Gołąb 1984: 201. Polysemy: 'tree / oak'. Distinct from *kupˈač-ŭ*

{cupắčĭŭ}, which means 'oak', but sometimes can occur in the meaning 'tree' as well [Papahagi 1963: 331; Cunia 2010: 355-356; Dalametra 1906: 72] (in the Turia dialect *kup'ač-ŭ* means 'a small fruit tree' [Bara et al. 2005: 94]). Distinct from *p'om-ŭ* {pom} 'fruit tree' [Papahagi 1963: 871; Gołąb 1984: 244; Dalametra 1906: 174] and *l'emn-u* {lémnu} 'wood' [Papahagi 1963: 625; Gołąb 1984: 232; Dalametra 1906: 121].

Romanian: DER 2004: 969; Bolocan et al. 1985: 299; Gancz 2015. Has no certain etymology, possibly derived from Slavic {kopati} [Ciorănescu 2015]. Distinct from *'arbor-e* {arbore} 'tree', which is used in scientific language, *pom* {pom} 'fruit tree' [Gancz, 2015] and *lemn* {lemn} 'wood' [DER 2004: 1045]. Moldavian: *kop'ak* {copac} 'tree' [Podiko 1973: 170; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 92].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 239. Some examples are: {la ru͡omo del járber} "a branch of a tree"; {la su͡om fero la fu̯aľ ke fero su̯i járbur} "the su͡om is a leaf of the tree" [Bartoli 2002: 239]. Distinct from *leŋ* {leṅ} 'wood', cf. {el nu̯af fero jo̯i̯na pládena di leṅ} "A nu̯af is a big dish made of wood" [Bartoli 2002: 235].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 651. Distinct from *lɛn* {len} 'wood' [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 233-234].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 46, 122. Polysemy: 'tree / wood'. Marebbano: *leŋ* {leṅ} 'tree'; Badiotto: *lɛŋ* {lẹŋ} 'tree'; Livinallese: *'ɛlbɛr* {élbẹr} 'tree'; Nones: *'albor* {albor} 'tree' [Gartner 1923: 122].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 17; Gartner 1923: 122. Distinct from *leŋ* {legn} 'wood' [DILF 2001: 167].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Polysemy: 'tree / plant' [Decurtins 2015]. Distinct from *lɛn* {lenn} 'wood' [Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 111. Goes back to Vulgar Latin {buscus} ~ {boscus}, borrowed from Frankish {*busk} 'bush, woods' [Prati 1951: 157]. Nevertheless, we do not regard this word as a borrowing, because the meaning shift 'woods' > 'tree' took place already in Romansh. Distinct from *layn* {lain} 'wood' [Conrad 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 411-412].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. Distinct from *bɔsk* {bòsch} 'wood' of Frankish origin [Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 183].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 7. Distinct from *bɔsk* {bòsch} 'wood' of Frankish origin [Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 183]. Distinct from *'arbr-a* {arbra} 'Populus alba' [Fianco 2016].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Distinct from *bɔsk* {bòsch} 'wood' of Frankish origin.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Probably borrowed from Franco-Provençal {arbra} 'tree', due to the absence of development of /a/ into /e/ in the stressed closed syllable, see *'eva* {eva} 'water'. The inherited term thus would be *'ɛrb-u* {erbo}, which means 'small plant, shrub'. Distinct from *p'yant-a* {pianta} 'plant', from *l'eŋ-a* {legna} 'wood' and from *bɔsk* {bòsch} 'forest wood' [Davico 2016].

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *bɔsk* 'wood' of Frankish origin.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Distinct from *lɛɲ* {lègn} 'wood'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *leŋ* {legn} 'wood'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 140. Distinct from *lɛɲ* {lègn} 'wood' [Ercolani 1960: 231]. Marchigiano: *'albr-e* {albre} 'tree' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *leɲ* {légn} 'wood' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *lɛɲ* {lègn} 'wood' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *lɛɲ* {lègn} 'wood' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *l'äɲ-u* 'wood'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *l'eɲ-u* {legnŏ} 'wood'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *l'eɲːu* {légnu} 'wood'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Pezzin 2015. Padua, Este, Treviso, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica: *'albar-o* {albaro} 'tree' [Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Distinct from *'eɲ-o* {legno} [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015] ~ *l'eɲ-o* {legno} 'wood' [Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Distinct from *l'eɲ* {legn} 'wood' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {un alber che trovammo in mezza strada, // con pomi a odorar soavi e buoni} "a tree which midway in the road we found, // with apples sweet and grateful to the smell" [Purg. 22]; "As I beheld the bird of Jove descend // down through the tree, rending away the bark" [Purg. 32].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2418. Distinct from *l'eɲːo* {legno} 'wood' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 2520].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *l'eɲ:-o* {legno} 'wood' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *l'iɲ:-u* {lignu} 'wood' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015. Sant'Antonio Abate, Grottaminarda, Caserta: *'albər-ə* {albero} 'tree' [Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Alois 2015]. Distinct from *liɲ:-'am:-ə* {lignammo} ~ *l'eɲ:-ə* {legno} 'wood' [Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015]. Salerno: *k'yant-a* {chianta} 'tree' [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *l'in:-a* {linna} 'wood' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 267. Of substrate origin [Narumov 2001: 184]. Distinct from *l'in:-a* {linna} 'wood' [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *m'at:-a* {matta} 'tree'. Distinct from *l'in:-a* {linna} 'wood' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *'arbiɾ-u* {arbiru} 'tree' [La Bua 2015]. Distinct from *l'iɲ:-a* {ligna} 'wood' [Ornato 2015]. Buscemi: *m'ak:y-a* {macchia} 'tree', cf. {All trees have roots} "Tutti i macchî hjanu ràrichi". Distinct from *l'iɲ:-u* {lignu} 'wood', *v'wɔsk-u* {vuoscu} 'small forest' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Sorbello 2015. Spadafora: *'ab:iɾ-u* {abbiru} [Stornanti 2015]. Distinct from *l'iɲ:-u* {lignu} 'wood' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015. La Mattina mentions the form *'albuɾ-u* {alburu} [La Mattina 2015]. Distinct from *l'iɲ:-u* {lignu} 'wood' [Corsaro 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè. Besides this form, Miccichè also mentions *m'ak:y-a* {makkia} 'tree' [Miccichè 2015]. Of substrate origin. Distinct from *l'iɲ:-u* {lignu} 'wood' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 22. Distinct from *bɔsk* {bosc} 'forest' of Germanic origin, *ʄust-ə* {fusta} 'wood' and *ʎeɲ-ə* {llenya} 'firewood' [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Distinct from *bɔsk* {bosc} 'forest', *ʄust-ɛ* {fusta} 'wood' and *ʎeɲ-ɛ* {llenya} 'firewood' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *məð'er-ə* {madera} 'wood' and *ʎeɲ-ə* {llenya} 'wood' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *ʄust-a* {fusta} 'wood' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *ʄust-a* {fusta} 'wood' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Distinct from *ʄust-a* {fusta} 'wood' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *mað'eɾ-a* {madera} 'wood' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *'arbol-e* {árbole} 'tree', *mað'eɾ-a* {madera} 'wood', *ʄust-a* {fusta} 'wood' and *b'yesk-a* {viesca} 'forest' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 130. Distinct from *með'eyɾ-ɐ* {madeira} 'wood' [Voinova et al. 1989: 130].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 765, 100; Fernández Armesto 1981: 82; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 923. Distinct from *mað'eyɾ-a* {madeira} 'wood' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 818, 530; Fernández Armesto 1981: 491; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 985, 601].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 88. Distinct from *l'iɲ-o* {ligno} 'wood' and *bɔs* {bos} 'wood' of Germanic origin [Coupier 1995: 157].

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 168.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 72.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 750; Rayevskaya 2013: 393. Distinct from *bwa* {bwa} 'wood' [Rayevskaya 2013: 393].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *bo* {bo} 'wood' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ɔp* {åbe} 'tree'. Distinct from *bwɛ* {bwès} 'wood' (Rifondou: *bwɛ* {bwès} ~ *bo* {bos} 'wood').

91. TWO

Archaic Latin *d'ʋ-ɔ {duo}* (1), Late Classical Latin *d'ʋ-ɔ {duo}* (1), Megleno Romanian *doy {doi̯}* (1), Istro Romanian *doy {doi̯}* (1), Aromanian *doy {doĭ}* (1), Romanian *doy {doi}* (1), Dalmatian *doy {doi̯}* (1), Friulian *dɔy {doi}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *doy {doi}* (1), Fassano Ladin *doy {doi}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *dus {dus}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *dus {dus}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *dus {dus}* (1), Vallader Romansh *dwos {duos}* ~ *dus {dus}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *duy {doi}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *duy {doi}* (1), Carmagnola

Piemontese *duy {doi}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *d'ue {doe} ~ duy {doi}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *düy* (1), Bergamo Lombard *du {dú}* (1), Plesio Lombard *d'ü-ü {düü}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *do {dó}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *du {dù}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *du: {dū}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *dɔw {dòu}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *du'i* (1), Genoese Ligurian *du'i: {duî}* (1), Stella Ligurian *dɥi {duì}* (1), Venice Venetian *do {dó}* (1), Primiero Venetian *doy {doi}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *doy {doi}* (1), Old Italian *d'ue {due}* (1), Standard Italian *d'ue {due}* (1), Grosseto Italian *d'ue {due}* (1), Foligno Italian *du {du}* (1), Neapolitan *d'oy-ə {doje} ~ d'uy-ə {duje}* (1), Logudorese *d'u-os {duos}* (1), Campidanese *d'u-zu {dusu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ɾ'ui {rui}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *d'ui {dui}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *d'ui {dui} ~ ɾ'ui {rui}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ɾ'uɛ {rue}* (1), Central Catalan *dos {dos}* (1), North-Western Catalan *dos {dos}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *dos {dos}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *dos {dos}* (1), Valencia Catalan *dos {dos}* (1), Manises Catalan *dos {dos}* (1), Castilian Spanish *dos {dos}* (1), Asturian *dos {dos}* (1), Standard Portuguese *doyš {dois}* (1), Galician *dows {dous}* (1), Provençal Occitan *dus {dous}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *du {dou} ~ duz {douz}* (1), Old French *dews {deus}* (1), Standard French *dö {deux}* (1), Picard *dö {deus}* (1), Walloon *dö: {deûs}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {postquam in cunas conditust, devolant angues iubati deorsum in impluvium duo maximi: continuo extollunt ambo capita} "After he was laid in the cradle, two immense crested serpents glided down through the skylight; instantly they both reared their heads" [Amph. 1107-1109]; {Quia enim intellego, duae unum expetitis palumbem} "Because, in fact, I understand how you two are aiming at one poor pigeon" [Bac. 50-51].
Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {video mulieres duas altioris aetatis} "I watched two women of rather ripe years" [Met. 1: 12]; {deducti nos duos asinos et equum meum productos e stabulo} "they led the horse and us two asses out of the stable-door" [Met. 3: 28].
Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 114-115.
Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 207; Byhan 1899: 208-209.
Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 410-411; Cunia 2010: 412; Dalametra 1906: 84; Bara et al. 2005: 133; Gołąb 1984: 211, 213.
Romanian: DER 2004: 982; Bolocan et al. 1985: 282; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *doy* {doi} 'two' [Podiko 1973: 160; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 86-87].
Dalmatian: Some examples are: {doi̯ tre ján̦} "two or three years" [Bartoli 2002: 232]; {ju avás doi̯ bari̯ét} "I have two caps" [Bartoli 2002: 244].
Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 669, 142.
Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 25, 200.
Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 99.
Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.
Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.
Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.
Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 259.
Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 99.
Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 99.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 131. Marchigiano: *do* {do} 'two' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Zanetti 2015. Marostica: *dɔ* {dò} 'two' [Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Fersi le braccia due di quattro liste; // le cosce con le gambe e 'l ventre e 'l casso // divenner membra che non fuor mai viste} "Of the four lists were fashioned the two arms, // the thighs and legs, the belly and the chest // members became that never yet were seen" [Inf. 25]; {Sotto ciascuna uscivan due grand' ali} "Underneath each came forth two mighty wings" [Inf. 34].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2433-2434.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 167. Domus de Maria: *d'u-zu* {dusu} 'two' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *ɾ'ui* {rui} 'two' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *d'ui* {dui} ~ *d'u* {du} ~ *ɾ'ui* {rui} 'two' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 104.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *dos* {dos} 'two' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 123.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 791, 348; Fernández Armesto 1981: 307; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 952, 377.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 405-406.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 733.

Old French: Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {an mes tresors poez seisir // d'or et d'argent plainnes deus barges} "from my treasure you may have two barges full of gold and silver" (Cligès 178-179); {mes uns cuers n'est pas an deus leus} "but one heart cannot be in two places" (Cligès 2800).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 760; Rayevskaya 2013: 390.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *dö* {deus} 'two'.

92. WALK (GO)

Archaic Latin ˈẹ̄-rɛ {ire} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈịː-rɛ {ire} (1), Megleno Romanian ˈamn-u {ámnu} (2), Istro Romanian mˈär-e {mére} (3), Aromanian ˈimn-u {ímnu} (2) / ɲˈerg-u {ńérgu} (3), Romanian a=umbl-ˈa {a umbla} (2) / a=mˈerʒ-e {a merge} (3), Dalmatian vis {vis} ~ viz {viś} (4) / ʒ-a-r {żar} (2), Friulian va {va} (4) / lˈa-v-i {lavi} (2), Gardenese Ladin va {va} (4), Fassano Ladin va {va} (4), Rumantsch Grischun va {va} (4) / i-r {ir} (1), Sursilvan Romansh va {va} (4) / m-ˈav-a {mava} (2), Surmiran Romansh va {va} (4) / ɛk-r {eir} (1), Vallader Romansh va {va} (4) / ʒ-ˈav-a {giaiva} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese va {va} (4) / aŋd-arˈi-a {andarìa} (2), Barbania Piemontese va {va} (4) / aŋd-azˈi-a {andasìa} (2), Carmagnola Piemontese va {va} (4) / aŋd-azˈi-a {andasìa} (2), Turinese Piemontese va {va} (4) / aŋd-azˈi-a {andasia} (2), Vercellese Piemontese va (4) / ŋd-ˈav-a (2), Bergamo Lombard va {và} (4) / ndˈa-e {ˈndae} (2), Plesio Lombard va {và} (4) / and-ˈa {andà} (2), Ravennate Romagnol va {va} (4) / and-ˈeːd-a {andēda} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano va {va} (4) / and-ˈav-a {andàva} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano va {và} (4) / nd-ˈɛv-a {ˈndèva} (2), Reggiano Emiliano va {và} (4) / and-ˈɛːv-a {andêva} (2), Rapallo Ligurian va (4) / an-ˈav-a {ànàva} (2), Genoese Ligurian va {va} (4) / an-ˈav-a {anava} (2), Stella Ligurian va {và} (4) / and-ˈɔv-u {andòvu} (2), Venice Venetian va {va} (4) / ŋdˈav-o {ˈndavo} (2), Primiero Venetian va {va} (4) / ŋd-e {ndé} (2), Bellunese Venetian va {va} (4) / aŋd-ˈe-e {andee} (2), Old Italian va {va} (4) / and-ˈav-a {andava} (2), Standard Italian va {va} (4) / and-ˈav-o {andavo} (2), Grosseto Italian va {va} (4) / and-ˈav-o {andavo} (2), Foligno Italian va {va} (4) / anː-ˈav-o {annavo} (2), Neapolitan va {và} (4) / y-ˈev-ə {jevo} (1), Logudorese and-ˈa-re {andare} (2), Campidanese and-ˈay {andai} (2), Palermitan Sicilian va {va} (4) / yˈav-u {iavu} (1), Messinese Sicilian va {va} (4) / anː-ˈav-a {annava} (2), Catanian Sicilian va {va} (4) / yˈɛv-u {ievu} (1), South-Eastern Sicilian va {va} (4) / ya {ia} (1), Central Catalan ba {va} (4) / ən-ˈaβ-ə {anava} (2), North-Western Catalan ba {va} (4) / an-ˈa {anar} (2), Minorcan Catalan ba {va} (4) / n-ˈav-ə {nava} (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan va {va} (4) / an-ˈav-a {anava} (2), Valencia Catalan ba {va} (4) / an-ˈaβ-a {anava} (2), Manises Catalan ba {va} (4) / an-ˈaβ-a {anava} (2), Castilian Spanish ba {va} (4) / ˈiβa {iba} (1), Asturian ba {va} (4) / dˈiba {diba} (1), Standard Portuguese vay {vai} (4) / i-ɾ {ir} (1), Galician bay {vai} (4) / i-r {ir} (1), Provençal Occitan vay {vai} (4) / an-ˈa {ana} (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal vaː {vâ} (4) / al-ˈaː {alâ} (2), Old French va {va} ~ veyt {vait} ~ veːt {vet} (4) / al-ˈeː-r {aler} (2), Standard French va {va} (4) / al-e {aller} (2), Picard vo {vo} (4) / al-e {aler} (2), Walloon va {va} (4) / al-e {aler} (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {Ad tonsorem ire dixit} "He said he was going to the barber's" [Asin. 394]; {ego eo ad forum, nisi quid vis} "But why am I delaying to go to the Forum where I had intended" [Asin. 108]; {quin cum it dormitum, follem obstringit ob gulam} "Why, when he goes to sleep, he ties a bag beneath his gullet" [Aul. 302].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {valvas stabuli absolve, antelucio volo ire} "Open the gate! I want to be gone by daybreak!" [Met. 1: 15]; {itur ad constitutum scopulom montis ardui} "they came to the steep mountain crag decreed" [Met. 4: 35].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 12. There are two documented expressions for 'to go': *merk* {merg} [Capidan 1935: 188] and *'amn-u* {ámnu} [Capidan 1935: 12]. Although the first word was translated by Capidan as Romanian *merg* 'I go' and the second as Romanian *umblu* 'I walk', in the meaning 'to go' *merk* is used only in the dialect of Ţârnareca, but in the other dialects it has a different meaning ({şi tu dupu mini să merz} "and you will follow me" (Lugunţa) [Capidan 1928: 28]; {merg mǫnă di mǫnă} "they go hand in hand'" (Oşani) [Capidan 1928: 20], {am un frati, toată zuụa din cur ăn cap mearzi} "I have a brother, who is rolling from his bottom to his head all day long" (arshin) [Capidan 1928: 164]) or as a part of the phrase 'it is raining' (for example, {catsǫ să meargă ploaịă} "it started raining" (Oşani) [Capidan 1928: 78]). In the meaning 'to go' *'amnu* is usually used; this is confirmed by most of the textual evidence.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 227; Byhan 1899: 276; Glavina 1905: 71. In Žejane two suppletive forms are used: *yi* {íi̯} (infinitive) [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 233] and *b'oλe* {bóľe} (imperative) [Kovačec 2010].

Apart from that, there is also the verb *əmn-'ʋ* {âmnă} [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 188; Byhan 1899: 298; Glavina 1905: 72], which is often used in the imperative form ({Âmna din i̯e!} "Go get him!" (Nova Vas); {Beń, âmna.} "Okay, go." (Nova Vas); {Ne rénće cu lingura âmnă!} "Don't go toward the middle!" (Žejane); {Âmna âc aduče a căsa!} "Go get yourself something [to write with] from home!" (Žejane); {Striče, âmna tu ân dvor} "Uncle, you go into the yard" (Šušnjevica); {Tu âmna oi̯ile pocoľi} "You go slaughter the sheep" (Šušnjevica); {Hmoče âmna tu şti} "Go figure" (Šušnjevica); {Âmna tu, Ľubiţa, la Roşo} "Ľubiţa, go to Roşo's" (Nova Vas); {Ma tu âmna pomălico năzada şi inca untrât ča şă spel} "Go slowly back and wash it out one more time" (Nova Vas)), in the expression 'to go to school' ({Şi i̯o ľ-am zis ke i̯o nu voi̯ čii̯a ân şula âmna} "I told her that I would not continue going to school there" (Žejane); {i̯o n-am uopće ân prvi razred âmnåt ân Žei̯ân} "I never went to first grade in Žejane" (Žejane); {poşnit âmnă ân şula pac m-am cu i̯ă tot ânvecåt} "she started going to school and I learned everything from her" (Žejane); {Måi̯o, i̯o vresu ân şcola âmnă} "Mother, I want to go to school" (Jesenovik), as a designation of a long-term action ({Şi i̯eľ-a âmnåt tot prin căsa vižiţei̯ şi li n-a lasåt} "And they walked around the house and inspected everything, and they still let us go" (Šušnjevica); {Şi i̯eľ âmnu, âmnu} "And they started walking and walking" (Šušnjevica), as a designation of the ability to walk ({Ânca n-av ni âmnåt} "She couldn't even walk" (Žejane); { i̯ă s-a prisaturåt, n-å putut âmnă} "She was so full she couldn't walk" (Šušnjevica); {čela mårle om č-av aşă pomalo âmnåt} "a tall man with short steps (Žejane)) or in the meaning 'to walk on foot' ({li âmnânda ân Pǎzin, şi mẹre şi veri} "But on foot to Pazin, there and back" (Nova Vas); {Raş fost âmnânda tunče ân Şuşńeviţa mẹre} "You could walk all the way to Šušnjevica" (Kostrčan)). In the personal forms this verb is used more rarely: {ân žos când av âmnat} "when he went down there" (Žejane); {av âmnat cu oţetu ân Pemsko} "used to go to the Czech lands with the vinegar (Žejane); {Biveı̯t am la Grzele, ma-m saca zi âmnåt la nona lu Magåta} "I lived at the Grzele's, and went over to stay with my grandma Magata every day" (Žejane); {E şi pocle la oi̯ me-mnåi̯am} "And then I would go by the sheep" (Šušnjevica).

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 575; Cunia 2010: 558; Dalametra 1906: 115; Gołąb 1984: 221. There are two terms for 'to go' in Aromanian: *'imn-u* {ímnu} and *ɲ'erg-u* {ńérgu}. The first one is a habitual verb, while the second one means 'to go in a determinate direction'.Papahagi 1963: 795-796; Cunia 2010: 746-747; Dalametra 1906: 151; Gołąb 1984: 237.

Romanian: DER 2004: 416-417; Bolocan et al. 1985: 450-451; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {ambulare} 'to walk' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Like in Aromanian, there are two expressions for 'to go' in Romanian: *a=m'erʒ-e* {a merge} 'to go in a determinate direction' and the habitual verb *a=umbl-'a* {a umbla} [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: *a=umbl-'a* {a umbla} 'to go / to walk' [Podiko 1973: 1013-1014; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 481].DER 2004: 416-417; Bolocan et al. 1985: 450-451; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {mergere} 'to plunge, to dip' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Moldavian: *a=m'erʒ-e* {a merge} 'to go' [Podiko 1973: 270-272; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 148].

Dalmatian: There are two documented expressions for 'to go': the inherited term *ʒ-a-r* {żar} and *and-wo-r* {andu͡ǫr} of Venetian origin (both originate from the same root). Cf.: {ko soplúa la búr non potája żar fúr} "When the bora blows, I cannot walk outside" [Bartoli 2002: 236] and {e kosáik ju vis a skól kuň ke ju potaja andu͡ǫr, feı̯nta i dikdòi̯ i̯ai̯ń} "And thus I was going to school, when I was able to go, until I was twelve years" [Bartoli 2002: 223]. This verb is suppletive, like in other Romance languages, see the present paradigm (according to our observations): {vis} ~ {viṡ} 'I go' / {żai̯} 'you go' / {vis} ~ {viṡ} 'he/she/it goes' / {żái̯me} 'we go' / {żái̯te} 'you go' / {żai̯} 'they go'; according to GLD specifications, we choose the 3.

sg. form for the list.The second stem.

Friulian: This verb is suppletive, like in other Romance languages: {jo o voi} 'I go' / {tu tu vâs} 'you go' / {lui al va} 'he goes', {jê e va} 'she goes' / {nô a nin} ~ {nô a lin} 'we go' / {vô o lais} ~ {vô o vais} 'you go' / {lôr a van} 'they go' / {jo o lavi} 'I was walking' (imperfect) / {jo o soi lât} 'I went' (perfect) / {jo larai} 'I will go' / {jo larès} 'I would go' [Decorte 2015]. In the central and eastern area as the infinitive form is used *la:* {lâ} 'to go' and in the western area *ži* {zi} [Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 367].The second stem.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 112, 140. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: vˈɛd-ə {vede} 'I go' / v-ɛs {ves} 'you go' / v-a {va} 'he/se/it goes' / ž-oŋ {jon} 'we go' / ž-əys {jëis} 'you go' / v-a {va} 'they go' / vˈɛd-ə {vede} 'I would go' (conj.) / žˈis-ə {jise} 'I would go' (cond.) / žˈir-ɛ {jire} 'I will go' / ž-i {jì} 'to go' [Gartner 1923: 9].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 22-23. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: v-ˈae {vae} 'I go' / v-ɛs {vès} 'you go' / v-a {va} 'he/se/it goes' / ž-oŋ {jon} 'we go' / žˈi-de {jide} 'you go' / v-a {va} 'they go' / v-ˈae {vae} 'I would go' (conj.) / / žir-ˈe {jiré} 'I will go' / ži-r {jir} 'to go' [DILF 2001: 649].

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {mon} 'I go' / {vas} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {mein} 'we go' / {meis} 'you go' / {van} 'they go' / {mava} 'he was going' (imperf.) / {mà} 'he went' (perf.) / {va} 'go!' (imp. 2. sg.) / {mei} 'go!' (imp. 2. pl.) / {ir} 'to go' [Decurtins 2015].The second stem.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 405-406. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {eu vegn} 'I go' / {tü vast} 'you go' / {el va} 'he goes' / {nus giain} 'we go' / {vus giais} 'you go' / {ellas van} 'they go' / {eu giaiva} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {eu sun i} 'I went' (perf.) / {eu giarà} 'I will go' / {va} 'go!' (imp. 2. sg.) / {ir} 'to go' [Conrad 2015].The second stem.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {mi i von} 'I go' / {ti i vas} 'you go' / {chiel a va} 'he goes' / {noi i andoma} 'we go' / {voi i andeve} 'you go' / {lor a van} 'they go' / {mi i andarìa} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mi i son andàit} 'I went' (perf.) / {mi i andrìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {mi i andrài} 'I will go' / {andè} 'to go' [Gisolo 2015].The second stem.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {i vado} 'I go' / {ti it vade} 'you go' / { } 'he goes' / {noi i andoma} 'we go' / {voi i andeve} 'you go' / {lor a van} 'they go' / {mi i andasìa} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mi i son andait} 'I went' (perf.) / {mi i andrìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {mi i andrai} 'I will go' / {andé} 'to go' [Fiandro 2015].The second stem.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {i von} 'I go' / {it vas} 'you go' / {a va} 'he goes' / {i andoma} 'we go' / {i andeve} 'you go' / {a van} 'they go' / {i andasìa} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {i son andait} 'I went' (perf.) / {i andrìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {i andreu} ~ {i andrai} 'I will go' / {andé} 'to go' [Sanero 2015].The second stem.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. This verb is suppletive, like in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {mi i von} 'I go' / {ti it vas} 'you go' / {chiel a va} 'he goes' / {noi i andoma} 'we go' / {voi i andeve} 'you go' / {lor a van} 'they go' / {mi i andasia} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mi son andait} 'I went' (perf.) / {mi i andria} (cond.) / {mi i andrai} 'I will go' / {andè} 'to go'.The second stem.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: ay=v-ˈak 'I go' / at=v-ˈɛ 'you go' / al=v-ˈa 'he goes' / ya=ŋd-ˈuma 'we go' / ya=ŋd-ˈe 'you go' / i=v-ˈan 'they go' / ya=ŋd-ˈav-a 'I was going' (imperf.) / son aŋd-ˈay 'I went' (perf.) / ya=ŋd-r-ˈia 'I would go' (cond.) / ya=ŋd-r-ˈɔ 'I will go' / aːŋd-ˈɛ 'to go'.The second stem.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. This verb is suppletive, but, unlike in other Gallo-Romance languages, the forms that are descended from {vadere} have only been preserved in the third person of the present tense, cf. the paradigm: {ˈndó} 'I go' / {ˈndet} 'you go' / {ˈl và} 'he goes' / {ˈnvà} 'we go' / {ˈndìf} 'you go' / {ˈl và} 'they go' / {ˈndae} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {so ˈndàc} 'I went' (perf.) / {ˈndarès} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ˈndaró} 'I will go' / {ˈndà} 'to go' [Garlini 2015].The second stem.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. This verb is suppletive, but, unlike in other Gallo-Romance languages, the forms that are descended from {andare} have not been preserved in the present and imperfect, cf. the paradigm: {voo} 'I go' / {vet} 'you go' / {và} 'he goes' / {vemm} 'we go' / {vii} 'you go' / {vann} 'they go' / {vavi} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {vavet} 'you were going' / {vava} 'he was going' / {vavum} 'we were going' / {vavuv} 'you were going' / {vaven} 'they were going' / {somm andaa} 'I went' (perf.) / {andaresi} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andaroo} 'I will go' / {andà} 'to go' [Selva 2015].The infinitive. The second stem.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 512. The 3. sg. form. The infinitive is *and-ˈeǯ* {andêr} [Ercolani 1960: 13].Ercolani 1960: 36. The imperfective form ("he was going").

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {mi a vàg} 'I go' / {ti at và} 'you go' / {lù al và} 'he goes' / {nù andèn} 'we go' / {vualtàr andè} 'you go' / {lor i và} 'they go' / {mi andàva} 'I was

going' (imperf.) / {mi a son andà} 'I went' (perf.) / {mi andarò} 'I will go' / {mi andarè} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andar} 'to go' [Piacentini 2015].The second stem.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {mè a vâg} 'I go' / {tè 't vê} 'you go' / {lò al và} 'he goes' / {nuèt'r a 'ndòm} 'we go' / {uèt'r a 'ndê} 'you go' / {lōr i vân} 'they go' / {mè a 'ndèva} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mè a sun andê} 'I went' (perf.) / {mè a 'ndrò} 'I will go' / {mè a 'ndrèv} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andèr} 'to go' [Sacchi 2015].The second stem.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vâgh} 'I go' / {vêt} 'you go' / {và} 'he goes' / {andòm} 'we go' / {andîv} 'you go' / {vân} 'they go' / {andêva} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {sòun andèe} 'I went' (perf.) / {andrò} 'I will go' / {andrés} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andêr} 'to go' [Chertein 2015].The second stem.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. This verb is suppletive as in the other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {mì vàggu} 'I go' / {tì vaé} 'you go' / {lé u và} 'he goes' / {nuïàtri ànnémmu} 'we go' / {vuïàtri anné} 'you go' / {i àtri vàn} 'they go' / {mì ànàva} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mì sùn ànaétu} 'I went' (perf.) / {mì andïò} 'I will go' / {mì annïéva} 'I would go' (cond.) / {annà} 'to go' [Fasce 2015].The second stem.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. This verb is suppletive as in the other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {mi vaggŏ} 'I go' / {ti vè} 'you go' / {lé ŏ va} 'he goes' / {nuîatri anemmŏ} 'we go' / {vuîatri anè} 'you go' / {liatri van} 'they go' / {mi anava} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {sŏn anètŏ} 'I went' (perf.) / {aniô} 'I will go' / {aniæ} 'I would go' (cond.) / {anâ} 'to go' [Parodi 2015].The second stem.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {mi vaggu} 'I go' / {ti ti vè} 'you go' / {lé u và} 'he goes' / {nuiàtri andémmu} 'we go' / {vuiàtri andèi} 'you go' / {lüiàtri i và-nn} 'they go' / {mi andòvu} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mi su-nn andò} 'I went' (perf.) / {mi andiö} 'I will go' / {mi andeèivu} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andè} 'to go' [Piccone 2015].The second stem.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015. This verb is suppletive as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vago} 'I go' / {ti va} 'you go' / {el va} 'he goes' / {andemo} 'we go' / {andé} 'you go' / {i va} 'they go' / {'ndavo} (although, an Italianized form {mi ndavo} is more common) 'I was going' (imperf.) / {so 'ndà} 'I went' (perf.) / {andarò} 'I will go' / {andarìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ndar} 'to go' [Tosi 2015]. Padua: {mi vago} 'I go' / {ti te vè} 'you go' / {eło 'l va} 'he goes' / {noialtri ndemo} 'we go' / {voialtri ndè} 'you go' / {łori i va} 'they go' / {mi ndava} (although, an Italianized form {mi ndavo} is more common) 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mi so ndà} 'I went' (perf.) / {mi ndarò} 'I will go' / {mi ndarìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ndare} 'to go' [Tre 2015]. Este: {mi vago} 'I go' / {ti te vè} 'you go' / {lu el va} 'he goes' / {noialtri andemo} 'we go' / {voialtri andè} 'you go' / {lori i va} 'they go' / {andavo} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {so andà} 'I went' (perf.) / {andarò} 'I will go' / {andarìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andare} 'to go' [Melon 2015]. Treviso: {a mi vao} 'I go' / {ti te va} 'you go' / {łu el va} 'he goes' / {nialtri ndémo} 'we go' / {vialtri ndé} 'you go' / {łori i va} 'they go' / {a mi ndavo} ~ {a mi ndao} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mi só nda} 'I went' (perf.) / {a mi ndarò} 'I will go' / {a mi ndarìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ndar} 'to go' [Busato 2015]. Verona: {vò} 'I go' / {veto} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {nemo} ~ {andemo} 'we go' / {'ndè} 'you go' / { va} 'they go' / {andava} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {son 'ndà} 'I went' (perf.) / {'ndarò} 'I will go' / {naria} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andar} ~ {'ndar} 'to go' [Zanetti 2015].Tosi 2015. The second stem.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. This verb is suppletive as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vaghe} 'I go' / {ti va} 'you go' / {el va} 'he goes' / {ndon} 'we go' / {ndé} 'you go' / {i va} 'they go' / {ndé} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {ò ndat} 'I went' (perf.) / {ndarò} 'I will go' / {ndarìe} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ndar} 'to go' [Gaio 2015].The second stem.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. This verb is suppletive as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vae} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {andon} 'we go' / {ande} 'you go' / {i va} 'they go' / {andee} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {son andat} 'I went' (perf.) / {andaro} 'I will go' / {andarie} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andar} 'to go' [Caneve 2015].The second stem.

Old Italian: The paradigm seems to be not much different from the modern one, cf. the following examples: {che di noi // faccia il cammino alcun per qual io vado} "that one of us // maketh the journey upon which I go" [Inf. 9]; {tu che, spirando, vai veggendo i morti} "thou, who dost breathing go the dead beholding" [Inf. 28]; {Sì come cieco va dietro a sua guida} "E'en as a blind man goes behind his guide" [Purg. 16]; {Che andate pensando sì voi sol tre?} "What go ye thinking thus, ye three alone?" [Purg. 24]; {vanno a vicenda ciascuna al giudizio} "they go by turns each one unto the judgment" [Inf. 5]; {Mentr' io andava, li occhi miei in uno // furo scontrati} "While I was going on, mine eyes by one // encountered were" [Inf. 18]; {Ma vieni omai con li occhi sì com' io // andrò parlando} "But now come onward with thine eyes, as I // speaking shall go" [Par. 32]; {I' son Beatrice che ti faccio andare} "Beatrice am I, who do bid thee go" [Inf. 2].The second stem.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1752-1755. This verb is suppletive as in the other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {vado} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {andiamo} 'we go' / {andate} 'you go' / {vanno} 'they go' / {andavo} 'I was

going' (imperf.) / {sono andato} 'I went' (perf.) / {andrò} 'I will go' / {andrei} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andare} 'to go' [Cherdantseva 2005: 190-191].The second stem.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. This verb is suppletive as in other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vo} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {'gnamo} 'we go' / {andate} 'you go' / {vanno} 'they go' / {andavo} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {so' andato} 'I went' (perf.) / {andrò} ~ {anderò} 'I will go' / {andrei} 'I would go' (cond.) / {andare} 'to go' [Marcelli 2015].The second stem.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. This verb is suppletive as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {vò} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {annamo} 'we go' / {annate} 'you go' / {vonno} 'they go' / {annavo} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {sт 'nnatu} 'I went' (perf.) / {anrò} 'I will go' / {anriu} 'I would go' (cond.) / {annà} 'to go' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].The second stem.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vaco} 'I go' / {vaje} 'you go' / {và} 'he goes' / {jammo} 'we go' / {jate} 'you go' / {vanno} 'they go' / {jevo} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {songo juto} ~ {so' gghiuto} 'I went' (perf.) / {jarraggio} 'I will go' / {jesse} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ì} ~ {jì} ~ {ghì} 'to go' [Russo 2015].The second stem.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. This verb is not suppletive in Logudorese, see the paradigm: {àndo} 'I go' / {àndas} 'you go' / {àndat} 'he goes' / {àndammus} 'we go' / {andàde} ~ {andàes} 'you go' / {àndana} 'they go' / {andabo} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {sòe andàu} 'I went' (perf.) / {dìad'andare} (cond.) / {hàppo a andare} 'I will go'. The remains of Latin {vadere} are preserved only in the imperative: {bàe} (2nd person, sg.) and {bàdze} (2nd person, pl.) [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 39-40. This verb is not suppletive in Campidanese, cf. the paradigm: {andu} 'I go' / {andasa} 'you go' / {andada} 'he goes' / {andausu} 'we go' / {andaisi} 'you go' / {andanta} 'they go' / {andamu} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {seu andau} 'I went' (perf.) / {emmu andai} (cond.) / {deppu andai} 'I will go' [Pintus 2015]. The Domus de Maria subdialect differs only by three forms: {andammu} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {imm'andai} (cond.) / {app'andai} 'I will go' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vaiu} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {iàmu} 'we go' / {iti} 'you go' / {vannu} 'they go' / {iàvu} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {ivu} 'I went' (perf.) / {aiu a ghiri} 'I will go' / {issi} 'I would go' (cond.) / {iri} ~ {ghiri} 'to go' [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *i-ri* {ìri} 'to go' [Coccimiglio 2016].The second stem.

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vaiu} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {annamu} 'we go' / {annati} 'you go' / {vannu} 'they go' / {annava} 'I went' / {annassi} 'I would go' (cond.) / {annari} 'to go' [Salzano 2015]. Spadafora: {vaiu} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {annàmu} 'we go' / {annàti} 'you go' / {vannu} 'they go' / {annàva} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {annài} 'I went' (perf.) / {aiu a 'nnàri} 'I will go' / {annirìa} 'I would go' (cond.) / {annàri} 'to go' [Stornanti 2015]. Giarre: {vaiu} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {iemu} 'we go' / {iti} 'you go' / {vannu} ~ {vanu} 'they go' / {annai} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {ì} 'I went' (perf.) / {issi} 'I would go' (cond.) / {iri} 'to go' [Sorbello 2015].The second stem.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vaiu} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {iemu} 'we go' / {iti} 'you go' / {vanu} 'they go' / {ievu} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {ìi} 'I went' (perf.) / {issi} 'I would go' (cond.) / {iri} ~ {annari} 'to go' [Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015].The second stem.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {vaiu} 'I go' / {vai} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {iemu} 'we go' / {iti} 'you go' / {vanu} 'they go' / {ia} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {mi nii} 'I went' (perf.) / {mi n'issi} 'I would go' (cond.) / {iri} 'to go' [Leggio 2015]. In the dialect of Agrigento the difference is in the past form {ju mi ni ivu} 'I went' and in the use of future {ju ci aja ghiri} 'I will go' [Miccichè 2015], which is absent in the dialect of Ragusa.The second stem.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 166. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {jo vaig} 'I go' / {tu vas} 'you go' / {ell va} 'he goes' / {nosaltres anem} 'we go' / {vosaltres aneu} 'you go' / {ells van} 'they go' / {anava} 'I went' / {aniria} ~ {iria} 'I would go' (cond.) / {aniré} ~ {iré} 'I will go' / ən-'a {anar} 'to go' [Alòs i Font 2015].The second stem. A more colloquial pronunciation is *n-'aβ-ə* [Alòs i Font 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {jo vaig} 'I go' / {tu vas} 'you go' / {ell va} 'he goes' / {nosaltres nam} 'we go' / {vosaltres nau} 'you go' / {ells van} 'they go' / {nava} 'I went' / {naria} 'I would go' (cond.) / {naré} 'I will go' / na {anar} 'to go' [Cardona 2015].The second stem.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {jo vaig} 'I go' / {tu vas} 'you go' / {ell va} 'he goes' / {nosaltres anem} 'we go' / {vosaltres aneu} 'you go' / {ells van} 'they go' / {anava} 'I

was going' (imp.) / {aní} 'I went' (perf.)/ {aniria} 'I would go' (cond.) / {aniré} 'I will go' / {anar} 'to go' [Barreda 2015].The second stem.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {jo vaig} 'I go' / {tu vas} 'you go' / {ell va} 'he goes' / {mosatros anem} 'we go' / {vosaltres aneu} 'you go' / {ells van} 'they go' / {anava} 'I was going' (imp.) / {aní} 'I went' (perf.)/ {aniria} 'I would go' (cond.) / {aniré} 'I will go' / {anar} 'to go' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].The second stem.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: *bač* {vaig} 'I go' / *bas* {vas} 'you go' / *ba* {va} 'he goes' / *an-'em* {anem} 'we go' / *an-'ew* {aneu} 'you go' / *ban* {van} 'they go' / *an-'aβ-a* {anava} 'I was going' (imp.) / *an-'i* {aní} ~ *bač an-'a-ɾ* {vaig anar} 'I went' (perf.)/ *an-iɾ'i-a* {aniria} 'I would go' (cond.) / *an-iɾ-'e* {aniré} 'I will go' / *an-'a-ɾ* {anar} 'to go' [Pedrós 2015].The second stem.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. This verb is suppletive, as in the other Romance languages, cf. the paradigm: {voy} 'I go' / {vas} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {vamos} 'we go' / {vais} 'you go' / {van} 'they go' / {iba} 'I was going' (imperfect) / (he ido) 'I went' (perfect)/ (fui) 'I went' (preterite)/ {iría} 'I would go' (cond.) / {iré} 'I will go' / {ir} 'to go' [Valén 2015].The second stem.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Paradigm: {voy} 'I go' / {vas} 'you go' / {va} 'he goes' / {vamos} 'we go' / {vais} 'you go' / {van} 'they go' / {diba} 'I was going' (imperfect) / {fui} 'I went' (perfect)/ {iria} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ire} 'I will go' / {diɾ} 'to go' [Riego-Delgado 2016]. Langreo: {dir} 'to go' [González Rato 2016].The second stem.

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 200-201. There are two terms for 'to go': *iɾ* {ir} and *ẽd-a-ɾ* {andar}. The first term underlines the fact of moving from one place to another, while the second is used more in the meaning 'to walk / to move' with the accent on the fact of moving [Pimentel Ferreira 2016]. We include the term *iɾ* {ir} into the list as more suitable for GLD semantic specifications. This verb is suppletive as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {vou} 'I go' / {vais} 'you go' / {vai} 'he goes' / {vamos} 'we go' / {ides} 'you go' / {vão} 'they go' / {ia} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {fui} 'I went' (perf.) / {irei} 'I will go' / {iria} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ir} 'to go' [Nechayeva 2009: 212].The second stem.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015. This verb is suppletive just like in the other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {vou} 'I go' / {vas} 'you go' / {vai} 'he goes' / {imos} 'we go' / {ides} 'you go' / {van} 'they go' / {ía} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {fun} 'I went' (perf.) / {irei} 'I will go' / {iría} 'I would go' (cond.) / {ir} 'to go' [Montoya Bolaños 2016].The second stem.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 55-56.The infinitive form. Coupier 1995: 55-56.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 122-125. This verb is suppletive, like in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {vé} 'I go' / {vâ} 'you go' / {vâ} 'he goes' / {alin} 'we go' / {alâ} 'you go' / {von} 'they go' / {alivou} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {vrai} 'I will go' / {vri} 'I would go' (cond.) / {alâ} 'to go'.The infinitive form.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 32-36. Paradigm: {vois} 'I go' / {vas} 'you go' / {va} ~ {vait} ~ {vet} 'he goes' / {alomes} ~ {alons} 'we go' / {alez} 'you go' / {vont} 'they go' / {aloie} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {je sui alé} 'I went' (perf.) / {irai} 'I will go' / {iroie} 'I would go' (cond.) / {aler} 'to go'.The second stem.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 276-279; Rayevskaya 2013: 426. This verb is suppletive as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {je vais} 'I go' / {tu vas} 'you go' / {il va} 'he goes' / {nous allons} 'we go' / {vous allez} 'you go' / {ils vont} 'they go' / {j'allais} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {je suis allé} 'I went' (perf.) / {j'irai} 'I will go' / {j'irais} 'I would go' (cond.) / {aller} 'to go' [Robert-Collins 1989: 846].The second stem.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. This verb is suppletive as in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {éj vos} 'I go' / {té vos} 'you go' / {i vo} 'he goes' / {os alons} 'we go' / {os alez} 'you go' / {is vont} 'they go' / {j'alloais} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {j'ai té} (less frequent {j'ai alé}) 'I went' (perf.) / {j'irai} 'I will go' / {j'iroais} 'I would go' (cond.) / {aler} 'to go' [Leplubo 2016].The second stem.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. This verb is suppletive, like in other Romance languages, see the paradigm: {dju va} 'I go' / {tu vas} 'you go' / {i va} 'he goes' / {dj'alans} 'we go' / {v's-alez} 'you go' / {i vont} ~ {il alèt} 'they go' / {dj'alo} 'I was going' (imperf.) / {dj'ê sté} 'I went' (perf.) / {dj'îrê} 'I will go' / {dj'îro} 'I would go' (cond.) / {aler} 'to go'.The second stem.

92. WALK (GO)

Sursilvan Romansh *i-r {ir}* (1), Central Catalan *i-ɾ-'e {ireʹ}* (1), Old French *i-r-ey {irai}* (1), Standard French *i-ʁ-e {irai}* (1), Picard *i-ʁ-e {irai}* (1), Walloon *i-R-ɛ: {îrê}* (1).

Sursilvan Romansh: The infinitive stem.
Central Catalan: Future tense and conditional mood stem.
Old French: Future tense and conditional mood stem.
Standard French: Future tense and conditional mood stem.
Picard: Future tense and conditional mood stem.
Walloon: Future tense and conditional mood stem.

93. WARM (HOT)

Archaic Latin *kˈal-ɪd-ʋs {calidus}* (1), Late Classical Latin *kˈal-ɪd-ʋs {calidus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *kalt {cald}* (1), Istro Romanian *kʋd {cåd}* (1), Aromanian *kˈald-u {cáldu}* (1), Romanian *kald {cald}* (1), Dalmatian *kwolt {ku͡olt}* (1), Friulian *ʈalt {cjalt}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ɕawt {ciaut}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ɕawt {ciaut}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɕawt {chaud}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *kawlt {cauld}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʈot {tgod}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ɕot {chod}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *tˈəb-i {tëbbi}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *tˈəb-i {tëbbi}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *kawd {caud}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *kawd {caud}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *kawt* (1), Bergamo Lombard *költ {cölt}* (1), Plesio Lombard *koːlt {cold}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *keǝld {chêld}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kald {cald}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *kald-ˈɛyn {caldèin}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *kɛːld {chêld}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *kˈaːd-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *tˈyepid-u {tiépidŏ}* (2), Stella Ligurian *čˈepː-u {céppu}* (2), Venice Venetian *tˈyɛpid-o {tiepido}* (2), Primiero Venetian *kalt {calt}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *kalt {calt}* (1), Old Italian *kˈald-o {caldo}* (1), Standard Italian *kˈald-o {caldo}* (1), Grosseto Italian *kˈald-o {caldo}* (1), Foligno Italian *kˈal:-u {callu}* (1), Neapolitan *kˈaβǝr-ǝ {càvero} ~ kˈawr-ǝ {cauro}* (1), Logudorese *kaʒˈent-e {cadzente}* (-1), Campidanese *kal-ˈor-u {caloru}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *kˈavuɾ-u {cavuru}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *kˈaudː-u {cauddu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *tˈɛpid-u {tepidu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *kˈauɾ-u {cauru}* (1), Central Catalan *kəł-ˈen {calent}* (1), North-Western Catalan *kał-ˈen {calent}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *kə-ˈɫ-en {calent}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kał-ˈent {calent}* (1), Valencia Catalan *kał-ˈent {calent}* (1), Manises Catalan *kał-ˈent {calent}* (1), Castilian Spanish *kal-ˈyent-e {caliente}* (1), Asturian *kal-ˈyent-e {caliente}* (1), Standard Portuguese *kˈẽnt-ǝ {quente}* (1), Galician *kˈalið-o {cálido}* (-1), Provençal Occitan *kawt {caud}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *θo {shô}* (1), Old French *čawt {chaut}* (1), Standard French *šo {chaud}* (1), Picard *kö {keud}* (1), Walloon *čõ: {tchônd}* (1).

Archaic Latin: Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. The examples are: {atque ubi illi bene sit ligno, aqua calida? cibo, vestimentis?} "where she'll be well off, in wood, warm water, food, and clothing" [Cas. 254]; {Vna edepol opera in furnum calidum condito atque ibi torreto me pro pane rubido} "By my faith, all in an instant shut me up in a hot furnace, and parch me there for a hard-baked biscuit, good mistress, before you shall gain that point of me which you desire" [Cas. 309-310]; {ubi quid subripuere: operto capitulo calidum bibunt} "with their covered pates they are drinking mulled wine" [Curc. 293]; {At edepol tu calidam picem bibito, aegritudo abscesserit} "Then, i' faith, do you drink hot pitch; then your troubles will vanish" [Merc. 140]; {neque equidem heminas octo expromsi in urceum neque illic calidum exbibit in prandium} "I really didn't just draw for him eight half pints into a pitcher, and, when drawn, he didn't just drink it hot, at his breakfast" [Mil. 831-832]; {natast in calido loco, ubi rerum omnium bonarum copiast saepissume} "she has been born in a warm spot, where full oft there is an abundance of all good things" [Persa 632-633]; {Calidum prandisti prandium hodie?} "Have you been breakfasting on a hot breakfast today?" [Poen. 759]; {mi vir, lanam, unde tibi pallium malacum et calidum conficiatur tunicaeque hibernae bonae, ne algeas hac hieme'} "Buy me some wool, my dear, with which a soft and warm cloak may be made, and good winter under-clothes, that you mayn't catch cold this winter-weather" [Mil. 687-689]. In the figurative sense: {huic homini opust quadraginta minis celeriter calidis, danistae quas resolvat, et cito} "This man has need of forty minæ, ready money, and in all haste, for him to pay a Banker, and speedily too" [Epid. 141-142]; {Reperiamus aliquid calidi conducibilis consili} "Let us find some clever, useful expedient" [Epid. 256]; {calidum hoc est: etsi procul abest, urit male} "This is of a hot nature; although it is at a distance off, it scorches badly" [Most. 609]; {calidum hercle esse audivi optimum mendacium} "I' faith, I've heard say that a lie piping-hot is the best lie" [Most. 665].

> The term *t'ɛp-ɪ̄d-ʊs* {tepidus} 'warm / lukewarm' is absent in both Plautus' and Cato's texts, but occurs once in Ennius': {sanguine tepido} [OLD 1968: 1923].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {adripit poculum ac desuper aqua calida iniecta porrigit bibam} "she showered me with petals, before pouring warm water into a cup of wine and handing it me to drink" [Met. 2: 16]; {"Lucerna" aio "praegrandis et oleum ad lucem luci sufficiens et calida cum oenophoris et calice cenarumque reliquis discus ornatus."} A large lamp," I said, "enough oil to keep it burning till dawn, hot water, wine and a cup, and a plate of what's left from supper"" [Met. 2: 24].

> The only example of usage of *t'ɛp-ɪ̄d-ʊs* {tepidus} is: {Illi etiam ignes, qui terrae secretariis continentur, praetereuntes aquas vaporant et produnt longinquitatem flammae cum tepidiores aquas reddunt, viciniam cum ferventiores opposito incendio aquae uruntur, ut Phlegethontis amnis, quem poetae [s]ciunt in fabulis inferorum} [Florida 17].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 55. Apparently with polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 194; Byhan 1899: 250. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 240; Cunia 2010: 228-229; Dalametra 1906: 47; Bara et al. 2005: 324; Gołąb 1984: 223. Apparently with polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 1027; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1487; Gancz 2015. Distinct from *fyerb-'int-e* {fierbinte} 'hot' [DER 2004: 468-469; Bolocan et al. 1985: 262]. Applicable both to objects (water, food etc.) and to air/wind. Moldavian: *kald* {cald} 'warm' [Podiko 1973: 938; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 499].

Dalmatian: The examples are: {kost véṅ fero ku͡ọlt} "this wine is warm"; {la jaku̯a ku͡ọlda} "warm water" [Bartoli 2002: 242].

Friulian: Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 659, 105. Distinct from *klip* {clip} 'lukewarm' of uknown origin [Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 67].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 104, 194. Distinct from *t'yeb-e* {tiebe} 'lukewarm' [Forni 2105; Gartner 1923: 94].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 52. Distinct from *t'eb-ek* {tȩbech} 'lukewarm' and *ɕawd-'in* {ciaudiṇ} 'lukewarm' [DILF 2001: 329].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. Distinct from *t'ɛvʒəw* {tevgiau} 'lukewarm' [Decurtins 2015].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Valdader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 155.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015. Distinct from *kawt* {càud} 'hot' [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015. Used in the following cases: for nice weather; for the temperature of tea or soup that does not scald one's tongue and mouth; for the temperature of radiator that does not scald one's hand; for the temperature of a healthy body. For the temperature of a feverish human body, the term *kawd* {caud} 'hot' is used instead [Fianco 2016]

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. Distinct from *t'əb-i* {tëbbi} 'lukewarm'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Polysemy: 'warm' / 'hot'. Distinct from *t'əb-i* {tëbbi} 'lukewarm'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *buy-'ent* 'hot'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 91. Distinct from *te:vd* {tēvd} 'lukewarm' [Ercolani 1960: 462].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *kɛ:ld* {cheld} 'hot' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *bul-'ent-e* 'hot' [Fasce 2015].

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *kʼad-u* {cadǒ} 'hot'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *kʼa:d-u* {cādu} 'hot' and *buy-'eŋt-e* {buiénte} 'hot'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015. Distinct from *kʼald-o* {càldo} 'hot' [Tosi 2015; Poletto 2015]. Padua, Este, Treviso, Schio, Arzignano, Marostica, Verona: *kʼald-o* {caldo} 'warm' [Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Old Italian: Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. A good example where {caldo} means 'warm' is {Or, come ai colpi de li caldi rai // de la neve riman nudo il suggetto // e dal colore e dal freddo primai} "Now, as beneath the touches of warm rays // naked the subject of the snow remains // both of its former colour and its cold" [Par. 2]. The term *tʼyɛpid-o* {tiepido} is not attested, but the word *tyɛpid-'ec-a* {tepidezza} 'lukewarmness' does occur: {ebb' io battesmo; // ma per paura chiuso cristian fuʼmi, // lungamente mostrando paganesmo; // e questa tepidezza il quarto cerchio // cerchiar mi fé più che 'l quarto centesmo} "I was baptized, // but out of fear was covertly a Christian, // for a long time professing paganism; and this lukewarmness caused me the fourth circle // to circuit round more than four centuries" [Purg. 22].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2490. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. Distinct from *tʼyɛpid-o* {tiepido} 'lukewarm, tepid' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 1211].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *tʼɛpid-u* {tepidu} 'lukewarm' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Alois 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015]. Salerno: *kʼaβur-ə* {cavuro} 'warm / hot' [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Polysemy: 'warm' / 'hot'. Borrowed from Catalan {calent} 'warm, hot'.

Campidanese: Pintus 2015. Distinct from *bud:'i-u* {buddiu} 'hot' [Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 92] and *kal:-ent-i* {callenti} 'very hot' of Catalan origin [Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 97]. Domus de Maria: *kal:-ent-i* {callenti} 'warm / hot' [Fadda 2015]. Borrowed from Catalan {calent} 'warm, hot'.

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. Buscemi: *kʼauɾ-u* {cauru} 'warm / hot' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. Giarre: *kʼaur-u* {cauru} ~ *kʼaud-u* {caudu} 'warm / hot' [Sorbello 2015]. Spadafora: *tʼyɛpid-u* {tiepidu} ~ *tʼɛpid-u* {tepidu} 'warm', *kʼaud:-u* {cauddu} 'warm' [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Distinct from *kʼauɾ-u* {cauru} ~ *kʼaud-u* {caudu} 'hot' [Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 45. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. In cases when it is necessary to specify the object's temperature more precisely, the term *tʼɛβi* {tebi} 'warm' can be used as well [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'. In cases when it is necessary to specify the object's temperature more precisely, the term *tʼɛβi* {tebi} 'warm' can be used as well [Montagut 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Distinct from *tʼɛβi* {tebi} 'lukewarm' [Cardona 2015].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Distinct from *tʼɛβi* {tebi} 'lukewarm' [Barreda 2015].

Valencia Catalan: Although Pérez i Sanchis mentioned the form *tempɫ-'at* {templat} [Pérez i Sanchis 2015], it seems to be a mistake and a more commonly used form in the Valencia is *kaɫ-'ent* {calent} [Pedrós 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *arð-'ɣent-e* {ardiente} 'hot, burning' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *kal-'ɣent-e* {caliente} 'warm / hot' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 631. Distinct from *mˈɔɾn-u* {morno} 'lukewarm' [Cândido de Figueiredo II: 423] and *tˈɛpið-u* {tépido} 'lukewarm' [Cândido de Figueiredo II: 1147].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 774; Fernández Armesto 1981: 150. Borrowed from Latin {calidus} 'warm / hot'. Distinct from *kˈɛnt-e* {quente} 'hot' [Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 774; Fernández Armesto 1981: 150].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 230. Polysemy: 'worm / hot'.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 476.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 187.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 795-796, 317; Rayevskaya 2013: 609-610, 385. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Polysemy: 'warm/ hot'. Used in the following cases: for nice weather; for the temperature of tea or soup that does not scald one's tongue and mouth; for the temperature of radiator that does not scald one's hand; for the temperature of a feverish body. For the temperature of a healthy human body, the term *tyed* {tiéde} 'lukewarm / warm' is used [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *čoː* {tchôd} 'warm'. Distinct from *bulā* {boulant} 'hot' (Rifondou: *bɔlā* {bolant} 'hot').

94. WATER

Archaic Latin *ˈakʷ-a {aqua}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ˈakʷ-a {aqua}* (1), Megleno Romanian *ˈap-u {ápu}* (1), Istro Romanian *ˈvp-ä {åpẹ}* (1), Aromanian *ˈap-ə {ápă}* (1), Romanian *ˈap-ə {apă}* (1), Dalmatian *yˈakw-a {jakụa}* (1), Friulian *ˈag-e {aghe}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ˈɛg-a {ega}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ˈɛg-a {èga}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ˈaw-ə {aua}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ˈaw-ə {aua}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ˈav-ə {ava}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ˈaw-ə {aua}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *ˈev-a {eva}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *ˈɛv-a {èva}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *ˈev-a {eva}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *ˈev-a {eva}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *ˈakw-a* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Plesio Lombard *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *ˈakv-a {acva}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ˈakw-a {aqua}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *ˈakw-a {àqua}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ˈaːkv-a {âcva} ~ ˈaːkw-a {âqua}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *ˈäːgw-a* (1), Genoese Ligurian *ˈeːgw-a {êgua}* (1), Stella Ligurian *ˈäːgw-a {ǽgua}* (1), Venice Venetian *ˈakw-a {àqua}* (1), Primiero Venetian *ˈakw-a {àcua}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *ˈakw-a {aqua}* (1), Old Italian *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Standard Italian *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Grosseto Italian *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Foligno Italian *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Neapolitan *ˈakːw-ə {acqua}* (1), Logudorese *ˈabː-a {abba}* (1), Campidanese *ˈabː-a {abba}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *ˈakːw-a {acqua}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ˈakːw-a {accua}* (1), Central Catalan *ˈayɣw-ə {aigua}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ˈayɣw-ɛ {aigua}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ˈayɣ-u {aigua}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ˈayɣw-a {aigua}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ˈaiw-a {aigua}* (1), Manises Catalan *ˈaiw-a {aigua}* (1), Castilian Spanish *ˈaɣw-a {agua}* (1), Asturian *ˈagw-a {agua}* (1), Standard Portuguese *ˈaɣw-ɐ {água}* (1), Galician *ˈawɣ-a {auga}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ˈayg-o {aigo}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ˈeg-a {éga}* (1), Old French *ˈeyg-ə {aigue}* (1), Standard French *o {eau}* (1), Picard *yö {ieu}* (1), Walloon *eːw {êwe}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {aquam frigidam subdole suffundunt} "underhandedly they pour cold water upon us" [Cist. 35]; {atque ubi illi bene sit ligno, aqua calida? cibo, vestimentis?} "where she'll be well off, in wood, warm water, food, and clothing" [Cas. 254]; {Aulas peruortunt, ignem restingunt aqua: illarum oratu faciunt} "They are upsetting the pots, and putting out the fire with the water" [Cas. 775].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Nam forte pluviae pridianae recens conceptaculum aquae lutulentae proximum conspicatus ibi memet inprovido saltu totum abicio} "I saw a puddle of water nearby, fresh from yesterday's rain, and without further thought I got down and rolled right in it" [Met. 7: 20]; {adripit poculum ac desuper aqua calida iniecta porrigit bibam} "she showered me with petals, before pouring warm water into a cup of wine and handing it me to drink" [Met. 2: 16].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 25.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 187; Byhan 1899: 297.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 116; Cunia 2010: 85-86; Dalametra 1906: 19; Bara et al. 2005: 316; Gołąb 1984: 200. Papahagi also mentions the term *arˈukut-ə* {arúcută} 'water' [Papahagi 1963: 152; Cunia 2010: 130], but it belongs to the secret language [Capidan 1932: 105].

Romanian: DER 2004: 1029; Bolocan et al. 1985: 145-146; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *ˈap-ə* {apă} 'water' [Podiko 1973: 79; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 44-45].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 234. Some examples are: {iṅ kost véṅ fero joĭna kal, mis, di jaku̯a e joĭna kal de véṅ} "the wine there is half water and half wine"; {la jaku̯a ku͡olda} "warm water" [Bartoli 2002: 242].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 650, 3-4.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 28, 194.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 9.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 77.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 4.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 3-4.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Polysemy: 'water / rain'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {ché tutti questi n'hanno maggior sete // che d'acqua fredda Indo o Etïopo} "for all of these have greater thirst for it // than for cold water Ethiop or Indian" [Purg. 26]; {e poco eravam iti, // che 'l suon de l'acqua n'era sì vicino} "and little had we gone, // before the sound of water was so near us" [Inf. 16].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2493.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 48-49. Polysemy: 'water / rain'. Domus de Maria: *ˈakːw-a* {acqua} 'water / rain' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *ˈakːw-a* {acqua} 'water' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015. Salerno mentions the form *ˈjakːw-a* {jacqua} 'water' [Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 9. A more colloquial pronunciation is *ˈaɣɣ-ə* [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. A more colloquial pronunciation is *ˈaɣɣ-ɛ*.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ˈagw-a* {agua} 'water' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 70.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 760, 133; Fernández Armesto 1981: 40; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 916, 131.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 445.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 785-786.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 27-28.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 798-799; Rayevskaya 2013: 361.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ɛːw* {aiwe} 'water'.

95. WE

Archaic Latin *noː-s {nos}* (1), Late Classical Latin *noː-s {nos}* (1), Megleno Romanian *noɣ {noi}* (1), Istro Romanian *noɣ {noi̯}* (1), Aromanian *noɣ {noĭ}* (1), Romanian *noɣ {noi}* (1), Dalmatian *noɣ {noi̯} ~ noɣˈiltri {noi̯iltri}* (1), Friulian *noː {nô}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *nəws {nëus}* (1), Fassano Ladin *nos {nos}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *nus {nus}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *nus {nus}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *nows {nous}* (1), Vallader Romansh *nus {nus}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *nuɣ {noi}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *nuɣ {noi} ~ nuɣ-ˈawtr-i {noiautri}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *nuɣ {noi}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *nuɣ {noi}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *nüɣ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *nˈo-ter {nóter}* (1), Plesio Lombard *nüŋ {nün}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *now {nô}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *{nù} ~ {nù-altar}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *nu-ˈɛter {nuèter}* (1) / *se {se}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *nu-ˈɛːter {nuêter}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *nuˈi* (1), Genoese Ligurian *nuiːˈatr-i {nuîatri}* (1), Stella Ligurian *nɣi-ˈatr-i {nuiàtri}* (1), Venice Venetian *ni-ˈaltr-i {nialtri}* (1), Primiero Venetian *noɣ {noi}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *noɣ {noi}* (1), Old Italian *nˈoi {noi}* (1) / *či {ci}* (2), Standard Italian *nˈoi {noi}* (1) / *či {ci}* (2), Grosseto Italian *nˈoi {noi}* (1) / *či {ci}* (2), Foligno Italian *nˈo-e {noe} ~*

noy-ˈantr-i {nojantri} (1), Neapolitan *nˈuy-ə {nuje}* (1), Logudorese *nˈois {nòis}* (1), Campidanese *noz-ˈatru-zu {nosatrusu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *nu-ˈavuʈɽ-i {nuavutri} ~ nu-ˈawʈɽ-i {nuautri}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *nui {nui} ~ nu-ˈawʈɽ-i {nuautri}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *nui {nui} ~ nu-ˈaʈɽ-i {nuatri} ~ ni-ˈawʈɽ-i {niautri}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ni-ˈawʈɽ-i {niautri}* (1), Central Catalan *nuz-ˈaⱡtɽ-əs {nosaltres}* (1), North-Western Catalan *noz-ˈaⱡtɽ-es {nosaltres} ~ nˈaⱡtɽ-es {naltres} ~ nˈantɽ-os {nantros}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *nˈo-ⱡtɽ-us {noltros}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *moz-ˈatɽ-os {nosaltres}* (1), Valencia Catalan *mos-ˈatɽ-os {mosatros}* (1), Manises Catalan *mos-ˈatɽ-os {nosaltres}* (1), Castilian Spanish *nos-ˈotɽ-os {nosotros}* (1), Asturian *nos {nos}* (1), Standard Portuguese *nɔš {nós}* (1), Galician *nɔs {nós}* (1), Provençal Occitan *nus {nous}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *no {no} ~ noz {noz}* (1), Old French *nos {nos}* (1), Standard French *nu {nous}* (1), Picard *o {os}* (1), Walloon *ʒü {dju}* (3) / *nuz-ot {nouzôtes}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Paradigm: *noːs* {nos} [nom.] / *nɔs-tr-ū* {nostrum} [gen.] / *noː-biːs* {nobis} {dat.} / *noːs* {nos} [acc.] / *noː-biːs* {nobis} [abl.]. Some examples are: {Quia nos honoris tui causa ad te venimus} "Because for the sake of your own well-doing we came hither" [Poen. 638]; {Dum haec aguntur, interea uxorem tuam neque gementem neque plorantem nostrum quisquam audivimus; ita profecto sine dolore peperit} "While these things were passing, meanwhile, not one of us heard your wife groaning or complaining; and thus, in fact, without pain was she delivered" [Amph. 1098-1100]; {Mi Libane, ocellus aureus, donum decusque amoris, amabo, faciam quod voles, da istuc argentum nobis} "Apple of my eye, my rose, my life, my delight, Leonida, do give me the money, and don't sever us lovers asunder" [Asin. 691-692]; {vix hodie ad litus pertulit nos ventus exanimatas} "the wind this day has scarce borne us to the shore" [Rud. 371]; {Quid a nobis metuit?} "What does he fear from us?" [Capt. 206].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {nos cucurbitae caput non habemus ut pro te moriamur} "Even if you've a crime on your conscience and want to die, I'm not pumpkinheaded enough to let you" [Met. 1: 15]; {deducti nos duos asinos et equum meum productos e stabulo} "they led the horse and us two asses out of the stable-door" [Met. 3: 28].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 156. Paradigm: *noy* {noĭ} [nom.] / *la=noy* {la noĭ} ~ na {na} (clitic) [dat.] / *noy* {noĭ} ~ *na* {na} (clitic) [acc.] [Capidan 1925: 151].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 238; Byhan 1899: 288; Narumov 2001: 667. Paradigm: *noy* {noĭ} [nom.] / *a=no* {a no} *na* {na} (clitic) ~ *n* {n} (clitic) ~ *ni* {ni} (clitic) [dat.] / *noy* {noĭ} ~ *na* {na} (clitic) ~ *n* {n} (clitic) [acc.].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 778; Cunia 2010: 751-752; Dalametra 1906: 150; Bara et al. 2005: 100. Capidan 1932: 408-409, 411. Paradigm: *noy* {noĭ} [nom.] / *anɡawa* {anoaŭa} ~ *anawə* {anaŭă} ~ *anao* {anao} ~ *nə* {nă} (clitic)~ *ni* {nî} (clitic) [dat.] / *noy* {noĭ} ~ *nə* {nă} (clitic) ~ *ne* {ne} (clitic) [acc.].

Romanian: DER 2004: 1031; Bolocan et al. 1985: 663; Gancz 2015. Paradigm: *noy* {noi} [nom.] / *nˈowə* {nouă} ~ *ne* {ne} (clitic) ~ *ni* {ni} (clitic) [dat.] / *noy* {noi} ~ *ne* {ne} (clitic) [acc.] [Lukht & Narumov 2001: 618]. Moldavian: *noy* {noi} 'we' [Podiko 1973: 402-403; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 204].

Dalmatian: Repina & Narumov 2001: 692. Numerous attestations. According to [Repina & Narumov 2001], the paradigm of this pronoun is as follows: *noy* {noi} ~ *noyiltri* {noiíltri} [nom.] / *ne* {ne} [dat.] / *ne* {ne} [acc.].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 686, 271; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 115, 120; Narumov & Sukhachev 2001: 381-382. Less frequent is the form *no-ˈaltr-is* {noaltris} 'we' [Decorte 2015]. Paradigm: *noː* {nô} ~ *noˈaltris* {noaltris} ~ *o* {o} (clitic) [nom.] / *a=noˈaltris* {a noaltris} [dat.] / *noː* {nô} ~ *noˈaltris* {noaltris} ~ *nus* {nus} (clitic) [acc.].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 60; Narumov: 405. Paradigm: *nəws* {nëus} [nom.] / *nəws* {nëus} ~ *nes* {nes} (clitic) [obl.].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 196; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 114, 119. Paradigm: *nos* {nos} [nom.] / *nos* {nos} ~ *ne* {ne} (clitic) [obl.].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 351-352; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 111, 115. Paradigm: *nus* {nus} [nom.] / *ə=n'us* {nus} [dat] / *nus* {nus} [acc.].

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 112, 117. According to [Haiman & Benincà 1992], the paradigm of this pronoun in Surmiran is as follows: *nows* {nous} ~ *a* {a} (clitic) [nom.] / *nows* {nous} ~ *ans* {ans} (clitic) [obl.].

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 494; Sukhachev & Gorenko 2001: 351-352; Haiman & Benincà 1992: 113, 118. Paradigm: *nus* {nus} [nom.] / *nus* {nus} ~ *no* {no} ~ *əns* {ans} (clitic) ~ *ns* {ns} (clitic) [obl.].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 214.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 214.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Paradigm: *nüy* ~ *i* (clitic) [nom.] / *ni* [dat.] / *aŋ* [acc.].

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Paradigm: *nüŋ* {nün} [nom.] / *me* {me} ~ *nüŋ* {nün} [obl.].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 278. Marchigiano: *nɔ* {nò} 'we' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.Oblique stem.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. The oblique form is *ne*.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. The oblique form is *ne* {ne} ~ *n* {n'} (before a vowel).

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. The oblique form is *ne* {ne} ~ *n* {n'} (before a vowel).

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015. Padua, Schio, Arzignano: *noy-'altr-i* {noialtri} 'we' [Tre 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015]. Este: *nu* {nu} 'we' [Melon 2015]. Marostica: *n-'altr-i* {n'altri} ~ *noy-'altr-i* {noialtri} 'we' [Pezzin 2015]. Treviso, Verona: *no-'altr-i* {noàltri} 'we' [Busato 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Salgareda: *no-'aŋtr-i* {noantri} 'we' [Poletto 2015]. The oblique clitic form is *ne* {ne} [Chelysheva 2001: 122].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. The form *no-'altr-i* {noaltri} 'we' is used as well, but is less frequent [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Noi eravam partiti già da esso, // e brigavam di soverchiar la strada} "From him already we departed were, // and made endeavour to o'ercome the road" [Purg. 20]; {Che farem noi a chi mal ne disira, // se quei che ci ama è per noi condannato?} "What shall we do to those who wish us ill, // if he who loves us be by us condemned?" [Purg. 15].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2496; Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 81. Paradigm: *n'oi* {noi} [nom.] / *n'oi* {noi} ~ *či* {ci} (clitic) [obl.].Chelysheva & Cherdantseva 2001: 81. The oblique stem.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Paradigm: *n'oi* {noi} [nom.] / *n'oi* {noi} ~ *či* {ci} (clitic) [obl.].Marcelli 2015. The oblique stem.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Indeclinable pronoun.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Not declinable [Mancusi 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015; Narumov 2001: 177. Paradigm: *n'ois* {nòis} [nom.] / *nos* {nos} [obl.].

Campidanese: Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 288; Narumov 2001: 177. Paradigm: *noz-'atru-zu* {nosatrusu} [nom.] / *si* {si} (clitic) ~ *s* {s'} (clitic) [obl.]. Domus de Maria: *n'ɔz-u* {nosu} 'we' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *nu-'aʈʈ-i* {nuatri} 'we' [La Bua 2015]. Paradigm: *nu-'avuʈʈ-i* {nuavutri} ~ *nu-'awʈʈ-i* {nuautri} [nom.] / *n:i* {nni} [obl.] [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *n'y-awçʈ-i* {niàutri} 'we' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. . Paradigm: *nuy* {nui} ~ *nu-'awʈʈ-i* {nuautri} [nom.] / *nuy* {nui} ~ *nu-'awʈʈ-i* {nuautri} (after a prepostion) ~ *ni* {ni} [obl.] [Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Paradigm: *nuy* {nui} ~ *nu-'aʈʈ-i* {nuatri} ~ *ni-'awʈʈ-i* {niautri} [nom.] / *ni* {ni} [obl.] [Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Paradigm: *ni-'awʈʈ-i* {niautri} (Agrigento: *nuy* {nui}) [nom.] / *ni* {ni} [obl.] [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 202. A more colloquial pronunciation is *nuz-'atɾ-əs*. Narumov 2001: 508. Paradigm: *nuz-'aɬtɾ-əs* {nosaltres} [nom.] / *nus* {nos} (enclitic) ~ *əns* {ens} (proclitic) ~ *ns* {'ns} (elided) [obl.].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Paradigm: *n'o-ɬtɾ-us* {noltros} [nom.] / *mus* {mos} (clitic) ~ *ns* {'ns} (elided) [obl.].

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Paradigm: *noz-ˈaⱡtɾ-es* {nosaltres} ~ *nˈatɾ-os* {natros} ~ *noz-ˈatɾ-os* {nosatros} [nom.] / *mos* {mos} [obl.].

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Paradigm: *mos-ˈatɾ-os* {mosatros} [nom.] / *mos* {mos} [obl.].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Paradigm: *noz-ˈaⱡtɾ-es* {nosaltres} [nom.] / *mos* {mos} [obl.].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015; Narumov 2001: 444. Paradigm: *nos-ˈotɾ-os* {nosotros} [nom.] / *nos* {nos} [obl.].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016; Narumov 2001: 545. Indeclinable form. Langreo: *nos* {nós} ~ *nos-ˈotɾ-os* {nosotros} 'we' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 294; Volf 2001: 479. Paradigm: *nɔš* {nós} [nom.] / *nuš* {nos} ~ *nu* {no-} [obj.].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Narumov 2001: 530; Franco Grande 1968: 824, 574; Fernández Armesto 1981: 536; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 993, 558. Undeclinable; in the indirect case is used without stress.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 946.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1482-1483. The second form is used before a vowel.

Old French: Chelysheva 2001: 268. Indeclinable pronoun. Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {Nos savomes bien tuit piece a // quel costume li blans cers a} "We all know long since what this custom of the White Stag is" (Erec 43-44); {De mout grant folie vos vient // quant vos rien nos an demandez} "You must be mad to make any demand of us" (Erec 4392-4393).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 801; Rayevskaya 2013: 477; Referovskaya et al. 2001: 230. Indeclinable form.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Paradigm: *o* {os} [nom.] / *no* {no} [obl.].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Paradigm: *ǯü* {dju} [nom.] / *nuz-ot* {nouzôtes} ~ *nu* {nous} (clitic) [obl.]. In the nominative the inherited form was replaced by the pronoun *ǯü* {dju} 'I', but this does not lead to misunderstanding due to the difference in verb forms: {dju tchante} "I sing", but {dju tchantans} "we sing"; {dju va vey} "I will see", but {dju vons vey} ~ {dj'alans vey} "we will see". Some examples of oblique forms: {nouzôtes, dju nous plaijhans bin vaici} "we are happy here"; {vin avu nouzôtes} "come with us"; {dju n' nous vons nin bate po ça!} "We won't fight for that!" [Mahin 2016]. Rifondou: *nɔ* {nos} ~ *ǯi* {dji} [nom.] / *nuz-ot* {nouzôtes} ~ *nɔ* {nos} ~ *nz* {ns} (before vowel) 'we'. In Rifondou, in contrast to Transinne, {nos} can be used after prepositions as well: {c' est por nos} ~ {c' est po nozôtes} "it is for us" (Transinne: only {c' est pou nouzôtes} "it is for us") [Mahin 2016].Oblique form.

96. WHAT

Archaic Latin *kʷɪ-d* {quid} (1), Late Classical Latin *kʷɪ-d* {quid} (1), Megleno Romanian *ce* {tse} (1), Istro Romanian *če* {če} (1), Aromanian *ce* {ţe} (1), Romanian *če* {ce} (1), Dalmatian *kos* {kos} ~ *ko* {ko} (1), Friulian *če* {ce} (1), Gardenese Ladin *čə* {cie} (1), Fassano Ladin *ke-pa* {che...pa} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɕe* {tge} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ɕey* {tgei} (1), Surmiran Romansh *ţe* {tge} (1), Vallader Romansh *ɕe* {che} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kˈɔza* {còsa} (2), Barbania Piemontese *kˈɔza* {còsa} (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *kˈɔza* {còsa} (2), Turinese Piemontese *kˈɔza* {cosa} ~ *kɔ* {cò} (2), Vercellese Piemontese *kwɛ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *kozˈɛ* {cozè} (2), Plesio Lombard *kˈuza* {cusa} (2), Ravennate Romagnol *ke* {che} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *kˈuza* {cusa} ~ *za* {ˈsa} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *kˈuza* {cuśa} ~ *sa* {sa} (2), Reggiano Emiliano *ksaː* {csâ} (2), Rapallo Ligurian *kosːˈe* (2), Genoese Ligurian *kˈose* {cose} (2), Stella Ligurian *kˈoːsːe* {côsse} (2), Venice Venetian *kˈɔsa* {còssa} (2), Primiero Venetian *ke* {che} (1), Bellunese Venetian *ke* {che} (1), Old Italian *ke* {che} (1), Standard Italian *ke* {che} (1), Grosseto Italian *ke* {che} (1), Foligno Italian *ke* {che} (1), Neapolitan *kə* {ca} ~ {che} (1), Logudorese *ˈitː-e* {itte} (3), Campidanese *ˈitːa* {itta} ~ *ˈita* {ita} (3), Palermitan Sicilian *ki* {chi} (1), Messinese Sicilian *ki* {chi} (1), Catanian Sicilian *ki* {chi} (1), South-

Eastern Sicilian *ki {chi}* (1), Central Catalan *kɛ {què}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ke {què}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *kɛ {què}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ke {què}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ke {què}* (1), Manises Catalan *ke {què}* (1), Castilian Spanish *ke {qué}* (1), Asturian *ke {qué}* (1), Standard Portuguese *u=kə {o que}* (1), Galician *ke {qué}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ke {que}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *kay {kai}* (1), Old French *kə {que}* (1), Standard French *kə {que}* (1), Picard *kwe {quoé}* (1), Walloon *kwɛ-skü {cwè çku}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {sed quid illuc est?} "But what means this?" [Amph. 270]; {Quid ego facerem?} "What have I done?" [Merc. 633].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {mi Socrates, quid istud?} "Well, Socrates, my friend, what's happened?" [Met. 1: 6]; {"Quid" inquam "me fiet, ubi iste iugulatus mane paruerit?} "When he's found in the morning,' I said to myself, 'his throat cut, what will happen to you?" [Met. 1: 14].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 307.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 203; Byhan 1899: 365.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1066-1067; Cunia 2010: 1038; Dalametra 1906: 203; Bara et al. 2005: 116; Gołąb 1984: 209; Capidan 1932: 426-427.

Romanian: DER 2004: 1035-1036; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1652; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *če {ce}* 'what' [Podiko 1973: 1034-1035; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 490].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {ma ni̯ena mája ko vo fói̯te či̯ko} "But mother, what are you doing here?" [Bartoli 2002: 230]; {kos te búle?} "what do you want?" [Bartoli 2002: 251].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 57.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 195.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 60-61. A discontinuous pronoun, cf. {che fèste pa?} "what are you doing?" [DILF 2001: 60].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 153.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 91. Marchigiano: *kə {cò}* 'what' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015. Verona: *sa {'ssa}* 'what' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Dunque: che è?} "What is it, then?" [Inf. 2]; {che è quel ch'i' odo?} "what is this which now I hear?" [Inf. 3]. The intensified form {che cosa} is also possible: {Che cosa è questa?} "What thing is this?" [Purg. 29].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2502-2503. Can be expanded with the element *kˈɔs-a* {cosa} 'thing', cf. {che vuoi?} / {che cosa vuoi?} "What do you want?" [Passerini Tosi 1989: 2502-2503].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Can be expanded with the element *kˈɔs-a* {cosa} 'thing'.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 246. Domus de Maria: *ˈitːa* {itta} 'what' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Messina mentions the term *kˈwɔs-a* {cuosa} 'what' [Messina 2015], but it seems to be an Italianism. Buscemi: *ki* {chi} ~ *ki-kˈɔz-a* {chi cosa} 'what' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the term *kˈɔs-a* {cosa} 'what' [La Mattina 2015], but it seems to be an Italianism.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 237.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ke* {qué} 'what' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 701. In the modern language the extended form *u=kə* {o que} is used, cf. the example: {Quem veio e o que trouxe?} "Who came and what did he bring?" [Pimentel Ferreira 2016].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 612; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1011, 735.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1141.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1769-1770.

Old French: Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {Puis dist as chevaliers : "Seignor, // que dites vos? Que vos an sanble?"} "Then he added to the knights: "My lords, what say you? What is your opinion?" (Erec 1736-1737); {Mes qu'ai ge dit?} "But what did I say?" (Erec 4606).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 806; Rayevskaya 2013: 642. The form *kwa* {quoi} is used after prepositions [Robert-Collins 1989: 806].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. With some verbs, the forms *kwɛ* {cwè} and *kü* {ku} can also be used: {cwè vuss?} "what would you like?", {ku dîross bin a ça!} "what could you answer to this?". Rifondou: *kwɛ-ski* {cwè ʒki} 'what', *kwɛ* {cwè} 'what', *ki* {ki} 'what'.

97. WHITE

Archaic Latin ˈaƚb-ʋs {albus} (1), Late Classical Latin ˈaƚb-ʋs {albus} (1), Megleno Romanian *alp* {alb} (1), Istro Romanian *ʋb* {åb} (1), Aromanian ˈalb-u {álbu} (1), Romanian *alb* {alb} (1), Dalmatian *ɣwalb* {juálb} (1) / *byaŋk* {bi̯aṅk} ~ *blaŋk* {blaṅk} (-1), Friulian *blaŋk* {blanc} (-1), Gardenese Ladin *blaŋk* {blanch} (-1), Fassano Ladin *byaŋk* {bi̯anch} (-1), Rumantsch Grischun *alf* {alv} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *alf* {alv} (1), Surmiran Romansh *alf* {alv} (1), Vallader Romansh *alp* {alb} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *byaŋk* {bianch} (-1), Barbania Piemontese *byaŋk* {bianch} (-1), Carmagnola Piemontese *byaŋk* {bianch} (-1), Turinese

Piemontese *byaŋk {bianc}* (-1), Vercellese Piemontese *bya:ŋk* (-1), Bergamo Lombard *byaŋk {bianch}* (-1), Plesio Lombard *bya:ŋk {bianch}* (-1), Ravennate Romagnol *byãnk {biânc}* (-1), Ferrarese Emiliano *byaŋk {bianc}* (-1), Carpigiano Emiliano *byaŋk {biànc}* (-1), Reggiano Emiliano *bya:ŋk {biânch}* (-1), Rapallo Ligurian *ž'a:ŋk-u* (-1), Genoese Ligurian *ž'aŋk-u {giàncǒ}* (-1), Stella Ligurian *ž'a:ŋk-u {giancu}* (-1), Venice Venetian *b'yaŋk-o {biànco}* (-1), Primiero Venetian *byaŋk {bianch}* (-1), Bellunese Venetian *byaŋk {bianc}* (-1), Old Italian *b'yaŋk-o {bianco}* (-1), Standard Italian *b'yaŋk-o {bianco}* (-1), Grosseto Italian *b'yaŋk-o {bianco}* (-1), Foligno Italian *v'yank-u {viancu}* (-1), Neapolitan *y'aŋk-ə {janco}* (-1), Logudorese *b'yaŋk-u {biancu}* (-1), Campidanese *by'aŋk-u {biancu}* (-1), Palermitan Sicilian *b'yaŋk-u {biancu}* (-1), Messinese Sicilian *'yaŋk-u {iancu}* (-1), Catanian Sicilian *'yaŋk-u {iancu}* (-1), South-Eastern Sicilian *br'aŋk-u {brancu} ~ 'yaŋk-u {jancu}* (-1), Central Catalan *błaŋ {blanc}* (-1), North-Western Catalan *błaŋ {blanc}* (-1), Minorcan Catalan *błaŋ {blanc}* (-1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *błaŋk {blanc}* (-1), Valencia Catalan *błaŋk {blanc}* (-1), Manises Catalan *błaŋk {blanc}* (-1), Castilian Spanish *bl'aŋk-o {blanco}* (-1), Asturian *bl'aŋk-o {blanco}* (-1), Standard Portuguese *br'ẽŋk-u {branco}* (-1), Galician *br'aŋk-o {branco}* (-1), Provençal Occitan *blaŋk {blanc}* (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *bʎã {blyan}* (-1), Old French *blãŋk {blanc}* (-1), Standard French *blã {blanc}* (-1), Picard *blã {blank}* (-1), Walloon *blã {blanc}* (-1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: There are two terms for 'white': *'alb-ʋs* {albus} and *k'and- d̥-ʋs* {candidus}. As in the case of {ater} and {niger}, the difference is traditionally supposed to be 'bright white' vs. 'dull white'. But the actual examples would rather indicate that {candidus} meant 'shining white, dazzling white' and was used for "extraordinarily" white things, while {albus} was the usual, basic designation of generic white colour. Plautus applies {candidus} to 'light', 'star', 'grey-haired head' and 'hand', cf. {nunc te, nox, quae me mansisti, mitto uti cedas die, ut mortalis inlucescat luce clara et candida} "Now Night, thou who hast tarried for me, I permit these to give place to Day, that thou mayst shine upon mortals with a bright and brilliant light" [Amph. 546-547]; {ita sum, ut videtis, splendens stella candida, signum quod semper tempore exoritur suo hic atque in caelo: nomen Arcturo est mihi} "I am, as you see, a bright and shining star, a Constellation that ever in its season rises here on earth and in the heavens. Arcturus is my name" [Rud. 3-5]; {sapere istac aetate oportet, qui sunt capite candido} "Those who have white heads ought at that age to be wiser" [Most. 1148]; {manu candida cantharum dulciferum propinat amicissima amico} "then for your most loving mistress, with her white hand, to be pledging you in the luscious goblet" [Pseud. 1262]. In the case of 'head' and 'hand' this could be a stylistic epithet, emphasizing their whiteness. The words {candidatus} and {candide}, derived from {candidus}, are used for designation of clothes: {At candidatus cedit hic mastigia, stimulorum loculi} "Why, this whip-rascal is marching along in his white garb, a very receptacle for stripes" [Cas. 447]; {Vilicus is autem cum corona candide vestitus lautus exornatusque ambulat} "And then this bailiff is strutting about with his chaplet, clothed in white and finely rigged out" [Cas. 766-767].

The term {albus} is used for the colour of horses, grey-haired beard, teeth, body, wine, and nets: {Ergo aequius vos erat candidatas venire hostiatasque. ad hoc fanum ad istunc modum non veniri solet} "Then it were more fitting that you should have come arrayed in white and provided with victims" [Rud. 269-270]; {Nam si huic sese occasioni tempus superduxerit, numquam edepol quadrigis albis indipiscet postea} "but if time should intervene upon this opportunity, never, upon my faith, will he hereafter obtain it again, oven with white horses" [Asin. 278-279]; {macilento ore, naso acuto,

corpore albo, oculis nigris, subrufus aliquantum, crispus, cincinnatus} "with a thin face, sharp nose, light hair, dark eyes, somewhat ruddy, with hair rather crisp and curling" [Capt. 647-648]; {itaque me albis dentibus meus derideret filius meritissumo} "and so, grinning with his white teeth, my son would have most deservedly laughed at me" [Epid. 429-430]; {Dic mihi hoc quod te rogo: album an atrum vinum potas?} "Tell me this that I ask of you; do you drink white wine or dark-coloured?} [Men. 914-915]; {si id fiat, ne isti faxim nusquam appareant, qui hic albo rete aliena oppugnant bona} "If that were done, assuredly I'd make those nowhere to be seen, who here with their whitened nets lay siege to the property of others" ({albo rete} "with white net" = 'surreptitiously') [Persa 73-74]. The derivates of {albus} are used to designate 'grey-haired head': {hoc est demum quod percrucior, me hoc aetatis ludificari, cano capite atque alba barba miserum me auro esse emunctum} "that I, at my time of life, should be made a fool of, aye, by Heaven, so made a very sport of, and with my hoary head and white beard, that wretched I should be bamboozled out of my gold" [Bac. 1099-1102]; {Si albicapillus hic, videtur neutiquam ab ingenio senex} "If he is seen by you to have white hair, he is by no means an old man in mind" [Mil. 631]; {et item alterum ad istanc capitis albitudinem} "and likewise for another person, with such white hairs on his head as yours" [Trin. 874].

Cato uses {candidus} only twice, both times to indicate extraordinary whiteness: {Lapidem bonum in fornacem quam candidissimum, quam minime varium indito} "Charge the kiln only with good stone, as white and uniform as possible" [De agri cultura 38]; {Salem candidum sic facito} "Recipe for bleaching salt" [De agri cultura 88]. The term {albus} is applied to such objects as a kind of myrtle, bryony, beans, unripe olives, and ulcers: {Sub urbe hortum omne genus, coronamenta omne genus, bulbos Megaricos, murtum coniugulum et album et nigrum} "Near a town it is well to have a garden planted with all manner of vegetables, and all manner of flowers for garlands — Megarian bulbs, conjugulan myrtle, white and black myrtle" [De agri cultura 8]; {vitis albae caules III, fabulos albos III} "3 stalks of bryony, 3 white beans" [De agri cultura 70]; {Eodem vini veteris vel Aminnii vel miscelli albi congios II infundito, misceto probe} "Add 2 congii of old wine, either Aminnian or ordinary white, and after mixing thoroughly pour into a pitched jar and seal" [De agri cultura 106]; {Oleae albae quo modo condiantur} "To season green olives" [De agri cultura 117]; {Oleam albam, quam secundum vindemiam uti voles, sic condito} "To season green olives which you wish to use after vintage" [De agri cultura 118]; {Epityrum album nigrum variumque sic facito. Ex oleis albis nigris variisque nucleos eicito} "Recipe for a confection of green, ripe, and mottled olives. Remove the stones from green, ripe, and mottled olives" [De agri cultura 119]; {murtum coniugulum et murtum album et nigrum} "conjuglan myrtle, as well as white and black myrtle" [De agri cultura 133]; {Cancer ater, is olet et saniem spurcam mittit; albus purulentus est, sed fistulosus et subtus suppurat sub carne} "The black ulcer has a foul odour and exudes putrid pus, the white is purulent but fistulous, and suppurates under the surface" [De agri cultura 167].

Etymologically, {candidus} goes back to {candere} 'to shine', while {albus} has a good IE etymology that seems to support our theory; for this reason, we include only {albus} in the list. See [Normanskaya 2005: 154-160] for a different interpretation.

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {quidam tunicas albas} "some in white tunics" [Met. 8: 27]; {calceis feminis albis illis et tenuibus inductus} "and wearing a pair of white and flimsy women's shoes" [Met. 9: 8]. The term *k'and- d-vs* {candidus} can be used in some contexts as well: {equum nemque illum suum candidum vectorem futurum duxisse secum} "he'd arrived on his own white thoroughbred and could easily outpace and frustrate their pursuit, then hide himself miles away" [Met. 9: 2].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 10. Apart from *alb*, Capidan's dictionary also lists *beaṱ* {beáł} of Slavic origin [Capidan 1935: 36-37], a word that is, however, very rarely used. Furthermore, it is *alb* 'white' that is opposed to *negru* 'black': {tots alb, ieł negru} "all are white, he is black" [Capidan, 1928: 165], {Un cǫmp alb cu oi̯ negri} "a white field with black sheep on it" [Capidan, 1928: 154].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăṱilă 1998: 186; Byhan 1899: 296.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 81; Cunia 2010: 44-45; Dalametra 1906: 9; Gołąb 1984: 197.

Romanian: DER 2004: 1038; Bolocan et al. 1985: 60; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *alb* {alb} 'white' [Podiko 1973: 26; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 22].

Dalmatian: In addition to the inherited term *ywalb* {juálb}, there is also a borrowing *byaŋk* {bi̯aṅk} ''white' and a word *blaŋk* {blaṅk} 'white', which is, according to Bartoli, a "dalmatianized" form of *byaŋk* [Bartoli 2002: 424]. Cf. the examples: {Jaime de vain vetrún, juálb, fosc, ruass, dole, garb} "We have wine old, white, black, red, sweet, gentle" (Cubich) [Bartoli 2002: 288-289]; {fúrme un páuk de pun juálb e un páuk de niár: el juálb per mančur nói} "we will make a little white bread and a little brown: the white is for us" (Ive) [Bartoli 2002: 297-298]; {kau̯k le avàs joi̯n fazolét toč bi̯aṅk} "here people had a headscarf,

all white"; {i kalzũ͡ọni fero bi̯aṅk} "the pants were white" [Bartoli 2002: 232]; {Cost pélo jéra vestiát de blank: el avája la baréta ruássa atuarn el bragáun; la bareta jéra ruássa, el bragáun blank} "This child was dressed in white; he had a red cap and pants; the cap was red and the pants were white" (Ive) [Bartoli 2002: 299]; {jóin pélo cuón blank} "a little dog" (Ive) [Bartoli 2002: 299-300]. All the forms are used by Udina, so we treat them as synonyms.See the discussion above.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 656, 26. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 17, 195. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 44. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 35.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 33. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 33. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 46. An old borrowing from some Germanic source. Marchigiano: *byaŋk* {bianc} 'white' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {come procede innanzi da l'ardore, // per lo papiro suso, un color bruno // che non è nero ancora e 'l bianco more} "E'en as proceedeth on before the flame // Upward along the paper a brown colour, // Which is not black as yet, and the white dies" [Inf. 25]; {L'una era d'oro e l'altra era d'argento; // pria con la bianca e poscia con la gialla} "One was of gold, and the other was of silver; // first with the white, and after with the yellow" [Purg. 9]; {mostrando un'oca bianca più che burro} "display a goose more white than butter is" [Inf. 17]. This term is first time attested in the form {bla(n)cho} in the "Dichiarzaione di Paxia" (1178-1182, Savona) [TdLJdO 2016].

The term *alb-o* {albo} 'white' is not attested in Dante's works. However we find it contrasted with {negro} 'black' in the Veronese Riddle (VIII-IX centuries): {Se pareba boves alba pratalia araba albo versorio teneba et negro semen seminaba}. Michel regards it as a Latinism [Michel 2011: 45], but this is not necessary. It occurs even after Dante, in the XIV-XVth centuries [TdLJdO 2016], but at the time it was no longer the basic term for 'white'.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2508-2509. An old borrowing from some Germanic source. Distinct from *alb-o* {albo} 'white', used only in the literary language [Battaglia I: 291].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Borrowed from some Germanic source. Grottaminarda: *ʎaŋk* {glia'nc} 'white' [Morelli 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 84. An old borrowing from some Germanic source. Domus de Maria: *by'ank-u* {biancu} [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *'yaŋk-u* {jancu} 'white' [Coccimiglio 2016]. An old borrowing from some

Germanic source.

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *bˈyaŋk-u* {biancu} ~ *ˈyaŋk-u* {jancu} 'white' [Miccichè 2015]. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 37. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *blˈaŋk-u* {blancu} 'white' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 35. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 770, 181; Fernández Armesto 1981: 128; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 931; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 41. An old borrowing from some Germanic source. Distinct from *albˈeyɾ-o* {albeiro} 'white', which is rather restricted in use: {fariña albeira} "white flour", {pan albeiro} "white bread", {un seixo albeiro} "a white pebble" [Montoya Bolaños 2016; DRAG 2016].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 153. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 309.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 137.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 810; Rayevskaya 2013: 341. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Picard: Leplubo 2016. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *blã* {blanc} 'white'. An old borrowing from some Germanic source.

98. WHO

Archaic Latin *kʷɪ-s {quis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *kʷɪ-s {quis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *kˈar-i {cari}* (2), Istro Romanian *čˈire {číre}* (1), Aromanian *kˈar-e {cáre}* (2), Romanian *čˈine {cine}* (1), Dalmatian *ku {ku}* (1), Friulian *kuy {cui}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *ki {chi}* (1), Fassano Ladin *ki-pa {chi...pa}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɕi {tgi}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ɕi {tgi}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʈi {tgi}* (1), Vallader Romansh *ɕi {chi}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *ki {chi}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *ki {chi}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *ki {chi}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *ki {chi}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *ki* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ki {chi}* (1), Plesio Lombard *ki {chi}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *ki {chi}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ki {chi}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *ki {chi}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *ki {chi}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *ki* (1), Genoese Ligurian *ki {chi}* (1), Stella Ligurian *ki {chì}* (1), Venice Venetian *ki {chi}* (1), Primiero Venetian *ki {chi}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *ki {chi}* (1), Old Italian *ki {chi}* (1), Standard Italian *ki {chi}* (1), Grosseto Italian *ki {chi}* (1), Foligno Italian *ki {chi}* (1), Neapolitan *ki {chi}* (1), Logudorese *kˈi-e {chìe}* (1), Campidanese *kˈi-ni {chini}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *ku {cu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *ku {cu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *kui {cui}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *kui {cui}* (1), Central Catalan *ki {qui}* (1), North-Western

Catalan *ki {qui}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ki {qui}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ki {quí}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ki {quí}* (1), Manises Catalan *ki {qui}* (1), Castilian Spanish *kyen {quién}* (1), Asturian *kyeŋ {quién}* (1), Standard Portuguese *kẽỹ {quem}* (1), Galician *keŋ {quen}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ku {qu} ~ kau {quau}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *kwi {kwi}* (1), Old French *ki {qui}* (1), Standard French *ki {qui}* (1), Picard *ki {qui}* (1), Walloon *ki: {kî}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Quis me revocat?} "Who's calling me back?" [Cist. 705]; {Quis hic est homo cum collativo ventre atque oculis herbeis?} "Who is this fellow with extended paunch, and eyes as green as grass?" [Curc. 230-231]; {quis hic est senex, qui ante aedis nostras sic iacet?} "Who's this old man that's lying thus before our house?" [Amph. 1072]; {quis hic homo est cum tunicis longis quasi puer cauponius?} "Who's this fellow with the long skirts, just like a tavern-boy?" [Poen. 1298].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Quis ille?} "Who is he?" [Met. 1: 1]; {Quis enim de duobus comitum alterum sine alterius noxa peremptum crederet? "Who could believe my companion was murdered, and I was innocent?" [Met. 1: 19].

Megleno Romanian: In his dictionary and grammar Capidan for some reason translates 'kari only as 'which' [Capidan 1935: 61], and does not mention any other words that might mean 'who' [Capidan 1925: 154], but the following contexts clearly show that 'kari also means 'who': {și lisitsa aľ zisi: "di tsi cọta ịeș bătut, cari ti bătù"} "And the fox said to him: "Why are you so beaten, who beat you?" [Capidan, 1928: 41]; {și ieł aľ zisi: "știị ịo cari sam? ịo sam frigurea"} "And he said to him: "Do you know, who I am? I am the frost" [Capidan, 1928: 68]. Goes back to the Latin {qualis} 'of what kind or quality?'. The semantic shift obviously arose under Slavic influence (the same shift can be found in Macedonian and Bulgarian {koy} and further within the Balkan Sprachbund (cf. Modern Greek {ποιος} 'who' and Ancient Greek {ποῖος} 'of what kind?').

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 368; Glavina 1905: 71. In the expression {kí zna} 'who knows' the Croatism *ki* {ki} is used instead [Kovačec 2010].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 247; Cunia 2010: 235-236; Bara et al. 2005: 116; Gołąb 1984: 224; Capidan 1932: 426-427. Polysemy: 'who / which'. There is also another term, *c'i-ne* {ţíne} [Papahagi 1963: 1071; Cunia 2010: 1040; Dalametra 1906: 206], which is more rare [Capidan 1932: 427].

Romanian: DER 2004: 1039; Bolocan et al. 1985: 569; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *č'ine* {cine} 'who' [Podiko 1973: 343; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 179].

Dalmatian: The example is {kon kú?} "with whom?" [Bartoli 2002: 251].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 662, 91.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 39, 196.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 61. A discontinuous pronoun, see 'what'.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 154.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 52.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 52.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 92. Marchigiano: *ki* {chì} 'who' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015. Verona: *či* {ci} 'who' [Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Chi siete voi?} "Who are you?" [Inf. 25]; {chi è quel grande che non par che curi // lo 'ncendio e giace dispettoso e torto} "who is that mighty one who seems to heed not // the fire, and lieth lowering and disdainful" [Inf. 14].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2509.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 111. Domus de Maria: *k'i-ni* {chini} 'who' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *kuy* {cùi} 'who' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *kuy* {cui} 'who' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *ku* {ku} 'who' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 236.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *kyeŋ* {quién} 'who' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 251.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 613; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1011, 737-738.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1144.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1766-1767.

Old French: Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but frequently occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {Qui est? Qui est cil chevaliers?} "Who is yonder knight?" (Erec 753); {Cui? fet il. Vassax, qui es tu, // qui l'esprevier m'as contredit?} "Vassal," he cries, "who art thou who dost thus dispute with me the hawk?" (Erec 840-841).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 811; Rayevskaya 2013: 456.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ki:* {kî} 'who'.

99. WOMAN

Archaic Latin *mˈʊl-ɪɛr {mulier}* (1), Late Classical Latin *mˈʊl-yɛr {mulier}* (1) / *feːm-ɪn-a {femina}* (2), Megleno Romanian *muʎar-i {muľári}* (1), Istro Romanian *žˈensk-ä {žénskę}* (-1), Aromanian *muʎe̯ar-e {muľeáre}* (1), Romanian *femˈey-e {femeie}* (3), Dalmatian *muʎer {muľér} ~ moʎer {moľér}* (1), Friulian *fɛmin-e {femine}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *ˈəyl-a {ëila}* (4), Fassano Ladin *femen-a {fémena}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *fɛmn-ə {femna}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *fɛmn-ə {femna}* (2) / *dˈun-ə {dunna}* (5), Surmiran Romansh *fɛmn-ə {femna}* (2),

Vallader Romansh *d'wɔn-ə {duonna}* (5), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *ƒumn-a {fomna}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *ƒumn-a {fomna}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *ƒumn-a {fomna}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *d'ɔn-a {dona}* (5), Vercellese Piemontese *d'ɔːn-a* (5), Bergamo Lombard *ƒɛnː-e {fènne}* (2), Plesio Lombard *d'on-a {dona}* (5), Ravennate Romagnol *d'on-a {dóna}* (5), Ferrarese Emiliano *d'ɔn-a {dòna}* (5), Carpigiano Emiliano *d'ɔn-a {dòna}* (5), Reggiano Emiliano *d'ɔn-a {dòna}* (5), Rapallo Ligurian *d'onː-a* (5), Genoese Ligurian *d'önː-a {dönna}* (5), Stella Ligurian *d'oːnː-a {dônna}* (5), Venice Venetian *d'on-a {dóna}* (5), Primiero Venetian *ƒemen-a {fémena}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *ƒemen-a {femena}* (2), Old Italian *ƒemːin-a {femmina}* (2), Standard Italian *d'ɔnː-a {donna}* (5), Grosseto Italian *d'ɔnː-a {donna}* (5), Foligno Italian *ƒemːin-a {femmina}* (2), Neapolitan *ƒɛmːən-ə ~ ƒemːən-ə {femmena}* (2), Logudorese *'emːin-a {'émmina}* (2), Campidanese *ƒɛmːin-a {femmina}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *ƒimːin-a {fimmina}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *ƒimːɨn-a {fimmina}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *ƒimːin-a {fimmina}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *ƒimːin-a {fimmina}* (2), Central Catalan *d'ɔn-ə {dona}* (5), North-Western Catalan *d'ɔn-ɛ {dona}* (5), Minorcan Catalan *d'ɔn-ə {dona}* (5), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *d'ɔn-a {dona}* (5), Valencia Catalan *d'ɔn-a {dona}* (5), Manises Catalan *d'ɔn-a {dona}* (5), Castilian Spanish *mux'er {mujer}* (1), Asturian *muy'er {muyer}* (1), Standard Portuguese *muʎɛr {mulher}* (1), Galician *muʎɛr {muller}* (1), Provençal Occitan *ƒem-o {femo} ~ ƒum-o {fumo}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ƒɛna {fèna}* (2), Old French *ƒãm-ə {feme}* (2), Standard French *fam {femme}* (2), Picard *ƒœm {feume}* (2), Walloon *fam {fame}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: There are two terms for 'woman': *mʊl-ɛr* {mulier} and *ƒeːm-n-a* {femina}. In Plautus' texts {mulier} is much more frequent: it occurs about 300 times [Passera, 1998: 108], while {femina} occurs less than in twenty cases. As for the semantic difference, {femina} could be used in the meaning 'female': {ita illa me ab laeva rabiosa femina adservat canis} "so much does this raving mad female cur watch me on the left side" [Men. 837]; {AST. Mulieres volo convenire vostras. TRVC. Quas tu mulieres mihi narras, ubi musca nulla feminast in aedibus?} "AST. I want to meet with your women. STR. What women art thee talking to me about, when there's not even a single woman-fly within the house?" [Truc. 283-284]; {Nam audivi feminam ego leonem semel parire} "For I heard of a woman's once giving birth to a lion" [Vid.]. The following example should be also added here: {sumne probus, sum lepidus civis, qui Atticam hodie civitatem maximam maiorem feci atque auxi civi femina?} "Am I not a worthy man, am I not a courteous citizen, who this day have made the extensive state of Attica still larger, and increased it by a female citizen?" [Persa 474-475]. For this reason it is often contrasted with the word denoting 'man': nam tu quidem ad equas fuisti scitus admissarius, qui consectare qua maris qua feminas} "You have your hands quite full enough with the women" (literary: which chase both men and women) [Mil. 1111-1113]; {patefeci fores, eaque eduxi omnem legionem, et maris et feminas} "I opened the door; and by that road I led out all the troop, both men and women" [Most. 1046-1047]; {non hercle hisce homines me marem, sed feminam vicini rentur esse servi militis} " Faith, but these men here, these servants of my neighbour the Captain, take me not to be a man, but a woman, so much do they trifle with me" [Mil. 486-487]; {SCEP. Sed utrum tu masne an femina es, qui illum patrem voces? PL. Vir sum equidem} "SCEP. But whether are you male or female, who are calling him father? PL. Why really, I'm a man" [Rud. 105-106].

According to E. Passera, {femina} had a dignified meaning and was sometimes used with some positive epithets. There

are indeed some such contexts, cf. {Da mi, optuma femina, manum} "Best of women, give me your hand" [Aul. 135]; {Bona femina et malus masculus volunt te} "A good female and a bad male want you" [Cist. 705]; {A luculenta atque festiva femina, quae te amat tuamque expetessit pulcram pulcritudinem} "From a charming and a handsome lady, one who loves you, and dotes upon your extreme beauty" [Mil. 958-959]; {Tum autem illa ipsa est nimium lepida nimisque nitida femina} "Troth, indeed, she has made an impression already, Palaestrio, at first sight" [Mil. 1003], but there are also examples to the contrary: {Feminam scelestam te astans contra contuor} "Standing opposite to you, looking at a worthless woman" [Persa 208]; {Mala tu femina es, oles unde es disciplinam} "You are an artful damsel" [Truc. 131].

The term {femina} could also be used in a generic meaning: {MERC. observatote <eum>, quam blande mulieri palpabitur. ALC. Ecastor te experior quanti facias uxorem tuam. IVPP. Satin habes, si feminarum nulla est quam aeque diligam?} "MERC. Do you observe him, how blandly he smoothes the lady over. ALC. I' faith, I find by experience how much you value your wife. JUP. If there is no one among women whom I love so much, are you satisfied?" [Amph. 505-507]; {nec me miserior femina est neque ulla videatur magis} "No woman is there more wretched than myself" [Amph. 1060]; {misericordior nulla me est feminarum} "no one among women is more compassionate than I" [Rud. 281].

As we can see, in Plautus' times {femina} and {mulier} started becoming synonymous, but this process was far from completion, and, very importantly, {femina} was much less frequent, so we include only {mulier} in the list. Some examples for {mulier} are: {qui omnis se amare credit, quaeque aspexerit mulier: eum oderunt qua viri qua mulieres} "who thinks that, whatever woman sees him, all are in love with him; whom all, both men and women, detest" [Mil. 1391-1392]; {plures viri sint vidui quam nunc mulieres} "there should be more divorced men than there are women now" [Merc. 829].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Proclamares saltem suppetiatum, si resistere vir tantus mulieri nequibas} "You could at least have shouted for help, if a great man like you couldn't handle the women by yourself" [Met. 1: 14]; {E re nata fallaciosa mulier temerarium tollens cachinnum: "Magnum" inquit "istum virum ac strenuum negotiatorem nacta sum, qui rem, quam ego mulier et intra hospitium contenta iam dudum septem denariis vendidi, minoris distraxit."} "A born deceiver, the wife gave a bold laugh, and said: 'What a brilliant husband I've got, a masterly negotiator! I, a mere woman, without stepping outside, just sold for seven denarii something he's offloaded for less!'" [Met. 9: 6]; {video mulieres duas altioris aetatis} "I watched two women of rather ripe years" [Met. 1: 12]; {quamvis auro veste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata mulier incedat, tamen, nisi capillum distinxerit, ornata non possit audire} "such is the glory of a woman's hair that though she adorns herself with garments, gold and gems and other finery, unless her hair is groomed she cannot be called well-dressed" [Met. 2: 9]; {Quorum quidem unus caput mulieris, quae meum dorsum residebat repente percussit} "One of the latter struck the woman seated on my back" [Met. 8: 17].

The term *fe:m-n-a* {femina} occurs as a complete synonym of {mulier}: {Nec illas scelestas feminas, quas tibi post internecivum odium et calcata sanguinis foedera sorores appellare non licet, vel videas vel audias} "Don't look at or listen to those evil women, who with their murderous hostility, their disregard of the bonds of blood, you should not call sisters" [Met. 5: 12]; {Tunc influunt turbae sacris divinis initiatae, viri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis, linteae vestis candore puro luminosi} "A mighty throng of men and women of every age and rank, initiates of the sacred mysteries, poured on behind, their linen robes shining radiantly" [Met. 11: 10]. As for the frequency of this term, it had definitely shifted, compared with Plautus' times. The term {femina} occurs in 'Metamorphoses' about 35 times, whereas {mulier} is merely twice as frequent. Because of this, we include both terms in the list.

Distinct from *ʋksɔr* {uxor} 'wife': {Nam protinus uxor eius, avara equidem nequissimae illa mulier} "His wife, an avaricious, evil-minded woman" [Met. 7: 15].

Meglno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 197.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 220; Byhan 1899: 289. Borrowed from Slovene {ženska} 'woman' or Croatian {ženska} 'female, woman's' (a feminine form of adjective {ženski}). Distinct from *muʎăre* {muʎére} 'wife' [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 283]. Byhan also mentions the word *žʹeɲe* {žéńe} 'married woman' [Byhan 1899: 389], Weigand adds the word *gospä* {gospę} [Weigand, 1899: 397], both forms are absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 711; Cunia 2010: 678-679; Dalametra 1906: 138; Bara et al. 2005: 346, 355; Gołąb 1984: 236. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. In the Turia dialect there is also another term, *misʹokup-ə* {misʹokupā} 'woman' [Bara et al. 2005: 346].

Romanian: DER 2004: 1044-1045; Bolocan et al. 1985: 354; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {familia} 'family' [Ciorănescu 2015]. The original term {muiare} 'woman' has a pejorative shade in contemporary Standard Romanian [DEaLR 2015]. Distinct from *soc-ʹie* {soţie} 'wife' [DER 2004: 1040; Bolocan et al. 1985: 354]. Moldavian: *femʹey-e* {femeie} 'woman' [Podiko 1973: 207; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 111].

Dalmatian: Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Some examples are: {káu̯k fero tu̯o͡nta żi̯ant; joi̯na kál fero tu̯o͡nti jóṅ, ne la jultra kál fero tu̯o͡nte moi̯ér} "here are a lot of people, one part of us is a lot of men, the other is a lot of women" [Bartoli 2002: 251]; {toče le moi̯ér stentúa: le arúa, le zapúa la tára toča ku̯anta e i ómiṅ tenúa la píp iṅ bu̯ák e kosái̯k i stùa da gu̯ardúrle} "all the women work; they plow, they dig all the ground and the men keep the pipes in their mouths and so they stand watching" [Bartoli 2002: 249].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 668, 156. Polysemy: 'woman / wife' [Virili 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 12. Goes back to the Latin {illa} 'that / she'. Distinct from *ʃən-a* {fëna} 'wife' [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 97. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. Distinct from a polite term *dˈɔn-ə* {donna} 'madam'.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. There are two expressions for 'woman' in Sursilvan: *ʃɛmn-ə* {femna} and *dˈun-ə* {dunna}. According to [Cadruvi 2015], they are synonyms. Distinct from *kənˈɔsrt-ə* {consorta} 'wife' [Cadruvi 2015].Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. Distinct from the polite term *dˈun-ə* {dunna} 'madam'.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 259. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *muʎer* {muglier} 'wife' [Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 475].

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 97-98. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 97-98. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *spˈuz-a* {sposa} 'wife' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. The term *ʃumn-a* {fomna} 'wife' can be occasionally used in the meaning 'woman' as well.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Distinct from *ʃonː-a* {fónna} 'wife' [Garlini 2015].

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 131-132. Distinct from *moy* {mój} 'wife' [Ercolani 1960: 266]. Marchigiano: *dˈɔn-a* {dòna} 'woman' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Distinct from *muyˈɛr* {muièr} 'wife' [Piacentini 2015].

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *muyˈer* {mujér} ~ *muyˈer-a* {mujéra} 'wife' and *spˈoz-a* {spóśa} 'wife' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *muyˈer-a* {mujera} 'wife' and *spˈɔwz-a* {spòuša} 'wife' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Distinct from *mowʒ-ˈɛ* 'wife'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Distinct from *muʒ-ˈe* {mŏgé} 'wife'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from *muy-ˈe* {muié} 'wife'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua: *ʃeman-a* {femana} 'woman', *dˈɔn-a* {dòna} 'woman' (less frequent and more restricted in use) [Tre 2015]. Treviso, Salgareda, Arzignano, Marostica: *ʃemen-a* {femena} 'woman' [Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Distinct from *muʒˈɛr* {mugèr} [Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015] ~ *moyˈɛr-a* {mojera} [Tre 2015] ~ *moyˈɛr* {moier} [Zanetti 2015; Busato 2015] ~ *moyˈɛr-e* {moiere} [Zanetti 2015; Ricchieri 2015] ~ *muyˈɛr* {muier} 'wife' [Poletto 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: There are two designations for 'woman' in Dante's works: *ʃemːin-a* {femmina} and *dˈɔnː-a* {donna}. The latter is much more frequent (9 : 96 in 'Divine Comedy'), but the distribution is important: in Inferno {donna} is used only 10 times out of 96, in Purgatorio it is already used 38 times, and half of its usage occurs in Paradiso. What we are actually dealing with is the gradual replacement of {femmina} by {donna}, but it seems that during Dante's life, this replacement had not yet been completed and {donna} still had "elevated" connotations. For a more detailed analysis, see [Passera 1998]. Because of this, we include only {femmina} in the list, as a term of broader and more neutral usage.

It is important that {femmina} can be used not only in stylistically low ({Via, // ruffian! qui non son femmine da conio} "Get thee gone // pander, there are no women here for coin" [Inf. 18]) or neutral contexts, but also in high ones: {Maria Vergine (femmina veramente e figlia di Giovacchino e d'Adamo)} "the Virgin Mary, the true woman and daughter of Joachim and of Adam" [Conv. 2], {che là dove ubidia la terra e 'l cielo, // femmina, sola e pur testé formata} "for there where earth and heaven obedient were, // the woman only, and but just created" (about Eve) [Purg. 29]. Oher contexts with {femmina}: {ciò avvenia di duol sanza martìri, // ch'avean le turbe, ch'eran molte e grandi, // d'infanti e di femmine e di viri} "and this arose from sorrow without torment, // which the crowds had, that many were and great, // of infants and

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of women and of men" [Inf. 4]; {poi che l'ardite femmine spietate // tutti li maschi loro a morte dienno} "after the daring women pitiless // had unto death devoted all their males" [Inf. 18]; {Vedi Tiresia, che mutò sembiante // quando di maschio femmina divenne} "Behold Tiresias, who his semblance changed, // when from a male a female he became" [Inf. 20]; {quanto in femmina foco d'amor dura} "how long in woman lasts the fire of love" [Purg. 8]; {mi venne in sogno una femmina balba} "there came to me in dreams a stammering woman" [Purg. 19]; {ne le femmine sue più è pudica // che la Barbagia dov' io la lasciai} "by far more modest in its women is // than the Barbagia I have left her in" [Purg. 23]; {Femmina è nata, e non porta ancor benda} "A maid is born, and wears not yet the veil" [Purg. 24].

Some contexts on {donna}: {e donna mi chiamò beata e bella} "and a fair, saintly Lady called to me" [Inf. 2]; {O donna di virtù sola per cui // l'umana spezie eccede ogne contento} "'O Lady of virtue, thou alone through whom // the human race exceedeth all contained" [Inf. 2]; {poscia che tai tre donne benedette} "seeing that three such Ladies benedight" [Inf. 2].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2519. Distinct from *fem:in-a* {femmina} 'female' [Battaglia V: 803-805], from *m'oʎ-e* {moglie} 'wife' and *sp'ɔz-a* {sposa} 'wife, spouse' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 2511].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015. Distinct from *m'oʎ-e* {moglie} 'wife' [Marcelli 2015].

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016. Distinct from *m'oy-e* {moje} 'wife' [Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016].

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Distinct from *muʎ'ɛr-ə* {mugliera} 'wife' [Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Alois 2015]. Salerno: *muy'ɛr-ə* {mujera} 'wife' [Cerrone 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *muʒ'er-e* {mudzère} 'wife' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 184. Distinct from *mul:'er-i* {mulleri} 'wife' [Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 281]. Domus de Maria: *fem:in-a* {femmina} 'woman'. Distinct from *mul:'er-i* {mulleri} 'wife' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Distinct from *muɖ:'yɛr-i* {mugghieri} 'wife' [Messina 2015]. Buscemi: *fim:in-a* {fimmina} 'woman', *muɖ:'yɛr-i* {mugghieri} 'wife' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Distinct from *muɖ:'ɛr-i* {mugghieri} 'wife' [Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Distinct from *muɖ:'ɛr-i* {mugghieri} 'wife' [La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Distinct from *muɖ:'yɛr-i* {mugghieri} 'wife' [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 197. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. In the meaning 'wife' the word *muʎer* {muller} is used as well, especially in formal speech [Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *muʎer* {muller} 'wife' [Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015].

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Distinct from *muʎer* {muller} 'wife' [Pérez i Sanchis 2015].

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *muʎer* {muller} 'wife' [Pedrós 2015].

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Polysemy : 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *esp'os-a* {esposa} 'spouse' [Valén 2015.].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *muy'er* {muyer} 'woman / wife', *esp'os-a* {esposa} 'wife' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 157. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *išp'oz-ɐ* {esposa} 'wife' [Voinova et al. 1989: 157].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 822, 565; Fernández Armesto 1981: 527; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 991, 647. Distinct from *d'ɔn-a* {dona} 'wife' [Montoya Bolaños 2015].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 581-582. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 952-955.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 488-489. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *d'ãm-ə* {dame} 'lady, noble woman' [EDCT 2014: 283-284]. Distinct from *esp'os-ə* {espose} 'wife' [EDCT 2014: 450].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 819; Rayevskaya 2013: 409. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *epuz* {épouse} 'spouse' [Robert-Collins 1989: 812-813].

Picard: Leplubo 2016. Distinct from *buʁž-wɛz* {bourjouèse} 'wife' [Leplubo 2016].

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *ku=me ʁ* {coumére} 'teenage girl / young not married woman / fiancée / girlfriend / virgin', which is the same as French {commère} 'gossip', derived from Vulgar Latin {commater} 'godmother'.

Cf. some examples: {ça dvint ene pitite coumére} "she is turning to a woman" (about 13 years old girl); {Djan è ruvnu avu sa} "John came back with his girlfriend"; {èle est co coumére} "she is still a virgin" [Mahin 2016]. In Rifondou Walloon we observe another situation: ki=mɛ ʀ{kimere} ~ k=mɛ ʀ{kmere} ~ ko=mɛ ʀ{comere} is used as generic term for 'woman' and fɛm {feme} means 'wife', but due to French influence it started extending its meaning to 'woman' in the past decades [Mahin 2016].

100. YELLOW

Late Classical Latin *fʊɫv-ʊs {fulvus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *g'alb-in {gálbin}* (2), Istro Romanian *žut {žut}* (-1), Aromanian *g'alb-in-ŭ {gálbin}* (2), Romanian *g'alb-en {galben}* (2), Dalmatian *ʒw'oln-o {zuolno}* (-1), Friulian *ža:l {zâl}* (-1), Gardenese Ladin *gyəl {ghiel}* (-1), Fassano Ladin *zal {śal}* (-1), Rumantsch Grischun *m'ɛl-ən {mellen}* (3), Sursilvan Romansh *m'ɛl-ən {mellen}* (3), Surmiran Romansh *m'ɛl-ən {mellen}* (3), Vallader Romansh *gɛlk {gelg}* (-1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *žawŋ {giàun}* (-1), Barbania Piemontese *žawŋ {giaun}* (-1), Carmagnola Piemontese *žawŋ {giàun}* (-1), Turinese Piemontese *žawŋ {giaun}* (-1), Vercellese Piemontese *žalt* (-1), Bergamo Lombard *zalt {zàlt}* (-1), Plesio Lombard *ža:lt {giald}* (-1), Ravennate Romagnol *ʒal {ẓal}* (-1), Ferrarese Emiliano *ʒal {zal}* (-1), Carpigiano Emiliano *za:l {śâl}* (-1), Reggiano Emiliano *ʒa:l {zâl}* (-1), Rapallo Ligurian *ž'al:-u* (-1), Genoese Ligurian *ž'an-u {giànǒ}* (-1), Stella Ligurian *ž'a:n-u {giânu}* (-1), Venice Venetian *z'aɛ̯-o {zàło}* (-1), Primiero Venetian *žal {gial}* (-1), Bellunese Venetian *žal {gial}* (-1), Old Italian *ža:l-o {giallo}* (-1), Standard Italian *ža:l-o {giallo}* (-1), Grosseto Italian *ža:l-o {giallo}* (-1), Foligno Italian *ɟ'al:-u {ghjallu}* (-1), Neapolitan *ž'al:-ə {giallo} ~ ž:'al:-ə {ggiallo}* (-1), Logudorese *gr'og-u {grogu}* (-1), Campidanese *gr'oɣ-u {grogu}* (-1), Palermitan Sicilian *ž'aɾn-u {giarnu}* (-1), Messinese Sicilian *ž'al:-u {giallu}* (-1), Catanian Sicilian *ž'al:-u {giallu}* (-1), South-Eastern Sicilian *ɟ:'aɾn-u {gghiarnu}* (-1), Central Catalan *gɾɔk {groc}* (4), North-Western Catalan *gɾɔk {groc}* (4), Minorcan Catalan *gɾɔk {groc}* (4), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *gɾɔk {groc}* (4), Valencia Catalan *gɾɔk {groc}* (4), Manises Catalan *gɾɔk {groc}* (4), Castilian Spanish *amaɾ-'iʎ-o {amarillo}* (5), Asturian *amaɾ-'iʎ-o {amarillo}* (5), Standard Portuguese *ɐmɐɾ-'ɛl-u {amarelo}* (5), Galician *amaɾ-'ɛl-o {amarelo}* (5), Provençal Occitan *ž'awn-e {jaune}* (-1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ð'on-o {zhôno}* (2), Old French *ž'awn-ə {jaune}* (2), Standard French *žon {jaune}* (2), Picard *gãn {ganne}* (2), Walloon *žo:n {djaune}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: According to [Solopov 2007: 73-74], there were two basic terms for 'yellow': *fl'a:w-ʊs {flavus}*, used for colour of wax, sand, lions, young deers, horse's mane and bright hair, and *ɫ'u:t-ɛ-ʊs {luteus}* (< *ɫ'u:t-ʊm {lutum}* 'Reseda lutea', used for dying), designating shades of colour between yellow and orange. According to Oxford Latin Dictionary, {flavus} was applied to pale or

golden yellow objects [OLD 1968: 711], whereas {luteus} designated bright, reddish or orange yellow objects [OLD 1968: 1053].

The term {flavus} is not attested in Plautus' texts, and there is only one example of {luteus}, used to designate abnormal colours: {Quin tu me interrogas, purpureum panem an puniceum soleam ego esse an luteum?} "Why don't you ask whether I'm wont to eat dark bread, or purple, or yellow?" [Men. 916-917].

Neither {flavus} nor {luteus} occur in Cato's texts. There is only a derived verb: {ubi hordeum flavescit} "when the barley turns yellow" [De agri cultura 151]. There is also an example in the works by Ennius (239 – 169 BC), cited by OLD: {marmore flavo} 'yellow marble' [OLD 1968: 711].

Taking all this into account (including Gelius' evidence that the basic Latin word for yellow was {fulvus}), we have decided not to include any of the terms in the list.

Late Classical Latin: The term *fl'a:w-vs* {flavus} is applied by Apuleius only to hair colour: {flavum et inadfectatum capillitium} "tawny hair quiet plainly cut" [Met. 2: 2]; {flavis crinibus usquequaque conspicuous} "attracting all gazes with his blond hair" [Met. 10: 30]; {capillos eorum humi iacentes flavos ac per hoc illi Boeotio iuveni consimiles} "they were blonde, thus very much like her Boeotian's" (about goat wool) [Met. 3: 17]. The same problem occurs with the related term {flavens}: {sed observatis omnibus furatrina facili flaventis auri mollitie congestum gremium Veneri reportat} "and easily filled the folds of her dress with soft gleaming gold, carrying her spoils to Venus" (about wool) [Met. 6: 13].

Distinct from *t'u:t-y-vs* {luteus} 'bright yellow': {Tunica multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida} "Her multi-coloured robe was of finest linen, gleaming here pure white, here a saffron yellow, there flaming rose-red" [Met. 11: 3]; {Tunc de summo montis cacumine per quandam latentem fistulam in excelsum prorumpit vino crocus diluta sparsique deflens pascentis circa capellas odoro perpluit imbre, donec in meliorem maculatae speciem canitiem propriam luteo colore mutarent} "Then, from a pipe concealed on the very top of the mountain, wine mixed with saffron spurted into the air and rained down in a perfumed shower, sprinkling the goats grazing all around until, dyed to a richer beauty, their naturally white coats were stained deep yellow" [Met. 10: 34]; {pedes luteis induti calceis} "with yellow shoes on their feet" [Met. 9: 27]; {pictura ex discordibus pigmentorum coloribus, atris atque albis, luteis et puniceis, confusione modica temperatis, imagines iis quae imitatur similes facit} [Florida 20]. The terms {fulvus} and {galbinus} are not attested.

As for Gellius, the following passage is very important: {"Fulvus" autem videtur de rufo atque viridi mixtus in aliis plus viridis, in aliis plus rufi liabere. Sic poeta verborum diligentissimus "fulvam aquilam" dicit et "iaspidem", "fulvos galeros" et "fulvum aurum" et "arenam fulvam" et "fulvum leonem", sic Q. Ennius in annalibus "aere fulvo" dixit. "Flavus" contra videtur e viridi et rufo et albo concretus: sic "flaventes comae" et, quod mirari quosdam video, frondes olearum a Vergilio "flavae" dicuntur, sic multo ante Pacuvius aquam "flavam" dixit et "fulvum pulverem". Cuius versus, quoniam sunt iucundissimi, libens commemini: cedo tuum pedem mi, lymphis flavis fulvum ut pulverem manibus isdem, quibus Ulixi saepe permulsi, abluam lassitudinemque minuam manuum mollitudine} "But the colour fulvus seems to be a mixture of red and green, in which sometimes green predominates, sometimes red. Thus the poet who was most careful in his choice of words applies fulvus to an eagle, to jasper, to fur caps, to gold, to sand, and to a lion; and so Ennius in his Annals uses fulvus of air. Flavus on the other hand seems to be compounded of green and red and white; thus Virgil speaks of golden hair as flava and applies that adjective also to the leaves of the olive, which I see surprises some; and thus, much earlier, Pacuvius called water flava and dust fulvus. I am glad to quote his verses, for they are most charming: Give me thy foot, that with the same soft hands With which oft times I did Ulysses soothe I may with golden (flavis) waters wash away The tawny (fulvum) dust and heal thy weariness" [Attic Nights 2: 26]. This passage counts as solid evidence that {fulvus} corresponds to GLD specifications better than {flavus}.

There are not so many examples on the usage of 'yellow' in Vulgata, but they seem to correspond to Gellius' description: {Fecit etiam rex Salomon thronum de ebore grandem: et vestivit eum auro fulvo nimis} "His throne was made of ivory and covered with pure gold" [1 Kings 10: 18]; {et capillus flavus, solitoque subtilior} "and the hair in it has thinned out and lost its color" [Leviticus 13: 30]. Based on this, we include {fulvus} in the list.

Gellius describes {luteus} as follows: {"luteus" contra rufus color est dilutior; inde ei nomen quoque esse factum videtur} "luteus, on the other hand, is a more diluted red, and from this dilution its name too seems to be derived" [Attic Nights 2: 26].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 135.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 221; Byhan 1899: 396. Borrowed from Croatian {žut} 'yellow'. In Žejane the inherited term *g'vbir* {gȁbir} 'yellow' is probably preserved [Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 187; Byhan 1899: 224]. This word is, however, absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 486; Cunia 2010: 479-480; Dalametra 1906: 97; Gołąb 1984: 216. Distinct from *abr'aš-ŭ* {abrášu} 'light yellow' [Papahagi 1963: 50; Cunia 2010: 7] and *x'imil-ŭ* {hímil} 'light yellow' [Papahagi 1963: 556; Cunia 2010: 542; Dalametra 1906: 110] (both of Turkish origin).

Romanian: DER 2004: 1052; Bolocan et al. 1985: 353; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *g'alb-en* {galben} 'yellow' [Podiko 1973: 207; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 110].

Dalmatian: Attested only in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 272]. Probably a borrowing from Venetian.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 674, 474. Borrowed from Italian {giallo} 'yellow' (< Old French {jalne} 'yellow').

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 34, 141. Borrowed from German {gelb}, not derived from Latin {galbinus} (cf. normal phonetic development in the word *ǯ'am-a* {giama} 'leg' < Vulgar Latin {gamba}).

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 128. Borrowed from some Romance source, not derived from Latin {galbinus} (cf. normal phonetic development in the word *ǯ'am-a* {giama} 'leg' < Vulgar Latin {gamba}).

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 318. Borrowed from German {gelb} 'yellow'.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 139. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 139. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 500. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne}.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow' via Italian {giallo} 'yellow'.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Ricchieri 2015. Borrowed from old French {jalne} 'yellow'. Padua: *ǯ'aẹ-o* {giało} 'yellow' of Italian origin [Tre 2015]. Este, Vicenza, Schio: *z'al-o* {zalo} 'yellow' [Melon 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015]. Treviso: *z'aụ-o* {xàło} 'yellow' [Busato 2015; Serena 2015]. Salgareda: *zal* {zal} 'yellow' [Poletto 2015]. Marostica, Verona: *ǯ'al-o* {giàlo} 'yellow' of Italian origin [Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. Borrowed from Italian {giallo} 'yellow'. The obsolete form is *ðal* {đal} 'yellow' [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015. Borrowed from Italian {giallo} 'yellow'.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {L'una era d'oro e l'altra era d'argento; // pria con la bianca e poscia con la gialla} "One was of gold, and the other was of silver; // first with the white, and after with the yellow" [Purg. 9]; {L'uno al pubblico segno i gigli gialli // oppone} "To the public standard one the yellow lilies // opposes" [Par. 6].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2531-2532. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Borrowed from Catalan {groc} 'yellow'.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 206. Borrowed from Catalan {groc} 'yellow'. Domus de Maria: *ǯ'al:-u* {giallu} 'yellow' of Italian origin [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'. The later Italianism *ǯ'al:-u* {giallu} 'yellow' can be used as well [Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *ǯ'al:-u* {giallu} 'yellow', *ǯ'arn-u* {giarnu} 'pale' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Borrowed from Italian {giallo} 'yellow'.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015. Borrowed from Italian {giallo} 'yellow'.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. The later Italianism *ǯ'al:-u* {giallu} 'yellow' can be used as well [Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 15. Goes back to Latin {crocus} 'saffron', which is borrowed from Ancient Greek {κρόκος} 'saffron', but we do not regard this word as a borrowing, because the meaning shift 'saffron' > 'yellow' took place already in Catalan.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *maɾ-'yeʎ-u* {mariellu} 'yellow' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 157.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 762, 73; Fernández Armesto 1981: 61; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 919, 615.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 780. Borrowed from Old French {jalne} 'yellow'.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1207.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 601.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 830; Rayevskaya 2013: 408.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ǯɛn* {djaene} 'yellow'.

101. FAR

Archaic Latin *ɬ'ɔŋg-eː {longe}* (1), Late Classical Latin *ɬ'ɔŋg-eː {longe}* (1), Megleno Romanian *di=p'art-i {dipárti}* (2), Istro Romanian *l'ʋrg-o {lârgo}* (3), Aromanian *di=p'art-e {dipárte}* (2) / *l'arg-u {lárgu}* (3), Romanian *de=p'art-e {departe}* (2), Dalmatian *lont-'woŋ {lontu͡oṅ}* (1), Friulian *lont-'aŋ {lontan}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *lonč {lonc}* ~ *da=l'onč {dalonc}* (1), Fassano Ladin *da=l'onč {dalǫnc}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *də=l'unš {dalunsch}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *lunš {lunsch}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ʎ'unš {glunsch}* (1), Vallader Romansh *də=l'œnč {dalöntsch}* ~ *də=l'œnš {dalönsch}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *lön {leugn}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *luŋt-'aŋ {lontan}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *luŋt-'aŋ {lontan}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *luŋt-'aŋ {luntan}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *luŋt-'aŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *lunt-'a {lúntà}* (1), Plesio Lombard *lunt-'aŋ {luntan}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *lunt-'ãn {luntân}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *lunt-'an {luntàn}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *lunt-'an {luntàn}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *lunt-'aːn {luntân}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *luŋt-'an* (1), Genoese Ligurian *luŋt-'an {lŏntàn}* (1), Stella Ligurian *luŋt-'an {luntàn}* (1) / *dist-'aːŋt-e {distànte}* (4), Venice Venetian *loŋt-'aŋ {lontàn}* ~ *ʊ̯oŋt-'aŋ {łontàn}* (1) / *dist-'aŋt-e {distànte}* (4), Primiero Venetian *loŋt-'aŋ {lontan}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *loŋt-'aŋ {lontan}* (1) / *dist-'aŋt-e {distante}* (4), Old Italian *lont-'an-o {lontano}* (1), Standard Italian *lont-'an-o {lontano}* (1), Grosseto Italian *lont-'an-o {lontano}* (1), Foligno Italian *lont-'an-u {lontanu}* (1), Neapolitan *lunt-'an-ə {luntano}* (1), Logudorese *a=l'arg-u {a largu}* (3), Campidanese *a=ɬ'ez-u {atesu}* (5), Palermitan Sicilian *lunt-'an-u {luntanu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *lunt-'an-*

u {luntanu} (1), Catanian Sicilian *lunt-ˈan-u {luntanu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *lunt-ˈan-u {luntanu}* (1), Central Catalan *ʎuɲ {lluny}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ʎuɲ {lluny}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ən=fˈɔrə {enfora}* (6), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ʎuɲ {lluny}* (1), Valencia Catalan *ʎunt {lluny}* (1), Manises Catalan *ʎunt {lluny}* (1), Castilian Spanish *lˈex-os {lejos}* (7), Asturian *ʎˈonš-e {llonxe} ~ ʎˈoɲ-e {lloñe}* (1), Standard Portuguese *lˈõž-ə {longe}* (1), Galician *lˈonš-e {lonxe}* (1), Provençal Occitan *lyewˈeŋ {lieuen} ~ lyeŋ {luen} ~ lyuŋ {liun}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *lwɛ̃ {lwin} ~ lwɛ {lwê}* (1), Old French *loyɲ {loing}* (1), Standard French *lwɛ̃ {loin}* (1), Picard *lwɛ̃ {loin}* (1), Walloon *lɔ̃ {lon}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {Atque haud longe abesse oportet, verum longe hinc afuit} "And he cannot be very far off; but he has been a long way off from here" [Amph. 322]; {nego tibi hoc annis viginti fuisse primis copiae, digitum longe a paedagogo pedem ut efferres aedibus} "for your first twenty years you had not even this much liberty, to move your foot out of the house even a finger's length away from your tutor" [Bac. 422-423]; {Scin tu rus hinc esse ad uillam longe quo ducat?} "Do you know that it's to a distance in the country, at the farm-house, that he is to take her?" [Cas. 420]; {Quam longe a me abest?} "How far is he away from me?" [Curc. 119]; {Hac nocte in somnis visus sum viderier procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium} "Last night I seemed in my sleep to behold Æsculapius, seated at a distance far away from me" [Curc. 260-261]; {Non longe hinc abest a nobis} "She isn't far from here" [Merc. 894]; {satin habes, si ego advenientem ita patrem faciam tuom, non modo ne intro eat, verum etiam ut fugiat longe ab aedibus?} "Are you satisfied, if on his arrival I shall so manage your father, not only that he shall not enter, but even that he shall run away to a distance from the house?" [Most. 389-390]; {sed longe ab Athenis esse se gnatam autumet} "But let her declare that she was born at a distance from Athens" [Persa 151]; {Eo ego hinc haud longe.} "I'm going not far hence" [Persa 217]; {illorum navis longe in altum abscesserat} "their ship had got a great way out to sea" [Rud. 66]; {Haud longe abesse oportet homines hinc, ita hic lepidust locus} "There must be people not far hence; it is so delightful a spot" [Rud. 256]; {Ilico hinc imus, haud longule ex hoc loco; verum longe hinc abest unde advectae huc sumus} "Just now, we came from a place there, not a great way from this spot; but it is a great way off from here, whence we have been brought hither" [Rud. 266-267]; {Porro illic longe usque in campis ultimis} "At a distance out away yonder, as far off as the farthest fields" [Rud. 1034]; {fuit edepol Mars meo periratus patri, nam oves illius hau longe absunt a lupis} "Mars has proved very angry with my father; for his sheep are not very far away from the wolves" [Truc. 656-657].

   In the meaning "for a long time": {<non> hoc longe destiti instare, usque adeo donec se adiurat anus iam mihi monstrare} "I insisted to such a degree, that the old woman swore that she would soon inform me" [Cist. 582-584]; {ne tibi hercle haud longe est os ab infortunio, ita dentifrangibula haec meis manibus gestiunt} "By my faith, your phiz isn't far off from a mishap; so much are these teeth-crackers longing in my fists" [Bac. 595-596].

   In the figurative meaning: {Vt vostrae fortunae meis praecedunt, Libane, longe, qui hodie numquam ad vesperum vivam} "How far superior, Libanus, are your lots to my own, who never will live this day until the evening" [Asin. 629-630]; {solus ego omnis longe antideo stultitia et moribus indoctis} "I singly by far exceed them all in folly and absurd ways" [Bac. 1088-1089]; {divortunt mores virgini longe ac lupae} "there's a great difference between the manners of a maiden and a courtesan" [Epid. 403]; {aliter catuli longe olent, aliter suis} "Puppies have one smell, pigs quite another" [Epid. 579]; {Non hoc longe, Delphium} "Not far from here, Delphium" [Most. 393]; {verum quod ad ventrem attinet, non hercle hoc longe, nisi me pugnis vicerit} "but as to what concerns the stomach - by my troth, not this much, unless he should first have thrashed me with his fists" [Trin. 482-483]; {Ego fateor, sed longe aliter est amicus atque amator} "I confess it; but far different is the friend from the lover" [Truc. 172].

   Distinct from *prˈɔ=kʊɫ {procul}* 'far away / from a distance / into the distance': {sed Ergasilus estne hic, procul quem video?} "But is this Ergasilus, that I see coming at a distance?" [Capt. 788]; {Di hercle me cupiunt seruatum. iam oboluit Casinus procul} "I' troth, the Gods do will me to be preserved at last. I already smell Casina at a distance" [Cas. 817]; {cuia vox sonat procul?} "whose voice is it that I hear at a distance" [Curc. 112]; {procul amantem abesse haud consentaneumst} "it is

not becoming for one thus in love to be at a distance" [Curc. 165]; {Hac nocte in somnis visus sum viderier procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium} "Last night I seemed in my sleep to behold Æsculapius, seated at a distance far away from me" [Curc. 260-261]; {Voluptas nullast navitis, Messenio, maior meo animo, quam quom ex alto procul terram conspiciunt} "There's no greater pleasure to voyagers, in my notion, Messenio, than at the moment when from sea they espy the land afar" [Men. 226-228]; {istinc te procul ita volo adsimulare} "I wish you - standing at a distance there" [Mil. 1169-1170]; {et ille chlamydatus quisnam est, qui sequitur procul?} "He, too, in the scarf, that's following at a distance, who is he, I wonder?" [Poen. 620]; {sed quid ego misera video procul in litore?} "But what, to my sorrow, do I see afar upon the shore?" [Rud. 442-450]; {mille modis, Amor, ignorandu's, procul abhibendu's atque abstandu's} "In a thousand ways is Love to be held a stranger, to be kept at a distance, and to be wholly abstained from" [Trin. 263-264]; {Ita haec morata est ianua: extemplo ianitorem clamat, procul si quem videt ire ad se calcitronem} "This door is of this habit; it cries out at once for tho porter, if it sees any door-kicker at a distance coming towards it" [Asin. 391-392]; {Istinc loquere, si quid vis, procul. tamen audiam} "Speak from where you are, if you want anything; though at a distance, I shall hear you" [Capt. 603]; {concedam a foribus huc, hinc speculabor procul, unde advenienti sarcinam imponam seni} "I'll go away from the door to this spot; hence, I'll look out afar in which direction to lay the burden on the old fellow on his arrival" [Most. 429-430]; {Illinc procul nos istuc inspectabimus} "At a distance there we shall be witnesses of that" [Poen. 682]; {si veniat nunc dominus cuiust, ego qui inspectavi procul te hunc habere, fur sum quam tu?} "If now the owner, whose property it is, were to come, how am I, who espied from afar that you had taken this, a bit the less the thief than yourself?" [Rud. 1021-1022]; {tu, puella, istinc procul dicito quid insit et qua facie, memorato omnia} "Do you, young woman, away at a distance there say what's in it, and of what appearance; mention them all" [Rud. 1148-1149]; {procul hinc observabo, meis quid fortunis fuat} "from here at a distance will I observe what is to be my lot" [Truc. 709]; {Secede huc nunciam, si videtur, procul} "Step here then, at a distance now" [Capt. 219]; {proin tu ab istoc procul recedas} "Do you this instant stand away at a distance from him" [Capt. 551]; {repperi qui senem ducerem, quo dolo a me dolorem procul pellerem} "I've hit upon a plan whereby to cajole the old fellow, by means of which to drive grief away from me" [Most. 715-716]; {iam nunc ego illi egredienti sanguinem exsugam procul} "Even now, as he comes forth, I'll suck out his blood at this distance" [Poen. 614]; {Age, illuc abscede procul e conspectu, tace} "Well, go you off there at a distance out of sight; keep silence" [Persa 727].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {Quae grandem scelerum nancta materiam longe lateque cruentas suas manus porrigit} "The woman, now with ample supplies for further crime, stretched her murderous reach further" [Met. 10: 27]; {isto tamen vel unico solacio aerumnabilis deformitatis meae recreabar, quod auribus grandissimis praedibus cuncta longule etiam dissita facillime sentiebam} "at least I had gained one solace from that wretched and painful change of form, namely that with my vast ears I could hear everything clearly, even at some considerable distance" [Met. 9: 15].

The term *pr'ɔ=kʊł* {procul} is usually used with the prepositions {ab} and {ad}: {Sed ubi me procul a civitate gregarius ille perduxerat} "But when the herdsman arrived at the farm, far from the city" [Met. 7: 15], which. however, can be ellided: {sed quam procul semotus et domum celeri gradu pervectus} "He distanced himself from them, and went swiftly homewards" [Met. 9: 19].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 110. *di=* is a non-productive suffix, retained only in some words inherited from Latin [Capidan, 1925: 196].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 222; Byhan 1899: 267-268; Glavina 1905: 73. Žejane: *de=p'ʋrt-e* {depårte} Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 206.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 389; Dalametra 1906: 78; Cunia 2010: 393; Gołąb 1984: 212. There are two documented expressions for 'far': *l'arg-u* {lárgu} and *di=p'art-e* {dipárte}. Available contexts do not allow to differentiate between these words: {vin'iră di lárgu uclo} "they came from far away"; {di om cu sémnu – lárgu!} "from a man with the sign – far!"; {fudzǐ lárgu di míne} "run far away from me" [Papahagi 1963: 616]; {ɣin di lárgu} "I come from afar" [Dalametra 1906: 118]; {alghiàști ună hoàră aclò làrgu} "he appeares in a village from far away" [Dalametra 1906: 9-10]; {'nɣiliceàști di làrgu} "it shines from afar" [Dalametra 1906: 158]; {dipárte, tu arădzǐ́ murǐ} "far, at the foot of a mountain"; {l-vidzú di dipárti} "he have seen it from afar" [Papahagi 1963: 389]; {ɣin di dipàrti} "I come from afar" [Dalametra 1906: 78]. We have to treat *l'argu* and *dip'arte* as synonyms.Papahagi 1963: 616; Dalametra 1906: 118; Cunia 2010: 574-575.

Romanian: DER 2004: 348; Bolocan et al. 1985: 279; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *de=p'art-e* {departe} 'far' [Podiko 1973: 158; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 86].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 255. Some contexts are: {tu͡ɔnt a lontu͡ɔn} "very far" [Bartoli 2002: 251]; {kosái̯k ko la ti̯asta i fero, ke se vedua da lontu͡ɔn} "They were attached to their heads in such a way that they were seen from afar" [Bartoli 2002: 232]; {e náun fóit tuónt a luntún la mája cuósa} "it is not so far from my house" (Ive) [Bartoli 2002: 296-297]. Cubich mentions {a la

luarga} glossed as 'lontano' [Bartoli 2002: 271].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 48.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 170.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015. Distinct from *lənt'an* {lont'an} 'distantly'.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015. Distinct from *lənt'an* {lont'an} 'distantly'.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 220.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 187.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 187.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015. Distinct from *dist-'ant* {distant}, which means 'far', but is used to describe division or separation [Selva 2015].

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 240.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. There are two expressions for 'far': *luŋt'an* {luntàn} and *dišt-'aːŋt-e* {distānte}. According to [Piccone 2015], they are synonyms. Distinct from the obsolete term *da=l'uŋʒ-i* {da lunzi} 'far'.Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Zanetti 2015. There are two terms for 'far': *loŋt'aŋ* {lontan} and *dist'aŋt-e* {distante}. According to [Tosi 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Zanetti 2015], they are synonyms.Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Presso e lontano, lì, né pon né leva} "There near and far nor add nor take away" [Par. 30]; {"Noi veggiam, come quei c'ha mala luce, // le cose", disse, "che ne son lontano"} ""We see, like those who have imperfect sight, // the things," he said, "that distant are from us"" [Inf. 10].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1677. Distinct from *di=st-'ant-e* {distante} 'far', which is less frequently used[Vitali 2015].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 70. Distinct from *a=k'anta* {acanta} 'close to' [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *a=tː'ez-u* {attessu} 'far' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *lunt'an-u* {luntanu} 'far' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 175.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *ʎoɲ-e* {lloñe} 'far' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 122.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 814, 522; Fernández Armesto 1981: 478; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 981, 593.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 825-826.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1286-1287.

Old French: Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but occurs in texts, cf. some examples: {Sivre le me covient adés, //ou soit de loig ou soit de pres, // tant que ge puisse armes trover // ou a loier ou a prester} "So I must follow him at once, far or near, until I find some arms to hire or borrow" (Erec 255-258); {Et sus et jus et pres et loing} "Now up and down, near and far" (Cligès 6531).

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 228; Rayevskaya 2013: 389.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *lɔ̃* {lon} 'far'.

102. HEAVY

Archaic Latin *gr'aw-ɪs* {gravis} (1), Late Classical Latin *gr'av-ɪs* {gravis} (1), Megleno Romanian *grew* {gréu̯} (1), Istro Romanian *grev* {grev} (1), Aromanian *grew* {greŭ} (1), Romanian *grew* {greu} (1), Dalmatian *pez-'wont* {pes̓u̯o̯nt} (2), Friulian *pez-'ant* {pesant} (2), Gardenese Ladin *pəz-'ɔk* {pesoch} (2), Fassano Ladin *pez-'ok* {peso̯ch} (2), Rumantsch Grischun *gref* {grev} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *gref* {grev} (1), Surmiran Romansh *gref* {grev} (1), Vallader Romansh *grɛyf* {greiv} (1) / *pəz-'ant* {pesant} (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *grɛv* {grev} (1), Barbania Piemontese *grɛv* {grev} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *grɛv* {grev} (1), Turinese Piemontese *grɛv* {grev} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *piz-'aːŋt* (2), Bergamo Lombard *gref* {gref} (1), Plesio Lombard *pez-'aːnt* {pesant} (2), Ravennate Romagnol *p'ɛz-ãnt* {pèṣânt} (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *pes* {pés} (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *peːz* {pēś} (2), Reggiano Emiliano *pɛyz* {pèiš} (2), Rapallo Ligurian *pez-'aːŋt-e* (2), Genoese Ligurian *pez-'aŋt-e* {pesante} (2), Stella Ligurian *pez-'aːŋt-e* {pesānte} (2), Venice Venetian *pez-'aŋt-e* {pesànte} (2), Primiero Venetian *grew* {greu} (1), Bellunese Venetian *pez-'aŋt-e* {pesante} (2), Old Italian *gr'av-e* {grave} (1), Standard Italian *pes-'ant-e* {pesante} (2), Grosseto Italian *p'es-o* {peso} (2), Foligno Italian *p'es-u* {pesu} (2), Neapolitan *pəs-'ant-ə* {pesante} ~ *p'is-ant-ə* {pìsanto} (2), Logudorese *gr'av-e* {grave} (1), Campidanese *gray* {grai} (1), Palermitan Sicilian *pis-'ant-i* {pisanti} (2), Messinese Sicilian *pis-'ant-ɨ* {pisanti} (2), Catanian Sicilian *pis-'ant-i* {pisanti} (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *pis-'ant-i* {pisanti} (2), Central Catalan *pəz-'at* {pesat} ~ *pəz-'an* {pesant} (2), North-Western Catalan *pez-'at* {pesat} ~ *pez-'an* {pesant} (2), Minorcan Catalan *pəz-'at* {pesat} (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pez-'at* {pesat} (2), Valencia Catalan *pez-'at* {pesat} (2), Manises Catalan *pes-'at* {pesat} (2), Castilian Spanish *pes-'að-o* {pesado} (2), Asturian *pes-'a-o* {pesao} (2), Standard Portuguese *pəz'að-u* {pesado}

(2), Galician *pes-ˈað-o {pesado}* (2), Provençal Occitan *luɾd {lourd}* (-1) / *pˈɛwʒ-e {péuge}* ~ *pˈez-ant {pesant}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pɛz-ã {pèzan}* (2), Old French *pəz-ˈãnt {pesant}* (2), Standard French *luʁ {lourd}* (3), Picard *luʁ {lourd}* (3), Walloon *pɛz-ã {pèzant}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {quidquid inest, grave quidem inest} "whatever's in it, it's something heavy that's in it" [Rud. 925a]; {si quispiam det qui manus gravior siet} "If any one lays on whose hand is too heavy" [Pseud. 785].

Late Classical Latin: An example: {rursum nos ac praecipue me longe gravius onustum producunt illi latrones stabulo} "the robbers drove us from the stable, and loaded me in particular with a heavier burden" [Met. 4: 4]. The term {pensans} is not attested.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 144.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 225; Glavina 1905: 72. There is also the Croatism *t'ežək {téžâc}* [Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 360] which means 'hard, difficult' rather than 'heavy', cf. {čésta arăt i̯e téžâc} "it's hard to plough" [Kovačec 2010]; {ke am fost toc scupa și n-av fost niș teșco} "because we were all together and nothing was too difficult to do".

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 500; Cunia 2010: 514-515; Dalametra 1906: 102; Gołąb 1984: 218.

Romanian: DER 2004: 451; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1527; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *grew {greu}* 'heavy' [Podiko 1973: 963-964; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 456].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 255. There is also another word: *grev {grev}*, translated by Bartoli as 'heavy', but it is attested in only one dubious context: {ju me plúk kol midúl da zupigu͡ọr … kosta ráu̯ba la me restúa sul stúmik perkó fero rau̯ba grév} "I like to suck out the marrow… this thing remains in my stomach, because it is heavy" [Bartoli 2002: 242].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015. Pirona mentions the term *grɛv {grèv}* 'heavy' [Pirona 1871: 194], but today it is obsolete [Decorte 2015].

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 179. Marebbano: *poz'ɔk {pozǫk}* 'heavy'; Badiotto: *pəz'ɔːk {pəzōk}* 'heavy'; Livinallese: *pez'ɔk {pezǫk}* 'heavy'; Nones: *el=p'eza {el peza}* 'heavy' [Gartner 1923: 179].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 218, 520; Gartner 1923: 179. Distinct from {grięf} 'difficult' [DILF 2001: 464].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 337. There are two equivalents for 'heavy' in Vallader: *grɛyf {greiv}* and *pəz'ant {pesant}*. According to [Conrad 2015; Vital 2015], they are synonyms. Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 538.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 244.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 244. Fiandro also mentions the term *pez-ˈaɲt {pesant}* 'heavy', which, as he asserts, is an Italianism [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. The word *pɛyz {pèis}* 'heavy' is used as well, but according to [Sanero 2015], it is less common.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *pez-ˈaɲt {pesant}* 'difficult, tiring', cf. {una situassiun pesant-a} 'a difficult situation'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 305. Distinct from *griv {griv}* 'hard (work) / heavy (food)' [Ercolani 1960: 182].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Alte terrà lungo tempo le fronti, // tenendo l'altra sotto gravi pesi} "High will it hold its forehead a long while, // keeping the other under heavy burdens" [Inf. 6]; {se col suo grave corpo non s'accascia} "if with its heavy body it sink not" [Inf. 24]; {Io sono al terzo cerchio, de la piova // etterna, maladetta, fredda e greve} "in the third circle am I of the rain // eternal, maledict, and cold, and heavy" [Inf. 6]; {sotto la guardia de la grave mora} "under the safeguard of the heavy cairn" [Purg. 3]. The term *pes-'ant-e* {pesante} 'heavy' is not attested in Dante's works.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1792.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 205. Domus de Maria: *gray* {grai} 'heavy' [Fadda 2015]. Apart from this term, younger speakers use the Italianism *pez-'ant-i* {pesanti} 'heavy' as well [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 314].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *pis-'ant-i* {pisanti} 'heavy' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 220.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *pes'a-u* {pesáu} 'heavy' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 648-649.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 829; Fernández Armesto 1981: 579; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1004.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 830. There are two expressions for 'heavy': lu*r*d {lourd}, which is evidently borrowed from French, and *p'ɛwʒ-e* {péuge} ~ *p'ez-ant* {pesant}. Coupier mentions them as synonyms.Coupier 1995: 830.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1294.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 838. Polysemy: 'heavy / unpleasant, severe, striking'. Distinct from *gryef* {grief} 'hard, grievous' [EDCT 2014: 566].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 305; Rayevskaya 2013: 617. There are two words for 'heavy': *luʁ* {lourd} and *pɔz-ã* {pesant} (as an adjective; *pɔz-ã* {pesant} can also be a participle of the verb *pɔz-e* {peser} 'to weigh') [Robert-Collins 1989: 305; Rayevskaya 2013: 617], cf. {une porte pesante} 'a heavy door' [LGR 7: 309] and {lourde porte} 'heavy door' [LGR 6: 81-83]. However there is a big difference in frequency: in the Lonsdale & Le Bras dictionary the term *luʁ* {lourd} occurs in the 1026th position, while *pɔz-ã* {pesant} does not even make it to the list of 5 000 most frequent French words [Lonsdale & Le Bras 2009: 47], so we include only *luʁ* {lourd} in the list.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *pɛz-ã* {pezant} 'heavy'.

103. NEAR

Archaic Latin *pr'ɔp-ɛ {prope}* (1), Late Classical Latin *pr'ɔp-ɛ {prope}* (1), Megleno Romanian *pr'o̯ap-i {proápi}* (1), Istro Romanian *pr'op-e {própe}* (1), Aromanian *a=pr'o̯ap-e*

{aproápe} (1), Romanian *a=pr'o̯ap-e {aproape}* (1), Dalmatian *a=l'ič {a lich}* (2), Friulian *d'ɔnʤ-e {dongje}* (3), Gardenese Ladin *da=wž'iŋ {daujin}* (4), Fassano Ladin *da=vež'iŋ {daveji̯n}* (4), Rumantsch Grischun *də=mən-'ayv-əl {damanaivel}* (5), Sursilvan Romansh *də=mən-'ɛyv-əl {damaneivel}* (5) / *də=t'yer {datier}* (6), Surmiran Romansh *mən-'ev-əl {manevel}* (5), Vallader Romansh *də=štr'uš {dastrusch}* (7), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *da=vz'iŋ {davzin}* (4), Barbania Piemontese *da=vz'iŋ {davsin}* (4), Carmagnola Piemontese *vz'iŋ {vzin}* (4), Turinese Piemontese *a=vz'iŋ {avzin}* (4), Vercellese Piemontese *vzi:ŋ* (4), Bergamo Lombard *iz'i {ìzì}* (4), Plesio Lombard *viz'iŋ {visin}* (4), Ravennate Romagnol *bzẽ {bşén}* (4), Ferrarese Emiliano *vsin {vsìn}* (4), Carpigiano Emiliano *zvɛyn {śvèin}* (4), Reggiano Emiliano *vzeyn {všein}* (4) / *ar'ɛynt {arèint}* (8), Rapallo Ligurian *viž'in* (4), Genoese Ligurian *vež'i:n {vexîn}* (4), Stella Ligurian *viž'in {vixìn}* (4), Venice Venetian *vis'iŋ {vissin}* (4), Primiero Venetian *vez'iŋ {vexin}* (4), Bellunese Venetian *viz'iŋ {visin}* (4), Old Italian *pr'ɛs:-o {presso}* (9), Standard Italian *vič'in-o {vicino}* (4), Grosseto Italian *vič'in-o {vicino}* (4), Foligno Italian *vič'in-u {vicinu}* (4), Neapolitan *viš'in-ə {vicino}* ~ *beš'in-ə {becino}* (4), Logudorese *a=k'ant-e {a cante}* (10) / *a=k:'urc:-u {accurtzu}* (11), Campidanese *bižin-u {bixinu}* (4), Palermitan Sicilian *vič'in-u {vicinu}* (4), Messinese Sicilian *vɪč'in-u {vicinu}* (4), Catanian Sicilian *vič'in-u {vicinu}* (4), South-Eastern Sicilian *vič'in-u {vicinu}* (4), Central Catalan *ə=pr'ɔp {a prop}* (1), North-Western Catalan *a=pr'ɔp {a prop}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *ə=pr'ɔp {a prop}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *a=pr'ɔp {a prop}* (1), Valencia Catalan *prɔp {prop}* (1), Manises Catalan *prɔp {prop}* (1), Castilian Spanish *θ'erk-a {cerca}* (12), Asturian *θ'erk-a {cerca}* (12), Standard Portuguese *p'ɛrt-u {perto}* (13) / *pr'ɔsim-u {próximo}* (-1), Galician *θ'erka {cerca}* (12) / *pr'ɛto {preto}* (13), Provençal Occitan *pr'ɔč-e {proche}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *pre {pré}* (9), Old French *prɛs {pres}* (9), Standard French *pʁɛ {près}* (9), Picard *pʁe {pré}* (9), Walloon *tu=pʀɛ {tout près}* (9).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {Quisnam hic loquitur tam prope nos?} "who's that, talking here so near to us?" [Stichus 330]; {Quis homo est, qui nostras aedes accessit prope?} "What person is it that has come so near to our house?" [Most. 446].

Late Classical Latin: A good example is: {Certe quidem iacenti homini ac prope deposito fatum attulit} "Be this as it may, he certainly snatched the man from the jaws of death as he lay there on the verge of burial" [Florida 19].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 235.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 187, 262; Byhan 1899: 321, 187; Glavina 1905: 75. Žejane: *a=pr'op-e* {aprópe}.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 122; Cunia 2010: 92-93; Gołąb 1984: 200.

Romanian: DER 2004: 839; Bolocan et al. 1985: 76; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *a=pr'o̯ap-e* {aproape} 'near' [Podiko 1973: 36; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 26].

Dalmatian: Cubich notes two words, which he glosses as 'vicino': *vič'ayn* {viciáin} [Bartoli 2002: 285] and *a=l'ič* {a lich} [Bartoli 2002: 271]. The first one is probably a noun ('neighbour'), while the second one is the adverb 'near', since {da lich} is glossed by Cubich as

'davanti' ('in front of').

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 709, 143.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 107, 164.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 351, 414.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. There are two expressions for 'near' in Sursilvan: *də=mən-ˈɛɣv-əl* {damaneivel} and *də=tˈyer* {datier}. They seem to be synonyms, cf. {vegnir damaneivel} 'to come closer' and {vegnir datier} 'to come closer' [Decurtins 2015].Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *rˈeːŋta* 'nearby'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 58.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from the less frequent term *a=tˈɛːs* {atēs} 'near' and from *arˈɛynt* {arèint} 'nearby'.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Besides this word, Chertein mentions the term *arˈɛynt* {arèint} as a synonym [Chertein 2015].Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015. Distinct from the obsolete term *da=rˈɛŋt-e* {da rènte} [Piccone 2015].

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Busato 2015; Pezzin 2015. Salgareda; Vicenza, Schio: *vizˈiŋ* {visin} 'near' [Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: The diagnostic context is {Presso e lontano, lì, né pon né leva} "There near and far nor add nor take away" [Par. 30]. Some other good contexts: {presso è un altro scoglio che via face} "near is another crag that yields a path" [Inf. 21]; {Ma se presso al mattin del ver si sogna} "But if when morn is near our dreams are true" [Inf. 26]. Distinct from *vičˈin-o* {vicino} 'near to, close to': {Io lo seguiva, e poco eravam iti, // che 'l suon de l'acqua n'era sì vicino, // che per parlar saremmo a pena uditi} "I followed him, and little had we gone, // before the sound of water was so near us, // that speaking we should hardly have been heard" [Inf. 16]; {vicino al fin d'i passeggiati marmi} "near to the confine of the trodden marble" [Inf. 17]; {poco è, da un che fu di là vicino} "Lately from one who was a neighbour to it" [Inf. 22]; {per lo furto che frodolente fece // del grande armento ch'elli ebbe a vicino} "by reason of the fraudulent theft he made // of the great herd, which he had near to him" [Inf. 25]; {vicino a' monti de' quai prima uscìo} "near to the mountains whence it issued first" [Par. 6]; {Questi che m'è a destra più vicino} "He who is nearest to me on the right" [Par. 10]; {e vidi com' si move // circa e vicino a lui Maia e Dïone} "and saw how move themselves // around and near him Maia and Dione" [Par. 22].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 1993.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. There are two terms for 'near' in Logudorese: *a=kˈant-e* {a cante} and *a=kˈurc:-u* {accurtzu}. According to [Buttu 2015], they are synonyms.Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Pintus 2015. Distinct from *a=kˈant-a* {acanta} 'close to' [Pintus 2015]. Domus de Maria: *a=kˈ:ant-a* {accanta} 'near' [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 16].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *vičˈin-u* {vicinu} 'near' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 54.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *θˈerk-a* {cerca} 'near' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 42. There are two terms for 'near': *pˈɛrt-u* {perto} and *prˈɔsim-u* {próximo} [Voinova et al. 1989: 42]. According to [Pimentel Ferreira 2016], they are synonyms.Voinova et al. 1989: 42. Borrowed from Latin {proximus}.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 778; Fernández Armesto 1981: 179. There are two terms for 'near' in Galician: *θˈerka* {cerca} and *prˈɛto* {preto}. It seems that they should be treated as synonyms, cf. {Esta moi cerca de aquí} and {Esta moi preto de aquí} "It's very near here" [Montoya Bolaños 2016].Montoya Bolaños 2016; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 939, 704, 727.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1106.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1722.

Old French: Does not have a separate entry in the EDCT, but occurs in texts; see examples on 'far' q.v.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 443. Apart from this term, the expression *a=pʁɔks-im-ite* {à proximité} 'near / close by / close at hand' can be used as well [Robert-Collins 1989: 567].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *tɔ=p ʁ* {toprès} 'near'.

104. SALT

Archaic Latin *saːɫ {sal}* (1), Late Classical Latin *saːɫ {sal}* (1), Megleno Romanian *sˈar-i {sári}* (1), Istro Romanian *sˈʋr-e {såre}* (1), Aromanian *sˈar-e {sare}* (1), Romanian *sˈar-e {sare}* (1), Dalmatian *sʋal {sual}* (1), Friulian *saːl {sâl}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *sɛl {sel}* (1), Fassano Ladin *sɛl {sèl}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *sal {sal}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *sal {sal}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *sal {sal}* (1), Vallader Romansh *sal {sal}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *sal {sal}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *sal {sal}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *sal {sal}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *sal {sal}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *sal* (1), Bergamo Lombard *sal {sàl}* (1), Plesio Lombard *sˈa-a {saa}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *seə̯l {sêl}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *sal {sal}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *sɛːl {sêl}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *sɛːl {sêl}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian *saː* (1), Genoese Ligurian *saː {sâ}* (1), Stella Ligurian *soː {sô}* (1), Venice Venetian *sal {sàl}* (1), Primiero Venetian *sal {sal}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *sal {sal}* (1), Old Italian *sˈal-e {sale}* (1), Standard Italian *sˈal-e {sale}* (1), Grosseto Italian *sˈal-e {sale}* (1), Foligno Italian *sˈal-e {sale}* (1), Neapolitan *sˈal-ə {sale}* (1), Logudorese *sˈal-e {sale}* (1), Campidanese *sˈal-i {sali}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *sˈal-i {sali}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *sˈal-ɨ {sali}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *sˈal-i {sali}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *sˈal-i {sali}* (1), Central Catalan *saɫ {sal}* (1), North-Western Catalan *saɫ {sal}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *saɫ {sal}* (1),

Castelló de la Plana Catalan *saɫ {sal}* (1), Valencia Catalan *saɫ {sal}* (1), Manises Catalan *saɫ {sal}* (1), Castilian Spanish *sal {sal}* (1), Asturian *sal {sal}* (1), Standard Portuguese *saɫ {sal}* (1), Galician *sal {sal}* (1), Provençal Occitan *saw {sau}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sa: {sâ}* (1), Old French *se:l {sel}* (1), Standard French *sɛl {sel}* (1), Picard *se {sé}* (1), Walloon *se {sé}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Cf. some examples: {Referundae ego habeo linguam natam gratiae. eodem mihi pretio sal praehibetur quo tibi. nisi me haec defendet, numquam delinget salem} "Salt is provided for me at the same price as for yourself; Unless this tongue protects me, it shall never lick a bit of salt" [Persa 428-430]; {Edepol cor miserum meum, quod guttatim contabescit, quasi in aquam indideris salem} "By heavens, my heart is saddened, which, drop by drop is melting away, just as though you were to put salt in water" [Merc. 204-205].

Late Classical Latin: Apuleius uses this word only in the meaning 'joke': {Reperias tamen apud ipsum multos sales} "However this may be, you will certainly find his works full of humour" [Florida 16], but there are no reasons to doubt that it also meant 'salt', as it already did in PIE and as it still does in all modern Romance languages.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 257.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 270; Byhan 1899: 346.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 915; Cunia 2010: 887-888; Dalametra 1906: 182; Gołąb 1984: 247. Polysemy: 'salt / character'.

Romanian: DER 2004: 815; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1405; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *sˈar-e {sare}* 'salt' [Podiko 1973: 881; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 421].

Dalmatian: Attested by Cubich [Bartoli 2002: 32].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 80, 172.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 270.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 631.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 305.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 305.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 397. Marchigiano: *sɛl {sèl}* 'salt' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Poletto 2015; Zanetti 2015. Padua, Vicenza, Arzignano: *sˈa-e {saɫe}* 'salt' [Tre 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Serena 2015]. Treviso: *sˈaɰ-e {saɫe}* 'salt' [Busato 2015]. Vicenza, Schio, Marostica: *sˈal-e {sale}* 'salt' [Cortiana 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: An example is: {tu proverai sì come sa di sale // lo pane altrui} "thou shalt have proof how savoureth of salt // the bread of others" [Par. 17].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2216.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Casciu 2006: 360. Domus de Maria: *s'al-i* {sali} 'salt' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *s'al-i* {sali} 'salt' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 257.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *sal* {sal} 'salt' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 594.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 656; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1020, 791.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1284.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1963.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1016.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 600; Rayevskaya 2013: 594.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *se* {sé} 'salt'.

105. SHORT

Archaic Latin *br'ɛw-ɪs {brevis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *br'ɛv-ɪs {brevis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *kus {cus}* (-1), Istro Romanian *skurt {scurt}* (2), Aromanian *sk'urt-u {scúrtu}* (2), Romanian *skurt {scurt}* (2), Dalmatian *kwart {ku̯art}* (-1), Friulian *kurt {curt}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *kurt {curt}* (2), Fassano Ladin *kurt {curt}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *kurt {curt}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *kwort {cuort}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *kurt {curt}* (2), Vallader Romansh *kwort {cuort}* (2), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *kürt {curt}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *kürt {curt}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *kürt {curt}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *kürt {curt}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *kört* (2), Bergamo Lombard *kört {cört}* (2), Plesio Lombard *kü:rt {cürt}* (2), Ravennate Romagnol *kurt {curt}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *kurt {curt}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *kurt {curt}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *ku:rt {cûrt}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *k'ürt-u* (2), Genoese Ligurian *k'urt-u {cŏrtŏ}* (2), Stella Ligurian *k'ürt-u {cürtu}* (2),

Venice Venetian *kˈurt-o {cùrto}* (2), Primiero Venetian *kurt {curt}* (2), Bellunese Venetian *kurt {curt}* (2), Old Italian *kˈort-o {corto}* (2), Standard Italian *kˈort-o {corto}* (2), Grosseto Italian *kˈort-o {corto}* (2), Foligno Italian *kˈurt-u {curtu}* (2), Neapolitan *kˈurt-ə {curto}* (2), Logudorese *kˈurc-u {curzu}* (2), Campidanese *krˈucː-u {cruzzu}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *kˈurt-u {curtu}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *kˈutː-u {cuttu}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *kˈurt-u {curtu}* (2), South-Eastern Sicilian *kˈuɾt-u {curtu}* (2), Central Catalan *kurt {curt}* (2), North-Western Catalan *kuɾt ~ kuɾ {curt}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *kuɾt {curt}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kuɾt {curt}* (2), Valencia Catalan *kuɾt {curt}* (2), Manises Catalan *kuɾt {curt}* (2), Castilian Spanish *kˈort-o {corto}* (2), Asturian *kˈurt-y-o {curtio} ~ kˈort-o {corto}* (2), Standard Portuguese *kˈurt-u {curto}* (2), Galician *kˈurt-o {curto}* (2), Provençal Occitan *kuɾt {court}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ko {ko}* (2), Old French *kort {cort}* (2), Standard French *kuʁ {court}* (2), Picard *kuʁ {court}* (2), Walloon *kuːʀ {coûrt}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {sed spatium hoc occidit: brevest curriculo; quam me paenitet} "But this distance is far too short for the course" [Stichus 307]; {canum, varum, ventriosum, bucculentum, breviculum, subnigris oculis, oblongis malis, pansam aliquantulum} "red-headed, bandy-legged, pot-bellied, wide-mouthed, of stunted figure, with darkish eyes, lank jaws, splay-footed rather" [Merc. 639-640].

Late Classical Latin: A good example of the use of 'short (about space)' (unfortunately, the English translation deviates from the original in this passage) is {Grabatus alioqui breviculus et uno pede mutilus} "My bed, being low, with a dodgy foot and its wood rotten" [Met. 1: 11]. The term {curtus} is not attested.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 90. Borrowed from Macedonian {kus} 'short'.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 272; Byhan 1899: 342. Apart from *skurt*, Byhan also mentions the word *kurt* {kurt} [Byhan 1899: 259], but it is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 936; Cunia 2010: 916-917; Dalametra 1906: 186; Gołąb 1984: 252.

Romanian: DER 2004: 851; Bolocan et al. 1985:548; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *skurt* {scurt} [Podiko 1973: ; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 172].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 255. The example is {el bragóṅ ku̯art} "short pants" [Bartoli 2002: 232]. A Venetian borrowing.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 665, 96-97.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 45, 157.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 78.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 215.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 73.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 73.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 117.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015. Salgareda: *kurt* {cùrt} 'short' [Poletto 2015]. Tre, Pezzin and Zanetti mention the form *k'ort-o* {corto} 'short' of Italian origin [Tre 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {lunga promessa con l'attender corto} "the promise long with the fulfilment short" [Inf. 27]; {sì ch'or mi parran corte queste scale} "so that these stairs will now seem short to me" [Purg. 22]; {vedi che la ragione ha corte l'ali} "thou seest that the reason has short wings" [Par. 2]; {le minuzie d'i corpi, lunghe e corte} "the particles of bodies long and short" [Par. 14]. Once Dante uses *br'ɛv-e* {breve} in the meaning 'short (in space)', but it is made because of rhyme: {Per che non pioggia, non grando, non neve, // non rugiada, non brina più sù cade // che la scaletta di tre gradi breve} "Because that neither rain, nor hail, nor snow, // nor dew, nor hoar-frost any higher falls // than the short, little stairway of three steps" [Purg. 21].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2260-2261. Distinct from *br'ɛv-e* {breve} 'brief' [Battaglia II: 366-368].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 146. Domus de Maria: *kr'uc:-u* {cruzzu} 'short' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *k'uɾt-u* {curtu} 'short' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 72. A more colloquial pronunciation is *kuɾ* [Alòs i Font 2015].

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *k'uɾt-y-u* {curtiu} 'short' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 242. Distinct from *br'ɛv-ə* {breve} 'brief' [Voinova et al. 1989: 242].

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 782, 285; Fernández Armesto 1981: 224; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 941, 314.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 319-320.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 615.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 251. Can be sometimes used in the meaning 'brief'. Distinct from *bryef* {brief} 'brief, short' [EDCT 2014: 154].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 632; Rayevskaya 2013: 451.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ku ʁ* {court} 'short'.

106. SNAKE

Archaic Latin ˈaŋgʷ-ɪs {anguis} (1), Late Classical Latin sˈɛrp-eːn-s {serpens} (2), Megleno Romanian šˈarp-i {şárpi} (2), Istro Romanian šˈʋrp-e {şårpe} (2), Aromanian šˈarp-e {şárpe}

(2), Romanian *šˈarp-e {şarpe}* (2), Dalmatian *serp-ˈyant {serpiant}* (2), Friulian *sarp-ˈint {sarpint}* (2), Gardenese Ladin *bˈek-a {beca}* (3), Fassano Ladin *serp-ˈent {serpęnt}* ~ *serp {serp}* (2), Rumantsch Grischun *sɛrp {serp}* (2), Sursilvan Romansh *syarp {siarp}* (2), Surmiran Romansh *cɛrp {zerp}* (2), Vallader Romansh *sɛrp {serp}* (2) / *vˈɛrm-ə {verma}* (4), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *sɛrp {serp}* (2), Barbania Piemontese *sɛrp-ˈɛŋt {serp}* (2), Carmagnola Piemontese *sɛrp {serp}* (2), Turinese Piemontese *sɛrp {serp}* (2), Vercellese Piemontese *sarp-ˈeːŋt* (2), Bergamo Lombard *serp-ˈɛnt {serpènt}* (2), Plesio Lombard *bˈiz-a {bisa}* (5), Ravennate Romagnol *sarp-ˈẽnt {sarpént}* ~ *serp-ˈẽnt {serpént}* (2), Ferrarese Emiliano *serp-ˈɛnt {serpènt}* (2), Carpigiano Emiliano *serp-ˈɛynt {serpèint}* (2), Reggiano Emiliano *sarp-ˈɛynt {sarpèint}* ~ *serp-ˈɛynt {serpèint}* (2), Rapallo Ligurian *bˈiž-a* (5), Genoese Ligurian *serp-ˈent-e {serpente}* (2), Stella Ligurian *bˈiš:-a {bìscia}* (5), Venice Venetian *serp-ˈeŋt-e {serpénte}* (2), Primiero Venetian *bˈis-a {bisa}* (5), Bellunese Venetian *bˈis-a {bisa}* (5), Old Italian *sˈɛrp-e {serpe}* ~ *serp-ˈɛnt-e {serpente}* (2), Standard Italian *sˈɛrp-e {serpe}* (2), Grosseto Italian *sˈɛrp-e {serpe}* (2), Foligno Italian *sˈɛrp-a {serpa}* (2), Neapolitan *sˈɛrp-ə {serpe}* ~ *sərp-ˈent-ə {serpente}* ~ *sərp-ˈyent-ə {serpiente}* (2), Logudorese *koɫˈovri-u {colòvriu}* ~ *koɫˈovr-a {colòvra}* (6), Campidanese *sˈɛrp-i {serpi}* (2), Palermitan Sicilian *sˈyɛrp-i {sierpi}* ~ *sirpˈyɛnt-i {sirpienti}* (2), Messinese Sicilian *sˈɛrp-i {serpi}* (2), Catanian Sicilian *skuɾsˈun-i {scursuni}* (7), South-Eastern Sicilian *škus:ˈun-i {scussuni}* (7), Central Catalan *serp {serp}* (2), North-Western Catalan *serp {serp}* (2), Minorcan Catalan *serp {serp}* (2), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *serp {serp}* (2), Valencia Catalan *serp {serp}* (2), Manises Catalan *serp {serp}* (2), Castilian Spanish *serp-ˈyent-e {serpiente}* (2), Asturian *kuɫˈebɾ-a {culebra}* (5), Standard Portuguese *sərp-ˈẽnt-ə {serpente}* (2), Galician *sˈɛrp-e {serpe}* (2), Provençal Occitan *sɛrp {serp}* ~ *serp-ˈent {serpènt}* (2), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *sarp-ˈɛ {sarpê}* ~ *sarp-ˈɛ̃ {sarpin}* (2), Old French *serp-ˈãnt {serpent}* (2), Standard French *sɛʁp-ã {serpent}* (2), Picard *sɛʁp-ɛ̃ {serpint}* (2), Walloon *vipeːʁ {vipêre}* (8).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {BROM. Magis iam faxo mira dices. postquam in cunas conditust, devolant angues iubati deorsum in impluvium duo maximi: continuo extollunt ambo capita. AMPH. Ei mihi. BROM. Ne pave. sed angues oculis omnis circumvisere. postquam pueros conspicati, pergunt ad cunas citi. ego cunas recessim rursum vorsum trahere et ducere, metuens pueris, mihi formidans; tantoque angues acrius persequi. postquam conspexit angues ille alter puer, citus e cunis exilit, facit recta in anguis impetum} "BROM. Now shall I make you own to things more wondrous still. After he was laid in the cradle, two immense crested serpents glided down through the skylight; instantly they both reared their heads. AMPH. Ah me! BROM. Be not dismayed - but the serpents began to gaze upon all around. After they beheld the children, quickly they made towards the cradle; I, fearing for the children, alarmed for myself, going backwards, began to draw and pull the cradle to and fro, and so much the more fiercely did the serpents pursue. After that one of the children caught sight of the serpents, he quickly leapt from the cradle, straightway he

made an attack upon them, and suddenly he grasped them, one in each hand" [Amph. 1107-1114]; {Puer ambo angues enicat} "The child slew both the serpents" [Amph. 1119]; {eumque filium suom esse qui illos angues vicerit; alterum tuom esse dixit puerum} "and that he was his own son who had overcome those serpents; the other, he said, was your child" [Amph. 1123-1124]; {Nempe uxor rurist tua, quam dudum dixeras te odisse aeque atque anguis} "Your wife's in the country, I suppose, whom you were saying a little time ago you hated full as much as vipers" [Merc. 760-761].

Another Latin term for 'snake', {serpens}, does not occur in Plautus' texts. However, there is a very interesting context: {fac proserpentem bestiam me, duplicem ut habeam linguam} "make of me the reptile that crawls, so that I may have a double tongue" [Asin. 695].

In Cato's text both terms occur only once: {Pellem anguinam ubi videris, tollito et condito, ne quaeras cum opus siet} "When you see a snake skin, pick it up and put it away, so that you will not have to hunt for one when you need it" [De agri cultura 73]; {Si bovem aut aliam quamvis quadrupedem serpens momorderit} "When a serpent has bitten an ox or any other quadruped" [De agri cultura 102].

It is hard to say if there was any semantic difference or if {serpens} was just a new term, which was replacing the old {anguis}, but {anguis} has a good IE etymology, whereas {serpens} is an evident innovation; because of this, the second variant is more probable. Anyway, from the contexts above it seems that in Plautus' times {anguis} was still more widespread.

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {quod ramis semiamputatis nodosum gerit, serpentem generosum lubricis amplexibus inhaerere} "noble snake that clings with its slippery knots to Asclepius' staff, the knotty one he carries with the half sawn-off branches" [Met. 1: 4]; {Quodsi te ruris huius vocalis solitudo vel clandestinae veneris faetidi periculosique concubitus et venenati serpentis amplexus delectant, certe piae sorores nostrum fecerimus} "If you delight in the sounding solitude of this rural retreat of yours, the foul and perilous embrace of a clandestine love, the clasp of a venomous serpent, well, at least we loving sisters will have performed our duty" [Met. 5: 18]; {existimationem famamque meam laeseris in serpentes in ignes in feras in aves et gregalia pecua serenos vultus meos sordide reformando} "that you've injured my good name, and destroyed my reputation through scandalous adulteries, transforming my tranquil features vilely into snakes and flames, and birds and beasts, and even cattle" [Met. 6: 22]; {Tuam maiestatem perhorrescunt aves caelo meantes, ferae montibus errantes, serpentes solo latentes, beluae ponto natantes} "The birds flying in the sky, the wild beasts that prowl the mountains, the serpents that lurk underground, the very monsters of the deep tremble at your power" [Met. 11: 25]. The term ˈaŋgʷ-ʙ {anguis} is not attested.

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 283. Apart from this item, there is a word nəprɔtkə {năprǫtcă} 'grass snake, snake' of substrate origin [Capidan 1935: 203] and a contaminated variant šəprətkə {șăprătcă} 'grass snake, snake' [Capidan 1935: 282].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 283; Byhan 1899: 346.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1000; Cunia 2010: 922; Dalametra 1906: 182; Gołąb 1984: 252. Distinct from nipˈɨrtik-ə {nipî́rtică} of substrate origin, which means 'snake' in some dialects and 'viper' in the others [Papahagi 1963: 770; Cunia 2010: 741; Dalametra 1906: 148].

Romanian: DER 2004: 869; Bolocan et al. 1985: 440; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: šˈarp-e {șarpe} 'snake' [Podiko 1973: 263-264; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 144].

Dalmatian: Attested in Cubich's vocabulary [Bartoli 2002: 275].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 699.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 16, 175.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 288.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 673. There are two equivalents for 'snake' in Vallader: sɛrp {serp} and vˈɛrm-ə {verma}. According to [Conrad 2015], they are synonyms.Conrad 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 804. This term isn't used by Mrs. Vital.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 327.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 327.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. Distinct from *b'is-a* 'non-venomous snake'.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015. Distinct from *bes* {bes} 'little snake' [Garlini 2015].

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 364, 398.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015. Distinct from *b'is-a* {bìsa} 'grass snake' [Sacchi 2015].

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015. Distinct from *b'es-a* {bésa} 'grass snake' [Chertein 2015].

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Pezzin 2015. Schio, Verona: *sarp-'eŋt-e* {sarpente} 'snake' [Clementi 2015; Zanetti 2015]. Distinct from *b'is-a* {bisa} [Tosi 2015] ~ *b'isy-a* {bissia} 'non-venomous snake' [Tre 2015]. Treviso, Salgareda, Arzignano: *b'is-a* {bìsa} 'snake' [Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Serena 2015]. Vicenza: *b'isy-a* {bissia} [Cortiana 2015] ~ *b'is-o* {bisso} 'snake' [Ricchieri 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {ben dovrebb' esser la tua man più pia, // se state fossimo anime di serpi} "indeed, thy hand should be more pitiful, // Even if the souls of serpents we had been" [Inf. 13]; {La faccia sua era faccia d'uom giusto, // tanto benigna avea di fuor la pelle, // e d'un serpente tutto l'altro fusto} "The face was as the face of a just man, // its semblance outwardly was so benign, // and of a serpent all the trunk beside" [Inf. 17].

A much less common term for 'snake' is *b'iš:-a* {biscia}. Dante uses it four times. In modern Italian it means 'grass snake' and in two of the contexts it might have been used in this meaning: {Come le rane innanzi a la nimica // biscia per l'acqua si dileguan tutte} "Even as the frogs before the hostile serpent // across the water scatter all abroad" [Inf. 9]; {I do not think Maremma has so many // serpents as he had all along his back} "Maremma non cred' io che tante n'abbia, // quante bisce elli avea su per la groppa" (Maremma is know by it's swamps) [Inf. 25]. But in the other two contexts {biscia} was clearly used as a generic term for 'snake': {vertù così per nimica si fuga // da tutti come biscia, o per sventura // del luogo} "virtue is like an enemy avoided // by all, as is a serpent, through misfortune // of place" [Purg. 14]; {Da quella parte onde non ha riparo // la picciola vallea, era una biscia, // forse qual diede ad Eva il cibo amaro} "Upon the side on which the little valley // no barrier hath, a serpent was; perchance // the same which gave to Eve the bitter food" [Purg. 8].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2283. Distinct from *serp-'ɛnt-e* {serpente} 'snake', which is used in scientific language [Battaglia XIII: 738-739], and from *b'iš:-a* {biscia} 'non-venomous snake' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 178].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015. Distinct from *p'iber-a* {pìbera} 'grass snake' [Buttu 2015].

Campidanese: Pintus 2015. Domus de Maria: *kal'or-u* {caloru} 'snake' [Fadda 2015]. Apart from this term, younger speakers use the Italianism *serp-'ent-i* {serpenti} as well [Fadda 2015; Casciu 2006: 384].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *sirp-'ɛnt-i* {sirpenti} 'snake' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *s'ɛrp-i* {serpi} ~ *sirp-'ɛnt-i* {sirpenti} 'snake' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015. Salzano mentions the term *sɛrp'ɛnt-i* {serpenti} 'snake', which is borrowed from Italian [Salzano 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; Salerno 2015. La Mattina mentions the term *sirp'ɛnt-i* {sirpenti} 'snake' [La Mattina 2015].

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015. Agrigento: *škurs'un-i* {scursuni} 'snake' [Miccichè 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 262.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. Distinct from *kuˈeβɾ-a* {culebra} 'small snake' [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. The Spanish borrowing *seɾp-ˈɣent-e* {serpiente} 'snake' can be used as well [Riego-Delgado 2016].
    Langreo: *kulˈwebɾ-a* {culuebra} 'snake', *seɾp-ˈɣent-e* {serpiente} 'snake' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 196.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 840, 679; Fernández Armesto 1981: 668; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1023, 802.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1292.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 1975.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1028.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 652; Rayevskaya 2013: 424.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vipe ʁ*{vipere} 'snake', *syɛ ꝑ-ɛ̃* {sierpint} 'snake'. Distinct from *sɛ ꝑ-ã* {sèrpant} 'snake' of French origin, which belongs to the literary language, and from *kulü:f* {coulûve} (Rifondou: *kolu:t* {coloûte}) 'non venomous snake'.

107. THIN

Archaic Latin *tˈɛnʋ-ɪs* {tenuis} (1), Late Classical Latin *tˈɛnw-ɪs* {tenuis} (1), Megleno Romanian *slap* {slab} (2), Istro Romanian *sup=cˈir-e* {supţíre} (3), Aromanian *sup=cˈir-e* {supţíˊre} (3), Romanian *sub=cˈir-e* {subţire} (3), Friulian *su=tˈi:l* {sutîl} (3) / *fiŋ* {fin} (4), Gardenese Ladin *su=tˈil* {sutil} (3), Fassano Ladin *so=tˈil* {sotįl} (3), Rumantsch Grischun *fin* {fin} (3), Sursilvan Romansh *fin* {fin} (4) / *sa=tˈel* {satel} (3), Surmiran Romansh *feŋ* {fegn} (4), Vallader Romansh *fin* {fin} (4) / *š=tiʎ* {stigl} (3), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *sü=tˈil* {sutil} (3) / *fiŋ* {fin} (4), Barbania Piemontese *sü=tˈil* {sutil} (3), Carmagnola Piemontese *sü=tˈil* {sutil} (3) / *fiŋ* {fin} (4), Turinese Piemontese *sü=tˈil* {sutil} (3), Vercellese Piemontese *su=tˈi:l* (3) / *fi:ŋ* (4), Bergamo Lombard *fi* {fi} (4), Plesio Lombard *se=tˈi-i* {setii} (3), Ravennate Romagnol *s=til* {stil} (3), Ferrarese Emiliano *mˈagar* {màgar} (5), Carpigiano Emiliano *mˈɛger* {mègher} (5), Reggiano Emiliano *su=tˈi:l* {sutîl} (3), Rapallo Ligurian *sut:-ˈi* (3), Genoese Ligurian *sut-ˈi:* {sŏtî} (3), Stella Ligurian *sɛ:t-ˈi* {sëtì} (3), Venice Venetian *fiŋ* {fin} (4) / *so=tˈil* {sotìl} (3), Primiero Venetian *fiŋ* {fin} (4), Bellunese Venetian *fiŋ* {fin} (4), Old Italian *sot=tˈil-e* {sottile} (3), Standard Italian *so=t:ˈil-e* {sottile} (3), Grosseto Italian *fin-o* {fino} (4), Foligno Italian *fin-u* {finu} (4), Neapolitan *fin-ə* {fino} (4), Logudorese *lˈanʒ-u* {landzu} (6), Campidanese *fin-i* {fini} (4), Palermitan Sicilian *fin-u* {finu} (4), Messinese Sicilian *fin-u* {finu} (4), Catanian Sicilian *fin-u* {finu} (4), South-Eastern Sicilian *fin-u* {finu} (4), Central Catalan *pɾim* {prim} (7) / *fi* {fi} (4), North-Western Catalan *pɾim* {prim} (7) / *fi* {fi} (4), Minorcan Catalan *pɾim* {prim} (7) / *fi* {fi} (4), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *pɾim* {prim} (7) / *fi* {fi} (4), Valencia Catalan *pɾim* {prim} (7) / *fin-ˈet* {finet} (4), Manises Catalan *pɾim* {prim} (7) / *fi* {fi} (4), Castilian Spanish *fin-o* {fino} (4), Asturian *fin-o* {fino} (4), Standard Portuguese *fin-u* {fino} (4), Galician *fin-o* {fino} (4), Provençal Occitan *fiŋ* {fin} (4), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *fɛ̃* {fin} (4) / *pɾɛ̃* {prin} (7), Old French *tˈɛ̃nv-ə* {tenve}

(1), Standard French *fɛ̃ {fin}* (4), Picard *fɛ̃ {fin}* (4), Walloon *tɛn {tène}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: The examples are: {LYS. possin tu, si usus venerit, subtemen tenue nere? PAS. Possum. LYS. Si tenue scis, scio te uberius posse nere} "LYS. Can you, if occasion should arise, spin a fine woof? PAS. I can. LYS. If you know how to do a fine one, I'm sure you can spin a coarser one" [Merc. 518-519]; {nam hoc quidem pol e robigine, non est e ferro factum, ita quanto magis extergeo, rutilum atque tenuius fit} "But surely this, i' faith, has been made of rust, and not of iron; so that the more I rub it, it becomes quite red and more slender" [Rud. 1300-1301].

Late Classical Latin: Polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 3D': {vel cum guttis Arabicis obunctus et pectinis arguti dente tenui discriminatus} "or when it's glossed with Arabian oils, and parted with a finely toothed comb" [Met. 2: 9]; {Nam et illa ipsa praeclara magia tua vultum laboresque tibi tantum asini, verum corium non asini crassum sed hirudinis tenue membranulum circumdedit} "That marvellous magic spell of yours may have given you an ass's form, and its labours to perform, but rather than its thick hide it wrapped you in a skin thin as a leech's" [Met. 6: 26]; {calceis feminis albis illis et tenuibus inductus} "and wearing a pair of white and flimsy women's shoes" [Met. 7: 8].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 267. Polysemy: 'thin / weak'. Apparently with polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D'. An old borrowing from Slavic (cf. Macedonian {slab} 'weak, thin', Bulgarian {weak, thin} 'weak, thin', Old Church Slavonic {slabŭ} 'weak'), cf. Romanian {slab} 'thin, weak'. Capidan also mentions a word *sup=c'ɔr-i* {subtsǫri} 'thin', referring to an informant from Oşani village [Capidan 1935: 279], but it does not occur in the texts.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 357. Apparently with polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D'. Distinct from *m'ɜršav* {mârşav} 'lean' of Croatian origin [Kovačec 2010; ; Sârbu & Frăţilă 1998: 227; Byhan 1899: 283].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 993; Cunia 2010: 987; Dalametra 1906: 199; Gołąb 1984: 247. Distinct from *sl'ab-ŭ* {slab} 'lean, weak, bad' [Papahagi 1963: 960; Cunia 2010: 953-954; Dalametra 1906: 192; Gołąb 1984: 249].

Romanian: DER 2004: 941; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1499-1500; Gancz 2015. Goes back to the Latin {subtilis} 'fine, thin' [Ciorănescu 2015]. Distinct from *slab* {slab} 'lean, weak' [DEaLR 2015]. Moldavian: *sub=c'ir-e* {subţire} 'thin' [Podiko 1973: 946; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 447].

Dalmatian: Not attested.

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 424. There are two expressions for 'thin': *su=t'i:l* {sutîl} and *fiŋ* {fin}. According to [Virili 2015], they are synonyms. Distinct from *sɛk* {sec} 'dry / lean' [Decorte 2015].Virili 2015.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 83, 131. There are two words for 'thin' in Forni's dictionary: *su=t'il* {sutil} and *fiŋ* {fin}. The first one is used to characterize people, parts of human body or in the figurative sense, cf. {ëila à la ciavidles fines} "she has thin ankles"; {l ie fin coche n ciavël} "(he/she) is as thin as a hair"; {l ie na persona scialdi fina} "(he/she) is a very lean person"; {na usc fina} "a thin voice". The second was has more broad meaning and satisfies the GLD specifications, cf. {dëic sutii dita sottili} "thin fingers"; {n fil sutil} "a thin thread"; {na rissa sutila} "a thin line" [Forni 2015].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 301.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015. There are two expressions for 'thin' in Sursilvan: *fin* {fin} and *sa=t'el* {satel}. Both seem to correspond to the GLD specifications, cf. {pial fina} 'thin skin', {fegl satel} 'thin leaf', {suga fina} 'thin rope' [Cadruvi 2015], {pupi satel} 'thin paper' [Decurtins 2015].Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 295.Vital 2015. There are two expressions for 'thin' in Vallader: *fin* {fin} and *štiʎ* {stigl}. According to [Vital 2015] they are synonyms.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 343. There are two expressions for 'thin': *su=t'il* and *fiŋ*. According to [Gisolo 2015], they are synonyms.Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 343.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 343.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015. There are two expressions for 'thin': *sü=t'il* {sutil} ('two-dimensional thin') and *fiŋ* {fin} ('one-dimensional thin'). We include both words in the list (see the GLD semantic specifications for 'thin').Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from *fiŋ* {fin} 'fine, slight, beautiful'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015. There are two expressions for 'thin': *sut'i:l* and *fi:ŋ*. According to [Noris 2015], the second one has

a slightly broader compatibility (for example, *na p'u:vra fiɲa* "a thin powder"), but both of them seem to satisfy the GLD specifications, cf.: *pɛl fiɲa* 'thin skin' and *pɛl sut'i:l* 'thin skin'; *fɔya fiɲa* 'thin leaf' and *fɔya sut'i:l* 'thin leaf'; *r'ama fiɲa* 'thin branch' and *r'ama sut'i:l* 'thin branch'. We have to treat them as synonyms.Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 440.

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. There are two terms for 'thin': *fiŋ* {fin} 'thin (3D)' and *so=t'il* {sotìl} 'thin (2D)', cf. {Quèa xe na pee sotil} "This is a thin skin"; {Questa xe na foia sotil} "This is a thin leaf"; {Questa xe na corda fina} "This is a thin rope"; {Questo xe un ramo fin} "This is a thin branch" [Tosi 2015]. Padua, Marostica: *fin-o* {fino} 'thin' [Tre 2015; Pezzin 2015]. Treviso, Salgareda, Vicenza, Schio, Arzignano, Verona: *fiŋ* {fin} 'thin' [Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Zanetti 2015]**.**Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015. Este: *su=t'il* {sutil} 'thin' [Melon 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: A difficult case. Dante uses both candidates (*sot=t'il-e* {sottile} and *fin-o* {fino}) mostly in a figural meaning. The only good example on the usage of {sottile} 'thin' is: {Aguzza qui, lettor, ben li occhi al vero, // ché 'l velo è ora ben tanto sottile, // certo che 'l trapassar dentro è leggero} "Here, Reader, fix thine eyes well on the truth, // for now indeed so subtile is the veil, // surely to penetrate within is easy" [Purg. 8]. The term {fino} is applied to swords, but rather in the meaning 'sharp' than 'thin': {a una donna che l'ha sì incolpato // con fini spade di sottil tagliare, // che in nulla guisa ne pensa scampare} "but she has so struck him with sharp-edged // swords that he thinks // he cannot possibly survive" [Rime 92]; {con una spada molto chiara e fina} "with a very sharp and shiny sword" [Il Fiore 212].

> Petrarch's poems do not provide any evidence for 'thin'. As for Boccaccio, who writes about more prosaic things, there are some very good examples on {sottile} as 'thin': {un sottilissimo muro} "a very slight wall" [Dec. 3, 4]; {un vestimento indosso tanto sottile} "so thin a garment" [Dec. 5, 1]; {queste corde sottili} "these thin strings" [Dec. 5, 2]; {un sottil vetro} "a thin glass" [Dec. 6, 10]; {recaron le schiave due lenzuoli bianchissimi e sottili} "the latter brought two very white and fine sheets" [Dec. 8, 10]; {essendosi tutto il bianco vestimento e sottile loro appiccato alle carni} "their thin white garments all clinging to their skins" [Dec. 10, 6]. The only example for {fino} in the Decameron is {e di finissimi panni} "of the finest cloth" [Dec. 3, 7]; for this reason, we include only {sottile} in the list.

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2387.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015. Besides this term, the Italian loanword *su=t:'il-ə* {suttile} 'thin' can be used as well [Russo 2015; Nagar 2015].

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015. Domus de Maria: *fin-i* {fini} 'thin' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *fin-u* {finu} 'thin' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Sorbello 2015; Stornanti 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015. Leggio also mentions the term *l'yan-u* {lianu} as a synonym [Leggio 2015].

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015. Used for 3D objects.Alòs i Font 2015; EDCC 1993: 134. Used for 2D objects.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Used for 3D objects.Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015. Used for 2D objects.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015. Used for 3D objects. Distinct from *'maɣɾə* {magre} 'lean' [Cardona 2015].Cardona 2015. Used for 2D objects.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015. Used for 3D objects.Barreda 2015. Used for 2D objects.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Used for 3D objects.Pérez i Sanchis 2015. Used for 2D objects.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015. Used for 3D objects.Pedrós 2015. Used for 2D objects.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: González Rato 2016. Langreo: *fin-u* {finu} 'thin' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 636. According to [Pimentel Ferreira 2016], the term *fin-u* {fino} 'thin' is usually used in spoken language, while *dəłɣˈað-u* {delgado} 'thin' occurs mostly in the literary one.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 800; Fernández Armesto 1981: 382. Distinct from *delgˈað-o* {delgado} 'lean / thin', which is usually applied to people, but can be also applied to things: {un papel fino} and {un papel delgado} "thin paper" [Montoya Bolaños 2015].

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 595.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 978. Viret provides two terms without any differentiation in this case: *fɛ̃* {fin} and *prɛ̃* {prin}. We include both in the list.Viret 2013: 978.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1072-1073. Distinct from *fin* {fin} 'of excellent quality / utter, sheer, total (about abstract things)' [EDCT 2014: 503] and from *mˈeygr-ə* {maigre} 'lean' [EDCT 2014: 661-662].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 728; Rayevskaya 2013: 612. There are two terms for 'thin': *mɛ̃s* {mince} and *fɛ̃* {fin} [Robert-Collins 1989: 728; Rayevskaya 2013: 612]. According to the examples given in [LGR 4: 527-528], *fɛ̃* {fin} seems to have more broad compatibility, it can be applied both to 2D-thin objects ({tissu fin} 'thin cloth', {papier fin} 'thin paper', {peau fin} 'thin skin') and 1D-thin objects ({aiguille fine} 'fine needle', {fil fin} 'thin thread', {branches fines} 'thin branches'), to something elegantly thin ({taille fine} 'thin waist', {mains fines} 'thin hands') and to something that consists of very small elements ({sable fin} 'fine sand', {sel fine} 'fine salt', {pluie fine} 'drizzling rain'). The term *mɛ̃s* {mince} seems to be applied mostly to persons or something having nothing or little of fat [LGR 6: 464-465]. Distinct from *mɛgʁ* {maigre} 'thin, lean', which is applied to persons ({home maigre de nature} 'a person thin by nature', {maigre comme un clou} 'thin as a rake'), something having little fat or none of it ({aliments maigres} 'lean food', {viande maigre} 'lean meat', {jambon maigre} 'lean ham', {lard maigre} 'lean bacon') and to some things in the meaning 'very thin' ({maigre cyprʁs} 'thin cypress', {pin maigre} 'thin pine', {un petit lit tout maigre} 'a little bed, very thin') [LGR 6: 148-149].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *tɛn* {tene} 'thin'.

108. WIND

Archaic Latin *wˈɛnt-ʊs* {ventus} (1), Late Classical Latin *vˈɛnt-ʊs* {ventus} (1), Megleno Romanian *vint* {vint} (1), Istro Romanian *bˈor-ä* {bórę} (-1), Aromanian *vˈimt-u* {vímtu} (1), Romanian *vɨnt* {vânt} (1), Dalmatian *vɥant* {vi̯ant} (1), Friulian *ˈayar* {aiar} (2), Gardenese Ladin *vənt* {vënt} (1), Fassano Ladin *vent* {vent} (1), Rumantsch Grischun *vɛnt* {vent} (1), Sursilvan Romansh *vɛnt* {vent} (1), Surmiran Romansh *vɛnt* {vent} (1), Vallader Romansh *vɛnt* {vent} (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *vɛŋt* {vent} (1), Barbania Piemontese *vɛŋt* {vent} (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *ˈary-a* {aria} (2), Turinese Piemontese *vɛŋt* {vent} (1), Vercellese Piemontese *veːŋt* (1), Bergamo Lombard *vɛnt* {vènt} (1), Plesio Lombard *veːnt* {vent} (1), Ravennate Romagnol *vɛnt* {vènt} (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *vent* {vént} (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *vɛynt* {vèint} (1), Reggiano Emiliano *vɛynt* {vèint} (1), Rapallo Ligurian *vˈeŋt-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian *vˈeːŋt-u* {vêntŏ} (1), Stella Ligurian *vˈäːŋt-u* {væntu} (1), Venice Venetian *vˈeŋt-o* {vénto} (1), Primiero Venetian *vɛŋt* {vènt} (1), Bellunese Venetian *vɛŋt* {vent} (1), Old Italian *vˈɛnt-o* {vento} (1), Standard Italian *vˈɛnt-o* {vento} (1), Grosseto Italian *vˈɛnt-o* {vento} (1), Foligno Italian *vˈent-u* {ventu} (1), Neapolitan *vˈyent-ə*

{viento} (1), Logudorese *v'ɛnt-u {ventu}* (1), Campidanese *b'ɛnt-u {bentu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *v'yɛnt-u {vientu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *v'ɛnt-u {ventu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *v'ɛnt-u {ventu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *v'yɛnt-u {vientu}* (1), Central Catalan *ben {vent}* (1), North-Western Catalan *ben {vent}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *vent {vent}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *ven {vent}* (1), Valencia Catalan *bent {vent}* (1), Manises Catalan *bent {vent}* (1), Castilian Spanish *b'yent-o {viento}* (1), Asturian *b'yent-o {viento}* (1), Standard Portuguese *v'ẽnt-u {vento}* (1), Galician *b'ɛnt-o {vento}* (1), Provençal Occitan *vɛnt {vènt}* (1) / *'awr-o {auro}* (3), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ve {vé} ~ vɛː {ven} ~ {vê'}* (1), Old French *vãnt {vent}* (1), Standard French *vã {vent}* (1), Picard *vẽ {vint}* (1), Walloon *eːʀ {êr}* (2).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {quasi ventus folia aut paniculum tectorium} "just as the wind blows away leaves or the reed-thatched roof" [Mil. 18]; {sed, Simo, ita nunc ventus navem <nostram> deseruit} "but, Simo, in such a way has the breeze now forsaken our ship" [Most. 737]; {vix hodie ad litus pertulit nos ventus exanimatas} "the wind this day has scarce borne us to the shore" [Rud. 371].

Late Classical Latin: Some examples are: {istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum conligari, ventos inanimes exspirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri} "Now that story was about as true as if you'd said magic spells can make rivers flow backwards, chain the sea, paralyze the wind, halt the sun, squeeze dew from the moon, disperse the stars, banish day, and lengthen night!" [Met. 1: 3]; {Sed cum primam plateam vadimus, vento repentino lumen quo nitebamur extinguitur} "But on reaching the nearest square, a gust of wind extinguished the torch on which we were relying" [Met. 2: 32].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 327. Distinct from *'boar-i* {bǫari} 'heavy wind, storm' [Capidan 1935: 42].

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010. Probably borrowed from Italian {bora} 'bora = strong, cold, dry wind'. Kovačec translates *b'or-ä* as Croatian {bura} ('bora, north-eastern wind'), but some contexts allow us to suppose that this word is used in a broader sense: {Și čiịa av bora școdit} "But the wind was damaging there, too" (Žejane); {Tota ziịa bora} "All day the wind (Jesenovik); {Și bora me bate} "And the wind is beating me" (Jesenovik); {Și scapåt-am lu bore} "I escaped the wind" (Jesenovik); {I'll ask the wind} "Ântrebă voị bora" (Jesenovik); {Și borele pușit-a} "And the winds blew" (Jesenovik); {Și cân s-a ploịele cu bora} "And when the rains and the wind" (Jesenovik). In Žejane the inherited term *vint* {vint} 'wind' is preserved [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 298; Byhan 1899: 381], but it is absent from Kovačec's dictionary and from texts.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 1110; Cunia 2010: 1086; Dalametra 1906: 218; Bara et al. 2005: 331; Gołąb 1984: 259.

Romanian: DER 2004: 1041; Bolocan et al. 1985: 120; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *vint* {vânt} 'wind' [Podiko 1973: 64; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 38].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {insịár el skúr, perkó fero vịánt} "close the window frame, because there is wind" [Bartoli 2002: 226]; {joịna levantū͡ora fero vịànt máụro} "A levantū͡ora is a strong wind" [Bartoli 2002: 234].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 708. Polysemy: 'air / wind'. Pirona also mentions the term *vint* {vint} 'wind' [Pirona 1871: 708, 468.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 108, 196. Marebbano: *ɔnt* {ǫnt } 'wind'; Badiotto: *vənt* {vănt} 'wind'; Livinallese: *vent* {vent} 'wind'; Nones: *vent* {vent} 'wind' [Gartner 1923: 196].

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 348, 613; Gartner 1923: 196.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 802-803.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 394.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 394.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 491. Marchigiano: *vent* {vént} 'vent' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Quali dal vento le gonfiate vele // caggiono avvolte, poi che l'alber fiacca} "Even as the sails inflated by the wind // involved together fall when snaps the mast" [Inf. 7]; {Siate, Cristiani, a muovervi più gravi: // non siate come penna ad ogne vento, // e non crediate ch'ogne acqua vi lavi} "Christians, be ye more serious in your movements; // be ye not like a feather at each wind, // and think not every water washes you" [Par. 5].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2513-2514.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 83. Domus de Maria: *bˈint-u* {bintu} 'wind' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *vˈɛnt-u* {ventu} 'wind' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *vˈyɛnt-u* {vientu} 'wind' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 292.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *bˈyent-u* {vientu} 'wind', *ˈayɾ-e* {aire} 'wind' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 61.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 849, 730; Fernández Armesto 1981: 743-744; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 1040, 869.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1468-1469. There are two expressions for 'wind': *vent {vènt}* and *ˈawr-o* {auro}. Coupier mentions them as synonyms.Coupier 1995: 1468-1469.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2208-2210. Viret mentions two terms for 'wind' in the Albanais dialect: *ve* {vé} ~ *vɛ:* {ven} ~ {vê'} and *ˈur-a* {oura}, but the second one was taken from the 1903 year book Monographie du patois savoyard by Félix Fenouillet, so we include only the first one into the list. However continuants of Latin {aura} occur in many other dialects, sometimes along with continuants of {ventus} [Viret 2013: 2208].

Old French: EDCT 2014: 1133.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 814-815; Rayevskaya 2013: 356.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. An example is: {l'êr est frède} "the wind is cold". Can be expanded by *g ũt* {grande} 'big': *g ũt=e: ʀ*{grande ĸr} 'wind'. Rifondou: *vɛ̃* {vint} 'wind'.

109. WORM

Archaic Latin *wˈɛrm-ɪs {vermis}* (1), Late Classical Latin *vˈɛrm-ɪs {vermis}* (1), Megleno Romanian *ʤˈarm-i {ghi̯ármi}* (1), Istro Romanian *ɣʎˈerm-u {ɣľérmu} ~ ʎˈerm-u {ľérmu}* (1), Aromanian *ʐˈerm-u {ɣermu}* (1), Romanian *vˈyerm-e {vierme}* (1) / *rˈɨm-ə {râmă}* (2), Dalmatian *vyarm {vi̯arm}* (1), Friulian *vyɛr {vier}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *yərm {ierm}* (1), Fassano Ladin *verm {verm}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *vyɛrm {vierm}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Vallader Romansh *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Turinese Piemontese *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *vɛrm* (1), Bergamo Lombard *ˈɛrem {èrem}* (1), Plesio Lombard *verm-ˈɛn {vermen}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *vˈeːrm-an {vērman}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *vɛrm {vèrm}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *beːg {bēg}* (3), Reggiano Emiliano *bɛyg {bèigh}* (3), Rapallo Ligurian *vˈeːrm-e* (1), Genoese Ligurian *vˈɛrm-e {vèrme}* (1), Stella Ligurian *vˈäːrm-u {vǽrmu}* (1), Venice Venetian *vˈɛrm-e {vèrme}* (1), Primiero Venetian *vˈɛrm-en {vèrmen}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *but [but}* (4), Old Italian *vˈɛrm-o {vermo}* (1), Standard Italian *vˈɛrm-e {verme}* (1), Grosseto Italian *bˈak-o {baco}* (3), Foligno Italian *vˈɛrm-e {verme}* (1), Neapolitan *vˈɛrm-ə {verme}* (1), Logudorese *ˈerm-e {ʹerme}* (1), Campidanese *brˈɛmː-in-i {bremmini}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian *vˈyɛrm-u {viermu} ~ vˈyɛrm-i {viermi}* (1), Messinese Sicilian *vˈɛrm-i {vermi}* (1), Catanian Sicilian *vˈɛrm-i {vermi} ~ vˈɛrm-u {vermu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian *vˈɛrm-i {vermi}* (1), Central Catalan *kuk {cuc}* (5), North-Western Catalan *kuk {cuc}* (5), Minorcan Catalan *kuk {cuc}* (5), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *kuk {cuc}* (5), Valencia Catalan *kuk {cuc}* (5), Manises Catalan *kuk {cuc}* (5), Castilian Spanish *lombrˈiθ {lombriz}* (6), Asturian *merˈuk-o {meruco}* (-1), Standard Portuguese *vˈɛrm-ə {verme}* (1) / *miɲˈɔk-ɐ {minhoca}* (-1), Galician *bˈɛrm-e {verme}* (1), Provençal Occitan *vˈɛrm-e {verme}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ve {vé}* (1), Old French *vɛrm {verm}* (1), Standard French *vɛʁ {ver}* (1), Picard *vɛʁ {vèr}* (1), Walloon *vyeːʀ {viêr}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: There are two terms for 'worm': *wˈɛrm-ɞ* {vermis} and *tʊmbr-ˈiːk-ʊs* {lumbricus}. The first one is not attested in Plautus' texts, while the second one clearly designates 'earthworms', cf. {nunc ab trasenna hic turdus lumbricum petit} "Now from the

springe this thrush is catching at the worm" [Bac. 792]; {Post autem ruri nisi tu taceruom ederis aut quasi lumbricus terram, quod te postules gustare quicquam} "And then, in future, unless in the country you either feed on pulse, or, like a worm, upon the soil, should you require to taste of any better food" [Cas. 126-128]; {foras, lumbrice, qui sub terra erepsisti modo} "Out, out, you earthworm, who have this instant crept out of the earth!" [Aul. 628].

In Cato's "De agri cultura" {lumbricus} is used for 'intestinal worm' ({Ad tormina, et si alvus non consistet, et si taeniae et lumbrici molesti erunt. <...> Idem vinum taenias perpurgat et lumbricos, si sic concinnes} "For gripes, for loose bowels, for tapeworms and stomach-worms, if troublesome <...> The same wine will clear out tapeworms and stomach-worms if it is blended in this way" [De agri cultura 126-127]) and {vermis} for 'maggot' ({Nec tinia nec vermes tangent} "No moths or worms will touch them [hams]" [De agri cultura 162]). But already Lucretius Carus (99-55 BC) uses {vermis} in the sense 'earthworm' as well [OLD 1968: 2037].

Etymologically {lumbricus} was derived from Latin {lumbus} 'loins' [de Vaan 2008: 351-352], while {vermis} has a set of cognates in other IE languages: PGerm. {*wurmiz} 'worm', Greek {rhómos} 'wood-worm', Lithuanian {var̃mas} 'insect, mosquito, botfly', Old Prussian {wormyan} 'red (adv.)', Old Russian {vermije} 'locusts, worms (coll.)' [Kroonen 2013: 600]. Possibly, the old term {vermis} was used for all kinds of worms, including earthworms, while the new term {lumbricus} was applied mainly to earthworms, cf. a similar situation in modern literary Italian: v'ɛrm-e {verme}, generic term for all worms, including earthworms, v.s. lombr'ik-o {lombrico} 'earthworm'.

Late Classical Latin: The only example is: {et illa morsus ferarum, cum vermes membra laniabunt, et ignis flagrantiam} "while the girl will suffer the countless bites of insects that eat the flesh, and the roasting fires" [Met. 6: 32].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 137.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Byhan 1899: 270.

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 523; Cunia 2010: 1007-1008; Dalametra 1906: 104; Gołąb 1984: 221. Distinct from limbr'ik-ŭ {lîmbríc} 'intestinal worm' [Papahagi 1963: 636; Cunia 2010: 579; Dalametra 1906: 121].

Romanian: DER 2004: 1047; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1641; Gancz 2015. There are two expressions for 'worm': r'ɨm-ə {râmă} and v'yerm-e {vierme}. The first one means 'earthworm', while the second one means 'worm in general (but excluding earthworm)' [Gancz 2015]. According to the GLD semantic specifications, in this situation it is better to choose the term for 'earthworm', but translation of contexts similar to those in the GLD semantic specifications, made by A. Gancz ({Un vierme se târăşte ca un şarpe. Nu au picioare, dar şarpele are ochi, pe când viermele nu are} "A worm crawls like a snake. They have no legs, but the snake has eyes, while the worm hasn't"; {Din pământ s-a târât afară o râmă} "A worm has crawled out of the ground") have persuaded us to include both terms in the list as synonyms. Distinct from limbr'ik {limbric} 'intestinal worm' [Gancz 2015]. Moldavian: v'yerm-e {vierme} 'worm' [Podiko 1973: 1028; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 487].DER 2004: 1047; Bolocan et al. 1985: 1641; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: r'ɨm-ə {râmă} 'earthworm' [Podiko 1973: 1028; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 487].

Dalmatian: Bartoli 2002: 239. Also attested by Cubich as {viárm} 'worm' [Bartoli 2002: 285].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 708.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 36, 197.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 349, 614. Distinct from biš'el {biscęl} 'earthworm' [DILF 2001: 349] and koš {cosc} 'cheese worm / larva' [DILF 2001: 408].

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 804.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 395. Distinct from ǯan'iŋ {gianin} 'cheese worm / rice worm / caterpillar' [Gisolo 2015].

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 395. Distinct from ǯan'iŋ {gianin} 'cheese worm / meat worm' and from g'at-a {gata} 'caterpillar' [Fiandro 2015].

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016. Distinct from ǯ'aniŋ {gianin} 'cherry fruitworm'.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 492. Marchigiano: *verm* {vérm} 'worm' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015. Salgareda: *v'ɛrm-o* {vermo} 'worm', *b'ut-oe̯-a* {butoea} 'earthworm' [Poletto 2015]. Arzignano: *big'at-o* {bigato} 'worm' [Serena 2015].

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015. There are also such terms as *buð-'ɛl* {buđèl} 'worm' and *big'at* {bigat} 'worm', but they are less frequent [Gaio 2015].

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Cf. some examples: {Elle rigavan lor di sangue il volto, // che, mischiato di lagrime, a' lor piedi // da fastidiosi vermi era ricolto} "These did their faces irrigate with blood, // which, with their tears commingled, at their feet // by the disgusting worms was gathered up" [Inf. 3]; {io mi presi // al pel del vermo reo che 'l mondo fóra} "I grasped // the hair of the fell worm, who mines the world" [Inf. 34].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2524. Generic term for all worms, including earthworms. Distinct from *lombr'ik-o* {lombrico} 'earthworm' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 642], *an'ɛl:-id-e* {anellide} 'annelid' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 93] and from *ask'arid-e* {ascaride} 'ascarid, roundworm' [Passerini Tosi 1989: 123].

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 89. Domus de Maria: *br'ɛm:-i* {bremmi} 'worm' [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015. Termini Imerese: *v'ɛrm-i* {vermi} 'worm' [La Bua 2015]. Buscemi: *v'yɛrm-i* {viermi} 'worm' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015. Spadafora, Giarre: *v'ɛm:-u* {vemmu} 'worm' [Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015].

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 146.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015. The term for an earthworm, distinct from *gus-'an-o* {gusano}, the generic designation for all kinds of worms [Valén 2015].

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *guš'aŋ* {guxán} 'worm', *meɾ'uk-u* {merucu} 'worm' [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 696. There are two expressions for 'worm': *miɲ'ɔk-ɐ* {minhoca}, borrowed from some African source [Nascentes 1955: 334] and *v'ɛrm-ɐ* {verme}. The first one means 'earthworm' [Cândido de Figueiredo II: 385], while the second one means 'worm in general (including earthworm)' [Cândido de Figueiredo II: 1294]. We include both terms in the list. Distinct from *lõmbr'ig-e* {lombriga} 'helminth' [Cândido de Figueiredo II: 252]. Distinct from *gus'an-u* {gusano} 'Teredo navalis' [Cândido de Figueiredo I: 1360].Voinova et al. 1989: 696.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Fernández Armesto 1981: 740, 414; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 968, 871.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 1470.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 2212-2213.

Old French: Not attested in Chrétien's texts, but there is no doubt that the correct equivalent was *vɛrm* {verm}, continuing Latin {vermis} 'worm' and preserved in the majority of modern Romance languages. Also attested in other Old French texts

[Godefroy 10: 847].

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 823; Rayevskaya 2013: 640. General term for 'worm'. For the designation of the earthworm a more precise term *vɛʁ də tɛʁ* {ver de terre} is used [Rayevskaya 2013: 640].

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *vye: ʁ*{vier} 'worm'.

110. YEAR

Archaic Latin ˈ*an:-ʋs {annus}* (1), Late Classical Latin ˈ*an:-ʋs {annus}* (1), Megleno Romanian *an {an}* (1), Istro Romanian *ʋn {ån}* (1), Aromanian ˈ*an-ŭ {an}* (1), Romanian *an {an}* (1), Dalmatian *ɣaɣŋ {įáįn}* (1), Friulian *an {an}* (1), Gardenese Ladin *an {ann}* (1), Fassano Ladin *an {an}* (1), Rumantsch Grischun *ɔn {onn}* (1), Sursilvan Romansh *ɔn {onn}* (1), Surmiran Romansh *ɔn {onn}* (1), Vallader Romansh *on {on}* (1), Lanzo Torinese Piemontese *an {ann}* (1), Barbania Piemontese *an {ann}* (1), Carmagnola Piemontese *an {ann}* (1), Turinese Piemontese ˈ*an-i {ani} ~ aŋ {ann}* (1), Vercellese Piemontese *aŋ* (1), Bergamo Lombard *an {àn}* (1), Plesio Lombard *an: {ann}* (1), Ravennate Romagnol *an {an}* (1), Ferrarese Emiliano *an {an}* (1), Carpigiano Emiliano *an {an}* (1), Reggiano Emiliano *a:n {ân}* (1), Rapallo Ligurian ˈ*an:-u* (1), Genoese Ligurian ˈ*an:-u {ànnŏ}* (1), Stella Ligurian ˈ*an:-u {annu}* (1), Venice Venetian ˈ*an-o {àno}* (1), Primiero Venetian *an {an}* (1), Bellunese Venetian *an {an}* (1), Old Italian ˈ*an:-o {anno}* (1), Standard Italian ˈ*an:-o {anno}* (1), Grosseto Italian ˈ*an:-o {anno}* (1), Foligno Italian *an:-u {annu}* (1), Neapolitan ˈ*an:-ə {anno}* (1), Logudorese ˈ*an:-u {annu}* (1), Campidanese ˈ*an:-u {annu}* (1), Palermitan Sicilian ˈ*an:-u {annu}* (1), Messinese Sicilian ˈ*an:-u {annu}* (1), Catanian Sicilian ˈ*an:-u {annu}* (1), South-Eastern Sicilian ˈ*an:-u {annu}* (1), Central Catalan *aɲ {any}* (1), North-Western Catalan *aɲ {any}* (1), Minorcan Catalan *aɲ {any}* (1), Castelló de la Plana Catalan *aɲ {any}* (1), Valencia Catalan *aɲ {any}* (1), Manises Catalan *aɲ {any}* (1), Castilian Spanish ˈ*aɲ-o {año}* (1), Asturian ˈ*aɲ-o {año}* (1), Standard Portuguese ˈ*ɐn-u {ano}* (1), Galician ˈ*an-o {ano}* (1), Provençal Occitan *an:-*ˈ*ad-o {annado}* (1), Savoyard Franco-Provençal *ã {an}* (1), Old French *ãn {an} ~ ãn-*ˈ*e:-ə {anee}* (1), Standard French *ã {an} ~ an-e {anée}* (1), Picard *ɛ̃n-e {innée}* (1), Walloon *ã {an} ~ an-e:y {anêye}* (1).

References and notes:

Archaic Latin: Some examples are: {MESS. quot eras annos gnatus, quom te pater a patria avehit? MEN. Septuennis: nam tunc dentes mihi cadebant primulum} "MESS. How many years old were you when your father took you from your native country? MEN. Seven years old; for just then my teeth were changing for the first time. And never since then have I seen my father" [Men. 1115-1116]; {Quem di diligunt adulescens moritur, dum valet sentit sapit. hunc si ullus deus amaret, plus annis decem, plus iam viginti mortuom esse oportuit} "if any God had favoured him, ought to have been dead more than ten years - aye, more than twenty years ago" [Bac. 816-819].

Late Classical Latin: Cf. some examples: {Sed ecce siderum ordinatis ambagibus per numeros dierum ac mensuum remeans annus post mustulentas autumni delicias ad hibernas Capricorni pruinas deflexerat} "But when the stars, moving in their appointed courses, had passed through days and months and the year declined from the delights of the autumn vintage to wintry frosts under Capricorn" [Met. 9: 32]; {iam octo annorum onere misella illa velut elephantum paritura distenditur} "poor woman's been burdened for eight years or more and she's big as an elephant!" [Met. 1: 9].

Megleno Romanian: Capidan 1935: 14.

Istro Romanian: Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 187; Byhan 1899: 296. The Croatism *l'et-o* {léto} is used in some idiomatic expressions and in combination with Croatian numerals [Kovačec 2010; Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 223; Byhan 1899: 263]. Cf. {ovo léto} 'this year', {sédâm lét} 'seven years'. It seems that another Croatism *γ'odin-a* {γódina} can be also occasionally used in the meaning 'year', as is mentioned in [Sârbu & Frățilă 1998: 215].

Aromanian: Papahagi 1963: 97; Cunia 2010: 63; Gołąb 1984: 198.

Romanian: DER 2004: 1052; Bolocan et al. 1985: 251-252; Gancz 2015. Moldavian: *an* {an} 'year' [Podiko 1973: 141; Borsh & Zaporozhan 1990: 76].

Dalmatian: Some examples are: {doi̯ tre ján̯} "two or three years" [Bartoli 2002: 232]; {joi̯n ján̯ e joi̯n mís} "a year and a month" [Bartoli 2002: 226].

Friulian: Decorte 2015; Virili 2015; Pirona 1871: 5-6.

Gardenese Ladin: Forni 2015; Gartner 1923: 12, 150.

Fassano Ladin: DILF 2001: 23.

Rumantsch Grischun: Schmid 2015.

Sursilvan Romansh: Cadruvi 2015; Decurtins 2015.

Surmiran Romansh: Schmid 2015.

Vallader Romansh: Conrad 2015; Vital 2015; Pallioppi & Pallioppi 1895: 41.

Lanzo Torinese Piemontese: Gisolo 2015; Brero 1976: 12.

Barbania Piemontese: Fiandro 2015; Brero 1976: 12.

Carmagnola Piemontese: Sanero 2015.

Turinese Piemontese: Davico 2016.

Vercellese Piemontese: Noris 2015.

Bergamo Lombard: Garlini 2015.

Plesio Lombard: Selva 2015.

Ravennate Romagnol: Ercolani 1960: 13. Marchigiano: *an* {ann} 'year' [Pucci 2015].

Ferrarese Emiliano: Piacentini 2015.

Carpigiano Emiliano: Sacchi 2015.

Reggiano Emiliano: Chertein 2015.

Rapallo Ligurian: Fasce 2015.

Genoese Ligurian: Parodi 2015.

Stella Ligurian: Piccone 2015.

Venice Venetian: Tosi 2015; Gasparini 2015; Tre 2015; Melon 2015; Busato 2015; Poletto 2015; Cortiana 2015; Ricchieri 2015; Clementi 2015; Serena 2015; Pezzin 2015; Zanetti 2015.

Primiero Venetian: Gaio 2015.

Bellunese Venetian: Caneve 2015.

Old Italian: Some examples are: {Quando // mi diparti' da Circe, che sottrasse // me più d'un anno là presso a Gaeta} "When I // from Circe had departed, who concealed me // more than a year there near unto Gaeta" [Inf. 26]; {And I, who have been lying in this pain // five hundred years and more} "E io, che son giaciuto a questa doglia // cinquecent' anni e più" [Purg. 21].

Standard Italian: Passerini Tosi 1989: 2531.

Grosseto Italian: Marcelli 2015.

Foligno Italian: Monti Barnocchi-Moscati 2016.

Neapolitan: Esposito 2015; Russo 2015; Matarazzo 2015; Cirillo 2015; Nagar 2015; Mancusi 2015; Musella 2015; Fattoruso 2015; Morelli 2015; Cerrone 2015; Alois 2015.

Logudorese: Buttu 2015.

Campidanese: Ballicu 2015; Pintus 2015; Casciu 2006: 42. Domus de Maria: *ˈanː-u* {annu} [Fadda 2015].

Palermitan Sicilian: Messina 2015; Ornato 2015; La Bua 2015. Buscemi: *'an:-u* {annu} 'year' [Coccimiglio 2016].

Messinese Sicilian: Salzano 2015; Stornanti 2015; Sorbello 2015.

Catanian Sicilian: Corsaro 2015; La Mattina 2015; Salerno 2015.

South-Eastern Sicilian: Leggio 2015; Miccichè 2015.

Central Catalan: Alòs i Font 2015; Llorens 2015; EDCC 1993: 19.

North-Western Catalan: Montagut 2015; Balletbò 2015.

Minorcan Catalan: Cardona 2015.

Castelló de la Plana Catalan: Barreda 2015.

Valencia Catalan: Pérez i Sanchis 2015.

Manises Catalan: Pedrós 2015.

Castilian Spanish: Valén 2015.

Asturian: Riego-Delgado 2016. Langreo: *'aɲ-u* {añu} [González Rato 2016].

Standard Portuguese: Voinova et al. 1989: 110.

Galician: Montoya Bolaños 2015; Franco Grande 1968: 764, 86; Fernández Armesto 1981: 73; Carré Alvarellos 1972: 922, 78.

Provençal Occitan: Coupier 1995: 72.

Savoyard Franco-Provençal: Viret 2013: 145-146.

Old French: EDCT 2014: 51-52.

Standard French: Robert-Collins 1989: 829; Rayevskaya 2013: 382.

Picard: Leplubo 2016.

Walloon: Mahin 2016. Rifondou: *ã* {an} ~ *an-e:y* {anêye} 'year'.