The Position of the Sammarinese Dialects in the Romagnol Linguistic Group

by

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Italian Studies
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Abstract

Although Italo-Romance varieties continue to be documented, classified, and analyzed by dialectologists, many are at risk of not being recorded thoroughly and systematically before their imminent extinction. While considerable attention has been devoted to the phonetics, phonology, morphosyntax, and lexicon of the more archetypal Romagnol dialects spoken in the Po Valley, dialectologists have largely overlooked peripheral Romagnol varieties such as Sammarinese. The present dissertation begins to fill this lacuna in Italian dialectology by providing an historical and synchronic study of Sammarinese phonology and morphology based on the examination of old and modern texts as well as copious oral data.

The main purpose of the thesis is to delineate diatopic variation within the tiny Republic through comparative analysis, while also addressing the need for a more complete and precise definition of Sammarinese's position in the Romagnol linguistic group. In addition to confirming Sammarinese's status as a Borderline Romagnol variety, the dissertation offers evidence that Sammarinese is divided geographically into two main dialectal groups: Northeastern and Southwestern. The secondary intent of the thesis is to provide systematic, comprehensive, and phonetically precise documentation of the phonology and morphology of a moribund language.

The dissertation consists of five chapters. The Introduction includes a brief linguistic history which relates diatopic variation to geopolitical factors. The first chapter also contributes an assessment of the status of scholarship dedicated to Sammarinese dialectology. Chapter 2 examines diachronic phonetics, emphasizing the dichotomy between the traits which link Southwestern Sammarinese to Borderline Romagnol and those which join Northeastern Sammarinese with the Romagnol varieties of the Po Valley. Chapter 3 treats synchronic phonetics and proposes a generative phonology which aims to identify the diasystem underlying phonetic variation within the Republic. Chapter 4 analyzes historical declensional morphology, underscoring diatopic variation in internal flexion configurations as further evidence of the division between Northeastern and Southwestern Sammarinese. Chapter 5 examines diachronic verb morphology. The dissertation concludes with an assessment of linguistic aspects meriting further research and analysis.

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Θις θέσις ις αλσω δεδικατεδ του θε δηρ μεμωρυ ωφ Καλυψώ. Φιναλλυ, αι θανκ Καλυψώ, Πηνελόπη, Τηλέμαχος, Αΐας, Άτλας, ανδ Προμηθεύς φωρ χελπινγ μη κωμπλητ θις υωρκ.

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Map of San Marino 469

Phonetic Transcription

The transcription in this study follows by and large the norms of the International Phonetic Alphabet. The following are the principal symbols used for vowels:

	Front	Front-Central	Central	Back-Central	Back
High	i				u
Lower-High		ɪ		ʊ	
High-Mid	e				o
Mid			ə		
Low-Mid	ɛ				ɔ
Higher-Low			ɐ		
Low			a		

As far as diacritics are concerned, [i̯ u̯] indicate semivowels. [ẽ] designates a nasalized vowel. [eː] indicates a long vowel. [ɛ̝ ɔ̝] have a slightly higher articulation than [ɛ ɔ].

The principal consonant symbols are:

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	
Obstruent	Plosive	p b		t d				k g	Stop
	Affricate					tʃ dʒ			
	Fricative		f v	θ ð	s̪ z̪	ʃ ʒ			Continuant
Sonorant	Approximant		ʋ				j	w	
	Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɲ	ŋ	
	Trill				r				
	Lateral Approximant				l		ʎ		

Note that the precise articulation of [w] is labial-velar. The articulation of [s̪ z̪] is apico-alveolar. [s̪ː tː] designate half-long consonants. [n̥ d̥] indicate partially devoiced consonants. [d^{n}] is a stop with a nasal release. [d^{l}] is a stop with a lateral release. [$d^{̚}$] is an unreleased stop.

As for suprasegmentals, ˈ designates primary and ˌ secondary stress: [ˈljɛviˌto]. Syllable breaks are indicated with a period: [gat.to].

Among notable exceptions to the norms of the IPA, long consonants are designated by repetition of the symbol: [fatto] = [ˈfatːo]. Primary stress is normally not indicated in proparoxytones and monosyllabic oxytones: [kaːne] = [ˈkaːne], [dʒu] = [ˈdʒu]. The tilde is placed above velarized nasal consonants: [m̃ ñ]. Transcription appearing in tables is not enclosed in square brackets or slashes.

Otherwise, phonetic transcription is enclosed in square brackets ([mɛ̨ːr] ‘sea’) and phonemic transcription in slashes (/mɛːr/ ‘sea’). When not transcribed according to the rules of the IPA, foreign words are typed in italics: Italian *figlio*, French *mois*. Forms cited from dialectal texts are written in Italics as well: *la è andè* ‘she went’. As the previous example also illustrates, translations appearing outside of tables are enclosed in single quotation marks. Etyma are typed in small capital: PĬRA. Angle brackets indicate a diachronic evolution: PĬRA > [peːrɐ]. Arrows indicate a synchronic process: /vɪst/ → [vɪʂˑt] ‘seen’.

1. Introduction

While many other Italo-Romance varieties have been subjected to scientific study over more than a century, the dialects of San Marino have yet to receive specialized phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, or semantic analysis (Foresti viii, 55). Dialectologists have largely neglected Sammarinese (Foresti 57), often noting its status as a peripheral Romagnol variety, however without ever laying out the details of this condition (Foresti 207). Organized much like a reference tool, this dissertation begins to address the need for a more complete and precise definition of Sammarinese's position on Italy's linguistic map through a diachronic analysis of its phonetics and morphology as well as a generative analysis of its modern phonology. The diachronic analysis describes the linguistic developments that characterize Sammarinese, often attempting to relate them with historical and geopolitical events. Not only are Sammarinese's individual traits compared to those of other Romagnol varieties, but diatopic variation within the tiny Republic is also outlined. It is the aim of the generative phonology to identify the diasystem underlying phonetic variation within San Marino.

Although belonging clearly to the Romagnol linguistic group, the Sammarinese dialects are situated within the northwestern portion of a continuum of transitional varieties which preludes the Central Italian dialects. This area is demarcated in the northwest by the Marecchia River, which springs from the Tusco-Romagnol Apennines and pours into the Adriatic near Rimini, and in the southeast by the Foglia River, which originates in the Tuscan Apennines and flows into the sea at Pesaro. Observing oscillation between the Central Italian postalveolar affricates [tʃ dʒ] (< CE, CI; GE, GI) and the Romagnol dental fricatives [θ ð], Ascoli is the first to identify this cusp region. The founder of Italian dialectology names the area *metauropisaurina*, after the basins of the Metauro and the Foglia rivers, the latter of which the ancient Romans

called *Pisaurus* (Ascoli 444; Foresti 55). Later, Schürr labels the dialects of the region *pentapolitani*—after the Byzantine duchy—and, most recently, Delmonte proposes the moniker *Borderline Romagnol*. Additionally, the varieties spoken in the Marecchia Valley are often referred to collectively as *Marecchiese*. Many characteristics of Sammarinese typify the larger subgroup that Schürr refers to as *Southeastern Romagnol*. The Southwestern portion of the Savio River, which runs through Cesena, coincides with the boundary between *Central* and *Southeastern Romagnol*. As alluded to above, the transitional area between the Marecchia and Foglia rivers presents characteristics of Romagnol alongside those of Tuscan, Umbrian, and Marchesan.

Given the centrality of diatopic linguistic variation to the present study, this introduction begins with a brief description of San Marino's geographic situation, followed by a discussion of the historical factors which influenced the Republic's linguistic position. An outline follows of phonetic, phonological, and morphological traits representing points of similarity and divergence between the Sammarinese dialects and the more typical Romagnol varieties of the Po Valley. Subsequently, background information is provided concerning the historical, linguistic, ethnographic, or literary significance of the Sammarinese and Romagnol texts examined for the historical grammar. This discussion of non-linguistic texts is complemented by a brief history of the scholarly studies dedicated to the Sammarinese dialects, which also serves as an assessment of the current status of research on the topic. Finally, the elicitation procedures used to gather additional oral data are explained along with the reasons for selecting those methodologies.

1.1. Geographic Situation

The 61 km^2 Republic of San Marino is situated 14 km southwest of Rimini, thus a short distance inland from the Adriatic coast. The fertile plain of the Riminese hinterland, traditionally cultivated with vineyards and cornfields (Bent 3), gradually slopes upward toward the

Northeastern Sammarinese foothills of Serravalle and Domagnano. Further southwestward, the slopes of Mount Titanus rise abruptly to 749 m above sea level. Its height and volcanic rock provided natural fortifications for the Republic's homonymous capital city (Bent 14), located near the mountain's peak on its southwestern side. Together with Borgo Maggiore, which is perched at an elevation of 525 m on the mountain's northeastern side, San Marino Città constitutes the Republic's historically urban nucleus. The heights of Mount Titanus prelude those of the Apennines, which arise to the southwest. Located near the southeastern bank of the Marecchia River, San Marino borders with the Romagnol province of Rimini and the Marchesan province of Pesaro-Urbino. The Republic's southeastern boundary approaches the Conca River, which springs from Mount Carpegna and flows into the sea near Misano Adriatico.

1.2. Linguistic History

Throughout history the territory surrounding modern-day San Marino has been the site of clashes between civilizations, enduring politico-administrative borders, and fluctuation between the cultural influence of rival populations and dynasties. The territory's location near political, cultural, and, thus, linguistic fault lines, which have been renewed and perpetuated throughout history, has determined the Sammarinese dialects' status as Borderline varieties of Romagnol (Delmonte § 1). Today's diatopic linguistic variation can be related to geographic and historical factors. To begin with, the struggle between Gauls and Romans gave rise to the so-called La Spezia-Rimini bundle of isoglosses. Coinciding more or less with the Apennine crest, this line represents the boundary between Northern and Central-Southern Italian varieties. Subsequently, the Crisis of the Third Century forced Diocletian to reorganize the Roman Empire into new administrative districts, which were generally continued by those of the Middle Ages. The rivalry between Lombards and Byzantines was succeeded by that of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire versus the Papacy, leading to the divergence between Emilian and Romagnol. More

recently, the rivalry between the House of Malatesta and the Dukes of Urbino gave rise to the division between Southeastern Romagnol and Sammarinese as well as the differences between Northeastern and Southwestern Sammarinese. Additionally, geopolitical factors were not alone in determining diatopic variation. Regardless of their geographic position (i.e. NE or SW), the historically rural dialects of the Republic share common conservative traits, which the historically urban dialect has abandoned.

The recurrent clash of civilizations which beset the region surrounding present-day San Marino even preceded the arrival of the Gauls and Romans. While the Indo-European Umbri inhabited an area located east of the Tiber and straddling both sides of the Marecchia, the Etruscans began settling Northern Italy circa 750 BC. The Etruscans established the important cities of Felsina (modern-day Bologna) around 534 BC, Marzabotto in the fifth century BC, and Spina in the valleys of Comacchio in the fifth or fourth century BC. Today the Etruscan presence is attested by the toponyms *Feltre* in Northern Veneto and *Montefeltro* in the Northern Marches.

Meanwhile, in the sixth century BC the Gauls had begun crossing the Alps into the Po Valley and colonizing Northern Italy. The Gauls eventually invaded Etruscan cities and began colonizing modern-day Emilia-Romagna at the end of the fifth century BC (Devoto and Giacomelli 1972: 73; Calvetti 97). Two Gallic tribes dominated present-day Romagna during the fourth and third centuries BC (Calvetti 96). On one hand, the Galli Lingones settled at the mouth of the Po near modern-day Ferrara circa 400 BC. On the other, the Galli Senones inhabited the Adriatic coast from Ariminum (Rimini) to Ancona, driving out the Umbri, who maintained the strongholds of Spina, Ravenna, and Sassina (Sarsina) (Badini 376). In the fourth century BC, the Galli Senones founded the city of Sena Gallica (Sinigaglia), which would become their capital. On the Adriatic coast, the Gallic substratum would influence the Roman superstratum as far south as the Esino River (Badini 378), which flows into the sea about a dozen kilometers north of

Ancona. The boundary between Cisalpine Gaul and Italy proper corresponded with the Tusco-Emilian Apennine ridge and the Esino River until after Sulla's reign (82-80 BC), when the latter part of the border was moved north to the Rubicon (Calvetti 94).

The Gauls also left their mark on the toponymy of San Marino, the Celtic root PENN appearing in the epithets *tre penne*, which refers to the emblematic three peaks of Monte Titano, and *Penna Rossa*, the appellation for Chiesanuova. In the environs of the Republic, *Pennabilli* is situated near Mount Carpegna in the province of Pesaro-Urbino, while *Apennines* derives from ALPES PENNINAE (Bent 14).

Two more toponyms attesting San Marino's pre-Latin, Indo-European history also reflect the fact that the territory continually fell within the intersection of two different spheres of cultural influence (Foresti 19). On one hand, *Ausa*—which denominates the torrent springing from the slopes of Monte Titano and flowing northeastward through Serravalle toward Rimini—is one of the southernmost instances of a hydronym recurring in Emilia, Veneto, Friuli, and Germanic territories (Gasca Queirazza et al., "Ausa"). On the other hand, San Marino is the northernmost point of occurrence of *Genga* (augmentative *Gengone*), which refers to rocky protuberances in the Marches and elsewhere in Central Italy (Aebischer, "Quatre mots" 108-13, *Essai*).

Beginning in the third century BC, the Roman Republic gradually absorbed the territories of the Umbri and Gauls, introducing Latin to modern-day Romagna (Devoto and Giacomelli 1972: 54-55; Calvetti 97). The Romans took control of the area surrounding modern-day San Marino when they colonized Sena Gallica in 290 BC followed by Ariminum in 268 BC. The foundation of Bononia in 189 BC secured the Roman conquest of Romagna. Thereafter, the Romans established the cities of Forum Livii (Forlì), Forum Popili (Forlimpopoli), and Forum Cornelii (Imola), where different peoples cohabitated peacefully (Badini 376). The Romans also

built a network of roads, which simultaneously encouraged leveling of diatopical variation and the exchange of linguistic material between neighboring varieties (Schürr, *Probleme* 112).

Modern Italy's relatively well-defined linguistic boundaries may be ascribed in part to the distinct ethnic and cultural histories of its geographic regions. The Latin spoken in Cisalpine Gaul would be subjected to two waves of Gallicization, the first of which consisted of the absorption of the pre-existing Gallic substratum (Devoto and Giacomelli 1972: 2; Calvetti 97). Native Gallic speakers were forced to learn Latin, which they spoke with an accent and infused with loanwords as well as extraneous constructions. Following a brief period of bilingualism, the substratum was supplanted totally (Tagliavini 98-99; Calvetti 87). An analogous process took place in Central-Southern Italy, where Latin was influenced profoundly by the Umbro-Samnite substrata (Calvetti 95). On the other hand, blending with the substrata was negligible in Veneto and Tuscany, where the original traits of Latin are better preserved.[1]

The Romans began to leave their mark on the toponymy of their newly acquired territories through *centuriatio*, an efficient system of rural land planning which allowed them to transform vast areas of marshes and scrubs into fertile farm land. According to this system, land surveyors known as a*grimensores* allotted parcels of land to colonists who thus became proprietors of agricultural estates called *praedia*. Each of these plots was assigned explicitly to the owner with a name comprising his *cognomen* plus the suffix -ĀNUS. Several praedial toponyms survive to this day in San Marino, thus attesting the names of the most ancient landowners known to us in the area of the Republic: LICINIUS > *Lesignano*, FALCIDIUS > *Falciano*, SEIUS > *Seggiano*, HUMANIUS > *Domagnano*, MAIUS > *Maiano*, GAVIUS > *Gaviano* (Foresti 20). The age and extent of Roman farming in the area are evidenced by the fact that

[1] Devoto and Giacomelli 1972: 30-31, 158; Calvetti 98, 99.

praedial toponyms are not confined to the more fertile lowlands of the northeast, but also penetrate the mountainous southwest of the present-day Republic (Foresti 21-22).

In the first century BC, Classical and Vulgar Latin were two distinct sociolinguistic registers of the same language: literary and colloquial, respectively. The politico-administrative institutions and economic structures which had guaranteed the continuity of Classical Latin began to crumble during the Crisis of the Third Century (235–284 AD). Consequently, local linguistic tendencies were unleashed, leading to accelerated dialectal fragmentation as well as an unbridgeable gulf between Classical and Vulgar Latin (Foresti 21). Another important factor in the hastened divergence between Classical and Vulgar Latin would be the spread of Christianity, which would take root in the hinterland between Rome and Ravenna in the fifth century. Its use of a highly vulgarized form of Latin would enable the Church to replace the disintegrating Empire as a major source of political, administrative, economic, and thus linguistic cohesion (Foresti 21-22).

Diocletian resolved the Crisis of the Third Century by reforming the Empire administratively as a Tetrarchy. Although this measure would prolong the existence of the Western Empire, it would also reinforce linguistic divisions. The territories of Cisalpine Gaul were separated from Italy proper and fell under the jurisdiction of the Western Emperor along with Transalpine Gaul and Hispania (Calvetti 96), an arrangement which favored the second wave of Gallicization of Latin in Northern Italy. That is to say, the prestigious regional Latin spoken by the privileged classes in Transalpine Gaul spread across the Po Valley in the fourth and fifth centuries, further influencing the conditions which would give rise to the dialects of Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia, and Romagna.[2]

[2] Devoto and Giacomelli 1972: 2, 1994: 55; Calvetti 96; Badini 378.

Diocletian's administrative reforms also laid the foundation for a less macroscopic linguistic boundary by dividing *Aemilia* into two new regions: *Aemilia et Liguria* in the northwest and *Flaminia et Picenum* in the southeast (Schürr, *Probleme* 89). At the end of the fourth century, another economic and political crisis arose as the Germanic invasions intensified. In response, the provinces of Italy were reorganized yet again in 440, producing the regions of *Aemilia*, which stretched from Bologna to Piacenza, and *Flaminia*, which comprised the territory along the Adriatic coast between Rimini and Ferrara. This division between *Aemilia* and *Flaminia* would persist for a long time more or less along the same boundary (Badini 376), as the Roman administrative divisions would generally be left intact by the Ostrogoths, the Byzantines, and the Papacy (Foresti 21-22).

The Western Roman Empire collapsed entirely in 476, when the Ostrogoths seized Ravenna, which had been its capital since 402. However, the Byzantines recaptured the city in 540 and made it the administrative and military capital of all the Eastern Roman Empire's territories in Italy, which are referred to as the *Exarchate of Ravenna* (Schürr, *Probleme* 91). The Exarchate in the strictest sense was administered directly by the Exarch, a Byzantine governor, while the other territories were delegated to dukes and *magistri militium*. Local religious (*monasterium*) and civil (*castellum*) communities developed and the territory was subdivided into parishes, dioceses, rural unities, and small courts, which further encouraged the diatopic fragmentation of spoken Latin.

In 568, the Lombards launched an invasion of Byzantine Italy, descending rapidly across the Po Valley. The Lombard invasion split Italy into two parts: one Lombard and the other Romano-Byzantine, leading to significant linguistic repercussions. Schürr ascribes the idiosyncrasies which distinguish Romagnol from other Gallo-Italic varieties to Romagna's relative geographic and political isolation within the borders of the Exarchate, which were

succeeded by those of the Pontifical State. For nearly two centuries, the stretch of the Apennines between Frignano and the Furlo Pass was heavily lined with castles and military colonies (Schürr, *Probleme* 95, 96). Known as the *Limes Langobardicus*, this highly impenetrable military front separated Langobardia and the Exarchate of Ravenna linguistically (Schürr, *Probleme* 111). When the Lombard invasion began, the Roman bishops fled to Byzantine-controlled areas. The low clergy who found themselves in Lombard-occupied territory were no longer able to communicate with Rome (Schürr, *Probleme* 93). Furthermore, commerce between the two empires was heavily taxed and discouraged (Schürr, *Probleme* 94-95). Within the boundaries of the Lombard kingdom, the conquerors blended with the subjugated population through marriage over more than two centuries (Schürr, *Probleme* 94). On the other hand, the influence of Byzantine Greek on the Romagnol dialects was circumscribed almost entirely to a limited number of technical and ephemeral loanwords (Badini 385), since the Byzantines only sent a limited number of administrators and soldiers to their lands (Schürr, *Probleme* 95). Consequently, the pre-existing tendency toward metaphony and internal flexion was allowed to incubate in Romagnol, setting it apart from Lombard and Emilian. At the same time, the onset of syllabic isochronism, which was reinforced by the Germanic accent in the Lombard-controlled territories (Schürr, *VR* 26), was delayed in Romagnol (Schürr, *Probleme* 111-12, *VR* § 38).

Diatopic variation also occurred within the Exarchate, as the Lombard invasion forced the Byzantines to reorganize their remaining territory administratively and militarily (Schürr, *Probleme* 89). At the end of the sixth century, Rimini became the capital of a newly formed district, the duchy of the Pentapolis. Incorporating parts of the erstwhile Roman province of *Picenum*, the Pentapolis was completed by the coastal cities of Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, and Ancona (Schürr, *Probleme* 90). The Exarchate proper and the Pentapolis were separated by the Ariminus (Marecchia) River and the Apennines (Schürr, *Probleme* 90, 93), which had served as

the border between Umbria and Cisalpine Gaul. This line also divided the two ecclesiastical provinces of Rome and Ravenna, with Rimini falling under the jurisdiction of Rome, and would continue to do so when the Byzantines were succeeded by the Papacy (Schürr, *Probleme* 93). In correspondence with its longtime role as a politico-administrative border, today the Marecchia River not only separates Borderline varieties from the more typical Romagnol dialects to the northwest, but also coincides roughly with some of the most important isoglosses for distinguishing Northern from Central-Southern Italian dialects. Eventually, the politico-administrative boundary was moved from the Marecchia to the Foglia (Schürr, *Probleme* 108), which today separates the Romagnol and Marchesan linguistic areas (Calvetti 94). Further south, the Misco (Musone) River demarcated the frontier between the Pentapolis and the Lombard Duchy of Spoleto, whose establishment threatened the Byzantines' use of the Via Flaminia (Schürr, *Probleme* 90, 91). To the west, the Pentapolis included the Apennine passes through which the strategically important road linked Ravenna, Byzantine Italy's administrative and military capital, to Rome, its religious capital. While the influence of the Lombards was generally minimal throughout Romagna, the Pentapolis was more susceptible to their incursions, due to the importance of the Tiber Valley corridor linking the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas. In fact, the significant Lombard presence in this area is attested by numerous Arian style churches and those dedicated to Lombard patron saints, which were built into the first half of the seventh century (Delmonte § 1).

The eighth century saw the rapid collapse of the Exarchate, which concluded in 751 when the Lombards captured Ravenna (Schürr, *Probleme* 95-96). Since the Eastern Empire could no longer aid the nascent Papal State in its struggle against the Lombards, Pope Stephen II turned to Pippin the Younger, king of the Franks (Bent 41). The Lombards briefly controlled Romagna until 756, when Pippin wrested it away and donated the Exarchate up to the Panaro River, the

duchy of Ferrara including Comacchio, the Pentapolis, and Flaminia to the Holy See of Rome (Schürr, *Probleme* 96).

Under their king Aistulf, the Lombards initiated another campaign against the papal territories, occupying Montefeltro in 752 and reconquering its capital San Leo in 772 (Foresti 22). However, as soon as 774, Pippin's successor, Charlemagne, vanquished the Lombards definitively and confirmed his father's donation to the Pontifical State in 781. Thus, the Franks controlled the former Lombard territories, while the Papacy administered the erstwhile Exarchate. This perpetuation of the political division between Longobardia and Romania would be an important factor in linguistic divergence between Romagna, on one hand, and Emilia and Tuscany, on the other (Schürr, *Probleme* 96). The present-day linguistic boundary between Emilian and Romagnol corresponds roughly with the course of the Reno and Panaro Rivers, which separated the duchies of Emilia from the pontifical legations of Romagna until the unification of Italy (Badini 377).

Schürr observes that, despite continued isolation between the territories of the Holy Roman Empire and those of the Papacy, the three major roads converging at the port city of Rimini would encourage linguistic exchanges influencing the evolution of the dialects in the Marecchia-Foglia area. The Via Aemilia traversed the Po Valley, connecting Rimini to Bologna and, ultimately, Piacenza. Starting from Rome, the Via Flaminia traveled northward through a narrow corridor, crossing the Tiber Valley and Umbria, passing through Perugia, and eventually climbing up to the Apennine crest. From the Viamaggio Pass, the Flaminia descended into the Marecchia Valley in the modern province of Pesaro-Urbino, reaching the Adriatic at Fano and traveling up the coast to Rimini. Finally, a large coastal road ending at the port of Brindisi was particularly important during the time of the Crusades (*VR* 48). The confluence of linguistic

imports from the north and south at the crossroads of Rimini would be favored during the Renaissance by the Malatesta court's role as a cultural center (Schürr, *Probleme* 109, *VR* 49).

As far as San Marino is concerned, the emergence of rival local powers—in Verucchio and Rimini, on one hand, and San Leo and Carpegna on the other—would determine the principal linguistic division of the modern-day Republic. Serravalle and the rest of the northeast would be linked both politically and commercially to Rimini and the surrounding plain, while the small community in the mountainous southwest would adhere to the Montefeltro diocese and form friendly relations with the Dukes of Urbino (Foresti 56).

This situation arose because, from its foundation in 781 until the end of the 1200s, the Pontifical State was not able to exercise full sovereignty over its territories, which experienced a period of fragmentary political development. The Bishops of Ravenna continued to enjoy political influence locally, while small parishes, communes, and seigneuries formed in Romagna and elsewhere during the course of the tenth century.[3] By the ninth century, the Church had founded the Montefeltro diocese at San Leo, where the precursor to the House of Montefeltro emerged under Duke Orso (Bent 44). Together with Giovanni, Bishop of Montefeltro, the Duke protected the small community of San Marino, which was effectively a canonic corporation. This protection allowed Stephen, the abbot of San Marino, to safeguard the commune's revenues and agricultural land against the claims of Deltone, Bishop of Rimini, as the *Placito Feretrano* (885) attests (Bent 45; Foresti 23). As nobles continued to gain power in the tenth century, the future House of Montefeltro was strengthened in 962, when the Teuton Emperor Otto I allocated land between the Marecchia and Conca Rivers—including San Marino and San Leo—to Count Uldarico of Carpegna in exchange for his vassalage (Bent 48). Over the course of the twelfth century, the alliance between San Marino and the Counts of Carpegna and the latter's political

[3] Bent 42; Schürr, *Probleme* 96-97; Badini 377.

power grew increasingly stronger. For instance, the small community on Mount Titanus would purchase the lands of Penna Rossa and Casole from its protectors (Bent 55), while Antonio di Carpegna would gain more castles and land around San Leo as a reward for his allegiance to the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa (Bent 59).

The Ghibelline House of Feltria would be constantly at odds with the Guelphic House of Malatesta (Bent 56)—allied with the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire, respectively—over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Malatesta seigneury originated in Verucchio—located near the southeastern bank of the Marecchia River—with Giovanni della Penna dei Billi (1150-1190), who was nicknamed *il Malatesta* (Gasca Queirazza et al., "Verùcchio"). In exchange for military protection against frequent barbarian incursions from the north, the inhabitants of Rimini offered citizenship to the House of Malatesta. San Marino's geographic position helped the tiny city-state maintain its independence, with Mount Titanus serving as "a natural bulwark" between the domains of Montefeltro and Malatesta (Bent 60-61).

Indeed, the front between the two families ran through the present-day Republic (Foresti 56). The rolling hills of the northeast, including the outpost of Serravalle, were an extension of Malatesta's lands in the Romagnol plain. On the other hand, the mountainous Southwest was allied with Urbino, which by the 1300s was under the linguistic influence of Tuscany (Balducci 463). In fact, the *volgare* used by the Chancellery of the early Dukes of Urbino from 1378 through the early1400s oscillated between Tuscanisms (-sĭ- > *-g-* [ʒ]: *cagione, provigione*) and septentrionalisms (-sĭ- > *-x-* [ʐ̪]: *caxone, bruxati*) (Balducci 464), as Southwestern Sammarinese does today. Tuscan linguistic influence on Southern Romagnol intensified in the fifteenth century, as the Republic of Florence's political and economic power grew. During this period, Florence gained control over *Romagna toscana* in the Apennines west of the Marecchia Valley and the roads linking Faenza and Forlì with Tuscany acquired greater importance (Schürr,

Probleme 108, *VR* 46). The Tuscan linguistic influence on all varieties of Sammarinese is reflected by vowel paragoge as opposed to anaptyxis: cf. Sammarinese [lɛ̣ːdri] ‘thief’, Romagnol [leᵩdɐr] < LATRO.

In the mid fifteenth century, the Montefeltro-Malatesta rivalry came to a head when Federico and Sigismondo Pandolfo were in power (Bent 46-47). The House of Malatesta’s encroachments grew bolder as Sigismondo aimed to capture Mount Titanus in order to gain an important vantage point over the Montefeltro territory (Bent 104). However, military and political events would not unfold in favor of Sigismondo’s ambitions. Accused of defrauding Alfonso, King of Aragon and Naples, Sigismondo faced a war against an alliance comprising Alfonso, the Papacy, the House of Feltria, and San Marino (Bent 110). Needless to say, the lopsided contest ended in 1463 with the total defeat of the House of Malatesta, which lost all its territories (Bent 113-14). While the Holy See added a series of Romagnol towns to its dominion, Federico—who would become Duke of Urbino in 1474—gained Pesaro and a stretch of the Adriatic coast approaching Rimini as well as Verucchio and the boundary of the Marecchia. For its part, San Marino annexed the castle and township of Serravalle together with the hamlets of Fiorentino, Montegiardino, and Faetano (Bent 114). Given the enlarged dimensions of its territory, San Marino began to call itself a ‘republic’ (Bent 115).

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Holy See regained control over Bologna and Romagna through pontifical legates (Schürr, *Probleme* 97; Badini 377). The last Duke of the Rovere line, which had absorbed the House of Montefeltro in 1508 (Bent 117, 125-26), altogether relinquished the Duchy of Urbino to the Church in 1631 (Bent 144-45). From then on, San Marino’s political fate would be tied exclusively to that of the Papacy until the unification of Italy (Bent 146).

The sustained stability of the geopolitical situation likely slowed the divergence between the Southwestern and Northeastern Sammarinese varieties, which were now spoken within the boundaries of the same diminutive state. However, new socio-economic factors would influence a departure between the conservative rural dialects of the Republic and the urban variety, which came increasingly into contact with Italian and other urban Romagnol dialects. While Città and Borgo Maggiore constituted the modest urban center of the Republic until the second half of the twentieth century, the surrounding countryside remained virtually frozen in time.

For as long as the distinction between the two codes existed in their collective awareness, the educated aristocracy and bourgeoisie—who were concentrated in Città and Borgo—normally spoke dialect instead of Italian until well into the twentieth century. Their knowledge of Italian was mostly limited to reading and, occasionally, drafting official documents or letters, which they did increasingly over the course of the nineteenth century (Foresti 45). In the late nineteenth century, the limited higher education amongst the privileged classes was reflected by the fact that both state doctors and the schoolmaster were foreigners by law for the sake of guaranteeing expertise (Bent 249). Furthermore, the Republic employed a full-time foreign commissary to superintend the courts of law (Bent 254-55).

Nevertheless, the higher classes benefited from considerable access to schooling, which the conservative government entrusted largely to the clergy, whereas public education was still all but unavailable to the popular classes (Foresti 39-40). Thus, a small minority of the population was competent in the language of opportunity, while the vast majority were illiterate dialect speakers (Foresti 45). Moreover, those who could afford it were able to move to cities such as Bologna in order to continue their edification (Bent 149). Consequently, the growing trend of writing led to diamesic variation within the urban dialect, as privileged and literate individuals increasingly experimented with writing poems and plays during the mid nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries, while the illiterate classes rarely enjoyed any exposure to *written spoken* genres such as theater (Badini 386).

The vast majority of the Republic's population belonged to the latter category, as urbanization in San Marino lagged behind that of Romagna, which, in turn, was not comparable to that of Emilia. Whereas agricultural and mercantile entrepreneurship grew in Emilia over the course of the nineteenth century, in Romagna the economy was still based on primary agricultural production while the territory's hydraulic defenses were being built. This asymmetrical development is reflected today in the contrast between the densely populated, urbanized belt spanning Emilia and the smaller, scattered cities of Romagna (Badini 377).

Located on the periphery of this minor urban network, the relatively harsh terrain of San Marino further isolated the Republic from the economic and infrastructural development occurring in Ravenna, Forlì, Cesena, and Rimini. San Marino's lagging progress was reflected in an 88% illiteracy rate at the time of the unification of Italy, whose rate was more than 10% lower. A similar margin separated San Marino from Romagna in 1881, when their illiteracy rates were 79 and 70%, respectively (Foresti 40). Well into the twentieth century, Sammarinese agriculture was based on the *mezzeria*—or metuary—system, which split yearly profits equally between the landlord and the tenant (Bent 263). This oppressive arrangement was kept in place by San Marino's oligarchic government, whose Council members were elected for life while replacements were chosen by the Council itself (Bent 230). One of the most productive sectors of San Marino's primitive economy was breeding of cattle and oxen. The latter were used for plowing as well as transportation and were required to make the ascent from Serravalle to Borgo (Bent 4). Additionally, modest quarries of sulfur, marble, coal, iron, and building stone near Montegiardino provided resources for the Republic's "restricted commerce" (Bent 18), while Sangiovese grapes were cultivated in Acquaviva (Bent 36).

In contrast with the austere existence of the rural areas, the inhabitants of the urban core enjoyed a relatively more diversified life and contact with modern Italian culture. The mercantile village of Borgo Maggiore had been the center of commercial activity for the entire Republic since the Middle Ages (Bent 3, 75), while Città has been the seat of government throughout the Republic's history (Bent 3). Hundreds of oxen, sheep, and pigs were sold during the monthly fair day in Borgo (Bent 4), where local poets—such as Pietro Rossi—would entertain the fairgoers with verses in dialect and Italian accompanied by music. The village possessed two small squares with arcades and shops, two churches, a small inn, and a theater. Borgo was inhabited by "well-to-do merchants" living in "tidy little villas", while the palaces of the nobility were located in Città (Bent 6).

The gap in socioeconomic development between the urban and rural parts of San Marino was reflected by local illiteracy rates reported in the periodical *Il Titano* in 1909 (16: 1; Foresti 40):

Locality	Illiteracy Rate
Città	25%
Città and Borgo Maggiore Combined	31%
Borgo Maggiore	36%
Piagge	60%
Domagnano	66%
Serravalle	73%
Acquaviva	76%
Scalette	77%
Chiesanuova	78%
Fiorentino	81%
Countryside Surrounding Città and Borgo	84%
Faetano	85%
Montegiardino	85%
Pieve Corena	86%
San Giovanni sotto le Penne	94%

The combined rate for Città and Borgo (31%) was less than half of that of the entire Republic (71%). Furthermore, the only rate not to double the urban center's was that of Piagge (60%), which denominates the western slopes of Mount Titanus.

While the illiteracy rate correlated closely with the percentage of the population who spoke dialect exclusively, the primary language of most literate people continued to be dialect. By the early twentieth century, part of the ruling class in San Marino was able to speak Italian in everyday life (Foresti 46), while children of the underprivileged class were being exposed to the language of opportunity for the first time at elementary school. The progressive diminution of communication in dialect amongst the privileged classes combined with the protracted reliance on dialect amongst the lower classes meant that socio-economic status would be reflected less and less by diastratic registers of dialect and increasingly by the contrast between Italian and dialect (Badini 399).

During the great economic, social, and cultural transformations of the post WWII era, which led to the development of a significant tourism industry in San Marino, knowledge and use of Italian became widespread in the Republic, including in informal social situations. While the vitality of dialect is still relatively strong in San Marino, dialect speakers tend to use their mother tongue only when they know their interlocutor is able to respond in kind. Nevertheless, only young people (30 and under), especially in the upper-middle class, display minimal passive competence in dialect (Foresti 59).

1.3. Classification of the Sammarinese Dialects

As discussed above, geographic and historical factors determined the Sammarinese dialects' status as Borderline varieties of Romagnol. This condition is characterized by the dichotomy between the linguistic traits which liken Sammarinese to Romagnol and those which differentiate the dialects of the Republic from those of the Po Valley. Moreover, the Republic

itself is intersected by a linguistic boundary separating the varieties of the Northeast from those of the Southwest. These groups may be subdivided further, with Serravallese standing out from the other Northeastern dialects while the dialect of Borgo and Città is differentiated from the historically rural varieties. The summary below lists many of the phonetic, phonological, and morphological points of similarity and divergence which constitute the diatopic classification outlined above. Firstly, traits which liken Sammarinese to the Romagnol varieties of the Po Valley are summarized. Secondly, features which distinguish Sammarinese from the more typical Romagnol dialects are catalogued. Finally, diatopic variation within the Republic is outlined.

1.3.1. Traits Common to Sammarinese and Romagnol

Phonetic characteristics will be outlined first, beginning with the tonic vowel subsystem. Among the features which Borderline Romagnol shares with the dialects of the Exarchate proper, the nucleus of secondary falling diphthongs undergoes raising before yod is dropped: *[fai̯] > [fɛ̝ː] ‘you do’, AREA > [ɛ̝ːrɐ] ‘threshing floor’, RASŌRIU > [rɐˈʒ̆uːl] ‘razor’. Similarly, metaphony is generally triggered by final [i], although U-metaphony occurs in the group -ŎCU (> -ɔgu). Raising of tonic vowels is also caused sporadically by an adjacent palatal consonant, whether it precedes or follows the vowel. The initial metaphonic outcomes of the original low-mid vowels [ɛ ɔ] are the rising diphthongs [je wo], while high-mid [e o] are raised to [i u]. In the sixteenth century, [je] and [wo] undergo stress retraction, yielding [iᵚ̆] and [uᵚ̆], respectively. According to Schürr, the phenomenon originated in Umbria and was exported to Romagna by the religious processions and pilgrimages of the Disciplinati and Laudenses traveling up the Via Flaminia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when Umbria’s cultural influence on neighboring

territories was greatest (*VR* 47). Subsequently, [iᵚ] and [uᵚ] undergo monophthongization, producing [iː] and [uː], respectively.

Subsequent to the ancient phenomenon of metaphony, all tonic vowels are lengthened in open syllables, before syllable-final liquids, and under nasalization. The latter development occurs before intervocalic [n m] or [n m] followed by a voiceless consonant. In all these contexts, primary [a] yields a front mid vowel ([ɐ̯ː] in Sammarinese) as a result of diphthongization.

Following the raising of open-syllable [a] > [ɐ̯ː], the original closed-syllable low vowels [a ɛ ɔ] undergo compensatory lengthening as a result of degemination, but without a significant change in height: CATTU > [gaːt] ‘cat’, SĔPTEM > [s̪ɐ̯ːt] ‘seven’, ŏCTU > [ɔːt] ‘eight’. However, before nasal geminates and nasal + voiced consonant clusters, the low-mid vowels [ɛ ɔ] merge with the original high-mid vowels [e o] by yielding a short outcome: TĔNDA > [tɛn·dɐ] ‘curtain’, SŎMNU > [s̪ɔn·] ‘sleep’. The high vowels [i e o u] (including secondary [i u]) always give short outcomes in normal closed syllables, that is to say syllables whose coda is not a liquid or a nasal followed by a voiceless consonant. Furthermore, closed-syllable [i u] are lowered to [ɪ ʊ]. Synchronically speaking, modern Sammarinese possesses a relatively high number of vowel phonemes (eleven), with vowel quantity serving as a relevant feature.

The divergent evolutions of the same vowel in tonic and atonic positions lead to qualitative apophony and extensive neutralization of contrastive traits in the atonic subsystem: [iɲuˈrɐ̯ːnt] ‘ignorant’ → [iɲurɐnˈtɔu̯ñ] ‘ignoramus’, [ɐ tʃiːrk] ‘I look for’ → [tʃɐrˈkɐ̯ː] ‘to look for’. Other phenomena which characterize the atonic subsystem include widespread apocope, syncope, raising of the mid vowels [e o] to [i u], and epenthesis. Apocope affects all word-final

vowels except [a]. However, all five posttonic vowels are subject to syncope in proparoxytones, because a prosodic constraint banning proparoxytones outranks the phonological rule that preserves atonic [a]: STŎMĂCHU > [ʂtɐmˑgi] ‘stomach’. As for the pretonic vowels, [a] is normally preserved: FAMĬLIA > [fɐmɛjˑɐ] ‘family’. On the other hand, [e] is often dropped (SĬCCĀRE > [ʂkɛ̰ː] ‘to dry up’), which often results in prothesis of [ɐ], particularly in verbs beginning with the preposition RE- (REPAUSĀRE > [ɐrpun̥ˈʂɛ̰ː] ‘to rest’). Alternatively, [e] is raised to [i]: *MĬTTĒTIS > [miˈtiːd)] ‘you (pl.) put’. Before syllable-final sonorants, [e] produces [i] in free variation with [ɐ]: CER(Ĕ)BĔLLU > [tʃirˈvɛ̰ːl] [tʃɐrˈvɛ̰ːl] ‘brain’. Analogous to the raising of [e] to [i], [o] normally yields [u]: SOLARIU > [ʂuˈlɛ̰ːr] ‘floor’. Syncope of pretonic vowels is often followed by partial anticipatory assimilation: *PEDŎC(Ŭ)LU > [bˈdɔːtʃ] ‘louse’. Oscillation between aphaeresis and preservation of word-initial [ɐ] is the norm in verbs (see Vitali § 9.3): *ASPĔCTĀRE > [(ɐ)ʂpiˈtɛ̰ː] ‘to wait (for)’. However, word-internal pretonic [ɐ] is normally maintained: MANDUCARE HABEO > [mɐɲɐˈrɔ] ‘I will eat’.

Among the major developments of the consonant system, there is voicing of intervocalic stops and [s]. Voicing of intervocalic stops is linked to degemination, which produces half-long consonants after the tonic high vowels [i e o u] (EXSŪCTU > [ʂʊtˑ] ‘dry’) and short consonants in all other positions (ŎCTU > [ɔːt] ‘eight’, GALLĪNA > [gɐlɛi̯ñɐ] ‘hen’). In Northeastern Italy, degemination also involves [tt] arisen by anticipatory assimilation of CT, whereas the Northwestern varieties develop [i̯t] (Rohlfs 1: § 258). In a limited series of words, degemination occurs subsequent to secondary gemination, which affects -M- in particular: *SKLŪMA > [ʂtʃʊmˑɐ] ‘foam’. Italo-Romance [ʎʎ] is not only degeminated, but also vocalized to [j]: ALLIU >

[aːi̯] ‘garlic’. However, the palatal articulation reemerges as a complementary allophone of /li/ before a nuclear vowel: /li ɔ́ːki/ → [ɐˈʎɔːki] ‘geese’, /itália/ → [iˈtɐːʎɐ] ‘Italy’. Among the palatalized outcomes acting as phonemes, CL > [tʃ] in Northeastern Italy, as opposed to [j] in the Northwest: VĔCLU > [vɛ̯ːtʃ] ‘old’, *SKLŪMA > [s̪tʃʊmˑɐ] ‘foam’. Analogously, GL > [dʒ]: GLANDE > [dʒaːndɐ] ‘acorn’. While new affricates are created on one hand, Italo-Romance [ts dz] are deoccluded on the other, producing the dental fricatives [θ ð]: MARTIU > [mɛ̯ːɾ̪θ] ‘March’, MĔDIU > [mɛ̯ːð] ‘half’. The modern series of coronal fricatives is rounded out by /s z/, which have a conspicuous apico-alveolar articulation. Among the less consistent phenomena, syllable-final L is sporadically palatalized and vocalized (> [i̯]) before labial and velar consonants: VŬLPE > [voi̯pɐ] ‘fox’, SŬLCU > [s̪oi̯k] ‘furrow’. When appearing as an onset following a syllable-final liquid, -V- is sometimes occluded to [b]: ALVEU > [ɛ̯ːbjɪ] ‘drinking trough’, NĔRVU > [niːrb] ‘nerve’. The few secondary nasal + liquid clusters arising from syncope of proparoxytones usually develop an anaptyctic homorganic stop: DŎMNŬLA > [dʊnˑdlɐ] ‘weasel’.

This completes our outline of diachronic phonetic changes which typify Sammarinese as part of the Romagnol linguistic family. Such a classification is further justified by synchronic rules of the modern phonological system. For example, tonic vowel length is a relevant feature, while consonant length is redundant. Thus, when a consonant follows a tonic vowel, the consonant must be short if the vowel is long, half-long if the vowel is short. In other words, half-long consonant allophones only occur in complementary distribution with a preceding short tonic vowel.

Among the oldest morphonological developments, regular alternation between metaphonic vowel outcomes and their non-metaphonic counterparts is largely preserved within

declensional and verbal systems of internal flexion, which are by and large functionally redundant. Another distinguishing morphological trait is the comparative adverb [mɛ̣ːŋk] ‘less’ (< MANCU), which supplants the continuant of MĬNUS (*AIS* 706; Rohlfs 2: 81). As for the indefinite article, the masculine form is always [un], even before /s/ + consonant, /θ/, /ð/, and /ɲ/. The feminine form is susceptible to aphaeresis: [unɐ] > [nɐ]. The forms of the demonstrative adjectives are modeled after those of the definite article (Rohlfs 2: 206; Schürr, *VR* § 32): [ɛ fuːn] ‘the smoke’, [ʂtɛ fuːn] ‘this smoke’, [kɛ fuːn] ‘that smoke’. Due in part to the convergence of verbal desinences, the use of atonic subject pronouns is obligatory in all six persons. Since Emilian and Romagnol allow *reduplication* of the subject, the original system of optional tonic subject pronouns is succeeded by two series of pronouns: one optional and tonic, the other mandatory and atonic: [(tɪ) t fɛ̣ː] ‘you do, make’. However, referring to the latter series as *pronouns* is problematic, since these clitics function much like flexional affixes and the same form ([ɐ] < ĔGO) is used for the first, fourth, and fifth persons. This same form also appears in interrogative constructions as an impersonal proclitic in conjunction with the encliticized personal pronoun: [ɐ vuː-t] ‘do you want?’. Some dialectologists see subject clitics as flexional affixes since their use is obligatory even with nominal subjects, the relative subject pronoun [k(e)] (< QUĬD), and impersonal verbs. One of the features which distinguishes Romagnol from Lombard, Emilian, and Bolognese is the extension of subject clitics to verbs governed by the quantifiers [ki k] (< QUĪ QUĬD) and [niˈʂuːn] (< NE-ĬPSE-ŪNU).

Subject clitics are functionally pertinent when they serve to compensate for the merger of verbal forms, which occurs between the third and sixth persons irrespective of conjugation: [(luː) l ɛ] ‘he is’ - [(luˈiːl̥t) j ɛ] ‘they (m.) are’, [(liːɐ) lɐ baːlɐ] ‘she dances’ - [(luˈɛ̣ːl̥ti) ɐl baːlɐ]

‘they (f.) dance’. The first, third, and sixth persons of the verb are identical in the imperfect indicative, the preterit, the future, the present subjunctive, the imperfect subjunctive, and the conditional: [ɐ kɐn̪tɐriːɐ] ‘I would sing’ - [ɛ kɐn̪tɐriːɐ] ‘he would sing’ - [i kɐn̪tɐriːɐ] ‘they (m.) would sing’. Second person plural -[ɛ̣ː] of the present indicative presupposes *-[ati], while *-[eti] and *-[iti] merge into -[iː]. These metaphonized desinences are generalized to the imperative: *[metteti] (not *[mettete]) > [miˈtiː] ‘put!’. Such instances of metaphony give impetus to the leveling of first conjugation -AMUS and -ASSEM etc. (Schürr, *NC* § 33). In the imperfect indicative, the fourth and fifth person desinences undergo stress retraction: *-ĪBĀMUS > -[ˈivimo] > -[iːmji], *-ĪBĀTIS > -[iːvji]. Arising by metaphony in -ERE verbs, thematic [iː] is generalized to the second person of the first conjugation: *CANTAVI > [tˈ kɐn̪tiːvji] ‘you were singing’. Also in the second person, there is oscillation between a distinct desinence incorporating an enclitic pronoun and a desinence identical to that of the fifth person: [tⁿ mɐndiːv̩ti] [tⁿ mɐndiːvji] ‘you were sending’, [tˈ siːr̪ti] [tˈ siːrji] ‘you were’. In the present subjunctive, the desinence -/a/ is generalized to the first conjugation (Rohlfs 2: 299, Schürr, *NC* § 34): CANTE > [kɛ̣ːn̪tɐ] ‘I, you, he, they may sing’, CANTĒMUS > [kɐn̪tɪmˑɐ] ‘we may sing’. The first person plural form is also used for the imperative: [kɐn̪tɪmˑɐ] ‘let’s sing!’. The extension of -/a/ to the second person plural of the present subjunctive (CANTĒTIS > [kɐn̪tɪvɐ] ‘you may sing’) occurs subsequent to enclisis of -/v/, which served to differentiate the subjunctive from the corresponding indicative form. Absorption of enclitic -/v/ also occurs in the second person plural desinences of the imperfect subjunctive and conditional: [kɐntɪs̪ˑvi] ‘you might sing’, [kɐntɐrɪs̪vi] ‘you would sing’. By analogy of the pre-existing correspondence between the second person singular and plural forms,

the first person plural desinence of the imperfect subjunctive is generalized to the preterit and conditional: *A girasme* ‘we went round’, [ɐ kɐntɐrɪʂmi] ‘we would sing’. There is a tendency for -ĔRE and -ĪRE verbs to develop anaptyctic [ɐ] in the future and conditional stem by analogy of the first conjugation: [ɐ tʃudɐˈrɔ] ‘I will close’, [ɐ durmɐˈriːɐ] ‘I would sleep’. Rhizotonic forms of the preterit tend to be leveled by analogical forms which stress the desinence: MĪSIT > *mité* ‘he put’. In the first, third, and sixth persons, there is oscillation between the types *-ì* (< -IIT) and *-itt* (< STETUI): *ciudè* ‘he closed’, *un sciudet* ‘it did not open’. Infinitives drop final [r]: HABĒRE > Old Romagnol *hauer* > [ɐˈveː] ‘to have’. Regular arhizotonic past participles are often supplanted by rhizotonic verbal adjectives in the first conjugation: PORTĀTU > [j a pɔːrt] ‘they brought’.

As far as the verb stem is concerned, the velar stem-final consonant is palatalized by analogy of the other forms: CRĒSCO > [ɐ krɛʂˑ] ‘I grow’. Northern Italian dialects typically attach the ending *-[aggo] to DO, STO, and VADO (Rohlfs 2: 260): [ɐ daːg] ‘I give’, [ɐ ʂtaːg] ‘I stay’, [ɐ vaːg] ‘I go’. One of the features which distinguish Romagnol From Bolognese and Emilian is a greater extension of initial s- in the conjugation of *ĔSSĔRE: ĔS > [ʂiː] ‘you are’, ĔRAM > [ʂɛːrɐ] ‘I was’, ĔRAS > [ʂiːrji] ‘you were’, ĔRĀMUS > [ʂiːrmi] ‘we were’, ĔRĀTIS > [ʂiːrvi] ‘you were’.

1.3.2. Differences between Sammarinese and Romagnol

Given that stressed vowels are the longest and most emphasized of segments, the tonic vowel subsystem features the greatest degree of diatopic variation, while the atonic vowel subsystem and the consonant system are more unified geographically (Badini 378).

One of the most conspicuous areas of divergence in the tonic vowel subsystem concerns the extensiveness of metaphonic raising. In Eastern Emilian and Southeastern Romagnol, metaphony is restricted to the mid vowels [e ɛ ɔ o] (Maiden 114), while Central Romagnol also displays metaphony of [a] (Maiden 115). Not only is the range of input vowels subject to diatopic variation, but the range of metaphonizing elements also differs. For example, Sammarinese is part of the Marecchia Valley group of dialects showing metaphony in masculine singular nouns and adjectives ending in -ŎLU and -ŎVU (Balducci 453). This is one of several phonetic factors that contribute to widespread reverse leveling in Sammarinese and, thus, to a less stable system of internal flexion compared to more typical Romagnol varieties. However, the foundation of this partial collapse is morphological in nature, since the general functional redundancy of internal flexion predisposes the system to disintegration. Another phonetic factor is the infiltration of the Tuscan diphthong [je] (< [ɛ]) into the open syllables of nouns and adjectives lacking the conditions necessary for metaphony.

Returning to autochthonous evolutions, spontaneous diphthongization of the open-syllable low vowels [a ɛ ɔ] originates in Central Romagna and, thus, is more progressed here than southeast of the Savio River. Compare the greater degree of raising in Forlivese [leu̯dɐr] ‘thief’ (< LATRO), [meu̯d] ‘I reap’ (< MĚTO), and [kou̯r] ‘heart’ (< CŎRE) with the more conservative outcomes in Sammarinese [lɛ̯ːdrɪ], [mɛ̯ːd], and [kɔːr]. In fact, diphthongization of the low-mid vowels [ɛ ɔ] is generally absent from Borderline Romagnol. Given that spontaneous diphthongization of [ɛ] also affects the metaphonic outcome of open-syllable [a] in Central Romagnol, this subgroup develops an additional internal flexion paradigm: CARU - CARĪ > [keu̯r] - [keːr] ‘dear; expensive’. Such a paradigm is lacking in Sammarinese, where open-syllable [a]

and [ɛ] converge (cf. Northeastern Sammarinese [kɛ̰ːr] - [kɛ̰ːr]). The divergence in the evolution of open-syllable [ɛ] involves the monophthonged outcome of secondary [ai̯] as well, which also yields [ɛ̰ː] in Sammarinese as opposed to [eː] in Central Romagnol: *[fai̯] > [fɛ̰ː] [feː] ‘you do’, AREA > [ɛ̰ːrɐ] [eːrɐ] ‘threshing floor’. In addition to the difference in vowel height, certain proparoxytones offer further evidence that diphthongization of the open-syllable low vowels [a ɛ ɔ] is an older phenomenon in Central Romagnol than in the Southeast (Schürr, *Probleme* 103, 107, *VR* § 8). Whereas raising of open-syllable low vowels precedes syncope of posttonic vowels in Central Romagnol, in Southeastern Romagnol syncope often precludes spontaneous diphthongization by creating a closed-syllable context. Compare Faentino [s̪ɐi̯ˈbeə̯dˈk] ‘wild’ (< SĬLVATĬCU) and Forlivese [ˈteə̯vt] ‘lukewarm’ (< TĔPĬDU) with Sammarinese [s̪ɐi̯ˈbaːdˈgi] and [tɛvˑdɪ].

The development of tonic vowels preceding nasal consonants is another area of patent diatopic variation between Central and Southeastern Romagnol. Whereas the nasalization of tonic vowels and the concomitant disarticulation of subsequent syllable-final nasal consonants are complete in Central Romagnol (CAMPU > [kɛ̰̃ːp] ‘field’, SĔNTIO > [s̪ɛ̰̃i̯t] ‘I feel’, CŎMPŬTU > [kõt] ‘account’, LŪMEN > [lũ] ‘light’), in Southeastern Romagnol nasalization of the tonic vowel is only partial and the following nasal consonant is preserved ([kɛːm̰p], [s̪ɛi̯ñ̰t], [kɔu̯ñ̰t], [luːn]) (Schürr, *RD* 2: 92-102, *Probleme* 106, *VR* 33-34). Nasalized [a] commonly produces a higher-low central vowel in Central Romagnol varieties (CANE > [kɐ̃] ‘dog’, CANTAT > [kɐ̃tɐ] ‘sings’, CAMPU > [kɐ̃p] ‘field’, LANA > [lɐ̃] ‘wool’), while the Southeastern outcome corresponds to that of open-syllable [a] ([kɛːn], [kɛːn̰tɐ], [kɛːm̰p], [lɛːnɐ]). Before nasal geminates and nasal +

voiced consonant clusters, Southeastern Romagnol typically shows the normal result for closed-syllable [a] (ANNU > [aːn] ‘year’, ARANEU > [raːɲ] ‘spider’, DEMANDAT > [dⁿmaːndɐ] ‘asks [for]’, CAMBA > [gaːmbɐ] ‘leg’), whereas Central Romagnol generalizes the outcome of primary and secondary [ɛ] ([ɐnˑ], [rɐɲˑ], [dⁿmɐnˑdɐ], [gɐmˑbɐ]) (Schürr, *NC* § 17).

Central Romagnol’s leveling of the result of [a] with that of [ɛ] and [e] is part of a fairly large-scale vowel shift in closed syllables. At the higher levels of the vocalic triangle, the outcomes of [i u] supplant those of [e o], respectively: FRĪCTU > [fr̥ɪtˑ] ‘fried’, VĒNDĔRE > [vɪnˑdɐr] ‘to sell’; EXSŪCTU > [s̪ʊtˑ] ‘dry’, TŬRRE > [tʊrˑ] ‘tower’ (Schürr, *VR* 35).[4] In Borderline Romagnol, on the other hand, the distinction between the original high and high-mid vowels is preserved: [fr̥ɪtˑ], [vɛnˑdɐ]; [s̪ʊtˑ], [tɔrˑɐ].

As for the atonic vowel subsystem, apocope causes the appearance of consonant clusters ending with a continuant in word-final position. These clusters are resyllabified by vowel epenthesis, which occurs word-finally in Borderline Romagnol (SALVU > [s̪ɛ̯ːlvɪ] ‘safe’, QUATTUOR > [kw̥aːtr̥i] ‘four’), as opposed to word-internally in the dialects northwest of the Marecchia River ([ˈs̪eə̯luv], [kw̥aːtɐr]) (Schürr, *Probleme* 107, *VR* 44-45). Subsequent to apocope, syncope eliminates the remaining posttonic vowel from original proparoxytones. Whereas Central Romagnol maintains the consonantal ending of syncopated proparoxytones (SĬLVATĬCU > [s̪ɐmˈbeə̯dˀk] ‘wild’, TĔPĬDU > [ˈteɪ̯vt] ‘lukewarm’), Borderline Romagnol adds a paragogic vowel ([s̪ɐɪ̯baːdˀgi], [tɛvˑdi]) (Schürr, *Probleme* 107, 113, *VR* § 22). A second wave of syncope, which eliminates pretonic vowels from original paroxytones, is much more extensive in

[4] Also see data in Barone.

Central Romagnol (VESTĪTU > [vʂtiː] ‘dress, suit’, HOSPĬTĀLE > [bʐdeᵚl] ‘hospital’, MĬ(NI)STERIU > [ɐmʂˈtiːr] ‘trade, profession’) than in Sammarinese ([viʂˈtiːd], [uʂpiˈdɛːl], [miʂˈtiːr]). Central Romagnol resolves secondary consonant + sonorant + consonant clusters by anaptyxis of [ɐ] before the sonorant (*CRESCEŪTU > [kɐɾˈʂuː] ‘grown’), whereas Sammarinese favors the sequence consonant + sonorant + [i] ([kɾiˈʂuː]).

The most conspicuous difference in the consonant systems involves the original postalveolar affricates [tʃ dʒ], which Borderline Romagnol preserves or restores: CĔNTU > [tʃɛᵚiᵚñᵚt] ‘one hundred’, BRACHIU > [braːtʃ] ‘arm’, GĔNTE > [dʒɛᵚiᵚñᵚtɐ] ‘people’, MAIU > [maːdʒ] ‘May’. On the other side of the Marecchia River, dentalization and deocclusion yield the dental affricates [θ ð]: [θẽt], [braːθ], [ðẽtɐ], [maːð] (Schürr, *RD* 2: 216). Although Sammarinese normally shows lenition of intervocalic stops, the Borderline Romagnol tendency to preserve or restore the original consonants—especially P—is not absent: SAPŌRE > [ʂɐˈpoːr] ‘flavor’. Moreover, in Central Romagnol voicing of intervocalic stops leads to the morphonological apocope of secondary word-final [d] in past participles (-ĀTU > -[eᵚ], *-ŪTU > -[uː], -ĪTU > -[iː]), which Sammarinese maintains (-[ɛːd], -[uːd], -[iːd]). Sammarinese also preserves the ending -ɛːdɐ in feminine nouns, which Central Romagnol levels with -eᵚ. Another morphonological development involves the final [r] of infinitives, which Central Romagnol drops only before consonants and enclitics (Schürr, *RD* 2: 238 ff; Rohlfs 1: § 307), whereas Sammarinese generalizes apocope of [r] to all infinitives. The characteristically Northern Italian apocope of CASA > [ka] ‘house’, HANC-HŎDIE > [iŋˈkuː] [ɐŋˈkuː] ‘today’, and PĔTRA > [preː] ‘stone’ dies out at the Savio River (Schürr, *Probleme* 110, *VR* § 36). As is typical of Southeastern Romagnol,

Sammarinese presents the form [kɐ̯ːʒɐ̯], although pretonic *Ca'* is ubiquitous in toponymy: *Via Ca' Ragni*. The outcome [ɔːdʒ] derives directly from HŎDIE as opposed to the compound etymon at the source of the Central Romagnol form. Tuscan *pietra* is the origin of the type [piːdrɐ], whereas the exclusive use of [s̪aːs̪] (< SAXU) is autochthonous.

Whereas Romagnol typically uses the single morpheme /e/ (< ĬLLE) for the masculine singular definite article before consonants, Borderline dialects tend to preserve the three original complementary allomorphs ([u raːɲ] 'the spider', [ɛ gaːt] 'the cat', [ɛl tʃeːl] 'the sky'), which correspond with those of the subject proclitic ([u rʊbːɐ] 'he steals', [ɛ pjɔːv] 'it is raining', [ɛl diːʒ̪] 'he says') and the direct object pronoun ([ɐ n u s̪ɔ] 'I don't know', [ɐ t ɛ faːtʃ] 'I do it for you', [ɐ t ɛl daːg] 'I give it to you') (Schürr, *VR* 52). While enclisis of the subject pronoun to the verb in interrogative sentences is productive and occurs in all six persons in Romagnol, in Sammarinese the construction is fossilized in several frequently occurring expressions and only involves the second, third, and fifth persons. In order to form interrogative sentences, Sammarinese relies predominantly on intonation alone, *qu'est-ce qui/qu'est-ce que* type formulae, and reinforcement of the interrogative pronoun or adverb with the conjunction [k] (< QUĬD): [kus̪ k ɐ fɪmˑ] 'what shall we do?'. As far as atonic object pronouns are concerned, while Romagnol typically extends impersonal [se] in place of the original first person plural form ([u s̪ dɐˈra] 'he will give us') (Rohlfs 2: 160), Sammarinese shows the continuant of HINC ([u tʃ dɐˈraˑ]).

As far as verbal desinences are concerned, the present indicative features variation in the first person plural. Central Romagnol -[ẽː] presupposes enclisis of the subject pronoun -*n* (< NŌS)

to the continuant of -ĒMUS (Schürr, *NC* § 34). Enclisis of the subject pronoun does not occur in Southeastern Romagnol, where -ĪMUS produces Sammarinese -[ɪmˈ]. In the imperfect indicative, Central Romagnol generalizes the outcome of -ĒBA to the first, third, and sixth persons of the first conjugation (Dozzese [tr̥uveːvɐ] ‘I was finding’, Forlivese [kɐn̥tei̯vɐ] ‘I was singing’) (Schürr, *NC* § 34, *VR* 55; Rohlfs 2: 290), whereas Sammarinese shows the continuant of -ĀBA ([tr̥uvɛːvɐ], [kɐn̥tɛːvɐ]). In the second person singular, Central Romagnol encliticizes the subject pronoun (-t-) to the desinence (Forlivese [kɐn̥tiːft(j)ɐ] ‘you were singing’), while Sammarinese maintains a more conservative stage ([kɐn̥tiːvji]). The first conjugation of the preterit is typically leveled in Romagnol (cf. Bolognese [ɐl lɐvuˈrɪ] ‘he worked’), whereas Sammarinese preserves distinct endings for -ĀRE verbs (*el dventò* ‘he became’. In the conditional, the type CANTĀRE HABUI prevails throughout the paradigm in Central Romagnol ([kɐntɐˈrebˈ] ‘I, he, they would sing’) and Bolognese ([mɐɲɐˈreːv] ‘I, he, would eat’), while Borderline Romagnol favors a mixed conditional with the results of HABĒBA in the first, third, and sixth persons ([kɐntɐriːɐ] ‘I, he, they would sing’). Whereas Central Romagnol substitutes the first conjugation desinence of the gerund with the outcome of -ĔNDO, Southeastern Romagnol shows -[áːnd].

As for prepositions, CŬM produces [kun] in Central Romagnol, while ĬPSA gives [s̻ɐ] in Southeastern Romagnol (Schürr, *Probleme* 110, *VR* § 37): [s̻ɐ luː] ‘with him’. Instead of preserving the simple form [ɐ] (< AD), Borderline Romagnol reinforces the dative and sometimes the locative preposition with an apocopated outcome of MĔDIO (Schürr, *Probleme* 110, *VR* § 37): [mɐ loːr] ‘to them’, [mɐ lɐ fnɛ̣ːs̻trɐ] ‘at the window’.

1.3.3. Diatopic Variation within San Marino

Within San Marino, most points of diatopic variation distinguish the varieties of the Southwest, with Serravallese standing out in particular. Other points of divergence differentiate the historically urban and rural dialects.

As far as nasalized vowels are concerned, in Southwestern Sammarinese all three front vowels [ɛ̃ ẽ ĩ] merge into [ɛi̯] (DĔNTE > [dɛi̯ñ̥t] ‘tooth’, VENĒNU > [vlɛi̯ñ] ‘poison’, VĪNU > [vɛi̯ñ] ‘wine’), while [ã] rises to [ɛ̯ː] (PANTĬCE > [pɛ̯ːñ̥θɐ] ‘belly’). In Serravallese, the low non-back vowels [ɛ̃ ã] converge into [ɛ̯ː] ([dɛ̯ːñ̥t], [pɛ̯ːñ̥θɐ]), while the high front vowels [ẽ ĩ] merge into [oi̯] ([vloi̯ñ], [voi̯ñ]). All three back vowels [ɔ̃ õ ũ] merge into [ɔu̯] in Southwestern Sammarinese (CŎNTRA > [kɔu̯ñ̥t̥ɾɐ] ‘against’, STATIŌNE > [st̪ɐˈʒɔu̯ñ] ‘season’, LŪNA > [lɔu̯ñɐ] ‘moon’), whereas [ũ] maintains its original height in Serravallese ([kɔu̯ñ̥t̥ɾɐ], [st̪ɐˈʐɔu̯ñ], [luːnɐ]). With respect to open-syllable [e o], Serravallese belongs to a cluster of Southeastern Romagnol dialects showing advanced diphthongization (see Schürr, *VR* 31) (MĒ[N]SE > [moi̯ʐ̪] ‘month’, FLŌRE > [fjɔu̯r] ‘flower’), while Southwestern Sammarinese lies outside the area ([meːʐ̪], [fjoːr]). Lowering of closed-syllable [o] is also less progressed in Southwestern Sammarinese (MŬSCA > [mɔs̪ˑkɐ] ‘fly’) than in Serravallese ([mɐs̪ˑkɐ]).

As for the atonic vowel subsystem, like other Borderline varieties and Umbro-Marchesan, Southwestern Sammarinese preserves word-final [ɐ] in hiatus with the high vowels: Ĕ(G)O > [iːɐ] ‘I’, *[lɛi] > [liːɐ] ‘she/her’; *[bɔi] > [buːʐ̪] ‘oxen’, *TŎU > [tuːʐ̪] ‘yours’. On the other hand, Serravallese displays apocope of [ɐ] ([iː], [liː]; [buː], [tuː]), which is typical of the Romagnol dialects spoken in the Po Valley.

In the consonant system, the sequences -CE-, -CI-, and -SĬ- yield postalveolar [ʒ] in Southwestern Sammarinese (PACE > [pɛ̣:ʒɐ] ‘peace’) as opposed to apico-alveolar [ʐ̪] in Serravallese ([pɛ̣:ʐ̪ɐ]), the latter of which is more characteristic of Romagnol. Analogously, Italo-Romance [ʃʃ] is continued as [ʃ] in Southwestern Sammarinese (CŎXA > [kɔ:ʃɐ] ‘thigh’), whereas Serravallese presents [ʂ̪] ([kɔ:ʂ̪ɐ]). Southwestern Sammarinese preserves secondary word-final [d] in the fifth person desinences (CANTĀTIS > [kɐn̪ˈtɛ̣:d] ‘you sing’) and in past participles (CANTĀTU > [kɐn̪ˈtɛ̣:d] ‘sung’), while Serravallese displays morphonological apocope like the Romagnol dialects of the Po Valley ([kɐn̪ˈtɛ̣:],[kɐn̪ˈtɛ̣:]). Furthermore, Southwestern Sammarinese maintains differentiated forms of the past participle in compound verbs ([ʂ̪tɛ̣:d] ‘stato/i’, [ʂ̪tɛ̣:dɐ] ‘stata’, [ʂ̪tɛ̣:di] ‘state’), whereas the use of a single form ([ʂ̪tɛ̣:] ‘stato/i/a/e’) makes Serravallese more akin to the Romagnol varieties spoken on the other side of the Marecchia River.

While declensional internal flexion is eliminated in the historically urban dialect of Borgo and Città, it is generally preserved in the historically rural varieties. Among the dialects which maintain internal flexion, the Northeastern and Southwestern varieties differ in terms of the pre-existing relevant features that are morphologized in the paradigms originating from the low vowels. In correspondence with open-syllable [a], the Northeastern dialects present no metaphonic alternation ([ʂ̪tiˈvɛ̣:l] ‘boot’ - [ʂ̪tiˈvɛ̣:l] ‘boots’), whereas the Southwestern varieties morphologize alternation in vowel quantity ([ʂ̪tiˈvɛ̣:l] - [ʂ̪tiˈvɛlˑ]). In the paradigms deriving from the original low-mid vowels, the Northeastern dialects morphologize alternation in vowel height ([vɛ̣:ɾ̪t] ‘open [m. sg.]’ - [vi:ɾ̪t] ‘open [m. pl.]’, [frɐˈdɛ̣:l] ‘brother’ - [frɐˈdi:l] ‘brothers’; [tʃɔ:d]

‘nail’ - [tʃuːd] ‘nails’, [ɔːtʃ] ‘eye’ - [uːtʃ] ‘eyes’), while the Southwestern varieties morphologize alternation in vowel length ([vɛ̤ːɾt] - [vɛɾ̥ˑt], [frɐˈdɛ̤ːl] - [frɐˈdɛlˑ]; [tʃɔːd] - [tʃɔdˑ], [ɔːtʃ] - [ɔtˑʃ]). The Southwestern configuration is a more recent development, as evidenced by the persistence of the original metaphonic outcomes in lexemes that have undergone reverse leveling: NĚRVU > [niːrb] ‘nerve’.

The number of complementary allomorphs representing the masculine singular definite article, subject clitic, and direct object pronoun differentiates the historically urban and rural dialects of the Republic. Whereas the historically rural varieties tend to preserve all three of the original forms (/ɛ/ - /ɛl/ - /u/) (Schürr, *VR* 52), the dialect of Borgo and Città reduces the series to two (/ɛ/ - /ɛl/) (G. Guidi 17). The historically urban and rural varieties are also distinguished by different forms of the first person singular tonic subject pronoun. As is typical of Borderline Romagnol, the historically rural dialects preserve the type Ĕ(G)O (> [iˑɐ], [iː]). Like the Romagnol varieties of the Po Valley, on the other hand, the dialect of Borgo and Città has generalized the original oblique pronoun [mɪ] (< MIHI).

As for verb morphology, in the first, third, and sixth persons of the imperfect indicative Southwestern Sammarinese preserves three distinct desinences (-ĀBA > -[ɛ̤ːvɐ], -ĒBA > -[eːvɐ], *-ĪBA > -[iːvɐ]), while Serravallese has completely leveled the normal phonetic outcome of -ĒBA with fourth conjugation -[iːvɐ]. Conversely, Southwestern Sammarinese displays a tendency to generalize thematic [iː] to the first conjugation in the second person plural of the present indicative (SĒMĬNĀTIS > [ɐ s̪imˈniːd] ‘you sow’) and imperative (*[tirati] > [triːd] ‘throw!’),

infinitives (FŪMĀRE > [fuˈmiː] ‘to smoke’), and past participles (GYRĀTU > [dʒiˈriːd] ‘turned’), whereas Serravallese consistently maintains [ɛ̨ː] (< o. s. [a]).

1.4. Written Attestations of the Vernacular in San Marino and Romagna

This section provides background information on the Sammarinese and Romagnol texts examined for the historical grammar. The texts are discussed within the context of a brief history of the relationship between writing and the vernacular. Wherever appropriate, brief commentary is offered on any historical, linguistic, ethnographic, or literary significance these documents may possess.

By the ninth century, Popular Latin had splintered into manifold *volgari*, each one occurring locally as the low variety in diglossia with Medieval Latin (Foresti 22). Since the few existing documents produced in San Marino during the Middle Ages are all drafted in Latin, there is no direct attestation of the local vernacular from this period. However, these texts do provide glimpses of the vernacular’s linguistic features in the form of phonetic and lexical interference as well as idiomatic calques.

Originally drafted in 885, the *Placito Feretrano* is the first reliable evidence of the Sammarinese community’s existence (Bent 45). Whereas the *Placito Capuano* of 960 would be the first legal record in Italy to contain parts written explicitly in *volgare*, the *Placito Feretrano* is drafted entirely in Latin since all parties involved were educated (Foresti 24-25). Although Mount Titanus had not been part of the Lombard dominion, legal terms of Germanic origin, which refer to jurisdictional offices, make their way into the text (Foresti 23).

Official institutional documents continued to be drafted in Medieval Latin through the fourteenth century, as was the oldest book of Sammarinese statutes, which was drafted between 1295 and 1302 (Foresti 25). However, in the Statutes of 1307 and the *Ordinamenti e riforme*

statutarie of 1320-43 the Latin text is often calqued entirely on the vernacular, attesting the age of local dialectal terms still in use today (Foresti 25-26).

By the fifteenth century, the *volgare* had generally replaced Latin as the written language. Given that the norms of a common language had not yet been codified, out of necessity the Forlivese chronicles of Cobelli and Novacula use a language that can be described as neither Romagnol nor Tuscan (Schürr, *VR* 63). Texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are of particular value for the historical analysis of Italian dialects, since they present an abundance of morphological regionalisms in addition to orthographic peculiarities (Foresti 28).

The earliest known extensive documentation of *volgare* written by a Sammarinese appears between 1427 and 1442, when the diplomat Marino Calcigni sends a series of letters to the Captains Regent, the Counsel, and Assembly from various Italian cities including Bologna, Verucchio, and Urbino. Educated in law at the University of Bologna, Calcigni held important positions both within the Sammarinese government and at the service of the Montefeltro court. Calcigni's advice to his own government and his diplomacy with San Marino's powerful neighbors contributed to the preservation of the Commune's sovereignty (Foresti 27).

Shortly before its annexation by San Marino, the Commune of Serravalle adopted Statutes in 1457, having attained relative autonomy from the House of Malatesta. This official document is drafted in a relatively innovative *volgare* because it needed to be understood by the community whose life it governed (Foresti 28).

In the same century, schoolteacher Nicolao Antonio wrote an undated epistle to the Captains and Counsel from nearby Montefiore, where he had taught pupils from the nearby administrative districts as well as the cities of Cesena, Rimini, and Pesaro. In the letter, Nicolao asks to return to his native San Marino and that the Commune provide him with a school

attended by five pupils. The schoolteacher even requests to be provided with a residence, in order to avoid living with his wife and mother-in-law (Foresti 31).

Glimpses of the author's personal life abound in Giovanni Battista Belluzzi's *Diario autobiografico*, written from 1535 to 1541. Also known as *il Sammarino*, Belluzzi was among the most prominent military architects and engineers of the Renaissance. In addition, he served the Republic as ambassador and *massaro del Santo*, one of two officials appointed annually by the State to procure arms, to acquire and preserve the property of the Parish, as well as to protect the relics of the Patron Saint.[5] Belluzzi's adventurous life and his publications were the subject of a biography in Giorgio Vasari's *Vita dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1568). While working in various State secretariats, the Sammarino was in close contact with numerous important figures and heads of state. In Rome, he served Ascanio Colonna, whom Belluzzi accompanied to Naples in order to receive Charles V on behalf of Pope Paul III upon the Emperor's return from Africa. The Sammarino oversaw the building of the Villa Rovere and the fortifications of Pesaro, in addition to advising the construction of defenses in his own country. In Bologna, he worked on reliefs for the façade of the San Petronio Basilica (Foresti 32). Belluzzi served as ambassador to Rome and Urbino in the midst of delicate relations between San Marino, the Duchy of Urbino, the pontifical legates, and the Romagnol feudatories. In Florence, the Sammarino served as military architect and state engineer under Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (Foresti 33), giving advice that would be pivotal in reducing Siena's political influence (Bent 142). De' Medici entrusted Belluzzi with building fortifications at San Casciano, Pisa, San Miniato at Florence, Pistoia, Castrocaro, Borgo Sansepolcro, Portoferraio, Piombino, and Empoli. The Sammarino was killed in 1554 by an harquebus shot to the head under the fortress of Aiuola in Montalcino nel Senese. Against this backdrop of historically significant

[5] Bent 36; Egidi 15; Foresti 32.

events, Belluzzi chronicles the more personal elements of his life, work, and travels in the *Diario*. Given the intimate tone and informal register of his private memoirs, the text is highly susceptible to interference from the spoken language on spelling and morphosyntax (Foresti 33).

Insightful spellings for understanding the evolution of Marecchiese dialects also appear in a collection of petitions for mercy written to the Counts Fregoso between 1530 and 1640. Held at the historical archive of Sant'Agata Feltria, whose vernacular they document, these texts present reflections of phenomena also occurring in Sammarinese: *biastemato* 'bestemmiato', *voita* 'vuota', *veddova* 'vedova', *sabbato* 'sabato', *giucato* 'giocato', *niegra* 'nera', *intiero* 'intero', *niero* 'nero', *staccia* 'setaccio', *diece* 'dieci', *raggioni* 'ragioni' (hypercorrection), *presciutti* 'prosciutti', *canpo* 'campo', *bieni della ghiesia* 'beni della chiesa', *braccie* 'braccia', *fuora* 'fuori', *biastemato* 'bestemmiato', *febraro* 'febbraio', *schina* 'schiena', *giucar* 'giocare', *debbiti* 'debbiti', *subbito* 'subbito', *doppo* 'dopo', *paro* 'paio' (Delmonte n. 7).

Each of the texts commented on thus far only provides a refracted and incomplete image of the vernacular, given that the author's intention was to write in a prestigious code—be it Latin or the precursor to Italian—that was understood beyond the circumscribed local sphere. Any regionalisms normally occur unintentionally, resulting from the absence of a fully standardized, uniform national language. In the sixteenth century, Pietro Bembo's resolution of the *questione della lingua* in favor of a literary model prohibiting realistic content would exclude non-Tuscan writers from expressing themselves in forms and genres associated with their own oral language (Foresti 35). Consequently, many non-Tuscan authors would make a conscious artistic choice to write in their native vernacular instead of the standard literary language, giving rise to a genuine dialectal literary current (Schürr, *VR* 63-64). Aware of the idiosyncrasies that characterize their local vernaculars, authors of intentional dialectal literature would deliberately adapt words borrowed from the literary language to the phonological and morphological rules of their local

varieties. As Schürr observes, it was only natural that authors would experiment with writing in their local vernaculars during the Renaissance, when the emphasis on the study of ancient languages had sparked a heightened general interest in philology (*VR* 68).

The first known text to make intentional use of a Romagnol dialect is Pier Francesco da Faenza's late fifteenth-century *Commedia nuova*, which exemplifies several characteristics recurring throughout the history of dialectal literature. Firstly, since its origins, Italian dialectal literature is normally written by amateurs belonging to the educated classes (Schürr, *VR* 99-100). Given that the authors always have at least some exposure to high culture, the origin of so-called popular poetry is usually literary (Schürr, *VR* 64). Secondly, dialectal literature often parodies classic works, one of the recurring genres being the rustic farce, in which a peasant intrudes upon the scene of an erudite play. Thirdly, the comedy of these parodies often relies on the contrast between dialect—which represents popular culture, environments, and mentalities—and the literary language, which embodies high culture (Schürr, *VR* 68).

Inspired by courtly poetry and Florentine Platonism, the *Commedia nuova* is one of the oldest travesties of Poliziano's *Orfeo*. The intended audience was likely one of the small courts of Romagna, given that familiarity with the classic text was necessary in order to appreciate the parody. As for the premise, in response to the trouble the god has caused to the hearts of countrymen, a peasant has imprisoned Cupid in chains, which distresses the other deities and all lovers of the world. While all the noble characters recite in Italian verse, only the peasant speaks in dialectal prose. His language is a rural variety of Faentino mixed with coarse and occasionally semi-literary language for comedic effect (Schürr, *VR* 64-65).

The first extant work written entirely in an authentic Romagnol vernacular does not arrive until circa 1591, with only three and a half of the intended twelve cantos surviving today. Composed by an anonymous author under the pseudonym *Pueta Cuntaden*, the *Pulon Matt* is

Romagna's most important ancient text in terms of both its linguistic and literary value. Penned in a rural variety of Cesenate, the poem constitutes the first known effort to adapt Romagnol's complex consonant clusters and jarring rhythm to verse (Schürr, *VR* 94). As reflected by its composition in octaves and its full title, *Pulon Matt: cantlena aroica*, the work parodies the technique, versification, epic tone, and premise of the *Orlando Furioso*. Like Ariosto's chivalric epic, the *Pulon Matt* weaves a complex plot concerning various romantic relationships. The main protagonist, the sixteen-year-old farmer Paolone, goes mad when he suspects that his beloved Vittoria intends to betray him in favor of Gazon, who has recently inherited the fortune of his deceased father, a carpenter by trade (*PM* 3.55). With the entire story taking place at a country dance, the poem is also of ethnographic value, since it depicts the village of Pieve di San Vittore and its customs. This rustic milieu becomes the setting for a burlesque epic, as the mythological gods and personifications of the literary world intervene in the story, their classical names deformed by Romagnol phonology. In addition to the *Orlando Furioso*, the *Pulon Matt* also imitates Petrarchism, troubadour poetry, and pastoral verse (Schürr, *VR* 69).

Enduring throughout the history of dialectal literature, the tradition of parodistic adaptations would inspire the modest work of a Sammarinese author in the early twentieth century. Between 1910 and 1911, Francesco Balsimelli, under the penname Chicaia, wrote the thirteen-canto *La nuova commedia*, which has remained in manuscript form. In this burlesque parody of the *Divine Comedy* intended solely for amusement, the author is led on a voyage through Hell by a tourist guide named Giustranén (Foresti 49).

Following the seminal contribution of the *Pulon Matt*, the extant Romagnol poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—all of it produced in Ravenna—would be of mainly dialectological value. Circa 1636, Lodovico Gabbusio wrote "Batistonata", whose 851 burlesque verses recount the swindles of country women, children, peasants, city-dwellers, noblemen, and

merchants (Schürr, *VR* 94-95). Between 1709 and 1710, parish priest Giandomenico Michilesi (1647-1734) wrote three panegyric sonnets expressing the veneration and gratitude of the poor people of Ravenna toward their Cardinal Tommaso Ruffo (Schürr, *VR* 96).

Encomiastic poetry honoring prominent figures would be duly complemented by personal satire targeting less illustrious individuals in the following centuries. In 1799, Jacopo Landoni (1772-1855), a Ravennate author of burlesque poems in Italian, composed four derisive sonnets in dialect at the expense of the brothers "Pir e Jecom Sciēvi". The sonnets were printed and secretly scattered throughout a theater one evening while the brothers Schiavi were seated in the stage-box, where they were wont to gawk and flirt with attractive actresses (Schürr, *VR* 98). Forty years later, the same Landoni provided a translation of the Prodigal Son for Biondelli's *Saggio sui dialetti gallo-italici*, which wasn't published until 1853.

Interestingly, the oldest known attestation of the Sammarinese dialect is a poem so personally scathing that it got its author into legal trouble. Composed partially in Italian, the vulgar poem was reconstructed in the trial proceedings of an 1821 defamation lawsuit, the plaintiff recorded simply as Maria daughter of Biagiantonio. The examination of the witnesses, who continually testify that they do not know how to read or write, attests how rampant illiteracy was at the time. In fact, the poem's author, one Giovanni G., had asked Domenico D. to transcribe his composition, since he himself did not know how to write (Foresti 50).

One entertainer who overcame the socioeconomic disadvantages protracting illiteracy was Pietro Rossi (1804-1879), the first important figure to emerge in San Marino's modest history of dialectal literature. Born into a peasant family of poets, Rossi learned to read and write from his father and taught himself how to play the violin, among other skills. The *puéta* attended fairs and walked the countryside, reciting verses in dialect as well as Italian and selling his compositions on loose sheets. His success is reflected by his numerous publications (Foresti 38)

and by the fact that the sales of one volume allowed him to repay his master for stolen livestock, which he would not have been able to do on a farmer's salary alone (Foresti 132). Rossi's work exemplifies two different genres that were widespread in the dialectal literature of Emilia-Romagna: occasional poetry and political verse (Badini 403).

Of the two dialectal poems featured in *Raccolta di poesie serie e giocose e altre sacre con la vita dell'autore* (1854), one commemorates the nuptials of two elderly men on the same day, one of whom married a twenty-year-old woman. Titled "In occasione che nella settimana terza di Quaresima dell'anno 1848 vi furono due sposalizi a Mulazzano di due vecchi con Serenata", the poem describes the *bacilèda* (*scampanacciata* in Italian), the noisy ritual which celebrates or mocks such occasions. The other vernacular poem in the collection, "Risposta a due persone che dicevano male di me il dì 29 Novembre 1846", is Rossi's answer to his detractors, particularly Don Berton. The *puéta*'s critics disparaged him for wasting valuable time on his secondary profession that should have been dedicated to working the land (Foresti 38).

Rossi expresses his political views in *Ceccone: Dialoghi istorici, politici, religiosi* (1859), a dialogue composed in rhyme. Although in reality members of all social classes normally relied on dialect for oral communication, the dialogue uses the contrast between the vernacular and Italian to underscore differences in status and ideology between characters. On one hand, the two rational, liberal, and refined characters speak elegant Italian. On the other, the impulsive and uncouth peasant Ceccone—whose opinions are reactionary, conformist, bigoted, and fiercely anti-liberal—is limited to speaking dialect. Ceccone's mispronunciations of Italian words denoting notions extraneous to his own reality provide the comedic effect (Foresti 39).

The contrast between dialect and Italian serves a significantly different function in another mid-nineteenth-century work of political verse, attorney and notary Giacomo Martelli's two-act burlesque interlude *Cicognone sindaco ossia la fine di un Congresso*. Satirizing the

political clashes of the Risorgimento, Martelli also espouses liberal ideals in the face of obtuse traditionalism (Foresti 42). However, unlike Rossi's Ceccone, Martelli's peasant protagonist Cicognone symbolizes good sense and the ideal of justice. Together with the people of his country village, who are weary of the oligarchy's abuse of power, Cicognone confronts a group of corrupt and angry conspirators backed by the militia and peasants faithful to the establishment (Foresti 43). In grandiloquent Italian, the reactionary Balanzone sets forth the plot: the wise and provident government must repress all progressive thought and republican aspirations of Jacobins, Freemasons, Carbonari, sans-culottes, and Mazzinians, turning the clock back at least a century (*Cicognone* 1.2). In contrast to Balanzone's syntactically complex and stuffy Italian—the language of convention and pretense—Cicognone's responses in dialect—the language of truth and reality—are succinct, direct, and energetic (Badini 403).

In the early twentieth century, vernacular poetry would continue to be used as a medium for debate and commentary on social as well as political issues in the pages of local newspapers. Published in a 1906 edition of *Il Titano* under the nom de plume *Un Vilèn*, Gino Zani's "Spasigeda notturna" criticizes the failure of the local oligarchy to provide adequate elementary school facilities. Like Olindo Guerrini, who imagines Dante walking the streets of Ravenna in *Sonetti romagnoli*, Zani depicts Marinus strolling about his eponymous town and lamenting the absence of a building for an elementary school and an institute of arts and crafts (Foresti 40). Dialectal poetry served not only to condemn political leaders but also to praise them. Marino Rossi, who normally wrote lyric poetry (Foresti 41), celebrates Mussolini's 1926 visit to the Republic in "Il grande ospite", published in the local Fascist newspaper *Il Popolo Sammarinese* in 1937.

During the same period when ideological poems of varying artistic and documentary value animated the pages of newspapers, Nino Lombardi (1901-1937) emerged as an author of

sentimental, intimist, and crepuscular dialectal verse of considerable interest. With its attention to country life, Lombardi's poetry constitutes one of the few sources documenting Sammarinese folkloric traditions (Foresti 37). However, this lyrical world of timeless traditions is overshadowed by a rapidly developing modern reality in *Do ciacheri* (1927). In this short collection of three poems, Lombardi reacts to the overwhelming changes that technological and scientific progress as well as social emancipation brought to daily life and social customs in the late 1920s. The collection displays a keen awareness of linguistic phenomena characterizing the gradual transition from generalized dialectal monolingualism to the spread of Italian that accompanied such changes (Foresti 190). One prominent leitmotiv is the contact and reciprocal influence between dialect, the language of familiar traditions, and Italian, which presented the abstruse terminologies of technological advancements and cultural revolution. Viewing the problem in a humorous light, Lombardi subjects unfamiliar Italian neologisms to popular etymology, distorting bombastic and pretentious sounding terms such as *anemica, influenza, ascesso, tumore, telefono,* and *cinema* into *nemiga, fiulenza, osesso, timòr, tafanerie,* and *cino* (Foresti 46-47, 190).

Writing much in the same lyric, intimist vein as Nino Lombardi and most other authors of modern dialectal verse, Checco Guidi has published five collections of poems between 1986 and 2005. While all other texts examined for the present dialectological study represent Southwestern varieties of the Sammarinese vernacular, with those of Nino Lombardi and Giuseppe Guidi documenting the historically urban dialect of the twentieth century, the writings of Checco and Lino Guidi provide a considerable sample of Serravallese. Moreover, nearly every one of Checco's numerous poems is available on audiocassette or compact disc.

Since they evoke the rustic life that preceded the economic boom of the late twentieth century, many of the compositions are of substantial ethnographic value. Evanescent folklore,

traditions, customs, pastimes, beliefs, prejudices, holiday celebrations, and rituals are remembered. Obsolete trades and agricultural activities are described along with their related terminology. The cycle of seasons, months, and times of day as well as folklore related to natural phenomena serve as themes for poetic contemplation as well as sources for ethnographic insight. Together with *Modi 'd dì* (2004), a collection of local idioms and proverbs, Checco's poetry documents fragments of San Marino's oral tradition. In addition, his verses contain references to diatopic linguistic variation within the Republic and its relation to local identity.

As for the artistic traits of Checco's poetry, nostalgia and sentimentalism are among the prevalent tones, the cycle of life among the dominant leitmotivs. The poet often attempts to bring fleeting glimpses and hopes of the past back to life, soon realizing the futility of such a desire. Nevertheless, he repeatedly indulges in recalling a carefree childhood spent observing the familiar details and activities of home and nature with wonderment. A time full of dreams and possibilities briefly returns within the poetic space of a seemingly boundless countryside. The irretrievable naïveté of adolescent love contrasts with the bittersweet pride of watching one's own children mature into adults. The dearly departed are remembered fondly by a poet who is all too conscious of the inexorable flight of time, the ephemeral nature of life, and his own mortality.

Nostalgia for the simpler times of the past serves as a means of coping with a frenetic modern life, in which technological progress has diminished traditional social interaction. Dialect is associated with a past idealized as a time when people spoke frankly. Italian, in contrast, is often linked to the sophisticated disingenuousness of the present. For people who struggle to find peace and fulfillment amidst unprecedented material prosperity,[6] the widespread

[6] While Checco grew up after WWII, there is no shortage of Romagnol authors who recall the harrowing experiences the conflict imposed upon civilians. Giuseppe Guidi's *El dialèt d'la Repôblica d'San Marèin:*

poverty and hardships of the past are a sobering reminder. The more concrete difficulties of the post-WWII era contrast with the elusive challenges the aging poet faces in adapting to an ever-changing modernity.

Given the sense of belonging they offer, various levels of community and social relations are cherished, with the family nucleus being the most important. Of the various gathering places which assume significance, the table—where the simple pleasures of good food and wine are shared in the company of friends and family—is perhaps the most sacred. Relatives, friends, and members of the local community are remembered with fondness, whether they were beloved, respected, or eccentric. Thus, the town of Serravalle comes back to life as it once was, animated by the activities of local shopkeepers, artisans, the parish priest, and even the local wino. Memorable comical episodes and anecdotes of local events from everyday life are immortalized, with particular emphasis given to the names and identities of the people involved. In the evenings, the old neighborhood where the poet grew up is brought together by *la véggia*, the tradition of sitting on the porch and conversing with family and neighbors or simply observing passersby. This sense of community also uniting Romagnol poets, Checco dedicates a poem to the late Eugenio Pazzini of Verucchio, who lives on in the indelible impression he has left on those who knew him. However, not all social interaction is seen in a positive light, as the poet condemns the evils of gossip, local politics, and human cunning.

The subject is not always a third person, as Checco often recounts personal experiences and shares his intimate feelings with the reader. The poet often laughs at himself or criticizes his own shortcomings, revealing more details of his own personality. We learn that his profound religious piety, awe, and gratitude are balanced by a healthy sense of individualism. This intimist aspect of his poetry is reflected by the impressionistic depictions of his subjects and the author's

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Grammatica, prosa, poesia (1979) includes a poem which treats the war in an epic tone. On the other hand, Lino Guidi's "Quant u s' dis la Pruvidinza" (2005) recounts a personal experience in prose.

personal relationship with the poetic space. The poet communes with nature, identifying its phenomena with his own emotions. Home is an intimate refuge, from which the external world may be contemplated in comfort and contentment. The poet's native land is spiritualized, the solemn toll of church bells resonating throughout the countryside. Sentimentalism abounds whenever the poet expresses his attachment or pays homage to his native country or town.

Intimism often coincides with crepuscular themes, such as sympathy for the meek, the poor, the unfortunate, and their tragic fate. The ostensibly insignificant details of humble microcosms are magnified, assuming universal importance. The lives and activities of animals are observed closely, often eclipsing man in humanity and significance.

1.5. Sammarinese and Dialectology

Whereas dialectal literature provides a considerable—albeit written—sample of the Sammarinese vernacular, the body of specialized texts dedicated to Sammarinese dialectology is rather exiguous.

Intentional and systematic documentation of Italy's dialects for the sake of comparative analysis began in the mid nineteenth century, using a faulty methodology that would be abandoned by the early twentieth century. The first samples of dialects were collected by mailing a brief text written in a biblical or literary register of Italian to informants who would translate it into their local dialects. It was inevitable that highly corrupted samples would be produced, since the subject of research—an almost exclusively oral language—could only be observed through the filter of written Italian. Hence, phonetic, morphosyntactic, lexical, and idiomatic traits of Italian often contaminated the samples. Moreover, given the methodology's reliance on postal correspondence, the informants were necessarily literate and, thus, bilingual members of society (e.g. parish priests, teachers, pharmacists, notaries, etc), which only increased the probability of interference (Matranga 64). Nevertheless, these approximative documents are valuable for the

purposes of historical linguistics because—as is the case with Sammarinese—they are often one of very few attestations of a stage of the dialect's evolution that would be surpassed by the early twentieth century.

The first of these unwittingly procrustean initiatives was Bernardino Biondelli's *Saggio sui dialetti gallo-italici* (1853), which used a translation of the Prodigal Son. While Biondelli's study omitted Sammarinese, it did document the Southeastern Romagnol dialects of Rimini, Cervia, and Cesena, whose samples may be consulted in Salvioni's "Versioni emiliane della parabola del figliuol prodigo" (1915).

However, Sammarinese is included among the forty-five dialects documented by geographer and statistician Attilio Zuccagni Orlandini in his *Raccolta di dialetti italiani con illustrazioni etnologiche* (1864). Although the researcher places Sammarinese in a section on Central Italian dialects according to topographic criteria, he correctly likens Sammarinese to Romagnol (Zuccagni Orlandini; Foresti 207). In an effort to collect samples approximating the actual spoken language as much as possible, Zuccagni Orlandini chose a model text with colloquial content (Foresti 52). "Dialogo tra un padrone e un servitore" is a conversation between a master and his servant in a country villa following the latter's return from running errands in the city. Yet, a dialogue set in a high bourgeoisie environment was hardly an appropriate choice for documenting a language that enjoyed its greatest vitality in rustic settings (Foresti 207-8). Nevertheless, Zuccagni Orlandini succeeded in documenting a substantial number of authentic phonetic, morphosyntactic, lexical, and idiomatic traits.

The degree of interference from literary Italian is much greater in bibliographer Giovanni Papanti's *I parlari italiani in Certaldo* (1875), who based his choice of a model text on a rather arbitrary criterion. In celebration of Boccaccio's 500th birthday, Papanti mailed out a paraphrase of the "Novella del Re di Cipri" (1.9) from the *Decameron* to be translated into 704 Italian

dialects and alloglot languages. The informant for San Marino was Giacomo Martelli, author of the dramatic interlude *Cicognone sindaco*. The resulting sample is particularly contaminated with lexical and syntactic Italianisms (Foresti 52, 214).

In addition to faulty elicitation procedures, the prescientific surveys of the nineteenth century produced few linguistic observations, which were generally imprecise and of little value (Foresti 55). However, in 1876 the founder of Italian dialectology, Graziadio Isaia Ascoli, was the first to observe that Sammarinese belonged to a transitional subgroup of Gallo-Italic, citing oscillation between Central Italian [tʃ dʒ] (< CE, CI; GE, GI) and Romagnol [θ ð] as a characteristic (Ascoli 444; Foresti 55).

While scientific methodologies of elicitation and analysis were elaborated and put into practice during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, specialized dialectological studies generally ignored Sammarinese (Foresti 54). Instead, another non-linguist—Estonian folklorist Walter Anderson—would be the first researcher to document the Sammarinese dialects extensively and accurately, while also providing the only attestation of the Republic's nonmusical oral tradition. Anderson's *Novelline popolari sammarinesi* (1927, 1929, 1933) is a collection of 118 versions of fables in dialect and Italian provided by seven to thirteen-year-old schoolchildren and their teachers. Particularly attentive to gathering reliable data, Anderson documented each informant's age, class, domicile, and place of birth in addition to offering various elaborative notes. The system of transcription is consistent, fairly precise, and objective. With dialectal texts collected in a dozen localities, Anderson's work allows for substantial linguistic analysis of diatopical variation within San Marino (Foresti 53). Since fables are relatively long and complex spoken texts, each time they are repeated lexical and stylistic variation arises, which only adds to the linguistic value of this collection (Foresti 37).

After the initiatives of Zuccagni Orlandini, Papanti, and Anderson, who were all non-linguists, the Sammarinese vernacular would continue to be overlooked by specialists (Foresti 54). Among the diachronic linguistic studies of the twentieth century, Sammarinese phonetics and morphology would receive only marginal attention in Friedrich Schürr's *Romagnolische Dialekstudien II* (1919) and "Nuovi contributi allo studio dei dialetti romagnoli" (1956). In his *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti* (1966), Gerhard Rohlfs contributes a few observations on Serravallese, relying on Anderson as his source. The University of Bologna holds two degree theses treating Sammarinese's historical phonology: M. Arzilli's "Il dialetto sammarinese e contigui" (1936) and M. Muscinelli's "Fonetica della parlata sammarinese nelle sue varietà" (1958). Unfortunately, at the time this dissertation was written these texts were unavailable for consultation. Rodolfo Delmonte's "Le parlate romagnole di confine: Analisi fonetica e fonologica" (1983) provides both an historical and synchronic analysis of Borderline Romagnol phonetics and phonology, which is especially useful for the study of Sammarinese. However, interpreting data from other localities, Delmonte attributes a few characteristics to the entire transitional area which are inaccurate as far as Sammarinese is concerned. Luciano Canepari's *A Handbook of Phonetics* (2005) proposes an inventory of phones and intonation patterns for Sammarinese (290), but does not offer any words or phrases as examples.

The dearth of scientific analyses of Sammarinese's traits would hardly be compensated by the efforts of two non-specialists. Marino Rossi's "Noterelle sul dialetto sammarinese" (1933, 1934) are two very short articles which make a few random and unscientific observations on phonetic variation within the Republic (Foresti 56). After attempting to explain several morphological aspects, Giuseppe Guidi's *El dialèt d'la Repôblica d'San Marèin: Grammatica, prosa, poesia* (1979) quickly abandons the endeavor in favor of dialogues and poems.

Sammarinese was also excluded from Italy's first linguistic atlas, Karl Jaberg's and Jakob Jud's eight-volume *Atlante linguistico etnografico dell'Italia e della Svizzera meridionale* (1928-1940). However, two nearby Borderline Romagnol dialects were included, those of Sant'Agata Feltria (point 528) and Saludecio (499), located in the provinces of Pesaro-Urbino and Rimini, respectively. Compiling data for the *Atlante linguistico italiano*, an initiative which had been launched in the 1920s by Matteo Giulio Bartoli and Ugo Pellis, in 1958 Temistocle Franceschi would be the first dialectologist to visit San Marino in a serious effort to document its vernaculars. Eight informants from Borgo Maggiore, Chiesanuova, Santa Mustiola, Fiorentino, and Serravalle answered over 6,500 questions collectively, which were organized into various semantic fields. The Republic was assigned point 459 on the atlas, of which five volumes—comprising a total of 524 responses—have appeared since publishing began in 1995.

At present, these data are among the sources being used by San Marino's Centro di Documentazione della Biblioteca di Stato, directed by Elisabetta Righi Iwanejko, for the compilation of two dictionaries: "Archivio Lessicale Sammarinese" and "Vocabolario storico del dialetto sammarinese." The other sources are fieldwork conducted by Fabio Foresti in Città and Borgo Maggiore as well as texts written in dialect (Foresti 54-55). Until these works are published, a brief glossary contained in Foresti's *Quella nostra sancta libertà: Lingue, storia e società nella Repubblica di San Marino* (1998) is the only available lexicographical resource dedicated to Sammarinese. However, two resources dedicated to the lexicon of the immediate area are available for consultation. Gianni Quondamatteo and Giuseppe Bellosi's *Romagna civiltà* (1977) includes a dictionary comparing the dialects of Ravenna, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, Rimini, and Novafeltria. On the other hand, Quondamatteo's *Dizionario romagnolo (ragionato)* (1982) focuses on Riminese. Although a dictionary of the Republic's toponymy is also lacking, several Sammarinese place names appear in Antonio Polloni's *Toponomastica romagnola*

(1966), a few of which are cited in Teresa Cappello and Carlo Tagliavini's *Dizionario degli etnici e dei toponimi italiani* (1981).

In addition to a glossary of dialectal terms, Foresti's *Quella nostra sancta libertà* also contains a glossary of words and locutions characterizing the regional Italian of San Marino. The main purpose of Foresti's book is to explore the history of language and writing in the Republic from a sociolinguistic perspective. Hence, diamesic, diastratic, and diaphasic variation involving Medieval Latin, *volgare*, modern Italian, and dialect is discussed at length. The author also reports the results and conclusions ensuing a sociolinguistic survey conducted between 1989 and 1992, which examines the use of Italian versus dialect in relation to demographic, sociological, and diaphasic factors. As well as providing detailed bibliographical references to studies treating a variety of linguistic topics, Foresti also offers a collection of Sammarinese texts written in the different languages discussed in the book.

1.6. Methodology, Fieldwork, and Elicitation Procedures

In addition to consulting the literary and linguistic texts and audio recordings discussed in the previous two sections, I gathered new oral data between the years 2005 and 2007. The term *Southwestern Sammarinese* refers to the data I received from informants who spoke the dialects of Montegiardino (4 males) and Chiesanuova (2 females). *Northeastern Sammarinese* refers to the data provided by informants who spoke the varieties of Dogana Bassa (1 female) and Serravalle (2 males). The informants' age ranged approximately from fifty to eighty years, while their level of education ranged from a few years of elementary school to completion of vocational school. All female informants were homemakers. Among the males, the four informants for Montegiardino were skilled laborers (2 active and 2 retired) while both the informants for Serravalle were retired accountants.

Unlike the compiler of a linguistic atlas, who must cover vast stretches of territory, the writer of a monograph on a single dialect or a limited area disposes of enough time to use varied methods for collecting as much material as possible (Scheuermeier 96; Sanga 177 n 14; Matranga 75). In order to collect a significant amount of reliable information that could be organized into analyzable data, the primary method of elicitation was uncovered observation, which was complemented by brief structured interviews. The advantages of each method lie in its elimination or minimization of the other method's drawbacks. Observation of spontaneous linguistic exchanges produces much more reliable data than questionnaires, while the interview allows for obtaining specific data necessary for the interpretation phase that do not occur spontaneously (Matranga 66).

In linguistic fieldwork, reliable, authentic information is that which approximates as much as possible the habitual, spontaneous language and manner of speech that the members of a given linguistic community speak in ordinary conditions. The goal of collecting reliable information necessarily entails the *observer's paradox*, the dilemma of the field researcher whose purpose is to observe how people normally speak when they are not being observed (Labov 209; Matranga 65). When informants are aware that their linguistic behavior is being scrutinized, they become conscious of their own speech and employ more Italianisms than usual, in an effort to use a register that they perceive as more appropriate for a formal interlocutory situation (Matranga 65, 72). Italianisms may be exclusively phonetic, morphological, syntactic, or lexical in nature or they may consist of any combination of the aforementioned aspects. The undesired Italianization of the linguistic sample is amplified in the interview, which imposes the observer's presence on the informants. Observation, on the other hand, permits informants to speak at ease with interlocutors from the same social group (Matranga 72). Minimization of the observer's intrusiveness allows informants to become immersed in a conversation as opposed to

being preoccupied with speaking "correctly". When this stress is removed, it is much more likely that informants will unconsciously produce authentic linguistic forms.

In addition to the heightened intrusiveness of the observer, another disadvantage of the interview in terms of gathering reliable information is its dependence on a questionnaire. As Jaberg and Jud observed during their fieldwork for the *AIS*, the questionnaire does not produce spontaneous language; rather it prompts artificial fragments of speech, which are answers to written questions (Jaberg and Jud, *Der Sprachatlas* 300; Matranga 75). Among the specific problems arising from this methodology, concepts signified by an Italian word or phrase might not exist or be expressed analogously in dialect. As a result, the informant might not provide an answer for a given question or might respond with an Italianism. Interference from Italian also arises simply as a result of the language used in the question influencing the informant's answer, especially when the question seeks a translation (Matranga 74). This occurs because the questionnaire isolates signifiers from the context in which they make sense and function (Angioni 139; Matranga 74), often making it difficult for informants to think of information they know. By pressuring them to supply precise answers for questions which are often abstract, the structured interview makes informants feel like they are being tested. Requiring considerable mental vigor, agility, and concentration on the part of the informant, who must shift suddenly from one concept to another, the structured interview can be a tiresome experience for both the informant and the interviewer. The informant's mental weariness is another factor that often compromises the data collected, especially when obsolete terminology and activities are the subject of research. In a hurry to conclude the tedious session, the informant might leave questions unanswered or provide unreliable responses (Matranga 71). The relevance of mental energy levels to the quality of data is underscored by the contrast in performance between the weary and the fresh mind of the same informant. If the interviewer has the luxury of returning to

informants who were unable to answer questions satisfactorily, in their refreshed state of mind the latter might effortlessly provide reliable data in response to the very same questions. Thus, when the informant grows weary, it is best to curtail the interview and return later or continue with another informant. Finally, in addition to forcing unreliable data, the questionnaire predefines the information that can be collected, whereas observation allows for collecting unexpected data.

Of the two general observation techniques available to the researcher—covered and uncovered—the former is most effective in reducing the observer's interference in the results of fieldwork, since the observer's presence is hidden from his or her informants. However, this method presents an obvious ethical issue together with the technical problem of recording conversations in environments that are out of the observer's control. For these reasons, uncovered observation—in which the observer's presence and purpose is known to his or her informants—was chosen as the primary elicitation procedure. Although the observer's intrusiveness may come into play, uncovered observation affords the researcher the advantage of being able to ask informants for information that does not arise spontaneously (Matranga 68). Furthermore, the observer's intrusiveness quickly becomes a negligible factor when informants are allowed to feel comfortable and have an enjoyable conversation amongst family or friends in a relaxed setting.

In order to compensate for various disadvantages of observation, this methodology was complemented by brief structured interviews, which involve a questionnaire. The greatest drawback to an elicitation procedure without a questionnaire is probably the amount of time required to obtain sufficient data for systematic and comprehensive analysis (Matranga 73). Observation of spontaneous linguistic exchanges leaves the researcher at the mercy of chance in terms of the material that can be collected. Organizing the unpredictable content of oral

exchanges into analyzable data is a time-consuming process, which does not always produce the evidence the researcher is seeking. On the other hand, the questionnaire allows the interviewer to obtain in a short length of time specific information which is more readily arranged into analyzable data (Matranga 71). The structured interview with free answers may employ three types of questions (Matranga 70), all of which I used in interviews or interposed during uncovered observation. Direct questions simply ask the informant to translate an Italian word or phrase into dialect: "come si chiama/dice *la falce*?". Semi-direct questions use periphrases, describing the object or concept instead of naming it in Italian: "come si chiama quell'attrezzo con cui si taglia il fieno?"; "con che cosa tagliate le spighe?". Finally, in an indirect question, the informant is shown a photograph, a drawing, or an object and is asked to provide the signifier corresponding to the referent.

The short questionnaires used in this study were compiled as research progressed in an effort to fill in the lacunae which uncovered observation had left in the body of analyzable data. The questionnaires were formulated with the aim of gathering data comparable to those reported by Schürr, Rohlfs, Coco, Vitali, and the *Atlante Linguistico Italiano* in the texts listed among the works consulted.

2. Diachronic Phonology

2.1. Introduction

The following diachronic analysis describes the historical evolution of Sammarinese's phonological system, which is largely representative—both in its consistencies and in its variation—of the peripheral Romagnol dialects spoken between the foothills of the Apennines and the high Marecchia Valley. Throughout this description, special attention will be paid to diatopic variation, within the Republic as well as between Sammarinese and Central Romagnol varieties. Our historical analysis of Sammarinese phonetics begins with the tonic vowels, followed by the atonic vowels and consonants, respectively. Within the tonic vowel system, the low vowels [a ɛ ɔ] are examined first, followed by the high vowels [e o i u].

2.2. Vowels

2.2.1. Tonic Vowels

Before the evolutions of each vowel are described in detail, some observations should be made regarding low vowel outcomes which are generally constant throughout the Republic. The oldest development in the tonic vowel subsystem that characterizes Romagnol and Eastern Emilian is metaphony, which is caused principally by final –i, but also by a subsequent glide and in certain instances by final -u. The first tonic vowels to undergo umlaut are high-mid [e o], which immediately "assume the height value of the conditioning segments" (Maiden 130), yielding [i u]. Subsequently, metaphony affects low-mid [ɛ ɔ], whose assimilation is only partial, producing the rising diphthongs [je wo]. This difference in outcomes reflects a "hierarchy of resistance to metaphony […]: the lower the input vowel, the further its metaphonic output from

the height value of the conditioning segments" (Maiden 130). In fact, the lowest vowel, [a], does not produce reflexes of metaphony at all in closed syllables, as far as Southeastern Romagnol is concerned: CATTĪ > [gaːt] 'cats'. In open syllables, on the other hand, the metaphonic reflex of [a] coincides with the outcome of unconditioned raising in open syllables: CARU, CARĪ > [kɐ̯ːr] 'dear, expensive'. Eventually, [je wo] undergo stress retraction, yielding the descending diphthongs [iˑɐ uˑɐ], which give [iː uː] by monophthongization: ECLĔSIA > [tʃiːʒ̯ɐ] 'church', FŎCU > [fuːg] 'fire'.

In the absence of metaphony, open-syllable [a] is lengthened and raised to [ɐ̯ː] in open syllables (MARE > [mɐ̯ːr] 'sea'), before syllable-final liquids (BARBA > [bɐ̯ːrbɐ] 'beard', SALTAT > [s̪ɐ̯ːl̥tɐ] 'he, she, it jumps'), and in the nasalization contexts. Although nasalization is weak in modern Southeastern Romagnol, tonic vowels yield particular outcomes in positions which display marked nasalization in Central Romagnol. These contexts are before secondary word-final [n m] (CANE > [kɐ̯ːn] 'dog', CLAMO > [tʃɐ̯ːm] 'I call'), in front of nasal + voiceless consonant clusters (CANTO > [kɐ̯ːn̥t] 'I sing', CAMPU > [kɐ̯ːm̥p] 'field'), and before intervocalic [n m] (PLANA > [pjɐ̯ːnɐ] 'plain; jointer plane', CLAMA > [tʃɐ̯ːmɐ] 'call!'). Primary open-syllable [ɛ] oscillates between Romagnol [eː] (SĔDĔRE > [s̪eːdɐ] 'to sit'), Sub-Marecchian [ɐ̯ː] (MĔTĔRE > [mɐ̯ːdɐ] 'to reap'), and two outcomes reflecting the influence of Tuscan at different stages in time (PĔTRA > [piːdrɐ] 'stone', MĔL > [mjeːl] 'honey'). Interestingly, Sub-Marecchian [ɐ̯ː], which is identical to the outcome of open-syllable [a], appears much more consistently before syllable-final liquids: HĔRBA > [ɐ̯ːrbɐ] 'grass'. Primary [ɔ] generally does not undergo spontaneous diphthongization at all southeast of the Marecchia, yielding [ɔː] in open syllables and before

syllable-final liquids: CŎRE > [kɔːr] ‘heart’, HŎRTU > [ɔːr̥t] ‘vegetable garden’. In the nasalization contexts, [ɔ] merges with [o], both of which yield the falling diphthong [ɔu̯]: MŎNTE > [mɔu̯n̥t] ‘mountain’.

Subsequent to the raising of open-syllable [a] > [ɛː], the closed-syllable low vowels are lengthened without undergoing a significant change in height, if any at all: CATTU > [gaːt] ‘cat’, SĔPTEM > [s̪ɛ̝ːt] ‘seven’, ŎCTU > [ɔːt] ‘eight’. This development necessarily precedes the lowering of closed-syllable high vowels, since secondary [ɛ] and [ɔ] are not lengthened: PĬSCE > [pɛs̪ˑ] ‘fish’, *CŬPPU > [kɔpˑ] ‘roofing-tile.

While [a] yields its typical closed-syllable result before nasal geminates and nasal + voiced consonant clusters (GLANDE > [ʤaːndɐ] ‘acorn’) as well as in syncopated proparoxytones (SĬLVATĬCU > [s̪ɐ̯jbaːdˈʒi] ‘wild’), the low-mid vowels [ɛ ɔ] merge with the original high-mid vowels [e o] in these positions (TĔNDA > [tɛnˑdɐ] ‘curtain’, TĔPĬDU > [tɛvˑdɪ] ‘lukewarm’, SŎMNU > [s̪ɔnˑ] ‘sleep’, *FŎRBĬCES > [frɔbˑz̪i] ‘scissors’).

2.2.1.1. Low Vowels

2.2.1.1.1. [a]

The most important change in the evolution from Classical to Medieval Latin is the development of vocalic isochronism (< Greek *isos* ‘equal’ + *chronos* ‘time’), the loss of

distinction between long and short vowels.[7] As a result, Classical Ā ([aː]) and Ă ([a]) converge into [a]: AMĀRE > [amare], DĂRE > [dare].

2.2.1.1.1.1. Monophthongization of Secondary [ai̯]

Proto-Romance yod originates from atonic Ĭ and Ĕ in hiatus with another vowel or from the palatalization of a consonant. When tonic [a] comes into contact with a subsequent yod, the secondary falling diphthong [ai̯] is produced. Later, the glide partially assimilates the nucleus by raising its point of articulation (> [ɛi̯]) and the semi-vowel is absorbed (> [ɛ]). The monophthongization of oxytonic [ai̯], which appears in thirteenth-century texts throughout Northern Italy (Rohlfs 1: 35), gives [ɛ̗ː] in modern Sammarinese:

Etymon	Secondary [ai̯]	Sammarinese	Translation
STAS	stai̯	s̪tɛ̗ː	you stay
DAS	dai̯	dɛ̗ː	you give
VA(D)IS	vai̯	vɛ̗ː	you go
FA(CI)S	fai̯	fɛ̗ː	you do, make
HA(BE)S	ai̯	ɛ̗ː	you have

The diphthong [ai̯] and its descendent [ɛ̗ː] also originate from metathesis in consonant + yod groups, most commonly -[arj]- > -[ai̯r]- and -[asj]- > -[ai̯s]-:

Etymon	After Metathesis	Sammarinese	Translation
PARIA	*pai̯ra	pɛ̗ːrɐ	pair(s)
ARĔA	*ai̯ra	ɛ̗ːrɐ	threshing floor
MANUARIA	*mannai̯ra	mɐnɛ̗ːrɐ	axe, hatchet
CALĬDARIU	*kaldai̯ro	kɐlˈdɛ̗ːr	cauldron
CARBONARIU	*karbonai̯ro	kɐrbuˈnɛ̗ːr	coal merchant

[7] Vocalic isochronism persists in the lateral areas of Ibero- and Daco-Romance, while the middle regions of Italo- and Gallo-Romance have acquired a secondary distinction in vocalic quantity as a consequence of the intensive accent (Schürr, *VR* § 1), which is discussed below.

Etymon	After Metathesis	Sammarinese	Translation
FŬRNARIU	*fornaᵢ̯ro	furˈnɛːr	baker
SOLARIU	*solaᵢ̯ro	ʂuˈlɛːr	floor
JENUARIU	*dʒennaᵢ̯ro	dʒnɛːr	January
FEBRUARIU	*febbraᵢ̯ro	feˈbrɛːr, fiˈbrɛːr	February
TELARIU	*telaᵢ̯ro	tˈlɛːr	loom
*PŬLLARIU	*pollaᵢ̯ro	puˈlɛːr	hen house
BASIU	*baᵢ̯so	bɛːʒ	kiss

2.2.1.1.1.2. Syllabic Isochronism

The basis for the later development of open-syllable tonic vowels is laid by the emergence of the *dynamic* or *intensive accent*, which stresses and lengthens tonic syllables while simultaneously weakening atonic syllables. Having originated from the Gallic substratum, the dynamic accent coexists for a long time alongside the melodic accent of Classical Latin. Eventually, the intensive accent gains momentum in Northern France, where it is reinforced by the Frankish superstratum during the rule of the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties. Ultimately, the dynamic accent affirms itself throughout central Romania, namely in Gallo-, Rhaeto-, and Italo-Romance, where it is supported by the Longobard accent. In these regions, the intensive accent brings about the rule of syllabic isochronism,[8] which requires that open and closed tonic syllables be equal in quantity. Consequently, tonic vowels are lengthened before simple consonants and remain short before intense consonants: V:C = VC: (Schürr, *VR* §4). This scheme endures in modern Italian, which allows syllabic structures such as [ˈfaː.to] and [ˈfat.to], but not *[ˈfaː.tto] or *[ˈfa.to].

However, the effects of the intensive accent and the resultant law of syllabic isochronism are delayed within the Byzantine controlled Exarchate of Ravenna, due to its virtual isolation

[8] Thus, in the Central Romance Languages, the law of syllabic isochronism supplants the system of vocalic isochronism that survives in Ibero- and Daco-Romance.

behind the *Limes Langobardicus*, the military boundary that separates the Exarchate from the areas ruled by the Langobards. After the Longobards conquer the Exarchate circa 774 A.D., the Via Aemilia, the Via Flaminia, and the coastal road to Brindisi become principal routes of linguistic exchange in and out of Romagna. Henceforth, the intensive accent gradually travels southeastward along the Via Aemilia, eventually taking root in Romagna (Schürr, *VR* 29).

2.2.1.1.1.3. Raising of Open-Syllable [a]

When the intensive accent and the V:C = VC: canon finally prevail in Romagna, the results go well beyond those of the rest of Northern Italy, with spontaneous diphthongization eventually affecting virtually every open-syllable vowel. In accordance with the V:C = VC: norm, tonic low vowels in open syllables are lengthened ([a] > [aː]) and subsequently relaxed giving descending diphthongs (> [a̯ᵊ]), whose nucleus is eventually assimilated by the semi-vowel (> [æ̯ᵊ] > [ɛ̯ᵊ]), which is eventually dropped (> [ɛ̯ː]) in much of Romagna (Schürr, *VR* § 8).

The earliest evidence of the phenomenon appears toward the end of the 1400s in a text from Central Romagna, Pier Francesco da Faenza's *Commedia Nuova*, although *a* is usually preserved. As for San Marino, the Statutes of Serravalle (1457) show no evidence of spontaneous diphthongization (DATA > *dada*; Foresti 29), whereas Belluzzi's *Diario autobiografico* (1535-41) offers a glimpse of the development (*deva* < DABAT; Foresti 34). The first attestations for the Pesarese linguistic area appear in the mid sixteenth century in the proceedings of the ecclesiastical court of Mercatello sul Metauro: *sela* 'sala', *stevo* 'stavo', *Che Barone* 'Ca' Barone' (toponym) (Pagliardini: 64-65; Balducci 465). Raising of open-syllable *a* > *e* is recorded abundantly for the first time in the surviving octaves of the *Pulon Matt* (1591): *marteda* 'meritata', *aruer* 'arrivare', *dstné* 'destinato' (Schürr, *RD* 1: 16; Rohlfs 1: 41). Nevertheless,

oscillation between *a* and *e* is still the norm in the *Pulon Matt*, which suggests that the actual pronunciation was higher-low [æ] (Schürr, *VR* 70 n. 1).

Originating in Central Romagna, raising of tonic open-syllable [a] travels up the Via Aemilia to Piacenza and down the Via Flaminia into the northern Marches and Umbria, reaching as far south as the environs of Borgo Sansepolcro, Arezzo, Gubbio, and Perugia (Schürr, *Probleme* 103, *VR* 30). The process of raising is much more advanced in Central Romagnol than in Emilian and the dialects southeast of the Savio River, including Cesenate. Hence, the higher outcomes in Forlivese [leo̯dɐr] ‘thief’ (< LATRO) and Lughese [veːz̪] ‘vase’ (< VASU) contrast with the lower [ɛ̝ː] which characterizes the modern dialects of San Marino:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ARĀRE	ɐˈrɛ̝ː	to plow
TRABE	trɛ̝ːv	beam
NASU	nɛ̝ːz̪	nose
SALE	s̪ɛ̝ːl	salt
RAPA	rɛ̝ːvɐ	turnip
FA(CĔ)RE	fɛ̝ː	to do, make
DARE	dɛ̝ː	to give
CASA	kɛ̝ːz̪ɐ	house, home
CARU	kɛ̝ːr	dear, expensive
CANTĀRE	kɐn̥ˈtɛ̝ː	to sing
LACU	lɛ̝ːg	lake
PACE	pɛ̝ːʒɐ	peace
MARE	mɛ̝ːr	sea
MALE	mɛ̝ːl	badly
CLARU	tʃɛ̝ːr	clear
ZINZĀLA	ðɐnðɛ̝ːrɐ	mosquito
MŪTĀRE	muˈdɛ̝ː	to change
*ASPĔCTĀRE	ɐs̪p(i)ˈtɛ̝ː	to wait
*TĪRĀRE	t(i)ˈrɛ̝ː	to pull, draw, throw
MACHĬNĀRE	mɐʒˈnɛ̝ː	to grind, mince
RENŎVĀRE	ɐrnuˈvɛ̝ː	to put on for the first time

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ROSICĀRE	ruz̪ˈgɛ̟ː	to gnaw, nibble
REPAUSĀRE	ɐrpuo̯ˈs̪ɛ̟ː	to rest
*ALTIĀRE	ɐl̪ˈθɛ̟ː	to raise
COMPTIĀRE	kuo̯ˈtʃɛ̟ː	to tan (hides)
*DISTRACTIĀRE	s̪trɐˈtʃɛ̟ː	to tear, rip up
TALIĀRE	tɐˈjɛ̟ː	to cut
PRATU	prɛ̟ːd	meadow, lawn
AESTĀTE	io̯s̪tɛ̟ːdɐ	summer
CAPRA	kɛ̟ːprɐ	goat
LATRO	lɛ̟ːdrɪ	thief
MACRU	mɛ̟ːgrɪ	thin, lean
VASU	vɛ̟ːz̪	vase
FLATU	fjɛ̟ːd	breath
HOSPĬTĀLE	us̪piˈdɛ̟ːl	hospital

Certain proparoxytones provide further evidence that diphthongization of open-syllable [a] originates in Central Romagnol and spreads subsequently to other regions (Schürr, *Probleme* 102, 103). In these etyma, raising of open-syllable A precedes syncope of posttonic vowels in Central Romagnol, as exemplified by Faentino [s̪ɐĩ̯ˈbeə̯̃dˈk] ‘wild’ < SĬLVATĬCU and [ˈz̪bjeə̯̃vt] ‘faded’ < *[ˈzbjaːvito]. However, raising of open-syllable A does not reach the area southeast of the Savio River until after syncope has occurred and thus is precluded, as evidenced by Sammarinese [s̪ɐĩ̯ˈbaːdˈgi] and [raːdˈgɐ] ‘root’ < RADĬCE.

Nevertheless, even Sammarinese shows raising of open-syllable [a] in the majority of original proparoxytones:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MACHĬNA	mɛ̟ːʒnɐ	millstone, grindstone
*FRAGŬLA	frɛ̟ːgˈlɐ	strawberry
ASPARĂGU	s̪pɛ̟ːrgˈlɪ	asparagus
DIABŎLU	djɛ̟ːvlɪ	devil
TABŬLA	tɛ̟ːvlɐ	table

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*CARĬCU	kɐ̯ːrg	load
CASŬLAE	kɐ̯ːʒ̬lɪ	Casole (toponym)
cf. Italian *cavolo*	kɐ̯ːvlɪ	cabbage

The hypothesis which attributes raising of tonic A to the Gallic substratum has been brought into question based on the following three factors (Badini 378): 1) The phenomenon occurs in areas of Central-Southern Italy which the Gauls never settled. 2) At the same time, raising of tonic A appears sporadically and under varying conditions in regions where the presence of the Gallic substratum is certain. For example, the development is absent from Ferrarese ([mɐrˈka] ‘market’ < MERCĀTU, [madɐr] ‘mother’ < MATRE), the low plain of Reggio Emilia and Modena, as well as the high Apennines of Modena. 3) Finally, as mentioned above, the phenomenon is not documented until the sixteenth century.

2.2.1.1.1.4. Raising of [a] before Syllable-Final Liquids

Unlike French, in which the unconditioned palatalization of [a] occurs strictly in open syllables, Romagnol also manifests spontaneous diphthongization before syllable-final liquid consonants.[9] Compare French *barbe* and *saute* (< SALTAT) with Romagnol [bɐ̯ːrbɐ] and [s̪ɐ̯ːl̪tɐ], for example. In the latter linguistic group, the duration of [l r] is reduced, while the preceding tonic vowel is lengthened and its vocal vibration increased (Schürr, *Probleme* 103-4, *VR* § 8). Schürr attributes this *disarticulation* of syllable-final liquids to the need for making long vowels tolerable in closed syllables.[10] The open-syllable development might also be explained by the

[9] Rohlfs 1: § 24; Coco § 2; Schürr, *VR* § 11; Delmonte § 2.1.4.
[10] Charles Bruneau (*Étude phonétique des patois d'Ardenne* [1913], *Enquête linguistique sur les patois d'Ardenne* [1914-26]) first uses the term *désarticulation* to describe the reduction of syllable-final liquids in the French dialects of the Ardennes (Schürr, *VR* 32).

fact that sonorants, like vowels, have a discernible formant structure (Bertinetto, "Sonorante"). Sammarinese presents the following examples:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PARTE	pɛːɾtɐ	part, share
PARTU	pɛːt̚	labor
SKARPA	s̪kɛːɾpɐ	shoe
BARBA	bɛːrbɐ	beard
MARTIU	mɛːɾθ	March
ALTU	ɛːl̪t	high, tall, deep
ALBŎRE	ɛːlbrɪ	tree
LARGU	lɛːrg	wide, loose
STARNA	s̪tɛːrnɐ	partridge
CARNE	kɛːrnɐ	meat
CALDU	kɛːld	warm, hot
LARDU	lɛːrd	lard
TARDE	tɛːrd	late
SALTU	s̪ɛːl̪t	jump, leap
DISCALCEU	s̪kɛːl̪θ	barefoot(ed)
ALT(Ĕ)RU	ɛːlt, ɛːn̪t	other
MARMO(R)	mɛːrmɪ	marble
ARCU	ɛːɾk	bow, arch
CALCE	kɛːl̪tʃ	kick
FALCE	fɛːl̪tʃɐ	scythe

As a result of lag assimilation, secondary [ɛː] is sporadically raised to [iː] when it immediately follows an anterior glide,[11] which later disappears. The table below compares innovative Sammarinese outcomes with corresponding Bolognese forms that preserve [ɛː]:

Etymon	Bolognese	Sammarinese	Translation
PLACET	pjɛːz̪	piːz̪	it is pleasing
*NOI ALTRI	nuɛːtər	nuˈiːl̪t	we, us
*VOI ALTRI	vuɛːtər	vuˈiːl̪t	you (pl.)
(EC)CU-ĬLLĪ ALT(Ĕ)RĪ	ki ɛːtər	k iːl̪t	those, the others

[11] Schürr, *RD* 2: 184-85; Rohlfs 1: § 25; Delmonte § 2.1.4;

2.2.1.1.1.5. Raising of [a] before Nasal Consonants

In Southeastern Romagna, which lies roughly between Cesena and the Foglia River, open-syllable [a] is also raised before intervocalic [n] and [m] (Schürr, *VR* 33; Delmonte § 2.1.4), as the *Pulon Matt* attests: MANU > *men*, PLANU > *pien*, JULIĀNU > *Zulien*, BASTIĀNU > *Bastien* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 44; Rohlfs 1: 46). Modern Sammarinese presents slightly nasalized [ɛ̰ː] in this position:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MANU	mɛ̰ːnɐ	hand
SANU	s̻ɛ̰ːn	healthy; whole
DEMĀNE	dⁿmɛ̰ːn	tomorrow
*LON(GI)TĀNU	luŋ̊ˈtɛ̰ːn	faraway (adj.)
CANE	kɛ̰ːn	dog
PANE	pɛ̰ːn	bread
PLANU	pjɛ̰ːn	slowly, carefully, quietly
LĀNA	lɛ̰ːnɐ	wool
CAMPĀNA	kɐm̥pɛ̰ːnɐ	bell
FONTĀNA	fun̥tɛ̰ːnɐ	fountain
SEPTIMĀNA	s̻tⁿmɛ̰ːnɐ	week
LAMA	lɛ̰ːmɐ	blade
*CORIĀMEN	kuˈrɛ̰ːm	leather
RAMU	rɛ̰ːm	branch
CLAMAT	tʃɛ̰ːmɐ	he, she, it calls

The development of [a] before a nasal + voiceless consonant cluster is analogous to that of [a] followed by a disarticulated liquid in Southeastern Romagnol. In both cases, the length of the syllable-final sonorant is reduced, leading to the extension and eventual diphthongization of the preceding tonic vowel. Schürr observes that although vocalic nasalization is common to the Gallo-Italic dialects and French, Romagnol nasalization is an autochthonous development linked to the disarticulation of syllable-final liquids (*VR* 32). The sixteenth-century *Pulon Matt* presents

examples such as TANTAE > *tent* and *STANTIA > *stencia* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 44; Rohlfs 1: 46), while the contemporary Southeastern dialects characteristically show slightly nasalized [ɛ̰ː] in this context:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MANCU	mɛ̰ːŋk	less
PLANTA	pjɛ̰ːn̰tɐ	plant, tree
*BILANCIA	blɛ̰ːn̰tʃɐ	pair of scales
CAMPU	kɛ̰ːm̰p	field
CANTU	kɛ̰ːn̰t	singing, song, crow
BLANK	bjɛ̰ːŋk	white
BRANCHU	brɛ̰ːŋk	flock, pack
FLANK	fjɛ̰ːŋk	side, hip, flank
QUA(D)RA(GĬ)NTA	kwɐrɛ̰ːn̰tɐ	forty
Q(U)ĪNQUA(GĬ)NTA	tʃiŋkwɛ̰ːn̰tɐ	fifty
PANTĬCE	pɛ̰ːn̰θɐ	belly, stomach
*STANTIA	st̪ɛ̰ːn̰θɐ	room
TANTU	tɛ̰ːn̰t	a lot, so much

2.2.1.1.1.6. Lengthening of Closed-Syllable [a]

Since their articulation is inherently long due to physiological conditions,[12] the low vowels [a ɛ ɔ] undergo a secondary wave of elongation in closed syllables,[13] which must be distinguished from the original trend. Whereas the first wave of lengthened vowels undergoes spontaneous diphthongization ([a] > [ɛ̰ː]), this more recent development occurs after the expiration of unconditioned raising, conserving the original quality of the closed-syllable vowel ([a] > [aː]). The rule of syllabic isochronism eventually resolves the uncanonical presence of long tonic vowels in closed syllables by degeminating the following double consonants to create

[12] Schürr, *Probleme* 319, *VR* § 14; Lehiste 18-19; Repetti, "Vowel" 160 n. 6.
[13] Coco § 3; Schürr, *VR* 36; Delmonte § 2.1.4.

syllables conforming to the acceptable V:C structure: *[faːttu] > [faːt].[14] This process is eventually generalized to tonic [a ɛ ɔ] before other syllable-final consonants (Schürr, *VR* 36): PASTA > [paːʂ̺tɐ], TĔSTA > [tɛ̯ːʂ̺tɐ], NŎSTRU > [nɔːʂ̺t]. Closed-syllable A produces the following results in Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FACTU	faːt	done, made
GATTU	gaːt	cat
GALLU	gaːl	rooster
CABALLU	kɐˈvaːl	horse
VACCA	vaːkɐ	cow
MASSA	maːʂ̺ɐ	a lot
SAXU	ʂ̺aːʂ̺	stone, pebble, rock
SPAT(Ŭ)LA	ʂ̺paːlɐ	shoulder
LACTE	laːt	milk
BRACHIU	braːtʃ	arm
GLACIE	dʒaːtʃ	ice
SAETACIU	ʂ̺taːtʃɐ	sieve
PALATIU	pɐˈlaːθ	palace, building
PLATEA	pjaːθɐ	square
*MATTEA	maːθ	club
RABIA	raːbjɐ	anger
FAGEU	faːdʒ	beech
MAIU	maːdʒ	May
PALEA	paːjɐ	straw
ALLIU	aːi̯	garlic
*FACIA	faːtʃɐ	face
STRAK	ʂ̺traːk	tired
SABBĂTU	ʂ̺aːbˈdɪ	Saturday
MAXĬMU	maːʂ̺mɪ	limit, end
MASC(Ŭ)LU	maːʂ̺tʃɪ	male

[14] Merlo first observes this phenomenon, which originates in Romagna, in the Tuscan dialect of Sansepolcro ("Consonanti" 73 ff.).

Some proparoxytones, in which syncope creates a closed-syllable context prior to the onset of spontaneous diphthongization, show preservation and subsequent lengthening of [a] > [aː] in originally open-syllables (Schürr, *Probleme* 102, 103):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
RADĬCE	raːdgɐ	root
SĬLVATĬCU	s̪ɐi̯baːdˀgi	wild

Because nasal geminates ([nn], [mm], [ŋŋ]) and nasal + voiced consonant clusters are an exception to the rule of disarticulation, the preceding vowel follows the trend typical of closed syllables and does not participate in spontaneous diphthongization (Schürr, *VR* 33). Hence, Southeastern Romagnol shows faintly nasalized [aː] in this context:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ANNU	aːn	year
PANNU	paːn	cloth
DAMNU	daːn	damage, harm; annoyance
FLAMMA	fjaːmbɐ	flame
ARANEU	raːɲ	spider
COMPANIO	kumˈpaːɲ	alike; companion
BA(L)NEAT	baːɲɐ	he, she, it wets
ANGĔLU	aːndʒli	angel
JOHANNIS	dʒwaːn	John
RANNJĀ	raːn	lye
DEMANDAT	dmaːndɐ	he, she asks (for)
CAMBA	gaːmbɐ	leg
GRANDE	graːnd	big, large
QUANDO	kwaːnd	when
*MANDIU	maːnð	steer; beef
MANDAT	maːndɐ	he, she sends
GLANDE	dʒaːndɐ	acorn
VANGA	vaːŋgɐ	spade
MANDŬCANDO	mɐˈɲaːnd	eating
Med. Latin SCARANNA	s̪kɐraːnɐ	chair

One notable exception to this rule is [pjɛnˑdʒ] ‘he, she cries’ (< PLANGIT), where the tonic vowel has been assimilated by the preceding anterior glide.[15]

The normal closed-syllable result also arises before secondary nasal + voiced consonant clusters arising in syncopated proparoxytones:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ANĬMA	aːlmɐ	marrow
MANĬCA	maːŋgɐ	sleeve
MANĬCU	maːŋgɪ	handle
CAMĔRA	ˈkaːmərɐ	(bed)room

In original and secondary oxytones, primary [a] yields half-long [aˑ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
JAM	dʒaˑ	already
(IL)LAC	ɐˈlaˑ	there
cf. It. *babbo*	baˑ	father
MAMMA	maˑ	mother

As we have seen, the lengthening of low vowels in all syllabic contours occurs after the lengthening of all open-syllable vowels dictated by the rule of syllabic isochronism. This fact is evidenced by the different outcomes for [-high] vowels in open versus closed syllables. That is to say, in open syllables the low vowels were lengthened and subsequently raised, while the secondary wave of lengthening in closed syllables did not alter their original quality (Repetti, “Vowel” 160-1). In Sammarinese, this sequence of events is most evident in the divergent evolutions of [a]:

Syllable	Etymon	Lengthening (in open syllables)	Raising of long [-high] vowels	Lengthening of all [-high] vowels

[15] Schürr, *RD* 2: 184-85; Rohlfs 1: § 25; Delmonte § 2.1.4.

Syllable	Etymon	Lengthening (in open syllables)	Raising of long [-high] vowels	Lengthening of all [-high] vowels
Closed	CATTU	*gatto	*gat	gaːt ‘cat’
Open	PACE	paːtʃe	*pɛːz	pe̯ːze̯ ‘peace’

2.2.1.1.2. [ɛ]

The Classical Latin monophthong Ĕ and the diphthong AE merge, yielding Proto-Romance [ɛ]: TĔRRA > [tɛrra], CAELU > [kɛlu].

2.2.1.1.2.1. Metaphony of [ɛ]

Metaphony is a type of assimilation whereby the articulation of the tonic vowel, whether in an open or closed syllable, is raised in anticipation of a subsequent high vowel ([i u]) or glide ([j w]). A slightly more recent phenomenon than vocalic isochronism, the oldest attestation of metaphony appears circa 120 A.D. on an epigraph in Rome (Schürr, *VR* 23).[16] Given that metaphony eventually appears intermittently throughout Italy and the Romance-speaking world (Schürr, *Probleme* 100, *VR* 58-59, 258), Schürr attributes the spread of the phenomenon to the variety of Latin spoken by the plebes of Southern Italy, who settle the most distant provinces of the Roman Empire (*Probleme* 98, *VR* 24). By and large, Northern Italy only displays metaphony caused by original and secondary post-tonic [i] or [j], since final [u] is not restored here as in Lucania (Schürr, *VR* 24-25). The presence of one of these palatal sounds prompts the original low-mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] to acquire an epenthetic homorganic semi-consonant, yielding the rising diphthongs [je] and [wo], respectively.

[16] The epigraph shows metaphony of [ɛ] > [jɛ] in the proper name *Niepos* < NĔPŌS (Schürr, *Diphtongaison* § 4, *VR* 23).

In Tuscan and Emilian, which develop within the erstwhile boundaries of Longobardia, syllabic isochronism reorganizes the metaphonic diphthongs by generalizing them to open syllables while eliminating them from closed syllables (Schürr, *Probleme* 99). Within the former Exarchate, however, the V:C = VC: rule comes into conflict with a well established system of internal flexion, which contrasts the metaphonic diphthongs [je] and [wo] with the corresponding monophthongs [ɛ] and [ɔ] in order to compensate for apocope of desinences. While the canon of syllabic isochronism requires that long vowels, which include diphthongs, be shortened in closed syllables, internal flexion's reliance on diphthongs precludes their abbreviation in closed syllables. By the 1500s metaphony of tonic [ɛ] caused by posttonic [i] had already produced the rising diphthong [je] in Romagna, as indicated by the grapheme *ie* in the *Pulon Matt*: *PĔDĪ > *pie*, *ĔRĪ > *ier*, *SĔDĪ > *sied*, LĔCTĪ > *liett*, *[lɛsti] > *liest*, VĔCLĪ > *viech*, BOTĔLLĪ > *budiell*, *FRATĔLLĪ > *fradiell*, *DĔNTĪ > *dient*, *SERPĔNTĪ > *sarpient*, *[sɛnti] > *sient*, subjv. *[kontɛnti] > *contienta* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 60-61).

Subsequently, metaphonic [je] and [wo] undergo retraction of stress from the original nucleus to the former glide (> [ˈiẹ̯], [ˈuọ̯]), which entails centralization of the new posttonic vowel (> [ˈiə], [ˈuɐ]) (Schürr, *VR* 27-28). At least two theories have been proposed in order to explain the phonological origin of stress retraction. Schürr posits that stress retraction was generalized after originating in cases where the metaphonic diphthong was part of a triphthong or was in hiatus with a subsequent vowel (*Probleme* 100): Ĕ(G)O > *[jeo] > *[ˈieo] > Southwestern Sammarinese [ˈiːɐ] 'I'; *[ljei] > *[ˈliei] > [ˈliːɐ] 'she/her'; *PĔDĪ > Old Perugino *piei*, Southwestern Sammarinese [ˈpiːɐ] 'feet'; MĔU > *[mjeo] > [ˈmiːɐ] 'mine'; *BŎVĪ > *[bwoi] > [ˈbuːɐ] 'oxen'; *TŎU > *[twoo] > [ˈtuːɐ] 'yours'; *SŎU > *[swoo] > [ˈʂuːɐ] 'his/hers/theirs'.

Alternatively, Delmonte hypothesizes that the phenomenon originated in oxytones which came into contact with a subsequent word-initial tonic syllable (228): DĔCEM > [djeʒ̬] → *[diɐʒ̬ an] ‘ten years’, *VŎLĪ > [vwo] → *[vuɐt kweʂ̬t] ‘do you want this?’. However, the few spellings in the late fifteenth-century *Commedia nuova* which suggest incipient stress retraction are not confined to this context: *di sue pichié* ‘dei suoi peccati’, *di tue servidure* ‘dei tuoi servitori, *i mie bue* ‘i miei buoi’ (Schürr, *VR* 65 n. 1).

Schürr also concludes that the phenomenon—which is first attested in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Perugian texts—traveled from Umbria up the Via Flaminia and through the high Marecchia Valley, reaching Cesena in the Romagnol plain by the 1500s. The spread of the phonetic change would have been encouraged by the religious processions and pilgrimages of the Disciplinati and Laudenses, which took place during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when Umbria’s cultural influence on neighboring territories was greatest (*VR* 47).[17]

Eventually, the posttonic element of the diphthong is dropped (> [iː], [uː]) (Schürr, *VR* 27-28), with the grapheme *i* appearing frequently in place of *ie* in seventeenth-century Romagnol texts (Schürr, *RD* 1: 71). The table below summarizes the phonetic evolution represented by this change in spelling:

Etymon	Sixteenth Century	Seventeenth Century	Translation
*PĔDĪ	*pie*	*pit*	feet
LĔCTĪ	*liett*	*litt*	beds
*SĔNTĪ	*sient*	*sint*	you feel, taste, hear

Finally, three sonnets composed by Giandomenico Michelesi of Ravenna in 1709 attest the completion of this process, showing *i* throughout.

[17] The peculiar consonant cluster in Southeastern Romagnol [fjaːmbɐ] ‘flame’ was also imported from Umbria, where original -MM- > -mb- by hypercorrection (Schürr, *Probleme* 109).

The fact that the metaphonic diphthongs undergo stress retraction before monophthongization can be illustrated by juxtaposing Romagnol outcomes (DĚCEM > [diːʒ̬] ‘ten’) with those of Comacchiese ([ˈdiɐ̯ʂ̬]), a peripheral dialect which preserves [ˈiɐ̯] word-internally as well as word-finally.

In the area between a line connecting Cesena to Cesenatico and the Esino River, which marked the southern border of the Pentapolis, [ˈiːɐ] survives only word-finally. While Southwestern Sammarinese presents conservative forms similar to those found in Northern Umbria and the Marches, the Northeastern Sammarinese outcomes concur with those of Central Romagnol. Compare the metaphonic reflexes below with the unconditioned outcome in Northeastern Sammarinese [pɛ] ‘foot’ (< PĚDE):

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	NE Sammarinese	Translation
SĚX	ʂ̬iːɐ	ʂ̬iː	six
*ILLAEI	liːɐ	liː	she, her
*PĚDĪ	piːɐ	piː	feet
Ĕ(G)O	iːɐ	iː	I
DE RĚTRO	driːɐ	driː	behind; near

In open syllables and before disarticulated liquid and nasal consonants, modern Sammarinese shows [iː]. The metaphonic reflexes below contrast with the unconditioned outcomes in [fɛ̯ːvrɐ] ‘fever’ (< FĚBRE) and [preːg] ‘I pray’ (< *[prɛko]):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
HĚRĪ	jiːr	yesterday
*prɛki	priːg	you pray
*ɛri	ʂ̬iːri	you were
*dɛnti	diːn̥t	teeth
*tɛmpi	tiːm̥p	times
*parɛnti	pɐˈriːn̥t	relatives
*sɛnti	ʂ̬iːn̥t	you hear; feel; smell

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*kontɛnti	kunˈtiːn̥t	happy
*vɛni	viːn	you come

Metaphony also occurs in primary and secondary [ɛi] (Coco 9):

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
*ILLAEI	lɛi	liːɐ, liː	she, her
SĔX	sɛi	s̪iːɐ, s̪iː	six
ĔS	sɛi	s̪iː	you are
MĔĪ	mɛi	miːɐ, miː	mine

Tonic [ɛ] rises to [iː] before palatal consonants and clusters as well:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DĔCEM	diːʒ	ten
CERĔSEA	tʃɐriːʒɐ	cherry
ECLĔSIA	tʃiːz̪ɐ	church

As mentioned above, the Northern Italian dialects generally do not present metaphony caused by final -u, unlike most Central and Southern Italian vernaculars in which final -Ŭ ultimately maintains its original quality -u instead of merging with -Ō. According to Lausberg, final -u is restored in the Central and Southern dialects in order to avoid grammatical confusion between the nominative singular and the accusative plural typical of masculine nouns (Schürr, *VR* 24):

Classical Latin	Convergence	Resolution
MŪRŬS	*muro(s)	*muru(s)
MŪRŌS		* muro(s)

As for Romagnol, Schürr hypothesizes that final -o, which is the expected outcome of Ŭ, was preserved due to the conservative influence of Tuscan (*VR* 25). Nevertheless, vestiges of final -u survive from a period of oscillation with final -o. For instance, -Ō and -Ŭ yield -u by

differentiation when in hiatus with tonic [ɛ],[18] which gives [je] in sixteenth-century Romagnol (Schürr, *RD* 1: 80), [iˑɐ] in Southwestern Sammarinese, and [iː] in Northeastern Sammarinese:

Classical Latin	Proto-Romance	16th Century	Sammarinese	Translation
ĔGO	*ɛu	je	iˑɐ, iː	I
DE RĔTRO	*drɛu	drje	driˑɐ, driː	behind
MĔU	*mɛu	mje	miˑɐ, miː	mine

Metaphony of original [ɛ] in closed syllables will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.2.1.1.2.2. Open-Syllable [ɛ]

In correspondence with primary open-syllable [ɛ], Sammarinese, like Riminese, oscillates between Romagnol [eː] (Schürr, *VR* 30), Sub-Marecchian [ɐ̯ː],[19] and two outcomes ([iː jeː]) reflecting the influence of Tuscan (Schürr, *RD* 2: 21-22, *VR* 43).

In the absence of the circumstances necessary for metaphony, evidence of diphthongization of open-syllable [ɛ] > [je] normally does not appear in the oldest Romagnol texts. Isolated instances of such diphthongization (CAECU > *ciegh*, *ALĔCRU > *aliegr* [Schürr, *RD* 1: 19]) suggest interference from Tuscan,[20] which intensifies during the fifteenth century. In Sammarinese, a considerable number of commonly used lexemes have adopted open-syllable [je], which is subsequently monophthonged to [iː]:

Etymon	Tuscan	Sammarinese	Translation
CAELU	tʃjɛlo	tʃiːl	sky
CAECU	tʃjɛko	tʃiːg	blind
PĔDE	pjɛde	piːd	foot
PĔTRA	pjɛtra	piːdrɐ	stone

[18] Schürr, *RD* 2: 189; Rohlfs 1: § 99; Coco § 14.
[19] Delmonte § 2.1.3; cf. Coco § 6.
[20] Schürr, *RD* 1: 19, 2: 20; Rohlfs 1: 117; Coco 10 n. 10.

Etymon	Tuscan	Sammarinese	Translation
PRAESBYTER	prjɛte	priːt	priest
LĔP(Ŏ)RE	ljɛpre	liːvrɪ	hare
MINISTĔRIU	mestjɛre	miʂˈtiːr	job, trade, craft
Prov. *forestier*	forestjɛro	furiʂˈtiːr	stranger, foreigner
Prov. *carabinier*	karabinjɛre	kɐrɐbiˈɲiːr	carabiniere
PĔCŎRA	ˈpjɛkora	piːgrɐ	sheep
VĔNĬT	vjɛne	viːn	he, she, it comes
*ALĔCRU	alljɛgro	ɐliːgri	cheerful; tipsy
INTĔGRU	intjɛro	iɲˈtiːr	whole
SAEPE	sjɛpe	ʂiːvɐ	hedge

The last example, which is common in Romagnol, is ascribed by Maiden to oscillation between final -e and -i in the plural of feminine third declension nouns. While final -ES normally yields -e, which does not trigger metaphony, -i emerges in isolated cases in the Southern Venetan dialect of Grado. If this was also true in Romagnol, then -i would have triggered a metaphonic result in the plural, which could have been generalized to the singular (177). Thus, SAEPE - SAEPES > *[sɛpe] - [sɛpi] > [ʂiːvɐ] ‘hedge’ - [ʂiːvi] ‘hedges’.

There is no doubt that the evolution of NE-(G)ĔNTE is autochthonous, as pretonic -E- produces a yod which forms a diphthong with the following tonic vowel: *[njɛnte] > [ɲiːn̥t] ‘nothing’.

The following are more recent Tuscanisms, given that the diphthong is not subject to stress retraction and monophthongization. However, the nucleus does undergo lag assimilation and lengthening:

Etymon	Tuscan	Sammarinese	Translation
FĔL	fjɛle	fjeːl	bitterness, bile
MĔL	mjɛle	mjeːl	honey
PĔTRA	pjɛtra	pjiːtrɐ	stone

The Tuscanized forms indicated above contrast not only with Central Romagnol outcomes such as [preː] and [meːl], but also with the more conservative results occurring southeast of the Marecchia River. Raising of the open-syllable low vowels [a ɛ ɔ]—which arises centuries after the expiration of metaphony and only affects open-syllable vowels unaltered by the latter phenomenon—originates in Central Romagna, the area encompassing Forlì, Faenza, Imola, Lugo, and Ravenna. In this region, the diphthongization of [ɛ] > [ɛ̯ə̯] raises the articulation of the nucleus ([ə̯]), before eventual monophthongization results in [eː]. Whereas the more perceptible diphthongization of open-syllable [a] reaches as far south as Umbria, the less noticeable raising of original [ɛ] barely crosses the Marecchia River (Schürr, *VR* § 8), which flows just northwest of San Marino. Thus, modern Sammarinese displays oscillation between [ɛ̰ː] and [eː] when the vowel has not been influenced by Tuscan [jɛ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MĔTĔRE	mɛ̰ːdɐ	to reap, harvest
FĔBRE	fɛ̰ːvrɐ	fever
SĔDĔRE	s̰eːdɐ	to sit
GĔLU	dʒeːl	ice
SĔLĬNU	s̰eːdⁿnɪ	celery
SAETŬLA	s̰eːdˡlɐ	bristle
CAELU	tʃeːl	sky
LĔVĀRE	fɛ̰ː leːvɐ	to lever

2.2.1.1.2.3. [ɛ] before Syllable-Final Liquids

Before disarticulated syllable-final liquids, however, primary [ɛ] consistently yields [ɛ̰ː], the open-syllable outcome typical of the area southeast of the Marecchia:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PĔRDĔRE	pɛ̰ːrdɐ	to lose, miss
COPĔRTA	kwɛ̰ːr̥tɐ	blanket
HĔRBA	ɛ̰ːrbɐ	grass
HIBĔRNU	iŋvɛ̰ːrnɪ	winter
COPĔRC(Ŭ)LU	kwɛ̰ːr̥tʃ	cover, lid
*LŪCĔRTŬLA	luʒɛ̰ːr̥tˈlɐ	lizard
MĔR(Ŭ)LU	mɛ̰ːrlɪ	blackbird
ĬNFĔRNU	iŋfɛ̰ːrnɪ	hell
Longob. STERZ	s̪tɛ̰ːr̥θ	steering wheel
VĔLLĔRE	ɐ lɐ z̪vɛ̰ːl̥tɐ	hurriedly

2.2.1.1.2.4. Nasalization of [ɛ]

The development of primary [ɛ] before a simple nasal consonant or a nasal + voiceless consonant cluster represents a point of diatopical variation between the two principal dialectal groups spoken within the Republic. In Southwestern Sammarinese [ɛ̃] merges with [ẽ] and [ĩ] into the falling diphthong [ɛ̯i] (cf. Rohlfs 1: § 98), while in Serravallese [ɛ̃] and [ã] converge into [ɛ̰ː]:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
*INSĔMEL	inˈs̪ɛ̯iñ	inˈs̪ɛ̰ːn	together
BĔNE	bɛ̯iñ	bɛ̰ːn	well
DĔNTE	dɛ̯iñ̰t	dɛ̰ːn̥t	tooth
CĔNTU	tʃɛ̯iñ̰t	tʃɛ̰ːn̥t	one hundred
GĔNTE	dʒɛ̯iñ̰tɐ	dʒɛ̰ːn̥tɐ	people
SĔMPER	s̪ɛ̯iᵐ̃p̰rɪ	s̪ɛᵐ̃ːp̰rɐ	always
ARGĔNTU	ɐrˈdʒɛ̯iñ̰t	ɐrˈdʒɛ̰ːn̥t	silver
TĔMPU	tɛ̯iᵐ̃p̰	tɛ̰ːᵐ̃p̰	time, weather
VĔNTU	vɛ̯iñ̰t	vɛ̰ːn̥t	wind
PARĔNTE	pɐˈrɛ̯iñ̰t	pɐˈrɛ̰ːn̥t	relative
CONTĔNTU	kunˈtɛ̯iñ̰t	kunˈtɛ̰ːn̥t	happy

2.2.1.1.2.5. Closed-Syllable [ɛ]

Lengthening of closed-syllable [ɛ], which occurs subsequently to that of open-syllable [ɛ], also yields [ɛ̗ː]:[21]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*FRATĔLLU	frɐˈdɛ̗ːl	brother
CAPPĔLLU	kɐˈpɛ̗ːl	hat
CŬLTĔLLU	kuɾˈtɛ̗ːl	knife
BĔLLU	bɛ̗ːl	handsome
PĔLLE	pɛ̗ːlɐ	skin, hide, leather
ŬMBRĔLLA	umbrɛ̗ːlɐ	umbrella
BARĔLLA	bɐrɛ̗ːlɐ	stretcher
TĔRRA	tɛ̗ːrɐ	land
FĔRRU	fɛ̗ːr	iron
LĔCTU	lɛ̗ːt	bed
SĔPTEM	s̪ɛ̗ːt	seven
VĔSPA	vɛ̗ːs̪prɐ	wasp
*TEMPĔSTA	timpɛ̗ːs̪tɐ	hail
TĔSTA	tɛ̗ːs̪tɐ	head
PRAESTO	prɛ̗ːs̪t	soon, quickly, early
FĔSTA	fɛ̗ːs̪tɐ	holiday, party
VĔCLU	vɛ̗ːtʃ	old
SPĔC(Ŭ)LU	s̪pɛ̗ːtʃ	mirror
*PĔTTIA	pɛ̗ːθ	piece
MĔDIU	mɛ̗ːð	half
PĔCTĬNE	pɛ̗ːtⁿnɪ	comb
FENĔSTRA	fnɛ̗ːs̪trɐ	window
MINĔSTRĀRE	mnɛ̗ːs̪trɐ	soup
GENĔSTA	dʒnɛ̗ːs̪trɐ	broom plant

[21] Coco § 8; Schürr, *VR* 36; Delmonte § 2.1.3.

In the next two contexts, original [ɛ] converges with primary [e], which normally yields short [ɛ] in closed syllables. Firstly, original [ɛ] gives short [ɛ] in some proparoxytones as a result of syncope (Schürr *Probleme* 102, 103):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
TĔPĬDU	tɛvˈdɪ	lukewarm, tepid
*LĔVĬTU	lɛvˈdɪ, lɛbˈdɪ[22]	yeast
GĔNĔRU	dʒɛnˈdrɪ	son-in-law
VĔNĔRĬS	vɛnˈdrɪ	Friday

Compare Forlivese [ˈteî̯vt], in which diphthongization precedes syncope, a sequence that characterizes the dialects northwest of the Savio River (Schürr, *Probleme* 102, 103).

Secondly, primary [ɛ] always produces short [ɛ] before nasal + voiced consonant clusters:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MERĔNDA	mrɛnˈdɐ	afternoon snack
DECĔMBER	ditʃɛmˈbrɪ	December
SEPTĔMBER	s̪ətɛmˈbrɪ	September

2.2.1.1.3. [ɔ]

The Classical Latin monophthong Ŏ and the diphthong AU merge into Vulgar Latin [ɔ] in tonic syllables: CŎR > [kɔre], AURU > [ɔru]. The convergence of Ŏ and AU occurs subsequent to voicing of intervocalic stops, as the following outcomes attest: *AUCA > [ɔːkɐ] ‘goose’, PAUCU > [pɔːk] ‘little’.

[22] Note variant with fricative hardening.

2.2.1.1.3.1. Metaphony of [ɔ]

Analogous to the diphthongization of [ɛ] to [je], Proto-Romance [ɔ] yields the diphthong [wo] both in open and closed syllables before post-tonic [i] or [j].[23] The following attestations of the *Pulon Matt* inform us that diphthongization of [ɔ] to [wo] is in effect by the sixteenth century in Romagnol: ŎC(Ŭ)LĪ > *uoch*, NŌSTRĪ > *nuost*, *BŎVĪ > *buo*, *MŎDĪ > *muod*, *CŎLLĪ > *cuoll*, *FŎSSĪ > *fuoss*, *PŎSSĪ > *puossa*, HINC HŎDIE > *ancuo* ‘today’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 80; Rohlfs 1: 144). Subsequently, stress retraction takes place ([wo] > [ˈuo]), followed by weakening of the new atonic vowel (> [ˈuo̯]) and, finally, apocope (> [uː]) (Schürr, *VR* § 5). Isolated spellings in Pier Francesco da Faenza’s *Commedia nuova* evidence that monophthongization begins in the late fifteenth century in Central Romagnol: *muve* ‘muove’, *humne* ‘uomini’, *tuni* ‘tuoni’, (Schürr, *VR* 65 n. 1). By the early seventeenth century, monophthongization is nearly complete, as attested in the Ravennate verses of Gabbusio’s “Batistonata”: *i ucchi* ‘gli occhi’ (Schürr, *VR* 95 n. 5). However, the stage [ˈuo̯] survives in a Cesenate translation of the Prodigal Son collected by Biondelli in 1840 (FĪLIŎLĪ > *du fiùal*, PŎRCĪ > *i pùarch*), in the transitional dialect of Comacchio ([i ˈfjuo̯], *BŎVĪ > [ˈbuo̯], HINC HŎDIE > [iŋˈkuo̯], [ˈvuo̯] ‘tu vuoi’), and in word-final position in the Borderline Romagnol dialects of the Montefeltro territory ([i ˈbuˑo̯]) (Schürr, *VR* § 23). Contemporary Sammarinese provides the following examples of metaphony in open-syllable [ɔ] and the secondary diphthong [ɔi̯], which contrast with the non-metaphonic outcomes in [pɔːk] ‘little’ (< PAUCU) and [vɔˑ] ‘wants’ (< *[vɔle]):[24]

[23] Rohlfs 1: 148; Coco § 37; Schürr, *VR* § 2.

[24] The outcome [z̪vuo̯d] ‘empty’ (<*EXVŎ(C)ĬTU) is conspicuous since it preserves the secondary glide that causes metaphony.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PAUCĪ	puːk	few
*klɔdi	tʃuːd	nails
*kɔri	kuːr	hearts
*kɔrpi	kuːr̥p	bodies
*mɔrti	muːr̥t	(the) dead
FŎRĪS	fuːrɐ	outside
BŎNĪ	buːn	good
*sɔi	s̻uːɐ, s̻uː	his, her(s), their(s)
*tɔi	tuːɐ, tuː	your(s)
*bɔ(v)i	buːɐ, buː	oxen
*vɔ(l)i	vuː	you want
*pɔ(t)i	puː	you can
PŎST	puː	then

While final -Ŭ normally yields -o in Romagnol, which precludes metaphony, final -u does establish itself and trigger metaphony in two different contexts of limited incidence: in hiatus with the tonic vowel (*-ŎU) and in the rare word-final group -ŎCU (Schürr, *VR* 25). In both contexts, original [ɔ] produces the diphthong *uo* in the *Pulon Matt*, which yields [uː] in the modern dialects:[25]

Latin	*Pulon Matt*	Sammarinese	Translation
*SŎU	*suo*	s̻uːɐ, s̻uː	his, her(s), their(s)
*TŎU	*tuo*	tuːɐ, tuː	your(s)
FŎCU	*fuog*	fuːg	fire
CŎCU	*cuogh*	kuːg	cook
IŎCU	*zuog*	dʒuːg	game
LŎCU	*luogh*	ɐ daːg luːg	I put away

The persistence of final -u in the ending -ŎCU is encouraged by the contiguous homorganic [g] that arises from voicing of intervocalic [k] (Schürr, *Probleme* 119), which does not occur in PAUCU > [pɔ̯ːk] ‘little’.

[25] Schürr, *RD* 2: 189, 191; Rohlfs 1: § 120; Coco § 40.

The dialects of the Marecchia Valley also present U-metaphony in masculine singular nouns and adjectives ending in -ŎLU and -ŎVU (Balducci 453), which sets Sammarinese apart from the Romagnol varieties to the northwest:

Etymon	Central Romagnol	Sammarinese	Translation
* LUSCINIŎLU	ruʒiˈɲoʊ̯l	ruʒˈɲuːl	nightingale
LINTEŎLU	linˈθoʊ̯l	lɐnˈθuːl	bed sheet
PHASEŎLU	fɐˈʒoʊ̯l	fɐˈʒuːl	bean
FĪLIŎLU	fjoʊ̯l	fjuːl	son
DŎLU	doʊ̯l	duːl	groan, moan
-ŎLU	rumɐˈɲoʊ̯l	rumɐˈɲuːl	Romagnol
-ŎLU	bɐrkɐˈroʊ̯l	bɐrkɐˈruːl	boatman
ŎVU	oʊ̯v	uːv	egg
NŎVU	noʊ̯v	nuːv[26]	new

Metaphony of primary [ɔ] in closed syllables will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.2.1.1.3.2. Open-Syllable [ɔ]

One feature that distinguishes Romagnol from Lombard and Emilian is the absence of automatic diphthongization of open-syllable [ɔ] to [wo]. The subsequent phase [ø] characterizes the dialects in the Po Valley west of the Taro River, whereas Eastern Emilian, whose frontier with Romagnol is represented by Bolognese and Ferrarese, displays monophthongization of [wo] > [oː].[27] Romagnol texts, such as a fifteenth-century letter written by a Sammarinese school teacher, Nicolao Antonio, to the Captains Regent and the parliament, attest the absence of [wɔ] outside the context of metaphony: SCHŎLA > *scola* ‘school’ (Foresti 31).

[26] Compare [nɔːv] ‘nine’ < NŎVEM.
[27] Rohlfs 1: 143; Coco § 31; Schürr, *VR* § 9.

In Central Romagnol, open-syllable [ɔ] undergoes spontaneous diphthongization (> [ɔᵾ]), which raises the articulation of the nucleus (> [oᵾ], [oː]) (Schürr, *VR* § 8). The phenomenon loses momentum toward the Southeast, where the intensive accent subsides in force, and stalls at the Marecchia River. As a result, open-syllable [ɔ] generally maintains its original quality in the transitional area between the Marecchia and Foglia rivers (Schürr, *VR* § 21). Sammarinese normally shows [ɔː] alongside slightly raised [ɔ̝ː], the latter of which occurred in the speech of an informant from the Southwest:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
RŎTA	rɔːdɐ	wheel
SCHŎLA	s̪kɔːlɐ	school
SŎROR	s̪ɔːrɐ, s̪ɔ̝ːrɐ	nun
*NŎRA	nɔːrɐ	daughter-in-law
*SŎLA	s̪ɔːlɐ	sole (of shoe)
FĪLIŎLA	fjɔːlɐ, fjɔ̝ːlɐ	daughter
PAUCU	pɔːk, pɔ̝ːk	little
THESAURU	teˈz̪ɔːr	treasure
AUCA	ɔːkɐ	goose
*klɔdo	tʃɔːd	nail
NŎVEM	nɔːv	nine
*PLŎVĔRE	pjɔːvɐ	to rain
CAUSA	kɔːz̪ɐ	thing
AURU	ɔːr	gold
CŎRE	kɔːr	heart
DŎLET	dɔːl	it hurts
*MŎRĬT	mɔːr	he, she, it dies
*CŎCĔRE	kɔːʒɐ	to cook

2.2.1.1.3.3. [ɔ] before Syllable-Final Liquids

When followed by a syllable-final liquid, primary [ɔ] yields the same results as in open syllables:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FŎRSIT	fɔ̣ːr̥s̱	perhaps
CŎRDA	kɔːrdɐ	rope
CŎRNU	kɔːrnɪ	horn
MŎRTU	mɔːr̥t	dead
HŎRTU	ɔːr̥t	vegetable garden
HŎRDEU	ɔːrð	barley
FŎRBĬCES	frɔ̣ːbʒɪ	scissors
PŎRTĬCU	pɔ̣ːrg	loggia, porch, portico
CŎRPUS	kɔːr̥p	body
PŎRTAT	pɔːr̥tɐ	door
SŎL(Ĭ)DU	s̱ɔːld	coin
FŎRTE	fɔːr̥t	strong

2.2.1.1.3.4. Nasalization of [ɔ]

Parallel to the merger of [ɛ] and [e] into [ɛi̯] before a simple nasal consonant or a nasal plus voiceless consonant cluster, primary [ɔ] and [o] converge into slightly nasalized [ɔu̯] in modern Sammarinese:[28]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
BŎNU	buːn, bɔũ̯	good
CŎNTRA	kɔũ̯̥trɐ	against
FRŎNTE	frɔũ̯̥tɐ	forehead
MŎNTE	mɔũ̯̥t	mountain
PŎNTE	pɔũ̯̥t	bridge
*BIGŎNCIU	bˈgɔũ̯̥θ	wooden tub
CŎMPĂRAT	kɔũ̯m̥prɐ, kɐmˑprɐ	he, she buys

[28] Rohlfs 1: 151; Schürr, *VR* 33; Delmonte § 2.1.5.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CŎMPŬTAT	rɐkɔu̯n̥̆tɐ	he, she tells

2.2.1.1.3.5. Closed-Syllable [ɔ]

Like the other primary low vowels, closed-syllable [ɔ] is lengthened while maintaining its original quality:[29]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
STLŎPPU	s̪tʃɔːp	single-barrel shotgun
ŎSSU	ɔːs̪	bone
CŎLLU	kɔːl	neck
NŎCTE	nɔːtɐ	night
ŎCTO	ɔːt	eight
CŎXA	kɔːʃɐ, kɔːs̪ɐ	thigh
NŎSTRU	nɔːs̪t	our(s)
*VŎSTRU	vɔːs̪t	your(s)
ŎCLU	ɔːtʃ	eye
*BIRŎTEU	bɾɔːtʃ	two-wheeled cart, wagon
*NŎPTIAE	nɔːθi	wedding
*JŎVIA	dʒɔːbjɐ	Thursday
*ENCLAUSTRU	i̯n̥tʃɔːs̪tri	ink
*PLŎPPU	pjɔːpɐ	poplar
*PEDŎCLU	bˈdɔːtʃ	louse
*FENŎCLU	fnɔːtʃ	fennel
*GENŎCLU	ʐ̪nɔːtʃ	knee
FŎLIA	fɔːjɐ	leaf
GRŎSSU	gɾɔːs̪	big, large, thick, heavy
*bɔsk	bɔːs̪k	wood
DŎMĬNA	dɔːnɐ	woman
NŎNNA	nɔːnɐ	grandmother
HŎDIE	ɔːdʒ	today

[29] Coco § 33; Schürr, *VR* 36; Delmonte § 2.1.5.

An exception to this rule is oxytonic [ɔ], whose short outcome coincides with that of primary [o] in the same position (cf. NŌN > [nɔ] [nɐ] ‘no’):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
BŎVE	bɔ, bɐ	ox
MŎDO	mɔ	but

Similarly, before sonorant geminates and nasal plus voiced consonant clusters as well as in syncopated proparoxytones, the result is short [ɔ] in Southwestern San Marino alongside lowered [ɐ] particularly in Serravallese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
SŎMNU	s̬ɔnˑ	s̬ɐnˑ	sleep
SŎMNIU	s̬ɔɲˑ	s̬ɐɲˑ	dream
RESPŎNDĔRE	ɐrs̬pɔnˑdɐ	ɐrs̬pɐnˑdɐ	to answer
LŎNGU	lɔŋˑg	lɐŋˑg	long
STŎMĂCHU	s̬tɔmˑgɪ	s̬tɐmˑgi	stomach
*FŎRBĬCES	frɔbˑz̬i	fuːrbz̬i	scissors
ASTRŎLŎGU	s̬trɔlˑgɪ	s̬trɐlˑgi	fortune-teller
CŎMMŎDU	kɔmˑdi	kɐmˑdi	comfortable
MŎLLE	mɔlˑ	mɐlˑ	soft; wet

Note that while all three of the original low vowels are generally lengthened in closed syllables (GATTU > [gaːt] ‘cat’, BĔLLU > [bɛ̰ːl] ‘handsome’, ŎSSU > [ɔːs̬] ‘bone’), a discrepancy arises in syncopated proparoxytones, oxytones, and before voiced syllable-final nasal consonants. In the latter contexts, only [-mid] [+low] [a] yields a long outcome: SĬLVĀTĬCU > [s̬ɐ̯ibaːdʾgi] ‘wild’, *BABBU > [baː] ‘father’, GLANDE > [dʒaːndɐ] ‘acorn’. On the other hand, [+mid] [+low] [ɛ ɔ] merge with [+mid] [-low] [e o] respectively by producing short outcomes: TĔPĬDU > [tɛvˑdɪ] ‘lukewarm’, PĔDE > [pɛ] ‘foot’, MERĔNDA > [mrɛnˑdɐ] ‘afternoon snack’;

ASTRŎLŎGU > [ʂtrɐlˈgi] ‘fortune-teller’, BOVE > [bɐ] ‘ox’, RESPŎNDĔRE > [ɐrʂpɐnˈdɐ] ‘to answer’.

2.2.1.2. High Vowels

Whereas high-mid [e o] are the first vowels to undergo metaphony (Maiden 130), subsequent phenomena characterizing the high vowels do not occur until relatively recent times. There is no sign of diphthongization of open-syllable [e o] in Romagnol texts through the seventeenth century (Schürr, *RD* 1: 26; Rohlfs 1: 79), a development which typifies modern Serravallese: PĬRA > [poi̯rɐ] ‘pear’, FLŌRE > [fjɔu̯r] ‘flower’. Lowering of the short high vowels in closed syllables, which does not arise until the eighteenth century in Central Romagnol (Schürr, *Probleme* 105), is delayed until the nineteenth century in Sammarinese. While all vowels produce long outcomes in open syllables, closed syllables constitute one of the major points of divergence between the high and low series. That is to say, whereas original [ɛ a ɔ] are lengthened in this context as well, [i e o u] are lowered due to their shortness. Predictably, lowering of the high vowels also affects secondary [i u], which are the metaphonic outcomes of primary [e o], respectively.

2.2.1.2.1. [e]

Classical Latin Ē, Ĭ, OE are fused into Proto-Romance [e]: TĒLA > [tela], PĬRA > [pera], POENA > [pena]

2.2.1.2.1.1. Metaphony of [e]

When followed by posttonic [i] or [j], the tonic high-mid vowels are raised one level.[30] Hence, Marino Calcigni's fifteenth-century letters attest Sammarinese regionalisms with metaphony of tonic [e] > [i] in the masculine plural: *METĬPSIMĪ > *midismi*, *ĔCCU ĬSTĪ > *quisti*. In addition, Belluzzi's *Diario autobiografico* (1535-1541) offers the following examples of umlaut of original [e]: *misi* 'months', *io intisi* 'I understood', *io spixi* 'I spent', *quilli* 'those', *vinti* < VĪNCTĪ" (Schürr, *RD* 2: 170). The sixteenth-century *Pulon Matt* provides numerous examples of metaphony in nouns (*MĒSĪ > *mis, uslitt* 'uccelletti', *rasunamint* 'ragionamenti', *i burghitt* 'i borghetti') as well as in verbal forms (*/kredi tu/ > *critu*, */vedi/ > *vi*, */venni/ > *uinn*, DĒBEAT > *dibba, digga*) (Schürr, *VR* 25). As for modern Romagnol, metaphonic [iː] is preserved in open syllables. Compare the metaphonic reflexes below with the unconditioned outcomes in Southwestern Sammarinese [peːl] and Northeastern [poi̯l] 'hair' (< PĬLU):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*paesi	pɐˈiːz̪	towns; countries
*milanesi	milɐˈniːz̪	Milanesi
*meli	miːl	apple trees
*mesi	miːz̪	months
*pesi	piːz̪	weights
PĬLĪ	piːl	hairs
PĬRĪ	piːr	pear trees
*abeti	ɐˈbiːd	fir trees
*pulletri	puˈliːdrɪ	colts
FĬRMĪ	fiːrmɪ	still
*tʃetʃi	tʃiːʒ	chick-peas
*vedi	viːd	you see
HABĒTIS	ɐˈviː(d)	you have
*SAPĒTIS	s̪ɐˈviː(d)	you know (how)
VĬDĒTIS	v(i)ˈdiː(d)	you see

[30] Rohlfs 1: 76; Coco § 22; Schürr, *VR* 24.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*VENDĒTIS	vinˈdiːd)	you sell
FĒRIA	fiːrɐ	fair
*STATĒRIA	s̪tɐdiːrɐ	steelyard
BLASTĒMIA	bjɐs̪tiːmɐ	curse, blasphemy
VINDĒMIA	vɐndiːmɐ	grape harvest

In some instances, the metaphonic vowel has been generalized to the singular:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VĬR(Ĭ)DE	viːrd	green
VĬTRU	viːdri	glass
JĔNĬPERU	dʒniːprɪ	juniper
CĬCER	tʃiːʒ[31]	chick-pea

In other cases, the raising of [e] > [iː] is the result of lag assimilation caused by a preceding palatal consonant or glide, as in French [siːʀ] (< CĒRA):[32]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CĒRA	tʃiːrɐ	wax
CĬCER	tʃiːʒ	chick-pea
CĬRC(Ŭ)LU	tʃiːr̥tʃ	circle
CĬRCAT	tʃiːr̥kɐ	he, she looks for
CLĒRĬCA	tʃiːrgɐ	tonsure, bald patch
PLĒNU	piːn	full
PLĬCAT	piːgɐ	he, she, it bends
PLĒBE	piːvɐ	parish church
*skjena	s̪kiːnɐ	back
ACĒTU	ɐz̪iːdɐ	vinegar

By analogy of the Tuscanism *aliegr* (<*ALĔCRU) ‘cheerful; tipsy’, NĬGRU also develops an irregular diphthong by the time of the *Pulon Matt’s* composition (Schürr, *RD* 1: 19): *niegr* > [niːr] ‘black’.

[31] Schürr, *RD* 2: 44 n. 1.
[32] Schürr, *RD* 2: 185-86; Rohlfs 1: 80; Coco § 24; Delmonte § 2.1.4.

Secondary [i] yields short [ɪ] in closed syllables, a context that includes the open syllables of oxytones and of some proparoxytones. The following metaphonic reflexes contrast with the unconditioned outcome in [frɛdˑ] ‘cold’ (< FRĬG[Ĭ]DU):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FRĬG(Ĭ)DĪ	frɪdˑ	cold
-ĬTTĪ	puˈrɪtˑ	poor
*PĬSCĪ	pɪʃˑ, pɪʂˑ	fishes
SĬCCĪ	ʂɪkˑ	dry
VĬDUĪ	vɪdˑvɪ	widowers
CAPĬLLĪ	kɐˈvɪlˑ	hair
EPĬSCŎPĪ	vɪʂˑkʷɪ	bishops
TRĒS > *treį̯	trɪ	three (m.)
CĬLIU	tʃɪʎˑɪ	eyelash
CONSĬLIU	kunʂɪʎˑɪ	advice
TĬNEA	tɪɲˑɐ	ringworm
VĬNEA	vɪɲˑɐ	vineyard
STRĬCTĪ	ʂtr̥ɪtˑ	narrow; tight; close

2.2.1.2.1.2. Open-Syllable [e]

The peripheral area encompassing Gatteo, San Mauro-Pascoli, Savignano, Santarcangelo, Borghi, Verucchio, Torre Pedrera, and the slopes of Monte Titano is a hub for the spontaneous diphthongization of the high vowels [e] > [ɛi̯] and [o] > [ɔu̯] (Schürr, *VR* 31), which begins after the seventeenth century (Schürr, *RD* 1: 26; Rohlfs 1: 79). While Southwestern Sammarinese presents either the conservative or restored stage [eː], Northeastern dialects show the progressed diphthong [oi̯] in open syllables. This outcome presupposes the intermediary phase [ɛi̯] (cf. Old French *teile* < TĒLA, *meis* < MĒ(N)SE, *peire* < PĬRA), whose nucleus is dissimilated from the front glide (Rohlfs 1: § 55). Whereas Bolognese develops a higher-low central nucleus ([tɐˑi̯lɐ] ‘cloth,

canvas’, [mɐːi̯z̪] ‘month’, [pɐːi̯rɐ] ‘pear’ [Coco § 15]), in Northeastern Sammarinese differentiation is taken a step further (Rohlfs 1: 79):

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	NE Sammarinese	Translation
APOTHĒCA	buteːgɐ	butoi̯gɐ	shop; work shop
PĬRU	peːr	poi̯r	pear tree
PĬRA	peːrɐ	poi̯rɐ	pear
MĒLU	meːlɐ	moi̯lɐ	apple
MĒ(N)SE	meːz̪	moi̯z̪	month
PAGĒ(N)SE	pɐˈjeːz̪	pɐˈjoi̯z̪	town; country
PĒ(N)SU	peːz̪	poi̯z̪	weight
CRĒDĔRE	kreːdɐ	kroi̯dɐ	to believe
CANDĒLA	kɐndeːlɐ	kɐndoi̯lɐ	candle
NĬVE	neːvɐ	noi̯vɐ	snow
PULLĬTRU	puleːdrɪ	puloi̯dri	colt
TĒLA	teːlɐ	toi̯lɐ	cloth, canvas
PĬLU	peːl	poi̯l	hair
CRĒTA	greːdɐ	groi̯dɐ	clay
RĒTE	reːdɐ	roi̯dɐ	net
SĬTE	s̪eːdɐ	s̪oi̯dɐ	thirst
FĬDE	feːdɐ	foi̯dɐ	faith, belief
*SAPĒRE	s̪ɐˈveː	sɐˈvoi̯	to know (how)
SĒRA	s̪eːrɐ	s̪oi̯rɐ	evening
PĬPER	peːvrɪ	poi̯vri	pepper
* VOLĒRE	vleː	vloi̯	to want
BĬBĔRE	beː	boi̯	to drink
* VĬDĔRE	veːdɐ	voi̯dɐ	to see
ACĒTU	ɐtʃeːtɐ	ɐz̪oi̯dɐ	vinegar
VĒRA	veːrɐ	voi̯rɐ	true

2.2.1.2.1.3. [e] before Syllable-Final Liquids

Original [e] is lengthened before syllable-final liquids (Coco § 16), but does not produce the same outcome as in open syllables:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FĬRMU	fɐ̯ːrmɪ	still
VĬR(Ĭ)DE	viːrd	green
CLĒRĬCA	tʃiːrgɐ	tonsure, bald patch

2.2.1.2.1.4. Nasalization of [e]

When followed by an intervocalic nasal or by a nasal + voiceless consonant cluster, [e] yields the diphthong [ɛi̯] in Southwestern Sammarinese, whose nucleus is dissimilated (> [oi̯]) in the Northeast (Rohlfs 1: 79):

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	NE Sammarinese	Translation
CATĒNA	kɐdɛi̯ñɐ	kɐdoi̯ñɐ	chain
VENĒNU	vlɛi̯ñ	vloi̯ñ	poison
VĒNA	vɛi̯ñɐ	voi̯ñɐ	vein
AVĒNA	ɐvɛi̯ñɐ	ɐvoi̯ñɐ	oats
CĒNA	tʃɛi̯ñɐ	tʃoi̯ñɐ	dinner
DE ĬNTRO	drɛi̯n̥tɐ	droi̯n̥tɐ	inside
*COMĬNTIAT	kⁿmɛi̯n̥θɐ	kⁿmoi̯n̥θɐ, kⁿmɛ̯ːn̥θɐ	he, she begins

2.2.1.2.1.5. Lowering of Closed-Syllable [e]

The Romagnol tonic vowel system is characterized by the opposing closed-syllable developments of the low vowels [ɛ a ɔ] and the high vowels [i e o u] (Coco 12 n.12). The resultant contrast between long and short vowels contributes to Romagnol's system of internal flexion and to semantic distinctions. Schürr ("Nuovi" 123, *VR* § 13) and Coco (12 n. 12) posit that lengthening of the low vowels caused degemination of subsequent double consonants by the fourteenth century, whereas geminate consonants persisted after high vowels, which remained short. On the other hand, Hajek suggests that all consonants were degeminated before those following short vowels were lengthened ("How" 126-27). Regardless of the order the

phenomena occurred in, the high vowels were lowered in the early 1700s in Central Romagnol and not until the 1800s in Sammarinese, while subsequent geminates are succeeded by half-long consonants in the modern dialects. As a result, closed-syllable [e] was lowered to [ɛ] in much of Northern Italy (Rohlfs 1: 81):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CRĒSCĔRE	krɛʃˑɐ, krɛʂˑɐ	to grow
PĬSCE	pɛʃˑ, pɛʂˑ	fish
-ĬTTU	brɛtˑ	cap
-ĬTTA	purɛtˑɐ	poor
SAGĬTTA	ʂɐjɛtˑɐ	lightning
TĬTTA	tɛtˑɐ	breast, udder
MĬTTĔRE	mɛtˑɐ	to put
CRĬSTA	krɛʂˑtɐ	crest, comb
SĬCCA	ʂɛkˑɐ	dry
FRĬG(Ĭ)DU	frɛdˑ	cold
*TRĬCHEA	trɛtˑʃɐ	plait, braid
AURĬC(Ŭ)LA	urɛtˑʃɐ	ear
CAPĬLLU	kɐˈvɛlˑ	hair
FRĬSK	frɛʂˑk	fresh
EPĬSCŎPU	vɛʂˑkwɪ	bishop
LĬTTĔRA	lɛtˑrɐ	letter
STĒLLA	ʂtɛlˑɐ, ʂtɛːlɐ	star
CĬPPU	θɛpˑɐ	wedge
TĒCTU	tɛtˑ	roof
SPĬSSU	ʂpɛʂˑ	often
*BĒCCU	bɛkˑ	beak; cuckold
(EC)CU ĬSTU	kwɛʂˑt	this (one)
STRĬCTU	ʂtrɛtˑ	narrow; tight
FAMĬLIA	fɐmɛjˑɐ	family
VĬDUU	vɛdˑvɪ	widower

Closed-syllable [ɛ] also arises in proparoxytones due to the formation of posttonic secondary consonant clusters (Coco § 19):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FĒMĬNA	fɛmˈnɐ	female, girl
SĒDĔCIM	ʂɛdˈʒ	sixteen
TRĒDĔCIM	trɛdˈʒ	thirteen
DOMĬNĬCA (DIES)	dⁿmɛŋgɐ	Sunday
DĒBĬTU	dɛpˈti	debt
CĬNĔRE	tʃɛnˈdrɐ	ash(es), cinders

Short [ɛ] is the result before nasal geminates and nasal plus voiced consonant clusters as well (Schürr, *VR* 33):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PĬNNA	pɛnˈɐ	feather; pen
STRĬNGĔRE	ʂtrɛnˈdʒɐ	to grip; tighten
LĬGNU	lɛɲˈ	wood
VĒNDĔRE	vɛnˈdɐ	to sell
LĬNGUA	lɛŋgwɐ	tongue; language

2.2.1.2.2. [o]

Vocalic isochronism leads to the merger of Classical Ō and Ŭ into Medieval Latin [o]: SŌLE > [sole], ŬRSU > [orso].

2.2.1.2.2.1. Metaphony of [o]

The metaphonic raising of tonic [o] > [u] in the presence of posttonic [i] or [j] is parallel to that of [e] > [i] (Rohlfs 1: 94; Schürr, *VR* 24). The phenomenon is well documented by Romagnol texts, such as the sixteenth-century *Pulon Matt*: *sprun* ‘sproni’, *bragun* ‘braconi’, *pull* ‘polli’, *lurd* ‘lordi’, *mrus* ‘amorosi’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 67; Rohlfs 1: 94). As for Sammarinese documents, the correspondence of diplomat Marino Calcigni (*successuri* ‘successori’, *besugni* ‘bisogni’, *signuri* ‘signori’ [Foresti 28]), schoolmaster Nicolao Antonio's letter (*vui* 'voi', *signuri*

[Foresti 31]), and the Statutes of Serravalle (*robaduri* ‘rubatori’, *menuri* ‘minori’ [Foresti 29]), all from the fifteenth century, as well as Belluzzi’s *Diario autobiografico* (*/noi/ > *nui*, */doi/ > *dui* [Schürr, *RD* 2: 170]) from the sixteenth century also show evidence of metaphony. While the historically urban dialect of San Marino displays leveling of the normal plural outcome with that of the singular (*ODŌRĪ > [uˈdoo̯r] ‘smells’ [*ALI* 100]), the historically rural varieties preserve metaphonic [uː] in open syllables. Compare the metaphonic reflexes below with the unconditioned outcomes in Southwestern Sammarinese [koːdɐ] and Northeastern [kɔo̯dɐ] ‘tail’ (< CŌDA):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*NEPŌTĪ	ɐŋˈvuːd	nieces and nephews; grandchildren
SPŌ(N)SĪ	s̻puːz̻	husband and wife
ŬRSĪ	uːrs̻	bears
*DOCTŌRĪ	duˈtuːr	doctors
*GENITŌRĪ	dʒeniˈtuːr	parents
*FLŌRĪ	fjuːr	flowers
*MĔTĬTŌRĪ	midˈduːr	reapers
*SENIŌRĪ	s̻ɲuːr	gentlemen
SŬRDĪ	s̻uːrd	deaf
FŬRNĪ	fuːrnɪ	ovens
*DŬLCĪ	duːltʃ	sweet
*LABŌRĪ	lɐˈvuːr	jobs
*AMORŌSĪ	muˈruːz̻	sweethearts
*FAMŌSĪ	fɐˈmuːz̻	famous
*ZELŌSI	dʒluːz̻	jealous
GŬLŌSI	gu̯ˈluːz̻	gluttonous
*ODŌRĪ	uˈduːr	smells
*DEPANATŌRIU	dˈvɐnɐˈduːr	wool-winder, skein-winder
LAVATŌRIU	lɐvɐˈduːr	tub, basin; washhouse
*PĬLATŌRIU	pˈlɐˈduːr	skinning area of abattoir
RASŌRIU	rɐˈz̻uːl, rɐˈz̻uːr	razor
*FĪLATŌRIU	flɐˈduːr	spinning wheel

The groups -ŌCE and -ŭCE display oscillation between the normal open-syllable outcome and [uː]:

Etymon	NE Sammarinese	SW Sammarinese	Translation
NŬCE	nuːʒ̬ɐ	nuːʒɐ	walnut
VŌCE	vɔu̯ʒ̬ɐ	vuːʒ̬ɐ	voice
CRŬCE	kr̥ɔu̯ʒ̬ɐ	kruːʒɐ	cross

Raising of the tonic vowel in this case may be attributed either to the subsequent palatal consonant (Coco § 48) or to final -i in the plural, with the latter scenario entailing generalization of the metaphonic reflex to the singular.

Secondary [u] participates in the lowering and centralization of original [u] in closed syllables. The metaphonic reflexes below contrast with the unconditioned outcomes in Southwestern Sammarinese [mɔʂˑkɐ] and Northeastern [mɐʂˑkɐ] ‘fly’ (< MŬSCA):

Etymon	Metaphony	Sammarinese	Translation
PŬLLĪ	*pulli > *pull*	pʊlˑ	chickens
RŬSSĪ	*russi	rʊsˑ	red (m. pl.)
PŬTEĪ	*puttsi	pʊθˑ	wells
CŬTĬCA	*ˈkudiga	kʊdˑˀgɐ	pork rind
RŬPTĪ	*rutti	rʊtˑ	broken (m. pl.)
*DŬĪ	*dui	dʊˑ	two (m.)

2.2.1.2.2.2. Open-Syllable [o]

In the absence of metaphony, the intensive accent and the resultant canon of syllabic isochronism lengthen open-syllable [o] to [oː], which undergoes spontaneous diphthongization in many Northern Italian dialects.[33] Although diphthongization of [o] > [ou̯] is parallel to that of [e] > [ei̯], the former development is more recent, less well documented by Old Northern Italian

[33] Coco § 41; Schürr, *VR* 31; Delmonte § 2.1.6.

texts, and less common in the modern dialects (Rohlfs 1: 93). While Southwestern Sammarinese presents an either conservative or restored [oː], the diphthong reaches the advanced, dissimilated stage [ɔu̯] in the Northeast:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	NE Sammarinese	Translation
FLŌRE	fjoːr	fjɔu̯r	flower
*MĚTĬTŌRE	midˈdoːr	midˈdɔu̯r	reaper
LABŌRE	lɐˈvoːr	lɐˈvɔu̯r	work, job
*AMORŌSU	muˈroːz̪	muˈrɔu̯z̪	boyfriend
FAMŌSU	fɐˈmoːz̪	fɐˈmɔu̯z̪	famous
ODŌRE	uˈdoːr	uˈdɔu̯r	smell, odor, scent
ZELŌSU	dʒloːz̪	dʒlɔu̯z̪	jealous
GŬLŌSU	guˈloːz̪	guˈlɔu̯z̪	gluttonous
DOCTŌRE	duˈtoːr	duˈtɔu̯r	doctor
SARTŌRE	s̪ɐr̥ˈtoːr	s̪ɐr̥ˈtɔu̯r	tailor
DOLŌRE	duˈloːr	duˈlɔu̯r	pain
VŌCE	vuːz̪ɐ	vɔu̯z̪ɐ	voice
CRŬCE	kruːʒɐ	krɔu̯z̪ɐ	cross
HŌRA	oːrɐ	ɔu̯rɐ	hour, time
NEPŌTE	ɐŋˈvoːd	ɐŋˈvɔu̯d	grandson, nephew
CŌDA	koːdɐ	kɔu̯dɐ	tail
AD ILLA HŌRA	ɐloːrɐ	ɐlɔu̯rɐ	then
HANC HŌRA	ɐŋkoːrɐ	ɐŋkɔu̯rɐ	still, again, more
AMŌRE	ɐˈmoːr	ɐˈmɔu̯r	love; mulberry
SŌLE	s̪oːl	s̪ɔu̯l	sun
ILLŌRU	loːr	lɔu̯	they, them
SPŌ(N)SA	s̪poːz̪ɐ	s̪pɔu̯z̪ɐ	bride
CŪRIŌSU	kuˈrjoːz̪	kuˈrjɔu̯z̪	curious
SENIŌRE	sn̥oːr	sn̥ɔu̯r	gentleman
GŬLA	goːlɐ	gɔu̯lɐ	throat
SŬPRA	s̪oːrɐ	s̪ɔu̯rɐ	over, above, on

2.2.1.2.2.3. [o] before Syllable-Final Liquids

As in open syllables, [o] is lengthened before disarticulated syllable-final liquids (Coco § 42):

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
ŬRSU	oːr̥s̪	ɔu̯r̥s̪	bear
SŬRDU	s̪oːrd	s̪ɔu̯rd	deaf
FŬRNU	foːrnɪ	fɔu̯rni	oven
STŬRNU	s̪toːrnɪ	s̪tɔu̯rni	starling
DŬLCE	doːl̥tʃ	dɔu̯l̥tʃ	sweet
PŬLSU	poːl̥s̪	pɔu̯l̥s̪, pɔu̯ñ̪s̪	wrist
TŬRDU	turˈdɛ̯ːlɐ	tɔu̯rd	thrush

A notable exception to this tendency is [o] before secondary [i̯] (< [l]), which form a diphthong:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VŬLPE	voi̯pɐ, vui̯pɐ	fox
SŬLCU	s̪oi̯k	furrow
SŬLPHŬRE	s̪oi̯fn̪ɪ	sulfur
ŬLMU	oi̯mi, ui̯mi	elm
CŬLPA	koi̯pɐ	fault, guilt, blame
*CŌLPU	koi̯p	blow; shot; stroke
CŬLMEN	kui̯mi	roof top
*BUFŬLCU	bjʊi̯k	plowman, farm laborer

2.2.1.2.2.4. Nasalization of [o]

Diphthongization of [o] > [ɔu̯] occurs throughout the Republic before intervocalic [n], especially in the highly productive suffix -[ɔu̯ñ̪] (< -ŌNE), and before nasal + voiceless consonant clusters (Coco 19-20 n. 31; Schürr, *VR* 33):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*CARABRŌNE	bugɐˈrɔũ̯	blackbeetle
*RENIŌNE	ɐrˈɲɔũ̯	kidney
RATIŌNE	rɐˈʒɔũ̯	reason
STATIŌNE	ʂtɐˈʒɔũ̯	season
PŬLMŌNE	pɐlˈmɔũ̯	lung
PATRŌNE	pɐˈdrɔũ̯	master, boss, owner
SAPŌNE	ʂɐˈvɔũ̯	soap
LEŌNE	liɔũ̯	lion
*BŬLLĪRŌNE	buliˈrɔũ̯	confusion
PRŌMPTU	prɔũ̯̊t	ready
RŬMPĔRE	rɔũ̯̊pɐ	to break
QUAESTIŌNE	kw̥iʂˈtʃɔũ̯	question

2.2.1.2.2.5. Lowering of Closed-Syllable [o]

Like its counterpart [e], closed-syllable [o] is abbreviated and lowered, yielding [ɔ] in most of San Marino, while Serravallese shows a slightly different development. In the latter dialect, the short outcome of [o] is lowered further and centralized to [ɐ] in order to further differentiate it from the heir of original [ɔ]:[34]

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
TŬSSE	tɔʂˑɐ	tɐʂˑɐ	cough
RŬSSU	rɔʂˑ	rɐʂˑ	red
STŬPPA	ʂtɔpˑɐ	ʂtɐpˑɐ	tow
SŬBTU	ʂɔtˑɐ	ʂɐtˑɐ	under(neath), below
PŬTEU	pɔθˑ	pɐθˑ	well
BŬCCA	bɔkˑɐ	bɐkˑɐ	mouth
CRŬSTA	krɔʂˑtɐ	krɐʂˑtɐ	crust
AGŬSTU	ɐˈgɔʂˑt	ɐˈgɐʂˑt	August
MŬSCA	mɔʂˑkɐ	mɐʂˑkɐ	fly
DŬPLU	dɔpˑjɪ	dɐpˑji	double
*GŬTTIĀRE	gɔtˑʃɐ	gɐtˑʃɐ	drop

[34] Rohlfs 1: 96; Coco § 44; Schürr, *VR* 35; Delmonte § 2.1.6.

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
*DŬCTIA	dɔtˑʃɐ	dɐtˑʃɐ	roof gutter
DĬSCŬRRĔRE	ʂkɔrˑɐ	θkɐrˑɐ	to talk
TŬRRE	tɔrˑɐ	tɐrˑɐ	tower
CEPŬLLA	tʃvɔlˑɐ	tʃvɐlˑɐ	onion
BŬTTE	bɔtˑɐ	bɐtˑɐ	barrel, cask
RŬPTU	rɔtˑ	rɐtˑ	broken
*RŌCCA	rɔkˑɐ	rɐkˑɐ	distaff
MŬSTU	mɔʂˑt	mɐʂˑt	must
COGNŌSCĔRE	kⁿnɔʃˑɐ	kⁿnɐʂˑɐ	to know
RECOGNŌSCĔRE	ɐr̥kⁿnɔʃˑɐ	ɐrkⁿnɐʂˑɐ	to recognize
NŌN	nɔ	nɐ	no

The closed-syllable development appears in the originally open syllables of syncopated proparoxytones as well:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
D(U)ŌDĔCIM	dɔdˑʒ(ɪ)	dɐdˑʒ	twelve
PŬLVĔRE	pɔlˑvrɐ	pɐlˑvrɐ	dust

While syllable-final liquids normally create an open-syllable environment, the secondary sonorant + obstruent + [r] cluster in PŬLVĔRE constitutes an exception to the rule (cf. Coco 22 n. 37).

Tonic [o] is also treated as in closed syllables before original and secondary nasal geminates as well as before nasal plus voiced consonant clusters (Schürr, *VR* 33):

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
VERECŬNDIA	vergɔɲˑɐ	vɐrgɐɲˑɐ	shame, disgrace
ŬMBRA	ɔmˑbrɐ	ɐmˑbrɐ	shade
PLŬMBU	pjɔmˑb	pjɐmˑb	lead
RESPŌNDET	ɐr̥ˈʂpɔnˑd	ɐr̥ˈʂpɐnˑd	he, she answers
MŬNDU	mɔnˑd	mɐnˑd	world
FŬNDU	fɔnˑd	fɐnˑd	deep
*LŌNGU	lɔŋˑg	lɐŋˑg	long
*MŬNGĔRE	mɔnˑdʒɐ	mɐnˑdʒɐ	to milk

ŬNGĔRE	ɔnˑdʒɐ	ɐnˑdʒɐ	to grease, oil
SECŬNDA	ʒgɔnˑdɐ	ʒgɐnˑdɐ	second
BLŬND	bjɔnˑd	bjɐnˑd	blond
ŬNDA	ɔnˑdɐ	ɐnˑdɐ	wave

The short outcomes of secondary [ɛ] and [ɔ] reflect the fact that lengthening of low vowels had died out before the high-mid vowels were lowered (Repetti, "Vowel" 160 n. 7), as illustrated in the table below:

Vowel	Etymon	Lengthening of [-high] Vs	Lowering of [+high] Vs	Translation
Ĕ	FRATĔLLU	frɐˈdɛːl	frɐˈdɛ̰ːl	brother
Ē, Ĭ	SĬCCU	*sek	sɛkˑ	dry
Ŏ	ŎCTO	ɔːt	ɔːt	eight
Ō, Ŭ	CŬPPU	*kop	kɔpˑ	roofing-tile

2.2.1.2.3. [i]

Classical Latin ī yields Vulgar Latin [i]: VĪNU > [vino].

2.2.1.2.3.1. Lengthening of Open-Syllable [i]

Open-syllable [i] > [iː] (Coco § 25):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AMĪCU	ɐˈmiːg	friend
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐrˈviː	to open
VĪTE	viːdɐ	grape(vine); screw

2.2.1.2.3.2. Nasalization of [i]

When followed by an intervocalic nasal consonant, tonic [i] is lowered, merging with original [e] in the Romagnol dialects (Rohlfs § 31; Schürr, *VR* 33). This change is analogous to the lowering of primary [i] caused by nasalization in French: [vin] > [vĩ] > [vɛ̃] (Rohlfs 1: 61).

In Romagnol, the development goes back to the sixteenth century, as the *Pulon Matt* attests: FĪNE > *fen*, *ztaden* ‘cittadino’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 49; Rohlfs 1: § 30). The contemporary Central dialects are characterized by nasal [ẽː], while the ensuing falling diphthong [ẽi̯] typifies modern Lughese: VĪCĪNU > [ɐvˈʒẽi̯] ‘neighbor’ (Schürr, *VR* 34). In Southeastern Romagnol, where vocalic nasality is less pronounced, most of San Marino shows an low-mid nucleus ([ɛi̯]). Dissimilation is taken a step further in Serravallese, where the nucleus is a back vowel ([oi̯]):

Etymon	Central Romagn.	SW Samm.	Serravallese	Translation
LĪNU	lẽː	lɛi̯ñ	loi̯ñ	flax, linen
VĪNU	vẽː	vɛi̯ñ	voi̯ñ	wine
ROSMARĪNU	uʒmɐˈrẽː	ʒmɐˈrɛi̯ñ	ʒmɐˈroi̯ñ	rosemary
MARĪNU	mɐˈrẽː	mɐˈrɛi̯ñ	mɐˈroi̯ñ	Marino
SPĪNA	ʂpẽːnɐ	ʂpɛi̯ñɐ	ʂpoi̯ñɐ	fishbone
MATŪTĪNA	mɐˈtẽːnɐ	mɐtɛi̯ñɐ	mɐtoi̯ñɐ	morning
-ĪNU	θitɐˈdẽː	tʃitɐˈdɛi̯ñ	tʃitɐˈdoi̯ñ	citizen
GALLĪNA	gɐˈlẽːnɐ	gɐlɛi̯ñɐ	gɐloi̯ñɐ	hen, chicken
Arab. garˈbi	gɐrˈbẽː	gɐrˈbɛi̯ñ	gɐrˈboi̯ñ	southwest wind

2.2.1.2.3.3. Lowering of Closed-Syllable [i]

Abbreviation and lowering of closed-syllable [i] and [u] yields lower-high [ɪ] and [ʊ] in Eastern Emilian and Romagnol.[35] The Ravennate Michilesi’s early eighteenth-century sonnets normally preserve original and metaphonic *i* and *u* (*basalisch* ‘basilisco’, *lisch* ‘lische’, *Tudisch* ‘tedeschi’, *frisch* ‘freschi’, *Vicch* ‘vecchi’, *Bsucca* ‘disgrazia’, *Fnucch* ‘finocchi’), with the exception of *Fradell* ‘fratelli’ in the first sonnet (Schürr, *VR* 96 n. 1). By the end of the same century, the process of lowering is all but complete in Central Romagnol, as four sonnets composed by Jacopo Landoni, also from Ravenna, show the graphemes *e* and *o* appearing

[35] Rohlfs 1: 53; Coco § 26; Schürr, *VR* § 13; Delmonte § 2.1.1.

consistently in place of *i* and *u* (*Chrest* ‘Cristo’, *i cavell* ‘i capelli’, *i fradèll* ‘i fratelli’, *brott* ‘brutti’), with the exception of *bicch* ‘becchi, cuckolds’ (Schürr, *VR* 35, 98 n. 1). Yet another Ravennate poem, this one composed between 1770 and 1772 by Lorenzo Montanari, displays consistent lowering of closed-syllable [i u], including in oxytones: *brotta* ‘brutta’, *piò* ‘più’, *icsè* ‘così’ (Schürr, *VR* 98 n. 1). However, oscillation between *e* and *i* persists in nineteenth-century Sammarinese texts: *Um diss* ‘Mi disse’, *Am divertiss* ‘I have fun’ (P. Rossi, “Risposta” 133), *an capisc* ‘I don’t understand’ (Balsimelli 2.58), *Me av servisc* ‘I will serve you’ (Balsimelli 6.51). By the early twentieth century, *i* cedes completely to *e* (cf. Anderson), which corresponds with lower-high [ɪ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VĪS(Ĭ)TU	vɪs̪ˑt	seen
CHRĪSTU	kr̥ɪs̪ˑt	Christ
FĪXU	fɪs̪ˑ	constantly
FRĪCTU	frɪtˑ	fried
SCRĪPTU	s̪kr̥ɪtˑ	written
MĪLLE	mɪlˑ	one thousand
SPĪN(Ŭ)LA	s̪pɪlˑɐ	brooch, pin
*ERĪCIU	rɪtˑʃ	curly(-haired); curl
*BURĪCCU	brɪkˑ	donkey
FRĪGĔRE	frɪdˑʒɐ	to fry
*JĪLIU	dʒɪʎˑɪ	lily
*BĪSTIA	bɪʃˑɐ	grass snake
GRĪLLU	gɾɪlˑ	cricket
WĪFFA	gɪfˑl̥ɪ	ball (of wool, thread)
WĪTSEN	s̪kwɪθˑ	squirt, splash
CŬNĬCŬLU	kuˈne̯i̯	rabbit

As mentioned above, closed-syllable [ɪ] occurs in oxytones as well (Coco § 29):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
(EC)CU-HĪC	ɐˈkɪ	here
(EC)CU-SĪC	ɐkˈs̪ɪ	like this

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
(IL)LĪC	lɪ	there
FORUM LĪVII	furˈl̥ɪ	Forlì (toponym)
SĪC	s̪ɪ	yes
DĪE	dɪ	day
MĬHI > MĪ	mɪ	me; I
*TĪBI	tɪ	you

Tonic [i] also evolves into closed-syllable [ɪ] in front of nasal geminates and nasal plus voiced consonant clusters (Schürr, *VR* 33):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PĪNEU	pɪɲˑ	pine (tree)
PĪNEA	pɪɲˑɐ	pine cone
VĪNEA	vɪɲˑɐ	vineyard
SĪMIA	ʃɪmˑjɐ	monkey
QUĪNDĔCIM	kwɪnˑdʒ(ɪ)	fifteen

The closed-syllable outcome appears again in several paroxytones in which tonic [i] precedes a secondary geminate (Coco § 27):

Etymon	Gemination	Sammarinese	Translation
LĪMA	*limma	lɪmˑɐ	file
*PĪPA	*pippa	pɪpˑɐ	pipe
DĪCO	*diggo	dɪgˑ	I say, tell
MĪCA	*migga	mɪgˑɐ, miːgɐ	at all

Secondary posttonic consonant clusters bring about the closed-syllable development in syncopated proparoxytones as well (Schürr, *RD* 2: 76 ff.; Coco § 28):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CĪMĬCE	tʃɪmˑʒɐ	(bed)bug
ARĪMĬNĪ	rɪmˑni	Rimini (toponym)

Lower-high [ɪ] is not to be confused with the short high-mid [e] which arises in hiatus with final [a]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
THĪA	θeɐ	aunt
GĬNGĪVA	dʒindʒeɐ	gum

2.2.1.2.4. [u]

Classical Latin Ū gives Proto-Romance [u]: LŪNA > [luna].

2.2.1.2.4.1. Lengthening of Open-Syllable [u]

Open-syllable [u] > [uː] (Coco § 49):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MŪRU	muːr	wall
NŪDU	nuːd	naked
EXSŪCAT	s̬uːgɐ, ʃuːgɐ	he, she, it dries

2.2.1.2.4.2. Nasalization of [u]

Throughout Romagna, nasalization of [u] before intervocalic nasal consonants and nasal plus voiceless consonant clusters lowers the articulation of the vowel to [õ] (Rohlfs 1: 61; Schürr, *VR* 33), a development attested by Renaissance era texts. For example, spellings such as *ponto* for *punto* and *gionto* for *giunto* found in Belluzzi's *Diario autobiografico* (1535-41) document the phenomenon's presence in San Marino (Foresti 33). As for the modern dialects, Serravallese preserves both primary and secondary [uː], while Southwestern Sammarinese presents the diphthong [ɔu̯]:

Etymon	Serravallese	SW Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Serravallese	SW Sammarinese	Translation
LŪNA	luːnɐ	lɔ̰ũ̃ɐ	moon
NE-ĬPSE-ŪNU	niˈʂuːn	niˈʃɔ̰ũ̃	no one
*DĬSJEJŪNU	diˈdʒuːn	diˈdʒɔ̰ũ̃	fast, fasting
ŪNU	uːn	ɔ̰ũ̃	one
FORTŪNA	fuɻ̥tuːnɐ	furtɔ̰ũ̃ɐ	luck
cf. It. *qualcheduno*	kɛkˈ¬duːn	kɛkˈ¬dɔ̰ũ̃	someone
FŪMU	fuːn	fɔ̰ũ̃, fɔ̰ũ̃	smoke
PŬNCTA	puːn̥tɐ	pɔ̰ũ̃n̥tɐ	point, tip, end
ŬNCTU	uːn̥t	ɔ̰ũ̃n̥t	greasy, oily
NŌS > O. Rom. *nun*	nuːn	nɔ̰ũ̃	we, us
(FUNDUS) ARCHIŌNIS	ɐɻ̥ˈtʃuːn	ɐɻ̥ˈtʃɔ̰ũ̃	Riccione (toponym)

At this point it is opportune to recapitulate the developments that characterize the different nasalized vowel systems of Southwestern Sammarinese and Serravallese, since they constitute one of the major points of divergence between the two phonological systems. Only the [-high] [-front] vowels yield the same results in both varieties, with [a] being raised to [ɐ̝ː] while [ɔ] and [o] merge into the diphthong [ɔ̰ʊ̃]. The remaining vowels of the respective dialects not only produce different outcomes but also converge into incongruent arrangements. For instance, while Serravallese preserves the high articulation of primary [u], in Southwestern Sammarinese this vowel merges into [ɔ̰ʊ̃] with the other back vowels. In Serravallese the [-high] [-back] vowels [a] and [ɛ] converge into [ɐ̝ː] while [i] yields the diphthong [o̰i̯]. High-mid [e] may either join the [-high] [-back] vowels or merge with [i]. In Southwestern Sammarinese, on the other hand, all three front vowels [ɛ e i] converge into the diphthong [ɛ̰i̯]. Thus, whereas the Serravallese system is characterized by asymmetry, the Southwestern arrangement combines all three front vowels in one diphthong and all three back vowels in another. The following table illustrates this lack of conformity between the two systems:

V. L. Vowel	Serravallese	SW Sammarinese	Translation
a	kɛ̞ːm̥p	kɛ̞ːm̥p	field
ɛ	dɛ̞ːn̥t	dɛi̯ñ̥t	tooth
e	k^{n}mɛ̞ːn̥θɐ	k^{n}mɛi̯ñ̥θɐ	begin(s)
	droi̯ñ̥tɐ	drɛi̯ñ̥tɐ	inside
i	voi̯ñ	vɛi̯ñ	wine
ɔ	mɔu̯ñ̥t	mɔu̯ñ̥t	mountain
o	prɔu̯ñ̥t	prɔu̯ñ̥t	ready
u	luːnɐ	lɔu̯ñɐ	moon

2.2.1.2.4.3. Lowering of Closed-Syllable [u]

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century Sammarinese texts often preserve *u*: *[butto] > *but* 'thrown' (Balsimelli 3.50), RŪGĪRE > *ruggia* 'to roar' (13.41), FUGĔRE > *fuggia* 'to flee' (13.41), *[rubare] > *rubba* 'steal' (Foresti 180). The abbreviation and resultant centralization of closed-syllable [u] > [ʊ] is analogous to that of [i] > [ɪ]:[36]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
cf. Italian *buttare*	bʊtˑ	I, you throw; thrown
RŪGĪRE	rʊdˑʒɐ	to roar
FUGĔRE	fʊdˑʒɐ	to flee, go away
cf. Italian *rubare*	rʊbˑɐ	steal(s)
FRŪSTU	frʊs̪ˑtɐ	whip
EXSŪCTU	ʃʊtˑ, s̪ʊtˑ	dry
PRO-EXSŪCTU	prəˈʃʊtˑ	ham
*ACŪTIĔRE	gʊθˑɐ	to sharpen, point
LŪCEO	lʊtˑʃlɐ	lightning bug
MŪT(Ŭ)LU	mʊtˑʃ	heap, pile
JŪLIU	lʊi̯ˑ	July
*BRŪTTU	brʊtˑ	ugly
FRŪCTU	frʊtˑ	fruit
FRŪCTA	frʊtˑɐ	fruit
*TŪTTU	tʊtˑ	everything
RŪCTU	rʊtˑ, rui̯t	burp

[36] Rohlfs 1: 62; Coco § 51; Schürr, *VR* § 13; Delmonte § 2.1.7.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CŪN(Ŭ)LA	kʊlˑɐ	cradle
cf. Italian *ciuffo*	tʃʊfˑ	forelock
LŪCTU	lʊtˑ	mourning
VERŪCŬLU	vrʊtˑʃ	Verucchio (toponym)
cf. Italian *burro*	bʊrˑ	butter
EX-*PĬLŪCCĀRE	s̪plʊkˑ	bare
CURRĔRE	kʊrˑɐ	to run
AERŪGĬNE	rʊdˑʒnɐ	rust
*ĪNCŪGĬNE	iŋkʊdˑʒnɐ	anvil
MŪSCŬLU	mʊs̪ˑk̟li	muscle

This evolution comprises learned borrowings in which Latin Ŭ was interpreted as [u] and Italianisms featuring the anaphonetic outcome of [o]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
GŬSTU	gʊs̪ˑt	taste, flavor, pleasure
JŬSTU	dʒʊs̪ˑt	fair, right
ROBŬSTU	ruˈbʊs̪ˑt	sturdy
DŬBIU	dʊbˑji	doubt
Italian *raggiungere*	rɐdʒʊnˑdʒɐ	to catch up

Oxytones also participate in the closed-syllable development (Coco § 54):

Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
PLŪS	pjʊ	more
(IL)LŪI	luː, lʊ	he, him
SŪ(R)SU	s̪ʊ	up
IŪSU	dʒʊ	down
BLU	bˈlʊ	blue

The full articulation of the syllable-final nasal consonant is restored in nasal geminates and nasal plus voiced consonant clusters, which abbreviates and lowers the articulation of tonic [u] to [ʊ] (Schürr, *VR* 35):

Latin	Sammarinese	Translation

Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
*PRŪNEA	pr̥ʊɲːɐ	plum
ŪNDĔCIM	ʊnːdʒ(i)	eleven
JŪNIU	dʒʊɲː	June

In several instances, [ʊ] occurs in paroxytones due to gemination of the following consonant:

Etymon	Gemination	Sammarinese	Translation
ŪVA	*uvva	ʊvːɐ	grapes
CŪNA	*kunna	kʊnːɐ	cradle
VIA CŪPA	*kuvva	viː kʊvːɐ	“Deep Street” (topon.)
*LŪPU	*luppo	lʊpː, luːp	wolf

Syncope of the internal posttonic vowel also causes the appearance of short [ʊ] in original proparoxytones (Coco § 53):

Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
NŪBĬLA	nʊvːlɐ	cloud
*SŪBĔRU	s̬ʊvːri	cork
PŪLĬCE	pʊlːdʒɐ, pʊlːz̬ɐ	flea
SŪBĬTU	s̬ʊpːtɪ	immediately, at once
CUCŬLU	kʊkː	cuckoo
HŪMĬDU	ʊmːdɪ	damp, humid
NUMĔRU	nʊmːbri, ˈnʊmːərɐ	number

In addition, posttonic intervocalic [m] is intensified in paroxytones and eventually undergoes degemination, but not until after it has caused the lowering of [u] to [ʊ] (Schürr, *RD* 2: 124 ff., *VR* 33):

Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
LŪMEN	lʊmː, luːn	light, lamp
LŪMEN	lʊmːɐ	gas, oil lamp
FLŪMEN	fjʊmː, fjɔu̯ñ	river

Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
*SKLŪMA	s̬tʃʊmˑʁ	foam, froth, lather
FŪMU	fʊmˑ, fɔmˑ	smoke
PRO-FŪMĀRE	pruˈfʊmˑ	scent, aroma

2.2.1.3. The Role of Syllabic Context in Determining Vowel Length

At this point it is opportune to elaborate on the role of syllabic context in determining tonic vowel length and to summarize the principal tonic vowel outcomes.

Firstly, the rule of syllabic isochronism discussed above is also known as the *bimoraic norm*, since it required that the syllable (σ) bearing primary stress contain two *morae*, a mora (μ) being the minimal unit of syllabic quantity (Bertinetto, "Mora"). Syllabic nuclei and codae count as morae, while onsets do not. Thus, the tonic syllable took one of two structures: an open syllable containing a long vowel (V: = μμ) or a closed syllable containing a short vowel (VC = μμ).[37] For example, Proto-Italo-Romance *[oː.ra] 'hour' and *[sek.ka] 'dry' both have a bimoraic tonic syllable despite their different contours, V: and VC, respectively.

After giving rise to phonemic vowel length, the bimoraic norm became defunct in Northern Italian dialects due to apocope and degemination of consonants (Repetti, "Vowel" 155-56). As a result, bimoraic and trimoraic tonic syllables are permitted in the modern Emiliano-Romagnol prosodic system (Hajek, "How" 126 ff.), an evolution which is illustrated in the following moraic models:

SĬCCA > *[sek.ka] > [s̬ɛkˑʁ] 'dry (f.)'. In Italo-Romance *[sek.ka], the first syllable consists of an onset ([s]), a nucleus ([e] = μ), and a coda ([k] = μ). The coda for the first syllable

[37] The bimoraic norm replaced the Classical Latin system that allowed for monomoraic and trimoraic syllables in addition to bimoraic syllables. In the Classical Latin system, a monomoraic (or light) syllable is open and contains a short vowel (V = μ), as in **PĬ**-RA. A bimoraic (or heavy) syllable is either closed with a short vowel (**SĬC**-CA) or open with a long vowel (**HŌ**-RA). A trimoraic (or superheavy) syllable is closed and contains a long vowel (V:C = μμμ), as in **FRĪC**-TUS (Repetti, "Vowel" 155 n. 1; Bertinetto, "Mora").

also serves as the onset for the following syllable, whose nucleus is [a] (= μ). Following degemination, the first syllable loses its coda and, thus, a mora is eliminated: *[sek.ka] (= μμ.μ) > *[se.ka] (= μ.μ). As a result of posttonic consonant lengthening, the first syllable in Sammarinese [ʂɛkˑɐ] is bimoraic. One mora is assigned to the nucleus ([ɛ]), while the other is split between the nucleus and the coda ([kˑ]). Because the loss and recuperation of a mora do not change the number of syllables, the underlying metrical representation is unaltered (σσ > σσ).

FRĪCTU > *[frit.to] > [frɪtˑ] ‘fried (m.)’. Italo-Romance *[frit.to] has two syllables, the first consisting of an onset ([fr]), a nucleus ([i] = μ), and a coda ([t] = μ). [t] doubles as the onset for the second syllable, whose nucleus is [o] (= μ). Apocope of the final vowel leaves an unsyllabifiable mora. By parasitic delinking, the coda for the first syllable ceases to act as an onset. After stray erasure of the final mora (μμ.μ > μμ), we have one bimoraic syllable consisting of an onset ([fr]), a nucleus ([i] = μ), and a coda ([t] = μ). In this case, the loss of a mora has caused a reduction in the number of syllables and, therefore, has changed the underlying metrical representation (σσ > σ). The resulting monosyllable is trimoraic in modern Emilian and Romagnol, with two morae assigned to the nucleus ([ɪ]) and one assigned to the coda ([tˑ]).

HŌRA > *[ora] > [oːrɐ] [ɔˑu̯rɐ] ‘hour’. In Proto-Romance *[ora], the first syllable consists of the nucleus [o] (= μ), while the second syllable comprises the onset [r] and the nucleus [a] (= μ). The law of syllabic isochronism gives rise to a second mora in the tonic syllable: *[ora] (= μ.μ) > [oːra] (= μμ.μ). Since the number of syllables has not been changed, the underlying metrical representation remains the same (σσ > σσ). In modern Emilian and Romagnol, the tonic syllable is trimoraic ([oː] = μμμ).

MĂRE > *[mare] > [mɐ̯ːr] ‘sea’. Finally, in Proto-Romance *[mare], the first syllable is made up of the onset [m] plus the nucleus [a] (= μ), while the second syllable comprises the onset [r] and the nucleus [e] (= μ). The rule of syllabic isochronism adds another mora to the tonic syllable: *[mare] (= μ.μ) > [maːre] (= μμ.μ). Subsequent apocope of the final vowel leaves an unsyllabifiable mora. No longer serving as an onset, the final consonant is detached from the stranded mora by parasitic delinking. Following resyllabification of the final consonant and stray erasure, a single bimoraic syllable is left: [maːre] (= μμ.μ) > *[maːr] (μμ). Both morae are linked to the nucleus, while the second mora is shared by the coda. The loss of a mora has caused a reduction in the number of syllables and, therefore, an alteration in the underlying metrical representation (σσ > σ). The resulting monosyllable is trimoraic in modern Emilian and Romagnol, with all three morae assigned to the nucleus ([ɐ̯ː]), one of which is split with the coda ([r]).

The fact that apocope does not affect the evolution of tonic vowels in Emilian and Romagnol differentiates these varieties from other Northern Italian dialects, such as Friulian and Milanese (Repetti, “Vowel” 162 ff.). In the latter varieties, apocope triggers compensatory lengthening of tonic vowels (ACĒTU > Friulian [aˈzeːt] ‘vinegar’, SŌLU > Milanese [søːl] ‘alone (m.)’), while long vowels do not occur in unapocopated words (CRŪDA > Friulian [krude] ‘raw (f.)’, SŌLA > Milanese [søla] ‘alone (f.)’). As far as vowel length is concerned, the following Sammarinese outcomes are representative of Emilian and Romagnol (Repetti, “Vowel” 159):

Vowel, Syllabic Context	Non-Apocopated	Apocopated
ī[> [iː]	*FATĪCA >[fɐdiːgɐ] ‘fatigue’	FĪLU > [fiːl] ‘thread’
ī] > [ɪ]	FRĪCTA > [frɪtˑɐ] ‘fried (f.)’	FRĪCTU > [frɪtˑ] ‘fried (m.)’
ū[> [uː]	NŪDA > [nuːdɐ] ‘nude (f.)’	SŪCU > [s̪uːg] ‘sauce’

Vowel, Syllabic Context	Non-Apocopated	Apocopated
Ū] > [ʊ]	EXSŪCTA > [ʂʊtˑɐ] ‘dry (f.)’	FŪSTE[38] > [fʊʂˑt] ‘stalk’
Ĭ/Ē[> [eː]	APOTHĒCA > [buteːgɐ] ‘store’	PĬLU > [peːl] ‘hair’
Ĭ/Ē] > [ɛ]	SĬCCA > [ʂɛkˑɐ] ‘dry (f.)’	PĬSCE > [pɛʂˑ] ‘fish’
Ŭ/Ō[> [oː]	HŌRA > [oːrɐ] ‘hour’	SARTŌRE > [ʂɐɾ̥ˈtoːr] ‘tailor’
Ŭ/Ō] > [ɔ]	TŬSSE > [tɔsˑɐ] ‘cough’	*CŬPPU > [kɔpˑ] ‘roofing-tile’
Ĕ[> [ɛ̯ː eː]	FĔBRE > [fɛ̯ːvrɐ] ‘fever’	GĔLU > [d͡ʒeːl] ‘ice’
Ĕ] > [ɛ̯ː]	TĔRRA > [tɛ̯ːrɐ] ‘land’	SĔPTE > [ʂɛ̯ːt] ‘seven’
Ŏ[> [ɔː]	RŎTA > [rɔːdɐ] ‘wheel’	NŎVE > [nɔːv] ‘nine’
Ŏ] > [ɔː]	NŎCTE > [nɔːtɐ] ‘night’	ŎSSU > [ɔːʂ] ‘bone’
A[> [ɛ̯ː]	PLAGA > [pjɛ̯ːgɐ] ‘sore’	NASU > [nɛ̯ːz̪] ‘nose’
A] > [aː]	VACCA > [vaːkɐ] ‘cow’	SAXU > [ʂaːʂ] ‘stone’

As the table above recapitulates, the bimoraic norm gives rise to long vowels in all original open tonic syllables, irrespective of vowel height. With few exceptions, long vowels derive from the original [-high] vowels [ɛ a ɔ] regardless of syllabic contour, although different vowel qualities often arise in open and closed syllables. Short vowels occur only in original closed tonic syllables containing a [+high] tonic vowel, i.e. [i e o u]. In other words, the outcomes of the [+high] vowels are long in original open syllables, in accordance with the bimoraic rule, and short in original closed syllables. The exceptions to the generalities outlined above are low-mid [ɛ ɔ] before 1) nasal geminates and nasal + voiced consonant clusters, 2) in syncopated proparoxytones, as well as 3) in oxytones, where these vowels yield short outcomes:

Syllabic Context	Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
1	MERĔNDA	mrɛnˑdɐ	afternoon snack
	SŎMNIU	ʂɔɲˑ, ʂɐɲˑ	dream
2	TĔPĬDU	tɛvˑdɪ	lukewarm, tepid
	ASTRŎLŎGU	ʂtrɔlˑgɪ, ʂtrɐlˑgi	fortune-teller
3	PĔDE	pɛ	foot
	BŎVE	bɐ	ox

[38] In Emilian and Romagnol, [s] plus consonant clusters are heterosyllabic (Repetti, “Vowel” 159 n. 4), meaning the two segments are separated by a syllabic boundary (Loporcaro, “Eterosillabico/tautosillabico”).

2.2.2. Atonic Vowels

In atonic syllables, the Classical Latin vowels merge into the following Italic outcomes (Dardano 76):

Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin
Ī	i
Ĭ, Ē, Ĕ	e
Ă, Ā	a
Ŏ, Ō, Ŭ	o
Ū	u

While stressing and lengthening tonic syllables, the dynamic accent concomitantly relaxes atonic syllables. This leads to the loss of unstressed vowels throughout Gallo-Italic, with notable exceptions being word-final [a] and pretonic word-internal [a] (Schürr, *Probleme* 106). However, nowhere is the loss of atonic vowels more extensive than in Romagnol. Whereas apocope of final vowels is typical of Gallo-Italic, pervasive syncope—caused by particularly emphatic stress of the tonic syllable—sets Romagnol apart (Delmonte § 2.3).

2.2.2.1. Posttonic Vowels

2.2.2.1.1. Word-Final Vowels

2.2.2.1.1.1. [a]

Because it is the lowest and thus most sonorous vowel, final [ɐ] is generally preserved throughout Northern Italy (Rohlfs 1: 176; Coco § 57): DŎM(Ĭ)NA > [dɔːnɐ] ‘woman’. However, when it is in hiatus with a preceding tonic vowel, the Romagnol varieties northwest of the Marecchia drop final -A (Coco § 60), whereas those to the southeast preserve it. The isogloss for this variation cuts through the Republic of San Marino, where the Southwestern dialects

consistently maintain final -a while Serravallese tends to show the typical Romagnol outcome, although not without oscillation:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
*SŎA	ʂuˑɐ	ʂuː	his, her(s), its, their(s)
*TŎA	tuˑɐ	tuː	your(s)
AVE MARIA	ɐvemɐˈriˑɐ	unmɐˈriː	Hail Mary
MĚA	miˑɐ	miː	my, mine

2.2.2.1.1.2. Apocope of [i e o u]

Final vowels other than [a] constitute the first group of atonic vowels to be dropped in the Gallo-Italic dialects. Although the period during which they are lost can not be determined with precision, we do know that apocope of final vowels precedes the composition of the oldest texts. One indication of the phenomenon's occurrence is the hypercorrect restoration of final *-e* in fifteenth-century texts, namely Corbelli and Novacula's Forlivese chronicles (*quelli Riminese, multe di li soi signure, anne* 'anno/anni'; Schürr, *VR* 45) as well as Pier Francesco da Faenza's *Commedia nuova* (*i servidure, a fazze* 'io faccio'; Schürr, *VR* 65 n. 1). Modern Sammarinese offers the following examples:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*MĒ(N)SĪ	miːʐ̟	months
*MŎRĪRE	muˈriː	to die
APRĪLE	ɐˈvriːl	April
BĚNE	bɛi̯ñ	well
BRACHIU	braːtʃ	arm
CABALLU	kɐˈvaːl	horse
CANE	kɛ̟ːn	dog
CLAMO	tʃɛ̟ːm	I, you call
FLŪMEN	fjʊmˑ	river
GALLĪ	gaːl	roosters
GALLU	gaːl	rooster
LĚGĬT	lɛ̟ːdg	he, she reads

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MANU	mɛ̯ːnɐ	hand
MĒ(N)SE	meːz̯	month
MŎRIO(R)	mɔːr	I, you, he, they die
MŎRTĪ	muːrt	the dead
ŎCTO	ɔːt	eight
PĬRU	peːr	pear tree
SALE	s̯ɛ̯ːl	salt
SECŪRU	s̯iˈguːrɐ	certainly, definitely
SĔPTEM	s̯ɛ̯ːt	seven
TRABE	trɛ̯ːv	beam
TRĒDĔCIM	trɛdˑʒ	thirteen

As a result of apocope, the original final atonic vowel system (/u/-/o/-/a/-/e/-/i/) is reduced to Ø-/a/ in most of Northern Italy (Maiden 154). In Sammarinese, -Ø → -[ɪ] or -[i] in the contexts described below.

2.2.2.1.1.3. Paragoge after Apocope

Apocope of final vowels sometimes creates unsyllabifiable word-final consonant clusters, especially those ending in a sonorant or [v] and those combining a liquid with a nasal. Two different solutions for resyllabifying these clusters distinguish the Romagnol varieties spoken in the plain northwest of the Marecchia from those in the Apennines and southeast of the river. Whereas the northern dialects resyllabify word-final consonant clusters by introducing an anaptyctic vowel between the two consonants (VĬTRU > [veːdɐr] ‘glass’), the southern varieties show paragoge (Schürr, *Probleme* 107, *VR* 44-45). Modern Sammarinese usually presents word-final [ɪ] or [i] after the consonant cluster:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*PŬLLĬTRU	puleːdrɪ	colt
CŎRNU	kɔːrnɪ	horn

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DECĔMBER	ditʃɛmˈbri	December
FĬRMU	fɛ̰ːrmɪ	still
FŬRNU	foːrnɪ	oven
HIBĔRNU	iɱvɛ̰ːrnɪ	winter
ĬNFĔRNU	iɱfɛ̰ːrnɪ	hell
LABRU	aːbrɪ	lip
LATRO	lɛ̰ːdrɪ	thief
MACRU	mɛ̰ːgrɪ	lean
MARMO(R)	mɛ̰ːrmɪ	marble
MĔR(Ŭ)LU	mɛ̰ːrlɪ	blackbird
OCTŌBRE	utoːbrɪ	October
QUADRU	kwɛ̰ːdrɪ	square; picture, painting
QUATTUOR	kwaːtri	four
SALVU	s̬ɛ̰ːlvɪ	safe
SĔMPER	s̬ɛi̯m̃prə	always
ŬLMU	oi̯mi	elm
VĬTRU	viːdri	glass

According to Schürr (*Probleme* 108, *VR* § 22), the southern solution results from the partial adaptation of Romagnol prosody to that of Tuscan, beginning with full force in the fifteenth century as Florence's political, economic, and thus linguistic influence grew.

2.2.2.1.2. Syncope of Posttonic Ă, Ĕ, Ĭ, Ŏ, and Ŭ

An analogous geographical dichotomy characterizes the treatment of original proparoxytones in Romagnol, which undergo syncope of the internal posttonic vowel throughout the linguistic group.[39] However, the different prosodic conditions which affirm themselves within the territory of the Exarchate proper and that of the Pentapolis lead to divergent evolutions of proparoxytones on opposite sides of the Marecchia River.

[39] Rohlfs 1: 172, 188; Schürr, *Probleme* 107-8, *VR* § 22; Coco §§ 64-67; Delmonte § 2.3.2.

In most Gallo-Italic varieties, original proparoxytones are reduced to paroxytones by apocope of the final vowel, an occurrence which Schürr ascribes to the force of the intensive accent waning at an early stage (*VR* 44). For example, Ferrarese, a typical Emilian dialect in this respect, is characterized by the loss of the final vowel along with the preservation of the internal posttonic vowel in proparoxytones: SĬLVATĬCU > [s̪ɐlˈvadɐg] ‘wild’, TĔPĬDU > [ˈtevɐd] ‘lukewarm’, TRĔDECIM > [ˈtredɐs̪] ‘thirteen’. (As indicated by the outcomes of intervocalic consonants in the preceding examples, apocope is a more recent phenomenon than the sonorization of voiceless stops.) The Ferrarese outcomes presuppose a descending stress pattern in which the median syllable bore secondary stress ($^{1}\sigma^{2}\sigma\sigma$) and thus was preserved to the detriment of the final syllable (> $^{1}\sigma^{2}\sigma$).

South of the Reno River in the dialects of the Exarchate proper, the stage preserved in Ferrarese is followed by syncope of the remaining posttonic vowel. Thus, original proparoxytones yield oxytones (> $^{1}\sigma$) in varieties such as Forlivese: [s̪ɐmˈbe̯ɑ̯dˀk], [ˈte̯ivt]. Therefore, the loss of atonic vowels is a far more sweeping phenomenon in Romagnol than in other Northern Italian dialects, since not only final vowels but also posttonic internal vowels, including -a-, are eliminated.

In the southeastern region between the Marecchia and Foglia rivers, the Romagnol treatment of proparoxytones comes into contact with the alternating stress pattern of Tuscan, particularly in the fifteenth century as the sphere of Florentine political, economic, and linguistic influence grows. Within the Pentapolis, the final syllable bore secondary stress ($^{1}\sigma\sigma^{2}\sigma$), as in Italian [ˈtjɛ.piˌdo]. Consequently, southeast of the Marecchia syncope of original proparoxytones yields paroxytones with a paragogic vowel (> $^{1}\sigma^{2}\sigma$), as typified by Sammarinese [s̪ɐ̯iˈbaːdˀgi] and [ˈtɛvˑdi]. The conflict between the Romagnol and Tuscan stress patterns in this area is

exemplified by oscillation between variants with and without a paragogic vowel, particularly in the cardinal numerals 11-16 (Schürr, *Probleme* 107-8, *VR* 46):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ŪNDĚCIM	ʊnˈdʒ(ɪ)	eleven
D(U)ŌDĚCIM	dɔdˈʒ(ɪ)	twelve
TRĒDĚCIM	trɛdˈʒ(ɪ)	thirteen
QUATT(U)ŎRDĚCIM	kwɐtɔːrdʒ(ɪ)	fourteen
QUĪNDĚCIM	kwɪnˈdʒ(ɪ)	fifteen
SĒDĚCIM	s̻ɛdˈʒ(ɪ)	sixteen

In addition to the aforementioned numerals, the dialects of San Marino present an abundance of original proparoxytones lacking internal posttonic vowels:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*SŪBĚRU	s̻uːgrɪ	cork
FRAGŬLA	frɛ̻ːglɐ	strawberry
FŪLĪGĬNE	fuliːʒnɐ	soot
Germanic *ALISNO	leːz̻nɐ, loi̯z̻nɐ	awl
LĬTTĚRA	lɛtˈrɐ	letter
MACHĬNA	mɛ̻ːʒnɐ	grindstone, millstone
MANDŬLA	maːndˡlɐ	almond
PAUPĚRU	pɔːri	poor
PĬPĔRE	peːvrɪ, poi̯vri	pepper
QUARĒSĬMA	kwɐreːz̻mɐ, kwɐroi̯z̻mɐ	Lent
SAETŬLA	s̻eːdˡlɐ	bristle
TABŬLA	tɛ̻ːvlɐ	table
ŪBĚRES	ʊvˈrɪ	udders
CARĬCU	kɛːrg	loaded

Prior to syncope, intertonic [i] (< -ĭ-, -Ĕ-) and [u] (< -ŭ-, -ŏ-) appear to have triggered metaphony in the following proparoxytones (cf. *miert* < MĚRĬTU [*PM* 1.33.2; Schürr, *RD* 1: 60]):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*CŬTĬCA	kʊdˈ˺gɐ	pork rind
*FŎRBĬCES	fuːrbˈ˺z̻i, fruːbˈ˺z̻i	scissors
CĬRC(Ŭ)LU	tʃiːr̥tʃ	circle

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CLĒRĬCA	tʃiːrgɐ	tonsure, bald patch
CŬBĬTU	gʊmˑtɪ	elbow
DŎMNŬLA	dʊnˑdˡlɐ	weasel
JENĬPĔRU	dʒniːprɪ	juniper
JŬVĔNE	dʒuːvni	young
LĔPŎRE	liːvri	hare
MĔRCŬRI (DIES)	miːrkˡli	Wednesday
PĔCŎRA	piːgrɐ	sheep
PĔRSĬCA	piːʐ̬gɐ	peach
PŎRTĬCU	puːrg	porch, portico
PRĔSBYTER	priːt	priest
SĔLĪNU	ʂ̬ɪrˑlɪ	celery
TŎRŬLU	tuːrli, tuːrlɪ	egg yolk

Syncope of posttonic vowels combined with apocope of final vowels gives rise to unsyllabifiable consonant clusters in word-final position. Like the primary consonant clusters that end up in word-final position after apocope of a final vowel, southeast of the Marecchia River these secondary clusters require paragoge of a vowel (Schürr, *VR* 45), which is usually [ɪ] or [i] in Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*FŎRBĬCES	frɔbˑˀʐ̬ɪ	scissors
*LĔVĬTU	lɛvˑdɪ	yeast
*SŪBĔRU	ʂ̬ʊvˑri	cork
ARBŎRE	ɛ̰ːlbrɪ, oi̯̊bri	tree
ASPARĂGU	ʂ̬pɛ̰ːrglɪ	asparagus
ASTRŎLŎGU	ʂ̬trɐlˑgi	fortune-teller
CŬBĬTU	gʊmˑtɪ	elbow
DĒBĬLE	deːbˡlɪ	weak
DĒBĬTU	dɛpˑˀti	debt
DIABŎLU	djɛ̰ːvlɪ	devil
EPĬSCŎPU	vɛʂ̬ˑkwɪ	bishop
GĔNĔRU	dʒɛnˑdrɪ	son-in-law
HŎMĬNES	ɔmˑnɪ	men

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
HŪMĬDU	ʊmˑdɪ	damp, moist, humid
Italian [teˈlɛːfono]	təlɛ̯ːfni	telephone
JENĬPĔRU	dʒniːprɪ	juniper
JŬVĔNE	dʒuːvni	young
LĔPŎRE	liːvri	hare
MANĬCA	maːŋgɪ	handle
MAXĬMU	maːʂ̯mi	limit
PAUPĔRU	pɔːri	poor
PĔCTĬNE	pɛ̯ːtⁿnɪ	comb
PĬPĔRE	peːvrɪ, poi̯vri	pepper
SABBĂTU	ʂ̯aːbˈdɪ	Saturday
SĔLĬNU	ʂ̯eːdⁿnɪ, ʂ̯ɪrˑlɪ	celery
SĬLVATĬCU	ʂ̯ɐi̯baːdˈgi	wild
SPĪCŬLU	ʂ̯piːgˈlɪ	clove
STŎMĂCHU	ʂ̯tɔmˑgɪ, ʂ̯tɐmˑgi	stomach
SŪBĬTU	ʂ̯ʊpˑtɪ	immediately
SŬLPHŬRE	ʂ̯oi̯fnɪ	sulfur
TĔPĬDU	tɛvˑdɪ	lukewarm, tepid
ŪBĔRES	ʊvˑrɪ	udders
VĪCŬLU	vɪkˑlɪ	alley
VĬDŬU	vɛdˑˈvɪ	widower

In the following proparoxytones, syncope has caused an originally open-syllable vowel to develop within a closed-syllable context:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*CŬTĬCA	kʊdˑˈgɐ	pork rind
*FŎRBĬCES	frɔbˑˈʐ̯ɪ	scissors
*LĔVĬTU	lɛvˑdɪ	yeast
*SŪBĔRU	ʂ̯ʊvˑri	cork
AERŪGĬNE	rʊdˑʒnɐ	rust
ANĂTE	aːndrɐ	duck
ANĬMA	aːlmɐ	marrow
ASTRŎLŎGU	ʂ̯trɐlˑgi	fortune-teller
CAMĂRA	kaːmrɐ	room
CANĂPA	kaːŋvɐ	hemp

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CĪMĬCE	tʃɪmˑʒɐ	(bed)bug
CĬNĔRE	tʃɛnˑdrɐ	ash(es)
CŬBĬTU	gʊmˑtɪ	elbow
D(Ŭ)ŌDĔCIM	dɔdˑʒ, dɐdˑʒ	twelve
DĒBĬTU	dɛpˑˀti	debt
DOMĬNĬCA (DIES)	dmɛŋgɐ	Sunday
FĒMĬNA	fɛmˑnɐ	female
GĔNĔRU	dʒɛnˑdrɪ	son-in-law
HŎMĪNES	ɔmˑnɪ	men
HŪMĬDU	ʊmˑdɪ	damp
ĬNCŪDĬNE	iŋkʊdˑʒnɐ	anvil
JŬVĔNE	dʒɐmˑni	young
MANĬCA	maːŋgɐ	sleeve
MANĬCU	maːŋgɪ	handle
NUMĔRU	nʊmˑbri	number
PŪLĬCE	pʊlˑdʒɐ	flea
PŬLVĔRE	pɔlˑvrɐ, pɐlˑvrɐ	powder, dust
SĒDĔCIM	s̬ɛdˑʒ	sixteen
SĔLĬNU	s̬ɪrˑlɪ	celery
SĬLVATĬCU	s̬ɐ̯ibaːdˑˀgi	wild
STŎMĂCHU	s̬tɔmˑgɪ, s̬tɐmˑgi	stomach
SŪBĬTU	s̬ʊpˑˀtɪ	immediately
TĔPĬDU	tɛvˑdɪ	lukewarm, tepid
TRĒDĔCIM	trɛdˑʒ	thirteen
ŪBĔRES	ʊvˑrɪ	udders
VĪCŬLU	vɪkˑlɪ	alley
VĬDŬA	vɛdˑvɐ	widow
VĬDŬU	vɛdˑvɪ	widower

The noticeable exception to the aforementioned treatment of proparoxytones is the infinitive of the third conjugation. Central Romagnol presents its normal development, syncope followed by vowel anaptyxis (MĬTTĔRE > [mɛtˑɐr] ‘to put’), while Sammarinese shows the passage of -ĔRE > -[ɐ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MĬTTĔRE	mɛtˑɐ	to put
*ĔSSĔRE	ɛ̣ːs̻ɐ	to be
CRĒSCĔRE	krɛʃˑɐ	to grow
*CŪRRĔRE	kʊrˑɐ	to run
*PLACĔRE	piːʒɐ	to please
MĔTĔRE	mɛ̣ːdɐ	to reap, harvest
FRĪGĔRE	frɪdˑʒɐ	to fry
RĪDĔRE	riːdɐ	to laugh
RESPŎNDĔRE	ɐrs̻pɔnˑdɐ	to answer
*MŬLGĔRE	mɔnˑdʒɐ	to milk
ŬNGĔRE	ɔnˑdʒɐ	to grease, oil
CRĒDĔRE	kreːdɐ	to believe
CŎCĔRE	kɔːʒɐ	to cook

We would expect third conjugation verbs to end in a consonant + [r] + a paragogic vowel like the other original proparoxytones (cf. French *mettre*). The Sammarinese outcome suggests that the descending stress pattern of Central Romagnol also existed southeast of the Marecchia and that apocope of final -r in infinitives preceded the triumph of the alternating stress pattern: MĬTTĔRE > *[mɛtˑɐr] > [mɛtˑɐ]. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the historically urban dialect of San Marino shows sporadic instances of original proparoxytones ending in a vowel plus a consonant: GĔNĔRU > [dʒɛnˑer] ‘son-in-law’, PERĪCŬLU > [periːkul] ‘danger’, *ENCLAUSTRU > [iŋ̊tʃɔːs̻ter] ‘ink’, CASŬLAE > [kɛ̣ːz̻ul] ‘Casole’ (toponym). By the time the prosodic pattern of Borderline Romagnol had prevailed, third conjugation infinitives no longer had a final -r to resyllabify ([mɛtˑɐ]). In contrast, the other original proparoxytones had maintained secondary word-final -r and thus resyllabified: GĔNĔRU > [dʒɛnˑer] > [dʒɛnˑdrɪ].

2.2.2.2. Pretonic Vowels

2.2.2.2.1. Internal-Syllable Pretonic Vowels

2.2.2.2.1.1. Preservation of [ɐ]

Romagnol maintains pretonic internal [ɐ] (Coco § 68), including when it occurs in the conjugation of the future tense, as attested in the fifteenth-century correspondence of Marino Calcigni: *trovarà*, *mandarà*, *demostrarà* (Foresti 28). The following table illustrates the preservation of pretonic internal [ɐ] in modern Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MANDUCARE HABEO	mɐɲɐˈrɔ	I will eat
JOCARE HABES	dʒugɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will play
CLAMARE HABET	tʃɐmɐˈraˑ	he, she will call
cf. It. *chiacchierare*	tʃɐkɐˈrɛ̰ː	to chat
cf. It. *chiacchierone*	tʃɐkɐˈrɔũ̯ñ	chatterbox

2.2.2.2.1.2. Syncope of [e] and [i]

On the other hand, pretonic internal-syllable [e] and [i] tend to fall (Coco § 69; Delmonte § 2.3.2), particularly if the resultant consonant cluster begins or ends with a continuant:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ASPĔCTĀRE	ɐs̻pˀˈtɛ̰ː	to wait (for)
*ŬMBĬLĪCŬLU	bliːg	navel
*LUSCINIŎLU	ruz̻ˈɲuːl	nightingale
RUMIGĀRE	rumˈgiː	to ruminate
SEPTIMĀNA	s̻tⁿmɛ̰ːnɐ	week
MACHĬNĀRE	mɐʒˈnɛ̰ː	to grind, mill
MACĔRĀRE	mɐʒˈrɛ̰ː	to soak, steep
*ROSĬCĀRE	ruz̻ˈgɛ̰ː	to nibble, gnaw
CARĬCĀRE	kɐrˈgɛ̰ː	to load

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MACELLARIU	mɐtʃˈlɛ̯ːr	butcher
SEMĬNĀRE	ʂimˈnɛ̯ː	to sow
*METĬTŌRE	midˈdoːr	reaper

However, the internal-syllable vowel is preserved in order to avoid the formation of unsyllabifiable consonant clusters: HOSPĬTĀLE > [uʂpiˈdɛ̯ːl] ‘hospital’. Constraints on consonant clusters and syllable structure as well as their relationship with vowel deletion and epenthesis are yet to be defined exhaustively.

2.2.2.2.1.3. Raising of [o]

Vulgar Latin [o] is raised to [u] when it is atonic (Coco § 70):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CARBONARIU	kɐrbuˈnɛ̯ːr	coal merchant
RENŎVĀRE	ɐrnuˈvɛ̯ː	to put on for the first time
REPAUSĀRE	ɐrpuŋ̊ˈʂɛ̯ː	to rest
SŬFFOCĀRE	ʂufuˈgɛ̯ː	to choke, suffocate
EXCŎRTĬCĀRE	ʂkurˈgɛ̯ː, ʂkurˈgiː	to skin
RECŎRDĀRI	ɐrkurˈdɛ̯ː	to remind, (pron.) remember

2.2.2.2.2. Initial-Syllable Pretonic Vowels

2.2.2.2.2.1. Word-Initial [a]

While initial-syllable [ɐ] is generally preserved, aphaeresis of word-initial [ɐ] occurs in several instances (Coco § 72). The phenomenon takes place in nouns and with oscillation in verbs (see Vitali § 9.3). Aphaeresis is the result of discretion in verbs, where a- is absorbed by the subject clitic (*a, la*), the auxiliary verb (*ha*), or a preposition (*a, da*):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ASPARĂGU	ʂpɛːrgˈlɪ	asparagus
ASTRŎLŎGU	ʂtrɐlˑgi	fortune-teller
AXŬNGIA	ʂɔnˑðlɐ	dirty, filthy
APĔRTU	vɛːɾt	open
*MATTEA	(ɐ)mɐˈθɛː	to slaughter, kill
*ASPĔCTĀRE	(ɐ)ʂpiˈtɛː	to wait (for)
*ACŪTIĔRE	gʊθˑ	to sharpen, point
ACCĔNDĔRE	(ɐ)tʃɛnˑdɐ	to light; turn on

2.2.2.2.2.2. Initial-Syllable [e]

Initial-syllable [e] often falls, whether or not it is word-initial (Coco § 73). Word-internal [e] is dropped particularly when the resultant consonant cluster includes a continuant:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*FENŎC(Ŭ)LU	fnɔːtʃ	fennel
*GENŎC(Ŭ)LU	ʐnɔːtʃ	knee
*MENAKJA	mnaːtʃɐ	grape juice
*MĬNĀRE	mnɛː	to hit
*PEDŎC(Ŭ)LU	bˈdɔːtʃ	louse
*SEC-ŌNE	ʐgɔo̯ñ	two-man saw
*VECĪNU	vʒiːn	neighbor
DECEM AC NŎVEM	ʐnɔːv	nineteen
DEMANDAT	dⁿmaːndɐ	he, she asks
DEMĀNE	dⁿmɛːn	tomorrow
DĬSCALCEU	ʂkɛːlθ	barefoot(ed)
ECCU-ĬLLA DŎMĬNA	klɐ dɔːnɐ	that woman
EXSŪCĀRE	ʂuˈgɛː	to dry
GELĀRE	dʒlɛː	to freeze
GELĀTU	ʐlɛːd	frozen, icy
GENĔSTA	dʒnɛːʂtrɐ	broom plant
JENĬPĔRU	dʒniːprɪ	juniper
JENUARIU	dʒnɛːr	January
MELŌNE	mlɔo̯ñ	melon, muskmelon
PĬLĀTU	plɛːd	bald
SAETACIU	ʂtaːtʃɐ	sieve

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SEMĚNTE	ʐmɛi̯ñ̊tɐ	seeds
SENIŌRE	ʂɲɔu̯r	gentleman
SEPTIMĀNA	sʈ^{n}mɛ̯ːnɐ	week
SĬCCĀRE	ʂkɛ̯ː	to dry (up)
TELARIU	tˈlɛ̯ːr	loom
TENAC(Ŭ)LAE	t^{n}naːi̯	pincers
TENĒRE	t^{n}niː	to hold; keep
VECTŪRA	ftuːrɐ	coach
VĔNĪRE	mniː	to come
VESSĪCA	pˈʃiːgɐ	bladder

When the loss of pretonic [e] creates unsyllabifiable word-initial consonant clusters, especially those beginning with a sonorant, prothesis of [ɐ] enables resyllabification. This development is particularly evident in verbs beginning with the preposition RE- (Rohlfs 1: 472). Nicolao Antonio's fifteenth-century letter documents the extension of paragogic [ɐ] to the written language (*m'aracomando* 'mi raccomando' [Foresti 31]), while modern Sammarinese offers the following examples:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
LĬGĀRE	ɐlˈgɛ̯ː	to tie (up), bind
RENŎVĀRE	ɐrnuˈvɛ̯ː	to put on for the first time
RESPŎNDĚRE	ɐrʂpɔnˑdɐ	to answer
REPAUSĀRE	ɐrpun̥ˈʂɛ̯ː	to rest
REDUCTU	ɐrˈdʊtˑ	reduced
*RECŎLLĬGĚRE	ɐrˈkɔːjɐ	to pick up
*RENIŌNE	ɐrˈɲɔu̯ñ	kidney
*RECORDĀRE	ɐrkurˈdɛ̯ː	to remember
*COMPTIĀRE	ɐrkun̥ˈtʃɛ̯ː	to tan
DE DĪE	ɐd ˈdɪ	by day
DE NŌS	ɐd ˈnɔu̯ñ	about us
NEPŌTE	ɐŋˈvɔˑu̯d	nephew; grandson
VENĪRE	ɐmˈniː	to come
ECCU-SĪC	ɐkˈʂɪ	like this

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*DEPANĀRE	ɐdvɐˈnɛ̰ː	to wind into a ball
*REBATT(U)ĔRE	ɐrbaːtɐ	to beat again
*REGIMĔNTĪ	ɐrdʒˈmiːn̰t	equipment
*REMISCITĀRE	ɐrmiʂˈtiː	to mix, blend
REPARĀRE	ɐrpɐˈrɛ̰ː	to repair
RESOLĀRE	ɐrʂuˈlɛ̰ː	to resole
*REABANTIĀRE	ɐrvɐn̰ˈθɛ̰ː	to remain
*REVOLTĀRE	ɐrvul̰ˈtɛ̰ː	to turn again, turn over

Central Romagnol and Bolognese resolve secondary consonant + sonorant + consonant clusters in an analogous fashion, that is to say by anaptyxis of [ɐ] before the sonorant. Sammarinese, on the other hand, favors the sequence consonant + sonorant + [i]:

Etymon	Bolognese	Sammarinese	Translation
PER DUO	pɐr duː	pri dʊ	for two
*CREDŪTU	kɐrˈdʊ	kriˈduː(d)	believed
*CRESCEŪTU	kɐrˈʂʊ	kriˈʂuː(d)	grown
CREPĀRE	kɐrˈpɛ̰ːr	kriˈpɛ̰ː	to crack, split
*CARNE-LEVĀMEN	kɐrɐŋˈvɛ̰ːl	kɐrniˈvɛ̰ːl	carnival
TREMĀRE	tɐrˈmɛ̰ːr	triˈmɛ̰ː	to tremble

However, [ɐ] is often the outcome of [e] before original syllable-final sonorants:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MERCĀTU	mɐrˈkɛ̰ː	market
cf. Italian *merluzzo*	mɐrˈlʊθˑ	cod
SENTĪRE	ʂɐn̰ˈtiː	to hear; feel; smell
CER(Ĕ)BĔLLU	tʃɐrˈvɛ̰ːl	brain
CĬRCĀRE	tʃɐrˈkiː	to look for
PERTĬCARIU	pɐrˈgɛ̰ːr	plow
*PERGULARIA	pɐrguˈlɛ̰ːr	pergola
VER(Ĕ)CŬNDIA	vɐrgɐŋˑɐ	shame, disgrace
*STERNŪTU	ʂtɐrˈnuːd	sneeze
SĬNGŬLTU	ʂɐnˈdʒɔθˑ, ʂɐŋˈgɔθˑ	hiccup

As in much of Italo-Romance, [i] is the other typical outcome of initial-syllable pretonic [e] (Rohlfs 1: § 130):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CĬRCĀRE	tʃiɾˈkiː	to look for
*TEMPĔSTA	timpɛːstɐ	hail
SECŪRU	siˈguːrɐ	certainly, definitely
VĬNDĒMIA	vindɛmˑjɐ	grape harvest
VIGINTI ŪNU	vinˈtɔ̃ũ̃	twenty-one
VĔSP-ŌNE	viˈprɔ̃ũ̃	bumble-bee
VESTĪTU	viˈtiːd	dress; suit
GĬNGĪVA	dʒindʒeɐ	gum
SEMĬNĀRE	simˈnɛː	to sow
SENTĪRE	sinˈtiː	to hear; feel; smell
SEM(Ĭ)TERIU	siˈtiːr	path
ME(DIE)TĀTE	miˈtaː	half
AESTĀTE	instɛːdɐ	summer
MĬ(NI)STERIU	miˈtiːr	trade, profession
NE-ĬPSE-ŪNU	niˈʃɔ̃ũ̃	no one
*MĬTTĒTIS	miˈtiː(d)	you (pl.) put
CER(Ĕ)BĔLLU	tʃirˈvɛːl	brain
VĪDĒMUS	viˈdɪmˑ	we see
*ASPĔCTĀRE	spiˈtɛː	to wait (for)

Raising to [i] is favored over deletion when the latter would create unsyllabifiable consonant clusters made up of three-consonants, non-homorganic combinations such as -vd- and -mt-, as well as nasal + obstruent clusters such as -ns-.

2.2.2.2.2.3. Initial-Syllable [o]

Parallel to the raising of pretonic [e] > [i], initial-syllable [o] typically yields [u] throughout Romagna (Rohlfs 1: § 131; Coco § 75):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*CORIĀMEN	kuˈrɛːm	leather
*HOSPĬTĀLE	uspiˈdɛːl	hospital

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*LON(GI)TĀNU	luŋˌtɛ̰ːn	faraway (adj.)
*LŬSCINIŎLU	ruʒ̰ˈɲuːl	nightingale
*MŎRĪRE	muˈriː	to die
*NŎTĀRE	nuˈdɛ̰ː	to swim
*PŬLLĬTRU	puleːdrɪ	colt
APŌTHĒCA	buteːgɐ	shop, store
AURĬC(Ŭ)LA	urɛtˑʃɐ	ear
CAUSA TE FACIS	kuʂ tˀ ˈfɛ̰ː	what are you doing?
cf. Italian *toccava*	tukɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were touching
COCĪNA	kuʒiːnɐ	kitchen
COGNĀTU	kuˈɲɛ̰ːd	brother in law
CONSILIU	kunʂɪʎˑɪ	advice
CONTĔNTU	kuŋˌtɛi̯ñ̰t	happy
COPĔRC(Ŭ)LU	kwɛ̰ːɾ̰tʃ	lid, cover
CŬLTĔLLU	kurˈtɛ̰ːl	knife
DOLĒBA	duleːvɐ	was, were hurting
DŎRMĪRE	durˈmiː	to sleep
FONTĀNA	fuŋ̰tɛ̰ːnɐ	fountain
FORMĪCA	furmiːgɐ	ant
GAUDĒMUS	guˈdɪmˑ	we enjoy
Med. Lat. FORMAIU	furˈmaˑi̯	cheese
OCTŌBRE	utoːbrɪ	October
OCTOGĬNTA	utɛ̰ːŋ̰tɐ	eighty
SOLARIU	ʂuˈlɛ̰ːr	floor
SŎNĀRE	ʂuˈnɛ̰ː	to play, ring
ŬMBRĔLLA	umbrɛ̰ːlɐ	umbrella
ŬRTĪCA	urtiːgɐ	(stinging) nettle
CŬNĬCŬLU	kuˈnei̯	rabbit

Before syllable-final liquids, [o] gives [ɐ] in a few instances:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PŬLMŌNE	pɐlˈmɔu̯ñ	lung
HOROLŎGIU	ɐrˈlɔːdʒ, ɐrˈluːdʒ	watch, clock
*HORDEARIŎLU	ɐrðɐˈruːl	sty

2.2.2.2.2.4. Syncope of [o] and [i]

Initial-syllable [o] and [i] are dropped in sporadic cases (Coco §§ 74, 75) if the resultant consonant cluster includes a continuant:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DOMĬNĬCA	dⁿmɛŋgɐ	Sunday
COGNŌSCĔRE	kⁿnɔʃːɐ	to know
ECCU-SĪC	ɐkˈˈʂɪ	like this
SŬBTĪLE	ʂtiːl	thin, fine
FĪNĪRE	fniː	to finish
FĪL-ĀRE	fliː	to spin
FĪL-ŌNE	flɔu̯ñ	row of vines
*BĪRŎTEU	brɔːtʃ	two-wheel cart
ROSMARĪNU	ʐmɐˈrɛi̯ñ	rosemary
PĪSĔLLU	bˈʐɛ̯ːl	pea
*TĪRĀRE	tr̥ɛ̯ː	to pull; throw

2.2.2.2.3. Restoration of Pretonic Vowels

It is important to note that the pretonic outcomes discussed above oscillate with restored vowels due to a continuous influx of loanwords and the sway of rhizotonic verb forms:

Etymon	Typical Outcome	Restored Vowel	Translation
*RECŎRDĀRE	ɐrkurˈdɛ̯ː	ɐrkorˈdɛ̯ː	to remind
*RESPŎNDĔRE	ɐrʂpɐnːdɐ	riʂpɐnːdɐ	to answer
VĬDĒMUS	ɐvˈdɪmː	viˈdɪmː	we see
LINTEŎLU	lɐnˈθuːl, linˈθuːl	lenˈθuːl	bed sheet
*CARNE-LEVĀMEN	kɐrniˈvɛ̯ːl	kɐrneˈvɛ̯ːl	carnival

2.3. Consonants

Sammarinese displays most of the prominent features of Romagnol's consonant system, such as voicing of intervocalic consonants and degemination. Since the latter is a more recent development in Romagna than in the rest of Northern Italian, geminates yield a short consonant

following the original low vowels [ɛ a ɔ] (ŎCTU > [ɔːt] ‘eight’) and a half-long consonant after the high vowels [i e o u] (EXSŪCTU > [ʂʊtˑ] ‘dry’). Other typical phenomena are palatalization of velar stop + [l] clusters (CL > [tʃ], GL > [dʒ]), vocalization of Proto-Romance [ʎʎ] to [j], as well as deocclusion of Vulgar Latin [ts] > [θ] and [dz] > [ð]. However, it is not characteristic of the area southeast of the Marecchia River, where the influence of Tuscan has been acute since the fifteenth century, for [θ ð] to appear in place of Proto-Romance [tʃ dʒ] (Schürr, *VR* § 30).

2.3.1. Word-Initial and Postconsonantal Consonants and Clusters

2.3.1.1. Simple Consonants

2.3.1.1.1. CE and CI

Classical Latin [k] is palatalized before the front vowels [e] and [i], giving rise to Proto-Romance [tʃ]. The word-initial prepalatal affricate progresses to the dental articulation [ts] in the Medieval Northern Italian dialects (Rohlfs 1: 201), which evolves into the dental fricative [θ] throughout Eastern Emilia and Romagna (Coco § 167), except in the region between the Marecchia and Foglia rivers. This area wavers historically between the Romagnol variant and its more conservative Central-Southern counterpart [tʃ] (Delmonte § 2.2.1), with the latter having affirmed itself in San Marino under the influence of Tuscan and Italian:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CĔNTU	tʃɛi̯ñ̊t	one hundred
CĬNĔRE	tʃɛnˑdrɐ	ash(es)
CERĔBĔLLU	tʃirˈvɛ̝ːl	brain
CĪMĬCE	tʃɪmˑʒɐ	bug, bedbug
CĔRTU	tʃɛ̝ːr̥t	certain
CAELU	tʃeːl	sky

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CĒNA	tʃeːnɐ	dinner, supper
CIVITĀTE	tʃiˈtaː	city
CERĔSEA	tʃɐriːʒɐ	cherry
CĬRCĀRE	tʃiɾ̥ˈkiː	to look for
CĒRA	tʃiːrɐ	wax
CĪNQUE	tʃiːŋ̊kwi	five
CEPŬLLA	tʃvɐlˑɐ	onion
CĬCER	tʃiːʒ	chickpea
CINCTŪRA	tʃiŋ̊tuːrɐ	belt
CĬLIU	tʃɪʎˑɪ	eyelash
CĬRC(Ŭ)LU	tʃiːɾ̥tʃ	circle

Postconsonantal -CE- and -CI- also produce [θ] in Romagna while generally succumbing to [tʃ] south of the Marecchia:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DŬLCE	doːl̥tʃ	sweet
*CALCĪNA	kɐl̥tʃiːnɐ	(lime) mortar
*PORCĪLE	puɾ̥ˈtʃiːl	pigsty
FALCE	fɛ̟ːl̥tʃɐ	scythe
CALCE	kɛ̟ːl̥tʃ	kick
FURCĬLLA	fuɾ̥tʃɛ̟lˑɐ	earwig; tendril
MERCE	mɛ̟ːɾ̥tʃ	goods, wares
SŌR(Ĭ)CE	s̪oːɾ̥tʃ	mouse

2.3.1.1.2. Word-Initial and Postconsonantal GE, GI, J, and DJ

Parallel to the development of velar C- before a front vowel, Latin GE-, GI-, J-, DJ-, and Transalpine J- give [dʒ] in early Italo-Romance, which is dentalized to [dz] throughout Northern Italy (Rohlfs 1: §§ 156, 158, 182, 256). The resultant dental fricative [ð] characterizes Eastern Emilian and Romagnol (Coco §§ 77, 78), except in the region between the Marecchia and Foglia rivers, where the tendency is to restore the prepalatal affricate (Delmonte § 2.2.1):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
JAM	dʒaː	already
JENUARIU	dʒⁿnɛːr	January
GĔNTE	dʒɛi̯ñtɐ	people
GĔNĔRU	dʒɛnˑdrɪ	son-in-law
GĔLU	dʒeːl	ice
GYRU	dʒiːr	turn; walk, ride
JENĬPĔRU	dʒⁿniːprɪ	juniper
*JĪLIU	dʒɪʌˑɪ	lily
GINGĪVA	dʒindʒeɐ	gum
JŎCU	dʒuːg	game
JŬGU	dʒuːg	yoke
JŬVĔNE	dʒuːvni	young
JŪNIU	dʒʊɲˑ	June
DEO(R)SU	dʒʊ	down
JOHANNES	dʒwaːn	John
JARDIN	dʒɐrˈdɛi̯ñ	garden

A notable exception to this pattern, JALNE represents a point of divergence between the historically rural and urban varieties of the Republic. The former group preserves the typical Romagnol outcome [ðaːl] ‘yellow’, while the dialect of Borgo and Città presents [dʒaːl] (Foresti 417). Correspondingly, the varieties of the (former) countryside show [θnɛi̯ñ] ‘small’, whereas [tʃnɛi̯ñ] appears in the historically urban dialect (Foresti 412).

Postconsonantal -J- also produces [ð] in Romagna, while Central Italo-Romance [dʒ] prevails south of the Marecchia:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*DĬSJEJŪNU	diˈdʒɔu̯ñ	fast, fasting
ARGĔNTU	ɐrˈdʒɛi̯ñ̊t	silver
GINGĪVA	dʒindʒeɐ	gum
MŬLGĔRE	mɔnˑdʒɐ	to milk
ŬNGĔRE	ɐnˑdʒɐ	to grease, oil
PLANGĔRE	pjɛnˑdʒɐ	to cry, weep

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ANGĔLU	aːndʒli	angel
STRĬNGĬT	s̪trɛnˈdʒ	he, she grips

2.3.1.1.3. Discretion of Word-Initial [l]

Discretion of initial [l] occurs when the consonant is interpreted as the definite article (Rohlfs 1: § 342; Dardano 211):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
LABRU	aːbrɪ	lip
LAPIS	aːpis̪	pencil

2.3.1.1.4. Palatalization of Word-Initial [n]

When followed by a secondary yod, initial N- is palatalized (Rohlfs 1: § 161):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
NE-(G)ĔNTE	ɲiːn̪t	nothing
NE(C)-HANC	ɲɛːŋkɐ	neither, nor

2.3.1.1.5. Word-Initial [s]

In Emilian and Romagnol, initial /s/ is articulated between the alveolar ridge and the prepalate using the apex of the tongue as in Peninsular Spanish. Apico-alveolar [s̪] also characterizes the regional Italian of the area, although increasingly less as public school, mass media, economic development, and migration take their leveling effect (Coco n. 125):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SĬTE	s̪eːdɐ	thirst
SĒTA	s̪eːdɐ	silk
SĬCCU	s̪ɛkˑ	dry
SŬBTU	s̪ɔtˑɐ	under, beneath

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SŌLE	s̪oːl	sun
*SĔDĔRE	s̪eːdɐ	to sit (down)
SALTU	s̪ɛːlt	jump, leap
*SAPĒRE	s̪ɐˈveː	to know (how)
SĒRA	s̪eːrɐ	evening
*SŎU	s̪uˑɐ, s̪uː	his, her(s), its, their(s)
*SŪBĔRU	s̪uːgrɪ, s̪ʊvˑri	cork
SŪCU	s̪uːg	sauce
SEPTIMANA	s̪tⁿmɛ̝ːnɐ	week
SENIŌRE	s̪ɲɔo̯r	gentleman
SAETACIU	s̪taːtʃɐ	sieve

2.3.1.2. Word-Initial and Postconsonantal Clusters

2.3.1.2.1. [s] before Voiceless Consonants

The apico-alveolar articulation [s̪] also occurs when the sibilant, whether initial or internal, precedes a voiceless consonant (Coco § 153):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SCHŎLA	s̪kɔːlɐ	school
SCŪTU	s̪kuːd	five lire coin
MŬSCA	mɔs̪ˑkɐ	fly
EPĬSCŎPU	vɛs̪ˑkwɪ	bishop
STŎMĂCHU	s̪tɔmˑgɪ	stomach
STŬPPA	s̪tɔpˑɐ	tow
STATIŌNE	s̪tɐˈʒɔo̯ñ	season
AESTĀTE	iɲ̊s̪tɛ̝ːdɐ	summer
CRĬSTA	krɛs̪tɐ	crest, comb
SPAT(Ŭ)LA	s̪paːlɐ	shoulder
SPŌ(N)SA	s̪poːz̪ɐ	bride
SPĔC(Ŭ)LU	s̪pɛ̝ːtʃ	mirror
VĔSPA	vɛ̝ːs̪prɐ	wasp
*ASPĔCTĀRE	ɐs̪pˈ¬ˈtɛ̝ː	to wait (for)

2.3.1.2.2. [s] before Voiced Consonants

When followed by a voiced consonant, original S- yields voiced apico-alveolar [z̪]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*EXBADICŬLĀRE	z̪bɐdɐˈjɛ̯ː	to yawn
EX-*BATĪL-IĀRE	z̪bɐˈdjɛ̯ː	to shovel
EX-BATT(U)ĔRE	z̪baːtɐ	to knock, bang
EX-*BŪCI-ĪRE	z̪buˈtʃiː	to peel
cf. It. *sgabuzzino*	z̪gɐbuˈθɛi̯ñ	closet, cubbyhole
*SECATĪCLU	z̪gɐˈdɪtˑʃ	sawdust
SĒCĀRE	z̪gɛ̯ː	to saw
EX-*SEC-ĬTTA	z̪gɛtˑɐ	sickle
EX-GRAVĀR-SE	z̪grɐˈvɛ̯ːs̪	to give birth
EX-*GRINJ-ĪRE	z̪griˈɲiː	to laugh excessively
EX-LARG-ĀRE	z̪lɐrˈgɛ̯ː	to widen
EX-LONG-ĀRE	z̪luŋˈgɛ̯ː	to lengthen, extend
EX-BASS-ĀRE	z̪bɐs̪ɛ̯ː	to lower
EX-MANC-ĀTU	z̪mɐŋ̍ˈkɛ̯ːd	hollow
EX-MŎRT-ĀRE	z̪muɾ̥ˈtɛ̯ː	to turn off
EX-RADIC-ĀRE	z̪rɐdˀˈgɛ̯ː	to uproot
EX-VĬG(ĭ)LĀR-SE	z̪viˈdʒɛ̯ːs̪	to wake up
EX-*VŎCĬTU	z̪vu̯id	empty

2.3.1.2.3. Labial + [l] Clusters

In most of Italo-Romance, including Italian, the liquid in the initial and post-consonantal clusters PL, BL, and FL is palatalized and subsequently vocalized (e.g., PL > [pʎ] > [pj]).[40] In Romagnol, the resultant semiconsonant raises the articulation of the following vowel and is absorbed if the latter is a non-back vowel (Schürr, *RD* 2: 185-86):

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
PLĬCĀRE	*pjekaːre	piːgɛ̯ː	to bend
PLĒNU	pjeːno	piːn	full

[40] Rohlfs 1: §§ 177, 183, 186; Coco §§ 93-95.

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
*PLACĔRE	*pjaːtʃere	piːʒɐ	to please

2.3.1.2.4. Palatalization of [kl]

The liquid of initial and post-consonantal velar + [l] clusters also undergoes palatalization ([kl] > [kʎ]) followed by vocalization (> [kj]).[41] Nevertheless, according to Dante's observations in the *De vulgari eloquentiae*, the development reaches Romagna after it has spread through Tuscany (Rohlfs 1: 351). While Tuscan maintains the stage [kj], the velar consonant is assibilated and the semiconsonant absorbed (> [tʃ]) in the Po Valley during the Late Middle Ages. This outcome of initial [kl], which does not materialize until well after the aforementioned dentalization of Vulgar Latin [tʃ] (i.e., [braːtʃ] > [braːθ] 'arm'), eventually makes its way to San Marino:

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
CLAMĀRE	kjamaːre	tʃɐˈmɛ̯ː	to call
CLARU	kjaːro	tʃɛ̯ːr	clear, light
CLĒRĬCA	kjeːrika	tʃiːrgɐ	tonsure, bald patch
*CLAPPU	kjappa	tʃaːpɐ	buttock
CLĀVE	kjaːve	tʃɛ̯ːvɐ	key
(EC)CLĒSIA	kjeːsa	tʃiːz̯ɐ	church
KLAK	kjakkjeraːre	tʃɐkɐˈrɛ̯ː	to chat
*KLASSO	kjasso	tʃaːs̯	racket
*klɔkja	kjɔttʃa	tʃɔːkɐ	brood-hen
*klɔkko	kjɔkko	tʃɔːk	noise
CLAVU	kjɔːdo	tʃɔːd	nail
*CLŪDĔRE	kjuːdere	tʃuːdɐ	to close
*ENCLAUSTRU	iŋkjɔstro	iŋ̊tʃɔːs̯tri	ink
*ĬNCLAVĀRE	iŋkjodaːre	iŋ̊tʃuˈdɛ̯ː	to nail
COPĔRC(Ŭ)LU	kopɛrkjo	kwɛ̯ːr̯tʃ	lid, cover
CĬRC(Ŭ)LU	tʃerkjo	tʃiːr̯tʃ	circle

[41] Rohlfs 1: §§ 179, 184, 248-49; Coco §§ 96-98; Delmonte § 2.2.3.

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
MASC(Ŭ)LU	maskjo	maːs̪tʃɪ	male
FĪSCLĀRE	fiskjaːre	fiʂˈtʃiː	to whistle
*EXCLARĪRE	skjariːre	s̪tʃɐˈriː	to clear

2.3.1.2.5. Word-Initial [skl]

Word-initial SKL-, STL-, and SL-, which often occur in Germanic loanwords and in onomatopoeic formations, merge into SKL-, whose development is analogous to that of initial CL. Thus, while the cluster's evolution stops at [skj] in the national language, many Northern Italian dialects, Romagnol included, go on to develop [s̪tʃ] by assibilation (Rohlfs 1: § 190; Delmonte § 2.2.3):

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
*SKLŪMA	skjuːma	s̪tʃʊmˑɐ	foam, froth, lather
STLŎPPU	skjɔppo	s̪tʃɔːp	single-barrel rifle
STLŎPPU	skjoppetaːta	s̪tʃupˈ̈tɛːdɐ	rifle shot
SKLAF	skjaffo	s̪tʃaːf	slap
*SKLĒTTO	skjetto	s̪tʃɛtˑ	pure
*SKLANTĀRE	skjantaːre	s̪tʃɐnˈtɛ̯ː	to tear, rip
*SKLANTU	skjanto	s̪tʃɛ̯ːn̥t	torn, ripped
*SKLAKIĀRE	skjattʃaːre	tʃɐˈkɛ̯ː	to crush, squash
*SKLAP	skappja	s̪tʃaːp	insipid
*SCLŬPARE	skoppjaːre	s̪tʃuˈpɛ̯ː	to burst

2.3.1.2.6. Palatalization of [gl]

The evolution of word-initial and post-nasal GL is parallel and contemporaneous to that of its voiceless counterpart CL. The liquid consonant is palatalized ([gl] > [gʎ]) and subsequently

vocalized (> [gj]) in much of Italo-Romance. While the latter stage is preserved in Tuscan, the ensuing phase [dʒ] characterizes many northern dialects, including Romagnol:[42]

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
GLANDE	gjanda	dʒaːndɐ	acorn
GLACIE	gjattʃo	dʒaːtʃ	ice
*GLAREŎLA	gjaːja	dʒɐjɔːlɐ	gravel
ŬNG(Ŭ)LA	uŋgja	ɐnˈdʒɐ	finger, toe nail

2.3.1.2.7. Reduction of [kw] > [k]

In a few isolated cases, word-initial and postconsonantal [kw] is reduced to [k] (Rohlfs § 163):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
(EC)CU HĪC	ɐˈkɪ	here
cf. It. *dunque*	dɔːŋkɐ	so; well (now), well (then)
cf. It. *qualche*	kɛk	a few, some
cf. It. *qualcheduno*	kɛkˈduːn	someone

2.3.2. Internal Consonants and Clusters

2.3.2.1. Intervocalic Consonants

2.3.2.1.1. Voicing of [k] and [kr]

Given that the sonorization of intervocalic voiceless stops and stop + [r] clusters is common to all of Western Romance, the phenomenon is attributed to the Gallic substratum and thus is often referred to as *Celtic lenition*. In fact, the southeastern portion of the isogloss corresponds roughly with the ancient politico-administrative border between Cisalpine Gaul and

[42] Rohlfs 1: §§ 184, 250; Coco § 98; Delmonte § 2.2.3.

Umbria, which would be succeeded by the border between the Exarchate proper and the Pentapolis as well as the ecclesiastical provinces of Ravenna and Rome. Today, voicing of intervocalic stops typifies the varieties northwest of the Foglia River, but even appears sporadically in dialects as far south as Ancona, Urbania, and Jesi (Schürr, *Probleme* 108).

Since the phenomenon is common to all of Western Romance, Schürr posits that it spread in the fourth century, when Milan was the political and religious capital of the Western Empire. Regardless of the exact period of its diffusion, we can be sure that voicing of intervocalic stops predates the loss of atonic vowels (AMĪCU > [ɐˈmiːg] 'friend') and the monophthongization of AU > [ɔ] (*AUCA > [ɔːkɐ] 'goose', PAUCU > [pɔːk] 'little'). Schürr also proposes that Celtic lenition precedes metaphony, citing umlaut in the group -ŎCŬ as an indication (*Probleme* 108 n. 3). In this context, voicing of intervocalic [k] would have driven final Ŭ to yield [u] (FŎCU > *[fɔːgu]), which triggers the diphthongization of the tonic vowel (> *[fwogu] > [fuːg] 'fire') (Schürr, *VR* 25).

As for the history of the sonorization of intervocalic [k] > [g] in San Marino, the phenomenon is recorded by fifteenth-century texts such as Marino Calcigni's correspondence (SECŬNDU > *segondo*, DĪCO > *digo* [Foresti 28]) and the Statutes of Serravalle (*segurtà* 'sicurtà', *giugadore* 'giocatore' [Foresti 29]). Modern Sammarinese offers the following examples:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AMĪCU	ɐˈmiːg	friend
FŎCU	fuːg	fire
*ACŪTIĔRE	gʊθˑ	to sharpen
FĪCU	fiːg	fig (tree)
DOMĬNĬCA	dmɛŋgɐ	Sunday
FORMĪCA	furmiːgɐ	ant
PĔCŎRA	ˈpiːgurɐ, piːgrɐ	sheep
ŬRTĪCA	urtiːgɐ	(stinging) nettle
STŎMĂCHU	ʂtɔmˑgɪ	stomach

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PERTĬCARIU	pɐrˈgɛ̰ːr	plow
VESSĪCA	pˀʃiːgɐ	bladder
SAMBŪCU	s̪ɐmˈbuːg	elder
MANĬCU	maːŋgɪ	handle
MANĬCA	maːŋgɐ	sleeve
LIMĀCE	lumɛ̰ːgɐ	snail
MĔDĬCU	mɛdˑˀgɪ	doctor
CACĀRE	kɐˈgɛ̰ː	to defecate
MOLLĪCA	muliːgɐ	crumb; a little bit
CARĬCĀRE	kɐrˈgɛ̰ː	to load
CLĒRĬCA	tʃiːrgɐ	tonsure, bald patch
*ROSICĀRE	ruz̪ˈgɛ̰ː	to nibble, gnaw
*ŬMBĬLĪCU	bˈliːg	navel
SPĪCŬLU	s̪piːgˈlɪ	garlic clove
JŎCU	dʒuːg	game
PŎRTĬCU	puːrg	porch, portico
MACRU	mɛ̰ːgrɪ	thin, lean
*SACRĬSTĀNU	s̪ɐgriz̪ˈtɛ̰ːn	sacristan, sexton
MĪCA	miːgɐ	not...at all

2.3.2.1.2. Voicing of [t] and [tr]

Throughout Western Romance, intervocalic -T- and -TR- are voiced to -d- and -dr-, respectively (SPATHA > Romagnol [s̪peə̯dɐ] ‘sword’). Subsequently, the voiced dental stop is often fricativized (cf. Spanish [es̪ˈpaða]), which sometimes leads to the consonant being dropped altogether (cf. French [eˈpeː]). Lenition of intervocalic [d] > [ð] > Ø occurs in most of Northern Italo-Romance including Romagnol and Bolognese (Rohlfs 1: 273-74), as evidenced by oscillation in spelling in fourteenth-century Bolognese texts: -ĀTU > *-ado, -aho, -ao*; -ĀTIS > *-ade, -ae* (Coco 78 n. 152). Likely due to the influence of Latin on the language of the educated classes, the occlusive articulation is often restored (Rohlfs 1: 274). The historical presence of

Celtic lenition in San Marino is documented by fifteenth-century texts such as the correspondence of Marino Calcigni (*stado* ‘stato’ [Foresti 28]), the Statutes of Serravalle (*fradelli* ‘fratelli’, *dada* ‘data’, *giugadore* ‘giocatore’ [Foresti 29]), and Nicolao Antonio’s missive (*fadiga* ‘fatica’ [Foresti 31]). Contemporary Sammarinese presents examples such as the following:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
RŎTA	rɔːdɐ	wheel
SĒTA	s̪eːdɐ	silk
SĬTE	s̪eːdɐ	thirst
*FRATĔLLU	frɐˈdɛ̪ːl	brother
MONĒTA	muneːdɐ	coin
NEPŌTE	ɐŋvoːd	grandson; nephew
DĬGĬTĀLE	diˈdɛ̪ːl	thimble
(DIES) NATĀLĬS	nɐˈdɛ̪ːl	Christmas
MA(L)THŌNE	mɐˈdɔu̯ñ	brick
VĪTE	viːdɐ	grape(vine); screw
CATĒNA	kɐdɛi̯ñɐ	chain
SPŪTĀRE	s̪puˈdiː	to spit
*NŎTĀRE	nuˈdɛ̪ː	to swim
SAETŬLA	s̪eːdˈlɐ	bristle
DĬGĬTU	deːd	finger
MARĪTU	mɐˈriːd	husband
MŪTĀRE	muˈdɛ̪ː	to change
FATĪGA	fɐdiːgɐ	hard work, toil
MĔTĔRE	mɛ̪ːdɐ	to reap, harvest
*CŬTĬCA	kʊdˑgɐ	bacon rind
ABĒTE	ɐˈbeːd	fir (tree)
RĒTE	reːdɐ, roi̯dɐ	net
LATRO	lɛ̪ːdrɪ	thief
VĬTRU	viːdri	glass
*SĬCCĀTŌRE	s̪kɐˈdoːr	itch
BATĪLE	bɐˈdiːl	shovel
*LĔVĬTU	lɛvˑdɪ	yeast
HOSPĬTĀLE	us̪piˈdɛ̪ːl	hospital
STATĒRA	s̪tɐˈdiːrɐ	lever scales

The restoration of occlusive [d] is nearly complete in Borderline Romagnol, whereas Bolognese and Central Romagnol drop secondary word-final -ð a) in the second person plural of verbs (-ĀTIS, -ĒTIS, -ĪTIS), b) in arhizotonic past participles (-ĀTU, -ĪTU, -ŪTU), and c) in a number of substantives (Coco n. 152).

As far as the second person plural desinences are concerned, Southwestern Sammarinese is typical of Borderline Romagnol in that it consistently preserves final -d (Delmonte § 2.3.1), whereas Serravallese apocopates the consonant without fail like Bolognese and Central Romagnol:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
MANDĀTIS	ɐ mɐnˈdɛ̰ːd	ɐ mɐnˈdɛ̰ː	you send
CANTĀTIS	ɐ kɐn̰ˈtɛ̰ːd	ɐ kɐn̰ˈtɛ̰ː	you sing
FĪNĪTIS	ɐ fniːd	ɐ fniː	you finish
*PARTĪTIS	ɐ pɐr̰ˈtiːd	ɐ pɐr̰ˈtiː	you leave
*CREDĒTIS	ɐ kriˈdiːd	ɐ kriˈdiː	you believe
*BATTĒTIS	ɐ bɐˈtiːd	ɐ bɐˈtiː	you beat

The situation is analogous in arhizotonic past participles:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
MANDĀTU	mɐnˈdɛ̰ːd	mɐnˈdɛ̰ː	sent
CANTĀTU	kɐn̰ˈtɛ̰ːd	kɐn̰ˈtɛː	sung
FĪNĪTU	fniːd	fniː	finished
PARTĪTU	pɐr̰ˈtiːd	pɐr̰ˈtiː	left
*CREDŪTU	kriˈduːd	kriˈduː	believed
BATTU(Ĭ)TU	bɐˈtuːd	bɐˈtuː	beaten

Like Borderline Romagnol, Southwestern Sammarinese also constantly maintains a distinction between the masculine (-[ɛ̰ːd], -[iːd], -[uːd]) and feminine (-[ɛ̰ːdɐ], -[iːdɐ], -[uːdɐ]) past participle endings (Delmonte § 2.3.1). On the other hand, Serravallese often displays the

Bolognese and Central Romagnol tendency to level the feminine desinences with the masculine ones (Coco 178 n. 152):

Serravallese	Translation
ki k u lɐ ɐˈvra mɐˈθɛ̟ː	who would have killed her?
ɐ lɐ ɔ puˈdʒɛ̟ː	I placed it
lɐ ɛ s̻tɛ̟ː	she was
ɐʌ ɛ s̻tɛ̟ː	they (f.) have been
lɐ ɛ̟ːrɐ s̻tɛ̟ː bɛ̟ːlɐ	it had been nice
ɛ pɛ̟ːr k lɐ s̻iːɐ ɐmɐˈtiː	it seems that she went crazy
lɐ ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̟ː	she went
lɐ m ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̟ː drɪtˑɐ	it went well for me
lɐ s̻ ɛ s̻puˈz̻ɛ̟ː	she got married

As for masculine nouns, Southwestern Sammarinese is aligned decisively with Borderline Romagnol, while Serravallese hesitates between apocope and restoration of final [d]:

Etymon	SW Samm.	Serravallese	Romagnol	Translation
MERCĀTU	mərˈkɛ̟ːd	mɐrˈkɛ̟ː	mɐrˈkɛ̯	market
PECCĀTU	pəˈkɛ̟ːd	pˀkɛ̟ː	pˀkɛ̯	sin
FLĀTU	fjɛ̟ːd	fjɛ̟ːd	fjɛ̯	breath
PRĀTU	prɛ̟ːd	prɛ̟ː	prɛ̯	meadow, lawn
VESTĪTU	viz̻ˈtiːd	viz̻ˈtiːd	[v]s̻tiː	dress, suit
PĔDE	piːɐ̯, piːd	pɛ	pɛ	foot

However, both Sammarinese varieties preserve final -[dɐ] in feminine nouns, a trait which distinguishes the Borderline dialects from Central Romagnol and Bolognese (Delmonte § 2.3.1):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Romagnol	Translation
AESTĀTE	i̯n̻s̻tɛ̟ːdɐ	inˈs̻teɐ̯	summer
*ĬNSALĀTA	i̯n̻s̻ɐlɛ̟ːdɐ	in̻s̻ɐˈleɐ̯	salad
(VIA) STRĀTA	s̻trɛ̟ːdɐ	s̻treɐ̯	road
PLATHANA	pjɛ̟ːdɐ	pjeɐ̯	piada
*MANĀTA	mɐˈnɛ̟ːdɐ	mɐˈneɐ̯	slap; handful
ACĒTU	ɐtʃeːtɐ, ɐz̻o̯idɐ	ɐˈz̻eː	vinegar

Finally, neither Sammarinese variety is totally impervious to the oscillation between voiced and voiceless stops that characterizes Marchesan, Umbrian, and Borderline Romagnol (Delmonte § 2.2.1):

Etymon	SW Samm.	Serravallese	Romagnol	Translation
ACĒTU	ɐtʃeːtɐ	ɐz̪o̯idɐ	ɐˈz̪eː	vinegar
SAETACIU	s̪taːtʃɐ	s̪taːtʃɐ	z̪daːθ	sieve
PĔTRA[43]	piːdrɐ	pjiːtrɐ	preː	stone
*POTĒRE	puˈdeː	puˈt̪ːeː	puˈteː	to be able

2.3.2.1.3. Lenition of [p] and [pr]

Intervocalic -P- and -PR- converge with original -B- and -BR- respectively, which are deoccluded to -v- and -vr-.[44] The late ninth-century *Placito Feretrano*, which attests the influence of the medieval vernacular on the legal language, offers the technical term *scavino* (< SCABĪNU) as an example of lenition (Foresti 23, 24). Examples from the fifteenth century are provided by the letters of Marino Calcigni (*haviamo* ‘abbiamo’, *saverà* ‘saprà’ [Foresti 27-28]), the Statutes of Serravalle (*ovre* ‘opere’, *livre* ‘libbre’, *livere* ‘libere’, *cavo* ‘capo’ [Foresti 29]), and Nicolao Antonio’s epistle (*saver* ‘sapere’ [Foresti 31]). The modern dialects show the following instances of lenition:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*SAPĒRE	s̪ɐˈveː, s̪ɐˈvo̯i	to know (how)
APĔRTU	vɛːɾ̥t	open
CAPĬLLĪ	kɐˈvɪlˑ	hair
RAPA	rɛːvɐ	turnip
PĬPĔRE	peːvrɪ, po̯ivri	pepper
SAPŌNE	s̪ɐˈvɔu̯ñ	soap
CEPŬLLA	tʃvɔlˑɐ, tʃvɐlˑɐ	onion
COPĔRC(Ŭ)LU	kwɛːɾ̥tʃ	lid, cover

[43] The outcomes of PĔTRA reflect Italianization, whereas the autochthonous word is [s̪aːs̪] < SAXU.
[44] Rohlfs 1: §§ 207, 215, 260, 261; Coco § 182; Delmonte § 2.2.2.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
TĔPĬDU	tɛvˈdɪ	lukewarm
LĔPŎRE	liːvrɪ	hare
SAEPE	s̪iːvɐ	hedge
CANĂPA	kaːŋvɐ	hemp
APRĪLE	ɐˈvriːl	April
FĔBRE	fɛ̯ːvrɐ	fever
ŪBĔRES	ʊvˈrɪ	udders
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐˈvriː, ɐrˈviː	to open

When adjacent to a labial vowel, primary and secondary [v] tend to be dropped:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SŬPRA	s̪oːrɐ	over, above, on
PAUP(Ĕ)RU	pɔːri, pɔːrɐ	poor, dead, late
*PAUP(Ĕ)RĬTTU	puˈrɛtˑ	poor, beggar
LUPĪNU	luˈvɛi̯ñ, luˈɛi̯ñ	lupine
*BUFŬLCU	bjʊu̯k	plowman, farm laborer

The following words either maintain or restore the bilabial plosive due to interference from the national language:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Romagnol	Translation
NEPŌTE	ɐŋvoːd, niˈpoːd	ɐŋˈvou̯d	grandson; nephew
CRĔPĀRE	kreːpɐ	kreva > kɐrvaːjɐ	crack
CRĔPĀRE	kriˈpɛ̯ː	s̪kɐrvɐˈjeɐ̯	to crack
CAPĔRE	kɐˈpiː	kɐˈpiː	to understand
CAPRA	kɛ̯ːprɐ	keɐ̯vrɐ	goat
*CAPRĬTTU	kɐˈprɛtˑ, kɐˈvrɛtˑ	kɐˈvrɛtˑ	goatling, kid
*LŪPU	luːp, lʊpˑ	loɐ̯v, lʊpˑ	wolf
SAPŌRE	s̪ɐˈpoːr	s̪ɐˈvou̯r	taste, flavor
AP(Ĕ)RĪ	prɪʃˑ, iːrvɐ	ɐˈvrɪs̪ˑ	open!
LIBRU	liːbrɪ	liːvɐr	book
LABRU	aːbrɪ	laːbɐr	lip
FEBRUARIU	fiˈbrɛ̯ːr	fɐˈbreɐ̯r	February
FABRU	faːbrɪ	faːbɐr, fraːb	smith

2.3.2.1.4. Voicing of [f]

The highly infrequent intervocalic -F- (-PH-), which occurs only in native compounds and in loanwords from Greek and Osco-Umbran, is also predisposed to sonorization (> [v]), provided that it is not part of a compound or learned word (Rohlfs 1: 302; Coco § 144):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*BUFŬLCU	bjʊi̯k	plowman, farm laborer
SCRŌFA	s̬krɐvˈɐ	sow
RAPHANU	rɐvɐˈnɛːl	radish

2.3.2.1.5. Voicing of [s]

Without exceptions, intervocalic -S- yields voiced apico-alveolar [z̬], which maintains its sonority in secondary word-final position (Coco § 149):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
THESAURU	teˈz̬ɔːr	treasure
*ROSICĀRE	ruz̬ˈgɛː	to nibble, gnaw
CASA	kɛ̝ːz̬ɐ	house, home
NASU	nɛ̝ːz̬	nose
FŪSU	fuːz̬	spindle
MĒ(N)SE	meːz̬	month
PAGE(N)SE	pajeːz̬	town; country
PE(N)SU	peːz̬	weight
*ZELŌSU	dʒloːz̬	jealous

2.3.2.1.6. Intervocalic -CE- and -CI-

The evolution of intervocalic [k] before a front vowel, which is palatalized to [tʃ] in Vulgar Latin, is characterized by a divergence between the more conservative development of Southwestern San Marino and the typically Romagnol course taken in the Northeast. Before this

geographical split occurs, the progression is the same in both areas: original intervocalic [tʃ] is voiced to [dʒ]. Deocclusion of this affricate yields [ʒ] (Rohlfs 1: 290), the pronunciation that survives in the Southwest, yet is also indicated in the mid-fifteenth-century Statutes of Serravalle by the intervocalic grapheme *g* followed by *e* or *i*: *produgesse* ‘producesse’, *page* ‘pace’, *cigatrige* ‘cicatrice’ (Foresti 30). Modern Serravallese, however, is characterized by the following evolution of [dʒ]: the prepalatal sibilant is assimilated by the dental stop (> [dʐ]) before the occlusive is dropped (Rohlfs 1: 290), yielding apico-alveolar [ʐ] (Coco § 168). This outcome is indicated with the grapheme *x* in the Statutes, which record *dodexe* < DUŎDĔCIM (Foresti 30). In summary, whereas the spelling in the Statutes suggests oscillation between the palatal and alveolar variants during the fifteenth century, contemporary Serravallese clearly favors [ʐ] while the Southwest preserves [ʒ]:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
DĪCĬT	diːʒ	diːʐ	he, she says
DĔCEM	diːʒ	diːʐ	ten
CŎCĪNA	kuʒiːnɐ	kuʐɔ̯inɐ	kitchen
*LŪCĔRTŬLA	luʒɛ̝ːɾtˈlɐ	luʐɛːɾtˈlɐ	lizard
*PLACEŪTU	pjɐˈʒuːd, piˈʒuːd	pjɐˈʐuː	pleased
PLACET	piːʒ	piːʐ	pleases
VĪCĪNU	vʒiːn	vʐɔ̯in	neighbor
MACHĬNĀRE	mɐʒˈnɛ̝ː	mɐʐˈnɛ̝ː	to grind, mill
MACĔRĀRE	mɐʒˈrɛ̝ː	mɐʐˈrɛ̝ː	to soak, steep
CRŬCE	kruːʒɐ	krɔu̯ʐɐ	cross
CŎCĔRE	kɔːʒɐ	kɔːʐɐ	to cook
NŬCE	nuːʒɐ	nuːʐɐ	walnut
PACE	pɛ̝ːʒɐ	pɛ̝ːʐɐ	peace
VŌCE	vuːʒɐ	vɔu̯ʐɐ	voice
LŪCE	luːʒɐ		light
*FŎRBĬCES	fɔrˑbˈʒɪ, frɔbˑˈdʒɪ	fuːrbˈʐi	scissors

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
PŪLĬCE	pʊlˑdʒɐ[45]	pʊlˑʐɐ	flea
ACĒTU	ɐtʃeːtɐ[46]	ɐzʑidɐ	vinegar

When the heir of intervocalic -CE-, -CI- comes into secondary contact with a preceding [d] as a result of syncope, the two segments are fused into the prepalatal affricate [dʒ] throughout the Republic (Coco § 169):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DĪCĒBAT	dʒiːvɐ	he, she was saying
ŪNDĔCIM	ʊnˑdʒ	eleven
DUŎDĔCIM	dɔdˑʒ	twelve
TRĒDĔCIM	trɛdˑʒ	thirteen
QUATTUŎRDĔCIM	kwɐˈtɔːrdʒ	fourteen
QUĪNDĔCIM	kwɪnˑdʒ	fifteen
SĒDĔCIM	ʂɛdˑʒ	sixteen

The outcome is fricative [ð] or [ʐ] when the cluster comes into contact with a subsequent consonant:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DECEM DE ŎCTO	ðdɔːt, ʐdɔːt	eighteen
DECEM AC NŎVEM	ðnɔːv, ʐnɔːv	nineteen

2.3.2.2. Geminate Consonants

2.3.2.2.1. Degemination

The reduction of long consonants, which occurs throughout Western Romance, is a consequence of Celtic lenition (Schürr, *VR* 25-26). Given that the original double consonants are

[45] This form presupposes anaptyxis of [d], or fricative hardening, after syncope of PŪLĬCE has taken place (Rohlfs 1: 378).

[46] Central Italian [tʃ] is more likely to infiltrate the Southwestern varieties than Serravallese.

not voiced and vowels preceding primary geminates are not affected by spontaneous diphthongization, degemination is necessarily a more recent phenomenon than the sonorization of simple consonants and unconditioned raising. Furthermore, the abbreviation of intense consonants takes place much later in Romagna than in most of Northern Italy and Western Romance. Degemination begins when the tonic low vowels [a ɛ ɔ] are lengthened and the following double consonant is shortened (Schürr, *VR* 36). The modern outcomes [aː ɛ̯ː ɔː] reflect the fact that degemination does not occur until after the expiration of spontaneous diphthongization. Fifteenth-century Sammarinese texts such as the letters of Marino Calcigni (*vilanie* 'villanie' [Foresti 28]) and the Statutes of Serravalle (*tera* 'terra', *tereri* 'terrieri' [Foresti 29]) document the occurrence of degemination in long consonants that do not follow a tonic high vowel. This first wave of degemination is reflected in the contemporary dialect by the lengthened outcomes of the primary tonic low vowels [a ɛ ɔ] followed by a simple consonant:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VACCA	vaːkɐ	cow
SACCU	s̪aːk	sack, bag
*BRŎCCA	brɔːkɐ	copper bucket
CATTU	gaːt	cat
QUATTUOR	kwaːtri	four
BATT(U)ĔRE	baːtɐ	to beat
*PLŎPPU	pjɔːpɐ	poplar (tree)
*CLAPPU	tʃaːpɐ	buttock
STLŎPPU	s̪tʃɔːp	single-barrel shotgun
*CAPPĔLLU	kɐˈpɛ̯ːl	hat
SAPPA	s̪aːpɐ	hoe
SABBĂTU	s̪aːbˈ̚dɪ	Saturday
*FRATĔLLU	frɐˈdɛ̯ːl	brother
CŎLLU	kɔːl	neck
GALLĪNA	gɐlɛi̯ñɐ	hen, chicken
*MARTĔLLU	mɐr̥ˈtɛ̯ːl	hammer
PĔLLE	pɛ̯ːlɐ	skin

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CERĔBĔLLU	tʃirˈvɛ̯:l	brain
*SORĔLLA	s̪urɛ̯:lɐ	sister
MOLLĪCA	muli:gɐ	crumb; a little bit
BOLLĪRE	buˈli:	to boil
*PULLĬTRU	pule:drɪ	colt
ŬMBRĔLLA	umbrɛ̯:lɐ	umbrella
GALLU	ga:l	rooster
CABALLU	kɐˈva:l	horse
CŬLTĔLLU	kurˈtɛ̯:l	knife
BĔLLU	bɛ̯:l	handsome
TĔRRA	tɛ̯:rɐ	land
PANNA	pa:nɐ	cream
CANNA	ka:nɐ	cane, reed
Med. Latin SCARANNA	s̪kɐra:nɐ	chair
NŎNNA	nɔ:nɐ	grandmother
PANNU	pa:n	cloth
*SCLAFFU	s̪tʃa:f	slap
GRŎSSU	grɔ̯:s̪	big
VESSĪCA	pˈʃi:gɐ	bladder
ŎSSU	ɔ̯:s̪	bone; pit

The geminates persist much longer when they follow the tonic high vowels [e i o u], long enough to participate in the abbreviation and lowering of these vowels, which is complete by the end of the eighteenth century in Central Romagnol (Schürr, *VR* 35), by the end of the nineteenth in Sammarinese. Modern Romagnol reflects this more recent current of degemination with the short heirs of the tonic high vowels followed by a half-long consonant:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
RŬKKA	rɔkˑɐ	distaff
SĬCCU	s̪ɛkˑ	dry
BŬCCA	bɔkˑɐ	mouth
*TŪTTU	tʊtˑ	everything
TĒCTU	tɛtˑ	roof
SAGĬTTA	s̪ɐjɛtˑɐ	lightning
LĬTTĔRA	lɛtˑrɐ	letter

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MĬTTĔRE	mɛtˈʁ	to put
STŬPPA	ʂtɔpˈʁ	tow
*GŬBBU	gɔbˈ	hunch-backed
CEPŬLLA	tʃvɔlˈʁ	onion
CAPĬLLU	kʁˈvɛlˈ	hair
MĪLLE	mɪlˈ	one thousand
CURRĔRE	kʊrˈʁ	to run
PĬNNA	pɛnˈʁ	feather
RŬSSU	rɔʂˈ	red
TŬSSE	tɔʂˈʁ	cough

2.3.2.2.2. Assimilated Clusters

Degemination also affects secondary geminates resulting from anticipatory assimilation, which includes the cluster -CT- in Northeastern Italy (Rohlfs 1: § 240; Coco § 160). In this respect, the late ninth-century *Placito Feretrano* records *avocato* for ADVOCĀTŌ (Foresti 23), while the fifteenth-century letters of Marino Calcigni show *accetare* < ACCEPTĀRE (Foresti 28). The table below illustrates the preservation of these secondary double consonants in Italian alongside their degemination in Sammarinese:

Etymon	Italian	Sammarinese	Translation
LĔCTU	lɛtto	lɛ̯ːt	bed
LACTE	latte	laːt	milk
PĔCTU	pɛtto	pɛ̯ːt	chest, breast
NŎCTE	nɔtte	nɔːtʁ	night
ŎCTO	ɔtto	ɔːt	eight
FACTU	fatto	faːt	done, made
OCTŌBRE	ottoːbre	utoːbrɪ	October
PĔCTĬNE	pɛttine	pɛ̯ːtⁿnɪ	comb
*ASPECTĀRE	aspettaːre	ʁʂpˀˈtɛː	to wait
SŬBFĪCTU	soffitto	ʂuˈfɪtˈ	ceiling
SĔPTEM	sɛtte	ʂɛ̯ːt	seven
SEPTIMĀNA	settimana	ʂtⁿmɛ̯ːnʁ	week

Etymon	Italian	Sammarinese	Translation
RŬPTU	rotto	rɔtˑ	broken
SŬBTU	sotto	s̪ɔtˑɐ	under, beneath
SŬBTĪLE	sottile	s̪tiːl	thin, fine
SPAT(Ŭ)LA[47]	spalla	s̪paːlɐ	shoulder
DŎM(Ĭ)NA	dɔnna	dɔːnɐ	woman
SŎMNU	sɔnno	s̪ɔnˑ	sleep, sleepiness
AUTUMNU	au̯tunno	au̯ˈtʊnˑ	autumn
NE ĬPSE ŪNU	nessuːno	niˈs̪uːn, niˈʃɔu̯ñ	no one
CAPSA	cassa	kaːs̪ɐ	case, box, chest
FRĬG(Ĭ)DU	freddo	frɛdˑ	cold

2.3.2.2.3. Secondary Geminates

A tendency toward gemination of posttonic intervocalic -M- establishes itself in Emilia, Liguria, and Lombardy by the fourteenth century (cf. *fummo* ‘fumo’ [Dante, *Inf.* 7.123]) and travels down the Via Aemilia into Romagna, reaching as far as the Foglia River (Schürr, *Probleme* 106). The preceding vowel develops in a closed syllable before the degemination of secondary [mm] takes place:[48]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
LĪMA	lɪmˑɐ	file
*SKLŪMA	s̪tʃʊmˑɐ	foam, froth, lather
LŪMEN	lʊmˑ	lamp, light
LŪMEN	lʊmˑɐ	gas or oil lamp
FLŪMEN	fjʊmˑ	river
FŪMU	fʊmˑ, fɔmˑ	smoke
FĪNĪMUS	fnɪmˑ	we finish
-ĀMUS	*cminzam* (Balsimelli 6.1)	we begin

Additionally, the intensification of original simple consonants sometimes occurs in Emilian and Romagnol after tonic high vowels, particularly [i] and [u] (Rohlfs 1: 53; Coco § 27).

[47] Syncope occurs in SPAT(Ŭ)LA after the passage of -tl- > [tʃ] has died out.
[48] Schürr, *RD* 2: 124 ff.; Rohlfs 1: § 222; Coco § 126.

Consequently, high vowels sometimes yield short outcomes ([i] > [ɪ], [u] > [ʊ], [o] > [ɐ]) typical of closed syllables prior to the onset of degemination:

Etymon	Secondary Geminates	Sammarinese	Translation
*PĪPA	*pippa	pɪpˑɐ	pipe
*LŪPU	*luppo	lʊpˑ, luːp	wolf
ŪVA	*uvva	ʊvˑɐ	grapes
SCRŌFA	*scrovva	s̪krɐvˑɐ	sow
VIA CŪPA	*kuvva	viː kʊvˑɐ	“Deep Street” (topon.)
MĪCA	*migga	miːgɐ, mɪgˑɐ	not…at all
CŪNA	*kunna	kʊnˑɐ	cradle

Secondary germination of posttonic intervocalic consonants is also found in the Apennine Bolognese dialect of Lizzano in Belvedere (SCRĪBO > [s̪krivvo] ‘I write’, DĪCO > [diggo] ‘I say’) (Malagòli, “Fonologia” § 196), which preserves fully long consonants (Loporcaro et al.).

2.3.2.3. Internal Consonant Clusters

2.3.2.3.1. Intervocalic [ks]

Latin -X- (= [ks]), whose evolution is parallel to that of -CT- (= [kt]) > [tt] > [t] in Northeastern Italy, undergoes anticipatory assimilation in Romagnol and for the most part in Italian, which preserves the resultant geminate [ss] (Rohlfs 1: 314). In Romagnol, the final outcome after degemination is generally apico-alveolar [s̪]:

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
MAXĬMU	massimo	maːs̪mi	maximum
FĪXU	fisso	fɪs̪ˑ	continuously
AXE	asse	aːs̪	board
MATAXA	matassa	mɐdaːs̪ɐ	skein, hank
SAXU	sasso	s̪aːs̪	stone, rock
SEXA(GI)NTA	sessanta	s̪ɛːn̪tɐ	sixty
TAXU	tasso	taːs̪	badger

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
TĔXĔRE	tɛssere	tɛ̣ːs̱ɐ	to weave
LĬXU	lesso	lɛs̱ˑ	boiled

On the other hand, -X- sometimes yields [ʃʃ] in Italo-Romance, which produces Southwestern Sammarinese [ʃ] alongside Serravallese [s̱]. The prepalatal articulation of the Southwest, which presupposes vocalization of the syllable-final velar ([ks] > [i̯s]), probably reflects the influence of Tuscan. Nicolao Antonio's fifteenth-century letter reflects this pronunciation in the hypercorrection *lasiare* 'lasciare' (Foresti 31). As a general rule, wherever Italian shows [ʃʃ], Southwestern Sammarinese corresponds with [ʃ] and Serravallese with [s̱]:

Etymon	Italian	SW Samm.	Serravallese	Translation
EXSŪCĀRE	aʃʃugaːre	ʃuˈgɛ̣ː	s̱uˈgɛ̣ː	to dry
CŎXA	kɔʃʃa	kɔːʃɐ	kɔːs̱ɐ	thigh
LAXĀRE	laʃʃaːre	lɐˈʃɛ̣ː	lɐˈs̱ɛ̣ː	to leave; let
EXAQUĀRE	ʃakkwaːre	ʃɐˈkwɛ̣ː	s̱ɐˈkwɛ̣ː	to rinse
MAXĬLLA	maʃʃɛlla	mɐʃɛ̣ːlɐ	mɐs̱ɛ̣ːlɐ	cheek
EXSOL(U)TA	ʃɔlta	ʃɔːltɐ		diarrhea
EXSUPĀRE	ʃupaːre	ʃuˈpɔũ̯ñ		wasteful

2.3.2.3.2. Intervocalic [bl], [fl], and [pl]

The development of the internal clusters -BL-, -FL-, and -PL- entails the palatalization and subsequent vocalization of the liquid (-BL- > [bʎ] > [bj]) in Italo-Romance.[49] When the cluster is intervocalic, the newly formed semiconsonant triggers the gemination of the preceding obstruent, yielding the outcomes [bbj], [ffj], and [ppj], which are preserved in modern Italian. In Northern Italy, tonic vowels preceding these clusters follow the closed syllable development before the

[49] Rohlfs 1: §§ 247, 249, 252; Coco §§ 99-102.

onset of degemination. Hence, modern Sammarinese shows the clusters [bj], [fj], and [pj] following vocalic outcomes typical of closed syllables:

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
NEB(Ŭ)LA	nebbja	nɛbˑjɐ	fog
SAB(Ŭ)LA	sabbja	s̪aːbjɐ	sand
FĪB(Ŭ)LA	fibbja	fɪbˑjɐ	buckle
BIBLIA	bibbja	bɪbˑjɐ	Bible
SŬFFLĀRE	soffjaːre	s̪uˈfjɛː	to blow
*STŬP(Ŭ)LA	stoppja	s̪tɔpˑjɐ	stubble
DŬPLU	doppjo	dɔpˑjɪ	double
ŎP(Ŭ)LU	ɔppjo	ɔːpjɪ	maple

2.3.2.3.3. Palatalization of -CL- and -GL-

The Vulgar Latin clusters -CL- (which is also the outcome of -TL-) and -GL- participate in the same development that affects -BL-, -FL-, and -PL-. While Tuscan preserves the outcomes [kkj] and [ggj], in Northeastern Italy the velar consonant is palatalized, the yod is absorbed, and degemination occurs (> [tʃ dʒ]) after preceding tonic vowels have already evolved in closed syllables (Rohlfs 1: §§ 248, 250; Coco § 103):

Etymon	Tuscan	Sammarinese	Translation
*ACŪC(Ŭ)LA	agukkjo	gʊtˑʃ	needle
AURĬC(Ŭ)LA	orekkja	urɛtˑʃɐ	ear
ŎC(Ŭ)LU	ɔkkjo	ɔːtʃ	eye
*PEDŎC(Ŭ)LU	pidɔkkjo	bˀdɔːtʃ	louse
*FENŎC(Ŭ)LU	finɔkkjo	fnɔːtʃ	fennel
*GENŎC(Ŭ)LU	ginɔkkjo	z̪nɔːtʃ	knee
VĔCLU	vɛkkjo	vɛ̯ːtʃ	old
SPĔC(Ŭ)LU	spɛkkjo	s̪pɛ̯ːtʃ	mirror
SPĪC(Ŭ)LU	spikkjo	s̪pɪtˑʃ	segment, clove
MAC(Ŭ)LA	makkja	maːtʃɐ	spot, stain; bush
COCHLEARIU	kukkjaːjo	kuˈtʃɛ̯ːr	spoon
VĬG(Ĭ)LĀRE	veggjaːre	z̪viˈdʒɛ̯ː	to wake up

Etymon	Tuscan	Sammarinese	Translation
VĬG(Ĭ)LĀRE	veggja	vɪdˈʒɐ	watch, vigil
TĒG(Ŭ)LA	teggja	tɛdˈʒɐ	cake pan

2.3.2.3.4. Occlusion of -V- after Liquids

Attested as early as the third century in the *Appendix Probi* (*albeus non alveus*), occlusion of the labial consonant in the clusters -RV- and -LV- is common to modern dialects scattered throughout Italy, including varieties of Emilian, Venetan, Romagnol, Tuscan, Marchesan, and Umbrian among others (Rohlfs 1: 373-74). Beyond Italo-Romance, the phenomenon also occurs in French (*CORVĔLLU > *corbeau*, CŬRBĀRE > *courber*), Romanian (CŎRVU > *corb*, CĔRVU > *cerb*, SĬLVATĬCU > *sălbatic*), Albanian, and German (*HALV > *halb* 'half'). The fact that the development is so widespread indicates that its origin is innate in the phonetic context rather than attributable to a particular substratum (Rohlfs 1: 374). In Borderline Romagnol, oscillation between [b] and [v] is the norm (Delmonte § 2.2.3):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MALVA	mɛ̯ːlbɐ, moi̯bɐ	mallow
SĬLVA	s̪iːbɐ	forest
SĬLVATĬCU	s̪ɐlbaːdˈgɪ, s̪ɐi̯baːdˈgi	wild
NĔRVU	niːrb	nerve
SĔRVA	s̪ɛ̯ːrvɐ	maid
ALVEU	ɛ̯ːbjɪ	drinking trough
PŬLVĔRE	pɐlˈvrɐ, poi̯brɐ	dust

2.3.2.3.5. Postvocalic -SCE- and -SCI-

When followed by a palatal vowel, the cluster [sk] produces a dichotomy of geographic allophones analogous to the division between the localized variants [ʒ] and [z̪] originating from postvocalic -CE- and -CI-. While the Southwestern part of the Republic is characterized by the

passage of -SCE- to [ʃ], whose prepalatal articulation is typical of Central and Southern Italy, Serravallese shows apico-alveolar [ʂ], which exemplifies Romagna and much of Northern Italy:[50]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
NASCĔRE	naːʃɐ	naːʂɐ	to be born
COGNŌSCĔRE	kⁿnɔʃˑɐ	kⁿnɐsˑɐ	to know
CRĒSCĔRE	krɛʃˑɐ	krɛʂˑɐ	to grow
PĬSCE	pɛʃˑ	pɛʂˑ	fish

In secondary contact with a subsequent consonant, postvocalic -SCI- assumes an apico-alveolar articulation throughout the Republic. The outcome is voiceless [ʂ] before surd consonants, sonorous [ʐ] in front of voiced consonants:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*REMISCITĀRE	ɐrmiʂˈtiː	to mix
*LUSCINIŎLU	ruʐˈɲuːl	nightingale

2.3.2.3.6. Consonant Assimilation after Syncope

Syncope of atonic vowels often gives rise to consonant clusters that are not tolerated by the phonological system. This situation is resolved by partial assimilation, normally anticipatory, which entails a shift in the point of articulation, a change in sonority, or both (Rohlfs 1: § 242):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
NEPŌTE	ɐɱˈvɔ̰ud	nephew; grandson
*PEDŎC(Ŭ)LU	bˈdɔːtʃ	louse
PĪSĔLLU	bˈʐɛ̰ːl	pea
SECŬNDU	ʐgɔnˑd	second
VESSĪCA	pˈʃiːgɐ	bladder
COPĔRTA	kwɛ̰ːʐ̊tɐ	cover, blanket

[50] Rohlfs 1: § 266; Coco § 171; Delmonte § 2.2.1.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
COPĔRC(Ŭ)LU	kwɐ̯ːɾ̥tʃ	lid, cover
VENĪRE	ɐmniː	to come
JŬVĔNE	dʒɐmˈni	young
CAUSA TE FACIS	kuʂ tˀ fɐ̯ː	what are you doing?
ECCU SĪC	ɐkˈʂɪ	like this
SAETACIU	ʂtaːtʃɐ	sieve
CŬCŬMA	kʊkˈmɐ, kʊtˈmɐ	coffeepot

In VESSĪCA, the rare voiced labiodental fricative + voiceless sibilant fricative cluster (cf. Bolognese [vʂiːgɐ]) triggers sonority assimilation followed by place dissimilation. Through anticipatory assimilation, the labiodental is devoiced (cf. Bolognese [fʂiːgɐ]). By subsequent dissimilation, the labiodental fricative yields a bilabial stop in Romagnol: [pˀʃiːgɐ].

2.3.2.3.7. Consonant Anaptyxis after Syncope

When syncope of a posttonic vowel creates secondary consonant clusters made up of a nasal followed by a liquid, an occlusive homorganic to the first element is often epenthesized between the two sonorants (-nr- > -ndr-, -nl- > -ndl-, -mr- > -mbr-):[51]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
GĔNĔRU	dʒɛnˈdrɪ	son-in-law
CĬNĔRE	tʃɛnˈdrɐ	ash(es)
DŎMNŬLA	dʊnˈdlɐ	weasel
NUMĔRU	nʊmˈbri	number

2.3.2.3.8. Gliding of Preconsonantal [l]

An idiosyncrasy of Romagnol, Tuscan, and Apennine Emilian is gliding of [l] > [i̯] before a labial or velar consonant.[52] This peculiar outcome supplants a more common

[51] Rohlfs 1: § 270; Coco § 122; Delmonte § 2.3.2.
[52] Schürr, *RD* 1: 134, *RD* 2: 233-35, *Probleme* 111, *VR* 51-52; Rohlfs 1: 345-46

development, whereby preconsonantal [l] is velarized (> [ʟ]) and subsequently labialized to [u̯] (Schürr, *VR* 51): ALTU > Portuguese [aʟtu], Brazilian [au̯tu], Old French [au̯t]. The *Pulon Matt* attests the presence of the labialized stage [u̯] in sixteenth-century Romagnol: *quauch, quauc, queuch, quauca* ‘qualche’, *quauch’un, quaucun* ‘qualcuno’, *quau sarà, quau sarall* ‘quale sarà?’, *quau cason* ‘quale cagione’, *quau fuss* ‘quale fosse’, *quau bughen* ‘quale buchino’, *tau sorta* ‘tal sorta’, *beu tnor* ‘bel tenore’, *beu ragazzon* ‘bel ragazzone’, *beu son* ‘bel suono’, *beu zett* ‘bel ramoscello’, *beu rzment* ‘bell’attrezzatura’, *beu par* ‘bel paio’, *beu salut* ‘bel saluto’, *beu musin* ‘bel visino’, *beu temp* ‘bel tempo’, *beu patt* ‘bel patto’, *beu turvà* ‘bel trovato’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 134, *VR* 51-52). Vestiges of this period endure in the modern Sammarinese masculine singular definite article and personal pronoun [u] (< [eu̯] < [el] < ĬLLE) as well as in [s̻un̻ɪtˑʃɐ] ‘sausage’ (< SALSĪCIA) (Schürr, *Probleme* 111, *VR* § 31). However, starting in the larger cities of Emilia and Romagna, such as Modena, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Rimini, where the influence of the literary language is rampant, alveolar [l] is eventually restored except before labial and velar consonants (Schürr, *VR* 52). In these positions, labial-velar [u̯] yields the front offglide [i̯] by dissimilation. Due to the continued tendency toward restoration, oscillation between [l] and [i̯] is the norm in modern Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VŬLPE	*vólpa* (Foresti 431), voi̯pɐ, vui̯pɐ	fox
ŬLMU	oːlmɪ, oi̯mi, ui̯mi	elm
SŬLCU	s̻oːlk, s̻oi̯k, s̻ui̯k	furrow
SŬLPHŬRE	s̻oːlfnɪ, s̻oi̯fnɪ	sulfur
ALVEU	ɛːbjɪ	drinking trough
ARBŎRE	ɛːlbrɪ, ɛ̝ːibri, oi̯bri	tree
MALVA	mɛ̝ːlbɐ, moi̯bɐ	mallow
SĬLVA	s̻iːbɐ	forest
SĬLVATĬCU	s̻ɐlbaːdˀgɪ, s̻ɐi̯baːdˀgi	wild

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PALMA	pɐ̯ːlmɐ, pɛi̯mɐ	palm
CŬLPA	koi̯pɐ	fault, guilt, blame
*CŌLPU	koːlp, kʊlˈp, koi̯p	blow; shot; stroke
CŬLMEN	koːlmɪ, kʊi̯mi	roof top
cf. Tuscan *qualcheduno*	kwɐlˈdɔʊ̯ñ, kwɐi̯ˈdɔʊ̯ñ, kɛkˈduːn	someone
QUĀL(IS)-QUE	kɛkˑ	some
SALVĀRE	sʊ̯ɐi̯ˈvɐ̯ː	to save
CALCĀRE	kɐi̯ˈkɐ̯ː	to push
PŬLVERE	pɐlˑvrɐ, poi̯brɐ	dust; powder
FALCO	fɛi̯k	falcon
*BUFŬLCU	*bjólch* (Foresti 409), bjʊi̯k	plowman, farm laborer
BASĪL(Ĭ)CU	bɐzʊ̯ei̯ki	basil

2.3.2.3.9. Nasalization of Preconsonantal [l]

Whereas the lateral approximant in ALT(Ĕ)RU is preserved in cases such as [kˈlɐ̯ːl̥t] ‘that other one’, the consonant is assimilated by the preceding nasal in [uˈnɐ̯ːn̥t] ‘another’. A non-etymological [l] may be the source for the alveolar nasal in [ɐrpuŋ̊ˈsʊ̯ː] ‘to rest’ < REPAUSĀRE (Rohlfs 1: § 245). In addition, PŬLSU yields the variants [pɔʊ̯lʊ̯] and [pɔʊ̯ñʊ̯] ‘wrist’, SALSĪCIA > [sʊ̯unʊ̯ɪtˑʃɐ] ‘sausage’, and Old High German MILZI produces [miːlθɐ] alongside [mɪnˑθɐ] ‘spleen’.

2.3.2.3.10. Deletion of Postconsonantal [r]

The internal clusters -STR- and -LTR- drop the trill in the following instances (Rohlfs 1: § 272):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
NŎSTRA	nɔːsʊ̯tɐ	our
*VŎSTRA	vɔːsʊ̯tɐ	your
ŪNA ALT(Ĕ)RA	un ɐ̯ːn̥tɐ	another
ŪNA ALT(Ĕ)RA	kl ɐ̯ːltɐ	the other, that other one

VŌS ALT(Ĕ)RĪ	vuˈiːl̥t	you (pl.)
ULTRA	uːl̥tɐ	toward

Deletion of [r] likely originated in adjectives with a Ø desinence (m. sg., m. pl., f. pl.) when these preceded a consonant-initial substantive: *[el nɔstr kumˈpaɲ] > [ɛl nɔːs̪t kumˈpaːɲ] ‘our friend’. From this context the innovation was generalized to all forms of the adjective and pronoun. Instead, in ULTRA [r] is syncopated by dissimilation from the preceding liquid (see Schürr, *RD* 2: 231). On the other hand, [rɐs̪ˈtɐ̯ːl] ‘rake’ is the direct continuant of RASTĔLLU.

2.3.2.3.11. Metathesis of Postconsonantal [r]

Another way that internal -R- is removed from a three-consonant cluster is by metathesis: DE ĬNTRU > [dreːn̥tɐ] ‘inside’ (Rohlfs 1: 454). The evolution of AP(Ĕ)RĪRE > [ɐrˈviː] ‘to open’, on the other hand, can be ascribed to the influence of the frequently occurring prefix [ɐr]-.

2.3.2.3.12. Sonorant + Obstruent + [r]

Tonic vowels occurring before primary and secondary sonorant + obstruent + [r] clusters oscillate between open- and closed-syllable outcomes (cf. Coco 22 n. 37):

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
PŬLVERE	pɔlˑvrɐ	pɐlˑvrɐ	dust; powder
COMP(Ă)RAT	kɔu̯m̃prɐ	kɐmˑprɐ	he, she buys
SĔMPER	s̪ɛi̯m̃prɪ	s̪ɛmˑprɐ	always

2.3.2.3.13. Dissimilation

The following are isolated yet noteworthy instances of dissimilation of internal consonants in Sammarinese (Schürr, *RD* 2: 231; Rohlfs 1: 460-61):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ANĬMA	aːlmɐ	marrow
RASŌRIU	rɐˈʒuːl	razor
*GRŬNDARIA	gˈlundɛ̯ːrɐ	gutter
PATIĔNTIA	pɐtʃiːnθɐ	patience
CŬLTĔLLU	kurˈtɛ̯ːl	knife

The cluster in [fjaːmbɐ] ‘flame’ (< FLAMMA) is borrowed from Umbro-Marchesan, where -MM- and -NN- give [mb] and [nd] by hypercorrection (Schürr, *Probleme* 109).

2.3.2.4. Consonant + Yod Clusters

For the purpose of explaining tonic vowel evolutions in Romagnol, internal consonant + yod clusters can be divided into two principal groups: 1) those which are geminated in Vulgar Latin and 2) those which are not.

2.3.2.4.1. Geminates Deriving From Consonant + Yod Clusters

When followed immediately by geminates originating from consonant + yod clusters, Northern Italian tonic vowels develop as closed-syllable vowels. In order to illustrate this process, the tables below juxtapose the conservative outcomes of Italian with the innovative results of Sammarinese.

2.3.2.4.1.1. Intervocalic -BJ- and -VJ-

The infrequent clusters -BJ- and -VJ- yield Italo-Romance [bbj], which is preserved in Italian. Due to the sway of the written language, degeminated [bj] is the typical outcome in Sammarinese (Rohlfs § 274; Coco § 83):

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
RABIA	rabbja	raːbjɐ	anger
*JŎVIA	*dʒɔbbja	dʒɔːbjɐ	Thursday
CAVEA	gabbja	gaːbjɐ	cage

2.3.2.4.1.2. Word-Internal -CJ-

Intervocalic -CJ- yields the prepalatal geminate [ttʃ] in Italian and postdental [ts] in Northern Italy (Rohlfs § 275), which produces the dental fricative [θ] in Romagnol (Coco § 87; Delmonte § 2.2.1). The prevalence of the Northern Italian variant and its interference with the written language are documented in the fourteenth-century Statutes of San Marino (*figlozzo* 'figlioccio'< *FILIOCEU [Foresti 26]) and in the fifteenth-century Statutes of Serravalle (*conzare* 'conciare', *faza* 'faccia', *azaro* 'acciaio' [Foresti 29-30]). Modern Sammarinese, however, consistently shows the prepalatal variant [tʃ] typical of the area southeast of the Marecchia:

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
*TRĬCHEA	trettʃa	trɛtˑʃɐ	plait, braid
BRACHIU	brattʃo	braːtʃ	arm
SAETACIU	setattʃo	s̪taːtʃɐ	sieve
*ERĪCIU	rittʃo	rɪtˑʃ	curly
LŪCEO + -ŬLA	ˈluttʃola	lʊtˑʃlɐ	firefly
GLACIA	gjattʃo	dʒaːtʃ	ice
FACIE	fattʃa	faːtʃɐ	face
ACIARIU	attʃaːjo	ɐˈtʃɛ̯ːr	steel
*CACIARE	kattʃa	kaːtʃɐ	hunt, hunting
*BŎCIA	bɔttʃa	bɔːtʃɐ	bud

As for postconsonantal -CJ-, modern Sammarinese oscillates between Romagnol [θ] and Central Italian [tʃ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
BILANCIA	bˈlɛːn̥tʃɐ	balance, scale(s)
*BIGONCIU	bˈgɔu̯ñ̥θ	tub, vat
DISCALCEU	s̪kɛːl̥θ	barefoot
*CONCIĀRE	kun̥ˈtʃɛː	to tan

2.3.2.4.1.3. Intervocalic -dj-, -gj-, -ge-, -gi-, and -j-

The intervocalic groups -DJ-, -GJ-, -GE-, -GI-, and -J- merge into Proto-Romance [jj], which normally yields the prepalatal geminate [ddʒ] in Italian, degeminated [dʒ] in Sammarinese, and the dental fricative [ð] northwest of the Marecchia:[53]

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
PĒJU	pɛddʒo	pɛdˑʒ	worse
MAJU	maddʒo	maːdʒ	May
*SCARAFAJU	skarafaddʒo	s̪kɐrɐˈfaːdʒ	blackbeetle
GAJA	*gaddʒa	gaːdʒɐ	magpie
LĔGĔRE	ˈlɛddʒere	lɛːdʒɐ	to read
MUGĪRE	muddʒiːre	muˈdʒiː	to moo
REGĔNTE	reddʒɛnte	reˈdʒɛn̪int	regent
ARŪGĬNE	ruddʒine	rʊdˑʒnɐ	rust
FAGEU	faddʒo	faːdʒ	beech
CORRĬGIA	skoreddʒaːre	s̪kurˈdʒɛː	to pass gas

The general exception to the rule is intervocalic -DJ-, for which the outcome is consistently [ð] northwest of the Marecchia. In Sammarinese, on the other hand, the incidence of the prepalatal affricate and the dental fricative corresponds with their occurrence in Italian:

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
MĔDIU	mɛddzo	mɛ̯ːð	half
PŎDIU	appoddʒaːre	puˈdʒɛ̯ː	to lean
HŎDIE	ɔddʒi	ɔːdʒ	today

Based on the scant textual evidence at our disposal, it appears that the Romagnol dental fricatives [θ ð] did not succumb to the Central Italian affricates [tʃ dʒ] until well into the nineteenth century. The oldest known attestation of the Sammarinese dialect, a satyrical occasional poem composed in 1821, records oscillation between the two articulations: *tettazz*

[53] Rohlfs 1: §§ 218, 220, 276, 277, 279; Coco § 78

‘tettacce’, *bsazz* ‘bisacce’; *mustacc* ‘mostaccio’, *mung’* ‘munge’ (Foresti 50). Half a century later, Ascoli cites such fluctuation as a characteristic of the varieties spoken between the Marecchia and Foglia Rivers (444), which Schürr attributes in part to the fact that the border between the ecclesiastical provinces of Ravenna and Rome was moved from the Marecchia southeastward to the Foglia during the Middle Ages (*Probleme* 108-109). Finally, in his *Noterelle sul dialetto sammarinese* (1933-1934), the non-specialist Marino Rossi observes that the dialect of Borgo and Città consistently shows the prepalatal affricates (*fèlcia* ‘sickle’, *chelc’* ‘kick’, *gir* ‘trip’, *Gvan* ‘John’), while Serravallese still oscillates between the Romagnol and Central Italian outcomes (*fèlza, chelz, zir, Zvan; facia* ‘face’, *stacia* ‘sieve’, *fag’* ‘beech’). If this was indeed the case, the dental fricatives were receding quickly from Serravallese, given that Anderson’s *Novelline popolari sammarinesi* (1927, 1929, 1933) record no such prominence of *z*. In fact, none of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century texts that I have perused reflect a situation different from today’s, in which the prepalatal affricates [tʃ dʒ] have been restored throughout the Republic at virtually every position. A few vestiges of the Romagnol consonants do survive in the historically rural varieties ([θnɛi̯ñ] ‘small’, [ðaːl] ‘yellow’), whereas the dialect of Borgo and Città has been more consistent in restoring the prepalatal affricates ([tʃnɛi̯ñ], [dʒaːl]). The latter tendency leads to hypercorrection in [iⁿ̥tʃɐmˈpɛ̯ː] ‘to stumble’, which corresponds with the historically rural variant [ɐⁿ̥θɐmˈpɛ̯ː].

2.3.2.4.1.4. Intervocalic [llj] and [lj]

Throughout Italo-Romance, the Latin clusters -LJ- and -LLJ- produce the palatal geminate [ʎʎ], which survives in modern Italian. After having affected the evolution of preceding tonic

vowels, the double consonant is degeminated (> [ʎ]) and generally vocalized to [j] throughout Northern Italy (Rohlfs § 280; Coco § 79):

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
PALEA	paʎʎa	paːjɐ	straw
FŎLIA	fɔʎʎa	fɔːjɐ	leaf
FAMĬLIA	famiʎʎa	fɐmɛjˈɐ	family
MĔLIU	mɛʎʎo	mɛ̯ːi̯	better
LŎLIU	lɔʎʎo	lɔːi̯	rye-grass
JŪLIU	luʎʎo	lʊi̯ˈ	July
TALIĀRE	taʎʎaːre	tɐˈjɛ̯ː	to cut
MŬLIER	moʎʎe	mɔi̯ˈ	wife
ALLIU	aʎʎo	aːi̯	garlic

The fact that the vocalization of original [ʎʎ] likens the Northern dialects to Marchesan, Umbrian, and Roman may be attributed to the Aemilia-Flaminia artery (Schürr, *Probleme* 109).

2.3.2.4.1.5. Intervocalic [mj]

In Romagnol, Bolognese, and Venetian, the infrequent internal cluster -MJ- produces [mm], which undergoes degemination (Rohlfs § 281; Coco § 81). Likely due to the influence of Tuscan, Sammarinese restores the semiconsonant in [vindɛmˈjɐ], where the cluster follows the tonic vowel. On the other hand, the autochthonous forms showing absorption of the yod are entirely stable in Sammarinese when the cluster precedes the tonic vowel:

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
*BLASTĒMIA	bestemmja	bjɐʂtiːmɐ	blasphemy
*BLASTĒMIĀRE	bestemmjaːre	bjɐʂtiˈmɛː, bjɐʂˈtⁿmiː	to curse, swear
*VINDĒMIATŌRE	vendemmjatoːre	vindⁿmɐˈdoːr	grape harvester
*VINDĒMIĀRE	vendemmjaːre	vinˈdⁿmɛ̯ː	to harvest grapes
VINDĒMIA	vendemmja	vɐndiːmɐ, vindɛmˈjɐ	grape harvest

2.3.2.4.1.6. Intervocalic [nj] and [gn]

The intervocalic clusters -NJ- and -GN- (> -[n̯j]-) merge into Italo-Romance [ɲɲ], which is preserved in Italian and degeminated in the Northern dialects:[54]

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
TĬNEA	tiɲɲa	tɲːɐ	ringworm
PĪNEA	piɲɲa	pɪɲːɐ	pine cone
VĪNEA	viɲɲa	vɪɲːɐ	vineyard
*PRŪNEA	pruɲɲa	prʊɲːɐ	plum
JŪNIU	dʒuɲɲo	dʒʊɲː	June
LĬGNU	leɲɲo	lɛɲː	wood
PŬGNU	puɲɲo	pʊɲː	fist

2.3.2.4.1.7. Word-Internal [tj]

As is the case in much of Romania, intervocalic -TJ- undergoes assibilation, yielding two different outcomes according to the cluster's position in relation to the tonic accent.[55]

Posttonic intervocalic -TJ-, -CTJ-, -PTJ-, and -TTJ- merge into the intense affricate [tts], which survives in modern Italian but is degeminated in the fifteenth-century Statutes of Serravalle: *piaze* 'piazze' (Foresti 29). The same document also attests the presence of the northern dental consonant (*capuzo* 'cappuccio') where the modern dialect has been infiltrated by a prepalatal affricate due to the influence of Italian ([kɐˈpʊtːʃ]). Nevertheless, the typical outcome in contemporary Sammarinese is the dental fricative [θ], which presupposes deocclusion of [ts]:

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
PLATEA	pjattsa	pjaːθɐ	public square
*CAPĬTIŬLU	kaˈpettsolo	kɐpɛθːlɪ	nipple

[54] Rohlfs 1: §§ 259, 282; Coco § 82.
[55] Rohlfs 1: §§ 289-91; Coco § 86; Delmonte § 2.2.1.

Etymon	Italo-Romance	Sammarinese	Translation
ACŪTIĀRE	*aˈguttsere	gʊθˑɐ	to sharpen
PALATIU	palattso	pɐˈlaːθ	building, palace
PŬTEU	pottso	pɔθˑ	well
*PŪTIU	puttso	pʊθˑɐ	stench
PĔTIU	pɛttso	pɛ̯ːθ	piece
*NŎPTIAE	nɔttse	nɔːθi	wedding
*MATTEA	mattsa	maːθ	club
*GŬTTEU	*gottso, gottʃa	gɔθˑ, gɔtˑʃɐ	drop
DŬCTIA	dottʃa	dɔtˑʃɐ	gutter pipe
*CAPŪTIU	kapputtʃo	kɐˈpʊtˑʃ	hood
*BIRŎTEU	birɔttʃo	brɔːtʃ	two-wheel cart
*DISTRACTIĀRE	strattʃo	ʂtraːtʃ	cloth, rag; wretch

The instance of hypercorrection in [pɐtʃiːnθɐ] ‘patience’ < PATIĔNTIA might have originated in the period when the Romagnol dental affricates were giving way to the Central Italian prepalatal affricates. However, this could also be interpreted as a case of anticipatory dissimilation or a combination of the two phenomena.

Pretonic -TJ- yields postalveolar [ʒ] in the Southwest of the Republic and apico-alveolar [ʐ̪] in Serravallese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
RATIŌNE	rɐˈʒɔn̪ñ	rɐˈʐ̪ɔn̪ñ	reason
STATIŌNE	ʂtɐˈʒɔn̪ñ	ʂtɐˈʐ̪ɔn̪ñ	season

With the notable exception of [kuŋ̊ˈtʃɛ̯ː], postconsonantal -TJ- consistently yields [θ] in Sammarinese when it follows consonants other than -S-:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MARTIU	mɛ̯ːrθ	to begin
*ALTIĀRE	ɐlˈθɛ̯ː	to raise
LĬNTEŎLU	lɐnˈθuːl	bed sheet
CŬMĬN(Ĭ)TIĀRE	kⁿminˈθɛ̯ː	to begin

*COMPTIĀRE	kunˈtʃɐ̯ː	to tan hide into leather
PATIĔNTIA	pɐtʃiːnθɐ, pɐθjeːnθjɐ	patience

2.3.2.4.1.8. Word-Internal [stj]

In words of direct tradition, this cluster typically gives the postalveolar geminate [ʃʃ] in Tuscan and an alveolar degeminate in Northern Italian varieties (Rohlfs 1: 413). The latter pronunciation is indicated by spellings such as *usio* and *ussio* (‘uscio’ < *ŪSTIU) in the fifteenth-century Statutes of Serravalle (Foresti 30). Modern Sammarinese, on the other hand, presents [ʃˑ] alternating with [s̪ˑ]: *BĪSTIA > [bɪʃˑɐ] [bɪs̪ˑɐ] ‘grass snake’. In the following semilearned words, the fricative maintains an alveolar articulation while -TJ- undergoes assibilation, yielding the cluster [s̪tʃ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
BĔSTIA	bɐ̯ːs̪tjɐ, bɐ̯ːs̪tʃɐ	animal
HŎSTIA	ɔːs̪tʃɐ, ɔːs̪tɐ	host

2.3.2.4.2. Metathesized Consonant + Yod Clusters

As opposed to the clusters described above, internal -RJ- and -SJ- do not yield a double consonant. On the contrary, their evolution raises the articulation of preceding tonic vowels.

2.3.2.4.2.1. Word-Internal [rj]

As is the case in much of Northern Italy, the cluster -RJ- undergoes metathesis (> -[i̯r]-). Before it is dropped, the semivowel raises the articulation of the preceding tonic vowel (Rohlfs § 285; Coco § 80):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AREA	ɐ̯ːrɐ	threshing floor
PARIA	pɐ̯ːra	pair(s)
CALDARIU	kɐlˈdɐ̯ːr	large container for boiling laundry
CALDARIA	kɐldiːrɐ	small container for boiling
CARBONARIU	kɐrbuˈnɐ̯ːr	coal merchant
CALDERARIU	kɐldɐˈrɐ̯ːr	boilermaker
FŬRNARIU	furˈnɐ̯ːr	baker
SOLARIU	s̯uˈlɐ̯ːr	floor
JENUARIU	dʒnɐ̯ːr	January
PERTICARIU	pɐrˈgɐ̯ːr	plow
FERIA	fiːrɐ	fair
*DEPANATŌRIU	dˈvɐnɐˈduːr	wool winder
LAVATŌRIU	lɐvɐˈduːr	tub, basin
RASŌRIU	rɐˈz̪uːl	razor
*CORIAME(N)	kuˈrɐ̯ːm	leather
*GRŬNDARIA	gˈlundɐ̯ːrɐ	gutter
*PĬLATŌRIU	pˈlɐˈduːr	part of abattoir where pigs are skinned

2.3.2.4.2.2. Word-Internal [sj]

Metathesis also affects intervocalic -SJ- (> -[j̪s]-), which normally gives apico-alveolar [z̪] in Romagnol.[56] While this pronunciation is suggested by the grapheme *x* in the fifteenth-century Statutes of Serravalle (*bruxare* ‘bruciare’[Foresti 30]) and also characterizes modern Serravallese, the Southwest of the Republic favors prepalatal [ʒ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
ECLĔSIA	tʃiːz̪ɐ	tʃiːz̪ɐ	church
CERĔSEA	tʃɐriːʒɐ	tʃɐriːz̪ɐ	cherry
PHASEŎLU	fɐˈʒuːl	fɐˈz̪uːl	bean
BASIU	bɐ̯ːʒ	bɐ̯ːz̪	kiss
BRUSIĀRE	bruˈʒɐ̯ː	bruˈz̪ɐ̯ː	to burn

[56] Rohlfs 1: 407; Coco § 85; Delmonte § 2.2.1.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
CAMĪSIA	kɐmiːʒɐ	kɐmiːz̪ɐ	shirt

2.3.3. Secondary Word-Final Consonants

2.3.3.1. Word-Final [r] of Infinitives

While secondary final [r] is generally preserved (MARE > [mɐ̯ːr] ‘sea’, HĚRĪ > [jiːr] ‘yesterday’), deletion of the trill may be observed in infinitive desinences. In the *Pulon Matt,* [r] is deleted before enclitics: *fal* ‘farlo’, *fat* ‘farti’, *fai* ‘far loro’, *cmanzala* ‘cominciarla’, *mardela* ‘maritarla’, *lauaz* ‘lavarci’, *admsgas, admstgas* ‘addomesticarsi’, *mustrain* ‘mostrargliene’; *(a)uudel* ‘vederlo’, *uulei* ‘volerle/gli’, *pses* ‘potersi’, *arudez* ‘arrivederci’; *toi* ‘togliergli’. Elsewhere the trill is maintained: *antrar* ‘entrare’ (3.11.5, 4.3.2), *alzar* ‘alzare’ (3.48.5), *aruer* ‘arrivare’ (2.35.7, 3.16.6), *cantar* ‘cantare’ (S2.6, 2.44.8), *far* ‘fare’ (1.20.8, 1.21.1, 1.35.6), *lasser* ‘lasciare’ (2.59.5), *turuar* ‘trovare’ (1.35.6, 1.61.4); *hauer* ‘avere’ (1.18.6), *sauer* ‘sapere’ (1.28.5, 2.50.3, 2.58.7), *uuder* ‘vedere’ (1.28.6, 1.53.8, 2.10.8), *uuler* ‘volere’ (1.37.7, 2.33.5), *armaner* ‘rimanere’ (3.66.6), *ber* ‘bere’ (3.52.1,4,7,8); *santir* ‘sentire’ (1.30.4, 3.74.7), *fnir* ‘finire’ (1.64.1), *amattir* ‘ammattire’ (1.2.6, 2.42.7); *creder* ‘credere’ (S1.3, 2.12.3, 3.49.3), *credr* (3.39.1), *ridr* ‘ridere’ (2.12.1, 2.14.8, 2.41.5, 1.32.6, 1.34.1), *nassr* ‘nascere’ (3.10.6, 3.67.4), *uolzr’* ‘volgere’ (1.28.8); *tor* ‘togliere’ (3.10.8) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 145).

In Central Romagnol, two different patterns are observable in oxytonic and paroxytonic infinitives. In the former group, we may observe a synchronic external sandhi phenomenon that is analogous to *liaison* in French and linking R in dialects of English. That is to say, /R/ is preserved in the underlying representation of oxytonic infinitives but only surfaces before words beginning with a vowel. Compare [mɐˈɲeə̯̃] ‘to eat’, [vdeə̯̃] ‘to see’, [s̪iŋ̊ˈtiː] ‘to hear’, [toɐ̯̃] ‘to

take’ with [mɐˈɲeə̯r un oɐ̯ˌ] ‘to eat an egg’, [ə vẽn ɐ vdeə̯ir ə s̪u ɐˈmiːg̊] ‘he is coming to see his friend’, [s̪iŋ̊ˈtiːr un ɐrˈmoːr̥] ‘to hear a noise’, [toɐ̯r ə pʲo ɡraːs̪] ‘to take the fattest one’. On the other hand, in paroxytonic infinitives /R/ is suppressed only before enclitics. Compare [kr̥eə̯idɐr̥] ‘to believe’, [kuːz̪ɐr̥] ‘to cook’, [metˑɐr̥] ‘to put’ with [kr̥eə̯iduŋ̊] ‘to believe me’, [kuːz̪ɐl̥] ‘to cook it’, [metˑɐs̪] ‘to put oneself’, [z̪baːtl̥i] ‘to beat them (f.)’, [koə̯ilɐ] ‘to pick it’ (Schürr, *RD* 2: 239; Rohlfs 1: 430). In Sammarinese, deletion of [r] has been generalized to infinitives in all contexts:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	kɐn̥ˈtɛ̯ː	to sing
MANDUCĀRE	mɐˈɲɛ̯ː	to eat
*SAPĒRE	s̪ɐˈveː	to know (how)
BĬBĔRE	beː, boə̯i	to drink
NASCĔRE	naːʃɐ, naːs̪ɐ	to be born
VĒNDĔRE	vɛnˑdɐ	to sell
*MORĪRE	muˈriː	to die
FĪNĪRE	fniː	to finish

While the deletion of [r] originated at the boundary between infinitive and enclitic (cf. Old Romagnol *far* ‘fare’, *fal* ‘farlo’), word-internally the trill is preserved in phonologically analogous contexts: [mɛ̯ːrlɪ] ‘blackbird’, [fɛ̯ːrmɪ] ‘still’, [iɱvɛ̯ːrnɪ] ‘winter’, [tʃiːr̥tʃ] ‘circle’, [kɔːrv] ‘crow’, [ɔːrt] ‘vegetable garden’, [oːrs̪] ‘bear’. Unlike Romagnol, Bolognese always maintains the final [r] of infinitives: [kɐn̥ˈtɛ̯ːr] ‘to sing’, [s̪ɐˈvɐ̯ːir] ‘to know’, [muˈriːr] ‘to die’, [naːs̪ər] ‘to be born’. Before enclitics preservation of [r] is accomplished by vowel anaptyxis: [lɐvɛ̯ːrum] ‘to wash me/myself’, [s̪ɐvɐ̯ːirəl] ‘to know it’, [ftiːrəs̪] ‘to get dressed’, [s̪kriːvrən] ‘to write about it’.

2.3.3.2. Word-Final [m]

Although secondary word-final -m is generally preserved in Romagnol as well as in Sammarinese (HŎMO > [ɔːm] ‘man’, CLAMO > [tʃɛ̯ːm] ‘I call’), a limited series of words presents oscillating results. Concomitantly to the nasalization of the preceding tonic vowel, secondary word-final -m is retracted to *-n* by the time the *Pulon Matt* is composed in the sixteenth century (Schürr, *RD* 1: 47, 55). Central Romagnol, which displays complete nasalization of tonic vowels (Schürr, *VR* 33), drops the final consonant altogether: LŬMEN > [lõ] [lũ] ‘lamp; light’, FŪMU > [fõ] [fũ] ‘smoke’, FLŪMEN > [fjõ] [fjũ] ‘river’, *INSĔMEL > [inˈʂẽ] ‘together’. Given that from Cesena southeastward nasalization is only partial, Sammarinese often presents a (velarized) alveolar nasal word-finally: [luːn] ‘lamp; light’, [fɔu̯ñ] ‘smoke’, [inˈʂɛi̯ñ] ‘together’. Alternatively, final -m is often restored, which may occur in one of two different stages. The first phase of restoration, which establishes itself in Emilia, Liguria, and Lombardy by the fourteenth century, arrives in Romagna prior to nasalization, lengthening of low vowels, and the lowering of closed-syllable high vowels. Since this wave of restoration entails gemination (Schürr, *Probleme* 106), Sammarinese also shows outcomes in which the tonic vowel has developed in a closed syllable: [lʊmˑ] ‘lamp; light’, [fʊmˑ] [fɔmˑ] ‘smoke’, [fjʊmˑ] ‘river’, FĪNĪMUS > [fnɪmˑ] ‘we finish’, -ĀMUS > *cminzam* ‘we begin’ (Balsimelli 6.1). A more recent current of restoration takes place subsequent to diphthongization: [fɔu̯m̃] ‘smoke’, [iu̯ˈʂɛi̯m̃] ‘together’.

2.4. Conclusions

While metaphony is normally triggered by final [i] (*[flori] > [fjuːr] ‘flowers’), there are numerous examples of the phenomenon arising in other contexts. Metaphony occurs in the

groups -ĔU, -[ɔu] (< -ŬU), -[ɔgu] (< -ŎCU), -ŎLU, and -ŎVU, where final Ŭ yields [u]: MĔU > [miː] ‘my’, *TŎU > [tuː] ‘your’, FŎCU > [fuːg] ‘fire’, PHASEŎLU > [fɐˈʒuːl] ‘bean’, ŎVU > [uːv] ‘egg’. Furthermore, intertonic [i] (< -ĭ-, -Ĕ-) and [u] (< -ŭ-, -Ŏ-) trigger metaphony in original proparoxytones: SĔLĬNU > [ʂɪrˑlɪ] ‘celery’, DŎMNŬLA > [dʊnˑdˈlɐ] ‘weasel’. The preceding examples illustrate closed-syllable outcomes of metaphonized Ĕ and Ŏ which are typical of Romagnol varieties outside of San Marino. In these dialects, the metaphonic diphthongs [je] and [wo] undergo stress retraction in closed syllables, producing [iɐ̯] and [uɐ̯]. The resulting monophthongs [i] and [u] are lowered and centralized, yielding [ɪ] and [ʊ]. However, as we shall see in Chapter 4, evidence of this development is sporadic in Sammarinese, as it has lost ground to two other competing evolutions. We may assume that monophthongization of [iɐ̯] and [uɐ̯] originates word-internally, where [iː] and [uː] occur throughout the Republic: PĔCŎRA > *[piɐ̯grɐ] > [piːgrɐ] ‘sheep’, ŎVU > *[uɐ̯v] > [uːv] ‘egg’. Word-finally, on the other hand, the falling diphthongs persist in the Southwest (*[pɛdi] > [piˑɐ] ‘feet’, *[bɔvi] > [buˑɐ] ‘oxen’), whereas monophthongization has affirmed itself in the Northeast ([piː], [buː]). The atonic vowel subsystem is characterized by extensive apocope and syncope, which gives rise to unsyllabifiable consonant clusters that necessitate vowel epenthesis: LATRO > [lɛ̯ːdri] ‘thief’, *LĔVĬTU > [lɛvˑdɪ] ‘yeast’. While word-final [r] is normally saved by vowel paragoge, the consonant is dropped in infinitives, where it frequently comes into contact with the initial consonant of the following lexical word (cf. It. *mangiarlo*). Whereas Central Romagnol preserves the final /R/ of infinitives in the underlying representation ([mɐˈɲeɐ̯r un oɐ̯ʏ̯] ‘to eat an egg’, [ə vẽn ɐ vdeɐ̯r ə ʂu ɐˈmiːg̊] ‘he is coming to see his friend’, [ʂiɲ̊ˈtiːr un ɐrˈmoːr̥] ‘to hear a noise’, [kr̥eɐ̯dɐr̥] ‘to believe’),

Sammarinese has dropped the trill altogether ([mɐˈɲɛ̯ː] ‘to eat’, [vleː] ‘to want’, [s̪ɐn̪ˈtiː] ‘to hear’, [kr̥eːdɐ] ‘to believe’).

3. Synchronic Phonetics and Phonology

Φωρ μαι δηρ Καλυψώ

3.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter establishes the principal sound changes which occurred in the history of Sammarinese, while identifying many of the conditions which triggered these developments. Whereas diachronic analysis is particularly useful for the comparison and classification of dialects, the generative analysis in this chapter defines the interactive roles assigned to phones and their features within the modern Sammarinese diasystem. In an effort to outline the common phonological system underlying the varieties of the Republic (which are entirely mutually intelligible), phonemes are distinguished from complementary allophones and free variants, while relevant traits are differentiated from redundant features.

Despite some divergences which reflect its status as a transitional linguistic variety, several of which are discussed in the chapter on diachronic sound changes, Sammarinese phonetics and phonology are unmistakably those of a language belonging to the Romagnol family. This holds true for both the vowel and consonant systems, which this chapter examines in that order. Thus, the tonic vowel subsystem is characterized by a relatively large number of phonemes, eleven compared to Standard Italian's five to seven, and the relevance of vowel quantity, which is complementary in the national language. Also typical of Romagnol dialects, the atonic subsystem features extensive neutralization of contrastive traits and epenthesis. As far as the consonant system is concerned, the most significant difference between Sammarinese and Central Romagnol lies in the distribution of the postalveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ versus the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/.

3.2. Vowels

3.2.1. Vowel Phones

The analysis of the vowel system begins with an inventory and phonetic description of its principal phones (cf. Delmonte § 2.4), which will subsequently be examined phonologically. These phones are catalogued in the table below, in which the far left column indicates vowel height and the top row designates the horizontal point of articulation.

	Front	Front-Central	Central	Back-Central	Back
High	i				u
Lower-High		ɪ		ʊ	
High-Mid	e				o
Mid			ə		
Low-Mid	ɛ				ɔ
Higher-Low			ɐ		
Low			a		

As the table illustrates, the Romagnol dialects of San Marino possess three non-peripheral vowels ([ɪ ə ʊ]) in addition to the eight vowel phones typical of Standard Italian ([i u e o ɛ ɔ ɐ a]). Nevertheless, these additional phones are characterized by the same redundancy that typifies Standard Italian vowels. That is to say, vowel roundedness is a predictable feature, since all non-back vowels are unrounded ([i e ɛ ɪ ə ɐ a]) while all back vowels are rounded ([ʊ u o ɔ]). The phonetic symbols and names of the Sammarinese vowel phones are listed below along with examples of their occurrence:

[i] = high front unrounded: [ɐˈmiːg] ‘friend’, [pidɐ̯ːdi] ‘footprints’

[u] = high back rounded: [muːr] ‘wall’, [duʒeːnt] ‘two hundred’

[ɪ] = lower-high front-central unrounded: [brɪkˑ] ‘donkey’, [lɐ̯ːdrɪ] ‘thief’

[ʊ] = lower-high back-central rounded: [brʊtˑ] ‘ugly’

[e] = high-mid front unrounded: [meːlɐ] ‘apple’

[o] = high-mid back rounded: [lɐˈvoːr] ‘work’

[ɛ] = low-mid front unrounded: [tɛtˑ] ‘roof’, [mɛ̟ːr] ‘sea’, [kɛkˀˈduːn] ‘someone’

[ɔ] = low-mid back rounded: [tɔnˑd] ‘round’, [kɔːr] ‘heart’

[ɐ] = higher-low central unrounded: [tɐnˑd] ‘round’, [ɐ s̟ɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘I was’

[a] = low central unrounded: [gaːt] ‘cat’

In addition, Sammarinese presents the following descending diphthongs:

[ɛi̯]: [vɛi̯ñ] ‘wine’

[oi̯]: [voi̯ñ] ‘wine’

[ɔu̯]: [mɔu̯ñt] ‘mountain’, [ɔu̯rɐ] ‘hour’

The phonological analysis of the above-mentioned vowel phones is divided into two principal sections, which examine the tonic and atonic subsystems separately. In turn, the analysis of the tonic subsystem consists of two subsections, a discussion on phonemes followed by one on complementary allophones and free variants.

3.2.2. Tonic Vowel Phonemes

To begin with, the Sammarinese tonic subsystem comprises the following eleven phonemes:

	i	ɪ	e	ɛː	ɛ	a	ɔ	ɔː	o	ʊ	u
High	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Mid	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
Front	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Low	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Long	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+

Since it depends upon the interaction of a particular set of phonemes within a given system, the relevance of phonological traits is said to be language specific. As the table illustrates, the traits specific to the Sammarinese tonic vowel subsystem include four articulatory and one prosodic feature ([long]). Of the four articulatory traits, three refer to height ([high], [mid], [low]) and one to horizontal place of articulation ([front]). It may be concluded that vowel quantity is phonological in Sammarinese because the opposition occurs word-finally in the absence of a subsequent consonant (Martinet 128): [trɐ̯ː] 'to pull' ~ [trɛ] 'three (f.)'. Consequently, the phonemic status of vowel length renders distinctions in vowel tension, peripherality, and height redundant, since these traits are concomitant to oppositions in vowel quantity (Loporcaro, "Teso/rilassato"). For example, in relation to [+long] /i/ and /u/, [-long] /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ have a lower, non-peripheral, non-tense articulation, all of which is predictable based on the pertinent contrast in quantity. This explains how vowel phones spanning seven phonetic heights (high, lower-high, high-mid, mid, low-mid, higher-low, low) are condensed into a phonemic system with only four degrees of height: 1) [+high] [-mid] [-low] (/i ɪ ʊ u/), 2) [-high] [+mid] [-low] (/e o/), 3) [-high] [+mid] [+low] (/ɛː ɛ ɔ ɔː/), and 4) [-high] [-mid] [+low] (/a/).

An important consideration with regard to the Sammarinese diasystem is the difference in the distribution of certain vowel phonemes. For instance, before word-final /n/ and nasal + voiceless consonant clusters, wherever Southwestern Sammarinese presents /e/, Serravallese normally shows /ɛː/: /ben/ /bɛːn/ 'well', /ven/ /vɛːn/ 'comes', /insén/ /insɛ́ːn/ 'together', /temp/ /tɛːmp/ 'time; weather', /vent/ /vɛːnt/ 'wind', /dent/ /dɛːnt/ 'tooth', /kuntént/ /kuntɛ́ːnt/ 'happy', /sénθa/ /sɛ́ːnθa/ 'without', /kmenθa/ /kmɛːnθa/ 'begin(s)', /parént/ /paréːnt/ 'relative',

/muménт/ /mumɛ́ːnt/ ‘moment’. For examples of distributional disparity involving other pairs of vowel phones, consult the sections on internal flexion in the chapters covering historical morphology.

The pertinence of the features discussed above is borne out by the commutation tests below. Each of the subsequent paragraphs begins with the symbols of the phonemes to be commuted, followed by the trait or traits being tested for relevance, and one or more minimal pairs.

/i/ ~ /ɪ/. Relevant feature: [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [diː] ‘to say’ ~ [dɪ] ‘day’; [diːm] ‘(to) say to me’ ~ [dɪmˑ] ‘we give’; [liː] ‘she, her’ ~ [lɪ] ‘there’; [miː] ‘mine’ ~ [mɪ] ‘I, me’; [s̪iː] ‘you are’ ~ [s̪ɪ] ‘yes’; [viː] ‘away’ ~ [vɪ] ‘look!’; [liːbri] ‘book’ ~ [lɪbˑri] ‘free’.

/i/ ~ /e/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid]. Minimal pairs: [piːnɐ] ‘full’ ~ [peːnɐ] ‘pity’; [piːz̪] ‘weights’ ~ [peːz̪] ‘weight’; [miːz̪] ‘months’ ~ [meːz̪] ‘month’.

/i/ ~ /ɛː/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pairs: [piːn] ‘full’ ~ [pɛ̝ːn] ‘bread’; [piːl] ‘hairs’ ~ [pɛ̝ːl] ‘stake, pole’; [s̪tiːlɐ] ‘thin’ ~ [s̪tɛ̝ːlɐ] ‘star’; [biːrbɐ] ‘clever, cunning’ ~ [bɛ̝ːrbɐ] ‘beard’; [riːdɐ] ‘to laugh’ ~ [rɛ̝ːdɐ] ‘sparse, thin’.

/i/ ~ /ɛ/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [-low] ~ [+low], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [liː] ‘she, her’ ~ [lɛ] ‘he, it is’; [piːl] ‘hairs’ ~ [pɛlˑ] ‘stakes, poles’.

/i/ ~ /a/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pair: [diːmlɪ] ‘say it to me’ ~ [daːmlɪ] ‘give it to me’.

/i/ ~ /ɔ/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [-low] ~ [+low], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [piːl] ‘body hairs’ ~ [pɔlˑ] ‘chicken’; [piːr] ‘pear trees’ ~ [pɔrˑ] ‘leek; wart’.

/i/ ~ /ɔː/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pairs: [niːrɐ] ‘black’ ~ [nɔːrɐ] ‘daughter-in-law’; [riːdɐ] ‘to laugh’ ~ [rɔːdɐ] ‘wheel’.

/i/ ~ /o/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+front] ~ [-front]. Minimal pairs: [fiːrmɐ] ‘signature’ ~ [foːrmɐ] ‘Parmesan cheese’; [viːl] ‘veils’ ~ [voːl] ‘I, you fly; flight’.

/i/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [ʂiːt] ‘are you?’ ~ [ʂʊtˑ] ‘dry’; [piːl] ‘body hairs’ ~ [pʊlˑ] ‘chickens’; [liːt] ‘beds’ ~ [lʊtˑ] ‘mourning’; [piːr] ‘pear trees’ ~ [pʊrˑ] ‘leeks; warts’; [diː] ‘to say, tell’ ~ [dʊ] ‘two (m.)’.

/i/ ~ /u/. Relevant feature: [+front] ~ [-front]. Minimal pairs: [fiːg] ‘fig’ ~ [fuːg] ‘fire’; [fiːrɐ] ‘fair’ ~ [fuːrɐ] ‘outside’; [tʃiːʐɐ] ‘church’ ~ [tʃuːʐɐ] ‘closed’.

/ɪ/ ~ /e/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [mɪlˑ] ‘one thousand’ ~ [meːl] ‘apple tree’; [mɪlˑɐ] ‘(one) thousand’ ~ [meːlɐ] ‘apple’.

/ɪ/ ~ /ɛː/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [-low] ~ [+low], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [mɪlˑ] ‘one thousand’ ~ [mɛ̟ːl] ‘badly; evil, harm, pain’; [fɪmˑɐ] ‘let’s do, make’ ~ [fɛ̟ːmɐ] ‘hunger’; [lɪmˑɐ] ‘file’ ~ [lɛ̟ːmɐ] ‘blade; landslide’; [frɪtˑ] ‘fried’ ~ [frɛ̟ːt] ‘friar, monk’; [ʂpɪtˑʃ] ‘segment, clove’ ~ [ʂpɛ̟ːtʃ] ‘mirror’; [kɐˈvɪlˑ] ‘hair’ ~ [kɐˈvɛ̟ːl] ‘ to take it off’.

/ɪ/ ~ /ɛ/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pairs: [ʂpɪtˑʃ] ‘segment, clove, piece’ ~ [ʂpɛtˑʃ] ‘mirrors’; [lɪ] ‘there’ ~ [lɛ] ‘he, it is’; [tɪ] ‘you’ ~ [tɛ] ‘tea’; [trɪ] ‘three (m.)’ ~ [trɛ] ‘three (f.)’; [pɪʂˑ] ‘fishes; urine’ ~ [pɛʂˑ] ‘fish’; [brɪtˑ] ‘caps’ ~ [brɛtˑ] ‘cap’; [fɪtˑʁ] ‘thick, dense’ ~ [fɛtˑʁ] ‘slice’; [kʁˈfɪ] ‘coffees’ ~ [kʁˈfɛ] ‘coffee’; [kwɪʂˑt] ‘these (m.)’ ~ [kwɛʂˑt] ‘this (m.)’.

/ɪ/ ~ /a/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-low] ~ [+low], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [fɪtˑ] ‘thick, dense’ ~ [faːt] ‘done, made’; [vɪlˑʁ] ‘villa’ ~ [vaːlʁ] ‘valley’; [pɪʂˑ] ‘fishes’ ~ [paːʂ] ‘step’; [ʂpɪlˑʁ] ‘brooch, pin’ ~ [ʂpaːlʁ] ‘shoulder’; [kʁˈvɪlˑ] ‘hair’ ~ [kʁˈvaːl] ‘horse’.

/ɪ/ ~ /ɔ/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pairs: [mɪlˑʁ] ‘(one) thousand’ ~ [mɔlˑʁ] ‘wet’; [mɪ] ‘I, me’ ~ [mɔ] ‘but’; [dɪ] ‘day’ ~ [dɔ] ‘two (f.)’; [ʂɪ] ‘yes’ ~ [ʂɔ] ‘I am; I know (how)’; [pɪθˑ] ‘lace’ ~ [pɔθˑ] ‘well’.

/ɪ/ ~ /ɔː/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [-low] ~ [+low], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [tɪ] ‘you’ ~ [tɔː] ‘take(s)’; [pɪʂˑt] ‘bruised (m. pl.)’ ~ [pɔːʂt] ‘place’; [vɪʂˑt] ‘seen’ ~ [vɔːʂt] ‘your(s)’; [fɪʂˑ] ‘continuously’ ~ [fɔːʂ] ‘ditch’.

/ɪ/ ~ /o/. Relevant features: [+high] ~ [-high], [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [vɪlˑʁ] ‘villa’ ~ [voːlʁ] ‘fly, flies’; [dɪ] ‘day’ ~ [doː] ‘where’.

/ɪ/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant feature: [+front] ~ [-front]. Minimal pairs: [frɪtˑ] ‘fried’ ~ [frʊtˑ] ‘fruit’; [bɪrˑ] ‘ram’ ~ [bʊrˑ] ‘butter’; [pɪʂˑ] ‘fishes’ ~ [pʊʂˑ] ‘I can’; [dɪ] ‘day’ ~ [dʊ] ‘two (m.)’; [fɪʂˑ] ‘continuously’ ~ [fʊʂˑ] ‘were, might be’; [ʂɪ] ‘yes’ ~ [ʂʊ] ‘up’; [pɪθˑ] ‘lace’ ~ [pʊθˑ] ‘wells’.

/ɪ/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [ʂɪ] ‘yes’ ~ [ʂuː] ‘his, her(s), their(s)’; [lɪ] ‘there’ ~ [luː] ‘he, him’; [vɪ] ‘look!’ ~ [vuː] ‘you want’; [mɪlˑ] ‘one thousand’ ~ [muːl] ‘mule’.

/e/ ~ /ɛː/. Relevant feature: [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pairs: [peːrɐ] ‘pear’ ~ [pɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘pair(s)’; [ʂpeːr] ‘I, you hope’ ~ [ʂpɛ̟ːr] ‘I, you shoot’; [reːdɐ] ‘net’ ~ [rɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘sparse, thin’; [reːnɐ] ‘sand’ ~ [rɛ̟ːnɐ] ‘frog’; [deːd] ‘finger’ ~ [dɛ̟ːd] ‘given; die’; [pɐreːdɐ] ‘wall’ ~ [pɐrɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘parade’; [ɐˈbeːd] ‘fir (tree)’ ~ [ɐˈbɛ̟ːd] ‘I look after, mind’; [ɛˈpeːr] ‘the pear tree’ ~ [ɛˈpɛ̟ːr] ‘he, it looks like, seems, appears’; [ulɐˈveːvɐ] ‘he had it’ ~ [ulɐˈvɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘he was washing’; [peːl] ‘hair’ ~ [pɛ̟ːl] ‘stake, pole’; [puˈdeː] ‘to be able’ ~ [puˈdɛ̟ː] ‘to prune, trim’; [peːʐ̟ɐ] ‘weigh(s)’ ~ [pɛ̟ːʐ̟ɐ] ‘peace’; [neːvɐ] ‘snow’ ~ [nɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘ship’; [vleː] ‘to want’ ~ [vlɛ̟ː] ‘to fly’; [leːvɐ] ‘leverage; draft’ ~ [lɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘wash(es)’; [eːvɐ] ‘Eve’ ~ [ɛːvɐ] ‘bee’; [leːg] ‘I, you, tie, bind’ ~ [lɛ̟ːg] ‘lake’.

/e/ ~ /ɛ/. Relevant features: [-low] ~ [+low], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [deːd] ‘finger’ ~ [dɛdˑ] ‘dice’; [peːl] ‘hair’ ~ [pɛlˑ] ‘stakes, poles’; [meːl] ‘apple tree’ ~ [mɛlˑ] ‘evils; infirmities’; [ʂeːnt] ‘he hears’ ~ [ʂɛnˑt] ‘saints’.

/e/ ~ /a/. Relevant features: [+mid] ~ [-mid], [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pairs: [peːnɐ] ‘pity’ ~ [paːnɐ] ‘cream’; [peːlɐ] ‘skin(s)’ ~ [paːlɐ] ‘ball’; [beː] ‘to drink’ ~ [baː] ‘father’; [veːl] ‘veil’ ~ [vaːl] ‘sieve’.

/e/ ~ /ɔ/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [-low] ~ [+low], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [meːlɐ] ‘apple’ ~ [mɔlˑɐ] ‘wet’; [peːl] ‘hair’ ~ [pɔlˑ] ‘chicken’; [peːr] ‘pear tree’ ~ [pɔrˑ] ‘leek; wart’.

/e/ ~ /ɔː/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [-low] ~ [+low]. Minimal pairs: [reːdɐ] ‘net’ ~ [rɔːdɐ] ‘wheel’; [peːrɐ] ‘pear’ ~ [pɔːrɐ] ‘poor, dead’.

/e/ ~ /o/. Relevant feature: [+front] ~ [-front]. Minimal pairs: [veːl] ‘veil’ ~ [voːl] ‘I, you fly; flight’; [s̪eːrɐ] ‘evening’ ~ [s̪oːrɐ] ‘over, above, on’; [eːrɐ] ‘he, she, it was’ ~ [oːrɐ] ‘hour, time’.

/e/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [peːl] ‘body hair’ ~ [pʊlˑ] ‘chickens’; [peːr] ‘pear tree’ ~ [pʊrˑ] ‘leeks; warts’; [meːl] ‘apple tree’ ~ [mʊlˑ] ‘wet (m. pl.)’.

/e/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+front] ~ [-front]. Minimal pairs: [kreːd] ‘I, you, they believe’ ~ [kruːd] ‘raw’; [s̪eːdɐ] ‘to sit; thirst; silk’ ~ [s̪uːdɐ] ‘sweat(s)’; [peːr] ‘pear tree’ ~ [puːr] ‘pure’; [meːl] ‘apple tree’ ~ [muːl] ‘mule’.

/ɛː/ ~ /ɛ/. Relevant feature: [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [kwɛ̟ːl] ‘thing’ ~ [kwɛlˑ] ‘that (one)’; [tɛ̟ː] ‘you have’ ~ [tɛ] ‘tea’; [trɛ̟ː] ‘to pull, draw, blow, shoot’ ~ [trɛ] ‘three (f.)’; [frɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘portcullis, grate’ ~ [frɛdˑɐ] ‘cold’; [iŋˈvɛ̟ːl] ‘they aren’t valid’ ~ [iŋˈvɛlˑ] ‘nowhere’.

/ɛː/ ~ /a/. Relevant feature: [+mid] ~ [-mid]. Minimal pairs: [vɛ̟ːl] ‘is, are worth’ ~ [vaːl] ‘sieve’; [bɛ̟ːlɐ] ‘beautiful (f. sg.)’ ~ [baːlɐ] ‘dance(s)’; [s̪tɛ̟ːlɐ] ‘star’ ~ [s̪taːlɐ] ‘cowshed, stable’; [kɛ̟ːr] ‘dear; expensive’ ~ [kaːr] ‘cart, wagon’; [kɛ̟ːp] ‘head, boss’ ~ [kaːp] ‘I, you choose’; [lɛ̟ːt] ‘bed; read’ ~ [laːt] ‘milk’; [s̪ɛ̟ː] ‘you know (how)’ ~ [s̪aː] ‘he knows, they know (how)’.

/ɛː/ ~ /ɔ/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [s̪ɛ̟ːld] ‘I, you join, solder, weld’ ~ [s̪ɔlˑd] ‘money’; [s̪ɛ̟ːn] ‘healthy; hole’ ~ [s̪ɔnˑ] ‘sleep, sleepiness’;

[tɛ̣ːrɐ] ‘land’ ~ [tɔrˑɐ] ‘tower’; [pɛ̣ːθ] ‘piece’ ~ [pɔθˑ] ‘well’; [s̪ɛ̣ː] ‘you know (how)’ ~ [s̪ɔ] ‘I am; I know (how)’; [pɛ̣ːl] ‘stake, pole’ ~ [pɔlˑ] ‘chicken’; [bɛ̣ːl] ‘handsome’ ~ [bɔlˑ] ‘boil(s)’; [mɛ̣ːl] ‘evil; badly’ ~ [mɔlˑ] ‘wet’.

/ɛː/ ~ /ɔː/. Relevant feature: [+front] ~ [-front]. Minimal pairs: [ɛ̣ːs̪] ‘to be’ ~ [ɔːs̪] ‘bone; pit’; [pɛ̣ːrɐ] ‘pair(s)’ ~ [pɔːrɐ] ‘poor, dead’; [s̪kɛ̣ːlɐ] ‘staircase’ ~ [s̪kɔːlɐ] ‘school’; [s̪ɛ̣ːld] ‘I, you join, solder, weld’ ~ [s̪ɔːld] ‘penny, coin’; [s̪ɛ̣ːn] ‘healthy; hole’ ~ [s̪ɔːn] ‘sound’; [tɛ̣ː] ‘you have’ ~ [tɔː] ‘take(s)’; [mɛ̣ːr] ‘sea’ ~ [mɔːr] ‘die(s)’.

/ɛː/ ~ /o/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [ɛ̣ːrɐ] ‘threshing floor’ ~ [oːrɐ] ‘hour, time’; [fɛ̣ːrmɐ] ‘stop(s)’ ~ [foːrmɐ] ‘Parmesan cheese’; [ɐˈmɛ̣ːr] ‘bitter’ ~ [ɐˈmoːr] ‘love; mulberry (tree)’; [vɛ̣ːl] ‘is, are worth’ ~ [voːl] ‘I, you fly; flight’.

/ɛː/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [+low] ~ [-low], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [kɛ̣ːp] ‘head, boss’ ~ [kʊpˑ] ‘roofing tiles’; [s̪ɛ̣ːt] ‘seven’ ~ [s̪ʊtˑ] ‘dry’; [lɛ̣ːmɐ] ‘blade; landslide’ ~ [lʊmˑɐ] ‘gas, oil lamp’; [pɛ̣ːl] ‘stake, pole’ ~ [pʊlˑ] ‘chickens’; [mɛ̣ːl] ‘evil; badly’ ~ [mʊlˑ] ‘wet (m. pl.)’; [kɛ̣ːrɐ] ‘dear; expensive’ ~ [kʊrˑɐ] ‘to run’; [vɛ̣ː] ‘you go’ ~ [vʊ] ‘you’.

/ɛː/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [ɛ̣ːltɐ] ‘high, tall, deep’ ~ [uːltɐ] ‘toward, forward, hither, over’; [kɛ̣ːrtɐ] ‘paper’ ~ [kuːrtɐ] ‘short’; [kɛ̣ːrɐ] ‘dear; expensive’ ~ [kuːrɐ] ‘treat(s), cure(s)’; [lɛ̣ːnɐ] ‘wool’ ~ [luːnɐ] [lɔu̯nɐ] ‘moon’; [vɛ̣ː] ‘you go’ ~ [vuː] ‘you want’; [s̪ɛ̣ː] ‘you know (how)’ ~ [s̪uː] ‘his,

her(s), their(s)’; [mɛ̯ːl] ‘evil; badly’ ~ [muːl] ‘mule’; [s̪kɛ̯ːd] ‘dried up’ ~ [s̪kuːd] ‘five lire coin’; [bɛ̯ːd] ‘I, you look after’ ~ [buːd] ‘drank’.

/ɛ/ ~ /a/. Relevant features: [+mid] ~ [-mid], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [pɛs̪ˑ] ‘fish’ ~ [paːs̪] ‘step’; [pɛs̪ˑtɐ] ‘bruised’ ~ [paːs̪tɐ] ‘dough, pastry, pasta’; [bɛlˑ] ‘handsome (m. pl.)’ ~ [baːl] ‘I, you dance’; [s̪ɛkˑ] ‘dry; slim (m. sg.)’ ~ [s̪aːk] ‘sack’; [fɛtˑɐ] ‘slice’ ~ [faːtˑɐ] ‘done, made’; [lɛ] ‘he is’ ~ [laː] ‘he has’; [mɛsˑɐ] ‘mass’ ~ [maːsɐ] ‘a lot’.

/ɛ/ ~ /ɔ/. Relevant feature: [+front] ~ [-front]. Minimal pairs: [tɛnˑdɐ] ‘curtain, awning; tent’ ~ [tɔnˑdɐ] ‘round; around’; [intɛnˑdɐ] ‘to understand’ ~ [intɔnˑdɐ] ‘around’; [rɛnˑdɐ] ‘to give back’ ~ [rɔnˑdɐ] ‘rounds, patrol’; [s̪ɛɲˑ] ‘sign’ ~ [s̪ɔɲˑ] ‘dream’.

/ɛ/ ~ /ɔː/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [tɛ] ‘tea’ ~ [tɔː] ‘take(s)’; [mɛsˑɐ] ‘mass’ ~ [mɔːs̪ɐ] ‘move’.

/ɛ/ ~ /o/. Relevant features: [+front] ~ [-front], [+low] ~ [-low], [-long] ~ [+long]. In the absence of minimal pairs, it may be concluded that /ɛ/ and /oː/ are different phonemes since they possess contrasting distinctive features whose relevance is established by other minimal pairs.

/ɛ/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [brɛtˑ] ‘cap’ ~ [brʊtˑ] ‘ugly’; [s̪ɛɲˑ] ‘sign’ ~ [s̪ʊɲˑ] ‘dreams’; [fɛtˑɐ] ‘slice’ ~ [fʊtˑɐ] ‘to copulate’; [pɛs̪ˑ] ‘fish’ ~ [pʊs̪ˑ] ‘I can’.

/ɛ/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+front] ~ [-front], [+low] ~ [-low], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [lɛ] ‘he, it is’ ~ [luː] ‘he, him’; [tɛ] ‘tea’ ~ [tuː] ‘your(s)’; [mɛtˑ] ‘put(s)’ ~ [muːt] ‘mute’.

/a/ ~ /ɔ/. Relevant features: [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [baːl] ‘I, you dance’ ~ [bɔlˑ] ‘boil(s)’; [faːnd] ‘doing, making’ ~ [fɔnˑd] ‘deep’; [faːlɐ] ‘do, make it!’ ~ [fɐlˑɐ] ‘fairy tale’; [maːnd] ‘I, you send’ ~ [mɔnˑd] ‘world’; [baːtɐ] ‘to beat’ ~ [bɔtˑɐ] ‘barrel, cask’; [taːkɐ] ‘begin(s)’ ~ [tɔkˑɐ] ‘touch(es)’; [baː] ‘father’ ~ [bɔ] ‘ox’; [maː] ‘mother’ ~ [mɔ] ‘but’; [daː] ‘give(s)’ ~ [dɔ] ‘two (f.)’; [aːnˑdʒli] ‘angel’ ~ [ɔnˑdʒli] ‘to grease, oil them (f.)’.

/a/ ~ /ɔː/. Relevant feature: [-mid] ~ [+mid]. Minimal pairs: [raːʂp] ‘I, you scratch’ ~ [rɔːʂp] ‘toad’; [aːʂ] ‘board’ ~ [ɔːʂ] ‘bone; pit’; [braːtʃ] ‘arm’ ~ [brɔːtʃ] ‘two-wheel cart’; [traːtɐ] ‘negotiate(s); treat(s)’ ~ [trɔːtɐ] ‘trot(s)’; [maːsɐ] ‘a lot’ ~ [mɔːʂɐ] ‘move’; [baːtɐ] ‘to beat’ ~ [bɔːtɐ] ‘blow’; [kaːr] ‘cart, wagon’ ~ [kɔːr] ‘heart’; [kaːl] ‘callus’ ~ [kɔːl] ‘neck’.

/a/ ~ /o/. Relevant features: [-mid] ~ [+mid], [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [kaːl] ‘callus’ ~ [koːl] ‘I strain, drain’; [vaːl] ‘sieve’ ~ [voːl] ‘I, you fly; flight’; [daː] ‘give(s)’ ~ [doː] ‘where’.

/a/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+low] ~ [-low], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [baːr] ‘bar’ ~ [bʊrˑ] ‘butter’; [kaːr] ‘cart, wagon’ ~ [kʊrˑ] ‘run(s)’; [ʂaː] ‘he, she knows’ ~ [ʂʊ] ‘up’; [vaː] ‘go(es)’ ~ [vʊ] ‘you’; [baːtɐ] ‘to beat’ ~ [bʊtˑɐ] ‘throw(s)’; [kaːnɐ] ‘reed’ ~ [kʊnˑɐ] ‘cradle’; [kaːtʃɐ] ‘hunt, hunting’ ~ [kʊtˑʃɐ] ‘doghouse’; [paːʂ] ‘step; I, you go by’ ~ [pʊʂˑ] ‘I can’.

/a/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [maːt] ‘mad, crazy’ ~ [muːt] ‘mute’; [vaː] ‘go(es)’ ~ [vuː] ‘you want’; [ʂaː] ‘he knows, they know

(how)’ ~ [ʂuː] ‘his, her(s), their(s)’; [kaːr] ‘cart, wagon’ ~ [kuːr] ‘I, you treat, cure’; [baː] ‘father’ ~ [buː] ‘oxen’; [kaːl] ‘callus’ ~ [kuːl] ‘butt’; [laː] ‘he has; there’ ~ [luː] ‘he, him’.

/ɔ/ ~ /ɔː/. Relevant feature: [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [ʂɔnˑ] ‘sleep, sleepiness’ ~ [ʂɔːn] ‘sound’; [bɔtˑɐ] ‘barrel, cask’ ~ [bɔːtɐ] ‘blow’; [ʂɔlˑd] ‘money’ ~ [ʂɔːld] ‘penny, cent’; [tɔnˑ] ‘tuna’ ~ [tɔːn] ‘thunder’.

/ɔ/ ~ /o/. Relevant features: [+low] ~ [-low], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pair: [dɔ] ‘two (f.)’ ~ [doː] ‘where’.

/ɔ/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [bɔtˑɐ] ‘barrel, cask’ ~ [bʊtˑɐ] ‘throw(s)’; [kɔpˑ] ‘roofing tile’ ~ [kʊpˑ] ‘roofing tiles’; [ʂɔtˑɐ] ‘under, below’ ~ [ʂʊtˑɐ] ‘dry’; [rɔtˑ] ‘broken (m.sg.)’ ~ [rʊtˑ] ‘broken (m. pl.)’; [dɔ] ‘two (f.)’ ~ [dʊ] ‘two (m.)’; [pɔθˑ] ‘well’ ~ [pʊθˑ] ‘wells’.

/ɔ/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+low] ~ [-low], [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [ʂɔ] ‘I am; I know (how)’ ~ [suː] ‘his, her(s), their(s)’; [mɔlˑ] ‘wet’ ~ [muːl] ‘mule’; [pɔrˑ] ‘leek; wart’ ~ [puːr] ‘pure’.

/ɔː/ ~ /o/. Relevant feature: [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [lɔːr] ‘gold’ ~ [loːr] ‘they, them’; [ʂɔːrɐ] ‘nun’ ~ [ʂoːrɐ] ‘over, above, on’; [kɔːl] ‘neck’ ~ [koːl] ‘I, you strain, drain’.

/ɔː/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+low] ~ [-low], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [bɔːtɐ] ‘blow’ ~ [bʊtˑɐ] ‘throw(s)’; [kɔːr] ‘heart’ ~ [kʊrˑ] ‘run(s)’; [rɔːbɐ] ‘things, stuff’ ~ [rʊbˑɐ] ‘steal(s)’; [bɔːtʃɐ] ‘bottle; flower bud’ ~ [bʊtˑʃɐ] ‘skin, peel’;

[lɔːm] ‘man’ ~ [lʊmˑ] ‘light’; [fɔːʂ] ‘ditch’ ~ [fʊʂˑ] ‘might be, were’; [vɔˑ] ‘he wants, they want’ ~ [vʊ] ‘you’.

/ɔː/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+low] ~ [-low]. Minimal pairs: [dɔːr] ‘gold(en)’ ~ [duːr] ‘hard’; [mɔːr] ‘die(s)’ ~ [muːr] ‘wall’; [nɔːv] ‘nine’ ~ [nuːv] ‘new’; [kɔːʐɐ] ‘to cook’ ~ [kuːʐɐ] ‘to sew’; [tʃɔːd] ‘nail’ ~ [tʃuːd] ‘close(s)’; [sɔːd] ‘hard(-boiled), firm’ ~ [ʂuːd] ‘I, you sweat’; [fɔːʂ] ‘ditch’ ~ [fuːʂ] ‘ditches’; [vɔˑ] ‘he wants, they want’ ~ [vuː] ‘you want’.

/o/ ~ /ʊ/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid], [+long] ~ [-long]. Minimal pairs: [doː] ‘where?’ ~ [dʊ] ‘two (m.)’; [ɐŋkoːrɐ] ‘yet, still; more’ ~ [ɐŋkʊrˑɐ] ‘I may not run’; [koːvɐ] ‘sit(s) on eggs’ ~ [kʊvˑɐ] ‘dark’.

/o/ ~ /u/. Relevant features: [-high] ~ [+high], [+mid] ~ [-mid]. Minimal pairs: [fjoːr] ‘flower’ ~ [fjuːr] ‘flowers’; [ʂɲoːr] ‘gentleman’ ~ [ʂɲuːr] ‘gentlemen’; [ɐmˈvoːd] ‘grandson, nephew’ ~ [ɐmˈvuːd] ‘grandchildren, nieces and nephews’; [muˈroːʐ] ‘boyfriend’ ~ [muˈruːʐ] ‘sweethearts’.

/ʊ/ ~ /u/. Relevant feature: [-long] ~ [+long]. Minimal pairs: [pʊrˑ] ‘leeks; warts’ ~ [puːr] ‘pure’; [kʊrˑ] ‘run(s)’ ~ [kuːr] ‘I, you treat, cure’; [tʊtˑɐ] ‘all’ ~ [tuːtɐ] ‘overalls, tracksuit’; [ʂʊ] ‘up’ ~ [suː] ‘his, hers, theirs’; [vʊ] ‘you’ ~ [vuː] ‘you want’; [fʊʂˑ] ‘might be’ ~ [fuːʂ] ‘ditches’.

3.2.3. Tonic Vowel Allophones

Certain canonical vowel realizations alternate with variants, which include the monophthong [ɐ] and the diphthongs [ɛi̯], [oi̯], and [ɔu̯].

/ɔ/ → [ɔ] in free variation with [ɐ], the former characterizing Southwestern Sammarinese and the latter Serravallese: [pɔlˑ] [pɐlˑ] ‘chicken’, [mɔlˑ] [mɐlˑ] ‘wet’, [dɔ] [dɐ] ‘two (f.)’, [s̪ɔ] [s̪ɐ] ‘I am; I know (how)’, [pɔθˑ] [pɐθˑ] ‘well’, [s̪ɔnˑ] [s̪ɐnˑ] ‘sleep, sleepiness’, [tɔrˑɐ] [tɐrˑɐ] ‘tower’, [bɔlˑ] [bɐlˑ] ‘boil(s)’, [tɔnˑdɐ] [tɐnˑdɐ] ‘round; around’, [intɔnˑdɐ] [intɐnˑdɐ] ‘around’, [rɔnˑdɐ] [rɐnˑdɐ] ‘rounds, patrol’, [s̪ɔɲˑ] [s̪ɐɲˑ] ‘dream’, [fɔnˑd] [fɐnˑd] ‘deep’, [mɔnˑd] [mɐnˑd] ‘world’, [bɔtˑɐ] [bɐtˑɐ] ‘barrel, cask’, [tɔkˑɐ] [tɐkˑɐ] ‘touch(es)’, [bɔ] [bɐ] ‘ox’, [ɔnˑdʒɐ] [ɐnˑdʒɐ] ‘to grease, oil’, [s̪ɔtˑɐ] [s̪ɐtˑɐ] ‘under, below’, [rɔtˑ] [rɐtˑ] ‘broken’.

In Southwestern Sammarinese, /e/ → [ɛi̯] in free variation with [eː] before nasal consonants: [peːnɐ] [pɛi̯ñɐ] ‘pity’, [reːnɐ] [rɛi̯ñɐ] ‘sand’, [tʃeːnɐ] [tʃɛi̯ñɐ] ‘dinner’, [teːmp] [tɛi̯m̃p] ‘weather’, [veːnt] [vɛi̯ñt] ‘wind’, [deːnt] [dɛi̯ñt] ‘tooth’, [dreːntɐ] [drɛi̯ñtɐ] ‘inside’, [dʒeːntɐ] [dʒɛi̯ñtɐ] ‘people’, [kunˈteːnt] [kunˈtɛi̯ñt] ‘happy’, [kmeːnθɐ] [kmɛi̯ñθɐ] ‘begin(s)’, [pɐˈreːnt] [pɐˈrɛi̯ñt] ‘relative’. Elsewhere, /e/ → [eː] alone: [s̪peːr] ‘I, you hope’, [ɐˈbeːd] ‘fir (tree)’.

In Serravallese, the phoneme /e/ is normally realized as the diatopical variant [oi̯]. Compare the following Southwestern Sammarinese forms followed by their Serravallese counterparts: [peːnɐ] [poi̯ñɐ] ‘pity’, [tʃeːnɐ] [tʃoi̯ñɐ] ‘dinner’, [dreːntɐ] [droi̯ñtɐ] ‘inside’, [peːz̪] [poi̯z̪] ‘weight’, [meːz̪] [moi̯z̪] ‘month’, [meːl] [moi̯l] ‘apple tree’, [meːlɐ] [moi̯lɐ] ‘apple’, [reːdɐ] [roi̯dɐ] ‘net’, [veːdɐ] [voi̯dɐ] ‘to see’, [kreːdɐ] [kroi̯dɐ] ‘to believe’, [s̪eːdɐ] [s̪oi̯dɐ] ‘thirst; silk’, [deːd] [doi̯d] ‘finger’, [pɐreːdɐ] [pɐroi̯dɐ] ‘wall’, [peːr] [poi̯r] ‘pear tree’,

[peːrɐ] [poi̯rɐ] ‘pear’, [ʂeːrɐ] [ʂoi̯rɐ] ‘evening’, [peːl] [poi̯l] ‘body hair’, [veːl] [voi̯l] ‘veil’, [peːlɐ] [poi̯lɐ] ‘skin(s)’, [peːʐɐ] [poi̯ʐɐ] ‘weigh(s)’, [neːvɐ] [noi̯vɐ] ‘snow’, [peːvrɪ] [poi̯vri] ‘pepper’, [vleː] [vloi̯] ‘to want’, [beː] [boi̯] ‘to drink’.

Before /n/, /i/ → [iː] in free variation with a diphthong throughout the Republic. Southwestern Sammarinese [ɛi̯] corresponds with Serravallese [oi̯]: [θniːnɐ] [θnɛi̯ñɐ] [θnoi̯ñɐ] ‘small’. When the contrast between /e/and /i/ is neutralized in this context (/tʃena/ → [tʃɛi̯ñɐ] [tʃoi̯ñɐ] ‘dinner’, /θnina/ → [θnɛi̯ñɐ] [θnoi̯ñɐ] ‘small’), the phonemes merge into the archiphoneme /EI/ (or /OI/).

In both major Sammarinese varieties, /o/ is normally realized as [ɔu̯] before word-final and intervocalic /n/ as well as before nasal + voiceless consonant clusters: [ʂtɐˈʐɔu̯ñ] ‘season’, [rɐˈʐɔu̯ñ] ‘reason’, [krɔu̯ñɐ] ‘rosary’, [fɔu̯ñtɐ] ‘fountain’, [frɔu̯ñtɐ] ‘forehead’, [prɔu̯ñt] ‘ready’, [mɔu̯ñt] ‘mountain’.

Elsewhere, /o/ → [oː] in Southwestern Sammarinese and [ɔu̯] in Serravallese: [ɐloːrɐ] [ɐlɔu̯rɐ] ‘then’, [ʂoːrɐ] [ʂɔu̯rɐ] ‘above’, [oːrɐ] [ɔu̯rɐ] ‘hour’, [voːlɐ] [vɔu̯lɐ] ‘flies, fly’, [ɐˈmoːr] [ɐˈmɔu̯r] ‘love; mulberry (tree)’, [koːlɐ] [kɔu̯lɐ] ‘drip(s)’, [ɐŋkoːrɐ] [ɐŋkɔu̯rɐ] ‘yet, still; more’, [fjoːr] [fjɔu̯r] ‘flower’, [ʂŋoːr] [ʂŋɔu̯r] ‘gentleman’, [ɐmŋˈvoːd] [ɐmŋˈvɔu̯d] ‘grandson, nephew’, [muˈroːʐ] [muˈrɔu̯ʐ] ‘boyfriend’, [ɐrtoːrnɐ] [ɐrtɔu̯rnɐ] ‘return(s)’.

Before /n/, /u/ → [uː] in free variation with [ɔu̯]: [buːn] [bɔu̯ñ] ‘good’, [uːn] [ɔu̯ñ] ‘one’, [niˈʂuːn] [niˈʂɔu̯ñ] ‘no one’, [kwɐi̯ˈduːn] [kwɐi̯ˈdɔu̯ñ] ‘someone’, [luːnɐ] [lɔu̯ñɐ] ‘moon’, [uːnt] [ɔu̯ñt] ‘greasy, oily’. When the opposition between /o/and /u/ is neutralized in this position

(/mont/ → [mɔu̯ñt] ‘mountain’, /unt/ → [ɔu̯ñt] ‘greasy, oily’), the phonemes converge into the archiphoneme /OU/.

Another characteristic which differentiates Sammarinese from Central Romagnol is the absence of nasal vowel phonemes. The following minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic status of nasal vowels, which occur in the absence of a subsequent nasal consonant, in Central Romagnol: [ka] ‘house’ ~ [kɐ̃ː] ‘dog’, [kaːtɐ] ‘find(s)’ ~ [kɐ̃ːtɐ] ‘sing(s)’, [kaːp] ‘choose’ ~ [kɐ̃ːp] ‘field’. No such minimal pairs contrasting nasal and oral vowel phonemes are to be found in Sammarinese, where vowel nasality is not a relevant feature. Instead, Sammarinese displays allophonic nasalization of vowels due to place assimilation. The degree of nasalization is minimal in monophthongs while the following nasal consonant maintains its canonical place of articulation: /k ▪ ːn/ → [k ▪̰ ːn] ‘dog’, /k ▪ ːmp/ → [k ▪̰ ːmp] ‘field’. However, there is a perceptible degree of nasalization in falling diphthongs, which are followed by a velarized nasal consonant allophone: /drenta/ → [drɛ̃iñtɐ] [drõiñtɐ] ‘inside’, /mont/ → [mɔ̃ũñt] ‘mountain’.

Within San Marino, diatopic variation arises from the high-non-mid vowels in word-final position. In the Southwest, /i/ → [iˑɐ] and /u/ → [uˑɐ] word-finally, whereas the Northeast presents the canonical allophone: /pi/ → [piː] [piˑɐ] ‘feet’, /bu/ → [buː] [buˑɐ] ‘oxen’.

3.2.4. Atonic Vowel Subsystem

Among the phones that constitute the Standard Italian atonic vowel system, non-mid [i], [u], and [ɐ] occur much more frequently in Romagnol, whereas high-mid [e] and [o] arise primarily due to interference from the national language. In addition to these, Sammarinese presents the non-back vowels [ɪ], [ə], and [ɛ]. Non-low [ɪ] and [ə] usually emerge due to

paragoge, while low-mid [ɛ] appears most commonly in the masculine singular definite article, demonstrative adjective, and subject proclitic: [ɛlˈtɛtˈ] ‘the roof’, [kɛˈbuːʒ] ‘that hole’, [ɛˈkɔːʂtɐ] ‘it costs’. [ɛ] is also the realization of /e/ and /ɛː/ in oxytones that directly precede a syllable bearing primary stress: [tʃɛnt ˈfreːŋk] ‘100 euros’.

3.2.4.1. Archiphonemes

To a great extent, Romagnol’s atonic vowel subsystem may be summarized as consisting of the archiphonemes /U/, /I/, and /A/ plus at least three different epenthetic vowels. Since these archiphonemes represent the neutralization of contrasts that are operative in tonicity, the bulk of the atonic subsystem may be analyzed in terms of complementary distribution rules. These norms may be determined by juxtaposing pairs of semantically related words which illustrate how the same phoneme has different realizations in tonicity and atony (Delmonte § 3.2.1). Before we begin this process, it is important to cite one rule which applies to every vowel phoneme. This canon, which holds that all vowel segments are realized as short allophones in atony (Coco § 190), exemplifies the large-scale effect that prosody can have on a phonological system.

Due to a more specific, yet nevertheless extensive, rule, the archiphoneme /U/ represents the merger of the back vowels /u/, /ʊ/, /o/, /ɔː/, and /ɔ/ into the complementary allophone [u].

/u/ → [uː] in tonicity, [u] in atony: [buːʐ̞] ‘hole’, [buʐ̞ɐtˈloi̯ñ] ‘hole (dim.)’; [ɐrˈluːdʒ] ‘watch, clock’, [ɐrluˈdʒɛːr] ‘watchmaker, clockmaker’; [buːn] ‘good’, [buˈnɪʂ̞mi] ‘very good’.

/ʊ/ → [ʊ] in tonicity, [u] in atony: [ʂtʃʊmˑɐ] ‘foam, froth, lather’, [ʂtʃuˈmɛ̟ː] ‘to skim; to foam’; [fjʊmˑ] ‘river’, [fjuˈmɛ̟ːnɐ] ‘torrent’; [ʊmˑdɪ] ‘humid’, [umidiˈtaː] ‘humidity’; [pʊlˑ] ‘chickens’, [puˈlɛ̟ːr] ‘henhouse, chicken run’; [nʊvˑlɐ] ‘cloud’, [nuˈvlɛ̟ːd] ‘cloudy’.

/o/ → [oː] in tonicity, [u] in atony: [boːrg] ‘village’, [burˈgɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘village’; [foːrmɐ] ‘Parmesan cheese’, [furˈmaːi̯] ‘cheese’; [foːrnɪ] ‘oven’, [furˈnɛ̟ːr] ‘baker’.

/ɔː/ → [ɔː] in tonicity, [u] in atony: [kɔːr] ‘heart’, [kurɐdɛ̟ːlɐ] ‘offal’; [bɔːtʃɐ] ‘bottle’, [buˈtʃɔu̯ñ] ‘large bottle’; [ʂtʃɔːp] ‘shot gun’, [ʂtʃupˈtɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘rifle shot’; [bˈdɔːtʃ] ‘louse’, [bˈduˈtʃoːz̨] ‘full of lice’; [mɔːr] ‘die(s)’, [muˈrɪmˑ] ‘we die’; [ʂkɔːlɐ] ‘school’, [ʂkulɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘pupil, schoolgirl’; [nɔːvɐ] ‘new’; [lɐnuvɪθˑɐ] ‘the new one’; [nɔːv] ‘nine’, [nuvɛ̟ːntɐ] ‘ninety’; [ɔːt] ‘eight’, [utɛ̟ːntɐ] ‘eighty’; [kɔːrp] ‘body’, [kurˈpɛtˑ] ‘vest’; [ɐrˈlɔːdʒ] ‘watch, clock’, [ɐrluˈdʒɛ̟ːr] ‘watchmaker, clockmaker’; [tɔːn] ‘thunder’, [tuˈnɛ̟ː] ‘to thunder’.

/ɔ/ → [ɔ] in tonicity, [u] in atony: [kˈnɔʂˑ] ‘know(s)’, [kˈnuˈʂɪmˑ] ‘we know’; [ɐrˈʂpɔnˑd] ‘answer(s)’, [ɐrʂpunˈdɪmˑ] ‘we answer’; [ʂɔnˑ] ‘sleep, sleepiness’, [ʂunuˈleːnθɐ] ‘drowsiness’; [vɐrgɔɲˑɐ] ‘shame’, [vɐrguˈɲɛ̟ːʂ] ‘to be ashamed’; [gɔtˑʃɐ] ‘drop’, [guˈtʃlɛtˑɐ] ‘tear’.

The archiphoneme /A/ represents the convergence of the non-back vowels /a/ and /ɛː/ (< A) into the complementary allophone [ɐ].

/a/ → [aː] in tonicity, [ɐ] in atony: [baːɲ] ‘bath’, [bɐˈɲɛ̟ːd] ‘wet’; [gaːt] ‘cat’, [gɐˈtiːnɐ] ‘kitten’; [maːɲɐ] ‘eat(s)’, [mɐˈɲɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘square meal’; [kaːmbjɐ] ‘change(s)’, [kɐmˈbjɛ̟ː] ‘to change’.

/ɛː/ (< A) → [ɐ]: [lumɛ̟ːgɐ] ‘snail’, [lumɐˈgɛ̟ː] ‘to gather snails’; [kɛ̟ːrtɐ] ‘paper’, [s̟kɐrˈtɔːtʃ] ‘paper bag’; [tɛ̟ːvlɐ] ‘table’, [tɐˈvliːr] ‘pastry board’; [pɛ̟ːn] ‘bread’, [pɐˈɲɔːtɐ] ‘round loaf’; [kɛ̟ːn] ‘dog’, [kɐˈɲaːtʃ] ‘dog (pej.)’; [kɛ̟ːmp] ‘field’, [kɐmˈpaːɲɐ] ‘country, countryside’; [kɛ̟ːz̟ɐ] ‘house, home’, [kɐˈz̟ɛtˑ] ‘little house, cottage’; [mɛ̟ːnɐ] ‘hand’, [mɐˈnɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘handful, slap’.

As a result of historical developments, a theoretical problem arises in the fact that /ɛː/ has two different realizations in atony, which may be categorized neither as complementary allomorphs nor as free variants. Specifically, /ɛː/ is realized as [ɐ] when the phoneme originates from Proto-Romance [a] and as [i] when it derives from Vulgar Latin [ɛ]. While it is clear that this situation originates from the diachronic convergence of tonic open-syllable [a] and tonic [ɛ], further research is necessary in order to establish an appropriate synchronic rule or rules.

Aside from the exception discussed above, the front vowels /ɛː/, /ɛ/, /e/, /ɪ/, and /i/ merge into the complementary allophone [i], which is represented by the archiphoneme /I/.

/ɛː/ (< Ĕ) → [ɛ̟ː] in tonicity, [i] in atony: [ɐs̟pɛ̟ːtɐ] ‘wait(s)’, [ɐs̟piˈtɛ̟ː] ‘to wait’; [pɛ̟ːtnɪ] ‘comb’, [pitˈnɛ̟ː] ‘to comb’; [mɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘to reap’, [midˈdoːr] ‘reaper’.

/ɛ/ → [ɛ] in tonicity, [i] in atony: [pɛs̟ˑ] ‘fish’, [pis̟ˈkɛ̟ː] ‘to fish’, [tɛnˑdʒɐ] ‘to dye’, [tinˈdʒɪmˑ] ‘we dye’, [mɛtˑɐ] ‘to put’, [miˈtɪmˑ] ‘we put’; [krɛs̟ˑɐ] ‘to grow’, [kriˈs̟iːvɐ] ‘was, were growing’.

/e/ → [eː] in tonicity, [i] in atony: [peːvrɪ] ‘pepper’, [impivɐˈrɛ̟ː] ‘to pepper’; [veːdɐ] ‘to see’, [viˈdɪmˑ] ‘we see’; [preːgɐ] ‘pray(s)’, [priˈgɛ̟ː] ‘to pray’.

/ɪ/ → [ɪ] in tonicity, [i] in atony: [brɪkˑ] ‘donkey’, [briˈkuːl] ‘donkey (dim.)’; [pɪʂˑ] ‘urine’, [piˈʂɛː] ‘to urinate’; [krɪʂˑt] ‘Christ’, [kriʂˈtʃɛːn] ‘Christian; human being’.

/i/ → [iː] in tonicity, [i] in atony: [ʂiːnt] ‘hear(s)’, [ʂinˈtiː] ‘to hear’; [biːrbɐ] ‘cunning (adj.)’, [birbɛːrɐ] ‘cunning (noun)’; [viːtɐ] ‘life’, [vitaːtʃɐ] ‘hard life’, [miːr] ‘I, you aim’, [miˈrɛː] ‘to aim’; [tʃiːʐɐ] ‘church’, [tʃiʐɔːlɐ] ‘church (dim.)’; [viːntʃ] ‘I, you, they win’, [vinˈtʃɪmˑ] ‘we win’.

The domains of the archiphonemes /I/ and /A/ fluctuate before syllable-final sonorants, where [i] alternates in free variation with [ɐ]:[57] [tʃirˈvɛːl] [tʃɐrˈvɛːl] ‘brain’, [ʂinˈtiːr] [ʂɐnˈtiːr] ‘path’, [ʂinˈtiː] [ʂɐnˈtiː] ‘to hear’, [vindˈmɛː] ‘to harvest grapes’ [vɐnˈdiːmɐ] ‘grape harvest’, [dʒindʒeɐ] [dʒɐndʒejɐ] ‘gum’, [lɐnˈθuːl] [linˈθuːl] ‘bed sheet’, [tʃirˈkiː] [tʃɐrˈkiː] ‘to look for’, [inˈdoː] [ɐnˈdoː] ‘where’, [tʃirˈgiːn] [tʃɐrˈgiːn] ‘sacristan’, [iŋviˈtɛː] [ɐŋviˈtɛː] ‘to invite’, [indurminˈtɛːʂ] [ɐndurmɐnˈtɛːʂ] ‘to fall asleep’, [impɐˈrɛː] [ɐmpɐˈrɛː] ‘to learn’, [iŋˈguːrjɐ] [ɐŋˈguːrjɐ] ‘watermelon’, [iŋgrɐˈʂɛː] ‘to fatten’ [ɐŋˈgraːʂɐ] ‘fattens’, [pinˈʂɛː] [pɐnˈʂɛː] ‘to think’, [tʃinˈtuːrɐ] [tʃɐnˈtuːrɐ] ‘belt’, [dˈvinˈtɛː] [dˈvɐnˈtɛː] ‘to become’, [dinˈtɪʂˑtɐ] [dɐnˈtɪʂˑtɐ] ‘dentist’.

3.2.4.2. Glides

An inverse relationship may be observed between the convergence of non-high vowel phonemes on one hand (/ʊ o ɔ ɔː/ → [u]; /ɛ ɛː e ɪ/ → [i]; /a ɛː/ → [ɐ]) and the relative abundance of high vowel allophones on the other. That is to say, each high vowel phoneme, /i/ and /u/, may

[57] Note, however, that the outcome of Proto-Romance [a] is not involved in such oscillation. Therefore, lexemes such as /skartɔ́ːtʃ/ ‘paper bag’ do not permit atonic [i] as a free variant.

be realized as one of three complementary allophones in atony. Aside from the 'elsewhere' allophones [i] and [u], the high vowels are realized as glides when they come into contact with a nuclear vowel. The glide allophones for each high vowel belong to two distinct subcategories which reflect the phoneme's position in relation to the nuclear vowel: semiconsonants ([j w]) and semivowels ([i̯ u̯]). Before a nuclear vowel, /i/ produces the semiconsonant [j] (/i/ → [j] / ___V): /ˈpaia/ → [paːjɐ] 'straw', /maia/ → [maːjɐ] 'sweater', /piéːda/ → [pjɛ̝ːdɐ] 'piadina', /piéːnta/ → [pjɛ̝ːntɐ] 'plant, tree'. When /i/ follows the nuclear vowel, it is realized as the semivowel [i̯] (/i/ → [i̯] / V___): [oi̯bri] 'tree', [fraːi̯d(i)] 'soaking', [ɐ ˈvui̯] 'I want', [kuˈnei̯] 'rabbit', [aːi̯] 'garlic'. Analogously, /u/ yields the labialized velar approximant [w] immediately before a nuclear vowel: [kwɛʂˑt] 'this (one)', [kwɛlˑ] 'that (one)', [kwaːnt] 'how much, many', [kwɛ̝ːrtʃ] 'cover, lid', [kwɛ̝ːrtɐ] 'cover, blanket'. In addition, [w] alternates in free variation with the labiodental approximant [ʋ] (/u/ → [w] or [ʋ] / ___V): [t θaːkwi] [t θaːkʋi] 'you rinse', [l aːkwɐ] [l aːkʋɐ] 'water', [ɐt kuntɪnˑwi] [ɐt kuntɪɱˑʋi] 'continually', [ˈtwaːjɐ] [ˈtʋaːjɐ] 'tablecloth'. Directly after a nuclear vowel, /u/ is realized as the semivowel [u̯] (/u/ → [u̯] / V___): [kɛu̯zɐ] 'cause'. In this context as well, /u/ may be realized with a labiodental articulation: *aftocàr* 'power-driven cart' (Foresti 408).

3.2.4.3. Epenthetic Vowels

Unlike the other atonic vowel allophones discussed thus far, epenthetic vowels do not correspond with any tonic vowel. We may assume that a vowel is epenthetic and not part of the input when its presence, position, and quality are predictable (Repetti, "Uneven" 280-81). The

quality of epenthetic vowels ([i ɪ ə ɐ u]) is dictated primarily by position (Hajek, "Emilia-Romagna" 273), while the grammatical function of the input also plays a role. In Sammarinese, vowel epenthesis occurs predominantly in word-final position, while prothesis and anaptyxis are not uncommon.

Paragoge takes place after unsyllabifiable word-final consonant clusters and normally involves a high front vowel. Whereas Serravallese epenthesizes [i] without fail, in Southwestern Sammarinese this vowel occurs in free variation with [ɪ]: /lɛːdr/ → [lɛ̯ːdri] [lɛ̯ːdrɪ] 'thief', /stɔmg/ → [s̪tɐmˑgi] [s̪tɔmˑgɪ] 'stomach', /rɪmn/ → [rɪmˑni] [rɪmˑnɪ] 'Rimini', /sʊpt/ → [s̪ʊpˈti] [s̪ʊpˈtɪ] 'immediately'. Among the types of word-final consonant clusters requiring paragoge, we find those ending in a glide or sonorant: /tʃinkw/ → [tʃiːŋkwi] 'five', /sirj/ → [s̪iːrji] 'you (sg.) were', /kuéːdr/ → [kwɛ̯ːdri] 'picture', /diéːvl/ → [djɛ̯ːvli] 'devil', /sóifn/ → [soi̯fni] 'sulfur', /fɛːrm/ → [fɛ̯ːrmi] 'still', /óim/ → [oi̯mi] 'elm tree'. In addition, paragoge occurs after a variety of other word-final consonant clusters. With the precise rules determining the phenomenon yet to be identified, we are limited to documenting the following examples, which illustrate other types of consonant clusters that require paragoge: /seːlv/ → [s̪ɛ̯ːlvi] 'safe', /sɛːlv/ → [s̪ɛ̯ːi̯vi] 'I, you save', /ʊmd/ → [ʊmˑdi] 'humid', /gʊmt/ → [gʊmˑti] 'elbow', /stɔmg/ → [s̪tɔmˑgi] 'stomach', /mang/ → [maːŋgi] [maːndgi] 'handle', /pɪðg/ → [pɪðˑgi] 'pinch', /lɛvd/ → [lɛvˑdi] 'yeast', /strɔlg/ → [s̪trɐlˑgi] 'fortune-teller', /sʊpt/ → [s̪ʊpˑti] 'immediately', /sabd/ → [s̪aːbdi] 'Saturday', /saibádg/ → [s̪ɐi̯baːdgi] 'wild', /mastʃ/ → [maːs̪tʃi] 'male', /lavtʃ/ → [laːvtʃi] 'soaked', /kantísv/ → [kɐntɪsˑvi] 'you (pl.) might sing'. In order to properly formulate the rules governing paragoge, the preceding list needs to be completed and compared with a

catalog of word-final consonant clusters that do not require epenthesis: [bɔːʂk] ‘woods’, [kɛ̟ːrg] ‘loaded’, [ɔːrð] ‘barley’, [ɔːrt] ‘vegetable garden’, [kɔːrv] ‘crow’, etc. Compare the last example with [iːrvi] ‘I open’ (< *APRO) and [pɔːri mɪ] ‘poor me!’ (cf. Fr. *pauvre*), in which the paragogic vowel has been stored in the lexical representation. In the present indicative of the fourth conjugation, the expected high front vowel surfaces in the first and second persons singular: [iːrvi] ‘I, you open’, [dɔːrmi] ‘I, you sleep’. However, in the third and sixth persons we find [iːrvɐ] ‘he, they open(s)’ and [dɔːrmɐ] ‘he, they sleep(s)’ by analogy of the first conjugation: [dɔːvri] ‘I, you use’ - [dɔːvrɐ] ‘he, they use(s)’, [fɛ̟ːrmi] ‘I, you stop’ - [fɛ̟ːrmɐ] ‘he, they stop(s)’. However, why paragogic [ɐ] surfaces in Montegiardinese [un ˈnʊmˑərɐ] ‘a number’ and [pɔːrɐ mɪ] ‘poor me (m.)!’ is not so easily explained.

Borderline Romagnol varieties choose paragoge over anaptyxis as a means for resyllabifying unacceptable word-final consonant clusters because these dialects have a ban on heavy atonic syllables in word-final position (Repetti, “Uneven” 275). That is to say, in paragoge dialects atonic word-final syllables must end in a vowel. This constraint ranks so highly that it supersedes the rule conserving posttonic verb morphemes in prosodic words consisting of a verb plus enclitic. For instance, the inputs /arandʒa-t/ ‘sort it out for yourself!’ and /tʃamɪma-l/ ‘let’s call him!’ surface as [ɐraːndʒ-ti] and [tʃɐmɪmˑ-lɪ]. These outputs contrast starkly with the corresponding forms of an anaptyxis dialect such as Bolognese, which permits heavy atonic syllables in word-final position: [ɐraŋdʒət], [tʃɐmæŋnəl].

Word-internally, anaptyctic [ə] occurs in free variation with Ø or [b] within nasal plus trill clusters. The first two solutions characterize Southwestern dialects, while the anaptyctic

consonant is more typical of Northeastern Sammarinese: */nʊmr/ → [ˈnʊmˑərɪ] [nʊmˑrɪ] [nʊmˑbri] ‘number’, */kaːmra/ → [ˈkaːmərɐ] [ˈkaːmrɐ]‘(bed)room’, */tʃɛnra/ → *cènera* (Foresti 411) [tʃɛnˑðrɐ] ’ash’. Moreover, we find [fʊnɐˈrɛ̰ːl] and not *[fʊnˈrɛ̰ːl]. In those varieties which epenthesize a vowel, the otherwise operative ban on proparoxytones is outranked by a constraint on nasal plus trill clusters. In pretonicity, anaptyxis occurs in [tɐlɐˈraːɲ] ‘spider web’, even though the same word-initial cluster is otherwise syllabifiable: [tlɛ̰ːr] ‘loom’, [t l ɛ̰ː] ‘you have it’. Also, the labiodental approximant [ʋ] may be epenthesized between two non-front vowels in hiatus: [pɐˈuːrɐ] [pɐˈʋuːrɐ] ‘fear’.

In paragoge dialects, the treatment of unsyllabified consonants varies between word-final position and other locations in the prosodic word. Thus, while paragoge dialects syllabify word-final consonants as onsets, they may syllabify consonants as codas elsewhere in the prosodic word (Repetti, “Syllabification” 379). Thus, in Sammarinese prothetic [ɐ] may appear before unsyllabifiable word-initial consonant clusters. Compare [ɐlˈgɛ̰ː] ‘to tie, bind’ and [ɐtʃɐvˈdɪmˑ] ‘we’ll see each other’ with [leːgɐ] ‘tie(s), bind(s)’ and [veːdɐ] ‘to see’. This prosodic tendency has been morphologized in the feminine plural definite article and subject proclitic, where prothesis of a low central vowel occurs: /l dɔːni/ → [ɐl dɔːni] ‘women’, /l dʒiva/ → [ɐl dʒiːvɐ] ‘they used to say’. However, a competing, and more dominant, trend syllabifies word-initial consonants as onsets: [liˈgɛ̰ː] ‘to tie, bind’, [ɐ viˈdɪmˑ] ‘we see’. As a result of this tendency, in the presence of another proclitic the consonant representing the feminine plural definite article and subject proclitic is syllabified as an onset: /d l dɔːni/ → [dli dɔːni] ‘some women’, /l l sa/ → [li l s̰aˑ] ‘they know it’. Prothesis of [ɐ] is optional before clusters in which

C_2 is a nasal: [vniː] [ɐvˈniː] ‘to come’, [mniː] [ɐmˈniː] ‘to come’, [dmɐ̯ːn] [ɐdˈmɐ̯ːn] ‘tomorrow’. Before verbs beginning with a consonant, a high front vowel may be prothesized to the subject proclitic of the second person singular (Vitali 18): /t rid/ → [it riːd] [ɪt riːd] ‘you laugh’. On the other hand, the epenthetic vowel is [u] when another proclitic follows the second person clitic, whose consonant is syllabified as an onset: [t u t mɛtˑ] ‘you start’.

3.3. Consonants

3.3.1. Consonant Phones

The analysis of the consonant system also begins with an inventory and phonetic description of its principal phones (cf. Delmonte § 2.5), which will then be subjected to a phonological examination. These phones are catalogued in the table below, with the columns to the far left and right indicating manner of articulation and the top row designating point of articulation. Voiceless correlates appear to the left and their voiced counterparts to the right:

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	
Obstruent	Plosive	p b		t d				k g	Stop
	Affricate					tʃ dʒ			
	Fricative		f v	θ ð	s̪ z̪	ʃ ʒ			Continuant
Sonorant	Approximant		ʋ				j	w	
	Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɲ	ŋ	
	Trill				r				
	Lateral Approximant				l		ʎ		

Throughout the phonetic description much of the terminology employed is defined for two reasons in particular. Firstly, the terms used to describe consonants phonetically will also serve to determine which traits are functional on a phonological level. Secondly, some of these terms have been applied in different and even contradictory ways by different schools of thought as phonetic and phonological theory has developed over the years. This makes it especially imperative that the definitions of these terms according to how they are used in this text be clarified.

Consonant phones are often divided into two large groups, obstruents and sonorants, of which the former comprise stops and fricatives (Bertinetto, “Ostruente”).

Stops, whose articulation involves total occlusion of the oral cavity at a point between the lips and glottis, can be subdivided into plosives and affricates.

Plosives are referred to as such because their articulation consists of a momentary, yet complete, obstruction of the vocal tract often ending with an audible release of the articulators. In the dialects of San Marino, as in Standard Italian, plosives occur at three different points of articulation, bilabial, dental, and velar, with each place of articulation presenting both voiceless

and voiced correlates (Delmonte § 3.1.2; Bertinetto, “Occlusivo”). The phonetic symbols and names of the plosives are listed below along with examples of words in which they occur:

[p] = voiceless bilabial plosive: [pɐ̯ːn] ‘bread’

[b] = voiced bilabial plosive: [bɛ̯i̯ñ] ‘well’

[t] = voiceless dental plosive: [tʃvɛtˑɐ] ‘owlet’

[d] = voiced dental plosive: [rɔːdɐ] ‘wheel’

[k] = voiceless velar plosive: [kɐ̯ːprɐ] ‘goat’

[g] = voiced velar plosive: [ɐɱvɐrˈgɔɲˑ] ‘I’m ashamed’

The consonants above are referred to as unreleased stops or occlusives when their articulation does not conclude with a release burst due to anticipation of a subsequent consonant. Affricates, which are considered single consonants, consist of an occlusive followed immediately by a homorganic fricative. While Standard Italian also possesses dental affricates ([ts dz]), Emilian and Romagnol varieties only use postalveolar, also known as palatoalveolar or prepalatal, affricates:

[tʃ] = voiceless postalveolar affricate: [ɐpɐˈrɛtˑʃ] ‘airplane’

[dʒ] = voiced postalveolar affricate: [lɐ̯ʂɐraːndʒɐ] ‘she’ll make do’

Note that, unlike the plosives [t] and [d], the occlusive element of the postalveolar affricates does not have a dental point of articulation.

The fricative element of the postalveolar affricates places them among the sibilants, which comprise fricatives and affricates produced in the area between the alveolar ridge and the hard palate ([ʂ ʐ̯ ʃ ʒ tʃ dʒ]). Sibilants are characterized by a tense manner of articulation in that the tongue is grooved lengthwise, creating a narrow channel for air flow which makes them

sound louder than non-sibilants ([f v θ ð]) (Martinet § 4.43; Bertinetto, "Sibilante"). The distinction between sibilants and non-sibilants is revisited below with respect to its pertinence to the fricative series of consonants.

Fricatives are characterized by the formation of a very narrow channel between the articulators in the oral cavity, which produces highly turbulent airflow or frication (Bertinetto, "Fricativo"). Since their articulation does not involve complete occlusion of airflow, fricatives belong to another larger category of phones referred to as continuants, which also include vowels, glides, and sonorants. Continuants are differentiated from stops (plosives/occlusives and affricates), whose articulation does entail complete occlusion of airflow (Bertinetto, "Continuo/discontinuo"). In other words, fricatives belong to two overlapping categories, obstruents and continuants, whose remaining members are in opposition. That is to say, fricatives are the only obstruents that may be classified as continuants and vice versa. In addition, it has already been stated above that fricatives themselves may be subdivided into two categories which regard manner of articulation. Thus, while some fricatives ([f v θ ð]) are non-sibilants, others ([s̪ z̪ ʃ ʒ]), along with the affricates ([tʃ dʒ]), are sibilants.

In contrast to sibilants, non-sibilants have a lax ([-tense]) manner of articulation, which does not involve the formation of a lengthwise groove along the top of the tongue and, consequently, generates less acoustic energy. Non-sibilant affricates occur at two points of articulation in Eastern Emilian and Romagnol, labiodental and dental. The following are the labiodental fricatives:

[f] = voiceless labiodental fricative: [fɛ̪ːr] 'iron'

[v] = voiced labiodental fricative: [ɛ̪ːvɐ] 'bee'

In precise phonetic terms, the remaining pair of non-sibilant fricatives ([θ ð]) has a lamino-dental place of articulation (Martinet § 4.43). This name refers to the fact that constriction occurs between the tongue blade (the active articulator) and the back of the upper incisors (the passive articulator), while the tongue apex rests against the lower incisors. The analogous English phones, which occur in the words *thin* [θɪn] and *then* [ðɛn], have an interdental point of articulation, with constriction taking place between the tongue apex and the upper incisors as the apex protrudes between the teeth. The Eastern Emilian and Romagnol dental fricatives sound, perhaps, more similar to the dental affricates ([ts dz]) of Standard Italian, although the differences between the two articulations are quite discernible. In fact, the articulation of the dental fricatives requires much less muscular tension than that of the Standard Italian phones (Coco 98). While the distribution of the dental fricatives in Sammarinese corresponds relatively closely to that of the dental affricates in Standard Italian, northwest of the Marecchia River [θ] and [ð] occur much more frequently. Compare, for example, Standard Italian [martso] ‘March’, [ˈmartʃo] ‘rotten’; Sammarinese [mɛ̣ːrθ], [mɛ̣ːrtʃ]; and the Bolognese homonyms [mɛːrθ], [mɛːrθ]. To recapitulate, the dental fricatives are the following:

[θ] = voiceless dental fricative: [raːθɐ] ‘kind’

[ð] = voiced dental fricative: [ðaːl] ‘yellow’

Within the Eastern Emilian and Romagnol system of coronal fricatives, [θ] and [ð] contrast with the apico-alveolar sibilants [s̱] and [ẕ]. The former have a lax manner of articulation in that the tongue is flattened, which allows constriction to occur in a wider opening than in the articulation of sibilants. Conversely, the sibilants have a tense manner of articulation because the tongue is grooved lengthwise. This narrow channel compresses the air flowing

through, which makes the sibilants sound louder the dental and labiodental fricatives. The term apico-alveolar refers to the fact that constriction occurs between the tip of the tongue (the active articulator) and the alveoles (the passive articulator). In contrast, Standard Italian [s z] have an apico-dental point of articulation, which causes them to produce a lesser degree of sibilation than their Emilian and Romagnol counterparts:

[s̪] = voiceless apico-alveolar fricative: [s̪ɛ̪ːt] ‘seven’

[z̪] = voiced apico-alveolar fricative: [vɛ̪ːz̪] ‘vase’

Like French and English, Sammarinese features both voiceless ([ʃ]) and voiced ([ʒ]) palatoalveolar fricatives, whereas Standard Italian lacks the voiced correlate. [ʃ] and [ʒ] produce a greater degree of sibilation than [s̪] and [z̪], because the articulation of the postalveolar fricatives involves the entire lamina and dorsum of the tongue, which is even more grooved than in the articulation of the apico-alveolars:

[ʃ] = voiceless postalveolar fricative: [diverˈtɪʃˈti] ‘have fun!’

[ʒ] = voiced postalveolar fricative: [kuˈʒiːn] ‘cousin’

Now that the phonetic description of obstruents is complete, only the sonorants remain to be discussed, which are defined by three aspects of their manner of articulation. To begin with, the free flow of air is not obstructed during the articulation of sonorants. Secondly, unlike obstruents, sonorants are usually voiced and lack a voicing correlation. Finally, like vowels, sonorants generate clearly discernible peaks in the acoustic frequency spectrum (Vékás; Bertinetto, “Sonorante”). Sonorants are subdivided into approximants, nasals, and liquids.

Aside from the fact that they lack a voicing correlation, approximants are distinguished phonetically from fricatives by the fact that the articulation of approximants is less tense and, thus, creates less turbulent airflow (or frication). Phonologically speaking, it has been established

above that the approximants occur as complementary allophones of vowel phonemes. Sammarinese features approximants at three points of articulation:

[ʊ] = labiodental approximant: [aːkʊɐ] ‘water’

[j] = palatal approximant: [maːjɐ] ‘sweater’

[w] = labialized velar approximant: [aːkwɐ] ‘water’

The articulation of nasal consonants entails the lowering of the velum (or soft palate), which allows the flow of air through the nasal cavity. Non-nasal consonants are said to be oral, since their articulation involves the passage of air through the oral cavity (Bertinetto, “Nasale”). Some linguists classify nasal consonants as nasal stops, since their articulation entails complete occlusion of the oral cavity (Bertinetto, “Occlusivo”). However, from an acoustic, and probably more intuitive, perspective their manner of articulation is continuant. This text will treat nasal consonants as continuants, focusing on the fact that their articulation involves uninterrupted air flow through the nasal cavity (Bertinetto, “Nasale”, “Occlusivo”). Nasal phones occur at bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, palatal, and velar points of articulation:

[m] = bilabial nasal: [pumɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘ointment’

[ɱ] = labiodental nasal: [ɐɱˈvʊ̯iˑ] ‘I don’t want’

[n] = alveolar nasal: [nɔːri] ‘daughters-in-law’

[ɲ] = palatal nasal: [rɐˈɲɛ̟ː] ‘to scold’

[ŋ] = velar nasal: [ɛ̟ːŋkɐ] ‘also’

Non-nasal sonorants are liquids, which are defined by the fact that they form tautosyllabic clusters with preceding obstruents, commonly known as *muta cum liquida* sequences (Bertinetto, “Liquido”). Compare, for example, the tautosyllabic clusters in [kɛ̟ː.prɐ]

‘goat’ and [djɛ̯ː.vli] ‘devil’ with the heterosyllabic clusters in [vɪsˈ.tɐ] ‘seen (f. sg.)’ and [s̯ʊpˈ.ti] ‘immediately’. Liquids are subdivided into trills and lateral approximants.

Trills consist of a rapid succession of brief touches between articulators. Like Standard Italian, Emilian and Romagnol have a single trill, whose articulation is apico-alveolar (Bertinetto, “Polivibrante”):

[r] = alveolar trill: [raːθ] ‘bird’

Finally, the articulation of lateral approximants is characterized by the fact that air flow occurs at the sides of the tongue. Like Standard Italian, Emilian and Romagnol feature an alveolar and a palatal lateral approximant:

[l] = alveolar lateral approximant: [tɐrturɛ̯ːlɐ] ‘turtledove’

[ʎ] = palatal lateral approximant: [ɐʎɐrvuːri] ‘oak trees’

3.3.2. Consonant Phonemes

Of the twenty-five phones discussed above, nineteen serve as phonemes in the Sammarinese consonant system:

	p	b	f	v	θ	ð	t	d	s	z	tʃ	dʒ	k	g	m	n	ɲ	l	r
Stop	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
Nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
Lateral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
Dorsal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
Labial	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Sibilant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Voiced	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

The table above also lists the articulatory phonetic traits which are relevant for defining the function of individual phonemes within the network of contrasts and relationships that is the consonant system. These distinctive features are specific to the language in question, since their

relevance depends upon the roles that the nineteen aforementioned phonemes play within this particular set (Coco § 195). In addition, the table illustrates that the functionality of a phonological system is reflected by the fact that no two phonemes share the same set of distinctive traits.

One of the pertinent features listed in the table, *dorsal*, needs to be clarified. Dorsal consonants are those whose articulation involves the tongue body (or dorsum) as the active articulator. In terms of the passive articulator, dorsal consonants are either palatal or velar (Loporcaro, "Dorsale"). In fact, the table above indicates that /k g ɲ/ are the only dorsal consonants in the Sammarinese consonant system. Coronal consonants are produced when the blade (or lamina) of the tongue is raised in order to generate constriction against the teeth (/θ ð t d/), the alveolar ridge (/s z n l r/), or the postalveolar area on the roof of the mouth (/tʃ dʒ/). Among the non-coronal consonants are the labials, whose articulation does not involve the tongue whatsoever. The preceding phonetic description subdivides the labials into bilabials (/p b m/) and labiodentals (/f v/). Dorsal consonants are also non-coronal, since their articulation involves the back part of the tongue (Loporcaro, "Coronale").

Phonetic traits that are not listed in the table above are phonologically redundant, because they can be predicted through an assessment of the distinctive features that are present or absent in a given phoneme. Additionally, not every trait included in the table is pertinent to every phoneme. For example, the phone [p], which is described phonetically as a voiceless bilabial plosive, corresponds with the phoneme /p/. Of the eight features listed in the table, only the combination [+stop] [-dorsal] [+labial] [-voiced] is necessary and sufficient for identifying /p/. This fact is born out by a process of elimination that confirms the positivity or negativity of binary distinctive features with respect to the given phoneme. To begin with, if a phoneme is

[+stop], then it is necessarily [-sonorant] [-nasal] [-lateral]. Also, any phoneme that is [+labial] is necessarily [-sibilant]. In this case, some linguists would mark the *sonorant, nasal, lateral,* and *sibilant* cells in the /p/ column with a *0* in order to indicate that these features are redundant with regard to the phoneme in question. Furthermore, if a phoneme is [+dorsal] or [+labial], it is necessarily [-coronal], which is why a *coronal* row is not included in the table. *Bilabial* and *labiodental* rows do not appear since it is predictable that a labial stop or sonorant will have a bilabial place of articulation, whereas a labial fricative ([-stop] [-sonorant]) necessarily has a labiodental point of articulation (Coco § 196). Finally, while the presence of the distinctive features [+stop] [-dorsal] [+labial] in one phoneme implies that that segment is realized as a bilabial stop, [-voiced] specifies that the phoneme in question is /p/ as opposed to /b/.

The set of distinctive features discussed above is determined by the commutation tests below. Each of the subsequent paragraphs begins with the symbols of the phonemes to be commuted, followed by their phonetic names, the trait or traits being tested for relevance, and, finally, one or more minimal pairs.

/p/ ~ /b/. Voiceless bilabial plosive ~ voiced bilabial plosive. Relevant feature: [-voiced] ~ [+voiced]. Minimal pairs: [paːʂ] ‘step’ ~ [baːʂ] ‘low, short’; [pɐ̟ːʐ̟ɐ] ‘peace’ ~ [bɐ̟ːʐ̟ɐ] ‘kiss(es)’; [pʊɲˑ] ‘fist, punch, handful’ ~ [bʊɲˑ] ‘boil’; [ʂiːpɐ] ‘cuttlefish’ ~ [ʂiːbɐ] ‘wood, forest’; [pˈlɛĩ̯ñ] ‘chicks’ ~ [bˈlɛĩ̯ñ] ‘lovely’.

/p/ ~ /m/. Voiceless bilabial plosive ~ bilabial nasal. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-nasal] ~ [+nasal]. Minimal pairs: [paːʂ̟ɐ] ‘go(es), pass(es) by’ ~ [maːʂ̟ɐ] ‘alot’; [paːjɐ] ‘straw’ ~ [maːjɐ] ‘knitting; sweater’; [pɐrˈlʊθˑ] ‘rest, nap’ ~ [mɐrˈlʊθˑ] ‘cod’; [ʂ̟tʃuˈpɐ̟ː] ‘to burst’ ~ [ʂ̟tʃuˈmɐ̟ː] ‘to skim; foam’. Although they are generally voiced, it is

common practice for linguists to commute sonorants with homorganic voiceless non-sonorants, since the voicing correlation is non-phonological in sonorants.

/p/ ~ /f/. Voiceless bilabial plosive ~ voiceless labiodental fricative. Relevant feature: [+stop] ~ [-stop]. Minimal pairs: [piːg] ‘I, you bend’ ~ [fiːg] ‘fig tree’; [pɛ̟ːr] ‘seem(s)’ ~ [fɛ̟ːr] ‘iron’; [pɛ̟ːl] ‘stake, pole’ ~ [fɛ̟ːl] ‘to do it’; [paːʂ̟ɐ] ‘go(es), pass(es) by’ ~ [faːʂ̟ɐ] ‘strip, band’.

/p/ ~ /t/. Voiceless bilabial plosive ~ voiceless dental plosive. Relevant feature: [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pairs: [pɛ̟ːl] ‘stake, pole’ ~ [tɛ̟ːl] ‘somebody’; [paːkɐ] ‘piece, half’ ~ [taːkɐ] ‘begin(s)’; [paːjɐ] ‘straw’ ~ [taːjɐ] ‘cut(s)’.

/p/ ~ /k/. Voiceless bilabial plosive ~ voiceless velar plosive. Relevant feature: [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal]. Minimal pairs: [pɛ̟ːrtɐ] ‘part’ ~ [kɛ̟ːrtɐ] ‘paper’; [paːʂ̟ɐ] ‘go(es), pass(es) by’ ~ [kaːʂ̟ɐ] ‘chest, box’; [pɛ̟ːr] ‘seem(s)’ ~ [kɛ̟ːr] ‘dear, expensive’.

/b/ ~ /m/. Voiced bilabial plosive ~ bilabial nasal. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-nasal] ~ [+nasal]. Minimal pairs: [buːdɐ] ‘drink, booze-up’ ~ [muːdɐ] ‘change(s)’; [buːz̟] ‘hole’ ~ [muːz̟] ‘snout’; [baːtɐ] ‘to beat’ ~ [maːtɐ] ‘mad, crazy’; [bɛ̟ːŋkɐ] ‘bank’ ~ [mɛ̟ːŋkɐ] ‘less; is, are lacking’; [bɐˈɲɛ̟ː] ‘to wet’ ~ [mɐˈɲɛ̟ː] ‘to eat’; [baːjɐ] ‘bark(s)’ ~ [maːjɐ] ‘knitting; sweater’; [bɛ̟ːl] ‘handsome’ ~ [mɛ̟ːl] ‘badly; evil’; [diːbi] ‘herbs’ ~ [diːmi] ‘creases’; [ɛ̟ːrbɐ] ‘grass’ ~ [ɛ̟ːrmɐ] ‘weapon’.

/b/ ~ /v/. Voiced bilabial plosive ~ voiced labiodental fricative. Relevant feature: [+stop] ~ [-stop]. Minimal pairs: [baːlɐ] ‘dance(s)’ ~ [vaːlɐ] ‘valley’; [buːz̟ɐ] ‘hole’ ~ [vuːz̟ɐ] ‘voice’;

[liːbri] ‘book’ ~ [liːvri] ‘hare’; [lɐbɻːdɐ] ‘she looks after’ ~ [lɐvɻːdɐ] ‘washed; washing’; [lɐˈbeːd] ‘fir tree’ ~ [lɐˈveːd] ‘she sees’.

/b/ ~ /d/. Voiced bilabial plosive ~ voiced dental plosive. Relevant feature: [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pairs: [bɻːd] ‘I look after’ ~ [dɻːd] ‘die’; [rɔːbɐ] ‘stuff’ ~ [rɔːdɐ] ‘wheel’.

/b/ ~ /g/. Voiced bilabial plosive ~ voiced velar plosive. Relevant feature: [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal]. Minimal pairs: [baːl] ‘dance’ ~ [gaːl] ‘rooster’; [baːtɐ] ‘to beat’ ~ [gaːtɐ] ‘state of drunkenness’.

/b/ ~ /l/. Voiced bilabial plosive ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral]. Minimal pairs: [baːtɐ] ‘to beat’ ~ [laːtɐ] ‘tin; can’; [baːʂ] ‘low, short’ ~ [laːʂ] ‘I, you let, leave’.

/t/ ~ /d/. Voiceless dental plosive ~ voiced dental plosive. Relevant feature: [-voiced] ~ [+voiced]. Minimal pairs: [kwaːnt] ‘how much, many’ ~ [kwaːnd] ‘when’; [tɔːl] ‘(to) take it’ ~ [dɔːl] ‘hurt(s)’; [triː] ‘to pull; throw’ ~ [driː] ‘behind; near’; [viːtɐ] ‘life’ ~ [viːdɐ] ‘(grape)vine; screw’; [iŋviˈtɻːˑ] ‘to invite’ ~ [iŋviˈdɻːˑ] ‘to screw in’.

/t/ ~ /θ/. Voiceless dental plosive ~ voiceless dental fricative. Relevant feature: [+stop] ~ [-stop]. Minimal pairs: [maːt] ‘crazy’ ~ [maːθ] ‘club’; [nɔːti] ‘nights’ ~ [nɔːθi] ‘wedding’.

/t/ ~ /n/. Voiceless dental plosive ~ alveolar nasal. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-nasal] ~ [+nasal]. Minimal pairs: [nɔːtɐ] ‘night’ ~ [nɔːnɐ] ‘grandmother’; [bɔːtɐ] ‘blow’ ~ [bɔːnɐ] ‘good; able’. Although the canonical articulation of /t/ is dental while that of /n/ is alveolar, phonologically speaking the two consonants are homorganic,

both of them belonging to the alveodental category. In fact, a phonemic contrast between dental and alveolar articulations occurs only in the fricative series of consonants (cf. /θ/ ~ /s/).

/t/ ~ /l/. Voiceless dental plosive ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral]. Minimal pairs: [tɪ] 'you' ~ [lɪ] 'there'; [taːkɐ] 'begin(s)' ~ [laːkɐ] 'varnish, lacquer'; [tɐ̟ːnɐ] 'lair, den, burrow' ~ [lɐ̟ːnɐ] 'wool'.

/t/ ~ /r/. Voiceless dental plosive ~ alveolar trill. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant]. Minimal pair: [nɔːtɐ] 'night' ~ [nɔːrɐ] 'daughter-in-law'.

/t/ ~ /tʃ/. Voiceless dental plosive ~ voiceless postalveolar affricate. Relevant feature: [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [taːp] 'cork, stopper, cap, top, plug' ~ [tʃaːp] 'I, you take, catch'; [bɔːtɐ] 'blow' ~ [bɔːtʃɐ] 'bottle; bud'; [faːtɐ] 'done, made' ~ [faːtʃɐ] 'face'; [kwɐ̟ːrtɐ] 'blanket' ~ [kwɐ̟ːrtʃɐ] 'large lid on boiler'; [kɔːt] 'cooked' ~ [kɔːtʃ] 'shard of earthenware'. Dental plosives contrast with postalveolar affricates since both types are coronal stops (Delmonte 195).

/t/ ~ /k/. Voiceless dental plosive ~ voiceless velar plosive. Relevant features: [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal]. Minimal pairs: [tɔːr] 'bull' ~ [kɔːr] 'heart'; [taːp] 'cork, stopper, cap, top, plug' ~ [kaːp] 'I, you choose'; [pɔːrt] 'I, you bring' ~ [pɔːrk] 'pig'.

/d/ ~ /ð/. Voiced dental plosive ~ voiced dental fricative. Relevant feature: [+stop] ~ [-stop]. Minimal pairs: [mɐ̟ːdɐ] 'to reap, harvest' ~ [mɐ̟ːðɐ] '12:30'; [dɔːni] 'women' ~ [ðɔːni] 'areas'.

/d/ ~ /n/. Voiced dental plosive ~ alveolar nasal. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-nasal] ~ [+nasal]. Minimal pairs: [dɔːnɐ] ‘woman’ ~ [nɔːnɐ] ‘grandmother’; [mɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘to reap, harvest’ ~ [mɛ̟ːnɐ] ‘hand’; [pjɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘piada, piadina’ ~ [pjɛ̟ːnɐ] ‘plain; jointer plane’; [frɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘portcullis, grate’ ~ [frɛ̟ːnɐ] ‘landslide’; [s̪uˈdɛ̟ː] ‘to sweat’ ~ [s̪uˈnɛ̟ː] ‘to play, sound’.

/d/ ~ /l/. Voiced dental plosive ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral]. Minimal pairs: [dɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘I, he, she was giving’ ~ [lɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘wash(es)’; [diː] ‘to say’ ~ [liː] ‘she, her’; [dɪ] ‘day’ ~ [lɪ] ‘there’; [mɛ̟ːd] ‘I, you reap, harvest’ ~ [mɛ̟ːl] ‘badly; evil’.

/d/ ~ /r/. Voiced dental plosive ~ alveolar trill. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant]. Minimal pairs: [diz̪ˈpɛ̟ːt] ‘piece of spite’ ~ [riz̪ˈpɛ̟ːt] ‘respect’; [rɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘sparse, thin’ ~ [rɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘rare’; [daːn] ‘damage, harm’ ~ [raːn] ‘mixture of ashes and boiled water for laundry’.

/d/ ~ /dʒ/. Voiced dental plosive ~ voiced postalveolar affricate. Relevant feature: [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [dʊ] ‘two’ ~ [dʒʊ] ‘down’; [daː] ‘give(s)’ ~ [dʒaː] ‘already’; [s̪kurˈdɛ̟ː] ‘to forget’ ~ [s̪kurˈdʒɛ̟ː] ‘to pass gass’; [inz̪ɐˈlɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘salad’ ~ [inz̪ɐˈlɛ̟ːdʒɐ] ‘they don’t know how to read’.

/d/ ~ /g/. Voiced dental plosive ~ voiced velar plosive. Relevant features: [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal]. Minimal pairs: [pjɛ̟ːdɐ] ‘piada, piadina’ ~ [pjɛ̟ːgɐ] ‘sore, wound’; [s̪kurˈdɛ̟ː] ‘to forget’ ~ [s̪kurˈgɛ̟ː] ‘to skin’.

/k/ ~ /g/. Voiceless velar plosive ~ voiced velar plosive. Relevant feature: [-voiced] ~ [+voiced]. Minimal pairs: [kaːl] ‘callus’ ~ [gaːl] ‘rooster’; [kreːdɐ] ‘to believe’ ~ [greːdɐ] ‘clay’; [vaːkɐ] ‘cow’ ~ [vaːgɐ] ‘may go’; [ʂtaːkɐ] ‘remove(s), disconnect(s)’ ~ [ʂtaːgɐ] ‘may stay, be’.

/k/ ~ /tʃ/. Voiceless velar plosive ~ voiceless postalveolar affricate. Relevant features: [+dorsal] ~ [-dorsal], [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [ʂtraːk] ‘tired’ ~ [ʂtraːtʃ] ‘rag, cloth, duster; wretch’; [rɪkˑ] ‘rich’ ~ [rɪtˑʃ] ‘wood shaving’; [mɛ̟ːrkɐ] ‘brand, make; stamp’ ~ [mɛ̟ːrtʃɐ] ‘march; gear; rotten; pus’; [kɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘take(s) off’ ~ [tʃɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘key’; [kɛ̟ːr] ‘dear, expensive’ ~ [tʃɛ̟ːr] ‘clear, light’; [kuːʐ̟] ‘sew(s)’ ~ [tʃuːʐ̟] ‘closed’.

/k/ ~ /l/. Voiceless velar plosive ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral], [+dorsal] ~ [-dorsal]. Minimal pairs: [kɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘take(s) off’ ~ [lɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘wash(es)’; [kɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘dear, expensive’ ~ [lɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘threshing floor; he was’.

/g/ ~ /dʒ/. Voiced velar plosive ~ voiced postalveolar affricate. Relevant features: [+dorsal] ~ [-dorsal], [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [gʊʂ̟ˑt] ‘taste, flavor; pleasure’ ~ [dʒʊʂ̟ˑt] ‘fair; right’; [gaːl] ‘rooster’ ~ [dʒaːl] ‘yellow’.

/tʃ/ ~ /dʒ/. Voiceless postalveolar affricate ~ voiced postalveolar affricate. Relevant feature: [-voiced] ~ [+voiced]. Minimal pairs: [tʃaːkɐ] ‘squash(es), crush(es)’ ~ [dʒaːkɐ] ‘jacket’; [tʃiːrɐ] ‘wax’ ~ [dʒiːrɐ] ‘turn(s)’.

/tʃ/ ~ /ɲ/. Voiceless postalveolar affricate ~ palatal nasal. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-nasal] ~ [+nasal], [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal], [+sibilant] ~ [-

sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [mɐˈtʃɻː] ‘stained’ ~ [mɐˈɲɻː] ‘eaten’; [kɐːtʃɐ] ‘hunting’ ~ [kɐːɲɐ] ‘bitch’; [ʂtɐˈtʃɻː] ‘to sift, sieve’ ~ [ʂtɐˈɲɻː] ‘to tinplate, solder; stop’; [bɐˈtʃɻːl] ‘bean’ ~ [bɐˈɲɻːl] ‘to wet it’; [ʂʊtˑʃ] ‘I, you suck’ ~ [ʂʊɲˑ] ‘dreams’.

/tʃ/ ~ /l/. Voiceless postalveolar affricate ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral], [+sibilant] ~ [-sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [faːtʃɐ] ‘face’ ~ [faːlɐ] ‘do, make it’; [ʂtaːtʃɐ] ‘sieve’ ~ [ʂtaːlɐ] ‘stable’; [kɔːtʃ] ‘shard of earthenware’ ~ [kɔːl] ‘neck’.

/dʒ/ ~ /ɲ/. Voiced postalveolar affricate ~ palatal nasal. Relevant features: [+stop] ~ [-stop], [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-nasal] ~ [+nasal], [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal], [+sibilant] ~ [-sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [kuˈraːdʒ] ‘courage’ ~ [kuˈraːɲ] ‘that spider’; [maːdʒ] ‘May’ ~ [maːɲ] ‘I, you eat’.

/f/ ~ /v/. Voiceless labiodental fricative ~ voiced labiodental fricative. Relevant feature: [-voiced] ~ [+voiced]. Minimal pairs: [fɛi̯ñ] ‘hay’ ~ [vɛi̯ñ] ‘wine’; [fiːnt] ‘false’ ~ [viːnt] ‘won’; [faː] ‘do(es), make(s)’ ~ [vaː] ‘go(es)’; [iɱfɻːrnɪ] ‘hell’ ~ [iɱvɻːrnɪ] ‘winter’; [fjɔːlɐ] ‘daughter’ ~ [vjɔːlɐ] ‘violet’; [feːdɐ] ‘faith, belief, trust’ ~ [veːdɐ] ‘to see’.

/f/ ~ /θ/. Voiceless labiodental fricative ~ voiceless dental fricative. Relevant feature: [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pair: [fɪtˑ] ‘thick’ ~ [θɪtˑ] ‘quiet’.

/f/ ~ /ð/. Voiceless labiodental fricative ~ voiced dental fricative. Relevant feature: [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pair: [faːl] ‘do it!’ ~ [ðaːl] ‘yellow’.

/f/ ~ /s/. Voiceless labiodental fricative ~ voiceless alveolar fricative. Relevant features: [+labial] ~ [-labial], [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [figuːrɐ] ‘impression’ ~ [s̪iguːrɐ] ‘sure(ly), certain(ly)’; [fɛ̪ːltʃɐ] ‘scythe’ ~ [s̪ɛ̪ːltʃɐ] ‘willow’; [faː] ‘do(es), make(s)’ ~ [s̪aː] ‘knows (how)’; [fɛ̪ːnt] ‘jack’ ~ [s̪ɛ̪ːnt] ‘holy; saint’; [baːf] ‘moustache’ ~ [baːs̪] ‘low, short’.

/f/ ~ /z/. Voiceless labiodental fricative ~ voiced alveolar fricative. Relevant features: [+labial] ~ [-labial], [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pair: [buːfɐ] ‘it is snowing’ ~ [buːz̪ɐ] ‘hole’.

/f/ ~ /l/. Voiceless labiodental fricative ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral], [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pairs: [fɛ̝iñ] ‘hay’ ~ [lɛ̝iñ] ‘linen’; [faː] ‘do(es), make(s)’ ~ [laː] ‘there’; [baːf] ‘moustache’ ~ [baːl] ‘dance’.

/v/ ~ /θ/. Voiced labiodental fricative ~ voiceless dental fricative. Relevant feature: [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pair: [nɔːvi] ‘new’ ~ [nɔːθi] ‘wedding’.

/v/ ~ /ð/. Voiced labiodental fricative ~ voiced dental fricative. Relevant feature: [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pair: [vaːl] ‘sieve’ ~ [ðaːl] ‘yellow’.

/v/ ~ /s/. Voiced labiodental fricative ~ voiceless alveolar fricative. Relevant features: [+labial] ~ [-labial], [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [veːrɐ] ‘true’ ~ [s̪eːrɐ] ‘evening’; [vaːkɐ] ‘cow’ ~ [s̪aːkɐ] ‘bag’.

/v/ ~ /z/. Voiced labiodental fricative ~ voiced alveolar fricative. Relevant features: [+labial] ~ [-labial], [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pair: [kɛ̪ːvlɪ] ‘spring cabbage’ ~ [kɛ̪ːz̪lɪ] ‘Casole’ (toponym).

/v/ ~ /l/. Voiced labiodental fricative ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral], [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pairs: [vɛi̯ñ] ‘wine’ ~ [lɛi̯ñ] ‘linen’; [viːɐ] ‘away’ ~ [liːɐ] ‘she, her’; [ɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘bee’ ~ [ɛ̟ːlɐ] ‘wing’; [fɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘broad bean’ ~ [fɛ̟ːlɐ] ‘to do, make it’.

/v/ ~ /r/. Voiced labiodental fricative ~ alveolar trill. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pairs: [ɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘bee’ ~ [ɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘threshing floor’; [rɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘turnip’ ~ [rɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘rare’; [lɛ̟ːvɐ] ‘wash(es)’ ~ [lɛ̟ːrɐ] ‘he was’; [veːdɐ] ‘to see’ ~ [reːdɐ] ‘net’; [viːvɐ] ‘to live’ ~ [riːvɐ] ‘river bank’.

/θ/ ~ /ð/. Voiceless dental fricative ~ voiced dental fricative. Relevant feature: [-voiced] ~ [+voiced]. In the absence of minimal pairs, we may determine that individual phones belong to separate phonemes by ruling out the possibility that they are complementary allophones or free variants. Given that [θ] and [ð] do not alternate in complementary distribution (cf. [pɛ̟ːθɐ] ‘patch’, [mɛ̟ːðɐ] ‘12:30’) or in free variation, they necessarily represent distinct phonemes.

/θ/ ~ /s/. Voiceless dental fricative ~ voiceless alveolar fricative. Relevant feature: [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [maːθɐ] ‘kill(s)’ ~ [maːs̪ɐ] ‘a lot’; [pɪθˑ] ‘lace; goatee’ ~ [pɪs̪ˑ] ‘urine; fishes’; [pʊθˑ] ‘wells’ ~ [pʊs̪ˑ] ‘I can’.

/θ/ ~ /z/. Voiceless dental fricative ~ voiced alveolar fricative. Relevant feature: [-sibilant] ~ [+sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [pɛ̟ːθɐ] ‘rag, cloth’~ [pɛ̟ːz̪ɐ] ‘peace’; [mɐˈθɛ̟ː] ‘to kill’ ~ [mɐˈz̪ɛ̟ː] ‘to hide’.

/θ/ ~ /l/. Voiceless dental fricative ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral]. Minimal pairs: [pɻːθɐ] ‘rag, cloth’~ [pɻːlɐ] ‘hide, skin’; [mɐˈθɻːd] ‘killed’ ~ [mɐˈlɻːd] ‘sick, ill’; [pʊθˑ] ‘wells’ ~ [pʊlˑ] ‘chickens’.

/θ/ ~ /r/. Voiceless dental fricative ~ alveolar trill. Relevant feature: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant]. Minimal pairs: [θɪtˑ] ‘quiet, silent’ ~ [rɪtˑ] ‘straight; upright’; [nɔːθi] ‘wedding’ ~ [nɔːri] ‘daughters-in-law’; [pɻːθɐ] ‘rag, cloth’~ [pɻːrɐ] ‘pair(s)’; [pʊθˑ] ‘wells’ ~ [pʊrˑ] ‘leeks; warts’.

/ð/ ~ /l/. Voiced dental fricative ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral]. Minimal pair: [mɻːð] ‘half’ ~ [mɻːl] ‘badly; evil’.

/ð/ ~ /r/. Voiced dental fricative ~ alveolar trill. Relevant feature: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant]. Minimal pair: [mɻːð] ‘half’ ~ [mɻːr] ‘sea’.

/s/ ~ /z/. Voiceless alveolar fricative ~ voiced alveolar fricative. Relevant feature: [-voiced] ~ [+voiced]. Minimal pairs: [lɐs̬o̬ɪdɐ] ‘silk; thirst’ ~ [lɐz̬o̬ɪdɐ] ‘vinegar’; [fuːs̬] ‘ditches’ ~ [fuːz̬] ‘spindle’; [kɐˈs̬ɛtˑ] ‘drawer’ ~ [kɐˈz̬ɛtˑ] ‘little house’; [tuˈs̬ɻːˑ] ‘you know it’ ~ [tuˈz̬ɻːˑ] ‘to shear’; [tɻːs̬] ‘weave(s)’ ~ [tɻːz̬] ‘tartar, potassium bitartrate’.

/s/ ~ /r/. Voiceless alveolar fricative ~ alveolar trill. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [+sibilant] ~ [-sibilant]. Minimal pair: [kaːs̬ɐ] ‘chest, box’ ~ [kaːrɐ] ‘large cart, wagon’.

/z/ ~ /r/. Voiced alveolar fricative ~ alveolar trill. Relevant features: [-sonorant] ~ [+sonorant], [+sibilant] ~ [-sibilant]. Minimal pairs: [muːz̬] ‘muzzle; mug’ ~ [muːr] ‘wall’;

[kɻːʐɐ] ‘house, home’ ~ [kɻːrɐ] ‘dear; expensive’; [mɻːʐ] ‘I, you hide’ ~ [mɻːr] ‘sea’; [pɐːʐ] ‘weight’ ~ [pɐːr] ‘pear tree’; [kuːʐ] ‘sew(s)’ ~ [kuːr] ‘treat(s)’.

/m/ ~ /n/. Bilabial nasal ~ alveolar nasal. Relevant feature: [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pairs: [mɔʂˑt] ‘must’ ~ [nɔʂˑt] ‘our (m. pl.)’; [miːrɐ] ‘aim’ ~ [niːrɐ] ‘black’; [maːmɐ] ‘mom’ ~ [maːnɐ] ‘handful, bunch’; [mɐˈʐɻː] ‘to hide’ ~ [nɐˈʐɻː] ‘to smell, suspect’; [muˈdɻː] ‘to change’ ~ [nuˈdɻː] ‘to swim’.

/m/ ~ /ɲ/. Bilabial nasal ~ palatal nasal. Relevant feature: [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal], [+labial] ~ [-labial]. Minimal pairs: [maːmɐ] ‘mom’ ~ [maːɲɐ] ‘eat(s)’; [mɻːŋkɐ] ‘less; is, are lacking’ ~ [ɲɻːŋkɐ] ‘not even’.

/n/ ~ /l/. Alveolar nasal ~ alveolar lateral approximant. Relevant features: [+nasal] ~ [-nasal], [-lateral] ~ [+lateral]. Minimal pairs: [laːʂɐ] ‘leave(s); let(s)’ ~ [naːʂɐ] ‘to be born’; [pɻːl] ‘stake, pole’ ~ [pɻːn] ‘bread’; [ʂɻːlɐ] ‘living room; saddles’ ~ [ʂɻːnɐ] ‘healthy; whole’; [ʂɻːntɐ] ‘holy; saint’ ~ [ʂɻːltɐ] ‘jump(s)’.

/n/ ~ /r/. Alveolar nasal ~ alveolar trill. Relevant features: [+nasal] ~ [-nasal]. Minimal pairs: [pɻːn] ‘bread’ ~ [pɻːr] ‘seem(s)’; [kɻːn] ‘dog’ ~ [kɻːr] ‘dear; expensive’; [tɔːn] ‘thunder’ ~ [tɔːr] ‘bull’; [piːn] ‘full’ ~ [piːr] ‘pear trees’; [nɻːvɐ] ‘ship’ ~ [rɻːvɐ] ‘turnip’; [fiːnɐ] ‘until’ ~ [fiːrɐ] ‘fair’; [tɻːnɐ] ‘lair, den, burrow’ ~ [tɻːrɐ] ‘land’.

/n/ ~ /ɲ/. Alveolar nasal ~ palatal nasal. Relevant features: [-dorsal] ~ [+dorsal]. Minimal pairs: [ʂuˈnɻː] ‘to play, ring, sound’ ~ [ʂuˈɲɻː] ‘to dream’; [ɐˈnɻːl] ‘ring’ ~ [ɐˈɲɻːl] ‘lamb’;

[mɐˈnɛ̯ːdɐ] ‘slap’ ~ [mɐˈɲɛ̯ːdɐ] ‘meal’; [s̪taːn] ‘this year’ ~ [s̪taːɲ] ‘pond’; [kaːnɐ] ‘reed’ ~ [kaːɲɐ] ‘bitch’; [raːn] ‘lye’ ~ [raːɲ] ‘spider’; [s̪ɔnˑ] ‘sleep, sleepiness’ ~ [s̪ɔɲˑ] ‘dream’.

/l/ ~ /r/. Alveolar lateral approximant ~ alveolar trill. Relevant feature: [+lateral] ~ [-lateral]. Minimal pairs: [peːl] ‘hair’ ~ [peːr] ‘pear tree’; [pɛ̯ːl] ‘stake, pole’ ~ [pɛ̯ːr] ‘seem(s)’; [fɛ̯ːl] ‘to do, make it’ ~ [fɛ̯ːr] ‘iron’; [mɛ̯ːl] ‘badly; evil’ ~ [mɛ̯ːr] ‘sea’; [tɔːl] ‘to take it’ ~ [tɔːr] ‘bull’; [s̪ɔːlɐ] ‘sole’ ~ [s̪ɔːrɐ] ‘nun’; [kaːl] ‘callus’ ~ [kaːr] ‘cart, wagon’; [ɛ̯ːltɐ] ‘high, tall, deep’ ~ [ɛ̯ːrtɐ] ‘art’; [ɛ̯ːlɐ] ‘wing’ ~ [ɛ̯ːrɐ] ‘threshing floor’; [pɛ̯ːlɐ] ‘skin, hide’ ~ [pɛ̯ːrɐ] ‘pair(s)’.

3.3.3. Consonant Allophones

With the consonant phoneme set and its relevant features having been established, the distribution of complementary allophones and the occurrence of free variants remain to be discussed.

While degemination in Northern Italian varieties has done away with double consonants, which have a phonemic status in Standard Italian (Clivio and Danesi 84), Emilian and Romagnol do present half-long consonant allophones (Coco § 190; Schürr, *VR* 15, 35). We may conclude that consonant length is allophonic rather than phonemic because, aside from the fact that variation in quantity is much less perceptible among consonants than vowels (Schürr, *VR* 15, 35), consonant length is complementary to that of the preceding vowel. On the other hand, one may deduce that vowel quantity is phonological in Sammarinese because the opposition is pertinent word-finally in the absence of a subsequent consonant (Martinet 128): [trɛ̯ː] ‘to pull’ ~ [trɛ] ‘three (f.)’. The inverse relationship between vowel and consonant length is summarized by the following complementary distribution rule: any consonant phoneme is realized as a half-long positional variant immediately after a short tonic vowel (/C/ → [Cˑ] / V [+stress] [-long] ___)

and as a short allophone elsewhere. The examples of half-long consonant allophones offered below are grouped into the three contexts in which they regularly occur: intervocalically, before another consonant, and word-finally.

Intervocalically: [pɪpˑɐ] ‘pipe’, [ʂtɔpˑɐ] ‘tow’, [rɐtˑɐ] ‘broken’, [ʂʊtˑɐ] ‘dry’, [bɐtˑɐ] ‘barrel, cask’, [frɛdˑɐ] ‘cold’, [mʊfˑɐ] ‘mold’, [brɪvˑid] ‘shiver, shudder’, [ʂkrɐvˑɐ] ‘sow’, [pʊθˑɐ] ‘stench’, [mɛʂˑɐ] ‘mass’, [urɛtˑʃɐ] ‘ear’, [mʊtˑʃɐ] ‘a lot, heap’, [bɐkˑɐ] ‘mouth’, [rɪkˑɐ] ‘rich’, [mɪgˑɐ] ‘at all’, [lɪmˑɐ] ‘file’ [inʂɐmˑɐ] ‘in short’, [bɪrˑɐ] ‘beer’, [kʊrˑɐ] ‘to run’, [tɐrˑɐ] ‘tower’, [tʃvɐlˑɐ] ‘onion’, [vɪlˑɐ] ‘villa’, [grɐmɪɲˑɐ] ‘couch grass’, [vɪɲˑɐ] ‘vineyard’, [prʊɲˑɐ] ‘plum’.

When a half-long consonant precedes another consonant, a vowel usually follows: [lɪbˑri] ‘free’, [ʂʊpˑtɪ] ‘right way’, [fɪbˑjɐ] ‘buckle’, [vɛdˈˑvɐ] ‘widow’, [gɪfˑlɪ] ‘ball of wool or thread’, [ʂʊvˑri] ‘cork’, [nʊvˑlɐ] ‘cloud’, [tɛvˑdɪ] ‘lukewarm’, [lʊtˑʃlɐ] ‘firefly’, [rʊdˑʒnɐ] ‘rust’, [tɐnˑdɐ] ‘around’, [ʂɪrˑlɪ] ‘celery’, [tʃɪmˑʒɐ] ‘bug’, [ʊmˑdɪ] ‘humid, damp’.

Word-finally: [kʊpˑ] ‘roofing tiles’, [dɐpˑ] ‘after, then, later’, [brʊtˑ] ‘ugly’, [dɪtˑ] ‘said’, [bɪgˑ] ‘I drink’, [pɐθˑ] ‘well’, [gʊtˑʃ] ‘needle’, [lɪʃˑ] ‘smooth’, [pɛʂˑ] ‘fish’, [rɐʂˑ] ‘red’, [mʊtˑʃ] ‘a lot, heap’, [ɐpɐˈrɛtˑʃ] ‘airplane’, [trɛdˑʒ] ‘thirteen’, [ʂɛdˑʒ] ‘sixteen’, [bɛkˑ] ‘beak; cuckold’, [lʊmˑ] ‘light, lamp’, [kʊrˑ] ‘run(s)’, [mɐlˑ] ‘wet’, [pʊɲˑ] ‘punch; fist’.

To elaborate on the complementary distribution rule stated above, we paraphrase Coco (§ 190), who indicates that long vowel-short consonant combinations (V:C, cf. [gaːt] ‘cat’) are much more frequent than short vowel-half-long consonant sequences (VC·) in Emilian and Romagnol. This is true in part because long tonic vowels are more numerous than short tonic

vowels, their ratio being 7:4 in Sammarinese. Moreover, any consonant that follows an atonic vowel will also be short (cf. [kʊrˈɐ] ‘to run’, [ɐ kuˈriː] ‘you run’). Two consonants are never realized as half-long positional variants: /z/ and /n/ before velar stops. In the first case, a half-long allophone does not surface because /z/ never follows a short tonic vowel (Coco 100). However, before velar stops /n/ surfaces as a short velar allophone (→ [ŋ]) even after a short tonic vowel (Hajek, “Emilia-Romagna” 275): [θɪŋgⁿni] ‘gypsy’, [vɪŋg] ‘I come’, [tɪŋg] ‘I hold’, [dⁿmɛŋgɐ] ‘Sunday’, [lɛŋgwɐ] ‘tongue; language’.

One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the Romagnol consonant system is the fact that non-affricate stops are realized as four different types of complementary allophones: plosives, lateral release stops, nasal release stops, and unreleased stops.[58] The phonemes /p b t d k g/ are referred to as plosives based on the articulation of their canonical (or ‘elsewhere’) allophones, which involves total occlusion of the oral tract followed by a complete, audible release of the articulators: [pɪɲˈɐ] ‘pine cone’, [bɛ̯ːl] ‘handsome’, [tɛ̯ːʂ̺tɐ] ‘head’, [rɔːdɐ] ‘wheel’, [kɛ̯ːn] ‘dog’, [gaːt] ‘cat’. When a plosive release is impeded by a subsequent lateral approximant, the stop’s articulation ends with a release of compressed air from the sides of the tongue: [pˡlɛĩ̯ñ] ‘chicks’, [ʐ̺gudɪbˑˡli] ‘unpleasant, disagreeable’, [tˡlɛ̯ːr] ‘loom’, [bɐtˡlɛ̯ːrdɐ] ‘chopping board’, [u ʐ̺bɐrbɔːtˡlɐ] ‘he mutters’, [lɔːdˡlɐ] ‘(sky)lark’, [kˡlɔːm] ‘that man; Sir’, [ɐvɐndriːgˡli] ‘merchant’, [pˀteːgˡlɐ] ‘gossip(y)’. Similarly, a nasal release occurs directly before a nasal consonant: [tⁿnaːĩ̯] ‘pincers’, [dⁿmɐnˡdɛ̯ːˑ] ‘to ask (for)’, [kⁿnɐʂ̺ˑ] ‘know(s)’, [gⁿmiːrɐ] ‘plowshare’. Finally, stops are not released at all when they immediately precede an obstruent: [pˀtɔũ̯ñ] ‘button’, [pˀteːgˡlɐ] ‘gossip(y)’, [sʊpˑˀtɪ] ‘immediately’, [ʂ̺tʃupˀtɛ̯ːdɐ] ‘rifle shot’,

[58] Galassi and Trumper 68-71; Delmonte 193-94; Bertinetto, “Occlusivo”.

[bˈdɔːtʃ] ‘louse’, [frɔbˑˈʐɪ] ‘scissors’, [ʂaːbˈdɪ] ‘Saturday’, [tˈkɐmˑpri] ‘you buy’, [kʊdˑˈgi] ‘pork rinds’, [ʂɐi̯baːdˈgi] ‘wild’, [kɛkˈˈdɔu̯ñ] ‘someone’, [ɐkˈˈʂɪ] ‘like this’.

As is typical of Emilian and Romagnol, the sibilant fricatives /s/ and /z/ are consistently realized with an apico-alveolar point of articulation ([ʂ ʐ]) in Serravallese. On the other hand, Southwestern Sammarinese presents a more complicated picture, which is characteristic of a transitional linguistic variety. In the latter area, [ʂ] and [ʐ] coexist with the postalveolar variants [ʃ] and [ʒ], likely due to the influence of the neighboring linguistic groups to the south and west. As far as Southwestern Sammarinese is concerned, it is not possible to conclude unqualifiedly that the two articulations behave as complementary allophones because free variation does occur in certain lexemes: /nasa/ ‘to be born’ → [naːʃɐ] in free variation with [naːʂɐ]. Paradoxically, nor may one conclude without qualification that the two articulations represent free variants since [ʃ] and [ʒ] are restricted from appearing in other lexemes in positions where free variation is otherwise allowed: /masa/ ‘a lot’ → [maːʂɐ] but not *[maːʃɐ].

With more research needed in order to determine the synchronic rules governing the distribution of the alveolar and postalveolar variants in Southwestern Sammarinese, we are limited to describing the facts ascertained thus far. Firstly, when free variation is permitted, the alveopalatal articulations appear more frequently than their apico-alveolar counterparts. Secondly, oscillation between the two articulations occurs most often intervocalically, as Delmonte observes (193), and word-finally. For instance, the following lexemes allow free variation between palatoalveolar and apico-alveolar articulations intervocalically:

[bɪʃˑɐ] [bɪʂˑɐ] ‘grass snake’, [naːʃɐ] [naːʂɐ] ‘to be born’, [kⁿnɐʃˑɐ] [kⁿnɐsˑɐ] ‘to know’, [krɛʃˑɐ] [krɛsˑɐ] ‘to grow’, [kɔːʃɐ] [kɔːʂɐ] ‘thigh’, [lɐˈʃɛ̟ː] [lɐˈʂɛ̟ː] ‘to leave; let’,

[kɐˈʃɔ̰ñ] [kɐˈʂɔ̰ñ] ‘cassone’, [mɐʃɐ̟ːlɐ] [mɐʂɐ̟ːlɐ] ‘cheek’, [niˈʃɔ̰ñ] [niˈʂɔ̰ñ] ‘no one’; [rɐˈʒɔ̰ñ] [rɐˈʐɔ̰ñ] ‘reason’, [ʂtɐˈʒɔ̰ñ] [ʂtɐˈʐɔ̰ñ] ‘season’, [tʃɐˈriːʒɐ] [tʃɐˈriːʐ̰ɐ] ‘cherry’, [fɐˈʒuːl] [fɐˈʐ̰uːl] ‘beans’, [bruˈʒɐ̟ː] [bruˈʐɐ̟ː] ‘to burn’, [mɐˈʒɐ̟ː] [mɐˈʐɐ̟ː] ‘to hide’, [kɐˈmiːʒɐ] [kɐˈmiːʐ̰ɐ] ‘shirt’, [kɔːʒɐ] [kɔːʐ̰ɐ] ‘to cook’, [kuːʒɐ] [kuːʐ̰ɐ] ‘to sew’, [vuːʒɐ] [vuːʐ̰ɐ] ‘voice’, [pɐ̟ːʒɐ] [pɐ̟ːʐ̰ɐ] ‘peace’. The following are among the lexemes that permit oscillation between the two articulations word-finally: [pɛʃˑ] [pɛsˑ] ‘fish’, [pɪʃˑ] [pɪʂˑ] ‘urine’, [kɐˈpɪʃˑ] [kɐˈpɪʂˑ] ‘understand(s)’; [bɐ̟ːʒ] [bɐ̟ːʐ̰] ‘kiss’, [buːʒ] [buːʐ̰] ‘hole’, [piːʒ] [piːʐ̰] ‘piace’, [diːʒ] [diːʐ̰] ‘say(s); ten’. However, lexemes that do not allow free variation also abound: [maːʂɐ] ‘a lot’, [mɛʂˑɐ] ‘mass’, [mɔːʂɐ] ‘move’, [ɐ̟ːʂɐ] ‘to be’, [tʃiːʐ̰ɐ] ‘church’, [kɐ̟ːʐ̰ɐ] ‘house’, [rɐˈʐ̰uːl] ‘razor’, [peːʐ̰ɐ] ‘weigh(s)’, [paːʂ] ‘step’, [fɪʂˑ] ‘continuously’, [fɔːʂ] ‘ditch’, [aːʂ] ‘board’, [ɔːʂ] ‘bone; pit’, [pʊʂˑ] ‘I can’, [fʊʂˑ] ‘were, might be’, [tʃuːʐ̰] ‘closed’, [pˈʂuːd] ‘was able’. Finally, in the few exceptional lexemes which permit oscillation elsewhere, free variation usually occurs word-initially and almost always involves /s/ followed by a vowel (Delmonte 193): [ʃuˈgɐ̟ː] [ʂuˈgɐ̟ː] ‘to dry’, [ʃɐˈkwɐ̟ː] [ʂɐˈkwɐ̟ː] ‘to rinse’, [ʃʊtˑ] [ʂʊtˑ] ‘dry’, [ʃuːg] [ʂuːg] ‘sauce’, [ʃɪrˑlɪ] [ʂɪrˑlɪ] ‘celery’, [ʃɪmˑjɐ] [ʂɪmˑjɐ] ‘monkey’, [pˈʃiːgɐ] [pˈʂiːgɐ] ‘bladder’, [pɪʒˑgɐ] [piːʐ̰gɐ] ‘peach’, [tʃɪmˑʒɐ] [tʃɪmˑʐ̰a] ‘(bed) bug’.

Not to be confused with the ambiguous phenomenon discussed above, throughout the Republic certain coronal consonant /s z t l n/ + /i/ clusters are realized as palatal or postalveolar allophones before a nuclear vowel:

/si/ → [ʃ] / ___V: /siɔ́lta/ → [ʃɔːltɐ] ‘diarrhea’, /préːsia/ → [prɐ̟ːʃɐ] ‘hurry’, /kuNpasiɔ́n̪/ → [kumpɐˈʃɔn̪ñ] ‘compassion, pity, sympathy.[59]

/zi/ → [ʒ] / ___V: /televiziɔ́n̪/ → [televiˈʒɔn̪ñ] ‘television’.

/ti/ → [tʃ] / ___V: /béːstia/ → [bɐ̟ːs̪tʃɐ] ‘animal’, /ɔ́ːstia/ → [ɔːs̪tʃɐ] ‘host’, /kwistiɔ́n̪/ → [kwis̪ˈtʃɔn̪ñ] ‘question, matter’.[60]

/li/, /il/ → [ʎ]: / ___V: /li ɔ́ːsi/ → [ʎɔːs̪i] ‘bones’, /li á/ → [ɐˈʎaː] ‘they (f.) have’, /a li ɪm vísti/ → [ɐʎɪmˑvɪs̪ˑti] ‘we have seen them (f.)’, /itália/ → [iˈtaːʎɐ] ‘Italy’, /ɔ́ːlii/ → [ɔːʎi] ‘oil’, /dí i li/ → [diːʎi] ‘tell it to him’.

/ni/ → [ɲ] / ___V: /u n i é:/ → [uˈɲɛ] ‘he is not there’, /stefánia/ → [s̪teˈfaːɲɐ] ‘Stephanie’.

We may posit /Cj/ as part of the input when: 1) the input is a loanword containing [Cj]: *televisione*; 2) the palatalized variant alternates with a surface form containing [Cj]: *bèstia* (Foresti 409); or [i] surfaces in a complementary allomorph of the same morpheme: [(ɐ)s̪ li ɔːs̪i] ‘with bones’.

Although the distribution of nasal consonant allophones in Sammarinese deserves a more detailed analysis, due to restrictions of space we will simply document the principal neutralizations which take place across word boundaries through lag assimilation and briefly discuss the distribution of velar [ŋ] and velarized [ñ m̃]. When a bilabial consonant follows, /n/ is realized as [m]: /un pɛ́ːl/ → [umˈpɐ̟ːl] ‘a stake, pole’, /un bɛ́ːz/ → [umˈbɐ̟ːz̪] ‘a kiss’, /un mútʃ/

[59] This tendency may also be heard in the regional Italian: /siámo/ → [ʃaːmo] ‘we are’, /siéte/ → [ʃeːte] ‘you (pl.) are’.
[60] Cf. Central Romagnol /dieːvl/ → [ˈdʒeɐ̯vʊl] ‘devil’.

→ [umˈmʊtˑʃ] ‘a heap’. Before labiodental consonants, /m/ and /n/ converge into [ɱ]: /u m fá/ → [uɱˈfaː] ‘he makes me’, /a m vidrí/ → [ɐɱviˈdriː] ‘you (pl.) will see me’, /un fĩl/ → [uɱˈfiːl] ‘a thread’, /a n vidím/ → [ɐɱviˈdɪmˑ] ‘we don’t see’. It needs to be established whether place assimilation of nasal consonants crosses word boundaries only in function words or also in lexical words.

Finally, in Sammarinese the velar nasal phone [ŋ] is much less widespread than in other Northern Italo-Romance varieties, Emilian and Romagnol dialects included, in which [ŋ] frequently appears in syllable-final, word-final, and intervocalic positions. For instance, compare Bolognese [kæŋˑtɐ] ‘sing(s)’, [kæŋˑ] ‘dog’, and [peŋˑɐ] ‘full (f.)’ with Sammarinese [kɛ̯ːntɐ], [kɛ̯ːn], and [piːnɐ], respectively. Its distribution in the latter variety corresponding essentially with that of Standard Italian, [ŋ] occurs almost exclusively as a complementary allophone of /n/ before velar plosives: [ɛ̯ːŋkɐ] ‘hip; also, too’, [dⁿmɛŋgɐ] ‘Sunday’. Furthermore, in Sammarinese, unlike Bolognese (Coco 104, 121), [ŋ] does not appear in complementary distribution with a preceding short vowel. Compare, for example, Sammarinese [mɛ̯ːŋk] ‘less’ with Bolognese [mæŋk] (see also Delmonte 198-99). However, Sammarinese does present velarized allophones ([ñ m̃]), which entail a secondary narrowing of the vocal tract between the velum and the back of the tongue without totally abandoning the primary articulation of the canonical allophone (IPA 17; Canepari 147). These complementary allophones occur after descending diphthongs ending in a glide: [s̪kɐˈlɛ̯i̯ñ] [s̪kɐˈlo̯i̯ñ] ‘step, stair’, [mɐtɛ̯i̯ñɐ] [mɐto̯i̯ñɐ] ‘morning’, [drɛ̯i̯n̥̊tɐ] [dro̯i̯n̥̊tɐ] ‘inside’, [s̪pinˈdˡlo̯ũñ] ‘dangling, hanging’, [funθjɔ̯ũñɐ] ‘work(s)’, [kɔ̯ũn̥̊tɐ] ‘count(s)’, [fɔ̯ũm̃] ‘smoke’, [kɔ̯ũm̥̃prɐ] ‘buy(s)’.

3.4. Conclusions

As a transitional linguistic variety, Sammarinese displays phonetic and phonological characteristics that are typical of Romagnol, while also presenting several deviations. With relatively expansive tonic vowel subsystems being the norm in Emilian and Romagnol, Sammarinese has eleven vowel phonemes: /i ɪ e ɛː ɛ a ɔ ɔː o ʊ u/. As this inventory illustrates, vowel quantity is a relevant feature. Unlike Central Romagnol, however, Sammarinese does not have nasal vowel phonemes, but only minimally perceptible nasalization by place assimilation. In the atonic subsystem, oppositions in vowel length are neutralized entirely, while contrasts in quality are also neutralized to a great extent. Thus, the front vowels /i ɪ e ɛː ɛ/ merge into the archiphoneme /I/, while the back vowels /ɔ ɔː o ʊ u/ converge into /U/. Epenthetic vowels, which do not correspond with tonic vowel phonemes, constitute the other major component of the atonic subsystem. In Sammarinese, vowel epenthesis occurs predominantly in word-final position, while prothesis and anaptyxis are not uncommon. The quality of epenthetic vowels ([i ɪ ə ɐ u]) is dictated primarily by position (Hajek, "Emilia-Romagna" 273), while the grammatical function of the input also plays a role. In the consonant system, contrasts in quantity are allophonic and are phonetically much less perceptible than in vowels. Half-long consonant allophones surface after short tonic vowels, while short consonants occur elsewhere. In Southwestern Sammarinese, the phonemes /s z/ surface most often as /ʃ ʒ/, which may be classified as neither complementary allomorphs nor free variants of [s̻ z̻]. In the Northeastern dialects, on the other hand, /s z/ are consistently realized as [s̻ z̻].

4. Diachronic Declensional Morphology

4.1. Introduction

With the primary characteristics of Sammarinese's historical and synchronic phonology having been established, the remaining chapters describe the roles of such phenomena in declensional and verbal morphology. In this chapter, we shall examine the roles played by phonological developments—such as metaphony, vowel deletion, and epenthesis—as well as analogy, generalization, and metaplasm in the evolution of Sammarinese nouns, adjectives, determiners, and pronouns.

Among the principal developments which characterize the declensional morphology of the Sammarinese dialects, feminine nouns of the third declension undergo metaplasm to the category marked by final -a: CLAVE > [tʃɐ̯ːvɐ] 'key'. Secondary final -i ([bɐ̯ːs̪tʃi] 'animals' < BĚSTIAE) is morphologized as a desinence indicating the feminine plural: (VIAE) STRATAE > *stred* > [s̪trɐ̯ːdi] 'roads'. Metaphony by final –i gives rise to a system of internal flexion which contrasts a tonic mid vowel in the masculine singular with a high vowel in the plural: [pɛsˑ] 'fish' - [pɪsˑ] 'fishes', [fjoːr] 'flower' - [fjuːr] 'flowers'. Whereas Northeastern Sammarinese maintains paradigms contrasting vowel height in correspondence with all four original input vowels ([e ɛ ɔ o]), in Southwestern varieties the low-mid vowels [ɛ ɔ] yield paradigms opposing vowel duration. For example, singular [fr̥ɐˈdɐ̯ːl] 'brother' (< *FRATĚLLU) contrasts with plural [fr̥ɐˈdiːl] in the Northeast and [fr̥ɐˈdɛlˑ] in the Southwest. While Romagnol typically uses the single morpheme /e/ (< ĭLLE) for the masculine singular definite article before consonants, Borderline dialects tend to preserve the three original distributional variants, whose forms reflect

the different outcomes of preconsonantal [l] 1) before liquids and sibilant fricatives, 2) before labials and velars, and 3) elsewhere: [u raːɲ] ‘the spider’, [ɛ gaːt] ‘the cat’, [ɛl tʃeːl] ‘the sky’. The forms of the definite article correspond with those of the subject proclitic ([u rʊbˑɐ] ‘he steals’, [ɛ pjɔːv] ‘it is raining’, [ɛl diːʐ̬] ‘he says’) and the direct object pronoun ([ɐ n u ʂ̬ɔ] ‘I don’t know’, [ɐ t ɛ faːtʃ] ‘I do it for you’, [ɐ t ɛl daːg] ‘I give it to you’) (Schürr, *VR* 52). Furthermore, the forms of the demonstrative adjectives are also modeled after those of the definite article (Rohlfs 2: 206; Schürr, *VR* § 32): [ɛ fuːn] ‘the smoke’, [ʂ̬tɛ fuːn] ‘this smoke’, [kɛ fuːn] ‘that smoke’. The original tonic personal pronouns yield a series of obligatory subject clitics in addition to the optional tonic forms: [(tɪ) t fɐ̯ː] ‘you do, make’. In compensation for apocope of the original verb desinences, the clitics signal person wherever verb endings coincide: [ɛ vaˑ] ‘he goes’ - [i vaˑ] ‘they go’.

4.2. Nouns

4.2.1. Declensions

Due to syncope of final vowels, the four desinences of Italo-Romance (-o, -a, -i, -e) are reduced to two (-Ø, -a) in most Gallo-Italic varieties (Maiden 154), which are distributed across three declensions in Bolognese:

	Masc. 1st/3rd Decl.	Feminine First Decl.	Feminine Third Decl.
Singular	/gaːl-/ ‘rooster’	/poːrt-a/ ‘door’	/tʃɛːv-/ ‘key’
Plural	/gaːl-/ ‘rooster’	/poːrt-/ ‘doors’	/tʃɛːv-/ ‘keys’

A cursory examination of nineteenth-century texts suggests that a two-desinence configuration also characterized Sammarinese until relatively recent times. However, a major change consisted

in the generalization of final -a to all instances of the feminine singular except (usually semilearned) nouns originally ending in -ŌNE:

	Masc. 1st/3rd Decl.	Feminine 1st/3rd Decl.	Feminine < -ŌNE
Singular	/gaːl-/ ‘rooster’	/tʃɛːv-a/ ‘key’	/staˈzoːn-/ ‘season’
Plural	/gaːl-/ ‘rooster’	*/tʃɛːv-/ ‘keys’	/staˈzoːn-/ ‘seasons’

By the turn of the century, Sammarinese morphologized secondary final –i as an indicator of the plural in feminine nouns marked by –a in the singular:

	Masc. 1st/3rd Decl.	Feminine 1st/3rd Decl.	Feminine < -ŌNE
Singular	/gaːl-/ ‘rooster’	/tʃɛːv-a/ ‘key’	/staˈzoːn-/ ‘season’
Plural	/gaːl-/ ‘rooster’	/tʃɛːv-i/ ‘keys’	/staˈzoːn-/ ‘seasons’

Note that the paragogic vowel in masculine nouns such as /lɛːdr/ → [lɛ̯ːdri] ‘thief’ constitutes a realization of -Ø and, thus, merely coincides phonetically with the feminine plural desinence. The evolutions of the individual Proto-Italo-Romance declensions in Sammarinese are described in more detail below.

4.2.1.1. First Declension (PŎRTA)

Latin first declension nouns yield feminine singular nouns ending in –a, which is normally the only primary final vowel maintained in Gallo-Italic:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PŎRTA	pɔːr̥tɐ	door
FAMĬLIA	fɐmɛjˑɐ	family
DŎMĬNA	dɔːnɐ	woman

4.2.1.2. Second Declension (GALLU)

Due to apocope of final –Ŭ, second declension masculine and neuter etymons produce Gallo-Italic masculine nouns with consonantal endings:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
GALLU	gaːl	rooster
FŎCU	fuːg	fire
FŬRNARIU	furˈnɛ̯ːr	baker
FĪLIŎLU	fjuːl	son
AURU	ɔːr	gold
FLASCU	fjaːʂ̯k	bottle (in straw holder)
MŬNDU	mɐnˑd	world

In Southeastern Romagnol, masculine nouns that develop secondary word-final consonant plus liquid or consonant plus nasal clusters acquire a paragogic vowel (Schürr, *VR* § 22), which also comes to characterize the masculine singular. Local dialects are often differentiated from one another by the specific quality of this unetymological vowel, whose variants include [ə], [ɪ], and [i], the latter of which characterizes Serravallese:

Etymon	Serravallese	Translation
ŬLMU	oi̯mi	elm tree
LATRO	lɛ̯ːdri	thief
ANGĔLU	aːndʒli	angel
HIBĔRNU	iŋvɛ̯ːrni	winter
FŬRNU	fɔu̯rni	oven
DIABŎLU	djɛ̯ːvli	devil
VĬTRU	viːdri	glass

4.2.1.3. Third Declension (CANE, CLAVE)

By apocope of final –e, third declension masculine and neuter nouns (CANE, MARE) automatically merge with the second declension in Gallo-Italic:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANE	kɛ̯ːn	dog
MARE	mɛ̯ːr	sea
MŎNTE	mɔu̯ñt	mount, mountain
PŎNTE	pɔu̯ñt	bridge

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SAPŌNE	s̬ɐˈvɔu̯ñ	soap
FLŌRE	fjɔu̯r	flower
(DIES) NATĀLĬS	nɐˈdɐ̣ːl	Christmas

Apocope of final –e also yields feminine third declension nouns with consonantal endings in many Gallo-Italic dialects: NŎCTE > nineteenth-century Sammarinese *not* ‘night’ (Foresti 152). While archaic forms such as [kr̥ɔu̯z̬] (< CRŬCE) are fossilized in Sammarinese proverbs,[61] the modern dialect has resolved gender ambiguity through metaplasm. That is to say, feminine third declension nouns join the first declension by taking final –a:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CRŬCE	kr̥ɔu̯z̬ɐ	cross
FRŎNTE	fr̥ɔu̯ñ̥tɐ	forehead
APE	ɐ̣ːvɐ	bee
PĔLLE	pɐ̣ːlɐ	skin, hide
GĔNTE	dʒɐ̣ːn̥tɐ	people
VŌCE	vɔu̯z̬ɐ	voice
NŎCTE	nɔːtɐ	night

Feminine nouns originally ending in -ŌNE are exceptions to the rule, since they maintain the secondary consonantal ending: STATIŌNE > [s̬tɐˈz̬ɔu̯ñ] ‘season’, RATIŌNE > [rɐˈz̬ɔu̯ñ] ‘reason’.

However, metaplasm also absorbs fourth declension MANU (Rohlfs 2: 18). While the consonantal ending is maintained in fixed expressions ([mɐ̣ːm mɐ̣ːnɐ] ‘little by little’, [mɐ̣ːn drɪtˑɐ] ‘right hand’, [mɐ̣ːm mɐ̣ːŋkɐ] [mɐ̣ːm mɐntʃiːnɐ] ‘left hand’), the modern dialect has

[61] [u n s̬ ɛ faːt krɔu̯z̬ s̬ la mɐ̣ːm mɐntʃiːnɐ] ‘he didn’t make the sign of the cross with his left hand’ (F. Guidi, *Modi ‘d dì* 17).

moved the anomalous feminine noun to the first declension by the addition of final –a: [mɻ:nɐ] ‘hand’.

In the following instances, feminine nouns originally belonging to the third declension develop a velar instead of a palatal stem-final consonant as a result of early metaplasm (Rohlfs 2: 22):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
RADĪCE > *RADĬCA	ra:dgɐ[62]	root
LIMĀCE > *LIMĀCA	lumɻ:gɐ	snail
CŬTE > *CŬTĬCA	kʊd·gɐ	bacon rind

4.2.2. Formation of the Plural

4.2.2.1. First Declension (CAPRAE)

Apocope of final –e produces Gallo-Italic feminine plural nouns ending in a consonant (Rohlfs 2: 26-27), as the *Pulon Matt* attests: DŎM(Ĭ)NAE > *il donn* ‘women’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 90). Sammarinese feminine plurals continue to be marked by a -Ø desinence well into the nineteenth century. The oldest known attestation of the Sammarinese dialect, which dates back to 1821, offers the following examples: *quel tettazz* ‘quelle tettacce’, *do bsazz* ‘due bisacce’ (Foresti 50). Published in the middle of the century, the poems of Sammarinese author Pietro Rossi (Foresti 132-140), who was born in 1804 (P. Rossi, *Il Ceccone* 68), and Giacomo Martelli’s theatrical interlude also normally conserve this stage of development (Foresti 147-182):

Etymon	19th Century Sammarinese	Translation
*VŎLVITAE	*do volt*	two times
French *boter*	*al bot*	blows
CAUSAE	*dli cos*	some things
-ĪNAE	*cantein*	cellars
(VIAE) STRĀTAE	*stli stred*	these roads

[62] The synonomous variant [rɐdi:ʒɐ] originates directly from RADĪCE.

Etymon	19th Century Sammarinese	Translation
CANNAE	*dli cann*	some reeds
FACIĔNDAE	*a t'li su facend*	in their matters
PERSŌNAE	*El person*	people
cf. It. *magagne*	*el su magagn*	their faults
cf. It. *gambe*	*dò gamb*	two legs
HŌRAE	*in poc or*	in a few hours
cf. It. *smorfie*	*del smorf*	grimaces
CACŬLAE	*cli cacul*	those dingleberries

While Bolognese and Central Romagnol dialects maintain the consonantal ending (DŎM[Ĭ]NAE > [dɔːn] 'women') (Vitali 28; Masotti 30; Pelliciardi 49-50), many Emilian and Romagnol varieties indicate the feminine plural with a secondary final –i, which does not trigger metaphony (Schürr, *RD* 2: 200; Rohlfs 2: 26; Maiden 195). Schürr attributes the origin of this analogical desinence to semiliterary loanwords with the atonic ending –ie in the plural (BĔSTIAE, *guardie*). Due to syncope of final –e, these words yield feminine plural forms with a final -i (Old Romagnol *il bestij* 'animals', modern Romagnol [guæːrdi] 'guards'), which is subsequently morphologized as a marker of the feminine plural (Schürr, *VR* 50-51). As for Sammarinese specifically, the analogical plural desinence began to affirm itself before Zuccagni Orlandini visited the Republic in order to gather a sample of the local vernacular for his *Raccolta di dialetti italiani* (1864), which documents a considerably higher incidence of feminine plural –i than Pietro Rossi's poetry or Martelli's intermezzo. The state of oscillation which characterizes nineteenth-century Sammarinese texts, persists to a certain extent in the Ravennate, for example: [ɐl fjaːʂtɐr] 'the stepdaughters', [ɐl fjoe̯li] 'the daughters' (Masotti 31-32). By the turn of the century, however, the modern Sammarinese system had solidified, as evidenced by Schürr's *Romagnolische Dialektstudien* (2: 200 n. 5), the verses of Marino Rossi and Nino Lombardi, as well as Walter Anderson's *Novelline popolari sammarinesi*. In the language of these texts and of present-day speakers, the analogical plural desinence has been generalized to all feminine nouns:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DŎM(Ĭ)NAE	dɔ̰ːni	women
*LASĀNIAE	lɐʒ̻aːɲi	lasagne
PĔTRAE	piːdri	stones, rocks
SPAT(Ŭ)LAE	ʂ̻paːli	shoulders
(VIAE) STRĀTAE	ʂ̻trɛ̰ːdi	roads
FĪLIŎLAE	fjɔ̰ːli	daughters
GERMANIC *SKARPA	ʂ̻kɛ̰ːrpi	shoes

Marino Rossi documents the type *melie* ‘apples’ for the dialect of Montegiardino (1933, 1934), which corresponds with Morcianese [beːʂ̻tʃjə] ‘animals’, [muroːʒ̻jə] ‘girlfriends’, [dɔːɲjə] ‘women’. The variant -jə appears in Sub-Marecchian dialects which maintain an indistinct final vowel in original proparoxytones (Schürr, *VR* 51). For example, SĒDĔCIM > Southwestern Sammarinese [ʂ̻ɛdˈʒi] ‘sixteen’.

4.2.2.2. Masculine Second Declension (GALLĪ)

Primary final –i is dropped in Gallo-Italic, which yields masculine plurals with consonantal endings (Rohlfs 2: 31):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FŎCĪ	fuːg	fires
ŎC(Ŭ)LĪ	uːtʃ	eyes
-ĔLLĪ	burˈdiːl	boys, children
*FRATĔLLĪ	frɐˈdiːl	brothers, siblings
FRANCĪ	frɛ̰ːŋ̻k	franks, lire
PŬLLĪ	pʊlˑ	chickens
ANNĪ	aːn	years

However, masculine plurals that develop secondary word-final consonant plus liquid or consonant plus nasal clusters take a paragogic vowel in Pentapolitan Romagnol (Schürr, *VR* 45), which is normally [i] or [ɪ] in Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*LATRĪ	lɛ̯ːdri	thieves
ANGĔLĪ	aːndʒli	angels
*MĪRĀCŬLĪ	mirɛ̯ːk̟̊li	miracles
Greek ATSÍGANOI	θɪŋgⁿni	gypsies
LABIA	aːbri	lips

4.2.2.3. Masculine Third Declension (*CANĪ)

By analogy of the second declension, the Latin plural desinence -E(S) is levelled by -i in masculine third declension nouns (Rohlfs 2: 31), which raises the articulation of tonic vowels before disappearing:

Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
MŎNTES	*MŎNTĪ	muːn̟̊t	mountains
PŎNTES	*PŎNTĪ	puːn̟̊t	bridges
FLŌRES	*FLŌRĪ	fjuːr	flowers
DOCTŌRES	*DOCTŌRĪ	duˈtuːr	doctors
PĬSCES	*PĬSCĪ	pɪʂˑ	fishes
CANES	*CANĪ	kɛ̯ːn	dogs
-ŌNES	*-ŌNĪ	mɐkɐˈruːn	maccaroni

4.2.2.4. Feminine Third Declension (CLAVES)

In feminine third declension nouns, the Latin plural desinence -ES yields Old Northern Italian –e (CLAVES > [tʃaːve] ‘keys’), which is dropped in modern Gallo-Italic (Rohlfs 2: 33-34). Thus, AXES produces nineteenth-century Sammarinese *e gl’as d’e let* ‘the bedboards’ (Foresti 152). Whereas Bolognese and Central Romagnol preserve this stage ([tʃɛ̯ːv], [tʃeɐ̯v]), Sammarinese appends the analogical feminine plural desinence –i, thereby finalizing the total amalgamation of feminine first and third declension nouns:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CLAVES	tʃɛ̯:vi	keys
NŬCES	ɐnu:ʐ̯i	nuts
NŎCTES	nɔ:ti	nights
APES	ɛ̯:vi	bees
TŬRRES	tɔrˑi	towers
PĔLLES	pɛ̯:li	skins

Feminine nouns ending in -ŌNE(S) constitute an exception to the rule, since they preserve the secondary consonantal ending: STATIŌNES > [ʂ̯tɐˈʐ̯ɔu̯ñ] ‘seasons’, RATIŌNES > [rɐˈʐ̯ɔu̯ñ] ‘reasons’.

4.2.2.5. Neuter (ŎSSA)

While Latin neuter singular nouns are consistently absorbed by the masculine singular category, neuter plurals frequently yield the feminine plural type *le osse* ‘bones’ in Old Northern Italian dialects (Rohlfs 2: §§ 368, 369). After the loss of final –e (cf. Central Romagnol [ɐʎ ɔ:ʂ̯] ‘bones’), Sammarinese adds the analogical feminine plural desinence –i:

Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
ŎSSUM - ŎSSA	ŎSSU - *ŎSSAE	l ɔ:ʂ̯ - ɐʎ ɔ:ʂ̯i	the bone(s)
ŎVUM - ŎVA	ŎVU - *ŎVAE	l u:v - ɐʎ ɔ:vi	the egg(s)
LĬGNUM - LĬGNA	LĬGNU - *LĬGNAE	u lɛɲˑ - ɐl lɛɲˑi	the (fire) wood(s)
BRACHIUM - BRACHIA	BRACHIU - *BRACHIAE	ɛ braːtʃ - ɐl braːtʃi	the arm(s)
CŎRNU - CŎRNUA	CŎRNU - *CŎRNAE	ɛ kɔːrni - ɐl kɔːrni	the horn(s)
CĬLIUM - CĬLIA	CĬLIU - CĬLIAE	ɛl tʃiːʎi - ɐl tʃiːʎi	the eyelash(es)
GENU - GENUA	*GENŎCLU - *GENŎCLAE	u ʐ̯nɔːtʃ - ɐl ʐ̯nɔːtʃi	the knee(s)
ARMA	*ARMAE	ɐʎ ɛ̯:rmi	the weapons

Since the feminine plural in correspondence with the masculine singular becomes associated with a notion of collectivity, this paradigm is extended to some masculine nouns that do not derive from the Latin neuter:

Classical Latin	Vulgar Latin	Sammarinese	Translation
FRŪCTUS	*FRŪCTAE	ɐl frʊtˑi	the fruits
DĬGĬTĪ	*DĬGĬTAE	ɐl doi̯di	the fingers
AURES	*AURĬC(Ŭ)LAE	ɐʎ urɛtˑʃi	the ears
RAMĪ	*RAMAE	ɐl rɐ̯ːmi	the branches
BOTĔLLĪ	*BOTĔLLAE	ɐl budɐ̯ːli	the intestines, guts
ANĔLLĪ	*ANĔLLAE	ɐʎ ɐnɐ̯ːli	the rings
MŪRĪ	*MŪRAE	ɐl muːri	the walls

4.2.2.6. Palatalization of the Stem Ending (AMĪCU - AMĪCĪ)

The palatalization of the stem endings /k/ and /g/ that occurs in Italian nouns and adjectives originates from Medieval Latin pronunciation and does not take place in the popular language.[63] Thus, Romagnol preserves the velar articulation of the stem final consonant in the following examples, most of which are of learned or semi-learned derivation, particularly the adjectives ending in -ĬCU:

Etymon	Sammarinese	English Translation
AMĪCĪ	ɐˈmiːg	friends
INIMĪCĪ	niˈmiːg	enemies
STŎMĂCHĪ	ʂtʊmˑgi	stomachs
*MANĬCĪ	maːŋgi	handles
SĬLVATĬCĪ	ʂɐ̯i̯baːdgi	wild
GRAECHĪ	griːk	Greeks
PŪBLĬCĪ	pʊbˑlik(i)	public
RŪSTĬCĪ	rʊʂˑtik(i)	rustic
cf. Italian *aristocratici*	ɐriʂtoˈgraːtiki	aristocrats

However, the presence of final [i] does cause the palatalization of the originally velar stem ending of [i buːʐ] ‘the holes, openings’ (< *BŪCĪ), which influences the outcome of the

[63] Pieri 26; Goidànich 178, 183; Rohlfs 2: 45.

singular form [ɛ bu:z̪]. Palatalization of a liquid stem ending occurs in the masculine plural of the demonstrative pronoun of distance: (EC)CU ĬLLĪ > [kwɪi̯ˑ] ‘those’.

4.2.2.7. Internal Flexion

As is the case in many Italo-Romance varieties (Rohlfs 2: 47-48), in Romagnol metaphony by final –i gives rise to a system of internal flexion by the time of the late sixteenth-century *Pulon Matt* (Schürr, *VR* § 2). This system distinguishes masculine plurals with a palatalized tonic vowel from corresponding singular forms whose tonic vowel is lower in articulation (cf. German *Mann – Männer* and English *man – men*). In other words, phonetic alternation between tonic vowels is morphologized as a mechanism for differentiating grammatical categories originally signaled by desinences (Maiden 2).

Some of the internal flexion paradigms recorded in the *Pulon Matt* yield schemes which unify modern Romagnol, while others give rise to diatopic variation that distinguishes the Central from the Southeastern varieties. Likewise, within the Sammarinese microcosm Southwestern and Northeastern configurations correspond in some points and diverge in others. First of all, closed-syllable [a] does not produce metaphonic alternation anywhere in the Republic, as is typical of Southeastern Romagnol. Nor does open-syllable [a] yield internal flexion when the normal phonetic evolution persists, as is the case in Northeastern Sammarinese. However, in the Southwest nouns and adjectives of this category are absorbed by the paradigm originating from closed-syllable [ɛ]. As far as the normally metaphonizing input vowels are concerned, paradigms originating from the low-mid vowels [ɛ ɔ] present variation at the morphological level. On one hand, Southwestern Sammarinese morphologizes vowel brevity as a marker of the plural, contrasting singular /ɛː ɔː/ with plural /ɛ ɔ/, respectively. Instead, the

Northeastern varieties morphologize the phonological contrast in vowel quality, indicating the plural with /iː uː/. The paradigms deriving from the high-mid vowels [e o] are morphologically identical in both areas, with variation occurring only at the phonetic level and in the singular as opposed to the plural. Whatever the input vowel height, all paradigms originating from nasalized vowels are characterized by diatopic variation. Aside from the instances in which Southwestern Sammarinese contrasts long with short vowels, internal flexion otherwise entails a phonological change in height. That is to say, a mid vowel marking the singular (/eː ɛː ɛ ɔ ɔː oː/) alternates with a high vowel signaling the plural (/iː ɪ ʊ uː/) (Maiden 252).

However, in Central Romagnol tonic open-syllable [a] yields a paradigm that contrasts two different mid vowels: [veᵩz̪] ‘vase’ - [veːz̪] ‘vases’ (Ercolani, “Vêş”). In Southeastern Romagnol, on the other hand, open-syllable [a] produces the same outcome (> [ɛ̝ː]) by metaphony as by spontaneous diphthongization, which leads to a group of nouns with identical singular and plural forms in Northeastern Sammarinese. While the Northeastern plurals maintain the normal phonetic outcome, the Southwestern Sammarinese forms are the result of a subsequent analogical development. In the latter variety, since primary open-syllable [a] and [ɛ] as well as closed-syllable [ɛ] merge into [ɛ̝ː], nouns originally containing open-syllable [a] are absorbed by the /ɛ̝ː/ - /ɛ/ paradigm deriving from closed-syllable [ɛ] (Schürr, *VR* § 27), whose evolution is discussed later:

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
VASU	vɛ̝ːz̪	vɛ̝ːz̪	vɛz̪ˑ	vase(s)
LATRO	lɛ̝ːdri	lɛ̝ːdri	lɛdˑri	thieve(s)
PRATU	pr̥ɛ̝ːd	pr̥ɛ̝ːd	pr̥ɛtˑ	meadow(s)
DATU	dɛ̝ːd	dɛ̝ːd	dɛdˑ	die - dice
O. F., Prov. *estival*	s̪tiˈvɛ̝ːl	s̪tiˈvɛ̝ːl	s̪tiˈvɛlˑ	boot(s)

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
Sp. *quintal*	kʷiŋˈtɛ̟ːl	kʷiŋˈtɛ̟ːl	kʷiŋˈtɛlˑ	quintal(s)
-ĀLE	dʒurˈnɛ̟ːl	dʒurˈnɛ̟ːl	dʒurˈnɛlˑ	newspaper(s)
FŪNERĀLE	funɐˈrɛ̟ːl	funɐˈrɛ̟ːl	funɐˈrɛlˑ	funeral(s)
PALU	pɛ̟ːl	pɛ̟ːl	pɛlˑ	stake(s), pole(s)
ANĬMĀLE	ɐniˈmɛ̟ːl	ɐniˈmɛ̟ːl	ɐniˈmɛlˑ	animal(s)
SALTU	s̪ɛ̟ːl̪t	s̪ɛ̟ːl̪t	s̪ɛl̪ˑt	jump(s)

Unlike Central Romagnol, where two distinct paradigms emerge ([veɐ̯z̪] ‘vase’ - [veːz̪] ‘vases’, [kẽ] ‘dog’ - [kẽ] ‘dogs’), in Sammarinese the results of nasalized [a] are identical to those of open-syllable [a]:

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
CANE	kɛ̟ːn	kɛ̟ːn	kɛnˑ	dog(s)
CAMPU	kɛ̟ːm̪p	kɛ̟ːm̪p	kɛmˑp	field(s)
CANTU	kɛ̟ːn̪t	kɛ̟ːn̪t	kɛn̪ˑt	song(s), crow(s)
Fr. *restaurant*	ris̪tuˈrɛ̟ːn̪t	ris̪tuˈrɛ̟ːn̪t	ris̪tuˈrɛn̪ˑt	restaurant(s)
-ANTE	pulitiˈkɛ̟ːn̪t	pulitiˈkɛ̟ːn̪t	pulitiˈkɛn̪ˑt	politician(s) (pej.)

In correspondence with closed-syllable [a], the *Pulon Matt* shows a distinction between singular and plural nouns (*e fatt* ‘the fact’ – *i fett* ‘the facts’) (Schürr, *VR* 25), which is continued in Central Romagnol dialects ([kɐˈvaːl] ‘horse’ - [kɐˈvɛɐ̯l] ‘horses’) (Schürr, *VR* 38-40). In Emilian and Southeastern Romagnol, on the other hand, [aː] appears both in the singular and the plural (Schürr, *VR* 40, 42, 43):

Etymon	Singular	Plural	Translation
CABALLU	kɐˈvaːl	kɐˈvaːl	horse(s)
GALLU	gaːl	gaːl	rooster(s)
ANNU	aːn	aːn	year(s)
PANNU	paːn	paːn	cloth – laundry
CATTU	gaːt	gaːt	cat(s)
*PLATTU	pjaːt	pjaːt	plate(s)

Etymon	Singular	Plural	Translation
COMPANIO	kum̥ˈpaːɲ	kum̥ˈpaːɲ	friend(s)

Schürr attributes the absence of a metaphonic plural in Eastern Emilian and Southeastern Romagnol to the restoration of [a] determined by the influence of the written language (*VR* 40). However, based on his comparison of metaphony configurations throughout Italy, Maiden argues that:

> Where metaphony is absent, there is every reason to suppose that it simply never established itself. All of the facts I have surveyed indicate that the modern configurations reflect essentially phonetic facts: *lower vowels, and vowels in closed syllables, are less susceptible to metaphony than higher vowels and those occurring in open syllables*. (124)

Therefore, of all the candidates for metaphony, closed-syllable [a] is the least likely to be affected by the phenomenon, which "became established first in the (more susceptible) high mid vowels, secondly in the low mid vowels, and finally in /a/" (Maiden 125). Nevertheless, these phonetic facts do not preclude the possibility that incipient metaphony of closed-syllable [a], which reemerges elsewhere in the Marecchia Valley (*gatt* 'cat' - *ghètt* 'cats') (Balducci 453), was leveled by restoration. While phonetic conditions discourage metaphony of closed-syllable [a], the morphological rules, in addition, allow for the absence of metaphonic alternation: "the metaphonic number alternation in **gat** is functionally redundant, since number is normally indicated in the noun phrase […] by the definite, indefinite, partitive and demonstrative determiners" (Maiden 203). Hence, the absence of metaphonic alternation does not preclude a contrast between singular [ɛ gaːt] 'the cat', [uŋ gaːt] 'a cat', [s̪tɛ gaːt] 'this cat', and [kɛ gaːt]

‘that cat’, on one hand, and plural [i gaːt] ‘the cats’, [di gaːt] ‘some cats’, [ʂti gaːt] ‘these cats’, and [ki gaːt] ‘those cats’, on the other.

Open-syllable [ɛ] yields the paradigm *e* - *ie* in the *Pulon Matt* (*el pe* ‘the foot’ – *i pie* ‘the feet’), which evolves into /ɛː/ - /iː/ in modern Romagnol. While Northeastern Sammarinese concurs with Central Romagnol in this respect, in Southwestern Sammarinese the plural form is leveled by the /ɛː/ - /ɛ/ paradigm that originates from closed-syllable [ɛ]:

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
CONCĔRTĀRE	kuŋ̟ˈtʃɛ̟ːr̟t	kuŋ̟ˈtʃiːr̟t	kuŋ̟ˈtʃɛr̟ˑt	concert(s)

Since the outcome of open-syllable [ɛ] is short in oxytones, PĔDE yields the forms [pɛ] ‘foot’ and [piː] ‘feet’ in Serravallese. By generalization of the plural alternant, the paradigm has been leveled to [piˑʁ] - [piˑʁ] in rural Southwestern Sammarinese. Urban [piːd] - [piːd] results from the influence of Tuscan *piede* (Schürr, *VR* 43).

In correspondence with nasalized [ɛ], the *Pulon Matt* again shows singular nouns with *e* (*temp* ‘time’) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 46) in contrast to plurals with *ie* (*dient* ‘teeth’, *sarpient* ‘snakes’) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 61), which—following stress retraction ([je] > [iɐ̯]) and subsequent monophthongization—is reduced to [iː]. The distinction between singular and plural remains intact in many Romagnol varieties, including Northeastern Sammarinese, which is characterized by an /ɛː/ - /iː/ paradigm. In other Romagnol dialects, the convergence of the nasalized front vowels has leveled internal flexion, which is why varieties of Southwestern Sammarinese present an /e/ (→ [ɛi̯]) - /e/ (→ [ɛi̯]) paradigm:

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
DĔNTE	dɛ̟ːn̟t, dɛi̯ñ̟t	diːn̟t	dɛi̯ñ̟t	tooth - teeth
TĔMPU	tɛ̟ːm̟p, tɛi̯m̟̃p	tiːm̟p	tɛi̯m̟̃p	time(s)
VĔNTU	vɛ̟ːn̟t, vɛi̯ñ̟t	viːn̟t	vɛi̯ñ̟t	wind(s)
SERPĔNTE	s̪ɐr̟ˈpɛ̟ːn̟t, s̪ɐr̟ˈpɛi̯ñ̟t	s̪ɐr̟ˈpiːn̟t	s̪ɐr̟ˈpɛi̯ñ̟t	snake(s)
PARĔNTE	pɐˈrɛ̟ːn̟t, pɐˈrɛi̯ñ̟t	pɐˈriːn̟t	pɐˈrɛi̯ñ̟t	relative(s)
ACCIDĔNTE	ɐtʃiˈdɛ̟ːn̟t, ɐtʃiˈdɛi̯ñ̟t	ɐtʃiˈdiːn̟t	ɐtʃiˈdɛi̯ñ̟t	mishap(s)

In nouns with closed-syllable [ɛ], the *Pulon Matt* shows the paradigm *e – ie*: *fradell* ‘brother’ – *fradiell* ‘brothers’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 29, 61). Whereas [ɛ] is lengthened in closed syllables, [je] undergoes stress retraction (> [i̯e̯]), followed by monopthongization (> [i]). In closed syllables, secondary [i] is subject to the same process of lowering and centralization that affects original [i] in this position (cf. Sammarinese [frɪtˑ] ‘fried’ < FRĪCTU), which leads to an opposition between singular /ɛː/ and plural /ɪ/ in Fognanese, Riminese, and Lughese, for example: [frɐˈdɛ̟ːl] - [frɐˈdɪlˑ] (Schürr, *NC* § 22, *VR* 43; Baroni 6). However, the dialects of San Marino may be grouped into one of two analogical types, neither of which corresponds with the normal phonetic outcome described above. On one hand, the Northeastern /ɛː/ - /iː/ paradigm maintains the original length of closed-syllable [i̯e̯] (Schürr, *NC* § 20), which is likely encouraged by the presence of the /ɛː/ - /iː/ paradigm originating from open-syllable [ɛ]. On the other hand, the Southwestern dialects mark the plural with short /ɛ/, which presupposes closed-syllable [e] (cf. [mɛtˑ] ‘I put’ < MĬTTĔRE). The phase [e] arises at an early stage due to deletion of the onglide from the rising diphthong [je] in original closed syllables. Under the bimoraic norm, the diphthongs [je] and [wo] are tolerated in open syllables but not in closed syllables, a problem

which gives rise to alternative solutions. In some varieties, the morphological function of the diphthongs supersedes the bimoraic norm. Therefore, these dialects preserve the diphthongs in *[fradjelli] ‘brothers’ and *[rwospi] ‘toads’, which appears to have been the case in Northeastern Sammarinese. Other varieties delete the onglide in closed syllables in order to satify the bimoraic norm. Consequently, the Southwestern Sammarinese plurals presuppose the types *[fradelli] and *[rospi]. As a result, Northeastern Sammarinese is characterized by an /ɛː/ - /iː/ paradigm in correspondence with original [ɛ], while the Southwestern dialects show an /ɛː/ - /ɛ/ paradigm:

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
*FRATĚLLU	fr̥ɐˈdɛ̰ːl	fr̥ɐˈdiːl	fr̥ɐˈdɛlˑ	brother(s)
CASTĚLLU	kɐs̪ˈtɛ̰ːl	kɐs̪ˈtiːl	kɐs̪ˈtɛlˑ	castle(s)
ANĚLLU	ɐˈnɛ̰ːl	ɐˈniːl	ɐˈnɛlˑ	ring(s)
AGNĚLLU	ɐˈɲɛ̰ːl	ɐˈɲiːl	ɐˈɲɛlˑ	lamb(s)
CŬLTĚLLU	kuɾ̥ˈtɛ̰ːl	kuɾ̥ˈtiːl	kuɾ̥ˈtɛlˑ	knife - knives
O. F. *batel*	bɐˈtɛ̰ːl	bɐˈtiːl	bɐˈtɛlˑ	boat(s)
*CAPĚLLU	kɐˈpɛ̰ːl	kɐˈpiːl	kɐˈpɛlˑ	hat(s)
CANCĚLLU	kɐn̥ˈtʃɛ̰ːl	kɐn̥ˈtʃiːl	kɐn̥ˈtʃɛlˑ	gate(s)
MARTĚLLU	mɐɾ̥ˈtɛ̰ːl	mɐɾ̥ˈtiːl	mɐɾ̥ˈtɛlˑ	hammer(s)
*PĪSĚLLU	bˀz̪ɐˈrɛ̰ːl, bˀz̪ɛ̰ːl	bˀz̪ɐˈriːl	b(i)ˈz̪ɛlˑ, bˀz̪ɐˈrɛlˑ	pea(s)
-ĚLLU	kɐɾ̥ˈtɛ̰ːl	kɐɾ̥ˈtiːl	kɐɾ̥ˈtɛlˑ	sign(s)
*MODĚLLU	muˈdɛ̰ːl	muˈdiːl	muˈdɛlˑ	model(s)
-ĚLLU	s̪turˈnɛ̰ːl	s̪turˈniːl	s̪turˈnɛlˑ	folk song(s)
*RASTRĚLLU	rɐs̪ˈtɛ̰ːl	rɐs̪ˈtr̥iːl	rɐs̪ˈtɛlˑ	rake(s)
-ĚLLU	kɐˈrɛ̰ːl	kɐˈriːl	kɐˈrɛlˑ	cart(s)
-ĚLLU	furˈnɛ̰ːl	furˈniːl	furˈnɛlˑ	burner(s)
FĚRRU DE-AB ACŪCLU	fɛ̰ːr dɐ gʊtˑʃ	fiːr dɐ gʊtˑʃ	fɛrˑ dɐ gʊtˑʃ	knitting needle(s)
LĚCTU	lɛ̰ːt	liːt	lɛtˑ	bed(s)
DEFĚCTU	diˈfɛ̰ːt	diˈfiːt	diˈfɛtˑ	defect(s)
EFFĚCTU	eˈfɛ̰ːt	eˈfiːt	ɐˈfɛtˑ	effect(s)
CONFĚCTU	kuŋ̊ˈfɛ̰ːt	kuŋ̊ˈfiːt	kuŋ̊ˈfɪtˑ	sugared almond(s)
CYP(A)RĬSSU	(ɐ̯)tʃiˈpr̥ɛːs̪	tʃiˈpr̥iːs̪	ɐ̯rtʃiˈpr̥ɛs̪ˑ	cypress tree(s)
SPĔC(Ŭ)LU	s̪pɛ̰ːtʃ	s̪piːtʃ	s̪pɛtˑʃ	mirror(s)

Its evolution being parallel to that of primary [ɛ] in the same position, open-syllable [ɔ] yields an *o – uo* paradigm in the *Pulon Matt*: *el bo* ‘the ox’ – *i buo* ‘the oxen’. While the Northeastern /ɔː/ - /uː/ paradigm features the normal phonetic outcome in the plural ([wo] > [uo̯] > [uː]), in Southwestern Sammarinese the plural form is leveled by the /ɔː/ - /ɔ/ (→ [ʊ]) paradigm that derives from closed-syllable [ɔ]:

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
*CǑRE	kɔːr	kuːr	kɔrˑ	heart(s)
AURU	pumiˈdɔːr	pumiˈduːr	pumiˈdɔrˑ	tomato(es)
*CLAUDU	tʃɔːd	tʃuːd	tʃɔdˑ, tʃʊdˑ	nail(s), spike(s)
CǑRVU	kɔːrv	kuːrv	kɔrˑv	raven(s), crow(s)
CǑRPU	kɔːr̯p	kuːr̯p	kɔr̯ˑp	body - bodies
HǑRTU	ɔːr̯t	uːr̯t	ɔr̯ˑt	vegetable garden(s)
MǑRSU	mɔːr̯s̪	muːr̯s̪	mɔrˑs̪	bight(s)
SǑNU	s̪ɔːn	s̪uːn	s̪ʊnˑ	sound(s)
*TǑNU	tɔːn	tuːn	tɔnˑ	thunder – claps of thunder
SǑL(Ĭ)DU	s̪ɔːld	s̪ɔːld	s̪ɔlˑd	penny – money

Because the outcome of open-syllable [ɔ] is short in oxytones, BǑVE yields the singular variants [bɔ] and [bʊ] ‘ox’, whose plural is [buː] ‘oxen’ in Northeastern Sammarinese. By generalization of the plural form, the paradigm is leveled to [buˑʊ] - [buˑʊ] in the Southwest. On the other hand, Northeastern Sammarinese replaces the plural alternant with the singular in exceptions such as [i s̪ɔːld] ‘money’ and [i riˈkɔːrd] ‘memories’ (< RECǑRDĀRI).

Whereas most Romagnol dialects consistently display internal flexion in correspondence with open-syllable [ɔ], in Sammarinese U-metaphony in nouns ending with –ŎLU has leveled the paradigm:

Etymon	Romagn. Sing.	Samm. Singular	Plural	Translation
PHASEŎLU	fɐˈʒo̯ʊ̯l	fɐˈʒu:l	fɐˈʒu:l	bean(s)
LĬNTEŎLU	linˈθo̯ʊ̯l	lɐn̥ˈθu:l	lin̥ˈθu:l, lɐn̥ˈθu:l	sheet(s)
DŎLU	do̯ʊ̯l	du:l	du:l	moan(s)

The paradigm is also leveled in [bru:d] ‘broth’ (< Germanic BRÒD). Compare Central Romagnol [bro̯ʊ̯d] - [bru:d].

Nasalized [ɔ] merges with [o] by the time of the *Pulon Matt*’s composition, which attests an *o* – *u* paradigm: *cont* ‘account’ – *cunt* ‘accounts’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 47). Subsequently, throughout Romagna a dichotomy of geographical variants arises, which is analogous to the variation that originates from nasalized [ɛ] and [e]. The territory of San Marino is a microcosm for this dual tendency, with Northeastern varieties showing one paradigm and Southwestern dialects another. While the Northeastern varieties preserve the distinction between singular and plural (/o:/ - /u:/), the convergence of the nasalized back vowels has leveled the paradigm in the Southwestern dialects (/o:/ - /o:/):

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
CŎM(PŬ)TU	kɔu̯ʊ̯̃t	ku:n̥t	kɔu̯ʊ̯̃t	account(s)
MŎNTE	mɔu̯ʊ̯̃t	mu:n̥t	mɔu̯ʊ̯̃t	mountain(s)
PŎNTE	pɔu̯ʊ̯̃t	pu:n̥t	pɔu̯ʊ̯̃t	bridge(s)

In correspondence with closed-syllable [ɔ], whose development is analogous to that of [ɛ] in the same context, the *Pulon Matt* shows the paradigm *o* – *uo*: *un och* ‘an eye’ – *ij uoch* ‘the

eyes’ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 30, 63). Whereas closed-syllable [ɔ] is simply lengthened throughout San Marino, closed-syllable [wo] gives three different outcomes. One of these variants characterizes Northeastern Sammarinese, while the other two appear in the Southwestern dialects. Two of the three developments presuppose stress retraction in the rising diphthong [wo], which yields [uᵚ̯]. In Northeastern Sammarinese, the resulting monophthong [uː] preserves the original length of the diphthong. As a result, both open- and closed-syllable [ɔ] yield an /ɔː/ - /uː/ paradigm. On the other hand, in Southwestern Sammarinese [uᵚ̯] produces a short vowel, which is subject to the same process of lowering and centralization that affects original [u] in closed syllables (cf. [fr̥ʊtˑɐ] ‘fruit’ < FRŪCTA). However, the resulting /ɔː/ - /ʊ/ paradigm is much less common than the characteristic /ɔː/ - /ɔ/ (→ [ɐ]) paradigm. The short /ɔ/ in the Southwestern plural presupposes closed-syllable [o] (cf. [mɔg̠ˑkɐ] ‘fly’ < MŬSCA), which arises at an early stage in order to satify the bimoraic norm. That is to say, the onglide is deleted from [wo] in closed syllables, where long vowels are not tolerated. In summary, Northeastern Sammarinese is characterized by an /ɔː/ - /uː/ paradigm while the Southwestern dialects are typified by /ɔː/ - /ɔ/ (→ [ɐ]):

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
ŎC(Ŭ)LU	ɔːtʃ	uːtʃ	ɔtˑʃ, ɐtˑʃ	eye(s)
*PEDŎC(Ŭ)LU	bˈdɔːtʃ	bˈduːtʃ	bˈdɔtˑʃ, bˈdɐtˑʃ	louse – lice
*GENŎC(Ŭ)LU	g̠nɔːtʃ	ðnuːtʃ	g̠nɔtˑʃ	knee(s)
*FENŎC(Ŭ)LU	fn̥ɔːtʃ	fnuːtʃ	fn̥ɔtˑʃ	fennel
*RANŎC(Ŭ)LU	rɐˈnɔːtʃ	rɐˈnuːtʃ	rɐˈnɔtˑʃ	(edible) frog(s)
CŎCHLEA	kɔːtʃ	kuːtʃ	kʊtˑʃ	shard(s) of earthenware
*BIRŎTIU	brɔːtʃ	bruːtʃ	brʊtˑʃ	two-wheel cart(s), wagon(s)
-ŎCEU	pɐg̠ˈtr̥ɔːtʃ	pɐg̠ˈtr̥uːtʃ	pɐg̠ˈtr̥ɔtˑʃ	concoction(s)

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
FLŎCCU	fjɔːk	fjuːk	fjɔkˑ	(snow) flakes
PŎS(Ĭ)TU	pɔːʂt	puːʂt	pɔʂˑt	place(s), seat(s)
FŎSSA	fɔːʂ	fuːʂ	fɔʂˑ	ditch(es)
ŎSSU	ɔːʂ	uːʂ	ɔʂˑ	pit(s)
RŎSPU	rɔːʂp	ruːʂp	rɔʂˑp, rɐʂˑp	toad(s)
-ɔtto	dʒuvˈnɔːt	dʒuvˈnuːt	dʒuvˈnɔtˑ	young man–men
-ɔtto	pɐʂɐˈrɔːt	pɐʂɐˈruːt	pɐʂɐˈrɔtˑ	sparrow(s)
NŎCTŬLA	nɔːtˈl̥i[64]	nuːtˈl̥i	nɐtˑˈl̥i	bat(s), noctule(s)
HŎMO	ɔːm	uːmni	ʊmˑni, ɔmˑni	man – men

Open-syllable [e] gives the paradigm *e – i* in the *Pulon Matt* (*mes* ‘month’ – *mis* ‘months’) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 22, 65), which is continued as /eː/ - /iː/ in modern Romagnol and Sammarinese. Whereas diatopic variation in the plural of paradigms originating from low vowels occurs at a morphological level, the geographic variation in the singular (/eː/ → [eː] [oi̯]) of paradigms deriving from high-mid vowels is entirely phonological. Variation in the plural of the low-vowel paradigms is the result of analogical leveling, while variation in the high-mid-vowel paradigms is the consequence of normal phonetic outcomes. That is to say, /eː/ - /iː/ is also the paradigm for Serravallese, where /eː/ is realized as [oi̯]:

Etymon	Samm. Singular	Serr. Singular	Plural	Translation
MĒ(N)SE	meːz̪	moi̯z̪	miːz̪	month(s)
*PAGE(N)SE	pɐˈeːz̪	pɐˈjoi̯z̪	pɐˈiːz̪	town(s)
MĒLU	meːl	moi̯l	miːl	apple tree(s)
PĬLU	peːl	poi̯l	piːl	(body) hair(s)
VĒLU	veːl	voi̯l	viːl	veil(s)

By the normal phonetic processes, the paradigm originating from [e] followed by a disarticulated nasal merges with that of [ɛ] in the same context. While the convergence of the

[64] This term is typical of Southeastern Romagna, as opposed to Central Romagnol [bɐi̯bɐʂˈtr̥ɛɐ̯l] (Ercolani, “Baibastrĕl”, “Nòtal”).

nasalized front vowels has leveled the paradigm in many dialects (cf. Central Romagnol [ɛ kɐmbjɐˈmẽt] ‘the change’ - [i kɐmbjɐˈmẽt] ‘the changes’ [Ercolani “cambiamént”]), Northeastern Sammarinese preserves the metaphonic plurals characteristic of (semi)learned words in the *Pulon Matt* (*purtamint* ‘conduct, behavior’, *rasunamint* ‘arguments’, *andamint* ‘trends’) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 66):

Etymon	Singular	Plural	Translation
MOMĔNTU	muˈmɛ̝ːn̥t	muˈmiːn̥t	moment(s)
SENTIMĔNTU	s̪en̥tiˈmɛ̝ːn̥t	s̪en̥tiˈmiːn̥t	feeling(s)
INSTRUMĔNTU	s̪truˈmɛ̝ːn̥t	s̪truˈmiːn̥t	musical instrument(s)
-MĔNTU	kɐmbjɐˈmɛ̝ːn̥t	kɐmbjɐˈmiːn̥t	change(s)
-MĔNTU	kum̥pur̥tɐˈmɛ̝ːn̥t	kum̥pur̥tɐˈmiːn̥t	behaviour(s)
Sp. *cumplimiento*	kum̥pl̥iˈmɛ̝ːn̥t	kum̥pl̥iˈmiːn̥t	compliment(s)

Closed-syllable [e] yields the paradigm *e* – *i* documented in the *Pulon Matt* (*burghett* ‘little village’ – *burghitt* ‘little villages’) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 30, 65), which evolves into the /ɛ/ - /ɪ/ model. While leveling occurs in some Central Romagnol dialects ([pɪs̪ˑ] ‘fish’ - [pɪs̪ˑ] ‘fishes’), Sammarinese maintains the original paradigm:

Etymon	Singular	Plural	Translation
PĬSCE	pɛs̪ˑ	pɪs̪ˑ	fish(es)
EPĬSCŎPU	vɛs̪ˑkwi	vɪs̪ˑkwi	bishop(s)
CAPĬLLU	kɐˈvɛlˑ	kɐˈvɪlˑ	hair
*GREPPU	gɾɛpˑ	gɾɪpˑ	steep slope(s)
TĒCTU	tɛtˑ	tɪtˑ	roof(s)
-ĬTTU	puˈɾɛtˑ	puˈɾɪtˑ	poor person(s), beggar(s)
-ĬTTU	kɐˈs̪ɛtˑ	kɐˈs̪ɪtˑ	drawer(s)
-ĬTTU	lɐvuˈɾɛtˑ	lɐvuˈɾɪtˑ	little job(s)
-ĬTTU	vtʃɛtˑ	vtʃɪtˑ	little old man (men)
-ĬTTU	bɯrˈdlɛtˑ	bɯrˈdlɪtˑ	little child (children)
-ĬTTU	kɐˈz̪ɛtˑ	kɐˈz̪ɪtˑ	little house(s)
-ĬTTU	kɐˈɾɛtˑ	kɐˈɾɪtˑ	handcart(s)

Etymon	Singular	Plural	Translation
-ĬTTU	fiˈrɛtˑ	fiˈrɪtˑ	blade(s) of a sled
Old French *loquet*	luˈkɛtˑ	luˈkɪtˑ	padlock(s)
-ĬTTU	untʃiˈnɛtˑ	untʃiˈnɪtˑ	crochet hook(s)
-ĬTTU	kɐlˈθɛtˑ	kɐlˈθɪtˑ	sock(s)
Old Provençal *berret*	brɛtˑ	brɪtˑ	cap(s)
SĬGNU	ʂɛɲˑ	ʂɪɲˑ	sign(s)
DĒBĬTU	dɛpˑˈti	dɪpˑˈti	debt(s)
Turkish *kahve*	kɐˈfɛ	kɐˈfɪ	coffee(s)

In correspondence with open-syllable [o], the *Pulon Matt* shows the paradigm *o – u* (*lauor* ‘job’ – *lauur* ‘jobs’) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 22, 67), which Sammarinese carries on as /oː/ (→ [ɔu̯]) - /uː/:

Etymon	SW Singular	NE Singular	Plural	Translation
FLŌRE	fjoːr	fjɔu̯r	fjuːr	flower(s)
AMŌRE	ɐˈmoːr	ɐˈmɔu̯r	ɐˈmuːr	mulberry tree(s)
GENITŌRE	dʒeniˈtoːr	dʒeniˈtɔu̯r	dʒeniˈtuːr	parent(s)
DOCTŌRE	duˈtoːr	duˈtɔu̯r	duˈtuːr	doctor(s)
RUMŌRE	ruˈmoːr	ruˈmɔu̯r	ruˈmuːr	noise(s)
DOLŌRE	duˈloːr	duˈlɔu̯r	duˈluːr	pain(s)
COLŌRE	kuˈloːr	kuˈlɔu̯r	kuˈluːr	color(s)
ODŌRE	uˈdoːr	uˈdɔu̯r	uˈduːr	odor(s)
LABORATŌRE	lɐvurɐˈdoːr	lɐvurɐˈdɔu̯r	lɐvurɐˈduːr	worker(s)
-ŌRE	kɐtʃɐˈdoːr	kɐtʃɐˈdɔu̯r	kɐtʃɐˈduːr	hunter(s)
LABŌRĀRE	lɐˈvoːr	lɐˈvɔu̯r	lɐˈvuːr	job(s)
TŬRDU	turˈdɛ̟ːlɐ	tɔu̯rd	turˈdɛ̟ːli, tuːrd	thrush(es)
SŌRĬCE	ʂoːrtʃ	ʂɔu̯rtʃ	ʂuːrtʃ	mouse - mice

Nasalized [o] joins [ɔ] in the *o – u* paradigm recorded by the *Pulon Matt* (*ragazzon* ‘big boy’ – *ragazzun* ‘big boys’) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 48, 67), which bifurcates into two distinct types. While Southwestern dialects show no contrast between singular and plural, Northeastern varieties preserve the original height of nasalized /uː/ and thus the original paradigm:

Etymon	Singular	NE Plural	SW Plural	Translation
*PATRŌNE	pɐˈdrɔu̯ñ	pɐˈdruːn	pɐˈdrɔu̯ñ	owner(s), boss(es)
*MATŌNE	mɐˈdɔu̯ñ	mɐˈduːn	mɐˈdɔu̯ñ	brick(s)
PŬLMŌNE	pɐlˈmɔu̯ñ	pɐlˈmuːn	pɐlˈmɔu̯ñ	lung(s)
-ŌNE	kɐˈʂɔu̯ñ	kɐˈʂuːn	kɐˈʃɔu̯ñ	cascione –i[65]
-ŌNE	mɐˈrɔu̯ñ	mɐˈruːn	mɐˈrɔu̯ñ	chestnut(s)
-ŌNE	pɐˈlɔu̯ñ	pɐˈluːn	pɐˈlɔu̯ñ	large ball(s)
-ŌNE	kɐˈpˈlɔu̯ñ	kɐˈpˈluːn	kɐˈpˈlɔu̯ñ	large hat(s)
-ŌNE	kwɐˈjɔu̯ñ	kwɐˈjuːn	kwɐˈjɔu̯ñ	fool(s)
-ŌNE	kɐnˈtɔu̯ñ	kɐnˈtuːn	kɐnˈtɔu̯ñ	corner(s)
-ŌNE	ʂɐrˈdɔu̯ñ	ʂɐrˈduːn	ʂɐrˈdɔu̯ñ	large sardine(s)
*CAPPŌNE	kɐˈpɔu̯ñ	kɐˈpuːn	kɐˈpɔu̯ñ	capon(s)
It. *tramonto*	trɐˈmɔu̯ñt[66]	trɐˈmuːnt	trɐˈmɔu̯ñt	sunset(s)
HORIZONTA	uriˈðɔu̯ñt	uriˈðuːnt	uriˈðɔu̯ñt	horizon(s)
French *garçon*	gɐrˈðɔu̯ñ	gɐrˈðuːn	gɐrˈðɔu̯ñ	young helper(s)

Closed-syllable [o] yields the paradigm *o – u* in the *Pulon Matt (poll* ‘chicken’ – *i pull* ‘chickens’). While various Central Romagnol dialects level the contrast between singular and plural ([pʊθˑ] ‘well’ - [pʊθˑ] ‘wells’), Sammarinese maintains the original /ɔ/ (→ [ɐ]) - /ʊ/ paradigm:

Etymon	SW Singular	Serr. Singular	Plural	Translation
PŬLLU	pɔlˑ	pɐlˑ	pʊlˑ	chicken(s)
PŬTEU	pɔθˑ	pɐθˑ	pʊθˑ	well(s)
SOMNIU	ʂɔɲˑ	ʂɐɲˑ	ʂʊɲˑ	dream(s)
Gmc *BISUNDHĪ	bʐ̬ɔɲˑ	bʐ̬ɐɲˑ	bʐ̬ʊɲˑ	need(s)
ASTRŎLŎGU	ʂ̬trɔlˑgi	ʂ̬trɐlˑgi	ʂ̬trʊlˑgi	fortune teller(s)
FŬNGU	fɔŋˑg	fɐŋˑg	fʊŋˑg	mushroom(s)
cf. It. *tónchio*	tɔnˑdʒ	tɐnˑdʒ	tʊnˑdʒ	weevil(s)
CŬPPA	kɔpˑ	kɐpˑ	kʊpˑ	roofing tile(s)

[65] A *cascione* (*cassone* in Riminese) consists of a thin layer of unleavened dough folded in half and sealed over filling, usually beet tops or tomato sauce and mozzarella (Foresti 348).

[66] The indigenous term corresponding with this Italianism is [kɐlɛːdɐ d u ʂɔu̯l] (see Ercolani, “Tramônt”).

4.2.2.8. Leveling of Internal Flexion

Since nouns and adjectives are normally preceded by determiners with distinct forms (e.g. [uŋ gaːt] ‘a cat’, [di gaːt] ‘some cats’, etc.), internal flexion is functionally redundant. This has allowed for leveling of metaphonic alternation in Sammarinese, particularly in the historically urban dialect (Schürr, *RD* 2: 169-70; Maiden 204), where the literacy rate was highest before the economic boom of the mid twentieth century. Nevertheless, while urban varieties in Lombardy, Veneto and Emilia-Romagna have largely eliminated internal flexion, Bolognese and rural varieties of Romagnol—including those of San Marino—generally preserve metaphonic alternation (Maiden 197). The dichotomy between historically urban and rustic Sammarinese reflects the functional redundancy of internal flexion, for it bears out Maiden’s observation that there is no reciprocal correlation between apocope of desinences and the occurrence of metaphonic alternation. That is to say, although a robust system of internal flexion does imply a reduced desinential inventory (-Ø, -a, -i) in rural Sammarinese, the same set of desinences is not a sufficient condition for extensive metaphonic alternation in the dialect of Città (214).

Elimination of internal flexion is more widespread in the urban variety due to bidirectional leveling, which entails generalization of the non-metaphonized (-ĬTTĪ > [guˈtʃlɛtˑ] ‘tears’, *ODŌRĪ > [uˈdou̯r] ‘odors’) as well as the raised vowel (CĬCER > [tʃiːʒ] ‘chickpea’, DŬLCE > [duːltʃ] ‘sweet’).[67] On the other hand, wherever the rural internal flexion configurations have been undermined, it is normally due to raising of the tonic vowel in the masculine singular. As Maiden observes, while leveling in Northern Italian dialects generally favors the non-metaphonized singular vowel, leveling in favor of the raised plural vowel is not uncommon. Such reversed leveling takes place when the metaphonic alternant is generalized to the singular

[67] Cf. rural [guˈtʃlɪtˑ], [uˈduːr]; [doːltʃ].

"[i]n words whose referents typically occur in groups or sets" (198).[68] For instance, the form [tʃiːʒ] 'chickpea' has supplanted the normal outcome of CĬCER (cf. Imolese [θeːʐ̪] [Schürr, *RD* 2: 26]), since the plural of this referent occurs much more frequently than the singular. Whereas NĔRVU - NĔRVĪ predictably yields [neo̯̞rp] 'nerve' - [niːrp] 'nerves' in Cesenate, Sammarinese presents [niːrb̥] - [niːrb̥]. Analogously, PĔDE - *PĔDĪ and BŎVE - *BŎVĪ give [pɛ] 'foot' - [piː] 'feet' and [bɐ] 'ox' - [buː] 'oxen' in Northeastern Sammarinese, while the Southwest shows [piːɐ] - [piːɐ] and [buːɐ] - [buːɐ]. As the foregoing examples illustrate, reversed leveling precedes the development of analogical plurals in Southwestern Sammarinese paradigms deriving from open-syllable [ɛ] and [ɔ] (cf. APĔRTĪ > [vɛrˈt] 'open', *CLAUDĪ > [tʃɔdˑ] 'nails').

In addition to reversed leveling, phonetic factors also play a role in disrupting internal flexion configurations. The vowel of the masculine singular is raised sporadically as a result of metaphony by internal posttonic [i] and [u] (PŎRTĬCU > [puːrg] 'portico', TŎRŬLU > [tuːrli] 'egg yolk'), metaphony by final [u] (FŎCU > [fuːg] 'fire', *SŎU > [s̪uː(ɐ)] 'his', FĪLIŎLU > [fjuːl] 'son', NŎVU > [nuːv] 'new'), lag assimilation to a preceding palatal (semi)consonant (PLĒNU > [piːn] 'full'), and infiltration by Tuscan [jɛ] (PRAESBYTER > [priːt] 'priest').

4.2.3. Gender Oscillation

The realignment of the Classical Latin declensions and the elimination of the neuter category lead to instances of gender ambiguity, especially in third declension nouns, whose desinences do not indicate a specific gender (Rohlfs 2: §§ 381, 394). Consequently, Serravallese [u liːvri] 'hare' preserves the original masculine gender of LĔPŎRE, while the dialect of Borgo

[68] For examples of reversed leveling in Romagnol varieties other than Sammarinese, see Schürr, *RD* 2: 22, 26; Maiden 198-99.

and Città shows [lɐ liːvre]. In addition, feminine TRABE gives [ɛl trɛ̰ːv] ‘beam’. Ambiguity also arises in feminine second declension nouns denoting trees, since the second declension normally yields masculine Romance nouns. Thus, whereas Italian has brought PŌPŬLUS –Ī into line with the rest of the second declension (> *pioppo*), Sammarinese [pjɔːpɐ]—the type that occurs throughout Emilia and Romagna—retains the original gender. Conversely, while Romagnol [faːðɐ] keeps the original gender of ARBOR FAGEA, Sammarinese [faːdʒ] reflects the influence of the masculine majority of nouns ending in –OR (Rohlfs 2: § 382). Neuter nouns ending in –MEN may yield masculine or feminine outcomes, which results in the Serravallese allotropes [u luːn] ‘light’ and [lɐ lʊmˑɐ] ‘oil lamp’, both continuants of LŪMEN (cf. Italian *il lume;* Bolognese *la lom*, Spanish *la lumbre*) (Rohlfs 2: § 385).

We have seen above how Northern Italo-Romance continues neuter plurals in the form of feminine plurals (ŎSSUM – ŎSSA > ŎSSU - *ŎSSAE > [l ɔːs̰] ‘the bone’ - [ɐʎ ɔːs̰i] ‘the bones’) and, consequently, how the feminine plural in correspondence with the masculine singular becomes associated with a notion of collectivity, which, in turn, leads to the development of analogical feminine plurals (FRŪCTUM – FRŪCTŪS > *FRŪCTU - *FRŪCTAE > [ɛ frʊtˑ] ‘the fruit’ - [ɐl frʊtˑi] ‘the fruits’). Subsequently, the existence of the Italo-Romance plural *le frutta/frutte* triggers the formation of a corresponding feminine singular (> [lɐ frʊtˑɐ] ‘the fruit’), which denotes a larger entity than its masculine singular counterpart. As a result, a series of such pairs develops, in which the secondary feminine allotrope serves as an augmentative of the direct masculine continuant (Rohlfs 2: § 386):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CARRU	kaːr - kaːrɐ	cart, wagon
MŪT(Ŭ)LU	mʊtˑʃ - mʊtˑʃɐ	heap, pile

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SCLŎPPU	s̪tʃɔːp - s̪tʃɔːpɐ	single – double barrel shotgun
COCHLEARIU	kuˈtʃɛ̟ːr - kutʃɛ̟ːrɐ	(table)spoon – trowel
CŬLTĔLLU	kurˈtɛ̟ːl - kurtɛ̟ːlɐ	knife – kitchen/butcher's knife

The following masculine nouns form the diminutive by taking the feminine suffix -/ɛːla/ (< -ĔLLA) (Rohlfs 2: § 387):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
GRANU	gr̪ɛ̟ːn - grɐnɛ̟ːlɐ	grain
CATĪNU	kɐˈdɛi̯ñ - kɐdnɛ̟ːlɐ	basin

However, the addition of the suffix -/ɛːla/ to a masculine noun does not always create a diminutive. Latin TŬRDU, for example, yields the Sammarinese variants [tɔu̯rd] and [turdɛ̟ːlɐ], both of which denote 'thrush'. One of the most typical and productive diminutive suffixes in Italo-Romance, -ĪNU, functions instead as an augmentative when attached to m. PĔCTĬNE, which gives m. [pɛ̟ːtnɪ] 'comb' and f. [pitnɛi̯ñɐ] 'thick comb'. In the next examples, on the other hand, suffixes that alter a noun's original gender are used to form neologisms:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
GYRĀRE	dʒir - dʒirɛ̟ːlɐ	circle, turn – pulley
Medieval Latin GRAPPU	gr̪aːp - grɐpɛ̟ːlɐ	bunch, cluster (of grapes, etc.) – small beam with hooks for hanging grapes, tomatoes, etc.
ŬRCEU	uːrtʃ - urtʃɔːlɐ	(earthenware) pot – jug
PŬGNU	pʊɲˑ - puɲiːdɐ	fist – handful
*SĔCA	s̪eːgɐ - z̪gɔu̯ñ	two-man saw
VĔSPA	vɛ̟ːs̪ˈprɐ - vis̪ˈprɔu̯ñ	wasp – hornet
VŬLPE	voi̯pɐ - vui̯ˈpɔu̯ñ	fox – loafer, idler

While Italian favors the masculine gender in *bernoccolo* 'bump', *bucato* 'laundry' (< Frankish *BŪKŌN 'to immerse'), *colombaccio* 'wood pigeon, ringdove' (< *COLŬMBACEU), *coccio* 'shell

of a seed', *vomere* 'plowshare', and *pergola* 'arbor, trellis, bower', the dialect of San Marino prefers the feminine alternative in, [berɲɔːklɐ], [bugɐ̯ːdɐ], [klumbaːtʃɐ], [kɔːtʃlɐ] 'egg shell'(< CŎCHLEA + -ŬLA), [gmiːrɐ] (< 14th-century *gumeria* [*GLE*; Ercolani "cmira"] < VOMĔRE + -ARIU), and [pɐrgu̯ˈlɐ̯ːr] (< PERGŬLA + -ARIU).

Fifth declension DIES is already ambigeneric in Classical Latin, which produces masculine nouns such as [dɪ] 'day' on one hand, and the feminine outcomes [dmɛŋgɐ] 'Sunday' (< DIES DOMĬNĬCA) and [dʒɔːbjɐ] 'Thursday' (< DIES JŎVIA) on the other (Rohlfs 2: § 389). Finally, words beginning with vowels are also prone to gender metaplasm, since they always take the singular article /l/ regardless of their category. When this circumstance coincides with an ambiguous desinence, gender oscillation may be observed. For example, Latin ARTE yields feminine *arte* in Italian and masculine *art* in French. Similarly, the etymon ASSIS, which is feminine in Vulgar Latin, produces the synonymous allotropes [aːs̯] and [aːs̯ɐ] 'board' in Sammarinese. Even if the desinence is gender specific, metaplasm can occur in originally masculine nouns when the word-initial vowel is pretonic [a]. In units such as (ĬL)L(U) ACĒTU, initial [a] is interpreted as part of the article (Rohlfs 2: § 393), giving rise to feminine [lɐ z̯o̯idɐ] 'vinegar' in Serravallese, [lɐ z̯iːdɐ] in Doganese,and [lɐ tʃeːtɐ] in Southwestern Sammarinese.

4.3. Adjectives

While the evolution of the adjectival case system is analogous to that of nouns, it merits a separate discussion, not only in order to paint a more vivid picture of our dialect's physiognomy, but also to document the peculiarities of the adjectival schemes.

4.3.1. Gender

As a result of the normal phonetic developments, second declension masculine adjectives usually end in a consonant, while their first declension feminine counterparts preserve final –a:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
BĔLLU – BĔLLA	bɐ̯ːl - bɐ̯ːlɐ	handsome, pretty, nice
*BRŪTTU - *BRŪTTA	brʊtˑ - brʊtˑɐ	ugly
FRĪCTU - FRĪCTA	frɪtˑ - frɪtˑɐ	fried
cf. It. *zitto - zitta*	θɪtˑ - θɪtˑɐ	quiet
PRĪMU - PRĪMA	priːm - priːmɐ	first

As with nouns, Northern Italian dialects are characterized by the metaplasm of third declension adjectives, which join the first and second declensions:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
GRANDE - GRANDE	graːnd - graːndɐ	large
FŎRTE - FŎRTE	fɔːrt - fɔːrtɐ	strong
VIR(I)DE - VIR(I)DE	viːrd - viːrdɐ	green
MŎLLE - MŎLLE	mɐlˑ - mɐlˑɐ	wet
DŬLCE - DŬLCE	dɔu̯ltʃ - dɔu̯ltʃɐ	sweet

4.3.2. Formation of the Plural

Apocope of final –i in Gallo-Italic typically produces masculine plural adjectives with consonantal endings. On the other hand, Emilian and Romagnol dialects compensate for the loss of final –e by adding analogical –i to feminine plurals:[69]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
NŎVĪ - NŎVAE	nuːv - nɔːvi	new
LARGĪ - LARGAE	lɐ̯ːrg - lɐ̯ːrgi	broad, wide
VĪVĪ - VĪVAE	viːv - viːvi	alive
PRĪMĪ - PRĪMAE	priːm - priːmi	first
FRĪCTĪ - FRĪCTAE	frɪtˑ - frɪtˑi	fried

[69] Schürr, *RD* 2: 200, *VR* 50-51; Rohlfs 2: 26, 77.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
Germanic BLANK	bjɛ̯ːŋk - bjɛ̯ːŋki	white
Old French *jalne*	ðaːl - ðaːli	yellow

Like their substantive counterparts, third declension adjectives are absorbed by the first and second declensions:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*GRANDĪ - *GRANDAE	graːnd - graːndi	large
*FŎRTĪ - *FŎRTAE	fuːrt - fɔːrti	strong
*VĬR(Ĭ)DĪ - *VĬR(Ĭ)DAE	viːrd - viːrdi	green
*MOLLĪ - *MOLLAE	mʊlˑ - mɐlˑi	wet
*DŬLCĪ - *DŬLCAE	duːltʃ - dɔu̯ltʃi	sweet

The penultimate phase of the feminine plural's development reemerges sporadically, as secondary –i is often omitted in adjectives that frequently precede a noun:[70]

Sammarinese	Translation
d li bɛ̯ːl vɔːlti	often
tʃɛ̯ːrt rɔːbi	certain things
ɐl nɔːʂ̠t vɛdˑvi	our widows
ɐl nɔːʂ̠t rubtʃɔːli	our things
t li nɔːʂ̠t vo̯ini	in our veins
kwaːnt tʃaːkri	how much chatter
kwaːnt ɔu̯ri	how many hours
kwaːnt faːtʃi	how many faces
rɛ̯ːd vɔːlti	rarely, seldomly
tɛ̯ːnt rɔːbi	so many things
tɛ̯ːnt ʂ̠kuːʐ̠i	so many excuses
tʊtˑ rɔːbi	all things
tʊtˑ ɐl ʂ̠tɐˈʐ̠ɔu̯ñ	every season

In the same manner as in nouns, umlaut by final –i gives rise to a system of internal flexion which distinguishes the masculine plural from the singular. While the presence of such a

[70] Conversely, the preposed adjective takes analogical –i while the noun ends with a consonant in Bolognese (*toti el sir* 'every evening') and Milanese (*certi ròbb* 'certain things') (Rohlfs 2: 27).

system unifies the Romagnol linguistic group, the nature and breadth of its individual mechanisms tend to vary diachronically and diatopically.

For instance, in adjectives whose tonic vowel derives from open-syllable [a], Central Romagnol and Serravallese present two different schemes due to the predictable phonetic outcomes for each area, while Southwestern Sammarinese shows yet another paradigm as a result of morphological analogy. In Central Romagnol, which contrasts /eː/ in the masculine plural with /e̯/ in the other three forms, an adjective such as LARGU yields the following paradigm (Ercolani "lêrg"):

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
LARGU	le̯rg	leːrg	broad, wide
	le̯rgɐ	le̯rgi	

The table above illustrates the synergy of desinences and metaphonic vowels in Romagnol's system of adjectival flexion, which works as follows: the masculine singular is marked by a non-metaphonic tonic stem vowel plus a zero desinence (-Ø), the masculine plural by a metaphonic stem vowel plus a zero desinence, the feminine singular by a non-metaphonic stem vowel plus final –a, and the feminine plural by a non-metaphonic stem vowel plus final –i. Since this distribution of the desinences (m. sg. -Ø, m. pl. -Ø, f. sg. –a, f. pl. –i) is generally consistent (save for the exceptions mentioned above), we shall continue to refer only to the roll of tonic vowels in adjectival paradigms.

However, the system of internal flexion described above is leveled in Southeastern Romagnol dialects such as Northeastern Sammarinese, in which metaphony and spontaneous raising of open-syllable [a] produce the same outcome (> [ɛ̝ː]). Nevertheless, other Southeastern Romagnol varieties, including Southwestern Sammarinese, develop a secondary system of

internal flexion in this category of adjectives and declinable nouns by generalizing short /ɛ/, which originates from closed-syllable [ɛ]. Consequently, Northeastern Sammarinese presents tonic /ɛː/ in all four forms, while the Southwestern varieties differentiate the masculine plural with /ɛ/:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
RĀRU	rɛ̝ːd	rɛ̝ːd, rɛdˑ	sparse
	rɛ̝ːdɐ	rɛ̝ːdi	
LARGU	lɛ̝ːrg	lɛ̝ːrg, lɛrˑg	broad, wide
	lɛ̝ːrgɐ	lɛ̝ːrgi	
O. F. *bastard*	bɐʂˈtɛ̝ːrd	bɐʂˈtɛ̝ːrd, bɐʂˈtɛrˑd	bastard(s)
	bɐʂˈtɛ̝ːrdɐ	bɐʂˈtɛ̝ːrdi	

As far as closed-syllable [a] is concerned, the influence of the written language leads to the restoration of /a/ in the plural and, thus, does away with the original paradigm in Southeastern Romagnol (Schürr, *VR* § 20) (cf. Central Romagnol m. sg. [ðaːl] - m. pl. [ðɛ̯l] - f. sg. [ðaːlɐ] - f. pl. [ðaːli] ‘yellow’):

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
O. F. *jalne*	ðaːl	ðaːl	yellow
	ðaːlɐ	ðaːli	
*PLATTU	pjaːt	pjaːt	flat
	pjaːtɐ	pjaːti	
Long. STRAK	ʂtraːk	ʂtraːk	tired
	ʂtraːkɐ	ʂtraːki	
FACTU	faːt	faːt	made, done
	faːtɐ	faːti	
GRANDE	graːnd	graːnd	large
	graːndɐ	graːndi	
COMPANIO	kumˈpaːɲ	kumˈpaːɲ	same
	kumˈpaːɲɐ	kumˈpaːɲi	

As for the paradigm originating from nasalized [a], the normal phonetic outcome /ɛː/ appears in all four forms in Northeastern Sammarinese, while the Southwestern dialects indicate the masculine plural with analogical /ɛ/:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
SANU	s̪ɛ̣ːn	s̪ɛ̣ːn, s̪ɛnˑ	healthy; whole
	s̪ɛ̣ːnɐ	s̪ɛ̣ːni	
SANCTU	s̪ɛ̣ːnt	s̪ɛ̣ːnt, s̪ɛnˑt	holy
	s̪ɛ̣ːntɐ	s̪ɛ̣ːnti	

In Serravallese, a small group of adjectives, in which original [a] is raised before a disarticulated sonorant, joins the m. sg. /ɛː/ - m. pl. /iː/ - f. sg. /ɛː/ - f. pl. /ɛː/ paradigm originating from open-syllable and nasalized [ɛ]:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
TANTU	tɛ̣ːnt	tiːnt	so much – so many
	tɛ̣ːntɐ	tɛ̣ːnti	
BLANCU	bjɛ̣ːŋk	bjiːŋk	white
	bjɛ̣ːŋkɐ	bjɛ̣ːŋki	
ALT(Ĕ)RU	ɛ̣ːlt	iːlt	other(s)
	ɛ̣ːltɐ	ɛ̣ːlti	
IMPORTANTE	impurˈtɛ̣ːnt	impurˈtiːnt	important
	impurtɛ̣ːntɐ	impurtɛ̣ːnti	
CALDU	kɛ̣ːld	kiːld	hot, warm
	kɛ̣ːldɐ	kɛ̣ːldi	

This convergence of paradigms may have originated in phonological words such as [nuˈiːlt] ‘we, us’ (< *NOI ALTRI), [vuˈiːlt] ‘you’ (< *VOI ALTRI), and [kiːlt] ‘those others’ (< *[EC]CU-ĬLLĪ

ALT[Ĕ]RI), in which the presence of the preceding palatal approximant leads to tonic [a] being raised to a greater height than usual through lag assimilation (see Schürr, *RD* 2: § 5.31).

Open-syllable [ɛ] produces a m. sg. /ɛː/ - m. pl. /iː/ - f. sg. /ɛː/ - f. pl. /ɛː/ scheme in Northeastern Sammarinese as a result of normal phonetic developments, while the Southwestern dialects indicate the masculine plural with /ɛ/ by analogy of adjectives with closed-syllable [ɛ]:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
APĔRTU	vɛ̰ːrt	viːrt, vɛrˈt	open
	vɛ̰ːrtɐ	vɛ̰ːrti	
COOPĔRTU	kwɛ̰ːrt	kwiːrt, kwɛrˈt	covered
	kwɛ̰ːrtɐ	kwɛ̰ːrti	

Since at least the sixteenth century, other adjectives containing open-syllable [ɛ] constitute examples of how the system of internal flexion is susceptible to morphological leveling, whether by interference from Tuscan or by autochthonous developments. As attested in the *Pulon Matt* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 19), the continuants of CAECU and *ALĔCRU are infiltrated by Tuscan [jɛ] (> m. sg. *ciegh*, *aliegr*),[71] which results in tonic /iː/ throughout the modern Sammarinese paradigm:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
CAECU	tʃiːg	tʃiːg	blind
	tʃiːgɐ	tʃiːgi	
*ALĔCRU	aliːgri	aliːgri	cheerful; tipsy
	aliːgrɐ	aliːgri	

[71] Schürr, *RD* 1: 19, 2: 20; Rohlfs 1: 117; Coco 10 n. 10.

Whereas nasalized [ɛ] yields the same pattern as open-syllable [ɛ] in the Northeast of the Republic (m. sg. /ɛː/ - m. pl. /iː/ - f. sg. /ɛː/ - f. pl. /ɛː/), Southwestern Sammarinese presents /eː/ (→ [ɛ̯i̯]) in all four forms:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
CONTĔNTU	kunˈtɛ̯ːnt, kunˈtɛ̯i̯ñt	kunˈtiːnt, kunˈtɛ̯i̯ñt	happy
	kunˈtɛ̯ːntɐ, kunˈtɛ̯i̯ñtɐ	kunˈtɛ̯ːnti, kunˈtɛ̯i̯ñti	

Closed-syllable [ɛ] gives a m. sg. /ɛː/ - m. pl. /ɛ/ - f. sg. /ɛː/ - f. pl. /ɛː/ paradigm in Southwestern Sammarinese, while in the Northeastern dialects the paradigm is the same as the one deriving from open-syllable [ɛ] (m. sg. /ɛː/ - m. pl. /iː/ - f. sg. /ɛː/ - f. pl. /ɛː/):

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
BĔLLU	bɛ̯ːl	bɛlˑ, biːl	pretty, handsome, nice
	bɛ̯ːlɐ	bɛ̯ːli	
-ĔLLU	burˈdɛ̯ːl	burˈdɛlˑ, burˈdiːl	child - children
	burˈdɛ̯ːlɐ	burˈdɛ̯ːli	
VĔCLU	vɛ̯ːtʃ	vɛtˑʃ, viːtʃ	old
	vɛ̯ːtʃɐ	vɛ̯ːtʃi	
PERFĔCTU	perˈfɛ̯ːt	perˈfɛtˑ, perˈfiːt	perfect
	perˈfɛ̯ːtɐ	perˈfɛ̯ːti	
MĔDIU	mɛ̯ːð	miːð, mɛðˑ	half
	mɛ̯ːðɐ	mɛ̯ːði	

The evolution of the paradigms originating from the back vowels is analogous to that of the front vowels. Thus, open-syllable [ɔ] yields a m. sg. /ɔː/ - m. pl. /uː/- f. sg. /ɔː/ - f. pl. /ɔː/ paradigm in Northeastern Sammarinese as a result of predictable phonetic outcomes, while the Southwestern dialects indicate the masculine plural with /ɔ/:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation

	f. sg.	f. pl.	
FŎRTE	fɔːrt	fuːrt, fɔrˑt	strong
	fɔːrtɐ	fɔːrti	
PAUCU	pɔːk	puːk, pɔkˑ	little – few
	pɔːkɐ	pɔːki	
*SPŎRCU	ʂpɔːrk	ʂpuːrk, ʂpɔrˑk	dirty
	ʂpɔːrkɐ	ʂpɔːrki	
MŎRTU	mɔːrt	muːrt, mɔrˑt	dead
	mɔːrtɐ	mɔːrti	
EXTŎRTU	ʂtɔːrt	ʂtuːrt, ʂtɔrˑt	twisted
	ʂtɔːrtɐ	ʂtɔːrti	

As a result of U-metaphony, adjectives and declinable nouns ending in –ŎLU and –ŎVU have acquired a symmetrical m. sg. /uː/ - m. pl. /uː/ - f. sg. /ɔː/ - f. pl. /ɔː/ paradigm that differentiates between genders:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
NŎVU	nuːv	nuːv	new
	nɔːvɐ	nɔːvi	
-ŎLU	piˈɲuːl	piˈɲuːl	fussy
	piˈɲɔːlɐ	piˈɲɔːli	
-ŎLU	rumɐˈɲuːl	rumɐˈɲuːl	Romagnol
	rumɐˈɲɔːlɐ	rumɐˈɲɔːli	
FĪLIŎLU	fjuːl	fjuːl	son(s), daughter(s)
	fjɔːlɐ	fjɔːli	

The symmetrical paradigm also arises in m. sg. [buːn] - m. pl. [buːn] - f. sg. [bɔːnɐ] - f. pl. [bɔːni] ‘good’.

Closed-syllable [ɔ] yields the paradigm m. sg. /ɔː/ - m. pl. /ɔ/ (→ [ɐ]) - f. sg. /ɔː/ - f. pl. /ɔː/ in Southwestern Sammarinese, while the Northeastern dialects indicate the masculine plural with /uː/:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
CŎCTU	kɔːt	kɔtˑ, kuːt	cooked
	kɔːtɐ	kɔːti	
GRŎSSU	grɔːs̻	grɔs̻ˑ, gruːs̻	big, large
	grɔːs̻ɐ	grɔːs̻i	
NŎSTRU	nɔːs̻t	nɔs̻ˑt, nuːs̻t	our
	nɔːs̻tɐ	nɔːs̻ti	
*VŎSTRU	vɔːs̻t	vɔs̻ˑt, vuːs̻t	your
	vɔːs̻tɐ	vɔːs̻ti	
Frankish THROP	trɔːp	trɔpˑ, truːp	too much – too many
	trɔːpɐ	trɔːpi	
NŎNNU	nɔːn	nɔnˑ, nɐnˑ, nuːn	grandfather(s), grandmother(s)
	nɔːnɐ	nɔːni	
*GŎBBU	gɔːb	guːb	hunch-backed
	gɔːbɐ	gɔːbi	

The high-mid vowels produce the same paradigms in Northeastern and Southwestern Sammarinese, with variation occurring only at the phonological level. Thus, open-syllable [e] yields a m. sg. /eː/ - m. pl. /iː/ - f. sg. /eː/ - f. pl. /eː/ paradigm, where /eː/ is realized as [o̯i̯] in Serravallese:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
-Ē(N)SE	s̻ɐmmɐriˈneːz̻, -o̯i̯z̻	s̻ɐmmɐriˈniːz̻	Sammarinese
	s̻ɐmmɐriˈneːz̻ɐ, -o̯i̯z̻ɐ	s̻ɐmmɐriˈneːz̻i, -o̯i̯z̻i	
-Ē(N)SE	s̻ɐrɐvɐˈleːz̻, -o̯i̯z̻	s̻ɐrɐvɐˈliːz̻	Serravallese
	s̻ɐrɐvɐˈleːz̻ɐ, -o̯i̯z̻ɐ	s̻ɐrɐvɐˈleːz̻i, -o̯i̯z̻i	

Although by different means, NĬGRU and VĬR(Ĭ)DE converge into a leveled paradigm throughout the Republic. By analogy of the Tuscanism *aliegr* (< *ALĔCRU), the *Pulon Matt* also records *niegr* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 19), whose four forms all show tonic /iː/ in dialects throughout Romagna. Whereas most of the region preserves the normal outcomes of VĬR(Ĭ)DE (m. sg.

[veːrd] - m. pl. [viːrd] - f. sg. [veːrdɐ] - f. pl. [veːrdi]), Sammarinese generalizes the metaphonic vowel throughout the paradigm:[72]

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
NĬGRU	niːr	niːr	black
	niːrɐ	niːri	
VĬR(Ĭ)DE	viːrd	viːrd	green
	viːrdɐ	viːrdi	

Closed-syllable [e] gives the paradigm m. sg. /ɛ/ - m. pl. /ɪ/ - f. sg. /ɛ/ - f. pl. /ɛ/:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
SĬCCU	s̪ɛkˑ	s̪ɪkˑ	dry; thin
	s̪ɛkˑɐ	s̪ɛkˑi	
PĬSTU	pɛs̪ˑt	pɪs̪ˑt	bruised
	pɛs̪ˑtɐ	pɛs̪ˑti	
FRĬG(Ĭ)DU	frɛdˑ	frɪdˑ	cold
	frɛdˑɐ	frɛdˑi	
STRĬCTU	s̪trɛtˑ	s̪trɪtˑ	narrow, tight, close
	s̪trɛtˑɐ	s̪trɛtˑi	
*-ĬTTU	puˈrɛtˑ	puˈrɪtˑ	poor
	puˈrɛtˑɐ	puˈrɛtˑi	
DĬGNU	dɛɲˑ	dɪɲˑ	worthy
	dɛɲˑɐ	dɛɲˑi	
CONSTRĬCTU	kus̪ˈtrɛtˑ	kus̪ˈtrɪtˑ	forced
	kus̪ˈtrɛtˑɐ	kus̪ˈtrɛtˑi	
*PARĬC(Ŭ)LU	pɐˈrɛtˑʃ	pɐˈrɪtˑʃ	quite a lot
	pɐˈrɛtˑʃɐ	pɐˈrɛtˑʃi	
(EC)CU-ĬSTU	kw̥ɛs̪ˑt	kw̥ɪs̪ˑt	this one – these
	kw̥ɛs̪ˑtɐ	kw̥ɛs̪ˑti	
(EC)CU-ĬLLU	kw̥ɛlˑ	kw̥i̪ˑ	that one – those
	kw̥ɛlˑɐ	kw̥ɛlˑi	

[72] Cf. Riccionese m. sg. [viːrt] (Schürr, *RD* 2: 29).

Note that the above forms of the demonstrative pronouns also occur in the historically urban dialect of Città, which has otherwise eliminated metaphonic alternation (Schürr, *RD* 2: 169-170; Maiden 204). In fact, many Northern Italian varieties which usually level internal flexion preserve it in demonstratives, the reason being functional: in order to avoid ambiguity between the masculine singular and plural (Maiden 203). On one hand, metaphonic alternation disappears from substantives in which its presence is redundant, given that determiners serve to disambiguate number: [ɛl tʃiːʒ] ‘the chickpea’ - [i tʃiːʒ] ‘the chickpeas’. However, since the demonstrative pronouns are not preceded by determiners, in this case tonic vowel alternation remains functional (Maiden 204-205). Another contributing factor in the retention of internal flexion is the high text frequency of demonstratives (Maiden 204).

Adjectives and declinable nouns containing primary open-syllable [o] develop a m. sg. /oː/ - m. pl. /uː/ - f. sg. /oː/ - f. pl. /oː/ paradigm, where /oː/ is realized as [ɔu̯] in Serravallese:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
DŬLCE	doːltʃ, dɔu̯ltʃ	duːltʃ	sweet
	doːltʃɐ, dɔu̯ltʃɐ	doːltʃi, dɔu̯ltʃi	
SŬRDU	ʂoːrd, ʂɔu̯rd	ʂuːrd	deaf
	ʂoːrdɐ, ʂɔu̯rdɐ	ʂoːrdi, ʂɔu̯rdi	
CŪRIŌSU	kuˈrjoːʐ, kuˈrjɔu̯ʐ	kuˈrjuːʐ	curious
	kuˈrjoːʐɐ, kuˈrjɔu̯ʐɐ	kuˈrjoːʐi, kuˈrjɔu̯ʐi	
FAMŌSU	fɐˈmoːʐ, fɐˈmɔu̯ʐ	fɐˈmuːʐ	famous
	fɐˈmoːʐɐ, fɐˈmɔu̯ʐɐ	fɐˈmoːʐi, fɐˈmɔu̯ʐi	
NERVŌSU	nerˈvoːʐ, nerˈvɔu̯ʐ	nerˈvuːʐ	nervous
	nerˈvoːʐɐ, nerˈvɔu̯ʐɐ	nerˈvoːʐi, nerˈvɔu̯ʐi	
AMBĪTIŌSU	ɐmbiˈθjoːʐ, -ɔu̯ʐ	ɐmbiˈθjuːʐ	ambitious
	ɐmbiˈθjoːʐɐ, -ɔu̯ʐɐ	ɐmbiˈθjoːʐi, -ɔu̯zi	
GŬLŌSU	guˈloːʐ, guˈlɔu̯ʐ	guˈluːʐ	gluttonous
	guˈloːʐɐ, guˈlɔu̯ʐɐ	guˈloːʐi, guˈlɔu̯ʐi	
SARTŌRE	ʂɐrˈtoːr, ʂɐrˈtɔu̯r	ʂɐrˈtuːr	tailor(s)
	ʂɐrˈtoːrɐ, ʂɐrˈtɔu̯rɐ	ʂɐrˈtoːri, ʂɐrˈtɔu̯ri	

AMORŌSU	muˈroːz̪, muˈrɔu̯z̪	muˈruːz̪	lover(s)
	muˈroːz̪ɐ, muˈrɔu̯z̪ɐ	muˈroːz̪i, muˈrɔu̯z̪i	
SPŌ(N)SU	s̪poːz̪, s̪pɔu̯z̪	s̪puːz̪	groom, bride – newlyweds
	s̪poːz̪ɐ, s̪pɔu̯z̪ɐ	s̪poːz̪i, s̪pɔu̯z̪i	
NEPŌTE	ɐɱˈvoːd, ɐɱˈvɔu̯d	ɐɱvuːd	grandson(s) etc.; nephew(s) etc.
	ɐɱˈvoːdɐ, ɐɱˈvɔu̯dɐ	ɐɱˈvoːdi, ɐɱˈvɔu̯di	
SENIŌRE	s̪ɲoːr, s̪ɲɔu̯r	s̪ɲuːr	gentleman, gentlemen, lady, ladies
	s̪ɲoːrɐ, s̪ɲɔu̯rɐ	s̪ɲoːri, s̪ɲɔu̯ri	

Romagnol and Bolognese [kuːrt] ‘short’, which has /uː/ in all four forms, is not a direct continuant of Classical CŬRTU but of the secondary phase *CŪRTUː[73] [lɐ kɐdoi̯ñɐ lɐ ɛ kuːrtɐ] ‘the chain is short’.

As for nasalized [o], the m. sg. /oː/ - m. pl. /uː/ - f. sg. /oː/ - f. pl. /oː/ paradigm of Northeastern Sammarinese is leveled in the Southwest due to the diphthongization of secondary [uː] to [ɔu̯] in this position:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
PRŌMPTU	prɔu̯ñt	pruːnt, prɔu̯ñt	ready
	prɔu̯ñtɐ	prɔu̯ñti	

Finally, closed-syllable [o] yields a m. sg. /ɔ/ - m. pl. /ʊ/ - f. sg. /ɔ/ - f. pl. /ɔ/ paradigm, which is unchanged by the lowering and unrounding of secondary [ɔ] to [ɐ] in Serravallese:

Etymon	m. sg.	m. pl.	Translation
	f. sg.	f. pl.	
RŬSSU	rɔs̪ˑ, rɐs̪ˑ	rʊs̪ˑ	red
	rɔs̪ˑɐ, rɐs̪ˑɐ	rɔs̪ˑi, rɐs̪ˑi	
*GŬBBU	gɔbˑ	gʊbˑ	hunch-backed
	gɔbˑɐ	gɔbˑi	
JŬVĚNE	dʒɐmˑni	dʒʊmˑni	young

[73] *AGI* 1: 500; *REW* 2421; Schürr, *RD* 2: 34; Coco § 50.

	dʒɐmˑnɐ	dʒɐmˑni	
ROTŬNDU	tɔnˑd, tɐnˑd	tʊnˑd	round
	tɔnˑdɐ, tɐnˑdɐ	tɔnˑdi, tɐnˑdi	
VAGABŬNDU	vɐgɐˈbɔnˑd, -bɐnˑd	vɐgɐbʊnˑd	vagabond
	vɐgɐbɔnˑdɐ, -bɐnˑdɐ	vɐgɐbɔnˑdi, -bɐnˑdi	
LŎNGU	lɔŋˑg, lɐŋˑg	lʊŋˑg	long
	lɔŋˑgɐ, lɐŋˑgɐ	lɔŋˑgi, lɐŋˑgi	
MŎLLE	mɔlˑ, mɐlˑ	mʊlˑ	soft; wet
	mɔlˑɐ, mɐlˑɐ	mɔlˑi, mɐlˑi	
CŎMMŎDU	kɔmˑdi, kɐmˑdi	kʊmˑdi	comfortable
	kɔmˑdɐ, kɐmˑdɐ	kɔmˑdi, kɐmˑdi	

Note that the last three examples continue Classical Latin ŏ.

4.3.3. Abbreviated Forms

The contraction of feminine singular *TŪTTA > [tʊtˑ] in Sammarinese is reminiscent of the abbreviation of *grande > gran* and *sola > sol* in Italian before feminine nouns beginning with a consonant (*una gran voglia, una sol volta*) (see Rohlfs 2: § 398):

Sammarinese	Translation
tʊtˑ ʂtɐ dʒɛ̰ːntɐ	all these people
tʊtˑ lɐ viːtɐ	all one's life
tʊtˑ lɐ tɛ̰ːrɐ	all the land, earth
tʊtˑ lɐ ciˈtaː	the whole city
tʊtˑ lɐ mɔːdɐ	all the fashion, craze

4.3.4. Noun-Adjective Agreement

The following examples of noun-adjective agreement recapitulate the desinences that normally mark each gender and number in Sammarinese:

Gender, Number	Sammarinese	Translation
Masculine Singular	ɛl tɛ̰ːmp brʊtˑ	bad weather
Feminine Singular	uːnɐ burdɛ̰ːlɐ rumɐɲɔːlɐ	a girl from Romagna

Gender, Number	Sammarinese	Translation
Masculine Plural	i kɐlˈθuːn kuːrt	shorts
Feminine Plural	s̪ li s̪kɛ̝ːrpi s̪tʃɛ̝ːnti	with torn shoes

Whereas Italian and Tuscan *mezzo* (< MĚDIU) remains invariable when it follows a noun (*un'ora e mezzo, una lira e mezzo, due litri e mezzo, due ceste e mezzo, le dieci e mezzo*), most other Italo-Romance varieties impose agreement (cf. French *trois heures et demie*) (Rohlfs 2: § 399):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐl s̪ɛ̝ːt e mɛ̝ːðɐ	seven thirty
ɐʎ ɔːt e mɛ̝ːðɐ	eight thirty
ɐl nɔːv e mɛ̝ːðɐ	nine thirty

4.3.5. Preservation of Latin Comparatives

Most of the Latin comparative forms that are preserved in standard Italian rarely appear in the other Italo-Romance varieties. For instance, the adverb MĬNUS is supplanted by the adjective MANCU 'inadequate, defective, insufficient' (< MANU + -CU [Zingarelli, "Manco"]) in Venetan (> [maŋko]) and Romagnol (> [mɛ̝ːŋk]) (*AIS* 706; Rohlfs 2: 81):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɲiːnt id mɛ̝ːŋk	nothing less
un s̪ɔːld id mɛ̝ːŋk	a penny less
ɐ m pʊs̪ˑ fɛ̝ː d mɛ̝ːŋk	I can't do/manage without
pjʊ o mɛ̝ːŋk	more or less
ɛ kɔːs̪tɐ mɛ̝ːŋk	it costs less
mɛ̝ːŋk brʊtˑ	less ugly
rɔːbɐ mɛ̝ːŋkɐ kɛ̝ːrɐ	less expensive stuff
maːɲɐ mɛ̝ːŋk	eat less!

In dialects throughout Italy, the masculine/feminine comparatives MELIŌRE and PEJŌRE are replaced by indeclinable forms deriving from neuter MĚLIUS and PĚJUS (cf. Sardinian *pejus* and *mezus*, which preserve final –s) (Rohlfs 2: 82). The Sammarinese outcomes are [mɛ̟ːi̯] ‘better’ and [pɛ̟ːdʒ] ‘worse’: [kwɛʂˈt l ɛ mɛ̟ːi̯] ‘this one is better’; *L’è pègg ad quel ch’e’ magna s’i pi tl’èbji* ‘He’s worse than a pig (which eats with its feet in the trough)’ (C. Guidi, *Modi* 14); [lɐ ˌʏtʃaːjɐ] […] [lɐ ɛ pɛdʒ d nɐ diʐgrɛ̟ːθjɐ] [pɛdʒ d lɐ rɐɲˑɐ] ‘Old age is worse than a disaster, worse than scabies’ (C. Guidi, *Nostalgia* ‘La vciaia’); [luː l ɛ ɛ pɛ̟ːdʒ] ‘he is the worst’.

4.4. Determiners

4.4.1. Indefinite Article

In Northern Italian dialects, the masculine indefinite article is realized as [un] before all word-initial consonants and clusters, including /s z/ + consonant, /θ/, /ð/, and /ɲ/ (see Rohlfs 2: 113):

Sammarinese	English translation
un ʂ̟pɛ̟ːtʃ	a mirror
un ʂ̟tʃaːf	a slap
un ʂ̟traːtʃ	a rag
un ʐ̟gɔu̯ñ	two-man saw
un θiː	an uncle
un ðɔːkli	a hoof; clog
un ɲɔːk	a potato dumpling

Aphaeresis of initial u- often takes place in the feminine article, whether the preceding phone is vocalic or consonantal, as a result of proclisis (Rohlfs 2: 113):

Sammarinese	Translation
(u)nɐ frɛ̟ːnɐ	a landslide
(u)nɐ ʂ̟tɛ̟ːlɐ	a star

Sammarinese	Translation
(u)nɐ vɐlaːŋgɐ	an avalanche
(u)nɐ gaːmbɐ	a leg
(u)nɐ vitaːtʃɐ	a hard life
(u)nɐ kaːnɐ	a reed
(u)nɐ vɔːjɐ	a craving

4.4.2. Definite Article

Whereas Romagnol typically shows a single form for the masculine singular definite article before consonants ([ɛ]), Borderline varieties preserve three complementary allomorphs ([u], [ɛ], [ɛl]) which reflect the different outcomes of preconsonantal [l] 1) before liquids and sibilant fricatives, 2) before labials and velars, and 3) elsewhere (Schürr, *Probleme* 111, *VR* § 31).[74] Since preconsonantal [l] is labialized in Old Romagnol, the definite article [el] (< ĭL[LE]) yields [e̯u̯] before substantives beginning with a consonant. However, [ɛl] prevails over [e̯u̯] before /t d tʃ dʒ θ ð n/ (Schürr, *RD* 1: 140; Rohlfs 2: 105):

___ /t/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl tuː baˑ	your father
ɛl tɛ̯ːmp	the time
ɛl taˑi̯	the cut, wound

___ /d/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl dɪ	the day
ɛl djɛ̯ːvli	the devil
ɛl duːl	the groan, moan, lament

[74] The same distribution of allomorphs appears in the province of Modena (Malagòli, "L'articolo"), while similar variations arise in the province of Reggio Emilia (Malagòli, "Noterelle" 211-13).

___ /tʃ/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl tʃeːl	the sky
ɛl tʃɐrˈvɛ̯ːl	the brain
ɛl tʃiːz̪	the chickpea, garbanzo

___ /dʒ/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl dʒiːr	the walk, stroll, drive, ride, trip
ɛl dʒuːg	the game
ɛl dʒeːl	the ice

___ /θ/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl θɔːk	the log
ɛl θʊkˑri	the sugar
ɛl θiˈnɛ̯ːl	the apron

___ /ð/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl ðaːl	the yellow one
ɛl ðɔːkli	the hoof; clog

___ /n/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl niːd	the nest
ɛl nɛ̯ːz̪	the nose
ɛl nɔːn	the grandfather

Before liquids and sibilant fricatives, [eu̯] persists in Old Romagnol. Since diphthongs are eliminated in proclisis, the article undergoes aphaeresis of initial [e].[75] The outcome [u] is particularly characteristic of the historically rural dialects of San Marino:

___ /l/:

Sammarinese	Translation
u lʊpˑ	the wolf
u lɛ̯ːt	the bed
u lɐˈvɔu̯r	the work, job

___ /r/:

Sammarinese	Translation
u rɪkˑ	the rich man
u rɐʂˈtɛ̯ːl	the rake
u ruʐˈgiːn	the itch, irritation, burning sensation in throat

___ /s/:

Sammarinese	Translation
u ʂkuːr	the darkness
u ʂuˈmaːr	the donkey
u ʂɔu̯rtʃ	the mouse

Before labial and velar consonants, the labial-velar offglide in [eu̯] undergoes dissimilation. The resulting form [ei̯] is monophthonged, given that diphthongs are eliminated in proclisis. Consequently, the modern dialects show [ɛ]:[76]

___ /p/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ pɛ̯ːn	the bread

[75] Schürr, *RD* 1: 140, *Probleme* 111, *VR* § 31; Rohlfs 2: 105.
[76] Schürr, *RD* 1: 140, *VR* § 31; Rohlfs 2: 105.

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ pɛʂˈ	the fish
ɛ pumiˈdɔːr	the tomato

___ /b/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ baː	the father
ɛ bɐˈgiːn	the pig
ɛ bruːd	the broth

___ /m/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ mɔu̯ñt	the mountain
ɛ mɐˈriːd	the husband
ɛ mɛ̯ːr	the sea

___ /f/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ fjuːl	the son
ɛ fɛ̯i̯k	the falcon
ɛ fɛ̯ːr	the iron; sickle; poker

___ /v/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ viːdri	the glass
ɛ vɛ̯ːnt	the wind
ɛ viʂˈtiːd	the dress, suit

___ /k/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ kɐʂˈtɛ̯ːl	the castle
ɛ kɔːr	the heart
ɛ kɛ̯ːmp	the field

___ /g/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ gaːl	the rooster
ɛ grɪlˑ	the cricket
ɛ gaːt	the cat

In the lowlands of Romagna, [ɛ] is generalized as the definite article in place of [ɛl] and [u], a tendency which also makes its way into San Marino, albeit on a more limited scale:[77]

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ tɛ̟ːr̥θ	the third one
ɛ doi̯	the finger
ɛ tʃɐrˈvɛ̟ːl	the brain
ɛ θiː	the uncle
ɛ nɛ̟ːz̪	the nose
ɛ liˈɲɛ̟ːm	the timber, wood
ɛ rɔtˑ	the broken; aching one
ɛ s̪aːk	the sack
ɛ z̪gɔnˑd	the second one

The remaining forms of the definite article generally typify the whole of Romagna. Due to restrictions on syllabification, the article must begin with a vowel before consonant-initial substantives: [ɛl tɛi̯mm̃p] ‘time’, *[el pan] > [ɛ pɛ̟ːn] ‘bread’, *[el sol] > [u s̪oːl] ‘the sun’. However, before vowel-initial substantives the article undergoes aphaeresis, yielding the complementary allomorph [l]:

Sammarinese	Translation
l iŋfɛ̟ːrni	hell
l ɔːm	the man

[77] According to Giuseppe Guidi, the allomorphs have been reduced to two in the dialect of Borgo and Città , [ɛl] before /t d tʃ dʒ θ ð n/ and [ɛ] before all other consonants (17). Anderson records at least two isolated cases of the generalization of [u]: *u burdel* ‘the boy’ (2: 52), *u cuntadòin* ‘the peasant’ (3: 86).

Sammarinese	Translation
l ɐrˈluːdʒ	the watch, clock
l uˈrɛ̟ːl	the rim, brim
l ɛ̟ːr̟k	the arch

The feminine singular article is invariably [lɐ] (< ĭLLA) before consonants:

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ tʃiːʒ̟ɐ	the church
lɐ muntaːɲɐ	the mountain
lɐ butoi̯gɐ	the shop

When it precedes vowels, however, the feminine singular article is also reduced to [l] by elision:

Sammarinese	Translation
l aːkw̥ɐ	the water
l inʂ̟tɛ̟ːdɐ	the summer
l ɛ̟ːrbɐ	the grass

As in popular Tuscan (see Rohlfs 3: § 653), the definite article always precedes feminine first names in Sammarinese, a usage that has been well established by the time of the *Pulon Matt*'s composition (*la Vutuoria* 'Vittoria', *la Lusia* 'Lucia'):[78]

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ mariːnɐ lɐ dɔːrmɐ	Marina is sleeping.
t l ɛ̟ː vɪʂ̟ˈtɐ lɐ ʂ̟tefaːɲɐ	Have you seen Stefania?
du k lɐ ɛ l eliːʒ̟ɐ	Where is Elisa?

The masculine plural article is [i] (< ĭLLī) before all consonants and clusters:

Sammarinese	Translation
i ɲʊkˑ	the gnocchi, potato dumplings
i ʂ̟truˈmiːnt	the tools; instruments

[78] According to Masotti, the modern dialect of Greater Ravenna, on the other hand, never employs the article before the names of people (20).

Sammarinese	Translation
i s̪kɐˈlo̯iñ	the steps
i s̪pɐˈgɪtˑ	the spaghetti
i ðʊkˑli	the hooves; clogs
i θiː	the aunts and uncles
i θɪŋgⁿni	the gypsies

As a result of the normal phonetic process affecting [l] + yod (/lj/ > /ʎʎ/ > /j/), ĭLLĪ yields palatal [j] or [ij] (Schürr, *VR* § 31):

Sammarinese	Translation
j uːtʃ	the eyes
j uːmni	the men
j aːndʒli	the angels
j uˈtʃɛ̯ːl	the eye glasses
j aːbri	the lips
j ɛ̯ːlt	the others
j ɐˈmiːg	the friends

Due to the general loss of pretonic vowels, the *Pulon Matt* often shows the feminine plural article *l'* (< *[le] < ĭLLAE) before consonants.[79] This stage persists in modern Sammarinese when the article follows the prepositions [dɐ] (< DE-AB) and [s̪ɐ] (< ĭPSA).[80] In the absence of a preposition, the feminine plural article undergoes prothesis of [ɐ] throughout Romagna:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐl tʃɛ̯ːvi	the keys
ɐl kɛ̯ːz̪i	the houses
ɐl s̪trɛ̯ːdi	the roads

[79] Examples from the *Pulon Matt* include: *l' scarp* 'the shoes' (1.6.4), *l' nost cumpagn* 'our friends' (1.22.7), *l' men* 'the hands' (1.38.8). The regular occurrence of a modern Sammarinese variant *el* has also been documented by Walter Anderson (*el schêrpi* 'the shoes' [2: 52], *el friteli* 'the pancakes' [2: 56-57], *el mêni* 'the hands' [3: 60], *el trêvi* 'the beams' [2: 65], *el pigri* 'the sheep' [2: 23]), Zuccagni Orlandini (*el nusgi* 'the walnuts' [328]), and Nino Lombardi (*el tu tre torri* 'your three towers' [*Tra el genghi* 'Patria mia!']). Cf. Bolognese *el donn* 'the women', *el camis* 'the shirts' (Rohlfs 2: 105).

[80] Examples: *Circondeda a so dal spèini* 'I am surrounded by thorns' (G. Guidi 78), *sa 'l legrimi at i acc* 'with tears in her eyes' (Anderson 2: 62), *sal burdeli* 'with the girls' (Zuccagni Orlandini 325).

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐl s̪tɛ̪ːli	the stars
ɐl pjaːθi	the public squares
ɐl gaːmbi	the legs
ɐl muntaːɲi	the mountains

Before vowels, the feminine plural article is palatalized, yielding [ʎ] by the time of the *Pulon Matt's* composition (*tutti gli'altar Mros* 'all the other girlfriends' [1.29.3]), which is preserved in modern Sammarinese alongside a variant with prothetic [ɐ]-:

Sammarinese	Translation
(ɐ)ʎ ɔːs̪i	the bones
(ɐ)ʎ ɔːvi	the eggs
(ɐ)ʎ ɐnɛ̪ːli	the rings
(ɐ)ʎ ɐnˈdi	the waves
(ɐ)ʎ ɛ̪ːli	the wings
(ɐ)ʎ ɔo̯ri	the hours
(ɐ)ʎ ʊnˈdʒi	eleven o'clock

Whereas Central Romagnol uses the form [ɐl] following all prepositions ([d ɐl tʃiːz̪] 'some churches'), paragoge of [i] yields the Sammarinese allomorph [li] after prepositions such as [ɐt] (< INTUS), [d] (< DE), [m] (< MĔDIUS), and [s̪] (< ĬPSA):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐt li fɐmɛjˈi	within the families
uːnɐ d li s̪u kumpaːɲi	one of his/her/their friends
d li bugaːti	some dolls
m li urɛtˈʃi	on his/her/their ears
m li fiːri	to/at the fairs
s̪ li kɐndo̯ili	with candles
s̪ li ɔːvi	with eggs

4.4.3. Demonstrative Adjectives

The forms of the demonstrative adjectives are modeled after those of the definite article throughout Romagna (Rohlfs 2: 206; Schürr, *VR* § 32). Hence, the masculine singular of the demonstrative of nearness (ĭSTU) is [stɛ] before labial and velar consonants:

Sammarinese	Translation
s̪tɛ fuːn	this smoke
s̪tɛ vɛːtʃ	this old man
s̪tɛ kompleˈaːn	this birthday
s̪tɛ gɐrˈboi̯ñ	this Garbino[81]
s̪tɛ mɐnˑd	this world
s̪tɛ brɪkˑ	this donkey
s̪tɛ pɐˈjoi̯z̪	this country, town
s̪tɛ burˈdɛːl	this boy

In Borderline Romagnol, the allomorph [s̪tɛl] precedes /t d θ ð tʃ dʒ n/:

Sammarinese	Translation
s̪tɛl teˈrɛi̯ñ	this plot of land
s̪tɛl deʂˈtoi̯n	this fate
s̪tɛl doi̯d	this finger
s̪tɛl nɐˈdɛːl	this Christmas
s̪tɛl dɪ	this day
s̪tɛl duˈlɔu̯r	this pain

Nouns with an initial liquid or /s/ take the variant [s̪tu]:

Sammarinese	Translation
s̪tu lɛːt	this bed
s̪tu rɐʂˈtɛːl	this rake
s̪tu s̪ɲɔu̯r	this gentleman, lord

[81] A warm Adriatic wind originating from the southwest, the Garbino is reputed by folklore to cause irritability (Foresti 358-59).

Before vowels ĭSTU is reduced to [st̪]:

Sammarinese	Translation
st̪ ɐpɐˈrɛtˑʃ	this airplane
st̪ ɐniˈmɛ̯ːl	this animal
st̪ imjvɛ̯ːrni	this winter
st̪ ɐˈnɛ̯ːl	this ring
st̪ ɛ̯ːltr aːn	next year
st̪ aːn	this year
st̪ ɔːm	this man

The masculine plural is indicated with [st̪i]:

Sammarinese	Translation
st̪i mɐkɐˈruːn	these maccaroni
st̪i mɐˈlaːn	these misfortunes
st̪i nɔːv miːz̪	these nine months
st̪i rɐˈgaːθ	these kids
st̪i lɛ̯ːdri	these thieves
st̪i dʊ frɐˈdiːl	these two brothers
st̪i sg̪uːr	these lords, gentlemen
tʊtˑ st̪i aːn	all these years

Feminine singular nouns that begin with a consonant are preceded by [st̪ɐ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
st̪ɐ fɔːjɐ	this leaf
st̪ɐ rɔːbɐ	this stuff
st̪ɐ krɔuz̪ɐ	this cross
st̪ɐ gɐrnɛ̯ːlɐ	this grain, bean
st̪ɐ tɛ̯ːrɐ	this land
st̪ɐ kaːs̪ɐ	this case, crate, chest, box
st̪ɐ dɔːnɐ	this woman

The feminine singular also shows the prevocalic allomorph [st̪]:

Sammarinese	Translation

Sammarinese	Translation
st̪ ɐ̟ːrjɐ	this air
st̪ ɐ̟ːltɐ ˈpiːgurɐ	this other sheep
st̪ ɐ̟ːltɐ vɔːltɐ	next time
dɐ st̪ oːrɐ	by this time

As for the feminine plural, while the Central Romagnol variants reflect the area's use of vowel anaptyxis as a means to resolve unsyllabified secondary consonant clusters ([st̪ɐl dɔːn] 'these women', [st̪ɐʌ o̯k] 'these geese'), Sammarinese [st̪li] is representative of how Southeastern dialects favor paragoge (cf. [d li dɔːni] 'some women'):

Sammarinese	Translation
st̪li st̪ɔːrji	this fuss
st̪li st̪rɐ̟ːdi	these roads
st̪li kɔːz̪i	these things
st̪li dʒeːnti	these people
st̪li perʂɔu̯ni	these people
st̪li pɐˈrɔːli	these words
st̪li dʒurnɐ̟ːdi	these days

Throughout Romagna, however, the masculine singular of the demonstrative of distance (ECCU-ĬLLU) is [kɛ] before labial and velar consonants:

Sammarinese	Translation
kɛ kɐ̟ːn	that dog
kɛ gaːt	that cat
kɛ fjuːl	that son
kɛ voi̯ñ	that wine
kɛ puˈrɛtˑ	that poor man
kɛ mɐ̟ːg	that magician, wizard
kɛ bɐs̪ˈtɔu̯ñ	that stick

In Borderline Romagnol, the variant [kɛl] is preserved before /t d θ ð tʃ dʒ n/:

Sammarinese	Translation
kɛl dɪ	that day
kɛl tɛ̟ːmp	that time
kɛl negɔːθi	that store

The allomorph [ku] survives before liquid consonants and /s/:

Sammarinese	Translation
ku luːm	that light, lamp
ku rɐtˑ	that broken, aching one
ku rinˈtʃɛ̟ːm	that call (of a church bell)
ku s̟ɛ̟ːn	that healthy, whole one
ku s̟kuːr	that darkness
ku s̟oːrtʃ	that mouse
ku s̟ɲoːr	that gentleman

Varieties throughout Romagna show the variant [kl] before vowels:

Sammarinese	Translation
kl ɛ̟ːlt	that other one
kl ɔːm	that man
kl ɐnˈliːn	that little ring

The masculine plural form is [ki]:

Sammarinese	Translation
ki tiˈdʒɛ̟ːm	those pans
ki dʊ diːnt	those two teeth
ki burˈdiːl	those children
ki lɛ̟ːdri	those thieves
ki dʊ s̟puːz̟	those two newlyweds
ki tiːmp	those times
ki iːlt	those others
ki ɛ̟ːlt puːs̟t	those other places

Feminine singular nouns beginning with a consonant are preceded by [klɐ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
klɐ vɪɲˈɐ	that vineyard
klɐ vɔːltɐ	that time
klɐ mɐtoi̯ñɐ	that morning
klɐ faːtʃɐ	that face
klɐ pɲaːtɐ	that pot
klɐ burdɛ̯ːlɐ	that girl
klɐ s̻kɐraːnɐ	that chair

The prevocalic allomorph [kl] is placed before feminine substantives with an initial vowel:

Sammarinese	Translation
kl ɛ̯ːltɐ	that other one
kl us̻tʃaːθɐ	that poor wretch

Whereas Central Romagnol is characterized by the feminine plural variants [kɐl] and [kɐʎ], the former preconsonantal and the latter prevocalic (Pelliciardi 72, Masotti 51), Sammarinese uses the form [kli] before all feminine nouns:

Sammarinese	Translation
kli viːdi	those grapevines
kli s̻trɛ̯ːdi	those roads
kli budgɛ̯ːnti	those shopkeepers
kli tʃiːmi	those peaks
kli s̻erɛ̯ːdi	those evenings
kli moi̯li	those apples
kli finɛ̯ːs̻tri	those windows
kli ɛ̯ːlt fɐmɛjˈi	those other families
kli ɛ̯ːri	those threshing floors
kli aːkwi	those waters

4.4.4. Possessives

A combination of phonetic changes (namely metaphony, the raising of tonic vowels in hiatus, the loss of final vowels, and monophthongization) eliminates the distinctions between the

different forms of MĚU, *TŎU, and *SŎU. As for masculine singular MĚU, final –u is preserved in hiatus long enough to cause the diphthongization of tonic [ɛ], which results in Old Romagnol *mie* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 80). As a result of monophthongization, the modern dialects show [miː] (Coco § 14):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ miː kɛ̰ːn	my dog
ɛ miː ɔːrt	my garden
ɛ miː burˈdɛ̰ːl	my boy

Before dropping, the final –i in MĚĪ triggers umlaut, producing Old Romagnol *mie* and contemporary [miː] (Schürr, *RD* 1: 60-62):

Sammarinese	Translation
i miː mʲˈvuːd	my grandchildren, nieces and nephews
i miː dʒeniˈtuːr	my parents
i miː s̻ɔlˑd	my money

By analogy of the masculine singular and plural, the feminine forms also acquire the diphthong *ie* (< Ĕ) by the time the *Pulon Matt* is written (Schürr, *RD* 1: 36), while final –a in hiatus is dropped:[82] MĚA > *[miea] > *mie*. On account of monophthongization, the outcome [miː] characterizes modern Romagnol:

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ miː ɐmiːgɐ	my friend
lɐ miː gɐtoi̯ñɐ	my kitten
lɐ miː pjɛ̰ːntɐ	my plant, tree

Feminine plural MĚAE also converges with the other forms of the possessive adjective (> *mie* > [miː]):

[82] Schürr, *RD* 1: 36-37; Coco §§ 18, 60.

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐl miː s̪urɛ̰ːli	my sisters
ɐl miː fjɔːli	my daughters
ɐl miː gɐloĩ̯ñi	my hens

As for Vulgar Latin *TŎU, diphthongization of stressed [ɔ] in hiatus with final –u (> *tuo*) sets Romagnol apart from other Northern varieties,[83] including Emilian (cf. Bolognese [toː] [Coco § 39]). Subsequent monophthongization produces the modern form [tuː] throughout Romagna:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl tuː lɐˈvɔũ̯r	your work, job
ɛl tuː ɐˈnɛ̰ːl	your ring
ɛl tuː ɐrˈluːdʒ	your watch, clock

Metaphony by ephemeral –i triggers the parallel evolution of masculine plural *TŎĪ > *tuo* > [tuː] (Schürr, *RD* 1: 62-63):

Sammarinese	Translation
i tuː kɐˈɲiːn	your puppies
i tuː kɐˈs̪ɪtˑ	your drawers
i tuː pɐˈriːnt	your relatives

By analogy of the masculine forms, the diphthong *uo* (< Ŏ) also appears in the feminine possessive adjective by the time the *Pulon Matt* is composed (Schürr, *RD* 1: 36), while final –a is apocopated in hiatus:[84] *TŎA > *tuo*). Eventually, monophthongization yields modern Romagnol [tuː]:

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ tuː fɐmɛjˑɐ	your family

[83] Schürr, *RD* 1: 80; Rohlfs 1: § 120, 2: § 428.
[84] Schürr, *RD* 1: 36-37; Coco §§ 18, 60.

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ tuː tɻːʂtɐ	your head
lɐ tuː vɔu̯z̪ɐ	your voice

Feminine plural *TŎAE follows suit, completing the merger of all four forms (> *tuo* > [tuː]):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐl tuː kumpɐːɲi	your (girl)friends
ɐl tuː bɔːtʃi	your bottles
ɐl tuː ʂurɻːli	your sisters

The evolution of *SŎU (> *suo* > [ʂuː]) is analogous to that of *TŎU (Schürr, *RD* 1: 63, 80):

Sammarinese	Translation
u ʂuː brɪkˑ	his/her donkey
i ʂuː gɐliˈnaːtʃ	his/her turkeys
lɐ ʂuː maːnðɐ	his/her heifer
ɐl suː ʂpoi̯z̪i	his/her expenses; purchases, shopping

As for the first person plural, the loss of the final vowel results in the word-final consonant cluster *-str, which sheds the liquid by the time of the *Pulon Matt*'s composition (NŎSTRU > *nost*) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 88, 89, 147):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl nɔːʂt pɐˈdrɔu̯ñ	our boss
ɛl nɔːʂt kaːr	our cart, wagon
ɛl nɔːʂt pɐθˑ	our well

The masculine plural develops a diphthong in Old Romagnol as a result of metaphony by final [i]: NŎSTRĪ > *nuost* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 63). Northestern Sammarinese develops the form [nuːʂt] by subsequent monophthongization, whereas the analogical Southwestern variant [nɔʂˑt] has morphologized vowel shortness to indicate the masculine plural:

NE Sammarinese	SW Sammarinese	Translation
i nuːʂt fjuːl	i nɔʂˑt fjuːl	our sons (and daughters)
i nuːʂt viːtʃ	i nɔʂˑt vɛtˑʃ	our old folk
i nuːʂt dʒeniˈtuːr	i nɔʂˑt dʒeniˈtuːr	our parents

In dialects throughout Romagna, the feminine possessives drop the liquid consonant (NŎSTRA > [nɔːʂtɐ]) by analogy of the normal phonetic outcome in the masculine singular and plural (Schürr, *RD* 1: 88):

Sammarinese	Translation
kɐ̯ːzɐ̯ nɔːʂtɐ	our house
lɐ nɔːʂtɐ rɔːbɐ	our stuff
lɐ nɔːʂtɐ tɐ̯ːrɐ	our land

The *Pulon Matt* records the passage of NŎSTRAE > *nost* (*l' nost cumpagn* 'our companions' [1.22.7]), which usually takes analogical –i in modern Sammarinese:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐl nɔːʂti kɐ̯ːzi	our houses
ɐl nɔːʂti ʂufɪtˑi	our attics, lofts
ɐl nɔːʂti dɔːni	our women

The evolution of *VŎSTRU, which is used for both the second person plural and the polite form of address, is parallel to that of NŎSTRU:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ vɔːʂt kɐ̯ːmp	your field
i vuːʂt, vɔʂˑt fjuːr	your flowers
lɐ vɔːʂtɐ vaːkɐ	your cow
ɐl vɔːʂti uliːvi	your olives

To indicate the third person plural, the Italo-Romance vernaculars typically carry on the use of the original possessive adjective *SŎU as opposed to adopting the genitive demonstrative pronoun ILLŌRUM (Rohlfs 2: §§ 428, 429):

Sammarinese	Translation
u ʂuː pɐˈdrɔu̯ñ	their boss
i ʂuː fjuːr	their flowers
ɐt kɛːʐɐ ʂuː(ɐ)	in their house
ɐl ʂuː uliːvi	their olives

In cases of ambiguity, the construction is reinforced with the continuant of DE (> [d], [ɐd], [id]) plus the appropriate oblique pronoun (Rohlfs 2: § 427):

Sammarinese	Translation
i ʂuː pɐˈriːnt d liː	her relatives
i ʂuː pɐˈriːnt d luː	his relatives
i ʂuː pɐˈriːnt d lɔu̯	their relatives

4.4.5. Use of the Definite Article with Possessives

Like popular Tuscan, the dialects of San Marino regularly employ the definite article with possessives preceding names of family members (cf. Italian *mia moglie* ‘my wife’, Emilian [ʂoː mɛːdər] ‘his mother’) (Rohlfs 2: 128):

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ miː mɔi̯ˑ	my wife
ɛ miː kuˈʐoi̯ñ	my cousin
lɐ tuː θeɐ	your aunt
u ʂuː nɔːn	his/her/their grandfather
ɛl nɔːʂt kuˈɲɛːd	our brother-in-law
ɛ vɔːʂt mɐˈriːd	your husband
lɐ vɔːʂtɐ fjɔːlɐ	your daughter

While predicate possessive pronouns do not take an article in standard Italian (*questa casa è mia* ‘this house is mine’), the opposite is true of Italo-Romance vernaculars (Rohlfs 2: 129):[85]

Sammarinese	Translation
'ste libre l'è e mi	this book is mine
cla machina l’è la tu	that car is yours
cla ròsa inveci l’è la su	that red one, instead, is his/hers/theirs
stel terèin u nè el nost	this plot of land is not ours
ho savùd che l’è e vost	I found out that it’s yours

The possessive adjective is often omitted before names of family members when the identity of the possessor is obvious (Rohlfs 2: 129-30). Anderson documents the following examples: *L’è scap Capucèt ras e la nòna* ‘Little Red Riding Hood and her grandmother escaped’ (153); *un òm ch’ u i éra mòrt la mai* ‘a man whose wife had died’ (157); *el da surèli el i avòiva anvidia* ‘her two sisters were envious of her’ (166); *el da surèli i l’a ciapa* ‘her two sisters grabbed her’(168); *u i a dét ma la mai* ‘he said to his wife’; *E marid u i a dét* ‘Her husband said to her…’ (169); *La mai la è andè* ‘His wife went…’ (170); *u i éra mòrt e ba, ma u i éra rest la ma* ‘their father had died, but their mother was still alive’; *E fradèl u i dis* ‘His brother told him…’ (175); *La i a dét a m’e burdèl* ‘She said to her boy…’; *L’è mnù a chêsa la ma* ‘His mother came home…’ (180); *E ba u i a dét* ‘Their father told them…’ (192). Checco Guidi provides the following examples: [ɐ ɐrˈkɔːrd ɛl nɔːn e ɛ baː] ‘I remember my grandfather and my father’ (*E’ Mòunt* 56); [lɐ ˌi diːz̪ ke ɛ fjuːl l a lɐ murɔu̯z̪ɐ] ‘she tells her that her son has a girlfriend’ (*Nostalgia ‘d Nadel*, “E’ funerel”).

[85] Examples cited from G. Guidi 20.

4.5. Pronouns

4.5.1. Subject Pronouns

4.5.1.1. Subject Clitics

Medieval Northern Italian texts employ personal pronouns only slightly more frequently than literary Tuscan (cf. thirteenth-century Milanese *dixe* 'he says', *staremo* 'we will be', *vu savì* 'you know') (Rohlfs 2: 146). However, the modern dialects are part of a nearly continuous area of Gallo- and Northern Italo-Romance varieties that require the use of personal pronouns with verbs (Renzi and Vanelli § 0). San Marino lies on the southeastern frontier of this phenomenon, where the Romagnol linguistic group ends and Marchigiano begins (Renzi and Vanelli § 0.3). Emilian and Romagnol dialects are among a less extensive group of vernaculars in which the use of subject clitics is mandatory in all persons (Renzi and Vanelli § 1.1). This secondary system compensates for the convergence of verbal desinences by indicating person with subject clitics where verb endings coincide: cf. French [ʒə ʃɑ̃tə] 'I sing' - [ty ʃɑ̃tə] 'you (sg.) sing' - [il ʃɑ̃tə] 'he sings' (Schürr, *VR* § 32; Renzi and Vanelli § 1.2.1). Subject clitics are unlike personal pronouns in two ways: 1) subject clitics often function like flexional affixes and 2) every person does not possess a distinct form. The evolutions of the individual Romagnol subject clitics are described and examples of their usage in Sammarinese are given below.

4.5.1.1.1. First Person Singular

While Proto-Romance *ĔO (< ĔO) simply drops the final vowel (> *e*) in many Old Northern Italian dialects (e.g. Bergamasque, Milanese, Bolognese, Genoese, Piedmontese) (Rohlfs 2: 140), in Romagnol final –o in hiatus is first raised to –u (> *[ɛu]) (Schürr, *RD* 1: 80;

Rohlfs 1: 124), which causes metaphony (> *[jɛu]). The *Pulon Matt* records the outcome [je] (*ie ai ho* ‘I have’, *ie at sgur* ‘I assure you’), which yields the form [iᵚ̯] by stress retraction (cf. *[lɛi] > *[ljɛi] > [liᵚ̯] ‘she/her’, *[pɛdi] > *[pjɛi] > [piᵚ̯] ‘feet’ [Rohlfs 2: 141]). In proclisis, the accent is shifted back in the other direction (> *[jɐ]) and the initial glide is dropped, producing modern Romagnol [ɐ] (Schürr, *VR* § 25):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ dɪgˑ	I say
ɐ kɛ̣ːnt	I sing
ɐ s̻ɐ	I am
ɐ vʊi̯	I want
ɐ trɐˈriː	I would throw
ɐ ɐrˈkɔːrd	I remember
ɐ gwɐrdɛ̣ːvɐ	I was looking at, watching

4.5.1.1.2. Second Person Singular

In Northern Italy, the original subject pronoun TŪ is widely supplanted by the outcome of the dative form TĬBI (> Venetan [ti], Milanese [te]) (Rohlfs 2: 132). In Romagna, where the fall of atonic vowels is most extensive, the pronoun is reduced to [t] (Rohlfs 2: 141):

Sammarinese	Translation
tˀ vuː	you want
tˀ vɛ̣ː	you go
tˀ sɐˈrɛ̣ː	you will be
tˀ viːn	you come
tˀ gwːas̻t	you spoil, ruin
t ɛ̣ː faːt	you’ve done
tˀ pɔːrt	you bring, carry, wear
tˀ bʊtˑ	you throw
tˀ fɛ̣ː	you do, make

When an atonic object pronoun or adverb appears between the subject clitic and the verb, Romagnol dialects typically epenthesize a euphonic [ɐ] between the two unstressed elements: /t m arkóːrd/ → [t ɐ m ɐrˈkoe̯rd] ‘you remind me’. However, within the lexical word the same dialects epenthesize a back vowel before labial consonants: FĬRMU > [feːrʊm] ‘still’, MARMOR > [meɐ̯rʊm] ‘marble’, ŬLMU > [oˑjʊm] ‘elm tree’. Perhaps due to the frequency of the cluster /t m/, Sammarinese varieties have generalized epenthetic [u] between [t] and a subsequent proclitic:

Sammarinese	Translation
t u m bʊtˑ	you throw me
t u m ɛ̝ː faːt	you made me
t u t mɛtˑ	you start
t u tʃ fɛ̝ː	you make us
t u n ʂiː	you are not
t u m puː	you can not
t u m prɔːv	you don’t try
t u i̯ ʂiː, t i ʂiː	are you there?

Before verbs beginning with a consonant, the subject clitic may take a prothetic high front vowel (Vitali 18), that is to say [i] or [ɪ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
it ʐgwɪlˑ	you slip, slide
it ʐbɐˈdei̯ˑ	you yawn
it vuː	you want
ɪt bʊtˑ	you throw
it, ɪt kɛ̝ːnt	you sing
it, ɪt riːd	you laugh
it prɔːv	you try

4.5.1.1.3. Third Person Singular

Throughout Romagna, the evolutions of the third person subject pronouns are generally identical to those of the definite articles. Accordingly, the variety of masculine/neuter singular preconsonantal allomorphs (ĭLLE > [ɛl], [ɛ], [u]) preserved southeast of the Marecchia distinguishes this subgroup from the majority of dialects spoken on the lowlands, in which the principle of linguistic economy has brought about analogical leveling (Schürr, *VR* §§ 31, 32). Thus, while the vernaculars of the plains have generalized the use of pre-velar/labial [ɛ] (< [ɛi̯] < [ɛl]) before all verbs beginning with a consonant, Borderline Romagnol maintains the original distribution of forms. Hence, the phase [ɛl], which is the starting point for the other variants (Schürr, *RD* 2: 231; Rohlfs 2: 142), is preserved or restored before initial /t d tʃ dʒ θ n/ (cf. Romagnol [ɛ diːz̪] ‘he says’):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl taːkɐ	he begins
ɛl tɐjɛ̯ːvɐ	he was cutting
ɛl trɔːvɐ	he finds
ɛl diːz̪	he says
ɛl durmiːvɐ	he was sleeping
ɛl tʃiːrkɐ	he looks for, searches
ɛl dʒiːvɐ	he used to say
ɛl θkɐrˈ	he talks
ɛl nɛ̯ːz̪ɐ	he smells, sniffs
ɛl nɔːdɐ	he swims

Before labial and velar consonants, syllable-final [l] is labialized and the resulting labial-velar offglide is subsequently fronted by dissimilation ([ɛl] > [ɛu̯] > [ɛi̯]; cf. Serravallese [oi̯mi]

‘elm tree’ < ŬLMU).[86] Since diphthongs tend to be eliminated in proclisis, the semivowel is dropped, yielding the complementary allomorph [ɛ] (cf. Italian *qualcheduno* and Serravallese [kɛkˈduːn] ’someone’):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ paːʂɐ	he passes by
ɛ butɛ̯ːvɐ	he was throwing
ɛ maːɲɐ	he eats
ɛ fɐltʃɛ̯ːvɐ	he was reaping
ɛ vaˑ	he goes
ɛ kaːʂkɐ	he falls
ɛ gwɛ̯ːrdɐ	he looks at, watches

When the following consonant is a liquid or sibilant fricative, [ɛu̯] undergoes a shift in stress and subsequent aphaeresis (> [u]) due to its regular occurrence in proclisis (cf. first person singular [ˈiu̯] > *[jɐ] > [ɐ]):

Sammarinese	Translation
u laːʂɐ	he leaves, lets
u lɛ̯ːvɐ	he washes
u raːɲɐ	he scolds
u raːʂtʃɐ	he scrapes, scratches
u ʂtaˑ	he stands, stays, is
u ʂɔːnɐ	he is playing music
u ʂiːnt	he feels, tastes, hears
u ʂaˑ	he knows
u ʂurnaːtʃɐ	he snores

As a result of the normal phonological development, this variant has appeared historically with great frequency before third person object pronouns beginning with l- or s-:

Sammarinese	Translation

[86] Schürr, *RD* 1: 134, *VR* § 31; Rohlfs 2: 343, 345-46.

Sammarinese	Translation
u l tʃaːpɐ	he takes it
u l faˑ	he does, makes it
u l maːɲɐ	he eats it
u l aˑ mɐˈθɛ̯ː	he killed him
u s̪ lɐvɛ̯ːvɐ	he was washing himself
u s̪ ɛ̯ːrɐ s̪tʊfˑ	he had grown weary
u s̪ ɛ bʊtˑ	he dived

Consequently, Romagnol generalizes [u] before all proclitic adverbs and pronouns:

Sammarinese	Translation
u m diːz̪	he tells me
u t s̪iːnt	he hears you
u tʃ daˑ	he gives us
u v pɛ̯ːr	it seems to you
u n ɛ	he/it is not
u n trɔːvɐ	he can’t find
u ˆi vɔˑ	it takes, requires

Before vowels, ĭLLU invariably produces [l] throughout Romagna:

Sammarinese	Translation
l ɐnˈdɛ̯ːvɐ	he was going
l aˑ dɪtˑ	he said
l aˑ vɪs̪ˑt	he saw
l ɛ̯ːrɐ	he was
l ɛ mnuː	he came
l ɛ nˈdɛ̯ː	he went
l ɛ s̪tɛ̯ː	it was

Feminine singular ĭLLA yields preconsonantal [lɐ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ diːz̪	she says
lɐ tɛ̯ːn	she holds
lɐ mɐɲɛ̯ːvɐ	she was eating

Sammarinese	Translation
lɐ paːʂ̺ɐ	she goes, passes by
lɐ vliːva	she wanted
lɐ dʒiːvɐ	she was saying
lɐ bruz̺ɛ̟ːvɐ	she was burning

When the feminine singular pronoun is followed by a vowel, the allomorphs [lɐ] and [l] occur in free variation:

Sammarinese	Translation
l(ɐ) ɛ	she is
l(ɐ) a dɪtˑ	she said
l(ɐ) ɐnˈdɛ̟ːvɐ	she was going
l(ɐ) a vɪʂ̺t	she saw
l(ɐ) ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̟ː	she went
l(ɐ) a trɔːv	she found
l(ɐ) ɐviːvɐ	she used to have

4.5.1.1.4. First Person Plural

Whereas Old Northern Italian dialects—like Old French—are characterized by a pronominal system with distinct forms corresponding to each person (Renzi and Vanelli § 0.4), present-day Emilian and Romagnol have eliminated the distinction between the first, fourth, and fifth persons. In correspondence with the first person plural, Old Northern Italian texts show the continuant of NŌS (cf. Old Bolognese *nu avemo statuí* ‘we have decreed’ [Monaci 361; Rohlfs 2: 142]), which the modern dialects—particularly Romagnol, Emilian, Piedmontese, and Lombard—have replaced with first person singular [ɐ] (< ĔGO) (Rohlfs 2: § 447; Schürr, *VR* § 25):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ vlɪmˑ	we want
ɐ dɪmˑ	we give

ɐ ʂɪmˑ	we are
ɐ ɐviːmji	we used to have
ɐ knuˈʂɪmˑ	we know, are acquainted with
ɐ kɐmpiːmji	we were living, getting by
ɐ gwɐrˈdɪmˑ	we look at, watch

4.5.1.1.5. Second Person Plural

Latin VŌS yields proclitic *vu* in Medieval Northern Italian texts (cf. Old Venetan *vu me clamà* ‘you call me’ [Monaci 387]) (Rohlfs 2: 142), which is reduced to *v* in the *Pulon Matt* (*v si* ‘you are’ [1.2.8]) (Schürr, *VR* §§ 25, 33). In the same way that proclitic *nu* falls out of use, modern Emilian and Romagnol have generalized first person singular [ɐ] (< Ĕ[G]O) to the second person plural as well:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ vliːd)	you want
ɐ puˈtiːd)	you can
ɐ pjɐndʒiːvi	you used to cry
ɐ ridiːvi	you used to laugh
ɐ ʂiːrvi	you were
ɐ ʂuˈɲiːvi	you used to dream
ɐ dʒiːd)	you say

4.5.1.1.6. Third Person Plural

Before consonants, Northern Italian vernaculars characteristically employ masculine [i] (< ĬLLĪ) (Rohlfs 2: § 448; Schürr, *VR* § 32):

Sammarinese	Translation
i paːʂɐ	they go, pass by
i diːʐ	they say
i vliːvɐ	they wanted
i ʂtrɐʂnɛːvɐ	they were dragging

Sammarinese	Translation
i ʂɐviːvɐ	they knew
i mɛtˑ	they put, place
i vaːgɐ	they may go

When followed by a vowel, the article is palatalized, yielding the Romagnol variants [ij] and [j]:

Sammarinese	Translation
j ɐrkɔːrdɐ	they remember
j ɛ̟ːrɐ	they were
j ɐnˈdɛ̟ːvɐ	they were going
j aˑ bʊtˑ	they threw
j aˑ dɪtˑ	they said
j ɛ riːv	they arrived
j ɛ ʂtɛ̟ː	they have been

While the majority of Northern Italian dialects also indicate feminine plural subjects with the continuant of ĭLLī, Romagnol uses [ɐl] (< ĭLLAE) before consonants (cf. Tuscan *le*) (Rohlfs 2: § 448):[87]

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐl bruʐɛ̟ːvɐ	they were burning
ɐl vɔˑ	they want
ɐl dʒiːvɐ	they used to say
ɐl ʂɐriˑɐ, ʂɐˈriː	they would be
ɐl daˑ	they give
ɐl faˑ	they do, make
ɐl dvɐntɐˈraˑ	they will become

Before vowels the feminine pronoun is palatalized as well, yielding [ɐʎ]:[88]

Sammarinese	Translation

[87] Cf. *le sono ite* ‘they went’ (Machiavelli, *Mandragola* 3.12; Rohlfs 2: § 448). For Sammarinese, Anderson documents oscillation between variants with initial *a-* and *e-*: *el girêva* ‘they were going around’ (3: 33, 34); *al girêva* (3: 38).

[88] Again, Anderson records alternation between prothetic *a-* and *e-*: *egli a incòuntri* ‘they met’ (3: 34), *egli a cmènz* ‘they started, began’ (3: 35); *Agli a ancòuntre* (3: 38).

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐʌ aˑ	they have
ɐʌ ɛ	they are
ɐʌ ɐviːvɐ	they had
ɐʌ ɛ̟ːrɐ	they were
ɐʌ urlɛ̟ːvɐ	they used to yell
ɐʌ ɐrkɔːrdɐ	they remember
ɐʌ ɐrkmɛ̟ːnθɐ	they start, begin again

An idiosyncracy of Sammarinese is the occurrence of the feminine plural allomorph [li] before atonic object pronouns or adverbs:

Sammarinese	Translation
li tʃ mɛtˑ	they put us
li s̻ diverˈtɪs̻ˑ	they have fun
li s̻ ɛ s̻tʊfˈi	they have grown weary
li n s̻aˑ	they don’t know
li m paːs̻ɐ	they don’t go, pass by
li l s̻aˑ	they know it
li i̯̊ vɛnˑd	they sell to him

Throughout Romagna, the distinction between the forms of the third person singular and plural pronouns compensates for the convergence of their respective verbal desinences by the loss of final –T and –NT (DAT, DANT > [daː]) (Schürr, *VR* § 32):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛl tʃuːd - i tʃuːd	he closes – they close
ɛ fɛ̟ːvɐ - i fɛ̟ːvɐ	he was doing, making – they were doing
u s̻iːnt - i s̻iːnt	he feels, tastes, hears – they feel, taste, hear
l ɛ̟ːrɐ - j ɛ̟ːrɐ	he was – they were
lɐ vɔˑ - ɐl vɔˑ	she wants – they want
lɐ ɐviːvɐ - ɐʌ ɐviːvɐ	she had – they had
l ɛ - ɐʌ ɛ	she is – they are

4.5.1.1.7. Usage of Subject Clitics

As illustrated by the examples above, modern Romagnol indicates person with a combination of verb flexion and subject clitics, which are obligatory in all persons. While the second, third, and sixth persons each have a distinct clitic ([t] - [ɛ] - [i] respectively), the first, fourth, and fifth persons share a single form ([ɐ] < Ĕ[G]O) (Renzi and Vanelli § 1.2). These are the same persons that lack a subject clitic in other Northern Italian dialects which require the atonic pronoun in the second, third, and sixth persons (Renzi and Vanelli § 1.1). In Emilian and Romagnol, the first, fourth, and fifth persons are differentiated by their corresponding desinences: [ɐ maːɲ] 'I eat' - [ɐ mɐˈɲɪmˑ] 'we eat' - [ɐ mɐˈɲɛ̰ːd)] 'you (pl.) eat'. On the other hand, when the desinences for different persons coincide in form, their respective clitics serve as distinctive features: [ɐ maːɲ] 'I eat' - [t maːɲ] 'you (sg.) eat', [ɛ maːɲɐ] 'he eats' - [i maːɲɐ] 'they eat'. In other words, verbal persons are distinguished by their desinences alone, by their subject clitics alone, or by both (Renzi and Vanelli § 1.2.1).

Subject clitics are often functionally redundant when they accompany verb forms that are already distinguished by their desinences: [ɐ vaːg] 'I go' - [t vɛ̰ː] 'you go'. However, clitics that are redundant in some situations are functional in others. For instance, the clitic [ɐ] is sometimes functional in the first, fourth, and fifth persons: [ɐ maːɲɐ] 'I may eat' - [maːɲɐ] 'eat! (sg.)', [ɐ mɐˈɲɪmˑɐ] 'we may eat' - [mɐˈɲɪmˑɐ] 'let's eat', [ɐ mɐˈɲɛ̰ːd)] 'you (pl.) eat' - [mɐˈɲɛ̰ːd)] 'eat! (pl.)'. Nevertheless, [ɐ] is normally functionally redundant in the fourth and fifth persons, which have distinct desinences in all verb paradigms: [ɐ kɐˈpɪʂ̰ˑ] 'I understand' - [t kɐˈpɪʂ̰ˑ] 'you (sg.) understand', [ɛ kɐˈpɪʂ̰ˑ] 'he understands', [ɐ kɐˈpɪmˑ] 'we understand',

[ɐ kɐˈpiːd)] ‘you (pl.) understand’, [i kɐˈpɪʂˑ] ‘they understand’. As the preceding examples illustrate, the functionality of subject clitics is linked to contrasts between not only persons but also moods.

Old Northern Italian dialects, like Old French, do not use pronouns with nominal subjects that precede the verb (Renzi and Vanelli § 0.4). In modern Gallo-Italic, however, *reduplication* of the subject within a Noun Phrase–Pronoun–Verb construction is by and large mandatory (cf. popular French *mon père il a dit* ‘my father said’) (Rohlfs 2: 146; Renzi and Vanelli § 1.3.1):

Noun Phrase	Pronoun	Verb	Translation
lɐ tʃiːʐɐ	lɐ	ɛ̟ːrɐ	the church was
lɐ dʒɛ̟ːntɐ	lɐ	θkɐrˑ	people talk
ɛ priːt	ɛ	faː	the priest does, makes
lɐ voi̯pɐ	lɐ	mɐˈɲɛ̟ːvɐ	the fox was eating
i dʊ ʂpuːʐ	i	pɛ̟ːr	the two newlyweds appear
i pɐˈriːnt	j	ɛ̟ːrɐ	the relatives were
ɐl nɔːni	ɐl	miˈtiːvɐ	the grandmothers used to put

When the nominal subject follows the verb, Emilian and Romagnol require a Pronoun-Verb-Noun Phrase construction (Renzi and Vanelli § 1.3.2). As the following examples from Sammarinese illustrate, either a neuter pronoun or one that agrees in number and gender may precede the verb:

N. Subj. Pron.	Predicate	Tonic subject	Translation
ɛl	diːʐ	u lʊpˑ	the wolf says
ɛ	va ɐvɛ̟ːnti	kwɪ̟ˑ	*they* go ahead
u	ʂta pri fniː	lɐ mɛʂˑa	the mass is about to end
l	ɐrtɔu̯rnɐ	i nuːʂt fjuːl	our children return
lɐ	j diːʐ	lɐ voi̯pɐ	the fox says to him
ɛ	pɛ̟ːr	ɛ pjɛ̟ːn	the plain appears
l	ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̟ː dʒʊ	ɛ pɐdrɔu̯ñ	the owner went down
ɛ	vɛi̯ñ	lɐ ʂeːrɐ	the evening is coming

Unlike even colloquial French, however, Northern Italian dialects broaden the use of the proclitic to clauses introduced by the relative subject pronoun [k(e)] (< QUĬD) (Rohlfs 2: 146):

Antecedent	Rel. Pron.	Subj. Pron.	Predicate	Translation
un burˈdɛ̟ːl	ke	u	s̻ tʃɐmɛ̟ːvɐ	a boy whose name was
unɐ lɛŋgwɐ	k	lɐ	taːjɐ	a tongue that cuts
kwi̯ˑ	k	ij	ɛ	those who are
ɛ vɛ̟ːnt	k	ɛl	trɛ̟ːvɐ	the wind that was blowing
lɐ tuː mɔi̯ˑ	k	lɐ	pripɛ̟ːrɐ	your wife who's preparing
ɛ priːm	k	l	ɛ̟ːlθɐ	the first one who raises
niˈs̻uːn	k	u	raːɲɐ	no one who scolds
nuːn	k	ɐ	s̻ɪmˑ nɛ̟ːd	we who were born

Pronouns accompany impersonal and meteorological verbs, on the other hand, in Medieval Italian vernaculars as well as in Old French (Renzi and Vanelli § 0.4). Modern Emilian and Romagnol, among other Northern Italian varieties, not only continue this usage (Rohlfs 2: 144, 147), but extend it to existential verbs (Renzi and Vanelli § 1.4). The following are examples of the neuter impersonal pronoun, whose form is identical to that of the masculine third person singular (Rohlfs 2: 144), as it is employed in Sammarinese in each of the three categories:

1. Impersonal (cf. French *il faut*):[89]

Sammarinese	Translation
u s̻ s̻taˑ	one is
u s̻ faˑ	one does, makes
u s̻ diːz̻	one says
l ɛ mɛi̯	it is better
u m pɛ̟ːr	it seems to me
u m m ɐmpɔːrtɐ	it doesn't matter to me
u m baːs̻tɐ	it's not enough
u n t ɐmɛ̟ːŋkɐ ɲiːnt	you're not lacking anything

[89] The affirmative forms of [bz̻uˈɲɛ̟ː] 'to be necessary' and [bɐs̻ˈtɛ̟ː] 'to suffice, be enough' represent exceptions to the rule: [baːs̻tɐ ɐkˈs̻ɪ] 'that's enough', [bz̻uɲɛ̟ːvɐ voi̯d-lɐ] 'one needed to see her/it', [bz̻ɐɲrɐ pɐnˈs̻ɛ̟ː] 'one must think' (cf. colloquial French *faut penser*), [bz̻uɲɐˈriː fɛ̟ː] 'one would have to do, make'. Cf. Romagnol [ɛ bz̻uɲˑɐ], on the other hand.

Sammarinese	Translation
u m tɐkˑɐ ɐnˈdɛ̣ː	I have to go
l ɛ̣ːrɐ um pɛ̣ːθ	it had been a while
u î̯ vɔˑ pɔːk	it takes little

2. Meteorological (cf. French *il pleut*):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ buːfɐ	it’s snowing
ɛ pjɔːv	it’s raining
ɛ pjuveːvɐ	it was raining
ɛl tiːrɐ ɛ vɛ̣ːnt	the wind is blowing
ɛl tiːrɐ ɛ gɐrˈboî̯ñ	the Garbino is blowing
ɛ faˑ frɛdˑ	it is cold
ɛ faˑ kɛ̣ːld	it is warm, hot
ɛl tɔːnɐ	it’s thundering

3. Existential (cf. French *il y a*):

Sammarinese	Translation
u j ɛ	there is, are
u j ɛ̣ːrɐ	there was, were
u ɲ ɛ	there is, are not

In Old Northern Italian dialects, as in Old French, pronominalization does not occur with the quantifiers QUĪ and NE-ĬPSE-ŪNU (Renzi and Vanelli § 0.4), which is still the case in many varieties, such as Lombard, Emilian, and Bolognese (Renzi and Vanelli § 1.5). One of the features that distinguishes Romagnol from the linguistic group to the northwest is its use of pronouns with [ki k] (< QUĪ QUĬD) and [niˈsu̯ːn], as illustrated by the following examples from Sammarinese:

Quantifier	Pronoun	Predicate	Translation
niˈsu̯ːn	ɛ	fa	no one does, makes
niˈsu̯ːn	u	riuʃiˈra	no one will succeed
niˈʃo̯û̯ñ	u	ŋ veːd	no one sees me

Quantifier	Pronoun	Predicate	Translation
niˈʃɔu̯ñ	u	l kreːd	nobody believes it
ki k	l	ɛ	who is it?
ki k	u	l ɐˈvraː	who would have it?
ki k	ɛ	pɐnˈsɛ̯ːvɐ	who would have thought?
ki k	l	a bz̯ɐɲˑ	who needs?

As far as French is concerned, Renzi and Vanelli refute the theory that atonic pronouns are part of a secondary system of verbal flexion compensating for the loss of distinction between the original desinences. The authors do so by pointing out that standard French does not employ clitic subject pronouns with nominal subjects or with the quantifiers *qui* and *personne*, whereas true flexional affixes accompany the conjugated verb in its every occurrence (Renzi and Vanelli §§ 1.2.1, 3.1). Within the context of Romagnol, however, where reduplication of the subject occurs regularly with nominal subjects and quantifiers, the question remains much more debatable.

4.5.1.1.8. Enclisis of the Subject Pronoun in Interrogative Sentences

Since the Middle Ages, Northern Italian and transalpine vernaculars have formed interrogative sentences by means of inversion,[90] which is the postposition of the subject pronoun immediately after the verb or the auxiliary (e.g. French *est-il* ‘is he’?, *avez-vous reçu?* ‘have you received?’). Dialects such as those of Emilia and Romagna, which require the use of subject pronouns in statements, also show interrogative inversion (Renzi and Vanelli §§ 2.1, 2.2). While Emilian and Romagnol varieties consistently employ a subject pronoun with all six persons in declarative and interrogative sentences (Rohlfs 2: § 533; Renzi and Vanelli § 2.2), the former category only has four different types whereas the latter shows five (Renzi and Vanelli § 2.4.2). This discrepancy is due to the fact that the continuant of ĔGO is generalized to the fourth and fifth

[90] Rohlfs 2: 150, 257-58; Renzi and Vanelli §§ 0.4, 2

persons in proclisis, but only to the first person plural in enclisis. The table below, which summarizes the etyma at the root of each clitic, highlights the second person plural of the proclitic and enclitic systems, since this is where the two paradigms differ:

	Sing. Proclitic	Plur. Proclitic	Sing. Enclitic	Plur. Enclitic
First Person	ĔGO	ĔGO	ĔGO	ĔGO
Second Person	TIBI	ĔGO	TIBI	VŌS
Third Person	ĬLLE	ĬLLĪ	ĬLLE	ĬLLĪ

However, it must be noted that within the territory of San Marino significant use of interrogative inversion is almost exclusive to the historically urban dialect of the capital and Borgo Maggiore, while more field research is necessary in order to determine whether the construction is productive in this variety or belongs to a closed class. In the remaining historically rural dialects of the Republic, interrogative inversion is undoubtedly confined to several frequently occurring expressions in the second, third, and fifth persons, as an informant who used the construction beyond these limited contexts was not encountered. Nevertheless, a more detailed description of the enclitic sytem's evolution follows along with examples of its usage in Sammarinese.

First person singular Ĕ(G)O yields the tonic pronoun [je] 'I' in the *Pulon Matt*, which assumes the form [jɐ] in enclisis: *Consa hoija mo da fa ie?* 'what should *I* do?'; *e ie dund soija?* 'and where am *I*?' (Schürr, *VR* § 25). Modern dialects either continue the diphthong (Bolognese [dɪgˑ-jɐ] 'do I say?') or develop a monophthong (Forlivese [dɪgˑ-i bẽ] 'am I right?').[91] The poems of Nino Lombardi attest the occurrence of both variants in Sammarinese during the early twentieth century:[92]

Sammarinese	Translation
faccie bén?	am I doing well?

[91] Rohlfs 2: 150, 257; Schürr, *VR* § 25.
[92] Examples cited from *Muntanera* 3.11, 4.11, 5.4, *Fra il popolo* 20.

Sammarinese	Translation
deghie e vera?	am I speaking the truth?
Cus'òi da fe?	what should I do?
t'l'ò i' da dì?	do I have to tell you it?

The second person singular enclitic is –t (< TĬBI) across Emilia-Romagna and much of Northern Italy when the verb ends in a vowel (Rohlfs 2: 150, 257):

Sammarinese	Translation
vuː-t	do you want?
ki s̪iː-t	who are you?
du s̪iː-t	where are you?
du ɛ̪ː-t mɛs̪ˑ	where have you put?
kus̪ ɛ̪ː-t	what do you have?
du vɛ̪ː-t	where are you going?
ɛ̪ː-t maˑi̯ vɪs̪ˑt	have you ever seen?

When the verb ends in a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel appears in Romagnol and Bolognese: Bolognese [dʂkɐrˑ-ət] 'do you speak?'. Borderline Romagnol, on the other hand, shows paragoge:

Sammarinese	Translation
Vinti […] *?* (G. Guidi 26)	are you coming?
t'arcorte […] *?* (Lombardi, *Do ciacheri* 2.5)	do you remember?
kʂɐ z̪griːŋ-ti	what are you laughing at?
kʂɐ z̪bɐrlɔːtʃ-ti	what are you peeping at?

Third person singular ĭLLE yields enclitic -l after a vowel (Rohlfs 2: 257):

Sammarinese	Translation
kus̪ ɛ-lˑ	what is it?
kus̪ j ɛ-lˑ, kuʃ ɛ-lˑ	what is there?
ki ɛ-lˑ	who is he?
ɛ-lˑ kunˈtɛi̯ñt	is he happy?
duv ɛ-lˑ	where is he?
ɐrturnɐˈraː-l	will he return?
kʂɐ vɔː-l	what does he want?

Sammarinese	Translation
faː-l	does he do, make?

Again, following a consonant, an anaptyctic vowel arises in Romagnol and Bolognese: Forlivese [kʊm ɐ-ʂ̺ tʃɐ̃m-ɐl] ‘what’s his name?’, Bolognese [ʂ̺ ɐrkoːrd-əl] ‘does he remember?’. On the other hand, paragoge takes place beginning at the Marecchia River and southeastward: *S’arcordle […] ?* ‘do you remember?’ (Lombardi, *Muntanera* 1.9).

Feminine ĭLLA produces -[lɐ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
kum (t) vaː-lɐ	how’s it going?
kum bʊtˑ-lɐ	how’s it going?
ɛ-lˑɐ bɔːnɐ	is it good?
kum ɛ-lˑɐ	expression of indignation or surprise
ki ɛ-lˑɐ	who is she?
duv ɛ-lˑɐ	where is she?

In the first person plural, Sammarinese historically uses the subjunctive in interrogative constructions instead of inversion: *a la tuléma nun?* ‘shall *we* take it?’ (Anderson 3: 51).

For the second person plural, the *Pulon Matt* shows the same outcome in enclisis as in proclisis (VŌS > –v): *Saviv zò?* ‘Do you know this?’ (Schürr, *VR* § 33). The developments in the two positions diverge when proclitic [v] is replaced by the continuant of ĕ(G)O, whereas enclitic [v] survives throughout Emilia-Romagna:[93]

Sammarinese	Translation
vliː-v	do you want?
ɐnˈduː ʂ̺tɛ̯ː-v	where do you live?
kʂ̺ɐ dʒiː-v	what do you say?

[93] Rohlfs 2: 150, 257-58; Schürr, *VR* § 33.

Latin ĭLLĪ yields enclitic –i, which is the same result as in proclisis (Rohlfs 2: 150, 258): Bolognese [ɐveːvn-i] ‘did they have?’. Poems written in 1848 and 1926 by Pietro Rossi and Nino Lombardi, respectively, offer examples of interrogative inversion in the third person plural in Sammarinese: *Mo che diemni hai mei fat* ‘what on earth did they do?’ (Foresti 72); *Mo cum farai* […] *?* ‘But how will they manage?’ (Lombardi, *Tra el genghi*).

I found no examples of a feminine sixth person enclitic. In urban Bolognese, a variety in which interrogative enclitics are productive, feminine /li/ has succumbed to masculine /i/ (Vitali 118).

It has been argued that the clitic [ɐ] (< ĕ[G]O)—which is common to many Northern Italian dialects—is not a subject pronoun, one of the reasons being that this particle may appear with persons other than the first, fourth, and fifth (Benincà; Renzi and Vanelli n. 11). Indeed, Romagnol and other Northern varieties place an impersonal, “interrogative” [ɐ] before the verb (or the object pronoun) in conjunction with the inverted personal pronoun (cf. Forlivese [ɐ viː-t] ‘do you see?’; [ɐ-t ɐrkuːr-tɐ] ‘do you remember?’; [kʊm ɐ-s̬ tʃə̃m-ɐl] ‘what’s his name?’) (Schürr, *VR* § 34):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ-m dɛ̨ː-v	will you give me?
ɐ vuː-t	do you want?
am farés t’ una casina? (Anderson 3: 33)	would you make me a little house?

However, interrogative inversion is not necessarily obligatory in the languages that use it (Renzi and Vanelli § 2). In fact, in varieties such as Sammarinese inversion is much less common than interrogative constructions that place the subject clitic before the verb (cf. spoken French):

Sammarinese	Translation

Sammarinese	Translation
t ɻː kɐˈpiː	did you understand?
t ɻː vɪʂˑt	did you see?
t ɻː ʂɐnˈtuːd	did you hear?

One such formula that appears in Northern Italian dialects is the *qu'est-ce qui, qu'est-ce que* type, as in Bergamasque *chi è 'l che vé* 'who is coming?' (Mora 44; Rohlfs 2: 201). This construction introduces a question by means of a fossilized interrogative sentence that uses inversion followed by a second interrogative pronoun, the subject proclitic, and then the verb:

Sammarinese	Translation
kuʂ ɛ-lˑ k u j ɛ	what is there?
kuʂ ɛ-lˑ k ɐl vɔː	what do they want?

The enclitic pronoun is often dropped from the fossilized interrogative sentence:

Sammarinese	Translation
duv ɛ k l ɛ	where is he?
kuʂ ɛ ke t fiːvji	what were you doing?
kuʂ ɛ k t ɐʂˈpɻːt	what are you waiting for?

An alternative formula used in Northern Italian varieties reinforces the interrogative pronoun or adverb with the conjunction [k] (< QUĬD), which is followed by the proclitic subject pronoun and the verb (Rohlfs 2: § 490):

Sammarinese	Translation
kuʂ k ɐ vo̯jˑ diː	what do I want to say?
ki k u n ʂ l ɐrkɔːrdɐ	who doesn't remember him?
ki k u l ɐˈvraː	he would have it?
kuʂ k ɐ fɐrɪʂˑmi	what would we do?
kuʂ k l ɛ	what is it?
ki k l ɛ ʂtɻːˑ	who was it?
ki k ɛ pɐnˈʂɻːvɐ	who would have thought?
ki k l a bzɐ̯ɲˑ	who needs?
kuʂ k ɐl pɻːnʂɐ	what do they think?

Sammarinese	Translation
kuʂ k lɐ faː	what is she doing?
kuʂ k u j ɛ	what is there?
kum k lɐ ɛ	what's she/it like?
du k ɐ ʂɪmˑ	where are we?
du k l ɛ i fɐˈʐuːl	where are the beans?
kuʂ k i t faː	what are they doing to you?
kuʂ k l ɛ ke t fiːvji	what were you doing?

Romagnol omits the conjunction before the second person singular proclitic (Schürr, *VR* § 35), where its appearance would violate consonant cluster structure:

Sammarinese	Translation
kuʂ t vuː	what do you want?
kuʂ t ɐː faːt	what have you done?
kuʂ t diːʐ	what are you saying?
ki t θiː	who are you?
du t vɐː	where are you?
kum t ɐː faːt	how did you manage?

4.5.1.2. Tonic Subject Pronouns

Since languages that require the use of clitic pronouns with verbs—such as those of Emilia and Romagna—allow *reduplication* of the subject, the noun phrase slot may be occupied by a tonic subject pronoun instead of the parts of speech discussed above:

Tonic Subject	Noun Phrase	Clitic Pronoun	Verb	Translation
Nominal Subject	ɛl nɔːn	l	ɐndɐːvɐ	grandpa used to go
Quantifier	niˈʂuːn	l	ɐndɐːvɐ	no one used to go
Subject Pronoun	luː	l	ɐndɐːvɐ	he used to go

Whereas the use of the clitic subject pronoun is obligatory, that of the tonic subject pronoun is optional. Hence, the appearance of both types of pronouns with one verb is analogous to that of the Italian tonic subject pronoun in marked phrases, while the occurrence of the clitic

pronoun alone is parallel to the Italian use of a verb with no pronoun (Renzi and Vanelli §§ 0, 0.5):

Sentence	Sammarinese	Italian
Unmarked	u ʂuˈriːd	*sorride*
Marked	luː u ʂuˈriːd	*lui sorride*
	l ɛ ʂtɛ̯ː liː	*è stata lei*

The evolutions of the individual tonic pronouns are described and examples of their involvement in subject reduplication are provided below.

4.5.1.2.1. First Person Singular

By the sixth century AD, Classical ĔGO is reduced to ĔO in popular Latin (Rohlfs 2: 131). Tonic [ɛ] in hiatus undergoes diphthongization (> *[jɛu]), eventually yielding Old Romagnol [je], which the *Pulon Matt* indicates with the spelling *ié* (Schürr, *VR* §§ 25, 33). Like most Northern Italian varieties, Romagnol dialects, including the historically urban dialect spoken on Monte Titano, characteristically replace the continuant of Ĕ(G)O with the oblique pronoun [mɪ], which is the outcome of the dative form MIHI.[94] On the other hand, the historically rural areas of San Marino carry on the usage of Ĕ(G)O, as is typical of Borderline Romagnol. By stress retraction, [je] produces [ˈiɐ̯] in the Southwest of the Republic, which is reduced to [iː] in Serravallese:

Sammarinese	Translation
iː, iɐ ɐ ʂtaːg	I stay, am, remain
iː, iɐ ɐ vaːg	I go
iː, iɐ ɐ n ʂɔ	I don’t know
ɐ vɪŋgɐ aŋke iː, iɐ	shall I also come?
iː, iɐ ɐ vʊi̯ˑ	I want

[94] Generalization of the oblique form also distinguishes urban Pesarese, where the Romagnolism emerged in the 1800s, from the dialects of the surrounding province: *mè a parle* ‘I speak’ (Balducci 465).

Sammarinese	Translation
s̬ ɐ fʊs̬ˑ iː, iˑɐ	if it were me
iː, iˑɐ ɐ s̬ɔ vnuː(d)	I have come

4.5.1.2.2. Second Person Singular

Medieval Northern Italian texts also tend to substitute the original nominative *tu* with the oblique *ti* (< TĬBI), whose vowel is raised to [i] by the influence of first person singular [mi] (Rohlfs 2: § 435). Since oxytonic high vowels are lowered in Emilian and Romagnol, these regions are characterized by the pronoun [tɪ] (Schürr, *VR* § 33):

Sammarinese	Translation
tɪ t vɛ̬ː	you go
tɪ t s̬ɐˈrɛ̬ː	you will be
tɪ t ɛ̬ː faːt	you did, made
tɪ tu m maːnd	you don’t send
tɪ t pɔːrt	you bring, carry, wear
tɪ ki s̬iː-t	who are you?
tɪ t vuː	you want

4.5.1.2.3. Third Person Singular

By the late thirteenth century, Old Northern Italian *el(o)* (< ĬLLU) and *ela* (< ĬLLA) are being supplanted by the outcomes of Vulgar Latin (IL)LUI and *(IL)LAEI, analogical formations which had replaced the Classical dative ĭLLĪ (Rohlfs 2: § 437). For the masculine singular, the *Pulon Matt* shows *lu* (Schürr, *VR* § 33), which, following the abbreviation and centralization of the oxytonic vowel, yields modern Romagnol [lʊ] (> [lɔ]) (Schürr, RD 2: § 3.1). In San Marino, which lies on the outer reaches of this phenomenon, the innovative variant [lʊ] occurs much less frequently than the conservative form [luː] (cf. Anconetano [lu]):

Sammarinese	Translation
luː l ɛ̟ːvɐ	he had
luː ɛ kaːpɐ	he chooses
l ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̟ː aŋke luː	he also went
luː ɛl daˑ	he gives
luː u s̟ lɐvɛ̟ːvɐ	he was washing himself
luː u j aˑ dɪtˑ	he said to him/her/them
luː u n aˑ	he does not have

As a result of metaphony (*[lɛi] > *[ljɛi]) and the subsequent loss of final –i, the *Pulon Matt* records feminine singular *lié*. Subsequent stress retraction produces the form [liˑɐ] in Southwestern Sammarinese and Marchigiano. Following monophthongization, Central Romagnol and Serravallese show [liː]:

Sammarinese	Translation
liˑɐ, liː lɐ s̟ɐluːtɐ	she greets
liˑɐ, liː lɐ s̟ɔːnɐ	she plays music
liˑɐ, liː lɐ j aˑ dɪtˑ	she said to him
lɐ j ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̟ː aŋke liː	she also went there
liː lɐ viːd	she sees
liˑɐ, liː lɐ gwɛ̟ːrdɐ	she looks at, watches
liˑɐ, liː lɐ ɱ vɔˑ	she doesn't want

4.5.1.2.4. First Person Plural

By palatalization of final –S, Latin NŎS yields Proto-Italo-Romance [noi̯], which survives in modern Italian. As a result of metaphony, Old Northern Italian dialects—such as Lombard and Venetan—develop the form *nui* (Rohlfs 2: 134). Due to progressive—or lag—nasalization, the *Pulon Matt* shows *nun* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 68), which is continued by Serravallese [nuːn]:

Serravallese	Translation
ɐ s̟ɪmˑɐ nuːn	it's us

Serravallese	Translation
ɐ lɐ tulɪmˑɐ nuːn	shall we take it?
nuːn ɐ fɪmˑ	we do, make
nuːn ɐ ɪmˑ dɐ fɛ̰ː	we must do, make
nuːn ɐ ŋ kumˈprɪmˑ	we buy some
tʊtˑ nuːn ɐ kɐmpiːmi	all of us were living
nuːn ɐ ʂɪmˑ ʂ̰kaːp	we got away

As a result of the diphthongization of secondary [u], Southwestern Sammarinese presents the variant [nɔ̯ʊ̯ñ] alongside gender specific [nuˈiːlt] (cf. *noialtri*) and [nuˈɛ̰ːlti] (cf. *noialtre*).

4.5.1.2.5. Second Person Plural

The evolution of VŌS into Medieval Northern Italian *vui* is parallel to that of NŌS > *nui* (Rohlfs 2: 134). When the pronoun is used strictly to address more than one person, modern Romagnol combines the outcome *vu*, documented in the *Pulon Matt*, with the continuant of ALTĚRĪ (Schürr, *VR* § 33):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ dʒiː vuˈiːlt	you tell me!
vuɛ̰ːlti ɐ dʒiː	you (f.) say
ɐ l ʂ̰ɐˈviː ɐŋˈkɛ vuˈiːlt	you also know
vuɛ̰ːlti dɔ	you two (f.)
vuˈiːlt dʊ	you two (m)

On the other hand, *vu* persists in its simple form, with its oxytonic high vowel lowered ([vu] > [vʊ]), when the addressee is a stranger or senior citizen (cf. Anconetano *vojaltri, vo* [Rohlfs 2: 134]), a usage which has remained particularly active in rural parts of Emilia-Romagna (Rohlfs 2: 182 n. 2):

Sammarinese	Translation
vʊ ɐnˈdu ʂ̰tɛ̰ː-v	where do you live?
kuʂ̰ kɐnˈtɛ̰ː-v vʊ	what are you singing?

4.5.1.2.6. Third Person Plural

In the very early stages of their development, Northern Italian dialects preserve the nominative forms of third third person plural pronouns, which distinguish the masculine (*ili* < ĭLLĪ) from the feminine subject (*ele* < ĭLLAE). However, by the late thirteenth century the ambigeneric oblique *loro*, which derives from the genitive ĭLLŌRUM, begins to replace them, eventually taking over both genders (Rohlfs 2: 135). Continued by Southwestern Sammarinese [loːr] and Serravallese [lɔˑu̯], the ambigeneric type coexists with gender specific [luˈiːlt] (m.) and [luɻːlti] (f.), which are modeled after the compound forms of the first and second persons plural:

Serravallese	Translation
lɔˑu̯ j ɛ	they are
lɔˑu̯ j aˑ vɻːrt	they opened
ʂnɐ lɔˑu̯ j ɐvriˑɐ	only they would have
lɔˑu̯ j aˑ paːʂ	they spent
lɔˑu̯ i diːʐ	they say
lɔˑu̯ i viːd	they see
luɻːlti ɐʌ ɛ ɐnˈdɻː	they (f.) went

4.5.2. Object Pronouns

4.5.2.1. Atonic Object Pronouns

4.5.2.1.1. First Person Singular

The dative pronoun MĬHI converges with the accusative MĒ, resulting in the direct, indirect, and reflexive pronoun [me] throughout Northern Italy (Monaci 600; Rohlfs 2: 151), which Romagnol contracts to [m]:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ m lɛ̟ːv	I wash myself
faː-m (ɐ) ʂɐnˈtiː	let me hear, taste, feel!
u m piːʐ̟	I like it
lɐ m pɔːrtɐ	she brings me
kriˈdiː-m	believe me! (second pl.)
i m dʒiːvɐ	they used to tell me
tniː-m	to hold me

Throughout Romagna, vowel epenthesis occurs when consonantal clitics produce unsyllabifiable consonant clusters. This takes place when two consonantal proclitics precede a consonant-initial verb (cf. Ravennate [u n ɐm pjeːʐ̟] ‘I don’t like him/it’) or a consonantal enclitic follows a consonantal coda (cf. Ravennate [faː-m-ɐl ʂɐˈveː] ‘let me know [it]!’). Whereas Central Romagnol syllabifies the problematic clitic as a coda, Borderline varieties syllabify it as an onset. Thus, Sammarinese has the complementary allomorph [mi] or [mɪ] in the first person singular:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ m mi ʐ̟baˑi̯	I am not mistaken
ɐ m mi lɐ ʂ̟ɔ tʃaːpɐ	I didn’t get angry
ɐ m mi puˈtiː dɛ̟ː	you can’t give me
u m mi pɛ̟ːr	it doesn’t seem to me
lɐ m mi daː	she doesn’t give me
lɐ m mi piːʐ̟	I don’t like her/it
pɔːrt-mi	bring, carry me!
bʊtˑ-mi	throw me!
vɛnˑd-mi	sell me!
ˈviːm-mi-lɐ kɔːjɐ	come pick it up for me!

4.5.2.1.2. Second Person Singular

The development of the second person singular pronoun is analogous to that of the first person singular. Latin TĬBI and TĒ merge into Northern Italian [te] (Monaci 600; Rohlfs 2: 151), which is reduced to [t] in Romagnol:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ t ʂɐˈluːt	goodbye
ɐ t vɪgˑ	I see you
nu t mɔːv	don’t move!
u t θkɐrˑ	he talks to you
lɐ t ʂuˈriːd	she smiles at you
i t kɐvɐˈraˑ	they will remove you
gwɐdɐˈɲɛ̰ː-t	to earn for yourself

When the canonical pronoun is unsyllabifiable, the complementary allomorph [ti] or [tɪ] occurs in Sammarinese:

Serravallese	Translation
lɐ n ti θkɐrˑ	she won’t talk to you
lɛ̰ːv-ti	wash yourself!
u n ti piːʐ̰	you don’t like it
u n ti ʂiːnt	he can’t hear you
ɐ n ti vɪgˑ	I can’t see you
ɐ n ti daːg ɲiːnt	I won’t give you anything
mɔːv-ti	move it!

4.5.2.1.3. Third Person Singular Accusative

In Northern Italy the forms of the direct object pronoun generally correspond with those of the definite article (Rohlfs 2: 152). Masculine singular ĬLLU is reduced to [l] throughout Romagna when no other atonic object pronouns or adverbs are present (Schürr, *VR* § 31):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ l bɪgˑ	I drink it

Sammarinese	Translation
u l faˑ	he does, makes it
u l kɐˈpɪʂˑ	he understands it
ɐ l ʂɐˈviː	you know it
i l viːd	they (m.) see him/it
li l ʂaˑ	they (f.) know it
gwɐrˈdɻːˑl	to look at it

In Sammarinese the pronoun develops paragogic [i] or [ɪ] when it is encliticized to a consonantal coda, usually of an imperative, a gerund, or a third declension infinitive:

Serravallese	Translation
tʃaːp-li	take it!
ɐndɪmˑ-li mɐˈɲɻː	let's go eat it!
ɻːk-li	there he/it is
bʐɐɲˑɐ lɻːdʒ-li	one must read it
laːʂ-li ʂtɻː	leave him/it be
faːm-li voi̯dɐ	let me see it!
gwɻːrd-li	look at him/it!

Borderline Romagnol tends to preserve the original distribution of three variants of the masculine pronoun ([ɛl], [ɛ], [u]), which occur following another atonic object pronoun or an unstressed adverb. Thus, the complementary allomorph [ɛl] appears before /θ ð t d tʃ dʒ n/:

Sammarinese	Translation
i m ɛl dʒiːvɐ	they were saying it to me
ɐ v ɛl dʒiːvɐ	I was saying it to you (pl.)
ɐ n ɛl trɔːv	I can't find it
ɐ t ɛl dɪgˑ	I tell you it
i t ɛl daˑ	they give it to you

Before labial and velar consonants, the distributional variant [ɛ] occurs:

Sammarinese	Translation
u n ɛ prɔːvɐ	he doesn't try it

Sammarinese	Translation
li s̻ ɛ faˑ	they do it for themselves
li n ɛ faˑ	they don’t do it
u n ɛ maːɲɐ	he doesn’t eat it
i n ɛ vidiːvɐ	they couldn’t see him/it
ɐ m ɛ maːɲ	I eat it up
ɐ n ɛ vʊ̯iˑ	I don’t want it
ɐ t ɛ faːtʃ s̻ɐˈveː	I’ll let you know (it)
ɐ n ɛ faˈrɪmˑ	we won’t do it
u n ɛ knɐs̻ˑ	he doesn’t know him
ɐ n ɛ puˈtɪmˑ fɐrˈmɛ̰ː	we can’t stop it

The complementary allomorph [u] precedes liquids and sibilant fricatives:

Sammarinese	Translation
t u s̻ɛ̰ː	you know (it)
ɐ n u s̻ɔ	I don’t know (it)
ɐ n u s̻ɐˈvɪmˑ	we don’t know (it)
ɐ n u s̻ɐˈviː	you don’t know (it)
ɐ m u s̻ɔ gwaːs̻t	I’ve ruined it (on myself)
t u lɛ̰ːv	you wash it
a n u raːs̻tʃi	I’m not scratching it

Feminine singular ĭLLA produces [lɐ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
u lɐ maːndɐ	he sends her/it
i lɐ knɐs̻ˑ	they know her
i lɐ vɔˑ	they want her/it
s̻egwiː-lɐ	to follow her/it
voi̯d-lɐ	to see her/it
ɐ lɐ knuˈs̻ɪmˑ	we know her
ɐ v lɐ dɪgˑɐ	I may say it to you

Before vowel-initial verbs, feminine [lɐ] is distinguished from masculine [l], although elision of the desinence is permitted:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ lɐ ɐviːmi	we used to have it
i lɐ aˑ dɐ kɐˈpiː	they must understand it
i lɐ aˑ tʃaːpɐ	they grabbed her/it
i lɐ aˑ mɐˈθɛ̰ː	they killed her/it
i lɐ aˑ bʊtˑɐ	they threw her/it
lɐ m l(ɐ) aˑ dɛ̰ːdɐ	she gave it to me
ɐ l(ɐ) ɐrˈvɪgˑ	I see her again
ɐ lɐ ɛ̰ːlθ	I raise it
ɐ lɐ ɐrˈkmɛ̰i̯ñθ	I start it again
ɐ lɐ ɔːdji	I hate her
ɐ lɐ uːrli	I yell it
ɐ lɐ inˈs̪ɛɲˑ	I teach it
ɐ lɐ iŋˈgraːs̪	I fatten her up
ɐ lɐ inˈs̪ʊɲˑ	I dream about her

4.5.2.1.4. Third Person Singular Dative

Whereas the type [ge] (< HIC) characterizes Emilian, Bolognese and Romagnol use [j] (< ĬLLĪ), which represents both genders (Rohlfs 2: 157; Schürr, *VR* § 32):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ i̯ tiːr	I throw to her/him
i i̯ dʒiːvɐ	they used to say to her/him
i i̯ faˑ	they do, make for her/him
dɛ̰ː-i̯	to give to her/him
lɐ j ɐs̪ɐrmɛjˑɐ	she looks like her/him
ɐ i̯ diˈrɔ	I will tell her/him
li i̯ vɛnˑd	they sell to her/him
t i dmaːnd	you ask her/him

4.5.2.1.5. First Person Plural

While Bolognese and Central Romagnol—like many other Northern Italian varieties—have generalized the impersonal pronoun [s̪] to the first person plural ([u s̪ dɐˈra] ‘he will give

us' [Rohlfs 2: 160]), Sammarinese [tʃ] is the continuant of HINC (cf. Old Bolognese *ce* [Rohlfs 2: 159], Old Romagnol *lauaz* 'lavarci' [*PM* 1.37.2], *arudez* 'arrivederci' [*PM* 2.25.1], Cesenate *az e magnarén* 'ce lo mangeremo' [Salvioni 344]):

Sammarinese	Translation
tu tʃ fɛ̯ː	you make us
u tʃ dɛ̯ːvɐ	he used to give us
u tʃ ʂpɪnˑdʒ	he pushes us
lɐ tʃ bɐzɛ̯ːvɐ	she used to kiss us
ɐ tʃ diːmi	we used to give eachother
ɐ tʃ lɐviːmi	we used to wash ourselves
i tʃ rɐkuntɛ̯ːvɐ	they used to tell us
i tʃ tniːvɐ	they used to hold us
li tʃ mɛtˑ	they (f.) put us
fɛ̯ː-tʃ	to make us, each other
kɐˈpiː-tʃ	to understand us, each other

The complementary allomorph [tʃi] occurs in Sammarinese when the canonical pronoun is unsyllabifiable:

Sammarinese	Translation
fɪmˑˈtʃi kuˈraːdʒ	let's cheer up!
i n tʃi kɐˈpɪʂˑ	they don't understand us
lɐ n tʃi va bɛ̯ːn	it's not okay for us
u n tʃi vɛŋgɐ	he/it may not come to us

4.5.2.1.6. Second Person Plural

The Latin adverb of place IBI yields the Northern Italian second person plural pronoun [ve] (Rohlfs 2: 161), which is reduced to [v] in Romagnol:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ v dɪgˑ	I tell you
ɐ v dɛ̯ːvɐ	I used to give you
i v laːʂɐ	they leave you

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ v raːɲ	I scold you
u v pɛ̰ːr	it seems to you
ɐrkurˈdɛ̰ː-v	remember!
fɐrˈmɛ̰ː-v	to stop you, yourselves

When the canonical pronoun is unsyllabifiable, Sammarinese shows the complementary allomorph [vi]:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɛ̰ːk-vi	there you are
ɐ ɱ vi dɪgˑ	I'm not telling you
u ɱ vi mɐŋkɐˈraː	you won't miss it
u ɱ vi faːtʃɐ	he/it may not make you
ɐ ɱ vi dɐˈrɔ dʊ	I will give you two of them

4.5.2.1.7. Third Person Plural Accusative

As with the singular pronouns, the third person plural forms generally coincide with those of the definite article. Northern Italian texts begin showing masculine *i* (< ĭLLī) by the thirteenth century, which becomes palatalized (> [j]) when it comes into contact with another vowel (Rohlfs 2: 162):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ j ɔ	I have them
t j ɛ̰ː ʂpeˈdiː	you sent them
lɐ j̊ dɔːtʃɐ	she watches them
u j ɛ̰ːvɐ fniː	he had finished them
ɐ j̊ duˈvrɪmˑ	we use them
i j̊ kɐtʃɛ̰ːvɐ	they used to hunt, put, stick them
mɐnˈdɛ̰ːi̯	to send them

Feminine (ĭL)LAE yields preconsonantal [l] in Romagnol:

Sammarinese	Translation

Sammarinese	Translation
i l fɛ̟ːvɐ	they used to make them
i l diːz̪	they say them
i l tɐjɛ̟ːvɐ	they were cutting them
i l pɔːrtɐ	they bring, carry, wear them

Between vowels the continuant of (ĭL)LAE is palatalized, giving Romagnol [ʎ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ ʎ ɪmˑ vɪs̪ˑti	we've seen them
ɐ ʎ ɔ prɔːvi	I have tried them
ɐ ʎ ɔ faːti	I have done, made them
u ʎ a mɐˈθɛ̟ː	he killed them
u ʎ a mɐˈɲɛ̟ː	he ate them
lɐ ʎ a mɛs̪ˑi	she put them
i ʎ a bruˈz̪ɛ̟ː	they burned them
lɐ ʎ ɛ̟ːvɐ s̪trɐs̪ˈniː	she had dragged them
lɐ ʎ a tɐˈjɛ̟ː	she cut them
lɐ ʎ a kɔːt	she cooked them

When the canonical [l] is unsyllabifiable, the feminine plural accusative surfaces as [li] in Sammarinese:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ n li kɐˈpɪmˑ	we don't understand them
i n li aː	they don't have them
ɐ v li pɔːrt	I'll bring them to you
u m li a mɐˈɲɛ̟ː	he ate them on me
gwɛ̟ːrd-li	look at them!
ɐ n li kɐˈpɪs̪ˑ	I don't understand them

4.5.2.1.8. Third Person Plural Dative

By the thirteenth century, northern varieties such as Milanese reduce third person plural ĭLLĪS to [j] (Rohlfs 2: 164), which is the same type that characterizes modern Romagnol (Rohlfs

2: 165). Not only is the plural dative identical to the singular, but the same form also represents both genders:

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ i̯ vʊi̯ˑ bɛ̟ːn	I love them
fɛ̟ː-i̯	to do, make for them
ɐ i̯ dmɐndiːmi	we used to ask them
i i̯ piːʐ̻	they like them
ʂ̻tɛ̟ː-i̯ ʂ̻ɐnˈtiː	to listen to them
diː-i̯	to say to them
u i̯ ʂ̻kaːpɐ j uːtʃ	their eyes are bulging out
lɐ j inʂ̻ɛɲˑɐ	she teaches them
u i̯ fa ʂ̻ɛɲˑ	he signals to them
lɐ i̯ pripɐrɛ̟ːvɐ	she was prepairing for them

4.5.2.1.9. Atonic Genitive Pronoun

A noun governed by the proposition DĒ (> [d], [ɐd], [id], [əd]) is replaced with the outcome of the Latin adverb INDE, which yields *ne* in Old Bolognese and [n] in modern Romagnol (Rohlfs 2: § 465):

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ ŋ kumˈprɪmˑ	we buy some
tʃɐˈpɛ̟ː-n uːn	to take one of them
ɐ n ʂ̻ɔɲˑ	I dream about it
ɐ ŋ vʊjˑ uːnɐ	I want one of them
lɐ n a mɛʂ̻ˑ ʂ̻ʊ dʊ	she put two of them on
ɛl n aː	he has some
u i̯ n ɛ	there is, are some
lɐ i̯ n a faːt tɛ̟ːnti	she made him so many
ɐ ŋ vi dɐˈrɔ dʊ[95]	I will give you two of them
pjʊ tu m pɔːrt	the more you bring

The complementary allomorph [ni] occurs when the canonical clitic is unsyllabifiable:

[95] Note that the genitive proclitic precedes the second person plural dative (cf. Italian *ve ne darò due*).

Serravallese	Translation
u tʃ ni fɪʂˑ	he might make us some
u n ni ʂkaːpɐ	none comes out
ɐ n ni θkuˈrɪmˑ	we don’t talk about it

4.5.2.1.10. Reflexive and Impersonal Pronoun

Old Northern Italian *se* is reduced to [s] in modern Emilian and Romagnol (Rohlfs 2: 184):

Sammarinese	Translation
u ʂ lɛ̰ːvɐ	he washes himself
u ʂ taːjɐ	he cuts himself
lɐ ʂ tʃɐmɛ̰ːvɐ	her name was
lɐ ʂ viʂˈtɪʂˑ	she dresses herself
i ʂ vɔː bɛ̰ːn	they love each other
li ʂ ʂkɐldɛ̰ːvɐ	they used to warm up
fɛ̰ː-ʂ	to make each other
u n ʂ piːgɐ	it won’t bend

The complementary allomorph [ʂi] occurs when the canonical pronoun is unsyllabifiable:

Sammarinese	Translation
u n ʂi ʂaˑ	one does not know
ʂtrindʒɛnˑd-ʂi	to squeeze each other
ɐl sʲ spreːkɐ	they are wasted
i n ʂi ʂtiːrɐ	one does not iron them
u n ʂi faˑ	one does not do, make
lɐ n ʂi trɔːvɐ	she,it is not found
voi̯d-ʂi	to see eachother
mɛtˑ-ʂi	to put oneself

The same variant is optional before verbs beginning with an initial alveolar fricative followed by a consonant:

Sammarinese	Translation

Sammarinese	Translation
u s̬(i) s̬taˑ	one stays, is
u s̬(i) s̬pɔːs̬tɐ	he moves
i s̬(i) s̬kɔːtʃɐ	they get fed up, annoyed
u s̬(i) spuz̬ɛ̯ːvɐ	he was getting married
u s̬(i) z̬vɪdˑʒɐ	he wakes up

4.5.2.2. Tonic Object Pronouns

Whereas Tuscan [me] continues the Latin accusative (Rohlfs 2: 136), in Northern Italy the dative form MIHI replaces MĒ (Rohlfs 2: 137), yielding *mi* in the *Pulon Matt* (*sa mi* ‘with me’) (Schürr, *VR* § 33). The abbreviation and lowering of the oxytonic vowel has produced [mɪ] in the modern dialects:

Sammarinese	Translation
mɐ mɪ	to me
s̬ɐ mɪ	with me
dɐ pri mɪ	by myself, on my own

The evolution of the second person singular oblique is analogous to that of the first person singular. While the Tuscan pronoun [te] derives from the Latin accusative TĒ, the dative form TIBI produces Old Northern Italian *ti* and modern Romagnol [tɪ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
s̬ɐ tɪ	with you
mɐ tɪ	to you
dɐ tɪ	at you house

By analogy of CUI, the Classical dative ĭLLĪ gives way to Vulgar Latin ĭLLUI (Rohlfs 2: 136), which yields Sammarinese [luː]:

Sammarinese	Translation
s̬ɐ luː	with him

Sammarinese	Translation
ɪmˑ bʐ̬ɐɲˑ ɐd luː	we need him
pri luː	for him

Italo-Romance *[lɛi] (< *ILLAEI < ĬLLĪ) is the origin of Southwestern Sammarinese [liˑɐ], which is the precursor to Romagnol and Serravallese [liː]:

Sammarinese	Translation
ʂ̬ɐ liˑɐ, liː	with her
driˑɐ mɐ liˑɐ, driː mɐ liː	behind her
lɐ maˑ d liˑɐ, liː	her mother

While some varieties of Sammarinese reinforce the outcome of NŌS with the adjective ALT(Ĕ)RĪ (> m. [nuˈiːlt], f. [nuˈʐ̬ːlti]), Serravallese continues the type *nun* recorded in the *Pulon Matt*:

Serravallese	Translation
oˈɲuːn d nuːn	each of us
trɐ nuːn	among, between us
ʂ̬ɛːnθɐ d nuːn	without us

As a result of the diphthongization of secondary [u], Southwestern Sammarinese presents the variant [nɔo̯ũ].

The simple continuant of VŌS is employed in the polite form of address: [ɐ ɱ vi dɪgˑ mɐ vʊ kumˈpʐ̬ːr] ‘I’m not talking to you, old pal’ (C. Guidi, *E’ Mount* 71, *I mi Casétt* 110). On the other hand, the plural is indicated with compound formations analogous to those of the first person plural, which distinguish between masculine ([ʂ̬ɐ vuˈiːlt] ‘with you’) and feminine ([ʂ̬ɐ vuˈʐ̬ːlti]).

Genitive plural ĬLLŌRUM yields [loːr] in Southwestern Sammarinese, [lɔu̯] in Serravallese:

Sammarinese	Translation
l ɛ d lɔu̯	it is theirs
uːn d lɔu̯	one of them
ʂɐtʻɐ ɐd lɔu̯	beneath them

The ambigeneric type coexists with gender specific [luˈiːlt] (m.) and [luɐ̯ːlti] (f.), which are modeled after the compound forms of the first and second persons plural.

While Tuscan [se] continues the accusative of the reflexive pronoun, the dative SIBI is the origin of Northern Italian [si], which becomes *sè* in Romagnol (Ercolani, "Sè"). Like French, however, dialects throughout Italy substitute the tonic form of the reflexive pronoun with one of its third person counterparts (cf. *il ne pense qu'à lui*) (Rohlfs 2: 184), which is the case in the Sammarinese expression [dɐ pri luː] 'by himself, on his own'.

4.5.3. Polyvalent *Che*

Walter Anderson's *Novelline popolari* offer numerous examples of polyvalent [ke], [k] (< QUĬD) linking two clauses where standard Italian would use a preposition plus a relative pronoun or a precise subordinating conjunction (Rohlfs 2: 196; Dardano § 7.4): *Aspèta a ché, che i' a vaga ciarchì da magnê!* 'Wait here while I go look for something to eat!'; *Magna a ché; vé che ma mé u m' è rèst!* 'Eat some of this; there's plenty left for me!' (3: 31); *Andémli magnê, ch' l' è un sumar!* 'Let's go eat him; he's a donkey!' (3: 32); *dó burdil* […] *ch' u i éra mòrt la su mama* 'two children whose mommy had died' (3: 42); *tò só tót cli mòili ch' u i è! – Ma che mòili, che i' a vagh d' la mi zèia!* 'pick up all those apples there! – What apples; I'm going to my aunt's!' (3: 47); *un òm ch' u i éra mort la mai* 'a man whose wife had died' (3: 51); *Dap lu u l' a spusè cla vécia che l' éra una bèla ragaza* 'Then he married that old woman because she was a beautiful girl' (3: 52); *Vèndmi, ba, che dap a tórn chêsa!* 'Sell me, dad; then I'll come back home!' (3: 59); *dó fradil ch' u i éra mòrt e ba, ma u i éra rèst la ma* 'two brothers whose father had died but

whose mother was still alive’ (3: 69); *Ciamé e vòst marìd ch’ e vènga só! – Maridòin, vin só, ch’ u i è i carabignir!* ‘Call your husband so he comes upstairs! – Honey, come upstairs; the police are here!’ (3: 82).

4.5.4. The Interrogative Pronoun *Cosa*

Latin CAUSA yields the interrogative pronoun [kɔːʂɐ], which preserves voiceless [ʂ] throughout Northern Italy, since intervocalic consonants are not voiced after the diphthong AU (Rohlfs 1: 284): [lɐ n ʂɐviːvɐ kɔːʂɐ fɛ̟ː] ‘she didn’t know what to do, make’. Also common to many septentrional varieties is the contraction of the interrogative in proclisis (Rohlfs 2: 200-1; Coco 68 n. 126), which results in the Sammarinese allomorphs [kuʂ], [kʂɐ], and [ʂɐ]:

Sammarinese	Translation
kuʂ t vuː	what do you want?
kuʂ t ɛ̟ː faːt	what have you done?
kuʂ kɐnˈtɛ̟ː-v	what are you singing?
kuʂ k u j ɛ	what is there?
kuʂ ɛ̟ː-t ɐˈlɪ	what do you have there?
dɐ kʂɐ fɛ̟ː	what for?
ʂɐ fɪmˑ-ji	what do we do?

4.5.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Northern Italian varieties often reinforce the demonstrative pronouns with the outcome of QUĬD plus ILLĪC or ILLĀC (Rohlfs 2: 206), which is exemplified by Sammarinese [kwɛlˑ kiˈlɪ] ‘that one’ (cf. Tuscan *quello lì*), [kwɛlˑɐ kiˈlɪ] (*quella lì*), [kwɛlˑi kiˈlɪ] (*quelle lì*), [kwɛlˑ kɪˈlaː] (*quello là*). The tonic third person pronouns may be reinforced in the same manner: [luː ˈkɪ], [luː ˈlaː] ‘he, him’; [liːɐ (ɐ)ˈkɪ], [liːɐ ˈlɪ], [liːɐ (ɐ)ˈlaː] ‘she, her’. Formations of

this type are used instead of the original personal demonstrative pronouns ([ʂ̻tu] < [EC]CU-*ISTŪI, [klu] ‘he, him’ < [EC]CU-*ILLŪI; [ʂ̻tou̯] ‘they, them’ < [EC]CU-ISTŌRU; [ʂ̻tiɐ̯̃] < [EC]CU-*ISTĒI, [kliɐ̯̃] ‘she, her’ < [EC]CU-*ILLAEI), which have largely fallen out of use in northern varieties (Rohlfs 2: 207; Schürr, *VR* § 32). The pronominal continuant of the intensifier IST-ĬPSU maintains the initial vowel in dialects throughout Northern and Central Italy (Rohlfs 2: § 495), as in Sammarinese [l ɛ l iʂ̻ˈtɛʂ̻ˑ] ‘it doesn’t matter’.

4.5.6. Indefinite Pronouns

As in Tuscan *qualcheduno* ‘someone’, the dental stop originating from QUOD ‘something’ is preserved in seventeenth-century Romagnol *qualcadun*, Southwestern Sammarinese [kwɐlˈdɔũ̯ñ] [kwɐĩ̯ˈdɔũ̯ñ], and Serravallese [kɛkˈduːn] (Rohlfs 2: 213; Schürr, *RD* 1: § 12.43). As for the related indeclinable adjective, the *Pulon Matt* oscillates between the variants *quauc* and *queuch*, which are precursors of Sammarinese [kɛk]: [kɛk rigɐˈloĩ̯ñ] ‘a few little gifts’ (C. Guidi, *E’ Mount* 27). Syllable-final [l] or [ũ̯] is also dropped in Serravallese [kɛkɔːʂ̻ɐ] ‘something’: *campra checòsa pri la chêsa!* ‘buy something for the house!’ (Anderson 3: 69). While NE-IPSE-ŪNU yields Serravallese [niˈʂ̻uːn] ‘no one’, the palatal outcome in Southwestern [niˈʃɔũ̯ñ] stems from the presence of a yod in the variant NE-IPSI-ŪNU (Rohlfs 1: 408, 2: 215). Indefinite pronouns that refer to people sometimes govern a verb in the plural:

Sammarinese	Translation
kwɐlˈdɔũ̯ñ k i rɛːʂ̻tɐ	someone who remains, stays, is left
kwɐĩ̯ˈdɔũ̯ñ i diːʒ	some people say
niˈʃɔũ̯n i puˈdriː	no one would be able
niˈʃɔũ̯ñ k i kɛːntɐ	no one who sings
niˈʂ̻uːn j a vɛːrt	no one opened
i n ɛ vidiːvɐ niˈʂ̻uːn	no one could see him

Vulgar Latin NE GĔNTE yields Italo-Romance [njɛnte] (Rohlfs 2: 217-18), whose yod leads to palatalization of the initial consonant and ultimately of the tonic vowel in Romagnol (Schürr, *RD* 2: § 5.32): [ɲiːnt] ‘nothing’. Palatalization of the nasal cluster in OMNE, on the other hand, is caused by a semiconsonant that arises in phrases like OMNE ŪNU (Rohlfs 2: 219), which yields Serravallese [oˈɲuːn] ‘everyone, each (one)’. Due to its pretonic location, the initial vowel in OMNE is predisposed to rise in articulation ([uɲi tɐ̯ːn̪t] ‘every so often’) or to disappear ([ɲikɔːs̪ɐ] ‘everything’). The latter form may be reinforced with the continuant of *TŪTTU, which brings about depalatalization of the nasal consonant in the variants [tʊtˑnikɔːs̪ɐ] and [nikɔːs̪ɐ]: *Lu u i a fat nicòsa* ‘he did everything for her’, *un muscòun e magna nicòsa* ‘a bluebottle eats everything’ (Anderson 3: 51, 66). Finally, the Latin phrase QUOD VELLES ‘whatever you might want’ acquires the meaning ‘anything’, gradually yielding Old Italian *covelle* ‘something’, fifteenth-century Bolognese *chovele,* and modern Romagnol [kwɐ̯ːl] ‘thing’ (Rohlfs 2: § 502; Ercolani, “Cvël”), which also appears in Sammarinese: *E per i sfrutadòr u i’ è un brut quel!* ‘an unpleasant thing awaits exploiters’ (Lombardi, *Fra il popolo* 10).

4.6. Conclusions

In Northeastern Sammarinese, the low-mid vowels have yielded internal flexion paradigms contrasting a low-mid vowel in the masculine singular with a high non-mid vowel in the plural: [frɐˈdɐ̯ːl] ‘brother’ - [frɐˈdiːl] ‘brothers’, [ɔːtʃ] ‘eye’ - [uːtʃ] ‘eyes’. On the other hand, the Southwestern dialects contrast a long low-mid vowel in the singular with a short low-mid vowel in the plural: [frɐˈdɐ̯ːl] - [frɐˈdɛlˑ], [ɔːtʃ] - [ɔtˑʃ]. In order to understand at what point the

two configurations diverged, we must consult the *Pulon Matt*, which shows the following paradigms: *fradell – fradiell* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 29, 61), *un och – ij uoch* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 30, 63). In Northeastern Sammarinese, the rising diphthongs [je] and [wo] underwent stress retraction (> [iᵚ uᵚ]) followed by monophthongization (> [iː uː]), the same process which occurred in open syllables: *[prɛki] > [priːg] ‘you pray’, *[vɔli] > [vuː] ‘you want’. Instead, in the Southwestern dialects closed-syllable [je] and [wo] were monophthonged to [e] and [o] when the bimoraic norm was still in effect and the paradigm was generalized to original open syllables: [vɛ̨ːrt] ‘open (m. sg.)’ - [vɛrˑt] ‘open (m. pl.)’, [tʃɔːd] ‘nail’ - [tʃɔdˑ] ‘nails’. Compare Northeastern Sammarinese [vɛ̨ːrt] - [viːrt], [tʃɔːd] - [tʃuːd]. Another morphonologically conditioned development involves the feminine plural definite article and subject proclitic, where a tendency to prothesize [ɐ] before unsyllabifiable word-initial consonant clusters has been morphologized: /l dɔːni/ → [ɐl dɔːni] ‘women’, /l dʒiva/ → [ɐl dʒiːvɐ] ‘they used to say’. However, in the presence of another proclitic the consonant representing the feminine plural definite article and subject proclitic is syllabified as an onset: /d l dɔːni/ → [dli dɔːni] ‘some women’, /l l sa/ → [li l s̪aˑ] ‘they know it’. Furthermore, unsyllabifiable object clitics are consistently resyllabified as onsets: /u n m piz/ → [u m mi piːz̪] ‘I don’t like him/it’, /fa-m-l/ → [faː-m-li] ‘do/make it (m.) for me!’.

5. Diachronic Morphology of Verbs

5.1. Introduction

The final chapter will illustrate the involvement of phonological developments in the evolution of Sammarinese verb morphology, which is characterized by an even greater degree of allomorphy than declension.

For instance, in addition to—and perhaps as a result of—a higher frequency of qualitative apophony, verbs present a significantly more disintegrated system of internal flexion than substantives and adjectives. Whereas historically rural Sammarinese generally preserves metaphonic alternation in declension, the collapse of the verbal internal flexion system through inconsistent bidirectional leveling produces numerous irregularities in the vocalism of rhizotonic verb stems: *[pɔrti] > [t pɔːrt] ‘you bring’, CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĬT > [ɛ kruːvɐ] ‘he covers’, *[kredi] - [krede] > [t kreːd] ‘you believe’ - [ɛ kriːd] ‘he believes’. On the other hand, the prominence of metaphony in arhizotonic forms (-ĒTIS > -[iː], -[evi] > -[iːv]-, -[essi] > -[iss], *-[etti] > -[itt]) gives impetus to the generalization of thematic [i] (> [ɪ]) (Schürr, *NC* § 33). In Sammarinese, this occurs in the first and second persons plural of the present indicative (CANTĀMUS > [kɐnˈtɪmˑ] ‘we sing’, SĒMĬNĀTIS > [ʂimˈniːd] ‘you sow’) and subjunctive (MĬTTĀMUS > [miˈtɪmˑɐ] ‘we may put’, MĬTTĀTIS > [miˈtɪvˑɐ] ‘you may put’), the first person singular of the future ([kɐntɐˈrɪmˑ] ‘we sing’), all forms of the imperfect indicative (CREDĒBAM > [kridiːvɐ] ‘I believed’) and subjunctive (CANTASSET > [kɐnˈtɪʂˑ] ‘he might sing’), the infinitive (FŪMĀRE > [fuˈmiː] ‘to smoke’), the gerund (VĬDĔNDO > [viˈdɪnˑd]), and the past participle (GYRĀTU > [dʒiˈriːd]

‘turned’). The imperfect indicative of the first conjugation displays hypermetaphony, which entails alternation between [kantava] and analogical *[kantivi].

Also in the imperfect indicative, the first and second persons plural shift stress to the thematic vowel by analogy of -[ava], -[eva], -[iva]: *FĪNĪBĀMUS > [fniːmji] ‘we were finishing’, *FĪNĪBĀTIS > [fniːvji] ‘you were finishing’. As a result of the widespread convergence of desinences, the encliticized subject pronoun -v (< VOS) is absorbed by the second person plural desinence of the imperfect indicative (CANTABĀTIS > [kɐntiːvji] ‘you were singing’), present subjunctive (CANTĒTIS > [kɐntɪvˑɐ] ‘you may sing’), imperfect subjunctive ([kɐntɪʂˑvi] ‘you might sing’), and conditional ([kɐntɐrɪʂvi] ‘you would sing’). Nevertheless, verb paradigms contain only three to five distinct forms, which is compensated for by mandatory subject clitics: [ɐ kɐˈpɪʂˑ] ‘I understand’ - [i kɐˈpɪʂˑ] ‘they understand’. The merger of desinences occurs not only within but also across paradigms. For example, the imperfect subjunctive, preterit, and conditional share the same desinences in the second, fourth, and fifth persons: -[ɪʂˑ], -[ɪʂˑmi], -[ɪʂˑvi].

5.2. Echo Phenomenon

Northern and Central Italian varieties allow repetition of a verb or verbal phrase at the end of a sentence as a means for conveying interest, enthusiasm (Zuccagni Orlandini 166), and other emotions (Rohlfs 2: 95):

Sammarinese	Translation
iˑɐ ɐ lɐˈvoːr trɔːp, ɐ lɐˈvoːr	I work too much
tu n ʂt̪ɛː maˑi̯ dɐ ʂiɲˈtiː, tu n ʂt̪ɛː	you never listen
ɐ l faːtʃ iˑɐ, ɐ l faːtʃ	I’ll do it
ɐ ɐmniˈrɔ ɐŋk iˑɐ, ɐ ɐmniˈrɔ	I’ll come too

Sammarinese	Translation
ɐ vʊjˑ ɐnˈdɛ̰ː viːɐ, ɐ vʊjˑ ɐnˈdɛ̰ː	I want to go away
kwɛlˑ l ɛ brʊtˑ, l ɛ	that's ugly
l ɛ ɛ maːʂmi, l ɛ	that's the limit!
u j n eːrɐ pɐˈrɪtˑʃ, u i̯ n eːrɐ	there were quite a lot of them
l ɛ tʊtˑ ʂpɔːrk, l ɛ	he's all dirty

5.3. Present Indicative

5.3.1. First and Second Persons Singular

Since final -o and -i are dropped in Gallo-Italic,[96] the first and second person singular desinence for all conjugations is -Ø throughout Romagna:[97]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CAPŬLĀRE	ɐ tʃaːp, t tʃaːp	I, you take
*PASSĀRE	paːʂ	go by
*RĪDĔRE	riːd	laugh
CLŪDĔRE	tʃuːd	close
cf. It. *sbagliare*	ʐbaːi̯	be mistaken
Germanic SKLAF-	ʂtʃaːf	slap
Gothic TAIKN	taːk	begin
cf. It. *schiacciare*	tʃaːk	squash, crush
VASTĀRE	gwaːʂt	ruin
MANDUCĀRE	maːɲ	eat
*RAGŬLĀRE	raːɲ	scold
COMPANIO	ɐkumˈpaːɲ	accompany
MANDĀRE	maːnd	send
DEMANDĀRE	dmaːnd	ask
GYRĀRE	dʒiːr	turn, go round

[96] Rohlfs attributes the origin of Italo-Romance -i and its extension to all verbs to the loss of final –s, which causes the second and third person singular desinences to merge in all conjugations except the fourth:

Person	First Conjugation	Second Conjugation	Third Conjugation	Fourth Conjugation
2nd Sg.	CANTAS > *CANTA	*VEDES > *VEDE	*CORRES > *CORRE	DORMĪS > DORMI
3rd Sg.	CANTA	VEDE	CORRE	DORME

With DORMI - DORMES standing alone as a model of opposition between the second and third persons singular, -i is generalized to the other conjugations (2: 248).

[97] Rohlfs 2: 246; Coco § 58; Schürr, *VR* § 34.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SALŪTĀRE	s̪ɐˈluːt	greet

In the Apennines and southeast of the Marecchia (Schürr, *VR* 45-46), unsyllabifiable consonant clusters cause vowel paragoge in the first and second persons singular of some verbs (cf. French *j'entre* < ĬNTRO, *je tremble* < *TRĔMŬLO). Unlike modern French and other Northern Italian dialects (see Rohlfs 2: 246), the paragogic vowel is not generalized to other verbs as a desinence (cf. French *je chante* < *chant* < CANTO, *j'aime* < *aim* < AMO). In other words, the paragogic vowel is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of the desinence occurring in complementary distribution with -Ø. Furthermore, the paragogic vowel itself has at least two different forms, -[ɪ] and -[i], which occur in free variation with one another. Northeastern Sammarinese markedly favors the latter variant, while oscillation between the two characterizes the dialects of Southwestern San Marino:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐ iːrvi, -ɪ, t iːrvi, -ɪ	I, you open
*ŪR(Ŭ)LĀRE	uːrlɪ, -i	scream, yell
PARABOLĀRE	pɛ̟ːrlɪ, -i	talk
RE-TŌRNĀRE	ɐrtoːrnɪ, ɐrtɔu̯rni	return
FĬRMĀRE	fɛ̟ːrmɪ, -i	stop
DŎRMĪRE	dɔːrmɪ, -i	sleep
IMAGĬNĀRE	imaːdʒni, -ɪ	(pron.) imagine
ŎDIU	ɔːdjɪ, -i	hate
INVIDIA	ɐŋviːdjɪ, iŋviːdji	envy
ĬNTRĀRE	eːntrɪ, ɛ̟u̯ntrɪ, ɛ̟ːntri	enter
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	kɔmˑprɪ, kɐmˑpri	buy
RABIES	ɐraːbjɪ, -i	get angry
CAMBIĀRE	kaːmbjɪ, -i	change
AD-ŎPER-ĀRE	dɔːvrɪ, -i	use
ĬN-CŎNTR-ĀRE	ɐŋkɔu̯ñtrɪ, iŋkɔu̯ñtri	meet
CŎNFLĀRE	gɔu̯m̃fjɪ, -i	inflate, bloat
SĒMĬNĀRE	s̪ɪmˑnɪ, s̪ɛmˑni	sow

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
STUDIUM	ʂtuːdjɪ, -i	study
SŬFFLĀRE	ʂɔfˈjɪ, ʂʊfˈji	blow
RŎTŬLU	ʁruːglɪ	roll
DEMONSTRĀRE	dimɔʂˑtrɪ, dimʊʂˑtri	look one's age
GRATIA	riŋgrɛ̯ːθjɪ	thank
MACHĬNĀRE	mɛ̯ːʐnɪ	grind, mince
FISTŬLĀRI	fɪʂˑtʃjɪ	whistle

5.3.2. Stem Leveling

In the following examples, the velar stem-final consonant of the first person singular (CRĒSCO) is palatalized by analogy of the verb's other forms (*CRESCI, *CRESCE, etc.) (Rohlfs 2: 262-63):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CŎCO	ʁ kɔːʐ	I cook
*CONŌSCO	ʁ knʁʂˑ	know
CRĒSCO	ʁ krɛʂˑ	I grow
STRINGO	ʁ ʂtrɪnˑdʒ	I squeeze
PLANGO	ʁ pjɛnˑdʒ	I cry
VINCO	ʁ viːntʃ	I win
*ADCŎRRĬGO	ʁ m n ʁŋˈkɔːrdʒ	I notice, realize it
TĬNGO	ʁ tɛnˑdʒ	I die

5.3.3. Third Person Singular and Plural

The first conjugation desinences –AT and –ANT typically yield -a and -an in Northern Italo-Romance (Rohlfs 2: 248, 256). Hence, Emilian and Bolognese use different endings to indicate the third person singular and plural: [lʊ ʁl kæ̃ŋˑtʁ] 'he sings' - [lʁu̯r i kæ̃ŋˑtən] 'they sing' (Schürr, *VR* § 34). In Romagnol, however, final -n is dropped, which leads to the convergence of the third person desinences before the earliest written attestation of the

language—Pier Francesco da Faenza's *La commedia nuova*—appears in the late fifteenth century (Schürr, *RD* 1: § 13.11). Thus, Romagnol employs the desinence -a (→-[ɐ]) to mark third person singular as well as plural forms of the first conjugation:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*COMMANDĀRE	ɛ kmaːndɐ, i kmaːndɐ	he is, they are in charge
TALIĀRE	taːjɐ	cut
ĬNCRASSĀRE	iŋgraːʂɐ	fatten
CAPUT	kaːpɐ	choose
SPAMIĀRE	ʂpɐraːɲɐ	save
Frankish *WAIDHANJAN	gwɐdaːɲɐ	earn
Provençal *viatge*	vjaːdʒɐ	travel
cf. Italian *biasciare*	bjaːʂɐ	chew
BALLĀRE	baːlɐ	dance
*MATEA	(ɐ)maːθɐ	kill
*EXCAPTĀRE	ʂkaːtɐ	spring, leap
EX-BATAC(Ŭ)LĀRE	ʐbɐdaːjɐ	yawn
TRACTĀRE	traːtɐ	negotiate, treat
DŎLU	duːlɐ	moan, groan
cf. Italian *cigolare*	tʃuːlɐ	squeak, creak
JŎCĀRE	dʒuːgɐ	play
FATĪGĀRE	fɐdiːgɐ	work hard, toil, struggle
cf. Italian *stirare*	ʂtiːrɐ	iron, press
FĪLUM	iŋfiːlɐ	thread
DŪRĀRE	duːrɐ	last
*BRUSIĀRE	bruːʐɐ	burn
PUNCTA	ʂpuːntɐ	break the point off

While third person singular -e (< -ET, -ĬT) of -ERE and -ĪRE verbs is typically syncopated in Gallo-Italic (Rohlfs 2: § 529), Romagnol additionally sheds any trace of -ENT or -ŬNT before the language is recorded in writing (Schürr, *NC* § 34). Hence, the desinence -Ø marks both the third person singular and plural of the -ERE and -ĪRE conjugations:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CLŪDĔRE	ɛl tʃuːd, i tʃuːd	he closes, they close

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PLACĒRE	piːʒ̱	be pleasing, likable
BATT(U)ĔRE	baːt	beat, strike
*CUSĪRE	kuːʒ̱	sew
RELŪCĔRE	ʋrˈluːʒ̱	sparkle, twinkle, glitter
*NASCĔRE	naːʂ̱	be born
DECĪDĔRE	deˈtʃiːd	decide
SŬBRĪDĔRE	ʂ̱uˈriːd	smile
VĪVĔRE	viːv	live
VINCĔRE	viːntʃ	win

When unsyllabifiable consonant clusters occur in word-final position in the third person singular or plural, the paragogic vowel is -[ʋ] by analogy of the first conjugation: [dɔːvri] ‘I, you use’ - [dɔːvrʋ] ‘he, they use(s)’, [fɛ̱ːrmi] ‘I, you stop’ - [fɛ̱ːrmʋ] ‘he, they stop(s)’. Thus, the quality of the epenthetic vowel is determined by the grammatical function of the input:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DŎRMĪRE	ɛl dɔːrmʋ, i dɔːrmʋ	he sleeps, they sleep
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	iːrvʋ	open(s)
AERŪGĬNEM	ʋrʊdˈʒnʋ	rust(s)

Perhaps the Sammarinese distribution of third person desinences represents an intermediate stage with respect to the situation in Imolese, which has generalized first conjugation –[ʋ] to the third person of all -ERE and -ĪRE verbs: CRĒDĬT, CRĒDŬNT > [kreːdʋ]; SĔNTĬT, SĔNTIŬNT > [ʂ̱ẽːtʋ] (Schürr, *NC* § 34).

5.3.4. First Person Plural

The developments that characterize Central and Southeastern Romagnol diverge considerably. In Central Romagnol, the continuant of -ĒMUS absorbs the enclitic subject pronoun -n (< NŌS), yielding -[en] and then -[ẽː] by nasalization of the tonic vowel. In a typical Central

Romagnol dialect such as Forlivese, this desinence has been generalized to all conjugations: [nwiːtɐr ɐ kɐnˈtẽː] ‘we sing’, [kɐrˈdẽː] ‘we believe’, [s̪inˈtẽː] ‘we hear’, [fnẽː] ‘we finish’ (Schürr, *Probleme* 172).

In the Southeast, on the other hand, where enclisis of -n (< NŌS) does not occur, -m is preserved and eventually geminated, which determines the closed-syllable outcome of the tonic vowel: -ĀMUS > *-[amm] > -[aːm], -ĒMUS > *-[emm] > -[ɛmˑ], -ĪMUS > *-[imm] > -[ɪmˑ] (Schürr, *Probleme* 173). In time, the latter desinence supplants the other two so that contemporary Sammarinese marks the first person plural of all conjugations with -[ɪmˑ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FĪNĪMUS	ɐ fnɪmˑ	we finish
MANDŪCĀRE	ɐ mɐˈɲɪmˑ	we eat
*RASC(Ŭ)LĀRE	ɐ rɐs̪ˈtʃɪmˑ	we hug, keep close to a wall
PARTĪRI	ɐ pɐrˈtɪmˑ	we leave
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐ ɐrˈvɪmˑ	we arrive
Gothic TAIKN	ɐ ɐrtɐˈkɪmˑ	we start again
LASCĀRE	ɐ lɐˈs̪ɪmˑ	we leave, let
PLĒNUM	ɐ tʃ ɐmpiˈnɪmˑ	we fill ourselves
DĪGĔRĔRE	ɐ didʒeˈrɪmˑ	we digest
CAMBIĀRE	ɐ kamˈbjɪmˑ	we change
CAPĔRE	a kɐˈpɪmˑ	we understand
Longobard STRAUFINŌN	ɐ s̪truˈfɪmˑ	we rub, polish, wipe
CAPŬLĀRE	ɐ tʃɐˈpɪmˑ	we take
*EXCAPPĀRE	ɐ s̪kɐˈpɪmˑ	we go out
REDŪCĔRE	ɐ tʃ ɐrduˈz̪ɪmˑ	we are reduced
CONTINUĀRE	ɐ kuntiˈnwɪmˑ	we continue
*CAPTIĀRE	ɐ kɐˈtʃɪmˑ	we hunt, put
VĪVĔRE	ɐ viˈvɪmˑ	we live
GYRĀRE	ɐ dʒiˈrɪmˑ	we turn, go round
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪMUS	ɐ s̪kruˈvɪmˑ	we discover, uncover

The leveling process remains incomplete until fairly recently, as evidenced by early twentieth-century vestiges of -[aːm]. Balsimelli records copious examples: *a restam* ‘we remain’ (3.24), *a muntam* ‘we go up’ (4.64), *a entram* ‘we enter’ (5.28, 7.5, 9.22), *A cminzam* ‘we begin’ (6.1), *a c’aviam* ‘we set out’ (10.58), *ac truvam* ‘we end up’ (12.43). However, the original desinence is all but leveled in the dialects of the generation surveyed by Anderson, who documents the isolated *andàm* ‘we go’ (2: 23).

5.3.5. Second Person Plural

In Emilia and Romagna, first conjugation -ĀTĬS yields *-[ati] (cf. *ascoltati, stati, adunati* in Boiardo) (Rohlfs 2: 253; Schürr, *NC* § 33), which—through metaphony—produces the desinence *-è* found in the *Pulon Matt* (Schürr, *NC* § 34, *VR* § 34). According to Rohlfs (1: 273-74), intervocalic [d] (< T) is often fricativized (> [ð]) in Northern Italo-Romance varieties such as Romagnol and Bolognese, which sometimes leads to the consonant being dropped altogether. Oscillation between preservation and deletion of the dental obstruent is documented in fourteenth-century Bolognese texts: -ĀTIS > *-ade, -ae* (Coco 78 n. 152). In correspondence with this history, Southwestern Sammarinese presents the desinence -[e̯ːd] while the Northeastern dialects show -[e̯ː]):[98]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀTIS	ɐ kɐnˈte̯ːd	you sing
*BRUSIĀTIS	ɐ bruˈʒe̯ː	you burn
STĀTIS	ɐ ʂte̯ːd	you are, stay
PROBĀTIS	ɐ pruˈve̯ːd	you try
DATIS	ɐ de̯ːd	you give
cf. Italian *sbagliate*	ɐ ʒbɐˈje̯ːd	you are mistaken
IMAGĬNĀRI	ɐ imɐdʒiˈne̯ːd	you imagine

[98] However, the same varieties which show -d omit the final consonant before enclitics: *Vlì v* ‘do you want?’ (Anderson 2: 43).

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ADIUTĀTIS	ɐ m ɐjuˈtɛ̯ː(d)	you help me
*TROPĀTIS	ɐ truˈvɛ̯ː(d)	you find
SŬFFLĀTIS	ɐ ʂuˈfjɛ̯ː(d)	you blow
MĬNĀTIS	ɐ ɐmnɛ̯ː(d)	you hit, beat

By the time of the *Pulon Matt*'s composition, -ĒTĬS and -ĪTĬS have merged into -*ì* as a result of metaphony triggered by secondary -i: -ĒTĬS > *-[eti] > -[iː] (cf. Old Emilian *aviti, faciti*). Consequently, -ERE and -ĪRE verbs develop the variants -[iːd] and -[iː] in Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
HABĒTIS	ɐ ɐˈviː(d)	you have
*VOLĒTIS	ɐ vliː(d)	you want
*SAPĒTIS	ɐ ʂɐˈviː(d)	you know
*POTĒTIS	ɐ puˈtiː, puˈdiːd	you can
*CREDĒTIS	ɐ kriˈdiː(d)	you believe
DĪCĔRE	ɐ dʒiː(d)	you say
PRAEFERRE	ɐ prefeˈriː, prifɐˈriːd	you prefer
RĔDDĔRE	ɐ v rɐnˈdiː, rinˈdiːd kɔ̯uñt	you realize
DIVIDĔRE	ɐ diviˈdiː(d)	you divide
VĬDĒTIS	ɐ viˈdiː(d)	you see
*VENDĒTIS	ɐ vɐnˈdiː, vinˈdiːd	you sell

The generalization of -[iːd] to the first conjugation is not uncommon in Southwestern Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
SĒMĬNĀRE	ɐ ʂimˈniːd	you sow
cf. Italian *scrollare*	ɐ ʂkruˈliːd	you shake
ĬNSĬGNĀRE	ɐ ɐnsiˈɲiːd	you teach, show, indicate
*BRUSIĀRE	ɐ bruˈʒiːd	you burn
Gothic RAUBŌN	ɐ ruˈbiːd	you steal
*BLASTĒMIĀRE	ɐ bjɐʂtˈmiːd	you curse, swear, blaspheme
cf. Old Ravennate *sparguiar*, Italian *spàrgolo*	ɐ spɐrguˈjiːd	you spread

5.3.6. Stem Expansion with -ISC-

Vulgar Latin extends the inchoative infix -ISC-, divorced from its original function, to original –ĪRE and –ERE verbs so that all forms are stressed on the desinence: FĪNIO – FĪNĪMUS > FINÍSCO – FINÍMUS (Rohlfs 2: 242). Since the vernaculars tend to bring the complementary allomorph -[isk]- into line with -[iʃʃ]- (Rohlfs 2: § 524) (cf. It. *finisco* - *finisci*), the *Pulon Matt* indicates the first, second, third, and sixth persons with the same form, -*iss* (Schürr, *NC* § 34). Closed-syllable *i* persists in nineteenth-century Sammarinese texts: *Am divertiss* 'I have fun' (P. Rossi, "Risposta"), *an capisc* 'I don't understand' (Balsimelli 2.58), *Me av servisc* 'io vi servo' (Balsimelli 6.51). The original vowel cedes to *e* ([ɪ]) by the early twentieth century: *e sparesc* 'he disappears' (Balsimelli 3.23, 6.64), *e fiòur u sa musés* 'the flower will wither' (Anderson 3: 40). In contemporary Sammarinese the desinence -[ɪʂˑ], which occurs in free variation with -[ɪʃˑ] outside of Serravallese, marks the first, second, third, and sixth persons:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FĪNĪRE	ɐ, t, ɛ, i fnɪʂˑ	I, you, he, they finish(es)
CAPĔRE	kɐˈpɪʂˑ	understand
SEPELĪRE	ʂplɪʂˑ	burry
PROHIBĒRE	pruiˈbɪʂˑ	prohibit
POLĪRE	puˈlɪʂˑ	clean
PARĒRE	ʂpɐˈrɪʂˑ	disappear
Germanic *WARJAN	gwɐˈrɪʂˑ	cure, heal, recover
TRADĔRE	trɐˈdɪʂˑ	betray
ŪNĪRE	uˈnɪʂˑ	mix
*PATĪRE	pɐˈtɪʂˑ	suffer
cf. Old Italian *piccinino*	ɐnθniˈnɪʂˑ	make(s) smaller
*EBR(I)ŎNIA	iŋvurˈnɪʃˑ	stun, daze
cf. Italian *ammannire*	mɐˈnɪʃˑ	prepare

As illustrated by the following examples, the infix is applied much more extensively in dialects than in standard Italian (Rohlfs 2: § 524):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PLĒNUM	ɐmpiˈnɪʂˑ	fill
VESTĪRE	viʂˈtɪʂˑ	dress
PARTĪRI	pɐrˈtɪʂˑ	they leave
French *divertir*	diverˈtɪʂˑ	(pron.) enjoy oneself
SERVĪRE	ʂɐrˈvɪʂˑ	serve
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐˈvrɪʂˑ, ɐrˈvɪʂˑ	open
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	kuˈvrɪʃˑ, kruˈvɪʂˑ	cover
*SEQUĪRE	ʂeˈgwɪʃˑ	follow
*SŬFFERĪRE	ʂuˈfrɪʃˑ	suffer
*ĪNŎDIĀRE	ɐnuˈjɪʃˑ	(pron.) get bored

5.3.7. Vowel Alternation

Two distinct types of vowel alternation are prevalent in verbs: apophony and metaphony.

5.3.7.1. Apophony

Sammarinese verb paradigms are heavily influenced by qualitative apophony, the phenomenon whereby the same stem presents alternating vowel qualities due to a shift in stress (Rohlfs 2: 263): LAVO > [ɐ lɛ̰ːv] ‘I wash’ - LAVĀMUS > [ɐ lɐˈvɪmˑ] ‘we wash’. The rhizotonic stems ([lɛ̰ːv]-) listed below occur in the first, second, third, and sixth persons of the present indicative and subjunctive, second person imperatives, -ĔRE infinitives, and strong past participles. The arhizotonic stems ([lɐv]-) appear in the fourth and fifth persons of the present indicative and subjunctive, fifth person imperatives, all forms of the imperfect indicative and subjunctive, the future, the conditional, weak infinitives and past participles, as well as gerunds. In sum, rhizotonic and corresponding arhizotonic forms serve as principle parts for the conjugation of stem-changing verbs.

As illustrated by the example above, open-syllable [a] yields tonic [ɐ̯ː] in correspondence with atonic [ɐ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
CAVĀRE	kɐ̯ːv-	kɐv-	take off
Frankish *WARDŌN	gwɐ̯ːrd-	gwɐrd-	look at, watch
PARĒRE	pɐ̯ːr-	pɐr-	seem, look like
PRAEPARĀRE	pripɐ̯ːr-	pripɐr-	prepare
ĬMPARĀRE	ɐmpɐ̯ːr-	ɐmpɐr-	learn
SALTĀRE	s̪ɐ̯ːlt-	s̪ɐlt-	jump
REPARĀRE	ɐrpɐ̯ːr-	ɐrpɐr-	repair
*ALTIĀRE	ɐ̯ːlθ-	ɐlθ-	raise
EXCALDĀRE	s̪kɐ̯ːld-	s̪kɐld-	heat, warm
*BALTĀRE	ɐrbɐ̯ːlt-	ɐrbɐlt-	tip over
*PARABOLĀRE	pɐ̯ːrl-	pɐrl-	talk
FALCEM	fɐ̯ːltʃ-	fɐltʃ-	reap
*CARRĬCĀRE	kɐ̯ːrg-	kɐrg-	load
PACĀRE	pɐ̯ːg-	pɐg-	pay
VALĒRE	vɐ̯ːl-	vɐl-	be worth
LARGUM	z̪lɐ̯ːrg-	z̪lɐrg-	widen
MACHĬNĀRE	mɐ̯ːz̪n-	mɐz̪n-	grind
*BADĀRE	bɐ̯ːd-	bɐd-	look after, mind
Italian *ringraziare*	riŋgrɐ̯ːθj-	riŋgrɐθj-	thank

While nasalized [a] typically produces tonic [ɐ̃] in Central Romagnol ([ɐ kɐ̃t] ‘I sing’), in Southeastern Romagnol stressed [ɐ̯ː] alternates with atonic [ɐ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
CANTĀRE	kɐ̯ːnt-	kɐnt-	sing
*ABANTIĀRE	ɐrvɐ̯ːnθ-	ɐrvɐnθ-	be left over, remain
CLAMĀRE	tʃɐ̯ːm-	tʃɐm-	call
cf. Italian *schiantare*	s̪tʃɐ̯ːnt-	s̪tʃɐnt-	tear, rip, pull up
*LONGITĀNU	ɐluntɐ̯ːn-	ɐluntɐn-	go away
MANCU	(ɐ)mɐ̯ːŋk-	(ɐ)maŋk-	be lacking, missing
CAMPU	kɐ̯ːmp-	kɐmp-	live, get by, manage
PLANTĀRE	pjɐ̯ːnt-	pjɐnt-	plant, hammer, drive

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
Arabic RAQAMA	rikɛ̣ːm-	rikɐm-	embroider

Secondary [aj̯] also gives tonic [ɛ̣ː] in conjunction with atonic [ɐ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
BASIĀRE	bɛ̣ːz̲-	bɐz̲-	kiss
*MA(N)SIĀRE	mɛ̣ːz̲-	mɐz̲-	hide

Open-syllable [ɛ] yields tonic [ɛ̣ː] or [eː] alongside atonic [i] or [Ø]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
GĔLĀRE	dʒeːl-	(ɐ)dʒl-	freeze
AD-LĔVĀRE	ɐrleːv-	ɐrliv-	breed
MĔTĔRE	mɛ̣ːd-	mid-	reap
TRĔMĔRE	trɛ̣ːm-, treːm-	trim-	tremble

Before syllable-final [r], [ɛ] and [e] produce tonic [ɛ̣ː] in correspondence with a centralized atonic vowel:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
NĔRVU	z̲nɛ̣ːrv-	z̲nərv-	wear out
TRANSVĔRSU	(ɐ)trɐvɛ̣ːrs̲-	(ɐ)trɐvɐr-	cross
PĔRDĔRE	pɛ̣ːrd-	pɐrd-	lose, waste, miss
FĬRMĀRE	fɛ̣ːrm-	fɐrm-	stop
Longob. SKERZON	s̲kɛ̣ːrθ-	s̲kɐrθ-	joke, kid

Closed-syllable [ɛ] yields tonic [ɛ̣ː] in conjunction with arhizotonic [i] or [Ø]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
*CONFĔSSĀRE	kuŋˈfɛ̣ːs̲-	kuns-	(pron.) confess
SPĔC(Ŭ)LU	s̲pɛ̣ːtʃ-	s̲pitʃ-	(pron.) look in the mirror
*ASPĔCTĀRE	(ɐ)s̲pɛ̣ːt-	(ɐ)s̲pit-	wait
*ININSITĀRE	nɛ̣ːs̲t-	nis̲t-	graft
MĔDIU	z̲mɛ̣ːð-	z̲mið-	cut in half

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
ACRU	ɐgrɛːʂt-	ɐgriʂt-	(pron.) hesitate
LĔGĔRE	lɛːdʒ-	lidʒ-	read

Nasalized [ɛ] produces tonic [ɛi̯] in Southwestern Sammarinese and [ɛː] in Serravallese, where the outcome merges with that of nasalized [a]. The corresponding arhizotonic form shows [i] or [ɐ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
*DEVĔNTĀRE	dvɛi̯ñt-, dvɛːnt-	dvint-, dvɐnt-	become
*ĬNVĔNTĀRE	ɐɱvɛi̯ñt-	iɱvint-, iɱvɐnt-	invent
CONTĔNTU	kuntɛi̯ñt-, ɐkuntɛːnt-	ɐkuntɐnt-	(pron.) be content
PRAESĔNTĀRE	prezʐɛi̯ñt-, prezʐɛːnt-	prizʐɐnt-	introduce
LAMĔNTĀRI	lɐmɛi̯ñt-, lɐmɛːnt-	lɐmɐnt-	complain
TĔMPTĀRE	tɛi̯ñt-, tɛːnt-	tint-, tɐnt-	attempt
*ĬNDORMENTĀRE	ɐndurmɛi̯ñt-, ɐndurmɛːnt-	indurmint-, ɐndurmɐnt-	(pron.) fall asleep
LĔNTU	lɛi̯ñt-	lint-, lɐnt-	loosen, slacken
PENSĀRE	pɛi̯ñʂ-, pɛːnʂ-	pinʂ-, pɐnʂ-	think

When followed by [nd], [ɛ] and [e] yield tonic [ɛ] in conjunction with atonic [i] or [ɐ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
RĔDDĔRE	rɛnˑd-	rind-, rɐnd-	notice, realize
FACIĔNDA	ʂfɐtʃɛnˑd-	ʂfɐtʃind-	toil, drudge
*PĔNDĔRE	pɛnˑd-	pind-	dangles, staggers
EXPĔNDĔRE	ʂpɛnˑd-	ʂpind-	spend
ACCĔNDĔRE	tʃɛnˑd-	tʃind-	light
EXTĔNDĔRE	ʂtɛnˑd-	ʂtind-, ʂtɐnd-	spread, hang out
PRAETĔNDĔRE	pretɛnˑd-	prətind-	demand, expect
DEFĔNDĔRE	difɛnˑd-	difind-	defend, protect
DESCĔNDĔRE	ʂɛnˑd-	ʂind-	go, come down
VĒNDĔRE	vɛnˑd-	vind-	sell

Open-syllable [ɔ] produces rhizotonic [ɔː] and arhizotonic [u]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
PŎRTĀRE	pɔːrt-	purt-	bring, carry
RECŎRDĀRI	ʁrkɔːrd-	ʁrkurd-	remind, (pron.) remember
PRŎBĀRE	prɔːv-	pruv-	try
*TRŎPĀRE	trɔːv-	truv-	find
*MŎVĔRE	mɔːv-	muv-	move
DŎRMĪRE	dɔːrm-	durm-	sleep
ŎDIU	ɔːdj-	udj-	hate
AD-ŎPĔR-ĀRE	dɔːvr-	duvr-	use
TŎNU	ʂtɔːn-	ʂtun-	sing, play out of tune
*VŎL(Ŭ)TĀRE	ʁrvɔːlt-	ʁrvult-	turn again, turn over
RENŎVĀRE	ʁrnɔːv-	ʁrnuv-	put on for the first time
NŎTĀRE	nɔːt-	nut-	notice
*NŎTĀRE	nɔːd-	nud-	swim
SŎNĀRE	ʂɔːn-	ʂun-	play, ring
*CŎCĔRE	kɔːʐ-	kuʐ-	cook
*PLŎVĔRE	pjɔːv-	pjuv-	rain
GAUDĒRE	gɔːd-	gud-	enjoy
DŎLĒRE	dɔːl-	dul-	hurt
ADCŎRRĬGĔRE	ʁŋkɔːrdʒ-	ʁŋkurdʒ-	(pron.) notice, realize
*MŎRĪRE	mɔːr-	mur-	die

Closed-syllable [ɔ] also gives tonic [ɔː] in correspondence with atonic [u]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
SCLŎPPU	ʂtʃɔːp-	ʂtʃup-	kick the bucket, explode, burst
RE-AD-CŎLLĬGĔRE	ʁrkɔːj-	ʁrkuj-	pick (up), harvest
SPŎLIĀRE	ʂpɔːj-	ʂpuj-	undress, strip
BĬS-LŬSCUS	ʐbʁrlɔːtʃ-	ʐbʁrlutʃ-	peep at, cast sidelong glances at, eye
Longobard STROZZĀ	ʂtrɔːθ-	ʂtruθ-	choke, strangle
*EXCŎCTĀRE	ʂkɔːt-	ʂkut-	burn, scald, sear, be very hot
PŎS(Ĭ)TU	ʂpɔːʂt-	ʂpuʂt-	move

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
PŎDIU	pɔːdʒ-	pudʒ-	lean, rest, lay, place
*ADŎC(Ŭ)LĀRE	dɔːtʃ-	dutʃ-	catch sight of
French *brouiller*	ʐ̱brɔːj-	ʐ̱bruj-	unravel, solve
CŎ(N)STĀRE	kɔːʂ̱t-	kuʂ̱t-	cost
CŎCHLEA	ʂ̱kɔːtʃ-	ʂ̱kutʃ-	annoy, bother
PASTA	pɐʂ̱trɔːtʃ-	pɐʂ̱trutʃ-	dirty, smear, mess up
FLŎCCU	fjɔːk-	fjuk-	fall (snow)

Nasalized [ɔ] and [o] yield tonic [ɔ̰u̯] together with atonic [u]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
ĬN-CŎNTR-ĀRE	ɐŋkɔ̰u̯ñtr-	ɐŋkuntr-	meet
CŎNFLĀRE	gɔ̰u̯m̃fj-	gumfj-	inflate, bloat
REPAUSĀRE	ɐrpɔ̰u̯ñʂ̱-	ɐrpunʂ̱-	rest
RŬMPĔRE	rɔ̰u̯m̃p-	rump-	break
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	kɔ̰u̯m̃pr-	kumpr-	buy
PERDŌNĀRE	pɐrdɔ̰u̯ñ-	pɐrdun-	forgive
French *abandonner*	ɐbɐndɔ̰u̯ñ-	ɐbɐndun-	abandon
cf. reg. It. *vontare*	vɔ̰u̯ñt-	vunt-	overflow, burst
RATIŌNE	rɐʐ̱ɔ̰u̯ñ-	rɐʐ̱un-	reason, think, talk
CŎMPŬTĀRE	kɔ̰u̯ñt-	kunt-	count
*BASTŌNE	bɐʂ̱tɔ̰u̯ñ-	bɐʂ̱tun-	beat, thrash

Even in Serravallese, where the diphthong [o̯i] has generally been eliminated from the finite forms of verbs, open-syllable [e] produces tonic [eː] in correspondence with atonic [i] or [Ø]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
RECĬPĔRE	ritʃeːv-	ritʃiv-	receive
SUCCĒDĔRE	ʂ̱utʃeːd-	ʂ̱utʃid-	happen
LĬGĀRE	leːg-	ɐlg-	tie, bind
PĒ(N)SĀRE	peːʐ̱-, poi̯ʐ̱-	bʐ̱-	weigh
EXPLĬCĀRE	ʂ̱pjeːg-	ʂ̱pig-	explain
SPĒRĀRE	ʂ̱peːr-	ʂ̱per-, ʂ̱pir-	hope

Closed-syllable [e] yields tonic [ɛ] alongside atonic [i] or [Ø]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
MĬTTĔRE	mɛtˑ-	mit-	put
DĬGNĀRE	dɛɲˑ-	diɲ-	deign, condescend
CRĒSCĔRE	krɛʂˑ-	kriʂ-	grow
BĒCCU	bɛkˑ-	bik-	peck, nab, catch, get
Italian *parcheggiare*	pɐrkɛdˑʒ-	pɐrkidʒ-	park
*SĬMĬLIĀRE	ɐʂɐrmɛjˑ-	ɐʂɐrmj-	resemble

In hiatus with a subsequent vowel, [e] produces rhizotonic [ɛjˑ] in conjunction with arhizotonic [j]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
VĬA	ɐvɛjˑ-	ɐvj-	(pron.) set out, off

Open-syllable [o] gives tonic [oː] in Southwestern Sammarinese and [ɔ̯u̯] in Serravallese, both of which alternate with atonic [u]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
VOLĀRE	voːlˑ-, vɔ̯u̯lˑ-	vulˑ-	fly
TORNĀRE	ɐrtoːrnˑ-, ɐrtɔ̯u̯rnˑ-	ɐrturnˑ-	return
*ASCŬLTĀRE	ɐʂkoːltˑ-, ɐʂkɔ̯u̯ltˑ-	ɐʂkultˑ-	listen
AMŌRE	ɐnɐmoːrˑ-, inɐmɔ̯u̯rˑ-	ɐnɐmurˑ-	fall in love
CŌLĀRE	koːlˑ-, kɔ̯u̯lˑ-	kulˑ-	drip
CONSŌLĀRI	kunʂoːlˑ-, kunʂɔ̯u̯lˑ-	kunʂulˑ-	console, comfort
SPŌ(N)SĀRE	ʂpoːzˑ-, ʂpɔ̯u̯zˑ-	ʂpuzˑ-	marry
LABŌRĀRE	lɐvoːrˑ-, lɐvɔ̯u̯rˑ-	lɐvurˑ-	work

Closed-syllable [o] yields tonic [ɔ] or [ɐ] in correspondence with atonic [u]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
DISCŬRRĔRE	θkɔrˑ-, θkɐrˑ-	θkurˑ-	talk
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	kɔmˑprˑ-, kɐmˑprˑ-	kumprˑ-	buy
PROFŬNDU	ʂprufɔnˑdˑ-, ʂprufɐnˑdˑ-	ʂprufundˑ-	collapse, sink
cf. It. *controllare*	kuntrɔlˑ-, kuntrɐlˑ-	kuntrulˑ-	check

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
cf. It. *toccare*	tɔkˑ-, tɐkˑ-	tuk-	touch
CIRCŬMDĀRE	tʃirkɔnˑd-, tʃirkɐnˑd-	tʃirkund-	surround
Germanic *BISUNDHĪ	bʐ̬ɔɲˑ-, bʐ̬ɐɲˑ-	bʐ̬uɲ-	one must
*GURGŬTIA	ɐŋgɔθˑ-, iŋgɐθˑ-	ɐŋguθ-	fatten, stuff
*RESPONDĚRE	ɐrʂ̬pɔnˑd, ɐrʂ̬pɐnˑd	ɐrʂ̬pund-	answer
*CONŌSCĚRE	knɔʂ̬ˑ-, knɐʂ̬ˑ-	knuʂ̬-	know
MŬSTEU	ɐmɔʃˑ-, ɐmɐʂ̬ˑ-	ɐmuʂ̬-	wither
BŬLLĪRE	bɔlˑ-	bul-	boil
VERECŬNDIA	vɐrgɔɲˑ-	vɐrguˈɲɛː	(pron.) be ashamed

In two frequently occurring verbs, open-syllable [i] produces rhizotonic [iː] in conjunction with arhizotonic [Ø]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐriːv-	ɐrv-	arrive
cf. It. *tirare*	tiːr-	tr-	pull, throw, blow

Closed-syllable [i] yields tonic [ɪ] in correspondence with atonic [i] or [Ø]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
FĪXU	fɪʂ̬ˑ-	fiʂ̬-	fix, fasten
FISTŬLĀRI	fɪʂ̬ˑtʃ-	fiʂ̬tʃ-	whistle
cf. reg. It. *sguillare*	ʐ̬gwɪlˑ-	ʐ̬gwil-	slide, slip
cf. Italian *pisciare*	pɪʂ̬ˑ-	piʂ̬-	piss
BERYLLU	brɪlˑ-	bril-	shine, twinkle
cf. Italian *schizzare*	ʂ̬kwɪθ-	ʂ̬kwiθ-	squirt
*STRĪD(Ŭ)LĀRE	ʂ̬trɪlˑ-	ʂ̬tril-	scream, shriek
cf. Italian *strisciare*	ʂ̬trɪʂ̬ˑ-	ʂ̬triʂ̬-	drag, scrapegraze, flatter
cf. reg. It. *prillare*	prɪlˑ-	pril-	whirl, circle
SŬBTĪLIĀRE	ʂ̬tɪjˑ-	ʂ̬tj-	thin down

The stems [ʂ̬trilɪkˑ]- and [ʂ̬trilik]- ‘shine, glitter’ presuppose the infiltration of [i] into the original root -LŪC- (cf. Romagnol [ʂ̬tɐrluˈkeʐ̬]).

Nasalized [i] gives tonic [ɛi̯] or [iː] together with atonic [i] or [Ø]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
RŬĪNA	ʁrvɛi̯ñ-, ʁrviːn-	ʁrvin-	ruin
*CAMMĪNU	kʁmɛi̯ñ-, kʁmiːn-	kʁmn-	walk
*TRAGĬNĀRE	ʂtrʁʂiːn-	ʂtrʁʂn-	drag

Finally, closed-syllable [u] yields tonic [ʊ], which alternates with atonic [u]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
FŪMĀRE	fʊmˑ-	fum-	smoke
O. Prov. *botar*	bʊtˑ-	but-	throw
cf. It. *ciucciare*	tʃʊtˑʃ-	tʃutʃ-	suck
*SŪC(Ŭ)LĀRE	ʂʊtˑʃ-	ʂutʃ-	suck
GUSTĀRE	gʊʂˑt-	guʂt-	taste
Gothic RAUBŌN	rʊbˑ-	rub-	steal
FUGĔRE	fʊdˑʒ-	fudʒ-	go away
FRŪCTU	ʂfrʊtˑ-	ʂfrut-	overwork, take advantage of
???	brʊðˑ-	bruð-	joke, kid
cf. It. *bussare*	bʊʂˑ-	buʂ-	knock
MŪT(Ŭ)LU	ʁmʊtˑʃ-	ʁmutʃ-	pile up, accumulate
*EXTŪFĀRE	ʂtʊfˑ-	ʂtuf-	weary
???	vrʊtˑʃ-	vrutʃ-	roll up
Longobard RAUFFEN	ʁrʊfˑ-	ʁruf-	(pron.) hurl oneself at somebody
AERŪGĬNE	ʁrʊdˑʒn-	rudʒn-	rust
cf. Tusc. *ciufolare*	tʃʊfˑl-	tʃufl-	whistle

5.3.7.2. Metaphony

Another cause of alternating vowel qualities in Romagnol verb stems is metaphony, which occurs by the time of the *Pulon Matt*'s composition in the rhizotonic forms of the present indicative and subjunctive as well as the imperative (Schürr, *VR* § 2). In the present indicative, umlaut is triggered by final -i in the second person singular, whose raised tonic vowel is

distinguished systematically from that of the first, third, and sixth persons. Thus, over the course of its history Romagnol has shown—and continues to maintain at least in part—the following oppositions:[99]

Etymon	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd, 6th Persons	Translation
LAVĀRE	lɛːv	leːv	lɛːva	wash
*PASSĀRE	paːs	pɛːs	paːsa	go by
PRĔCĀRI	preːg	priːg	preːga	pray
MĔTĔRE	meːd	miːd	meːd	reap, harvest
SĔNTĪRE	seːnt	sjent > siːnt	seːnt	feel, hear, taste
PŎRTĀRE	poːrt	pwort > puːrt	poːrta	bring, carry, wear
RECŎRDĀRI	arˈkoːrd	arˈkword > arˈkuːrd	arkoːrda	(pron.) remember
CŎMP(Ŭ)TĀRE	koːnt	kuːnt	koːnta	count
CRĒDĔRE	kreːd	kriːd	kreːd	believe

In the present subjunctive of first conjugation verbs, the four rhizotonic persons acquire a secondary final -i (cf. Italian *lasci, tratti, contenti, porti*), which brings about the metaphonic outcomes of the *Pulon Matt* (*lessa, tretta, contienta, puorta*) before being dropped and succeeded by -a. As for -ERE and -ĪRE verbs, umlaut is caused by posttonic yod (SĔNTIA > Old Romagnol *sienta* > Sammarinese [ʂiːntɐ]) or by analogy (CRĒDA > [kriːdɐ]). In other words, metaphonic outputs do not always presuppose the presence of posttonic [i j] (Maiden 194), but also arise due to morphologization of alternation in vowel quality as a means of contrasting grammatical categories.

Another consequence of metaphony is that the strong forms of the subjunctive are differentiated from the third person indicative in Central Romagnol:

Etymon	Indicative	Subjunctive	Translation
LAVĀRE	lɛːva	leːva	wash

[99] Data cited from Schürr, *NC* § 34, *VR* §§ 2, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21.

Etymon	Indicative	Subjunctive	Translation
*PASSĀRE	paːsa	pɛːsa	go by
*LASCĀRE	laːsa	lɛːsa	leave, let
TRACTĀRE	traːta	trɛːta	negotiate
MĚTĚRE	meːd	miːda	reap, harvest
SĚNTĪRE	seːnt	sjenta > siːnta	feel, hear, taste
PŎRTĀRE	poːrta	pworta > puːrt	bring, carry, wear
RECŎRDĀRI	arkoːrda	arˈkworda > arˈkuːrda	(pron.) remember
*MŎRĪRE	moːr	muːra	die
CŎMP(Ŭ)TĀRE	koːnta	kuːnta	count
CRĒDĚRE	kreːd	kriːda	believe

Finally, umlaut is also triggered by the final -ī in second person singular imperatives of the fourth conjugation: SĚNTĪ > Sammarinese [s̬iːnt laː] ‘listen to that!’.

While Central Romagnol varieties such as Lughese (Schürr, *VR* 38), Osteriolese (Schürr, *VR* 38-39), and Forlivese (Schürr, *VR* 38) preserve different components of this elaborate system of verbal internal flexion, most Northern Italian varieties eliminate metaphonic alternation from the present tense of the verb (Maiden 194, 197), which is also the case in Southeastern Romagnol. In this subgroup, functional internal flexion is eliminated from the present tense of verbs, while remaining fairly well preserved in declensional paradigms (Maiden 194, 205), a contrast which is illustrated by the Sammarinese data below:

Etymon	1st Pers. / M. Sg.	2nd Pers. / M. Pl.	Translation
PRĚCĀRI	preːg, priːg	preːg, priːg	I, you pray
PĚRDĚRE	pɛ̰ːrd	pɛ̰ːrd	I, you lose
CONCĚRTU	kunˈtʃɛːrt	kunˈtʃiːrt, kunˈtʃɛrˑt	concert(s)
MŎRI	mɔːr	mɔːr	I, you die
MŎRTU	mɔːrt	muːrt, mɔrˑt	dead
CRĒDĚRE	kreːd, kriːd	kreːd, kriːd	I, you believe
MĒ(N)SE	meːz̬	miːz̬	month(s)
LABORĀRE	lɐˈvoːr	lɐˈvoːr	I, you work
LABOR	lɐˈvoːr	lɐˈvuːr	job(s)

In the case of open-syllable [e], Serravallese presents a clear dichotomy. Alternation between masculine singular [oi̯] and masculine plural [iː] is preserved in declension ([moi̯z̪] ‘month’ - [miːz̪] ‘months’), while the diphthong is leveled by the metaphonic vowel in finite verbs (CRĒDĬT > [kriːd] ‘he, she believes’, VALĒBAT > [vɐliːvɐ] ‘he, she, it was worth’).

The predisposition for leveling in verb paradigms lies in the redundancy of internal flexion as a marker of person (Maiden 205), which is signaled by the obligatory clitic subject pronouns (Rohlfs 2: § 451): [ɐ pɛ̯ːrd] ‘I lose’ - [tˀ pɛ̯ːrd] ‘you lose’ - [ɛ pɛ̯ːrd] ‘he loses’ - [i pɛːrd] ‘they lose’. However, functional redundancy can not account for the leveling of metaphonic alternation that distinguishes the present indicative from the subjunctive in the first conjugation. Compare Forlivese [ə kãtɐ] ‘he sings’ - [ə kẽtɐ] ‘he may sing’ (Schürr, *NC* § 34) with Sammarinese [ɛ kɛ̯ːn̥tɐ] ‘he sings’ - [ɛ kɛ̯ːn̥tɐ] ‘he may sing’.

Leveling of internal flexion can be bidirectional, with non-metaphonic outputs being generalized in most instances and metaphonic outcomes in others (Maiden 199). Like Cesenate (Maiden 195) and Riminese (Schürr, *VR* 43), Sammarinese abandons internal flexion in verbs predominantly by generalizing non-metaphonic outcomes, as illustrated by the data catalogued in the preceding section on apophony: *[pɔrti] > [t pɔːrt] ‘you bring’. However, Sammarinese also presents a considerable number of verbs which generalize the metaphonic vowel instead: CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĬT > [ɛ kruːvɐ] ‘he covers’. This collapse of the internal flexion system through inconsistent bidirectional leveling produces numerous irregularities in the vocalism of rhizotonic verb stems in Sammarinese. On one hand, the metaphonic outcome may supplant its non-metaphonic counterpart in every rhizotonic form of a given verb. On the other, metaphonic and non-metaphonic stems often oscillate unpredictably in historically rural Southwestern

Sammarinese: *[kredi] - [krede] > [t kreːd] ‘you believe’ - [ɛ kriːd] ‘he believes’. Perhaps the present situation in the Republic reflects a bygone dichotomy which Schürr (*RD* 2) and Maiden (172) observe elsewhere in Romagna. That is to say, rustic varieties were inclined to preserve internal flexion in verbs, whereas urban dialects—whose speakers were more likely to be literate—tended to generalize the non-metaphonic vowel. The tables below attempt to document the Sammarinese verbs that present a single metaphonic stem and those that feature oscillating rhizotonic stems. The rhizotonic stems are presented alongside their arhizotonic counterparts, whose development has already been described.

Since the unconditioned and metaphonic results of open-syllable [a] normally converge in peripheral Romagnol varieties (cf. Sammarinese [ɛ gwɐ̯ːrdɐ] ‘he watches’, [t gwɐ̯ːrd] ‘you watch’), the origin of tonic [iː] in the following example is unclear (cf. [iːlt] < ALT[Ĕ]RĪ):

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	iːrv-[100]	ɐvr-, ɐrv-	open

Lag assimilation to the preceding yod causes the irregular outcome of closed-syllable [a] in the rhizotonic form below:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
PLANGĔRE	pjɛnˈdʒ-[101]	pjɐndʒ-	cry

Open-syllable /ɛ/ yields tonic [eː] alongside metaphonic [iː]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
PRĔCĀRI	preːg-, priːg-	prig-	pray

[100] Cf. third pl. *evra* (Balsimelli 3.31).
[101] Cf. third sg. *piang* (Anderson 2: 67), inf. *piangia* (Foresti 422).

Nasalized [ɛ] merges with [e], whose non-metaphonic variants include [eː], [ɛi̯], and Serravallese [ɛ̝ː], all of which may alternate with metaphonic [iː]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
SĔNTĪRE	ʂeːnt-, ʂɛi̯ñt-, ʂiːnt-	ʂint-, ʂɐnt-	hear, feel, taste
PENSĀRE	pɛi̯ñʂ-, pɛ̝ːnʂ-[102]	pinʂ-, pɐnʂ-	think
MĬNĀRE	mɛi̯ñ-, miːn-	(ɐ)mn-	hit, beat
ĬNTRĀRE	eːntr-, ɛi̯ñtr-, ɛ̝ːntr-, iːntr-	ɐntr-	enter
*COMĬNTIĀRE	kmeːnθ-, kmɛi̯ñθ-, kmɛ̝ːnθa, kmiːnθ-[103]	kminθ-, kmɐnθ-	begin, start
VĬNCĔRE	viːntʃ-	vintʃ-	win

Open-syllable [ɔ] yields [uː] by umlaut:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	kruːv-	kruv-	cover
EXCŎRTĬCĀRE	ʂkuːrg-	ʂkurg-	skin, flay, graze

Closed-syllable [ɔ] gives metaphonic [ʊ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
ĬNSŎMNIU	ɐnʂʊɲˈ-	ɐnʂuɲ-	dream
SCRŎLLĀRE	ʂkrʊlˈ-	ʂkrul-	shake
cf. It. *spargolo*	ʂpɐrgʊjˈ-	ʂpɐrguj-	spread

Nasalized [ɔ] and [o] merge into [ɔu̯], which may oscillate with metaphonic [uː]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
*CŌMPTIĀRE	ɐrkuːntʃ-	ɐrkuntʃ-	tan (hides)
*MONTĀRE	mɔu̯ñt-, muːnt-	munt-	go up, get on, climb

Open-syllable [e] produces unconditioned [eː] and [iː] by umlaut:

[102] Cf. second sg. *pins* (P. Rossi, "Risposta"), first sg. *pins* (P. Rossi, "In occasione").

[103] Anderson records third person pl. *cmòinza* for Serravallese (3: 46), where nasalized [i] > [oi̯].

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
CRĒDĔRE	kreːd-, kriːd-	krid-	believe
CĬRCĀRE	tʃiːr̥k-	tʃɐr̥k-, tʃir̥k-	look for
FRĬCĀRE	freːg-, friːg-	frig-	rub, cheat, swipe
*BLASTĒMIĀRE	bjɐs̻tiːm-	bjɐs̻tm-	curse, swear
PLĬCĀRE	piːg-	pig-	bend

Closed-syllable [e] yields tonic [ɛ], which may oscillate with metaphonic [ɪ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
*EXVĬGĬLĀRE	z̻vɪdˈʒ-	z̻vidʒ-	wake up
*LĬGĬCĀRE	lɛkˑ-, lɪkˑ-	lik-	lick
SĒMĬNĀRE	s̻ɛmˈn-, s̻ɪmˈn-	s̻imn-	sow, scatter
PĬSTĀRE	pɛs̻ˈt-, pɪs̻ˈt-	pis̻t-	tread, trample, beat
SĬGNĀRE	s̻ɪɲˑ-	s̻ɲ-	mark, jot down
ĬNSĬGNĀRE	ɐns̻ɛɲˑ-, ɐns̻ɪɲˑ-	ɐns̻ɲ-, ɐnsiɲ-	teach, show, indicate
*EXPĬNGĔRE	s̻pɪnˈdʒ-	s̻pindʒ-	push
STRĬNGĔRE	s̻trɛnˈdʒ-, s̻trɪnˈdʒ-	s̻trindʒ-	squeeze
*MĬSCĬTĀRE	ɐrmɪs̻ˈt-	ɐrmis̻t-	mix, stir

Finally, closed-syllable [o] gives the free variants [ɔ] and [ɐ] in tonic syllables, whose metaphonic counterpart is [ʊ]:

Etymon	Rhizotonic Stem	Arhizotonic Stem	Translation
CŬRRĔRE	kʊrˑ-	kur-	run, hurry
SŬFFLĀRE	s̻ɔfˈj-, s̻ʊfˈj-	s̻ufj-	blow
DEMO(N)STRĀRE	dimɔs̻ˈtr-, dimɐs̻ˈtr-, dimʊs̻ˈtr-	dimus̻tr-	look one’s age
*GŬBBU	gʊbˑ-	gub-	(pron.) stoop, bend over

Whereas bidirectional leveling in rhizotonic forms renders the verbal system of internal flexion defunct, the effects of arhizotonic metaphony are much more consistent and enduring. As Schürr observes, the prominence of metaphony in arhizotonic forms gives impetus to the

analogical generalization of thematic [i] (*NC* § 33). The phonetic process occurs in the second person plural of the present indicative (-ĒTĬS > *-[eti] > -[iː]), the second person singular of the imperfect indicative (-[evi] > -[iːv]-), the first and second persons singular of the imperfect subjunctive (-[essi] > -[iss]), and the first person singular of the perfect indicative (*-[etti] > -[itt]). Subsequently, thematic [i] (> [ɪ]) displaces [e] (> [eː] [oi̯]) and [a] (> [ɛː]) beyond the metaphonic context, that is to say in the first and second persons plural of the present indicative (CANTĀMUS > [kɐnˈtɪmˑ] ‘we sing’, SĒMĬNĀTIS > [s̪imˈniːd] ‘you sow’) and subjunctive (MĬTTĀMUS > [miˈtɪmˑɐ] ‘we may put’, MĬTTĀTIS > [miˈtɪvˑɐ] ‘you may put’), the first person singular of the future ([kɐntɐˈrɪmˑ] ‘we sing’), all forms of the imperfect indicative (CREDĒBAM > [kridiːvɐ] ‘I believed’) and subjunctive (CANTASSET > [kɐnˈtɪs̪ˑ] ‘he might sing’), the infinitive (FŪMĀRE > [fuˈmiː] ‘to smoke’), the gerund (VĪDĔNDO > [viˈdɪnˑd]), and the past participle (GYRĀTU > [dʒiˈriːd] ‘turned’).

5.3.8. Irregular Verbs

With the roles of apophony and metaphony in vocalic alternation having been discussed, the following paragraphs treat verbs which present additional irregularities in the present indicative.

*ĔSSĔRE. First person singular SŬM gives Italo-Romance *[son], which maintains the final nasal consonant in Bolognese (> [s̪ɐŋˑ]). In Romagnol, on the other hand, syncope takes place by the time of the *Pulon Matt*’s composition (> *so*), leading to the Sammarinese variants [s̪ɔ], [s̪ɐ], and [s̪ʊ].

Due to palatalization of the final consonant, ĔS yields Old Northern Italian [ɛi̯] (Rohlfs 2: 269). Metaphony and the subsequent loss of -i produce the form *ie*, which appears in the *Pulon Matt* (1.30.1, 1.48.2) and is continued by Ferrarese [je] as well as Bolognese [iː] (Schürr, *NC* § 39.2). The late sixteenth-century poem also records the variant *sie*, with initial s- by analogy of SŬM and SŬMUS (Rohlfs 2: 267), which yields the contemporary Romagnol form by monophthongization: [s̻iː-t] ‘are you?’. When the subject clitic precedes the verb directly, in Sammarinese the sibilant is either assimilated by the dental stop ([t θiː] ‘you are’) or dissimilated through palatalization ([t ʃiː]) (see Delmonte § 2.2.1).

The convergence of the third person singular and plural desinences after the loss of final –n leads to the analogical substitution of SŬNT with ĔST by the time the *Pulon Matt* is written: [l ɛ] ‘he is’, [lɐ ɛ] ‘she is’; [lɔu̯ j ɛ], [ɐʌ́ ɛ] ‘they are’.

While the normal phonetic outcome of SŬMUS is preserved in some Emilian varieties (> [s̻oŋ]), Romagnol dialects bring the verb into line with the other first person plural forms. Thus, Central Romagnol presents the type [nou̯ ɐ s̻ẽː] (< -ĒMUS + -NŌS), Sammarinese [ɐ s̻ɪmˑ] (<-ĪMUS).

Classical Latin ĔSTIS gives way to analogical *SĔTIS, which yields [si] throughout most of Northern Italy, continued by Sammarinese [ɐ s̻iː(d)] ‘you are’.

HABĒRE. Through the normal phonetic developments, Classical HABEO yields Vulgar Latin AJO followed by Medieval Northern Italian *ai*, which is monophthonged to [ɛ] (Rohlfs 2: 273). However, by analogy of the sequences [dɔ] - [da̯i] - [da] and [stɔ] - [sta̯i] - [sta] (Rohlfs 2:

272), the *Pulon Matt* shows *ho* (Schürr, *NC* § 39.1), which is carried on by Sammarinese [ɔ] and Serravallese [ɐ].

Second person singular HABES > Vulgar Latin AS > Medieval Northern Italian *ai* > Sammarinese [ɛ̯ː].

Classical HABET and HABENT > Vulgar Latin *AT and *ANT, which merge into Romagnol [aˑ].

Alongside the regular arhizotonic forms [ɐˈvɪmˑ] ‘we have’ and [ɐˈviːd)] (< HABĒTIS), Sammarinese possesses the stemless variants [ɪmˑ] and [iː].

STARE. Northern Italian dialects typically generalize the ending *-[aggo] to the first person singular of DARE, STARE, AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE, and FA(CĔ)RE (Rohlfs 2: 260). The double consonant, whose origin is unknown (Schürr, *NC* § 39.4), determines the closed-syllable outcome of the preceding tonic vowel in [s̪taːg].

Second person singular STAS > *[staa̯i̯] > [s̪tɛ̯ː].

Third person STAT and STANT > [s̪taˑ].

Whereas the *Pulon Matt* shows first person plural *stasin* and second person plural *stasì* (1.3.1) by analogy of *fasin* (< *FACĒMUS) and *fasì* (<*FACĒTIS) (1.3.2), Sammarinese [s̪tɪmˑ] and [s̪tɛ̯ːd)] preserve the original stem (Schürr, *NC* § 39.4, 39.5).

DARE. With the forms of DARE being completely parallel to those of STARE (Rohlfs 2: 277), DO gives way to Northern Italo-Romance *[daggo], which produces Sammarinese [daːg].

Second person singular DAS > *[daa̯i̯] > [dɛ̯ː].

Third person DAT and DANT > [daˑ].

The *Pulon Matt* shows first person plural *dasin* and second person plural *dasì* (2.20.3, 5), which are modeled after *fasin* and *fasì*. While Riminese continues these arhizotonic formations, Sammarinese [dɪmˑ] and [dẹː(d)] maintain the original stem (Schürr, *NC* § 39.4).

AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE. Latin VADO > Northern Italo-Romance *[vaggo] > Old Romagnol *uagh* (*PM* 1.18.6) > Sammarinese [vaːg]. The historically urban dialect shows the variant *vegh* (G. Guidi 23), which presupposes degemination of -gg- and generalization of the metaphonic vowel from the present subjunctive *uega* (*PM* 2.59.3, 3.37.8) (Schürr, *NC* § 39.6).

Second person singular VADIS > *[vai̯] > [vẹː].

Third person VADĬT and VADŬNT > [vaˑ].

Derived from AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE by suppletion, the first and second person plural forms are [ɐnˈdɪmˑ] and [ɐnˈdẹː(d)] respectively.

FA(CĔ)RE. While the generalization of first person singular *-[aggo] to the conjugations of DARE, STARE, and AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE is consistent throughout Romagna, the suffix's extension to FA(CĔ)RE (cf. Imolese [faːg]) is not as pervasive (Schürr, *NC* § 39.3). Hence, FACIO is continued directly by Sammarinese and Riccionese [faːtʃ], in which Proto-Romance yod has palatalized the stem-final consonant (Rohlfs 2: 258) (cf. FUGIO > [fʊdˑʒ] 'I go away'). Since primary [tʃ] yields [θ] northwest of the Marecchia, the variant [faːθ] appears in dialects such as Imolese, Faentino, and Riminese.

With the rest of FA(CĔ)RE's conjugation following the same pattern as DARE, STARE, and AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE (Rohlfs 2: § 546), FACIS > *[fas] > *[fai̯] > Sammarinese [fẹː].

Third person FACIT > *FAT and FACIUNT > *FANT, both of which > [faˑ].

Old Romagnol presents first person plural *fasin* and second person plural *fasì* (*PM* 1.3.2), whose arhizotonic stem ([fɐʒ̬]- < FAC-) survives in varieties such as Faentino (Schürr, *NC* § 39.3). The stem [f]- in Sammarinese [fɪmˑ] and [fɐ̯ːd)], on the other hand, is formed by analogy of DARE and STARE.

*PŎTĒRE. Latin PŎSSUM > Romagnol and Bolognese [pɔːs̬] by the normal phonetic evolution (Schürr, *NC* § 39.12). In some dialects, however, the first person singular of the indicative is penetrated by the metaphonic vowel that originates in the present subjunctive: PŎSSĪ > *puossa* (*PM* 4.10.6, 3.64.5, 3.48.5). This gives rise to nineteenth-century Sammarinese *puss* (P. Rossi, "Risposta"), which yields [pʊs̬ˑ] in today's vernacular.

Second person singular PŎTES > *[pɔi̯] (Coco § 37.4) > Old Romagnol *puo* (*PM* 1.30.5) by umlaut and Sammarinese [puːˑ] by monophthongization, which by abbreviation gives the variant [pʊ] in Borgo Maggiore and Città (cf. [pʊ] 'then' < PŎST).

Third person *PŎTET and *PŎTENT > Sammarinese [pɔˑ].

In the first and second persons plural, the *Pulon Matt* shows *psin* (2.24.7) and *psi* (2.10.7), whose stem is borrowed from the first person singular and the subjunctive (< PŎSS-). The autochthonous stem survives in Sammarinese [ps̬ɪmˑ] and [ps̬iːd], which occur less frequently than the Italianisms [puˈtɪmˑ] and [puˈtiːˑ] or [puˈdɪmˑ] and [puˈdiːd].

*VŎLĒRE. The posttonic yod in *VŎLEO not only palatalizes the stem-final consonant but also raises the articulation of the tonic vowel (Coco § 38), producing nineteenth-century Sammarinese *vui* (P. Rossi, "Risposta"), which is the precursor of [vʊi̯ˑ]. For the dialect of Borgo Maggiore, Anderson documents the allomorph *vai* (2: 54, 57, 65), which would indicate the pronunciation *[vɐi̯] and presuppose the phase *[voi̯]. Cf. Old Romagnol *uoi* (*PM* 1.1.1).

Second person singular *VŎLES > *[vɔi̯] (Coco § 37.4) > Old Romagnol *uuo* (Schürr, *NC* § 39.10) > Sammarinese [vuː], which is abbreviated to [vʊ] in Borgo and Città.

Third person *VŎLET and *VŎLENT merge into *uol* by the time the *Pulon Matt* is written (3.21.2, 4.5.1). While Bolognese maintains third person singular [voːl] (Coco § 31), the instability of syllable-final [l] in Romagnol leads to the apocopated outcome [vɔˑ].

In the arhizotonic forms, the stem VŎL- produces Old Romagnol *uul-* (*PM* 1.61.5, 2.20.6) by apophony. During the formation of the modern dialects, the stem is syncopated, yielding Sammarinese [vlɪmˑ] and [vliːd)].

*SAPĒRE. By analogy of DO, STO, etc., SAPIO gives way to Italo-Romance [sɔ] (Rohlfs 2: 284), which yields Sammarinese [s̪ɔ] and Serravallese [s̪ɐ].

Second person singular SAPIS > Italo-Romance [sai̯] > Sammarinese [s̪ɛːˑ].

Third person *SAPET and *SAPENT converge into [s̪aˑ].

In arhizotonic forms, Romagnol preserves the normal phonetic outcome of the stem (SAP- > [s̪ɐv]-), as in Sammarinese [s̪ɐˈvɪmˑ] and [s̪ɐˈviːd)].

DĪ(CĔ)RE. Old Romagnol *digh* (*PM* 1.2.7) appears unchanged in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Sammarinese (P. Rossi, “Risposta”; Balsimelli 7.12). The subsequent lowering of the tonic vowel, which produces [dɪgˑ], presupposes the extension of -gg- to DĪCO (> *[diggo]).

Whereas second person singular DĪCIS is reduced to [diːˑ] in the *Pulon Matt* (1.34.1) and many contemporary Romagnol varieties (Schürr, *NC* § 39.7), Southwestern Sammarinese [diːʒ]

and Northeastern [diːʒ̬] either preserve the final consonant or restore it by analogy of the third person.

On the other hand, DĪCĬT and *DĪCENT > [diːʒ̬] throughout Romagna alongside [diːʒ] in the Southwest of San Marino.

The arhizotonic stem (DĪC- > diʒ̬-) yields the syncopated form dʒ̬- by the sixteenth century (*PM* 1.23.2, 1.23.8, 2.15.8), which is palatalized in Sammarinese [dʒɪmˑ] and [dʒiː(d)].

VĬDĒRE. Romagnol typically substitutes the stem-final consonant of VĬDEO with -[gg]- (Schürr, *NC* § 39.8), thus producing Sammarinese [vɪgˑ], whose metaphonic vowel is borrowed from the present subjunctive *uigga* (*PM* 1.42.6).

Second person singular *[vedi] > Sammarinese [viːd] by umlaut, while third person VĬDET and VĬDENT merge into [veːd] throughout Romagna. However, in Southwestern Sammarinese the two forms are used interchangeably: [t viːd] [t veːd] ‘you see’ (cf. Balsimelli 3.34, 9.48, 9.49); [lɐ veːd] [lɐ viːd] ‘she sees’. Serravallese uses [viːd] alone for both persons.

The syncopated arhizotonic stem [(ɐ)vd]- coexists with a variant that has restored the pretonic vowel: [viˈdɪmˑ], [viˈdiː(d)].

Bĭ(BĔ)RE. The evolution of BĬBO > [bɪgˑ] is parallel to that of VĬDEO > [vɪgˑ].

As a result of metaphony and apocope, *[bevi] > Sammarinese [biː], which may be replaced by the third person form: [t beː].

Third person BĪBĬT and BĪBŬNT > Sammarinese [beː] and Serravallese [boi̯].

While Romagnol typically syncopates the arhizotonic stem (Schürr, *NC* § 39.9), the Sammarinese forms [ɓiˈvɪmˑ] and [biˈviːd)] have restored the pretonic vowel.

TŎLLĔRE. First person singular *[tɔʎʎo] is carried on directly by Romagnol and Bolognese [tʊi̯ˑ] ‘I take’ (Schürr, *NC* § 39.11), whereas the Sammarinese variants have adopted -[gg]-. The metaphonic outcome of closed-syllable [ɔ] appears in [tʊgˑ], while the unconditioned result occurs in [tɔːg].

In the second person singular, Romagnol and Bolognese [tuː] contains the metaphonic outcome of open-syllable [ɔ], whereas Sammarinese presents [tɔˑ] by analogical leveling.

Third person TŎLLĬT and TŎLLŬNT > *tol* in the *Pulon Matt* (2.14.5, 3.49.7), which preserves final –l (cf. third sg. [toːl] in Bolognese). Due to the instability of [l] + C, modern Romagnol has dropped the lateral approximant, as in Sammarinese [tɔˑ].

The arhizotonic persons use the apophonic stem [tul]-: [tuˈlɪmˑ], [tuˈliːd)].

VĔNĪRE. Due to the posttonic yod, VĔNIO > Romagnol and Bolognese [vɪŋˑ] (Schürr, *NC* § 39.14) by palatalization of the stem-final consonant (Rohlfs 2: 258). As the form *vingh* in Pietro Rossi’s “Risposta” attests, Sammarinese adopts -[ŋg] from the written language no later than the nineteenth century. Closed-syllable metaphonic [i] is lowered by the twentieth century, yielding [vɪŋg] and [vɛŋg].

Second person singular VĔNĪS > Old Romagnol *uien* (*PM* 2.44.6) by umlaut, which gives Sammarinese [viːn] by monophthongization. This form is used interchangeably with the non-metaphonic type ([t viːn] [t vɛi̯ñ] = ‘you come’), which results from either the nasalization of [iː] or analogical leveling.

Third person VĚNĬT and *VĚNENT > Old Romagnol *uen* (*PM* 3.25.6, 1.36.5), where partial nasalization of the tonic vowel produces Sammarinese [veːn], [vɛi̯ñ], and Serravallese [vɐ̯ːn]. Oscillation between the primary and the metaphonic types in the third person ([ɛ vɐ̯ːn] [ɛ viːn] = ‘he comes’) is clearly the result of morphological analogy.

In the arhizotonic forms, the syncopated stem [(ɐ)vn]- coexists with [(ɐ)mn]-, in which regressive assimilation has occurred: [(ɐ)mˈnɪmˑ], [(ɐ)mˈniː(d)].

TĚNĒRE. With the conjugation of TĚNĒRE being parallel to that of VĚNĪRE, TĚNEO > Sammarinese [tɪŋg].

Second person singular *[tɛni] > Southwestern Sammarinese [tɛi̯ñ].

Third person TĚNET and TĚNENT > Serravallese [tɐ̯ːn] alongside Southwestern Sammarinese [tɛi̯ñ].

The arhizotonic stem undergoes syncope (TEN- > [tn]-), producing [tnɪmˑ] and [tniː(d)].

5.4. Imperfect Indicative

5.4.1. First, Third, and Sixth Persons

In Romagnol, the first, third, and sixth person desinences of the imperfect indicative converge due to the loss of final -M, -T, and -NT (Rohlfs 2: 289; Schürr, *Probleme* 174, *VR* 55). Thus, first conjugation -ĀBAM, - ĀBAT, and - ĀBANT merge into Old Romagnol -*ava*, which oscillates with -*eva* due to raising of open-syllable [a] (Schürr, *Probleme* 173-74). Modern Romagnol, like other Northern Italian varieties, typically substitutes the first conjugation desinence with the outcome of -ĒBA: Dozzese [truveːvɐ] ‘was, were finding’, Forlivese

[kɐn̥teiv̥ɐ] ‘was, were singing’ (Rohlfs 2: 290; Schürr, *Probleme* 174). On the other hand, Sammarinese -[ɛ:vɐ] is the direct continuant of -ĀBA:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀBAM CANTĀBAT CANTĀBANT	ɐ kɐn̥tɛ̯:vɐ ɛ kɐn̥tɛ̯:vɐ i kɐn̥tɛ̯:vɐ	I was singing he was singing they were singing
*TROPĀBA	truvɛ̯:vɐ	was, were finding
AMB(Ŭ)LĀBA	ɐndɛ̯:vɐ	was, were going
*RECORDĀBA	ɐrkurdɛ̯:vɐ	(pron.) was, were remembering
RE-TORNĀBA	ɐrturnɛ̯:vɐ	was, were coming back
RŎTŬLU	(ɐ)ruglɛ̯:vɐ	was, were rolling
onomatopoeic	bɐjɛ̯:vɐ	was, were barking
*BASTĀBA	bɐs̪tɛ̯:vɐ	was, were enough
BASIĀBA	bɐz̪ɛ̯:vɐ	was, were kissing
BĒCCU	bikɛ̯:vɐ	was, were pecking, nabbing
onomatopoeic	bjɐs̪ɛ̯:vɐ	was, were chewing
*BRUSIĀBA	bruz̪ɛ̯:vɐ	was, were burning
DEMANDĀBA	dmɐndɛ̯:vɐ	was, were asking
DŪRĀBA	durɛ̯:vɐ	was, were lasting
*ADOPĔRĀBA	duvrɛ̯:vɐ	was, were using
*DEVENTĀBA	dvɐntɛ̯:vɐ	was, were becoming
FĬRMĀBA	fɐrmɛ̯:vɐ	was, were stopping
Frankish *WARDŌN	gwɐrdɛ̯:vɐ	was, were watching
FĪLU	iɱfilɛ̯:vɐ	was, were threading
*CAS(Ĭ)CĀBA	kɐs̪kɛ̯:vɐ	was, were falling
*COMĬNTIĀBA	kmɐnθɛ̯:vɐ	was, were beginning
COMP(Ă)RĀBA	kumprɛ̯:vɐ	was, were buying
*LASCĀBA	lɐs̪ɛ̯:vɐ	was, were leaving
MANDĀBA	mɐndɛ̯:vɐ	was, were sending
MANDŪCĀBA	mɐɲɛ̯:vɐ	was, were eating
*MATEA	mɐθɛ̯:vɐ	was, were killing
PENSĀBA	pɐns̪ɛ̯:vɐ	was, were thinking
*PASSĀBA	pɐs̪ɛ̯:vɐ	was, were going by
PRECĀRI	prigɛ̯:vɐ	was, were praying
PROBĀBA	pruvɛ̯:vɐ	was, were trying

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
Provençal *acomandar*	rɐkmɐndɛ̰ːvɐ	(pron.) was, were imploring
*RAG(Ŭ)LĀBA	rɐɲɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were scolding
CANNA	s̪kɐnɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were slitting throat
*EXCAPPĀBA	s̪kɐpɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were going out
*EXCORDĀBA	s̪kurdɛ̰ːvɐ	(pron.) was, were forgetting
SPATIĀBA	s̪pɐθɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were sweeping
Longobard SPANGA	s̪prɐŋgɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were reinforcing
cf. It. *stirava*	s̪tirɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were ironing
TALIĀBA	tɐjɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were cutting
TRACTĀBA	trɐtɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were negotiating
onomatopoeic	tʃɐkɐrɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were chattering, talking
CLAMĀBA	tʃɐmɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were calling
CAPŬLĀBA	tʃɐpɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were taking
CĬRCĀBA	tʃirkɛ̰ːvɐ, tʃɐrkɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were looking for
onomatopoeic	tukɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were touching
ŬLŬLĀBA	urlɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were yelling
Provençal *viatge*	vjɐdʒɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were traveling
*EXVĬGĬLĀBA	z̪vidʒɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were waking up

Although less widespread than in -ERE verbs, the first conjugation is not exempt from the generalization of -[iːvɐ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*COMPTIĀRE	ɐrkuntʃiːvɐ, ɐrkuntʃɛ̰ːvɐ	was, were tanning (hides)
EXCŎRTĬCĀRE	s̪kurgiːvɐ	was, were skinning

The normal phonetic outcomes of -ĒBA, which levels -IĒBA, are Southwestern Sammarinese -[eːvɐ] and Serravallese -[o̯ivɐ], the latter appearing without exception in the *Novelline popolari*: VOLĒBA > *vlòiva*, HABĒBA > *avòiva*, *SAPĒBA > *savòiva*, VĬDĒBA > *vidòiva*.[104] However, due to the emergence of metaphonic [iː] in the second, fourth, and fifth

[104] Anderson 3: 27, 32, 33, 42, 49, 50, 51, 57, 59, 60, 62, 66, 69, 71, 81, 86.

persons, Serravallese -[o̯ivɐ] has succumbed to fourth conjugation -[iːvɐ], while the persistence of Southwestern -[eːvɐ] is sporadic:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CREDĒBAM CREDĒBAT CREDĒBANT	ɐ krideːvɐ, kridiːvɐ ɛ krideːvɐ, kridiːvɐ i krideːvɐ, kridiːvɐ	I, he, they believed
BATT(Ŭ)ĒBA	bɐteːvɐ, bɐtiːvɐ	was, were beating
VENDĒBA	vindeːvɐ, vɐndiːvɐ	was, were selling
PERDĒBA	perdeːvɐ, pɐrdiːvɐ	was, were losing
PLANGĒBA	pjɐndʒeːvɐ, pjɐndʒiːvɐ	was, were crying
*SAPĒBA	s̪ɐveːvɐ, s̪ɐviːvɐ	knew
VALĒBA	vɐleːvɐ, vɐliːvɐ	was, were worth
DOLĒBA	puleːvɐ	was, were hurting
SUCCĒDĒBA	s̪utʃideːvɐ	was, were happening
*CONŌSCĒBA	knuʃiːvɐ, knus̪iːvɐ	knew
CŬRRĒBA	kuriːvɐ	was, were running
LĔGĒBA	lidʒiːvɐ	was, were reading
MĬTTĒBA	mitiːvɐ	was, were putting
PLACĒBA	piʒiːvɐ, pjɐz̪iːvɐ	was, were pleasing
RĔDDĒBA	rindiːvɐ, rɐndiːvɐ kɔu̯nt	(pron.) was, were realizing
DISCŬRRĒBA	θkuriːvɐ	was, were talking
CLŪDĒBA	tʃudiːvɐ	was, were closing
TŎLLĒBA	puliːvɐ	was, were taking
VĬNCĒBA	vintʃiːvɐ	was, were winning
ACCENDĒBA	tʃindiːvɐ	was, were lighting
EXTĔNDĒBA	s̪tɐndiːvɐ	was, were spreading out
STRĬNGĒBA	s̪trindʒiːvɐ	was, were squeezing

The metaplasm in [tniːvɐ] ‘was, were holding’ predates the trend illustrated above, since the conjugation of TĔNĒRE joins the -ĪRE category by analogy of VĔNĪRE throughout Northern Italo-Romance.

During the formation of Proto-Romance, fourth conjugation verbs substitute Classical -IĒBA with analogical -ĪBA, which yields Romagnol -[iːvɐ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DŎRMĪRE	ɐ, ɛl, i durmiːvɐ	I was, he was, they were sleeping
SĔNTĪRE	ʂintiːvɐ, ʂɐntiːvɐ	could hear, feel, taste
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐrviːvɐ	was, were opening
French *divertir*	diverti:vɐ	(pron.) was, were having fun
FĪNĪRE	fniːvɐ	was, were finishing
CAPĔRE	kɐpiːvɐ	understood
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	kruviːvɐ	was, were covering
EX-CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ʂkruviːvɐ	was, were uncovering
*CUSĪRE	kuʐiːvɐ	was, were sewing
PARTĪRI	pɐrtiːvɐ	was, were leaving
APPARĒRE	ʂpɐriːvɐ	was, were disappearing
VESTĪRE	viʂtiːvɐ	was, were dressing

5.4.2. First Person Plural

By analogy of the first, second, third, and sixth persons, which bear the tonic accent on the first syllable of the desinence (-[ava], -[eva], -[iva], the fourth and fifth persons develop proparoxytonic endings (Rohlfs 2: 289; Schürr, *NC* § 35, *VR* § 34). Thus, first person plural -[aˈvamo], -[eˈvamo], and -[iˈvamo] yield the Italo-Romance variants -[ˈavimo], -[ˈevimo], and -[ˈivimo] (cf. Spanish *cantábamos, sabíamos*). By metaphony, -[ˈevimo] merges with -[ˈivimo], which provides the desinence for all conjugations in Sammarinese. By analogy of second person plural -[ivjo], first person plural -[ˈivimo] becomes -[imjo] (cf. Romanesque *venímio*), which drops final [o]. With resyllabification of the semiconsonant giving rise to slight diatopical variation, Southwestern Sammarinese presents the forms -[iːmjə] and -[iːmjɪ], Serravallese -[iːmji] and -[iːmi]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntiːmjɪ, kɐntiːmji	we were singing

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*PASSĀRE	ɐ pɐʂiːmjɪ, pɐʂiːmi	we were going by
AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE	ɐ ɐndiːmjɪ, ɐndiːmi	we were going
CAMPU	ɐ kɐmpiːmjɪ, kɐmpiːmi	we were getting by
DEMANDĀRE	ɐ dmɐndiːmji, dmɐndiːmi	we were asking
AD-VĬ-ĀRE	ɐ tʃ ɐvjiːmjɪ, ɐvjiːmi	we were setting out, off
*ASCŬLTĀRE	ɐ ɐʂkultiːmi	we were listening
RE-TORNĀRE	ɐ ɐrturniːmjɪ, ɐrturniːmi	we were coming back
GYRĀRE	ɐ dʒiriːmjɪ, dʒiriːmi	we were going round
CAPŬLĀRE	ɐ tʃɐpiːmi	we were taking
*APPOS(Ĭ)TĀRE	ɐ tʃ ɐpuʂtiːmjɪ, ɐpuʂtiːmi	we lay in wait
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐ ɐrviːmjɪ, ɐrviːmi	we were arriving
CLAMĀRE	ɐ tʃɐmiːmjɪ, ɐ tʃɐmiːmi	we were calling
MANDŪCĀRE	ɐ mɐɲiːmjɪ, ɐ maɲiːmi	we were eating
*IŎCĀRE	ɐ dʒugiːmjɪ, dʒugiːmi	we were playing
LAVĀRE	ɐ lɐviːmjɪ, lɐviːm(j)i	we were washing
AD-OP(Ĕ)R-ĀRE	ɐ duvriːmjɪ, duvriːmi	we were using
PENSĀRE	ɐ pinʂiːmjɪ, pɐnʂiːmi	we were thinking
*MONTĀRE	ɐ muntiːmjɪ, muntiːmi	we were going up
CĬRCĀRE	ɐ tʃirkiːmjɪ, tʃɐrkiːmi	we were looking for
TEMPTĀRE	ɐ tintiːmji, tɐntiːmji	we were attempting
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ truviːmjɪ	we were finding
SPĒRĀRE	ɐ ʂperiːmjɪ	we were hoping
CRĒDĔRE	ɐ kridiːmjɪ, kridiːmji	we used to believe
TĔNĒRE	ɐ tniːmjɪ, tniːmi	we were holding, keeping
*NASCĔRE	ɐ nɐʂiːmjɪ, nɐʂiːmi	we were being born
CŬRRĔRE	ɐ kuriːmjɪ, kuriːmi	we were running
*SAPĒRE	ɐ ʂɐviːmjɪ, ʂɐviːmi	we knew
VĒNDĔRE	ɐ vindiːmjɪ	we were selling
SĔNTĪRE	ɐ ʂintiːmjɪ, ʂɐntiːmi	we could hear
PARTĪRI	ɐ pɐrtiːmjɪ, pɐrtiːmi	we were leaving
DŎRMĪRE	ɐ durmiːmjɪ, durmiːmji	we were sleeping
*MŎRĪRE	ɐ muriːmjɪ, muriːmji	we were dying
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐ kruviːmjɪ, kruviːmji	we were covering
FĪNĪRE	ɐ fniːmjɪ, fniːmji	we were finishing
SŎMNIĀRE	ɐ ʂuɲiːmjɪ	we were dreaming
Frankish *WARDŌN	ɐ gwɐrdiːmjɪ	we were watching

Serravallese also presents the variant -[iːnmi]:

Etymon	Serravallese	Translation
FACĔRE	ɐ fiːnmi	we were doing, making
HABĒRE	ɐ viːnmi	we had
*PASSĀRE	ɐ paʂiːnmi	we were going by
AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE	ɐndiːnmi	we were going
AD-VĪCĪN-ĀRE	ɐ tʃ ɐvitʃiniːnmi	we were approaching
SĔNTĪRE	ɐ ʂɐntiːnmi	we could hear

5.4.3. Second Person Singular and Plural

By analogy of the present tense, Italo-Romance replaces second person singular -AS with -i (Rohlfs 2: 286): CANTĀBAS > [kantavi]. Predictably, before apocope final [i] triggers metaphony of thematic [e] > [i] in Romagnol (Rohlfs 2: 289): *CRĒDĒBĪ TŪ > *cardiutu?* ‘did you believe?’ (*PM* 2.8.2; Schürr, *NC* § 35). However, in Romagnol we also find [iː] in correspondence with thematic [a] instead of the expected metaphonic outcome, which would be [ɛ̝ː] in the Southeast. Compare Sammarinese [ʂe t mɐndiːy̰ti] ‘if you had sent’ with Bolognese [t mɐndɛ̝ːv] (< *MANDĀBĪ). Terming the phenomenon *hypermetaphony*, Maiden proposes that thematic [i], the regular metaphonic alternant of tonic [e], “could have been interpreted as a concomitant” of final [i] and, thus, was also generalized to the first conjugation (233). Hence, hypermetaphonic alternation between first person singular -[ava] and second person singular -[iv]-, which occurs in Alpine Ticinese (Maiden 180), is continued by -[ɛ̝ːvɐ] and -[iːv]- in Sammarinese: CANTĀBAM > [ɐ kɐn̰tɛ̝ːvɐ] ‘I was singing’, *CANTAVI > [tˈ kɐn̰tiːvjɪ] ‘you were singing’.

The second person plural undergoes stress retraction in varieties throughout Italy (Rohlfs 2: 289; Schürr, *NC* § 35, *VR* 55): CRĒDĒBĀTIS > Old Romagnol *cardeua* ‘you believed’ (*PM* 3.53.8). It is likely the combination of retracted stress and the convergence of the third person desinences (-ĀBAT, -ĀBANT > -[ɛ̰ːvɐ]) which gives impetus to the extension of second person singular -[iːv] to the second person plural.[105] In order to differentiate the two forms, the personal pronoun -[vo] is encliticized to the second person plural (Rohlfs 2: 290; Schürr, *NC* § 35, *VR* 55). The resulting desinence is -[ˈivivo], which is syncopated to -[ivjo] by dissimilation (Schürr, *NC* § 35, *VR* 55), thereby eliminating a sequence of identical phones in proximity. Apocope of final [o] produces the variants -[iːvjɪ], -[iːvji], and -[iːvi] in Sammarinese. Although the corresponding personal pronoun may also be encliticized to the second person singular ([t mɐndiːv̰ti]), the outcome of -[ˈivi(v)o] is generally used in the singular as well:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
LAVĀRE	t lɐviːvji, ɐ lɐviːvji	you were washing
CANTĀRE	kɐntiːvjɪ, kɐntiːvji	you were singing
MANDĀRE	mɐndiːvji, mɐndiːv̰ti	you were sending
*TRŎPĀRE	truviːvjɪ, truviːvji	you were finding
Frankish *WARDŌN	gwɐrdiːvjɪ, gwɐrdiːvji	you were watching
AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE	ɐndiːvjɪ, ɐndiːvji	you were going
*EXCAPPĀRE	s̰kɐpiːvji	you were going out
SPATIĀRE	s̰pɐθiːvji	you were sweeping
SPĒRĀRE	s̰piriːvji, s̰periːvi	you were hoping
SŎMNIĀRE	s̰uɲiːvjɪ, s̰uɲiːvi	you were dreaming
CRĒDĔRE	kridiːvjɪ, kridiːvji	you believed
PĔRDĔRE	perdiːvji, pɐrdiːvji	you were losing
GAUDĒRE	gudiːvjɪ, gudiːvji	you were enjoying
*CONŌSCĔRE	knus̰iːvji	you knew
CŬRRĔRE	kuriːvji	you were running

[105] Rohlfs attributes generalization of the singular desinence to the merger of the third person endings (2: 289), while Schürr identifies stress retraction as the cause (*NC* § 35)

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PLANGĔRE	pjɐndʒiːvjɪ, pjɐndʒiːvi	you were crying
*RĪDĔRE	ridiːvjɪ, ridiːvi	you were laughing
VĒNDĔRE	vindiːvji	you were selling
TĔNĒRE	tniːvjɪ, tniːvji	you were holding
SĔNTĪRE	ʂintiːvjɪ, ʂintiːvji, ʂɐntiːvji	you could hear, feel, taste
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐrviːvji	you were opening
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	kruviːvjɪ, kruviːvji	you were covering
CAPĔRE	kɐpiːvjɪ, kɐpiːvji	you understood
APPARĒRE	ʂpɐriːvji	you were disappearing
FĪNĪRE	fniːvjɪ, fniːvji	you were finishing
DŎRMĪRE	durmiːvjɪ, durmiːvji	you were sleeping
*MŎRĪRE	muriːvjɪ, muriːvji	you were dying

5.4.4. Hypermetaphony

As illustrated above, in Sammarinese the first conjugation displays hypermetaphonic alternation between thematic [ɛ̣ː] (< [a]) and [iː], which does not occur in Central Romagnol, where thematic [eː] has been extended to the first conjugation: [ɐ lɐveːvɐ] ‘I was washing’ (Pelliciardi 115). However, the phenomenon “is widespread in Lazio, the Marche, the Abruzzo, Molise and Puglia” and “is also observable sporadically in some alpine dialects of Canton Ticino” (Maiden 180).

Hypermetaphony is significant because it constitutes a conjunctive interaction between morphological and phonetic conditions (Maiden 148, 186, 223, 226, 232, 244). The phenomenon is morphologically conditioned in that it is restricted to certain categories within the verbal paradigm (Maiden 185, 225) and it arises by analogy (Merlo, “Gli italiani” 77; Maiden 232). In the imperfect indicative of -ERE verbs, [i] occurs as the normal metaphonic alternant of thematic [e] (Maiden 181): TENĒBAS > *[tenivi]. Interpreted as a concomitant of final [i], metaphonic [i] is also generalized to the first conjugation: CANTĀBAS > *[cantivi] (Maiden 248). This gives rise to

hypermetaphonic alternation between [a] and [i] (Maiden 241-42), which yield [ɐː] and [iː], respectively, in Sammarinese: [ɐ kɐn̥tɐːvɐ] ‘I was singing’ - [tˈ kɐn̥tiːvjɪ] ‘you were singing’. Note that it is not uncommon for thematic hypermetaphony to occur in Italo-Romance varieties, such as Sammarinese, that normally do not show internal flexion originating from primary [a] (Maiden 181): [ɐ imˈpɐ̝ːr] ‘I learn’ - [t imˈpɐ̝ːr] ‘you learn’, [ɛ vɐ̝ːʒ̟] ‘the vase’ - [i vɐ̝ːʒ̟] ‘the vases’.

However, hypermetaphony is not “simply a matter of morphological analogy,” given that the metaphonic alternant is not generalized throughout the verbal paradigm (Maiden 223) and that “[h]ypermetaphony involves *novel* patterns of alternation” (Maiden 224). In fact, hypermetaphony occurs under many of the same phonetic conditions which characterize regular metaphony (Maiden 223-25). Firstly, hypermetaphony “only occurs in the phonetic conditioning environment for metaphony” (Maiden 224), that is to say before final [i] of the second person singular. Secondly, both phenomena involve assimilatory raising of the tonic vowel toward the height of final [i]. Thirdly, as in regular metaphony, hypermetaphony of [a] produces a front vowel. Finally, “hypermetaphony occurs preferentially in open syllables” (Maiden 223), which “are more susceptible to the phonetic process of metaphony than their closed counterparts” (Maiden 224).

Even the differences between the two phenomena illustrate how morphology and phonetics interact in hypermetaphony. Whereas assimilation of tonic [a] to final [i] is only partial in regular metaphony (> [ɐː]), it is complete in hypermetaphony (> [iː]), which provides a “phonetically more natural […] resolution of the assimilatory process” (Maiden 227). Also, hypermetaphony gives rise to metaphonic alternation in correspondence with a vowel that

otherwise does not produce it, given that open-syllable [a] normally yields the same result ([ɛ̝ː]) by metaphony as well as by spontaneous diphthongization in Southeastern Romagnol.

5.4.5. Irregular Verbs

*ĔSSĔRE. Unlike Ferrarese and Bolognese, in which ĔRAM > [jerɐ] and [eːrɐ] respectively, Romagnol agglutinates initial [s] to the first and second persons singular and plural (Schürr, *NC* § 39.2) by analogy of the present indicative (Rohlfs 2: 294; cf. [s̪ɔ], [s̪iː], [s̪ɪmˑ], [s̪iː(d)]), which yields Sammarinese [ɐ s̪ɛ̝ːrɐ] ‘I was’.

Second person singular *[ɛri] > Old Romagnol *ier* by umlaut, which gives Bolognese [iːr] and Imolese [s̪iːr] after monophthongization. By analogy of the regular second person singular desinences -[iːv(j)i] and -[iːu̯ti], Sammarinese presents the variants [s̪iːr(j)i] and [s̪iːrti]. Initial /s/ acquires either a palatal or dental articulation ([t ʃiːri], [t θiːri]) when in direct contact with the subject proclitic, but remains apico-alveolar in other contexts ([tu n i s̪iːri] ‘you weren’t there’).

Third person ĔRAT and ĔRANT > Sammarinese [ɛ̝ːrɐ].

Latin ĔRĀMUS undergoes stress retraction, as in Milanese *sérem* (Rohlfs 2: 294). While syncope causes vowel paragoge in Borderline Romagnol, the metaphonic vowel in [s̪iːrmi] likely originates by analogy of the second persons (cf. Bolognese 2nd sg. [iːr], 2nd pl. [iːri], 1st pl. [eːrɐn]).

After being leveled by the second person singular form (cf. Tuscan 2nd pl. *eri* [Schürr, *VR* 55]), the second person plural takes the enclitic -[vo], yielding [s̪iːrvi].

HABĒRE. On one hand, the verb has regular forms that maintain the stem [ɐv]-:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ ɐveːvɐ, ɐviːvɐ	ɐ ɐviːmjɪ, ɐviːmi
Second	t ɐviːvjɪ, ɐviːvji	ɐ ɐviːvjɪ, ɐviːvji
Third	l ɐveːvɐ, ɐviːvɐ	j ɐveːvɐ, ɐviːvɐ

On the other, the stem may be dropped (Schürr, *NC* § 39.1), producing variants such as [iːmi] ‘we had’. By analogy of *stava* and *dava*, some Emilian and Romagnol varieties develop the first, third, and sixth person type *ava* (Rohlfs 2: 294), which gives Sammarinese [ɛ̯ːvɐ] ‘I, he, they had’.

FA(CĔ)RE. Similarly, whereas other dialects preserve the original stem [fɐz̯]- (< FAC-), Sammarinese is among those that reduce it to [f]- by analogy of STARE and DARE. Furthermore, the desinence of the first, third, and sixth persons acquires the tonic vowel of *stava* and *dava* (cf. Parmesan *fava*):

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ fɛ̯ːvɐ	ɐ fiːmjɪ, fiːmi
Second	t fiːvjɪ, fiːvji	ɐ fiːvjɪ, fiːvji
Third	ɛ fɛ̯ːvɐ	i fɛ̯ːvɐ

DARE. Conversely, while some Romagnol varieties develop the type [dɐz̯eːvɐ] by analogy of FACĒBA (Schürr, *NC* § 39.4). Sammarinese preserves the original stem [d]- along with the normal phonetic outcome of the first, third, and sixth person desinence (-ABA > -[ɛ̯ːvɐ]):

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ dɛ̯ːvɐ	ɐ diːmjɪ, diːmi
Second	t diːvji	ɐ diːvji
Third	ɛl dɛ̯ːvɐ	i dɛ̯ːvɐ

STARE. Analogously, instead of [ʂtɐʐeːvɐ] Sammarinese presents [ʂtɛ̟ːvɐ] etc.:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ ʂtɛ̟ːvɐ	ɐ ʂtiːmjɪ, ʂtiːm[j]i
Second	t ʂtiːvji	ɐ ʂtiːvji
Third	u ʂtɛ̟ːvɐ	i ʂtɛ̟ːvɐ

DĪCĔRE. While DĪCĒBA > Romagnol [dʐeːvɐ] by syncope (Schürr, *NC* § 39.7), Sammarinese shows the palatalized stem [dʒ]-:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ dʒeːvɐ, dʒiːvɐ	ɐ dʒiːmjɪ, dʒiːm[j]i
Second	t dʒiːvjɪ, dʒiːvji	ɐ dʒiːvjɪ, dʒiːvji
Third	ɛl dʒeːvɐ, dʒiːvɐ	i dʒeːvɐ, dʒiːvɐ

VĪDERE. The syncopated stem [(ɐ)vd]- coexists with a conservative or restored [vid]-:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ videːvɐ, vidiːvɐ	ɐ vidiːmjə, vidiːmi
Second	t vidiːvjɪ	ɐ vidiːvjɪ
Third	ɛ videːvɐ, vidiːvɐ	i videːvɐ, vidiːvɐ

*VŎLĒRE. Latin VŎLĒBA > Old Romagnol *uuleua* (*PM* 2.8.6, 2.8.8, 1.12.3, 1.17.2) by apophony, whose stem has been reduced to [vl]- in the modern dialects (Schürr, *NC* § 39.10):

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ vleːvɐ, vliːvɐ	ɐ vliːmji
Second	it vliːvji	ɐ vliːvji
Third	ɛ vleːvɐ, vliːvɐ	i vleːvɐ, vliːvɐ

*PŎTĒRE. Belluzzi's early sixteenth-century *Diario* shows third person singular *posseva* (Foresti 34) with its stem modeled after PŎSSUM etc. Due to syncope, the *Pulon Matt* records

third person singular and plural *pse(u)a* (1.12.4, 3.31.2). Nowadays indigenous [pʂ]- occurs less frequently than the Italianized variants [put]- and [pud]-:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ pʂeːvɐ, pudiːvɐ, putiːvɐ	ɐ pʂiːmji, putiːmji
Second	t pʂiːvji, pudiːvjɪ, putiːvjɪ, putiːvi	ɐ pʂiːvji, pudiːvjɪ, putiːvjɪ, putiːvi
Third	ɛ pʂeːvɐ, pudiːvɐ, putiːvɐ	i pʂeːvɐ, pudiːvɐ, putiːvɐ

VĔNĪRE. Syncope produces the stem [(ɐ)vn]-, which yields [(ɐ)mn]- by anticipatory assimilation:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ ɐmniːvɐ	ɐ ɐmniːmjɪ, ɐmniːmji
Second	t ɐmniːvji	ɐ ɐmniːvji
Third	l ɐmniːvɐ	j ɐmniːvɐ

5.5. Present Subjunctive

5.5.1. First, Second, Third, and Sixth Persons

Due to apocope of final -M, -S, -T, and -NT, -ERE and -ĪRE verbs mark all rhizotonic forms of the present subjunctive with the desinence -[ɐ] (Schürr, *NC* § 34):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
MĬTTAM MĬTTAS MĬTTAT MĬTTANT	ɐ mɛtˈɐ t mɛtˈɐ ɛ mɛtˈɐ i mɛtˈɐ	I may put, place you may put, place he may put, place they may put, place
SCRĪBA	ʂkriːvɐ	may write
MĔTA	mɛ̯ːdɐ	may reap, harvest
CLŪDA	tʃuːdɐ	may close
RE-CŎLLĬGA	ɐrkɔːjɐ	may gather
cf. Italian *finisca*	fnɪʂˑɐ	may finish
*MŎVA	mɔːvɐ	may move

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AD-RĔDDA	ɐrɛnˑdɐ	may surrender
cf. Italian *sparisca*	s̪pɐrɪs̪ˑɐ	may disappear
*CŎCEA	kɔːʒ̪ɐ	may cook
cf. Italian *capisca*	kɐpɪs̪ˑɐ	may understand
VĒNDA	vɛnˑdɐ	may sell
cf. Italian *dorma*	dɔːrmɐ	may sleep
*MŎRIA	mɔːrɐ	may die
CRĒDA	kreːdɐ	may believe
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	kruːvɐ	may cover

As for the first conjugation, Classical Latin -EM, -ES, and -ET merge into Proto-Italo-Romance -[e], which gives way to the final [i] (cf. Italian *canti*, *cantino*) that originates in the indicative (Rohlfs 2: 296). In Romagnol, final [i] causes umlaut before it is eventually dropped, as the sixteenth-century *Pulon Matt* attests (Schürr, *NC* § 34, *VR* 25, 55): *a voi cu cuntinij* 'I want it to continue' (1.1.7), *u par ch'am vargugn* 'it seems that I'm embarrassed' (1.40.2). The same text sporadically extends the second, third, and fourth conjugation desinence to -ĀRE verbs: *[pɔrti] > *puorta* (*PM* 2.17.2, 2.17.8). In the modern dialects final [ɐ] is obligatory (Schürr, *NC* § 34, *VR* 55), as is the case in Sammarinese: *at preg che t'm'insegna* 'I beg you to teach me' (Papanti), *an gnò feda t'scapa* 'I don't believe you'll escape' (Balsimelli 6.30), [ɐ laːs̪ k ɐl maːɲɐ] 'I'll let them (f.) eat', [k lɐ s̪ ɐriːʒ̪gɐ] 'that she may venture'. More examples of rhizotonic first conjugation forms appear in the table below:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	ɐ, t, ɛ, i kɛ̯ːntɐ	I, you, he, they may sing
*EXTŪFĀRE	s̪tʊfˑɐ	may weary
*COMĬNTIĀRE	kmɛ̯ːnθɐ	may begin
FIGŪRĀRE	figuːrɐ	may picture
PENSĀRE	pɛ̯ːns̪ɐ	may think
MANDĀRE	maːndɐ	may send
*ASPĔCTĀRE	ɐs̪pɛ̯ːtɐ	may wait

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*PASSĀRE	paːʂɐ	may go by
RĔSTĀRE	rɛ̯ːʂ̠tɐ	may remain
RE-TORNĀRE	ɐrtɔu̯rnɐ	may return
RŬĪNA	ɐrvɛi̯ñɐ, ɐrviːnɐ	may ruin
onomatopoeic	tɔkˑɐ, tɐkˑɐ	may touch
CAPŬLĀRE	tʃaːpɐ	may take
GRATIA	riŋgrɛ̯ːθjɐ	may thank
Old French *profiter*	ɐprufɪtˑɐ	may take advantage
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐriːvɐ	may arrive
*MATEA	(ɐ)maːθɐ	may kill
*TRŎPĀRE	trɔːvɐ	may find
AD-ŎP(Ĕ)R-ĀRE	dɔːvrɐ	may use
*AFFOCĀRE	ɐfɔːgɐ	may drown
onomatopoeic	tʃuːlɐ	may squeak
Longobard SPAHHAN	ʂ̠paːkɐ	may split
LUCTĀRE	luːtɐ	may last
CONTINUĀRE	kuntɪnˑwɐ	may continue
LABŌRĀRE	lɐvoːrɐ	may work
Frankish wardōn	gwɛ̯ːrdɐ	may watch
LAVĀRE	lɛ̯ːvɐ	may wash
*ĬMPARĀRE	ɐmpɛ̯ːrɐ	may learn
LASCĀRE	laːʂ̠ɐ	may leave, let
TRACTĀRE	traːtɐ	may negotiate
COMPŬTĀRE	kɔu̯ñtɐ	may count
RECŎRDĀRI	ɐrkɔːrdɐ	(pron.) may remember

Aside from a few inconsistent exceptions (*[freki] > [friːgɐ] ‘may cheat’), Borderline Romagnol generally eliminates metaphonic vowels (cp. Old Romagnol *vargugn, puorta* with Sammarinese [vɐrgɔɲˑɐ], [pɔːrtɐ]). Along with the generalization of -/a/, leveling of metaphonic vowels contributes to the convergence of the rhizotonic subjunctive form of the first conjugation with the third person of the present indicative. Hence, depending on the context it appears in, [maːɲɐ] signifies ‘I, he, they may eat’ as well as ‘he eats, they eat’.

5.5.2. First Person Plural

Throughout Northern Italo-Romance, the first person plural form generally merges with its indicative counterpart (Rohlfs 2: § 558), which has been narrowed down to -[ɪmˑ] (< -ĪMŬS) in contemporary Sammarinese. By the sixteenth century, Romagnol, like other Northern Italian varieties, consistently differentiates the subjunctive desinence from the corresponding indicative form through the addition of final *-a*, which originates from the rhizotonic forms of the present subjunctive (Schürr, *NC* § 34). As a result, Sammarinese uses the desinence -[ɪmˑɐ] to indicate the first person plural of the present subjunctive in all conjugations:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
LASCĀRE	ɐ lɐʂɪmˑɐ	we may leave, let
DISCŬRRĔRE	ɐ θkurɪmˑɐ	we may talk
PARABOLĀRE	ɐ pɐrlɪmˑɐ	we may talk
*MŎVĔRE	ɐ muvɪmˑɐ	we may move
SPĒRĀRE	ɐ ʂperɪmˑɐ, ʂpirɪmˑɐ	we may hope
CĬRCĀRE	ɐ tʃɐrkɪmˑɐ, tʃirkɪmˑɐ	we may look for, try
TEMPTĀRE	ɐ tintɪmˑɐ	we may attempt
PRŎBĀRE	ɐ pruvɪmˑɐ	we may try
PARTĪRI	ɐ pɐrtɪmˑɐ	we may leave
CURRĔRE	ɐ kurɪmˑɐ	we may run
CAMPU	ɐ kɐmpɪmˑɐ	we may live, get by
CRĒDĔRE	ɐ kridɪmˑɐ	we may believe
PŎRTĀRE	ɐ purtɪmˑɐ	we may bring
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɪmˑɐ	we may sing
GAUDĒRE	ɐ gudɪmˑɐ	we may enjoy
*RĪDĔRE	ɐ ridɪmˑɐ	we may laugh
CAPĔRE	ɐ kɐpɪmˑɐ	we may understand
LAVĀRE	ɐ lɐvɪmˑɐ	we may wash
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ truvɪmˑɐ	we may find
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐ ɐrvɪmˑɐ	we may arrive
VĒNDĔRE	ɐ vindɪmˑɐ	we may sell
DŎRMĪRE	ɐ durmɪmˑɐ	we may sleep

5.5.3. Second Person Plural

The second person plural of the present subjunctive also merges with its indicative counterpart (-[é], -[í]) in Northern Italo-Romance (Rohlfs 2: § 558). To distinguish the former from the latter, -[v] is encliticized to the subjunctive desinence, yielding Old Romagnol –[év] (Schürr, *NC* § 34, *VR* 55). By analogy of the other persons, the *Pulon Matt* additionally appends -[a] to the desinence on an optional basis, which has become the norm in the modern dialects: Forlivese [kɐnteːvɐ] or [kɐntiːvɐ] ‘you may sing’, [kɐrdiːvɐ] ‘you may believe’, [s̪intiːvɐ] ‘you may hear’, [finiːvɐ] ‘you may finish’. In Sammarinese, the tonic vowel has been brought into conformity with that of the first person plural (-[ɪmˑɐ]), yielding the desinence -[ɪvˑɐ] in all conjugations:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɪvˑɐ	you may sing
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ truvɪvˑɐ	you may find
PĔRDĔRE	ɐ pɐrdɪvˑɐ	you may lose
GAUDĒRE	ɐ gudɪvˑɐ	you may enjoy
SĔNTĪRE	ɐ s̪ɐntɪvˑɐ, s̪intɪvˑɐ	you may hear, feel, taste
*SAPĒRE	ɐ s̪ɐvɪvˑɐ	you may know
CRĒDĔRE	ɐ kridɪvˑɐ	you may believe
TŎLLĔRE	ɐ tulɪvˑɐ	you may take (away, off)
CAPŬLĀRE	ɐ tʃɐpɪvˑɐ	you may take
CAMPU	ɐ kɐmpɪvˑɐ	you may live, get by
CURRĔRE	ɐ kurɪvˑɐ	you may run
PARTĪRI	ɐ pɐrtɪvˑɐ	you may leave
PRŎBĀRE	ɐ pruvɪvˑɐ	you may try
CĬRCĀRE	ɐ tʃɐrkɪvˑɐ	you may look for
SPĒRĀRE	ɐ s̪perɪvˑɐ	you may hope
*MŎVĔRE	ɐ muvɪvˑɐ	you may move
PARABOLĀRE	ɐ pɐrlɪvˑɐ	you may talk
LASCĀRE	ɐ lɐs̪ɪvˑɐ	you may leave, let
*RĪDĔRE	ɐ ridɪvˑɐ	you may laugh
CAPĔRE	ɐ kɐpɪvˑɐ	you may understand

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
LAVĀRE	ɐ lɐvɪvˈɐ	you may wash
APPARĒRE	ɐ ʂpɐrɪvˈɐ	you may disappear
FĪNĪRE	ɐ fnɪvˈɐ	you may finish
VĒNDĔRE	ɐ vindɪvˈɐ	you may sell
DŎRMĪRE	ɐ durmɪvˈɐ	you may sleep

5.5.4. Irregular Verbs

*ĔSSĔRE. Latin SIM, SĪS, SIT, and SINT > [ʂi:ɐ] ‘may be’, which oscillates with *si* (P. Rossi, “In occasione”, Balsimelli 6.8), due to apocope of -[ɐ] in hiatus with tonic [i:]. First person plural SĪMŬS > [ʂɪmˈɐ], which conditions the development of second person plural [ʂɪvˈɐ].

HABĒRE. Rhizotonic HABEA > Old Romagnol *heiba*, which yields Sammarinese [ɛ̣:pɐ] by analogy of SAPIA > [ʂɛ̣:pɐ] (Schürr, *NC* § 39.1). Due to the influence of the written language, the autochthonous outcome coexists with the variants [a:pɐ], [a:pjɐ], and [a:bjɐ]:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ ɛ̣:pɐ, a:pɐ, a:pjɐ, a:bjɐ	ɐ ɐvɪmˈɐ
Second	t ɛ̣:pɐ, a:pɐ, a:pjɐ, a:bjɐ	ɐ ɐvɪvˈɐ
Third	l ɛ̣:pɐ, a:pɐ, a:pjɐ, a:bjɐ	j ɛ̣:pɐ, a:pɐ, a:pjɐ, a:bjɐ

FA(CĔ)RE. Latin FACIA > Old Romagnol *fezza* (*PM* 1.3.6, 2.28.2, 3.37.7, 3.39.5) by umlaut (Schürr, *NC* § 39.3), whereas the metaphonic vowel is leveled in Sammarinese [fa:tʃɐ]. While Faentino and Forlivese preserve the arhizotonic stem [fɐʐ]-, Sammarinese presents analogical [f]-:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ fa:tʃɐ	ɐ fɪmˈɐ
Second	t fa:tʃɐ	ɐ fɪvˈɐ
Third	ɛ fa:tʃɐ	i fa:tʃɐ

DARE. As in the first person singular of the present indicative, the first, second, third, and sixth persons of DARE, STĀRE, AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE, DĪ(CĔ)RE, VĬDĒRE, and TŎLLĔRE take stem-final [gg] in the present subjunctive. By metaphony, the *Pulon Matt* shows rhizotonic *degga* (3.2.3, 2.14.6), which is continued by Faentino, Forlivese, and Lughese [dẹ̯ːgɐ], whereas Riminese, Sammarinese, and Riccionese are characterized by [daːgɐ] (Schürr, *NC* § 39.4).

STĀRE. Analogously, leveling of the metaphonic vowel in *steg(g)a* (*PM* 1.14.5, 3.1.6; Schürr, *NC* § 39.5) produces Sammarinese [ʂ̪taːgɐ]. The stem for the first and second persons plural is [ʂ̪t]-: [ʂ̪tɪvˑɐ].

AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE. While Lughese, Faentino, Forlivese, and Ravennate preserve the metaphonic vowel in *uega* (*PM* 2.59.3, 3.37.8), Riminese, Sammarinese, and Riccionese show [vaːgɐ] (Schürr, *NC* § 39.6):

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ vaːgɐ	ɐ ɐndɪmˑɐ
Second	t vaːgɐ	ɐ ɐndɪvˑɐ
Third	ɛ vaːgɐ	i vaːgɐ

DĪ(CĔ)RE. Rhizotonic *dig(g)a* (*PM* 1.24.4, 1.58.8) > [dɪgˑɐ] after the lowering of closed-syllable [i]. In the first and second persons plural, Romagnol typically presents the syncopated stem [dʐ̪]- (Schürr, *NC* § 39.7), which is palatalized in Sammarinese:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ dɪgˑɐ	ɐ dʒɪmˑɐ
Second	t dɪgˑɐ	ɐ dʒɪvˑɐ
Third	ɛl dɪgˑɐ	i dɪgˑɐ

VĬDĒRE. Following the abbreviation of closed-syllable [i], *uigga* (*PM* 1.42.6; Schürr, *NC* § 39.8) > [vɪgˑɐ]:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ vɪgˑɐ	ɐ vidɪmˑɐ
Second	t vɪgˑɐ	ɐ vidɪvˑɐ
Third	ɛ vɪgˑɐ	i vɪgˑɐ

*VŎLĒRE. Latin *VŎLEA > Old Romagnol *vu(i)ja* (*PM* 1.61.6, 3.55.8), which yields Sammarinese [vʊjˑɐ] by the normal phonetic development together with analogically leveled [vɔːjɐ]. The *Pulon Matt* maintains the pretonic vowel in *uulema* (3.22.1), whose arhizotonic stem undergoes syncope during the formation of the modern dialects (Schürr, *NC* § 39.10):

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ vʊjˑɐ, vɔːjɐ	ɐ vlɪmˑɐ
Second	t vʊjˑɐ, vɔːjɐ	ɐ vlɪvˑɐ
Third	ɛ vʊjˑɐ, vɔːjɐ	i vʊjˑɐ, vɔːjɐ

TŎLLĔRE. Its evolution being parallel to that of *VŎLEA as far as the tonic vowel is concerned, *[tɔllja] yields the Sammarinese variants [tʊgˑɐ] and [tɔːgɐ]. While the extension of [gg] to the detriment of the original stem-final consonant is not universal (cf. Bolognese and Romagnol [tʊjˑɐ] [Schürr, *NC* § 39.11]), the arhizotonic stem is [tul]- throughout Romagna: [tulɪmˑɐ].

*PŎTĒRE. Latin PŎSSIM, PŎSSĪS, PŎSSIT, and PŎSSINT > Old Romagnol *puossa* (*PM* 4.10.6, 3.64.5, 3.48.5) by umlaut (Schürr, *NC* § 39.12), which yields Sammarinese [pʊʂˑɐ] in oscillation with analogically leveled [pɔːʂɐ].

*SAPĒRE. Rhizotonic SAPIA > Old Romagnol *seipa* (*PM* 2.21.2, 4.2.8, 3.43.8) > Sammarinese [ʂɛ̯ːpɐ], which coexists with the Italianism [ʂaːpjɐ]. Whereas the yod causes the intensification of [p] in the strong forms, lenition is allowed to occur in the arhizotonic persons: [ʂɐvɪmˑɐ].

VĔNĪRE and TĔNĒRE. As a result of metaphony and palatalization of the stem-final consonant, VĔNIA yields Old Romagnol *uigna* (Schürr, *NC* § 39.14). While modern Romagnol generally preserves [ɲ], Sammarinese [vɪŋgɐ] and [vɛŋgɐ] have acquired [ŋg] from the written language. Analogously, TĔNEA > [tɪŋgɐ].

5.6. Imperfect Subjunctive

5.6.1. First, Second, Third, and Sixth Persons

With the forms of the imperfect subjunctive deriving from the Classical Latin pluperfect subjunctive (Rohlfs 2: 303), fourth conjugation -Ī(VĬ)SSEM, -Ī(VĬ)SSES, -Ī(VĬ)SSET, and -Ī(VĬ)SSENT merge into Old Romagnol *-iss* (Schürr, *NC* § 36). Perhaps an analogical final [i] in the second person singular (cf. Old Paduan 2nd sg. *avissi*, 3rd sg. *avesse*) triggers the generalization of *-iss* to the first, third, and sixth persons of -ERE verbs (Rohlfs 2: 303), which is also attested by the *Pulon Matt* (Schürr, *NC* § 36). Through the lowering of closed-syllable [i], *-iss* yields -[ɪʂ̯ˑ], which modern Romagnol has extended to the first conjugation as well:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DORMĪ(VĬ)SSEM DORMĪ(VĬ)SSES DORMĪ(VĬ)SSET DORMĪ(VĬ)SSENT	ɐ durˈmɪʂ̯ˑ t durˈmɪʂ̯ˑ ɛl durˈmɪʂ̯ˑ i durˈmɪʂ̯ˑ	I might sleep you might sleep he might sleep they might sleep
CANTĀ(VĬ)SSE	kɐnˈtɪʂ̯ˑ	might sing
*TRŎPĀSSE	truˈvɪʂ̯ˑ	might find

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
TORNĀ(VĬ)SSE	ɐrturˈnɪʂ˙	might come back
TĔNUĬSSE	tnɪʂ˙	might hold, keep
DISCŬRRĬSSE	θkuˈrɪʂ˙	might talk
VENĬSSE	ɐmˈnɪʂ˙	might come
AMBŬLĀ(VĬ)SSE	ɐnˈdɪʂ˙	might go
CAPŬLĀ(VĬ)SSE	tʃɐˈpɪʂ˙	might take
*MĬTTĬSSE	miˈtɪʂ˙	might put
*DEVENTĀSSE	dvinˈtɪʂ˙	might become
*ADRĪPĀSSE	ɐrˈvɪʂ˙	might arrive
GYRĀ(VĬ)SSE	dʒiˈrɪʂ˙	might turn, go around
*NASCĬSSE	nɐˈʂɪʂ˙	might be born
*SCRĪBĬSSE	ʂkriˈvɪʂ˙	might write
*CONŌSCĬSSE	knuˈʂɪʂ˙	might know
*CAMPASSE	kɐmˈpɪʂ˙	might live, get by
*TĪRĀSSE	trɪʂ˙	might pull, blow
LASCĀ(VĬ)SSE	lɐˈʂɪʂ˙	might leave, let
PRŎBĀ(VĬ)SSE	pruˈvɪʂ˙	might try
MANDŪCĀ(VĬ)SSE	mɐˈɲɪʂ˙	might eat
FĬRMĀ(VĬ)SSE	fɐrˈmɪʂ˙	might stop
PENSĀ(VĬ)SSE	pinˈʂɪʂ˙	might think
*ADSĬMĬLIĀSSE	ɐʂɐrˈmjɪʂ˙	might resemble
PŎRTĀ(VĬ)SSE	purˈtɪʂ˙	might bring, carry, wear
*TŎLLĬSSE	tuˈlɪʂ˙	might take (away, off)
*BASTĀSSE	ʂ u m bɐʂˈtɪʂ˙	if it weren't enough
GŬBERNĀ(VĬ)SSE	ɡwɐrˈnɪʂ˙	might tend (livestock)
*VĒNDĬSSE	vinˈdɪʂ˙	might sell
cf. Italian *rubasse*	ruˈbɪʂ˙	might steal
*CLŪDĬSSE	tʃuˈdɪʂ˙	might close
*COMMANDĀSSE	kmɐnˈdɪʂ˙	might be in charge

Like the dialects of Rimini and Riccione, Sammarinese also displays a tendency—albeit fading—to preserve the original first conjugation desinence -[aːʂ] (< -A(VI)SSEM etc.) (Schürr, *NC* § 36): *S' l arivas* 'if he arrived' (Martelli 161), *se* […] *a cmandass ia* 'if I were in charge'

(Balsimelli 8.28), [ʂ u m bɐʂˈtaːʂ] ‘if it weren’t enough’, [purˈtaːʂ] ‘might bring’, [mɐˈɲaːʂ] ‘might eat’.

5.6.2. First Person Plural

Both the -ERE and the -ĪRE conjugations share the desinence *-iss(u)m* (< -Ī(VI)SSĒMUS) by the time of the *Pulon Matt*’s composition (Schürr, *NC* § 36), which eventually replaces the first conjugation ending as well. In Borderline Romagnol, where paragoge is the norm, the first person plural desinence presents variants such as -[ɪʂˑmə], -[ɪʂˑmɪ], and -[ɪʂˑmi]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɪʂˑmi	we might sing
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ truvɪʂˑmi	we might find
VĒNDĔRE	ɐ vindɪʂˑmi	we might sell
DŎRMĪRE	ɐ durmɪʂˑmɪ	we might sleep
DISCŬRRĔRE	ɐ θkurɪʂˑmi	we might talk
GAUDĒRE	ɐ gudɪʂˑmi	we might enjoy
SĔNTĪRE	ɐ ʂɐntɪʂˑmi	we might hear
*RĪDĔRE	ɐ ridɪʂˑmi	we might laugh
CAPĔRE	ɐ kɐpɪʂˑmi	we might understand
LAVĀRE	ɐ lɐvɪʂˑmi	we might wash

5.6.3. Second Person Plural

In Northern Italo-Romance, the second person singular and plural merge into a single form by the Middle Ages, as in late thirteenth-century Milanese *tu mangiasi* ‘you might eat’, *vu portasi* ‘you might carry’ (Rohlfs 2: 149). The resultant ambiguity is resolved by enclisis of the subject pronoun -v (< VOS) to the second person plural (cf. 14th-century Bergamasque *vedìsef* ‘you might see’), which occurs by analogy of interrogative constructions (Jaberg, *Aspects* 87 ff.; Schürr, *NC* § 36). As attested by a letter from Sigismondo Malatesta to Count Federico d’Urbino,

the phenomenon reaches Romagna and penetrates the written language by the fifteenth century: *in caso che non acceptassivo* ‘in case you did not accept’ (Tonini 5: 162; Schürr, *NC* § 36, *VR* 56). However, use of the enclitic is still optional in the late sixteenth-century *Pulon Matt*, since it can be omitted when the person is indicated another way (Schürr, *NC* § 36, *VR* 56). Compare *Vu alt m dsiss* ‘you might tell me’ (*PM* 1.2.8) and *havissuv* ‘you might have’ (*PM* 2.18.4). Ultimately, employment of the enclitic becomes obligatory, leading to its absorption by the verbal desinence. In Borderline Romagnol, where word-final consonant clusters are resyllabified by vowel paragoge, the second person plural ending presents variants such as -[ɪʂ̬ˑvə], -[ɪʂ̬ˑvɪ], and -[ɪʂ̬ˑvi]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*SAPĒRE	ɐ ʂ̬ɐvɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might know
DISCŬRRĔRE	ɐ θkurɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might talk
PARABOLĀRE	ɐ pɐrlɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might talk
GAUDĒRE	ɐ gudɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might enjoy
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ truvɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might find
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might sing
SĔNTĪRE	ɐ ʂ̬ɐntɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might hear
*MONTĀRE	ɐ muntɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might go up, get on
*RĪDĔRE	ɐ ridɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might laugh
CAPĔRE	ɐ kɐpɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might understand
LAVĀRE	ɐ lɐvɪʂ̬ˑvi	you might wash
MANDŪCĀRE	ɐ mɐɲɪʂ̬ˑvɪ	you might eat

5.6.4. Irregular Verbs

*ĔSSĔRE. As a result of metaphony, Latin FŬ(I)SSEM, FŬ(I)SSES, FŬ(I)SSET, and FŬ(I)SSENT > Old Romagnol *fuss* (Schürr, *NC* § 39.2), whose high vowel persists in Sammarinese throughout the nineteenth century: *fuss* (P. Rossi, “In occasione”), *fus* (Martelli 152, Papanti, Balsimelli 11.44). By the twentieth century, closed-syllable *u* is lowered to [ʊ]:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ fʊʂˑ	ɐ fʊʂˑmi, fʊʂˑmɪ
Second	t fʊʂˑ	ɐ fʊʂˑvi, fʊʂˑvɪ
Third	ɛ fʊʂˑ	i fʊʂˑ

HABĒRE. Forms that drop the stem, such as first, second, third, and sixth person *es(s)* (Martelli 152, Balsimelli 12.22) and second person plural *isvi* (P. Rossi, *Il Ceccone*) alternate with regular variants:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ ɐˈvɪʂˑ	ɐ ɐvɪʂˑmi
Second	t ɐˈvɪʂˑ	ɐ ɐvɪʂˑvi
Third	l ɐˈvɪʂˑ	j ɐˈvɪʂˑ

FA(CĔ)RE. The *Pulon Matt* shows the following forms: 3rd sg. and pl. *fiess* (4.6.5, 1.8.4), 2nd pl. *fiess(v)* (2.21.7), *fiss(v)* (1.3.3; Schürr, *NC* § 39.3). The [f]- stem carries on in Sammarinese:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ fɪʂˑ	ɐ fɪʂˑmi
Second	t fɪʂˑ	ɐ fɪʂˑvi
Third	ɛ fɪʂˑ	i fɪʂˑ

DARE. Variants modeled after regular first conjugation verbs (3rd pl. *das* [Martelli 166], 3rd sg. *dass* [Zuccagni Orlandini 325]) coexist with those which continue either *-iess* (< DĔ[DI]SSEM etc.) or have generalized *-iss* (< -Ī[VI]SSEM etc.):

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ dɪʂˑ	ɐ dɪʂˑmi
Second	t dɪʂˑ	ɐ dɪʂˑvi
Third	ɛl dɪʂˑ	i dɪʂˑ

STĀRE. Latin STĔ(TI)SSET > Old Romagnol *stiess* (*PM* 2.56.7; Schürr, *NC* 39.5) > Sammarinese [ʂtɪʂ̩ˑ].

DĪ(CĔ)RE. The *Pulon Matt* records the following forms: 3rd sg. and pl. *dsiss* (2.1.5, 4.1.5), 2nd pl. *dsiss* (1.2.8). While the stem remains [dʐ̩]- elsewhere in Romagna (Schürr, *NC* § 39.7), Sammarinese shows the palatalized variant [dʒ]-:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ dʒɪʂ̩ˑ	ɐ dʒɪʂ̩ˑmi
Second	t dʒɪʂ̩ˑ	ɐ dʒɪʂ̩ˑvi
Third	ɛl dʒɪʂ̩ˑ	i dʒɪʂ̩ˑ

VĬDĒRE. Although a syncopated stem (1st sg. *a vdess* [Balsimelli 1.13]) still persists in modern Sammarinese, the current tendency is to restore the pretonic vowel:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ viˈdɪʂ̩ˑ	ɐ vidɪʂ̩ˑmi
Second	t viˈdɪʂ̩ˑ	ɐ vidɪʂ̩ˑvi
Third	ɛ viˈdɪʂ̩ˑ	i viˈdɪʂ̩ˑ

VŎLĒRE. Whereas Old Romagnol maintains the pretonic vowel in first, second, third, and sixth person *uuliss*, the modern varieties have dropped it altogether (Schürr, *NC* § 39.10):

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ɐ vlɪʂ̩ˑ	ɐ vlɪʂ̩ˑmi
Second	t vlɪʂ̩ˑ	ɐ vlɪʂ̩ˑvi
Third	ɛ vlɪʂ̩ˑ	i vlɪʂ̩ˑ

*PŎTĒRE. The *Pulon Matt* shows a stem modeled on PŎSSUM etc. (Schürr, *NC* § 39.12): 1st sg. *psiss* (*PM* 4.20.1), 2nd pl. *psisu* (*PM* 4.20.5). This type continues in nineteenth-century Sammarinese 1st sg. *pses* (Papanti), which corresponds with Bolognese [pʂ̩ɪʂ̩ˑ]. However, the dialect of the twentieth century, following the trend which characterizes modern Romagnol,

replaces the indigenous stem with the Italianism [put]- or [pud]-: [s̬ ɐ puˈdɪs̬ˑ, puˈtɪs̬ˑ] ‘if I could’, 2nd pl. [ɐ pudɪs̬ˑvi].

5.7. Perfect Indicative

The substitution of the *passato remoto* with the *passato prossimo* in Northern Italo-Romance begins to take hold in the fourteenth century and is complete in most areas by the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the simple past tends to be preserved for a longer time south of the Po (Rohlfs 2: § 567), its remnants surviving into the early twentieth century in Riminese, Riccionese, and especially Sammarinese (Schürr, *NC* § 36). Nevertheless, today the *passato remoto* is entirely extinct in Sammarinese, its last vestiges being attested in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century texts.

5.7.1. First Conjugation

Throughout Romagna, including San Marino, the first, third, and sixth person desinences are identical. However, while most Romagnol dialects generalize the -ERE and -ĪRE verb desinences to the first conjugation (Schürr, *NC* § 36, *VR* 56) (cf. Bolognese [ɐ lɐvuˈrɪ] ‘I worked’, [ɐ vinˈdɪ] ‘I sold’, [ɐ durˈmɪ] ‘I slept’ [Vitali § 32.1]), Sammarinese keeps distinct endings for -ĀRE verbs. Like other varieties scattered throughout Tuscany, Umbria, the Marches, and Emilia (see Rohlfs 2 §§ 568, 569), Sammarinese extends third person singular *-ò* to the first person singular of -ĀRE verbs. Although Francesco Balsimelli’s unpublished manuscript, *La nuova com(m)edia* (1910-11), is the only text—at least among those analyzed thus far—to document the occurrence of this phenomenon in Sammarinese, the poem contains eight occurrences of first person singular *-ò* in seven different verbs whose spelling generally reflects the autochthonous phonology:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DEMANDĀRE	*a dmandò* (2.7)	I asked
*EXVĬGĬLĀRE	*am svigiò* (4.1)	I woke up
*TRŎPĀRE	*am truvò* (4.2)	I ended up
LASCĀRE	*a lasciò* (5.41)	I let
PRINCIPIĀRE	*a principiò* (6.18, 10.14)	I began
CAPŬLĀRE	*a ciapò* (6.61)	I took
AD-VĪCĪN-ĀRE	*a m'avsginò* (10.13)	I approached

In the third person singular, Classical Latin -ĀVIT > Proto-Romance -AUT (Rohlfs 2: 309), which yields *-ò* in the *Pulon Matt* (Schürr, *NC* § 36) as well as in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Sammarinese texts:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AMB(Ŭ)LĀV(I)T	*andò*[106]	she, he went
*BASTĀRE	*bastò* (Martelli 152)	it was enough
*PARABOLĀRE	*u m'parlò* (Martelli 159)	he talked to me
onomatopoeic	*tucò* (Martelli 166)	he touched
*DEVENTĀRE	*el dventò* (Papanti)	he became
CLAMĀV(I)T	*e ciamò* (Balsimelli 3.11)	he called
PORTĀV(I)T	*purtò*[107]	brought
Frankish WARDŌN	*guardò*[108]	he looked at
PENSĀRE	*pensò*[109]	she, he thought
PRAESENTĀRE	*presentò*[110]	he introduced, presented
*EXCAPPĀRE	*e scapò* (Balsimelli 8.45; Zani)	he escaped, went out
AD-VĪCĪN-ĀRE	*un s'avsginò* (Balsimelli 8.55)	he did not approach
PRINCIPIĀRE	*principiò* (Balsimelli 8.56)	he began
*ASPĔCTĀRE	*un'asptò* (Balsimelli 9.10)	he didn't wait
CALĀRE	*e calò* (Anderson 2: 13)	he lowered
Gothic TAIKN	*la s' atacò* (Anderson 2: 13)	she held on tight
ĬN-CŎNTR-ĀRE	*l' incuntrò* (Anderson 2: 32),	he met
CAPŬLĀRE	*ciapò* (Anderson 2: 32, 33, 39)	he, she took
ĬNVĪTĀRE	*u l' invitò* (Anderson 2: 32)	he invited him
DEMANDĀRE	*u i dmandò* (Anderson 2: 19)	he asked him
cf. Italian *schiantò*	*la si s-ciantò* (Anderson 2: 13)	it crashed
PERDŌNĀRE	*u 'l perdunò* (Anderson 2: 20)	he pardoned him
Frankish *BŌTAN	*u i la butò* (Anderson 2: 39)	he threw it down to her
*MA(N)SIĀRE	*lia la s' masiò* (Anderson 2: 39)	she hid

[106] Papanti; Anderson 2: 13, 19, 33, 39.
[107] Balsimelli 5.56, 8.52; M. Rossi, "Il grande ospite."
[108] Balsimelli 5.53; M. Rossi, "Il grande ospite."
[109] Papanti; Zani; M. Rossi, "Il grande ospite."
[110] Balsimelli 6.17; Anderson 2: 20.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FRĬCĀRE	*us frigò 'l men* (Zani)	he rubbed his hands
AD-VĬ-ĀRE	*us aviò* (Zani)	he set off
*ABANTIĀRE	*l'arvanzò enca pió cuntent* (Zani)	he was even happier
*BADĀRE	*un i badò* (Zani)	he did not pay attention
Italian *seguitare*	*e seguitò* (Zani)	he continued
cf. Italian *tirò*	*us tirò* (Zani)	he moved
ĬNTRĀRE	*L'entrò* (Zani)	he went in
*TRŎPĀRE	*un trovò* (Zani)	he didn't find
AD-RABI-ĀRE	*us rabiò* (Zani)	he got angry
ŬLŬLĀRE	*l'urlò* (Zani)	he yelled
VĪSĬTĀRE	*E visitò* (M. Rossi, "Il grande")	he visited
MANDĀV(I)T	*mandò*[111]	he, she sent
*PASSĀRE	*e pasò* (Anderson 2: 32, 37, 39)	it, he went, came by

The *Pulon Matt* as well as nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Sammarinese texts also indicate the third person plural with *-ò*, which may have simply leveled the continuant of -ĀRŬNT the same way that ĔST replaces SŬNT. On the other hand, *-ò* may be the normal phonetic outcome of -Ā(VE)RŬNT, a hypothesis that requires the following explanation. Vernaculars scattered throughout Central and Northern Italy generalize the [ɔ] from -AUT to the third person plural (Rohlfs 2 §§ 568, 569): Tuscan *cantòrono*. In Romagnol, -[áron] (< -ĀRŬNT) may have yielded -[ɔ́ron], which would produce *-[ɔrn] by syncope (cf. Tuscan *cantòrno*). Subsequent assimilation (cf. Tuscan *cantònno*) and degemination would give -[ɔ́n] (cf. 13th-century Milanese *trovón* 'they found', *lasón* 'they let', Bolognese *mandòn* they sent', *zercòn* 'they looked for', *cavòn* 'they took off', Emilian *salütòn* 'they greeted'). Since Romagnol normally drops final [n] from the third person plural, -[ɔ́] would be the regular phonetic outcome:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AMB(Ŭ)LĀ(VE)RUNT	*andò*[112]	they went
*COMĬNTIĀRE	*I cminzò* (P. Rossi, "In occasione")	they began
MĔRDA	*I smerdò* (P. Rossi, "In occasione")	they soiled

[111] Anderson 2: 13, 19, 32; M. Rossi, "Il grande ospite."
[112] Zuccagni Orlandini; Lombardi, *Fra il popolo* 25; Anderson 2: 33, 39.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
RE-AD-COMPŬTĀRE	*I m'arcuntò* (Martelli 151)	they told me
ĬNGĔNIU	*i s'ingegnò* (Martelli 152)	they used their wits
PORTĀ(VE)RUNT	*i 'l purtò* (Anderson 2: 39)	they brought him
*EXCAPPĀRE	*Al pìguri al scapò* (Anderson 2: 39)	the sheep escaped
*REBALTĀRE	*i arbaltò* (Anderson 2: 33)	they tipped over
ĬNSĬGNĀRE	*i i insgnò la streda* (Anderson 2: 39)	they showed him the way

Second person singular -[asti] and plural -[aste] converge with -[assi] (Rohlfs 2: 315; Schürr, *NC* § 36, *VR* 56), the imperfect subjunctive desinence for both the second and fifth persons, which leads to the generalization of first person plural -[ássimo] from the subjunctive to the preterit (Rohlfs 2: 315). Belluzzi's extension of the desinence to the written language (*andassimo* 'we went') attests the phenomenon's presence in San Marino by the early sixteenth century (Foresti 34), the modern outcome being -[aːʂmə] (Schürr, *NC* § 36): *A girasme* 'we went round' (Balsimelli 9.1).

5.7.2. Fourth Conjugation

Vulgar Latin -IIT and -IRUNT (Lausberg § 937) merge into Old Romagnol -*ì* (Schürr, *NC* § 36), the precursor to modern Emilian and Romagnol -[ɪ], as in Bolognese [ɐl fiˈnɪ] 'he finished', [ɐl muˈrɪ] 'he died', [ɐl durˈmɪ] 'he slept', [ɐl ʂɐrˈvɪ] 'he served' (Vitali § 32.1). Old texts indicate the lower-high vowel with -*è*:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*MŎRIIT	*la murè* (Anderson 2: 13)	she died
*SĔNTIIT	*U 'l sintè e cugh* (Anderson 2: 19)[113]	the cook heard him
*PARTIIT	*e partè* (Anderson 2: 20)	he set off
VESTIIT	*Us vestè* (Zani)	he got dressed
*SALIIT	*e salè* (Zani)	he went up
*AP(Ĕ)RIIT	*l'avrè* (Zani)	he opened

[113] Cf. *sentè* 'he felt' (Zani).

Belluzzi provides examples of the subjunctive desinence infiltrating the first person plural in the written language (*partissimo* 'we set off', *venissimo* 'we came' [Foresti 34]), which likely reflect the situation in the vernacular.

5.7.3. Generalization of Fourth Conjugation Desinences

The fourth conjugation endings are often attached to the stem of -ERE and irregular verbs (Rohlfs 2: § 575), which tend to abandon their original rhizotonic forms (cf. Bolognese [ɐl fɪ] 'he did, made', [ɐl dɪ] 'he gave', [ɐl vdɪ] 'he saw', [ɐl tuˈlɪ] 'he took', [ɐl miˈtɪ] 'he put', [lɐ pirˈdɪ] 'she lost', [l ɐrʂpunˈdɪ] 'he answered' [Vitali § 32.1]):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CLŪDĔRE	*ciudè*[114]	he, they closed
FA(CĔ)RE	*fe* (Anderson 2: 19, 20)[115]	he did, made
DARE	*dè*[116]	he gave
VĪDĔRE	*(e)vdè*[117]	he, she saw
TŎLLĔRE	*el tulè* (Anderson 2: 20)	he took
MĬTTĔRE	*mité*[118]	he, they put
PĔRDĔRE	*l' argoi e la pirdè* (Anderson 2: 13)	pride ruined her
*RESPŎNDĔRE	*ui rispondè* (Zani)	he answered him
DIFFŬNDĔRE	*us difondè* (M. Rossi, "Il grande")	it spread

5.7.4. Generalization of -[etti]

By analogy of HABUI, VOLUI, PLACUI, NOCUI, TACUI, PARUI, DOLUI, etc., Classical Latin STĔTĪ succumbs to Proto-Romance STETUI. The posttonic glide provokes gemination of the stem-final consonant and drops, yielding [stetti], which is the source of the analogical desinence -[etti] (Rohlfs 2: 321). In Romagnol, final [i] causes umlaut in the first person singular of this rather

[114] Balsimelli 12.14; Anderson 2: 13; Lombardi, *Tra al genghi e gli' arvuri* "La terra gira!".
[115] The variant *fec* (Anderson 2: 20) is an Italianism.
[116] Anderson 2: 32; M. Rossi, "Il grande ospite."
[117] Balsimelli 13.23; Anderson 2: 39.
[118] Anderson 2: 33, 39; Lombardi, *Fra il popolo* 25. Cf. 3rd sg. *metè* in Zani.

productive suffix (Schürr, *NC* § 33), as Belluzzi's *Diario* reflects: *dormite* 'I slept', *servite* 'I served', *resolvite* 'I resolved', *possitte* 'I was able' (Foresti 34). In the *Pulon Matt*, the metaphonic vowel is extended to the third person (Schürr, *NC* § 39.12): *La Vutuoria n' psitt* 'Victoria was not able' (*PM* 2.48.1). Due to the lowering of high vowels in closed syllables, *-itt* yields first, third, and sixth person *-et(t)*, which is also generalized at the expense of rhizotonic forms (Schürr, *NC* § 36, *VR* § 34):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	*u s'avret la porta* (Balsimelli 3.26)	the door opened
EXCLŪDĔRE	*un sciudet* (Balsimelli 3.34)	it did not open
*VŎLĒRE	*vlet* (Balsimelli 3.34)	he wanted
VĔNĪRE	*e vnett* (Balsimelli 8.46)	he came
TĔNĒRE	*tnett* (Balsimelli 5.54)	he kept
DARE	*det* (Anderson 1: 18)	he gave
DĪCĔRE	*git(t),*[119] *get(t)*[120]	I, he said
VĬDĒRE	*vdet(t)*[121]	I, he saw

5.7.5. Irregular Verbs

*ĔSSĔRE. First person singular FŬI > nineteenth-century Sammarinese *a fu* (Balsimelli 5.22) and modern Bolognese [ɐ fʊ] (Vitali § 32.1). Third person singular FŬIT > Old Romagnol (Schürr, *NC* § 39.2) and nineteenth-century Sammarinese *fu*,[122] whose oxytonic high vowel is lowered (> *fo*) by the twentieth century (Anderson 2: 8, 13, 19, 20, 3: 66; Zani). The first and second persons plural are identical to the imperfect subjunctive forms: *a fusme* 'we were' (Balsimelli 5.1).

[119] 3rd sg. in Balsimelli 1.49-50 (in rhyme with *strett* < STRĬCTĪ), 5.35, 6.47, 6.51, 10.55.
[120] 1st sg. in Balsimelli 8.63, 10.29, 11.41, 12.15, 12.19. 3rd person in Balsimelli 1.61, 3.13, 5.9, 5.59, 6.24, 9.11, 9.26, 10.37, 11.53, 12.13, 12.53, 12.55, 13.24, 13.43; Anderson 2: 19.
[121] 1st sg. *a vdet* in Balsimelli 4.41, 7.21. 3rd sg. in Balsimelli 1.59, 5.25, 4.53, 8.43-44 (in rhyme with *dritt* < *DIRĪCTU).
[122] P. Rossi, "In occasione"; Papanti; Martelli 166; Balsimelli 4.3; M. Rossi, "Il grande ospite".

DARE . The metaphonic outcome of DĔDĪ is extended to the third person singular in Old Romagnol *dié* (*PM* 1.25.7; Schürr, *NC* § 39.4), which yields Sammarinese *did* (Balsimelli 5.53; Zani) as a result of monophthongization and restoration of the final consonant.

STĀRE. More likely by analogy of DĔDĪ than by direct continuation of STĔTĪ, the *Pulon Matt* shows third person *stiè* (1.32.1, 4.33.8; Schürr, *NC* § 39.5), which gives Sammarinese *i stid* 'they stayed' (Zuccagni Orlandini 325). The alternative type *a sted* 'I was' (Balsimelli 5.41) is modeled after STĀTU by analogy of rhizotonic perfects that have the same stem-final consonant as the corresponding past participle: RĪSĪ - RĪSUM, REMANSĪ - REMANSUM (Rohlfs 2: 329). For the first person plural, Belluzzi writes *stesimo*, which originates from the imperfect subjunctive.

*AMB(Ŭ)LĀRE. Interpreted as its compound, *ANDARE assumes analogical desinences modeled after those of DARE (Rohlfs 2: § 579). Thus, first person singular *[andɛdi] > *andid* 'I went' (Zuccagni Orlandini 323) by umlaut. The metaphonic vowel is subsequently generalized to third person singular *andi(i)d* (Anderson 2.65; Zani).

DĪ(CĔ)RE. Latin DĪXIT > Old Romagnol (*PM* 1.21.8; Schürr, *NC* § 39.7) and nineteenth-century Sammarinese *diss* (P. Rossi, "Risposta"), whose closed-syllable high vowel is lowered by the following century: *des(s)*.[123]

VĬDĒRE. By analogy of the past participle (Rohlfs 2: 329), Belluzzi writes first person singular *visti* (Foresti 34), Zani *a vest* 'I saw' and *e vest* 'he saw'.

VĔNĪRE. Since analogical *VĒNUI > third person *uinn* (*PM* 4.18.4, 3.11.3, 3.28.3) in Old Romagnol, it is unclear whether *ven* (Anderson 2: 32) is its continuant or an Italianism. On the other hand, *vens* (Lombardi, *Fra il popolo* 25) derives from *[vense], which is modeled after RĪSIT, MĪSIT, SCRĪPSIT, etc. (Rohlfs 2: § 581; Schürr, *NC* § 39.14).

[123] Martelli 164; Papanti; Anderson 2: 9, 13, 20, 32, 39, 65; Zani.

Third person singular and plural *mis* may be the normal outcome of this type,[124] while *è success* ‘it happened’(Papanti), *e rispos* ‘he answered’ (Anderson 2: 13, 20), and *e lès* ‘he read’ (Anderson 2: 19) are probably borrowed from the written language.

5.8. Future

5.8.1. First Person Singular

In Northern Italian dialects, the infinitive plus HABEO construction originally produces forms based on Vulgar Latin *AJO, which yields *ai* followed by *è*. However, autochthonous outcomes such as Old Lombard *farai* ‘I will do, make’ and Old Paduan *farè* eventually adopt Tuscan -[ɔ] (Rohlfs 2: 332), which itself is modeled after DO and STO (Rohlfs 2: 272):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɐˈrɔ	I will sing
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ l truvɐˈrɔ	I will find it
HABĒRE	ɐ n ɐˈvrɔ	I will not have
onomatopoeic	ɐ ʂtriʃɐˈrɔ, ʂtriʂɐˈrɔ	I will drag
cf. Italian *tirerò*	ɐ l trɐˈrɔ	I will pull, throw it
VĬDĒRE	ɐ l viˈdrɔ	I will see him
DĪCĔRE	ɐ l dʒiˈrɔ, diˈrɔ	I will say it
VĪVĔRE	ɐ viˈvrɔ	I will live
SĔNTĪRE	ɐ l ʂinˈtrɔ, ʂɐnˈtrɔ	I will feel, hear, taste it
*PŎTĒRE	ɐ n puˈtrɔ, puˈdrɔ	I won’t be able
*DEVENTĀRE	ɐ dvintɐˈrɔ, dvɐntɐˈrɔ	I will become
DŎRMĪRE	ɐ durmiˈrɔ	I will sleep
FĪNĪRE	ɐ l fniˈrɔ	I’ll finish it
VĒNDĔRE	ɐ l vinˈdrɔ	I’ll sell it
*SAPĒRE	ɐ l ʂɐˈvrɔ	I’ll find it out
VĔNĪRE	ɐ ɐmniˈrɔ	I will come

[124] Martelli 152; Papanti; Anderson 2: 20, 39, 67.

Oxytonic -[ɔ́] is often lowered to -[é], particularly in Serravallese (*a l' amarà* 'I will love him' [Anderson 3: 49]):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FA(CĔ)RE	ɐ fɐˈrɔ, fɐˈrɐ	I will do, make
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	ɐ kumprɐˈrɔ, kumprɐˈrɐ	I will buy
DARE	ɐ t ɛl dɐˈrɔ, dɐˈrɐ	I will give it to you
*ĔSSĔRE	ɐ n i s̪ɐˈrɔ, s̪aˈrɐ	I won't be there
*MŎRĪRE	ɐ murˈrɔ, murˈrɐ	I will die
TŎLLĔRE	ɐ turˈrɐ unɐ muliːgɐ	I'll take a little bit

5.8.2. Second Person Singular

Vulgar Latin -[ás] > Italo-Romance -[á̯i] > Septentrional -[ɛ́ː] (Rohlfs 2: 333):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ĔSSĔRE	t s̪ɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will be
STĀRE	t s̪tɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will be, stay
MANDŪCĀRE	t mɐɲɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will eat
DŎRMĪRE	t durmɐrɛ̰ː, durmiˈrɛ̰ː	you will sleep
HABĒRE	t ɐˈvrɛ̰ː	you will have
*PASSĀRE	t pɐs̪ɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will go by
*ADRĪPĀRE	t ɐrvɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will arrive
CANTĀRE	t kɐntɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will sing
*TRŎPĀRE	t truvɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will find
VĪDĒRE	t viˈdrɛ̰ː	you will see
VĒNDĔRE	t vinˈdrɛ̰ː	you will sell
CLŪDĔRE	t tʃudɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will close
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	t irvɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will open
AMBŬLĀRE	t ɐndɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will go
*ASPĔCTĀRE	t ɐs̪pitɐˈrɛ̰ː	you will wait
BĪBĔRE	t biˈvrɛ̰ː	you will drink
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	t ɛ kumprɐˈrɛ̰ː	you'll buy it
EXPĔNDĔRE	t θpinˈdrɛ̰ː	you will spend
Longobard SKERZON	t θkɐrθɐˈrɛ̰ː	you must be joking

5.8.3. Third Person

Proto-Romance -[át] and -[ánt] merge into -[á˙]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ĔSSĔRE	u ʂɐˈra˙, i ʂɐˈra˙	he, they will be
VĔNĪRE	ɐmniˈra˙	will come
PŎRTĀRE	purtɐˈra˙	will bring, carry, wear
*PŎTĒRE	puˈtra˙	will be able
FA(CĔ)RE	fɐˈra˙	will do, make
EX-MĬTTĔRE	ʐmetɐˈra˙	will stop
SUCCĒDĔRE	ʂutʃiˈdra˙	will happen
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐrvɐˈra˙	will arrive
HABĒRE	ɐˈvra˙	will have
FĪNĪRE	fniˈra˙	will finish
RECŎRDĀRI	ɐrkurdɐˈra˙	(pron.) will remember
PĔRDĔRE	pɐrˈdra˙	will lose, miss
VĪVĔRE	viˈvra˙	will live
*SAPĒRE	ʂɐˈvra˙	will know
DARE	dɐˈra˙	will give
MANCU	mɐŋkɐˈra˙	will be missing
STĀRE	ʂtɐˈra˙	will be, stay
Germanic BISUNDHĪ	ɛ bʐuŋɐˈra˙	it will be necessary
TARDĀRE	tɐrdɐˈra˙	will be late
CAVĀRE	kɐvɐˈra˙	will take off
DĪ(CĔ)RE	diˈra˙	will say
RE-TORNĀRE	ɐrturnɐˈra˙	will return
*TRŎPĀRE	truvɐˈra˙	will find
*VŎLĒRE	vra˙	will want
MĬTTĔRE	miˈtra˙	will put
PENSĀRE	pinʂɐˈra˙, pɐnʂɐˈra˙	will think
RECŎRDĀRI	ʂkurdɐˈra˙	will forget
*DEVENTĀRE	dvintɐˈra˙, dvɐntɐˈra˙	will become
PLANGĔRE	pjɛndʒɐˈra˙	will cry
DŎLĒRE	dulɐˈra˙	will hurt
SĔNTĪRE	ʂinˈtra˙	will feel, hear, taste

5.8.4. First Person Plural

The future desinence -[ɪmˑ] is identical to the stemless variant of HABĒMUS in the present indicative (see Rohlfs 2: 273, 274, 331):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ĔSSĔRE	ɐ ʂɐˈrɪmˑ	we will be
DARE	ɐ dɐˈrɪmˑ	we will give
FA(CĔ)RE	ɐ fɐˈrɪmˑ	we will do, make
HABĒRE	ɐ ɐˈvrɪmˑ	we will have
*MŎRĪRE	ɐ murˈrɪmˑ, muriˈrɪmˑ	we will die
*VŎLĒRE	ɐ vrɪmˑ	we will want
ĬN-CŎNTR-ĀRE	ɐ l ɐŋkuntrɐˈrɪmˑ, iŋkuntrɐˈrɪmˑ	we will meet him
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ tʃ truvɐˈrɪmˑ	we will meet each other
PACĀRE	ɐ pɐgɐˈrɪmˑ	we will pay
TŎLLĔRE	ɐ l turɐˈrɪmˑ, tujɐˈrɪmˑ	we will take it away
RE-AD-CŎLLĬGĔRE	ɐ ɐrkurɐˈrɪmˑ	we will pick up
*MA(N)SIONĀRE	ɐ tʃ mɐʒɐˈrɪmˑ	we will hide
FUGĔRE	ɐ fudʒəˈrɪmˑ	we will go away
*PAUSĀRE	ɐ puʐɐˈrɪmˑ	we will put (down)
VĪDĒRE	ɐ viˈdrɪmˑ	we will see
SĔNTĪRE	ɐ ʂinˈtrɪmˑ, ʂɐnˈtrɪmˑ	we will feel, hear, taste

5.8.5. Second Person Plural

Analogously, the second person plural ends in -[iː(d)] (< HABĒTIS):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DĪ(CĔ)RE	ɐ dʒiˈriː(d)	you will say
EX-CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐ ʂkruvɐˈriː	you will uncover, discover
PENSĀRE	ɐ m pɐnʂɐˈriː	you will not think
HABĒRE	ɐ ɐˈvriː	you will have
STĀRE	ɐ ʂtɐˈriː(d)	you will be, stay
*ĔSSĔRE	ɐ ʂɐˈriː	you will be
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐ ɐrvɐˈriːd	you will open
*CŎCĔRE	ɐ l kuʒɐˈriːd	you will cook it
LĬGĀRE	ɐ l ligɐˈriːd	you will tie it up

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɐˈriːd	you will sing
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ l truvɐˈriːd	you will find it
VĬDĒRE	ɐ viˈdriːd	you will see
*CONŌSCĔRE	ɐ l knuʃɐˈriːd	you must know him

5.9. Conditional

5.9.1. First, Third, and Sixth Persons

In Vulgar Latin, the CANTĀRE HABĒBAM construction originally expressed the present conditional, while CANTĀRE HABUI indicated the past conditional. By the eighth century, CANTĀRE HABUI had been extended to the present conditional (Rohlfs 2: 342), which led to not only oscillation between the two types in the early poetry of Central and Northern Italy but also diatopical variation amongst the modern dialects (Rohlfs 2: §§ 594, 595). Whereas CANTĀRE HABUI prevails throughout the paradigm in Central Romagnol ([kɐntɐˈrebˑ] ‘I, he, they would sing’) and Bolognese ([mɐjɐˈreːv] ‘I, he, would eat’ [Vitali § 27.1]), Borderline Romagnol favors a mixed conditional with the results of HABĒBA in the first, third, and sixth persons (Rohlfs 2: 345; Schürr, *NC* § 37). As for the phonetic evolution of the latter area’s desinence, the loss of intervocalic [v] (< [b]) leaves tonic [e] in hiatus with the following [ɐ] (Rohlfs 2: 339), which causes raising of the stressed vowel whereby the *Pulon Matt* shows *-ia* in all three forms (Schürr, *NC* § 37). In Sammarinese, the ending -[iˑɐ] persists alongside the apocopated variant -[iː]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
STĀRE	ɐ ʂtɐriˑɐ, u ʂtɐriˑɐ, i ʂtɐriˑɐ	I, he, they would be, stay
*ĔSSĔRE	sɐˈriˑɐ, sɐˈriː	would be
HABĒRE	ɐvriˑɐ	would have

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*VŎLĒRE	vriːɐ, vriː	would want
*PŎTĒRE	puˈtriːɐ, puˈtriː, pudriːɐ, puˈdriː	would be able
*BASTĀRE	ɛ bɐʂtɐˈriːɐ, ɛ bɐʂtɐˈriː	it would be enough
Germanic BISUNDHĪ	ɛ bʐuɲɐˈriː	it would be necessary
STUDIĀRE	ʂtudjɐriːɐ	would study, think up
FA(CĔ)RE	fɐˈriːɐ, fɐˈriː	would do, make
DĪCĔRE	dʒiriːɐ	would say
LASCĀRE	lɐʂɐˈriː	would leave, let
DEMANDĀRE	dmɐndɐriːɐ	would ask
AMBŬLĀRE	ɐndriːɐ	would go
CAMBIĀRE	kɐmbjɐriːɐ	would change
*TRŎPĀRE	truvɐriːɐ	would find
SALTĀRE	ʂɐltɐriːɐ	would jump
*MATEA	ɐmɐθɐriːɐ	would kill
DARE	dɐˈriːɐ, dɐˈriː	would give
*SAPĒRE	ʂɐvriːɐ	would know
FĪNĪRE	fniriːɐ	would finish
*RESPŎNDĔRE	riʂpundriːɐ	would answer
EX-COMMĬTTĔRE	ʂkumitriːɐ	would bet
MĬTTĔRE	mitriːɐ	would put, place
*CAPTIĀRE	kɐtʃɐriːɐ	would put
TRACTĀRE	trɐtɐriːɐ	would negotiate
*COMĬNTIĀRE	kmɐnθɐriːɐ	would begin
PLACĒRE	u m pjɐʒriːɐ, pjɐʐriːɐ	I would like
SĔNTĪRE	ʂintriːɐ, ʂɐntriːɐ	would feel, hear, taste
PŎRTĀRE	purtɐriːɐ	would bring, carry, wear
*PASSĀRE	pɐʂɐriːɐ	would go, come by
*DEVENTĀRE	dvɐntɐriːɐ	would become
CANTĀRE	kɐntɐriːɐ	would sing
*PARĂBŎLĀRE	pɐrlɐriːɐ	would talk
cf. Italian *tirare*	trɐˈriː	would throw

5.9.2. Second Person Singular

In the remaining persons, the entire Romagnol linguistic group is characterized by the use of desinences whose developments are consistent with those of the preterit and the imperfect subjunctive of HABĒRE (Rohlfs 2: 598; Schürr, *NC* § 37, *VR* 56). Hence, the second person singular *-iss* of the *Pulon Matt* yields Sammarinese -[ɪʂˑ] (cf. impf. subjv. [t truˈvɪʂˑ] ‘you might find’), which contends with the generalization of -[iːɐ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*TRŎPĀRE	t ɛl truvɐˈrɪʂˑ, truvɐriːɐ	you would find it
*ĔSSĔRE	t ʂɐˈrɪʂˑ, ʂɐriːɐ	you would be
PŎRTĀRE	t purtɐˈrɪʂˑ, purtɐriːɐ	you would bring, carry
STĀRE	t ʂtɐˈrɪʂˑ, ʂtɐriːɐ	you would be, stay
FA(CĔ)RE	t fɐˈrɪʂˑ	you would do
*PŎTĒRE	t puˈtrɪʂˑ, puˈdrɪʂˑ, putriːɐ	you could, would be able
VĬDĒRE	t viˈdrɪʂˑ, vidriːɐ	you would see
AMBŬLĀRE	t ɐndɐˈrɪʂˑ, ɐndɐriːɐ	you would go
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	t kumprɐˈrɪʂˑ, kumprɐriːɐ	you would buy
HABĒRE	t ɐˈvrɪʂˑ, ɐvriːɐ	you would have
CANTĀRE	t kɐntɐˈrɪʂˑ	you would sing

5.9.3. First Person Plural

The correspondence between the second person plural desinences of the conditional and the imperfect subjunctive (cf. Sammarinese [ɐ ɐvrɪʂˑvi] ‘you would have’, [ɐ ɐvɪʂˑvi] ‘had you’) produces the extension of subjunctive -[îssimo] to the conditional in many Northern Italian dialects (Rohlfs 2: 343). This phenomenon would have been encouraged in hypothetical sentences comprising main and subordinate clauses with the same subject, as in the following example provided by the sixteenth-century Northern Italian author Straparola: *se non avessimo intesa la buona vita vostra, non vi averessimo data nostra sorella in moglie* (Rohlfs 2: 343 n. 1).

In Romagnol, the *-iss(u)m* of the *Pulon Matt* (Schürr, *NC* § 37) yields -[iʂˑmi] in the southernmost varieties (Rohlfs 2: 345), which progresses to -[ɪʂˑmi] in Sammarinese:[125]

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
HABĒRE	ɐ ɐvrɪʂˑmi	we would have
*VŎLĒRE	ɐ vrɪʂˑmi	we would want
*ĔSSĔRE	ɐ ʂɐrɪʂˑmi	we would be
*ABANTIĀRE	ɐ ɐrvɐnθɐrɪʂˑmi	we would remain
AMBŬLĀRE	ɐ ɐndɐrɪʂˑmi, ɐndrɪʂˑmi	we would go
FA(CĔ)RE	ɐ fɐrɪʂˑmi	we would do, make
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɐrɪʂˑmi	we would sing
VĬDĒRE	ɐ vidrɪʂˑmi	we would see
PŎRTĀRE	ɐ purtɐrɪʂˑmi	we would bring
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	ɐ kumprɐrɪʂˑmi	we would buy
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ l truvɐrɪʂˑmi	we would find it
GAUDĒRE	ɐ gudrɪʂˑmi	we would enjoy

5.9.4. Second Person Plural

As in the perfect indicative and the imperfect subjunctive, enclisis of -v (< VŌS) distinguishes the second person plural from the singular. Consequently, Old Romagnol *-iss(u)v* produces -[iʂˑvi] south of the Conca Torrent and -[ɪʂˑvi] to the north:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	ɐ kɐntɐrɪʂˑvi	you would sing
*TRŎPĀRE	ɐ truvɐrɪʂˑvi	you would find
*ĔSSĔRE	ɐ ʂɐrɪʂˑvi	you would be
HABĒRE	ɐ ɐvrɪʂˑvi	you would have
GAUDĒRE	ɐ gudrɪʂˑvi	you would enjoy
CAPĔRE	ɐ kɐpirɪʂˑvi	you would understand
VĬDĒRE	ɐ vidrɪʂˑvi	you would see
VĒNDĔRE	ɐ vindrɪʂˑvi	you would sell

[125] The isolated nineteenth-century Sammarinese form *a starin* 'we would be' (P. Rossi, "In occasione") corresponds with Bolognese [ɐ ʂtɐˈrɪnˑ]. This desinence originates in the perfect, where -IIMUS > -[immo] > *-[inno] by enclisis of NO(S) (Schürr, *NC* § 36).

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DŎRMĪRE	ɐ durmɐrɪʂˈvi	you would sleep
FĪNĪRE	ɐ fnirɪʂˈvi	you would finish
Italian *votare*	ɐ vutɐrɪʂˈvi	you would vote

5.9.5. Future and Conditional Stems

While Florentine raises intertonic [a] to [e] (*canterò, canterei*), other Italo-Romance varieties tend to preserve the original vowel (Rohlfs 2: 331, 333): *in s' mertaria* 'they wouldn't deserve' (Martelli 180). It follows that Romagnol forms conditional and future stems of the first conjugation by adding the infix -/ar/- to the basic arhizotonic stem (/kant-ar-ɔ́/ 'I will sing', /kant-ar-ia/ 'I would sing'):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	kɐntɐr-	sing
*TRŎPĀRE	truvɐr-	find
onomatopoeic	ʂtriʃɐr-, ʂtriʂɐr-	drag
cf. Italian *tirer*-	trɐr-	pull, throw
*DEVENTĀRE	dvintɐr-, dvɐntɐr-	become
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	kumprɐr-	buy
MANDŪCĀRE	mɐɲɐr-	eat
*PASSĀRE	pɐʂɐr-	go, come by
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐrvɐr-	arrive
*ASPĔCTĀRE	ɐʂpitɐr-	wait
Longobard SKERZON	ʂkɐrθɐr-	joke
PŎRTĀRE	purtɐr-	bring, carry, wear
RECŎRDĀRI	ɐrkurdɐr-	(pron.) remember
MANCU	mɐŋkɐr-	be missing
Germanic BISUNDHĪ	bʐuɲɐr-	be necessary
TARDĀRE	tɐrdɐr-	be late
CAVĀRE	kɐvɐr-	take off
RE-TORNĀRE	ɐrturnɐr-	return
PENSĀRE	pinʂɐr-, pɐnʂɐr-	think
RECŎRDĀRI	ʂkurdɐr-	forget

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ĬN-CŎNTR-ĀRE	ɐŋkuntrɐr-, iŋkuntrɐr-	meet
PACĀRE	pɐgɐr-	pay
*MA(N)SIONĀRE	mɐʒɐr-	hide
*PAUSĀRE	puz̲ɐr-	put (down)
LĬGĀRE	ligɐr-	tie up
*BASTĀRE	bɐs̲tɐr-	be enough
STUDIĀRE	s̲tudjɐr-	study, think up
LASCĀRE	lɐs̲ɐr-	leave, let
DEMANDĀRE	dmɐndɐr-	ask
CAMBIĀRE	kɐmbjɐr-	change
SALTĀRE	s̲ɐltɐr-	jump
*MATEA	ɐmɐθɐr-	kill
*CAPTIĀRE	kɐtʃɐr-	put
TRACTĀRE	trɐtɐr-	negotiate
*COMĬNTIĀRE	kmɐnθɐr-	begin
*PARĂBŎLĀRE	pɐrlɐr-	talk
*ABANTIĀRE	ɐrvɐnθɐr-	remain
Italian *votare*	vutɐr-	vote

Pretonic [e] and occasionally [i] are dropped (see Schürr, *NC* § 37): 3rd sg. *conoscrà* ‘will know’ (Zuccagni Orlandini 324, Balsimelli 6.13), *a la cusgrò* ‘I will cook it’ (Zuccagni Orlandini 326), *A c’iarvdrem* ‘we’ll see each other again’ (Martelli 169). As a result, many -ERE and some -ĪRE verbs form the conditional and future stem by attaching the infix -/r/- to the basic arhizotonic stem (/vind-r-ɔ́/ ‘I will sell’, /sint-r-ia/ ‘I would hear’):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
HABĒRE	ɐvr-	have
VĬDĒRE	vidr-	see
VĪVĔRE	vivr-	live
VĒNDĔRE	vindr-	sell
*SAPĒRE	s̲ɐvr-	know, find out
BĬBĔRE	bivr-	drink
EXPĔNDĔRE	s̲pindr-	spend
SUCCĒDĔRE	s̲utʃidr-	happen

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PĔRDĔRE	pɐrdr-	lose, miss
MĬTTĔRE	mitr-	put, place
*RESPŎNDĔRE	riʂpundr-	answer
EX-COMMĬTTĔRE	ʂkumitr-	bet
PLACĒRE	pjɐʒr-, pjɐʐr-	be pleasing
GAUDĒRE	gudr-	enjoy
SĔNTĪRE	ʂintr-, ʂɐntr-	feel, hear, taste
*MŎRĪRE	murr-	die

Alternatively, -ĔRE and -ĪRE verbs that develop anaptyctic [ɐ] by analogy of the first conjugation affix -/ar/- to the basic arhizotonic stem (/tʃud-ar-ɔ́/ ‘I will close’, /durm-ar-ia/ ‘I would sleep’):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CLŪDĔRE	tʃudɐr-	close
EX-MĬTTĔRE	ʐmɛtɐr-	stop
PLANGĔRE	pjɛndʒɐr-	cry
DŎLĒRE	dulɐr-	hurt
*CŎCĔRE	kuʒɐr-	cook
*CONŌSCĔRE	knuʃɐr-	know, meet
DŎRMĪRE	durmɐr-	sleep
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐrvɐr-, irvɐr-	open
FUGĔRE	fudʒər-	go away
EX-CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ʂkruvɐr-	uncover, discover

On the other hand, verbs which preserve or restore thematic [i] attach the infix -/ir/- to the basic arhizotonic stem (/durm-ir-ɔ́/ ‘I will sleep’, /durm-ir-ia/ ‘I would sleep’):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DŎRMĪRE	durmir-	sleep
FĪNĪRE	fnir-	finish
*MŎRĪRE	murir-	die
CAPĔRE	kɐpir-	understand

5.9.6. Irregular Verbs

The following conditional and future stems are identical to their Italian counterparts:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ĔSSĔRE	ʂɐr-	be
FA(CĔ)RE	fɐr-	do, make
DARE	dɐr-	give
STĀRE	ʂtɐr-	be, stay

AMBŬLĀRE. In this case, however, Sammarinese presents the variants [ɐndɐr]- and [ɐndr]-.

DĪ(CĔ)RE. Whereas nineteenth-century Sammarinese *a dro'* 'I will tell' (Martelli 165) maintains the syncopated stem attested in the *Pulon Matt* (1.2.1, 1.24.7), the twentieth-century dialect restores the pretonic vowel in [dir]- (Schürr, *NC* § 37). This form alternates with the variant [dʒir]-, whose postalveolar affricate derives from the stem DĪC-.

VĔNĪRE. Modern Romagnol also restores pretonic [i] to forms such as *uunrò* 'I will come' (*PM* 1.63.2; Schürr, *NC* § 39.14). Accordingly, Sammarinese presents the variants [(ɐ)vnir]- and [(ɐ)mnir]-.

*VŎLĒRE. Syncope of pretonic [e] (> *[volr]-) and resultant assimilation yield Italo-Romance [vorr]-, which produces the Old Romagnol stems [vur]- (*PM* 1.60.8, 4.27.5, 4.18.6, 2.20.2) and [vr]- (*PM* 1.2.7), the latter of which stands alone in the modern dialects (Schürr, *NC* § 39.10).

TŎLLĔRE. The loss of pretonic [e] (>*[tolr]-) and ensuing assimilation yield Italo-Romance [torr]- and Sammarinese [turr]-, which gives [turɐr]- by anaptyxis. Reciprocal leveling creates forms such as [tujɐr]- and [ɐrkurɐr]- (< RE-CŎLLĬGĔRE).

*PŎTĒRE. Modeled on [vorr]- (Schürr, *NC* § 39.12), [porr]- yields Old Romagnol (*PM* 1.30.4, 1.9.1) and nineteenth-century Sammarinese [pr]-: *pri(a)* ‘one, they could’ (P. Rossi, “In occasione”; Martelli 150). While Bolognese maintains the autochthonous stem, modern Romagnol—including Sammarinese—shows the variants [putr]- and [pudr]- due to interference by Italian.

5.10. Imperative

5.10.1.Second Person Singular

First conjugation verbs preserve final -[ɐ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ACCŎMŎDA	ɐkɔmˑdɐ	fix, repair!
STA	ʂtaˑ dɐ sɐnˈtiː	listen!
Frankish *WARDŌN	gwɛ̟ːrdɐ	look!
CLAMA	tʃɛ̟ːmɐ	call!
LAVA	lɛ̟ːvɐ	wash!
MANDŪCA	maːɲɐ	eat!
COMPŬTA	rɐkɔu̯ñtɐ	tell!
French *contrôler*	kuntrɐlˑɐ	check!
DA	daː-m-lɪ	give it to me!
FŪMA	fʊmˑɐ	smoke!
FISTŬLA ‘bagpipes’	fɪʂˑtʃɐ	whistle!
cf. Italian *zufola*	tʃʊfˑlɐ	whistle!
LASCA	laːʂɐ k ɐl maːɲɐ	let them eat!
RATIŌNE	rɐʐɔu̯ñɐ	think!
cf. Italian *tira*	tiːrɐ	throw!
CANTA	kɛ̟ːntɐ	sing!
CAPŬLA	tʃaːpɐ	take!
CAPUT	kaːpɐ	choose!
*PARĂBŎLA	pɛ̟ːrlɐ	speak, talk!
PACA	pɛ̟ːgɐ	pay!
CAMBIA	kaːmbjɐ dʂkuːrʂ	change the subject!

Oxytonic -[aˑ] whether primary or secondary, is maintained as well:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VADE	vaˑ ˈlaː	come off it!
FAC	faː-t pjʊ in ˈlaː	stay away!
STA	s̪taˑ ˈd laː	stay over there!
DA	daː-ʎɪ	give it to him!

Given that prosodic constraints ban proparoxytones as well as heavy atonic syllables in word-final position, posttonic -[ɐ] is dropped before enclitics:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
Frankish *WARDŌN	gwɛ̪ːrd-jɪ	look at them
FĬRMA	fɛ̪ːrt-mi[126]	stop!
CAPŬLA	tʃaːp-ti-lɐ	take it for yourself!
French *arranger*	ɐˈraːndʒ-ti	sort it out for yourself!
Old Provençal *botar*	bʊt-ji un ɔːtʃ	take a look at it!
LASCA	laːʃ-li s̪tɛ̪ː	let him be!
*RECŎRDA	ɐrˈkɔːr-ti[127]	remember!
SALTA	s̪ɛ̪ːlt-mi mɐˈdɔːs̪	jump on me!
cf. Italian *tirala*	tiːr-lɐ s̪ʊ	pull her up
CĬRCA	tʃiːrk-lɪ	look for it!
PŎRTA	pɔːrt-mi	bring me!
MANDA	maːnd-lɪ	send it!
REPAUSA	ɐrˈpɔu̯ñs̪-tɪ	rest!
ACCŎMŎDA	kɔmˑd-lɪ	fix it!
VĬA	vɛi̯ˑ-ti	go away!

The remaining conjugations drop final [e] and [i] whether or not an enclitic is present (Rohlfs 2: 351):

Etymon	Sammarinese	English Translation
SŬBRĪDE	s̪uˈriːd	smile!
MĬTTE	mɛtˑ-lɪ ˈlɪ	put it there!

[126] NB the metathesis between the final consonant of the verb and the initial consonant of the pronoun.
[127] In another phonological development crossing the boundary between imperative and enclitic, the cluster */rdt/ → [rt].

Etymon	Sammarinese	English Translation
Italian *decidi*	deˈtʃiːd-ti	make up your mind!
CURRE	kʊrˑ	run!
AP(Ĕ)RĪ	(ɐ)ˈvrɪʂˑ, (ɐ)ˈprɪʂˑ, iːrvɐ	open!
CLŪDE	tʃuːd	close!
DĬSCŬRRE	θkɔrˑ	talk!
VĒNDE	vɛnˑd-lɪ	sell it!
EXTĔNDE	ʂtɛnˑd lɐ tʊaːjɐ	spread out the tablecloth!
PARTĪRI	pɐrˈtɪʂˑ	leave, set off!

A tendency to preserve the contrast between final -[e] and fourth conjugation -[i], as evidenced by the oldest Northern Italian texts (*defende, parti*; Rohlfs 2: 350), may have led to the occurrence of non-metaphonic outcomes in -ERE verbs (BĬBE > [beː] ‘drink!’, TŎLLE > [tɔː] ‘take!’) alongside metaphonic results in the fourth conjugation (SĔNTĪ > [ʂiːnt] ‘listen!’, VĔNĪ > *uien* [*PM* 2.34.2] > [viːn] ‘come!’, CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪ > [kruːv] ‘cover!’). This distinction, however, is undermined when the metaphonic outcomes that originate in the present indicative are generalized to the imperative: *[bevi] > [biː] ‘drink!’. Hence, whereas VĬDE yields non-metaphonic *ue* in the *Pulon Matt* (2.12.3, 2.13.2), modern Romagnol employs [viː] (< *[vedi]) in the imperative (Schürr, *NC* § 39.8), which is the origin of the Sammarinese interjection [vɪ] ‘look, watch out!’. On the other hand, the leveling of the metaphonic vowel in *ven* ‘come!’ (Balsimelli 8.22, 13.18) is caused either by nasalization of [i] or by morphological analogy.

The prohibitive construction is [nu] (< NŌN) plus imperative:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PRŎBA	nu prɔːvɐ	don’t try!
*ADDORMENTA	nu t ɐndurmɛ̰ːntɐ	don’t fall asleep!
DA	nu daː-i̯ rɛ̰ːtɐ	don’t pay attention to them!
MŎVE	nu t mɔːv	don’t move!
VADE	nu vaˑ	don’t go!

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTA	nu kɐ̯ːntɐ	don’t sing!
EX-LARG-A	nu t ʐlɐ̯ːrgɐ nɐ maːʂɐ	don’t ask for too much!
FAC	nu faː-m rɐˈbjɛː	don’t make me get angry!
cf. Italian *bacile*	nu bɐtʃiːlɐ	don’t worry!
PLANGE	nu pjɛnˑdʒ	don’t cry
PĔRDE	nu pɐ̯ːrd-lɐ	don’t lose it!
PENSA	nu pɛi̯ñʂ-jɪ	don’t think about it
STA	nu ʂtaː lɪ	don’t stay there
BĬBE	nu beː trɔːp	don’t drink too much!
AD-ŎP(Ĕ)R-A	nu dɔːvrɐ	don’t use!
CAP(Ŭ)LA	nu tʃaːpɐ pɐʊuːrɐ	don’t be afraid
*PARĂBŎLA	nu pɐ̯ːrlɐ	don’t speak!
DĬSCŬRRĔRE	nu θkɔrˑ	don’t speak!
FUGE	nu fʊdˑʒ	don’t go away!

5.10.2.Second Person Plural

Like French (-ĀTIS, -ĒTIS > *-ez*), Romagnol extends the indicative forms to the imperative (Rohlfs 2: 352; Schürr, *NC* § 34), which is reflected by the fact that final -IS causes umlaut in varieties scattered throughout the Italian peninsula (Rohlfs 1: 18): HABĒTIS > Calabrese [avjetsə], Romagnol [ɐˈviː]. Thus, first conjugation -ĀTĬS > *-ĀTĪ > -[ɐ́ːɪ]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PENSĀTIS	nu pɐnˈʂɐ̯ˑi̯	don’t think about it!
MANDĀTIS	mɐnˈdɐ̯ː-m unɐ lɛtˑrɐ	send me a letter!
*FĪDĀTIS	nu fiˈdɐ̯ː-v	don’t trust!
AMBŬLĀTIS	ɐnˈdɐ̯ː-v ɐ lɐˈvɐ̯ː	go wash yourselves!
LASCĀTIS	lɐˈʂɐ̯ː	leave, let!
*ABANTIĀTIS	ɐrvɐnˈθɐ̯ː	stay!
EX-CURTĀTIS	ʂkurˈtɐ̯ː	cut, trim!
*RECORDĀTIS	ɐrkurˈdɐ̯ː-v	remember!
SPO(N)SĀTIS	ʂpuˈʐɐ̯ː-v	get married!
STĀTIS	ʂtɐ̯ː-m dɐ ʂinˈtiː, ɐ ʂɐnˈtiː	listen to me!
SALVĀTIS	ʂɐlˈvɐ̯ː-l	save him, it!

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PORTĀTIS	purˈtɛ̯ː-m-lɪ	bring it to me!
PACĀTIS	pɐˈgɛ̯ː-m	pay me!
CAP(Ŭ)LĀTIS	tʃɐˈpɛ̯ː-l	take it!
DATIS	dɛ̯ː-m-lɪ	give it to me!
*RŬĪNĀTIS	nu ɐrviˈnɛ̯ː	don’t ruin!
FA(CĬ)TIS	fɛ̯ː	do, make!

As in many other Northern Italo-Romance varieties, *-ĒTĪ (< -ĒTĬS) and *-ĪTĪ (< -ĪTĬS) merge into -[îː] as a result of metaphony (Rohlfs 2: §607):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
TENĒTIS	tniː-l	hold it!
TOLLĬTIS	tuˈliː-l	take it off!
DĪCĬTIS	dʒiː-l	say it!
VENDĬTIS	vinˈdiː-lɐ	sell it!
PERDĬTIS	nu perˈdiː-l	don’t lose it!
MĬTTĬTIS	miˈtiː-l	put it!
OFFENDĬTIS	nu v ufɐnˈdiː	don’t be offended!
CREDĬTIS	nu kriˈdiː	don’t believe!

The allomorphs -[éː] and -[îː] occur before enclitics throughout the Republic: [ʂpjeˈgɛ̯ː-m] ‘explain to me!’. While Serravallese consistently employs the same form regardless of context ([ʂpjeˈgɛ̯ː] < EXPLĬCĀTIS), Southwestern Sammarinese restores final [d] in the absence of enclitics ([ʂpjeˈgɛ̯ːd]):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀTIS	kɐnˈtɛ̯ːd	sing!
*PARĂBŎLĀTIS	pɐrˈlɛ̯ːd	speak!
PENSĀTIS	pinˈʂɛ̯ːd	think!
FA(CĬ)TIS	fɛ̯ːd i brɛvˑ	be good!
AMBŬLĀTIS	ɐnˈdɛ̯ːd	go!
PROBĀTIS	pruˈvɛ̯ː(d)	try!
TALIĀTIS	tɐˈjɛ̯ː(d)	cut!

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
Frankish *WARDŌN	nu gwɐrˈdɛ̰ː(d)	don’t watch!
STĀTIS	ʂtɛ̰ːd ɐˈkɪ	stay here!
CĬRCĀTIS	tʃɐrˈkɛ̰ː(d)	look for, try!
PACĀTIS	pɐˈgɛ̰ːd	pay!
BĬBĬTIS	biˈviː(d)	drink!
TENĒTIS	tniːd ɐˈlɪ	hold on there!
DORMĪTIS	durˈmiːd	sleep!
FĪNĪTIS	fniːd	finish!
SENTĪTIS	ʂɐnˈtiːd, ʂinˈtiːd	taste!
RE-COLLĬGĬTIS	ɐrkuˈjiːd	pick up!
PLANGĬTE	nu pjɐnˈdʒiːd	don’t cry!

It is not uncommon for second person plural imperatives of the first conjugation to undergo metaplasm: [triːd klɐ paːlɐ] ‘throw that ball!’.

5.10.3.First Person Plural

The imperative of the first person plural is expressed with the present subjunctive (Schürr, *NC* § 34). Whereas the nineteenth-century dialect preserves the original first conjugation desinence (*asptamma* ‘let’s wait!’ [Martelli 148], *Artiracme* ‘let’s retreat!’ [160],[128] *andamma* ‘let’s go!’ [163]) alongside the fourth conjugation ending (*Sentimma* ‘let’s hear’ [Zuccagni Orlandini 324]), contemporary Sammarinese has generalized the latter to all verbs:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AMBŬLĀRE	ɐndɪmˑɐ	let’s go!
FA(CĔ)RE	fɪmˑɐ	let’s do, make!
EXPĔNDĔRE	ʂpɐndɪmˑɐ	let’s spend!
SPĒRĀRE	ʂperɪmˑɐ	let’s hope!
PRŎBĀRE	pruvɪmˑɐ	let’s try!
CURRĔRE	kurɪmˑɐ	let’s run, hurry!
TORNĀRE	turnɪmˑɐ	let’s go back!
LASCĀRE	lɐʂɪmˑɐ pɛ̰ːrdɐ	let’s forget it!

[128] As noted above, metathesis (*/m-tʃ/ → [tˑʃ-m]) may occur across a morphological boundary.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
Old Provençal *botar*	butɪmˑɐ	let’s throw!
VĪVĔRE	vivɪmˑɐ	let’s live!
PENSĀRE	pɐnʂɪmˑɐ	let’s think!
CĬRCĀRE	tʃɐrkɪmˑɐ	let’s look for, try!
*PARĂBŎLĀRE	nu pɐrlɪmˑɐ	let’s not talk!
*ĔSSĔRE	nu ʂɪmˑɐ	let’s not be!
DĬSCŬRRĔRE	nu θkurɪmˑɐ	let’s not talk!
*COMĬNTIĀRE	kminθɪmˑɐ	let’s begin!
*ASPĔCTĀRE	ɐʂpitɪmˑɐ	let’s wait!
SĔNTĪRE	ʂintɪmˑɐ	let’s hear!
cf. Italian *tiriamo*	trɪmˑɐ vɛ̰ːnti	let’s struggle on!

In order to avoid the formation of proparoxytones, final -[ɐ] is dropped before enclitics:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CANTĀRE	kɐnˈtɪmˑ-lɐ	let's sing it!
CLAMĀRE	tʃɐˈmɪmˑ-lɪ	let’s call him!
*TRŎPĀRE	truˈvɪmˑ-jɪ	let’s find them (m.)!
VĒNDĔRE	vinˈdɪmˑ-li	let’s sell them (f.)!
FĪNĪRE	fnɪmˑ-lɪ	let’s finish it!
VĪVĔRE	viˈvɪmˑ-li	let’s live it!
PENSĀRE	pɐnˈʂɪmˑ-ji	let’s think about it!
STĀRE	ʂtɪmˑ-lɐ ɐ ʂɐnˈtiː	let’s listen to her!
Frankish *WARDŌN	gwɐrˈdɪmˑ-tʃi	let’s beware!
EX-MĬTTĔRE	ʐmiˈtɪmˑ-lɐ	let’s stop it!
FA(CĔ)RE	fɪmˑ-tʃi, fɪʂˑ-mi kuˈraːdʒ	let’s cheer up!
TRACTĀRE	trɐˈtɪmˑ-li bɛːn	let’s treat him, it well!
*RŬĪNĀRE	nu ɐrviˈnɪmˑ-tʃi	let’s not ruin ourselves!
CAVĀRE	kɐˈvɪmˑ-tʃi, kɐˈvɪʂˑ-mi ɐl ʂkɛ̰ːrpi	let’s take off our shoes!
BĬBĔRE	biˈvɪmˑ-lɪ	let’s drink it!
SĔNTĪRE	ʂinˈtɪmˑ-lɐ	let’s taste it!
TŎLLĔRE	tuˈlɪmˑ-lɪ	let’s take it away!
RE-CŎLLĬGĔRE	ɐrkuˈjɪmˑ-lɪ	let’s pick them (f.)!

5.11. Infinitives

5.11.1.First Conjugation -ĀRE

Due to spontaneous raising of open-syllable [a], the *Pulon Matt* shows *-ar* in oscillation with *-er* (Schürr, *RD* 1: 15), which omit the final consonant before enclitics. Appearing only before vowels in the sonnets of Jacopo Landoni (1799) (Schürr, *RD* 2: 242), by the nineteenth century final [r] of the arhizotonic infinitives is dropped altogether in Sammarinese, which produces first conjugation -[ɛ̯ː]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ADAPTĀRE	ɐdɐˈtɛ̯ː-s̻	to adapt
ĬN-VENĒN-ĀRE	ɐɱvliˈnɛ̯ː	to poison
AMBŬLĀRE	ɐnˈdɛ̯ː	to go
*ĬNINSITĀRE	ɐnz̻ˈdɛ̯ː	to graft
cf. It. *zampa, inciampare*	ɐnθɐmˈpɛ̯ː	to trip, stumble, run into
*ĬNŎDIĀRE	ɐnuˈjɛ̯ː	to bore
*RECOMĬNTIĀRE	ɐrkmɐnˈθɛ̯ː	to begin again
RECLAMĀRE	ɐrtʃɐˈmɛ̯ː	to call back, again
BALLĀRE	bɐˈlɛ̯ː	to dance
BALNEĀRE	bɐˈɲɛ̯ː	to bathe, wet
cf. Italian *bacile*	bɐtʃiˈlɛ̯ː	to worry
cf. Italian *biasciare*	bjɐˈs̻ɛ̯ː	to chew
DARE	dɛ̯ː	to give
GYRĀRE	dʒiˈrɛ̯ː	to turn, go round
*IŎCĀRE	dʒuˈgɛ̯ː	to play
DEMANDĀRE	dmɐnˈdɛ̯ː	to ask (for)
DŪRĀRE	duˈrɛ̯ː	to last
FIRMĀRE	fiɾˈmɛ̯ː	to sign
FLATĀRE	fjɐˈdɛ̯ː	to breathe
Mediev. Lat. GARAVELLĀRE	gɐrɐˈvlɛ̯ː	to pick grapes left over after vintage
Frankish *WAIDHANJAN	gwɐdɐˈɲɛ̯ː	to earn
GŬBERNĀRE	gwɐrˈnɛ̯ː	to look after, tend (livestock, children)

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VASTĀRE	gwɐsˌtɛ̯ː	to spoil, ruin
*ĬNDĪRECTIĀRE	indriˈθɛ̯ː	to straighten
CAMBIĀRE	kɐmˈbjɛ̯ː	to change
CAPUT	kɐˈpɛ̯ː	to choose
CARU	kɐriˈθɛ̯ː	to caress
*CAS(Ĭ)CĀRE	kɐsˌˈkɛ̯ː	to fall
COMBĪNĀRE	kumbiˈnɛ̯ː	to be up to, get into
CŪRĀRE	kuˈrɛ̯ː	to treat, cure
ĬN-GŬL-ĀRE	iŋguˈlɛ̯ː	to swallow
ĬN-CAPS-ĀRE	iŋkɐˈsɛ̯ː	to take, receive money
LASCĀRE	lɐˈsɛ̯ː	to leave, let
LUCTĀRI	luˈtɛ̯ː	to fight, last
cf. Italian *malarsi*	mɐˈlɛ̯ː-s	to get sick
MANDĀRE	mɐnˈdɛ̯ː	to send
MANDŪCĀRE	mɐˈɲɛ̯ː	to eat
MĪRĀRI	miˈrɛ̯ː	to aim
MŪTĀRE	muˈdɛ̯ː	to change
ME(N)SŪRĀRE	mʒuˈrɛ̯ː	to measure
*PASSĀRE	pɐˈsɛ̯ː	to go by, pass (by)
PĬLĀRE	plɛ̯ː	to skin
RABIA	rɐˈbjɛ̯ː	to make sb. angry
???	rɐdɐˈnɛ̯ː	to tidy (up), put in order
*RASC(Ŭ)LĀRE	rɐsˌˈtʃɛ̯ː	to scrape, hug, keep close to
EX-FLAGELLĀRE	sfrɐdʒiˈlɛ̯ː-s	to smash, crash
EX-CATĒN-ĀRE	skɐdˈnɛ̯ː	to provoke, stir up
*EXCAPPĀRE	skɐˈpɛ̯ː	to escape, go out
RECORDĀRI	skurˈdɛ̯ː	to forget
EX-CŬRTĀRE	skurˈtɛ̯ː	to shorten, cut
Medieval Latin SPAMIĀRE	spɐrɐˈɲɛ̯ː	to save
SPATIĀRE	spɐˈθɛ̯ː	to sweep
EXPLĬCĀRE	spjeˈgɛ̯ː	to explain
Frankish SPORŌ	spruˈnɛ̯ː	to spur (on)
EX-PŬLV(Ĕ)R-ĀRE	spuo̯ˈbrɛ̯ː	to dust
STĀRE	stɛ̯ː	to stay, be, remain
cf. Italian *stirare*	stiˈrɛ̯ː	to iron
EXSŪCĀRE	suˈgɛ̯ː	to dry
TALIĀRE	tɐˈjɛ̯ː	to cut

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
TRACTĀRE	trɐˈtɛ̰ː	to negotiate, treat
CAP(Ŭ)LĀRE	tʃɐˈpɛ̰ː	to take, catch, seize
ODORĀRI	uduˈrɛ̰ː	to smell
ŬLŬLĀRE	urˈlɛ̰ː	to yell
VANG-ĀRE	vɐŋˈgɛ̰ː	to spade
cf. Italian *sbagliare*	ʒ̰bɐˈjɛ̰ː	to make a mistake
Medieval Latin BALBĬTĀRE	ʒ̰bɐrbuˈtlɛ̰ː	to mutter, moan, grumble
EX-BŬRS-ĀRE	ʒ̰burˈʂɛ̰ː	to fork, shell out
EX-MŎLL-ĀRE	ʒ̰muˈlɛ̰ː	to let go, undo, untie
EX-MŎRT-ĀRE	ʒ̰murˈtɛ̰ː	to put out, turn off

5.11.2.Second Conjugation -ĒRE

Latin -ĒRE > -[eːr] (Schürr, *RD* 1: 21), which is reduced to -[éː] in Southwestern Sammarinese while the diphthonged variant -[oi̯] characterizes Serravallese:

Etymon	SW Sammarinese	Serravallese	Translation
HABĒRE	ɐˈveː	ɐˈvoi̯	to have
*SAPĒRE	ʂ̰ɐˈveː	ʂ̰ɐˈvoi̯	to know
*VŎLĒRE	vleː	vloi̯	to want
SĔDĒRE	ʒ̰deː	ʒ̰doi̯	to sit

5.11.3.Third Conjugation -ĔRE

In Central Romagnol, syncope of the posttonic vowel and ensuing anaptyxis yield the desinence -[ɐr] (CRĒDĔRE > [kreːdɐr]), which loses final [r] only before enclitics ([kreːdɐʂ] ‘credersi’). As for Borderline dialects such as Sammarinese, where paragoge is the norm (cf. French *vivre* < VĪVĔRE), it is unclear as to why -ĔRE evolves into -[ɐ] (Schürr, *RD* 2: 242-43):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CRĒDĔRE	kreːdɐ	to believe
*CŎCĔRE	kɔːʒɐ	to cook

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
cf. Old Italian *cùcere*	kuːʒɐ	to sew
CŎLLĬGĔRE	kɔːjɐ	to gather, pick
FUGĔRE	fʊdˈʒɐ	to flee, go away
???	bɾʊðˈɐ	to joke, kid
*PĔNDĔRE	pɛnˈdɐ	to hang
EXTĔNDĔRE	ʂtɛnˈdɐ	to hang out (laundry)
EXSŎLVĔRE	ʂtʃɔːjɐ	to melt, dissolve, undo
CRĒSCĔRE	kɾɛʂˈɐ, kɾɛʃˈɐ	to grow
CŬRRĔRE	kʊrˈɐ	to run
DĬSCŬRRĔRE	θkɐrˈɐ	to talk
*RESPŎNDĔRE	ɐrʂpɛnˈdɐ	to answer
VĪVĔRE	viːvɐ	to live
PLANGĔRE	pjɛnˈdʒɐ	to cry
*NASCĔRE	naːʂɐ, naːʃɐ	to be born
RĔGĔRE	laːʂ-ti rᵩːdʒɐ	be reasonable!
ACCĔNDĔRE	tʃɛnˈdɐ	to light, turn on
EXPĔNDĔRE	ʂpɛnˈdɐ	to spend
EX-BATT(Ŭ)ĔRE	ʐbaːtɐ	to beat
*TŎRCĔRE	ʈɔːrtʃɐ	to wring (out)
OFFĔNDĔRE	ufɛnˈdɐ	to offend
VĒNDĔRE	vɛnˈdɐ	to sell
VĬNCĔRE	viːntʃɐ	to win
EX-MĬTTĔRE	ʐmɛtˈɐ ɛ bɐˈgiːn	to cut a pig into pieces
TĔXĔRE	tᵩːʂɐ	to weave
*ĔSSĔRE	ᵩːʂɐ	to be

Before enclitics the infinitive ending is dropped altogether:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
PĔRDĔRE	pᵩːrd-ji	to lose them (m.)
ĬN-BATT(Ŭ)ĔRE	imbaːt-ʂi	to run into one another
MĬTTĔRE	mɛtˈ-mi	to put me
VĬDĒRE	voi̯d-lɐ	to see her, it
STRINGĔRE	ʂtrɪnˈdʒ-ji lɐ mᵩːnɐ	to shake his hand
LĔGĔRE	lɛdˈʒ-li	to read them (f.)
*ĔSSĔRE	ᵩːʂ-li	to be it
RĔDDĔRE	rɛnˈd-ʂi kɔu̯ñt	to realize

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CRĒDĔRE	kroî̯d-ji	to believe it
ŬNGĔRE	ɐnˈdʒ-lɐ	to grease it
GAUDĒRE	gɔːd-s̻i	to enjoy
FRĪGĔRE	frɪdˈʒ-li	to fry it (m.)
DIVIDĔRE	diviːd-li	to divide them (f.)
*CONŌSCĔRE	knɔs̻ˑ-tɪ	to know you

When the enclitic is /la/, deletion of the infinitive ending averts the formation of proparoxytones: *[ˈvoî̯dɐ-lɐ]. If the enclitic is a consonant, deletion of the infinitive ending prevents the formation of heavy atonic syllables in word-final position (see Repetti, "Uneven" 275): *[mɛtˈɐ-m]. As a result, the consonantal enclitic is syllabified as an onset: [mɛtˈ-mi].

However, the -Ø desinence also occurs sporadically in the absence of an enclitic, which is the norm in Riminese, Riccionese, and Morcianese (Schürr, *NC* § 38):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*MŎVĔRE	mɔːv	to move
CLŪDĔRE	tʃuːd	to close
DĬSCŬRRĔRE	s̻kɔrˑ	to talk

By metaplasm, the following -ĒRE infinitives are moved to the rhizotonic group (Rohlfs 2: § 615):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VĬDĒRE	veːdɐ, voî̯dɐ	to see
GAUDĒRE	gɔːdɐ	to enjoy
RELŪCĒRE	ɐrluːʒɐ	to shine, glitter
SĔDĒRE	s̻eːdɐ	to sit
PLACĒRE	piːʒɐ	to be pleasing

Some fourth conjugation infinitives also join the -ĔRE category:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	kruːvɐ	to cover
EX-CŎŎP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ʂkruːvɐ	to discover
TŬSSĪRE	tɔʂˑɐ	to cough
RUGĪRE	rʊdˑʒɐ	to roar, yell

Finally, instead of first conjugation *ACŪTIĀRE (cf. Italian *aguzzare*, Bolognese [(ɐ)guˈθɐ̯ːr]), Sammarinese [gʊθˑ] ‘to sharpen’ presupposes third conjugation *ACŪTIĔRE.

5.11.4.Fourth Conjugation -ĪRE

Latin -ĪRE > -[îːr] > -[îː]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
VĔNĪRE	(ɐ)vˈniː, (ɐ)mˈniː	to come
AP(Ĕ)RĪRE	ɐvˈriː, ɐrˈviː	to open
AD-VĪL-ĀRE	ɐviˈliː	to humiliate, discourage
PARTĪRI	pɐrˈtiː	to go, leave, set off
FĪNĪRE	fniː	to finish
DŎRMĪRE	durˈmiː	to sleep
POLĪRE	puˈliː	to clean, polish
SEPELĪRE	ʂpliː	to bury
*MORĪRE	muˈriː	to die
Germanic *WARJAN	gwɐˈriː	to heal, recover
BŬLLĪRE	buˈliː	to boil
French *divertir*	diverˈtiː-ʂ	to have fun
AERŪGĬN-ĪRE	rudʒˈniː	to rust
SENTĪRE	ʂɐnˈtiː, ʂinˈtiː	to feel, hear, smell, taste
VESTĪRE	viʂˈtiː	to dress, put on, wear
cf. Italian *allegerire*	ʐlidʒiˈriː	to lighten
RE-MIXT-ĪRE	ɐrmiʂˈtiː	to mix
cf. Italian *abbrustolire*	bruʂtuˈliː	to toast
cf. Italian *ammannire*	mɐˈnɪʃˑ	prepare

An idiosyncrasy of Southwestern Sammarinese is the transfer of -ĀRE infinitives to the -ĪRE category:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CĬRCĀRE	tʃɐrˈkiː, tʃirˈkiː, tʃɐrˈkɛ̰ː	to look for
CONSĬGNĀRE	kunsˈɲiː	to deliver
Germanic *WĪTAN	guiˈdiː, gwiˈdɛ̰ː	to drive
*BLASTĒMĀRE	bjɐʂtˈmiː	to swear
FŪMĀRE	fuˈmiː, fuˈmɛ̰ː	to smoke
cf. Italian *balenare*	bɐlˈniː	to flash
cf. Italian *zufolare*	tʃuˈfliː	to whistle
FISTŬLĀRI	fiʂˈtiː, fiʂˈtʃiː, fiʂˈtʃɛ̰ː	to whistle
FĪLĀRE	fliː	to spin wool
cf. Old French *voloper*	gluˈpiː	to wind
*CRĪTĀRE	griˈdiː	to shout, cry, scream, yell
RŪMĬNĀRE	rumˈgiː	to ruminate
cf. Italian *sbucciare*	ʐbu̯ˈtʃiː, ʐbuˈtʃɛ̰ː	to peel
Frankish *GRINAN	ʐgriˈɲiː	to laugh exaggeratedly
cf. reg. Italian *sguillare*	ʐgwiˈliː, ʐgwiˈlɛ̰ː	to slip, slide
*SPĪCĀRE	ʂpiˈgiː, ʂpiˈgɛ̰ː	to glean ears of grain
SPŪTĀRE	ʂpuˈdiː	to spit
cf. Italian *aizzare*	uˈθiː	to set on, incite, urge on
*EXTŪFĀRE	ʂtuˈfiː, ʂtuˈfɛ̰ː	to weary
cf. Italian *rubare*	ruˈbiː, ruˈbɛ̰ː	to steal
cf. Italian *cricchiare*	kriˈkiː	to creak
EX-TRĔMŬLĀRE	ʂtrimuˈliː	to tremble, shudder

On the other hand, the metaplasm of TENĒRE—which joins the fourth conjugation by analogy of VENĪRE—is widespread in Northern Italo-Romance, while the reassignment of EX-PARĒRE and EX-CLARĒRE is also characteristic of Italian:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
TENĒRE	tniː	to hold, keep
EX-PARĒRE	ʂpɐˈriː	to disappear
EX-CLARĒRE	ʂtʃɐˈriː	to clear

Other fourth conjugation infinitives originate from the arhizotonic group:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CAPĔRE	kɐˈpiː	to understand
DIGERĔRE	didʒeˈriː, didʒiˈriː	to digest
TRADĔRE	trɐˈdiː	to betray

5.11.5.Irregular Infinitives

The following strong infinitives produce irregular outcomes as a result of syncope:

Etymon	Old Romagnol	Sammarinese	Translation
FACĔRE	*far*	fɛ̯ː	to do, make
DĪCĔRE	*dir* (*PM* 1.2.5)	diː	to say
BĬBĔRE	*ber*	beː, boi̯	to drink
TŎLLĔRE	*tor* (*PM* 3.18.8)	tɔˑ, tuː	to take

As for the vowel in [tuː], phonetic changes that occur in rhizotonic forms of the present tense, such as palatalization of the stem-final consonant and metaphony, are often extended to the infinitive (Rohlfs 2: 363). Finally, Old Romagnol *pser* (*PM* 1.18.7, 1.39.2), which presupposes analogical *POSSĒRE (Rohlfs 2: 364; Schürr, *NC* § 39.12), yields nineteenth-century Sammarinese *pse* (Balsimelli 13.32), which has succumbed to the Italianism [puˈdeː].

5.12. Gerunds

5.12.1.First Conjugation -ANDO

Whereas Central Romagnol substitutes the first conjugation desinence with -ĔNDO (*COMĬNTIANDO > *cmanzend* [*PM* 1.7.3]), Southeastern Romagnol is characterized by the conservative type -[áːnd] (Schürr, *NC* § 38):[129]

[129] However, Anderson documents an isolated exception to the rule: LAVANDO > *lavend* ‘washing’ (2: 13).

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
ADIŪTANDO	ɐjuˈtaːnd	helping
AD-CONTENT-ANDO	ɐkuntɐnˈtaːnd-ʂi	being content, satisfied
RENOVANDO	ɐrnuˈvaːnd lɐ grɐvaːtɐ	putting on a tie for the first time
RE-TORNANDO	ɐrturˈnaːnd	returning
*ASCŬLTANDO	ɐʂkulˈtaːnd	listening
*ASPECTANDO	ɐʂpiˈtaːnd	waiting
cf. Italian *abbaiando*	bɐˈjaːnd	barking
cf. Italian *biasciando*	bjɐˈʂaːnd	chewing
Frankish *WARDŌN	gwɐrˈdaːnd	watching
ĬN-CONTR-ANDO	iŋkunˈtraːnd	meeting
LASCANDO	lɐˈʂaːnd	leaving, letting
PENSANDO	pɐnˈʂaːnd-ji	thinking about it
*CAMMĪNANDO	kɐmˈnaːnd	walking
SPERANDO	ʂpeˈraːnd	hoping
DEMANDANDO	dmɐnˈdaːnd	asking (for)
SALVANDO	ʂɐlˈvaːnd	saving
CAMBIANDO	kɐmˈbjaːnd	changing
ĬN-SOMNIANDO	inʂuˈɲaːnd	dreaming
MANDŪCANDO	mɐˈɲaːnd	eating
*DISFIDANDO	ʂfiˈdaːnd	challenging
RECORDĀRI	ʂkurˈdaːnd	forgetting
SONANDO	ʂuˈnaːnd	playing, sounding
OBLIGANDO	ubliˈgaːnd-ji	obligating them (m.)

5.12.2.Second, Third, and Fourth Conjugation -ĔNDO

In the remaining conjugations, -ĔNDO, which levels Classical -IĔNDO (Rohlfs 2: 365), yields -[ɛ́nˑd]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
HABĔNDO	ɐˈvɛnˑd	having
*CONOSCĔNDO	knuˈʂɛnˑd	knowing
CURRĔNDO	kuˈrɛnˑd	running
*SAPĔNDO	sɐˈvɛnˑd	knowing
VĪVĔNDO	viˈvɛnˑd	living

Oscillation between tonic [ɛ] and [ɪ] may originate from the generalization of analogical -ĪNDO (cf. Piedmontese *drumint* < DORMIĔNDO; Istrian *corindo* < CŬRRĔNDO, *dulindo* < DOLĔNDO [Rohlfs 2: 366]):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
LEGĔNDO	liˈdʒɪn·d	reading
VĬDĔNDO	viˈdɪn·d	seeing
SCRĪBĔNDO	s̪kriˈvɪn·d	writing
STRĬNGĔNDO	s̪triˈnˈdʒɪn·d	gripping

As far as irregular verbs are concerned, many Romagnol dialects present the normal phonetic outcome of FAC(I)ĔNDO (> *fasend* [*PM* 3.14.4; Schürr, NC § 39.3]), while Sammarinese brings the gerund into line with DANDO and STANDO: *fandie forza* ‘plucking up its courage’ (Balsimelli 6.34). The stem of DĪCĔNDO, whose continuant is [dz̪]- in other varieties (*dsend* [*PM* 1.62.1; Schürr, NC § 39.7]), produces [dʒ]- in Sammarinese: *gendie* ‘saying to them’ (Anderson 2: 13).

5.13. Past Participles

5.13.1.Arhizotonic -ĀTU

Masculine singular -ĀTU and plural -ĀTĪ converge into -[ɛ̨ːd] in Southwestern Sammarinese (Schürr, *RD* 2: 242 n. 3), which drops final [d] in Serravallese: CANTĀTU, CANTĀTĪ > [kɐnˈtɛ̨ː(d)] ‘sung’.[130] In both varieties, feminine singular -ĀTA and plural -ĀTAE yield -[ɛ̨ːdɐ] and -[ɛ̨ːdi] respectively ([kɐnˈtɛ̨ːdɐ], [kɐnˈtɛ̨ːdi]):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

[130] However, rhizotonic NĀTU and NĀTĪ > [nɛ̨ːd] throughout the Republic.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
DATU	ɐ t ɔ dɛ̣ː	I have given to you
STĀTĪ	j ɛ s̪tɛ̣ː	they were
AMBŬLĀTĪ	ɐ s̪iːrmi ɐnˈdɛ̣ː(d)	we had gone
French *drogue*	u s̪ ɛ druˈgɛ̣ː	he took drugs
PACĀTA	ɐ n lɐ ɪmˑ pɐgɛ̣ːdɐ	we didn’t pay for it
STUDIU	ɔ s̪tuˈdjɛ̣ː	I’ve devised
SALŪTĀTU	t ɛ̣ː s̪ɐluˈtɛ̣ː	you greeted, said goodbye
LABORĀTU	t ɛ̣ː lɐvuˈrɛ̣ː	you’ve worked
SŬSPĪRĀTU	t ɛ̣ː s̪us̪piˈrɛ̣ː	you sighed, yearned for
Frankish *WAIDHANJAN	j a gwɐdɐˈɲɛ̣ː	they earned
MANDŪCĀTU	l a mɐˈɲɛ̣ː(d)	he ate
SONĀTU	ɐʎ a s̪uˈnɛ̣ː	they played, sounded
French *abandonner*	ɐʎ a ɐbɐnduˈnɛ̣ː	they abandoned
VOLĀTU	l a vuˈlɛ̣ː	it flew
CARU	ɐ ɔ kɐriˈθɛ̣ː	I caressed
French *couche*	u s̪ ɛ ɐkuˈtʃɛ̣ː	it has lain down
COMPANIO	ɐ ɔ kumpɐˈɲɛ̣ː	I accompanied
CĬRCĀTU	l a tʃɐrˈkɛ̣ː	he looked for
ĬNCANTĀTU	ɐ m s̪ɔ iŋkɐnˈtɛ̣ː	I was spellbound
COMPORTĀTU	u s̪ ɛ kumpurˈtɛ̣ː	he behaved
Provençal *acomandar*	u s̪ ɛ rɐkmɐnˈdɛ̣ː	he implored
TALIĀTU	t ɛ̣ː tɐˈjɛ̣ː	you’ve cut
EX-FRŪCT-ĀTU	tu n ɛ̣ː s̪fruˈtɛ̣ː	you did not take advantage of
CAMBIĀTU	l a kɐmˈbjɛ̣ː tɛ̣ːnt rɔːbi	so many things have changed
SPO(N)SĀTU	j a s̪puˈz̪ɛ̣ː(d)	they married
ĬNSĬGNĀTU	i tʃ a inˈs̪ɲɛ̣ː	they taught, showed us
ĬN-LĔCT-ĀTU	ɐ m s̪ɔ inliˈtɛ̣ː	I became ill
*RŬĪNĀTU	i s̪ ɛ ɐrviˈnɛ̣ː(d)	they ruined themselves
Gothic RAUBŌN	tu n ɛ̣ː ruˈbɛ̣ː(d)	you have not stolen
ĬN-GŬL-ĀTU	lɐ ɛ̣ːpɐ ɐŋguˈlɛ̣ː	she may have swallowed
*LĬGĬCĀTU	u t a liˈkɛ̣ː lɐ vaːkɐ	did the cow lick you?
*EX-PĬLŪCCĀTU	i t a s̪pluˈkɛ̣ː	they cleaned you out
EX-VĒN-ĀTU	ɐ m s̪ɔ z̪viˈnɛ̣ː	I’ve reduced myself to poverty
*ASPĔCTĀTU	ɐ n ɐˈviːd s̪piˈtɛ̣ːd	you didn’t wait
cf. Italian *schiacciato*	t l ɛ̣ː tʃɐˈkɛ̣ːd	you crushed it
*ĬNVENTĀTU	j a ɐŋvinˈtɛ̣ːd	they invented
*ĬMPARĀTU	ɔ ɐmpɐˈrɛ̣ːd dɐ knɐs̪ˑ-lɐ	I got to know her

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
AD-RABI-ĀTU	ɐ m s̪ɔ rɐˈbjɛ̯ːd	I got angry
LĬGĀTU	ɐlˈgɛ̯ː	bound, tied
BALNEĀTA	bɐˈɲɛ̯ːdɐ	wet
BAPTĬZĀTU	bɐtˈðɛ̯ː	baptized
GELĀTA	ʤlɛ̯ːdɐ	frozen
CAPUT	kɐˈpɛ̯ː	chosen
cf. Italian *ammalato*	ɐmɐˈlɛ̯ːd	(pron.) fallen ill
FRĬCĀTU	friˈgɛ̯ːd	rubbed, cheated
EX-PARĀTU	s̪pɐˈrɛ̯ːd	shot
SPATIĀTU	s̪pɐˈθɛ̯ːd	swept
LAVĀTU	lɐˈvɛ̯ːd	washed
MANDĀTU	mɐnˈdɛ̯ːd	sent
cf. Italian *ammazzato*	mɐˈθɛ̯ːd	killed
*APPARĬC(Ŭ)LĀTA	pɐrʧɛ̯ːdɐ	set
*RAG(Ŭ)LĀTU	rɐˈɲɛ̯ː	scolded
*CONFESSĀTU	kunˈs̪ɛ̯ː	confessed
CAMP-ĀTU	kɐmˈpɛ̯ː	lived, gotten by, managed
*MA(N)SIONĀTU	mɐˈʒɛ̯ː	hidden
*PODIĀTU	puˈʤɛ̯ː	leaned, rested, placed
cf. Italian *scrollato*	s̪kruˈlɛ̯ː	shaken
*EXTRAGĬNĀTA	s̪trɐs̪nɛ̯ːdɐ	ruined
SŪDĀTU	s̪uˈdɛ̯ː	sweated
EXSŪCĀTU	s̪uˈgɛ̯ː	dried
*ODIĀTU	uˈdjɛ̯ː	hated
ŬLŬLĀTU	urˈlɛ̯ː	yelled
Provençal *viatge*	vjɐˈʤɛ̯ːd	traveled
AD-VĬ-ĀTU	vjɛ̯ː	(pron.) set out, off

5.13.2. Arhizotonic -ĪTU

Given that the arhizotonic participles have parallel forms, masculine singular -ĪTU and plural -ĪTĪ merge into -[îː(d)] (Schürr, *RD* 2: 242 n. 3), while feminine singular -ĪTA and plural -ĪTAE produce -[iːdɐ] and -[iːdi] respectively (FĪNĪTU > [fniː(d)], [fniːdɐ], [fniːdi] ‘finished’):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
EXPEDĪTU	t j ɐ̯ː ʂpeˈdiː(d)	you've mailed to them
*EXPARĪTU	ʂpɐˈriː(d), ʂpɐˈriːdɐ	disappeared
POLĪTU	puˈliːd	cleaned
VESTĪTU	tu t ʃiː viʂˈtiː(d)	you got dressed
FLORĪTU	l a fjuˈriː	it blossomed, bloomed
FĪNĪTA	lɐ ɛ fniːdɐ lɐ kukaːɲɐ	the party's over!
*CAPĪTU	ɐ̯ːvɐ kɐˈpiː	I had understood
PARTĪTU	t ʃiː pɐrˈtiː	you left
*PROHIBĪTU	ɐ m iː pruiˈbiː lɐ pɪpʷɐ	you have forbidden me my pipe
SENTĪTU	ɐ ɐˈvriː ʂɐnˈtiː	you must have heard
SERVĪTU	lɐ n ɛ ʂerviːdɐ	it was of no use
*TRADĪTU	trɐˈdiː	betrayed
ĬM-PLĒN-ĪTU	ɐmpiˈniː	filled
AD-VĪL-ĪTU	ɐ m ʂɔ ɐviˈliː	I lost heart

The following -ĀTU participles undergo metaplasm to the fourth conjugation in Southwestern Sammarinese:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*BRUSIĀTU	bruˈʒiːd, bruˈʒɐ̯ːd	burned
cf. Italian *strusciato*	ʂtruˈʃiː	shuffled, rubbed
GYRĀTU	ɔ dʒiˈriːd, dʒiˈrɐ̯ː	I turned

5.13.3.Arhizotonic -UTU

Proto-Romance -UTU originates from syncope of third declension participles ending in -ŬĬTUM, whose corresponding infinitive ending is -ŬĔRE (BATTUĔRE, RUĔRE, PLUĔRE). Since -UTU provides an arhizotonic counterpart to -ĀTU and -ĪTU, the desinence is extended to verbs of the third and subsequently the second conjugations (Rohlfs 2: 369). In Sammarinese, masculine singular -UTU and plural -UTI converge into -[uː(d)], while feminine singular -UTA and plural -UTAE give -[uːdɐ] and -[uːdi] respectively:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
BATTU(Ĭ)TU	l a bɐˈtuː	he beat
*HABUTU	ɪmˑ vuː	we have had
*CONSCIUTU	knuˈʂuː	met
*CREDUTU	kriˈduːd	believed
*CRESCIUTU	ɐ ʂiː kriˈʂuːdi	you've grown up
*PARUTU	u m a pɐˈruː(d)	it seemed to me
*VOLUTU	ɐ j ɪmˑ vluː bɛ̯ːn	we liked him very much
*SAPUTU	ɐ l iː ʂɐˈvuː	you found it out
*SŬSTĬNUTU	ɐ v ɔ ʂuʂtˈnuː	I supported, held you up
*VĪXUTU	lɐ a viˈʂuː	she lived
*VENDUTU	vinˈduːd	sold
*PLACEUTU	lɐ m a piʒuːd klɐ bɪrˑɐ	I liked that beer
*VĬDUTU	vduːd	seen
*SENTUTU	t ɛ̯ː ʂɐnˈtuːd	did you hear?

As far as irregular forms are concerned, the stem of *BĬBUTU is reduced to [bv]- throughout Romagna (Schürr, *NC* § 39.9), which leads to the development of a few diatopical variants. In Sammarinese, syncope of the secondary consonant cluster produces Southwestern [buːd], while restoration of the stem yields Serravallese [biˈvuː]. The autochthonous form [pˀʂuːd] 'was able' (cf. *psu* [Martelli 166], Venetian *posudo*, Bolognese [pˀʂʊ])—whose stem is modeled on PŎSSUM, etc.—has almost succumbed completely to the Italianism [puˈtuː]. As for *VENUTU, syncope gives [(ɐ)vˈnuːd], which produces [(ɐ)mˈnuː] by assimilation.

5.13.4.Rhizotonic -TU

The Sammarinese endings of the rhizotonic participles agreeing with the typical Romagnol forms, masculine singular -TU and plural -TU merge into -[t], while feminine singular -TA and plural -TAE yield -[tɐ] and -[ti] respectively (FACTU > [faːt], [faːtɐ], [faːti] 'done, made'):

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
FACTAE	ʂtli pjɐ̯ːnti li ʂ ɛ faːti bɐ̯ːli	these trees have become beautiful
RE-CŎLLĬGĔRE	ʁrˈkɔːlt	picked up
APĔRTU	ɔ vɐ̯ːrt	I opened
LĔCTU	lɐ̯ːt	read
MALEDĬCTU	mʁliˈdɛtˑ	cursed
MŎRTU	u ʂʁˈra mɔːrt	he must have died
SCRĪPTU	ʂkrɪtˑ	written
TŎLLĔRE	t ɐ̯ː tɔːlt	you've taken (away, off)
DĪRĔCTU	l a diˈrɐ̯ːt	he directed
CONSTRĬCTU, -Ī	kuʂˈtrɛtˑ, kuʂˈtrɪtˑ	forced
ĬN-CŎRRĬGĔRE	lʁ n ʂ ɐ̯ːrʁ ʁŋkɔːrtʁ	she had not noticed
CŎCTA, -Ī	kɔːtʁ, kuːt	cooked
VĬCTU	ʁ j ɪmˑ viːnt nɔ̯ũ̃	we won
CONVĬCTU	kuŋˈviːnt	convinced
CŎŎPĔRTU	kwɐ̯ːrt	covered
RŬPTA	lʁ ʂ ɛ rʁtˑʁ	it has broken
EX-CŎŎPĔRTU	ɔ ʂkwɐ̯ːrt	I uncovered, discovered
*VĪSĬTU	ɐ̯ː-t vɪʂˑt	did you see?
DĬCTU	ʁ t l iːmji dɪtˑ	we had said it to you

By analogy of the past perfect (DĪXĬT > *diss* [*PM* 1.21.8; Schürr, *NC* § 39.7]), DĬCTU adopts tonic [i] (Rohlfs 2: 371). Thus, Old Romagnol (*PM* 1.26.1; Schürr, *NC* § 39.7) and nineteenth-century Sammarinese (Zuccagni Orlandini 328) *ditt* is at the origin of modern [dɪtˑ]. In the same way, REDŬCTU is influenced by forms of the same paradigm which contain Ū (cf. Old Italian *ridutto*), yielding Sammarinese [ʁrdʊtˑ], [ʁrdʊtˑʁ], and [ʁrdʊtˑi]. On the other hand, the vocalic outcomes in [viːnt] (< VĬCTU) and [ʂpiːnt] 'pushed' are borrowed from Tuscan, where both the anaphonetic vowel and the stem-final consonant have been generalized from the present tense (Rohlfs 2: 372): VĬNCO > *vinco*, *EXPĬNGO > *spingo*. In an indigenous development, *TĪRĀRE adopts the past participle [traːt] 'pulled, thrown' either by suppletion with TRACTU,

analogy of FACTU, or a combination of the two. Similarly, the conjugation of *ADRĪPĀRE assumes [ʁrˈvaːt] ‘arrived’.

5.13.5.Rhizotonic -SU

Like the strong participles ending in -TU, those whose stem-final consonant derives from S indicate the masculine singular and plural with the desinence -Ø, the feminine singular with -[ʁ], and the feminine plural with –[i]:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
CURSU	iː kuːrʂ̻	you (pl.) have run
MĬSSU	j ɛ̟ːvɐ mɛʂ̻ˑ	they had put
EX-MĬSSU	ɐ ɐˈviːvɐ z̻mɛʂ̻ˑ	I had quit
SŬCCĔSSU	l ɛ̟ːrɐ ʂ̻uˈtʃɛːʂ̻	it had happened
*MŎSSU	mɔːʂ̻	moved
*PĔRSA	ɐ l ɪmˑ pɛ̟ːrʂ̻ɐ	we lost it
EXTE(N)SU	ɐ ɪmˑ ʂ̻tɔi̯z̻	we spread out, laid down
ACCE(N)SU	tʃɔi̯z̻	lit, turned on
OFFE(N)SU	ɐ m mi ʂ̻ɔ uˈfɔi̯z̻	I didn’t take offense
DEFE(N)SU	ɐ v ɔ diˈfɔi̯z̻	I defended you
CLŪSU	ɐ l ɔ tʃuːz̻ ɛ muˈtoːr	I shut the motor off
DECĪSU	lɐ aˑ deˈtʃiːz̻	she decided
*COMMŎSSU	ɐ m ʂ̻ɔ kuˈmɔːʂ̻	I was moved
cf. It. *reso*	ɐ m ʂ̻ɔ roi̯z̻ kɔu̯ñt	I realized

Attested in the *Pulon Matt* (3.60.8, 3.64.6; Schürr, *NC* § 38), analogical *cres* survives in Sammarinese [kreːz̻] and Serravallese [kroi̯z̻]: [ɐ n l ɐvriːɐ maːi̯ kroi̯z̻] ‘I would never have believed it’. Interestingly, the analogy even reaches the past participle of first conjugation *guardare*: [ɐ l ɔ gwɛ̟ːrʂ̻] ‘I looked at it’.

5.13.6. Verbal Adjectives

The last example of metaplasm was likely encouraged by the existence of an entire series of verbal adjectives or strong past participles in the first conjugation (cf. Portuguese *aceito* 'accepted', *ganho* 'earned', *pago* 'paid', Tuscan *tocco* 'touched', *carico* 'loaded'), which often alternate with arhizotonic forms. Also known as shortened or syncopated past participles because they omit the regular infix,[131] their generalization is triggered by the coexistence of variants such as *oso* (< AUSUM) and *osato*, *uso* (< ŪSUM) and *usato*, *unto* and *untato*, *tratto* (< TRACTUM) and *trattato*, *volto* (< VŎLVĬTUM) and *voltato*, *lasso* (< LAXUM) and *lassato*, *porto* and *portato* (Rohlfs 2: 375). Appearing in medieval Tuscan, Emilian, and Milanese texts, today the phenomenon is especially characteristic of Venetan and Romagnol (Rohlfs 2: 378). Its presence in sixteenth-century Romagnol is documented by the *Pulon Matt* (Schürr, *NC* § 38, *VR* § 34): *arpo(n)s* 'rested' (2.S.7, 2.56.7), *cruzz* 'upset' (2.54.2), *ficch* 'stuck' (3.11.6), *cunz* 'tanned' (3.59.2), *us alla fadiga* 'used to hard work' (3.40.4), *pass l'acqua* 'after one has passed the water' (3.21.4), *ai ho la carna tutta pesta* 'my flesh is all bruised' (2.37.3). As with the other rhizotonic participles, modern dialects indicate the masculine singular and plural with the desinence -Ø, which includes paragogic vowels following unsyllabifiable consonant clusters. The feminine singular and plural are marked by -[ɐ] and -[i] respectively:

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ĬNDORMĔNTĀRE	ɐ m g̱ɔ ɐndurmɛi̯ñtɐ	I fell asleep
REPAUSĀRE	u g̱ ɛ ɐrˈpɔu̯ñg̱	he rested
RE-TORNĀRE	ɐ g̱ɔ ɐrˈtɔu̯rni	I went back
*ABANTIĀRE	ɐ g̱ɪmˑ ɐrˈvɛ̯ːnθ	we remained
Gothic TAIKN	taːk	attached, began
Old Provençal *botar*	ɐ l ɔ bʊtˑ viːɐ	I threw it away
FĬRMĀRE	u g̱ ɛ fɛ̯ːrmɪ	he stopped

[131] Mussafia § 256; Ascoli 451; Schürr, *NC* § 38.

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
RĔSTĀRE	u j ɛ̯ːrɐ rɛ̯ːʂ̠t lɐ maː	their mother was left
EXCALDĀRE	l a ʂ̠kɛ̯ːld unɐ pˈɲaːtɐ	he heated a pot
PŎRTĀRE	j a pɔːrt	they brought
ĬNTRĀRE	j ɛ ɛĩ̯ñtrɪ	they entered
ĬN-BLANC-ĀRE	imˈbjɛ̯ːŋk	whitewashed, whitened
ĬN-CONTR-ĀRE	iɱkɔũ̯ñtri	met
*CASĬCĀRE	t ʃiː kaːʂ̠k	you fell
EX-*CASĬCĀRE	l ɛ ʂ̠kaːʂ̠k	it has expired
CŎ(N)STĀRE	u m ɛ kɔːʂ̠t un ɔːtʃ d lɐ tɛ̯ːʂ̠tɐ	it cost me an arm and a leg
DEMANDĀRE	ɐ ʏ ɔ dmaːnd	I asked him for it
EX-PŎSĬT-ĀRE	ɐ ɔ ʂ̠pɔːʂ̠t	I have moved
AD-ŎPĔR-ĀRE	t ɛ̯ː dɔːvri	you've used
*DEVENTĀRE	t ʃiː dvɛ̯ːntɐ	you've become
VASTĀRE	gwaːʂ̠t	spoiled, ruined
*ĬNVENTĀRE	ɐ n l ɔ iɱˈvɛ̯ːnt iː	*I* didn't invent it
cf. It. *zampa*	ɔ inˈθɛ̯ːmp	I tripped, stumbled
*CAPTIĀRE	kaːtʃ	put, stuck
ACCŎMŎDĀRE	u ʂ̠ ɛ kɐmˑdi	he sat down
*COMĬNTIĀRE	lɐ aˑ kmɛ̯ːnθ	she began
COMP(Ă)RĀRE	kɔmˑpri	bought
TRANS-MANDĀRE	trɐmaːndɐ	handed down, passed by
*PASSĀRE	l ɛ paːʂ̠ tʃɛnt aːn	a hundred years have gone by
PENSĀRE	ɐʏ aˑ pɛ̯ːnʂ̠	they (f.) thought
PĬSCĀRI	pɛʂ̠ˑk	fished
PLANTĀRE	pjɛ̯ːntɐ	planted
PRŎBĀRE	ɐ ʏ ɔ prɔːvi	I tried them (f.)
*ADRĪPĀRE	ɐ ʂ̠ɪmˑ riːv	we've arrived
*EXCAPPĀRE	lɐ ɛ ʂ̠kaːpɐ	she went out
EX-(RE)CŎRDĀRI	ɐ m ʂ̠ɔ ʂ̠kɔːrd dɐ tɔː-lɐ	I forgot to take it
Lombard SPAHHAN	t l ɛ̯ː ʂ̠paːk	you broke it
cf. It. *spiccare*	ʂ̠pɪkˑ	torn out
SCLŎPPU	ʂ̠tʃɔːpi	exploded, burst
cf. Italian *schiantare*	ʂ̠tʃɛ̯ːnti	torn (out, off)
*EXTŪFĀRE	ɐ m ʂ̠ɔ ʂ̠tʊfˑɐ	I'm fed up
*TRŎPĀRE	ʂ̠ ɐ ɐˈvɪʂ̠ˑ trɔːv	if I had found
CAPŬLĀRE	ɔ tʃaːp pɐˈʊuːrɐ	I got scared
CĬRCĀRE	l aˑ ʂ̠ɛmˑprɐ tʃiːrk	he has always tried

Etymon	Sammarinese	Translation
*ADVĬTIĀRE	lɐ s̻ ɛ vɛθˑɐ	she has become accustomed
*EXVĬGĬLĀRE	u s̻ ɛ z̻vɪdˑʒ	he woke up
Mid. High German ZECHEN	ɐ ˈj ɔ inˈθɛkˑ	I guessed right

5.13.7.Absence of Agreement

Alongside the general rule of agreement between past participles and their subjects, Serravallese also displays a limited tendency to use neuter forms that do not reflect gender and number (see Coco 78 n. 152). This trend is reflected not only by the desinence but also by leveling of the metaphonic vowel in the masculine plural of rhizotonic participles:

Serravallese	Translation
lɐ ɛ s̻tɛ̣ː	she was
ɐʌ ɛ s̻tɛ̣ː	they (f.) have been
lɐ ɛ̣ːrɐ s̻tɛ̣ː bɛ̣ːlɐ	it had been nice
ɛ pɛ̣ːr k lɐ s̻iːɐ ɐmɐˈtiː	it seems that she went crazy
ɐ v ni s̻iː iŋˈkɔːrt	have you noticed it?
i n s̻ ɛ iŋˈkɔːrt	they didn’t notice
lɐ ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̣ː	she went
lɐ m ɛ ɐnˈdɛ̣ː drɪtˑɐ	it went well for me
lɐ s̻ ɛ s̻puˈz̻ɛ̣ː	she got married
j ɛ ɐrˈtɔu̯rni	they have returned

Analogously, past participles do not necessarily agree with a preposed direct object:

Serravallese	Translation
kiː k u lɐ ɐˈvraˑ mɐˈθɛ̣ː	who would have killed her?
ɐ lɐ ɔ puˈdʒɛ̣ː	I placed it

Agreement between past participles and subjects or direct objects is among various topics requiring further documentation and analysis which are outlined in the concluding section of this dissertation.

5.14. Conclusions

Convergences in verb desinences may be classified into two different types: those which give rise to ambiguity between persons and those which do not. The first type occurs as a result of a phonetic change, apocope of final vowels: CANTO, *CANTĪ > [kɐ̯ːnt] ‘I, you sing’. The resulting ambiguity between persons is resolved by the mandatory use of subject clitics: [ɐ kɐ̯ːnt] ‘I sing’ - [t kɐ̯ːnt] ‘you sing’. Convergences in verb desinences that do not produce ambiguity between persons occur as a result of analogy, which is determined by the principle of linguistic economy. For example, the different forms of the first person plural desinence have been narrowed down to one in every tense and mood: present and future indicative -[ɪmˑ], imperfect indicative -[iːmji], present subjunctive and imperative -[ɪmˑɐ], imperfect subjunctive and conditional -[ɪʂ̯ˑmˑi]. These desinences also reflect the influence of metaphony on morphological analogy, given that all of them presuppose the generalization of thematic [i]. Morphonological phenomena may also be observed synchronically, as a constraint on proparoxytones is productive in prosodic words consisting of a verb plus enclitic, where posttonic verb morphemes are deleted. Thus, the inputs /tíra-la/ ‘pull it!’ and /kantíma-la/ ‘sing it!’ surface as [tiːr-lɐ] and [kɐntɪmˑ-lɐ]. The rule maintaining posttonic verb morphemes is also outranked by a ban on heavy atonic syllables in word-final position. Hence, the inputs /arandʒa-t/ ‘sort it out for yourself!’ and /tʃamɪma-l/ ‘let’s call him!’ surface as [ɐraːndʒ-ti] and [tʃɐmɪmˑ-lɪ].

Topics for Further Research

The most urgent exigencies concerning the study of moribund languages are documentation and the development of strategies of linguistic ecology. Fortunately, in recent years non-specialists have provided valuable audiovisual documentation which has yet to be analyzed by dialectologists. One such resource is a brief television documentary series in which Checco Guidi conducts interviews entirely in dialect with people who practice traditional trades. This series is of particular ethnographic value since it records obsolescent terminologies which are part of an historical lexicon on the brink of oblivion (Foresti viii). In addition, the local television station San Marino RTV holds the taped broadcasts of several dialectal plays in its archives. Among important written attestations of the vernacular awaiting analysis, the poems of Giacomo Martelli and Francesco Balsimelli's *La nuova commedia* remain in manuscript form (Foresti 41-42).

These non-specialized documents must be complemented by dialectological field research. For instance, a sub-regional (ideally audio) linguistic atlas could be compiled of the varieties spoken in the Republic and its environs. The collection of additional phonological and morphosyntactic data from the area would provide us with a better knowledge of the Borderline Romagnol diasystem which Delmonte has identified.

Preliminary data suggests that it would be possible to draw a more complete linguistic map with more precise isoglosses even for the Republic itself, which has at least four dialectal groups. This dissertation provides ample evidence in support of the principal dichotomy between Southwestern and Northeastern varieties, but only a few observations regarding the traits which set the historically urban dialect and Serravallese apart from their respective groups. Continued gathering and examination of synchronic and historical data may provide more evidence in favor of this classification.

The division between the Southwestern and Northeastern varieties seems to be further corroborated in several points of variation. For example, Serravallese displays a secondary wave of metaphony in semilearned words ([miʒiːrjɐ] ‘poverty’, [ʂiːrjɐ] ‘serious [f. sg.]’) which is absent from Southwestern Sammarinese ([miʒeːrjɐ], [ʂeːrjɐ]). A related tendency involves leveling of internal flexion in verbs, where Serravallese generalizes metaphonic /i/ ([t kriːd], ‘you [sg.] believe’, [ɛ kriːd] ‘he believes’) while Southwestern dialects favor /e/ ([t kreːd], [ɛ kreːd] ‘he believes’). The two areas also appear to be distinguished by the outcome of secondary word-final [m], which is more likely to be preserved and geminated in Southwestern Sammarinese (FŪMU > [fʊmˑ] ‘smoke’), while in the Northeast the bilabial consonant is retracted to [n] due to nasalization of the preceding tonic vowel ([fuːn]). Reliable historical evidence is needed in order to confirm Marino Rossi’s assertion that in Serravallese the dental affricates [θ ð] persisted in their original positions as late as the early twentieth century before succumbing to the alveopalatal affricates [tʃ dʒ] (“Noterelle”). Such a conclusion would be consistent with the Northeastern dialects’ greater affinity with the Romagnol varieties of the Po Valley, which is underscored by the treatment of past participles. That is to say, whereas Southwestern Sammarinese consistently shows agreement between the past participle and the subject or direct object, Serravallese oscillates between inflected and invariable past participles.

By and large, the historically urban dialect shows the same phonetic characteristics as the rest of the Southwest. However, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century texts as well as the limited synchronic data collected thus far suggest that a significant amount of variation exists between the two sub-varieties. For instance, the urban dialect displays extensive leveling of declensional internal flexion in favor of the singular output and an absence of U-metaphony:

NŎVU > *nov* ‘new’, DERĔTRO > *indrè* ‘back’ (cf. rural [nuːv], [indriˑɐ]). The neutralization of the contrast between the front vowels and /a/ in atonicity before syllable-final sonorants ([tʃɐrˈvɛ̝ːl] ‘brain’) also appears to be absent from the dialect of Borgo and Città (*cirvèl*). Several differences between the historically rural and urban varieties reflect the latter’s susceptibility to influences from the Po Valley. These include the generalization of [mɪ] to the detriment of the original subject pronoun [iˑɐ], a slight tendency toward resyllabifying unacceptable word-final consonant clusters by vowel anaptyxis (*Chèsul* ‘Casole’ [toponym], *pericul* ‘danger’, *inciòster* ‘ink’, *gèner* ‘son-in-law’, *fèghet* ‘liver’), and a few verb forms (*a i era* ‘I was’, *a starìn* ‘we would be’). Additionally, the urban dialect appears more disposed to encliticizing the subject pronoun to the verb in interrogative sentences. However, it remains to be determined whether this construction is productive or belongs to a closed class of fossilized expressions. There is also evidence of word-final [iɐ̯] and [uɐ̯] being monophthonged to [iː] and [uː], which would further distinguish the urban variety from other Southwestern dialects.

Within the rural Southwest, the informant for Chiesanuova presented conspicuous idiosyncrasies such as raising of /ɔ/ to [o̝] (*-ŎCLU > [rɐˈno̝ːtʃ] ‘frog’), dissimilation of the nucleus in the diphthong [ɛi̯] ([vɐi̯ñ] ‘wine’), and devoicing of word-final obstruents ([prɛ̝ːt] ‘meadow’).

The Northeastern group is unified by its internal flexion configurations and a few other historical phonological developments. The most conspicuous point of divergence is /e/, which is realized as [oi̯] in Serravallese and [eː] elsewhere in the Northeast. However, additional phonological and morphological similarities and differences between Serravallese and the other Northeastern dialects need to be identified. For example, it remains to be established whether

Serravallese's asymmetrical nasalized vowel configuration ([a ɛ e] > [ɛ̰], [i] > [o̰i̯]) is representative of the entire Northeast.

Other points of phonological variation whose diatopic distribution is yet to be determined include the outcome of -VR-, that of -L- before labial and velar consonants (PŬLVĔRE > [pɐlˑvrɐ] [po̰i̯brɐ] 'dust'), and neutralization versus preservation of the contrast between /ɪ ʊ/ ~ /ɛ ɔ/ ([s̰ɪ] [s̰ɛ] 'yes', [fʊmˑ] [fɔmˑ] 'smoke'). Morphological forms showing geographic variation include verb desinences and personal pronouns ([loːr] [luˈiːlt] 'they, them').

In addition to diatopic variants, complementary allophones also merit further attention. Oral data needs to be examined by computer speech analysis in order to accurately identify complementary allophones whose description evades the means of the impressionistic method used for this study. For example, /ɛː/ seems to be realized as a falling diphthong ([eɐ̯]) when it directly precedes or follows a dorsal consonant. Partial devoicing of word-final obstruents needs to be documented with accuracy. It needs to be established whether place assimilation of nasal consonants crosses word boundaries only in function words or also in lexical words. Furthermore, this dissertation did not explore the possibility that both vowels and consonants may have three degrees of phonetic quantity, which Hajek observes in urban Bolognese ("Analisi," "First," "How"). Nor did this thesis investigate the possibility of a discrepancy between perceived and measured consonant length, which Uguzzoni and Busà observe in Frignanese ("Acoustic," "Correlati"). Moreover, phonetic measurements are needed in order to confirm the observations made in this dissertation regarding vowel and consonant length. Another factor involved in phonological variation is prosody, which often neutralizes distinctions in vowel quantity and quality.

Morphological traits which are representative of all Sammarinese dialects also await systematic documentation. For instance, a full perspective is lacking of clitic allomorphs and clusters, both proclitic ([lɐ m i faˑ] ‘she makes them [m.] for me’) and enclitic ([faː-mji] ‘make them [m.] for me’), as well as of their relationship with constraints on syllabification. Preliminary data suggests that when two pronouns are encliticized to a verb or a single pronoun is encliticized to a verb ending in an unsyllabifiable consonant cluster, the hierarchically important prosodic ban on proparoxytones appears to yield to morphosyntactic necessity. In addition, compared to Italian, Sammarinese presents some variation in clitic order as well as limitations on the combinations of clitics that are permitted.

The use of subject clitics also has not been described exhaustively, as phonological and morphosyntactic rules governing their appearance and omission need to be established. A more complete picture of subject clitic behavior is indispensable in order to assess whether they are flexional affixes or pronouns. To this end, it would also be useful to examine the norms governing when verbs and subject clitics agree with post-posed nominal subjects: [u m fa mɛ̯ːl tʊtˑ ɐʌ ɔːs̯i] ‘all my bones hurt’.

Among other peculiarities involving verb syntax, different types of constructions with dependent infinitives need to be documented, which are often governed by a preposition: *ho vest a caschè ‘na stela* ‘I saw a star fall’ (G. Guidi 18), [faː-m ɐ veːdɐ] ‘let me see!’. In compound tenses, the choice of the auxiliary verb is subject to oscillation in impersonal and pronominal verbs as well as in modal constructions: [lɐ m a piˈʒuːd klɐ bɪrˑɐ] ‘I liked that beer’, [lɐ s̯ a vɛθˑɐ lɐ kɛ̯ːprɐ] ‘the goat has grown accustomed’, [ɐ m s̯ɔ dɐ rɐs̯eˈɲɛ̯ː] ‘I have to resign myself’.

In addition to their involvement in constructions with dependent infinitives, prepositions show various idiosyncrasies in terms of complementary distribution. One rule that needs to be clarified is that which dictates the alternation between the prepositions /a/ and /ma/ (< MEDIO-AD) in locative expressions. The dative preposition also governs nominal direct objects reduplicated by a direct object pronoun: [ɐ l ʂɐˈluːt mɐ luː] ‘I greet him’.

Other phenomena which are documented by extensive data present intriguing theoretical questions. As far as diachronic phonological developments are concerned, additional aspects of the relationship between vowel height and syllabic context in determining vowel length require discussion. For instance, only [a] yields long outcomes in all syllabic contexts, while the low-mid vowels [ɛ ɔ] give long outputs everywhere except in oxytones and syncopated proparoxytones. Interestingly, low-mid [ɛ ɔ] are the same vowels that produce divergent systems of internal flexion in declension. Another question arises from the fact that tonic vowels are lengthened before both voiced and voiceless syllable-final liquids (HĚRBA > [ɛ̨ːrbɐ] ‘grass’), before voiceless syllable-final nasals (TĚMPU > [tɛ̨ːmp] ‘time; weather’), but not before voiced syllable-final nasals (*TĚNDA > [tɛnˑdɐ] ‘curtain’). It was not always the case that the same tonic vowel underwent divergent evolutions before voiced and devoiced nasal consonants. In fact, the front vowels [i e ɛ] and the back vowels [ɔ o u] initially merged into [e] and [o], respectively, before all nasal consonants. Subsequently, a new set of conditions determined that [e] and [o] would produce short outcomes before nasal geminates and nasal + voiced consonant clusters while yielding long outputs in all other pre-sonorant positions.

Constraints on consonant clusters and syllable structure as well as their relationship with segment deletion, epenthesis, and fricative hardening are yet to be defined thoroughly. For

instance, the preservation (VESTĪTU > [viʂˈtiːd] ‘dress, suit’) versus deletion (*TĪRĀRE > [tɽɐːɾ] ‘to pull; throw’) of pretonic vowels appears to follow rather consistent rules in Borderline Romagnol as opposed to being simply the result of Italianization. Phonological rules which explain the various developments of syllable-final [l] and the redistribution of its outcomes also need to be identified. A thorough morphonological analysis is needed in order to explain the evolution of infinitive desinences, which, unlike other morphemes, have dropped final [r]. Furthermore, it remains unclear as to whether the final [ɐ] of originally proparoxytonic infinitives (MĬTTĔRE > [mɛtˑɐ] ‘to put’) derives directly from the desinence or arises by paragoge. With respect to synchronic phonology, more research is needed in order to determine the norms which govern the distribution of the alveolar and postalveolar variants of /s z/ in Southwestern Sammarinese.

An analysis of nineteenth-century texts and comparison with related dialects might determine the lexical graduation of the feminine singular desinence -a and feminine plural -i. Bolognese, Lughese, and Ravennate have generalized these desinences only to adjectives and declinable nouns, a stage of development which may have characterized Sammarinese. Given that desinences are often functionally redundant, it remains to be determined whether the extension of -i to all feminine nouns and adjectives reflects the difference between Borderline and Central Romagnol prosody.

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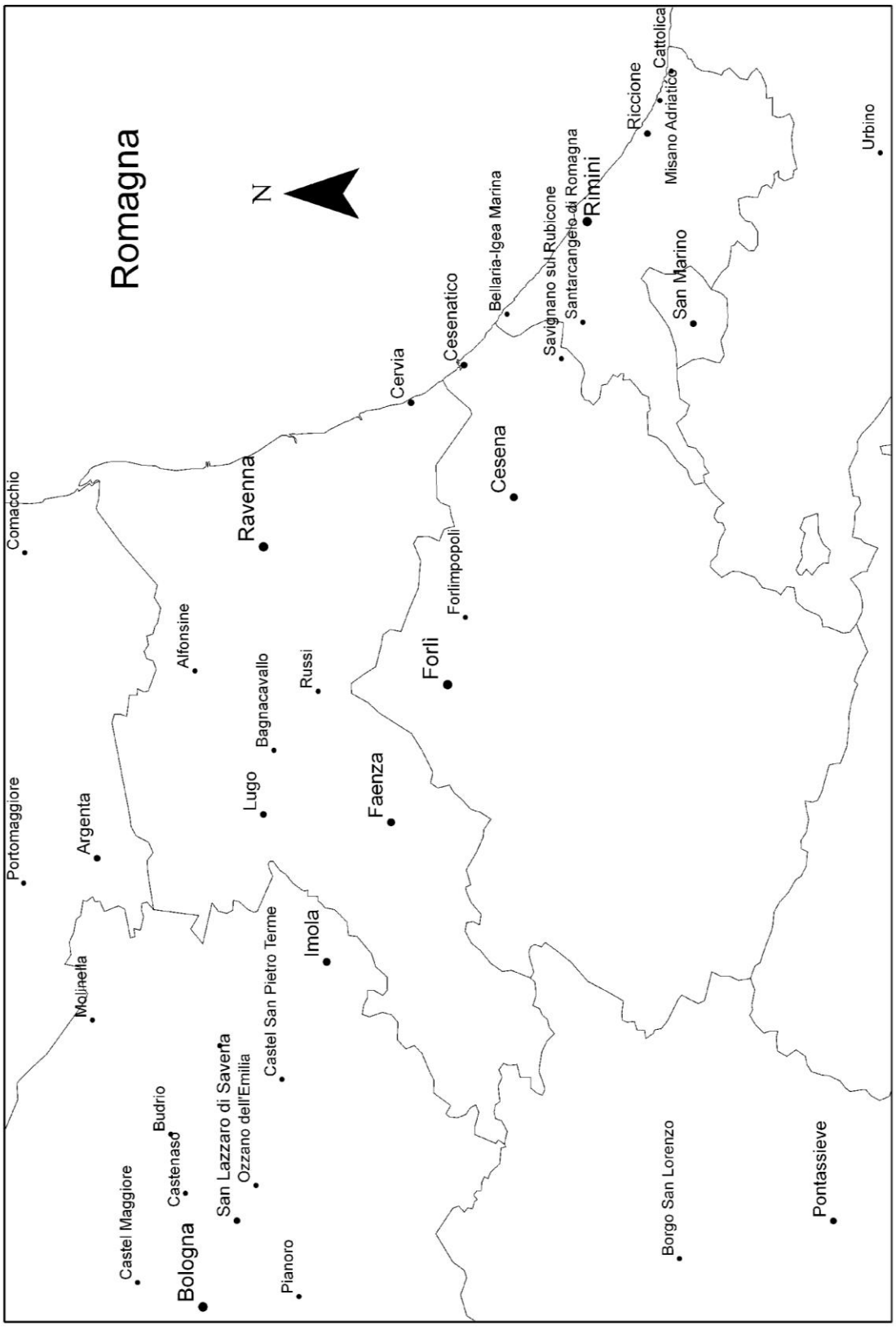
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Map of Romagna



Source: ESRI Data & Maps [CD-ROM] (2004).

Map of San Marino

Source: Edwards and Michaelides, comps. *San Marino*. Oxford: Clio, 1996, p. 101.

