CHAPTER 12

Romansh (Rumantsch)

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12.1 Introduction

The topic of this chapter is a cluster of linguistic varieties spoken in the Swiss canton of Graubünden (*Grischun*, *Grisons*, *Grigioni*), as shown in Map 12.1. Collectively, these are referred to locally as Rumantsch, with alternative spellings such as 'Romontsch' and (in English) 'Romansh'; within the valley of the Engadin the language is known as 'Ladin'. This chapter uses the local name, 'Rumantsch'. Following Ascoli (1873) and Gartner (1883), Rumantsch is often grouped with Friulian and Ladin (see especially Chs 10, 11) as a Raeto-Romance branch of Romance. While there are similarities among these languages, and a degree of mutual intelligibility, there is no significant evidence (from characteristic shared innovations) that this is a distinct historical unit within Romance. See Haiman and Benincà (1992) for discussion.[1]

Since 1938, Rumantsch has been one of Switzerland's four national languages; but until a referendum of 1996 it was not an official language, and its real status is not obvious either in principle or in practice. It is not the equal of German, French, or Italian in significant respects such as education and public administration. In the 1990 census, about 66,000 people indicated Rumantsch as the language of which they had the best command or which they most used, and of those some 41,000 lived in Graubünden. Virtually all are at least bilingual—mostly in German (Swiss German and/or High German), though Italian is important in parts of the canton.

Five Rumantsch varieties possess established written standards. From west to east, these are Surselvan (in Oberwald, southwest of Chur; cf. Spescha 1989), Sutselvan (in Nidwald, south of Chur), Surmiran (in Surmeir, including Oberhalbstein and Unterhalbstein, southeast of Chur; cf. Grisch 1939; Thöni 1969; Signorell et al. 1987), Puter ('upper' Ladin, in the upper Engadine valley; cf. Scheitlin 1962; Ganzoni 1977) and Vallader ('lower' Ladin, in the lower Engadine; cf. Arquint 1964; Ganzoni 1983). This division considerably understates the internal diversity within Rumantsch. For example, within Surmiran the speech of Vaz (Ebneter 1981; 1994) and of Bergün (Lutta 1923) both differ in important ways, phonologically and lexically, from that spoken in Salouf and Savognin, which is the basis of written Surmiran (codified in large part by Signorell et al. 1987). The language of Val Mustair, in the far southeast of the Engadine, is quite different from the Vallader of the main valley and from other forms of Rumantsch (Schorta 1938), and there is diversity within the other major areas as well.

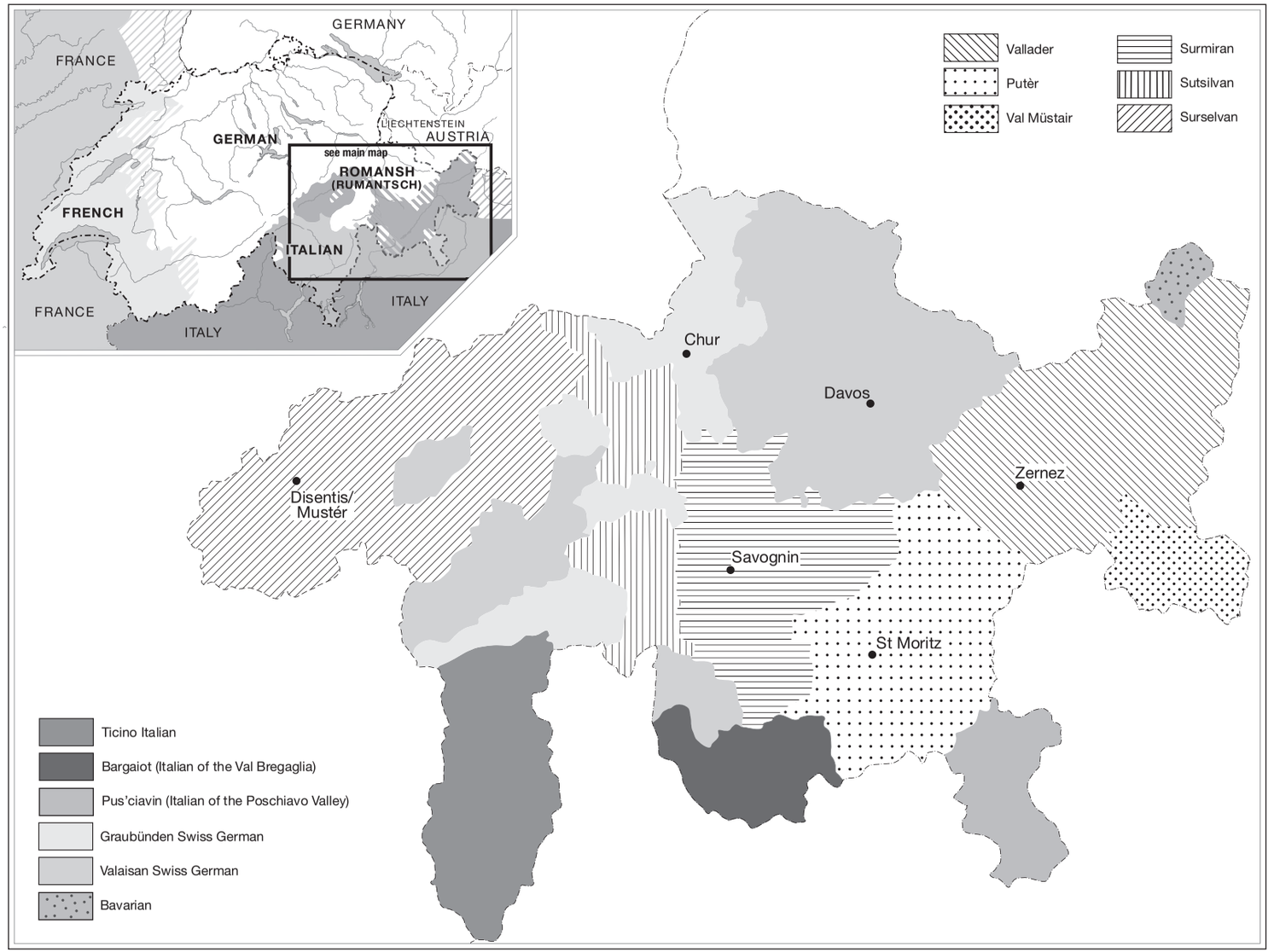
In addition to the numerous local varieties (and multiple literary standards), there is 'Rumantsch Grischun', which aspires to be a pan-dialectal standard. This language was created by the Romance philologist Heinrich Schmid in 1982 on the basis of six months' work. Schmid, not himself a Rumantsch speaker, constructed Rumantsch Grischun primarily on the basis of forms from Surselvan, Surmiran, and Vallader, minimizing irregularity and reconciling differences among the sources by a sort of 'majority rule'. The result has been widely accepted by non-Rumantsch speakers in Switzerland as a way to avoid choosing one form of the language over others.

Within the canton of Graubünden, there has been a concerted effort to impose Rumantsch Grischun as a literary and official standard, and to introduce it in schools in place of local varieties. On the basis of referenda this was done in some 40 (of 81) communes in Rumantsch-speaking areas between 2007 and 2009, although at least 15 have since returned to the use of local forms. Among Rumantsch speakers, there has been very considerable resistance to Rumantsch Grischun. School children in particular find it an imposition to have to learn this language, which is not the spoken language of their relatives and the surrounding community, and has no substantial traditional literature. Rumantsch is therefore unusual in being endangered both from without (by German) and from within (by an artificial standard perceived to have minimal relevance or utility).

This chapter cannot do justice to the full variety of 'Rumantsch'. The treatment of various areas of structure will be based primarily on Surmiran, which in many

[1] An excellent description of the social and linguistic situation is Bradley (forthcoming); more extensive discussion is in Haiman and Benincà (1992) (though this is to some extent out of date and not always reliable in detail), Haiman (1988), and Liver (2010). A description for non-specialists with a bias toward the position of the Lia Rumantscha (major supporters of Rumantsch Grischun) is in Gross (2004).

The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages. Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maiden (eds)



Map 12.1 Languages of Canton Graubünden (Switzerland)

respects falls between Surselvan and Sutselvan on the one hand and the Ladin varieties of the Engadine on the other, both linguistically and geographically.

12.2 Phonology

The most remarkable aspect of the phonology is the extent to which a variety of originally phonological processes have been replaced by a system of lexically specified stem alternations conditioned by stress.

12.2.1 Vowels

The vowels of stressed syllables in Surmiran are shown in Table 12.1.

The distinction between [e] and [ɛ] is not generally indicated orthographically, although it is the basis of contrasts. Open mid vowels are, however indicated in opposition to closed in some frequent words forming minimal pairs: e.g. *cò* [kɔ] 'here', *co* [ko] 'where?'; *èra* [ˈɛrə] 'age', *era* [ˈerə] 'was'.

There is a contrast between long and short vowels, though the standard orthographies are not consistent in indicating it. In general, stressed vowels are lengthened in open syllables and before final [l] and [r], but short in other closed syllables. Stressed short vowels in open syllables occur, however, in which case they are indicated orthographically by gemination of the following consonant. The lengths sometimes contrast, but this is indicated orthographically only in a limited set of minimal pairs: e.g. *êr* [eːr] 'field', *er* [er] 'also'; *gôt* [goːt] 'woods', *got* [got] 'drop'; *îgl* [iːʎ] 'eye', *igl* [iʎ] 'the.MSG'. Rumantsch vowel length requires further investigation.

The stressed vowel systems of the other varieties are largely similar. Surselvan lacks the contrast [o]/[ɔ], but adds a contrast between tense [u] and lax [ʊ]. Sutselvan has this and also a contrast between tense [i] and lax [ɪ]. The Engadine dialects add the front rounded vowels [y] and [œ] to the Surmiran system.

In addition to (short and long) vowels, Surmiran has a number of diphthongs: falling [aj, aw, ej, ɛj, oj, ow, ɔw, iə] and rising [io, iu, ua], as well as triphthongs [jej, joj, jow]. Slightly different inventories are found in the other varieties.

Unstressed syllables generally contain only short [ə] (written *a* or *e*), [ĭ] or [ŭ], though unstressed mid vowels are also found. These differences are connected with the system of stem alternation described in §12.2.4. Unstressed [ɛ] and [ɔ] are largely limited to the unstressed stem corresponding to a stressed stem with long stressed (open or closed) similar mid vowels. Roughly two dozen verbs (of several hundred) with stressed [ˈɛ] or [ˈɔ] show an unstressed vowel with the same quality, while in a few verbs, unstressed [ĕ] alternates with [ˈaj] or [ˈej].

Table 12.1 The vowels of stressed syllables of Surmiran

	[−BACK −ROUND]	CENTRAL	[+BACK +ROUND]
high	i		u
closed mid	e		o
open mid	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

12.2.2 Consonants

The consonant systems of all forms of Rumantsch are roughly the same, as illustrated for Surmiran in Table 12.2.

Distributionally, in syllable-final position [ŋ] appears to the near exclusion of [n], although a few instances of syllable-final [n] are found as the reflex of original long -nn- (*onn* [ɔn] 'year' < ANNUM). Otherwise [ŋ] appears only as a result of the assimilation of [n] to a following velar, with one exception: in the paradigm of *bung* [buŋ] 'good', the final [ŋ] is often extended to intervocalic position in the feminine singular *buna/bunga*, suggesting a least a minimal contrastive value for [n] vs [ŋ].

Obstruents are devoiced word-finally and assimilate in voicing to following obstruents. Before another consonant, [s] is replaced by [ʃ], which assimilates to [ʒ] before voiced obstruents. An exception is the second person singular verb ending *-st*, which is [st]; this probably reflects the origin of this ending as *-s* with subsequent incorporation of a clitic pronominal element *-t*.

12.2.3 Prosody: syllable structure and stress

Montreuil (1999) describes a range of phenomena relating to syllables, syllabification, and the stress pattern of Rumantsch, on the basis of a Surselvan form of the language (Caduff 1952). That description is largely applicable elsewhere in Rumantsch.

Most of the consonants in Table 12.2 can serve as onsets, except for [ʤ], [ɲ], and [ŋ]. Onset clusters consist of stop or fricative followed by [l], [r], or velar stop plus [w]; [ʃ] followed by [p, t, ʧ, k, f, m, n, r] or the corresponding voiced clusters with [ʒ] followed by [m, n, r]. Combinations with pre-consonantal [ʃ] and post-consonantal sonorant are limited to [ʃpr, ʃpl, ʃtr, ʃkr].

Table 12.2 The consonant system of Surmiran

	LABIAL	DENTAL	PALATAL	MEDIO-PALATAL	VELAR	LARYNGEAL
stops	p b	t d			k g	
affricates		ʦ	ʨ ʤ	ʧ		
fricatives	f v	s z		ʃ ʒ		h
nasals	m	n	ɲ		ŋ	
laterals		l	ʎ			
rhotic		r				

Codas exclude single voiced obstruents and [h], although voiced codas are found in a few words of learnèd origin (e.g. *diagnosa* 'diagnosis'), and also arise word-internally by assimilation to a following voiced onset (e.g. *masdar* [məz ˈdar] 'mix.INF'). A small set of coda clusters consisting of liquid or nasal plus consonant, or [ʃ] plus stop, are found. However, word-final *-s* can be found in inflected forms following any possible coda, including sibilants: *igl codesch* [iʎ ˈkɔdɛʃ] 'the book', *igls codeschs* [iʎs ˈkɔdɛʃs] 'the books'. These final segments are evidently outside the scope of the basic syllable.

Primary stress is to be seen as the formation of a quantity-sensitive trochee at the right edge of the word. The descriptive generalization for Surmiran is given in (1).

(1) Main stress falls on the penult if the rhyme of the final syllable consists of [ə], possibly followed by [r], [l] [n], or [s]. If the final rhyme contains another vowel, or [ə] followed by some other consonant, main stress falls on this syllable instead.

The notion of weak final syllable implicit here can be rationalized in part on the basis of the language's phonology. First, we can note the suggestion that final [s] is not part of the syllable, but an appendix, and so the final sequence [əs] characterizes a syllable whose rhyme is simply [ə]. With respect to rhymes consisting of ə plus [r], [l], or [n], Kamprath (1988) and Montreuil (1999) treat the [ə] as epenthetic. On this analysis, a word like *pader* [ˈpadər] 'father' is phonologically /padr/, and forms a monosyllabic trochee, expanded by epenthesis. In this case, the only weak syllables that need to be recognized are ones whose rhyme consists simply of [ə].

The epenthesis analysis is not straightforward. To achieve the desired effect of removing final syllables like that of *pader* from consideration, stress must evidently be assigned to forms to which epenthesis has not (yet) applied. The syllables making up inflectional suffixes count as present for the assignment of stress (thus *cant-a* [ˈkantə] '((s)he) sings', but *cantess* [kənˈtɛs] '(he) would sing'), which implies that epenthesis should apply to stressed, inflected forms.

However, this leads to problems in analysing the first person singular present indicative of Surmiran verbs whose stem ends in a cluster of consonant plus [r], [l], or [n] such as *pavl-ar* 'feed.INF'. This form within the paradigm has no suffix, and thus for such a verb the relevant shape is monosyllabic *pavl* [pafl] '(I) feed' (with final devoicing); compare the disyllabic third person singular form *pavla* [ˈpavlə] '((s)he) feeds'. The epenthesis rule ought to apply to the first person singular form, but does not. Consequently, there is a minimal contrast with the noun *pavel* [ˈpavəl] 'fodder', apparently built on the same root. Kamprath (1988) discusses several possible ways to derive the contrast between *pavl* 'I feed' and *pavel* 'fodder', though all have problems. Depending on the theory one adopts of the interaction among phonological and morphological regularities, it may be possible to eliminate this apparent difficulty and treat the [ə] vowels in final weak syllables as epenthetic; regardless of that, the descriptive generalization in (1) remains valid.

12.2.4 Alternations

Aside from a limited set of low-level adjustments such as final devoicing and voicing assimilation in clusters, the most striking differences between alternating forms built on the same stem depend on the location of stress in the resulting word. Comparing forms such as *cantar* [kənˈtar] 'sing.INF', *canta* [ˈkantə] '(s)he.sings'; *sgular* [ʒgʊˈlar] ' fly.INF', *sgola* [ˈʒgolə] '(s)he.flies', it might appear that what is at stake is simply vowel reduction in unstressed syllables (see e.g. Kamprath 1988:214). However, as argued in Anderson (2008; 2011; 2013), while the kind of vowel reduction Kamprath (and others) describe is real, it is complicated in the modern language by the effects of various other sound changes. A great many (discussed in e.g. Lutta 1923, Grisch 1939, Haiman and Benincà 1992, Eichenhofer 1999) have affected stressed and unstressed vowels differently, leading

to patterns of alternation that cumulate simple reduction with much other variation, so that in the modern languages it is no longer possible to tease these various changes apart as distinct regularities.

The result is a system in which essentially every stem of a 'content' word has two distinct forms, depending on whether primary word stress (as governed by the generalization in (1)) falls on the stem or on an ending. In some instances, the difference is as simple as the alternation illustrated by the forms of *cantar* just given, but in others it is less direct. Consider Table 12.3 (where stress is indicated by a written accent, although this is not an orthographical convention).

Even when the difference between the two forms of a stem only involves the quality of a single vowel, the 'vowel reduction' account is insufficient. Given any specific stressed vowel, it is impossible to predict which of the three unstressed qualities [ĭ, ă, ŭ] corresponds, and given any unstressed vowel, it is impossible to predict the corresponding stressed vowel. The result is that stems must be listed with two possible phonetic forms, where the choice between these can only be made once the stem is combined with other morphological material and the location of primary stress determined (in accord with (1)). Such a system of phonologically conditioned allomorphy is undoubtedly as extensive as any found in any of the world's languages, since it pervades the lexicon.

The argument (Maiden 2011a) that this pattern may not represent phonologically conditioned allomorphy but is part of the morphology of the verb (along the lines of 'L-pattern' and 'N-pattern' regularities demonstrated by Maiden for other Romance languages; see §43.2.3-4) is not, in my view (see e.g. Anderson 2013), correct for Surmiran nor for other forms of Rumantsch. Given the transparently phonological conditioning factor of stress, I maintain that this must trump an analysis in terms of an arbitrary list of verb categories in which the 'stressed' vs 'unstressed' allomorph of a stem should appear. Indeed, the same set of regularities extends well beyond the verb to include nominal forms. Where the stem in question appears in the formation both of verbs and of nouns, the same alternations generally appear; in other items, there is no corresponding verb, but an alternation of a type appearing in some verbs nonetheless characterizes stressed vs unstressed forms, as shown in Table 12.4.

Table 12.3 Stem forms and stress in Surmiran

INF	3SG.PRS.IND	
smarschanár	*smarschúnga*	'loaf'
flammagér	*flommégia*	'blaze'
misirár	*maséira*	'measure'
murmagnér	*marmógna*	'murmur'
luvrár	*lavóura*	'work'
sgarmár	*sgróma*	'de-cream (milk)'

Anderson (2013) shows that the arguments for this position also extend to forms of Rumantsch beyond Surmiran, so that the pattern of phonologically conditioned allomorphy is apparently a general fact about Rumantsch.

Another notable pattern of alternation is a relation between certain diphthongs and sequences of simple vowel plus a velar stop, in pairs such as *peirer* [ˈpɛirər] 'pear tree', *peir* [pɛkr] 'pear'. The development of a velar stop from the second element of a diphthong (often referred to in German as *Verschärfung*) is found sporadically in Romance languages (cf. §20.2.6), and also in Germanic (e.g. Faroese: Anderson 1974).

Forms with *Verschärfung* are traditionally found in some varieties of Surmiran and in Puter and Vallader. Their

Table 12.4 Stress-related stem alternations in Surmiran

VERB		OTHER FORMS	
STRESSED STEM	UNSTRESSED STEM	STRESSED STEM	UNSTRESSED STEM
barschúnga 'brush'	*burschanár* 'brush.INF'	*barschúng* 'brush (N)'	*burschanéda* '(process of) brushing'
gótta 'drips3SG.PRS'	*guttár* 'drip.INF'	*gót* 'drop (N)'	*gutélla* 'drip (N), (eye)drop' *guttaráda* 'sudden snow-melt'
léia 'binds3SG.PRS'	*liiér* 'bind.INF'	*léia* 'union, alliance' *leiabarschúng* 'brush-binder'	*liadéira* '(ski) binding' *lióm* 'string; garter'
néiver 'snow.INF' *néiv* 'snow.3SG.PRS'	*navía* 'snow.PST.PTCP'	*néiv* 'snow'	*naváglia* 'big snowfall' *naváda* '(lots of) snow'
tóffa 'stink.3SG.PRS'	*tuffár* 'stink.INF'	*tóf* 'fart'	*tuffóus* 'stinky'
		méir 'wall'	*miráglia* 'walling, stonework' *miráder* 'wall-maker'
		déir 'hard'	*diráglia* 'hardness' *dirézza* 'very hard'
		fréid 'cold (N, A)'	*fardáglia* 'great cold' *fardóur* 'coolness'

distribution in the Bravuogn form of Surmiran is discussed by Kamprath (1987). The 'standard' Surmiran spoken around Savognin no longer displays *Verschärfung*, although some conservative speakers produce such forms, and are familiar with the alternation as a systematic pattern. For one speaker from Salouf, for example, the diphthongs [ɛi] and [ɔu] yield [ɛk] and [ɔk], respectively, in closed syllables: e.g. [a bun ənsˈvɛkr] for *a bun ans veir* 'to good us= see.INF (= au revoir)!' and [flɔkr] for *flour* 'flower'. Speakers recognize such forms as traditional, and one does not hear them in everyday speech.

12.3 Morphology

12.3.1 Inflection: nouns and adjectives

Nouns have gender (masculine or feminine), and the only inflectional category overtly marked on most is number. General across Rumantsch is the plural marker *-s* (lost after stem-final /s/) for masculine and feminine nouns, articles, and adjectives. Thus the Surmiran forms in Table 12.5.

A few nouns have irregular plural stems: *igl om* 'the man' vs PL *igls omens*, *igl pe* 'the foot' vs PL *igls peis*. While marking of plural is particularly simple in Surmiran, in Surselvan a number of masculine nouns have different stems in the plural, as shown in Table 12.6.

Adjective inflection is generally straightforward. In Surmiran, the feminine is formed from the masculine by adding *-a*. Adjectives ending in a weak syllable (/ə/ followed by /r, l, n/) show only the consonant before the feminine ending (*pover/povna* 'poor'; *stanchel/stancla* 'tired'); an adjective ending in a vowel may have a distinct, consonant-final stem in the feminine (*blo/blava* 'blue'). Verb participles and related adjectives have more elaborate gender marking (see §12.3.2).

Adjectives are also marked as plural by adding *-s*. In Surselvan, some adjectives display stem alternations similar to those in Table 12.6 between the masculine singular on the one hand and the masculine plural and feminine on the other, shown in Table 12.7.

Surselvan notably also distinguishes (masculine singular) adjectives used attributively from those appearing predicatively. In adjectives showing stem alternation such as in Table 12.8, the predicative form is built from the stem found in the plural and the feminine, with the addition of *-s*.

An additional complication (still limited to Surselvan) is the fact that adjectives predicated of an expression that does not refer to an individual take the same form as the attributive masculine singular, while the distinctive predicative form illustrated in Table 12.8 is limited to predications of individuals: *quel/igl ei bien* 'that/it.IMPERS is good' vs *quel ei buns* 'that one.MSG is good'.

Table 12.5 Plural-marking with *-s* in Surmiran

GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
M	*igl giat*	*igls giats*	'the cat'
M	*igl vistgia*	*igls vistgias*	'the article of clothing'
F	*la donna*	*las donnas*	'the woman'
F	*la difficultad*	*las difficultads*	'the difficulty'
M	*igl codesch*	*igls codeschs*	'the book'
M	*igl curs*	*igls curs*	'the course'

Table 12.6 Surselvan stem alternations in masculine plurals

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
iert	*orts*	'garden'
iev	*ovs*	'egg'
migiel	*migeuls*	'(drinking) glass'
vierm	*viarms*	'worm'
utschi	*ustchals*	'bird'

Table 12.7 Surselvan stem alternations in adjectives

	SG	PL	
M	*bien*	*buns*	'good'
F	*buna*	*bunas*	
M	*tgietschen*	*cotschens*	'red'
F	*cotschna*	*cotschnas*	
M	*schliet*	*schliats*	'bad'
F	*schliata*	*schliatas*	
M	*tschiec*	*tschocs*	'blind'
F	*tschocca*	*tschoccas*	

Table 12.8 Object clitics

	FREE FORM	OBJECT CLITIC	REFLEXIVE CLITIC
1SG	*me*	*am*	*ma*
2SG	*tè*	*at*	*ta*
3SG.M	*el*	*igl*	*sa*
3SG.F	*ella*	*la*	*sa*
1PL	*nous*	*ans*	*ans*
2PL	*vous*	*az*	*az*
3PL.M	*els*	*igls*	*sa*
3PL.F	*ellas*	*las*	*sa*

12.3.2 Inflection: verbs

Most verbs in Surmiran fall into one of six classes (cf. Table 12.9), distinguished on the basis of the infinitive suffix and certain other suffixes.

Verbs agree with their subject in person and number. (Synthetic) finite forms are the present, imperfect, and future indicative, present and imperfect subjunctive, and the imperative (with second person singular, second person plural, and first person plural forms).[2] A notable feature of Rumantsch is the fact that the subjunctive is used generally in clauses representing indirect speech. The imperfect subjunctive also serves as a conditional. Regular endings for these forms are as in Table 12.10.[3]

Although it has virtually disappeared from the spoken language, a synthetic (perfective) past definite form survives in literary Puter and Vallader. For periphrastic forms of the verb, see §12.4.2.

Within their paradigms, verbs display the pattern of stem alternation described in §12.2.4, depending on the difference between forms with stem stress and those with stress on the desinence. On the basis of the endings shown in Table 12.10, it will be seen that the only tenses within which alternation appears are the present indicative and the imperative. Given the basic principle of stress formulated in (1), in these paradigms the 'stressed' allomorph of the stem will appear in all singular forms and the third plural, with the 'unstressed' stem allomorph appearing in the first and second person plural forms. Other tenses display a consistent stem shape throughout: the present subjunctive has stem stress throughout and thus the 'stressed' allomorph, while the imperfect indicative, the future and the imperfect subjunctive (/conditional) uniformly stress the ending and show the 'unstressed' stem allomorph.

Table 12.9 Surmiran verb classes

INF		1PL.PRS	1SG.IPF	1SG.FUT	1SG.COND	PST.PTCP (M/FSG)
-ar [-ar]	*cantar* 'sing'	*-agn*	*-ava*	*-aro*	*-ess*	*-o/ada*
-er [-er]	*lascher* 'leave'	*-agn*	*-eva*	*-aro*	*-ess*	*-ea/eda*
-ier [-iər]	*spitgier* 'expect'	*-agn*	*-iva*	*-aro*	*-ess*	*-ia/eida*
-eir [-ɛjr]	*tameir* 'fear'	*-agn*	*-eva*	*-aro*	*-ess*	*-ia/eida*
-er [-ər]	*tanscher* 'reach'	*-agn*	*-eva*	*-aro*	*-ess*	*-ia/eida*
-eir [-ejr]	*parteir* 'depart'	*-ign*	*-iva*	*-iro*	*-iss*	*-ia/eida*

Table 12.10 Endings of Rumantsch synthetic verb forms

	PRS.IND	IPFV.IND	FUT.IND	PRS.SBJV	IPFV.SBJV	IMP
1SG	-Ø	-avə/ -evə/-ivə	-əro/-ǐro	-ə	-ɛs/-ɪs	
2SG	-əs	-avəs/ -evəs/-ivəs	-əros/ -ǐros	-əs	-ɛsəs/ -ɪsəs	-ə
3SG	-ə	-avə/-evə/ -ivə	-əro/-ǐro	-ə	-ɛs/-ɪs	
1PL	-aɲ/ -iɲ	-avən/ -evən/-ivən	-əron/ -ǐron	-ən	-ɛsən/ -ɪsən	-aɲ/ -iɲ
2PL	-ɛʦ/ ɪʦ	-avəs/ -evəs/-ivəs	-ərosəs/ -ǐrosəs	-əs	-ɛsəs/ -ɪsəs	-e/i
3PL	-ən	-avən/ -evən/-ivən	-əron/ -ǐron	-ən	-ɛsən/ -ɪsən	

A number of verbs in the conjugation classes marked by the infinitive endings [-ar] and [-ejr] do not show alternations in stem shape, but form their 'stressed' stem by adding the suffix *-esch* between the stem and the personal endings: e.g. *gratular/(el) gratulescha* 'congratulate.INF/(s)he.congratulates', *tradeir/(el) tradescha* 'betray.INF/(s)he.betrays'. Similar forms are found throughout Rumantsch; in Vallader, relevant verbs in *-ar* take *-esch* (e.g. *invidar/invidesscha* 'invite'), while those in *-ir* take the form *-isch* (e.g. *chapir/chapischa* 'understand'). This pattern is particularly common with borrowed words, for which it can be suggested that it allows speakers to avoid having to choose a particular stem-alternation pattern over others.

Non-finite forms include, in addition to the infinitive, the past participle and a present participle (or gerund) marked by *-ond*. All of these forms have primary stress on the ending, and thus are based on the 'unstressed' stem allomorph. Past participle forms when used attributively or under certain other circumstances (see §12.4.2.1) show agreement in gender by means of the endings in Table 12.9.

A large number of verbs display irregular inflection. For example, compare the Surmiran forms in Table 12.11.

12.3.3 Derivational morphology

Many nouns have, in addition to regular plurals in *-s*, an additional feminine singular collective form built with the

[2] Surselvan and Sutselvan, unlike Surmiran and the Engadine languages, have no synthetic future.

[3] Surselvan has a distinctive first person singular present and imperfect indicative ending *-el* (of unclear origin; but cf. §27.3).

Table 12.11 Irregular inflection in Surmiran verbs

	EIR 'go'	*NEIR* 'come'	(*VU*)*LEIR* 'want'	*DEIR* 'say'	*STAR* 'stay'	*SAVEIR* 'know'
1SG	*vign*	*vign*	*vi*	*dei*	*stung*	*sa*
2SG	*vast*	*vignst*	*vot*	*deist*	*stast*	*sast*
3SG	*vo*	*vign*	*vot*	*dei*	*stat*	*so*
1PL	*giagn*	*nign*	*lagn*	*schagn*	*stagn*	*savagn*
2PL	*gnez*	*niz*	*lez*	*schez*	*stez*	*savez*
3PL	*von*	*vignan*	*vottan*	*deian*	*stattan*	*son*

suffix *-a* (originally a neuter plural ending): e.g. *igl crap* 'the rock', *igls craps* 'the rocks', but *la crappa* 'the rocks (collective)'. For further discussion of this type of plural formation, see §41.4.

The most productive diminutive suffixes are *-ign/-igna* and *-et/-etta*: these differ in that the first indicates primarily that the referent is smaller than some norm (*om* 'man', *omign* 'little man'; *planta* 'plant', *plantigna* 'little plant'), while the second carries the additional sense of endearment (*omet* 'sweet little man', *(la) brev* 'letter', *brevetta* 'dear little note'). Similarly, of the two commonest augmentative suffixes, *-ung/-unga* implies that the referent is much larger than the norm (*omung* 'very large man, giant'; *tgesa* 'house', *tgesunga* 'huge house, mansion') while the other, *-atsch/-atscha*, carries a pejorative sense in addition to the notion that the referent is larger than normal (*omatsch* 'big, clumsy, misshapen man'; *ora* 'weather, storm', *oratscha* 'miserable, beastly weather'). In feminine nouns the sense of extreme size can be emphasized by treating the augmentative as masculine: *femna* 'woman'; *femnunga* 'strikingly large woman'; *(en) femnung* 'a truly huge woman'.

Comparatives and superlatives are formed analytically: *grond* 'large', *pi grond* 'more large (= larger)', *igl pi grond* lit. 'the more large (= largest)'. Two adjectives have synthetic (and suppletive) comparatives: *bung* 'good', *migler* 'better' and *schlet* 'bad', *mender* 'worse'.

In addition to a number of simple forms (e.g. *bagn* 'well', *adegna* 'always', *ansemen* 'together'), adverbs are freely formed from adjectives by addition of the suffix *-maintg*: *curt* 'short', *curtamaintg* 'shortly'; *spert* 'quick', *spertamaintg* 'quickly', etc. The suffix is added to the feminine form of the adjective, except in the case of polysyllabic adjectives ending in *-ar* or *-al*, where the masculine form serves as the base.

Rumantsch has extremely rich systems of spatial adverbs, referring to locations in terms of relative topographic position in the mountainous terrain in which they are spoken. This is documented in considerable detail by Ebneter (1994); see also §33.4 for examples.

Among many other types of verb derivation, is formation of causatives by the suffix *-antar*: e.g. *tascheir* 'to keep quiet', *taschantar* 'to silence'; *schalar* 'to feel cold, freeze', *schalantar* 'to make cold, freeze'; *bargeir* 'to cry', *sbargantar* 'to make someone cry'. This suffix can also derive factive verbs from other parts of speech: e.g. *rabgia* 'anger', *rabgiantar* 'to anger'; *stanchel* 'tired', *stanclantar* 'to tire someone out'. For stems ending in *-aint*, this syllable is replaced with *-antar*: *turmaint* 'torment (N)', *turmantar* 'to torment'; *cuntaint* 'pleased', *cuntantar* 'to satisfy'.

Apart from a small set of prefixes, suffixation is the primary mode of derivational word formation. There are also a number of patterns of compounding, although no substantial study of them exists (see Spescha 1989:176-94). Apparently very productive is the class of exocentric compounds with the shape $[[V][N]]_N$ as in It. *portalettere* lit. 'carry.letters (= postman)'. Many such compounds are found throughout Rumantsch. The order of the verb and nominal elements here is the opposite of the typical Germanic order in synthetic compounds. It is therefore noteworthy that Rumantsch consistently adapts compounds in the 'Romance' order: compare Ger. *Staubsauger* lit. 'dust. sucker (= vacuum cleaner)' with Surmiran *tschitschapolvra* 'lit' 'sucks.dust'. In such a case, a possible source was Italian (cf. *aspirapolvere* 'breathe.dust') Here the lexical composition of the form is German, but the structure is typically Romance. Also, the German structures tend to contain agentive nouns, whereas the Rumantsch (and wider Romance) structure is always verb + noun. Given the number of German loans in Rumantsch, it remains notable that compounds with the German order and structure are essentially non-existent.

12.4 Syntax

The varieties of Rumantsch differ in detail in their syntax. The focus here is Surmiran; for a description from the perspective of Surselvan, see Haiman and Benincà (1992), Liver (2010), and especially Spescha (1989). The discussion below concentrates on the most distinctive syntactic property of Rumantsch, namely that it is a verb-second language (cf. §§31.33, 62.5)—the only modern Romance language of this type, apart from some forms of Ladin subject to significant German influence (§11.5.3). Given the extensive contact with German, it is tempting to see this as a trait borrowed from that language, but other evidence suggests that V2 may be an older development entirely within Romance (Benincà 1985).

12.4.1 Nominal phrases

There are definite and indefinite articles (Sur. MSG *igl*, MPL *igls*, FSG *la*, FPL *las*, and MSG *en*, FSG *ena*, respectively; the indefinite article has no plural form); these are initial in the phrase except when preceded by a universal quantifier (e.g. *tot igls scolars* 'all the students') and agree in gender and number with the head noun. Demonstratives (*chel* 'this', *tschel* 'that', *lez* 'the same', and *tal* 'such a') occur in complementary distribution with the articles and agree in gender and number with the head, as do interrogatives (e.g. *qual/quals/qualla/quallas* 'which'), indefinite quantifiers (e.g. *bler* 'many'), and possessives. The possessive is accompanied by the article: *igl mies codesch* lit. 'the my book', except with kinship terms: *mia mamma* 'my mother'. Numeral quantifiers also appear initially but do not (except *en/ena* 'one') show agreement.

Adjectives generally follow the noun they modify (and agree with it in gender and number):

(2) a. igl pro verd
the.MSG meadow.MSG green.MSG

b. la tgesa gronda
the.FSG house.FSG big.FSG

Under various circumstances, however, adjectives precede the noun, as in the case of ordinal numbers (*la dodeschavla lecziun* 'the twelfth lesson'). A certain number of frequent evaluative adjectives generally precede the noun (*en bel de* 'a nice day', *ena buna donna* 'a good woman') unless used contrastively: *la tgapitscha bela, betg la treida* 'the nice cap, not the ugly (one)'. Adjectives that are normally postnominal can appear prenominally when expressing a figurative or subjective sense: *l'ava tgoda* 'the warm water' but *en tgod angraztg* 'a warm welcome'.

12.4.2 Verb phrases

Complex verb expressions in Surmiran include several analytic tenses formed with auxiliaries *aveir* 'have' and *esser* 'be' with the past participle, including the perfect (*el ò canto* 'he has sung', *el è partia* 'he is (= has) left'; subjunctive *el vegia canto, el seia partia*), pluperfect (*el vess canto* 'he had sung', *el era partia* 'he was (= had) left'; subjunctive *el vess canto, el fiss partia*), the conditional perfect (homophonous with the pluperfect subjunctive), and a future perfect (*el varo canto* 'he will have sung', *el saro partia* 'he will be (= have) left'). Passives are formed with auxiliary *neir* 'come' with the past participle (*la proposta vign acceptada* 'the proposal is accepted'). Analytic future forms are also built from *neir*, the preposition *a/ad* and the infinitive (*ia vign a cantar* 'I am going to sing', *ia vign ad aveir canto* 'I am going to have sung') (cf. §§46.3.2.2, 58.5.2).

The selection of auxiliary *aveir* or *esser* (see also §49.3) is in part predictable and in part lexically idiosyncratic. *Aveir* is used with all transitive verbs, impersonal verbs (e.g. *plover* 'to rain'), and most intransitives (e.g. *durmeir* 'to sleep', *tramblar* 'to tremble', *flureir* 'to bloom', *sclareir* 'to shine'), whereas *esser* is used with other intransitives, including verbs of being, movement, or change (e.g. *star* 'remain, live', *correr* 'run', *crescher* 'grow', *nescher* 'be born', *fugeir* 'flee'): *igls prietschs èn carschias fitg* 'the prices are (= have) risen a lot', *la bela vascheia da savung è schluppada!* 'the pretty soap bubble is (= has) burst!'.

Reflexive verbs build their analytic tenses with *aveir* when they take an indirect complement, as with *sa deditgier a* 'dedicate oneself to (something)', *sa lubeir da* 'permit oneself (something)', and when the reflexive is interpreted reciprocally, as with *sa veir* 'see each other', *s'ancleir* 'understand each other'. Otherwise these forms take *esser*.

In analytic tenses formed with *esser*, the past participle agrees in gender and number with the subject, while forms with auxiliary *aveir* use the default masculine singular form of the past participle unless preceded by a direct object clitic (see §12.4.2.1, and cf. §49.2). Thus, *el è rivo* 'he is (= has) arrived.MSG', *ella è rivada* 'she is (= has) arrived.FSG', *nous ischan rivos/rivadas* 'we are (= have) arrived.MPL/FPL', but *el ò cumpro en disc* 'he has bought a disk.MSG', *ella ò cumpro ena cassetta* 'she has bought a cassette.FSG', *nous vagn cumpro tgameischas novas* 'we have bought new.FPL shirts.F', all with the masculine singular past participle.

There are a number of modals and other verbs that take infinitival complements, in some cases preceded by a lexically idiosyncratic preposition: *ella vot star a tgesa* 'she wants to stay home', *betg ambleida dad eir alla posta* 'don't forget (lit. 'of') to go to the post office', *igl meir stat per sbalunar* 'the wall is about (lit. 'stands for') to collapse'.

Adverbs generally follow the lexical verb: *vous scrivevas adegna sen al tavla* 'you always wrote on the board', *el è rivo ier* 'he arrived yesterday', *el saleida curtaschevlamaintg igl plevant* 'he greets the minister courteously'.

Sentential negation is expressed in Surmiran with a two-part structure (cf. §51.2.1). The clitic *na* precedes the finite verb while the negative adverb *betg* follows: *la feglia na canta betg* 'the daughter NEG sings NEG', *Carlo n'ò betg maglea la fretga* 'Carlo NEG has NEG eaten the fruit'. *Na* also appears sometimes with other negatives, such as *mai* 'never', *nign* 'no one'. In spoken Surmiran, however, the particle *na* is often omitted. In the imperative, only *betg* appears, preceding the verb: *betg lava la steiva!* 'NEG clean.IMP.2SG the living.room!'.

12.4.2.1 *Clitics*

Surmiran and other forms of Rumantsch have a set of subject clitics (Ch. 47), which appear in association with the inversion of subject and finite verb (see §12.4.3). Other clitics associated with the verb include object pronominals, reflexive/reciprocal elements, and the first component of the two-part negation marker mentioned above.

Object pronominal clitics are the same for direct and indirect objects; distinct forms are used as independent words in argument position or following a preposition. With ditransitive verbs, either the direct or the indirect object (or neither) can appear as a clitic, with the remaining object(s) appearing as non-clitic full pronouns in argument position, with no significant difference of meaning. Only if the direct object is third person and the indirect object first or second is it possible for both objects to appear as clitics (see also §45.4.2).

Reflexive forms are slightly different from non-reflexive (cf. Table 12.12). In the spoken language, there is a tendency to use invariable *sa* as the reflexive pronoun for all persons.

Except in the positive imperative, non-reflexive object clitics are usually placed before the inflected verb, following the first element of the negation where present (3). The same is true of the negative imperative (4), but in the positive imperative the pronoun follows the verb (5):

(3) a. Te n'igl ast betg cumpro
you.SG NEG=OCL have not bought
'You have not bought it'

b. Vous n'ans vez betg returno igl amprest
you.PL NEG=OCL.1PL have not returned the loan
'You haven't returned the loan to us'

(4) Betg ans porta chella roba!
not OCL.1PL= bring that stuff
'Don't bring us that stuff!'

(5) Porta'ns chella roba!
bring= OCL.1PL that stuff
'Bring us that stuff!'

Table 12.12 Object clitics in Surmiran

	FREE FORM	OBJECT CLITIC	REFLEXIVE CLITIC
1SG	*me*	*am*	*ma*
2SG	*tè*	*at*	*ta*
3SG.M	*el*	*igl*	*sa*
3SG.F	*ella*	*la*	*sa*
1PL	*nous*	*ans*	*ans*
2PL	*vous*	*az*	*az*
3PL.M	*els*	*igls*	*sa*
3PL.F	*ellas*	*las*	*sa*

In compound tenses, the reflexive pronoun is prefixed to the lexical verb and not to the inflected auxiliary (6):

(6) La bartga è sa sfundrada an pacas minutas
The boat is OCL.REF sunk.FSG in few minutes
'The boat sank in a few minutes'

When a direct object clitic precedes the verb, the participle agrees with it in gender and number (7); there is no agreement with clitics representing the indirect object (8), nor with preceding non-clitics, such as relative pronouns (9):

(7) a. El igl ò cumpro
he OCL.3MSG has bought.MSG
'He bought it'

b. El l' ò cumprada
he OCL.3FSG= has bought.FSG
'He bought it'

(8) a. Ia va las purtadas all'onda
I have OCL.3FPL brought.FPL to.the aunt
'I have brought them to auntie'

b. Ia va la purto las flours
I have OCL.3F brought.MSG the flowers
'I have brought her the flowers'

(9) Las flours tgi te ast cumpro èn
the.FPL flowers.FPL which you have bought.MSG are
sfleuridas
faded
'The flowers which you have bought are/have faded'

In analytic tenses, the object pronoun can precede the participial form of the lexical verb instead of the finite auxiliary (10); with infinitival forms of the lexical verb as complements of modals and other verbs, the clitic precedes the infinitive (11):

(10) a. Te n'ast betg igl cumpro
you NEG=have not OCL.3SGM=bought.MSG

b. Te n'ast betg la cumprada
you NEG=have not OCL.3SGF=bought.FSG
'You have not bought it'

(11) Nous lagn la tarmetter dumang
we will OCL.3SGF=send.INF tomorrow
'We are going to send it tomorrow'

In causative constructions with *far* 'make' and *lascher* 'let' the pronoun precedes the causative verb (12):

(12) a. Nous igls faschagn correr
we OCL.3MPL= make run.INF
'We will make them run'

b. El n'ans lascha mai eir ad ouras
he NEG= OCL.1PL=lets never go.INF to hours
'He never lets us go by the hour'

12.4.3 Clause structure[4]

The basic word order in Surmiran is SVO (13).

(13) Ursus discorra rumantsch stupent
Ursus speaks Rumantsch excellently
'Ursus speaks Rumantsch very well'

Non-subjects can, however, appear freely in initial position for reasons of emphasis, topicality, or other matters of discourse structure. When this happens the subject appears immediately after the finite (main or auxiliary) verb (14).

(14) a. Rumantsch discorra Ursus stupent.
Rumantsch speaks Ursus excellently
'Ursus speaks *Rumantsch* 'very well'

b. Stupent discorra Ursus rumantsch
excellently speaks Ursus Rumantsch
'Ursus speaks Rumantsch *very* well'

When the subject is inverted with the finite verb, the verb can be accompanied by a clitic element referring to the subject, as in (15a). Such a clitic is not possible when inversion has not taken place (15b).

(15) a. Rumantsch discorra'l Ursus stupent
Rumantsch speaks=SCL.3SG Ursus excellently
'*Ursus* speaks Rumantsch very well'

b. **Ursus discorra'l rumantsch stupent
Ursus speaks=SCL.3SG Rumantsch excellently

Subject clitic elements are set out in Table 12.13.

When a non-subject occupies initial position, and the verb is accompanied by a subject clitic from the set in Table 12.13, this sanctions a phonetically null subject (16).

(16) Rumantsch discorra'l stupent
Rumantsch speaks=SCL.3SG excellently
'He speaks Rumantsch very well'

[4] Much of this section is drawn from Anderson (2006).

Table 12.13 Subject clitic elements in Surmiran

1SG	*=a*
2SG	*=t*
3SGM	*='l*
3SGF	*='la*
3SG impersonal	*=(i)gl*
1PL	*=s(a)*
2PL	Ø
3PLM/F	*=igl*

Surmiran is not in general a pro-drop language: that is, null subjects are not allowed in the absence of a subject clitic (17).

(17) a. **Discorra rumantsch stupent.
speaks Rumantsch excellently

b. **Rumantsch discorra stupent.
Rumantsch speaks excellently

Just as with the third person subjects, first and second person subjects cannot be phonetically null (or omitted) except in the presence of a subject clitic, though the fact that the second person plural clitic is itself null partially obscures this fact. First person examples are given in (18):

(18) a. Ia/**Ø discor mal rumantsch
(I) speak badly Rumantsch
'I speak Rumantsch badly'

b. Rumantsch discor ia/**Ø mal
Rumantsch speak (I) badly
'I speak Rumantsch badly'

c. Rumantsch discorr a (ia) mal
Rumantsch speak= SCL.1SG I badly
'I speak Rumantsch badly'

In all persons, the presence of an overt inverted subject together with a subject clitic lends contrastive or emphatic force to that element of the sentence.

12.4.3.1 The inversion construction in main clauses

Among non-subjects that trigger inversion by appearing in initial position are argument nominals, prepositional phrases, participial phrases, and entire clauses (19).

(19) a. La steiva ò Ursus nattagea bagn.
the living.room has Ursus cleaned well
'Ursus cleaned the living room well'

b. Tar igl gi da rummy vala igl joker
in the game of rummy is.worth the joker
adegna 25 puncts
always 25 points
'In the game of rummy, the joker is always worth 25 points'

c. Giond ier a spass ò Ursus scuntro Ladina
going yesterday at walk has Ursus met Ladina
'While walking yesterday, Ursus met Ladina'

Among variations on this theme is the possibility of having a bare past participle alone in initial position (20). When this happens, the participle cannot be accompanied by its object or by other complements. The only exception is certain short, common manner adverbs (e.g. *mal* 'badly'), which some speakers accept in sentences such as (20e). This complex of possibilities is reminiscent of 'stylistic fronting' in Icelandic and other Scandinavian languages (see also Franco 2009).

(20) a. Maglea va ia en traclo cun caschiel
Eaten have I a sandwich with cheese
'I ate a cheese sandwich'

b. **Maglea en traclo cun caschiel va ia.
eaten a sandwich with cheese have I

c. La notg passada ò Gion durmia mal
the night past has Gion slept badly
'Last night John slept badly'

d. Durmia ò Gion mal la notg passada
slept has Gion badly the night past

e. (?)Durmia mal ò Gion la notg passada
slept badly has Gion the night past

Another possibility is that of an infinitive in initial position, followed by a finite form of the same verb. Again, the fronted infinitive cannot be accompanied by complements (21):

(21) a. Cantar canta'l Ursus ena canzung
sing.INF sings=SCL.3MSG Ursus a song
'Ursus is singing a song'

b. **Cantar ena canzung canta'l Ursus
sing.INF a song sings=SCL.3MSG Ursus

This construction is again reminiscent of one found in other Romance languages and also in the topicalized infinitives of Breton (Anderson 1981). Unlike Breton, Surmiran doubles the verb by a finite form of the same verb, rather than with a finite form of a dummy 'light' verb. For some speakers, the construction in (21) is only possible with synthetic verb forms.

While constituents of a variety of types can appear initially, there is a limit of one such element in preverbal position. Sentences such as (22), in which the preverbal material does not correspond to a single constituent, are thus not possible.

(22) **Ier la steiva ò Ursus nattagea
yesterday the living.room has Ursus cleaned
'Yesterday Ursus cleaned the living room'

Finally, it is important to note that the verb in the inversion construction is accompanied by any and all clitic elements (in addition to a subject clitic, if present) that would appear with it in uninverted sentences, as illustrated in (23).

(23) a. Cleramaintg n' ò 'l Ursus betg savia
obviously NEG= has =OCL.3SGM Ursus not known
'Obviously Ursus didn't know that'

b. Ier seira n' ans ò Maria betg
yesterday evening NEG =OCL.1PL has Maria not
telefono
phoned
'Yesterday evening Maria didn't phone us'

12.4.3.2 *Inversion in other clause types*

Inversion in Surmiran is not limited to declarative main clauses. For pragmatic reasons associated with the interpretation of non-subject material in initial position, such constituents are rare in subordinate clauses, but when they occur, they trigger inversion as in (24).

(24) a. Cartez tg' igl settember turnans
believe. 2PL that the September return= OCL.1PL
ainten chel hotel?
in that hotel
'Do you think in September we'll return to that hotel?'

b. Ia pains tgi dultschems vegia Corinna gugent.
I think that sweets has Corinna gladly
'I think Corinna likes *sweets*'

When question words are fronted, they also trigger inversion (25).

(25) a. Tge ò'la (Ladina) cumpro?
What has =SCL.3FSGF (Ladina) bought
'What did Ladina/she buy?'

b. Cura ò'la (Ladina) cumpro en auto?
when has=SCL.3SGF (Ladina) bought a car
'When did Ladina/she buy a car?'

c. Igl auto da tgi ò'la (Ladina) cumpro?
the car of who has=SCL.3SGF (Ladina) bought
'Whose car did Ladina/she buy?'

When the question word corresponds to the subject, inversion would result in no change of word order. The fact that subject clitics are impossible when the subject is questioned (26), while questions involving non-subjects do permit clitics (25), suggests that no inversion occurs in the former case.

(26) Tgi ò(**'l/**'la) cumpro en auto?
who has(SCL.3SGM/F) bought a car
'Who bought a car?'

When the question word is extracted from an embedded clause, that clause preserves the basic order, and it is the matrix clause that displays inversion (27).

(27) Tge manegias te tgi Ladina vegia (**la)
what think.2SG you that Ladina has(**SCL.3FSG)
cumpro?
bought
'What do you think that Ladina bought?'

Inversion is also characteristic of yes/no questions, although in this construction there is no (overt) sentence-initial non-subject. The uniformity of this structure with that of other instances of inversion is confirmed by the presence of subject clitics in sentences like (28c,d).

(28) a. È igl viadi sto tger?
is the trip been expensive
'Was the trip expensive?'

b. Ast er te gost da neir?
have.2SG also you desire to come.INF
'Do you want to come too?'

c. Lain sa (nous) eir cugl tren?
want=SCL.1PL we go.INF with.the train
'Do we want to take the train?'

d. At ò gl plaschia an Sicilia?
OCL.2SG has= SCL.3SG.IMPERS pleased in Sicily
'Did you like it in Sicily?'

Inversion does not always occur where it might be expected. Subordinate clauses are commonly introduced by a complementizer *tge*, and we might expect this to count as a non-subject element in initial position. Sentences such as (29) show that inversion is not triggered by subordinating expressions alone.

(29) Siva tg'els on en unfant, stat el pi
since that.they have a child is he more
savens a tgesa
often at house
'Ever since they have had a child, he is home more often'

Finally, unlike questions, relative clauses do not generally show inversion, regardless of what is relativized (30).

(30) a. Igl codesch tgi è sen meisa post aveir
the book which is on table can=SCL2SG have.INF
'The book which is on the table you can have'

b. Igl velo tgi Ursus ò cumpro n'è betg nov
the bike which Ursus has bought NEG=is not new
'The bike which Ursus bought is not new'

c. Igl gioven agl qual ia va scretg
the youngster to.the which I have written
è sto igl mies scolar
is been the my student
'The youngster to whom I wrote was my student'

d. La matta dalla qualla te ast survagnia en
the girl from.the which you have received a
canaster mareida proximamaintg
basket marries soon
'The girl who turned you down is marrying soon'

We might expect the relative pronoun *tgi* to be similar to the complementizer *tge* in this respect, but even complex relative expressions such as *agl qual* 'to which/whom' fail to produce inverted orders (or the associated subject clitics).

12.4.3.3 *Impersonal subjects and the syntax of* ins

Additional light is shed on the verb-second construction in Surmiran by the syntax of the element *ins* 'one' (cf. also §60.7). This generally appears in lieu of an overt subject, with impersonal interpretation similar to that of Ger. *man* or Fr. *on* (31).

(31) Ins na pò betg eir quant spert tg'ins
Ins NEG can not go.INF as fast that-*ins*
vot sen las autostradas svizras
wants on the motorways Swiss
'You can't go however fast you want on the Swiss motorways'

Like similar impersonal elements in many other languages, *ins* cannot represent a non-subject argument (32).

(32) a. **Igls pulizists na pon betg veir ins da lò
the policemen NEG can not see.INF *ins* from there
'The police can't see one from there'

b. **Mintgign digls guids ò la sia moda da trattar cun ins
Each of.the guides has the his way of deal.INF with *ins*
'Each of the guides has his way of dealing with one'

Although it appears to be simply an indefinite pronoun restricted to subject position, *ins* does not act like other arguments occupying subject position. In particular, it does not undergo inversion with the verb when a non-subject is clause-initial (33).

(33) a. Dalla derivanza digls rets ins so tant scu navot
of.the origin of.the Raeti *ins* knows so.much as nothing
'Of the origins of the Raeti we know almost nothing'

b. D'anviern ins pò eir sur tot igls pass cun auto
in winter *ins* can go.INF over all the passes with car
'In the winter you can go over all of the passes by car'

Similarly, *ins* fails to invert in yes/no or content questions (34).

(34) a. Ins viagia pi bagn cugl tren u cugl auto sch' ins fò viadis pi lungs?
ins travels more well with.the train or with.the car if *ins* makes trips more long
'Does one travel better by train or by car when making longer trips?'

b. Tge meis digl onn ins dovra pneus d'anviern aint igl Grischun?
what month of.the year *ins* needs tyres of.winter in the Graubünden
'What month of the year do you need winter tyres in Graubünden?'

Although the position of *ins* immediately before the verb does not change in contexts such as (33) and (34) where we would expect inversion, we find another diagnostic of inversion in these sentences. A subject clitic *=(i)gl* can appear in *ins* sentences precisely when we would expect inversion: in the presence of an initial non-subject (35a), in yes/no questions (35b), and in content questions (35c). This is the same clitic that appears in inversion structures with other impersonals, such as existentials and weather verbs.

(35) a. Ainten chell' ustareia ins (na) magl igl
in this inn *ins* NEG=eat.SCL3.IMPERS
betg schi bagn, on igl detg
not so well have= SCL.3PL said
'In this inn you don't eat so well, they said'

b. Ins pò'gl fimar cò?
ins can.SCL3.impers smoke.INF here
'Can you smoke here?'

c. Cun tge tren ins vo'gl igl migler per eir da Sargans a Wien?
with what train *ins* goes= SCL3IMPERS the better to go.INF from Sargans to Vienna?
'Which train is better to go from Sargans to Vienna?'

Ins is derived from Latin UNUS 'one'. Its behaviour, however, is not simply that of a pronoun. Rather, it seems similar to Romance reflexive impersonal structures such as Sp. *En México se trabaja mucho* 'In Mexico one works a lot' or It. *Si lavora sempre troppo* 'One always works too much'. These are based on a verb clitic (in those languages, identical with the third person reflexive; cf. §60.4.1) in association with an otherwise empty subject position, presumably occupied by a phonologically null pronominal. See also Anderson (1982) and McCloskey (2005) for parallels in Celtic. In these respects, Surmiran sentences with *ins* differ from impersonal sentence types in other forms of Rumantsch, e.g. Vallader (36a), Puter (36b), Surselvan (36c).

(36) a. Passand tras il desert as chatta qualchevoutas skelets (Vld.)
passing across the desert 3SG.REFL finds sometimes skeletons

b. Passand tres il desert chatta ün qualchevoutas skelets (Put.)
passing across the desert finds *ün* sometimes skeletons
'Crossing the desert, one sometimes finds skeletons'

c. Nua ein ins cun la lavur? Ins ei alla fin. Na, alla fin ein ins mai (Srs.)
where is *ins* with the work. *Ins* is at.the end. no, at.the end is *ins* never
'Where are we with the job? We're finished. No, we're never finished'

In Vallader, impersonals are formed using a third person singular reflexive verbal clitic. In Puter, this construction is

possible, as well as one with *ün* (also < UNUS) in subject position, but it behaves as a normal pronoun and inverts with the verb when appropriate. In Surselvan, we have an *ins* phonetically like the Surmiran form but which (like Put. *ün*) acts like a normal pronoun. Finally, in Sutselvan we have *ign*, another reflex of UNUS which again acts like a normal pronoun.

Some Surmiran speakers accept sentences in which *ins* has inverted with the verb as in (37), but report that this order 'sounds like German'. Since nearly all speakers of Surmiran are bilingual in German, this influence is not hard to account for; what is notable is the fact that this order is still felt as foreign to Surmiran.

(37) Chegl dei ins dapertot
that says *ins* everywhere
'*That* they say everywhere'

Since *ins* derives from UNUS used pronominally, why does it not behave as a pronoun? At least one older description (Grisch 1939) transcribes *ins* as potentially homophonous with *ans*, the first person plural object clitic. Similarly, Signorell et al. (1987:120) note that *ins* and *ans* are not the same, implying that they are sometimes confused. And indeed, in rapid speech for many speakers, the two may not be distinct phonetically. A relation between impersonals and first person plural forms is known from both French and (regional) Italian (cf. §§14.4.2.2, 18.4.3.3.2.1, 60.7). Similarly, in Surmiran sentences such as (38), impersonal *ins* should be interpreted as having first person plural reference.

(38) Scu indigen ins sa renda savens betg ple
as native *ins* REFL render often not much
chint digls prievels da nossa nateira
account of.the dangers of our nature
'As a local, we often don't pay attention to the dangers in our natural setting'

A relation between impersonals and first person plural forms might, then, have played a role in the development of *ins*. This is not to suggest that they are the same element in the modern language; they are phonetically distinct (as [ɪns] vs [ə̆ns]) outside rapid speech, and although both act as if they were clitics attached at the left of the finite verb, they occur in different positions with respect to other clitics (39):

(39) Da lò ins n'ans vei'gl betg
from there *ins* NEG-1PL sees.3SG=3IMPERS not
cleramaintg
clearly
'From there one doesn't see us clearly'

Furthermore, in periphrastic modal constructions (40), *ins* always precedes the finite verb, while *ans*, like other object clitics, can attach to the infinitive.

(40) a. El vot ans tarmetter dumang ena factura
he wants OCL.1PL=send.INF tomorrow a bill
'He wants to send us a bill tomorrow'

b. Mintgatant ins stò('gl) spitgier en po
often *ins* must(=3IMPERS) wait.INF a bit
'Often you have to wait a bit'

c. **Mintgatant stò('gl) ins spitgier en po
often must(=3IMPERS) *ins* wait.INF a bit

The behaviour of *ins*, and in particular its failure to invert when appropriate despite evidence that the associated verb has been displaced in the same way as other inversion constructions, finds a natural explanation if it has been reanalysed as a special sort of preverbal clitic. On that account, sentences with *ins* have a subject position occupied by a phonetically null pronoun with generic, arbitrary reference, denoted below as 'PRO_{arb}', associated with a clitic (*ins*) attached to the verb and positioned before such other clitics as the first part of negation or an object pronominal.

Historically, this situation probably arose as a result of the similarity of *ins* to the first person plural clitic *ans*. The reanalysis might have been facilitated by similarities to Italian, a language in which (a) impersonal sentences involve 'PRO_{arb}' as subject and a preverbal clitic, and (b) first person and impersonal reference are closely related. Given Surmiran speakers' widespread familiarity with Italian, especially before the more recent expansion of German influence in Graubünden, this does not seem implausible.

If so, *ins* does not undergo inversion with the verb when conditions require it, because this element does not occupy subject position but is rather a preverbal clitic associated with phonetically null 'PRO_{arb}'. The only visible consequence of inversion in this case is the possible introduction of an appropriate subject clitic ((*i*)*gl*).

12.4.3.4 *Verb-second in Surmiran*

What is the significance of these facts for an understanding of verb-second in Surmiran? As a clitic, *ins* is attached to the finite verb, and does not alter its position with respect to that word under displacement in inversion constructions. But that implies that the sequence '*ins*+verb' is simply another instance of the verb together with its accompanying clitic(s). Consequently, sentences like (31) have no

phonetically realized element preceding the verb, and so the verb is not in second position, but rather first. If, on the contrary, we said that *ins* in (31) 'counts' as filling first position, then we would be in trouble with sentences like (33), where an initial non-subject, combined with *ins*, would result in the verb being in third position. Since no other re-orderings occur in these cases, we must conclude that the verb in Surmiran is not required to be in second position.

A few other sentence types reinforce this point. Matrix experiencer predicates ('be unhappy', 'seem', etc.) with postposed sentential subjects and clitic pronominal experiencers have the verb together with its object clitic in sentence-initial position (41).

(41) Am displai /A me displai('gl)
OCL.1SG= displeases /to me displeases (=3IMPERS)
tgi chesta construcziun antscheva
that this construction begins
cugl verb
with.the verb
'I am unhappy that this sentence begins with the verb'

Sentences of this sort are always impersonal. It is possible for them to have an initial dummy subject *igl*; such dummy subjects are normally obligatory in true impersonal sentences, but with a pronominal clitic representing the experiencer need not appear. Yet when the experiencer is represented by a full prepositional phrase, as in the second variant of (41), initial *igl* is obligatory unless the experiencer prepositional phrase is preposed (as here), in which case we have a normal inversion construction as evidenced by the possibility of the subject clitic. The generalization seems to be that a preverbal clitic (*ins*, or *am* in 41) can count as 'sort of' a subject, thus avoiding the need either for dummy *igl* or inversion.

For some perspective on these facts, consider their analogues in Sutselvan. Here the cognate of *ins*, *ign* (also < UNUS), behaves like a normal pronoun occupying an argument position rather than like a clitic (42). Consequently, it undergoes inversion in sentences parallel to those in Surmiran in which inversion does not take place.

(42) a. Ign dastga fimar dapartut an
ins can smoke.INF everywhere in
quell'ustreia (Sut.)
that restaurant
'You can smoke anywhere in that restaurant'

b. Gl'unviern san ign ir cugl auto sur
the winter can *ins* go.INF with.the car over
tut igls pass (Sut.; cf. 32b)
all the passes
'In the winter you can go over all of the passes by car'

c. Quant gitg ân ign cugl auto antocen
how long has *ins* with.the car to
senzum igl pass? (Sut.)
top the pass
'How long is by car to the top of the pass?'

Furthermore, impersonal experiencer sentences in Sutselvan parallel to Surmiran examples in which the verb is initial, like the first variant of (41), always have dummy subjects (43).

(43) Igl/**Ø mi disple ca questa seira
it me=displeases that this evening
sto jou star a tgea (Sut.)
must I stay.INF at home
'I am sorry I have to stay home this evening'

It appears that the grammar of Sutselvan really does constrain the verb to occur in second position, and the same appears true of the other Rumantsch languages. In Surmiran, however, the element *ins* was reanalysed as a clitic, possibly because of its similarity to *ans* and other factors cited above. Such a reanalysis could not have taken place in Sutselvan, since *ign* bears no particular resemblance to any preverbal clitic. Consequently, for a significant class of sentences the verb-second condition ceased to be true in Surmiran, and was lost. Modern Surmiran is a 'verb-second' language only in the sense that inversion occurs where it is motivated by the presence of material preceding the subject and in questions.