Romance Linguistics

Editorial Statement

Routledge publish the Romance Linguistics series under the editorship of Martin Harris (University of Essex) and Nigel Vincent (University of Manchester).

Romance Philology and General Linguistics have followed sometimes converging sometimes diverging paths over the last century and a half. With the present series we wish to recognise and promote the mutual interaction of the two disciplines. The focus is deliberately wide, seeking to encompass not only work in the phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis of the Romance languages, but also studies in the history of Romance linguistics and linguistic thought in the Romance cultural area. Some of the volumes will be devoted to particular aspects of individual languages, some will be comparative in nature; some will adopt a synchronic and some a diachronic slant; some will concentrate on linguistic structures, and some will investigate the sociocultural dimensions of language and language use in the Romance-speaking territories. Yet all will endorse the view that a General Linguistics that ignores the always rich and often unique data of Romance is as impoverished as a Romance Philology that turns its back on the insights of linguistics theory.
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## Contents

*Acknowledgements*  vii  
*List of abbreviations*  ix  

**Introduction**  
0.1 *Historical background*  9  
0.2 *Rhaeto-Romance scholarship*  19  

1 **Phonology**  28  
1.1 *The phoneme inventories*  29  
1.2 *Historical phonetics*  40  

2 **Morphology**  75  
2.1 *Morphological categories of the verb*  76  
2.2 *Nominal categories*  113  

3 **Lexicon**  154  
3.1 *Friulian*  161  
3.2 *Romansh*  162  
3.3 *Ladin*  163  

4 **Syntax**  165  
4.1 *Word Order*  167  
4.2 *The distribution of meaningful pronoun subjects*  175  
4.3 *Dummy pronouns*  181  
4.4 *The affix status of subject pronouns*  187  
4.5 *Agreement*  205  

**Appendix**: some irregular verbs  229  

*References*  244  
*Index*  255
Stephen Leacock wrote that, having once spent a night at the Mitre Hotel in Oxford in 1907, and then revisited the University in 1921, his views on Oxford were based on observations extending over fourteen years.

My relationship with Rhaeto-Romance is even deeper. In 1969, I spent a year as a graduate student in Chur, learning Surselvan and Vallader. Since 1987, I have started to learn (the Passariano di Codroipo dialect of) Friulian from expatriates in Winnipeg. When I add that I have on two occasions gone on hiking trips with my family through the Swiss Alps and the Dolomites, it will be seen that my impressions of Rhaeto-Romance are based directly on observations extending over a period of eighteen years. To my teachers, both inside and outside of the classroom 'over' this respectable span, my humble and hearty thanks.

I am grateful to Professor Clifford Leonard, for his careful reading and penetrating criticisms of chapter 1, which amounted almost to a chapter in themselves; and to Dr Christine Kamprath for checking the Surmeiran data and informing me about the latest attempt to create a unified 'Romantsch grischun' on the 2,000th anniversary of the arrival of the Roman legions in Switzerland. For perceptive comments on portions of chapter 4, my thanks to Professors Dwight Bolinger and Knud Lambrecht.

Finally, I am most grateful to my co-author, Dr Paola Benincà, whose collaboration on this project began when she served as the outside reader for the original manuscript. Her comments were so rich and detailed that I asked her to acknowledge them by appearing on the cover of this book. After a satisfying correspondence over two years, I look forward finally to meeting her this year.

John Haiman

This is one of those works which, by its very nature, is certain to attract criticism before it is even begun: due to the vastness of the area
Acknowledgements

dealt with, errors and omissions are almost sure to occur. None the less, I am happy to have contributed to it, because I think that the set of languages described here represents one of the most interesting linguistic groups in the world, for many reasons, some of which we hope will appear to the readers of this book. After a hiatus of many decades, the area is once again described in its entirety, and for the first time equal space is devoted to phonology, morphology, and syntax.

My contribution to Professor Haiman’s project was mainly to supply additional information regarding ‘Italian Rhaeto-Romance’ (i.e. Ladin and Friulian). In the best tradition, we still do not totally agree with each other in our respective interpretation of all the data presented here: I hope, however, our collaboration has proved as pleasant and stimulating to him as it has to me. I thank Laura Vanelli, who kindly read the final version and provided useful comments and encouragement, and Gian Paolo Salvi, who read the proofs and suggested various improvements.

Paola Benincà
Abbreviations

acc. accusative
AIS see Jaberg and Jud 1928–40
Amp. Ampezzan
ASLEF Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico friulano
attr. attributive
Bad. Badiot
c. common (gender)
dat. dative
DESF Dizionario etimologico storico friulano
dim. diminutive
DRG see Schorta and Decurtins 1939–
Eng. Engadine
f. feminine
Fr. French
Frl. Friulian
Gard. Gardena
ger. gerund
Goth. Gothic
i.i. imperfect indicative
imp. imperative
impf. imperfect
ind. indicative
inf. infinitive
inter. interrogative
i.s. imperfect subjunctive
Lat. Latin
Liv. Livinallongo
Long. Longobardian
LRL see Holtus et al. 1989
m. masculine
ME Middle English
MFr. Middle French
MHG Middle High German
n. neuter
nom. nominative
OHG Old High German
pl. plural
poss. possessive
p.p. past participle
pred. predicative
pres. present
prf. perfect
PRR proto-Rhaeto-Romance
RR Rhaeto-Romance
REW see Meyer-Lübke 1935
sg. singular
Slov. Slovenian
subj. subjunctive
Surm. Surmeiran
Surs. Surselvan
Suts. Sutselvan
T topic
Val. Vallader
Ven. Venetian
VL Vulgar Latin
Introduction

If the Romance languages can be compared to a solar system – with Latin shining in the centre, surrounded by its offspring – then the Rhaeto-Romance (RR) dialects are truly, in D.B. Gregor’s vivid metaphor, among the asteroids. Unlike familiar members of the family such as Spanish, French, and Italian, they are not even visible to the layman’s naked eye, and their discovery is comparatively recent.

In 1873, the Italian linguist Graziadio Ascoli introduced the study of Romance dialects into the research framework of comparative linguistics, analysing the historical phonology of the present group of Romance dialects. He pointed out that they shared a number of characterizing phenomena and constituted a linguistic group, which he named ‘Ladino’.

Since 1883, with the appearance of Theodor Gartner’s classic Raetoromanische Grammatik on the same topic, the name ‘Rhaeto-Romance’ has been associated with these dialects. They are spoken in three separated areas located along a narrow strip of land running almost west to east, from the headwaters of the Rhine and along the valley of the Inn in southern Switzerland, over the Dolomitic Alps of northern Italy, to the drainage basin of the Tagliamento river, which flows into the Adriatic Sea between Venice and Trieste. As indicated on map 1, these enclaves are separated by areas where German or northern Italian dialects are spoken. The Swiss or Rhenish and Engadine dialects, known collectively as Romansh, and spoken by no more than 50,000 people, are officially recognized as a single language: in 1938 accorded institutional status as the fourth national language of Switzerland (no doubt to counter Mussolini’s pretensions to ‘Italian’ territories in Switzerland); nevertheless, under the impetus of the Reformation, five separate Swiss dialects (Surselvan, Sutselvan, Surmeiran, Puter, and Vallader) had acquired distinct orthographies and normative gram-
Map 1 The distribution of Rhaeto-Romance
metrical traditions (embodied in pedagogical grammars dating back to the eighteenth century), and attempts to create a single 'Romansch fusionau' have failed. The half-dozen Dolomitic dialects, herein collectively named Ladin, and spoken by perhaps 30,000 people, have no official or literary status, except in the province of Bolzano, where instruction in Ladin has been given for one or two hours per week since 1948. Even less recognition is accorded to the easternmost dialects, known as Friulian, and spoken by as many as 500,000 people today.

One index of the uncertain and peripheral status of all of these dialects is the fact that there is hardly a single speaker of any of them at this time who is not also fluent in a major local 'prestige' language. In Switzerland and in part of the Dolomites (in the area which was Austrian until 1919), this language is usually German, while in the Friulian plain, it is either Venetian (Francescato 1956; 1966: 8) or (some version of) standard Italian, generally (at least until several decades ago) both.

The first comparative Romanist, Friedrich Diez, mentioned Romansh (Churwaelsch) in his survey of 1843, but decided that since this dialect had no literary language, it could not be accorded status as a full-fledged Romance language. Of Ladin and Friulian (as of the other Rhaeto-Romance dialects, in fact), he said nothing at all. After Ascoli and Gartner, scholars have been careful to enumerate Rhaeto-Romance among the Romance languages. Their descriptive and classificatory efforts have, paradoxically, been far more significant than they had a right to be, and Rhaeto-Romance, like an electron under an electron microscope, has been affected by its scholarly observers in ways that grosser entities like French could never be.

When dealing with such larger entities, scholars may take for granted certain divisions in their subject matter. For example, it is fairly easy to make a straightforward distinction between the socio-political history of a language itself, and the history of its scholarship. The first (at least for the linguist) is primarily an account of how a standard language came into existence: this may have been through the efforts of a handful of great writers, the prescriptive norms established by a committee of lexicographers or grammarians, political and bureaucratic centralization, or, most frequently, some combination of these.

The second history, the story of the study of a language, is generally a meta-topic of decidedly peripheral importance. No 'external history' of Italian, for example, can overlook such facts as the existence of Dante, the foundation of the Accademia della Crusca, or the political unification of Italy. On the other hand, the external history need not concern itself (except perhaps, 'for the record') with even masterpieces of descriptive scholarship such as Jaberg and Jud's (1928–40) monumental
The Rhaeto-Romance languages
dialect atlas of Italy and southern Switzerland, which described, but
certainly had no effect on, its subject.

In the case of Rhaeto-Romance, this oversimplified (but surely not
outlandish) distinction between the observer and the thing observed, is
totally unusable. The Rhaeto-Romance dialects are not now, nor have
they ever been, coextensive with a single political unit; some of them
have had their (quite separate) Dantes and their Luthers, while others
have not; and some of them have had their arbiters of proper usage, and
others have not. It is difficult to say whether it is the multiplicity or the
partial absence of pedants and poets which have been the more
damaging to the creation of an idealized 'standard language', but in the
almost total absence of contact among the speakers of the major dialect
groups, the lack of political unity or of any unifying cultural centre is
decisive.

Mutual intelligibility, the favoured structuralist criterion for grouping
dialects together as members of a single language, depends on speaker
contact: in the case of Rhaeto-Romance, this is sporadic, infrequent, or
totally non-existent. Occasional claims of mutual intelligibility are
made: for example, travellers once claimed (in 1805) that Ladin speakers
could understand a great deal of Romansh when they went to
Switzerland (see Decurtins 1965: 274; the claim was repeated in Micura
de Rü's still unpublished 'Deutsch-Ladinische Sprachlehre' of 1833,
cited in Craffonara 1976: 475). Similarly, an appeal for Romansh
volunteers to help victims of the great earthquake in Friul of 1976 added
the inducement that language would be no problem (see Billigmeier
1979; in fact, language was a considerable problem, as has been told).
For all their anecdotal nature, such claims may be absolutely true: yet
they still need to be partially discounted, given the notoriously close
resemblances among Romance languages. Any speaker of French,
Spanish, or Italian, for example, could probably get the gist of the
utterance /in um aveva dus feás/, or even /n uəm oə doj fIonʃ/ 'a man
had two sons', but this would not prove that the Romansh Surselvan or
the Ladin Gardena dialects were dialects of French, Spanish, or Italian.
Nor would it prove that they were related dialects of the same language.
(It is well known, on the other hand, that an Italian dialect, when
properly spoken, is not easily intelligible to speakers from a different
dialect region: sometimes less intelligible, in fact, than a foreign language
like Spanish would be.)

All standard languages are, in a sense, artificial creations. But they are
'real' to their users only if they share a common polity or written
language (so that their speakers share a common perception of
themselves because of a common history or written tradition). Granting
this, we must conclude that there has never been a 'real' basis for the unity or autonomy of the dialects which are the subject of this book. Like French and Italian, Rhaeto-Romance is a fiction. Unlike these, however, it is a fiction which is the creation, not of a handful of great writers, nor of a bureaucracy supported by an army or a navy, nor yet of a people who are conscious of a common history, but of a handful of (great) linguists. 'Consciousness of [Ladin] ethnicity', notes Pellegrini (1972a: 111), 'is entirely the consequence of linguistic researches carried out in the latter half of the nineteenth century, primarily by our own compatriot [G.I.] Ascoli.'

Even more important than this is the fact that (until quite recently) hardly anyone subscribed to this fiction, or even thought about it very much. The qualification is necessary because over the last hundred years there has been a Rhaeto-Romance 'revival', beginning with the formation of philological and ethnological societies such as the Lia Rumantscha in Switzerland, the Società Filologica Friulana in Friul, and the Union dils Ladins in the Dolomites. These activities have culminated in the celebration of the 'bimillennium' of Rhaeto-Romance in 1985, a year that was marked by exchange visits between Switzerland and Italy, and the official launching of a new pan-Romansh language, 'Rumantsch Grischun', among other things. Typically, all of these organizations, projects, and activities, have been spearheaded by linguists. No enthusiast, however, has ever proposed or attempted to design a pan-Rhaeto-Romance language at any time.

The 'external history of Rhaeto-Romance' is therefore almost entirely the story of what linguists have thought and said about it — or about them, since the unity of the group is not surprisingly problematic.

Logically, there are exactly four positions one could adopt concerning the status of any putative language, depending on the answers to two mutually independent questions. First: do the member dialects share enough features to justify their being grouped together? (Perhaps what we thought of as a single asteroid of the Romance solar system is really two or three.) Second, irrespective of whether they constitute a unit, does this unit differ sufficiently from other languages to justify status on a par with them? (Perhaps the 'asteroid' is really a moon of Mars, rather than a sister planet.) Although we may ask questions like these about such languages as 'French', they are really beside the point, for obvious reasons of sentiment and history. On the other hand, for Rhaeto-Romance, they are crucial: for example, in his survey of Romance languages, Walter von Wartburg acknowledges that 'There can be no question of a conscious active unity [among the speakers of the Rhaeto-Romance dialects]. Consequently, [these] dialects underwent no com-
mon innovations which are peculiar to them alone' (Wartburg 1950: 148). A more vehement statement defining the problem of using a common label for the Rhaeto-Romance dialects at all is that of the Italian linguist, late-blooming actor (and native speaker of the Nonsberg Lombard-Ladin dialect), Carlo Battisti:

This supposed linguistic unity which corresponds neither to a consciousness of national unity, nor to a common written language, nor to any ethnic nor historical unity – and the question whether such a unity exists at all – this constitutes ‘the Ladin question’.

(Battisti 1931: 164)

In the absence of historical or external criteria, evidence for the unity or independence of the Rhaeto-Romance dialects must be provided by purely structural considerations, which – perhaps surprisingly – are always ambiguous. Depending on the importance that analysts attribute to individual features, it is possible to make an intellectually reputable case for each of the four positions implied by the two questions above.

Position 1: the dialects are united and independent of any other group of languages;
Position 2: the dialects are united but only as members of a larger group;
Position 3: the dialects are not united, but each of them is a language in its own right;
Position 4: the dialects are totally distinct, and in fact belong to different linguistic groups.

(We will say no more about the distinction between 3 and 4 here.) A reasonable inference, given the single name for the dialects, and the fact that this is a single book, is that a great deal of influential scholarship (for example, almost all handbooks of Romance philology) today leans to position 1: the Rhaeto-Romance dialects do share enough features to constitute a single entity, and this entity is sufficiently different from other Romance languages to merit recognition as a separate group. This position can be considered a trivialized version of Ascoli’s theory about language classification: Ladin (or Rhaeto-Romance, like Franco-Provençal etc.) was to be identified as a linguistic group on the basis of the particular combination of specific linguistic features in the area, not necessarily all present in the entire area (see Ascoli 1882–5: 388). (Dealing as he was with structural concepts, Ascoli never spoke about a Ladin language.)

Position 2, with a number of competent supporters, does not dispute the unity of Rhaeto-Romance dialects – but recognizes them only as part of a larger linguistic group, generally the northern Italian dialects,
excluding southern Venetian. Confusion comes from the fact that these related dialects are referred to as 'Italian dialects' or even 'dialects of Italian', which is absurd. Not surprisingly, many of the adherents of position 2 happen to be Italian — in many cases because they are certainly more familiar with the linguistic and historical reality of the Italian dialects — but it must be noted that they generally ignore the Swiss Rhaeto-Romance dialects when making their arguments and comparisons. Position 2 was most stubbornly articulated during and after World War I in support of Italian claims to the recently awarded South Tyrol, or Upper Adige, where Ladin is spoken. The political mileage which the Mussolini government derived from this position should not be allowed to obscure whatever scientific merits it may have, nor does the position automatically imply a putative Italian ancestry to the group, as many of its opponents seem to believe; in a strict sense they are not ‘dialects of Italian’, but simply Romance dialects of people who speak Italian — or German — as a second or reference language. Carlo Battisti himself, whose position we will consider later on in detail, denied the very existence of a Ladin (or Rhaeto-Romance) unity, but when speaking of northern Italian, occasionally contrasted Italian with — Ladin.

A notational variant of position 2, adopted, among others, by Rohlfis (1971: 8–9), Kramer (1976, 1977), Pellegrini (1972a, 1987a, etc.), and many of Pellegrini’s students and associates, is that all the northern Italian dialects belong to a single group. A supporter of position 2 who identifies all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects as varieties of French (or at least descended from the same ancestral stock) is Leonard (1964: 32).

Considered from a different point of view, positions 2 and 3 are indistinguishable: if there is no Rhaeto-Romance group, then they are coordinate languages within northern Italian, as independent of one another as they are of Milanese or the dialect of Busto Arsizio. In this perspective, we can see as an extreme version of this same position the following statement of E. Pulgram (Pulgram 1958: 49), who brusquely dismisses Rhaeto-Romance as a bunch of not particularly related ‘dialects usually classified together (for no good reason of historical or descriptive dialectology) under the heading Raeto-Romanic (for no better terminological reason)’. Of the four areas of linguistic structure, phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax, the first three have been the focus of almost all studies on Rhaeto-Romance. Almost nothing has been written on the syntax of these dialects. In the following pages, we have tried to organize our discussion of these areas in such a way that the questions of unity and independence are constantly before us: necessarily, this will involve
some passing reference to neighbouring related languages. The dis­
ussion of phonology, morphology, and the lexicon will be a synthesis and
reinterpretation of existing classic and contemporary works. The
treatment of syntax is relatively new: although the facts discussed are
familiar enough, this may be the first time that they have been presented
together with a view to either confirming or challenging the conventional
wisdom regarding the unity and independence of Rhaeto-Romance.

To anticipate the rather uncontroversial conclusions that may be
drawn from this survey, particularly from a study of the syntax: there are
no very convincing reasons for grouping together as a single language
the various dialects known as Rhaeto-Romance. From the point of view
of syntactic typology at least, modern Surselvan and Friulian resemble
each other no more than any two randomly selected Romance
languages. Even within Italian Rhaeto-Romance, again from the point
of view of syntax, Friulian is more distant from Gardenese than from
any other northern Italian dialect (see Benincà 1986). So much for unity.
As for independence: the Swiss Surselvan dialect exhibits some remark­
able independent morpho-syntactic features which set it off from every
other Romance language (including Ladin and Friulian!) but a great
deal of the word order of Surselvan (as of all Romansh, and part of
Ladin) is radically different from what we encounter in the remaining
Rhaeto-Romance dialects: the pattern, traceable back to widespread
medieval Romance characteristics, is what one would expect of a
language which has been under heavy German influence for more than a
thousand years. In their treatment of subject pronouns, on the other
hand, the Italian dialects, whether spoken in the Dolomites or on the
Friulian plain (excluding Marebban, Badiot, and Gardenese), resemble
other northern Italian dialects (Piedmontese, Lombard, Ligurian, or
Venetian) much more closely than they resemble standard Italian or any
other Romance language – or, perhaps surprisingly, given the history of
language contact in the Dolomites, much more than they resemble
German. It could be argued that Rhaeto-Romance is a classic example
of what Kurt Vonnegut in his *Cat’s Cradle* called a granfalloon, a largely
fictitious entity like the class of ‘vitamins’, sharing little in common but a
name.

Of course, if this should prove to be true, it would hardly make
Rhaeto-Romance unique among human languages, or among human
cultural concepts or artefacts in general. (Among Vonnegut’s examples
of granfallos were ‘any nation, any time, any place’.) Whether or not
our conclusions regarding the heterogeneity of the dialects in question
are correct, you will soon be able to decide for yourselves: but they are
certainly not particularly radical.
0.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The most enthusiastic proponents of Rhaeto-Romance unity can point to only two moments when the 'Rhaeto-Romance peoples' may have constituted a single ethnic or political group. The first was before they were colonized by Rome, that is to say, before they spoke a Romance language at all (or even an Indo-European one), and before we know anything about them. The Raeti are identified by Livy and Pliny as a branch of the Etruscan people, who were pushed northwards by the Gallic invaders of northern Italy. In the period of their maximal expansion, the Raeti were spread over an area extending from the Alps to the Adriatic Sea in the north-east corner of Italy. They were subsequently submerged and absorbed by Indo-European peoples (the Gauls or the Veneti, depending on the area). So, in the region we are dealing with, we can reconstruct three linguistic strata: pre-Indo-European Raeti, pre-Roman Indo-European Gauls and Veneti, and finally the Romans (see Pellegrini 1985).

All our 'data' about the pre-Indo-European Raeti come from a handful of inscriptions written in an Etruscan-type alphabet. Consisting mainly of proper names and obscure terms, these inscriptions are of very little use in determining properties of the 'Raetian' language. Another important fact about these inscriptions, however, is that, although they were called Raeticae, not a single one of them was found in either of the Rhaetic provinces (where the Raeti were still found at the time of Romanization), but only in the neighbouring areas of Noricum and Decima Regio (see Meyer 1971; Risch 1971).

A minority of Rhaeto-Romancers (beginning with Ascoli 1873) seem to find in a Celtic substratum the only basis necessary for the unity of Rhaeto-Romance. A problem for this theory is that a great part of northern Italy, not to mention all of Gaul, was also presumably Celtic, while the Raeti were not.

The second moment of Rhaeto-Romance unity may have been during the massive Volkerwanderungen of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, when the depopulated Friulian plain was resettled by immigrants from Noricum (the North Tyrol). This theory, to which we will return later, was proposed by Ernst Gamillscheg (1935) in order to explain the relative scarcity of Longobardisms in the Friulian dialects (compared with e.g. Tuscan).

An effort to write a single historical sketch of the 'Rhaeto-Romance peoples' is, if anything, even more awkward than the attempt to treat the dialects as a unified entity. The following summary does show the complete and enduring absence of any political or social unity for the areas where the languages are spoken today. What it does not show,
however, and what needs to be stressed immediately, is how little most of the historical developments outlined below probably affected the people whose languages are in question here. Dynastic successions, and even 'official languages' of church and chancellery, probably had little to do with preliterate subsistence farmers until long after the Rhaeto-Romance dialects had gone their separate ways. By one account (Wartburg 1956: 34) this separation occurred at least 1,300 years ago.

The Romanization of the Friul began in 181 BC, with the foundation of Aquileia. Nevertheless, the year 15 BC is usually given as the birth-date of Rhaeto-Romance, because it was then that Roman legions under Tiberius and Drusus conquered, and the Roman Empire began to colonize or populate, the provinces of Raetia (present-day Romansh, and part of Ladin, territory, very approximately), Vindelicia (present-day Bavaria), and Noricum (present-day Austria). From AD 100 to 250, these provinces were well within the frontiers of the Roman Empire. After the latter date, with the first incursions of the Alemanni, they were on the frontier once again, and during the fifth century they were once again outside that frontier.

Notably, the entire Friulian territory was never a part of Raetia. It has been mooted, however, that the area was settled by refugees from Noricum, who, fleeing from Slavic (Gothic? Hun?) invaders moved back south into the Friulian plain during Langobardic times – that is, over a period of more than two hundred years after AD 568.

At the beginning of the seventh century, Friuli lay open to the Avars, who burned Cividale, the capital, and laid waste the surrounding territory. It was later repopulated by the Langobardic princes. But the new population came not from the neighbouring western region of upper Italy, but from the Alps, primarily from Noricum, where the simultaneous Slavic invasions compelled the Romance population to emigrate (Gamillscheg 1935: 179).

Gamillscheg's very specific claim about the wandering of the Raetic peoples (actually Noricenses) deserves careful notice. It is important as the only attempt in the literature to buttress the putative unity of the Rhaeto-Romance dialects with data from the historical record of the people who speak them. As such, it is loyally repeated by other scholars like von Wartburg. But it is (as far as we are aware) almost entirely conjectural. Gamillscheg himself, at any rate, provides only indirect evidence in support of it (1935: II, 178–80). This evidence, as we have noted, was that there were relatively few Langobard borrowings among Friulian place names. Subsequent research, however, has shown that the apparent absence of Langobard borrowings in the Friul is illusory.

Gamillscheg's theory may have been inspired by a passage from the
fifth-century Christian historian Eugyppius (Vita Severini, 44.5), which mentioned a proclamation by Odoacer inviting the Roman population to leave Noricum and take up refuge in (northeastern?) Italy. Since the putative ‘resettlement’ of the Friul began two hundred years later (it allegedly occurred between AD 568 and AD 774), this is (like crediting George Washington for winning World War II) somewhat anachronistic.

The separation of Romansh from the Gallo-Romance dialects of present-day French Switzerland probably began with the incursions of the Burgundians and the Alemannans during the period of the Völkerwanderungen. Over a period of nearly six hundred years, between ca AD 250 and 800, the Alemannans effectively separated modern Graubünden from the upper Rhone valley. Roughly speaking, the Burgundians occupied what is now French Switzerland and were assimilated by their Latin subjects, while the far more numerous Alemannans occupied, and imposed their language on, what is now German speaking Switzerland.

Bonjour et al. (1952: 40) speculate that the effect of the Alemannic invasion may have been to ‘provoke a Romanization . . . more intense than had been known while Raetia was still a province of the empire’, as provincials heading for the hills in flight before the Alemannic hordes (Heuberger 1932: 74, 121) brought with them their ‘Romance speech and customs’. Henceforth, Swiss Rhaeto-Romance and South Tyrol Ladin would be steadily diminishing islands in a German-speaking sea.

The process of linguistic erosion began with the Germanization of the Lake Constance area by the eighth century; it includes the Germanization of Chur in the fifteenth century, of Montafon and the Prättigau in the sixteenth century, and of Obervinschgau in the seventeenth (Heuberger 1932: 140–1); and slowly continues, in spite of a highly self-conscious Romansh revitalization movement, to this day.

To return to the period of the Völkerwanderungen, the migrations of the Ostrogoths and the Bavarian tribes in the fifth and sixth centuries separated Latin-speaking populations of southeastern Switzerland from those of the Tyrol. Roughly speaking, southern Raetia became Ostrogoth territory, while Noricum (Nurich-gau) was now Bavarian (Heuberger 1932: 130, 144). (What this means is that Swiss Romansh was separated from the present-day Ladin dialects of Italy at about the same time as it was separated from French.) This separation was not, however, a permanent one, and was at least temporarily reversed when the Franks conquered both the Ostrogoths and the Bavarians.

Burgundians and Alemannians were conquered, but not physically displaced, in the sixth century by the Franks and the Ostrogoths. Pressing on the Eastern Roman Empire, with its capital of Byzantium, the Ostrogoths in 537 yielded control of what is now Swiss territory to
12 \textit{The Rhaeto-Romance languages}

during this period, when political control over large areas by semi-
barbarian princes was largely fictional, some territories may have been
independent in fact from any secular prince. For this reason, possibly,
we find that ecclesiastical and political boundaries frequently failed to
coincide. In some cases, it may well have been the former that were
culturally – and thus, linguistically – decisive. Two notable examples of
this are the following:

From 537 onwards, ‘Churraetien’ was a ‘more or less autonomous
church state’ (Billigmeier 1979: 13) within the Frankish kingdom, and
remained so until approximately 800. Although it is probable that
German was the language of the aristocracy from this time on (Schmidt
1951/2: 24), it is noteworthy that the bishopric of Chur was incorporated
into the diocese of Milan, and it was not until Charlemagne that church
and secular power were formally separated. Only after AD 843 was the
Bishopric of Chur (the erstwhile capital of Raetia prima), transferred to
the archdiocese of Mainz. In 847, the Synod of Mainz, by an enlightened
edict, established native language religious instruction, and made
German compulsory within churches – alongside the ‘rustica romana
lingua’ (Gregor 1982: 45). This suggests that German, from being the
language of the aristocracy and clergy, was now also the language of an
increasing proportion of the people in what is now southeastern
Switzerland. In this case, it is clear that ecclesiastical boundaries were
brought into line with ethnic political boundaries.

On the other hand, the history of Engadine-Vintschgau (comprising
the upper Adige, South Tyrol, and the lower Inn regions; Heuberger
1932: 28) reflects a conflict between political and ecclesiastical organ-
ization. Geographically a crucial link between (present-day) Romansh
and Ladin territories, it was ecclesiastically a part of the medieval
bishopric of Säben/Sabiona throughout the seventh and eighth
centuries. In 788, it was politically adjoined, under Bavarian control, to
the South Tyrol Grafschaft of Trent. Conflicts over its dual status
persisted until the Counter-reformation, when the (Protestant) Lower
Engadine went over to Graubünden, and the (Catholic) Vintschgau
remained in the Tyrol. As was often the case in the later history of
Rhaeto-Romance, linguistic identity was identified with religious
grouping. The seventeenth-century Austrian Catholic clergy of
Vintschgau perceived Engadine Romansch as the language of
Protestantism, identified it with Ladin, and accordingly attempted to
Introduction

suppress the use of Ladin (Wartburg 1956: 36). This bigoted perception may seem to provide some evidence for the linguistic unity of Romantsch and Ladin, but in fact it does not. (Later on, we will see that relatively minor dialect differences which happen to be associated with confessional distinctions are grossly exaggerated: in the same way, it seems likely that profound linguistic differences which are not supported by confessional distinctions may be overlooked.)

In partial contrast with Raetia, the territorial integrity of the Friul remained relatively stable even through the Dark Ages. After the fall of Rome, in order to ensure its northern borders, Byzantium was forced to play the loser's game of making alliances with one barbarian horde in order to fight off another. Over the sixth century, Byzantium formed alliances with the Longobards (Lombards) against the Ostrogoths, and then with the Franks against the Longobards. In 555, Longobard mercenaries under Alboin defeated the Ostrogothic armies, temporarily 'saving' Byzantium. This victory proved Pyrrhic for the Eastern Roman Empire, as the Longobards then invaded northern Italy for themselves in 568 and occupied most of what is now the Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia, northern Venezia, and Friuli, making Pavia the capital of their principalities (Heuberger 1932: 137). Forum Iulii (modern Cividale, and the origin of the name 'Friuli' for the whole region) remained the centre of the duchy whose extent corresponded roughly to the present-day Friul. Unlike the Huns and the Goths, the Longobards stayed for over two hundred years as the masters of northern Italy (with two important duchies in central Italy (Spoleto) and southern Italy (Benevento) as well), until their defeat at the hands of the Frankish Charlemagne in 774.

Franks and Longobards clashed long before this time, however, and initially, at least, the advantage was to the Longobards. The Franks, who had occupied Venetia between 539 and 567, retreated until 590, by which time the valley of the Adige in the Dolomites became the frontier between Frankish and Longobard territories. Subsequently, the Franks and the Longobards both retreated in the Dolomites before the Bavarians. Over the seventh century, the Bavarians won the territory of present-day Ladin from the Longobards, and held on to Bozen/ Bolzano, Merano, and the easternmost portion of Vintschgau until they too were defeated by the resurgent Frankish armies of Charlemagne (Heuberger 1932: 209).

For roughly two hundred years, then, the three separate enclaves where Rhaeto-Romance dialects are now spoken were under the suzerainty of three separate Germanic controllers: modern Switzerland under the Alemanni, ultimately under the overlordship of the Franks; the Dolomites under the Baiuvarii; and the Friul under the Longobardi.
Friulian, Ladin, and Romansh, whatever their previous history, may well have become established as separate languages during this period of split Frankish/Alemannic, Bavarian, and Longobardic hegemony between 568 and approximately 774.

The subsequent political and ethnographic history of 'Rhaeto-Romania', all observers agree, has no further bearing on the question of the linguistic unity of the dialects which comprise it. Thus, it is essentially irrelevant that, for the brief (800–43) period of the Carolingian kings Rhaeto-Romania was once more under a single government. In any case, this government, like the Roman Empire, embraced a considerably greater area than just that of Rhaeto-Romania. Moreover, unlike the Roman Empire, it was probably never a stable political entity. By 843, the Empire was divided into three kingdoms, whose existence ended when their respective inheritors died without heirs or were deposed.

The Frankish kingdom of Lotharingia (including most of northern Italy and portions of Switzerland) dissolved with the deposition and death of the last of the Carolingian kings, Charles the Fat, at the end of the ninth century. With it, there seems to have ended the last political unity which encompassed all of Rhaeto-Romania, however tenuous and artificial it may have been. Over the next four hundred years, in spite of the re-creation of the (now Saxon, later Austrian) Holy Roman Empire in 962, the dominant political tendency was the greater political independence of local ecclesiastical and temporal authorities (Billigmeier 1979: 27).

It is symbolically significant that the first written attestations of Rhaeto-Romance date from this time of political fragmentation, a fragmentation which for Rhaeto-Romance was to prove to be irreversible.

The first monument of Swiss Romansh is the Einsiedeln Homily, an interlinear gloss of a Latin text of fifteen lines. Dating from the twelfth century, it has been identified as an early form of Surselvan. The first monument of Friulian also dates from approximately 1150. It is a census register, mainly in Latin text with a number of Friulian proper names and place names (Krasnovskaia 1971: 71; D'Aronco 1982).

Very roughly speaking, we can say that political control of the various areas of Rhaeto-Romania became centralized from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the three political centres to which the Rhaeto-Romance dialect areas became attached were Switzerland, the German Habsburg Empire, and the Republic of Venice.

0.1.1 Swiss Romanch

It was over the fourteenth century that the Holy Roman Empire began
to assume greater control of the Tyrol, and to threaten Churrâtien as well. The Swiss confederation began as a response to this, and although Graubünden did not join the confederation until 1803, the canton had roughly its present boundaries and was totally independent of Habsburg political or Catholic ecclesiastical control by 1650.

The last major influence on the development, or rather, the codification, of Romansh, was the Reformation. Romansh written literature began under its impetus: translations of portions of the Bible and catechisms rapidly began to appear in four major Swiss dialects beginning with Puter, the upper (southern) Engadine dialect (from 1534 onwards). Surselvan, the major Rhenish dialect, was represented by two orthographic traditions, a Protestant (from 1611) and a Catholic (from 1615). This confessional distinction is a clue, perhaps, to the difficulties with establishing a single written standard language. Today, the Surselva is predominantly Catholic, while the Engadine is primarily Protestant, and the strict separation of the two is symbolized by the existence of two major Romansh newspapers, the *Gasetta Romontscha* (with articles in Surselvan), and the *Fögl Ladin* (with articles in Puter and Vallader, the Engadine dialects). G.A. Bühler (1827-97) attempted to create a single written form of Romansh (essentially Surselvan without the morphological feature most peculiar to it, the masculine predicate adjectives in -s), but not surprisingly, this creation never found general acceptance. Rather than acting as the moral equivalent of the Académie Française or the Accademia della Crusca, the Societad Retoromontscha (founded by Buehler in 1886), and the Ligia Romontscha (founded in 1919) publish and preserve belletristic literature in all five of the Romansch dialects, an undertaking which has not been able to halt the continuing decline in the total number of Romansh speakers.

Five dialects are canonized for fewer than 50,000 speakers, somewhat less than a quarter of the population of the canton of Graubünden, and less than 1 per cent of the population of Switzerland. Since a referendum of 20 February 1938, the Romansh language(s) has (have) been accorded official status as national language(s) of Switzerland, and elementary school instruction for the first three years until very recently had to be in Romansh in those districts where it was the majority language (Gregor 1982: 12).

In 1982, Heinrich Schmid, a German-speaking scholar at the University of Zurich, devised a new orthographic Romansh koine called *Rumantsch Grischun*. This purely written language has been accorded some official recognition as the language of government regulations, but is not intended to supplant the spoken dialects. In essence, it is a spelling compromise among the three major Romansh dialects (Surselvan,
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Surmeiran, and Vallader). A monumental *Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun*, under the editorship of Andrea Schorta and Alexis Decurtins and published by the Società Retorumantscha, has been appearing in fascicles since 1939.

0.1.2 Dolomitic Ladin

There are five valleys traditionally forming the territory where Dolomitic Ladin is spoken: Gardena, Gadera, Fassa, Livinallongo, and Ampezzo. These areas have been split apart both ecclesiastically and politically ever since the eleventh century.

We do not possess very detailed information about the early history of these territories. Apparently, they did not belong to the same Regio of the Roman Empire: the Regio of Raetia began north of Sabiona, while the rest of the Dolomitic area was part of the Decima Regio (Venetia et Histria).

Ampezzo, with Cadore, was part of the Bishopric of Aquileia within the Habsburg German Empire. In 1420, Cadore (with Friul) passed to Venice. Ampezzo, briefly contested by Venice (1508–11), remained a fief of the Habsburg monarchy until 1919.

The remaining Dolomitic valleys, since the eleventh century, were divided among the bishopric–principalities of Brixen and Trent. By 1200, the Bishops of Brixen had deeded the northern Gadera and Gardena valleys to the German nobility, who created the Grafschaft of Tyrol. The entire territory passed to the Habsburg family in 1363. Again, Venice contested Habsburg control of both Brixen and Trent throughout the sixteenth century, but Habsburg control was never shaken until the twentieth century.

A very balanced study by L. Palla (1988), published in the German-oriented journal *Ladinia*, gives an idea of the complexity of the factors involved in ‘Ladin’ linguistic and ethnic consciousness. To the nineteenth-century Austrian government, Ladin was a dialect of Italian, and as such, its use was prohibited in Badia, in an edict of 1886, as a counter to Italian nationalism and irredentism. To the Ladin clergy and laity, however (who strongly protested against this prohibition), Ladin and Italian were Catholic languages, and they opposed the use of German, which they viewed as the language of Protestantism.

Nevertheless, the Ladin population of the Dolomites were loyal Habsburg subjects until 1919. In World War I, many of them fought against Italy on the Dolomitic front, in which 60,000 people died. Of these, only 800 were Ladin speakers, but they constituted perhaps 4–5 per cent of the Ladin population of the time: enough that some observers...
reckoned World War I to be the greatest tragedy to befall the Ladins since the fall of the Roman Empire (Richebuono 1985: 16).

When Italy was awarded the South Tyrol in 1919, the Ladin valleys were separated into three administrative units: the Gadera and Gardena valleys were included in the province of Bolzano/Bozen; Ampezzo and Livinallongo were included in the province of Belluno; and Fassa is a part of the province of Trent. Given Ladin–Italian hostility, it may not have been surprising that in World War II, by the time that the Italian resistance was fighting against the Germans, the sympathies of most Ladins remained with the German-speaking side (Pellegrini 1987a).

Unlike in Switzerland, the Reformation had no galvanizing effect on Ladin linguistic or ethnic consciousness. Written Ladin in some dialect dates from only 1631 (see Ghetta and Plangg 1987). A Ladin ‘revival’ began only with the foundation of the Union Ladina in Innsbruck in 1905. In 1919, the Italian government embarked on a vigorous campaign of Italianization of their newly acquired territories: this was directed in the first instance against the German-speaking majority of Brixen, but Ladin, predictably, was submerged as an Italian dialect. It was not until 1948 that the Bolzano provincial government allowed both German and Italian to be used as media of instruction in the public schools, and sanctioned a maximum of two hours of instruction per week in Ladin in the Gardena and Gadera valleys, over 90 per cent of whose populations listed their native language as Ladin. There is still no official government recognition of the status of the Ladin dialects spoken in Belluno province.

A number of periodical publications exist in Ladin, but their circulation is tiny. The largest and most important of these is La Use di Ladins, issued monthly since 1972 with sections in each of the five Ladin dialects. In 1984 it boasted 2,170 subscribers. There is no daily or even weekly publication in Ladin, although both the German-language daily Die Dolomiten and the Italian Alto Adige have a weekly ‘plata ladina’ or page in one or more dialects of Ladin. It cannot be said that any of the dialects has the status of a koine.

Two very good journals, devoted to linguistics and popular literature and traditions of the various Rhaeto-Romance areas, are published: the Istitut Cultural Ladin (Fassa) puts out Mondo Ladino, and the Istitut Ladin (Val Badia) publishes Ladinia. Both institutions are collaborating with the University of Salzburg, Austria, in the preparation of an atlas of the Ladin region, under the direction of Hans Goebel. An attempt to devise a ‘common Ladin’ is under consideration.

0.1.3 Friulian

In comparison to the Dolomitic Alps, the territory of Friuli has been a
relatively stable political and administrative unit since the period of
Longobard suzerainty (if not before). The Longobards had made
Forum Iulii (present-day Cividale) the capital of a duchy in 568. When
they were supplanted by the Franks in 774, the territory was maintained
intact. In 1077, the Emperor Henry IV deeded the Friul to the Patriarch
of Aquileia, who remained its ecclesiastical and secular ruler until
Venetian conquest in 1420. In 1566, the easternmost fringe of Friuli,
including the town of Gorizia on the present-day Yugoslav border, was
awarded to the Habsburgs by the Treaty of Noyon, and not reincorporated
into the Friul (and hence, into Italy) until after World War I. The
rest of Friuli remained a part of the Republic of Venice until the latter
ceased to exist in 1797. Following the Napoleonic Wars, it was
incorporated into the Habsburg monarchy in 1815, and into the
Kingdom of Italy in 1866.

The first Friulian glosses, bills, and accounts date from AD 1150, but
the first conscious literary productions in Friulian were two fourteenth-
century lyric poems (ballads), each attributed to a notary: *Piruq myo doç
incularit* ‘My sweet rosy little pear’ (or ‘little berry’ or even ‘little Piera’:
see G. Pellegrini 1987b for discussion) is attributed to the notary
Antonio Porenzoni; *Biello dumlo di valor* ‘Fair lady of worth’, is
attributed to the notary Simon di Vittur. Both were written in the latter
half of the fourteenth century (see Joppi 1878; D’Aronco 1982). Of all
the Rhaeto-Romance dialects, Friulian is the one most exposed to the
inroads of a closely related language, Venetian. Possibly because there is
an extensive Friulian diaspora (substantial communities exist in
Argentina and Roumania), and possibly because of the extreme difficulty
of distinguishing between bidialectalism and bilingualism in cases of this
sort, estimates of the total number of Friulian speakers vary between
400,000 and 1 million (Krasnovskaia 1971: 6; Marchetti 1952: 16–17;
Frau 1984: 8 cites a census of 1975 which gives the total number of native
speakers resident in the Friul as 526,649). Many speakers in the town of
Udine and in the southern part of the region could also speak a variety of
Venetian. This kind of bilingualism has almost disappeared today, in
favour of Friulian–Italian bilingualism. No standardized form of the
language exists, although the east-central dialect, spoken in the lowland
areas between the Tagliamento River and the Yugoslav border, has
recognized status as a koine. This is because it was the variety adopted,
with some minor variations, by nineteenth-century poets and novelists.
One of the most prominent Friulian writers, the poet, novelist, and film
director Pier Paolo Pasolini, used a western dialect of Friulian, which,
although undoubtedly belonging to the Friulian system, is characterized
by a number of peculiarities in all parts of its grammar.
The Societá Filologica Friulana publishes two important journals: *Ce fastu?* and *Sot la Nape*. The former, devoted to linguistics and philology, is written mainly in Italian, while the second, which deals mainly with folklore and popular traditions, includes many Friulian texts.

### 0.2 RHAETO-ROMANCE SCHOLARSHIP

The first reference to a Rhaeto-Romance dialect in what may be called the scholarly literature is the appearance of a fragment of Bifrun’s (1560) Puter translation of the New Testament in C. Gesner’s *Mithridates*. The first reference linking Swiss and Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects in any way is in a letter of 1559 by Petrus Paulus Vergerius, who says only that ‘the language . . . of the Three Leagues (Romansh) . . . (is) almost worse than Friulian, which itself is so impoverished’ (cited in Decurtins, 1965: 261). Vergerius was referring to lexical contamination or impoverishment, it is not clear which. It is in any case extremely unlikely that he considered the dialects particularly closely related, except in their wretchedness.

A somewhat bolder claim was presented by G. Fontanini in his *Della eloquenza italiana* of 1737, where Romansh was genetically related with Friulian and the dialects of ‘some districts in Savoy bordering upon Dauphine’ (von Planta 1776: 27), and this stock was identified as the ‘original’ Romance language, or the direct descendant of Vulgar Latin.

J. von Planta’s *An account of the Romansh language* of 1776, presented to the Royal Society in London, is the first account in English, and also the first which buttresses its claims with textual attestation – though of a rather unusual sort. Von Planta thought that Rhaeto-Romance approximated the language of Charlemagne, and supported his contention by providing a quintilingual presentation of the Oaths of Strasburg of 842: in the Gallo-Romance original, in Latin, in twelfth-century French, and in two Romansh dialects, of which he identified the first as Ladin (Engadine Romansh) and the second as ‘Romansh of both dialects’. It is clear that Planta recognized two Swiss dialects which ‘differ so widely as to constitute two distinct languages’ (1776: 2): Cialover (Surselvan) and Engadine (Vallader and Puter). Planta was residing in London as librarian (subsequently president) of the Royal Society, but was born in Castegna, Graubünden, of a famous family of the canton. The ‘Romansh of both dialects’ was identified by H. Lehmann in 1790 as Surselvan (rather than as some precursor of G. Bühler’s ill-fated ‘Romontsch fusionau’).

The Italian economist Gian Rinaldo Carli, in an essay which appeared in 1788 in the journal *Antologia italiana*, and was subsequently cited by
Ascoli, was the first to connect Friulian and Romansh, considering both derived from Old Provençal.

Planta and Carli may have been the sources for Carl Ludwig Fernow’s grouping in the third volume of his *Römische Studien* (1808): in this, the first description of Italian dialects since Dante’s *De vulgari eloquentia*, Friulian and Romansh were grouped together on the basis of shared archaic Romance features.

Fernow had no clear ideas about the position of Dolomitic Ladin. The first Ladin dictionary was a list of words from Badia contained in the *Catalogus multorum verborum quinque dialectuum*, written before 1763 by the lawyer Simone Petro Bartolomei.

In 1805, there appeared a remarkable monograph by P. Placi a Spescha on *Die Rhaeto-Hetruskische Sprache*, which identified Surselvan as the purest or most archaic dialect of ‘RH’ – and thus the one most closely related to Etruscan. Modern scholarship agrees with the first part of this assessment (see Prader-Schucany 1970: 18), though, perhaps needless to say, not with the second. Placi’s monograph, incidentally, is the one which tells of mutual comprehensibility between Romansh and Dolomitic Rhaeto-Romance (impressionistically no further distant from each other than the geographically corresponding varieties of German: see Decurtins 1965: 278), and is, as far as we are aware, the first and last effort in the literature to justify grouping Rhaeto-Romance dialects together on the basis of this criterion. (To the extent that later scholars have concerned themselves with this question, they tend to emphasize the mutual incomprehensibility of the dialects: thus Gruell (1969: 101) insists that Ladin and Romansh speakers require standard Italian as a lingua franca; Pizzinini and Plangg (1966: xxv) discuss the problem of mutual intelligibility among the various Ladin dialects of the Dolomitic Alps of Italy; and Gregor (1982: 25) notes that even Swiss Romansh ‘is an abstraction, as there are five ‘fourth’ languages’. For our part, we can attest that a native speaker of Friulian can neither read nor understand either Surselvan or Vallader – at least as spoken by us).

The collection of translations of the Pater Noster into about 500 languages (initiated by Adelung, and completed and edited in 1809 by Vater), is the first work suggesting a connection of the three Rhaeto-Romance areas (see Goeb 1987: 138).

L. Diefenbach’s *Über die jetzigen romanischen Schriftsprachen* of 1831 recognized a group of Romance languages, including French, Romansh, Friulian, and Piedmontese, which shared a number of structural features now identified with Gallo-Romance, among them the 2nd singular and the plural endings in -s. He noted, in addition, that Romansh (actually
Surselvan) had peculiarities which linked it now with Italian, now with French, and was apparently the first to comment on how Romansh syntax reflected heavy German influence.

A more explicit attempt to link Romansh, Ladin, and Friulian (the latter only in passing, however) as an exclusive sub-group of Gallo-Romance was J. Haller's *Versuch einer Parallele der ladinischen Mundarten in Enneberg und Groeden im Tirole, dann im Engadin und in dem romanschischen in Graubuenden* in 1832. Like von Planta, he compared texts in four dialects: Swiss Surselvan and Vallader, and the Tyrol dialects Badiot/Abtei, Marebbe/Enneberg, and Gardena/Groeden (for which he coined the cover label ‘Ladin’) and noted the presence, in all four dialects, of the reflexes of Lat. *coccinu* ‘red’, *voliendo* ‘willingly’, *amita* ‘aunt’, and Goth. *skeitho* ‘spoon’. Haller’s study was followed in 1856 by J. Mitterrutzner’s phonological account of the Rhaeto-Ladinic dialects of the Tyrol, and C. Schneller’s work of 1870 *Die romanischen Volksmundarten im Südtirol*, which identified the currently recognized extent of Rhaeto-Romance in the following memorable words (Schneller 1870: 9): ‘In the Friulian–Ladin–Romansh complex [Kreis], we have a separate and independent branch [Hauptgebiet] of the Romance languages, granting even that its speakers have no common written language or even any consciousness of its inner unity.’ Schneller characterized Rhaeto-Romance as a sub-family of Romance rather than a single language: he was the first scholar to adduce a specific grammatical criterion in support of this claim: the Rhaeto-Romance branch of Romance was characterized for him by ‘One fundamental and commonly shared distinguishing feature, the palatalization of velar stops before a – that is to say, a feature which is also shared by French’ (1870: 10).

All of these authors may be regarded as precursors of the giants of Rhaeto-Romance scholarship, G.I. Ascoli and T. Gartner, whose efforts identified the features and limits of the Rhaeto-Romance languages that are still accepted by almost all scholars today.

Ascoli, himself a native speaker of Gorizian Friulian and one of the foremost Indo-Europeanists of his day, initiated the Archivio Glottologico Italiano in 1873 with a 500-page monograph *Saggi Ladini*. In this, one of the classics of Romance comparative linguistics, he identified Rhaeto-Romance (which he called ‘Ladin’) on the basis of several shared phonological retentions and innovations (see Ascoli 1873: 337; 1882–5: 102–5). Among these are

(a) the palatalization of inherited velars before *a*;
(b) the preservation of *l* after obstruents;
(c) the preservation of inherited word-final *-s*;
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

(d) the diphthongization of mid vowels (from Latin E, O) in checked syllables;
(e) the fronting of A to e;
(f) the diphthongization of tense e (Latin E, i) to ei;
(g) the fronting of tense u (Latin U);
(h) the velarization of l after a before a consonant.

Concerning this list, it should be noted, first, that many of these features are shared by languages outside Rhaeto-Romance. For example, (a), (b), (c), (e), (g), and (h) are common to much of Gallo-Romance. More remarkable, they do not seem to be shared by all the dialects within Rhaeto-Romance. Thus Ascoli noted Friulian did not undergo changes (e) (1873: 484ff.) or (g) (1873: 499). Second, the Saggi were rigorously limited to phonology. Ascoli meant to return to Ladin and evaluate the morphological, lexical, and syntactic evidence in favour of this putative group, but never had a chance to do so. What he might have said on these subjects is unknown (and, in many respects, difficult to imagine). While he is customarily credited with the invention of Rhaeto-Romance, it is notable that later scholars who deny the existence of this language are careful to insist that Ascoli’s pronouncements on Ladin are by no means dogmatic (see Pellegrini 1987a). In fact, Ascoli identified a ‘linguistic family’ in the sense familiar to historical-comparative linguistics, rather than a ‘new Romance language’ in the usual sense.

Elsewhere, Ascoli acknowledged the aberrant status of Friulian, as attested by the absence of front rounded vowels (vocali turbate) and the absence of a ‘three-syllable rule’ which deleted the post-tonic vowel of words stressed on the inherited antepenult (1873: 476).

Ascoli’s great study is now almost certainly unread by all but a handful of specialists, but it exerted a unique historical influence. No subsequent survey of the field fails to list essentially the same phonological characterizing features of Rhaeto-Romance as those noted by Ascoli. And not one fails to group the Rhaeto-Romance dialects into three groups exactly as Ascoli did.

Theodor Gartner had already made his name as a Romanist in 1879, with the (private) publication of his intensive study of the Ladin dialect of Gardena/Groeden. This was the first of several dozen such works of historical phonetics, which still constitute the majority of original research monographs on Rhaeto-Romance today by scholars, many of whom are native speakers of the dialects described. Gartner’s work was based exclusively on field research using adolescents of both sexes as his subjects. But his masterpiece was his Rätoromanische Grammatik of 1883, which was based on a full year of fieldwork in over sixty communities, from Tavetsch (Surselvan) to Pordenone (Friulian), and
buttressed by familiarity with, and citation of, what seems to have been almost every published work in any of the vernaculars from the Travers battle song onwards. This was a work of stupendous erudition, but is even more interesting to us as a pioneering example of fieldwork in a local language. Some of Gartner’s observations on the methodological pitfalls of working with naive or oversophisticated informants deal with canonical problems of field researchers (debated at that time, for example, by the French dialectologists Jean Psychari and l’Abbé Rousselot in the Revue des patois Galloroman I: 18 (1887) and II: 20 (1888)). In his later Handbuch der rätoromanischen Sprache und Literatur (1910), Gartner enunciated his version of what is now familiar to us from the writings of William Labov as the observer’s paradox. While there are problems working with uneducated people (who may not be perfectly bilingual and thus fail to provide accurate translations from German or Italian), the problems of dealing with educated people are almost infinitely worse, as the investigator will usually record ‘an unnaturally refined diction or pronunciation, with purisms or other whimsical turns [Liebhabereien]’ (Gartner 1910: 10). Gartner’s two overviews of 1883 and 1910 constitute the last major surveys of the domain of Rhaeto-Romance as defined by Ascoli up to the present day.

Pioneering and original studies of everlasting value, these works are also striking in their faithful enumeration of the distinctive features of Rhaeto-Romance, enlarging on the checklist provided by Ascoli, but not questioning any of its conclusions. For Gartner (1883: xxiii) as for Ascoli, the major features of Rhaeto-Romance included:

(a) retention of (word-initial) Cl- clusters;
(b) palatalization of velars before inherited /a/;
(c) retention of the -s plural
(d) retention of the -s 2sg. verbal desinence;
(e) syncope of proparoxytones

To this list of phonological features, Gartner added

(f) retention of the pronouns ego, tu;
(g) use of the pluperfect subjunctive in counterfactual conditionals.

Not much has been added to this skimpy and questionable list by later scholars. Walther von Wartburg (1950: 12; 1956: 36) notes a conservative phonological trait which distinguishes (some) Romansh from both French and Italian: this is the preservation of the original difference between /j/ and palatalized /g/, attested in the dialects of Bravuogn/Bergün and Münstair. That this conservative trait is also shared by Sardinian does not affect its usefulness as a diagnostic for
Rhaeto-Romance; on the other hand, the fact that it is also shared by the geographically contiguous northern Italian dialects of Bergell and Livigno (Wartburg 1950: 13), while it is not shared by putative Rhaeto-Romance dialects like those of Moena (Heilmann 1955: 97) and Gardena (Gartner 1879: 61, 64) seems to vitiate its effectiveness.

We may add, finally, one last defining feature noted by (among others) H. Kuen (1968: 54): both standard French and standard Italian have eliminated the inherited distinction between indicative and imperative in the second-person plural. In contrast to both standard French (which has generalized the inherited indicative form) and standard Italian (which has generalized the inherited imperative through the operation of phonological changes), the Rhaeto-Romance languages maintain the inherited distinction between indicative and imperative in the second-person plural.

The last survey of Rhaeto-Romance, by the great Romanist G. Rohlfs, is a digest of these earlier classics, in which, again, the basic defining features of Rhaeto-Romance are listed pretty much unchanged (Rohlfs 1975: 8). Like Gartner, Rohlfs sought to extend the list of features, but with indifferent success, inasmuch as the features he adduced were either not shared by all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects, or were shared by languages outside of Rhaeto-Romance, or both. Thus, for example, the fronting of long /u/ was shared by Romansh and several Ladin dialects (those of the Non and Gadera valleys), but failed to establish Rhaeto-Romance unity, since it was not shared by Friulian; and it failed to establish its independence, since it was also shared by Piedmontese and Lombard.

This raises, of course, the question already addressed in Schneller's work of 1870: were the other defining characteristics of Rhaeto-Romance—such as the palatalization of velars before inherited /a/—any different? And, if not, what basis is there for arguing for a Rhaeto-Romance language, or sub-group, within Romance? This question was taken up with considerable polemical vigour, but also great scientific acumen, by C. Battisti, in a number of publications, of which the most comprehensive summary is his 1931 monograph Popoli e lingue nell'Alto Adige. It is tempting to dismiss this and other works by Italian scholars as merely 'expounding the Italian irredentist doctrine that Ladin and the other Rhaeto-Romance languages do not constitute a separate unity' (thus Hall 1974: 42 fn.), but this temptation should be resisted. (As Benincà-Ferraboschi (1973: 126) observes, Battisti first wrote in 1910, when he was still an Austrian subject, honoured by the Austrian government, teaching at the University of Vienna.)

Battisti's conclusion may be too strong that the 'Ladin dialects must
be considered to be peripheral forms of other Italian dialects' (Battisti 1931: 211; for concurrent assessments by other scholars, see Buhler 1875, anthologized in Ulrich (1882: 136); and now Pellegrini (1972a, 1987a), Rizzolatti (1981), and Benincà-Ferraboschi (1973)). But there is more than one way to refute the position that the Rhaeto-Romance dialects are an independent unity. Battisti argued that they were united, but only as peripheral dialects of northern Italy, and provided compelling evidence that they shared no more than many other Romance dialects north of the Spezia–Rimini line. For Battisti, alone among scholars dealing with all of Rhaeto-Romance, the fundamental question was always this: do the undeniable features which link Romansh, Ladin, and Friulian form a tighter bond than the features which link each or all of these to other geographically contiguous languages or dialects? Battisti’s position was that the structural similarities between Romansh and Lombard, between Ladin and Trentino, between Friulian and Venetian, were more pervasive and more archaic than the similarities between the three putative Rhaeto-Romance dialects. Of the defining characteristics of Rhaeto-Romance enumerated by Ascoli and Gartner, he admitted only one – Schneller’s law of the palatalization of velars before inherited /a/: and this one also he attempted to belittle. He did not do this, as Schneller had already indicated that one might, by showing that the innovation was shared far beyond the confines of Rhaeto-Romance. Rather, he tried to show that the palatalizations occurred in the three putative dialects at different times, and thus could be dismissed as independent parallel innovations (Battisti 1931: 185).

Diagrammatically, Battisti’s position (1931: 193) could be represented as in the diagram,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Romansh} & \quad \text{Ladin} & \quad \text{Friulian} \\
\mid & \quad \mid & \quad \mid \\
\text{Lombard} & \quad \text{Trentino} & \quad \text{Venetian}
\end{align*}
\]

where the vertical links are stronger than the horizontal ones. The lower three dialects are separated from standard Italian by one of the major isoglosses within Romance, the line from La Spezia to Rimini.

With the exception of works like Prader-Schucany 1970 and Luedtke 1957 (which showed, respectively, the existence of several isoglosses between Romansh and Lombard, and isoglosses between Venetian and Friulian, but did not address themselves to the unity of Rhaeto-Romance as a whole), no scholar has attempted a refutation of Battisti’s
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

position, and in fact hardly any have tried to deal with more than a single dialect at a time.

Special mention, however, should be made of two recent works by American scholars. The first is Leonard's ingenious and subtle reconstruction of a proto-Rhaeto-Romance (PRR) phonemic system distinct from that of Vulgar Latin (Leonard 1972). Although Leonard assumed the unity of Rhaeto-Romance, rather than attempting to prove it, the reconstructed system he proposed, to the extent that it is distinct from that of Vulgar Latin, is implicitly a powerful argument for proto-Rhaeto-Romance, and will be extensively cited and challenged in the immediately following chapter. The second notable work is Redfern's (1971) use of Jaberg and Jud's monumental dialect atlas (1928–40) in an attempt to prove Rhaeto-Romance unity in the domain of the lexicon. But this study, which will be examined in chapter 3, does almost exactly the opposite of what its author claims, and shows the lexical heterogeneity of Rhaeto-Romance to be exceeded only by its syntactic diversity.

More recent contributions to the debate are Pellegrini's (1972a, 1987a), essentially an endorsement of Battisti based in the first instance on studies of the lexicon. Pellegrini argues that Ladin claims of a pervasive lexical divergence between Ladin and common northern Italian are unfounded, and most probably motivated by a snobbish distaste for the uncouth peasantry of Lombardy by a would-be Kulturvolk who were first loyal to the Habsburgs (see Kramer 1963/4), and then enthusiastic allies of the Fascists.

No survey of previous scholarship in Rhaeto-Romance would accurately reflect its scope and nature, without a mention of the atomistic works of historical phonetics of the various dialects, which, as we have noted, constitute the bulk of descriptive studies in this area. Among these, one of the greatest is undoubtedly Lutta's magnificent study of the phonetics of the Surmeiran dialect of Bravuogn/Bergün (Lutta 1923), which is also a survey of the historical phonetics of all the Romansh dialects. Another is W. Theodor Elwert's masterly work on the dialects of the Fassa valley (1943), which compares these dialects with other varieties of Rhaeto-Romance, and with Venetian and Lombard as well. The term 'phonetics' is the correct one: so painstaking and precise are the descriptions of the dialects in Lutta's and Elwert's work, that it is difficult to infer what the distinctive phonemes might be.

In a structuralist framework, Heilmann 1955, a study of the Ladin dialect of Moena, and Francescato 1966, a survey of the entire Friulian diasystem, are milestones of dialectology.

While there are also structural phonemic descriptions of Surselvan,
and several Ladin and Friulian dialects (Kramer 1972a, for Surselvan; Urzi 1961, Plangg 1973, and Politzer 1967, for varieties of Ladin; Bender et al. 1952, and Iliescu 1968–9 for Friulian), no similar work has been done on most Rhaeto-Romance dialects, for all their standardized orthographies. Consequently, answers to a number of questions (for example, as to the phonemic status of long vowels) are uncertain.
1 Phonology

The most convincing case for the unity of Rhaeto-Romance can be made in the domain of shared phonological innovation, as scholars since Schneller have agreed. We shall divide our discussion of phonology into two parts: first, a synchronic statement of the systematic phonemes in the principal dialects; and second, a survey of the sources of these sounds, tracing their development from Vulgar Latin.

For ease of exposition, we will adopt the fiction that there are only (!) fifteen dialects of Rhaeto-Romance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swiss</th>
<th>Ladin</th>
<th>Fruilian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surselván</td>
<td>Nonsberg</td>
<td>Ertan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutselván</td>
<td>Badiot-Marebbán</td>
<td>Western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surmeirán</td>
<td>(Gadera Valley)</td>
<td>Carnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puter</td>
<td>Gardenese</td>
<td>East-Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vallader</td>
<td>Fassan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Livinallongo-Fodom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ampezzan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No more eloquent admission of the significance of a standardized orthography is possible. The Romansh dialects, with fewer than one-tenth of the speakers of Rhaeto-Romance, constitute a third of our data base. (This distortion will be inconsistent: where the data warrant, we will disregard some dialect divisions, and introduce others.)

In this study the symbols { } will be used to indicate orthographic representations in older texts of the modern standardized languages; the square brackets [ ], as is customary, will be used for phonetic transcriptions, and the obliques / /, for more abstract representations, generally corresponding to a fairly low-level phonemic transcription which includes archiphonemes. Angle brackets ⟨ ⟩ will be used in
chapter 3 for reconstructions of ’proto-Rhaeto-Romance’ forms.

1.1 THE PHONEME INVENTORIES

1.1.1. Surselvan

This dialect with approximately 18,000 speakers has two orthographic traditions dating back to the seventeenth century. The vowels are:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ } & \text{i} & \text{u} \\
\text{a} & \text{e} & \text{o} \\
\text{e} & \text{a} & \text{A} \\
\text{a} & \text{E} & \text{o} \\
\end{array}
\]

where phonetically, /o/ = [ə] (Nay 1965: viii–ix, Kramer 1972a: 354). The phone /a/, as well as being the unstressed alternant of /a, e, e/ (see Kramer 1972a: 356), must be accorded independent status for invariably unstressed vowels. In addition, the diphthong sequences which are permitted are:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
i&i\text{a} & i\text{w} & u\text{a} & j\text{u} \\
e&i\text{e} & i\text{w} & u\text{e} & j\text{u} \\
a&i\text{a} & i\text{w} & u\text{a} & j\text{a} & w\text{a} \\
\end{array}
\]

Falling  Rising

There are, in addition triphthongs /jaw/, /waw/. After palatals or before /n/, /aw/ is raised to [aw]: thus {jeu} [jaw] ‘T’, {clavau} [klavaw] ‘barn’, {taun} [cawn] ‘dog’ are phonemically /jaw/, /klavaw/, /cawn/.

The inventory of syllabic nuclei in unstressed syllables is /i,a,u/ (see Huonder 1901: 518; Kramer 1972a: 355–6). Synchronically, in verbal paradigms, the choice of unstressed vowel corresponding to a given stressed vowel is not entirely predictable: stressed /o/ corresponds to either unstressed /a/ or unstressed /u/, and stressed /e/ corresponds to either unstressed /a/ or unstressed /i/.

The consonants (Kramer 1972a: 346; Leonard 1972: 63) are as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
p & t & c & k \\
b & d & j & g \\
ts & t\text{ʃ} & \\
f & s & ʃ & h \\
\end{array}
\]
The above are pretty nearly identical with what we may call the consonantal skeleton of all Rhaeto-Romance dialects, as we shall see.

Consonant alternations include the following:

**Voicing assimilation:**
(a) C ➔ -voice/
(b) C ➔ āvoice/ - sonorant

**T-epenthesis:**
null ➔ t/n, l, ħ____s (Leonard 1972: 64)

**Casual cluster simplification:**
C ➔ null/Nasal____#

**Nasal Assimilation:**
n ➔ ē____K

Note that in Surselvan, unlike English, cluster simplification and nasal assimilation apply in the (transparent) order given. Thus /śwnk/ ‘even’ becomes, in careful speech /śwnk/ (where nasal assimilation only has applied), and, in casual speech /śwn/ (where casual cluster simplification pre-empts or bleeds nasal assimilation) (Kramer 1972a: 353).

### 1.1.2 Sutselvan

This is the most marginal and endangered Romansh dialect, with fewer than 4,000 speakers, all of them by this time probably more fluent in German than in Sutselvan. In spite of a written ‘tradition’ dating back to a catechism in the Domleschg dialect which appeared in 1601, Luzi reported in 1904 that the dialect was usually written in the Surselvan orthography (1904: 760) and that the language of education was universally German. The homogeneity, and hence the survivability, of the dialect was further threatened by the fact that there was a major dialect split within Sutselvan between Catholic and Protestant varieties, which contributed to boundary maintenance: ‘the confessional difference between the dialects probably also played a role in making the [one] dialect seem even more comic and uncouth’ (Luzi 1904: 759) to the speakers of the other. Himself a native speaker, Luzi predicted the ultimate disappearance of Sutselvan within a matter of decades. The following description, from his work, thus resurrects a virtually extinct system, the ruins of which are described in works like Cavigelli 1969.
The vowels included:

\[ i \quad u \]
\[ e \quad o \]
\[ a \]

Although phonetically [i], the sound /i/ was perceived as a 'kind of e'. Its phonemic status is confirmed by minimal contrast pairs like /lec/ 'lake' vs. /luc/ 'read (p.p.)' (Luzi 1904: 762).

Among the permitted diphthongs, the most notable is /ea/, unique to Sutselvan, and constituting a 'signature' for this dialect (as the front rounded vowels are a signature for the Engadine dialects and Badiot Ladin, and the Verschärfung of postvocalic glides (i.e. their change to stops) is a signature for Surmeiran).

The consonant inventory was the same as in Surselvan. The velar nasal [ŋ] occurred as a syllable-final allophone of /n/ after back vowels (Luzi 1904: 810).

1.1.3 Surmeiran

This again is one of the endangered dialects, with perhaps 5,000 speakers, and less of a written tradition than either the Rhenish or the Engadine dialects. On the other hand, Lutta (1923) has ensured its immortality in at least the scholarly literature. The vowels are structurally, although not phonetically, the same as in Surselvan:

\[ i \quad u \]
\[ e \quad o \]
\[ a \]

They also occur in the following diphthongs:

\[ ij \quad uw \]
\[ ej \quad ow \]
\[ ej \quad ow \]
\[ aj \]

and in the triphthongs /jow/ and /wej/. A peculiarity which Surmeiran shares (to some extent) with Puter, is the rule of Verschärfung, whereby diphthongal off-glides (not only /j/ and /w/, but also /ɔ/) become velar stops before a following consonant: thus /krejr/ becomes [krekr] 'to
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

believe' (see Kamprath 1985, 1986). A similar, contextually more restricted Verschärfung occurs in word-final position of pronouns in some of the Friulian dialects (see Gartner 1883: 72–3; Francescato 1963). In Belluno, MEI > (>mjej) > /mjek/ ‘mine (m. pl.); *ILLEI > (>ljej) > /lek/, etc. While this is scarcely a Rhaeto-Romance, or even a Romansh, feature, it is shared by not widely separated dialects of Franco-Provençal spoken in the Rhone valley. Whether this similarity constitutes particularly cogent evidence for a 1,500-year-old Franco-Rhaeto-Romance unity, as von Wartburg (1956: 30) and Rohlf (1972: 125 fn.) seem to intimate, is highly questionable.


The inventory of consonantal phonemes is the same as in Surselvan. As in Surselvan, the sound [n] occurs, but may be a syllable-final allophone of /n/: thus stazioni [statsiunj] ‘station’ (Thoni 1969: 15 and passim), but it may be that the phonetic contrast [n]/[n] is in the process of becoming phonologized as a result of the pressure for paradigm coherence. Note the phonetic contrasts [bun] ‘good (m.sg.)’ vs. [buna] ~ [buja] ‘good (f.sg.)’, (Thoni 1969: 41). If [buna], motivated by paradigm coherence, becomes established, the distribution of the phone [n] will no longer be contextually predictable. Leonard (p.c.) notes that inherited -nn- yields final [n], thus phonologizing the contrast between [n] and [n] in pairs like [on] ‘year’ (< annu) vs. [man] ‘hand’ (< mano).

As in almost all Romansh and many Ladin dialects, the opposition between /s/ and /ʃ/ is neutralized before a consonant within the same morpheme in favour of [ʃ] ~ [ʂ], with voicing agreement before a non-sonorant consonant, but invariable [ʃ] before nasals and liquids. (We may therefore posit an archiphoneme /S/ in this position. Thus /Sminar/ [ʃ̩minar] ‘feel’, /Snaer/ [ʃ̩naer] ‘deny’.) The fact that this neutralization fails to occur in the 2nd singular ending -st (Thoni 1969: 12) is evidence that the final consonant here originated – very recently, in all likelihood – as a copy of the personal pronoun cliticized to the verb, most probably originally in inverted word order: thus te ast [te ast] ‘you have’ derives, by this analysis, from /te as+t/. The enclisis of 2nd singular (and 2nd plural) subject pronouns is widespread in the Lombard dialects (see Rohlf 1968: 149) – as it also is in the German 2nd singular -st and medieval English 2nd singular -st.
1.1.4 Puter

The vocalic systems of the Engadine dialects are marked by the presence of the front rounded vowels /y/ and /o/. In addition, the issue also arises here whether length in vowels is phonemic: it seems that in Puter and Vallader, length is largely, if not entirely, predictable, while there are Ladin dialects where it is not, and that, finally, in Friulian length is totally phonemic. However, vowel length in the Engadine dialects has an origin analogous to its origin in Friulian, while in Dolomitic Ladin, vowel length has completely different origins and distribution.

The vowels are as follows:

```
i y u
 e  o  o
 e  o
a
```

Most long vowels occur before syllable-final /r/ or /l/. The productivity of Verschärfung is much lower than in Surmeiran, and Scheitlin (1962: 15), in his pedagogical grammar of Puter, simply lists several dozen words where – in lower register speech styles (!) – non-phonemic velars appear after the high vowels /i, u, e/: among them are /trid/ [trikt] 'ugly', /bryt/ [brykt] 'ugly', /ura/ [ugra] 'hour', and /Skriv:ir/ [SKRIVIR] 'to write'. (Leonard (p.c.) reports that in the Silva Plana dialect, Verschärfung is apparently independent of both vowel height and register, but seems to occur only in final syllables.)

The consonant inventory is that of Surselvan, enriched by the palatal fricative /\j/ , a dialect-particular reflex of inherited /k/, after /i/: thus /amic/ 'friend'.

1.1.5 Vallader

The vocalic inventory is nearly the same as for Puter, except the phonemic status of long vowels is a little firmer: there are some near-minimal contrast pairs cited in Arquent's pedagogical grammar (1964: xiii), and in Ganzoni (1983b: 18), among them /tJeI/ (<ECC-ILLE) vs. /tJE:1/ < CAELU, and /fatseI/ 'kerchief' vs. /fAS/ 'leaf'. Most long vowels occur before syllable-final /r/, although Leonard (1972: 65, and p.c.) notes the minimal contrast pair /car/ 'wagon' (< CARU) vs. /carr/ 'dear (m.sg.)' (< CARU) and near-minimal pairs like [nas] 'nose' (< NASU) and [pas] 'step' (< PASSU). Given such pairs, it is reasonable to reconstruct the process of phonologization of length in Vallader as essentially parallel to the more general process in Friulian: stressed vowels are phonetically lengthened before inherited single consonants.
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

(or, if we consider a stage before the loss of most word-final vowels in proto-Romance, in open syllables). Length is recognizably phonological after the simplification of word-final consonant clusters. Compare Friulian /fat/ < FACTU with /finit/ < FINITU, /nas/ < NASU with /nas/ < NASCI(t).

Diphthongs include falling /ej, ew, ow, aj, aw/, rising /je, wa, we, wo, wi, yo/; the lone triphthong is /jew/.

The consonant inventory is the same as in Surselvan. Leonard notes two consonantal alternations, of which the first is quite general throughout Romansh, and the second is peculiar to Vallader (Leonard 1972: 65):

'Sonorant' syllabification:
\[ \emptyset \rightarrow V/C \quad n, l, r, \ddagger \quad $ (except for /rn, r\ddagger/)

Gemination:
\[ C \rightarrow \text{geminate}/V \quad \ddagger V
\]
\[ + \text{stress}
\]
\[ - \text{long}
\]

These rules must apply in the order given: /k\ddagger f + r/ \rightarrow /k\ddagger fr/ \rightarrow /k\ddagger fr/ (syllabification) \rightarrow [k\ddagger fr] (gemination) ‘to grow’.

1.1.6 Ladin

There is tremendous phonemic variation among these dialects. The major split among them is roughly geographical. On the west is the Lombard-Ladin dialect of the Val di Non (Nonsberg) between Trento and Bolzano/Bozen, the phonetics of which were described exhaustively by the youthful native speaker and future polemicist Carlo Battisti (1908), and restudied by Politzer (1967). On the east are Ampezzano (Appollonio 1930), with approximately 3,000 speakers, and the dialects spoken in the valleys radiating from the Sella massif south-east of Bressanone/Brixen: these include the dialects of the Gardena valley/Gröden (Gartner 1879; Urzi 1961), with perhaps 8,000 speakers; Livinallongo/Buchenstein/Fodom, with 3,000 speakers; the Fassa valley (Elwert 1943; Heilmann 1955), with 7,000 speakers; and the Badia-Gadera valley (Alton and Vittur 1968; Plangg 1973; Pizzinini and Plangg 1966; Belardi 1965; Craffonara 1971–2), with as many as 10,000 speakers. The works of Urzi, Heilmann, Plangg, and Politzer are explicitly phonemic structural descriptions, while those of Gartner, Battisti, and Elwert are of the familiar historical-phonetic kind. Appollonio’s description of Ampezzan, and Alton-Vittur’s description of Badiot and Marebban, are both synchronic pedagogical or reference grammars. Craffonara’s dissertation is both a structural and a dia-
chronic description of Marebbean and Badiot.

Linguistically, if not geographically (von Wartburg 1956: 48), Marebbe-Badiot counts as a ‘western’ dialect with respect to one important feature: the presence of the phoneme /y/. In Nonsberg Ladin, as in Swiss Romansh, inherited long /u/ was fronted to /y/. The trait is shared by the Lombardic dialects to the south, and was identified by Battisti as a borrowing from Trentino (1908: 9) into Nonsberg rather than a feature common to Romansh and Western Ladin. Badiot and Marebbe have both /y/ and /o/, but the sources of both sounds are heterogeneous, and sometimes quite recent. In Fassa and other varieties of Ladin, /y/ > /i/ and /o/ > /e/. In Friulian, no fronting of long *u* occurred.

We will arbitrarily select the Badiot dialect described in G. Plangg (Pizzinini and Plangg 1966; Plangg 1973) as the exemplar of ‘western’ Ladin, and the Moena dialect of the Fassa valley (Heilmann 1955) as the exemplar of ‘eastern’ Ladin, with asides for the other dialects from time to time.

The vocalic inventory of Western Ladin is exactly the same as for Vallader and Puter. In addition, Plangg (1973: 15) notes the existence of an Upper Badiot dialect with a phonemic length contrast for /a, e, i, o, u/. The origins of this distinction are totally different from the origins of phonemic length in the Engadine dialects or Friulian.

On the other hand, front rounded vowels tend to be missing from the phonemic inventories of the eastern Ladin languages: according to Heilmann (1955: 267), Moena lacks /y/. Other eastern dialects, among them those of Gardena, also lack /o/. In one recent description, the Ladin dialect of Gardena has the stressed vowels /i, e, a, o, u, o/, and the unstressed vowels /i, a, o, u/ (Leonard 1972: 66). This inventory is remarkable not only for the absence of the front rounded vowels, but for the phonemic status of /o/, distinct from /a/, in both stressed and unstressed syllables.)

As the vocalic inventory gives hints of expanding, moving eastward, so the consonantal inventory hints of imminent reduction. While the canonical consonantal inventory in Nonsberg Ladin is the same as in Surselvan, there is a middle Nonsberg dialect in which there is no phonemic contrast between [c] and [tʃ], nor between their voiced counterparts (Politzer, 1967: 19). ‘Standard Badiot’ as described by Plangg maintains a phonemic /c/ vs. /tʃ/ distinction (Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: xxxvi) for word pairs like /tʃamp/ ‘left’ vs. /camp/ ‘field’. Leonard (p.c.) points out that in both Badiot and Marebbe, the distinction was maintained only by older speakers as long ago as 1958 and is by now entirely extinct, as attested by Craffonara (1971–2). In
addition, Iliescu (1968–9: 279) notes the absence of this phonemic contrast in several other Ladin dialects, among them those of Livinallongo, Cortina d’Ampezzo, and Fassa (made famous by Elwert; see Elwert 1943: 67).

The status of [n] in Ladin is fairly complicated. In Fassa, as in most of northern Italian, [n] is simply the syllable-final allophone of /n/ (Heilmann 1955: 159–62; Belardi 1965: 190). Moena differs phonetically from Fassa in that [n] occurs syllable-finally; phonologically, however, the two neighbouring dialects are alike in that [n] is a predictable allophone of /n/, occurring in Moena before velar stops only.

One Ladin dialect may reflect redistribution of the phone [n]. In Gardena, Gartner (1879) consistently recorded [n] as the syllable-final allophone of /n/. In her restudy of 1961, Urzi finds syllable-final [n], with [n] occurring as the conditioned alternant of /n/ before velar stops only. At neither stage does [n] seem to have phonemic status.

Another Ladin dialect may have lost the phoneme /n/. Battisti (1908) found minimal contrasting pairs like /an/ ‘year’ vs. /pan/ ‘bread’ in Nonsberg, but noted the tendency to replace all final non-palatalized nasals with [m], a tendency which he attributed to the influence of Trentino. In his restudy of 1967, Politzer found no occurrences of syllable-final [n]: hence there is no phonetic basis for a phoneme /n/ in Nonsberg. Belardi (1965: 188) concurs, alleging that in the Avisio valley dialect (also western Ladin, and closely neighbouring Nonsberg), [n] has no phonemic status.

Only the Badiot and Marebban dialects, among those Ladin dialects spoken today, still definitely retain the contrast between inherited syllable-final /n/ (from -mn-, -nn-, -nC-) and syllable-final /n/ (from -n-, -m-) (see Belardi 1965: 190; Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: xxxv; Craffonara 1971–2. Thus /an/ < ANNU contrasts with /fan/ < FAME.

The status of the phone [J] is equally various. Throughout Romansh, as we have observed, all preconsonantal /s/ are [J]. The same is found in the Ladin dialects of Fassa and Gardena, and the Carnic varieties of Friulian. In Moena, on the other hand, the palatalization of /s/ before consonants is optional (Heilmann 1955: 15). Finally, in Nonsberg, there is no phonetic difference between prevocalic and preconsonantal /s/, both being rendered by a sound that is intermediate between [s] and [J] (Battisti 1908: 139).

Pizzinini and Plangg (1966: xxxvi) note a phonological rule of t-epenthesis, which converts underlying /ls/, /ms/, and occasionally /ns/, to [lts], [mts], and [nts]. A similar rule exists in Surselvan, but it is also attested in many non-Rhaeto-Romance dialects of central and southern Italy.
1.1.7 Friulian

According to the standard sources (Marchetti 1952; Francescato 1966; Iliescu 1972; and, partially disagreeing, Frau 1984), the vowel inventory is the canonical five-vowel set /i, e, a, o, u/, with phonemic length. Generally, long vowels are tense, short vowels are lax. Some Friulian dialects, for example the east-central dialect of Mortegliano, also have a phonological contrast between lax and tense mid vowels (see Frau 1984: 18–19). Illustrating this are minimal contrast pairs like /mes/ 'usher' vs. /mes/ 'month', /fedē/ 'ewe' vs. /fedē/ 'faith', /soj/ 'I am' vs. /soj/ 'his/her (m.pl.)', /so:s/ 'you are' vs. /so:s/ 'his/her (f.pl.)', /veris/ 'glasses' vs. /veris/ 'true (f.pl.)'.

Minimal pairs contrasting for length include /la:t/ 'gone' vs. /lat/ 'milk', and /mil/ 'honey' vs. /mil/ 'thousand', /pes/ 'weight' vs. /pes/ 'fish', /voj/ 'I go' vs. /voj/ 'eyes', /kro:t/ 'I believe' vs. /kro:t/ 'frog', and /brut/ 'daughter-in-law' vs. /brut/ 'ugly'. The contrast (which is generally only observed in final stressed closed syllables) is neutralized in favour of the short lax form in unstressed syllables, in favour of the long tense form before tautosyllabic /r/ (in some varieties: see Bender et al. 1952: 221; Iliescu 1968–9: 287), and in favour of the short lax form before tautosyllabic nasals (in all varieties: Francescato 1966: 7; Vanelli 1985: 370).

Friulian can be divided into two major dialect groups depending on whether or not the phonemic contrast between /c/ and /tʃ/ is maintained (see Francescato 1966: 11). The dialect of Udine described by Bender, Francescato, and Salzmann (Bender et al. 1952) is one in which the opposition has been lost.

Here, the consonants are:

- p, t, k
- b, d, g
- f, s
- v, z
- m, n, ŋ
- l, r
- tʃ, ʒ
- h

Not only the palatal stops, but the palatal fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/, the palatal lateral, and /h/ are entirely missing, at both the phonetic and the underlying phonological levels. On the other hand, in the northwestern (Carnic) dialect of Pesariis, described in Leonard (1972: 66), the /c/ vs.
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

/tʃ/ contrast is maintained, and there also exist the palatal fricatives /ʃ, ʒ/. Iliescu (1968–9: 276–7) maintains that the /c/ vs. /tʃ/ distinction survives in Northern and Western Friulian (her dialect groups A and B), and is lost in the areas east of Udine and at Cormons (her groups C and D). For a more thorough discussion, see Francescato (1959, 1966). The exact boundary, after Francescato (1966: 47) as adapted by Frau (1984: 42) is given in map 2.

Frau (1984: 42) identifies the isogloss as the one between Western Friulian (no distinction between [c] and [tʃ]) and east-central koine, with the exception of Udine (where a phonological distinction is maintained). But this isogloss only partially coincides with the Tagliamento river, which marks the other isoglosses that separate these two dialect groups.

1.1.8 Common features

The common consonantal structure of the Rhaeto-Romance dialects is clear enough. Moreover, the differences in the vowel inventory, while often spectacular, are – at least in some cases – the result of fairly recent changes, as the survey of historical phonetics below will shortly demonstrate.

Beyond these similarities, almost all Rhaeto-Romance dialects (with the exception of the Ladin and Friulian dialects just noted above) have in common the archiphoneme /S/ (with phonetic values [ʃ] and [ʒ]), representing a neutralization of the four phonemes /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, and /ʒ/, occurring before consonants within the same morpheme and (essentially) agreeing with this consonant in voicing.

The most ambitious and careful reconstruction of a proto-Rhaeto-Romance ancestor language distinct from Vulgar Latin is that of Leonard (1972). The chart below reproduces the vowel system of proto-Rhaeto-Romance that Leonard reconstructs, contrasting it with those of Latin and Vulgar Latin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Vulgar Latin</th>
<th>Proto-Rhaeto-Romance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɛ/____umlauting environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>fronted a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>ɔ/____umlauting environment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 2 The /tʃ/ ≠ /c/ isogloss within Friulian
Before even summarizing this claim in a cursory fashion below, or dealing with its specific claims in detail (as we shall do in piecemeal fashion in our discussion of historical phonetics), we should be aware that Leonard's claim of proto-Rhaeto-Romance unity is not one that is made in support of position 1 (in which Rhaeto-Romance is considered an independent unit). Rather, the proto-Rhaeto-Romance which Leonard reconstructs, as well as being the ancestor of just Rhaeto-Romance, is very possibly the ancestor of French as well: 'The Friulian, Dolomitic, and Grisons dialects are not much more closely related to each other than they are to French.' (Leonard 1964: 32). (To this group, we suggest, many northern Italian dialects could also be added.) In other words, Leonard is arguing in favour of position 2 (in which Rhaeto-Romance dialects are members of a larger unity).

While Leonard accepts the reality of proto-Rhaeto-Romance rather than treating it as a construct which requires explicit justification, the existence of the innovations outlined above provides very powerful implicit evidence for proto-Rhaeto-Romance. The crucial innovations from the chart above are

1. e > ə
2. umlaut of e, ə and the resulting splits;
3. u > y;
4. the innovation of phonemic length;
5. the fronting of a.

The synchronic evidence for the universality of some of these innovations within Rhaeto-Romance is relatively spotty. In particular, it seems that some innovations (like 1 and 2) are not only shared outside Romansh, Ladin, and Friulian (a conclusion which Leonard would anticipate: for example, in Leonard (1978), change 2 above is explicitly located within proto-Romance), but that some of them (like 3, 4, and 5) define isoglosses within it.

1.2 HISTORICAL PHONETICS

Some of the striking phonological differences among the Rhaeto-Romance dialects are of demonstrably recent origin. Among these are
the treatments of inherited /u/, which establish what may seem at first to be massive boundaries within Romansh. (On the other hand, it may be that some of the striking common innovations are also independent of each other, and that the similarities they lead to are similarly recent.)

The cursory survey which follows relies entirely on some of the classic descriptions of the phonological development of various Rhaeto-Romance dialects. The reader should be aware that the ‘dialects’ which constitute the units of discussion here do not correspond to idealizations like ‘Surselvan’ or ‘Ladin’, but to the speech of individual villages or small areas. We have restricted ourselves to descriptions of ‘typical’ rather than deviant dialects within each group (thus relying on Pult’s description of the Vallader of Sent, rather than on Schorta’s more extensive discussion of the Müstair Vallader of Santa Maria, and so forth), but even so, there is a tension between the incorrigible particularity of the sources, and the generality which the reader is entitled to expect from a crude survey such as this. For Surselvan, the classic survey of the Disentis and Tavetsch dialects is Huonder 1901 (with full treatment of vowels, and only passing mention of consonantal developments); for Surmeiran, and for Romansh generally, the classic source is Lutta 1923; for Sutselvan, Luzi 1904; for various Ladin dialects, Gartner 1879, Battisti 1908, Elwert 1943; and for Friulian, Francescato 1966 and Iliescu 1972. The latter surveys four Friulian dialects, all spoken by expatriate communities in Roumania. Useful recapitulations of the Friulian developments are also provided by Rizzolatti 1981, Frau 1984, and Benincà 1989.

1.2.1 The evolution of stressed vowels

The inherited Vulgar Latin vowel system of /i, e, a, o, u/ is the basis of the phonemic systems of all Rhaeto-Romance dialects, and is reproduced in the phonemic systems of some of them. Most of the characteristic Rhaeto-Romance changes involved the mid vowels (particularly the low mid vowels), which were diphthongized.

The phonologization of vowel length in the Friulian dialects is explained (by Francescato (1966), as revised by Trumper (1975) and Vanelli (1979), briefly restated in Rizzolatti (1981: 20) and Frau (1984: 31)) as the outcome of four well-attested diachronic processes:

1. intervocalic lenition of voiceless consonants;
2. non-distinctive lengthening of stressed vowels before all voiced consonants but the nasals;
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

3. loss of final non-low unstressed vowels;
4. devoicing of final obstruents;
(5. consonant-cluster simplification).

Following these changes, it would seem that ‘length’ has become phonologized in stressed vowels in inherited open syllables which are now closed final syllables: ‘length’ subsumes a number of phonetically distinct but clearly related features: length, raising, and diphthongization. There are two important qualifications to this general principle, which we shall consider after the unmarked cases have been reviewed.

Thus, the regular developmental histories of (AMBU)LATU ‘gone’ and LACTE ‘milk’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LATU</th>
<th>LACTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ladu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. la:du</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. la:d</td>
<td>lact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. la:t</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. —</td>
<td>lat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each of these processes is plausible, and the only problem with the mechanism proposed is that it is so natural that we should expect to encounter the phonologization of vowel length not just in Friulian, but throughout Rhaeto-Romance. On the other hand, length is phonologized in other Rhaeto-Romance dialects besides Friulian, and this mechanism might account for how this came about. The orderly sequence of events postulated by Vanelli (1979) is certainly compatible with Leonard’s contention that proto-Rhaeto-Romance had phonologized vowel length, and we are then left with the task of identifying the processes whereby this distinction was pretty generally lost.

The first major qualification to the general principle that length was phonologized in inherited open syllables is forced upon us by contrasts like /la:t/ ‘go (p.p. m.sg.)’ vs. /lade/ ‘go (p.p. f.sg.)’. Apparently, lengthening occurred only in stressed syllables which became final syllables as a consequence of change 3, the loss of unstressed final non-low vowels. From the synchronic perspective of the Friulian speaker, lengthening occurs only in stressed final syllables which are closed by an obstruent that is voiced in paradigmatically related forms. Thus, while there is length alternation in /læt/ vs. /læde/, there is none in /lat/ ‘milk’ vs. /lar:rul/ ‘milkman’ (no voicing alternation). There is no need, as yet, to impute to the speaker a knowledge of the phonological history of Friulian.

Here we come to the second qualification. One relative implausibility in the model above is that rule 2 is apparently sensitive to the historical
origin of voicing. Vowels lengthen before voiced consonants which are voiced by intervocalic lenition, but not those which were voiced to begin with. Thus, no lengthening occurs in pane, which becomes /pan/ 'bread', or in tardu, which becomes /tart/ 'late'. In fact, no lengthening takes place before nasals, ever. The case of the remaining sonorants /l/ and /r/ is more complex. Diachronically, stressed vowels are lengthened in inherited open syllables: thus /val/ < valet vs. /val/ < valle, and /ca:r/ < caru vs. /ca:r/ < carru. There is no phonetic implausibility to the initial non-distinctive lengthening in open syllables, but there is no productive length contrast for consonants in Friulian. We must therefore assume that speakers have simply learned contrasts like /ca:r/ vs. /ca:r/ by rote.

1.2.1.1 *i

The high front vowel was generally maintained in the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects (see Francescato (1966: 195) and Iliescu (1972: 42) for Friulian; Elwert (1943: 47) for Ladin), and in Vallader, the easternmost Romansh dialect. In Surmeiran and in Puter, diphthongization yielded /ij/, with subsequent Verschärfung before a following consonant to [iK] (Gartner 1883: 48; Lutta 1923; passim). That this Verschärfung is automatic is hinted in its non-existence in the standard orthographies, and in the totally productive way stressed /ij/ ([iK] ~ [i]) alternates in the spoken language with unstressed /i/ [i]. Lutta (1923: 315–16 drew attention to how the [iK] ~ [i] alternation was sensitive not only to word stress, but also to phrase and sentence stress in pairs like (the night is) [Jcigra] 'dark (f.sg.)' vs. [la Jcira nwets] 'the dark night'. The status of glide obstruentization as a 'familiar' or 'uncouth' pronunciation is indicated in Scheitlin (1962: 15), and Rohlfs (1975: 19). For a phonological account, see Kamprath (1986).

In Surselvan, Sutselvan, and Surmeiran, there was a tendency to lower /i/ in closed syllables. In Surselvan, all /i/ underwent lowering to /e/ before tautosyllabic consonants: thus primu > /(om)prem/ 'first'. In Sutselvan, /i/ lowered to /u/ syllable-finally, before /n/, and before /s/ (Luzi 1904: 766–8), thus dictu > /dic/, fine > /fin/ ([fijn] ~ [fin]) 'end', and familia > [famia] 'family'. In Surmeiran, /i(j)/ lowered syllable-finally to /e(i)/, thus dormire > /durme(j)r/ ([durmekr]) 'sleep'.

That the lowering process is very recent can be seen from the form of fourth-conjugation infinitives in Surselvan and Sutselvan. In these dialects (and, in Sutselvan, not consistently), final /r/ of the stressed infinitival desinence is lost: dormire > /durmi/. The non-existence of
infinitives like */durme/* suggests an ordering

(a) loss of infinitival -r;
(b) lowering of /i/ to /e/ before consonants.

### 1.2.1.2 *u*

This vowel is also maintained in the Italian dialects (Iliescu 1972: 43; Elwert 1943: 53), but undergoes a series of changes in Romansh. In all Romansh, as in French (and as in Lombard and Piedmontese, see Battisti 1931: 140; Rohlfs 1972: 125), /u/ originally was fronted to /y/. Over the seventeenth century, this high front rounded vowel was unrounded in Surselvan, Sutselvan, and Surmeiran to /i/. While Old Surselvan texts of the seventeenth century still have {iin} for modern /in/ ‘one (m.sg.)’, there is evidence that this change may have begun much earlier, perhaps as early as the eighth century, thus the toponym /flem/ < FLUMEN ‘river’ (Prader-Schucany 1970: 58). In any case, /i/ derived from inherited *u* was able to undergo the subsequent lowering (to /e/ in this example), and regularly to /i/ in Sutselvan (Luzzi 1904: 791), thus FUMU > /fim/ ‘smoke’. In Surmeiran, /i/ diphthongized to /ij/ or /ej/, with Verschärfung to [iK] or [eK] before a following consonant. Some idea of the complexity of the correspondences may be given by table 1.1. Perhaps in the fluctuations between [e] and [i] in Surmeiran, we see the traces of the (Sutselvan) phoneme /i/.

Leonard (1972: 73–4), as we have seen, views the change *u* > *y* (possibly under Celtic influence?) as a common proto-Rhaeto-Romance or ‘Gallo-Italian’ (see Leonard 1964: 32) innovation. Leonard’s Gallo-Italian, like Rohlfs’ Gallo-Romance, includes not only French and the Rhaeto-Romance dialects of Grisons, the Dolomites, and Friuli, but also the dialects of northern Italy above the ideal line from La Spezia to Rimini. In fact, however, there is no evidence whatever that Friulian ever participated in such a fronting (Leonard 1964: 30), and the u/y isogloss splits Rhaeto-Romance in two. To be sure, the phone [y] occurs in some Ladin dialects, like that of Nonsberg. But the geographical
distribution of this sound suggests recent Trentino, rather than ancient Celtic, influence on the Lombard-Ladin dialect of Nonsberg (see Battisti 1908: 57). In Badiot, /y/ derives from Latin long u, and also from Latin short (lax) o in inherited open stressed syllables. Since Latin lax o in this position yields Friulian /u:/, we may be justified in generalizing, and saying that Badiot */u:/ (whether directly from Latin u, or indirectly, from Latin lax o) yields /y/. Examples include /pyn/ ‘fisful’ < PUGNU, /py/ ‘come’ (< PUNUI, /y/ ‘new’ (< PUNUI).

1.2.1.3 *e

All the Rhaeto-Romance dialects are said to have undergone some kind of diphthongization, whether to /aj/, to /aj/ (Huonder 1901: 468), or to /ej/. Some of these dialects, at least in some contexts, exhibit /e/ or /e;/, which, if Huonder is correct, must be interpreted as an inhibition of the inherited change, or a later development. Vallader seems to be the most conservative dialect, retaining /aj/ throughout. Puter orthography is identical with Vallader pronunciation, indicating that the restoration of /e/ in this dialect (or the monophthongization /aj > e/) is a very recent development. Ladin has retained /ej/ in open syllables, but has /e/ in closed syllables.

In Friulian, tensed *e in inherited open syllables results in a diphthong in some varieties, and simply a lengthened vowel in others: Carnic Friulian has /ej/; east-central koiné has /e/; northwestern Friulian, typified by Clauzetto, has a so-called ‘reverse diphthong’ /ia/, where a has the same pronunciation as final unstressed -a in this dialect (/a/, /e/, or /o/):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Carnic</th>
<th>East-central</th>
<th>Clauzetto</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIVE</td>
<td>nejf</td>
<td>nef</td>
<td>niaf</td>
<td>‘snow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACETU</td>
<td>adzejt</td>
<td>azeit</td>
<td>aziot</td>
<td>‘vinegar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tensed *e in other positions in Friulian generally results in /e/ or /e/:

/stret/ ‘narrow’ < STRICTU, /fede/ ‘ewe’ < FETA.

Surselvan has /e/ almost everywhere. Sutselvan in general changed /ej/ to /s/, but retained a diphthong /aj/ (Domleschsg dialect) or /aj/ (Bonaduz dialect) before nasals, or /ea/ before /rC/ (dialects of Domleschsg and Schams (Luzi 1904: 771–3). In Surmeiran, once again, the diphthong /ej/ is subject to preconsonantal Verschärfung, particularly in syllables closed by /r/ (Grisch 1939: 24). The range of variation is exemplified in the reflexes of the second-conjugation infinitival desinence -ERE: Surselvan /e/, Sutselvan /i(r)/, Surmeiran /ejr/ ([ekr]), Puter /er/,
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Vallader /ajr/, Ladin /aj/, Friulian /e(j)/, /ia/, /e:/. Leonard (1972: 82-4) insists on a proto-Rhaeto-Romance innovation $e > a$, the reflex being maintained in the Ladin dialects of Gardena and Livinallongo. Even granting the (considerable) plausibility of this reconstruction within Rhaeto-Romance, it should be noted that some of the best evidence for its existence comes from outside Rhaeto-Romance in the narrow sense we are adopting for this study, as Leonard himself points out. Among the languages and dialects which exhibit a phonetic reflex which directly supports earlier *$e$ are the Italian dialects of Bologna and the Piedmont, and Franco-Provençal; among those where indirect arguments for its existence may be constructed are Friulian and Catalan.

1.2.1.4 *o

In inherited open syllables which are now closed and word-final, the vowel *$o$ is lengthened in Friulian koine (Iliescu 1972: 41), diphthongized to /ow/ in Carnic Friulian, and diphthongized to /ʊə/ in the northwest (Rizzolatti 1981: 21-2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Carnic</th>
<th>Koine</th>
<th>Clauzetto</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FLORE</td>
<td>flowr</td>
<td>flôr</td>
<td>flûor</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUPU</td>
<td>lowf</td>
<td>lôf</td>
<td>lûəf</td>
<td>‘wolf’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other positions in Friulian, the reflex is /o/: /los/ ‘cough’ < TUSSIM, /sola/ ‘alone (f.sg.)’ < SOLA.

In Gardena, *$o > øv$. In Fassa, *$o > ow$ in originally open syllables (Elwert 1943: 52). Simplifying the very complex case of Badiot, *$o > /u/$ in inherited open syllables, and /o/ elsewhere (Craffonara 1971-2: 214ff.). The Swiss dialects, on the other hand, are in agreement in undergoing the following changes: diphthongization to /ʊə/ before /rC/ or /Cr/ (Prader-Schucany 1970: 23 n. 5 notes the same change in Provençal); and raising to /u/, possibly via an intermediate /ou/, everywhere else.

These complementary changes resulted in a regular paradigmatic alternation in the Engadine dialects for nouns in final -or, as the singular in -ORE (later /ur/) diverged from the plural in -ORES (later /uərs/). Thus, AMORE > /amur/, but AMORES > /amuərs/. In the western Romansh dialects, this alternation was levelled in favour of /u/ throughout. However, where there is no paradigmatic alternation, the regular change takes place: in all Romansh dialects, CULPA > /kuəlpə/ ‘fault’.

In Surmeiran, the diphthong /ʊə/ underwent Verschärfung to [uk] before consonants. Thus LUPU > [lukf] (compare Fassa Ladin, Carnic Friulian /lowf/, Friulian koine /lof/, northwestern Friulian /lûəf/,
Surselvan, Vallader /luf/) ‘wolf’ (see Lutta 1923: 109).

1.2.1.5 *E

Throughout Romansh, this lax vowel is said to have diphthongized, first to /ea/, then to /ja/ (see Huonder 1901: 463), but the present dialects exhibit considerable divergence.

The most conservative of the Romansh dialects may be Sutselvan, which retains /ea/ (corresponding to sixteenth-century Surselvan and Engadine orthography) in the (Vulgar Latin) environment before C + non-high vowel, but umlauts this to /ia/ before (inherited) C + high vowel: compare /iaStar/ < EXTERU ‘foreign’, with /faneaStra/ < FENESTRA ‘window’, or /antiar/ < INTEGRU ‘entire’, with /eera/ < ERAT ‘was (3sg.)’ (Luzi 1904: 774).

This alternation has paradigmatic consequences in nominal roots ending in the suffix -ELLU. AUCELLU > *utfjal > /utji/ ‘bird’ (the latter changes morphologically conditioned), contrasting with AUCELLOS > /utjeals/ (/utjeals/) ‘birds’.

While Surselvan regularly has /ja/ as the reflex of inherited *E, there are a number of (no longer phonologically conditioned) alternations in this dialect which reflect a state of affairs similar to that of Sutselvan. First, the paradigmatic alternations among nominal stems in -ELLU is the same as in Sutselvan: BELLU > *bial > /bi/ ‘beautiful (n.sg.)’, but BELLUS, BELLOS > *belos > *beals > /bials/ ‘beautiful (m.sg., m.pl.)’. Similar are the singular/plural pairs for /kaSti/ ‘castle’, /kunti/ ‘knife’, /riSti/ ‘rake’, and /marti/ ‘hammer’.

Assuming that the alternation between /ia/ and /ja/ was originally ‘motivated’ as a kind of umlaut, frozen alternations like Surselvan may be said to be caused by the umlauting environment -u (< Lat. -UM) in the singular (see Schuchardt 1870; Luedtke 1965; Leonard 1978). But the alternation has obviously become morphologized as a redundant index of number in those cases where the putative conditioning environment is not even in the following syllable:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CASTELLI</td>
<td>kaʃti</td>
<td>kaʃcals</td>
<td>‘castle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERBU</td>
<td>viarf</td>
<td>vjarfs</td>
<td>‘word’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(In fact, the phonetic alternation [ia] ~ [ja] has become morphologized...
in adjectives – including adjectives of non-Latin origin – as well as in
nouns, and as the index of a more general opposition, to be discussed in
greater detail in the morphology: essentially, [iæ] represents neuter
singular or attributive masculine singular, while [ja] represents all other
genders and numbers, and also predicative masculine singular. Thus, for
the adjective /Sli.øt/ ( < OHG sleht) ‘bad’, we have the contrast between
[in ][piægæl ] [fliɔt ] ‘a bad mirror’ (with ‘bad’ as an attributive masculine
singular adjective), and [(ið ] [piægæl ej] [fliɔt ] ‘the mirror is bad’ (with
‘bad’ as a predicative masculine singular adjective). (Tekavčić (1974:
382) provides a complete list of the forms in which the alternation
occurs.)

In the Engadine dialects, /ja/ has recently reomophthongized to /e/ or to /e/ (Lutta 1923: 68 n. 1; Elwert 1943: 39).

In the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, it is perhaps better to start
from the assumption that the lax mid front vowel ø (like its counterpart
ø) was affected by the Romance rule of diphthongization, originally
yielding /je/ (Elwert 1943: 39; Francescato 1966: 196; Iliescu 1972: 35;
Craffonara 1971–2). In Fassan, diphthongization is apparently confined
to inherited paroxytone open syllables: thus /griæ/ ‘heavy’ < GREVE vs.
/TERA (inherited closed syllable) and /tebeκ/ ‘warm’ < TEPIDU (inherited proparoxytone). Final -i and -u, as in Romansh, could
induce umlauting diphthongization also, however. Thus, while /petra/
< PETRA is regular, /petje/ < PETRU is a result of umlaut.

In Badiot and in Friulian, ø seems to have yielded /je/ in both open and
closed syllables, and in both paroxytones and proparoxytones. Thus
Friulian /fjeste/ < FESTA, /spjete/ < EXPECTA(T), /mjedi/ < MEDICU.

In Friulian, three further changes affect inherited */je/.

1. Before inherited tautosyllabic /r/, /je/ lowers to /ja/ or /je/ depending
   on the dialect: PERDERE > /pjerdi/ (western Friulian) or /pjardi/
   (east-central koine).

2. In inherited open syllables which are now final in Friulian, /je/ raises
   to /i:/ or becomes /ej/, depending on the dialect again: PEDE > /pejt/
   (western Friulian) or /pist/ (east-central koine).

3. Before tautosyllabic nasal, /je/ raises to /i/: TEMPUS > /timp/.

1.2.1.6 *o

The development of *o in most Rhaeto-Romance dialects is a long
eventful story. The only near-generalization possible seems to be that
originally, *o > *u, though even to this, there are exceptions; for
example, the vowel seems to have remained throughout Romansh /otz/
< HODIE ‘today’ (Luzi 1904: 784).
Friulian developed *o > wi before nC, *o > wa before r, and *o > we elsewhere. It seems Friulian is the only Rhaeto-Romance dialect which never umlauted the resulting sound before inherited -u or a front vowel.

The status of the Erto dialect, on the westernmost fringes of Friulian, has been contested. Against Battisti and Gartner, who considered Erto to be a Dolomitic Ladin dialect, Francescato (1966) concluded that Erto is Friulian, citing as evidence the peculiar development of *o in the dialect. The claim is particularly striking when we note that the reflexes of *o coincide neither with those of Ladin, nor with those of Friulian:

\[
\begin{align*}
o, o & \rightarrow ew/\_\_S \\
o & \rightarrow wa/\_\_CS
\end{align*}
\]

Thus, FOCU > /fewk/ ‘fire’, *CORE > /kewr/ ‘heart’, NOVU > /newf/ ‘new’, CRUCE > /krews/ ‘cross’, NOCTE > /nuat ‘night’, COXA > /kuasa/ ‘haunch’, COCTO > /kuat/ ‘cooked’. What is at issue is the purely structural fact that in Erto, the sound o has different reflexes depending on whether or not it occurred in an originally open syllable. Francescato's argument, then, is only as strong as the claim that in Dolomitic Ladin, the development of inherited o is not sensitive to inherited syllabic context. As we shall see in a moment, by this criterion, the Ladin dialect of Marebbe is also equally ‘Friulian’!

Fassa Ladin regularly has some mid rounded back vowel, except before a palatalizing environment or a tautosyllabic nasal, where the reflex is /e/. Elwert (1943: 48) postulates a chain of phonetic changes *a > wa > we > o > e. Before inherited /k/, no umlaut occurred, and the attested reflex is tense /o/.

There is some unclarity as to whether the sequence of changes outlined by Elwert actually represents an -U desinence-conditioned umlaut. If it is not, then the claim of Battisti (1931: 146–8), citing an earlier opinion of Gamillscheg, that the umlaut of inherited *E and *O before -U is a strictly Romansh phenomenon, at least within Rhaeto-Romance, must be considered valid. On the other hand, there is evidence from other Ladin dialects which strongly supports umlaut before -U and before -lj. Consider the correspondences in table 1.2 from the Ladin dialects of Marebbe and Moena, contrasted with the non-umlauting dialects of Nonsberg and Gardena. The Marebban forms, incidentally, show sensitivity to syllabic context. In inherited open syllables, (?) umlauted o > /y/, while in originally closed syllables, it becomes /e/. This contrast is reminiscent of similar contrasts in Carnic Friulian and Erto. But it seems to us that (unless we wish to call Marebban a Friulian dialect), such alternations cannot be used as a diagnostic to distinguish Ladin from Friulian.
Table 1.2 Some ladin outcomes of *o

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Nonsberg</th>
<th>Gardena</th>
<th>Marebbe</th>
<th>Moena</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOCU</td>
<td>fwek</td>
<td>fuak</td>
<td>fy</td>
<td>foK</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCU</td>
<td>lwek</td>
<td>luak</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td>loK</td>
<td>'place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVU</td>
<td>weW</td>
<td>uø</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>øf</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOLIA</td>
<td>fwja</td>
<td>fuja</td>
<td>feia</td>
<td>foa</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCLU</td>
<td>ëkje</td>
<td>uæl</td>
<td>edl</td>
<td>øle</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3 Diphthongization of *o in Surselvan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PORCU</td>
<td>piarc</td>
<td>por(k)s</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORSU</td>
<td>miars</td>
<td>mors</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORTU</td>
<td>iart</td>
<td>orts</td>
<td>'vegetable garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOVU</td>
<td>niaf</td>
<td>nofs</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BONU</td>
<td>bian</td>
<td>buns</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROSSU</td>
<td>griæs</td>
<td>græs</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vallader underwent the changes *o > uó > úa > óa > o (Pult 1897: 97). The first stage in this progression is orthographically attested in sixteenth-century texts for most closed syllables: thus {nuof} 'new'. The second-last is attested in the same sources where the syllable is closed by a liquid cluster: thus {moart} 'dead'. (Compare Carnic Friulian /nuof/, /mwart/.) Modern Vallader has /nof/, /mort/. Umlauted *o gives /ua/ before liquid clusters, /ø/ elsewhere.

Puter has [ok] in closed syllables, possibly by Verschärfung of intermediate (oa>) *oa > *ow (see Lutta 1923: 98).

Sutselvan in umlauting environments, has /ia/ (before high or front vowels), or /i/ (before palatalized consonants; see Luzi 1904: 784–5).

Surselvan generally has /ju/ before velars, /e/ before /j/, /ia/ before umlauting environments, and /o/ ~ /ø/ elsewhere. In both Surselvan and Sutselvan, umlauted /ia/ (or Sutselvan /i/) arose by unrounding of prior /ûa/ (or /uai/; see Luzi 1904: 784).

The umlauting (and palatalizing) effect of accusative masculine singular/neuter singular -u, in contrasting with non-umlauting masculine plural -os, (nominative) masculine singular -us, feminine singular -a, resulted in some nominal and adjectival alternations in Surselvan, as indicated in table 1.3 of common examples. (Again, for nouns, the phonetic alternation [ia] ~ [ø] corresponds to singular vs. plural, while for adjectives [ia] is neuter singular or attributive masculine singular.) The alternation is clearly morphologized in the examples in table 1.4, where the conditioning environment is not in the next syllable
Table 1.4 Analogical extensions of diphthongization of *ə

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOBILE</td>
<td>niːbəl</td>
<td>nobals</td>
<td>‘noble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COCCINU</td>
<td>ciatʃən</td>
<td>kɔtʃəns</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APOSTOLU</td>
<td>apiːtəs</td>
<td>apoʃəls</td>
<td>‘apostle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORPU</td>
<td>ciːɾps</td>
<td>kɔrps</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAECU</td>
<td>tʃiːk</td>
<td>tʃoks</td>
<td>‘blind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(thus, the first four examples), the conditioning environment never existed (as in CORPU, the second-last example) or where we are dealing with an analogical formation (thus, the last example).

Tekavčić (1974: 384) provides a complete list of the forms affected by the [iə] ~ [o] alternation. The vast majority of Surselvan forms manifest no umlauting alternation for the singular/plural (or neuter singular/all other) distinction. Most have generalized the umlauted /iə/ form throughout, thus /jio:jə/ ≈ *JOVIA ‘Thursday’, /siːmi/ < SOMNU ‘dream’. Others (mostly later Latinate borrowings) have generalized /o/, thus /glo:riə/ /solid/ (see Sutselvan /siaːli/ < SOLIDU ‘fresh, dry, strong (said of wood)’; Lutta 1923: 100); but note also the backformation /koːf/ < CORIVU ‘crow’, almost certainly not an archaicized Latinate borrowing.

Diminutives in inherited -EOLU are interesting, because it is with these alone that we encounter traces of morphologized umlaut in any Rhaeto-Romance dialects other than Surselvan. Consider the singular and plural forms of LINTEOLOU ‘(bed)sheet’ in Surselvan and Vallader:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LINTEOLOU</td>
<td>lentsiːl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINTEOLOS</td>
<td>lentsəw(ː)l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar are /bajːiːl/ ‘pimple’, /kaːʒiːl/ ‘cheese’, /piniːl/ ‘pine tree’, and a very few others. For most nouns of this, as of other classes, the paradigmatic alternation has been levelled in favour of the umlauted (singular) form.

The correspondences shown in table 1.5 summarize the main points of the discussion of the reflexes of inherited *ə in Rhaeto-Romance dialects.

The extent of umlauting induced by final -ə within Rhaeto-Romance is unclear. Rohlfs (1972: 126) regards it as a ‘Gallo-Romance’ phenomenon, citing alternations like nov ‘new (m.sg.)’ ~ nova (f.sg.) in Ticinese, and gros ‘big (m.sg.)’ ~ grossa (f.sg.) in Piedmontese in support of this. Leonard (1972: 79) postulates the change ə > ø in umlauting environments as a characteristic innovation of proto-northern
Table 1.5 Summary of major Rhaeto-Romance outcomes of *a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sursel</th>
<th>Sutsel</th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Ladin (Fassa)</th>
<th>Friulian Koine</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Glosses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CORE</td>
<td>kɔr</td>
<td>kɔr</td>
<td>kɔkr</td>
<td>kɔkr</td>
<td>ker</td>
<td>kɔr</td>
<td>kowr</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROTA</td>
<td>rɔda</td>
<td>rɔda</td>
<td>rɔgda</td>
<td>rɔda</td>
<td>rɔda</td>
<td>rɔdew</td>
<td>rwede</td>
<td>‘wheel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOVU</td>
<td>niːf</td>
<td>niːf</td>
<td>nof</td>
<td>nof</td>
<td>nef</td>
<td>nuf</td>
<td>nowf</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOCU</td>
<td>fiːk</td>
<td>fiːk</td>
<td>fiːk</td>
<td>fo</td>
<td>fek</td>
<td>fowk</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORNU</td>
<td>ciːrn</td>
<td>ciːrn</td>
<td>korn</td>
<td>cyrn</td>
<td>kwar</td>
<td>‘horn’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOLIA</td>
<td>feːk</td>
<td>fiːk</td>
<td>fiːk</td>
<td>foa</td>
<td>fweje</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Romance. While there is evidence for this development from Surselvan, Vallader, and possibly some Ladin dialects, as we have seen, there is none from Friulian, where Leonard is forced to posit a development ø > ø > ø (a kind of development elsewhere dismissed by him as a typologically ‘incredible, pat regression’ (Leonard 1972: 76). To one who is not committed to the burdensome task of defending Rhaeto-Romance unity, a more sensible approach is to assume that Friulian never participated in this change, and that the ø/ø isogloss splits Rhaeto-Romance, just as the u/y isogloss seems to do.

1.2.1.7 Mid vowels before nasals

As we have already noted, the nasals are a neutralizing context for a number of distinctions. It may be opportune to review some of these contrasts at this time.

In all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects, the contrast between lax and tense mid vowels was neutralized before nasals.

In the Swiss dialects, the back mid vowels before /N/ were raised to /u/: this happened regularly in the western dialects, less regularly in the Engadine dialects (Pult 1897: 114–15). The mid front vowels were diphthongized to /aj/; they remain so in open syllables, but are remonophthongized to /e/ in closed syllables, except in Vallader (Lutta 1923: 85–7).

In the Friulian dialects, the length contrast is suspended before nasals for all vowels. In addition, the contrast between reflexes of Latin lax e and ø is suspended before a tautosyllabic nasal in favour of /i/: PONTE > /pwint/ ‘bridge’, CONTRA > /kwintre/ ‘against’, GENTE > /int/ ‘people’.

1.2.1.8 *a

A number of scholars posit a fronting of inherited stressed *a in all
northern Romance languages (see Schuerr 1938: 19; Leonard 1962: 23; Rohlf 1972: 125). The indirect evidence for such a change, of course, is the palatalization of velar stops before inherited *a. If this development occurred, then dialects like those of Moena and Nonsberg in the Ladin group, and Friulian, are not conservative in apparently retaining the vowel [a] unchanged in most environments (Battisti 1908: 4; Heilmann 1955: 19–32; Iliescu 1972: 35). Rather, we are forced to assume a series of changes *a > *æ > a.

There is some direct phonetic evidence for some intermediate front vowel, to be sure. In Fassa, for example, inherited *a survives as /a/ in final position, and before /m/, but is raised elsewhere to /e/ (Elwert 1943: 26ff.). In Gardenia, *a remains /a/ in closed syllables, but in final open syllables becomes /æ/ (as in the first-conjugation masculine singular perfect participle ending), or /e/ (as in the first-conjugation infinitive; see Gartner 1879: 40). The change *a > /e/ is also attested in a narrow area of northeastern Carnia (Francescato 1966: 386–7; for more on velar palatalization in Friulian, see Benincà and Vanelli 1978: 251 n. 1).

The Swiss dialects are opposed to the Italian dialects in having diphthongized /a/ to /aw/ before nasals. The resulting diphthong then underwent the following changes:

(a) aw > o/____m
(b) aw > o/____n$C (where $ = syllable boundary)

(For rule (b) to make the correct predictions, it is necessary to analyse the single phoneme /p/ as a cluster /n$j/ at the time of the application of the rule: thus, in all Romansh, *MALESANIA > /malts:på/ ‘sickness’.

The central Swiss dialects (by which we intend to refer here to Sutselvan, Puter, and Surmeiran), are further characterized by the following innovations, which are not equally shared:

(a) a > e/____$C (Puter and Surmeiran only; Lutta 1923: 42)
(b) awN > eN (Puter only)
(c) a > ö/____# (Puter and Surmeiran)
(d) ɔ > a/____m (Puter only; Lutta 1923: 47)
(e) ɔ > o/____m (Sutselvan only; Luzi 1904: 779)

The correspondences shown in table 1.6 exemplify the major developments enumerated up to here.

1.2.1.8.1 *aw (< *aw and < *al/____c)

In Gallo-Romance and Rhaeto-Romance, /aw/ > /o/ occurred following the palatalization of velars before inherited a (thus CAUSA >
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 1.6 Summary of major Rhaeto-Romance outcomes of *a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
<th>Ladin (%Fassa)</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Sutselvan</th>
<th>Surselvan Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANNU</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>eʊn</td>
<td>on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANE</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>caŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'key'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAMMA</td>
<td>flama</td>
<td>flama</td>
<td>flama</td>
<td>flama</td>
<td>flama</td>
<td>flama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'flame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABET</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'has'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/*osa/, and so on). Throughout Rhaeto-Romance there are many cases of retained /aw/, not only in learned words (for which the influence of Church Latin may be held responsible), but also popular terms like /awca/ ‘goose’ < AVICA in Fassan and Friulian and /tawr/ ‘bull’ < TAURU in Friulian.

Evidence that modern /aw/ and /al/ corresponding to Latin {au} and {al} are often restorations rather than retentions comes partly from cases of hypercorrection, attested throughout Rhaeto-Romance and much of northern Italy, where we encounter etymologically unmotivated /al/ or /ol/ corresponding to Latin {au} (see Ettmayer 1902: 357–8).

Notable is the backformation /polsa/ < PAUSAT in three of the four Friulian dialects investigated by Iliescu (1972: 46n.). Similar is Surselvan /jolt/ ‘enjoys’ < GAUDET ‘rejoices’ (the /j/ reflecting palatalization of inherited */g/ before stressed */a/: compare the infinitive /galdə/ with no palatalization).

Fassa has /aw/ virtually throughout (Elwert 1943: 38), and again, there are a handful of hypercorrections to /al/. Gartner (1883: 55, noted /laldə/ for LAUDAT ‘praises’, and Pizzinini and Plangg (1966: xlvi, 4) report /aldə/ for AUDIRE in Badiot. Nonsberg has /ɔ/ (Battisti 1908: 26), except for the common northern Italian hyper-restoration of /polʃare/ for PAUSARE. Gardena has /ɔ/ before liquids, /aw/ elsewhere (Gartner 1879: 40). Moena has /aw/ in a handful of cases, including /pawsa/ < PAUSAT (Heilmann 1955: 75–6).

In Fassa (and, to some extent, in Moena), the resulting monophthong was subject to Ladin *ɔ > a/ʊʊm umlaut.

Such examples suggest either a diachronic succession

(a) monophthongization;
(b) umlaut.

or else the need to identify umlaut as a persistent change.
Table 1.7 Sutselvan outcomes of al

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Bonaduz</th>
<th>Ems</th>
<th>Schams</th>
<th>Domleschg</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALTU</td>
<td>awlt</td>
<td>awt</td>
<td>olt</td>
<td>olt</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FALSU</td>
<td>fawlt</td>
<td>fawts</td>
<td>folts</td>
<td>folts</td>
<td>‘false’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALDU</td>
<td>cawlt</td>
<td>kawt</td>
<td>coldt</td>
<td>coldt</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALD</td>
<td>bawlt</td>
<td>bawt</td>
<td>bolt</td>
<td>bolt</td>
<td>‘soon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of Surselvan and Sutselvan (of which more in a moment), the Romansh dialects fairly consistently have /o/ < AU. Vallader has /a/ before velars, thus PAUCOS > /paks/ ‘few (m.pl.)’, and also has hypercorrect /al/ in /d)alda/ < AUDIT ‘hears’ (Gartner 1883: 55). Surmeiran also has a sprinkling of etymologically unmotivated hypercorrections, among them /galdejr/ < GAUDERE ‘to rejoice’ (Grisch 1939: 82).

Sutselvan monophthongized /aw/ to /o/ (Domleschg dialect) or to /a/ (Schams dialect), preserving or restoring the original diphthong in the Bonaduz dialect (Luzi 1904: 793). Original /al/ before a consonant had at least three Sutselvan reflexes, none of them identical with the outcome of /aw/. In the Ems dialect /al/ > /aw/, while in the other dialects, the liquid was retained, and /a/ > aw/sl (thus Bonaduz), with further monophthongization of /aw/ in the dialects of Schams and Domleschg to /o/ and /o/ respectively (Luzi 1904: 783) (see table 1.7).

Surselvan has *aw > /aw/ throughout, a state of affairs that is considered to be an unambiguous (possibly Latinizing) innovation (see von Planta 1926: 15). Evidence in favour of von Planta’s claim is the absence of velar palatalization in forms like /kawsa/ < CAUSA ‘cause, matter, thing’. (A similar preservation or restoration of the inherited velar characterizes at least one Sutselvan dialect, that of Ems; see Luzi 1904: 780.) Like Sutselvan, Surselvan distinguishes inherited *al from inherited *aw, in that *al > /awl/.

We find, then, that in peripheral Rhaeto-Romance areas, an ancient distinction (between inherited *al and *aw) is maintained, while in the central areas (Surmeiran, Puter, Vallader, and Ladin) it is lost. The traditional explanation for this sort of pattern is that the peripheral areas represent the most archaic stages of development. In this case, however, another explanation is generally offered: in the western dialects, at least, the inherited contrast has been restored rather than retained. What impulse lies behind this restoration is unclear: Gartner proposed the influence of Church Latin, an explanation which Luzi (1904: 802) treated with some scepticism. We share this scepticism. Not only do we encounter /aw/ in low-register vocabulary items: Church
56 The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 1.8 Paragogic final vowels in Friulian and Ladin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Badiot</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
<th>Fassan</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOLICULU</td>
<td>soredl</td>
<td>soreli</td>
<td>soreje</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATRE</td>
<td>pere</td>
<td>pari</td>
<td>pere</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATRE</td>
<td>mere</td>
<td>mari</td>
<td>mere</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VETULU</td>
<td>vedl</td>
<td>vjeli</td>
<td>veje</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Latin could have had no effect on Germanic borrowings like /bawlt/ < bald 'soon' or /vawlt/ < Wald 'forest', whose development is completely parallel to that of words of Latin origin like /cawlt/ < CALDU 'hot' or /awlt/ < ALTU 'high'.

1.2.2 Unstressed vowels

Throughout Rhaeto-Romance, in final position all unstressed vowels with the exception of /a/, disappeared except in hiatus (Huonder 1901: 518; Lutta 1923: 120; Elwert 1943: 53-4; Heilmann 1955: 82; Vanelli 1985: 370 finds in this a characteristic of Friulian which most sharply distinguishes it from the neighbouring southern Venetian dialect). Apparent systematic exceptions to this are of two sorts: first, in Friulian and some Ladin dialects, a paragogic final vowel (Friulian -i, Ladin and Venetian -e) arose in word-final position after some inherited consonant + liquid clusters (Rizzolatti 1981: 27; see table 1.8). Second, morphologically conditioned exceptions also arose in the reconstruction of inflectional suffixes for nouns and verbs; for example, (Surselvan) subjunctive -i (Huonder considers here the possibility that final unstressed /i/ could remain in Surselvan, deriving subjunctive -i from ILLUD, thus /aJi/ < HABEAT ILLUD 'that 3sg. may have (it)'; Huonder 1901: 520); these forms and various speculations about their origins will be treated separately in the morphology.

Although all Rhaeto-Romance retained final unstressed *a, there is a major split within Friulian in the treatment of this vowel (which must have originally been reduced to schwa, and remains [a] in Clauzetto). In the east-central koine, the vowel has been reconstituted as [e], while in the Western dialects, it is reconstituted as [a]. The different treatments of final *a are exactly parallel to the different treatments of the offglide in the diphthongs /ia/ and /ua/ (Rizzolatti 1981: 22, 26; Frau 1984: 32).

Much more regularly and thoroughly than the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, Romansh eliminated antepenultimate stress on words by virtue of two functionally related rules:
In the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, in spite of a general tendency to avoid antepenultimate stress, involving actual stress shift in some cases like /ˈseˈmena/ < *SEMINAT 'sows' (Elwert 1943: 104), rule (a) does not usually occur (it does in Gardena, but not in either Fassa or Badiot; see Elwert 1943: 55; Plangg 1973: 19), and there are a number of words in both Ladin and Friulian of the form /ˈfemaˈna/ 'woman' (contrast the development of FEMINA > /ˈfana/ in Gardena, or of DOMINA > /ˈduːna/ in Romansh).

A possible synchronic consequence of this distinction in the realm of syntax is the different treatment of postverbal pronominal clitics in the Swiss and Italian dialects. Generally speaking, Swiss dialects like Vallader do not permit stress to shift back to antepenultimate position in verb + clitic combinations, even in those cases where the verb by itself already has penultimate stress: following such a verb form, an otherwise non-null clitic may surface as phonetic zero, or either the verb or the clitic may undergo apocope. In Vallader, for example, /vandan + a/ 'Do they sell?' becomes [vandna] (by rule (a)), and /plova + i/ 'Is it raining?' becomes [plova] (see Haiman 1971). No such reduction seems to affect postverbal subject clitics in the Italian dialects; see Fassa /ke 'faʃe-la/ 'What is she doing?' and /porke 'teʃes-te-pa/ 'Why are you quiet then?' (Elwert 1943: 147, 133). Particularly revealing is /ˈmene-me-la soˈbito/ 'Fetch me her at once!' (Elwert 1943: 264): here in the same sentence we encounter tolerance of antepenultimate stress on a verb + clitic cluster, but stress shift from antepenultimate to penultimate position on the adverb /soˈbito/ < /ˈsubito/.

Another distinction between the two dialect groups which is compatible with this one, although unlikely to have been caused by it, relates to the possibility of stringing a number of object clitics after the verb. In the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, as in Italian, sequences of verb + clitic + clitic are easily constructed, where one of these is the direct, the other the indirect, object, as in /daʃe-ne-ne/ 'give us some' (Elwert 1943: 136). In the Swiss dialects (with marginal exceptions to be noted later) only one postverbal object clitic may appear with any verb, a syntactic constraint which inhibits the possibility of antepenultimate stress.

We see, then, that the three-syllable rule invoked by Gartner as a characteristic trait of Rhaeto-Romance in general, rather than defining it may serve to mark an isogloss within it. (See Battisti 1931: 184, for a characteristically vehement statement of this view. Battisti goes further,
in that he points out that while the loss of proparoxytones, pace Gartner, does not characterize Rhaeto-Romance as a whole, only its Romansh portion, this development is shared outside Rhaeto-Romance by a number of unambiguously Italian dialects, among them those of the Piedmont, Lombardy, the Emilia, and Trento.)

Here, as everywhere else, it is important to distinguish between the diachronic process and the present-day structure of the language in which this process may have once occurred. In Surselvan, for example, the loss of proparoxytones was general, and rules (a) and (b) may be said to have conspired to eliminate cases of antepenultimate stress: but the present-day language has systematic antepenultimate stress in several well-defined contexts (Tekavčić 1974: 379 fn.), among them the following:

1. borrowed feminine nouns in final {-ica}: /'fizika/, etc.;
2. 2nd and 3rd person forms of the present subjunctive: /'kontias/, etc.;
3. 2nd person forms of the imperfect subjunctive: /kan'tavias/, etc.;
4. 2nd person forms of the imperfect conditional: /kan'tasias/, etc.

It is also important to distinguish between the diachronic process which is reflected in a grammaticalized and now unmotivated residue, on the one hand, and the totally productive and regular synchronic process which has the same predictable and generally non-distinctive results in the currently spoken language, on the other. For example, Surselvan has a [a] ~ [null] alternation in a large number of phonetically specifiable words like [Juvan] 'young (m.sg.)' vs. [Juvna] 'young (f.sg.)' exactly comparable to the English alternation in pairs like possible ~ possibly. In many cases, the fleeting [a] is the reflex of an inherited vowel, and we have a process which seems to mirror the diachronic process (a), yet in a synchronic analysis, it is probably justifiable to posit underlying zero, with the quality and appearance of the fleeting [a] predicted by a rule very similar, if not absolutely identical, to the rule we have in English: adjectival stems in final C + sonorant insert [a] (or syllabify the sonorant) unless the stem is followed by a vowel (see Leonard 1972: 64). The contrast between synchronically motivated rules and diachronic residues of similar processes in past stages of the language is particularly clear in the stress-conditioned vocalic alternations of verb stems, to which we address ourselves next.

Unstressed vowels in initial syllables are generally retained in all Rhaeto-Romance dialects although undergoing a number of reductions: typically, diphthongs become monophthongs, and mid vowels lose their markedness by becoming either high or low (Iliescu 1972: 48–53; Elwert 1943: 58–63; Lutta 1923: 126–35; Huonder 1901: 526). Here
Table 1.9 Stressed-conditioned vowel alternations in Surselvan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Usual source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e ~ i</td>
<td>frec ‘bear fruit’</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>*i, *u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ u</td>
<td>port ‘carry’</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>*o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro ~ ø</td>
<td>lahrøp ‘laugh’</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>*ø/___n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua ~ u</td>
<td>kuar ‘run’</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>*o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej ~ ø</td>
<td>tʃejn ‘dine’</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>*e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ ø</td>
<td>klom ‘call’</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>*ø/___m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ i</td>
<td>akumpøŋ ‘accompany’</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>*a/___n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re ~ ø</td>
<td>fred ‘smell’</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw ~ u</td>
<td>lawd ‘praise’</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>*aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw ~ ø</td>
<td>sawlt ‘jump’</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>*aw, *al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ~ i</td>
<td>caʃ ‘defecate’</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>*a/___Ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja ~ ø</td>
<td>Spjard ‘lose’</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>*e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra ~ ø</td>
<td>brah ‘work hard’</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re ~ ø</td>
<td>kreʃ ‘grow’</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>*Re</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

again, we are dealing with a kind of alternation which is nearly universal in the synchronic phonology of stress languages (see Haiman 1972), but which has become conventionalized in a number of Romance languages, among them – although in varying degrees – the Rhaeto-Romance dialects. For example, when Huonder (1901: 518) or Kamprath (1985) reports that in Surselvan or Surmeiran, the seven-vowel system of stressed syllables reduces to /i, ø, u/ in unstressed syllables in general, it is clear we are dealing with a productive set of alternations which we could expect to find in almost any stress language, and which are of typological rather than historical interest. A partially frozen and no longer productive residue of this potentially universal and phonetically motivated process is the alternation of vowel quality in verb stems which typically lose stress in the first- and second-person plural of the indicative. (Notably, this is not the case in the Surmeiran dialect of Bravuogn, which Kamprath describes, where the first-person plural of the present indicative is rhizotonic: /'pEvkm/ ‘we feed’, but /pːv'leks/ ‘you all feed’ (see Lutta 1923: 326; Kamprath p.c.): the non-stressed 1st plural desinence here, as in some Lombard dialects, probably derives from HOMO (see Rohlfs 1968: 252–3.).)

Surselvan has the greatest number of these alternation types. The data in table 1.9 are derived entirely from Tekavčić’s thorough taxonomy (1974: 453–75, but see also Huonder 1901: 546–7). The stressed form is given first under ‘type’, and the verb stem is given in the root form. We can recognize in some of these alternations stages of the diachronic progressions already treated above. For example, the change i > e is limited to stressed syllables, and forms like [fiʃeq] ‘we procure’ reflect a
stage in the development of FRUCT-. Similar is the change $a > o/___m$, so that the unstressed stem in [akumpanejs] 'you all accompany' again reflects an etymologically prior form. On the other hand, in the reduction of [ludejn] 'we praise', it is clearly the stressed root [lawd] which reflects the inherited stem. The general pattern of alternations is compatible with the originally phonetically motivated principle that the vowel inventory in unstressed syllables be diminished relative to the inventory in stressed syllables, and that those unstressed vowels be relatively unmarked. Thus, there are no diphthongs, no /o/, and no /e/, only the set /i, a, u/ in unstressed syllables.

Surselvan also has several dozen bisyllabic verb stems which undergo stress-conditioned alternation in both syllables. The most productive class (with twenty-eight members) exhibits the alternation [Ca'Cu] $\sim$ [CuCa -'], as in /Skar'vun/ $\sim$ /Skurvan -'/ 'blacken'. Diachronically, [Ca'Cu] may have arisen via dissimilation (Lutta 1923: 135) from *[Cu'Cu], as in the nominal stems COLORE $>$ /kalor/ 'colour', RUMORE $>$ /ramor/ 'murmur'. Alternatively, */a/ may have become /u/ in the neighbourhood of a labial consonant (Huonder 1901: 526), as in MALEDICERE $>$ /Smuldi/ 'curse', INFANTE $>$ /ufawn/ 'child' (Tavetsch dialect only).

Admitting a synchronic rule of palatalization and raising of unstressed /a/ to /i/ before /p/, we may generalize two alternations: first, the class of alternations $o \sim i$ may be assimilated to the class of alternations $o \sim a$ for monosyllabic verbs; and second, the class of bisyllabic verbs which exhibit the alternation [Ca'Cu] $\sim$ [CuCi -'] (including /mar'mun/ $\sim$ /murmip -/ 'murmur') may be assimilated to the most productive class.

The cases of apparent metathesis, where [Ro], [Ra], or [Re] seem to alternate with [aR], may be reducible to a basic vowel $\sim$ zero alternation, with the independently motivated rule of sonorant syllabification applying quite generally, as in [juvo] $\sim$ /juvo/.

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow a/C___R \] $\$ (see Leonard 1972: 64)

We have seen that such a rule is productive in Surselvan, and an exactly analogous rule is reported for Surmeiran (Lutta 1923: 121) and for Ladin (Elwert 1943: 146), where we observe the alternation [kree] 'believes' vs. [kordon] 'we believe'.

Whatever the regularities we may extract from these and other correspondences, however, these are now lexically, rather than phonetically conditioned alternations. We note, first, that the alternations, and the verb stems which participate in them, differ even among the
Table I.10 Stress-conditioned vowel alternations in Surmeiran

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Probable (Vulgar Latin) source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e ~ o</td>
<td>bev 'drink'</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne 'be born'</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>re &lt;j&gt; 'saw'</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ u</td>
<td>romp 'break'</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kor 'run'</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ~ i</td>
<td>jpec 'wait'</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej ~ i</td>
<td>salejd 'greet'</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ o</td>
<td>solt 'dance'</td>
<td>a/C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klom 'call'</td>
<td>a/m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj ~ o</td>
<td>pajs 'think'</td>
<td>e/n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej ~ o</td>
<td>pejs 'weigh'</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Romansh dialects. Thus, the most common alternations in Surmeiran are shown in table 1.10 (culled from Thoni 1969, a pedagogical grammar; as with the Surselvan examples, the types are presented in roughly decreasing order of frequency, although we lack an exhaustive enumeration). Of the handful of bisyllabic alternation patterns, the only one with more than a single common example is [Ca'Co] ~ [CuCa -], as in the stems /ka'noJ/ 'know, be acquainted with', /sa'vot/ 'fetch in', and /Ska'zoJ/ 'skate'.

In Surmeiran again, the unstressed vowel seems to reflect an earlier stage in the development of the stressed vowel. This is particularly true in the standard orthography, where /a/ is usually spelled [a]. Nevertheless, it is impossible (in a synchronic description) to posit the unstressed vowel as the basic one, since no consistent predictions are possible. For example, corresponding to the four unstressed stems [karJ] 'load', [ra<j>] 'saw', [fan] 'hay', and [klam] 'call' (occurring with the 1st plural stressed present indicative desinence -[a]), we find the following diverse forms in the 3rd singular: [kaq-a] (no alternation), [re<j>-a] ([e] ~ [a] alternation), [fan-ef-a] (use of the *-isc- augment to avoid stress alternation), and [klom-a] ([o] ~ [a] alternation).

To the extent that predictability is possible, it is clear that the stressed form must be taken as basic. Given the stressed form, and some information about the etymological origin of the verb form in question, the following predictions are frequently correct.

If the stressed syllabic nucleus is

(a) [i, a, u], the unstressed vowel will be 'the same' (granting that [a] is the unstressed equivalent of /a/);
(b) [aj], the unstressed vowel will be [a];
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 1.11 Stress-conditioned vowel alternations in Puter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Probable source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ε ~ o</td>
<td>lev 'wash'</td>
<td>*a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bev 'drink'</td>
<td>*e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snt 'feel'</td>
<td>*e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ u</td>
<td>port 'carry'</td>
<td>*o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sot 'dance'</td>
<td>*al/___C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ u</td>
<td>od 'hear'</td>
<td>*aw/___C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uas 'show'</td>
<td>*o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε ~ null</td>
<td>tjen 'dine'</td>
<td>*e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men 'lead'</td>
<td>*e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε ~ i</td>
<td>mer 'look'</td>
<td>*i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) [e], the unstressed vowel will be:
   (i) [a] if the source was a low vowel;
   (ii) [i] if the source was a high vowel;

(d) [o], the unstressed vowel will be:
   (i) [u] if the source was a mid vowel;
   (ii) [a] if the source was a low vowel;

(e) [ei], the unstressed vowel will be:
   (i) [i] if the source was a high vowel;
   (ii) [a] if the source was a mid vowel;
   (iii) Zero if the source was null.

The patterns in the Engadine dialects are almost but not quite identical to each other. In each, there is a perceptible falling off in the productivity of the vocalic alternations, probably as the outcome of levelling. The Puter alternations shown in table 1.11, again in probable order of declining frequency, are culled from Scheitlin (1962), and the following examples from Vallader are culled from Arquint's (1964) pedagogical grammar of that dialect.

It is evident that these alternations, however productive they may once have been, are undergoing various kinds of levelling. As we proceed to Ladin, we encounter only a handful of them (see table 1.13, based on Elwert 1943: passim): and Gardena pro- ~ purv- 'try', razun- ~ rupn- 'talk'. Finally, in Friulian, there seem to be very few: wa ~ u, as in dwar- ~ durm- 'sleep'; and we ~ o, as in pves- ~ pod- 'be able'. (Recall that /wa/ is the alternant of /we/ before tautosyllabic /t/. Both derive from VL *ɔ...)*

The most thoroughgoing levelling process, at least in the Romansh dialects, is the general adaptation of the originally inchoative enlargement -isc-, which follows the verb stem and takes stress in those persons and numbers where the personal desinence does not bear stress.
**Table 1.12** Stress-conditioned vowel alternations in Vallader

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Probable source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uː ~ u</td>
<td>kuːr</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː ~ o</td>
<td>kroːd</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oː ~ u</td>
<td>moːr</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ u</td>
<td>doːrm</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o ~ ə</td>
<td>kumond</td>
<td>‘order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej ~ null</td>
<td>dhːhej</td>
<td>‘freeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej ~ ə</td>
<td>reːzj</td>
<td>‘saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj ~ a</td>
<td>bajv</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj ~ ə</td>
<td>ajntr</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj ~ null</td>
<td>tʃajn</td>
<td>‘dine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj ~ i</td>
<td>s’impaj</td>
<td>*en/___C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ~ null</td>
<td>kusaː</td>
<td>‘advise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ~ null</td>
<td>favel</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i ~ null</td>
<td>tʃajn</td>
<td>‘drag’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1.13** Stress-conditioned vowel alternations in Fassa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Probable source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e ~ a</td>
<td>lev</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej ~ e</td>
<td>bejv</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ow ~ u</td>
<td>dowr</td>
<td>‘use’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej ~ i</td>
<td>pejs</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aː ~ u</td>
<td>laar</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e ~ o</td>
<td>mev</td>
<td>‘move’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tekavčić (1974: 475n.) reports that there are now slightly more verbs in Surselvan with this enlargement than are without it (1,180 to 1,166), and explicitly accounts for this generalization in functional terms as a means of avoiding mobile stress and the resulting alternations of vowel quality (Tekavčić 1974: 477; see also Zamboni 1982–3 for a thorough review and bibliography).

**1.2.3 The evolution of consonants**

At least three features of the consonantal system are cited as distinguishing features of Rhaeto-Romance as a whole. These are:

(a) the common retention of word-initial /C+1/ clusters;
(b) the common innovation of the palatalizing of velars before inherited /a/;
(c) the common retention of word-final /s/ in noun and verb inflection.
Each of these unites Rhaeto-Romance with Gallo-Romance and various conservative northern Italian dialects, while separating these dialects from standard Italian and dialects of central and southern Italy. To these we could add the following:

(d) the common innovation of leniting intervocalic stops.

But this feature, which is no more or less peculiar to Rhaeto-Romance than the first three (it defines western Romance, including the northern Italian dialects above the La Spezia–Rimini isogloss; see Rohlfs 1971: 44, 246), is – quite correctly – never cited as a Rhaeto-Romance feature.

Concerning the retention of /C + l/ clusters, there is little that need be said. Even if retention were general throughout Rhaeto-Romance and nowhere beyond, common retentions count for little in establishing close genetic relationships. But in any case, retention of the cluster unites some Rhaeto-Romance dialects with non-Rhaeto-Romance languages, while separating them from other Rhaeto-Romance dialects.

Word-initially, all Rhaeto-Romance dialects are consistent in the retention of /l/, with the very late exceptions of the neighbouring Ladin dialects of Fassa and Moena. In the latter dialects, the palatalization of /l/, on the model of Venetian (rather than of Italian; see Repetti and Tuttle 1987: 82, n. 34) may have taken place as recently as 1900 (see AIS: 889; Elwert 1943: 70–1; Heilmann 1955: 119–24): CLAVE > common RR /klaf/, but Fassa /kjef/, Moena /kjew/ ‘key’. In the three Ladin dialects of Gardena, Badia, and Livinallongo, initial *kl > /tl/ (see Gartner 1879: 63; Heilmann 1955: 124).

It would seem, then, that the common retention of inherited /C1/ is certainly one of the most consistent isoglosses separating Rhaeto-Romance from other dialects of the Italian peninsula and southern Switzerland. But this criterion yields different groupings, depending on the time selected for comparison. If we take the languages spoken today as our comparanda, we will have to regard standard French as Rhaeto-Romance, and the Fassa and Moena dialects as non-Rhaeto-Romance. On the other hand, if we compare the languages spoken around AD 1400, most of the northern Italian dialects are – or ‘were’ – Rhaeto-Romance. Battisti (1931: 144) has argued that the retention of word-initial /kl/ and /pl/ was also characteristic of Venetian until the fourteenth century, citing Ascoli (1873: 460). (Compare also Rohlfs 1949: I: 287.) If so, either Rhaeto-Romance needs to be redefined to include Venetian, or it needs to be recognized as a language which came into existence later than 1400. Battisti also claimed (1931: 130, 144) that the retention of /C + l/ clusters up to the present time was characteristic of all the dialects of eastern Lombardy, including Lago di Garda, Val Vestino, Val Camonica, and
Bormio. Again, for concurrent findings, see Ettmayer (1902: 657). Moreover, Rohlfs (1966: 240) reports an area of /C + l/ conservatism in the Abruzzo territory, well south of the La Spezia–Rimini line.

Admittedly, modern Venetian has [Cj], and the Cl/Cj isogloss is used by Luedtke (1957: 122) to separate Venetian from Friulian. But if relatively modern developments are to be included, then the same isogloss which separates Friulian from Venetian must also separate conservative Ladin from Fassa and Moena. The Cl/Cj isogloss then defined ‘Rhaeto-Romance’ as an entity which existed between 1400 and 1900: since its alleged component dialects had split apart some nine hundred years before diverging in this way from Venetian, the isogloss seems entirely fortuitous.

Word-internally (intervocally), the Cl cluster was reduced, except in Nonsberg, Gardena and Badia, to /(l)j/ (AIS 103, 360; Battisti 1908: 201): VETULU / Gardena /uadl/, Badiot /vedl/ ‘old’, common RR /veκ/; SOLICULU / Gardena /suradl/, Badiot /soredl/, common RR /suleκ/; ECCLESIA / Gardena /dlie3a/, Badiot /dligia/; OCULU / Gardena /wedl/, Badiot /odl/, Nonsberg /:,:kjel/; SPECULU / Gardena /Spiadl/. The young Battisti (1908: 6) drew attention to the extraordinary conservatism of the Nonsberg dialect in retaining intervocalic -Cl-, and called this trait the most important attestation of the Ladinity of that dialect. (Compare the less conservative Fassan, where intervocalic C + l clusters are reduced to /j/: SOLICULU / soreje/ ‘sun’, SPECULU / spjeje/ ‘mirror’. Or compare Friulian, where intervocalic C + l is retained before a stressed vowel, and reduced to /l/ before an unstressed vowel: /soliel/ ‘sun’, but /sorelgl/ ‘to sun-dry’, /spjej/ ‘mirror’, but /spje’gla/ ‘to mirror’.)

A very detailed description of the evolution of C + l clusters has been recently given by Repetti and Tuttle (1987).

1.2.3.1 Palatalizations in Rhaeto-Romance

One of the notable features of the common consonantal system of Rhaeto-Romance, which seems to distinguish it most sharply from that of Sardinian (and no other modern Romance language), is the existence of a fully developed series of palatal consonants /c, ɟ, tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, ʒ, p/. Although some of these sounds may have had common diachronic origins (for example, /ʃ/), others did not, and the generality of some processes which created this inventory (for example, the velar palatalizations), and of subsequent mergers which subsequently reduced it (for example, that of palatal stops and affricates), define clear isoglosses which separate the Rhaeto-Romance dialects from each other. A
comparison of northern Italian and Rhaeto-Romance systems of palatal affricates and sibilants in given in Tuttle 1986.

(a) The palatalization of velars before /a/

The palatalization of inherited *k goes hand in hand with the change *kw > k, a fact which has led some scholars to posit a purely functional push-chain motivation for this development (see Rizzolatti 1981: 35). But a phonetic motivation, specifically a fronting of *a to *æ, is more commonly cited as the impetus for this change.

The change which led from Lat. CANE to RR /can/, probably via intermediate *[kæn] (see Schuerr 1938: 19; Rohlfs 1972: 125; Leonard 1972: 71) is almost certainly not the first Rhaeto-Romance palatalization; but in it we have a feature which has served as the ‘signature’ of Rhaeto-Romance since the pioneering work of Schneller in 1870. There is, however, some evidence to support Battisti’s contention that the common process k > c/æ occurred in the different Rhaeto-Romance dialects at different times (Battisti 1931: 152), beginning with Friulian, accomplished in Romansh by ca 1500 (and possibly not even in all of Romansh), and occurring in Ladin even later than this. This evidence is a major isogloss separating Surselvan and Sutselvan (Western Romansh) from all the other Rhaeto-Romance dialects.

Originally, the palatalization may have occurred only before stressed /a/ (Meyer-Luebke 1899: I; 409; Huonder 1901: 454; Luzi 1904: 802; Lutta 1923: 149–52), and this is the state of affairs in ‘western Romansh’, or Surselvan, Sutselvan, and some of Surmeiran (thus, for example, the village of Cunter in Oberhalbstein; see Leonard 1972: 72) today. In the other Rhaeto-Romance dialects, however, it occurred before unstressed /a/ as well:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Eastern Rhaeto-Romance</th>
<th>Western Romansh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CANE</td>
<td>can</td>
<td>can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPUT</td>
<td>caw</td>
<td>caw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CADENA</td>
<td>cadejna</td>
<td>kadejna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CABALLU</td>
<td>cavaąż</td>
<td>kavaąż</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VACCA</td>
<td>vaca</td>
<td>vaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This may suggest that the process took place last where it was most restricted. It should be noted, however, that scholars do not entirely agree on what the domain of the original rule of palatalization may have been. Against Meyer-Luebke, Huonder, Luzi, and Lutta, Gartner (1883: 68; 1910: 191–4) maintained that palatalization originally
occurred before both stressed and unstressed /a/, and that Western Romansh /k/ before unstressed /a/ was the result of a later (possibly Latin-influenced) restoration. In favour of Gartner’s position (which was known to, and explicitly repudiated, by both Luzi and Lutta), is the clear evidence from at least one Sutselvan dialect, that of Ems, where the velar /k/ was restored before both stressed and unstressed /a/ in what Luzi himself admitted to be a ‘secondary development’ (Luzi 1904: 802). Here was a clear case of restoration observed, although the motivation for it was perhaps unclear. Further evidence that the western Romansh forms may be artificial restorations of some kind is provided by forms like /kawsa/ ‘matter’, which have already come up in connection with our discussion of the development of /aw/. In Rhaeto-Romance, as in French, the palatalization of velars before /a/ was a relatively early process, antedating the monophthongization of /aw/ to /o/ (see Meyer-Luebke 1899: I; 409): thus, French /foz/, common RR /cosa/ < CAUSA. Surselvan /kawsa/ then, represents the undoing of not one but two processes which had to occur in a certain order:

(a) palatalization;
(b) monophthongization.

That this kind of ‘unravelling’ of historical processes occurred by natural means is much less likely than that a Latin doublet of the native form was simply borrowed.

The different degrees of generalization of velar palatalization suggest that the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects may have undergone the change relatively early. On the other hand, an argument has been made by Anton Grad (1969) that the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects underwent the change relatively late. Grad cites Slovenian borrowings from Friulian that he confidently dates no earlier than the twelfth century, and in which there is no sign of any palatalization. (But the borrowings could have been from Venetian.)

Finally, it is worth noting that at least one scholar (Leonard 1972: 72) believes that velar palatalization before */a/ (that touchstone of Rhaeto-Romance) in Surselvan – that arch-conservative Rhaeto-Romance dialect – was a borrowed feature there. This, it seems to us, is extremely unlikely, particularly given Surselvan paradigmatic alternations like [′jolda] < GAUDET ‘enjoys’ vs. [gal’der] < GAUDERE ‘to enjoy’ (Huonder 1901: 467).

Much more problematic is accounting for the spread of palatalization to unstressed syllables (the majority view), or its restriction to stressed syllables (Gartner’s view). In deciding between Gartner and the majority view, our problems are of a different sort. If we accept Gartner’s opinion
that velar palatalization occurred before all inherited */a/, and assume that the change was phonetically motivated, then we must assume that unstressed */a/ was still phonetically a front vowel at the time the shift occurred. In view of the widespread reduction of unstressed /a/ to [a] in the modern dialects, this is perhaps typologically implausible: but it is by no means the only typological implausibility which we are called upon to believe. Recall that final unstressed -UM > -*u (> *y?) was supposedly an umlauting environment throughout Romansh (see Luedtke 1965) before it vanished. That is, there are (at least) two postulated changes which assume an unattested stage in the development of Rhaeto-Romance where the inventory of unstressed vowels was larger than it now seems to be. So we cannot reject Gartner out of hand. Nevertheless, the existence of pairs like [jolda] ~ [galde] is as much an embarrassment to Gartner as to Leonard. If the velar stop is a restoration, why is it sensitive to stress?

Conversely, the majority view requires us to assume an extension of the original velar palatalization, which may have been either phonetically motivated, or analogical. If phonetically motivated, we have to make the same assumptions as we do for Gartner. If analogical, we have to assume a sensitivity to etymological origins (only [a] derived from */a/ caused palatalization) which seems incredible in the absence of alternations. The least implausible reconstruction is that of the majority view: phonetically motivated palatalization of velars in stressed syllables, followed by phonetically motivated palatalization in unstressed syllables, both occurring before the neutralization of unstressed */a/ to [a].

(b) The palatalization of velars before front vowels

Before front vowels, /k, g/ palatalized to /tʃ, dʒ/ throughout Rhaeto-Romance (and throughout all Romance, with the present exception of Sardinian). In modern Romansh, in some Ladin dialects, and in some Friulian dialects, the outcome of this palatalization is still phonetically distinct from that of velar palatalization before /a/: CERCARE > (Vallader) /tʃɛrca(r)/ ‘look for’; palatalization has proceeded further before /i, e, e/ than before inherited /a/.

Along the Friulian perimeter, the phonemic opposition between /c/ and /tʃ/ has been lost (Bender et al. 1952; Francescato 1966: 47) for both voiceless and voiced palatals: thus, Iliescu (1972: passim) records (apparently) free phonetic variation between [(d)ʒ] and [ʃ] for reflexes of velar before inherited /a/, and consistent [ʒ] for reflexes of the velar stop before front vowels: GATTU > [dʒat] ~ [jat] ‘cat’, MANDUCARE >
[maŋza] 'eat', GENTE > [ʒent] 'people'.

Whether or not the phonemic contrast between /kj/ and /tʃ/ is lost, the inherited contrast between *ka and *ke is always maintained in Friulian. Francescato (1966: 49) points out that in exactly the same areas where *ka > kja > tʃa, *ke > tʃe > se ~ the.

Elwert consistently retains different spellings for original /c/ and /tʃ/ in his phonetic transcriptions of Fassa Ladin, although his practice is to be consistent only before inherited front vowels. Before inherited /a/, he fluctuates between both spellings, and we encounter CANTARE > [tʃanta] 'sing', CANTO > [cant(e)] 'I sing', CAN > [tʃan], CARU > [cɛr] 'dear', PECCATU > [petʃa] 'sorry', and CAPUT > [cef] 'head'. Both Politzer (1967) and Plangg (1973), in their phonemic analyses of two Ladin dialects, maintain the /c/ ~ /tʃ/ distinction, which may still exist, but is clearly threatened by interference from Italian.

(c) Later palatalizations

The first palatalization was followed by a number of processes affecting vowels which created other palatalizing contexts. Among these, we must include the pan-Rhaeto-Romance fronting of /a/ to *[æ], which led to the defining Rhaeto-Romance palatalization, and at least two other changes which are not shared throughout Rhaeto-Romance:

(a) the fronting of /u/ (< Lat. u:);
(b) the transition of the inherited neuter singular -u (< Lat. -um) to some vowel which could induce palatalization of the preceding consonant, and umlaut a preceding stressed vowel.

(It should be noted that these sounds were distinct in Vulgar Latin, and so the two changes cannot be attributed to the same development.)

The Swiss dialects agree on palatalization of velars to palatal stops before reflexes of VL /u/. It may be observed from the two examples below, that although the phonetic outcome of inherited /i/ and inherited /u/ may have been virtually identical in some dialects, the palatalization that they induced was different, prima facie evidence that the fronting of /u/ followed the first palatalization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CENTU</td>
<td>tʃian</td>
<td>tʃjent</td>
<td>tʃjent</td>
<td>tʃjent</td>
<td>'hundred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CULU</td>
<td>cil</td>
<td>cikl</td>
<td>cyl</td>
<td>cyl</td>
<td>'arse'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dialects differed in their response to palatalizing -u. In Surselvan, palatalization occurred only if the preceding vowel was also a front vowel, while in the other dialects, palatalization occurred irrespective of
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

the nature of the preceding vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Sutselvan</th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMICU</td>
<td>amic</td>
<td>amic</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>amïç</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>ami~ami ‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LACU</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>lec</td>
<td>lej</td>
<td>laj</td>
<td>laj</td>
<td>‘lake’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most of Surmeiran (the example in the chart above is from the dialect spoken in the single village of Stalla), and in the Engadine dialects, /c/ in final position was lenited to /j/ some time after the sixteenth century, when the orthography of old Puter and Vallader texts still has {ch}, as in {leich} ‘lake’, {amich} ‘friend’, and {föch} ‘fire’ (see Lutta: 180–1).

The development of the inherited cluster /kt/ split the Romance dialects, among them those of Rhaeto-Romance, into two major areas: in Surselvan, Sutselvan, and (most of) Surmeiran (as in Lombard, Piedmontese, French, Spanish), the result was some palatal or affricate (/ts/, /tʃ/, /c/). In the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects (as indeed in standard Italian), we encounter only /t/. In the Engadine dialects of Romansh, geographically in a transitional area— but only if the unity of Rhaeto-Romance is assumed—we encounter mainly /t/, with a handful of words (more in Puter than in Vallader) exhibiting /c/, (see Lutta 1923: 205–9). Thus, for example, FACTU > /fac/ ~ /fats/ ~ /fatʃ/ (Surselvan, Surmeiran, Sutselvan), or /fat/ (all other dialects) ‘fact’.

Common to much of the Rhaeto-Romance area were two processes which provided sources for the new phoneme /ʃ/. The first palatalized /s/ before inherited /i/; this change is attested outside Rhaeto-Romance throughout Tuscany (Rohlfs 1949: 1, 280; 1966: 224). The second change palatalized /s/ before any consonant (Luzi 1904: 804–6; Lutta 1923: 164; Gartner 1879: 60; Elwert 1943: 69; Iliescu 1972: 58). The latter change is shared throughout Rhaeto-Romance with the exception of Nonsberg, Moena, and some dialects of Friulian; and it is shared outside Rhaeto-Romance in the Ticino, Piedmont, northern Lombardy, and the Romagnol region, as well as various regions of central and southern Italy (Rohlfs 1949: 1, 313–14; 1966: 257). Thus PASTA > most RR (and Ticino) /pajta/, Italian (and some Friulian) /pasta/ (AIS: 236). It should be noted that /ʃ/ became recognizably phonologized only as the conditioning environment for the first rule above became obscured.

Common again to all of the Rhaeto-Romance area was the creation of the palatal nasal /ɲ/, which derived from two sources, /gn/ and /n + i/, and the palatal liquid /ʎ/, deriving from /l + i/ and /i + l/.

1.2.3.2 Intervocalic lenition

As in Gallo-Romance languages and northern Italian dialects, all intervocalic stops were affected by two lenition processes in Rhaeto-
Table 1.14 Lenition, apocope, and strengthening of p, b, d,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PIPEREP</th>
<th>LUPU</th>
<th>DEBE(T)</th>
<th>*VIDERE</th>
<th>VIDIT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 lenition</td>
<td>*peb;,)r</td>
<td>*lobo</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*veder</td>
<td>*vede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 lenition</td>
<td>*peV;,)r</td>
<td>*lovo</td>
<td>*deve</td>
<td>*ve(d)=r</td>
<td>*vede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 apocope</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*loV</td>
<td>*dev</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*ved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 strengthening</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>*lo:f</td>
<td>def</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>vejt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Romance. First, all voiceless stops became voiced. Then, voiced intervocalic stops were further lenited, in some cases disappearing altogether. Following on from these processes was the apocope of final unstressed vowels.

Preceding apocope of the final syllable (recall that all unstressed final vowels but /a/ are subject to deletion in the history of Rhaeto-Romance), the voiced stop lenited further, in some cases disappearing altogether. But following apocope, the lenited stop was now word-final, and it was devoiced. Table 1.14 shows the idealized histories of the words for 'pepper' and 'wolf' (from Friulian), and 'must (3sg.)', 'to see', and 'sees' (from Fassan). The word for 'pepper' is thus in most of Rhaeto-Romance, (see Lutta 1923: 173; Elwert 1943: 72; Iliescu 1972: 64); the paradigm for the verb 'see' is common to Romansh and Ladin (see Lutta 1923: 182; Elwert: 74-5. Leonard (1972: 87) reconstructs */o/ as a phoneme in *pro to- Rhaeto-Romance on the basis of Surselvan (Tavetsch) [vazajr], Ladin (Moena) [veder]. It seems to us that this may not be necessary, but it is clear that lenition of intervocalic */t/ yielded results different from lenition of intervocalic */t/, and that an intermediate fricative must have had at least a phonetic reality, except in Friulian.)

Essentially, intervocalic /s/ is always lenited to /z/, thus CASA > /caza/ 'house'. Intervocalic /t/ is lenited to /d/ (see Lutta 1923: 175; Elwert 1943: 73; Iliescu 1972: 66), thus ROTA > /roda/ 'wheel', the resulting segment being strengthened back to /t/ after apocope; thus for example VERITATE > (Surmeiran) /v;rdet/ 'truth'. The general loss of intervocalic /t/ in the 2nd plural of the verbal paradigm, and in the masculine singular of the perfect participle in -ATU, is morphologically conditioned, and takes place irrespective of whether the deletion site remains intervocalic or becomes word-final, thus CANTATIS > /cantajs/ 'you all sing', CANTATU > /canta(w)/ 'sung'. What appears to be the conservative retention of /t/ in this position in Friulian is probably an analogical extension of the athematic 2nd plural imperative, as in FACITE > /fajt/ (see Benincà and Vanelli 1976). Intervocalic /d/, as we have shown in the examples in table 1.14, lenites to null ultimately, but we
must progress through an intermediate *[d], which sound strengthens to /t/ in final position after apocope. Intervocalic /p/, /f/, and /b/ all lenite to /v/; thus the rhyming of [pejvær] ‘pepper’ and [bejvær] < BIBERE ‘drink’, cf. [bevorca] ‘fork’ < BIFURCA. All /v/, irrespective of its origins, strengthens word-finally to /f/, thus the rhyming of [lo(w)f] ‘wolf’ and [p.o:f] < NOVU ‘new’.

Although resisting the lenition of *C/, Ladin dialects are exceptionally leniting in their recent tendency to entirely delete intervocalic post-tonic /v/. This is particularly apparent in the case of the imperfect indicative suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Marebbe</th>
<th>Badiot</th>
<th>Ampezzan</th>
<th>Other RR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ABAT</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*EBAT</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>oa</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*IBAT</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>iI</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples from Ampezzan: /tsiil/ ‘civil’, /inaante/ ‘ahead’, /noo/ ‘new (m.sg.)’, all most probably directly borrowed from Venetian. (The latter is a dialect in which lenition is very widespread.)

The fate of the intervocalic velar stops is complicated by the palatalizations before inherited A (> æ). Inherited /k/ before a back vowel lenites intervocally to /g/ (Lutta 1923: 178; Elwert 1943: 74–6; Iliescu 1972: 62). The resulting sound did one of the following:

(a) strengthened back to /k/ in final position after apocope: thus INTEGRU > *intregu > (Ladin) /intriek/ ‘entire’ (Elwert 1943: 76) is parallel to FOCU > Fassan /fowk/, Friulian /fu:k/ ‘fire’;
(b) disappeared, particularly after front vowels (we may perhaps infer progressive palatalization as part of the lenition process here). Thus AMICU > Friulian /ami/ ‘friend’ (but see Puter /amiç/), LACU > Marebban /le/ (but see Fassan /lek/, Friulian /la:k/ ‘lake’).

Inherited intervocalic /g/ sometimes lenites further to /v/, or null (Elwert 1943: 75–6; Iliescu 1972: 63): AUGUSTU > /avost/, /aost/ ‘August’.

Velars before front vowels neutralize the voice distinction intervocically, all becoming /ʒ/ (Lutta 1923: 177; Elwert 1943: 74), strengthening in final position after apocope to (Romansh) /ʃ/, (Ladin) /tʃ/, as Ladin /letʃ/ < LEGIT ‘reads’. The strengthening */ʒ/ > /tʃ/ is suspect, as this process typically involves no more than devoicing. This suggests that primary lenition of palatalized velars is to an intermediate *[dʒ], and that final attested /ʒ/ is the outcome of a secondary lenition. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palatalization</th>
<th>VICINU</th>
<th>COCERE</th>
<th>COQUINA</th>
<th>COQUINA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lenition</td>
<td>vitʃinu</td>
<td>kotʃere</td>
<td>kotʃina</td>
<td>ledʒe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidʒinu</td>
<td>kodʒere</td>
<td>kodʒina</td>
<td>ledʒe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With hypothetical reconstructions for all stages but those in square 
brackets ([vi3in] ‘neighbour’ in Romansh, [ke3er] ‘cook’, and [letJ] 
‘reads’ in Ladin, and [ku3ine] ‘kitchen’ in Friulian).

While no fixed date can be assigned for primary lenition, it is 
considered a very early phenomenon in the Romance languages in which 
it is attested. The process, like the palatalization of velars before /a/, 
must have occurred before the monophthongization of /aw/, that is, at a 
time when the second element of this diphthong was acting as a 
consonant. Note the failure of lenition to occur in cases like /cosa/ < 
CAUSA ‘matter’, /uton/ < AUTUMNU ‘fall’ in many Rhaeto-Romance 
and northern Italian dialects.

Intervocalic post-tonic *Cl was lenited to /l/ throughout Rhaeto­ 
Romance except, as noted above, in some Ladin dialects like Fodom 
(where *kl > gl) and Gardenese (where *kl > dl). Thus, for example, 
Fodom /ogle/, Gardena /üedl/, Friulian /voli/ < OCULU ‘eye’. As noted 
elier, Friulian exhibits a frozen /gl/ ~ /l/ alternation between pre- and 
post-tonic inherited intervocalic *kl. Thus /völi/ ‘eye’, but /voglade/ 
‘glance’.

Intervocalic *Cr was generally lenited to /ɾ/ throughout Rhaeto­ 
Romance, but there are exceptions in all the dialects. Thus CAPRA > 
Surselvan /kawra/, Friulian /kja(v)ɾa/ ‘goat’.

A totally unrelated strengthening process in initial position, now no 
longer productive, converted inherited /j/ to /dʒ/ in the Italian Rhaeto­ 
Romance dialects (Elwert 1943: 70; Gartner 1892: 1879: 64; Iliescu 1972: 
58), but to Surselvan /j/, Sutselvan /j/ or /ʒ/ (Luiz 1904: 803), other 
Romansh /dʒ/ (Lutta 1923: 168); thus JUVENE > (Surselvan) [juvən], 
(Ladin) [ʒəwn], (Friulian) [(d)ʒɔvin] ‘young’.

1.2.3.3 Other changes

All final consonants of Classical Latin except /s/ were lost, this change 
preceding the loss of unstressed final non-low vowels. The retention of 
final /s/ was morphologically conditioned, and different dialects pro­
ceeded in different ways.

First, the retention of final -s in the 2nd singular and the plural of 
the noun, as we have noted, is a frequently cited signature of Rhaeto­ 
Romance as a whole. Second, many of the Italian Rhaeto-Romance 
dialects fail to retain final -s of the feminine plural in some nominal
syntagms. Finally, Surselvan is unique among the Rhaeto-Romance dialects, and within Romance generally, for retaining final -s of the nominative singular of second-declension nouns. These matters will occupy our attention in chapters 2 and 3.

There is a strong and shared tendency to neutralize distinctions of place of articulation for nasals in syllable-final position. In Sutselvan and Puter, syllable-final /n/ assimilates to the preceding vowel (Luži 1904: 810; Lutta 1923: 196–7); in Ladin, syllable-final /N/ becomes [n] in Fassa (Elwert 1943: 79), [n] in Moena (Heilmann 1955: 159–62), or [m] in Nonsberg (Battisti 1908: 9); while in Friulian, /n/ becomes [ŋ] syllable-finally, and before all consonants other than dentals (Francescato 1966: 16; Iliescu 1968–9: 280). Productive alternations in most Rhaeto-Romance dialects suggest that [ŋ] is still an automatically conditioned variant of /n/ without phonemic status. Thus Gartner (1892), in his grammatical sketch of the transitional dialect of Erto on the western fringes of Friulian, observed paradigmatic alternations between [bon] (m.sg.) ~ [bona] (f.sg.) ‘good’, [un] (m.sg.) ~ [una] (f.sg.) ‘one’: changes absolutely parallel not only to the alternations in Surmeiran noted in Thōni’s pedagogical grammar of that dialect (1969: 41), but generally shared by northern Italian dialects.

A trivial, but characteristic signature of Ampezzan and Lower Gadera Ladin is the change of non-final *l > r, which, however, is shared with non-Rhaeto-Romance Italian dialects such as those of Liguria and Lombardy (see Rohlf’s 1966: 306ff.) In Badiot, ILLE > (v) el ‘he’, but ILLA > (v) ara ‘she’, PARABOLA > /parora/ ‘word’, MALATTIA > /maratia/ ‘sickness’.

1.2.4 Summary

The shared phonological developments outlined above constitute the best possible evidence for the unity and independence of Rhaeto-Romance. There are several lines which separate Rhaeto-Romance dialects from the other northern Italian dialects (albeit not from Gallo-Romance, or, for that matter, from Sardinian). On the other hand, there is not a single phonological development which is characteristic of all and only the Rhaeto-Romance dialects as a whole.

The situation when we examine morphology is, if anything, even less satisfying, as the morphological cleavages between the various dialects are frequently truly profound. In fact, doing justice to some of the most striking features of ‘Rhaeto-Romance’ morphology will necessarily entail ignoring most of Rhaeto-Romance to concentrate on a single dialect, as we shall see.
2 Morphology

The morphological features which supposedly help define the Rhaeto-Romance languages include:

(a) -s plural on nouns;
(b) -s 2nd singular desinence on verbs;
(c) non-identity of indicative and imperative 2pl.

In addition, there are morphological features which separate the various Rhaeto-Romance dialects. Up to now, we have been assuming that Ladin and Friulian are distinct, although the evidence for this separation has been primarily geographical. We can, however, point to a number of areal morphological features which distinguish the Ladin group from Friulian, among them:

(a) identity of 3rd singular and 3rd plural in verbal paradigms;
(b) mobile stress on personal desinences which are not adjacent to the verb root.

These criteria define an area which includes not only the dialects spoken in the valleys radiating directly from the Sella massif, but also dialects spoken a considerable distance to the east, in some cases on the western and northwestern fringes of the Friulian-speaking area. Among these are the dialects of Erto (Gartner 1892), and Carnic Friulian as typified in Cedarchis, Paularo, and Lovea (Frau 1984: 123).

Whether or not these and other features provide evidence for the unity of Rhaeto-Romance will be a recurring issue in the following pages. We believe that they do not, sometimes because they are clearly areal rather than genetic features, and sometimes because they are cases of common retention, which demonstrate no more than a common Latin origin.

Ideally, it should be possible to discuss morphology and syntax in the same way as phonology, that is, from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. With relatively few exceptions, however, our
ability to reconstruct Rhaeto-Romance morphology and syntax is limited, and there exists an enormous gap between Vulgar Latin and our earliest coherent texts. By the time most of the Rhaeto-Romance languages have entered into the light of recorded textual attestation – essentially, no earlier than the fourteenth century – the majority of the morphological distinctions among them have already come into existence. Wherever possible, we will show the changes that we know occurred, particularly in the development of the Romansh and Friulian dialects.

2.1 MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES OF THE VERB

It is convenient (although semantically unmotivated) to distinguish between those categories which are expressed as verbal affixes, and those which are expressed as auxiliary verbs or by means of other periphrastic constructions. There are considerable differences among the dialects here, inasmuch as some categories like the future tense are typically expressed periphrastically in some dialects, synthetically in others, and by a combination of the two in yet others.

2.1.1 Synthetic categories

Verbs in Rhaeto-Romance consist of a root followed by a number of suffixes. Finite verbs consist of the root followed by as many as three non-personal suffixes and one personal desinence. Non-finite verbs consist of the root followed by no more than a single non-personal suffix.

Remnants of the inherited four-conjugation system survive (diminished or elaborated) in only one set of morphemes: those which immediately follow the verb root, whether these are personal desinences or non-personal suffixes. That is, given the basic structure

\[ V + \text{(suffix)} + \text{desinence} \]

the same set of desinences may exhibit allomorphy if the suffix is absent, or fail to exhibit allomorphy if the suffix is present.

Usually, only those personal desinences which are immediately adjacent to the root exhibit movable stress (already mentioned in our discussion of stress-conditioned vocalic alternations), where typically the 1st plural and 2nd plural desinences alone are stressed and rob the root of its stress. Generally speaking, personal desinences not immediately adjacent to the verb root are unstressed throughout the paradigm. This suggests a useful division of primary and secondary personal desinences, where the features of adjacency to the verb root,
allomorphy, and movable stress are linked as in the chart below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjacency to verb root</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conjugational allomorphy</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movable stress</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By this criterion, a handful of personal desinences are highly marked in exhibiting a mixture of primary and secondary features:

(a) in the Engadine dialects, the present subjunctive personal desinences are adjacent to the verb root but otherwise secondary;
(b) in Fassan Ladin, the imperfect desinences (both indicative and subjunctive) are characterized by movable stress but are otherwise secondary;
(c) in Surmeiran and all dialects to the east of it, future tense personal desinences are secondary in all respects, but are invariably stressed throughout the paradigm.
(d) in modern Friulian (and Old Romansh), the past definite endings are adjacent to the verb stem, exhibit conjugational allomorphy, and nevertheless do not exhibit stress shift, being invariably stressed.

Non-personal suffixes may be divided into two major groups: those which may, and those which may not, co-occur with a personal desinence.

These we may call the finite and the non-finite suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite</th>
<th>Non-finite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>augment</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect subjunctive</td>
<td>perfect participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>present participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past definite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of these, without exception, exhibit some conjugational allomorphy. (In fact, in the infinitive, one dialect, Surmeiran, has actually elaborated and expanded on the inherited four-conjugational pattern.) Basically, however, the tendency has been to reduce the distinction to a two- or a three-way opposition.

2.1.1.1 The Infinitive

The infinitive is the only form in which all four conjugations are still distinguished in each of the major Rhaeto-Romance dialects. The
Table 2.1 Rhaeto-Romance infinitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Rhenish</th>
<th>Engadine</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Gadera</th>
<th>Ampezzan</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ARE</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ERE</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ajr</td>
<td>-er</td>
<td>-ej</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ERE</td>
<td>'Vr</td>
<td>'Vr</td>
<td>'Vr</td>
<td>'e(r)</td>
<td>'e</td>
<td>'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-IRE</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-ir</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Rhaeto-Romance perfect participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ATU</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ea(/f___)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ITU</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>iɔ</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-ITU</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>iɔ</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u:t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ITU</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>iɔ</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i:t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

suffixes in all the major dialects with the exception of Surmeiran are presented in Table 2.1 (here, Rhenish means Surselvan and Sutselvan, while Engadine, as before, refers to Vallader and Puter). In Surmeiran, -ARE has had three reflexes: /ar/ after dentals, /er/ after palatal fricatives and the glide /j/, and /iar/ after the palatal affricates /tʃ, dʒ/; -ERE and -IRE conflated to /er/, and 'ERE resulted in /ar/ (see Sonder and Grisch 1970: Introduction; Thöni 1969: 36).

2.1.1.2 The perfect participle

In the case of the perfect participial endings (at least in some dialects), three contrasting endings survive, and the inherited second and third conjugations are identical. Generally, however, there are only two contrasting forms, corresponding to the inherited first and fourth conjugations, with the second and third conjugational endings assimilated to either the first or the fourth conjugation, depending on the dialect in question. Finally, in the personal secondary desinences, all conjugational distinctions are neutralized.

Table 2.2 summarizes the maximally unmarked forms of the perfect participle endings in the major dialects. In the case of all of these but Surselvan, the given forms are masculine singular, while in Surselvan, the cognate form is neuter singular or attributive masculine singular. (Plural formation for all nominal categories, including derived nominals like the perfect participle, will be dealt with separately.) All are stressed. In one respect Surselvan is innovative here, while in another sense it is
immensely conservative. Like Sutselvan, Surmeiran, and Puter, but
unlike all the remaining Rhaeto-Romance dialects, it has levelled the
inherited distinction between -ETU and -ITU participles, so there is only
the contrast between first conjugation /aw/ and all other /iw/. On the
other hand, Surselvan endings, by all accounts, reflect an ancient
accusative singular or neuter singular form in -u(M), while a contrasting
participle in /aw+s/ or /iw+s/ (the present predicative masculine
singular), reflects an inherited nominative singular in -(u)s. While there
are traces of such a distinction in Sutselvan and the Engadine dialects
(inherited -u(M), unlike inherited -(u)s, caused palatalization of the
preceding consonant, and umlaut of the preceding vowel), no other
Rhaeto-Romance dialect actually preserves final nominative -s. We
return to this morphological feature, which still links Surselvan with Old
French, in the nominal morphology.

Friulian is conservative in another way, maintaining final /t/ (in fact, a
devoiced /d/) (see Francescato 1966: 204; Iliescu 1972: 180). This
consonant is now lost not only in the other major dialects, but in the
transitional West Friulian dialects, including that of Erto (see Gartner
1892: 198). However, the loss may have been comparatively recent. In
Old Vallader, at least, we still encounter masculine singular participles
{it} ‘gone’, {vgniid} ‘come’ in the 1679 Bible of Vulpian and Dorta, and
the modern dialect still has /Stat/ ‘been’. Finally, in some of the Ladin
dialects, for example that of Gardena, there seem to be a number of
irregular verbs which retain final /t/ not only in the masculine singular
form of the perfect participle (where it could be interpreted as a devoiced
/d/), but also in the feminine forms: /Stat/, /Stata/ ‘been’, /dat/, /data/
‘given’, /3it/, /3ita/ ‘gone’. This is phonologically regular only in the case
of /fat/ < FACTU: non-alternating /t/ in the other verbs must be
attributed to an analogical process (see Kramer 1976: 88–9).

In all Rhaeto-Romance dialects, the /t/ of -ATA (f.sg.) and -ATAS (f.pl.)
lenites to /d/; thus, for example, Vallader /cantada/ ‘sung (f.sg.)’,
Friulian /finida/ ‘finished (f.sg.)’. In both Ladin and Puter, the first-
conjugation theme vowel becomes /e/ before /d/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Ladin (Vallader)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| -ATU   | o     | a
| -ATA   | ëda   | ëda ada |

Puter /o/ may derive from */aw/*. On the other hand, the regular
development of inherited */a/ to /e/ supports Leonard’s (1972) con-
jecture that a common innovation of *PRR is the fronting of this vowel
to something like /æ/.
2.1.1.3 The gerund

The gerund is absent in the spoken form at least of some Ladin dialects, where concurrent activity by the same agent is expressed by an infinitival construction (Elwert 1943: 156, for Fassa; Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: xliii, for Badiot; Appollonio 1930: 54, for Ampezzan). In the dialects which maintain some reflex of *-ANDU for the expression of this relationship, only a maximum of two forms survive. First, the Ladin dialects of Gardena and Moena have only a single form: Garden -[an], Moena -[an]. In the remaining dialects, some conjugational allomorphy survives. In Surselvan, the first form derives from -ANDU and is used for all first-conjugation verbs, while the second form seems to derive from II/III -ENDU and is used with all other verbs. In the other dialects, the reflex of -ANDU is used for all verbs but those of the fourth conjugation. The second form, on the other hand, is more likely descended from either IV -ENDU or from a possible offspring *-INDU. In many of the dialects where it survives, the gerund is bookish (the colloquial preference is for a finite clause introduced by a conjunction). Nor is it exclusively a same-subject clause. Where the subject of the gerundive clause is different from that of the main clause, it follows the gerund, and usually translates into a 'since' or 'because' clause. Consider the example from Surmeiran below:

(1) purt-on el ën ca peña n-ix vain-sa bec kunaf-ia
    wear-ing he a hat not-him have-we not recognize-p.p.
    'Since he was wearing a hat, we didn’t recognize him.'

Friulian has a well-developed use of the gerund which is similar to that of standard Italian. It occurs with the auxiliary /sta/ to mark the durative or progressive aspect, as in /stas tu durmint/ 'Are you asleep?' or /al stave murt/ 'He was dying.' It is used to mark concurrent activity, as in /ë vijive kurint/ 'She came running'. Preposed, gerundive clauses generally have the same subject as the main clause. Otherwise, the subject can only be understood as indefinite or impersonal: /esint tart, lu invidarin a bevi/ 'Since it was late, they invited him for a drink'; /kantant, il timp al pase prest/ 'When one sings, time passes rapidly' (see Nazi Matalon 1977: 143–5).

The following chart recapitulates the occurring forms in the major dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Gardena</th>
<th>Moena</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ANDU</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ENDU</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>int</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-INDU</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ind</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>int</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.1.4 The present participle

The present participle, now distinct from the gerund only in Surselvan and Surmeiran, is (in the unmarked, masculine singular form) phonetically identical with the gerund, and interchangeable with it in marking concurrent activity by the same agent. This interchangeability is nicely illustrated by the following examples. (The first pair is taken from Alig’s *Epistolas* in Old Surselvan, published in 1674; the second, from Bifrun’s Puter translation of the New Testament, published in 1560; both are anthologized in Ulrich 1882):

**Old Surselvan**

(2) Scha manen els suenter schend ‘Q’
so went they after saying (gerund)
‘So they went after, saying “Q”.

(3) Cun tut tarmettenan sias sururs tier el, Schent ‘Q’
with that sent his sisters to him saying (participle)
‘With that, they sent his sisters to him, saying “Q”.

**Old Puter**

(4) sauiād (gerund) Jesus che füss gnieu la sia hura...
knowing Jesus that was come the his hour
‘Jesus, knowing that his hour had come...

(5) et subbittamang es stō cun l’g angel ūna grand
and suddenly is been with the angel a great
quantited dals celestiels exercits, ludant (participle)
number of-the heavenly host praising
Dieu e schent...
God and saying
‘And suddenly there appeared with the angel a great number of the
heavenly host, praising God and saying...

(John 13: 1)

(John 2: 13)

We have seen only the participial orthography for complements of verbs of perception (e.g. ‘I hear them sing-ing’), as in the following examples, also from Alig:

(6) A cur ca Jesus vaset ella bargient
and when that Jesus saw her crying

(7) scha el anflau els dormint
as he found them sleeping

As a relative-clause form without number agreement, the orthographic participle in {-ont} does not contrast with the gerund in {-ond}, as the
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

following examples would seem to indicate (the first from Alig, the second from Wendenzen's (1701) life of Jesus):

(8) A schet ils vivont plaids
and said the living (participle) words
(9) el perduna a scadin puccond Christiaun
he pardons to every sinning (gerund) Christian

There is scattered evidence throughout Rhaeto-Romance that gender is more faithfully copied than is number. While participles do not seem to agree with their heads or their subjects in number, they do seem to agree in gender, as in the Surmeiran examples:

(10) igl mattatsch cantont
the boy singing
(11) la matta cantonta
the girl singing (f.)

Where agreement is marked, only the participial orthography seems possible.

In Friulian, the present participle is more an adjective than a verbal form; yet it exhibits no agreement. Given the adjectival class to which a participle belongs, we only expect plural agreement, but we encounter phrases like /ku li mans scasant/ 'with dangling (=empty) hands'. Arguably, /scasant/ in examples of this sort is a gerund with underlying form /skasand/, the final consonant being regularly devoiced.

2.1.1.5 Finite non-personal suffixes

We may divide those suffixes which co-occur with personal desinences into two classes: in the first class are the now almost totally meaningless (but functionally motivated) augments like the reflexes of the inherited inchoative in -1sc-; in the second are the various and familiar reflexes indicating the verbal categories of tense, aspect, and mood.

2.1.1.6 The augments

(a) Inherited -isc- and its descendants

Throughout Rhaeto-Romance, as in French, Italian, and Italian dialects, reflexes of -isc- are found with fourth-conjugation verbs: Surselvan, Surmeiran, and Puter have /ef/; presumably from *-esc-, while all other dialects continue /if/. In Romansh alone, the augment
occurs on a large number of verbs of the first conjugation as well (see Gartner 1883: 128). In Surselvan, Sutselvan, Surmeiran, and Puter, the form of the augment is invariable, thus [gratule-[al]] ‘(I) congratulate’ from /gratula/ ‘to congratulate’, and [fine-[al]] ‘(I) finish’ from /fini/ ‘to finish’. Vallader, the only other Romansh dialect, has created *-esc- > /ej/ exclusively for verbs of the first conjugation, thus [gratulej] ‘(I) congratulate’, but [finij] ‘(I) finish’. Gartner (1883), citing Carigiet, cites only a minuscule number of verbs of the second or third conjugations which have generalized this augment. (One example is /Smaladirl/ ‘curse’, which occurs with the [eJ] augment in Sutselvan.)

The paradigmatic distribution of the augment is the same as in French and Italian, at least in the present tense of the indicative: it occurs in complementary distribution with the stressed personal desinences and, consequently, those verbs which appear with the augment regularly eliminate stress alternations (and attendant changes of vowel quality) on the invariably unstressed verb stem.

(Two Romansh dialects have gone beyond this. Surmeiran has generalized the /ej/ suffix for singular imperatives, so that in this dialect, there is no stress shift for /ej/ verbs in either the indicative or the imperative: /translat-’eJ-a/ ‘translate (sg.)’ vs. /translat-e/ ‘translate (pl.)’. Puter seems to be unique among the Romansh dialects in generalizing the /ej/ augment so that it occurs throughout the subjunctive paradigm of those verbs which have it (only in the singular and 3rd plural) in the indicative (Scheitlin 1962: 175). Thus the indicative and the subjunctive first persons for /Sper/ ‘hope’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st singular</td>
<td>/par-eJ/</td>
<td>/par-eJ-a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st plural</td>
<td>/par-ens</td>
<td>/par-eJ-ans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No other dialects have generalized the augment beyond the present tense of the indicative.)

Whether the fixing of mobile stress, an incidental consequence of the generalization of the augment, can be said to explain its occurrence, as a number of scholars have urged (see Rohlfs 1949: II, 285; Tekavčič 1974), is perhaps questionable, since we are then left to account for the fact that it happened only in Romansh. But in fact, something analogous occurred in Badiot and Fassa Ladin, although using different morphological material for its realization.

(b) Badiot /e/, Fassa /e/ < -i-

Following the palatalization of -CA-, Latin verbs in -ILIARE, -ICARE,
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

-ECARE, and -IGARE tended to lose the consonant before -ARE, thus creating a set of verbs in */...i+are/* (see Zamboni 1982–3, 1983). Alton and Vittur (1968: 43) and Elwert (1943: 144) suggest that in Ladin this was reinterpreted as */...+i+are/*, with the commonly occurring /i/ no longer perceived as a part of the verb stem. Unlike -ISC-, the 'augment' -I-co-occurs with the stressed infinitival suffix. However, like -ISC-, it is stressed in the present indicative and, in the present indicative, in complementary distribution with the stressed (first and second plural) personal desinences. All Ladin verbs in /...+e/ are therefore exempt from stress-conditioned vocalic alternations of the root vowel. Rightly or wrongly, Elwert proposes this consequence as the functional explanation for the existence and distribution of the augment in Ladin. This augment is often indistinguishable from the type reconstructed as an evolution of -IDO (see Venetian -ejo, Italian -eggio, for which a similar, functionally motivated explanation has been proposed – (see Rohlfs 1949: II, 285; 1968: 244–5, Zamboni 1980–1).

2.1.1.7 Tense, aspect, and modal categories

(a) The imperfect indicative

The imperfect past-tense suffix continues Lat. -ABA-, -EBA-, and *-IBA-. On the basis of the neutralizations which have occurred, the dialects fall into three major groups. The most conservative are Ladin and Friulian, which retain a three-way contrast, in contradistinction to all the Romansh dialects, which maintain only two conjugations. Vallader and Puter assimilate the II/III conjugation -EBA- to the first conjugation, while Surselvan assimilates it to the fourth. Surmeiran, which seems to maintain a three-way contrast /av/ ~ /ev/ ~ /iv/, has actually innovated in scrambling the membership of verb classes. All verbs whose final consonant is a palatal glide or liquid (like /pi!../ 'take') have the imperfect suffix /iv/; those whose final consonant is another palatal consonant (like /laʃ/ 'let'), take /ev/; all other first-conjugation verbs take /av/. Otherwise, the basic contrast is between fourth-conjugation /iv/ and, all other, /ev/.

Source Surselvan (Surmeiran) Puter Vallader Fassa Ampezzan Friulian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ABA</th>
<th>-EBA</th>
<th>-IBA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fassa</td>
<td>av</td>
<td>av</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ampezzan</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friulian</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surselvan (Surmeiran)</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puter</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>ev</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vallader</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is likely that in Romansh, the conflation of conjugations resulted from
paradigmatic borrowing (analogical levelling) rather than sound change. In Surselvan, the fourth conjugation borrowed its forms from the second/third; in the central dialects, first conjugation borrowed its forms from the same source, probably over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Grisch 1939: 210).

This suffix is invariably stressed except – remarkably – in Fassa, Erto, and in Ampezzan, where following first and second plural personal desinences are stressed. Before such stressed desinences, the imperfect suffixes /e/ and /e/ lose their stress, and in so doing, become [a]: thus, in Fassa, [can’te + a] ‘(s/he) was singing’ contrasts with [canta + ‘ane] ‘(we) were singing’, (see Elwert 1943: 149); while in Ampezzan [kar’d’e + a] ‘(s/he) believed’ contrasts with [karda + ’on] ‘(we) believed’ (see Appollonio 1930: 57–8).

In Badiot, where the deletion of intervocalic /v/ is followed by vowel assimilation and crasis, no stress shift is to be observed:

*a’ma + a > /ama + a/ [a’maa] ‘3sg. loved’
*ama + ’an > /ama + an/ [a’maan] ‘we loved’

(b) The imperfect subjunctive

The imperfect subjunctive continues Lat. -ASS-, -ESS-, or -ISS-. Again, different patterns of conflation allow us to identify three dialect groups. Friulian and Fassan (like Venetian and Italian) are the most conservative, retaining a three-way distinction, while the Romansh dialects, Badiot, Gardenese, and Fodom, continue only two, which differ from each other in exactly the same way as in the imperfect indicative. Surmeiran is regular, and patterns with the Engadine dialects (Grisch 1939: 201):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Other Romansh</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Badiot</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ASS</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ESS</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ISS</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout Rhaeto-Romance (again with the exception of Fassan), the imperfect subjunctive is invariably stressed, and followed by secondary personal desinences. In Fassan, the personal desinences of the 1st and 2nd plural rob the imperfect subjunctive of both stress and vowel quality in exactly the same way that they rob the imperfect indicative (Elwert 1943: 153): thus [can’tas + e] ‘I would sing’, [cantas + ‘ane] ‘we would sing’ (no reduction of unstressed /a/) contrast with [ve’des + e] ‘I would see’, [vedas + ‘ane] ‘we would see’ (reduction of unstressed /e/ to [a]).

Variation among the Ladin dialects is shown in the following chart
From Kramer 1976. Not one dialect represents a completely regular continuation of the Latin morphological forms. Stress is on the second syllable except where indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Badiot</th>
<th>Marebban</th>
<th>Fodom</th>
<th>Fassan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cantes</td>
<td>cantas</td>
<td>tʃantase</td>
<td>tʃantase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canteses</td>
<td>cantas</td>
<td>tʃantase</td>
<td>tʃantases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantes</td>
<td>cantas</td>
<td>tʃantasə</td>
<td>tʃantasə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantesun</td>
<td>cantasun</td>
<td>tʃantonse</td>
<td>tʃantas'ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canteses</td>
<td>cantases</td>
<td>tʃantejse</td>
<td>tʃantas'ede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantes</td>
<td>cantas</td>
<td>tʃantasə</td>
<td>tʃantasə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The future

We are confronted here with a major dialect split between Surselvan and Sutselvan, on the one side, and, on the other, all the other Rhaeto-Romance dialects. Throughout the written history of both the westernmost Romansh dialects, the future has never been a verbal suffix, and has always been expressed, as it is in German (or English), by means of an auxiliary verb: /vepi/ 'come' or /(vu)lejr/ 'want, will'. This auxiliary verb is followed by some preposition and the infinitive. Throughout the written history of all the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, the future has always been expressed, as it is in Italian (or French), by means of an invariably stressed suffix which consists of the infinitive followed by the personal desinences (which are the forms of the present indicative of the verb 'have'). In the Engadine dialects, as in Surmeiran, both futures have coexisted for over a hundred years, naturally with slight differences in meaning. Very roughly, the periphrastic future corresponds to 'be going to', the synthetic future both to 'will' and 'is probably'. (For a thorough survey of the literature and extensive examples from the spoken language, see Ebneter 1973.) These three 'transitional' dialects also exhibit a hybrid 'double future' in which the auxiliary verb /pir/ occurs with the synthetic future suffix:

**Surmeiran**

(12) ia niro a kantar
I come=will=I to sing
'I will sing.'

**Puter**

(13) e paro at deklarer keko py tart
I come=will=I you explain this more late
'I will explain this to you later.'
Vallader

(14) lura ḋirana ban eir da bajvɔr
then come = will = we = we well too of to = drink
yna butiça vin
a bottle wine
‘Then we will certainly also drink a bottle of wine.’

The peculiar meaning of the double future is unclear. Thöni dismisses it as simply a colloquial and sub-standard variant of the synthetic future in Surmeirian (1969: 123-4), which is to be avoided – as it makes the learning of Italian and French more difficult(!). It is, in any case, a relatively new phenomenon, and illustrates a process of double marking which is amply attested elsewhere both within Rhaeto-Romance and in other languages. We leave a detailed discussion of this process until we survey the development of subject pronoun clitics in chapter 4.

Another hybrid future, apparently confined to Puter (Ebneter 1973: 36ff.; Scheitlin 1962: 81), consisting of
verb stem + ar + ɛj + personal desinences

has a definite meaning of ‘uncertainty’, neatly illustrated by Ebneter’s minimal-contrast pair below:

(15) Al piáro (*piriage) beŋ yna tatsa
You take = will certainly a cup-of
kafe ku nus
coffee with us

The ungrammatical form is excluded in the invitation above, Ebneter points out (Ebneter 1973: 36), because it ‘would express the unfriendly hope that the chance visitor to whom it was extended would refuse the invitation’. The morphological origins of the -ɛj- enlargement of the ‘suppositive’ future are not entirely clear. As the personal desinences of the synthetic future in Rhaeto-Romance derive from the present indicative HABEO etc., so the -ɛj- + personal desinences of the suppositive future may derive from the present subjunctive. The present subjunctive stem of ‘have’ is /aj/ in Surselvan, /ɛj/ in Puter, and /aj/ in Vallader (see Friulian /abj/). It is, unfortunately, not clear how Puter /ɛj/, Surselvan /aj/ nor the cognate Engadine /aj/ could have derived from HABEAM etc.

The question arises which of the two ‘basic forms’ of the future, if any, represents the home-grown Rhaeto-Romance form. Gartner (1883: 118) argued for the priority of the Surselvan and Sutselvan periphrastic form. Noting that the synthetic future was a recent innovation in the Engadine dialects (sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts exhibit only the
periphrastic future with 'want' or 'come'), he claimed that the synthetic future was not colloquial, even at the time he wrote, in any Romansh dialect. It was colloquial, admittedly, in Ladin and Friulian, but this was presumably under heavy Venetian influence. And even in these dialects, a periphrastic future coexists with the synthetic future. For the Gardena dialect, Gartner (1879: 74) was able to report three common futures: the synthetic future, similar to that of standard Italian, the present-as-future, and a periphrastic form, with the auxiliary /gi/ 'go'. Gartner was supported in his conjecture by Vellemann (1924: 528), who claimed a recent origin for the synthetic future at least in Puter. One argument in favour of Gartner's conjecture (and, indirectly, in favour of the unity of Rhaeto-Romance), is possibly the behaviour of Friulian. Although written Friulian uses the synthetic future, Iliescu (1972: 175ff.) maintains that in the language spoken by Friulian expatriates in Roumania, the synthetic future is quite rare, and that a periphrastic future with one of the auxiliaries /ave/ 'have', /vi∫i/ 'come' or /vole/ 'want' is common in all the dialects she investigated. (But the influence of Roumanian may have been responsible for at least the choice of auxiliary, if not for the periphrastic construction itself; see Iliescu 1972: 228).

Against Gartner, Ebneter (1973) argued at great length and very convincingly that the infinitival future is just as colloquial as the periphrastic future throughout Romansh – and therefore presumably no more artificial. Where the two coexist, they differ subtly in meaning from each other, as well as from the even more popular present-as-future, which is universal throughout Rhaeto-Romance, Italian, and Romance.

In our opinion, the absence of a synthetic future in Surselvan and Sutselvan is evidence against Rhaeto-Romance unity. Where the synthetic future exists, however bookish it may now seem, it seems to be autochthonous. The evidence for this is that the actual forms of the personal desinences in each dialect seem to have undergone the diachronic phonological changes characteristic of these separate dialects.

In the synthetic future, conflation patterns allow us to distinguish two dialect groups. On the one hand, the Engadine dialects and Ladin retain a two-way contrast in the infinitival portion of the future between I–III /ar/ and IV /ir/; on the other, Friulian has /ar/ throughout. A peculiarity of some varieties of Friulian is that fourth conjugation verbs in -isc-retain (and destress) this augment in the future, thus [part-is-ar-'aj] 'I will leave' (Iliescu 1972: 175).

(d) The past definite
Deriving from the Latin perfect, the past definite survives now only in
Table 2.3 Past definite in Friulian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-AVI</th>
<th>-*EVI</th>
<th>-IVI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aj</td>
<td>ej</td>
<td>ij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a:s</td>
<td>e:s</td>
<td>its</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>asin</td>
<td>esin</td>
<td>isin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>asis</td>
<td>e sis</td>
<td>isis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ar</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>ir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the Engadine dialects and Friulian (although it was attested in Old Surselvan, Old Vallader, and Old Puter also). It is explicitly dismissed by Gartner (1883: 116) as a (bookish) Italianism, but we do not share this view. At least in Friulian, in the small areas where it survives, it is used in colloquial speech.

Francescato (1966) reported different forms of the past definite in various small villages, but the conjugation reported in the grammars (Marchetti 1952: 152; Gregor 1975: 99, Frau 1984: 80) is the form used in the written koine. In table 2.3 is the (relatively widespread) paradigm found in northwestern varieties (e.g. Clauzetto). This paradigm nicely reflects the Vulgar Latin paradigm reconstructed by Rohlfs (1968: 312) for the weak past definite of the majority of Romance languages (CANTA!, CANTASTI, CANTAUT; CANTAIMUS, CANTASTIS, CANTARUNT). In other Friulian dialects, among them that of Pesariis, the /-ar/ of the 3rd plural is generalized to the 1st plural and 2nd plural as well: thus 1pl. /kantarin/, 2pl. /kantarit/.

Iliescu (1972: 173) notes that her expatriate Roumanian subjects used the perfect exclusively. Haiman has failed to encounter or elicit past defines from expatriate subjects in Winnipeg.

In Old Surselvan, Puter, and Vallader, only the third person forms were common, and reflected a parallel kind of structure, inasmuch as tense and person could not be separated (see table 2.4). There were hints of imminent restructuring using the 3rd singular as the basic form: side by side with {schenan} ‘they said’, {vasenan} ‘they saw’, {bungianen} ‘they watered’, {laschanen} ‘they let’, we encounter {tarmettenan} ‘they sent’ where we should have expected *(tarmenan). Exactly parallel forms and hints of possible restructuring are attested in the old Engadine dialects, illustrated here with Puter forms:

Old Puter
3rd singular et ~ o et it
3rd plural aun aun en
Table 2.4 Past definite in Old Surselvan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-AVI</th>
<th>*-EVI</th>
<th>IVI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a ~ at</td>
<td>e ~ et</td>
<td>e ~ it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>anen</td>
<td>enan</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Not too much should be made of the orthographic contrast between the various 3rd plural forms, incidentally: it may be that the orthography -{au} already represented the sound [e], as is suggested by the apparently free variation between {cumanzaun} and {cumanzê} ‘they began’.) Side by side with the regular 3rd plural forms in {-aun}, however, we encounter a handful of forms like {pigliettan} ‘they took’ and {s’preschentettan} ‘they appeared’. It seems that such forms involved a reinterpretation of the original 3rd singular along the lines suggested by Watkins (1962):

(16) pigli + et > pigli + et + ø

The past definite, quite common in Bifrun’s New Testament of 1560, has been almost eliminated in favour of the periphrastic perfect in Gritti’s translation of 1640. But the form does survive in both Puter and Vallader. From the paradigms in these languages (which are practically identical) we can see that the reinterpretation which was beginning in Surselvan and Puter is accomplished. The invariable (and invariably stressed) suffix -/et/ ~ /it/ has been reinterpreted as a non-personal suffix which marks the literary past tense, and is followed by secondary personal desinences (see Gartner 1883: 117).

(e) The counterfactual conditional

The Romansh dialects, in common with many Italian dialects and other Romance languages, use the imperfect subjunctive with the meaning of the counterfactual conditional (e.g. /fi vənisəs/ ‘if you came’: see Elwert 1943: 155; Rohlfs 1969: 141; AIS: table 1685, maps 1613, 1627, 1630, 1633, etc.). Some of the Italian dialects are more consistent in using the conditional proper, which is, throughout Roumania, an innovation.
formally parallel to the future tense. The evolution of the paradigm is in some cases not entirely clear: as shown by Rohlfs (1968: 339–49), this mood more than other verbal forms seems to have undergone innovations under the influence of Italian and French. The common Romance core is given by the infinitive followed by a reduced (indicative imperfect or past definite) form of HABERE ‘have’.

This is found in Friulian (Iliescu 1972: 175), as well as in the transitional dialect of Erto, spoken on the western fringes of Friulian (Gartner 1892: 206; Francescato 1966: 268). The compound suffix /ar+ es/, like the future /ar/ may co-occur with the /is/ augment in some Friulian varieties: thus /part-is-ar-‘es-is/ ‘you would leave’. (Formally, the compound counterfactual conditional is exactly parallel to the ‘suppositive future’ in Puter, which, as we recall, consists of verb stem + infinitival suffix + ej, followed by the personal desinences. Etymologically, and semantically, however, the two forms are distinct.)

In Ampezzan, the counterfactual conditional is a mixed form. In the 1st plural and 2nd plural, it consists of the imperfect subjunctive, while in other persons, it consists of the infinitive (Appollonio 1930: 66). Both suffixes are followed by a reduced set of the personal desinences:

- daj-as-on ‘if we gave’
- daj-as-e ‘if you all gave’

but

- d-ar-ae ‘if 3sg. gave’
- d-ar-aes ‘if you gave’

(f) The personal desinences

Markers of person and number, as we have already noted, may be either primary or secondary. While there is no logical necessity that the features defined as primary (preservation of conjugational allomorphy, adjacency to the verb stem, and movable stress) should go together, they do appear concomitantly in both Romansh and Friulian for all categories but the present subjunctive (in the Engadine dialects only) and the past definite (in Old Romansh, and modern Friulian: modern Vallader is no exception, in that the personal desinences here are regular secondary ones).

The presence of personal desinences which are separated from the verb stem and neutralize conjugational allomorphy, but nevertheless...
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 2.5 Present indicative personal desinences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Friulian (Clauzetto)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>I</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>others null</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>af(t)</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>I</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>others Vs</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>others null ~ e</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>others null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>ejn</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>others</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>an</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>is</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>ejs</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>IV</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ede</td>
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<td>II(I)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>(= 3sg.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

exhibit movable stress, is one of the most striking features of the Ladin dialects, and may be adopted as criterial. (Indeed, if we do this, we will recognize the dialect of Erto as Ladin, see Gartner 1892: 206.) Leaving these problematic cases to the side, we arrive at the following classification: primary personal desinences include the present indicative and the imperative; secondary personal desinences include the imperfect indicative, the present subjunctive, the imperfect subjunctive, and the future(s). (Puter has two futures, one set for the regular infinitival future, and another, contrasting minimally, for the suppositive future.)

(g) The present indicative

As we might expect, the present indicative has the richest system of personal desinences. In Dolomitic Ladin (including, once again, Erto and Ampezzan – see Gartner 1892: 205, Appollonio 1930: passim) and in some Friulian dialects (in the north-west and along the Venetian dialect border), the 3rd plural is identical with the 3rd singular. All other Rhaeto-Romance languages distinguish three persons in both the singular and the plural. All retain vestiges of conjugational allomorphy in the 2nd plural; all Romansh dialects, a minority of Friulian, and some Ladin dialects do the same in the 1st plural. The Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects distinguish conjugations in the 3rd singular, and Friulian alone distinguishes conjugations in the 1st singular.

Broadly speaking, the present indicative desinences separate the more conservative Italian Rhaeto-Romance languages from the more innovative or degenerate Romansh dialects (see table 2.5).

Most Surmeiran is like Surselvan except in the 1st singular (null), the
Morphology 93

1st pural (/ap/ ~ /ip/) and the 2nd plural (/ets/ ~ /its/). Puter is like Vallader except in the 1st plural (/ens/ ~ /ins/) and the 2nd plural (/es/ ~ /is/). In central Friulian, 2sg. I-ets, 3sg. I-a, 1pl. -iη (invariable), 2pl. II(I) -e:s, 3pl. -ip.

In all the present indicative paradigms, 1st plural and 2nd plural desinences are stressed.

1st singular Throughout most of northern Italy, the 1st singular desinence -o was simply dropped, as a consequence of the general diachronic loss of non-stressed final non-low vowels. Ampezzan is alone among the Rhaeto-Romance languages in reconstituting, presumably by borrowing from Venetian, the 1st singular ending -o. In Old Paduan, Bergamasque, and Milanese, as in some varieties of Friulian, a new 1st singular, -e ~ -i, was reconstituted from an earlier schwa (see Rohlf 1949: II, 287). There is evidence of such a ghost vowel even in those dialects where no vowel appears. The evidence seems to suggest that this reconstitution began in the first conjugation: for example, in Badiot, final consonants are generally devoiced, but not in the 1st singular of first-conjugation verbs. This in turn suggests the following functional explanation for the origin of the vowel.

Benincà and Vanelli (1976) note that the regular phonological change which dropped final non-low vowels would have created the following paradigms for I, II–III, and IV conjugation verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First conjugation</th>
<th>Second/third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMO &gt; am</td>
<td>PERDO &gt; pjer</td>
<td>SEND(I)O &gt; sent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAS &gt; ames</td>
<td>PERDIS &gt; pjerds</td>
<td>SENTIS &gt; sents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMA(T) &gt; am</td>
<td>PERDI(T) &gt; pjerd</td>
<td>SENTI(T) &gt; sent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except in the first conjugation, the singular forms were isosyllabic. The striving for paradigmatic coherence (see Haiman 1971) may then have motivated a paragogic vowel in the 1st singular of the first conjugation.

Luedtke (1957: 124) identifies the possibility of Friulian 1st singular null as a dialectal trait separating the language from Venetian. In fact, this feature distinguishes not Friulian, but all northern Italian dialects from Venetian.

Among the more puzzling innovations is the Surselvan 1 sg. -əl ending, which is all the more exasperating in having occurred right beneath our noses. Old Surselvan consistently has null until the -əl ending begins to make its appearance ca 1700. Ascoli (1883: 461) confidently derived the ending via a reinterpretation of verb stems in final [...ə]; [afəl] 'find', originally /afəl + 1sg.' became /afəl + 1/ 'find + 1sg.', and then, presumably under paradigmatic pressure
reconstituted itself as /αfl + l/. Not only is the latter part of this process somewhat difficult to understand, the entire reinterpretation depends for its plausibility on the existence of a large number of extremely common stems in [ . . . αl]. Still, none of the other conjectured origins for this ending are any more convincing. Gartner’s confident approval of Carisch’s conjecture that -αl derived from the unmarked object ILLU ‘that’ makes no sense semantically (Gartner 1883: 110). Another possibility is that -αl represents a hypercorrect ‘restoration’ of /αl/ from borrowed Italian /-o/ ‘1sg.’, parallel to the etymologically unmotivated /gald-/ < GAUD ‘enjoy’, or /Stankəl/ < Italian /stanko/ ‘tired’. These two are common throughout Rhaeto-Romance; and it is undeniable that Surselvan seems to have pushed ‘restoration’ of unmotivated [I] further than any of the other Rhaeto-Romance languages. For a survey of the theories, see Ulleland 1965.

2nd singular  The retention of 2sg. -s, as we have already seen, is invoked as a characteristic feature of Rhaeto-Romance by almost all comparative Romance scholars. Nevertheless, as Ascoli (1873: 46ff.) and subsequently Battisti pointed out, 2sg. -s was found in Venetian until ca 1400. Rohls (1949: II, 300) adds that in Old Lombard, as represented in the Valtellina and in Livigno, monosyllabic verb stems retained 2sg. -s. Moreover, even today, conservative speakers of Venetian retain this ending in inverted word order, for example Parlis-tu? ‘Do you speak’?

The final /t/ in the 2nd singular of Surmeiran, Puter, and Vallader (which is also typical of the Lombard dialects), is clearly the result of the cliticization of the pronoun /ty/ in inverted word order (Gartner 1883: 111; Grisch 1939: 197). The best evidence for this in the currently spoken dialects is the fact that in Surmeiran /s/ does not become [f] before this final /t/, indicating the presence of a morpheme boundary between them. From the written record, the best evidence is the fairly regular absence of the /t/ enlargement in normal word order, contrasted with its presence in inverted word order, in Old Puter. Thus, in Bifrun 1560:

(17) tū vaes you go
(John 14: 5)

(18) tū nu pous you not can
(John 13: 36)

contrast with examples such as
(19) innua vaest tü?
    where goest thou

(By Gritti’s time, ca. 1640, the /t/ enlargement is regularly spelled in both normal and inverted word order.)

In the Gorizian dialect of Friulian, we observe a transitional phase of the degeneration of /tu/: in both direct and inverted word order, it appears as an invariable suffix on the verb, but one with the final vowel still preserved. (We will return to the topic of the degeneration of subject pronouns in chapter 4.)

**1st plural** Conjugational allomorphy of this desinence is general only in Romansh. The Ladin dialects of Gardena and Ampezzo have generalized -/on/, as has Venetian. Friulian koine and Carnic have generalized -/in/, but some Friulian dialects are more conservative. Rizzolatti (1981: 39) notes that Clauzetto has I -ay, other -iy, while Concordiese has IV -iy, other -en. The most conservative Friulian dialects, those of Val Meduna and Val Colvera in the western foothills, retain I -ay, II(I) -en, IV -en.

In a number of Lombard dialects, including those of Milan, Poschiavo, and Chiavenna, stress in the 1st plural is rhizotonic (Ettmayer 1903: 48-50; Rohlfs 1949: II, 295). The only Rhaeto-Romance dialect which shares this remarkable feature seems to be that dialect of Surmeiran which is spoken in Bravuogn/Bergün. Although the fact itself is thus incidental to a survey of Rhaeto-Romance, the mechanism which produced it is not. The most plausible development, given other developments in both the 2nd singular and the 1st plural is the following. First, the 1st plural was expressed by HOMO/UNUS + 3sg. (compare, on the one hand, the use of on in colloquial French and other impersonal forms with 1st plural meaning in Tuscan and Friulian; on the other, the use of we as the unspecified agent in English). Second, this PRO form appeared postverbally in inverted word order as a clitic. Finally, -VN was reinterpreted as a bound suffix on the verb stem, obligatory in both direct and inverted word order.

The 1st plural ending -/ons ~ ins in Puter probably owes the /s/ enlargement to the same mechanism of cliticization: this time, of the pronoun nös in inverted word order. Consider representative examples in Old Puter such as John 14: 5 (both Bifrun and Gritti):

(20) nus nu savain... co pudains...
    we not know how can=we

Given the regularity of verb-second order in all the Romansh dialects,
96 The Rhaeto-Romance languages

the subject pronoun in the second clause above must follow the verb. Linder (1987: 80) provides evidence of an -s enlargement in inverted word order in Old Vallader and Old Sutselvan as well.

Further evidence in favour of the cliticization hypothesis is offered by currently spoken dialects of Ladin, wherein – for a number of verbs – the /s/ enlargement of the 1st plural ending occurs only in inverted word order: thus, in Badiot:

(21) i ɲnŋ
we come

but:

(22) ɲuns- (e)
come we
‘Let’s come.’

(Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: x1)

The same pattern exists in Gardena (see Gartner 1879: 76–7.

The cycle of cliticization is repeated in much of Romansh with the 1st plural subject clitic /a/. In spoken Surselvan, Sutselvan, and Surmeiran, the clitic shows up postverbally only after oxytonic verbs. For example, in Surmeiran: /mun'tap-sa/ ‘do we climb’ contrasts with /'ifan-s/ ‘are we’. Linder (1987: 77–81) shows that this pattern is in conformity with the stress target noted by Haiman (1971), which forbids antepenultimate stress on verbs. But if this is so, then of course the postverbal subject clitic /a/ must be acting as a verbal suffix, not as a separate word. (Compare our discussion of the genesis of the non-null 1st singular personal desinence, motivated by just such a structural pressure for isosyllabicity within the paradigm).

In fact, Linder shows, there is at least one Puter dialect, spoken in Pontresina, where -sa has been reinterpreted as a verbal desinence entirely independent of word order (and entirely dependent on the stress pattern of the verb):

(23) a kur-'insa
awe run
a 'jajniwa
awe go

but

(24) ad 'es-ans(*a)
awe are
a durm-'ivans(*a)
awe were sleeping

2nd plural The Vallader 2pl. -ajvat/-ivat is totally isolated in Rhaeto-Romance. It was explained by Gartner (1883: 113) as the outcome of a
complex history of changes: reduction of inherited *-ajs to *-aj; cliticization of the 2nd plural pronoun vos in somewhat reduced form as [va]; and, finally, suffixation of the final /t/, which Gartner identified as the characteristic sign of the secondary 2nd plural desinence. Given the near identity of the Vallader present and imperfect indicative endings in this person, a more direct development (which is rendered more plausible by the absence of any of Gartner's conjectured transitional forms) is that for some reason Vallader borrowed from the imperfect paradigm. A possible explanation for either line of development may be found in the resulting stress patterns in Vallader. While all the Romansh dialects observe the three-syllable rule, which militates against antepenultimate stress in verbs, they differ somewhat in how faithfully they obey this rule in verb + clitic combinations. Puter tolerates occasional (and systematic) antepenultimate stress in the 3rd plural while Vallader does not. Given that the 2nd plural clitic subject in Romansh is typically null, forms in final -ajs ~ -is deviate from regularity in exhibiting final stress: but forms in -ajvat ~ -ivat do not. Consequently, Vallader exhibits absolutely regular penultimate stress in both verb and verb + clitic structures, and it may be that a striving to attain this regularity motivated the restructuring or borrowing of the 2nd plural primary desinence (see Haiman 1971).

Friulian, like standard Italian, but unlike Venetian, maintains a three-way conjugational distinction in the 2nd plural (Frau 1984: 78). The first conjugation by regular phonological development should have -a:s (still attested in old texts and some isolated modern dialects). The now common -ajs form is the result of analogical pressure from FACITIS > /fajs/ (see Benincà and Vanelli 1976: 31–9). Carnic and central Friulian offer isolated examples of the inherited four-way conjugational contrast in the 2nd plural, for example rhizotonic /pjerdis/ < PERDITIS contrasts with forms in the first, second, and fourth conjugation, all stressed on the desinence.

The Gorizian dialect of Friulian (which has generalized the -tu enlargement on 2nd singular forms) also has the 2nd plural atonic pronoun subject -o as an invariable suffix on the verb: o fevel-ez-o 'you (pl.) talk'.

3rd plural The formal identity of 3rd singular and 3rd plural is a feature which the Ladin dialects, and some of the Carnic dialects of Friulian, share with Lombard, Venetian, and Romagnol (Rohlfs 1949: II, 299), and cannot therefore be taken as a Ladin characteristic. Thus, Luettké (1957: 124) identifies a distinct 3rd plural (with final -n) as a characteristic trait distinguishing Friulian koine from the immediately adjacent Venetian dialect.
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 2.6 Rhaeto-Romance positive imperative desinences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Ampezzan Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>aj</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Ladin and Venetian, 3rd singular and plural are identical for all verbs. In Carnic Friulian, however, a distinction is maintained in athematic verbs (e.g. /a/ 'has' vs. /an/ 'they have'). This suggests that the formal identity of 3rd singular and plural in Ladin and Venetian is a morpho-syntactic fact, while in Carnic Friulian, it is a consequence of the purely phonological reduction of unstressed syllables of proparoxytones: see Benincà and Vanelli (1976: 39–43).

(h) The imperative

In dealing with the imperative, it should be emphasized that we must distinguish between the positive imperative, which is an inflectional category of the verb, and the negative imperative, which is almost always rendered by some periphrastic infinitival construction. As in the case of the present indicative desinences, we observe the relative conservatism of the Italian dialects, which contrast with the levelling Romansh dialects. All plural imperative desinences are stressed; all singular imperative desinences are unstressed. The Romansh dialects differ from each other only in the non-fourth-conjugation form of the plural: Surselvan /ej/, Surmeiran and Puter /e/, Vallader /aj/.

The hortatory (1pl.) imperative in all Rhaeto-Romance languages but Surselvan, Puter, and Ladin, is identical with the present indicative (in all but a handful of irregular verbs). In Surselvan, it consists of /lejn/ ‘we want’ followed by the infinitive, as in /lejn ir/ ‘let’s go!’. In Puter, it is derived from the indicative by the deletion of final /s/ – or the addition of another 1st plural subject clitic /a/: /jen/ ‘(we) go’, but /jen (sa)/ ‘let’s go’. In Badiot Ladin, the hortatory imperative is derived from subject–verb inversion of the indicative/subjunctive 1st plural: /pons(e)/ ‘let’s come’, /fa3unde/ ‘let’s do it’. The -e suffix is a calque translation of the German 1st plural pronoun, typically reduced in inverted word order. The -de suffix, on the other hand, is probably an analogical extension of the 2nd plural suffix -(e)de to the 1st plural (compare, perhaps, Russian forms like poidem-te ‘let’s go (polite)’, whose final -te enlargement is also a borrowing from the 2nd plural).
Friulian, Ampezzan, and Gardena may be conservative in retaining 2pl. /t/, /de/, and /de/, thus resisting a morphologically conditioned alternation that is otherwise generalized in all the Rhaeto-Romance languages (see Iliescu 1972: 172; Badiot and Gardena drop -de before a following object clitic: /dun-ade/ ‘send!’, but /duna-me/ ‘send me!’).

Finally, Old Surselvan offers us forms like {tettlad} ‘listen (pl.)!’ and {laudad} ‘praise (pl.)!’ alongside the more common pattern exemplified by {vegni} ‘come (pl.)!’.

The negative imperative, at least in the currently spoken languages, is one category which exhibits a fundamental split between Surselvan on the one side, and all the other Rhaeto-Romance languages on the other. In Surselvan alone, the negative particle buka is a separate word which may either precede or follow the imperative (which has the same form as the positive imperative): /buka kanta/ or /kanta buka/ ‘don’t sing! (sg. or familiar)’ vs. /buka kantej/ or /kantej buka/ ‘don’t sing! (pl. or polite)’.

In all the other dialects, the negative particle no or nu is a proclitic on the following verb.

The Italian dialects are divided into two groups. The dialects which express negation by a postverbal particle (Emilian brisa, Piedmontese nen) parallel Surselvan in that the positive and the negative form of the imperative verb are identical. Those which express negation by a preverbal proclitic express the negative imperative in some other way.

Dialects differ in the form of the verb in the negative imperative. The possible options are:

(a) root + infinitival suffix;
(b) root + personal desinence;
(c) root + infinitive + personal desinence.

In standard Italian, for example, the negative imperative is expressed by the infinitive in the singular, and by the personal desinential form in the plural:

(25) non cantare ‘Don’t sing (sg.)!’
    non cantate ‘Don’t sing (pl.)!’

No Rhaeto-Romance dialect seems to follow exactly this pattern. At one extreme are Surselvan and Ampezzan, which use option (b) in both the singular and the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Ampezzan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buka kanta</td>
<td>buka kantej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no canta</td>
<td>no cantade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost like Italian are Vallader and Moena, which use option (a) in the
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

singular, but option (c) in the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Moena</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>non cantar</td>
<td>nu cantar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>non cantate</td>
<td>nu cantar-'aj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The -aj and -ede suffixes are clearly the same as in the plural imperative, but, as secondary suffixes separated from the verb stem, undergo no allomorphic alternation.

Friulian (like Venetian) employs option (a) throughout. In both singular and plural, the negative imperative (and negative hortatory imperative) construction is

no + 2sg. Sta/2pl. Stajt/1pl. Stin + (a) + infinitive

where number is marked on the auxiliary of the imperative verb /Sta/ 'stay, be'.

(26) no Sta ʒi in nisuna banda
not be go in any direction
'Don’t go anywhere!'

(27) no Sta rompi-mi i wesh
not be break-me the bones
'Don’t break my bones!'

The Friulian option is also available in Ampezzan:

Singular no sta a loura 'Don’t work!'
Plural no stajde a loura 'Don’t work!'

Exception in the Engadine dialects, Surmeiran, and Friulian, the polite form of address is invariably 2nd plural, and the polite imperative is the 2nd plural. In Vallader and Puter, where the only polite form of address is the third person (and in Surmeiran and Friulian, where one possible polite form of address is third person), the polite imperative is the third-person subjunctive introduced by the complementizer /c(a)/, Friulian /ke/, as in the Vallader

(28) c(a) el am ʃeça
that he me excuse = 3sg.subj.
'Excuse me (to male interlocutor).'

or the Puter

(29) c(a) ela nu jaja davent
that she not go = 3sg.subj. away
'Don’t go away (to female interlocutor)'.

100
or the Friulian

(30) ke wëni
    that she come = 3sg.subj.
    ‘Come (in) (to female interlocutor).’

Polite imperatives of this sort are also attested in Milanese (Rohlfs 1949: II, 405), and other dialects (Rohlfs 1968: 354–5). In standard Italian, the complementizer and the subject pronoun are absent, but the morphology of the verb is identical with that of the subjunctive.

(It should be noted that the 3rd singular indicative and subjunctive are identical for all but the most common irregular verbs in both Vallader and Puter. The only consistent mark of the imperative in the polite form is therefore the complementizer /ca/. The verb of the negative polite imperative is identical with that of the positive polite imperative.)

2.1.1.8 Secondary personal desinences

No personal desinences are secondary in every single Rhaeto-Romance language. Those which are secondary in some languages include the imperfect indicative, the subjunctive, the imperfect subjunctive, and the future. All of these, for example, are secondary in Surmeiran and the Engadine dialects; the future desinences are secondary in all dialects in which the synthetic future exists; the imperfects are secondary except in Ladin; the subjunctive is secondary only in Surmeiran and the Engadine dialects.

(a) The imperfect indicative

The imperfect indicative desinences occur exclusively with the imperfect suffix. Except in Ladin, they are secondary in all respects. Note that the absence of movable stress and vowel reduction in post-tonic syllables of proparoxytones entail the identity of the 1st plural and the 3rd plural. In maximally levelled secondary paradigms, 1st singular is identical with 3rd singular, and 2nd singular with 2nd plural as well (see table 2.7).

Ladin 1st plural and 2nd plural desinences are stressed on the first syllable. All other imperfect indicative desinences are unstressed. For example, in Ampezzan, /da'jea/ ‘3sg. was giving’, but /daja'on/ ‘we were giving’.

A peculiar usage of the imperfect, confined apparently to Surselvan (Nay 1965: 132n.) is as a counterfactual imperative (e.g. ‘You should have gone’). Thus,
Table 2.7 Imperfect indicative desinences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>aJt</td>
<td>aJt</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>is</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ans</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>iŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ede</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>iŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(31) pag- av-as  tes  dejvats
pay  impf.2sg. your  debts
(Literally: ‘You were paying your debts.’)
(As an imperative: ‘You should have paid your debts.’)

What is interesting about this use of the imperfect indicative is not that it is counterfactual: the imperfect indicative is used in both the protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditionals in some dialects of Friulian, and in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals in French. It is the use of the imperfect indicative as a kind of imperative which is unique.

(b) The unmarked subjunctive

The subjunctive desinences occur immediately after the verb root for the expression of indirect speech, and in the complements of verbs expressing fear, desire, belief, or uncertainty. The use of the subjunctive for the expression of indirect speech is widespread in Romansh, probably under German influence. Consider the Surselvan examples in (32) and (33):

(32) El Skriva 'jaw aj fac in bi viadi'
he writes ‘I have (1sg.ind.) made a good trip’
(cf. German: Er schreibt, ‘Ich habe eine schöne Reise gemacht.’)

(33) El Skriva ke El aJ-i fac in bi viadi
he writes that he have (3sg.subj.) made a good trip
(cf. German: Er schreibt, er habe eine schöne Reise gemacht.)

Surselvan has completely regularized and generalized the use of the subjunctive for the expression of indirect speech. Alone of all the Rhaeto-Romance languages, it allows the unmarked subjunctive desinences to occur with the imperfect indicative (/av/ ~ /ev/) and the
Table 2.8 The unmarked subjunctive as a primary desinence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Erto</th>
<th>Ampezzan</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>js</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>ona</td>
<td>iñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IV other</td>
<td>ias</td>
<td>IV ida</td>
<td>IV is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ejn</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>ejda</td>
<td>II(I) es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IV other</td>
<td>ejs</td>
<td>IV other</td>
<td>I ajs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ejn</td>
<td>other</td>
<td>ejda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ió</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

imperfect subjunctive (/as/ ~ /es/) suffixes, to indicate reported imperfects and reported counterfactuals. The subjunctive in this dialect may be said to function as a kind of evidential marker, unique in Rhaeto-Romance, and possibly in Romance generally:

(34) jaw avev-a  
I had (impf.ind.1sg.)  
‘I had’
(35) jaw avev-i  
I had (subj.1sg.)  
‘I am said to have had.’
(36) jaw les  
I would-want (impf.subj.1sg.)  
‘I would like’
(37) jaw les -i  
I would-want (subj.1sg.)  
‘It is said that I would like.’

Within Rhaeto-Romance, the subjunctive desinences are secondary only in Surmeiran and in the Engadine dialects. However, a similar pattern occurs in Lombard and Piedmontese (Rohlfs 1949: II, 346). Elsewhere they are primary, and in this they are closer to the inherited Latin present subjunctive. See tables 2.8 and 2.9.

Plural forms happen to be absent in the Ladin dialect of Fassa described by Elwert. Elsewhere in Ladin, as in Surselvan and Friulian, the 1st plural and 2nd plural forms are stressed on their first syllable, and exhibit conjugational allomorphy.

In all Rhaeto-Romance languages but Ladin, personal desinences can only be primary if they occur immediately after the verb stem. If a suffix
Table 2.9 The unmarked subjunctive desinences as secondary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>aft</td>
<td>aft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ans</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

intervenes between the verb stem and the desinence, the desinence must
be secondary. The behaviour of the unmarked subjunctive desinence in
Surselvan attests to the productivity of this general constraint. In fact,
tables 2.8 and 2.9 reproduce the forms of the unmarked subjunctive only
where it immediately follows the verb stem. Where they follow one of the
imperfect suffixes, the unmarked subjunctive desinences lose both stress
and conjugational allomorphy in the 1st plural ([j~n]) and the 2nd plural
([jas]):

(38) ke nus kant-'ej~n
    that we sing  (subj.1pl.)

(39) ke nus kant-'av- j~n
    that we sing  (impf.) (subj.1pl.)

(40) ke nus kant-'as- j~n
    that we sing  (impf.subj.) (subj.1pl.)

Here is at least one case where the secondary desinences can (still?) be
derived from the corresponding primary desinences by synchronically
productive reduction rules.

In Friulian, the levelled subjunctive (-i, -is, -i) is an innovation. The
old texts show forms reflecting regular phonological developments of the
Latin subjunctive (Benincà 1989: 577).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I conjugation</td>
<td>-EM</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ES</td>
<td>-s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ET</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other conjugation</td>
<td>-AM</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-AS</td>
<td>-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-AT</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is still found in Collina, Clauzetto, and Paularo dialects.
Table 2.10 Imperfect subjunctive desinences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aJt</td>
<td>aJt</td>
<td>aJt</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aen</td>
<td>ans</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ane</td>
<td>iñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ede</td>
<td>is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aen</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>iñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The imperfect subjunctive desinences

In all the Rhaeto-Romance languages, the imperfect subjunctive desinences follow the imperfect subjunctive suffix /as/ ~ /es/ ~ /is/. In Vallader, they are used for the past definite as well (and thus follow the suffix /et/ ~ /it/). It is only in Ladin that these desinences – identical, in this dialect, with those of the imperfect indicative – exhibit any of the features of primary desinences, namely their stress in the 1st plural and 2nd plural. Elsewhere, they are very reduced and exhibit considerable syncretism: in all dialects but Ladin the first and third persons are identical, in both the singular and the plural; in Surselvan and Friulian, the second person singular is also identical with the second person plural. See table 2.10. (Surmeiran is like Surselvan. The differences are even smaller than they appear among the Romansh dialects, when one bears in mind that unstressed /a/ is almost identical with /a/).

(d) The future desinences

The synthetic future is absent in Surselvan and Sutselvan (nor was it attested from the older stages of the Engadine dialects). Where it appears, the desinences are regularly stressed throughout the paradigm, the only secondary desinences in Rhaeto-Romance which exhibit this feature. Note that in Vallader, stress is the only feature which distinguishes the future personal desinences from those of the imperfect or the subjunctive (see table 2.11).

Puter, which is alone in having a special suppositive future suffix (/ar + eJ/), is also alone in having a minimally different set of future desinences which occur only with this compound suffix (see table 2.12).
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 2.11 Rhaeto-Romance synthetic future desinences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Badiot</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>osas</td>
<td>aʃ(t)</td>
<td>aʃt</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.12 Puter suppositive future desinences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>aʃ(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ebneter (1973: 36, 41)

2.1.2 Verbal categories expressed by auxiliary verbs

The major auxiliary + verb constructions in any of the Rhaeto-Romance languages are the future, the passive, and the perfect.

2.1.2.1 The analytic future

Futures in inherited venire ad + infinitive (less frequently de + ire or velle + infinitive) are found throughout Rhaeto-Romance, as they are in French, Italian, Spanish, and Roumanian (see Ebneter 1973: 244). There is therefore no need, Ebneter argues (216–17), to trace the prevalence of this construction in Romansh to Germanic influence. On the contrary, the comparative rarity of the synthetic future in the Engadine dialects (ibid. 35 et passim), and even in Friulian (Iliescu 1972: 175, 178), and the tendency, throughout Rhaeto-Romance, to use in its stead the present tense with future reference, allow one to draw no conclusions about the relative authenticity of either the analytic or the synthetic future within Rhaeto-Romance. In fact, if common usage were the criterion, we could even infer that Rhaeto-Romance inherited no future construction at all.

There is inconsistency, even within a single dialect, concerning the
presence and the nature of a possible preposition between the auxiliary and the infinitive. Ebneter (1973: 238) finds /a/ in Surselvan and Sutselvan, /da/ in the Engadine dialects, and both /a/ and /da/ in Surmeiran: but this distribution is confined to the single expression ‘It is going to rain’. Another pattern is reported for ‘There is going to be a snowstorm’ (ibid. 239). In Friulian the future-tense auxiliary is the verb /ve/ ‘have’:

(41) vij di lavora insjeme
have = lpl. of to = work together
‘We will work together.’

(42) aj di vjodi lu
have = lsg. of to = see him
‘I will see him.’

A possible substitute is /ole/ ‘want’:

(43) voj parti
want = lsg. to = leave
‘I will leave.’

The meaning of HABERE + preposition + infinitive is very near that of English ‘have to’. The use of VOLERE + infinitive is very limited, and Iliescu, as we have already seen, suspects Roumanian influence may lie behind the /voj/ auxiliary in the dialects of Friulian that she investigated. This conclusion, perhaps, is too cautious, given the (admittedly not very frequent) occurrence of the same auxiliary in Old Surselvan, Old Sutselvan, and Old Puter:

*Old Surselvan* (L. Gabriel’s Bible translation of 1648)
(44) a chei ca vus vangits a dumandar en
and whatever ye come to ask in
mieu num, quei vi jou a far
my name that will I to do

(John 14: 13)

*Old Sutselvan* (D. Bonifaci’s Catechism of 1601)
(45) Io vus vij mussar la temma digl Segner
I you will show the fear of = the Lord

(Psalm 34)

*Old Puter* (Histoargia dalg Patriarch Joseph of 1534)
(46) a nun achiatand impedimaint, voelg cun
and not finding obstacles will (I) with
raspoasta turner
answer return
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

2.1.2.2 The passive

The passive consists of an auxiliary verb, followed by the predicate perfect participle, inflected to agree with its subject in number and gender.

The passive in the Romansh dialects employs the verb ‘come’ as the auxiliary in non-compound tenses:

Surselvan

\[(47) \text{jaw venal klam-aws} \]
\[I \text{ I=come call (prf.part.m.sg.)} \]
\['I am called.'\]

Vallader

\[(48) \text{e ven klam-a} \]
\[I \text{ I=come call (prf.m.sg.)} \]
\['I am called.'\]

In the Engadine dialects, the passive auxiliary may also be ‘be’ in compound tenses, when this auxiliary is itself a perfect participle (Arquint 1964: 99):

\[(49) \text{e sun njy / Stat klam-a} \]
\[I \text{ am come (prf.m.sg.) / be (prf.m.sg.) call (prf.m.sg.)} \]
\['I have been called.'\]

In Ladin, the auxiliary ‘be’ is used when the action is viewed as completed, and the focus is on the resulting state; ‘come’ is used when the action is in progress (Elwert 1943: 158; Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: xlvii; Alton and Vittur 1968: 48). That is, just as in Engadine Romansh, the auxiliary ‘be’ is used in compound tenses in which the perfective auxiliary is present.

In Friulian also, as in the Engadine dialects (and Venetian, and standard Italian), the choice of passive auxiliary is determined by whether the auxiliary is itself in the perfect-participial form. In the simple passive, the auxiliary is ‘come’, (or, subject to semantic constraints, ‘go’), while in compound forms, it is ‘be’ (Iliescu 1982: 203; Benincà and Vanelli 1985: 178–94).

2.1.2.3 The perfect

As in other Romance languages, the perfect auxiliary is either ‘have’ or ‘be’. The sub-class of intransitive verbs which take ‘be’ is familiar to all students of languages like French, Italian, and German, including (in Vallader): run, grow, fall, become, enter, flee, arrive, go, climb, die, be
born, leave, pass, and stay (Arquint 1964: 21). The verb ‘be’ itself takes the ‘be’ auxiliary in all Rhaeto-Romance except Friulian, which allows both ‘have’ and ‘be’.

Like popular and regional French, and conservative northern Italian dialects, Friulian has a complete paradigm of doubly marked perfects with two perfective auxiliaries, of which the second appears in the perfect participial form:

\[(50) \text{o aj vut fat} \quad \text{I have have + p.p. do + p.p.}
   \quad \text{‘I have done’ (literally, ‘I have had done’)}\]

Flöss (1990) notes that this ‘passe surcomposé’ is encountered in Ladin as well. For a general survey, see Schlieben-Lange (1971). It seems that this doubly marked form (which coexists with the singly marked perfect and with the simple past) is employed to mark a tense which is past with respect to a given reference point other than the time of speaking. Its usage is most widespread after the inflected auxiliary ‘have’.

The Romance languages have split in their choice of a perfect auxiliary for reflexive verbs: Italian and French have generalized ‘be’, while Roumanian and Spanish have generalized ‘have’. The same split has been replicated in Rhaeto-Romance.

The Engadine dialects and Ladin – what we might call central Rhaeto-Romance – have generalized ‘have’ (Arquint 1964: 44-5; Scheitlin 1962: 45; Elwert 1943: 151; Appollonio 1930: 16). The situation in Surselvan is more complex, in that both auxiliaries are in fact attested, subject to poorly understood constraints.

The standard pedagogical grammar of Surselvan (Nay 1965: 42) insists on ‘be’ in all cases. On the other hand, Gartner (1910: 96) found only ‘have’. Other descriptive grammarians have encountered both (da Rieti 1904: 220; Arquint 1964; DRG 5: 704). A possible explanation for the attested variation is attempted in an illuminating article by Stimm (1976).

Stimm begins by noting that in Surselvan, as in German, the choice of perfect auxiliary for intransitive verbs in general correlates with semantic properties. The same intransitive verb may occur in the perfect with either auxiliary, depending on whether the action described is viewed as completed (in this case ‘be’ is appropriate), or merely terminated (in which case the auxiliary of choice is ‘have’). He adduces (among others) the minimal contrast pair:

\[(51) \text{el ej mors Sko kwej k el ej viv- iws}
   \quad \text{he is died as that comp. he is live (prf.m.sg.)}
   \quad \text{‘He died as he lived.’ (completed action, ergo ‘be’ auxiliary)}\]
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

(52) pli bawl vəsə ti viv-iw

more soon have = impf. subj. = 2sg. you live (prf. n. sg.)
in əntir ön
a whole year
‘Earlier, you could have lived a whole year (on 400 francs).’ (not completed action, ergo ‘have’ auxiliary)

Stimm then argues that reflexive verbs are like other intransitive verbs, and that we encounter the ‘be’ auxiliary with completed actions for reflexives, just as we do for other intransitive verbs in the perfect:

(53) la malawra ej ə-rətrac-a ən las muntənas

the storm is self withdrawn (f.sg.) in the mountains
‘The storm has retreated into the mountains.’ (completed action, ergo ‘be’ auxiliary)

(54) El a ə- mudərj- aw ə əntir di parsuls

he has self exerted (n.sg.) the whole day alone
‘He has exerted himself all day alone.’ (not completed action, ergo ‘have’ auxiliary)

Preference for the ‘be’ reflexive auxiliary in marking completed action is reminiscent of a similar preference for the ‘be’ passive auxiliary in compound or perfect tenses (where completion is marked morphologically):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passive</th>
<th>Completed action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Completed action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Friulian, as in Venetian etc., both auxiliaries are found in apparent free variation for reflexives (Benincà and Vanelli 1985: 178–84), although there is a tendency to favour ‘be’ in the first and second persons, and ‘have’ in the third. Note that the past participle agrees with the subject only when the auxiliary is ‘be’:

(55) a. je si a mitut: a vai

she self has put (m.sg.) to cry = inf.

b. je si e mitude a vai

she self is put (f.sg.) to cry = inf.

‘She began to cry.’

(56) a. a si an fat batia

they self have made (m.sg.) baptize (inf.)

b. a si son fats batia

they self are made (m.pl.) baptize (inf.)

‘They had themselves baptized.’
When the reflexive is an indirect object, however, only the 'have' auxiliary is possible:

\[(57)\] s1 a limat i diŋtf

self has sharpened the teeth

'S/he sharpened his/her teeth.'

It should be noted that this is one area of morpho-syntax where foreign influence cannot be said to play a major role. If the choice of auxiliary were determined by the neighbouring prestige language, we might expect that Surselvan, like German, would have generalized the 'have' auxiliary for the perfect, while Friulian, like Italian, would have generalized 'be'.

In fact, there is some evidence within Rhaeto-Romance that the status of reflexives is indeterminate: this evidence relates to the agreement of the perfect participle, irrespective of choice of auxiliary in the perfect. Generally speaking, the perfect participle agrees with its subject for gender and number only when linked by one of the copula verbs: be, become, seem. Thus, the Surselvan pattern noted by da Rieti, among others, is parallel to that of the Friulian examples immediately above:

\[(58)\]

a. el ej sa- ʧmarviʕaw- s
he is self amazed (m.sg)

b. el a sa- ʧmarviʕaw-
he hasself amazed (n.sg: unmarked)

‘He was amazed.’

Surmeiran and Ladin, which use ‘have’ alone, are also regular in consistently lacking agreement (Thöni 1969: 78; Elwert 1943: 151; Appollonio 1930: 16), as illustrated in the following examples:

**Surmeiran**
\[(59)\]

e la s o lava-
she self has washed (m.sg.: unmarked)

**Fassa**
\[(60)\]

la vaca se a ʧkorna-
the cow (f.sg.) self has broken horn (m.sg.: unmarked)

‘The cow has broken her horn.’

**Ampezzan**
\[(61)\]

ra s a stabili- in America
she self has settled (m.sg.: unmarked) in America

‘She settled in America.’

In the Engadine dialects, however, the reflexive auxiliary in the perfect is consistently 'have' – as it regularly is for all transitive verbs. Nevertheless, the participle consistently agrees with its subject – as it regularly
The Rhaeto-Romance languages does for intransitive verbs with the auxiliary ‘be’. The structural ambiguity of the reflexive is graphically displayed in the following Vallader and Puter examples:

**Vallader**

(62) ela s- a lava- da
she self has washed (f.sg.)

‘She has washed.’

**Puter**

(63) la Junfra s- c kompré- da yn cape
the girl self has bought (f.sg.) a hat

‘The girl has bought herself a hat.’

(Example (63) makes clear that agreement occurs with both direct and indirect objects in Puter.)

One could argue that what is at issue here is actually the status of the reflexive morpheme: whether it carries abstract features of number and gender (yes in Vallader, no in Ladin), and whether it functions as the object argument of a transitive verb at all (again, yes in Vallader, no in Ladin). On either view, this variation reflects the syntactically ambiguous status of reflexives between transitive and intransitive verbs. The syntactic ambiguity, in turn, reflects the semantic ambiguity of the reflexive: see Haiman (1985) and Kemmer (1988).

### 2.1.3 The order of auxiliaries

The auxiliary complex is strikingly similar to that of English. The order of auxiliaries, where they co-occur, is future–perfect–passive. And, as in English, the synthetically expressed categories of tense and mood discussed in the previous sections, may occur only on the first word of the (auxiliary) + *verb* complex. The structure in its maximal efflorescence is exemplified in Surselvan in (64):

(64) jaw vap- es ad csar vap- iw -s klam- aw -s

I would have been called.’

### 2.1.4 Summary

With the exception of the 2nd singular personal desinence in -s (which distinguishes Rhaeto-Romance only from standard Italian, and not from Venetian, or Gallo-Romance or even Ibero-Romance) and the
periphrastic expression of the future tense, most of the verbal morphological features we have discussed serve to identify dialects within Rhaeto-Romance rather than to demarcate major boundaries between Rhaeto-Romance and other Romance languages. Matters are much more interesting and complicated when we turn to the nominal morphology.

### 2.2 NOMINAL CATEGORIES

The term 'nominal' is used in the broadest sense, to identify those parts of speech which are inflected for number and gender as well as (to a much more limited extent) case. Nominals, then, include not only nouns and pronouns, demonstratives, and numerals, but also adjectives, including such derived adjectives as the perfect participle. Here, there are many features which are peculiar to some or all Rhaeto-Romance dialects, among them the following:

(a) the nearly pan-Rhaeto-Romance retention of the -s plural for at least some paradigms;
(b) the retention of an inherited dative case for both pronouns and definite articles (now only in Surmeiran; formerly also in the other Romansh and northern Italian dialects);
(c) the retention (and transformation) of an inherited contrast between -(u)s and -(u)(m) in both nouns and adjectives. The inherited contrast, of course, was in both gender (masculine vs. neuter) and case (nominative vs. accusative, for masculines).

Traces of this opposition survive in the lexicon throughout Rhaeto-Romance (some nouns are clearly derived from inherited Latin nominatives, others from inherited nouns in the oblique case; in addition, remnants of a bicasual declension are encountered in the rules of plural formation for various Italian Rhaeto-Romance and non-Rhaeto-Romance dialects), but the opposition survives as a systematic and productive feature of the language only in Surselvan, where -UM forms of adjectives are both neuter and *attributive* masculine, while -US forms are exclusively *predicative* masculine.

All of these features have been claimed, by some people at some time, as defining features of Rhaeto-Romance. If we were to adopt the position that such a group were absolutely real, we should have to say that Romansh was more conservative than the Italian dialects in still maintaining (b) and (c) in historical times; while within Romansh, Surselvan and Surmeiran were more conservative in still maintaining (b) and/or (c) to the present day. Just as they failed to participate in some of
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

the more striking phonological innovations which allegedly characterize Rhaeto-Romance, so too, the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects seem to have avoided participating in two of the morphological retentions which – again allegedly – characterize this hypothetical group. Here, as so often, it seems that what we really mean when we speak of ‘Rhaeto-Romance’, is simply ‘Romansh’.

2.2.1 Nouns

Nouns in Latin were marked for gender (masculine, feminine, and neuter) and case. By the time of our earliest Romansh texts, the distinction between masculine and neuter nouns was almost entirely lost. Some old authors seem to make an effort to distinguish between masculine and neuter possessive pronominal adjectives: Bifrun’s Bible translation of 1560, for example, sporadically distinguishes between mes Bab ‘my father’ (<MEUS) and mieu plaid ‘my word’, mieu Thierp ‘my body’ (<MEUM), but this was almost certainly a self-conscious Latinism. Later texts, in all the Romansh dialects, have what seems to be free variation between ‘masculine’ and ‘neuter’ attributive forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, before codifying one of these as the correct form for masculines.

In reducing the inherited three-gender system of Latin to one of only two, Rhaeto-Romance is similar to standard French and Italian. However, Romance dialects may differ in how the inherited neuter nouns were reclassified.

Luedtke (1962: 113) tried to establish isoglosses on the basis of the reclassification of the originally neuter nouns ‘salt’, ‘honey’, and ‘gall’. In Lombard Italian generally, they became feminine, while in standard Italian and elsewhere, they became masculine. Luedtke claims that in Romansh, these nouns are generally masculine, while in the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects and in the Romansh dialect of Müstair, they are feminine. In fact, it seems that a number of the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects also have masculine forms for these nouns. Thus, Ampezzan el sa ‘salt’ patterns with Surselvan il sal, for example. While the Müstair dialect is unique within Romansh, the situation among the Italian dialects is probably less regular than Luedtke proposed.

Frau (1984: 64) notes that different recategorizations of the original neuters AERE ‘air’, LUMEN ‘light’, and MEL ‘honey’ establish an isogloss between standard Italian and Friulian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friulian</th>
<th>Italian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AERE</td>
<td>ajar (m.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Again, this is an unacceptable oversimplification, if it is meant to suggest an isogloss between Rhaeto-Romance and non-Rhaeto-Romance varieties. In learned Italian, aere ‘air’ is masculine, as it is in Friulian. Aria has a different history and cannot be considered a simple instance of recategorization. And, while the reflexes of LUMEN and MEL are masculine in standard Italian, they are feminine in Venetian and other non-Rhaeto-Romance northern Italian dialects (see REW 5469).

Almost all common nouns in Rhaeto-Romance represent reflexes of an inherited oblique, probably accusative, case. Thus, for example, Old Surselvan /ciarʃ/ ‘crow’ continued Lat. CORVUM, rather than CORVUS, given that only -UM could cause umlaut of inherited */ø/ to [i] (see Prader-Schucany 1970: 61). Similarly, the stress contrast between ['paʃʃar] ‘Alpine shepherd’ and [paʃʃur] ‘lowlands shepherd’ continues an inherited contrast between PASTOR (nom.) and PASTOREM (acc.) (see Schmidt 1951/2: 42; cf. Ladin [peʃʃer], also from PASTOR – see Elwert 1943: 112). Finally, although the evidence for this is much more dubious, words like [cavaʃ] ‘horse (m.)’, especially when contrasted with [cavala] ‘mare’ and [cavals] ‘horses’ in Surselvan, suggest a derivation from CABALLUM, whose final -UM is then held to account for the palatalization of the final liquid. Attestation of the inherited oblique case is almost always indirect and fragmentary in the singular, being limited to the umlauting and palatalizing traces of -UM, or the differing stress patterns resulting from nominative ROOT + null vs. oblique ROOT + EM.

On the other hand, attestation of an inherited nominative case may sometimes be direct: the nominative ending in /s/ survives as part of the modern form. In one Surselvan form, the name of the Deity, final /s/ survives as a (frozen) case suffix. There is a formulaic contrast between nominative /diws/ (as in [diws sejʃi ludaws] ‘God be praised’), and oblique /diw/ (as in all other expressions).

Probably not too much should be made of this example, since it is easy to dismiss it as a learned Church Latinism. (In older texts, proper names regularly were declined according to Latin declensional patterns.) However, it is impossible to dismiss other nominatives in /s/ in this way. Among these are Surselvan doublets like dis/di ‘daylight/day’ (the nominative form also being used in compounds for days of the week in Surselvan, although not elsewhere: compare Surselvan [xioandi[di-s] with Vallader [lyndafdi] ‘Monday’ – see Schmidt 1951/2: 42), and, throughout Romansh, agent nouns in inherited -one+s, whose final /s/ has now been reinterpreted as part of the nominal root. FILONES

The name of the indefinite agent PRO, when it is derived from Latin UNUS, remains [ins] in both Surselvan and Surmeiran, surviving in the other Romansh dialects only as [yn]. On the other hand, in Ladin, the indefinite subject pronoun is rendered by /an/. If it derives from HOMO, then this is another nominative survival, albeit one which is shared by the great majority of Romance languages.

Some Friulian nominative survivals are /ete/ < AETAS ‘age’ (but see the discussion in REW 251), and /folk/ < FULGUR ‘lightning’; less characteristic is /suir/ < SOROR ‘sister’, while /fradi/, considered a nominative survival < FRATER ‘brother’, is, like /mari/ ‘mother’, almost certainly derived from an inflected form *FRATR- (> *fradri) > fradi. (The doublet /frari/ ‘friar’ derives from the same source by another cluster simplification.)

### 2.2.1.1 Plural marking on nouns

The best and most general evidence that it is usually the (accusative) oblique case that has been maintained from the inherited paradigm is the fact that the nominal plural marker is generally -s (<-As, -os, -Es, -us) rather than (as in Italian and Venetian) -i (<1) or -e (<AE). This is a frequently cited characteristic of Rhaeto-Romance.

The retention of plural -s for nouns is absolutely regular in Romansh. The inherited pattern in the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, on the other hand, was that feminine nouns had -s plurals, while most masculine nouns were split into two classes, essentially forming their plural through the adjunction of either -s or -i. As pointed out by Elwert (1943) and subsequent scholars (see Benincà and Vanelli 1978 for additional bibliography) this must be viewed as a sign that vestiges of the two-case declensional system survived in this area up until the Middle Ages. Roughly speaking, when final vowels dropped, masculine nouns of the second declension maintained the -i (nominative) plural if they ended in a coronal consonant which contrasted with a palatalized coronal (n/p; t/c; l/A). This clear distinction between Swiss and Italian Rhaeto-Romance is probably the major morphological isogloss between the two groups.

The inherited split in plural marking morphology has been modified by the Ladin and Friulian dialects in different ways. In the Ladin dialect of Moena (Heilmann 1955: passim), masculine nouns in final /t/ form plurals in -es, while masculine nouns in final /l/, /n/, and /nt/ form their plurals by a palatalization of this consonant (cluster). Some
monosyllables in this latter group (like /an/ ‘year’) also mark plurality by umlauting the stem vowel to /e/. Both changes, of course, consonantal palatalization and vocalic umlaut, indicate a final (synchronically underlying) -i, now lost.

In the Gardena dialect (Gartner 1879: 84–5), masculine nouns in a final nasal (like /lan/ ‘tree’ < LIGNU, and /uam/ ‘man’) take the plural suffix -as. Masculine nouns in final /l/, /nt/, and /k/ form their plurals by changing this final consonant (cluster) to /j/, /ntʃ/, and /c/. Again, a final -i nominative plural suffix is indicated.

In the Badiot dialect (Pizzinini and Plangg: xxxviii; Alton and Vittur 1968: 17), masculine nouns ending in a vowel or /m/ form their plurals by the addition of a suffix -s. Masculine nouns in final /t/, /k/, and /n/ palatalize this consonant to /tʃ/ and /nʃ/:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
gjat \sim gjatʃ \quad ‘cat’ \\
fyk \sim fytʃ \quad ‘fire’ \\
an \sim an \quad ‘year’ \\
mys \sim myʃ \quad ‘mouse’ \\
\end{array}
\]

A handful of Badiot nouns are doubly marked for plurality: these are masculine nouns in final /a/, whose plurals in /ef/ suggest an original plural compound suffix *-s+i:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
profeta \sim profetʃ \quad ‘prophet’ \\
papa \sim papeʃ \quad ‘Pope’ \\
\end{array}
\]

In Ampezzan (Appollonio 1930: 19), masculine nouns ending in a vowel add -s in the plural. Nouns in /l/ change this to /ʃ/. A number of other common nouns (among them /jato/ ‘cat’, /paesan/ ‘farmer’, /fo/ ‘fire’, /luo/ ‘place’) form their plurals in an irregular fashion by adding -e: /jate/, /paesane/, /foʃe/, /luoʃe/. These forms are probably borrowed from Venetian, as their final vowels attest.

A very detailed and insightful description is given for Fassa by Elwert (1943: 112–31), who notes that the -s plural occurs regularly with first-declension nouns in inherited -a, for example /lenʒa \sim lenʃes/ ‘tongue ~ tongues’, /poeta \sim poetes/ ‘poet ~ poets’. Given the fate of all final vowels other than /a/, all other Latinate nouns in Ladin now end in a consonant. Some, but not all, Latin second-declension nouns ending in a coronal form their plurals, as noted, with *-i:

\[
\begin{array}{l|l}
\text{Singular} & \text{Plural} \\
nes & nef \quad ‘nose’ \\
æs & æʃ \quad ‘bone’ \\
cavel & caveʃ \quad ‘hair’ \\
\end{array}
\]
### The Rhaeto-Romance languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>än</td>
<td>än</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agut</td>
<td>agutj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis</td>
<td>vijf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other masculine nouns add -s to form the plural. The following nouns exemplify the addition of an epenthetic vowel between the nominal stem and the plural consonant -s (there is no difference between masculine and feminine nouns in this respect):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>krowf</td>
<td>krowj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sam</td>
<td>samey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kjef</td>
<td>kjeves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is easy to see that the palatal plural represents an inherited plural in -i, which happened to survive only in those cases where it could leave a phonological imprint. (For the theoretical implications of this kind of change, see Schane 1971.)

(Originally third-declension nouns, not surprisingly, form their plurals in -s: /cajns/ < CANES ‘dogs’, /pents/ < PONTEs ‘bridges’. On the other hand, since there is no trace of this inherited distinction in the modern language, such forms are synchronically arbitrary, and there are instances of plurals which seem equally arbitrary from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective: /lej/ < LOCI ‘places’ is regular, but /jeges/ < DCOCI ‘games’ and /fjokes/ (with ‘flakes’ are not.)

In Friulian, all originally second-declension masculine nouns except a partly variable list in final /-1/ (see Iliescu 1972: 132–7; Marchetti 1952: 122), final /-j/ (Frau 1984: 69), final /St/, and final /nt/ (Gregor 1975: 84) form their plurals in /s/: before this final /s/, the final consonant of the stem is often simplified or deleted.

#### Regular -s plurals are:

| /kunin/ | ~ /kunins/ | ‘rabbit’ |
| /fradi/ | ~ /fradis/ | ‘brother’ |
| /frut/ | ~ /fruts/ ( [fru(t)s] ) | ‘son’ |
| /klap/ | ~ /klaps/ ( [kla(p)s] ) | ‘rock’ |
| /bratf/ | ~ /brat[s]-s/ ( [brats] ) | ‘arm’ |
| /potf/ | ~ /pot[s]-s/ ( [pots] ) | ‘well’ |

#### Regular -i plurals are:

| /animal/ | ~ /animali/ ( [animaj] ) | ‘animal’ |
| /utfel/ | ~ /utfelj/ ( [utfelj] ) | ‘bird’ |
| /marcel/ | ~ /marceli/ ( [marcej] ) | ‘hammer’ |
Morphology 119

(with present-day final /j/ deriving from {lj}, still attested in sixteenth-century texts),

/foreSt/ ~ /foreSti/ ([foreSc])  ‘foreign(er)’
/dint/ ~ /dinti/ ([dine])  ‘tooth’
/pes/ ~ /pesi/ ([pef])  ‘weight’
/pajs/ ~ /pajsi/ ([pajf])  ‘village’
/dut/ ~ /duti/ ([due])  ‘every, all’

Feminine a-stem nouns without exception add -s to form the plural; nouns in -a generally show surface modification of the vowel, raising it to /e/ or /i/ (see Benincà and Vanelli 1978: 268ff.). The most widespread feminine plural suffix is -is.


A handful of Friulian masculine nouns are doubly marked for plurality. Thus /aps/ < an+i+s ‘years’.

2.2.1.2 Collective plurals

In the modern Rhaeto-Romance dialects, most collective plurals are lexical derivations like ‘foliage’ and ‘shrubbery’ (thus, for example, Puter /la pena/ ‘feather’, but /il peÌam/ ‘plumage’; Friulian /il rover/ ‘oak tree’, but /il roveç/ ‘oak grove’), but there are traces in Romansh of a more regular collective suffix -a. There are a few dozen pairs like /krap/ ‘rock (m.)’ vs. /krapa/ ‘rocks (f.)’, /iÌ mejl/ ‘the apple’ vs. /la mejla/ ‘apples’ (Surmeiran; see Thôni 1969: 61), /il boSc/ ‘tree’ vs. /la boSca/ ‘trees’ (Puter; see Scheitlin 1962: 64) /il dajnt/ ‘finger’ vs. /la dajnta/ ‘fingers’ (Vallader; see Arquint 1964: 101) which hint at an inherited neuter plural collective. In Old Surselvan, this was more (possibly entirely) productive, as in example (65):

(65) salida da seÌ as vus, soingi a schanugli a
    saluted f.sg. be 2 2 pl. holy f.sg. knee f.sg.
    ‘Hail to you, o holy knees’.

where what looks like the feminine singular ending is clearly both syntactically and semantically plural (see Ascoli 1883: 439).

This use of the -a collective links Romansh with Italian, but distinguishes it apparently from the Italian dialects of Rhaeto-Romance (see Gregor 1982: 58n.).
2.2.1.3 Summary

The inflectional category of number is the only one that is regularly maintained in common nouns in Rhaeto-Romance without some reduction from the system in Latin. There are traces of a neuter gender, but basically, only the masculine and the feminine survive. Finally, the formation of the plural suggests the loss of the inherited case distinction: either the accusative plural in -s has been generally adopted, as in Romansh, or the nominative -i and accusative -s plurals are lexically conditioned allomorphs, as in the Italian dialects. Only in a handful of artificial archaisms or lexical doublets in Surselvan do we now encounter traces of an inherited case contrast within a single paradigm.

Both gender and case are better maintained in some of the other nominal categories, among them the pronouns and the adjectives.

2.2.2 Inflected pronouns

Inflected pronouns include demonstrative pronouns (among them, the definite articles) and personal pronouns.

2.2.2.1 Demonstrative pronouns

(a) Definite articles

The common inherited paradigm for 'the' throughout Rhaeto-Romance is one of four contrasting forms, wherein all distinctions of case have been neutralized. Surselvan may stand here for our exemplar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>il</td>
<td>ils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>las</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All oblique cases are marked by prepositions.

A recurrent pattern throughout the demonstrative paradigms is a difference between the Romansh and the Italian dialects in the formation of the plural. While Romansh consistently forms the plural by means of the -s suffix, the Italian dialects use -s in the feminine, and -i in the masculine. Thus the masculine plural definite article in both Ladin and Friulian is /i/ (Old Friulian /ju/ – Marchetti 1952: 112; Francescato 1966: 388–9 – deriving from */ʌu/ corresponds to a singular /lu/), while the feminine plural is a regular reflex of /la(s)/ (Friulian koine /lis/, other Friulian /les/, /las/, /los/).

A further peculiarity of many Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects is that
the feminine plural suffix -s is frequently absent. In some cases, this means that feminine plural and feminine singular demonstrative pronouns are identical: for example, the definite article in Ampezzan has f.sg = f.pl. /ra/. In other cases the feminine singular differs from the feminine plural only through the quality of its vowel: for example, in Friulian, f.sg. /la/ is distinct from f.pl. /li/. The loss of the /s/ plural marker has been grammaticized in different ways in the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects. A full discussion is postponed to chapter 4, where it will be linked with other questions of agreement.

In some, but not all dialects of modern Surmeiran, there is a case distinction between the unmarked forms above and a common-gender dative form sg. /li/ ( < ILLI), pl. /lis/ ( < ILLIS). Note the following examples from the dialect of Bergün (Lutta 1923: 326):

(66) muser i' tarm li fe'
    show the boundary to = the son

(67) fer dzo la pletsa liz ardefalts
    make down the skin to = the potatoes
    'to peel the potatoes'

The same form is used as the dative of the personal pronoun of the third person. In this use, it was still attested in Old Surselvan and Old Puter in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The transition from /lgi/ to the modern /ad el/ was almost certainly mediated by the doubly marked construction {a + lgi}, which is also attested in texts from all the major Romansh dialects (see Schmidt 1951/2: 69). There are therefore no great difficulties in reconstructing an inherited dative case deriving from ILLI(s) in Romansh. Nothing similar has ever been attested for definite articles in the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects.

(b) The stressed demonstratives

All the Rhaeto-Romance languages have reflexes of ECCUISTE (/kweSt/) and ECCU ILLE (/k(w)el/). In addition, some have a third series of demonstratives derived from ECCE ILLE (/tjeI/) (see Prader-Schucany 1970: 151), and Surselvan and Surmeiran have a fourth series derived from ILLE IPSE (see Nay 1965: 134; Thöni 1969: 119; Prader-Schucany 1970: 155). The latter form /jets/ ‘the same’ or ‘that’ is specifically anaphoric, and is used to refer to entities which have just been (meta-)named, as in the Surselvan dialogue:

(68) - tji a rut il kar?
    who has broken the wagon?
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

-- ljets say jaw buk
that know I not

Similar is Surmeiran /šets/ (see Thoni 1969: 122).

Surselvan and Sutselvan distinguish three genders for ECCU ILLE (Surselvan /kwel ~ kwela ~ kwej/; Sutselvan /kwil ~ kwila/ ~ kwilj/ 'that'). Surmeiran distinguishes three genders in reflexes of ECCU ILLE (/cel ~ cela ~ celj/ 'this'), ECCU ILLE (/tel ~ telja ~ telj / 'that'), and possibly ILLE IPSE (/lets ~ letsa ~ šets/)(see Thoni 1969: 119, 122). The bimorphemic origins of this demonstrative are still reflected in the Surmeiran plurals /išas eis/ (m.) /las eisas/ (f.). Surselvan and Surmeiran are alone in having a series of emphatic pronouns composed of the personal pronouns followed by (reduplicated) reflexes of (ME/TE/SE) + IPSE: thus Surselvan /jaw mets/ 'I myself', etc. There is apparently free variation within Surselvan between 1pl. /nussets-s/ [nussets] ~ /nussets-i/ (see Nay 1965: 134; Prader-Schucany 1970: 157). In Surmeiran, the emphatic pronouns mark gender in the third person: /sets/ 'himself', but /setsa/ 'herself'. Remarkably, Surselvan and Surmeiran also mark case inasmuch as the nominative consists of the unreduplicated form: /mets/ 'I myself', but /mamets/ 'me myself'. The nominative and oblique forms are identical in the 1st plural (/nusets/) and the 2nd plural (/nusets/) (see Thoni 1969: 88).

Once again, we must note a split between the Romansh and the Italian dialects in the formation of the plural. While the Romansh dialects have the -s plural consistently, Ladin and Friulian have -s or 0 in the feminine, but -i in the masculine: thus Badiot (Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: xxxix) and Ampezzan (Appollonio 1930: 30):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Badiot</th>
<th>Ampezzan</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.sg.</td>
<td>kef</td>
<td>kel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.pl.</td>
<td>kif</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.sg.</td>
<td>kefta</td>
<td>kela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.pl.</td>
<td>keftes</td>
<td>keles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In English, there is a syntactic distinction between demonstratives and the definite article, inasmuch as the latter, which has been effectively reduced to the status of a stressless bound morpheme, cannot function as the surface head of a noun phrase:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>that boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>the boy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Romansh dialects, and in some Ladin (as also, for example, in
Table 2.13  Rhaeto-Romance interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surselvan</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassa</th>
<th>Gardena</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ci</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>tji ~ kuj</td>
<td>'who'</td>
<td>QUI(S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cej</td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>tje</td>
<td>'what'</td>
<td>QUID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nua</td>
<td>injo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ola ulau</td>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>INDE UBI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dula</td>
<td></td>
<td>UBI ILLAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(IN)DE UBI ILLAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kura</td>
<td>kura</td>
<td>kañ</td>
<td>kañ</td>
<td>kwand</td>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>QUA HORA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>QUANDO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parcej</td>
<td>parce</td>
<td>parke</td>
<td>pertje</td>
<td>kon</td>
<td>'why'</td>
<td>PER QUID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td></td>
<td>'how'</td>
<td>QUOMODO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>QUIDMODUM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spanish) this distinction does not hold, and the definite article may function as the head of a nominal expression when it is itself modified by a relative clause or prepositional phrase.

Surselvan

(69) ils da flEm
the of Flem
‘the people (m.) of Flem’

Vallader

(70) ils da gwarda
the of Guarda
‘the people (m.) of Guarda’

This distributional fact supports classification of the definite article as a form of demonstrative.

A related fact in several Ladin dialects, including Badiot and Gardena, is that reflexes of ILLE and ILLA not only function as definite articles but as the full lexical noun phrases ‘man/male’ and ‘woman/female’.

2.2.2.2 The interrogative pronouns

All Romansh dialects derive ‘where’ from INDE UBI. Ladin and Friulian derive ‘where’ from a further composition with ILLAC: Ladin from UBI ILLAC, Friulian from (IN)DE UBI ILLAC. There is a split between Romansh and the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects for ‘when’, Romansh deriving from QUA HORA, the Italian dialects, from QUANDO. See table 2.13

In the modern languages, interrogative pronouns are uninflected for number, gender, or case. Old Surselvan may have retained a case distinction for the pronoun ‘who’, but it was already in the process of
being replaced by the time of the earliest texts:

(71) da cui filgia eis ti?
of who(dat.) daughter are you
(72) da chi filg eis ilg matt?
of who(nom.) son is the boy

(The examples are from the seventeenth-century text Barlaam and Josaphat, annotated by Ascoli (1883: 450)).

Old Friulian generalized QUIS > /tʃi/, while modern Friulian has almost entirely generalized CUI > /kuj/. Old Italian generalized CUI > /kuj/ for all cases: today its use is limited to oblique cases only.

Indefinite pronouns are usually compounded forms of the interrogative pronouns. In Surselvan, the indefinite series consists of /entsa/ + pronoun, where the compounding element derives ultimately from UNUS NON SAPIT. There are partial parallels in various Ladin dialects: Badiot /inssatʃi/ ‘someone’, Livinallongo /tsakej/ ‘something’, Gardena /tseke/ ‘something’ (Prader-Schucany 1970: 142–4). In Vallader, /incyn/ ‘someone’ is probably formed on the model of /mincyn/ ‘everyone’, which derives from OMNE UNQUAM (ibid. 147). Common Rhaeto-Romance /alk/ (Romansh /ale/, Badiot /val(k)/, Fassa /valk/, Ampezzan /algo/, Friulian /alk/ ‘something’ derives from ALIQUID.

2.2.2.3 The relative pronouns and the complementizer

In all Rhaeto-Romance languages but those of the Engadine, the ‘relative pronoun’ is invariable and indistinguishable from the complementizer: Surmeiran /ca/, Surselvan, Fassa /ke/, Gardena /ke/, Friulian /ku/ ~ /ke/. Throughout northern Italian, however, a contrast between nominative and accusative relative pronouns is common (Rohlfs 1949: II, 233). Few Rhaeto-Romance dialects conform with this tendency to distinguish between the two. Vallader and Puter seem to retain a case distinction between a nominative /ci/ and an accusative /ea/ (Arquint 1964: 61; Scheitlin 1980: 171), but this is in fact originally a contrast between the interrogative pronoun /ci/ and the complementizer /ca/. (The Marebban Ladin nominative /ko/ vs. accusative /ke/ reported by Pizzinini and Plangg (1966: xxxix) should be compared with Friulian /ku/ ~ /ke/.)

Not surprisingly, there is considerable ambiguity, manifested at the syntactic level, in the status of relative pronouns. Some Romansh dialects have an unambiguously distinct set of relative pronouns which are required when the relative pronoun is the object of a preposition: thus Surmeiran /iʃ kal/ ‘which (m.sg.)’, corresponding exactly to
French *lequel*. The impossibility of *preposition + ci*, of course, reinforces the suspicion that the latter is not a true pronoun at all.

Even in those dialects where the relative pronoun is morphologically identical with the complementizer, there is some syntactic evidence, to be assessed in chapter 4, that the two are grammatically distinct: in subject position, the relative pronoun is a true pronoun, while in other positions, it is a complementizer.

The subordinate conjunctions ‘when’, ‘where’, and their like, consist generally of the interrogative pronoun followed by the complementizer, as is usual in northern Italian dialects. Vallader and Badiot are regular in this. In most of the other Rhaeto-Romance languages, as in standard Italian, the subordinate conjunctions ‘because’ and ‘as’ are identical with the interrogative pronouns ‘why’ and ‘how’.

### 2.2.2.4 The personal pronouns

All the Rhaeto-Romance languages today but Surselvan have two sets of pronouns: a full, stressed, or disjunctive set which pattern syntactically with common nouns (these are all that survive in Surselvan), and an atonic or clitic set. This distinction is relatively recent: Old Surselvan had atonic pronouns, and their replacement over the last several hundred years by the stressed forms is generally considered the outcome of German influence (see Ascoli 1883: 453–4; Stimm 1973). (It should be noted, however, that the loss of atonic pronouns may be internally motivated also. Tagliavini (1926: 69) noted that atonic pronouns were scarcely used in the Comelico dialects. Their loss cannot be ascribed to German influence. Nor can the loss of atonic object pronouns in the transition between Old and Middle English, which resulted in the generalization of SVO order.) Of course, the predominance of atonic pronouns in the Engadine dialects, Ladin, and Friulian could just as readily be ascribed to northern Italian influence, and the question of which was the ‘original’ Rhaeto-Romance structure is completely open.

The universally shared inflectional categories of Rhaeto-Romance personal pronouns are the three persons in both singular and plural, and the two animate genders in the third person. Many dialects have a 3rd singular ‘expletive’ or dummy pronoun (usually the masculine, in a few cases, the feminine, or, as in the Romansh dialects, a special neuter form). There is considerable variation in the case systems, both in the cases that are maintained, and in the places where they are retained.

The pronoun of polite address (V) is third person in the Engadine dialects. It is 2nd plural in Surselvan, and in Ladin (Elwert 1943: 133). In Surmeiran, V is usually 2nd plural, but the third person is used for
clergy. In Friulian, as in northern Italian generally, 2pl. /vo/ is used (or used to be) for polite address to friends and relatives, and contrasts with the exclusively plural (doubly marked) 2pl. /voaltris/ 'you others'. The third person is used with superiors and strangers (Marchetti 1952: 136). That is, in those dialects where both 2nd plural and third person are possible forms of V, the latter connotes greater respect than does the former.

(a) Object pronouns

In all Rhaeto-Romance languages but Surmeiran and the Engadine dialects, object pronouns distinguish a dative and accusative case in at least some persons. The Engadine dialects still had the oblique/direct distinction in the sixteenth century (but no nominative/accusative distinction in the third person).

The Italian dialects and the eastern Romansh dialects retain a partitive pronoun from INDE corresponding to French en, Italian ne, Venetian (ghe)ne: Surmeiran /and/, Puter /(a)nd/, Ladin /ni(e)/, Friulian /ndi/. In many Ladin and Friulian varieties, this pronoun is limited in its distribution to those forms of the verb 'be' which begin with a vowel. In the Engadine dialects, the form survives mainly as an enlargement of postvocalic vowel-initial forms of 'have' and 'be': thus Puter {eau d'he} 'I have', but {eau nun he} 'I have not'; Vallader {i'd eira} 'it was', but {i nun eira} 'it was not'.

Surselvan

Table 2.14 Surselvan oblique personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic (Old Surselvan only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a mi</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a ti</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>ad el</td>
<td>el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ad ela</td>
<td>ela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a nus</td>
<td>nus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a vus</td>
<td>vus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ad els</td>
<td>els</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except in the 1st singular and 2nd singular, the stressed pronouns are identical not only in the dative and the accusative, but in the nominative...
as well. (Note that the accusative form is used as the object of the preposition /de/ for the expression of the genitive case.)

Clearly, the morphological differences between tonic and atonic object pronouns are trivial. Given the uncertainty of phonetically interpreting Old Surselvan orthography, the only reliable way to identify atonic pronouns is from their word order. Stressed object pronouns follow the finite verb, while atonic object pronouns precede it, and may undergo ‘clitic climbing’, appearing with the inflected verb which governs the infinitive with which they are in construction. Contrast the following examples, both from the New Testament translation of L. Gabriel 1648 (examples of both kinds of pronouns could be multiplied until the eighteenth century, by which time tonic pronouns increasingly predominate):

(73) un da vus mi ven ad antardir
    one of you me will to betray
‘One of you will betray me.’ (John 13: 21)

(74) Philippe, chi c' ha vieu mei, ha vieu ilg Bab
    Philip who that has seen me has seen the Father
‘Philip who has seen me has seen the Father.’ (John 14: 9)

Surmeiran

Table 2.15 Surmeiran oblique personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic (now literary only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>els</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>elas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that the stressed pronouns fail not only to distinguish dative from accusative, but also nominative from oblique. Except in the 1st singular, the stressed forms above are identical with the nominative forms.
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

**Puter**

*Table 2.16* Puter oblique personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>(Dative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>ela</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nus</td>
<td>ans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vus</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>els</td>
<td>als</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>elas</td>
<td>las</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, the stressed pronouns are almost entirely analytic, and mark case only in the 1st singular and 2nd singular.

Old Puter had a set of stressed dative common-gender third-person pronouns which were doubly marked:

(75) lesus arespundet agli

Jesus answered him

*(John 1: 36 in Bifrun 1560)*

**Vallader**

*Table 2.17* Vallader oblique personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(σ)m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>maj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nus ~ no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vus ~ vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>els</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>elas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Old Vallader forms of the atonic pronouns were indistinguishable from subject pronouns in the third person: 3sg. *il* ~ *al*, 3pl. *ils* ~ *als*. The following examples, from the Bible translation of Vulpius and Dorta of 1679, are representative:

(75) Jesus arespundet agli

Jesus answered him

*(John 1: 36 in Bifrun 1560)*
(76) meis maun vain als sterminar
   my hand comes them exterminate
   ‘My hand shall destroy them.’

(Exodus 15: 9)

(77) e’l mar ils ha cuvernads
   and the sea them has covered (m.pl.)
   ‘and the sea covered them.’

(Exodus 15: 10)

The modern forms are an innovation whose origin is unclear.

**Fassa**

*Table 2.18 Fassa oblique personal pronouns*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th></th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a mi</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a ti</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>él</td>
<td>él</td>
<td>je ~ j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>él a</td>
<td>él a</td>
<td>je ~ j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nos</td>
<td>nos</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>vo</td>
<td>ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>itf</td>
<td>itf</td>
<td>je ~ j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>eles</td>
<td>eles</td>
<td>je ~ j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like Fassan, Gardenese distinguishes between dative and accusative tonic pronouns in the first and second persons of the singular.

Typical of Gardenese, Marebban, and Badiot is an atonic 3sg. and 3pl. /ti/ (only feminine in Badiot and Marebban) whose origin is unclear (see Kramer 1977: 59).

The Gardena and Badiot dialects have an indefinite subject pronoun [un] ~ [an(g)], derived from UNUS and, possibly, HOMO.
Ampezzan

Table 2.19 Ampezzan oblique personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a mi</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a ti</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>l(o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>era</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nos</td>
<td>me <em>(sic)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vos</td>
<td>ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>lore</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>eres</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Friulian

Table 2.20 Friulian oblique personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a mi</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a ti</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>a luj</td>
<td>luj</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>a je</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a noaltris</td>
<td>no(altris)</td>
<td>nus</td>
<td>nus <em>(~ ni)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a voaltris</td>
<td>vo(altris)</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>us <em>(~ vi)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>a lor</td>
<td>lor</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>ju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>a lor</td>
<td>lor</td>
<td>ur</td>
<td>lis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Subject pronouns

Stressed subject pronouns are distinct from non-subject pronouns in the 1st singular and (except in Surmeiran) in the 2nd singular. Case marking is much richer in the atonic (synthetic) forms which carry on the inherited system much more faithfully than the recent stressed analytic forms. Note that only the Romansh forms have a distinctive neuter 3rd singular expletive pronoun (and that this form occurs only in the nominative).
Surselvan

Table 2.21  Subject pronouns in Surselvan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic (where distinct from stressed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jaw</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>el</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ela</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>i clans ej</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>ins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nus</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vus</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>els</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>elas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>ej</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The singular ‘3p.’ form in table 2.21 is the indefinite subject pronoun PRO, manifested in German as *man*, in French as *on*, in Gardenese and Badiot as *ap*. It takes singular agreement in direct word order, but (what looks like) plural agreement in inverted word order:

(78) ins Sto
     PRO must
(79) Sto- n ins?
     must PRO?

In fact, the /n/ is a hiatus breaking consonant which is absent after consonant-final stems. Thus /dat ins/ ‘Does PRO give?’ demonstrates that in the modern language /n/ is not exactly the 3rd plural ending. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that etymologically, that is what it was. The plural ‘3c’ form in table 2.21 is a common-gender pronoun, not a neuter plural. Nor is it an indefinite subject pronoun. The neuter singular occurs in two phonetically conditioned forms (/ix/ before vowels, /ej/ before consonants), and is the only Surselvan pronoun which has a true atonic form. This latter occurs exclusively in inverted word order:

(80) ilj ej bi
     it is fine
     ‘It’s nice weather.’
(81) ej- s- i bi?
     is (hiatus) it nice
     ‘Is it nice weather?’
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

The distribution of the second-person ‘atonic’ subject pronoun null is exactly the same, but it is unclear whether zero represents phonetic reduction or syntactic deletion attested in Swiss German and other Germanic languages. Assuming that phonetic reduction is exception­less, but that rules of syntactic deletion are more facultative, the existence of variation between pairs like /ejs (ti) iws/ ‘Did you go?’ would seem to indicate that second-person postverbal null in Surselvan (as in the other Romansh dialects) is deleted by a syntactic rule analogous to the one which allowed ‘Hast killed the Jabberwock?’

The same deletion of the postverbal 2nd singular form is found in Badiot and Gardenese (see Benincà 1985). The feature sharply distinguishes these dialects from Friulian, Fassan, and other northern Italian dialects, where the 2nd singular subject pronoun is the only one that is never deleted.

Surmeiran

Table 2.22 Subject pronouns in Surmeiran

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>iə</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>(Ø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ela</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>ið ~ ʌ</td>
<td>i(ʌ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>ins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nus</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vus</td>
<td>(Ø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>els</td>
<td>ið</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>elas</td>
<td>ið</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The singular ‘3p.’ form in table 2.22, as in Surselvan, renders the unspecified agent PRO:

(82) ins dovra adeña artəcal e furma feminina
    PRO uses always article and form feminine
    ‘The article and feminine form is always used.’
Table 2.23  Subject pronouns in Puter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ɛ(w)</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>ŋl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ŋla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>a(d)</td>
<td>e ~ a ~ o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nus</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vus</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>ŋls</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>ŋlas</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3rd singular neuter pronoun in Old Puter was derived from ILLUD, like the Surselvan form /iʃ/ of today. Note the examples from Bifrun 1560:

(83) eilg es ieu oura ūna crida da Caesare Augusto
    it is gone out a decree from Caesar Augustus
    ‘There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus.’
    (Luke 2: 1)

(84) perche elg es huoz naschieu a vus l’g salueder
    because it is today born to you the saviour
    ‘Because unto you is born this day a saviour.’
    (Luke 2: 11)

The likelihood of modern /a(d)/ (see table 2.23) deriving from ID is thus somewhat diminished. Its origin is unclear.
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Vallader

Table 2.24 Subject pronouns in Vallader

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ε(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>ε1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>εla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>i(d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>εls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>εlas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that in Vallader, as in Surselvan and Surmeiran, the common gender 3rd plural is morphologically identical with the 3rd singular neuter form (see table 2.24). (This is a case of homonymy, rather than motivated polysemy, however. The neuter singular form derives from ILLUD, the common-gender plural from ILLI. Nevertheless, the similarity with analogous polysemy in the Friulian dialects and Lombard varieties is striking.)

It may be noted in passing that the distinction between a common gender and a masculine 3rd plural form in Surselvan, Surmeiran, and Vallader marks an idiosyncratic transformation of the inherited case distinction between nominative ILLI and accusative ILLOS: the former became the common-gender pronoun, and the latter the masculine pronoun of the third-person plural.
**Ladin**

Table 2.25 Subject pronouns in Fassa and Ampezzan Ladin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fassa Stressed</th>
<th>Fassa Atonic</th>
<th>Ampezzan Stressed</th>
<th>Ampezzan Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>je</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>jo</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>te ~ to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>él</td>
<td>él</td>
<td>él</td>
<td>(él)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>éla</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>era</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>nos</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vo(etres)</td>
<td>null</td>
<td>vos</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>idz</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>lore</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>eles</td>
<td>les</td>
<td>eres</td>
<td>(es)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Marebban, Badiot, and Gardenese, atonic subject pronouns occur only in postverbal position. The Badiot paradigm below is representative.

**Badiot**

Table 2.26 Subject pronouns in Upper Badiot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jø</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tô</td>
<td>(te)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>él</td>
<td>(e)l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>éla</td>
<td>(e)la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nos</td>
<td>ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>os</td>
<td>ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>ej</td>
<td>aj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>eles</td>
<td>eles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Friulian Koine

Table 2.27 Subject pronouns in Friulian koine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stressed</th>
<th>Atonic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>luj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>je</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no(altris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vo(altris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m.</td>
<td>lor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>lor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some varieties of western Friulian (see table 2.27) have a double series of atonic subject pronouns (see Beninca 1986): 1/2. -i, 3 -a. These follow and reinforce the regular atonic pronouns and never occur in postverbal position. Double marking of this sort is endemic in northern Italian dialects (see Spiess 1956).

The comparative syntax of the clitic pronouns in Rhaeto-Romance, as in the other Romance languages, is one of the most interesting topics in Rhaeto-Romance grammar. The morphological parallelism among the various Rhaeto-Romance dialects suggests a close relationship among them, regardless of how profoundly their syntax may differ (see Vanelli 1984a,b; Beninca 1986).

The coexistence of stressed and atonic pronouns is a characteristic feature of all northern Italian dialects above a Spezia–Rimini isogloss. We will return to this topic in our discussion of the comparative syntax of subject pronouns in chapter 4.

### 2.2.2.5 Atonic reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are like subject and object pronouns in that they occur both as stressed and atonic forms. The stressed or emphatic reflexive pronouns in Surselvan and Surmeiran have already been dealt with in our discussion of demonstratives, but it is worth mentioning them again here. In addition to their emphatic function as appositives in the nominative case, and as objects of prepositions in the oblique case, emphatic pronouns may act as objects of verbs when they are under contrastive stress. The point is illustrated by sentences like the Old Surselvan (Wendenzen 1701, anthologized in Ulrich 1882):
The status of stressed reflexives as arguments of the verb is as uncontroversial as that of full noun phrases. The interesting questions concerning reflexive pronouns and transitivity relate only to the reduced incorporated forms: the atonic reflexive pronouns.

The indeterminate status of reflexives between transitive and intransitive verbs is graphically illustrated by the syntax of reflexive pronouns. If reflexive verbs were transitives, we should expect to group reflexive pronouns with object pronouns. The extent to which it is impossible to do this reflects the extent to which reflexive verbs pattern with intransitives.

Generally speaking, reflexive pronouns differ from object pronouns in being more reduced, both morphologically and syntactically. Reduction manifests itself morphologically, by syncretism: a reduction in the number of categories that are overtly expressed in the reflexive paradigm. Reduction is manifested in two ways syntactically: by greater rigidity in word order, and by the loss of agreement with reflexive objects. Both are to be expected as the reflexive pronoun loses argument status and becomes more and more like an affix with a fixed position on the verb.

In view of the fact that Surselvan has in general eliminated atonic object pronouns in favour of the stressed analytic forms, and has only one true atonic subject pronoun, it appears paradoxical that reflexive pronouns in this language are more reduced than they are in any other Rhaeto-Romance language. There is only a single reflexive morpheme /sa/ for all persons and numbers. The position of this invariable morpheme is also fixed: irrespective of mood or the presence of auxiliaries on the main verb, the reflexive morpheme always appears as (the only) prefix on the main verb. Thus:

(86) jaw sun s$a$ lagr- aw- s
    'I (male) rejoiced.'

(87) s$a$ lagr- ej
    'Rejoice, you all!'
Old Surselvan. In Old Surselvan, we find the same morphological richness, but a somewhat different syntactic pattern. Reflexive objects, like other object pronouns, always precede the verb whose objects they are, but may, like other clitics, undergo clitic climbing, as in example (91).

*Surselvan*

(88) *ta partraigchie vid’ilg gy d’ilg Sabbath*

yourself bethink of the day of the Sabbath

(Bible of L. Gabriel, 1648: Ten Commandments)

(89) *a sa tschinta’ anturn*

and himself girded about

(Bible of L. Gabriel, 1648: John 13:4)

(90) *quou mi volve’ jou*

when myself turned I

(Bible of 1718; Ecclesiastes 2: 12)

*Surselvan*

(91) *avaunt quellas na te dees inclinar*

before these not yourself must (you) bow

(Bonifaci’s Bible, 1601: Ten Commandments)

In all the other Rhaeto-Romance languages, the reflexive object either shows some person/number distinctions and/or manifests some syntactic behaviour which reflects the status of a nominal argument.

This is least so in Surmeiran, where an absolutely invariable reflexive /sa/ does occur, but is stigmatized (Thoni 1969: 53). The preferred reflexive paradigm is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reflexive auxiliary in the perfect is /aveir/ ‘have’, as for all transitive verbs. But there are two crucial syntactic differences between the reflexive object and all other object pronouns. First, unlike other object pronouns, the reflexive pronoun does not have argument status in that it does not cause the participle to agree with it in number and gender:

(92) *nus van la da- da*

we have her given (f.sg.)

‘We have given it to her.’

(93) *nus van ans do –*

we have us given (unmarked: m.sg.)

‘We have given it to ourselves.’
Second, object pronouns in general precede the verb in the indicative, but follow it in the imperative (as they do in French, for example). Reflexive pronouns exhibit such mobility in the 2nd singular imperative, but not in the 2nd plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object pronoun</th>
<th>Reflexive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative singular</td>
<td>laʃ-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'let me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>laʃe-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'let me'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For purposes of comparison, here are the corresponding forms of the second-person indicative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative singular</th>
<th>am laʃas</th>
<th>at laʃas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'let me'</td>
<td>'let yourself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>am laʃajs</td>
<td>ats laʃajs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'let me'</td>
<td>'let yourselves'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Modern Surmeiran tends to prefer the analytic form of the reflexive pronoun: thus lafa me 'let me' and lafe vus 'let yourselves' (see Thöni 1969: 130).

In the Engadine dialects, reflexive pronouns are treated in almost every way like other objects. The reflexive pronouns in Puter are almost exactly the same as in Surmeiran:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 am</td>
<td>ans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 at</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 as</td>
<td>as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The perfect auxiliary with reflexive verbs is /avEr/ 'have'. Reflexive objects pattern with other object pronouns in causing gender and number agreement:

(94) ils mats s- em lavo- s
the boys themselves have washed (m.pl.)

in being sensitive to the mood of the verb (reflexive objects, like other objects, follow the (positive familiar) imperative verb whose objects they are):

(95) SdaSda- t
wake(imp.) yourself
"Wake up!"
and in undergoing clitic climbing. From the examples below, where the blank marks the origin of the reflexive clitic, it would seem that agreement of the perfect participle must follow clitic climbing:

(96) armEda s ; Stuvi- da [____ratr]\nthe army (f.) self has must (f.sg.) to = retreat
'The army had to retreat.'

(97) nus ans avMs Stuviw- s [____kuntanter da poc]\nwe ourselves have must (m.pl.) to = content of little
'We have had to content ourselves with little.'

Although the past participle agrees with both direct and indirect preceding pronominal objects in general, there may be a difference between the two after clitic climbing. Contrasting with examples (96) and (97) above are examples like (98), where a climbed dative reflexive does not cause agreement:

(98) nus ans avEns vuliw - [____rendar il vjedi]\nwe ourselves have wanted (m.sg.) render the trip
ply lijer pusibal] more easy possible
'We wanted to make the trip as easy for ourselves as possible.'

In all significant respects, reflexive pronouns in Vallader, both in their morphology and in their syntax, are indistinguishable from the pronouns in Puter.

In Ladin, atonic reflexives are identical with objects except in the third person and the 1st plural, where the reflexive is /se/ (Elwert 1943: 135). Like atonic objects, the reflexive pronouns are subject to movement depending on the mood of the verb whose objects they are, preceding the verb in all moods but the positive imperative. Ladin reflexive pronouns exhibit the following peculiarities:

(a) the reflexive direct object clitic does not cause agreement of the following perfect participle;
(b) irrespective of its function, the reflexive clitic, where it co-occurs with a third person direct or indirect object, precedes it (agreeing in this respect with Friulian and other northern Italian dialects, as opposed to standard Italian).

In Friulian, there is some variation concerning the reflexive paradigm. Most Friulian varieties have si in the third person only. Iliescu (1972: 151) reports on the possibility of invariable si (except in the 1st singular, where the only proper reflexive is /mi/), but maintains that the reflexive may be identical with the object pronouns in all persons and numbers
but the third (where, of course, the reflexive must be /si/). Thus, the possibility of both (99) and (100):

(99) ruji- ti
    scratch yourself

(100) cimo si' klamis- tu
    how yourself call you
    ‘What is your name?’

Like atonic object pronouns, reflexive clitics precede the verbal complex except in the positive imperative and the infinitive. In Friulian, as in Ladin, the reflexive object may co-occur with, and precede, the accusative object pronoun. For illustration of this last point, which distinguishes the Italian dialects from those Romansh dialects which allow clitic doubling at all, consider examples (101)–(103):

**Surmeiran**

(101) i la s- o pers- a
    PRO her self has lost (f.sg.)
    ‘PRO has lost it; it has been lost’

(102) se la menar a casa
    self her take to house
    ‘to take her home for himself’

**Friulian**

(103) si ju sint
    self them hears
    ‘PRO hears them; they are heard’

(In the Surmeiran and Friulian examples, the reflexive clitic is interpreted as an impersonal subject, which, following Perlmutter (1971), we designate as PRO. For the syntax of this ‘second si’ in Friulian, see Benincà and Vanelli (1985).)

We will return to a fuller discussion of the syntax of reflexive object (and impersonal subject) clitics in chapter 4.

### 2.2.3 Adjectives

The term ‘adjectives’, used here in the broadest possible sense, includes four classes of modifiers:

(a) true adjectives like ‘big’ and ‘small’;
(b) perfect participles;
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 2.28 Case and number on adjectives in Old Surselvan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>True adjectives</th>
<th>Perfect participles</th>
<th>Possessive pronominal adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.sg.</td>
<td>sauns</td>
<td>ludaws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.sg.</td>
<td>saun</td>
<td>ludaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.pl.</td>
<td>sauni</td>
<td>ludaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.pl.</td>
<td>sauns</td>
<td>ludaws</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) possessive pronominal adjectives;
(d) numerals and indefinite articles

In our survey of the morphology of adjectives, so defined, we encounter, for the first time, a morpho-syntactic feature which sets Rhaeto-Romance off from every other Romance language. On closer examination, however, it appears that this feature cannot be used to define Rhaeto-Romance, since it occurs only in Surselvan. Pushing back as far as the written record allows, we may detect traces of the same feature in Sutselvan, Surmeiran, and Vallader. But this is as wide a distribution as we can find for the retention (and transformation) of the inherited -us/-um distinction.

In Old Surselvan, adjectives were still inflected for case in both the masculine singular and plural. (In the feminine, the oblique or accusative case had been generalized in all Rhaeto-Romance languages. The neuter had disappeared in all Rhaeto-Romance languages but Surselvan. In this language, as in Latin, -um was ambiguously masculine singular accusative, or neuter singular.)

Formulaically, the oppositions in masculine adjectives were as set out in table 2.28. In this idealized system (which was already in decay by the time of the earliest seventeenth-century texts), nominative singular and accusative plural are identical, as in Old French. In accordance with Kuryłowicz's fourth law of analogy (1949), the relatively peripheral case distinction was sacrificed in favour of maintaining the number distinction. This had already taken place for nouns some time after the twelfth century (Ettmayer 1919), but took place only much later for adjectives. Both the past productivity, and the current decay, of the inherited system, are graphically displayed in the single sentence from Alig's (Surselvan) Epistolas of 1674:

(104) vus esses schubri i aber bucca tuts . . .

you are clean (m.pl.nom.) but not all (m.pl.acc.)

(105) vus esses bucca tuts schuberi s

you are not all (m.pl.acc.) clean (m.pl.acc.)
The productivity we may infer from the appearance of the plural -s/-i Latin endings on the German borrowing *schuber* (*< sauber* 'clean'). The decay is evident from the apparently free variation between -s and -i plurals in the same line.

The case system is best attested as a case/gender system in the paradigm of possessive pronominal adjectives in Old Sutselvan and Old Puter. In the Catechism of Bonifaci and the Bible of Bifrun, there is still an orthographic distinction between {me(a)s} (usually masculine singular nominative) and {m(i)eu} (usually masculine singular accusative or neuter singular) 'my', and so on. Examples (106) and (107) are instructive:

*Old Sutselvan* (Bonifaci 1601)

(106) (I am the Lord) *teas* Deis
your God

(107) (thou anointest) igl *meu* cheu
the my head

but compare:

(108) incunter igl *teas* prossem
against the thy neighbour

*Old Puter* (Bifrun 1560)

(109) (that thou not strike) *tieu* pe in la pedra
your foot in the rocks

(110) (if thy hand or) *tes* pe es a ti inskiadel
your foot is to you offence

*Matthew 4: 6*

*Matthew 18: 8*

but compare, from the same verse:

(111) che schi *tieu* maun u (thy foot offend thee)
that if your hand or

with apparent free variation between {tes} and {tieu}.

All the modern Rhaeto-Romance languages have completely eliminated the case distinction in the plural number. But they have done so in different ways. Surselvan has generalized the (accusative) -s for true adjectives and possessive pronominal adjectives, but the nominative -i for perfect participles: /bun-s/ 'good (m.pl.)', /me-s/ 'My (m.pl.)', but /luda-i/ 'praised (m.pl.)'. Surmeiran, Puter, and Vallader, have generalized the accusative for all plural adjectives. Ladin (both Badiot and Fassa dialects) has generalized the nominative for (almost) all
masculine plural adjectives, but the accusative for feminines (Elwert 1943: 131; Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: xxxix; Kramer 1976: 29–54). Thus Badiot /debl/ ‘weak’ has plurals debli (m.pl.) and debles (f.pl.), /bon/ ‘good’ has plurals bogn (m.pl.) and bone(s) (f.pl.), /nöt/ ‘our’ has nyf (m.pl.) and nötes (f.pl.), while /dut/ ‘all’ has dyv (m.pl.) and dytes (f.pl.). (On the other hand, note /ladiŋ/ ‘ladin’, whose masculine plural is /ladiŋs/).

Fassan /3own/ ‘young’ has plurals /3oijn/ (m.pl.) and /3ownes/ (f.pl.), the regular pattern. (But /dur/ ‘hard’ and /pjeŋ/ ‘full’ have the -s plural in both genders.) Friulian forms the plural of adjectives in the same way as the plural of nouns. Only adjectives in final /l/ regularly form the masculine plural by conversion of this final segment to /j/. A handful of others, like bon ‘good’ and tut ‘all’, form their masculine plurals by palatalization of the final segment. There is a tendency for double marking of plurality to occur: thus bop and bops (< *bops) are both possible for ‘good (m.pl.)’. In fact, even triple marking is possible, as in /bojiŋ/ (< boni+s+l) (see Benincà and Vanelli 1978; Rizzolatti 1981: 42-3). But perfect participles always form their masculine plurals with -s.

The case system has also been entirely lost in the singular for all the modern Rhaeto-Romance languages but Surselvan. Surmeiran has generalized the accusative for true adjectives and perfect participles. But the nominative is apparently in free variation with the accusative for possessive pronominal adjectives: /bun/ ‘good’, /kanto/ ‘sung’, but /mi-a-s/ ~ /mi-o/ ‘my’. The contrast is illustrated by /iX mias bab/ ‘my father’ vs. /iX mia riSplej/ ‘my pencil’. There may once have been a time when this was a gender distinction between masculine and neuter: if so, it is not consistent any longer. Puter has generalized the accusative for all singular adjectives: /bun/ ‘good’, /canto/ ‘sung’, and /mi-w/ ‘my’.

Vallader has generalized the accusative (now null) for all adjectives and perfect participles, and the nominative (-s) for possessive pronominal adjectives: /bun/ ‘good’, /canta/ ‘sung’, but /me-s/ ‘my’. The Italian languages have generalized the accusative for all adjectives in the singular. In other words, there is no trace of any case distinction in the singular in any of the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects. Surselvan alone retains the inherited -us/-um distinction, to mark both gender and case.

As a gender marker, -UM carries a very low functional load. No common nouns in the language are neuter; neuter -UM is used as the unmarked gender for predicate adjectives which agree with no noun phrase, or with one of the pronouns /iX/ ‘it’, /kwej/ ‘that’, or /æts/ ‘that’:

(112) il ej bun-s
      he is good (m.sg.)
(113) i\' ej bian -
   it is good (n.sg.)

As a case marker, -UM now marks attributive, rather than accusative masculine singular inflection, while -US now marks predicative, rather than nominative singular inflection (see Roberge 1989):

Attributive
(114) in bian- ___ om
    a good (m.sg. attr.) man
(115) miw- ___ kudiJ
    my (m.sg.attr.) book
(116) in kudiJ ambidaw- ___
    a book forgotten (m.sg. attr.)

Predicative
(117) il om ej bun- s
    the man is good (m.sg. pred.)
(118) il kudiJ ej me - s
    the book is my (m.sg. pred.)
(119) il kudiJ ej ambidaw- s
    the book is forgotten (m.sg. pred.)

It is of some typological interest that as a consequence of this transformation, Surselvan is now one of the tiny handful of languages (Hungarian is another) in which the attributive adjectives are less richly inflected for agreement than are the predicate adjectives: predicate adjectives mark three genders, while attributive adjectives mark only two.

The stages whereby this reinterpretation and transformation occurred are essentially unknown, but perhaps can be plausibly reconstructed as follows. In the absence of accusative + infinitive constructions in Surselvan, the predicative adjective (unlike the attributive adjective) could appear only in the nominative case. As often happens in semantic change, the par excellence meaning of a form – that meaning which only the form in question may have – is reinterpreted as its new basic meaning (see Greenberg 1966). Thus, the original restriction of the predicative position (that it could tolerate only the nominative form of the adjective) might have led to a par excellence meaning of the nominative; only this case could mark predicative adjectives. And this could lead eventually to the new meaning of the nominative as the marker of the predicative masculine singular. (In the absence of actual historical attestation, this remains purely speculative: we do not know how -US/-UM became reinterpreted.)
Representative paradigms for regular adjectives in the major dialects are given below. A distinction must be made between possessive pronominal adjectives ( = prenominal attributive forms), and possessive pronouns ( = postnominal attributive and predicative adjective forms). A striking feature of the Italian dialects is the near-identity of the singular and plural forms throughout much of the paradigm for the possessive pronominal (attributive) adjectives.

2.2.3.1 Surselvan

Note, once again, that ‘neuter’ in this language actually has two meanings: ‘neuter’ and ‘masculine attributive’. The label ‘masculine’ is limited in the singular to masculine predicative forms. Note also that in the paradigm in table 2.29 for possessive pronominal adjectives, the suffix -s marks both the masculine singular attributive (< us) and the masculine plural (< os).

The attributive/predicative distinction in Surselvan is doubly marked for a number of stems where final -UM conditioned either vowel umlaut or palatalization of the final consonant. Thus /il om ej bun-s/ ‘The man is good’, but /in bian om/ ‘a good man’. In Sutselvan, although the predicate -s is gone, the difference between -us and -UM remains in contrasts like /in bian kun/s/ ‘a good knife’ vs. /il kun/s ej bun/ ‘The knife is good’ (see Tekavčić 1974: 363n).
In Surselvan, predicate adjectives are morphologically distinct from attributive adjectives in the masculine singular. Possessive pronouns are identical with predicate forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives:

(120) kwej ej miw-
    that is mine (n.sg.)

(121) la kavala ej mi-
    the mare is mine (f.sg.)

(122) il kavaej miw-
    the horse is mine (m.sg.)

This suggests that the predicative form of the possessive pronominal adjective is simply a predicative adjective. On the other hand, the possessive pronoun looks like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>il miw</td>
<td>ils mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>la mia</td>
<td>las mias</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The masculine singular form is identical with the neuter, or identical with the masculine singular attributive form of the possessive pronominal adjective. This suggests that the possessive pronoun derives from a more abstract noun phrase with a pronominal head.

In Surmeiran, the possessive pronoun is identical with the possessive pronominal adjective. The identity extends to the free variation between reflexes of -UM and -US forms in the masculine or neuter singular:

(123) kεε e miös/mia
    that is mine (non-f.sg.)

Thöni’s claim (1969: 71) that the reflex of -us is confined to predicative adjectives (as in Surselvan) is belied by some of his own examples (pp. 18–19).

2.2.3.2 Vallader

As in Surselvan, the masculine singular and masculine plural are identical for possessive pronominal adjectives in Vallader (see table 2.30) – the only trace, in this dialect, of the inherited double function of the -s suffix. (In Puter, which is otherwise identical with Vallader in adjective declension, this trace also has been wiped out: the masculine singular forms of the possessive pronominal adjective derive from ancient -UM forms, and the masculine plural forms are derived from the singular by the addition of -s: m.sg. /miw/, m.pl. /miw-s/.)

In Vallader, the possessive pronoun in all gender/number combinin-
Table 2.30  Gender and number on adjectives in Vallader

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) True adjectives (e.g. /grejv/ ‘heavy’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>grejv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>grejv-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Perfect participles (e.g. /jmaladi/ ‘accursed’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>jmaladi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>jmaladi-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Possessive pronominal adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vös</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ations but the masculine singular is identical with the possessive pronominal adjective. In the masculine singular, however, we find a set of forms which are derived from old neuter forms in -UM; that is, we find cognates of the Surselvan attributive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>il miw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>la mia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The predicative form of the possessive pronominal adjective is still identical with the possessive pronoun:

(124) mes (attr.) kunti
my (m.sg.) knife
(125) il kunti ajs miw
the knife is mine (pred.)
(126) il miw ajs...
the my is (poss.pron.)
‘Mine is . . . ’

Vallader has thus apparently retained and transformed the inherited -US/-UM distinction for possessive pronominal adjectives alone. Moreover, it has done the exact opposite to what Surselvan has, in that the -US reflex is attributive, while the -UM reflex is predicative.

The identity of the possessive pronoun and the predicative form of the possessive pronominal adjective in Vallader, as in Surselvan, argues in
Table 2.31 Gender and number on adjectives in (Fassa) Ladin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) True adjectives (e.g. /lerg/ ‘broad’, /pjen/ ‘full’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>lerg [lerk]</td>
<td>lertʃ (&lt;*lerg + i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pjen</td>
<td>pjen(s) (&lt;*pjen + s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>lɛrʃa</td>
<td>lɛrʃes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pjenɛn</td>
<td>pjenɛs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Perfect participles (e.g. /tira/ ‘pulled’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>tira</td>
<td>tirats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>tiraɛda</td>
<td>tiraɛdas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Possessive (attributive) adjectives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tɔ</td>
<td>tia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>naʃ</td>
<td>naʃa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voʃ</td>
<td>voʃa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Possessive pronouns (and predicate adjectives)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mie</td>
<td>mia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>noʃ</td>
<td>noʃa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voʃ</td>
<td>voʃa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sɔ</td>
<td>sia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

favour of identifying the two categories as one. In Surselvan, however, it is possible to derive the possessive pronoun from an abstract structure with an attributive possessive pronominal adjective:

\[
\text{[Article + possessive pronominal adjective + [9]]}
\]

In Vallader, where the possessive pronoun differs from the attributive form of the possessive pronominal adjective, this derivation is morphologically impossible.

2.2.3.3 Ladin

In Badiot Ladin, the attributive and predicative possessive pronominal adjectives are identical except in the following instances (Pizzinini and Plangg 1966: xxxix):
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 2.32 Possessive pronominal adjectives in Gardenese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>nojf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>vojf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.33 Possessive pronouns in Gardenese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>mie</td>
<td>mia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>tia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sie</td>
<td>sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>noft</td>
<td>nofta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>voft</td>
<td>vofta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sie</td>
<td>sia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>Predicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1pl.m.sg.</td>
<td>nof</td>
<td>noft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.m.sg.</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>oft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.pl.</td>
<td>stem + (e)s</td>
<td>stem + es</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last contrast is illustrated by

(127) mi(e)s cazes
       my houses
(128) las cazes ε mies (*mis)
       the houses are mine

Gardenese has a more coherent system of possessives, possibly because it has been less exposed to Italian influence. The (attributive) possessive pronominal adjectives have no number or gender inflection whatsoever (see table 2.32). Compare the fully inflected (predicative and post-nominal) adjectives in table 2.33, which are also the possessive pronouns.

In Ampezzan, possessive pronominal adjectives do not inflect for gender or number of the possessum except in the 1st plural and 2nd plural (where number is marked only in the masculine forms). Possessive pronouns mark both gender and number in a regular fashion (see table 2.34).

The identity of feminine singular and feminine plural in the possessive pronominal adjective exemplified in table 2.31, as noted already, is a
Table 2.34 Ampezzan possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mea</td>
<td>miei</td>
<td>mees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>toa</td>
<td>tuoi</td>
<td>toes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>soa</td>
<td>suoi</td>
<td>soes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no&lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>nostra</td>
<td>nostre</td>
<td>nostres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vo&lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>vostra</td>
<td>vostre</td>
<td>vostres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>soa</td>
<td>suoi</td>
<td>soes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.35 Gender and number marking on adjectives in Friulian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) True adjectives (e.g. /madu:r/ 'ripe')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>madu:r</td>
<td>madu:rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>madurA</td>
<td>madurAs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Perfect participles (e.g. /torna:t/ 'returned')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>torna:t</td>
<td>torna:t-s ([tornas])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>torna:tA</td>
<td>torna:tAs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Possessive pronominal adjectives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>Mie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>Mes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>co</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>no&lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>no&lt;e&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vo&lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>vo&lt;e&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The phonetic value of /A/ is /a, e, o/ in the singular, /e, i, o/ in the plural, depending on dialect.

striking feature of the morphology of many Ladin dialects. We return in chapter 4 to the question whether this apparent syncretism is a morphological or a deeper syntactic fact.

2.2.3.4 Friulian

In Friulian, the possessive pronoun consists simply of the definite article followed by the possessive pronominal adjective.
There is a tendency in all Rhaeto-Romance languages to allow the definite article to appear with possessive pronominal adjectives, possibly under Italian influence. For example, in Friulian, Iliescu (1972: 172) attests /il no omp/ ‘my husband’ side by side with /mjo fi/ ‘my son’. In general, the article is not used with kinship names.

A possible generalization for distinguishing possessive pronominal forms is that where the predicative adjective differs from the attributive, it is the longer form. This is, of course, compatible with the productive contrast in Surselvan between (attributive) -UM and (predicative) -US reflexes (or, for that matter with the English contrast between attributive ‘my, your, her, their’ and predicative ‘mine, yours, hers, theirs’). The linguistic significance of the distinction is questionable.

### 2.2.4 Numerals and the indefinite article

The morphological similarity, and the syntactic identity, of the indefinite article and the numeral ‘one’ are well known. Badiot and Gardena, and possibly other Ladin dialects, are unique in syntactically distinguishing the numeral, and the indefinite article which is a phonologically degenerate form of it. In these dialects, the numeral and the indefinite article may co-occur, the numeral being ‘doubly marked’: once by the indefinite article, and again by the stressed form from which it is derived.

**Badiot**

(129) Da ona na skwadr (eson pasa a trej)
from one team are = we passed to three
‘From one team, we grew to three.’

**Gardena**

(130) (l’ ert kunsual), una na rama dl ert visiva
the art conceptual one branch of the art visual
‘conceptual art, one branch of visual art’

The mechanism of grammaticalization (phonological reduction followed by double marking, or reinforcement) whereby this pattern occurred is familiar: for example, this is how stressed and atonic subject pronouns have come to co-occur throughout the northern Italian dialects, including the Italian dialects of Rhaeto-Romance. But we know of no other examples of this process creating a syntactic distinction between numerals and the indefinite article.

In both Badiot and Gardena, the indefinite article is formed by elision of the initial vowel of the numeral. We have failed to encounter, and been unable to elicit, double marking of the masculine numeral, possibly because the combination (Badiot ?[on n], Gardena ?[uŋ n(g)]) is difficult to pronounce.
The numeral 'two' is uninflected in most of Romansh. In the Münstair dialect of Romansh, and throughout the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, however, it is inflected for gender: the masculine /doj/ contrasts with the feminine /dus/ ~ /dos/. (Compare Venetian /du/ (m.) and /do/ (f.).)

No other numerals are inflected for gender or case in Rhaeto-Romance.
3 Lexicon

Phonological and morphological criteria fail to establish Rhaeto-Romance unity. In spite of occasional claims to the contrary, lexical criteria also fail: nor is this surprising, given the notorious unstability of the lexicon. What we expect, in fact, is what we find: like all other Romance languages, the Rhaeto-Romance languages share a great deal of Latin vocabulary. In sharing a Gallic substratum and influences of the Germanic populations with the Central Romance dialects, they share a great deal more specifically with the other Italian dialects north of La Spezia–Rimini. Moreover, since each of them is overshadowed by one or more prestige languages, all of them have borrowed extensively from these prestige languages: in recent times, Romansh has borrowed primarily from German, and the Italian dialects have borrowed from Trentino, Venetian, or standard Italian. Of course, Swiss Romansh and some Ladin dialects (particularly Gardenese and Badiot) are still under heavy German influence.

Theodor Gartner tried to establish a common Rhaeto-Romance lexicon, a topic which Ascoli had completely disregarded. Since then, the attention of scholars has focused mainly on three items which have been regularly offered as evidence of Rhaeto-Romance unity (see most recently Rohlfs 1986: 507): (1) the morpho-lexical innovation SOL-IC-ULU (~ SOLUCULU) for SOLE 'sun', shared by all varieties (found also in French soleil, with the same meaning, and in standard Italian, but with a different meaning); (2) a Celticism = DRAGIU 'sieve'; and (3), an early Germanicism (Gothic?) + SKEITHONE 'large wooden spoon, ladle'. The significance of these words as evidence of Rhaeto-Romance unity has been much discussed under several headings. G. Pellegrini, one of the scholars most involved in discussions regarding the Rhaeto-Romance lexicon, has repeatedly shown that the areas where these and other allegedly distinctive lexical items occur extend beyond the Rhaeto-Romance area, and that many words which are now considered typical
of Rhaeto-Romance may also be found (or have been found) in Bellunese, northern Venetian, or simply in standard Italian. Zamboni (1984) traced continuations of SKEITHONE (via a later Germanic variant SKAITONE > SKATTONE) outside the Rhaeto-Romance area, in central Italian. What is even more important is the fact that within Rhaeto-Romance, the western region has derivations from SKA(I)TONE ([scadun], [jadun]), while the rest of Rhaeto-Romance and adjacent dialects continue SKEITHONE (e.g. Frl. sedon, Eng. zdun). This suggests independent origins from different German dialects, not Rhaeto-Romance unity.

Due to the continuing contacts these territories had with German populations (as did the rest of northern Italy) from the Middle Ages up to the present, we find a very complicated lexical stratification of the various Germanic layers, which is sometimes impossible to define very clearly (see Frau 1989: 594).

The earliest Germanic stratum dates back (for all Rhaeto-Romance, and much of the Roman Empire) to well before the collapse of Rome in AD 476. In the most careful study of Germanic penetration, Gamillscheg (1935: 273) distinguishes three main layers or stages of Germanic lexical borrowing:

(a) third-century in Raetia and Noricum only;
(b) fifth-century Gothic borrowings;
(c) sixth–eighth century Longobard borrowings.

Frankish contact was too short to allow us to identify clear cases of Frankish borrowing. Words of Frankish origin probably entered the Rhaeto-Romance languages later through Old French.

In a survey of 1,552 words in Friulian, Iliescu (1972: 205) found that 51 per cent were Latin, 25 per cent were borrowings from standard Italian or Venetian, 13 per cent were Friulian innovations, 5.5 per cent were of obscure origin, 4 per cent were older (Gothic, Frankish, or Lombard) Germanic borrowings (e.g. among the Gothic borrowings, bant 'side, direction', buta 'throw', sklst 'clear, frank', sedôn 'spoon', bruct 'daughter-in-law', bisiye < ?Goth. *bisunnia 'need', blank < blank 'white'; barbe < Long. barbas 'father's brother', hleon 'sheet' < Long. *blajö 'rag'), and 1 per cent were either more or less recent German borrowings (e.g. bezs 'money' < Renaissance (and modern) Swiss baetze 'coins, change', via Venetian, pawr 'farmer' < Bauer, kramar < kramer 'pedlar', tsiruk 'back' < zurück (this, throughout Ladin as well as Friulian), Smir 'axle grease' < Schmiere, russak < Rucksack, stankol 'coal' < Steinkohle, floszer 'locksmith' < Schlosser).

Hardly any of the lexical stock, whether original or borrowed, link
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Friulian exclusively with either Ladin or Romansh (Iliescu: 225). Rizzolatti (1981: 47) cites exactly one pair of cognate forms (Frl. *dorta:* Livinallongo *rodhela* ‘layer of new-mown hay’ < *derotulare*) which is confined to Friulian and Ladin alone. In the same vein, when surveying the lexicon of Ladin dialects, Pellegrini (1987a: 294) notes that:

The Ladin lexical base of Rhaeto-Romance, especially of its purported central Dolomitic and its Friulan components, is essentially identical with that of the Northern or Cisalpine Italian dialects. Common peculiarities, i.e. unique features shared by the three putative Rhaeto-Romance zones, which would set them off en bloc from their immediate southern neighbours, are singularly absent.

Not surprisingly, given the political history of Brixen/Bressanone over the the last six hundred years, the number of recent German borrowings in Ladin dialects is high. Gardenese and Badiot share *tseruk* ‘back’, *minouga* ‘opinion’, and *tix* ‘animal’.

Gardenese has transparent German borrowings like *lu301Ja* ‘solution’, *tsajta* ‘newspaper’, *strawfoga* ‘punishment’, *fsrom* ‘electricity’, *fkjatse* ‘esteem’ (< *ab)schatzen*), *genre* ‘gladly’ (< *gern*), *pite* ‘offer’ (< *an)bieten*), *filet* ‘bad’, *pawr* ‘farmer’, *flosxr* ‘locksmith’, *gnel* ‘quick’, *mesaj* ‘must’, and *fjet* ‘strong, loud’, as well as calque translations like *l da* ‘there is’, and a series of verb + particle constructions on the model of the German separable prefix + verb constructions: *fe pr:* ‘close’ on the model of *zu-machen*, *de pr:* ‘concede’ on the model of *zu-geben*, *udi: ite* ‘admit’, on the model of *ein-sehen*, and many others. Notice that verb + particle constructions are lexical rather than syntactic borrowings, the order and behaviours of the two components of the compound word being radically different in the different languages. The Ladin syntactic model is clearly Romance.

Badiot has *gonot* ‘often’ (< *ge-nötig*), and transparent *alt* ‘old’, *fkone* ‘spare’, *fts* ‘dining room’ (< *Stube*) (but see REW 3108), and *jagri* ‘hunter’. Fassan has several layers of Germanic borrowings, like *fkjet* ‘bad’ < OHG *sleht*, *bijera* ‘beer’ < MHG *bier*, *fmauwts* ‘butter’ from early Modern German *smalz*, and much more recent Tyrolian German borrowings like *flosxr* ‘locksmith’, *pek* ‘baker’, *tisjx* ‘carpenter’ of nineteenth-century vintage brought back by Gastarbeiter painters and masons (Elwert 1943: 238–47). (The closely related Moena dialect also has *Snaps* ‘brandy’ (< Schnapps).)

The number of German borrowings in Romansh is even higher: so high that enumeration of individual examples seems likely to be misleading. A better appreciation of the extent of German influence can be gained from noting the existence of calque constructions like the *verb*
Lexicon 157

+ particle combinations /jkrivər sy/ (\(<\) auf-schreiben 'write up'), or /rer owra/ (\(<\) aus-lachen 'laugh at') which are even more common in the Engadine dialects than they are in Ladin. (They are foreign to French and far less productive in northern Italian dialects and in Italian than they are in Rhaeto-Romance.) In addition, some idea of the peculiar German flavour of Romansh comes through in older and less self-consciously purist texts such as Luci Gabriel's Bible translation of 1648, where we read in Psalm XLVI:

(1) quel velg anamig
   Ristiaus ei fick
   Cun lists a cun guauld
   'That old enemy
   is very well equipped (ausgerüstet)
   with cunning (List) and force (Gewalt).'

or in Willy's 1755 Historias Biblias:

(2) Mo ses frars purtavan un sgrischeivel Has ancunter el, a pudevan buc plidar cun el un frindli Plaid.
   'But his brothers had a terrible hatred for him, and could not say a friendly word to him.'

Nevertheless, it is Romansh, in particular the Surselvan and Sutselvan dialects of Romansh, which have the highest proportion of 'uniquely Rhaeto-Romance' conservative lexical features inherited from Latin. As we shall soon observe, this leads to misleading claims about 'Rhaeto-Romance' when Romansh is treated as a typical dialect of this conjectured group.

Discounting natural reservations about the value of a shared vocabulary as an index of genetic affiliation, there are three possible kinds of evidence which could support a claim of common origin: first, common retention of Latin etyma that have been lost in other Romance languages; second, common borrowing of foreign words that were not borrowed in other Romance languages; third, and most important, is the common morphological or semantic development of an inherited lexical form. (It should go without saying, of course, that common retention of an inherited vocabulary is a much more convincing sign of ethnic unity than common borrowing of vocabulary from some other language. For example, the German words Schlosser and Bäcker, specifically identified as recent borrowings in Friulian (Iliescu 1972) are found throughout Rhaeto-Romance as we have already seen (see Kuen 1968: 52–3). Common borrowing, in other words, occurred long after any conceivable Rhaeto-Romance unity must have ceased to exist.)
None of these signs of common Rhaeto-Romance unity, however, is much in evidence. It is an eloquent testimony to the fragmentation of ‘Rhaeto-Romance’ that in a partisan restudy of the Rhaeto-Romance lexicon based on the great dialect atlas of Jaberg and Jud (1928-40), Redfern (1971: 88–9) was able to find only sixteen items like AIS no.93 〈caf〉 ‘head’ < CAPUT and AIS no.982 〈cadon〉 ‘spoon’ < Goth. skeithone that were attested throughout ‘Rhaeto-Romance’. Both of these, as it happens, are also attested outside Rhaeto-Romance, while the second (as we have noted) effectively splits Rhaeto-Romance into two areas. (We will follow Redfern in using ‘〈〉’ to indicate a ‘common lexical type’ whose phonetic realization may differ considerably from one dialect to another.)

In fact, there are many more than sixteen such forms which are found throughout Rhaeto-Romance – and beyond. To make the strongest possible case for Rhaeto-Romance unity, we should indicate some of them. Hubschmid (1956) provides several pre-Indo-European roots that were continued throughout Rhaeto-Romance and far and wide beyond it: notable among these are two Alpine words. First, the word for ‘mountain goat’ < *kamorkjo-: Eng. /tʃamurʃ/, Fassa /tʃamortʃ/, Friulian /camòts/, but also attested in Late Latin, in Old High German, Italian (both standard and dialects), Portuguese, Spanish, and French.

Second, the word for ‘cliff’ or ‘rock face’ < *krippa: Romansh /krap/, Fassa /krep/, Badiot /krap/, Gardena /krap/, but this word also has reflexes throughout central Italian, southern French, and Old Provençal.

Wartburg (1956: 29) provides a handful of Celtic items which are common to Rhaeto-Romance and French, among them the words for ‘sieve’ (Fr. tamis, Puter /tamyʃ/, Frl. /tames/; see also Venetian /tamizo/) and ‘to card, tease (hemp, flax, wool)’ (Fr. serancer, Puter /ʃanʃer/).

Moreover, Gamillscheg (1935: 273–304) provides many other examples of Germanic words that were borrowed throughout Rhaeto-Romance, and in Italian and French as well, probably via medieval Latin. Among these are the words for ‘rob’ < OHG raubon, ‘daughter-in-law’ < OHG bruthiz ‘Roman wife of German soldier’ (Gamillscheg 1935: 291), ‘hostel’ < Goth. *haribairg, and ‘rich’ < Goth. reiks.

Finally, there are Romance developments which are peculiar to Rhaeto-Romance and French, such as the use of reflexes of SOLICULU (not SOL) for ‘sun’ (see, however, Pellegrini 1987a: 294n., who notes reflexes of *SOLUCULU in Old Bellunese and Cadorine), and the use of the reflexes of FRATER (not FRATELLU) and SOROR (not SORELLA), for ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ (see Kuen 1968: 56–7).

Of Redfern’s sixteen ’pan-Rhaeto-Romance’ words, however, only two words were said to be exclusive to the Rhaeto-Romance dialects. Of
these two words, one, (taliar) 'plate', is a variant of the very common Italian type tagliere. The other (strom) 'straw' is a regular outcome of Latin stramen, which is also continued in Italian, Italian dialects, and other Romance languages.

For all its methodological faults, Redfern's study is of interest, because it constitutes an attempt to achieve the impossible: establish the unity and independence of Rhaeto-Romance on the basis of a shared vocabulary. Even if one were to accept his results, however, they do not favour his thesis.

Exclusively Rhaeto-Romance (but not found everywhere in Rhaeto-Romance) may be unus non sapit qui for 'someone', coccinu for 'red', bel lu for 'only', voliendo for 'gladly', mutu for 'child', and de avorsus for 'behind' (for this last, see Kuen 1968: 51). The total number of these, so far from providing evidence for Rhaeto-Romance unity, scarcely exceeds what could be attributed to chance.

Recently, a selection of twelve well-studied lexical 'types' in Rhaeto-Romance dialects has been presented in Pfister (1986). The author shows that some types, or peculiar semantic evolutions, are attested in areas that do not correspond to Rhaeto-Romance, but often unite a part of Rhaeto-Romance with other areas of the Alps or northern Italy, such as Alpine Lombard, Piedmontese, northern Venetian, etc. We present a few of his examples:

**ABUNDE** shifted its meaning from 'abundantly' to 'enough' in Friulian and Swiss Rhaeto-Romance, as in Tessin, the Tellina Valley, and in dialectal Portuguese (see Benincà-Ferraboschi 1973: 123).

**ALTIGORIUM/ALDIGORIUM** 'aftermath, second haying' is widespread within Rhaeto-Romance (and beyond), but is opposed within Friulian by the equally ancient ryézi < RESECARE.

**ALIQUID** 'something' unites Rhaeto-Romance with Old Lombard, Spanish, etc. (see Rohlf 1949: II, 253; Rew 345).

**ALICUBI** 'somewhere' unites the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects with Western Lombard, but excludes Swiss Romansh.

**ARMENTUM** 'herd' has shifted its meaning to a 'single animal (usually bovine)' only in central Ladin and northern Lombard.

**QUADRIGA** 'plough' going from Swiss Rhaeto-Romance through central Ladin and Bellunese to a very small area of Carnic Friulian, is also attested in Lombard as 'large plow drawn by four oxen' (see Pellegrini and Marcato 1988: 13-16, for detailed discussion and bibliography).

There are perhaps two dozen words which are exclusively western Rhaeto-Romance, that is, found (with exactly their peculiar meanings) only in Romansh. A number of these are Latin survivals attested in no
other Romance language: note AIS no.321 〈sarkladur〉 ‘June’ < SARCULARE + ATORE; AIS no.322 〈fanadur〉 ‘July’ < FENU + ATORE; AIS no.363 Surselvan /awra/ ‘weather’ < AURA; AIS no.763 〈kudij〉 ‘book’ < CODICE; and AIS no.1575 〈alv〉 ‘white’ < ALBU, AIS no.444. (But note Frl. /stradalbe/ ‘Milky Way’, literally ‘white way’.)

Almost as many, however, are shared by Romansh with French (and sometimes Spanish), to the exclusion of all other Rhaeto-Romance dialects and Italian: among these are AIS no.284 〈dus〉 ‘two’ (m.) (< DUOS: other Rhaeto-Romance dialects, including the Romansh dialect of Müstair, have a reflex of *dui); AIS no.19 Surselvan /awk/ ‘uncle’ < AVUNCULU; AIS no.351 〈fo〉 ‘must’ < Old Fr. estovoir, ultimately < EST OPUS (see REW 6079), AIS no.788 〈sents〉 ‘bell’ < SIGNUS (with survival of the nominative -US; compare Old Fr. sein, modern French to-sin), sonda ‘Saturday’ < SAMBATA DIE (see REW 7479), 〈klucar〉 ‘belfry’ < CLOCCARIU, Surselvan /tJinkwejsmas/ ‘Pentecost’ < QUINQUESIMAS (compare Old Picard chinquesme) (for the last three, see Jud 1919: 176–7).

A small number of Germanic borrowings are shared by Ladin and Friulian, to the apparent exclusion of Romansh. Among them is OHG suf, Lombard supf a ‘broth’, with reflexes in Fassa /3ufa/ ‘broth’ and Frl. /zu/; ‘polenta and pumpkin soup’.

Gamillscheg (1935: 304) gives two Germanic borrowings which are also restricted to (Engadine) Romansh and (Gardena) Ladin: OHG gadum ‘room’ and *piwat ‘clothing’.

All in all, then, the lexical evidence for Rhaeto-Romance unity is minimal. More than is the case for other areas of grammar, the lexicon has been abused by proponents of Rhaeto-Romance unity. Time and again, a ‘case’ has been made for the conservatism of Rhaeto-Romance on the basis of one single dialect, usually Surselvan. Typically, an author will note, say, that ALBU is retained as the word for ‘white’ in Surselvan, while all other Romance languages have borrowed Frankish blank (see AIS no.1575). This is undeniably an interesting archaism — but of Surselvan alone! All the other so-called ‘Rhaeto-Romance’ dialects, just like Spanish, French, and Italian, have borrowed blank: thus even the Engadine dialects have /blenc/, while Ladin and Friulian have /blank/ (Gamillscheg 1935: 279).

Rather than pursuing the elusive goal of Rhaeto-Romance unity, we should look for lexical ‘signatures’ of the various dialects/languages within Rhaeto-Romance. Even these do more to distinguish the Rhaeto-Romance languages from each other than from the dialects which surround them.
3.1 FRIULIAN

The Friulian lexicon is particularly well studied: it has one of the best dictionaries of a Romance dialect, Pirona 1935, and an atlas especially devoted to the lexicon, the ASLEF directed by G.B. Pellegrini. A series of dissertations of Padua University and of articles, in particular by Pellegrini, analyse the data from a historical-etymological point of view. Edited by various scholars, the first two volumes (up to the letter E) of an etymological dictionary (DESF) have appeared. Pellegrini and Zamboni (1982) explore in detail the names of Friulian flora. An article by G. Frau (1989) on the Friulian lexicon appears in the third volume of LRL.

Friulian is set off from the other Rhaeto-Romance dialects by some Latin inherited forms which have undergone a peculiar semantic development. Among these are /frut/ ‘child, boy’ < FRUCTU, /prindi/ ‘Monday’ < PRIMU DIE, /[f]ercà/ ‘to taste’ < CIRCARE. The word (vie) < VIA ‘way’ is also used characteristically as a suffix /vie/ ‘-ly’. It can be added redundantly to adverb phrases: /sot man/ and /sot man vie/ ‘underhanded’. Or it can be added to adjectives to form adverb phrases: /a la mate vie/ ‘crazily’ (literally, ‘to the crazy way’). Or it can be added to bare noun stems: /a frutvie/ ‘childishly’, /a matvie/ ‘foolishly’.

Additional Friulian peculiarities unmatched outside this dialect area include /glendon/ ‘louse egg’ < *lendone, /spa:li/ ‘string’ < spagulu, and (West Friulian only) /vjerte/ ‘spring’ < aperta (Rizzolatti 1981: 46-7). To this list we should add /manda/ ‘ciao’, used by some speakers for both greetings and goodbyes, by others for the latter only, from (marco)manda (< m arecomandi) ‘I commit myself’.

All Rhaeto-Romance dialects, like standard Italian, have an augmentative suffix (-:N), but in Friulian, this derivational suffix can occur not only on nominal roots, but also on verbs and adjectives: /fevel-on-a:/ ‘to talk a lot’, and /grand-on/ ‘very large’ have no congeners in other Rhaeto-Romance, although nouns occur with this suffix. (Compare Vallader /om-un/ ‘big man’, Surselvan /vadl-un/ ‘big calf’.)

Veneto-Friulian isoglosses include: /kja:f/ ‘head’ (Ven. testa, but some Venetian varieties have /kà:o/), /kjálá/ ‘watch’ (Ven. vardár), /fevelá/ ‘speak’ (Ven. parlare), /kumó/ ‘now’ (Ven. adesso), /v)we/ ‘today’ < HODIE (Ven. ancuo < HANC HODIE). These isoglosses, however, do not separate Friulian from all other Romance dialects.

As well as common retentions and semantic innovations, common borrowings may identify a dialect. Among the peculiarities of Friulian, we may identify:

(a) Celtic borrowings: ⟨broili⟩ ‘orchard’ < BROGILOS; ⟨grave⟩ ‘gravel’
162 The Rhaeto-Romance languages


(b) several layers of Germanisms: among the Gothisms are <bru:t) already discussed; among the Longobard forms are <bleôns) ‘sheets’, already discussed and <beartJ) ‘piece of ground near a house’ < BIGARDIUM; the Germanic borrowing *bisunnia ‘it is necessary’ is often treated as a ‘signature’ of Friulian (see AIS no.351), albeit one which separates it only from Romansh, and not from Ladin, French or Italian: but there are other ways of expressing necessity in Friulian which are shared by other Rhaeto-Romance dialects. Among them are /skunji/ (compare Gardena /koJ1e/) < CONVENIT, /dove/ (cognates throughout Italian and French, as well as Gardena) < DEBERE, and the periphrastic construction /ave di/ + infinitive), which is shared by many Italian dialects.

(c) Friulian is also unique in having a handful of Slavic (mainly Slovenian) borrowings, among them <britule) ‘pocketknife’ < Slov. britva ‘razor’, <pust6te) ‘untilled land’ < Slov. pustota, and other names of fruits and animals (see Pellegrini 1975; Frau 1989).

As Frau and others have pointed out, although Friulian is homogenous in many respects, there is an interesting split in the region and two distinct sub-regions can be identified. The division corresponds to the two dioceses of Aquileia (eastern) and Concordia (western). Eastern Friulian are <altiul) ‘second haying’, <wargine) ‘plough’ < ORGANUM, and <la) ‘go’ < AMBULARE (see Fr. aller); western Friulian are <rjezi) ‘second haying’ < RESECARE, <vars6r) ‘plough’ < VERSORIUM and <zi) ‘go’ < IRE (compare Italian gire).

3.2 ROMANSH

Romansh conservative peculiarities are widespread. All Rhaeto-Romance, from Surselvan and Vallader to Friulian, have a collective masculine derivational suffix -om ~ -am ~ -um (< -AMEN, -UMEN): Val. /la muasca/ ‘housefly’, but /il muasc-om/ ‘flies’, Surs. /la feä/ ‘leaf’, but /il feä-am/ ‘foliage’, Frl. /rifut/ ‘rubbish’, but /rifud-um/ ‘pile of rubbish’. In Vallader, the suffix (like other collective suffixes) has a pejorative meaning as well: /la femna/ ‘woman’, but /il femn-om/ ‘nasty woman’. For a comparison with Italian dialects, see Rohlf (1969: 407–8).

Both Surselvan and Vallader have the Italian pejorative suffix -atf: Val. /la duan/ ‘lady’ but /la duan-atf-a/ ‘nasty woman’, Surs. /la val/ ‘valley’, but /la val-atf-a/ ‘wild valley’, /il juvän/ ‘boy’, but /il juv-af/ ‘churl’. Surselvan alone has another pejorative suffix -ankal: /il pur/
‘peasant, farmer’, but /il pur-ankal/ ‘Schuldenbauerlein’. Surselvan is alone in having the augmentative -\textit{aneri}: /il um/ ‘the man’, but /il um-\textit{oneri}/ ‘the giant’.

Surselvan and the Engadine dialects have lexicalized the -\textit{us}/-\textit{um} distinction in adjectives ending in -\textit{osu}. -\textit{osus} (Surs. -\textit{as}, Eng. -\textit{uas}) denotes a habitual quality, while -\textit{osum} (Surs. -\textit{us}, Eng. -\textit{us}) denotes an occasional one: thus, according to Prader-Schucany (1970: 117), Puter /invilius/ contrasts with /invilius/. Both mean ‘envious’, but only the latter means ‘envious by nature’.

Romansh dialects have lexicalized -\textit{one}+\textit{s} (in \textit{filone-s} ‘spinner’, and \textit{texone-s} ‘weaver’) as a derivational agentive suffix (see Prader-Schucany 1970: 116), thus Val. /il filunts/ ‘the spinner (m.)’, and /la filunts-a/ ‘the spinner (f.)’.

Romansh dialects retain \textit{HEBDOMA} ‘week’: thus Surs. /jamna/, Surm. /\textit{smda}/, Eng. /\textit{ejna}/, while all other Rhaeto-Romance, like French and Italian, have a compound of the numeral ‘seven’.


Even within Romansh, however, there are considerable divergences which tend to make mutual intelligibility difficult, and increase reliance on the use of German as a lingua franca.


For hundreds of other common words, every village has its own etymon. For example, ‘liver’ is a reflex of \textit{DURU} throughout much of the Surselvan, Sutselvan, and Surmeiran area, but it is /\textit{fio:}/ in Puter, /\textit{nirom}/ in Vallader, and /\textit{brase}/ in Bivio (Wartburg 1956: 39).

A structural description of the Romansh lexicon is given in Liver (1989).

3.3 LADIN

Distinctively Ladin words are: Bad. /\textit{(de)sep}/, Liv. /\textit{desn}/ ‘now’ < \textit{DE SIGNU}; Bad. /\textit{adem}/, Gard. /\textit{adum}/, Amp. /\textit{aduna}/ ‘together’ < \textit{AD UNUM} ~ \textit{AD UNAM}. (The same Latin source yields ‘always’ in the Romansh dialects); Bad. /\textit{diner}/, Gard. /\textit{danora}/ ‘always’ < \textit{DE OMNI HORA}; and the expression for ‘thanks’ Liv. /\textit{ditopalpaje}/, Gard. /\textit{ditalpaja}/, Bad. /\textit{dilana}/.

More commonly cited is the German borrowing /\textit{mesaj}/ ‘must’ (see
the Appendix), to which we may add /an/ ([an], [an], [ən], [ən]) ‘PRO’, ‘unspecified agent’, presumably from HOMO ‘man’. The latter (not found in the Gardena dialect) is very close to Gard. /un/, Eng. /yn/, Surm. and Suts. /in/, Surs. /ins/ (all indisputably from unu). It may be that the development of the PRO form in Ladin was affected by contamination from the 3rd plural verbal ending *-an, now lost in all Ladin dialects (see chapter 2). Semantically, this is plausible: the 3rd plural is used for unspecified agent in many languages, and it is notable that the PRO form /ins/ in Surselvan takes 3rd plural agreement at least in inverted word order. (Moreover, Linder observes (1987: 89) that the Sutselvan 3rd plural verbal desinence in inverted word order is not -/an/ or -/ən/ but -/in/, and speculates that this ending derives not from any inherited verbal desinence, but from unu.)

Creation of a new PRO form from a verbal desinence is also plausible from a strictly mechanical point of view. The Lombard dialects of Bergell and Mesolcina (as noted by both Elwert and Rohlfs) have permitted the copying of 3rd plural -an from verb to subject noun phrase, where it serves as the only mark of the plural (see Rohlfs 1949: II, 62). Thus, the plural verbal desinence -an migrated to the head noun or to the article of the subject noun phrase in the examples below:

(Mesolcina) la gambe-n ‘the legs’
(Bergell) la-n rosa ‘the roses’

It is at least conceivable that this copying from the verb to the subject noun phrase was a contributing factor which permitted the verb eventually to lose the 3rd plural ending. (Compare also Old Italian eglino ‘they’, which seems to have consisted of egli ‘3 p.masc.’ + -ino ‘3 pl. verbal desinence’.)

In the case of Ladin /an/ PRO’, an intermediate stage in the development of an # verb may have been offered in inverted word order. A structure like . . . verb + an . . . (for example, /mes an/ ‘must one’) would be ambiguous between the original verb + 3rd plural and the novel structure verb # PRO.
4 Syntax

The standard handbooks list exactly one syntactic feature which 'defines' Rhaeto-Romance as a language distinct from Italian and French: this is the use of the inherited pluperfect subjunctive in both the protasis and the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals (Prader-Schucany 1970: 185). (In the discussion to follow, sentence examples will be cited in the various standard orthographies when they are taken from written sources. Examples in phonetic or phonemic transcription from spoken sources will be indicated by the usual square brackets or obliques.) For example:

*Surselvan*

(1) *Jeu mass, sche jeu savess.*
   
   I go if I can
   
   'I would go, if I could.'

*Puter*

(2) *Scha nu füss la mamma, schi füss que ün*
   
   if not be the mom then-it be there a
   
   dischuorden complet.
   
   disorder complete
   
   'If it were not for mom, there would be complete disorder.'

*Gardena*

(3) *ʃʃ eʃ tʃiel fosəʃʃ a tʃer, fos i zaŋ mort tlo/
   
   if the sky be been clear be I now dead here
   
   'If the sky had been clear, I would be dead here now.'

On the other hand, the tendency to make counterfactual protasis and apodosis morphologically symmetrical is widespread even in non-standard French (Harris 1986), as well as in many other languages (Haiman 1985): so even if all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects shared this feature, it would constitute weak evidence for genetic unity, at best.

In fact, however, the use of the pluperfect subjunctive is by no means
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

common to all Rhaeto-Romance. In Friulian, the 'Italian' pattern is found, with past perfect subjunctive in the protasis, and past conditional in the apodosis:

(4) a. /se jo ves fevel:at tu mi vares kap:it/
    'If I had spoken, you would have understood me.'

This is not necessarily the outcome of standard Italian influence: the pattern is attested in other regional varieties of Italian, and has been since the Middle Ages (Rohlfs 1969: 142–4). In some varieties of Friulian, the imperfect indicative is used in both protasis and apodosis:

b. / se tu eris vipu:k, jo i podevi vjodi- ti/
    if you were come here I I could see you
    'If you had come here, I could have seen you.'

It is probable that there is no 'Rhaeto-Romance syntax': the syntactic rules which are shared by all Rhaeto-Romance dialects are also shared by other Romance languages. Alternatively, structures which are peculiar to some Rhaeto-Romance dialect distinguish this dialect not only from other Romance languages, but also from other Rhaeto-Romance dialects. Those dialect-particular features which call for special commentary are:

(a) word order in the simple sentence and in particular verb-second (V/2) order;
(b) the distribution of subject and dummy subject pronouns: all Rhaeto-Romance languages seem to resemble French, German, and English (and differ from standard Italian) in requiring these to occur;
(c) the syntactic status of these subject pronoun morphemes: in modern Surselvan, these are clearly noun phrases, as they are in modern English or German, while in the Italian dialects, they are agreement-marking affixes, as they are in the Gallo-Italian dialects of northern Italy, and as they arguably are in non-standard French;
(d) ways in which different dialects are 'lazy' in marking agreement, and in particular their propensity to relax plural agreement requirements when the target (a verb) occurs before the controller (its subject).

While these topics clearly do not provide a comprehensive survey of the syntax of any single Rhaeto-Romance dialect, they do allow us to deal with systematic aspects of Rhaeto-Romance syntax which distinguish Rhaeto-Romance from other Romance, and separate the various Rhaeto-Romance dialects from each other.
4.1 WORD ORDER

In standard German, the classic V/2 language, the finite verb in principal clauses of declarative sentences is the second major constituent immediately dominated by the S-node. A number of 'deformations of normal SVO order' comply with this V/2 pattern (as, of course, does SVO order itself). Accordingly, the V/2 constraint can be decomposed into a number of features:

(a) when a constituent other than the subject begins the sentence, 'subject–verb inversion' creates a word order X V S . . . , which avoids *V/3;
(b) where the logical subject is left to the end of the sentence in 'presentative order' (Hetzron 1975), a sentence-initial topic constituent creates a word order T V . . . S, which avoids *V/1;
(c) in the absence of a 'T(opic)' constituent, insertion of a 'dummy subject' (if the subject is postposed or the sentence has no genuine subject) creates an order D V . . . (S), which also avoids *V/1.

Another feature contributing to the maintenance of verb-second order is that V/2 languages are 'Type A' languages (Perlmutter 1971; Haiman 1974):
(d) the presence of a personal pronoun subject (even though person and number of the subject are generally marked on the verb) creates word order P V . . . , and also avoids *V/1.

Roughly speaking, Romansh and Badiot and Gardenese dialects of Ladin are equally committed to (a), the avoidance of V/3, and to (b) and (c), the avoidance of V/1. (The remaining dialects tolerate V/3, V/4, etc. Moreover, some Ladin dialects, like Fassan, actually require V/1 in presentative sentences.) On the other hand, all Rhaeto-Romance dialects, together with the northern Italian dialects, are committed to (d): whether this constitutes an avoidance of V/1 depends on how subject pronouns are analysed.

In no Rhaeto-Romance dialect does the verb come at the end of a subordinate clause: rather, the V/2 order of SVO clauses is only minimally perturbed. The nature of the perturbation, however, depends on our analysis of the relative pronoun. If this is a true pronoun, then SVO remains SVO where the relative pronoun is the subject noun phrase, and SVX becomes XSV, or V/3, where the relative pronoun is the object (or any other non-subject) noun phrase. On the other hand, if the 'relative pronoun' is actually an extra sentential complementizer, then the relative clause is affected only by the zeroing of the noun phrase which is co-referential with the head. SVO then becomes _____ VO, or
V/1, when the subject is co-referential with the head, and SVX remains SV ____ when the object is.

The morphological diagnostics for pronounhood in Rhaeto-Romance are mutually contradictory in the case of relative pronouns. In his study of Engadine dialects, Linder (1987: 4) observes that both subject and object nouns are apparently replaced by the relative pronouns /ci/ (nom.) and /ca/ (acc.). In so far as the relative pronouns mark case, they seem to be noun phrases and relative clauses like the Vallader in example (5):

(5) la spassegiada [cha nus avain fat]
the walk that we have made
‘the walk we took’

manifest V/3 order. (Note, however, that the relative pronoun fails to cause the past participle [fat] to agree with it.) On the other hand, there is no morphological evidence that invariable /ke/ in Surselvan is a pronoun, and structures like (6):

(6) in grond flum [che [fa viadi tras biaras tiaras]]
a big river that makes trip through many lands
‘a big river that crosses many lands’

seem to manifest V/1 order, resulting from zeroing of the subject.

In Friulian, it seems that the relative pronoun (like all subject NPs) co-occurs with subject pronoun markers (as in the examples of (7), but (like all object NPs) replaces object pronoun markers (as in those of (8)).

(7) a. chel omp [che no l diseve nancje ‘Bondi’]
that man that not he said even ‘hello’
‘that man who didn’t even say ‘hello’
(che co-occurs with subject pronoun l)

b. /al e kwalkeduŋ k al ti spete/
he is someone that he you awaits
‘There is someone waiting for you.’
(k co-occurs with the subject pronoun al)

c. /al ere 1 unik om k al e vijunut/
he was the only man that he is come
‘He was the only man who came.’
(k co-occurs with the subject pronoun al)

(8) a. /teŋ se ke tu as dibizun/
hold what that you have need
‘Keep what you need.’
(ke replaces any object noun phrase)
b. che libris che tu mi dissevis
   the books that you me told
   ‘the books you were telling me about’

c. /al ere i mjor om k i aj kupusut/
   he was the best man that I have known
   ‘he was the best man I have ever known.’

Since the pronoun subject markers generally do co-occur with lexical subject noun phrases in Friulian, sentences like (7) are compatible with the analysis of the relative pronoun as a subject noun phrase and a relativization strategy whereby the relative pronoun replaces the lexical noun phrase in the relative clause. Given that predicate adjectives agree with the relative pronoun subject in number and gender, as they do with noun-phrase subjects, a consistent analysis of subject che is that of a noun phrase. Depending on the analysis of subject pronoun markers, the word order in sentences (7) is either V/3 (if the markers are noun phrases), or V/2 (if they are affixes on the verb). Since the markers do co-occur with subject noun phrases, they are probably best analysed as affixes, and the word order of the relative clauses in (7) is V/2. (Subject pronoun markers are omittable under different circumstances in Ladin and Friulian dialects: the conditions under which they disappear do not affect the basic pattern illustrated by the sentences of (7).)

The sentences of (8) are different. The relative pronoun seems to replace all object noun phrases and pronoun clitics: in that case, the word order in the relative clauses of (8) is also V/2.

On the other hand, there is evidence that ‘object relative pronouns’ are not really pronouns or noun phrases at all: unlike subject relative pronouns, they cannot cause agreement. This suggests that they are complementizers. This would suggest a totally different relativization strategy in relative clauses like those of (8), whereby the noun phrase co-referential with the head noun phrase was zeroed. In this case, the word order in relative clauses like those of (8) would be V/1.

One class of subordinate clauses is verb-initial in Rhaeto-Romance, as throughout the Italian dialects: this is the set of gerundive clauses, whose subject generally fails to appear, or appears following the verb. The function of gerundive clauses is to mark concomitant action by the same subject as the subject of the main clause. So fixed is the pattern of verb-initial order in such clauses, indeed, that even where they function, as they occasionally do, like the Latin ablative absolute, to mark backgrounded activities or situations, they manifest verb-initial order, as in the following Surselvan example:
The whole question of word order within a clause is naturally complicated by the ambiguous status of two classes of morphemes:

(a) reduced or clitic pronouns which exist in every Rhaeto-Romance language except modern written Surselvan;

(b) relative pronouns.

We have touched on both of these already. The relationship between word order and the ‘subject pronouns’ will be the subject of two of the following sections, while the ambiguous status of the ‘relative pronouns’ will be further discussed in the treatment of agreement in section 4.4.

First, however, a brief discussion of the avoidance of V/3 in Romansh, Gardenese, and Badiot is in order.

4.1.1 The avoidance of *V/3

Here, we will focus on only one aspect of V/2 order: XVS order, or the apparent inversion of subject and verb when some constituent \( X \) other than the subject occurs sentence-initially.

There is total agreement on the avoidance of V/3 among all Romansh dialects. Thus Surselvan:

(10) a. Ed aschia fa el il patg cul nausch

\[ \text{and so makes he the pact with-the devil} \]

\[ \text{‘And so, he makes the pact with the devil.’} \]

b. Cun in viadi en gondola sur il Canale Grande ei

\[ \text{with a trip in gondola on the Canal Grand is} \]

\[ \text{Papa Gion Paul II arrivaus dumengia vargada a Vaneschia.} \]

\[ \text{S} \]

\[ \text{Pope John Paul II arrived Sunday past at Venice} \]

\[ \text{‘With a gondola trip on the Grand Canal, Pope John Paul II} \]

\[ \text{arrived last Sunday in Venice.’} \]

Similar are the Engadine dialects, illustrated by sentences (11) in Puter and (12) in Vallader:
(11) a. Eir m Grischun vains nus industrias chi prodüan
V \quad S
even in Grisons have we industries that produce
aunca memma bger tössi per l’ ajer
also too much poison for the air
‘Even in Grisons, we have industries that produce too much
poison in the air.’
b. Minch’ an urtescha bgera sulvaschina giuvna suot
V \quad S
every year dies many wild-animal young beneath
ils curtels da las maschinas da sger.
the blades of the machines of to-mow
‘Every year many young wild animals perish beneath the
blades of mowing machines.’

(12) a. A la surditta temma dal dialect
to the above-mentioned fear of dialect
ringraziain nus ün bod incredibel impovrimaint
V \quad S
thank we an almost incredible impoverishment
da vocabulari.
of vocabulary
‘To the above-mentioned fear of dialect we owe an almost
incredible impoverishment of vocabulary.’
b. Per furtüna s’ han las chosas fermamaing müdadas
V \quad S
by fortune self have the things greatly changed
‘Fortunately, things have changed greatly.’

On the other hand, Ladin dialects are not entirely alike. Linder (1987: 94–5) observes that subject–verb inversion occurs in questions throughout Ladin: but subject–verb inversion following sentence-initial $X$ occurs only in the more northern Gardena and Badiot dialects, not in the more southern Fassa, Livinallongo, or (we may add) Ampezzan dialects. The geographical distribution of this feature clearly suggests the importance of German influence: the closer to Bressanone/Brixen, the greater the influence of German; the closer to Trento, the less the influence of German. The dialect split is illustrated by the following examples from Gardena (from Gartner’s texts) and Badiot (from textual examples in *La Use di Ladins*), on the one hand, and Fassa (from Elwert), and the Livinallongo dialect (again, based on examples from *La Use di Ladins*) on the other:
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Gardena:

(13) a. \(ilo \ a \ l \ kum\text{"en\text{"t}}a \ a \ mene \ na \ \text{\text{"f}tleta \ vita}\)  
\(\text{V} \ S\)  
'there has he begun to lead a bad life'

'b. \([\text{per} \ la \ care\text{"f}tia \ ke \ \text{foa}, \ \text{mesove} \ l \ \text{se}]\)  
\(\text{V} \ S\)  
'by the famine that was musted he self'  
[kuntente de maja ku\text{"n}k la be\text{"f}ties]  
to-content of to-eat with the animals'  
'Because of the famine, he had to content himself with eating with the animals.'

c. \([\text{te} \ \text{kal} \ \text{pavij} \ \text{foe} \ l \ \text{n ajla}]\)  
\(\text{V} \ S\)  
in that country was she a woman  
'In that country there was a woman.'

d. \([\text{permo} \ \text{da} \ \text{samartin} \ \text{mats} \ u\text{g} \ l \ \text{auces}]\)  
\(\text{V} \ S\)  
'not-before St Martin's kills PRO the geese'

'e. \([\text{da} \ \text{tlo} \ \text{inant} \ n \ \text{u}\text{"o} \ i \ \text{plu} \ \text{me} \ \text{de\text{"m}enca}]\)  
\(\text{V} \ S\)  
'from now on not will I more myself forget'  
'From now on, I won't forget.'

Badiot:

(14) a. \([\text{insh\text{"o} \ e} \ l \ \text{alkol} \ \text{ruve} \ a \ \text{fa} \ \text{p\text{"e}rt} \ \text{da} \ \text{n\text{"f}sta}]\)  
\(\text{V} \ S\)  
'thus is the alcohol arrived to make part of our'  
[alimentatsiun]  
diet  
'Thus alcohol has become a part of our diet.'

b. \(\text{dl} \ 1909 \ s \ a \ \text{la} \ \text{familia} \ \text{P. trasferi a} \ \text{W.} \)  
\(\text{V} \ \text{S}\)  
in 1909 self has the family P. moved to W.  
'In 1909, the P. family moved to W.'

c. \([\text{pl\text{"o} \ tert} \ \text{uns\text{"e} ince} \ \text{pudy} \ \text{\gi} \ \text{a} \ \text{udej}]\)  
\(\text{V} \ \text{S}\)  
'more late have we also been-able to-go to see'  
[la \ \text{\text{"f}tumparia}]  
the press  
'Later, we were also able to go see the printing press.'
Fassa:
(15) a. [intorn les tʃiŋk de sera, el patron el self]
   S V
   about five of evening the master he self
   [tol na kandola ɔ na kopa de ega senta]
   takes a bucket or a cup of water holy
   ‘At about five in the afternoon, the master takes a bucket
   or a cup of holy water.’

b. [dapo da sera, la vaces ɔu n ɔtala i se perla]
   S V
   ‘Afterwards, in the evening, the cattle down in the stable talk
   among themselves.’

c. [indomun, el patron l era mort]
   S V
   next-day the master he was dead
   ‘The next day, the master was dead.’

d. [kala valenta sia məre no la la podea veder]
   S V
   that worthy her mother not she her could see
   ‘The worthy one her mother couldn’t stand to look at.’

Livinallongo/Fodom
(16) a. davo vot agn de viera la rusa la se retira
   S V
   after eight years of war Russia she self retires
dal Afghanistan
   ‘After eight years of war, Russia is withdrawing from
   Afghanistan.’

b. Nte le Filippine mpruma l a mpare la
   S V
   in the Philippines first he has learned the
   linga visaja
   language V.
   ‘It was in the Philippines that he first learned Visayan.’

Thus, the Romansh dialects consistently avoid V/3 order, while among
the Ladin dialects, there is a split: Badiot and Gardena (the dialects more
consistently exposed to German influence) avoid V/3 order, while Fassa,
Livinallongo, and Ampezzan (more consistently exposed to Italian)
allow the finite verb to appear third, fourth, or even later in the sentence.

Finally, in Friulian, there is no evidence of subject–verb inversion
after sentence-initial X:
(17) a. Une sabide matine il Pari Eterno al puarte
   S V
   one Saturday morning the Father Eternal he brings
   a ciase un biel ciavret
   home a fine kid
   'One Saturday morning, the Eternal Father brings home a
   fine kid.'

b. Dongie di chel omp, Linde e viveve par so cont.
   S V
   along of that man Linda she lived on her account
   'In the company of that man, Linda lived her own life.'

c. Ta prima comedia che vin imparat tu tu vevis
   S V
   in first comedy that have learned you you had
   la part di Allegro
   the part of Allegro
   'In the first comedy we learned, you had the role of Allegro.'

d. Da pis di un cocolar, Zuanut al vede une cocule
   S V
   at foot of a walnut Johnny he saw a walnut
   'At the foot of a walnut tree, Johnny saw a walnut.'

The distribution of subject–verb inversion within Rhaeto-Romance
strongly supports the hypothesis that XVS word order (whether in itself
an inherited feature, as argued in Benincà (1985) and Vanelli (1984b), or
a later development, as suggested in Kuen (1957), Haiman (1974), and
Helty (1975)) is a result of German influence.

We turn now to the more complicated problem of the causal
relationship between V/2 word order and the presence of unstressed
pronoun subjects.

4.1.2 V/2 and pronoun subjects

The idea that V/2 motivates the presence of personal pronoun subjects in
the Germanic languages, French, and Romansh, is quite old. It dates
back at least to Wackernagel's theory that the finite verb in Indo-
European was originally atonic and could therefore be subject to the
syntactic rule which put unstressed clitics into sentence-second position.

Thurneysen (1892) may have been the first to point out that in
medieval French, pronoun subjects were more or less obligatory if their
absence would lead to *V/1 order. In inverted word order, however
(TVX in declaratives, (T)VX in interrogatives), where the V/2 constraint
was either satisfied by another sentence-initial constituent or inoperative, subject pronouns were generally omitted. Darmesteter (1897: section 390) and Foulet (1930: 313) speak of this as ‘a fundamental point of Old French syntax’.

Eggenberger (1961: 143–4) makes exactly the same point with reference to Old High German: ‘the unstressed subject pronoun is generally only present when not driven from preverbal [i.e. sentence-initial] position by some competing constituent’. More recently, Haiman (1974) claimed that both dummy pronoun subjects and personal pronoun subjects, whose presence defined Perlmutter’s ‘Type A’ languages were motivated in Germanic only by the V/2 constraint.

Clearly, if only V/2 motivates the presence of personal pronoun subjects, then these subjects (from a syntactic point of view) are noun phrases dominated by S, and not verbal prefixes. The reason for this conclusion is that a structure

#prefix + verb

in itself cannot satisfy the verb-second constraint.

Section 4.2 will demonstrate that all Rhaeto-Romance dialects, like many northern Italian dialects have dummy-pronoun subjects and obligatory pronoun subjects as German, French, and English do. Wherever there is a transparent correlation between the presence of these pronouns and the V/2 order requirement, it will be pointed out. Section 4.2.1 will discuss the form and distribution of indefinite agent pronouns. Section 4.2.2 will detail the syntactic criteria which force us to analyse both Ladin and Friulian subject pronouns as bound affixes on the verb rather than as sentence-initial noun phrases dominated by S. Finally, section 4.2.3 will sketch what seems a plausible series of developments whereby personal-pronoun subjects degenerated from nominal arguments to agreement markers in the Italian dialects of Rhaeto-Romance, and in Gallo-Romance generally.

4.2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEANINGFUL PRONOUN SUBJECTS

4.2.1. The indefinite subject PRO

In general, sentences with unspecified or unknowable subjects occur without overt grammatical subjects in most languages: it is only in those languages which require (or once required) verb-second order that the unspecified agent PRO is given lexical expression. French has on, German man, English (variously) one, we, you, or they. The Rhenish Romansh dialects all have some reflex of unus. The Ladin dialects of Badiot and Gardena, as noted already, have /on/, which is possibly a
reflex of HOMO. The following examples from Surselvan and Badiot are typical:

**Surselvan**

(18) a. *ins ei alla fin*
   PRO is at-the end
   ‘It is finished.’

b. alla fin ei -n *ins mai.*
   at-the end is -(hiatus breaker) PRO never
   ‘It is never over.’

**Badiot**

(19) a. da rina a- *n der na bela vidlada*
   from R. has PRO really a fine view
   ‘From Rina, one has a really fine view’

b. if *an ten kunt ke S, ka*pros *an ke S*
   if PRO holds account that S understands PRO that S
   ‘If one bears in mind that S, then one understands that S.’

If the presence of a PRO noun were motivated exclusively by the need to keep the finite verb in second position, then this pronoun should not occur in inverted word order: yet it does appear, as shown in (18b) and (19a).

The Engadine dialects infrequently allow /yn/ as PRO, but much more generally seem to follow Italian in having sentences with unspecified or PRO subjects rendered by impersonal reflexives. These impersonal reflexives, however, typically occur with the dummy subject (Puter) *a(d)* or (Vallader) *i(d)*:

**Puter**

(20) *a s dess procurer ch’ el possa as schmuanter*
   it self should arrange that he can self move
   libramaing
   freely
   ‘PRO should arrange that he [the dog] can move freely.’

**Vallader**

(21) *i nu s’ ha seis pos gnanca la saira*
   it not self has his rest even the evening
   ‘PRO cannot rest even in the evening.’

In Puter, it seems that the dummy subject with impersonal reflexives is omitted in inverted word order (and thus its presence depends transparently on the verb-second constraint):

(22) a. *per la fer guster as stu___ metter aint ün*
    for it make taste self must put in a
töch charn
piece meat
‘To make it tasty, PRO must put a piece of meat into it.’

b. al muot da l’övin as po-____ distinguër ūna
at-the tip of the egg self can discern a
vschiigna d’ajer
hole of air
‘At the tip of the egg, PRO can discern an airhole.’

In Vallader, the dummy subject remains in inverted word order also:

(23) intuorn las trais as fa- j-
around the three self make (hiatus breaker)
a marenda
3sg. snack
‘Around three o’clock, PRO has a snack.’

It has been argued that, in Italian, impersonal *si* has effectively been reanalysed as a subject pronoun parallel to German *man*, French *on*. Some of the same arguments could be made for the reanalysis of Engadine *(a)s*. Thus, the impersonal ‘reflexive’ occurs with intransitive verbs, as in (20) and (22a). Moreover, this reflexive disconcertingly co-occurs with object pronouns throughout Italian and in the northern Italian dialects, as it also does in the following Puter example:

(24) ün da quels dis scu cha s ils vezza be in
one of those days like that self them sees only in
valledas otas
valleys high
‘One of those days that PRO sees only in high valleys.’

(In Venetian, as in Puter, the impersonal reflexive precedes the object pronoun clitic: *se li vede ‘they are seen’. In standard Italian, the impersonal reflexive follows: *li si vede.*)

On the other hand, the Engadine dialects consistently invert subject noun phrases and verbs after sentence-initial constituents: no such inversion of the reflexive and the verb ever occurs, as the sentences in (22) and (23) well illustrate. For this reason, the impersonal reflexive pronoun is analysed as an object clitic here.

In the southern Ladin dialects of Fassa, Moena, Ampezzo, and Livinallongo, as well as in Friulian, PRO is sometimes rendered by the 3rd plural form of the verb, but more generally, by the originally reflexive pronoun *si*. In terms of its syntactic distribution within Friulian, this morpheme should be reckoned a subject pronominal clitic, which either
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

precedes the object clitics preverbally or displaces them into postverbal position, and obligatorily displaces the 'true' reflexive object clitic into postverbal position (Gregor 1975: 114; Marchetti 1952: 141, Benincà 1989: 572):

(25) a. si lis pajave
   PRO them paid
   'PRO paid for them.'
 b. si sintivi- le
   PRO heard her
   'PRO heard her.'

(26) a. si ciata si a jessi
   PRO finds self to be
   'PRO finds oneself to be . . .'
 b. s inacuarzi si
   PRO perceives self
   'PRO recognizes.'

The fact that *si* as the indefinite or impersonal subject PRO precedes all object pronouns might seem to be compatible with an analysis of impersonal *si* as a syntactically reanalysed subject. But the fact that it can displace other object pronouns into postverbal position (as in (25b) and (26)), suggests that it is competing for the same syntactic slot as the latter, and is thus better analysed as an object clitic. Note finally, that in the Rhaeto-Romance dialects which have been under predominantly standard Italian influence, the impersonal reflexive does not occur with a dummy subject (a fact which seems to suggest that the reflexive functions as a subject), but that in many non-Rhaeto-Romance northern Italian dialects, the impersonal reflexive does co-occur with the dummy subject (which seems to suggest that it functions as an object).

A stronger argument for analysing impersonal *se* as a subject pronoun could perhaps be made in such dialects as Ampezzan. Here, the impersonal reflexive co-occurs with, and precedes, all object pronoun clitics, including the homophonous true reflexive.

The fact that impersonal *se* occupies a different syntactic slot from the true reflexive is graphically illustrated by sentences like

(27) dara ates se se frastona ra testa par monâdes
    some times PRO self breaks the head over trivia
    'Sometimes PRO agonizes over trivia.'

(Appollonio 1930: 45)

There are, then, a number of lexical and syntactic isoglosses within Rhaeto-Romance for the representation of the indefinite subject PRO:
Rhenish Romansh and northern Ladin employ a subject pronoun derived from *UNUS* or *HOMO* (as do the non-Rhaeto-Romance Lombard and Abruzzese dialects), while the Engadine Romansh dialects, the southern Ladin dialects, and Friulian, like Italian, use the impersonal reflexive. Among those dialects which use the impersonal reflexive, the Engadine dialects use a dummy pronoun. Finally, in Puter, the dummy pronoun appears only when called for by the verb-second constraint.

### 4.2.2 Personal pronouns

In all Rhaeto-Romance dialects with the exception of Surselvan (and, to a lesser extent, the other Romansh dialects), there are two series of subject pronouns: stressed and atonic. Subject to certain qualifications, it can be stated that:

Where there is only the stressed series, these pronouns are obligatory; where there are two, the atonic pronouns are obligatory.

Pending analysis of the atonic pronouns, then, all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects are alike in requiring personal pronoun subjects, and thus in this respect are typical ‘type A’ or ‘non-pro-drop’ languages like English, French, or German. In fact, they share this property with other northern Italian dialects. On Genoese, see Browne and Vattuone (1975); on Florentine, Piedmontese, and Trentino, see Brandi and Cordin (1981) and Bracco, Brandi and Cordin (1985); on Paduan, Benincà (1982); on Venetian dialects, Benincà and Vanelli (1982); on Friulian and Ladin, Vanelli (1984a, b) and Benincà (1989). On northern Italian dialects in general, see Renzi and Vanelli (1982), Rizzi (1986), and Benincà (1986).

Surselvan requires personal pronoun subjects in all contexts save one: in inverted word order, the second person pronouns, both singular and plural, may drop. This is not quite the distribution of personal-pronoun subjects in the neighbouring Swiss German dialects, where only the 2nd singular pronoun is omitted in inverted word order.

The remaining Romansh dialects share this waiver, but go somewhat further: in inverted word order, atonic subject pronouns are treated as suffixes on the verb, and appear or are omitted in conformity with the three-syllable rule, which militates against antepenultimate stress on verbs.

In most Ladin dialects, and in Friulian, the atonic subject pronouns in all but the 2nd singular and third person are represented by a single vowel. This vowel is elided before a vowel-initial verb by what seems to be a general phonological rule, and results in apparent verb-initial order, as in the Badiot examples:
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

(28) a. ùn tut pert a chësc concurs
    have(1pl.) taken part to this competition
    ‘We have taken part in this competition’
b. ùn incé a disposiziun formulars y chertes
    have(1pl.) also at disposition forms and charts
    ‘We also have at our disposal forms and charts.’

This (originally phonetically motivated) elision before a vowel has been analogically extended so that elision is possible before all auxiliary verbs:

(29) a. (i) sun sta dër cuntenc
    (we) are(1pl.) been very glad
    ‘We were very glad.’
b. (i) podun punsë a plô frabiches adüm
    (we) can(1pl.) think to many buildings together
    ‘We can think of many buildings together.’

The original phonetic motivation for the reduction is still visible, however, in inverted word order, where the atonic pronoun remains as a verbal suffix:

(30) a. plô tert un-s-e inê pudû ji a udëi ta
    more late have-we also could go to see in
    Stamparia Athesia
    Press A.
    ‘Later we could also go and visit the Athesia Press.’
b. Da misdë sun-s-e spo jüs a marëna dûc adüm
    after noon are-we then gone to lunch all together
    ‘After noon, we all went to lunch together.’

In suffixed position, too, the atonic subject pronoun is subject to phonetic constraints, and cannot appear if its presence would create antepen­ultimate stress on the verb:

(31) ci podésson-—— pa fa por os?
    what could(1pl.) then do for you-all
    ‘What could we do for you, then?’

The fact that the presence of the subject pronoun is conditioned in both Romansh and Ladin by purely phonetic factors is one indication of its status as a bound affix on the verb. We will return to this in section 4.3.

In Friulian, the atonic subject pronoun is supposedly obligatory in the positive assertive indicative, if no object pronoun clitic precedes the verb. (There are, however, numerous examples of unconditioned subject
elision in actual texts.) Moreover, if the verb is preceded by either the negative marker no or an object clitic, or both, the subject pronoun is omitted unless it is 2nd singular. (Marchetti 1952: 145; Gregor 1975: 122). Only the 2nd singular subject pronoun tu is never omittable. (This is common to northern Italian dialects – see Renzi and Vanelli 1982.)

The 2nd singular pronoun, unlike all others, can be reinforced by the stressed form in Badiot (Alton and Vittur 1968: 30). The 2nd singular pronoun, unlike all others is obligatorily omitted in inverted word order in Gardenese.

Finally, in the Gorizian dialect of Friulian (as in Lombard), the second person atonic pronouns, both singular tu (Lombard -t) and plural o (Lombard -v), appear obligatorily and invariably as suffixes on the verb (Frau 1984: 113).

Summing up: the 2nd singular pronoun has a peculiar status in all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects, although its behaviour in Romansh seems to be diametrically opposed to its behaviour in the Italian dialects. In Romansh, as in the neighbouring German dialects, it stands out by virtue of being omittable, while in Ladin and Friulian, as in northern Italian generally, it stands out by virtue of being indispensable.

4.3 DUMMY PRONOUNS

Type A languages like English have meaningless space-filling pronouns which occupy sentence-initial position when the logical subject of the sentence is presented sentence-finally, or is absent. Examples include:

(32) a. There is a hole in my bucket. (existential presentative)
    b. It is nice that you are here. (extraposed presentative)
    c. It is evening. (subjectless)

Type B languages generally lack dummy pronouns like there or 'ambient it', tolerating verb-initial order.

All Rhaeto-Romance languages, like many northern Italian dialects, and like French, have dummy subject pronouns. This sets them apart from standard Italian, and from the central and southern Italian dialects.

In Romansh, the dummy subject pronoun is distinctively 3rd singular neuter (Surs. and Surm. i(gl), Eng. i(d) ~ a(d)). In the Ladin and Friulian dialects, it is the 3rd singular masculine o(l). The following survey is representative:

4.3.2 Ambient it

(33) a. Surselvan
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

(1) *It is fine (weather).*

(2) *There is a knock.*

(The two different forms are allomorphs conditioned by the following segment: *igl* occurs before vowels only.)

b. *Sutselvan*

Gea dapartut ear-i sera
already everywhere was-it evening
‘It was evening everywhere already.’

(Linder 1987: 69)

c. *Surmeiran*

/i na vin bec da plover/
it not come not from to-rain
‘It won’t rain.’

d. *Puter*

a plova
it rains
‘It is raining.’

e. *Vallader*

i clocca
it knocks
‘There is a knock.’

f. *Gardena*

/i l a škumέntfá a pluvaj/
and it has begun to rain
‘And it began to rain.’

g. *Moenai/Fassa*

/l era de otobre/
it was of October
‘It was (in) October’

h. *Ampezzan*

l é proprio ciudo ancioi
it is really hot today

i. *Friulian*

A no nevéé maj
it not snows never
‘It never snows.’

In some of the Italian dialects, the dummy subject is obligatory only
before auxiliary verbs. But we know of no Rhaeto-Romance dialect in which ‘ambient it’ ever disappears by virtue of its position in the sentence. Its presence is obligatory irrespective of word order.

4.3.2 Presentative it (existential verbs)

Although presentative sentences with the logical subject left to the end are typified by existential sentences, they occur whenever the logical subject is newly introduced. In the following examples, no distinction is made between existential and other presentative sentences which share a fundamental VXS order. The dummy subject, like other subjects, may undergo subject–verb inversion in questions, or in assertive sentences introduced by a topic noun phrase.

(34) a. *Surselvan*
   *Ei vegn in urezi*  
   ‘There is a storm coming.’
   *Avon casa ei- s- i mats*  
   ‘Before the house, some boys are standing.’

b. *Surmeiran*
   *bi dasper quella paunt er igl ina tgeasetta*  
   ‘Just next to that bridge there was a small house.’

(c. *Puter*  
   *ad eirans var 40 scolars*  
   ‘There were about forty of us students.’
   *sün maisa sun- eir una chavagnina de paun e ün curte*  
   ‘On the table there are also a breadbasket and a knife.’

(35) d. *Vallader*
   *id es in fuschina ün velo.*  
   ‘There is a bicycle in the shop.’
   *che es-a da tour a man?*  
   ‘What is there to take by hand?’

(e. *Gardena*  
   */l nen iə ſta dęguŋ te caza/*
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

184

The Romansh dialects and in the northern Ladin dialects, then, a dummy subject is obligatory with postposed logical subjects. Only in Puter, however, does this dummy subject ever disappear when the verb-second constraint is satisfied by some other means.

A peculiarity of Surselvan is that presentative sentences whose main verb is not existential do permit omission of the dummy pronoun subject in sentences with TVX order. In such sentences, the verb may either agree with the postposed subject or occur in the default 3rd singular (neuter) form – as though still agreeing with an invisible dummy subject:

(35) a. denton vegnan-____ reparti dalla mumma
     after come (3pl.) distributed (3pl.) by mom
     ils regals
     the presents (3p.)
     ‘Afterwards the presents are distributed by mom.’

b. en emprema lingia ei-_____ vegniu examinau
     in first line is come (3n.sg.) examined (3n.sg.)
     il stan tecnic dils vehichels
     the state technical (3m.sg.) of-the vehicles
     ‘First, the technical condition of the vehicles was examined.’

c. tier 9 persunas ei-_____ vegniu ordinau
     among nine persons is come (3n.sg.) ordered (3n.sg.)
     ina controlla dil saun
     a control (f.sg.) of-the health
     ‘Nine people had to undergo a health examination.’

In each of these sentences, the logical subject (italicized) is clearly postposed, rather than inverted with the verb. The position where a dummy subject would be expected is marked with an underlined space.

In the southern Ladin dialects, the dummy subject is obligatory with the verb ‘to be’, and otherwise optional, irrespective of word order, in presentative or existential sentences:

Fassa

(36) a. /n owta / era um pere e una mere/
     one time it was a father and a mother
     ‘Once there was a father and a mother.’
b. /po l e veŋu na pitʃola/
   then it is come (m.sg.) a little-girl (f.sg.)
   ‘Then there came a little girl.’

c. /se veŋ el salvaŋ, el me maŋa, me e te/
   if comes the monster he me eats, me and you
   ‘If the monster comes, he will eat me, and you too.’

_Moena_

(37) a. /veŋiva pju nef/
   came more snow
   ‘There came more snow.’

   b. /no lontan da alo l era la peta de n awter/
      not far from there it was the plot of an other
      ‘Not far from there was the plot of another.’

_Ampezzan_

(38) a. /agnere l é sta ra sagra inz’el nose paes.
      yesterday it is been the sagra in our village
      ‘Yesterday was the village feast in our village.’

   b. /l éa tanta zente
      it was so-manypeople
      ‘There were so many people.’

In all Friulian dialects but Gorizian, any type of postposed or inverted
lexical subject requires a corresponding subject clitic, and regular
agreement of the verb:

_Central Friulian_

(38) a. /al e vignu:t un gran teremot
      he is come a great earthquake
      ‘There came a great earthquake.’

   b. /a vigni:vin i benedex kavalixr
     they came (3pl.) the blessed silkworms

   c. /e rive la skose des ondis
     she arrives the shock of-the eleven
     ‘There arrives the eleven o’clock shock.’

(from Frau 1984)

 Dummy subjects with extraposed sentences:

(39) a. _Surselvan_
    igl e buca ver che S
    it is not true that S

   b. _Surmeiran_
    i vign rachinto, tgi S
    it is told that S
c. **Puter**
   ais- e permiss da der il tribut a l’ imperatur?
   is it permitted to give the tribute to the Emperor?

d. **Vallader**
   id es sgūra megilder da tour quels plū gross
   it is certainly better to take the big ones

e. **Gardena**
   /l iɔ baŋ vajra, ke/ S
   it is very true that S

In the southern Ladin dialects again, the dummy subject is possible, but not apparently necessary, with extraposed sentential subjects:

**Ampezzan**

(40) a. e lo mèo che viene anche io?
   is he better that come also I
   ‘Is it better if I come too?’

b. suzedè che chel che zerca d’imbroià i
   happens that he that seeks to-confuse the (m.pl.)
   òutre, tanta ̀otes el s’ imbroià el
   others so-many times he self confuses him
   ‘It happens that he who seeks to confuse others, so many times confuses only himself.’

c. /s'ì\(\text{mea k el rue doman/}
   seems that he arrives tomorrow
   ‘It seems that he arrives tomorrow.’

d. /se kon partìr/
   self must leave
   ‘It is necessary to leave.’

(Examples (41c) and (41d) are field data from Pozzo di Fassa.)

In all typical Friulian varieties, all extraposed sentential subjects require dummy subject pronouns. Note the unexpected feminine dummy subject in (42b):

(42) a. /al pareve ke no l ves sintut nuje/
   he appeared that not he had heard nothing
   ‘It appeared that he had heard nothing.’
4.4 THE AFFIX STATUS OF SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Considerable evidence throughout the Rhaeto-Romance dialects, and throughout the dialects of northern Italy, supports the view that atonic subject pronouns are not fully independent noun phrases, but clitics which are well on the way to becoming further reduced to the status of bound affixes on the verb.

As an intermediate category between noun phrases and affixes, clitics exhibit the properties of both bound affixes, and of independent words. The only property of independent words which obligatory atonic subject pronouns still have, in fact, seems to be that they undergo subject-verb inversion in questions (see Brandi and Cordin 1981), who explicitly invoke this criterion of wordhood in their study of these clitics in the northern Italian dialects of Trent and Florence). Thus, for example, in Friulian (Marchetti 1952: 143), we observe a paradigm:

(43) a. Jo o feveli
    b. O feveli jo
       ‘I speak’ (assertive)

(44) a. Jo feveli-o?
    b. Feveli-o jo?
       ‘Do I speak?’ (interrogative)

The full pronoun jo occurs on either the left or the right margin of the verbal complex in both statements and questions. In its word-order distribution, at least, it still reflects its origins as a dislocated constituent. The obligatory subject marker o, on the other hand, is sensitive to whether the sentence is an assertion or a question. This kind of sensitivity to syntactic information is characteristic of clitics in Romance, and distinguishes them from bound affixes, whose status as prefixes or suffixes is not subject to perturbation. (Compare Vanelli 1984a: 283n., Linder 1987: 94–5, for the northern Italian distribution of this feature.)

Crucially, in non-standard French (Lambrecht 1981) and in some varieties of Florentine, Venetian, and Friulian, even this last vestige of word status is missing. Subject pronouns are always prefixes, irrespective of sentential mood in non-standard French and in these dialects:
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Non-standard French

(45) ‘Où tu vas?
‘Where are you going?’

Florentine

(46) a. O che tu vuoi?
what that you want
‘What do you want?’

Venetian

b. kosa ti vol
what you want
‘What do you want?’

In the Gorizian dialect of Friulian, on the other hand, second person subject pronouns are invariably suffixes:

(47) /tu pjardis- tu/
you lose (2sg.) you
‘You lose; Do you lose?’

(Frau 1984: 113)

In all other respects, subject markers pattern like bound agreement-marking morphemes, in the majority of the northern Italian dialects. Most obviously, they co-occur not only with pronominal, but also with lexical subject nominal expressions:

Friulian

(48) a. un om al veve doi fis
a man he had two sons
‘A man had two sons.’

b. la strade e va ju a plomp
the road she goes down steeply
‘The road goes down steeply.’

c. nisun l a timp di ciala
nobody he has time to look
‘Nobody has the time to look.’

The obligatory occurrence of a subject clitic even with a noun phrase subject like nisun ‘nobody’ is significant: it excludes the possibility that lexical subjects in examples like (48) can be analysed synchronically as left-dislocated constituents followed by a resumptive pronoun.

Among the remaining Rhaeto-Romance dialects, we observe the same possibility in at least Sutselvan (Linder 1987: 162):
(49) a. Se Magun han-i  bears via ena femna
    on M.  have they many seen a  woman
   ‘On Magun, many people saw a woman.’
 b. Mo igl lungaґ da la dunetta san- i nigns
    but the language of the woman(dim.) know they none
   ‘But no one knows the language of the little woman.’

The following sentences from Trentino and Fiorentino show the same pattern:

(50) a.  Trentino
    Nisun l ha dit ni nente.
    no-one he has said nothing
   ‘No-one said anything.’
 b.  Florentine
    Nessun gl ha detto nulla
    no-one he has said nothing
   ‘No-one said anything.’

The examples of (50) derive from Brandi and Cordin (1981), as does the argument that cases of clitic doubling such as those of (48), (49), and (50) cannot be examples of resumptive topicalization.

In the same way that obligatory subject pronouns co-occur with lexical NPs, they also co-occur with the relative pronoun {che}, as in the Friulian phrases of (51):

(51) a.  dut ce che  al e gno
    all that which he is mine
   ‘all that which is mine’
 b.  /Mario, ke  al e no barba/
    M.  that he is my uncle
   ‘Mario, my uncle’

This, too, argues against NP + clitic sequences being examples of left dislocation and resumptive topicalization.

Resumptive topicalization may well be their diachronic source, however, and we can adduce syntactic and morphological reasons for this view. First, as noted, the word order of the optional full pronouns in languages like Friulian still reflects this status. So too does their morphology. Vanelli (1984a: 285) points out that the free and optional pronouns tend to be similar to the oblique or disjunctive forms, and probably therefore derive from them historically. Finally, other Rhaeto-Romance dialects like Fassan and Ampezzan, and northern Italian dialects like Venetian and Lombard do not allow subject clitic pronouns
to co-occur with some or all of these non-topicalizable NP subjects. For example, consider the Fassan and Ampezzan sentences of (52):

(52) a. *Fassan*
    /nessun a mapa la supa/
    nobody has eaten the soup

b. *Ampezzan*
    /dute proa algo/
    everybody tries something

The absence of the clitic in (52) contrasts with its presence in the Ampezzan sentences below:

    c. duta ra me biancheria r e fata de bona tera.
       all the my linen she is made of fine cloth
       ‘All my linen is made of fine cloth.’

    d. chel contadin l a bona tera inzi so ciampe
       that farmer he has good earth in the his fields
       ‘That farmer has good soil in his fields.’

(Appollonio 1930)

This restriction may also reflect the origin of clitic subject markers as resumptive pronouns.

In direct questions, the subject clitic generally follows the verb, as in the following northern Italian dialect examples:

(53) a. *Bolognese*
    dove e l al professaur?
    where is he the professor
    ‘Where is the professor?’

b. *Romagnol*
    cosa dira l la mama
    what will-say he the mom
    ‘What will mom say?’
    (note the lack of agreement of the clitic)

c. *Ampezzan*
    lourae-lo, to barba?
    worked-he your uncle
    ‘Did your uncle work?’

The co-occurrence of clitic subjects with full lexical NP subjects is common throughout northern Italian. Moreover, all of these dialects have at least a few contexts where the clitic subject can or must be omitted. One such context is following the interrogative pronoun and complementizer *ke*, in both content questions and headless relative clauses:
Another systematic restriction which provides some hints about the origins of the NP + clitic construction is manifest in Badiot, Marebban, and Gardenese (among the Ladin dialects), and all Romansh dialects with the exception of Surselvan. These languages allow clitic subject pronouns only in postverbal position. They may co-occur with sentence final lexical subject NP only in inverted (or rather, presentative) word order.

**Badiot Ladin**

(55) a. Da doman e les stades oshorades les vatges
   ‘In the morning, the cows are fed.’

   b. tagn d’agn a la pa osta fomena?
   ‘How old is your wife, then?’

   (Pizzinini and Plangg 1966)

The co-occurrence of clitic pronouns with lexical noun phrase subjects is not attested in regular word order in the Romansh dialects. But it occurs frequently in inverted word order at least in Vallader, co-occurring both with proper nouns and with disjunctive or stressed personal pronouns:

(56) a. sta la Mengia jent a chasa?
   ‘Does Mengia stay at home gladly?’

   b. lavur la svelt Mengia?
   ‘Does Mengia work quickly?’

   c. quellas pigliain- a no
   ‘We’ll take those.’

In his careful survey of the written literature, Linder (1987: 146–52)
shows traces of this 'clitic doubling' in inverted order in all other Romansh dialects with the exception of Surselvan.

Within Rhaeto-Romance, then, we can distinguish at least four degrees of freedom in subject clitic doubling.

(a) no clitic doubling whatever: Surselvan;
(b) clitic doubling only in inverted word order: Sutselvan, Surmeiran, Vallader, Puter, Badiot, Marebban, Gardenese;
(c) clitic doubling only with topicalizable NP: Fassan, Ampezzan (like Lombard, Venetian);
(d) clitic doubling with all NP: Friulian (like Trentino, Florentine), Sutselvan (in inverted word order).

In addition, the numerous cases already documented of desinential enlargement throughout Rhaeto-Romance probably reflect an earlier stage of clitic doubling. That is, examples like Pontresina Puter

(57) nus curr- insa
    we run (1pl.)

undoubtedly are congealed from a source like

(58) *nus curr- in- s- a
    we run (1pl.) we we

We have so far given one major argument against resumptive topicalization as the synchronically motivated structure of NP + clitic sequences: frequently, the NPs which co-occur with clitics are not candidates for topic status. Another argument against this analysis is that – like agreement markers in general, and under the same conditions – clitics frequently fail to mark agreement with the NP which they supposedly resume. By the same token, unlike lexical pronouns, they fail to mark the gender of the NP for which they stand.

Roughly speaking, agreement between subject and predicate, or between object and predicate, operates obligatorily from left to right but only optionally in the opposite direction (further details in 4.5). Again, we can model the contrast in English:

(59) a. Two mice are (*is) hiding in your drawer.
    (subject precedes agreement-marking verb)
  b. There's (are) two mice hiding in your drawer.
    (subject follows agreement-marking verb)

'Grammatical' English, of course, demands agreement with even a postposed subject in sentences like (59b), but, as even a purist will admit, (59b) is possible with unmarked singular agreement, and (59a) is not.
Syntax 193

(For a discussion of the phenomenon in Swiss Romansh, see Linder 1982; for Italian, see Rohlfs 1949: 448). Some examples from northern Italian:

(60) a. **Fassan**

\[
\begin{align*}
&l\ e\ venu\ la\ vivano \\
&\text{he is come (m.sg.) the witch (f.sg.)} \\
&\text{‘There came the witch.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Elwert 1943)

b. **Moena**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{chi\ e\ lo\ po\ i\ ozitegn} \\
&\text{who is he then the Occitans (m.pl.)} \\
&\text{‘Who are the Occitans?’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Plangg 1982)

c. **Badiot**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{da\ doman\ vegn\ l\ oshoré\ les\ vatges} \\
&\text{of morning becomes he fed (m.sg.) the cows (f.pl.)} \\
&\text{‘The cows are fed in the morning.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Pizzinini and Plangg 1966)

d. **Florentine**

\[
\begin{align*}
&gl\ e\ venuto\ delle\ ragazze \\
&\text{he is come (m.sg.) some girls (f.pl.)} \\
&\text{‘There came some girls.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Brandi and Cordin 1981)

e. **Genoese**

\[
\begin{align*}
&u\ vene\ a\ Katajning \\
&\text{he comes the Catherine} \\
&\text{‘Catherine is coming.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Browne and Vattuone 1975)

f. **Ampezzan**

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{agnere\ l\ e\ sta\ ra\ sagra\ inz\ el\ nosc\ paes.} \\
&\text{yesterday he is been the feast (f.sg.) in the our county} \\
&\text{‘Yesterday we had our county feast.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Appollonio 1930)

g. **Friulian**

\[
\begin{align*}
&al\ era\ una\ volta\ una\ fameja \\
&\text{he was one time a family (f.sg.)} \\
&\text{‘There was once a family.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Iliescu 1972)

(Example (60g), it should be noted, is marginal in Friulian, in which the general pattern is one of full agreement between the clitic and the noun phrase it cooccurs with.)
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

h. Romagnol
   e chenta una turtureina
   he sings a turtle-dove (f.sg.)
   ‘A turtle dove is singing.’

(Gregor 1972)

Paradoxically, non-agreement in the examples of (60) can be motivated if the morphemes in question are analysed as agreement markers; it is anomalous if they are analysed as referential (anaphoric or cataphoric) pronouns. (This is in keeping with the general tendency for grammaticalized elements to become semantically bleached.)

The third way in which obligatory subject pronouns differ from ‘true’ or referential subject NPs with argument status is in their position relative to the negative morpheme (no). Subject NPs invariably precede this morpheme: obligatory subject pronouns in at least some dialects (among them Fassan, Paduan, Trentino, Friulian) either obligatorily or conditionally follow it. Thus, Fassan

(61) El no/s e fida
    ‘He doesn’t dare’

motivates the structure proposed by Brandi and Cordin, where the obligatory subject marker, italicized in the example, is part of the verbal inflection.

In Florentine, the negation precedes 2nd singular, but can follow third person feminine pronoun subjects. We will return to this repeatedly signalled anomalous status of the 2nd singular pronoun in the following section.

The potential for permutation, Brandi and Cordin argue, following Rizzi (1986), provides further evidence for the constituency of subject pronouns within the verbal complex. This argument, however, could be accepted only if the order of morphemes within a word were subject to rearrangement, while the order of words within a phrase were fixed. If anything, the opposite seems to be the case (see Perlmutter 1971: 100).

Fourth, obligatory subject pronouns seem to resist co-ordination reduction. The prevailing pattern is illustrated by the following examples from Friulian:

(62) a. al vent dut e al va lontan
    he sells everything and he goes far-away

b. quant ch al vign te se e al cognosse
    when that he came to himself and he recognized
    1 predi
    the priest
By way of contrast, English, although a type A language, exhibits co-ordination reduction in sentences like the normal translations of (62):

(63)  a. he sells everything and ____ goes far away.
    b. when he came to himself and ____ recognized the priest.

Compare the entirely similar behaviour of Surselvan Romansh:

(64)  a. Ins selegra ed____ ei satisfatgs ...
        PRO rejoices and is satisfied
        ‘We rejoice and are satisfied . . . ’
    b. auters savessen e____ duessen imitar quella initiativa
        others should-know and should imitate that initiative
        ‘Others should be able to, and indeed should in fact, imitate this initiative.’

Curiously, Lambrecht (1981) notes that while standard French is like English and Surselvan, non-standard French agrees with northern Italian (for a detailed comparison of spoken colloquial French and northern Italian, see Renzi 1989):

(65)  a. il mange et ____ boit comme un cochon (standard)
    b. i mange et i boit comme un cochon (non-standard)

Bound morphemes may be deleted under identity in co-ordinate constructions (see Kiparsky 1968; Haiman 1983), but this is much more constrained than deletion of independent words. The failure of co-ordination reduction in (62), as in (65) provides further evidence in support of the sub-lexical status of obligatory subject pronouns. (For the same argument in Trentino, see Brandi and Cordin 1981, duly repeated in Bouchard 1982: 407; Rizzi 1986: 402. Slightly different data for Paduan are cited in Benincà 1986.)

Summing up: in spite of what is often said in general surveys, (see Rohlfs 1949: 169, 174; 1986: 146), obligatory subject pronouns are not entirely obligatory, but may or must be omitted with certain kinds of subject NP.

Subject clitics are also impossible in Friulian in the presence of certain object or negative clitics. The rules vary greatly from dialect to dialect. In some dialects, obligatory subject markers are not used in persons other than 2nd singular when either object pronouns or the negative particle no precede the verb (Marchetti 1952: 145). In others, all subject pronouns except 2nd singular may be omitted when the verb is preceded by any object or reflexive clitic (Gregor 1975: 107). The textual data from Romagnol provided in Gregor (1972) seem to support a similar constraint in that dialect, and Lambrecht (1981) notes that non-
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

standard French also allows subject clitic pronouns to be absent where an object pronoun also precedes the verb. Illustrative of this mutual exclusion are Friulian examples such as those of (66):

(66) a. denant del ciar~ si e viodut un sfandor
    in-front of-the cart self is seen a flash
    ‘A flash of light appeared before the cart.’

b. so pari~ lu viot.
    his father him saw
    ‘His father saw him.’

It is this mutual exclusion, rather than co-ordination reduction, which accounts for the absence of obligatory subject-marking pronouns in examples such as those of (67):

(67) a. e veve squasi 35 agn e di zovine~ si jere
    she had about 35 years and of young self was
    fate ciaacara
    made to-talk
    ‘She was about thirty-five, and had gotten herself talked
    about in her youth.’

b. al clame un servidor e~ j domande ce ch alere
    he calls a servant and him asks what that it was
    ‘He calls a servant and asks him what was the matter.’

This sensitivity to the presence of prefixed verbal clitics suggests that obligatory subject markers belong in the verbal clitic complex. To analyse them in this way makes it possible to state a relatively simple ‘clitic constraint’ at least for Friulian, and possibly Romagnol and non-standard French as well:

(68) All finite verbs must occur with at least one prefixed clitic in statements.

Note that (68) (like constraints on the distribution of Genoese u and Paduan a) may still reflect, in a rather obvious way, a correlation between word order and the verb-second constraint. In an earlier stage of the language, where all the present clitics were free-standing words, the presence of any one of them would keep the verb from sentence-initial position. (On the other hand, it must be admitted that there are arguments which go the other way. For example, it seems that in Paduan, 2nd singular is always obligatory, but third person forms may or must be omitted in the presence of a full NP (which may be a disjunctive personal pronoun, an interrogative pronoun, a relative pronoun, or a lexical NP – see Benincà 1983). Here, the sensitivity of the
obligatory subject morpheme to the presence of full subject NP would seem to argue for its status as an independent NP.)

There are, then, numerous reasons for believing that subject marking 'pronouns' are really inflectional or agreement markers in the northern Italian dialects today, and well on the way to achieving the same status in non-standard French.

One last observation: while there is dialect variation in the degree of subject clisis which the dialects have undergone, all the dialects seem to agree on some rather special treatment of the 2nd singular. This is the subject pronoun which has advanced the furthest in reduction to clitic status (see Renzi and Vanelli 1982). In Friulian and in Paduan, it alone can never be omitted; in Florentine (which permits the absence of 1st singular) and Trentino (which permits the absence of first person, and 2nd plural), it is one of the many which can never be omitted; in Florentine, it is one of the many which follows the negative prefix. A unified explanation for this peculiar status of the 2nd singular pronoun is attempted in the following section.

4.4.1. The degeneration of subject pronouns

The degeneration of personal pronouns into agreement-marking affixes on finite verbs is commonly attested, and constitutes a paradigmatic instance of grammaticalization. A comparison of the Rhaeto-Romance and other northern Italian dialects allows a detailed reconstruction of the probable stages in this process.

The familiar distinction between Perlmutter's 'type A' languages like standard French, and 'type B' or 'pro-drop' languages like standard Italian (Perlmutter 1971: ch. 5) is not exhaustive. There are 'intermediate languages' of two different sorts.

Haiman (1974) dealt with languages like Icelandic, medieval French and German, and even modern German, arguing that in these languages, or in particular constructions within these languages, the superficial subject pronouns characteristic of type A languages appeared only when they were required to keep the finite verb in principal clauses in second position. The pattern can be illustrated with a vestigial contrast in modern English:

\[(69)\]  
\[a. \ \text{There} \ \text{are three books on the table.}\]
\[b. \ \text{On the table (there) are three books.}\]

Among the Rhaeto-Romance dialects, various constructions in Puter and Surselvan offer productive parallels: the dummy subject *igl* 'it'
disappears in inverted word order. It may also be that the disappearance of the second-person subject pronoun throughout Romansh in inverted word order is an example of this conditioning by word order.

A strong claim about type A languages is that only those languages which have or have had the V/2 constraint ever become ‘type A’. The present-day independence of word order and the appearance of superficial subject pronouns (most pronounced in French and English) must then be viewed as the outcome of a number of historical changes.

That superficial pronoun subjects are motivated by word-order requirements is an old idea: Haiman (1974) cites Beneš (1962), who explicitly correlates the appearance of ‘dummy es’ with the requirements of verb-second order in modern German. Kuen (1957: 302) notes that medieval French and German manuscripts supply subject pronouns before the attested loss of personal subject-marking desinences on the verb, and refers to Thurneysen (1892) for the idea that V/2 required the presence of a subject pronoun ‘when no other sentential constituent stands before the verb’ (1957: 304). In his classic survey of personal-pronoun subjects in the Lombard dialects, Spiess (1956: 5n.) cites Darmesteter (1897: sect. 390), who notes that in medieval French, the personal-pronoun subject was spelled out ‘only when the verb or object pronoun would otherwise stand at the head of the clause’. For more recent works which cite an extensive prior literature on this correlation, see Harris (1978) for French, and Breivik (1983) for Germanic languages.

Recent generative studies of northern Italian dialects, notably Brandi and Cordin (1981), have drawn attention to another class of ‘intermediate languages’. Brandi and Cordin showed that in the dialects of Florence and Trento, there is subject pronoun doubling. The same phenomenon can be observed in the dialects of Padua (Benincà 1982), Genoa (Browne and Vattuone 1975), Fassa (Elwert 1943), Badiot Ladin (Pizzinini and Plangg 1966), Ampezzo (Appollonio 1930), Bologna (Kuen 1957), Ravenna (Gregor 1972), and the Friuli (Marchetti 1952: 143 et passim, Benincà 1989), as we have already noted in the preceding section. For general surveys, see Rohlf (1949: 169–79), Spiess (1956), Kuen (1957), Benincà and Vanelli (1982, 1985), Renzi and Vanelli (1982), Vanelli (1984a, b), and Benincà (1986).

Subject pronoun doubling means that all inflected verbs (including, in many dialects, impersonal, semantically subjectless meteorological verbs) occur with obligatory subject pronouns. The distribution of these subject pronouns corresponds roughly to the distribution of subject pronouns in type A languages.
(70)  *Florentine*

a.  *(Te) tu parli*  
   you speak  
   (Brandin and Cordin, 1981)

b.  *(Te) ___ parli*  
   you speak

(71)  *Paduan*

a.  *(Ti) te vien*  
   you come  
   (Benincà 1983)

b.  *(Ti) ___ vien*  
   you come

(72)  *Friulian*

a.  *(Jo) o feveli*  
   I say  
   (Marchetti 1952)

b.  *(Jo) ___ feveli*  
   I say

(73)  *Fassa*

a.  *(El) no se fida*  
   he not he self trusts  
   ‘He does not dare.’  
   (Elwert 1943)

b.  *(El) no ___ se fida*  

(74)  *Romagnol*

a.  *(Me) a voj ben*  
   I I want well  
   ‘I am fond (of . . . )’  
   (Gregor 1972)

b.  *(Me) ___ voj ben*  

From the description given by Browne and Vattuone (1975), it seems that Genoese/Zeneyze is intermediate in both senses: superficial subjects are only obligatory in certain constructions, but in those constructions, they resemble the superficial pronouns of type A languages. Thus, Zeneyze personal pronouns, like standard Italian personal pronouns, are likely to occur in subject position only under contrastive stress. As far as these pronouns are concerned, Zeneyze is a type B language. However, there exists a most uncharacteristic (for a type B language) dummy pronoun *u*, roughly corresponding to English ‘there’, German *es*, and the like, which gives Zeneyze a type A look:

(75)  *U vene u Zorzu*  
   he comes the George  
   ‘George is coming.’ (thetic)

A similar construction is of course, attested in all the languages exemplified in (70)–(74), along with other indices of their apparent type
A status. What Browne and Vattuone call ‘u-insertion’ occurs only in
thetic sentences, where the entire sentence conveys new information (1975:
138). Such sentences, which we have been calling presentative, are
characterized by VX order.

There seems to be a similar distribution of the dummy pronoun a in
Paduan, see Benincà (1983: 34): ‘a would seem to mark syntactically the
so-called “entirely new phrase” which indicates that there is nothing in
topic position, that is, that there is no pragmatic topic.’ In Paduan also,
such sentences have VX order. The dummy pronoun is, however, always
optional.

Finally, Florentine and Trentino also require a dummy subject with
VX order, but only when the verb in question is a form of ‘be’.

As the sentence fragments above very clearly demonstrate, the verb
may in addition occur with optional pronominal subjects of the
disjunctive series. The latter, like subject pronouns in type B languages,
seem to occur only when they are focused.

So, are these northern Italian dialects type A or type B languages?
They seem to be both, and the answer we choose depends on which set of
pronouns we are looking at.

Brandi and Cordin (1981) show that in Florentine and Trentino, in a
number of ways, the obligatory subject pronouns are syntactically part
of the INFL or AGR node, rather than true subject markers. Other
arguments can be added to theirs for the other northern Italian dialects:
the synchronic status of obligatory subject markers in all the languages
under discussion here is that of bound clitics rather than nominal
arguments (see also Rizzi 1986). Typologically, then, the northern
Italian dialects are impeccably and consistently type B languages, just as
is the standard language. There is no need to complicate the type A/type
B distinction or the pro-drop parameter. With this triumphant con­
clusion, Brandi and Cordin are content to consider the matter closed.

However, from a diachronic perspective, these dialects seem to be
counterexamples to the strong claim made in Haiman (1974). Bound
clitics are not – at least not diachronically – generated ex nihilo. At some
previous stage in the languages, they must have been ‘full’ pronouns,
with argument status (see Meillet 1921; Meinhof 1936; Bally 1942; and
Givón 1976, 1979; Vanelli 1984a, b, 1987). If their linear distribution at
that time resembled their distribution now, then at some earlier time the
northern Italian dialects were type A languages.

And presently, at least, these dialects exhibit standard Italian word
order: crucially, there is no verb-second constraint except in Romansh
and northern Ladin. Nevertheless, these dialects are not counter­
examples to the hypothesis of Haiman (1974): or at least, no more than
are modern French, German, or Danish. Back in the thirteenth century, word order in attested northern Italian dialects was similar to that of medieval French, and so was the appearance of superficial pronoun subjects: word order was V/2, and personal-pronoun subjects appeared only when their absence would have led to V-initial word order (Spiess 1956: 17). The correlation between word order and the appearance of the subject pronoun is still transparent in Genoese and Paduan, where u or a occurs typically at the beginning of sentences with VX order. It is somewhat less transparently recoverable in languages like non-standard French, Friulian, and Romagnol, which exhibit a ‘one preverbal clitic constraint’. In some way, subject pronoun doubling was the outcome of V/2 ordering, just as the type A language phenomenon was the outcome of this ordering. What is not yet clear is how this change occurred, and what factors favoured it in northern Italy.

Granting the plausible syntactic change of grammaticalization

(76) pronoun # V > clitic + V

which has been defended and illustrated in many languages, there are various indications that this change originated in two favoured environments: left-dislocated topicalized constructions, and inverted word order.

The first construction, as exemplified by

(77) a. My old man, he rides with the Angels. (Givón 1976)
    b. The one-lama, he’s a priest.

is suggested by the vestigial constraints on clitic doubling which we have already noted in a number of northern Italian dialects. We will say no more about them here.

The second construction, as exemplified by

(78) Are you ready?

is not usually thought of as a seedbed for the reinterpretation of (76), and requires further justification.

Most significant is the fact that 2nd singular pronouns are further reduced than other atonic pronouns — a fact which follows from the overwhelming predominance of second-person subjects in interrogative sentences.

Ettmayer (1903: 50n.) provides evidence that the interrogative or inverted paradigm in many northern Italian dialects was restructured on the basis of the 2nd singular. In Verona, Vicenza, and Trento, 2nd singular interrogative fe-iu ‘are you’ was reinterpreted as
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

(79) Je- _____ - t(e)
    be 2sg. inter.

Proof of this reinterpretation is provided by the analogical extension of the -t(e) suffix to other persons and numbers as a sign of the interrogative:

(80) lsg. Jon-te ‘am I’
    1pl. Jen-te ‘are we’

This restructuring demonstrates that in inverted word order, the 2nd singular pronoun is reduced to the point that it is not perceived as a pronoun at all.

Essentially the same phenomenon is attested in Germanic languages, among them English. The common -t enlargement in the 2nd singular verbal paradigm (ME has-t, go-est; modern German -st) is not inherited. It derives plausibly from a reinterpretation of the inverted form, where original verb + 2sg. desinence ≠ 2sg. pronoun is reinterpreted as verb + (enlarged) 2sg. desinence. The reduced morpheme t(u) still maintains a vestigial presence as a pronoun. This ghostly survival may help to account for ‘2 deletion’ (Baur 1969: 30; Haiman 1971; Bayer 1984; Cooper and Engdahl 1989) in Germanic inversions like

(81) a. Hast _____ killed the Jabberwock?
    b. Zurich German
       Woane gaasch _____?
       whither go-2sg.
       ‘Where are you going?’

(Baur 1969: 29)

which are totally productive in impeccably type A languages like German, and in the Rhaeto-Romance dialects of Switzerland (see table 4.1, below). But mainly, the reduced morpheme is now simply part of the agreement marker, and, as such, co-occurs with full pronominal 2nd singular subjects. Most probably, ME 2sg. -est, still vestigially attested in archaic forms like

(82) a. Thou watches-t
    b. Thou shal-t

and the like, exemplify the exact same subject doubling as the northern Italian dialects exhibit in the sentences of (70)–(74), and that here, too, the 2nd singular has led the way (and no other pronoun as yet has followed).

Finally, it is tempting to speculate that the French liaison /t/ of inverted word order, now limited to the 3rd singular, is not an
etymologically motivated restoration of Lat. 3sg. -t, but a relic of the
same reinterpretation process. Note in particular the non-standard
example from Lambrecht (1981):

(83) i l a- ti pu attraper le gendarme le voleur?
he him has? been-able to-catch the cop the thief

Whatever the original source of -ti, example (83) shows an extension of
it. A 2nd singular source is at least as plausible as a hypercorrect
'restitution' of a final consonant which has been absent from the spoken
language for several hundred years.

Reduction originates in the inverted word order, and we do not know
why: nevertheless, the data allow us to state an implicational relation­ship like

(84) If a language has a special series of atonic subject pronouns in
direct order, it also has them in inverted word order.

Many of the Italian Rhaeto-Romance dialects, as we have seen, are
similar to other northern Italian dialects like Romagnol, Genoese,
Paduan, and Trentino, in allowing clitic doubling. The Swiss dialects
and some of the Ladin dialects, on the other hand, are typically
described in the prescriptive grammars as standard type A languages like
French: one subject pronoun and only one is necessary for every finite
verb. (Like medieval French, the latter dialects are still subject to the
verb-second constraint: see Nay 1965 for Surselvan, Thöni 1969 for
Surmeiran, Scheitlin 1962 for Puter, and Arquint 1964 for Vallader
Romansh; Benincà 1985 for Badiot, Gardenez, and Marebban).

However, with the exception of Surselvan, each of these latter dialects
does allow clitic doubling, but only in inverted word order. The standard
grammars state that atonic subject pronouns in these Rhaeto-Romance
languages exist in complementary distribution with the tonic forms:

tonic pronoun # V ~ V + atonic pronoun

It was Linder (1987: 4–12) who showed that the relationship between the
two is more interesting. Atonic subject pronouns do occur preverbally,
and are here still in complementary distribution with the tonic forms and
other lexical NPs like the relative pronoun. Postverbally, however,
atonic pronouns may co-occur with full subject pronouns in Vallader,
and also marginally in Puter, as in

(85) a. Puter
   chantains -a (nus)
   sing-1pl. we we
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Table 4.1 Postverbal atonic subject pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surmeiran</th>
<th>Puter</th>
<th>Vallader</th>
<th>Fassan</th>
<th>Paduan</th>
<th>Friulian</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>f.</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
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</table>

b. Vallader
pigliai– a (no)
take-1pl. we we

Here, reduction of form has plainly led to reduction of syntactic function: the erstwhile pronoun has lost its status, and functions only as a verbal ending. It is important to notice that this status reduction has occurred – at this point – only in inverted word order. Preverbally, the fact that atonic and tonic pronouns are mutually exclusive suggests that both are viewed as members of the same syntactic category.

In each of the dialects where cliticization of the subject pronouns is confined to inverted word order, the 2nd singular pronoun is typically zero in inverted word order. In the dialects where cliticization is general, the second-person pronouns are non-null. The correlation is brought out in table 4.1, where three ‘inverted cliticization’ languages are contrasted with ‘generalized cliticization’ languages like Fassan, Paduan, and Friulian. (The non-Rhaeto-Romance Paduan is included in order to emphasize that ‘generalized cliticization’ is an areal phenomenon that extends beyond RR.)

On the one hand, we have the Romansh dialects of Switzerland, together with Badiot, Marebban, and Gardenese, which are characterized by the following typological features:

(a) V/2 order;
(b) null second person pronouns in inverted word order;
(c) clitic doubling in inverted word order (Surselvan excepted).

On the other, we have the remaining Ladin dialects, and Friulian, which (like most of northern Italian dialects) are characterized by the
following:

(a) toleration of V/1, V/3 orders;
(b) non-null second person pronouns in inverted word order;
(c) clitic doubling in both direct and inverted word order.

These are not the first structural or typological features which serve to split, rather than to define, a Rhaeto-Romance unity.

We have argued that there is a causal correlation between features (b) and (c): both arise when postverbal pronouns lose their status as independent noun phrases. Is there a causal connection between these two features and (a)? Clearly, there could be: the V/2 constraint requires independent noun phrases in preverbal position only.

Finally, what is the origin, within these dialects, of the V/2 constraint itself? There is evidence that it is very old. Spiess (1956) demonstrates the existence of V/2 in at least one northern Italian dialect, Lombard, since the thirteenth century. But here the authors must confess to some disagreement. Following Helty (1975), Haiman sees German influence on Romansh, Badiot, Marebban, and Gardenese, as long-lasting and decisive. (He also attributes the historically attested replacement of clitic pronouns by full tonic pronouns in Surselvan over the last two hundred years to German influence.) Benincà sees V/2 as an independent common northern Italian medieval pattern (see Benincà 1985).

4.5 AGREEMENT

In the syntax of most Romance languages, the following situation is the norm. Within a noun phrase, modifiers agree with their heads; within a sentence, predicative adjectives agree with their subjects, in both number and gender, and verbs agree with their subjects in person and number, irrespective of the relative order of subject and agreement-marking predicate; the perfect participles of transitive verbs agree only with (preceding) clitic object pronouns, in number and gender.

The above specifications describe the default agreement system in Romance and it is hardly worthwhile to exemplify this system in yet another series of dialects. The following discussion will therefore deal only with systematic and interesting exceptions to this in Rhaeto-Romance dialects. These exceptions are of several kinds:

(a) In Surselvan, which manifests traces of a three-gender system in its adjectival morphology, subject–predicate agreement often seems to fail. Although lexical subjects can only be masculine or feminine, predicate adjectives are sometimes neuter; and, although lexical subjects may be
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

plural, predicate verbs are sometimes singular. Typically, but not always, agreement failure occurs where the subject follows the agreement-marking predicate. A major question is whether the Surselvan phenomena are any different, from a purely syntactic point of view, from similar behaviour attested throughout Romance and beyond. Our answer to this question will be ‘no’.

(b) In most of the Ladin dialects, and in some Friulian, modifiers often fail to agree with their heads in number. Although the heads may be plural, modifiers are often singular. Typically, this failure of agreement occurs only when the heads are feminine plural. The question arises whether apparent agreement failure is a morpho-syntactic phenomenon, or best described as a phonological fact. Our answer will be that it is syntactic for all varieties but Friulian, where it seems to be purely phonological.

(c) In Romansh and Ladin, perfect participles of transitive verbs often fail to agree with preceding relative-pronoun objects, and with preceding reflexive pronouns. The question is the syntactic status of these syntactically inert-seeming morphemes: are they nouns or something else? Our conclusion will be that relative-pronoun objects are complementizers in all Rhaeto-Romance dialects but Friulian, where their status is ambiguous. Reflexive pronouns are noun phrases in Engadine Romansh and Friulian, but verbal prefixes without nominal status in Surselvan and Ladin.

In no case, irrespective of the analysis adopted, are we dealing with syntactic behaviour which is both common to, and peculiar to, all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects.

4.5.1 Surselvan predicate agreement

The survival of the -us/-um distinction in Surselvan as a distinction between predicate and attributive adjectives appears full-fledged in our earliest continuous texts, and is unique within Romance. Masculine singular nouns occur with predicate adjectives in inherited-us, but with attributive adjectives in inherited -um:

(86) a. il hotel ei veni -us nazionalisa -us
    the hotel is become (m.sg.) nationalized (m.sg.)
    the hotel has been nationalized.’

b. il hotel nazionalisa -u
    the hotel nationalized (m.sg.)
    ‘the nationalized hotel’
In cases where final -um caused umlaut of the preceding vowel, the attributive/predicate contrast is doubly marked:

(87) a. il um ei bun -s
    the man is good (m.sg.)
    ‘The man is good.’

b. in bien- um
    a good (m.sg.) man

(In this case, the -US/-UM distinction is still maintained in Sutselvan also. Although final /-s/ and final /-m/ have both disappeared here, a fully phonologized contrast survives between vowels which were umlauted before following *-UM, and those which were not umlauted before following *-US. See chapter 2, p. 146.)

The -US/-UM distinction in Latin was not only one of case, but of gender: -US was masculine singular nominative, while -UM was masculine singular accusative, or neuter singular (nominative or accusative). Although there are no common nouns in Surselvan which are neuter, there are a handful of personal and demonstrative pronouns which are. There is thus a possible distinction among predicative adjectives between those which agree with common nouns like /um/ ‘man’ and those which agree with neuter pronouns like /iʃ/ ~ /ej/ ‘it’, or /kwej/ ‘that’:

(88) a. il um ei bun- s
    the man is good (m.sg.)

b. quei ei bien- ___
    that is good (n.sg.)

Given the syntactic ambiguity of the -UM form, the question naturally arises whether adjectives which occur in this form are to be construed as attributive adjectives on possibly null heads, or as neuter forms. Either analysis is plausible in the case of possessive pronouns.

Possessive pronominal adjectives occur in both attributive and predicative forms:

(89) a. il cavagl ei me- s
    the horse is my (m.sg.)
    ‘The horse is mine.’

b. (il) mi- u cavagl
    the my (m.sg.) horse
    ‘my horse’

Consequently, when a possessive pronominal adjective occurs in the -UM form, it can only be because it agrees with a neuter subject, as in (90):
Possessive pronouns, however, occur in only the -UM form (for non-feminine singulars) or the -A form (for feminine singulars):

(91) la mi- a
the my (f.sg.)
‘mine’

(92) il mi -u
the my ?
‘mine’ (m.sg.)

The -UM form of (92) is identical with the masculine singular form of (89), and with the neuter singular form of (90). It is impossible to tell whether the form of (92) is due to the fact that all possessive pronouns are treated as possessive pronominal adjectives with null heads, or that all non-feminine possessive pronouns are treated as neuter. The more likely analysis is the former: possessive pronouns in Surselvan, as in other dialects, will be analysed as possessive pronominal adjectives with null heads.

A faint echo of the inherited -US/-UM contrast survives in Vallader masculine singular possessive pronominal adjectives, which retain the reflex of -US (e.g. /mes/ ‘my’) for the attributive form, and the reflex of -UM (e.g. /miw/ ‘my’) for the predicative form, and for the possessive pronoun (see chapter 2, p. 147). (The essential arbitrariness of the reinterpretation, accusative > attributive, in Surselvan (‘explained’ in chapter 2, p. 146) is highlighted by the coexisting accusative > predicate in Vallader. Both dialects agree, however, in treating possessive pronouns in the same way.)

In Surselvan, reflexes of -US occur only on predicative adjectives. This means that we can identify as predicative adjectives some forms whose status in English at least is unclear. For example, it is not certain whether appositional adjectives in English are ‘really’ attributive, predicative, or some other type of adjective:

(93) Red with embarrassment, George tried to look unconcerned.

In Surselvan, such adjectives are unambiguously predicative:

(94) a. igl um schischeva, malsaun -s, in letg.
the man lay, ill, (m.sg.) in bed
b. el meina persul -s omisdus hotels
he manages alone (m.sg.) both hotels
‘He manages both hotels alone.’
Again, predicative adjectives continue to be treated as such even when their underlying subjects are subjects of infinitives:

\[(95)\] Il Segner fa attent -s Job che S

the Lord makes aware (m.sg.) Job that S

‘The Lord makes Job aware that . . .’

Failure of predicative adjective agreement may be of two kinds. In the first case, failure may simply highlight a universal fact. In the second, failure may be dialect-specific. An example of the first kind of failure is the behaviour of adjectives in the superlative degree. From English alone, we might be tempted to analyse each of the following underlined adjectives as predicatives:

\[(96)\]

\[a.\] He is good.
\[b.\] You are better.
\[c.\] I am the best.

In fact, superlatives like the one in (96c) can function as noun phrases (as in ‘save the best for last’), which suggests that they may be attributives with null heads. Surselvan data support this analysis, as witness the translations of (96):

\[(97)\]

\[a.\] El ei bun-s. (predicative)
\[b.\] Ti eis meglier-s (predicative)
\[c.\] Jeu sun il meglier-__ (attributive)

The apparent failure of predicative /-s/ agreement in (97c) is actually no failure at all: superlative adjectives are actually attributive, with an understood head like ‘one’.

(Ideally, it should be possible to confirm this analysis of superlatives by contrasting them with elatives, which in languages like Italian have the same morphological form as superlatives, but mean ‘extremely . . .’ rather than ‘the most . . .’). Unfortunately, elatives in Surselvan occur only as prenominal – that is, attributive – modifiers, whose form is distinct in any case from that of superlative adjectives: they occur, as do Italian elatives, with the derivational suffix -isim, e.g. /in belisim di/ ‘an extremely beautiful day’.)

The second class of agreement failure appears at least to be genuine: predicative adjectives fail to agree with masculine singular subjects, and appear in the neuter singular, rather than the masculine singular, form. A sub-category of these cases appears unproblematic: the predicative adjective agrees not with the (generally postverbal) ‘true’ subject, but with a preceding neuter dummy subject /i}/ ~ /ej/, which can be variously translated by the English dummy subjects ‘it’ or ‘there’. Note
that in the same way, the predicate verb agrees in number with this dummy subject:

(98) a. igl ei sta- u zacons (existential sentence)
    it is been(n.sg.) several (m.pl.)
    ‘There have been several.’
    (Not: *igl ein (3pl.) sta-i (m.pl.) zacons)
b. igl ei i -u sur il pas San Gliezi
    it is gone (n.sg.) on the pass St Lucius
    (impersonal passive)
    ‘We all went over the St Lucius pass.’
c. ei vegn pri -u ina collecta
    it comes taken (n.sg.) a collection
    (impersonal passive)
    ‘A collection was taken.’
d. il davos temps eis -i seforma -u ina opposiziun
    the last time is it formed (n.sg.) an opposition
    (presentative)
    ‘Lately there has formed an opposition.’
e. aschia eis -i aunc resussi -u da fa enzatgei
    thus is it also succeeded (n.sg.) of to-do something
    (extraposed subject)
    ‘Thus, it was possible to do something.’
f. Quest’ jamna eis -i vegni -u debatta -u
    this week is it come (n.sg.) debated (n.sg.)
durant uras ed uras sur d’in meglier
    for hours and hours over of-a better
    schurmegt dil luvrer. (impersonal passive)
    protection of-the worker.
    ‘This week there was debate for hours and hours concerning
    better workers’ protection.’
g. Malgrad sedutas da notg eis -i buca pusseivel
    despite sessions of night is it not possible
    - ___ da metter tut sut tetg
    (n.sg.) of to-put everything under roof
    (extraposed sentential subject)
    ‘In spite of night sessions, it was not possible to complete
    everything.’

Dummy pronouns occur in all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects: the only difference is that in these other dialects, they are masculine, rather than neuter, singular. Agreement is almost invariably with the dummy pronoun rather than the postposed subject, except that verbs still are
able to agree in number with the 'true' rather than the dummy subject. An example of this from Old Surselvan is the passage from Wendenzen's (1701) Life of Jesus:

(99) a. pertgiei ei vegni -en a vegnir ils gis . . . .
   because it (3sg.) come (3pl.) to come the days (3pl.)
   'For there will come the days . . .'

Examples like (99a) can be easily compared to English examples like (b) and (c):

b. There are no problems with your proposal.

c. There's no problems with your proposal.

Although the existential verb should agree with the true subject 'problems' in number, (99c) is perfectly acceptable, indicating that agreement can be with the dummy pronoun 'there'.

We have seen that the original functional motivation for the dummy subject in Surselvan, as in other verb-second languages, may have been to keep the finite verb from occupying sentence-initial position. The clearest evidence in favour of this functional hypothesis is that the dummy pronoun is optional post-verbally (that is, in sentences with postposed or presentative subjects, whose initial position is taken by some adverbial constituent):

(100) a. Alla radunonza ei vegni- u in giuvnatsch
   to-the meeting is come (n.sg.) a churl
   'To the meeting (there) came a churl.'

b. En quei ei exponi- u ils premis
   in that is displayed (n.sg.) the prizes
   'In that (there) were displayed the prizes.'

c. En emprem lingia ei vegni- u examina-
   in first line is come (n.sg.) examined
   u il stat technic dils vehichels.
   (n.sg.) the state technical (m.sg.) of-the vehicles
   'First examined was the technical condition of the vehicles.'

d. Tier nof persunas ei vegni- u ordina-
   among nine persons is come (n.sg.) ordered
   u ina controlla dil saun.
   (n.sg.) a checkup (f.sg.) of-the health
   'For nine persons there was ordered a medical checkup.'

e. plinavon ei vegni- u retratg- __
   furthermore is come (n.sg.) withdrawn (n.sg.)
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Furthermore, there were withdrawn on the spot seven driving licences.

Here a house is being built.

(from Stimm 1976: 48)

If the agreement of the predicate verb and perfect participle in (100) is with a dummy subject /iə/, as it is in the examples of (98), then this dummy subject is optionally deleted when it occurs postverbally, but causes predicate agreement before it vanishes.

Alternatively, by a less abstract hypothesis, verbs and participles agree only with preceding, and never with following subjects. The default, or unmarked, form of the verb is 3rd singular, and of the predicative adjective, neuter singular. (In the other Rhaeto-Romance and Italian dialects which have sentences analogous to (100), the default form of the adjective is masculine singular.) According to the second, less abstract, hypothesis, word order alone, and not the presence of a dummy subject, determines the form of the agreement-marking predicates, whether these are verbal or adjectival.

In favour of the minimalist hypothesis are sentences which differ minimally from those of (100):

(101) a. Alla radunonza ei in giuvnatsch vegni- us.
    ‘To the meeting, a churl came.’

b. L’jamna vargada ei il Cussagl dils stans
    occupied (m.sg.) with the new concept of traffic.
    ‘Last week, the Council was occupied with the new traffic proposal.’

c. Cheu vegn la casa dil Desax baghia- da.
    ‘Here the Desax house is being built.’

(Stimm 1976)

d. Aschia ei igl alzament dil tscheins d’aua
    ‘Thus the (question of) raising the water tax was not discussed.’
In these sentences, it seems that word order is the crucial feature which distinguishes them from the corresponding sentences of (100): while in (100), the postposed subject follows the predicative adjective, in (101) the subject precedes the predicative adjective, and agreement therefore occurs.

The minimalist hypothesis is in fact the one proposed by Meyer-Lübke, Rohlf's, and Linder to account for similar facts in Romance and Greek, standard Italian, and Rhaeto-Romance in particular (Meyer-Luebke 1899: sect. 344; Rohlf's 1949: II, 448; Linder 1982: 161). Thus, in literary Italian (which coincides with regional spoken varieties, but not with the written standard of today):

\[(102) \ a. \ Venne \ alquanti \ soldati \ (Cellini) \]
\[
\text{came (3sg.) some soldiers (3pl.)} \\
\text{‘There came some soldiers.’} \\
b. \ Manca \ osterie \ in \ Milano? \ (Manzoni) \\
\text{is-lacking hostels (pl.) in Milan} \\
\text{‘Are hostels lacking in Milan?’}
\]

Moreover, the same pattern of word-order dictated agreement seems to arise in other Rhaeto-Romance dialects. In Puter:

\[(103) \ a. \ In \ mincha \ cas \ nun \ es \ gnieu-\_ \ invulo-\_ \]
\[
\text{in every case not is come (m.sg.) stolen (m.sg.)} \\
\text{any raps.} \\
\text{‘In any case, no money was stolen.’} \\
b. \ Hoz \ gniva \ fümanto \ our \ muntanellas. \]
\[
\text{today was (sg.) smoked (m.sg.) out marmots (f.pl.)} \\
\text{‘Today, marmots were smoked out.’}
\]

In Badiot, agreement is with the preceding pronoun – which may itself agree or fail to agree in number and gender with the postposed true subject of the sentence:

\[(104) \ a. \ [da \ doman \ ven-\_ \ ofore-\_ \ les \ vateces] \]
\[
\text{of morning comes he (m.sg.) milked (m.sg.) the cows (f.pl.)} \\
\text{‘In the morning, the cows are milked.’} \\
b. \ in \ sabeda \ e-\_ \ gnü \ inauguré \_ \ na \]
\[
\text{on Saturday is it come (m.sg.) inaugurated (m.sg) an} \\
\text{mostra \ de \ operes} \\
\text{exhibition (f.sg.) of works} \\
\text{‘On Saturday, there was inaugurated an exhibition of} \\
\text{works.’ (no leftwards agreement)}
\]
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

(105) a. [da doman e les sta- des oJora- des
of morning are they been (f.pl.) milked (f.pl.)
les vaces]
the cows
‘In the morning, the cows were milked.’

b. da súia man é inc’e nasciũ- des pitôres
from his hand is also born (f.pl.) pictures (f.pl.)
pur scenars
purely scenic
‘From his hand there also issued purely representational
pictures.’ (leftwards agreement occurs)

So, too, leftwards agreement seems to be an option in Gardena:

(106) a. y see l-e ven fat- es trei plazes
and thus it is come made (f.pl.) three beaches
‘And so, there were made three beaches.’

b. Tl 1987 ie uni- da cunplete-da la Brockhaus
in 1987 is come (f.s) completed (f.s) the Brockhaus
Enzyklopádie
Encyclopedia (f.sg.)
‘In 1987 was completed the Brockhaus Encyclopedia.’
(leftwards agreement occurs)

(107) a. l ie uni- __ teni- __ na funzion te dlieja
it is come (m.sg.) held (m.sg.) a function (f.sg.) in church
‘There was held a function in the church.’

b. da chésta union ne ie l nasciu- __ degun
from this union not is it born (m.sg.) no
mutons
children (m.pl.)
‘From this union, no children were born.’ (no leftwards
agreement occurs)

In Fassa, agreement is with the preceding pronoun, which apparently
always is masculine singular, irrespective of the number and gender of
the true postposed subject:

(108) a. /l e venu- ___ la vivan}/
he is come (m.sg.) the fairy (f.sg.)
‘The fairy came.’

b. /po l e venu- ___ na pitjola/
then he is come (m.sg.) one little-one (f.sg.)
‘Then there came a little girl.’

Nevertheless, there is evidence that the minimal hypothesis (leftwards
agreement is optional, rightwards agreement is obligatory) cannot be maintained in its simplest form. In Surselvan, in the Engadine dialects, and in regional or literary Italian, subject noun phrases which have been (vacuously) fronted by left-dislocation fail to induce agreement:

(109) **Surselvan**
    a. caschiel vegn magliau- ___ bia
        cheese (m.sg.) comes eaten (n.sg.) much
        ‘Cheese, much is eaten of.’
    b. damondas era (ei) vegni- u fatg neginas
        questions was it come (n.sg.) made (n.sg.) none (f.pl.)
        ‘Questions there were none.’
    (Stimm 1976: 45)

(110) **Puter**
    a. plövgias es- a gnü- __ bleras
        rains (f.pl.) is it come (m.sg.) many (f.pl.)
        ‘Rains there were many.’
    b. /katʃaders na mankeva kweSt on/
        hunters not lacked (3sg.) this year
        ‘Hunters there were plenty of this year.’
    (Linder 1982: 160)

(111) **Italian**
    a. Ascoltatori non ne mancava
        listeners not of-them lacked (3sg.)
        ‘Listeners were not lacking.’
    b. soldati non ne verrà certamente
        soldiers not of-them will-have (3sg.) certainly
        ‘Soldiers there certainly will not be.’
    (Rohlfs 1949: II, 448; 1969: 20)

In (109)–(111), the thematized subject precedes the agreement-marking predicate word – in fact standing at the head of the sentence in which it occurs – but fails to induce agreement. Moreover, in at least (109) and (110), agreement is apparently with a dummy subject which is present.

Further arguing against the minimal word-order hypothesis (at least in its most general form) is the fact that in the sentences of (101) (which originally suggested the hypothesis), the subject does indeed precede the predicative adjective which agrees with it in number and gender. But it follows the verb, which nevertheless agrees with it in person and number. Note the impossibility, in Surselvan, of sentences like (112):

(112) *Alla radunonza ei dus giuvnatschs vegni
        to-the meeting is (3sg.) two churls come (m.pl.)
By the order-determines-agreement hypothesis, the copula should fail to agree with the subject, while the perfect participle should agree. So, there are cases where agreement should occur but does not, and cases where agreement should not occur, and yet it does.

Sentence (112) constitutes evidence of a more abstract analysis: whether or not a predicate element agrees with the subject is determined in deep structure by the position of the subject before subject–verb inversion and topicalization apply. Some revision of this sort is necessary in order to account not only for (112) but for the simplest cases of sentences where either of these two word-order-changing transformations apply. In general, agreement is not affected by subject–verb inversion in questions, or by topicalization, as examples like the following make clear:

(113) a. Vegn- an els?
   come (3pl.) they (m.pl.)
   ‘Are they coming?’

b. Bial- as sun las flurs da sta
   beautiful (f.pl.) are (3pl.) the flowers (f.pl.) of summer

Another possible analysis of problematic sentences like (100) is that word order is in this case irrelevant: what we think of as ‘postposed subjects’ in existential or presentative sentences are not subjects at all, or perhaps, not quite subjects. In fact, these sentences have no subjects, and their morphological predicates occur in the default 3rd singular neuter inflection, irrespective of where the presentative ‘subjects’ occur. (The fact that leftwards agreement is possible in a number of the Ladin dialects may be a reflection of the indeterminate status of such presentative logical subjects which are teetering on the verge of acquiring true grammatical subjecthood.)

Comparative and typological evidence exists which supports this view. In general, subject status is reserved for noun phrases which package old or given information. In some languages, like Surselvan for example, indefinite noun phrases in general fail to qualify for subject status. In other languages, like non-standard French, constraints on permissible subjecthood may be even stricter: Lambrecht (1981) argues that lexical noun phrases of any type fail to qualify, and that sentences which are common in English, and prescribed by normative grammars in French, like ‘John left’, simply do not occur.

Most spectacular in their subjectlessness are sentences which seem to be topcialized inversions of structures like NP₁ be NP₂, such as (114):

(114) Casey was the last one up.
The distribution of Surselvan predicative -s suggests that inversions of (114), such as (115),

(115) The last one up was Casey.

are subjectless: NP, ‘the last one up’, although the sentence topic, is a predicate complement, and as such clearly cannot occasion subject–verb agreement. On the other hand NP, ‘Casey’, is a postposed expression exactly like the postposed non-subjects of (100), and thus also cannot cause agreement. Surselvan thus offers wild-looking sentences like (116):

(116) a. Quella che a dau ora qui cudisch ei sta- u Dr Helena de Lerber.
the-one (f.sg.) who has given out that book is been (n.sg.) Dr. H.L. (f.sg.)
‘The one who published that book was Dr. Helena de Lerber.’

b. il quart (m.sg.) ei sta- u Giachen Martin
the fourth is been (n.sg.) G. M.
‘Fourth was Giachen Martin.’

These examples are drawn from Stimm (1976: 52), where many others of the same type are given.

In all of the sentences we have discussed so far with unexpected neuter singular predicate agreement, a dummy neuter subject pronoun was always possible. This encouraged the speculation that 3rd singular neuter inflection in morphological predicates was not a default or unmarked value for person, number, and gender, but the result of actual agreement. However, in the last class of cases we discuss, no dummy pronoun is ever possible. If the predicate occurs in 3rd singular neuter form, it is not by agreeing with /iX/ in the following examples (from Stimm 1976: 43):

(117) a. caschiel (m.sg.) ei bien (n.sg.)
‘Cheese is good.’

b. aua frestga (f.sg.) ei bien (n.sg.) avunda
‘Fresh water is good enough.’

c. mo extrems (m.pl.) ei (3sg.) buca sanadeivel (n.sg.)
‘Only extremes is not healthy.’

d. cigarettas (f.pl.) ei (3sg.) nuscheivel (n.sg.)
‘Cigarettes is harmful.’

Stimm argued that what distinguished the subjects of (117) was that they occurred without articles and (citing Kühner-Gerth on Classical Greek) that such generic noun phrases, in which ‘the subject is viewed not as a
definite object, but as a general concept' fail to occasion agreement. We suspect that the apparent noun phrase subjects of (117) fail to occasion agreement for the same reason that 'the three little pigs' or 'bacon and eggs' fail to cause agreement in the English sentences.

(118) a. ‘The three little pigs’ is (*are) Nina’s favourite fairy tale.
   b. Bacon and eggs sounds (*sound) good.
   c. Too many carrots is (*are) too many carrots, even if you’re Bugs Bunny.

They fail to cause agreement because they are titles: of stories, possible meals, or scenarios in general. The scenarios they name are single things, and it is with those single things that the predicate agrees.

In their treatment of titles, languages may disagree. Stimm notes that the construction, while common to Surselvan and Classical Greek, is extremely rare in Latin. It seems to be rare also in languages like German and Russian, where story titles which happen to be plural noun phrases almost always occasion plural number agreement. English may be somewhere in the middle of this typological continuum: in spite of structures like (118), English tolerates proverbs like (119),

(119) Too many cooks (pl.) spoil (pl.) the broth.

where a thoroughgoing Surselvan approach would insist on

(120) ‘Too many cooks’ spoils the broth.

From a typological perspective, then, the failure of number and gender agreement in Surselvan finds congeners in many other languages which are far more distantly related to it than Ladin or Friulian.

What is unique to the dialect is simply the morphological fact that the -US/-UM distinction marks not only gender, but a contrast between predicate and attributive adjectives. How this transformation of an inherited category could have come about is a fascinating question. Unfortunately, the textual attestation we have shows us no development. Instead, the state of affairs described above seems to have been completely stable since ca 1600. Masculine singular subjects took predicate -s adjectives; neuter pronouns like {ei} took predicate neuter singular predicative adjectives:

(121) a. Bab eis ei (n.sg.) bucca pusseiu (n.sg.) ca quei calisch vomig navent da mei?
    ‘Father is it not possible that this cup go away from me?’
    (Alig Epistolas 1674)
   b. Per quei ch ei (n.sg.) vegnig cunplaneu (n.sg.) quei plaid
     for that that it come fulfilled that word
'So that this prophecy may be fulfilled.'

(3) and subjectless sentences or sentences with postposed presentational 'subjects' occurred with predicates in the default 3rd singular and neuter form:

(122) enten ina da quellas era 4 Pelagrin,
‘In one of these (ships) was 4 pilgrims.’

(Cudisch dilg viadi, ca 1600)

4.5.2 Modifier-head agreement in Ladin

In the unmarked or default Romance case, articles, quantifiers, and adjectives agree in number and gender with the head noun in a noun phrase. This was the situation inherited from Latin, at least. There are a number of northern Italian dialects, however, in which plurality is marked only once within noun phrases whose heads are feminine plural. This situation seems to be characteristic of almost all Ladin dialects, with the exception of Badiot. (Friulian seems to have this feature also, but, as we shall argue, does not.) Nevertheless, it is not an exclusively Ladin feature. (Rohlfs 1949: II, 47 indicates Bagnone, Villafranca, Isolaccia, Livigno, Val Colla, Mesolcina, and Bergell outside the Ladin area of Rhaeto-Romance with this same feature of 'lazy agreement'.)

In Fassa, Elwert claimed that only the last word within the noun phrase marks number (Elwert 1943: 113), whether this word is the head noun, as in (123) and (125), or the adjective, as in (124):

(123) la (f.sg.) bsla (f.sg.) fomnes (f.pl.)
‘the beautiful women’
(124) la (f.sg.) spala (f.sg.) lerjes (f.pl.)
‘wide shoulders’
(125) la (f.sg.) setemenes (f.pl.)
‘the weeks’

(possibly related is the fact that in a cluster of perfect participles, only the last need be marked for number and gender:

(126) e stat (m.sg.) defed-eda (f.sg.) fin meza net
am stayed awake until midnight
‘I have stayed awake until midnight.’

(Elwert 1943: 152).)

In modern Fassa, as in modern Gardena and Ampezzan, we have found another pattern of lazy agreement:
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

The Ladin lazy agreement rule
In noun phrases with feminine plural heads, the head noun always marks plurality. Prenominal modifiers consistently fail to mark plurality, but postnominal modifiers always do.

For example, we have failed to encounter examples like (124) above (in which plurality is marked on the last word in the noun phrase, but not necessarily the head noun), while meeting with examples like:

(127) a. l autra valedes ladines
    the (f.sg.) other (f.sg.) valleys (f.pl.) ladins (f.pl.)
    ‘the other Ladin valleys’
b. la monz autes de Fasha
    the (f.sg.) mountains (f.pl.) high (f.pl.) of Fassa
    ‘the high mountains of Fassa’

In Gardena, we encounter exactly the same pattern (the first three examples, from Gartner 1879, are reproduced in his phonetic transcription: the last three, from written sources, reproduce the conventional orthography):

(128) a. [nɔʃta/ (f.sg.) /jalinɔs] (f.pl.)
    ‘our chickens’
b. [la/ (f.sg.) /jamɔs/ (f.pl.) /kuatʃnɔs] (f.pl.)
    ‘The red legs’
c. [dutta/ (f.sg.) /la/ (f.sg.) /kreaturɔs] (f.pl.)
    ‘all the animals’
d. de bela éures liegres
    of beautiful (f.sg.) hours (f.pl.) joyful (f.pl.)
    ‘beautiful joyful hours’
e. duta la paroles feminines
    all (f.sg.) the (f.sg.) words (f.pl.) feminine (f.pl.)
    ‘all the feminine words’
f. nostra bela montes ladines
    our (f.sg.) beautiful (f.sg.) mountains (f.pl.) ladin (f.pl.)
    ‘our beautiful ladin mountains’

Appollonio claimed that in Ampezzan, as in Fassa, only the last member of a feminine noun phrase is marked for number (Appollonio 1930: 27):

(129) a. ra (f.sg.) bela (f.sg.) toses (f.pl.)
    ‘the beautiful girls’
b. ra (f.sg.) tosa (f.sg.) beles (f.pl.)
    ‘the beautiful girls’
Again, we have failed to encounter forms like (129b): the head noun is always marked for plurality. On the other hand, postnominal modifiers never fail to agree with the preceding head noun in number as in (130):

\[(130)\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{ra vales ladines} \\
& \text{the (f.sg.) valleys (f.pl.) ladins (f.pl.)}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{outra robes interessantes} \\
& \text{other (f.sg.) things (f.pl.) interesting (f.pl.)}
\end{align*}\]

‘other interesting things’

Note that as an incidental consequence of the lazy agreement rule of Ladin the definite article in Fassa, Gardena, and Ampezzan can never occur in the feminine plural form. Indeed, Gartner (1879: 88) notes as a feature of the morphology of Gardena that the feminine singular and the feminine plural article are the same, namely /la/. On the other hand, in Ampezzan, not only the definite article, but also the demonstrative adjectives, and all possessive pronominal adjectives except in the 1st plural and 2nd plural occur in only one feminine form: the singular.

There are two closely related reasons, it seems to us, that this syncretism of number should be treated as a syntactic, rather than a purely morpho-phonological fact. The first is that adjectives in the noun phrase in Gardena, Fassa and Ampezzan mark plurality depending on their position in the noun phrase: this alternation implies that there is a productive rule in these dialects for marking, or failing to mark plurality. Given that articles in the Ladin noun phrase are obligatorily followed by other elements, their failure to mark plurality is automatically predicted by this already productive rule.

The second reason is that there is a class of determiners in Ampezzan which can occur alone. This is the class of possessive pronominal adjectives, which, when followed by a head noun, is totally invariable, and fails to mark either number or gender. However, the possessive pronominal adjective may also occur alone, both as a predicative adjective, and as a possessive pronoun. When it does, it is fully marked for number and gender:

\[(131)\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{me jot\text{\textae} } \text{‘my cat’ (m.sg.)} \\
& \text{but}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{el m\text{\textae} } \text{‘mine’}
\end{align*}\]
\[(132)\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{me parola } \text{‘my word’ (f.sg.)} \\
& \text{but}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{ra m\text{\textae} } \text{‘mine’}
\end{align*}\]
\[(133)\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{me jot\text{\textae} } \text{‘my cats’ (m.pl.)} \\
& \text{but}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{i miei } \text{‘mine’}
\end{align*}\]
\[(134)\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{me parole } \text{‘my words’ (f.pl.)} \\
& \text{but}
\end{align*}\]
\[\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{ra mees } \text{‘mine’}
\end{align*}\]

(see Appollonio 1930: 48). It seems, then, that the productive rule of
plural marking applies to determiners as well as to other prenominal modifiers. It is only because Ladin (like English, but unlike Romansh) happens not to permit articles to appear as the surface structure heads or final elements of noun phrases, that they consistently fail to mark plurality.

Finally, we note that in Friulian what seems to be ‘lazy agreement’ is a process of a different kind. Again, it involves the feminine plural, but it seems to be phonologically determined. In some Friulian dialects, only the last word of the noun phrase has a full -is (f.pl.) ending. The other elements of the noun phrase occur not in the feminine singular (with the suffix -A), but with the distinctive suffix -i, which is identical with the feminine plural, minus the final /s/. Corresponding to the singular expressions in (135):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(135) a. la bjele femine} \\
\text{b. la femine bjle}
\end{align*}
\]

‘the beautiful woman’

possible plurals are

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(136) a. li bjeli feminis} \\
\text{b. li femini bjelis}
\end{align*}
\]

but never

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(137) c. *la bjele feminis} \\
\text{d. *la femine bjelis}
\end{align*}
\]

It seems that phonological reduction alone is responsible for what looks like a ‘weak declension’ of the plural in Friulian: a set of desinences which are distinct from both the singular and plural full forms.

4.5.3 Verb–object agreement

4.5.3.1 Relative pronouns as objects

In the ‘standard’ agreement model represented by French and Italian, perfect participles do not agree with following lexical noun phrases:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(138) a. J’ ai commis (m.sg.) une faute (f.sg.)} \\
\text{I have committed a mistake} \\
\text{b. Ho fatto (m.sg.) molti sbagli (m.pl.)} \\
\text{I have made many mistakes}
\end{align*}
\]

In French, they do agree with both preceding pronominal object
pronoun clitics and with relative pronouns in number and gender. On the basis of this criterion, the relative pronoun *que* could be said to function as a noun phrase in French:

(139) a. les fautes (f.pl.) *que* nous avons commis-ès (f.pl.)
    ‘the mistakes that we have made’
b. nous les (f.pl.) avons fait-ès (f.pl.)
    ‘we have made them’

Italian tolerates only agreement with preceding object clitics, as in (139b):

(140) a. li ho fatti
    them (m.pl.) I-have made (m.pl.)

The equivalent of (139a) is not completely ungrammatical, at least for some speakers, but has the same status as agreement with any other (following) full noun phrase, as shown in the following specimens:

b. gli errori che ho fatto (?fatti)
   the errors (m.pl.) that I-have made (m.sg.)
c. ho fatto (?? fatti) molti errori
   I-have made (m.sg.) many errors (m.pl.)

In general, the Rhaeto-Romance languages manifest asymmetry in the status they accord the relative pronoun: the appropriate agreement targets agree with the relative pronoun when it functions as a subject, but they do not agree with it when it functions as an object. This asymmetry is independent of whether the languages in question are heavily committed to object agreement or not.

Friulian seems to be more committed to verb–object agreement than the other Rhaeto-Romance languages. Verb–object agreement is completely optional in a number of cases which in French and standard Italian are distinguished.

In the first case, past participles of transitive verbs can agree even with following lexical object noun phrases:

(141) a. /kwalkidun al a *kopa-* s i servidors/
    someone he has killed (m.pl.) the servants (m.pl.)
    ‘Someone has killed the servants.’
      (Also possible: *kopá* (m.sg.))
b. /vevin mitud- is ju lis bisacis/
    had put (m.pl.) down the knapsacks (m.pl.)
    ‘They had put down their knapsacks.’
      (Also possible: mitu:t (m.sg.))
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

c. /al a lasa- de la sostanse/
he has left (f.sg.) the property (f.sg.)
(Also possible: lasa:t (m.sg.))

On the other hand, as in the following examples, the past participle does not generally agree with even the preceding relative pronoun:

(142) a. /i sbaços k i aj fat/
the mistakes (m.pl.) that I have made (m.sg.)
‘the mistakes I have made’
(Also possible: fats (m.pl.))
b. /la frute k i aj kopusuct jer/
the girl (f.sg.) that I have met (m.sg.) yesterday
‘the girl I met yesterday’
(Also possible: konjusude (f.sg.))
c. /lis pwartis k o vin batuc/
the doors (f.pl.) that we have hit (m.sg.)
‘the doors we have knocked on’
(Also possible: batudis (f.pl.))
d. /la kurtise k al veve pjardu:
the knife (f.sg.) that he had lost (m.sg.)
(Also possible: pjardude (f.sg.))

But agreement is obligatory between an adjective and the relative pronoun:

(143) une robe k o riten impwartant-e
a thing (f.sg.) that I consider important (f.sg.)
‘something that I consider important’

Other Rhaeto-Romance languages seem alike in never allowing perfect participles to mark number and gender agreement with a preceding object relative pronoun. Thus:

Puter
(144) la chanzun (f.sg.) ch’ avais chanto (m.sg.)
‘the song that you all have sung’
(Scheitlin 1980: 119)

Vallader
(145) las schoccas (f.pl.) cha no vain surgni (m.sg.)
the coats that we have received
‘the coats we have received’

Fassan
(146) /ki doj (m.pl.) ke e kompra (m.sg.)/ (Elwert 1943)
these two that have bought
‘these two that I have bought’
Ampezzan
(147) ra parola (f.sg.) che te m’ as dito (m.sg.)
the word that you me have said
‘the words you said to me’ (Appollonio 27)

Gardenese
(148) la burta cosses che la ustoria de nosc
the ugly things (f.pl.) that the history of our
secul a purta- a nosta Tiêra
century has brought (m.sg.) to our country
‘the ugly things history has brought upon our country’

However, when the relative pronoun replaces the subject noun phrase, it regularly causes the normal agreement targets to agree with it, as the following examples will illustrate:

Gardenese
(149) la strutures che ie uni- des frabiche- des
the structures that is come (f.pl.) built (f.pl.)
‘the structures that have been built’

Badiot
(150) chêsta mostra che é resta- da
this exhibition (f.sg.) that is remained (f.sg.)
davert- a
open (f. sg.)
‘this exhibition, which has remained open’

Fassan
(151) zirca 500 familie che é doenta- de soz-
about 500 families that are become (f.pl.) associates
e de la Sociazion
(f.pl.) of the Society
‘approximately 500 families that have become members of the society’

It seems almost as if the relative pronoun – in so far as agreement provides a diagnostic – is schizophrenic in Rhaeto-Romance. Let us say that the ability to transmit features of number and gender to a following verb, adjective, or participle defines a noun phrase. Then, we can say:

When occupying subject position, the relative pronoun functions as an ordinary noun phrase. When occupying object position, it functions as an extra-sentential complementizer or some other inert constituent.

This schizophrenic analysis is compatible with the fact that relative
pronouns in many northern Italian dialects (not to mention French) seem to 'mark nominative and accusative case' – typologically an aberration in languages which have basically given up marking case productively. The so-called nominative case is actually a relative pronoun, while the so-called accusative is actually a complementizer. The analysis is also compatible with the fact we have already noted in Friulian that the 'same relative pronoun' may co-occur with subject marking clitics, but is mutually exclusive with object pronoun clitics (see Haiman 1990).

4.5.3.2 Reflexive pronouns as objects

In the following discussion, we will be examining two properties of reflexive pronouns: their ability to transmit features of gender and number to following perfect participles, and their mobility.

(a) Feature transmission

Where the perfect auxiliary is ‘be’ the perfect participle agrees with the subject irrespective of the presence of a reflexive morpheme. Therefore, the criterion of feature transmission is significant only in cases where the perfect auxiliary is 'have'.

In both Friulian and Surselvan, the reflexive verbs can choose either 'have' or 'be' as auxiliary, and the past participle agrees in gender and number with the (lexical or intended) subject when the auxiliary is 'be', while there is no agreement when the auxiliary is 'have':

Friulian

(152) a. /e se a kopa:t/
    she self has killed (m.sg.)
    ‘She killed herself.’

   b. /e se je kopade/
    she self is killed (f.sg.)
    ‘She killed herself.’

(153) a. jeu hai se- smarvigiau- -~
    I have self marvelli (no agreement)
    ‘I was surprised.’

   b. jeu sun se- smarvigliau- s
    I am self marvelled (m.sg.)
    ‘I was surprised.’

This used to be the pattern in Tuscan and Italian until the eighteenth to nineteenth century, and is still fairly common (with different
preferences depending on the person of the verb) in northern Italian dialects and in parts of Ladin.

In Surmeiran, the only possible auxiliary is ‘have’. As in Surselvan and Friulian, there is no agreement of the perfect participle in this case (Thöni 1969: 52).

A striking difference between the Engadine dialects (which, like Surmeiran, employ only the transitive verb ‘have’ as the reflexive auxiliary) and all other Rhaeto-Romance dialects, is that in Engadine, the reflexive does trigger agreement of the following perfect participle:

\[
\text{Puter}
\]

\[(154) \text{ /ils mats s } \text{ em lav- } s/
\]
\[\text{the boys self have washed (m.pl.)}
\]
\[\text{‘The boys have washed.’}
\]

This syntactic feature connects the Engadine dialects with varieties of Trentino. In these dialects, the reflexive pronoun behaves like an object clitic pronoun. In most of Rhaeto-Romance, it is inert with respect to agreement.

To conclude: if the ability to transmit features is a criterion for NP-loyd, the reflexive pronoun is NP-like in the Engadine dialects only.

(b) Mobility

In all the Rhaeto-Romance dialects with the exception of Surselvan and Surmeiran, the reflexive pronoun is clearly a member of the set of object pronoun clitics, at least as far as the criterion of mobility is concerned. In Surselvan, the reflexive pronoun has been entirely reduced to affix status. Nothing, not even a perfect auxiliary, may separate the invariable prefix se from the verb. In Surmeiran, the reflexive pronoun may either precede or follow the perfect auxiliary, as in (155):

\[(155) \text{ a. ia } ma \text{ va tratg aint}
\]
\[\text{I myself have dressed in}
\]
\[\text{b. ia va ma tratg aint}
\]
\[\text{I have myself dressed in}
\]
\[\text{‘I have dressed.’}
\]

The first pattern is characteristic of most Rhaeto-Romance, while the second is Surselvan. While Surmeiran allows both, it seems to prefer the Surselvan pattern (Thöni 1969: 52).

One other way in which both Surmeiran and the Engadine dialects approach the Surselvan pattern is in the relative immobility of the reflexive object marking pronoun in the imperative mood. In most
Rhaeto-Romance dialects, object pronouns in general either precede or follow the verb, depending on its mood: typically, they precede the verb except in the imperative (see Elwert 1943: 139, for Fassan; Appollonio 1930: 45, for Ampezzan; Scheitlin 1962: 86 for Puter).

In Surmeiran and Vallader, the object pronoun clitics follow this pattern, but the reflexive pronoun does not: irrespective of verbal mood it tends to precede the verb except in the case of the 2nd singular reflexive. Thus

**Surmeiran**

(156) a. dagn- igls
   give (1pl.) them
   ‘let’s give them’

but

b. ans tiragn aint
   ourselves dress (1pl.) in
   ‘let’s get dressed’

**Vallader**

(157) a. scriva'- m
   write (2pl.) me
   ‘write me, you all!’

but

b. ans cuffortain
   ourselves comfort (1pl.)
   ‘let’s take heart’

Only the 2nd singular reflexive pronoun retains the mobility to respond to different moods of the verb by assuming different positions:

**Surmeiran**

(158) teira- t aint
   dress yourself in
   ‘Get dressed!’

**Vallader**

(159) cufforta- t
   comfort yourself
   ‘Take heart!’

If relative mobility and separability constitute criteria for NP-hood, reflexive pronouns are least NP-like in Surselvan, and most NP-like in Puter and the Italian dialects, with Vallader and Surmeiran lying somewhere in between.
Appendix: some irregular verbs

The forms of irregular verbs are learned individually. They are highly conservative, and resist analogical levelling. Some idea of the range of phonological and morphological variation within Rhaeto-Romance may be given by considering the paradigms of a handful of these irregular verbs. With the exception of ‘must’, all items are shared throughout Rhaeto-Romance. All of them are also shared far beyond, within the Romance family.

Sources for Swiss Romansh in general include: Decurtins (1958), a general survey; for Surselvan, Nay (1965), Tekavčič (1974); for Surmeiran, Thöni (1969); for Puter, Scheitlin (1962), Ganzoni (1977); for Vallader, Arquint (1964), Ganzoni (1983); for Ladin varieties, Kramer (1976); for Fassa, Elwert (1943); for Badiot, Pizzinini and Plangg (1966), and Alton and Vittur (1968); for Gardena, Gartner (1879); for Moena, Heilmann (1955); for Ampezzan, Appollonio (1930); for Friulian, Marchetti (1952), Francescato (1966), Rizzolatti (1981), Frau (1984).

The alternation symbol ‘~’ is reserved for paradigmatic alternation within the same dialect. When two or more forms are listed without such a tilde, they represent forms from different (sub) dialects.

The grammatical categories listed are infinitive, present indicative, imperative, gerund, perfect participle, subjunctive present, imperfect indicative, imperfect subjunctive, and past. For most dialects and most verbs, full paradigms are required only in the present indicative.

Note that in dialects where the subjunctive is a primary desinence, a number of verbs have alternate stem forms depending on whether they are stressed. The stressed stem form is given first.

In Badiot Ladin, the subjunctive differs from the present indicative only when the stem is stressed: that is, in the singular, and the 3rd plural.

Full paradigms are given only in the imperative and present indicative. In most of the other tenses and moods, either the stem is
constant (as in the imperfect indicative or subjunctive), or occurs in only two forms depending on mobile stress (as in the present subjunctive). Such constant or regularly predictable stems are followed by a dash.

In Friulian, the past definite is given only in the 1st singular form. The other forms are however predictable, given the pattern on page 89. The 2nd plural indicative form is given as -ejs, the 2nd plural imperative as -ejt, but the /e/ has different outcomes in the various dialects (ë: ~ iə ~ ej). The stressed vowel of Friulian infinitives is generally shortened – in the varieties where -r is dropped in this precise morphological context – by a rule which shortens all word-final long vowels.
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*Note: Initial /d/ in the imperfect in the Engadine dialects is a reflex of INDE.*
Table A.2 ‘can’

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Note: Because of the great dialect variation in the expression of this word, the Friulian paradigm here represents central Friulian only.
### Table A.3 ‘come’

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Table A.6 *have*

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Note: The initial consonants /n/ and /d/ in the 1st singular indicative in Puter and Vallader are (like the /d/ in the imperfect of *be* in Vallader) reflexes of INDE, surviving elsewhere in the language as the partitive pronoun.
### Table A.7 ‘know’

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Note: This verb marks a recognized lexical boundary: Romansh dialects shared or borrowed a French word (M. Fr. estovoir < EST OPUS); Ladin, a German word (müsen); and Friulian, an Italian word (bisogna, itself ultimately a Germanic borrowing). Friulian and some Ladin also developed CONVENIT. Only cognates of estovoir are listed here.
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*Note:* The imperfect subjunctive does duty for the present in Surmeiran, Puter, and Vallader.
The Gardena forms are rare, being mostly replaced by the German borrowing /mesaj/, while in Friulian /vè di/ ‘to have to’ is the more common form.
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253

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Index

Abruzzese 179
adjectives 141–52
Adige Valley 13
agreement 192–4, 205–28; of modifiers with heads 219–22; of perfect participles with objects 222–8; of predicate adjectives 205–19
AIS 90, 158–60, 162
Alemanni 10–12
Alig, J. 81, 142, 218
Alto Adige 17
Alton, J. 34, 84, 108, 229
ambient it 181–83
Ampezzan 34, 72, 74, 78, 80, 84–5, 91–3, 95, 99–100, 103, 111, 114, 117, 121, 122, 130, 135, 150–1, 171, 178, 182, 185–6, 189–92, 220–21, 224, 228
antepenultimate ‘stress’ rule 57, 97, 179
apocope 70–1
Appollonio, B. 34, 80, 91, 109, 117, 178, 193, 220–22, 225, 228–9
Aquileia 16, 162
Archivio Glottologico Italiano 21
Arquint, J. 33, 62, 108, 119, 124, 203, 229
Ascoli, G.I. 1, 5, 6, 9, 20–3, 64, 93, 119, 123, 125, 154
ASLEF 161
augmentative suffix 161
augments on verb stem 83–4
Avars 10
Badiot 21, 34–5, 44, 46, 54, 64, 72,

Bally, C. 200
Barkaam and Josaphat 124
Bartolomei, S. 20
Battisti, C. 6, 24–5, 34–6, 41, 44, 48–9, 52, 57, 64–6, 74
Baur, A. 202
Bavarians 13
Belardi, W. 34, 36
Belluno dialect 32, 155, 158–9
Belluno province 17
Bender, B. 27, 37, 68
Benincà-Ferraboschi 25, 159
Bergamasque 93
Bergell dialect 164
Bifrun, G. 19, 81, 90, 95, 114, 128, 133, 143
Billigmeier, R. 4, 12, 14
Bolognese dialect 45, 190
Bolzano province 17, 34
Bonifaci, D. 107, 138, 143
Bouchard, M. 195
Brandi, L. 179, 187, 189, 193–5, 200
Brixen (Bressanone) 16–17, 34, 156, 171
Browne, W. 179, 193
Bühler, G. 15, 25
Burgundians 11–12
Cadorine dialect 158
Carigiet, A. 83
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

Carisch, A. 94
Carli, G. 20
Catalan 46
Cavigelli, P. 30
Ce fastu? 19
Cellini, B. 213
Celticisms 154, 158, 161
Charlemagne 12, 13, 19
Chiavenna dialect 95
Chur 11, 12, 15
Cialover (Surselvan) 19
Cividale (Forum Iulii) 10, 18
clitic subject pronouns 57, 95-6, 187-205
Comelico dialect 125
complementizer 100, 124, 222-6
Concordia 162
coordination reduction 194-5
Cordin, P. 179, 187, 193-5, 200
counterfactual conditional 90, 165
Craffonara, A. 4, 34, 35, 46, 48
Danish 201
Darmesteter, A. 174
D’Aronco 14, 18
dative 113, 121, 126-9
Decima Regio 16
Decurtins, A. 19-20, 229
definite articles 120-3
Die Dolomiten 17
Diefenbach, L. 21
Diez, F. 3
Dorta 128
double marking: dative case 121;
future tense 86-7; numeral ‘one’
153; plural 143-4; subject
pronouns 136, 187-97
dummy pronouns (expletive
pronouns) 125, 130-1, 167, 176,
181-87, 209-11
Ebneter, T. 86-8, 106
ecclesiastical boundaries 12-13
Eggenberger, J. 174
Elwert, W. 26, 34-5, 41, 43, 46, 48-9,
52, 54-8, 62, 64, 68, 70-3, 80, 84-5,
90, 108-9, 115-17, 125, 140, 144,
164, 193, 219, 226-9
Emilian dialect 99
emphatic pronouns 122, 136
Engadine dialects (of Romansh) 13,
19, 48, 61, 70, 77, 78, 88, 108-9,
124-5; see also Müstair, Puter,
Vallader
Engadine-Vintschgau 12
English 179, 181, 192, 195, 197, 202,
208-9, 218, 222
Ertö dialect 48, 74-5, 79, 85, 91-2,
103
Etruscan 20
Ettmayer, K. 54, 64, 95, 142, 201-2
Eugyppius 11
evidential, in Surselvan 102-3
Fassan dialect (of Ladin) 26, 34, 46,
48-9, 52, 54-7, 63-5, 68, 71-3,
77-8, 80, 84-6, 98, 105, 111,
117-18, 124, 132, 144, 149, 184-6,
228; agreement in 219-20, 224-5;
personal pronoun subjects in 129,
135, 189, 192-4; word order in
167, 173
Fernow, C. 20
finite verbal suffixes 77
Florentine dialect 179, 187, 192-4,
197, 200
Flöss, E. 109
Fögl Ladin 15
Fontanini, G. 19
Foulet, C. 174
Francescato, G. 27, 32, 36-8, 41, 43,
48-9, 53, 68, 74, 79, 89, 91, 120,
229
Franco-Provençal 32, 45
Franks 12-13, 155
Frazz, 18, 36-8, 41, 75, 89, 97, 114,
118, 155, 161-2, 185, 188, 229
French 4, 7, 21, 24, 40, 44, 67, 70, 82,
86, 108-9, 114, 124, 126, 158, 160,
165, 179, 187-8, 195, 197, 201, 203,
222; Old French 142, 155, 160, 174
Friul 10-13
Friulian 3, 8, 18-22, 25, 36-8, 41-2,
46, 48, 52, 54-5, 66, 68, 70-1, 74,
78, 80, 82, 84-5, 88-9, 95, 97-8,
100-1, 104, 108, 110, 114, 116,
118-20, 122, 124-6, 132, 136, 140,
151-2, 155, 160-2, 168-9, 173-4,
177-8, 185-7, 189, 219, 222-6;
Carnic dialect 45-6, 50, 53, 75, 95,
97, 136; Clauzetto dialect 45-6, 56,
89, 92, 95, 104; Gorizian dialect 95,
References 257

97, 186; Koine 18, 45–6, 48, 56, 89, 95, 136, 182; Mortegliano dialect 37; Old Friulian 120, 124; personal pronouns 130, 136, 187, 189, 192–3, 195–6
future tense 86–8, 105–7
Gabriel, L. 107, 127, 138, 157
Gadera dialects 74, 78; see also
Badiot, Marebban
Gallo-Romance 21, 51, 53, 63, 70, 112
Gamillscheg, E. 9, 10, 49, 155, 158, 160
Ganzoni, G. 33, 229
Gardenese 4, 8, 21–4, 34–6, 45–6, 49, 52, 54, 62, 64–5, 73, 79–80, 85, 88, 95–6, 98–9, 116–17, 123–4, 129, 131, 150–1, 153, 156, 182, 184, 186; agreement 214, 220–1, 225; word order 167, 171–2, 203
Gartner, T. 1, 21–2, 32, 34, 41, 43, 48, 53–5, 64, 66–7, 70, 74, 83, 87–92, 94, 96, 109, 116, 154, 229
Gasetta Romuntscha 15
Genoese 179, 193, 201, 203
German 3, 8, 12, 16, 86, 102, 109, 154–8, 171, 173, 179, 197, 201, 205; OHG 47, 158, 160, 174; Swiss German 131, 179, 202
gerund 80
gerundive clauses 169–70
Gesner, A. C. 19
Ghetta, F. 17
Givon, T. 200–1
Goehl, H. 18
Gothic 155, 158
Grad, A. 67
granfalloon 8
Graubünden 12, 15
Greek 213, 217
Greenberg, J. 145
Gregor, D. 1, 12, 15, 20, 89, 118, 177, 181, 194, 196
Grisch, M. 54, 78, 85, 94
Gritti, 90, 95
Gruell, J. 20
Hall, R. 25
Haller, J. 21
Harris, M. 165
Heilmann, L. 27, 34–6, 52, 54–5, 64, 229
Helty, G. 174, 205
Hetzron, R. 167
Heuberger, R. 11–13
Histoargia dalg Patriarch Joseph 107
Historias Biblias 157
Holy Roman Empire 14–18
Huonder, J. 29, 41, 45, 46, 55, 58–60, 66–7
hypercorrection 54, 94
Ibero-Romance 112
Icelandic 197
imperative 98–101
imperfect indicative 84–5, 101–2
imperfect subjunctive 85–6, 90, 104–5
inchoative -/-SC- 63, 82–3
indefinite agent (PRO) 95, 115, 129, 130–2, 142, 163–4, 175–9
indefinite article 152–3
indefinite pronoun 124
indirect speech 102
infinitive suffix 77
interrogative pronoun 123–4
Istitut Cultural Ladin 17
Istitut Ladi 17
Italian 3, 7, 24, 70, 80, 82, 84–6, 94, 99, 108–9, 114, 126, 177, 213, 215, 222–3
Jaberg, K. 4, 26, 158
Joppi, V. 18
Jud, J. 4, 26, 158, 160
Kamprath, C. 31, 43, 58, 59
Kemmer, S. 112
Kipersky, P. 195
Kramer, J. 7, 26–30, 79, 85, 129, 144, 229
Krasnovskaia, N. 14, 18
kt isogloss 70
Kuen, H. 24, 157–9, 174
Kühner-Gerth, R. 217
Kurylowicz, J. 142
The Rhaeto-Romance languages

La Spezia–Rimini isogloss 25, 44, 63, 135, 154
La Use di Ladins 17, 171
Labov, W. 23
Ladin dialects 3, 7, 16–18, 20–1, 34–6, 49, 66, 72, 79–80, 98, 108–9, 115, 126, 140; agreement in 219–21; lexically defined 156, 163–4; morphologically defined 75, 91–2, 97; see also Ampezzan, Badiot, Erto, Fassan, Gardena, Livinallongo, Marebban, Moena Ladinia 16–17
Ladino 1
Lambrecht, K. 187–8, 195, 203, 216
Latin 53–5, 83, 88–9, 103–4, 113–15, 142, 158–64, 219
lenition 70–3, 79
Lia Rumantscha 5
Liver 163
Livinallongo dialect (Buchenstein, Fodom) 34, 45, 64, 73, 85–6, 124, 156, 171
Livy 9
Lombard dialects 24, 26, 32, 34, 44, 57, 64, 70, 74, 94–5, 97, 103, 134, 159, 160, 164, 178, 189, 205
long vowels 27, 33, 35–8, 41
Longobards 9–11, 13, 18, 155
Lotharingia 14
Luedtke, W. 47, 64, 67, 93, 114
Lutta, M. 26, 31, 41, 43, 46, 48, 50, 58, 59, 66, 69–73
Luzi, J. 30, 41, 43–4, 46, 48, 50, 55, 66, 70, 73
Manzoni, A. 213
Marcato, C. 159
Marchetti, G. 18, 36, 89, 118, 120, 125, 177, 181, 195, 229
Marebbban dialect 21, 34–5, 49, 72, 86, 124, 129, 135, 203; see also Badiot, Gadera, Ladin Meillet, A. 200
Meinhof, C. 200
Mesolcina dialect 164; see also Lombard
Meyer, E. 9
Meyer-Lübke, W. 66–7, 213
Milanese dialect 93, 101
Mittrützner, J. 21
Moena dialect 24, 27, 35, 49, 52, 54, 64, 70–1, 80, 99–100, 116, 182, 185, 193
Mondo Ladino 17
morphologization of umlaut 47, 50–1
Mussolini, B. 1, 7
Müßtair dialect (of Vallader) 41, 114, 153, 160
nasal consonants 36, 73–4
Nay, S. 101, 109, 121, 203, 229
Nazzi Matalon, Z. 80
negative particles 99, 181, 194
nominal case 115–16
nominal gender 114–15
nominal number 116–19
nominative case 115, 225–6
non-finite verbal suffixes 77
Nonsberg dialect 34–5, 44, 49, 52, 54, 65, 70, 74
Noricum 9–10, 155
northern Italian dialects 1, 6, 8, 70, 73–4, 93, 108, 113, 115, 132, 136, 140, 167, 178–9, 187–97, 225, 226; see also Bergell, Florentine, Genoese, Lombard, Milanese, Nonsberg, Paduan, Piedmontese, Trentino, Venetian
Oaths of Strasburg 19
Ostrogoths 11–13
Paduan dialect 179, 194–7, 200–1, 203; Old Paduan 93
palatal stops 35, 37–9, 68
palatalization 32, 36, 38, 65–70, 115, 117–18, 146
Palla, L. 16
paradigmatic coherence 93
paragogic final vowel 56, 93
partitive pronoun 126
Pasolini, P. 19
passive 107–8
past definite 77, 88–90
Pellegrini, G. 5, 7, 22, 25–6, 154, 156, 158, 161–62
perfect auxiliary 108–12
perfect participle 78–9, 111, 222–8
Perlmutter, D. 141, 167, 175, 194, 197
personal desinences 91–8
personal pronouns 125–36, 179–81, 187–205
Pfister, M. 159
Picard dialect 160
Piedmontese dialect 21, 24, 44, 45, 51, 57, 70, 99, 103
Pirona, G. 160
Pizzinini, A. 20, 34, 54, 80, 108, 117, 124, 144, 191, 193, 229
Placi a Spescha, P. 20
Plangg, G. 17, 20, 27, 34–5, 54, 56, 69, 80, 108, 117, 124, 144, 149, 191, 193, 229
Planta, J. von 19
Planta, R. von 55
Pliny 9
polite pronouns 100–1, 125
Politzer, R. 27, 34, 35, 69
Porenzoni, A. 18
Portuguese 158–9
present indicative 92–8
present participle 81–2
presentative
Reformation 17
relative pronoun 124–5, 167–8, 206, 222–6
Romagnol dialect 97, 190–1, 194, 196, 201, 203
Romansh 1, 3, 15–16, 19–20, 29–34, 41, 43, 46–9, 52–4, 56, 66–8, 72, 78, 95, 113, 116, 119–23, 130, 156, 159, 162–3, 167, 170–1; Romonsch fusionau 3, 15, 20; Rumantsch Grischun 5, 16; see also Puter, Surmeiran, Surselvan, Sutselvan, Vallader
Romman 107, 109
Rü, M. de 4
Sabiona 12
Sardinian 68
Schams dialect 45, 54–5
Schane, S. 118
Scheidhin, W. 33, 43, 62, 83, 109, 119, 124, 203, 224, 228–9
Schlieben-Lange, B. 109
Schmidt, H. 12, 15, 115, 121
Schneller, C. 21, 28, 66
Shorta, A. 41
Schuchardt, H. 47
Schuerr, H. 52, 65
second person singular pronoun:
cliticization as te- 194; cliticization as -t(u) 32, 94, 181, 201–2; deletion in inverted word order 131, 179, 181, 204; doubling of 181, 188; obligatoriness of 195–7
secondary verbal desinences 77, 91, 101–5
Slovenian 67, 162
Società Filologica Friulana 5, 19
Societad Retoromontscha 15
Sonder, A. 78
Sot la Nape 19
Spanish 4, 70, 109, 122, 158, 160
Spiess, F. 136, 201, 205
Stimm, H. 109, 125, 212, 215, 217–18
strengthening 70–3
subject 216–19
subjunctive 102–4
Surmeiran 16, 26, 31–2, 41, 53–4, 58–9, 69–70, 74, 77–8, 82, 83, 85–7, 95–6, 103, 111, 113, 115, 119, 121–2, 124–6, 132, 138, 141, 144, 182–5, 203, 227–8; Bergün dialect 95, 121; Cunter dialect 66; Stalla dialect 69
Old Surselvan 44, 46, 81, 88, 99, 107, 115, 121, 123, 125, 126, 136, 138, 142–3, 203, 211; predicate agreement in 205–19, 226;
Tavetsch dialect 71; -us/-um distinction 145–8, 206–18
Sutselvan 1, 30–1, 41, 43–7, 50–1, 70, 73, 83, 86, 96, 121, 142, 146, 164, 182, 188–9; Bonaduz dialect 45, 53–5; Domleschg dialect 45, 54–5; Ems dialect 55, 66; Old Sutselvan 95, 107, 138, 143
Synod of Mainz 12
Tagliavini, C. 125
Tekavčić, P. 47, 51, 57, 59, 63, 83, 146, 229
t-epenthesis 30, 36
Thōni, G. 60, 74, 78, 87, 111, 121, 139, 147, 203, 227, 229
Thurneysen, R. 174
Ticinese (= Tessin) dialect 51, 70, 159
Trentino dialect 25, 34, 44, 57, 179, 195, 197, 200–1, 203
Trento 12, 17, 34, 171
Trumper, J. 41
Tuscan dialects 95
Tuttle, E. 64–5
Udine 18
u-fronting 43–4
Ulleland, M. 94
Ulrich, J. 25, 81, 136
umlaut 47–8, 50, 54, 115–17, 146, 207
Union dii Ladins 5
Union Ladina 17
Urzi, E. 27
-V/UT distinction 142–52, 162
Vallader 3, 15, 20–1, 33–4, 43–5, 49, 54, 57, 62, 69, 78–9, 98–100, 102–3, 105, 108, 111, 123, 126, 128–9, 142, 147–9, 182, 183, 186, 203, 208, 224, 228; Old Vallader 69, 79, 88, 95, 128
Vattuone, B. 179, 193
Vellemann, A. 88
Venetia 13
Venetian dialect 3, 7, 18, 25–6, 55, 64, 67, 72, 84–5, 88, 93–5, 97, 108, 110, 112, 115, 126, 153, 155, 161, 177, 179, 187–9
Venedig, Republic of 18
verb-second order 167–75, 200–1, 203–5, 211–12
Vergerius, P. 19
Verschärfung 31–3, 43–6, 50
Vicenzan dialect 201–2
Vittur, F. 34, 84, 108, 229
Vittur, S. di 18
Völkerwanderungen 9, 11
Vonnegut, K. 8
Vulgar Latin 19, 38, 69, 76
Vulpian 128
Wackernagel, J. 174
Wartburg, W. von 5, 10, 13, 23, 24, 32, 34, 158, 163
Wendenzen 82, 136, 211
Willy 157
Zamboni, G. 63, 84, 155, 161