Verb Second, Subject Clitics, and Impersonals in Surmiran (Rumantsch)

STEPHEN R. ANDERSON
Yale University

Verb-second is a popular topic in the syntactic literature, but most of the discussion of this construction has centered on languages of the Germanic family.[1] Some syntacticians have also discussed Verb-second in Romance, primarily on the basis of older stages of the modern languages which are no longer available for direct examination.

The only modern Romance language which appears to display Verb-second in a robust form is Rumantsch, and the present paper is devoted primarily to one form of that language, Surmiran. This language is described in a normative grammar (Signorell *et al.* 1987) as well as in older work such as that of Grisch (1939). Haiman and Benincà (1992) provide a general survey of Rumantsch in its various forms, including its (controversial) relation to Dolomitic Ladin and Friulian within a larger "Rhaeto-Romance" unit, though their description is descriptively limited with regard to Surmiran.

After a brief description of the external situation of Surmiran in section 0, the basic structure of clauses is described in section 1. Central to an understanding of Verb-second in the language is the Inversion construction discussed in sections 1.1 and 1.2, and the set of post-verbal subject clitics that can appear if the verb and its subject are inverted. Section 2 discusses an element (*ins*) which at first glance appears to be merely an impersonal subject pronoun, comparable to French *on* or German *man,* but which turns out to have a more complex analysis than this. Section 3 concludes that the evidence of sentences with *ins* representing the subject,

together with some additional facts, show that "Verb-second" is not in fact an accurate description of Surmiran, and compares this language with other Verb-second languages.

0.　The Language

The Rumantsch languages of Switzerland are spoken by approximately 60,000 people, most of whom live in the canton of Graubünden in the southeast of the country. Rumantsch is one of the four official national languages, though this should not be taken to imply a status equal in significant respects to French, German or Italian except in very specific localities within Graubünden. There are five recognized standards (Surselvan, Sutsilvan, Surmiran, Puter and Vallader), each with its own history, although the actual degree of dialect diversity is considerably greater than this. In addition, an artificial pan-dialectal standard known as Rumantsch Grischun has been widely promoted in recent years as a medium of education and communication, though this language lacks a community of native speakers, at least at present.

Surmiran is (together with Sutsilvan, the most marginal form of Swiss Rumantsch) a "central Rumantsch" language, and has about 3,000 speakers. It is still being learned by children, and is taught in local elementary schools (though it is being replaced in this function by Rumantsch Grischun in many areas). Essentially all Surmiran speakers are (at least) bilingual in German, and in Italian as well in some areas.

Surmeir, where Surmiran is spoken, includes the valley of the Gelgia leading from around Tiefenkastel up to the Julia Pass (a major route to the Engadine) and several adjacent valleys. Much discussion in the literature has focused on the dialect of Bergün (Bravuogn in Rumantsch). This, as well as the dialect of Vaz, is actually quite divergent from the normative standard of Signorell *et al.* (1987), which is based on the speech of the region around Savognin. The present paper is based on this latter form of the language, as spoken in Savognin and Salouf (a village of about 200 people, of whom 85% are Rumantsch speakers, the highest proportion in the country).

1.　Clause Structure

I will assume without argument that the basic word order of Surmiran clauses is SVO, as exemplified in (1).

(1)　Ursus　discorra　　rumantsch　stupent
　　　Ursus　speaks.3SG　Rumantsch　excellently
　　　Ursus speaks Rumantsch very well

Non-subjects can, however, appear freely in initial position. As illustrated in (2), when this happens the subject appears after the finite (main or auxiliary) verb.

(2)   a. Rumantsch discorra   Ursus stupent
         Rumantsch speaks.3SG Ursus excellently
         Ursus speaks *Rumantsch* very well

      b. Stupent   discorra   Ursus rumantsch
         excellently speaks.3SG Ursus Rumantsch
         Ursus speaks Rumantsch *very* well

When the subject is inverted with the finite verb, the verb can be accompanied by a clitic element referring to the subject, as in sentence (3a). Such a clitic is not possible, however, when Inversion has not taken place, as in (3b).

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

      b.*Ursus discorra=**'l**   rumantsch   stupent
         Ursus speaks.3SG-3SGM Rumantsch excellently
         (Ursus speaks Rumantsch very well)

A table of the subject clitic elements in provided in (4). It is beyond the scope of the present paper to justify the designation of these as "clitics," though there is some limited discussion of that matter in Anderson (2004).

(4)
Person/Number(/Gender)	Subject clitic
1sg	=**a**
2sg	=**t**
3sg masc.	=**'l**
3sg fem.	=**'la**
3sg impersonal	=**(i)gl**
1pl	=**s(a)**
2pl	∅
3pl masc/fem	=**igl**

When a non-subject occupies initial position, and the verb is accompanied by a subject clitic from the set in (4), this sanctions a phonetically null subject, as in (5).

(5)   Rumantsch discorra=**'l**   stupent
      Rumantsch speaks.3SG-3SGM excellently
      He speaks Rumantsch very well

Surmiran is not in general a PRO-drop language: that is, null subjects are not allowed in the absence of a subject clitic, as shown by the ungrammaticality of sentences like (6).

(6)   a.*Discorra   rumantsch   stupent
              speaks.3SG Rumantsch excellently
              (He speaks Rumantsch very well)

      b.*Rumantsch discorra   stupent
              Rumantsch speaks.3SG excellently
              (He speaks Rumantsch very well)

Just as with the third person subjects illustrated above, first and second person subjects cannot be phonetically null (or omitted) except in the presence of a subject clitic, though the fact that the second person plural clitic is itself null partially obscures this fact. First person examples are given in (7).

(7)   a. Ia/*∅ discor   mal   rumantsch
           (I)   speak.1SG badly Rumantsch
           I speak Rumantsch badly

      b. Rumantsch discor   ia/*∅ mal
           Rumantsch speak.1SG (I)   badly
           I speak Rumantsch badly

      c. Rumantsch discorr=**a**   (ia) mal
           Rumantsch speak.1SG-1SG I   badly
           I (*I*) speak Rumantsch badly

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

Surmiran also has a full set of object pronominal clitics, which behave in ways that are largely unsurprising for a Romance language. Some examples below will contain clitics of this type, but space considerations preclude a full analysis here.

1.1.   The Inversion Construction

Against this general background, let us take a closer look at the Inversion construction. Among the non-subjects that can trigger this by appearing in initial position are argument DPs, PPs, participial phrases, entire clauses, etc., as illustrated in part in (8).

(8)   a. La   steiva   ò   Ursus nattagea bagn
           the living room has.3SG Ursus cleaned   well
           Ursus cleaned the living room well

      b. Tar igl gi da Rummy   vala   igl joker adegna
           in   the game of rummy is.worth.3SG the joker always
           25 puncts
           25 points
           In the game of rummy, the joker is always worth 25 points

    c. Giond   ier   a spass   ò   Ursus scuntro Ladina
       going yesterday for a walk has.3SG Ursus met   Ladina
       While walking yesterday, Ursus met Ladina

Among the variations on this theme that are worth noting is the possibility of having a bare past participle appear alone in initial position, as in the sentences in (9). When this happens, the participle cannot be accompanied by its object (if the verb is transitive) or by other complements. The only exception is certain short, common manner adverbs (such as *mal* 'badly'), which some speakers accept in sentences like (9e). This complex of possibilities is reminiscent of the construction known as Stylistic Fronting in Icelandic and other Scandinavian languages.

(9)   a. Maglea va   ia en traclo   cun   caschiel
         eaten   have.1SG I   a   sandwich with cheese
         I ate a cheese sandwich

      b. *Maglea en traclo   cun   caschiel va   ia
         eaten   a   sandwich with cheese   have.1SG I

      c. La notg passada ò   Gion durmia mal
         last night   has.3SG John slept   badly
         Last night John slept badly

      d. Durmia ò   Gion mal   la notg passada
         slept   has.3SG John badly last night
         John slept badly last night

      e. (??)Durmia mal   ò   Gion la notg passada
            slept   badly has.3SG John last night

Another interesting possibility is that of having an infinitive in initial position, followed by a finite form of the same verb. As with the participle construction in (9), the fronted infinitive cannot be accompanied by complements. These facts are illustrated in (10).

(10)   a. Cantar canta='l   Ursus ena canzung
         to.sing sings.3SG-3SG.M. Ursus a   song
         Ursus is singing a song

      b. *cantar ena canzung canta='l   Ursus
         to.sing a   song   sings.3SG-3SG.M Ursus

This construction is again reminiscent of one found in other languages, such as the topicalized infinitives in Breton (Anderson 1981). Unlike Breton, however, Surmiran doubles the verb by a finite form of the same verb, rather than with a finite form of a dummy 'light' verb such as *far* 'do' as in the ungrammatical (11).

(11) *screiver fatsch ia en codesch
      to-write do-1sg I a book

For some (but not all) speakers, the construction in (10) is only possible with synthetic forms of the verb, and not with periphrastic forms. This contrast is illustrated in (12).

(12) a. Cantar cantava='l   Ursus bagn
         to.sing sang.3SGIMPERF-3SG Ursus well
         Ursus was singing well

      b.*/?Cantar ò='l   canto Ursus bagn
          to.sing has3SG-3SGM sung Ursus well
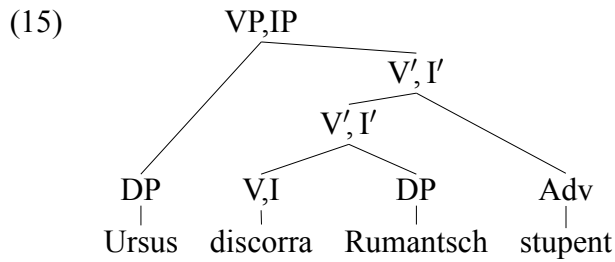   Ursus sang well

While constituents of a variety of types can appear initially, there is a limit of one such element in preverbal position. Sentences such as (13), in which the preverbal material does not correspond to a single constituent, are thus not possible.

(13) *Ier   la steiva   ò   Ursus nattagea
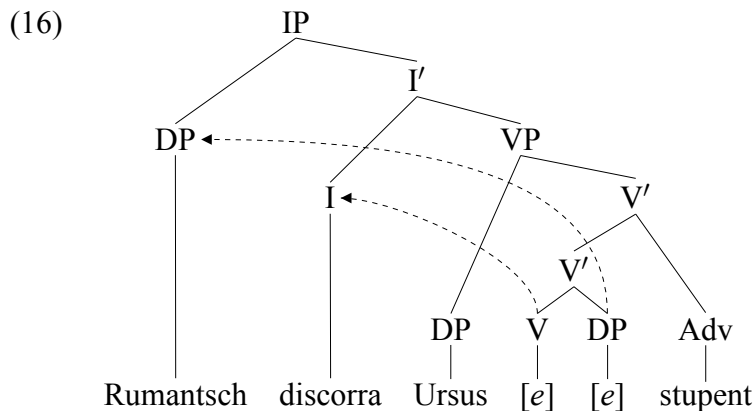   Yesterday the living room has.3SG Ursus cleaned

Finally, it is important to note that the verb in the Inversion construction is accompanied by any and all clitic elements (in addition to a subject clitic, if present) that would appear with it in uninverted sentences, as illustrated in (14).

(14) a. Cleramaintg **n'=ò='l**   Ursus betg savia chegl
         Obviously   NEG-has.3SG-3SG.M. Ursus not   known that
         Obviously *Ursus* didn't know that

      b. Ier   seira   **n'=ans=ò**   Maria betg telefono
         Yesterday evening NEG-1PL-has.3SG Maria not   phoned
         Yesterday evening Maria didn't telephone us

In developing an analysis of the facts just reviewed, I propose to start from the "VP-internal subject" hypothesis, on which the basic subject position is that of the Specifier of VP. Assume further that the inflectional properties of the clause are realized on a verb which is head of IP. In a basic declarative clause with no (non-subject) topic or focus element in initial position, there is no reason to assume a structural distinction between IP and VP, so I will adopt a view of phrase structure that allows me to say this. On that picture, the structure of sentence (1) above is as in (15).

(15)

```
                VP,IP
                   \
                    V′, I′
                   /
              V′, I′
              /    \
    DP      V,I      DP      Adv
    |        |        |        |
  Ursus  discorra  Rumantsch  stupent
```

Where an initial non-subject position is required, I assume that this is Spec(IP). Since the Spec(IP) is no longer the same as Spec(VP) (the basic subject position), an additional layer of structure is required to distinguish IP from VP. In such a structure, some constituent of the core clause (the VP) is displaced to the Spec(IP) position.[2] The verb must also be displaced from the head position within VP to the I head position in the matrix IP; this is presumably driven by the fact that it is only a verb in the head of IP that will acquire the clause's inflectional features. A sentence like (2a) is thus assigned the structure in (16), with the two displacements just noted indicated by dashed arrows.

(16)

```
                  IP
                 /  \
                     I′
                    /  \
      DP◄--        VP
         \        /  \
          I◄--        V′
          |          / \
                   V′
                  /  \
           DP    V   DP    Adv
           |     |    |     |
      Rumantsch discorra Ursus [e] [e] stupent
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Note now that in a structure like (16) the finite verb (in I), which agrees with the subject, C-commands the basic subject position (Spec(VP)). This will be true precisely in the Inversion construction of which (16) is an instance, and I propose that it is this C-command relation between the agreeing verb and its subject that sanctions the presence of a clitic from the set in (4).

If the subject clitics themselves (as opposed to simple verbal agreement) are potentially referential, we can then say that a Binding relation exists between such a referential subject clitic and the subject DP position which it governs, and that this is what sanctions a null pronominal (*pro*) in subject position in the presence of such a clitic. This is all part of a larger theory of agreement, clitics, and doubling

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[2] Sentence-initial non-subjects are presumably assigned a discourse function such as Topic or Focus, and it is this discourse role that motivates their displacement. I have no analysis to offer at this point of the precise discourse-structure considerations at work here, and will simply assume that there is some required interpretation associated with sentence-initial position.

relations which is developed in Anderson (2005), to which the reader is referred for further details and discussion.

1.2.   Inversion in Other Clause Types

Inversion in Surmiran is not limited to declarative main clauses. For pragmatic reasons associated with the interpretation of non-subject material in initial position, such constituents are rare in subordinate clauses, but when they occur, they trigger Inversion as in the sentences of (17).

(17)   a. Cartez   tg'igl   settember   turnan=**s**
              believe.2PL   that-ART   September   return.SBJNCTVE.1PL-1PL
              ainten chel hotel
              in   this   hotel

           Do you think in September we'll come back to this hotel?

        b. Ia   pains   tgi   dultschems vegia
           I   think.1SG that sweets   have.SBJNCTVE.3SG
           Corinna   gugent
           Corinna   gladly

           I think Corinna likes *sweets*

    When question words are fronted, they also trigger Inversion as in (18).

(18)   a. Tge   ò=**'la**   (Ladina) cumpro?
              what has.3SG-3SG.F.   Ladina   bought
              What did Ladina/she buy?

        b. Cura   ò=**'la**   (Ladina) cumpro en   auto?
           when has.3SG3SG.F   Ladina   a   car
           When did Ladina/she buy a car?

        c. Igl auto da tgi   ò=**'la**   (Ladina) cumpro?
           the car   of whom   has.3SG-3SG.F.   Ladina   bought
           Whose car did Ladina/she buy?

    On the other hand, when the question word corresponds to the subject, Inversion would result in no change of word order. The fact that subject clitics are impossible when the subject is questioned, as shown in (19), while questions involving non-subjects do permit clitics (cf. (18)), suggests that in fact no Inversion occurs in this case.

(19) Tgi   ò(*='l/*='la)   cumpro en   auto?
        who has.3SG(-3SG.M./F.) bought   a   car
        Who bought a car?

When the question word is extracted from an embedded clause, that clause pre-serves the basic order, and it is the matrix clause that displays Inversion, as in (20).

(20) Tge manegias te   tgi Ladina vegia(*=**la**)
     what think.2SG you that Ladina have.SBJNCTVE.3SG(*-3SG.F.)
     cumpro?
     bought
     What do you think that Ladina bought?

Inversion is also characteristic of yes/no questions, although in this construction there is no (overt) sentence-initial non-subject. The uniformity of this structure with that of other instances of Inversion is confirmed by the presence of subject clitics in sentences like the last two examples in (21).

(21)   a. È   igl viadi sto   tger?
          is.3SG the trip   been   expensive
          Was the trip expensive?

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

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

       d. **At=ò=gl**   plaschia an Sicilia?
          2SG-has.3SG-3IMPERS pleased   in Sicily
          Did you like Sicily?

On the other hand, Inversion does not occur in some instances where it might be expected. Subordinate clauses are commonly introduced by a complementizer *tge*, and we might expect this to count as a non-subject element in initial position. Sentences like (22) show that Inversion does not occur in this case.

(22) Siva tg'els   on   en unfant, stat   el pi   savens
     since that-they   have.3PL   a child   is.3SG he more often
     a tgesa
     at home
     Since they have a child, he is home more often

Finally, we can note that (unlike questions) relative clauses do not in general show Inversion, regardless of what is relativized, as in (23).

(23) a. Igl codesch tgi   è   sen meisa   pos=**t**   aveir
          the book   which is   on the table can.2SG-2SG   have
          The book which is on the table you can have

      b. Igl velo tgi   Ursus ò   cumpro **n'**=è   betg nov
          the bike which Ursus has bought   NEG-is.3SG   not   new
          The bike which Ursus bought is not new

      c. Igl gioven   agl   qual   ia va   scretg
          The youngster to.the   which   I   have.1SG   written

          è   sto   igl mies   scolar
          is.3SG   been   the my   student

          The youngster to whom I wrote was my student

      d. La matta dalla   qualla te   ast   survagnia en canaster
          the girl   from.the   which   you have.2SG   received   a basket

          mareida   proximamaintg
          marries.3SG   in the near future

          The girl who turned you down is getting married soon

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

Let us now consider how to incorporate these additional facts into the account of Surmiran structure developed in section 1.1. I suggested there that Inversion was associated with a structural differentiation of IP and VP forced by the need to provide a clause-initial non-subject position. From the absence of Inversion in embedded clauses introduced by *tge*, I conclude that such structure is not necessary to provide for this Complementizer. In fact, it is suggested in Anderson (2005) that *tge* does not occupy a structural position in phrase structure at all, but is rather a clitic introduced into the phonological form of embedded clauses on the basis of their character as complements. In any event, no structure above the level of VP (or IP, in the case of exceptional sentences like (17) with initial non-subjects in embedded clauses) is required to host *tge*.

Inversion does occur in (most) questions, so let us suppose that these are characterized by an interrogative operator Q, a feature of I. The presence of Q alone characterizes yes/no questions; in content questions, the question word itself must occupy (or move to) the position of the Specifier of the I containing Q. To establish its scope, Q must govern the entire clause (in yes/no questions) or all of it except for the question word in its specifier (for information questions).

Since Q is associated with I, in order to establish its scope in yes/no questions the elaborated structure with IP distinct from VP is required, which in turn forces the verb to be displaced to the higher I, yielding Inversion. In content questions, the higher structure is again motivated when the question word is not the subject;

the question word is displaced as required to the higher specifier position, and the verb to I, again yielding Inversion. When the question word is the subject, however, the minimal structure with VP=IP meets all of the required conditions without elaboration. The question word, as subject, is located in the position of specifier of the head I (=V) bearing Q, and that element in turn governs the remainder of the clause. This accounts for the asymmetry by which Inversion is not found in content questions where the content word is the subject.

Relative clauses differ from questions, in that no operator such as Q is associated with I in a relative clause. The relative expression is preposed, and binds a gap within the clause. In subject relatives no word order changes are required, since the relative is already in clause initial position. In non-subject relatives, the relative expression is simply extracted and adjoined to the clause. In neither case is additional IP structure required, and as a result, none is projected, the verb remains in its base position, and the diagnostic properties of Inversion such as subject clitics do not appear.

Overall, then, I conclude that the implementation of "Verb-second" in Surmiran consists in displacing the verb from its base position as head of VP to the head of a containing IP where that is distinct. From this position, it C-commands the basic subject position, thus sanctioning the presence of a subject clitic. When such a clitic is present and interpreted as referential, this in turn sanctions phonologically null *pro* in subject position.

2. The Syntax of *ins*

Interesting additional light is shed on the nature of Verb-second in Surmiran by a consideration of the syntax of the element *ins*. This generally appears in lieu of an overt subject, with impersonal interpretation similar to that of German *man* or French *on* in sentences like (24).

(24) Ins na pò betg eir quant spert tg'ins vot
ins NEG can-3sg not go as fast that-*ins* wants.3SG
sen las autostradas svizras
on the freeways Swiss

You can't go however fast you want on the Swiss freeways

Like impersonals in many other languages, *ins* cannot represent a non-subject argument, as illustrated in (25).

(25)   a. *Igls pulizists na pon betg veir ins da lò
the policemen NEG can.3SG not see *ins* from there
The police can't see one from there

b. *Mintgign digls guids ò la sia moda
each of.the guides has.3SG the his way
da trattar cun ins
of to-deal with *ins*

Each of the guides has his way of dealing with one

Although superficially just a sort of indefinite pronoun with a restriction to subject position, *ins* does not act like other arguments (full DPs or pronominals) occupying subject position. In particular, it does not undergo Inversion with the verb when a non-subject is clause initial, as in (26).

(26)   a. Dalla derivanza digls rets ins so tant scu
           of.the origin of.the Rhaeti *ins* know.3SG so-much as
           navot
           nothing

           Of the origins of the Rhaeti[3] we know almost nothing.

       b. D'anviern ins pò eir sur tot igls pass cun auto
           In winter *ins* can.3SG go over all the passes with car
           In the winter you can go over all of the passes by car

Similarly, *ins* fails to invert in questions of either the yes/no or the content type, as illustrated in (27).

(27)   a. Ins viagia pi bagn cugl tren u
           ins travels.3SG more good with-the train or
           cugl auto sch'ins fò viadis pi lungs?
           with-the car if-*ins* makes trips more long

           Does one travel better by train or by car when making longer trips?

       b. Tge meis digl onn ins dovra pneus
           what month of.the year *ins* needs.3SG tires
           d'anviern aint igl Grischun?
           of-winter in the Graubünden

           What month of the year do you need winter tires in Graubünden?

Although the position of *ins* immediately before the verb does not change in contexts such as (26) and (27) where we would expect Inversion, we do find another diagnostic of Inversion in these sentences. Specifically, a subject clitic *=(i)gl* can appear in *ins*-sentences precisely when we would expect to find Inversion: in the presence of an initial non-subject as in (28a), in yes/no questions like (28b), and in content questions like (28c). This is the same clitic that appears in Inversion structures with other impersonals, such as existentials and weather verbs.

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[3] Early indigenous people of the Rumantsch area.

(28)   a. Ainten chell'ustareia ins (na) magl=**igl**   betg
           in   this-inn   *ins* **neg=** eat.3SG-3IMPERS not
           schi bagn, on=**igl**   detg
           so   well   have.3PL-3PL said

           In this inn you don't eat so well, they said

    b. Ins pò=**gl**   fimar   cò?
           ins can.3SG-3IMPERS to-smoke here
           Can you smoke here?

    c. Quant dei ins o=**gl**   cugl   auto anfignen
           how long *ins* has.3SG-3IMPERS with the car   to
           sensom igl pass?
           top   the pass

           How long is it by car to the top of the pass?

Etymologically, *ins* is derived from Latin UNUS like many other Romance impersonals. Its behavior, however, is not simply that of a pronoun. Rather, it seems more like the impersonal structures of Spanish or Italian in (29), which are based on a verbal clitic (in those languages, one identical with the third person reflexive) in association with an otherwise empty subject position, presumably occupied by a phonologically null pronominal of some sort.

(29) **Spanish:** En México se trabaja   mucho
             in   Mexico *se* works.3SG much
             In Mexico one works a lot

    Italian: Si lavora   sempre troppo
             si works.3SG always   too much
             One always works too much

Another parallel is with certain impersonal verbal forms in Celtic. McCloskey (2005) has recently shown that the "autonomous" form of the verb in Irish, illustrated by example (30a), occurs with a phonologically null subject PRO$_{ARB}$ with the semantics of an arbitrary pronoun. A similar analysis was proposed in (Anderson 1982) for the Breton verbal form in (30b).

(30)   a. (**Irish:**) Tugtar   'madadh uisce' go minic ar   an
                 give.PRES.AUT dog   water   often   on   the
                 dobharchú
                 otter

                 The otter is often called a water-dog

    b. (**Breton:**) An eil   pred a   anver   merenn
                the second meal PRT call.PRES.AUT lunch
                The second meal is called lunch

In these respects, Surmiran *ins* differs from the corresponding elements in other forms of Rumantsch, as illustrated in (31).

(31) **Vallader:** Passand tras   il   desert **as=**   chatta
                   Passing across the desert 3SGREFL   finds.3SG
                   qualchevoutas skelets
                   sometimes   skeletons

Crossing the desert, one sometimes finds skeletons

Puter: Passand tres   il   desert chatta   ün   qualchevoutas
           passing across the desert finds.3SG *man* sometimes
           skelets
           skeletons

Crossing the desert, one sometimes finds skeletons

Surselvan: Nua   ein   ins cun la   lavur? Ins ei   alla
               where is.3SG   *ins* with the work   *ins* is.3SG at-the
               fin. Na, alla   fin ein   ins mai.
               end   no   at-the end is.3SG *ins* never

Where are we with the job? We're finished. No, we're never finished.

In Vallader, impersonals are formed using a third person singular reflexive verbal clitic, similar to the Spanish and Italian constructions of (29). In Puter, this construction is possible, as well as one with *ün* in subject position. Like Surmiran *ins*, this is a reflex of Latin UNUS, but unlike *ins*, it behaves as a normal pronoun and inverts with the verb when appropriate. In Surselvan, we have an element *ins* that is phonetically like the Surmiran form, but which (like Puter *ün*) acts like a normal pronoun. Finally, in Sutsilvan (which will be exemplified later below), we have *ign*, another reflex of UNUS which again acts like a normal pronoun.

It should be noted that some Surmiran speakers do accept sentences in which *ins* has inverted with the verb as in (32). They report, however, that this order "sounds like German." Since nearly all speakers of Surmiran are bilingual in German, as noted above, this influence is not hard to account for. What is notable about it, indeed, is the fact that this order is still felt as foreign to Surmiran.

(32) #Chegl dei   ins dapertot
     That   says.3SG   *ins* everywhere
     That they say everywhere (OK, but 'sounds like German')

Since *ins* comes historically from UNUS used pronominally, it ought to behave as a pronoun. So why does it display the strange behavior it does? A clue is furnished by the fact that in at least one older description, Grisch (1939) transcribes

ins as homophonous with **ans=**, the first person plural object clitic. And indeed, in rapid speech for many speakers, the two may not be distinct phonetically.

A relation between impersonals and first person plural forms is known from both French and Italian. As illustrated in (33) impersonal forms in these languages can be used with first person plural reference.

(33) **French:** Nous, on fait pas ça ici
we *on* does.3SG not that here
We don't do that here

Italian: Si è contenti quando **ci=** scrivono
si is.3SG happy.PL when 1PL write.3PL
We are happy when they write to us (Burzio (1992))

Indeed, one occasionally finds Surmiran sentences such as (34) in which impersonal *ins* must be interpreted as having first person plural reference.

(34) Scu indigen ins sa renda savens betg ple chint digls
As natives *ins* REFL take often not much account of.the
prievels da nossa nateira.
dangers of our nature

As locals, we often don't pay attention to the dangers in our natural setting.

It is not implausible to suggest, then, that a relation between impersonals and first person plural forms might have some role to play in the development of *ins*. This is not to suggest that they are the same element in the modern language: for one thing, they are phonetically distinct (as [ɪns] *vs.* [əns]) outside of rapid speech. In addition, although both act as if they were clitics attached at the left of the finite verb, they occur in different positions with respect to other clitics, as shown in (35).

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

Furthermore, in periphrastic modal constructions such as (36), *ins* always precedes the finite verb, while **ans=**, like other object clitics, can attach to the infinitive.

(36) a. El vot **ans=** tarmetter dumang ena factura
He wants.3SG 1PL to.send tomorrow a bill
He wants to send us a bill tomorrow

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

    c.*Mintgatant   stò(=**gl**)   ins spitgier en po
       often   must.3SG(-3IMPERS) *ins* wait   a bit
       Often you have to wait a bit

What should we conclude from these facts? The behavior of *ins*, and in particular its failure to invert when appropriate despite evidence (from subject clitics) that the associated verb has in fact been displaced in the same way as other Inversion constructions, finds a natural explanation if we say that it has been re-analyzed as a special sort of preverbal clitic. I propose, then, that sentences with *ins* have a structure parallel to that of the Spanish and Italian examples in (29), with the subject position occupied by phonetically null PRO$_{ARB}$ and a clitic (here, **ins**=) attached to the verb and positioned before other clitics such as the first part of negation or an object pronominal.

Historically, I suggest that this situation arose as a result of the similarity of *ins* to the first person plural clitic **ans**=. This reanalysis was facilitated by similarities to Italian, a language in which (a) impersonal sentences involve PRO$_{ARB}$ as subject and a preverbal clitic, and (b) first person and impersonal reference are closely related. Given widespread familiarity with Italian on the part of Surmiran speakers, especially before the more recent expansion of German influence in Graubünden, this does not seem an implausible suggestion, though of course more historical evidence would certainly be welcome to confirm it.

If this is correct, then under conditions triggering Inversion a verb whose subject is PRO$_{ARB}$ is displaced from V to I, just like any other. It thus comes to C-command the basic subject position (containing PRO$_{ARB}$), resulting in the possible introduction of an appropriate subject clitic (=**(i)gl**).

3.   Verb-second in Surmiran

What is the significance of these facts for an understanding of Verb-second in Surmiran? As a clitic, *ins* is attached to the finite verb, and does not alter its position with respect to that word under displacment in Inversion constructions. But that implies that the sequence '*ins*+verb' is simply another instance of the verb together with its accompanying clitic(s). As a consequence, sentences like (24) have no phonetically realized element preceding the verb, and so the verb is not in fact in second position, but rather first. If, on the contrary, we were to say that *ins* in (24) 'counts' as filling first position, then we would be in trouble with sentences like (26), where an initial non-subject, combined with *ins*, would result in the verb being in third position. Since no other re-orderings occur in these cases, we have to conclude that the verb in Surmiran is not in fact required to be in second position.

In fact, there are a few other sentence types that reinforce this point. Matrix experiencer predicates ('be unhappy', 'seem', etc.) with postposed sentential subjects and clitic pronominal experiencers, have the verb together with its object clitic in sentence-initial position, as in (37).

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

Sentences of this sort are always impersonal. It is possible for them to have an initial dummy subject *igl*; such dummy subjects are normally obligatory in true impersonal sentences, but with a pronominal clitic representing the experiencer, need not appear. On the other hand, when the experiencer is represented by a full PP, as in the second variant of (37), initial *igl* is obligatory unless the experiencer PP is preposed (as here), in which case we have a normal Inversion construction as evidenced by the possibility of the subject clitic. The generalization seems to be that a preverbal clitic (*ins*, or **am=** in (37)) can count as "sort of" a subject, thus avoiding the need either for dummy *igl* or Inversion. Obviously, this suggestion remains to be made much more precise, but it seems a possible line of analysis.

For some perspective on these facts, consider their analogs in Sutsilvan, a closely related form of ("Central") Rumantsch. Here the cognate of *ins*, namely *ign* (also etymologically from Latin UNUS) behaves like a normal pronoun occupying an argument position rather than like a clitic in sentences like those of (38). As a result, it undergoes Inversion in sentences parallel to ones in Surmiran above in which Inversion does not take place.

(38)   a. Ign dastga fimar   dapartut   an quell'ustreia
           ins can.3SG to.smoke everywhere in   that restaurant
           You can smoke anywhere in that restaurant

        b. Gl'unviern san   ign ir   cugl   auto sur   tut
           in winter   can.3SG *ins* to.go with the car   over all
           igls pass
           the passes
           In the winter you can go over all of the passes by car (cf. (26b) above)

        c. Quant gitg ân   ign cugl   auto antocen senzum igl pass?
           how long   has *ins* with the car   to   top   the pass
           How long is by car to the top of the pass? (cf. (28c) above)

Furthermore, impersonal experiencer sentences in Sutsilvan parallel to Surmiran examples in which the verb is initial, like the first variant of (37), always have dummy subjects as illustrated in (39).

(39) Igl/* **mi**= disple   ca   questa seira sto jou   star
      it   me   displeases.3SG that this evening I   must.1SG   stay

      a tgea
      at home

      I am sorry that I have to stay home this evening

I conclude that the grammar of Sutsilvan really does constrain the verb to occur in second position, through mechanisms discussed in Anderson (2005). The same appears to be true of the other Swiss Rumantsch languages, though a demonstration of that must be left to another occasion. In Surmiran, however, the element *ins* was reanalyzed as a clitic, under the influence of its similarity to **ans=** and other factors cited above. Such a reanalysis could not have taken place in Sutsilvan, since *ign* bears no particular resemblance to any preverbal clitic. As a result, for a significant class of sentences the Verb-second condition ceased to be true in Surmiran, and was lost from the grammar. In the modern language, the sense in which Surmiran is a "Verb-second" language is limited to the fact that Inversion occurs where it is motivated: that is, the verb is displaced from V to I exactly when the clause displays IP structure distinct from that of the core VP.

There is no little irony in this: the standard story about Verb-second in German that dominates the syntax literature claims that in this language, Verb-second consists in the requirement "Displace the verb from I to C". Much of that literature treats the "second position" effect as epiphenomenal, and the required verb raising operation (which blocks under some circumstances) as primary. In Anderson (2005), however, it is argued that the best analysis of all of the Indo-European Verb-second languages (apart from Surmiran), including members of the Germanic, Celtic, and Indic families, involves explicit verb second requirements, with displacement of the verb following from these, rather than the other way around.

On this account, Surmiran works the way German is often thought to, and isn't a Verb-second language in the sense of having a second position requirement in its grammar at all. It just looks like a Verb-second language, because the effect of Inversion (which is driven by something quite different) typically has the epiphenomenal consequence of locating the verb after exactly one sentence-initial constituent.

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Stephen R. Anderson
Yale University
Department of Linguistics
370 Temple Street
New Haven, CT 06520-8366

sra@yale.edu