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# The verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch<sup>1</sup>

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## *Abstract*

*This paper examines the word order found within the verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch, a relatively isolated Swiss German dialect. A novel methodology, combining the analysis of transcribed texts with grammaticality judgments of naive native speakers, is introduced. The resulting description shows word order within the Gurinerdeutsch verb complex to be similar to that found in other Upper Alemannic dialects, although there are certain features — the order of certain arguments of verbs, the positioning of the particle z (corresponding to Standard German zu) 'to' — that pose interesting challenges to current accounts of word order within the verbal complex in Continental West Germanic languages.*

## **1. Introduction**

The dialect of Bosco Gurin, the only German-speaking village in the Swiss canton of Ticino, is a rather isolated Upper Alemannic dialect. The German-speaking community of Bosco Gurin was established by immigrants from Valais (German: Wallis) in the mid-thirteenth century. Since that time, the closest contacts have been with the Italian dialects of the rest of the Maggia Valley, although especially in recent years contacts with general Swiss German (essentially that of Zurich) and Standard German have increased. Although there has been considerable Italian influence on vocabulary, including idioms, there is little direct evidence of Italian influence on the grammatical structure of Gurinerdeutsch.

Our aim in this paper is to examine some of the word-order properties of the verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch, especially differences from more widely described varieties of Continental West Germanic. By the verbal complex, we mean the sequence of verb forms (with any other intervening elements) that occurs in clause-final position, in Gurinerdeutsch as in other varieties of Continental West Germanic. In Standard German, this would thus include the italicized sequences in the following examples:

- (1) Wir haben einem alten Mann Kühe *geben wollen*.  
 'We have wanted to give cows to an old man.'
- (2) Daniel weiß, daß wir einem alten Mann Kühe *haben geben wollen*.  
 'Daniel knows that we have wanted to give cows to an old man.'

Note that in (1), the verb *haben* in sentence-second position does not count as part of the verbal complex. Likewise included under the concept of verbal complex is the italicized sequence in example (3) (Kefer and Lejeune 1974: 330), perhaps somewhat marginal in Standard German, with the nonverbal element *darum* 'for it' separating verbal components of the verbal complex:

- (3) ...die Rüge für die Untersellung kam sofort, ohne daß der Staatsanwalt *hätte darum bitten müssen*.  
 '... the reprimand for the insinuation came at once, without the prosecutor having had to ask for it.'

In Dutch example (4) (Geerts et al. 1984: 532), the particle *te* 'to' separates verbal elements of the verbal complex:

- (4) Hij zei dat hij de kraanvogels *probeerde te fotograferen*.  
 'He said that he was trying to photograph the cranes.'

### 1.1. Methodology

In order to avoid some of the dangers inherent in gathering material, often of doubtful reliability, by direct elicitation, especially from a language variety of which neither investigator is a native speaker, we used a number of methods other than direct elicitation as the basis of our data collection:

a. Existing collections of texts in Gurinerdeutsch. The most extensive of these is Gerstner-Hirzel (1979), to which may be added the prose sections of Gerstner-Hirzel (1986); particularly useful are the texts transcribed from tape recordings (marked with T in Gerstner-Hirzel [1979]). The author herself notes (1979: 14–15) that some editing has been done to the texts in this collection. Ideally, all such textual examples relevant to our present purpose should be compared against the recordings, although we have not yet been able to do this. Tomamichel (1982) contains three pages of Gurinerdeutsch continuous texts, apparently written directly by native speakers, in addition to isolated sentences and expressions scattered through the book. Hotzenköcherle and Brunner (1971) give seven short Gurinerdeutsch continuous texts transcribed directly from tape.

b. Questionnaires. Three questionnaires were devised by us. The main part of Questionnaire 1 (Questionnaire 1a), which was completed by 13 native speakers of Gurinerdeutsch in 1985, asked the respondent to evaluate a number of variants (around 10) for each of four sentences; each of the four sentences was accompanied by an Italian translation. In a second part of Questionnaire 1 (Questionnaire 1b), completed by 11 respondents, evaluation of variants of two Gurinerdeutsch sentences was requested in a context (provided in both Gurinerdeutsch and Italian). In the last part of Questionnaire 1 (Questionnaire 1c), a context was provided in Italian and 13 respondents provided, as requested, a Gurinerdeutsch translation of a continuation sentence presented in Italian. The outline of Questionnaire 1 is provided in Appendix 1. Questionnaire 2 again provided a number of alternatives for each of a number of Gurinerdeutsch sentences, though given the progress in our understanding of Gurinerdeutsch the number of sentences was larger (around 60), while the number of variants was smaller (typically, from two to four), reflecting the increased focusedness of our questions. Several of the sentences were adapted from Gerstner-Hirzel (1979). Questionnaire 2 was completed in full by two native speakers of Gurinerdeutsch in 1988, and their responses developed into more open-ended fieldwork investigation of Gurinerdeutsch. Questionnaire 3 was highly focused on a small number of critical cases (with some examples repeated from Questionnaire 1a as distractors — judgments on these sentences did not differ significantly from those given for Questionnaire 1a) and asked for evaluations of individual sentences, many again adapted from Gerstner-Hirzel (1979); it was completed by five native speakers of Gurinerdeutsch in 1991, although for reasons beyond our control some sentences were evaluated by only two (in one case three) native speakers. Questionnaire 2 was conducted in Bosco Gurin by Comrie; Questionnaire 1 and Questionnaire 3 were conducted by mail.

Throughout the questionnaires, evaluation was according to a three-point scale: perfect (1), acceptable (2), impossible (3). Thus, with 13 respondents, a total score of 13 would indicate that all respondents found that variant perfect, while 39 would indicate that they all found it impossible. For convenience, we interpret a total score within the top third of possible scores as indicating grammaticality, within the bottom third as indicating ungrammaticality, and within the middle third as indicating doubtful status. We would emphasize, however, that the questionnaires are designed as means of approaching native-speaker judgments with some degree of reliability and are not to be hypostatized either as primary objects of investigation or as theoretical constructs. The results of Questionnaire 1 are, incidentally, very consistent across subjects: evaluation

of a particular variant by subjects rarely varied by more than one point, and nearly all subjects gave relative evaluations of the variants correlating consistently or almost consistently with the aggregate evaluation.

### 1.2. Basic word-order properties and verb morphology of Gurinerdeutsch

Gurinerdeutsch has the same basic word-order properties as the rest of Continental West Germanic. In particular, in declarative main clauses, the finite verb appears in clause-second position, while other verb forms appear in clause-final position.<sup>2</sup>

- (5) Mu tårff gghe<sup>1</sup>n Schteina ema åndra e schim Gat warffa, suscht mass-mu di Schteina em Jungshta Tågg medama ggfijriga Regil gå zamanlasa. (V127)  
 ‘Man darf keine Steine einem anderen in sein Landstck werfen, sonst mu man die Steine am Jngsten Tag mit einem feurigen Riegel aufsammeln (gehen).’  
 ‘One may not throw stones onto another’s property, otherwise one must go gather the stones at the Last Judgment with a fiery bar.’

In the first clause of (5), clause-initial position is occupied by the subject *mu* ‘man’, ‘one’, in the second clause by the adverbial *suscht* ‘sonst’, ‘otherwise’, which causes the subject to be positioned after the verb. In certain nondeclarative main clauses, in particular yes–no questions, the finite verb appears in clause-initial position, with other verb forms again in clause-final position:

- (6) Hscht ggheart? (V155.6)<sup>3</sup>  
 ‘Hast du gehrt?’  
 ‘Have you heard?’

In subordinate clauses, the entire set of verb forms is positioned clause-finally:

- (7) D wlld-Ar amåål losa, wåå då dar Haxuboda escht? (V3.1)  
 ‘So wollt ihr einmal hren, wo der Haxuboda ist?’  
 ‘So you want to hear where the Haxuboda is?’
- (8) Jåå, wn-i net mass gåå, zZuldååt, d wel-i d dam Heilig schoo appus ga. (V63.5–6)  
 ‘Ja, wenn ich nicht gehen mu, zum Militar, so will ich dem Heiligen schon etwas geben.’  
 ‘Well, if I don’t have to go, to the army, then I will give something to the Saint.’

In the available Gurinerdeutsch texts, there are many examples of non-argument constituents placed after the verbal complex:

- (9) ... un tia hatti dar Baargg nemma cheni mâchu mettum Schnea, ... (V43.3)  
'... und die hätte nicht mehr den Berg "machen" können bei dem Schnee.'  
'... and she would no longer have been able to cross the mountain with that snow.'

This construction is, of course, also possible in Standard German, especially its spoken varieties, and is therefore nothing unique to Gurinerdeutsch. As in other varieties of Continental West Germanic, clauses as arguments must be placed after the verbal complex:

- (10) As escht as Wip hia ggsin, un tûa he<sup>1</sup>nt-sch ggse<sup>1</sup>d, as cheni haxu ... (V4.1)  
'Es ist eine Frau hier gewesen, und da haben sie gesagt, sie könne hexen.'  
'There was a woman here, and then they said she could work spells.'

More difficult to answer is the question whether argument constituents can follow the verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch, a possibility that is excluded in virtually the whole of modern Continental West Germanic (although it was possible in Middle High German). The texts in V appear to contain no examples of this construction, though it should be borne in mind that these texts have undergone some editing (Gerstner-Hirzel 1979: 14–15). There is one clear example in R, although it should be noted that the postposed argument is an indirect, rather than a direct, object and that it is "heavy" (including a relative clause):

- (11) Un tè hêt 's miassi ts Tèschtâmènt mâchu dèna àlla, wå dâå sen ggsin. (R3.28.2–3)  
'Und dann hat es [= das Kind] das Testament machen müssen allen denjenigen, die da gewesen sind.'  
'And then it [the child] had to make a will to all those who were there.'

The texts in SD, which are direct transcriptions of a recording, provide two clear examples:

- (12) Un tarnåå chunnt tè chu dar hert zamartriba t chia. (SD4.20–21)  
'Und dann kommt da (kommen) der Hirt zusammentreiben die Kühe.'  
'And then the herdsman comes to drive the cows together.'

- (13) Un tè ... chunnt ar då chu aschtemma, aschtemma apu as hebs liat. (SD5.7–10)  
 ‘Und da kommt er da (kommen) anstimmen, anstimmen etwa ein schönes Lied.’  
 ‘And then he comes to strike up something like a beautiful song.’

One further example is probably to be identified in SD, although Hotzenköcherle and Brunner characterize it as an anocoluthon (*aschtemma* should take *alarlein liadar* as its direct object, without the intervening *singgan*):

- (14) Darnåå schtemman-sch dè a z singgan alarlein liadar. (SD5.19–21)  
 ‘Dann stimmen sie da an zu singen allerlei Lieder.’  
 ‘Then they strike up there to sing all kinds of songs.’

In our Questionnaire 1 (see section 2), where we specifically tested for such postposition of argument noun phrases, such postposing was judged unacceptable in 117 instances (where an instance is the judgment of a particular sentence by a particular speaker), acceptable in only 13, and perfect in none. Tomamichel (1983: 10) cites example (15), from the speech of the neighboring Formazza (Pomat) German dialects in northern Italy, as an instance of Italianized syntax uncharacteristic of Gurinerdeutsch:

- (15) Är ischt troolut met där macchinu unn hät prochä där Aarum.<sup>4</sup>  
 ‘Er ist gestürzt mit dem Motorrad und hat gebrochen den Arm.’  
 ‘He fell with his motorcycle and broke his arm.’

Our assessment is that such postposing is probably ungrammatical in contemporary Gurinerdeutsch, though it is unclear whether this restriction against postposed arguments is historically an intrinsic feature of Gurinerdeutsch or whether it has been introduced from other varieties of German, in particular general Swiss German.

In order to appreciate the detailed discussion of word order in the Gurinerdeutsch verbal complex, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the verb forms in the dialect. The finite forms, differentiated for person–number, are the present indicative, the present subjunctive, the imperative, and the conditional (past subjunctive); as expected in an Upper Alemannic dialect, Gurinerdeutsch has completely lost the simple past (imperfect), replacing it with a compound past (perfect). Among the nonfinite forms, Gurinerdeutsch is conservative in retaining a distinction between the infinitive and the gerund, as in *plijba* ‘bleiben’ ‘(to) remain’ versus *z plijban* ‘zu bleiben’ ‘to remain’; except with the verb *tüa* (*tian*) ‘tun’ ‘(to) do’ in its causative sense (see section 1.3), the infinitive/gerund

distinction correlates exactly with the absence/presence of the particle *z* 'zu' 'to'. There is a past participle, whose sole function is in the formation of the compound past, as in *ech ha ggmaat* 'ich habe gemäht/ich mähte' 'I mowed'. The past participle is to be distinguished from a resultative participle, which is differentiated from the past participle in many verbs by *Rückumlaut* (backing of the stem vowel) and in all by the possibility of gender–number inflection, as in *ech ha ggmaât* 'ich habe gemäht' 'I have mown'; the resultative participle is used in the resultative and passive constructions (see section 2.1).

### 1.3. *The verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch: general considerations*

The order of the various components of the verbal complex in Continental West Germanic languages (German, Dutch, Frisian) and dialects (including other varieties of Swiss German) has attracted considerable attention in the recent linguistic literature; see, for instance, Den Besten and Edmondson (1983), Haegeman and Van Riemsdijk (1986), and Vanden Wyngaerd (1989). In certain respects, Gurinerdeutsch presents richer material for the investigation of word order in the verbal complex than does Standard German, though many of the points noted below are also to be found in other regional dialects of German (especially other Upper Alemannic dialects) and also in Dutch. Some of the points noted below relate only to the frequency of occurrence of certain combinations within the verbal complex, while others relate to combinations that are not possible in Standard German:

i. The complete replacement of the simple past (imperfect) by the compound past (perfect), as in many Upper German dialects, means that combinations including auxiliary *ha/sin* 'haben/sein' 'have/be' are textually much more frequent in Gurinerdeutsch than in Standard German, including examples with the compound past of modal verbs, etc., on which another verb is then dependent. However, Gurinerdeutsch does not have a "supercompound" pluperfect of the type *ich habe gekauft gehabt* 'I had bought', a form which does occur in many varieties of German. Moreover, the Gurinerdeutsch passive does not seem to be an instance of a verbal complex. (In section 2.2, we provide an analysis of apparent pluperfect and of passive constructions, showing that they are not instances of the verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch.) Finally, although Gurinerdeutsch does use auxiliary *warda* 'werden' with the infinitive in formal parallel to the Standard German future, this construction is textually extremely rare in Gurinerdeutsch and seems only to have the interpretation of a presumption (Gerstner-Hirzel 1979: 203).

ii. The verbs of motion *gää* (unstressed *gâ*)/*chu* 'gehen/kommen' 'go/come' are used much more frequently in Gurinerdeutsch (as in Swiss German generally) with a dependent infinitive than in Standard German. Indeed, in Gurinerdeutsch the textual frequency of this construction is increased by a strong preference to insert a verb of motion wherever motion is implied. Thus, in our Questionnaire 2, the version of (16) with *gâ* was strongly preferred to that without, though the version without was considered acceptable rather than absolutely impossible:

- (16) T Müatar hêt dar Büp ggschekcht (*gâ*) Wássar z geen.  
 'Die Mutter hat den Buben geschickt, Wasser zu holen.'  
 'The mother sent the boy to (go to) fetch water.'

iii. One verb found with a dependent gerund in Gurinerdeutsch verbal complexes but impossible in Standard German is *tüa* (*tian*) 'tun' 'to make' with causative meaning (that is, 'to make someone/something do something').<sup>5</sup> This verb requires *z* 'zu' 'to' with a dependent gerund rather than an infinitive, but this occasions no departures from the usual rules governing word order in the verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch. See example (20) below.

iv. In Gurinerdeutsch, the finite forms of certain verbs with a dependent infinitive (or gerund, in the case of *tüa* [*tian*]) require their own infinitive to be inserted before this dependent infinitive (Gerstner-Hirzel 1979: 202), thus giving rise to longer chains of verb forms than would be the case in Standard German (and most other varieties of Continental West Germanic, although the phenomenon described here is well known in other varieties of Swiss German).<sup>6</sup> This infinitive insertion is obligatory with the verbs of motion *gää* (unstressed *gâ*)/*chu* 'gehen/kommen' 'to go/come' and with the causative verbs *läå* (unstressed *lä*)/*tüa* (*tian*) 'lassen/tun' 'to let/make', whereby the verb *tüa* (*tian*) inserts not its infinitive, but rather its gerund (*tian*), though without *z* 'zu', 'to'.<sup>7</sup> The verb *åfää* (unstressed *åfå*) 'anfangen' 'to begin' optionally and preferably triggers infinitive insertion in main clauses, although when infinitive insertion takes place the main verb unexpectedly drops the separable particle *å* — version (21c) was judged impossible by all five respondents to Questionnaire 3 (Hodler [1969: 544–546] gives similar examples for Berne German); in subordinate clauses infinitive insertion with *åfää* is either ungrammatical or strongly dispreferred. Examples follow, all except where otherwise specified from Questionnaire 2, though comparable examples are to be found in the texts; in each instance, the grammatical version was judged perfect, the ungrammatical version impossible:

- (17) a. T Müatar ge<sup>t</sup> gâ lüaga.  
 b. \*T Müatar ge<sup>t</sup> lüaga.  
 'Die Mutter geht schauen.'  
 'The mother goes to look.'
- (18) a. Wënn-i ech giang-gi gâ lüaga, taati-'s ggsee.  
 b. \*Wënn-i ech giang-gi lüaga, taati-'s ggsee.  
 'Wenn ich (ich) ginge schauen, täte [= würde] ich es sehen.'  
 'If I went to look I would see it.'
- (19) a. Mu låât-na lå sing-ga.  
 b. \*Mu låât-na sing-ga.  
 'Man läßt ihn singen.'  
 'One lets him sing.'
- (20) a. Düw tüascht-na tian z assan.  
 b. \*Düw tüascht-na z assan.  
 lit. 'Du tust ihn zu essen [= du läßt ihn essen].'  
 'You make him eat.'
- (21) a. Ech fââ âfâ waarchu.  
 b. Ech fââ â waarchu.  
 c. \*Ech fââ â âfâ waarchu.  
 'Ich fange an [zu] arbeiten.'  
 'I begin to work.'
- (22) ... wënn 's âfâât aabara ... (T148.1-2)  
 '... wenn es anfängt [zu] tauen ...'  
 '... when it begins to thaw ...'

v. Finite forms of verbs are sometimes replaced by a finite form of *tüa* 'tun' 'to do' and the infinitive of the verb, a construction that has been steadfastly combatted by normative grammarians of the German language, although it is widespread in spoken German; see the main clause of example (18).

#### 1.4. Descriptive framework

Given our overall aim of presenting reliable Gurinerdeutsch material that is germane to recent discussions of the verbal complex in Continental West Germanic, we have adopted a descriptive framework that, while clearly not "theory-neutral," nonetheless tries to steer clear of commitment to any particular current theoretical account of word order in the Continental West Germanic verb complex. The framework of Den Besten and Edmondson (1983) has been particularly influential on our own framework. As in most recent work on the Continental West Germanic

verb complex, we operate in terms of an underlying structure that is strictly verb-final, that is, in which the finite verb is clause-final and each other verb form immediately precedes the verb form on which it is dependent, while likewise other dependents (arguments and adjuncts) of a verb precede the verb form on which they are dependent. While some varieties of Continental West Germanic dialects show essentially this order in surface structure in subordinate clauses (such as West Frisian and Low German; see example [33] below), most varieties show one or more of the following departures from this in surface structure (apart from the ubiquitous rule requiring the finite verb in a main clause to stand in clause-second or clause-initial position):

a. Infinitivization. The expected past participle of a modal verb (and of certain other verbs, varying with language/dialect) is replaced by its infinitive.<sup>8</sup> In Standard German, this takes place only when there is a further infinitive dependent on the modal verb, etc.; contrast the following examples:

- (23) Wer hat das tun wollen (INFIN)?  
 'Who has wanted to do that?'  
 (24) Wer hat das gewollt (PAST PART)?  
 'Who has wanted that?'

In Gurinerdeutsch, all verbs that can participate as nonfinal (where by "final" we understand "most deeply dependent") verbs in a compound past verbal complex have a form identical to the infinitive (or, in the case of causative *tüa* [*tian*], as already noted, the gerund) rather than a past participle form. However, one needs to distinguish a number of subcases. First, modal verbs in Gurinerdeutsch have no distinct past participle, using the infinitivelike form even where there is no further verb dependent on the modal:

- (25) Wèntt-sch net he'n wèlla (INFIN), dâss-war z wit siw awa(gg)-  
 ggâng-ga, he'nt-sch ggse't ... (V87.1-2)  
 'Wenn sie nicht gewollt haben, daß wir zu weit weggegangen sind,  
 haben sie gesagt ...'  
 'When they didn't want us to have gone too far, they said ...'  
 (26) ... unn schij unn t Gurinar he'n anandra güat megì (INFIN).  
 (T78.11-12)  
 '... und sie und die Guriner haben einander gut gemocht.'  
 '... and they and the Bosco Gurin people liked each other a lot.'

(For examples with a further dependent infinitive, see section 2.2.2.) Since there seems to be no morphological reason why the modal verbs should have no distinct past participle — the other preterite-present verb, *wessi*

'wissen' 'to know' has as its past participle *ggwesst* — we assume that Gurinerdeutsch applies infinitivization obligatorily to modal verbs, irrespective of whether there is a further dependent verb. Of the verbs of perception, *ggheera* 'hören' 'to hear' has a distinct past participle *ggheert* 'gehört' used when there is no further dependent verb;<sup>9</sup> with *ggsee* 'sehen' 'to see' the past participle is identical to the infinitive, that is, *ggsee*, but we assume this to be an accident of morphological syncretism: in Standard German the infinitive *sehen* and the past participle *gesehen* are distinguished only by the prefix *ge-*, and since the corresponding Gurinerdeutsch verb has the inseparable prefix *gg-* throughout, its past participle and infinitive are necessarily overtly identical. Third, turning to the verbs of motion, *gåå* 'gehen' 'to go' has a distinct past participle, *ggång-ga*, used when there is no further dependent verb; *chu* 'kommen' 'to come', however, does not, using *chu* 'gekommen' throughout as its past participle, although there seems to be no reason for not having \**kchu* (morphologically *gg-chu*).<sup>10</sup> Since there seems to be no reason for treating 'modal verbs plus *chu*' (to the exclusion of *gåå*) as a natural class, we assume that *chu* is simply idiosyncratic in having a past participle without *gg-*. The causative verbs *låå* 'lassen' 'to make, let' and *tüa* (*tian*) 'tun' 'to make' do not occur, in this meaning, without a dependent infinitive (for which see section 2.2), so it is not possible to test directly whether they have a distinct past participle in this use, although they clearly do in other uses (*gglåå* 'gelassen' 'left', *tåå* 'getan' 'done'). Other verbs that participate as nonfinal constituents of the verbal complex have distinct past participles that are used when there is no further dependent verb, like *åfåå* 'anfangen' 'to begin' (past participle *åggfång-ga*), *halffa* 'helfen' 'to help' (past participle *ggholffa*). Examples follow:

- (27) Ech ha dar Må net ggheert (PAST PART).  
 'Ich habe den Mann nicht gehört.'  
 'I did not hear the man.'
- (28) ... he'nt-sch-as ggheera (INFIN) zèlla med aswèem, ... (V26.3)  
 '... haben sie es [= das Kind] mit jemand reden hören ...'  
 '... they heard it [= the child] talk with someone ...'
- (29) Metta åndra escht ö'w dar Ludwig ggång-ga (PAST PART) ...  
 (V33.12–13)  
 'Mit den anderen ist auch der Ludwig gegangen ...'  
 'Ludwig too went with the others ...'
- (30) Ub bBüaba sen ggå (INFIN) lüaga ... (V112.3)  
 'Und die Buben sind gegangen, [um zu] schauen ...'  
 'And the boys went to look ...'

- (31) Ech ha schoo äggfång-ga (PAST PART).  
 'Ich habe schon angefangen.'  
 'I have already begun.'
- (32) ... un tüa he'nt-sch düa åfå (INFIN) jååmru. (V116.9)  
 '... und dann haben sie an[ge]fangen [zu] jammern.'  
 '... and then they began to wail.'

Our overall assumption is thus that infinitivization applies obligatorily to modal verbs whether or not there is a further dependent verb, and to other components of the verbal complex if and only if there is a further dependent verb.

b. Inversion. This rule (or its analogue[s] in other approaches) is the crucial rule that accounts for the differences in word order among Continental West Germanic languages and dialects (and also for variation internal to some of these dialects, where inversion is in some instances optional): it permits certain sequences of verbal elements (including, in some dialects, nonverbal dependents of these verbal elements) to be inverted, resulting in surface orders distinct from those posited for underlying structure. In at least some varieties of Frisian and Low German, there is no inversion, so that the underlying order surfaces, as in the following Low German example cited by Den Besten and Edmonson (1983: 158):

- (33) ... dat he dat book lesen kunnt hett.  
 '... daß er das Buch hat lesen können.'  
 '... that he has been able to read the book.'

Standard German has a rather minimal rule of inversion, sometimes obligatory and sometimes optional, affecting primarily the perfect auxiliary *haben* in cases of infinitivization and the future auxiliary *werden* in complexes of three or more verb elements, as in the following examples (from Drosdowski 1984: 717, sections 1261–1262):

- (34) ... obwohl er nicht hat schreiben können.  
 '... although he has not been able to write.'
- (35) a. Er wird nicht haben kommen können.  
 b. Er wird nicht kommen gekonnt haben.  
 'He will not have been able to come.'
- (36) a. ... weil er nicht wird haben kommen können.  
 b. ... weil er nicht kommen gekonnt haben wird.  
 '... because he will not have been able to come.'

In many regional dialects of German and in Dutch, inversion applies much more freely. In Zurich German, for instance, a clause-final sequence

of dependent infinitive and modal verb may either remain in that order or be inverted, as in the following example (Lötscher 1978: 4):

- (37) a. Mer händ em Hans es velo schänke wele.  
 b. Mer händ em Hans es Velo wele schänke.  
 'Wir haben dem Hans ein Fahrrad schenken wollen.'  
 'We have wanted to present a bicycle to Hans.'

Since Zurich German also permits nonsubject dependents of a verb to be moved along with the verb, the direct and/or indirect object of *schänke* can also participate in inversion, thus giving further versions of (28) like

- (38) a. Mer händ em Hans wele es velo schänke.  
 b. Mer händ es velo wele em Hans schänke.  
 c. Mer händ wele em Hans es velo schänke.

To summarize this section, in our account of word order in the verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch below, we adopt a template in terms of strict verb-final order, an operation of inversion that generates discrepancies from that order, and a rule of infinitivization (plus one of gerundization) to account for certain forms of nonfinal verbs in the verb complex. This descriptive framework should maximally facilitate comparison with other varieties of Continental West Germanic.

## 2. Word order in the Gurinerdeutsch verbal complex

### 2.1. *The compound past in subordinate clauses*

The compound past in Gurinerdeutsch consists of the present tense (indicative or subjunctive) or the conditional of the auxiliary *ha* 'haben' 'to have' or *sin* 'sein' 'to be' plus the past participle of the lexical verb; we are for the moment concerned only with instances where this lexical verb is not accompanied by any further dependent infinitive. It thus corresponds formally to the compound past/perfect of other varieties of Continental West Germanic. In a subordinate clause, there are two logically possible orders: the auxiliary may follow the lexical verb, as in the underlying order; or the auxiliary may precede the lexical verb, through inversion. In Gurinerdeutsch, there is at least preference for the variant involving inversion, as in

- (39) Wènd-ar escht süibar ggsin, dè he'nt-sch ts broot umândarscht ggeet. (SD2.38–39)  
 'Wenn er [= der Ofen] sauber gewesen ist, da haben sie das Brot wieder genommen.'  
 'When it [= the oven] was clean, then they took the bread again.'

In the texts in Gerstner-Hirzel (1979, 1986) there are about 327 examples of the order auxiliary–verb, but only one of the inverse order. (This example, V72.5, is difficult to interpret as a resultative; for the different word orders in the compound past and resultative, see below.) However, Gerstner-Hirzel (1979: 15) notes that this is one respect in which she has edited the written version of the texts, since she considers the order verb–auxiliary an “error” occasioned by influence from other varieties of German (in particular Zurich German, which, like Standard German, has the order verb–auxiliary here). The texts in Hotzenköcherle and Brunner contain some 12 examples with the order auxiliary–verb<sup>11</sup> and three with the apparent order verb–auxiliary, but all of these latter are plausibly interpreted as resultatives (see below). The texts in Tomamichel (1982) contain some six examples where the auxiliary precedes the past participle and apparently 11 with the inverse order, though these are probably to be analyzed as resultative rather than compound past (see below). In Questionnaire 2, one respondent considered both (a) and (b) versions of (40) equally perfect, while one considered (a) perfect and (b) acceptable:

- (40) a. Dar Må we<sup>i</sup>ss, dåss-sch t Haarpara gëschtar he<sup>i</sup>nt üffggeet.  
 b. Dar Må we<sup>i</sup>ss, dåss-sch t Haarpara gëschtar üffggeet he<sup>i</sup>n.<sup>12</sup>  
 ‘Der Mann weiß, daß sie die Kartoffeln gestern aufgenommen haben.’  
 ‘The man knows that they harvested the potatoes yesterday.’

Our best conclusion at present is that both variants are possible in contemporary Gurinerdeutsch, with preference for the variant with inversion; it strikes us as highly likely that the variant without inversion may historically be an intrusion from other varieties of German. The variant without inversion is, incidentally, the only instance in Gurinerdeutsch where inversion is logically possible but is not obligatory.

Before leaving the compound past, it is necessary to mention some other constructions that are superficially similar thereto but whose different behavior suggests a different analysis, namely the resultative and the passive. As noted above, Gurinerdeutsch has in addition to the compound past a resultative construction. In general, the resultative construction describes a state resulting from some prior action, rather than an event in the past; we have not, however, systematically examined the semantics of the resultative construction, and for present purposes “resultative” can simply be taken as the name of this particular construction. The resultative construction is formed with the auxiliary *ha/sin* and the resultative participle of the main verb. As already noted in section 1.2, the resultative participle is distinct from the past participle in a number

of verbs, the resultative participle having so-called *Rückumlaut* (that is, backing of the stem vowel) while the past participle retains a front vowel: in (41) below, for instance, *üffggoot* is clearly, from its form, a resultative participle, contrasting with the past participle *üffggeet* (as in [40]). The resultative participle may (and in many textual examples does) agree in gender–number with the subject (with auxiliary *sin*) or with the direct object if there is one (with auxiliary *ha*);<sup>13</sup> in the compound past, the past participle never shows agreement. When this construction occurs clause-finally, the order is invariably resultative participle–auxiliary, as in the following example from Questionnaire 2:

- (41) a. Dar Må we'ss, dâss-sch nüw t Haarpara üffggoot he'n.  
 b. \*Dar Må we'ss, dâss-sch nüw t Haarpara he'nt üffggoot.  
 'Der Mann weiß, daß sie schon die Kartoffeln aufgenommen haben.'  
 'The man knows that they have already harvested the potatoes.'

On the basis of the agreement facts, we conclude that the resultative construction in Gurinerdeutsch is not an instance of a verbal complex, but rather that the resultative participle is a predicative complement of the verb *ha/sin*, thus naturally preceding it in a subordinate clause. The so-called pluperfect (Gerstner-Hirzel 1979: 200–201), and also nonfinite forms of the auxiliaries *ha* and *sin*, can only occur in the resultative construction (for which reason we prefer the term “compound past resultative” to “pluperfect”), as in the following example from Questionnaire 2:

- (42) a. Wia-n-i be en Ggurin chu, he'nt-sch t Haarpara üffggoot ggha.  
 b. \*Wia-n-i be en Ggurin chu, he'nt-sch t Haarpara ggha üffggoot.  
 'Als ich in Bosco Gurin angekommen bin, hatten sie die Kartoffeln aufgenommen.'  
 'When I arrived in Bosco Gurin, they had harvested the potatoes.'

Compare also the following textual examples:

- (43) ... ts Chèssalti escht undar ggsin, un tar Schnetzar hèt 's scho gglufta ggha ... (V205.10–11)  
 '... der Kessel ist unten gewesen, und das Messer hatte es [= das Kind] schon gehoben ...'  
 '... the kettle was underneath and it [= the child] had already lifted the knife ...'

- (44) Dèr werd ufum Wag ubar 'Tscharantijnar appus pallud un ggflüachut ha! (V231.7–8)  
 'Der wird auf dem Weg über die Cerentiner etwas geschimpft und geflucht haben!'  
 'He will have grumbled and cursed about the Cerentino people on the way!'

It should be noted that in some instances it is impossible to distinguish morphologically (that is, via *Rückumlaut* or agreement) between compound past and resultative, for the following reasons: (i) most verbs have no stem-vowel difference between past participle and resultative participle; (ii) quite generally, agreement of nonattributive adjectives in Gurinerdeutsch fails to take place in many instances where it is in principle expected (see note 13); (iii) the nonattributive adjective agreement suffix is in any event null in the masculine plural (as in [41]–[42]); (iv) agreement does not take place where there is nothing to agree with; for example, where the lexical verb is intransitive but conjugated with *ha* — neuter singular agreement (in *-s*) is not used as default agreement:

- (45) Wia 's ggnüagg hèt ggagnut ggaha, héd-ar tian t Sunnu t schijnan. (V255.5–6)  
 'Wenn es genug geregnet hatte, hat er die Sonne scheinen lassen.'  
 'When it had rained enough, he made the sun shine.'

Great care is therefore required in substantiating claims about the distribution of these two constructions, especially given our current inability to distinguish them strictly on a semantic basis. We can, however, say that all unequivocal instances of the resultative construction in clause-final position have the order resultative participle–auxiliary, the order auxiliary–resultative participle being unequivocally rejected.

The Gurinerdeutsch passive, formed with the auxiliary *chu* 'kommen' 'to come' (dynamic) or *sin* 'sein' 'to be' (stative) and the resultative participle, likewise does not form a verbal complex, rather the resultative participle is a predicative complement of the auxiliary and therefore precedes it:

- (46) ... un wènn tè dar Schte<sup>1</sup>n gånz ååbggwotzta escht un nit me plipt, dè escht dè t Eewigghe<sup>d</sup> um. (V243.2–3)  
 '... und wenn dann der Stein ganz abgewetzt ist und nichts mehr bleibt, dann ist die Ewigkeit um.'  
 '... and when the stone is completely rubbed away and nothing more is left, then eternity is at an end.'

- (47) Schi he<sup>1</sup>nt-scha püwwa, däss ts Doorf net pschadiguts choma vå dar Lö<sup>u</sup>wwanu. (V48.4–5)  
 ‘Sie haben sie [=die Kapelle] gebaut, damit das Dorf nicht von der Lawine beschädigt werde.’  
 ‘They built it [=the chapel] so that the village shouldn’t be damaged by the avalanche.’

Note the masculine singular agreement on *ååbggwoztza* and the neuter singular agreement on *pschadiguts*. Compare also the following example, from Questionnaire 2:

- (48) a. Asia sen t Chenn titsch undarucht chu.  
 b. \*Asia sen t Chenn titsch chu undarucht i.  
 ‘Früher sind die Kinder deutsch unterrichtet worden.’  
 ‘Formerly the children were taught in German.’

The Gurinerdeutsch passive thus contrasts with, for instance, that of Dutch, which has all the word-order characteristics of the verbal complex (examples from Geerts et al. 1984: 599–600):

- (49) a. Ik ben blij dat die ijver aangemoedigd wordt.  
 b. Ik ben blij dat die ijver wordt aangemoedigd.  
 ‘I am glad that that diligence was encouraged.’  
 (50) a. Ik geloof dat hij tot voorzitter gekozen wil worden.  
 b. Ik geloof dat hij tot voorzitter wil gekozen worden.  
 c. Ik geloof dat hij tot voorzitter wil worden gekozen.  
 ‘I believe that he wants to be elected chairman.’

## 2.2 Other verbal complexes (verbal elements)

In all other instances, the order of verbal elements in the Gurinerdeutsch verbal complex requires the maximum application of inversion. This means that the surface order has each infinitive following the verb on which it is dependent. Various examples illustrating this are given below; for those from Questionnaire 1, the variant judged best on aggregate is given.

### 2.2.1. Present tense in a subordinate clause.

- (51) ... wènn-d andri chunun wentscha, chån-i ech õ<sup>u</sup>w wentscha, a?  
 (V6.17–18)  
 ‘... wenn andere wünschen können, kann ich (ich) auch wünschen, a?’  
 ‘... if others can wish, I can wish too, can’t I?’

(The texts contain about 36 examples of finite modal verbs in subordinate clauses, all with this order of verbal elements.)

- (52) Un er Må hèt 's pressiart, dâss-scha-scha ggschwenn tia vargrååba. (V211.4–5)  
 'Und ihr Mann hatte es eilig, daß sie sie geschwind (tuen) begraben.'  
 'And her husband was in a hurry that they should bury her quickly.'

(The texts contain about seven examples of this use of "expletive" *tüa* 'tun' 'to do' in a subordinate clause, all with the order of verbal elements given above.)

### 2.2.2. Compound past in a main clause.

- (53) Wiar hew ama åålta Må wella Chia ga. (Questionnaire 1a)  
 'Wir haben einem alten Mann Kühe geben wollen.'  
 'We have wanted to give cows to an old man.'

(Versions of this sentence with the modal and lexical verb in the inverse order were judged impossible by all or all but one respondent. The texts contain about 173 examples of the compound past of a modal verb with dependent infinitive in a main clause, all with the order of verbal elements given above.)

- (54) Un richtig ben-i ååpi gå lüaga ... (V6.25–26)  
 'Und richtig bin ich hinunter gegangen zu schauen ...'  
 'And straight away I went down to look ...'

(The texts contain about 89 examples of the compound past of *gåå/chu* 'gehen/kommen' 'to go/come' with dependent verb in a main clause, all with the order of verbal elements given above.)

- (55) ... un tarnåå he'nd-sch ts Chenn ggheera weinu. (V27.4)  
 '... und dann haben sie das Kind weinen hören.'  
 '... and then they heard the child cry.'

(The texts contain about 38 examples of the compound past of *ggsee/ggheera* 'sehen/hören' 'to see/hear' with dependent verb in a main clause, all with the order of verbal elements given above.)

- (56) Ar hèt dar Tschoopu ååbzoga un hèt-na lå gghija. (V28.3–4)  
 'Er hat den Kittel ausgezogen und hat ihn fallen lassen.'  
 'He took off his overall and let it fall.'

(The texts contain about 23 examples, all with this order of verbal elements, of the compound past of *låå* in a main clause.)

- (57) Dè escht eina dâ henna ggsin un hêt mech dia Sâch tian z ubarsean, a? (V10.13–14)  
 ‘Da ist einer da hinten gewesen und hat mich die Sache [= das Ding] übersehen lassen.’  
 ‘There was one [person] there behind and he made me overlook the thing.’

(The texts contain about ten examples, all with this order of verbal elements, of the compound past of *tûa* [*tian*] ‘*tun*’ ‘to make’ in a main clause.)

- (58) Un teschti welti Châtzu hêd âfâ lakchu ... (V119.7)  
 ‘Und diese wilde Katze hat an[ge]fangen [zu] lecken ...’  
 ‘And this wild cat began to lick ...’

(The texts contain about 11 examples, all with this order of verbal elements, of the compound past of *âfââ* ‘*anfangen*’ ‘to begin’ with a dependent infinitive in a main clause.)

### 2.2.3. Compound past in a subordinate clause.

- (59) Dar Daniel we'iss, dâss-war ama ââlta Mâ hew wèlla Chia ga. (Questionnaire 1a)  
 ‘Der Daniel weiß, daß wir einem alten Mann Kühe haben geben wollen.’  
 ‘Daniel knows that we have wanted to give cows to an old man.’

(Variants with the orders *ga wèlla hew*, *wèlla ga hew*, and *ga hew wèlla* were judged impossible by all respondents. The order *hew ga wèlla* was judged impossible by 11 respondents, acceptable by one, and perfect by one; these last two judgments presumably reflect influence from Standard German. The texts contain about 21 comparable examples with modals, all with the order of verbal elements as given above.)

- (60) Un wènn 'Pumâttar sen chu Wââr gea, dèn sent-sch dè tsch Morgantsch fria hia awa(gg)-ggângg-ga ... (V65.1–2)  
 ‘Und wenn die Pomatter gekommen sind, um Ware zu holen, sind sie dann des Morgens früh hier weggegangen ...’  
 ‘And when the Formazza people came to fetch goods, then they went away from here early the next morning ...’

(The texts contain some six examples of the compound past of a verb of motion with dependent infinitive in a subordinate clause.)

- (61) Schia hatti miassi dáã náárachu, dia, wá-sch he'n ggsea chu ... (V153.7)  
 'Sie hätte da heraufkommen müssen, die, die sie haben kommen sehen ...'  
 'She would have had to come up there, the one that they saw coming.'

(This is the only textual example we have found of a verb of perception in the compound past with dependent infinitive in a subordinate clause.)

- (62) Wènd eis ábar gár net hèt ggmèrkcht, dáss ts ándra ts Schnützpanètt hendar emu het lå gghija ... (R3/16.7–8)  
 'Wenn eines [=ein Kind] nicht gemerkt hat, daß das andere das Taschentuch hinter ihm hat fallen lassen ...'  
 'If one [child] didn't notice that the other had let his handkerchief fall behind him ...'

(This is the only textual example we have found of the compound past of causative *lää* 'lassen' 'to let/make' in a subordinate clause; the texts contain about three examples of the corresponding construction with causative *tüa* [tian], as below.)

- (63) Un tè he'n tüa t Lit ggse't, das siji düa zur Schträáf ggsin ..., dás-ar aar schijs Wip hèt tian z vargráában vorum Zit. (V211.14–16)  
 'Und da haben dann die Leute gesagt, das sei zur Strafe gewesen ..., weil er (er) seine Frau vor der Zeit hat begraben lassen.'  
 'And then people said this was a punishment because he had had his wife buried prematurely.'

Finally under this rubric, we have found one textual example of the compound past of *áfää* 'anfangen' 'to begin' in a subordinate clause:

- (64) ... wia dar Schnea awagg gsinn escht unn alls hèt áfää wággsa, ... (T78.5–6)  
 '... wie der Schnee weg gewesen ist und alles angefangen hat zu wachsen.'  
 '... when the snow was gone and everything began to grow.'

#### 2.2.4. *More complex examples in main clauses.*

- (65) Un ti Nácht héd-ar wèlla chu schin Tschááta gee ... (V180.27–28)  
 'Und die Nacht hat er kommen wollen, [um] seine "Tschaaten" [=eine Art Pantoffeln] [zu] holen ...'  
 'And that night he wanted to come to fetch his "Tschaaten" [=kind of slippers] ...'

- (66) En 'Naatschu Schlüacht hèt-mu seli ggheera laarmu ... (V158.4–5)  
 'In der Naatschu Schlüacht soll man lärmen gehört haben ...'  
 'In the Naatschu Schlüacht one is supposed to have heard noise-making ...'
- (67) ... ech ha net wèlla noch ändars lå chu. (V6.4–5)  
 '... ich habe nicht noch anderes dazukommen lassen wollen.'  
 '... I didn't want to let anything else happen in addition.'
- (68) Dar Peter hèt net wèlla miassi schijs Auto varchöiffa. (Questionnaire 1a)  
 'Der Peter hat sein Auto nicht verkaufen müssen wollen.'  
 'Peter has not wanted to have to sell his car.'

(Variants with other orders of verbal elements were considered impossible by all or all but one respondent. The texts contain some 30 comparable examples with three infinitives in a main clause.)

- (69) Dar Ättu hèt wèlla dar Müatar halffa ts Chenn tian z waarchun. (Questionnaire 2)  
 'Der Vater hat der Mutter helfen wollen, das Kind arbeiten zu lassen.'  
 'The father wanted to help the mother to make the child work.'

#### 2.2.5. *More complex examples in subordinate clauses.*

- (70) Wiar hew ggme<sup>1</sup>nt, das sijgi as chlijs Chenn, tâs as åålts Wip sellti gå fenda ... (V33.5–6)  
 'Wir haben gemeint, das sei ein kleines Kind, das eine alte Frau finden (gehen) sollte ...'  
 'We thought it was a small child that an old woman should go to find.'
- (71) Dar Daniel we<sup>1</sup>ss, dåss tar Peter schijs Auto net hèt wèlla miassi varchöiffa. (Questionnaire 1a)  
 'Der Daniel weiß, daß der Peter sein Auto nicht hat verkaufen müssen wollen.'  
 'Daniel knows that Peter has not wanted to have to sell his car.'

(Variants with other orders of verbal elements were considered impossible by all or all but two respondents. In the texts we have found only two examples, including the one given above, of three infinitives in a subordinate clause.)

#### 2.3. *Inversion of nonverbal dependents*

As many of the examples given above show — (39), (42), (45), (53), (59), (60), (61), (65), (67), (68), (69) — in Gurinerdeutsch it is possible for

nonverbal dependents other than the subject to be moved along with a verb form that is being inverted. Indeed, examination of the responses to Questionnaire 1a given in Appendix 1 reveals that in general preference is given in Gurinerdeutsch to variants where at least some of the nonverbal dependents are moved in this way, in comparison with variants where nothing is moved; thus both versions (a) and (b) below are ranked higher than version (c):

- (72) a. Wiar hew ama åalta Må wèlla Chia ga.  
 b. Wiar hew wèlla ama åalta Må Chia ga.  
 c. Wiar hew ama åalta Må Chia wèlla ga.  
 'Wir haben einem alten Mann Kühe geben wollen.'  
 'We have wanted to give cows to an old man.'

We shall refer to this phenomenon informally as *nominal inversion* (since the dependent moved with the verb is usually a nominal, sometimes an adverbial). To work out the precise factors requiring, favoring, or preventing nominal inversion would require a study far more ambitious than the present one, with a more detailed examination of a wider range of textual material (including preferably conversational material), in addition to more sophisticated questionnaires and other informant techniques. On the basis of our work so far, we have established the existence of nominal inversion and can also go on to draw some interesting further conclusions that stem from our observations on the position of nonverbal constituents of the verb complex.

One noticeable factor conditioning nominal inversion is the differential behavior of unstressed pronouns and other dependents. In Gurinerdeutsch, there is a strong tendency for unstressed pronouns, which are enclitic, to occur as early as possible in the clause, usually attached to the finite verb in main clauses and to the conjunction in subordinate clauses. Given this, one might expect that unstressed pronouns would not be subject to nominal inversion, and this conclusion is borne out both by textual examples and by the results of Questionnaire 1b. Respondents were provided with the context (in Italian and Gurinerdeutsch) 'Paolo wanted to have the bell', and then asked to evaluate Gurinerdeutsch variants of the sentences 'Paolo (has) wanted to steal it' (in [73]) and 'Paolo has not wanted [= didn't want] to have to steal it' (in [74]), as follows:

- (73) a. Dar Paolo hèt-schi wèlla schtala.  
 b. \*Dar Paolo hèt wèlla-schi schtala.  
 'Der Paolo hat sie stehlen wollen.'

The (a) variant was evaluated within the top third of possible responses,

the (b) variant within the bottom third, thus suggesting the assignments of grammaticality given above; out of 11 respondents, nine unequivocally ranked (a) above (b), one failed to evaluate (b), while one, for reasons we do not understand, ranked (b) above (a).

- (74) a. Dar Paolo hèt-schi net wèlla miassi schtala.  
 b. \*Dar Paolo hèt net wèlla-schi miassi schtala.  
 c. Dar Paolo hèt net wèlla miassi-schi schtala.  
 'Der Paolo hat sie nicht stehlen müssen wollen.'

Once again, the evaluation of variant (a) was within the top third (though only just, perhaps reflecting processing difficulties with sequences of modal verbs), while the evaluations of (b) and (c), almost identical to each other, were in the bottom third — the respondent who ranked the (b) version first in (73) ranked these variants (c) > (a) > (b), suggesting perhaps an idiolectal preference for shifting the object pronoun with its verb.

While the discussion of nominal inversion has centered on the movement of nonsubject dependents with the inverted verb, in Gurinerdeutsch the movement of subject dependents is apparently possible in principle:

- (75) a. Dää hèt seli a Fällu ggschtolli sin. (V32.3)  
 b. Dää hèt a Fällu seli ggschtolli sin.  
 'Da soll eine Falle gestellt gewesen sien.'  
 'A trap is said to have been set there.'

Variants (a) and (b) were presented to one respondent as part of Questionnaire 2, with variant (a) judged perfect, variant (b) acceptable. It should be noted, however, that the inverted subject in (75) is an indefinite subject in an existential sentence; it is well known that such noun phrases have many object properties in many languages, so the existence of examples like (75) should not, at least not without much further investigation, be taken as indicative of a possibility of nominal inversion of subjects in Gurinerdeutsch.

#### 2.4. *Postverbal arguments*

We indicated above (section 1.2) that, in our opinion, placing arguments after the verb complex is probably ungrammatical in Gurinerdeutsch: textual examples are sufficiently rare to be explained as errors, and native speakers usually evaluate such sentences as impossible, occasionally as acceptable, never as perfect. While this applies to placing an argument after the verbal complex as a whole, it is necessary to consider further

whether an argument can be placed after the verb form of which it is an argument, but within the verbal complex.

In Zurich German, there is a general constraint whereby an argument may not follow the verb of which it is an argument within the verbal complex. Thus, the following example is ungrammatical (Lötscher 1978: 8):

- (76) \*De Häiri het wele la syni chind medizyn studiere.  
 'Der Heinrich hat seine Kinder Medizin studieren lassen wollen.'  
 'Heinrich has wanted to let/have his children study medicine.'

In this example, *syni chind*, the object of *la*, stands after *la*. Den Besten and Edmondson (1983: 204–205) note that this sentence is predicted to be ungrammatical even if one assumes that *syni chind* is not object of *la*, but rather subject of *studiere*, since in Zurich German subjects are not affected by inversion.

In Gurinerdeutsch, sentences parallel to (76) are fully grammatical, occurring in particular where the verb in question is causative *lää* 'lassen' or *tüa* (*tian*) 'tun', or a verb of perception *ggsee* 'sehen', *ggheera* 'hören', or indeed (with some hesitation, see below) one of the other few verbs that takes both a nominal object and a dependent infinitive, such as *halffa* 'helfen' 'to help'. Textual examples follow:

- (77) ... un tarnåå héd-ar ggsea a Rettar vor mu ånnigåå ufuma wijssa Ross. (V58.9–10)  
 '... und danach hat er einen Reiter vor ihm auf einem weißen Pferd herreiten sehen.'  
 '... and then he saw a rider riding ahead of him on a white horse.'
- (78) As Wip heigi ggheera ema Hü's ufum Rüassteli Brattar nedargghija, ... (V194.1–2)  
 'Eine Frau habe in einem Haus auf dem Estrich Bretter niederfallen hören.'  
 'A woman [is said to] have heard boards falling down on the stone floor in a house.'
- (79) ... waga dè he'nt-sch zu Ggschpånna-Låttu drenedar ggheera dar Stiar aso machtig leit Wearza trijba ... (T76.5)  
 '... denn da haben sie zu Ggschpånna-Låttu darunter den Stier so ein mächtiges lautes Brüllen treiben hören ...'  
 '... for then they heard, down at Ggschpånna-Låttu, the bull making such powerful loud bellows ...'

(This last example shows that the construction is also possible when the dependent infinitive is transitive, even though this leaves two accusative noun phrases adjacent to one another.)

- (80) Un tarnåå he'nt-sch lå 'Polizij chu. (V218.13)  
 'Und danach haben sie die Polizei kommen lassen.'  
 'And then they had the police come.'
- (81) Åbar ar escht dèr ggsin, wå dè hèt tian ti grooss Ggloggu z litan ...  
 (V231.2-3)  
 'Aber er ist derjenige gewesen, der dann die große Glocke hat läuten lassen ...'  
 'But he was the one who made the big bell ring ...'

If we examine textual examples where the noun phrase in question could reasonably appear either before or after the verb of perception/causation (that is, excluding examples with null in this position, or with an unstressed pronoun that would anyway tend to occur early in the clause), then the numbers of preposed versus postposed noun phrase are approximately as follows: with verbs of perception, ten versus five; with *låå*, nine versus one; with *tüa* (*tian*), three versus two. The statistics do not suggest that there is anything odd or rare about the construction with the postposed argument noun phrase.

The examples provided so far are ambiguous between the two analyses suggested by Den Besten and Edmondson (1983: 204–205), that is, the noun phrase in question could in principle be either object of the verb of perception or causation, or subject of the dependent verb (in the accusative case because this verb is nonfinite). The verb *halffa* 'helfen' 'to help', however, takes a dative object, so that a dative noun phrase in the position in question would be more clearly an argument of *halffa* and not subject of the dependent verb. We have no textual examples of *halffa* with a dependent verb, but Questionnaire 2 contained the following variants:

- (82) a. Dar Åttu hèt dam Chenn halffa waarchu.  
 b. Dar Åttu hèt halffa dam Chenn waarchu.  
 'Der Vater hat dem Kind geholfen zu arbeiten.'  
 'The father has helped the child to work.'

One respondent judged both sentences perfect, the other judged version (82a) perfect and version (82b) acceptable. The same example was included in Questionnaire 3, where all five respondents judged (82a) to be perfect; only two respondents evaluated version (82b), one judging it acceptable, one impossible. The following additional examples were included in Questionnaire 3, with beside each the number of evaluations, in the order perfect–acceptable–impossible:

- (83) a. Dar Ättu hèt dam Wip halffa lasa, åbar t Müatar hèt dam Må halffa lasa. (4-2-0)  
 b. Dar Ättu hèt halffa dam Wipa lasa, åbar t Müatar hèt dam Må halffa lasa. (0-5-0)  
 c. Dar Ättu hèt halffa dam Wip lasa, åbar t Müatar hèt halffa dam Må lasa. (0-2-0)  
 'Der Vater hat der Frau geholfen zu lesen, aber die Mutter hat dem Mann geholfen zu lesen.'  
 'The father has helped the woman to read, but the mother has helped the man to read.'
- (84) a. Åbar ar escht dèr ggsin, wå dè hèt dam Chenn halffa lasa. (3-2-0)  
 b. Åbar ar escht dèr ggsin, wå dè hèt halffa dam Chenn lasa. (0-1-1)  
 'Aber er ist derjenige gewesen, der dem Kind geholfen hat zu lesen.'  
 'But he has been the one that has helped the child to read.'
- (85) a. Dar Ättu hèt *dam åalta Må* halffa ts Büach lasa. (3-2-0)  
 b. Dar Ättu hèt *dam åalta Må* ts Büach halffa lasa. (0-3-2)  
 c. Dar Ättu hèt halffa *dam åalta Må* ts Büach lasa. (1-0-1)  
 'Der Vater hat *dem alten Mann* geholfen, das Buch zu lesen.'  
 'Father has helped *the old man* to read the book.'

(The versions in [85] were presented as answers to the question, Who has Father helped to read the book?) The (a) versions of these sentences with the dative object preceding *halffa* appear as unproblematically grammatical, and the lower rating for (84b) may simply reflect the general tendency in Gurinerdeutsch not to pile up noun phrases or verbs at the end of a clause (section 2.3). The versions where the dative object follows *halffa*, that is, (82b), (83b), (83c), (84b), (85c), do not receive unequivocal judgments one way or the other, the general tendency being to put them in the "acceptable" class.

These data (with *halffa*) do not inspire great confidence, but let us assume for the sake of argument that these versions are grammatical, that is, that in Gurinerdeutsch it is possible for an argument to follow the verb of which it is an argument, within the verbal complex. Given our aim in this paper of presenting data relevant to current theories but without discussing the detailed theoretical implications of these data, we will not consider how this phenomenon is to be described within any particular theoretical framework. At a relatively informal level of observation, however, two possibilities are apparent. One would be to assume that the dative noun phrase, since it may follow *halffa* but must precede

the dependent infinitive, is actually a dependent (more specifically, the subject) of the dependent infinitive, with case marking nonetheless determined by *halffa*. Another possibility would be to reformulate the constraint on the postverbal appearance of arguments to say that in Gurinerdeutsch an argument of a verb in a verbal complex may not follow the verbal complex as a whole but may occur either before or within the verb complex; note that this amounts to saying that for purposes of surface word order it does not matter which verb the noun phrase is an argument of, that is, that the internal hierarchical structure of the verb complex is irrelevant. We suspect that the details of working out such analyses within particular theoretical approaches will be fascinating and challenging.

### 2.5. *The position of z*

We have mentioned in passing that, corresponding to the Standard German *zu* + infinitive construction, Gurinerdeutsch has the construction *z* + gerund. With the exception of the gerund of a causative verb *tüa* (*tian*) (see section 1.3), the occurrence of *z* is a necessary and sufficient condition for the appearance of the gerund on the immediately following verb form; we will therefore take the gerund for granted and concentrate on the rules for the positioning of *z*. As in Standard German, certain elements require *z* on a verb that depends on them. In Gurinerdeutsch, these include the purposive particle *fer* (compare Standard German *um*) 'in order (to)', the expressions *darhendar sin* 'to be in the process of' and *schí darhendar tüa* 'to set about', the verb *schekcha* 'schicken' 'to send', and, as already illustrated several times, the causative verb *tüa* (*tian*). In Continental West Germanic in general, illustrated here by Dutch, the corresponding particle (Dutch *te*) is attached to the verb that is most immediately dependent on the element that conditions the occurrence of the particle, that is, to the verb that is hierarchically highest within this domain. This is independent of word order, so that in the presence of word-order variants the particle remains attached to the same verb, as in the following examples provided by Harald Baayen:

- (86) a. Zonder het boek te hebben gelezen, ...  
 b. Zonder het boek gelezen te hebben, ...  
 'Without having read the book ...'

In Gurinerdeutsch, by contrast, the particle *z* simply attaches to the last verb in the verbal complex that is dependent on the item conditioning the occurrence of *z*, being thus quite independent of the hierarchical

relations one would expect from the semantics of the verbal complex; the same phenomenon in Berne German is noted briefly by Hodler (1969: 560). The following examples are all from Questionnaire 2, and all (except the one marked with an asterisk) were judged perfect, while variants with omission of *z*, insertion of other instances of *z*, or different placement of *z*, were judged impossible:

- (87) Dar Mâ hêt-schi darhendar tââ z waarchun.  
 ‘Der Mann machte sich daran zu arbeiten.’  
 ‘The man set about work.’
- (88) Dar Mâ hêt-schi darhendar tââ âfâ z waarchun.  
 ‘Der Mann machte sich daran anzufangen zu arbeiten.’  
 ‘The man set about beginning to work.’
- (89) Dar Mâ hêt-schi darhendar tââ gâ z waarchun.  
 ‘Der Mann machte sich daran zu gehen, um zu arbeiten.’  
 ‘The man set about going to work.’
- (90) Dar Mâ hêt-schi darhendar tââ gâ âfâ z waarchun.  
 ‘Der Mann machte sich daran zu gehen, anzufangen zu arbeiten.’  
 ‘The man set about going to start to work.’

In the interpretation of such examples, it is crucial to note that neither *âfâ(â)* nor *gâ(â)*, for instance, conditions the presence of the particle *z*.

- (91) Ech ha ts Bûach kchöifft, fer waldsch âfâ z leeran.  
 ‘Ich habe das Buch gekauft, um anzufangen, Italienisch zu lernen.’  
 ‘I bought the book in order to start to learn Italian.’
- (92) Ech ha ts Bûach kchöifft, fer ts Chenn tian waldsch z leeran.  
 ‘Ich habe das Buch gekauft, um das Kind Italienisch lernen zu lassen.’  
 ‘I bought the book in order to make the child learn Italian.’
- (93) Ech ben darhendar, ts Chenn lâ z waarchun.  
 ‘Ich bin dabei, das Kind arbeiten zu lassen.’  
 ‘I am in the process of letting the child work.’
- (94) Ech ben darhendar, ts Chen (\*z) tian z waarchun.  
 ‘Ich bin dabei, das Kind arbeiten zu lassen.’  
 ‘I am in the process of making the child work.’

Examples (92) and (94) show that where a verbal complex would be expected to have two occurrences of *z*, in this case one from causative *tûa (tian)*, the other from *darhendar sin*, only one shows up, that is,  $z+z \rightarrow z$ ; it is not possible to position another *z* elsewhere in the verbal complex.

- (95) T Müatar hêt dar Bûap ggschekcht gâ Wâssar z geen.  
 ‘Die Mutter hat den Buben geschickt, um Wasser (gehen) zu holen.’  
 ‘The mother sent the boy to go to get water.’

- (96) Ech ha ts Büach kchöifft, fer dam Marco cheni z sãgan, dãss-i well lasa.  
 'Ich habe das Buch gekauft, um dem Marco sagen zu können, daß ich lesen will.'  
 'I bought the book in order to be able to tell Marco that I want to read.'

This last example shows that *z* is attached to the last verbal element in the immediately dependent verbal complex; unsurprisingly, it cannot, however, be attached lower down in the sentence, for instance in the finite subordinate clause dependent on *sãgan* 'to say' in (96), and sentences like the following are considered quite impossible:

- (97) \*Ech ha ts Büach ggchöifft, fer dam Marco cheni sãga, dãss-i well z lasan.

The texts contain some 17 examples of the construction where *z* is attached to the last verb in the verbal complex where this is not the verb most directly dependent on the item conditioning the presence of *z*; for example,

- (98) ... un tè hêt t Müatar dar Büp ggschekcht gã Wãssar z gean.  
 (V90.1-2)  
 '... und da hat die Mutter den Buben geschickt, (gehen) Wasser zu holen.'  
 '... and then the mother sent the boy to go to get water.'

In Gurinerdeutsch, then, the particle *z* is simply attached to the last verb in the verbal complex, a rule which is to a large extent structure-independent. If there is any derived hierarchical structure within the Gurinerdeutsch verbal complex, the rule of *z* placement simply ignores it.

### 3. Conclusions

In terms of the order of verbal elements, the verbal complex in Gurinerdeutsch behaves very much as one would expect in an Upper Alemannic dialect, in particular with almost maximal application of inversion, with the result that in the verbal complex each verb follows the verb on which it is semantically dependent. The order of nonverbal elements within the verbal complex, however, in particular of arguments of the nonfinal verb and of the particle *z*, poses interesting and challenging problems for the development of a comprehensive account of order within the verbal complex in Continental West Germanic as a whole. While we believe we

have provided a wide range of essentially robust data on word order in the Gurinerdeutsch verbal complex, we are aware that much more work needs to be done to produce a comprehensive account of this phenomenon; in particular, we have scarcely begun to investigate the factors that determine the choice of one variant rather than another in cases where the grammar permits more than one word order.

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## Appendix 1. Questionnaire 1

Variants are listed in order of decreasing acceptability; variants of equal acceptability are ordered arbitrarily.

*Questionnaire 1a (top third 13–21, middle third 22–30, bottom third 31–39)*

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| 1. We have wanted to give cows to an old man.  |    |
| a. Wiar hew ama âalta Mâ wëlla Chia ga.  | 15 |
| b. Wiar hew wëlla ama âalta Mâ Chia ga.  | 21 |
| c. Wiar hew ama âalta Mâ Chia wëlla ga.  | 28 |
| d. Wiar hew Chia wëlla ga ama âalta Mâ. <sup>14</sup>  | 35 |
| e. Wiar hew ama âalta Mâ wëlla ga Chia.  | 38 |
| f. Wiar hew ama âalta Mâ Chia ga wëlla.  | 38 |
| g. Wiar hew wëlla ga ama âalta Mâ chia.  | 38 |
| h. Wiar hew Chia ga wëlla ama âalta Mâ.  | 38 |
| i. Wiar hew ga wëlla ama âalta Mâ Chia.  | 39 |
| j. Wiar hew ama âalta Mâ ga wëlla Chia.  | 39 |
| 2. Daniel knows that we have wanted to give cows to an old man. (Each Gurinerdeutsch variant begins <i>Dar Daniel we'ss, ...</i> ) |    |
| a. dâss-war ama âalta Mâ hew wëlla Chia ga. <sup>15</sup>  | 16 |
| b. dâss-war hew ama âalta Mâ wëlla Chia ga.  | 25 |
| c. dâss-war ama âalta Mâ Chia hew wëlla ga.  | 26 |
| d. dâss-war ama âalta Mâ Chia hew ga wëlla.  | 36 |
| e. dâss-war ama âalta Mâ hew ga wëlla Chia.  | 39 |
| f. dâss-war ama âalta Mâ Chia ga wëlla hew.  | 39 |
| g. dâss-war ama âalta Mâ Chia wëlla ga hew.  | 39 |
| h. dâss-war ga ama âalta Mâ Chia hew wëlla.  | 39 |
| 3. Peter has not wanted to have to sell his car.   |    |

- |    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
| a. | Dar Peter hêt net wëlla miassi schijs Auto varchöiffa.               | 21 |
| b. | Dar Peter hêt schijs Auto net wëlla miassi varchöiffa. <sup>16</sup> | 26 |
| c. | Dar Peter hêt net wëlla schijs Auto miassi varchöiffa.               | 26 |
| d. | Dar Peter hêt net wëlla miassi varchöiffa schijs Auto.               | 38 |
| e. | Dar Peter hêt schijs Auto net varchöiffa wëlla miassi.               | 38 |
| f. | Dar Peter hêt net varchöiffa schijs Auto miassi wëlla.               | 39 |
| g. | Dar Peter hêt net varchöiffa miassi wëlla schijs Auto                | 39 |
4. Hans knows that Peter has not wanted to have to sell his car. (Each Gurinerdeutsch variant begins *Dar Hans we<sup>i</sup>ss, dass ...*)
- |    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
| a. | dar Peter schijs Auto net hêt wëla miassi varchöiffa.                | 20 |
| b. | dar Peter net schijs Auto hêt wëlla miassi varchöiffa.               | 27 |
| c. | dar Peter hêt net wëlla miassi schijs Auto varchöiffa. <sup>17</sup> | 30 |
| d. | dar Peter net hêt wëlla miassi varchöiffa schijs Auto.               | 34 |
| e. | dar Peter schijs Auto net hêt wëlla varchöiffa miassi.               | 37 |
| f. | dar Peter net miassi schijs Auto hêt wëlla varchöiffa.               | 39 |
| g. | dar Peter schijs Auto net varchöiffa hêt wëlla miassi.               | 39 |

*Questionnaire 1b (variants rated as follow-ups to 'Paolo (has) wanted to have the bell'; top third 11–18, second third 19–26, bottom third 27–33)*

- |    |  |    |
|----|--|----|
| 1. | Paolo has wanted to steal it.                |    |
| a. | Dar Paolo hêt-schi wëlla schtala.            | 14 |
| b. | Dar Paolo hêt wëlla-schi schtala.            | 28 |
| 2. | Paolo has not wanted to have to steal it.    |    |
| a. | Dar Paolo hêt-schi net wëlla miassi schtala. | 18 |
| b. | Dar Paolo hêt net wëlla-schi miassi schtala. | 28 |
| c. | Dar Paolo hêt net wëlla miassi-schi schtala. | 29 |

*Questionnaire 1c (numbers represent the number of respondents offering that version; where a respondent offered two versions, each counts as 0.5)*

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 1. | (Marco wants to go to town. Luisa doesn't want Marco to go to town. But Luisa has let Marco go to town.)            |     |
| a. | T Luisa hêt dar Marco lå en t Schtått gå.   | 8   |
| b. | T Luisa hêt dar Marco en t Schtått lå gå.   | 4.5 |
| c. | T Luisa hêt lå dar Marco en t Schtått gå.   | 0.5 |
| 2. | (Marco doesn't want to go to town. Luisa wants Marco to go to town.) Luisa has made Marco go to town. <sup>18</sup> |     |
| a. | T Luisa hêt dar Marco tian en t Schtått z gaan.   | 7   |
| b. | T Luisa hêt dar Marco en t Schtått tian z gaan.   | 4.5 |
| c. | T Luisa hêt tian dar Marco en t Schtått z gaan.   | 0.5 |

## Notes

1. We are grateful to Laura Della Pietra and to Mr. Koch for invaluable assistance in our work on Gurinerdeutsch. We would also like to thank all those speakers of Gurinerdeutsch who shared their linguistic judgments with us. Our gratitude is also due to Dr. Emily Gerstner-Hirzel for her permission to quote so freely from her textual material. Finally, we have benefited from the comments of Prof. Iwar Werlen and of two anonymous referees. We accept full responsibility for all remaining deficiencies. Correspondence addresses: Professor Bernard Comrie, Department of Linguistics, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-1693, USA; Dr. Uli Frauenfelder, Department of Psychology, University of Geneva, 9 route de Drize, CH 1227 Carouge, Switzerland.

For the transcription of Gurinerdeutsch, we have used the system of Gerstner-Hirzel (1979); examples from other sources have been retranscribed according to this system. (It should be noted that there is an age-correlated variation between *ee* and *ea*.) Sources of examples are abbreviated as follows: R (Gerstner-Hirzel 1986), SD (Hotzenköcherle and Brunner 1971), T (Tomamichel 1982), V (Gerstner-Hirzel 1979). References to SD and V are by text number and line; to R by section, text number, and line; to T by page and line (excluding titles). The following additional abbreviations are used: INFIN — infinitive, PAST PART — past participle. For a brief account of Gurinerdeutsch in English, see Russ (1990). Comrie's work on Gurinerdeutsch was supported in part by a fieldwork grant from the Division of Humanities, University of Southern California.

2. Gurinerdeutsch examples (and a few others) are accompanied by translations into German, for purposes of comparison, as well as English; these German translations are literal and sometimes preserve features of the original to highlight them.
3. In this environment, the form of the second person singular subject pronoun would be enclitic *-t*, and *hèscht-t* is realized simply as *hèscht*.
4. In Tomamichel's transcription of this dialect, *ä* corresponds to *a* in our transcription of Gurinerdeutsch, *a* to *ä*.
5. This construction is sometimes attributed to Italian influence, though the idiosyncrasies of the construction are hardly explainable on the basis of the putative Italian model with *fare* 'to do/make'. As explained below, the infinitive form *tüa* never appears in this construction, the gerund *tian* being used instead, so arguably the construction should be cited as the *tian* construction rather than the *tüa* construction; we have compromised by referring to it as the *tüa* (*tian*) construction.
6. In some varieties of Swiss German, the "repeated infinitive" is plausibly analyzed as a particle, especially in constructions like *er chunnt ga luege*, cited by Hodler (1969: 321–322) for Alpine varieties of Berne German, literally 'er kommt gehen schauen', 'he comes [to] go [to] look', where *ga*, etymologically from the verb 'go', is used even when the main verb is 'come'. This analysis is less plausible for Gurinerdeutsch, where there must be identity between the main verb and the "repeated infinitive."
7. More generally, wherever one would expect the infinitive of causative *tüa* (*tian*), one finds the form *tian*, even in as simple an example as
  - (i) Ech well ts Chenn tian z schrijban  
'Ich will das Kind schreiben lassen.'  
'I want to make the child write.'

Since causative *tüa* (*tian*) otherwise conjugates exactly like the (irregular) verb *tüa* 'tun' 'to do', the analysis we adopt is to say that it is the same verb and that in the causative

construction this verb undergoes obligatory gerundization, that is, the infinitive is replaced by the gerund. Alternatively, one might say that causative *tūa* (*tian*) is a distinct verb that has an anomalous infinitive *tian*; little hinges on this, although this alternative analysis has the disadvantage that we end up with two distinct verbs with almost identical, irregular morphology, causative *tūa* (*tian*) being the only infinitive in the language to have final *-an*, and the fact that *tian* has the form of a gerund (rather than any other arbitrary form) being accidental. As will be seen below, the rule of infinitivization in the verbal complex, whereby the past participle is replaced by the infinitive under certain circumstances, feeds gerundization, so that ultimately the expected past participle of causative *tūa* (*tian*) is replaced by its gerund.

8. We should emphasize that we are giving a synchronic account here, abstracting away from the complex historical developments that have given rise to the present-day situation and that are, to the best of our knowledge, quite irrelevant to the synchronic account.
9. In the texts we have found one example of the past participle *ggheert* despite a further dependent infinitive, alongside some 20 with the expected infinitive *ggheera*:
  - (i) Ar hêt ggheert dü<sup>i</sup>ssna t Wijbar zëlla un jââmru. (V228.6)  
 'Er hat draußen die Frauen reden und jammern hören.'  
 'He heard the women talking and wailing outside.'

This may simply be a speech error.

10. There is a lexically related verb *kchu* (morphologically *gg-chu*) meaning 'arrive at, reach'; this, however, has the initial *gg-* throughout, and a past participle *kchu* occurs only as past participle of this verb, not of the simple verb *chu*.
11. Since all text counts were done by visual inspection, it is possible that a few examples have been inadvertently overlooked. Throughout, therefore, we cite the exact number of examples in our count, but with the qualification that there is a certain small margin of error.
12. The alternation between *he<sup>i</sup>nt* and *he<sup>i</sup>n* is occasioned by the dialect's sandhi rules.
13. Gurinerdeutsch retains agreement of nonattributive (predicative) adjectives, though agreement is absent in many instances where one might consider it possible; the precise factors conditioning this variation remain to be investigated.
14. One respondent inverted the order of *Chia* and *wella* and assigned the score 2 to this version; we assume, somewhat arbitrarily, that the version offered was evaluated lower, and therefore have assigned it a score of 3.
15. One respondent assigned the value 2 to version (a) (this respondent did not assign 1 to any of the offered versions), but then added a slightly different version of his own, with score 1, which is identical in word order to version (a). We therefore counted his evaluation of (a) as 1, since word order is the only parameter of direct concern.
16. As a check, version (b) was included three times, scattered among the other versions. On one occasion, two respondents gave no response. For the other two occasions, the aggregate score is 26 both times. It should be noted, however, that six of the 13 respondents shifted their judgement by one point in one of the three occurrences, thus giving some indication of the limits of reliability of the questionnaire.
17. In the questionnaire, we did not control for the position of the negative element, and some respondents noted on their response sheets that the order *net hêt* would be preferable to *hêt net*; we hypothesize that the relatively low acceptability of version (c) is due to the position of the negative element.
18. It should be noted that all respondents made the semantic distinction between (1) and (2) in Questionnaire 1c: all 13 used *lââ* in (1), while 12 used *tūa* (*tian*) in (2), the other

respondent offering a paraphrase with 'send' rather than 'make to go'. This last response is not included in the count for (2), whence the total is 12 rather than 13.

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