Cultural Preservation in the Romansh Landscape: a Geography of the Swiss -Romansh Movement.

Erik George Prout

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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CULTURAL PRESERVATION IN THE ROMANSH LANDSCAPE:
A GEOGRAPHY OF THE SWISS-ROMANSH MOVEMENT

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in
The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by
Erik George Prout
B.A., California State University, Long Beach, 1992
M.A., San Diego State University, 1995
May 2001
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grazia fitg, merci viu mau, and thanks to all the people who helped me through this research endeavor. I thank my wife Barbara first for supporting us financially and being a great traveling companion. I owe a debt of gratitude to the faculty and graduate students of the Geography and Anthropology department with their high level of scholarship, support, and friendship. I particularly enjoyed the intellectual curiosity of seminars and everyday hallway conversations. I appreciated the recognition, experience, and financial reward of the Robert C. West Travel Grant, graduate assistantship, and especially teaching introductory geography courses. I thank my committee members for the positive suggestions concerning the research and being excellent academic role models.

Thanks for the assistance and guidance—all errors remain my own.
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ABSTRACT

The research explores the cultural landscape of Romansh speakers in Switzerland. The fundamental question is whether small ethno-linguistic groups can create and protect a place (earthly and poetic) for their language to flourish. Swiss-Romansh have many advantages because of their political stability and economic prosperity. Their efforts in promoting and protecting the Romansh language offer a possible model for other culture groups.

The research elucidates four distinct geographic scales: national (Switzerland's multilingual federalism), regional (alpine canton of Grischun/Graubünden), local Romansh villages (vinscana or communes), and an imaginary Rhaetian ethnicity. I employ the term cultural preservation to discuss the Romansh situation. Cultural preservation includes elements of both historical preservation and cultural survival. Preservation focuses on cultural heritage and monument protection. Cultural survival includes politicized communication concerning identity and territory. The Swiss-Romansh promote cultural preservation in a variety of forms such as inscribing the language and ethno-vernacular styles into the landscape.

In this dissertation, I elaborate specific themes concerning the Romansh. The first theme concerns the ethnographic past that suggests the ways Romansh construct identity and territory. Secondly, the unique political and social qualities of Switzerland promote alpine regions and Romansh language. Landscape and place are the third theme which allows a thick description of various Romansh valleys and villages. The fourth theme identifies specific linguistic and landscape preservation components that exemplify cultural preservation. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of cultural preservation and
speculate on the Romansh as a model for other ethno-linguistic groups. The qualitative research elucidates meaning and understanding from the Romansh people and their cultural landscape. The research methodology relies on ethnographic methods that includes interacting, interpreting, and negotiating in a non-familiar environment.

The conclusions and prospects are mixed. On one hand, the Romansh have the organizational and financial wherewithal to perpetuate their language. Individual communities maintain their own traditions and language, while they retain democratic power over contentious cultural questions. On the other hand, the possibilities for cohesive communities and Romansh places outside of traditional areas are minimal. Geographical mobility associated with pursuit of the good life creates new, complex patterns of language contact and language change.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE ROMANSH AND THE RESEARCH

The Romansh language is in a serious predicament as it is part of a fluid linguistic situation where Romansh bubbles up to the top only in very specific places and contexts. The people who speak the various Romansh dialects are not bound by linguistic boundaries. Moreover, the dynamic human geographies of personal mobility and cultural affiliations inside Switzerland result in more language contact and transformation. Whether this trend will lead to language extinction cannot be ruled out, but a more likely scenario is the continued isolation of speakers who move away from core cultural areas and the ossification of those traditional communities they leave behind. Conscious efforts to resist this scenario or at least balance those concerns with others are cultural preservation in this instance.

The Swiss-Romansh are enjoying the success of political stability and economic prosperity, which have resulted in better societal opportunities and greater geographic mobility. In no way should the Romansh dilemma be presented in life or death terms associated with ethnic cleansing or political persecution. In fact, the problem is that language contact, associated with contemporary life in Switzerland, leads to peaceful and relatively uncontested language changes. The fundamental question is—can the Romansh or any other small culture group participate in the global realm of ideas and interactions while also preserving a poetic or territorial space for themselves? If so, the qualities of place and community are essential elements to understand—not only for contextualizing
individual situations such as this, but also as a general contribution to cultural preservation.

In the Swiss-Romansh case, they themselves make the most important decisions about the preservation of language and culture. Romansh communities debate and decide such things as school curriculum (*program d' instruzion*) and administrative language (*linguatg uffzial*), which directly regulate local language use, as well as land management and tourism development that indirectly impact overall language contact. Individuals choose to or feel compelled to participate in the modern world by seeking better job opportunities and higher education, which inevitably pull them away from the traditional Romansh speaking areas; or maybe they allow themselves to be human as they seek the "good life" by falling in love with whomever or following their dreams wherever it takes them. Pursuit of the good life does not necessarily mean marriage with non-Romansh speakers nor does it mean migration to non-Romansh speaking areas, but for some, it is part of the mixture that has become their modern society.

In this dissertation, I only scratch the surface of these all important concepts like the good life and globalization because I focus on the Romansh and their preservation. I have chosen to describe in detail the actual Romansh in the landscape and the parallel stories about the Romansh that are indicative of their political, social, and ecological contexts. While modernity and cultural differentiation fit into that discussion quite well, my strongest scholarly contribution is to fill a gap by relating geographical concepts such as place and territory to the Romansh cultural landscape. In this first chapter, I provide both introductory information about the research as well as some necessary background concerning the Romansh. Therefore, it contains three parts: first, an introduction to the
Romansh and their situation; second, the research design and methodology; third, the order and topics of the remaining chapters with a clarification about language use associated with the study area.

La Quarta Svizra

The Romansh are often called the fourth language (*quart linguatg*) in Switzerland and sometimes just the *Fourth Switzerland* reflecting the widespread belief that the different language groups constitute unique cultural groups (Camartin, 1982; Haas, 1982; Rougier and Sanguin, 1992; Terra, 1993). The expression derives from the 1930s when Romansh was the subject of a federal referendum that recognized it as the fourth national language. Typically, the languages are usually listed by their relative size in Switzerland, so German at 63.6%, French at 19.2%, and Italian at 7.6%; Romansh comes in at 0.6% of all residents and slightly higher but still under one percent if only Swiss citizens are counted (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995:108).

All four languages are National, *Linguatg naziunal* in Romansh or *Landessprache* in German, but the official status (also known as *Amtssprache*) varies between geographic area and individuals concerned. Only four Swiss cantons are officially multilingual; three straddle the French-German language border and Grischun is the only trilingual canton with Romansh, German, and Italian (Figure 1). While individuals have a theoretical right to use their own language, localities tend to operate in a single, official language, which strongly corresponds to the traditional language territories.

Swiss Language Scene

Human mobility makes the linguistic complexity in Switzerland more fluid and complex; not only is there domestic, but also international migration.
TRADITIONAL SWISS LANGUAGE TERRITORIES

Zurich
Bern / Berne
Fribourg / Freiburg
Grischun / Graubunden / Grigioni
Valais / Wallis

Romance-Germanic language border

Sources: Weiss, 1959; Zinsli, 1971

Erik Prout -- Mapinfo software

Figure 1 -- Traditional Swiss Language Territories
For the Romansh situation, the most important movement is among Swiss as both Romansh and Swiss-German speakers freely reside and work in each other's language region. Yet, international movements of people and global telecommunications are making the idea of a national language policy difficult if not impossible.

Two interesting points about Switzerland—one is that about ten percent of all Swiss citizens live outside of Switzerland (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1999:57) and they have become known in a political sense as the Fifth Switzerland. These "Swiss Abroad" (Auslandschweizer) do not include historical emigration to the Americas or their efforts to be Swiss (see Hoelscher, 1998), but Swiss nationals who actively maintain their official status and since 1992 have the right to vote by mail in federal elections. The second point is that non-Swiss nationals have risen to about 19 percent of the resident population during the 1990s (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1999:28). A high percent of Foreigners (Ausländer) has many consequences, but for the Romansh, it means more people in Switzerland speak English, Spanish, or Serbo-Croatian ranking Romansh as the eighth most spoken language. Table one contains a list of all the principal languages spoken by over ten thousand residents in Switzerland. It also shows: one, the breakdown between Swiss and foreign residents concerning the National languages, two, the identification with dialects of German, French and Italian, and three, the multilingualism of Romansh speakers.

The fluid language situation in Switzerland is difficult to understand not only because of the movement of people and ideas, but also the way one discusses language. Two distinct language discourses exist, and each has its own qualities. The first is the civic sphere that is exclusively Swiss.
**Table 1**
Principal Languages in Switzerland:
1990 Federal Census

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Principal Language</th>
<th>All Residents</th>
<th>Swiss</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>German</strong></td>
<td>4,374,694</td>
<td>73.4%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Dialect (Schwyzerdütsch)</td>
<td>66.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- High German (Hochdeutsch)</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Both (Swiss &amp; High German)</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>French</strong></td>
<td>1,321,695</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Dialect (Patois romand)</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Standard / literary</td>
<td>98.0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Both</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Italian</strong></td>
<td>524,116</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Dialect (Dialetti eg.Ticino)</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Standard (or Lombard)</td>
<td>82.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- Both (CH Dialect &amp; Other)</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ROMANSH</strong></td>
<td>39,632</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(All Rhaeto-Romance)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- workplace, school, or home*</td>
<td></td>
<td>(66,356)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monolingual 20.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Multilingual 79.8% **</td>
<td></td>
<td>(49,390)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Linguals</td>
<td>(62,353)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>All Others</strong></td>
<td>613,550</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non-National languages)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (only as principal)</td>
<td>60,786</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- workplace, school, or home*</td>
<td>(&gt;650,000)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavic</td>
<td>128,093</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- South Slavic sub-group</td>
<td>(110,270)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>116,818</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>93,753</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>61,320</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>35,853</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>17,721</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>11,895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS (&lt;10,000)</td>
<td>87,311</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>6,873,687</td>
<td>5,627,066</td>
<td>1,246,621</td>
<td>81.86% 18.14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995:108, 320 and 1999:419-420 and 1997:495 (Eidgenössische Volkszählung 1990: questions 2.003-00.01 and 2.004-00)

* Commonly used languages (Lia Rumantscha, 1996 for Romansh total and a conservative estimate of the combined totals for English).
** Multilingual combinations are Romansh and any other National language.
In many ways, it represents a traditional notion of citizenship with strong association to places of origin and heredity, and it contains a mixture of both responsibilities and privileges like military service and voting. Those individuals in this sphere are usually participants in higher quality education that includes training in multiple languages and life-long exposure to multilingualism. The second is the residential sphere of people working and living together in Switzerland, which better represents the socio-economic reality of metropolitan areas. This sphere of interaction has to take into account the foreign population with a likelihood of only one standardized national language and the demands of global interaction that, for example, rewards English.

The actual language situation of Swiss cities and regions is quite varied in terms of their national and linguistic composition (Figure 2). Figure two is a map of the language situation for Switzerland with languages represented inside proportional population symbols. The strong German-Romance distinction comes through as well as the overall linguistic diversity in the high Alps. Not apparent on this map is that the largest share of the international movement is within common language areas of Switzerland’s five neighbors. While this movement of people and ideas is a two way process, the cross-border exchange significantly boosters the percentage of Italian speaking residents. Romansh are quick to point out that they have no such synergy with another nation-based linguistic community. In contrast, guest workers and refugees introduce Slavic and other Romance languages that are not native to Switzerland. Furthermore, there are distinct regional differences associated with international migration.
Switzerland's Languages

Figure 2 -- Language Distribution in Switzerland

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Examples of regional variation include Turkish speakers concentrating in the Northeast (Basel-Zürich-St. Gallen), and people originating from Africa are more common in Western Switzerland (Geneva-Lausanne). As one may expect, there are numerous multilingual combinations as well as non-standard linguas such as "Fremdendeutsch," which is a pidgin spoken by foreigners with limited German language knowledge.

The language landscape is even more complex when we consider the role of tourism, mass media, and global culture. For example, English and Japanese language signs are found in many popular tourist areas, and current Hollywood movies with subtitles instead of dubbing are popular throughout metropolitan Switzerland. The transformation of telecommunications in Europe is bewildering with both privatization of government monopolies and technological innovation. These changes result in dynamic media markets that combine Germany, Austria, and Switzerland on one scale and regional programming and advertising. Amidst this techno-cultural Babel (Barber, 1995), Romansh language has to compete for the imagination and dedication of its speakers, which is a big task due to its small size.

**Number of Speakers**

An important consideration of the Romansh language is of course how many people identify themselves as speakers. In a complex society that promotes multilingualism, using language statistics as a measure of identity or group affiliation is sure to have some errors. Since the Swiss public is exposed to census results, the census becomes part of the overall language discourse. An additional source of confusion is the formulation of language questions on the census that throw a wrinkle into Romansh studies. For a hundred years, the primary question was "What is your mother tongue?"
The mother tongue question reflected a typical understanding of natural language acquisition from parents even if worded with a gendered term that has become a questionable concept for mixed language parents, not to mention non-traditional family types. Regardless, the mother tongue question showed a continuous growth of absolute numbers from 38,705 Romansh in 1880, which was the first federal census that asked this question of individuals, to 51,128 in the 1980 census (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1996:157; see Figure 3). In 1990, the primary language question (*linguatg principal / Hauptsprache*) was changed to "Which language do you have best command of?" To which, only 39,632 people responded with Romansh as their answer. In addition to the Best Command question, officials conducted a further survey of language use to assess other commonly used languages and the overall multilingual situation in Switzerland. The question was "Which language(s) do you speak regularly at home, school, and/or work?"

Without any dramatic demographic incidents to account for such a decline (between 1980 Mother tongue and 1990 Main language), the results are attributed to the change of census questions. Nevertheless, the response by Romansh groups has been defensive with attempts to calculate another expression of Romansh language use while simultaneously using the new number as a wake-up call to address language issues. The Romansh group Lia Rumantscha combines the Best Command question with the Regularly Spoken question to estimate that 66,356 people speak Romansh (Lia Rumantscha, 1996:20).
Figure 3 — Census Count of the Romansh Population

Sources: Bundesamt für Statistik, 1996:157,356 (Historical Statistics of Switzerland); *Furer, 1996 (1860 estimate is based on community language while data were originally in family units); 1835 data are considered unreliable (too high) but still used for relative proportions between languages. Note: Red lines with circles are the same data on both graphs.
Another way is to use the census questions on multilingualism (question #2.004-00); from that, I estimate that 62,353 people speak Romansh with the breakdown of 12,963 monolingual and 49,390 multilingual speakers (see Table 1). Since monolinguals logically had to choose Romansh as their primary language, interestingly, only 26,669 of the 49,390 multilinguals could have indicated Romansh as their primary language. As the number of non-Romansh who learn Romansh well enough to claim proficiency is very small, the only realistic interpretation is that Romansh speakers who become settled in other language areas eventually consider that language as their primary one.

Even if we agree that the total number of speakers is in the 60,000-70,000 range, most statistical and cartographic representations use the Federal census' Best Command number of 39,632 (Bundesamt für Statistik. 1997:89). The geographical distribution of both is possible though (Figures 4-6). Figures four and five use the same base map, where the communes in Grischun are aggregated into regions and the statistical regions of Switzerland (groups of Cantons) are shown with Zürich metropolitan area separated from the Northeast region.

Figure four is a map of the distribution of primary Romansh speakers in Switzerland with the size of the circles representing the number of speakers in each statistical unit. The colors represent traditional Romansh areas and those of other language groups with Chur shown as non-traditional because of its large majority of German speakers (as well as its urban character). The large sized symbols in the non-Romansh regions of Switzerland mislead, for the speakers are actually isolated and dispersed. Figure five represents the total number of Romansh speakers calculated by combining monolingual and multilingual speakers.
ROMANSH DISTRIBUTION
BY PRINCIPAL LANGUAGE

ROMANSH SPEAKERS
in Statistical Regions

- 6600 / Traditional
- 2900 / Diasporic

Traditional 26,471
Diasporic 13,161
Primary Total 39,632

Sources: Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995: 202-215;
Furer, 1996 (1990 Federal Census, question 2.003-00.01)

Erik Prout -- MapInfo

Figure 4 -- Primary Romansh Speakers
Northwest
West
Central
South

Northwest  
West  
Central  
South

MULTILINGUAL & MONOLINGUAL
ROMANSH SPEAKERS

Source: Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995: 414-427, 504
1990 Federal Census (question 2.004-00)

Figure 5 -- All Romansh Speakers
The relative size difference between the monolingual circles displayed on top of the total speakers accurately implies a ratio. In addition, those areas with large numbers of monolinguals in figure six strongly correspond with the traditional cultural landscape.

Table two is a tabular representation of Romansh speakers in Switzerland. Both the Primary (those who indicated Romansh as their principal language) and Linguals (mono- and multi-) columns contain descriptive statistics that are of concern for people thinking about the future of the Romansh language. Of the Primary speakers, only 75% (29,679) live inside the Canton where Romansh is an official language, and only 49% (19,300) live inside the Romansh language territory as defined by the Census (Furer, 1996:99). The magnitude of all Romansh speakers living in German language areas is reflected by the nearly twenty thousand or one-third in the Northeast, Northwest, and Central Switzerland regions. The important point is that many Romansh (most due to their own mobility) are living in communities where they have to use German in many aspects of life and there are few possibilities for formal Romansh language education for their children. Figure six is a more detailed map of the language situation in the Grischun, with every community mapped according to the number of Romansh primary speakers and the total population. In addition, the Traditional Language Territory as it is represented by the Lia Rumantscha (1996) and others (Furer, 1996) is highlighted for reference. In general, communities with large numbers of Romansh are large places with even more non-Romansh speakers, or communities with a high percentage of Romansh speakers tend to be very small in population.
### Table 2
Romansh Speakers Throughout Switzerland, 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistical Region</th>
<th>&quot;Primary&quot; Romansh as Main Language</th>
<th>&quot;Linguals&quot; Mono- and Multilinguals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--sub regional unit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northeast</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zürich (Canton)</td>
<td>4999</td>
<td>10,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Zürich metropolitan</td>
<td>3293</td>
<td>7151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Gallen</td>
<td>2892</td>
<td>6229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Sarganserland*</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>2141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northwest</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bern</td>
<td>2493</td>
<td>6450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Bern metro. (Federal capital)</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>2295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aargau</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basel (city &amp; land)</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>1487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luzern</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>2179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri*</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West (Suisse Romand)</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>2320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South (High Alps)</strong></td>
<td>30,169</td>
<td>40,894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticino (Italian)*</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valais/Wallis</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAUBÜNDEN / GRISCHUN</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,679</strong></td>
<td><strong>39,777</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--ROMANSH MAJORITY REGION</td>
<td>19,300</td>
<td>21,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Chur metropolitan</td>
<td>3980</td>
<td>6615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Chur city</td>
<td>2269</td>
<td>3605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Surselva/Oberland</td>
<td>13,400</td>
<td>15,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Engiadina/Südbünden</td>
<td>8019</td>
<td>11,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--Grischun Central/Mittelbünden</td>
<td>3583</td>
<td>5147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>URBAN AREAS</strong></td>
<td>11,899</td>
<td>24,734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RURAL AREAS</strong></td>
<td>27,733</td>
<td>37,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--demographic collapse</td>
<td>2524</td>
<td>2806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>39,632</strong></td>
<td><strong>62,353</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1990 Federal Census, questions 2.003-00.01 and 2.004-00)

* Adjacent areas with trans-border links to Graubünden/Grischun

** Statistical regions of Chur Agglomeration, Chur Stadt, & Surselva are identical with Census regions; Engiadina and Grischun Central are calculated from existing political units (Kreis & Bezirk).
Romansh Population in Grischun

Total Population
< 173,890

Romansh Population
< Primary 29,670

Traditional Romansh Territory
(121 Communes)

Sources: Bundesamt fuer Statistik, 1995
(1990 Eidgenoessische Volkszaehlung)
Lia Rumantscha, 1996 (territory)

Erik Prout
Summer 2000
MapInfo

Figure 6 -- Romansh Population in Grischun
Culture in Place

The core of Romansh culture is in the Swiss Canton of Grischun where the traditional Romansh communities and landscapes are located. Yet, the current representation of Romansh territory (like in Figures 1 and 6) is significantly smaller than their historic position and cannot come close to understanding their influence and participation in a broader Alpine or European context. The environmental setting of this core area is Alpine with geophysical factors to settlement and agriculture accompanied with a generally low species diversity and extreme mass wasting hazards. On the other hand, the environment provides modern possibilities with respect to tourism and hydroelectric power. While alpine ecology provides a physical backdrop for traditional Romansh places, the geographic mobility of individuals is creating new and unstudied places of Romansh culture.

Two distinct landscapes or settings of where the Romansh are actually located can be discerned (Figures 7 and 8). The first is the traditional village where agriculture predominates the landscape and Romansh remains an important local language, even if Romansh is a minority such as in areas of considerable tourism development. Surselva, in the headwaters of the Rhine, contains the largest concentration of Romansh communities, many with very high percentages of Romansh speakers (i.e. Vrin at 96%, Figure 7). While another concentration of Romansh speakers is in Engiadina bassa (lower Engadine) and adjacent Val Müstair. A variation of this setting is traditional Romansh villages that have grown large due to economic development, and only fragments of traditional culture remain—usually with large numbers of non-Romansh speakers.
Figure 7 — Traditional Romansh Landscape
Top photo, Vrin (Val Lumnezia)
Bottom photo, Guarda (Engiadina bassa)
Figure 8 – Modern Romansh Landscape
Top photo, Chur Altstadt
Bottom photo, RTR Building in Chur
Some prominent examples are St. Moritz (San Murezzan) and Flims (Flem) with their large-scale tourism development and Domat/Ems in the Rhine valley with its chemical industry and suburban housing.

The second context is diasporic with Romansh living in metropolitan areas where other languages are dominant notably the Zürich urban agglomerations and high growth/opportunity areas like Davos. Of those that leave the Canton, most live in urban centers (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1997:427), which contrasts with the agriculturally oriented areas of origin. Unfortunately, these diasporic Romansh do not really constitute an alternative Romansh landscape, for they integrate into Swiss German communities with very few clues to their ethnicity. The missing landscape component results from no outward political movement and no strong concentration of Romansh in residential terms such as ghettoisation. Social gathering places outside of the canton like restaurants or bars with Romansh speakers are difficult to find or assess. In metropolitan Zürich, the residential pattern is similar to Swiss citizens as a whole with most living in the higher income neighborhoods (Stadt Zürich, 1998:30). Anecdotal evidence suggests Romansh stay in close contact with family and friends from their hometowns/regions rather than seek out or create new Romansh networks in urban Switzerland.

While Chur reflects the Swiss urban landscape where Romansh does not show up in many commercially prominent ways, it is the political community (Gemeinde) with the largest number of Romansh speakers (both primary and multilingual). Gloor et al (1996:12) call Chur a "diasporaraum," reflecting the modern movement of Romansh into plurilingual Switzerland. Chur is a special case that deserves further study (Figure 8). Foremost, a disproportionate number of intellectuals, bureaucrats, and activists

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concentrate in Chur because of its regional importance. Historically, the city has been the seat of a Roman Catholic Bishop for over 1500 years, who at various periods of time was the most powerful actor in the region, and currently, many of the governing and administrative functions of the canton are located in Chur. The symbolic display of the Canton’s trilingual administration is observable in the landscape such as on government buildings and public monuments, but also non-Germanic influences are apparent such as Romansh personal and place-names. As the regional center for the whole Canton, Chur is the only city that effectively serves as a central place for the Romansh. The main Romansh organization, Lia Rumantscha, and the media organization, Radio e Televisiun Rumantscha, are located in Chur.

Rhaeto-Romance Languages

The Romansh have been the subject of various research efforts, not the least are linguistic studies. So much so that a discussion of the Romansh is usually intertwined with the linguistic qualities and classifications of the various dialects and their relationship to other Romance languages. Since many of the issues that are being discussed revolve around the language (how many speakers and where they are located), a closer look at the language is warranted. Currently, linguists classify Swiss-Romansh with Dolomite Ladin and Friulian as Rhaeto-Romance (Harris and Vincent, 1988; Holtus and Kramer, 1987). What that means in hierarchical terms, Rhaeto-Romance is equal to French, Italian, and Romanian as a Romance language in the singular, and Romansh and Ladin are technically dialects of Rhaeto-Romance like Lombard, Occitan, and Catalan are to Italian, French, and Spanish respectively.
Haiman and Benica (1992:8,158) make a reasonable case that Romansh, Ladin, and Friulian are distinct enough to classify as separate languages. However, geographical and historical elements work against this (Figure 9). First, the size of Romansh and Ladin are small enough to relegate and their peripheral location to other Romance languages makes them easy to generalize. Both have been heavily influenced by contact with German speakers as well as being part of political entities that are oriented away from the Mediterranean. Friulian has other linguistic concerns stemming from long Venetian influences as a hinterland of Venice during the Republic years and recent introduction of standardized Italian, so there is legitimate disagreement whether Friulians exhibit biglossia (dialects) or bilingualism (languages) with modern Italian (Haiman and Benica, 1992:8).

A second factor is the long standing, popular belief that Rhaeto-Romance evolved from folk-Latin with a substrata of Rhaetian (Lansel, 1937:4; Rohlfs, 1975:1). It parallels the theory that Gallo-Romance is the result of Latin being imposed on the Celtic peoples (Gauls), which eventually evolved into modern French and influenced certain Iberian and Italian dialects. The Rhaetian component to Rhaeto-Romance is really an intriguing question. Despite considerable research and popular interest, very little is known about the origin and culture of the Rhaetians (Rageth, 1984). Furthermore, the "Rhaetian question" becomes intertwined with localized construction of ethnicity for the Romansh, which is interesting enough that I discuss it in more detail in Chapter Two.

Figure nine contains a map of the current language regions of Rhaeto-Romance. At first glance, an obvious reality is that the dialectal language regions do not border one another.
Rhaeto - Romance Languages

Language areas
- Swiss Romansh (62,353 speakers)
- Dolomite Ladin (est. 35,000 speakers)
- Friulian (circa 700,000 speakers)
- Comelico (circa 10,000 speakers)
- Noce / Sole (classification questions)

Sources:
- Billigmeier, 1979
- Lia Rumantscha, 1996
- Erik Prout, 1999
- MapInfo software

Figure 9 -- Rhaeto-Romance Languages

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The graphical image supports the thesis that Romansh, Ladin, and Friulian are distinct enough to call separate languages. Furthermore, politico-territorial divisions and mountainous terrain would have and still does retard direct communication and hinder linguistic influences between the regions. Yet another geographical interpretation is to view the dialects as a peripheral group to the core Romance developments, notably those diffusing from the North Italian centers of Milan (Lombardy) and Venice and from the Provence and Savoy/Piedmont regions of the Western Alps. Not only do the language groups find themselves removed from centers of modern European States, but also along the linguistic and political frontiers that have coincided with conflict. French and Austrian troops transited and occupied the Grischun during the Napoleonic Wars, and more recently, World War I fronts crossed through the Dolomites. In general, the tussles to control alpine trade routes have been an ongoing geopolitical issue, and for the Grischun, it has probably been a mixed blessing trying to balance autonomy and prosperity in this context.

For the Swiss-Romansh, the geographical conditions of contact and conflict resulted in a very complex pattern of both spoken dialects and written idioms (Figure 10). The most common representation of this diversity is the five "idioms" of Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmeiran, Putèr, and Vallader (Schmid, 1985:49-108). There are other ways to depict and classify their cultural mosaic, such as by regions and ethnic labels. For example, Grischun Central (translated as Mittlebünden) is equated with the decline of Romansh in the middle parts of the canton. Meanwhile, Ladin is the ethno-linguistic label of the Engiadina and Jauer is the spoken idiom of the Val Müstair.
Language Diversity in Rumantschchia

ROMANSH IDIOMS
- Sursilvan
- Sutsilvan
- Surmeiran
- Puter
- Vallader

Sources: Lia Rumantscha, 1996
and Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995

Figure 10 -- Swiss-Romance Dialects
Furthermore, the crosscutting nature of religion and historical alliances has to be considered as significant for the Romansh. The geo-linguistic patterns are only one part of a complex cultural diversity in the Alps, but language has a special attraction for both the Romansh and the terms of the preservation discourse.

**Research Design and Methods**

Just as cultural differences amongst the Romansh are profound and geographical, it is apparent to me that a number of different approaches and scales are available in a study of the Romansh. One geographical option is to focus on a single Romansh region such as Surselva or Engiadina where dialect and confession reinforce one another and a strong regional identity exists. Another option is to comprehensively compare the Romansh with other linguistic minorities in Europe because nearly every nation-state has a minority language situation (Klemens, 1995; Lia Rumantscha, 1996:7). I chose a cultural scale of analysis that incorporates the "Swiss-Romansh" as a single entity with multiple geographical scales. The four necessary geographic scales are firstly, federalist Switzerland for its unique national language situation; secondly, the traditional language region for cultural landscape; thirdly, individual villages and valleys to appreciate the human and ecological contexts; and finally, the imaginary geographies of the Rhaetian past that defy current borders.

The methodological options are also plentiful with abundant quantitative data and archival documents to draw on, though not compelling or comprehensive enough to understand individual alpine communities. I would characterize the research by my commitment to be qualitative, and this is revealed in both my practices and mentality. Foremost, I wanted this research to be accessible and understandable to those who are my
subject—if not in language and every theoretical detail, at least the ideas I express about them are relevant. The surest way to accomplish this is to understand their world, which means intensively observing and listening as well as presenting some of those ideas to them. In addition, I studied the language for a year with a class of adults, I traveled to nearly every Romansh village, and I gained insight from ethnographic informants. I incorporate statistical tables and graphics as the preceding section demonstrates, but a key factor is that the ideas are understandable concepts if not already known by many Romansh. One of the constant surprises I encountered was that ordinary people, and not necessarily Romansh, could tell me something about the controversy around the new written language or list the five Romansh dialects. Clearly, the Swiss public is conversant on national language issues including the Romansh situation, and they frequently draw a parallel to the Swiss-German situation.

Another research consideration is to contribute towards a collective understanding of these situations. Therefore, the Romansh situation can be seen by knowledgeable Swiss in a different light as well as in a general sense for those not familiar with the local issues. A starting point is finding a term that describes the situation, and I propose cultural preservation to be that term. At first glance, preservation of culture would capture what some Romansh are doing to insure their language perseveres, but it also incorporates meanings of place, heritage, and even geopolitics in its broadest sense.

In particular, two discourses often thought of as distinct, historical preservation and cultural survival, are interwoven, and they are essential components in observing and understanding the landscape. As I am using the term, cultural preservation combines the selective interpretation and iconography of the past associated with preservation and the
political machinations of communicating cultural identity and territory. Moreover, cultural preservation leads not only to continuities but also changes in the landscape, and it is linked to the decision making of ordinary people who are consciously perpetuating their culture. This process of decisions vis-à-vis the cultural landscape as an earthly symbol of identity and territory becomes inscribed into specific places. Cultural preservation effectively enshrines selected symbols of heritage onto the Earth’s surface, and these symbols serve as a collective presence of the culture.

Applying cultural preservation to the Romansh requires a good understanding of previous research and how this has influenced local understanding of cultural history. Furthermore, my methodology needs the proper research questions and participant observation experiences that can help me elaborate the preservation of the cultural landscape. One way to clarify how I achieve an understanding with the methods is to discuss them in four discrete sections. First, I summarize the previous research on the Romansh and situate my geographical contribution. Next, I reiterate the research questions and their basis that initially guided my inquiries. Then, I explain my lengthy fieldwork and put it into perspective of ethnography in Europe. Finally, I clarify the significance of the Romansh as an example of cultural preservation that may contribute to the understanding of similar situations.

Previous Research

There are numerous ways to survey previous research, as there are various types and perspectives ranging from model geo-linguistic works (Murphy, 1988) to geographical interest on the study area (Elsasser and Boesch, 1991). Specifically, I want to emphasize a strand of local/regional scholarship that is constantly being cited. This
strand is very important to understand because, one, it relies on primary documents, observations, and testimonies or the trail of respected citations of such. Secondly, this scholarship is intertwined with the region in terms of close association with political, ecclesiastic, and educational élites, which gives it a privileged impact on the general population especially through locally published textbooks. This regional scholarship has both an insider validity (written by one of us) and an academic stamp of approval, so therefore, it has an enormous potential for (re)producing culture.

Fortunat Sprecher (1617) and Nicolin Sererhard (1742) stand out as early chroniclers who put into text historiography and empirical observation of the Grischun. Sprecher wrote the *Rhetische Cronica* in the early 1600s during the conflicts associated with the Counter-Reformation. An interesting aspect of his book is that he wrote it in Latin, which reminds us that Latin was still a language of State but also that his intended audience was probably external. The value of his work to modern scholars remains the insight it provides into prevailing beliefs and historical interpretations of his period. Sererhard’s *Einfalte Delineation* is much more geographical with rich description of individual communities and a broad account of the political and societal organization that he encountered while traveling and living in all three language areas. His work is used by recent scholars to reconstruct demographic and agricultural conditions (Mathieu, 1992:314; Kraas, 1992:143), which may lead to the population estimates necessary for ecological analyses that Viazzo (1996) advocates for alpine areas.

This trend of natural history and regional description continues into the present by both popular and scholarly writers. Clavadetscher’s work (1994) on the Middle Ages and Metz’s multi-volume (1989-1993) account of the modern Canton represents a continuity
of this regional historical scholarship. Times of conflict and dramatic changes are heavily documented and discussed topics, such as the Veltlin Wars (Wendland, 1995) and the 500 year anniversary of the Chalavaina battle (Lietha, 1999), which is regarded as a pivotal moment for independence. Of course, some of the older, local scholarship directly mentions the Romansh, but after Planta's work (von Planta, 1776), they often become the sole subjects of scholarship. Two categories of ethnographic studies stand out, first, Romance studies that focus on the language, and second, general folklore interests on alpine culture. Language studies that "scientifically" identify and classify Romansh appear with Ascoli (1873), Gartner (1883), and Martineau (1882) all within a decade of each other exemplifying the intense academic interest of the period. In the early decades of the twentieth century, another surge of studies, like Jud's (1919) language geography and Lansel's (1937) politically charged arguments were intended to clarify that the Romansh language and culture are independent and different from Northern Italian.

One of the features of the Romansh as a study case is that they write about themselves, although, if the work is intended for academia or Swiss audiences, it probably is published in German such as Camartin (1992) and Deplazes (1991). Much of this research is heavily oriented towards creating comprehensive inventories, and even popular literature like Catrina (1983) appears to be documenting the Romansh. The Lia Rumantscha has come to be the main publishing focus of dictionaries and for literary documentation in general. As early as 1938, the Lia Rumantscha compiled an exhaustive bibliography of all the early written/printed examples of the language, and in recent years, they collaborated with publishers like Langenschiedt (Lia Rumantscha, 1998) and Hippocrene (Gross and Telli, 2000) to produce commercially viable language
dictionaries. A scholarly and popular literature concerning folk culture exists that includes traditional customs and dress, myths and legends, and vernacular house types. In this vein, the *Rumantsch Chrestomathie* (Decurtins, 1982-86 reprint of 1888-1919 original) is a massive 15 volume work that documents the rich oral traditions; meanwhile, Maissen (1998) represents a contemporary documentation of customs and material culture for the Surselva subregion.

**Name Studies:** There is a unique branch of scholarship that combines some of the linguistic-ethnographic research and the local history tradition. These studies on toponyms and personal names are compelling and sometimes misunderstood. On one level, it makes perfect sense to research the linguistic foundation of an area that has been influenced by multiple languages, yet it is how the research is used that raises interest and concern. Basically, the research is a tedious collection of every known word in the region and documentation of both meaning and origin. In so much as folk culture becomes recorded for posterity, the research has a secondary value that may outlast the original purpose. The two massive works associated with this research are the *Rätisches Namenbuch* or RNB (Planta, 1939; Shorta, 1964; Huber, 1986) and the *Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun* or DRG (Institut DRG, 1939-2000). There are some smaller and more accessible works such as the encyclopedic style *Handwörterbuch des Ratoromanischen* (Bernardi et al, 1994) and Schorta's (1988) look at the name origins of mountains.

The RNB is a mostly etymological work that covers the whole canton of Grischun regardless of current language, and it includes personal and family names (*sur-nums*), place-names (*nums local / Ortsnamen*), and plant and animal names (*nums da funs /
Flurnamen). The RNB research determines etymological origins, and then, presents it back in both geographical and etymological categories. The RNB can be cited as supporting evidence of human history / cultural diffusion because of its classification of etymological units to ethno-linguistic categories. The categories include Latin, Germanic, and hypothetical pre-Roman sub-categories of Celtic, Illyrian, and Rhaetian; one generally uses the Latin and Rhaetian as proto-Romansh components.

The DRG is an on-going project of the Institut dal Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun and is published by the Societad Retorumantscha. While many "Romansh" dictionaries (Pledari) are quick reference single word to single word, the DRG is a very comprehensive entity with notes in both German and Romansh. The DRG includes not only origins and meanings, but also the regional variations of word usage/spellings and verb conjugations. The main drawback to this thoroughness in detailing every Romansh word is the slow pace. Despite publishing the first "bulliten" in 1939, they are only about half way finished (the word Laschar in the 137th bulliten, 1999).

There are other strands of research concerning the Romansh, which includes recent dissertations (Head, 1995; Kraas, 1992) and many works of interest to geographers such as cultural ecology in the Alps (Netting, 1981; Cole & Wolf, 1974; Viazzo, 1989). My intent is not to be comprehensive at this point, but to draw attention to the rich and unique, locally produced research by both authors and publishers. This research and its impact on common folk so to speak is a factor that has to be considered, but how to integrate it into an ethnographic study where the average person is exposed to it in various ways is an open question. One characteristic of this local scholarship is that there is an insider—outsider distinction with insider knowledge deriving authority from whom
or where a person is located, while outsider knowledge is about academic specialization and credentials. A local who gains academic recognition can benefit from both kinds of authorities. Regardless, this local research is a factor that has to be considered. Not only does it serve as an indicator of past ideas, but also it has to be understood as an agent of perpetuating and creating current notions of the past.

Geographical Contribution: Amidst this rich local writing, I need to situate where my study as an outsider would be a contribution. I believe there are two elements that I should illuminate. The first is that there seems to be a disjuncture of thought between Romansh studies and popular representations of the landscape. Research that uses the cultural landscape to create a discussion of the interplay between experience and meaning, or ecology and society, seems missing. Clearly, one reason is that cultural geography as practiced in America no longer has a corresponding position in German language geography and is not fulfilled by other disciplines. I bring to the discussion an appreciation of landscape as a crucial variable of discussing other topics such as the built and natural environment and human efforts towards preservation of culture.

Therefore, I hope to contribute to the understanding between landscape and culture, as well as use those terms and concepts like place, preservation, and heritage that are generally considered important to cultural geography. The second element is to emphasize my outsider status is not a liability but an asset of access to broader realms of thought and communication. The number of English language publications on the Romansh/Grischun is still very low, so my second contribution is to expand and enhance the understanding that this example may contribute to other cases of minority relations or cultural preservation.
Research Questions

The dissertation proposal contained four general research themes: ethnographic past, place and landscape, Swiss context, and cultural preservation. The main objective was to observe and evaluate the Romansh landscape as an example of individuals and institutions consciously modifying the qualities of the landscape for cultural preservation, or as I wrote at the time:

The goal of this research is to determine how and why the Romansh are creating their cultural landscape vis-à-vis a much larger agenda of cultural preservation. The ongoing process of creating the landscape by the Romansh includes purposeful acts of making a culturally distinct place for themselves. Four research themes and related questions form the basis for this dissertation: ethnographic past, landscape creation, writing Romansh, and cultural preservation.

The research themes remained remarkably similar and each one evolved through the fieldwork and writing stages to become the basis for a separate chapter. Since the four themes correspond to the actual chapters, I discuss them in the same order, as they will appear in Chapters Two-Five.

Ethnographic Past: The initial goal of the first research theme was to identify the important elements of Romansh history as it was being portrayed in any conceivable medium. I had thought of this theme as mostly historical background in which I could personally make sense of the long temporal dimension involved and maybe at best illuminate the origins and significance of ethnic labels like "Romansh" and "Ladin." What I did not imagine is that this theme would become as important and time consuming as the other themes.

The reasons for this unexpected importance are twofold. First, this historical dimension was full of fascinating inconsistencies that seem to tie in well with various
social theories such as Lowenthal's (1986) ideas about heritage and Hobsbawn's (1992) critique of European nationalism. I single out for scrutiny the Rhaetians, to whom the Romansh attribute their direct ancestry, and the more encompassing image of "Free Mountain Men" that saturates contemporary self-portrayal and political culture. I set out to discover the origins of the Rhaetians if for no other reason than to appreciate their possible contribution in the landscape, while I also justified the time as learning a new library system and coming into contact with possible informants.

I became intrigued by the concept of ethno-genesis applied to this case, as it became clear there was much misconception and a noticeable lack of evidence concerning the Rhaetians. It appears that some of the misconception stems from the popularizations of the nineteenth century, which coincides with German Romanticism, scientific ethnology, and school reform. The image of the Free Mountain Men transcends the Alps, but it is more pervasive like a political ideology in Switzerland. In Grischun, this image/ideology is encapsulated in the regional identity—Biündner. I contend the Rhaetian question and the mountain ideology are useful elements of my study because they are part of a broader trend of constructing heritage and understanding the imaginary elements of the past. Therefore, these historical elements, whether they are called collective memory or invented past, are integral to the cultural landscape.

The second reason this theme became more important was that I could use my interest in historical questions as an "in" with ethnographic contacts. At a most basic level, all people talk about the past, and I could establish my credentials by knowing something about their regional history. I noticed that serious questions changed the way locals would interact with me, but superficial questions were brushed off as touristic. An
interesting question such as "How old are those terraces above town?" often got attention as they contemplate or think of who in town would know the answer. I was reminded over and over again that locals appreciated serious interest in their culture, and I felt they would go out of their way to be helpful.

While I initially called this theme "ethnographic past," now I would consider a new title to reflect the broader process of making sense of the past. It is probably close to universal that culture groups create heritage and invent elements of the past as well as preserve the material things that they consider important, so ethnicity or ethno-past is just one major component of this process. Despite being a rewarding intellectual endeavor, this theme brought out a lot of reflection because I felt awkward confronting ethnographic myths. I did not think it was my role to disprove their beliefs, but I wanted to explore this theme as a universal need to construct heritage and explain the past.

**Swiss Context and Writing Romansh:** This research theme probably changed the most because I deliberately widened my focus to include the entire Swiss political and popular culture as it intersects Romansh language issues. My focus changed in part because I lived for over a year in Zürich where Swiss-German is traditional but the overall situation is quite cosmopolitan and multicultural. This expanded time-frame allowed me to observe everyday life, media culture, and political discourse in Switzerland.

When I initially called this theme "Writing Romansh," I was drawing on the titles of Clifford and Marcus's (1986) *Writing Culture* and Barnes and Duncan's (1992) *Writing Worlds* as inspiration. I had in mind to look at the discursive qualities that have created the Romansh as well as be aware that I was contributing to that process. The basic
question was how did the Romansh become an accepted part of the national body politic despite being such a small percentage of the Swiss population? Here, the relevant goal was to identify the constitutional amendment and gather any relevant material such as the actual text, the discourse/debates and electoral results. While the history of how Romansh became a national language is relevant, especially since it is a matter of pride for most Swiss, scholarly attention of this subject focuses on the international political environment of the 1930s.

An overwhelming reality of this situation is the Romansh are Swiss! It is important to note that the Romansh are not viewed in an us verses them dichotomy; for most Swiss, Romansh is just another national language along with the other three. In contrast, foreign languages associated with modern migration are discussed in very different ways, so the broader language context is a relevant thing to observe. Two aspects of the Swiss context that stand out as relevant to the Romansh are political culture and popular consumer culture. The main reason these are important is that the Romansh reflect Switzerland as a whole in their basic resource consumption and political party fragmentation that commits to national consensus.

Relevant questions for this expanded observation of Switzerland include what type and quality of media do the Romansh have access to in Grischun and Switzerland; which Swiss institutions and rituals have a direct relationship to the Romansh language. Obviously, a lot of material about Switzerland has to be filtered out with a focus on what relates to Romansh speakers. Nevertheless, the time I spent on this theme was useful because it is a vital component of making the Romansh experience a relevant example to
other minority situations. It is only with the Swiss context that a broader lesson of how a minority language can be incorporated into a national framework.

**Romansh Places and Landscapes:** The cultural landscape is at the center of my research interests, and this theme met my expectations as the most enjoyable part of the research. The goal of this research theme was to learn as much as possible about the Romansh landscape with the goal of rendering it back to a unfamiliar audience. The initial research effort was to observe the cultural landscape in person, determine what is physically there, and take into account the social and ecological setting. For this to be possible, I had to familiarize myself with the transportation and accommodation infrastructure in the Grischun as well as the agricultural and tourist cycles linked to human activities and seasonal climate. Much of this familiarization was part of my earlier travels and assessment of this research topic in 1997. Then for the last year and a half, more observation, targeted interaction, and formulation of ideas were the key goals.

Theoretical options seem rather pale compared to the experience of observing and interacting in Romansh places. In some ways, this research theme may seem more influenced by works that are tangential to the research. Clearly, at one level, other works that celebrate the cultural landscape and awaken our interest and observation are important. I would put forward Meinig (1979) and Groth and Bressi (1997) as good examples, and from these works and others, specific questions are easier to formulate. Those that I addressed first were the notions of traditional and material culture, for example, what if anything in the contemporary built environment is considered traditional? In tandem with observation of the landscape and qualities of place, I wanted to take into account the ecological setting, land use, building types, and settlement
patterns. Then, the follow up questions were meant to elicit explanation and meanings that the people attribute to those landscape elements. Furthermore, an assessment was necessary to distinguish what elements are seen as traditional or ethnic, to determine what structures and activities fit with the environment, and to assess how individuals contribute to continuity and change of the cultural and natural landscape.

The second tangential concerns representation. The presentation of the Romansh landscape has more theoretical considerations than does the actual field practice. A typical concern I have is whether I portray the Romansh in my view of the world or does their world view come through. If my view comes through, at least I should own up to it and take authorial responsibility and explain my approaches. Descriptive writing of geographical and cultural worlds is an actively engaged topic by those who participate, and I believe experience/participation is a key component to landscape research. I liken my description of landscape and rural places to Relph's (1984) phenomenological description of urban places. Therefore, this part of the dissertation reflects my presence in the field, observing, thinking, and writing about the cultural landscape.

Cultural Preservation: The final research theme had a twofold objective. The first goal was to articulate a concrete description of preservation activities and actors that affect the Romansh language situation. The second goal was more closely associated with my term cultural preservation and assessing the approach in terms of understanding and applicability. I look at preservation as a broad range of activities carried out by individuals and institutions with special consideration of those initiated by the Romansh. As preservation activities interact with culture, questions of identity and territory really come out.
Research questions on this theme revolved around identifying what is being preserved and who is doing it and where is it located? The role of the Lia Rumantscha was a primary concern because they have become the most important entity in Romansh language issues. Other actors include smaller groups that seem more devoted to local or topical issues. Switzerland's only national park is in the Romansh language territory, and it provides an additional layer of preservation. Furthermore, I wanted to understand how those different preservation activities such as ecological protection, agricultural subsidies, and language sponsorship are interdependent, and whether there was a coherent vision of interrelationship between these different activities.

The second objective asks if cultural preservation is a viable way to address this language situation and is it applicable to other situations? As a way of testing this, I wanted to determine what kind of model if any could be developed, and what elements would be useful for understanding other situations. The relationship of preservation to broader global—local dichotomies and cultural differentiation was a prominent aspect that was enhanced for me because Switzerland is currently engaged in such debates.

The commonality of these four research themes is they define various components of Romansh culture—culture with a wide interpretation of meanings. Moreover, each theme has a particular ethnographic dimension where the ideas and beliefs of the Romansh come through. Firstly, the past is not history, it is a creation that anchors the culture. Secondly, Switzerland is a unique state in which the Romansh are a part of the Swiss political, economic, and social environment. Thirdly, landscape brings out the immediate surroundings or built environment with meanings of hearth and community. Fourthly, preservation looks to the future and builds on the who and where of the group.
Since there were four research themes instead of deductive questions, I had the discretion to follow leads and paths that I may have stayed away from if I had to keep to an agenda. In the next section, I discuss my field experience and the paths I eventually followed.

Field Experience

The field component to my methodology became somewhat dependent upon my residence in Zürich. A defining moment in my research was when my wife accepted a job in Zürich as it provided me an opportunity to stay indefinitely. Zürich is Switzerland’s largest city and it is an important migratory, educational, and transportation center not only for the Romansh but also for much of Switzerland. Despite not living in a Romansh community, Zürich was a good location because of the open library system, proximity to Grischun, and the opportunity to take Romansh classes. Convenient library access became important as I decided to stay in-country to write the dissertation. The University of Zürich and the Federal Institute of Technology have a combined library system with comprehensive collections of all Swiss topics as well as most German language books. Zürich’s relative location to the Romansh areas allows for quick access; it is a one and a half-hour train ride to Chur, which makes a day trip feasible. In Chur, libraries and government offices have information concerning the Romansh language and the different areas of the canton. Beyond Chur, traveling to traditional Romansh areas takes anywhere between 15 minutes to Domat and a further half-day’s journey to Val Müstair.

My excursions in the traditional areas range from only a single day to longer trips of a week or longer. I could use a day pass ticket (valid on trains and buses) to visit a new place or just to be somewhere for a specific date such as All Saints. On the other extreme, I could go with camping gear for a week or longer. These longer trips tended to be in the
southern half of the canton, in particular, the Engiadina. Once in the field, I made it a priority to observe and photograph the landscape, to develop ethnographic contacts, and to return with personal notes and/or tourist literature. The landscape photographs total over 1250 individual slides of which they are divided between regions and subjects and seasons. I also collected numerous brochures, local newspapers/newsletters, and tourist advertisements that have a cultural context; in addition, I purchased popular books, topographic maps, and language guides worth collecting. Finally, I was fortunate to attend a few academic and cultural conferences in Grischun. The most significant were the Romansh "Scuntrada," which I was able to attend both the 1997 and 2000 events, and the inaugural Rätsche Akademie in 1999.

Ethnographic Contacts: My ethnographic informants were quite varied in terms of location because I had the opportunity to visit many Romansh places as well as come into contact with a group of people in Zürich who have varying attachments to different areas of Grischun. On the other hand, I associate many of my ethnographic informants in the field with tourism and services, so I had to be mindful of place promotion and professional courtesy that people in that position must maintain. Even a chance encounter at a farmers market, might produce a glossy brochure about "Bio-farming" which happened to me in Scuol. I found the brochure interesting because it lists all the farmers in the Lower Engadine that comply with the official "Bio" standards. Undoubtedly, the reason I was handed this brochure was that many of the farmers also offer agro-tourism opportunities such as sleep in hay or milk/tend the animals, so presumably, I fit their profile of possible customers.
Without a doubt, my best ethnographic informant falls into this category of being involved and benefiting from tourism. Eva works part-time in the Madulain tourism office, where she is also a catalyst for introducing new ideas about tourism to the village. Eva and her husband, Max, rent out bedrooms of their house—mostly to repeat customers who stay for the whole week. However, the reason she was so useful to me is that she had seriously contemplated the qualities of place that are successful for tourism. Her personal story of traveling and living abroad, marrying a foreigner was identifiable to me, and returning to her family home in Madulain allowed her to be comparative. Furthermore, we could communicate in English, which is the language they speak at home (their daughters were born in Canada and Australia). One of my favorite things to do was explore some area of the Engiadina and then when I mention it to her, she could explain something or tell a story. Eva as an informant reminds me of Clifford's (1992) reflection that informants are also travelers; undoubtedly, there are both benefits and drawbacks with using fellow travelers as ethnographic partners.

The majority of my contacts were single encounters with locals who were using the same bus, or they were the merchant selling me food, and even a chance encounter with a farmer in the field. Some other important multiple contacts include tourism directors, librarians, and a transportation planner. Many of the tourist places offer a village tour that ranges from a simple what to do while you are in town to elaborate dates and styles of the old buildings. On one occasion, the director enthusiastically told me about the town's pilot project to provide multilingual education, in which his daughter is a participant. On another serendipitous occasion, I ate lunch with two old friends who had worked for aid groups in Africa, and they joked about how the locals here needed more
development than the poor in Africa did. It was the first time, I had encountered vocal skeptics to Romansh language preservation.

The last ethnographic events I will mention now are language courses, which were prime opportunities to meet and observe Swiss in an informal educational setting. The first was a Sursilvan language class in Zürich that was one evening a week for a year. The ethnographic windfall turned out to be the other students, who as a whole were the children and spouses of Romansh speakers who migrated to Zürich. They had experiences and knowledge of a wide variety of Romansh areas, but they also had a strong desire to learn the language and culture as if they were seeking their heritage. They asked extremely inquisitive questions of Patrizia, our teacher, that I could not formulate on my own, and she shared many insights and stories of her childhood with the class. The second course was an intensive, week long Putér class that was both an introduction for those interested in assimilating and those participating in cultural tourism. This course brought out similar questions about the culture and language, and I was able to use it as an ethnographic experience.

**Ethnography:** Ethnography as a modern academic activity started in Europe with European subjects, where there was still plenty cultural diversity amidst concern that tradition was being lost during the Industrial Revolution. These early inquiries attempted to document the world's human diversity (Humboldt, 1971; Steub, 1854), but just as important, they established research methodologies to deal with cross-cultural experiences. While these early encounters often had asymmetrical relationships, they have led to theoretical concerns such as authenticity and representation. Geographers have shown interest in alpine topics (Brugger et. al., 1984; Weiss, 1941) as have others
Ratzel's descriptions (in Semple, 1911) of peoples and places in mountainous environments exemplifies the depth and length of geographical work.

Recent research on Europe has been heavily influenced by quantitative social science that seems to conform to State based territories and statistical data collection regimes. The qualitative methods associated with ethnography seem to be applied only on foreign cultures. A counter movement to observe European peoples and places as humanistic subjects has resurfaced (Boissevain, 1975; MacDonald, 1993). Instead of just nations and societies, an increasing number of scholars are looking at folk culture in many different guises. For example, Bendix (1997) looks at authenticity in the history of folk studies and Graham (1998) refocuses on Europe and its past that are integral parts of culture and place.

Significance of Research

A study of the Swiss-Romansh has some important implications for discourses on small language groups because the situation is considered so ideal. The Swiss-Romansh language has a very strong legal position and popular support in both national and regional contexts, and the speakers retain local control of many language decisions. For the thousands of languages without official State status, the situation is precarious, and possibly mired in political strife and economic hardship. Those conditions found in Switzerland are logically what most (scholars) would consider important elements of development and subsequently cultural autonomy. Nevertheless, the Romansh language is endangered. This ideal situation with its democracy and prosperity does not take into account geographic mobility or individual pursuit of happiness.
Three important elements of a study on the Romansh stand out as significant for the world at large: (1) the cultural history and the territorial and identity construction of Swiss-Romansh; (2) Romansh language evolution in the midst of societal and technological revolution; finally, (3) Romansh as a possible model of language and cultural preservation. Some other elements that make the Romansh case interesting include the role that academic/scientific study of the Romansh had on their understanding of ethnicity and cultural awareness. In addition, the dramatic changes in the alpine landscape associated with restructuring of agriculture and widespread tourism need to be studied.

On the first element, Romansh cultural history is a worthy case study that includes two millennia of human continuity. The changes of political and economic realities notwithstanding, the Romansh sustained their language through communal autonomy. In time they differentiated themselves and constructed notions of identity and territory. The Romansh and the Alps occupy an interesting place in modern academia as some of the earlier studies of folk culture and cultural ecology took place there.

The present situation is just as intriguing with many of the same environmental considerations still playing a role, but now the issues take into account conservation, tourism, and hazards. The relevant political question is how did Romansh become a symbolic part of Switzerland and how does their cultural survival become tied to Swiss discourses of multiculturalism and governing. Under this Swiss context, cultural identities and territories have been articulated that cut across political boundaries and often one another. This Swiss component is the one that played out in the intense nationalistic period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe.
The second element is part of the Romansh story, but it plays an important role for any possible modeling situation. As the economic and ecological relationships change, the Romansh must maintain the communication and contact with one another that reproduce culture. Furthermore, Switzerland has sufficient level of wealth to initiate costly preservation efforts that range across the urban—natural environments and contribute to this new cultural interaction. Romansh preservation efforts should be observed for their originality of using new venues for language interaction such as World Wide Web and their use of technology to engage with outsiders and link insiders. Knowing the history of communalism and peasant egalitarianism, another consideration is the relationship between leaders/intellectuals and ordinary people who may not receive or accept new ideas or technologies in the same way.

One possible outcome of this study is a general model of cultural / linguistic preservation that may have some applicability for other situations. For the Romansh case to be of use to other situations, a distinction between universal and idiosyncratic elements would have to take place. Many models and proponents of a "Swiss way" are rooted in comparative politics that emphasize the federalist separation of power (Campbell, 1982; Frey and Bohnet, 1995; Sidjanski, 1976; Stevenson, 1990). But there are other place based political factors in the traditional Romansh areas. One example is that communities see themselves as sovereign entities being the real source of political legitimization in Switzerland, and hence they as people in place are above the Constitution not protected below it. This view of place creates a political tension that seems to work in Switzerland but would be hard to replicate anywhere else. Furthermore, any modern linguistic model
would have to account for geographical mobility of individuals that is producing incredibly complex patterns of language contact.

Dissertation Outline

I have organized the dissertation into five chapters. Besides an introductory chapter, there are four chapters that correspond to the four research themes. In this first chapter, I have provided some essential material about the Romansh and the research. I have written the four discussion chapters in a stand-alone manner with minimal cross-referencing.

Chapter Order

Chapter Two is a discussion about the past. In addition to a historical framework, I discuss the environmental past as a prelude to the human settlement of the last couple thousand years, and then, I discuss three particular cultural epochs that represent the human past in the minds of most locals. Switzerland is my topic for Chapter Three. I discuss the national framework for which Romansh are a symbolic part of even if only a small part of the total Swiss system. I emphasize the political culture and popular consumerism as two elements that play important roles in Romansh language use. Chapter Four is a thick descriptive of the traditional Romansh places. I emphasize the cultural landscape as evidence of Romansh presence, language policy, and preservation efforts. I also explain the Romansh places in terms of settlement structure and ecological relationship. Finally, Chapter Five is a discussion of cultural preservation. I document the various preservation efforts and how they interact with each other and contribute to Romansh language survival. I also explore cultural preservation as a research concept and its possible applicability to other situations.
Place-names and Spellings

The place-name situation in the study area is extremely complex, and its representation on maps is a significant factor for everyday usage. One tradition in Swiss cartography is to use local names in their own language wherever possible. Because most cantons are monolingual, the cartographic nomenclature often follows a canton by canton spelling regime, which usually means a single language is used. While the Grischun (Graubünden / Grigioni) is officially trilingual, numerous places in the canton have multiple spellings and some even have multiple names. Sometimes, the majority language of German is universalized, but the opposite trend of reintroducing Romansh names and spellings is also prevalent. It is possible to end up with a map labeling Sankt Moritz the town next to the lake Lej da San Murezzan (Eidgenössische Landestopographie, 1970). I discuss this in more detail in later chapters, as place-names are an essential element of language policy and a possible source of contention between different language groups.

Generally, I want to respect the local situation as much as possible, and in particular, I use the Romansh term or spelling if no compelling reason not to exists. Historically, German names were used by German scholars, but before assuming this is an act of linguistic colonialism, it has to be understood that the Romansh contributed to this process by (re)creating some of the names for perceived economic benefit in the early years of mass-tourism (Barker, 1982; Billigmeier, 1979). Nevertheless, some of the German names have no logical connection to the Romansh names, for example, Domat and Ems, and there seems to be a reluctance to adopt the Romansh spellings in such
cases. In this case, the official name of the commune is Domat/Ems; an adjacent commune, Feldis/Veulden, reflects a more common situation of multiple spellings with the German version being a phonetic approximation of the existing Romansh place-name.

The similarities between English and the local languages are closer than first imagined. Of course, English is a Germanic language with many Latin elements, so there are plenty of one-to-one lexicon examples with both German and Romansh. Occasionally, there is a direct English-Romansh similarity that does not exist in German, e.g. mountain/muntogna (Berg), and even an identical spelling for Austria (Österreich).

Another interesting linguistic feature is that the region is a contact zone between different groups of Indo-European languages, which produces borrowed and shared words. Like English, both Swiss-German and Romansh have words that originate across the language frontier and beyond. From my perspective, sometimes it seems more logical to use the Germanic expression while at other times the Latin/Romance.

An issue I have to take into account while writing in English is that many "Anglofied" place-names of continental Europe and alpine terms in general derive from French (e.g. Grisons, avalanche). Unfortunately, French is not an official language in Grischun. When the French term approximates the Romansh, such as Grisons for Grischun, I prefer to use the Romansh form. On the other hand, I follow tradition when a term has already been published in an Anglofied form and is logical, like Romansh (Planta, 1776; Billigmeier, 1979), and this keeps me from choosing between the different Romansh spellings (Rumauntsch, Romontsch, etc.).

German expressions are important as they are often used in scientific and bureaucratic ways, and some of the ethnic labels derive from that language. The most
important term is Rätoromanisch because what would be a simple hyphenation in English (meaning a Romance language in Rhaetia) has evolved into language classification and ethnic group label. Common use of Rumantsch/Romansh does not appear until the 1800s. Even though Rätoromanisch is translated as Rhaeto-Romance, I only use it as the language classification put forward by linguists. Sometimes I deliberately use the term Swiss-Romansh when I want to emphasize the direct link with Switzerland as a whole.

Other place-names present usage problems especially regional names like Engiadina and Rhaetian. Engadine valley (Val Engiadina) is well known and a good compromise is to use according to context, like Upper and Lower Engadine for physical regions and Engiadina for cultural features and proper names. Rhaetian is usually synonymous with Bündner, but both have loose ethnic and territorial connotations that should be more rigorously defined. I prefer to use Bündner for the contemporary identity of all Swiss in the canton, Grischun for the territorial realm and cantonal name, and Rhaetia(n) for the relative geographical location or historical political entity (Rhaetian Alps or Alte Raetia).

I wrote the dissertation with English speakers in mind, but with an eye towards possible audiences in Switzerland. When it seems important for certain audiences, I include the Romansh and/or German language term in parenthesis. A last note on spelling concerns the maps in my dissertation. Unfortunately, the mapping program does not allow umlauts, so I take liberty to choose when to omit the umlaut or follow German standard of adding an "e" afterwards (e.g. ä becomes ae). Romansh names should not be a problem except when someone is only familiar with the Germanized form.
CHAPTER 2

THE PAST AS GEO-HISTORICAL FRONTIER

Time and space are unique concepts because people are bound in earthly terms to particular time/space experiences. Time and space are well philosophized (Agnew and Corbridge, 1995; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997; Lefebvre, 1991; Lynch, 1972). Culture groups may measure and record both time and space, but individuals will always have difficulties reconciling their own short life spans to the immense temporal length and spatial range of human history. Imagination is one possibility for filling in the gaps of knowledge outside of personal experience (Lia Rumantscha, 1990; Ursch, 1979). In many ways, the past is more like a belief system built on notions of faith and tradition. Many of these pasts are a complex mixture of beliefs and interpretations combined with different influences including current social issues, changing environments, and even tropes of documentation (see Decurtin, 1989; Duncan, 1993; Luck, 1985; Maisson, 1998; Weishaupt, 1992; Wolf, 1982).

Cultural groups mold their past with a little imagination to construct the geo-historical frontiers concerning human origins and territories (Lia Rumantscha, 1987; Ursch, 1979). A cultural frontier is both an exact delineation as well as a non-discrete boundary between the known and the imaginary (Prescott, 1978; Weiss, 1961). In cultural terms, the frontier and/or border is the distinction between groups, for examples, the non-abstract differences such as language and religion (Murphy, 1988; Wagner, 1974). These frontiers even if imaginary or contestable as actual boundaries fit their needs none the less as the desire to define ones culture predominates historical accuracy.
(Cole and Wolf, 1974). Once someone articulates cultural differences and heritage, they become part of the material and symbolic environment. These imaginative and creative efforts result in another layer of meaning in the cultural landscape. While very little is actually known about the Roman province of Rhaetia or the people living there at the time, the Romansh claim a lengthy presence on the land because of how scholars interpret Roman documentation of the name (Dyson, 1985; Whittaker, 1994). This Roman—Rhaetian connection is just one of many elements in the representations of Romansh history and geography, and it inevitably pulls the discussion of human and natural roots very far back in time (Bechert, 1999; Degen, 1987; Purcell, 1990).

The human and ecological past of the Grischun is the subject of this chapter. I explore some of the geo-historic frontiers that have particular cultural meanings for the Romansh. This chapter generally follows a chronological order except for the first section. In the first section, I introduce my term "heritage epoch" and elaborate on this trend of modern societies looking to the past for authenticity and traditionalism. Then, I discuss the environmental history of the region taking into account physical geography and human settlement of the Alps. Environmental history is a relatively new academic pursuit, and according to Brimblecombe and Pfister (1990:6), it is particularly weak in Europe. My purpose is simply to present some background to the ecology and human origins of the region. Finally, I discuss the three heritage epochs: Retica, Grischuna, and Svizra. Instead of an exhaustive list of people, dates, and places of the last two thousand years, these epochs are really components of understanding towards Romansh history. The important aspect is the meanings the Romansh themselves attribute to the past in each of these differing epochs such as ethnic origins and democratic traditions.
Cultural History

The human past in Grischun is fascinating because it goes so far back in time that it defies easy interpretation of landscapes. For example, many places in the canton have terraces on south facing slopes, and they appear so natural that some people do not notice them. Archaeological research date some of them to around 3000 years old (Rageth, 1986), so local people attribute them to their ancestors and think their community is thousands of years old. At the same time, locals mention how they had to plant crops on the terraces during the war, so I suspect the terraces were modified with mechanical means.

The landscape evokes very complex and even contradictory responses when it comes to understanding the past. One of the more important functions of articulating the past is to define or clarify the complexity, and hopefully, the result is a clear picture of identity and territory. The Grischun reflects more human and cultural mixture than any pure this or that, and from a linguistic point of view, there is this complex Romance/Germanic language frontier. In this section, I momentarily put landscape in the background and discuss heritage as a crucial human aspect of the past.

Heritage is a word that carries different connotations for different contexts. Academic interest of heritage follows two paths. One reason for scholarly attention is the contradiction between a scientific historical accuracy and a humanistic value of the past. Lowenthal (1996:127) mentions this aspect of how accuracy and values can be at odds. The second path of interest is how places are using heritage to distinguish themselves and shape the landscape for interpretation. For the average person, heritage usually includes the positive, defining stories from the past that serve some useful purpose. Furthermore,
there is a collective aspect in the way people mention "our ancestors" or the "Rhaetians" did such and such. In a way, it reminds me of Wagner's Geltung hypothesis at a group level, whereas a collective entity is trying to evoke appreciation and acceptance from others (Wagner, 1996). Implicitly, there are different scales of heritage. At the global scale, heritage is the humanity of all people along the spirit of humanistic thinking.

Another scale of heritage is at the national level where a strong convergence of communication and culture has gravitated around. In modern Europe, there is a special relationship to the rural past because it is a recent memory for many urbanites who maintain an attachment with rural places and family relatives (Lowenthal, 1997). A complex mixture of actual experience with and collective projection of values onto the rural produces a rural-looking heritage for a decidedly urban society such as in Switzerland. Since these modern urban societies are searching for meaning and creating heritage with a particular image of rurality, they simplify many human qualities and explanations of the past into relatively few categories. The word epoch is flexible enough to accommodate this vagueness of heritage, so I selected it instead of other possible names. Next, I define my term heritage epoch and apply it to the Romansh, and then I introduce the main mythological image that drives heritage in Switzerland.

Heritage Epochs

Foremost, a heritage epoch is a portion of the past that corresponds with ethnographic observations. The time period is vague and not similar with historical periods that historians could articulate. Although the epochs are non-exact periods, it is possible to assign some specific dates and events. In some cases, people associate heritage with features of present day culture including material attributes in the
landscape. I see an epoch as having both a sense of time and identifiable landscape and ethnic components. Individuals often indirectly refer to these epochs as they describe the past. Yet, if you asked someone to describe an epoch, you would probably get a blank stare. These are my categories to put ethnographic observations and regional literature into some semblance of order.

**Epocas Rumantscha**: The Romansh past has three distinct epochs that stand out as important components to understanding the current situation. Figure 11 is a diagram of the three epochs organized by their relationship to the present. I use the Romansh names of Retica, Grischuna, and Svizra, which are equivalent to Rhaetian, Bündner, and Swiss, to avoid any unintended associations. In particular, Rhaetian is a word used with the other Rhaeto-Romance languages especially the Dolomite Ladin. Switzerland is a modern State with 26 cantons in its contemporary boundaries, but for the people of Grischun, it is also the most recent time period.

The first epoch is Retica, and it provides the ethnic and linguistic background that Romansh attribute to their past. It covers the Rhaetian origin stories and the Romanization of the people and region. As part of this epoch, I highlight an interesting phenomenon I call the invention of Rhaetian ethnicity. The Rhaetians have become the human face of pre-history, and any image of pre-Roman culture tends to be projected onto Rhaetians. The Rhaetians are an integral part of Romansh places as they are the human dimension of first settlement and longevity of place. Unfortunately, what appears to be a solid truth of local history is in all likelihood a constructed reality. The lack of evidence concerning the Rhaetians is notable, and it is compounded by an incoherent story of settlement.
Figure 11 — Diagram of Heritage Epochs

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The lessons to learn from the Rhaetian component to Romansh ethnicity are firstly the minimal constraints on imaginary elements in an ethno-genesis process and secondly a culture group's need to anchor their past.

The second epoch is Grischuna, and during this epoch a "Bündner" cultural complex develops. The regional identity and territory becomes very well defined and distinct from neighboring regions during this time period. The formation of Bündner-ness incorporates the cultural and environmental diversity of a large alpine area. An interesting question is how a single politico-cultural label, Bündner, does not exclude minorities? The terminology of using Bündnerromanisch or Bündneritalien is considered inclusive even though it is in German. Despite the complex language situation and divisive religious affiliations, the political system did not disintegrate. The Grischuna epoch coincides with the historic Freestate, traditional democratic rites, and the current cantonal geographies.

Svizra is the final epoch, and it is more exact in a temporal sense as Grischun formally became a Swiss canton in 1803. The epoch begins with the political turmoil and transition associated with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wartime years. Svizra represents the era of rapid change that begins in relative poverty and ends in incredible prosperity. The epoch also coincides with recent diminishment of the language as human mobility changes the contact patterns between languages and German becomes the majority language in the canton. In response, Romansh launch efforts to preserve the language, which include a literary revival and political success/reaffirmation in terms of constitutional recognition.
**Epical Meaning:** The division of the cultural past into three epochs has a wider meaning than organizing the past into blocks of time. All three epochs are alive as different components to the Romansh speakers of today. As one talks to people about the past, they associate specific meanings or attributes to very generic categories like the ones I have presented. Retica refers to the really distant past, and people say that is when their language was formed. The Rhaetian Freestate (*Bünden*), in the Grischuna epoch, was our independence era. Naturally, they say, we are Swiss. While it is easy to find inconsistencies in both personal and collective ideas, they still return to these three basic categories with an emphasis on political freedoms.

**Mountain Heritage**

One of the strongest themes in the Romansh past that transcends all epochs is the alpine environment. Many cultural activities are seasonal and follow either agricultural cycles or the Christian calendar. Some of the more prominent examples are traditional ceremonies related to transhumance, especially moving animals up to and down from their summer grazing areas. The busiest months for alpine farmers are between June and September when they have to accomplish specific tasks that can only be done then. The only holiday in summer is the Swiss national day on August first, which has only recently become a major celebration. On the other hand, numerous Christian ceremonies are held during the many winter months when fieldwork is impossible. The whole sequence of Christmas—Easter falls in a slow period for many farmers, and the Catholic communities in particular tend to have major events such as Three Kings parades.

**Springtime:** The harshness of Winter brings about an emotional hope for an early Spring and fruitful growing cycle. There is a widespread ritual of planting and displaying
flowers on windowsills and of course spring-cleaning, which includes airing out the animal stalls. The best known celebration is "Chalandamarz," which exists in every Romansh community in the Engiadina (Lia Rumantscha, 1996). The public ritual is for the school age boys (and girls in some places) to march around the village with large cowbells to scare away the Winter. Traditionally, they entered individual houses to scare away any bad spirits that maybe hiding. They serenade the crowds with songs about agriculture and local pride. In most places, the school children actually organize Chalandamarz, and many of the activities emanate from the schoolhouse such as the selection of leaders and Chalandamarz Ball. Informants mentioned to me how important Chalandamarz has become, and it is clearly significant if not the highpoint of the school year for the children. Chalandamarz does extend beyond Engiadina as it has diffused into some neighboring valleys. The origins or at least the question of origins produces an interesting contradiction because there are a few different stories about the origins. Many attribute it to being an indigenous, Engiadinaise custom, while others call it Roman because it falls on the Roman new year (March 1st). The association with Romansh speaking communities and the singing of Romansh songs can be confirmed.

Free Mountain Men: There is a peculiar alpine identification with a stark but simplified image of the past. The dominant image is one of a Free Mountain Man (FMM), who negotiates his communal liberty as surefooted as he traverses an Alp (Figure 12). FMM combines some powerful notions of political ideology and environmental determinism, which is where one critiques it. The political ideology is tied to Swiss nationalism insofar as it can be called nationalism.
Figure 12 – Images of Free Mountain Men
Top photo, Sgraffito in Ardez
Bottom photo, Fontana Monument in Chur
Nationalistic events in Europe clearly influenced the Swiss in how they represented themselves, but they still argued for a liberal democratic model of freedom and independence. The environmental determinism associates mountains with communal liberty and personal freedom in contrast to the centralized, oppressive flatlands. The last side of the triangle is to link Switzerland or at least its image with the mountains, but the Swiss also created an institutional structure of a militia army (farmer-soldier) to perpetuate it. FMM has those three reinforcing sides: he is Swiss, he lives in the mountains, and he is free.

Despite widespread appreciation of the natural qualities, there are many misconceptions about ecology and human settlement in the Alps. One source of confusion is that localities use fragmentary archeological evidence to imply a long continuous human presence. Another element of confusion is that the current transportation network and tourist patterns have become the dominant cartographic image of regional geography. Whereas the present agro-settlement structure is mostly a function of the Middle Ages (Bundi, 1982), and many older trade routes have been forgotten as automobile and train networks dominate personal mobility (Planta, 1987).

Oddly enough, elevation is a misunderstood element among some informants despite the obvious limitations to growing crops and crossing passes. Perhaps this misunderstanding coincides with individual and communal transition away from agriculture towards service-oriented activities and the presence of modern transportation. Yet, a close look at the ecological record reveals some important clues to settlement, and there is a broad synchronicity between climate and population (Viazzo, 1989:137). In the
next section, I discuss the alpine environment, which provides a prelude to the Rhaetian origins and settlement questions.

Environmental History

The origins of the Alps were once a mystery in need of an explanation (Figure 13). There were seashells and fossils found at very high elevations; there were dramatic landscapes with towering mountains, waterfalls, and active glaciers. On top of this physical phenomenon, humans had effectively settled most of the valleys, utilized the natural resources, and explored the limits of survival. The powerful attraction of these mountains so close to Europe's core areas has left an impression in Western thought on the artist's canvas, inside the geologist's laboratory, and in the philosopher's dreams. The explanation of the Alps may begin with the physical mountains, but its everlasting significance is in the more recent human-environment interaction. A good place to begin is with explaining the actual word alp.

Las Alps

The word *alp* has an interesting background that sheds light on its meaning. An alp (or alm in the eastern Alps) refers to the higher altitude meadows that farmers use for summer grazing, and the word has evolved into a general term for mountain (Figure 14). The *Rätische Namenbuch* (Schorta. 1964:377) says that "alp" (re)entered the Romansh language as a German etynom, but the origin of the word predates the Roman period. As evidence, Schorta (1964:377) provides the following pre-Roman etynoms that survive in Romansh: "alb" (mountain), "alv" (white), and "alpis" (mountain meadow) as part of current place-names as well as a complete fauna name "albulana" (snow rabbit).
Figure 13 -- Overview of the Alps
Figure 14 — Alp Es-cha
Top photo, Val d' Es-cha (above Madulain)
Bottom photo, Es-cha Dudains (Alp facility)
Schorta (also in the RNB 1964) points towards an old Celtic origin for the word that could have been adopted by Germanic, Rhaetic, and Italic speakers through contact. The Handwörterbuch (Bernardi et al, 1994:50) points out that the current usage of the word is closely associated with cows and grazing in the alpine cheese economy, which may explain why it reentered the language as a Germanic element. As a word in the contemporary landscape, alp refers to a Summer milking facility whereas a high elevation area has a name like valley.

Early research and "Grand Tour" tourism in Europe globally dispersed the term "alp" through scientific and other means. Alp can be found as a toponym in such places as the Japanese Alps on Hokkaido and the Southern Alps in New Zealand and as adjectives like alpine for downhill skiing or Alpinismus for mountaineering. Research called mountain environments (e.g. Mountain Research and Development) or high altitude physiology/medicine fall under the rubric of alpine studies, and the word alpine is found in the titles of academic journals such as Revue de Géographie Alpine.

**Physicality:** The physical presence of the Alps is both a topographic reality of mountains and a mental construction of natural barrier. Physical science can go a long way in understanding the processes of mountain building as well as the counter effects of gravity and weathering that denude mountains. The origin of the Alps is explainable with Wagner's plate tectonics theory, whereas the collision of the European and African continental plates created enough force to build mountains not to mention thrust sea sediments to high altitudes. Where more recent physical processes do not conceal the bedrock, one can see the folds and thrusts that resulted from those incredible compressional forces. The subsequent reversal of plate movements created the space for
the Mediterranean Sea. More thorough accounts of Alpine development are available; for example, Bätzing (1991:11-14) simplifies the formation into five stages. The timeframe of alpine formation is measured in millions of years, to be exact between 100 to 5 million years before present. Relative geological stability characterizes the current physical period. While tectonic plate movement is not a factor, the Alps are still active in terms of occasional earthquakes. An additional consideration is surface rebounding due to the unweighting effect of melting/retreating glacial ice from the last glaciation.

Compared to the time scale of uplifting, it is more recent climatic and geomorphic events that distinguish the landscape. Clearly, the most dramatic events are periodic glaciation. Glacial ice significantly shapes the Earth’s surface—creating U-shaped valleys, horns, and terminal moraines. Less dramatic in a visual sense but extremely consistent are fluvial processes with erosion and deposition and sudden changes associated with mass wasting and avalanches. Taken in its entirety, the physical geography of the Alps provides a spectacular backdrop for human activities when glacial ice is not in the way.

The Alps have experienced numerous periods of glaciations since formation, and during an Ice Age significant movement of material occurs including removal of most biological matter. Therefore, after an Ice Age, flora and fauna must recolonize the Alps through a very long process of soil development and vegetative succession. During periods of glaciation, snowlines drop to around 1200-1300 meters in elevation which excludes all possibilities for human settlement (Trümpy, 1980). Significant ice accumulation occurs in distinct locations where the higher altitude massifs of individual mountain groups can produce more precipitation and hence heavier snowfall amounts.
The resulting accumulation of ice eventually coalesces into broader ice fields completely covering all land, and the flow of ice away resembles continental glaciers in some areas.

Significantly, the movement of ice during an Ice Age determines the drainage patterns for the following interglacial period. In Switzerland proper, the broad pattern of ice movement reveals both channeled (alpine) and unchanneled (continental) ice flows, but the main channels are important because they are avenues for human resettlement. An interesting feature is how a geological fault line known as the Martigny—Chur line contributed to two main channels that move in opposite directions from each other. These two channels are the source areas for the Rhine and Rhône systems. Because mountain groups surround these two valleys on both the North and South sides, they tend to receive less rainfall than areas on the windward sides. Swiss researchers often classify these valleys as the "Inner Alps," and there are enough agricultural similarities to call this a distinct cultural region in of itself (Matheiu. 1992:13,233).

In Grischun, a majority of the valleys are in this inner-alpine zone including the En valley. Therefore, most all Romansh communities fall into this broad geographical anomaly with relative dryness and high elevations. In general, the Grischun has higher overall elevations than other Swiss alpine regions, and Trümpy (1980:7) states. "The Rhetic Alps of Graubünden show a maze of high lying valleys..." As a physical region, the Grischun occupies multiple drainage basins and the pass landscapes that connect them. This crossroads location is also apparent with the plant and animal communities. After a glacial retreat, two different ecological realms recolonize the Alps, one from North and another from the South. Today, those two ecosystems are mid-latitude forest and Mediterranean, but elevation significantly changes both as they come into contact.
creating unique ecotones and specialized sub-systems. It is also conceivable that the Alps were an East-West corridor for wildlife before extensive human settlement.

**Topology:** A quick survey of the major mountain groups and the important passes puts the Grischun in its geo-alpine situation (Figure 13). The Alps in Europe consist of a series of mountains or mountain groups that broadly form a continuous chain starting on the Ligurian coast and linking Europe’s highest peak, Mount Blanc, and one of the world’s best known peaks, Matterhorn; running through Rhaetia and Tyrol and extending eastward towards Vienna and southeasterly into northern Slovenia. Some of the alpine groups are notoriously popular through tourism such as the Berner Oberland and the Dolomites of Southern Tyrol, while others are only known by locals or by those who try to classify the alpine areas.

Typically, the Alps are divided into an Eastern, Western, and Southern/Maritime section, but I often use the term Central when talking about the Rhaetia/Grischun since the East-West line arbitrarily falls through the area (CIPRA. 1998:44). In Switzerland, the mountain groups tend to follow cantonal borders or encompass recognizable regions. From West-to-East, there is the bilingual canton of Valais/Wallis with the St. Bernhard and Simplon passes and well known resorts of Crans/Montana and Zermatt; the Bern Oberland is the southern part of the canton Bern with numerous sub-regions such as the Jungfrau and the important Lotschenberg rail tunnel; Central Switzerland includes the three original cantons (Urkantone) and the important Gotthard massive/corridor. The mountain groups around Grischun include: the Glarner Alps to the North, Silvretta/Rätikon separating Austria, and Bernina and Rheinwald groups on the southern flank of the canton.
The physical nature of the Alps creates a considerable obstacle to North-South movement, but it has not been an absolute barrier to human contact and communication. In fact, the Alps in their physical arrangement do provide traffic possibilities. The separation of high altitude massifs with one another provides the opportunity for a few spots with low enough elevations necessary for passes. In addition, deep river valleys eroded by glaciers allow for interconnected settlements on either side of the divide, which is significant to supporting any pass trade. In fact, there are numerous good footpaths through the Alps, if one is prepared for hardships of accidents and survival amongst the elements. The number of passes suitable for wheeled carts is dramatically fewer because the administrative, environmental, and technical requirements for roads can only be marshaled in very special instances. Modern passes are even more restricted despite the technological feats of overcoming slope inclines for trains and trucks.

National academies view the Alps in culturally specific ways that hamper most classification attempts (CIPRA, 1998). Swiss and Austrians stand out as being consumed by their alpine-ness, while French, German, and Italians only conceive of the Alps as small parts of their national personas. These national contexts are fundamental to explanations of the landscape because land use, property rights, land reforms, technological introductions, farm subsidies, and militarized borders all contribute in some form or another. Mathieu (1998:205) does a notable job of articulating the Alps as a single historical entity, and as a region, it has similar characteristics such as agricultural styles and demographic changes.

Nevertheless, these attempts still have the problem of the mountains falling across international boundaries. The physical part of drawing contours on a map is relatively
easy, but agreeing on what constitutes the fore-alps and human territories is more problematic. A good example is the large regions of Lombardy and Bavaria: both have territory that is alpine, but should their large urban populations in Milan and Munich be part of an alpine analysis. Meanwhile, Grischun and Tyrol are mostly all alpine, and their largest cities, Chur and Innsbruck, are integral parts of their respective pass trade.

In recent decades, various international research organizations such as the ARGEALP (Central Alps), Alpen-Adria (Eastern Alps), COTRAO (Western Alps), and CIPRA have been active. The ARGEALP (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der zentralen Alpenländer) is a working group for research in the Alps including any hypothetical Rhaetian area, and their published work is multilingual. The culmination of academic and political pursuits is the Alpine Convention that officially formed in 1988 (CIPRA, 1998:373-393). Original member States included Switzerland, Austria, Italy, France, Germany, and Liechtenstein. The CIPRA (International Alpine Protection Commission) was enhanced as a result of the 1989 Alpenschutz-resolution. In 1993, Slovenia joined the Alpine Commission, which was its first international membership after independence, and Monaco joined in 1994. The member States signed their first official Protocol in 1994, and some treaty elements are already in effect. Currently, the European Union has joined the Alpine States (Alpenländer) in some of its activities not only because many are also E.U. members, but their regional and environmental activities parallels the same E.U. goals.

**Anthropogeography**

Scientific research of the alpine environment is impressive in specific fields like geology, glaciology, and hazards. On the contrary, knowledge of the first humans to
impact ecology is very sketchy. Not only is early human settlement of the Alps not presented clearly, I am not sure the question of anthropogenic influence on flora and fauna is asked. The typical portrayal of natural history, one might experience in a museum, starts with post-glacial vegetative succession and then humans fall into place after the environmental setting is set. Furthermore, the geographical and temporal scales are often very blurry, somewhat justified because the nature of the questions and evidence. Fortunately, a discussion of human settlement need only go back to the beginning of the current interglacial period, and then, the natural-cultural processes of humans, fauna, and flora recolonizing the Alps are the bio-history.

The overarching picture is of a global climatic change, and the conditions of warming since the Pleistocene. A general sense of important events and their dates is useful for comprehending the scale of change. The retreat of ice began 17,000 years ago, but the glacial and periglacial conditions persisted in the Rhaetian Alps at least through 10,000 BP. Tundra ecology followed the glacial retreat. The transition from a Tundra ecosystem to a Steppe ecosystem occurred in the alpine valleys around 7000 years ago, while the appearance of a mixed forest (vegetative climax) happened about 4000 years BP (Trümpy, 1980:14). In general, boreal flora and fauna predominated during the initial succession with Mediterranean species and human influences coming later from the South. The typical portrayal is that humans appear as part of their agricultural complex, which is easier to date with pollen records and tool artifacts. Most dates for human presence are earlier in the Western/French Alps that are further South and closer to the Mediterranean. Both crop farming (Ackerbau) and animal breeding (Viehzucht) are evident in the approach valleys to the Rhaetian Alps as early as 6000 BP (Bätzing,
While the physical evidence of domesticated animals and copper mining in the higher elevations follows at around 5000-4000 years ago (Bätzing, 1991:27).

The dramatic discovery of "Ötzi," the frozen man found above the snowline in the Tyrolian Alps (Ötztaler Alpen), has revised some of the thinking about human presence in the Alps (CIPRA, 1998). Researchers have dated "Ötzi" at around 5500 B.P., and the items he was carrying may provide some new insights of settlement and agricultural practices. Already, the Alpenschutz commission is using 7000 years as the date for settlement history of the Alps (CIPRA, 1998:92). The Ötzi discovery clearly shows that humans were in the Alps during vegetative succession. Now a new set of relative questions should include: how did humans alter the environment and what flora and fauna did they introduce or make scarce from hunting and gathering, or enhance by some selection strategy? Unless some genetic continuity can be shown between Ötzi and current residents from micro-anthropology, the scope of this discovery is in human-nature dynamic. The intellectual impact could propel a better discussion of the human past and its relationship to the environment.

**Homo-Grischuna:** In theory, humans could have been in the Grischun before the Pliocene as archeological evidence shows human artifacts were in other parts of the Alps. Realistically, different groups of humans were responsible for re-settlement. This timeframe of human settlement coincides with Neolithic agricultural developments. The archaeological record in Grischun consists of five Neolithic findings including one right near the center of Chur (Zürcher, 1982). With a string of Stone, Bronze, Iron, and Roman Era discoveries, Chur claims to be the oldest (roughly 6000 years) continually inhabited place North of the Alps (Stadt Chur, 1993).
An even older Neolithic site is further upriver called Petrushugel that includes a ringwall, and there is a third site along the Rhine River near Tamins. The other two sites are in the southern valley of Mesolcina (Misox). Significantly, all five sites are in the 600-750 meter elevation range and are approach routes into the Alps, where one would expect the first sites after glaciation. Despite their physical presence, there is no direct evidence of anthropological change to flora and fauna except what one can assume as selection strategies for hunting, gathering, and planting. The SMP (SMP II, 1995) mentions the transition between hunted and domestic animal consumption, which suggests a hybrid period during the initial settlement process. More importantly, the dating of these finds places humans in the area as ecosystems were transitioning to an interglacial norm.

Archeological data for the Swiss Alps are limited by the number of sites available, yet what is found correlates well with finds throughout Europe. The most common dating technique is typology, classifying dig horizons to known levels, and occasionally, typology is correlated with Carbon dating (Rageth, 1986:80-90; SMP I, 1993:34). When archeology in the Alps is portrayed on maps, temporal continuity is missing for example: ARGEALP (Metzger and Gleirscher, 1992:16-17); Räterproblem (Frei et al, 1984:5) and SMP II (1995:26-27). On the other hand, spatial relationships are very apparent. There is a strong association of sites/cultures with the direction of approach, which implies that initial settlement and cultural complexes works up the different river valleys (Figure 15). The conditions (contact and communication) for cultural diffusion between these different cultural groups did not exist, so they must have separately adopted to the alpine ecology.
Figure 15 -- Historical Region Rhaetia
For the Grischun with its multiple drainage basins, early human settlement and cultural diffusion arrived from different directions. The Rhine River is the pathway for cultural influences from the North, and the Southern valleys that drain to the Adriatic are the gateway for Mediterranean based influences. The third major pathway is in the eastern corner of Grischun along the En and Etsch River systems, and this is sometimes labeled as Rhaetian (Metzger and Gleirscher, 1992:15-17). Each of these realms remains mostly independent of each other, but on occasion, a particular element of material culture appears in multiple areas. It is not until the later stages of the Iron Age, that archaeological finds begin to show up more frequently on different sides of mountain groups. Thereafter trans-alpine communication and cultural complexes are routine part of comprehending the Alps with a special emphasis on the ability of crossing passes to allow the necessary contact and connections between people on both sides. The Rhaetian origin question is helped along by understanding the three main approaches of human activity.

**Rheinquellen:** From the perspective of the Swiss Plain, a sequence of three eras (Urnenfield, Halstatt, and La Téne) that dominated Central and Western Europe explains pre-historical material culture of the region. The Urnenfield Culture is a major late Bronze Age era (1300-700BC), and it is often thought of as proto-Celtic. The Halstatt Culture is early Iron Age (800-450BC), and it is closely associated with Celts. Unfortunately from a classification perspective, the material culture of the Celts diffuses to other groups and Celts migrated beyond the core area of Halstatt classification (Mallory and Adams, 1997:96,258). The La Téne is a late Iron Age culture (500BC-Romans), and it is identified with artistic features and the emergence of trading routes rather than human
migrations. In Switzerland, the La Tène is firmly a Celtic phenomenon. Using Roman records including Julius Caesar's, a good description of the Celtic tribes by names and location and their culture is possible. The Swiss look to one of these tribes, the Helvetii, as a sort of indigenous roots to the modern country exemplified by the formal name: *Confœderatio Helvetica*.

**Southern Way:** The picture on the other side of the Alps does not present itself as clearly, but it is probably more relevant to the Rhaetian question. The mixture of peoples includes Indo-European (Italic and Celtic), non-IE or early IE (Etruscans and maybe Rhaetians). Two separate points of reference in northern Italy are useful: the first is Lake Como in the upper Po basin north of Milan, and the other is the Venetian coast along the Adriatic (Figures 13 and 15).

The Golasecca Culture was a widespread Bronze Age culture on the Southern side of the Alps, and around Lake Como, a sub-group becomes recognizable. The *Lepontin*, who are currently considered a Celtic tribe, maintained a continuous presence in that area up to the Roman era even expanding into the uppermost parts of the Rhine and Rhône Rivers. Around Venice, the prominent culture is the Este (900-182BC) which evolved into an Iron Age culture; the Venetii were an Italic speaking group and had considerable influence on the south-central Alps.

The wildcard on the Southern side is the role of the Etruscans (Pallottino, 1991). While more is known about the Etruscan culture in Tuscany, the range of their pre-Roman hegemony into Northeastern Italy is not, which is the relative question for Rhaetian origins. One of the more enduring origin stories of the Rhaetians is that they were related to the Etruscans (King Rātus story). The key evidence of a Rhaetian—
Etruscan link are stone tablets with an Etruscan alphabet, which are described as a Raetic language. The Roman description of the Rhaetians as a sub-group of the Etruscans rests on their recognition of Etruscan writing on the tablets.

**Easterly Gate:** The one area that seems to get the Rhaetian culture label is the triangle area of the upper Etsch (Vinschgau), upper Inn / lower Engadine, and Brenner corridor (Bozen-Innsbruck). This area does not fit into the typical North/South division of the Alps. In fact, it is one of the few parts of the Alps with relatively low elevation passes. Moreover, the eastward draining rivers provides another entry route via the Danube and even Southeast Europe (Balkans).

The classification of known cultural complexes begins with the Laugen-Melaun group in the 700 BC timeframe, and the Fritzens-Sanzeno group around 400 BC (Metzger and Gleirscher, 1992:16-17). This seems to be the first area with cultural complexes that overcome any barriers from alpine passes. A crucial factor is the elevations of the passes between the En and Etsch, which are some of the lowest in the Alps. The lower elevation seems to provide the possibility of a coherent culture group occupying different river basins much earlier than in other parts of the Alps.

The AlpArge is a multinational academic group that produces studies on the central Alps (Grischun/Tyrol). In a work devoted to archaeology of the Rhaetians, they combined all the possible Rhaetian areas into a single framework of analysis (Figure 15). One of the interesting aspects of their maps is that they continually sub-divide the whole area into the component parts based on accepted European archaeology, and they show more continuity to both North and South halves respectively.
The two important pieces of physical evidence are a pottery style and the stone tablets (Figure 16). As a matter of geographical location, they do not coincide in areal terms. A concern I have is that much of this data are based on modern analyses after the "Rhaetian" place-name is engrained and ethnic group is considered a given. Therefore, searching for Rhaetian evidence is producing evidence with the Rhaetian label whether or not it fits into a coherent ethnic or culture group.

Environment and Culture

The relationship between human culture and the alpine environmental is more complex than just elevation. Still, elevation is a major factor because a host of other things related to settlements such as domesticated crops and forest resources are altitude sensitive. In theory, humans could evolve towards a physiology that works more efficiently in the thinner atmosphere of high altitude, but settlements in the Alps are not extremely high nor are they isolated from human migrations. Moreover, human differentiation is not a current topic of discussion in the Alps (see Semple, 1911). Maybe the closest attempt to define people this way was when the Swiss used terms like race interchangeably with nation and people, yet these descriptions of a Swiss race were more likely to use political terms like freedom and liberty than any physical traits.

A prevailing notion is that the mountain environment creates zones of separation where culture groups can isolate themselves. There seems to be some support for this when looking at language and religion. For example, the Caucasus Mountains has an incredible number of ethno-linguistic groups suggesting that remnant languages can survive well in a mountainous environment.
Alphabets

- △ Bozen (26)
- ▼ Magre (9)
- ● Lugano (23)
- ■ Sondrio (9)

Pottery

- ○ Fritzen-Sanzeno1 (23)
- ○ Fritzen-Sanzeno2 (18)
- ● Magre (6)
- ● Alpenrhein-Golasecca (11)
- ○ Val Camonica (21)

Sources: Risch, 1984:25; Gleirscher, 1991:9,17

All scripts are Northern Etruscan

Erik Prout, 2000 Mapinfo Software LSU

Figure 16 -- Rhaetian Artifacts
The Rhaeto-Romance languages are usually thought of in the same way, basically, they avoided inundation and change from subsequent migrations and even maintained a purer form of folk-Latin (Fontanini in Haiman and Beninca, 1992). The genetic dimension suggests the opposite as human populations in mountains are diverse (Pult. 1999). Therefore, a strange paradox exists: on the surface, culture is fragmented and preservation remains possible, meanwhile, there is a sharing of human traits and influences. I surmise language preservation is closely associated with the other forms of knowledge that help people survive in their environment. It follows that an existing culture group linguistically assimilates new arrivals because the necessary forms of knowledge are/were intertwined with the original group's communication.

**Altitude and Settlements:** The human settlement of the Alps must take into account the cultures of the people doing the settling, and the time required for a survivable alpine culture to evolve. Since many of the individual components are able to survive in the Alps, it must be the whole complex that takes a long time to adapt. People could have hunted and explored the upper limits such as Ötzi; domesticated animals could graze at higher altitudes in Summer; dwellings could be built that survive a Winter. The collective knowledge and selection process of animal husbandry and cultivating plants had to develop through altitude changes. Each new settlement up river occurred with the experience, innovations, and population growth of the previous settlement as well as prior familiarity of the area being settled since it was already in the summer zone of activity.

Despite the relatively long time period, the archaeological finds in the Grischun suggests this pattern (Zürcher, 1982). The initial settlements include only five Neolithic
finds all less than 750 meters. The number of Bronze sites found jumps to 44 settlements including four grave sites, but even more importantly, the altitude of these sites are higher than the five Neolithic sites. The upper range of Bronze Age sites moves through time up to around 1500 meters (Figure 17). The Iron Age sites continue this trend with some newer locations at altitudes up to 1500 meters (Stadt Chur. 1993:95), but not enough sites are in place before Roman conquest to know how high they could go. In the Roman Era, the maximum elevation is closer to 1800 meters, which would be necessary to support the known trade routes (e.g. Bivio and Segl on the Julier route). Even today the main settlements are all under 2000 meters and the highest settled place, Juf, is just over 2100 meters.

The dating of archeological sites and the progression of time and elevation suggests that settlement of the Alps occurred "upriver" at a very slow rate (Bundi, 1982). A crucial question is whether new settlements are entirely a function of existing settlements or growth pressures from beyond. While the individual components of this culture, people and exploitable resources could survive further up valley, the entire settlement complex of domesticated flora and fauna had to evolve much slower to alpine conditions. The significant limits to human settlement include a sustainable wood resource, proper site selection, and connectivity to other settlements. Wood was the most important resource because of the need to burn wood for survival, so management of the forest was the biggest challenge. Mismanagement has extreme implications or feedbacks in an ecological sense as the forest is also an avalanche and landslide barrier. Furthermore, forests are under pressure from the desire to expand grazing and cultivation areas, and the closest part of the forest is temptingly near in a severe winter.
SETTLEMENT HISTORY:
Archaeological finds in Grischun

SOURCE: Zurcher, 1982:15-19
Erik Prout, 2000
Mapinfo software

Figure 17 -- Prehistoric Settlements in Grischun
The limitations of altitude to settlement are also a real factor for trade. In terms of alpine pass trade, the main obstacle is the human and animal ability of climbing and traversing gradients and surviving the climatic elements. Elevation is the most important variable of passability because altitude is indicative of snowfall amounts and likely length of time the pass is untraversable. Another consideration is the support system for the trade route such as places or hospices along the way especially near the immediate approach to the pass. Either settlements are a single day’s walk from each other or a system of hospices would need to be in place, and both require some coordination if not outright control from a higher power. The question of who did the trading is still an outstanding one with two scenarios: a hand to hand system of trade between neighboring settlements or the establishment of professional traders.

**Alpine Population**: Population changes are a feature of alpine settlements. Historically, population growth is relatively low reflecting cultural controls on fertility and a few extra sources of mortality. Locals give much importance to catastrophic events such as avalanches, fires, and disease, and they are prominently remembered in their local histories. For example, a small commune named Veulden states that they suffered the loss of every child during a Plague year. Plague struck the region twice: the first was in the mid-1300s, which signifies the end of Middle Age colonization and town founding (Bätzing, 1991; Meyer, 1999). The second Plague occurs in the early half of the Seventeenth Century (Altstatter, 1982), which compounds with the regional losses from the Thirty Years War and the beginning of a cooler climatic period.

While disease was a major check on population, avalanches are the primary natural disaster that captures local and national imagination (Bündner Kulturforschung,
Avalanches are a fact of life for alpine communities in a similar way earthquakes are part of California. Most settlements are built in relatively safe locations, nevertheless, avalanches continue to cause loss of life and property. A cruel spin is that deadly avalanches are more likely in a severe snowfall year when other resources are most strained.

In more recent centuries, the link between population and climate becomes clearer with empirical and statistical data. The so-called "Little Ice Age" from 1600-1850 provides direct evidence of demographic changes during a climatically cooler period (Viazzio, 1989:137). As one would expect, climatic changes over a long cycle of warming or cooling affect population. With better agricultural production, population growth and settlement expansion is possible. A prominent growth period occurs in the Middle Ages with extensive settlement activity filling-out the current pattern (Bundi, 1982; Meyer, 1999). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, emigration is widely recognized but it is not clear if that is a direct result of agricultural change or population rebound. In addition, there is a population increase associated with the introduction of New World agricultural products. Nevertheless, migration becomes part of the popular mythology as both a depopulation reality of some small communities and as part of the hardships that they have to endure. Some notable migratory avenues included the mercenary trade for men, confectioners (sugar bakers) in Venice and European coffeehouses, and eventually some permanent migration to America. Migration is also important because some of these migrants return with new ideas about landscape and liberty.

The anthropological record for human settlement in the Alps points to cultural factors in population control – nuptiality and communalism. Viazzio (1989:91-93)
identifies nuptiality for population control, and the prominent aspects were late marriage and high rates of celibacy. Late marriage of women reduces lifetime fertility, and those that never marry are only a minimal factor in population growth since illegitimacy rates are also low. Communalism is more than a political reality with collective management of resources. Communalism includes a social cohesion that reinforces the cultural limits on population growth. On many fronts, pressure by peers and family socially enforced inheritance rules (impartability), socially approved marriages, and taxation based on resource use.

Current demographic changes in the Alps are complex because of two contrary movements: one, agricultural restructuring associated with declining and aging demographics, and two, high growth resulting from tourism and construction. The neoliberal restructuring of European economies is reaching the remote agricultural communities. Actually, agriculture has been changing for hundreds of years with the introduction of industrial techniques and mechanical means, but now national subsidies are declining which make traditional agriculture untenable. Bätzing (1998:95) and others have noticed the population decline in the Alps especially in rural France and Italy. The Alps have characteristically uneven tourist development (see Bundesamt für Statistik and Schweitzer Tourismus-Verband, 1996). Tourism infrastructure has brought economic development to communities that have been able to invest in it as well as have the assets that can attract visitors. In places where the Alps are accessible for fellow citizens such as St. Moritz, growth and development includes vacation and retirement homes.

Environmental Change: The human impact on the natural environment is quite extreme in the Alps although it does not produce an aesthetic reaction. Without creating a
separate discussion about culture—nature, I am using "nature" as those things people attribute as non-human such as wildlife, forests, and climate. The most obvious anthropogenic changes are floral because one can see them, but the most dramatic changes is in the fauna realm because you do not see them. The Swiss Alps are missing large carnivores due to over hunting and eradication by farmers (CIPRA, 1998). There is some debate in the Swiss media concerning reintroduction of bears, wolves, and lynxes. Lynxes are already in a few locations, and the environmentalists would like to establish a viable population using the forests of the northern fore-alps (Voralpen). This has become a priority for the federal environmental agency and a broad understanding between cantons is likely to be successful because the Lynx is not seen as a major threat to livestock.

There is no consensus on larger animals and out right hostility by farmers to animals they view as threats to their livestock. Regardless, wolves are repopulating the Western Alps from the South and a few of these "Italian wolves" have arrived and been shot in Wallis. Meanwhile, bears are spreading westward from Slovenia, and authorities in Tyrol are trying to educate people about bears. It is conceivable that both wolves and bears could return to the Grischun in the next decade. Local folklore reveals their appreciation for other animals like the eagle and ibex (capricorn) which appear as insignia and establishment names. The likely reaction by farmers is to prevent wolf and bear reestablishment, but those in the tourism circles are more likely to follow popular opinion.

Local communities heavily manage land use, forests, and scenic resources, so it might not be too apparent how much human modification has occurred. An interesting
modification is the terracing system on many south-facing slopes. The exact details of terrace introduction is unknown, but they are thought to be over 3000 years old (Rageth, 1986; 1999). Terraces appear to change the soil and micro-climate regime for better crop farming, and even though they are not used for crop farming, they have a secondary use as platforms for grass harvesting. Human modification of the environment can work in both directions. Over use of forests as well as poor road construction and improper stream diversions can take away protections from avalanches and mass-wasting.

The changes in the natural environment are significant enough that one should not call these areas natural. The human impact is complete and anything natural is modified or managed, so it is a cultural landscape. In the next section, I return to the heritage epochs and discuss the cultural history of the Romansh.

**Epoca Retica**

Epoca retica, or literally Rhaetian epoch in English, refers to the years covering the pre-Roman, Roman, and early Middle Ages. It is the longest of the three epochs, and as the earliest, it is the furthest removed from experience and evidence. One could further divide this epoch into more manageable time units, but people I spoke with rarely differentiated the subtleties all those changes in titles and territorial limits had. What people grasp is that their cultural foundation was in place a long time ago, and they attribute their physical existence to events that occurred back then rather than anything more recent. The Retica epoch covers all the origin stories that revolve around the Rhaetians, and the popular explanation of the Romansh language falls into this epoch. It also accounts for the folk migrations and transitional authorities that followed the
breakdown of Roman hegemony. The starting point for this epoch is with the Rhaetians and the mystery of their origins.

Rhaetians

The "Rhaetians" have become synonymous for all human existence in the region before Roman administration. Most anything anthropological such as place-names, terraces in the landscape, and festive rituals that can not be explained by more recent cultural history is attributed to the Rhaetians. In Switzerland, people describe Romansh as a Romanisation of the Rhaetians as does the Lia Rumantsch (1996). My language teacher explained it literally like a one plus one equals two equation: \{Rhaetian + Roman = Rhaeto-Romance\}. This is the popular view that Rhaetians were the genealogical ancestors and founders of the current places where Romansh are today. One only has to turn to the webpage of the youth magazine La Punt to see them describe themselves as "Young Rhaetians."

A consensus view amongst linguists holds the group outside of both the Italic and Celtic language groups, but likewise, no conclusive evidence exists to classify it with other known languages (Mallory and Adams, 1997). A logical explanation of the Rhaetians is that they were part of an earlier Indo-European migration or perhaps a remnant of an even earlier non Indo-European group (similar to the Etruscan debate, see Pallottino, 1991). Then, the Rhaetians became isolated by more recent waves of migration. This origin question is the basis for some scholarly disagreement as well as an entry point for imaginative thinking.

Origin Questions: For many informants, the earliest part of this epoch is a blurry pre-history of sorts. Academic writing mentions the pre-Roman era in very general terms
often avoiding serious analysis because there is very little documentary evidence (Williams, 1997). In general, researchers cite archaeological evidence before the Roman occupation to show human presence and attempt to create coherent culture groups (Rageth, 1986; Metzger and Gleirscher, 1992). A few linguists are the exception who advocate epigraphical and etymological evidence for pre-Roman ethnicity (Brunner and Toth, 1987).

My critique of these efforts by others to prove the Rhaetian origins began as quizzical examination of the cartographic representation of (proto-)Rhaetians. In particular, a few different authors were attributing a cultural continuity over such a large geographical area, from the Adriatic Sea to Lake Constance, that defies sense without any core area or logical center for such uniformity. The area currently contains Romance, German, and Slavic languages, and it includes portions of five nation-states. Despite all the modern communication technology, many parts of the area celebrate their individuality and defy any notion that they have a common origin. Moreover, it does not coincide with the Roman province of Rezia (Figure 18).

With the fragmented evidence of initial human settlement in the area, there is no clear pattern of arrival or even a real ethno-genesis of the Rhaetians. The only possible scenarios are, one, that the Rhaetians are a legacy of migration, or two, that they are something other than an ethnic group. If the Rhaetians are the product of human migration, the timing of their arrival is unknown. They could be the legacy of the first peoples who arrived in the Alps, or they displaced or absorbed earlier groups. The more plausible account is the second whereas they were part of a larger migration wave across Europe that brought agricultural and technological innovations from the near East.
Figure 18 -- Roman Province of Rezia

SOURCE: Im Hof, 1986
Later, they became an isolated group due to more recent migrations that cut them off from the larger language group who moved on or were subsumed under another language group.

Both the current epigraphical theories of Rhaetian language origins would fit under this scheme, even without exact dates (Brunner. 1981; Zebisch. 1988). Another problem with this origins question is the distinction between material evidence and the culture group who made these physical artifacts. None of the current proponents mention the history of alphabets or the relative time-frame of Indo-European unity as part of their discussions. Since the diffusion of both and their inter-relatedness are overlooked, it makes their discussions seem idiosyncratic. I am aware of four Rhaetian origins theories. The local theory mentioned by von Planta (1939) looked South towards the Balkans at Illyrian origins, so the more recent Celtic and Etruscan elements are just intrusions. The Etruscan origin story is still popular as it would explain a reasonable migration from Etruscan controlled Northeastern Italy around 600 BC when Celtic tribes were known to have entered the Po Plain. The so-called Rhaetian tablets found on the southern side of the Alps have an Etruscan alphabet.

Zebrisch's (1988) little known analysis of the alphabet has led him to conclude that it is related to Iberian (as is Etruscan), and this origins theory has the best migratory logic. The Rhaetians were part of an earlier diffusion wave moving West, and they subsequently became fragmented when Italic and Celtic groups arrived. The last origins theory is the most sensational because it links two geographical separate language groups. Brunner (1981) alleges that the language is related to the eastern Semitic language of Accadian. Both Zebrisch and Brunner provide word lists to support how
their interpretations of artifacts relates to real words and languages, but it is beyond my competency. Brunner and Toth's (1987) thesis suffers from an exaggerated Rhaetian territory including place-names throughout the St. Galler Rheintal.

The movement of people across space is one of the more important geographical concepts (Semple, 1911). As people move, they carry their culture so to speak, including their beliefs, their language, and their material belongings. All of which can explain the diffusion of ideas and innovations such as bronze pins/fibulas, alphabets, and agricultural practices. Diffusion does not require human migration, the spread of ideas and innovations also results from contact and communication between groups. There are two ways to describe language change: the same people or the same place. Language change of a group is less likely to be a freely adopted innovation as it is too close to personal identity. On the other hand, language change in a specific territory represents an imposition of power/culture over another or more explicit change by ethnic cleansing/displacement.

- Imagination: I contend that "ethno-creativity" is occurring through the discourse concerning Rhaetian origins, and I discuss this in the context of trying to prove in an antithetical way that the Rhaetians never existed. Another scenario that has not been pursued and suffers from a similar lack of scientific evidence is that "Rhaetian" is an imaginary ethnicity. If someone believes that a people or language used to exist in a particular place, it would be easy to attribute known and imaginary qualities onto them. Eventually, an ethnicity could be unwittingly created, and identification with it could be real. Figures 19 and 20 show some current, real examples of "Rhaetia" in the landscape, which are all recent identifications with the name.
Figure 19 – Rhaetian in the Landscape 1
Top photo, Rätische Akademie held in Zuoz
Bottom photo, Rätia Hotel/Restaurant in Casti (Tiefencastel)
Figure 20 – Rhaetian in the Landscape 2
Top photo, RhB Depot in Samedan (Engiadina' ota)
Bottom photo, Raetus Apotheke in Chur (King Rütus myth)
The limited amount of historical references and archeological findings may be attributable to the imposition of a geographical reference point for the Romans becoming an ethnic marker for current scientific studies. The first stipulation of this idea is that it is not using the logic of self-identity verses imposed labels, where a group does not call itself "Rhaetian" so it does not exist. In all likelihood, no group of people ever called themselves Rhaetians until the modern era. The presence of a group or groups labeled as such by the Romans may have existed, but their exact locations and relationships to Rome remain unclear. One possible scenario is that the newly assigned Roman legion in Trient (circa 22 B.C.) came into contact with people or an area they labeled Rhaetian, and the name would prevail as Rome would extend their power in that direction. In this scenario, Rhaetia was more of a geographical reference point than a province named after its indigenous members.

- Evidentary: The idea that the Romans did not view the Rhaetians as a nation or unified people of some sort has a concrete basis. Foremost, the Romans did not mention the Rhaetians on their self-congratulating monument to conquering the Alps—*tropeaum Alpium* (Frei-Stolba, 1992:665). The list of tribes/peoples that they mentioned as conquered include the *Vindelicii* (Augsburg), *Calucones* (Chur/Rheintal), and *Venostes* (Vinschgau), which are located in the province. It is hard to believe that the Romans would omit the Rhaetians after all the invasion preparation and political glory associated with it. I contend that Rhaetia was a geographical reference for the Romans. If a group of people existed, their exact location is not as important as their relative location to the Romans. The Roman view of the Alps was intertwined with security issues and their attempts to colonize and absolutely control the Po valley and the possible approaches of
entering the Italian Peninsula. Earlier, Polybios mentioned Rhaetia as one of four major alpine transit points when he wrote the post-Hannibal analysis (Frei-Stolba, 1992:657). Therefore, Romans already conceived of the Alps in sectors centuries before they conquered the eastern and central Alps.

Perhaps, a slow recognition from a whole series of folk tales and word associations is developing towards "Rhaetian" as something different from our current notions of tribes and Roman understanding of nations. Researchers know many beliefs and cults were active with Romans and in Roman controlled areas before Christianity. Rhaetian was in all likelihood a quasi-religion/cult kind of entity based on beliefs and practices. One interesting coincidence is the word similarities such as Venus and Fanes between Venice and Rhaetia, and there is also a historical association with wine and honey to Rhaetia. This kind of understanding of Rhaetia as a complex of ideas and practices allows for both the geographical reference point I argue for, and it accounts for the absence of Rhaetia references on the tropeaum Alpium monument.

Rhaetia Appropriation: The sequence of events that leads to the current notion of Rhaetian ethnicity in Grischun is complex and easy to critique by those who do not want to believe otherwise. I propose that a series of name appropriations has occurred, which at least provides a coherent story of how the pre-Roman notion of Rhaetia ends up as an ethnic reality.

- First Appropriation: The imposition of Roman power over Northeast Italy and the eastern Alps is the key to the first appropriation of the Rhaetian name. Roman obsession with their Northern border was rooted in constant warfare with a strong neighbor, the Etruscans, and occasional setbacks with Celtic tribes in the Po River valley.
After Hannibal’s alpine crossing, Rome aggressively conquered and colonized Northern Italy and eventually imposed Roman control over Gaul. The last step was to create frontier provinces that secured the alpine passes and their approaches on the other side. The first appropriation of the Rhaetia-name is when the Romans named the province Rezia despite the fact that a majority if not all of the people were Celtic (e.g. Calucones, Lepontin, Vindeliker).

Rhaetia (Rezia) as a province included every pass between the Simplon and Brenner, the head waters of the Rhine and Inn, and large area bordering the frontier with Germanic tribes all the way North to the Danube (Figure 18). The capital of Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicum) was a forward position to monitor and respond to German tribes. As Roman infrastructure of roads and administration become the norm, Rhaetia became inscribed into the framework of European geography through its location not its ethnicity. One can still see this legacy in street names in Northern Italy (e.g. Meran and Chiavenna) where the main street is called Via Roma in one direction and Via Rezia in the other. In Southern Germany, the labeling of the Rätien Limes (wall fortifications) refers to administrative names not ethnicity since the area was too far North in the Celtic realm (Im Hof, 1986).

- Second Appropriation: The second appropriation of Rhaetian occurs during the Middle Ages to supplement the distinction of Chur from its neighbors. As the former Roman province became settled by Germanic tribes, the Rhaetian label disappeared from place-names and titles, except for the core area around Chur, which retained Roman law and structure. The term Churrätien implies both the geographical location of Rhaetia and the center of this entity at Chur, while Rex curiensis is usually applied to the retention of
legal systems administered in Chur (Clavadetscher, 1994). It was not uncommon for there to be two parallel legal systems based on who one was; Roman law for Romansh and German law for Germans. Chur also had a dual political and religious structure, but the important element is that its formal name of Upper Rhaetia (Alte Raetia) survives. While the legalistic meanings of the Latin name are relevant, it is the long time frame that allows new culture groups to associate the area with this name and project ethnic meanings onto it.

- Third Appropriation: The third appropriation of Rhaetian is the use of the term to categorize the Romance speaking people in the same geographical area. The classification of languages would appear to be a simple linguistic exercise, but the limitations of early research and political constraints resulted in a contested classification. The German word Rätoromanisch initially only described the romance speakers in Graubünden, which was still associated with Rhaetia the geographical location.

Currently, the Rhaeto-Romance language is described as three related languages of Swiss-Romansh, Dolomite-Ladin, and Friulian. Its peripheral position to both Northern Italian and Provencial French has not been enough evidence for some, and the claim of a common Rhaetian language sub-strata has been the answer. This has serious problems because of the range of Rhaetians has never been established. Furthermore, the Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture (Mallory and Adams, 1997:293/Homeland entry) brings up a linguistic concern that any linguistic contribution of Rhaetian to the Romansh language is extremely speculative and inconclusive: "...reference to possible substrates as agents of linguistic change can only be tested when the substrate is known." A search for Rhaetians in an ethnic sense is hollow without taking into account these possible
appropriations of the name and the changing meanings that they imply. In the next part, I return to the history that people mention and is consistently seen in the literature.

Romanization

No history of the Romansh forgets to mention the Roman occupation of the region in the year 15 BC (circa 738 AUC Rome time or year 30 in the Julian calendar). In 1985, the Romansh held their first modern "Scuntrada" with the theme of two Millennia Rumantscha. The date 15 BC is pretty firm in terms of the year Tiberius and Drusus, step-sons of Augustus, began their field campaigns to secure the Roman frontier. The actual dates of occupying Chur or setting up Roman governship is less precise. The incorporation of the central and eastern Alps completed the Northern security zone with the Alps as natural fortress. In addition, the areas northward to the Danube were occupied, which on a current map looks too far East to solely be a buffer zone to the Alps (Figure 18).

The two Roman provinces resulting from this campaign were Rhaetia and Noricum, and both played a defensive/frontier role vis-à-vis the Germanic tribes. The capital of Rhaetia was Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg), and today it would probably be called a forward capital because it was located closer to the frontier (Mommsen, 1992). The border between the two provinces generally follows the Inn-Brenner Pass-Etsch, which would have been a valuable transportation route. Many modern passes would fall into Rhaetian territory, but the ones that stand out during the Roman period are the Julier route and its variants and the Via Claudia Augustae (Hagen, 1967). It was not until the division of the province in 284 AD that Chur becomes the capital of Raetia Prima.
Perhaps by this date. *Raetia Secunda* was already inundated by Germanic migration and was becoming a federal / hybrid entity.

The Fall of the Empire is still a topic of discussion 15 centuries after the event especially with the enduring image of barbarians overrunning civilized Roman society (Sprecher, 1617). For the Romansh, it would be easy to contrast the Alemmani as uncivilized pagans lacking Roman law and Christianity. A contrary image is that the European fringes were already in transition with federations of Roman and German entities controlling the territories and important institutions such as the military. While the old border region underwent substantial change, the more impressive development was the mass migrations (*Volkerwanderung*) of whole culture groups into other areas of the continent.

The undeniable consequences of Roman occupation include both material culture and linguistic legacies. The prime artifacts attributed to the Roman period are the engineered roads across the alpine passes as well as the whole trading network. A few building foundations exist in Chur, but in general, the number of mobile things such as money and fibula are more frequently found than fixed things like actual settlements.

The most obvious legacy is the Latin based language. Nevertheless, the Romanisation may not have been as complete as it is being portrayed (Billigmeier, 1979). In my opinion, the standardization of the various folk-Latins in the region probably occurred only after Christianity arrived. Only with the need to evangelize, does the language actually reach the common person. Before then, a rural society of different groups and isolated settlements only needed a few people to interact with outsiders. Speculation based on rites and terminology suggests Christianity arrived in the Third
Century (Planta and Schorta, 1939). For example, the Romansh use some terms that were eventually changed elsewhere such as *Tschuncaisma* (Pentecost). The first written documentation refers to the appointment of Asinius as the Bishop of Chur in 451 AD, but he was likely the ninth Bishop (Bündner Kulturforschung, 2000:4/268). Conversion of the region probably occurs in the late third and early fourth centuries. While Asinius is called the first Chur Bishop, the process that led to Chur becoming a Bishopsric seat is unknown, but most likely tied to its political role as a loyal Roman outpost.

**Churraetia**

Churraetia is the name one associates with the regional entity that follows the end of the Western Roman Empire. From today's perspective, the end of Roman rule did not dramatically change the situation in Rhaetia for at least three centuries. The sequence of political lordship between Roman Empire and Charlemagne Era was probably less important than the changes in territories surrounding the previous Rhaetia Prima. The first nominal title holders were the Ostrogoths (East Goths) who established their kingdom in northern Italy. Theoderich, their king, presided over a migratory wave of various Germanic tribes: Lango Bards (Lombards) settled in the Po Plain. Bajuwaren (Bavarians) into Bavaria and Tyrol, and the Alemanni received permission to settle up to the Rhine River and Lake Constance (Billigmeier, 1979).

The next stage occurs soon after when the Franks consolidated power over other Germanic tribes on the northern side of the Alps in the 530s. A few decades later when Justinien reconquered the Italian peninsula in the name of the Eastern Roman Empire, Rhaetia remains politically oriented towards the North. A different kind of territorial tension became a constant consideration with political and ecclesiastic boundaries not
coinciding in some form or another between 536 and 1818. While Rhaetia is part of the Frankish political sphere, the Bishopric remains part of the Archdiocese of Milan, which became Lombardic in the sixth century. In the northern parts of Rhaetia, Christianity was introduced to Germanic settlers by Celtic missionaries in the seventh century and not from the neo-Latin speaking Chur. The existence of a dual political and religious structures created tensions of authority. Eventually, these jurisdictional disputes were decided along ethnic lines, but ethnic boundaries were also changing as folk-Latin (proto-Romansh) areas were becoming German.

- Charlemagne: Charlemagne is a pivotal figure of the early Middle Ages because he gathered enough power to reorganize territories, introduce feudalism, and found the Holy Roman Empire. Charlemagne also had a personal role in Rhaetia, and it is said, he considered the Raetic Bishop a personal friend. The Sontg Gion monastery in Müstair was bequeathed by him as he once found refuge there on a journey through the Alps. Nevertheless, after the Bishop died, he reorganized Chur-raetia and introduced feudalism. Foremost, Rhaetia Prima was divided into a upper and lower Rhaetia (Oberrätien and Unterrätien) in 807 AD. The upper half "Alte Raetia" remained Romansh for the time being, but the lower part became Germanic if it already was not. The eastern part of Rhaetia Prima is less clear, but it also ended up with dual titles, and effectively fell out of the Bishop's control. For many regional scholars, a defining moment was the transfer of the (Raetic) Bishop of Chur from the arch-diocese of Milan to Mainz in the 840s. Beginning in 849 AD, an outside entity, the arch-diocese, appointed Bishops with strictly German names for over a thousand years. Many scholars consider the Raetic Bishop as the last powerful figure to defend the Romansh language and rights of Roman citizenship.
Charlemagne's Empire itself was reorganized after his death, and pan-European unity was lost as his survivors split the Empire into three. Rhaetia was part of the Eastern/German part, and the feudal claims eventually fell into the hands of Swabian Dukes. These Dukes were not successful in introducing feudalism in its totality into Upper Rhaetia, but the legalist titles and claims do arrive in the region. The political and ecclesiastic arenas are still separate, but now both are outside of local control. While the transfer of the Bishop would seem to align political and religious jurisdictions at one geographic scale, another one becomes important as the Bishop of Chur and the Tyrolian Dukes have overlapping claims to the Lower Engadine and the Vinschgau. This conflict propelled an independence movement that eventually found both the Bishop and Dukes losing control to peasants.

Retica and Romansh

Another way to view this epoch is to characterize it as a period of language change that reflected not only changes in politico-military power but human migration. It is difficult to distinguish without evidence between cultural imposition, assimilation, or hybridization, but it is clear that cultural change did occur. The first change is Romanisation, where the Latin language and Christian religion are firmly established before the end of the Western Roman Empire. The second change is the introduction of people and power that works to decrease the Romansh language territory. Franco-Swabian geopolitical interests and Germanic migrations worked to upset the balance of power through a series of divisions of the old Roman province of Rezia, and subsequent permissions to settle land are probably de-jure efforts reflecting ethnic boundaries that have already changed.
The Retica epoch as I have constructed it is most significant for the Romansh people as it provides the basis for their cultural identity. For the Germanic and Italic speaking peoples, and the wider audience, the discussion of Rhaetians is more a discourse of natural history. This natural history includes collecting and displaying artifacts as evidence of past human settlement and interpreting the rituals and legends of rural areas as general clues to authentic culture. Non-Romansh can find this anthropogenic past interesting, but the Romansh naturalize it as their history.

Epoca Grischuna

The succeeding epoch, Grischun (the Romansh name for the Canton of Graubünden), represents a coming together of the different cultural groups in what was a successful independence movement. Besides recognition and de-facto independence from the Austrians in 1499, their firm control over important alpine trade routes put them in a position of economic autonomy. They also had to be in a constant state of diplomatic and militaristic preparedness as they became entangled with outside powers. The Rhaetian Freestate was an interesting expression of this "pass-state" reality and its attempt to balance internal divisions (Head, 1995). The most prominent issue was the contradiction between decentralization of communal democracy with the centralizing tendencies to efficiently govern a micro-republic. I organize this epoch into three parts: the introduction of German, the Freestate, and the Bündner cultural complex.

German Influx

In the proceeding epoch, the structural changes initiated by Charlemagne resulted in a decidedly biased leadership of German speaking individuals over the largely Romansh speaking people of Alte Raetia. While the role of the Bishop is highlighted, the
The church had already initiated steps to preach in local languages. Political power was a more determining factor of language change whether it was exercised by Ecclesiastic or Feudal lords. The process of Germanization in Grischun from the ninth century into the fifteenth century was rather slow when considering the amount of time involved, and it was very narrow in scope. There are two Germanization trends to mention: the one coinciding with a slow infiltration up the Rhine valley (Bündner German), and the intriguing Walser colonization (Figure 21).

**Bündner German:** Germanic settlers moved the ethnic boundary up the Rhine at varying paces between the initial Alemmanic breakthroughs during Roman Empire to the final stages in Grischun (Weiss, 1946; Zinsli, 1991). The boundary itself changes over time in terms of contestation. Early changes in the cultural boundary reflected a massmovement and a certain level of overwhelming (perhaps violent) change that may have produced refugees of folk-Latin/Roman citizens. The later changes appear to have been along the lines of assimilation and it is reflected with the adoption of non-German names and words in German speaking areas. This process is even more obvious the farther South and closer to the existing language border (Escher, et.al., 1973).

The movement of German migrants becomes very focused or place specific in Grischun (see Figure 21). The process became a civic migration of craftsmen associated with guilds and particular building skills in contrast to peasant agriculturalists. The most obvious case is Chur (Stadt Chur, 1993). After the fire of 1464, German tradesmen were brought in to rebuild the city in a Germanic style and they resettled there changing the linguistic balance.
GERMAN SPEAKERS COLONIZE RHAETIA, 1200-1800

Figure 21 -- Germanization of Rhaetia

SOURCES: Weiss, 1946; Zinsli, 1991
As it turned out, the fire had another lasting consequence because the official records of freemen were lost, which meant feudalistic restrictions on people were difficult to enforce. Additional "Bundner" German infiltration was specific with places like Thusis and Tamins along the north-south trade route being an example. During the years of railroad construction, German speaking workers overwhelmed Romansh speaking Filisur and has never reverted back (Catrina, 1983).

**Walsers Colonies:** Walser migrations were the second major influx of German speakers. The "over-the-alp" migration of the Walsers has captured the attention of a few scholars (Weiss, 1946 and 1959; Zinsli, 1991). At one point, their origins were unknown and frequently attributed to be Bavarian. In actuality, they were Alemmanic settlers that had moved at the forefront of the colonization of Gallo-Romance areas across the Swiss Plain, and eventually moved through the Bernese Alps into the uppermost Rhône valley. After they settled or displaced others in the upper Rhône, they moved South and East in more or less isolated settlements that sometimes failed as much as they took hold.

In Grischun, the first Walser migration was into the Cloister of Disentis lands, which were mostly absorbed into Romansh communities except for Obersaxen. The two large successful migrations were at Davos and Rheinwald, and each of those spawned further settlements. The process of how the Walsers arrived in the Grischun is generally confusing because the roots of the process are overlooked. Feudal lords needed loyal militias, so they financed Walsers to settle these obscure parts of the Grischun, trading freeman status in exchange for military service. The friction between Romansh and Walser was high in some localities, but in other cases, they were congenial enough to create marital links. Marriage provided the Walsers with access to communal property,
while the Romansh gained freemen rights (Billigmeier, 1979). On the other hand, failure of some settlements reflect the lack of ecological balance, while many successful settlements were in viable areas that were known to Romansh. Walser migration ended in the mid-fourteenth century as the Black Plague devastated the population of both source areas and destinations.

The fact that two different German migrations occur does not mean they are unified in any way against the Romansh. In fact, the Walsers came into conflict with other German speakers more frequently. Today, Walsers see their culture being lost to mainstream Bündner culture. An old Bündner told me Walsers are our "Gypsies" (Zigeuner), which is a very negative comment. The various Walser dialects are extremely unique even to each other, so as Walser communities or individuals become integrated with other places the dialect is easily lost. The "Bündnerdeutsch" in the Rhine valley and Chur region is the dominant lingua amongst German speakers in Grischun. Bündner German is one of the regionally known variations of Swiss German (Schwyzerdütsch), and in the canton people recognize a distinct Chur sub-dialect (Mundart).

After the German speaking influx ended, relatively stable cultural borders formed along the internal and external political divisions. Romansh communities remained Romansh and Romansh was the largest language group in the Republic even though German was gradually becoming an equal language of state with Latin. It is highly unlikely that the common person spoke either chancellery German or classical Latin, and the region was a complex mixture of spoken dialects or "mundarts." The eventual unification of the region had to overcome this lack of internal cohesion, and the development that unified the various segments was the threat of outsiders.
Freestate

The Rhaetian Freestate has its origins in the formation of three different leagues (Lias/Bünden). Each league was a collection of communities or jurisdictions that declared a pact of shared interests and mutual defense. Eventually, the three leagues felt compelled to cooperate with another to wage war and administer subject lands. The Grischun epoch also contains the Reformation and Counter-Reformation conflicts that resulted in strong divisions between Catholics and Reformers. Despite a relatively weak republican form of government, they maintained their political-military alliances with each other and with parts of the Swiss confederation.

Three Leagues: The three leagues were a formative aspect of the regional past (Head, 1995). The current cantonal flag and emblem contain three distinct fields representing each of the leagues. Figure 22 is a map of the Freestate with the three leagues distinguished. The formation of the leagues reflects a transition between feudalism and true independence because the people were not necessarily overthrowing the previous order. Head (1995) likens it to appropriating the feudal order but with a different group of people controlling the order. The Obererbund is a good example as it contained both free communities and feudal titles. The transition away from feudalism was in part easy because those holding feudal titles were rarely present, so there is no way they could uphold their feudal obligations to protect the people. Therefore, the people could take control claiming they were not being protected and had to protect themselves (Head, 1995). The Chadè (House of God) League was mostly owned by the Bishop, so the Bishop appointed feudal like governors.
RHAETIAN FREESTATE
Republic of Three Leagues, 1524-1797

Ten Jurisdictions
1436

GRAY (Obererbund)
1395

House of God (Chade) 1367

Controlled Areas 1512-1797

Eidgenossenschaft
Swiss Confederation

Lombard Leagues
Duchy of Milan

Venetian Republic

Holy Roman Empire
Austrian Habsburg

Figure 22 -- Rhaetian Freestate
As the Bishop became associated with Austrian influence, the Chadé communities organized in their own self-interest, but did not overthrow the Bishop's official titles until the Reformation. The third league was known by its description of being ten jurisdictions and they had to contend with direct Austrian claims. Right from the beginning, the leagues made treaties with each other and occasionally, with the various Swiss cantons (Clavadetscher, 1994).

The significant event for the three leagues was their participation in the Swabian War, which resulted in their independence (Bundi, 1999). The war was a success for the Swiss and Bündners who defeated or held their own against Habsburg troops. In Grischun, the war raged in the Engadine and Val Müstair and in areas immediately across the border. Locals on either side name the war by their opponents, where its known as either the "Tirolerkrieg" or "Engadinerkrieg," and both illuminate each others excesses. Austrian troops marched up the Val Engiadina in Spring 1499 and burned every Romansh settlement. then they went down the Val Müstair. At a narrow gorge called Chalavaina, a militia of mostly Engiadiner farmers routed the Austrians (Bundi, 1999). The Bündners were a third party at the Treaty of Basel (1501), but they received the same independence rights from the German (Holy Roman) Empire as the Swiss.

**Republicanism:** The three leagues were quickly propelled into a new geopolitical reality; they had to deal with large external powers. Only a few years later, they were engulfed a new series of wars with the Milanese Dukes over control of the Valtellina, which is the southerly approach to their alpine passes. Venetian and French ambassadors swayed Bündner élites, and Austrian and Lombard interests were equally adept (Head, 1995). These external interests became internal interests, which revealed how weak their
republican arrangement was in practice. On the other hand, communities were strong cores of democracy and they had the mindset to maintain military preparations.

The first part of the sixteenth century was crucial because the Leagues had to come up with a way to govern their miniature Republic. They had to accommodate more powerful neighbors, and later, they had to deal with a fifty-fifty internal split between Reformers and Catholics. Their territorial integrity was threatened, for example, when the Romansh speaking upper Vinschgau was aggressively Germanized in the early seventeenth century. The way to deal with foreign powers was to accommodate the most influential—Austria, and avoid a religious confrontation by allowing the Counter-Reformation in the Valtellina. In exchange, they kept their administration over subject areas, which was a source of major corruption as a rotating system of appointments broke down into who could buy their way into those positions. Regardless, the republic prevailed until the French Revolution. Thereafter, the Bündner culture is a regional Swiss culture.

Bündnerland

The Swiss Canton of Grischun (Graubünden) is often called a little Switzerland because it has the cultural diversity and the alpine ecology that much of the world has come to associate with the Swiss. Yet in Switzerland, Bündner has another connotation—an entity in and of itself. The Bündnerland contains natural uniqueness with remote valleys and alps as well as Switzerland's only National Park, but it is the cultural distinctiveness that really stands out. Bündner stereotypes are rural people strangely proud of being behind-the-times and a little bit ignorant or indifferent to what outsiders
think about them (Figure 23). Figures 23 and 24 provide a contrast between traditional and modern.

Heimat Verkaufen? The "Grisons" as it was introduced in the English language literature, was a distant location even for those familiar with the Grand Tour routes of Western Europe. Despite its centrality as a pass-state for thousands of years, the contemporary view is that the Bündnerland is a peripheral place in modern Switzerland just as it was to the numerous entities before (Pyatt, 1984). Clearly, the Canton is in the Southeastern extreme of the current federal territory, and it had a different past on which to draw its heritage. Today, they represent themselves with the successful tourist slogan "Ferienecke der Schweiz" (Il chantun da vacanzas da la Svizra / vacation corner of Switzerland) that reinforces this image of uniqueness vis-à-vis its geography (Graubünden Verkehrsverein, 1997).

The popular selling and marketing of Grischun revolves around a stereotype of the people and the landscape as being traditional. An award winning advertising campaign used images and stereotypes to poke fun at locals as well as portray the region as the real deal. On the ten year anniversary of the advertisement campaign, a book of commentary and review called Heimat verkaufen examines the impact (Liebi, 1998). The heart of being a Bündner is attitude—a stereotype of thick skulls, down to earth reality, and staunch conservatism. The most mentioned event is the cantonal prohibition against automobiles. Several attempts to allow motorized vehicles were consistently rejected by the voters at referendum until it finally sneaked through in 1925. The irony is the Bündnerland currently has more miles of highway per capita than any other Swiss canton, and they aggressively lobby parliament for federal money to construct more.
Figure 23 – Bundnerisms in the Landscape
Left photo, Actress doing a comedy sketch, Scuntrada 2000
Right photo, Symbolic first kill, Kunkelspass
Figure 24 – Modernity in the Landscape
Top photo, High-house apartments in Thusis
Bottom photo, Ems Chemical and Golf course (Domat)
Greyness: The Grischun epoch formally ended during the Napoleonic Wars when Grischun/Graubünden was adjoined to the Swiss State, but the regional identity that many call "Bündner" continues into the present. Some of the current differentiation in the tourism business draws heavily on this Bündner image, and it is still a source of pride especially around the topics of political independence and human ecology.

This epoch has one special aspect for the Romansh. It is the time period where the language became written and standardized in each of the regions. In addition to the literary developments, religious based literature promotes strong, regional identities. While this literary movement was a positive for the language, it also set in motion ecclesiastic animosity between the Romansh regions.

Epoca Svizra

The next logical epoch is the current period of time, labeled with the Romansh word for Switzerland. Svizra. The Svizra epoch would include all the developments of the last two hundred years such as industrialization and recreation. Because this timeframe or Swiss context is crucial for understanding the present institutional and national components to cultural preservation, it is also a focus of Chapter Three. Therefore, I present this epoch in more of a survey fashion and as a conclusion to this chapter.

In short, the Romansh as well as many other folks in the Alps experienced a profound change to their livelihoods and demographic patterns (Bätzing, 1991). The most profound change remains the mobility of people to migrate and travel, which changes the contact patterns between the languages. In addition, dramatic political revolution plays out in the words of ideology and the fields of conflict. The occupation by foreign armies
and imposition of new administrative ideas left a legacy in Grischun. Society was changing as the result of technology, which was improving living conditions through better heaters, mechanized farming, and access to medicine. On the other hand, alpine valleys could not cope with population growth that resulted in migration and restructuring of agricultural communities (Figure 24).

Napoleon and Helveticism

The French Revolution marked a change in political discourse and governing structures (Metz, 1989). The French Army introduced administrative order, Napoleonic code, and rational planning methods. Needless to say, voluntary activities of local “patriots” had already worked to overthrow elites. Later, as the imposition of military occupation set in, it created resentment that made becoming Swiss easier. Regardless of origin, constitutional notions of rights do become significant. Amongst Swiss (Eidgenössen) and Bündners, the common way to signal political friendship was with oaths. Eidgenössen literally means oath takers and it is synonymous with being Swiss. Furthermore, these oaths are usually at a community level where residents elect their own representatives or provide guidance to join an alliance. The new political order of constitutions gives individuals universal rights, but the communities never relinquished anything and still like symbolic friendship oaths.

Constitutions: The first dramatic change in political discourse resulted from the structure of a constitution that defines the role and power of the state. Currently, political debate and conflict in Switzerland revolves around changing and interpreting their constitutions. While it took decades to eventually find a federal-canton-commune
relationship that works, there never was a movement to deny others basic rights including language.

Provisions for language rights appear in the first constitutional documents. For the Romansh, the 1794 constitution in Grischun recognizes the language as official—actually two versions of Romansh: Ladin and Sursilvan (Metz, 1989). Subsequent cantonal constitutions have retained Romansh language rights. At the federal level, Romansh recognition took much longer, while not being negative towards the Swiss in general.

Swiss Federalism: After the Helvetic Republic experience, imposed by the French, the individual cantons reverted back to their previous ruling élites (Ancient Regime). The political turmoil of the nineteenth century had a liberal versus conservative nature, and it eventually led to a civil war in 1847 (Remak, 1993). The new political order, often called the era of modern Switzerland, is the federal state founded in 1848 by the liberals. This constitution recognized German, French, and Italian as both national and official languages.

Romansh was recognized as the fourth national language in 1938 by a popular referendum vote, and in 1996. Romansh was elevated to partial official language. The distinction between national and official refers to the ability to use the language in official ways such as with the federal court or in the legislative process. It even applied to practical matters like the printing of a personal name on a passport. The partial official status is a realization that geographical and demographical scales matter, whereas the printing of every official document need not be in Romansh as long as a Romansh speaking person has the right to deal with the government in their language when necessary.
Modernity and Mobility

The ability of people to travel and change residence is complex in terms of both understanding the individuals motives and the process of accounting for this mobility. Mobility including temporary and permanent migration is one aspect of language change in Switzerland. Romansh have for Centuries left their traditional areas, and occasionally, they returned with new influences reflected in the landscape. Another aspect of mobility is the growth of tourism centers that meant the arrival of non-Romansh as guest workers. The language situation of these tourist places is a complex mixture of locals, guests, and workers. In the case of Swiss citizens, the ability to change residence has impacted the alpine areas because of their desirable locations, and in some areas incredible amounts of capital flows into investment opportunities that communities create.

Not only do people move through the language territory, so do ideas of the respective period. Modern ideas and influences associated with architecture and ways of living impact the landscape (Figure 24). School reform and postal standardization are two such modern ideas that came to the mountainous regions, which resulted in even stronger German language influences for the Romansh (Billigmeier, 1979). Later, many of these same areas became idealized as places of authentic Swiss culture and worthy of special initiatives to preserve their ways of life. Preservation in many guises has become part of the cultural landscape.

Epicical Conclusion

The epochs I describe are just a framework to attach meanings. What a historian would do with this topic and how ordinary people understand their past are very different. A quote from Goethe may reflect both the historian’s purpose and the common person’s
sentiment: "He who cannot draw on three thousand years is living from hand to mouth." While I can also appreciate the idea of learning from the past, there seems to be ample evidence that humanity does not always learn from past mistakes. The imaginary boundaries of the past are quite at odds with the known borders one celebrates today. Furthermore, the inconsistencies in environmental and cultural history are a little bit disturbing as that does not bode well for ecological sustainability nor cultural diversity. If well-meaning people in real places get the story wrong, maybe it means something.

I admire the European folk customs as they still exist even if inaccurate, and from a scholarly point of view rather recent inventions of the nineteenth century (Hobsbawm, 1983). The concern is that many folk things coincide with State-based ideology, and the writing of national and ethnic histories has been a component of conflict and misunderstanding. Both science as a methodology and academic subversion by the state are directly implicated in some of the continent’s worst atrocities. Early twentieth century was a relative case in point as Swiss and Italian authors approached Romansh linguistic classification in very different, politically charged ways (see Lansel, 1937; Bundi, 1996).

The Romansh are not usually discussed in the realm of Europe’s dark side, just the opposite, such as the emergence of early forms of democracy (Head, 1995). Romansh bibliographies and histories typically emphasize their participation in the sphere of European ideas by showing the longevity and breadth of Romansh literature dating back to the Reformation (Lia Rumantscha, 1938). Yet, their broader cultural awareness is a combination of self-discovery and interaction with foreign academics and travelers. Like any study subject, they learned from those interested in their language and landscape, and they contributed to the process by stimulating intellectual interest and building hospitality.
infrastructure. The unraveling of these impacts on folk culture and ethnic origins as it applies to the Romansh still needs to be taken up in a serious manner. In the next chapter, I explore more of the unique qualities of Switzerland that deeply impact the Romansh situation.
CHAPTER 3
SWITZERLAND AND A CULTURE OF LANGUAGES

The Switzerland I know is a confusing mixture of geographic scales from global to local and everything in between. During a walk through Zürich, one could easily find tangible evidence of an attachment to worldly ideas and places. Global environmental groups such as Greenpeace and World Wildlife Fund have branch offices in town. Travel agencies advertise their package trips to America and the Mediterranean as well as the exotic vacation in the Australian outback or on the beaches of Bali. There are alternative stores selling authentic goods from Asia and Africa and Chinese, Turkish, and Indian foods are entering the culinary mainstream.

The Swiss maintain a curiosity towards if not an outright brotherhood with other "mountainous" people and places. In particular, Austria and other Alpenländer share similar interests in recreation and folk culture (Barker, 1982; Jordon, 1980; MacDonald, 1993). The current fad of foreign interest revolves around Tibet and the Andes as they capture popular imagination and fulfill some sense of authenticity (Bendix, 1993). In contrast, there is an indigenous loyalty to Swiss made products. A trend in Swiss clothes and accessories is to emphasize traditional styles popularized by the "ethno" designer Michel Jordi. Locally and nationally grown food with a "bio" label is popular in both a marketing and environmental sense. On the street, one sees "Zueri Korn" (flour) being touted in neighborhood bakeries and chocolate proudly boasting "Alpenmilch" as the main ingredient.

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In the all-important context of Europe, Switzerland is in the Europe of ideas, such as constitutionalism and liberalism, but outside the current structure of the European Union (Bohn, 1983; Hobsbawn, 1992; Weibel, 1993). With popular opinion against joining international groups, the solution has been to deal with things on a bilateral basis. For example, the Swiss have never joined the United Nations despite Genève having a large U.N. presence. Furthermore, Switzerland contributes more to the U.N. than their allotment of dues would be if they were members. The government applies this bilateral strategy to Swiss-Europe relations as well. The Swiss government negotiated a series of treaties with the E.U. that the electorate eventually approved. While not joining, Switzerland is probably more compliant with E.U. regulations than some members and enjoys many of the benefits.

As a politico-territorial State, Switzerland has to balance its cultural diversity with the need for a national unity or raison d'etre (Frey and Bohnet, 1995; Rokkan and Urwin, 1998). Ideally, both a pride in being "Swiss" and a member of a decentered ethnicity (opposite of ethno-centrism) has to co-exist, which is why promoting political ideas that transcend language is so important (Bohn, 1983). In the following discussion, I mix the notion of big and small with the dichotomy of global—local to come up with some different and even conflicting images of Switzerland.

Is Switzerland a Big or Small Place?

Obviously, Switzerland is a big place where place is understood not to be the same thing as space, but something with meaning. Switzerland could be mistaken for a big country because there seems to flow out a lot of ideas and products (Linder, 1994). For example, there is Calvin and the Reformation, Swiss mercenaries at the Vatican, and
consumer hits like Swatch. On the other hand, Switzerland could be mistaken as a small peripheral space that further fragments into colloquial units. The federal government has no police force, relies on the cantons for tax collection, while individual communities (political Gemeinde) retain a high degree of sovereignty (Segesser, 1998). This split image of Switzerland rests on an underlying duality of places and nation. The nation Switzerland is composed of strong individual parts or places that successfully promote their own interests and uniqueness. Karl Deutsch the political scientist/geographer elaborated on the idea of city-states around the Swiss experience (Deutsch and Weilenmann, 1965). The large cities, Zürich, Genève, Basel, Bern, etc., are legacies of micro-statehood (Schorske, 1994). They have well defined hinterlands with recognizable language variations. Furthermore, they retain cultural icons such as parliament buildings, universities, and museums. Of interest and importance, these cities see themselves as global places more than just regional parts of Switzerland. Their success as global actors, such as Genève with the Red Cross or Zürich as a financial center, rests partly on Swiss neutrality and location but also on local initiative.

The rural areas of Switzerland also promote their own uniqueness albeit this is more intertwined with contemporary heritage and tourism (Hoggart et. al., 1995; Lowenthal, 1997). Three notable areas are Appenzell, with its retention of folk customs and direct democracy by community assembly; Bündnerland, for its natural and cultural wonders including its humorous self-portrayal of rurality (in Liebi, 1999); the "Forest Cantons" of Central Switzerland where the Eidgenossenschaft originated. Individual places such as St. Moritz, Zermatt, and Grindelwald are renown for their alpine tourism in terms of both longevity and quality. Nearly every rural place promotes some kind of
primary or secondary development that includes tourism or vacation homes. Moreover, the process of differentiating places especially through tourism promotion creates thousands of unique villages and heritages.

Switzerland of strong local identities and corresponding territories can also be reversed. The particulars of the local level can be appropriated and elevated to the national (Watkins, 1991). The best known is the Wilhelm Tell tale that has become the Swiss national myth. During the Summer of 1941, the military dramatically retold it in a fashion to rally the Swiss behind the war effort (Bendix, 1992:779). Other examples include Emmentaler cheese and St. Bernard dogs becoming quintessential Swiss to foreigners or the portrayal of Heidi and her Walser relatives becoming the stereotypical alpine family. These images of Switzerland are set in localities that can be quite different from the next valley not to mention the other side of Switzerland (McGuire and Netting, 1982; Viazzo, 1989). Outside of Switzerland, one may view it as small land with an enormous influence (Linder, 1994). These images are important because Swiss tourism promotion and product confidence is interwoven with the notion of Svizra-exceptionality (Switzerland is exceptional). Inside the country, other forms of this big-small dichotomy play out across various geographical scales operate in the daily lives of ordinary Swiss through shopping, voting, and serving in the military.

Switzerland, in its diversity and unity, is the subject of this chapter and specifically those cultural features that have a direct impact on the Romansh language. Two features are important to highlight. The first is a political realm that encompasses the institutions, discourses, practices and policies that relate to language. The second is the culture of consumption in public spaces that has a stronger sense of nationalism than
the political arena. Moreover, this public sphere of political discourse and consumerism has both a multilingual quality as well as a tinge of social egalitarianism. I begin the chapter with a background discussion of nationalism and my previous research experience in Switzerland. Then, I discuss the political and consumer culture operating at various geographical scales.

**Svizra Exceptionality**

Cultural geographers know Switzerland for its four national languages, and we enjoy asking our students to list them on a test. Because there is little chance of referential experience with Rhaeto-Romance, the question differentiates the good students. More importantly, there is a powerful story to convey about languages in our world. We collectively understand that a multilingual society supported by a state instead of attacked in the guise of creating national unity is exceptional. Assuming the number of nation-states stay under 200, the ratio of languages to states is nearly 25:1. If each state had the right and might to create a monolingual nation, it would likely lead to language loss on a global scale. The fact that Switzerland’s multilingual development occurs in Europe where nationalism made its rhetorical and methodological debut compounds the irony.

**Naziunal Svizer**

Nationalism is alive and well in Europe and many people seem surprised. The European Union was going to create a new identity of pan-European and regions to complement if not replace nationality (Murphy, 1996). In some academic circles, nationalism is a contrived entity that can be exposed for its geopolitical ends (Agnew and Corbridge, 1995). If nationalism was supposed to be in the ash heaps of history, what
keeps this strong allegiance to national identity and territory going? One explanation is that nationalism has other human dimensions such as ethnicity and public ritual. Many symbols of our global diversity still derive from a nation-state mentality such as the United Nations and the Olympic Movement where the national flag is a preeminent symbol.

The belief that other people you do not know share kinship is one of the trademarks of nationalism. More intellectual disagreement occurs over how this belief comes about. One extreme is that a nation really is a primordial people, and Williams (1994:5) explains that this notion of nation is continuous with time. Scruton (1992:83) present an opposite view that "... the nation is a peculiarly modern form of community... inseparable from the culture of the written word." One notes Hobsbawn (1992) for his contribution to this debate because of the invention of tradition thesis, but he also mentions the saliency of ethnicity to nationality claims. Smith (1991) provides a clear theory using the term "ethnie," that allows for both a limited ethnic claim and the instrumental reality of modern States.

In addition to ethnicity, political rituals and a sense of political community are important. States such as Switzerland and the United States must build political community around political ideas. A fundamental aspect is that political independence and democratic rituals seem to follow a national pattern. In Switzerland, these rituals including elections are multilingual and do not exclude the Romansh. The Romansh are Swiss when it comes to democratic practice and citizenship. What happens in Switzerland will affect the Romansh, and what the Romansh do occurs in a mostly Swiss context.
Mia Svizra

Switzerland has become the object of my research over the past decade, but I selected Swiss topics mostly by convenience and serendipity. My first time in Switzerland occurred when I was traveling to Kuwait for my first post as an embassy guard. I flew on a Swissair flight where thanks to an incompetent travel agent I spent hours at both the Zürich and Genève airports. In Zürich, I walked through the airport, which had these glass displays with expensive watches and knives, and I recall thinking how orderly and efficient everything seemed. In Genève, the plane had to wait on the tarmac, so they opened the doors for fresh air. From the plane, I could see the Alps in all their glory of a cloudless day. A stewardess quickly ascertained that I was an American and struck up a conversation in English. That she spoke four languages truly amazed me—maybe even more than the watches and mountains.

When my assignment in Kuwait ended, I selected Bern for my next post and to my surprise, I received it. I remember it was a wet summer. The smells and colors of blooming and decaying plants were very strong and in sharp contrast to the dry and dusty desert I had just left. A second impression was the comfortable feel of the city and positive urban lifestyle, which was the exact opposite of neglect and disgust towards American cities. I learned the Bernese custom of window shopping and socializing under the arcades of the Altstadt. As a traveler, Switzerland's multilingual landscape impressed me, and without catering to English speakers. In the Middle East, most signs were in Arabic and English, but in Bern, signs tended to be in German and French. One of my favorite examples is consumer goods that come with product information in German,
French, and Italian. I still like to decipher ingredient lists while comparing the English to its Germanic past and Latin influences.

A few years later, I spent a Christmas season working in a hotel near Davos that catered to families with children. The couple that managed the hotel was Romansh, but they did not really talk about it. She spoke to their two sons in Romansh. Only later did I figure it out that the school they sent them to was a Romansh community about 20 minutes drive from the hotel. In many ways, they typified the Romansh situation. They were involved with the modern economy that pulls them away from Romansh speaking areas, but they could still try to maintain the language through personal effort and good fortune to be proximate to a Romansh town. While only a short experience, my memory of this family helped me personalize the Romansh situation.

As a graduate student, I was unsure whether to choose an environmental or cultural topic for my M.A. thesis. The allure of Bern as a place was crucial for me to engage a very cultural topic. The focus on sense of place was an excellent way to grapple with culture. Through this research, I developed an appreciation for historical preservation and its relationship to how people view themselves and how they present an image to others. Switzerland is fortunate to have well preserved city centers, but it was not an accident of history. Preservation in Bern as I discovered is an ongoing process with extensive planning and zoning regimes that revolve around monument protection. This process is extremely selective when it deals with an individual water fountain statue, and it is rather nebulous concept when the character of the skyline becomes a preservation goal. It all comes down to the tremendous amount of community support for
protection of icons as well as a desire to maintain the public spaces and settings for cultural production.

Many of the same controls over the urban landscape are found in rural communities, but the locals rely on the canton for planning and preservation expertise. In the next section, I present some linguistic background about Switzerland that has a direct relationship to the Romansh and their language survival.

**Lingua Istorgia**

Switzerland can and does celebrate two beginnings. The first is the romantic beginning of the Confederation (*Eidgenossenschaft*) that supposedly occurred in 1291. and the second beginning is the modern, federal State linked to the 1848 Constitution. Along the way, a few crucial events such as political independence and the emergence of an alpine cheese economy (*Hirtenland*) complement the recent past in Switzerland. Instead of recounting Swiss history that is available in many publications (Im Hof, 1986; Luck, 1985), I summarize the linguistic past as it relates to Swiss history.

The current language boundaries in Switzerland are very stable, but their origins are anything but stable (Figures 1 and 25). Two points to emphasize about the borders: one, they are a result of human migration and have an underlying ethnic component. and two, there was a process of language change as different culture groups came into contact that could have been contested. Under the term human migration, I include the mass-migrations (*Völkerwanderung*) at the end of Roman hegemony, the settlement processes of the Middle Ages, and modern freedom to choose a place to live. All four national languages derived from a particular ethnic group or combination of groups.
Figure 25 -- Official Languages of Swiss Cantons

**Official Languages of Swiss Cantons**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFFICIAL LANGUAGE</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>(17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romansh/G/I</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German/French</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Weiss, 1971

Federal Government Website

Erik Prout 2000 Mapinfo software
In the context of migration, some of these ethnic groups imposed their language on others; meanwhile other groups adopted the existing language.

**Language Border Formation**

The language geography before Roman occupation was exceptionally fragmented. Celtic peoples inhabited most of the current Swiss territory, and perhaps Rhaetians (Staehlin, 1948) in the easternmost portions. As part of their Empire, Romans created an infrastructure of roads, forts, and three colonies in the Swiss Plain (*Mittelland*), and the legacy of transportation and settlement networks is still in the landscape. Presumably, the language situation was similar to France, where the Romans acculturated the Celtics (*Gauls*) over a sustained period, and should be called Gallo-Romance. The language geography of Switzerland in the later years of the Empire was relatively uniform at the higher levels of society but with some variations due to pre-Roman substrata and segmentation of Roman administration/institutions (see Figure 18).

**Ethno-linguistic:** The *Völkerwanderung* introduced different Germanic tribes into Roman territories at both Swiss and European scales (e.g. Goths in Mediterranean). Burgandians moved into the western Switzerland as well as Burgundy and Savoy in eastern France, and they became Roman *Federal-allies* responsible for security. Clearly, they assimilated linguistically, so French Provencal speakers are a combination of Burgandian and Gallo-Romance. Germanic speakers in Switzerland are the legacy of Alemmani who migrated into the Swiss Plain. The Alemmani were the first group to force their way into Roman territory as early as 284 AD (*Alemmanifall*), and their tribal name became the western Romance word for "German." They displaced or overwhelmed
the existing languages, and they eventually settled the northern fore-Alps, Alps, and even some areas on the southern fore-Alps (Figure 26).

Italian speakers in Switzerland also have a Germanic tribe connection. The Lombards (Langobards) originated from northern Germany, and they created a kingdom on the northern Po Plain. Lombards assimilated linguistically into the folk-Latin of the area, and today, the regional dialect goes by the Lombard name. Linguists usually classify the Swiss-Italian dialects as Alpine-Lombard, but they themselves use their local names e.g. Ticinese-Italian and Bregaglia-Italian. The Romansh link themselves with the Rhaetians instead of a Celtic tribe, but the romanisation of Grischun/Rhaetia results in a similar situation as the Swiss Plain. Unfortunately, one can only surmise the pre-Roman language as any reconstruction comes from fragmentary place-names and plant and animal names (Orts- und Flurnamen). The movement of people after Roman hegemony constricted the "Rhaeto" folk-Latin language territory, and subsequent political boundary changes reflected an ethno-linguistic frontier as well as evolving ecclesiastic districts (Im Hof. 1986). The contemporary Romansh dialects spoken in eastern Switzerland are the result of internal fragmentation and their individual contact with other languages.

Border Dynamics: The process of language change is multifaceted and lacks perfect clarity because it occurred so long ago. The end result or the current Romance-Germanic language border in Switzerland primarily reflects the settlement pattern of the Alemmani who displaced or integrated folk-Latin speakers. The same phenomena occurred in Tyrol as Bavarians (Bajuvari/Baiwaren) successfully moved the language border South of the Alps close to Trent (Figure 26).
Figure 26 -- Ethno-linguistic Border Formation
The introduction of Germanic settlers does not always mean a German tongue will be the local language as the Burgand and Lombard examples provide. In those cases, the new group adopted the place-names, environmental knowledge, and local idiosyncrasies of language.

For the Alemmani and Bavarian situations, a crucial factor is how long they were in contact with the previous inhabitants and what local knowledge they acquired. I believe Swiss-German reflects significant contact with Romance speakers, and place-name research in Switzerland confirms continuity rather than change. Weiss (1946) and Zinsli (1971) provide numerous examples of Celtic and Roman-Latin words that survive in the linguistic landscape. The stabilization of the current language boundary occurs only after the Middle Ages, when further colonization becomes a mute point because of demographic decline. The current stability is an aspect of Swiss democracy and local control over language decisions.

Eidgenossenschaft

German in all forms is the majority language in Switzerland. It is simplistic to call all these Swiss dialects German or even Swiss-German. The political decentralization that is characteristic of Switzerland also means a degree of cultural autonomy. Furthermore, the vast majority of these dialects developed in very isolated situations with unique ecological conditions. The settlement history and the Germanic colonization process are crucial to the contemporary dialect fragmentation.

There are two major geographical distinctions in Swiss-German. The first is an East-West variation that has a noticeable isogloss convergence along the Reuss River (Hotzenköcherle, 1993). This reflects different southward colonization streams by
German speakers. The second distinction is a North-South variation that reflects temporal and ecological spectra. The time frame involved is the settlement process itself and measured in centuries. The ecological factor includes both the altitude increase as they move South and whether it was previously settled and human modified. Furthermore, the qualities of an advance group may have been a crucial factor in changing the language frontier. On the western edge of the Germanization front is the Bernese dialect, where the settlers successfully moved into the Alps sooner (Im Hof, 1986). This "Bern" colonization front continued into the upper Valais over the Lötschenpass and Gemmipass in the eighth and ninth centuries (Zinsli, 1991), which created a new frontier with Romance speakers. These Walliser Germans (where the name Walsers originates) eventually controlled the lower valley in a political sense, but they were also absorbed into the Bishop of Sion's ecclesiastical control. Later, some Walsers moved into northern Italian valleys and eastward into Grischun and on to Vorarlberg (Zinsli, 1991).

In eastern Switzerland, German speakers took much longer to reach the highest alpine areas. For example, Umers took control of the Urseren, which was monastery land nestled between the Furka, Oberalp, and Gotthard passes, only after Walsers had already colonized the valley (Müller, 1984). Likewise, German speakers colonized the upper Glarnerland and reached the Alps north of Surselva only in the late Middle Ages. The "Bündner" German frontier in the main Rhine valley was even slower and only reached the current Grischun border. German introduction into Grischun followed a sporadic pattern based on opportunity and geopolitics. The fire that destroyed Chur in the fifteenth century is an example, and the leapfrog Germanization of important pass-towns such as Tamins, Thusis, and Splügen are another (see Figure 21).
The Swiss Confederation (*Eidgenossenschaft*) formed in the early fourteenth century, although the celebrated date of 1291 has its supporters. Regardless, there is no doubt that the *Eidgenossen* were German speaking. The original three cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden are adjacent areas in Central Switzerland along the emerging Gotthard pass route. The interpretation of these mutual defense oaths is that they were a means to promote both political and economic autonomy from the Habsburg emperors. The incremental enlargement of the Eidgenossenschaft includes both patrician city-states and rural alliances (*Stadte* and *Lande*), which makes Switzerland a complex collection of different leaderships. The cities had aristocrats and guilds while the lands were egalitarian agriculturists. Table 3 shows the cantons and some of their characteristics, and Figure 27 is a map of the territorial expansion of Switzerland.

The Confederation did expand into Romance speaking areas, but not on an equality basis. Uri and the Central Swiss cantons occupied Ticino (Lugano), and Bern occupied the Waadtland (Lausanne). Both areas eventually join Switzerland as equal members in the nineteenth century. At no time before the end of the Ancient Regime, were Switzerland's political élites multilingual. Individual cantons and places may have had multiple language areas, but the ruling aristocrats of Fribourg (*Freiburg i.S.*), for example, were German speaking even though the majority of the population was French speaking.

The era of Constitutions after the French Revolution usually recognized language rights and clarified official status on languages. Not counting the Helvetic Republic years, which were dominated by French officials and political ideas, Swiss government has only tackled multilingual administration and governance since 1848.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CANTONS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Prior status</th>
<th>Change/ factor</th>
<th>Federal mandates (246)</th>
<th>Language (official)</th>
<th>Religion (official)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zurich</td>
<td>1351</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Old 8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bern</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Old 8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>German / French</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luzern</td>
<td>1332</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Old 8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>German / Catholic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>1291</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>Urkantone 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwyz</td>
<td>1291</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>Urkantone 3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obwalden</td>
<td>1291</td>
<td>land – Unterwalden</td>
<td>Urkantone 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidwalden</td>
<td>1291</td>
<td>land – Unterwalden</td>
<td>Urkantone 3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glarus</td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>Old 8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zug</td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Old 8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fribourg</td>
<td>1481</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Burgandy War</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>French / German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solothurn</td>
<td>1481</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Burgandy War</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baselstadt</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Swabian War</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baselland</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>1833 city/ land separation</td>
<td>Swabian War</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schaffhausen</td>
<td>1501</td>
<td>free city</td>
<td>Swabian War</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appenzell Ausserrhoden</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>land – Reform- ation split</td>
<td>Post Swabian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appenzell Innerrhoden</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>land – Reform- ation split</td>
<td>Post Swabian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Gallen</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>independent ally (city)</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grischun Graubünden Grigioni</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>independent allies (3 leagues)</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Romansh / German / Italian</td>
<td>Mixed (Commune)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aargau</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>occupied by confederation</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Mixed (Confed.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurgau</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>occupied by confederation</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ticino</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>occupied by confederation</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaud</td>
<td>1803</td>
<td>occupied by confederation</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valais/Wallis</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>independent allies (land)</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>French / German</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuchâtel</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>ind. / part of Prussia</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genève</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>independent ally (city)</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jura</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>ecclesiastic land separated from Bern</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Im Hof, 1993; Segesser, 1998
Figure 27 -- Territorial Expansion of the Eidgenossenschaft
The political solution benefits from a decentralized political structure, and the Swiss believe in something called the Territorial Principal. The Territorial Principal is not in the Constitution, but it is a vital part of Swiss political discourse. Fundamentally, the smallest territorial units have the right to decide contentious cultural questions such as language and religion. A local community chooses the official language as well as school curriculum, and if people move into a community (assuming they can), they are expected to assimilate. So even small communities along the language border are very culturally secure because they control decisions and regulate contact.

To focus solely on language, one may miss the real source of conflict in Switzerland. Religion has been the major factor in conflict amongst Swiss including the 1847 Civil War or Sonderbundkrieg (Remak, 1993). Religious conflict was more about balance of power within the Confederation as opposed to ecclesiastic difference or evangelicalism (Segesser, 1998). A look at the religious situation shows a complex pattern at the cantonal scale (Figure 28). The territorial-based solution allowed each canton to make their own decisions concerning the (Counter) Reformation, which is an extension of the Augsburger doctrine, "cuius regio, eius religio" (Klemens, 1995). Some cantons relinquished the decision down to the local level or more likely, they had to accommodate what the local communities had already done.

**Contemporary Situation**

A geography of language along the French-German border is likely to focus on Belgium or the Alsace-Lorraine because there has not been much conflict or change in Switzerland.
Figure 28 -- Religious Confessions in Switzerland

Swiss Confessional Geography

Cantonal Religion
- Catholic (12)
- Reformed (11)
- Mixed (3)

Current %
- 46% Catholic
- 40% Protestant

Basel (humanist) 81% 51% 44%
Konstanz 56%
Zürich (Zwingli) 50%
Luzern 78%

Sion 89%

Geneva (Calvin) 48%

Chur 50%

Sources: Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995; Im Hof, 1986

Erik Prout 2000
The traditional language regions are very stable except in Grischun/ Graubünden. Only Romansh speaking communities are undergoing significant language changes between another Swiss language. Either a breakdown in the territorial principal is occurring or a different form of language change associated with modernity is transforming the language frontier. Likewise, the overall language situation in Switzerland is becoming more complex as new languages are entering the country. These non-native languages have no macro-scale territory but they do have a geography.

**Multilingualism:** Swiss efforts to promote multilingualism are exceptional (Table 4). People enjoy telling me about all the languages they learn, and how the Swiss introduce second and third languages at grade school levels. Additionally, I believe the Swiss exhibit multilingualism and promote multiple language understanding better than any other place. Swiss politicians, reporters, and celebrities are seen regularly speaking another language, and people routinely have personal experiences with someone who speaks another language.

In recent years, a new controversy has developed over the teaching of foreign languages. The issue begins with German speaking cantons in northeastern Switzerland approving popular measures to teach "Early English" before French. "Early English" is not a normal foreign language program, it attempts to imbed the language through similarities with German as it exposes students to computers and foreign culture. Symbolically, it breaks with tradition of initially teaching a second national language. The controversy is more about solidarity with the minority than order of language instruction.
Table 4
Multilingualism in Switzerland:
Combinations of National Languages in Switzerland and Grischun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Languages:</th>
<th>Switzerland</th>
<th>Grischun</th>
<th>%GR**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romansh monolinguals</td>
<td>12,963</td>
<td>12,054</td>
<td>93.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German monolinguals</td>
<td>3,683,228</td>
<td>92,220</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German &amp; French</td>
<td>690,439</td>
<td>4841</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German &amp; Italian</td>
<td>308,374</td>
<td>12,540</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>German &amp; Romansh</strong></td>
<td>28,840</td>
<td>19,583</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French &amp; Italian</td>
<td>129,962</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>French &amp; Romansh</strong></td>
<td>709</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian &amp; Romansh</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-- {Romansh Bilinguals}</strong></td>
<td>30,740</td>
<td>20,115</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German, French, &amp; Italian</td>
<td>242,432</td>
<td>5040</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>German, French, &amp; Romansh</strong></td>
<td>3723</td>
<td>1122</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German, Italian, &amp; Romansh (GR*)</td>
<td>7111</td>
<td>4066</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French, Italian, &amp; Romansh</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-- {Romansh Trilinguals}</strong></td>
<td>11,515</td>
<td>5192</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All four national languages</td>
<td>7135</td>
<td>2416</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>-- {All Romansh Plurilinguals}</strong></td>
<td>49,390</td>
<td>27,723</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Multilinguals</td>
<td>1,420,597</td>
<td>50,424</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL POPULATION</td>
<td>6,873,687</td>
<td>173,890</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 Federal Census (Bundesamt für Statistik. 1995)
* Three official languages of the Canton Grischun
** Percent of Swiss Totals residing in Canton Grischun
In Grischun, the public reacted by adopting a referendum that mandates the teaching of Italian as the second language of instruction, but now they have to sort this out because many Romansh reside in technically German speaking majority places.

Nevertheless, Swiss language skills including multilingualism is commonly over-stated. According to the census, only about 25 percent of the population speaks two or more national languages, which is astonishing when compared to other modern states (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995). Seventy-five percent of Romansh speakers speak another national language, the vast majority speak Swiss-German. Another misconception is that Swiss-Germans universally understand High German and can switch between them. Two out of three claim not to speak "Hochdeutsch," although many would admit to understanding it for tasks like watching television or dealing with a German tourist.

Foreign Languages: The language mixture is more complex with the addition of new languages. Switzerland has a foreign population of approximately 19 percent that includes mostly guest workers, spouses, and a few refugees. Guest workers are primarily low to medium skilled, but there is a market for extremely specialized professionals. The majority of foreigners in Switzerland originate across the border in adjacent countries, so they come with knowledge of a national language.

A discussion of languages in Switzerland depends on which Switzerland one is talking about. There are two distinct public spheres of interaction: a citizen sphere and a residential sphere (Figure 29). Therefore, three groups with overlapping political and linguistic interests exist. Naturally, the majority of both spheres are Swiss citizens living in Switzerland. Within the citizen sphere are the Swiss Abroad who account for about ten percent of all Swiss citizens.
POLITICAL-LINGUISTIC SPHERES
Overlapping Spheres of Citizenship and Residency
in Switzerland, 1998/99

SWISS CITIZENSHIP SPHERE -- RESIDENT POPULATION SPHERE
6,302,705  7,123,537

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages of Contact:*</th>
<th>Official Languages:</th>
<th>Non-Swiss Languages:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Serbo-Croatian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Romansh</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Bundesamt für Statistik, 1999:28,57; *Swiss Review publication languages.

Figure 29 – Diagram of Public Spheres
Many of these Swiss Abroad reside in neighboring countries such as France and Germany, and presumably, they can stay up on national affairs and exercise their rights to vote. On the other hand, nearly 1 out of 5 actual residents in Switzerland have citizenship in another country. While the majority of foreigners in Switzerland come from an adjacent country, a significant number introduce other languages. Table 5 a listing of all the major source countries for foreigners in Switzerland and the destinations for Swiss Abroad.

Quite separate from the statistical reality, there is a popular perception that more foreigners come from specific places. Many guest workers do come from southern Europe, and a strange good/bad label develops for individual groups. The longest relationship is with Italy as Italian guest workers were a crucial labor force in early industrialization and mass-tourism. Italians were bad in the 1930s during Irredentism and 1970s when Protestants saw Catholics becoming a majority, but now they are the ideal foreigners as they work hard and eventually return to Italy. The Iberian Peninsula is another source area in recent decades, and they generally have a favorable reputation. Since 1990, Portuguese workers have become the darlings of Engiadina, and people have told me how well they understand Romansh. One reason for a positive perception of Portuguese is they are replacing workers from the former Yugoslavia who have lost favor. Despite Switzerland's anti-Communist feelings, they had good relations with Yugoslavia (and still do with independent Slovenia), and Slavic speakers were significant part of the hotel work force in the southeast. Throughout Switzerland, a lot of concern over "Yugos" and Albanians/Kosovars exists because of the fear that Balkan conflict will prevent their return and that some are abusing Switzerland's goodwill.
Table 5
International Migration, 1998/1999:
Public Spheres of Citizenship and Residency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swiss citizens residing Abroad (5th Switzerland)</th>
<th>REGION / States* [Subtotals]</th>
<th>Foreign Nationals residing in Switzerland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>346,356</td>
<td>EUROPE</td>
<td>1,243,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3894</td>
<td>Liechtenstein</td>
<td>1,609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145,984</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>57,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66,744</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>98,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39,418</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>336,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,905</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>28,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267,945</td>
<td>[all border states]</td>
<td>523,564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,834</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>91,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2382</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>136,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24,208</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>20,222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333,726</td>
<td>[all EU states]</td>
<td>810,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>former Yugoslavia</td>
<td>324,981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>80,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151,967</td>
<td>AMERICAS</td>
<td>44,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66,176</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>13,235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34,228</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,358</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>6,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14,474</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>3,939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23,296</td>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td>60,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8620</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>14,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,286</td>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>32,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8995</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>[all Maghreb]</td>
<td>11,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23,908</td>
<td>Australia/other</td>
<td>2,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>562,813</td>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>1,383,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITIZENSHIP</td>
<td>Swiss in-situ</td>
<td>RESIDENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,302,705</td>
<td>5,739,893</td>
<td>7,123,537</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Bundesamt für Statistik, 1999:28 (immigration),57 (emigration).
*Regions and States of origin / destination are Census categories
Explanations: na = negligible amount; Liechtenstein is in a customs union with Switzerland and is not part of the EU; the four other border states are part of the current 15 member EU; Maghreb is Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.
Slavic as a single category was the largest group of non-Swiss languages at the national level as well as in the narrowly defined Romansh language area (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995). Figures 30-32 are examples of the geography of introduced languages; the three maps show Romance, Germanic, and Balkan/Southeastern Europe.

**Swiss Political Realm**

Switzerland is a democracy, and many claim it to be one of the oldest. There are some similar features with the United States especially the separation of power philosophy and the "Great Compromise" bicameral legislature. Switzerland has three levels of government each with their own democratic elements. But probably the most distinguishing elements are the popular referenda at all levels. Built on the tradition of community assembly where a public majority is obvious, referenda are an extension of popular legitimization. Referenda are mandatory to change the Constitution or grant new powers for government, and there are consultative referenda that ask the public to confirm or reject controversial legislation. Furthermore, there is a procedure to introduce legislation directly from the people through petition (*Volksinitiative*). A second characteristic of Swiss democracy is the de-concentration of power away from individual politicians and a respect for minority opinions in the discussion and formulation of policy. Executives of large political entities are typically councils that allow for some proportional membership.

**Swiss Governments**

Bohn (1983:148) states that the key to understanding Switzerland is knowing the government structure and the institutions. Switzerland has a complex federal structure with multiple balance of power components.
IBERO-ROMANCE in Switzerland

Figure 30 -- Other Romance Languages in Switzerland

Source: 1990 Federal Census (Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995)

Erik Prout — Mapinfo software
NON-SWISS GERMANIC
in Switzerland

SOURCE: 1990 Federal Census
(Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995)

Erik Prout — Mapinfo software

Figure 31 — Other Germanic Languages in Switzerland

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OTHER (Balkan) LANGUAGES in Switzerland

Figure 32 -- Other Introduced Languages in Switzerland
The federal government (often called *der Bund*) symbolically lacks a concentration of power exemplified by a bicameral legislature and a seven member executive council. Federalism itself is a separation of power between the national and cantonal governments. I summarize the major components of this structure, so the discussion of language in politics will make more sense.

**Federal:** The current structure of the federal government consists of three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. The majority of the federal government is in Bern, which many refuse to call the capital but the federal city (*Bundesstadt*). Two symbolic examples of not concentrating power are the locations of the highest court in Lausanne and the main military complex in Central Switzerland. In addition, regional offices of the bureaucracy are scattered throughout the country.

The legislature is bicameral with a chamber devoted to equal representation of the cantons and the other based on proportional representation of the population. The larger chamber (*Nationalrat*) election is held every four years with everyone voting at the same time. In addition, the cantons administer and serve as electoral districts, and the voting is proportional with separate voting lists for each canton. Cantonal parties can combine their list of candidates with other parties, and the distribution of mandates is to the lists. For example, the Green party wins two mandates in Zürich, so the two people on their list with the most votes are elected and if one steps down the party can fill their mandate until the next election. Individual cantons determine the composition of the smaller chamber (*Ständerat*) by deciding their own voting procedure and duration of term for its two representatives.
Shortly following the Nationalrat election, a joint session of Nationalrat and Ständerat members convenes to elect the seven member executive council (*Bundesrat*). The election is quite symbolic because no one party has a majority to dominate the process. The Bundesrat runs the executive branch and each member has a portfolio of federal departments that they supervise (i.e. military, justice, etc.). Head of State is a rotating position amongst the seven members, so every calendar year, there is a new Bundespresident and Vice-President. The Bundesrat is an integral part of national leadership because they play a role in processing and responding to direct democracy and public opinion in general. Their role in a media society has become larger as they are the ones who respond to national tragedies and attend special occasions. Maybe the most important function is not what they do, but who they are. The Bundesrat symbolically represents *Concordance Democracy* because the seven members reflect regional, cultural, and ideological balance of interests.

**Cantonal:** The Cantons are co-equal partners in Swiss federalism. Perhaps they are more important than regions in other federalist States. The Constitution severely constrains federal government, and many functions one associates with national policy like border control is actually done by the cantons. There are 26 cantons in total. but in a formal sense there are 20 full cantons and 6 half cantons. Half cantons are historical realities and not some threshold size. Unterwalden is one of the three original cantons but has always been partitioned between Niderwalden and Obwalden. The two half cantons of Appenzeller reflect a partition between Catholics and Protestants during the Reformation. Baselstadt and Baselland originated with the separation of city and
countryside during the Napoleonic years. Each half canton has only one member in the
Ständerat but is its own electoral district for Nationalrat elections.

Swiss cantons are significant in another unique way—they embody diversity. Individuals are stereotyped by where they come, and the canton becomes a code word for the cultural differences of that canton. For example, a commission or referendum committee would have members whose home is in different cantons to exhibit diversity just as a non-partisan movement would have members from the different political parties. "Kantönligeist" is a term the Swiss use to describe the regional spirit of people towards their own canton. It has both a positive and negative connotation. The positive side of Kantönligeist includes pride in folk culture and just a healthy loyalty to home and familiar products. The negative connotation revolves around conservative resistance to centralized, more modern innovations or an unwillingness to support national goals.

Communal: Individual communes or communities have a legal and historical stature that really complicates Swiss politics. Socially, communes are the places where individuals call home, and Swiss are actually residents and citizens of individual communes (Vischnanca/Gemeinde). Furthermore, there are different types of communes. Big cities usually have open communes that welcome everybody to live there, and have an automatic process of being considered citizens including voting. In the mountainous areas, many communes are the legacy of the Closed Corporate Community (Netting, 1981; Wolf and Cole, 1974). They control membership of the commune either by being a direct descendant of an existing member or by voting in new members. These "citizen" communes (vischnanca burgaisa/Bürgergemeinde) basically own the land and manage its resources, and presumably, the members enjoy the benefits. Since this is a
discriminatory process, a commune in the Alps might have a lopsided ratio between citizens and residents. For example, only ten percent of the people living a tourist resort might be citizens, and the rest are residents differentiated between Swiss (citizen of another commune) and foreigners.

An issue of serious concern in Switzerland is that small communes can not adequately govern themselves. Not only does a commune need a certain number of people to have a school and a grocery store, they need enough staff to handle modern administrative tasks. The obvious solution is to consolidate small communities into more viable units. Commune consolidation is contentious because the locals resent being told what to do and fear losing their independence. A certain number of communities have found creative ways to survive by working together on schools, forestry, and sharing administrative tasks. Nevertheless, some communes have voluntarily merged together, although it is usually a smaller place joining a more viable commune. If a Canton has resources, they might find ways to help small communes accomplish administrative tasks.

Communes are an integral part of the Swiss political landscape because they operate the government office with whom ordinary people have personal contact. Philosophically, conservatives argue that local communities are sovereign entities, and they jealously guard their powers of membership and culture. It could be argued that communes are more fundamental than the federal and cantonal levels, and therefore, Constitutions are instruments to protect communal autonomy and restrain centralized power. Regardless of one's ideology, these three levels of government provide a unique tension in Swiss politics, and people have loyalties towards them all.
Swiss political culture parallels its unique governing structure. There is a handful of important aspects that have a direct correlation with the Romansh. The most obvious is the use of Romansh in local and cantonal governments. The use of Romansh at the federal level is more symbolic but still important as an awareness tool for the larger Swiss and foreign exposure to the language. I select two aspects of political culture for discussion: multilingualism in politics and the political parties. After discussing them, I summarize all the political points that have a Romansh significance.

**Multilingual Politics and Symbols:** The symbolic display of Swiss multilingualism is on the signs and monuments in the landscape. Election advertising is one obvious example because the logic of reaching the electorate demands using all languages (Figure 33). Symbolic use of Romansh on paper money and in passports is another example. Multiple language usage of government institutions is well established within the Swiss political milieu. All the Federal government offices are multilingual, the language of parliamentary debate is whatever the speaker speaks, and laws and judicial rulings can be published in all official languages.

There is an expectation that elected officials can speak at least two national languages, and for Romansh speaking politicians, it is essential outside of their own commune. Moreover, the path to the highest offices is even more demanding, as regional and ideological balances are important considerations. In general, Romansh speakers are not handicapped in their political careers, and contraire, they are successful. For example, Grischun has five Nationalrat mandates, and three of the five speak Romansh.
Figure 33 – Campaign Signs in Romansh
Top photo, FDP billboard in Zuoz
Bottom photo, Campaign posters in Mustér
Romansh speakers are indistinguishable from other Swiss-German speakers, and a native Swiss-German would correctly identify their accent as Bündner. Romansh politicians probably have an advantage because they can communicate directly to Romansh speakers through Romansh language media while not endangering their overall public personas with the German speaking majority. At the federal level, Romansh are not usually part of the very powerful political actors, but that is more a function of Grischun being only a small percentage of the national population. Other cantons with cultural diversity, farmer dominated politics, and alpine areas exist, so many important issues to the canton are already over-represented in the federal government.

The primary linguistic relationship in Switzerland is the French—German one. The dynamic between French speaking West and the German speaking majority in the Swiss Plain dominates the balance of power and promotion of multiple language use in Switzerland. A recent issue has been the hardening of a German speaking bureaucracy and behind the scene negotiation style, which implies that the “Latin languages” are only figuratively equal. The fact that the legislature meets in a German speaking though officially bilingual city reinforces the image of an inflexible German speaking majority, and makes government service unattractive to French speakers. Bern as the federal city has been sensitive to this issue and the city supports a French language school to appease French civil-servants. The question of political discourse is significant because the language groups are exposed to political discourse of neighboring countries, which is what many do not want to emulate.

Political Parties: Swiss political parties are another element of Swiss democratic uniqueness. Figure 34 is a map of the current federal mandate distribution. Four political
parties dominate the mandate distribution and the parties' appeal cuts across language divides. These four political parties with different ideologies have held together as a coalition for over 40 years. Actually, the political parties are very small with less than 100,000 members combined (Segesser, 1998). Clearly, most Swiss do not join political parties, nor are they required to register under a party label. Party membership is elitist but also very dedicated and motivated for their political cause. From a distance, the political parties appear highly fragmented, and unable to garner true majorities during an election. Amazingly, the four major political parties do not overly coincide with geographical regions, even though they do have strengths in particular regions. For example, there is no West Suisse political party that could tailor a distinct message to attract French speakers concentrated in western Switzerland.

The origins of the parties are a history of modern Swiss politics (Segesser, 1998). The FDP (Freisinnig-demokratische / Radical) is the singular party that has been in government since 1848. They were instrumental in the first federal constitution and setting the tone for modern Swiss democracy. Despite being a radical liberal party by mid-nineteenth century standards, they currently fall in the center of the political spectrum and even slightly conservative at times. The CVP (Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei) is the political party that developed as the nineteenth century conservative (Catholic) opposition to the FDP. They still maintain a strong base in Catholic areas, but now many consider them a centrist party with some liberal social positions. The CVP joined the government in 1891 and has been part of it ever since. The SPS (Sozialdemokratische Partei) is the result of labor and social movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
Political Party Strength in Switzerland

Data: Government of Switzerland; Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Federal Election of October, 1999 (some run-offs in Nov)

Federal Mandates

- SPS (Social Dems)
- CVP (Christian Dems)
- FDP (Free Dems/Rad.)
- SVP (Folksparty)
- Non Government

Figure 34 -- Geography of Swiss Political Parties
Since the 1930s, the Social Democrats have adopted a non-confrontational attitude (off the street), and have been a part of the government since 1959. The Schweizerisch Volkspartei (SVP) is the ideological counterbalance to the SPS inside the government. The SVP began as a farmer/workers party that was staunchly anticommunist, and they initially joined the government in 1929 as a junior partner. Since the 1920s, the FDP, CVP, and SVP have worked together to reduce socialist influence and are known as the citizens coalition (Bürgerlich/Bourgeois).

The four political parties make for a strange governing coalition. They are ideologically different and in the case of the Social Democrats and Swiss Volkspartei openly hostile at times. Each maintains their own parliamentary faction that entitles them to committees and debate time. Impressively, the four parties capture over 80 percent of the popular vote and slightly higher percent of all mandates. On the other hand, they seem able to avoid responsibility for policy failures because of the compromise nature that a coalition entails. The big question in Swiss politics is the weakening of the center, and whether ideological polarization is inevitable and/or desirable. The center-left SPS and center-right SVP tend to be more vocal critics and they can exploit media attention. Although critics blame them for changing politics by not working together in a civil way, they both have made electoral gains in the last two national votes. The traditional center parties (FDP and CVP) are struggling to maintain control over the political system.

**Elections**

Campaign and election activities in Switzerland seem relatively subdued. The Swiss approach political activities as being a necessary disruption of their ordinary life, and they typically do not reward vocal or passionate politics. Elections in Switzerland are
rigidly set in terms of a timetable as the federal government (*Bundesrat*) selects the four
dates for the quarterly cycle. The election for the *Nationalrat* is held in October of every
fourth year (1995, 1999, etc.), and other issues do not usually coincide with it. Cantons
and communes can utilize other federal dates or select additional ones for their own
elections. For example, the Canton of Zürich holds its legislative and executive elections
in March every fourth year, and during the election, people may have to vote on a federal
issue at the same time. Since Zürich is the most populous canton and their election is only
a few months before the *Nationalrat* election, it has excitement of a primary or national
poll.

The wildcard of Swiss politics is the assignment of referenda to the election
schedule. At all levels of government, referenda are assigned to an upcoming poll date,
which may effect the participation rate and issues of a regularly scheduled election. Two
basic origins of a referendum are from the legislature and from the people. Mandatory
referenda include constitutional amendments, treaties, and international memberships.
Consultative referenda are useful when a coalition government needs to receive a popular
mandate, but they can be forced when a significant percent of the legislature or a citizen
petition demand public approval. The people can also compose legislation through a
*Volksinitiative*, which is likened to direct democracy, but in actuality, the government can
respond to the petition and it may not ever go to the voters.

The voting procedure in Switzerland has completely changed in the last century
due to complexity of issues and number of voters. The prevailing method from the
nineteenth century was for male-citizens to assemble in a public place, hear debate, and
then vote community assembly style. The progressive cities switched as their populations
became too large, and elected assemblies became the norm for legislation. Thereafter, elections became a poll booth style event for most eligible Swiss, which was male and 20 years of age. Woman's suffrage came very late, 1971 at the federal level and the 1990s for the last community assembly in Appenzell. The current method is for the government to mail the actual ballot to registered citizens about 30 days before the election date with a booklet of explanations and analysis of the issues. One can mail the completed ballot (free of charge) back a week prior or personally drop off the ballot at a designated site up to the Noon Sunday deadline. Local officials count the ballots that get tallied and certified upwards only as far as necessary.

Campaigning is interesting because election law excludes radio and television advertising. The candidates use a variety of methods to reach the general population such as mass-mailers, newspaper advertisements, and billboard posters (Figure 33). They also appear on talk-shows and participate in debates that electronic media will cover. Political parties organize special events or put information stalls in busy public spaces. In rural areas, posters and oddball signs are found in the landscape. The political parties are able to communicate their party's positions rather well through these measures.

**Consumer Culture**

Consumption is a conspicuous aspect of modern societies, so the idea of a consumer culture is a growing concept (Sack, 1992). Everyone consumes energy and matter as a fact of life. In a "traditional" settlement, the source of food, water, and firewood are easier to locate because of their presumed proximity. In "modern" settlements, the ultimate source of nutritional items, petroleum products, and cooking materials can be incredibly distant, and they often have complex patterns of delivery. For
the most part, the stuff comes from somewhere else. Therefore, a geography of marketing and transportation activities exist as well as a change in the landscape of urban cities and rural places that accommodate consumption. Equally important, a personal mobility associated with the physical act of shopping increases as does the imaginative scope of consumption to its logical end—the whole world.

Consumption is a large topic that could be a thesis or chapter by itself. I discuss only two, very narrowly focused parts of consumption in Switzerland, and I base these observations on my own experiences and judgement of relevance to the Romansh. The first is the presence of a national scale of shopping, which defies the political fragmentation and place-based identities and territories. The second element is the maintenance of public transportation that incorporates rural areas into complex national and regional networks. Then, I mention some other elements such as military service and media that have the effect of promoting Swiss solidarity despite their necessity for linguistic specialization.

Shopping

Shopping in Switzerland is undergoing a revolution of sorts. The notion of shopping as a social activity is not new, but the scale and intensity of those activities on the landscape are dramatic. Department stores have been a part of the larger cities for a long time, and I would hasten that Switzerland was one of the earlier places to adopt these consumer innovations. However, department stores did not disrupt urban infrastructure because they use existing buildings and rely on the public transportation that reinforces centrality of cities. Mid-twentieth century, the demographics began to change as suburban and peri-urban areas outgrew the inner cities. Nevertheless, public
transportation kept up and most Swiss moving out of the urban core were still highly integrated with the shopping and public life of the city.

While Switzerland was becoming a relatively wealthy society after the World Wars, automobile ownership was a luxury according to the tax-codes, and few public resources were designated to make places more car friendly. An automobile lobby developed in recent decades that included their own political party, but as soon as the party tried to expand, it lost all its mandates to more conservative parties. Regardless, planning and design with the automobile in mind has become a reality. Already, new shopping geographies with American style malls and car-oriented strips exist. The automobile (and driver individualism) has been a force for change in the countryside, but so far these changes have not displaced established city centers.

The Consum: One feature of these recent shopping geographies is the presence of older established Swiss businesses that capitalize on both their older urban and newer automobile-focused centers. In fact, large national companies dominate retail functions in Switzerland. The biggest and best known are COOP and Migros. Both COOP and Migros are national scale, grocery store chains that have diversified into supermarket and department store retailing. Every town except the smallest of the small has at least one COOP, Migros, or a regional competitor. Large cities like Zürich have them in just about every neighborhood. The smaller outlets serve as Mom and Pop stores selling basic food and household items. Both COOP and Migros have bigger supermarkets (e.g. "Supercenters"), urban department stores, and even regional discount superstores. Both chains offer a whole collection of service oriented activities such as photo developing, dry cleaning, and restaurants that they can tie into their physical operations. They have
expanded in recent years to consumer banks, and specialty divisions such as electronics and furniture that may not actually carry their name but have floor space in their new suburban shopping centers.

The COOP name is a play on cooperative, but most everyone calls it the "consum" in everyday usage. The name consum can be used for any small grocery store, and in rural areas, the consum is the only market regardless of the chain name (Figure 35). COOP publishes a weekly newspaper that has the largest circulation of any paper in Switzerland. While it undoubtedly serves as an advertising platform, the COOP newspaper includes interesting articles about Swiss politics and culture. Every fourth week or so, they publish a Romansh page (Pagina Rumantscha) in the Deutschschweiz version, which reflects a typical situation of Romansh being included with German.

COOP is slightly older than Migros, but until recently, it lacked central organization. The evolution of COOP begins with communal agricultural cooperatives, which parallels the transformation of rural population and the modernization of agriculture. Over a long period, the individual cooperatives and regional networks began to coalesce. Currently, COOP combines seven regional entities and one umbrella organization. Some regional cooperatives could establish themselves in the large cities, and they bought existing department stores like St. Annahof in Zürich and Ryfflihof in Bern that still retain their old building names.

Migros began as a collection of grocery trucks that could serve small towns and places with no markets. This year, Migros is celebrating its 75th birthday and is using these images prominently as well as remind the public that they still maintain a fleet of mobile markets.
Figure 35 — Consums in Romansh Areas
Top photo, Rabius (Sumvitg, Surselva)
Bottom photo, Ardez (Engiadina bassa)
Migros is an obvious success story of an individual creating the largest retailer in Switzerland. Moreover, Migros was based on a socio-political ideology that everyone should have access to basic consumer items. A corresponding political movement started with support for an independent political party and cultural foundation. At one time, the Migros supported LdU (list of independents) was the largest opposition political party until the Greens surpassed them (Segesser, 1998).

Migros' success rests on its ability to balance the twin pillars of consumer confidence: quality and cost. Migros was and still is notable for not having product names. Basically, Migros was large enough in scale to force producers to sell them quality products without logos and labels. Instead, the “M” in Migros became the only symbol, which eliminated unnecessary costs. Only in the last few years, has Migros begun selling limited quantities of brand-named products. For example, they recently signed an exclusive product deal with Pepsi.

**Egalitarian Consumption:** Shopping in Switzerland misses a typically normal aspect of the retail landscape. There is almost no difference in the prices of products despite having different delivery costs. Both COOP and Migros have set prices for all of Switzerland and they even preprint prices on most items. The price of items that should be more expensive in the mountain communities is exactly identical; meanwhile selection and availability might be lower. This price standardization clearly favors all rural communities as a form of consumer subsidy, which increases their viability. One reason they subsidize rural/mountain areas is because there is no public pressure to remove them.

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There is another interesting aspect of Swiss shopping structure. These private retailers have a pulse on public opinion, and they can react better than any government. For example, Swiss have expressed concern over genetically modified food, and both COOP and Migros have publicly committed themselves to be GM-free. The government could never impose such a ban because it would provoke trade wars like the E.U. has done with the U.S. Likewise, the government has the leisure not to prohibit meat with growth hormones or require food origin labeling because consumer sensitive retailers effectively do it.

The success of these two shopping chains reflects a strange dichotomy of local and national once again. Despite strong local senses of place, national shopping chains have come to dominate the retail landscape. Moreover, they have been flexible in accommodating the changing consumer tastes and affluence of society. Besides subsidizing rural customers, retailers like COOP and Migros are leaders in charitable enterprises including special projects to help the mountainous areas. A similar example of institutional local-national is the transportation system that integrates communities in Switzerland.

Public Mobility

Public transportation is an important part of integrating the Swiss regions into a coherent network. The public transportation network is complex because it combines different transportation methods as well as incorporates fragmented authorities. Many regions coordinate timetables as well as create tariff unions. The cities have to overcome metropolitan regions that cross into other political territories. For example, Zürich metropolitan area extends into other cantons, while Basel and Genève are actually
multinational situations. Mountainous areas also have to overcome multiple political boundaries. More importantly, they rely on tourism and government subsidies to maintain a quality public transportation system.

Two national transportation systems operate in a complimentary fashion: the postauto buses and the railroads. The postal service of Switzerland was a comprehensive network of mail, telegram, and telephone (PTT), and they operated an extensive network of passenger buses that also delivered mail. This postauto network draws on its legacy of operating stagecoach and wagon mail delivery through the alpine passes. While the PTT has been broken up to allow telecommunication competition, the postauto network is still intact and effectively links every community in Switzerland. Post buses (called "Poschi") are a familiar site in the Swiss Alps because tourist areas contract for extra service to accommodate recreational needs. Both the federal government and local areas promote the use of public transportation through special tariffs and excursions.

Switzerland was relatively late in initiating a national railroad system because of the political conflict during the 1840s that precluded such an investment. Instead many railroads started under private capital, and even today, Switzerland has more private railroads than the rest of the world combined. The reality is that most of them are highly integrated with the federal system and only a few are in a position to be truly independent. Swiss have perfected the railroad time schedule and created a fame based on punctuality. Moreover, the railroad system integrates with other public transportation and in general has not eliminated service to smaller places. The result is a rail commuter network in urban and rural areas, which allows people flexibility to live in older places.
Names and Signs

Swiss retail and transportation networks have a national scale that goes against localized political ideology. One important consequence of these national institutions (COOP, Migros, Post, and SBB) is the language policies that they maintain. As a rule, their public face is multilingual. They publish timetables in the local language, they use the local spelling for place-names, and consumer information is usually multilingual. Most public entities in Switzerland deal with customers in whatever language the customer speaks, while they may operate administratively in a single language. Many employees are multilingual with an eye towards both local speakers and the likely languages of tourists. For example, a train going to Interlaken (Bernese Oberland) would announce information in English, or a postauto driver in Engiadina bassa would speak Romansh and German.

The railroad in the Grischun/Graubünden is the RhB (Rhätischen Bahn / Viafier retica). The "Rhaetian Railway" uses all three cantonal languages: German, Romansh, and Italian, with an emphasis on local situations and place-names. Many examples from Grischun exist. The Swiss post office goes by a combination of names including "La Posta" and "Die Post," and individual offices abide by the community's official status. Like everywhere else, railroad stations, post offices and road signs use only the official names (Figures 36 and 37). Therefore, one can find prominent displays of the language around these buildings in Romansh speaking areas. One of the relatively successful aspects of keeping Romansh names in the public realm is street names, and natural features. Even places with German majorities like St. Moritz and Domat/Ems retain Romansh names such as Via instead of Strasse.
Figure 36 – Official Signs in Romansh
Top photo, Police Department Office in Chur
Bottom photo, Bilingual place-name on RhB Sign
Figure 37 – Official Grischun Roadsigs
Top photo, Surselva roadsign (Cuolm Lucmagn)
Bottom photo, Val Müstair roadsign (Svizer cunfin)
The tourist landscape is even more prominent e.g. *Via Engiadina* and *Via Surselva* are walking paths that traverse the valley.

A similar situation can be found on Swiss topographic maps, and even tourist oriented maps. The cartographic convention of Swiss mapmakers is to label with the local language. Stated another way, cartographers label maps as local areas would post signs. A strictly German or French language map would label Genf / Basel; Genève / Bâle respectively just as an English map would label them Geneva / Basel. A Swiss map would label them Genève and Basel. When an area is officially bilingual, both versions such as Bern and Berne are correct, but the preference is to the majority language group. Places that are near language borders may have both names as the official name, for example Biel / Bienne is a bilingual German-French city, no less than a dozen Romansh places have dual names. One last cartographic note is that place-names based on historical and/or biblical people are more fluid in their translation and usage e.g. John=Jean=Gion. Therefore, as mentioned previously, Sankt Moritz the town may end up on the shores of the lake labeled Lej da San Murezzan (Eidgenössische Landestopographie, 1970).

**Swiss Militia or Militantly Swiss?**

A common saying is that Switzerland does not have an army, it is an army. Not only is the army large, the military played a role in strategic infrastructure such as communication, hydro-electricity and fallout shelters. Some would even go further and say there is a good ole boys network that crosses over between at the top of government, business, and military. Undoubtedly, Switzerland like many places had strong government involvement in crucial and symbolic enterprises. A short list of national entities includes Swissair, the Swiss Federal Railroad (*SBB*-Schweizerische
Bundesbahn), television and radio broadcasting (DRS-Deutsch-Romanischschweiz), the PTT (Post/Telegraph/Telephone), which after deregulation becomes the telecommunication Swisscom and the mail and bus oriented Post Office.

Just like the standardization of weights, measurements, and currency did before, these institutions are intertwined with power and national attachment. As familiar aspects of public life, Swiss are very loyal to their "national" government operated companies as well as very successful ones like Nestlé, Swatch, and Credit Suisse to name a few. Some official entities will survive as special or instrumental institutions like the railroad, while Swissair and Swisscom are likely to evolve with international competition. All these (quasi-) official entities have important roles in national language policy.

**Armed Forces**: One institution in Switzerland stands out like no other in its unique role of building social unity—the military. The Swiss Army remains one of the most important institutions for obvious reasons, a large share of the population is technically in it. Swiss militarism is a separate topic of discussion that includes a geopolitical philosophy of armed neutrality. The defining characteristic of the Swiss Armed Forces is that it is a militia. Military service begins after obligatory school with a basic training course, and then, they serve short stints of time every year in local units or civil defense. Men have the duty to maintain personal readiness including shooting competitions and keeping their military rifle at home.

The militia system reinforces the Swiss defensive strategy in which highly decentralized citizen soldiers could perform guerrilla and redoubt tactics. Swiss Armed Forces also pursues a high tech strategy with modern weapons as well as a comprehensive civil defense. Therefore, a small number of professional military officers
do exist, especially in a headquarters capacity. Women can also serve on a voluntary basis and become professional military officers. When one considers the cost and impact of universal male service, public acceptance of the militia is very strong. The electorate has rejected numerous attempts to force reform through referenda.

The military contributes in many ways to inter-cultural contact and shared national experience. Military service plays a national function as the political ideology of Switzerland and the Free Mountain Man becomes a participatory ritual. Military training includes some indoctrination of national values, but more importantly, members from different parts of Switzerland have the opportunity to develop camaraderie even if very few actually serve together. Most men serve in regional units and most units operate in the local language. There is even a Romansh language unit assigned to the Graubünden Mountain Regiment (Mountain Infantry Regiment, 1987). National shooting matches (Eidgenössische Schützenfest) are held at different venues, which symbolically increases exposure to other Swiss places and languages. For men at least, being Swiss has a corresponding role as members of a military unit.

Swiss Media: Government has been a crucial player in the electronic media of Switzerland. Like most governments, they built and regulated the telecommunications system, and now they retain an equally important role in the digital transformation. Television and radio can be important parts of modern, national identity as long as one receives only national media broadcasts. Swiss viewers can watch other national and private telecasts usually coinciding with the neighboring countries. In contrast, newspapers serve an important local and regional role in communication, and every commune needs a publishing organ for notices (Amtsblatt). Newspapers have almost no
limitations of free speech, and they play an important role in presenting controversial ideas and investigating controversial subjects. A new factor in Swiss newspapers is regional consolidation around larger media companies. For example, the Südostschweiz group has bought most of the newspapers in the Grischun, and they have a role in the emerging private media of southeastern Switzerland.

Historically, media were crucial elements of conducting a multilingual national language policy. From the government's perspective, they symbolically created separate services for the different languages. Official media could showcase other national languages and regions as well as promote awareness and appreciation of multilingualism. Although a monolithic language policy is probably not feasible with current electronic media, the government resists divesting or allowing a true, free market. Moreover, they retain a steep tax on all access to television and radio, and the revenues subsidize their complicated but inclusive system of production and transmission.

Fundamentally, Swiss radio and television has different broadcast systems for the different language areas. Nevertheless, they cooperate and share resources like satellite access or broadcast rights with each other. Traditional broadcasts were geographical because the aerial transmission was limited to line-of-sight, so initially most Swiss only received broadcasts in their language. With affluence and cable transmission, access to all Swiss television and radio programs became widespread. For example, Zürchers receive all six official Swiss television stations: the two German and Romansh Swiss (DRS), two French-Swiss, and the two Italian-Swiss. In addition, the cable antenna system provides nearly a dozen German language channels from Germany, Austria, or private multinational as well as some popular and/or official French, Italian, and English
speaking stations. The radio antenna cable (buildings are hard-wired with both analog TV and radio) brings in signals from various regions and countries including the Radio Rumantscha program.

Romansh activities were initially integrated with the German language service, but currently, Radio e Televisiun Rumantscha is an autonomous unit located in Chur. The reality is Romansh and German services are still intertwined because the distribution network is regional. Romansh language television is aired on the DRS channels, which does extend the Romansh programming to a national scale. Radio Rumantscha utilizes the official communication system, which means it is aerial-signal transmitted around 25 times to reach all the Romansh speaking areas. But more importantly, it links to the Swiss satellite and cable services.

The programming time of actual language on both the radio and television is low. Television programming consists of a daily, 10 minute news show on DRS 1 at 1845 that is repeated around midnight on TSI 2 (Italian), and a 45 minute news magazine on Sunday evenings on DRS 1. In total, about an hour and a half of Romansh is seen on TV per week. Radio Rumantscha transmits a little over nine hours a day, but much of the time is music with a play list that is multilingual, different genres, and international in scope. Because Radio Rumantscha presents regional news and call-in shows, it seems to offer more in fostering community.

Swiss-Romansh

A crucial aspect of the Romansh-Swiss relation is the description of how Romansh became a part of Switzerland. While the 1848 Federal Constitution did not recognize Romansh as either a national or an official language, two idioms were given
official status as early as 1794 in the Grischun Constitution (Metz, 1989). Scientific classification of Romansh as a Romance language occurred only in the nineteenth century with more clarity around the turn of the twentieth century (Jud, 1973), but this is really an outside academic question. The real impulse for national action was the claim by Italian fascists that Romansh was a dialect of Italian. More frightenly, there was a corresponding territorial claim that Italy should have watershed borders, which was a direct challenge to national integrity. The Swiss response to declare Romansh a national language was an act of resistance (Bundi, 1996), and Romansh intellectuals played an essential role in the formulation of and campaign for the referendum. During the election held in February of 1938, voters passed the constitutional amendment with a 91.6 percent affirmation (Federal archive website).

The extension of language recognition already fit into the Swiss conception of nation and territory. The Romansh were a language group within the boundaries of the territorial State, and they deserved the same recognition as the other three although practical considerations of scale had to be taken into account. Moreover, there was a symbolic pre-historic parallel between indigenous Rhaetians and Helvetians occupying Swiss territory, so there was a nativist aspect. The unity between the language groups as is the national identity in general was always more about political ideology than ethnic brotherhood. Romansh communities resemble the political and social communalism of the Swiss-German ones in the Alps.

**Being Swiss**

There is an inseparable link between the Romansh language and broader events in Switzerland, and the way Swiss filter and interact with global trends affects Romansh.
Not only is the language at risk while being supported by the Swiss, the agricultural and environmental changes are evolving within a Swiss regulatory framework. The on-going "identity crisis" in Switzerland with its debates over its role in Europe shows how ingrained being Swiss is in the various regions. No one suggests joining Europe without their fellow Swiss, nor is there any strong identification with pan-nationalism of their neighboring nation-states.

A lasting significance of the Romansh—Swiss relationship is the nature of their cultural movements that resemble Swiss political structures. Political culture in Switzerland generally allows minority participation. Not only are diverse opinions permitted—a literal seat at the table of power; small groups of determined opposition can usually hold up decision making. Swiss political commentators call this "Concordance" democracy. The majority moves very slowly and tries to build a super-consensus; diverse groups agree to disagree. Groups practice voluntary proportionality, which means they do not even attempt to dominate the membership or decision making process. In politics, this means a political party voluntarily sponsors only three candidates for a five-member council. So even if a party is successful during an election, they only carry a mandate to lead not dominate the process.

The Lia Rumantscha is the premier Romansh organization and has a few typically Swiss elements. They describe themselves as an umbrella organization (Dach in German) that resembles Swiss inclusiveness in its structure. Half of the board members originate from all the Romansh regions, which is geographical and covers religious diversity. The other half comes from different cultural groups such as a language
institute, writers association, and the new press agency. The two top officials, President and General Secretary, symbolically come from different regions.

Furthermore, a Swiss style of leadership exists in many local Romansh communities. Typically, local citizens elect a president communal in small places and city councils in larger places. In general, council meetings are open forum events that allow public comment and discussion of ideas. Councils also have the power to assign residents with special skills such as bookkeeping duties for the community, and there is a tradition of residents doing community service in exchange for tax credits. Romansh communities retain many social functions of the Welfare State

Being Romansh

It is easier to identify cultural features where the Romansh fit into the Swiss conception of political or social communities, than it is to see Swiss fitting into a Romansh point-of-view. Obviously, the Swiss perspective evolved with Romansh and Bündner influence for two hundred years, so it might not be a fair comparison. I coined a term to look at this Swiss—Romansh interconnectivity: reciprocal accommodation. Both Romansh and Swiss-Germans do certain things for each other, but an additional relevant question is whether the accommodations are equal.

As a rule of thumb, the Romansh speak German, and other Swiss do not speak Romansh. Fundamentally, there is an unequal language relationship because only one group crosses over. A significant number of Romansh must learn German, so the two groups can communicate and co-exist. A clear problem or issue is the attitude of German speakers who move into traditional Romansh speaking areas. Many people notice reluctance among German speakers to assimilate linguistically into Romansh speaking
communities. To be fair, there are no institutional structures for adult, German speakers to learn Romansh.

Romansh accommodate their fellow Swiss by speaking their fellow citizen’s language. Romansh communes actually welcome them to visit, reside, and invest in their communities. They also accommodate tourists and travelers as well as engage in global culture. In exchange, the Swiss-Germans, who are the national and cantonal majority, provide a structural framework to help the Romansh language. There is legal and financial support that Romansh can use to build their preservation activities. It is a judgement call to say they are equal or not, but it is obvious that their accommodations are different. The Romansh future is a Swiss future, and in the next chapter, I discuss the Swiss canton of Grischun and the Romansh cultural landscape.
CHAPTER 4
ROMANSH PLACE

Longevity is one of the defining qualities of Romansh places. The free running water that continuously flows through community water fountains is a metaphor for the timeless qualities of place. Lynch (1974) refers to these qualities as a sense of time. I often stop at these fountains and wonder why they allow the water to flow non-stop. I rationalize that it would be more of a hassle to turn it on and off, the water derives from an alpine stream and flows down by gravity—so it is not a resource waste, and besides the constant flow keeps the system flushed. Not too long ago, residents used the fountains for cleaning just about everything possible including carpets and farm animals. Even further back in time, residents would have had to collect their drinking and household water at these fountains. One could imagine the daily activities of a community revolving around its water source (Billigmeier, 1951; Schmid, 1955; Weiss, 1941). It is not surprising that the fountains have geographical or cultural symbolism associated with their placement and activities (Cosgrove, 1988). A popular example comes from the children’s book Uorsin, known as Schellenursli in German, where the schoolboys of Guarda march around their village fountains during the old Engadine ritual of Chalandamarz (Chöz and Carigiet, 1971).

Currently, the water fountains are a place for people to pause; they sip from the spout, they dip their hands in the cool pool, or they gather their thoughts before they make their next move. I once saw a local dog who had learned to jump up on the edge and drink the freshest water directly from the spout like people. Visitors use and maybe
even appreciate the fountains as much as locals because it is their only source of water as they pass through on a hike. While most fountains remain purely functional in their delivery of water, more than a few have become objects of decoration and improvement (see Ford, 1984). Why does the water flow continuously? I never heard a particularly convincing answer, except the obvious—it always has. No settlement can survive without a water source, yet a rural community's water fountain is more symbolic of vitality than a vital symbol (Figure 38). Maybe the continuous flow of water somehow represents something else like the longevity of the village, or perhaps a physicality of time.

Just as the water fountain is one landscape feature that directly influences the sense of place, there are others most notably the church towers that serves a more traditional landmark function (Lynch. 1974). Every Romansh community has a church, and the adjoining tower is usually the tallest in the village. Often the church is the only public meeting place besides the schoolhouse that can hold all the residents, so it is a gathering spot for public events and notice boards, which becomes a stage (Cosgrove, 1997). Part of the church if not the whole building is usually the oldest structure in town, and refurbishing the church is always a significant community event (Früh, 1932; SIA, 1983; Weiss, 1959).

Romansh places are visually old (see Porteous, 1990; Tuan, 1984 for senses of place). It is relatively easy to confirm because many buildings have the dates of construction and any subsequent renovations written into the outer wall. Longevity of Romansh places is apparent in other visual ways such as the moss on stone fences or the narrow lanes not designed for cars. In an aesthetic sense, it appears as if humans and environment have achieved some ideal balance.
Figure 38 – Water Fountains
Top photo, Veulden main plaza (Tumleastga)
Bottom photo, Ardez neighborhood (Engiadina bassa)
Therefore, it is an ultimate cultural landscape because it appears so perfectly natural. The relatively long period of human settlement disguises some of the anthropogenic changes to the environment, and some of those modifications deserve more attention.

I organize this chapter into a description of the defining elements of Romansh places and landscapes. In addition to the material culture and built environment of these places along the lines of Richardson (1974), I discuss the portrayals that contribute to some of the misunderstandings concerning the Romansh. The first of the four sections in this chapter revolves around the concepts of place and landscape. In the second section, I "locate" the Romansh by presenting a regional overview of the canton; examining the prevailing cartographic representation; surveying the settlement patterns. In the third section, I describe in more detail, some specific Romansh places with their different settings and situations. In the last section, I emphasize specific landscape elements that have an ethnic quality and those that signify changes in the human—nature relationship.

**Place and Landscape**

Place and landscape are two concepts that are important geographical ideas related to my research. The issue amongst geographers has two aspects: first, place and landscape have multiple definitions and interpretations, which leads to the second issue—merits of using an unscientific yardstick (Rowntree, 1996). For cultural geographers, the second concern is a puzzle because the meanings of human experience cannot always be reduced to numbers or methodologies. The inherent value of using place and landscape is that one can ask a different set of questions and inductively create complicated ideas and formulate theories.
Place is often thought of as some form of space. Occasionally, place is somewhere along a spatial scale between plot and region, which are also undefined quantities. I think most would agree that a small village or an urban neighborhood could fall into the realm of place, but other factors influence our perception. Tuan (1977:6) compares place with space and comes to the idea that place is known space. Therefore, place is subjective, and "Place is whatever stable object catches our attention" (Tuan, 1977:161). Others have argued that place is a crucial concept because it can unite objective and subjective styles in geography. Agnew (1987:27) defines place as having three elements: subjective sense of place, objective location, and a geo-sociological setting. The setting is a crucial idea because it relates well to the visual quality of landscape studies and the metaphoric place as theatrical set for culture to play out in public.

Landscape also has multiple definitions, meanings, and in American geography, it is part of the contest between competing visions of cultural geography (see Rowntree, 1996). Landscape is crucial part of personal experience for travelers and explorers, and it allows one to describe the human—environment interaction. J. B. Jackson (1997:304) stresses to see "...landscape as a composition of man-made spaces on the land." Landscape is evidence, and as Norton (1989:2) says, it is both material and symbolic.

Applying place and landscape to the Romansh reinforces the long temporal dimension. The locations of Romansh places are part of an overall settlement pattern that only make sense with historical trade routes, agricultural possibilities, and marital links. Secondly, the meanings of place are linked to the deep social connections especially family and community. The overwhelming sense of time in these places leads to a
"forever" quality including language. In all likelihood, most Romansh places have had no other language as they were founded or resettled by predecessors in the last thousand years.

A theoretical discussion of place is important, but so is the empirical description of actual places. In this case, Romansh places are not very well understood by those outside of their language circles. This "misunderstanding" is both describable and explainable to some degree. Recent portrayals of the tourism landscape and popular travel maps with their emphases on nature and transportation respectively do not necessarily locate Romansh places. In the next section, I discuss the regional geography where Romansh places are located.

Locating and Placing Romansh

_Nua ei Rumantschid?_ As a geographical work, essential questions include where are the Romansh and how is their place represented? In this section, I discuss these questions by locating and placing the Romansh in various contexts. I draw on my own experiences, the published literature, and the relevant demographic data. After visiting many Romansh communities, I can offer some generalizations and insight. Some villages are overwhelmingly obvious in their public display of Romansh, while in others, Romansh language signs are completely absent. Public use of Romansh language also varies between places as does the overall vitality of public spaces. The openness of language use that I experienced is probably a function of the individual community, their relationship to travel and tourism, and my own efforts.

Obviously, Romansh villages are the best places to hear and observe the Romansh language, but there are distinct social settings where use of the language is
openly heard. A Romansh commune (Vinschnanca or Cumin in Romansh) is both a political entity and a social community with strong personal networks. With some effort, Romansh communes are easy to find, but tapping into the social context is more difficult. In effect, they know one another, and they typically speak Romansh with people they know. As a stranger in the community, people usually greet me with the Swiss German greeting "Grützi" rather than the formal Romansh "bien di" or "buna sera."

At times, I experienced problems finding Romansh language settings, I imagine a good number of visitors do not know or hear Romansh in everyday use. I believe from my own observation that Romansh speakers are speaking Romansh primarily in settings of familiarity such as to people and in places they already know. People and places outside of this familiarity are often engaged in Swiss-German. An exception is public events reasonably expected to be attended by Romansh and/or locals. In some less visited areas, locals greet strangers with the same local greeting such as "Allegra," yet in those situations conversation is not likely. The other end of this misunderstanding is with the people who are visitors/migrants to Romansh language areas. There is an assumption that Romansh are multilingual, so there is minimal attempt to learn the language. German speakers take for granted that people in the public sphere are also German speaking! Because the Romansh are not the focus of tourism, visitors often do not try to put themselves into situations where they can hear the language.

I approach this section as an opportunity to locate the Romansh in the larger context and elaborate on their setting. I organized the discussion into three parts. Firstly, I present a regional overview of the canton and secondly, the common representations of the Romansh as a linguistic minority. Then, I survey the settlement structure—looking at
Romansh regions as cultural networks at one scale and finally, the built environment on another scale.

Chantun Grischun

The Grischun (or Bündnerland) is a complex natural and human place (Figures 39 and 40). Conceived as a single politico-territorial unit, the current canton transcends boundaries of major drainage basins and language regions. I think one could endlessly use the canton as food for thought about unity/diversity. Nevertheless, the Grischun is a practical region to study because it coincides with the modern cantonal boundaries of Switzerland, which allows for statistical data from federal and cantonal agencies. This administrative unity is in stark contrast with the Dolomite Ladin speakers, who are divided into separate political regions, and still today, not even an accurate census style count is possible (Poppi, 1995).

The Grischun—Romansh connection is straightforward as a majority of Romansh currently live in the canton. Maybe it should be said the other way around, the boundaries of the canton spatially encapsulate the majority of Romansh speakers as well as the notions of a Romansh language territory and a traditional culture region. Furthermore, the "Bündnerland" is the most common scale of studying the physical and cultural past (Elsasser and Böesch, 1991). On the cultural side, the mythical and structural features of the Rhaetian Freestate and the Bündner stereotype are integral parts of the cantonal geography (Baumer, 1981). For all these reasons, knowing the canton is a crucial component of understanding the Romansh. I organize this description of features that help understand the Grischun into three categories: the physical morphology, the political divisions, and the tourism impact.
Cultural Diversity in Grischun

Traditional Areas of Language and Religion with majority status for 19th Century

- Romansh-Catholic (63)
- German-Catholic (8)
- Italian-Catholic (21)
- Romansh-Reformed (73)
- German-Reformed (57)
- Italian-Reformed (7)
- Chur City (1)

Figure 40 -- Cultural Diversity in Grischun
Mountains and Passes: What type of barrier do mountains create for humans? Any discussion has to distinguish between obstacles that can be reasonably overcome and those that cannot. The issue to ponder is whether mountains are natural borders that humans should respect with their political boundaries. Mountains are barriers for the most obvious reason, they are physical matter that has to be negotiated carefully. I find it interesting that human attempts to build barriers (often in a military sense) mimic mountains such as walls and castles. Of course, one could point out that gorges and moats are also barriers, and marshy valley bottoms can be just as difficult to negotiate as craggy mountain sides. None the less, mountains literally represent the high ground with advantages to visibility and action.

For the people of Grischun, the mountains and passes are a setting of both hardship and opportunity. As the mountains create an obstacle to human movement, the spaces in between are highly prized for their possibilities of traffic. There is a nice nature-culture parallel of how mountains and passes concentrate activity. Anyone who has climbed in the mountains knows the feeling of the wind tunneling through the passes. The flow of human trade and transportation follows a similar logic of going through where it is possible. Maybe this possibility/opportunity is the essence of Grischun as it was previously in Rhaetia—a pass state in both physical and cultural terms. A look at the major mountains and passes identifies where this traffic becomes concentrated.

- Rhaetian Alps: "Rhaetia" is a term that seems to be losing favor amongst cartographers. As a term meaning the Alps in Rhaetia, it has a quality that works because it does not require an exact definition. From a geological perspective, the mountains in Grischun have different compositions and orographies. Now "Rhaetian Alps" seems to
be an ill conceived term for the mountain ranges in and about the current canton, and very few maps venture into the gray area of labeling exactly where they are located. The most common of those that do is an East-West swath across the center of the canton that puts the Rein on the north side and the En on the south side. An old map at the Rätische Museum labels the left and right side of the En as the Northern and Southern Rhaetian Alps respectively. Instead, it is the heavily glaciated, individual groups such as Bernina, Tödi, Silvretta, and Rheinwald that are important parts of the drainage systems/divides. Figure 39 is a map of the physical divisions showing the major drainage basins and the location of the better known alpine passes.

The four major drainage basins in Grischun are the Rein (Rhine), En (Inn), Po, and Etsch. The largest is the Rein draining the northern and central areas of the canton, and three of the five Romansh dialects are located there. The En flows northeasterly as it leaves the canton and it eventually joins up with the Danube. This uppermost En valley above the Austrian border is known as Engiadina in Romansh. The Grischun has five southern valleys that all eventually drain into the Adriatic Sea. Four are part of the Po drainage basin as well as being part of the Italian speaking areas (Alpen-Lombardic). The two westernmost valleys, Mesolcina and Calanca join together and flow via the Ticino (Lake Verbano), while the Bregaglia and Poschiavo flow via the Adda (Lake Como). The last southern valley is the Val Müstair (Münstertal), and it is a Romansh speaking region. The river, which the locals in Val Müstair call Il Rom, flows into the Vinschgau/Südtirol region and gets labeled Etsch or Adige depending on the language.

- Grischun Passes: The major passes are in specific locations that facilitate contact between valleys in different drainage systems. In general, major passes along the
important divides have some straightforward similarities. First, they are traversable for a significant period of time during the year, or in reverse logic, they do not get snowed in for too long in the winter half of the year. Therefore, elevation is a primary factor, but a few other factors are also important. Slope and aspect are two subsequent physical factors that affect pass-ability. In general, a southern exposure allows direct sunshine to melt the snowfall quicker. It is easier to visualize the adret slope along the Julier pass route with a photographic image (Figure 41).

On a larger scale, there has to be some underlying reason to cross a pass, meaning it actually connects two places on either side. Many lesser known passes are still used to move animals from one Alp onto another, and there is a legacy of smuggling that defies the current network of passes. Major passes are really integral parts of a larger movement of people and goods between North and South. Today's major passes may coincide with historical pathways or they may not, but defining elements of these passes are highways and railroads that utilize tunnels and bridges to overcome gradient limitations.

The historic connection between Chur and Como stands out as the crucial trans-alpine route through Grischun. This North—South trading route was utilized by the Romans, and even appears on a Roman map (Peutingersche Tafel inside the Rätische Museum). During the Freestate, Bündners controlled Chiavenna, so they profited from both ends of the pass trade and could exploit Valtellina resources. The main Chur—Chiavenna route is over the Julier and Maloja passes that transits the uppermost Engadine.
Figure 41 – Pass Landscapes in Grischun
Top photo, Pass dal Güglia (Julierpass)
Bottom photo, Julier Route and Adret slope aspect
The Sett pass is a more direct variation of the historic Julier route, but it has a rather steep ascent on one side and today it remains only a trail. The alternative Chur—Chiavenna route is to utilize the Splügen pass. Most of this route utilizes the advantageous course of the Rein posterior (Hinterrhein), and it has to negotiate only one major obstacle—Via Mäla gorge. This Rein route combined with the San Bernardino pass has become the main transit corridor through the canton. This route stays in Switzerland as it connects Grischun to the canton Ticino, which has good transportation links into Lombardy. Designated a national road in the 1950s, it receives federal financial support that has modernized the road into a highway with high-tech tunnels and bridges.

A few other passes are worth mentioning to be more comprehensive (Table 6). Two passes associated with the railroad more than the auto are the Alvra and Bernina. The Alvra pass is only a narrow Summertime road, but the railroad tunnel (known by its German name Albula) effectively links the "Sudbünden" to the rest of Grischun/Switzerland. The Bernina creates a true north—south railroad link, and is advertised to be the highest elevation train pass (2323m). But at a smaller gauge which necessitates two break of bulk points in Chur and Tirano, it does not register as a major conduit. The Flüela, Fuorn, Lucmagn, and Oberalp passes all have well developed roads, but the Fuorn is the only one kept open in Winter because it connects Val Müstair to the rest of the country. Oberalp has a rail connection operated by the FOB railroad, and Flüela has become redundant since the opening of the new Vereina rail tunnel with an auto-shuttle service. Just East of the canton, in the Upper Vinschgau region, is the Reschen pass. The Reschen was part of a named Roman pathway known as the via Claudia Augusta (or sometimes the Römerstrasse in German).
Table 6
Alpine Passes and their Elevations:
Greater Rhaetian/Grischun Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pass / Cuolm</th>
<th>Elevation</th>
<th>Divide</th>
<th>Transport</th>
<th>Historic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alvra</td>
<td>2312</td>
<td>En-Rein</td>
<td>Rail (T) Road (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernina</td>
<td>2328</td>
<td>En-Po</td>
<td>Rail Road (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brenner</td>
<td>1370</td>
<td>En-Etsch</td>
<td>Rail Hwy</td>
<td>A-I border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenga</td>
<td>2608</td>
<td>En-Inn</td>
<td>Path</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flüela</td>
<td>2383</td>
<td>En-Rein</td>
<td>Road (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foscagno (I)</td>
<td>2291</td>
<td>En-Po</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuorn</td>
<td>2149</td>
<td>En-Etsch</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>Val Müstair link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotthard</td>
<td>2108</td>
<td>Po-Rhein(R)</td>
<td>Rail (T) Hwy (T) Road (S)</td>
<td>CH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greina</td>
<td>2357</td>
<td>Po-Rein</td>
<td>Path</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julier (Güiglia)</td>
<td>2284</td>
<td>En-Rein</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>Julier Route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livigno</td>
<td>2315</td>
<td>En-Po</td>
<td>Road (S)</td>
<td>CH-I border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucmagn</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Po-Rein</td>
<td>Road (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maloja</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>En-Po</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>Julier Route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oberalp</td>
<td>2044</td>
<td>Rein-Rhein(R)</td>
<td>Rail</td>
<td>A-I border, Via Claudia Augusta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reschen</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>En-Etsch</td>
<td>Hwy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Bernadino</td>
<td>2065</td>
<td>Po-Rein</td>
<td>Hwy (T)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sett</td>
<td>2310</td>
<td>Po-Rein</td>
<td>Path</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splügen</td>
<td>2113</td>
<td>Po-Rein</td>
<td>Road (S)</td>
<td>alt. Julier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stilfersjoch</td>
<td>2757</td>
<td>Po-Etsch</td>
<td>Road (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbrail</td>
<td>2501</td>
<td>Po-Etsch</td>
<td>Road (S)</td>
<td>CH-I border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valbella</td>
<td>1549</td>
<td>Rein-Rein</td>
<td>Road</td>
<td>Julier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veriena</td>
<td>new rail tunnel</td>
<td>En-Rein</td>
<td>Rail (T)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermunt (A)</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Inn-Rhein</td>
<td>Road (S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(S) Summer only, (T) through Tunnel
A. Planta (1987) suggests an alternative route that used the lesser known Funga pass between Nauders and the Lake Constance region. In summary, there are numerous passes, but their quality for trade and communication vary considerably. Control over passes and trade were a consistent theme in politics, and in the next part, I discuss the political structure of Grischun.

**Political Divisions:** Grischun's political structure begins with 212 individual communes that retain considerable authority. The communes are organized into intermediary districts that reflect a tension between administrative efficiency and local sensitivities. Most of the political divisions derive directly from historical jurisdictions of the Freestate, while the remaining are from the early nineteenth century. Political geography has a structured way to organize political divisions: using the term order. The starting point is the sovereign territorial state (typically a nation-state that is recognized by the other members in the prevailing system), and the territorial divisions of the state are classified as first order, second order, etc.

Switzerland, like the United States, is a federation where the first order divisions have constitutional powers, so the situation is a little bit more complicated than a centralized state like France. Furthermore, the cantons or first order divisions in Switzerland have considerably more power than in other federations such as taxation and policing national borders. A third level of government throughout Switzerland is the local community (*Cumin or Vischnanca / Gemeinde*), but it is not always the second order. In Grischun, there are two additional levels, functionally becoming the second and third order divisions, which makes the local community level the fourth order political division.
• Historical: A complicating factor of the political divisions in Grischun is that they evolved under a different political system. The Rhaetian Freestate (Republic of Three Leagues, 1524-1797) was an independent and recognized entity or a micro-state in today's terminology. Inherent in its German name, Graubünden, the region is a plurality, or quite literally a confederation of leagues that are themselves associations of individual communes. Many of the associations originated from feudal and ecclesiastic patterns. The translated names of the three leagues (Bünden) that comprised the Freestate are the League of the House of God (Chadé), the Upper or Gray League, and the League of Ten Jurisdictions (Figure 42). Each evolved in different ways and they had different cultural compositions, but a common feature was that the individual communities saw themselves as autonomous and independent. Using current demographic data implies that Romansh speakers were major constituents of the House of God and the Gray League, but not the Ten Jurisdictions. While nearly all of the Ten Jurisdictions reformed, the other two leagues are more mixed with the Gray League being mostly Catholic and the House of God (Gotteshaus) being more Protestant.

During the Rhaetian Freestate years, the Leagues would have been the first order division. Defining the second order is more difficult as there were both supreme and normal Jurisdictions (Obergericht and Gerichte), with some of the Obergerichte being sub-divided (Pieth, 1982:A2). Up to the French Revolution, the Freestate controlled territories South of the current boundary, which in effect made it a mini-empire. Those lands were taken away during revolutionary fervor, while the French military forced the reorganization of political entities and borders. Local "Patriots" actually dissolved the Freestate before French and Austrian armies arrived (Metz, 1993).
Figure 42- - Historical Divisions

Source: Bundner Kulturforschung, 2000

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Grischun Districts
(14 Judicial regions)

Source: Bundner Kulturforschung, 2000

Figure 43 -- Political Divisions

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A new system of political division was imposed on the Grischun reflecting the French centralized model while retaining many of the local, traditional connections (Figure 43). The organization of the territory into 11 districts coincided with other new ideas about political administration. The most obvious difference is the collection of communities around Chur to form an urban network.

- Current: The territorial changes in government, borders, and administrative units were a strong jolt of reality, and the removal of wartime occupiers did not necessarily mean quick reversion back to the Freestate organization. Compared to the Swiss city-state cantons like Bern and Zürich, the Grischun did not have an Ancient Regime or political elite to reassert itself. Between 1814 and 1892, the three member executive council in Grischun followed the old Three Leagues as an apportionment model. It was not until 1851 that the current intermediate divisions reappeared (Metz. 1989). These smaller units, known by their German names—Bezirk (district) and Kreis (cirquit), often coincide with boundaries of historical districts (Figure 42). These divisions, second and third orders, play specific political functions in the Grischun. The 39 cirquits are electoral districts for cantonal elections, and furthermore, many cirquits correspond nicely with regional planning levels such as forestry, garbage, and tourism. The 14 districts are similar to the 11 Napoleonic administrative districts, and today, they are the judicial districts in the canton.

As might be apparent from the maps in Figure 43, there is a nesting of communes, kreise/cirquits, and bezirken/districts in terms of scale. The typical pattern is a group of communes with historical connections combined in a kreis, and then two or three kreis combined in a bezirk. Some differences to this pattern include six individual
communes who are also a kreis, and two instances of a kreis also being a bezirk. The necessity for some rationality of electoral and judicial organization is self evident, especially the judicial districts that require some level of undue burden for people to access (i.e. no need to cross a pass for a court appointment). While these divisions are interesting, many administrative functions are direct commune to canton kind of interactions, and communes can voluntarily create other multi-communal units for such things as school districts, resource management, and tourist promotion boards.

• Nature of Borders: Amidst historical changes to political structures and territories, the most consistent element has been at the community level. Individual communes have remained the basic level of political life in the Grischun. Even at the time of the modern Swiss state (1848), referenda were still conducted by public assembly of male adults, so in retrospect one does not know if a true majority of the people were in favor of the Swiss federation. This communally based democracy is more than nostalgia to many; Barber (1974) sees it as an indispensable element to strong democracy. Moreover, the communes are understood to be the scale at which the statement people are sovereign plays out, and it is the majority will in the commune that counts.

The borders between communes are rarely contentious and may even promote cooperation. Communal borders follow two regimes: a resource use pattern and a cartographic fill-in the gaps. Communal property includes specific resource areas such as forests (Guad or Uaul), alpine grazing areas and harvestable valley bottoms and terraces. Therefore, they usually do not need an exact line. Where a resource is divided or needs to be delineated, the border between adjacent communes follows natural features such as waterways and ridgelines. The need to draw exact boundary lines on maps is
recent phenomenon, and the extension of borders to the top of mountains follow the watershed rule. Since most communal borders follow physical features especially mountain ridges, the higher order political divisions also follow physical features.

Tourist Gaze: Grischun is one of Switzerland's most important tourist regions, and the area occupies a sizable part of the Swiss Alps (Graubünden Ferien. 1999). Like other Swiss tourist regions, it maintains some traditional landscape elements and jealously protects its share of alpine pass trade. In so much as the Alps are a tourist attraction, Grischun receives a large number of visitors and overnight stays that are common measurements of tourism (Figure 44). Figure 44 shows the imbalance of tourism development. Two elements of tourism in Grischun stand out as relevant questions: firstly, a geography of tourism; secondly, the relationship of the Romansh to tourism.

Geo-tourist: There are also some straightforward geographical conditions to tourism in Grischun. Foremost is the settlement pattern that already reflects the physical pattern of mountains and passes and serves as the service and accommodation network for visitors. The second geographical factor is the site and situation of individual communities that allows some places to develop sport or health related facilities such as ski areas. Early tourism centered around sanitariums, mineral baths, and luxury facilities, which were mainly summer dominated activities because of the difficulty in traveling there. Winter sports and ski areas in particular represent a dramatic change as these outside activities favor higher elevations where snow and ice conditions are best. An oddity is that the large centers of tourism are often the last/highest community in the valley.
Geography of Tourism
UNEVEN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Annual Overnights

- 1,000,000
- 100,000

Accommodation Types

- 42,000
- 21,000
- 4,200

HOTELS
Homes & Hostels

Sources: Graubunden in Zahlen, 1999
Amt für Wirtschaft und Tourismus GR Statistik

Erik Prout 2000 - Mapinfo software

Figure 44 -- Tourist Geography in Grischun
Currently, winter tourism is greater than summer tourism by nearly two-to-one (Graubünden Ferien, 1999). In theory, this works well with the agricultural cycles where farmers could work with the ski areas (Bergbahnen) in Winter for extra income.

Historically, a few big resort areas in Grischun dominated the tourism landscape, and it also implies a voluntary and opportunistic factor in their successful efforts. Places like St. Moritz and Davos became major destinations and drove the tourist industry and transportation infrastructure of the whole canton (Margadant and Maier, 1993). It is no mistake that the railroad reached these places as soon as feasible. The two administrative districts in which St. Moritz and Davos fall in are the only two high alpine areas in the canton that do not receive special federal money for development (IHG program).

- Relationship: The overwhelming presence of tourism in Grischun begs the question of their relationship to Romansh speakers and places. While some Romansh communities have participated in tourism, the Romansh themselves have not become the object of that tourism—yet. Using the terminology of cultural consumption, Romansh "ethnicity" is not being consumed, but the Romansh are impacted by the linguistic relationship they have with tourists. I liken the situation to a theatre: the Romansh are building the sets, collecting the gate receipts, and even teaching others how to act (ski). They allow the cultural landscape to be enjoyed and photographed and knowingly manage the scenery, but they themselves are not a significant part of the gaze.

The tourist landscape of Grischun is very much oriented to the visitors (Figure 45). Significantly, the majority of tourists to Grischun are German speaking with over 80 percent coming from Switzerland and Germany (Graubünden Statistik, 1999:12). The visual evidence of German dominance is in the signs and literature available.
Figure 45 — Tourism Landscapes in Grischun
Top photo, Cresta Palace in Celerina/Schlarigna (Engiadìn' ota)
Bottom photo, Condominiums in Savognin (Sursés)

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People who rent out rooms in their homes use German; restaurants advertise their specials in German; slogans, timetables, and brochures are mostly printed in German.

The tourist landscape is so language friendly, a large number of their fellow Bündners and Swiss feel welcome enough to stay. They seek investment opportunities and they make lifestyle choices to live in the Alps. The movement of capital into the region is tied into the purchase of second homes and retirement accommodations, and plays out as a construction boom and probable tax evasion from E.U. citizens. The human movement is more selective as only Swiss citizens can actually immigrate. Nevertheless, the migrant and tourist influx changes the overall language balance even if these people remain citizens of another community. The combination of Romansh and German speaking residents is resulting in dual signage in the landscape; German predominates most contexts as both the most spoken and most accessible to visitors.

Representation

Common visual representations of the Romansh include both a photographic image of the cultural landscape and a cartographic pattern of their demographic distribution. Mapping patterns of Romansh culture would be a useful contribution to those images, but there are inherent problems in defining a modern cultural region. Not only is there legitimate discussion about what constitutes a culture group, but also the problematic selection of variables in which to represent them.

Setting aside those concerns for the time being, it is quite obvious that the Romansh are overwhelmingly, cartographically represented as a language. This linguistic definition has consequences. The pertinent critique is how to map a language when the actual situation on the ground is dynamic and hybrid; in this instance, a very high rate of
bilingualism exists. While I believe these maps under-represent Romansh, they are the maps to be familiar with because academics still publish and reprint them.

**Lingual Minority:** The Federal Census Office produces an overwhelming number of language maps and many others derive their data from them, so most maps are statistical in nature. These census based maps almost always use a majority/plurality standard, which means the language with the most speakers in that politico-administrative unit is mapped as the primary language. A common representation is the "Decline of Romansh" sequence where the absolute percentage of speakers is the main variable (Figures 46 and 47 are examples of this). A feature of these maps is that Romansh communities disappear over time because they lose majority status not absolute population. Billigmeier (1979) uses the census years 1880, 1920, and 1960 to show how Romansh communities become German speaking majorities. McRae (1983:218) shows the loss over a hundred year timespan, 1870-1970. Krass (1992:) maps the decadal census years between 1860-1980. One other representation is a temporal portrayal mapping when Romansh language lost majority/plurality status (Catrina, 1983:267; Kraas, 1992:311). Ironically, they miss the fact that the number of Romansh speakers is increasing, even as they accurately highlight the concern for sustaining the language.

Despite other ways to geographically define the Romansh, a historical language situation is the form that has come to predominate. The Lia Rumantscha calls it the "Traditional Language Territory," and it is based on the 1880 census where communities that had Romansh majorities are included (Figures 6 and 46). Chur is exceptional as it is included in most Romansh language territory maps despite not having a Romansh majority for hundreds of years (Furer, 1996).
Example of Romansh Representation

Year that Romansh lost its Majority in Commune

![Map showing the year lost for Romansh majority in different communes]

**Year Lost**

- still majority in 1980
- between 1950 and 1980
- between 1900 and 1950
- before 1900

Citation examples:
- Kraas, 1992:169, 311
- McRae, 1983: 218

Erik Prout, 2000

Figure 46 — Romansh Decline 1

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Example of Romansh Decline

TEMPORAL LOSS OF TERRITORY

1880 Census

1980 Census

Citation examples: Billigmeier, 1979: 158-163
Deplazes, 1991:38; Kraas, 1992:156-167

Figure 47 — Romansh Decline 2
The 121 communities that fall into this language territory also have landscape elements and other features that could identify them as traditionally Romansh (Figure 48). Most have vibrant Romansh speaking cores even if they are a statistical minorities, and some of these communities are political-administratively Romansh as many non-Romansh may not be considered residents or citizens.

**Other Representations:** Other cartographic representations are less common, and they do not necessarily single out the Romansh. Some examples include agriculture and house types (Mathieu, 1992; Weiss, 1946, 1959). Insomuch as patterns exist, they tend to follow natural regions, so they do not provide sharp distinctions between Romansh with their fellow Bündners. The contrast between the Romansh and Walsers in the Rhine valleys is often presented in terms of cultural differences—Walsers have dispersed settlements and Romansh villages are compact. The differences between settlements may have other factors such as elevation and quality of the sites, especially since the Romansh were there first and settled in the agriculturally best locations.

Two types of popular maps are worth mentioning in terms of Romansh representation. Firstly, Swiss topographic maps are sold and used in a popular sense for travel and tourism, and the federal cartographers use the official names of places including those with Romansh place-names and spellings. Secondly, transportation maps are popular with tourists and travelers, and these maps include road maps and general maps that emphasize public transport. Not necessarily as a matter of convention, Swiss maps label places with the local names as one might encounter them in roadsigns, which correspond with local languages.
Figure 48 — History Boards in Romansh Communes

Top photo, Scuol (Engiadina bassa)
Bottom photo, Schlarigna (Engiadin' ota)
Romansh themselves represent the culture through publications and brochures. While any large expenditure of money is probably associated with tourism promotion, their activities tend to be in German or other prominent tourist languages. An interesting side story about Romansh representation is that many communities have a "History Board" in a prominent public space (Figure 48). These boards usually contain a map, explanations of their local history, and sponsors/advertisements. I do not know the exact origins of these boards, but the distribution seems to be widespread in southeastern Switzerland, including Zürcher neighborhoods, and some areas in western Austria. Besides looking at the historical dates and explanations, I take note of those places that have translated versions in both German and Romansh. Very Romansh places seem to take pride in having the community's history in the local language even though it has questionable impact on visitors.

Settlements

A common saying in Grischun is that it has 150 valleys, and cynics say each one has its own language and culture. In the same vein, every settlement reflects its unique relationship to the resources and their position in the valley with other settlements. In this section, I will survey aspects of the built environment and the interconnected pattern of settlements. The briefest way to generalize over a hundred different Romansh settlements is with the help of graphs. I have drawn two ideal types at different scales (Figures 49 and 50): the first is the ideal valley, and second is an ideal village. The historical population of an individual settlement varied between a hundred and five hundred unless another activity such as pass trade, church, or court was present.
La Val: Romansh settlements show a strong connectivity to their neighbors (Figure 49). In a typical valley, a road or path [A] connects the settlements as it passes through the length of the valley. Some settlements [B] are on terraces above the main river channel, while others [C] are located in the floodplain along the river bed. In this example, village [B] was a Middle Age watchtower site where a small community supported the small military facility. Village [C] has a bridge over the river with a secondary road that leads towards a pass, and a regional cow market used to be held there. Satellite settlements [D] are the exception, and their population is much lower with no more than fifty people. These satellite communities are typically located up a major side valley, but they remain politically and socially dependent on the main village.

Ecologically, the forests [E] can grow down to the river except where the valley bottom soils become saturated [F]. The upper limit of the forest or treeline is around 2100 meters. Both communes operate two Alps. Commune [B] organizes the alp above town [G] and they tax each farmer according to how many cows they keep there. With the other alp across the river, they allow individuals to manage it for a fee [H], which is sometimes used by farmers from [D] when their other alp [I] is full. Community [C] has to closely manage the land above the settlement because [J] is a constant mass wasting hazard. To prevent avalanches, the community constructed snow fences above the treeline and planted new trees along the chute.

The best grass harvesting areas are on stable, South-facing slopes [K] that run between the two villages. Some of the slopes were transformed into terraces. They use the stream [L] as the official border, but farmers from [B] are permitted to travel through [C] to cross the river and reach their field [M] and the other alp [H].
Figure 50 – Ideal Village
Likewise, the farmers from [C] have to travel along a road through the other communities territory to reach their main alp [N]. Even politically independent communes such as these were reliant on the larger network. Two things stand out. Firstly, these communities were more reliant on trade than their rhetoric that emphasizes autonomy. Secondly, the bigger network is part of the social realm for marriage, which also works to introduce and maintain genetic diversity.

La Colonia: Individual communities are usually very compact but with a strong linearity towards the historic valley road (Figure 50). Both the [old road] and the axis of the village conform to the natural contours of the valley side. As a generalized model, the ideal village is on the North side of the river where a side valley [creek] flows into the main river. The south facing slope where the village and adjacent fields [C] lie receives maximum sunlight, and snow melts here before the valley bottoms. The railroad was constructed in the early 1900s, and a new center of activities revolves around the train station [RR]. The original cantonal road built for automobiles followed the old pathway through the village, but the modern highway [Hwy] bypasses the village.

The built environment of the original settlement included twenty farmhouses [-], the church [T], and a few special purpose buildings. The original roads are narrow and cobble-stoned, and the creeks and fountains flow continuously. Along the main creek, the mill [X] and the many fountains are located. Residents plastered the building exteriors to prevent fires. A farmhouse contained single or extended households and in many areas they are the primary winter stalling location. At lower elevations, farmers may disperse the buildings with agricultural functions such as grass storage closer to the fields. In
larger places, a few double family houses are common. Before the railroad and highway era, a prominent resident built a small lodge [H].

The new elements of the built landscape use more land and appear to be sprawled over good grassland. Most new construction is East of the old core, so any new German speaking residents become slightly segregated from the older Romansh citizens. In this example, the train station has become a new node of activity with a restaurant, supermarket, and new post office. New home construction concentrates along the old road above the railroad tracks. These individual buildings are distinct structures from those around them, but they have some vernacular elements that fit with the regional styles. Meanwhile, some are multi-unit rentals that attract younger families and others are extravagant vacation homes that are empty most of the year.

**Romansh Regions and Landscapes**

The majority of all Romansh communities fall into well-defined regions of one sort or another. The physical and confessional divides play an important role, but the relationship to agriculture and tourism is the harbinger of the cultural landscape. I divide this description into four Romansh regions each with its own theme(s). Surselva is the first region with its strong demographic features and potential for being one of or the only core Romansh area in the future. Nevertheless, it has some interesting boundary questions and seeds of German language contact that could bring about change. Engiadina is the other major Romansh region, but it seems to be going in two directions. In the first part, I discuss the upper Engadine (Engiadin' ota) and compare and contrast two places. Then, I discuss the lower Engadine (Engiadina bassa) and Val Müstair as they militantly preserve the Ladin language while pursuing tourism development. The fourth region is Grischun
Central, and it is more of a condition than a well-defined territory. Here the loss of Romansh is quite severe, and the prospect for an invigoration seems rather low.

**Surselva**

Surselva is the one region that remains a strong center of Romansh language and culture. Moreover, I find it extremely conceivable that Surselva will remain a core Romansh region for the near future. I base my opinion on three factors: relative location, agricultural position, and preservation ethos. Being slightly isolated from the main pass trading routes and lacking mega-resort development except on its periphery, Surselva has not been under intense pressure to change its economic focus away from traditional agriculture. Moreover, Surselva has the best agricultural situation in the canton with plenty of open land below important elevation thresholds for corn and vegetable growing. The result is relatively high population densities, and moreover, these are cohesive communities with a strong sense of tradition. For many places, Catholicism reinforces the cohesion of these communities, which is not necessarily conservative, but the Catholic political movement in Switzerland has been anti-modern. In this instance, religion seems to have helped isolate the region from some negative effects of industrialization. The final factor is the preservation ethic. Now as significant change in agricultural is occurring, preservation is likely to mediate linguistic changes associated with any transitions.

The standardized Romansh in Surselva is known as Sursilvan, but Sursilvan is more complex than a regional idiom that develops in isolation from the others. Two written/orographic standards of Sursilvan developed during the Reformation. Both Catholics and Protestants independent of one another looked to different sources of
gospel and literary inspiration (Caviezal, 1993). Eventually, this divide broke down as the two written forms came into contact. Linguists often consider Sursilvan to be a conservative dialect with many archaic retentions, but at the same time, Swiss German has been influential. For example, Sursilvan has become a "Verb Second" language following German grammar rules. Sursilvan is one of the two Romansh dialects with official status, and it is a quasi standard for the other "Reinish" dialects (Sutsilvan and Surmiran). Surselva stands out as the most populous Romansh region, and Sursilvan remains the most spoken dialect.

Ruin' aulta: Not only does Surselva stand out in the number of monolingual and total Romansh speakers, many of the individual communes have very high percent Romansh (Figure 51). The total population of the uppermost Rhine valley is 23,652 and the number of Romansh speakers is 15,407 (Bündesamt für Statistik, 1995). I base these numbers on the physical boundaries of the valley, which is basically defined as the drainage basin of the river (see Figure 39 "Rein Anteriur"). The river is the north fork of the Rhine above La Punt (Reichenau), where the two main branches of the upper Rhine come together. The official name is Rein Anteriur (Vorderrhein), which awkwardly translates as Anterior Rhine in English. The Romansh in Surselva omit any reference to the other branch and call the river "Rein" (Figures 52 and 53).

The official name for the region literally means "above the forest," so Surselva is a term that could be but is rarely translated into other languages (e.g. Ob dem Wald, Sopra Selva). The Romansh dialect of the lower Rhine valley and the adjacent Rein Posteriur is Sutsilvan literally "below the forest." The referenced forest in both names is known as Uaul Grond in Romansh or Flimserwald in German.
Figure 51 -- Surselva Physical and Population

Sources: Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995
Erik Prout 2000 - Mapinfo software
Figure 52 – Ruin' aulta Surselva
Top photo, Ruin' aulta (Rheinschlucht) / Uaul Grond (Flimserwald)
Bottom photo, Foppa with Ruin' aulta in background
Figure 53 -- Romansh Speakers in Surselva

Percent Romansh
- above 80%
- 50% - 80%
- 10% - 50%
- less than 10%

Romansh Speakers
- 2,300
- 1,150
- 230

Sources: Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995
Raetoromanische Chrestomathie
Erik Prout 2000 - Mapinfo software
It is more than a wooded area, it was a cultural boundary that reflected pre-modern settlement limitations. The forest sits on top of Europe's largest landslide (Bätzing, 1991:15). The cause of the landslide was the retreat/melting of glacial ice that allowed a massive slippage of the valley wall (around Crap da Flem) onto the valley floor. The earth movement completely blocked the Rein for a period of time, and over the last ten thousand years, the river has successfully incised itself through the unconsolidated earth. The Romansh call the canyon Ruin' aulta or literally high collapse. The result is a visually stunning landscape the Swiss like to call Switzerland's Grand Canyon, which is easily observable since the railroad follows the rivers pathway.

Historically, the major pathway between Surselva and Chur went around the forest along the northern edge (the landslide scarp), which reflects the current settlement and highway transportation patterns. Agricultural practices were not well suited to settling this area with erosion standing out as a major problem, but when left as a forest, it does quite well producing resources for near-bye villages. The most significant is wood in the form of lumber and firewood, but additionally, it is a habitat for deer as well as berries and mushrooms. Additional landuses are predominately recreational with camps, swimming, and hiking trails, and at least one commune uses a ravine for dumping biogarbage.

The forest does provide a natural boundary of sorts, but the exact cultural boundary is questionable. The early language classifications such as the Chrestomathie (Decurtins, 1986 reprint Vol.15:10) and Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun (1939) put Flem in Surselva and Trin in Sutsilvan (shown in Billigmeier, 1979:7; McRae, 1983:218). Flem and its western neighbors, Laax and Falera, operate a modern ski resort.
Alpenarena) that is a driving force of change, which on the surface would seem to tie Flem to Surselva. Flem has taken the impact of growth, and today, Flem is predominately German speaking and goes by its Germanic spelling of Flims. On the other hand, Flem and Trin have historical and current ties. They both Reformed in the sixteenth century, they remain in the same political cirquit, and they have a unified school district that includes German speaking Tamins. While it seems that Flem is being pulled away from Surselva, it is the other direction that fascinates me. Recent depictions are putting the Plaun communes of Domat, Bonaduz, and Rhätzuns as part of the Surselva (Lia Rumantscha, 1996:23; Kraas, 1992:117). This may well reflect the geographical distribution of modern media such as newspapers and radio transmissions, or the large minority of Romansh speakers choosing to associate with a vibrant idiom. Another example of this imprecise boundary is that the highway department placed the "Surselva" regional roadsign just outside of Tamins where the highway begins to climb towards Trin.

There are multiple ways to define Surselva along its eastern frontier, and none of them is completely satisfactory. The physical approach of using the Rein (Anterior) drainage basin includes a side valley that is completely German speaking. Walsers settled Safiental in the fourteenth century from their main Rheinwald settlement. The forest/selva itself reflected in the dialect names (Sursilvan and Sutsilvan) is not as precise as one would hope because linguistic identification has a voluntaristic quality. Using a purely Romansh-German linguistic definition creates enclaves and draws into question Romansh places with significant numbers of German speakers. The political organization provides a quantitative punch because the collection and aggregation of social data
follows the politico-administrative boundaries. In this case, four *cirquits* are without doubt a part of the Surselva: Cadi, Ruiz, Glion, and Lumnezia. In these four political cirquits, only five of the 44 communes are not considered traditionally Romansh and their collective population is less than ten percent of the 20,000 plus total (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995).

**Monasterium Desertinum:** Cadi is the region at the uppermost section of the Rein. As a region, it is historically, culturally, and politically unified. Cadi corresponds to the ecclesiastic lands of the monastery, and it remains a staunchly Catholic as well as Romansh speaking area. Today, Cadi is both a political *ciruit* (electoral units) and (judicial) *district*, known by their German names *Kreis Disentis* and *Bezirk Vorderrhein*. Clearly, the monastery has played a key role in the cultural life of the region; during the Middle Ages, the monastery had the feudal land rights of the uppermost Rhine valley plus the adjoining Urseren, which corresponds to the older Roman provincial boundaries. The monastery was one of the feudal entities in the Grischun that promoted the introduction of Walser settlers (Zinsli, 1991), especially the first wave that passed through their lands (Andermatt, Tschamut, Obersaxen) in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The actual monastery is in Mustér/Disentis, and it one of the more distinguished landmarks in the whole canton (Figure 54). Mustér is one of the growth poles of Romansh culture as it increases in population but remains strongly Romansh speaking. Trun is another large place that belies its historic importance as it served as a meeting place for the Grey League. Despite being the first region in the Rhine valley, the population is anything but sparse.
Figure 54 — Surselva Cadi
Top photo, Monastery (Claustra) in Mustèr
Bottom photo, Casa da Scola in Trun

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Figure 55 — Surselva Foppa
Top photo, Chalet style house in Vuorz (Waltensburg)
Bottom photo, Surrein, satellite settlement of Sumvitg
Elevations of the valley bottom between Mustér and Trun are still under the thousand meter mark. The two valleys above Mustér are also heavy settled, even though they climb rather quickly through elevation gradients. Tavetsch is the source of the Rhine (Rheinquellen) and Sedrun is the largest village. Val Medel leads towards the Lucmagn Pass (Lukmanierpass) where one of the few common borders between Romansh and Italian exists.

A distinguishing element of the Cadi is a much higher degree of administrative centrality. Maybe it is a legacy of the ecclesiastic past and organization, but it does stand out among Grischun and Romansh regions. The Cadi consists of only seven communes, but most of them consist of a main settlement with a few other smaller settlements. In other parts of the canton, such an arrangement would have produced independent communes. Now, these fragmented units have to work together on issues such as tourism and environment that are regional in nature. Cadi as a administrative structure is better suited for planning, but it remains whether that plays out to their benefit.

**Foppa**: The heart of the Surselva is a large open area west of and upriver from the *Uaul Grond / Ruin' aulta* physical barrier. There is a string of settlements along the northern side of the valley (left bank of Rein Anterior) with a southerly exposure, and a number of settlements on the right bank as well. The region is also known by the political district name Gruob (*Glenner*), but that implies all three sub-districts are part of it and Val Lumnezia is clearly a separate physical region. Foppa is a more culturally diverse region than first imagined (Figures 51 and 55). The confessional balance leans towards Catholic with eight Protestant communes, and there are a few Walser communes.
The most populous place in Surselva is the commune of Glion/Ilanz, whose Romansh and German names both evolved from the Latin *Jliande*. Glion is an interesting case study because it went from a Reformed Romansh community to a city with Catholic and German majorities. Glion was one of the rotating capitals of the Freestate, and two of the three important independence documents were crafted there—known as the Ilanz Articles. The commune promotes itself as "the first city on the Rhine," and it does serve a central role for the region. Steinhauser (1993) documents this early market relationship between Glion and a neighboring community Sagogn.

While the confessional distinction has become less salient, there is an interesting linguistic dilemma. Glion lost its Romansh majority, but the region it serves is still predominately Romansh speaking. Today, Glion is the transportation hub and shopping center for much of the Surselva. The near-bye places and the whole Val Lumnezia rely on Glion as their transportation link, and extensive post-auto bus network is coordinated with the train schedule. One can watch the hourly rhythms at the train station: first the postautos pull in, then the Chur bound train followed by the Muster bound train, and finally, the postautos pull out (Figure 56). Numerous large stores and specialty services that cater to the region are in Glion, and it is one of the easiest ways to hear Romansh being spoken. I have dubbed the new Migros center in Glion as a Romansh hangout.

Outside of Glion is a series of traditional feeling communities with both agricultural and residential functions. Agricultural activities are still in the center of town and small locally owned businesses survive. Surprisingly, new houses are very common and well integrated with older buildings and traditional activities. Some are vacation homes and some are just new family houses.
Figure 56 – Lumnezia and Glogn
Top photo, Bone-House in Vrin (Val Lumnezia)
Bottom photo, Train Station in Glion/Ilanz
These communities are close enough to commute into Chur or anywhere in Surselva, so they have a bedroom quality. At some basic level, the new development is not displacing traditional agriculture and it is actually contributing to a stronger community.

Val Lumnezia: Lumnezia is a major side valley to the upper Rein, and the Glogn River joins the Rein in Glion. The RNB identifies a Lepontin origin to the actual name "Lumnezia," which allows for some speculation that the valley was better connected to the Southern valleys, which are now Italian speaking. Bundi (1982:528) says that the valley was only settled in the ninth and tenth centuries. Currently, modern roads do not exist through these passes, but there is a migratory example from the Middle Ages that shows the passes are good enough for a basic level of communication and trade. The Walsers who settled in Vals traveled through these passes, and presumably came into contact with the Romansh in the valley from the beginning.

The Glogn River is incised rather deeply in some parts of the valley. Roads lead up both sides of the valley with communities set into the terraces and hillsides on either side. The road on the right bank follows along near the valley bottom and directly links a few communities, but just as many settlements are high above on the exposed valley sides. The left bank consists of a string of Catholic Romansh communities with a slight favorable southerly exposure. Vella is the seat of the cirquit government, and it is the largest of the 13 Romansh communes. The road links this line of communities as it winds along the contours of the valley side and slowly gains elevation, and this pathway continues on into the Greina on its way further South.

The last commune is Vrin, and here in the main settlement is where the pavement ends and the postauto turns around. Vrin stands out on paper as the most
Romansh place, and considering the population is in the hundreds not teens, I was drawn to visit here more than once. I found it a pleasant place, the school kids greeted me in Romansh and were not phased with my taking photos. Vrin is the last place literally that one would go looking for modern architecture. Strange as it may seem, a local firm is at the forefront of new wood design. The old center of Vrin is a collection of farmhouses creating an irregular shaped public space in between. From there a passage leads to the church, and the church is richly decorated like most Catholic churches in Surselva. To my surprise, the church has a bone-room, and it is symbolically constructed with human skulls and bones (Figure 56).

Engiadina

The Engiadina is the second major Romansh region. In many ways, the Engiadina is probably better known than Surselva, and to some degree, Swiss associate Romansh culture exclusively with Engiadina. The popular exposure of the Engiadina results from a combination of tourist promotion and landscape uniqueness. At the core of both of these factors is St. Moritz. St. Moritz held the Winter Olympics in 1928 and 1948, which promoted both name recognition and visual imagery of the landscape. For St. Moritz and the upper Engadine, it was a crowning event of their high-end resort development and international reputation. Yet in those early years, average Swiss were probably unable to experience such tourism.

The impact of the Engiadina landscape on Switzerland results from other socio-political factors. At the forefront is the democratic affirmation of Romansh as the fourth national language. Visual media such as picture books and postcards as well as radio accompanies the process. During this crucial time-period, landscape images were
used to portray the Romansh, and they became the image of the "Fourth Switzerland." Basically, I argue that the vernacular culture of the Engiadina was appropriated as icons in a national discourse on what it means to be Swiss. Stereotypical landscapes and images of culture become references to Switzerland's pluri-lingualism. Thereafter, particular landscape styles and elements (Engadinerhaus) and culture rituals (Chalandamarz) are emblematic of the Romansh (Figure 57).

For the Romansh in the Engiadina, the spotlight on their vernacular culture was a positive development. They preserved their buildings, maintained some traditions, and they prospered from tourism. Nevertheless, tourism deeply impacted the valley in other ways such as how to make better lives and achieve the good life. Within the valley, there are strong distinctions between individual communities and even more apparent differences between the upper and lower halves of the valley. After giving an overview, I split my discussion into different themes: tourism and development in the Engiadina alta and cultural preservation in the Engiadina bassa.

Val Engiadina: The Engiadina is part of a larger region known as the Sudbünden that includes the Engadine valley and the three adjacent southern valleys. This Sudbünden (Grischun meridiunal) has become a media region in the last couple of years. As part of deregulation, a private group obtained a radio license to serve the area, but "Radio Piz" as it is known broadcasts mostly in German from St. Moritz. In addition, a tourism information book, Eviva, unites the different valleys in a literary fashion. The two Italian speaking valleys of Bregaglia (Bergell) and Poschiavo (Puschlav) have had close relations with the Engiadina, and Romansh words and landscape styles diffused there.
Figure 57 – Quarta Svizra
Top photo, Chalandamarz Ritual (Zuoz)
Bottom photo, Chas' Engiadinaise / Engadiner House (Scuol)
Bregaglia and Engiadin’ ota are still in the same judicial district named Maloja, and the Maloja district is unique because it contains all three cantonal languages. Val Müstair is Romansh and it is usually discussed with the Engiadina bassa because they share the same written idiom.

Val Engiadina is a well defined physical valley and drainage basin, and the En (Inn) eventually drains into the Danube River (Figures 39 and 58). In general, the Engiadinesa settlements are much higher in altitude than their counterparts in Surselva. The Val Engiadina begins in Maloja at the 1815 meter high pass and drops to about 1000 meters as the En flows into Austria (Figure 59). Locals say the En begins at Lake Lunghin just north of Maloja, but the majority of water flowing into the upper En originates from the Bernina group, which is also the major source area for glaciers. During glacial periods, some of the ice flows over the Maloja pass creating ice falls and leveling off the divide. There are a few examples of where cultural and political boundaries do not coincide. Most notably, the Val di Livigno, which flows into the En, was settled by Italian speakers from Poschiavo but eventually ended up in Italy (Bormio/Sondrio).

The settlement pattern in Val Engiadina is linear as it follows the river up and down the valley. Most settlements are on the left bank of the En where the current road network still uses. A host of subtle ecological conditions exist such as water access from a side valley, a sunny southern exposure, and direct links to other communities. Some distinct differences exist between the upper and lower parts of the Val Engiadina. The upper valley is actually a very wide plain that is a natural wetland, while the lower valley is more canyon like with fluvial outwashes and alluvial deposits inside the channel.
ENGIADINA
Physical Drainage Basin and Historical Population

Population in 1835-1850
- 2500 Reformed
- 150 Reformed
- 1200 Catholic

Sources: Historical Statistics Switzerland, 1996; Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995

Romansh (Ladin) region
En River Watershed

Figure 58 -- Engiadina Physical and Historical
Figure 59 – Val Engiadina
Top photo, Malojapass & Lunghin in background
Bottom photo, Glacial lakes of uppermost Engiadina

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For the rest of this section, I focus on the Engiadin' ota, which has the strongest tourist impact of any Romansh region.

**Oberengadin**: There are eleven independent communes in the Engiadin' ota, and they are united in a single *cirquit* (Kreis). Since German has become the absolute majority language, it is common for official names like Kreis Oberengadin to follow suit. The language situation is very complex and somewhat cosmopolitan with multiple local, visitor, and worker combinations. Romansh speakers are increasingly isolated as their population becomes dwarfed by the massive growth in the region (Figures 60 and 61). A positive aspect is that the Kreis is in excellent financial condition and has the wherewithal to do or try most anything. They can promote themselves in sophisticated ways, experiment with unique and exclusive tourism events, and they can focus their attention and assets on cultural issues. For example, Samedan has experimented with an innovative bilingual school curriculum that they tout as a way of preserving Romansh.

One of the most creative programs is the founding of the Academia Engiadina, which is a combination facility in more than one respect. First, the educational goals include a research unit on tourism and glaciers, a university preparatory school, and a trade school to train hospitality workers. Second, the operation is multifaceted because it does not fit the Swiss model of higher education; there are both public and private aspects with an implicit expectation of beneficial research synergies. Finally, the school is also meant to keep local children in the valley and hopefully become part of the local economy.
Engiadina / Sudbunden

TOURISM AND GROWTH

Sources: Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1999; Graubunden Statistik, 1999

Population Growth / Decline
Between 1835 and 1995

- 1,000 to 10,000 (9)
- 250 to 1,000 (14)
- 1 to 250 (9)
- -100 to 0 (10)
- -250 to -100 (7)

Accommodation (beds)

11,000
1,100

Figure 60 -- Growth and Tourism in Engiadina
ENGIADIN' OTA
Upper Engadine
Oberengadin

LANGUAGES
Percentages for Kreis Oberengadin

- Romansh 17.9%
- German 55.8%
- Italian 17.5%
- Other Languages

Population to Tourist Beds

- High (4)
- Medium (4)
- Low (3)

Source: Grischun Statistics 1999

Figure 61 -- Oberengadin Languages
Despite the higher elevations, the upper Val Engiadina is relatively flat. In fact, the valley bottom would be a natural floodplain, but the En and Flaz Rivers are in channels. Historically, settlements avoided the valley floor, and agricultural production was less important than it is today. Between Schlarigna (Celerina) and S-chanf, a series of terraces exist on the southerly facing (adret) side of the river. Most of the settlements are on that side as was the main pathway that traversed the valley. Except for Puntraschigna (Pontresina), which is along a side valley, the other ten communes are practically in a line with each commune having a share of the main valley, an adjacent wooded area, and some alps up a side valley or high above the treeline. Since the rivers are channelized, the valley bottom is prime grass growing land and some areas can be mechanically harvested. Of course, the same land has development potential for house construction, road building, and recreation.

Historically, the Engiadin' ota was split into two jurisdictions: the upper one at Samedan, and the other one in Zuoz. In the upper jurisdiction, there is a triangle between St. Moritz, Samedan, and Puntraschigna that encapsulates the big scale tourism. Nevertheless, I often divide the Engiadin' ota into three sub-regions when I sort out my slides and notes. I define the uppermost Engiadina as the area between St. Moritz and Maloja, which includes the communes of Silvaplana and Segl (Sils i.E.). It has the spectacular scenery of a string of glacial lakes and the big money ski resort facilities. One of the distinct landscape elements is the traditional slate roofs that are more common in the Italian speaking valleys. The central area includes the four communes of Samedan, Schlarigna, Bever, and Puntraschigna. The "Champagne" plain near Samedan where the Flaz and En come together was the prime agricultural area. Much of the regional
infrastructure such as the airport, train depot, and even the golf course occupies this open area. The La Plaiv is the lower part of the upper Engadine and it includes the communes of La Punt / Chamues-ch, Madulain, Zuoz, and S-chanf. Here the valley is still relatively wide and some of the side valleys support numerous alps. The four communities try to strike a balance between traditional land uses and development, but construction activities are prominent in the landscape. In the next section, I select two very different places to illuminate some of the contrasts and controversies of the Engiadin' ota.

Saint Maurice: Sankt Moritz or San Murezzan (depending on the language) is the one Romansh place likely to be known outside of Switzerland even though they may not know it was Romansh. St. Moritz is the love-to-hate place for many. I have heard people from all over Switzerland say something derogatory, a common Swiss-German expression is "stink Moritz." For many, St. Moritz represents a snobby tourism of wealthy travelers, and it does not represent down-to-Earth real Bündners. Locals say St. Moritz is chaotic, has too many automobiles, and is overrun with foreigners. Every nearby place can draw some distinction with St. Moritz in its own self-promotion. The La Plaiv communities openly advertise themselves as "The Other Engiadine." Still, St. Moritz is the driving engine of development, and the other communities work with St. Moritz's sophisticated approach to tourism and promotion (Figure 62).

St. Moritz may have always been a special place, a fact implied in their promotions. The mythical past rests on a mineral spring that may have had a pilgrimage function. An astonishing archaeological find occurred in the spring, when it was being tapped for an early resort hotel.
Figure 62 – St. Moritz
Top photo, St. Moritz Dorf in Winter
Bottom photo, Elegant shopping
There were numerous bronze medallions and sacred like figures inside a wooden structure that supported the walls around the spring to form a prehistoric (holy) water well. The myth of St. Moritz being inhabited for 2500 years results and is widespread.

The reality is a harsh climate and location, and St. Moritz could support a population of only around a hundred, which is overlooked because of changes in the last two hundred years. St. Moritz developed in phases and incorporated different landscape trends. The first big change begins in the nineteenth century when local families began to promote and capitalize on emerging travel and tourism opportunities. The population of SM in 1850 was 228, and by 1900 it was 1603 (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1997). During the later half of the nineteenth century, a transition in accommodation occurred between small hospices and rooms in existing structures towards large scale operations in specially designed buildings. Margadant and Maier (1993) document the architectural styles: Grand Hotel, Engadiner, etc. St. Moritz as a place completely outgrew its historic village center, and today it has a sprawl quality. Both World Wars nearly derailed growth and popularity of St. Moritz, but the town could bounce back with the help of the Olympics. The current development has upset the sense of place with inappropriately located modern buildings.

Another interesting element is how locals stayed in control through tight controls on the land use decisions, and most financial benefits remained in the hands of the original residents (Burgergemeinde). Some locals eventually contributed to the design and construction of alpine hotels, and in some instances the Engiadinesa style diffused to other budding tourist places like Klosters. On the other hand, the labor relations and work force dynamics has not been engaged by researchers, so it is difficult to assess this
historically. One of the important early sources for hotel workers was other Romansh speaking areas, which changed the relationship between Romansh. Many of the early guest workers were from Catholic Surselva and Surses. (A Romansh film maker has documented with interviews those early laborers experiences, "Foreign bread has seven crusts"). Today, primary sources of guest workers are Italy and Iberia, and they bring with them labor and linguistic issues.

Madulain Madulain is the smallest community in the Engiadìn' ota (Figure 63). Two hundred years ago, it had roughly the same population as St. Moritz that hovered around a hundred people. The development path was completely different, and the pressing goal was to maintain a base population that a self governing community needs. At times, the introduction of new families meant a change in the language balance. Madulain was one of the first communities to drop below fifty percent Romansh, but then it recovered for a few decades. Now, German speakers are the plurality with Romansh in second and nearly a third of the population claiming another language (Bündesamt für Statistik, 1995). Currently, the children go to school in Zuoz, where the standard Romansh curriculum where Romansh is the language of instruction between first and sixth grades and German thereafter.

Madulain is following an alternative model of tourism development that seeks to isolate the impact on landscape and community by segregating new construction. At the same time, they allow the conversion of old buildings within the old center on an ad-hoc basis. They advertise in their tourism brochures family friendly and quaint atmosphere of the village, which is more of a consequence of inaction than as an act of preservation. Currently, four families are still active farmers.
Figure 63 — Madulain
Top photo, Madulain and Val d' Es-cha
Bottom photo, old Kantonsstrasse in Madulain
They all have relatively new barns and facilities, but the best land for grass harvest is being squeezed out of production as tourist infrastructure takes priority.

**Ladinity**

The comparison between the upper and lower parts of the Engadine valley rests not only on ecology and tourism development but cultural preservation. Engiadina bassa and Val Müstair remain solidly Romansh, and they deserve to be compared with Surselva as an alternative model of Romansh core (Figure 64). While the population of this Ladin bastion is less than Surselva, it has initiated some of the most militant preservation rhetoric. In 1996, a broad collection of communes held a referendum that forces their own administrative entities to use Romansh (Ladin) with each other and in official business. Meanwhile, the region is quite open to new ideas and ways to supplement their economies, and it not only watches and works with the Engiadiner ota and Prattigau but also across the border at Tyrol.

Ladin is an interesting label because it implies more than language. For some time, Ladin has a connotation of ethnicity and is synonymous with Engiadinesa. For example, the regional newspaper translates its name *Engadiner Post* into *Posta ladina*. The Swiss-Romansh in southern Grischun have gone by Ladin, which is identical to the Rhaeto-Romance speakers in the Dolomites. This led to some classification errors by early ethnologists and linguists who called the Engiadiners "Western Ladin" and the Dolomites "Eastern Ladin." Some scholars still advocate for a common name like "Ladino" instead of Rhaeto-Romance. I think the label is better understood as a result of intense Austrian interaction, which is more obvious with the Dolomites being in Südtirol. Ladin is an external label that was internally adopted.
CORE AREA OF LADIN
Engiadina bassa & Val Mustair

Romansh Percentage
- Greater than 80%
- 65-50%
- 50-65%
- 10-50%
- Less than 10%

Ladin Zone
Administrative Language

Financial Ratings
1=great / 5=poor

Sources: Bundesamt fur Statistik, 1995; Grischun Statistics, 1999

Figure 64 -- Ladin Zone
In Switzerland, Ladin usually refers to the two idioms of Vallader and Putér, and in particular the official, written standard. Ladin script in a newspaper is not an equal mixture and is mostly Vallader words and spellings. Nevertheless, a Vallader dominated Ladin works well enough for both the Engiadin' ota (Putér) and Val Müstair. In Val Müstair, they have an addition label, Jauer, that refers to both the spoken variation and as an ethnic term for residents of the valley.

Val Engiadina is an example of environmental ignorance. The upper half of the valley with its tourism success is becoming overdeveloped, and the lower half is fighting for enough growth to keep its communities in sound condition. The popular perception is completely at odds with the demographic data. Informants often think the lower Engadine was always the less populous region. This is completely opposite to the situation a couple of centuries ago. Sent and Scuol were the largest communities in the whole valley, and the Engiadin' ota was comparatively under-populated because the more difficult agricultural conditions.

During my first trip to the Engiadina bassa, I admit I fell into this perception. The physical geography contributes to this experience as the river becomes incised in certain stretches and forests reach the valley bottom. Looking at the travel map, I thought I was going to the frontier. Looking out the window, the valley becomes narrower and more rugged. Settlements and transportation routes cling to the terraces along the left bank of the En. The railroad ends in Scuol and one has to take a postauto to visit those Romansh places between Scuol and the Austrian border. But to my surprise, this is no frontier. It is a core area of traditional activities and displays a sense of cultural
confidence. The Romansh communities are quite large even though they are concerned with population decline.

**Ardez to Zernez:** A new tourist brochure appeared immediately after the new "Vereina" railroad tunnel opened. The string of communities between Ardez and Zernez, (including Guarda, Lavin, and Susch) were trying to capitalize on their new found accessibility and played on their names being in alphabetical order. For many visitors, it is an in-between region with quaint Romansh villages, but no major attractions.

- **Lingua engiadinesa, and the Svizra Naziunal Parc:** Zernez is the compass point center of the Ladin world. Zernez is a crossroads kind of place: it is close to the Vallader-Putér idiom border, it is roughly half-way between Maloja and Martina, and in Zernez starts the road to the Il Fuorn pass that links Val Müstair. I have stayed in Zernez a few times because it has more affordable facilities associated with budget travelers and backpackers. Zernez was destroyed by fire, and was quickly rebuilt. Therefore, not too many buildings exist that really impress on the Engiadinesa styles. I happened to be there on August first (National day) and saw the community holding a series of events. In the morning, the church group raised money through a flee market, and in the afternoon, they held fireworks and bon fires.

The border between upper and lower Engadines has traditionally followed the border between Zernez and S-chanf. Therefore, the linguistic border between Vallader and Putér is shown the same way. While the linguistic variations are actually gradual, the border here is concrete in the landscape. Both Zernez and S-chanf has satellite settlements that are literally next to each other (Brail and Cinoos-chel), and they use a creek as the delineation line between their fields.
Zernez is already a statistically German speaking political community. The prospects are for more German language influences because Zernez is home of the national park headquarters. While the park is a great tourism opportunity for Zernez, the park employees reflect the Swiss academic and environmental communities. Importantly, they also bring a specialized language that follows their training at University. The history of the Naziunal Parc begins in 1914 as the first one in Europe—a fact the Swiss are proud of. In recent decades, ecologists wanted to create a real wildlife zone, but the acquisition of additional land is extremely difficult because it conflicts with communal rights. The proposal to expand the park has become one of the most controversial issues in the Engiadina bassa. Lavin whose communal-president is a proponent voted to set aside a small area that has no agricultural significance. In reality, Lavin only declared the area a protected zone, which works with the park enlargement. Other communities are contemplating park enlargement, but ceding authority over communal land is not likely to occur.

- Authentic Guarda and Ardez: Below Zernez and the Vereina tunnel are two settlements that stand out as authentic places. Guarda and Ardez are not necessarily older than other communities, but their built environments are the oldest. Two forms of disasters strike the actual structures in these alpine villages: avalanches and fires. Both places have not experienced either since Austrian troops marched up the valley in 1622 destroying all the villages. The buildings one see today reflect the rebuilding process of the seventeenth century. and some of the best examples of traditional housetypes and sgraffito (wall etchings) are in these two villages (Figure 65).
Figure 65 – Authentic Places
Top photo, Quaint scene in Guarda
Bottom photo, Double-house in Ardez
Below the Tasna: The Tasna is a side valley that has come to be a border between the communities upriver and those downstream. It physically separates the communes of Ardez and Ftan and their respective cirquits creatively named Surtasna and Suottasna (above and below). Ftan is one of the three communes in Suottasna and like Sent is strongly linked to Scuol where buses and trains hub out to form the regional transportation network. Combined with Tarasp, these four communities account for the majority of tourism in the Engiadina bassa.

- Tarasp: Tarasp was the last piece of Grischun territory to be incorporated. The Austrians held on to their title over the castle up to the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1808. After the wars, it was officially turned over. The political question was which cirquit should Tarasp be in? Tarasp was Catholic and there was a history of tension with Protestant Scuol. Tarasp chose to be part of the Surtasna cirquit, which is the upper, Ardez-Zemez. Nevertheless, Tarasp ended up working closely with Scuol because it has become a tourist region that relies on Scuol. Tarasp has had a more difficult time preserving Romansh because of the marital links. A resilient pattern of Catholic-Catholic marriages has introduced non-Romansh speakers from Tyrol.

- Scuol: Scuol is the heart of Ladin culture. This is not to say Ardez and Sta. Maria are any less committed to preserving the language and culture. Scuol has a large Romansh speaking community that really promotes the political and social use of the language. Size of the community and its traditional social networks underlie its strength, but in addition, successful political careers have originated from Scuol.

One of the unique end of Winter rituals is found in Scuol, *Horn d'strom*. The festival is held on the first Saturday in February (Figure 66). It begins with little kids
collecting hay and older kids with a few adults wrapping a pole with twisted hay. They pull the pole to an open area and stand it up. A troop of teenage boys protects the pole until the community arrives in the evening, when they burn it.

**Borderlands:** The last Romansh speaking area in the Engiadina consists of three communes that are part of a political *curquit* along the Austrian border. The two Romansh speaking communes are Ramosch and Tschlin, and *curquit* is known by both the Romansh and German spelling of Ramosch (Remus). The third commune is the Catholic, German speaking Samnaun, which is up a side valley that is better accessed through Austria.

This region is very much a borderland landscape with an interesting contradiction. The linguistic border is very solid, and Romansh speaking settlements remain strong communities. On the other hand, the cultural landscape of buildings and agriculture for example are transitional. Architecture styles and building materials are noticeably coming from Tyrol. The borderland goes in the other direction as well. Place-names of Romansh origins and Engiadinesa styles are seen in Nauders and Pfunds.

There are two duty free zones in and around the Engiadinesa border. Samnaun is one and Livigno is another, and both are used by locals as well as international automobilists. Samnaun is the only Swiss commune settled by Bavarian-German speakers. As an act of autonomy and/or simplification of only having one customs checkpoint in Martina, Samnaun effectively is a duty free zone. A close look at the map, shows that a sliver of Tschlin territory is in the duty free zone, and the community is profiting from a local owned operation along the Swiss road to Samnaun.
Figure 66 – Horn d' strom (Scuol)
Top photo, Twisting the hay in old plaza
Bottom photo, Standing up the straw man
Val Müstair: Of all the Romansh speaking areas in Switzerland, the Val Müstair stands out as the most likely to have been part of a different country. The valley drains into the Etsch River and is linked to the Engiadina by the Il Fuorn pass. The valley was part of the Vinschgau, which was a disputed area between Tyrolian Dukes and the Bishop of Chur. Above the Chalavaina gorge, four Terzen or districts existed: Taufers, Müstair, Sta. Maria, and uppermost valley. Taufers became Germanized in the seventeenth century and the language border evolved into the political border. Jauers (as people in the valley call themselves) still celebrate the Chalavaina battle from 1499, when Engiadiners/Bündners marched over the pass to fight the Austrians (Figure 67).

Sta. Maria and the communities above it reformed, while Müstair remained Catholic. Müstair is the largest commune, but it does not exhibit a centrality of functions for the valley. The most prominent landmark in the region is the St. Johann monastery, which is a three nave chapel with Franciscan frescoes. Charlemagne bequeathed the monastery, and the site is on the UNESCO world heritage list. Sta. Maria becomes the religious border and seems to be militant about it. In a local referendum, they rejected a request to build a Catholic church, which was eventually built in Valchava. The communities above Sta. Maria are all independent communes: Valchava, Fuldera, Lü, and Tschierv, so that brings the number of communes to six with a population of 1842 people (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995). The four communes in the upper valley have similar concerns with Engiadina bassa communes that are concerned with viable population numbers. Because of the small populations, there is cooperation in the form of forestry and school districts.
Figure 67 — Chalavaina 500
Top photo, Songt Gion, Müstair
Bottom photo, Chalavaina Celebrations

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The cultural landscape of all five Reformed communes is also very similar to Ardez and Guarda in overall appearance with appealing individual buildings.

**Middle Grischun**

Grischun Central includes some of the more endangered Romansh speaking regions (Figure 68). Some of the communities are known only by their German names, and many lost their language plurality quite a long time ago. Romansh language signs are difficult to find in the landscape, and the language is hard to hear. Romansh survives inside the family home if both parents speak it. The reality of these communities is that most are functionally monolingual and German is the lingua-franca.

The German translation of Grischun Central is "Mittlebünden." and its central/middle location helps explain the language situation. The main pass corridors and transportation routes use these valleys, and the castle ruins are a testament that it is not only a modern function. A degree of industrial and commercial activity coincides with the modern transportation infrastructure. When school reform and postal standards came along, these places adopted German to accommodate others who had moved in and to prepare themselves for the future in a classic traditional to modern transition. Since these places are in a difficult language predicament, I do not want to forget them like some popular accounts of the Romansh (Baumer, 1981). Each region stands out for its site and situation, even though my own experience with these places varies because most are not tourist destinations and difficult to visit without a car.

**Surmeir:** The Surmeir region consists of the valleys above Thusis/Sils along the greater drainage basin of the Alvra (Albula) River excluding Davos.
Grischun Central

Figure 68 -- Grischun Central Physical and Population

Source: Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995

Erik Prout --- Mapinfo

Romansh Population

- 1,100
- 550
- 110

Rein Posterior drainage basin

ITALY
The main cluster of settlements is in the Val d'Alvra between the Schin gorge/narrows and the confluence of the Landwasser (Figure 69). The second settlement group follows the Gelgia (Julia) River, which coincides with the Julier route. From the Engiadinaise perspective, Surmeir is the Gelgia valley (Sursés and Sutsés), but the wider Romansh community uses the term in a linguistic sense. Surmian is one of the five Romansh idioms even though there are distinct variations in the region. The Lia Rumantscha (1996) presents Surnir as an intermediate dialect between Sursilvan and (Vallader) Ladin.

- Alvra/Albula: At the headwaters of the Alvra are the political communities of Bravougn (Bergün) and Filisur. Bravougn consists of a main village and a couple of satellite hamlets such as Latsch (Figure 70). and it resembles a pass town in Summer as traffic zooms through on the way to the Alvra pass. Both Bravougn and Filisur traditionally speak the Surnian dialect, but they adopted the Putére writing style as it arrived during the Reformation. The upper Alvra was chosen as the best railroad approach into the Engiadina, and it has had consequences. Most dramatically, Filisur was inundated in the 1920s with railroad workers and is statistically German.

On the other hand, the hourly trains going to St. Moritz are an excellent opportunity to intercept travelers. Unfortunately, Bravougn is one of the few places where a language issue has blown into the headlines. The issue concerned which language to hold Christmas services. One argument was that more people could understand German, so such a holy service should be conducted in German. The Romansh felt it was wrong to accommodate on such an issue, and how can they keep their language when they cannot use it at Christmas.
Figure 69 -- Surmeir Romansh Speakers
Figure 70 — Alvra Region in Grischun Central
Top photo, Bravuogn and Latsch (Val d' Alvra)
Bottom photo, Barn and Fountain in Latsch
• Sursés and Sutsés: Sursés is a north-south running valley that leads to the Julier and Sett passes in one direction and the road to Chur in the other. The regional name comes from a prominent outcrop called Crap da Sés, and the valley above it is called Sursés while the part below it is Sutsés. In general, all the traditional communities are Catholic and Romansh speaking. Furthermore, Sursés is maybe the exception to the Grischun Central pattern of losing the language. Despite a sprawling complex of ski condominiums in Savognin (Figure 45), the valley retains traditional looking villages and agricultural activities.

Bivio at the top end of the valley may be one of the most complex language situations of any small town anywhere (Kristol, 1984). Bivio (Beiva) was a Romansh place (Figure 71). Many migrants from Bregaglia (Italian Protestants) arrived, and later it absorbed German speaking migrants. It underwent a Germanization trend similar to Romansh areas. Today, the landscape includes a Catholic and Protestant church, and the school has a unique German/Italian bilingual program. Supposedly, the city council meets in Italian but publishes the minutes in German. The community below Bivio, Marmorera, sold itself to Zürich so a reservoir could be built. Knowing the town was uprooted and only partially rebuilt, it is not significant that the statistics say it has a German speaking majority. The rest of the communes remain majority Romansh. Except for Savognin, they lack strong secondary activities and their future is tied to agriculture.

At the other end of the valley is Casti (Tiefencastel) where the Gelgia enters the Alvra. Casti is a crossroad between the railroad and the Julier road, and the postauto serves about a half dozen neighboring communities. The central market functions in Casti are very minimal except for a regional hospital.
Figure 71 – Sés Region in Grischun Central
Top photo, Bivio (Sursés)
Bottom photo, Vaz Lain (Val d'Alvra)
East of Casti, the near-bye communities were part of the historical Belfort jurisdiction.
and the main settlements are on the Northside of the Alvra. In the Val d’Alvra, there are
some unique water trench systems and the valley bottom can be mechanically farmed.

Northwest of Casti is the largest commune in the Surmeir region, Vaz (or
Obervaz to German speakers), and it is an interesting community. The traditional
settlements are on a south facing terrace above the Alvra (Figure 71), but the main access
road traverses up to Igl Lai where it connects with the Julier road. On the meadow where
they ran their cattle grew a vacation resort that goes by a German name of Lenzerheide.
The resort outgrew the Romansh speaking settlements of Lain, Zorten, and Muldain
down the valley. While the commune has a German speaking majority, the Romansh
speakers are nicely isolated from the tourism development.

Sutselva: Sutsilvan is the most endangered of the five Romansh idioms (Figure
72). The three distinct regions by their Romansh names of Schams, Muntogna, and
Tumleastga are sometimes not known to German speakers. Indeed, the German names
(Schons, Heinzenberg, and Domleschg) are more common on roadsigns and topographic
maps than Romansh.

- Schams: Schams is a distinct region along the Rein Posterior. The river valley
opens up above the Via mala gorge, and then it closes up into another rugged area
between Schams and Rheinwald. There are twelve Romansh settlements in the valley that
have consolidated into nine political communes. Without economic development, the
communities are struggling to stay large enough to be viable. Like rural areas in other
parts of the Alps, surplus population leaves for better opportunities. Agriculture remains
the main activity and dominates the visual landscape.
Figure 72 -- Sutselva Romansh Speakers
Andeer is a well known place for its active preservation efforts of the built environment (Figure 73). There are two more traditional Romansh communities up the Val Ferrera on the road to Avers. Ausserferrera and Innerferrera, which are also losing their Romansh pluralities. On the main trade route along the upper Rein posteriur (Hinterrhein) towards the Splügen and San Bernardino passes, are the Walser settlements of Rheinwald.

- Tumleastga and Muntogna: Below the Via mala is the important pass town of Thusis near where the Alvra joins the Rein posteriur. Unfortunately, the pass trade requires this valley to be integrated in other ways, and the cohesiveness of the language has really suffered. Between Thusis and Tamins, which were both Germanized before 1800, were numerous Romansh communities on either side of the valley. On the right bank, the region is known as Tumleastga (Domleschg) and it was part of the Châde League. On the left bank, the Muntogna (Heinzenberg) communities were part of the Grey League. Both sides of the river are/were utilized for transportation routes, the cantonal road and railroad are on the western side and the federal autobahn is on the eastern side.

The communities have undergone intense language change especially those along the valley bottom. The places more isolated above the valley floor retain higher percentages of Romansh speakers and not as heavily Germanized as those along the traffic corridors. The two regions as a whole occupy an excellent agricultural area comparable to Surselva, including an orchard growing tradition. Because of the overall population, one would expect to find a thriving idiom even if it was a statistic minority. In Muntogna, there are nine settlements including Thusis and excluding the Walser Tschappina.
Figure 73 – Sutselva in Grischun Central
Top photo, Cazis (Muntogna)
Bottom photo, Andeer (Schams)
Figure 74 -- Rhine Valley Languages
The total number of Romansh speakers is only 275. Comparatively, there are 258 Romansh speakers in the twelve Tumiestga communes. Unfortunately, Sutsilvan is the most endangered idiom, and places in the II Plaun do not even identify with the idiom.

- II Plaun: As one travels farther down river, the industrial and commercial activities become even more prominent. The railroad increases access to the Rhine valley for industry and suburban housing. The II Plaun (Imboden) at the confluence of the two Rhines is extremely complex because places are larger and migration affects the language balance (Figure 74). Like other traditional Romansh communities, some will leave for educational and professional opportunities, but at the same time, they attract both Romansh and German speaking migrants. Rhäzüns retains a 17% Romansh, while Bonaduz has only 6% (Sprachlandschaft Graubünden. 1994). Domat is the largest traditional Romansh speaking place with over a thousand Romansh speakers, but the number reflects a lot of change. In the case of Domat and even Chur, a question arises over which idiom do the Romansh use outside of their traditional areas? Furthermore, could this diasporic group coalesce and evolve their own idiom? In this extreme circumstances, the new written language, Rumantsch Grischun, may have a ready audience.

**Cuntrada Cultivada**

Cultural landscape studies are part of the geographic tradition (Kniffen. 1960; Sauer, 1925), which can be applied anywhere. The cultural landscape in the traditional Romansh territory reflects a strong tendency to maintain vernacular styles. Moreover, the flourishing of specific folk cultural elements suggests either an artistic revival or a militancy against change. Some of the changes in the landscape are significant such as...
new buildings with different construction techniques. Change coincides with much larger processes such as mechanization of agriculture and recreational based development. Additional changes are likely to occur as environmental values and lifestyle choices become potential factors. In this section, I survey some of the ethnic markers in the landscape and some of the recent, dramatic changes in the built environment.

**Ethnic Landscapes**

Landscapes are "ethnic" when they are distinct from other landscapes, and one associates the landscape with a particular (ethnic) group. Ideally, the ethnic landscape has a visual quality that demarcates territory without the help of signs (Figure 75). The literal language use on written signs is both ordinary if it is communicating to those in the language group and extraordinary if it is meant for others (Figure 76). Of course, other senses like sound and smell are equally important to the experience of place (Cosgrove, 1997; Porteous, 1990), but for simplicity I focus on the visual distinctions.

**Sgraffito:** Sgraffito is the Romansh term for the decorative wall etchings that are one part of the cultural landscape (Figure 75). Sgraffito is a common feature on most buildings in the Engiadina and adjacent valleys, but not so much in other Romansh regions. In terms of my ethnic-landscape criteria, sgraffito is distinct and people think of it as "Romansh," so it is ethnic. Sgraffito is a type of wall decoration that is comparable to wall paintings found in adjacent regions of Italy and Tyrol. Instead of being an external change of color, sgraffito is etched into the plaster during construction or refurbishing (Hofmann, 1994). The underneath layer is a different color from the outermost, so a different color appears when the plaster is delicately scratched away during the drying stages.
Figure 75 – Sgraffito
Top photo, Inscriptions in Sent (Engiadina bassa)
Bottom photo, Modern art in Sta. Maria (Val Müstair)
Figure 76 – Signage
Top photo, Store window in Sta. Maria (Val Müstair)
Bottom photo, Cantonal Bank in Sta. Maria (Val Müstair)
Special scraping and scratching tools are part of the equipment, and a small group of professional artists is available. Special sgraffito motifs become well known by their artists or meanings such as fertility and luck symbols.

**Houses:** Vernacular house styles are another ethnic element, but the Engiadiner style once again dominates the popular perception (Weiss, 1959). Small windows and distinct window splays set into thick walls are common (Figure 57). The classic house is three stories tall with the animals on the bottom level. The middle level has the kitchen and living room with the heating oven (*Kachelofen*). The bedrooms are on the upper level with a hatch/ladder above the oven. The front door is actually a gate where a wagon can roll through to deliver the grass into the stall. Houses in Surselva are also a wood/plaster combination, but the wood stalls are slatted for airflow and remain unplastered. The barn and stall were sometimes separate from the family house and rarely under the same roof. While the houses and landscape are distinct, the upper Rhine valley has many similarities with adjacent German speaking areas. So a question arises about how ethnic are the houses in Surselva.

**Ethno-linguistic:** The remaining element of ethnicity in the Romansh landscape is language. While I consider the Engiadiner styles Romansh, more than a few people associate them with the valley (ecological place) first and think of the Romansh culture second. The Romansh language is clearly ethnic and only someone unable to distinguish languages would miss the interpretation (Figure 76). Surselva as the most populous Romansh region has the most Romansh language signs, and the signs are very ordinary. Small things like store hours, street names, and a no parking sign are common.
In many areas, signs in public spaces take into account the German speakers. Another class of signs represents a more militant attitude. The appearance of dual language place-names where the Romansh version has not been publicly used symbolizes a desire to fight language loss.

**Major Changes**

Dramatic changes to the landscape are easy to identify (Figures 77 and 78). Changing environmental values are more difficult. In the next couple of years, a few important events will or will not happen and they might signify the direction of human—environment interaction. The first is the enlargement of the national park and the second is reintroduction of carnivores. Neither event will dramatically change the aesthetic qualities of the settled areas, but it might squeeze out traditional agriculture as new demands compete for the higher elevation areas.

**Agricultural:** Agriculture is changing regardless of wildlife at this time. Already, the mechanization of most agricultural activities has occurred. The most dramatic visual impact is in the lower elevation areas where agricultural is more centralized. The barns are exceptionally large and highly segregated from the residential parts of town. All farmers use modern milking equipment and grass cutters. In small rural areas, there are fewer tractors and a few older men still use the scathe around steep, rocky slopes.

The most significant change to small settlements is the relocation and improvement of animal stalls (Figure 77). Wintering of animals in the family house is almost completely phased out. Farmers with support and approval of their communities built new multipurpose structures on the edge of town.
Figure 77 – Agricultural Changes
Top photo, Cow/Milk farmer in Guarda (Engiadina bassa)
Bottom photo, Sheep farmer in Madulain (Engiadin' ota)
Figure 78 — Major Landscape Changes
Top photo, Suburban activities in Bonaduz (Il Plaun)
Bottom photo, Tourism and transport in Samedan (Engiadìn' ota)
These new buildings incorporate enough space for the animals, the winter feed, and the farm equipment. Some farm families have also built new houses along side their new barns, while many more quit farming all together.

Tourism: Tourism is the other activity that has dramatically changed the landscape (Bernard, 1978; White, 1974). Paralleling tourism is the travel infrastructure of highways and car parking (Figure 78). In addition, the tourists are being accommodated in special buildings and converted structures. Some families converted their old farmhouse stalls into apartments and tourist accommodation. Individual houses are the most frequent type of new structures, and overnight capacity is higher than the number of locals (Graubünden Ferien, 1999). A whole host of other impacts is visible including more roads, parking spaces, and recreational facilities.

Tourism is an important avenue of economic development, and many more decisions concerning the landscape are being filtered through--What is good for tourism? Of course, most people say a quality of life for the hosts is an equally important aspect of a long-term tourist economy. Switzerland has many tourist regions, and many tourist places emphasize their alpine qualities. In the next chapter, I discuss cultural preservation that has to deal with this emerging tourist business.
Humans inscribe their presence on the Earth's surface through a number of activities and practices (Jackson, 1997; Kniffen, 1974). One of the more important impacts is the making of hearth and all the things that go into home creation and domesticated living. The individual, physical dwelling provides warmth and protection from nature in the Alps (Schlamp, 1988; Simonett, 1965, 1968; Smith, 1950; Weiss, 1959; Zinsli, 1991). In addition, the social relationships of family occur primarily inside the home, and the dwelling is a storage site for belongings. Perhaps people are natural collectors. Not only do we hoard supplies and build storage spaces, we collect memories. Humans want to hold onto all their memories—especially the good ones. Unfortunately, there is no perfect art or science of remembering, and the memory can change with introspection. Rituals or objects are useful to rekindle our memory if not create them (Bendix, 1992; Richardson, 1974).

Small momentos such as jewelry and photographs are useful reminders of a specific event, a sacred place, or a special person that one does not want to forget. Home in whatever form is a premier setting for memories because of its role in everyday activities. Moreover, these dwellings are part of a larger social and ecological realm that can be studied as communities or settlements (Rapoport, 1990). The built environment is a physical reality of material and human effort that contains symbolism of the people who made it. Memory is understandably complex. People mix remembrance with collecting and giving away material objects, and memory is related to language and communication.
(Wagner, 1974). Why particular objects and our possessing or relinquishing of them provokes emotional responses is a philosophical question bordering on the meaning of life. Therefore, any answer to such a question is probably an indicator of ourselves and how people in our culture value and interpret meaningful questions.

Preservation of the built environment is an integral part of places and memory (Ford, 1984; Laurie, 1993). Romansh communities spend large amounts of wealth and effort to build and decorate churches, schoolhouses, and communal buildings. These culturally significant buildings are integral parts of the community and cultural memory.

In this chapter, I discuss preservation in a general manner and preservation of the Romansh language. I argue that other types of preservation such as agricultural regulations and nature conversation are occurring. Moreover, the different preservations impact the survival of the Romansh language. I organize the chapter into three sections: preservation in the landscape and the Lia Rumantscha; the prospects of the Romansh situation as a model; summation and assessment of the dissertation research.

Preservations of Culture

Preserving culture is a conscience act of keeping something near and dear to the heart and mind (see Lowenthal, 1996). Yet, describing such an emotion and its inherent attachment to "being" is not easy. If culture can have multiple meanings and definitions (Appaduri, 1988; Blaut, 1993; Clifford, 1992; Malkki, 1997; Weiss, 1961), so can preservation of culture. Geertz's (1973) definition of culture as "webs of significance" implies interwoven strands of meaning and material. Preservation should not be confused with fossilization. Using the web analogy, it is impossible and undesirable for every part of the web to stay the same. For someone contemplating preservation, the complexity of a
cultural web entails much consideration about what needs to change (restrengthen) and what should not (fundamental).

Sometimes, it is easier to simplify preservation into a discussion of individual buildings or objects. Monuments, statues, and memorials are perfect examples because they record specific and selected facts for future generations (Grosjean, 1979). When a community decides to preserve an old building, a specific memory may not be the driving force. Instead, it could be the totality of the built environment and the social activities in those places (Ford, 1984; Rapoport, 1990). Modified buildings can accommodate a different purpose, while, the internal changes do not alter the street-level sense of place. Often, we judge preservation by individual objects such as a building or by visual continuity and existential feelings (Laurie, 1993; Relph, 1984).

Language preservation tends to follow the same simple reasoning. The predominance of official attention goes to documenting the language and promoting book publication, which overshadows any discussion about how and why languages are lost through contact with other languages (Lia Rumantscha, 1938; 1998). There are a variety of language interests, but keeping up traditions and achieving a good life are not necessarily at odds. Parents want their children to learn the full range and depth of their language in school, while also preparing them for a multilingual world. I purposefully titled this section "preservations" in the plural because there are multiple acts or activities that influence the Romansh culture.

Preservation of Romansh culture occurs along two broad fronts. The first area is support for the people themselves. These activities are not intended to help the Romansh specifically, but all farmers, all school children, or all alpine communities. The majority
of these activities derive from topical, political issues such as education and agriculture. Furthermore, they relate to planning regimes because these activities also influence the visual landscape and distribution of resources. The second area of preservation is direct support for the Romansh. These activities target the language, and most of the resources funnel through a single organization—the Lia Rumantscha. I discuss preservation in this same order, landscape and language.

Landscape Preservation

Preservation of the landscape is a real phenomenon in Switzerland as both controls over new construction and maintenance of selected elements exist. One core component of landscape preservation is the existence of a professional planning regime. Planning is a professional activity with formal training in either a geography institute (e.g. Bern) or an engineering college at the Federal Polytechnics. Planning in Switzerland overlaps with material culture in many ways as Weiss (1956:19-34) demonstrates. For example, there are research agendas on architectural inventories including farmhouses (SIA, 1983). Moreover, a whole publishing genre exists on local places/histories known as Heimatbuchen (e.g. König, 1974).

Switzerland has a complex pattern of planning and land use not just because Switzerland itself is complex. Granted, some of the complexity does begin with the federalism since the various layers of knowledge and decision making are geographically and structurally separated. For example, the federal department responsible for folk culture might have some sort of expertise in restoration, but the rural, agricultural community decides what happens to the artwork in its church. Another layer of complexity with this example could entail a Catholic, Romansh speaking commune.
president communicating with a secular, German speaking scientist in Bern. Luckily, this scenario does not occur frequently, as the cantonal government becomes the intermediary. The canton is the main focus of preservation in Grischun because it maintains its own experts, legislates regulations, and can communicate with both community and federal officials.

Interestingly, both planners and residents take into account visual aesthetics. Aesthetic considerations begin with the design of new buildings where the geometric shape of a proposed building is evaluated in relation to the background topography. Before the construction of a new building, the builder must place an outline of the building on the site, so the public can gauge the visual impact and have enough time to respond. Larger construction projects require a scaled model, and in the future, computer simulations might become a normal part of landscape decisions. In many Romansh villages, preservation is even more drastic as most buildings are part of a protected zone, and construction is subject to local approval.

**Denkmalism:** In Switzerland, preservation follows a "Denkmal" or monument mentality. Foremost, preservation focuses on specific objects such as a water fountain or an individual building, and those objects become monuments (*Denkmaler*) in a technical sense. The laws that protect monuments and the government office that maintains monuments are known as "Denkmalschutzgesetz" and "Denkmalpflege" respectively. Taking into account the sense of place and holistic appearance of the built environment, Denkmal status extends to special building combinations. The *Altstadt* of Bern is a classic example where the entire old town is a protected entity, and it is on UNICEF's list of world heritage sites (Prout, 1995). Another world heritage site is the Sontg Gion
Monastery (Sankt Johann / Saint John) in Müstair (Figures 67 and 79). In this case, the Carolinian frescoes inside Sontg Gion are specific artworks that are protected from any kind of non-restorative changes.

Because Romansh settlements are compact, there is a tendency to compartmentalize them as little, authentic treasures that should not change. This is not completely unwarranted as a few Romansh villages lost their quaintness when they became tourist destinations. An encompassing Denkmal status prevents any outward change to the existing buildings and restricts new construction amidst the historic core. Therefore, the kinds of changes desired by a contemporary society are difficult such as car garages and sky windows (Figure 80). Some of the more animated comments about government that I have heard arise from these sorts of regulations. People often emphasize the cost and mystery of the rules. One reason for complaints is the sheer expense of doing anything such as remodeling or restoring. Someone who wants to do major refurbishing will probably have to rent a construction crane, so all the materials can be brought in from above. In general, there is no conflict about keeping the basic dwelling and external appearance, but regulations and procedures seem confusing and ominous.

**Building Codes:** Building codes are a crucial element of responsible landscape stewardship, and controlling the built environment. Foremost, building codes slow down the construction/development process to allow some contemplation about the consequences of construction. They provide adequate time for a public response for those who want to refurbish their homes, it may seem repressive and expensive.
Figure 79 – Sontg Gion Monastery
Top photo, side view of St. John
Bottom photo, front view of St. John
Figure 80 – In-situ Preservation
Top photo, Unused Farm Equipment in Curaglia (Val Lucmagn)
Bottom photo, Façade protection in Ardez (Engiadina)
On the other hand, it balances the quick speed of development, which responds to hyper-investment. Currently, foreign capital is flowing into the Alps because vacation houses are a secure investment, and as an informant hinted to me— a relatively safe tax evasion. It is impossible to travel through certain areas in Grischun like the upper Engiadina without seeing a dozen or more building cranes. The annual cycle of new construction and seasonal jobs is already an engrained part of the economy.

Building codes are another aspect of ensuring quality design and high building standards necessary for the physical environment. Historically, traditional housetypes sustained the harsh winter climates well, but new buildings need some scrutiny before receiving permission. A point that comes out when residents in Madulain complain about a building that the canton built for low-income housing; they say it will not endure. The equally important component to building codes is land use zoning. Zones for new buildings are typically very limited. Romansh communes designate most of the land for agriculture and forestry. Moreover, essential services such as water and electricity do not exist outside of the designated residential zone. Zoning is in the commune's political domain albeit heavily influenced by regional planners, and a zoning variance often requires a local referendum.

Artwork as Protected Objects: Denkmal (monument protection), building, and zoning regulations are common throughout Switzerland. The question is, are they different in Grischun or do they get used for preserving culture? The short answer is yes. The differences in Grischun are both linguistic and ecological. Of course, the canton has to communicate law and ideas in the three languages. Meanwhile, the practice of village and landscape preservation is widespread in all Swiss alpine regions, so they share ideas
and recognize excellence. Every Swiss region has distinct elements that locals would consider important. Like much of Europe, some of the better artwork is inside churches. This is notable in the Catholic-Romansh communities who decorate their churches with biblical scenes.

One area of cultural preservation that takes on an obvious artistic quality is sgraffito. Sgraffito is the traditional wall decoration made by etching the outer plaster to make patterns, which researchers consider a vernacular element in the Engiadina. Sgraffito artwork has the effect of personalizing and enhancing a building's appearance because much of the effort goes into defining doors, windows, and corners with classical garnishments. Two forms of cultural preservation revolve around sgraffito in contrast to simple maintenance. Firstly, sgraffito or external painting that looks like sgraffito appears on new buildings. Secondly, local artists are using sgraffito as an ethnic (Romansh) and vernacular (Engiadinais) signature. When I ask, people often say there are no requirements, but I find it unlikely that such a universal trend is unregulated. Some buildings constructed in the earlier tourist booms look like Bernese chalets or Romanesque hotels. Those familiar with the process say visual elements like window splays and sgraffito are part of building codes and regulations. Some of the new sgraffito is different (Figures 81 and 82). New sgraffito is very creative and suggests a revival by some Romansh artists as opposed to only mimicking old styles. The retention of sgraffito signifies popular consensus and local control over the appearance of a new building.

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Figure 81 – Sgraffito Revival
Left photo, Classic styles in Sent
Right photo, Whimsical styles in Valchava
Figure 82 – New Sgraffito Artwork
Top photo, Tree motif in Scuol
Bottom photo, Ecliptic Design in Scuol
Land Use Preservation

The Swiss alpine landscape is an asset in the same way that the Altstadt of Bern is a heritage site. One could even call it a cultural commodity instead of natural commodity. Although the average tourist might say how "natural" or "scenic" the landscape appears, it is a cultural landscape in terms of human produced and human appreciated. The building and zoning regulations already maintain the basic pattern of land uses, but they do not address traditional activities that are at the core of small town life. There are three general categories of preservation activities under the rubric of land uses: agricultural, environmental, and social-solidarity. Each has its own motivation for action and works as a subsidization of traditional activities that help people stay in their hometowns.

Agricultural Support: The single most important subsidy in rural, Romansh areas is direct payments to farmers. The current payment scheme amounts to over 32,000 Swiss Francs or equivalent to a 20,000 U.S. Dollar per person annual payment. As one non-farmer told me: if a farmer can get one of his kids to farm, they have a 100,000 Franc headstart. While the cost of living is high near popular tourist areas, the payments guarantee the basic necessities of food, heating the house, car payments, etc. Therefore, profit and loss from farming is a separate issue from year to year survival, so farming remains an attractive life-style choice for those who grew up in farm families. For a majority, farming is profitable, and informants said some farmers take winter vacations in Australia and Brazil.

The other side of agricultural subsidies is that farmers must comply with public health and environmental regulations. Some of the more interesting standards relate to
consumer concerns about biological food standards and animal welfare. In addition, farmers do not form an advocacy lobby for genetically modified products or pesticide use. One of the new conditions for the coveted "Bio" label is to allow animals out of the stall twice a day for fresh air. Even on a bitterly cold day, you can see farm animals in a pen next to the stall (Figure 83).

Moreover, farmers are at the forefront of marketing their "alpine" products and they generally support environmental changes as long as their well-being is secure. In addition to direct payments, price guarantees of the most important commodity—milk is making alpine agriculture even more lucrative. Therefore, the traditional alps remain in use during summer, and some elements of transhumance survive.

New agricultural facilities are popping up in every Romansh settlement because they can accommodate both modern health/sanitation rules and more humane treatment of animals. The downside of these new buildings is that the zoning and building codes are segregating them from the center of the village. The previous farmhouse, which included both residential and winter stall, can be larger family houses or remodeled into vacation units.

The major impact of farming subsidies to the Romansh is that rural communities have slowed the rate of decline. Demographic collapse of small alpine villages is possible, and it is a reality in other countries (Bätzing, 1991:109). I estimate about twenty percent of the communes in the Traditional Romansh Territory would have collapsed or merged with another commune. The financial assistance to farmers indirectly helps 50-100 Romansh speaking places in very significant ways.
Figure 83 – Animals in Grischun
Top photo, Sheep pen during Winter in Guarda
Bottom photo, Cows on the move in Madulain

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Nature Conservation: The second most important land use activity is passive management of the physical environment. Many of the programs to conserve nature are actually designed not to do anything detrimental. Conservation effects the Romansh in terms of programs as well as providing jobs in Romansh areas. The federal government spends considerable money on environmental programs that trickles down to local communities in the form of employment and in direct payments. The Naziunal Parc is an obvious example for Zernez in the Engiadina valley with the headquarters. The Academia Engiadina has a similar effect on Samedan in the upper Engiadina with outside research money entering the community.

The more persuasive effect is in the promotion of forest management and avalanche protection. Historically, forestry is the most important land use consideration in Romansh settlements. The narrow altitude band between valley bottom and treeline (sometimes only 200 meters) necessitates strict management of the forest. Any overuse or disruption contributes to erosion, landslides, and avalanches. In many communes, the second highest office after president was forester. Today, forest management is comprehensive and tied to larger environmental activities such as GIS and biodiversity research. Nevertheless, the communes keep as much control and perogatives as they can. They are selectively harvesting trees for profitable export to Italy and providing free firewood for residents.

Another conservation factor is visitor appreciation of the natural landscape. While technically not being natural, tourist perceptions of the visible cultural ecology are a factor worth considering. Forestry plays a crucial role in managing the visual quality of recreational and multipurpose areas. Activities such as ski area development, hydro-
electricity production, and river channelization are done without upsetting the aesthetic qualities. A few places have even turned retreating glaciers into global warming exhibits, which exemplifies a possible futuristic tourist—nature connection. Long-term, tourist development relies on nature conservation in its broadest meaning because it ensures the dramatic setting that visitors will pay premium prices for recreation and sublime experiences.

Social Solidarity: Swiss fascination with all things alpine is extremely high and it almost amounts to ecological-nationalism. Swiss devote considerable recreation time to skiing, hiking, mushroom picking, or flower viewing all of which they consider better in the Alps. Furthermore, national heritage and romantic scenery has been a part of Swiss literary identity for quite a while. In terms of subsidizing the alpine areas, the overwhelming motivation seems to be solidarity. Politicians consistently talk about solidarity with the mountainous regions (Bergkantone) as if the people were in danger of being left behind. During a recent referendum concerning deregulation of hydroelectricity, the proponents were claiming it would empower alpine regions.

The relationship between urban and rural Switzerland is complex and mixed with memory (Lowenthal, 1997). Urbanites have experiences with the Alps as recreation areas, but they sometimes have condescending attitudes and idealistic qualities towards mountain folk. Surprisingly, an educated informant said to the effect: mountain families are very good, have many kids, and teach their kids values. In my own travels, I sense the rural areas pick up on certain modern ideas quickly, but they do occasionally reject new ideas and products. For example, no farmer builds stone fences anymore, but many have
adopted solar powered, electric fences. On the other hand, a few communities have vehemently refused to allow mobile phone antennas even though they could charge a fee.

Swiss solidarity is generally a good thing if it does not become too zealous. School reformers pushed a model of education onto the mountainous areas during a period of concern that Switzerland could become a backwater (Billigmeier, 1979). Unfortunately, this is a common theme in Swiss history as intellectual opinion from other places is taken to heart. The school reforms included agreeable elements such as proper training for teachers. Yet, that inadvertently disadvantaged Romansh for decades because there was no advanced curriculum or teaching college in Romansh. Therefore, reform or even modernity meant learning German. A different example comes from the early 1970s, when the Swiss public rallied behind the idea of ensuring all children had access to kindergarten. Many small, mountain communities including a few Romansh ones could not afford to run kindergartens. Technically, they are/were not required to, as it is not part of the mandatory school requirement. Regardless of regulations, this outpouring of public support plays a role in excellent school facilities throughout Switzerland. Moreover, nearly all alpine communities that want their own Kindergarten has one, so solidarity contributes in the promotion of Romansh language *scolinas* (kindergartens).

Solidarity shows itself in the general public's tolerance for paying slightly higher, standardized prices that subsidize alpine areas. Some other forms of solidarity are as national consumers and as public transportation users. I discussed these in a previous chapter, and reiterate that the price standardization of consumer goods including basic foods favors rural areas. Furthermore, federally supported, public transportation helps all small towns remain connected through regional rail and bus services. For those places
along rail corridors, it allows residents to work or study somewhere else while keeping their residency in their hometown. Public transportation helps all segments of the population from the elderly lady who shops in the next village or the student who studies at the Teacher College in Chur. In addition, public transportation plays a supporting role in Swiss tourism, and transportation facilities are crucial to direct the flow of money into small towns such as new post offices.

The controls over landscape and social impulses to help mountainous areas are widespread in Switzerland. In theory, the people who make important landscape decisions communicate and exchange ideas across different language groups. In contrast, the preservation of language is more local in practice. Preservation efforts that crossover between landscape and language are different because of the different types of concerns and how distantly related the issues are to language. I discern around ten alpine preservation complexes in Switzerland. The biggest differences are between French / Italian speaking Switzerland and German / Romansh. The Romansh resembles the broad German model of preservation with quaintness and authenticity factors. In the next section, I discuss the preservation efforts around the Romansh language.

La Lingua Rumantscha

The Romansh language has two major survival problems: the language environment is complex and the number of speakers is relatively low. As two of the better known Romansh quotes reveal. "Ni Tilians, Ni Tudes-ch, Nus vein Rumauntsch" (not Italian, not German, we are Romansh; originates in the 1930s). "Stai si defenda romontsch tiu vegl lungag" (stand-up, defend Romansh, your old language; written by Giachen Hasper Muoth, also on schoolhouse in Trun).
Table 7
Romansh and Territory:
Swiss Language Territories and Romansh Speakers

Romansh and Language Territories

Romansh in the four Swiss language territories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERRITORY*</th>
<th># Romansh</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romansh</td>
<td>19,300</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>18,923</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[non-Romansh total]</td>
<td>20,334</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language composition in the Romansh language territory:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Romansh</td>
<td>19,300</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>5564</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>&lt;1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all Slavic</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other Germanic</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>&lt;1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other Romance</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>&lt;1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all others</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>&lt;1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>26,317</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Language territories are defined by largest language group in census unit.
Romansh exists in a complex language situation. The need to defend the language reflects the small size. One informant who had just returned from Australia said she would tell people Romansh is a mixture of French, Italian, and German. On first thought, it sounds ridiculous, but Romansh is equally close to French and Italian as a Romance language, and German strongly influences Romansh. Even a native speaker has to reference the language to other known concepts and languages, and after much contemplation, I think it is the best description of Romansh I have ever heard.

Approximately 62,356 people in Switzerland speak the Romansh language (see Tables 1 and 4), and that number is not likely to grow (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995). Furthermore, the geography of the Romansh language and all languages in Switzerland is evolving, and they are trending towards more complex patterns and greater use of English. Table 7 shows where the language speakers and language territories overlap in Switzerland. Romansh speakers overwhelmingly move into the Swiss-German language territory and vise-versa, mostly German speakers into traditional Romansh areas. The movement of people, whether permanent or temporary, influences the contact situation between speakers of different languages.

Preservation of the Romansh language is multifaceted. There is much introspection on the language itself to activities where the language is spoken. Romansh leaders have identified numerous areas of concern and acted on some controversial strategies. This leadership element is worth looking at in more detail. Fortunately, the leadership comes from a public entity, the Lia Rumantscha. I organize this section into three parts: the Lia Rumantscha organization, the regional preservation strategy, and the local efforts to maintain the language.
Lia Rumantscha

The Lia Rumantscha was founded in 1919, but the founding of cultural organizations began a few decades earlier. The oldest organization is the Societad retorumantscha dating back to 1885, which publishes the Annalas and the Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun. Regional groups such as the Romania (1896 Catholic Surselva) and Uniun dals Grischs (1904 Protestant Engiadina and adjacent valleys) came next. The founders meant the Lia Rumantscha or League of Romansh to be an umbrella organization that could unite and represent the diverse Romansh groups (Figure 84). All the groups (regional, supra-regional, and extra-territorial) are part of the Lia Rumantscha board of directors (Catrina, 1984:272). The Lia Rumantscha represents an all-inclusive "Rumantschia," that includes all people and places associated with the culture.

While the regional and intellectual groups still publish their own publications, the Lia Rumantscha has become as important an agent because it combines linguistic expertise, government funding, and connections with publishers. In fact, the Lia Rumantscha is so well respected, other official organizations tend to defer to them. In my own experience, people would say to me, I am not sure, go talk to the Lia Rumantscha. It is true that the Lia Rumantscha is a reliable source and disseminator of topical information. Sometimes this was frustrating because individuals outside the Lia Rumantscha did not want to accidentally give out wrong information. Therefore, it was hard to inquire about other preservation perspectives. On the other hand, everyone seems to have opinions about Lia Rumantscha leaders. One person commented that the Lia Rumantscha changes with the personality and abilities of President and General Secretary.
REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
language and cultural preservation

**ROMANIA**
1896
Catholic Surselva

**UNIUN DALS GRISCHS (UdG)**
1904
Engiadina, Val Mustair, Bravougn

**UNIUN RUMANTSCHA DA SURMEIR**
1921
Surmeir, Val d’Alvra

**RENANIA**
1922
Reformed Surselva, Sutselva

*Cal. per mintgagi, La Tschuettia Casa Paterna/ La Punt*

**Nies Tschespet Ischi**

**Surmeir, Val d’Alvra**

**Societad Retorumantscha (SSR)**
1885
Annalas Romanica Raetica Dizziunari Rumantsch Grischun (DRG)

**Uniun da scripturas rumantschas (USR)**
1946
Litteratura (Novas Litteraras)

**Cuminanza rumantscha radio e televisun (CCR)**
1946
Radio Rumantscha Telesguard Contrasis

**Uniun da las Rumantschas e dals Rumantschs en la Bassa**
1991

**Surselva, Val d’Alvra**

**Figure 84 – Lia Rumantscha Organization**
Figure 85 — Lia Rumantscha Activities
Top photo, Regional Representative (Savognin streetfair)
Bottom photo, Scuntrada billboard Advertisements
Lia Rumantscha serves a unique role as an intermediary between the internally divided regions and outside entities such as the federal government. There are a variety of activities such as regional officers and special events that serve to preserve the Romansh language (Figure 85). Some activities are inclusive of all the idioms and I would call them super-regional if not global. Lia Rumantscha usually gets involved with these non-local issues even if controversial. The other activities are closer to individual communities and their decision-making roles. The Lia Rumantscha tends to play an advocacy role in such issues as school curriculum or landscape signs.

**Global Activities**

The biggest controversies in *Rumantschia* are without a doubt attempts to standardize the language. Considering the small size of the population, many outsiders are surprised to find out there are five idioms. The Lia Rumantscha has accommodated this diversity by dispersing resources to the regional groups and promoting all five idioms. The debate centers around the idea of a standardized written language and limits of imposing it on reluctant regions. Arguments for a standardized written language are cost and strategy. For example, the federal and cantonal governments desperately want only one Romansh standard to publish. Arguments against standardization are about losing the idioms to which Romansh speakers actually identify. There is a sentiment that many Romansh would prefer to speak Swiss-German than another Romansh idiom.

*Rumantsch Grischun*: The idea of a common language has surfaced every now and then, but without brute force to impose it on people, it does not have a chance. Swiss-German also varies in terms of spoken and written forms, but writing in Swiss-German is rare outside of poetic circles. Although Romansh idioms already have written variations,
conceptually, a standardized written language should work like High German does for Swiss-German speakers. Swiss dialects are flourishing, but many Romansh remain reluctant because they see their idiom surviving only with its own written form.

In the 1980s, a linguistic professor working with the Lia Rumantscha created a written language called "Rumantsch Grischun" (Schmid, 1984). Rumantsch Grischun is a compromise between the different idioms, and the stated procedure was to find majority usage between spellings (Lia Rumantscha, 1996:24). According to an informant, they actively considered consistent spelling rules. The hope is that the language will become accepted over time, and a few communities in Grischun Central are considering it as a language to teach.

La Quotidiana: A long stated goal of the Lia Rumantscha was to have a daily Romansh newspaper. The existence of regional papers and minimal acceptance of Rumantsch Grischun retards this effort. Five years ago, there were five major Romansh publications: Gasetta Romontscha, Folg Ladin, Casa Paterna / La Punt, Pagina da Surmeir, and Punts (youth magazine). Additionally, Romansh was in the German newspapers, Bündner Tagblatt (page two "La nova") and Engadiner Post / Posta Ladina (center two-three pages). Die Südst Schweiz Group has purchased all the above papers except Engadiner Post as well as the canton's largest newspaper Bündner Zeitung. Considerable consolidation in newspapers is occurring in Switzerland. In the case of the Südst Schweiz group, they are also involved in a regional television service, which will be the first private broadcaster in Grischun.

Only after newspaper consolidation, did the daily La Quotidiana start publishing in 1997. The La Quotidiana typifies the Romansh dilemma. The front and
back page is in Rumantsch Grischun, and the rest of the paper is in the various idioms retained from the four regional papers bought up by Die Südostschweiz. Individuals often have negative comments about the paper because a majority of the print is in an unfamiliar idiom. Nevertheless, La Quotidiana has a reasonably good subscription rate because many want to support the only Romansh newspaper.

**Scurtradas:** In addition to newspaper publishing, the Lia Rumantscha and the regional organs promote electronic media, music, and book publishing. Regional groups sponsor drama, music, and sports. The highlight of the entire Romansh festivities is the Scurtrada held every three years. The Lia Rumantscha sponsors the Scurtrada, where Romansh gather to celebrate and discuss the state of affairs in Rumantschia. The location changes between the various Romansh regions as does the themes they focus on. Scurtradas are symbolic in another way, it is one of only a few opportunities for speakers from different areas to interact. The lack of inter-regional contact is attributable to cultural differences and local attachments. Nevertheless, the long-term prospects for a common written language depends on cross-idiom interaction.

A clear strategy exists to make Romansh relevant in everyday usage (86). Therefore, the Lia Rumantscha focuses on making sure Romansh is heard and read in everyday situations. Radio Rumantscha is the most prolific medium with over nine hours of programming a day. Their slogan may well be true, "Radio e Televisiun Rumantscha. ils sulets en noss quart linguatg naziunal" (RTR the sender of our 4th national language). RTR programs include call-in segments, which makes it the only true interactive media in Romansh.
Figure 86 — Media Advertisements

Top photo, *Telesguard* daily television show
Bottom photo, *Radio Rumantsch* with English slogan

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The Lia Rumantscha instigates remedial programs to "Romanshize" technical and professional training (Lia Rumantscha, 1982), and there are proactive efforts such as a Romansh Press Agency. A helpful component to publishing in Romansh is the presence of regional publishers such as Terra Grischuna and Disertina that take on Romansh language books. While the Lia Rumantscha has contributed to the regional structure of retaining Romansh, the crucial battles are in local places.

Communal Activities

Like many practical matters, the commune (Vischnanca) makes the important decisions that retain language. School curriculum is the premier issue! Foremost, grade schools are the only institution where Romansh can impose their language on non-Romansh speakers. Romansh communities can also influence the public display of the language and promote public rituals and celebrations that reinforce the language. Communities can place Romansh language signs in the landscape or indirectly have official institutions use Romansh spellings. Signs have a visual quality, and they also are material evidence of temporal changes in the attitudes of the community. For example, some Romansh communities are insisting that bilingual signs be reintroduced in places that were only in German. And of all places, these bilingual signs are appearing in large tourist-oriented towns with German majorities (Figures 45 and 62).

Communes declare their communal official language (Amtsprache), which means government forms are processed in that language. Those with Romansh majorities can even police themselves to maintain a solid Romansh bureaucracy. The regional referendum in the Engiadina to require official correspondence passed in those 19 Ladin speaking communities (Figure 65). Surselva remains another solid block of communities.
that use Sursilvan in official capacity. Figure 87 is a map of the communes that use either official Romansh idioms (Ladin and Sursilvan) in the Grischun. The data came from a government office that needs to know in which language the communal administration wants to correspond. In many ways, this map reflects a militancy to preserve the language because most administrators speak German.

**Chasa da Scola:** Schools are at the center of language preservation because they are at the core of community life. In addition to education, the schoolhouse is a common meeting place for special events. The school library and the village library are the same thing, so the biggest collection of Romansh language materials is in the schoolhouse. Essentially, schools are the only institution that Romansh speakers can require non-speakers to conform. Significantly, Romansh becomes the playground language and lingua franca between students even after grade school. Without a doubt, immersion in Romansh at an early age is essential to any hopes of assimilation! Nevertheless, a child without prior Romansh knowledge, likely comes from a family that speaks other languages.

Communes provide the nine years of mandatory, basic schooling, but with the caveat that the canton provides for higher education. Kindergarten is an optional function for local communities, but many places have a scolina (kindergarten) or share one with a neighboring community (Figure 88). Fifty-eight communes have at least one scolina (or scoletta as it is called in some areas), and larger communities have multiple number of kindergartens such as seven in Domat (Lia Rumantscha website).

The first six school years are separate from the later three because the children take examinations after the sixth year to determine access to higher education.
Figure 88 – Scolinas (Kindergartens)
Top photo, Scoletta in Laax (Surselva)
Bottom photo, Scolina in Valchava (Val Müstair)
ROMANSH LANGUAGE IN SCHOOLS

S o u r c e s:  L i a  R u m a n t s c h a 
O s s w a l d ,  1 9 8 8 ;  B i l l i g m e i e r ,  1 9 8 3

S c h o l a r  L i n g u a

● Romansh Instruction (64)
● Romansh as subject (9)
○ No Romansh or School (53)

S c o l i n a s
K i n d e r g a r t e n s

● Multiple (6)
● Single (46)

E P  2 0 0 0

Figure 89 -- Romansh in School
Those who are successful will go onto a *Realschule* (regional middle school), and with another round of testing, they would go to a *Gymnasium* (high school) before attending university.

Communities that have Romansh in their schools generally have Romansh as the language of instruction for the first six years (Figure 89). They introduce German thoroughly enough, so the *Oberstufe* (seventh-ninth school years) is taught in German. The number of schools with this standard Romansh program is sixty-four serving eighty-five communities. Fifteen Romansh or mixed communities teach Romansh as a subject (Lia Rumantscha website). Another fifty-four communities have no school or offer no Romansh in their school. Access to Romansh for children from school-less communes depends on the system in the adjacent community; for example, the children from Madulain go to the Romansh school in Zuoz. Another small factor is the presence of international boarding schools and a few religiously focused schools with their various language policies. Some private schools accept local students and they might teach Romansh as an optional language.

**Cultural Rituals:** In contrast to the daily routine of school, communities hold various events and celebrations throughout the year. Particular rituals have added significance because they are in Romansh or reinforce other deeply held beliefs. In Surselva and Sursés, Catholic ceremonies such as All Saints and Three Kings are prominent. Despite not being a holiday at the federal or cantonal level, virtually every business shuts down for All Saints Day in Romansh-Catholic areas. The day before All Saints (Halloween), individuals go and spruce up their family gravesites (Figure 90).
Communities assemble for a special All Saints church service, and then, families walk to the cemetery and visit/pray over the graves of those they knew well.

A variety of Winter-Spring festivities take place in Romansh communities in addition to the Christian ones set to the Christmas—Easter calendar. In northern Grischun, regional variations of Carnival (Tschaiver) take place, which is similar to Fastnacht in the German speaking world. Unlike neighboring regions (Lotschental, Appenzeller, and Arlberg), there are no elaborate mask traditions. For the children, St. Nicolas day is important because of the gift giving associated with Sontga Clau's visit. According to one informant, it was a day of atonement as the verdict of good and bad weighed heavy. She mentioned an interesting aspect, the church would deliver a new branch to the house, which was for spanking, and the old ones went into the church as Christmas decorations. Traditionally, New Years day was the big family gift-giving day, but like many places in the world, Christmas day now assumes that role.

Chalandamarz is one of the better-known rituals (Figures 91 and 92). The public side of Chalandamarz is schoolboys marching around the village, singing songs about farming, and ringing bells to scare away winter demons. They also collect money and gifts of food that finance the Chalandamarz Ball. The schoolgirls' roles depend on which community and how their traditions have been set. In past years, the girls typically decorated the Ballroom and cooked warm snacks for the boys. Currently, the girls participate in the marching and singing in a few of the smaller places. In Zuoz, Chalandamarz is clearly a rite of passage for the older boys. The village men acknowledge their hard work with pats on the back and hearty handshakes. At another level, they really seem to be welcoming them into the farmer community.
Figure 90 – Graves on All Saints Day
Top photo, Mustér community cemetery
Bottom photo, Vrin cemetery
Figure 91 – Chalandamarz Activities
Top photo, Marching through the streets in Zuoz
Bottom photo, Serenading the crowd in Samedan
Figure 92 – Chalandamarz and Gender
Top photo, Boys waiting around in Samedan
Bottom photo, Girls participating in Bever

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Language and Landscape

The interrelationship between preservation of landscape and preservation of language are strong. Efforts to maintain the cultural landscape and subsidize rural activities provide the foundation for a stable population. In traditional Romansh regions, farmers are predominately Romansh, and as their lifestyle is more secure, a core of Romansh speakers is physically in place. Meanwhile, agriculturists tend to remain in charge of the citizen commune as well as the building and zoning controls. Development occurs on their terms as long as they are willing to forgo financial gain for slow and stable change. A traditionalist sentiment permeates from these communities in ways that signals resistance to change and retention of rituals.

Cultural preservation is holistic in both theoretical and practical ways. People preserving their culture are trying to save their way of life, which includes both the spoken language and activities in the landscape. Combining various indicators of language use, I present a final map of endangered communities in Grischun (Figure 93). The map is not meant to be a reversal of how much individual communes are Romansh, but the patterns of concern. The majority of endangered places are in Grischun Central. Not only are these places integrated into transportation networks along the pass routes, they are quickly becoming Swiss-German with a Romansh past.

Romansh as Model

The Romansh experience contributes to the discourse on minority languages because they already have what most minority groups are trying to achieve. The Romansh have political and cultural recognition from the majority, and they have high levels of socio-economic development.
Figure 93 -- Endangered Communities

SOURCES: Furer, 1996:99
Lia Rumantscha and
Gрисchun Government
Erik Prout, 2000
Furthermore, they are participating in the telecommunication revolution that presents new challenges and opportunities. Yet, they do not have security from cultural change. New ideas, different languages, and geographic mobility are affecting every place not just quaint alpine villages. Conceptually, the Romansh have much control over language change, but they are also beholden to other issues such as individual pursuit of the good life and communal democracy. Furthermore, idealistic political autonomy and economic autarky at the local level are relative practices to the surrounding global interaction and interdependence. One of the greatest challenges is exactly how they deal with the movement of people into and out of their traditional language territory. Both the Romansh and the people they interact with are dynamic and mobile.

I have some reservations about modeling a culture group primarily because it deviates from terrestrial representation. The visual nature of a graph allows for a different type of discussion, and it is a helpful dimension to identify missing elements (Figure 94). The graphical shapes (5-pointed stars in this graph) do not imply a spatial reality on the Earth, but a range of scales. I simplify the complexity of the Romansh as a culture group down to five important points. The five points are (1) cultural preservation, (2) alpine ecology, (3) Swiss context, (4) quality of life, and (5) language complexity.

The graph shows the five points as separate fields with generally positive aspects for the Romansh underneath, but in actuality, there are numerous interrelationships. In particular, communication occurs along three geographical scales: ethno-linguistic, regional, and global. In addition to communication, the pathways of diffusion occur along these geographical scales.
ROMANSH AND PRESERVATION

CULTURAL PRESERVATION
"Conscience Action"
Landscape & Language

ALPINE ECOLOGY
Landscape uniqueness and Tourism potential

LANGUAGE COMPLEXITY
Linguistic adaptability and Multilingual exposure

ROMANSH
local
regional
national

SWISS CONTEXT
Stability, Democracy, non-ethnic nationalism

QUALITY OF LIFE
Economic development, Geographic mobility

Figure 94 – A Model of the Romansh

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The first is the ethno-linguistic core where Romansh from separate valleys and speaking different idioms interact with one another. The second scale is the regional level that one associates with the cantonal territory and identifies with "Bündner" culture. The third scale is the specific pathway of interaction with the world at large, which travel through Zürich's economic power and Bern's political stature. Each point and every scale has applicability to other ethno-linguistic situations.

**Schematic**

- Cultural Preservation. Cultural preservation is only one aspect of the Romansh experience, but it includes the active, place making of ordinary people. For all culture groups, this is the most specific point because it combines the actual historical preservation and cultural survival activities. Both the landscape and the language become important components to preserving culture when a group is ethno-linguistically defined. Furthermore, the conscience effort to make the landscape ethnic includes openly presenting the language as a territorial marker.

- Alpine Ecology. The environment is a strong component of place. Many aspects of vernacular culture correlate with the physical environment such as building materials, while not having a deterministic relationship. Specific ecosystems such as mid-latitude mountains or tropical rain forests provide a comparative framework for the relationship between culture and ecology. In the Romansh case, a micro-thermal climate limits agriculture but at the same time, alpine landscapes enhance tourism.

- Swiss Context. The position of a minority group to the majority is a crucial consideration as recent ethnic-cleansing suggests. If the power of the State is used against diversity, an insurgent political reaction is likely if not understandable. Since nationalism
usually has ethnic tones, there is fascination with how the Swiss political system works. For Romansh, being part of Switzerland is a positive factor. Democracy and stability are a good thing anywhere, and it is one bridge across cultural diversity.

- Quality of Life. Economic development is a mixed blessing. On one hand, the betterment of living conditions is desirable, and in some instances, it is a supreme consideration. On the other hand, prosperity brings about new challenges. Geographical mobility changes the language pattern and likelihood of language change. The Romansh confront very personal choices of lifestyle, residence, marriage, and so forth with the consequences of language survival.

- Linguistic Complexity. The overall language situation is another consideration. How many and which other languages are spoken in the study area, by government, and on television? The minority or part thereof feels obliged to learn at least one other language, so effective political, cultural, and economic understanding can occur. The Romansh are fortunate because they are part of a society that praises and promotes multilingualism. While there is an imbalance between Swiss-German and Romansh, the Romansh profit from their learned language skills and their access to global communication.

Positive Aspects

In the model of the Romansh, I emphasized the positive aspects of each point because the Romansh generally fall into that interpretation. Yet, there are also serious negative aspects to consider especially outside of Europe. Environmental degradation, political instability, poverty, and ethnic-cleansing are all real phenomena in our world. In the following sections, I elaborate on three aspects: the positive elements of Romansh
preservation, the problems the Romansh are encountering, and the applicability of their situation to other ethno-linguistic minorities.

The best thing going is the Lia Rumantscha. In a single organization, there are linguistic experts, intellectual direction, and practical expertise. The best example is how the Lia Rumantscha identified a goal of making Romansh a part of everyday life, and they initiated projects such as children's literature, technical manuals, and media access. The Lia Rumantscha respects the regions, but at the same time moves forward on a standardized written language and daily newspaper. Similarly, governments and public have a general perception that the Lia Rumantscha is competent and uses their goodwill properly.

The Romansh benefit from their inclusive relationship with Switzerland. Firstly, they participate in and take advantage of the overall attitude towards languages in Switzerland. Significant numbers of Romansh learn Swiss-German, and they can crossover between two native language groups. Secondly, the Romansh benefit from the political culture that tolerates differences of opinion, but more importantly, finds a place at the table for minorities. Closely related to the political culture, national recognition of Romansh and financial support are direct results of the political process. The Romansh are symbolically important to Switzerland as well because they represent a true commitment/challenge to language diversity.

Problematics

I have identified five areas of concern with Romansh language preservation. The first problem is the lack of inter-regional or inter-idiom contact. As strange as it may seem, "Rumantschia" (or Romansh) as a collective label is relatively recent. The various
regions developed such strong identities during the Reformation that some latent hostility remains (see Figures 28 and 40). Currently, religious passion is relatively low, but the Romansh have very little actual experience in each other's landscape. Ladin and Sursilvan speakers will tell me they do not understand each other's idiom, but in the same conversation, they might emphasize how similar Romansh is to Friulian and Portuguese. Average people from both areas are more likely to have visited America than spent significant amount of time in another Romansh place.

The second problem is the application of the Territoriality Principal (Segesser. 1998). The Territoriality Principal is a staple of cultural continuity along the French—German language frontier, which is the devolution of cultural decisions to the local level. In contrast, the Romansh communities in Grischun are losing their linguistic pluralities. Romansh correctly see their fellow citizens as having equal rights, additionally, German and Italian are official languages in the canton. However, when non-Romansh citizens outnumber Romansh in a community, democratic decisions can go against the best interest of the Romansh language.

The third problem relates to the new linguistic dynamic in Switzerland but more dramatically felt in Romansh places. Like other parts of Switzerland, immigrants are not effectively assimilating into the Romansh speaking community. Essentially, there are two different aspects of this non-linguistic assimilation. Firstly, there is reluctance and resistance to language change. Furthermore, German speakers have no social or legal expectation to speak Romansh. Secondly, there are no institutional frameworks for adults to learn Romansh. The young can learn the basics of the language through school, but
even schools must prepare students for the overwhelming use of German in advanced education.

The fourth problem is a Swiss-wide issue concerning the role of global languages. The addition of more languages to the school curriculum is difficult, and the changing of priorities is equally controversial. Clearly, the trend in Switzerland is to teach some English, and a few places in northeastern Switzerland are starting to put English ahead of other national languages. Romansh already has to compete with three strong, European languages as well as numerous non-national languages spoken by more people in Switzerland (Figures 2 and 32).

The fifth problem is also linguistic but in the opposite direction. Instead of languages and people coming into the mix, the question concerns Romansh leaving. The basic problem is no vision of how to deal with diasporic Romansh. A dynamic, urban minority with strong connections to specific people and places in Rumantschia should be able to survive. Yet, no truly innovative project exists to include diasporic speakers in cultural preservation efforts. Except for a few Kindergartens in Chur, social or educational centers away from Grischun do not exist. If current trends continue, those moving out of the "traditional language territory" will lose their language in a generation or two as children only live in Swiss-German communities. Second generation being the children with no formal Romansh schooling and possibly of mixed language parents. Whereas, small agricultural communities will continue to be the only areas of language vitality, and they must accommodate changes that lead to smaller farming populations.
Applicability

The Romansh are not a perfect model for other groups. Those unique elements of their culture history are impossible to recreate. How could the tragedies of war and disease be relived? While I am hesitant to offer the Romansh experience as a panacea to save another endangered language, there are some applicable lessons. Foremost, the Romansh example shows that local autonomy is crucial. The Romansh community has the right to make the preservation decisions or not to make them (Williams, 1994). In effect, only the culture group itself has the right to surrender. It is useful to remember languages are constantly evolving. Some languages are going to become extinct, and new ones will come into existence (Radtke and Thun, 1996). Any unrealistic preservation efforts that ossify a language are unlikely to work. A language needs exposure to outside ideas and must evolve with societal changes if it is going to survive.

The Swiss context is one that will continue to be discussed when diverse culture groups have to share territory. Again the unique experience of Switzerland is unreplicable, but the promotion of a Swiss federal structure and political culture is a worthwhile consideration. For the minority group, the question is how to achieve cultural and/or regional autonomy without the national majority viewing them as disloyal. In our world, there needs to be constitutional checks on the exercise of power by the dominant group regardless of how majority is defined. Moreover, international oversight of an "ethnic" majority implementing State power is appropriate. Communal autonomy if not outright sovereignty permits local decision-making and offers fewer chances for problems with an outside culture group imposing their will.
The Romansh example is most comparable to Europe where governments are beholden to public pressure and "Western" standards, whereas global norms are more selectively applied. The obvious comparisons in Europe include Friesian, Sorbian, and Ladin because these languages are small, generally exist within a single political territory, and have no independence movement. The Italian—Austrian conflicts over South Tyrol complicate the Ladin situation, while the Slavic Sorbians somehow survived in Fascist Germany.

In the Romansh case, the Swiss see all four national languages as equal in terms other than size. Swiss moral and financial assistance comes without preconditions. An additional question of applicability is the sources of assistance. The Swiss can afford to subsidize alpine agriculture, and promote multilingualism. For the world at large, most endangered languages exist in poorer areas where development and instability has to be a factor. Sources of goodwill such as international lending institutions could play a role in language diversity. Ideally, assistance should have provisions to preserve cultural diversity and foster ways for people to work together. The Romansh—Swiss relationship is more than working together, it is being together. The nuances of sharing territory and identity are at the core of their success.

Research Conclusion

Romansh speakers are a majority in less than a hundred places on our Earth. Those hundred or so places correspond with traditional communities that have strong political and social unity. These communities are predominately agricultural or a combination of agriculture and something else such as tourism or forestry. These hundred Romansh places are set in a stunning alpine environment that attracts tourists, retirees,
and philosophers. What is the future for these hundred or so places? Will the people there still speak Romansh a hundred years from now? A hundred years ago, the question might have been for a hundred and twenty places, so little doubt where the trend is pointing towards exists.

Maybe a study like mine ends up with more questions than I originally asked. I wanted to know who were the Romansh, where are they located, and how are they preserving their language vis-à-vis the landscape? Now, I want to know how previous research influenced them, and I want to learn more about their relationship with the environment. The more I ask and learn, the more I want to continue the exploration. Why does the smell of lunch wafting out the kitchen window of a Romansh farmhouse smell so good; why does the water in those village fountains feel so refreshing; why cannot the camera lens capture the coolness of an alpine sunset?

I safely predict those hundred places will still be around, but I am reluctant to predict what languages will be spoken there. Many will keep their Romansh speaking majorities for the near future, but German, Italian, and English will make some headway in specific places. Hopefully, the input of resources and creative thinking can stay one step ahead. In this final section of the chapter and dissertation, I review some of the important aspects of the Romansh and the research. Then, I conclude with some final comments on cultural preservation.

Romansh in Review

The Romansh are a small, culture group in southeastern Switzerland. The group culturally defines themselves as Rumantsch, Grischun, and Svizer as well as strong identification with alpine, European, and even global citizenship. Rumantsch is their
language and perhaps some Rhaetian ethnicity and it is proper to say they are an ethno-
linguistic group. Grischun is the regional identity (Bündner) and territorial canton.
Svizer/Svizer is their nationality and frankly, their collective future. Outsiders tend to
classify the Romansh solely as a language, which means they are a statistical and
peripheral minority (Kraas, 1992). But not just any minority, they are speakers of the
mythical, "Fourth Language" of Switzerland. To be fair, the Romansh perpetuate their
language and derive much identity from their own literature (DePlazes, 1991). Since the
Romansh people are inseparable from the language, it is appropriate to know the details
about the language.

The first point is the number of people who speak the language. Only months
before the next federal census, I unfortunately must use the previous census for nearly all
my key statistics. In 1990, 39,632 residents in Switzerland claimed that Romansh was
their principal or "best command" language (Bundesamt für Statistik, 1995). Another
22,721 residents claimed that they spoke Romansh, but not as their primary language. Of
these 62,353 Romansh speakers, almost 80 percent are multilingual (Tables 1 and 4). The
numbers also reveal many speakers moving into Swiss-German speaking areas, where no
formal education in Romansh exists (Tables 2 and 7). The clear trend is for more
language complexity and greater use of Swiss-German by Romansh speakers away from
home. Furthermore, new residents in traditional Romansh areas are likely to integrate into
Swiss-German, which is the citizen lingua-franca that corresponds to regional and
national scales.

The linguistic classification is the second point about the language (Figures 9
and 10). Linguists classify Romansh with Ladin and Friulian as the Rhaeto-Romance
language, which technically makes them dialects (Haiman and Beninca, 1992:8). There is no doubt about all three being Romance languages, but the way one classifies them are different. Swiss-Romansh has a further diversity of five idioms that have both oral and written variations. In addition, physical separation and confessional cleavage reinforce the idiomatic differences. Many Romansh contest any attempts to adopt a standardized written language, just as they would resist global trends that they see as a threat. Nevertheless, some books and a daily newspaper use the standardized language Rumantsch Grischun and a few communities are contemplating if they should adopt it for their schools.

Romansh culture history draws on the facts and myths of over two thousand years. The small number of speakers and internal cleavages do not diminish fascination with the past. They incorporate imaginary elements projected mostly onto the Rhaetians, to whom they attribute origins and ethnicity. Without any doubts, Romansh language is a legacy of Roman occupation in the Central Alps. The thoroughness of Romanization is often overstated by local scholars, and the actual settlement history is misunderstood. Christianity arrived in the fourth century and the standardization of oral folk-Latin began thereafter with Christian liturgy. The Bishop of Chur became a dominant actor in the region for a solid Millenium and longer in Catholic areas. The written language became formalized during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as confessional controversy dictated necessity.

Romansh culture history also follows democratic mythology and ritual. The Romansh celebrate their regional identity, "Bündner," and participate in Swiss political ritual. Contemporary politics has been good to the Romansh. One of the national
referenda Switzerland is renown for was a constitutional amendment that declared Romansh a national language. Forty-eight years later, another amendment passed that elevated Romansh to a partial-official language of the federal government. Moreover, it also empowered the federal government to spend money directly for language support. Even with a secure status, there are daunting challenges for preservation of language.

Assessment of Research

The research had four broad themes: ethnographic past, national context of Switzerland, Romansh place and landscape, and preservation of culture. Furthermore, the research methodology included ethnographic informants, regional literature, and landscape analysis. The first part of my self-assessment is with the research themes, and the second part concerns the methods and field experiences.

Questioning the Questions: The initial theme, ethnographic past, worked very well in two regards. I could examine the scholarly literature for Rhaetian origins that provided much insight into controversies of evidence. Having learned some of the historical background, I could gain confidence with informants that I was a serious visitor not a tourist. On the other hand, a deep focus on the past does not always connect with average people or even intellectuals. The future of the Romansh language does not rely on the real or imaginary past, but good histories can strengthen the cultural attachment to the language.

The second theme I examined was Switzerland. The national governing structure and linguistic situation in Switzerland are what most researchers look at. But, I unexpectedly connected political and consumer culture to Romansh preservation. I am aware of the current, intellectual debates about identity in Swiss literary circles, but I
avoided it because the discourse is nationally specific. Cultural tolerance and political accommodation stand out ahead for both the Romansh and applicability to other situations.

The third theme was delightful because it entailed much time walking and photographing. One of my informants would say, you know more about other Romansh places than I do. Even after spending so much time in various Romansh settlements, I still feel like there is more to ask and get straight in my own mind such as ecology and individual migrations. The presentation of places in chapter four is superficial because there are so many memories, impressions, and interpretations to squeeze into too few pages. Landscape as evidence of cultural preservation is something I want to pursue further.

I discussed the final theme of preservation in this chapter. Foremost, the Romansh are active agents in their cultural landscape: making decisions, constructing buildings, and conserving nature, etc. The Romansh are selectively preserving and managing the built and symbolic environment. Moreover, the Romansh are even promoting ethnic awareness via vernacular styles and language signs. The basis of the theme remains solid because landscapes are the result of conscious decisions by individuals and governments, and those landscape decisions are not unrelated to their culture.

Ethnographically Inclined: Equally important to the research questions is the research methodology. I combined my own experience in the landscape with library work and informal interviews. I had hoped for more ethnographic depth. I missed out on any opportunities to live in a small Romansh place, and I felt like I never found the perfect
informant. I did see most Romansh places and meet a lot of different people even making some friendships. Therefore, I had to shape those positive experiences into good sources without overstating the ephemeral encounters or giving away confidentiality with friends on the sensitive issues.

The use of ethnographic methods in Europe presents an interesting contradiction. Academics in Switzerland tend to be scientific or literary with local topics, but remain open to qualitative methods for researching others. Folk studies, such as Bündner and Engiadinaise, are often done by "localists" and professionals such as politicians and gymnasium teachers with close attachment to the area of study. They uncritically mix place promotion with material documentation. Along comes an outsider, who watches and listens to the Swiss-Romansh in an ethnographic fashion. I appreciate the folk culture, linguistic studies, and theoretical elements of the discussion, even if I have to walk my own path to weave those together.

The case for ethnography in Europe is simple. It is one of the world's largest concentrations of people, and if ethnography helps understand the human condition, here is a big chunk of humanity. The modernity (or perceived advancement) of Europe is not a reason to avoid it, and likewise, it is not an excuse to promote a European model for the rest of the world. Interestingly, Europe is just as concerned with globalization as many other places because global trends seem American not Western. In addition, the existence of linguistic minorities in Europe presents contradictory evidence that nations and nationalism do not eliminate all cultural differences.
Cultural Preservation

The main thesis of the dissertation is cultural preservation. There is a larger case to make that small groups of people on our planet can articulate cultural differences. They can delineate themselves from others in two important ways: identity and territory. Cultural difference is an active process of differentiating humans whether it is an archaeologist deciding what artifacts go with what culture group or a teenager cutting loose and trying to define a "sub-culture." Differentiation of an ethno-linguistic group like the Romansh includes speaking the language and occupying a recognizable part of the Earth's surface. Therefore, a geography of the Romansh includes regions and places.

The Romansh consciously decide to promote their language through book publication, school curriculum, and displaying the language in the landscape, which are ironically all symbols of modernization. An emphasis on official signs and popular media works at both linguistic identification and territorial clarification. Specific preservation foci on schools, television, and the standardized written language are preparing for the future and just daily relevance. The more mundane elements of preservation such as agricultural subsidies and building codes as well as concern for the built environment and nature conservation help the Romansh stay in their traditional regions and maintain some control over language change. There is a strong link between preservations of language and landscape as there is a correlation between identity and territory.

I argue that cultural preservation is a worthwhile perspective on the dilemma of small ethno-linguistic groups. Distinct discourses of historical preservation and cultural survival are both individually relevant. Historical preservation is significant because a group must take into account the past and write a history that justifies or explains
themselves to outsiders. Furthermore, they can latch onto and celebrate the material culture that academics call vernacular or unique (Jackson, 1990; 1997). Cultural survival is significant because the small group needs to be heard by outsiders and even insiders amongst the clutter of all communication. In some cases, they have to fight for their interests, and in others, they need to create innovative strategies to promote the language.

Cultural preservation is a rhetorical construction on my part, but it is an important way to describe the people and places on our planet. As the Romansh exemplify, cultural preservation is applicable and with some refinement, another tool to discuss human culture. Cultural differentiation is a metaphoric knife's edge. One side does not recognize human diversity while the other side does not recognize human unity. The celebratory dance of culture recognizes unity in diversity and the balance between an encompassing humanity and different earthly places. Cultural preservation serves the people and places who do the differentiating and the dancing.
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VITA

Erik George Prout was born in Whittier, California, and he grew up in Big Bear Lake, a small, mountain resort near Los Angeles. After high school, he joined the United States Marine Corps and served as an embassy guard in Kuwait and Bern, Switzerland. He returned to California for university studies, and married Barbara Christine Hornisberger in Las Vegas, Nevada. He earned a bachelor of arts degree in geography and certificate in cartography in 1992 at California State University, Long Beach, and as College President, he delivered a graduation speech. In 1995, he earned a master of arts degree in geography with a concentration in environmental resources and conservation from San Diego State University. His thesis concerned historical preservation in Bern with a focus on sense of place. Erik taught introductory cultural, physical, and regional geography as an instructor at Louisiana State University and at three different Community Colleges. Currently, Erik and Barbara Prout reside in Zurich, Switzerland. He will receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography at the Spring 2001 Commencement.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Erik George Prout

Major Field: Geography

Title of Dissertation: Cultural Preservation in the Romansh Landscape: A Geography of the Swiss-Romansh Movement

Approved:

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

10 November 2000