

A descriptive grammar of Tuatschin

A Sursilvan Romansh dialect

Philippe Maurer-Cecchini

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Wetzikon (Switzerland), November 2020

List of abbreviations

List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ART	article
ATTR ¹	attributive
AUGM	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary verb
C	consonant
CAUS	causative voice
CAUSAL	causal
CIRCP	circumposition
COLL	collective
COMP ²	complementiser
COND	conditional mood
CONJ	conjunction
CONS	consecutive
COP	copula
CORR	correlative
DAT	dative
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DO	direct object
DISC	discourse particle
ELAT	elative
EUPH	euphonic
EXCL	exclamative
EXIST	existential
EXPL	expletive pronoun
F	feminine
FUT	future tense

¹introduces an attributive infinitive clause²introduces a finite or non-finite argument clause

GER	gerund
GNR	generic pronoun
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative mood
IMPF	imperfect tense
IND	indicative mood
INDEF	indefinite article
INDIR	indirect
IO	indirect object
INF	infinitive
INTENS	intensifier
INTERJ	interjection
INTERR	interrogative
ITR.V	intransitive verb
INVAR	invariable
IRR.V	irregular verb
l.	line
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MOD ³	modifier
N	noun
NEG	negator
NUM	numeral
ORD	ordinal
PASS	passive auxiliary
PERS	personal
PL	plural
PLPF	pluperfect tense
PN	proper noun
POL	polite
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicative
PREP	preposition
PRF	perfect tense
PRON	pronoun
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense

³introduces an infinitival clause modifying an adjective

List of abbreviations

PTCP	past participle
QUANT	quantifier
RECIP	reciprocal voice
RED	reduplication
REFL	reflexive voice
REFL.V	reflexive verb
REL	relative
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive mood
SG	singular
SUBORD ⁴	subordinator
TEMP	temporal
TRANS.V	transitive verb
UNM	unmarked
V	vowel

⁴introduces a finite or non-finite adjunct clause

1 Introduction

The canton of Grisons is located in south-east Switzerland and is officially a trilingual canton, with German as the main language, followed by Romansh and Italian. This grammar is about a Romansh variety.

Romansh has six different written standard varieties. Five of them developed naturally out of the contact between Latin and not clearly identified substrate languages: Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmiran, Putér, and Vallader. In the Protestant parts of Romansh Grisons, the varieties started to be written in the 16th century, mostly for religious purposes (Putér, Vallader, and Sutsilvan), and in the Catholic parts a century later (Sursilvan and Surmiran).

Rumantsch Grischun is an artificial language created in 1982 by Heinrich Schmid on behalf of the Lia Rumantscha, the umbrella association of all the Romansh language organisations. Heinrich Schmid was a Romance philologist from the University of Zurich (Switzerland). Rumantsch Grischun is used above all for official purposes by the canton of Grisons and the Swiss Confederation.

Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Putér and Vallader are used as the language of instruction in their respective areas; Rumantsch Grischun is only used in the Surmiran area. However, after the vote on July 24, 2020, Surmiran will be reintroduced as the language of instruction up to the fourth grade of primary school in 2021.

Tuatschin is a Sursilvan dialect spoken in the uppermost part of the Sursilvan area by approximately 800 to 1000 people. It is the Sursilvan dialect that differs the most from the Sursilvan standard variety. These differences, however, do not concern the most salient typological features of Sursilvan like the predicative *-s* of masculine singular adjectives and participles (see §3.3.1 and §4.1.2.1), nouns and adjectives with stem alternations as *iart* (M.SG) vs *òrts* (M.PL) ‘garden(s)’, and *matgiart* (M.SG attributive) vs *macòrts* (M.SG predicative as well as M.PL, both attributive and predicative) ‘ugly’, or the conservation of the Latin diphthong *AU* like in *aur* ‘gold’.

Some differences between Tuatschin and Standard Sursilvan concern palatalisation phenomena, the treatment of monophthongs and diphthongs, some pronominal and verbal forms, the form of the negator, and the form of the dative marker. Table 1.1 lists some of these differences.

1 Introduction

Table 1.1: Differences between Tuatschin and Standard Sursilvan

	Tuatschin	Sursilvan	English
palatalisation of 'KA	<i>mar'tcaw</i> <i>'tceze</i>	<i>markaw</i> <i>'kaze</i>	'city' 'house'
Surs. ɔ before n	<i>a'vawn</i>	<i>a'vn</i>	'before'
1SG pronoun	<i>ju</i>	<i>jew</i>	'I'
see	<i>ju 'vetse</i>	<i>jew 'vezel</i>	'I see'
negator	<i>'betce</i>	<i>buke</i>	'not'
dative marker	<i>da</i>	<i>a</i>	

Figure 1.1¹ shows the distribution of the three languages of Grisons with its dialects. The label ‘Tuatschin’ on the map also comprises the Medelin dialect, spoken to the east of the Tuatschin area.²

1.1 Previous works

The most important linguistic study on Tuatschin is Caduff (1952), *Essai sur la phonétique du parler rhétoroman de la Vallée de Tavetsch*, which is about the diachronic phonetic development from Latin to Tuatschin. Some information about Tuatschin can also be found in Hendry (2010), *Tujetsch, ses vallers e lur tschontscha*. Maurer (2017) analyses the marking of the indirect object from a diachronic perspective.

There are some works containing Tuatschin texts and sentences; these will be mentioned in the next section.

1.2 Corpus

The corpus consists of oral and written sources. The oral corpus consists of two parts. The first part contains recorded narrations that were collected by myself on several field trips between 2016 and 2021 with seven female and ten male native speakers of Tuatschin; it consists of approximately 95 minutes of recorded stories told by male and female consultants between 30 and 82 years of age at the time

¹<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=46241682> CC-BY-SA 4.0 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Terfili>

²There is a mistake in the legend of the map: It should be *Putér* instead of *Putèr*.

1.2 Corpus



Figure 1.1: Languages and dialects of the Canton of Grisons

of recording; they are published in chapter 8. The second part consists of elicited forms and sentences.

Since I have a working knowledge of Standard Sursilvan, all interviews were conducted in Romansh.

The most important written source of Tuatschin texts is Büchli (1966), *Mythologische Landeskunde von Graubünden. 2. Teil: Das Gebiet des Rheins vom Badus bis zum Calanda*, which contains about 60, mostly short, traditional legends from the Tujetsch valley (specifying the village the story tellers were from) which were transcribed by the author himself. Büchli's consultants were born between 1858 and 1922.

The oldest texts I had access to was *Il ratun tschiec* 'The blind rat', which was published in 1889, and a transcribed text from the Schorta collection recorded in 1926 and published in Valär (2013a) and Valär (2013b). Some sentences and dialogues can be found in the *Dicziunari rumantsch grischun*, in Gartner (1910), Gadola (1935), Francestg Berther (1998), and in Baseli Berther (2007).

The examples taken from the written sources were all adapted to the spelling

1 Introduction

system used in this book, with one exception, namely those written in IPA: Gartner (1910), as well as Valär (2013a) and Valär (2013b).

The names of the consultants who participated in the project have been anonymised; their utterances will be labelled with a reference to their gender (f, m), and the place where they grew up. The female native speakers of Tuatschin consulted are listed in Table 1.2 and Table 1.3, whereas the male native speakers are listed in Table 1.4 to Table 1.6. These lists contain their year of birth, the place where they grew up, and the mother tongue of their parents.

Table 1.2: List of consultants I

	f1	f2	f3	f4
born	1923	1937	1942	1947
grew up in	Cavòrgja	Sèlva	Sadrún	Ruèras
L1 mother	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin
L1 father	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin

Table 1.3: List of consultants II

	f5	f6	f7
born	1961	1971	1972
grew up in	Surajn	Camischùlas	Ruèras
L1 mother	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin
L1 father	Sursilván	Tuatschin	Tuatschin

Table 1.4: List of consultants III

	m1	m2	m3	m4
born	1935	1934	1943	1949
grew up in	Ruèras	Zarcúns	Ruèras	Sadrún
L1 mother	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin
L1 father	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin	Tuatschin

1.2 Corpus

Table 1.5: List of consultants IV

	m5	m6	m7	m8
born	1952	1951	1953	1977
grew up in	Sadrún	Sadrún	Cavòrgja	Sadrún
L1 mother	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín
L1 father	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín

Table 1.6: List of consultants V

	m9	m10
born	1986	1943
grew up in	Sadrún	Ruèras
L1 mother	Tuatschín	Tuatschín
L1 father	Tuatschín	Tuatschín

All consultants speak Tuatschin, Standard Sursilvan, Standard and Swiss German, and they are used to write in Standard Sursilvan and in Standard German. The young generation also uses Tuatschin in SMS and other social media.

Some decades ago, the people from Tujetsch would not use their own dialect with people from outside the Tujetsch valley, and still today some people are reluctant to speak Tuatschin with anybody who speaks Standard Sursilvan or another Sursilvan dialect. One of my consultants puts it this way:

- (1) I drùva schòn in téč da saprèndar anzjaman
EXPL need.PRS.3SG indeed INDEF.M.SG bit ATTR REFL.take.INF together
da rasdá da Tujétsch cun autars.
COMP talk.INF of PN with other.M.PL

'It needs indeed some [effort] to concentrate in order to speak Tuatschin with others.' (Zarcúns, m2)

This explains in part why my consultants sometimes use Sursilvan forms when speaking with me.

1 Introduction

1.3 Dialectal differences

There are two main Tuatschin dialects: the dialect of the upper part of the Tuetsch valley (Figure 1.2), which comprises the villages of Selva and Tschanut³, and the dialect of the lower part of the valley (Figure 1.3), from Rueras to Bugnei. These two dialectal areas are divided by a forest called the forest of Sontga Brida (Caduff 1952: 3).

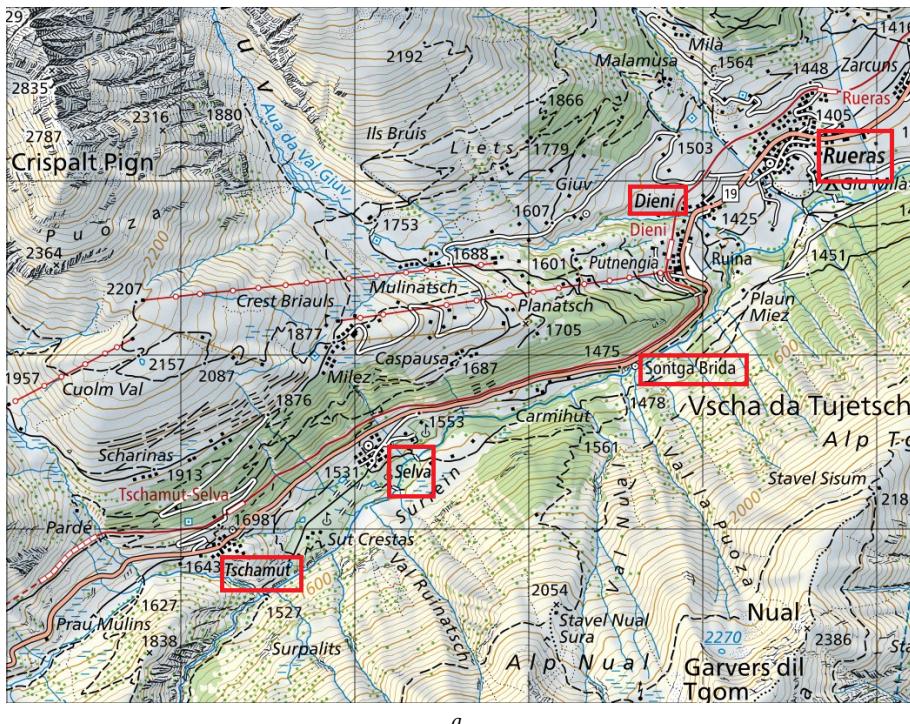


Figure 1.2: Upper Valley (Tschanut and Selva) plus Dieni and Rueras from the Lower Valley. Source: Bundesamt für Landestopografie swisstopo.

^aThe identical place names in this and in the following figure which are not in boxes refer to train stations.

The differences between the two dialects are mostly lexical, whereby the divergent forms of the upper dialect correspond in general to Standard Sursilvan. Some examples are presented in Table 1.7 (Hendry 2010: 97).

³According to DRG (7: 636), the inhabitants of Selva and Tschanut are called *quèls dadajns gl uaut* ‘those above the forest’.

1.3 Dialectal differences

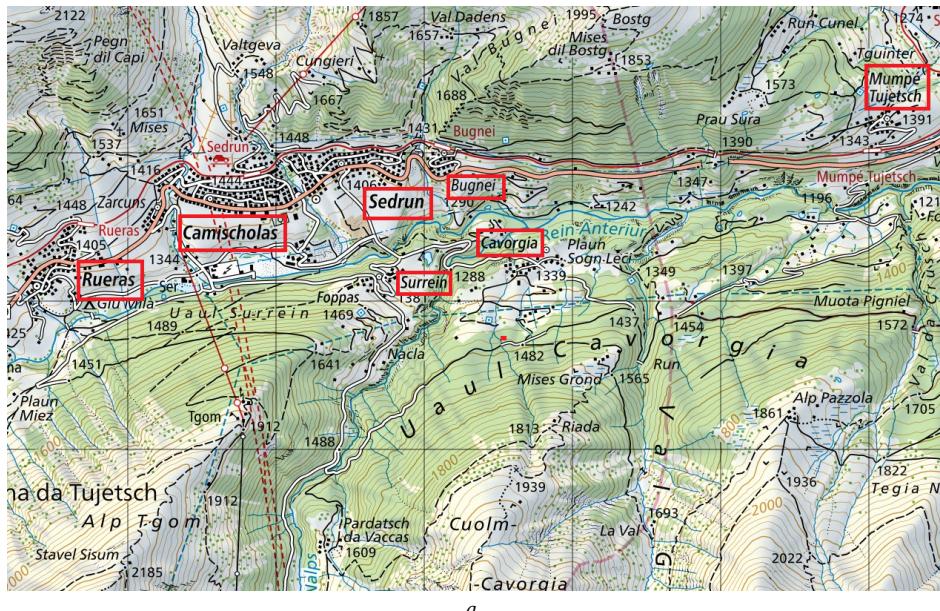


Figure 1.3: Lower Valley from Rueras to Bugnei and Mumpé Tujetsch.
Source: Bundesamt für Landestopografie swisstopo.

^aIn spite of its name, Mumpé Tujetsch is located outside the Tujetsch valley.

Table 1.7: Differences between the upper and the lower dialect

Lower valley	Upper valley and Sursilvan	English
<i>anavaun</i>	<i>anavon</i>	'forward'
<i>cuntjants</i>	<i>cuntents</i>	'happy'
<i>sjantar</i>	<i>suenter</i>	'after'
<i>tgaglja</i>	<i>caglia</i>	'bushes'
<i>ufaun</i>	<i>affon</i>	'child'

1 Introduction

Nowadays there are only very few speakers of the upper dialect left; an example of the variety of Selva is presented in §8.6.

1.4 The contact languages of Tuatschin

The contact languages of Tuatschin are Standard Sursilvan, Swiss German, and Standard German. In this chapter only some few remarks will be given, since the subject is complex and could easily fill a book-length publication.

Standard Sursilvan is the language of instruction in school and is used among Tuatschin native speakers for written communication.

Contact with Swiss German starts at an early age through contact with Swiss German speakers who have a vacation house in the Tujetsch valley, or with tourists, and also with relatives who live in the German part of Switzerland and who do not understand Romansh.

Standard German starts being taught in school from the fifth form of primary school onwards and is also present through Swiss German and German television. Broadcasts in Romansh are very scarce. Currently there is a ten-minute news broadcast from Monday to Friday, a broadcast for children on Saturday that lasts ten minutes, and a cultural broadcast on Sunday which lasts 25 minutes. Therefore most broadcasts children (and adults) watch are in German.

On a more general level, all Romansh varieties have been in contact with German, Swiss or Standard, for a long time. Liver (2010: 176–181) states that Romansh has been in contact with German since the time of Old High German (ca. 750–1050). Loans from OHG are for instance (I cite the Tuatschin forms) *glut* ‘people’ (< OHG *liut*), *uaut* ‘forest’ (< OHG *wald*), or *lubi* ‘permit’ (< OHG *LAUBJAN*).

More modern loans are e.g. *ajfach* ‘simply’ (< Swiss German *eifach*), *clétg* ‘luck’ (< German *Glück*), *halt/hald* ‘simply’ (< German *halt*), *schubargjè* ‘clean’ (< Swiss German *suuber mache*), *stédi* ‘diligent’ (< German *stetig*), *schliat/schljats* ‘bad’ (< German *schlecht*). Germanisms which some older native speakers remember but which they do not use any more are *zug* ‘train’, *banhòf* ‘train station’ *landstròs* ‘way’, and *hauptstròs* ‘main way’.

Discourse particles of Swiss German (or Standard German) origin are very often used. Examples are *ábar* ‘but’ (< German *aber*), *álsò* ‘this is to say’ (< German *also*) *sò* ‘well, OK’ (< German *so*), or *zuar* ‘though’ (< German *zwar*).

Semantic broadening is also frequent. An example is *unfrènda* ‘sacrifice, casualty’, which is derived from Middle Latin OFFERENDA (Decurtins 2012: 1283) whose Romance meaning is ‘sacrifice’ and its German one ‘casualty’.

Calques are also very frequent, especially in the domain of the particle verbs (see §4.1.3). Other examples are *mètar avaun* ‘imagine’ (< German *sich vorstellen*)

1.5 *Glosses*

(note that the Romansh synonym is not reflexive) *curdá sé* (< German *auffallen*), or *fá cun* ‘participate’ (< German *mitmachen*).

Sursilvan loans are less frequent than Germanisms, which is undoubtedly related to the fact that a huge part of the lexicon Tuatschin shares with Standard Sursilvan has the same form in both varieties.

Examples of sursilvanisms occurring in the corpus are *bugèn* ‘gladly’ instead of *ugèn*, *dumigná* ‘cope’ instead of *dumagnè*, *él* ‘in the (M)’ instead of *ál* or *ájl*, *muossavía* ‘signpost’ instead of *müssavía*, *Musté* instead of *Mustajr* ‘Mustér’, *ni* ‘or; right’ instead of *né*, *pi* ‘more’ instead of *plé*, *pènşjunada* ‘retired (F.SG)’ instead of *pansjunada*, *sa* ‘knows’ instead of *sò*, *si* ‘up’ instead of *sé*, *uaul* ‘forest’ instead of *uaut*, *uost* ‘August’ instead of *uést*.

A phonetic influence of Sursilvan is the use of [χ] instead of [r], which is not frequent among the native speakers I have consulted, but which one often hears when younger people or children speak Tuatschin.

1.5 *Glosses*

The glosses used in this grammar are those of the Leipzig Glossing Rules⁴, to which some glosses have been added.

In order to save space, gender is only indicated on the first element of the noun phrase, excepted in cases where two or more elements of a noun phrase differ in gender. Only plural is indicated since singular is not marked. Indicative mood is not indicated, in contrast to subjunctive, conditional, and imperative mood.

1.6 *Place names*

In the Romansh examples and texts, I will use the spelling system of this book for the place names. In the English text, I will use the official Sursilvan spelling.

I will not use the German equivalents of the Romansh place names, except if they are used by the consultants themselves.

The place names which occur in this book are presented in Table 1.8. The German and Italian equivalents are only given for those place names that are located in German- or Italian-speaking areas.

⁴<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

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Table 1.8: Spelling of place names

current spelling	Standard Sursilvan	German/Italian
<i>Bugnaj</i>	<i>Bugnei</i>	
<i>Camischùlas</i>	<i>Camischolas</i>	
<i>Caşchinùta</i>	<i>Caschinutta</i>	<i>Göschenen</i>
<i>Cavòrgja</i>	<i>Cavorgia</i>	
<i>Cuéra</i>	<i>Cuera</i>	<i>Chur</i>
<i>Diani</i>	<i>Dieni</i>	
<i>Daglјégn</i>	<i>Dalin</i>	
<i>Gjònدا</i>	<i>Gonda</i>	
<i>Gljòn</i>	<i>Glion</i>	
<i>Lags</i>	<i>Laax</i>	
<i>Ligjaun</i>	<i>Ligiaun</i>	<i>Lugano</i>
<i>Méjdal</i>	<i>Medel</i>	
<i>Nòssadunaun</i>	<i>Nossadunnaun</i>	<i>Einsiedeln</i>
<i>Ruèras</i>	<i>Rueras</i>	
<i>Sadrún</i>	<i>Sedrun</i>	
<i>Ségnas</i>	<i>Segnas</i>	
<i>Sèlva</i>	<i>Selva</i>	
<i>Surajn</i>	<i>Surrein</i>	
<i>Trùn</i>	<i>Trun</i>	
<i>Tschamùt</i>	<i>Tschamutt</i>	
<i>Turitg</i>	<i>Turitg</i>	<i>Zürich</i>
<i>Ursèra</i>	<i>Ursera</i>	<i>Andermatt</i>
<i>Zarcùns</i>	<i>Zarcuns</i>	

2 Phonology

2.1 Vowels

Tuatschin possesses nine vowels which are presented in Table 2.1. Minimal pairs are listed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.1: Vowels

	front	central	near back	back
close	i			u
near close			v	
close-mid	e			
mid	ɛ	ə		ɔ
near open		a		
open	a			

The reduced vowels [ə] and [ɐ] only occur in unstressed syllables. There are no minimal pairs contrasting [ə] and [ɐ], and the distribution of these two reduced vowels is not clear to me. It seems as if in certain cases a speaker may use [ə] or [ɐ] in the same environment; there is, however, a tendency for [ɐ] to occur in the neighbourhood of stressed [a], as in [ju 'ma:və] 'I used to go', and for [ə] to occur in the environment of [e] or [ɛ], as in ['rwerəs] 'Ruèras'. Because of this uncertainty, these two vowels will not be differentiated and both will be represented by <a>, respectively by /ɐ/.

In contrast, [e] and [ɛ] generally occur in stressed syllables in non-compound words, but in some loanwords they may occur in unstressed syllables, as is the case of the second [ɛ] in /'general/ 'general (adj.)'.

There are long and short vowels in Tuatschin, but minimal pairs contrasting long vowels to short vowels do not seem to exist. In unstressed syllables, only short vowels occur, but in stressed syllables, there are both short and long vowels. They will not be represented orthographically, but in the Tuatschin word list

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(chapter 9), all the lexical entries will be followed by a phonetic transcription indicating lengthening of the vowels.

Regarding [ʊ] and [u], Liver (2010: 130) notes for Standard Sursilvan that [ʊ] mostly occurs in short syllables, whereas [u] mostly occurs in long syllables, with some exceptions. In Tuatschin, there is at least one minimal pair which opposes the two vowels in a short syllable: /dzu/ ‘had’ (participle of *vaj* ‘have’) vs /dżu/ ‘down’. The realisation of /ʊ/ varies between a nearly closed [u] and a very closed [o].

In my corpus, the close front rounded [y], represented by ü, only occurs in recent loans from German or Swiss German. It is not included in Table 2.1. Examples are *bürò* ‘office’, *mütölgia* ‘mythology’, and *tüp* ‘person’.¹

Table 2.2 presents some minimal pairs contrasting short vowels on the one hand, and contrasting long vowels on the other.

Table 2.2: Vowel minimal pairs

/i/	vs	/ɛ/	/fil/	‘thread’	vs	/fel/	‘gall’
/i/	vs	/e/	/ʃi/	‘so’	vs	/ʃe/	‘if’
/e/	vs	/ɛ/	/le:tç/	‘bed’	vs	/lɛ:tç/	‘marriage’
			/me/	‘me’ (dative)	vs	/mɛ/	‘me’ (accusative)
/ɛ/	vs	/ɔ/	/fɛl/	‘gall’	vs	/fɔl/	‘bellows’
			/sɛŋ/	‘sign’	vs	/sɔŋ/	‘holy’
/ɔ/	vs	/ɔ/	/kɔ/	‘how’	vs	/kɔ/	‘here’
			/rɔma/	‘Rome’	vs	/rɔma/	‘branches’
/ɔ/	vs	/u/	/dżɔ/	‘down’	vs	/dzu/	‘had’
/a:/	vs	/ɛ:/	/tçɑ:r/	‘dear’	vs	/tçɛ:r/	‘expensive’
/a:/	vs	/ɔ:/	/ka:r/	‘bus’	vs	kɔ:r	‘heart’

2.2 Diphthongs

In Tuatschin, diphthongs consist of the glides /j/ and /w/ as well as /i/ and /u/ in combination with /ə/. Tuatschin possesses five falling and ten rising diphthongs. Table 2.3 shows the diphthongs with /j/ and /w/. Note that /ɔw/ is very rare and

¹The Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, and Surmiran varieties do not possess close-front and close-mid front rounded vowels except in recent German loans, in contrast to the Ladin varieties (Putér, Vallader, and Jauer) which possess /y/ and /ø/, as in *tü* ‘you (sg)’ or *magöl* ‘glass’. In Sursilvan /ø/ also exists in recent German loans: *töf* ‘motorbike’, which is pronounced *téf* by old people.

2.2 Diphthongs

only occurs in the inverted forms of the first person singular present indicative forms of /sa'vaj/ ‘know’ and /vaj/ ‘have’: /sɔw/ ‘know I’ and /vɔw/ ‘have I’. The following diphthongs do not occur: /ɔj/, /ʊj/, /uj/, /jʊ/, /ɛj/, /ɛw/, /ew/, /iw/, /ʊw/, /uw/, /wɔ/, /wɔ/, and /wu/.

The falling diphthong /uə/ is not very frequent. An example is /ʃkue/ ‘broom’.

Minimal pairs with diphthongs are rare in the corpus; there are only oppositions between /aj/ and /ej/, as in /najf/ ‘snow’ vs /nejf/ ‘new’, or /majl/ ‘apple’ vs /mejl/ ‘honey’.

Table 2.3: Diphthongs

falling			rising		
/aj/	/kwaj/	‘this’	/ja/	/u'jare/	‘war’
/ɛj/	–		/je/	/'jede/	‘time’
/ej/	/sejs/	‘their’	/je/	/'jeli/	‘oil’
/ie/	/'zbier/	‘thug’	/ja/	/en'tsjamen/	‘together’
/ɔj/	–		/jɔ/	/kur'jɔs/	‘strange’
/uj/	–		/ju/	/ju/	‘I’
/aw/	/awn/	‘still’	/wa/	/'awa/	‘water’
/ɛw/	–		/wɛ/	/kwel/	‘this’
/ew/	–		/we/	/kwelm/	‘mountain’
/iw/	–		/wi/	/kwel'wize/	‘in this way’
/ɔw/	/sɔw/	‘know I’			

The diphthong /aj/ is pronounced [aj] or [æj].

The difference between diphthongs and vowels in hiatus is not always straightforward. A spontaneous production of /piun/ ‘lard’ with /i/ and /u/ in hiatus is found in (1).

- (1) La mÙm' ò méz ajn piún.
 DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG put.PTCP.UNM into lard.M.SG
 ‘Mother added some lard.’ (Sadrún, m5)

But when asked whether *piun* has one or two syllables, the consultant answered that it has only one syllable and pronounced it [pjun]. Caduff (1952: 3f.) notes the same problem for the diphthong /ie/, which is sometimes pronounced [je] or [je]. An example from the corpus is *stédiamajn* ‘diligently’, which is pronounced [ʃtedja'majn], but which also could also be pronounced [ʃtedja'majn].

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However, there are uncontroversial cases of hiatus, as e.g. /fu'ajna/, /u'ɔn/ ‘this year’, or /u'awt/ ‘forest’, which are never pronounced /fwajna/, /wɔn/ or /wawt/, in contrast to *uéstg* /wéstg/ ‘bishop’.

Hiatus across word boundaries is usually avoided. There are two strategies. The first and generally used one is the elision of the last vowel of the first word if it is a weak vowel (*a* and *e*, both spelled <a>), as in *Quaj vèz' ò uschéja* ‘This looks like that’ instead of *vèza ò*. Example (2) contains two examples of the weak vowel <a> which is elided (*bigj' idéa* for *bigja idéa* and *stad' ajn* for *stada ajn*), a well as one example of strong vowels that do not trigger elision (*ju èra*).

- (2) Núa sè quaj hòtel? **Bigj'** idéa, ju èra schòn
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMPF.1SG already
 òns bigja **stad'** ajn quaj martgau.
 year.M.PL NEG COP.PTCP.F.SG in DEM.M.SG city
 ‘Where is this hotel? No idea, I hadn’t been in that city for years.’ (Ruèras,
 f7, l. 1665f.)

The other, much less frequent strategy, is to insert an epenthetic *n* between the two words as in (3), where *n* is inserted between *vasèva* and *ins*.

- (3) **Vasèva-n** **ins** ina signjura [...] cun schuba cuérta,
 see.IMPF.3SG-EUPH GNR INDEF.F.SG woman with skirt.F.SG short
 còtschna, [...] lura spítgavan als purs ina
 red CORR expect.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL INDEF.F.SG
 grònda malaura [...].
 big storm
 ‘If one saw a woman with a short skirt, a red one, the farmers would
 expect a heavy storm.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 34)

This epenthetic *n* tends to be used in written Standard Sursilvan; the more usual strategy would be elision like in *vasèv' ins*.

2.3 Consonants

Tuatschin possesses 26 consonants which are presented in Table 2.4; consonant minimal pairs are shown in Table 2.5.

The four consonants /h/, /x/, /ŋ/, and /dʒ/ have a restricted distribution and do not have a phonological status.

2.3 Consonants

Table 2.4: Consonants

		bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	palato-alveolar	velar
nasal		m		n	j̊		ŋ
stop	voiced	b		d			g
	voiceless	p		t			k
fricative	voiced		v	z		ʒ	
	voiceless		f	s		ʃ	x, h
affricate	voiced				dʒ	dʒ	
	voiceless			ts	tʃ	tʃ	
trill				r			
lateral appr.				l	ʎ		

- /h/ and /x/ only exist in Swiss German loans like /halt/ ‘simply’ or /rex/ ‘rich’
- /ŋ/ is an allophone of /n/ before /g/ and /k/
- /dʒ/ is an allophone of /ts/ in word final position if it is followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant. In the corpus it occurs in a few words like /ledz/ vs /lets/ ‘anaphoric demonstrative’ and in /mjadz'de/ ‘noon (literally ‘half day’)’ vs /'miats/ ‘half (M)’.

The other 21 consonants do have a phonological status as can be seen in Table 2.5.

/l/ and /r/ have different realisations according to the speaker. Some speakers pronounce /l/ as [ɫ] although its distribution is not yet clear, and the uvular /ʁ/ is not uncommon among younger speakers.

Furthermore, /r/ and /l/ may have a syllabic realisation due to the dropping of [ə] between consonants as in [pr̩] vs [p̩r̩] ‘for’ (§8.1, l. 47), [pr̩.m̩.v̩.r̩] vs [p̩.r̩.m̩.v̩.r̩] ‘Lent’ §8.16, l. 1886), [pr̩.v̩.z̩.d̩.v̩.r̩] vs [p̩.r̩.v̩.z̩.d̩.v̩.r̩] ‘herdsman’ (§8.6, l. 930). [t̩r̩] vs [tier̩] ‘at, by’ (§8.4, l. 747), [pr̩.'su.le] vs [per.'su.le] (§8.4, l. 673) [ʃt̩.men.'tus] vs [ʃter.men.'tus] ‘terrible’ (§8.2, l. 208) or [pls̩] vs [p̩r̩.v̩.ls̩] ‘for the’ (§8.7, l. 1009).

The voiced stops /b/, /d/, and /g/ are sometimes realised as voiceless consonants like in [ab̩ər̩] ‘but’; however, this is never the case with the voiced palatal fricatives /z/ and /ʒ/.

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In rare cases, the voiceless stops show an aspirated realisation, as in [əm'p^haw] ‘a bit’ (§8.4, l. 758) or [p^has] ‘pass’ (§8.7, l. 1026).

There are some cases of assimilation of consonants across word boundaries. In (4), *détg di* ‘said to’ is realised as [det:i], and in (5), *détg: té* ‘said: you’ is pronounced [det:e].

- (4) [...] api vau détg di mùma [...].
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT mother
 ‘[...] I said to my mother [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 388)
- (5) Pi ò èla détg: «Té savèssaş í
 then have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF
 cul tat [...].
 with.DEF.M.SG grandfather
 ‘Then she said: “You could go up with your grandfather [...].’ (m4, l. 392f.)

There are also some cases where complex consonant clusters are avoided, like for instance [tçs], which is sometimes pronounced [ts] like in [mats] instead of [matçs] ‘bunches’ (§8.11, l. 1438f.).

In rapid speech /tç/ may be realised as an unreleased consonant, yielding a sound that is close to the glide /j/. Examples are *létg/léj* ‘bed’ §8, l. 560), *han-létg/hanléj* ‘business’ (§8.9, l. 1216), or *atgnamajn/ajnamajn* ‘actually’ (§8.16, l. 2013).

A major problem in analysing consonants is the question whether the voiceless word final consonants should be considered as such or as underlyingly voiced. For instance, in Standard Sursilvan the 1st person singular conditional is written *cantass* ‘I would sing’, but in Tuatschin when followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant, it is pronounced /z/, as in *stès/ʃtez/* (6).

- (6) [...] álsò sch’ ju stès aun fá in’ jèda quaj,
 well if 1SG must.COND.1SG still do.INF one.F.SG time DEM.UNM
 figès ju bétga.
 do.COND.1SG 1SG NEG
 ‘[...] well, if I had to do it once more, I wouldn’t do it.’ (Sadrún, m10, l. 1060f.)

Other examples are ‘not even’ and ‘eight’. ‘Not even’ is spelled *gnanc* in Standard Sursilvan, but in Tuatschin it is pronounced with [g] instead of [k] if it is followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant, like in /janŋ in/ ‘not even one’. ‘Eight’ is a similar case since it is spelled *otg* in Standard Sursilvan, but if it is followed

2.4 Syllable structure

by a vowel or a voiced consonant it is pronounced [ɔdʒ] like in [ɔdʒ ɔns] ‘eight years’ (§8.15, l. 1819f.). However, in *òtgònta* ‘eighty’ *òtg* is pronounced [ɔtç] and not [ɔdʒ].

If all final voiceless consonants were pronounced voiced when followed by a voiced element, it would be very easy to establish the rule that every voiceless consonant in word final position is pronounced voiced if followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant. However, this is not the case. In /in br'iek ðd in kwp/ ‘a wooden bucket and a bowl’ /k/ is never pronounced [g]: /in *br'ieg ðd in kwp/. The same holds for *ljuc* ‘place’: /in ljuk, emper'najval/ ‘a cosy place’ vs /in *lug emper'najval/. A further example is /fjuk/ ‘fire’ whose diminutive is /fjuket/ and not /*fjuget/.

Therefore I will deviate from the Standard Sursilvan spelling and write voiced consonants in case they are pronounced voiced when followed by a voiced element, and the rule will be formulated as follows:

Every word final voiced consonant is pronounced as voiceless in isolation or preceding a word starting with a voiceless consonant, whereby *j*, *m*, and *n* behave like voiceless consonants.

That the nasals behave like voiceless consonants is demonstrated by the opposition between *gjuvan* /džuvən/ ‘young (M.SG) v. *gjufna* /džufnə/ ‘young (F.SG)’.

The consequences for the spelling system used in this book will be discussed in §2.5.

2.4 Syllable structure

Tuatschin possesses open and closed syllables, short and long. Long syllables (represented by VV in the table below) are realised by long vowels as well as by diphthongs. Consonant clusters occur in onset and coda position in a restricted way. The combination of two consonants in onset position is realised by a voiced or voiceless stop and /l/ or /r/; three consonants in onset position correspond to the same combinations but preceded by /ʃ/. In coda position, only two consonants occur (/rest/ ‘leftover’), but if the plural suffix -s is added, three syllables also occur (/rests/ ‘leftovers’). Some syllable types are presented in Table 2.6.

Tuatschin possesses words of one, two, and three syllables. Words with four or five syllables are rare and are usually compound words (/džu.ven.'tetç.ne/ ‘youth’ or /ɔ:.re.džv.'zv/ ‘underneath in direction down the valley’). More examples of polysyllabic words are to be found in Table 2.6.

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Table 2.5: Consonant minimal pairs

p	vs	t	/pawn/	'bread'	vs	/tawn/	'so much'
p	vs	n	/pawk/	'little (quant.)'	vs	/pawn/	'bread'
p	vs	ɳ	/kɳp/	'bowl'	vs	kɳŋ/	'wedge'
p	vs	s	/pawn/	'bread'	vs	/sawn/	'blood'
p	vs	tç	/pawn/	'bread'	vs	/tçawn/	'dog'
t	vs	k	/bɔt/	'barrel'	vs	/bɔk/	'billy goat'
t	vs	n	/sə'lit/	'greeting'	vs	/sə'lin/	'wheat'
k	vs	f	/dʐuk/	'play'	vs	dʐuf	'yoke'
b	vs	n	/'rawbe/	'merchandise'	vs	/'rawnɛ/	'frog'
d	vs	n	/'fr:iðe/	'wound'	vs	/'fri:nɛ/	'flour'
d	vs	ts	/'sende/	'path'	vs	/'sentse/	'without'
g	vs	l	/nɛ'ga:/	'drown'	vs	/lɛ'va:/	'wash'
m	vs	l	/fɔm/	'hunger'	vs	/fɔl/	'bellows'
			fi'ma:/	'smoke'	vs	/fi'la:/	'spin'
n	vs	jn	/ɔn/	'year'	vs	ɔŋ/	'alder'
n	vs	ts	/pɔn/	'bridge'	vs	pɔts/	'pond'
n	vs	tç	/lɛn/	'firewood'	vs	/lɛtç/	'marriage'
jn	vs	tç	/peŋ/	'fir tree'	vs	/petç/	'pick'
jn	vs	ts	pɛŋ/	'pledge'	vs	/pɛts/	'chest'
f	vs	r	/najf/	'snow'	vs	najr/	'black'
s	vs	l	/pas/	'step'	vs	pal/	'post'
ʃ	vs	tç	/eʃ/	'door'	vs	etç/	'ointment'
tç	vs	ts	/ɔtç/	'eight'	vs	/ɔts/	'today'
tç	vs	tʃ	/detç/	'said'	vs	/detʃ/	'(I) say'
dʐ	vs	l	/dʐuf/	'yoke'	vs	/luf/	'wolf'

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Table 2.6: Syllable types

V	/ə/	'and'
VV	/i:/	'go'
	/aj/	'expletive pronoun'
VVC	/er/	'yesterday'
	/ejf/	'egg'
VVCC	/welp/	'fox'
CV	/dʒɔ/	'down'
CVC	/tup/	'stupid'
CVCC	//tɔern/	'horn'
CVCCC	/tekst/	'text'
CVV	/di:/	'say'
	/baw/	'beetle'
CVVC	/majns/	'month'
CVVCC	/nejfs/	'nephew'
CCVC	/tras/	'through'
CCVCC	/krest/	'hill'
CCVV	/kraj/	'believe'
	/praw/	'meadow'
CCVVC	/trv:tç/	'narrow path'
	/plajd/	'word'
CCVVCC	/trwi:s/	'narrow paths'
CCCVCVV	/ʃpri'tsa:/	'squirt'
CCCVC	/ʃtrɔm/	'straw'
CCCVVC	/ʃtru:f/	'almost'
CCCVCC	/ʃtrentɔ:/	'strict'
V.CCV	/ɔ.vre/	'work'
VC.CV	/ɔl.mə/	'soul'
V.CVC	/i.ral/	'threshing floor'
CV.CCVC	/sa.'blun/	'sand'
CV.CVVC	/fe'lien/	'spider'
CV.CV.CCV.CV	/fi.li.'ʃtɔ.ke/	
CVC.CV.CV.CV.CVVC	/kɔn.fe.də.ra.'tsjun/	'confederation'
CVC.CV.CV.CVV.CVC	/ma.lse.dz.i'daj.vel/	'ungainly'

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Stress is fixed and can be placed on the ultimate (/ən.'tɔrn/ ‘around’ or /ən.tser.'da:/ ‘aerate the soil’), the penultimate (/mu.'vel/ ‘cattle’), or the ante-penultimate syllable, which is rare (/tsə.'grin.də.rə/ ‘Yenish woman’).

An in-depth analysis of stress, especially of the distribution of secondary stress, must be left to further studies.

rèst /rɛʃt/ (M.N) rest. **rèsts** leftovers

2.5 Spelling system

The spelling system used in this grammar is a compromise between Standard Sursilvan spelling and the aim of making pronunciation and word stress transparent to the reader, which means that one grapheme has to correspond to one sound (or phoneme in most cases) (see Table 2.7 and Table 2.8).

The problems that Standard Sursilvan spelling does not solve are

- whether <e> and <o> are close-mid or mid,
- whether two adjacent vowels form a rising or falling diphthong or whether they represent two vowels in hiatus,
- whether <s> and <sch> are voiced or not,
- and, in some cases, on which syllable of a given word stress falls.

To disambiguate these problems, I will indicate with an acute accent <é, ó> that the vowel is close-mid, and with a grave accent that the vowel is mid (<è, ò>) or near close (<ù>). Voiced palatal fricatives get a dot under the s (<ṣ> for /z/ and <ṣch> for /ʒ/), as is the usage in Romansh bilingual dictionaries. The other cases will be explained below.

Stress rules are as follows:

- Diphthongs are always stressed (*autar* /'awter/ ‘other’).
- Words without a diphthong which end in a vowel or <-n> or <-s> are stressed on the penultimate syllable (*tata* /'tate/ ‘grandmother’, *anzjaman* /ən'tsjamən/ ‘together’, *casas* /kazəs/ ‘houses’).
- Words without a diphthong ending in a consonant, except for words ending in <-n> or <-s>, are stressed on the last syllable (*racrut* /rak'rut/ ‘recruit’).

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- Mid and close-mid vowels (<é, è, ó, ò>) are stressed except if they occur in a word containing a diphthong.
- Words ending in a vowel or <n> or <s> which are stressed on a syllable other than the penultimate get an acute accent. This concerns the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. In other words, *á*, *í*, and *ú* are always stressed (*cantá* /kən'tá:/ 'sing', *barcún* /ber'kun/ 'shutter', *barbís* /ber'bi:s/ 'moustache', *fugí* /fu'dzi:/ 'flee').
- Words with two diphthongs, with two vowels with diacritics, and words with a diphthong and a vowel with a diacritic get an underscore under the stressed vowel or diphthong (*èxtrèm* /eks'trə:m/ 'extreme', *gròndèzja* /grɔn'dezjə/ 'size').
- Other cases of stressed vowels which are not covered by the preceding rules also get an underscore, as for example *mèndar* /'mendər/ 'worse', *anavùs* /ənə've:s/ 'back, backward', *antùrn* /en'tɔrn/ 'around'.

The reason for giving <-n> and <s> special treatment is the fact that <-n> is used for verbal plural and <-s> for nominal and verbal plural. If <-n> and <-s> were treated like the other final consonants, many more diacritics would be used.

A further problem is the treatment of <s> followed by a consonant. Here, I follow the Standard Sursilvan spelling:

- <s> followed by <c², f, m, n, p, qu, r, t> is pronounced [ʃ].
- <s> followed by <b, d, g, v> is written <ṣ> and pronounced [ʒ].
- <s> followed by <c³, l, n, z> is pronounced [s].
- If <s> should not be pronounced [ʃ] or [ʒ], a hyphen separates the two consonants as in <cuns-cianza> (/kuns'tsientsa/) 'conscience', <ris-plí> (/ris'-pli/) 'pencil', or <mjèdṣ-dé/mjèṣ-dé> (/mjèdz-de, mjèz-de) 'noon'. A hyphen is also used to separate <g> from <j> in order to prevent this combination from being pronounced /dʒ/, as e.g. in *nag-janta* '(s)he drowns'.

In the texts (chapter 8) and hence also in the examples taken from these texts, the final consonants are transcribed as they are pronounced. An example is the

²Before consonants as well as before vowels other than *e* and *i*.

³Before *e* or *i*.

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word for ‘ten’, which can be transcribed [déjʃ] or [déjʒ] according to the context in which it occurs.

Table 2.7 and Table 2.8 present the correspondences between the spelling used in this grammar and the IPA phonetic alphabet.

Furthermore, the following orthographic signs are used to indicate elided vowels: ‘ for vowels elided at the end of a word, as in *l'agid* ‘the help’ (instead of *la agid*), and ‘ for vowels elided at the beginning of a word, as in ô ‘*l détg* ‘has he said’ (instead of ô ‘*èl détg*).

2.5 Spelling system

Table 2.7: Correspondences between spelling and IPA I

grapheme	IPA
a	ə, e, a
á	a
b	b
c	k before a, ó, ò, ù, u ts before é, è, i
ch	k before é, è, i
d	d
dṣ	dz
é	e
è	ɛ
f	f
g	g before a, ó, ò, ù, u dʒ before é, è, i
gh	g before é, è, i
gj	dʒ before a, ó, ò, ù, u
gl	ʎ before i and word finally gl before a, é, è, ó, ò, ù, u
glj	ʎ before a, è, é, ò, ó, ù, u
gn	jn
h	x, h
i	i
j	j
l	l
ł	ł
m	m
n	n
ó	o
ò	ɔ
p	p
qu	kw
r	r, ɹ
ṛ	ṛ
s	s word initially, word finally, and preceding <l, n, z> z between two vowels ʃ before <c, f, m, n, p, qu, r, t>
ss	s between two vowels

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Table 2.8: Correspondences between spelling and IPA II

grapheme	IPA
ş	z
	ʒ preceding <b, d, g, v>
sch	ʃ
şch	ʒ
t	t
tg	tç
tsch	tʃ
u	u
ù	ʊ
v	v
x	ks
z	ts before a, ó, ò, ù, u

3 Noun phrase

3.1 The noun

3.1.1 Gender

Tuatschin differentiates two genders, masculine and feminine, which are not restricted to natural gender, but natural gender and grammatical gender usually correspond.

Natural gender of humans and animates is either differentiated by two different words, or – exclusively with human nouns – the suffix *-a* (sometimes with the infix *-èss-*) is added to the masculine form (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Natural gender distinctions

<i>bab</i>	'father'	vs	<i>mùma</i>	'mother'
<i>béádi</i>	'grandson'	vs	<i>béádia</i>	'granddaughter' ^a
<i>buéb</i>	'boy'	vs	<i>buéba</i>	'girl'
<i>frá</i>	'brother'	vs	<i>sòra</i>	'sister'
<i>tat</i>	'grandfather'	vs	<i>tata</i>	'grandmother'
<i>mastral</i>	'senior official'	vs	<i>mastarlèssa</i>	'wife of the senior official'
<i>prénci</i>	'prince'	vs	<i>princèssa</i>	'princess'
<i>sir</i>	'father-in-law'	vs	<i>sira</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>tgaun</i>	'dog'	vs	<i>cògna</i>	'bitch'
<i>tgéjt</i>	'rooster'	vs	<i>gaglina</i>	'hen'
<i>vadí</i>	'calf'	vs	<i>vadjala</i>	'female calf'

^aDRG (1: 60) notes the form *beáditga*, which my consultants do not know.

Some feminine counterparts of masculine animals which are listed in Spescha (1989: 239f.) are not in use in Tuatschín, as for example *cavalla* 'mare', *utschala* 'female bird', *purschala* 'sow'. In the case of *piartg* 'pig', the feminine counterpart is only used in a metaphoric sense: *ina pòrtga* 'a dirty girl'.

Some animals take *taur* 'bull' and *vaca* 'cow' to distinguish male from female, as e.g. *in taur tscharva* 'a deer', *ina vaca tscharva* 'a hind', and still others use *bùc*

3 Noun phrase

‘buck’ and *tgaura* ‘goat’ for the same purpose: *in bùc tgamùs* ‘a chamois buck’, *ina tgaura tgamùs* ‘a female chamois’, or *in bùc cavrial* ‘a male roe deer’, *ina tgaura cavrial* ‘a female roe deer’. Where there are no such nouns differentiating natural gender, *fèmna* ‘woman; female’ and *máscal* ‘male’ are used if necessary.

3.1.2 Number

Singular is not marked, and plural is formed by adding *-s* to the stem of the noun, respectively to any part of the noun phrase (except for masculine plural participles, which take *-i*), whether the stem ends in a vowel or in a consonant: *tgèsə* (f.) ‘house’ vs *tgèsas* ‘houses’, or *rusp* (m.) ‘toad’ vs *rups* ‘toads’. If the noun ends in an *-s*, there is no differentiation between singular and plural. In these cases the suffix *-s* is purely orthographic as in (1).

- (1) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1461f.)
 [...] nuş vèvan naginş raps sèzs.
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL cent.PL self.M.PL
 ‘[...] we didn’t have any money of our own.’

An *<s>* is written after *<z>*, but not after *<s>*, as in *patarnòs*, which is either singular or plural according to context.

There are some irregular plurals which are listed in Table 3.2, Table 3.3, Table 3.4, Table 3.5, and Table 3.6.

Table 3.2: Nouns: irregular plural I

<i>-í</i>	>	<i>-jalts/-alts</i>
<i>aní</i>		<i>anjalts</i> ‘ring’
<i>castí</i>		<i>castjalts</i> ‘castle’
<i>cuntí</i>		<i>cuntjalts</i> ‘knife’
<i>flagí</i>		<i>flagjalts</i> ‘flail’
<i>ischí</i>		<i>ischjalts</i> ‘maple tree’
<i>martí</i>		<i>martjalts</i> ‘hammer’
<i>purschí</i>		<i>purschalts</i> ‘piglet’
<i>ras-plí</i>		<i>ras-pljalts</i> ‘pencil’
<i>rastí</i>		<i>rastjalts</i> ‘rake’
<i>utschí</i>		<i>utschalts</i> ‘bird’
<i>vadí</i>		<i>vadjalts</i> ‘calf’

3.1 The noun

Table 3.3: Nouns: irregular plural II

<i>-éigls</i>	>	<i>-ùlts</i>
<i>anséjgl</i>		<i>ansùlts</i> ‘kid’
<i>catschéjgl</i>		<i>catschùlts</i> ‘sock’
<i>cavréjgl^a</i>		<i>cavrùlts</i> ‘roe deer’
<i>spéjgl</i>		<i>spùglts</i> ‘bobbin’

^aThe form *cavrial* is also used.

The ending *-lts* is also realized *-ls*, without *t*: *cuntjals* ‘knives’ or *catschòls* ‘socks’.

Masculine nouns with the diphthong /je/ or /ej/ in the stem change the diphthong to <ò> /ɔ/, whereby the nouns starting with palatal <tg> /tç/ depalatalize to <c> /k/.

Table 3.4: Nouns: irregular plural III

<i>-ia-</i>	>	<i>-ò- / -ù-</i>
<i>criac</i>		<i>cròcs</i> ‘plough’
<i>fiap</i>		<i>fòps</i> ‘hollow’
<i>iart</i>		<i>òrts</i> ‘garden’
<i>ias</i>		<i>òs</i> ‘bone’
<i>piartg</i>		<i>pòrs</i> ‘pig’
<i>riavan</i>		<i>rùvans</i> ‘slope’
<i>tgaubriacial</i>		<i>tgaubròcals</i> ‘somersault’

Table 3.5: Nouns: irregular plural IV

<i>-é-</i>	>	<i>ò-</i>
<i>tgérn</i>		<i>còrns</i> ‘horn’
<i>tagljér</i>		<i>tagliòrs</i> ‘plate’

Note that in contrast to standard Sursilvan the plural of *tgéjt* ‘rooster’ and

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tgiarp ‘body’ is usually *tgéjts* and *tgiarps* and not *còts* and *corps*.¹

Table 3.6: Nouns: irregular plural V

singular	plural	
<i>bùf</i>	<i>bùs</i>	‘ox’
<i>buéb</i>	<i>buéts</i>	‘boy’
<i>cumandamèn</i>	<i>cumandamajnts</i>	‘commandment’
<i>dé</i>	<i>dis</i>	‘day’
<i>éjf</i>	<i>úfs</i>	‘egg’
<i>ljuc</i>	<i>lògans</i>	‘place’
<i>tgavaj</i>	<i>tgavals</i>	‘horse’
<i>tgavégl</i>	<i>tgavéiglts</i>	‘hair’
<i>trutg</i>	<i>truigls</i>	‘narrow path’
<i>ùm</i>	<i>ùmans</i>	‘man’

Some monosyllabic masculine nouns having the falling diphthong /iə/ convert it in a rising diphthong /ja/: *culiar* vs *culjars* ‘collar’, *falian* vs *fajans* ‘spider’, *fiar* vs *fjars* ‘iron’, or *paliat* v. *paljats* ‘arrow’, *şchiarl* vs *şchjarls* ‘kind of basket’, *stiarl* vs *stjarsl* ‘one year old calf’, *tiarm* vs *tjarms* ‘boundary stone’, and *unviarn* vs *unvjarns* ‘winter’.

In compound nouns it is usually the second noun which modifies the first noun. In such cases, it is only the modified noun, the head noun, which is pluralized.

(2) Tuatschín (*Gadola* 1935: 87)

[...] ju vaj² èra prju ansjaman als quéns

1SG have.PRS.1SG also take.PTCP.UNM together DEF.ART.M.PL bill.PL

da tschèls dus tgau-s-tègja.

of DEM.M.PL two head-PL-alpine_hut.F.SG

‘[...] I have also assembled the bills of the other two heads of the alpine huts.’

3.1.3 Collective nouns

Some inanimate masculine nouns have a feminine singular counterpart which usually refers to collective or generic entities which cannot be pluralized or

¹See also DRG (3: 595).

²The form *vaj* is incorrect in this position and should be replaced by *a*. *Vaj* is only used with subject inversion, *va(j) ju* ‘have I’.

3.1 The noun

counted. Compare: *in tgèrn* ‘a/one horn’ vs *tschun còrns* ‘five horns’ vs *la còrna* ‘the horns’. The noun *pèra* ‘pair (collective)’ is only used with paired terms as *cazès* ‘shoes’; with other entities, *pèrs* ‘pairs’ is used, as examples (3) and (4) show.

- (3) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

traja pèra cazès
three pair.COLL shoe.PL
'three pairs of shoes'

- (4) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

trajs pèrs majla
three pair.PL apple.COLL
'three pairs of apples'

Some more examples of collective nouns are *blòc/blòca* ‘block’, *còtgal/còtgle* ‘charcoal’, *crap/crapa* ‘stone’, *curnagl/curnaglja* ‘Alpine chough’, *fègl/féglja* ‘leaf’, *grép/grépa* ‘rock’, *lèn/lèna* ‘wood’, *majl/ majla* ‘apple’, and *pajr/pajra* ‘pear’. In the case of *fiap* ‘hollow’, *fòpa* refers, not to a collective noun, but to a bigger hollow.

The following examples illustrate collective nouns in context.

- (5) Tuatschín (Selva; Büchli 1966: 26)

Èl' ò vulju vèndar majla [...].
3SG.F have.PRS.3SG want.PTCP.UNM sell.IMP apple.COLL
'She wanted to sell apples.'

- (6) Tuatschín (Selva; Büchli 1966: 53)

«Ò la pajra è pajs?» La mùma
have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG pear.COLL also foot.M.PL DEF.ART.F.SG mother
ò détg: «Na, la pajra ò
have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM no DEF.ART.F.SG pear.COLL have.PRS.3SG
bétga pajs.» A lu ò la fèglja
NEG foot.M.PL and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG daughter
détg: «Scha la pajra ò bétga pajs,
say.PTCP.UNM if DEF.ART.F.SG pear.COLL have.PRS.3SG NEG foot.M.PL
vaj ju magljau in rusp.»
have.PRS.1SG 1SG eat.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG toad
'Do pears have feet?' The mother said: 'No, pears do not have feet.'
Then the daughter said: 'If pears do not have feet, then I have eaten a
toad.'

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- (7) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 997f.)

A lu mávani gl unviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a
 and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG winter down_in PLN and
 trèvan sé lèna culs mél.
 pull.IMPF.3PL up wood.COLL with.DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL

‘And then during winter they used to go down to Cavorgia and transport
 wood with the mules up [to Surrein].’

- (8) Tuatschín (DRG (6: 697))

Al mècsgjar fimjanta cun ògna [...].
 DEF.ART.M.SG butcher smoke.PRS.3SG with alder.COLL
 ‘The butcher smokes with alder wood [...]’

In standard Sursilvan some masculine paired body terms have a collective form which refers to both entities, as for example *in ʂchanugl* ‘one knee’ vs *la ʂchanuglia* ‘the (two) knees’. In Tuatschin, this is not the case, since the feminine form corresponds to the feminine singular.

- (9) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 468ff.)

Basta, ah, par vagní cò sén quaj Pardatsch al,
 enough eh PURP come.INF here on DEM.M.SG PLN DEF.ART.M.SG
 al tat vèva aun fatg
 DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather have.IMPF.3SG in_addition make.PTCP.UNM
 ina satagljèda, ina ganùglja
 INDEF.ART.F.SG REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG knee
 vèva 'l tagljau sé [...].
 have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M cut.PTCP.UNM up

‘Enough, eh, in order to come back to Pardatsch, my grandfather, in
 addition, had had a cut, he cut his knee [...]’

3.1.4 Bare noun phrases

Bare nouns or noun phrases, in the sense of noun phrases without determiners, obligatorily occur with mass nouns and in indefinite plural object noun phrases. Bare nouns are very frequent in prepositional phrases, mostly with a locative meaning (see § 4.2.3 below). Example (10) illustrates mass nouns, (11) an indefinite plural object noun phrase, and (12) a locative prepositional phrase.

3.1 The noun

- (10) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2269f.)
 [...] ins duvrava magnùc a tgarnpiartg.
 GNR need.IMPF.3SG cheese.M.SG and bacon.M.SG
 '[my father would bring here, in addition to the lunch] one needed, also
 cheese and bacon.'
- (11) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1826f.)
 [...] ábar ùş anflá capitanis è bigja schi
 but now find.INF captain.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG NEG so
 sémpal.
 simple.ADJ.UNM
 ' [...] but nowadays to find captains is not so easy.'
- (12) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3)
 Ùsa vòm ju á tgèsa.
 now go.PRS.1SG 1SG to house.F.SG
 'Now I am going home.'

In rare cases, a bare noun may function as a direct object (13).

- (13) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 764)
 Pi vajn nus méz svagljarín [...].
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM alarm_clock.M.SG
 'Then we set the alarm clock [...].'

After the negator *bétga* a bare noun or noun phrase is frequent.

- (14) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 2063)
 Ábar quaj dèva bétga discussjun.
 but DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG NEG discussion.F.SG
 'But there were no discussions.'

3.1.5 Conjoining of nouns

Nouns are joined by *a* ‘and’ and *né* ‘or’; *né ... né* is used for ‘neither ... nor’.

- (15) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2187f.)
 [...] al purtgè a 'l tarsél vèvan
 DEF.ART.M.SG swineherd and DEF.ART.M.SG assistant have.IMPF.3PL
 dad èssar ajn ... ajn tésga [...].
 COMP COP.INF in in alpine_hut.F.SG
 ' [...] the swineherd and the assistant had to stay in ... in the alpine hut [...]'.

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- (16) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 452f.)
 Ins vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into
pùntgas né trádals [...]
 chisel.F.PL or power_drill.M.PL
 'One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used [...].'
- (17) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 47)
 A lu ò 'l signún gju né
 and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG alpine have.PTCP.UNM neither
gròma né latg.
 cream.F.SG nor milk.M.SG
 And then the didn't have cream nor milk.'

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

The determiners all precede the noun they modify and distinguish number and gender but not case. An exception is the definite dative article, which distinguishes number but not gender, and which attributes case to the noun phrase as its name indicates. The definite dative article is obsolescent.

3.2.1 Articles

3.2.1.1 Definite article

The definite article distinguishes between masculine and feminine on the one hand, and between singular and plural on the other, yielding a system of four terms.

Table 3.7: Definite article

M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
<i>al, agl/gl, 'l, l'</i>	<i>als/alṣ, 'ls/'lṣ</i>	<i>la, l'</i>	<i>las/las</i>

The masculine form *al* is used before a noun or a nominalized adjective that starts with a consonant (18) and *agl/gl* with a noun that starts with a vowel (19) and (20). *'l* is used after a word that ends with a vowel (21) and *l'* before an adjective or a determiner that precedes a masculine noun (22).

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

- (18) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 6)
- [...] al gròn èra racrut, a tschèls duş
 [...] DEF.ART.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG recruit.M.SG and DEM.M.PL two.M.PL
 ajn amprèndissadi.
 in apprenticeship.M.SG
 ‘[...] the oldest was a recruit, and the other two [were] in an apprenticeship.’
- (19) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 735f.)
- A lu ajn ajn tgòmbra èri ina tga
 and then in in room.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL one.F.SG REL
 vèva survgnú agl avréł plaza.
 have.IMPF.3SG get.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG April job.F.SG
 ‘And then in our room there was one [girl] that had got a job in April.’
- (20) Tuataschin (Sadrún; m6, l. 881f.)
- [...] qu' è stau gl òn mili a
 [...] DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG be.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG year thousand and
 a sjat tschian a tons [...].
 and seven hundred and so_many
 ‘[...] this was in 1700 and something [...]’
- (21) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m1, l. 176)
- A lu ò 'l bab détg sé pr mè [...].
 and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father say.PTCP.UNM up to 1SG
 ‘And then my father said to me [...]’
- (22) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 68f.)
- L' autar dé va ju gju
 DEF.ART.M.SG other.M.SG day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM
 la lubiantscha dad í vidajn [...].
 DEF.ART.F.SG permission COMP go.INF in
 ‘The day after I got the permission to go there [...]’
- There is, however, one exception. Before the quantifier *antir* ‘whole’, it is not *l'* but *gl* that is used (23).
- (23) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
- Nus vajn luvrau gl' antir dé.
 1PL have.PRS.1SG work.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG whole.M.SG day
 ‘We worked the whole day.’

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The masculine plural form *als/als* is used before consonant (24) and *ls/l̄s* before vowel. The form *'ls/'l̄s* occurs after a word ending in a vowel (25).

- (24) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1805ff.)

A quaj òzaldé als gjuvans tga végnan ò da
and DEM.UNM nowadays DEF.ART.M.PL young.PL REL come.PRS.3PL out of
scùla sadatan bétga gjù schi fétg cun in
school.F.SG REFL.give.PRS.3PL NEG down so often with iNDEF.ART.M.SG
téč plé végls.
bit more old.M.PL

‘And nowadays the young people who come out of school do not want to have to do so much with those who are a bit older.’

- (25) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1301f.)

[...] cu 'ls purs vagnévan [...].
when DEF.ART.M.PL farmer.PL come.IMPF.3PL
‘[...] when the farmers would come [...]’

The feminine forms *la* and *las* occur before consonant; the forms *l'* and *laš* occur before vowel.

- (26) Tuatschín (Surajn; f3, l. 47f.)

A sjantar... òni ampustau tut nùfs ... pr
and after have.PRS.3PL.3PL order.PTCP.UNM all new.M.PL for
l' antira val.
DEF.ART.F.SG whole valley

‘And then ... they ordered all new ... for the entire valley.’

In combination with the preposition *da* ‘of’ and a place name, the definite article is used to form demonymns.

- (27) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; Büchli 1966: 94)

Als da Tujétsch tégnan aut quaj ljuc [...].
DEF.ART.M.PL of PLN hold.PRS.3PL high.UNM DEM.M.SG place
‘The people of Tujetsch uphold this place [...]’

This construction is not restricted to the inhabitants of villages or towns, but occurs with any habitable place.

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

- (28) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 68)
- [...] òn als da tgèsa détg.
 have.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.M.PL of house say.PTCP.UNM
 '[...] said those at home.'

3.2.1.2 Indefinite article

The indefinite article singular is identical to the numeral *in* (m.)/*ina* (f.) ‘one’. The feminine form *ina* is realized *in'* before a word starting with a vowel. There is no plural indefinite article; plural indefinite noun phrases are bare.

The indefinite article is used to introduce into discourse entities which are not known to the hearer or reader (29).

- (29) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 66)
- In' jèda vèv' in pur
 INDEF.ART.F.SG time have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG peasant
 in stauschbèna.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG wheelbarrow
 ‘Once³ a peasant had a wheelbarrow’

Like the definite article, the indefinite article is used for demonymns.

- (30) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 52)
- In da Médal è jus cul trèn
 one.M.SG of PLN be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.ART.M.SG train
 gjù Cuéra.
 down PLN
 ‘A person from Medel went down to Cuera by train.’

3.2.1.3 Definite dative article

Until approximately the 1960, the dative article *di* or *li* was in common use.⁴ Nowadays it is obsolescent; spontaneous productions are rare in the corpus and were exclusively produced by elder people.

The dative article is a definite article; it distinguishes number but not gender. Its forms are *di* (sg) and *dis* (pl) or *li* and *lis*. Whereas *li*, *lis* were widespread in

³Tuatschín speakers usually write *in' jèda* in one word: *ignèda*.

⁴Some indications concerning the dative article in all Romansh varieties can be found in Linder (1987), and Maurer (2017) looks at the definitive dative article in Tuatschin from a diachronic perspective.

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other Sursilvan dialects as well as in further Romansh varieties such as Sutsilvan and Surmiran, *di*, *dis* was a genuine Tuatschin form.

Di and *li* were also used for marking dative case with personal pronouns, however without differentiating gender and number (see below § 3.6.1).

- (31) Tuatschín (Tschaumùt; Büchli 1966: 12)
 Quaj è curdau sé li gljut.
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.UNM up DAT.ART.SG people.F
 ‘People noticed this.’
- (32) Tuatschín (DRG (5: 365))
 èssar sé dias di vischnaunca
 COP.INF on back DAT.ART.SG municipality.F
 ‘to become a burden on the municipality’
- (33) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 143)
 [...] lu òn inş détg quaj li
 then have.PRS.3SG.EUPH GNR tell.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DAT.ART.SG
 préjr [...].
 priest.M
 ‘[...] then they told this to the priest [...].’
- (34) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 69)
 [...] uòn dùn ju ajn mia dùna di gjadju.
 this_year give.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.1SG.F.SG wife DAT.ART.SG Jew.M
 ‘[...] this year I’ll give my wife to the Jew.’⁵
- (35) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 480))
 Las gjufnas duèssan ins tanaj sén bratsch,
 DEF.ART.F.PL young.PL must.COND.3SG.EUPH GNR hold.INF on arm.M.SG
 a lis véglijas dá cun in scanatsch.
 and DAT.ART.PL old.F.PL give.INF with INDEF.ART.M.SG log
 ‘The young women we should hold on our arms, and the old ones we should beat with a log.’

⁵Until more or less 150 years ago, Swiss Jews were only allowed to settle in two villages in the canton of Aargau. Until recently some of them worked as cattle dealers in the whole country.

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- (36) Tuatschín (“Il ratun tschiec” 1889: 199)
- Scha tùts ratunṣ èn intanzjònaj usché scù quèls
 if all.M.PL rat.PL COP.PRS.3PL benevolent.M.PL so like DEM.M.PL
 dus, lura vali bétga tiar èls al proverbi tga
 two then apply.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG by 3PL.M DEF.ART.M.SG proverb REL
 survèscha lis carstgauns par zanur [...].
 serve.PRS.3SG DAT.ART.PL person.M.PL for dishonour
- ‘If all the rats were as benevolent as these two, the proverb which dishonours human beings would not apply to them [...].’
- (37) Tuatschín (DRG (1: 366))
- Quaj da l’ arvégla végna dau
 DEM.UNM of DEF.ART.F.SG pea PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM
 dis tgauras.
 DAT.ART.PL goat.F.PL
- ‘The straw of the peas is given to the goats.’

The dative article was also used after the preposition *ancúntar* ‘towards’ and *sjantar* ‘after’.

- (38) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 64)
- Cò sjaj vagnú ina fèmna ancúntar
 here be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG woman towards
 li quaj pur [...].
 DAT.ART.SG DEM.M.SG peasant
- ‘At this moment a woman came towards this peasant [...].’
- (39) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 146)
- [...] tga nagín fravi ségl antir mùn sapi
 COMP no.M.SG smith on.DEF.ART.M.SG whole world know.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 fá sjantar li èl.
 do.INF after DAT.SG 3SG.M
- ‘[...] that no smith in the whole world would be able to make [things] like him.’

If the noun precludes the use of the definite article, the marker *da* was used. This is the case if, e.g., the noun is modified by an indefinite article (40) (which is zero-marked if the noun is plural (41)), a quantifier (42), or a possessive determiner (43).

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- (40) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 25)
 [...] òi tucau d' ina mata [...].
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL touch.PTCP.UNM DAT INDEF.ART.F.SG girl
 '[...] it was a girl's turn [...]'
- (41) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 118)
 Bétga mataj sé scalíns da tgauras jastras.
 NEG put.IMP.2PL up bell.M.PL DAT goat.F.PL somebody_else's.PL
 'Don't put bells on somebody else's goats.'
- (42) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 104)
 [...] èl daj dí da nagín carstgaun tg'
 3SSG.M should.PRS.SBJV.3SG say.INF DAT no.M.SG person COMP
 èl vagi vju èlas cò [...].
 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F here
 '[...] he shouldn't tell anybody that he had seen them here [...]'
- (43) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 25)
 Parquaj ò 'la dau tissi da
 therefore have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F give.PTCP.UNM poison.M.SG DAT
 sju piartg [...].
 POSS.3SG.M.SG pig
 'Therefore she gave poison to her pig [...]'

The following examples of the definite dative article have been uttered spontaneously by my consultants. There are only examples with *di/dis*.

- (44) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 145)
 Di B.A.W a quaj vöi di cantún.
 DAT.SG B.A.W. and DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG.EXPL DAT.ART.SG canton.M
 'To the B.A.W., and then it goes to the canton.'
- (45) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 132ff.)
 A zacú ò da quaj ... sjaj vagnú ... tgé ...
 and sometime out of DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP
 quèls majnadistricts ... òn la còmpatènza
 DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG competence

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da ... dí dis vaschnaucas ... tgé i òn
 COMP say.INF DAT.ART.PL municipality.F.PL what 3PL have.PRS.3PL
 da fá [...].
 COMP do.INF

'And sometime the result of this was that the heads of district have the authority to tell the municipalities what they have to do [...].'

- (46) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 401f.)

Ju sùn juş in tjamş a plaşchèva
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG time and please.IMPF.3SG
 da mé şchùbar nuét api vau détg
 DAT 1SG clean.ADJ.UNM nothing and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM
 di mùma in dé [...].
 DAT.ART.SG mother.F INDEF.ART.M.SG day

'I went [to nursery school] for a certain time and I didn't like it at all and one day I said to my mother [...].'

Example (47) shows the simultaneous occurrence of *di* and the standard Sur-silvan construction *a + definite article* in the same utterance.

- (47) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 580f.)

Quaj duvrava 'l par dá dis pòrs, trúfals
 DEM.UNM use.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M PURP give.INF DAT.PL pig.M.PL potato.M.PL
 ansjaman par dá áls pòrs.
 together PURP give.INF DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL

'This he used to give the pigs, potatoes together [with nettles] to give the pigs.'

It is not clear to me to which extent the definite dative article is productive among those native speakers who still use it. When I asked one consultant what she thinks about a sentence like *Ju a dau dis pòrs*, literally 'I have given to the pigs', her answer was:

- (48) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

«Ju a dau dis pòrs»? Da lèzas uras
 1SG have.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.UNM DAT.ART.PL pig.M.PL of DEM.F.PL hour.PL
 mintga familja vèva in piartg, dus, traïs, a
 every family.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG pig two three and
 quaj mintgín savèva tgé ca què lès
 DEM.UNM everybody know.IMPF.3SG what COMP DEM.UNM want.COND.3SG

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dí. Óz stuèssan nus mataj dí: «Ju a
say.INF nowadays must.COND.1PL 1PL probably say.INF 1SG have.PRS.1SG
dau da magljè dis pòrs» né «Ju a
give.PTCP.UNM COMP eat.INF DAT.ART.PL pig.M.PL or 1SG have.PRS.1SG
parvašju méjs pòrs».
feed.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.3PL.M pig.PL

“I have given to the pigs”? Formerly, every family had a pig, two, three, and everybody knew what it meant. Nowadays we probably might have to say: «I gave to eat to the pigs» or «I fed my pigs».

It is interesting to note that the consultant uses *dá da magljè dis pòrs* as a modern way of saying things. In my view, this shows that the marker *di/dis* is still a part of the grammar of some older people.

More examples of dative marking will be given below in § 4.2.2 about indirect objects.

3.2.2 Demonstratives

There are four series of demonstratives: the *quèl*-series (Table 3.8), which has deictic as well as anaphoric functions, the *lèz*-series (Table 3.9), which is exclusively anaphoric, the *quèst*-series (Table 3.10), which is only used as a determiner with temporal complements of the verb, and the *tschèl*-series (Table 3.11), which is used in contrast to the *quèl*-series in the sense of ‘the other’. The demonstratives are not restricted to any syntactic function.

In the demonstrative paradigms, there is one syncretism: the masculine singular determiner⁶ and the pronoun which is unmarked for gender have the same form: *quaj*, *gljèz*, and *tschaj*.⁷ This parallels the syncretism in the domain of the adjective: the masculine singular attributive adjective has the same form as the predicative adjective whose antecedent has no gender (see below § 3.3.1).

3.2.2.1 The *quèl*-series

The demonstratives of the *quèl*-series are the only ones which have a deictic function. However, they do not give any information about distance from the place of speech; in order to distinguish proximal from distal, the adverbs *cò* ‘here’ and *lò* ‘there’ are optionally used and are located at the end of the noun phrase.

⁶*Quaj* is also used as a form that may determine place names (see example (55) in this section), but this is not the case of the other three demonstratives.

⁷There is no such syncretism in the *quèst*-series since in this paradigm there are no pronouns.

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Table 3.8: Demonstratives: the *quèl*-series

gender	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL	UNMARKED
determiner	<i>quaj</i>	<i>quèls</i>	<i>quèla</i>	<i>quèlas</i>	<i>quaj</i>
pronoun	<i>quèl</i>	<i>quèls</i>	<i>quèla</i>	<i>quèlas</i>	<i>quaj</i>

Table 3.8 shows that there is only one difference between the determiners and the pronouns: the masculine singular form.

Examples (49) and (50) illustrate the deictic function of the determiners of the *quaj*-series.

- (49) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 324f.)

[...] vau prju **quaj** cùdisch cò da la
have.PRS.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.ART.F.SG
mütòlgia [...].
mythology
'[...] I took this book of mythology [...]':⁸

- (50) Tuatschín (Gadola 1935: 88)

Quaj dajan **quèls** dus gjuvans lò fá [...].
DEM.UNM must.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL two.M.PL young.PL there do.INF
'This the two young [men] over there should do [...].'

The following examples illustrates the anaphoric function of the determiners of the *quaj*-series.

- (51) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 254f.)

A quaj èra mù in ganc tras. A
and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMP.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through and
quaj gang udéva dad òmaşdús.
DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMP.3SG DAT both.M.PL
'And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].'

⁸The speaker was pointing at the book.

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- (52) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2320f.)
 [...] nuš vajn mùgnšch a fatg tùt quèlas
 1PL have.PRS.1PL milk.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM all DEM.F.PL
 lavurs.
 work.PL
 ‘[...] we milked and did all these works.’

Examples (53) and (54) illustrate the anaphoric function of the demonstrative pronouns of the *quèl*-series.

- (53) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 66)
 In’ jèda vèv’ in pur in
 DEF.ART.F.SG time have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer INDEF.ART.M.SG
 stauschbèna. Quèl vagnéva navèn la notg.
 wheelbarrow DEM.M.SG come.IMPF.3SG away DEF.ART.F.SG night
 ‘Once a farmer had a wheelbarrow. This used to disappear during night.’
- (54) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966)
 Èl vèva da cargè ina bùra, mù quèla
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG COMP carry.INF INDEF.ART.F.SG block but DEM.F.SG
 èra gjalada ajla naiv [...].
 COP.IMPF.3SG freeze.PTCP.F.SG in.DEF.ART.F.SG snow
 ‘He had to carry a block (of wood), but it was frozen in the snow [...].’

In § 3.3.1 it will be shown that place names are treated as entities without gender since they trigger the use of the unmarked form of the adjective or the participle in predicative function (see examples 168 and 169 below). Therefore, in (55) I interpret *quaj* modifying the place name *Pardatsch* as unmarked for gender but not as masculine singular.

- (55) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2248f.)
 A grad ajnta quaj Pardatsch èran nus quátar, tschun
 and precisely in DEM.UNM PLN COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL four five
 buéts.
 boy.M.PL
 ‘And precisely in Pardatsch we were four, five boys.’

The unmarked demonstrative pronoun *quaj* refers anaphorically to a precedent sentence or cataphorically to a noun.

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- (56) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 86ff.)
- [...] stuèv' í séls bauns, ah, sél
 must.IMP.F.1SG go.INF on.DEF.ART.M.PL bench ah on.DEF.ART.M.SG
 Krüzipass, Pas dlas Cruschs, cun muossavias, a
 PLN pass of.DEF.ART.F.PL cross.PL with signpost.F.PL and
 vèva sjat da quèlas da purtá sé. A quaj
 have.IMP.F.1SG seven of DEM.F.PL COMP carry.INF up and DEM.UNM
 èra pasanca, api vau tartgau basta.
 COP.IMP.F.3SG very_heavy and have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM enough
 ' [...] [I] had to go on the benches, ah, on the Krüzipass, Pass dallas
 Cruschs, with signposts, and I had seven of them to carry up. And this
 was terribly heavy, and then I thought [it was] enough.'

When *quaj* as the subject of the sentence refers cataphorically to nouns, the copula agrees with *quaj* and not with the predicative noun, which may be singular or plural, feminine or masculine.

- (57) Tuatschín (DRG (4: 376))
- Quaj** è dètgas cumars.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG real.F.PL chatterbox.PL
 'These are real chatterboxes.'
- (58) label Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 28)
- ε kwaj muſtçøs? – kwaj ε furmikløs [...].
 COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM fly.F.PL DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG ant.F.PL
 'Are these flies? – They are ants [...].'
- (59) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 15)
- Uardaj cò sé quèls dus, quaj è dus vajrs
 look.IMP.POL here up DEM.M.PL two DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG two real.M.PL
 lumps!
 rascal.PL
 'Look at these two up there, these are two real rascals!'
- (60) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 307)
- [...] **qu'** èra stau gròndas lavurs [...].
 DEM.UNM be.IMP.F.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL
 ' [...] this had been hard work [...].'

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In the corpus, there are some occurrences of *què* as an allomorph of *quaj*:

- (61) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 831f.)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------------------|----------------|------|-----|----------|
| [...] | quaj | vagnéva | rasdau | cò | ajn | què |
| | DEM.UNM | PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG | speak.PTCP.UNM | here | in | DEM.M.SG |
| | cantún | mù | ròmòntschi | | | |
| | corner | only | Romansh.M.SG | | | |
| | ' [...] in that corner only Romansh was spoken.' | | | | | |

3.2.2.2 The *lèz*-series

The *lèz*-series has exclusively anaphoric functions. In the corpus there is only one example with a determiner of the *lèz*-series, (62).

Table 3.9: Demonstratives: the *lez*-series

gender	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL	UNMARKED
determiner	<i>gljèz</i>	<i>lèz</i>	<i>lèza</i>	<i>lèzas</i>	—
pronoun	<i>lèz</i>	<i>lèz</i>	<i>lèza</i>	<i>lèzas</i>	<i>gljèz</i>

- (62) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 806ff.)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| [...] | scha | nus | mòndjan | a | séjsjan | spèr | la |
| | if | 1PL | go.PRS.SBJV.1PL | and | sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL | next_to | DEF.ART.F.SG |
| | sòr' | | Andréa, | lèza | savèva | ròmòntschi. | Scha nus |
| | sister.F.SG | PN | | | know.IMP.F.3SG | Romansh.M.SG | if |
| | séjsjan | | | | | | 1PL |
| | sén | lèza | majša , | astgjan | | | nus |
| | sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL | on | DEM.F.SG | table | be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL | 1PL | |
| | rašdá | | ramòntschi | [...]. | | | |
| | speak.INF | Romansh.M.SG | | | | | |
| | ' [...] if we went to sit next to Sister Andrea, she knew Romansh. If we sat at that table, we would be allowed to speak Romansh [...].' | | | | | | |

There are two reasons why in (62) the noun *lèza* refers to is mentioned. On the one hand, *majša* is mentioned at a certain distance (line 800), and on the other if *lèza* were used without *majša*, the sentence would be ambiguous and *lèza* could be interpreted as referring to *sòr' Andrea*.

But pronouns of the *lèz*-series are relatively frequent and occur with all syntactic functions. In (63), *lèz* functions as a subject, in (64) as a direct object, in

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(65) *lèzs* functions as an indirect object; in (66) and (67) *lèz* and *gljèz* occur in prepositional phrases.

- (63) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 132)

Lu sèn aj i sén claustra á fá
 then COP.PRS.3PL 3PL go.PTCP.M.3PL on monastery PURP make.INF
 vagní gjù gl avat. Lèz è
 come.INF down DEF.ART.M.SG abbot DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG
 vagnús gjù [...].
 come.PTCP.M.SG down

'Then they went up to the monastery and made the abbot come down. He came down [...].'

- (64) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2116f.)

[...] al signún a tauntas a tauntas,
 DEF.ART.M.SG dairyman have.PRS.3SG so_many.F.PL and so_many.F.PL
 a té as da gidá lèz.
 and 2SG have.PRS.2SG COMP help.INF DEM.M.SG
 '[...] the dairyman has so and so many [cows], and you have to help him.'

- (65) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2217f.)

A lur' vèv' ins da dá ... da magljè da lèzs
 and then have.IMPF.3SG GNR COMP give.INF COMP eat.INF DAT DEM.M.PL
 [...].

'And then one had to feed ... feed them [= the pigs] [...].'

- (66) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m10, l. 1088ff.)

[...] a lu va ju rantaú in mél vi
 ... and then have.1SG 1SG bind.PTCP.UNM one.M.SG mule over
 dal autar, álṣò vi [...] dal ... cavèstar da
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG other well over of.DEF.ART.M.SG bridle of
 lèz, álṣò vi dal ... dal
 DEM.M.SG that_is_to_say on of.DEF.ART.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG
 bast da lèz scù ins di [...].
 packsaddle of DEM.M.SG as GNR say.PRS.3SG

'[...] and then I bound one mule to the other, well, to [...] the bridle of this one, that is to say to the the packsaddle of that one as one says [...].'

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- (67) Tuatschín ([Gadola 1935](#): 91)

Vuš Šèp Flurín duvrajs nuéta salamantá parvia da
 2SG.POL PN PN need.PRS.2SG.POL NEG REFL.complain.INF because of
gljèz [...].
 DEM.UNM

‘You, Sep Flurin, need not complain about that [...].’

The pronoun *gljèz* does not refer to entities that have gender; in (68) and (69) it refers to object clauses.

- (68) Tuatschín ([Sadrún](#); m4, l. 452ff.)

Ins vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into
 pùntgas né tràdals; sch' i sitavan **gljèz**
 chisel.F.PL or power_drill.M.PL whether 3PL blow_up.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM
 sau bétg.
 know.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG

‘One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used; whether they would blow up I don’t know.’

- (69) Tuatschín ([Berther 1998](#): 85)

«Da tgéj as lu samjau?» «**Gljèz** vi ju
 of what have.PRS.2SG then dream.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM want.PRS.1SG 1SG
 schòn dí da té.»
 certainly tell.INF DAT 2SG

‘«What did you dream of then?» «That I will tell you, of course.»’

In some rare cases, *gljèz* is used cataphorically (70).

- (70) Tuatschín ([Camischùlas](#); DRG (3: 379))

Quaj èra cèrts sèrvituts. **Gljèz** sa
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG certain.M.PL constraint.PL DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG
 ju maj tg' i ò dau històrias parví da
 1SG never COMP EXPL have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM story.F.PL because of
 quaj.
 DEM.UNM

‘These were certain constraints. I don’t know at all whether there were problems because of that.’

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As mentioned before, the *quèl*-series may refer deictically and anaphorically to the referent, whereas the *lèz*-series only refers anaphorically to it. Therefore the question arises as to the difference between the two series in the domain of anaphora.

It has not been possible to obtain an explanation for the difference between these two series from my consultants. However, there are at least two domains where *lèz* is preferred over *quèl*: with topicalized subjects which are located outside the sentence ((71); see also (63) above), and with the preposition *cun* 'with' (73). But the *quèl*-series is not excluded from these domains, as (72) and (74) show.

- (71) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, L. 511f.)
 [...] a lu al tat, lèz pinava tiar
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG prepare.IMPF.3SG to
 la tschajna [...].
 DEF.ART.F.SG dinner
 '[...] and then my grandfather, he would prepare dinner [...].'
- (72) Tuatschín (Camischolas; DRG (3: 577))
 Als caschnès da mù dus pòsts, quèls
 DEF.ART.M.PL hay_rack.PL of only two.M.PL post.PL DEM.M.PL
 numnávani gjajnas.
 call.IMPF.3PL.3PL "gjajnas".F.PL
 'The hay racks of only two posts were called *gaiñas*'.
- (73) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
 Ju a antupau al Giari, a lu sùnd
 1SG have.PRS.1SG meet.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG PN and then be.PRS.1SG
 ju jus ád alp cun lèz.
 1SG go.PTCP.M.SG to alp with DEM.M.SG
 'I met Gieri, and then I went to the alpine pasture with him.'
- (74) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 65f.)
 Ju stòpi ir' á fá gjù cun quèls sé
 1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG go.INF COMP make.INF down with DEM.M.PL up
 la tégja dal, da Majgals [...].
 DEF.ART.F.SG alpine_hut of.DEF.ART.M.SG of PLN
 'I should go and make an appointment with those up there in the alpine hut of the, of Maighels [...].'

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3.2.2.3 The *quèst*-series

The *quest*-series is only used when modifying a temporal noun which includes the time of speech; it only functions as a determiner.

Table 3.10: Demonstratives: the *quest*-series

gender	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
determiner	<i>quèst</i>	<i>quèsts</i>	<i>quèsta</i>	<i>quèstas</i>

- (75) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 111)
 Úsa **quèst'** jamna vau fatg gròndas turas [...].
 now DEM.F.SG week have.PRS.1SG.1SG do.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL tour.PL
 ‘Now this week I did long tours [...]’.
- (76) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 614)
 Lò, **quèsta** sèra dòrma lu bigja ajn lò.
 there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG then NEG in there.
 ‘Don’t sleep up there this evening.’

Temporal nouns may also be modified by the *quèl*- and the *tschèl*-series, but then they exclude the time of speech: *quèsta stad* ‘this summer’ vs *quèla stad* ‘that summer’, or *quèst' jamna* ‘this week’ (75) vs *quèl' jamna* ‘that week’ (77).

- (77) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 115f.)
 Api vau détg èls vagjan
 and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 fatg ina tura **tschèl'** jamna [...].
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week
 ‘And then I said that they had done a tour that week [...]’.

In the case of ‘this year’, it is usually rendered either by *uòn*, rarely by *quèst òn*, but *quaj òn* is used to refer to a year that does not include speech time.

- (78) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m8, l. 1539f.)
 [...] **quaj** òn vèvan nuš da fá sé ...
 DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP make.INF up
 ina ... fòrmazjun nòva [...].
 INDEF.ART.F.SG lineup new.F.SG [...].
 ‘[...] that year we had to do ... a .. new lineup ... [...]’.

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

3.2.2.4 The *tschèl*-series

The *tschèl*-series is usually used explicitly or implicitly in contrast to the *quèl*-series or to the numeral *in/ina* ‘one’ and is best translated by ‘the other’.⁹

Table 3.11: Demonstratives: the *tschèl*-series

gender	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL	UNMARKED
determiner	<i>tschaj</i>	<i>tschèls</i>	<i>tschèla</i>	<i>tschèlas</i>	—
pronoun	<i>tschèl</i>	<i>tschèls</i>	<i>tschèla</i>	<i>tschèlas</i>	<i>tschaj</i>

- (79) Tuataschin (DRG (4: 598))

Ina fò ajn cuşchina a tschèla fò sé
 one.F.SG do.PRS.3SG in kitchen.F.SG and DEM.F.SG make.PRS.3SG up
 als létgs.
 DEF.ART.M.PL bed.PL

‘One works in the kitchen and the other makes beds.’

- (80) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 254ff.)

A quaj gang udéva dad òmaşdús. In
 and DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL one.M.SG
 èra da quèla familja, ad in da tschèla.
 COP.IMPF.3SG DAT DEM.F.SG family and one.M.SG DAT DEM.F.SG

‘And this corridor belonged to both [families]. One belonged to this family, and one to the other.’

- (81) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Da quèla vart cò vajn nus la tgèsa comunitàala,
 on DEM.F.SG side here have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEF.ART.F.SG house communal
 a da tschèla vart la basèlgja.
 and on DEM.F.SG side DEF.ART.F.SG church

‘On this side here we have the community hall and on the other side the church.’

⁹To use *autar* ‘other’ instead of *tschèl* in such constructions is felt to be more Sursilvan than Tuatschin by the native speakers I have consulted.

3 Noun phrase

- (82) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 297)

[...] vèv' è pläschaj vi da quaj vi da tschaj
 have.IMPF.1SG also pleasure.M.SG over of DEM.UNM over of DEM.UNM
 [...].

'[...] [I] also enjoyed doing this and that [...]'

The unmarked pronouns *quaj* and *tschaj* also fulfil other functions than purely anaphoric ones. In (83), *quaj* has a temporal, in (84), *tschaj* has a consecutive function, and in (85) *tschaj* means ‘otherwise’.

- (83) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 199ff.)

Quaj èr' in bal, a quaj dèv'
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG ball and DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG
 ins cun in fist, a dèvan quaj ála
 GNR with DEF.ART.M.SG stick and give.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM in.DEF.ART.F.SG
 landstròs, quaj mava fòrsa in autò
 main_road.F.SG DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG maybe INDEF.ART.M.SG car
 gl antiar sjantarmjazdé, áutar nuét.
 DEF.ART.M.SG whole afternoon other.UNM nothing

‘This was a ball, and you played it with a stick, and we played this on the main road, at that time only one car would pass by during the whole afternoon, nothing else.

- (84) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 168ff.)

Ad ju èra, vèva ... in buéb,
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG have.IMPF.1SG INDEF.ART.M.SG boy
 in frá è sadasgrazjaus tgu
 INDEF.ART.M.SG brother be.PRS.3SG REFL.have_accident.PTCP.M.SG REL.1SG
 vèv' òtg majns ála Val Milá,
 have.IMPF.1SG eight month.M.PL in.DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN
 ála grépa, ad vèva aun duas
 in.DEF.ART.F.SG rock.COLL and have.IMPF.1SG in_addition two.F.PL
 sòras, a tschaj èra buép parsul.
 sister.PL and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.1SG boy.M.SG alone.M.SG

‘And I was, had ... a boy, a brother had and accident when I was eight months old, in the Val Milá, in the rocks, and in addition I had two sisters, hence I was the only boy.’

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

- (85) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1936)

Ábar **tschaj** sünd ju adina stada cò tiar purs.
 but DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG always COP.PTCP.F.SG here by farmer.M.PL
 ‘But otherwise I have always been here working for farmers.’

It is not always clear what function these pronouns have. In (86), *quaj* may have a causal ('therefore') or a purposive ('in order to do this') function.

- (86) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 678f.)

Èl durméva bjè, **quaj** mava ‘l sél
 3SG.M sleep.IMPF.3SG a_lot DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M on.DEF.ART.M.SG
 baun-pégnna [...].
 bench.M.SG-oven.F.SG

‘He slept a lot and used to go [and sit] on the oven bench [...].’

3.2.3 Possessives

The possessive paradigm shows one case of syncretism: the possessive determiners of the third persons have the same form whether the possessor is singular or plural. The standard Sursilvan form *lur* ‘their’ for third person plural masculine and feminine is not used.

Table 3.12: Possessive determiners

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1SG	<i>mju</i> ^a	<i>méjs</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>mias</i>
2SG	<i>tju</i>	<i>téjs</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>tias</i>
3SG	<i>sju</i>	<i>séjs</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>sias</i>
1PL	<i>nias</i>	<i>nòs</i>	<i>nòssa</i>	<i>nòssas</i>
2PL	<i>vias</i>	<i>vòs</i>	<i>vòssa</i>	<i>vòssas</i>
3PL	<i>sju</i>	<i>séjs</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>sias</i>

^aIn the corpus, there is one occurrence of the standard Sursilvan form /miw/ (l.114).

3 Noun phrase

- (87) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f2, l. 968ff.)
 [...] cu quèl antschapèv' ajn cun séjs spérts a tùt
 when DEM.M.SG begin.IMPF.3SG in with POSS.3.M.PL spirit.PL and all
 quaj tg' èra.
 DEM.UNM REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG
 '[...] when he started with his spirits and everything that was there.'
- (88) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; Büchli 1966: 90)
 [...] a privava uschéja als purèts da
 and deprive.IMPF.3SG so DEF.ART.M.PL small_peasant.PL of
 sju fatg.
 POSS.3.M.SG property
 '[...] and used in this way to deprive the small peasants of their property.'

The feminine singular possessives *mia* and *tia* usually lose their final *-a* when they precede a noun that starts with a vowel, as in *ti' ònda* 'your aunt', or as in (89). In the corpus, there are also some cases of the masculine form *mju* that is pronounced *mi'* before vowel (90).

- (89) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 326f.)
 Lu sünd ju sadacidjus da ... rasdá
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF
 in pau şur da la ... da mi' ufaunza
 INDEF.ART.M.SG little over of DEF.ART.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood
 [...].

'Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood [...].'

- (90) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 8)
 A... mi' ùm fagèva gè survigiládar [...].
 and POSS.1SG.M.SG man do.IMPF.3SG in_fact supervisor.M.SG
 'And ... in fact, my husband was a supervisor [...].'

Normally, the possessive determiners precede the noun, but in proverbs or sayings they may follow it.

- (91) Tuatschín (Büchli 1966: 100)
 Cùsch buca tia, scha cùschchan
 keep_quiet.IMP.2SG mouth.F.SG POSS.2SG then keep_quiet.PRS.3PL

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

buca tùtas.
 mouth.F.SG all.F.PL
 'Keep quiet, then everybody will keep quiet.'

The possessive pronouns take different forms according to whether they occur as the predicate or in another function, as e.g. subject.

- (92) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 Quaj cùdisch è méjs / téjs / séjs.
 DEM.M.SG book COP.3SG POSS.1SG.M.SG POSS.2SG.M.SG POSS.3SG.M.SG
 'This book is mine / yours / his.'
- (93) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 Al mju / Al tju / Al sju è sén cruna.
 POSS.1SG.M.SG POSS.2SG.M.SG POSS.3SG.M.SG COP.3SG on bookshelf.M.SG
 'Mine / Yours / His / Hers is on the bookshelf.'

Table 3.13: Possessive pronouns

	M.SG	M.PL		F.SG		F.PL		
	nom.	pred.	nom.	pred.	nom.	pred.	nom.	pred.
1SG	al mju	méjs	als méjs	méjs	la mia	mia	las miaş	miaş
2SG	al tju	téjs	als téjs	téjs	la tia	tia	las tiaş	tiaş
3SG	al sju	séjs	als séjs	séjs	la sia	sia	las siaş	siaş
1PL	al niaş	nòş	als nòş	nòş	la nòssa	nòssa	las nòssas	nòssas
2PL	al viaş	vòş	als vòş	vòş	la vòssa	vòssa	las vòssas	vòssas
3PL	al sju	séjs	als séjs	séjs	la sia	sia	las siaş	siaş

Regarding third person plural predicative, some speakers prefer to use *dad èls* 'of them' instead of *séjs* 'theirs', using *séjs* only for singular ('his').

- (94) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 Quaj cùdişch è dad èls.
 DEM.M.SG book COP.PRS.3SG of 3PL.M
 'This book is theirs.'

3 Noun phrase

3.2.4 Indefinites

The indefinite determiners are *mintga* (+C) / *mintg'* (+V)¹⁰ ‘every’, *nagín* (m) / *nagina* (f) ‘no’, and *tùt + def.art* / *tùta + bare noun* ‘all’. *Mintga*, *tùt*, and *tùta* are invariable.

- (95) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1313f.)
 Na na, lu vagnévan nuš anavùs, api vèva mintg'
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
 jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus [...].
 week somebody COMP give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL
 ‘No, no, we would come back, and then every week there was somebody
 who would give us a meal [...]’
- (96) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1327f.)
 A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL up PLN every
 dé sé a gjù, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.
 day.M.SG up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 ‘And we would go up to Valtgèva with the pigs, every day up and down, I
 could tell you about that.’
- (97) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2230f.)
 La stat ... èra nagina scùla.
 DEF.ART.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.F.SG school
 ‘During summer ... there was simply no school.’
- (98) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 2732)
 Partgé nuš vèvan nagíns talafòns, nagín rádjò, nuét.
 because 1PL have.IMPF.1PL NO.M.PL phone.PL NO.M.SG radio nothing
 ‘Because we had no phones, no radio, nothing.’
- (99) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 56ff.)
 Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i
 DEM.UNM COP. PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.ART.M.SG place where REL EXPL
 vagnéva schau tùt la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.F.SG munition REL EXPL
 vèva, sigir.
 have.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM
 ‘This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.’

¹⁰Note that /j/ counts as vowel.

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

- (100) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1303f.)

[...] api stèvan nus vagní á tgèsa ád ... á múlgjar
 and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and PURP milk.INF
tùt las tgauras.
 all DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL
 ' [...] and then we had to go home and milk all the goats.'

- (101) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 41f.)

A sjantar òi gju nùm ... i [...]
 and after have.PRS.3SG.EXPL have.PTCP.UNM name.M.SG EXPL
midjan ò tùt als muossavias.
 change.PRS.SBJV.3PL out all DEF.ART.M.PL signpost.PL
 'And after this, one had to ... [...] they would replace all the signposts.'

As mentioned above, *tùta* is used with bare nouns, is invariable and restricted to singular reference.

- (102) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1368ff.)

Ajn **tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la**
 in all case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.ART.F.SG
mùma da mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mé ...
 mother of POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG
vèvan stju gidá nus [...].
 have.IMPF.3PL must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL

'Anyhow my, my mother and the mother of my mate who was with me
 ... had had to help us [...].'

- (103) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 2045f.)

[...] api lu mavan ins **tùta stat, lò**
 and then go.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR whole summer.F.SG there
vèva da fá quaj.
 have.IMPF.1SG COMP do.INF DEM.UNM
 ' [...] and then we would go for the whole summer, there I had to do that.'

In Büchli (1966: 62) there is an occurrence of *tùts* (104), i. e of variable *tùt*, but this is an obsolescent construction. In my oral corpus, there is no example of this construction.

3 Noun phrase

- (104) Camischùlas (Tuatschín; Büchli 1966: 14)

Ad èla ò piau li èl tùts tiars [...].
 and 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG pay.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M. all.M.PL animal.PL
 'And she paid him all the animals [...]'.

The indefinite pronouns are *anzatgé(j)* / *zatgé(j)* 'something', *x-zatgé(j)* 'something, anything', *finadín (m)* / *finadina (f)* 'everybody (without exception)', *mintgín* 'everybody', *nagín* 'nobody', *nuét* 'nothing', *tùt* 'everything', *tùtas (f)* / *tùts (m)* 'all', and *zatgí* 'somebody'.

- (105) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 740ff.)

Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG nun out so in_front_of
 nias ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau
 POSS.1PL.M.SG door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM
 tòca la audi anzatgéj [...].
 until 3SG.F hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something

'And then the nun was out [on the corridor] like this ... in front of our door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something [...]'.

- (106) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 753ff.)

[...] api sjaj stau in' ura da şchubargè né
 and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG hour COMP clean.INF or
 fá ò cul fiar né x-zatgéj luvrá palas
 do.INF out with.DEF.ART.M.SG iron or anything do.INF for.DEF.ART.F.PL
 sòras [...].
 nun.PL

'[...] and then we had to clean for one hour or iron or do something else for the nuns [...]'.

- (107) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 243)

Tùts stuèvan spargnè. Finadín. Vèvan nagíns... réhs.
 all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF everyone have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL rich.PL
 'Everyone had to save. Absolutely everyone. We had no ... rich people.'

- (108) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2102f.)

Quaj ... ins stèva vagní ... mintgín sén
 DEM.UNM GNR must.IMPF.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

- sju quántum [...].
 POSS.3SG.M.SG amount
 ‘This ... one had to reach ... everyone their amount [...]’
- (109) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 91)
 Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.
 here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG end no.M.PL
 ‘In the end I don’t have any down here.’
- (110) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 59)
 Ad ùş è quaj nuét dal tùt.
 and now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM nothing of.DEF.ART.M.SG all
 ‘And now there is nothing of all that [left].’
- (111) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 131)
 Laş vaschnaucas lajn í tùt ajn décadènza.
 DEF.ART.F.PL municipality.PL let.PRS.3PL go.INF all in decadence.F.SG
 ‘The municipalities let everything go into decline.’
- (112) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 243)
 Tùts stuèvan spargnè.
 all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF
 ‘Everyone had to save.’
- (113) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1313f.)
 Na na, lu vagnévan nuş anavùs, api vèva mintg’
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
 jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus [...].
 week somebody COMP give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL
 ‘No no, we would then come back, and then every week there was
 somebody who would give us a meal [...]’

Adatgí as a dative indefinite pronoun is found in the following example; note that nowadays this form is obsolete.

- (114) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 154))
 Adatgí plaj barba, adatgí barbís,
 DAT.some please.PRS.3SG beard.F.SG DAT.some moustache.M.SG
 adatgí gjùta, adatgí ris.
 DAT.some pearl_barley.F.SG DAT.some rice.M.SG
 ‘Some like beards, some moustaches, some pearl barley, some rice.’

3 Noun phrase

The combination of *anzatgé* ‘something’ with *in / ina* ‘indefinite article’ does not function as a quantifier, but has a comparative meaning, best translated by ‘a kind of’, as in (115).

- (115) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; DRG (3: 580))

Tùt als pòsts vèvan anzatgé in crap
all DEF.ART.M.PL pal.PL have.IMPF.3PL something INDEF.ART.M.MSG stone
ṣutajn.
under_in

‘All hay rack pals had something like a stone under them.’

3.2.5 Quantifiers

3.2.5.1 Numerals

Cardinal numbers are found in Table 3.14 and Table 3.15.

Table 3.14: Cardinal numerals (first part)

		0	<i>nula</i>		
1	<i>in</i>	11	<i>indišch</i>	21	<i>véntgín</i>
2	<i>dus, duaş</i>	12	<i>dùdišch</i>	22	<i>véntgadús</i>
3	<i>trajş</i>	13	<i>trèdišch</i>	28	<i>véntgòtg</i>
4	<i>quátar</i>	14	<i>quitòrdišch</i>	30	<i>trénta</i>
5	<i>tschun</i>	15	<i>quindišch</i>	40	<i>curònta</i>
6	<i>siş</i>	16	<i>sédaşch/sédišch</i>	50	<i>tschuncònta</i>
7	<i>sjat</i>	17	<i>gisját</i>	60	<i>sissònta</i>
8	<i>òtg</i>	19	<i>şchòtg</i>	70	<i>sjatònta</i>
9	<i>nùv</i>	19	<i>şchèniv</i>	80	<i>òtgònta</i>
10	<i>déjşch</i>	20	<i>végn</i>	90	<i>navònta</i>

From one hundred onwards, the hundreds are linked by the conjunction *a / ad* ‘and’ from one to twenty: *tschian ad òtg* ‘108’, *duatschian a şchèniv* ‘219’, *sjattschian a végn* ‘720’, but *nùftschian tréntadús* ‘932’.

The numerals that follow *mili/méli* ‘thousand’ and *maljún* ‘million’ are also linked by *a* ‘and’: *méli ad òtgtschian òtgòntasjat* ‘1887’ (line 332f.) or *dus maljúnş a trajatschian a végn* ‘2.320’.

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

Table 3.15: Cardinal numerals (second part)

100	<i>tschian</i>	1.000	<i>mili/méli</i>
200	<i>dúatschian</i>	2.000	<i>duamili</i>
300	<i>tráj(a)tschian</i>	3.000	<i>trajamili</i>
400	<i>quátartschian</i>	4.000	<i>quátermili</i>
1.000	<i>in maljún</i>	2.000.000	<i>dus maljúnṣ</i>

- (116) Tuatschín (DRG (6: 728))

In ufaun è pauc, dus è drètg, trajṣ
 one.M.SG child COP.PRS.3SG little two.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG all_right three
 è strètg, quátar è fula, tschun
 COP.PRS.3SG narrow.ADJ.UNM four COP.PRS.3SG crowd.F.SG five
 è paluna a šbaluna.
 COP.PRS.3SG pile.F.SG and collapse.PRS.3SG

‘One child is little, two are all right, three are narrow, four are a crowd, five are a lot that collapses.’

- (117) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 94ff.)

[...] quaj va¹¹ sé sén dua mili a trajtschian a
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG up on two thousand and three_hundred and
 taunts mètarṣ sur mar.
 so_many.M.PL metre.PL above sea.F.SG
 ‘[...] this goes up until 2'300 metres or so above sea level.’

The cardinal numerals *dua* and *traj(a)* are used with *tschian* ‘hundred’ and *mili* ‘thousand’ (see Table 3.15), and also with some collective nouns.

- (118) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Èl ò cumprau dua/traja pèra cazès.
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG PTCP.UNM two/three pair.COLL shoe.M.PL
 ‘He bought two / three pairs of shoes.’

- (119) Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 28)

eləz ɔn traj pèra tcombəs [...].
 3PL.F have.PRS.3PL three pair.COLL leg.PL
 ‘They [the ants] have three pairs of legs.’

¹¹va is a standard Sursilvan form; the Tuatschin form is vò.

3 Noun phrase

The fractions occurring in the corpus are *quart* ‘quart’, *miaz, mjasa* ‘half’, *antir, -a* ‘whole’; ‘both’ is rendered by (*d*)òmaşdús/(*d*)òmaşdúas.

- (120) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 446f.)
 A quaj è ina rùsna, ò tgé pù
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG hole oh what can.PRS.3SG
 qual’ èssar ... in mètar a miaz ... lada [...].
 DEM.F.SG be.INF one.M.SG metre and half large.F.SG
 ‘And there is a cave, oh how big may it be ..., one and a half metres ... wide [...].’
- (121) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2013)
 Quaj è in’ ur’ a mjasa par vièdi.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG hour and half.F.SG for trip.M.SG
 ‘It takes one and a half hours per trip.’
- (122) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 47f.)
 A sjantar ... òni ampustau tut nùfs ... pr
 and after have.PRS.3PL.3PL order.PTCP.UNM all new.M.PL for
 I’ antira val.
 DEF.ART.F.SG whole valley
 ‘And then ... they ordered all new ones ... for the entire valley.’
- (123) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1091f.)
 [...] api ah sùnd jus cun dòmaşdús.
 and eh be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG with both.M.SG
 ‘[...] and then eh I left with both [mules].’

Ordinal numbers have special forms from 1-4; from 5 onwards they take the suffix *-aval / -avla*: *ampréim, ampréima* ‘first’, *sacund, -a / zacund, -a* ‘second’, *tiarz, tjarza* ‘third’, *quart, -a* ‘fourth’, *tschunaval, tschunavla* ‘fifth’, *déjişchaval, déjışchavla* ‘tenth’, *véntgaduşavel, véntgaduşavla* ‘twenty-second’, and so on. ‘Last’ is rendered by *davùs, davùsa*.

- (124) Tuatschín (DRG (6: 421))
 dá cun flugjals la zacunda jèda.
 give.INF with flail.M.PL DEF.ART.F.SG second time
 ‘beat with flails for the second time’

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

3.2.5.2 Other quantifiers

Quantifying determiners are *ampau* ‘a bit’, *aungatáun* ‘as much as, once as much’, *anqual* / *inqual* ‘some’, *bjè* ‘many’, *massa* / *mass* ‘many, lots’, and *zatgé(j)* / *zitgé(j)* ‘some’ (literally ‘something’). All these determiners are invariable except *bjè*, which is invariable or which agrees in gender and number with the noun it modifies.

- (125) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m2, l. 1550f.)
 [...] vignévan quels lu vi a dèvan ... matévan
 come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and give.IMPF.3PL put.IMPF.3SG
 ajnagjù **ampau raps** [...].
 into_and_down a_bit cent.M.PL
 ‘[...] they would come over and give ... put into the piggy bank some cents [...].’
- (126) Tuatschín (DRG (6: 546))
 Quaj frust ò dau uòn **aungatáun**
 DEM.M.SG meadow have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM this_year as_much
 fajn.
 hay
 ‘This meadow has produced as much hay [as last year].’
- Instead of *aungatáun* it is also possible to say *aun in jèda taun* ‘still one time as much’.
- (127) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 162)
 Anqual jèda ... drùvi halt ... da dí.
 some time.F.SG must.PRS.3SG.EXPL just COMP say.INF
 ‘It is sometimes ... just necessary ... to say [it].’
- (128) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 537f.)
 [...] a lò vòu schòn ah ... gju **inqual**
 and there have.PRS.1SG.1SG really eh have.PTCP.UNM some
 tèma.
 fear.F.SG
 ‘[...] and there I was eh sometimes afraid.’

3 Noun phrase

- (129) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 364)
 [...] ad ò lu stu í á fá
 and have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF COMP make.INF
 cura, mass' òns [...].
 treatment.F.SG many year.M.PL
 '[...] and for many years he had to go to a health resort [...].'
- (130) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1526f.)
 [...] qu' èra massa gjuvantétgna cò ála
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG lots youth.F.SG here in.DEF.ART.F.SG
 val.
 valley
 '[...] there were a lot of young people here in the valley.'
- (131) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 437)
 Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza sè aun
 and EXPL still COP.IMPF.3SG there some remnant.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG still
 lò [...].
 there
 'And there is also, there still are some remnants there [...].'
- (132) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 471f.)
 Lèdṣ vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG COMP
 úndšchar ajn [...].
 oil.INF in
 'He had given [him] some ointment to rub in [...].'

As mentioned above, the determiner *bjè* is either invariable or takes the plural forms *bjèras* (f) or *bjèrs* (m).

- (133) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 995f.)
 Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn
 then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL much down_in PLN here from DEM.M.SG big
 uaul vagnéva bjè lèna.
 forest come.IMPF.3SG much wood.COLL
 'Then they often went down to Cavorgia, there came much wood from
 that big forest there.'

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

- (134) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 394ff.)
- Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn,
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG nun from PLN
 la sòra Paulina, quèla ò dau bjè
 DEF.ART.F.SG Sister PN DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many
 òns scùlèta cò.
 year.M.PL nursery_school.F.SG here
- ‘That was a nun from Glion, Sister Paulina, she taught for many years at the nursery school here.’
- (135) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
- Bjèras fèmnas òn zambargjau.
 many.F.PL woman.PL have.PRS.3PL do_crafting.PTCP.UNM
 ‘Many women did crafting.’

In comparative (136) and superlative (137) constructions, *bjè* is treated like an adjective (see § 3.3.2 below).

- (136) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 908ff.)
- [...] la banadicjún, lèza vèva plé bjè
 DEF.ART.F.SG blessing DEM.F.SG have.IMP.3SG much more
 fòrza sélas stréjas.
 power.F.SG on.DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL
 ‘[...] the blessing had much more power over the witches.’
- (137) Tuatschín (Ruérás; m3, l. 2197f.)
- [...] quaj duvrava la plé bjè lèna ...
 DEM.UNM need.IMP.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG more much firewood.COLL
 quaj stèva buglí.
 DEM.UNM must.IMP.3SG boil.INF
 ‘[...] that required the highest quantity of firewood ... the whey had to boil.’

As a pronoun, *bjè* takes the form *bjèrs* (m) and *bjèras* (f).

- (138) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1628f.)
- [...] bjèras schavan lu è bétga vagní ajn [...].
 many.F.PL let.IMP.3PL then also NEG come.INF in
 ‘[...] many [young women] wouldn’t let [the young man] come in [...]’

3 Noun phrase

- (139) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 487ff.)
- [...] ábar dals, méjs gjaniturs vajn nuş
 but DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL
 ùssa bégja détg Vus, ábar i éra bjèrs tga...
 now NEG say.PTCP.UNM 2PL but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG many.M.PL REL
 òn détg tòcan, gè práctisch adina Vus
 have.3PL say.PTCP.UNM until yes practically always 2PL
 dals gjaniturs.
 DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL parent.PL
- ‘[...] but to the, my parents we now never said *Vus*, but there were many who have said until, well practically always *Vus* to their parents.’

Non-countable quantifying nouns such as *in téč* ‘a bit’, *in tschùpal* ‘a lot’ as well as countable quantifying nouns such as *ina butèglja* ‘a bottle’ or *duas butègljas* ‘two bottles’ are used without partitive preposition.

- (140) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 566ff.)
- Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú
 down there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM
 in téč quajda d’ í par crapa [...].
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL
- ‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit [...].’

- (141) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1178f.)
- Ad uschéja vès ju, savès ju raquintá
 and so have.COND.1SG 1SG can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF
 in tschùpal èvènimajnts tg’ èn schabagjaj
 INDEF.ART.M.SG lot incident.M.PL REL be.PRS.3PL happen.PTCP.M.PL
 cun quèls mél.
 with DEM.M.PL mule.PL
- ‘And so I would, I could recount a lot of incidents that happened with these mules.’

- (142) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1575f.)
- Quèl tga gartagjava ... survagnév’ ina butèglja
 DEM.M.SG REL succeed.IMPF.3SG get.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG bottle
 vin.
 wine.M.SG
- ‘The person who succeeded would get a bottle of wine.’

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

Further examples of countable quantifying nouns occurring in the corpus are *in glas aua* ‘a glass of water’ (l. 2078), *in matg flurs* ‘a bunch of flowers’ (l. 1820), *in pèr jamnas* ‘a couple of weeks’ (l. 1471), *mju quantum vacas* ‘my amount of cows’ (l. 2073f.), *in gròn tòc prau* ‘a big piece of meadow’ (Büchli (1966: 121)).

Furthermore, *bjè* is used adverbially (143) meaning ‘often’; it can also be nominalised and corresponds to ‘much, many’ (144) or ‘mostly’ (145).

- (143) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 293ff.)

A gju quèl al plé gròn plaçhaj
and have.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG more big.M.SG.UNM pleasure
... da ... surprèndar lavurs da maridur a da májstar, a
 of take_over.INF job.F.PL of bricklayer.M.SG and of joiner.M.SG and
mava plé **bjè** sén gljèz.
go.IMPF.1SG more often on DEM.UNM

‘And had the greatest pleasure ... to take over bricklayers’s or joiners’
jobs, and I did more often that [kind of work.]’

- (144) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 386))

Al **bjè** fò bétga plajn.
DEF.ART.M.SG much make.PRS.3SG NEG full
‘A big quantity does not fill the stomach.’

- (145) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1904f.)

[...] al **bjè** mavan nus sémplamajn lò
DEF.ART.M.SG much go.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV there
nuca nuş vèvan còlegs [...].
where.REL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL mate.M.PL
‘[...] we would mostly go simply where we had friends [...]’

3.2.5.3 The construction *tùt tga* and similar

The construction with an indefinite noun or noun phrase and similar followed by the relative pronoun *tga* is common to all Romansh varieties except for Puter, and has been described by Linder (1987: 185-204).

In the oral corpus, only three examples have been found.

- (146) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 555)

A **magari** *tga* pudèvan lu bigja ... vidajn [...].
and sometimes REL can.IMPF.3PL then NEG in
‘Now sometimes they couldn’t manage to come ... into [the *stiva* and
sleep on hay] [...]’

3 Noun phrase

- (147) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m3, l. 2063f.)
 Quaj nagín tga [...] lèva bétga fá.
 DEM.UNM nobody REL want.IMPF.3SG NEG do.INF
 ‘Nobody [...] would refuse to do it.’
- (148) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m3, l. 2075f.)
 [...] quaj tùt tga mungèva [...].
 DEM.UNM all REL milk.IMPF.3SG
 ‘[...] here everybody had to milk [...]’

What is special about this construction is that the *tga*-phrase looks like a relative clause, but in fact this is not the case. In (146), *magari* ‘sometimes’ is not the antecedent of a relative clause, but is a time adverb that belongs to the main clause.

It has not yet been possible to determine the exact function of this construction, but in any case it introduces new information and emphasizes the situation referred to (see Linder (1987: 195-198)). However, it is not a general topic construction since it is limited to a few words, especially to indefinites in subject function (Table 3.16).

Table 3.16: List of indefinites and others + *tga*

<i>bétg in tga</i>	‘not one’
<i>bjèrs tga</i>	‘many’
<i>gnang in tga</i>	‘not even one’
<i>magari tga</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>mintga N tga</i>	‘every’
<i>mintgín tga</i>	‘everybody’
<i>nagín tga</i>	‘nobody’
<i>paucs tga</i>	‘not many’
<i>tùt tga</i>	‘everything, everybody’
<i>tùtas tga</i>	‘all (f.)’
<i>tùts tga</i>	‘all (m.)’

For example, it is not possible to say

- (149) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 Al Gjòn *tg' ò angulau als
 DEF.ART.M.SG PN REL have.PRS.3SG steal.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.PL

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

raps.

cent.PL

‘It is Gion who stole the money.’

But one can find a construction involving the expletive pronoun *i* and the copula which has the same functions and the same restrictions, and of which the *tùt tga* construction could be an ellipsis (see also Linder (1987: 201)).

- (150) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

I è gnang in tg' è vagnús tiar
EXPL COP.PRS.3SG not_even one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to
nus.
1SG

‘Not a single person came to see us.’

The following examples of the construction with *tga* are either elicited or taken from written sources. The elicited forms were accepted by all the native speakers that have been consulted.

- (151) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Gnang in tg' è vagnús tiar nus.
not_even one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to 1SG
‘Not a single person came to see us.’

- (152) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Á quèla fjasta mintgín tg' è vagnús.
to DEM.F.SG party everyone REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG
‘Everybody came to this party.’

- (153) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 69)

Avaun tschian òns pliravan nòs bunṣ⁶
ago hundred year.M.PL complain.IMPF.3PL POSS.1PL.M.PL good.PL
végl̩s da pudaj fugí gl unviarn navèn da
old.PL COMP be_able.INF escape.INF DEF.ART.M.SG winter from of
Sèlva ad ùssa, tùt tga vut stá luòra [...].
PLN and now all REL want.PRS.3SG stay there_out

‘One hundred years ago our good old [people] used to complain because they wanted to escape from winter away from Selva, and now everybody wants to stay there.’

3 Noun phrase

- (154) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 491))

Ûş è **tùt tga** vò cun brajntas da stùrs.
 now COP.PRS.3SG all REL go.PRS.3SG with basket.PL of sheet_metal
 ‘Now everybody goes with a basket made of sheet metal.’

If *tùt* has a plural reference, the agreement is syntactic, which means that verbs, adjectives, and participles occur in their singular form, the latter two in their unmarked form as in (155).

- (155) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Quasi **tùt tg'** è vagnú á fjasta.
 almost all REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM to party.F.SG
 ‘Almost everyone came to the party.’

3.3 The adjective

3.3.1 Forms of the adjective

The adjective distinguishes two genders and two numbers: masculine, feminine, singular, and plural. Singular is unmarked except for masculine predicative adjectives, but plural gets the suffix *-s*.

All adjectives display four forms, whereby a single form may fulfil different functions:

- one form for masculine attributive singular and for predicative adjectives that are unmarked for gender,
- one form for masculine singular predicative as well as masculine plural attributive and predicative,
- one form for feminine singular attributive and predicative, and
- one form for feminine plural attributive and predicative.

The distribution of the adjectives according to whether they occur in predicative or in attributive function have a slightly different distribution in the domain of masculine adjectives (Table 3.17).

Adjectives may show stem alterations (Table 3.19) or not (Table 3.18). A list of adjectives with stem alteration is given in Table 3.20.¹²

¹²Some adjectives with stem alterations which are listed in Spescha (1989: 282f.) are not used

3.3 The adjective

Table 3.17: Forms of the attributive and predicative adjectives

	masculine attributive	predicative	feminine attributive	predicative	unmarked predicative
SG	-Ø	-s	-a	-a	-Ø
PL	-s	-s	-as	-as	

Table 3.18: Adjectives without stem alterations

<i>in cùdisch alv</i>	‘a white book’
<i>Quaj è alv.</i>	‘This is white.’
<i>Quai cùdisch è alvs.</i>	‘This book is white.’
<i>sis cùdischs alvs</i>	‘six white books’
<i>Quèls cùdischs èn alvs.</i>	‘These books are white.’
<i>ina flur alva</i>	‘a white flower’
<i>Quèla flur è alva.</i>	‘This flower is white.’
<i>sis flurs alvas</i>	‘six white flowers’
<i>Quèlas flurs èn alvas.</i>	‘These flowers are white.’

Table 3.19: Adjectives with stem alterations

<i>in bi dé</i>	‘a beautiful day’
<i>Mazá è bégja bi.</i>	‘To kill is not nice.’
<i>Quai cùdisch è bjals.</i>	‘This book is beautiful.’
<i>sis bials cùdischs</i>	‘six beautiful books’
<i>Quèls cùdischs èn bjals.</i>	‘These books are beautiful.’
<i>Quai è ina bjala flur.</i>	‘This is a beautiful flower.’
<i>Quèla flur è fétg bjala.</i>	‘This flower is very beautiful.’
<i>Quaj è bjalas flurs</i>	‘These are beautiful flowers’
<i>Las flurs sén quai prau èn bjalas.</i>	‘The flowers on this meadow are beautiful.’

3 Noun phrase

Table 3.20: List of adjectives with stem alterations

<i>agjan, agjanş, atgna, atgnaş</i>	‘own’
<i>bi, bialş, biala, bialas</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>bian, bunş, buna, bunaş</i>	‘good’
<i>caviartg, cavòrtgs, cavòrtga, cavòrtgas</i>	‘hollow’
<i>grias, gròş, gròssa, gròssas</i>	‘big’
<i>íastar, jastarş, jastra, jastras</i>	‘foreign’
<i>matgiart, macòrts, macòrta, macòrtaş</i>	‘ugly’
<i>miart, mòrts, mòrta, mòrtaş</i>	‘dead’
<i>miaz, mjasa</i>	‘half’
<i>niabal, nòbelş, nòbla, nòblaş</i>	‘noble’
<i>néjv, núfs, nóva, nóvas</i>	‘new’
<i>pin, pinş, pintga, pintgas</i>	‘small, little’
<i>schliat, schljats, schljata, schljatas</i>	‘bad’
<i>sògn, sògnş, sòntga, sòntgas</i>	‘holy’
<i>tgétschen, còtgenş, còtyna, còtynaş</i>	‘red’
<i>tiarz, tjarzs, tjarza, tjarzaş</i>	‘third’
<i>tschiac, tschòcs, tschòca, tschòcaş</i>	‘blind’
<i>ziap, zòps, zòpa, zòpaş</i>	‘limp’

The adjectives ending in *-al* lose their reduced vowel in the feminine form, as in *pussajval* (m) vs *pussajvla* (f) ‘possible’, or *şgarşchajval* (m) vs *şgarşchajvla* ‘terrible’.

The predicative forms of the adjective do not only occur with copulative verbs, but also if the adjective refers to a physical or mental state of the noun it refers to, as in examples (156) - (161).

- (156) Camischùlas (Tuatschin; Büchli 1966: 82)

[...] lu ò las anflau èl mòrts
then have.PRS.3sg 3PL.F find.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M dead.M.SG

in Tuatschin. These are *detschiert*, *detscharta* ‘resolute’, *tanien*, *tanienta* ‘such’; for *stiert*, *storta* and *uiersch*, *uiarscha*, both ‘crooked’, the adjective *crûtsch*, *-a* is used; however, *ina stòrta* ‘a bend’ exists. As for *ierfan*, *orfna* ‘orphan’, only the masculine form *iarfan* is used as a noun for both genders. Furthermore, *tiest*, *tosta* ‘dried’ is only used in *majla tòsta* ‘dried apples’ or *pèra tòsta* ‘dried pears’.

3.3 *The adjective*

- spèl badugn gjù.
 next.DEF.ART.M.SG. birch down
 ‘[...] then they found him dead next to the birch.’
- (157) Tuatschín (Cavorgia; Büchli 1966: 119)
 Èla schèva crèschar l’ jarva schi bjala [...].
 3SG.F let.IMPF.3SG grow.INF DEF.ART.F.SG grass so beautiful.F.SG
 ‘She used to let the grass grow so beautiful [...]’
- (158) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 Té vas zòps.
 2SG go.PRS.2SG limp.M.SG
 ‘You are limping.’
- (159) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m10)
 Èl è turnaus cuntjants á tgèsa.
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG come_back.PTCP.M.SG happy.M.SG to home.F.SG
 ‘He came back home happy.’
- (160) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 106)
 Parquaj satila ‘l ò bluts [...].
 therefore REFL.pull.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out naked.M.SG
 ‘Therefore he took off all his clothes [...]’
- (161) Tuatschín (Surain; Büchli 1966: 129)
 [...] schagljùc végne ju manizaus ampaglja schi
 otherwise PASS.AUX.PRS.1SG 1SG chop.PTCP.M.SG damaged so
 manédeps [...].
 fine.M.SG
 ‘[...] otherwise I get completely chopped into such fine pieces [...]’

In infinitive sentences with a copulative verb (162), the adjective gets the masculine singular predicative *-s* in spite of the fact that it has a generic, not a masculine referent.

- (162) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
 Èssar mazauns è bigja bi.
 COP.INF ill.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG NEG nice.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Being ill is not nice.’

3 Noun phrase

The generic pronoun *ins* triggers the use of the masculine singular form of the adjective in predicative position (163).

- (163) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1986f.)
 [...] èr' **ins trést** ajn in cèrt sèn [...].
 COP.IMPF.3SG GNR sad.M.SG in INDEF.ART.M.SG certain sense
 ‘[...] one felt sad in a certain sense [...]’

The morphologically unmarked form occurs in predicative function if the subject it refers to has no gender, as e.g the demonstrative *quaj* ‘this’, place names, generic noun phrases, or nonfinite subject clauses, as in (164) - (168). The same holds for the predicative past participle, as in (169).

- (164) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 416)
 [...] **quaj** èra bigja grat schi sémpal.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG exactly so easy.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] this was not exactly that simple.’
- (165) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
 Nùrsas è şgarşchajval.
 sheep.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG horrible.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Sheep are horrible.’
- (166) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
 Vacanzas è bi.
 holiday.PL COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Holidays are nice.’
- (167) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 Vjagè è bi.
 travel.INF COP.PRS.3SG beautiful.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Travelling is great.’
- (168) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
 Gljòn è pin.
 PLN COP.PRS.3SG small.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Glion is small.’

3.3 The adjective

- (169) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 424f.)

Ah... Nalbṣ è vagnú fraquantau ò scù
 eh PLN be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.M.UNM visit.PTCP.M.UNM out as
 ah majṣès ad alps adina [...].
 eh assembly_of_house.M.SG and alpine_pasture.F.PL always
 'Eh ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as
 pastures [...].'

The unmarked form is also used with pronouns that have no gender like *zatgéj* 'something' in (170).

- (170) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1136f.)

A galòpau, galòpau, galòpau, zatgéj
 and gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM something
 sgarşchajval, nuş èssan vagní da tanaj èls
 terrible.ADJ.UNM 1PL be.PRS.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP hold.INF 3PL.M
 pér gjù sur Sèlva.
 only down above PLN

'And [the mules] galloped, galloped, galloped, this was horrible, we only
 managed to hold onto them above Selva.'

3.3.2 Degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs

In this section, the degrees of comparisons of adverbs will be included for convenience.

The positive is built with *usché* 'so' and *scù* 'as, like'. The comparative is constructed with *plé* 'more' and *tga* 'that'. Only the comparative of superiority is used; the comparative of inferiority could be constructed, but is not in use. The superlative is built like the comparative, but with the definite article in addition.

Table 3.21: Degrees of comparison

positive	<i>Ju</i>	<i>sùn</i>	<i>usché</i>	<i>gròns</i>	<i>scù</i>	<i>té.</i>
comparative	<i>Ju</i>	<i>sùn</i>	<i>plé</i>	<i>gròns</i>	<i>tga^a</i>	<i>té.</i>
superlative	<i>Ju</i>	<i>sùn</i>	<i>al plé gròn</i>	<i>da tùts.</i>		

^aRarely *tgé*

In the corpus, most comparatives are left without a compared element (171); an example with the compared element is (172).

3 Noun phrase

- (171) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1848ff.)
 [...] tgé c' ins vèza bjè è als plé¹
 what REL GNR see.PRS.3SG much COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL more
 passaj, als pènzionaj vèz' ins bjè sén pista
 old.M.PL DEF.ART.M.SG retired.PL see.PRS.3SG GNR much on slope.F.SG
 [...].

'[...] what one often sees are older people, one can see a lot of retired people on the slopes [...].'

- (172) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 188ff.)
 [...] ò fatg scùlas vinavaun ... stada
 have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further COP.PTCP.F.SG
 in téc plé pardèrta tgé quaj tgu èra.
 INDEF.M.SG bit more clever.F.SG than DEM.UNM REL.1SG COP.IMPF.1SG
 '[...] [she] kept going to school ... was a little bit cleverer than what I was.'

Although adjectives may precede or follow the noun they modify, with the superlative the prenominal syntax is preferred with short adjectives, even with the adjectives that always follow the noun as is the case of colour adjectives (174).

- (173) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3 l. 2040f.)
 Èl' èra la plé grònда buéba dal
 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG more tall.F.SG girl of.DEF.ART.M.SG
 vitg.
 village
 'She was the tallest girl of the village.'

- (174) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 Gljòn è al plé vèrd martgau da la
 PLN COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG more green city of DEF.ART.F.SG
 Sursèlva.
 PLN
 'Glion is the greenest city of the Surselva.'

- (175) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1250f.)
 Quaj èra atgnamajn la fòntauna la
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.ART.F.SG source DEF.ART.F.SG

3.3 *The adjective*

plé impurtònta da hanlètg [...] .
 most important of business.M.SG
 ‘This was actually the most important source of business [...]’

There are some synthetic comparatives and superlatives: *bian* ‘good’, *mégljar* ‘better’, and *al mégljar* ‘the best’, as well as *schliat* ‘bad’, *mèndar* ‘worse’, and *al mèndar* ‘the worst’.

- (176) Tuatschín (Tschaumùt; Büchli 1966: 20)
 A suéntar sè ‘l staus mégljars [...].
 and after be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M COP.PTCP.UNM better.M.SG
 ‘And after [that] he behaved better [towards the animals] [...]’

Linder (1987: 233-50) shows that for some adjectives (or substantivized adjectives, see (178)) the superlative is formed without *plé* ‘more’ in all Romansh written varieties. This also holds for Tuatschín.

- (177) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 120)
 Lu šai vagnú gjù la lavina [...] ad
 then COP.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM down DEF.ART.F.SG avalanche [...] and
 ò méz sùt la gronda part
 have.PRS.3SG put.PTCP.UNM under DEF.ART.F.SG big part
 dl vitg.
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG village
 ‘Then the avalanche came down [...] and buried the biggest part of the village.’

- (178) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 6f.)
 Álsò i èran... grad, grat, al gròn èra
 well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just just DEF.ART.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG
 racrut, a tschèls duş ajn amprèndissadi.
 recruit.M.SG and DEM.M.PL two.PL in apprenticeship.M.SG
 ‘Well, they were ... just, the oldest was a recruit, and the other two [were] in an apprenticeship.’

- (179) Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 61)
 [...] al gjuvan ajn stgafa da l’ ura, quèl
 DEF.ART.M.SG young in box of DEF.ART.F.SG clock DEM.M.SG
 ò èl bétg anflau.
 have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG find.PTCP.UNM
 ‘[...] the youngest [goat] in the clock box, this one he didn’t find.’

3 Noun phrase

- (180) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1747f.)
 [...] mia féglja pintg' è plétost [...] pintga.
 POSS.1SG.F.SG daughter young COP.PRS.3SG rather small.F.SG
 ' [...] my youngest daughter is rather [...] short.'

A possible way of forming the elative is using the prefix *u-*, which is a loan from colloquial Swiss German.

- (181) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 73f.)
 Quaj èra stau zatgé nündétg, ábar
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM something incredible.M.SG but
 stau **u-bjals** mùmènts.
 COP.PTCP.UNM ELAT-beautiful.M.PL moment.PL
 'This was something incredible, but these were very beautiful moments.'
- (182) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 723f.)
 A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nus
 and DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL
 vagjan adina **u-léjgar** [...].
 have.PRS.SBJV.1PL always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM
 'And the nuns knew that the three of us, we always had fun [...].'

Another way of forming the elative is using a noun that is mostly derived from an adjective, with different suffixes: *bials / biala* ‘beautiful’ → *balèzja* ‘beauty’, *buns / buna* ‘good’ → *buantád* ‘good quality’, *pasar* ‘weigh’ → *pasanca* ‘heavy load’, *paupers / paupra* ‘poor’ → *pupira* ‘poverty’, *tups / tupá* ‘stupid’ → *tupira*, ‘stupidity’, or *scarts / scarta* ‘scarce’ → *scartèzja* ‘scarcity’. These elatives are used attributively and predicatively.

- (183) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1744f.)
 [...] i èra fétg tgaud a la mar
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ATTR.UNM and DEF.ART.F.SG sea
 èra **balèzja** gjù Sardérgna.
 COP.IMPF.3SG beauty.F.SG.ELAT down PLN
 'Well, it was ... it was very war and the sea was beautiful in Sardinia.'

- (184) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 639))
 Quaj è **buantád** vaca da latg.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG good_quality.F.SG.ELAT cow of milk
 'This is an excellent milk cow.'

3.3 *The adjective*

- (185) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 89f.)

A quaj èra **pasanca**, api vau
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG heavy_load.F.SG.ELAT and have.PRS.1SG
 tartgau basta.
 think.PTCP.UNM enough

‘And this was terribly heavy, and then I thought [it was] enough.’

- (186) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m4, l. 2164)

Quèla vèva còrna usché davùsòra,
 DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG horn.COLL so back_out
pasanca tiar [...].
 heavy_load.F.SG.ELAT animal.M.SG

‘This one had horns that had grown backwards, a very heavy animal
 [...].’

- (187) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 375f.)

Ábar i èra ... **pupira**, quèls
 but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG.ELAT DEM.M.PL
 spargnavan è starmantús [...].
 save.IMPF.3PL also terrible.UNM

‘But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could [...]’

- (188) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 861f.)

Quaj füs stau **tupira** par mè da
 DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM stupidity.F.SG.ELAT for 1SG COMP
 stuaj rašdá ajn tgòmbra cun tschèlas ròmòntschas ...
 must.INF speak.INF in room.F.SG with DEM.F.PL Romansh.PL
 tudèstg.

German.M.SG

‘It would have been very stupid for me if I’d had to speak German in the room with the other Romansh room-mates.’

- (189) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2296)

Quaj èra **scartèzja**.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG scarcity.F.SG.ELAT

‘The cervelats were very scarce.’

3 Noun phrase

3.3.3 Intensifiers

The intensifiers of the adjective occurring in the corpus are *dètg* ‘fairly’, *fétg* ‘very’, *mèmi/mèmja* ‘too’, *pulit* ‘very’, *réjsch* ‘brand-’, *schi* ‘so’, *in téč* ‘a bit’, *tüt* ‘completely’, and *ualti* ‘quite’. These intensifiers are all invariable.

- (190) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 643f.)
 A lu saj ... èl è lu saravagnús
 and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then REFL.recover.PTCP.M.SG
dètg stupèn [...].
 fairly excellent.ADJ.UNM
 ‘And then, he recovered perfectly well [...]’
- (191) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 336f.)
 Quaj è stau ina ... *fétg grònda*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG very big
 familja, èls òn gju indišch ufauns [...].
 family 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM eleven child.M.PL
 ‘This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children [...]’
- (192) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2070f.)
 Ábar quaj vagnéva dau şura in
 but DEM.UM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.ART.M.SG
 pènsum *mèmi gròn* [...].
 homework too big
 ‘But they would give us too much homework [...]’
- (193) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2206f.)
 A pér cu quaj èra fatg scha
 and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR
 èra la scòtga *mèmi tgauda* [...].
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG whey too hot
 ‘And only when this was done, the whey was too hot [...]’
- (194) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m, l. 1388f.)
 [...] a qu' èra stau par èla *mèmja*
 and DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM for 3SG.F too
 hèfti.
 violent.UNM
 ‘[...] and this had been too violent for her.’

3.3 *The adjective*

- (195) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 876)
 A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònда plata
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG really INDEF.ART.F.SG very big slab
 [...].

‘And this really is a ... very big slab [...]’

- (196) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2355ff.)
 A prènd èl ò dal sacadòs in
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out of.DEF.ART.M.SG backpack INDEF.ART.M.SG
 cuntí réjsch néjv da moni mèlan ... èxàct
 knife brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG yellow exact.ADJ.UNM
 al madèm.
 DEF.ART.M.SG same

‘And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the backpack ... exactly the same.’

In the corpus, *réjsch* only modifies *néiv* ‘new’ (196), but Decurtins (2012: 931) cites further *resch tschietschen* ‘flame red’ and *resch bletsch* ‘soaking wet’ for standard Sursilvan.

- (197) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1483ff.)
 Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév’ in cégn
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMP.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG swan
 ... gròn né- vi datiar ad èra lò usché
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMP.3SG there so
 in téc dòminant.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit dominant.ADJ.UNM
- ‘And precisely at that moment a big swan... was coming to the place where I was, a bit a dominant one.’

- (198) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1385f.)
 [...] ju sa aun bégn tg’ èl’ èra vagnida
 1SG know.PRS.1SG still well REL 3SG.F be.IMP.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG
 tùt còtschna [...].
 completely red.F.SG
- ‘[...] I still remember very well that she had turned completely red [...]’

3 Noun phrase

- (199) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 370f.)
 [...] qu' è lu stau in tjams ualти
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG time quite
 dir cunzún par la tata [...].
 hard.M.SG especially for DEF.ART.F.SG grandmother
 ' [...] this has then been a very hard time especially for my grandmother
 [...]':
- (200) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 280f.)
 Èl vèva schi gròn plaşchaj, quèl bunamajn
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost
 mava ajn cul tgau ajl rádjò.
 go.IMPF.3SG into with.DEF.ART.M.SG head in.DEF.ART.M.SG radio
 'He had such a great pleasure, he almost would go into the radio with
 his head.'

3.3.4 Adjectives in adverbial function

The modal adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-majn* (see § 4.2.5 below) is not as widespread as in other Romance varieties, probably due to Swiss German influence. Therefore, many adjectives in their unmarked form are used as adverbs.

- (201) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 191f.)
 [...] ina tg' ò luvrau stédi.
 one.F.SG REL have.PRS.3SG work.PTCP.UNM diligent.ADJ.UNM
 ' [...] one who always worked hard.'
- (202) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 375f.)
 Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls spargnavan è
 but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG DEM.M.PL save.IMPF.3PL also
 starmantús [...].
 terrible.ADJ.UNM
 'But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could [...]':
- (203) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1075ff.)
 [...] álşò òr dal grép òni
 this_is_to_say out of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL
 fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg' ins sò
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG

3.3 The adjective

ira ah á paj flòt.
go.INF eh on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM

[...] this is to say out of the rock they made a small ... path through
which one could easily go eh on foot.'

A special case is *bian* ‘good’, which is sometimes mistaken for *bégn* ‘well’, as in example 204.

- (204) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 624))
 In vjantar gròn maglja bian.
 DEF.ART.M.SG stomach big eat.PRS.3SG good.ADJ.UNM
 ‘A big belly eats well’

3.3.5 Position of the attributive adjective

The position of the adjective in standard Sursilvan has been analysed in Winzap (1981). According to this author, the position of the adjective depends mostly on syntactic, stylistic, rhythmic, and semantic criteria (Winzap (1981: 1)). He proposes, among others, the following rules, which are more tendencies than strict rules (Winzap (1981: 3ff.)):

- (1) If the adjective functions as the head of an adjective phrase, it usually occurs after the noun.
- (2) But if the adjective is modified by a degree word such as *ualti* ‘quite’, it may precede the noun.
- (3) If the noun is followed by a complement, the adjective may precede the head noun. It follows it only in case there is no doubt about which noun it modifies.
- (4) Monosyllabic adjectives usually precede the noun.
- (5) Inversely, polysyllabic adjectives tend to follow the noun.
- (6) Monosyllabic adjectives follow the noun if the noun also consists of only one syllable.
- (7) If the adjective has a descriptive function, it precedes the noun and is not stressed.

3 Noun phrase

- (8) If the adjective has a distinctive function, it follows the noun and is stressed.
- (9) Some adjectives have different meanings according to their position, as *criu* ‘raw’ in *ina criua sort* ‘a cruel destiny’ vs *schambun criu* ‘raw ham’.

Note that (1) - (6) are syntactic, whereas (7) - (9) are semantic criteria. No examples have been found for rules (2), (3), and (6).

It is very improbable that Tuatschin differs from standard Sursilvan in this respect, and since the ten criteria mentioned by Winzap are best considered tendencies, I will illustrate each of these without further analysing this issue since it would be beyond the scope of this grammar.

Examples (205) and (206) illustrate rule (1), since the adjective which is the head of an adjective phrase follows the noun.

- (205) Tuatschín (Sadrun; m4, l. 370f.)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|------------|--------|--------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| [...] | qu' | è | lu | stau | in | tjams | uulti |
| | DEM.UNM | be.PRS.3SG | then | COP.PTCP.UNM | INDEF.ART.M.SG | time | quite |
| | dir | cunzún | par la | tata | [...] | | |
| | hard | especially | for | DEF.ART.F.SG | grandmother | [...] | |
| | '[...] this was then a very hard time, especially for my grandmother [...]'. | | | | | | |
- (206) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2070f.)
- | | | | | | |
|---|--------|-------------------|---------------|------|----------------|
| Ábar | quaj | vagnéva | dau | sura | in |
| but | DEM.UM | PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG | give.PTCP.UNM | up | INDEF.ART.M.SG |
| pènsum | mèmi | gròn | [...] | | |
| homework | too | big | | | |
| 'But they would give us too much homework [...]'. | | | | | |

Example (206) furthermore shows that this rule also applies to monosyllabic adjectives like *gròn* ‘big’ that usually precede the noun.

Examples (207) and (208) illustrate rule (4) (monosyllabic adjectives precede the noun). It must, however, be emphasized that the feminine counterparts of masculine monosyllabic adjectives are polysyllabic and that the rule applies to them as well (209).

3.3 *The adjective*

- (207) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Quaj è ualti tgèr, ábar quaj
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG quite expensive.ADJ.UNM but DEM.UNM
 è in car ufaun.
 COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG dear.M.SG.UNM child
 'This is quite expensive, but this is a dear child.'

- (208) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 287f.)

Ad èra stau in gréjv mùmèn,
 and be.IMP.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG difficult.M.SG moment
 cun sissòntanùv òns.
 with sixty-nine year.M.PL
 'And this had been a difficult moment, with sixty-nine years.'

- (209) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 307)

[...] qu' èra stau gròndas lavurs [...].
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL
 '[...] this had been hard work [...]']

Rule (5) (polysyllabic adjectives follow the noun) is illustrated by (210).

- (210) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 363f.)

[...] èl è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into in INDEF.ART.F.SG hole
 nündétgá [...].
 awful
 '[...] he fell in an awful hole [...]']

Rule (7) (the adjective precedes the noun if it has a descriptive function) is shown in (211).

- (211) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 425f.)

[...] lu sè aun dus trajs intarassants lògans ajn cò
 then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two three interesting place.M.PL in here
 [...].

'[...] there were furthermore two or three interesting places up there [...]']

(211) also shows that rule (7) overrides rule (5) according to which polysyllabic adjectives tend to follow the noun.

3 Noun phrase

Example (212) illustrates rule (8) (post-nominal position because it has a distinctive function). As a matter of fact, the big animals are opposed to the goats, pigs, and hens which are small animals.

- (212) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 378ff.)

[...] tgéj pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindišch **armaulṣ**
 [...] what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL
 gronṣ api lu aun ... tgauras sòu tga
 big.PL and then besides goat.F.PL know.PRS.1SG.1SG COMP
 vèvan a ... pòrs a gaglinas [...].
 have.IMPF.3PL and pig.M.PL and hen.F.PL

‘[...] what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also goats I know they had, and ... pigs and hens [...].’

This contrast is also found in *pástar gròn* ‘main shepherd (literally ‘big shepherd’), vs *pástar pin* ‘second shepherd (literally ‘small shepherd’), *gròn* and *pin* being adjectives that normally precede the noun.

Rule (9) (different meaning according to the position of the adjective) can be illustrated by *néjv* / *nùva* ‘new’.

- (213) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Ju a cumprau in néjv autò.
 1SG have.PRS.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG new car
 ‘I bought a new car.’

- (214) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Ju a cumprau in autò néjf.
 1SG have.PRS.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG car new
 ‘I bought a new car.’

In (213) *néjv autò* refers to a car that replaces an old one and which could be a second-hand car, whereas in (214) *autò néjf* refers to a brand-new car. This rule applies also to (215) as opposed to (216) or (217).

- (215) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 1991)

A vuṣ vajṣ anflau ò ampau nùfs plajds?
 and 2PL have.PRS.2PL find.PTCP.UNM out a little new.M.PL word.PL
 ‘And did you find out some new words?’

3.3 The adjective

- (216) Tuatscín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2355ff.)
 A prènd èl ò dal sacadòs in
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out of.DEF.ART.M.SG backpack INDEF.ART.M.SG
 cuntí réjsch néjv da mòni mèlan [...].
 knife brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG yellow
 ‘And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the
 backpack [...]’
- (217) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1539ff.)
 [...] quaj òn vèvan nuş da fá sé ... ina
 DEM.M.SG year have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL COMP make.INF up DEF.ART.F.SG
 ... fòrmazjun nòva ad ad instrumajnts nùfs.
 lineup new.F.SG and and instrument.M.PL new.PL
 ‘[...] that year we had to do ... a ... new lineup and and [buy] new
 instruments.’

Some adjectives always follow the noun, as adjectives referring to colours or to demons: *tgautschas najras* ‘black trousers’ (line 1818) or *ina sòra tudestgà* ‘a Swiss-German nun’ (line 799).

3.3.6 Absence of agreement

If the predicative adjective or past participle is left-dislocated in order to topicalize it (218), or if the adjective or the participle forms a semantic unit with the verb as in e.g. *schá libar* ‘let free’ or *vay mal* ‘have pain’ (219 - 225), it does not agree with the noun it modifies and the unmarked form of the adjective is used.

- (218) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 [...] parquáj sè impurtònt lura la
 therefore COP.PRS.3SG important.ADJ.UNM then DEF.ART.F.SG
 gramática tga té fas [...].
 grammar REL 2SG make.PRS.2SG
 ‘[...] therefore the grammar you write is important [...]’
- (219) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
 Ju a schau aviart agl ésch.
 1SG have.PRS.1SG leave.PTCP.UNM open.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG door
 ‘I left the door open.’

3 Noun phrase

- (220) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 64)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|---------|--------------|-------|--------------|--------------|
| [...] | al | pur | ò | [...] | schau | líbar |
| | DEF.ART.M.SG | peasant | have.PRS.3SG | | let.PTCP.UNM | free.ADJ.UNM |
| l' | | uélp. | | | | |
| | DEF.ART.F.SG | fox | | | | |
- 'The peasant let [...] the fox free.'
- (221) Tuatschín (DRG (10: 462))
- | | | | |
|---------|--------------|--------------|--------|
| schè | lartg | las | vacas |
| let.INF | free.ADJ.UNM | DEF.ART.F.PL | COW.PL |
- 'let the cows free'
- (222) Tuatschín (Sadrun; Büchli 1966: 105)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|-------|--------------|
| [...] | quèla | èra | gjalada | [...] | tg' | èra |
| | DEM.F.SG | COP.IMPF.3SG | freeze.PTCP.3SG.F | [...] | COMP | COP.IMPF.3SG |
| nunpußajval | li | èl | da fá | líbar | èla | [...]. |
| impossible.ADJ.UNM | DAT | 3SG.M | to make.INF | free.ADJ.UNM | 3SG.F | |
- '[...] that [block] was frozen [...] so it was impossible for him to get it free [...].'
- (223) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 31)
- | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|-------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| Mia | mèlna | tschò | ò | unflau | in |
| POSS.F.1SG | yellow.F | here | have.PRS.3SG | swell.PTCP.UNM | INDEF.ART.M.SG |
| téc | ina | | tgòmba | davùs. | |
| bit | INDEF.ART.F.SG | leg | back | | |
- 'My yellow [cow] has a back leg that is a bit swollen.'
- (224) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1084)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|
| Al | quinau | vèva | mal | ina |
| DEF.ART.M.SG | brother-in-law | have.IMPF.3SG | bad.ADJ.UNM | INDEF.ART.F.SG |
| tgòmba. | | | | |
| leg | | | | |
- 'My brother-in-law had leg pain.'
- (225) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)
- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------|--------------|---------|--------------|
| Nus | stgavan | ir | líbar | tùt als | pòrs. |
| 1PL | be_allowed.IMPF.1PL | go.INF | free.ADJ.UNM | all | DEF.ART.M.PL |
| | | | | | pig.PL |
- 'We were allowed to let all the pigs go around freely.'

3.4 Noun phrases and prepositional phrases modifying a noun

However, if an adjective is left-dislocated for focusing, it agrees with its noun (226).

- (226) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10)
- | | | | | |
|----------|------------------|----------------|------------|----------------------|
| Quaj | taur è | bjals, | ábar gròns | chè |
| DEM.M.SG | bull COP.PRS.3SG | beautiful.M.SG | but | big.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG |
| '1 | bétg. | | | |
| 3SG.M | NEG | | | |
- 'This bull is beautiful, but big he is not.'

3.3.7 Conjoining of adjectives

Adjectives are conjoined by the conjunction *a* 'and' (227).

- (227) Tuatschín (Tschaumùt; Büchli 1966: 18)
- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------------|-----|---------|----------|
| I | èr' | in | dé | frajd a | blètsch. |
| EXPL | COP.IMPF.3SG | INDEF.ART.M.SG | day | cold | wet |
- 'It was a cold and wet day.'

In (228) the adjective *pin* 'short' is followed by *grias* 'fat' without conjunction.

- (228) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m4, l. 2148ff.)
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|--------------|----------------|-------|--------------|
| [...] | quaj | èr' | in | súpar | musicant ... |
| | DEM.UNM | COP.IMPF.3SG | INDEF.ART.M.SG | super | musician |
| in | ùm | pin | griaš | usché | [...]. |
| INDEF.ART.M.SG | man | short | fat | so | |
- '[...] he was a super musician ... a short and fat man [...].'

This is due to the fact that (228) is not a case of two conjoined adjectives, but here *grias* modifies *ùm pin*.

3.4 Noun phrases and prepositional phrases modifying a noun

Modifying nouns or noun phrases as well as prepositional phrases follow the modified noun. Prepositional phrases may head noun phrases or infinitive clauses.

- (229) Tuatschín (DRG (3: 253))
- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| Scù | 'ls | dis-tgaun | vòn | ajn, vòni | òra. |
| as | DEF.ART.M.PL | day.PL-dog.M.SG | go.PRS.3PL | in | go.PRS.3PL |
| | | | | out | |
- 'As the dog days come, they also go.'

3 Noun phrase

- (230) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1054f.)
Quaj è ina, asch' ina stazjun
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG such INDEF.ART.F.SG station
amiaz al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al
amid DEF.ART.M.SG pass around or almost up_most DEF.ART.M.SG
p^has.
pass
'This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass,
approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.'
- (231) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1180f.)
Al sòntgèt dals gjadjuş è
DEF.ART.M.SG little_chapel of.DEF.ART.M.PL Jew.PL COP.PRS.3SG
òdém al vitg da Sadrún.
out_most DEF.ART.M.SG village of PLN
'The little chapel of the Jews is located at the lowest part of the village of
Sedrun.'
- (232) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1428f.)
A nuş duş èra cun la tgapjala cun sé
and 1PL two.M.PL also with DEF.ART.F.SG hat with on
ina bjala flur [...].
INDEF.ART.F.SG beautiful flower [...].
'And also the two of us with the hats with a beautiful flower on them
[...]:'
- (233) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 14)
«Ah, quaj fùş è ina lavur pr mè.»
ah DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also INDEF.ART.F.SG job for 1SG
'Ah, this could also be a job for me.'
- (234) Tuatschín (DRG (3: 204))
calira da barsá vifs
heat.F.SG COMP burn.INF alive.M.SG
'terrible heat'
- (235) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 723-724))
butéglja da scadá pajs
bottle.F.SG COMP warm.INF foot.PL
'hot-water bottle'

3.5 Personal pronouns

- (236) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 475f.)

Lèdṣ vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG COMP
 úndṣchar ajn [...].

oil.INF in

'He had given [him] some ointment to rub in [...].'

3.5 Personal pronouns

Table 3.22 shows the paradigm of the personal pronouns with the most widespread forms.

Table 3.22: Personal pronouns

	subject	direct object	indirect object	after preposition
1SG	<i>ju</i>	<i>mè</i>	<i>da mé</i>	<i>cun mè</i>
2SG	<i>té</i>	<i>té</i>	<i>da té</i>	<i>cun té</i>
3SG.M	<i>él</i>	<i>él</i>	<i>dad él</i>	<i>cun él</i>
3SG.F	<i>èla</i>	<i>èla</i>	<i>dad èla</i>	<i>cun èla</i>
1PL	<i>nuṣ</i>	<i>nuṣ</i>	<i>da nuṣ</i>	<i>cun nuṣ</i>
2PL	<i>vuṣ</i>	<i>vuṣ</i>	<i>da vuṣ</i>	<i>cun vuṣ</i>
3PL.M	<i>élṣ</i>	<i>élṣ</i>	<i>dad èlṣ</i>	<i>cun èlṣ</i>
3PL.F	<i>èlaṣ</i>	<i>èlaṣ</i>	<i>dad èlaṣ</i>	<i>cun èlaṣ</i>
GENERIC ^a	<i>ins</i>	<i>ins</i>	<i>dad ins</i>	<i>cun ins</i>

^aThe generic pronoun will be treated in § 3.7 below

Subject and object pronouns are only differentiated in the first person singular. There is a certain variation between the object pronouns of the first person singular. In the corpus, there is only one case where *mé* is used instead of *mè*: *cun mé* 'with me' (line 1369).

With subject inversion, some contracted forms are optionally used: *craj ju* → *crau*, *sa ju* 'know I / can I' → *sau / sòu*; *va ju* 'have I' → *vau / vòu*, *savajn nus* 'know we / can we' → *savajns / savajnṣ*; *ò ins* 'has one' → *òns / ònṣ*.

There is more variation in the domain of passive voice. In a passive construction the agent is introduced by *da*, and some speakers prefer using the pronoun *mé* (dative), whereas others use *mè* (accusative).

3 Noun phrase

- (237) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

Quaj cùdisch è vagnús scréts da
DEM.M.SG book be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG write.PTCP.M.SG DAT
mè.
1SG

‘This book has been written by me.’

- (238) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9)

Quaj cùdisch è vagnús scréts da mè.
DEM.M.SG book be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG write.PTCP.M.SG by 1SG

‘This book has been written by me.’

This variation is triggered by the fact that *da* is ambiguous: on the one hand it corresponds to the dative marker, hence *mè*, and on the other it functions as a preposition, hence *mè*.

In the second person singular there is no difference between direct and indirect object. As a consultant puts it:

- (239) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5)

Nuş schajn adina té. Tè è da bajbar.
1PL say.PRS.1PL always 2SG tea.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG COP drink.INF
‘We always say *té* (‘you’). *Tè* (‘tea’) is for drinking.’

The subject pronouns *èla* ‘she’ and *èlas* ‘they (f.)’ are sometimes reduced to *la* or *las* when there is subject inversion.

- (240) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3)

Cu ju sùn vagnús, èra la schòn lò.
when 1SG be.PRS.1SG to COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.F already there
‘Now I am going home.’

- (241) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; Büchli 1966: 82)

Tùtajnina ò las udju òd gl uaut
suddenly have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F hear.PTCP.UNM out_of DEF.ART.M.SG forest
şùt Cavòrgja ina vusch [...].
under PLN INDEF.ART.F.SG voice

‘Suddenly they heard a voice [coming] out of the forest underneath Cavigia [...].’

3.5 Personal pronouns

The polite pronoun is *Vus*, which triggers the second person plural form in the verb. There is, however, one exception: past participles. Whereas for masculine singular (and plural) referents, the plural form is used, for feminine singular referents, it is the the singular form that is used for singular reference.

- (242) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Nua èssas Vus staj?
where be.PRS.2PL.POL/PRS.2SG.POL 2PL/2SG.POL COP.PTCP.M.PL
'Where have you (m. sg. and pl.) been?'

- (243) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Nua èssas Vus stada?
where be.PRS.2SG.POL 2SG.POL COP.PTCP.F.SG
'Where have you (f.sg.) been?'

- (244) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Nua èssas Vus stadas?
where be.PRS.2PL 2PL.POL COP.PTCP.F.SG
'Where have you (f.pl.) been?'

In the first part of the 20th century, a polite pronoun *Èls* was used, which corresponds to the third person plural masculine form. According to some consultants, this form was exclusively used with priests, and according to some others also with teachers and doctors. The verb agrees in number with *Èls*.

- (245) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6)

La mùma raquénta tg' i schèvan dà-
DEF.ART.F.SG mother tell.PRS.1SG COMP 3PL say.IMPF.3PL DAT
dalaucségnar a dál scòlast-
DAT.DEF.ART.M.SG priest and DAT.DEF.ART.M.SG teacher
schèvani aun Èls. A da tschèls
say.IMPF.3PL.3PL still 2SG.M.POL and DAT DEM.M.PL
vagnévi détg Vus.
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL say.PTCP.UNM 2SG.M.POL

'My mother says that they would say - to the priest and the teacher - would say *Èls*. And to the others they would say *Vus*'

The pronoun *èl* 'he' refers in very rare cases to entities that have no gender. The only example in the corpus is (246), a function that is normally fulfilled by *quaj*, the demonstrative pronoun which is unmarked for gender.

3 Noun phrase

- (246) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 486)
 «Vajs fatg èl?»
 have.PRS.2SG.POL do.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M
 ‘Did you do it?’

In this context, *èl* refers to the fact that the narrator’s grandfather should take care of his wound.

The subject personal pronouns may be modified by the locative adverb *cò* ‘here’ (247).

- (247) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 810f.)
 A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always of pause
 mavans ajn şala da magljè [...].
 go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG COMP eat.INF
 ‘And then we, the Sursilvan students, would always place [it] during the break, we would go into the dining hall [...].’

With subject inversion some contracted forms are optionally used: *craj ju* → *crau*, *sa ju* ‘know I / can I’ → *sau / sòu*; *va ju* ‘have I’ → *vau / vòu*, *savajn nus* ‘know we / can we’ → *savajns / savajnş*; *ò ins* ‘has one’ → *ònṣ / ònş*.

- (248) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8)
 Gljèz crau bé da té.
 DEM.UNM believe.1SG.1SG NEG of 2SG
 ‘This I don’t believe you could do it.’
- (249) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 378ff.)
 [...] tgé pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindisch armauls
 what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL
 gronş api lu aun tgauras sòu tga vèvan
 big.PL and then besides goat.F.PL know.PRS.1SG.1SG COMP have.IMPF.3PL
 a ... pòrṣ da gaglinas [...].
 and pig.M.PL and hen.F.PL
 ‘[...] what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also goats I know they had, and ... pigs and hens [...].’
- (250) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 29)
 Api vau détg: «Ah súpar.»
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM oh great
 ‘And then I said: «Oh, great!»’

3.5 Personal pronouns

- (251) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 235ff.)

A quaj stèvnş èssar ... pulits-pulits
 and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behavior.M.PL
 l' jamna ... tg' al bap dëtschi
 DEF.ART.F.SG week COMP DEF.ART.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 in frang a miax.
 one.M.SG franc and half.M.SG

'And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my father would give [us] one and a half francs.'

- (252) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 868ff.)

[...] da quèla òns naturálmajn ... quasi
 of DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG.GNR of_course almost must.PTCP.UNM
 stavjú ... vagní cun ina détga.
 come.INF with INDEF.ART.F.SG legend

'[...] of this slab, one of course had ... to ... come up with a legend.'

Besides the pronouns presented in Table 3.22, there are two further personal pronouns: *i* and *aj*, which do not distinguish gender and which are synonyms of *èls* or *èlas*. These two pronouns also function as expletive pronouns (see § 3.5.2 below). Two cases must be distinguished:

- If *i* and *aj* function as a subject pronoun, *i* is used before (253 and 254), and *aj* after the verb (256 - 258). In the corpus there is only one case of *aj* functioning as subject that is located before the verb (259).
- If the pronoun functions as an object pronoun, only *aj* is used. It may refer to persons (260) or to entities that have no gender (261).

In (253) and (254), *i* refers to masculine referents (animals and employees of the municipality), and in (255), it refers to feminine referents (nuns).

- (253) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 67)

[...] nòs tiars. I mavan adina gjù ancùnter
 POSS.1PL animal.PL 3PL.SBJ go.IMPF.3PL always down towards
 las plauncas da l' Ôndadusa [...].
 DEF.ART.F.PL slope.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG PLN

'[...] our animals. They would always go down towards the slopes of the Ondadusa.'

3 Noun phrase

- (254) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 25f.)
 [...] mi' ùm ségi èba mòrts scù
 POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as
 i sápjan [...].
 3PL.SBJ know.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 '[...] my husband had died as they knew [...].'
- (255) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l.780f.)
 A i miravan schòn da métar ansjaman è ...
 and 3PL look.IMPF.3PL in_fact COMP put.INF together also
 als lungatgs [...].
 DEF.ART.M.PL language.PL
 'And in fact, they would make sure to put ... the languages together [...].'
- (256) Tuatschín (DRG (3: 639))
 Schi òn bétg als còrns, schi mòrdan aj.
 if have.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.ART.M.PL horn.PL CORR bite.PRS.3PL 3PL.SBJ
 'If they [the goats] don't have horns, they bite.'
- (257) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 136)
 Lu sèn aj i sén claustra [...].
 then COP.PRS.3PL 3PL go.PTCP.M.3PL on monastery
 'Then they went up to the monastery [...].'
- (258) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 75f.)
 Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vid'
 and DEM.M.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG
 al, vi da zaná al bògn,
 COMP.DEF.ART.M.SG PROG COMP renovate.INF DEF.ART.M.SG bath
 api schèvan aj: [...].
 and_then say.IMPF.3PL 3PL
 'And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool
 and then they said: [...].'
- (259) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2142ff.)
 Anqual jèda vagnéva lu al pás[tar] ... né
 some time.F.SG come.IMPF.3SG then DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman or
 usché cu aj vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' ins
 so when 3PL see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until COMP GNR

3.5 Personal pronouns

èr' ajn ... ajn «schwung»¹³ [...].

COP.IMPF.3SG in in momentum.M.SG

'Sometimes the herdsman would come ... or so, when they saw and they would help until one was again in momentum [...].'

- (260) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l.274ff.)

Las nòtizjas sa ju bétg danùndar als
 DEF.ART.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG NEG from_where DEF.ART.M.PL
 gjaniturs, als duš baps prandèvan aj, i
 parents.PL DEF.ART.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3PL EXPL
 dèva ajnta Ruèras, dèv' aj in tga
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG in PLN EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL
 vèva rádjò.
 have.IMPF.3SG radio.M.SG

'I don't know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.'

- (261) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1508)

Álsò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssif
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCM.UNM 3.UNM aggressive.ADJ.UNM
 [...].

'Well, I didn't do it in an aggressive way [...].'

3.5.1 Dative pronouns

Nowadays, the dative marker for all persons is *da/dad*, but until approximatively the 1960, *da/dad* was used for first and second persons and *di* or *li* for third persons. Note that in contrast to the correspondent dative article (§ 3.2.1.2 above) the pronoun does not differentiate number. The following examples illustrate the earlier usage.

- (262) Tuatschín (Surajn; Büchli 1966: 128f.)

Mù quèlas òn scumandau da mé da dí òra
 but DEM.F.PL have.PRS.3PL forbid.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG COMP say.INF out
 tgi èlas ségen [...].
 who 3PL.F COP.PRS.SBJV.3PL

'But these [girls] forbade me to say who they were [...].'

¹³ *Schwung* is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

3 Noun phrase

- (263) Tuatschín (DRG (3: 499))

Da té dèš ins rúmpar ajn la cavaza.
 DAT 2SG must.COND.3SG GNR break.INF in DEF.ART.F.SG skull
 ‘One should break your head.’

- (264) Tuatschín (Tschaamùt; Büchli 1966: 14)

Ad èl ò ancùnuschju sju cuntí a
 and 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM POSS.3SG.M.SG knife and
 détg quaj li èla.
 say.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DAT 3SG.F
 ‘And he recognized his knife and told her that.’

- (265) Tuatschín (Tschaamùt; Büchli 1966: 14)

Ad èla ò piau li èl tùts tiars par
 and 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG pay.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M all.M.PL animal.PL PURP
 angrazjá li èl.
 thank.INF DAT 3SG.M
 ‘And she paid him all the animals in order to thank him.’

- (266) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 65)

Ju angrazja parsjantar a dùn da Vuş al
 1SG thank.PRS.1SG therefore and give.PRS.1SG DAT 2SG.POL DEF.ART.M.SG
 cuntí par in survètsch bégn fatg.
 knife for INDEF.ART.M.SG service well do.PTCP.UNM
 ‘I thank [you] for it and give you the knife for a well done favour.’

- (267) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 53)

La sèra ò in pur
 DEF.ART.F.SG evening have.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer
 dau suittètg li èlas [...].
 give.PTCP.UNM accommodation.M.SG DAT 3PL.F
 ‘In the evening a farmer offered them accommodation [...].’

In contrast to full noun phrases, the forms *di* and *li* with pronouns occur neither in the *Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun* nor in my own corpus.

With third persons there are some examples of the standard Sursilvan dative marker *a/ad* in Büchli (1966), and in Gartner (1910), only *a/ad* occurs.

3.5 Personal pronouns

- (268) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 145)
 [...] a lu sjaj vagnú andamajn ad èl
 and then COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM in_mind DAT 3SG.M
 quèla Nòssadùna sél' alp [...].
 DEM.F.SG Virgin on.DEF.ART.F.SG alp
 ' [...] and then that holy Virgin on the alp came into his mind.'
- (269) Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 33)
 le'dzi kwel a daj glajti anavøz el ad el
 read.IMP.2PL DEM.M.SG and give.IMP.2PL soon back 3SG.M DAT 3SG.M
 'Read it and give it soon back to him.'
- (270) Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 86)
 ad el o partiw ad elts la
 and 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG distribute.PTCP.UNM DAT 3PL.M DEF.ART.F.SG
 rawba
 fortune
 'And he distributed his fortune among them.'

The only occurrence of the form *ada* of the dative article occurs in the DRG; however, there it is only given in parenthesis as an alternative to *da*.

- (271) Tuatschín (DRG (3: 462))
 Dá ina castrada (a)da quèla rùsna.
 give.IMP.2SG DEF.ART.F.SG act_of_joining DAT DEM.F.SG hole
 'Tie together this hole with a cord.'

As mentioned above, today only *da/dad* is used in all cases. The following examples illustrate the use of *da/dad* with third persons.

- (272) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 18f.)
 [...], api lura va ju in' jèda talafònau dad èl [...].
 and then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M
 ' [...] and then I phoned him once [...].'
- (273) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 746f.)
 «Cool, ju mòn grad a raquénta dad èlas.»
 cool 1SG go.PRS.1SG right_away and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F
 '«Cool, I'll just go and tell them.»'

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Other definite pronouns like the demonstratives were treated as the personal pronouns. In (274), *tschèl* ‘the other’ is pluralized but *li* is not.

- (274) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 104)

[...] lu ò 'l détg li tschèls: [...].
 then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM DAT DEM.M.PL
 ‘[...] then he said to the others: [...]’

3.5.2 Expletive pronoun

The expletive pronoun is usually *i*, in preverbal position (275 - 278) as well as in the case of subject inversion (279). It is used in existential constructions (275), with the verb *vagní* as an auxiliary in impersonal passive constructions (276) or as an inchoative copula (277). It is also used in active impersonal constructions where the subject is located after the verb (278).

- (275) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 45f.)

[...] tüt quèls ... lògans nù i èran muossavias.
 all DEM.M.PL place.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3PL signpost.F.PL
 ‘[...] all these ... places where there were signposts.’

- (276) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 56ff.)

Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i
 DEM.UNM COP. PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.ART.M.MSG place where REL EXPL
vagnéva schau tüt la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.F.MSG munition REL EXPL
 vèva, sigir.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM

‘This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.’

- (277) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 145)

[...] i végn unviarn a végn frajt.
 EXPL come.PRS.3SG winter and come.PRS.3SG cold
 ‘Winter is coming and it is getting cold.’

- (278) Tuatschín (DRG (2: 215))

I brišcha la cazèta, i végn tga
 EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.MSG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG REL
 sufla.
 blow.PRS.3SG

‘[The soot in] the pot is burning, it is getting stormy.’

3.5 Personal pronouns

- (279) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1217ff.)
 [...] sén quaj pas duèssi èssar ina
 on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.ART.F.SG
 samagljònta caplùta [...].
 similar chapel
 '[...] on this pass there should be a similar chapel [...].'

With subject inversion, the expletive pronoun is sometimes realized *aj* (280). In combination with the third person singular present of the verb *èssar* 'be' the combination is realized *ṣaj* (281), *ṣè* (282), or less frequently *ásaj* (283).

- (280) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 173f.)
 [...] plé baut èr' aj al fagljét tgi
 more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL DEF.ART.M.SG SON.M.SG.DIM REL
 fijèv' al pur.
 do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG farmer
 '[...] in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.'

- (281) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 178)
 Api ṣaj stau finju par mè.
 and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG
 'And that was it.'

- (282) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 420ff.)
 Ah... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù
 ah PLN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
 majṣès ad alps adina, lu ṣè aun dus
 assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two
 trajs intarassants lògans ajn cò [...].
 three interesting place.M.PL in here
 'Ah ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as pastures, there were furthermore two or three interesting places up there [...].'

- (283) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1678)
 Ad òz ásaj bitga trajs, gè, tga von á
 and today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG three yes REL go.PRS.3SG to
 scùla.
 school.F.SG
 'And today there aren't [even] three that attend school.'

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3.5.3 Intensive personal pronouns

The personal pronouns may be modified by the intensive pronouns *mèz* ‘myself’ etc. The paradigm is as follows: *mèz*, -*a*, *tèz*, -*a*, *sèz*, -*a*, *nus sèzs*, -*as*, *vus sèzs*, -*as*, *sèzs*, -*as*; however, there is a general tendency in Sursilvan varieties to use *sèz* for all persons, a development which parallels the case of reflexive *sa-* which is used for all persons in all tenses and moods. In the corpus, there are only examples for *mèz* ‘myself’ and *sèz* ‘herself, himself’. These may be used attributively (284) or predicatively (the other examples).

- (284) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 126)

Ju mèza vaj santju quaj.
1SG 1SG.self have.PRS.1SG feel.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
'I felt this myself.'

In (285) the narrator uses first *sèza* instead of *tèza* ‘yourself’ and then *mèza* for ‘myself’.

- (285) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 79f.)

Api vau tartgau: «Jò nu, lu fas halt
and have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM yes now then do.PRS.2SG simply
sèza.» ad ábar turnau ajn da quaj da quindisch pétgas
self.F.SG and but turn.PTCP.UNM in of DEM.UNM of fifteen post.F.PL
mèza.
self.1SG.F

'And then I thought: «In this case, you simply do it yourself.» and I put in something like fifteen posts myself.'

The following examples show the use of *sèzs* with first and second person plural. There are no examples of first person plural in the corpus.

- (286) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1353f.)

[...] *nus* stèvan *sèzs* ... catschá als pòrs ò da
1PL must.IMPF.1PL self.M.PL drove.INF DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL out of
nuégl [...].
barn.M.SG

'[...] we had ... to drove the pigs out of the barn ourselves [...].'

3.6 Relative clauses

- (287) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 36f.)

[...] a lèzs òn sèzs stavju lura ... métar
 and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL must.PTCP.UNM then put.INF
 sén pajs quaj [...].
 on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM
 ' [...] and these had to get it off the ground themselves [...].'

3.6 Relative clauses

In spontaneous speech only two relativizers occur: *tga* for most cases, and *nùca*, *nùca tga*, or *nù tga* which introduce locative relative clauses. *Tga* is reduced to *tg'* before a word that starts with a vowel, and when followed by *ju* 'I', the combination is realized *tgu* 'that I' in most cases.¹⁴

The following examples illustrate the function of *tga* heading subjects, direct objects, and temporal arguments.

- (288) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 356f.)

Quaj èra pádars tga vagnévan, parvi da mè
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG Father.M.PL REL come.IMPF.3PL because of 1SG
 mintg' autar òn fagévan misjun.
 every other.M.SG year make.IMPF.3PL mission.F.SG

'These were Fathers who came, let's say every two years they undertook a mission.' (subject)

- (289) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 1f.)

Ju raquénta da mia lavur tga ju a fatg
 1SG tell.PRS.1SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG job REL 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM
 als davùṣ òns.
 DEF.ART.M.PL last.PL year.PL

'I'll tell [you] about the job I have done during the last years.' (direct object)

- (290) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 344f.)

A zuar ah da quaj mùmén [...] tga 'l
 and namely eh from DEM.UNM moment REL DEF.ART.M.SG
 tat vèva da fá cun gnarvaş.
 grandfather have.IMPF.3SG COMP do.INF with nerve.F.PL

'Namely from the moment [...] when my grandfather had problems with

¹⁴This form is also used as a contracted form of *cu* 'when' with *ju* 'I', see § 6.2.3 below.

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his nerves.' (temporal argument)

Prepositional phrases are not relativized with a preposition; instead, only the relative pronoun *tga* is used and no trace of the preposition phrase occurs in the relative clause. In (291), it is the preposition *cun* ‘with’, in (292) *da* ‘of’, in (293) *par* ‘because of, why’, in (294) ‘for’, and in (295) *atrás* ‘through’ that are intended.

- (291) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Valär 2013b: 8f.)

[...] cv'ʌɛ:də tɔ' ins le'vajə nvət elz djants
clotted.milk REL GNR damage.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.ART.M.PL tooth.PL
də rɔj.
COMP gnaw.INF

‘[...] clotted milk with which you do not damage your teeth when you gnaw at it.’

- (292) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 505)

[...] grat cò nùca quèla rùsna tgu a raquintau.
just there by DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG tell.PTCP.UNM
‘[...] just by that cave I have mentioned.’

- (293) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 569ff.)

[...] quaj è fòrza schòn stau in
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG maybe really COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG
téct al ... mòtif tgu a antschat dad
bit DEF.ART.M.SG reason REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP
í par crapa.
go.INF for stone.COLL

‘[...] maybe this has been a bit the reason why I began to go for stones.’

- (294) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2027ff.)

[...] i èra da quèls tg' èran angrazjajvels,
EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL grateful.M.PL
èra da quèls tg' ins savèva maj fá avùnda.
also of DEM.M.PL REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG never do.INF enough
‘[...] there were some who were grateful, also some for whom you never could do enough.’

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- (295) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1042ff.)

A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò
 and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out
 dal mir, álsò òr dal grép
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock
 òni fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg'
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small path REL
 ins sò ira ah á paj flòt.
 GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF ah on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM
 'And then they made, out of the rock face, this is to say out of the rock
 they made a small ... path through which one could easily go eh on foot.'

If the antecedent is *tgi* 'who' or *tgé* 'what', the relativizer is realized *ca*.

- (296) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 717ff.)

[...] tgi ca vagnéva traplaus stuèva
 who REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG
 al vènandardis sèra ... stá lò [...].
 DEF.ART.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG stay.INF there
 '[...] the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday
 evening [...].'

- (297) Tuatschín (DRG (6: 449))

Tgi c' è da stròm daj
 who REL COP.PRS.3SG of straw must.PRS.3SG
 sapartgirá dal fjuc.
 REFL.be_on_one's_guard.INF of.DEF.ART.M.SG fire
 'A person who is made of straw should be on their guard against fire.'

- (298) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1564f.)

[...] la sèra vajn nus halt vulju
 DEF.ART.F.SG evening have.PRS.1PL 1PL just want.PTCP.UNM
 savaj tgé ca cùri aparti cò [...].
 know.INF what COMP run.PRS.SBJV.3SG special here
 '[...] in the evening we wanted to know whether there was something
 special going on [...].'

The relative clause does not have to be adjacent to its antecedent, as example (299) shows.

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- (299) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 69ff.)

[...] ábar stòpi prèndar malitèr cun mè, tga
 but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG with 1SG REL
 vajan... fùnc a sapjan [...] dí cu nus
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL say.INF when 1PL
 vajan da ... ir davùs cuélm.
 have.PRS.SBJV.1PL COMP go.INF behind INDEF.ART.M.SG mountain
 '[...] but I needed to take with me some soldiers that had radio and would
 say [...] when we should ... go behind a mountain [to protect ourselves].'

In rare cases the relativizer *tga* is realised *tgé* or *tgi*. Note, however, that *tgi* as a relativizer is rejected by most of my consultants.

- (300) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 62)

[...] in pàstar gròn, quèl vasèva adina
 INDEF.ART.M.SG herdsman big DEM.M.SG see.IMPF.3SG always
 la damaun da bjalauna ina nibla najra
 DEF.ART.F.SG morning of nice_weather.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG cloud black
 tgé satschàntava séla Sjara da Curnèra [...].
 REL REFL.sit.IMPF.3SG on.DEF.ART.F.SG PLN

'[...] a main herdsman, in the morning in nice weather, he always saw a
 black cloud that lied on the Siara da Curnera [...].'

- (301) Tuatschín (DRG (5: 57))

L' ò ina vèglja davùs pégna tgi
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG old behind oven.F.SG REL
 tgaja danès.
 shit.PRS.3SG money.M.PL

'He has an old woman behind the oven who shits money.'

- (302) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 173f.)

[...] plé baut èr' aj al fagljét tgi
 more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL DEF.ART.M.SG son.M.SG.DIM REL
 fijèv' al pur.
 do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG farmer

'[...] in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.'

Locative relative clauses are formed with *nù tga* (303), *nùca* (306 and 307), *nùca tga* (304 and 305), or only with the relativizer *tga* (308). *Nù* and *nùca* function

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as antecedents of the relative clause. *Nùca* already contains the complementizer *ca* – see standard Survilvan *nua che* ‘where that’, also realized *nu che* – but in Tuatschín, *ca* forms an unanalysable unit with *nù*. If this were not so, the genuine Tuatschin form **nù tga* should be used, which does not exist.

- (303) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 56ff.)

Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.ART.M.SG place where REL EXPL
 vagnéva schau tut la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.F.SG munition REL EXPL
 vèva, sigir.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM

‘This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.’

- (304) Tuatschín (Büchli 1966: 145)

[...] sé l' alp nùca tg' èl èra staus da
 on DEF.ART.F.SG alp where REL 3SG be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.3SG.M as
 buéb [...].
 boy.M.SG

‘[...] on the alp where he had been as a boy [...].’

- (305) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Al sulèt intarèssant è l'
 DEF.ART.M.SG only interesting.ADJ.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG
 ampréma sacùnda classa nùca tga fòn la midada
 first second form where REL make.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.F.SG change
 tial sursilván [...].
 towards.DEF.ART.M.SG Sursilvan

‘The only interesting thing is the first [and] second form where they start switching to Sursilvan.’

- (306) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 536f.)

Şùtajn èri la téjja nùca 'l
 under_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.F.SG alpine_hut REL 3SG.M
 caşchav' èra [...].
 make_cheese.IMPF.3SG also

‘Below was the alpine hut where he would also make cheese [...]’

The following examples illustrate the cases where *nùca* is used without *tga* and *tga* without *nùca*.

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- (307) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 134)
 [...] la damaun èra la crapa gjù
 DEF.ART.F.SG morning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG stone.COLL down
 nùca la basèlgja stat òz sén quaj prau.
 REL.LOC DEF.ART.F.SG church stay.PRS.3SG today on DEM.M.SG field
 '[...] in the morning the stones where down there on the field where the
 church is located nowadays.'
- (308) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 838ff.)
 [...] a lu vèvan nus cò pròpi in cantún tga
 and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL here really INDEF.ART.M.SG corner REL
 vagnéva mù rašdau ròmòntschi.
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG only speak.PTCP.UNM Romansh.M.SG
 '[...] and then we had here a real Romansh corner where only Romansh
 was spoken.'

Some authors write *nùca* in two words.

- (309) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 134)
 [...] a lu èni sacussagljai sén
 and then COP.PRS.3PL.3PL REFL.discuss.PTCP.M.PL on
 vaschnaunca da bagagè èla gjù lò, nù' c' èla
 municipality.F.SG COMP build.INF 3SG.F down there where REL 3SG.F
 stat oz.
 stay.PRS.3SG today
 'And then they discussed [the problem] in the municipality [and
 decided] to build it [the church] where it is located nowadays.'

Tga is also used for locative relative clauses if the locative antecedent is not *nùca* or *nù*, as (310) and (311) show.

- (310) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 437f.)
 [...] zatgé rastònza sè aun lò tg' ins sa
 something remnant.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG still there REL GNR can.PRS.3SG
 í ajn á mará [...].
 go.INF into COMP see.INF
 '[...] there still are some remnants there where one can go and see [...].'

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- (311) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 566ff.)

Ô lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM
 in téč quajda d' í par crapa tgu
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL REL.1SG
 a vju difarènts lògans tg' i vèvan
 have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.UNM different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL have.IMP.3PL
 sitau gjù ad èra ... vagnú ò
 blast.PTCP.UNM down and be.IMP.3SG come.PTCP.UNM out
 cristalas etcètara [...].
 crystal.F.PL and_so_on

‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit, when I saw different places where they had blasted [the rocks], and crystals and so forth ... had come out [...]’

- (312) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 44ff.)

Ad ju a stuvju ir' ál' antiara
 and 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.ART.F.SG whole
 val á préndar sé gl amprém tùt quèls ... tùt
 valley PURP take.INF up DEF.ART.M.SG first all DEM.M.PL all
 quèls ... lògans nù i èran muossavías.
 DEM.M.PL place.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMP.3PL signpost.F.PL

‘And I had to go to the entire valley in order to first take down all these ... all these ... places where there were signposts.’

In rare cases, *nùca tga* functions as the antecedent of a temporal relative clause (313). This is also the case with *tga* alone, as is the case with the first occurrence of *tga* in (311).

- (313) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1274ff.)

Álsò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ...
 well EXPL EXIST.IMP.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMP.3PL
 nündétg, ad i şèra òns nùca tg' èra
 incredibly and EXPL EXIST.IMP.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMP.3SG
 aua, ad èra òns nùca tga spardévan.
 water and EXIST.IMP.3SG year.M.PL where REL lose.IMP.3PL

‘Well, there were years when they earned ... a lot of money, and there were years with rain, and precisely years when they would lose money.’

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3.7 Generic noun phrases

Generic subject noun phrases are formed with the definite article singular (314) or plural (315 and 316) as well as with the indefinite article singular or plural (317 and 318). Generic object noun phrases are usually bare (319).

- (314) Tuatschín (DRG (10: 644))

La	lavina	da tgaut	scava.
DEF.ART.F.SG	avalanche	of warm.ADJ.UNM	scarify.PRS.3SG
'The warm weather avalanche scarifies the soil.'			

- (315) Tuatschín (DRG (3: 519))

Las	tgauraş	èn	las	sulètas	fèmnas	tga
DEF.ART.F.PL	goat.PL	COP.PRS.3PL	DEF.ART.F.PL	only.PL	woman.PL	REL
portan	barba.					
carry.PRS.3PL	beard					
'Goats are the only women that have a beard.'						

- (316) Tuatschín (DRG (3: 630))

Las	tgautschas	fòn	bétg	agl	ùm.
DEF.ART.F.PL	trousers.PL	make.PRS.3PL	NEG	DEF.ART.M.SG	man
'Trousers do not make a man.'					

- (317) Tuatschín (DRG (6: 437))

In	bògn	da flucs	til'	ò
INDEF.ART.M.SG	bath	of chopped_straw.M.PL	pull.PRS.3SG	out
als	tisis.			
DEF.ART.M.PL	poison.PL			
'A bath of chopped straw pulls out the poisons.'				

- (318) Tuatschín (DRG (6: 432))

Ufauns	pins	magjan	la	flur	ad	antardan
child.M.PL	small.PL	eat.PRS.3PL	DEF.ART.F.SG	flower	and	delay.PRS.3PL
la	lavur.					
DEF.ART.F.SG	work					
'Small children consume power and delay the work.'						

- (319) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Èla	ò	mù	ugèn	salata.
3SG.F	have.PRS.3SG	only	with_pleasure	salad.F.SG
'She only likes salad.'				

3.7 Generic noun phrases

The generic pronoun *ins* (rarely *in*) is not restricted to subjects, but can be found in different syntactic functions.

- (320) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 397f.)

Ad i èr' è bitga úshit tg' ins mava á
and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG to
scùlèta.
nursery_school.F.SG

'And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.' (subject)

- (321) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1291f.)

[...] api stavèv' ins í culas tgauras tòca sé Nalps
and must.IMPF GNR go.INF with.DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL until up PLN
[...].

'[...] and one had to go with the goats till Nalps [...]' (subject)

- (322) Tuatschín (Selva; Büchli 1966: 46)

[...] tg' al gjával ségi adina spèras
COMP DEF.ART.M.SG devil COP.PRS.SBJ.3SG always next
lagagjaus par cudizá ins [...].
lie_in_wait.PTPC.M.SG PURP tease.INF GNR

'[...] that the devil is always next [to us], lying in wait in order to tease us.' (direct object)

In (323), *ins* could have a generic reading, but could also be interpreted as a first person plural.

- (323) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 562ff.)

Prquaj tga quaj c' ins vèva bigja grad da
because COMP DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just COMP
partgirá tiars sch' èr' ins antiar dé cun
mind.INF animal.M.PL CORR COP.IMPF.3SG GNR whole.M.SG day with
quèls [...].
DEM.M.PL

'Because when we didn't just have to mind the animals, we were with them [the Italian workers] the whole day [...].'

3 Noun phrase

3.8 Structure of the noun phrase

Determiners precede adjectives and nouns. The modifying noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses follow the noun. Adjectives precede or follow the noun; intensifiers precede the adjective. If combinations of determiners occur, the demonstrative precedes the possessive which in turn precedes the numeral: *quèls nòs ufauns* ‘these our children’, but these combinations are rare. The only combination of determiners occurring in the corpus is a possessive with a numeral (324).

- (324) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1737f.)

Nuṣ èssan ṣgulaj l' amprém' jèd' uòn, cun
 1PL be.PRS.1PL fly.PTCP.M.PL DEF.ART.F.SG first time this_year with
 nòssas duaṣ buébas.
 POSS.1PL.F.PL two.F.PL girl.PL

‘We flew for the first time this year, with our two daughters.’

4 Verb phrase

4.1 The verb

Tuatschin possesses impersonal, intransitive (2), mono-, and ditransitive verbs. Impersonal verbs require an expletive pronoun in subject position (1). Monotransitive verbs usually have a direct object (3 and 4), but in rare cases they also may have an indirect object (5). Ditransitive verbs (6 and 7) have a direct and an indirect object, the latter being marked by *da/dad*¹. An exception is the verb *dumandá*, which has two direct objects (8). Note that if the two objects are pronominal, the object of the asking is usually not mentioned (8). The indirect object usually precedes the direct object (7).

- (1) Ad i èr' è bitga úsit tg' ins mav a
and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG REL GNR go.IMPF.3SG to
scùlèta.
nursery_school.F.SG
'And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 383f.)
- (2) Quèl durméra sc' in tajs.
DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.M.SG badger
'He used to sleep like a log.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 518)
- (3) In da Méjdal vèv' [in] ura da Schwarzwald tg'
one.M.SG of PN have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG clock of PN REL
èra rùta].
COP.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.F.SG
'An inhabitant of Medel had a clock from the Black Forest that was broken.' (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 106)

¹As shown in §3.2.1.2 and 3.6.1, the dative articles *li* (see example (7) as well as *di*) are obsolescent, and the dative marker *a*, which is used in rare cases, is a loan from Standard Sursilvan.

4 Verb phrase

- (4) In dé [...] partgirava in buép [laš vacas] sén
 INDEF.M.SG day mind.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG boy DEF.F.PL COW.PL up
 Vòns.
 PN
 ‘One day [...] a boy was taking care of the cows at Vons.’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 103)
- (5) A quaj gang udéva [dad òmaşdús].
 and DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL
 And this corridor belonged to both [families].’ (Sadrún, m1, l. 246f.)
- (6) [...] [mia carèzja]tgu stù dá [da quèlas].
 POSS.1SG.F.SG love REL.1SG must.PRS.1SG give.INF DAT DEM.F.PL
 ‘[...] my love that I have to give them.’ (Camischùlas, f6, l. 847f.)
- (7) [...] Nossadùna lèva dá [li gjuven préjr] [ina
 Our_Lady.F.SG want.IMPF.3SG give DAT young.M.SG priest INDEF.F.SG
 rancùnusciantscha pal survètsch].
 mark_of_gratitude.F.SG for.DEF.M.SG favour
 ‘[...] the holy Virgin wanted to give the young priest a mark of gratitude
 for the favour [he had done her].’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)
- (8) [...] ina zagríndara [...] ò dumandau [la
 INDEF.F.SG Yenish have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
 mùma da tgèsa] [in tgavégl da sia buéba].
 mother of house.F one hair of POSS.3SG.F.SG girl
 ‘[...] a Yenish woman [...] asked the mother of the house for one hair from
 her daughter.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 131)

4.1.1 Verbal morphology

According to the ending of their infinitives, verbs can be divided into five classes:

- -á (*anflá* ‘find’)
- -è (*maglјè* ‘eat’)
- -aj (*tanaj* ‘hold’)
- -'ar (*métar* ‘put’)

4.1 The verb

- -i (*fugí* ‘flee’)

From a diachronic point of view, the -è-class is a subclass of the -a-class due to the general rule that *a* becomes *è* after a palatal consonant or glide.

The verbs ending in -aj are all irregular and will be treated in §4.1.1.4, and the small amount of regular verbs ending in -i all have the suffix -esch- (see Table 4.9 below). Some verbs of other conjugation classes also have the suffix -esch-; in the oral corpus, this only concerns two verbs that end in -á and one that ends in -è: *datá* ‘date’ (*ju/èla datèscha* ‘I/she dates’), *discusjuná* ‘discuss’ (*ju/èla discusjunèscha* ‘I/she discusses’), and *aprazjè* ‘appreciate’ (*ju/èla aprazjèscha* ‘I/she appreciates’).

Tuatschin has three nonfinite categories: infinitive, past participle, and gerund, whereby the gerund is not in use in current speech.

Within the finite categories, the language differentiates tense, aspect, and modal categories as well as simple, compound, and doubly-compound categories.

The simple categories are present indicative, present subjunctive, imperfect indicative, imperfect subjunctive, direct conditional, indirect conditional,² and imperative.

The compound tenses are perfect indicative, perfect subjunctive, pluperfect indicative, pluperfect subjunctive, and future. The compound tenses are formed with an auxiliary verb (either èssar ‘be’, vaj ‘have’, or vagní ‘come’) and the past participle or the infinitive.

The doubly-compound tenses correspond to the perfect and the pluperfect, but with two past participles instead of one.

The personal ending for the first person singular present and imperfect indicative is -a as in *ju cònta* ‘I sing’ and *ju cantava* ‘I used to sing’, but some irregular verbs lack this ending, as in *ju détsch* ‘I say’, *ju dùn* ‘I give’, *ju fêtsch* ‘I do’, *ju végn* ‘I come’, or *ju vòn / ju mòn* ‘I go’. For further examples see §4.1.1.4.

Reflexive verbs are built with the prefix *sa-* in all persons, tenses, moods, and nonfinite categories and use the auxiliary verb èssar ‘be’ for compound tenses: *salavá* ‘wash (oneself)’, *ju salava* ‘I wash’, *té salavassas* ‘you (sg) would wash’, *nus èssan salavaj* ‘we have washed’, *vus vagnís a salavá* ‘you (pl) will wash’, *èls èran salavaj* ‘they had washed’.

According to the DRG (1: 568), the choice of *esser* as auxiliary verb for reflexives in Standard Sursilvan is due to the demand of Sursilvan grammarians since the 18th century. Nowadays speakers seek to conform to this claim, but in spoken Sursilvan, one still can find *haver* as auxiliary for reflexive verbs.

²*Direct* and *indirect conditional* are terms used in Sursilvan Romansh grammars to refer to a conditional which is used in direct, respectively in indirect speech (see §4.1.2.10).

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The reflexive verbs will not be treated this chapter, but their use will be presented in §5.5.1 on reflexive voice.

Verb forms that end in *-n* in the first and third person singular present indicative take a euphonic *-d* before /j/ (9 and 10) or a vowel (11).

- (9) Api sjantar **sùnd** ju saşjuş gjù [...].
and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down
'And then I sat down [...]' (Sadrún, m8, l. 1452)
- (10) **Sùnd** juş ah gjù Surajn [...].
be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh down PN
'[I] went eh down to Surrein [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l. 400)
- (11) Api prènd' al PN in cuntí ò da sac [...].
and take.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG PN INDEF.M.SG knife out of pocket.M.SG
'And then PN takes a knife out of his pocket [...]' (Surajn, m7, l. 2231)

4.1.1.1 Auxiliary verbs

The auxiliary verbs *èssar* (Table 4.1) and *vaj* (Table 4.2) are used for compound tenses (and *vaj* also for doubly-compound tenses), whereas *vagní* (Table 4.3) is used for future. In the following tables, only one compound tense will be listed, the perfect; as for the doubly-compound tenses, they are formed with the perfect or the imperfect of the auxiliary verb *vaj*, the participle of *vaj*, and the participle of the main verb and need not be listed. Examples will be given in §4.1.2.2.6.

In the third person singular and plural present and imperfect, the verb *èssar* has a special form when there is subject inversion (which includes polar interrogatives): *ásaj*, *saç* *chè*, and *chèn*, as well as *chèra* and *chèran* (12–14). These forms go back to Standard Sursilvan, where *igl ei* 'it + expletive pronoun' is realised as *eiš ei* 'is it' with subject inversion (/ajzaj/ > /azaj/ > /zaj/ < /ze/). In contrast to Standard Sursilvan, the form of the copula does not include an expletive pronoun in the following examples.

- (12) Òz **chè** quaj ah, òz **chèni** schòn autar,
today COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM eh today COP.PRS.3PL.3PL in_fact different
òz **chèn** aj ... la stradún.
today COP.PRS.3PL 3PL DEF.F.SG street.M.SG.AUGM
'Nowadays this is, eh, as a matter of fact they are different, nowadays
they are [called] ... the «big street».' (Ruèras, m2, l. 209f.)

4.1 The verb

Table 4.1: Auxiliary verb èssar ‘be’

INF		PTCP.M	PTCP.F	GER
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT
JU	sùn	èra	sùn stauş/stada	végn ád èssar
TÉ	ajş	èras	ajs stauş/stada	végnas ád èssar
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ	è	èra	è staus/stada	végn ád èssar
NUŞ	èssan	èran	èssan staj/stadas	vagnín ád èssar
VUŞ	èssas	èras	èssas staj/stadas	vagnís ád èssar
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	èn	èran	èn staj/stadas	végnan ád èssar
SBJ.PRON	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SUBJ.	COND.DIR.	COND.IND.
JU	séjgi/ségi	èri	fùs	füssi
TÉ	séjgiaş/ségias	èriAŞ	füssaş	füssias
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ	séjgi/séj/ségi	èri	fùş	füssi
NUŞ	séjgian, ségian	èrian	füssan	füssian
VUŞ	séjgiaş, ségiaş	èriAŞ	füssaş	füssiaş
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	séjgian, ségian	èrian	füssan	füssian

- (13) A Cazis şèra quaj al madèm.
 in PN COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG same
 ‘In Cazas this was the same thing.’ (Camischùlas, f6, l. 710)

- (14) Şè quaj usché?
 COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM SO
 ‘Is this so?’ (Sadrún, m5)

Children and very occasionally also older people generalise this form and use it without subject inversion (15–17).

- (15) I şè vit.
 EXPL COP.PRS.3SG empty.ADJ.UNM
 ‘It is empty.’ (Sadrún, m8)

- (16) [...] i şèra òns nùca tg’ èra aua [...].
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG water
 ‘[...] there were years with rain [...].’ (Sadrún, m5, l. 1239)

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- (17) [...] anadas tga şèn uschéa [...].
 age_group.F.PL REL COP.PRS.3PL SO
 ‘[...] age groups which are like that [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, l. 1777f.)

In (18) the form of the copula *şè* does include an expletive pronoun as in the Standard Sursilvan form noted above.

- (18) Basta, ju sùn id' ál trèn, tòcan gjù Sògn
 enough 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG to.DEF.M.SG train until down PN
 Gagl şè bigja da fá bjè falju [...].
 COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG COMP make.INF much wrong.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Enough. I went to the train, to St. Gallen there is not much you could do
 wrong [...].’ (Ruèras, 7, l. 1662f.)

Table 4.2: Auxiliary verb *vaj* ‘have’

		INF	PTCP.M.UNM		
		<i>vaj</i>	<i>gju</i>		
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT	
JU	<i>a</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>a gju</i>	<i>végn a vaj</i>	
TÉ	<i>as</i>	<i>vèvaş</i>	<i>as gju</i>	<i>végnas a vaj</i>	
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>ò</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>ò gju</i>	<i>végn a vaj</i>	
NUŞ	<i>vajn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>vajn gju</i>	<i>vagnín a vaj</i>	
VUŞ	<i>vajş</i>	<i>vèvaş</i>	<i>vajş gju</i>	<i>vagníş a vaj</i>	
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>òn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>òn gju</i>	<i>végnan a vaj</i>	
SBJ.PRON	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIR	COND.IND	IMP
JU	<i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vèş</i>	<i>vèssi</i>	
TÉ	<i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssaş</i>	<i>vèssiaş</i>	<i>vajaş</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vèş</i>	<i>vèssi</i>	
NUŞ	<i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>	
VUŞ	<i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssaş</i>	<i>vèssiaş</i>	<i>vajaş</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>	

4.1 The verb

Table 4.3: Auxiliary verb *vagní* ‘come’

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F	
	<i>vagní</i>	<i>vagnúš, vagní</i>	<i>vagnida, vagnidas</i>	
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT
JU	<i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva</i>	<i>sùn vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végn a vagní</i>
TÉ	<i>végnaş</i>	<i>vagnévaş</i>	<i>ajs vagnúş/vagnida</i>	<i>véynaş a vagní</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ	<i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva^a</i>	<i>è vagnúş/vagnida</i>	<i>végn a vagní</i>
NUŞ	<i>vagnín</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èsan vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>vagnín a vagní</i>
VUŞ	<i>vagníş</i>	<i>vagnévaş</i>	<i>essaş vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>vagníş a vagní</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>végnan</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èn vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>végnan a vagní</i>
SBJ.PRON	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIR	COND.IND
JU	<i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnés</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>
TÉ	<i>végnişaş</i>	<i>vagnéviaş</i>	<i>vagnéssas</i>	<i>vagnéssiaş</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ	<i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnés</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>
NUŞ	<i>végnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>
VUŞ	<i>végnias</i>	<i>vagnéviaş</i>	<i>vagnéssas</i>	<i>vagnéssiaş</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>végnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>

^a*Vagnéva* is also used, but not frequent.

4.1.1.2 Regular verbs

Future tense is always built with the auxiliary verb *vagní* ‘come’, but it is not used in normal daily speech, where almost exclusively present tense is used for future reference. Therefore future tense will not be listed with the regular verbs. The same holds for the gerund, which was used by traditional story tellers until some decades ago, but which is not in use any more (for examples see §4.1.2.1.2).

As mentioned above, the *è*-conjugation has split from the original *á*-conjugation (< Latin -ARE) because of the presence of a preceding palatal consonant. Table 4.4 lists some examples of *è*-verbs with their Sursilvan counterparts. Note that the final *-r* of the infinitives in Standard Sursilvan orthography is not pronounced in any Sursilvan variety.

4.1.1.2.1 Personal endings of the regular verbs The personal endings of the regular verbs are presented in Table 4.5.

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Table 4.4: Tuatschin verbs ending in *è*- with their Standard Sursilvan equivalents

	TUATSCHÍN	SURSILVAN	ENGLISH
λ	<i>magliè</i>	<i>magliar</i>	'eat'
dꝑ	<i>carge</i>	<i>cargar</i>	'carry'
tꝑ	<i>spatgè</i>	<i>spitgar</i>	'wait'
tʃ	<i>catschè</i>	<i>catschar</i>	'hunt'
ʃ	<i>schè</i>	<i>schar</i>	'let'
j	<i>sijè</i>	<i>segar</i>	'mow'

The endings of the present tense, indicative or subjunctive, are stressed on the stem, whereas the endings of the imperfect, indicative and subjunctive, as well as the direct and indirect conditional are stressed on the first vowel of the ending.

The paradigm of the personal endings exhibits the following cases of syncretism:

1SG and 3SG : PRS IND and SBJV, IMPF IND and SBJV, COND DIR and INDIR

1SG and 3PL : IMPF IND and SBJV, COND DIR and INDIR

2SG and 2PL : IMPF IND and SBJV, COND DIR and INDIR

The subjunctive and the indirect conditional are characterised by the vowel *i* which replaces the ending *-a* in the first and third person singular present and imperfect indicative, and which is added to the stem in the first and third person singular of the direct conditional. In all other cases, it is inserted between the stem and the ending. That the indirect conditional is treated like subjunctive mood is not surprising since it occurs after speech act verbs like *dí* 'say', which normally trigger subjunctive mood (see §4.1.2.2.10).

The personal endings only differ in the IMPF IND and SBJV as well as in the COND DIR and IND: the verbs ending in *-á* and *-è* have an *-a* whereas the verbs ending in *-'ar* and in *í* have an *-é*. Note that many irregular verbs have an *-è*, as e.g. *ju dèva* 'I gave' or *ju lès* 'I would like' (see §4.1.1.4)

4.1.1.2.2 Paradigms of the regular verbs Table 4.6 and Table 4.7 illustrate the two conjugations deriving from the Latin first conjugation. The difference between the two conjugations concerns above all the infinitive and the feminine

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Table 4.5: Personal endings of the regular verbs

INF	stem	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	COND.DIR
<i>gidá</i>	<i>gid-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ava</i>	<i>áş</i>
		<i>as</i>	<i>avas</i>	<i>assas</i>
		<i>a</i>	<i>ava</i>	<i>áş</i>
		<i>ajn</i>	<i>avan</i>	<i>assan</i>
		<i>ajs</i>	<i>avas</i>	<i>assas</i>
		<i>an</i>	<i>avan</i>	<i>assan</i>
<i>catschè</i>	<i>catsch-</i>			
			<i>éva</i>	<i>éş</i>
			<i>évas</i>	<i>éssas</i>
			<i>éva</i>	<i>éş</i>
			<i>évan</i>	<i>éssan</i>
			<i>évas</i>	<i>éssas</i>
			<i>évan</i>	<i>éssan</i>
<i>finí</i>	<i>fin-</i>	<i>èscha</i>		
		<i>èschas</i>		
		<i>éscha</i>		
		<i>ín</i>		
		<i>ís</i>		
		<i>éschan</i>		
INF	stem	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.IND
<i>gidá</i>	<i>gid-</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>avi</i>	<i>assi</i>
		<i>ias</i>	<i>ávias</i>	<i>ássias</i>
		<i>i</i>	<i>avi</i>	<i>áş</i>
		<i>ian</i>	<i>ávian</i>	<i>ássian</i>
		<i>ias</i>	<i>ávias</i>	<i>ássias</i>
		<i>ian</i>	<i>ávian</i>	<i>ássian</i>
<i>catschè</i>	<i>catsch-</i>			
			<i>évi</i>	<i>éssi</i>
			<i>évias</i>	<i>éssias</i>
			<i>évi</i>	<i>éssi</i>
			<i>évian</i>	<i>éssian</i>
			<i>évias</i>	<i>éssias</i>
			<i>évian</i>	<i>éssian</i>
<i>finí</i>	<i>fin-</i>	<i>èschi</i>		
		<i>èschias</i>		
		<i>èschi</i>		
		<i>ían</i>		
		<i>ías</i>		
		<i>èschian</i>		

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past participle, which ends in -èda (vs -ada in the a-conjugation). The ending of the masculine form is the same in both conjugations (-au). The imperfect morpheme of the è-conjugation is normally -áva(-), but some verbs have -èva(-), for example *astgè* ‘be allowed’, as in *nuş astgèvan fá* ‘we were allowed to do’ (§8.4, line 687) or *schè* ‘let’, as in *a schèvan dá quèlas scùas a da quaj* ‘and [we] would let these brooms and so on fall down’ (§8.6, line 935). The choice of the ending èva, which is also found in verbs ending in -á (*dá/dèva* ‘give’, *stá/stèva* ‘stay’) and -aj (*savaj/savèva* ‘know’, *vulaj/vulèva* ‘want’) depends on the verb.

Table 4.6: Regular verbs ending in -á

	INF	PTCP.M		PTCP.F	
	<i>gidá</i>	‘help’	<i>gidau, gidaus</i>	<i>gidada, gidadas</i>	
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SUBJ	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SUBJ	PRF.IND
JU	<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>a gidau</i>
TÉ	<i>gidas</i>	<i>gídias</i>	<i>gidavaş</i>	<i>gidáviaş</i>	<i>aş gidau</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>ò gidau</i>
NUŞ	<i>gidajn</i>	<i>gídian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>vajn gidau</i>
VUŞ	<i>gidajş</i>	<i>gídias</i>	<i>gidavaş</i>	<i>gidáviaş</i>	<i>vajş gidau</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>gidan</i>	<i>gídian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>òn gidau</i>
SBJ.PRON	DIR.COND		INDIR.COND		IMP
JU	<i>gidás</i>		<i>gidassi</i>		
TÉ	<i>gidassas</i>		<i>gidássiaş</i>		<i>gida</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>gidás</i>		<i>gidassi</i>		
NUŞ	<i>gidassan</i>		<i>gidássian</i>		
VUŞ	<i>gidassas</i>		<i>gidássiaş</i>		<i>gidaj</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>gidassan</i>		<i>gidássian</i>		

The ending in -a of the first person singular present and imperfect indicative is typical of Tuatschin Sursilvan. The standard ending in Sursilvan is -el (*jeu giavisch-el* ‘I wish’); in the DRG, however, I found one example of -a in the variety of Riein, a village situated in the Lumnezia valley (19).

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Table 4.7: Regular verbs ending in -è

INF		PTCP.M		PTCP.F	
<i>catschè</i> ‘hunt’		<i>catschau</i> , <i>catschaus</i>	<i>catschèda</i> , <i>catschèdas</i>		
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
JU	<i>catscha</i>	<i>catschi</i>	<i>catschava</i>	<i>catschavi</i>	<i>a catschau</i>
TÉ	<i>catschaş</i>	<i>cátschiaş</i>	<i>catschavaş</i>	<i>catscháviaş</i>	<i>as catschau</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>catscha</i>	<i>catschi</i>	<i>catschava</i>	<i>catschavi</i>	<i>ò catschau</i>
NUS	<i>catschajn</i>	<i>cátschian</i>	<i>catschavan</i>	<i>catschávian</i>	<i>vajn catschau</i>
VUS	<i>catschajş</i>	<i>cátschiaş</i>	<i>catschavaş</i>	<i>catscháviaş</i>	<i>vajs catschau</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>catschan</i>	<i>cátschian</i>	<i>catschavan</i>	<i>catschávian</i>	<i>òn catschau</i>

SBJ.PRON	COND.DIR	COND.IND	IMP
JU	<i>catschás</i>	<i>catschassi</i>	
TÉ	<i>catschassas</i>	<i>catschássiaş</i>	<i>catscha</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>catschás</i>	<i>catschassi</i>	
NUS	<i>catschassan</i>	<i>catschássian</i>	
VUS	<i>catschassaş</i>	<i>catschássiaş</i>	<i>catschaj</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>catschassan</i>	<i>catschássian</i>	

- (19) Jeu giavisch-a bien cunfiert.
 1SG wish-PRS.1SG good consolation
 ‘My heartfelt sympathy.’ (Sursilvan, Riein, DRG 4: 327)

This form was current in this local variety of Sursilvan for 1st person singular present and imperfect, as the following forms show: *jeu astga* ‘I am allowed to’, *jeu gneva* ‘I used to come’, *jeu era* ‘I was’, *jeu suna* ‘I play (an instrument)’, *jeu sunava* ‘I used to play’, and so on (examples taken out of the *Questiunari principal* of the DRG, recorded between 1900 and 1920; Ursin Lutz p.c., 2017/04/19).

Table 4.8 lists the verbs ending in -ar. Many verbs from this category are built as in Table 4.8 but have one irregular form: the past participle. Some examples are *árdar* ‘burn’, *árvar* ‘open’, and *bétar* ‘throw’, whose participles are *ars/arsa*, *aviart/ayjarta*, and *béz/béza*. A list of irregular verbs ending in -ar is given in Table 4.14 below.

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Table 4.8: Regular verbs ending in *-'ar*

	INF		PTCP.M		PTCP.F
	bátar	'beat'	batju, batjuş	batida, batidas	
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SUBJ	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SUBJ	PRF.IND
JU	bata	bati	batéva	batévi	a batju
TÉ	bataş	bátias	batévaş	batéviaş	aş batju
ÈL, ÈLA, I,	bata	bati	batéva	batévi	ò batju
INS					
NUŞ	batín	bátian	batévan	batévian	vajn batju
VUŞ	batış	bátias	batévaş	batéviaş	vajş batju
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	batan	bátian	batévan	batévian	òn batju

SBJ.PRON	DIR.COND	INDIR.COND	IMP
JU	batés	batéssi	
TÉ	batéssas	batéssias	bata
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	batés	batéssi	
NUŞ	batéssan	batéssian	
VUŞ	batéssas	batéssias	batí
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	batéssan	batéssian	

As mentioned above, verbs ending in *-í* which are conjugated regularly always have the *-esch-* in the forms of the present tense that are stressed on the stem.

4.1.1.3 Verbs with stem alternations

The lists presented in this section contain some verbs ending in *-á*, *-è*, *-'ar*, and *-í* which display a change in their stem. The alternation depends on whether a verb form is stressed or not. Most verbs ending in *-aj* are irregular and will therefore be presented in §4.1.1.4.

For present indicative and subjunctive, only the 1st person singular and plural will be indicated; for imperfect indicative and subjunctive as well as for conditional, only the first person singular will be noted. For the verbs ending in *-á*

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Table 4.9: Regular verbs ending in *-í* with the suffix *-èsch-*

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F		
	<i>finí</i> ‘finish’	<i>finju, finjus</i>	<i>finida, finidas</i>		
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SUBJ	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SUBJ	PRF.IND
JU	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>a finju</i>
TÉ	<i>finèschaş</i>	<i>finèschias</i>	<i>finévas</i>	<i>finéviaş</i>	<i>as finju</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I,	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>ò finju</i>
INS					
NUS	<i>finín</i>	<i>finían</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finévian</i>	<i>vajn finju</i>
VUS	<i>finís</i>	<i>finías</i>	<i>finévas</i>	<i>finéviaş</i>	<i>vajs finju</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>finèschan</i>	<i>finèschian</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finévian</i>	<i>òn finju</i>
SBJ.PRON	DIR.COND	INDIR.COND	IMP		
JU	<i>finéş</i>	<i>finéssi</i>			
TÉ	<i>finéssas</i>	<i>finéssias</i>		<i>finèscha</i>	
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>finéş</i>	<i>finéssi</i>			
NUS	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>			
VUS	<i>finéssas</i>	<i>finéssias</i>		<i>finí</i>	
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>			

the imperfect indicative and subjunctive will not be listed since these forms are regular.

Since the future, the imperfect subjunctive, and the gerund are not or only rarely used, they will not be mentioned.

For reasons of space the imperative will not be indicated in the following tables, but the 2nd person singular imperative corresponds to the 3rd person singular present indicative, and the 2nd person plural imperative corresponds to the 2nd person plural present indicative without its final -s: *èla cònta* ‘she sings’ vs *Cònta!* ‘Sing (sg)!’, *vus cantájs* ‘you (pl) sing’ vs *Cantaj!* ‘Sing (pl)!’.

The verbs ending in *-á* listed in Table 4.10 – Table 4.12 show the following vocalic stem alternations:

- a → aj (*zavrá* ‘separate’ → *zajvra*), → au (*ruassá* ‘rest’ → *ruaussa*), → ja (*anzardá* ‘aerate’ → *anzjarda*), → ej (*lavá sé* ‘get up’ → *léjva sé*), →

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ia (*samjá* ‘dream’ → *siamja*), → ò (*sahaná*, ‘appreciate’ → *sahònà*), → u (*cugljaná* ‘cheat’ → *cugljuna*)

- i → aj (*piná* ‘prepare’ → *pajna*), → é (*cudizá* ‘provoke’ → *cudéza*)
- u → au (*antupá* ‘meet’ → *antaupa*), → íu (*suá* ‘sweat’ → *síua*) → ò (*dustá* ‘keep away’ → *dòsta*), → ù (*angulá* ‘steal’ → *angùla*), → ue (*cuzá* ‘last’ → *cuéza*)
- u ... a → a ... ò (*cumandá* ‘order’ → *camònada*), u ... a → a ... ù (*scurşalá* ‘sledge’ → *scarsùla*), u ... a → a ... u (*rumplaná* ‘rumble’ → *rampluna*)

Metathesis occurs with *r* in the following cases, with or without change in the vowel:

- ar → ra (*barsá* ‘roast’ → *brassa*), ar ... réj → (*fardá* ‘smell’ → *fréjda*)
- ur → rù (*curdá* ‘fall’ → *crùda*)

The verbs *digrá* ‘drip’ and *satrá* ‘bury’ are a different case. What looks like metathesis (*daghira* ‘(s/he) drips’ vs *digrain* ‘(we) drip’ and *satjara* ‘(s/he) buries vs *satrjn* ‘(we) bury’) is due to the dropping of the reduced vowel /ɛ/ between *g-r* and *t-r* or, in other words, between a stop and a trill. According to Decurtins (2012: 311 and 973), *digrá* is derived from the mixture of Latin DECURRERE ‘flow off’ and CURARE ‘sieve’, whereas *satrá* is derived from Middle Latin SUBTERRARE ‘bury’.

Verbs ending in -è that show stem alternation are listed in Table 4.13. The following stem alternations occur:

- a → è (*bagagè* ‘build’ → *ju baghèga*, *nus bagagjajn*), → é (*pardagè* ‘preach’ → *ju pardégja*, *nus pardagjajn*), → ò (*cumpagnè* ‘accompany’ → *ju cumpògna*, *nus cumpagnajn*)
- i → aj (*piè* ‘pay’ → *paja*), → é (*bitschè* ‘kiss’ → *bétscha*)
- u → au (*stuschá* ‘push’ → *stauscha*), → ò (*bugnè* ‘give water’ → *bògna*)
- u ... a → a ... ò (*dumagnè* ‘cope with’ → *damògna*)

The imperfect of the verbs ending in -agè is sometimes realised as -java instead of -agjava, as in *pardjavan* ‘they used to preach’ vs *pardagjavan* ‘idem’, or

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Table 4.10: Verbs ending in -á, first part

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>ampruá</i>	'try'	<i>ampruva</i>	<i>ampruqin</i>	<i>ampruvi</i>	<i>ampríyian</i>	<i>amprau</i>
<i>ampustá</i>	'order'	<i>amposta</i>	<i>ampustajn</i>	<i>ampostí</i>	<i>ampostian</i>	<i>ampustau</i>
<i>anf(a)rá</i>	'shoe a horse'	<i>anfara</i>	<i>anf(a)rajn</i>	<i>anfari</i>	<i>anfíarian</i>	<i>anf(a)rau</i>
<i>angulá</i>	'steal'	<i>angúla</i>	<i>angulajn</i>	<i>anguli</i>	<i>angúlian</i>	<i>angulau</i>
<i>antupá</i>	'meet'	<i>antaupa</i>	<i>antupajn</i>	<i>antaupi</i>	<i>antaúpian</i>	<i>antupau</i>
<i>anzardá</i>	'aerate the hay'	<i>anzjarda</i>	<i>anzardajn</i>	<i>anzjardi</i>	<i>anzjardian</i>	<i>anzardau</i>
<i>barsá</i>	'roast'	<i>brassa</i>	<i>barsajn</i>	<i>brassi</i>	<i>brassian</i>	<i>barsau</i>
<i>cantá</i>	'sing'	<i>cònta</i>	<i>cantajn</i>	<i>cònti</i>	<i>còntian</i>	<i>cantau</i>
<i>cudizá</i>	'provoke'	<i>cudéza</i>	<i>cuaizajn</i>	<i>cudeci</i>	<i>cudécián</i>	<i>cudizau</i>
<i>cugljaná</i>	'cheat'	<i>cugljuna</i>	<i>cugljanajn</i>	<i>cugljuni</i>	<i>cugljunian</i>	<i>cugljanau</i>
<i>cumandá</i>	'order'	<i>camònda</i>	<i>cumandajn</i>	<i>camòndi</i>	<i>camòndian</i>	<i>cumandau</i>
<i>curdá</i>	'fall'	<i>crùda</i>	<i>curdajn</i>	<i>cròdi</i>	<i>cròdian</i>	<i>curdau</i>
<i>custá</i>	'cost'	<i>cuéstia</i>	<i>custajn</i>	<i>cuéstí</i>	<i>cuéstian</i>	<i>custau</i>
<i>cuzá</i>	'last'	<i>cuéza</i>	—	<i>cuéci</i>	—	<i>cuzau</i>
<i>digrá</i>	'drip'	<i>daghira</i>	<i>digrain</i>	<i>daghiri</i>	<i>daghírian</i>	<i>digräu</i>
<i>dustá</i>	'clear, fend off'	<i>dòsta</i>	<i>dustajn</i>	<i>dòsti</i>	<i>dòstian</i>	<i>dustau</i>
<i>duvrá</i>	'use'	<i>dùvra</i>	<i>duvrain</i>	<i>drúvi</i>	<i>dròvian</i>	<i>duvräu</i>
<i>druvá</i>	'use'	<i>druvá</i>	<i>druvajn</i>	<i>drúvi</i>	<i>dròvian</i>	<i>druvau</i>
<i>fardá</i>	'smell'	<i>fréjda</i>	<i>fardajn</i>	<i>fréjai</i>	<i>fréjidian</i>	<i>fardau</i>

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Table 4.11: Verbs ending in -á, second part

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>fímá</i>	'smoke'	<i>fémá</i>	<i>fímajn</i>	<i>fémi</i>	<i>fémian</i>	<i>fímau</i>
<i>fúrá</i>	'pierce'	<i>fúra</i>	<i>fúrajn</i>	<i>fúri</i>	<i>fúrian</i>	<i>fúrau</i>
<i>fúršchá</i>	'rub'	<i>fúršcha</i>	<i>fúršchajn</i>	<i>fúršchi</i>	<i>fúršchian</i>	<i>fúršchau</i>
<i>gízá</i>	'sharpen'	<i>géza</i>	<i>gízajn</i>	<i>géci</i>	<i>géctan</i>	<i>gízau</i>
<i>lavá sé</i>	'stand up'	<i>léjva</i>	<i>lavajn</i>	<i>léjvi</i>	<i>léjvian</i>	<i>lavau</i>
<i>luá</i>	'melt'	<i>liúa</i>	<i>luajn</i>	<i>liui</i>	<i>liúian</i>	<i>luau</i>
<i>lúdá</i>	'praise'	<i>lauda</i>	<i>ludajn</i>	<i>laudi</i>	<i>laudian</i>	<i>luðau</i>
<i>manizá</i>	'chop'	<i>manéza</i>	<i>manizajn</i>	<i>manéci</i>	<i>manéctan</i>	<i>manizau</i>
<i>mulá</i>	'grind'	<i>múla</i>	<i>mulajn</i>	<i>múli</i>	<i>múlian</i>	<i>mulau</i>
<i>munglá^a</i>	'should'	<i>maungla</i>	<i>munglajn</i>	—	—	—
<i>mussá</i>	'show'	<i>müssa</i>	<i>mussajn</i>	<i>müssi</i>	<i>müssian</i>	<i>mussau</i>
<i>píná</i>	'prepare'	<i>pajna</i>	<i>pínajn</i>	<i>pajni</i>	<i>pajnian</i>	<i>pímau</i>
<i>quitá</i>	'think, find'	<i>quéta</i>	<i>quitajn</i>	<i>quéti</i>	<i>quéttan</i>	<i>quitau</i>
<i>ruassá</i>	'rest'	<i>ruaussa</i>	<i>ruassajn</i>	<i>ruaussi</i>	<i>ruaussian</i>	<i>ruassau</i>
<i>rúclá</i>	'roll, fall'	<i>rúcla</i>	<i>rúclajn</i>	<i>rúcli</i>	<i>rúclian</i>	<i>rúclau</i>
<i>rupá</i>	'burp'	<i>raupa</i>	<i>rupajn</i>	<i>raupi</i>	<i>raüpian</i>	<i>rupau</i>
<i>rumpláná</i>	'rumble'	<i>rampluna</i>	<i>rumplajn</i>	<i>rampluni</i>	<i>ramplúnian</i>	<i>rumplanau</i>
<i>sacantá</i>	'dry'	<i>sacjanta</i>	<i>sacantajn</i>	<i>sacjanti</i>	<i>sacjantian</i>	<i>sacantau</i>
<i>sadapurtá</i>	'behave'	<i>sadapórtta</i>	<i>sadapurtajn</i>	<i>sadapórti</i>	<i>sadapòrtian</i>	<i>sadapurtau</i>

^aNowadays it is only the conditional *munglás* which is used.

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Table 4.12: Verbs ending in -á, third part

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
sadrizá	'address'	sadréza	sadrizajn	sadréci	sadréian	sadrizau
sahaná	'(not) appreciate'	sahòná	sahanajn	sahðoni	sahöñian	sahanau
samjá	'dream'	siamja	samajn	siami	sjämian	samjau
sanudá	'swim'	sanùda	sanudajn	sanùdi	sanùdian	sanudau
sará	'close'	sjara	sarajn	sjari	sjarian	sarau
saragurdá	'remember'	saragòrda	saragurdajn	saragòrdi	saragòrdian	saragurdau
satrá	'bury'	satjara	satrajn	satjari	satjárian	satrau
scadá	'heat'	scauda	scadajn	scaudi	scäuðian	scadau
schlupá	'burst'	schlòpa	schlupajn	schlöpi	schlöpian	schlupau
scumandá	'prohibit'	scamònda	scumandajn	scamòndi	scamònian	scumandau
scuršalá	'sledge'	scaršùla	scuršalajn	scarşùli	scarşùlian	sursalau
sítá	'shoot'	siéta	sítajn	siéti	siétian	sítaiu
splaná	'plane'	splauna	splanajn	splauni	splauenian	splanau
stízá	'turn off'	stéza	stizajn	stéci	stéçian	stizau
suá	'sweat'	síua	suajn	síui	síúian	suáu
sutá	'dance'	sauta	sutajn	sauti	sautian	sutau
turná	'return'	túrna	turnajn	túrni	túrnian	turnau
uzá	'lift'	auza	uzajn	auci	aucian	uzau
zavrá	'sort out'	zajvra	zavrajn	zajvri	zajvrian	zavravu
zulá	'roll out'	zúla	zulajn	zúli	zúlian	zulau

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schabjava ‘used to happen’ instead of *schabagjava* ‘idem’. The variation between these two forms is free.

Metathesis occurs with *r* in the following cases, with or without change in the vowel:

- ar → ra (*tartgè* ‘think’ → *tratga*), → rè (*mudargè* ‘torment’ → *mudrègja*), → ri (*barçchè* ‘burn’ → *brischa*), → rò (*fufargnè* ‘rummage’ → *fufrògna*)

The verbs ending in *-ar* that show stem alternation are listed in Table 4.14. The following stem alternations occur:

- aj → u (*bajbar* ‘drink’ → *bubín*)
- è → a (*crèschar* ‘grow’ → *carschín*)
- é → a (*curégjar* ‘correct’ → *curagín*)
- éj → a (*séjsar* ‘sit’ → *sasín*)
- ja → a (*pjardar* ‘lose’ → *pardín*)
- ò → u (*còscher* ‘keep quiet’ → *cuschín*)
- ué → u (*laguétar* ‘swallow’ → *lagutín*)

Verbs ending in *-í* that show stem alternation are presented in (Table 4.15). The following alternations occur:

- a → aj (*amplani* ‘fill’ → *amplajna*), → é (*saglí* ‘run’ → *séglja*), → ja (*santi* ‘feel’ → *sjanta*)

Metathesis occurs in *bargí* ‘cry’ vs *bragja*.

4.1.1.4 Irregular verbs

The irregular verbs *èssar* ‘be’, *vay* ‘have’, and *vagní* ‘come’, which also function as auxiliary verbs, have been presented in §4.1.1.1.

4.1.2 Usage of nonfinite and finite verbal categories

In this section the usage of the non-finite categories past participle, infinitive, and gerund as well as the finite categories will be analysed, with the exception of the imperative which will be treated in §5.3.

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Table 4.13: Verbs ending in -é

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1/3SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1/3SG	PRS.SBJV.1/3SG	PRS.SBV.1PL
<i>bagagé</i>	'build'	<i>baghègia</i>	<i>bagagijn</i>	<i>baghègi</i>	<i>baghègian</i>	
<i>barschè</i>	'burn'	<i>brischa</i>	<i>barschajn</i>	<i>brischi</i>	<i>brischian</i>	
<i>betschè</i>	'kiss'	<i>bêtscha</i>	<i>bitschajn</i>	<i>bêtschi</i>	<i>bêtschian</i>	
<i>bugnè</i>	'give water'	<i>bögna</i>	<i>bugnajn</i>	<i>bögni</i>	<i>bögrian</i>	
<i>cumpagniè</i>	'accompany'	<i>cumpògna</i>	<i>cumpagnajn</i>	<i>cumpògni</i>	<i>cumpògrian</i>	
<i>dumagnè</i>	'cope with'	<i>damògna</i>	<i>dumagnajn</i>	<i>damògni</i>	<i>damògnian</i>	
<i>fufargnè</i>	'rummage'	<i>fufrogna</i>	<i>fufargnajn</i>	<i>fufrogni</i>	<i>fufrogrian</i>	
<i>lahargnè</i>	'giggle'	<i>lahrógna</i>	<i>lahargnajn</i>	<i>lahgrògni</i>	<i>lahgrògnian</i>	
<i>mudargjè</i>	'torment'	<i>mudrègia</i>	<i>mudargjajn</i>	<i>mudrègi</i>	<i>mudrégian</i>	
<i>pardagjè</i>	'preach'	<i>pardègia</i>	<i>pardagjèva</i>	<i>pardègi</i>	<i>pardègian</i>	
<i>pîè</i>	'pay'	<i>paja</i>	<i>piajn</i>	<i>paji</i>	<i>pájan</i>	<i>sampatschian</i>
<i>sampatschè</i>	'interfere'	<i>sampatscha</i>	<i>sampatschajn</i>	<i>sampatschi</i>	—	
<i>schabagé</i>	'happen'	<i>schabègia</i>	—	<i>schabègi</i>	<i>schagian</i>	
<i>schagjè</i>	'taste'	<i>schagja</i>	<i>schagijajn</i>	<i>schagi</i>	<i>schubrègian</i>	
<i>schubargjè</i>	'clean'	<i>schubrègia</i>	<i>schubargijajn</i>	<i>schubrègi</i>	<i>scumbègian</i>	
<i>scumbagljè</i>	'confuse'	<i>scumbègja</i>	<i>scumbagljajn</i>	<i>scumbègli</i>	<i>scumbègian</i>	
<i>sîè</i>	'mow'	<i>sia</i>	<i>siajn</i>	<i>sii</i>	<i>sian</i>	
<i>spatgè</i>	'wait'	<i>spétga</i>	<i>spatgajn</i>	<i>spétgi</i>	<i>spègian</i>	
<i>stuschè</i>	'push'	<i>stauscha</i>	<i>stuschajn</i>	<i>stauschi</i>	<i>stauschian</i>	
<i>tartgè</i>	'think'	<i>traitga</i>	<i>tartgajn</i>	<i>tratgi</i>	<i>tragjian</i>	
<i>tgjè</i>	'shift'	<i>tgaja</i>	<i>tgajn</i>	<i>tgaji</i>	<i>tgajan</i>	
<i>tschitschè</i>	'suck'	<i>tschértscha</i>	<i>tschitschajn</i>	<i>tschéttschi</i>	<i>tschéttschian</i>	

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Table 4.14: Verbs ending in '-ar'

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>antschajvar</i>	'begin'	<i>antschajva</i>	<i>antschavin</i>	<i>antschavéva</i>	<i>antschajvi</i>	<i>antschajvian</i>	<i>antschiat</i>
<i>bajþar</i>	'drink'	<i>bajþa</i>	<i>bubín</i>	<i>buéva</i>	<i>bajbi</i>	<i>bajbian</i>	<i>bubju</i>
<i>còschar</i>	'keep quiet'	<i>còsch</i>	<i>cuschín</i>	<i>cusschéva</i>	<i>còschi</i>	<i>còschian</i>	<i>cuschju</i>
<i>crèschar</i>	'grow'	<i>crèscha</i>	<i>carschín</i>	<i>carshéva</i>	<i>crèschi</i>	<i>crèschian</i>	<i>carschju</i>
<i>curégjar</i>	'correct'	<i>curégja</i>	<i>curagín</i>	<i>curégva</i>	<i>curégi</i>	<i>curégian</i>	<i>curagjú</i>
<i>cuvíarar</i>	'cover'	<i>cuvíara</i>	<i>cuvrin</i>	<i>cuvréva</i>	<i>cuvíari</i>	<i>cuvíarian</i>	<i>cuvrétg</i>
<i>dapèndar</i>	'depend'	<i>dapijanda</i>	<i>dapandín</i>	<i>dapandévan</i>	<i>dapjandi</i>	<i>dapjandian</i>	<i>dapandju</i>
<i>dèrgjar</i>	'spill'	<i>dèrgja</i>	<i>dargin</i>	<i>dargévan</i>	<i>dèrgi</i>	<i>dèrgian</i>	<i>dér's</i>
<i>laguétar</i>	'swallow'	<i>laguéta</i>	<i>lagutin</i>	<i>laguéva</i>	<i>laguétii</i>	<i>laguétian</i>	<i>lagutju</i>
<i>léjar</i>	'read'	<i>léjja</i>	<i>lagín</i>	<i>lagéva</i>	<i>léjja</i>	<i>légian</i>	<i>lagju</i>
<i>metar</i>	'put'	<i>méta</i>	<i>matajn</i>	<i>matéva</i>	<i>méti</i>	<i>métian</i>	<i>méz/mèz</i>
<i>mòrdar</i>	'bite'	<i>mòrda</i>	<i>murdín</i>	<i>mundéva</i>	<i>mòrdi</i>	<i>mòrdian</i>	<i>murdju</i>
<i>pjárdar</i>	'lose'	<i>pjarda</i>	<i>pardín</i>	<i>pardéva</i>	<i>pjárdi</i>	<i>pjárdian</i>	<i>pjars</i>
<i>rumpar</i>	'break'	<i>rumpa</i>	<i>rumpajn</i>	<i>rumpéva</i>	<i>rumpi</i>	<i>rumpian</i>	<i>rut</i>
<i>séjsar</i>	'sit'	<i>séjsa</i>	<i>sasín</i>	<i>saséva</i>	<i>séisi</i>	<i>séjsian</i>	<i>sasju</i>
<i>sòlvar</i>	'have breakfast'	<i>sòlva</i>	<i>solvín</i>	<i>solvéva</i>	<i>sòlvi</i>	<i>sòlvian</i>	<i>sjut</i>

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Table 4.15: Verbs ending in *-í*

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>amplani</i>	'fill'	<i>amplajna</i>	<i>amplanín</i>	<i>amplanéva</i>	<i>amplajni</i>	<i>amplajnian</i>	<i>amplanjú</i>
<i>ancuri</i>	'look for'	<i>anquéra</i>	<i>ancurín</i>	<i>ancuréva</i>	<i>anquéri</i>	<i>anquérian</i>	<i>ancurétg</i>
<i>bargí</i>	'cry'	<i>bragia</i>	<i>bargin</i>	<i>bargéva</i>	<i>bragi</i>	<i>brágian</i>	<i>bargjú</i>
<i>durmí</i>	'sleep'	<i>dòrma</i>	<i>durmín</i>	<i>durméva</i>	<i>dòrmi</i>	<i>dòrmian</i>	<i>durmju</i>
<i>muri</i>	'die'	<i>mira</i>	<i>murín</i>	<i>mureva</i>	<i>mìri</i>	<i>mùrian</i>	<i>mòrts</i>
<i>sagli</i>	'run'	<i>séglja</i>	<i>saglin</i>	<i>sagljeva</i>	<i>ségli</i>	<i>ségljan</i>	<i>sagljú</i>
<i>santi</i>	'feel'	<i>sjanta</i>	<i>santín</i>	<i>santéva</i>	<i>sjanti</i>	<i>sjantian</i>	<i>santju</i>

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Table 4.16: *sadastadá* ‘wake up’

INF	<i>sadastadá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sadadèsta, sadastadajn</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùn sadastadauṣ, sadastadada</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>sadastadèvan</i>
COND.DIR	<i>sadastadás</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>sadadèsti, sadadèstian</i>
IMP	<i>sadadèsta, sadastadaj</i>

Table 4.17: *dá* ‘give’ and *stá* ‘stay’

INF	<i>dá</i>	<i>stá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>dùn, daṣ/dataṣ, dá dajn, dajṣ, datan</i>	<i>stùn, staṣ/statas, stat stajn, stajṣ, statan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a dau</i>	<i>sùn stada/stauṣ</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>dèva</i>	<i>stèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>dès</i>	<i>stès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>dèti^a, détian</i>	<i>stèti, stètian</i>
IMP	<i>dá, daj</i>	<i>stá, staj</i>

^aThe form *dètschi* is used by an older consultant and is the only form given in the DRG (5: 65). The whole paradigm of the present subjunctive given in the DRG is *dètschi, dètschias, dètschi, dajan, dajas, dètschian*.

Table 4.18: *fá* ‘do’ and *trá* ‘pull’

INF	<i>fá</i>	<i>trá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>fétsch, fas, fò fagjajn, fagjajṣ, fòn</i>	<i>tila, tilaṣ, tila trajn, trajṣ, tilan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a fatg</i>	<i>a tratg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>fagèva/fièva</i>	<i>trèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>fagès</i>	<i>très</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>fétschi, fétschian</i>	<i>tili, tilian</i>
IMP	<i>fò, fagjaj</i>	<i>tila, traj</i>

4.1 The verb

Table 4.19: *craj* ‘believe’ and *duaj* ‘must’

INF	<i>craj</i> ‘believe’	<i>duaj</i> ‘must’
PRS.IND	<i>craj</i> , <i>crajaş</i> , <i>craj</i> <i>cartín</i> , <i>cartís</i> , <i>crajan</i>	<i>duaj/daj</i> , ^a <i>duajs/dajaş</i> , <i>duaj/daj</i> , <i>duajn/dajan</i> , <i>duajş/dajaş</i> , <i>duajn/dajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a cartjú</i>	<i>a dujú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>cartéva</i>	<i>duèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>cartéş</i>	<i>duès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>craji</i> , <i>crajaş</i> , <i>craji</i> <i>crajan</i> , <i>crajas</i> , <i>crajan</i>	—
IMP	<i>craj</i> , <i>cartí</i>	—

^aThe DRG (4: 370) offers for Sedrun *déi*, *déjs* etc.; the modern forms *daj*, *dajas* etc. are not accepted by all speakers that were consulted.

Table 4.20: *gudaj* ‘enjoy’ and *pudaj* ‘can, be able’

INF	<i>gudaj</i>	<i>pudaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>gauda</i> , <i>gaudaş</i> , <i>gauda</i> <i>gudajn</i> , <i>gudajş</i> , <i>gaudan</i>	<i>pùs</i> , <i>pùs</i> , <i>pù</i> <i>pudajn</i> , <i>pudajş</i> , <i>pùn</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a gudju</i>	<i>a pudju</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>gudéva</i>	<i>pudéva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>gudéş</i>	<i>pudèş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>gaudi</i> , <i>gaudian</i>	<i>pùssi</i> , <i>pùssian</i>
IMP	<i>gauda</i> , <i>gudí</i>	—

4.1.2.1 Nonfinite categories

4.1.2.1.1 Past participle The past participle is used to form compound (20) and doubly-compound tenses (24) as well as passive voice (21); it is furthermore used attributively and predicatively and may also be nominalised (22 and 23), usually in its feminine form. If the auxiliary verb is *èssar* ‘be’, the participle agrees with the subject (20).

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Table 4.21: *savaj* ‘know’ and *schaj* ‘lie’

INF	<i>savaj</i>	<i>schaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sa, saš, sò</i> <i>savajn, savajš, sòn</i>	<i>şchaj, şchajaş, şchaja</i> <i>şchiajn, şchiajš, şchajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a savju^a</i>	<i>sùn şchjus/şchida</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>savèva</i>	<i>şchièva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>savès</i>	<i>şchiès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>sapi, sápiān</i>	<i>şchaji, şchajan</i>
IMP	—	<i>şchaj, şchijí</i>

^aThe short form *sju* is also used in rapid speech.

Table 4.22: *stuaj* ‘must’ and *tanaj* ‘hold’

INF	<i>stuaj</i>	<i>tanaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>stù, stùš, stù</i> <i>stuajn, stuajš, stùn</i>	<i>tégn, tégnaş, tégn</i> <i>tanín, taníş, tégnan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a stavjú/stujú/stju</i>	<i>a tanju</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>stuèva/stèva/stavèva</i>	<i>tanéva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>stuès</i>	<i>tanéş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>stùpi, stùpian</i>	<i>tégni, tégnian</i>
IMP	—	<i>tégn, taní</i>

- (20) [...] ju **sùn** **stauš** al davùs purtgè ... da Sadrún
 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG last swineherd of PN
 [...].

‘[...] I was the last swineherd ... of Sedrun [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1287f.)

- (21) A ... tgu **sùn** **vagnida** **panşjunada**
 and when.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG pension_off.PTCP.F.SG
 scha ... ju fagèva zuar schòn avaun majnadistríct
 CORR 1SG do.IMPF.1SG although already before head_of_district.M.SG
 [...].

‘And ... when I got pensioned off ... as a matter of fact, I had already

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Table 4.23: *tumaj* ‘fear’ and *vulaj* ‘want’

INF	<i>tumaj</i>	<i>vulaj</i>
PRS.IND	téma, témaş, téma, <i>tumajn</i> , <i>tumajş</i> , <i>téman</i>	vi, <i>vutaş</i> , <i>vut</i> , ^a <i>lajn</i> , <i>lajş</i> , <i>vutan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a tumjú</i>	<i>a vulju</i> ^b
IMPF.IND	<i>tuméva</i>	<i>lèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>tuméş</i>	<i>lès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>tèmi</i> , <i>tèmian</i>	—
IMP	<i>tèma</i> , <i>tumaj</i>	—

^aIn combination with *dí* ‘say’, the form *vuta*, as in *vuta di* ‘wants to say’, i.e. ‘means’, is used by some consultants. Most consultatns, however, reject this form.

^bThe form *valju* also occurs.

Table 4.24: *vasaj* ‘see’ and *parvaj* ‘feed’

INF	<i>vasaj</i>	<i>parvaj</i>
PRS.IND	vèza, vèzaş, vèza, <i>vasajn</i> , <i>vasajş</i> , <i>vèzan</i>	<i>parvaj</i> , <i>parvajaş</i> , <i>parvaj</i> , <i>parvasín</i> , <i>parvasís</i> , <i>parvajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a vju</i>	<i>a parvasjú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>vasèva/vaséva</i>	<i>parvasèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>vasèş</i>	<i>parvaséş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>vèci</i> , <i>vècian</i>	<i>parvaji</i> , <i>parvajan</i>
IMP	—	<i>parvaj</i> , <i>parvasí</i>

worked as head of district before [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 97f.)

- (22) [...] gljèz èra magari è léjgar tgé
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes also funny.ADJ.UNM what
cuşchinadas èl [fagèva] [...].
cook.PTCP.F.PL 3SG.M [make.IMPF.3SG]

[...] it was sometimes also funny [to see] what he [cooked] [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 496ff.)

- (23) [...] i dat ina fòtògrafia tgu sùn sé
EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on

4 Verb phrase

Table 4.25: *prèndar* ‘take’ and *schè/schá* ‘let, have do’

INF	<i>prèndar</i>	<i>schè/schá</i> ^a
PRS.IND	<i>prèn, prèndaş, prèn</i> <i>prandín, prandís, prèndan</i>	<i>lasch, lajaş, laj,</i> <i>schajn, schajş, lajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a priú</i>	<i>a schau</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>prandèva</i>	<i>schèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>prandès</i>	<i>schaş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>prèndi, prèndiaş, prèndi</i> <i>prèndian, prèndiaş, prèndian</i>	<i>laschi, laschjas, laschi,</i> <i>laschjan, laschjaş, laschjan</i>
IMP	<i>prèn, prandí</i>	<i>lá, schaj</i>

^a*Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form, which is commonly used in Tuatschin. The DRG (10: 499) only notes *schè* for Tuatschin; according to the DRG (10: 502) the forms of the present subjunctive 1PL and 2PL are *schajan* and *schajas*.

Table 4.26: *ira/ir/í* ‘go’ and *dí* ‘say’

INF	<i>ira/ir/í</i>	<i>dí</i>
PRS.IND	<i>vòn/mòn, vas, vò</i> <i>majn, majs, vòn</i>	<i>détsch, dias, di</i> <i>schajn, şchajs, dian</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùnd jus/ida</i>	<i>a détg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>mava</i>	<i>schèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>mas</i>	<i>şchès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>mòndi,^a mònrias, mòndi,</i> <i>vònди, vònrias, vònди</i> <i>mònđian, mònđias/, mònđian</i> <i>vònđian, vònrias, vònđian</i>	<i>détschi, détschias, détschi,</i> <i>détschian, détschias, détschian</i>
IMP	<i>vò, maj</i>	<i>dí, schaj</i>

^aAn old form is *ju vòmi*.

4.1 The verb

Table 4.27: *fugí* ‘lie’ and *rí* ‘laugh’

INF	<i>fugí</i>	<i>rí</i>
PRS.IND	<i>fuétsch, fujaş, fuj</i> <i>fugin, fugíş, fujan</i>	<i>ri, riaş ri</i> <i>riajn, riajş, rian</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùn fugjús</i>	<i>a riş</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>fugéva</i>	<i>rièva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>fugéş</i>	<i>riès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>fuétschi, fuétschias, fuétschi,</i> <i>fuétschian, fuétschias, fuétschian</i>	<i>rii, riaş, rii,</i> <i>rian, riaş, rian</i>
IMP	<i>fuj, fugí</i>	<i>ri, riaj</i>

cun mju còlèga al dé da la scargèda [...].
 with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF.M.SG day of DEF.F.SG drove.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘[...] there is a photograph in which I am with my mate the day of the pig
 droving [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1424ff.)

- (24) Nuş vajn adina gju fatg parada.
 1PL have.PRS.1PL always have.PTCP.UNM make.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG
 ‘We always held a parade.’ (Sadrún, m9, l. 1756)

If the past participle is used in compound tenses with the auxiliary *èssar* ‘be’ or in passive constructions, it is treated like an adjective, which means that (a) it agrees with the subject of the verb (25), thus if the subject has no gender, the participle takes its unmarked form (26), and (b) if in a passive construction the subject follows the participle, it does not agree with it (27 and 28) (see also §5.5.4).

- (25) [...] al cantún ò circa trènta da quèls
 DEF.M.SG canton have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL
 majnadistrícts, quèls èn partí ajn³ ajn
 head_of_district.PL DEM.M.PL PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL divide.PTCP.M.PL in in
 ragjúns [...].
 region.F.PL
 ‘[...] the canton has about thirty of these heads of district, these are
 divided in regions [...].’ (Sadrún, f3; l. 106ff.)

³Pártar ajn is a particle verb meaning ‘divide’.

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- (26) Ôh gl' ampréndar tudèstg è stau, l'
 oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
 antschata sè quaj schòn stau in téc
 beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
 curjùs.
 strange.ADJ.UNM

'Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.' (Zarcúns, m2; l. 1637ff.)

- (27) Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.M.SG place where REL EXPL
 vagnéva schau tut la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.F.SG munition REL EXPL
 vèva, sigir.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM

'This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.' (Sadrún, f3; l. 56ff.)

- (28) A lò ... sén quaj intènt ségi è
 and there upon DEM.M.SG undertaking be.PRS.SBJV.3SG also
 vagnú bagagjau quèla caplùta.
 PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM build.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG chapel
 'And there ... after this undertaking this chapel was built.' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1479f.)

If the past participle is used attributively, the masculine singular form does not take the predicative -s if it has no complements as in *in ùm pansjunau* 'a retired man'; if it has complements, the participle is treated like a predicative adjective and takes -s and can thus be considered an elliptic relative clause (29).

- (29) Al tètg da duaş alas fatg- s cun ajssas bétga
 DEF.M.SG roof of two.F side.PL make.PTCP- M.SG with plank.F.PL NEG
 splanadas [...] aj sén latas.
 plane.PTCP.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG on slat.F.PL
 'The two-sided roof made of planks that haven't been planed [...] are on slats.' (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 583)

The negator *bétga* and some temporal adverbs may intervene between the auxiliary verb and the past participle (30–34).

4.1 The verb

- (30) Álsò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssíf [...].
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCP.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM
 'Well, I didn't do it in an aggressive way [...]' (Sadrún, m8, l. 1468)
- (31) A lu sjantar vau adina fatg al pur,
 and then after have.PRS.1SG.1SG always do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer
 ábar ju sùn ùş bigja staus ... in dals fétg
 but 1SG be.PRS.1SG now NEG COP.PTCP.M.SG one.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG very
 buns purs.
 good.M.PL farmer.PL
 'And after this I have always worked as a farmer, but I've never been ...
 one of the very good farmers.' (Ruèras, m1, l. 280ff.)
- (32) Èl è grad arivaus sé da Cuéra.
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG just arrive.PTCP.M.SG up from PN
 'He has just arrived from Chur.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (33) Üssa, quèl da la quajda şaj puspè staus ajn
 now DEM.M.SG of DEF.F.SG desire be.PRS.3SG again COP.PTCP.M.SG in
 cul dét, miraj tschò!
 with finger.M.SG look.IMP.2PL here
 'Now the sweet-toothed one has again stuck his finger into it, look here!'
 (DRG 4: 304)
- (34) [...] avaun nus èra sagir al tgavrè era schòn
 before 1PL be.IMP.3SG sure DEF.M.SG goatherd also already
 jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.
 go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL DEM.M.SG go.IMP.3SG then also
 '[...] before us the goatherd had certainly already gone with the goats, he
 also used to go.' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1318f.)

If two clauses which both contain a verb modified by a compound tense are conjoined, either the subject (35) or the subject and the auxiliary of the second or third verb may be omitted (36). Note that the subject and the auxiliary verb may also be omitted if the second or third verb requires another auxiliary as in the first clause. An example is (37) where *lavá* 'get up' requires *èssar* 'be' and *mirá* 'look' *vaj* 'have'.

4 Verb phrase

- (35) Ju sùn jus avaun nuégl ad a
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG before barn.M.SG and have.PRS.1SG
 grju a bargju [...].
 shout.PTCP.UNM and cry.PTCP.UNM
 ‘I went in front of the barn and shouted and cried.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 69)

- (36) Èl ò príu las duas sadjalas
 3SG have.PRS.3SG take.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL two.Bucket.PL cream.F.SG
 gromá ad è jus òd tégja a
 and be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG out_of hut.F.SG and disappear.PTCP.M.SG
 §vanjus.

‘He [the devil] took the two buckets full of cream and left the hut and disappeared.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 47)

- (37) La damaun èssan aun lavaj baud a
 DEF.F.SG morning be.PRS.1PL still get_up.PTCP.M.PL early and
 mirau da nòs tiars.
 look.PTCP.UNM of POSS.1PL.M.PL animal.PL
 ‘In the morning we got up early and looked after our animals.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 68)

In narrative sequences where the perfect is used for storyline events, the auxiliary verbs may be omitted. In (38) *préndar* ‘take’, *maglјè* ‘eat’, and *métar* ‘put’ would take *vaj* ‘have’, in contrast to *turná* ‘go back’ and *ira* ‘go’, which would take *èssar* ‘be’.

- (38) A tschèls èran ajn stiva a dévan
 and DEM.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL in living_room.F.SG and give.IMPF.3PL
 tròcas né jass ... a nus príu
 k.o.card_game.F.PL or k.o.card_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM
 quèls ... pinau tiar, quèls puschégn, quèlas ...
 DEM.M.PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by DEM.M.PL snack.M.PL DEM.F.PL
 tablas cun sé tgarn a dal tut ... príu quaj
 tray.PL with up meat.F.SG and of.DEF.M.SG all take.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
 ad i gjù ajn in clavau a magljau a
 and go.PTCP.M.PL down in INDEF.M.SG hay_barn and eat.PTCP.UNM and

4.1 The verb

sjantar turnaj sé cul cul ... cun
 after go_back.PTCP.M.PL up with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG with
 la vaschala vita a méz lò puspé api
 DEF.F.SG dishes.F.SG empty.F.SG and put.PTCP.UNM there again and
 i.
 go.PTCP.M.PL

‘And the others were in the living room and were playing card games ... and we took these ... prepared, these snacks, these ... trays with meat and all on it ... we took this and went down into the hay barn and ate it and after we went up back with ... with the empty dishes, put them there again and went away.’ (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1600ff.)

4.1.2.1.2 Gerund According to my consultants, the gerund is not used any more in spoken Tuatschin. There is no occurrence of this category in the oral corpus, but it was used by the traditional story tellers whose legends were published in Büchli (1966).

The gerund was used as a complement of a verb of perception and is introduced by *a/ad* (39 and 40).

- (39) Als pástars udévan adina a vagnèn tiars.
 DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL hear.IMPF.3PL always COMP come.GER animal.M.PL
 ‘The herdsmen were always hearing cattle coming [...].’ (Surajn, Büchli 1966: 53)

- (40) [...] ina sèra [...] ò’ ‘ls pástars
 INDEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL
 vju ad èn las vacas.
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP go.GER DEF.F.PL COW.PL
 ‘[...] one evening [...] the herdsmen saw the cows going away.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 28)

The gerund also introduces a non-finite causal or temporal subordinate clause (41 and 42).

- (41) Rreturnòn gl’ ùm bétg anavùş da mjadşdé, ò’
 come_back.GER DEF.M.SG man NEG back of noon have.PRS.3PL
 las zarclunzas tumju [...].
 DEF.F.PL weeder_woman.PL be_afraid.PTCP.UNM
 ‘Since the man hadn’t come back by noon, the weeder women got afraid [...].’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 82)

4 Verb phrase

- (42) Mònd spèl' aua da Ségnas sé òn èls
 go.GER next_to.DEF.F.SG water of PN up have.PRS.3PL 3PL.M
 udju da tschèla vard anzatgí [...].
 hear.PTCP.UNM of DEM.F.SG side somebody
 'When walking along the creek from Segnas up, they heard somebody on
 the other side [...]' (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 88)

4.1.2.1.3 Infinitive The infinitive functions either as citation form of the verb or occurs as a non-finite verb phrase.

In the latter case, it may occur as the complement of a modal verb. Examples with modal verbs are *savaj* 'can, be able' (43) or *vaj da* 'have to' (44).

- (43) Qu' è adina aviart a lu sa§ í
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG.GNR go.INF
 ajn [...].
 in
 'This is always open, and then you can step in [...]' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1195)
- (44) Quèl vès lu aun da pijè da té al
 DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still to pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
 pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas partgirau.
 money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG look_after.PTCP.UNM
 'This one should still pay you the money for the pig you had looked after.'
 (Sadrún, m6, l. 1414ff.)

The infinitive is used in purposive clauses, be it after a verb of movement followed by the subordinator *a* (45) or after the subordinator *pr / par* (46).

- (45) A lu, agl aucsegñar ... da Sadrún ... è
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG
 saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruèras a
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN SUBORD
 purtá agit a dá sògn jéli [...].
 bring.INF help.M.SG and give.INF holy.M.SG oil
 'And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras and
 bring help and administer the sacrament of anointing [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l.
 900ff.)

4.1 The verb

- (46) [...] èl duvrava quaj mél pr trá, pr trá
 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule SUBORD pull.INF SUBORD pull.INF
 lèna sé da Cavòrgja.
 wood.COLL up from PN
 ‘[...] he used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 964f.)

If a verb is fronted in order to topicalise it, it occurs nominalised, i.e. as an infinitive. The finite verb form remains in its initial position, but the subject is moved after the finite verb (47).

- (47) Na na, a durmí durmévan nus cò.
 no no and sleep.INF sleep.IMPF.1PL 1PL here
 ‘No, no, and as for sleeping, we would sleep here.’ (Surajn, f5, l. 1282)

In subject sentences the infinitive is either modified by the definitive masculine singular article (48) or not (49), without difference in meaning.

- (48) Al dèrgjar gjù aj lu aun mal. Al
 DEF.M.SG demolish.INF down COP.PRS.3SG then still bad.UNM DEF.M.SG
 Vagéli Mòn aj vagnús sut in caschnè.
 PN PN be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG under INDEF.M.SG hayrack
 ‘Demolishing [a hayrack] is indeed dangerous. Vigeli Monn came under a
 hayrack.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 584)

- (49) Dèrgjar gjù in caschnè è prigulús.
 demolish.INF down INDEF.M.SG hayrack COP.PRS.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Demolishing a hayrack is dangerous.’ (Sadrún, m5)

4.1.2.2 Finite categories

4.1.2.2.1 Present indicative Present tense is formed with the verb stem and the personal endings, which means that it is a zero-marked form, in contrast to for instance the imperfect which is characterised by the suffix *áv/év/év*.

Present tense is used with all verbs that refer to an event that includes the moment of speech, independently of the *aktionsart* of the verb. In (50) the present tense refers to an ongoing activity, in (51) to a temporary state, and in (52) to a permanent state.

4 Verb phrase

- (50) «Tatlaj! Las òndas, las òlmas dian ... rusari
 listen.IMP.2PL DEF.F.PL aunt.PL DEF.F.PL soul.PL say.PRS.3PL rosary.M.SG
 gjùn basèlgja.»
 down_in church.F.SG
 ‘Listen! The aunts, the spirits are saying ... a rosary down in the church.’
 (Sèlva, f2, l. 933f.)
- (51) «Gè, sùnd ju ajn tju taritòri, distùrb’ ju té?»
 yes COP.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.2SG.M.SG territory disturb.PRS.1SG 1SG 2SG
 ‘Yes, am I in your territory, do I disturb you?’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1444)
- (52) La Plata dl Barlòt è sé Caschlè.
 DEF.F.SG slab of.DEF.M.SG sorcery COP.PRS.3SG up PN
 ‘The sorcery slab is at Caschlè.’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 849)

Present tense also fulfils the function of habitual (53) or refers to other discontinuous activities (54).

- (53) A Cazis èr’ ju ajn tgòmbra, alsò qu’ èra
 in PN COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG in room.F.SG well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 tgòmbras da trajs, a lu qu’ è adina, ina
 room.F.PL of three and then DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always one.F.SG
 è gè adina prsula, a nus trajs vèvan
 COP.PRS.3SG of_course always alone.F.SG and 1PL three have.IMPF.3SG
 ábar ... súpar!
 but super
 ‘In Cazas I was in a room, well these were rooms for three, and then this
 was always, one [of the three] is always alone, of course, but the three of
 us, we had ... a great time.’ (Camischùlas, f6, l. 671ff.)
- (54) Ina studègja ... a a Winterthur [...].
 one.F.SG study.PRS.3SG in in PN
 ‘One studies ... in in Winterthur [...]’ (Ruèras, m1, l. 183)

Present tense also refers to an imminent future (55 and 56).

4.1 *The verb*

- (55) «Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG
 í plé.»
 go.INF any_more
 'I'll stop going to nursery school, I can't stand it any longer.' (Sadrún, m4,
 l. 390f.)
- (56) Ju raquénta da mia lavur tga ju a fatg
 1SG tell.PRS.1SG OF POSS.1SG.F.SG job REL 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM
 als davùs òns.
 DEF.M.PL last.PL year.PL
 'I'll tell [you] about the job I've done for the past few years.' (Sadrún, f3, l.
 1f.)

Present tense is the usual way to refer to future situations of any type (57).

- (57) Damaun / Ajn duş òns fagjajn nus quaj.
 tomorrow in two.M year.PL do.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM
 'Tomorrow / In two years we'll do that.' (Sadrún, m10)

There are also instances of narrative present whose function is to render the story more vivid (58).

- (58) A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG
 saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruèras a
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN SUBORD
 purtá agit a dá sògn jéli né al davùs
 bring.INF help.M.SG and give.INF holy.M.SG oil or DEF.M.SG last
 sacramèn tga dèvan da quels ... mòribùnds, basta,
 sacrament REL give.IMPF.3PL DAT DEM.M.PL dying.PL enough
 agl aucségnar végne atrás ... Zarcúns a lu
 DEF.M.SG priest come.PRS.3SG through PN and then
 auda 'l las stréjas sé cò séssum la val
 hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost DEF.F.SG valley
 da Lòndadusa òni clumau:
 of PN have.PRS.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM
 'And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras and
 bring help and administer the sacrament of anointing or the Holy

4 Verb phrase

Sacrament they would give to those ... dying people. Well, the priest comes through Zarcuns and then he hears the witches up there, they called from the uppermost part of the Londadusa valley:⁴ (Sadrún, m6, l. 90ff.)

In this example, the first verb referring to story line events is modified by the perfect tense (*è saméz sén via*), the two verbs that follow are modified by the present tense (*végn* and *auda*); the last one (*òni clumau*) is again modified by the perfect tense.

4.1.2.2 Imperfect indicative The imperfect indicative is formed by the suffix *áv/év/èv*. The distribution of the allomorphs is as follows. *áv* is used with all verbs ending in -á and with most verbs ending in -è, *év* is used with all verbs ending in -'ar and -í, and *èv* is used with some verbs ending in -è, with most irregular verbs ending in -aj, and with some other irregular verbs.

The basic functions of the imperfect indicative are to refer to imperfective aspect in the past with all types of lexical aspect (59 and 60)⁴, to past habitual (61 and 62), or to an unspecified repetition of actions in the past (63).

- (59) Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn ...
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMP.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan
 gròn ni- vi datiar ad èra lò usché in
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMP.3SG there so INDEF.M.SG
 téc dòminant.
 bit dominant.ADJ.UNM
 ‘And precisely at that moment a big swan ... was coming to the place
 where I was, a bit a dominant one. (Sadrún, m8, l.140ff.)’

- (60) Ju lèv' amprèndar da majstar [...].
 1SG want.IMP.1SG learn.INF of joiner.M.SG
 ‘I wanted to become a joiner [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, l. 164)
- (61) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1320)
 Nus mavan la damaun api vagnévan la sèra.
 1PL go.IMP.1PL DEF.F.SG morning and come.IMP.1PL DEF.F.SG evening
 ‘We would go in the morning and come back in the evening.’ (Surajn, f5, l. 1283)

⁴But see examples (67) to (72) below.

4.1 The verb

- (62) A nus **mavan** culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, **mintga dé**
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG
 sé a gjù, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.
 up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 'And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down, I
 could tell you about that.' (Sadrún, m8, l. 1290ff.)
- (63) Api lura ... ju **mava** è **mintgataun** cun èl a dá
 and then 1SG go.IMPF.1SG also sometimes with 3SG.M SUBORD give.INF
 culur las sèndas [...].
 colour.F.SG DEF.F.PL trail.PL
 'And then ... from time to time I would go with him to give colour [to the
 stones indicating] the trails [...]' (Sadrún, f3, l. 11f.)

4.1.2.2.3 Perfect indicative The perfect is formed with the auxiliary verbs *èssar* 'be' or *vaj* 'have' and the past participle. If the verb is conjugated with *èssar*, the participle agrees with the subject in gender and number.

The following verbs are conjugated with *èssar*:

- intransitive motion verbs: *curdá* 'fall', *dá gjù* 'fall down', *í* 'go', *mitschá* 'escape', *ruclá* 'fall down', *saglí* 'run', *scapá* 'escape', *séjsar gjù* 'sit down', *sgulá* 'fly', *svaní* 'disappear', and *vagní* 'come'
- verbs of state: *èssar* 'be', *rastá* 'remain', and *vívar* 'live'
- change-of-state verbs: *capitá* 'happen', *crèschar* 'grow', *maridá* 'get married', *muri* 'die', *néschar* 'be born', and *schabagjá* 'happen'
- reflexive verbs
- passive verbs.

The main function of the perfect is to express perfective aspect, i.e. to refer to the whole situation with beginning, middle, and end, with or without a relation to the present (64–66).

- (64) Ju **sünd** jus sé Culmatsch ina dumèngja.
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTPC.M.SG up PN INDEF.F.SG Sunday
 'One Sunday I went up to Culmatsch.' (Surajn, Büchli 1966: 128)

4 Verb phrase

- (65) [...] api vòu anflau in bi
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.M.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.M.SG
 ljuc [...].

place

‘[...] and then I found a nice place [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1432f.)

- (66) A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG
 saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruèras [...].
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN
 ‘And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras [...].’
 (Sadrún, m6, l. 900f.)

In Romance languages like French, when the perfective tenses modify a stative verb like *connaître* ‘know’ or *savoir* ‘know’, it usually has an inchoative meaning: *J’ai connu Michel à une fête*. ‘I met Michel at a party’, or *J’ai su qu’elle était malade*. ‘I was told that she was ill’. But in Tuatschin, the perfect is used with these stative verbs (which take the form *ancanùschar* and *savaj*) without an inchoative meaning (67–69). In other words, in these cases the verbs refer imperfectly to the situation, which is underlined by the use of the adverb *schòn* ‘already’ in (68).

- (67) Èl ò ancanùschju la familja, mù maj
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG family but never
 détg òra tgi èri.
 tell.PTCP.UNM out who COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG
 ‘He knew the family, but never said who they were.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 139)

- (68) Al buéb ò schòn ancanuschju èlas.
 DEF.M.SG boy have.PRS.3SG already know.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F
 ‘The boy already knew them [= the girls].’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 103)

- (69) La fuméglja d’ alp ò savju nuét.
 DEF.F.SG farmhand.COLL of alp have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM nothing
 ‘The alp shepherds didn’t know anything.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 53)

To get the inchoative meaning, Tuatschin uses *amprèndar d’ ancanùschar* (70), literally ‘learn to know’, and *udí* (71) ‘hear’.

4.1 The verb

- (70) Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah
 and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMPF.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah
 gè ju vès è ugèn ampríu d'
 yes 1SG have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.M.UNM COMP
 ancanùschar quaj mél, ábar ju ... sùn halt
 know.INF DEM.M.SG mule but 1SG be.PRS.1SG just
 naschjus mèmja tart.
 be_born.PTCP.M.SG too late
 'And, eh, this really fascinated me, I would have eh yes I would have very
 much liked to get to know this mule, but I ... was just born too late.'
 (Ruèras, 10, l. 1000ff.)

- (71) Ju a udju tg' èl ségi mazauns.
 1SG have.PRS.1SG hear.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG.M COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG ill.M.SG
 'I was told that he is ill.' (Ruèras, m10)

As for *vaj* 'have', there is no difference between the use of the perfect or the imperfect, at least according to the native speakers I have consulted. Both the perfect in (72) and the imperfect in (73) could be interpreted as inchoative or as a permanent state.

- (72) Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònnda familja,
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.UNM INDEF.F.SG very big family
 èls òn gju indiàsch ufauns [...].
 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.M.UNM eleven child.M.PL
 'This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children [...]' (Ruèras, m4,
 l. 336f.)

- (73) Èls vèvan indiàsch ufauns.
 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL eleven child.M.PL
 'They had eleven children.' (Sadrún, m5)

As seen in example (38) in §4.1.2.1.1 above, story-line events can also be referred to only with the past participle, without the auxiliary verbs *èssar* or *vaj*.

4.1.2.2.4 Pluperfect indicative The pluperfect fulfils the function of indicating the perfective aspect of a situation that is situated before another situation in the past (74–76).

4 Verb phrase

- (74) Agl Andréòli vèva finju ... las ... figuras
 DEF.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL figure.PL
 ... avaun ca la caplùta èra stada finida.
 before REL DEF.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG finish.PTCP.F.SG

‘Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.’
 (Sadrún, m5, l. 1193f.)

- (75) Qu’ è lu ju quèluisa tgé ca nus
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM such_way COMP when 1PL
 èssan vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch,
 be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN
 tg’ èssan nus staj ajn lò försa ... quàtar tschun
 COMP be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five
 jamnas. Scha vèva ‘l fatg schìuber nuét.
 week.F.PL but have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M do.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing
 Quèla fascha èra satratg’ ansjaman [...].
 DEM.F.SG bandage be.IMPF.3SG REFL.contract.IMPF.3SG together
 ‘This happened in such a way that when we returned down [to Surrein]
 from Pardatsch, then we had stayed there maybe ... four or five weeks.
 But he hadn’t done anything at all. That bandage had contracted [...].’
 (Sadrún, m4, l. 478ff.)

- (76) A nus vajn gju schi súpar. Ju èr’ ùs, ah,
 and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM so super 1SF COP.IMPF.1SG now ah
 ju vèva gju ajnsasèz al clégj dad èssar
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG have.PTCP.M.UNM in_fact DEF.M.SG luck COMP COP.INF
 ajn tgòmbra cun ròmòntschas.
 in room.F.SG with Romansh.F.PL
 ‘And we had such a wonderful time. I was now, eh, in fact I had been
 lucky to share the room with Romansh girls.’ (Camischùlas, f6, l. 752ff.)

4.1.2.2.5 Future According to my consultants, the future is almost never used; in order to refer to a future situation, present tense is used. The only example of the future in the oral corpus is (77).

4.1 *The verb*

- (77) Ad ana d' òtgòntasjat vajn nus gju
 and year.F.SG of eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.M.UNM
 ina vòtazjun fadarala sur da las sèndas, sch' i
 INDEF.F.SG vote federal over of DEF.F.PL trail.PL whether EXPL
 végn a prèndar ajn quaj né bétg.
 FUT.AUX.3SG COMP take.IMPF.1SG in DEM.UNM or NEG
 'And in 1987 we had a federal vote about the trails, [about] whether it would be adopted or not.' (Sadrún, f3, l. 31ff.)

4.1.2.2.6 Doubly-compound tenses There are two doubly-compound tenses: perfect (78 and 79) and pluperfect (80). They usually fulfil the same functions as the simple compound tenses, but they express a longer temporal distance in the past. Note that in (80), the function of the doubly-compound pluperfect is to express the habitual, a function which is usually fulfilled by the imperfect.

- (78) Ábar tschaj è bi, ju a lu sjantar
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG then after
 gju ... calau da fá 'l pur
 have.PTCP.UNM stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.IMPF.1SG DEF.M.SG farmer
 tgu vèva tgéj? ... tschuncònt' òns.
 when.REL.1SG have.IMPF.1SG what fifty year.M.PL
 'But that is nice, I then had ... stopped working as a farmer when I was ... fifty years old.' (Ruèras, m1, l. 290ff.)

- (79) A gl òn ca tg' òn gju
 and DEF.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.M.UNM
 dépònju quèlas ah figuras ò inş adina
 store.PTCP.M.UNM DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always
 détg «la stiva dals gjadjus», ò
 say.PTCP.M.UNM DEF.F.SG living_room of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL have.PRS.3SG
 quèla gju nùm sjantar.
 DEM.F.SG have.PTCP.M.UNM name after
 'And [since] the year they stored these eh figures one has always said «the living room of the Jews», has it been called since.' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1199ff.)

- (80) A ... ad in òn, sa ju aun bégn, lu
 and INDEF.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then

4 Verb phrase

vèvan nus lu gju fatg in tòc
 have.IMPF.1PL 1PL then have.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG prank
 humòristic da la músic' anòra.
 funny from DEF.F.SG music out
 'And ... and one year, I still know very well, we from the music had
 played a funny prank.' (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1586ff.)

4.1.2.2.7 Progressive aspect The progressive aspect is formed with the copula *èssar*, the preposition *vid(a)* ‘at’, with (81) or without (82) the masculine singular definite article, and the infinitive.

- (81) Duas zarclunzas èran vid 'l zarclá [...].
 two.F weeder_woman.PL COP.IMPF.3PL PROG DEF.M.SG weed.INF
 'Two weeder women were weeding [...]' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)
- (82) Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vida 'l,
 and DEM.M.PL of DEF.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG DEF.M.SG
 vida zaná al bògn [...].
 PROG renovate.INF DEF.M.SG bath
 'And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool
 [...]' (Sadrún, f3, l. 74f.)

4.1.2.2.8 Present and perfect subjunctive Subjunctive mood, be it present, perfect, or imperfect, is characterised by the suffix *-i(-)*.⁵

Subjunctive mood mostly occurs in some types of object clauses and in adjunct clauses introduced by *avaun tga* ‘before’, *par tga* ‘in order to’, *tòca tga* ‘until’, or *sènza tga* ‘without that’.⁶ In the corpus, subjunctive mood occurs in three tenses: present, perfect, and imperfect. Subjunctive imperfect will be treated in the next section.

The most important subjunctive triggers occurring in the corpus are

- (a) verbs of speaking: *dí* ‘say’, *dumandá* ‘ask’, *raquintá* ‘tell’, and *udí* ‘hear, be told’;
- (b) verbs of opinion: *craj* ‘believe, think’, *paraj* ‘seem’, *tanaj* ‘think, hold’, and *tartgá* ‘think’;

⁵See §4.1.1.2.1

⁶The most thorough analysis of mood in Standard Sursilvan is Grünert (2003), 578 pages.

4.1 The verb

- (c) directive speech act verbs and optative: *fá stém* and *mirá*, both ‘make sure’, *rujè* ‘ask that’, and *vulaj* ‘want’;
- (d) purposive conjunctions: *par tga* and *tga*, both ‘in order to’;
- (e) the conjunctions *avaun (ca) tga* ‘before’, *sènza tga* ‘without’, and *tòcan* ‘until’.

Note that in object clauses the complementiser is often absent (83 and 91). Examples (83–86) illustrate the use of subjunctive mood, present and perfect, with verbs of speaking.

- (83) A lu ò 'l détg __ èl sapi
 and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 bigja vagní da luòra, ju, èl __ stètgi mal, èl
 NEG come.INF from there_out 1SG 3SG.M stay.PRS.SBJV.3SG bad 3SG.M
 __ mòndi da via òra [...].
 go.PRS.SBJV.3SG from road.F.SG out
 ‘And then he said he couldn’t walk on that path, that I - that he was sorry, [but] that he would walk on the road [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1054ff.)
- (84) Lu dumandavan nuş èl, vèvan dumandau núa èl
 then ask.IMP.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMP.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM where 3SG.M
 ségi staus ajn plaza [...].
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COP.PTCP.M.MSG in job.F.SG
 ‘Then we would ask him, we had asked [him] where he had been working [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 662f.)

- (85) A la détga **raquénta** ... tga las stréjas dl
 and DEF.F.SG legend tell.PRS.3SG COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL DEF.M.MSG
 Caschlè tg' èran sé cò a fijèvan barlòt
 PN REL COP.IMP.3PL up here and do.IMP.3PL sorcery
 vágian trans-pòrttau quèla plata sin⁷ in
 have.PRS.SBJV.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.M.MSG
 fil-sajda [...].
 thread-silk
 ‘And the legend says ... that the witches of the Caschlè which were up there and used to do sorcery had carried this slab on a ... silk thread [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 8854ff.)

⁷sin instead of sén

4 Verb phrase

- (86) Ju a **udju** tg' èl ségi mazauns.
 1SG have.PRS.1SG hear.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG.M COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG ill.M.SG
 'I was told that he was ill.' (Ruèras, m10)

Subjunctive mood is also used in free indirect speech, which is characterised by the lack of an introductory verb (87).

- (87) Èl èri avaun caplùta a **vagi**
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 vju tga quèls mél's èn saspuantaj,
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP DEM.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL REFL.frighten.PTCP.M.PL
 api **vagi** èl **tartgau** ... dad í vi ajn
 and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on
 via ... a tanaj sé èls.
 road.F.SG and hold.INF up 3PL.M
 'He was in front of the chapel and had seen that these mules ran away
 and he thought ... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.' (Ruèras,
 m10, l. 1137ff.)

In (88) and (89), the sentence starts with a verb in indicative mood, which represents the words of the narrator, and then goes on in subjunctive mood, which represents the words of the army.

- (88) L' autar dé va ju gju la lubiantscha
 DEF.M.SG other day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG permission
 dad í vidajn, ábar **stòpi** prèndar malitèr cun
 ATTR go.INF in but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG with
 mè, tga **vajan** ... fùnc a **sápiān** prèndar ah,
 1SG REL have.PRS.SBJV.3PL radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL take.INF eh
 dí cu nus **vajan** da ... ir davùs in
 say.INF when 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL to go.INF behind INDEF.M.SG
 cuélm.
 mountain
 'The day after I got permission to go there, but I needed to take with me
 some soldiers that had a radio and would say when we should ... go
 behind a mountain [to protect ourselves]' (Sadrún, f3, l. 68ff.)

4.1 *The verb*

- (89) [...] a mintga vaschnaunca ò lu stavju
 and every municipality.F.SG have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM
 dá ajn tùt tgé ca la vagi, nùca la
 give.INF in all what REL 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG where 3SG.F
 vagi lògans cun mussavias, a las sèndas, tùt.
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG place.M.PL with signpost.F.PL and DEF.F.PL trail.PL all
 ' [...] and every municipality had then to inform about everything they
 had, where they had places with signposts and trails, everything.'
 (Sadrún, f3, l. 37ff.)

Examples (90–92) illustrate the use of subjunctive mood with verbs of opinion.

- (90) Da mé par' aj tg' al ajfar-piast da véjdar
 DAT 1SG seem.PRS.3SG EXPL COMP DEF.M.SG hayrack_post of old.ADJ.UNM
 èri bétga schi lads.
 COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG NEG so wide.M.SG
 'It seems to me that the hayrack posts of earlier times were not so wide.'
 (DRG 3: 582)
- (91) Ju tégn tga quaj végni fatg
 1SG hold.PRS.1SG COMP DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG make.PTCP.UNM
 pauc.
 little
 'I think that this is not often done.' (Ruèras, DRG 1: 393)
- (92) Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau — nus sápiant
 and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 durmi òra [...].
 sleep.INF out
 'And then we thought we would have a good sleep [...]' (Camischùlas, f6,
 l. 744)

Examples (93–96) show the use of subjunctive mood with directive speech act verbs.

- (93) Mira tga quaj lò davjanti bétg.
 look.IMP.2SG COMP DEM.UNM there become.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
 'Make sure that this does not going to happen.' (DRG 5: 535)

4 Verb phrase

- (94) Té mira lu tg' al tat fëtschi lu
 2SG look.IMP.2SG then COMP DEF.M.SG grandfather do.PRS.SBJV.3SG then
 mintga dé, préndi gjù quaj a schubrègi
 every day.M.SG take.PRS.SBJV.3SG down DEM.UNM and clean.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 a fëtschi sé da néjf.
 and do.PRS.SBJV.3SG up of new.ADJ.UNM
 'And you, make sure that your grandfather does it every day, that he
 takes them off, that he cleans them and puts them on again.' (Sadrún, m4,
 l. 462ff.)
- (95) [...] lò végni [...] rujau tgé Nòssadùna
 there PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL ask.PTCP.UNM COMP Our_Lady.F.SG
 laschi madirá bégn al graun ajn Tujétsch.
 let.PRS.SBJV.3SG ripen.INF well DEF.M.SG cereals in PN
 '[...] there they pray that the Virgin Mary let grow well the cereals in the
 Tujetsch Valley.' (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 94)
- (96) Ju vi bétg tga la tgësa ardi.
 1SG want.PRS.1SG NEG COMP DEF.F.SG house burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 'I don't want the house to burn.' (Sadrún, m5)

In purposive clauses, the conjunctions *par tga* or *tga* are used (97–99).

- (97) A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ...
 and DEF.F.SG evening SUBORD COMP burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
 vagnéva quaj, quaj mava 'l ajnagjù
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_down
 cul maun èra sènza ... [vòn] a trèva vidò
 with.DEF.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out
 còtgle gjù sé sél plantschju.
 charcoal.COLL down up on.DEF.M.SG floor
 'And in the evening, to avoid it burning ... was that, there he went into
 [the fire] with one hand, also without [gloves], and pulled out charcoal
 from down there up to the floor.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 576ff.)
- (98) A quaj stèvns èssar ... pulits-pulits
 and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behavior.M.PL
 l' jamna ... — tg' al bap dëtschi in
 DEF.F.SG week COMP DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG

4.1 The verb

frang a miaz.
franc and half.M.SG

‘And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my father would give [us] one and a half francs.’ (Ruèras, m1, l. 2328ff.)

- (99) “[...] i ò dau las sjat.” “Lu
EXPL have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL seven then
cuschaj — tg’ ins audi”
be_quiet.IMP.2PL SUBORD GNR hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG
“[...] It has struck seven o’clock.” “Then be quiet so we can hear.”
(Gadola 1935: 87)

The subordinator *avaun* ‘before’ occurs as *avaun tga* (100), *avaun ca* (101), and *avaun ca tga* (102). In (102) subjunctive mood is used, in contrast to (100) and (101) where indicative mood is used.

- (100) **Avaun tgi** végn malaura
before COMP.EXPL come.PRS.IND.3SG bad_weather.F.SG
isan las vacas sgarşchajval.
run_back_and_forth.PRS.3SG DEF.F.PL COW.PL terrible.ADJ.UNM
‘Before bad weather comes, the cows run back and forth like mad.’ (DRG
5: 777)

- (101) Agl Andréoli bèva finju ... las ... figuras
DEF.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL figure.PL
... **avaun ca la** caplùta èra stada
before REL DEF.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG
finida.
finish.PTCP.F.SG
‘Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.’
(Ruèras, m5, l. 1227ff.)

- (102) Qu’ è stau ... mat^haj ... gl òn **avaun**
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.M.SG year before
ca tgu mòndi ... ál’ ampréma classa.
REL REL.1SG go.PRS.SBJV.1SG to.DEF.F.SG first form
‘This was ... probably... the year before I attended ... the first form [of primary school].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1292f.)

4 Verb phrase

A similar hesitation between indicative and subjunctive can be observed with *tòca* or *tòca tga* ‘until’. In (103) *tòca* triggers subjunctive and in (104) *tòca tga* triggers indicative.

- (103) Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun niaş
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG
 ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la
 door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
 audi anzatgéj [...].
 hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something

‘And then the nun was out [in the corridor] like this ... in front of our door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something [...].’ (Sadrún, f6, l. 716ff.)

- (104) Anqual jèda vagnéva lu al pás[tar] ... né usché
 some time.F.SG COME.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG herdsman or so
 cu aj vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' ins
 when 3PL see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until SUBORD GNR
 èr' ajn ... ajn «schwung» [...].
 COP.IMPF.3SG in in momentum.M.SG

‘Sometimes the herdsman would come ... or so, when they saw and they would help until one was again in momentum [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, l. 2078ff.)

In the corpus, *sènza tga* ‘without’ only occurs with subjunctive (105 and 106).

- (105) [...] èla savèv' è í vidò gljunsch a paj
 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG also go.INF over_out far on foot.M.SG
 sènza tgu stòpi tumaj tga la
 without SUBORD.1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG fear.INF COMP 3SG.F
 mòndi a funs.
 go.PRS.SBJV.3SG to ground.M.SG
 ‘[...] she could go far on foot without me having to be afraid that she could drown.’ (Ruèras, f7, l. 1700f.)

- (106) Èla végn sjantar sènza tga nus lajan.
 3SG.F come.PRS.3SG after without SUBORD 1PL want.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 ‘She follows us without us wanting [it].’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

4.1 The verb

If a subordinate clause depends on a clause whose verb occurs in subjunctive mood, the clause which normally does not take subjunctive takes it by syntactic attraction. An example is (107), where the subjunctive occurs in the relative clause which normally requires indicative.

- (107) [...] quaj fagèva las gjufnas lu schòn
DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL then in_fact
stém sch' i vajan sé la nègla tg'
attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up INDEF.F.SG carnation REL
èla vaj dau né bétg.
3SG.F have.SBJV.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM or NEG
‘[...] the young women would pay close attention to whether they had put on the hat the carnation they had given them or not.’ (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1578ff.)

There are some cases where conditional is used instead of subjunctive (108).

- (108) Quèl lèva bétga craj tga 'ls tiars
DEM.M.SG want.IMPF.3SG NEG believe.INF COMP DEF.M.PL animal.PL
rašdassan da Nadal-nòtg durònt mèssa [...].
speak.COND.3PL of Christmas-night.F.SG during mass.F.SG
‘He didn’t want to believe that the animals speak during mass on Christmas Eve [...].’ (Tschanmùt, Büchli 1966: 132)

There are two cases of the use of the subjunctive which I could not explain. I therefore asked the specialist of the use of mood in Sursilvan, Matthias Grünert, if he could explain these cases.

The first case is the subjunctive in an object clause introduced by *savaj* ‘know’ (109).

- (109) A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nus
and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL
vágian adina u-léjgar, a nus mòndian
have.PRS.SBJV.1PL always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM and 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL
bugèn cò gjù à scùla, a nus fètschian
with_pleasure here down to school.F.SG and 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL
filistùcas [...].
prank.PL
‘And the nuns knew that the three of us, we always had fun, and that we liked to come to school down here, and that we used to play pranks [...]’ (Sadrún, f6, l. 699ff.)

4 Verb phrase

Matthias Grünert (p.c. 2020/05/25) explains that the subjunctive after *saver*, especially in the imperfect, is well documented in Standard Sursilvan. Grünert's explanation for such cases is that the situation referred to in the object clause is presented from the perspective of the subject of the object clause and not of the subject of *saver*.

The second example concerns the use of the subjunctive in a conditional sentence which depends on the particle verb *anflá ò* 'find out' (110).

- (110) [...] api vèvan nuş anflau òra scha nus mòndian
 and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 a séjsian spèr la sòr' Andréa, lèza savèva
 and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next DEF.F.SG nun PN DEM.F.SG know.IMPF.3SG
 ròmòntsch.
 Romansh.M.MSG

'[...] and then we had found out that if we went to sit next to Sister Andrea, she knew Romansh.' (Sadrún, f6, l. 780ff.)

In this case, Matthias Grünert states that the subjunctive in and object clause depending on *anflar ora* is also documented in Standard Sursilvan (111).

- (111) Gia il pievel egipzian haveva anflau ora
 already DEF.M.MSG people Egyptian have.IMPF.3SG find.PTCP.UNM out
 che mèl d' aviuls seigi in remedi.
 COMP honey of bee.M.PL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG INDEF.M.MSG drug
 'The Egyptian people had already found out that honey is a drug.'
 (Standard Sursilvan, La Quotidiana 2018/05/04)

However, (110) is highly elliptic as there is no object clause depending on *anflá òra* 'find out'; the subjunctive occurs in a conditional clause instead of the direct conditional. Therefore (110) could be the opposite of (108) where the direct conditional is used instead of the subjunctive. In any case the use of the subjunctive in (110) is not accepted by other consultants.

4.1.2.2.9 Imperfect subjunctive Imperfect subjunctive is very rare in the corpus, where it only occurs with speech act verbs (112 and 113) and verbs of opinion (114).

4.1 *The verb*

- (112) [...] la détga di tg' èrian schindanajn
 DEF.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG COMP COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL so_in
 tg' i udébian c' i tucavi da
 COMP 3PL hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL COMP EXPL beat.IMPF.SBJV.3SG of
 mjadşdé ajnt Ruèras.
 noon.M.SG in PN
 '[...] the legend says that they were so deep in the cave that they heard
 the clock strike noon in Rueras.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 448ff.)
- (113) Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 vju tga quèls mél's èn
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP DEM.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL
 saspuantaj [...].
 REFL.frighten.PTCP.M.PL
 '[The priest said that] He was in front of the chapel and had seen that
 these mules ran away [...]' (Sadrún, m10, l. 1137ff.)
- (114) Ju craj tgu vèvi òtg vacas [...].
 1SG believe.PRS.1SG COMP.1SG have.SBJV.IMPF.1SG eight cow.F.PL
 'I think I had eight cows [...]' (Ruèras, m3, l. 2053f.)

4.1.2.2.10 Direct and indirect conditional The direct conditional mostly occurs in conditional sentences, in the protasis as well as in the apodosis. The apodosis is often not expressed overtly. The direct conditional has a simple and a compound form. The simple form expresses present counter-factuality (115 and 116).

- (115) A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancúntar Tgòm ...
 and then PN more_uphill here in_direction PN
 şaj ina rùsna, quaj fùş è aun
 COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed
 intarassant sch' ins savés, quaj datèscha da
 interesting.M.UNM if GNR know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from
 gl òn ju ... a ussa bigja grat prèsèn, méli a
 DEF.M.SG year 1SG have.PRS.1SG now NEG just present thousand and
 sistschian a zatgéj.
 six_hundred and something
 'And then Pardatsch ... a bit more uphill here in direction of Tgom ...'

4 Verb phrase

there is a cave, it would indeed be interesting if one knew, this is dated, I ... don't have it exactly in mind, sixteen hundred something.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 426ff.)

- (116) Té savëssäš í cul tat ajn Pardatsch.
 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN
 'You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 392f.)

The compound form expresses counter-factuality in the past (117 and 118).

- (117) [...] nuş astgèvan bégja rasdá ròmòntsch, ins
 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR
 vèš gè savju dá la bùca sur
 have.COND.3SG after_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG mouth over
 dlas sòras.
 of.DEF.F.PL nun.PL
 '[...] we were not allowed to speak Romansh, as a matter of fact one could have made derisive remarks about the nuns.' (Camischùlas, f6, l. 768ff.)
- (118) [...] ju fùš ina sèra maj id' ò da
 1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.F.SG evening never go.PTCP.F.SG out of
 tgèşa la sèra da stgir.
 home.F.SG DEF.F.SG evening of dark.M.UNM
 '[...] I would never have left home in the evening when it was dark.'
 (Sadrún, f2, l. 948f.)

As examples (115–118) show, the final -s of the singular persons and of the second person plural of the direct conditional is realised as [s] if it is followed by a vowel without a pause as is the case with all forms of the verbal paradigms that end in -s. Note, however, that if the conditional is followed by the expletive pronoun or the pronoun of the third person plural which is not marked for gender, both *i*, the ending of the conditional is pronounced [i] as in *duëss-i* 'should.COND.3SG-EXPL', line 1218 in §8.8.

Examples (119) and (120) illustrate the indirect conditional, which occurs in object clauses that are governed by a speech act verb like *dumandá* 'ask' or *dí* 'say'. (121) illustrates the compound indirect conditional.

4.1 *The verb*

- (119) [...] a ... lu vajn nuş, va ju dumandau sch'
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.M.UNM if
 èl prandèssi mè tòcan ... a Ruèras.
 3SG.M take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PN
 ' [...] and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.'
 (Ruèras, m10, l. 1131f.)
- (120) [...] api lu va ju ... tlafònau dad èl a
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.M.UNM DAT 3SG.M and
 détg, éba, mi' ùm ségi èba
 say.PTCP.M.UNM exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely
 mòrts scù i sápians, ábar ... ju fagèssi
 die.PTCP.M.SG as 3PL know.PRS.SBJV.3PL but 1SG do.COND.INDIR.1SG
 ugèn vinavaun quèla lavur [...].
 with_pleasure still DEM.F.SG job
 ' [...] and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as
 they knew, but ... that I would like to keep doing this job [...]' (Sadrún,
 f3, l. 23ff.)
- (121) Èl ò détg tg' èl vèvi
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG.M have.COND.INDIR.3SG
 vju èls.
 see.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M
 'He said that he had seen them.' (Sadrún, m6)

4.1.2.2.11 Tense agreement In contrast to other Romance varieties, Tuatschin has no tense agreement. In object sentences, it is always the tense that would occur in direct speech which is used. This is probably connected to the fact that Tuatschin, as well as Standard Sursilvan, uses subjunctive after direct speech act verbs or verbs of opinion, be they affirmative or negated, also in contrast to other Romance varieties. An example is (122).

- (122) [...] api lu va ju ... tlafònau dad èl a
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and
 détg, éba, mi' ùm ségi èba
 say.PTCP.UNM exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely
 mòrts [...].
 die.PTCP.M.SG
 ' [...] and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died [...]'

4 Verb phrase

(Sadrún, f3, l. 24f.)

In this example, perfect subjunctive is used (*ségi mòrts*) and not pluperfect subjunctive (**èri mòrts*), which does not occur in the corpus. In direct speech, perfect indicative would be used: «Mi’ ûm è mòrts.» ‘My husband has died.’

4.1.2.2.12 The construction *vaj tga* ‘have that’ It has not been possible to determine the exact function of *vaj tga* (123) as well as (125 and 126), or *végn tga* (124), but the examples suggest that the construction focuses on the present relevance of the event the verb refers to (123 and 124) or on past habitual (125 and 126).

- (123) Ju a tga fò bléd.
1SG have.PRS.1SG COMP do.PRS.3SG sick
'I am feeling sick.' (Ruèras, DRG 2: 397)
- (124) I brišcha la cazèta, i végn tga
EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG COMP
sufla.
blow.PRS.3SG
'[The soot] on the pot is burning, it is getting stormy.' (DRG 2: 215)
- (125) A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL
rasdá ramòntsch.
speak.INF Romansh.M.SG
'And then we had the opportunity to be allowed to speak Romansh
there.' (Camischùlas, f6, l. 797f.)
- (126) [...] api sjantar mav' ins lu ... ségi quaj ajn
and after go.IMPF.3SG GNR then COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEM.UNM in
quèla bar né ajn tschèla ... nùca tg' i vèva lu
DEM.F.SG bar or in DEM.F.SG where REL EXPL have.IMPF.3SG then
tga tràva ... dad ira.
COMP pull.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF
'[...] and then we would go into this bar or into that one ... wherever it
drew us to go.' (Sadrún, m9, l. 1837ff.)

4.1 The verb

4.1.3 Particle verbs

A particle verb is a verb that combines with an adverb to form a semantic unit. An example is *fá gjù*, literally ‘make down’, and which means ‘make an appointment’. The origin of such structures is controversial: they are considered either a genuine Romansh structure, a loan from German or Swiss German, or both. *Fá gjù*, however, is a clear case of calque from Swiss German. In Swiss German, ‘make an appointment’ is [“ab'maxə]. In this lexeme, the prefix *ab-* has been interpreted as [abə] ‘down’, hence *gjù*, and [maxə] means ‘do, make’, which leads to the particle verb *fá gjù*.

There is an important difference between the German and the Romansh construction: In German, Standard or Swiss, the particle is a verbal prefix which in simple tenses is located at the end of the sentence, as in (127).

- (127) [ix max 'jedə ta:g mit əm ab]
 1SG make every day with him PTCL
 ‘I make an appointment with him every day.’ (Swiss German, own knowledge)

In such cases, the particle follows the verb in Tuatschin (and other Sursilvan varieties) (128).

- (128) Ju fétsch gjù cun èl mintga dé.
 1SG make.PRS.1SG down with 3SG.M every day.M.SG
 ‘I make an appointment with him every day.’ (Sadrún, m4)

However, in Tuatschin and other Sursilvan varieties, the particle is not immediately adjacent to the verb, since some elements may intervene between the verb and the particle. These elements are inverted subjects – pronouns (129) or full noun phrases (130) –, the negator *bétga* and its variants (131), as well as other adverbs like *aun* ‘still’, *è/éra* (132) ‘also’, *lu* ‘then’ (132), *magari* ‘sometimes’ (133), *maj* ‘never’ (134), *pròpi* ‘exactly’ (135), *puspè* ‘again’ (136), or *schòn* ‘certainly’ (137).

- (129) Damaun prèn ju sé èl.
 tomorrow take.PRS.1SG 1SG up 3SG.M
 ‘Tomorrow I will lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)

4 Verb phrase

- (130) Té mù trafica usché vinavaun, api sièta al
 2SG just be_up_to.IMP.2SG so further and shoot.PRS.3SG DEF.M.MSG
malitèr gjù té in dé.
 army down 2SG INDEF.M.MSG day
 ‘You just go on behaving this way and the army will shoot you down one day.’ (Gadola 1935: 91)
- (131) Damaun prèn ju bégja sé èl.
 tomorrow take.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG up 3SG
 ‘Tomorrow I won’t lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)
- (132) [...] a lu dèvani lu è sé da, da scrívar tòcs
 and then give.3PL.3PL then also up COMP COMP write.INF play.M.PL
 [...].
 ‘[...] and then they also gave [us homework] to write plays [...].’
 (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1646f.)
- (133) Ju prèn **magari** sé èl.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M
 ‘Sometimes I lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)
- (134) Cun quèl fétsch ju maj gjù.
 with DEM.M.MSG make.PRS.1SG 1SG never down
 ‘With this person I never make an appointment.’ (Sadrún, m6)
- (135) Ah, tgé .. prandèvan **pròpi** òra sa ins bégj’ éxact
 ah what take.IMPF.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly
 [...].
 ‘Ah, what ... they really mined one does not know exactly [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 444)
- (136) Prèn **puspè** sé quaj!
 take.IMP.2SG again up DEM.UNM
 ‘Lift this again!’ (Sadrún, m9)

4.1 The verb

- (137) Al plé mal stùn ju pal bian cazè. Al
 DEF.M.SG most bad stay.PRS.1SG 1SG for.DEF.M.SG good shoe DEF.M.SG
 pòlisch crèscha schòn ansjaman.
 thumb grow.PRS.3SG certainly together
 'I am very sorry for the shoe of good quality. My big toe will certainly
 knit together again.' (Berther 1998: 51)

The adverbs presented in (129 to 137) must stand between the verb and its particle; the adverbs *savèns* 'often' (138 and 139) and *spèrt* (140–143) as well as *dabòt* (144), both 'rapidly', may occur between the verb and its particle or may follow the particle.

- (138) Ju prèn savèns sé èl.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG often up 3SG.M
 'I often lift him up.' (Sadrún, m6)
- (139) Quèl prènd ju sé savèns.
 DEM.M.SG take.PRS.1SG 1SG up often
 'This one I often lift up.' (Sadrún, f1)
- (140) Èls prèndan spèrt sé als ufauns.
 3PL.M take.PRS.3PL rapidly up DEF.M.PL child.PL
 'They lift the children rapidly.' (Sadrún, m9)
- (141) Èls prèndan sé spèrt als ufauns.
 3PL take.PRS.3PL up rapidly DEF.M.PL child.PL
 'They lift the children rapidly.' (Sadrún, m9)
- (142) Ju prèn aun sé spèrt agl ufaun.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG still up rapidly DEF.M.SG child
 'Right now, I'll lift the child rapidly.' (Ruèras, m3)
- (143) Ju prèn spèrt aun sé agl ufaun.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG rapidly still up DEF.M.SG child
 'Right now, I'll lift the child rapidly.' (Ruèras, m3)
- (144) Ju prèn aun dabòt sé agl ufaun.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG rapidly still up DEF.M.SG child
 'Right now, I'll lift the child rapidly.' (Ruèras, f4)

4 Verb phrase

The adverb *mintgataun* ‘sometimes’, which is a synonym of *magari*, may not occur between the verb and the particle (145).

- (145) *Ju prèn **mintgataun** sé èl.
1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M
'Sometimes I lift him up.' (Sadrún, m6)

In contrast to German, direct objects, be they pronominal or nominal, may not stand between the verb and the particle: *bétar navèn quaj* ‘throw away this’ vs. **bétar quaj navèn* ‘throw this away’, or *prèndar sé èl/agl ufaun* ‘lift up him/the child’ vs. **prèndar èl/agl ufaun sé* ‘lift him/the child up’. A further example of the position of the personal pronoun with respect to the particle can be found in (146).

- (146) A nuş duş vèvan dad í a rimná quèls
and 1PL two.M have.IMPF.1PL to go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEM.M.PL
pòrs, prèndar òr, schá ò èls, ò da nuégl.
pig.PL take.INF out let.INF out 3PL.M out of barn.M.SG
'And the two of us had to go and collect these pigs, take out, let them
out, out of the barn.' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1310f.)

4.1.4 Copulative verbs

Copulative verbs are *èssar* ‘be’, *paraj dad èssar* ‘seem’, and the change of state verb *vagní* ‘become’.

The copula *èssar* ‘be’ is a general copula which allows non-verbal elements to fulfil predicative functions, as e.g. nouns (147), adjectives (148), prepositional phrases in locative (149), temporal (150), or comitative (151) function, or adverbs (152).

- (147) A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònida plata
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.F.SG very big slab
[...].

'And this really is a ... very big slab [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 850)

- (148) Quaj èra in' jèda ... brutal tiar nus,
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG time terrible.ADJ.UNM among 1PL
bèn-bèn.
RED~really

'Once it was terrible among us, really.' (Sèlva, f2, l. 941)

4.1 The verb

- (149) Èl èri avaun caplùta [...].
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel.F.SG
 ‘He was in front of the chapel [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1137)
- (150) Quaj hanlégj da tiars, ál sén scù quaj tg'
 DEM.M.SG business of animal.M.PL in.DEF.M.SG sense like DEM.UNM REL
 i èra ál schènivával tschantanè [...].
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.M.SG nineteenth century.M.SG
 ‘This cattle business, in the sense of how it was in the nineteenth
 century [...].’ (Sadrún, m5, l. 1203f.)
- (151) Ajn tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la
 in every case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.F.SG
 mùma da mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mè ...
 mother of POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG
 vèvan stju gidá nus [...].
 have.IMPF.3PL must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL
 ‘Anyhow my, my mother and the mother of my mate who was with me
 ... had had to help us [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1329ff.)
- (152) Gè scù bjè autar è tg' è samidau.
 yes as a_lot other.ADJ.UNM also REL be.PRS.3SG REFL.change.PTCP.UNM
 Quaj è usché.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG so
 ‘Yes, as many other things that also have changed. That’s how things
 are.’ (Surajn, f5, l. 1285f.)

The following examples illustrate the functions of *paraj dad èssar* ‘seem’ (153) and *vagní* ‘become’ (154 and 155).

- (153) Èla para dad èssar stauncla.
 3SG.F seem.PRS.3SG COMP COP.INF tired.F.SG
 ‘She seems to be tired.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (154) Té stùs stá cò tut parsula ad i
 2SG must.PRS.2SG stay.INF here completely alone.F.SG and EXPL
 végn unviarn a végn frajd [...].
 come.PRS.3SG winter.M.SG and come.PRS.3SG cold.ADJ.UNM
 ‘You must stay here completely alone, and winter is coming and it is
 getting cold.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)

4 Verb phrase

- (155) [...] èl' èra vagnida tùt còtschna [...].
 3SG.F be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG completely red.F.SG
 ‘[...] she had turned completely red [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1346f.)

4.1.5 Existential verbs

Existential constructions are formed with the expletive pronoun *i*, less frequently with *quaj* ‘this’, in the subject position and the verbs *èssar* ‘be’ (156–161) or *dá* ‘give’ (162–167).

As is the case with *quaj* (see §3.2.2.1, examples 57ff.), the existential verb agrees with the expletive subject pronoun, but not with the predicative noun, which means that if the predicative noun is plural, the verb form is singular (156).

- (156) [...] ancunt' agl atún èri plé paucs
 towards DEF.M.SG autumn EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL more little.M.PL
 tiars [...] .
 animal.PL
 ‘[...] towards autumn there were fewer animals [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, l. 2151f.)
- (157) [...] lu şè aun dus trajs intarassants lòganş ajn
 then EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL still two three interesting place.M.PL in
 cò [...] .
 here
 ‘[...] there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there [...].’
 (Sadrún, m4, l. 450f.)
- (158) [...] a mintgataun èri aun grépa tga
 and sometimes EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover rock.COLL REL
 stèv' ò in téc
 stand.IMPF.3SG out INDEF.M.SG bit
 ‘[...] and from time to time there were rocks protruding a bit’ (Ruèras,
 m10, l. 1049f.)
- (159) Ér şaj stau bjè turists sé lò.
 yesterday be.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM many tourist.PL up there
 ‘Yesterday there were many tourists up there.’ (Sadrún, m4)

4.1 *The verb*

- (160) Api plénèngjù, èri gl unviarn, qu' and more_down COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG winter DEM.UNM èra baghétgs aun, ad èra prvasèdars EXIST.IMPF.3SG building.M.PL still and EXIST.IMPF.3SG herdsman.M.PL [...].

'And down there, it was winter, there were still buildings [there], and there were men who would feed the animals [...]' (Sèlva, f2, l. 929f.)

- (161) A quaj èra mù in ganc tras. and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through
'And there was only one corridor.' (Ruèras, m1, l. 246f.)

- (162) [...] i dat aun bjè da quèlas détgas. EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG still many of DEM.F.PL legend.PL
'...] there still are many such legends.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 452)

- (163) [...] i dat ina fòtografia tgu sùn sé EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on cun mju còlèga al dé da la scargèda [...]. with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF.M.SG day of DEF.F.SG drove.PTCP.F.SG
'...] there is a photograph in which I am with my mate the day of the pig driving [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1424ff.)

- (164) Las nòtzjas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs, DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL als duş baps prandèvan aj, i dèva ajnta DEF.M.PL two.M father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG in Ruèras, dèv' aj in ca vèva rádjò. PN EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG radio.M.SG
'I don't know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.'
(Ruèras, m1, l. 265ff.)

- (165) Quaj sch' i dèva rèsts scha well if EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG leftovers.M.PL CORR vagnévi lu magari rimnau quaj PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then sometimes collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM

4 Verb phrase

dus trajs dis api méz tùt ajn ina... tùt
 two.M.PL three day.PL and put.PTCP.M.PL all in INDEF.F.SG all
 ansjaman.
 together

‘Well, when there were leftovers, they would sometimes be collected for two or three days and then put all together in a ... all together.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 500ff.)

- (166) A lu al pròxim, in dls pròximṣ unvjarns ...
 and then DEF.M.SG next one of.DEF.M.PL next.PL winter.PL
 òi dau ina grònnda navada [...].
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG big snowfall
 ‘And then the next, one of the next winters ... there was a big snowfall [...]’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 887f.)
- (167) Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònnda lavina
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche
 ... a vèva ... déstruï ina grònnda part
 and have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge part
 dl vitg ajintadém Ruèras ... a vèv' è
 of.DEF.M.SG village uppermost PN and have.IMPF.3SG also
 dau mòrts [...].
 EXIST.PTCP.UNM dead.M.PL
 ‘Then a huge avalanche went down ... and ... destroyed a big part of the village in the upper part of Rueras ... and people died [...]’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 896ff.)

Examples (168) and (169) show the occurrence of *dá* ‘give’ and *èssar* ‘be’ in the same context. Furthermore, (168) also contains two examples with the expletive pronoun *i* and two examples without it.

- (168) Álsò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ...
 well EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMPF.3PL
 nündétg, ad i şèra òns nùca tg' èra
 incredibly and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG
 aua, ad èra òns nùca tga spardévan.
 water and EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL lose.IMPF.3PL
 ‘Well, there were years when they earned ... a lot of money, and there were years with rain, and years when they would lose money.’ (Sadrún, m5, l. 1244ff.)

4.1 The verb

- (169) [...] a lu èri è quèls prígals tga
 and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also DEM.M.PL danger REL
 dèva [...] sén ira, naturálmajn cu i vagnévan
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG on go.INF natural.F.SG.ADV when 3PL come.IMPF.3PL
 anavùs [...].
 back
 '[...] and then there were these dangers which [one encountered] when
 travelling, of course when they would come back [...]' (Sadrún, m5, l.
 1290ff.)

4.1.6 Modal verbs

The following modal verbs occur in the corpus: *astgè* ‘be allowed’, *duaj* ‘must, should’, *èssar da* ‘must, have to’ *munglá* ‘must’, *pudaj* ‘can, be able’, *savaj* ‘can’, *schè/schá* ‘let, allow’, *stuaj* ‘must, have to’, *vaj da* ‘have to’, and *vulaj* ‘want’.

Obligation is expressed by *èssar da* ‘must, have to’ (170), *duaj* ‘must, should’ (171), *munglá* ‘must’ (172)⁸, *vaj da* ‘have to’ (173–175), and *stuaj* ‘must, have to’ (176 and 177). Note that *èssar da* is impersonal.

- (170) [...] api èri da fá fajn.
 and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to do.INF hay.M.SG
 '[...] and then one had to do hay.' (Ruèras, f4, l. 1906)
- (171) Gè grat uschéja, ábar ju, ina da la natira ad
 yes exactly so but 1SG one.F.SG of DEF.F.SG nature and
 a adina ... vulju fá mi' òbligazjun
 have.PRS.3SG always want.PTCP.UNM do.INF POSS.1SG.F.SG obligation
 a finju, a tschèls dajan è fá.
 and finish.PTCP.UNM and DEM.M.PL must.PRS.3PL also do.INF
 'Yes, exactly like that. But I, a person who likes nature, and I have
 always ... wanted to meet my obligations, and the other people should
 also do [the same]' (Sadrún, f3, l. 158ff.)
- (172) Ju munglaš ir' a tgèsa.
 1SG must.COND.1SG go.INF to house.F.SG
 'I should go home.' (Cavòrgja, f1)

⁸Nowadays *munglá* is only used with conditional mood.

4 Verb phrase

- (173) A tiar in pur ... èssan nuş í, èr'
 and by INDEF.M.SG farmer be.PRS.1SG 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1SG
 ju, vèv' ju gju dad incassá quèls raps
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF DEM.M.PL cent.PL
 [...].

'And we went ... to a farmer, I was, I had to collect this money [...]'
 (Sadrún, m6, l. 1408f.)

The infinitive does not have to be adjacent to *vaj da* (174 and 175).

- (174) Vus vèssas lu aun da fá quèls bogns né
 2SG.POL have.COND.2PL then still COMP do.INF DEM.M.PL bath.PL or
 mirá da la plaja.
 look_after.INF of DEF.F.SG wound

'You should still take a bath or look after the wound.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 475f.)

- (175) A sch' i èra malaura, scha vèv' ins
 and if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG bad_weather.F.SG CORR have.IMPF.3SG GNR
 a tgèsa da fá [...].
 at house.F.SG to do.INF

'And if the weather was bad, we, the women, had to work in the house [...]' (Ruèras, f4, l. 1986f.)

- (176) [...] l' antschata da la parmagàr stuèv' ins
 DEF.F.SG beginning of DEF.F.SG spring must.IMPF.3SG GNR
 schè ajn als tiarş ajn nuégl [...].
 let.INF in DEF.M.PL animal.PL in barn.M.SG
 '[...] at the beginning of spring one had to let the animals into the barn [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l. 507ff.)

- (177) Api ... şè quaj vagnú príu ajn, a
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and
 lu ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi quaj
 then have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over DEM.UNM
 da mintga cantún, a lèzs òn sèzs
 DAT every canton.M.SG and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL

4.1 The verb

stavju lura ... métar sén pajs quaj [...].
must.PTCP.UNM then put.INF on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM

‘Then ... this has been adopted, and then the confederation handed it over to every canton, and these ... had to get it off the ground themselves [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 34ff.)

⁹Astgè ‘be allowed, can’ (178) and schè/schá⁹ (179) ‘let, allow’ refer to permission.

- (178) [...] api vajn nuş gju quèla gròndjuş' idéa scha
 and have.PRS.1PL 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG great.F.SG idea if
 nuş ástgjan cuşchiná.
 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF
 ‘[...] and then we had that great idea [to ask] whether we were allowed
 to cook.’ (Sadrún, f6, l. 731ff.)

(179) In autar òn schajş vuş èra ir’ ad alp mè.
 INDEF.M.SG other year let.PRS.2PL 2PL also go.INF to alp 1SG
 ‘Another year you will also let me go to alp.’ (Gadola 1935: 85)

Astgè is used in polite requests as in (180).

- (180) «Astg' ju aun dá in glaš aua [...]
 be_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in_addition give.IMP INDEF.M.SG cup water
 ?»

‘May I give [you] another glass of water [...] ?’ (Ruèras, f4, l. 2016)

Ability is expressed by *pudaj* ‘can, be able’ and *savaj* ‘can’. *Pudaj* refers to non-learned participant internal ability (181–183) or to permission (184).

- (181) A las sòras savèvan tga [...] nus fétschian
 and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 filistùcas, ad èlas pudévan maj tiar nus.
 prank..pl and 3PL.F can.IMPF.3PL never to 1PL
 ‘And the nuns knew that [...] we used to play pranks, and that they
 would never be able to prove anything against us.’ (Camischùlas, f6,
 l.699ff.)

⁹ *Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form.

4 Verb phrase

- (182) Ad ad in piartg ... ah ... vèva pudju
 and and INDEF.M.SG pig eh have.IMP.F.3SG can.PTCP.UNM
 scapá sé Valtgèva tras la sajf, qu' er'
 escape.INF up PN through DEF.F.SG fence DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG
 ina, la saiv èri, vèva
 INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fence COP.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL have.IMP.F.3SG
 rùt in palé, quaj vèva pudju
 break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG post DEM.UNM have.IMP.F.3SG can.PTCP.UNM
 atrás [...].
 through

'And and a pig ... eh ... had been able to escape in Valtgeva through the fence, that was a, the fence was, had a broken post, so it had been able to go through [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1391ff.)

- (183) Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG
 bitg' í plé.
 NEG go.INF any_more
 'I'll stop going to nursery school, I can't stand it any longer.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 390f.)

- (184) Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.M.SG guard of
 survigilònza, bétga schanza da pudaj atrás, quaj dé
 vigilance.F.SG NEG chance.F.SG ATTR can.INF through DEM.M.SG day
 òni bigja schau í nuš atrás.
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL NEG let.PTCP.UNM go.INF 1PL through
 'And there was ... up there a vigilance guard, no way to go through, that day they didn't let us go through [that sentry]' (Sadrún, f3, l. 62ff.)

Savaj refers to participant external (185–188) or learned participant internal ability (189 and 190).

- (185) Pi ò èla dét[g]: «Té savèssas í
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF
 cul tat ajn Pardatsch.»
 with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN
 'Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather」
 (Sadrún, m4, l. 392f.)

4.1 *The verb*

- (186) Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau nus sápiān
 and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 durmí òra [...].
 sleep.INF out
 ‘And then we thought we would have a good sleep [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, l. 744)
- (187) [...] álsò òr dal grép òni
 this_is_to_say out of.DEF.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL
 fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg’ ins sò ira
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF
 ah a paj flòt.
 eh on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] this is to say out of the rock they made a small ... path through
 which one could easily go eh on foot.’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1044ff.)
- (188) Api sjantar sùnd ju sasjus gjù, api vau
 and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down and have.PRS.1SG.1SG
 tartgau gè ábar ah, api sau bigj’ ajfach í
 think.PTCP.UNM yes but eh and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF
 ál’ aua.
 into.DEF.F.SG water
 ‘And then I sat down and thought yes, but, eh, after all I should, I cannot
 simply jump into the water.’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1452ff.)
- (189) Quaj crajs bé, l’ antschata cu ju
 DEM.UNM believe.PRS.2SG.GNR NEG DEF.F.SG beginning when 1SG
 a surpríu quaj, èri,
 have.PRS.1SG take_on.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 èri da quèls tgé ... mataj¹⁰ tg’ ina
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of DEM.M.PL REL probably COMP INDEF.F.SG
 fèmna sapi fá da quaj.
 woman can.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.INF of DEM.UNM
 ‘This you don’t believe, at the beginning when I took on this job, there
 were, there were some men who ... [would say] that a woman is not able
 to do that.’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 155ff.)

¹⁰ *Mataj* means ‘probably’; in this context, it is used ironically in the sense of ‘impossibly’.

4 Verb phrase

- (190) Lu dumandavan nuş èl, vevan dumandau núa èl
 then ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM where 3SG.M
 ségi staus ajn plaza, èra 'I
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG in job.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
 staus zatgé vid Andermatt- a tudèstg savèv'
 COP.PTCP.M.SG something over PN and German know.IMPF.1SG
 ju è bigja- vèvan nuş dumandau in' jèda sch'
 1SG also NEG have.IMPF.1PL 1PL ask.PTCP.UNM one.F time whether
 èl sapi, savèva 'l lu schòn in téc
 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then indeed INDEF.M.SG bit
 tudèstg, savèva 'l lu aun, quaj tg' èra
 German know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then really DEM.UNM REL COP.IMPF.3SG
 lu big' al cas tiar quèls végls aun.
 then NEG DEF.M.SG case at DEM.M.PL old.PL really
 'Then we would ask him, we had asked [him] where he had been
 working, he had been working for a certain time in Andermatt – and
 [that he knew] German I didn't know either – we had asked him
 whether he knew, he knew some German indeed, he really knew, which
 then was not the case with these old people.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 662ff.)

If *savaj* modifies a verb with complements, this verb is sometimes omitted, probably under the influence of Swiss German. In example (191) it is the verb *i* 'go' which is omitted.

- (191) [...] da nòs tjams salagranan nuş da vagní
 of POSS.1PL.M.SG time REFL.appreciate.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP come.INF
 ò da scùla par è savaj — a la gjuvantétna.
 out of school.F.SG SUBORD also can.INF to DEF.F.SG youth
 '[...] when we were young we were happy to come out of school in order
 to also be able to go to the association of young people.' (Sadrún, m9, l.
 1745ff.)

The opposition between *pudaj* and *savaj* is not always clear-cut. In (192), the modal verb refers to participant external possibility and one would expect *savaj* instead of *pudaj*.

- (192) Cò pùn ins cargè tschuncònta vacas.
 here can.PRS.3SG GNR charge.INF fifty COW.F.PL
 'Here one can put to graze fifty cows.' (DRG 3: 376)

4.1 The verb

Volition is expressed by *vulaj* ‘want’ (193 and 194).

- (193) «Gjòn, vul¹¹ té bétga gidá mè da cargè quèla
 PN want.PRS.2SG 2SG NEG help.INF 1SG COMP carry.INF DEM.F.SG
 bùra?» «Bèn bèn, scù ju pùs, vi ju schòn
 block yes yes as 1SG can.PRS.1SG want.PRS.1SG 1SG certanily
 gidá.»
 help.INF
- ‘«Gion, don’t you want to help me charge this block?» «Yes, sure, I will
 certainly help [you] as well as I can.»’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 106)
- (194) [...] api vòu anflau in bi ljuc,
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.M.SG place
 api lu ... lèv’ ju fá bògn lò [...].
 and then want.IMPF.1SG 1SG do.INF bath there
 [...] and then I found a nice place, and then I wanted to take a bath there
 [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1432f.)

Vut dí or *vuta dí*, both ‘mean’ (literally ‘wants say’), is best considered a lexicalised expression (195).

- (195) Sas tgé quaj vut dí?
 know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF
 ‘Do you know what this means?’ (Ruèras, f4, l. 1948)

Epistemic modality is expressed by *duaj* (196), *pudaj* (197), and *pudaj èssar* (198) as well as *savaj èssar* (199).

- (196) [...] sén quaj pas duèssi èssar ina
 on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.F.SG
 samagljònta caplùta [...].
 similar chapel
 [...] on this pass there should be a similar chapel [...].’ (Sadrún, m5, l.
 1184f.)

¹¹*Vul* is Standard Sursilvan for *vutas*.

4 Verb phrase

- (197) [...] quèls vèvan in purèsser plétost ... pin, tgé
DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.M.SG farm rather small what
pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindisch armauls gronç api
can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL big.PL and
lu aun tgauras [...].
then besides goat.F.PL

'[...] they had a rather ... small farm, what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also goats [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l. 365ff.)

- (198) Préndar ajn, pù schòn èssar tga samidav'
take.IMPF.3SG in can.PRS.3SG well be.IMPF.3SG COMP REFL.change.IMPF.3SG
al grép [...].
DEF.M.SG rock
- 'As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l. 447f.)
- (199) Préndar ajn, sò schòn èssar tga samidav'
take.IMPF.3SG in can.PRS.3SG well be.IMPF.3SG COMP REFL.change.IMPF.3SG
al grép [...].
DEF.M.SG rock
- 'As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed [...]' (Sadrún, m5)

Epistemic modality is also expressed by adverbs like *fòrsa* (§8.5, line 852) / *fòrza* (§8.3, line 432) ‘maybe’, *mataj* (§8.11, line 1384) ‘probably’, or *sagir* (§8.13, line 1533) ‘certainly’.

4.2 Arguments of the verb

4.2.1 Subject

The subject is not marked morphologically but is defined by its position either before or after the verb according to the verb-second syntax of Tuatschin (and more generally of Sursilvan). Subject inversion in general will be treated in §5.1.1 about argument order.

Singular subject nouns which have a plural reference such as *gijut* ‘people’ trigger the third person plural in the verb. Since this phenomenon is attested in the DRG (about 100 years ago) and in Büchli (1966, at least 50 years ago), it can be assumed that it has already been in the language for a long time (200–203).

4.2 Arguments of the verb

- (200) Cuélms a vals statan a la gljut
 mountain.M.PL and valley.F.PL stay.PRS.3PL and DEF.F.SG people
 s'antaupan.
 REFL.meet.PRS.3PL
 'Mountains and valleys stay, and people meet.' (DRG 9: 575)
- (201) La gljut tga mavan da quèla via ancùntar Bugnaj
 DEF.F.SG people REL go.IMPF.3PL from DEM.F.SG way towards PN
 [...] udévan [...] ina vusch [...].
 hear.IMPF.3PL INDEF.F.SG voice
 'The people who took that way towards Bugnei would hear a voice [...].
 Büchli 1966: 142f.)
- (202) A bjè gljut tumévan è mju tat
 and many people.F.SG be.afraid.IMPF.3PL also POSS.1SG.M.SG grandfather
 [...].
 'And many people were afraid of my grandfather [...]' (Sadrún, m4, 1.
 581)
- (203) [...] la gjuvantétgna ... fòn parada.
 DEF.F.SG youth do.PRS.3PL parade.F.SG
 '[...] the association of young men ... holds a parade.' (Zarcúns, m2, l.
 1610)

The following phenomenon is also attested in the DRG materials and in Büchli (1966). If there is subject inversion and the subject corresponds to a third person plural, the verb form is in the singular (204–212), even if there is an element between the verb and the inverted subject. An example is (208), where *è* 'also' stands between the verb and the subject.

- (204) La salín schava 'ls utschals bétga stá
 DEF.F.SG wheat let.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL bird.PL NEG stay.INF
 ugèn.
 with_pleasure
 'The birds didn't like to let the wheat be.' (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 592)

4 Verb phrase

- (205) [...] ina sèra [...] ò 'ls pástars
 INDEF.F.SG afternoon have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL
 vju ad èn las vacas.
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP go.GER DEF.F.PL COW.PL
 ' [...] one afternoon [...] the herdsmen saw the cows going.' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 28)
- (206) [...] lu vèva las fèmnas da lavá ò la
 then have.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL woman.PL to wash.INF out DEF.F.SG
 tgèsa [...].
 house
 [...] then the women had to clean the house [...]'. (Ruèras, f4, l. 1893f.)
- (207) [...] quaj fagèva las gjufnas lu schòn
 DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL then in_fact
 stém sch' i vajan sé la nègla tg'
 attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up INDEF.F.SG carnation REL
 èla vaj dau né bétg.
 3SG.F have.SBJV.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM OR NEG
 ' [...] the young women would pay close attention to whether they had put on the hat the carnation they had given them or not.' (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1578ff.)
- (208) Ad òz fò è las gjufnas ... par tga
 and today do.PRS.3SG also DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL SUBORD SUBORD
 ... ségi avùnda.
 EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG enough
 'And today the young women also take part ... so that ... there are enough people.' (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1613f.)
- (209) [...] fòrsa scha ju ɔbaglja bitg ʂè quèlas
 maybe if 1SG be_wrong.PRS.1SG NEG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL
 figurəs lu vagnidas trans-pòrtadas a mézaʂ
 figure.PL then PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.PL transport.PTCP.F.PL and put.PTCP.F.PL
 ajn quèla, ajn quaj sòntgèt.
 in DEM.F.SG in DEM.M.SG little_chapel
 ' [...] maybe, if I am not wrong, yes, when these figures were transported and put into this little chapel.' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1169ff.)

4.2 Arguments of the verb

- (210) [...] quaj è vagnú da bèton' ajn, a
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and
tanju ò laš aun adina.

hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always

'[...] this has been concreted, and they still hold.' (Sadrún, f3, l. 81f.)

- (211) A zatgéj mava 'ls aucs mavan lu aun
and something go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMPF.3PL then also
anzatgé ... ád uáut.

something to forest.M.SG

'And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.'
(Sadrún, m4, l. 369f.)

- (212) A ... cò mava 'ls buéts la stad ad alp
and here go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL boy.PL DEF.F.SG summer to alp.M.SG
[...].

'And ... here, during summer, the boys would go to the summer pastures
[...]' (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2168)

4.2.2 Direct object

The direct object is not marked morphologically, but is defined by its syntactic position, be it a pronoun or a full noun phrase. With simple tenses, it is located after the verb (213) or after the subject in case of subject inversion (214), as well as after the negator *bétga*, particles, and adverbs that have been treated in §4.1.3 about particle verbs.

- (213) A... vagnéva mèndar a mèndar a dumagnavan bigj'
and become.IMPF.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMPF.3PL NEG
[èl] ál, ál spital lèva 'l bitg í
3SG.M to.DEF.M.SG to.DEF.M.SG hospital want.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M NEG go.INF
né tiar miadis.
or to doctor.M.PL

'And ... it became worse and worse and they couldn't induce [him] to go to the, to the hospital he didn't want to go, nor to the doctors.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 629ff.)

4 Verb phrase

- (214) Qu' è adin' aviart a lu saş
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG
í ajn api vèzas [té] [quèlas ah... figuraş] ajn grondèzja da
go.INF in and see.PRS.2SG 2SG DEM.F.PL ah figure.PL in size.F.SG of
carstgaun.
human_being.M.SG

'This is always open, and then you can step in and then you see these eh ... figures of the size of human beings.' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1161ff.)

With compound tenses, the direct object is located after the participle (215) or after the verbal particle if there is one (216), but not after the inverted subject or the negator, since these elements follow the finite verb.

- (215) Quaj ò bégja dau [discusjun].
DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG NEG EXIST.PTCP.UNM discussion.M.SG
'There was no discussion.' (Ruèras, m1, l. 177)
- (216) Ju prèn magari sé [él].
1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M
'Sometimes I lift him up.' (Sadrún, m6)

One ditransitive verb, *dumandá* 'ask, ask for', has two direct objects (217 and 218).¹²

- (217) [...] ina zagríndara [...] ò dumandau [la
INDEF.F.SG Yenish have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
mùma da tgèsa] [in tgavégl da sia buéba].
mother.F of house one.M hair of POSS.3SG.F.SG girl
' [...] a Yenish woman [...] asked the mother of the house for one hair of
her daughter.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 131)

With *dumandá* 'ask', both direct objects may be passivised (219 and 220).

- (218) Èl ò dumandau [quaj] [la mùma].
3SG.M have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DEF.F.SG mother
'He asked his mother this.' (Sadrún, m4)

¹²This phenomenon is unusual in Romance languages and is probably due to German influence (*jemanden etwas fragen*, literally 'somebody (accusative) something (accusative) ask').

4.2 Arguments of the verb

- (219) [Quaj] è vagnú dumandau la mùma.
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.UNM ask.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG mother
 'This the mother was asked.' (Sadrún, m5)

- (220) [La mùma] è vagnida dumandada quaj.
 DEF.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG ask.PTCP.F.SG DEM.UNM
 'The mother was asked this.' (Sadrún, m6)

Another case could be *dá fjuc la lèna* (m10) 'light the firewood', literally 'give fire the firewood' and *dá culur las sèndas* 'paint the trails' (f3, §8.1, l. 11f.), literally 'give colour the trails' or *dá culur al mir* (m4) 'give colour the wall'.

But in contrast to *dumandá*, only the RECIPIENT of *dá* may be passivised, in the sense that it is promoted to subject position and the that the past participle agrees with it (221 and 222).

- (221) Al mir è bigja vagnús daus culur.
 DEF.M.SG wall be.PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.M.SG give.PTCP.M.SG colour.F.SG
 'The wall has not been painted.' (Sadrún, m4)
- (222) La lèna è bigja vagnida dada
 DEF.F.SG firewool be.PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.F.SG give.PTCP.F.SG
 fjuc.
 fire.M.SG
 'The firewood has not been lit.' (Sadrún, m5)

However, in with a regular ditransitive verb like *dá* 'give' as in (223), the RECIPIENT may not be passivised (224).

- (223) Ju a dau in bi schéngħètg
 1SG have.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.UNM present
 da la mùma.
 DAT DEF.F.SG mother
 'I gave a beautiful present to my mother.' (Sadrún, m6)
- (224) *La mùma è vegnida dada in
 DEF.F.SG mother COP.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.F.SG give.PTCP.F.SG DEF.M.SG
 bi schéngħètg.
 beautiful.UNM present
 'Mother was given a beautiful present.' Sadrún, m5)

4 Verb phrase

For these reasons, I conclude that *mir* ‘wall’ and ‘*lèna*’ ‘firewood’ in (221 and 222) have to be viewed as direct objects and not as indirect objects.

As for the THEME, it cannot be passivised, in the sense that it cannot be promoted to subject position and trigger the agreement of the past participle (225).

- (225) *Cultur è bigja *vagnida *dada al mir.
 colour.F.SG be.PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.F.SG give.PTCP.F.SG DEF.M.SG wall
 ‘Colour has not been given to the wall.’ (literally ‘Colour has not been given given the wall’). Sadrún, m6)

Instead, an impersonal passive with the expletive pronoun *i* in subject position as well as the past participle in its unmarked form must be used (226).

- (226) I è bigja vagnú dau culur al
 EXPL be..PRS.3SG NEG PASS.PTCP.UNM give.PTCP.UNM colour.F DEF.M.SG
 mir.
 wall
 ‘Colour has not been given to the wall.’ (literally ‘It has not been given colour to the wall’). (Sadrún, m6)

This holds for *dá ffuc* as well.

Since *culur* and *ffuc* in *dá culur la prajt* and *dá ffuc la lèna*, cannot be passivised, they cannot be considered direct objects of *dá* in these two constructions. Therefore I suggest that they form a unit with *dá* so that *dá culur* and *dá ffuc* are two compound monotransitive verbs with *al mir* and *la lèna* as their direct object. However, in order to resolve this problem, more research is needed.

Some younger speakers do not accept constructions like *dá culur la prajt* and *dá ffuc la lèna*, but prefer the BENEFICIARY to be marked by dative *da*: *dá ffuc da la lèna*, *dá culur dal mir*, whereas they do accept the construction with *dumandá* ‘ask’ as in (218).

With mono- or ditransitive verbs, the direct object may be omitted if it has been mentioned before (227–229).

- (227) A què èra schòn strètg, alsò sch' ju
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really narrow.ADJ.UNM well if 1SG
 stès aun fà in' jèda quaj, figès ju
 must.COND.1SG again do.INF one.F.SG time DEM.UNM do.COND.1SG 1SG
 bétga [—].
 NEG DO
 ‘And this was really narrow, well, if I had to do it once again, I wouldn’t do it.’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1060f.)

4.2 Arguments of the verb

- (228) Api ò èla cò détg: «Cool, ju mòn
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F here say.PTCP.UNM cool 1SG go.PRS.1SG
 grad a raquénta [dad èlas] [__].»
 right_away and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F DO
 ‘And then she said there: «Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.»’
 (Camischùlas, f6, l. 722ff.)
- (229) A lura ... nus, nuş şchajn [dis vischnauncas] [__],
 and then 1PL 1PL tell.PRS.1PL DEF.DAT.PL municipality.PL DO
 tarmètajn ábar tutina «eine Mängelmeldung»¹³ scù quaj
 send.PRS.1PL but nevertheless a report_of_damage as DEM.UNM
 ò nùm.
 have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG
 ‘Yes, yes. And then we tell it to the municipalities, but we nevertheless
 send «a report of damages» as this is called.’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 141ff.)

The direct object does not have to be immediately adjacent to the verb (230).

- (230) Ju vèv’ als véntgatschún d’ avrél nataléci
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG DEF.M.PL twenty-five of April.M.SG birthday.M.SG
 [...].

‘I had my birthday on April 25 [...].’ (Ruèras, f4, l. 1863)

4.2.3 Indirect object

As mentioned in §3.2.1.2 and 3.6.1, the nominal and pronominal definite indirect object was introduced by *di/dis* or *li/lis*. Nowadays, the indirect object, whether definite or not, is almost exclusively introduced by *da* (but see (44–48) in §3.2.1.3 about the speech of some older people).

In most cases, the indirect object precedes the direct object (231 and 232), but (233) shows that the inverse also occurs.

- (231) «Quèl vès lu aun da pijè [da té] [al
 DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
 pustrètsch dal piertg tga té vèvas
 money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG

¹³Said in Standard German.

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partgirau].»

look_after.PTCP.UNM

‘This one should still pay you the money of the pig you had looked after.’
(Sadrún, m6, l. 1414ff.)

- (232) A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé
and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG
sé a gjù, ju savès raquintá [da té] [quaj].
up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
‘And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down,
I could tell you about that.’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1290f.)
- (233) Api ... sè quaj vagnú príu ajn, a lu
and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PASS.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and then
ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi [quaj] [da]
have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over DEM.UNM DAT
mintga cantún] [...].
every canton.M.SG
‘Then ... this has been adopted, and then the confederation handed it
over to every canton [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 34ff.)

The usual semantic role of an indirect object is RECIPIENT as in the examples above, but with verbs like *plaſchaj* ‘please’ or *fá plaſchaj* ‘make pleasure’, the semantic role is EXPERIENCER as in (234 and 235).

- (234) A quaj plaſchéva nuéta pròpi da mé.
and DEM.UNM please.IMP.3SG nothing really DAT 1SG
‘And I really didn’t like that.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 378)
- (235) A quaj fò adina da mé ... plaſchaj.
and DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG always DAT 1SG pleasure.M.SG
‘And this is always a ... pleasure for me.’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 112)

Da as a dative marker is also reported for the Surmiran dialect of Marmorera (236 and 237).

- (236) Ja da detg da mia sora tgi la
1SG have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT POSS.1SG.F.SG sister COMP 3SG.F
vegna no.
come.PRS.SBJV.3SG here
‘I told my sister to come here.’ (Surmiran, Marmorera, DRG 5: 19)

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (237) Ja do(u)m in mail da chel umfant.
 1SG give.PRS.1SG INDEF.M.SG apple DAT DEM.M.SG child
 'I give an apple to this child.' (Surmiran, Marmorera, DRG 5: 19)

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

4.3.1 Locative adjuncts

Locative arguments are realised as adverbs or combinations of adverbs, as noun phrases, or as adpositional phrases. The latter are formed with simple or complex prepositions as well as with circumpositions.

Adverbs are either simple or combinations of adpositions as well as combinations of adpositions with adverbs; very frequent are also combinations of adverbs.

Simple adverbs are *cò* 'here', *daspèras* 'next to it', *drétg* 'right', *gljunsch* 'far away' (238), *lò* 'there', *nagljú* 'nowhere', *saniastar* 'left' (239), *tschò* 'here'¹⁴, and *zanú/zanúa* 'somewhere' (241).

- (238) [...] al bùrdi stèva ò ualти gljunsch, quaj
 DEF.M.SG load stand.IMPF.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM
 balantschava in téc.
 roll.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG bit
 '[...] the load was sticking out quite a lot, it was rolling a bit.' (Ruèras,
 m10, l. 1064f.)

- (239) A lura ... quaj è grat stau in téc,
 and then DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG just COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
 quèls mavan tut saniastar sén via.
 DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL completely left.ADJ.UNM on road.F.SG
 'And then ... this was just for a bit, they were walking on the very left
 side of the road.' (Ruèras, m10, l. 1111f.)

- (240) [...] ábar savèns è aun da quèls tg' èran
 but often also in_addition of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL
 fumégl tschò né lò.
 farmhand.M.SG here or there
 '[...] but often also one of those that were farmhands here and there.'
 (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2184f.)

¹⁴ *Tschò* 'here' is usually used together with *lò* 'there'; see example (240).

4 Verb phrase

- (241) A ... api sè lu capitau ... mù gè quaj cu
 and and be.PRS.3SG then happen.PTCP.UNM but yes DEM.UNM when
 'l vèva sjatòntanùv òns circa, sè 'l
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG seventy-nine year.M.PL around be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 zanúa para i è ruclaus.
 somewhere seem.PRS.3SG EXPL also fall.PTCP.M.SG
 'And ... and then it happened, ... well when he was about seventy-nine
 years old, it seems that he also fell down somewhere.' (Sadrún, m4, l.
 626ff.)

Combinations of prepositions or of prepositions with adverbs are e.g. *ajndadájns* 'inside' (< in + inside) (242), *angjù* 'down' (< in + down), *ansé* 'up' (< in + up), *daváuntiar* 'in front' (< in front + towards), *òrdavaun* 'in front' (out + before) (243), *sédangjù* (< up + down), *surangjù* (over + down) (244), *vinavaun* 'farther' (< over + in front).

- (242) Ju spétga té ajndadajns, ajn stiva.
 1SG wait.PRS.1SG 2SG inside in living-room.F.SG
 'I wait for you inside, in the living-room.' (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (243) [...] a lu mava ... in òrdavaun a lu mavan
 and then go.IMPF.3SG one.M in_front and then go.IMPF.3PL
 quèls pòrs tut ajn còrda [...].
 DEM.M.PL pig.PL all in single_file.F.SG
 '[...] and then ... one would move in front and then the other pigs would
 follow in single file [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1356f.)
- (244) A lu èssan nuş i sé api vagní
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up and come.PTCP.M.PL
 şurangjù ad i gjù Tiefenbach.
 over_down and go.PTCP.M.PL down PN
 'And then we went up and came [from] over [the avalanche barriers]
 down and went down to Tiefenbach.' (Ruèras, m10, l. 1023f.)

A special case are *gjùdém* 'at the very bottom' and *séssum* 'upmost', which are a combination of the prepositions *gjù* and *sé* along with the derivational morpheme *-dém* '(down)most', respectively *-sum* '(up)most' (245).

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (245) [...] ad amplanju sé agl ésch cul ... ròlas da
 and fill.PTCP.UNM up DEF.M.SG door with.DEF.M.SG roll.F.PL of
 pupí da tualèta tòcan séssum [...].
 paper.M.SG of toilet.F.SG until very_top
 [...] and filled up the doorway with the ... rolls of toilet paper until the
 very top [...].' (Camischùlas, f6, l.741ff.)

Locative adverbs are also formed by combinations of the demonstrative *quaj* ‘this’ (246), the comparative *plé* ‘more (than)’, and the consecutive *schi* ‘so (that)’ (249). With *plé* the compared element may be explicit (247) or implicit (248).

- (246) Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.M.SG guard of
 survigilònza [...].
 vigilance.F.SG
 ‘And there was ... up there a vigilance guard [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 62f.)
- (247) [...] quèls tg’ èran staj a mèssa èran
 DEM.M.PL REL be.IMPF.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at mass.F.SG COP.IMPF.3PL
 schòn [...] pléndanòragì tga quaj tga nuç èssan, tg’
 already [...] more_out_down than DEM.UNM REL 1PL be.PRS.1PL REL
 als, tg’ als mèls èn galòpaj.
 DEF.M.PL REL DEF.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL gallop.PTCP.M.PL
 ‘[...] those who had attended the mass were already [...] farther down
 than we were, that the, that the mules galloped.’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1123ff)
- (248) [...] lu sè aun dus trajs intarassants lògans ajn cò,
 then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.M three interesting.PL place.PL in here
 ajn Burganèz, qu’ è in tòc pléndanòra [...].
 in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG bit more_out
 ‘[...] there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there, in
 Burganez, this is a little bit more down the valley [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l.
 410ff.)
- (249) [...] la détga di tg’ èrian schindanajn
 DEF.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG COMP COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL so_in
 tg’ i udévian c’ i tucavi da
 COMP 3PL hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL COMP EXPL beat.IMPF.SBJV.3SG of

4 Verb phrase

mjadṣ-dé ajnt Rueras.

noon.M.SG in PN

‘[...] the legend says that they were so deep in the cave that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 448ff.)

Some combinations of adverbs are *cò angjù* ‘down here’ (250), *gjù cò* ‘down here’, and *ò lò* ‘out there’ (251).

- (250) Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.
here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG end no.M.PL
'In the end I don't have any down here.' (Sadrún, f3, l. 90)

- (251) Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú in
out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG
téç quajda d' í par crapa [...].
bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL
'Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit [...].'
(Sadrún, m4, l. 547f.)

The adverbs *cò* ‘here’ and *lò* ‘there’ combine with the prepositions *sé* ‘up’ and *gjù* ‘down’. In the case of *cò* and *sé*, they combine either as *sé cò* (252) or as *cò sé* (253).¹⁵ If one says

- (252) Ju sùn sé cò.
1SG COP.PRS.1SG up here
'I am up here.' (Rueras, m10)

it implies that speaker and hearer are at the same place. If one says

- (253) Ju sùn cò sé.
1SG COP.PRS.1SG here up
'I am up here.' (Rueras, m10)

it implies that the speaker is at a higher place than the hearer. This difference does not exist with *lò sé* (254) and *sé lò* (255), both ‘up there’. According to several consultants, both constructions refer to the same situation; the most common construction is *sé lò*.

¹⁵The syntactic status of *sé* in the combination *cò sé* is not clear to me, because it looks like a postposition. However, there are no postpositions in Tuatschín except in such cases.

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (254) Nuş vèvan da partgirá als tiars, als buéts,
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP MIND.INF DEF.M.PL animal.PL DEF.M.PL boy.PL
 a stèvan lò sé, sé majšès.
 and stay.IMPF.1PL there up up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 'We had to mind the animals, we the boys, and stayed up there, at the
 majšès.' (Cavòrgja, f6, l. 2177ff.)
- (255) Nuş stèvan sé lò, sé majšès.
 1PL stay.IMPF.1PL up there up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 'We stayed up there, at the *majšès*.' (Cavòrgja, f5)

In Tuatschin – as well as in other Romansh varieties – adpositions heading place names or names of important buildings like churches or schools take on a special meaning and will be treated below in this section (see Table 4.28 – Table 4.33).

The following simple prepositions occur in the corpus: a ‘in, to’ (256), *ajn* ‘in, into’, *ajnt/ajnta* ‘in, into’ (257), *amiaz* ‘in the middle of’, *ancùntar* ‘towards’, *antùrn* ‘around’ (258), *avaun* ‘before’ (259), *da* ‘from’ (260), *dadajs* ‘inside’, *dadò* ‘outside’, *davùs* ‘behind’, *gjù* ‘down’, *nùca* ‘by, next to’ (261) and (262), *ò/ora* ‘out’, *sé* ‘up’, *sén* ‘on’, *séssum* ‘on top of’, *spèr* ‘next to’, *sur/su* ‘above’, *sut* ‘under’, *tòca/tòcan* ‘until’, *viars* ‘towards’.

- (256) Ju vòn a tgèsa.
 1SG go.PRS.1SG to house.F.SG
 'I am going home.' (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (257) A la nògj sè 'l gjat vagnús ajnta létg
 and DEF.F.SG night be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG cat come.PTCP.M.SG into bed
 [...].
- 'And at night the cat came into [his] bed [...]' (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966:
 121)
- (258) [...] fatg antùrn in sujèt mataj a méz
 do.PTCP.UNM around INDEF.M.SG rope probably and put.PTCP.UNM
 sé quaj antùrn al vjantar dals pòrs.
 up DEM.UNM around DEF.M.SG belly of.DEF.M.PL pig.PL
 '[...] tied a rope around, and put them around the belly of the pigs.'
 (Sadrún, m6, l. 1383f.)

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- (259) Ju spétga avaun tgèsa.
 1SG wait.PRS.3SG before house.F.SG
 ‘I’m waiting in front of the house.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (260) Èl èra da Zarcúns.
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.3SG from PN
 ‘He was from Zarcuns.’ (Zarcúns, m2)
- (261) [...] prandévan nòssa ... sarvjèta, matévan sé nùca
 take.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG napkin put.IMPF.1PL up where
 la sòr’ Andréa, a lu stgèvan nus raşdá
 DEF.F.SG nun PN and then be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL speak.INF
 ròmòntschi.
 Romansh.M.SG
 ‘[...] [we] would take our ... napkin, would put it next to Sister Andrea,
 and then we were allowed to speak Romansh.’ (Camischùlas, f6, l. 786ff.)
- (262) [...] api vèvanş da partgirá als tiars,
 and have.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP mind.INF DEF.M.PL animal.PL
 mav’ ins lò sédòr ál sit, grat cò nùca
 go.IMPF.3SG GNR there up_out in.DEF.M.SG south just there by
 quèla rùsna tgu a raquintau.
 DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG tell.PTCP.UNM
 ‘[...] and we also had to mind the animals; we would then go up to the
 south, just by that cave I have told about.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 491ff.)

If the referent is known or can be inferred by the hearer, noun phrases introduced by a preposition preclude the use of determiners: *ajn cuşchina*, *nuégl*, *tgòmbra* ‘in the kitchen, barn, bedroom’, *ajnta létg* ‘in bed’, or *avaun tgèsa* ‘in front of the house’.

But if a noun introduced by a preposition refers to an entity that is not known to the hearer, the noun must be modified by the indefinite article (263).

- (263) [...] ‘l è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into in INDEF.F.SG hole
 nùndétga [...].
 awful
 ‘[...] he fell in an awful hole [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 352f.)

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

The noun may be modified by a demonstrative determiner in anaphoric function (264).

- (264) Ajn quèla caplùta sè ajn ina, la quarta
 in DEM.F.SG chapel COP.PRS.3SG in INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fourth
 stazjun da la via da la crusch.
 station of DEF.F.SG way of DEF.F.SG cross
 'In this chapel there is a, the fourth station of Christ's way of the Cross.'
 (Sadrún, m5, l. 1149f.)

If the noun phrase is modified by an adjective, the definite article must occur: *ajn la tgèsa vèglja* 'in the old house' (Büchli 1966: 30). Note that usually the preposition *ajn* and the definite article are fused: *ajn al* → *ajl/ál*, *ajn la* → *ajla/ála*.

Some more examples of bare nouns in prepositional phrases are *ajn caplùta* 'in the chapel' (Büchli 1966: 45), *ajn caplùta da Sòntgaclau* 'in the chapel of St. Nicholas' (Büchli 1966: 45), *ajn stiva* 'in the living room' (l. 1768), *ajn stizún* 'in the shop' (Büchli 1966: 123), *ajn térgja* 'in the alpine hut' (Büchli 1966: 122), *avaun térgja* 'in front of the alpine hut' (l. 2250).

Simple prepositions cannot stand alone, i.e. they cannot function as adverbs. In order to do so, they need a derivational morpheme, which is *an-* in case of *gjù* 'down' and *sé* 'up', and *vid-* with *ajn* 'in(to)' and *ò/or/òra* 'out'. Another possibility to convert *sé* into an adverb is to use *òra* as in *sédòra* 'up'.¹⁶ The adverbial equivalent of *spèr* 'next to' is *daspèras*.

- (265) A ... la duméngja ... als ùmanṣ èn i
 and DEF.F.SG Sunday DEF.M.SG man.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 angjù [...].
 down
 'And ... on Sunday ... the men went down [...]' (Cavòrgja, m7; l. 2221f.)

- (266) A quèla tauna vò vidajn – quaj tgu sùn
 and DEM.F.SG cave go.PRS.3SG into DEM.UNM REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
 staus ajn – vò lò vidajn circa véntgatschún
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five
 mètars, san¹⁷ ins í vidajn da quèla, api
 metre.M.PL can.PRS.3SG GNR go.INF into of DEM.F.SG and

¹⁶Note that in *sédòra*, *òra* does not mean 'out of the valley', see Table 4.32.

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However, *sé* and *gjù* may stand alone in the combination *sé a gjù* ‘up and down’.

¹⁷Standard Sursilvan for *sò ins dí*.

¹⁸ *Bétònaj* is a performance error for *bétònádas*.

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (270) A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG
 sé a gjù [...].
 up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 'And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down
 [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1290f.)

The preposition *ancùntar* constitutes a special case in the sense that it triggers dative with human nouns but not with non-human nouns.

- (271) Cò sjaj vagnú ina fèmna ancùntar
 here be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG woman towards
 li quaj pur [...].
 DEF.DAT.SG DEM.M.SG farmer
 'At this moment a woman came towards this farmer [...]' (Ruèras,
 Büchli 1966: 64)

- (272) Èl è jus ancùntar da la mùma.
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG towards DAT DEF.F.SG mother
 'He went towards his mother.' (Sadrún, m5)

- (273) A lu sgulavan las còcas ò da la cazèta
 and then fly.IMPF.3PL DEF.F.PL small_cake.PL out of DEF.F.SG pan
 ancunt' al tgamín.
 towards DEF.M.SG chimney
 'And then the small cakes flew out of the pan towards the chimney.'
 (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 26)

- (274) Ad ajnaquèla ... sjaj sadèrs ...
 and at_that_moment be.PRS.3SG.EXPL REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM
 ina grònnda lavina gjù da la val Lòndadusa gjù
 INDEF.F.SG huge avalanche down of DEF.F.SG valley PN down
 ancùntar al vitg [...].
 towards DEF.M.SG village
 'And precisely at that moment ... a huge avalanche ... came down from
 the Londadusa valley, down towards the village [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l.
 911ff.)

4 Verb phrase

This is the only case where animacy (human vs inanimate) plays a role in Tuatschin.

Via instead of *vi* ‘over’ is rejected by some informants; it occurs, however, in Büchli (1966) as well as in the oral corpus.

- (275) A lu ségi la cúa ida via da Sòntg
 and then be.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEF.F.SG tail go.PTCP.F.SG over from holy.M.SG
 Antòni gjù a vagi suatju als
 PN down and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG catch_up.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL
 zagríndars ò šùt Bugnaj.
 Yenish.PL out under PN

‘And then the tail went down by [the chapel of] Saint Anthony and caught up the Yenish beneath Bugnei.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

- (276) I èr' in artg šul Rajn via.
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG rainbow on.DEF.M.SG PN over
 ‘There was a rainbow over the Rhine.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 15)

- (277) [...] api mir' al bab via sén mè:
 and look.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father over on 1SG
 ‘[...] and then my father looks over to me.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2255f.)

Complex prepositions are *damanajval da* ‘near’, *navèn da* ‘from’, *ò da/òrd* ‘out of’, *òn* (< *òra ajn* ‘out (in)to’), *vi da* ‘(over) to’.

- (278) Immis, quaj è gjù tschò damanajval da ...
 PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG down down there near of
 Interlaken.
 PN
 ‘Immis, that is down, down there, near ... Interlaken.’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1518f.)
- (279) Tùts ... ò da scùla a fumégl ... a sjantar ad alp
 all.M.PL out of school.F.SG to farmhand.M.SG and after to alp.F.SG
 a navèn dad alp vagnévas pér al davùs mumèn
 and away from alp come.IMPF.2SG.GNR only DEF.M.SG last moment
 a mavaş a scùla.
 and go.IMPF.2SG.GNR to school.F.SG
 ‘All ... out of school to farmhand ... and after this to the alpine pasture and you would only come away from the pasture at the last moment and then you would go to school.’ (Ruèras, m3, l. 1997ff.)

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (280) [...] api sè ... ina da nòssa tgòmbra id'
 and COP.PRS.3SG one.F of POSS.1PL.F.SG room go.PTCP.F.SG
 òn tualèta [...].
 out_in toilet
 ' [...] and then ... one of our room went out to the toilet [...]'
 (Camischùlas, f6, l. 718)
- (281) Las quàtar òrd létg ad í a rimná las
 DEF.F.PL four out_of bed.M.SG and go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEF.F.PL
 vacas ajn stával [...].
 cow.PL in cowshed.M.SG
 'At four o'clock out of bed and go and gather the cows in the cowshed [...]' (Ruèras, m3, l. 2109ff.)
- (282) Surajn è vi da tschèla vart dal Rajn.
 PN COP.PRS.3SG over of DEM.F.SG side of.DEF.M.SG PN
 'Surrein is on the other side of the Rhine.' (Camischùlas, f6)
- The derived adverbs with *-dém* or *-sum* are also used as prepositions.
- (283) Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònnda lavina
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche
 ... a vèva ... déstruí ina grònnda part
 and have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge part
 dl vitg ajntadém Ruèras [...].
 of.DEF.M.SG village uppermost PN
 'Then a huge avalanche went down ... and ... destroyed a big part of the
 village in the upper part of Rueras [...]' (Camischùlas, m6, l. 896ff.)
- (284) A lu schajns adina al ... sòntgèt òdém
 and then say.PRS.1PL.1PL always DEF.M.SG little_chapel out_most
 al vitg.
 DEF.M.SG village
 'And then we always say the ... little chapel at the lowest part of the
 village.' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1152ff.)
- (285) [...] a lu auda 'l las stréjas sé cò, séssum
 and then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost

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la val da Lòndadusa òni clumau:
 DEF.F.SG valley of PN have.PRS.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM

‘[...] and then he hears the witches up there, they called from the uppermost part of the Londadusa valley.’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 903f.)

- (286) Quaj è ina, asch’ ina stazjun amiaz
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG such INDEF.F.SG station amid
 al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al p^has.
 DEF.M.SG pass around or almost on_top DEF.M.SG pass
 ‘This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass,
 approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1025f.)

Circumpositions are e.g. *da N ajn* ‘through N into’ (287), *da N ajnasé* ‘through N up’ (288), *da N òra* ‘from N out’ (289), *da N sé* ‘from N up’, *da N sédòra* ‘from N up’ (290), ‘through N out’, *par N antùrn* ‘around’, *spèr N vi* ‘next to N over’ (291), *ṣùt N ajn* ‘under N in(to)’, *ṣùt N gjù* ‘under N down’.

In circumpositions, the preposed element *da* often refers to SOURCE (‘from’) (289) or to PATH (‘through’) (287).

- (287) [...] a mava da la pòrta a da las rémas ajn
 and go.IMPF.3SG from DEF.F.SG door and from DEF.F.PL crack.PL in
 ajn clavau.
 in barn

‘[...] and [the hay] came into the barn through the door and the cracks.’
 (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 121)

- (288) [...] sau bétg c’ ju sùn ida da
 know.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG when 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG from
 la val Strém ajnasé [...].
 DEF.F.SG valley PN in_up
- ‘[...] I don’t know when I went up the Strem valley [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 83f.)

- (289) Cu i òn purtau la bara ò da tgèsà,
 when 3PL have.PRS.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG coffin out of house.F.SG
 mirav’ èl da fanèstr’ òra.
 look.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M from window out
- ‘When they carried the coffin out of the house, he was looking out of the window.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 123)

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (290) Avaun, navèn da Realp essan nuş i dad ina
 before away from PN be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from INDEF.F.SG
 ... dad in ... trùtg sédòra tòcan sésúr las
 from INDEF.M.SG footpath up until up_over DEF.F.PL
 lavinèras [...].
 avalanche_barrier.PL

'Before, from Realp we went on a footpath [which lead us] above the avalanche barriers [...]' (Ruèras, m10, l. 1016ff.)

- (291) Cu 'l è vagnús a tgèsa la sèra
 when 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to house.F DEF.F.SG afternoon
 spèr ina gronda prajt-crap vi, ò 'l
 next_to INDEF.F.SG big rock_face over have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 schau dá la sagir şu la prajt-crap gjù
 let.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG saw under DEF.F.SG rock_face down
 [...].

'When in the evening he came back home, passing a huge rock face, he let the saw fall down under the rock face [...]' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 135)

One consultant uses the verb *i* 'go' without a preposition in the case of *majṣès* (292 and 293). The others use either *a* 'to' or *sé* 'up' in such cases (294).

- (292) [...] ábar avaun c' al tjams dad alp èri lu
 but before DEF.M.SG time of alp be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then
 aun dad í majṣès ... culs tiars.
 in_addition to go.INF assembly_of_houses with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL
 '[...] but before going to the summer pastures one had to go to the *majṣès* with the animals.' (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2268f.)

- (293) Scadín cas, quaj èra schòn ... ah ... in
 each.M.SG case dem.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG indeed eh indef.M.SG
 désidéri, savaj í majṣès a durmí sé lò.
 longing can.INF go.INF assembly_of_houses and sleep.INF up there
 'In any case, this was indeed ... eh ... a longing, be able to go to the *majṣès* and sleep up there.' (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2173f.)

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- (294) A las fèmnas stèv' ins aun gidá a
 and def.F.PL woman.PL must.IMPF.3SG GNR moreover help.INF at
 tgèsa a cu 'ls ùmans mavan lu a ...
 home.F.SG and when DEF.M.PL man.PL go.IMPF.3PL then and
 mavan aj lu a **majṣès** [...].
 go.IMPF.3PL 3PL then to assembly_of_house.M.SG

'And the women one had to help them at home and when the men would then go and ... would then go up to the *majṣès* [...]' (Ruèras, f4, l. 1890ff.)

In Tuatschin – as well as in other Romansh varieties – locative arguments referring to place names and buildings etc. are very important.¹⁹ When the speaker is located in the Tujetsch valley, he or she must indicate whether they go down the valley (ò ‘out’), up the valley (*ajnta* ‘into’), outside the valley (ò ‘out’ or *gjù* ‘down’), or over to a place (*vi*), usually seen from the speech act place. If she or he is outside the valley and goes into the valley, they must decide whether they use *sé* (‘up’) or *ajn* (‘into’).²⁰

Table 4.28 shows the prepositions used when the speaker is located or moves within the Lower Valley (which starts in Bugnei and ends in Dieni), and Table 4.29 the prepositions used when going to the other side of the Rhine or to the Medel Valley.

Table 4.28: Locatives I

	Bugnaj	Sadrún	Camischùlas	Ruèras	Diani
Bugnaj	→ —	<i>ajnta</i>	<i>ajnta</i>	<i>ajnt</i>	<i>ajnta</i>
Sadrún	→ ò	—	<i>ajnta</i>	<i>ajnt</i>	<i>ajnta</i>
Camischùlas	→ ò	ò	—	<i>ajnt</i>	<i>ajnta</i>
Ruèras	→ ò	ò	ò	—	<i>vi</i>
Diani	→ ò	ò	ò	ò	—

The preposition *gjùn* is a combination of *gjù* ‘down’ and *ajn* ‘in(to)’ because *cavòrgja* means ‘canyon’, hence ‘down’ and ‘into’. As for *vin*, a combination of *vi* ‘over’ and *ajn* ‘in(to)’, this preposition is used because to go to the Val Medel one has to cross a pass, hence *vi*, and go into the valley, hence *ajn*.

¹⁹ See Ebneter (1994: 4-126) for Standard Sursilvan and other Romansh varieties.

²⁰ The exact location of the place names mentioned in this section can be seen in Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3, §1.3.

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

Table 4.29: Locatives II

		Sadrún	Surajn	Cavòrgja	Méjdal	Curaglja
Sadrún	→	—	gjù/vi	gjùn	vin	vi
Surajn	→	sé/vi	—	gjùn	vin	vi

Table 4.30 shows the prepositions used when going to or coming from the Upper Valley as well as to the bordering canton of Uri with two villages which have a Romansh name, namely *Ursera* (*Andermatt* in German) and *Caşchinutta* (*Göschenen* in German).

Table 4.30: Locatives III

		Sèlva	Tschamùt	Ursèra	Caşchinùta	Uri
Sadrún	→	ajnta	sé/sén	vid	vi	vi gl
Surajn	→	sé	sén	vid	gjù	vi gl

Table 4.31: Locatives IV

		Tschamùt	Sèlva	Ruèras	Sadrún	Bugnaj
Tschamùt	→	—	gjù	òragjù	òragjù	òragjù
Sèlva	→	sén	—	òragjù	òragjù	òragjù

Table 4.31 shows the prepositions used inside the Upper Valley and going from the Upper Valley into the Lower valley.

Table 4.32: locatives V

		Mumpé Tujètsch	Ségnas	Mustajr	Surajn/Sumvitg	Trùn
Sadrún	→	ò	ò	ò	gjù	gjù
Sadrún	←	ajnta	ajnta	ajnta	sé	sé

Table 4.32 shows the prepositions used when going from Sedrun outside the Tujetsch valley or going from outside into the valley. The first village outside the

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Tujetsch valley is Mompé Tujetsch, and the last considered here is Trun, which is still located in the Surselva. The villages until Mustér are treated as if they still belonged to the Tujetsch valley (295).

- (295) Lu sèn quèls da Sadrún i da las
then be.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL of PN go.PTCP.M.PL from DEF.F.PL
Cavòrgjas òra a staj ò Mustajr avaun ca 'ls
PN out and COP.PTCP.M.PL out PN before DEF.M.PL
zagríndars.
Yenish.PL

'Then the people of Sedrun passed Cavorgia and were in Mustér before the Yenish.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

The combinations of *cò* 'here' with *òra* and *ajn* (realised *quòra* and *quajn*) have two meanings: either 'here (down or up the valley)', or 'outside (in direction down or up the valley)' (296–298).

- (296) Quòra ò Mustajr sjaj bi.
here_out out PN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL beautiful.ADJ.UNM
'Here in Mustér (down the valley) it is nice.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (297) Quaj è quòra, òn Cavòrgja.
DEM COP.PRS.3SG here_out, out_in PN
'This is here (in direction down the valley), in Cavorgia.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (298) Ju spétga té quòra.
1SG wait.PRS.1SG 2SG here_out
'I'm waiting for you outside (the house) (in direction down the valley).'
(Cavòrgja, f1)

The villages and cities from Trun downwards are all modified by the preposition *gjù* if they are relevant to the speakers, as is Chur or Zürich (299). If they are not relevant to them, the preposition *a* 'to, in' is used.

- (299) Ju vòn gjù Turitg²¹.
1SG go.PRS.1SG down PN
'I am going (down) to Zurich.' (Cavòrgja, f1)

²¹The pan-Romansh form *Turitg*, written *Turich* in the Ladin varieties, most probably derives, not from its Swiss German form *Züri*, but most probably from its Latin form *Turicum*.

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

Regarding the lateral valleys of the Tujetsch valley, most speakers use *ajn* ‘in(to)’ (300), but some use *sé* (301).

- (300) Ju mòn ajn Val Gjuf, ajn Val Val.
 1SG go.PRS.1SG into valley PN into valley PN
 ‘I go into the Gjuv valley, into the Val valley.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (301) Ju mòn sé Val Gjuv, sé Val Val.
 1SG go.PRS.1SG up valley PN up valley PN
 ‘I go into the Gjuv valley, into the Val valley.’ (Sadrún, m6)

When coming from the lateral valleys, *ajnagjù* or *òragjù* is used (302).

- (302) [...] in ... tga stèva ajnasé Gjuf ábar vaj
 one.M REL live.IMPF.3SG in_and_up PN but have.SBJV.PRS.3SG
 gju da vagní navèn da Gjuf tòcan òragjù ... Zarcúns
 have.PTCP.UNM to come.INF from of PN until out_down PN
 [...].

‘[...] one ... that lived up in Gjuf, but who had to come down from Gjuf to ... Zarcuns [...].’ (Sadrún, m2, l. 1475ff.)

Dadajns and *dadò* in combination with a place name or another reference point (e.g. a church, a school, or a bridge) means that the subject of the sentence is located outside the place or away from the reference point, in the direction up or down the valley (303–308).

- (303) Ju sùn dadajns Ségnas.
 1SG COP.PRS.1SG from_in PN
 ‘I am outside Segnas, in the direction of the Tujetsch valley.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (304) Ju sùn dadò Ségnas.
 1SG COP.PRS.1SG from_out PN
 ‘I am outside Segnas, in the direction of Mustér.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (305) Nus vèvan nòssa scùla ajn Sùtcrèstas, qu’
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG school in PN DEM.UNM
 è dadajns Sèlva [...].
 COP.PRS.3SG from_in PN
 ‘We had our school in Sutcrestas, this is outside Selva [in the direction up the valley] [...].’ (Sèlva, f2, l. 923f.)

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- (306) [...] Nacla, quaj é ... dadajns ... Surajn, fòrza végn
 PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more_back PN maybe twenty
 minutas vidajn.
 minute.F.PL into

‘[...] Nacla, this is ... farther behind ... Surrein, maybe twenty minutes farther behind.’ (Sadrún, m5, l. 589f.)

- (307) [m3] Sas tgé quaj vut dí? Quaj
 know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM
 è ljung, quaj è sé Miléz, Şcharinas.
 COP.PRS.3SG long.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG up PN PN
 [m4] Sé Miléz, dadajns Miléz ...
 up PN in PN

‘[m3] Do you know what this means? This is a long way, this is up at Milez, Scharinas. [f4] Up at Milez, to the west of Milez ...’ (Ruèras, m3 and f4, l. 1948ff.)

- (308) Lu ò 'l vju òragjù dadòr Camischùlas
 then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M see.PTCP.UNM out_down outside PN
 sén in prau ina familja tga sùlvèva.
 on INDEF.M.SG field INDEF.F.SG family REL have_breakfast.IMPF.3SG
 ‘Then he saw down there, outside Camischolas [in direction down the valley], a family which was having breakfast in a field.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 139)

As mentioned, the reference point does not have to be a village or a town; in (309) it is the bridge over the Drun river. In order to explain to me the meaning of *dadajns*, my consultant told me when we were in the Krüzli hotel:

- (309) Nuş duş èssan dadajns la pùn.
 1PL two.M COP.PRS.1PL from_in DEF.F.SG bridge
 ‘The two of us are away from the bridge [in the direction up the valley].’
 (Sadrún, m5)

Table 4.32 shows the prepositions that are used with the neighbouring countries (Italy, Germany, Austria, France) or regions (Bavaria).

The adverbs follow the same rules as the prepositional phrases. In (310) the speech act participants are in Sedrun and *vidòr* ‘down the valley’ is used because the hearer will go to Naclas (referred to as *ajn lò* ‘up there’) and the speaker wants the hearer to come back to Sedrun.

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

Table 4.33: Locatives VI

	Italja	Tjaratudèstga	Baviara	Austrja	Fròntscha
Tujétsch →	<i>gjù l' ajn</i>		<i>òn</i>	<i>ò l'</i>	<i>ajn</i>

- (310) «Té nò lu vidòr ùssa. Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma
2SG come.IMP.2SG then down now there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG
lu bigja ajn lò.»
then NEG in there
'Come down here now. Don't sleep up there this evening.' (Ruèras, m4; l.595f.)

Sometimes the combination of locative adverbs do not refer to the direction up or down the valley. This is the case e.g. with *sédòra* in (311).

- (311) A sjantar c' ins mava, sch' mav' ins sél
and after SUBORD GNR go.IMPF.3SG then go.IMPF.3SG GNR on.DEF.M.SG
Albsu cul trèn, a quaj custav' in franc
PN with.DEF.M.SG train and DEM.UNM cost.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG franc
dad í sédòra.
SUBORD go.INF up_out
'And after this, if one went, one would go up to the Albsu [pass] by train
and this cost one franc to go up there.' (Ruèras, m1; l. 225ff.)

In this example *sé* means 'up', however *òra* does not mean 'down the valley' but 'outside'. As a matter of fact, *òra* refers to the fact that the Albsu pass is not a village where one could be inside, but an open space. The opposite of *sédòra* in such a context is *sédajn* 'up and into', as in (312).

- (312) Èls ajn i sédajn ajn tgèsa.
3PL.M be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.UNM up_into into house.F.SG
'They went up into the house.' (Sadrún, m5)

4.3.2 Temporal adjuncts

Temporal arguments consist of adverbs, noun phrases, as well as prepositional and, exceptionally, of postpositional phrases. In this section are also included

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arguments that quantify the situation a verb refer to, like ‘every day’, ‘many times’, or ‘often’.

The calendar is divided in the following way: *tschantanè* ‘century’, *òn* ‘year’, *majns* ‘month’, *jamna* ‘week’, and *dé* ‘day’.

The names of the months are *şchanè*, *favrè*, *mars*, *avrél/avrèl*, *matg*, *zarcladur*, *fanadur*²², *uést* (2 syllables), *satjámbar*, *óctòbar*, *nòvèmbar*, and *dècèmbar*.

The names of the days are *gljéndisdí*s (m), *mardís* (m), *masjamna* (f), *géyja* (f), *vèndardís* (m), *sònда* (f), and *dumèngja* (f).

The day is divided as follows: *damaun* (f) ‘morning’, *avaunmjads-dé/avaunmjads-dé* (m) ‘morning’ (literally ‘before noon’), *mjads-dé* (m) ‘noon’, *sjantarmjadşdé* (m) ‘afternoon’, *sèra* (f) ‘afternoon, evening’, *nòtg* (f) ‘night’, and *mjasanòtg* (f) ‘midnight’.

Note that *bian dé*, literally ‘good day’, is used as a greeting until approximately twelve o’clock; after this, *buna sèra* is used. *Buna nòtg* ‘good night’ is used when taking leave.

The parts of the day are expressed as follows if they include the day of speech: *òz andamaun* ‘this morning’, *òz sjantarmjadş-dé* ‘this afternoon’, *quèsta sèra* ‘this afternoon, this evening’, *quèsta nòtg* ‘tonight’.

Time adverbs are *adina* ‘always’, *avaun* ‘before’, *baud* ‘early’, *daditg* ‘a long time ago’, *damaun* ‘tomorrow’, *dantaun* ‘meanwhile’, *ditg* ‘long, a long time’, *djantarajn* ‘in between’, *ér* ‘yesterday’, *grad* ‘just’, *magari* ‘sometimes’ (313), *maj* ‘never’, *mintgataun* ‘sometimes’ (314), *òn* ‘last year’, *òrdavaun* ‘in advance’, *òz* ‘today’, *özaldé* ‘nowadays’, *savèns* ‘often’, *stjarsas* ‘the day before yesterday’, *puschmaun* or *surdamaun* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *tard* ‘late’, *uòn* ‘this year’, *ùs/ùssa* ‘now’, *vònzungaj* ‘later’ (315), *zacú/zacuras* ‘someday’.

- (313) Álsò ins mava par èxèmpal è magari gjù Lucèrn,
 well GNR go.IMPF.3SG for example.M.SG also sometimes down PN
 prquaj tga nuş vèvan gjù Lucèrn còlegs tga
 because SUBORD 1PL have.IMPF.1PL down PN colleague.M.PL REL
 stèvan gjù lò.
 stay.IMPF.3PL down there

‘Well, we would also go for instance to Lucerne because in Lucerne we had friends who lived down there.’ (Sadrún, m9, l.1851ff.)

²² *Zarcladur* and *fanadur* are the only old names of the months that still are in use; they are derived from the verbs *zarclá* ‘weed’ and *faná* ‘hay’.

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (314) Mintgataun mavan nus èra ... plas pitgògnas
 sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also around.DEF.F.PL steep_slope.PL
 a cavá cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi
 SUBORD dig.INF crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL and
 vignévan nus halt in téc tart.
 come.IMPF.1PL 1PL simply INDEF.M.SG bit late

'From time to time we would also ... go farther up to extract crystals instead of looking after the goats, and then we would come back a bit late.' (Surajn, f5, l. 1261ff.)

- (315) Api vònza^j vau tartgau, ah ju a
 and later have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM eh 1SG have.PRS.1SG
 in' idéa [...].
 INDEF.F.SG idea

'And after a while I thought, eh, I have an idea [...]' (Sadrún, m8, l. 1458f.)

Time prepositions, simple or compound, are *ancùntar* 'towards' (316), *avaun/avaun ca* 'before, ago' (320), *da* 'at, during' (317), *durònt* 'during', *sjantar* 'after' (318), and *tòca/tòcan* 'until' (319).

- (316) Api ancùntar sèra, las quàtar, las tschun
 and towards evening.F.SG DEF.F.PL four DEF.F.PL five
 vagnévani sédò puspè ad usché vinavaun.
 come.IMPF.3PL.3PL up_out again and so further
 'And towards evening, at four o'clock, five o'clock they would come up again and so on.' (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2196f.)

- (317) A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always during break.F.SG
 mavans ajn şala da magljè [...].
 go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG COMP eat.INF
 'And then we, the Sursilvan students, would always place [it] during the break [...]' (Camischùlas, f6, l. 785f.)

- (318) A quaj è rastau da mé, a lu ... sjantar
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG remain.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG and then after
 in pèr dis ... vajn nus savju dumigná
 INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF

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quèls pòrs [...].

DEM.M.PL pig.PL

‘And I still remember this, and then ... after a couple of days ... we were able to cope with these pigs [...]’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1354ff.)

- (319) [...] a nuš vevan scùla tòca gl avrél.
 and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL school.F.SG until DEF.M.SG April
 ‘[...] and we had school until April’ (Ruèras, f4, l. 1862f.)

Avaun ca is very rare and only occurs in Büchli (1966) (320).

- (320) [...] lu sèn quèls da Sadrún [...] staj ò Mustajr
 then be.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL of PN COP.PTCP.M.PL out PN
avaun ca ‘ls zagríndars.
 before SUBORD DEF.M.PL Yenish
 ‘[...] then those from Sedrun [...] were in Mustér before the Yenish.’
 (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

Postpositional phrases are very rare in the domain of temporal arguments. In the corpus, there are only two items: *avaun* ‘before’ and *òra* ‘out’, in very restricted contexts such as *al dé avaun* ‘the day before’ (§8.16, line 2203) or *al dé òra* ‘the whole day’ (§8.3, lines 577f., literally ‘the day out’). Note that the construction with *avaun*, in contrast to the one with *òra*, could be considered elliptic: *al dé avaun quaj schabètg* ‘the day before that event’. According to this hypothesis, *avaun* is a preposition but not a postposition.

Noun phrases functioning as temporal arguments can contain a determiner or not. The definite article, singular or plural, is used when the noun phrase refers to a month, a week, or to a day of the week if the time span does not include the moment of speech (321–323).

- (321) La scùla finéva ... al matg ... zarcladur [...].
 DEF.F.SG school end.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG May June.M.SG
 ‘School ended in May ... June [...]’ (Cavòrgja, m7; l. 2165)
- (322) [...] tgi ca vagnéva traplaus stuèva al
 who REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG
 vènàrdís sèra ... stá lò, stgèvan bigj’ í a
 Friday evening stay.INF there be_allowed.IMPF.3PL NEG go.INF to
 tgèsa, api stèvan nuš schùbargè in’ ura zatgéj,
 home.F.SG and stay.IMPF.1PL 1PL clean.INF one.F hour something

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

durmí lò, api stèvan lu í pèr la sònnda
 sleep.INF there and must.IMPF.3PL then go.INF only DEF.F.SG Saturday
andamaun a tgèsa.
 in_morning to home.F.SG

‘[...] the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday evening, they were not allowed to go home, and then they had to clean for more or less one hour, sleep there, and then could only go home on Saturday morning.’ (Camischùlas, f6; l. 693ff.)

- (323) Ajn quèla vègljadétgna, api al pròblèm èra,
 in DEM.F.SG age and DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG
 èra, al pròblèm èra las sòndas a
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL Saturday.PL and
dumèngjas.
 Sunday.PL

‘At that age, and the problem was, was, the problem was on Saturdays and Sundays.’ (Sadrún, m4; l. 528ff.)

Further examples are *l'jamna vargjèda* ‘last week’, *al majns vargjau* ‘last month’, *als davùs òns* (§8.1, line 2) ‘during the last years’, *al davùs mumèn* ‘at the last moment’ (§8.16, line 2069), *la duméngja, sjantar vjaspras* (§8.2, line 197), *la duméngja sjantarmjadş-dé* ‘Sunday afternoon’ (§8.2, line 225), *gl antiar sjantarmjadş-dé* ‘the whole afternoon’ (§8.2., lines 201f.).

If the moment of speech is included, the demonstrative determiner of the *quèst*-series is used (see §3.2.2.3) (324), except for ‘today’, which is rendered by *òz*.

- (324) Ùsa **quèst'** **jamna** vau fatg gròndas turas ...
 now DEM.F.SG week have.PRS.1SG.1SG do.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL tour.PL
 da ... da sis sjat uras [...].
 of of six seven hour.F.PL
 ‘Now this week I did long tours ... of ... of six seven hours [...].’ (Sadrún, f3; l. 110f.)

The full hours of the time of day are referred to by a noun phrase both with (325) or without (326) the preposition *da*. The half hours are indicated without the article (325), and the quarters with the indefinite article as in *in quart avaun las trajs* ‘a quarter to three’ and *in quart vargjau las trajs* ‘a quarter past three’.

4 Verb phrase

- (325) [...] da laş déjšch èri craj né mjasa
 at DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL believe.PRS.1SG or half.F.SG
 laş déjšch èri ruaus [...].
 DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.MSG

‘[...] at ten o’clock it had to be, I believe, or half past nine it had to be quiet [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6; l. 688f.)

- (326) [...] par nuş vèvi adina nùm laş òtg lò.
 for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.MSG DEF.F.PL eight there
 ‘[...] for us it always meant at eight there.’ (Sadrún, m9, l. 1841f.)

Further temporal arguments with determiners that are not articles are *antiar* ‘the whole day’ (327), *bjè jèdas* ‘many times’ (328), *da quaj tjams* ‘at that time’ (§8.15, l. 1921), *mintga dé* ‘every day’ (§8.1, l. 124), or *ana sjatònta* ‘in (19)70’ (§8.2, l. 338).

- (327) Prquaj tga quaj c’ ins vèva bigja grad da
 because SUBORD DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just to
 partgirá tiars sch’ èr’ ins antiar dé cun
 mind.INF animal.M.PL then COP.IMPF.3SG GNR whole.M.MSG day with
 quèls [...].
 DEM.M.PL
 ‘Because when we didn’t just have to mind the animals, we were with them [the Italian workers] the whole day [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 543f.)

- (328) [...] ábar ins èra ... gè, bjè jèdas trésts [...]
 but GNR COP.IMPF.3SG yes many time.F.PL sad.M.PL
 [...] but we were ... yes, many times sad [...].’ (Ruèras, f4, l. 1971)

When referring to the days of the week, bare noun phrases are used (329).

- (329) Nus savasajn gjévjja né dumèngja.
 1PL REFL.see.PRS.1PL Thursday or Sunday
 ‘We’ll see each other on Thursday or Sunday. (Sadrún, m5)’

This is also the case when referring to years, where the dedicated nouns *ana* (before consonant) or *ana d’* (before vowel) (330) and *andò* are used 331). The regular noun for ‘year’ is *òn*.

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (330) Ad ana d' òtgòntasjat vajn nus gju
 and year.F.SG of eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.UNM
 ina vòtazjun fadarala [...].
 INDEF.F.SG vote federal
 'And in 1987 we had a federal vote [...]' (Sadrún, f3, l. 31f.)
- (331) [...] lu sèn ... in pèr bauns pins,
 then EXIST.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG pair bench.M.PL small yes
 gè, intarassant, gè, a méz
 interesting.ADJ.UNM yes and put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG
 in clutgè ánò véntgòtg tégn ju, gè.
 clock_tower year twenty-eight hold.PRS.1SG 1SG yes
 ' [...] then there are ... some small benches, yes, interesting, yes, and also
 built a clock tower in [19]28 I think, yes.' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1177ff.)

4.3.3 Manner adjuncts

Manner arguments are realised as genuine adverbs, adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-majn*, adjectives, and prepositional phrases.

Adverbs are *bégn* 'well'²³, *mal* 'badly' (332), *nuídís* 'reluctantly' (333), *plaunmjú*²⁴ 'slowly', *quèluisa* 'in such a way', *tschèluisa* 'in that way' (334), *ugèn* 'gladly', *usché/uschéja* 'so', and *zacù* 'somehow' (335).

- (332) Èl lavura mal.
 3SG.M work.PRS.3SG badly
 'He works badly.' (Sadrún, m4)
- (333) A ... la sòrvala dèv' ju schòn nuídís.
 and DEF.F.SG cervelat give.COND.1SG 1SG indeed reluctantly
 'And ... the cervelat I would only give away reluctantly.' (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 238f.)
- (334) Qu' è lu ju tschèluisa tga ca nuş
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM such_way REL SUBORD 1PL
 èssan vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch,
 be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL over_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN

²³In contrast to Standard Sursilvan, Tuatschin distinguishes between *bégn* 'well' and *bèn* 'yes' (*doch* in German or *si* in French): both are realised as *bein* in Standard Sursilvan.

²⁴Forms like *plaunmjú* or *plauntjú*, which refer to first and second person singular, are not used in Tuatschin. *Plaunsjú* is used for all persons.

4 Verb phrase

tg' èssan nus staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quátar tschun
 CORR be.COND.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five
 jamnas.
 week.F.PL

'This happened in such a way that when we returned down [to Surrein] from Pardatsch, then we had stayed there maybe ... four or five weeks.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 478ff.)

- (335) Ábar quaj è clar ... òzaldé
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM nowadays
 végni zacù è ... purşchju daplé.
 PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL somehow also ... offer.PTCP.UNM more
 'But this is clear ... there are somehow also much more possibilities nowadays.' (Sadrún, m9, l. 1804f.)

These adverbs can be modified by other adverbs or by adjectives used adverbially, as is the case of *faruct* 'crazy' in (336).

- (336) Ábar ... ju a fatg faruct ugèn quaj.
 but 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM crazy.ADJ.UNM gladly DEM.UNM
 'But ... I really loved to do that.' (Sadrún, f3, l. 96)

The comparative of *bégn* 'well' is either *plé bégn* (337) or *mégljar*, and the comparative of *mal* 'badly' is *mèndar* (338).

- (337) I vò ònz plé bégn.
 EXPL go.PRS.3SG rather more well
 'I feel rather better.' (DRG 1: 296)
- (338) Èl lavura mèndar tga té.
 3SG work.PRS.3SG worse than 2SG
 'He works worse than you.' (Sadrún, m5)

Derived adverbs with the suffix *-majn* functioning as manner adverbs are relatively rare (339 and 340).

Adjectives are usually derived from their feminine form, as for example in *bian*, *buna* 'good' → *bunamajn* 'almost', but adjectives ending in *-al* or *-ar* are derived from their masculine form (see Spescha (1989: 494), as in *natural* 'natural' → *naturálmajn* 'naturally, of course').

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

- (339) Daváuntiar şaj sé la, l' anada cur' i
 in_front COP.PRS.3SG up DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG year when 3PL
 òn antschiat, ad inş vèz' aun, quaj
 have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM and GNR see.PRS.3SG still DEM.UNM
 bagagjávani gjù ... cun ah, bjè manuálmajn.
 build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down with eh much manual.ADV
 'In front of it there is, eh, the year when they started, one can still see,
 they used to mine this with, ah, a lot manually.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 434ff.)
- (340) Gè, sch' ju mir' anavùs ... quaj è fòrsa sjat,
 yes if 1SG look.PRS.1SG back DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG maybe seven
 ògj òns ... schòn mù gljèz ... savèv' ins í
 eight year.M.PL really only DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG GNR go.INF
 patschíficamajn.
 peaceful.F.SG.ADV
 'Yes, if I look back ... that was maybe seven, eight years [ago] ... only that
 ... one could go peacefully.' (Sadrún, m9, l. 1819f.)

Most of the adverbs that are derived from adjectives function as modal adverbs, which express the attitude of the speaker towards the propositional content of the sentence. Some examples are *atgnamajn* ‘actually’, *bunamajn* ‘almost’, *naturálmajn* ‘naturally’, *vájramajn* ‘really’, and *símplamajn* ‘simply’.

The scarcity of the derived adverbs is due to the fact that Tuatschin very often uses an adjective in adverbial function (see §3.3.4). An example of an adjective functioning as a modal adverb is *pulit* instead of *pulitamajn* in (341).

- (341) [...] a lu ... sjantar in pèr dis ... vajn nus
 and then after INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL
 savju dumigná quèls pòrs ... tga mavan
 can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL
pulit [...].
 proper.ADJ.UNM
 '[...] and then ... after a couple of days ... we were able to cope with these
 pigs ... which would move properly [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1354ff.)

Prepositional phrases functioning as manner arguments are rare; an example is (342).

4 Verb phrase

- (342) Als ùmans mavan cul latg gjù tgèsa a
 DEF.M.SG man.PL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.F.SG milk down home.F.SG and
 quaj èra ... in' ur' a paj bjabégn.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F hour by foot around
 'The men would go home with the milk and that would take them about
 an hour on foot. And in any case ... my father would bring here, in
 addition to the lunch one needed, also cheese and bacon.' (Cavòrgja, m7,
 l. 2198f.)

4.3.4 Further adjuncts

Beneficiary arguments are introduced by the preposition *par/pr* 'for' (343).

- (343) [...] i è stau in tjams tga mavan
 EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time REL go.IMPF.3PL
 sél pas, mávani sé a métar najf pala
 on.DEF.M.SG pass go.IMPF.3PL.3PL up SUBORD put.INF snow for.DEF.F.SG
 ... viafiàr da la Fürca-Albsù.
 railway of DEF.F.SG PN
 '[...] it was a time when they would go up to the pass, they used to go up
 to remove snow for the ... Furka-Alpsu railway line.' (Sadrún, m4, l.
 372ff.)

Causal arguments are introduced by *antrás* 'through' (344) or by *parví da* 'because of' (345).

- (344) A lura ... a lò quaj trùtg èra in ...
 and then and there DEM.M.SG footpath COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG
 trùtgs antrás 'ls lavurs c' i òn
 footpath.M.PL through DEF.F.PL work.PL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL
 fatg la òvra èlectrica.
 make.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG work electric
 'And then ... and there, this footpath was a ... paths were built when
 they built the electric power station.' (Ruèras, m10, l. 1040ff.)
- (345) A lu, parví da la pjaglja, nuş vèvan lu dad í
 and then because of DEF.F.SG wage 1PL have.IMPF.1PL then to go.INF
 ad incassá.
 SUBORD collect.INF
 'And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].'

4.3 Adjuncts of the verb

(Sadrún, m6, l. 1401f.)

Comitative is expressed either by *cun* ‘with’ (346), by *ansjaman/anzjaman* ‘together’ (347), or by *ansjaman cun* ‘together with’ if the argument of *ansjaman* is mentioned (348).

- (346) Té savèssas í cul tat ajn Pardatsch.
 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN
 ‘You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 392f.)
- (347) Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp^hau anzjaman a las
 what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMPF.3PL a_bit together and DEF.F.PL
 ròmòntschas né las tudèstgas, né è dal vitg
 Romansh.F.PL OR DEF.F.PL German..PL OR also of.DEF.M.SG village
 matévani schòn in téc anzjaman.
 put.IMPF.3PL.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit together
 ‘Look! these Italians were a bit together, and the Romansh or the
 Germans, or they put them together even from the [same] village.’
 (Sadrún, f6, l. 758ff.)
- (348) La règína végn cupanada; èla sgùla a
 DEF.F.SG queen PASS.PRS.3SG fertilise.PTCP.F.SG 3SG.F fly.PRS.3SG and
 vò a spaz ansjaman cun in grias [...].
 go.PRS.3SG for walk together with INDEF.M.SG drone
 ‘The queen is fertilised; she flies away and goes for a trip with a drone
 [...].’ (Ruèras, DRG 1: 602)

Some speakers use the form *cun* ‘with’ with /u/ in all cases, and some speakers use /u/ with *cun*, but /ø/ either in all cases or only with contracted forms like *cul* ‘with the (m.sg)’ or *cùlas* ‘with the (f.pl)’.

Instrumental arguments are introduced by *cun* (349); if the argument refers to a material out of which something is made, *òr da* ‘out of’ is used (350).

- (349) Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna stù
 but precisely 1SG say.PRS.1SG always INDEF.F.SG woman must.PRS.3SG
 adina dá cul pal.
 always give.INF with.DEF.M.SG post
 ‘But in fact, I always say that a woman must always hit with a post.’
 (Sadrún, f3, l. 151f.)

4 Verb phrase

- (350) A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò
 and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out
 dal mir, álsò òr dal grép
 of.DEF.M.SG rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.M.SG rock
 òni fatg ina pintga ... sènda [...].
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small path
 ‘And then they made, out of the rock face, this is to say out of the rock
 they made a small ... path [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, l. 1043ff.)

4.4 Negation

Tuatschin possesses two verb phrase negator: *bétga* and its allomorphs *bétg’/bé/bigja/bgja/big’*,²⁵ which is the dedicated negator, and *nuéta* which is less frequently used than *bétga*.

Bétga is located after the finite verb (351), which means that for compound tenses, it is located after the auxiliary verb (352) and for modal verbs heading an infinitive clause, the negator is situated after the modal verb (353).

- (351) Ju sa bé dacù.
 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why
 ‘I don’t know why.’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1465)
- (352) Álsò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssíf
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCP.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM
 [...].
- ‘Well, I didn’t do it in an aggressive way [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1468)
- (353) Ju sa bigj’ í ál’ aua.
 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF into.DEF.F.SG water
 ‘Well, I couldn’t jump into the water.’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1445)

However, in a similar way as with particle verbs (see §4.1.3), the inverted subject (354) and some adverbs like *aun* ‘yet’, *è* ‘also’, *èba* ‘just’, *lu* ‘then’, or *ùs* ‘now’, may intervene between the finite verb and the participle or the infinitive (355–359).

²⁵The form *bé* is usually only used by children and younger people, but very rarely by older people.

4.4 Negation

- (354) Las nòtzjas sa ju bétg danùndar als
 DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL
 gjaniturs, als duš baps prandèvan aj [...].
 parents.PL DEF.M.PL two.M father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG
 'I don't know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took
 them [...]' (Ruèras, m1, l. 265f.)
- (355) [...] avaun c' ju sùn staus tial tat
 before SUBORD 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.MSG at.DEF.M.MSG grandfather
 savèvu da quaj nuét a vèš è bitga
 know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and have.COND.1SG also NEG
 safatg ajn zatgé spazjal.
 REFL.do.PTCP.UNM in something special.M.MSG
 '[...] before I stayed with my grandfather I didn't know anything and I
 wouldn't have noticed anything either.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 336ff.)
- (356) Ál' antschata cu té capèschaş aun bigja
 at.DEF.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG
 quèls ... curjòs plaids tg' èls òn,
 DEM.M.PL strange.PL word.PL REL 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL
 stòs halt dumandá [...].
 must.PRS.2SG.GNR just ask.INF
 'At the beginning when you don't understand yet those ... strange words
 they use, you must just ask [...]' (Camischùlas, f6, l. 825ff.)
- (357) A la sèra èssan nus, stuèvan nuš èba bigj' í
 and DEF.F.SG evening be.PRS.1PL 1PL must.IMPF.1PL 1PL just NEG go.INF
 ad uraş ajnta létg [...].
 at hour.F.PL in bed.M.MSG
 'And in the evening, we went, we didn't have to go to bed early [...]'
 (Sadrún, f6, l. 736f.)
- (358) [...] api sau bigj' ajfach í ál' aua.
 and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF into.DEF.F.SG water
 '[...] I cannot simply jump into the water.' (Sadrún, m8, l. 1453f.)

4 Verb phrase

- (359) Quaj è hald ina détga tgu sa,
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG simply INDEF.F.SG legend REL.1SG know.PRS.1SG
ábar plé gròn savès ju lu è bétga [...]
but more big.M.SG can.COND.1SG 1SG then also NEG
‘This is a legend I know, but a longer one I would not be able [...].’
(Zarcúns, m2, l. 1531f.)

The two elements of *bétga plé* ‘not any more’ are not necessarily immediately adjacent to each other as in (360) where a simple tense is used.

- (360) Álsò ùṣ è ‘l bigja plé òdém al vitg
well now COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG any_more low_most DEF.M.SG village
[...].

‘Well, now it is not at the lowest part of the village any more [...].’
(Sadrún, m5, l. 1194)

If a compound tense is used, *bétga* is situated before the participle and *plé* follows it (361 and 362).

- (361) Èl è bétga jus plé cun quaj catschadur.
3SG be.PRS.3SG NEG go.PTCP.M.SG more with DEM.M.SG hunter
‘[...] he didn’t go with this hunter any more.’ (Tschanüt, Büchli 1966: 12)
- (362) A lu vès ju bitga ugagjau plé da, dad
and then have.COND.1SG 1SG NEG dare.PTCP.UNM more COMP COMP
ira cun èls vinanovaun.
go.INF with 3PL.M farther
‘And then I wouldn’t have dared to, to go farther with them any more.’
(Ruèras, m10, l. 1145f.)

The same holds for modal verbs heading an infinitive phrase, where *bétga* precedes and *plé* follows the infinitive (363) or the infinitive with its particle (364).

- (363) «Ju cala dad í a scùleta, ju pùs
1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG
bitg í plé.»
NEG go.INF any_more
‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’ (Sadrún,
m4, l. 404f.)

4.4 Negation

- (364) [...] òzaldé ... sa ju bigja métar avaun plé tg' i
 nowadays can.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG put.INF before more COMP 3PL
 fòn da gljèz, né?
 do.PRS.3PL of DEM.UNM right
 [...] nowadays ... I cannot imagine any more that they play that, right?
 (Sadrún, m9, l. 1724f.)

In infinitive clauses *bétga* precedes the infinitive (365).

- (365) [...] quaj èssan nuş i sé pr ... pr bitga
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up SUBORD SUBORD NEG
 stuaj ira sé la ... sé la via dad autos, sé la
 must.INF go.INF up DEF.F.SG up DEF.F.SG way of car.M.PL up DEF.F.SG
 via dal pas.
 way of.DEF.M.SG pass
 [...] there we went up in order to avoid the car road, the road of the
 pass.' (Ruèras, m10, l. 1020ff.)

Other elements may intervene between *bétga* and *plé*. (366) shows that this is the case for the particle belonging to the verb *tanaj* 'hold' (*sé*), a manner argument (*bégn*), a nominal direct object (*als praus*), and a locative argument (*cò*).

- (366) I tégnan bétga sé schi bégn als praus cò plé.
 3PL hold.PRS.3PL NEG up so well DEF.M.PL field.PL here any_more
 'Here they don't see to the fields well any more.' (Berther 2007: 69)

Further elements are indirect interrogative clauses (367) or object clauses (368 and 369).

- (367) Ábar ju sa bigja tgé quaj è plé.
 but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG what DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more
 'But I don't know what this is any more.' (Sadrún, m4)
- (368) Als pádars savèvan bétga spatgè plé ditg plé.
 DEF.M.PL Father.PL know.IMPF.3PL NEG wait.INF more long any_more
 'The fathers couldn't wait any longer [...]' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 147)

4 Verb phrase

- (369) Lura lèvani bétga schè fá pástar gròn èla
 then want.IMPF.3PL.3PL NEG let.INF make.INF shepherd big 3SG.F
 plé [...].
 any_more
 ‘Then they didn’t want to let her be the main shepherdess [...] any more.’
 (Cavorgia, Büchli 1966: 119)

Examples (370 and 371) illustrate *mù ... plé* ‘only ... more’, which displays the same syntax as *bétga plé*.

- (370) [...] scha vagi èl mù in cazè plé.
 then have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M only one.M shoe any_more
 ‘[...] then he would have only one shoe left.’ (Tschamüt, Büchli 1966: 15)
- (371) [...] quaj piartg èra jus atrás a
 DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and
 vèva rùt gjù al matg tga
 have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD
 vèva mù la còrda plé antùrn.
 have.IMPF.3SG only DEF.F.SG rope more around
 ‘[...] this pig had gone through and had broken the bunch of flowers so
 that he only had the rope around [his belly].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1395ff.)

‘Not yet’ is rendered *bétg aun* (372 and 373) or *aun bétg* (374).

- (372) Ju vèva **bigja aun** ampríu, ajn scùleta
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG yet learn.PTCP.UNM in nursery_school.F.SG
 amprandèvan nus pauc.
 learn.IMPF.1PL 1PL little
 ‘I hadn’t learned yet, we didn’t learn much in nursery school.’ (Sadrún,
 m6, l. 1371f.)
- (373) Ábar lu èra quaj **bigja aun** schi bjè.
 but then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM NEG yet so much
 ‘But at that time this was not that much yet.’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 10)
- (374) [...] lu èri **aun bigja** turists [...].
 then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet NEG tourist.M.PL
 [...] then there weren’t tourists yet [...].’ (Surajn, f5, l. 1257f.)

4.4 Negation

Nuéta as a verb phrase negator is much less frequently used than *bétga*, but it expresses a stronger negation (375–377).

- (375) A quaj plaſchéva nuéta pròpi da mé.
and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG NEG really DAT 1SG
'And I really didn't like that.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 375)
- (376) Ô quaj pùs té schòn, ûşa quaj è nuéta
oh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG 2SG indeed now DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG
schi nausch.
so bad.ADJ.UNM
'Oh, you are certainly able to do that, now this is not so bad.' (Ruèras, f4,
l. 2973f.)
- (377) Ábar èl vèva par clétg fétg bian saun al
but 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG for luck.M.SG very good.M.SG blood DEF.M.SG
... ò 'l lu nuéta gju còmplicazjuns.
have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then NEG have.PTCP.UNM complication.F.SG
'But fortunately his blood was very good, the ... he then hadn't got any
complications.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 485ff.)

Negative adverbs are *maj* ‘never’ (378), *nagín/nagina* ‘nobody, no’ (pronoun and determiner) (379), *nuét* ‘nothing’ (380), and *nagljú* ‘nowhere’ (381). They never co-occur with *bétga*.

- (378) Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar, sùn maj staus
1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG youngster be.PRS.1SG never COP.PTCP.M.SG
fumégl [...].
farmhand.M.SG
'I was a youngster, I never was a farmhand [...]' (Ruèras, m3, l.1958f.)
- (379) Par í cu té vaš adina ... sè
SUBORD go.INF when 2SG.GNR go.PRS.2SG.GNR always COP.PRS.3SG
quaj ... nagín problèm.
DEM.UNM no.M.SG problem
'In order to go, if one always goes [there] ..., this is ... no problem at all.'
(Sadrún, f3, l. 117f.)
- (380) Al bap ò détg nuét.
DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM nothing
'My father didn't say anything.' (Cavòrgja, f7, l. 2262f.)

4 Verb phrase

Generally speaking, there is no double negation in Tuatschin (381 and 382).

- (381) Ju a vju nagljú zatgéj.
1SG have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.UNM nowhere something
'I haven't seen anything anywhere.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (382) Al gjával ò stju í sènza savaj
DEF.M.SG devil have.PRS.3SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF without know.INF
fá zatgéj.
do.INF something
'The devil had to leave without being able to do anything.' (Bugnaj,
Büchli 1966: 147)

5 Simple sentences

5.1 Declarative sentences

5.1.1 Order of the arguments

Tuatschin has verb-second syntax, which means that if no element of the sentence occurs before the subject, the subject precedes the verb as in (1).

- (1) [...] álsò, [nuʂ] [vajn gju] [ina pintga piaglja]
well 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small salary
[...].

'[...] well, we got a small salary [...]' (Sadrún, m6, 1. 1301f.)

As shown in §4.2.2 above, the indirect object usually precedes the direct object (2).

- (2) Quèl vès lu aun da pijè [da té] [al
DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas partgirau].
money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG look_after.PTCP.UNM

'This one should still pay you the money for the pig you had looked after.'
(Sadrún, m6, 1. 1414ff.)

If there is an element that precedes the subject, the subject is moved after the finite verb as in (3) and (4).

- (3) [Avaun in pèr jamnas] ... èr' [ju] gjù Locarno
before INDEF.M.SG couple week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down PN
[...].

'A couple of weeks ago ... I was in Locarno [...]' (Sadrún, m8, 1. 1431)

5 Simple sentences

- (4) [...] a [sjantar] va [ju] ... cumprau in zacùn.
 and after have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG second
 ' [...] but afterwards I ... bought a second [one].' (Ruèras, m10, l. 992f.)

The coordinating conjunctions *ábar* ‘but’ (5) and *dantaun* (6) ‘however’ do not trigger subject inversion. In contrast, *api* and its shorter form *pi* ‘and, and then’ do trigger it (5, 7 and 8).

- (5) **Api** vau détg èls vágian
 and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 fatg ina tura tschèl' jamna, **ábar** èl
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week but 3SG.M
 vaj quitaú tga quaj séj ...
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG worry.M.SG COMP DEM.UNM COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘And then I said that they had done a tour that week, but that he sees to it
 that this be ...’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 114ff.)
- (6) Ju vagnès schòn, **dantaun** vuš vajs taun tschùf ajn
 1SG come.COND.1SG really however 2PL have.PRS.2PL so_much dirt in
 tgèsa.
 house
 ‘I would come, of course, but you have so much dirt in your house.’
 (Berther 1998: 18)
- (7) Als gjaniturs fagèvan al pur, ad ju èra
 DEF.M.PL parent.PL do.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG farmer and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG
 tschavrèr’ in tjams, ajn l’ antscharta cun
 goatherd.F.SG INDEF.M.SG time in DEF.F.SG beginning with
 mju frá, in òn parsula, **api** stavèv’ ins í
 POSS.1SG.M.SG brother one.M.SG year alone.F.SG and must.IMPF GNR go.INF
 culas tgauras tòca sé Nalps [...].
 with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL until up PN
 ‘My parents were farmers, and I was a goatherd for a certain time, at the
 beginning with my brother, one year alone, and one had to go with the
 goats as far as Nalps [...].’ (Sadrún, f5, l. 1253ff.)
- (8) **Pi** sè ‘l vajramájn staus lò.
 then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M true.F.SG.ADV remain.PTCP.M.SG there
 ‘And it [= the swan] really stayed there.’ (Sadrún, f8, l. 1457)

5.1 Declarative sentences

After subordinating conjunctions there is no subject inversion (9–11).

- (9) La buéba ò détg tg' èla ségi
 DEF.F.SG girl have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 bétga ida vòluntárjamajn, èla stuévi ira.
 NEG go.PTCP.F.SG voluntary.ADV 3SG.F must.IMPF.SBJV.3SG go.INF
 ‘The girl said that she didn't go voluntarily, [but that] she was obliged to go.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)
- (10) [...] api lura va ju in' jèda talafònau dad èl, prquaj
 and then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M because
 tg' èl vèva trmèz in' anunzja da
 COMP 3SG.M have.IMP.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG announcement of
 mòrt [...]
 death.F.SG
 ‘[...] and then I phoned him once, because I should send a death notice [...]’ (Sadrún, f3, 1. 18ff.)
- (11) [...] avaun c' ju sùn staus tial tat
 before SUBORD 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.M.SG grandfather
 savèvu da quaj nuét [...].
 know.IMP.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing
 ‘[...] before I stayed with my grandfather I didn't know anything about that [...]’ (Sadrún, m4, 1. 336f.)

If a subject which would normally be inverted is focalised, it may occur pre-verbally, as *quèls* ‘these’ in (12).

- (12) A lur scha 'l vès ussa pagljau par èxèmpal
 and then if 3SG.M have.COND.3SG now hit.PTCP.UNM for example.M.SG
 in grép tga vès pudju bétar èl, scha
 INDEF.M.SG rock REL have.COND.3SG can.PTCP.UNM throw.INF 3SG.M CORR
 quèls füssan grat schulaj gjù
 DEM.M.PL be.COND.3PL immediately fall_rapidly.PTCP.M.PL down
 ajl' aua, ajl lac.
 into.DEF.F.SG water into.DEF.M.SG lake
 ‘And then if it [the load] hit a rock which could have thrown it down, these [= the mules] would have immediately fallen down rapidly into the water, into the lake.’ (Ruèras, m10, 1. 1066ff.)

5 Simple sentences

The inverted subject is not immediately adjacent to the verb, and in (13) *sagir* ‘sure’ is located immediately after the verb.

- (13) [...] avaun nus èra sagir al tgavrè èra schòn
 before 1PL be.IMPF.3SG sure DEF.M.SG goatherd also already
 jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.
 go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL DEM.M.SG go.IMPF.3SG then also
 ‘[...] before us the goatherd had certainly already gone with the goats, he
 also used to go.’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1317f.)

However, some consultants reject the position of *sagir* in (13). For them, *sagir* should be located between *èra* ‘also’ and *schòn* ‘already’.

The subject pronoun is usually obligatory in Tuatschin, but the omission of the subject may occur in subordinated and coordinated clauses if it can be recovered from the context (14 and 15).

- (14) Avaun ina fjasta mavan aj ... tialas ...
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL
 gjufnas ... par nèglà, partgé __ matévan sé sé
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because SBJ put.IMPF.3PL up up
 la capjala ... ina nèglà.
 DEF.F.SG hat INDEF.F.SG carnation
 ‘Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations,
 because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.’ (Zarcúns, m2, 1.
 1567ff.)

- (15) Al sulèt intarassánt è l' ampréma sacùnda classa
 DEF.M.SG only interesting COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG first second form
 nùca tga __ fòn la midada tial sursilván
 where REL SBJ make.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG change towards.DEF.M.SG Sursilvan
 [...].

‘The only interesting thing is the first [and] second form where they [the pupils] start switching towards Sursilvan [...].’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (16) Lò bagagjávani gjù catschina a barşchavan
 there build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down limestone.F.SG and burn.IMPF.3PL
 grad ela.
 immediately 3SG.F
 ‘There they would mine limestone and burn it immediately.’ (Sadrún, m4,
 l. 420f.)

5.2 Interrogative sentences

5.2.1 Polar questions

Polar questions are characterised by a rising intonation and subject inversion (17).

- (17) Gè, sùnd ju ajn tju taritòri, distùrb' ju té?
 yes COP.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.2SG.M.SG territory disturb.PRS.1SG 1SG 2SG
 ‘Yes, am I in your territory, do I disturb you?’ (Sadrún, m8, l. 1447)

Content questions require the presence of an interrogative word and, like polar questions, exhibit subject inversion. Interrogative pronouns are *cu/cura* ‘when’ (18), *cù* ‘how’ (19), *dacù* ‘why’ (20), *danùndar* ‘where from’ (21), *núa* ‘where’ (22), *partgé(j)* ‘why’ (23), *tgé(j)* ‘what’ (24), *tgé(j)nín/tgé(j)nina* ‘which one’(26), *tgi* ‘who’ (27). The interrogative determiner is *tgé(j)* ‘which, what’(25).

- (18) Cu sè la vagnida?
 when be.PRS.3SG 3SG.F come.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘When did she come?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (19) Cù détsch ju? Gjù Sardégna?
 how say.PRS.1SG 1SG down PN
 ‘How do I say? Down Sardinia?’ (Ruèras, f7, l. 1685)
- (20) Dacù as té fatg quaj?
 how have.PRS.2SG 2SG do.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
 ‘Why did you do this?’ (own knowledge)
- (21) Danùndar èn èls vagní?
 where_from be.PRS.3PL 3PL come.PTCP.M.PL
 ‘Where did they come from?’ (own knowledge)
- (22) Núa ajs staus?
 where be.PRS.2SG COP.PTCP.M.SG
 ‘Where have you been?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (23) Prtgéj fas quaj?
 why do.PRS.2SG DEM.UNM
 ‘Why do you do this?’ (Sadrún, m5)

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- (24) Tgéj lajn fá avaun c' í a raschlá?
 what want.PRS.1PL do.INF before REL go.INF COMP rake.INF
 'What shall we do before going to rake?' (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 121)
- (25) Tgéj tgamišcha as cumprau?
 which shirt.F.SG have.PRS.2SG buy.PTCP.UNM
 'Which shirt did you buy?' (Sadrún, m5)
- (26) Tgéjnina as cumprau?
 which_one have.PRS.2SG buy.PTCP.UNM
 'Which one did you buy?' (Sadrún, m5)
- (27) Tgi ò malagjau quaj malètg?
 who have.PRS.3SG paint.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG picture
 'Who painted this picture?' (Sadrún, m5)

Indirect interrogative clauses will be treated in §6.2.10 below.

5.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences may or may not lack a subject. If they have one, it may precede (28) or follow the verb (29).

- (28) «Té nò lu vidòr ússa. Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma
 2SG come.IMP.2SG then down now there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG
 lu bigja ajn lò.»
 then NEG in there
 'Come down here now. There, don't sleep up there this evening.'
 (Sadrún, m4, l. 616f.)
- (29) Ah uòn nò té ajnta Pardatsch.
 eh this_year GO.IMP.2SG 2SG into PN
 'Ah, this year go to Pardatsch.' (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2190f.)

There are some more elements that may precede an imperative: an indirect object (30) and the adverb *mù* 'only, just' (31).

- (30) Gè, da mé daj è ina
 yes DAT 1SG give.IMP.2SG also INDEF.F.SG
 'Yes, give me also a' (Ruèras, m3, l. 2020)

5.3 Imperative sentences

- (31) [...] mù spétga ...
 only wait.IMP.2SG
 ' [...] just wait.' (Ruèras, m3, l. 2090)

In prohibitive sentences, the negator *bétga* and its allomorphs precede the imperative (32). But if some elements precede the imperative as in (28), the negator follows it.

- (32) Bétg tumaj!
 NEG be_afraid.IMP.2PL
 'Don't be afraid!' (DRG 2: 503)

Reflexive verbs use the prefix *sa-* in the imperative (33) as in all other tenses, moods, and non-finite categories.

- (33) Sapartgiraj dals bètlars cu tgi von a
 REFL.beware.IMP.2PL of.DEF.M.PL beggar.PL when REL.3PL go.PRS.3SG on
 tgavaj.
 horse.M.SG
 'Beware of the beggars when they ride.' (DRG 2: 327)

If a stative verb forms an imperative, subjunctive mood is used, like *vajas* 'have subjunctive 2PL' in (34).

- (34) Vajas quitaus cu vus majş sur la lingja via
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.F.SG line over
 ... dal dşuc, dal zùc.»
 of.DEF.M.SG train.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG train
 'Be careful when you cross the railway line, the railway line.' (Ruèras, m1,
 l. 204f.)

The hortative is formed with the first person plural present of the verb *vulaj* 'want', *lajn* 'let's', and the infinitive (35 and 36).

- (35) Ad ùs stù 'l bunamajn vagní a métar èls;
 and now must.PRS.3SG 3SG.M really come.INF SUBORD put.INF 3PL.M
 quaj è tut, lajn dí, fantasia [...].
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all IMP.1PL say.INF fantasy.F.SG
 'And now he must really come and put them [in the right place]; this is
 all, let's say, fantasy [...]' (Sèlva, f2, l. 946f.)

5 Simple sentences

- (36) Lajn còj quèla tgarn.
 IMP.1PL cook.INF DEM.F.SG meat
 ‘Let’s cook this meat.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

Optative meaning is conveyed by the subjunctive (37), as the stative verbs do.

- (37) Djus banadèschi a carschjanti!
 God bless.PRS.SBJV.3SG and thrive.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘May God bless [it] and make [it] thrive!’ (DRG 5: 649)

5.4 Exclamative sentences

Exclamative sentences are formed with the interrogative pronouns *cù* ‘how’ (38) or *tgéj* ‘what’ (39).

- (38) Jeusas, cù quaj brišcha!
 EXCL how DEM.UNM burn.PRS.3SG
 ‘Jee, how it burns!’ (DRG 2: 215)
- (39) Míu frá schèva aun ér: «Tgé té pùs!»
 POSS.1SG.M.SG brother say.IMP.3SG still yesterday what 2SG can.PRS.2SG
 ‘My brother said not later than yesterday: «[Incredible that you still]
 have the strength [to do that]!»’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 113)

5.5 Voice

5.5.1 Reflexive

In Tuatschin, reflexive voice is formed with the prefix *sa-* in all finite and non-finite categories. The Sursilvan norm stipulates that the auxiliary verb be *èssar* ‘be’, and in the corpus it is mostly so (40–42); however, *vaj* ‘have’ is not rare (43–45).¹

- (40) [...] ju [...] sa-spruava dad èssar ruassajvals [...].
 1SG REFL-try.hard.IMP.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG
 ‘[...] I [...] tried hard to remain calm [...].’ (Sadrún, m10; l. 1070f.)

¹According to the DRG (1: 568), the choice of *esser* as auxiliary verb for reflexives in Sursilvan is due to the demand of Sursilvan grammarians since the 18th century. Nowadays speakers seek to conform to this claim, but in spoken Sursilvan, one still can find *haver* as auxiliary for reflexive verbs, as is the case in Tuatschin.

5.5 Voice

- (41) Lu sùnd ju sa-dacidjus da ... raşdá in
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL-decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.MSG
 pau şur da la ... da mi' ufaunza [...].
 little over of DEF.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood
 'Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood [...]' (Sadrún, m4; l. 316f.)
- (42) Al tat, scù la mùma ò raquintau,
 DEF.M.SG grandfather as DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG tell.PTCP.UNM
 è sa-príus ajn quaj schi starmantús
 be.PRS.3SG REFL-take.PTCP.M.SG in DEM.UNM so terrible.ADJ.UNM
 tga 'l è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna
 SUBORD 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into into INDEF.F.SG hole
 nundétga, ad ò lu stu í a fá
 awful and have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF COMP make.INF
 cura, mass' òns, a ... sjantar lu
 treatment.F.SG many year.M.PL and after then
 sa-ravagnús ábar maj pròpi staus ajn gamba.
 REFL-come_again.PTCP.M.SG but never really COP.PTCP.M.SG in leg.F.SG
 'My grandfather, as my mother told [me], took this so seriously that he
 fell in an awful hole, and for many years he had to go to a health resort,
 and ... after that he recovered, but he was never really well.' (Sadrún, m4;
 l. 350ff.)
- (43) [...] avaun c' ju sùn staus tial tat
 before COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.M.SG grandfather
 savèvu da quaj nuét a vès è bitga
 know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and have.COND.1SG also NEG
 sa-fatg ajn zatgé spazjal.
 REFL-do.PTCP.UNM in something special.M.SG
 '[...] before I stayed with my grandfather I didn't know anything and I
 wouldn't have noticed anything either.' (Sadrún, m4; l. 336ff.)
- (44) Ju a maj gju pròblèm- èl
 1SG have.PRS.1SG never have.PTCP.UNM problem.M.SG 3SG.M
 vès maj sa-vilau cun mè né anzatgéj
 have.COND.3SG never REFL-get_angry.PTCP.UNM with 1SG or something

5 Simple sentences

[...].

‘I have never had a problem – he would never have got angry at me or something like that [...].’ (Sadrún, m4; l. 614ff.)

- (45) Als fildiròms òn sa-pagljau ajnt.
 DEF.M.PL wire.PL have.PRS.3PL REFL-touch.PTCP.UNM in
 ‘The wires touched each other.’ (DRG 6: 321)

5.5.2 Reciprocal

Reciprocal voice is formed with *in ... l'autar / ina ... l'autra* ‘the one ... the other’ (46 and 47).

- (46) Ad èlas duas ábar ancanùschévan ... in' I' autra ad
 and 3PL.F two.F.PL but know.IMPF.3PL one.F.SG DEF.F.SG other and
 ju lu halt bérgja.
 1SG then in_fact NEG
 ‘But these two already knew ... each other but I didn't.’ (Camischùlas, f6, l. 765f.)
- (47) Nus vajn dau in cùdisch in da
 1PL have.PRS.1PL give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG book one.ONE.M DAT
 I' autar.
 DEF.M.SG other
 ‘We gave each other a book.’ (Sadrún, m5)

5.5.3 Causative

Causative voice is formed with *fá* ‘make’ (48–51) and *schè/schá*² ‘have something done, let’ (53 and 54) followed by an infinitive. The causee follows the second verb and occurs as a direct object, which is shown by the use of the direct object pronoun *mè* (vs *da* *mé* for the indirect object) in (52). Examples (51) and (52) furthermore show that their construction involves two direct objects.

The analysis of the semantic differences between *fá* and *schè* as causative verbs must be left to further studies.

² *Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form.

5.5 Voice

- (48) [...] i vèvan fatg vagní al caplòn da
 3PL have.IMPF.3PL make.PTCP.UNM come.INF DEF.M.SG chaplain of
 Sèlva par banadí la nibla [...].
 PN SUBORD bless.INF DEF.F.SG cloud
 ‘They’d had the chaplain of Selva come in order to bless the cloud [...].’
 (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 62)
- (49) Als da Sadrún òn vulju fá stá
 DEF.M.PL of Sedrun have.PRS.3PL want.PTCP.UNM make.INF stay.INF
 anavùs la buéba [...].
 back DEF.F.SG girl
 ‘The people of Sedrun wanted to have the girl remain there.’ (Bugnaj,
 Büchli 1966: 131)
- (50) [...] plaunsjú sèni vagní da fá í scha
 slowly be.IMPF.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.INF go.INF since
 vèva ‘l rùt in calum.
 have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG thigh
 ‘[...] they succeeded slowly in having [him] go [to the hospital] since he
 had broken a thigh.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 636f.)
- (51) Ju fétsch fá al cusunz in pèr tgautschas
 1SG make.PRS.1SG do.INF DEF.M.SG tailor INDEF.M.SG pair trousers.M.PL
 pr èl.
 for 3SG.M
 ‘I have the tailor make a pair of trousers for him.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (52) Èl fò fá mè in pèr tgautschas pr
 3SG.M make.PRS.3SG do.INF 1SG.DO INDEF.M.SG pair trousers.M.PL for
 èl.
 3SG.M
 ‘He has me make a pair of trousers for him.’ (Sadrún, m5 and m6)
- (53) I schèvan luvrá fétg.
 3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much
 ‘They had [us] work a lot.’ (Ruèras, f4, l. 1940)
- (54) Èl ò schau savaj la règína quaj.
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG let.PTCP.UNM know.INF DEF.F.SG queen DEM
 ‘He let the queen know this.’ (Sadrún, m5)

5 Simple sentences

Standard Sursilvan possesses the derivational suffix *-entar* which transforms a verb or another syntactic category into a causative. Tuatschin also possesses this suffix, *-antá* in the spelling used in this grammar, but to a very reduced extent. Where Standard Sursilvan has *cuschentar* ‘cause to be quiet’, *fughentar* ‘light a fire’, or *luchentar* (*il tratsch*) ‘loosen (the soil)’, Tuatschin has *fá còschar*, *dá fjuc*, and *fá luc* (*al tratsch*). The causative verbs with *-antá* which occur in the corpus are presented in Table 5.1. These verbs can be derived from verbs, adjectives, or nouns.

Table 5.1: Factitive verbs

<i>bubrantá</i>	‘make drunk’	<	<i>bájbar</i>	‘drink’
<i>buantá</i>	‘water (animal)’	<	<i>bájbar</i>	‘drink’
<i>cuntantá</i>	‘satisfy’	<	<i>cuntjants</i>	‘glad’
<i>durmantá</i>	‘make sleep’	<	<i>durmí</i>	‘sleep’
<i>fimantá</i>	‘smoke’	<	<i>fém</i>	‘smoke (n.)’
<i>luantá</i>	‘melt (tr.)’	<	<i>luá</i>	‘melt (itr.)’
<i>nagantá</i>	‘drown (tr.)’	<	<i>nagá</i>	‘drown (itr.)’
<i>schjantá</i>	‘dry’	<	<i>schétg</i>	‘dry (adj.)’
<i>schlupantá</i>	‘blow up’	<	<i>schlupá</i>	‘explode’
<i>sagljantá</i>	‘blow up’	<	<i>sagli</i>	‘run, jump’

The causative verbs show a stem alternation like in *ju bubrjanta* ‘I make drunk’ (vs *nuš bubrantajn* ‘we make drunk’). The verbs *schjantá* ‘dry’ and *sagljantá* ‘blow’ do not exhibit this alternation because they already have the diphthong *ja* in their stem.

5.5.4 Passive

A dynamic passive is formed with the verb *vagní* ‘come’ and the participle (55–59). A stative passive is formed with the verb *èssar* ‘be’ and the participle (60–62). In both cases the participle agrees with the patient subject if it precedes the passive construction.

- (55) [...] als tiars èn vagní pri òd
 DEF.M.PL animal.PL be.PRS.3PL PASS.PTCP.M.PL take.PTCP.M.PL out_of
 stával a purtaj navèn.
 barn and bring.PTCP.M.PL away
 ‘The animals were taken out of the barn and brought away.’ (Tschemùt,

5.5 Voice

Büchli 1966: 53)

- (56) Èla ségi vagnida tratga cun
 3SG.F COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG come.PASS.PTCP.F.SG pull.PTCP.F.SG with
 starmantusa fòrza [...].
 tremendous.F.SG power
 '[She said that] she had been pulled with tremendous power.' (Bugnaj,
 Büchli 1966: 132)
- (57) [...] nus vagnévan pròpi tanidas a nus stèvan
 1PL PASS.IMPF.3PL really hold.PTCP.F.PL and 1PL must.IMPF.1PL
 amprèndar a nus stèvan schubargè a fá a tùt.
 learn.INF and 1PL must.IMPF.1PL clean.INF and do.INF and all
 '[...] we were really kept [in a strict way] and we had to study and we had
 to clean and do and everything.' (Camischùlas, f6; l. 677ff.)

If the patient subject follows the passive verb, there is no agreement.

- (58) [...] a lò végni fatg mèssa, sunau
 and there PASS.PRS.3SG.EXPL do.PTCP.UNM mass.F.SG play.PTCP.M.SG
 òrgla a cantau végljas canzuns ròmòntschas [...].
 organ.F.SG and sing.PTCP.M.SG old.F.PL song.PL Romansh.PL
 '[...] and there a mass is said, the organ is played, and old Romansh songs
 are sung [...]' (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 94)
- (59) [...] lu èra quaj ... craju, sjat
 then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM believe.PRS.1SG.1SG seven
 ffastas ... tga vagnéva ... fátg parada.
 celebration.F.PL REL PASS.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG
 '[...] then there were ..., I believe, seven celebrations ... when they would
 ... prepare a parade.' (Zarcúns, m2; l. 1543ff.)
- (60) A qu' èra schòn dau bjè najv ad
 and DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG already give.PTCP.UNM much snow.F.SG and
 èran bigj' aun vagní vidò culs tiars.
 be.IMPF.3PL NEG yet come.PTCP.M.PL down with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL
 'And there was already a lot of snow and they hadn't come back down
 with the animals yet.' (Sadrún, m4; l. 592f.)

5 Simple sentences

- (61) Ad ùssa òni partju ajn quaj, al
 and now have.PRS.3PL.3PL divide.PTCP.UNM in DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG
 cantún ò circa trènta da quèls majnadistricts,
 canton have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL
 quèls èn partí ajn ajn ragjúns, ad ju
 DEM.M.PL PASS.PRS.3PL divide.PTCP.M.PL in in region.F.PL and 1SG
 a la val Tujétsch a Musté.
 have.PRS.1SG DEF.F.SG valley PN and PN
 ‘And now they have divided that, the canton has about thirty of these
 heads of district, these are divided into regions, and I have the Tujetsch
 valley and Mustér.’ (Sadrún, f3; l. 106ff.)
- (62) Ins vèz’ aun tg’ èra dau vidajn pùntgas
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into chisel.F.PL
 né trádals [...].
 or power_drill.M.PL
 ‘One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used [...].’ (Sadrún,
 m4; l. 437f.)

Place names are considered to have no gender, hence the use of the unmarked form of the participle (63).

- (63) Ah... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù
 ah PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
 majsès ad alps adina [...].
 assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always
 ‘Eh ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as
 pastures [...].’ (Sadrún, m4; l. 409f.)

If the agent of a passive construction is mentioned, it is introduced by *da* (64 and 65). Whether *da* corresponds to the preposition or to the dative marker is not easy to decide. The only case where there is a difference between the two *da*'s is the first person object pronoun, which is either *mè* (accusative and after prepositions) or *mé* (dative marker). As noted above in §3.5, some speakers prefer using the pronoun *mé* (dative), whereas others use *mè* (accusative) in order to introduce the agent of a passive construction.

- (64) [...] quèls mulissiars, quèls ah fagèvan lu quasi
 DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL DEM.M.PL eh do.IMPF.3PL then so_to_speak
 las préfatschèntas, né, né tg’ èran ...
 DEF.F.PL intermediate_trade.PL right or COMP PASS.IMPF.3PL

5.5 Voice

cumissunaj da quèls ah martgadònts grònṣ da
 commission.PTCP.M.PL DAT DEM.M.PL eh businessman.PL big.PL of
 la bassa, né.
 DEF.F.SG «lowlands» right

‘[...] These negotiators, they would so to speak do the intermediate trade,
 or they were ... commissioned by the big businessmen from outside the
 Grisons, right?’ (Sadrún, m5; l. 1219ff.)

- (65) Al baghètg è vagnuṣ bagagjauṣ da
 DEF.M.SG building be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.M.SG build.PTCP.M.SG DAT
 mju auc.
 POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle

‘The building has been built by my uncle.’ (Sadrún, m1)

6 Complex sentences

6.1 Coordination

Coordinating conjunctions are *a* (before consonant) / *ad* (before vowel) ‘and’ (1), *api* ‘and, and then’ (1), *u tga ... né tga* ‘either ... or’ (2), *né tga* ‘or’, *pi* ‘then’ (3), *ábar* ‘but’ (4), and *dantaun* ‘however, but’ (5).

- (1) In' jèda tschò, in' jèda lò, ad in' jèda
 one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time
 saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuş èran í
 REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 ajn ustria òl Mírar, api sa ju bégja
 in restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.M.SG PN and know.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG NEG
 sén tgé nuş èran vagní [...].
 upon what 1PL be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL
 ‘Once here, once there, and once I still remember ... that we had gone to
 Mirer’s restaurant, and I don’t know what we had come up with [...]’
 (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1495ff.)
- (2) U tga té fas ùrdan ajn tia tgombra né
 either COMP 2SG do.PRS.2SG order.M.SG in POSS.2SG.F.SG room or
 tga té lavas gjù.
 COMP 2SG wash.PRS.2SG down
 ‘Either you tidy up your room or you do the dishes.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (3) Mintgataun mavan nuş èra ... plas pitgògnas
 sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also through.DEF.F.PL steep_slope.PL
 a cavá cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi
 SUBORD dig.INF crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL and
 vignévan nus halt in téc tart.
 come.IMPF.1PL 1PL simply INDEF.M.SG bit late
 ‘From time to time we would also ... go farther up to extract crystals
 instead of looking after the goats, and then we would come back a bit
 late.’ (Surajn, f5, l. 1261ff.)

6 Complex sentences

- (4) Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar, sùn maj
textsc1sg COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG youngster be.PRS.1SG never
staus fumègl ábar ins mav' a gidá òra [...].
COP.PTCP.M.SG farmhand but GNR go.IMPF.3SG COMP help.INF out
'I was a youngster, I never was a farmhand but we would go and help out
[...]' (Ruèras, m3, l. 1958ff.)
- (5) Basta, da fá füssi ùssa gl atún la
enough COMP do.INF be.COND.3SG.EXPL now DEF.M.SG autumn DEF.F.SG
pjal plajna da tütas uísas. Dantaun scha l' aura
skin full of all.F.PL way.PL however if DEF.F.SG weather
tégn ansjaman vöi schòn.
hold.PRS.3SG together go.PRS.3SG.EXPL indeed
'Well, now during autumn there would be a lot of things to do. However,
if the weather holds, it will do indeed.' (Ruèras, DRG 9: 452)

In the case of coordination with *né* 'or', the complementiser *tga* must be used with clauses as in (6).

- (6) A né grad è gl unviarn cunzún mavans bjè
and right precisely also DEF.M.SG winter especially go.IMPF.1PL.1PL often
a bagagjavan sprung a dèvan cun skis né cun
and build.IMPF.1PL jump.M.PL and give.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL or with
ajssa né tg' ins mava cun bòb da vias
board.F.SG right COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG with bob.M.SG from street.F.PL
gjù [...].
down
'And, right?, especially during winter we often went and built ski jumps
and would go skiing or snowboarding, or we would go down the streets
on bobsleigh [...]' (Sadrún, m9, l. 1732ff.)

6.2 Subordination

The general subordinating conjunction for finite subordinate clauses is *tga* (realised as *tgu* in combination with *ju* 'first person singular pronoun'). It is used with relative clauses, with argument clauses, and some adjunct clauses; in the latter case, compound conjunctions may also be used, like e.g. *durònt tga*, where the first part, *durònt* 'during', refers to the semantics of the subordinate clause and the second part, *tga* 'that' indicates subordination.

6.2 Subordination

With non-finite subordinate clauses, it is usually *da* which is used.

6.2.1 Argument clauses

6.2.1.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses are either finite or non-finite. If the non-finite subject clause is located at the beginning of the sentence, the infinitive may be modified by the definite masculine article (7 and 8) or may lack it (9 and 10), without any functional change.

- (7) Ôh gl ampréndar tudèstg è stau, l'
 oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
 antschata sè quaj schòn stau in téč
 beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
 curjùs.
 strange.ADJ.UNM

'Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.' (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1637ff.)

- (8) [...] ábar al trá ajn èla èra ... da maz.
 but DEF.M.SG pull.INF in 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG of killing.M.SG
 '[...] but bringing it in was ... terrible.' (Ruérás, m3, l. 2078)

- (9) Fugí è bian, a mitschè è aun mégljar.
 flee.INF COP.PRS.3SG good and escape.INF COP.PRS.3SG still better
 'To flee is good, and to escape is even better.' (DRG 6: 671)

- (10) A dumagnè als amprèm̄s dis quèls pòrs gjù da da
 and cope.INF DEF.M.SG first.PL day.PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL down from from
 quaj trùtg ajnagjù a sjantar atràs l' aua
 DEM.M.SG path into_and_down and after through DEF.F.SG water
 dal Drun tga vagnéva mù pauc vi da tschèla vart,
 of.DEF.M.SG PN REL come.IMPF.3SG only little over of DEM.F.SG side
 qu' è stau álsò in martéri.
 DEM.UNM. be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM well INDEF.M.SG ordeal
 'And the first days, to cope with these pigs [going] down this path and
 then through the water of the Drun, of which only few would go over to
 the other side, well, this was an ordeal [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1340ff.)

6 Complex sentences

It is also possible to use the complementiser *da* (11), but in this case the infinitive is highlighted.

- (11) Da còschar fùs stau mégljar.
 COMP keep_silent.INF be.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM better
 ‘To keep silent would have been better.’ (Ruèras, m10)

If the subject clause is located after the verb, the expletive pronoun *i* is required in subject position and the infinitive may be introduced by the complementiser *da* (12) or may lack it (13).

- (12) I è stau mégljar da còschar.
 EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM better COMP keep_silent.INF
 ‘It was better to keep silent.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (13) [...] i è gréjv — dí [...].
 EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM say.INF
 ‘[...] it is difficult to say [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, l. 1776)

- (14) A sjantar c' ins mava, sch' mav' ins sél
 and after SUBORD GNR go.IMPF.3SG CORR go.IMPF.3SG GNR on.DEF.M.SG
 Albṣú cul trèn, a quaj custav' in franc ...
 PN with.DEF.M.SG train and DEM.UNM cost.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG franc
 dad í sédòra.
 COMP go.INF up
 ‘And after this, if one went, one would go up to the Alpsu [pass] by train
 and this cost one franc ... to go up there.’ (m1, Ruèras, l. 225ff.)

Finite subject clauses are introduced by the complementiser *tga*; the expletive pronoun *i* must occur in subject position (15 and 16).

- (15) Ad i è aun schabagjau plé ... tga nuş
 and EXPL be.PRS.3SG in_addition happen.PTCP.UNM more COMP 1PL
 èssan i ... tiar duas, álsò ajn duaş jèdas ... tiar
 be.PRS.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to two.F.PL well in two.F time.PL to
 ina api sjantar aun í ad í vi
 one.F.SG and afterwards in_addition go.PTCP.M.PL and go.PTCP.M.PL over
 tiar tschèla.
 to DEM.F.SG
 ‘And it also happened more ... that we went ... to two [girls], well at two
 different moments ... to the one and went also, and went over to the
 other.’ (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1754ff.)

6.2 Subordination

- (16) Ad i èr' è bitga úsit tg' ins mava a
 and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG to
 scùlèta.
 nursery_school.F.SG
 'And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.' (Sadrún, l. 383f.)

6.2.1.2 Object clauses

Object clauses can be finite or non-finite. Infinitive clauses are introduced by the complementiser *da* (17 and 18).

- (17) Al pástar gròn ò atmonju da bétga
 DEF.M.SG herdsman big have.PRS.3SG admonish.PTCP.UNM COMP NEG
 fá tupadats.
 do.INF stupidity.F.PL
 'The main herdsman warned [people] not to commit stupidities.' (Surajn,
 Büchli 1966: 128)
- (18) [...] api vagi èl tartgau ... dad í vi ajn
 and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on
 via ... a tanaj sé èls.
 road.F.SG and hold.INF up 3PL.M
 '[...] and he thought... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.'
 (Ruèras, m10, l. 1138ff.)

Finite object clauses are introduced by the complementiser *tga* 'that' (19) or *scha* 'whether' (21). *Tga* is not always adjacent to the main verb; in (20) a preposed temporal clause belonging to the object clause separates the complementiser from the main verb, *savaj* in this case.

- (19) [...] in' jèda saragòrd' ju aun ... tga
 one.F.SG time REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL
 nuş èran í ajn ustria òl Mírar [...].
 be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.M.SG PN
 '[...] once I still remember ... that we had gone to Mirer's restaurant [...]'
 (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1495ff.)

6 Complex sentences

- (20) Ju sa cu [...] ju sùn maridaus tga ...
 1SG know.PRS.1SG when 1SG be.PRS.1SG marry.PTCP.M.SG COMP
 èri ajn Camischùlas circa quindish ufauns ... tga
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN about fifteen child.M.PL REL
 mavan a scùla da Camischùlas.
 go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG of PN

'I know that when when ... when I got married ... there were in Camischolas about fifteen ... children who attended the school of Camischolas.' (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1626ff.)

- (21) [...] a ... lu vajn nuš, va ju dumandau sch'
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.UNM if
 él prandèssi mè tòcan ... a Ruèras.
 3SG.M take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PN
 '[...] and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.'
 (Ruèras, m10, l. 1131f.)

6.2.1.3 Indirect interrogative clauses

Indirect interrogative clauses, which are a subcategory of object clauses, are either finite (23–30) or non-finite (22). They do not trigger subject inversion, in contrast to direct interrogative sentences (see §5.2). An exception occurs in (22), where the non-finite interrogative clause is focussed on and precedes the verb, which triggers subject inversion.

- (22) [...] cù barsá stù ju bigja dí [...].»
 how roast.INF must.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG say.INF
 '[...] how to roast [it] I don't have to tell [you] [...]' (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2218)
- (23) [...] a damònda cù i vòndi.
 and ask.PRS.3SG how EXPL go.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 '[...] and he asked how he was.' (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 105)
- (24) Ad èr' è zatgé bi da mirá cù
 and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF how
 quèls tiars luvravan, cù quèls ... mavan ad
 DEM.M.PL animal.PL work.IMPF.3PL how DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3SG and

6.2 Subordination

èran ruassajvalṣ a ... pazjènts.
COP.IMPF.3PL calm.M.PL and patient.M.PL

'And it was also something nice to look at, how these animals worked, how they ... used to go and keep calm and patient.' (Ruèras, m10, l. 1079ff.)

- (25) Las nòtzjas sa ju bétg **danùndar** als gjaniturs,
DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL
als duṣ baps prandèvan aj, i dèva ajnta
DEF.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG in
Ruèras, dèv' aj in ca vèva rádjò.
PN EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG radio.M.SG
'I don't know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.'
(Ruèras, m1, l. 265f.)

- (26) [...] 'l PN ò è fatg lò in pèr
DEF.M.SG PN have.PRS.3SG also make.PTCP.UNM there INDEF.M.SG pair
placats tga mùssan ajn via nùc' ins sa è mirá
poster.M.PL REL show.PRS.3PL in way where GNR can.PRS.3SG also see.INF
quaj.
DEM.UNM
'[...] PN also put there some posters which show where on the way one can have a look at this.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 432ff.)

- (27) A lu vajn nus, quaj èra tùt fatg a
and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG all do.PTCP.UNM and
racògnòszau avaun tg' ins savèva núa ins
reconnoitre.PTCP.UNM before SUBORD GNR know.IMPF.3SG where GNR
vèva da durmí, nu i èra ... da métar ah
have.IMPF.3SG to sleep.INF where EXPL be.IMPF.3SG COMP put.INF ah
sur nòtg als als méls, nu i dèva
over night.F.SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG
pával pls méls [...].
food.M.SG for.DEF.M.PL mule.PL
'And then we have, this had all been done and reconnoitred before, so that one knew where to sleep, where to put the mules over night, where there was food for the mules [...]' (Ruèras, m10, l. 1005ff.)

6 Complex sentences

- (28) El ò dumandau èlas partgéj èlas ségian bétg
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F why 3PL.F be.PRS.SBJV.3PL NEG
 idas a mèssa.
 go.PTCP.3PL.F to mass
 ‘He asked them why they didn’t go to mass.’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 103)
- (29) [...] a lu sa ju schòn in téc sc’ i
 and then know.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed INDEF.M.SG bit how EXPL
 funczjanava.
 function.IMPF.3SG
 ‘[...] and therefore I know a bit how it used to function.’ (Sadrún, m9, l. 1757f.)
- (30) [...] a lu ò ‘l grju li gljut
 and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M shout.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT.SG people.F.SG
 [...] tga ségi trajs rùsnas; ajn tgénina èl
 COMP EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG.EXPL three hole.F.PL into which.F.SG 3SG.M
 dégi métar ajn la crusch.
 must.PRS.SBJV.3SG put into DEF.F.SG cross
 ‘[...] and then he shouted to the people [...] [saying that] there were three
 holes; [asking] into which he should put the cross.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966:
 134)

A special case is (31) in which the manner clause introduced by *scù* ‘like, as’ modifies the manner adverb *usché* ‘so’.

- (31) [...] in téc da la gjuvantétgna sa ju schòn
 INDEF.M.SG bit of DEF.F.SG youth can.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed
 raquintá ... usché scù i mava da nòs tjams a
 tell.INF so as EXPL go.IMPF.3SG of POSS.1PL.M.SG time.PL and
 tgé ca va ùsa [...].
 what REL go.PRS.3SG now
 ‘[...] a bit of my youth I can indeed tell [you about] ... the way it was when
 we were young and the way it is nowadays [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, l. 1705ff.)

6.2.1.4 Prepositional argument clauses

Prepositional argument clauses are non-finite. In the corpus, the following verbs occur: *amprèndar d’ancanùschar* ‘get to know’ (32), *antschajvar a* ‘begin to’ (33),

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calá da ‘stop doing’ (34), *prèndar avaun da* ‘plan’ (35), and *sadacídar da* ‘decide to’ (36).

- (32) Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah
and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMPF.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah
gè ju vès è ugèn ampríu d'
yes 1SG have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.UNM COMP
ançanùschar quaj mél [...].
know.INF DEM.M.SG mule
'And, eh, this really fascinated me, I would have eh yes I would have very
much liked to get to know this mule [...]' (Ruèras, m 10, l. 971ss.)
- (33) Sé Nalps vèvani è grad antschiat a bagagè
up PN have.IMPF.3PL.3PL also just start.PTCP.UNM COMP build.INF
cantinas ètcètara.
canteen.F.PL et_cetera
'In Nalps they had just begun to build canteens and so on.' (Sadrún, m4, l.
532s.)
- (34) Ju cala dad í a scùleta, ju pùs bitg'
1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG
í plé.
go.INF any_more
'I'll stop going to nursery school, I can't stand it any longer.' (Sadrún, m4,
l. 390s.)
- (35) Gè, ju a atgnamajn príu, príu avaun
yes 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually take.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM before
da prèndar ah, zatgéj històrjas cò da quaj ah détgas
COMP take.INF eh something story.F.PL here of DEM.UNM eh legend.F.PL
a praulas [...].
and fairy_tale.F.PL
'Actually, I had planned to take, eh, some stories here from these legends
and fairy tales, [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l. 316ss.)
- (36) Lu sünd ju sadacidjus da ... raşdá in
then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.SG
pau şur da la ... da mi' ufaunza [...].
little over of DEF.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood
'Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l.

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316f.)

6.2.2 Adjunct clauses

6.2.2.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are either finite or non-finite. Non-finite temporal clauses are introduced by *da* (37 – 39), *avaun ca* (40), or *sjantar* (41).

- (37) [...] fa: ajn [...] tsa:kondz diants aλ rəʃti: de lə
 make.INF in some.M.PL tooth.PL DAT rake.M.SG of DEF.F.SG
 'dɔ:nɛ tce l o rut o:r ejr de me'tsa:
 woman REL 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG break.PTCP.UNM out also SUBORD kill.INF
 in rusjp
 INDEF.M.SG toad
 '[...] put in some teeth to the woman's rake he had broken when he killed
 a toad.' (Ruèras, Valär 2013b: 8)
- (38) Da vagní anavùs vònd ju plaunsju!
 SUBORD come.INF back go.PRS.1SG 1SG slowly
 'When I come back, I'll walk slowly!' (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 120)
- (39) A da gjantá ... sch' ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ...
 and SUBORD lunch.INF if INDEF.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG
 vida majṣa, scha stuèvan tut quèla- nuš ròmòntschas
 at_of table.F.SG CORR must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL
 raṣdá tudèstg.
 speak.INF German.M.SG
 'And during lunch ... if a German ... nun was ... at table, all these – we,
 the Romansh speaking people, had to speak German.' (Camischùlas, f6, l.
 774ff.)
- (40) [...] avaun c' i vidajn, ah, staus lu tial
 before SUBORD go.INF uphill eh COP.PTCP.M.SG then at.DEF.M.SG
 miadi [...].
 doctor
 '[...] before going uphill, eh, [he] went to the doctor [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l.
 456f.)

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- (41) Sjantar vaj fatg als pènsums, §
 after have.INF do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.PL homework.PL be.PRS.3SG
 als scùlarş i a spaz.
 DEF.ART.M.PL pupil.PL go.PTCP.M.PL to walk
 'After doing their homework, the pupils went for a walk.' (Sadrún, m5)

Finite temporal clauses are introduced by *avaun ca tga* 'before', *cu* 'when', *da-fartáuntiar tga* 'whilst', *durònt tga* 'when', *schi glajti scù* 'as soon as', *sjantar tga* 'after' (49), and *tòca* 'until'.

With the subordinator *cu* (derived from the interrogative pronoun *cura* 'when'), correlative *scha* 'if, then' is usually used (42 and 43).

- (42) [...] cu i dat la banadiczjun, scha fò
 when EXPL give.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG blessing CORR make.IMP.2SG
 la sòntga crusch.
 DEF.F.SG holy cross
 '[...] when it comes to the blessing, make the sign of the cross.' (Berther 2007: 23)

- (43) A pér cu quaj èra fatg, scha
 and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR
 èra la scòtga mèmi tgauda [...].
 COP.IMP.3SG DEF.F.SG whey too hot
 'And only when this was done was the whey too hot [...]' (Ruèras, m3, l. 2140f.)

Instead of *cu* 'when' one also finds *tga*, which in combination with *ju* 'I' is realised as *tgu* (44 and 45).

- (44) A sjantar [...] sè 'l bap lu mòrts tgu
 and after be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father then die.PTCP.M.SG SUBORD.1SG
 vèva ... mù vèntgadús òns.
 have.IMP.3SG only twenty-two year.M.PL
 'And after that [...] my father then died when I was ... only 22 years old.' (Ruèras, m1, l. 272f.)

- (45) Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú
 down there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.M.UNM
 in téc quajda d' í par crapa, tgu
 INDEF.M.SG bit desire.F.SG ATTR go.INF for stone.COLL SUBORD.1SG

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a vju difarènts lògans tg' i
 have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.M.UNM different.M.PL place.PL SUBORD 3PL
 vèvan sitau gjù ad èra ...
 have.IMPF.3PL blast.PTCP.M.UNM down and be.IMPF.3SG
 vagnú ò cristalaş [...].
 come.PTCP.M.UNM out crystal.F.PL

'Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit, when I saw different places where they had blasted [the rocks], and crystals [...] had come out ...' (Sadrún, m4, l. 547f.)

Examples (46–50) illustrate the other subordinators that introduce a temporal clause.

- (46) Dafartáuntiar tga la mùma fò quaj,
 whilst SUBORD DEF.F.SG mother do.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 miras té dal pòp.
 look.PRS.2SG 2SG of.DEF.M.SG baby
 'Whilst mother is doing this, you look after the baby.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (47) Ju a gju tèma [...] tg' als tiars
 1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM fear COMP DEF.M.PL animal.PL
 réjṣdian durònt tga la sòntga mèssa da Nadal
 talk.PRS.SBJV.3PL during SUBORD DEF.F.SG holy mass of Christmas
 végni lagida.
 PASS.PRS.SBJV.3SG read.PTCP.F.SG
 'I feared [...] that the animals could talk when Christmas Mass would be read.' (Tschaumùt, Büchli 1966: 19)
- (48) A schi ... schi glajti scù nuş èssan staj sén la via
 and so so soon as 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on DEF.F.SG way
 cantunala òni antschiat a galòpá.
 cantonal have.PRS.3PL.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM COMP gallop.INF
 'And as ... as soon as we were on the cantonal way they started to gallop.'
 (Ruèras, m10, l. 1101f.)
- (49) Sjantar tga nuş vajn vju al film,
 after SUBORD 1PL have.PRS.1PL see.PTCP.M.PL DEF.ART.M.MSG film
 èssan nuş i a durmí.
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.UNM SUBORD sleep.INF
 'After we saw the film, we went to sleep.' (Sadrún, m5)

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- (50) Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun niaş
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG
 ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la
 door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
 audi anzatgéj [...].
 hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something
 'And then the nun was out [on the corridor] like this ... in front of our
 door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something [...].'
 (Camischùlas, f6, l. 7416f.)

6.2.2.2 Manner clauses

Non-finite manner clauses are introduced by *cun* 'with' (51) and finite manner clauses either by *scù* (52), *scù tga* (53), or only *tga* (54).

- (51) Gè, i fùs schòn flòt, ábar ju sùn è
 yes EXPL COP.COND.3SG really great.ADJ.UNM but 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
 vagnús atrás cun fá 'l pur.
 come.PTCP.M.SG through with do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer
 'Yes, this would be really great, but I also could earn a living by being a
 farmer.' (Ruèras, m1, l. 173f.)

- (52) Òz şaj al al Furka né al ... la
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG PN or DEF.M.SG DEF.F.SG
 ban¹ né scù i végn raşdau òz sén
 train right as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM today on
 tudèstg.
 German.M.SG
 'Today it is the Furka or the ... the *ban* 'train', as nowadays it is called in
 German.' (i.e the Matterhorn-Gotthard-Bahn) (Ruèras, m1, l. 211f.)

- (53) Nus mavan bjè, gè, a fá gjucs, scù tg' ins
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes SUBORD do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR
 fagèva plé baut [...].
 do.IMPF.3SG more early
 'We would often go and play, as one would do it in the past [...]' (Sadrún,
 m9, l. 1722)

¹*Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for 'train'.

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- (54) La bùca stuèv' èssar tga la pudèv' ajn,
 DEF.F.SG mouth should.IMPF.3SG COP.INF SUBORD 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG into
 la lata.
 DEF.F.SG slat
 ‘The cutting should be such that the slat could fit into it.’ (Camischòlas,
 DRG 3: 583)

6.2.2.3 Purposive clauses

Non-finite purposive clauses are introduced by *a* after a verb of movement (55 and 56) and by *par/pr* (57) or *da* (58 and 59) in all other cases; *da*, however, is very rare. Example (56) contains both *par* and *a*.

- (55) Api ʂchèvan aj èba in tg' è mòrts tga
 and say.IMPF.3PL 3PL precisely one REL COP.PRS.3SG dead.M.SG REL
 végn a métar als, als tjarms ...
 come.PRS.3SG SUBORD put.INF DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL boundary_stone.PL
 la nòtg [...].
 DEF.F.SG night
 ‘And, precisely, they also used to say [that] somebody who was dead
 came and put the, the boundary stones ... at night [...].’ (Sèlva, f2, l. 942f.)
- (56) [...] ju vèva ... siş òns tga èran vida
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG six year.M.PL COMP COP.IMPF.3PL PROG
 prapará la via par í sé Nalps a bagagè
 prepare.INF DEF.F.SG road SUBORD go.INF up PN SUBORD build.INF
 al mir da farmada.
 DEF.M.SG wall.M.SG of reservoir.F.SG
 ‘[...] I was six years old when they were preparing the road in order to go
 to Nalps to build the wall of the reservoir.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 406ff.)
- (57) Als mél s èran, qu' èra ... fèrm ...
 DEF.M.PL mule COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG strong.ADJ.UNM
 fèrms tiars ad èl duvrava quaj mél pr
 strong.M.PL animal.PL and 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule SUBORD
 trá, par trá lèna sé da Cavòrgja.
 pull.INF SUBORD pull.INF wood.COLL up from PN
 ‘The mules were, these were in fact strong ... strong animals and he
 used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.’ (Ruèras, m11, l.
 963ff.)

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- (58) [...] méz in pétg sc' ins drùva par tut las
 put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG hoe like GNR need.PRS.3SG for all DEF.F.PL
 lavurš da parmaüera a gl atún da cavá trúfals.
 work.PL of spring.F.SG and DEF.M.SG autumn SUBORD dig.INF potato.M.PL
 ' [...] put a hoe like [the one] one needs for all the work that must be done
 in spring, and in autumn in order to dig out potatoes.' (Bugnaj, Büchli
 1966: 143)
- (59) Api savèv' ins bigja cù, cù fá da pertá las
 and know.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG how how do.INF COMP carry.INF DEF.F.PL
 nèglas [...].
 carnation.PL
 'And one would not know how to put the carnations [...] (literally 'how to
 do in order to put the carnations').' (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1577f.)

There are several examples where the subordinator *a* is absent (60). In (61) both constructions occur – with and without the subordinator *a*.

- (60) [...] api èri dad í métar trúfals [...].
 and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF put.INF potato.M.PL
 ' [...] and then one had to sow potatoes [...]' (Ruèras, f4, l. 1889)
- (61) [...] api èri dad í zarclá trúfals api
 and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to go.INF weed.INF potato.M.PL and
 èri dad í a zarclá al graun.
 be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF SUBORD weed.INF DEF.M.SG cereal
 ' [...] and then one had to weed the potato fields and then one had to go
 and weed the cereal fields.' (Ruèras, f4, 1895ff.)

In the DRG materials, there is one occurrence of the negator *bétg* preceding the subordinator *tga*, i.e. outside the subordinate clause (62).

- (62) Vèndardé sògn stù in muantá la tgarn a las
 Friday.M.SG holy must.PRS.3SG GNR move.INF DEF.F.SG meat and DEF.F.PL
 ljòngjas bétga tga vignan ajn als baus.
 sausage.PL NEG SUBORD come.PRS.3PL in DEF.M.PL beetle.PL
 'On Good Friday one must move the meat and the sausages so that the
 beetles cannot get into the meat.' (DRG 3: 385)

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This construction has not been accepted by my consultants; however, a similar construction which, in contrast to the Tuatschin example (62), includes the subordinator *par*, can be found in other Romansh varieties like in the Sutsilvan dialect of Dalin (63).

- (63) Par bétg tg' in schleschi dat il calger
 for NEG SUBORD GNR slip.PRS.SBJV.3SG give.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG shoemaker
 eign in pér guspas els calzers.
 in INDEF.M.SG couple nail.PL in.DEF.M.PL shoe.PL
 ‘In order not to slip, the shoemaker hits some nails into the shoes.’
 (Sutsilván, Dagléggn, DRG 4: 607)

Therefore it is possible that the Tuatschin construction in (62) belonged to an older variety of the language.

6.2.2.4 Causal clauses

Non-finite causal clauses are introduced by *da* (64), and finite causal clauses are introduced by *parquaj/prquaj tga* (65), *partgé* (66), *má tga* (67), *tga* (68), or *cunquaj tga* ‘since’ (69).

- (64) 'dze:vjə zə l 't̪oni də le mət'lajnə
 Thursday COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG PN of DEF.F.SG PN
 səʃfərdən'taws fi fetç də 'bajbər trajs 'mjo:las
 REFL.catch.cold.PTCP.M.SG so much SUBORD drink.INF three cup.PL
 pən frajt
 buttermilk cold

‘On Thursday Matlaina’s Toni caught a very strong cold because he drank three cups of cold buttermilk.’ (Ruèras, Valär 2013b: 9)

- (65) [...] api lura va ju in' jèda talafònau dad èl prquaj
 and then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M because
 tg' èl vèva tarmèz in' anunzja
 SUBORD 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG announcement
 da mòrt [...].
 of death.F.SG
 ‘[...] and then I phoned him once, because he had sent a death notice [...]’
 (Sadrún, f3, l. 18ff.)

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- (66) Avaun ina ffasta mavan aj ... tialas ...
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL
 gjufnas ... par nègla, partgé matévan sé sé
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because put.IMPF.3PL up up
 la tgapjala ... ina nègla.
 DEF.F.SG hat INDEF.F.SG carnation
 'Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations,
 because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.' (Zarcúns, m2, l.
 1567ff.)
- (67) Cò ò la mùma dau ina sèrvla,
 here have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG mother give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG cervelat
 má tg' i è damaun dumèngja.
 because SUBORD EXPL COP.PRS.3SG tomorrow Sunday
 'Here, mother provided a cervelat, because tomorrow is Sunday.'
 (Cavòrgja, m7, l. 2215f.)
- (68) Ússa léjva tg' i è clar dé.
 now get_up.IMP.2SG SUBORD EXPL COP.PRS.3SG clear day
 'Get up now since day has already broken.' (DRG 3: 719)
- (69) [...] cunquaj tg' èl èra ... försa staus da
 since SUBORD 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG maybe COP.PTCP.M.SG of
 malitèr tials tgavals, né gju da fá cun
 army.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL horse.PL or have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF with
 tgavals, scha ... vèv' èl ... cumprau in
 horse.M.PL CORR have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG
 asan, álsò in mél, bitg in asan, in mél.
 donkey this_is INDEF.M.SG mule NEG INDEF.M.SG donkey INDEF.M.SG mule
- '[...] since in the army he had ... maybe been, with the horses, or had to do
 with horses, then ... he had ... bought a donkey, that is to say a mule, not a
 donkey, a mule.' (Ruèras, m10, l. 958ff.)

6.2.2.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed in three different ways:

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- (1) a correlative construction with *scha* in both the protasis and the apodosis (70 and 71),
- (2) only the protasis is introduced by *scha* 'if' (72–74),
- (3) without subordinator in the protasis but with subject inversion and *scha* or *lura* in the apodosis (75).

In all these cases there is subject inversion in the apodosis, with some rare exceptions. Furthermore, correlative *lura* is very rare in the corpus; it only occurs in Büchli (1966).

- (70) *Scha té as lu mèmja bjè da raclamá a if 2SG have.PRS.2SG then too much ATTR complain.INF and grí, scha matajn nus té ajnagjù 'l Run. shout.INF CORR put.PRS.1PL 1PL 2SG in_down DEF.M.SG PN*
 'If you really have so much to complain and shout about, we will throw you down into the Run [creek].' (Berther 1998: 120)
- (71) *A da gjantá ... sch' ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ... vida and of lunch.INF if INDEF.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG at_of majşa, scha stuèvan tut quèla- nuş ròmòntschas raşdá table.F.SG CORR must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL speak.INF tudèstg.*
German.M.SG
 'And during lunch ... if a German ... nun was ... at table, all these – we, the Romansh speaking people, had to speak German.' (Camischùlas, f6, l. 774ff.)
- (72) *Scha ju antupás quèla gljut, sabatès ju gjù if 1SG meet.COND.1SG DEM.F.SG people REFL.throw.COND.1SG 1SG down ajn ganugljaş a bitschás als cazès.*
in knee.F.PL and kiss.COND.1SG DEF.M.PL shoe.PL
 'If I met these people, I'd kneel down and kiss their shoes.' (Berther 1998: 60)
- (73) *Da mintga pur stèvans í a scha 'l of every farmer.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.INF and if 3SG.M vèva gju dus, stèva 'l pijè ... have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM two.M must.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M pay.INF*

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dus pòrs né in né uschéa [...].

two.M pig.PL or one.M or so

'We had to go to every farmer and if he had given two [pigs], he should [pay] more ... two pigs or one or so [...]' (Sadrún, m6, l. 1403ff.)

- (74) [...] scha 'l vèva bian, vagnév' ins schòn
 if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG good.ADJ.UNM come.IMPF.3SG GNR indeed
 séssúra inqual tgaussas.

upon some thing.F.PL

'[...] if he was in a good mood, one could get to know some things.'

(Sadrún, m4, l. 660f.)

- (75) Vasèvan ins ina signura [...] cun schuba cuérta,
 see.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR INDEF.F.SG woman with shirt.F.SG short
 còtschna, [...] lura spitgavan als purs ina
 red CORR expect.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL INDEF.F.SG
 grònda malaura [...].

big storm

'If one saw a woman with a short shirt, a red one, the farmers would expect a heavy storm.' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 34)

Tense and mood is used in the following way. Present factual conditional clauses take the present tense in the protasis as well as in the apodosis (70), and past factual conditional clauses are the imperfect in both the protasis and the apodosis (71,73, 74, and (75)

Present counterfactual conditional clauses have the conditional I in the protasis as well as in the apodosis (72), and past counterfactual conditional clauses take the compound forms of the conditional I in both the protasis and apodosis. For examples, see §4.1.2.2.10.

6.2.2.6 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses are introduced by *tga* (76–78) or by *usché tga* (79). If an adjective triggers a consecutive clause, the adjective is modified by *schi* 'so' (80).

- (76) Èla dètgi in' jèda ina curnada
 3SG.F give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.F time DEF.F.SG push_with_horn.PTCP.F.SG
 li èl tg' èl stètschi sél plaz.
 DAT 3SG.M SUBORD 3SG.M stay.PRS.SBJV.3SG on.DEF.M.SG place
 'She [the cow] would give him a push with her horns so that he would remain on the spot.' (Tschanmùt, Büchli 1966: 20)

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- (77) [...] quaj piartg èra jus atrás a vèva
DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and have.IMPF.3SG
rùt gjù al matg tga 'l vèva mù
break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG only
la còrda plé antùrn.
DEF.F.SG rope more around
‘[...] this pig had gone through and had broken the bunch of flowers so
that he only had the rope around [his belly].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. 1395ff.)
- (78) Bjè jèdas sèni scapaj tga nuş vajn
many time.PL be.PRS.3PL.3PL escape.PTCP.M.PL SUBORD 1PL have.PRS.1PL
ah pròpi gju ah gròndas misérjas [...].
eh really have.PTCP.UNM ah big.F.PL trouble.PL
‘They escaped many times so that we had big troubles [...].’ (Ruèras, m10,
l. 1086f.)
- (79) [...] a glaucségnar è pròpi vagnuş
and DEF.M.SG priest be.PRS.3SG really come.PTCP.M.SG
ála lavina, ad è ... staus mòrts, usché
into.DEF.F.SG avalanche and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG dead.M.SG so
tga las stréaş òn ... fatg vandètga
COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL have.PRS.3PL do.PTCP.UNM revenge.F.SG
cugl auacségnar da Sadrún.
with.DEF.M.SG priest of PN
‘[...] and the priest really was engulfed by the avalanche and was ... dead,
so that the witches got their revenge on the priest of Sedrun.’ (Sadrún,
m6, l. 913ff.)
- (80) Al tat, scù la mùma ò raquintau,
DEF.M.SG grandfather as DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG tell.PTCP.UNM
è sapriúş ajn quaj schi starmantús
be.PRS.3SG REFL.take.PTCP.M.SG in DEM.UNM so terrible.ADJ.UNM
tga 'l è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna
SUBORD 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into in INDEF.F.SG hole
nùndétga [...].
awful
‘My grandfather, as my mother told [me], took this so seriously that he
fell in an awful hole [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 350ff.)

6.2 Subordination

6.2.2.7 Comparative clauses

Non-finite comparative clauses are introduced by *scù da*, literally ‘how of’ or ‘like of’ (81), and finite comparative clauses are introduced by *scù* (82) or *scù tga* (83).

- (81) I vò fil a fil scù da caná in ansegjl.
EXPL go.PRS.3SG jet to jet like SUBORD stab.INF INDEF.M.SG kid
‘[Blood] flows like when one stabs a kid.’ (DRG 6: 300)
- (82) [...] lu va ju ... tlafònau dad èl a détg,
then have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and say.PTCP.UNM
éba, mi’ ùm ségi èba mòrts scù
exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as
i sápiān [...].
3PL know.PRS.SBJV.3PL
‘[...] then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as they
knew [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, l. 23ff.)
- (83) Nus mavan bjè, gè, a fá gjucs, scù tg’ ins
1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes SUBORD do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR
fagèva plé baut [...].
do.IMPF.3SG more early
‘We would often go and play, as one would do it earlier [...].’ (Sadrún, m9,
l. 1722f.)

6.2.2.8 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are introduced by *schabi tga* (84).

- (84) Schabi tga lu, cun sis òns capév’ ins lu
although COMP then with six year.M.PL understand.IMPF.3SG GNR then
hald aun mèmja pauc a vèva bigja la... fòrsa da
just still too little and have.IMPF.3SG NEG DEF.F.SG strength ATTR
fá zatgéj.
do.INF something
‘Although then, at the age of six, one would understand too little and
wouldn’t have the ... strength to do something.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 553ff.)

6 Complex sentences

6.2.2.9 Instead of

‘Instead of’ only occurs in non-finite clauses in the corpus. They are introduced either by *anstagl* (85) or *anstagl da* (86).

- (85) Api **anstagl** bájbar al vin ... èran nus lu
 and instead drink.INF DEF.M.SG wine be.IMPF.1PL 1SG then
 i sé, vèvani fatg ina bòla.
 go.PTCP.M.PL up have.IMPF.3PL.3PL do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG punch
 ‘And instead of drinking the wine ... we went up, they had prepared a punch.’ (Zarcúns, m2, l. 1534f.)
- (86) [...] **anstagl da** mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri fòrsa
 instead of milk.INF eighty cow.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe
 mù tschuncònta [...].
 only fifty
 ‘[...] instead of milking eighty cows there were maybe only fifty [...]’
 (Ruèras, m3, l. 2152f.)

6.3 Focus

If the focus is on verbs, participles, particles belonging to verbs, certain adverbs, or clauses which give new information, they are moved to the beginning of the sentence or clause.

In case a verb is focussed, it is moved in its infinitive form and the finite form of the same verb is left behind in the background clause (87 and 88).

- (87) Ju a cò in bagljèt tòcan gjù Turitg, ábar ira
 1SG have.3SG here INDEF.M.SG ticket until down PN but go.INF
vònd ju mù gjù Sumvitg.
 go.PRS.1SG 1SG only down PN
 ‘I have here a ticket to Zurich, but I only go as far as Sumvitg.’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 106) (literally ’... but GOING I only go till Sumvitg’)
- (88) Na na, a durmí durmévan nus cò.
 no no and sleep.INF sleep.IMPF.1PL 1PL here
 ‘No, no, and as for sleeping, we would sleep here.’ (Surajn, f5, l. 1282)

6.3 Focus

In the perfect tense, participles are moved without their auxiliary verb, which remains in the background clause (89 and 90). Example (91) shows that the participle can be moved with its complements.

- (89) Ju sùn dada gjù séla fatscha, mù fatg
1SG be.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.F.SG down on.DEF.F.SG face but do.PTCP.UNM
òi nuét.
have.PRS.3SG.EXPL nothing
'I fell down on my face but it didn't do anything.' (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 106)
- (90) [...] quaj è vagnú da bêtòn' ajn, a
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and
tanju ò laş aun adina.
hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always
'[...] this has been concreted, and they still hold.' (Sadrún, f3, l. 81f.)
- (91) [...] ábar stju luvrá còrpòrlmajn vajn nus
but must.PTCP.UNM work.INF physical.ADJ.M.ADV have.PRS.1PL 1PL
schi fétg scù quèls.
so much as DEM.M.PL
'[...] but physically we had to work as hard as those [children].' (Ruèras, f4, l. 1884ff.)

Infinitives modified by a modal verb are left-dislocated without the modal verb, which remains in the background clause (92).

- (92) Als tiars vèzan al barlòt a tèman,
DEF.M.PL animal.PL see.PRS.3PL DEF.M.SG sorcery and be_afraid.PRS.3PL
mù dí sòn i nuét.
but say.INF can.PRS.3PL 3PL nothing
'The animals see the sorcery and are afraid, but they cannot say anything.' (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 125)

Example (93) shows the movement of the particle *cùntar* 'towards' out of the particle verb *prèndar ancùntar* 'receive' (calqued on German *entgegennehmen*).

- (93) Alòsò ancùntar prandès 'l tut ùsa?
well towards take.COND.3SG 3SG all now
'Well, would he receive everything now?' (Sadrún, m5)

6 Complex sentences

If an indirect interrogative clause is focussed, it may (94) or may not be resumed by a demonstrative pronoun (95). In the case of (94), the demonstrative pronoun used is *gljèz*.

- (94) Ins vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into
 pùntgas né trádals; sch' i sitavan gljèz
 chisel.F.PL or power_drill.M.PL whether 3PL blow_up.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM
 sau bétg.
 know.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG
 'One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used; whether they
 would blow up I don't know.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 437ff.)

- (95) Aah, tgé ... prandévan pròpi òra sa ins bégj éxact
 ah what take.IMPF.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly
 [...].

'Ah, what ... they really mined, one does not know exactly [...]' (Sadrún, m4, l. 444)

If the focus is on a noun, a pronoun referring to it must be left in the background clause (96).

- (96) Las nòtizjas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs,
 DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL
 als dus baps prandèvan aj [...].
 DEF.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG
 'I don't know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took
 them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.'
 (Sadrún, m1, l. 265f.)

Contrastive focus is done by intonation; the focussed constituents remain in their place according to their syntactic function (97 and 98).

- (97) Gjòn ò angulau la gaglina, bigja Maria.
 PN have.PRS.3SG steal.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG hen NEG PN
 'It is Gion who stole the hen, not Maria.' (Sadrún, m5)

6.3 Focus

- (98) Èl vut dá in cùdisch da Gjòn, bigja da
3SG.M want.PRS.3SG give.INF INDEF.M.SG book DAT PN NEG DAT
Maria.
PN

'It is to Gion that he wants to give a book, not to Maria.' (Sadrún, m4)

7 Morphological processes

7.1 Reduplication

In Tuatschin, reduplication has only an intensification function. Syntactic categories that may be reduplicated are attributive (1) and predicative (2 and 3) adjectives, adjectives used adverbially (4), as adverbs modifying adjectives (5), as adverbs modifying verbs (6 and 7), or functioning as a discourse marker (8).

- (1) Ála végla-véglja tgèsa-parvènda, né?
in.DEF.F.SG RED~old presbytery right
'At the very old presbytery, right?' (Sadrún, m5, l. 1197)
- (2) [...] i èra sgtir-stgir !
EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG RED~dark
'[...] it was pitch-dark.' (Surajn, Büchli 1966: 128)
- (3) A quaj stèvnṣ èssar ... pulits-pulits
and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behaviored.M.PL
I' jamna ... tg' al bap dètschi in
DEF.F.SG week SUBORD DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG
frang a miaz.
franc and half.M.SG
'And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my
father would give [us] one and a half francs.' (Ruèras, m1, l. 228ff.)
- (4) Al tat èr' ajn a durméva lò grat
DEF.M.SG grandfather COP.IMPF.3SG up and sleep.IMPF.3SG there precisely
sc' in tajṣ, vèv' udju şchùbar-şchùbar
like INDEF.M.SG badger have.IMPF.3SG hear.PTCP.UNM RED~clean.ADJ.UNM
nuét.
nothing
'My grandfather was up there and was sleeping like a log, he hadn't
heard anything at all.' (Sadrún, m4, l. 604ff.)

7 Morphological processes

- (5) Èl èr' in tüp tga raşdava bigja bjè, ju
 3SG COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG fellow REL speak.IMPF.3SG NEG much 1SG
 a gju fétg-fétg bian cun èl [...].
 have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM RED~very good.UNM with 3SG.M
 ‘He was a person who didn’t speak much, I got along very well with him
 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 356f.)
- (6) El ò mirau antùrn-antùrn [...].
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG look.PTCP.UNM RED~around
 ‘He looked around and around [...]’ (Tschanüt, Büchli 1966: 18)
- (7) A sjantar surpríu acòrds adin-adina.
 and after take_over.PTCP.UNM piecework.M.PL RED~always
 ‘And afterwards [I] took over piecework, always.’ (Ruèras, m1, l. 293)
- (8) Quaj èra in' jèda ... brutal tiar nus,
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F time terrible.ADJ.UNM among 1PL
 bèn-bèn.
 RED~really
 ‘Once it was terrible among us, really.’ (Sèlva, f2, l. 941)

A similar case is the repetition of words (9 and 10). It differs from the reduplication insofar as the repeated items are separated by a short pause; they furthermore do not indicate intensification, but only repetition.

- (9) [...] a lu stuèv' ju la sèra adin' ir' a
 and then must.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG evening always go.INF SUBORD
 fá tschajna ... a fá ... manèstra, manèstra,
 make.INF dinner.F.SG SUBORD make.INF pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG
 manèstra, manèstra.
 pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG
 ‘[...] and then in the evening I always had to go and prepare dinner ... and
 prepare pottage, pottage, pottage, pottage.’ (Ruèras, f4, l. 1918ff.)
- (10) [...] a quèl' èra da trá ... trá, trá ... tùt
 and DEM.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG to pull.INF pull.INF pull.INF all
 al latg cèntrifugau.
 DEF.M.SG milk centrifugate.PTCP.UNM
 ‘[...] and we had to pull ... pull, pull ... the whole centrifuged milk.’
 (Ruèras, m4, 2067ff.)

7.2 Word formation

7.2 Word formation

Since Tuatschin is a spoken language, many derivational affixes and compound words which are used in Standard (written) Sursilvan¹ do not occur.

7.2.1 Compounding of nouns

Compounding can be done by joining two nouns with the preposition *da* ‘of’ (11), and also by juxtaposition of two nouns (12), whereby the second noun modifies the first one as in *baun-pégna* ‘oven bench’, literally ‘bench-oven’. Which strategy is used depends on the compound, and in some cases the two strategies may apply to the same nouns with different meanings. This last point is best exemplified by (11).

- (11) In tiar da tgèsa, è 'l gjat a 'l
 INDEF.M.SG animal of house.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG cat and DEF.M.SG
 tgaun, a tiar-tgèsa è sagir tut quaj tga
 dog and animal.M.SG-house.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG for_sure all DEM.UNM REL
 vò bigj' ad alp. Als tiars-tgèsa
 go.PRS.3SG NEG to alpine_pasture.M.SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL-house.F.SG
 èn atgnamajn cò, né sén majṣès, quaj
 COP.PRS.3PL actually here or on assembly_of_houses.M.SG DEM.GL
 è quèlas tgauras a nùrsas a pòrs.
 COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL goat.PL and sheep.F-PL and pig.M.PL
 ‘A *tiar da tgèsa*, these are cats and dogs, and *tiar tgèsa* are of course all those that do not go to the alpine pastures. The *tiars tgèsa* are actually here, or up in the assembly of houses, these are the goats, the sheep, and the pigs.’ (Tuatschin, Cavòrgja, m7)
- (12) [...] lò ani bagagjau gjù la ...
 there have.PRS.3PL.3PL build.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG
 raquéntani ... la crapa par bagagè al
 tell.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.F.SG stone.COLL SUBORD build.INF DEF.M.SG
 clutgè-basèlgja.
 tower.M.SG-church.F.SG
 ‘[...] there they removed, as they say, the stones used to build the church tower [of Sedrun].’ (Sadrún, m4, l. 412ff.)

¹See (Spescha 1989: 163-194) for extensive lists.

7 Morphological processes

The compounding of nouns by juxtaposition is relatively frequent; further examples are *carschèn-matg* ‘waxing moon of May’ *crusch-fiar* ‘iron cross’, *ésch-stiva* ‘door of the living-room’, *fil-sajda* ‘silk thread’, *lungatg-mùma* ‘mother-tongue’, *mòni-scúa* ‘broomstick’, *patrún-basèlgja* ‘Church Patron’, *pòrta-basèlgja* ‘church door’, *pòrta-clavau* ‘barn door’, *prajt-crap* ‘rock face’, *pròcèsjún-basèlgja* ‘religious procession’, *tètg-tégja* ‘roof of the alpine hut’, and *tgau-vitg* ‘head of the village’. *Nadal-nòtg* ‘Christmas Eve’ has different syntax: here, it is the first noun that modifies the second one, probably under the influence of German *Weihnachtsnacht*, literally ‘Christmas Night’.

7.2.2 Derivation

Some derivational morphemes have already been treated: the non-finite verbal categories past participle (§4.1.2.1.1), gerund (§4.1.2.1.2), infinitive (§4.1.2.1.3), the adverbialiser *-majn* (§4.2.2.3), and the causative *-antá* (§5.5.3).

7.2.2.1 Diminutive and augmentative

The diminutive of nouns is formed with the suffix *-èt/-èta*. (13) shows that the use of the diminutive does not preclude the use of *pin* ‘small’.

- (13) Lò fùva in pin laj-èt cun pauc' aua.
there EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG small lake-DIM with little.F.SG water
'There was a small lake with little water.' (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 62)

Further examples are *buébèt* ‘little boy’, *fjuchèt* ‘little fire’, and *vitgèt* ‘small village’.

There are two augmentative suffixes. One is *-ún/-una* (14 and 15).

- (14) Quaj è dòn-ún.
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG pity.M.SG-AUGM
'This is a real pity.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (15) Sònda-dumèngja vagnévan quèls ò cò a fagjévan
Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL
fjast-unas.
party-AUGM.F.PL
'On week-ends they would come here and have big parties.' (Sadrún, m4,
l. 534f.)

7.2 Word formation

Further examples are *buébuna* ‘very tall girl’, *raubuna* ‘big assets’, *ùmún* ‘big man’, and *tgèsuna* ‘big house’.

The other augmentative is *-az*, as in *fòmaz* (> *fòm* ‘hunger’) (16).

- (16) Ju a **fòm-az.**
 1SG have.PRS.1SG hunger-AUGM
 ‘I am ravenous.’ (Sadrún, m5)

The suffix *-ún/-una* is productive and can be added to almost all nouns; in contrast, the use of *-az* is very reduced and seems to be restricted to *fòmaz* in Tuatschin.

7.2.2.2 Further nominal derivational morphemes

The most common derivational suffix in the corpus is *-zjun*. It derives nouns from verbs like *còmplicazjun* ‘complication’ < *cumplir* ‘complicate’. In some cases *-zjun* derives a noun from a verb that is not used or has another meaning in Tuatschin. An example is *vòtazjun* ‘votation’, which is derived from Standard Sursilvan *votar*, but the verb that is used for ‘vote’ is *vušchá*, in Tuatschin as well as in normal Sursilvan speech. Another example is *tradizjun* ‘tradition’, which is derived from *tradi*, but *tradi* means ‘betray’ and not ‘transmit’. This means that some of the nouns that are derived by *-zjun* are learned words.

Some more examples of nouns derived by *-zjun* are *afèczjun* ‘affection’, *confadarazjun* ‘confederation’, *dirèczjun* ‘direction’, *fòrmazjun* ‘formation’, *habitazjun* ‘appartment’, *munizjun* ‘munition’, *òbligazjun* ‘obligation’, *réaczjun* ‘reaction’, and *tussègazjun* ‘poisoning’.

Another suffix that derives nouns from verbs is the feminine ending of the past participle *-ada/-èda*: *cuşchinada* ‘mixture of food’ (< *cuşchiná* ‘cook’), *santupada* ‘meeting’ (< *santupá* ‘meet’), *purschida* ‘offer’ (< *pòrscher* ‘offer’), *satagljèda* ‘cut (to oneself)’ (< *satagljá* ‘cut oneself’), and *scargjèda* ‘droving down the animals from the alps’ (< *scarge* ‘drove down’). A further example is *antschata* ‘beginning’, which is derived from *antschajvar* ‘begin’ the irregular participle of which is *antschiat* (*unm*) / *antschata* (*f*) ‘begun’. In the case of *curnada* ‘push with the horns’, the noun is derived from another noun, *tgérn/còrns* ‘horn/horns’.

-ém also derives nouns from verbs and emphasises the repetition of the action, as *samudargém* ‘constant torturing of oneself’ (< *samudargè* ‘torture oneself’).

Note that in *santupada*, *satagljèda*, and *samudargjém* the reflexive prefix *sa-* is maintained, which shows that it forms a tight unit with the verb.

The suffixes *-dad*, *-détgna/-téigna*, *-èzja*, and *-ira* derive nouns from adjectives. Examples:

7 Morphological processes

- *-dad*: *paupradad* ‘poverty’ (< *paupra* ‘poor (F.SG)'), *pussajvladad* ‘possibility’ (< *pussajvla* ‘possible’ (F.SG))
- *-adétgna/-tétgna*: *gjuvantétgna* ‘youth’ (< *gjuvan* ‘young’ (M.SG)), *marschadétgna* ‘laziness’ (< *marsch* ‘lazy’ (M.SG)), *stgiradétgna* ‘darkness’ (< *stgir* ‘dark’ (M.SG)), *végljadétgna* ‘age’ (< *végl* ‘old’ (M.SG))
- *-èzja*: *balèzja* ‘beauty’ (< *bials* ‘beautiful’ (M.SG.)), *luşchèzja* ‘proudness’ (*lüsch* ‘proud’ (M.SG)), *scartèzja* ‘lack’ (*scart* ‘rare’ (M.SG))
- *-ira*: *pupira* ‘poverty’ (< *paupar* ‘poor’ (M.SG)), and *tupira* ‘stupidity’ (< *tup* ‘stupid’ (M.SG))

The suffixes *-am*, *-èssar*², and *-za* derive nouns from nouns. Examples are *gaglinam* ‘flock of chickens’ (< *gaglina* ‘hen’), *purèssar* ‘farming sector’ (< *pur* ‘farmer’), *fòrestalèssar* ‘forestry’ (< *fòrestal* ‘forest ranger’), *scòlarèssar* ‘school sector’ (< *scùla* ‘school’), and *ufaunza* ‘childhood’ (< *ufaun* ‘child’).

The suffix *-aglja* derives nouns from verbs like in *pjaglja* ‘wages’ (< *pijè* ‘pay’) or from adjectives like in *stgiraglja* ‘darkness’ (< *stgir* ‘dark’); in the case of *panaglja* ‘butter tub’, the derivation is not clear; it could be derived from *pèn* ‘buttermilk’ (Decurtins (2012: 777)).

Prefixes are *mal-* which usually modify adjectives: *malcuntjants* ‘unsatisfied’, *malsagidajvals* ‘ungainly’, and *malsagirs* ‘unsure’, as well as *anza-/ za-* (< *ins sa* ‘one knows’) which corresponds to English ‘any’ or ‘some’ with indefinite or other prounouns: *zacù* ‘somehow’, *zacú* ‘somewhen’, *zanúa* ‘somewhere’, *anza-tgéj/zatgéj* ‘anything’, and *antzatgi/zatgi* ‘anybody’.

²This suffix is calqued from German *-wesen* ‘being, entity’.

8 Texts

In the glosses, gender is only indicated on the first element of the noun phrase; plural is always glossed. Proper nouns are anonymized and glossed PN.

The transcribed texts published in this chapter correspond to 1 hour and 35 minutes of recorded speech.

The corresponding audio files can be downloaded at:

8.1 Mia lavur

My job

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, f3, aged 75)

Recorded 2017/08/27 in Sadrún

Duration 7'15"

- 1 Ju raquénta da mia lavur tga ju a fatg
1SG tell.PRS.1SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG job REL 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM
2 als davùs òns.
DEF.M.PL last.PL year.PL

'I'll tell [you] about the job I've done for the past few years.'

- 3 Álsò ... mju ùm, lèz è schòn mòrts cun
well POSS.1SG.M.SG man DEM.M.SG be.PRS.3SG already die.PTCP.M.SG with
4 tchuncònt' òns.
fifty year.M.PL

'Well ... my husband died when he was only fifty years old.'

- 5 A lu sünd ju stada parsula anavùs cun trajš ufauns.
and then be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG alone.F.SG back with three child.M.PL

'And then I was left alone with three children.'

- 6 Álsò i èran ... grad, grat, al gròn èra racrut,
well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just just DEF.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG recruit.M.SG
7 a tschèls duş ajn amprèndissadi.
and DEM.M.PL two.PL in apprenticeship.M.SG

8 Texts

‘Well, they were ... just, the oldest was a recruit, and the other two [were] in an apprenticeship.’

- 8 A... mi’ ùm fagèva gè survigiládar, a spèras
and POSS.1SG.M.SG man do.IMPF.3SG in_fact supervisor.M.SG and in_addition
9 fagèva èl aun ah ... quaj da las sèndas da spassagè.
do.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M still eh DEM.UNM of DEF.F.PL trail.PL ATTR walk.INF

‘And ... in fact, my husband was a supervisor, and in addition he used to make ... the trails.’

- 10 Ábar lu èra quaj bigja aun schi bjè.
but then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM NEG yet so much

‘But at that time this was not that much yet.’

- 11 Api lura ... ju mava è mintgataun cun èl a dá
and then 1SG go.IMPF.1SG also sometimes with 3SG.M SUBORD give.INF
12 culur las sèndas né métar sé mùssaviaş a da quaj, api ...
colour.F.SG DEF.F.PL trail.PL or put.INF up signpost.F.PL and of DEM.UNM and
13 va[u] tartgau:
have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM

‘And then ... from time to time I would go with him to give colour [to the stones indicating] the trails or to put up signposts and things like that, and then ... I thought:’

- 14 «Ah, quaj fùs è ina lavur pr̄ mè.»
ah DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also INDEF.F.SG job for 1SG

‘Ah, this could also be a job for me.’

- 15 A lu va ju, nuš èran gè sùt la ... la
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL in_fact under DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG
16 B.A.W.¹, quaj è «cuminònza griçchuna da sèndas» da
PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG working-group.F.SG Grison of trail.F.PL of
17 Cuéra.
PN

‘And then I, we were in fact under the ... B.A.W, this means «Grison working-group of trails” in Cuera.’

¹Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege.

8.1 *Mia lavur*

- 18 A lu èra PN ah atgnamajn mju ... schèf, api lura
and then COP.IMPF.3SG PN eh actually POSS.1SG.M.SG boss and then
- 19 va ju in' jèda talafònau dad èl prquaj tg' èl
have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M because SUBORD 3SG.M
- 20 vèva trmèz in' anunzja da mòrt,
have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG announcement of death.F.SG
- 21 álso ina carta par, ah, quèls sòn è schòn
this_is_to_say INDEF.F.SG card SUBORD eh DEM.M.PL know.PRS.3PL also already
- 22 quaj, ùsa mataj tgé ... ùsa sa ju amblidá quèla,
DEM.UNM now probably COMP now can.PRS.1SG 1SG forget.INF DEM.F.SG
- 23 quèla lavur tgu fagèva bugèn² cun mi' ùm, api lu
DEM.F.SG job REL.1SG do.IMPF.1SG gladly with POSS.1SG.M.SG man and then
- 24 va ju ... tlafònau dad èl a détg, èba,
have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and say.PTCP.UNM exactly
- 25 mi' ùm ségi èba mòrts scù i
POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as 3PL
- 26 sàpian, ábar ... ju fagèssi ugèn vinavaun
know.PRS.SBJV.3PL but 1SG do.COND.INDIR.1SG with_pleasure still
- 27 quèla lavur, api ò 'l détg:
DEM.F.SG job and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM

'And then P.N. was actually my ... boss, and then I phoned him once, because he had sent a death notice, that is to say a card for, ah, they already knew that, now probably that ... now I can forget about this, this job I loved to do with my husband, and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as they knew, but ... that I would like to keep doing this job, and then he said:'

- 28 «Mir sind nid so frauäfintlich.»³

we are not so misogynistic

'We are not really misogynistic.'

- 29 Api vau détg: «Ah súpar.»

and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM oh great

'And then I said: «Oh, great!»'

- 30 A lu va ju antschiat cun quaj.
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG begin.PTCP.UNM with DEM.UNM

²Bugen is Standard Sursilvan, whereas ugèn, as in line 26, is the genuine Tuatschin form.

³Said in Swiss German.

8 *Texts*

‘And then I started with it.’

- 31 Ad ana d’ òtgòntasjat vajn nus gju ina
and year.F.SG of eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG
- 32 vòtazjun fadarala sur da las sèndas, sch’ i végn a
vote federal over of DEF.F.PL trail.PL whether EXPL FUT.AUX.3SG SUBORD
- 33 prèndar ajn quaj né bétg.
take.INF in DEM.UNM or NEG

‘And in 1987 we had a federal vote about the trails, [about] whether it would be adopted or not.’

- 34 Api ... sè quaj vagnú príu ajn, a lu
and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and then
- 35 ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi quaj da mintga
have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over DEM.UNM DAT every
- 36 cantún, a lèzs òn sèzs stavju lura ... métar
canton.M.SG and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL must.PTCP.UNM then put.INF
- 37 sén pajs quaj, èba ... cù í ... avaun, a tut, a mintga
on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM precisely how go.INF forward and all and every
- 38 vaschnaunca ò lu stavju dá ajn tut tgé ca
municipality.F.SG have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM give.INF in all what REL
- 39 la vagi, nùca la vagi lògans cun
3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG where 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG place.M.PL with
- 40 müssavias, a las sèndas, tut.
signpost.F.PL and DEF.F.PL trail.PL all

‘Then ... this has been adopted, and then the confederation handed it over to every canton, and these ... had to get it off the ground themselves, this is to say, precisely ... how to go ... on, and everything, and every municipality had then to inform about everything they had, where they had places with signposts and trails, everything.’

- 41 A sjantar òi gju nùm ... i
and after have.PRS.3SG.EXPL have.PTCP.UNM name.M.SG EXPL
- 42 ségia⁴, i mídian ò tut als muossavías.⁵
be.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3PL change.PRS.SBJV.3PL out all DEF.M.PL signpost.PL

‘And after this, one had to ... it was, they would replace all the signposts.’

⁵ ségia is a performance error for ségi.

⁵ Muossavías is Standard Sursilvan for Tuatschin müssavias.

8.1 *Mia lavur*

43 A quaj èra tschians.
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG hundred.M.PL

‘And there were hundreds [of them].’

44 Ad ju a stuvju ir' ál' antiara val a
and 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.F.SG whole valley SUBORD
45 préndar sé gl amprém tut quèls ... tut quèls ... lògans nù i
take.INF up DEF.M.SG first all DEM.M.PL all DEM.M.PL place.PL REL EXPL
46 èran muossavías.
EXIST.IMPF.3PL signpost.F.PL

‘And I had to go to the entire valley in order to first take down all these ... all these ... places where there were signposts.’

47 A sjantar ... òni ampustau tut nùfs ... pr l'
and after have.PRS.3PL.3PL order.PTCP.UNM all new.M.PL for DEF.F.SG
48 antira val.
whole valley

‘And then ... they ordered all new ones ... for the entire valley.’

49 A lura ... va ju gju dad í a mid' òra
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM to go.INF SUBORD change.INF out
50 quaj ... cun agid da ... da la vischnaunca va ju ...
DEM.UNM with help.M.SG of of DEF.F.SG municipality have.PRS.1SG 1SG
51 è aun ... stju métar ... nùvas pétgas ...
also moreover must.PTCP.UNM put.INF new.F.PL post.PL
52 bétònaj⁶, né, sédòra séssum als cuélms, schizún al
concrete.PTCP.M.PL right up_out on_top DEF.M.PL peak.PL even DEF.M.SG
53 malitèr ò gju da gidá m' in' jèd' ajnta
army have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to help.INF 1SG one.F.SG time in_up
54 Majgals, prquaj tga ajnta Majgals vagnéva adina
PN because SUBORD in_up PN PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG always
55 bombardau nündétg, al malitèr.
bomb.PTCP.UNM incredibly DEF.M.SG army

‘And then ... I had to go and replace this ... with the help of ... of the municipality I had ... also ... had to put ... new concreted ... posts, right, up there on top of the peaks, even the army had to help me once in Maighels, because up there in Maighels the army was always bombing incredibly much.’

⁶Bétònaj is a performance error for bétònadas.

8 *Texts*

- 56 Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.M.SG place where REL EXPL
57 vagnéva schau tüt la munizjun tg' i
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.F.SG munition REL EXPL
58 vèva, sigir.
EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM

'This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.'

- 59 Ad ùş è quaj nuét dal tüt.
and now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM nothing of.DEF.M.SG all

'And now there is nothing of all that [left].'

- 60 Ad ju vèva fatg gjù dad ira, dad ira ... ajnta
and 1SG have.IMPF.1SG make.PTCP.UNM down to go.INF to go.INF into
61 Majgals a métar sé muossavías.
PN SUBORD put.INF up signpost.F.PL

'And I had arranged to go, to go ... to Maighels to put up signposts.'

- 62 Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.M.SG guard of
63 survigilònza, bétga schanza da pudaj atrás, quaj dé
vigilance.F.SG NEG chance.F.SG ATTR can.INF through DEM.M.SG day
64 òni bigja schau í nuş atrás.
have.PRS.3PL.3PL NEG let.PTCP.UNM go.INF 1PL through

'And there was ... up there a vigilance guard, no way to go through, that day they didn't let us go through [that sentry].'

- 65 Ju stòpi ir' a fá gjù cun quèls sé
1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG go.INF SUBORD make.INF down with DEM.M.PL up
66 la térga dal, da Majgals, lò ségi pròpi ...
DEF.F.SG alpine_hut of.DEF.M.SG of PN there COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG exactly
67 al büro.
DEF.M.SG office

'I should go and make an appointment with those up there in the alpine hut of the, of Maighels, there, there was precisely ... the office.'

- 68 L' autar dé va ju gju la lubantscha dad
DEF.M.SG other day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG permission ATTR
69 í vidajn, ábar stòpi prèndar malitèr cun mè, tga
go.INF in but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG with 1SG REL

8.1 *Mia lavur*

- 70 vajan ... fùnc a sápiān prèndar ah, dí cu
 have.PRS.SBJV.3PL radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL take.INF ah say.INF when
 nus vajan da ... ir davùs in cuélm.
 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL to go.INF behind INDEF.M.SG mountain

‘The day after I got permission to go there, but I needed to take with me some soldiers that had a radio and would say when we should ... go behind a mountain [to protect ourselves].’

- 72 Quaj èra stau zatgé nündétg, ábar
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM something incredible.ADJ.UNM but
 73 stau u-bjals mùmènts.
 COP.PTCP.UNM ELAT-beautiful.M.PL moment.PL

‘This was something incredible, but these were very beautiful moments.’

- 74 Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vid’ al, vida
 and DEM.M.PL of DEF.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG DEF.M.SG PROG
 75 zaná al bògn, api schèvan aj:
 renovate.INF DEF.M.SG bath and_then say.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool and then they said: ’

- 76 «Nuş vajn bgja péjda ... da dá da té, nuş vajn bigja
 1PL have.PRS.1PL NEG time COMP give.INF DAT 2SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL NEG
 77 luvrèς da dá da té.»
 worker.M.PL COMP give.INF DAT 2SG

‘We have no time ... to dedicate to you, we have no workers to give to you.’

- 78 Api vau tartgau: «Jò nu⁷, lu fas halt sèza.»
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM yes now then do.PRS.2SG simply self.F.SG
 79 ad ábar turnau ajn da quaj da quindisch pétgas mèza.
 and but turn.PTCP.UNM in of DEM.UNM of fifteen post.F.PL self.1SG.F

‘And then I thought: «In this case, you simply do it yourself.» and I put in something like fifteen posts myself.’

⁷ *Jò nu*: said in Swiss German.

8 *Texts*

- 80 Prandèva simplamajn ... sablún ... mal, álsò al zamèn
take.IMPF.1SG simple.F.SG.ADV sand.M.SG bad.M.SG well DEF.M.SG cement
81 ad aua cun mè, quaj è vagnú da bètòn'
and water.F.SG with 1SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM to concrete.INF
82 ajn, a tanju ò laš aun adina.
in and hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always

‘I would simply take ... bad ... sand, that is to say cement and water with me, and this has been concreted, and they still hold.’

- 83 Pi gju dad í ... quèl' jèda cul-, sau
and_then have.PTCP.UNM to go.INF DEM.F.SG time with- know.PRS.1SG.1SG
84 bétg c' ju sùn ida da la val Strém ajnasé,
NEG when 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG from DEF.F.SG valley PN in_up
85 stuèv' í sélš bauns, ah, sél Krüzlipass, Pas
must.IMPF.1SG go.INF on.DEF.M.PL ridge.PL eh on.DEF.M.SG PN pass
86 dlas Cruschs, cun muossavías, a vèva sjat da quèlas da
of.DEF.F.PL cross.PL with signpost.F.PL and have.IMPF.1SG seven of DEM.F.PL to
87 purtá sé.
carry.INF up

‘And then I had to go ... that time with-, I don’t know when I went up the Strem valley, I had to go along the ridges, eh, on the Krüzlipass, Pass dallas Cruschs, with signposts, and I had seven of them to carry up.’

- 88 A quaj èra pasanca, api vau tartgau
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very_heavy and have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM
89 basta.
enough

‘And this was terribly heavy, and then I thought [it was] enough.’

- 90 Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.
here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG end no.M.PL

‘In the end I don’t have any down here.’

- 91 Ábar ju vèva da préndar als végl̩ anavùs.⁸
but 1SG have.IMPF.1SG to take.INF DEF.M.PL old.PL back

‘But I had to take back the old ones.’

⁸The syntax of *als végl̩* is odd in this sentence. It should be *préndar anavùs als végl̩*. The position of the direct object *als végl̩* is probably due to the fact that it is stressed.

8.1 *Mia lavur*

- 92 La sèra èr' ju cáput parquaj tga quaj
DEF.F.SG evening COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG shattered because SUBORD DEM.UNM
 93 va sé sén dua mili a trajtschian a taunts
go.PRS.3SG up on two thousand and three_hundred and so_many.M.PL
 94 mètarṣ sur mar.
metre.PL above sea.F.SG

'In the evening I used to be shattered because this goes up to 2'300 metres or so above sea level.'

- 95 Ábar ... ju a fatg faruct ugèn quaj. Gljèz
but 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM crazy.ADJ.UNM gladly DEM.UNM DEM.UNM
 96 stù ju dí.
must.PRS.1SG 1SG say.INF

'But... I really loved to do that. I must say that.'

- 97 A ... tgu sùn vagnida pènsjunada scha ...
and when.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG pension_off.PTCP.F.SG CORR
 98 ju fagèva zuar schòn avaun majnadistríct, òdar tg' ins
1SG do.IMPF.1SG although already before head_of_district.M.SG or COMP GNR
 99 ... è cò atgnamajn ... pala, pala, cuminònza da
COP.PRS.3SG here actually for.DEF.F.SG for.DEF.F.SG community of
 100 sèndas ò ála ragiún.
trail.F.PL out in.DEF.F.SG region

'And ... when I got pensioned off ... as a matter of fact, I had already worked as head of district before, or that one ... is here actually ... for the, for the community of trails in the region.'

- 101 Ad as da vaj quitaú tg' i végni
and have.2SG.GNR to have.INF worry.M.SG COMP EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 102 marcau ... tga las sèndas èn tut èn ùrdan.
mark.PTCP.UNM COMP DEF.F.PL trail.PL COP.PRS.3PL all in order.M.SG

'One has to see to it that they get marked ... that all the trails are in order.'

- 103 A lura ... ah, gljèz sùnd ju tégn ju ùssa ... végn òns.
and then eh DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG hold.1SG 1SG now twenty year.M.PL

'And then ... ah, this, I am like this, I think now ... for twenty years.'

8 *Texts*

- 104 Álsò schòn avaun, cu ju fagèva las sèndas ... èr' ju
well already before when 1SG do.IMPF.1SG DEF.F.PL trail.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG
105 schòn majnadistríct.
already head_of_district.M.SG

‘Well, already before, when I cared for the trails ... I already was head of district.’

- 106 Ad ùssa òni partju ajn quaj, al cantún
and now have.PRS.3PL.3PL divide.PTCP.UNM in DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG canton
107 ò circa trènta da quèls majnadistrícts, quèls
have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL DEM.M.PL
108 èn partí ajn ajn ragjúns, ad ju a
PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL divide.PTCP.M.PL in in region.F.PL and 1SG have.PRS.1SG
109 la val Tujétsch a Musté.⁹
DEF.F.SG valley PN and PN

‘And now they have divided that, the canton has about thirty of these heads of district, these are divided into regions, and I have the Tujetsch valley and Mustér.’

- 110 Úsa quèst' jamna vau fatg gròndas turas ... da ... da
now DEM.F.SG week have.PRS.1SG.1SG do.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL tour.PL of of
111 sis sjat uras ... gè bunamajn mintga dé.
six seven hour.F.PL yes almost every day.M.SG

‘Now this week I did long tours ... of ... of six seven hours ... yes, almost every day.’

- 112 A quaj fò adina da mé ... plaşchaj.
and DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG always DAT 1SG pleasure.M.SG

‘And this is always a ... pleasure for me. ’

- 113 Míu frá schèva aun ér: «Tgé té pùs!»
POSS.1SG.M.SG brother say.IMPF.3SG still yesterday what 2SG can.PRS.2SG

‘My brother said not later than yesterday: «[Incredible that you still] have the strength [to do that]!»’

⁹ *Musté* is the Standard Sursilvan form for Tuatschin *Mustajr*.

8.1 *Mia lavur*

114 Api vau détg, èls vágian fatg
and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
115 ina tura tschèl' jamna, ábar èl vaj quitau tga
INDEF.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week but 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG worry.M.SG COMP
116 quaj séj ...
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG

'And then I said [that] they had done a tour that week, but that he sees to it that this be'

117 Par í cu té vas adina ... hè quaj
SUBORD go.INF when 2SG.GNR go.PRS.2SG.GNR always COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
118 ... nagín pròblèm.
no.M.SG problem

'In order to go, if one always goes [there] ..., this is ... no problem at all.'

119 Na, ju fêtsch faruct ugèn quaj.
no 1SG do.PRS.1SG crazily gladly DEM.UNM

'No, I really love to do that.'

120 Ad uschéja, gè ... sch' ju pùs, fètg ju aun ... parquaj tga
and so yes if 1SG can.PRS.1SG do.PRS.1SG 1SG still because SUBORD
121 ... atgnamajn hè quaj vagnú ... uschéja parquaj tg'
actually COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM come.PTCP.UNM so because SUBORD
122 i ... las vaschnaucas, ju vasèva quaj, tiar nus scù a
EXPL DEF.F.PL municipality.PL 1SG see.IMPF.1SG DEM.UNM at 1PL and out
123 Musté, laš vaschnaucas schèvan simplamajn í ajn
PN DEF.F.PL municipality.PL let.IMPF.3PL simple.F.ADV go.INF in
124 decadènza, fagèvan nuét tg' è stau in' jèda.
decadence.F.SG do.IMPF.3PL nothing REL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG time

125

'And so, yes ... if I can I will go on doing [it] ... because ... this has actually happened ... so because they ... the municipalities, I saw that here and in Mustér, the municipalities would simply let them go into decline, they wouldn't do anything that had been done once.'

8 *Texts*

- 126 I vignéva bitga ... dau culur, i
EXPL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM colour.F.SG EXPL
- 127 vignéva bitga mirau da las sèndas.
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG look.PTCP.UNM of DEF.F.PL trail.PL
- 'They wouldn't ... give colour [to the signposts], they wouldn't care for the trails.'
- 128 A lura va ju ... in' jèda détg, cu nuš vajn
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time say.PTCP.UNM when 1PL have.PRS.1PL
- 129 gju ina sasida:
have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG meeting
- 'And then I ... said once, when we had a meeting:'
- 130 «Atgnamajn stuëssas Vus ... èssar plé rigurús.»
actually must.COND.2PL 2PL COP.INF more rigorous.M.PL
- 'Actually you ... should be more rigorous.'
- 131 Laş vaschnauncas lajn í tùt ajn décadènza.
DEF.F.PL municipality.PL let.PRS.3PL go.INF all in decadence.F.SG
- 'The municipalities let everything go into decline.'
- 132 A zacù ò da quaj ... sjaj vagnú ... tgé ...
and somehow out of DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP
- 133 quèls majnadistrícts ... òn la còmpatènza da ...
DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL have.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG competence COMP
- 134 dí dis vaschnauncas ... tgé i òn da fá,
say.INF DEF.DAT.PL municipality.F.PL what 3PL have.PRS.3PL COMP do.INF
- 135 aschí fòn bitga mù quaj tial cantún a tiala
so do.PRS.3PL NEG only DEM.UNM at.DEF.M.SG canton and at.DEF.F.SG
- 136 B.A.W.¹⁰, grat usché.
B.A.W. exactly so
- 'And somehow the result of this was that the heads of district have the authority to tell the municipalities what they have to do; so they do this not only at the canton and at the B.A.W. , that's how it is.'
- 137 Ad ajn taun a taun tjams stòni vaj fatg a
and in such.M.SG and such time must.PRS.3PL have.INF do.PTCP.UNM and
- 138 schagljùc végni lu al cantún.
otherwise come.PRS.SBJV.3SG then DEF.M.SG canton

¹⁰Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege

8.1 *Mia lavur*

‘And within a certain time limit they must have done it or otherwise the canton would intervene.’

- ¹³⁹ A nuş vajn ... la pussajvladat da ... da dí...
and 1PL have.PRS.1PL DEF.F.SG possibility COMP COMP say.INF

‘And we have ... the possibility to ... to say ...’

- ¹⁴⁰ [PhM] da far squetsch ... [f3] gè éxáct, éxáct, gè ...
COMP make.INF pressure.M.SG yes exactly exactly yes

‘[PhM] to put pressure ... [f3] yes exactly, exactly, yes ...’

- ¹⁴¹ [PhM] sin, sin las vischnaucas, gie.
on on DEF.F.PL municipality yes

‘[PhM] on, on the municipalities, yes.’

- ¹⁴² [f3] Gè, gè. A lura ... nus, nuş şchajn dis vischnaucas,
yes yes and then 1PL 1PL tell.PRS.1PL DEF.DAT.PL municipality.PL
¹⁴³ tarmatajn ábar tutina «eine Mängelmeldung»¹¹ scù quaj
send.PRS.1PL but nevertheless a report_of_damage as DEM.UNM
¹⁴⁴ ò nùm.
have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG

‘[f3] Yes, yes. And then we tell it to the municipalities, but we nevertheless send «a report of damages» as this is called.’

- ¹⁴⁵ Di B.A.W a quaj voi di cantún. A
DEF.DAT.SG B.A.W. and DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.DAT.SG canton.M and
¹⁴⁶ lu ajn ... ajn taun tjams ... a ... la in' jèda i
then in in such.M.SG time and DEF.F.SG one.F.SG time EXPL
¹⁴⁷ è, tòcan lu a lu vajš vus da ... vaj quaj
COP.PRS.3SG until then and then have.PRS.2PL 2PL COMP have.INF DEM.UNM
¹⁴⁸ ajn ... ajn ùrdan, a schigljùc fòni lu sèzs squétsch.
in in order.M.SG and otherwise make.PRS.3PL.3PL then self.M.PL pressure

‘To the B.A.W., and then it goes to the canton. And the ... in ... in a certain time ... and the ... once it is, until then and then you have to ... have this ... all right, and otherwise they put pressure themselves.’

¹¹Said in Standard German.

8 *Texts*

- 149 A quaj è al mégljar tg' ò savju
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG best COMP have.PRS.3SG can.PTCP.UNM
150 schabagè.
happen.INF

‘And this is the best that could have happened.’

- 151 Na, ùsa tiar nus ... diani álşò ségi fétg bian.
no now at 1PL say.PRS.3PL.3PL well COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG very good.UNM

‘No, well, now at our place ... they say that it’s very good.’

- 152 Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna stù adina
but precisely 1SG say.PRS.1SG always INDEF.F.SG woman must.PRS.3SG always
153 dá cul pal.
give.INF with.DEF.M.SG post

‘But in fact, I always say that a woman must always hit with a post.’

- 154 Pugns sén majşa duaş jèdas aun zatgé.
fist.M.PL on table.F.SG two.F.PL time.PL still something

‘The fists on the table at least twice or even more.’

- 155 Quaj crajs bé, l' antschata cu ju a
DEM.UNM believe.PRS.2SG.GNR NEG DEF.F.SG beginning when 1SG have.PRS.1SG
156 surpriú quaj, èri, èri da
take_on.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of
157 quèls tgé ... mataj¹² tg' ina fèmna sapi fá da
DEM.M.PL REL probably COMP INDEF.F.SG woman can.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.INF of
158 quaj.
DEM.UNM

‘This you don’t believe, at the beginning when I took on this job, there were, there were some men who ... [would say] that a woman is not able to do that.’

- 159 Gè grat uschéja, ábar ju, ina da la natira ad a
yes exactly so but 1SG one.F.SG of DEF.F.SG nature and have.PRS.3SG
160 adina ... vulju fá mi' òbligazjun a finju,
always want.PTCP.UNM do.INF POSS.1SG.F.SG obligation and finish.PTCP.UNM
161 a tschèls dajan è fá.
and DEM.M.PL must.PRS.3PL also do.INF

¹² *Mataj* means ‘probably’; in this context, it is used ironically in the sense of ‘impossibly’.

8.2 Òrd mia véta

‘Yes, exactly like that. But I, a person who likes nature, and I have always ... wanted to meet my obligations, and the other people should also do [the same].’

- 162 Anqual jèda ... drùvi halt ... da dí.
some time.F.SG must.PRS.3SG.EXPL just COMP say.INF

‘It is sometimes ... just necessary ... to say [it].’

8.2 Òrd mia véta

Out of my life

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, m1, aged 81)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 6'

- 163 Nus fièvan al pur, ad ju vès ugèn ampríu
1PL do.IMPF.1PL DEF.M.SG farmer and 1SG have.COND.1SG gladly learn.PTCP.UNM
164 da majstar, majstar, pér ... scrinari.
of joiner.M.SG joiner.M.SG only carpenter.M.SG

‘We were farmers, and I would have liked to become a joiner, joiner, [or] only ... carpenter.’

- 165 Ju lèv' amprèndar da majstar, quaj vès ju
1SG want.IMPF.1SG learn.INF of joiner.M.SG DEM.UNM have.COND.1SG 1SG
166 gju al dun da, né vès gju tschafan.
have.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG gift of or have.COND.1SG have.PTCP.UNM desire.M.SG

‘I wanted to become a joiner, I would have had the gift to [do it], or I would have had the desire.’

- 167 Ad ju èra, vèva ... in buéb, in frá
and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG have.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG boy INDEF.M.SG brother
168 è dašgrazjaus tgu vèv' òtg majns
be.PRS.3SG have_accident.PTCP.M.SG REL.1SG have.IMPF.1SG eight month.M.PL
169 ála Val Milá, ála grépa, ad ju vèv' aun
in.DEF.F.SG valley PN in.DEF.F.SG rock.COLL and 1SG have.IMPF.1SG in_addition
170 duas sòras, a tschaj èr' ju buép parsul.
two.F.PL sister.PL and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG boy.M.SG alone.M.SG

8 *Texts*

‘And I was, had ... a boy, a brother had an accident when I was eight months old, in the Val Milá, in the rocks, and in addition I had two sisters, hence I was the only boy.’

- 171 Api al bap ... èr, plé baut èr’ aj
and DEF.M.SG father.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL
172 al fagljét tgi fijèv’ al pur.
DEF.M.SG son.M.SG.DIM REL do.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG farmer

‘And my father ... was, in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.’

- 173 A lu ò ‘l bab détg sé pr mè:
and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father say.PTCP.UNM up for 1SG

‘And then my father said to me:’

- 174 «Gè, i fùs schòn flòt, ábar ju sùn è
yes EXPL COP.COND.3SG really great.ADJ.UNM but 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
175 vagnúş atrás cun fá ‘l pur.»
come.PTCP.M.SG through with do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer

‘«Yes, this would be really great, but I also could earn a living by being a farmer.»’

- 176 Api saj stau finju par mè.
and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG

‘And that was it.’

- 177 Ju a fatg al pur, a finju.
1SG have.1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer and finish.PTCP.UNM

‘I became a farmer, and that’s the end of the story.’

- 178 Quaj ò bégja dau discusjun.
DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM discussion.M.SG

‘There was no discussion.’

- 179 Ad usché va ju fatg al pur adina, a ...
and so have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer always and
180 sùn lu maridaus, a gju quátar ufaunş,
be.PRS.1SG then married.PTCP.M.SG and have.PTCP.UNM four child.M.PL

8.2 *Òrd mia véta*

181 in buéb a trajs ... buébas, a quèls èn tùts ...
 one.M.SG boy and three girl.F.PL and DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL all.M.PL
 182 ampríu mistrégn, trajs èn ... vi da quaj da
 learn.PTCP.UNM profession.M.SG three COP.PRS.3PL at of DEM.UNM of
 183 mazauns.
 ill.M.PL

‘And so I have always been a farmer, and ... got married, and had four children, a boy and three ... girls, and these are all, learned a profession, three are learning to become a nurse.’

184 Ina studègja ... a a Winterthur ad ò, ad ò
 one.F.SG study.PRS.3SG in in PN and have.PRS.3SG and have.PRS.3SG
 185 surpríu in ... Heim¹³ da ... Heim da duatschian,
 take_over.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG home.M.SG of home.M.SG of two_hundred
 186 ò fatg scùlas vinavaun ... stada in
 have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further COP.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.M.SG
 187 téc plé pardèrta tgé quaj tgu èra.
 bit more clever.F.SG than DEM.UNM REL.1SG COP.IMPF.1SG

‘One studies ... in in Winterthur and has, and has taken over a ... home of ... a home of two hundred, kept going to school ... was a little bit cleverer than I was.’

188 A la dùna èra schùber ... ad ina tg'
 and DEF.F.SG woman COP.IMPF.3SG clean.ADJ.UNM and one.F.SG REL
 189 ò luvrau stédi.
 have.PRS.3SG work.PTCP.UNM diligent.ADJ.UNM

‘And my wife was very ... and one who always worked hard.’

190 A ... álsò ina stat a Bèrn, ad in' è cò
 and well one.F.SG stay.PRS.3SG in PN and one.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG here
 191 tial miadi, al fègl è è cò.
 by.DEF.M.SG doctor DEF.M.SG son COP.PRS.3SG also here

‘And ... well, one lives in Bern, and another stays here with the doctor, and my son is also here.’

¹³ *Heim*, German for Romansh *asil*.

8 *Texts*

- 192 A ... da gjuvantétgna, né da buéts, tg' nuş èran buéts ...
 and of youth.F.SG or of boy.M.PL REL 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL boy.M.PL
 193 savès ju raquintá ina.
 can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF one.F.SG

‘And of my youth, or of our boyhood, when we were boys ... I could tell a [story].’

- 194 Tiar nus ... la dumèngja, sjantar vjaspras, mavan nus sé, sé
 by 1PL DEF.F.SG Sunday after vesper.F.PL go.IMPF.1SG 1SG up up
 195 landstròs ... a dèvan bupalùta.
 main_road.F.SG and give.IMPF.1PL “bupalùta”.F.SG

‘On Sundays, after having celebrated vespers, we would go up to the main road ... and play «bupalùta».’

- 196 Èr' in bal, a quaj dèv' ins cun in fist,
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG ball and DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG GNR with DEF.M.SG stick
 197 a dèvan quaj ála landstròs, quaj mava
 and give.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM in.DEF.F.SG main_road.F.SG DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG
 198 fòrsa in autò gl antiar sjantarmjadš-dé, autar nuét.
 maybe INDEF.M.SG car DEF.M.SG whole afternoon.M.SG other.M.G. nothing

‘[This] was a ball, and you played it with a stick, and we played this on the main road, at that time only one car would pass by during the whole afternoon, nothing else.’

- 199 La landstròs, quaj è hauptstròs.¹⁴
 DEF.F.SG landstròs DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG main_road.F.SG

‘The «landstròs», this is the «hauptstròs».’

- 200 Ju réjsda da Tujetsch, nias, gè.
 1SG speak.1SG of PN POSS.1PL.M.SG yes

‘I am speaking the dialect of Tujetsch, ours, yes.’

- 201 Da quèls plajds¹⁵, i èra da quèls plajds, ah, fétg-fétg
 of DEM.M.PL word.PL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL word.PL eh RED~very
 202 déra...[saj], a è autar, c' nus mavan ah a
 widespread.M.PL and also other.ADJ.UNM when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL eh SUBORD

¹⁴ «Landstròs» and «hauptstròs» are two Germanisms which are not in use any more, at least among younger people. The «landstròs» is now called *Via Alp*, and the «hauptstròs» *stradún* (m.).

8.2 *Òrd mia véta*

203 fá fajn ni uschéja ... schèva la mùm' adina:
make.INF hay.M.SG or so say.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG mother always

'Such words, precisely such words, eh, very widespread ones, and and also others, when we went and made hay or so ... my mother would always say:'

204 «Vajas quitaу vuš majš šul' landstròs òrd via.
have.IMP.2PL worry.M.SG 2PL go.PRS.2PL over.DEF.F.SG main_way out way.F.SG

'Be careful going out over the «landstròs».'

205 Vajas quitaus cu vuš majš sur la lingja via ...¹⁶
have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.F.SG line over
206 dal dšùc, dal zùc¹⁷.»
of.DEF.M.SG train.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG train

'Be careful when you cross the railway line, the railway line.'

207 Al lungatg èra uschéja.
DEF.M.SG language COP.IMPF.3SG so

'The language was like this.'

208 [PhM] Cun biars plaids tudestgs.
with many.M.PL word.PL German.PL

'[PhM] With many German words.'

209 [m1] Gè, str̄mantús bjè. Str̄mantús bjè.
yes terrible.ADJ.UNM many terrible.ADJ.UNM many

'[m1] Yes, too many. Too many.'

210 Òz sè quaj ah, òz sèni schòn autar,
today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM eh today COP.PRS.3PL.3PL in_fact different
211 òz sèn aj ... la stradún.
today COP.PRS.3PL EXPL DEF.F.SG street.M.SG.AUGM

'Nowadays this is, eh, as a matter of fact they are different, nowadays they are [called] ... the «big street». '¹⁸

¹⁵ *Da quèls plajds* replaces an unintelligible part of the text.

¹⁷ *Via* is an old synonym of *vi* 'over'.

¹⁷ *Zug* is the German word for *trèn* 'train'.

¹⁸ *Stradún* is masculine; maybe the speaker has been mislead by the fact that *strada* 'street' or *via* 'way' are feminine.

8 *Texts*

- 212 Òz saj al al Furka né al ... la ban¹⁹
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG PN or DEF.M.SG DEF.F.SG train
 213 né scù i végn raşdau òz sén tudèstg.
 right as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM today on German.M.SG

‘Today it is the Furka or the ... the *ban* ‘train’, as nowadays it is called in German.’
 (i.e the Matterhorn-Gotthard-Bahn)

- 214 Sjantar ... tgu sùn staus maridaus
 after SUBORD.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG marry.PTCP.M.SG
 215 vajn nus, va ju éba fatg al pur ...
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG precisely do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer
 216 né ... vajn aun gè avaun da maridá ...
 right have.PRS.1PL already yes before SUBORD get_married.INF
 217 èri ... paucs raps.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL little.M.PL money.PL

‘After ... I got married, we have, I worked as a farmer ... right? ... before we got married ... we already had ... we hadn’t much money.’

- 218 Durònt l’ ujara, nus mavan òrasé ál ustria ...
 during DEF.F.SG war 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out_up in.DEF.F.SG restaurant
 219 la dumèngja sjantarmjadş-dé ... cun tschuncònta raps a
 DEF.F.SG Sunday.F.SG afternoon.M.SG with fifty cent.M.PL and
 220 vèvans ... in ájndarli, quaj dèvi par
 have.IMPF.1PL.1PL INDEF.M.SG one_decilitre DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL for
 221 tschuncònta raps.
 fifty cent.M.PL

‘During war we used to go up to the restaurant ... on Sunday afternoon ... with fifty cents and we had ... one decilitre of wine, this would cost fifty cents.’

- 222 Quaj dèvi par tschuncònta raps.
 DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL for fifty cent.M.PL

‘This would cost fifty cents.’

- 223 Ad ah ... nus mavan cun skiş, scù quaj tg’ ins vèva
 and eh 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL as DEM.UNM REL GNR have.IMPF.3SG
 224 skis, ju sùn aun jus cun skis da la büt ... a
 ski.M.PL 1SG be.PRS.1SG still go.PTCP.M.SG with ski.M.PL of DEF.F.SG barrel and

¹⁹ *Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for ‘train’.

8.2 *Òrd mia véta*

225 a farmau ... farmau vitlùndar in cazè.
and tie.PTCP.UNM tie.PTCP.UNM on_it INDEF.M.SG shoe

‘And ah we used to go skiing, with the kind of skis we had [at that time], in fact I would go with skis made from a barrel ... and I would tie ... tie a shoe on it.’

226 A sjantar c’ ins mava, sch’ mav’ ins sél Albsú
and after SUBORD GNR go.IMPF.3SG CORR go.IMPF.3SG GNR on.DEF.M.SG PN
227 cul trèn, a quaj custav’ in franc ... dad í
with.DEF.M.SG train and DEM.UNM cost.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG franc COMP go.INF
228 sédòra.

up

‘And after this, if one went, one would go up to the Alpsu [pass] by train and this cost one franc ... to go up there.’

229 A quaj stèvnṣ èssar ... pulits-pulits l’
and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well behaved.M.PL DEF.F.SG
230 jamna ... tg’ al bap dètschi²⁰ in frang a miaz.
week SUBORD DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG franc and half.M.SG

‘And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my father would give [us] one and a half francs.’

231 Sjantar savèvans aun cumprá ina tschuculata da curònta
after can.IMPF.1PL.1PL in_addition buy.INF INDEF.F.SG chocolate of forty
232 raps.
cent.M.PL

‘After that we could, in addition, buy a chocolate for forty cents.’

233 Álsò uschéja sè quaj vagnú ad è, qu’
well so be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM come.PTCP.UNM and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
234 è stau bi. Qu’ è stau
be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM nice.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM
235 bi.
nice.ADJ.UNM

‘Well, that’s how it happened, and was, this was nice. This was nice.’

236 Tùts stuèvan spargnè. Finadín. Vèvan nagins ... réhs.
all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF everyone have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL rich.PL

²⁰ *Dètschi* is an old form; the modern form of the subjunctive of *dá* ‘give’ is *dèti*.

8 *Texts*

‘Everyone had to save. Absolutely everyone. We had no ... rich people.’

- 237 Tùts paupars. Tùts paupars. Tùts puráncals, gè, a
all.M.PL poor.PL all.M.PL poor.PL all.M.PL small_farmer.PL yes and
238 stèvan mirá sél rap.
must.IMPF.3PL look.INF on.DEF.M.SG penny

‘All poor. All poor. All small farmers, and they had to control every penny.’

- 239 A bi ... la gjuvantétgna, vèvans lu, vajn
and nice.ADJ.UNM DEF.F.SG youth have.IMPF.1PL.1PL then have.PRS.1PL
240 nus gju plé bi ... tga quèls dad òz.
1PL have.PTCP.UNM more nice.ADJ.UNM than DEM.M.PL of today

‘And nice ... our youth, we then had, we had a nicer [youth] than those nowadays.’

- 241 Quaj èra in èssar, quaj èra paupradat.
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG be.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG
242 Nus vajn vju ‘l paupar. Té aş è aun ...
1PL have.PRS.1PL see.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG poor.M.SG 2SG have.2SG also still
243 santju dal paupar.
feel.PTCP.UNM of poor.M.SG

‘This was a way of living, this was poverty. We have experienced poverty. You too ... experienced poverty.’

- 244 Ju sa, nus vivévan cùl, cùl ... ajn, a
1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG live.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG in in
245 madèm’ tgèsa cùl, cun mju auc, cun in
same.F.SG house with.DEF.M.SG with POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle with INDEF.M.SG
246 frá da mju bap.
brother of POSS.1SG.M.SG father

‘I know, we lived with the, with the ... in, in the same house with the, with my uncle, with a brother of my father.’

- 247 A quaj èra mù in ganc tras. A quaj
and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through and DEM.M.SG
248 gang udéva dad òmaṣdús.
corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL

‘And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].’

8.2 *Òrd mia véta*

²⁴⁹ In èra da quèla famiglja, ad in da tschèla.
one.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG of DEM.F.SG family and one.M.SG of DEM.F.SG

‘One belonged to this family, and one to the other.’

²⁵⁰ A quaj la damaun cu i èra da da lavá,
and DEM.UNM DEF.F.SG morning when EXPL be.IMPF.3SG to to get_up.INF
²⁵¹ la mùma pétgáva sé cul mòni-scúa [par clumá
DEF.F.SG mother knock.IMPF.3SG up with.DEF.M.SG broomstick SUBORD call.INF
²⁵² nus], fijèva lavá nus ... tschèla l', l' ònda Tina
1PL make.IMPF.3SG get_up.INF 1PL DEM.F.SG DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG aunt PN
²⁵³ era ... ad uschéja mava quaj atrás.
also and so go.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM through

‘And so in the morning, when we had to to get up, my mother knocked with the broomstick [in order to call us], made us get up ... the other the, aunt Tina also ... and that’s the way things happened.’

²⁵⁴ Al, al ... sjantar mavan nus, gè, stèvan nus ... í a
DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG after go.IMPF.1PL 1PL yes must.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF to
²⁵⁵ scùla, tut quaj èra ... tut símpal culs ...
school.F.SG all DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very simple.ADJ.UNM with.DEF.M.PL
²⁵⁶ cùdischs sùt bratsch, gnanc ina tèscha.
book.PL under arm.M.SG not_even INDEF.F.SG bag

‘The, the ... and then we would go, yes, we had to ... go to school, this was ... very simple with the ... books under the arm, not even a bag.’

²⁵⁷ Lu gnang vèv' ins, vèvans ina tèscha.
then not_even have.IMPF.3SG GNR have.IMPF.1PL.1PL INDEF.F.SG bag

‘At that time one hadn’t, we didn’t even have a bag.’

²⁵⁸ A durònt l' ujara ... vèva lu al bap api
and during INDEF.F.SG war have.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG father and
²⁵⁹ mju auc ... als dus frás ansjaman patarlavan
POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle DEF.M.PL TWO.M.PL brother.PL together chatter.IMPF.3PL
²⁶⁰ ajn gang, ajn ... zulè.²¹
in corridor.M.SG in corridor.M.SG

‘And during war ... my father and my uncle had ... the two brothers used to chatter together in the «gang», in ... the corridor.’

²¹Gang is the German word for ‘corridor’, and zulè is the Romansh one.

8 *Texts*

- 261 Nuş şchèvan ajn gang. Ah, sur da l' ujara.
1PL say.IMPF.1PL on «gang».M.SG ah over of INDEF.F.SG war

‘We used to say «ajn gang». Ah, about the war.’

- 262 A quèls stèvan uras dad uras a raquintavan da
and DEM.M.PL stay.IMPF.3PL hour.F.PL of hour.F.PL and tell.IMPF.3PL of
263 la, da, sur da l' ujara, da quaj tg' èra fòrsa
DEF.F.SG of over of DEF.F.SG war of DEM.UNM REL be.IMPF.3SG maybe
264 la ... schabjau avaun quindisch dis.
DEF.F.SG happen.PTCP.UNM before fifteen day.M.PL

‘And they stayed for hours and hours speaking about the, about the war, about what had maybe ... happened a fortnight before.’

- 265 Partgé nuş vèvan nagíns talafòns, nagín rádjò, nuét.
because 1PL have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL phone.PL no.M.SG radio nothing

‘Because we had no phones, no radio, nothing.’

- 266 Las nòtzjas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs,
DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.M.PL parents.PL
267 als duş baps prandèvan aj, i dèva ajnta Ruèras,
DEF.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG in PN
268 dèv' aj in tga vèva rádjò.
EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG radio.M.SG

‘I don’t know where my parents had the news from, the two fathers took them, there was in Rueras, there was [only] one who had a radio.’

- 269 In sulèt tga vèva rádjò. A mju bap
one.M.SG only.M.SG REL have.3SG radio.M.SG and POSS.1SG.M.SG father
270 ò lu gju l' amprém al rádjò.
have.PRS.3SG then have.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG first DEF.M.SG radio

‘Only one had a radio. And it was my father who was the first one to have a radio.’

- 271 Èl vèva schi gròn plaschaj, quèl bunamajn mava
3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost go.IMPF.3SG
272 ajn cul tgau ajl rádjò.
into with.DEF.M.SG head in.DEF.M.SG radio

‘He had such great pleasure, he almost would go into the radio with his head.’

8.2 *Òrd mia véta*

Figure 8.1: The village of Rueras

²⁷³ A sjantar, gè, va ju ... sè 'l bap lu
and after yes have.PRS.1SG 1SG be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father then

²⁷⁴ mòrts, tgu vèva ... mù vèntgadús òns.
die.PTCP.M.SG when.REL.1SG have.IMPF.3SG only twenty-two year.M.PL

'And after that, yes, I had ... my father then died when I was ... only 22 years old.'

²⁷⁵ Sùn lu maridaus duş òns sjantar. A ... ad ju
be.PRS.1SG then marry.PTCP.M.SG two.M.PL year.PL later and and 1SG
²⁷⁶ savèva, èl vèva maj schau òr da maun da
know.IMPF.1SG 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG never let.PTCP.UNM out of hand.M.SG DAT
²⁷⁷ mé bjè.
1SG much

'I then got married two years later. And ... and I knew, he had never let me be really responsible [for the farm].'

²⁷⁸ Ad èra stau in gréjv mùmèn cun
and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG difficult.M.SG moment with
²⁷⁹ sissòntanùv òns. Èl vèva gju ina ...
sixty-nine year.M.PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG
²⁸⁰ ambòlí, gè ... gè.
embolism yes yes

8 Texts

‘And this had been a difficult moment, at age sixty-nine. He’d had an ... embolism, yes ... yes.’

- 281 A lu sjantar vau adina fatg al pur, ábar
and then after have.PRS.1SG.1SG always do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer but
282 ju sùn ùş bigja staus ... in dals fétg buns
1SG be.PRS.1SG now NEG COP.PTCP.M.SG one.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG very good.M.PL
283 purs.
farmer.PL

‘And since then I have always worked as a farmer, but I’ve never been ... one of the best farmers.’

- 284 A gju quèl al plé gròn plaşchaj ... da ...
and have.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG more big.M.SG.UNM pleasure of
285 surprèndar lavurs da maridur a da májstar, a mava
take_over.INF job.F.PL of bricklayer.M.SG and of joiner.M.SG and go.IMPF.1SG
286 plé bjè sén gljèz.
more often on DEM.UNM

‘And had the greatest pleasure ... to take over bricklayers’ or joiners’ jobs, and I did more often that [kind of work.]’

- 287 Ábar al pur figèva ju lu èra, a figèva è,
but DEF.M.SG farmer do.IMPF.1SG 1SG then also and do.IMPF.1SG also
288 vèv’ è plaşchaj vi da quaj vi da tschaj, ábar bigja
have.IMPF.1SG also pleasure.M.SG over of DEM.UNM over of DEM.UNM but NEG
289 intgarnaus cù nuş şchajn ... pròpi ... quaj sùnd ju, quaj
inveterate.M.SG as 1PL say.PRS.1PL really DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG DEM.UNM
290 détschu, quaj sùnd ju maj staus.
say.PRS.1SG.1SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG never COP.PTCP.M.SG

‘But then I also worked as a farmer, and did it also, also had pleasure in this and that, but [I wasn’t] an inveterate farmer as we say ... really ... this I have, this I say, this I have never been.’

- 291 Ábar tschaj è bi, ju a lu sjantar
but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG then after
292 gju ... calau da fá ‘l pur tgu
have.PTCP.UNM stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer when.REL.1SG
293 vèva tgéj? ... tschuncònt’ òns.
have.IMPF.1SG what fifty year.M.PL

8.2 *Òrd mia véta*

‘But that is nice, I then had ... stopped working as a farmer when I was ... fifty years old.’

- 294 A sjantar surpríu acòrds adin-adina.
and after take_over.PTCP.UNM piecework.M.PL RED~always

‘And afterwards [I] took over piecework, always.’

- 295 Vi da lavinèras, né vi dad uauts, né vi da da ...
over of avalanche_barrier.F.PL or over of woods.F.PL or over of of
296 cùla la, da l' arùndazjún vèv' ju
with.DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG of DEF.F.SG joining_of_properties.F.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG
297 méz tüt als tjarms, a qu' èra
put.PTCP.UNM all DEF.M.PL boundary_stone.PL and DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG
298 stau gròndas lavurs a a a lavurs tgu a
COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL and and work.F.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG
299 gju tscháfan da fá ... a schòn stau
have.PTCP.UNM desire.M.MSG COMP do.INF and really COP.PTCP.UNM
300 hèfti ábar ... fadjau bjè raps.
strenuous.UNM but earn.PTCP.UNM much cent.M.PL

‘For the avalanche barriers, or for the forests, or for the the ... for the, the joining of properties I had put all the boundary stones, and this had been hard work and and work I was pleased to do ... and it has indeed been strenuous but ... [I] earned a lot of money.’

- 301 A sjantar ... cu quaj è jus a ... a lu è aun
and after when DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.MSG and and then also still
302 ugagjau a bagjau ina tgèsa da trajs habitazjuns,
dare.PTCP.UNM and build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG house of three apartment.F.PL
303 ana sjatònta, a quaj è vagnú ajn danès tgu
year seventy and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM in money.M.PL REL.1SG
304 vèva aun maj vju raps.
have.IMPF.1SG yet never see.PTCP.UNM cent.M.PL

‘And then ... when this happened and ... and [I] then dared to build a house with three apartments, in 1970, and so I earned an amount of money that I had never seen [in my life].’

- 305 Aun taunts raps. Qu' èba lu, lu sa[j]
still so_much.M.PL cent.PL DEM.UNM just then then COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL
306 ju.
go.PTCP.UNM

8 Texts

‘Imagine so much money. That’s the way it happened.’

307 Avaun èrans schi anavùs a tùtajnìna şè quaj
before COP.IMPF.1PL.1PL so backward and suddenly be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
308 vagnú uschéja. A lu va ju, va ju èra lò
come.PTCP.UNM so and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PRS.1SG 1SG also there
309 fatg vinavaun, puspè cun ... luvrau fétg, la
make.PTCP.UNM forward again with work.PTCP.UNM much DEF.F.SG
310 dùna ò lu è luvrau cun ... fétg, èla è
woman have.PRS.3SG then also work.PTCP.UNM with much 3SG.F COP.F.SG
311 ina simpla fèmna, a luvrau fétg.
INDEF.F.SG simple woman and work.PTCP.UNM much

‘Before we were so backward, and suddenly it happened this way. And in this situation I went on, again with, working hard, my wife also contributed ... a lot, she is a simple woman, worked hard.’

8.3 Al tat

My grandfather

(Tuatschin, Sadrún, m4, aged 68)

Recorded 2017/03/13 in Sadrún

Duration 15'20"

312 Gè, ju a atgnamajn príu, príu avaun da
yes 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually take.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM before COMP
313 préndar ah, zatgéj històrjas cò da quaj ah détgas a
take.INF eh something story.F.PL here of DEM.UNM eh legend.F.PL and
314 praulaş ábar ju a lu vju ajn général cò,
fairy_tale.F.PL but 1SG have.PRS.1SG then see.PTCP.UNM in general here
315 vau príu quaj cùdisch cò da la
have.PRS.1SG.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.F.SG
316 mütlòögía²², a quaj ajn général cuértas.
mythology and DEM.UNM in general short.F.PL

‘Actually, I had planned to take, eh, some stories here from these legends and fairy tales, I then saw [that] generally here [i.e. in the book], I took this book of mythology, but these [are] in general short ones.’

²²The narrator refers to Büchli (1966), which is in sight and at which he was pointing.

8.3 *Al tat*

317 Lu sùnd ju sadacidjus da ... rasdá in pau
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.SG little
 318 sur da la ... da mi' ufaunza, a lu cunzún ah c' ju
 over of DEF.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood and then especially eh when 1SG
 319 sùn staus anzjaman cul tat ajn Pardatsch.
 be.PRS.1SG be.PTCP.M.SG together with.DEF.M.SG grandfather up PN

'Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood, and then especially when I was together with my grandfather up in Pardatsch.'

320 Quaj è pia al ... al tat da la vart da
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG thus DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG grandfather of DEF.F.SG side of
 321 la mùma.
 DEF.F.SG mother

'So that is ... my grandfather from my mother's side.'

322 Èl vèva nùm PN, èl è naschjus méli ad
 3SG have.IMPF.3SG name PN 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG born.PTCP.M.SG thousand and
 323 òtgotschian òtgòntasjat, a mòrts sin méli a ...
 eight_hundred eighty-seven and die.PTCP.M.SG on thousand and
 324 nùvtschian sissòntasjat, pia vagnús da quèla, da
 nine_hundred sixty-seven therefore become.PTCP.M.SG at DEM.F.SG at
 325 quèls òns schòn ... òtgònt' òns.
 DEM.M.PL year.PL already eighty year.M.PL

'His name was PN, he was born 1887 and died 1967, so he was at that time already ... eighty years old.'

326 Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònda famiglja, èls
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG very big family 3PL.M
 327 òn gju indisch ufauns, in è
 have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM eleven child.M.PL one.M.SG be.PRS.3SG
 328 mòrts, ah, tga 'l vèva circa curònta curòntatschun
 die.PTCP.M.SG eh SUBORD 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG about forty forty-five
 329 òns ò 'l gju in accidèn ajnta Nalbs,
 year.M.PL have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG accident up PN
 330 èra vida ... piná lèna, a survagnú in pégn,
 COP.IMPF.3SG PROG fell.INF wood.COLL and get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG spruce
 331 schmacau èl.
 squash.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M

8 *Texts*

'This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children, one died, eh, when he was around forty forty-five years old, he had an accident in Nalps, he was cutting trees and got a spruce, squashed him.'

- 332 Als da Surajn òn gju bjè pupira, álsò i
DEF.M.PL of PN have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM much poverty.F.SG well EXPL
333 è ina ... històrja ... dètg trista par part aun.
COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG story.F.SG very sad for part still

'Those relatives who lived in Surrein were very poor, well, it is also a ... very sad ... story, at least some parts of it.'

- 334 A zuar ah da quaj mùmèn tga 'l ... tga 'l
and namely ah from DEM.M.MSG moment REL DEF.M.MSG REL DEF.M.MSG
335 tat vèva da fá cun gnarvaš.
grandfather have.IMPF.3SG to do.IMP with nerve.F.PL

'Namely from the moment when my ... when my grandfather had problems with his nerves.'

- 336 Ju sùn vagnús séssúra quaj ... bjè plé tart, pér cun
1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.MSG on DEM.UNM much more late only with
337 quindisch végn òns; avaun c' ju sùn staus
fifteen twenty year.M.PL before SUBORD 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.MSG
338 tial tat savèvu da quaj nuét a
at.DEF.M.MSG grandfather know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and
339 vès è bitga safatg ajn zatgé spazjal.
have.COND.1SG also NEG REFL.do.PTCP.UNM in something special.ADJ.UNM

'I found out about that ... much later, only when I was fifteen or twenty years old, before I stayed with my grandfather I didn't know anything and I wouldn't have noticed anything either.'

- 340 Scù la mùma ò raquintau sjantar, hè quaj
as DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG tell.PTCP.UNM after COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
341 darivau da ... d' avaun òns, a zuar ah, èls ...,
come_from.PTCP.UNM from from before year.M.PL and namely eh 3PL.M
342 quaj èra schòn ajn als ghéns èra quaj
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG already in DEF.M.PL gene.PL COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
343 schòn ajn, ábar pròpi ah ... dau la davùsa ... frida
already in but really eh give.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG last blow
344 òi c' i òn gju cò misjun.
EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM here mission.F.SG

8.3 *Al tat*

'As my mother told [me] later, this had come from, from years ago, namely, ah, they ... it was already in his genes was this already, but he got the the final blow when they [the catholic Fathers] had a mission here.'

- 345 Quaj èra pàdars tga vagnévan, parvi da mè mintg'
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG Father.M.PL REL come.IMPF.3PL because of 1SG every
346 áutar òn fagévan misjun.
other.M.SG year make.IMPF.3PL mission.F.SG

'These were Fathers who came, let's say every two years they undertook a mission.'

- 347 A quaj èra par part èra quaj schòn, şbiars
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG for part COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM really thug.PL
348 şchëss ins òz bunamajn; quèls mavan sén scantschala
say.COND.3SG GNR nowadays almost DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL on pulpit.F.SG
349 a pardjavan al blùt gjával, malagjavan al gjával vit
and preach.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG naked devil paint.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG devil on
350 la prajt.
DEF.F.SG wall

'And these were partly, nowadays one would almost call them thugs; these would go to the pulpit and preach the devil in person, and imagine the worst.'

- 351 Al tat, scù la mùma ò raquintau,
DEF.M.SG grandfather as DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG tell.PTCP.UNM
352 è sapriúş ajn quaj schi starmantús tga
be.PRS.3SG REFL.take.PTCP.M.SG in DEM.UNM so terrible.ADJ.UNM SUBORD
353 'l è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna nùndétga, ad
3SG.M be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into in INDEF.F.SG hole awful and
354 ò lu stu í a fá cura,
have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF SUBORD make.INF treatment.F.SG
355 mass' òns, a ... sjantar lu saravagnús, ábar maj
many year.M.PL and after then REFL.come_again.PTCP.M.SG but never
356 pròpi staus ajn gamba.
really COP.PTCP.M.SG in leg.F.SG

'My grandfather, as my mother told [me], took this so seriously that he fell in an awful hole, and for many years he had to go to a health resort, and ... after that he recovered, but he was never really well.'

8 *Texts*

357 Èl èr' in tüp tga raşdava bigja bjè, ju
 3SG COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG fellow REL speak.IMPF.3SG NEG much 1SG
 358 a gju fétg-fétg bian cun èl, ábar ah, gè
 have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM RED~very good.UNM with 3SG.M but eh yes
 359 qu' è lu stau in tjamş ualti dir cunzún
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time quite hard especially
 360 par la tata, cun cun tauns ufaunş a par
 for DEF.F.SG grandmother with with so_many.M.PL children.PL and for
 361 clégj şèni lu sagiraj, èls, qu' èra
 luck.M.SG COP.PRS.3PL.3PL then insure.PTCP.M.PL 3PL.M DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 362 schòn ina grònda difarènza da vagliadétgna, tg' èn lu...
 really INDEF.F.SG big difference of age.F.SG COMP COP.PRS.3PL then
 363 sagiraj tg' è zacù ju.
 insure.PTCP.M.PL COMP COP.PRS.3SG somehow go.PTCP.UNM

'He was a person who didn't speak much, I got along very well with him, but, eh, yes, this was then a very hard time, especially for my grandmother, with so many children, and fortunately they were insured, they, there was a really big difference in age, that they were insured, so they could manage it in some way.'

364 Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls spargnavan è
 but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG DEM.M.PL save.IMPF.3PL also
 365 starmantús, stuèvan spargnè, a ... ju sa dalsaucs,
 terrible.ADJ.UNM must.IMPF.3PL save.INF and 1SG know.PRS.1SG from DEF.M.PL
 366 quèls vèvan in purèssar plétòst ... pin, tgéj pudévan
 DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.M.SG farm rather small what can.IMPF.3PL
 367 èls vaj, déjsch quindish armaulş gronş api lu aun ...
 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL big.PL and then besides
 368 tgauras sòu tga vèvan a ... pòrs a gaglinas
 goat.F.PL know.PRS.1SG.1SG COMP have.IMPF.3PL and pig.M.PL and hen.F.PL
 369 a da quaj a vivèvan lu plétòst dal purèssar.
 and of DEM.UNM and live.IMPF.3PL then rather of.DEF.M.SG farming

'But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could, they had to save, and ... I know from my uncles, they had a rather ... small farm, what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also goats I know they had, and ... pigs and hens and such things, and lived rather on farming.'

370 A zatgéj mava' lsaucs mavan lu aun anzatgé
 and something go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMPF.3PL then also something

8.3 *Al tat*

371 ... ád uáut.
to forest.M.SG

‘And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.’

372 Ábar i èra, a fá léna, cunzún al bjè
but EXPL be.IMPF.3SG SUBORD make.INF wood.COLL especially DEF.M.SG most
373 a fá léna né a métar najf magari i
SUBORD make.INF wood.COLL OR SUBORD put.INF snow sometimes EXPL
374 è stau in tjams tga mavan sél pas,
be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time REL go.IMPF.3PL on.DEF.M.SG pass
375 mávani sé a métar najf pala ... viafíar da la
go.IMPF.3PL.3PL up SUBORD put.INF snow for.DEF.F.SG railway of DEF.F.SG
376 Fürca-Albsù.
PN

‘But it was in order to fell trees, especially in most cases to fell trees or to remove snow from time to time, it was a time when they would go up to the pass, they used to go up to remove snow for the ... Furka-Alpsu railway line.’

377 A lu ... tiar mè sè quaj stau ussuschéa, ju
and then by 1SG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM exactly_so 1SG
378 èr' jus ah ... a scùlèta.
be.IMPF.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh to nursery_school.F.SG

‘And then with me it was exactly like this; I had gone to nursery school.’

379 A quaj plaşchéva nuéta pròpi da mé.
and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG NEG really DAT 1SG

‘And I really didn’t like that.’

380 Nuş vèvan cò ina sòra tg’ instruéva, qu’
1PL have.IMPF.1PL here INDEF.F.SG Sister REL teach.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
381 èra circa, cò visaví circa tschuncònt’ ufauns.
COP.IMPF.3SG around here in_front around fifty child.M.PL

‘Here we had a Sister who used to teach around, right in front of here, around fifty children.’

382 Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn, la sòra
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG nun from PN DEF.F.SG Sister
383 Paulina, quèla ò dau bjè òns
PN DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many year.M.PL

8 Texts

384 scùlèta cò.
nursery_school.F.SG here

‘That was a nun from Glion, Sister Paulina, she taught for many years at the nursery school here.’

385 Ad i èr’ è bitga úsit tg’ ins mava a
and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG to
386 scùlèta.
nursery_school.F.SG

‘And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.’

387 Álsò qu’ èra fòrs’ ina tjarza tga mava a
well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG maybe INDEF.F.SG third REL go.IMPF.3SG to
388 scùlèta.
nursery_school.F.SG

‘Well, it was maybe one third that would attend nursery school.’

389 Ju sùn jus in tjamş a plàschèva da mé
1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG INDEF.M.SG time and please.IMPF.3SG DAT 1SG
390 schùbar nuét api vau détg di mùma
clean nothing and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT.SG mother.F.SG
391 in dé:
INDEF.M.SG day

‘I went [to nursery school] for a certain time and I didn’t like it at all and one day I said to my mother:’

392 «Ju cala dad í a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg’
1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG
393 í plé.»
go.INF any_more

‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’

394 Pi ò èla dét[g]: «Té savèssaş í cul
and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG
395 tat ajn Pardatsch.»
grandfather up PN

‘Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’

8.3 *Al tat*

396 Quaj è quèla val, gjù cò la val Nalbs vidajn,
 DEM.UNM cop.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG valley down here DEF.F.SG valley PN up_into
 397 in majsès²³ ajnamiaz c' ò nùm
 INDEF.M.SG assembly_of_houses in_middle REL have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG
 398 Pardatsch.
 PN

‘This is the valley down here, into the Nalps valley, a *majsés*.’

399 Lu sünd ju sadacidjus dad í, gè gè vau
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP go.INF yes yes have.PRS.1SG.1SG
 400 tartgau, ju sùn adina staus plétost al tüp da
 think.PTCP.UNM 1SG be.PRS.1SG always COP.PTCP.M.SG rather DEF.M.SG fellow of
 401 la ... natira.
 DEF.F.SG nature

‘Then I decided to go, yes, yes, I thought I had always been rather someone who likes nature.’

402 Sünd jus ah gjù Surajn a lò sè aun stau
 be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh down PN and there be.PRS.3SG still be.PTCP.UNM
 403 ... da fá laš davùsas lavurs, scù métar grascha, ará a da
 to do.INF DEF.F.PL last.PL work.PL like put.INF dung.F.SG plough.INF and of
 404 quaj, quaj èra bigja grat schi sémpal, a sjantar
 DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG just so easy.ADJ.UNM and after
 405 èssan nuš i ... ajn quaj Pardatsch.
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up DEM.UNM PN

‘I went eh down to Surrein and there we still had ... to do the last work, like dunging, ploughing and this sort of thing, this was not exactly that simple, and after that we went up to Pardatsch.’

406 Í vidajn, quaj manava aun ina ... ina via
 go.INF up.in DEM.UNM lead.IMPF.3SG in_addition INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG road
 407 nauscha, ábar i èran grad vitlúndar, vida luvará, qu'
 bad but 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG PROG work.INF DEM.UNM
 408 è stau al tjams tschuncòntassís, ju vèva ...
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG time fifty-six 1SG have.IMPF.1SG

²³A *majsés*, German *Maiensäss*, is an assembly of houses and meadows in the mountains used during the cattle grazing period.

8 *Texts*

409 sis òns tga ... èran vida prapará la via par
 six year.M.PL when.REL COP.IMPF.3PL PROG prepare.INF DEF.F.SG road SUBORD
 410 í sé Nalps a bagagè al mir da farmada.
 go.INF up PN SUBORD build.INF DEF.M.SG wall.M.SG of reservoir.F.SG

'[In order to] go up, there led a ... a bad road, but they were just working, that was ... in 1956, I was six years old when they were preparing the road in order to go to Nalps to build the wall of the reservoir.'

411 Ah ... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù
 eh PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
 412 majès ad alps adina, lu rè aun dus trajs
 assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.M three
 413 intarassants lògans ajn cò, ajn Burganèz, qu' è
 interesting place.M.PL in here in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
 414 in tòc pléndanòra, lò ani bagagjau gjù
 INDEF.M.SG bit more_out there have.PRS.3PL.3PL build.PTCP.UNM down
 415 la ... raquéntani ... la crapa par bagagè al
 DEF.F.SG tell.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.F.SG stone.COLL SUBORD build.INF DEF.M.SG
 416 clutgè-basèlgja.
 tower.M.SG-church.F.SG

'Eh ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as pastures, there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there, in Burganez, this is a little bit more down the valley, there they removed, as they say, the stones used to build the church tower [of Sedrun].'

417 Quèla blòca màvani ajn a tagliavan ò a trèvan
 DEM.F.SG block.COLL go.IMPF.3PL up and cut.IMPF.3PL out and carry.IMPF.3PL
 418 vidò cun bùfs tòcan ò cò a Sadrùn.
 down with ox.M.PL until down here at PN

'[With] these blocks they went up, cut [them] out, and brought them down with oxen until here in Sedrun.'

419 A pléndanajn in tòc da tschèla vart, lò saj
 and more_uphill INDEF.M.SG piece of DEM.F.SG side there COP.PRS.3SG
 420 práctisch al sulèt grép da catschina tga végn avaun
 practically DEF.M.SG only.M.SG rock of limestone.F.SG REL come.PRS.3SG before
 421 ála val Tujetsch.
 in.DEF.F.SG valley PN

8.3 *Al tat*



Figure 8.2: The church of Sedrun with its high tower

‘And a little bit more uphill, a little bit on the other side, there is almost the only limestone rock that can be found in the Tujetsch valley.’

422 Lò bagagjávani gjù catschina a barschavan grad
there build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down limestone.F.SG and burn.IMPF.3PL immediately
423 èla.
3SG.F

‘There they would mine limestone and burn it immediately.’

424 Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza sè aun lò
and EXPL still EXIST.IMPF.3SG there some remnant.F.SG EXIST.PRS.3SG still there
425 tg’ ins sa í ajn a mirá; ‘l PN ò è
REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF into SUBORD see.INF DEF.M.SG PN have.PRS.3SG also

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- 426 fagi²⁴ lò in pèr placats tga müssan ajn via
make.PTCP.UNM there INDEF.M.SG pair poster.M.PL REL show.PRS.3PL in way
427 nùc' ins sa è mirá quaj.
where GNR can.PRS.3SG also see.INF DEM.UNM

'And there were also, there still are some remnants there where one can go and see; PN also put some posters there which show where on the way one can have a look at this.'

- 428 A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancùntar Tgòm ... şaj
and then PN more_uphill here in_direction PN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL
429 ina rùsna, quaj fùş è aun intarassant sch' ins
INDEF.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed interesting.UNM if GNR
430 savés, quaj datëschä da gl òn ju ... a
know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from DEF.M.SG year 1SG have.PRS.1SG
431 ùssa bigja grat prèsèn, méli a sistschian a zatgéj.
now NEG just present thousand and six_hundred and something

'And then Pardatsch ... a bit more uphill here in direction of Tgom ... there is a cave, it would indeed be interesting if one knew, this is dated, I ... don't have it exactly in mind, sixteen hundred something.'

- 432 A lò pratjándani tga cavavan òra ... matalts.
and there pretend.PRS.3PL.3PL COMP recover.IMPF.3PL out metal.M.PL

'And there they pretend that they recovered metals.'

- 433 A quaj è ina rùsna, oh tgé pù qual'
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG hole oh what can.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG
434 èssar ... in mètar a miaz ... lada, a fòrza ... dus mètars
be.INF one.M.SG metre and half large.F.SG and maybe two.M.PL metre.PL
435 auta.
high.F.SG

'And there is a cave, oh how big may it be ..., one and a half metres ... wide, and maybe ... two metres high.'

- 436 Daváuntiar şaj sé la, l' anada cur' i
in_front COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL up DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG year when 3PL
437 òn antschiat, ad inş vèz' aun quaj,
have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM and GNR see.PRS.3SG still DEM.UNM

²⁴The narrator thinks that *tschentau* 'put' would fit better than *fatg*.

8.3 *Al tat*

438 bagagjávani gjù ... cun ah, bjè manuálmajn.
build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down with eh much manual.ADV

‘In front of it there is, eh, the year when they started, one can still see [that] they used to mine this with, ah, a lot manually.’

439 Inṣ vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn pùntgas
GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into chisel.F.PL
440 né trádals; sch' i sitavan gljèz sau
or power_drill.M.PL whether 3PL blow_up.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG.1SG
441 bétg.
NEG

‘One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used; whether they would blow up I don’t know.’

442 A quàla tauna vò vidajn – quaj tgu sùn
and DEM.F.SG cave go.PRS.3SG into DEM.UNM REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
443 staus ajn – vò lò vidajn circa véntgatschún mètars,
COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five metre.M.PL
444 san ins²⁵ í vidajn da quàla, api sasparti,
can.PRS.3SG GNR go.INF into of DEM.F.SG and REFL.divide.PRS.3SG.EXPL
445 vòi ajn duas.
go.PRS.3SG.EXPL in two.F

‘And this cave – [judging from] where I have been into it – one can go into it about 25 metres, and then it splits into two.’

446 Ah, tge ... prandèvan pròpi òra sa ins bégj' éxact,
eh what take.IMPF.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exact.ADJ.UNM
447 dí dian ins matalş, ábar ò vèza quaj insùma bégj
say.INF say.PRS.3SG GNR metal.M.PL but out look.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM at_all NEG
448 in grép da matal.
INDEF.M.SG rock.M.SG of metal.M.SG

‘Ah, what ... they really mined one does not know exactly, people say that it is metals, but this rock doesn’t look like it contained metals at all.’

449 Préndar ajn, pù schòn èssar tga samidav' al
take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG
450 grép, tga ... a dí di la ... la détga di
rock COMP and say.INF say.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG

²⁵ *san ins* is Standard Sursilvan for *sò ins*.

8 *Texts*

451	tg'	èrian	schindanajn	tg'	i	udévian	c'	i
	COMP	COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL	SO_IN	COMP	3PL	hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL	SUBORD	EXPL
452	tucavi		da mjads-dé	ajnt	Ruèras.			

beat.IMPF.SBJV.3SG of noon.M.SG in PN

'As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed, that ..., the legend says that they were so deep in the cave that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.'

453	Quaj	è	da	dubitá,	quaj	è	mataj	scù
	DEM.UNM	COP.PRS.3SG	COMP	doubt.INF	DEM.UNM	COP.PRS.3SG	probably	like
454	quaj	tga ... i	dat	aun bjè	da quèlas	détgas.		

DEM.UNM REL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG still many of DEM.F.PL legend.PL

'This, one has to doubt, this is probably like what ... there still are many such legends.'

455	Basta,	ah,	par	vagní	cò	sén	quaj	Pardatsch	al,	al
	enough	eh	SUBORD	come.INF	here	on	DEM.UNM	PN	DEF.M.SG	DEF.M.SG
456	tat		vèva		aun		fatg		ina	
	grandfather		have.IMPF.3SG	in_addition	make.PTCP.UNM					
457	satagljèda,		ina		ganùglja	vèva	'l	tagljau		sé,
	REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG		knee		have.IMPF.3SG	3SG.M	cut.PTCP.UNM	up		
458	schòn,	in	braf		schnéz;	avaun	c' í	vidajn,	ah,	
	yes	INDEF.M.SG	brave.M.SG.UNM		cut.M.SG	before	go.INF	uphill	eh	
459	staus		lu	tial	miadi,	gljèz	èra	lu	bitg	
	COP.PTCP.M.SG		then	at.DEF.M.SG	doctor	DEM.UNM	COP.IMPF.3SG	then	NEG	
460	in,		ah,	schi sémpal		da	dumagnè	tiar	in	miadi.
	INDEF.M.SG	eh	so	simple.ADJ.UNM	COMP	cope_with.INF	at	INDEF.M.SG	doctor	

'Enough, eh, in order to come back to Pardatsch, my grandfather, in addition, had had a cut, he cut his knee, yes, an important cut; before going uphill, eh [he] went to the doctor but this was not eh easy to deal with at the doctor's.'

461	Lèds	vèva	lu	dau		zatgéj	étg		dad
	DEM.M.SG	have.IMPF.3SG	then	give.PTCP.UNM		some	ointment.M.SG	ATTR	
462	úndşchar	ajn a	faschas	a	la	tata	ò		lu
	oil.INF	in	and	bandage.F.PL	and	DEF.F.SG	grandmother	have.PRS.3SG	then
463	aun	détg		da	mé:				
	still	say.PTCP.UNM	DAT	1SG					

'He had given [him] some ointment to rub in and bandages, and then my grandmother said to me:'

8.3 *Al tat*

464 «Té mira lu tg' al tat fêtschi lu
 2SG look.IMP.2SG then COMP DEF.M.SG grandfather do.PRS.SBJV.3SG then
 465 mintga dé, prèndi gjù quaj a schubrègi a
 every.M.SG day take.PRS.SBJV.3SG down DEM.UNM and clean.PRS.SBJV.3SG and
 466 fêtschi sé da néjf.»
 do.PRS.SBJV.3SG up of new.ADJ.UNM

‘And you, make sure that your grandfather does it every day, that he takes them off, that he cleans them and puts them on again.’

467 «Gè gè gè quaj vi ju schòn ... mirá tga
 yes yes yes DEM.UNM want.PRS.1SG 1SG of_course make_sure.INF COMP
 468 végni fatg.»
 PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.PTCP.UNM

‘Yes of course, I will make sure that it's be done.’

469 A ... grat par finí quèla istòrja, qu' è lu
 and just SUBORD end.INF DEM.F.SG story DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then
 470 ju ... quèluísa, ju schèva mintgataun dal tat:
 go.PTCP.UNM so 1SG say.IMPF.1SG sometimes DAT grandfather.M.SG

‘And ... in order to conclude this story, it went in the following way: I said from time to time to my grandfather:’

471 «Té²⁶ ... Vajs fatg èl?»
 2SG have.PRS.2SG.POL do.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M

‘You [sg] ... Did you [pl] do it?’

472 Lu schèv' ins aun Vuş da ... ah, da tat a
 then say.IMPF.3SG GNR still 2PL DAT eh DAT grandfather.M.SG and
 473 tata vau adina détg Vuş, ábar
 grandmother.F.SG have.PRS.1SG.1SG always say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but
 474 dals, méjs gjaniturs ... vajn nuş ûssa bégja
 DAT.DEF.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL now NEG
 475 détg Vuş, ábar i èra bjërs tga ... òn
 say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG many.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL
 476 détg tòcan, gè prácticsh adina Vuş dals gjaniturs.
 say.PTCP.UNM until yes practically always 2PL DAT.DEF.M.PL parent.PL

²⁶The narrator makes an error; he said *té* ‘you (sg)’ instead of *Vus* ‘you (honorific)’, as the following sentence explains.

8 *Texts*

‘At that time, one used to say *Vus* to ... eh, to my grandfather and my grandmother I have always said *Vus*, but to the, my parents ... we now never said *Vus*, but there were many who have said until, well practically always *Vus* to their parents.’

- 477 [Lu] vòu détg: «Vuš vèssas lu aun da fá
then have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL have.COND.2PL then still to do.INF
478 quèls bògns né mirá da la plaja.»
DEM.M.PL bath.PL or look_after.INF of DEF.F.SG wound

‘[Then] I said: ”You should still take a bath or look after the wound.”’

- 479 «Gè gè quaj è schòn bian.»
yes yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all_right good.UNM

‘Yes, sure, that’s OK.’

- 480 Qu’ è lu ju quèluísa tga ca nuş èssan
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM DEM_way REL REL 1PL be.IMPF.1PL
481 vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch, tg’ èssan
come.PTCP.M.PL over_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN CORR be.COND.1PL
482 nus staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quàtar tschun jamnas.
1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five week.F.PL

‘This happened in such a way that when we returned down [to Surrein] from Pardatsch, then we had stayed there maybe ... four or five weeks.’

- 483 Scha vèva ‘l fatg şchùber nuét.
but have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M do.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

‘But he hadn’t done anything at all.’

- 484 Quèla fascha èra satratg’ anzjaman, a vidajn
DEM.F.SG bandage be.IMPF.3SG REFL.contract.IMPF.3SG together and into
485 ála pjal, carschid’ ajn ála pjal api ò ‘l
to.DEF.F.SG skin grow.PTCP.F.SG in in.DEF.F.SG skin and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
486 stju í ò tial dòctar.
must.PTCP.UNM go.INF out to.DEF.M.SG doctor

‘That bandage had contracted, and into the skin, grown into the skin and then he had to go to the doctor.’

- 487 Ábar èl vèva par clétg fétg bian saun al ...
but 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG for luck.M.SG very good.M.SG.UNM blood DEF.M.SG
488 ò ‘l lu nuéta gju còmplicazjuns.
have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then NEG have.PTCP.UNM complication.F.SG

8.3 *Al tat*

'But fortunately his blood was very good, the ... he then hadn't got any complications.'

- 489 Ajnta Pardadşch vèvan nus circa déjsch, èba déjsch quéndisch
 up_in PN have.IMPF.1PL 1PL about ten precisely ten fifteen
 490 tgauš gròns api vèvan nus tgauraš a pòrs.
 head.M.PL big.PL and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL goat.F.PL and pig.M.PL

'Up in Pardatsch we had about ten, as already mentioned ten or fifteen large farm animals, and we had [also] goats and pigs.'

- 491 A lu mia lavur èra ... èra bitga atgnamajn
 and then POSS.1SG.F.SG work COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG NEG actually
 492 da fá bjè, a quaj tg' èra da parvaj aun djantarájn
 ATTR do.ATTR much and DEM.UNM REL be.IMPF.3SG to feed.INF still in_between
 493 fagèv' al tat, api vèvans da partgirá als
 do.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG grandfather, and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to mind.INF DEF.M.PL
 494 tiars, mav' ins lò sédòr ál sit, grat cò nùca
 animal.PL go.IMPF.3SG GNR there up_out in.DEF.M.SG south just there by
 495 quèla rùsna tgu a raquintau.
 DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG tell.PTCP.UNM

'And my work was, was ... not exactly to do a lot, and what still had to be fed in between, my grandfather would do, and we also had to mind the animals; we would then go up to the south, just by that cave I have mentioned.'

- 496 Lò èr' inş bjè culs tiars, a ... la sèra
 there COP.IMPF.3SG GNR a_lot with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL and DEF.F.SG evening
 497 vagní gjüdòra cun èls, a lu al tat, lèz
 come.PTCP.M.PL down_out with 3PL.M and then DEF.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG
 498 pinava tiar la tschajna, gljèz èra magari è
 prepare.IMPF.3SG by DEF.F.SG dinner DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes also
 499 léjgar tgé cuşchinadaş èl [fagèva], èl
 funny.ADJ.UNM what cook.PTCP.F.PL 3SG.M [make.IMPF.3SG] 3SG.M
 500 cuşchinava bitga mal, ábar ah mintgataun fagèva 'l schòn détgs,
 cook.IMPF.3SG NEG bad but ah sometimes make.IMPF.3SG.M really real.M.PL
 501 détgas pistracas.
 real.F.PL mixture.PL

'There we were often with the animals, and ... in the evening we would come back with them, and then my grandfather, he would prepare dinner, it was sometimes

8 Texts

also funny [to see] what he [cooked], he didn't cook badly, but ah from time to time he would prepare terrible mixtures.'

- 502 Quaj sch' i dèva rësts, scha vagnévi lu
well if EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG leftovers.M.PL then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then
503 magari rimnau quaj dus trajs diş api méz
sometimes collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM two.M.PL three day.PL and put.PTCP.UNM
504 tùt ajn ina ... tùt anzjaman.
all in INDEF.F.SG all together

'Well, when there were leftovers, they would sometimes be collected for two or three days and then put all together in a ... all together.'

- 505 A sjantar tschajnas, gljèz, quaj èra schòn è aun
and after dinner.F.PL DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really also still
506 léjgar.
funny.ADJ.UNM

'And after dinner, well, this was also funny.'

- 507 Sjantar tschajna mav' ins ajn, quaj èr' èr, èls
after dinner.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG GNR in DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also 3PL.M
508 èran rèligjús, èra quaj nùndétg.
COP.IMPF.3PL religious.M.PL COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM indescribable.ADJ.UNM

'After dinner we would go in, this was also, they were religious, this was indescribable.'

- 509 Vagnévi ju ajn ajn nuégl, parquaj tga ... l'
come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL go.PTCP.UNM in in barn because SUBORD DEF.F.SG
510 antschata da la parmavèra stuèv' ins schè ajn als
beginning of DEF.F.SG spring must.IMPF.3SG GNR let.INF in DEF.M.PL
511 tiars ajn nuégl, a lu móv' ins ajn api şchèva 'l:
animal.PL in barn.M.SG and then go.IMPF.3SG GNR in and say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M

'When they entered the barn, because ... at the beginning of spring one had to let the animals into the barn, and then one would enter and then he would say:'

- 512 «Sò, ûsa şchajn nuş impau patarnòş.» ad èl
OK now say.PRS.1PL 1PL a_bit Lord's_prayer.M.PL and 3SG.M
513 samatév' adina giùdajn.
REFL.put.IMPF.3SG always down_in

8.3 *Al tat*

‘«OK, now we will say some Lord’s prayer» and he would always sit down in [a manger].’

- 514 Suschéa sasév’ ajn ajn pursèpan, a ... èl dad ina vart ad
 exactly_so sit.IMPF.3SG in in manger and 3SG.M of INDEF.F.SG side and
 515 ju da tschèla vart, a quaj schèva ‘1 trajs quátar
 1SG of DEM.F.SG side and DEM.UNM say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M three four
 516 patarnòs a vònzej èri «Söntga Maria Mùma da
 Lord’s_prayer.M.PL and later COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL Holy Mary Mother of
 517 Dju» api èra ‘1 navèn.
 God and COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M away

‘So he would sit in the manger, and ... he on the one side and I on the other side, and so he would say three or four Lord’s prayers and a bit later «Holy Mary Mother of God», and then he was gone.’

- 518 Sadurmantav’ ajn. A lu dumagnav’ ju bigja nònavaun
 REFL.fall_asleep.IMPF.3SG in and then induce.IMPF.1SG 1SG NEG awake
 519 èl.
 3SG.M

‘He would fall asleep. And then I wasn’t able to wake him up.’

- 520 Quèl durméva sc’ in tajs.
 DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.M.SG badger

‘He used to sleep like a log.’

- 521 Shùtajn èri la tégja nùca ‘1
 under_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.F.SG alpine_hut REL 3SG.M
 522 cašchav’ èra, daspèras quèls dus nuéglis api
 make_cheese.IMPF.3SG also next DEM.M.PL two.M cow_barn.PL and
 523 stuèv’ inš í ò ad í sé sén clavau, a lò
 must.IMPF.3SG GNR go.INF out and go.INF up upon hay_barn.M.SG and there
 524 èri ajn ina stiva sc’ ins schèva, ajn quèls
 COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in DEF.F.SG living_room as GNR say.IMPF.3SG in DEM.M.PL
 525 majšès schèv’ ins la stiva nùc’ ins
 assembly_of_houses.PL say.IMPF.3SG GNR DEF.F.SG living_room REL.LOC GNR
 526 durméva.
 sleep.IMPF.3SG

‘Below was the alpine hut where he would also make cheese, next to it those two cow barns and one must go out and up into the hay barn, and therein was the

8 *Texts*

stiva, the living room, as they used to say, in those *majšés* the room where one slept was called *stiva*.

- 527 Ad ju mava lu sé lò durmí, ábar ah, bjè nòtgs
and 1SG go.IMPF.1SG then up there sleep.INF but eh many night.F.PL
- 528 staus parsuls sé lò, ha, a lò vrou schòn ah ...
COP.PTCP.M.SG alone.M.SG up there ha and there have.PRS.1SG.1SG really eh
- 529 gju inqual tèma.
have.PTCP.UNM some fear.F.SG

‘And I used to go up there to sleep, but, eh, many nights I was alone up there, ha, and there I was eh sometimes afraid.’

- 530 Ajn quèla vègljadétgna, api al pròblèm èra, èra,
in DEM.F.SG age and DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG
- 531 al pròblèm èra las sòndaş a dumèngjas.
DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL Saturday.PL and Sunday.PL

‘At that age, and the problem was, was, the problem was on Saturdays and Sundays.’

- 532 Né al vèndardís sèra, quèls taljans, quaj èra
or DEF.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG DEM.M.PL Italian.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
- 533 práctisch mù taljans tga luvravan cò vid la via.
practically only Italian.M.PL REL work.IMPF.3PL here at DEF.F.SG road

‘Or Friday evening, these Italians, there were practically only Italians who worked on the road.’

- 534 Sé Nalps vèvani è grad antschiat a bagagè
up PN have.IMPF.3PL.3PL also just start.PTCP.UNM COMP build.INF
- 535 cantinas etcèтара.
canteen.F.PL et_cetera

‘In Nalps they had just begun to build canteens and so on.’

- 536 Sònda-dumèngja vagnévan quèls ò cò a fagjèvan
Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL
- 537 ffastunas.
party.AUGM.F.PL

‘On week-ends they would come here and have big parties.’

8.3 *Al tat*

538 A magari tga pudèvan lu bigja ... vidajn a ... vajn
 and sometimes SUBORD can.IMPF.3PL then NEG in and have.PRS.1SG
 539 gju in pèr jèdas quèls tga vagnévan, u tga
 have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG pair time.F.PL DEM.M.PL REL come.IMPF.3PL OR REL
 540 vagnévan ajn ál clavau a durmévan, ábar è ál
 come.IMPF.3PL in in.DEF.M.SG barn and sleep.IMPF.3PL but also in.DEF.M.SG
 541 léj dal tat ... sùnd ju è schòn
 bed of.DEF.M.SG grandfather be.PRS.1SG 1SG also already
 542 sadastadaus tg' i èr' ajn ... in né dus
 REFL.wake_up.PTCP.M.SG REL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG in one.M.SG or two.M.PL
 543 taljánars tga durmévan.
 Italian.PL REL sleep.IMPF.3PL

'Now sometimes they couldn't manage ... to come ... into [the *stiva* and sleep on hay] and ... we sometimes had those who came or who came into the barn and slept [there], but I happened to wake up there when one or two Italians were sleeping [in my grandfather's bed].'

544 Òh, lu schòn tumju in pau mintgataun.
 oh then really be_afraid.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG little sometimes

'Oh, [I was] really afraid sometimes.'

545 Prquaj tga quaj c' ins ... vèva bigja grad da partgirá
 because SUBORD DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just to mind.INF
 546 tiars sch' èr' ins antir dé cun quèls, qu'
 animal.M.PL then COP.IMPF.3SG GNR whole.M.SG day with DEM.M.PL DEM.UNM
 547 èra è intarassant da mirá c' i luvravan,
 COP.IMPF.3SG also interesting.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF when 3PL work.IMPF.3PL
 548 c' i bagagjavan gjù.
 when 3PL build.IMPF.3SG down

'Because when we ... didn't just have to mind the animals, we were with them [the Italian workers] the whole day; it was also interesting to watch [them] when they were working, when they would dismantle [something].'

549 Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú in téc
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
 550 quajda d' í par crapa, tgu a vju
 desire.F.SG ATTR go.INF for stone.COLL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.UNM

8 *Texts*

551 difarènts lògans tg' i vèvan sitau gjù ad
 different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL have.IMPF.3PL blast.PTCP.UNM down and
 552 èra ... vagnú ò cristalas ètcètara, tga quaj
 be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.UNM out crystal.F.PL et_cetera COMP DEM.UNM
 553 è fòrza schòn stau in tèc al ... mòtif
 be.PRS.3SG maybe really COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.M.SG reason
 554 tgu a antschiat dad í par crapa.
 REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP go.ATTR for stone.COLL

‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit, when I saw different places where they had blasted [the rocks], and crystals and so forth ... had come out, so maybe this has been a bit the reason why I began to go for stones.’

555 Schabi tga lu, cun siş òns capév' ins hald aun
 although SUBORD then with six year.M.PL understand.IMPF.3SG GNR just still
 556 mèmjà pauc a vèva bigja la ... fòrsa da fà
 too little and have.IMPF.3SG NEG DEF.F.SG strength ATTR do.ATTR
 557 zatgéj.
 something

‘Although then, at the age of six, one would understand too little and wouldn’t have the ... strength to do something.’

558 Gè, ah ... cèrtas tgaussas al tat, lèz al dé òra
 yes eh certain.F.PL thing.PL DEF.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG day out
 559 mava lu bjè par lèna a mava lu vidòra in
 go.IMPF.3SG then often for wood.COLL and go.IMPF.3SG then over_out DEF.M.SG
 560 tòc a pinava ògna, a vagnéva vidajn ... tg' èl
 piece and prepare.IMPF.3SG alder.COLL and come.IMPF.3SG over_in REL 3SG.M
 561 mava a rimnavà, gljèz èra aun léjgar
 go.IMPF.3SG and collect.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really funny.ADJ.UNM
 562 cu 'l scarpava gjù urticlas.
 when 3SG.M pull_off.IMPF.3SG down nettle.F.PL

‘Yes, ah, certain things my grandfather, he would often look for wood the whole day, and he would then go down a little bit and log alder, and when he was coming up ... when he would go and collect it, that was really funny when he pulled off nettles.’

8.3 *Al tat*

- 563 Quaj duvrava 'l par dá dis pòrs, trúfals
DEM.UNM use.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M SUBORD give.INF DEF.DAT.PL pig.M.PL potato.M.PL
564 ansjaman par dá áls pòrs.
together SUBORD give.INF DAT.DEF.M.PL pig.PL

'This he used to give the pigs, potatoes together [with nettles] to give the pigs.'

- 565 Ah, quaj scarpava 'l adina cul maun,
ah DEM.UNM pull_off.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M always with.DEF.M.SG hand
566 cul maun sènza [vòns].
with.DEF.M.SG hand without [glove.M.PL]

'Ah, and the nettles, he would always pull them down with the hand, with the hand without [gloves].'

- 567 Ju tartgava quaj è bitga pussajval.
1SG think.IMPF.1SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG possible.ADJ.UNM

'I thought that this was not possible.'

- 568 Ad è zatgéj ... léjgar èr' èra cu 'l
and also something funny.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also when 3SG.M
569 fagèva fjuc.
make.IMPF.3SG fire.M.SG

'And something ... funny was also when he made fire.'

- 570 Èl vèv' adina ... lèna vèva 'l dètg avùnda,
3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG always wood.COLL have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M much enough
571 ábar ajn général vagnévi bitga fatg òra.
but in general PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG make.PTCP.UNM out

'He had always ... wood, he had enough, but it was generally not split.'

- 572 Quaj èra magari da quèls pléjdars dad in mèter
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes of DEM.M.PL block.PL of one.M.SG metre
573 dus, ùs ussusché.
two.M.PL now exactly_so

'These were sometimes such blocks of one or two metres or so.'

- 574 Quaj catschava 'l ajn, qu' èr' in
DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG
575 plantschju da ... da taratsch naturálmajn.
floor of of soil.M.SG natural.ADV

8 *Texts*

‘This he would throw into [the fire], this was a floor of ... of soil, of course.’

- 576 Quaj catschava ‘l vidajn ála fuajna api mù
DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M into in.DEF.F.SG fireplace and only
577 catschava sjantar mintg’ jèda.
throw.IMPF.3SG after every.F.SG time

‘That is what he used to throw into the fireplace and he used to throw in more every time.’

- 578 A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ... vagnéva
and DEF.F.SG evening for SUBORD burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
579 quaj, quaj mava ‘l ajnagjù cul maun èra
DEM.UNM DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_down with.DEF.M.SG hand also
580 sènza ... [vòn] a trèva vidò còtgra gjù sé
without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out charcoal.COLL down up
581 sél plantschju.
on.DEF.M.SG floor

‘And in the evening, to avoid it burning ... was that, there he went into [the fire] with one hand, also without [gloves], and pulled out charcoal from down there up to the floor.’

- 582 Álsò i èra schòn in in spazjal.
well EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG really INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG special.ADJ.UNM

‘Well, he really was a special person.’

- 583 A bjè gljut tumévan è mju tat,
and many people.F.SG be.afraid.IMPF.3PL also POSS.1SG.M.SG grandfather
584 prquaj tga ... èl raşdava pauc a magari
because SUBORD 3SG.M speak.IMPF.3SG little and sometimes
585 smanatschava ‘l ussusché tg’ al- grat als buéts
threaten.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M exactly_so COMP DEF.M.SG especially DEF.M.PL boy.PL
586 tg’ èl ... cu ‘l savèva tg’ i vèvan
REL 3SG.M when 3SG.M know.IMPF.3SG COMP 3PL have.IMPF.3PL
587 fatg ina lumparia sche lu mussava ‘l lu
make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG childish_prank CORR then show.IMPF.3SG 3SG then
588 magari al pùgn a lura fugévani.
sometimes DEF.M.SG fist and then flee.IMPF.3PL.3PL

‘And many people were afraid of my grandfather, because ... he didn’t speak much and sometimes he would threaten in such a way that the – especially the boys

8.3 *Al tat*

he... when he knew that they had played a childish prank, he then would show them his fist and they would run away.'

- 589 A... in' autra tgaussa ... tg' è è stau²⁷
and INDEF.F.SG other.F.SG thing REL be.PRS.3SG also COP.PTCP.UNM
 590 intarassanta, èra, quaj èra ... ajgl unviarn
interesting.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.M.SG winter
 591 api vèvani ah ... māvani culs tiars ajnta
and have.IMPF.3PL.3PL eh go.IMPF.3PL.3PL with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL up
 592 Nacla, quaj è ... dadajns ... Surajn, fòrza végn
PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more_back PN maybe twenty
 593 minutas vidajn.
minute.F.PL into

'And ... another thing ... that was interesting was, this was during winter and they had ah ... they used to go with the animals up to Nacla, this is ... farther behind ... Surrein, maybe twenty minutes farther behind.'

- 594 A qu' èra schòn dau bjè najv ad
and DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG already give.PTCP.UNM much snow and
 595 èran big' aun vagní vidò culs tiars.
be.IMPF.3PL NEG yet come.PTCP.M.PL down with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL

'And there was already a lot of snow and they hadn't come back down with the animals yet.'

- 596 Ad ju sa la tata vèva détg:
and 1SG know.PRS.1SG DEF.F.SG grandmother have.IMPF.3SG say.PTCP.UNM

'And I know [that] my grandmother had said:'

- 597 «Té nò lu vidò ùssa. Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma lu
2SG come.IMP.2SG then down now there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG then
 598 bigja ajn lò.»
NEG in there

'Come down here now. Don't sleep up there this evening.»'

- 599 Al bjè durmèva 'l ajn lò, álsò durmu ajn nuégl.
DEF.M.SG much sleep.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in there well sleep.PTCP.UNM in barn

'He slept mostly up there, well, slept in the barn.'

²⁷ *stau* is a performance error for *stada*.

8 *Texts*

600 Basta, èl [è] bigja vagnús vidòr, glj' autar dé
 enough 3SG.M [be.PRS.3SG] NEG come.PTCP.M.SG down DEF.M.SG other.M.SG day
 601 şè 'l ... in dalsaucs ... juş vidajn.
 be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M one.M.SG of.DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.PTCP.M.SG up

'OK. He didn't come down, the other day one of my uncles went up.'

602 Sch' èri vagnú gjù la lavina, vèva
 so be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG avalanche have.IMPF.3SG
 603 príu şuròra dal, dal clavau, vèva
 take.PTCP.UNM above_out of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG barn have.IMPF.3SG
 604 príu şuròra tut, èra mù al ...
 take.PTCP.UNM above_out everything COP.IMPF.3SG only DEF.M.SG
 605 ál ... nuégl sùtajn.
 in.DEF.M.SG barn under_in

'So the avalanche came down, swept away above of the, of the barn, had swept away everything from above, only ... the, in the barn underneath.'

606 Al tat èr' ajn a durméva lò grat sc'
 DEF.M.SG grandfather COP.IMPF.3SG in and sleep.IMPF.3SG there precisely like
 607 in tajş, vèv' udju şchùbar-şchùbar nuét.
 INDEF.M.SG badger have.IMPF.3SG hear.PTCP.UNM RED~clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

'My grandfather was up there and was sleeping like a log, he hadn't heard anything at all.'

608 A par part vèvi aun príu dals
 and for part have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover take.PTCP.UNM from.DEF.M.PL
 609 nuégl, vèvi príu, davauntiar è príu
 barn.PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL take.PTCP.UNM at_front also take.PTCP.UNM
 610 navèn.
 away

'And [the avalanche] had also partially swept away of the barns, had swept away, also swept away at the front.'

611 Duaş vacas èran gjùşüt aun adina ... pandí²⁸ a
 two.F.PL cow.PL COP.IMPF.3PL down_under still always hang.PTCP.M.PL at
 612 la cadajna cul' ... cul' ajssa nùca la cadajn'
 DEF.F.SG chain with.DEF.F.SG with.DEF.F.SG plank REL.LOC DEF.F.SG chain
 613 èra, al tat udju şchùbar nuét.
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG grandfather hear.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

8.3 *Al tat*

‘Two cows were still ... hanging from the chain with the ... with the plank where the chain was, and my grandfather hadn’t heard anything at all.’

- 614 A ... gè quaj è ussusché in pèr da quèlas
and yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly_so INDEF.M.SG pair of DEM.F.PL
615 raminiscènzas tgu a gju cul tat.
memory.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM with.DEF.M.SG grandfather

‘And ... yes, so these are some of the memories I have had with my grandfather.’

- 616 Ju a maj gju problèm - èl vès
1SG have.PRS.1SG never have.PTCP.UNM problem.M.SG 3SG.M have.COND.3SG
617 maj savilau cun mè né anzatgéj, ju a adina
never REFL.get_angry.PTCP.UNM with 1SG or something 1SG have.PRS.1SG always
618 gju fétg ugèn al tat.
have.PTCP.UNM very with_pleasure DEF.M.SG grandfather

‘I have never had a problem – he would never have got angry at me or something like that, I have always been very fond of my grandfather.’

- 619 A quaj tga 'l vèva pia sias flajvlèzas,
and DEM.UNM REL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG therefore POSS.3PL.F.PL weakness.PL
620 quaj sünd ju vagnús séssúra pér ... plé tart.
DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG come.PTCP.M.SG upon only more late

‘And that he had ... his weaknesses, this I only discovered ... later.’

- 621 A lu saj ... èl è lu saravagnús dètg
and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then REFL.recover.PTCP.M.SG fairly
622 stupèn, èl ò lu luvrau anzjaman.
excellent.ADJ.UNM 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG then work.PTCP.UNM together

‘And then, he recovered perfectly well, he then worked together [with one of his sons].’

- 623 In auc ... èra lu staus cun èl a
INDEF.M.SG uncle be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.M.SG with 3SG.M and
624 fatg al pur.
make.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer

‘Then one of my uncles ... stayed with him and worked as a farmer.’

²⁸ *Pandí* is a performance error for *pandidas*; furthermore, the narrator would prefer to use *far-madas* ‘tied’.

8 *Texts*

- 625 A lèz fijèva al al pur, aun adin' in
 and DEM.M.SG make.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG farmer still always INDEF.M.SG
 626 pin purèssar, lèz mava lu aun a, ad uáut,
 small.M.SG farm DEM.M.SG go.IMPF.3SG then moreover to to forest.M.SG
 627 piná lèna.
 prepare.IMP wood.COLL

'And he worked as a farmer, still a little farm, he would then also go to, to the forest [in order to] fell timber.'

- 628 A ... api sè lu capitau ... mù gè quaj cu 'l
 and and be.PRS.3SG then happen.PTCP.UNM but yes DEM.UNM when 3SG.M
 629 vèva sjatòntanùv òns circa, sè 'l zanúa
 have.IMPF.3SG seventy-nine year.M.PL around be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M somewhere
 630 para i è ruclaus.
 seem.PRS.3SG EXPL also fall.PTCP.M.SG

'And ... and then it happened, ... well when he was about seventy-nine years old, it seems that he also fell down somewhere.'

- 631 A ... vagnéva mèndar a mèndar a dumagnavan bigj' èl
 and become.IMPF.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMPF.3PL NEG 3SG.M
 632 ál, ál spital lèva 'l bitg í né tiar
 to.DEF.M.SG to.DEF.M.SG hospital want.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M NEG go.INF or to
 633 miadis.
 doctor.M.PL

'And ... it became worse and worse and they couldn't induce [him] to go to the, to the hospital he didn't want to go, nor to the doctors.'

- 634 Ad ju sa in' jèda òn Cadruvi²⁹, sa ju in'
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG one.F.SG time down_in PN know.1SG 1SG one.F.SG
 635 jèda tg' èl èra vagnús sé, quèl vasèva schòn
 time COMP 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG up DEM.M.SG look.IMPF.3SG really
 636 ò şgarşchajval.
 out terrible.ADJ.UNM

'And I know once in the Cadruvi square that he had once come up [from the church], he looked terrible.'

²⁹ Cadruvi is a small square above the church in Sedrun.

8.3 *Al tat*

637 Èl mava misarábal. A la mùma è lura,
 3SG.M go.IMPF.3SG miserable.ADJ.UNM and DEF.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG then
 638 plaunsjú şení vagní da fá í scha
 slowly be.IMP.F.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.INF go.INF since
 639 vèva 'l rùt in calum.
 have.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG thigh

'He was not going well. And my mother then has, they succeeded slowly in having him go [to the hospital] since he had broken a thigh.'

640 Api jus trajs jamnas cun quaj ... calum antùrn, a lu
 and go.PTCP.M.SG three week.F.PL with DEM.M.SG thigh around and then
 641 ò 'l stju í ál spital.
 have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.M.SG hospital.

'And he walked around with this ... thigh for three weeks, and then he had to go to the hospital.'

642 Quèl' è la sulèt' jèda tg' èl è pròpi
 DEM.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG only time REL 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG really
 643 stauş ál spital.
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in.DEF.M.SG hospital

'This is the only time he had really been to hospital.'

644 Api òni tractau quaj, a sjantar mava
 and have.PRS.3PL.3PL treat.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and after go.IMP.F.3SG
 645 quaj bigja plé gjù Surajn parquaj tga la tat'
 DEM.UNM NEG any_more down PN because SUBORD DEF.F.SG grandmother
 646 èra è gè ina vèglja, a lu ş' èl
 COP.IMP.F.3SG also after_all INDEF.F.SG old and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 647 vivjus sé tiar nus sén Tgès' Alva, nus stèvan cò, viajn ...
 live.PTCP.M.SG up by 1PL on house.F.SG white 1PL live.IMP.F.1PL here over_in
 648 Tgès' Alva, quèla tgèsa grònда òragjùsùt al muséum.
 house white DEM.F.SG house big out_down_under DEF.M.SG museum

'And they treated that, and after this it was not possible any more for him to live in Surrein because my grandmother already was an old woman after all, and then he lived with us in the white house, we lived here, in ... the white house, that is the big house underneath the museum.'

8 Texts



Figure 8.3: The Tgès' Alva in Sedrun

649 Lu s' èl vivjús tiar nus. Ábar ah ... quaj
then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M live.PTCP.M.SG by 1SG but eh DEM.UNM
650 vèva lu dau ina ... ina ... tussègazjun
have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG poisoning
651 dal saun, sjantar lu s' èl maj vagnús propì
of.DEF.M.SG blood after then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M never come.PTCP.M.SG really
652 nònavaun.
here_forward

'And then he lived with us. But ah ... this led to a ... a ... blood poisoning, after
that he never really recovered from it.'

653 A lu vajn nuş aun sju gudaj al
and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL in_addition can.PTCP.UNM enjoy.INF DEF.M.SG
654 tat, fòrza tgéj, dus trajs majnş a gju bjè
grandfather maybe what two.M.PL three month.PL and have.PTCP.UNM much
655 léjgar cun èl.
fun with 3SG.M

'And then we were able to enjoy my grandfather a bit longer, maybe - how long?
- two or three months, and had a lot of fun with him.'

8.3 *Al tat*

656 Èl durméva bjè, quaj mava 'l sél
 3SG.M sleep.IMPF.3SG a_lot DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M on.DEF.M.SG
 657 baun-pégna, api mavi èl, tatlava 'l
 bench.M.SG-oven.F.SG and go.IMPF.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M listen.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
 658 ugèn música, ah, quaj savèva 'l, durmí a
 with_pleasure music.F.SG ah DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M sleep.INF and
 659 tatlá música ajn ina.
 listen.INF music.F.SG in one.F.SG

'He slept a lot and used to go [and sit] on the oven bench and he would go, he loved to listen to the music, ah, this he was able to do, sleep and listen to the music at the same time.'

660 A dumandavan nus lu èra, magari inqual discuérს
 and ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL then also sometimes some conversation.M.SG
 661 vajn nus schòn gju a raşdava bigja bjè, ábar ah
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL indeed have.PTCP.UNM and speak.IMPF.3SG NEG much but eh
 662 ... scha 'l vèva bian, vagnév' ins schòn séssúra
 if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG good.ADJ.UNM come.IMPF.3SG GNR indeed upon
 663 inqual tgaussas.
 some thing.F.PL

'And if we asked him [a question], we really had a conversation with him from time to time, and he didn't speak much, but eh ... when he was in a good mood, one could get to know some things.'

664 Lu dumandavan nuş èl, vèvan dumandau núá èl
 then ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM where 3SG.M
 665 ségi staus ajn plaza, èra 'l staus
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG in job.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M COP.PTCP.M.SG
 666 zatgé vid Andermatt- a tudèstg savèv' ju è bigja -
 something over PN and German know.IMPF.1SG 1SG also NEG
 667 vèvan nuş dumandau in' jèda sch' èl sapi,
 have.IMPF.1PL 1PL ask.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG time whether 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 668 savèva 'l lu schòn in tèc tudèstg, savèva 'l
 know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then indeed INDEF.M.SG bit German know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
 669 lu aun, quaj tg' èra lu bigj' al cas tiar quèls
 then really DEM.UNM REL COP.IMPF.3SG then NEG DEF.M.SG case at DEM.M.PL
 670 végls aun.
 old.PL really

8 Texts

‘Then we would ask him, we asked [him] where he had been working, he had been working for a certain time in Andermatt – and [that he knew] German I didn’t know either – we had asked him whether he knew, he knew some German indeed, he really knew, which then was not the case with these old people.’

- 671 A lu sè 'l lu...ra gè ana ... sissòntasját sè 'l
and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then yes year sixty-seven be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
672 mòrts.
die.PTCP.M.SG

‘And then he is then still, yes [in] 1967 he died.’

8.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas

Household school at Cazas³⁰

(Tuatschin, Camischolas, f6, aged 45)

Recorded 2016/08/26 in Camischolas

Duration 7'40"

- 673 A Cazis èr' ju ajn tgòmbra, alsò qu' èra tgòmbras
in PN COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG in room.F.SG well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG room.F.PL
674 da trajs, a lu qu' è adina, ina è gè
of three and then DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always one.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG of_course
675 adina pṛsula, a nus trajs vèvan ábar ... súpar!
always alone.F.SG and 1PL three have.IMPF.3SG but super

‘In Cazas I was in a room, well these were rooms for three, and then this was always, one [of the three] is always alone, of course, but the three of us, we had ... a great time.’

- 676 A Cazis da las sòras adina hahhhh RS, da da Maitli-RS,
in PN of DEF.F.PL sister.PL always hhhh RS of of Maitli-RS³¹
677 diani, né schèvani lura da da Cazis.
say.PRS.3PL.3PL right say.IMPF.3PL.3PL then of of PN

‘The nuns’s [school] in Cazas [was] always [called], hah, the ‘recruit school’, ‘the girl’s recruit school’, right?, [that’s the way] they used to call Cazas.’

³⁰ *Cazis* is the German denomination for the village; in Standard Sursilvan it is called *Cazas* and in the local Sutsilvan variety *Tgazas*.

³¹ *RS*, German abbreviation for *Rekrutenschule* ‘recruit school’ and *Maitli-RS* Swiss German for ‘girl’s recruit school’.

8.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas

678 Ahm, a quaj èra schòn ah, a vagnéva fétg
ahm and DEM.M.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG in_fact eh and get.IMPF.3SG very
679 strèng, álsò quaj nus vagnévan pròpi tanidas a
strict.ADJ.UNM well DEM.UNM 1PL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL really hold.PTCP.F.PL and
680 nus stuèvan amprèndar a nus stuèvan şchubargè a fá a
1PL must.IMPF.1PL learn.INF and 1PL must.IMPF.1PL clean.INF and do.INF and
681 tùt.
all

‘Ahm, and that was in fact ah, and it was getting very strict, well, and we were really kept [in a strict way] and we had to study and we had to clean and do and everything.’

682 A zacuras èri ahm ... da fá pènsums, lu
and sometime be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL hm to do.INF homework.M.PL then
683 èri ruaus, in' ura da fá pènsums, a
COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.SG one.F.SG hour ATTR do.INF homework.M.PL and
684 sjantar, a scalinavi a lu vèvans dad ira ...
after and ring.IMPF.3SG.EXPL and then have.IMPF.1PL.1PL to go.INF ...
685 a fá òrazjún la sèra, quaj èra tùts tga
SUBORD do.INF prayer.F.SG DEF.F.SG evening DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG all.M.PL REL
686 vèvan da dad í sé sissúm, fá òrazjún da da la
have.IMPF.3PL to to go.INF up uppermost do.INF prayer.F.SG of of DEF.F.SG
687 sèra.
evening

‘And sometime or another we had eh ... to do our homework, then it was quiet, one hour to do our homework and after [this], and the bell rang and we had to go ... to pray in the evening, then all had to to go upstairs, to the very top, to say the evening prayers.’

688 Api sjantar vèvan nus lìbar atgnamajn uschéja mjaš' ura,
and after have.IMPF.1PL 1PL free.ADJ.UNM actually so half.F.SG hour
689 trajs quards d' ura tga nuş astgèvan fá, álsò èssar
three quart.M.PL of hour.F.SG REL 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL do.INF well be.INF
690 plé dad aut, a lura ... da da las déjsch èri
more of high and then at at DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
691 craj né mjasa las déjsch èri ruaus,
believe.PRS.1SG of half.F.SG DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.SG

8 *Texts*

- 692 pals gancs antùrn, ad ajn tgòmbras da las déjsch
 in.DEF.M.PL corridor.PL around and in room.F.PL at DEF.F.PL ten
 693 stizá cazùla.
 turn_off.INF light.F.SG

‘And then we were free for about more or less half an hour, three quarters of an hour that we were allowed to do, well, to be louder, and then ... at at ten o’clock it had to be, I believe, or half past nine it had to be quiet, in the corridors, and in the bedroom the light was turned off at ten.’

- 694 Api tgi ca fagèva bigja quaj, a vagnéva traplada,
 and who REL do.IMPF.3SG NEG DEM.UNM and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.F.SG
 695 las sòras mavan mù schi a guardja, tgi ca vagnéva
 DEF.F.PL nun.PL go.IMPF.3PL just so to guard.F.SG who REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
 696 traplaus stuèva al vèndardís sèra ... stá
 catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG stay.INF
 697 lò, stgèvan bigí’ í a tgèsa, api stèvan nuş
 there be_allowed.IMPF.3PL NEG go.INF to home.F.SG and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 698 şchùbargè in’ ura zatgéj, durmí lò, api stèvan lu
 clean.INF one.F.SG hour something sleep.INF there and must.IMPF.3PL then
 699 í pér la sònda andamaun a tgèsa.
 go.INF only DEF.F.SG Saturday in_morning to home.F.SG

‘And the person who ... didn’t do that and who got caught, the nuns would just walk around on guard duty, the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday evening, they were not allowed to go home, and then they had to clean for more or less one hour, sleep there, and then could only go home on Saturday morning.’

- 700 Qu’ èra ... quèlas règlas.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.PL rule.PL

‘These were ... those rules.’

- 701 A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nuş vagjan
 and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 702 adina u-léjgar, a nus mòndian bugèn cò gjù
 always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM and 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL with_pleasure here down
 703 a scùla, a nus fétschian filistùcas, ad èlas pudévan maj
 to school.F.SG and 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL prank.F.PL and 3PL.F can.IMPF.3PL never
 704 tiar nus.
 to 1PL

8.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas

‘And the nuns knew that the three of us, we always had fun, and that we liked to come to school down here, and that we used to play pranks, and that they would never be able to prove anything against us.’

- 705 A lu èri ... da quèlaş uras, ah da quaj tjamş aun
 and then COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of DEM.F.PL hour.PL ah of DEM.M.SG time still
 706 tga ... ahm, als amprandissadiş antschavévan par part
 COMP hm DEF.M.PL apprenticeship.PL begin.IMPF.3PL for part.F.SG
 707 igl avrél.
 in.DEF.M.SG April

‘And then there was ... at that time, ah at that time still that ... ahm, the apprenticeships would partly begin in April.’

- 708 A lu, ah, álsò ajn nòssa classa, c' ju mava ála
 and then ah well in POSS.1PL.F.SG class when 1SG go.IMPF.1SG to.DEF.F.SG
 709 tjarza sacundara, igl avrél antschavévaş ampréim da vagní
 third secondary DEF.M.SG April begin.IMPF.2SG.GNR first COMP come.INF
 710 òd scùla, al davús èrans aun quátar ... buébas tga
 out_of school.F.SG DEF.M.SG last COP.IMPF.1PL.1PL only four girl.F.PL REL
 711 mavan a scùla ála tjarza sacundara.
 go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG to.DEF.F.SG third secondary

‘And then, ah, in our class, when I attended the third grade of secondary school, in April you would first come out of school, at the end we were only four ... girls that attended the third grade of secondary school.’

- 712 A Cazis şera quaj al madèm.
 in PN COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG same

‘In Cazas this was the same thing.’

- 713 A lu ajn ajn tgòmbra eri ina tga vèva
 and then in in room.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL one.F.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG
 714 survgnú igl avrél plaza.
 get.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG April job.F.SG

‘And then in our room there was one [girl] that had got a job in April.’

- 715 A las sòras savèvan, quèl' ò ùş aun in'
 and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG now only one.F.SG
 716 jamna, a quèlaş òn bigja pudju tiar nus da fá
 week and DEM.F.PL have.PRS.3PL NEG can.PTCP.UNM to 1PL COMP make.INF

8 *Texts*

- 717 stá in vèndardís.
stay.INF INDEF.M.SG Friday

‘And the nuns knew [that] this one had only one week [left], and they haven’t been able to make us stay one Friday.’

- 718 Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun nias ésch
and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG door
719 ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la
and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
720 audi anzatgéj, api hè ... ina da nòssa
hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something and COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG of POSS.1PL.F.SG
721 tgòmbra id' òn tualèta api fò la sòra:
room go.PTCP.F.SG out_in toilet and make.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG nun

‘And then the nun was out [in the corridor] like this ... in front of our door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something, and then ... one of our room went out to the toilet, and the nun said:’

- 722 «Chasch denn grad usrichta, Fritig obig müänd är do
can.PRS.2SG then right_away tell.INF Friday evening mu'.PRS.2PL 2PL here
723 bliiba.³²»
remain.INF

‘You can just tell [them] that you have to stay here on Friday evening.’

- 724 Api ò èla cò détg: «Cool, ju mòn grad
and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F here say.PTCP.UNM cool 1SG go.PRS.1SG right_away
725 a raquénta dad èlas.»
and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F

‘And then she said there: «Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.»’

- 726 Èla vagnid' ajn tgòmbra api fò la: «Scheisse³³! Nus
3SG.F come.PTCP.F.SG in room.F.SG and make.PRS.3SG 3SG.F shit 1PL
727 stuajn stá cò vèndardís»
must.PRS.1PL stay.INF here Friday.M.SG

‘She came into the bedroom and said: «Shit! We have to stay here on Friday.»’

³²Said in Swiss German.

³³Said in Swiss German.

8.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas

728 A quaj vid risadas.
and DEM.UNM by laughing.F.PL

‘And [she said] this laughing.’

729 A lu vèvani traplau circa sis.
and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL catch.PTCP.UNM about six

‘And then they caught about six.’

730 Má tga la tgòmbra spèras fagèva è tup.
since SUBORD DEF.F.SG room next do.IMPF.3SG also stupid.ADJ.UNM

‘Because the room next [to ours] also behaved in a stupid way.’

731 Sò³⁴ vajn nus sis stavju stá lò, api sjaj
so have.PRS.1PL 1PL six must.PTCP.UNM stay.INF there and be.PRS.3SG

732 stau in’ ura da şchubargè né fá ò cul fiar né
COP.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG hour to clean.INF or do.INF out with.DEF.M.SG iron or

733 x-zatgéj luvrá palas sòras, api vajn nuş gju
anything do.INF for.DEF.F.PL nun.PL and have.PRS.1PL 1SG have.PTCP.UNM

734 quèla gròndjuš idéa scha nuş ástgian cuşchiná.
DEM.F.SG great.F.SG idea if 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF

‘Then the six of us had to stay there, and then we had to clean for one hour or iron or do something else for the nuns, and then we had that great idea [to ask] whether we were allowed to cook.’

735 Gè nus³⁵ ástgian cuşchiná.
yes 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF

‘And yes, we were allowed to cook.’

736 Api èssan nuş i³⁶ ajn cuşchina, fatg pètas a
and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in kitchen.F.SG make.PTCP.UNM cake.F.PL and
737 ... gè
yes

‘And then we went to the kitchen, made cakes and .. yes ...’³⁷

³⁴German for *uschéja*.

³⁵Gè nus replaces an unintelligible part.

³⁷Here the narrator uses the masculine plural form instead of the feminine plural form. The same happens in line 758.

8 *Texts*

- 738 A la sèra èssan nus, stuèvan nuş èba bigj' í ad
and DEF.F.SG evening be.PRS.1PL 1PL must.IMPF.1PL 1PL just NEG go.INF at
739 uras ajnta létg, nuş vajn ... fatg ju sa bigja
hour.F.PL in bed.M.SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL do.PTCP.UNM 1SG know.1SG NEG
740 còn ditg la nòtg.
how long DEF.F.SG night

'And in the evening, we went, we didn't have to go to bed early after all, we ...
were busy I don't know how long during that night.'

- 741 Pi vajn nus méz svagljarín, api èssan nus
then have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM alarm_clock.M.SG and be.PRS.1PL 1PL
742 las ... nòtg cu las sòras durmévan, èssan nuş
DEF.F.PL night.F.SG when DEF.F.PL nun.PL sleep.IMP.3PL be.PRS.1PL 1PL
743 i³⁸ tala ... tar ina sòra, ad amplanju sé agl
go.PTCP.M.PL to.DEF.F.SG to INDEF.F.SG nun and fill.PTCP.UNM up DEF.M.SG
744 ésch cul ... ròlas da pupí da tualèta tòcan séssum, a
door with.DEF.M.SG roll.F.PL of paper.M.SG of toilet.F.SG until very_top and
745 ... ina filistùca sjantar l' autra.
one.F.SG prank after DEF.F.SG other

'Then we set the alarm clock, and then we went ... at night when the nuns were
sleeping we went ... to a nun and filled up the doorway with the ... rolls of toilet
paper until the very top, and ... one prank after the other.'

- 746 Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau nus sàpian durmí òra,
and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL sleep.INF out
747 a lu la damaun vagnéva ina ina sòra, quèla
and then DEF.F.SG morning come.IMP.3SG INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG nun DEM.F.SG
748 sòra tga vèva èba igl ésch plajn ròlas è lu
nun REL have.IMP.3SG in_fact DEF.M.SG door full roll.F.PL be.PRS.3SG then
749 vagnida tr nus ad ò dastadau nus cun aua,
come.PTCP.F.SG to 1PL and have.PRS.3SG wake.PTCP.UNM 1PL with water.F.SG
750 sprizau aua, a ... a, i, a igl èfèct èra bigja
squirt.PTCP.UNM water.F.SG and and DEF.M.SG effect be.IMP.3SG NEG
751 pròpi staus, quaj è bigja stau castitg
really COP.PTCP.M.SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG NEG COP.PTCP.UNM punishment.M.SG

³⁸ *i* is a performance error for *idas*.

8.4 *Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas*

- 752 pr̥ nus, stuaj stá quaj vèndardís, a ... gè, da quèls
 for 1PL must.INF remain.INF DEM.M.SG Friday and yes of DEM.M.PL
 753 gags fagèvan nuş èba schòn.
 gag.PL make.IMPF.1PL 1PL after_all really

‘And then we thought we would have a good sleep, and then in the morning a nun came, the sister that had her door full of rolls came into our room and woke us up with water, squirted water, and, and, and there hadn’t really been any effect, this wasn’t a punishment for us, to be obliged to stay there that Friday and ... yes, we really made this sort of gags, after all.’

- 754 A nuş vajn gju schi súpar.
 and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM so super

‘And we had such a wonderful time.’

- 755 Ju èr' ùs ah, ju vèva gju ajnsasèz al
 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG now eh 1SG have.IMPF.1SG have.PTCP.UNM in_fact DEF.M.SG
 756 clégl dad èssar ajn tgòmbra cun ròmòntschas.
 luck COMP COP.INF in room.F.SG with Romansh.F.PL

‘I was now eh, in fact I had been lucky to share the room with Romansh girls.’

- 757 A i miravan schòn in téc da métar anzjaman è ...
 and 3PL look.IMPF.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit COMP put.INF together also
 758 als lungatgs, i è lu halt è tèssinèsas, álsò na,
 DEF.M.PL language.PL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG then after_all also Ticino.F.PL well no
 759 bétgl tèssinèsas, da da Brìgaglia³⁹ né da....
 NEG Ticino.F.PL of of PN or of

‘And in fact, they would make sure to put ... the languages together, there are after all also girls from the Canton of Ticino, well, no, not from the Ticino, from from the Bregaglia or from ...’

- 760 Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp^haу anzjaman a las
 what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMPF.3PL a_bit together and DEF.F.PL
 761 ròmòntschas né las tudèstgas, né è dal vitg
 Romansh..PL or DEF.F.PL German..PL or also of.DEF.M.SG village
 762 matévani schòn in téc anzjaman.
 put.IMPF.3PL.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit together

³⁹The Valle Bregaglia is one of the Italian-speaking valleys of the canton of the Grisons.

8 Texts

‘Look! these Italians⁴⁰ were a bit together, and the Romansh or the Germans, or they put them together even from the [same] village.’

- 763 Úsa quaj cò èra halt ramòntschas. Gè. A lu
now DEM.UNM here COP.IMPF.3SG well Romansh.F.PL yes and then
764 ajni-
COP.PRS.3PL.3PL

‘Well, now these [students] here were Romansh-speaking women. Yes. And then they are-’

- 765 PhM: Danunder eran ellas?
from_where COP.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘PhM: Where were they from?’

- 766 f6: Ina da Lacs, ad ina da Sagògn.
one.F.SG from PN and one.F.SG from PN

‘One from Laax and one from Sagogn.’

- 767 Ad èlas duas ábar ancùnuschévan ... in' l' autra ad ju
and 3AUN.F two.F.PL but know.IMPF.3PL one.F.SG DEF.F.SG other and 1SG
768 lu halt bégja.
then in_fact NEG

‘But these two already knew ... each other but I didn't.’

- 769 A ... api parví dal ròmòntschi èri a Cazis scha ...
and and because of.DEF.M.SG Romansh COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN if
770 a ... nus astgèvan bégja raşdá ròmòntschi, ins
and 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR
771 vès gè savju dá la büca sur dlas
have.COND.3SG after_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG mouth over of.DEF.F.PL
772 sòras.
nun.PL

‘And ... and as for Romansh, in Cazas it was if ..., and ... we were not allowed to speak Romansh, as a matter of fact one could have made derisive remarks about the nuns.’

- 773 Nus stèvan raşdá ... tudèstg.
1PL must.IMPF.1PL speak.INF German.M.SG

⁴⁰Italians and Germans: Italian- and German-speaking young women from the Grisons.

8.4 *Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas*

‘We were obliged to speak German.’

- 774 A lu ábar cu nuš èran prsulas raşdavan nus
and then but when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL alone.F.PL speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL
775 naturálmajn ròmòntscha.
of_course Romansh.M.SG

‘But then, when we were alone, we would of course speak Romansh.’

- 776 A da gjantá ... sch’ ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ... vida
and SUBORD lunch.INF if INDEF.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG at_of
777 majsa, scha stuèvan tut quèla- nuš ròmòntschas raşdá
table.F.SG CORR must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL speak.INF
778 tudèstg.
German.M.SG

‘And during lunch ... if a German ... nun was ... at table, all these – we, the Romansh speaking people, had to speak German.’

- 779 Lu vèvan nuš anflau òra scha nus rassarvassan, nus
then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL reserve.COND.1PL 1PL
780 vèvan ina, ina ... téscha da sarvjèta, a quèla
have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG bag of napkin.F.SG and DEM.F.SG
781 mavan nuš a rassarvávan, ábar matévan quèla tèscha schòn
go.IMPF.1PL 1PL and reserve.IMPF.1PL but put.IMPF.1PL DEM.F.SG bag already
782 lò nùca nus lèvan séjsar, api vèvan nuš anflau
there REL.LOC 1PL want.IMPF.1PL sit.INF and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM
783 òra scha nus mòndian a séjsian spèr la sòr’ Andréa,
out if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next DEF.F.SG nun PN
784 lèza savèva ròmòntscha.
DEM.F.SG know.IMPF.3SG Romansh.M.SG

‘Then we found out [that], if we reserved, we had a, a napkin bag, and with this we used to go and reserve, but we used to put that bag already where we wanted to sit, and then we found out that if we went to sit next to Sister Andrea, she knew Romansh.’

- 785 Scha nus séjsian sin lèza majsa, ástgian nus
if 1PL sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL on DEM.F.SG table be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL 1PL
786 raşdá ramòntscha, stuèvan bgja raşdá tudèstg.
speak.1PL Romansh.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF German.M.SG

8 *Texts*

'If we sat at that table, we would be allowed to speak Romansh, we weren't obliged to speak German.'

- 787 A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,
and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always during break.F.SG
- 788 mavans ajn şala da magljè, prandèvan nòssa ...
go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG ATTR eat.ATTR take.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG
- 789 sarvjèta, matévan sé nùca la sòr' Andréa, a lu
napkin put.IMPF.1PL up where DEF.F.SG nun PN and then
- 790 stgèvan nus raşdá ramòntsch.
be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL speak.ATTR Romansh.M.SG

'And then we, the Sursilvan students, would always place [it] during the break, we would go into the dining hall, would take our ... napkin, would put it next to Sister Andrea, and then we were allowed to speak Romansh.'

- 791 Má tg' èla capéva gè nus.
since SUBORD 3SG.F understand.IMPF.3SG in_fact 1SG

'Because, in fact, she understood us.'

- 792 Ábar lu, lèza raşdava lu èxtra è ramòntsch cun
but then DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then on_purpose also Romansh.M.SG with
793 nus.
1PL

'But then, on purpose, she would also speak Romansh with us.'

- 794 Ábar la, qu' èra la majşa séssum a
but DEF.F.SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG table on_very_top and
795 vèvan adin' ina sòra séssum.
have.IMPF.1PL always INDEF.F.SG nun on_very_top

'But the, that was the table at the very top and we always had a nun at the very top.'

- 796 A lu las majşas gè drètg a saniastar capévan bigja
and then DEF.F.PL table.PL yes right and left understand.IMPF.3PL NEG
797 la sòra a capévan bigja nus.
DEF.F.SG nun and understand.IMPF.3PL NEG 1PL

'And then the tables, yes, right and left wouldn't understand the nun and wouldn't understand us.'

8.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas

- 798 Ábar nuş astgèvan lu raşdá ramòntsch.
but 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL then speak.INF Romansh.M.SG

‘But then we were allowed to speak Romansh.’

- 799 A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan raşdá
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL speak.INF
800 ramòntsch.
Romansh.M.SG

‘And then we had the opportunity to be allowed to speak Romansh there.’

- 801 Ad ál saminar ... raşdavan nus simplamajn, lò
and at.DEF.M.SG training_college speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV there
802 şchèvani schòn «Tüütsch reedä»⁴¹, gè gè.
say.IMPF.3PL.3PL all_right German speak.INF yes yes

‘And at the training college we simply spoke, there they would say «Speak German!», yes yes.’

- 803 A lu vèvan nus tar ina scòlástà, quèla vèva
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL by INDEF.F.SG teacher DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG
804 in U ... als bauns, api èr' ins gjù ajn quaj
INDEF.M.SG U DEF.M.PL bench.PL and COP.IMPF.3SG GNR down in DEM.M.SG
805 cantún cò tut las ròmòntschas, plus quèla da Mésòcò.⁴²
corner here all DEF.F.PL Romansh.F.PL plus DEM.F.SG of PN

‘And then we had a teacher, she had formed a U ... with the benches, and all the Romansh students were down in that corner, plus the one from Mesocco.’

- 806 A cò vagnéva raşdau mù ròmòntsch.
and here PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM only Romansh.M.SG

‘And here only Romansh was spoken.’

- 807 Èla raşdava talján tga nus capévan, ad èla
3SG.F speak.IMPF.3SG Italian.M.SG REL 1PL understand.IMPF.1PL and 3SG.F
808 capéva ábar è nus ròmòntschas, quaj vagnéva
understand.IMPF.3SG but also 1PL Romansh.F.PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
809 raşdau cò ajn quaj cantún mù ròmòntsch.
speak.PTCP.UNM here in DEM.M.SG corner only Romansh.M.SG

⁴¹Said in Swiss German.

⁴²Mesocco is a village in one of the Italian speaking valleys of the Grisons.

8 *Texts*

'She spoke Italian, which we understood, but she also understood us, the Romansh speaking students, in that corner only Romansh was spoken.'

- 810 Ábar lò èri lu èngjadinèses, sursilvanas, surmiranas,
and there COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then Engadine.F.PL Sursilvan.F.PL Surmiran.F.PL
811 api èba aun la, la Mirta da ... da talján.
and precisely also DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG PN of of Italian.M.SG

'But there were then students from the Engadine, form the Surselva, from Surmeir and also Mirta ... from the Italian [speaking part of the Grisons].'

- 812 Ad na, aun ina, ina da Bívjò, a lèza capéva
and no still one.F.SG one.F.SG of PN and DEM.F.SG understand.IMPF.3SG
813 talján.
Italian.M.SG

'And no, there still was another one, one from Bivio, and she understood Italian.'

- 814 A lu vèva lèza hald èra, lèza rašdava lu
and then have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG simply also DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then
815 anstagl tudèstg talján, a lu vèvan nus cò pròpi
instead_of German.M.SG Italian.M.SG and then have.IMPF.1PL 1SG here really
816 in cantún tga vagnéva mù rašdau ròmòntschi.
INDEF.M.SG corner REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG only speak.PTCP.UNM Romansh.M.SG

'And then that one also had, instead of speaking German she spoke Italian, and then we had here a real Romansh corner where only Romansh was spoken.'

- 817 A la scòlásta capéva halt nuét.
and DEF.F.SG teacher understand.IMPF.3SG simply nothing

'And the teacher wouldn't understand anything.'

- 818 Ábar quaj ò la maj dumignau da fá
but DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F never manage.PTCP.UNM COMP make.INF
819 rasdá lu nus
speak.INF then 1PL

'But she has never been able to have us speak ... '

- 820 Alsò clar, a al' instruczjún rasdávan nus gè schòn
well clear.M.SG at at.DEF.F.SG teaching speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL of_course in_fact
821 tudèstg.
German.M.SG

8.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas

‘Well evidently, during teaching we would speak German, of course.’

- 822 Ábar simplamajn nus djantar nus raşdavan ...
but simple.F.SG.ADV 1PL among 1PL speak.IMPF.1PL

‘But among ourselves we simply spoke ...’

- 823 Ad è ajn ajn, ju a atgnamajn adina gju còntáct⁴³
and also in in 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually always have.PTCP.UNM contact
824 còlégas ròmòntschas, usché quaj tjamş da da ... da saminar.
colleague.F.PL Romansh.PL so DEM.M.SG time of of training_college

‘And also in in, actually I always have had contact [with] Romansh colleagues,
during that time of the training college.’

- 825 [PhM] Aber è cun engjadinesas?
but also with Engadine.F.PL

‘But also with [students] form the Engadine?’

- 826 [f6] Gè gè. Ábar raşdavan adina ròmòntschi.
yes yes but speak.IMPF.1PL always Romansh.M.SG

‘Yes, yes. But we always spoke Romansh.’

- 827 Ál' antschata cu té capèschaş aun bigja
at.DEF.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG
828 quèls ... curjòs plajds tg' èls òn, stòs halt
DEM.M.PL strange.PL word.PL REL 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL must.PRS.2SG.GNR just
829 dumandá: «Hèj, tgéj vuta quaj dí?» Api diani tgéj,
ask.INF hey what want.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM say.INF and say.PRS.3PL.3PL what
830 api lu l' autr' jèda cu quaj plajd végn,
and then DEF.F.SG other time when DEM.M.SG word come.PRS.3SG
831 saş gè, né ál còntèxt capèschaş gè
know.PRS.2SG.GNR after_all or in.DEF.M.SG context understand.2SG.GNR after_all
832 lu èra tgéj ca vut dí, gè.
then also what REL want.PRS.3SG say.INF yes

‘At the beginning when you don't understand yet those ... strange words they use, you must just ask: «Hey, what does this mean?» And then they say what [it means], and the next time this word occurs [again], you know after all, or by the context you then understand what it means.’

⁴³The preposition *cun* ‘with’ is missing.

8 *Texts*

- 833 La sèra astgèvas í in téc a spas,
DEF.F.SG evening be_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF INDEF.M.SG bit to walk.M.SG
- 834 quaj vuta dí navèn dla tgèsa
DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF away of.DEF.F.SG house
- 835 astgèvas í ò tòcan quèla via tòca la
be_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF out until DEM.F.SG street until DEF.F.SG
- 836 latjarna a lu stèvas samaná anavùs.
lantern and then must.IMPF.2SG.GNR turn_over.INF back

'In the evening you were allowed to go for a little walk, this means away from the house until that street, until the lantern, and then you had to go back.'

- 837 Quaj fùs stau tupira par mè da stuaj
DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM stupid.ELAT for 1SG COMP must.INF
- 838 rasdá ajn tgòmbra cun tschélas ròmòntschas ... tudèstg.
speak.INF in room.F.SG with DEM.F.PL Romansh.PL German.M.SG

'It would have been very stupid for me if I'd had to speak ... German in the room with the other Romansh room-mates.'

- 839 Quaj è scù ju détsch, cun mias buébas scha ju
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG as 1SG say.PRS.1SG with POSS.1SG.F.PL girl.PL if 1SG
- 840 stuès ùsa, è sch' ju stés ála bassa.
must.COND.1SG now also if 1SG stay.COND.1SG in.DEF.F.SG lowlands

'This is as I say, with my daughters if I now should, even if I lived outside the Grisons.'

- 841 Ad ju scù mùma stès ùsa rasdá cun èlas tudèstg,
and 1SG as mother.F.SG must.COND.1SG now speak.INF with 3PL.F German.M.SG
- 842 quaj fùs schi jastar.⁴⁴
DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG so strange.ADJ.UNM

'And I, as a mother, should I now speak German with them, this would be so strange.'

- 843 Al lungatg ... car, álsò quaj tgi té, quaj
DEF.M.SG language dear.ADJ.M.SG well DEM.UNM REL 2SG.GNR DEM.UNM
- 844 hèrcic, né, quaj è al lungatg-mùma,
cute.ADJ.M.SG right DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG language.M.SG-mother.F.SG

⁴⁴According to some consultants, the form *jastar* should be replaced by *iastar*.

8.5 La détga da la Plata dl barlòt

845 a té sas tòh bgja rasdá ... cun in ufaun
 and 2SG.GNR can.PRS.2SG.GNR after_all NEG speak.INF with INDEF.M.SG child
 846 ... sin tudèstg a fá, álsò sch' i è in ufaun
 on German.M.SG and do.INF well if EXPL COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG child
 847 tudèstg sa ju gè è fá quaj, ábar lu sè
 German can.PRS.1SG 1SG after_all also do.INF DEM.UNM but then COP.PRS.3SG
 848 quaj bigja mju, quaj è gè bgja mju
 DEM.UNM NEG POSS.1SG.M.SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG after_all NEG POSS.1SG.M.SG
 849 cùr ni mju ... mia carèzja tgu stù dá
 heart or POSS.1SG.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG love REL.1SG must.PRS.1SG give.INF
 850 da quèlas.
 DAT DEM.F.PL

‘The dear ... language, well the language you, the cute one, right?, this is the mother tongue, and you really cannot speak German ... with a child ... and do, well if it is a German-speaking child, I can of course do that, but then it is not mine, this is of course not my heart or my ... my love that I have to give them.’

8.5 La détga da la Plata dl barlòt

The legend of the lab of sorcery

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 3'10"

851 La Plata dl Barlòt è sé Caschlè.
 DEF.F.SG slab of.DEF.M.SG sorcery COP.PRS.3SG up PN

‘The sorcery slab is at Caschlè.’

852 A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònnda plata, è
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.F.SG very big slab also
 853 ina bjala, schaj bégn ála pastira, a da quèla
 INDEF.F.SG beautiful lie.PRS.3SG well in.DEF.F.SG pastureland and of DEM.F.SG
 854 òns naturálmajn ... quasi stavju ... vagní cun
 have.PRS.3SG.GNR natural.M.SG.ADV almost must.PTCP.UNM come.INF with
 855 ina détga.
 INDEF.F.SG legend

8 *Texts*

‘And this really is a ... very big slab, also a beautiful one, lies well in the pasture-land, and of this slab, one of course had to ... come up with a legend.’

- 856 A la détga raquénta ... tga las stréjas dl Caschlè tg'
and DEF.F.SG legend tell.PRS.3SG COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL DEF.M.SG PN REL
 857 èran sé cò a fijèvan barlòt vágian
COP.IMPF.3PL up here and do.IMPF.3PL sorcery have.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 858 trans-pòrtau quèla plata sin⁴⁵ in fil-sajda ... navèn
carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.M.SG thread-silk.F.SG away
 859 dal Culmatsch vi a ... ajn quaj ljuc sila alp
from.DEF.M.SG PN over and into DEM.M.SG place on.DEF.F.SG alp
 860 amiaz al Caschlè.
in_the_midst_of DEF.M.SG PN

‘And the legend says ... that the witches of the Caschlè who were up there and used to do sorcery had carried this slab on a ... silk thread ... away from the Culmatsch and ... into the pasture in the midst of the Caschlè.’

- 861 A quèla, quèla plata è è è pròpi,
and DEM.F.SG DEM.F.SG slab COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG really
 862 schaj bégn ajn plat, qu' è ina pulita
lie.PRS.3SG well in flat.M.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG huge
 863 surfatscha, a sén quèla plata ... végnan las, vagnévan
surface and on DEM.F.SG slab come.PRS.3PL DEF.F.PL come.IMPF.3PL
 864 las stréjas né végnan fòrsa aun adina ... da nòtg, a ...
DEF.F.PL witch.PL or come.PRS.3PL maybe still always of night and
 865 fòn al barlòt ad òravauntùt sàutani.
do.PRS.3PL DEF.M.SG sorcery and above_all dance.PRS.3PL.3PL

‘And that, that slab is is really - lies perfectly even, this is a huge surface, and on this slab ... the witches come, used to come or still come... at night and do sorcery and they dance above all.’

- 866 A dad ina vart da la plata sjaj ajn usché
and of INDEF.F.SG side of DEF.F.SG slab EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL in so
 867 in, in in pin scaf ad ajn quaj
INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG little.M.SG footprint and in DEM.M.SG
 868 scaf tégna⁴⁶ al musicant al paj ad aut cu 'l
footprint hold.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG musician DEF.M.SG foot to high when 3SG.M

⁴⁵ *Sin* instead of *sén*, see also *sila* instead of *séla* l. 888.

8.5 *La détga da la Plata dl barlòt*

869 végn a suná la gégja, a quaj scaf vèz'
 come.PRS.3SG SUBORD play DEF.F.SG violin and DEM.M.SG footprint see.PRS.3SG
 870 inṣ èra.
 GNR also

‘And on one side of the slab there is a kind of a, a a small footprint and in this footprint the musician holds up his foot when he comes in order to play the violin, and you can also see this footprint.’

871 A lu, sch' inṣ vò sé a, a raquénta quèla détga
 and then if GNR go.PRS.3SG up and and tell.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG legend
 872 dals ufaunts né dals scòlars scha, quaj fò
 DAT.DEF.M.PL child.PL or DAT.DEF.M.PL pupil.PL CORR DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG
 873 naturálmajn imprèsjun a ... ad èls a, vèzan, lura
 natural.M.SG.ADV impression.F.SG and and 3PL.M and see.PRS.3PL then
 874 sòn simaginá quaj.
 can.PRS.3PL REFL.imagine.INF DEM.UNM

‘And then, if one goes up and, and tells this legend to the children or to the pupils, then, this impresses them and ... and they and, see [it], then they can imagine it.’

875 A lu, als pasturs tg' èran sé cò cun stjarlas
 and then DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL up here with calf.F.PL
 876 vèvan adin' in tèc pròblèms cula, culs ...
 have.IMPF.3PL always INDEF.M.SG bit problem.M.PL with.DEF.F.SG DEF.M.PL
 877 cul barlòt da las stjarlas⁴⁷ adina a a da qué
 DEF.M.SG sorcery of DEF.F.PL calf.PL always and and of DEM.UNM
 878 vagnéva è raquintau da quaj a da tschaj a ... las
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG also tell.ptcp.unm of DEM.UNM and of DEM.UNM and 3PL.F
 879 distùrbian è èls, ah, dl partgirà, quaj
 disturb.PRS.SBJV.3PL also 3PL.M eh of.DEF.M.SG look_after.INF DEM.UNM
 880 dèva lu difarèntas istòrjas.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG then different.F.PL story.PL

‘And the herdsmen who were up there with one year old female calves had always problems with the, with the ... with the sorcery of the calves [witches], always, and people would also tell this and that about this and ... they would hinder them from looking after [the animals], and there were different stories about that.’

⁴⁶ *Tégn* is a performance error for *tégn*.

⁴⁷ *Stjarlas* ‘one year old female beef’ instead of *stréjas* ‘witches’.

8 *Texts*

- 881 A lu prquaj vèvani clumau lu in' jèda
and then therefore have.IMPF.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM then one.F.SG time
882 al, glaucségnar, al plavòn da Sadrún da vagní
DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG priest DEF.M.SG parish_priest of PN COMP come.INF
883 sé a banadí òra la plata par tga, tga quèlas stréas
up and bless.INF out DEF.F.SG rock SUBORD COMP COMP DEM.F.PL witch.PL
884 dëtian⁴⁸ in' jèda ruaus, a la banadiczjun, lèza
give.PRS.SBJV.3PL one.F.SG time rest.M.SG and DEF.F.SG blessing DEM.F.SG
885 vèva plé bjè fòrza sélas stréjas.
have.IMPF.3SG much more power.F.SG on.DEF.F.PL witch.PL

'And therefore they had once called the, the priest, the parish priest from Sedrun in order to bless the slab so those witches, so they would for once leave them in peace, and the blessing had much more power over the witches.'

- 886 A quèl ... auacségnar ò lu banadjú òra ... la
and DEM.M.SG priest have.PRS.3SG then bless.PTCP.UNM out DEF.F.SG
887 plata a vigljantau naturálmajn tras quaj las stréjas,
slab and upset.PTCP.UNM natural.M.SG.ADV through DEM.UNM DEF.F.PL witch.PL
888 clar.
for_sure

'This ... priest blessed ... the slab and doing so he of course upset the witches, for sure.'

- 889 A lu al pròxim, in dls pròximş unvjarns ...
and then DEF.M.SG next one of.DEF.M.PL next.PL winter.PL
890 òi dau ina grònda navada, qu'
have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG big snowfall DEM.UNM
891 è stau gl òn mili a ... a sjat tschian
be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG year thousand and and seven hundred
892 a tauns, quaj è stau la lavina da,
and so_many.M.PL DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG avalanche of
893 la lavina da ... Ruèras, ju sa bé tgé òn quaj
DEF.F.SG avalanche of PN 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG which year DEM.UNM
894 èra, mili a sjat tschian a tons sè
COP.IMPF.3SG thousand and seven hundred and so_many.M.PL be.PRS.3SG.EXPL
895 stau, mili a sjat tschian òtgònta.
COP.PTCP.UNM thousand and seven hundred eighty

⁴⁸Unclear part, replaced by *dëtjan*.

8.5 *La détga da la Plata dl barlòt*

‘And then the next, one of the next winters ... there was a big snowfall, this was in 1700 and something, this was the avalanche of ... the avalanche of ... Rueras, I don’t know which year this was, it was in 1700 and something, in 1780.’

- 896 Qu’ è dòcumentau, gjèz è, abr al dátum
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG document.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM also but DEM.M.SG date
897 sau ùssa bétg.
know.PRS.1SG.1SG now NEG

‘This is documented, this too, but the date I don’t know now.’

- 898 Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònada lavina ... a
DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche and
899 vèva ... déstruí ina grònada part dl vitg
have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge part.of.DEF.M.SG village
900 ajntadém Ruèras ... a vèv’ è dau mòrts, ad i
uppermost PN and have.IMPF.3SG also EXIST.PTCP.UNM dead.M.PL and 3PL
901 vèvan dau ... naturàlmajn alarm è ò Sadrún.
have.IMPF.3PL give.PTCP.UNM natural.M.SG.ADV alarm.M.SG also down PN

‘Then a huge avalanche went down ... and had ... destroyed a big part of the village in the upper part of Rueras ... and people died, and, of course, they had ... also sounded the alarm down in Sedrun.’

- 902 A lu, aglaucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è saméz sén
and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on
903 via par í ajnta Ruèras a purtá agit a dá
way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN SUBORD bring.INF help.M.SG and give.INF
904 sògn jéli né al davùs sacramèn tga dèvan da quels ...
holy.M.SG oil or DEF.M.SG last sacrament REL give.IMPF.3PL DAT DEM.M.PL
905 mòribùnds, basta, aglaucségnar végn atrás ... Zarcúns a
dying.PL enough DEF.M.SG priest come.PRS.3SG through PN and
906 lu auda ‘l las stréjas sé cò, séssum la val da
then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost DEF.F.SG valley of
907 l’ Ôndadusa òni clumau:
DEF.F.SG PN have.PRS.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM

‘And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras and bring help and administer the sacrament of anointing or the Holy Sacrament they would give to those ... dying people. Well, the priest comes through Zarcuns and then he hears the witches up there, they called from the uppermost part of the Ondadusa valley:’

8 *Texts*

908 «Al végn, agl aucrégnar, da Sadrún!
 3SG.M come.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG priest from PN

‘He comes, the priest, from Sedrun.’

909 Ad òz ‘l bégja sé la plauna ... antùrn al
 and today have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG up DEF.F.SG chasuble around DEF.M.SG
 910 culiaz.
 neck

‘And today he doesn’t have the chasuble around his neck.’

911 Òz šè ‘l bgja schurmajaj,⁴⁹ stuschaj la
 today COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG protect.PTCP.M.PL push.IMP.2PL DEF.F.SG
 912 lavina!»
 avalanche

‘Today he is not protected, push the avalanche!’

913 Ad ajnaquèla ... sjaj sadérs ... ina grònda
 and at_that_moment be.PRS.3SG REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge
 914 lavina gjù da la val l’ Òndadusa, gjù ancùntar
 avalanche down of DEF.F.SG valley DEF.F.SG PN down towards
 915 al vitg, ni ‘l vitgèt, gl uclaun da, da Zarcúns, a
 DEF.M.SG village or DEF.M.SG village.DIM DEF.M.SG hamlet of of PN and
 916 gl aucrégnar è pròpi vagnus ála lavina,
 DEF.M.SG priest be.PRS.3SG really come.PTCP.M.SG into.DEF.F.SG avalanche
 917 ad è ... staus mòrts, usché tga las stréas
 and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG dead.M.SG so COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL
 918 òn ... fatg vandètga cugl aucrégnar da Sadrún.
 have.PRS.3PL do.PTCP.UNM revenge.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG priest of PN

‘And precisely at that moment ... a huge avalanche ... came down from the On-dadusa valley, down towards the village, or the small village, the hamlet of Zar-cuns, and the priest really was engulfed by the avalanche and was ... dead, so that the witches got their revenge on the priest of Sedrun.’

919 A vid quèla tgèsa dals Schmits sjaj aun sé
 and at DEM.F.SG house of.DEF.M.PL Schmit.PL COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL still up
 920 quèla crusch tga ragòrda vi da quèla dišgrazja ajnta Ruèras,
 DEM.F.SG cross REL remind.PRS.3SG over of DEM.F.SG tragedy in PN

⁴⁹ *Schurmajaj* is a performance error for *schurmagjau*.

8.6 *Scuá ajn scùla*

- 921 ajn, ajn Zarcúns, gè.
in in PN yes

‘And on that house of the Schmid family there still is this cross that reminds of that tragedy in Rueras, in, in Zarcuns, yes.’

- 922 Ábar quaj fò lu imprasjún quèla, l' Òndadusa
but DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG then impression.F.SG DEM.F.SG DEF.F.SG PN
923 cu las stréas òn stuschau gjùdòra.
when DEF.F.PL witch.PL have.PRS.3PL push.PTCP.UNM down_out

‘But this impresses [people], that, the Ondadusa when the witches pushed [the avalanche] down the valley.’

- 924 A fòrsa fòni vinavaun barlòt.
and maybe do.PRS.3PL.3PL still sorcery

‘And maybe they keep doing sorcery.’

8.6 Scuá ajn scùla

Sweeping in school

(Tuatschín, Sèlva, f2, aged 79)

Recorded 2016/06/08 in Sedrun

Duration 1'

- 925 Nuṣ vèvan nòssa scùla ajn Sùtcràstas, qu' è
1PL have.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG school in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
926 dadajns Sèlva, api èri è adina duaṣ buébas tga
in_interior PN and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also always two.F.PL girl.PL REL
927 vèvan da scuá.
have.IMPF.3PL to sweep.INF

‘We had our school in Sutcrestas, this is outside Selva, and there were also always two girls who had to sweep.’

- 928 Navé, las sèras las quàtar èri, qu'
right? DEF.F.PL afternoon.PL DEF.F.PL four EXIST.IMPF.EXPL DEM.UNM
929 èra, qu' èra nagín ah, cò din\$,
EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.M.SG ah how say.PRS.3SG.GNR
930 in padèl, vèvan mintg' jamna duas buébas da fá.
INDEF.M.SG caretaker have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG week two.F.PL girl.PL to do.INF

8 Texts

‘Right? In the afternoon at four o’clock, there was no ah, how does one say? no caretaker, every week two girls had to do [that].’

- 931 Api plénangjú, èri gl unviarn, qu’ èra
and more_down COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG winter DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG
- 932 baghétgs aun, ad èra prvasèdars ... ad in ...
building.M.PL still and EXIST.IMPF.3SG herdsman.M.PL and INDEF.M.SG
- 933 quèl vèv’ adina sch’ ‘l vagnév’ ò sé la
DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG always if 3SG.M come.IMPF.3SG out on DEF.F.SG
- 934 pòrta-clavau, a vasèva nus, schèva ‘l:
door.F.SG-barn.M.SG and see.IMPF.3SG 1PL say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M

‘And down there, it was winter, there still were buildings [there], and there were men who would feed the animals, and one, this one had always, when he came out of the barn, staying in the doorway and saw us, he would say:’

- 935 «Tatlaj! Las òndas, laş olmaş dian ... rusari
listen.IMP.2PL DEF.F.PL aunt.PL DEF.F.PL soul.PL say.PRS.3PL rosary.M.SG
- 936 gjùn basèlgja.»
down_in church.F.SG

‘«Listen! The aunts, the spirits are saying ... a rosary down in the church.’

- 937 A nus tumévan, a schèvan dá quèlas scúaş a da
and 1PL be.afraid.IMPF.1PL and let.IMPF.1PL give.INF DEM.F.SG broom.PL and of
- 938 quaj, quaj è in crèst, a da quaj crès[t]
DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG hill and from DEM.M.SG hill
- 939 gjù a tgèsa.
down to home.F.SG

‘And we were afraid and would let these brooms and so on fall down, this is a hill, and from this hill [we would run] down until home.’

- 940 Sagir quaj fagèv’ adin’ in’ impramasjun⁵⁰ cu quèl
sure DEM.UNM make.IMPF.3SG always DEF.F.SG impression when DEM.M.SG
- 941 antschavèv’ ajn cun séjs spérts a tut quaj tg’
begin.IMPF.3SG in with POSS.3SG.M.PL spirit.PL and all DEM.UNM REL
- 942 èra.
EXIST.IMPF.3SG

‘For sure, this made always an impression when he started with his spirits and everything that was there.’

⁵⁰Performance error for *imprèsjun*.

8.7 Als méls

943 Quaj èra in' jèda ... brutal tiar nus, bèn-bèn.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F time terrible.ADJ.UNM among 1PL RED~really

‘Once it was terrible among us, really.’

944 Api schèvan aj èba in tg' è mòrts tga
 and say.IMPF.3PL 3PL precisely one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG die.PTCP.M.SG REL
 945 végn a métar als, als tjarms ... la
 come.PRS.3SG SUBORD put.INF DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL boundary_stone.PL DEF.F.SG
 946 nòtg parquaj tga cu 'l è vavjus, vèv'
 night because SUBORD when 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG live.PTCP.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG
 947 èl méz èls ajn in autar ljuc.
 3SG.M put.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M in INDEF.M.SG other place

‘And, precisely, they also used to say [that] somebody who had died came and put the, the boundary stones ... at night – because when it [*al prau* ‘the field’] was sold – he had put them in another place.’

948 Ad ùs stù 'l bunamajn vagní a métar èls;
 and now must.PRS.3SG 3SG.M really come.INF SUBORD put.INF 3PL.M
 949 quaj è tut, lajn dí, fantasia, ábar cu nuş
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all IMP.1PL say.INF fantasy.F.SG but when 1PL
 950 èran afòns, nus cartévan ad ju fùş ina
 COP.IMPF.1PL child.PL 1PL believe.IMPF.1PL and 1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.F.SG
 951 sèra maj id' ò da tgèsa la sèra da stgir.
 evening never go.PTCP.F.SG out of home.F.SG DEF.F.SG evening of dark.ADJ.UNM

‘And now he must really come and put them [in the right place]; this is all, let’s say, fantasy, but when we were children we would believe [that], but I would never have left home in the evening when it was dark.’

952 Gnanc gjùn tschalè, nus tumévan schi fétg.
 not_even down_in cellar.M.SG 1PL be_afraid.IMPF.1PL so much

‘Not even down to the cellar, we were so very afraid.’

8.7 Als méls

The mules

(Tuatschin, Ruèras, m10, aged 74)

Recorded 2017/11/02 in Sedrun

8 *Texts*

Duration 9'

953 Bian, mju bap èra ... staus da
good.ADJ.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG father be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG of
954 malitèr tials òrdònanzs dad òficiars, a vèva
military_service.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL orderly.PL of officer.M.PL and have.IMPF.3SG
955 ... raquintava savèns tg' èls vèvan da schùbargè als
tell.IMPF.3SG often COMP 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL to clean.INF DEF.M.PL
956 tgavals ... dals òficiars.
horse.PL of.DEF.M.PL officer.PL

'Well, my father had been serving in the army with the orderlies of officers, and had ... would often tell that they had to clean the horses ... of the officers.'

957 A quaj èr' in bi survètsch ad èl
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG beautiful service and 3SG.M
958 vèva in spazjal⁵¹ ... afèczjun pals tgavals.
have.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG special affection.F.SG for.DEF.M.PL horse.PL

'And this was a nice service and he had a special ... affection for the horses.'

959 A lu raquintava 'l è tg' èl vèva ... cunquaj tg'
and then tell.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M also COMP 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG since SUBORD
960 èl èra ... fòrsa staus ah da malitèr tials tgavals,
3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG maybe COP.PTCP.M.SG ah of army.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL horse.PL
961 né gju da fá cùn tgavals, scha ... vèv' èl ...
or have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF with horse.M.PL CORR have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
962 cumprau in asan, álsò in mél, bitg in
buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG donkey this_is INDEF.M.SG mule NEG INDEF.M.SG
963 asan, in mél.
donkey INDEF.M.SG mule

'And then he used to tell [me] that he had ... since in the army he had maybe been with the horses, or had to do with horses, then ... he had bought a donkey, that is to say a mule, not a donkey, a mule.'

964 Als méls èran, qu' èra ... fèrm ...
DEF.M.PL mule.PL COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG strong.ADJ.UNM
965 fèrms tiars ad èl duvrava quaj mél pr trá,
strong.M.PL animal.PL and 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule SUBORD pull.INF

⁵¹In *spazjal* is a performance error for *ina spazjala*.

8.7 *Als mél*

- 966 par trá lèna sé da Cavòrgja.
SUBORD pull.INF wood.COLL up from PN

‘The mules were, these were in fact ... strong ... strong animals and he used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.’

- 967 Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn uaul⁵²
then go.IMP.F.3PL.3PL often down_in PN here from DEM.M.SG big forest
968 vagnéva bjè lèna.
come.IMP.F.3SG much wood.COLL

‘Then they often went down to Cavorgia, much wood came from that big forest there.’

- 969 A lu mávani gl unviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a
and then go.IMP.F.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG winter down_in PN and
970 trèvan sé lèna cùls mél.
pull.IMP.F.3PL up wood.COLL with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL

‘And then during winter they used to go down to Cavorgia and transport wood with the mules up [to Surrein].’

- 971 A lura ah ... raquintav’ èl adina dal, dal mél.
and then eh tell.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M always of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG mule

‘And then ah ... he would always talk about, about the mule.’

- 972 Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah gè
and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMP.F.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah yes
973 ju vès è ugèn ampríu d’ ancanùschar
1SG have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.UNM COMP know.INF
974 quaj mél, ábar ju ... sùn halt naschjus mèmja tart.
DEM.M.SG mule but 1SG be.PRS.1SG just be_born.PTCP.M.SG too late

‘And, eh, this really fascinated me, I would have eh yes I would have very much liked to get to know this mule, but I was just born too late.’

- 975 Api ah, va ju al, cu ju a ... ah, cu
and eh have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.M.SG when 1SG have.PRS.1SG eh when
976 mju bap ò calau da fá ‘l pur,
POSS.1SG.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer

⁵² *Uaul* is Standard Sursilvan for *uaut*.

8 *Texts*

- 977 scha va ju, ju gidav' adina èl avaun a fá
 CORR have.PRS.1SG 1SG 1SG help.IMPF.1SG always 3SG.M before SUBORD do.INF
 '1 pur.
 DEF.M.SG farmer

'And ah I have, when I have ... eh, when my father stopped working as a farmer,
 I have, I always helped him before with farming.'

- 979 A lu cu èl ò calau da fá '1 pur,
 and then when 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer
 980 a vajn, va ju vandju las, cu èl
 and have.PRS.1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG sell.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL when 3SG.M
 981 ò vandju las vacas, scha ... va ju
 have.PRS.3SG sell.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL COW.PL CORR have.PRS.1SG 1SG
 982 détg dad èl, a scha ... èl ò lu fatg
 say.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and if 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG then make.PTCP.UNM
 983 vès da vèndar in pau ah ... al mûval.
 difficult COMP sell.INF INDEF.M.SG little eh DEF.M.SG cattle.M.SG

'And then, when he stopped working, and we have, I sold the, when he sold the
 cows, ... I told him, and if ... it was then a bit difficult for him to sell ... cattle.'

- 984 A lu ... va ju détg a scha ... salv' ju vinavaun
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG say.PTCP.UNM and if keep.1SG 1SG still
 985 als praus api fagjajn nus sé nùrsas, cumprajn nus
 DEF.M.PL meadow.PL and do.PRS.1PL 1PL up sheep.F.PL buy.PRS.1PL 1PL
 986 nùrsas ad ju fètsch, fètsch al ... pur da nùrsas
 sheep.F.PL and 1SG make.PRS.1SG make.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG farmer of sheep.F.PL
 987 in pau.
 INDEF.M.SG little

'And then I said and if ... I'll go on keeping the meadows and we breed sheep, we
 buy sheep and I work as a ... as a sheep farmer a bit.'

- 988 A lu va ju fatg al pur a lu
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer and then
 989 bagagjau ina, ina stala nòva plaunsjú, api ah ...
 build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG sheepfold new slowly and eh
 990 va ju, ah, aun adina gju tschafan da, dals
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG eh still always have.PTCP.UNM pleasure of of.DEF.M.PL

8.7 *Als méls*

991 mél^s, aun adina patartgau mintgataun, ad in' jèda
 mule.PL still always think.PTCP.UNM sometimes and one.F.SG time
 992 va ju cumprau in mél.
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG mule

‘And then I worked as a farmer and slowly built a new sheepfold and ah ... I have, eh still liked mules, and still thought [about them] from time to time, and once I bought a mule.’

993 Api ah ... va ju cumprau gl ampré^m mù in, a
 and eh have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG first only one.M.SG and
 994 sjantar va ju ... cumprau in zacùn.
 after have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG second

‘And ah ... at first I bought only one, but afterwards I ... bought a second [one].’

995 A lu va ju gju ... difarènts, ju savès
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM different.M.PL 1SG can.COND.1SG
 996 raquintá bjè avanamajnts tgu a gju cùn
 tell.INF many incident.M.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM with
 997 quèls mél^s.
 DEM.M.PL mule

‘And then I’ve had ... different, I could recount many incidents I’ve had with these mules.’

998 Quèls fagèvan, i èra flòts tiars, nuş vajn
 DEM.M.PL do.IMPF.3PL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG smart.M.PL animal.PL 1PL have.PRS.1PL
 999 par èxempal ah fatg ah, ina tura ... da sauma,
 for instance.M.SG eh make.PTCP.UNM eh INDEF.F.SG tour of bridle.F.SG
 1000 ál^sò vèvan nus mèz sé ... las vali^şchaş dals
 therefore have.IMP.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM up DEF.F.PL suitcase.PL of.DEF.M.PL
 1001 hòsp^s.
 guest.PL

‘These used to do, they were smart animals, for instance we took a trip with the bridled mules, therefore we had put up [on the mules] ... the suitcases of the guests.’

1002 A lu èssan nus staj in' jèda navèn da Mustajr tòcan
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL one.F.SG time away from PN until
 1003 ád Acquarossa cùn ... cùn quèls mél^s, ál^sò ál^sò lu fatg
 to PN with with DEM.M.PL mule.PL well well then make.PTCP.UNM

8 *Texts*

1004 étapas a mintg' jèda durmju ajls, ajn ajn in
 leg.F.PL and each time.F.SG sleep.PTCP.UNM in.DEF.M.PL in in INDEF.M.SG
 1005 hòtèl.
 hotel

'And then we went once from Mustér to Acquarossa with ... with these mules,
 well well, [we did it in] stages and each time [we] slept in the, in in a hotel.'

1006 A lu vajn nus, quaj èra tut fatg a
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG all do.PTCP.UNM and
 1007 racògnòszau avaun tg' ins savèva nua ins
 reconnoitre.PTCP.UNM before SUBORD GNR know.IMPF.3SG where GNR
 1008 vèva da durmí, nu i èra ... da métar ah sur
 have.IMPF.3SG to sleep.INF where EXPL be.IMPF.3SG to put.INF ah over
 1009 nòtg als als mél's, nu i dèva pával
 night.F.SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG food.M.SG
 1010 pls mél's, a quaj èra tut òrganisau
 for.DEF.M.PL mule.PL and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG all organise.PTCP.UNM
 1011 òrdavaun.
 in_advance

'And then we have, this had all been done and reconnoitred before, so that one
 knew where to sleep, where to put the mules over night, where there was food
 for the mules, and all that had been organised in advance.'

1012 Ad in' jèd' èssan nus i navèn da ... l' Albşú ...
 and one.F.SG time be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from of DEF.M.SG PN
 1013 tòcan a ... Guòttanna ... èl⁵³ cantún Bèrna.
 until to PN in.DEF.M.SG canton PN

'And once we went from ... the Alpsu to ... Guttannen ... in the canton of Bern.'

1014 A lu èssan nus i a ... l' amprèm ... nòtg
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to DEF.M.SG first night.F.SG
 1015 vajn nus durmju ò Realp, la zacùnda nòtg
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.MNM down PN DEF.F.SG second night
 1016 vajn nus durmju a Tiefenbach.
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM in PN

'And then we went to ... the first ... night we slept in Realp, the second night we
 slept in Tiefenbach.'

⁵³ Èl is Standard Sursilvan for *ál* or *ajl*.

8.7 *Als méls*

1017 Avaun, navèn da Realp essan nuş i dad ina ... dad
 before away from PN be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from INDEF.F.SG from
 1018 in ... trùtg sédòra tòcan séssúr las lavinèras, a
 INDEF.M.SG footpath up until up_over DEF.F.PL avalanche_barrier.PL and
 1019 ... sésúr las lavinèras ah èssan nus lu i,
 up_over DEF.F.PL avalanche_barrier.PL ah be.PRS.1PL 1PL then go.PTCP.M.PL
 1020 quaj vò sé ancùntar l' Albert-Heim-Hütte⁵⁴ ... èssan
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG up towards DEF.F.SG PN-PN-hut be.PRS.1PL
 1021 nus, quaj èssan nuş i sé pr ... pr bitga stuaj
 1PL DEM.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up SUBORD SUBORD NEG must.INF
 1022 ira sé la ... sé la via dad autòs, sé la via dal
 go.INF up DEF.F.SG up DEF.F.SG way of car.M.PL up DEF.F.SG way of.DEF.M.SG
 1023 pas.
 pass

'Before, from Realp we went on a footpath [which lead us] above the avalanche barriers and above the avalanche barriers we went then, this goes up towards the Albert-Heim-hut ... we ... there we went up in order to avoid the car road, the road of the pass.'

1024 A lu èssan nuş i sé api vagní surangjù ad
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up and come.PTCP.M.PL over_down and
 1025 i gjù Tiefenbach.
 go.PTCP.M.PL down PN

'And then we went up and came [from] over [the avalanche barriers] down and went down to Tiefenbach.'

1026 Quaj è ina, usch' ina stazjun amiaz al pas
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG such INDEF.F.SG station amid DEF.M.SG pass
 1027 circa né ... strusch séssum al p^has.
 around or almost on_top DEF.M.SG pass

'This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass, approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.'

1028 A lu vajn nus ah durmju lò, api l' autar
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL ah sleep.PTCP.UNM there and DEF.M.SG other.M.SG
 1029 dé èssan nus ... i a a ... cù è l' nùm, ju
 day be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to to how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG name 1SG

⁵⁴Said in German.

8 *Texts*

1030 a cùls nùms in téc misérjaş, a Gletsch.
 have.PRS.1SG with.DEF.M.PL name.PL INDEF.M.SG bit problem.F.PL in PN

‘And then we ah slept there, and the next day we went to, to ... what is the name, these names I have some problems, to Gletsch.’

1031 A lu vajn nuş durmjú lò, api navèn da Gletsch
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM there and from of PN
 1032 èssan nus, lò vajn nus lu stu í sén via⁵⁵
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL there have.PRS.1PL 1PL then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF on way.F.SG
 1033 ‘ssan nuş i sé sél Grimsel, a lu vajn nuş
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up on.DEF.M.MSG PN and then have.1PL 1PL
 1034 durmjú sé ál hòspiz sé dal Grimsel, a lu
 sleep.PTCP.UNM up at.DEF.M.SG hospice up of.DEF.M.SG PN and then
 1035 èssan nus ... i ... ah, cùls méls.
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL eh with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL

‘And then we slept there, and from Gletsch we – there we then had to go on the way, we went up to the Grimsel [pass] and then we slept up there at the guesthouse on the Grimsel, and then we ... went on ... eh with the mules.’

1036 Lò dati ina, sé dal Grimsel vagnévi
 there EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL INDEF.F.SG up of.DEF.M.SG PN come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1037 ina ... in ... in trùtg da sauma nùca tga
 INDEF.F.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG footpath of bridle.F.SG where REL
 1038 mavan cùls cùls méls né cùls tgavals.
 go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.M.PL with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL or with.DEF.M.PL horse.PN

‘There there is a, from the Grimsel there came a ... a ... a bridle path where one would go with the mules or horses.’

1039 Avaun òns fagèvan trans-pòrts da da caşchial⁵⁶ tégn
 before year.M.PL make.IMPF.3PL transport.M.PL of of cheese.M.SG hold.PRS.1SG
 1040 ju, a ... a raquèntani aun òz.
 1SG and and tell.PRS.3PL.3PL still today

‘Years ago they used to organise transports of of cheese, I think, and ... and they still talk about [these things] today.’

⁵⁵ On the way and not on the footpath.

⁵⁶ *Caşchial* is Standard Sursilvan for *magnùc*.

8.7 *Als mél*

1041 A lura ... a lò quaj trùtg èra in ...
 and then and there DEM.M.SG footpath COP.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG
 1042 trùtg antrás 'ls lavurs c' i òn fatg
 footpath.M.PL through DEF.F.PL work.PL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
 1043 la òvra èlectrica.
 DEF.F.SG work electric

'And then ... and there, this footpath was a ... paths were built when they built the electric power station.'

1044 A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò dal
 and then have.IMP.F.3PL have.PRS.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out of.DEF.M.SG
 1045 mir, álsò òr dal grép òni fatg
 rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
 1046 ina pintga ... sènda tg' ins sò ira ah a paj
 INDEF.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF eh on foot.M.SG
 1047 flòt.
 easy.ADJ.UNM

'And then they made, out of the rock face, this is to say out of the rock they made a small ... path through which one could easily go eh on foot.'

1048 Què è btg ina lada sènda, quèl' èra
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.F.SG broad path DEM.F.SG COP.IMP.F.3SG
 1049 fòrsa ... ah in mètar a miaz, struşch duş, a lu èssan nuş, gè
 maybe eh one.M.SG metre and half almost two and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL yes
 1050 in mètar a miaz plétòst a mintgataun èri
 one.M.SG metre and half rather and sometimes EXIST.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL
 1051 aun grépa tga stèv' ò in téc
 moreover rock.COLL REL stand.IMP.F.3SG out INDEF.M.SG bit

'This is not a broad path, it was maybe ... eh one metre, almost two, and then we, yes rather one and a half metre and from time to time there were rocks protruding a bit ... '.

1052 A lura ah ... mju quinau manava in mél, -
 and then eh POSS.1SG.M.SG brother-in-law lead.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG mule
 1053 lu vèva 'l dus - ad ju manava in.
 then have.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M TWO.M.PL and 1SG lead.IMP.F.1SG one.M.SG

'And then eh ... my brother-in-law led one mule – at that time he had two – and I led one.'

8 *Texts*

- 1054 Al quinau vèva mal ina tgòmba.
DEF.M.SG brother-in-law have.IMPF.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM INDEF.F.SG leg
 ‘My brother-in-law had leg pain.’
- 1055 A lu ò ‘l détg èl sapi bigja
and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
 1056 vagní da luòra, ju, èl stètgi mal, èl mòndi
come.INF from there_out 1SG 3SG.M stay.PRS.SBJV.3SG bad 3SG.M go.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 1057 da via òra, a lu va ju rantau in mél vi
from road.F.SG out and then have.1SG 1SG bind.PTCP.UNM one.M.SG mule over
 1058 dal autar, álsò vi da la ... vi dal ... cavèstar da
of.DEF.M.SG other well over of DEF.F.SG over of.DEF.M.SG bridle of
 1059 lèz, álsò vi dal ... dal bast da
DEM.M.SG that_is_to_say over of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG packsaddle of
 1060 lèz scù ins di, api ah sünd jus cùn dòmaṣdús.
DEM.M.SG as GNR say.PRS.3SG and eh be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG with both.M.SG
 ‘And then he said he couldn’t walk on that path, that I - that he was sorry, [but]
 that he would walk on the road, and then I bound one mule to the other, well, to
 the ... eh to the bridle of this one, that is to say to the the packsaddle of that one
 as one says, and then eh I left with both [mules].’
- 1061 A qu’ èra schòn strètg, álsò sch’ ju stès
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really narrow.ADJ.UNM well if 1SG must.COND.1SG
 1062 aun fá in’ jèda quaj, figès ju bétga.
again do.INF one.F.SG time DEM.UNM do.COND.1SG 1SG NEG
 ‘And this was really narrow, well, if I had to do it once again, I wouldn’t do it.’
- 1063 Mintgataun vasèvas gjùadò grad agradgjù, tòcan gjù
sometimes see.IMPF.2SG.GNR down_and_out directly steep_down until down
 1064 èl’ aua, álsò sch’ in fùs ùssa tagljau,
in.DEF.F.SG water well if one.M.SG PASS.AUX.COND.3SG now cut.PTCP.UNM
 1065 quèlas ... al bùrdi stèva ò ualti gljunsch, quaj
DEM.F.PL DEF.M.SG load stand.IMPF.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM
 1066 balantschava in téc.
roll.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG bit

‘From time to time one looked directly down, directly down, until down in the
 water, well, if one of these [ropes that I used to bind the mules together] had
 been cut, these... the load was sticking out quite a lot, it was rolling a bit.’

8.7 *Als méls*

- 1067 A lur scha 'l vès ùssa pagljau par èxèmpal
and then if 3SG.M have.COND.3SG now hit.PTCP.UNM for example.M.SG
1068 in grép tga vès pudju bétar èl, scha
INDEF.M.SG rock REL have.COND.3SG can.PTCP.UNM throw.INF 3SG.M CORR
1069 quèls fùssan grat schulaj gjù ajl'
DEM.M.PL be.COND.3PL immediately fall_rapidly.PTCP.M.PL down into.DEF.F.SG
1070 aua, ajl lac.
water into.DEF.M.SG lake

'And then if it [the load] hit a rock which could have thrown it down, the mules would have immediately fallen down rapidly into the water, into the lake.'

- 1071 Ábar è ju ... ju rašdav' in téc cùn èls, ju èra
but also 1SG 1SG speak.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG bit with 3PL.M 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG
1072 mèz èr ... saspruava dad èssar ruassajvals, quaj
self.1SG.M also REFL.try.hard.IMPFF.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG DEM.UNM
1073 è ju tiptòp, tòcan ò atrás.
be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.UNM perfectly until out through

'But I also, I spoke a bit with them, I was myself also ... tried hard to remain calm, this went perfectly throughout the whole trip.'

- 1074 A lu èssans lu i l' autar dé.
and then be.IMPF.1PL.1PL then go.PTCP.M.PL DEF.M.SG other day

'And the next day we went there.'

- 1075 La davìsa nògj vajn nus durmju ... a Guottannen.
DEF.F.SG last night have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM at PN

'The last night we slept in Guttannen.'

- 1076 Quaj èra, dad ira cùn cùn sauma èra
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF with with bridle.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
1077 quaj súpar cùn quèls, cùn quèls méls.
DEM.UNM great with DEM.M.PL with DEM.M.PL mule.PL

'This was, to go with bridles, this was great with these, with these mules.'

- 1078 Què è pròpa tiars plé déstinaj par ah fá ...
DEF COP.PRS.3SG really animal.M.PL more suited.PTCP.M.PL SUBORD ah do.INF
1079 sauma.
bridle

8 Texts

‘These were really animals that are more suited to being bridled.’

- 1080 Ad èr' è zatgé bi da mirá cù
and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF how
1081 quèls tiars luvravan, cù quèls ... mavan ad
DEM.M.PL animal.PL work.IMPF.3PL how DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL and
1082 èran ruassajvalş a ... pazjènts.
cop.IMPF.3PL calm.M.PL and patient.M.PL

‘And it was also something nice to look at, how these animals worked, how they
... used to go and keep calm and patient.’

- 1083 A lura ... va ju lu èra ábar ... méz èls a sùt.
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG then also but put.PTCP.UNM 3M.PL to under

‘And then ... but ... I also yoked them.’

- 1084 A ... ajl, lò, èran è lu bétga schi ... schi flòts dad
and in.DEF.M.SG there COP.IMPF.3PL also then NEG so so nice.M.PL MOD
1085 í cùn cùn cròtscha né cùn tgar.
go.INF with with plough.F.SG or with cart.M.SG

‘And ... in the, it was not so ... so nice to walk [with] them with a plough or a
cart.’

- 1086 A lò ... vajn nuş gju savèns dificultats, gè.
and there have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.UNM often difficulty.F.PL yes

‘And there ... we often had troubles, yes.’

- 1087 Bjè jèdaş şèni scapaj tga nuş vajn ah
many time.PL be.PRS.3PL.3PL escape.PTCP.M.PL SUBORD 1PL have.PRS.1PL eh
1088 pròpi gju ah gròndas misérjas a mju quinau ...
really have.PTCP.UNM eh big.F.PL trouble.PL and POSS.1SG.M.SG brother-in-law
1089 şchèva, şchèva savèns:
say.IMPF.3SG say.IMPF.3SG often

‘They escaped many times so that we had big troubles and my brother-in-law ...
often said, said:’

- 1090 «Ah, cò èssan nus mitschaj cùla véta, cò
ah here be.PRS.1PL 1PL escape.PTCP.M.PL with.DEF.F.SG life here
1091 vèssans sju èssar mòrts.»
have.COND.1PL.1PL can.PTCP.UNM COP.INF dead.M.PL

8.7 *Als méls*

‘Here we escaped with our lives, here we could have been dead.’

- 1092 In' jèda èssan nus staj ... sén Tschamùt.
one.F.SG time be.IMPF.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on PN

‘Once we were in Tschamùt.’

- 1093 Nuş vèvan, ju vèva cumprau, midau òr
1SG have.IMPF.1PL 1SG have.IMPF.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM change.PTCP.UNM out
1094 in, in ... vèv' ju vandju a cumprau
one.M.SG one.M.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG sell.PTCP.UNM and buy.PTCP.UNM
1095 in autar parquaj tgu vèva l' imprèssjun tga, tg'
INDEF.M.SG other because SUBORD.1SG have.1SG DEF.F.SG impression COMP COMP
1096 èra quèl tga fagèva bitg andrètg, a lu
COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG REL do.IMPF.3SG NEG right.ADJ.UNM and then
1097 èssan nus, vajn nus méz sùt èls, dòmašdús,
be.IMPF.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM under 3PL.M both
1098 al quinau èra ad ju anzjaman api èssan nuş i
DEF.M.SG brother-in-law also and 1SG together and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
1099 sén Tschamùt, a sé spèr l' ustria da Tschamùt ... vajn
on PN and up next_to DEF.F.SG restaurant of PN have.PRS.1PL
1100 nus ah ... èssan nus samanaj, gjù sél parcadi
1PL eh be.IMPF.1PL 1PL REFL.turn_back.PTCP.M.PL down on.DEF.M.SG parking
1101 èssan nus samanaj.
be.PRS.1PL 1PL REFL.turn_back.PTCP.M.PL

‘We had, I had bought, exchanged one, one ... I had sold and bought another because I had the impression that, that it was this one that didn’t behave properly, and then we, we yoked them, both, I together with my brother-in-law were together and then we went up to Tschamut, and there next to the restaurant of Tschamut ... we eh ... we turned back, down on the parking space we turned back.’

- 1102 A schi ... schi glajti scù nuş èssan staj sén la via
and so so soon as 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on DEF.F.SG way
1103 cantunala, òni antschiat a galòpá.
cantonal have.PRS.3PL.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM COMP gallop.INF

‘And as ... as soon as we were on the cantonal way they started to gallop.’

8 *Texts*

1104 A galòpau, galòpau, galòpau, zatgéj
 and gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM something
 1105 sgarşchajval, nuş èssan vagní da tanaj èls pér gjù
 terrible.ADJ.UNM 1PL be.PRS.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL to hold.INF 3PL.M only down
 1106 sur Sèlva⁵⁷.
 above PN

‘And galloped, galloped, galloped, this was horrible, we only managed to hold onto them above Selva.’

1107 A lu vès ju bitga ugagjau plé, da, dad ira cùn
 and then have.COND.1SG 1SG NEG dare.PTCP.UNM more COMP COMP go.INF with
 1108 èls vinanovaun.
 3PL.M farther

‘And then I wouldn’t have dared to, to, to go farther with them any more.’

1109 Lu vain nus rantau èls lò, api sünd jus
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL tie.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M there and be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.1SG
 1110 gjù pal tgar anèx, api èssan nus ... sünd jus sé ...
 down for.DEF.M.SG cart annexed and be.1PL 1PL be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG up
 1111 cùl tgar anèx.
 with.DEF.M.SG cart.M.SG annexed

‘We then tied them there, and then I went down for the trailer and then we ... I went up ... with the trailer.’

1112 A lura ... quaj è grat stau in téc, quèls
 and then DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG just COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit DEM.M.PL
 1113 mavan tut saniastar sén via.
 go.IMPF.3PL completely left.ADJ.UNM on road.F.SG

‘And then ... this was just for a bit, they were walking on the very left side of the road.’⁵⁸

1114 Tüt saniastar, a galòpavan zatgéj starmantús, ju
 completely left.ADJ.UNM and gallop.IMPF.3PL something terrible.ADJ.UNM 1SG
 1115 stèva séla brèmsa.
 stand.IMPF.1SG on.DEF.F.SG brake

⁵⁷ Selva is located down in the valley, below the road.

⁵⁸ The left side is the side of the precipice if one comes up from e.g. Rueras.

8.7 *Als méls*

‘On the very left, and they galloped terribly, I stood on the brake.’

- 1116 Al quinau èr' in ùm, prop' in ùm
 DEF.M.SG brother-in-law COP.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG man really INDEF.M.SG man
 1117 fèrm.
 strong.ADJ.M.SG

‘My brother-in-law was a man, a really strong man.’

- 1118 Lèz tanèva palas hòtas, a nùnpussajval,
 DEM.M.SG hold.IMP.F.3SG ON.DEF.F.PL reins.PL and impossible.ADJ.UNM
 1119 nùnpussajval da fá stá quèls dus tgavals.
 impossible.ADJ.UNM COMP make.INF stop.INF DEM.M.PL two.M.PL horse.PL

‘He held them by the reins, and [it was] impossible, impossible to have these two horses [i.e. the two mules] stop.’

- 1120 A lu èra ... sé Tschamùt, cu i òn antschiat
 and then COP.IMP.F.3SG up PN when 3PL have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM
 1121 a galòpá, èri grat stau avaun mèssa ...,
 COMP gallop.INF be.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL just COP.PTCP.UNM before mass.F.SG
 1122 ina mèssa da sjantarmjaš-dé èn caplùta da Sòntga Clau.
 INDEF.F.SG mass of afternoon.M.SG in chapel of Saint Nicholas

‘And then there was ... in Tschamut, when they began to gallop, there had just been a mass ... an afternoon mass in the chapel of St. Nicholas.’

- 1123 A lu, aglaucségnar, par clétg èra la gljut
 and then DEF.M.SG priest by fortune.M.SG COP.IMP.F.3SG DEF.F.SG people
 1124 schòn vidòragjù - quèls tg' èran staj a mèssa
 already over_out_down DEM.M.PL REL be.IMP.F.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at mass.F.SG
 1125 èran schòn vidòragjù - pléndanòragjù tga quaj tga
 COP.IMP.F.3PL already over_out_down more_out_down than DEM.UNM REL
 1126 nuş èssan, tg' als, tg' als méls èn galòpaj.
 1PL be.PRS.1PL REL DEF.M.PL REL DEF.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL gallop.PTCP.M.PL

‘And then the priest, fortunately the people were already down [the valley] – those who had attended the mass were already down – farther down than we were, that the, that the mules galloped.’

- 1127 Quèls èn staj ò dal prígal.
 DEM.M.PL be.PRS.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL out.of.DEF.M.SG danger

8 *Texts*

‘These were out of danger.’

1128 Ábar gl aucségnar èra in aucségnar tudèstg.
but DEF.M.SG priest COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG priest German

‘But the priest was a German priest.’

1129 A lèz èr’ avaun caplùta cu, cu nuş èssan
and DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG in_front chapel.F.SG when when 1PL be.PRS.1PL
1130 vagní, a lu ò ‘l, ò ‘l détg
come.PTCP.M.PL and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM
1131 – èl è lu vagnús cùgl autò ... anòragjù cu
3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then come.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG car out_down when
1132 nuş vèvan ... rantau als, als mél s – a lu, a ...
1SG have.IMPF.1PL tie.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL and then and
1133 lu vajn nuş, va ju dumandau sch’ èl
then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.UNM if 3SG.M
1134 prandéssi mè tòcan ... a Ruèras.
take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PN

‘And he was in front of the chapel when, when we came, and then he, he said – he then came with the car ... down when we had ... tied the, the mules – and then, and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.’

1135 Naturálmajn, èl agi vju tgéj ... désgrázja né
natural.F.SG.ADV 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM what accident.F.SG or
1136 tgé, tgé nuş ágian gju, tgé événimajn ... nuş
what what 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL have.PTCP.UNM what incident.M.SG 1PL
1137 vajn gju cùls mél s.
have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM with.DEF.M.PL mule.PL

‘Of course, [he said] he had seen what ... accident or what what we had had, what event ... we had had with the mules.’

1138 Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi vju
3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM
1139 tga quèls mél s èn saspuantaj, api
COMP DEM.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL REFL.frighten.PTCP.M.PL and
1140 vagí èl tartgau ... dad í vi ajn via ...
have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on road.F.SG
1141 a tanaj sé èls.
and hold.INF up 3PL.M

8.8 *Al sòntgèt dals gjadqus*

‘He was in front of the chapel and had seen that these mules ran away and he thought ... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.’

- 1142 Ábar èl vagi lura pandarau a tartgau
but 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG then think_about.PTCP.UNM and think.PTCP.UNM
1143 na:
no:

‘But he had then thought about it and thought no:’

- 1144 «Da hilft nur noch beten!»⁵⁹
here helps only still pray

‘In this case only prayers may help!’

- 1145 Ad uschéja vès ju, savès ju raquintá in tschùpal
and so have.COND.1SG 1SG can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF INDEF.M.SG lot
1146 èvènimajnts tg’ èn schabagjaj cùn quèls mél.
incident.M.PL REL be.PRS.3PL happen.PTCP.M.PL with DEM.M.PL mule.PL

‘And so I would, I could recount a lot of incidents that happened with these mules.’

8.8 Al sòntgèt dals gjadqus

The little chapel of the Jews

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m5, aged 64)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2'10"

- 1147 Al sòntgèt dals gjadjuş è òdém al
DEF.M.SG little_chapel.of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL COP.PRS.3SG out_most DEF.M.SG
1148 vitg da Sadrún.
village of PN

‘The little chapel of the Jews is located at the lowest part of the village of Sedrun.’⁶⁰

- 1149 Al sòntgèt, qu’ è ina pintga caplùta.
DEF.M.SG sòntgèt DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG little chapel

⁵⁹Said in Standard German.

⁶⁰On the *Via Alpu* in direction Mustér.

8 *Texts*

‘The *sòntgèt* is a little chapel.’

- 1150 Ajn quèla caplùta hè ajn ina, la quarta stazjun da
in DEM.F.SG chapel COP.PRS.3SG in INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fourth station of
1151 la via da la crusch.
DEF.F.SG way of DEF.F.SG cross

‘In this chapel there is a, the fourth station of Christ’s way of the Cross.’

- 1152 Nua⁶¹ Jésus végn gassaljaus, né?
where PN PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG flagellate.PTCP.M.SG right

‘Where Jesus is being flagellated, right?’

- 1153 A lu schajns adina al ... sòntgèt òdém al
and then say.PRS.1PL.1PL always DEF.M.SG little_chapel low_most DEF.M.SG
1154 vitg.
village

‘And then we always say the ... little chapel at the lowest part of the village.’

- 1155 Álsò ùs è ‘l bigja plé òdém al vitg, ábar
well now COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG any_more low_most DEF.M.SG village, but
1156 quaj sòntgèt èra, in’ jèda, òdém al vitg,
DEM.M.SG little_chapel COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG time low_most DEF.M.SG village
1157 a quaj, quaj è atgnamajn rastau, né.
and DEM.UNM DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG actually remain.PTCP.UNM right

‘Well, now it is not at the lowest part of the village any more, but this chapel was once at the lowest part of the village, and this, this is still so, right?’

- 1158 Sch’ té vas dl vitg òra, scha ... sjaj ‘l ...
if 2SG go.PRS.2SG of.DEF.M.SG village out CORR COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
1159 drètg, vagni⁶² gè bagagjau da néiv hòtel
right.ADJ.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL in_fact build.PTCP.UNM from new hotel
1160 Albús, né, a lu ... vas fòrsa aun végn mètars, a
PN right and then go.PRS.2SG maybe moreover twenty metre.M.PL and
1161 lu hè ‘l⁶³ saniastar.
then COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M left.ADJ.UNM

⁶¹Not clear; therefore replaced by *nua* ‘where’.

8.8 *Al sòntgèt dals gjadqus*



Figure 8.4: Christ's way of the Cross, Sedrun

8 *Texts*

'If you walk down the valley, ... the hotel Alpsu has in fact been renovated on the right side, right?, and then you walk maybe twenty more metres, and then it [the chapel] is on the left.'

1162 Qu' è adin' aviart a lu saş í ajn
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG go.INF in
1163 api vèzas té quèlas ah ... figuras ... ajn gròndèzja da
and see.PRS.2SG 2SG DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL in size.F.SG of
1164 carstgaun.
human_being.M.SG

'This is always open, and then you can step in and then you see these eh ... figures ... the size of human beings.'

1165 A qu' è in ah, in Andreoli da, da Mustajr
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG eh INDEF.M.SG PN of of PN
1166 tg' èra usché in téc ah, gè, vèva talènt,
REL COP.IMPF.3SG so INDEF.M.SG bit eh yes have.IMPF.3SG talent.M.SG
1167 vèva tagljau ò quèlas.
have.IMPF.3SG cut.PTCP.UNM out DEM.F.PL

'And this is a eh, a, [a man called] Andreoli from Mustér who was a little eh, yes, had talent, had chiselled these out.'

1168 [PhM] Da tgei temps?
of which time.M.SG

'[PhM] At what time?'

1169 [m5] Ah, méli ad òtg ... tgu craj sè
eh thousand and eight REL.1SG believe.PRS.1SG be.PRS.3SG
1170 stau Vèndardís Sògn mili ad òtg tschian trènta quàtar,
COP.PTCP.UNM Friday.M.SG Holy thousand and eight hundred thirty four
1171 fòrsa scha ju şbaglja bitg, sè quèlas figuras lu
maybe if 1SG be_wrong.PRS.1SG NEG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL figure.PL then
1172 vagnidas trans-pòrtadas a mézas ajn quèla, ajn
PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.PL transport.PTCP.F.PL and put.PTCP.F.PL in DEM.F.SG in
1173 quaj sòntgët.
DEM.M.SG little_chapel

⁶³ *Vagní* is a performance error for *vagnú* 'PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM'

⁶³ 'l is a performance error for *la* '3SG.F'

8.8 *Al sòntgèt dals gjadjuds*

‘[m5] Ah, eighteen hundred ... it was on Good Friday 1834, maybe, if I am not wrong, yes, when these figures were transported and put into this little chapel.’

- 1174 Ad ál' antschata èra 'l sòntgèt ... in
and in.DEF.F.SG beginning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG little_chapel INDEF.M.SG
1175 sòntgèt aviart, quaj vut dí quaj è
little_chapel open.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
1176 in pin baghètg, a cò èr' in gártar,
INDEF.M.SG small.M.SG building and there EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG grating
1177 a lu vasèvas té ajn quèlas.
and then see.IMPF.2SG.GNR 2SG.GNR in DEM.F.PL

‘And at the beginning the little chapel ... was an open chapel, which means that it is a small building, and there there was a grating, and then you [could] see these [figures] therein.’

- 1178 A lu òni aun bagagjau vitlúndar ina,
and then have.PRS.3PL.3PL in_addition build.PTCP.UNM next_to INDEF.F.SG
1179 aun ina part, lu sèn ... in pèr bauns
moreover INDEF.F.SG part then EXIST.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG pair bench.M.PL
1180 pins, gè, intarassant, gè, a méz in clutgè
small yes interesting.ADJ.UNM yes and put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG clock_tower
1181 ánò véntgòtg tégn ju, gè.
year twenty-eight hold.PRS.1SG 1SG yes

‘And then, in addition, they built another part next to the chapel, then there are ... some small benches, yes, interesting, yes, and also built a clock tower in [19]28 I think, yes.’

- 1182 Quaj vò anavùs sén ina tradizjun tga ...
DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG back on INDEF.F.SG tradition REL
1183 Tuatschíns èran ira⁶⁴ ... a pèlègrinádi a
inhabitant_of_Tujetsch.M.PL be.IMPF.3PL go.INF at pilgrimage.M.SG to
1184 Nossa-Dunaun, a lu vas lò zanúa, vas
PN and then go.PRS.2SG.GNR there somewhere go.PRS.2SG.GNR
1185 té sur in, ah, sur in pas, álsò in, in
2SG.GNR over INDEF.M.SG eh over INDEF.M.SG pass well INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG
1186 crèst, in sémpal pas, a sén quèla, sén quaj pas
high_ground INDEF.M.SG simple pass and on DEM.F.SG on DEM.M.SG pass
1187 duèssi èssar ina samaglijònta caplùta, è cun
should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.F.SG similar chapel also with

8 *Texts*

- 1188 ina stazjun da ... da la via da la crusch, a lu ...
 INDEF.F.SG station of of DEF.F.SG way of DEF.F.SG cross and then
 1189 sè quèls vagní anavùs ajn Tujétsch a détg:
 be.PRS.3SG DEM.M.PL come.PTCP.M.PL back in PN and say.PTCP.UNM

‘This goes back to a tradition that ... some inhabitants of Tujetsch had gone ... on a pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, and then you go there somewhere, you go over a, eh, over a pass, rather a high ground, a simple pass, and on this, on this pass there should be a similar chapel, also with a station of ... of Christ’s way to the Cross, and then they came back to Tujetsch and said:’

- 1190 «Usché zatgé fagjajn nuş è a Sadrún.»
 so something make.PRS.1PL 1PL also in PN

‘We’ll also make something like this in Sedrun.’

- 1191 A quaj è tut schabagjau sén basa privata, álsò
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG all happen.PTCP.UNM on base.F.SG private thus
 1192 quèla caplùta è stada tòcan avaun fòrsa déjsch òns
 DEM.F.SG chapel be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.F.SG until before maybe ten year.M.PL
 1193 privat.
 private.ADJ.UNM

‘And this all happened on a private basis, this chapel has thus been private until maybe ten years ago.’

- 1194 Ad ùş ò la plajv surpríu aj.
 and now have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG parish take.PTCP.UNM 3SG

‘And now the parish has taken it over.’

- 1195 Agl Andréoli vèva finju ... las ... figuras ...
 DEF.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL figure.PL
 1196 avaun ca la caplùta èra stada finida.
 before REL DEF.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG finish.PTCP.F.SG

‘Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.’

- 1197 A lu vèvani dépònju quèlas, quèlas státuas
 and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL store.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.PL DEM.F.PL statue.PL
 1198 vèvani dépònju ajn tgèsa-parvènda.
 have.IMPF.3PL.3PL store.PTCP.UNM in presbytery.F.SG

⁶⁴ Èran ira ‘had go’ is a performance error for èran í ‘had gone’.

8.9 La féjra da Ligjaun

‘And then they stored these, these statues they had stored in the presbytery.’

¹¹⁹⁹ Ála végbla-véglja tgèsa-parvènda, né?
in.DEF.F.SG RED~old presbytery right

‘At the very old presbytery, right?’

¹²⁰⁰ Quèla stèva dadò ‘l hòtel Cruna.
DEM.F.SG stay.IMPF.3SG of_down DEF.M.SG hotel PN

‘It was located after the Hotel Cruna, down the valley’

¹²⁰¹ A gl òn ca tg’ òn gju dépònju
and DEF.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM store.PTCP.UNM
¹²⁰² quèlas ah figuras ò inş adina détg «la
DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always say.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
¹²⁰³ stiva dals gjadjud», ò quèla gju nùm
living_room of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL have.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG have.PTCP.UNM name
¹²⁰⁴ sjantar.
after

‘And [since] the year they stored these eh figures one has always said «the living room of the Jews», has it been called since?’

8.9 La féjra da Ligjaun

The market in Lugano

(Tuatschin, Sadrún, m5, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2'

¹²⁰⁵ Quaj hanléjg da tiars, ál sén scù quaj tg’ i
DEM.M.SG business of animal.M.PL in.DEF.M.SG sense like DEM.UNM REL EXPL
¹²⁰⁶ èra ál schènivával tschantanè, tg’ als
COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.M.SG nineteenth.M.SG century.m.sg REL DEF.M.PL
¹²⁰⁷ martgadònts cumpravan als tiars quasi schòn la
merchant.PL buy.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL animal.PL so_to_speak already DEF.F.SG
¹²⁰⁸ prìavèra, alura mavan quèls stjarls, als
spring then go.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL one_year_old_calf.PL DEF.M.PL
¹²⁰⁹ mùtg, als stjarls mavan lu ád
two_year_old_calf.PL DEF.M.PL one_year_old_calf.PL go.IMPF.3PL then to

8 *Texts*

- 1210 alp, a lura sjantar alp, agl atùn, vagnévani lu
alp.F.SG and then after alp.F.SG in.DEF.M.SG autumn come.IMPF.3PL.3PL then
1211 par èls a mavan cun èls lura şur Lucmagn a vandévan
for 3PL.M and go.IMPF.3PL with 3PL.M then over PN and sell.IMPF.3PL
1212 lò.
there

‘This cattle business, in the sense of how it was in the nineteenth century, that the merchants would buy the animals already during spring, then those one-year-old calves, the two-year-old calves, the one-year-old calves would go to the mountain pastures, and after that period, during autumn, they would go and fetch them and would then go with them over the Lucmagn pass and would sell them there.’

- 1213 Quaj mava lu radùn, quaj mava ò da Tujétsch,
DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG then around DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG out of PN
1214 mavi radùn duatschian, försa antùrn duatschian tgaus.
go.IMPF.3SG.EXPL around two_hundred maybe around two_hundred head.M.PL

‘There would go about, there would go then out of the Tujetsch valley, there would go about two hundred, maybe about two hundred heads [of animals].’

- 1215 A qu’ è atgnamajn al ... sulèt danè ... quasi
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG actually DEF.M.SG only.M.SG money almost
1216 tg’ al pur vèva blùt danè, né.
REL DEF.M.SG farmer have.IMPF.3SG naked.ADJ.M.SG money right

‘And this is at least almost the ... only cash money ... the farmers had, right?’

- 1217 Quaj èra atgnamajn la fòntauna la plé impurtònta
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.F.SG source DEF.F.SG most important
1218 da hanlètg, quèla fiara⁶⁵ da Ligjaun.
of business.M.SG DEM.F.SG market of PN

‘This was actually the most important source of business, that market in Lugano.’

- 1219 Álsò quaj, quaj èra lura, ajn Tujétsch èri
well DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then in PN EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
1220 usché da quèls mulissiars, álsò quèls «Unterhändler»⁶⁶, né, né
so of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL well DEM.M.PL negotiators right or

⁶⁵ *Fiara* is Standard Sursilvan for *féjra*.

8.9 *La féjra da Ligjaun*

1221 quèls mulissiars, quèls ah fagèvan lu quasi las
DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL DEM.M.PL eh do.IMPF.3PL then so_to_speak DEF.F.PL
1222 préfatschèntas, né, né tg' èran ... cumissunaj
intermediate_trade.PL right or REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL commission.PTCP.M.PL
1223 da quèls ah martgadònts grònṣ da la bassa, né.
by DEM.M.PL eh businessman.PL big.PL of DEF.F.SG «lowlands» right

‘Well, this, this is then, in the Tujetsch Valley there were some negotiators, well these «Unterhändler», right? These negotiators, they would so to speak do the intermediate trade, or they were ... commissioned by the big businessmen from outside the Grisons, right?’

1224 Quèls vèvan quasi in téc maun líbar, né, da
DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL so_to_speak a bit hand.M.SG free.M.SG right SUBORD
1225 fá las cùmpras, né, a lu mavi quasi sur
do.INF DEF.F.PL shopping.PL right and then go.IMPF.3SG.EXPL so_to_say over
1226 quèls intèrns òra, né, a da quèls martgadònts ah
DEM.M.PL domestic.PL out right and of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL eh
1227 tuatschíns òi adina dau, quèls tg'
from_Tujetsch.M.PL have.PRS.3SG.EXPL always EXIST.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL REL
1228 òn ugagjau a rascau quaj.
have.PRS.3PL dare.PTCP.UNM and risk.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM

‘These had so to speak a bit of a free hand, right, to do the shopping, right, and then business was in the hands of the domestic merchants, right, and there were always some of these negotiators from the Tujetsch valley, right, those who dared and risked [to do] this.’

1229 Álsò ... la résca èra atgnamajn fétg grònda, parquaj tga ...
well DEF.F.SG risk COP.IMPF.3SG in_fact very big.F.SG because SUBORD
1230 èls cumpravan gè ... la prìavèra, a lura savèvani
3PL.M buy.IMPF.3PL in_fact DEF.F.SG spring and then know.IMPF.3PL.3PL
1231 bégja cù sè 'l préci, cù sè la féjra
NEG how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG price how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG market
1232 insùma, sai attractif, sè la tschèrca
at_all COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL attractive.ADJ.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG demand
1233 ciò, né.
here right

⁶⁶German for Tuatschin *mulissiars*.

8 *Texts*

‘Well, the risk was in fact very big, because ... in fact they used to buy ... during spring, and then they wouldn’t know how the price would be, what the market was supposed to be, whether it would be attractive at all, would there be some demand, right?’

- 1234 A lu mávani magari culs tiars gjù a Ligjaun,
and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL sometimes with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL down to PN
 1235 a ... savèvan bigja vèndar lò, a lu stèvani quasi
and can.IMPF.3PL NEG sell.INF there and then must.IMPF.3PL.3PL so_to_speak
 1236 í gjùdòra, ir tòc’ al nòrd da l’ Italja gjùdajn ad
go.INF down_out go.INF until DEF.M.SG north of DEF.F.SG PN down_in and
 1237 ampruá da vèndar, ah ... ad aj ah ... vagnéva bigj’ éba
try.INF COMP sell.INF eh and EXPL eh PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG precisely
 1238 vandju tut, al davùs stuèvani vèndar fòrsa pr,
sell.PTCP.UNM everything DEF.M.SG last must.IMPF.3PL.3PL sell.INF maybe for
 1239 pr in schliat prézi, né.
for INDEF.M.SG bad.M.SG price right

‘And then they would go sometimes down to Lugano and ... could not sell there, and then they had so to speak to go outside [the country], to go until the North of Italy and try to sell, eh ... and then they could not sell all [the animals] after all, and in the end they would have to sell maybe for, for a bad price, right?’

- 1240 Alsò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ... nùndétg, ad
well EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMPF.3PL incredibly and
 1241 i sèra òns nùca tg’ èra aua, ad
EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG water.F.SG and
 1242 èra òns nùca tga spardévan.
EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL lose.IMPF.3PL

‘Well, there were years when they earned ... a lot of money, and there were years with rain, and years when they would lose money.’

- 1243 Quaj scriva Gadola, scriv’ è quaj zanú,
DEM.UNM write.PRS.3SG PN write.PRS.3SG also DEM.UNM somewhere
 1244 quèla è zatgéj ina, ina lavur, «La fiera da
DEM.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG something DEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG work DEF.F.SG market of
 1245 Ligjaun»⁶⁷, a lu dascriva la òrd vésta dal Tujétsch
PN and then describe.PRS.3SG 3SG.F out_of sight of.DEF.M.SG PN
 1246 scù quaj funcsanava, cù i mavan, a lu
how DEM.UNM function.IMPF.3SG how 3PL go.IMPF.3PL and then

8.10 Sé Nalps

1247 èri è quèls prígals tga dèva sén ah, ah, sén
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also DEM.M.PL danger REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG on eh eh on
 1248 ira, naturálmajn cu i vagnévan anavùs scha savèvan
 go.INF natural.M.SG.ADV when 3PL come.IMPF.3PL back CORR know.IMPF.3PL
 1249 als cugljúns, né, la nara, né, savèvan è
 DEF.M.PL scoundrel.PL right DEF.F.SG mad_people.COLL right know.IMPF.3PL also
 1250 quèls òn ... bùrsas plajnas, né, a vagnévan lura
 DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL wallet.F.PL full.PL right and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL then
 1251 pr part atacaj ad angulaj.
 for part.F.SG attack.PTCP.M.PL and steal.PTCP.M.PL

‘This Gadola writes, writes also this somewhere this, the, this is a, a work with the title «La fiera da Ligjaun», and this work describes from the point of view of the Tujetsch valley how this used to function, how they used to go, and then there were these dangers which [one encountered] when travelling, of course when they would come back, the scoundrels, the madmen, right, they also knew that those had full wallets, right, and they were sometimes attacked and got robbed.’

1252 Quaj òi dau savèns, gè.
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM often yes

‘This happened often, yes.’

8.10 Sé Nalps

In Nalps

(Tuatschín, Surajn, f5, aged 56)

Recorded 2017/03/10 in Surrein

Duration 1'10

1253 Cu nuş èran buébas, èri bja autar
 when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL girl.F.PL COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL much different.ADJ.UNM
 1254 tgé üssa.
 than now

‘When we were girls, it was very different from nowadays.’

⁶⁷The title is in Standard Sursilvan.

8 *Texts*

1255 Als gjaniturs fagèvan al pur, ad ju èra
 DEF.M.PL parent.PL do.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG farmer and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG
 1256 tschavrèr' in tjams, ajn l' antschata cun mju
 goatherd.F.SG INDEF.M.SG time in DEF.F.SG beginning with POSS.1SG.M.SG
 1257 frá, in òn parsula, api stavèv' ins í culas
 brother one.M.SG year alone.F.SG and must.IMPF GNR go.INF with.DEF.F.PL
 1258 tgauras tòca sé Nalps, a vèvan in bi tjams
 goat.PL until up PN and have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.M.SG beautiful.ADJ.M.SG time
 1259 lò, vagnéva ... lu èri aun bigja turists,
 there come.IMPF.3SG then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet NEG tourist.M.PL
 1260 mintgataun vagnévi in in in car,
 from_time_to_time come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG bus
 1261 a quèls vèvan naturálmajn plašchaj da nus a
 and DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL natural.M.SG.ADV pleasure.M.SG of 1PL and
 1262 dlas tgauras.
 of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL

‘My parents were farmers, and I was a goatherd for a certain time, at the beginning with my brother, one year alone, and one had to go with the goats as far as Nalps, and we had a great time there, there came ... then there weren’t tourists yet, from time to time a a a bus arrived, and it was, of course, a pleasure for them to be with us and the goats.’

1263 Mintgataun mavan nuş èra ... plas pitgògnas a cavá
 sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also in.DEF.F.PL steep_slope.PL SUBORD dig.IMPF.1PL
 1264 cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi vignévan nus
 crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.F.PL goat.PL and come.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 1265 halt in téc tart.
 simply INDEF.M.SG bit late

‘From time to time we would also ... go farther up to extract crystals instead of looking after the goats, and then we would come back a bit late.’

1266 A cu ins vagnéva anavùs èri bigja schi
 and when GNR come.IMPF.3SG back COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG so
 1267 flòt pr, cu ins vagnéva cò cu 'ls purs
 nice.ADJ.UNM for when GNR come.IMPF.3SG here when DEF.M.PL farmer.PL
 1268 vagnévan a savilavan cun nus, ni tumévan par nus,
 come.IMPF.3PL and get_angry.IMPF.3PL with 1PL or be_afraid.IMPF.3PL for 1PL

8.10 Sé Nalps

1269 api stèvan nuš vagní a tgèsa ad a ... múlgjar tùt
 and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and SUBORD milk.INF all
 1270 las tgauras.
 DEF.F.PL goat.PL

‘And when we came back, it wouldn’t be that nice for us, when one came here, when the farmers would come and get angry at us, or were worried because of us, and then we had to go home and milk all the goats.’

1271 Als gjanitùs vèvan aun pòrs, stèvan fá
 DEF.M.PL parent.PL have.IMPF.3PL in_addition pig.PL must.IMPF.1PL do.INF
 1272 gljèz, a quaj è naturálmajn ùssa samidau
 DEM.UNM and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG of_course now REFL.change.PTCP.UNM
 1273 bjè.
 a_lot

‘My parents, in addition, had pigs, and we had to look after them, and nowadays this has of course changed a lot.’

1274 Navèn da lu tòcan, ad è stau ábar in
 from of then until and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM but INDEF.M.SG
 1275 bi tjams. Ad oz lajni gnanc í la
 beautiful.M.SG time and today let.PRS.3PL.3PL not_even go.INF DEF.F.SG
 1276 buébanáglja, nus mavan cun tschun òns èran nus
 child.COLL 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with five year.M.PL COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 1277 tgavrìrs, ad ozaldé, gè.
 goatherd.PL and nowadays yes

‘From then up to, but it was a nice time. And today they don’t even let the children go, we would go when we were five years old, we were goatherds, and nowadays, yes.’

1278 [PhM] Aber la notg buc, la notg...
 but DEF.F.SG night NEG DEF.F.SG night

‘But at night not, at night ...’

1279 [f5] Na na, lu vagnévan nuš anavùs, api vèva mintg'
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
 1280 jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus, a la sèra
 week somebody to give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL and DEF.F.SG evening
 1281 stgèvan nuš í tiar quèl a tschajna.
 be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF to DEM.M.SG to dinner.F.SG

8 Texts

‘No, no, we would then come back, and then every week there was somebody who would give us a meal, and in the evening we could go to this person for dinner.’

- 1282 A quaj midava mintg’ jamna stgèvan
and DEM.UNM change.IMPF.1SG every.F.SG week be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL
1283 nus í tiar in, a l’ autr’ jamna midavi gjù
go.INF to one.M.SG and DEF.F.SG other week change.IMPF.3SG.EXPL down to
1284 tiar tschèl.
DEM.M.MSG

‘And this would change every week we had to go to one, and the other week it would change to the other.’

- 1285 Na na, a durmí durmévan nus cò.
no no and sleep.IMPF.1PL 1PL here

‘No, no, and as for sleeping, we would sleep here.’

- 1286 Nus mavan la damaun api vagnévan la sèra.
1PL go.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG morning and come.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG evening

‘We would go in the morning and come back in the evening.’

- 1287 Qu’ è stau in bi tjams.
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful.M.SG.UNM time

‘This was a wonderful time.’

- 1288 Gè scù bjè autar è tg’ è samidau.
yes as a_lot other.ADJ.UNM also REL be.PRS.3SG REFL.change.PTCP.UNM

- 1289 Quaj è usché.
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG so

‘Yes, as many other things that also have changed. That’s how things are.’

8.11 Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún

The last swineherd of Sedrun

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 5'50"

8.11 *Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún*

1290 Ju savès raquintá, ju sùn staus al davùs
 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG last
 1291 purtgè ... da Sadrún, cun aun in in in
 swineherd of PN with in_addition INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG
 1292 camarat.
 mate

‘I could tell, I was the last swineherd ... of Sedrun, together with a mate.’

1293 A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé sé a
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.PL pig.PL up PN every day.M.SG up and
 1294 gjù, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.
 down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM

‘And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down, I could tell you about that.’

1295 Qu’ è stau ... mat^haj ... gl òn avaun ca
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.M.SG year before REL
 1296 tgu mòndi ... ál’ ampréma classa.
 REL.1SG go.PRS.SBJV.1SG to.DEF.F.SG first form

‘This was ... probably ... the year before I attended ... the first form [of primary school].’

1297 Sünd ju sapladjus cun in ah coléga ... è da
 be.PRS.1SG 1SG sign_on.REFL.PTCP.M.SG with DEF.M.SG eh mate also from
 1298 Sadrún, a ... lèz èra schòn jus l’ ampréma
 PN and DEM.M.SG be.IMPF.3SG already go.PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG first
 1299 classa.
 term

‘I got employed with a eh mate ... also from Sedrun, and ... he had already attended the first term [of primary school].’

1300 A nuş duş vajn supríu da fá
 and 1PL two.M.PL have.PRS.1PL take_over.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF
 1301 purtgè da Sadrún, a Gjònnda.
 swineherd.M.SG of PN of PN

‘And the two of us took over [the duty] of working as the swineherd of Sedrun, at Gionda.’

8 *Texts*

- 1302 Quaj vùl dí qu' èra lu al
DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG
 1303 tgau-vitg, quèl vèva pladjú nus.
head.M.SG-village.M.SG DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG employ.PTCP.UNM 1PL
- 'This means, this was the head of the village who had employed us.'
- 1304 Ju sa bitg tgé piaglja nuš vajn gju, álsò
1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG what salary.F.SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM well
 1305 nus vajn gju ina pintga piágbla, parquaj, gljèz
1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small salary therefore DEM.UNM
 1306 raquint' ju al davùs.
tell.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.M.SG last

'I don't know what salary we got, well, we got a small salary; therefore, this I'll tell at the end.'

- 1307 A lu ... vèvan nus da ... la stat cu ju a
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to DEF.F.SG summer when 1SG have.PRS.1SG
 1308 cargjau las vacas, cargjau las alps, scha
drove.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL COW.PL drove.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL alp.PL CORR
 1309 vajn nus lu èra gju da ... cargè nòs pòrs.
have.PRS.1PL 1PL then also have.PTCP.UNM to drove.INF POSS.1PL.M.PL
- 1310 pig.PL

'And then ... we had to ... during summer when I drove the cows, drove them to the summer pastures, we also had to ... drove our pigs.'

- 1311 Quaj vul dí, nuš vèvan èxáct végn pòrs,
DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF 1PL have.PRS.1PL exactly twenty pig.M.PL
 1312 quaj sa ju ... tschian pròcènt.
DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG 1SG hundred percent.M.SG

'This means, we had exactly twenty pigs, this I know one hundred percent.'

- 1313 A nuš duš vèvan dad í a rimná quèls pòrs,
and 1PL two.M.PL have.IMPF.1PL to go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL
 1314 prèndar òr, schá ò èls ò da nuégl.
take.INF out let.INF out 3PL.M out of barn.M.SG

'And the two of us had to go and collect these pigs, take out, let them out, out of the barn.'

8.11 *Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún*

1315 Duṣ èran vin Gjònدا craju, lu catschav'
 two.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL over_in PN believe.PRS.1SG.1SG then drove.IMPF.1SG
 1316 ju quèls vi Sadrún, ad in pèr èran vi Sadrún,
 1SG DEM.M.PL over PN, and INDEF.M.SG couple COP.IMPF.3PL over PN
 1317 nus stèvan sèzs ... catschá als pòrs ò da nuégl, a
 1PL must.IMPF.1PL self.M.PL drove.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL out of barn.M.SG and
 1318 lu rimmá èls, a qu' èra fòrsa vi da las ...
 then collect.IMPF.3PL.M and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG maybe over of DEF.F.PL
 1319 òtg né uschéja, né mjásá las nùf.
 eight or so, or half.F.SG DEF.F.PL nine

‘Two were over there in Gionda I believe, then I droved those to Sedrun, and some were in Sedrun, we had ... to drove the pigs out of the barn ourselves, and then collect them, and that was maybe around ... eight or so, or half past eight.’

1320 Má tga ... avaun nus èra sagir al tgavrè èra schòn
 since SUBORD before 1PL be.IMPF.3SG sure DEF.M.SG goatherd also already
 1321 jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.
 go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL DEM.M.SG go.IMPF.3SG then also

‘Since ... before us the goatherd had certainly already gone with the goats, he also used to go.’

1322 A ... viars anòr'sé da Val Strém ajn.
 and towards out_up of valley.F.SG PN

‘And upwards into the Strem Valley.’

1323 A nus rimnau quèls végn pòrs, a vèvan nuš da
 and 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL twenty pig.PL and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to
 1324 catschá èls in dètg tòc, da Sadrún sédòra, da la
 drove.INF 3PL.M INDEF.M.SG big piece from PN up_out from DEF.F.SG
 1325 pastira sé tòcan sé Valtgèva.
 pasture up until up PN

‘And we collected those twenty pigs, and we had to drove them quite a long way, from Sedrun up, from the pasture up to Valtgeva.’

1326 Üssa ... pòrs ..., tgi ca sò quaj, lèzs èn ualtı
 now pig.M.PL who REL know.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL quite
 1327 stinaj da, da catschá èls, da da dad í cun èls,
 obstinate.PTCP.M.PL MOD MOD drove.INF 3PL.M MOD MOD go.INF with 3PL.M

8 *Texts*

1328 quaj è big' in animal scù ina tgaura né
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.M.SG animal like INDEF.F.SG goat or
1329 ina vaca, quèls èn bégja andisaj, èls
INDEF.F.SG COW DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL NEG used_to.PTCP.M.PL 3PL.M
1330 èn ajn nuégl, ad ùs tütajnína stùni antschajvar
COP.PRS.3PL in pigsty.M.SG and now suddenly must.PRS.3PL.3PL begin.INF
1331 ad í.
COMP go.INF

'Now ... pigs ..., those who know that, they are quite obstinate when one droves them, when one goes with them, this is not an animal like a goat or a cow, they are not used to it, they are in the pigsty, and now suddenly they must start going.'

1332 Ajn tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la mùma da
in every case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.F.SG mother of
1333 mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mè ... vèvan
POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG have.IMPF.3PL
1334 stju gidá nus in pèr dis ... da catschè
must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL SUBORD drove.INF
1335 èls a rimná quèls pòrs, a catschè èls sédòra.
3PL.M and gather.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL and drove.INF 3PL up

'Anyhow my, my mother and the mother of my mate who was with me ... had had to help us for a couple of days ... to drove them and gather these pigs, and drove them up.'

1336 Má tga quèls scapava tgi drètg a saniastar, a lu,
since SUBORD DEM.M.PL run_away.IMPF.3SG who right and left and then
1337 ad al problèm gròn èra cu nus mavan ajnasé
and DEF.M.SG problem big COP.IMPF.3SG when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL in_and_up
1338 séssum la pastira da Sadrún stuèvan nuş í gjù
on_top DEF.F.SG pasture of PN must.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF down
1339 tral Drun, quèl, al dargún tga végn
through.DEF.M.PL PN DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG torrent REL come.PRS.3SG
1340 gjùadòra cò, a tral Drun, a qu' èra
down_and_out here and through.DEF.M.SG PN and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG
1341 lu mù in pin trùtg, a suèntar⁶⁸ vi dad ina ...
then only INDEF.M.SG small path and after over of INDEF.F.SG
1342 gjassa sédòra tòcan sé Valtgèva.
narrow_path up_and_out until up PN

8.11 *Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún*

'Since they would run away to the right or to the left, and then, the biggest problem was when we would go up to the top of the pasture of Sedrun, we had to go down through the river Drun, this, the torrent that comes down here, and through the Drun, there was only a small path, and after this via a small path for the cattle up to Valtgeva.'

- 1343 A dumagnè als amprèms dis quèls pòrs gjù da da
and cope.INF DEF.M.SG first.PL day.PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL down from from
- 1344 quaj trùtg ajnagjù a sjantar atrás l' aua dal
DEM.M.SG path into_and_down and after through DEF.F.SG water of.DEF.M.SG
- 1345 Drun tga vagnéva mù pauc vi da tschèla vart, qu' è
PN REL come.IMPF.3SG only little over of DEM.F.SG side DEM.UNM. be.PRS.3SG
- 1346 stau álsò in martéri, a nuş vajn gju da
COP.PTCP.UNM well INDEF.M.SG ordeal and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM to
- 1347 samudargè, ju sa, mia mùma è
REFL.struggle.INF 1SG know.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG
- 1348 saglida sjantar in piartg tg' èra scapaus,
run.PTCP.F.SG after INDEF.M.SG pig REL be.IMPF.3SG run_away.PTCP.M.SG
- 1349 ad ju sa aun bégn tg' èl' èra vagnida
and 1SG know.PRS.1SG still well REL 3SG.F be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG
- 1350 tùt còtschna, ad èla vèva gju da fá
completely red.F.SG and 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF
- 1351 cul cùr, èla vèva magari in téc
with.DEF.M.SG heart 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG sometimes INDEF.M.SG bit
- 1352 pròblèms cul cùr, a qu' èra stau par
problem.M.PL with.DEF.M.SG heart and DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM for
- 1353 èla mèmja hèfti.
3SG.F too violent.ADJ.UNM

'And the first days, to cope with these pigs [going] down this path and then through the water of the Drun, of which only few would go over to the other side, well, this was an ordeal, and we had to struggle, I know, my mother ran after a pig that had run away, and I still remember very well that she had turned completely red, and she had had heart problems, she sometimes had some problems with her heart, and this had been too violent for her.'

- 1354 Ábar èla èra lu tutina aun vagnida ... pulit
but 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG then nevertheless still become.PTCP.F.SG quite

⁶⁸ *sunter* is Standard Sursilvan for *sjantar*.

8 *Texts*

- 1355 véglja. Parví da quaj, ábar èla vèva gju lò
old.F.SG because of DEM.UNM but 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM there
1356 ina, in hèfti ad ...
INDEF.F.SG INDEF.M.SG violent and

‘But she nevertheless got ... quite old. Because of that, but she then had had there
a, a, violent, and ...’

- 1357 A quaj è rastau da mé, a lu ... sjantar
and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG remain.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG and then after
1358 in pèr dis ... vajn nus savju dumigná
INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF
1359 quèls pòrs ... tga mavan pulit, a lu mava ...
DEM.M.PL pig.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL proper.ADJ.UNM and then go.IMPF.3SG
1360 in òrdavaun a lu mavan quèls pòrs tut ajn còrda ...
one.M in_front and then go.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL all in single_file.F.SG
1361 da quaj trutg ajnagjù vi tra l' aua a sé tòcan
from DEM.M.SG path in_and_down over through DEF.F.SG water and up until
1362 sé Valtgèva.
up PN

‘And I still remember this, and then ... after a couple of days ... we were able to
cope with these pigs ... which would move properly, and then ... one would move
in front and then the other pigs would follow in single file ... down this path and
through the water up to Valtgeva.’

- 1363 A sé Valtgèva cu nuş èran tras ... èri lò
and up PN when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL through EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL there
1364 ina pòrt', ina gjajna, a cu nuş vajn aviart
INDEF.F.SG door INDEF.F.SG gate and when 1PL have.PRS.1PL open.PTCP.UNM
1365 la gjajna, savèvan nus sèrá la gjajna dals pòrs,
DEF.F.SG gate can.IMPF.1PL 1PL close.INF DEF.F.SG gate of.DEF.M.PL pig.PL
1366 stèvans sé cò ajn quaj plat, a nuş vèvan da fá
stay.IMPF.1PL.1PL up here in DEM.M.SG flat and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL to do.INF
1367 ajnsassèz ... nagina lavur, nuş vèvan ina bjala véta.
actually no.F.SG work 1PL have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.F.SG beautiful life

‘And up in Valtgeva, when we were through ... there was a door there, a gate, and
when we opened the gate, we could close the pig's gate, we could stay up there
on this flat ground, and actually ... we had nothing to do, we had a wonderful
life.’

8.11 *Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún*

1368 A lu la sèra ... stèvan nus rimná als pòrs, a
 and then DEF.F.SG evening must.IMPF.1PL 1PL gather.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL and
 1369 lu vagnévan gjù cùntar la gjajna, a nuš vèvan da
 then come.IMPF.3PL down towards DEF.F.SG gate and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP
 1370 dumbrá.
 count.INF

‘And then in the evening we had to gather the pigs, and then we came down to the gate and had to count [them].’

1371 Ad ju sa, ju èra bégj' aun jus l'
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.IMPF.SG NEG yet go.PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG
 1372 ampréma classa, ju vèva problèms da dumbrá quèls
 first class 1SG have.IMPF.1SG problem.M.PL ATTR count.INF DEM.M.PL
 1373 végn pòrs dad in tòcan végn.
 twenty pig.PL from one till twenty

‘And I know, I hadn’t attended the first class yet, I had difficulties counting these pigs from one to twenty.’

1374 Ju vèva bigja aun ampríu, ajn scùlèta
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG yet learn.PTCP.UNM in nursery_school.F.SG
 1375 amprandèvan nus pauc.
 learn.IMPF.1PL 1PL little

‘I hadn’t learned yet, we didn’t learn much in nursery school.’

1376 Álsò ... ju vèva braja da dumbrá in tòcan végn,
 well 1SG have.IMPF.1SG trouble.F.SG COMP count.INF one till twenty
 1377 mirá tga nuš vajn tut als pòrs.
 look.INF COMP 1PL have.PRS.1PL all DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘Well ... I had troubles in counting [from] one to twenty, in ensuring that we had all the pigs.’

1378 A lu catschavan nuš als pòrs gjù Sadrún, a schavan
 and then drove.IMPF.1PL 1PL DEF.M.PL pig.PL down PN and leave.IMPF.1PL
 1379 èls ajn nuégl, l' autar dé puspè ajnsé.
 3PL.M. in pigsty.M.SG DEF.M.SG other day again up

‘And then we would drove the pigs down to Sedrun, and would leave them in the pigsty, the next day again up [to Valtgeva].’

8 *Texts*

- 1380 Qu' è stau, ju sùn è staus
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM 1SG be.PRS.1SG also COP.PTCP.M.SG
- 1381 lùschs da mi' ampréma plaza, parquaj tga ... al davùs
proud.M.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG first job because SUBORD DEF.M.SG last
- 1382 dé, cu ju a dascargjau als pòrs, scha
day when 1SG have.PRS.1SG drove_down.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL pig.PL CORR
- 1383 sè al bap da mju còlèga vagnús cun - èl
be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father of POSS.1G.M.SG mate come.PTCP.M.SG with 3SG.M
- 1384 vèva in unimòc - vagnús cun nus sé Valtgèva, a
have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG unimog come.PTCP.M.SG with 1PL up PN and
- 1385 las mùmas vèvan praparau tiar mats⁶⁹ ...
DEF.F.SG mother.PL have.IMPF.3PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by bunch.F.PL
- 1386 pals pòrs, a vèvan ... usché cun ... mats, fatg
for.DEF.M.PL pig.PL and have.IMPF.3PL so with bunch.M.PL do.PTCP.UNM
- 1387 antùrn in sujet mataj a méz sé quaj antùrn
around INDEF.M.SG rope probably and put.PTCP.UNM up DEM.UNM around
- 1388 al vjantar dals pòrs.
DEF.M.SG belly of.DEF.M.PL pig.PL

'This was, I was also proud of my first job, because ... the last day, when I drove the pigs down, my mate's father came with – he had a unimog – came with us to Valtgèva, and the mothers had prepared bunches of flowers ... for the pigs, and had ... so with ... bunches of flowers, tied a rope around, and put them around the belly of the pigs.'

- 1389 A nuš vagní gjù da Valtgèva fòrsa cun tschun sis pòrs,
and 1PL come.PTCP.M.PL down from PN maybe with five six pig.M.PL
- 1390 cun sé matg.
with up bunch.M.

'And we would come down from Valtgeva with maybe five or six pigs, with their bunches of flowers.'

- 1391 A nuš duš èra cun la tgapjala cun sé ina bjala flur,
and 1PL two.M also with DEF.F.SG hat with on INDEF.F.SG beautiful flower
- 1392 a da scargjá⁷⁰ 'ls pòrs usché, qu' è
and COMP drove_down.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL so DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG
- 1393 stau pr nus in aparti avanimajn.
COP.PTCP.UNM for 1PL INDEF.M.SG special event

⁶⁹ mats is a phonetically simplified form of matgs 'bundles'

8.11 *Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún*

‘And also the two of us with the hats with a beautiful flower on them, and to drove down the pigs in such a way, that was a special event for us.’

- 1394 Ad ad in piartg ... ah ... vèva pudju scapá sé
and and INDEF.M.SG pig eh have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM escape.INF up
- 1395 Valtgèva tras la sajf, qu' er' ina, la
PN through DEF.F.SG fence DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG
- 1396 sajv èr' ina, la sajv vèva rùt
fence COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fence have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM
- 1397 in palé, quaj vèva pudju atrás, a quaj
INDEF.M.SG post DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM through and DEM.UNM
- 1398 ... vèz' ju aun òz, quaj piartg èra jus atrás
see.PRS.1SG 1SG still today DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through
- 1399 a vèva rùt gjù al matg tga
and have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD
- 1400 vèva mù la còrda plé antùrn.
have.IMPF.3SG only DEF.F.SG rope more around

‘And and a pig ... eh ... had been able to escape in Valtgeva through the fence, that was a, the fence was, had a broken post, so it had been able to go through, and this ... I still see it today, this pig had gone through and had broken the bunch of flowers so that he only had the rope around [his belly].’

- 1401 A, a lu vajn nus dascargjau cun gròn plaçhaj,
and and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL drove_down.PTCP.UNM with big.M.SG pleasure
- 1402 quaj è naturàlmajn ina ònur,
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV INDEF.F.SG honour
- 1403 dascargjau als pòrs.
drove_down.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘And, and then we drove down [the pigs] with great pleasure, this is naturally an honour, drove down the pigs.’

- 1404 A lu, parví da la piaglja, nuş vèvan lu dad í
and then because of DEF.F.SG wage 1PL have.IMPF.1PL then to go.INF
- 1405 ad incassá.
SUBORD collect.INF

‘And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].’

⁷⁰ *Scargjà* is Standard Sursilvan for *scargjè*.

8 *Texts*

- 1406 Da mintga pur stèvans í a scha 'l vèva
 of every farmer.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.INF and if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG
 1407 gju dus, stèva 'l pijè ... dus pòrs né in né
 have.PTCP.UNM two.M must.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M pay.INF two.M pig.PL or one.M or
 1408 uschéa ... ábar ju sa bigja còns raps nuş vèvan⁷¹ ...
 so but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG how_many cent.PL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL ...
 1409 gju d' incassá, mataj dus ... fòrsa tschun francs par
 have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF maybe two.M probably five franc.M.PL per
 1410 piartg.
 pig.M.SG

'We had to go to every farmer and if he had given two, he should [pay] more ...
 two pigs or one or so ... but I don't know how much money we ... had to collect,
 probably two ... maybe five francs for each pig.'

- 1411 A tiar in pur ... èn⁷² nuş í, èr' ju,
 and by INDEF.M.SG farmer ... be.PRS.1SG 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1SG 1SG
 1412 vèv' ju gju dad incassá quèls raps, a
 have.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF DEM.M.PL cent.PL and
 1413 quèl vèva bégja grad munajda ad usché vinavaun, a
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG NEG currently coin.F.SG and so on and
 1414 quèl ò quaj mumèn bgja dau, ad ju
 DEM.M.SG have.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG moment NEG give.PTCP.UNM and 1SG
 1415 a lu amblidau quaj, ábar mia mùma
 have.PRS.1SG then forget.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM but POSS.1SG.F.SG mother
 1416 ò aun detg, aun òns ad òns sjantar:
 have.PRS.3SG moreover say.PTCP.UNM still year.M.PL and year.M.PL after

'And we went ... to a farmer, I was, I had to collect this money, and he didn't have
 coins at that moment, and so on, and I then forgot about that, but my mother
 said, even many years later:'

- 1417 "Quèl vès lu aun da pijè da té al
 DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
 1418 pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas
 herdsman's_money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG
 1419 partgirau."
 look_after.PTCP.UNM

⁷¹ Còns raps nuş vèvan replaces an unintelligible part.

⁷² Èn is a performance error for èssan.

8.11 *Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún*

‘This one should still pay you the money for the pig you had looked after.’

1420 Álsò quèl vèv' ju bégja vagnús d' incassá.
well DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG NEG come.PTCP.M.SG to collect.INF

‘Well, I didn't succeed in collecting the money from that farmer.’

1421 Ábar tschaj vèvan nu- incassau a naturálmajn
but DEM.UNM have.IMPF.1PL 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM and natural.M.SG.ADV
1422 dau gjù tut als raps ... dal bap ni da
give.PTCP.UNM down all DEF.M.PL cent.PL DAT.DEF.M.SG father or DAT
1423 la mùma.
DEF.F.SG mother

‘But the other [money] we had collected and of course handed over all the money to father or mother.’

1424 Qu' èra clar, nuş vèvan naginş raps
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL cent.PL
1425 sèzs.
self.M.PL

‘This was clear, we didn't have any money of our own.’

1426 Ábar qu' è stau mi' ampréma plaza, a tut
but DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.F.SG first job and all
1427 ajn tut lùschs ad i dat ina fòtògrafia
COP.PRS.3PL all proud.M.PL and EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph
1428 tgu sun sé cun mju còlèga al dé da la
REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF..SG day of DEF.F.SG
1429 scargèda, dus pins buéts ca vèvan fatg
drove.PTCP.F.SG two.M.PL small.PL boy.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL do.PTCP.UNM
1430 quèla lavur quèl' antira stat.
DEF.F.SG job DEM.F.SG whole summer

‘But this was my first job, and all are very proud and there is a photograph in which I am with my mate the day of the pig droving, two young boys who had done this job the whole summer.’

1431 [PhM] Ti vevas sis onns fòrsa, ni tschun ?
2SG have.IMPF.2SG six year.M.PL maybe or five

‘[PhM] You were maybe six years old, or five?’

8 Texts

1432 [m6] Ju vèva, gè sis. Má tga cun sjat vas lu a
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG yes six since SUBORD with seven go.PRS.2SG.GNR then to
 1433 scùla.
 school.F.SG

‘[m6] I was six years old, yes. Since you go to school when you are seven years old.’

8.12 Al cégn

The swan

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m8, aged 40)

Recorded 2017/06/22 in Bern

Duration 1'30"

1434 Avaun in pèr jamnas ... èr' ju gjù Locarno, api
 before INDEF.M.SG couple week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down PN and
 1435 sjantar sünd jus a spaz ... dal lag vidajn, api
 after be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG to walk.M.SG from.DEF.M.SG lake over_in and
 1436 vòu anflau in bi ljuc, api lu ...
 have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful place and then
 1437 lèv' ju fá bògn lò, api va ju príu ò
 want.IMPF.1SG 1SG do.INF bath there and have.PRS.1SG 1SG take.PTCP.UNM out
 1438 mju ùrdan, ju vèva ùrdan da scrívar, da légjar,
 POSS.1SG.M utensil 1SG have.IMPF.1SG utensil.M.SG ATTR write.INF ATTR read.INF
 1439 a ... tùt méz òra.
 and all put.PTCP.UNM out

‘A couple of weeks ago ... I was in Locarno and then I went for a walk ... at the lake, and then I found a nice place, and then I wanted to take a bath there, and I took out my utensils, I had writing utensils, something to read, and ... [had] taken out everything.’

1440 Ju èra prsuls lò, api, ah ..., tratg ajn mias
 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG alone.M.SG there and eh pull.PTCP.UNM in POSS.1SG.F.PL
 1441 tgautschas da fá bògn, api èr' ju pinauš dad ir
 trouser.PL COMP do.INF bath.M.SG and COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG ready.M.SG MOD go.INF
 1442 ál' aua.
 into.DEF.F.SG water

8.12 *Al cégn*

‘I was alone and ah put on my swim trunks and then I was ready to jump into the water.’

- 1443 Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév’ in cégn ...
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan
 1444 gròn né – vi datiar ad èra lò, usché in té
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMPF.3SG there so INDEF.M.SG bit
 1445 dòminant.
 dominant.ADJ.UNM

‘And precisely at that moment a big swan... was coming to the place where I was, a bit a dominant one.’

- 1446 Api sjantar vòu détg dal cégn:
 and after have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT.DEF.M.SG swan

‘And then I said to the swan:’

- 1447 «Gè, sùnd ju ajn tju taritòri, distùrb’ ju té?»
 yes COP.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.2SG.M.SG territory disturb.PRS.1SG 1SG 2SG

‘Yes, am I in your territory, do I disturb you?’

- 1448 Nagina réaczjún. Ju sa bigj’ í ál’ aua.
 no.F.SG reaction 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF into.DEF.F.SG water

‘No reaction. Well, I couldn’t jump into the water.’

- 1449 Fòrza prènd’ al anzatgéj né ju vèv’ avaun ...
 maybe take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M something or 1SG have.IMPF.1SG in_front
 1450 zatgé da magljè.
 something ATTR eat.INF

‘Maybe he would take something or I had ... something to eat in front [of me].’

- 1451 Api va ju tartgau ju stùn in’ jèda sén
 and have.PRS.1SG 1SG think.PTCP.UNM 1SG stay.PRS.1SG one.F.SG time on
 1452 pajs, né, pr, pr mussá ... usché.⁷³ Nagina réaczjun, né.
 foot.M.PL right s SUBORD show.INF so no.F.SG reaction right

‘And then I thought I could just get up, right, to show ... like this. No reaction, right?’

⁷³The narrator imitates the behaviour of a dominant male.

8 *Texts*

- 1453 Aun adina lò, al cégn, lò da, da fá usché da mussá
still always there DEF.M.SG swan there COMP COMP make.INF so to show.INF
1454 sja pow-, sja pussònza.
POSS.3.F.SG POSS.3SG.F.SG power

‘Still there, the swan, there, showing his pow- his power.’

- 1455 Api sjantar sùnd ju sasjus gjù, api vau
and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down and have.PRS.1SG.1SG
1456 tartgau gè ábar ah, api sau bigj' ajfach⁷⁴ i
think.PTCP.UNM yes but eh and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF
1457 ál' aua.
into.DEF.F.SG water

‘And then I sat down and thought yes, but, eh, after all I should, I cannot simply jump into the water.’

- 1458 Api vau tartgau gè OK, lu stajn nus hald
and have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM yes OK then remain.PRS.1PL 1PL just
1459 in téč cò.
INDEF.M.SG bit here

‘And then I thought yes, OK, in this case we’ll just stay here for a while.’

- 1460 Pi sè' 1 vajramájn staus lò.
then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M true.F.SGADV remain.PTCP.M.SG there

‘And the swan really stayed there.’

- 1461 Api vonzaj vau tartgau, ah ju a in'
and later have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM eh 1SG have.PRS.1SG INDEF.F.SG
1462 idéa, ju vèva grat cumprau, ju vèva grat cumprau
idea 1SG have.IMPF.1SG just buy.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.IMPF.1SG just buy.PTCP.UNM
1463 ... quèla ... suna da bùca.
DEM.F.SG organ of mouth.F.SG

‘And after a while I thought, eh, I have an idea, I had just bought, I had just bought ... that ... harmonica.’

- 1464 Api lu vau fatg usché.⁷⁵
and then have.PRS.1SG.1SG make.PTCP.UNM so

⁷⁴ *Ajfach* is Swiss German for Standard Sursilvan *semplamein*.

8.13 *Cuérts raquénts*

‘And then I played like this.’

- 1465 A sél amprém tún, al cégn usché: uh, vscht! ina lingja
and on.DEF.M.SG first sound DEF.M.SG swan so uh vsht! one.F.SG line
1466 scapaus da lò circa tschian mètars navèn, schi
escape.PTCP.M.SG from there about hundred metre.M.PL away so
1467 curjòs!
strange.ADJ.UNM

‘And when the swan heard the first sound, he... [went] uh, vsht! [and] escaped from there about one hundred metres away, so strange!’

- 1468 Ju sa bé dacù.
1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why

‘I don’t know why.’

- 1469 Sas, fòrza ... hè quaj sch' léjf
know.PRS.2SG maybe COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM so light.ADJ.UNM
1470 dissònánt né, bétg idéa.
dissonant.ADJ.UNM right NEG idea.F.SG

‘You know, maybe ... this is slightly dissonant, right, no idea.’

- 1471 Álsò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssif, ju
well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCM.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM 1SG
1472 a vajramájn fatg mù ..., quaj è mù
have.PRS.1SG really make.PTCP.UNM only DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG only
1473 ina cuérta.
INDEF.F.SG short

‘Well, I didn’t do it in an aggressive way, I’ve really done it only ..., this is only a short [story].’

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

Short stories

(Tuatschín, Zarcúns, m2, aged 82)

Recorded 2016/08/24 in Sadrún

Duration 7'20"

⁷⁵The narrator plays two sounds on the harmonica.

8 Texts

La basèlgja da Zarcúns The church of Zarcuns



Figure 8.5: Zarcuns and its church

1474 Al vitg, gl' uclaun da Zarcúns, quaj è la
DEF.M.SG village DEF.M.SG hamlet of PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG
1475 basèlgja da Nòssadùna, quaj fùs Nòssadùna da la
church of Our_Lady.F.SG DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG Our_Lady.F.SG of DEF.F.SG
1476 Nafj ... ò quaj nùm.
snow have.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM name.M.SG

'The village, the hamlet of Zarcuns, that is the church of the Virgin Mary, this is the Virgin of the Snow ... as it is called.'

1477 A cò raquéntan aj tga plé daditg ... sè è
and here tell.PRS.3PL 3PL COMP more long_time_ago EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL also
1478 sé quèls malètgts ajn a la basèlgja ... tga in ... tga
on DEM.M.PL picture.PL in to DEF.F.SG church COMP one.M.SG REL
1479 stèva ajnasé Gjuf ábar vaj gju da
live.IMPF.3SG in_and_up PN but have.SBJV.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to
1480 vagní navèn da Gjuf tòcan òragjù ... Zarcúns, í da dí
come.INF from of PN until out_down PN go.INF to say.INF

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

- 1481 páternias tòcan òragjù Zarcúns.
 Lord's_prayer.M.SG until out_and_down PN

'And here they say that a long time ago ... there was also in these pictures in the church ... that one ... that lived up in Gjuf, but who had to come down from Gjuf to ... Zarcuns, [who had to] come reciting the Lord's prayer until down to Zarcuns.'

- 1482 A lò... sén quaj intènt ségi è vagnú
 and there upon DEM.M.SG undertaking be.PRS.SBJV.3SG also PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM
 1483 bagagjau quèla caplùta.
 build.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG chapel

'And there ... after this undertaking⁷⁶, this chapel was built.'

- 1484 Quaj è hald ina détga tgu sa, ábar
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG simply INDEF.F.SG legend REL.1SG know.PRS.1SG but
 1485 plé gròn savès ju lu è bétga ... tgé i è
 more big.ADJ.UNM can.COND.1SG 1SG then also NEG what EXPL COP.PRS.3SG
 1486 ... cù Vus lajs alsò
 how 2PL.POL want.2PL.POL well

'This is a legend I know, but a longer one I would not be able ... what it is ... how you want, well ... :'

La sòcjétat da música
 The music society

- 1487 Alsò la véta qu' èra quèluísà ... qu' èra
 well DEF.F.SG life DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG this_way DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL
 1488 la gjuvantétgna èran ... par òordinari èra
 DEF.F.SG youth COP.IMPF.3PL for usual.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 1489 quaj ... qu' èra massa gjuvantétgna cò ála val.
 DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG lots youth.F.SG here in.DEF.F.SG valley

'Well, life here, it was like this ... there was the youth were ... there were usually ... there were a lot of young people here in the valley.'

⁷⁶I.e. of coming down to Zarcuns reciting the Lord's prayer.

8 *Texts*

1490 Tgi gidava als géniturs a tgi fagèva quaj a ...
 who help.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL parent.PL and who do.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM and
 1491 mávani ajn quèlas sòcjétats, u ál cant ni
 go.IMPF.3PL.3PL into DEM.F.PL SOCIETY.PL either to.DEF.M.SG singing or
 1492 ála música, a nuş èssan è staj, sùn è
 to.DEF.F.SG music and 1PL be.PRS.1PL also COP.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.1SG also
 1493 staus ála música biabégn curòn' òns, a ... déjsch
 COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.F.SG music more_than forty year.M.PL and ten
 1494 òns sùnd ju staus prsidén lò, a lura, sjantar
 year.M.SG be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG president.M.SG there and then, after
 1495 gl axarsézi da música ... èra quaj úsit ... tg'
 DEF.M.SG rehearsal of music.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM habit.M.SG COMP
 1496 ins mava ... aun a bájbar in pr laş
 GNR go.IMPF.3SG still SUBORD drink.INF one.M.SG through DEF.F.PL
 1497 ustrias antùrn.
 restaurant.PL around

'Some helped their parents and some would do that and and they would participate in these societies, either in singing or in music, and we were, and I too was in the music society for a little bit more than forty years, and for ten years I was the president there, and then, after the music rehearsal, there was the habit that one would go and have a drink in the restaurants.'

1498 In' jèda tschò, in' jèda lò, ad in' jèda
 one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time
 1499 saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuş èran i ajn
 REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in
 1500 ustria òl Mírar, api sa ju bégja sén tgé
 restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.M.SG PN and know.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG NEG upon what
 1501 nuş èran vagní, nuş vèvan quaj òn vèvan
 1PL be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.1PL
 1502 nuş da fá sé ... ina ... fòrmazjun nòva ad ad
 1PL to make.INF up INDEF.F.SG lineup new.F.SG and and
 1503 instrumajnts nùfs.
 instrument.M.PL new.PL

'Once here, once there, and once I still remember ... that we had gone to Mirer's restaurant, and I don't know what we had come up with, that year we had to do ... a ... new lineup and and [buy] new instruments.'

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

1504 Api vèvan nus, ah, tratg sé lò in téc agl ustér
 and have.1PL 1PL eh pull.PTCP.UNM up there INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.M.SG manager
 1505 a quèls, prvia d' in pèr raps, api ò
 and DEM.M.PL because of INDEF.M.SG pair cent.M.PL and_then have.PRS.3SG
 1506 'I ... gl ustér vagnús cun quèl' idéja da,
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG manager come.PTCP.M.SG with DEM.F.SG idea of
 1507 vagnús cun in piartg gròn tg' ins savèva ... métar
 come.PTCP.M.SG with INDEF.M.SG pig big REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG put.INF
 1508 ajnagjù, tschichi jástar da quaj, i èra scrét
 into_and_down pig.M.SG strange of DEM.UNM EXPL be.IMPF.3SG write.PTCP.UNM
 1509 sé pr, quaj vùt di par ina ... ina sòzjétat cò.
 up for DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF for INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG society here

'And we had, eh, made fun of the restaurant manager and the others a little bit, because of some cents, and then the manager came up with the idea of, coming with a big piggy bank into which one could put [coins], one of those strange pigs or so, something was written on it, this means for a ... a society here.'

1510 A lu sjantar música mav' ins ajn cò; c' i èra
 and then after music.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG GNR in here when EXPL COP.IMPF.SG
 1511 jástars lò scha ... vignévan quels lu vi a
 stranger.M.PL there CORR come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and
 1512 dévan ... matévan ajnagjù ampau raps pi c' i
 give.IMPF.3PL put.IMPF.3SG into_and_down a_bit cent.M.PL and when EXPL
 1513 èra ... fòrsa stau al davùs da la sasjún
 COP.IMPF.3SG maybe be.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG last of DEF.F.SG season
 1514 cul ... scha vagnévan d' anstagl duvrá als
 with.DEF.M.SG CORR come.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP instead use.INF DEF.M.PL
 1515 danès, cu nus vèvan fòm, èssans í
 money.PL when 1PL have.IMPF.1PL hunger.F.PL be.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 1516 anzjaman culas dùnas, a, a ina tschajna, da quèlas tgaussas.
 together with.DEF.F.PL woman.PL to to a dinner.F.SG of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

'And then after rehearsal we would go there; if there were strangers there, they would come over and give ... put into the piggy bank some cents and when it was ... maybe the last of the season with the ... then we would, instead of use the money [for the society], when we were hungry, we would go and have dinner with our wives, things like that.'

8 *Texts*

- 1517 Api ... cu l' ò gju tgé èri
and when 3SG have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM what be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
1518 stau, èssan nuş í in òn ... sén in
COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL INDEF.M.SG year on INDEF.M.SG
1519 vièdi gjù ad, ad Immis.
trip down to to PN

'And ... when he had found out what had been going on, we went one year ... on a trip down to, to Immis.'

- 1520 [PhM] Nua ei quei?
where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM

'Where is this?'

- 1521 [m2] Immis, quaj è gjù, gjù tschò damanajval da ...
PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG down down there near of
1522 Interlaken.
PN

'Immis, that is down, down there, near ... Interlaken.'

- 1523 La sòcjétát èn i ... èssan nuş i,
DEF.F.SG society be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
1524 la sòcjétát, lu la sèra vajn nus halt valju
DEF.F.SG society then DEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.1PL 1PL just want.PTCP.UNM
1525 savaj tgé c' i cùri aparti cò, api òni
know.INF what REL EXPL run.PRS.SBJV.3SG special here and have.PRS.3PL.3PL
1526 détg sé ad Immis vágian ajn ina, ina fjasta d'
say.PTCP.UNM up at PN have.PRS.SBJV.3PL in INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG party of
1527 uaut scù nuş schèvan, ina fjasta d' uaut.
woods as 1PL say.IMPF.1PL INDEF.F.SG party of woods

'The society went ... we went, the society, then in the evening we wanted to know whether there was something special going on, and then they said that at Immis, they had a party in the woods as we used to say, a party in the woods.'

- 1528 Api èssan nuş i sé ... tauns èssan í sé
and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up so_many.M.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL up
1529 sédajn cò.
up_and_in here

'And we went up ... so many went up here.'

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

1530 Quaj èra quèls gjucs a quaj api ... vajn
DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.PL game.PL and DEM.UNM and have.PRS.1PL
1531 nus ... sòfòrt⁷⁷ anflau òra tga ... da pascá cula ...
1PL immediately find.PTCP.UNM out COMP SUBORD fish.INF with.DEF.F.SG
1532 lòntscha, quèlas butègljas, quèlas tga vèvan in ring
lance DEM.F.PL bottle.PL DEM.F.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.M.SG ring
1533 gjùdájn.
down_and_in

'There were those games and that, and ... we found out ... immediately that ... when fishing with the lance, those bottles, those that had a ring at their bottom.'

1534 Quèl tga gartagjava ... survagnév' ina butèglja vin.
DEM.M.SG REL succeed.IMPF.3SG get.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG bottle wine.M.SG

'The person who succeeded would get a bottle of wine.'

1535 Basta, nuş èran, miravan adina dad èssar siş anzjaman, ad
enough 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL look.IMPF.1PL always COMP COP.INF six together and
1536 in gartagjava sagir.
one.M.SG succeed.IMPF.3SG surely

'OK, we were, we always made sure that there were six of us together, and one would certainly succeed.'

1537 Api anstagl bájbar al vin ... èran nus lu i sé,
and instead drink.IMPF.1PL 1SG then go.PTCP.M.PL up
1538 vèvani fatg ina bòla.
have.IMPF.3PL.3PL do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG punch

'And instead of drinking the wine ... we went up, they had prepared a punch.'

1539 Api tòc' al davùs vèvan nuş şvidau quèla bòla.
and until DEF.M.SG last have.1PL 1PL empty.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG punch

'And we drank the whole punch, down to the last drop.'

1540 Quèls musicians da Sadrún.
DEM.M.PL musician.PL of PN

'These musicians from Sedrun.'

⁷⁷ *Sòfòrt* is a German word; its Tuatschin synonym is *imédjat*.

8 *Texts*

- 1541 Nuš dèvan anavùs la butèglja vin api buèvans ...
1PL give.IMPF.1PL back DEF.F.SG bottle wine and drink.IMPF.1PL.1PL
1542 duas trajs da quèlas, a da quèlas tgaussas.
two.F.PL three of DEM.F.PL and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

‘We would give back the bottle of wine and then we would drink ... two or three of these, and things like that.’

- 1543 Uschéja. Da la sòcjétat da la música tg’ èr’ ida
so of DEF.F.SG society of DEF.F.SG music REL be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.F.SG
1544 sén vièdi.
on trip.M.SG

‘Exactly so. About the music society that had gone on a trip.’

La cumpagnia da mats
The young men’s association

- 1545 La cumpagnia da mats, lèzas vèvan mintg’ jèda, la
DEF.F.SG association of boy.PL DEM.F.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time DEF.F.SG
1546 cumpagnia da mats vèva mintg’ jèda, lu èra
association of boy.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time then COP.IMPF.3SG
1547 quaj ... craju, sjat fjastas ... tga vagnéva
DEM.UNM believe.PRS.1SG.1SG seven celebration.F.PL REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
1548 ... fatg parada.
do.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG

‘The young men’s associations, every time they had, every time the young men’s association had, then there were ..., I believe, seven celebrations ... when they would ... prepare a parade.’

- 1549 Quaj èra scù Sòntgalcrést, Fronleichnam scù nuš
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG as Corpus_Christi.M.SG *Fronleichnam*⁷⁸ as 1PL
1550 schajn, api èr’ aj ... Dumèngja Alva, api
say.PRS.1PL and_then EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL Sunday.F.SG white and_then
1551 èr’ aj, ah, Nòssadùna ... d’ Úast álsò cùlas
EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL eh Our_Lady.F.SG of August.M.SG well with.DEF.F.PL
1552 fjastas aschia, a tut anzjaman, api èri
celebration.PL so and all together and_then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
1553 al patrún-basèlgja Sògn Vagèli, a cò ... sunava
DEF.M.SG patron.SG-church.F.SG Saint.M.SG Vigilius and here play.IMPF.3SG

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

1554 la ... sòcjétat da música, fagèvan aj ina
 DEF.F.SG society of music.F.SG make.IMPF.3PL 3PL.UNM INDEF.F.SG
 1555 pròcèsjún-basèlga, mù als catòlics, a la música
 procession-church.F.SG only DEF.M.PL Catholic.PL and DEF.F.SG music
 1556 mava, a la cumpagnia da mats.
 go.IMPF.3SG and DEF.F.SG association of boy.M.PL

‘These were for instance Corpus Christi, «Fronleichnam» as we say, and also Divine Mercy Sunday, and there was eh Our Lady... of August, well, with the celebrations and all together, and then there was the Church Patron Saint Vigilius and here ... the Music Society used to play, they made a procession, only the Catholics, and the Music Society would participate, and the Young men’s association [as well].’

1557 A lu èra quaj, ála cumpignia da mats
 and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in.DEF.F.SG association of young_man.M.PL
 1558 èra quaj ajn trènta tòcan curònta ... gjuvans ... tga
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in thirty till forty young_man.M.PL REL
 1559 fagèvan parada culas, cula guís cò.
 make.IMPF.3PL parade.F.SG with.DEF.F.PL with.DEF.F.SG rifle here

‘And then there were, there were between thirty and forty ... young men ... who would parade with the, with their rifles here.’

1560 Gè gè quèls, ... duş a dus mávani, a djantarajn
 yes yes DEM.M.PL two.M.PL by two.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL.3PL and in_between
 1561 èri quèls cafanúns scù nuş şchajn.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEM.M.PL church_banner.PL as 1PL say.PRS.1PL

‘Oh yes, these ... they would go two by two, and in between there were the *cafànúns* [church banners] as we say.’

1562 Api èri, davauntiar èra è la, la
 and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in_front EXIST.IMPF.3SG also DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG
 1563 bandiara ... bjala, qu’ èra, şchèvan aj ... la
 flag beautiful DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG say.IMPF.3PL 3PL DEF.F.SG
 1564 bandiara bjala.
 flag beautiful.F.SG

‘And there was, in front there was also the the beautiful flag ..., this was, as they would say ..., the beautiful flag.’

⁷⁸ *Fronleichnam* is the German word for *Sòntgalcrést*

8 *Texts*

- 1565 A quèla ... èra ... da mintga vart ... èr' aj
 and DEM.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG of each.F.SG side EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL
 1566 mintg' jèda dus tga vèvan fatg ni tga fagjèvan
 each.F.SG time two.M.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL do.PTCP.UNM OR REL do.IMPF.3PL
 1567 racrut, tga cumpignavan cun la guís, cun sé la bajònèta.
 recruit REL accompany.IMPF.3PL with DEF.F.SG rifle with on DEF.F.SG bayonet

'And this ... there were ... on both sides ... there were two who had been or were recruits who would accompany [the flag] with a rifle with the bayonet fixed on it.'

- 1568 Ad ála gjuvantétgna mavan ... als gjuvans tg'
 and in.DEF.F.SG youth go.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL young_man.PL REL
 1569 èran lèdics.
 COP.IMPF.3PL bachelor.M.PL

'And those who were members of the association of young men were ... the young men who were bachelors.'

- 1570 Avaun ina fjasta mavan aj ... tialas ...
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL
 1571 gjufnas ... par nèglà, partgé matévan sé sé la
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because put.IMPF.3PL up up DEF.F.SG
 1572 tgapjala ... ina nèglà.
 hat INDEF.F.SG carnation

'Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations, because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.'

- 1573 A quaj atgnamajn mav' ins bétga plé pala
 and DEM.UNM as_a_matter_of_fact go.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG more for.DEF.M.SG
 1574 nèglà, a quaj mav' ins pal puschégn, quaj
 carnation and DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG GNR for.DEF.M.SG snack DEM.UNM
 1575 vagnéva dau in puschégn a sjantar
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG snack and afterwards
 1576 survagnév' ins ina nèglà.
 receive.PTCP.UNM GNR DEF.F.SG carnation

'But as a matter of fact, one wouldn't go for the carnation any more, one would go for a snack and afterwards one would receive a carnation.'

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

1577 Ad i è aun schabagjau plé ... tga nuş èssan
 and EXPL be.PRS.3SG in_addition happen.PTCP.UNM more COMP 1PL be.PRS.1PL
 1578 i ... tiar duas, álşò ajn duaş jèdas ... tiar ina api
 go.PTCP.M.PL to two.F.PL well in two.F.PL time.PL to ONE.F and
 1579 sjantar aun í ad í vi tiar tschèla.
 afterwards in_addition go.PTCP.M.PL and go.PTCP.M.PL over to DEM.F.SG

‘And it also happened more ... that we went ... to two [girls], well at two different moments ... to the one and went also, and went over to the other.’

1580 Api savèv' ins bigja cù, cù fá da purtá las
 and know.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG how how do.INF SUBORD carry.INF DEF.F.PL
 1581 nèglas, má tga quaj, quaj fagèva las
 carnation.PL since SUBORD DEM.UNM DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL
 1582 gjufnas lu schòn stém sch'i vajan sé
 young_woman.PL then in_fact attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up
 1583 la nèglia tg' èla vaj dau né bétg.
 INDEF.F.SG carnation REL 3SG.F have.SBJV.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM OR NEG

‘And one would not know how to put the carnations on the hat, since that, the young women would pay close attention to whether they had put on the hat the carnation they had given them or not.’

1584 A qu' è lu schabagjau tr ... bjèras schavan
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then happen.PTCP.UNM by many.F.PL let.IMPF.3PL
 1585 lu è bétga vagní ajn, èra sarau, quaj
 then also NEG come.INF in COP.IMPF.3SG close.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
 1586 mav' ins sén ésch a patarlava a fagèva ... api
 go.IMPF.3SG GNR on door.M.SG and chatter.IMPF.3SG and do.IMPF.3SG and
 1587 tùtajnina şchèvani gè, lu mav' ins ajn.
 suddenly say.IMPF.3PL.3PL yes then go.IMPF.3SG GNR in

‘And this happened ... many [young women] wouldn't let [the young man] come in, the door was closed, so one would go to the door and chatter and do ... and then suddenly the young women would say yes, and then one would go in.’

1588 A da quèlas tgaussas.
 and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

‘And things like that.’

8 *Texts*

1589 A ... ad in òn, sa ju aun bégn, lu vèvan nuş
 and and INDEF.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 1590 gju fatg in tòc humòristic da la
 have.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG prank funny from DEF.F.SG
 1591 músic' ànora.
 music out

'And ... and one year, I still know very well, we from the music had played a funny prank.'

1592 Api ... i è stau finju scha fò in
 and EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM then do.PRS.3SG one.M.SG
 1593 dals ... tg' èran lò djantarajn ...: «Òz fùs ... dad
 of.DEF.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3SG there in_between today be.COND.3SG to
 1594 ira a fá tschajvar ... cò ál vitg, quèls da
 go.INF SUBORD do.INF carnival.M.SG here in.DEF.M.SG village DEM.M.PL of
 1595 quèls òn sé Tgès' Alva, cun tschajvar òz», api
 DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL up house.F.SG white with carnival.M.SG today and
 1596 vajn nus détig: «Ah, scha quaj savèssan nus schòn
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL say.PTCP.UNM eh then DEM.UNM can.COND.1PL 1PL indeed
 1597 ira sé mirá.»
 go.INF up look.INF

'And ... it was over, then one of those ... who were there among us, said ... «Today we should do carnival here in the village, those of the *Tgès' Alva* have carnival today», and then we said: «Eh, then, in this case, we could indeed go up and have a look.»'

1598 Api èssan nuş i ... api davùsajn a pudjú ajn
 and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL and back_in and be_able.PTCP.UNM in
 1599 davùstiar ajn ajn ajn, nùca tga vèvan al al al, nuş
 back_by in in in where REL have.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG 1PL
 1600 şchèvan la tgaminada, quaj èra ... in lòcál
 say.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG pantry DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG place
 1601 nùca tga matévan lò, vèvan ajn las magljas a
 where REL put.IMPF.3PL there have.IMPF.3PL in DEF.F.PL provisions.PL and
 1602 quaj tga tanévan a frèstg quaj.
 DEM.UNM REL hold.IMPF.3PL at fresh.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM

'And then we went ... and then into the house from the back, and were able to go in from the back, into into into, where they had the the, we would say

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

‘tgaminada’ [pantry], this was ... a place where [they] would put into, would keep provisions and what had to be kept fresh.’

- 1603 A tschèls èran ajn stiva a dèvan
and DEM.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL in living_room.F.SG and give.IMPF.3PL
- 1604 tròcas né jass ... a nus príu quèls
k.o.card_game.F.PL or k.o.card_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL
- 1605 ... pinau tiar, quèls puschègns, quèlas ... tablas cun sé
prepare.PTCP.UNM by DEM.M.PL snack.M.PL DEM.F.PL tray.PL with up
- 1606 tgarn a dal tut ... príu quaj ad i
meat.F.SG and of.DEF.M.SG all take.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and go.PTCP.M.PL
- 1607 gjù ajn in clavau a magljau a sjantar
down in INDEF.M.SG hay_barn and eat.PTCP.UNM and after
- 1608 turnaj sé cul cul ... cula vaschala
go_back.PTCP.M.PL up with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.F.SG dishes
- 1609 vita a méz lò puspè api i.
empty and put.PTCP.UNM there again and go.PTCP.UNM

‘And the others were in the living room and were playing card games ... and we took these ... prepared, these snacks, these ... trays with meat and all on it ... we took this and went down into the hay barn and ate it and after we went up back with ... with the empty dishes, put them there again and went away.’

- 1610 A da quèlas tgaussas ... schabjavi.
and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL happen.IMPF.3SG.EXPL

‘And these sort of things ... used to happen.’

- 1611 Òz sè bigja quaj plé.
today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG DEM.UNM more

‘Nowadays, this doesn’t exist any more.’

- 1612 Òz vòni è bitga, i i dat aun ... duas né
today go.PRS.3PL.3PL ALSO NEG EXPL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.F.PL or
- 1613 trajs ah ... fjastas ... tga la gjuvantétgna ... fòn parada.
three eh celebration.PL REL DEF.F.SG youth do.PRS.3PL parade.F.sg

‘Nowadays they don’t go either, there there are still ... two or three eh ... celebrations where the association of young men ... holds a parade.’

8 *Texts*

- 1614 Ábar òz sè pauc lò; tg' i è déjsch dùdisch
 but today EXIST.PRS.3SG little there REL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG ten twelve
 1615 ásaj tüt.
 COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL all

'But today there aren't many [members of the association] there; if there are ten or twelve, that's all.'

- 1616 Ad òz fò è las gjufnas ... par tga ...
 and today do.PRS.3SG also DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL for SUBORD
 1617 ségi avùnda.
 EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG enough

'And today the young women also take part ... so that ... there are enough people.'

- 1618 Ábar lu èra quaj, quaj stuèv' ins fá
 but then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG GNR do.INF
 1619 in èxáman ... par ... savaj marschá ... ira ... ál
 INDEF.M.SG exam SUBORD can.INF march.INF go.INF at.DEF.M.SG
 1620 pas cul cula ... sòcjétat dals ... álsò pr ah ...
 step with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.F.SG society of.DEF.M.PL well SUBORD eh
 1621 savaj cù i sèj da sapurtá.
 know.INF how EXPL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COMP REFL.behave.INF

'But then this was, one had to pass an exam ... in order to ... be allowed to march march ... in step with the, with the association of the ... well in order eh ... to know how one should behave.'

- 1622 Intarassant èra quaj schòn, ábar òz sè
 interesting.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM indeed but today be.PRS.3SG
 1623 quaj tüt švanju ... prquaj tga par ina
 DEM.UNM all disappear.PTCP.UNM because SUBORD for one.F.SG
 1624 ásaj schòn bétga ... gjuvantétgna plé cò, òz.
 EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL already NEG youth.F.SG more here today

'This was interesting indeed, but today this has all disappeared ... because on the one hand there are no ... young people here any more.'

- 1625 Cu i végnan òd scùla scha vòni navèn
 when 3PL come.PRS.3PL out_of school.F.SG CORR go.PRS.3PL.3PL away
 1626 amprèndar mistrégn, api survégnan aj ina plaza
 learn.INF profession.M.SG and receive.PRS.3PL 3PL INDEF.F.SG employment

8.13 Cuérts raquénts

1627 èra òndlùndar.
also out_of_it

‘Today when they finish school, they go away in order to learn a profession, and then they also get an employment thanks to it.’

1628 Cò èn aj bigja plazas suficjèntas.
here EXIST.PRS.3PL EXPL NEG job.F.PL enough.PL

‘Here there aren’t enough jobs.’

1629 Ju sa cu cu ... cu ju sùn maridaus tga ...
1SG know.PRS.1SG when when when 1G be.PRS.1SG marry.PTCP.M.MSG COMP
1630 èri ajn Camischùlas circa quindìsch ufauns ... tga
EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN about fifteen child.M.PL REL
1631 mavan a scùla da Camischùlas.
go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG of PN

‘I know that when when ... when I got married ... there were in Camischolas about fifteen ... children who attended the school of Camischolas.’

1632 Ad òz ásaj bitga trajs, gè, tga vòn a scùla.
and today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG three yes REL go.PRS.3SG to school.F.SG

‘And today there aren’t [even] three that attend school.’

1633 Tschèls èn lu carschí sé ad èn i
DEM.M.PL be.PRS.3PL then grow.PTCP.M.PL up and be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL
1634 navèn, ad è, ad practisch ... atgnamajn ásaj
away and also and virtually.ADJ.UNM actually EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL
1635 bunamajn mù gljut plé végbla ajnta Camischùlas.
almost only people.F.SG more old in PN

‘The others have grown up and left, and also, and virtually ... actually there are almost only old people in Camischolas.’

1636 Gljud gjufna şaj şgarşchajval paucs.
people.F.SG young EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL terrible.ADJ.UNM little.M.PL

‘There are very few young people.’

1637 Quaj vò tut anavùs.
DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG all.UNM back

‘Everything is disappearing.’

8 *Texts*

1638 [PhM] E co eis ei stau per Vus dad emprender
 and how be.PRS.3SG EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM for 2SG.POL COMP learn.INF
 tudestg?
 German.M.SG

[PhM] ‘And how was it for you to learn German?’

1640 [m2] Ôh gl ampréndar tudèstg è stau, l’
 oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG
 1641 antschata hè quaj schòn stau in téc
 beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit
 1642 curjùs.
 strange.ADJ.UNM

[m2[‘Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.’

1643 Cu ins èra, parquaj tga lura ... vèvan nuş bétg aun
 when GNR COP.IMPF.3SG because SUBORD then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL NEG yet
 1644 al, al turismus, tg’ èra sé schi scù quaj tg’ èl
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG tourism REL 3SG.M COP.IMPF.3SG up so as DEM.UNM REL
 1645 è ùssa ... a... ins stuèva simplamajn, cò
 COP.PRS.3SG now and GNR must.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV here
 1646 vagnéva ... ampríu plajd par plajd, amprém
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG learn.PTCP.UNM word.M.SG for word.M.SG first
 1647 stuèv’ ins amprèndar al plajd, navèn da la tschunavla
 must.IMPF.3SG GNR learn.INF DEF.M.SG word from of DEF.F.SG five.ORD
 1648 ansé.
 in_up

‘When one was, because then ... we didn’t have the tourism that was up here the way that it is now ... and one had simply, here, we had ... to learn word for word, first we had to learn the word, from the fifth [class] onwards.’

1649 Api vagnéva quaj mintg’ òn in téc daplé, a lu
 and come.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM every year.M.SG INDEF.M.SG bit more and then
 1650 dèvani lu è sé da, da scrívar tòcs, tg’ ins
 give.3PL.3PL then also up COMP COMP write.INF play.M.PL REL GNR
 1651 stuèva scrívar ... navèn dal ròmòntschi ... vi sél
 must.IMPF.3SG write.INF from of.DEF.M.SG Romansh over on.DEF.M.SG
 1652 tudèstg ... tga vignéva curagju.
 German REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG correct.PTCP.UNM

8.14 Dus vièdis

‘And then every year some words were added, and then they also gave [us home-work] to write plays which one had to translate ... from Romansh to German ... [and which] were corrected.’

1653 Api raquintá ... al tudèstg ... vi sél ròmòntsch, né al
and tell.INF DEF.M.SG German over on.DEF.M.SG Romansh or DEF.M.SG
1654 ròmòntsch vi sél tudèstg, ed usché vajn nus
Romansh over on.DEF.M.SG German and so have.PRS.1PL 1PL
1655 ampríu ... atgnamajn al ... fundamajn ... dal lungatg.
learn.PTCP.UNM indeed DEF.M.SG foundation of.DEF.M.SG language

‘And then retell ... the German [text] ... in Romansh, or the Romansh in German, and, as a matter of fact, that’s the way we learned ... the foundation of the language.’

8.14 Dus vièdis

Two trips

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, f7, aged 44)
Recorded 2016/08/26 in Ruèras
Duration 1'40"

In vièdi gjù Sògn Gagl

A trip to St. Gallen

1656 Ju sùn stada avaun duş òns circa ... şè
1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG ago two.M.PL year.PL about COP.PRS.3SG
1657 quaj - végni quaj, gl atún tgu sùn
DEM.UNM come.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG autumn REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
1658 stad' ad in ... sanunzjèda pr in cuérs da
COP.PTCP.F.PL at INDEF.M.SG REFL.register.PTCP.F.SG for INDEF.M.SG course of
1659 ... stamping-staff, da ... da fá música cul ...
 stamping-staff COMP COMP make.INF music.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG
1660 cul tgiarp.
with.DEF.M.SG body

‘About two years ago I was .. this is - it comes, in autumn when I was at a ... [when I] registered for a ... stamping-staff course, to make music with the ... with the body.’

8 *Texts*

1661 Rítmica a música cul tgiarp gjù ... gjù Sògn Gagl,
 rhythmics.F.SG and music.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG body down down PN three
 1662 trajs dis.
 day.M.PL

‘Rhythmics and music with the body down down in St. Gallen, for three days.’

1663 Api... mi' òrjèntazjún è bitga la mégljara tg'
 and POSS.1SG.F.SG orientation COP.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.F.SG better REL
 1664 égsísta.
 exist.PRS.3SG

‘And ... my sense of orientation is not the best that ... that exists.’

1665 Basta, ju sùn id' ál tràèn, tòcan gjù Sògn Gagl
 enough 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG to.DEF.M.SG train until down PN
 1666 şè bigja da fá bjè falju, api sùnd
 COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG COMP make.INF much wrong.ADJ.UNM and be.PRS.1SG
 1667 ju vagnida ò dal tràèn a tartgau:
 1SG come.PTCP.F.SG out of.DEF.M.SG train and think.PTCP.UNM

‘Enough. I went to the train, to St. Gallen there is not much you could do wrong, and I left the train and thought:’

1668 Núa şè quaj hòtèl? Bigj' idéa, ju èra schòn òns
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMPF.1SG already year.M.PL
 1669 bigja stad' ajn quaj martgau.
 NEG COP.PTCP.F.SG in DEM.M.SG hotel

‘Where is this hotel? No idea, I hadn't been in that city for years.’

1670 Api uş dati flòts apps né, príu nònavaun
 and now EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL smart.M.PL app.PL right take.PTCP.UNM out
 1671 mju iPhone, tschantau ajn cò mias cartaş ad
 POSS.1SG.M.SG iPphone start.PTCP.UNM in here POSS.1SG.F.PL map.PL and
 1672 antschiat ad í ad í, gè gè, api gè, mirau
 begin.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF and go.INF yes yes and yes, look.PTCP.UNM
 1673 antùrn ampau a tùtajnín' òi fatg baf!
 around a_little and suddenly have.PRS.3SG.EXPL make.PTCP.UNM INTERJ

‘And now there are smart apps, right? [I] took out my iPhone, started here my maps and began to go, to go, yes yes, and yes, looked around a little bit, and all of a sudden it made baf!’

8.14 *Dus vièdis*

1674 Saglida cul tgau ajn in placat, parquaj
 run.PTCP.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG head into INDEF.M.SG signboard because
 1675 tgu vèva cò la tupu dùna tga raşdava
 SUBORD.1SG have.IMPF.1SG here DEF.AR.F.SG stupid woman REL speak.IMPF.3SG
 1676 sin quaj iPhone.
 on DEM.M.SG iPhone

‘Ran into a signboard with my head, because I had this woman speaking on the iPhone.’

1677 Quaj è stau léjgar. Scadín cas
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM funny.ADJ.UNM every.M.SG case
 1678 va ju pitgau ajn al tgau, parquaj tga ju
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG hit.PTCP.UNM in DEF.M.SG head because SUBORD 1SG
 1679 mava a spaz cò.
 go.IMPF.1SG to walk.M.SG here

‘This was funny. In any case I hit my head because I was going for a walk here.’

1680 Ju ancuréva bigj’ aun pokémons.
 1SG look_for.IMPF.3SG NEG yet pokémon.M.PL

‘I wasn’t looking for the pokémons yet.’

1681 Ju a tutin’ anflau mju ... craj ... ju ...
 1SG have.PRS.1SG in_spite find.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG believe.PRS.1SG 1SG
 1682 cò ’l hòtel vèva nùm ... Schweizerkreuz ..., ju
 here DEF.M.SG hotel have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG PN 1SG
 1683 a anflau tiptòp.
 have.PRS.1SG find.PTCP.UNM perfectly

‘In spite of this I found my ... I think ... here, the name of the hotel was Schweizerkreuz ..., I found [the hotel] very easily.’

1684 Gè, quaj è ùş vagnú andamajn da mé tg’
 yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG now come.PTCP.UNM in_mind DAT 1SG COMP
 1685 era stau, gè, tg’ è stau vajramajn
 be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM yes COMP be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM real.F.SG.ADV
 1686 léjgar.
 funny.ADJ.UNM

⁷⁸ *quèla dùna* replaces an unintelligible part.

8 *Texts*

‘Yes, this has come to my mind now, that it was, yes, that it had been, that it was really funny.’

In vièdi gjù Sardégna

A trip to Saradinia

1687 Staj gjù ... gjù Sardégna. Cù détsch ju? Gjù Sardégna?⁷⁹
COP.PTCP.M.PL down down PN how say.PRS.1SG 1SG down PN

‘[We] were down in Sardinia. How do I say? Down Sardinia?’

1688 Ah, éba gè, quaj è lu autar c’ i è
eh exactly yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG then other.ADJ.UNM REL EXPL COP.PRS.3SG
1689 spòntán, névétg.
spontaneous.M.UNM right?

‘Eh, exactly, yes, this is another one that is spontaneous, right?’

1690 Nuş èssan şgulaj l’ ampréim’ jèd’ uòn, cun nòssas
1PL be.PRS.1PL fly.PTCP.M.PL DEF.F.SG first time this_year with POSS.1PL.F.PL
1691 duas ... buébas.
two.F girl.PL

‘We flew for the first time this year, with our two ... daughters.’

1692 A lò essan nus ... tgé c’ è stau al ...
and there be.PRS.1PL 1PL what REL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG
1693 al plé spézjál è stau in dé tga
DEF.M.SG more special.ADJ.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG day REL
1694 nuş èssan staj a la mar a fatg bògn
1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at DEF.F.SG sea and make.PTCP.UNM bath.M.SG
1695 api ò antschiat a plùver.
and have.PRS.3SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP rain.INF

‘And then we ... what was the ... the most special [thing] is one day when we were at the seaside and went swimming and it started raining.’

1696 Gè quaj è stau, è stau lässig.⁸⁰
yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM cool

⁷⁹The narrator refers to the fact that we were speaking about locative prepositions and that the right preposition often occurs spontaneously.

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

‘Yes this was, this was cool.’

- 1697 Álsò quaj èra ... i èra fétg tgaut, a
well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ADJ.UNM and
1698 la mar èra balèzja gjù Sardégna. Sablún, savèvaş
DEF.F.SG sea COP.IMPF.3SG beauty down PN sand.M.SG can.IMPF.2SG.GNR
1699 í vidò u-gljunsch.
go.INF over_out ELAT-far

‘Well, it was ... it was very warm and the sea was beautiful in Sardinia. Sand, you could go very far.’

- 1700 A ... mia fèglja pintg’ è plétòst, par
and POSS.1SG.F.SG have.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG.F.SG daughter young
1701 indiśch òns ès èla⁸¹ pintga.
COP.PRS.3SG rather for eleven year.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.F small.F.SG

‘I have .. my youngest daughter is rather, she is short for eleven years.’

- 1702 A lu sè quaj èba stau bi tg’
and then be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM precisely COP.PTCP.UNM beautiful.ADJ.UNM COMP
1703 èla ... èla savèv’ è í vidò gljunsch a paj sènza
3SG.F 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG also go.INF over_out far on foot.M.SG without
1704 tgu stòpi tumaj tg’ èla mòndi a fùns.
COMP.1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG fear.INF COMP 3SG.F go.PRS.SBJV.3SG to ground.M.SG

‘And then this was really great that she ... she could go far on foot without me having to be afraid that she could drown.’

- 1705 A lu èssan nus staj a la mar cun sulégl ad i
and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at DEF.F.SG sea with sun.M.SG and EXPL
1706 ò pluvju.
have.PRS.3SG rain.PTCP.UNM

‘And then we were at the seaside with sun and it rained.’

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

Being young yesterday and today

⁸⁰ *lässig* is Swiss German.

⁸¹ ès èla is a performance error for sè la

8 *Texts*

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m9, aged 31)

Recorded 2017/03/14 in Sedrun

Duration 6'10"

1707 Álsò gè ... ju sùn biabégn ùş è schòn trènta ... trèntíñ
 well yes 1SG be.PRS.1SG around now also already thirty thirty_one
 1708 òns ... ad ju sa, gè, in tèc da la gjuvantétgna
 year.M.PL and 1SG know.PRS.1SG yes INDEF.M.SG bit of DEF.F.SG youth
 1709 sa ju schòn raquintá ... usché scù i mava da nòs
 can.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed tell.INF so as EXPL go.IMPF.3SG of POSS.1PL.M.SG
 1710 tjams a tgé ca va ùsa ... usché in tèc la
 time.PL and what REL go.PRS.3SG now so INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.F.SG
 1711 difarènza.
 difference

'Well yes ... I am now already more or less thirty ... thirty one years old ... and I can, yes, a bit of my youth I can indeed tell [you about] ... the way it was when we were young and the way it is nowadays ... a bit the differences.'

1712 Tgé c' i è usché è sémplamajn, nus fagèvan
 what REL EXPL COP.PRS.3SG so COP.PRS.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV 1PL do.IMPF.1PL
 1713 plétòst ... gè, scù lajn dí ... nuş èran ... sémplamajn
 rather yes how want.PRS.1PL say.INF 1PL COP.IMPF.3PL simple.F.SG.ADV
 1714 camarats a nus mavan ò palas vias.
 mate.M.PL and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out through.DEF.F.PL street.PL

'What is so is simply rather ... yes, how should I say ... we were simply mates and we would go around in the streets.'

1715 Nus mavan palas vias ... fagèvan lò nés⁸²
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL through.DEF.F.PL street.PL do.IMPF.1PL there POSS.1PL.M.PL
 1716 gjucs ... nus fagèvan zatgé, fièvan nuş adin' ál
 game.PL 1PL do.IMPF.1PL something, do.IMPF.1PL 1PL always in.DEF.M.SG
 1717 tjams libar.
 time free

'We would go around in the streets ... there we played our games ... if we did something, we would always do it during our leisure time.'

⁸² Nés is a performance error for nòs.

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

1718 Sch' i èra bigja d' amprèndar, sch' èr' ins
 if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG NEG to learn.INF CORR COP.IMPF.3SG GNR
 1719 palas vias antùrn.
 trough.DEF.F.SG street.PL around

'If we didn't have to study, we would go around in the streets.'

1720 Àlsò vagnú a tgèsà stèv' ins bégja bjè. Lu
 well come.PTCP.UNM to house.F.SG stay.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG much then
 1721 stèv' ins schòn vaj schliat.
 must.IMPF.3SG GNR really have.INF bad.UNM

'Well, [when we] arrived home, we wouldn't stay long. In this case [i.e. if we stayed at home] we wouldn't feel well indeed.'

1722 A savèva lu è èssar tgé aura tg' i èra.
 and can.IMPF.3SG then also COP.INF what weather.F.SG REL EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG

'And it also depended on what kind of weather there was.'

1723 Má tg' al bjè a tgèsà vèv' ins lungurús, a
 since SUBORD DEF.M.SG most at home.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG GNR boring and
 1724 sch' ins vèva lungurús, mav' ins òdaviart a figèva
 if GNR have.IMPF.3SG boring go.IMPF.3SG GNR outside and do.IMPF.3SG
 1725 zatgéj.
something

'Since in most cases it was boring at home, and if one was bored, one would go outside and do something.'

1726 Nus mavan bjè, gè, a fá gjucs, scù tg' ins fagèva
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes SUBORD do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR do.IMPF.3SG
 1727 plé baut ... fòrsa da quaj da pòlici' a ladar ... da quaj.
 more early maybe of DEM.UNM of police.F.SG and thief.M.SG of DEM.UNM

'We would often go and play, as one would do it in the past ... maybe games of police and thief ... things like that.'

1728 Ad ju sa mètar avaun òzaldé ... sa ju bigja métar
 and 1SG can.PRS.1SG put before nowadays can.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG put.INF
 1729 avaun plé tg' i fòn da gljèz, né?
 before more COMP 3PL do.PRS.3PL of DEM.UNM right

8 *Texts*

‘And I can imagine nowadays ... I cannot imagine any more that they play that, right?’

- 1730 Nus mavan par èxèmpal è ... gljèz è hald è
1PL go.IMPF.1PL for example.M.SG also DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG just also
1731 clar ... ùş saj vagnú in tèc plé^e
clear.ADJ.UNM now be.PRS.3SG.EXPL become.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit more
1732 spès, tut cun tgèses
dense.ADJ.UNM all with house.F.PL

‘We would also go, for instance ... this is also clear ... now it has become a bit more dense, all with houses’

- 1733 Nuş vèvan halt ... aun aviart in tèc daplé ...
1PL have.IMPF.1PL just still open.ADJ.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit more
1734 curtín, détsch ju, ùşa ... drètg a saniastar, tg' ins savèv'
garden.M.SG say.PRS.1SG 1SG now right and left COMP GNR can.IMPF.3SG
1735 aun fá lò in tèc balapaj ... drègj a saniastar.
still do.INF there INDEF.M.SG bit football left and right

‘We had in fact ... still a few more open [spaces] ... garden, I say, now ... right and left, so that we still could play a bit of football ... right and left.’

- 1736 A né grad è gl unviarn cunzún mavans bjè a
and right precisely also DEF.M.SG winter especially go.IMPF.1PL.1PL often and
1737 bagagjavan sprung a dèvan cun skis né cun ajssa
build.IMPF.1PL jump.M.PL and give.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL or with board.F.SG
1738 né tg' ins mava cun bòb da vias gjù ... tg'
right COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG with bob.M.SG from street.F.PL down REL
1739 èra naturálmajn è bigj' aun aschí malsagir ùşa ... scù
COP.IMPF.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV also NEG yet so unsafe.ADJ.UNM now as
1740 ùşa fòrsa dal tràfic a vidanò.
now maybe from.DEF.M.SG traffic and back_and_forth

‘And, right?, especially during winter we often went and built ski jumps and would go skiing or snowboarding, or we would go down the streets on bobsleigh ... which was of course not really as unsafe ... as now because of the traffic and so on.’

- 1741 Ad i èra difarènza quét' ju sémplamajn ...
and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG difference.F.SG think.PRS.1SG 1SG simple.F.SG.ADV

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

1742 nus fagèvan plé bjè òdaviart tga quaj tg' i végn
 1PL do.IMPF.1PL more often outside than DEM.UNM REL EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG
 1743 fatg òzaldé, quét' ju.
 do.ptcp.UNM nowadays think.PRS.1SG 1SG

'And there were simply differences I think ... we played more often outside than what is done nowadays, I think.'

1744 Fòrsa è ... clar, nus vèvan schòn è nòs
 maybe also sure.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMP.1PL in_fact also POSS.1PL.M.PL
 1745 còmpjutars né tgé ca nus vèvan als gameboys a
 computer.PL or what REL 1PL have.IMP.1PL DEF.M.PL gameboy.PL and
 1746 vidanò.
 back_and_forth

'Maybe also ... sure, we also had our computers or what did we have? ... the gameboys and so on ... '.

1747 Ábar ... quaj èra schòn bigja schi scù òzaldé ... quaj
 but DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG in_fact NEG so as nowadays DEM.UNM
 1748 èxtrem.
 extreme.ADJ.UNM

'But this was in fact not like nowadays ... so extreme.'

1749 A la sòrtida ... da nòs tjams salagravan nus
 and DEF.F.SG going_out of POSS.1PL.M.SG time REFL.appreciate.IMP.1PL 1PL
 1750 da vagní ò da scùla par è savaj a la
 COMP come.INF out of school.F.SG SUBORD also can.INF to DEF.F.SG
 1751 gjuvantétgna.
 youth

'And as for going out ... when we were young we were happy to come out of school in order to also be able to go to the association of young people.'

1752 Nuş vajn gè schi massa ... álşò nus vajn gè sé cò
 1PL have.PRS.1PL after_all so much well 1PL have.PRS.1PL after_all up here
 in' unjun da gjuvantégna.
 1753 INDEF.M.SG union of youth.F.SG

'We have after all so many ... well, we have up here a Young People's Association, after all.'

8 *Texts*

- 1754 Ad ju craj plé baud vèvani schòn aun ... nus
 and 1SG believe.PRS.1SG more early have.IMPF.3PL.3PL really still 1PL
 1755 vèvan schòn in téc plé gròn tschafan da vagní ajn
 have.IMPF.1PL really INDEF.M.SG bit more big.M.SG pleasure COMP come.INF in
 1756 lò ... èssar anzjaman cun fòrs' in téc plé végls a
 there be.INF together with maybe INDEF.M.SG bit more OLD.M.PL and
 1757 vidanò ...
 back_and_forth

'And I believe that in earlier times they really had ... we were really happier to go there ... be together with maybe people who were a bit older and so on ... '

- 1758 A quaj òzaldé als gjuvans tga vègnan ò da scùla
 and DEM.UNM nowadays DEF.M.PL young.PL REL come.PRS.3PL out of school.F.SG
 1759 sadatan bigja gjù schi fétg cun in téc plé végls.
 REFL.give.PRS.3PL NEG down so often with INDEF.M.SG bit more old.M.PL

'And nowadays the young people who come out of school do not want to have to do so much with those who are a bit older.'

- 1760 Nuş vajn adina gju fatg parada.
 1PL have.PRS.1PL always have.PTCP.UNM make.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG

'We always held a parade.'

- 1761 Ju sùn èba staus ... òh, bunamajn déisch òns capitani
 1SG be.PRS.1SG simply COP.PTCP.M.SG oh almost ten year.M.PL captain
 1762 ... a lu sa ju schòn in téc sc' i
 and then know.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed INDEF.M.SG bit how EXPL
 1763 funczjanava.
 function.IMPFF.3SG

'As a matter of fact, I was ... oh, for almost ten years captain [of the Association of Youth] and therefore I know a bit how it used to function.'

- 1764 Nus santupavan, al bjè vèvan nuş da fà gjù
 1PL REFL.meet.IMPFF.1PL DEF.M.SG often have.IMPFF.1PL 1PL to make.INF down
 1765 usché mias' ur' avaun sél lòcál, nuş vajn in
 so half.F.SG hour before on.DEF.M.SG place 1PL have.PRS.1PL INDEF.M.SG
 1766 lòcál da gjuvantétgna ... nùca tga nus sarimnavan tùts.
 place of youth.F.SG where REL 1PL REFL.meet.IMPFF.1PL all.M.PL

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

'We would meet, in most cases we had to meet half an hour or so before, at the place ... we have a place where the Young People's Association can meet ... where all of us would meet.'

1767 A las buébas né las gjufnas mégljardétg, lèzas
and DEF.F.PL girl.PL or DEF.F.PL young_woman.PL better_said DEM.F.PL
1768 vèvan lu da ... trá ajn ina blus' alva né trá, gè
have.IMPF.3PL then to pull.INF in INDEF.F.SG blouse white or pull.INF yes
1769 alf ... a tgautschas najras scù' ls gjuvans èra ...
white.ADJ.UNM and trousers.F.PL black.PL like DEF.M.PL young_man.PL also
1770 mù tga lèzas vèvan da vagní cun in matg
but SUBORD DEM.F.PL have.IMPF.3PL to come.INF with INDEF.M.SG buch
1771 flurs, a nuš vèvan lu tgi vèva la guís ... né ...
flower.F.PL and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL then who have.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG rifle or
1772 las bandiaras, la fana bial' a quaj, a lu
DEF.F.PL flag.PL DEF.F.SG flag beautiful and DEM.UNM and then
1773 vèvan nus mintg' jè in capitani ad in fice.
have.IMPF.1PL 1PL every.F.SG time INDEF.M.SG captain and INDEF.M.SG vice

'And the girls or, to be more precise, the young women had to ... wear a white blouse or wear, yes, white ... and black trousers like the young men too ... but the young women had to participate with a bunch of flowers, but some of us had to come with a rifle or with flags, the "beautiful flag" and so, and each time we had a captain and a vice-captain.'

1774 L' antschata c' ju sùn vagnús ò da scùla ...
DEF.F.SG beginning when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG out of school.F.SG
1775 usché avaun quindisch òns ... lò ... anflávani aun plétòst da
so before fifteen year.M.PL there find.IMPF.3PL.3PL still rather of
1776 quèls tga fagèvan, ábar ùş anflá capitaniş è bigja schi
DEM.M.PL REL do.IMPF.3PL but now find.INF captain.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG NEG so
1777 sémpal.
simple.ADJ.UNM

'At the beginning when I had finished school ... about fifteen years ago ... there ... they would still find people who would do [the job of captain], but nowadays to find captains is not so easy.'

1778 [PhM] E daco manegias?
and why think.PRS.2SG

8 *Texts*

‘And why do you think so?’

- 1779 [m9] Ah ju sa bégja ... dacù sa ju bégja ... sch’ i
 eh 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG if 3PL
 1780 òn in téc ... al turpètg fòrsa ... sògar, schizún⁸³ ...
 have.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.MSG bit DEF.M.MSG shame maybe even even
 1781 ábar, i è ... i è gréjv dí ... i
 but EXPL COP.PRS.3SG EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM say.INF EXPL
 1782 a usché cèrd òn ... cèrds òns né anadas
 EXIST.PRS.3SG SO certain.M.MSG year certain.M.PL year.PL or age_group.F.PL
 1783 tga şèn uschéa, lu şaj duas, trajş anadas
 REL COP.PRS.3PL SO then exist.PRS.3SG.EXPL two.F.PL three age_group.F.PL
 1784 tga şèn puspè in téc autar.
 REL COP.PRS.3PL again INDEF.M.MSG bit other.ADJ.UNM

‘Eh, I don’t know ... why I don’t know ... whether they are a bit ... ashamed, maybe, even, ... but it is ... it is difficult to say ... there is a certain year ... there are certain age groups which are like that, and then there are two or three age groups that are again a bit different.’

- 1785 Ad ju a al santimajn, las anadas tga
 and 1SG have.PRS.1SG DEF.M.MSG feeling DEF.F.PL age_group.PL REL
 1786 végnan ùşa, astg’ ins dí cun buna cuns-cianza,
 come.PRS.3PL now allow.PRS.3SG GNR say.INF with good.F.MSG conscience
 1787 végnan puspè plé tgunşch ála gjuvantétgna, i ...
 come.PRS.3PL again more easy.ADJ.UNM to.DEF.F.MSG youth 3PL
 1788 sadrézan plétôst anviars nus.
 REFL.address.PRS.3PL rather towards 1PL

‘And I have the feeling, the age groups that are coming now, one can say it with a clear conscience, they come more easily to the Young People’s Association, they ... rather address us.’

- 1789 Üş şai puspè in téc usché ... al còc scù ...
 now COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL again INDEF.M.MSG bit so DEF.M.MSG core like
 1790 avaun quindişç òns, quéť ju ... i è stau
 before fifteen year.PL think.PRS.1SG 1SG EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
 1791 ditg lò djantarajn, è stau anadas, gè tg’
 long_time there in_between be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM age_group.F.PL yes REL

⁸³ *Sogar* is German, and *Schizún* is Romansh.

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

1792 ins savèva bétga pròpi ... nù métar quèls, gè èxáct.
 GNR know.IMPF.3SG NEG exactly where put.INF DEM.M.PL yes exact.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Now it is again a bit like this ... the core as ... fifteen years ago, I think ... it has been a long time in between, there have been age groups, yes, of which one didn’t know exactly ... where to put them, yes, exactly.’

1793 Ábar la difarènza, núc’ ju vèz’ ina grònnda
 but DEF.F.SG difference where.REL 1SG see.PRS.1SG INDEF.F.SG big
 1794 difarènza è scù scòlast da skis dùn ju gè schòn ... òtg
 difference also as teacher.M.SG of ski.PL give.PRS.1SG 1SG yes already eight
 1795 òns ... vèz’ ju bjè tgé ca vò sén pista, grat ...
 year.PL see.PRS.1SG 1SG much what REL go.PRS.3SG on slope.M.SG just
 1796 dals indigèns anò ... i vòn bétga plé schi bjè scù quaj
 of.DEF.M.PL local.PL out 3PL go.PRS.3PL NEG more so much as DEM.UNM
 1797 tg’ i mavan in’ jèda.
 REL 3PL go.IMPF.3PL INDEF.F.SG time

‘But the difference, where I also see a big difference, as a ski teacher I have already been teaching for eight years ... I see a lot of what is going on on the ski slopes, especially ... regarding the local people ... they don’t go as often as they used to go some time ago.’

1798 Grad la gjuvantétgna ... pauca gjuvantétgna ... tgé c’ ins
 especially DEF.F.SG youth little.F.SG youth what REL GNR
 1799 vèza bjè è als plé passaj, als pènzionaj
 see.PRS.3SG much COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL more old.M.PL DEF.M.SG retired.PL
 1800 vèz’ ins bjè sén pista ... a tschaj è quèls scù
 see.PRS.3SG GNR much on slope.F.SG and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.PL as
 1801 adina halt ... quèlas famigljas scù adina.
 always simply DEM.F.PL family.PL as always

‘Especially the youth ... little youth ... what one often sees are older people, one can see a lot of retired people on the slopes ... and the others are those one always sees ... these families, as always.’

1802 Ábar lò sai schòn ju anavùs in téc, è
 but there be.PRS.3SG.EXPL really go.PTCP.UNM back INDEF.M.SG bit also
 1803 cùls indigèns. Üş ani plétòst antschat ajn ad
 with.DEF.M.PL local.PL how have.PRS.3PL.3PL rather begin.PTCP.UNM in COMP
 1804 í cuérsa ljunga.
 go.INF course.F.SG long

8 *Texts*

‘But it has really diminished a bit, also with the local people. Now they have rather begun with cross-country skiing.’

- 1805 Quaj tg' i sòn fá datiar ... tg' i sòn fòrsa
DEM.UNM REL 3PL can.PRS.3PL do.INF alongside REL 3PL can.PRS.3PL maybe
1806 fá in' ura api òn i fatg al spòrt
do.INF one.F.SG hour and have.PRS.3PL 3PL do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG sport
1807 dal dé ad òn tutin' aun zatgé dal dé
of.DEF.M.SG day and have.PRS.3PL nevertheless still something of.DEF.M.SG day
1808 ... uschéa, quèla dirèczjun ... éxact.
so DEM.F.SG direction exact.ADJ.UNM

‘That they can do alongside ... that they can do maybe for one hour and then they have done their sport for the day and nevertheless still have something of the day ... so, something like this ... exactly.’

- 1809 Ábar quaj è clar ... òzaldé végni
but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM nowadays PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL
1810 zacù è ... purşchju daplé.
somehow also ... offer.PTCP.UNM more

‘But this is clear ... there are somehow also much more possibilities nowadays.’

- 1811 Álsò i òn bunamajn damèmjá, détsch ju ùṣa
well 3PL have.PRS.3PL almost too_much say.PRS.1SG 1SG now
1812 frèch.⁸⁴
naughty.ADJ.UNM

‘Well they have almost too much, I would now say naughtily.’

- 1813 [PhM] Pils gjuvens da tia vegliadetgna, tgei purschida
for.DEF.M.PL young.PL of POSS.2SG.F.SG age what offer.F.SG
1814 dati si cheu?
EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL up here

‘For the young people of your generation, what job opportunities are there here?’

- 1815 [m9] Ah, quaj dapjanda tgé ca nus prandín šùt purşchidas
eh DEM.UNM depend.PRS.3SG what REL 1PL take.PRS.1PL under offer.F.PL
1816 ... purşchidas da luvrá détsch ju ùṣa par èxèmpal ... sél
offer.F.PL of work.INF say.PRS.1SG 1SG now for example.M.MSG on.DEF.M.MSG

⁸⁴ Frèch is Swiss German.

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

1817 baghètg plétòst ... a schjùc dati lu plé ... paucas
 construction rather and otherwise EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL then more little.F.PL
 1818 ... purṣchidas, má tga ... gè, ins vèza, la gjuvantétna
 offer.PL because SUBORD yes GNR see.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG youth
 1819 scapa plétòst anòragjù ... má tg' i ... purṣchju
 escape.PRS.3SG rather out_down because SUBORD EXPL offer.PTCP.UNM
 1820 gjù lò ... la purṣchid' è plé grònda.
 down there DEF.F.SG offer COP.PRS.3SG more big.F.SG

‘Eh, this depends on what we mean to say with offers ... job offers, I say now for example ... rather on a building site ... and otherwise there are much fewer ... offers, because ... yes, one can see that young people escape rather to outside the Grisons ... because there ... offered down there ... the offering is larger.’

1821 [PhM] A pr í ajn sòrtida?
 and SUBORD go.INF in going_out

‘And in order to go out?’

1822 [m9] La sòrtida è sagir è id' anavùs ...
 DEF.F.SG going_out COP.PRS.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM also go.PTCP.UNM back
 1823 álṣò gljèz astg' ins dí bégn.
 well DEM.UNM be_allowed.PRS.3SG GNR say.INF well

‘The possibilities for going out have certainly diminished ... well this you may well say.’

1824 Gè, sch' ju mir' anavùs ... quaj è fòrsa sjad, ògj
 yes if 1SG look.PRS.1SG back DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG maybe seven eight
 1825 òns ... schòn mù gljèz ... savèv' ins í patschíficamajn.
 year.M.PL really only DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG GNR go.INF peaceful.F.SG.ADV

‘Yes, if I look back ... that was maybe seven, eight years [ago] ... only that ... one could go peacefully.’

1826 Ju détsch ùṣa gl униарн cu bjèrs vèvan hald
 1SG say.PRS.1SG now DEF.M.SG winter when many.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL simply
 1827 vacanzas scha ... lò ampurtavi lu bétga scha té
 holiday.F.PL CORR there be_important.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then NEG if 2SG.GNR
 1828 mavaš durònt l' jamna né la ... sònda-duméngj' ajn
 go.IMPF.2SG.GNR during DEF.F.SG week or DEF.F.SG Saturday-Sunday in
 1829 sòrtida.
 going_out.F.SG

8 *Texts*

'I say now that during winter when many people used to go on holidays ... it wasn't important if one would go out during the week or during the week-end.'

- 1830 Cò èr' adina ... fulanau ... ad i èr'
here COP.IMPF.3SG always crowded.ADJ.UNM and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3sg
1831 adina è ... gè daplé lòcalitats, détsch ju ùṣa.
always also yes more place.F.PL SAY.PRS.1SG 1SG now

'Here it was always ... crowded ... and there were always also ... yes, more places, I say now.'

- 1832 Álsò nus vèvan ... gljèz èr' è adin' in tég
well 1PL have.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also always INDEF.M.SG bit
1833 autar tga quaj tga nus fajajn òz in téc.
other than DEM.UNM REL 1PL do.PRS.1PL today INDEF.M.SG bit

'Well, we had ... that was always a bit different from what we do today, a bit.'

- 1834 Álsò cu ju sùn vagnús ò da scùla ... nuṣ
well when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG out of school.F.SG we
1835 vèvan schòn è nátèls a da quaj ábar nus ... nuṣ
have.IMPF.1PL in_fact also smartphone.M.PL and of DEM.UNM but 1PL 1PL
1836 duvravan bétga schi ... èxtrèm quaj scù i
use.IMPF.1PL NEG SO extreme.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM as EXPL
1837 végn duvrau.
PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG use.PTCP.UNM

'Well, when I finished school ... we also had smartphones and such things, but we ... we didn't use them in such an extreme way as they are used [nowadays].'

- 1838 Pr nuṣ vèvi adina nùm, nus santupajn ... las
for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG 1SG REFL.meet.PRS.1PL DEF.F.PL
1839 òtg séla majṣa radùnda ... aschí vèndardís né sònda ... tgi
eight on.DEF.F.SG table round so Friday.M.SG or Saturday.F.SG who
1840 c' è lò è lò.
REL COP.PRS.3SG there COP.PRS.3SG there

'For us it always meant that we meet ... at eight o'clock at the round table ... be it Friday or Saturday ... whoever was there.'

- 1841 A lu al bjè stèv' ins lò ina, duaṣ uras ... da
and then DEF.M.SG much stay.IMPF.3SG GNR there one.F.SG two.F.PL hour.PL of
1842 cumpignia api sjantar mav' ins lu ... ségi quaj
company.F.SG and after go.IMPF.3SG GNR then COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEM.UNM

8.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

1843 ajn quèla bar né ajn tschèla ... nùca tg' i vèva lu tga
 in DEM.F.SG bar or in DEM.F.SG where REL EXPL have.IMPF.3SG then COMP
 1844 trèva ... dad ira.
 pull.IMPF.3SG to go.INF

'And then we would mostly stay one or two hours together and then we would go into this bar or into that one ... wherever it drew us to go.'

1845 Ábar anzatgí èra lu adina lò da las òtg ... sch' ins
 but somebody COP.IMPF.3SG then always there of DEF.F.PL eight if GNR
 1846 vèva lu fatg gjù né bétg ... par nuş
 have.IMPF.3SG then make.PTCP.UNM down or NEG for 1PL
 1847 vèvi adina nùm las òtg lò.
 have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG DEF.F.PL eight there

'But somebody was always there at eight o'clock ... whether we had made an appointment or not ... for us it always meant at eight there.'

1848 Ábar ùs sè quaj è samidau ... alsò
 but now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM also REFL.change.PTCP.UNM well
 1849 végni è scrèt drègj a saniastar.
 PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL also write.PTCP.UNM right and left

'But now this has changed ... well, this is what one can read (literally 'what is written') everywhere.'

1850 [PhM] Aber mavas vus è gju Glion ni gju Cuera en sòrtida?
 but go.IMPF.2PL 2PL also down PN or down PN in going_out.F.SG

[PhM] 'But did you also go to Glion or Cuera in order to go out?'

1851 [m9] Nus mavan schòn èra ... ábar bégja stédjamajn ... gè, gjù
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL indeed also but NEG constant.F.SG.ADV yes down
 1852 Cuéra né usché mavan nuş aun plétost, má tga nuş
 PN or so go.IMPF.1PL 1PL in addition rather, because SUBORD 1PL
 1853 vèvan lu è ... al bjè mavan nus sémplamajn
 have.IMPF.1PL there also DEF.M.SG much go.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV
 1854 lò nùca nuş vèvan còlegs tg' ins savèva stá sur
 there where.REL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL mate.M.PL REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG stay over
 nòtg.
 night.F.SG

8 Texts

[m9] ‘We would indeed go ... but not regularly ... yes, down to Cuera or otherwise we would rather go ... because we have also ... we would mostly go simply where we had friends where we could stay over night.’

1856 Álsò ins mava par èxèmpal è magari gjù Lucèrn, prquaj
well GNR go.IMPF.3SG for example.M.SG also sometimes down PN because
1857 tga nuš vèvan gjù Lucèrn còlegs tga stèvan gjù
COMP 1PL have.IMPF.1PL down PN colleague.M.PL REL stay.IMPF.3PL down
1858 lò.
there

‘Well, we would also go for instance to Lucerne because in Lucerne we had friends who lived down there.’

1859 Èra quaj pr nus da quaj tjams schòn aun
COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM for 1PL of DEM.M.SG time indeed in_addition
1860 highlights ... né ... tga marschav' in téc daplé, autra
highlight.PL right COMP go_on.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG bit more other.F.SG
1861 gljut ... lu mav' ins bugèn ... né gjù Cuéra, gè ...
people then go.IMPF.3SG GNR with_pleasure or down PN yes
1862 èxact ... a schjuc al bjè schòn sé cò antùrn.
exact.ADJ.UNM and otherwise DEF.M.SG much really up here around

‘For us these were indeed highlights at that time ... right? ... because there were more things going on, other people ... then it was a pleasure for us to go there ... or down to Cuera, yes ... exactly ... and otherwise mostly around here.’

8.16 Lavor d’ufauns

Child labour

(Tuatschin, Ruèras, f4 and m3, aged 69 and 73)

Recorded 2016/08/24 in Rueras

Duration 11'50"

1863 [f4] Oh ju sa èba dí, cu nus mavan a scùla, cù
oh 1SG can.PRS.1SG just say.INF when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL to school.F.SG how
1864 quaj èr' atgnamajn al sistém né cu nuš èran
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.M.SG system or when 1PL COP.IMPF.3SG
1865 ... gè, tg' ins ... cu nus mavan a scùla, ùssa sèn aj
yes, SUBORD GNR when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL to school.F.SG now COP.PRS.3PL 3PL

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

1866 a tgèsa ... stùn gè bétg' í ajn plaza scù nus
 at house.F.SG must.PRS.3PL in_fact NEG go.INF in job.F.SG how 1PL
 1867 mavan ... a nuš vevan scùla tòca gl avrèl.
 go.IMPF.1PL and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL school.F.SG until DEF.M.SG April

[f4] ‘Oh I could tell [you] about the time when we used to go to school, how the system was actually or when we were ... yes, when we ... when we used to go to school, nowadays they stay at home [during holidays] ... they don’t have to go to work as we used to go ... and we had school until April.’

1868 Ju vèv’ als véntgatschún d’ avrèl nataléci a pauc
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG DEF.M.PL twenty-five of April.M.SG birthday.M.SG and little
 1869 sjanter èri dad ira.
 after be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to go.INF

‘I had my birthday on April 25 and a short time later I had to go [and start working].’

1870 Schala scùla calava la sònда, scha gljèndisídís
 if DEF.F.SG school end.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG Saturday CORR Monday
 1871 stèv’ inş í ajn plaza.
 must.IMPF.3SG GNR go.INF in job.F.SG

‘If school ended on Saturday, on Monday one had to start working.’

1872 A lu tòca gl òctòbar ... gè, in’ jè ... in pèr
 and then until DEF.M.SG October yes one.F.SG time INDEF.M.SG pair
 1873 diş avaun ca tga la scùl’ antschajva vèv’
 day.M.PL before SUBORD SUBORD DEF.F.SG school begin.PRS.3SG have.IMPF.3SG
 1874 ins finju.
 GNR finish.PTCP.UNM

‘And then until October ... yes, once ... some days before school started we could stop working.’

1875 Ábar quaj èra fétg strèng. Quaj stèv’
 but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very strenuous.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG
 1876 inş ira a ... ju sùn stada navèn da l’ ampréma
 GNR go.INF and 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG from of DEF.F.SG first
 1877 classa ... ajn plaza adina, tiar purs. Gè, quaj èra fétg
 class in job.F.SG always at farmer.M.PL yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very
 1878 hèfti.
 hard.ADJ.UNM

8 *Texts*

'But this was very strenuous. Because one had to go and ... I always worked, since the first grade (of primary school), with farmers. Yes, that was very hard.'

- 1879 [PhM] E nu' eis ti stada?
and where be.PRS.2SG 2SG COP.PTCP.F.SG

[PhM] 'And where have you been?'

- 1880 [f4] Adina cò. Ju sùn stada sulèt in òn tgu
always here 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG only one.M.SG year REL.1SG
1881 vèva fatg tégn ju - la davùsa classa sùnd
have.IMPF.1SG do.PTCP.UNM hold.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG last grade be.PRS.1SG
1882 ju stada aun gjù Gljòn a tialas sòras ajn plaza.
1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG in_addition down PN and by.DEF.F.PL nun.PL in job

[f4] 'Always here. I was only one year when I did, I think - during the last grade I was down in Glion and worked for the nuns.'

- 1883 Ábar tschaj sùnd ju adina stada cò tiar purs. A
but DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG always COP.PTCP.F.SG here by farmer.M.PL and
1884 lu mavaş a
then go.IMPF.2SG.GNR and

'But otherwise I have always been here working for farmers. But then you would go and ... :'

- 1885 [PhM] Aber quei ei fetg grev.
but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG very heavy.ADJ.UNM

[PhM] 'But this is very heavy.'

- 1886 [f4] Gè quaj èra ... nuş şchajn magari djantar ju a
yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG 1PL say.PRS.1PL sometimes between 1SG and
1887 gl ùm cu i mùssan cù quèls tg' òn
DEF.M.SG man when 3PL show.PRS.3PL how DEM.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL
1888 stuvju luvrâ da l' ujara, quèls ufauns ... clar
must.PTCP.UNM work.INF of DEF.F.SG war DEM.M.PL child.PL clear.ADJ.UNM
1889 nuş èssan fòrsa bétga vagnús, ábar stju luvrâ¹
1PL be.PRS.1PL maybe NEG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL but must.PTCP.UNM work.INF
1890 còrpòrmajn vajn nus schi fétg scù quèls.
physical.ADJ.M.ADV have.PRS.1PL 1PL so much as DEM.M.PL

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

[f4] ‘Yes that was ... we sometimes say, me and my husband, when they show how they had to work during war, those children ... sure, maybe we were not, but physically we had to work as hard as those [children].’

1891 Quaj mervas té a fumatgès a la pr̄mavèra
DEM.UNM go.IMPF.2SG.GNR 2SG.GNR to maid.F.SG and DEF.F.SG Lent
1892 èri da gidá cun grascha ... bétar ò a gidá
be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to help.INF with fertiliser.F.SG throw.INF out and help.INF
1893 a pitgè quèla grascha, sa bigja scha té ancanùschas
to beat.INF DEM.F.SG fertiliser know.PRS.1SG NEG whether 2SG know.PRS.2SG
1894 quaj, api èri dad í métar trúfals ... api
DEM.UNM and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF put.INF potato.M.PL and

‘Therefore you would go as a maid and during Spring one had to help with dung ... spread out and help beating this dung, I don’t know whether you know that, and then one had to sow potatoes ... and ...’

1895 A las fèmnas stèv’ inş aun gidá a tgès a
and DEF.F.PL woman.PL must.IMPF.3SG GNR moreover help.INF at home.F.SG and
1896 cu ‘ls ùmans mavan lu a ... mavan aj lu a
when DEF.M.PL man.PL go.IMPF.3PL then and go.IMPF.3PL 3PL then to
1897 majsès, scha quaj è da té ancanuschènt.
assembly_of_houses.M.SG if DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DAT 2SG known.ADJ.UNM

‘And the women, one had to help them at home and when the men would go and ... would go up to the *majsès*, if you know this.’

1898 Api schèvan aj ... lu vèva las fèmnas da lavá ò
and let.IMPF.3PL 3PL then have.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL woman.PL to wash.INF out
1899 la tgès ... èri da lavá ò la tgès’ a
DEF.F.SG house be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to wash.INF out DEF.F.SG house and
1900 gidá a ... api èri dad í zarclá trúfals api
help.INF and and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to go.INF weed.INF potato.M.PL and
1901 èri dad í a zarclá al graun.
be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to go.INF SUBORD weed.INF DEF.M.SG cereal

‘And they let ... then the women had to clean the house ... clean the house and help to ... and then one had to weed the potato fields and then one had to go and weed the cereal fields.’

8 *Texts*

1902 Gè, quaj èr' atgnamajn adina da fá, ju sùn è
 yes DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG actually always to do.INF 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
 1903 stada tiar purs nuc' ju stuèva ... cù
 COP.PTCP.F.SG at farmer.M.PL where.REL 1SG must.IMPF.1SG how
 1904 dins ... fá flucs.
 say.PRS.3SG.GNR make.INF chopped_straw.M.PL

‘Yes, that we had to do always, I also worked for farmers where I had to ... how do you say? ... chop straw.’

1905 Quaj èr' al fajn tg' èra rastaus
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG straw REL be.IMPF.3SG remain.PTCP.M.SG
 1906 anavùş ajn iral, scha fagèvani quaj cun
 back in threshing_floor.M.SG then do.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM with
 1907 in ghítar flucs api vignéva quaj
 INDEF.M.SG grid chopped_straw.M.PL and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
 1908 méz ajn ajn sacs a duvrau gl unviarn pr
 put.PTCP.UNM in in sack.M.PL and use.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG winter SUBORD
 1909 dá dals pòrs.
 give DAT.DEF.M.PL pig.PL

‘That was the straw that remained on the threshing floor, then they would chop it with a grid and then this was put into sacks and used during winter to feed the pigs.’

1910 A sjantar mavan aj ad alp als tiars api vagnévi
 and after go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to alp.M.SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL and come.IMPF.3SG
 1911 ... vagnév' als ... als ... purs lu anavùş api
 come.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL then back and
 1912 èri da fá fajn.
 be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to do.INF hay.M.SG

‘And after this they would go to the summer pastures, the animals, and then the farmers ... would ... would come back and then one had to do hay.’

1913 A lu vagnéva quaj fatg fajn tùt a maun
 and then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM do.PTCP.UNM hay.M.SG all by hand.M.SG
 1914 né ... lu èra quaj bétga masch[inas] ...
 right? then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM NEG machine.F.PL
 1915 èri tùt siau a maun.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL all mow.PTCP.UNM by hand.M.PL

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

'And then hay was all made by hand, right, ... at that time there were no machines
... everything was mown by hand.'

- 1916 I èra da quèls tga vèvan ... Ju sùn ùssa
EXPL exist.IMPF.3SG OF DEM.M.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL 1SG be.PRS.1SG now
1917 stada tiar dus purs tga vèvan mù vacas a ...
COP.PTCP.F.SG by two.M.PL farmer.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL only cow.F.PL and
1918 a lu quaj vagnéva tut tratg cun bùvs, al
and then DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG all pull.PTCP.UNM with OX.M.PL DEF.M.MSG
1919 fajn.
hay

'There were some that had Well, I stayed with two farmers who only had cows and ... and then the whole hay was pulled by oxen.'

- 1920 A quaj èra hèfti. Api tiar in pur
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG strenuous.ADJ.UNM and by INDEF.M.MSG farmer
1921 sünd ju stada tgu stuèva ... ah ... quaj
be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.UNM REL.1SG must.IMPF.1SG eh DEM.UNM
1922 èra mù ûm a dùna, quèls vèvan bigja
COP.IMPF.3SG only man.M.MSG and woman.F.MSG DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL NEG
1923 gju famiglja a lu stuèv' ju la sèra adin'
have.PTCP.UNM family.F.MSG and then must.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.F.MSG evening always
1924 ir' a fá tschajna ... a fá ... manèstra,
go.INF SUBORD make.INF dinner.F.MSG SUBORD make.INF pottage.F.MSG
1925 manèstra, manèstra, manèstra.
pottage.F.MSG pottage.F.MSG pottage.F.MSG

'And this was strenuous. And I stayed with a farmer where I had to ... eh ... they were only man and woman, they didn't have children and then in the evening I always had to go and prepare dinner ... and prepare pottage, pottage, pottage.'

- 1926 Lò vèv' ju ... lu mav' ju la ... fòrza la
there have.IMPF.1SG 1SG then go.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.F.MSG maybe DEF.F.MSG
1927 quarta ... tiar quèls dus vau bitga gju- lò
fourth by DEM.M.PL two.PL have.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG have.ptcp.unm there
1928 vau btga durmu, vau savju ira a
have.1SG.1SG NEG sleep.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.1SG.1SG can.PTCP.UNM go.INF to
1929 tgèsa.
home.F.MSG

8 *Texts*

'There I had ... then I attended the ... maybe the fourth [form] ... at these two people's place I dind't - there I didn't sleep, I could go home.'

- 1930 Mav' ju a tgèsa ábar quaj èra ... èr' ins
go.IMPF.1SG 1SG to home.F.SG but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG GNR
- 1931 trésts ajn in cèrt sèn api stgav' ins lu bigja
sad.M.SG in INDEF.M.SG certain sense and be_allowed.IMPF.3SG GNR then NEG
- 1932 grad dí a tgèsa ... í a tgès' a dí tgé ... còn
just say.INF at home.F.SG go.INF to home.F.SG and say.INF what how
- 1933 hèfti inş vaj gju, gè ... schjùc
strenuous.ADJ.UNM GNR have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM yes otherwise
- 1934 savilavan aj a quaj è ùssa mju ùm.
REFL.get_angry.IMPF.3PL 3PL and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG now POSS.1SG.M.SG man

'I would go home, but this was ... one felt sad in a certain sense and then you couln't just say at home ... go home and tell ... how hard one had to work, yes ... otherwise they would get angry, and this is now my husband.'

- 1935 [m3] A vuş vajs anflau ò ampau nùfs plajds?
and 2PL have.PRS.2PL find.PTCP.UNM out a_little new.M.PL word.PL
- [m3] 'And did you find out some new words?'
- 1936 [f4] Na, nuş vajn ... ju èra grat cò a raquintava cù
no 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG just here and tell.IMPF.1SG how
- 1937 nus ... inş èra fumègl ... fumitgèsas.
1PL GNR COP.IMPF.3SG farmhand.M.SG maid.F.SG
- [f4] 'No, we have ... I was just here and told how we ... we were a farmhand ... maids.'
- 1938 [m3] È stau intrassant, tutina?
be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM nevertheless
- [m3] 'Has it nevertheless been interesting?'
- 1939 [f4] Gè gè, nuş vajn gju intrassant. Na, lu
yes yes 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM no then
- 1940 èra quaj èba da ... da ... da fá a gidá a raschlá a
COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in_fact to to to do.INF and help and rake.INF and
- 1941 gè ... quaj èr' adina ... nuş vajn gju
yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG always 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM
- 1942 angrazjajvals, névétg PN.
grateful.M.PL right PN

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

[f4] ‘Yes, yes it was interesting. No, in fact one had to do and help and rake and yes ... this was always ... we had grateful [farmers], right PN?’

1943 [m3] Ô gè ajn gènèral schòn. Ajn gènèral èrani angrazjajvels,
oh yes in general indeed in general COP.IMPF.3PL.3PL grateful.M.PL

1944 ábar
but

[m3] ‘Oh yes, in general indeed. They were generally grateful, but ...’

1945 [f4] I schèvan luvrá fétg.
3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much

[f4] ‘They had [us] work a lot.’

1946 [m3] Fá da mèmi, magari vèvi nùm ... ju
do.INF of too_much sometimes have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL name 1SG
1947 saragòrd’ aun in’ jèd’ ábar lura èr’ ju
REFL.remember.PRS.1SG still one.F.SG time but then be.IMPF.1SG 1SG
1948 staus mù a gidá tiar PN ad èra stau
COP.PTCP.M.SG only SUBORD help.INF by PN and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
1949 in dé da maz.
INDEF.M.SG day of killing.M.SG

[m3] ‘Do too much, sometimes it meant ... I still remember once, but then I only had gone helping PN and it had been a terrible day.’

1950 Ina calira pi vèvani dau marjanda, scù nuş
INDEF.F.SG heath and _then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL give.PTCP.UNM snack.F.SG as 1PL
1951 şchajn, api èri vagnú andamajn tg’ ins
say.PRS.1PL and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM in_mind COMP GNR
1952 stuèva fá zitgé sén Şcharinas.
must.IMPF.3SG do.INF something on PN

‘A terrible heath and they gave us a snack, as we say, and then they remembered that there was something to do up in Scharinas.’

1953 Sas tgé quaj vut dí? Quaj è
know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
1954 ljung, quaj è sé Miléz, Şcharinas.
long.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG up PN PN

‘Do you know what this means? This is a long way, this is up at Milez, Scharinas.’

8 *Texts*

- 1955 [f4] Sé Miléz, dadajns Miléz ...
up PN in PN
- [f4] ‘Up at Milez, to the west of Milez ...’
- 1956 [m3] Quaj è in’ ur’ a mjasa par vièdi.
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG hour and half.F.SG for trip.M.SG
- [m3] ‘It takes one and a half hours per trip.’
- 1957 [f4] vas schòn a paj.
go.PRS.2SG.GNR indeed on foot.M.SG
- [f4] ‘[that’s what it takes you to] go on foot.’
- 1958 [m3] Api in schèva: «Ah quaj saş bétga fá fá
and one.M.SG say.IMPF.3SG eh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG NEG do.INF do.INF
- 1959 al buéb.», api schèva tschél: «Bèn, quaj pù
DEF.M.SG boy and say.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG yes DEM.UNM be_able.PRS.3SG
- 1960 ‘I buép schòn aun.»
DEF.M.SG boy indeed still
- [m3] ‘And then one would say: «Eh, you cannot have the boy do this.» and then
the other would say: «Yes, of course, the boy is indeed able to do it.»’
- 1961 Ála finfinala vèv’ ju stù fa in,
in.DEF.F.SG end have.IMPF.1SG 1SG must.PTCP.UNM do.INF INDEF.M.SG
- 1962 ina ... ina cumisjun a purtá ina dèpèscha.
INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG mission and bring.INF DEF.F.SG dispatch
- ‘In the end I had got a, a ... a mission and had to deliver a message.’
- 1963 Quaj amblid’ ju bétg. Ju èr’ in gjuvanòtar,
DEM.UNM forget.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG youngster
- 1964 sùn maj staus fumègl ábar ins mav’ a
be.PRS.1SG never COP.PTCP.M.SG farmhand.M.SG but GNR go.IMPF.3SG SUBORD
- 1965 gidá òra, prquaj tga cu mju bap ... duvrava
help.INF out because SUBORD when POSS.1SG.M.SG father need.IMPF.3SG
- 1966 buéts, èran quaj ... èran quèls buéts, quèla
boy.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL boy.PL DEM.F.SG
- 1967 famiglja ... a quèls òn adina gidau al bap
family and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL always help.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG father

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

1968 sch' i dumandavan a lu schèv' al bap: «Sch' als PN
 if 3PL ask.IMPF.3PL and then say.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG father if DEF.M.PL PN
 1969 damòndan ... in ò dad ira.»
 ask.PRS.3PL one.M.SG have.PRS.3SG to go.INF

'This I'll never forget. I was a youngster, I never was a farmhand but we would go and help out, because when my father ... needed some boys, these were ... these were those boys, that family ... and these always helped my father if they asked them, and then my father used to say: «If the PN ask ... one has to go.»'

1970 Basta. In' jèda vagnév' in, in' jèda tschèl ...
 enough INDEF.F.SG time come.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG INDEF.F.SG time DEM.M.SG
 1971 ábar schagliuc bèn, èran aj ...
 but otherwise yes COP.IMPF.3PL 3PL

'OK. Once one would come, and once another ... but otherwise yes, they were ... :'

1972 [f4] I èra difarènt ... i èra da quèls
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG different.ADJ.UNM EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL
 1973 tg' èran angrazjajvels, èra da quèls tg' ins savèva maj
 REL COP.IMPF.3PL grateful.M.PL also of DEM.M.PL REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG never
 1974 fá avùnda.
 do.INF enough

'It was different ... there were some who were grateful, also some for whom you never could do enough.'

1975 Gljèdṣ va ju è gju, quaj èr' uschéja
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG also have.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG so
 1976 ... ábar ins èra, gè, bjè jèdas trésts a tartgava,
 but GNR COP.IMPF.3SG yes many time.F.PL sad.M.SG and think.IMPF.3SG
 1977 ò djantarajn ... ábar a tgèsa stgav' ins bétg'
 have.PRS.3SG in_between but at home.F.SG be_allowed.IMPf.3SG GNR NEG
 1978 ira a dí, prquaj tg' i schèvan: «Ò quaj pùs
 go.INF and say.INF because SUBORD 3PL say.IMPf.3PL oh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG
 té schòn, ùṣa quaj è nuéta schi nausch.»
 1979 2SG indeed now DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG so bad.ADJ.UNM

'This I also had, this was so ... but we were ... yes, many times sad and thought, have in between ... but at home we were not allowed to go and tell [how it was],

8 Texts

because they would say: «Oh, you are certainly able to do that, now this is not so bad».'

- 1980 [m3] «Té vèvas al disavantatg tga té èras
2SG have.IMPF.2SG DEF.M.SG disadvantage REL 2SG COP.IMPF.2SG
- 1981 ina grònda.»
INDEF.F.SG tall.ADJ.F
- [m3] «You had the disadvantage to be tall.»'
- 1982 [f4] Ad ju èra ina grònda a quaj è maj
and 1SG COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG tall.ADJ.F and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG never
- 1983 stau flòt. Ju a détg bjè jèdas dad
COP.PTCP.UNM nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.1SG say.PTCP.UNM many time.F.PL DAT
- 1984 èl, sas cò pratandévani bjè daplé.
3SG.M know.PRS.2SG here demand.IMPF.3PL.3PL much more
- [f4] 'And I was a tall one and this was never nice. I told him many times, you know here they demand much more.'
- 1985 [m3] Èl' èra la plé grònda buéba dal vitg.
3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG more tall.F.SG girl of.DEF.M.SG village
- [m3] 'She was the tallest girl of the village.'
- 1986 [f4] Lu tartgávani, ò, quaj è ina buébúna,
then think.IMPF.3PL.3PL oh DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG girl.AUGM
- 1987 quèla pù schòn ... gè, na, quaj è schòn
DEM.F.SG can.PRS.3SG indeed yes, no, DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG indeed
- 1988 stau uschéja.
COP.PTCP.UNM SO
- [f4] 'Then they thought, oh, she is a very tall girl, she is indeed able ... yes, no, this was really so.'
- 1989 Ábar té, a gè, api lu mavan ins tùta stat, lò
but 2SG and yes and then go.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR whole.F.SG summer there
- 1990 vèva da fá quaj.
have.IMPF.1SG to do.INF DEM.UNM

'But you, and yes, and then we would go for the whole summer, there [I] had to do that.'

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

1991 A sch'i èra malaura, scha vèv' ins a
 and if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG bad_weather.F.SG CORR have.IMPF.3SG GNR at
 1992 tgèsa da fá, las fèmnas, lu èri da zarclá
 house.F.SG to do.INF DEF.F.PL woman.PL then be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to weed.INF
 1993 agl iart a fá quaj a fá tschaj.
 DEF.M.SG garden and do.INF DEM.UNM and do.INF DEM.UNM

'And if the weather was bad, we, the women, had to work in the house, then we had to weed the garden and do this and do that.'

1994 A ... api èri puspè dad í sél fùns, cu
 and and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL again to go.INF on.DEF.M.SG fields.M.SG when
 1995 i èra dad ira puspè ... gè.
 EXPL be.IMPF.3SG to go.INF again yes

'And ... and then we had to go to the fields again when it was [time] to go again ... yes.'

1996 [m3] Nuş şchajn anqu' jèda c' ins vèza las
 1PL say.PRS.1PL some time.F.SG when GNR see.PRS.3SG DEF.F.PL
 1997 tiaras ... šùdsvilupadas, lajn dí quèluísia, tga dian,
 country.PL underdeveloped.PL HORT.1PL say.INF this_way COMP say.PRS.3PL
 1998 quèls ufauns stùn luvrá a vègnan bunamajn
 DEM.M.PL child.PL must.PRS.3PL work.INF and PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL almost
 1999 pandí sé, quaj lò ... quaj lò vajn nus tùts
 hang.PTCP.M.PL up DEM.UNM here DEM.UNM here have.PRS.1PL 1PL all.M.PL
 2000 fatg.
 do.PTCP.UNM

[m3] 'Sometimes we say when we see the underdeveloped countries, let's put it this way, that they say that these children must work and are almost hanged; this here ... this here we all did it.'

2001 [f4] Nuş vajn fatg atrás quaj.
 1SG have.PRS.1PL do.PTCP.UNM through DEM.UNM

[f4] 'We have experienced that.'

2002 [m3] Tùts ... ò da scùla a fumègl ... a sjantar ad alp
 all.M.PL out of school.F.SG to farmhand.M.SG and after to alp.F.SG
 2003 a navèn dad alp vagnévas pér al davùs mumèn a
 and away from alp come.IMPF.2SG.GNR only DEF.M.SG last moment and

8 Texts

- 2004 mavaş a scùla.
go.IMPF.2SG.GNR to school.F.SG

‘All ... out of school to farmhand ... and after this to the alpine pasture and you would only come away from the pasture at the last moment and then you would go to school.’

- 2005 Gè, quaj èr' ùş uschéja. Scù quaj tga quèls lò
yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG now so like DEM.UNM REL DEM.M.PL there
lavuran, vajn nus luvrau [f4] gè gè [m3] manajval.
work.PRS.3SG have.PRS.1PL 1PL work.PTCP.UNM yes yes easy.ADJ.UNM

‘Yes, it was like that. As these [people] there work we also worked [f4] yes yes [m3] easily.’

- 2007 Ábar quaj dèva bétga discussjun. Quaj nagín tga [f4]
but DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG NEG discussion.F.SG DEM.UNM nobody REL
2008 na [m3] tga lèva bétga fá.
no REL want.IMPF.3SG NEG do.INF

‘But there were no discussions. Nobody [f4] no [m3] would refuse to do it.’

- 2009 Ábar tgé tga ... tg' ins discussjunèsch' aun anqual jèda, c' in
but what REL REL GNR discuss.PRS.3SG still some.F.SG time when GNR
2010 èra buéts ... ju sa tg' ju sùn staus
COP.IMPF.3SG boy.M.PL 1SG know.PRS.1SG COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG
2011 vazlè, tgé èra quaj, trènta vadjals ... gjù cò
calf_herdsman.M.SG what COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM thirty calf.M.PL down here
2012 vi da tschèla vart, ábar ... ju sa bitg sch' ju mav' a
over of DEM.F.SG side but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG whether 1SG go.IMPF.1SG to
2013 scùla né uschéja.
school.F.SG or so

‘But what ... what one still discusses sometimes, when we were boys ... I know that I was a calf herdsman, how many were there, thirty calves ... down here, over there on the other side, but ... I don't know whether I was going to school or so.’

- 2014 Ábar quaj vagnéva dau sura in pènsum
but DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.M.SG homework
2015 mèmi gròn ad ju sùn parschuadjudus, è ad alp ...
too big and 1SG COP.PRS.1SG convince.PTCP.M.SG also to alp.M.SG

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

2016 pia sch' in èra purtgè, sùn staus
 therefore if GNR COP.IMPF.3SG swineherd.M.SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG
 2017 purtgè cun dùdišch òns, a vèva mju
 swineherd.M.SG with twelve year.M.PL and have.IMPF.1SG POSS.1SG.M.SG
 2018 quântum vacas.
 amount cow.F.SG

'But they would give us too much homework and I am convinced, also to the pasture ... therefore if one was a swineherd, I was swineherd when I was twelve years old, and I had my amount of cows.'

2019 Ju vèva da trá la cèntrifuga ... né, quaj tut tga
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG COMP pull.INF DEF.F.SG centrifuge right DEM.UNM all REL
 2020 mungèva ... quaj èra zagnún, pástar
 milk.IMPF.3SG DEM.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG alpine_dairyman.M.SG shepherd.M.SG
 2021 gròn
 big

'I had to spin the centrifuge ... right, here everybody had to milk ... there were the alpine dairyman, the main shepherd'

2022 [f4] «Astg' ju aun dá in glaš aua
 be_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in_addition give.INF INDEF.M.SG cup water
 2023 Philippe?» [PhM] «Gie, bugen.» [f4] «Da la spina né aua
 PN yes with_pleasure from DEF.F.SG tap or water.F.SG
 2024 minerala?» [PhM] «Dalla spina.» [f4] «A té, lèvas è
 mineral of.DEF.F.SG tap and 2SG want.COND.2SG also
 2025 zatgé, PN?»
 something

[f4] '«May I give you another glass of water, Philippe?» [PhM] «Yes, please.» [f4] «From the tap or mineral water?» [PhM] «From the tap.» [f4] «And you, would you also like something, PN?»'

2026 [m3] «Gè, da mé daj è ina Al
 yes DAT 1SG give.IMP.2SG also INDEF.F.SG DEF.M.SG
 2027 zagnún, pástar gròn, pástar pin, a 'l
 alpine_dairyman.M.SG shepherd.M.SG big shepherd.M.SG small and DEF.M.SG
 2028 tarsial
 assistant

8 *Texts*

[m3] ‘Yes, give me also a The alpine dairyman, the main shepherd, the second shepherd, and the assistant ...’ :

- 2029 [PhM] «Tgei ei in tersiel?»
what COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG assistant

[PhM] ‘What is a *tersiel*?’

- 2030 [m3] «Al tarsial èra quèl al ... al
DEF.M.SG assistant COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG

- 2031 «Hausmann».»⁸⁵ [f4] «Al gidòntar.» [PhM] «Ah okay.»
househusband DEF.M.SG assistant eh OK

[m3] ‘The *tarsiel* was the ... the *Hausmann*. [f4] ‘The assistant.’

- 2032 [m3] «Quèl èr’ a tgèsa, quèl vèva da ... da
DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG at home.F.SG DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG to to

- 2033 lavá gjù la vaschala, trá la panaglja a ...».
wash.INF down INDEF.F.SG dishes spin.INF DEF.F.SG butter_tub and

- 2034 [PhM] «Grazia fétg.» [f4] «Schòn bian.» [m3] A ... a buglí gjù
thank.F.SG much all_right well and and boil.INF down

- 2035 cu i èra fatg.»
when EXPL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM

[m3] ‘He was at home, he had to ... to wash up, spin the butter tub and ...». [PhM] ‘Thank you very much». [f4] ‘That’s OK.» [m3] ‘And ... boil [it] when it was done.»’

- 2036 Atgnamajn al pástar gròn èr’ al ...
actually DEF.M.SG herdsman.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG

- 2037 vèv’ als tiars ajnta maun. A quaj èra
have.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL in hand.M.SG and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG

- 2038 cò ajn Tujétsch vèvan nus trajš albs da vacas.
here in PN have.IMPF.1PL 1PL three alp.M.PL of cow.F.PL

‘Actually the main herdsman was the ... was responsible for the animals. And there were here in the Tujetsch Valley, we had three cow pastures.’

- 2039 Quaj èra trajtschian vacas plus minus ... fòrza strusch
DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG three_hundred cow.F.PL more less maybe hardly

- 2040 ... ábar duatschian òtgònta èri sagir.
but two_hundred eighty EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL sure.ADJ.UNM

⁸⁵Said in Standard German.

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

'There were 300 cows more or less ... maybe barely .. but there were 280 without doubt.'

- 2041 Álsò bigja dal tùt trajtschian, craj ju bétg ... ábar ah
well NEG of.DEF.M.SG whole three_hundred believe.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG but eh
2042 ... plé damanajval da trajtschian tga da duatschian tschuncònta.
more near of three_hundred than of two_hundred fifty

'Well, not exactly 300, [this] I don't believe ... but eh ... nearer to 300 than to 250.'

- 2043 A lur' èra quaj al zagnún api al
and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG Alpine_dairyman and DEF.M.SG
2044 pástar, vèva quaj, a vèva è sju
herdsman have.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM and have.IMPF.3SG also POSS.3SG.M.SG
2045 quántum vacaş da ... da mùngjar.
amount cow.F.PL ATTR ATTR milk.INF

'And then there were the dairyman and the herdsman, that had, and also had his amount of cows to ... to milk.'

- 2046 Quaj ... in stèva vagní ... mintgín sén sju
DEM.UNM GNR must.IMPF.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on POSS.3SG.M.SG
2047 quántum, quèls vèvan fòrsa végn vacas a 'l
amount DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL maybe twenty cow.F.PL and DEF.M.SG
2048 zagnún vèva fòrsa schòtg a 'l tarségl
alpine_dairyman have.IMPF.3SG maybe eighteen and DEF.M.SG assistant
2049 vèva quindisch ... al pástar ... pin, i èra
have.IMPF.3SG fifteen DEF.M.SG herdsman small EXPL exist.IMPF.3SG
2050 dus pástars, vèva fòrsa dùdisch, a 'l purtgè
two.M.PL herdsman.PL have.IMPF.3SG maybe twelve and DEF.M.SG swineherd
2051 vèv' è aun òtg né déjsch.
have.IMPF.3SG also in_addition eight or ten

'This ... one had to reach ... everyone their amount, those had maybe twenty cows and the dairyman had maybe eighteen and the assistant fifteen ... the second ... herdsman, there were two herdsmen, had maybe twelve and the swineherd, in addition, also had eight or ten.'

- 2052 A i èra ... tùt anzjaman èr' in sis parsunas.
and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG all together exist.IMPF.3SG GNR six person.F.PL
2053 Quèls vèvan da mùngjar las vacas ... la ... las
DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL to milk.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL DEF.F.SG DEF.F.PL

8 *Texts*

- 2054 tschian vacas ... lajn dí ùssa, mù òtgònta ... òtgònta vacas,
 hundred cow.PL HORT.1PL say.INF now only eighty eighty cow.F.PL
 2055 la damaun a la sèra.
 DEF.F.SG morning and DEF.F.SG evening

‘And there were ... all together six people. These had to milk the cows ... the ... the hundred cows ... let’s say now, only eighty ... eighty cows, in the morning and in the evening.’

- 2056 A ... a quaj òn tgu sùn staus purtgè
 and and DEM.M.SG year REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG swineherd
 2057 sél cuélm ... quaj è stau ana
 on.DEF.M.SG assembly_of_house DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM year
 2058 tschuncòntatschún.
 fifty-five

‘And ... and that year, when I was swineherd at the *majsès* ... this was in 1955.’

- 2059 Ju craj tgu vèvi òtg vacas a ... a lu
 1SG believe.PRS.1SG COMP.1SG have.SBJV.IMPF.1SG eight cow.F.PL and and then
 2060 vèvani ábar fatg uschéa:
 have.IMPF.3PL.3PL but do.PTCP.UNM so

I think I had eight cows, and ... and then they did it the following way:

- 2061 «Té as ... al zagnún a tauntas a
 2SG have.PRS.2SG DEF.M.SG dairyman have.PRS.3SG so_many.F.PL and
 2062 tauntas, a té as da gidá lèz. Vuş dus
 so_many.F.PL and 2SG have.PRS.2SG to help.INF DEM.M.SG 2PL two.M.PL
 2063 vajš da ... mùngjar.»
 have.PRS.2PL to milk.INF

‘«You have ... the dairyman has so and so many, and you have to help him. You have to help him, the two of you.»’

- 2064 A quaj èra lu è détg: «Té as
 and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG then also say.PTCP.UNM 2SG have.PRS.2SG
 2065 laš vacaš dal Berther, té as quèlaš dal
 DEF.F.PL cow.PL of.DEF.M.SG PN 2SG have.PRS.2SG DEM.F.PL of.DEF.M.SG
 2066 Caduff.» A quaj èra sé las nùdas ... quaj
 PN and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG on DEF.F.PL brand.PL DEM.UNM
 2067 ancanuschèvas ... mintga vaca.
 recognize.IMPF.2SG.GNR every cow.F.SG

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

‘And they would also say this: «You take Berther’s cows, you take Caduff’s cows.»
And that was on the brands ... so you could recognize ... every cow.’

2068 Álsò tòc’ al davùs da la stat ... ancanuschèvas la
well until DEF.M.SG last of DEF.F.SG summer know.IMPF.2SG.GNR DEF.F.SG
2069 buşchia dal pur da laş vacas. Mintga pur
nickname of.DEF.M.SG farmer of DEF.F.PL COW.PL every farmer.M.SG
2070 vèva sia buşchia, a quaj vèvans da fá.
have.IMPF.3SG POSS.3SG.F.SG nickname and DEM.UNM have.PRS.1PL.1PL to do.INF

‘Well, until the end of summer ... you knew the nickname of every farmer of the cows. Every farmer had their nickname, and that’s what we had to do.’

2071 A lur’ ‘l purtgè vèv’ aun ... cu i
and then DEF.M.SG swineherd have.IMPF.3SG in_addition when 3PL
2072 mungèvan, mávani ajn a dargèvan gjù al ... al
milk.IMPF.3PL go.IMPF.3PL.3PL in and pour.IMPF.3PL down DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG
2073 latg ála cùpa da la cèntrifuga a quèl’ èra da
milk into.DEF.F.SG bowl of DEF.F.SG centrifuge and DEM.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG to
2074 trá ... trá, trá ... tut al latg cèntrifugau.
pull.INF pull.INF pull.INF all DEF.M.SG milk centrifugate.PTCP.UNM

‘And then the swineherd had to ... when they were milking, they would go in and pour the ... the milk into the bowl of the centrifuge and we had to pull ... pull, pull ... the whole centrifuged milk.’

2075 Api magari vèva ‘l aun da tanaj laş vacas
and sometimes have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_addition to hold.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL
2076 ajn stával.⁸⁶ Quaj vul dí culas,⁸⁷ quèls
in cowshed.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF with.DEF.F.PL DEM.M.PL
2077 tiars dal gjával tga mavan òra ... otras stèvan
animal.PL of.DEF.M.SG devil REL go.IMPF.3PL out other.F.PL stay.IMPF.3PL
2078 lò duas uras, fagèvan bigja mucs, ábar i èr’
there two.F.PL hour.PL do.IMPF.3PL NEG sound.M.SG but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG
2079 adina zacòntas tga mavan, da las vacas ... api stuèvans
always some.F.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL of DEF.F.PL COW.PL and must.IMPF.1PL.1PL
2080 í: «Puscha ... puscha⁸⁸ ... las vacas vòn!»
go.INF COW.F.SG COW.F.SG DEF.F.PL COW.PL go.PRS.3PL

‘And sometimes he also had to maintain the cows in the cowshed. This means with the, those damned cows that would go out ... other cows would stay there

8 *Texts*

for two hours, wouldn't move at all, but there always were some that would go, of the cows ... and then we had to go: «*Puscha* ... *puscha* ... the cows go away!»'

2081 Pi èri da schè ... quaj èra ... da samazá
and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to let.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP REFL.kill.INF
2082 da trá ajn la cèntrifuga, quaj duvrava grònda fòrza ...
comp pull.INF in DEF.F.SG centrifuge DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG big.F.SG force
2083 cu 'l èr' in' jèd' ajn⁸⁹, mava quaj
when 3SG.M COP.INF.3SG one.F.SG time in go.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
2084 pulit ... ábar al trá ajn èla èra ... da maz.
easy.ADJ.UNM but DEF.M.SG pull.INF in 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG of killing.M.SG

'Then one had to let [it] ... that was ... terrible to bring in the centrifuge, this required much force ... when once it was in, it was easy to handle it ... but bringing it in was ... terrible.'

2085 Anqual jèda vagnéva lu al pás[tar] ... né usché cu aj
some time.F.SG COME.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG herdsman or so when 3PL
2086 vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' ins èr' ajn ... ajn
see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until SUBORD GNR COP.IMPF.3SG in in
2087 «schwunc»⁹⁰ ... api èri strusch tga té
momentum.M.SG and COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL hardly SUBORD 2SG.GNR
2088 vèvas antschiat èri da turná
have.IMPF.2SG.GNR begin.PTCP.UNM be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL →go_back.INF and
2089 ad ira.
go.INF

'Sometimes the herdsman would come ... or so, when they saw and they would help until one was again in momentum and one had hardly begun when one had to go back and leave.'

2090 Quaj cas stù ju raquintá. Quaj èra in
DEM.M.SG case must.PRS.1SG 1SG tell.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG
2091 pulit ùm, ò cò da Zarcúns. Ju vèz' aun quèl, quaj
capable man out here of PN 1SG see.PRS.1SG still DEM.M.SG DEM.UNM

⁸⁸ *Puscha* is a familiar word for *vaca* 'cow' and is also used in order to call the cows.

⁸⁸ A *stával* is a place next to the alpine hut where the cattle stays at night.

⁸⁸ There is an unintelligible part between *culas* and *quèls*.

⁸⁹ Unintelligible part between *ajn* and *mava*.

⁹⁰ *Schwung* is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

2092 èr' in súpar musicant ... in ùm pin griaš usché,
 COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG super musician INDEF.M.SG man short fat so
 2093 ábar in ... in pin.
 but INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG short

'I should tell [you] the following case. It was a capable man, here from Zarcuns. I still see him, he was a super musician ... a short and fat man, but a ... a short one.'

2094 A sia ... sia dùna vèva nùm Marjuschla,
 and POSS.3SG.F.SG POSS.3SG.F.SG wife have.IMP.3SG name.M.SG PN
 2095 a quèla tgèsà c' ins vò cò da quòra vèva
 and DEM.F.SG house when GNR go.PRS.3SG here from here_out have.IMP.3SG
 2096 quèl ... «il Segner ei» ... mù spétga ... [f4] «En
 DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG only wait.IMP.2SG in
 2097 tutta malura il Segner ei sisura.»⁹¹ ... [m3] «En tutta
 all.F.SG disaster DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above in all.F.SG
 2098 malura il Segner ei sisura.» ... [f4] Quaj cu té
 disaster DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above DEM.UNM when 2SG
 2099 vaş anòra drètg. [m3] A cu nus mavan vidòra,
 go.PRS.2SG out straight_ahead and when 1PL go.IMP.1PL out
 2100 şchèvan nus ... i şchèvan ... Marjuschla vèva quèla
 say.IMP.1PL 1PL 3PL say.IMP.3PL PN have.IMP.3SG DEM.F.SG
 2101 nùm ... nuş şchèvan la Barjùtla ... cu nus mavan
 name.M.SG 1PL say.IMP.1PL DEF.F.SG PN when 1PL go.IMP.1PL
 2102 spèrasò: «En tutta malura la Barjutla ei sis[ura].»
 next_to_out in all.F.SG disaster DEF.F.SG PN COP.PRS.3SG above

'And his ... his wife was called Marjuschla, and that house, when you go from here in direction out of the valley, had ... «the Lord is» just wait [f4] «In every disaster the Lord is above.» [m3] «In every disaster the Lord is above.» [f4] This if you go straight ahead in direction down the valley. [m4] And when we would go down the valley, we would say ... they would say ... she was called Marjuschla ... we used to call her Barjùtla ... when we would pass by: «In every disaster Bajùtla is above.»'

2103 Quaj pur vèva quèla vaca. Quaj èr'
 DEM.M.SG farmer have.IMP.3SG DEM.F.SG COW DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG

⁹¹This adage is said (and written) in Standard Sursilvan.

8 Texts

- 2104 ina vaca, ina mujèra⁹² scù ins di, quèla
INDEF.F.SG COW INDEF.F.SG cow_without_calves as GNR say.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG
- 2105 vèva bégja fatg vadí plé ... lu quèlas
have.IMPF.3SG NEG do.PTCP.UNM calf.M.SG more then DEM.F.PL
- 2106 vagnévan angarschèdas api ...
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG fatten.PTCP.F.PL and

'This farmer had a particular cow. It was a « *mujèra* » as one says, this cow didn't have calves any more ... so these were fattened and ... '.

- 2107 Quèla vèva còrna usché davùsòra, pasanca tiar, a
DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG horn.COLL so back_out heavy.ELAT animal.M.SG and
- 2108 vèva sé in plèc⁹³ a quèla mava mintg'
have.IMPF.3SG up INDEF.M.SG flat_bell and DEM.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG every
- 2109 jè ... tac, tac, tac, vònzac èra la végn, trènta
time.F.SG ONOM ONOM ONOM later COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.F twenty thirty
- 2110 mèters ò dal mûval api mavan tschèlas halt sjantar.
metre.M.SG out of.DEF.M.SG cattle and go.IMPF.3PL dem.F.PL simply after

'This one had horns that had grown backwards, a very heavy animal, and it had a flat bell, and it would always walk ... tac, tac, tac, and a bit later it would be twenty, thiry metres away from the herd and the other cows would follow it.'

- 2111 [f4] Gè, gè, i è nuéta schi. Na, na, nuş vajn
yes yes EXPL COP.PRS.3SG NEG so no no 1PL have.PRS.1PL
- 2112 gju strèntg scù ufauns.
have.PTCP.UNM hard.ADJ.UNM as child.M.PL

[f4] 'Oh yes, it was not so (...). No no, we had a hard time as children.'

- 2113 [m3] Quaj èra da lavá ... las quátar. Agl aut da
DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG to get_up.INF DEF.F.PL four DEF.M.SG high of
- 2114 la stat ... èra quaj da lavá las quátar.
DEF.F.SG summer be.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM to get_up.INF DEF.F.PL four

[m3] 'Then one had to get up ... at four o'clock. When summer was at its highest point one had to get up at four o'clock.'

- 2115 [f4] Tgi c' èr' ad alp schòn, gè.
who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp indeed yes

⁹² A *mujèra*, Standard Sursilvan *mughera*, is called *leere Kuh* 'empty cow' in German.

⁹³ A cow with a *plèc* (or *pletg*) is the second main cow, which explains why the other cows follow it.

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

'Those who were at the alpine pastures indeed, yes.'

- 2116 [m3] Gè, tgi c' èr' ad alp. Las quátar òrd létg ad
yes who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp.M.SG DEF.F.PL four out_of bed.M.SG and
2117 í a rimná las vacas ajn stával ... antschajvar
go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL in cowshed.M.SG begin.INF
2118 a mùngjar, tg' èras uschéja ... gè, c' i
COMP milk.INF SUBORD COP.IMPF.2SG.GNR so yes when EXPL
2119 èra vi da las ... las òtg né usché èr'
COP.IMPF.3SG over of DEF.F.PL DEF.F.PL eight or so PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
2120 aj mùgnisch manègj' ju ... survagnév' ins sòlvar.
EXPL milk.PTCP.UNM think.PRS.1SG 1SG receive.IMPF.3SG GNR breakfast.M.SG

[m3] 'Yes, those who were at the alpine pastures. At four o'clock out of bed and go and gather the cows in the cowshed ... start milking, so that you were so ... yes when it was around ... eight or so the milking was done I think ... [and then] we would get breakfast.'

- 2121 A sjantar èra, mav' als tiars puspè a
and after be.IMPF.3SG go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL again SUBORD
2122 pastgè a lura stèv' al ... al zagnún,
graze.INF and then must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG alpine_dairyman
2123 lèz caçhava, sjantar cargjav' al magnùc a
DEM.M.SG make_cheese.IMPF.3SG after load.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG cheese and
2124 purtava ajn tschalè.
bring.IMPF.3SG in cellar.M.SG

'And after this one had to, the animals would again go and graze and then the ... the alpine dairyman had to, he would make cheese, and after that he would load the cheese and bring it to the cellar.'

- 2125 Quaj èra in ... tgilada gjù val, ajn in'
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG slip down valley.F.SG in INDEF.F.SG
2126 autra alp, in ... in liuc cèntrau pr duas alps. A lura
other alp INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG place central for two.F.PL alp.PL and then
2127 al, als pàstars mavan cùls tiars, al
DEF.M.SG DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL DEF.M.SG
2128 ... al purtgè a 'l tarségl vèvan dad èssar ajn ...
DEF.M.SG swineherd and DEF.M.SG assistant have.IMPF.3PL to COP.INF in

8 *Texts*

- 2129 ajn tégja a buglí gjù, sas, lu fá la ...
 in alpine_hut.F.SG and boil.INF off know.PRS.2SG then do.INF DEF.F.SG
 2130 la scòtga.
 DEF.F.SG whey

'That was a ... slip down the valley, into another alpine pasture, a ... a central place for two pastures. And then the, the herdsmen would go with the animals, the ... the swineherd and the assistant had to stay in ... in the alpine hut and boil off, you know, and then prepare the ... the whey.'

- 2131 Lu vagnéva fatg tschagrún. Cu 'l latg
 then PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG do.M.SG whey_cheese when DEF.M.SG milk
 2132 èra tratgs òra, scha l' ò 'l ...
 PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG pull.PTCP.M.SG out CORR DEF.M.SG have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG
 2133 al zignún finju, api cargjav' al al magnùc
 DEF.M.SG dairyman finish.PTCP.UNM and load.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M DEF.M.SG cheese
 2134 da la ... dal dé avaun né da la sèr' avaun a
 of DEF.F.SG of.DEF.M.SG day before or of DEF.F.SG evening before and
 2135 cargjava a ... pertava ajn tschalè.
 load.IMP.F.3SG and bring.IMP.F.3SG in cellar.M.PL

'Then they made whey cheese. When the milk was pulled out, the, the ... the dairyman had finished, and then he would load the cheese from the day before or from the evening before and would load [it] and ... bring [it] to the cellar.'

- 2136 A dantaun stèvas̄ buglí sé al, la scòtga,
 and meanwhile must.IMP.F.2SG.GNR boil.INF up DEF.M.SG DEF.F.SG whey
 2137 quaj stèvas̄ ... quaj duvrava la plé bjè
 DEM.UNM must.IMP.F.2SG DEM.UNM need.IMP.F.3SG DEF.F.SG more much
 2138 lèna ... quaj stèva buglí.
 firewood.COLL DEM.UNM must.IMP.F.3SG boil.INF

'And meanwhile one had to boil up the, the the whey, this one had to ... that required the highest quantity of firewood ... the whey had to boil.'

- 2139 A lu vagnévi sésúra quèla «schichta»⁹⁴ ... quèla
 and then come.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL upon DEM.F.SG layer DEM.F.SG
 2140 dèv' al tschagrún ... gè, al tschagrún ... cò
 give.IMP.F.3SG DEF.M.SG whey_cheese yes DEF.M.SG whey_cheese how
 2141 diani al tschagrún a tudèstg? ... [f4] Ziger ... [m3] Ziger ...
 say.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG whey_cheese in German Ziger Ziger

8.16 *Lavur d'ufauns*

2142 a lura cu quaj è ... è ... stèv' ins
 and then when DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG must.IMPF.3SG GNR
 2143 pascá gjù quaj a métar ajn ajn quaj ... quaj
 fish.INF down DEM.UNM and put.INF in in DEM.UNM DEM.UNM
 2144 dèv' usché ampau scù magnùc a quaj vagnéva lu
 give.IMPF.3SG so a_bit like cheese and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG then
 2145 schazagjau fétg.
 appreciate.PTCP.UNM much

'And then this layer would come up ... this would yield the whey ... yes, the whey ... how do they call the Swiss German whey cheese? [f4] *Ziger* ... [m3] *Ziger* ... and then when this is ... is ... one had to skim this and put into into, this would produce something a bit like cheese and this was very appreciated.'

2146 A pér cu quaj èra fatg, scha èra
 and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR COP.IMPF.3SG
 2147 la scòtga mèmi tgauða, api vèv' al purtgè la
 DEF.F.SG whey too hot and have.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG swineherd DEF.F.SG
 2148 quajda né né al plaþchaj dad ira par au' ad' au' ad
 desire or or DEF.M.SG pleasure ATTR go.INF for water.F.SG and water and
 2149 aua ... quèls zajvars da végn fùns, schèvan nus ... a
 water DEM.M.PL washtub.PL of twenty pound.M.PL say.IMPF.1PL 1PL and
 2150 purtá a métar ajn ála caldèra tòca tga èra
 bring.INF and put.INF in into.DEF.F.SG cauldron until SUBORD COP.IMPF.3SG
 2151 tamprau, tg' als pòrs savèvan magljè.
 lukewarm.PTCP.UNM SUBORD DEF.M.PL pig.PL can.IMPF.3PL eat.INF

'And only when this was done was the whey too hot, and then the swineherd had the desire or or the pleasure to go and fetch water and water and water ... these «washtubs of twenty pounds» as we used to say ... and bring it and put it into the cheese cauldron until it was lukewarm so the pigs could eat it.'

2152 A lura quaj èran lèzs schòn lò a griavan
 and then DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL already there and shout.IMPF.3PL
 2153 a fagèvan al gjával ... pi⁹⁵ árvar sé in barcún api
 and do.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL devil and open.INF up INDEF.M.SG shutter and
 2154 vagnévan quèls, quaj èra da quaj da trènta ... trènta
 come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG of DEM.UNM of thirty thirty

⁹⁴ *Schichta* is adapted from German *Schicht* 'layer'; the Standard Sursilvan form is *stresa*.

8 Texts

2155 pòrs biabégn.
pig.PL good.ADV

‘And then they were already there and shouted and behaved like the devil ... and then open a shutter and then they would come, there were good thirty ... thirty pigs.’

2156 A lur’ vèv’ ins da dá ... da magljè da lèzs ... a
and then have.IMPF.3SG GNR to give.INF to eat.INF DAT DEM.M.PL and
2157 quaj èra antir ritmus, antira stat ...
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG whole.M.SG rhythm whole.F.SG summer
2158 vagnéva lu plé pauc, ancúnt’ agl atún èri
come.IMPF.3SG then more little towards DEF.M.SG autumn EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
2159 plé paucs tiars a quaj ad è da quèlas, anstagl da
more little.M.PL animal.PL and DEM.UNM and also of DEM.F.PL instead SUBORD
2160 mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri fòrsa mù tschuncònta, da
milk.INF eighty cow.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe only fifty of
2161 quèlas tg’ èran schòn schétgas ... a tutín’ al
DEM.F.PL REL COP.IMPF.3SG already dry.F.PL and after_all DEF.M.SG
2162 sjantarmjadş-dé èra ... ins gudéva lu aun, in’ ura,
afternoon COP.IMPF.3SG GNR enjoy.IMPF.3SG then still one.F.SG hour
2163 duas ... savèvas ... schá dá l’ aura
two.F.PL can.IMPF.2SG.GNR let.INF give.INF DEF.F.SG weather
2164 pals lárischs.
through.DEF.M.PL larch.PL

‘And then one had to feed ... feed them ... and that was a constant movement, during the whole summer ... fewer would come, towards autumn there were fewer animals and that and also of these, instead of milking eighty cows there were maybe only fifty, of those that already were without calves ... and in the afternoon there was after all ... one could then enjoy one hour, two, ... one could ... relax.’

8.17 Al cuntí mèlan

The yellow knife

(Tuatschin, Cavòrgja, m7, aged 64)

⁹⁵There is an unintelligible part between *pi* and *árvar*.

8.17 *Al cuntí mèlan*

Recorded 2017/03/07 in Sedrun

Duration 5'50"

2165 Quaj è uschéa, ju èr' in buéb da nùv né
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SO 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG boy of nine or
2166 déjsch òns ad avaun òns sè quaj clar
ten year.M.PL and before year.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM clear.ADJ.UNM
2167 tga scùla èri mù gl unviarn.
COMP school.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL only DEF.M.SG winter

'This is so, I was a boy of nine or ten years, and years ago it is clear that we attended school only during winter.'

2168 La stat ... èra simplamajn bigja scùla. Quaj
DEF.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV NEG school.F.SG DEM.UNM
2169 gnang vèva nùm vacanzas. La stat ...
not_even have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG holidays.F.PL DEF.F.SG summer
2170 èra nagina scùla.
EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.F.SG school

'During summer ... there was simply no school. This wasn't even called holidays.
During summer ... there was no school at all.'

2171 La scùla finéva ... al matg ... zarladur, ad ins
DEF.F.SG school end.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG May June.M.SG and GNR
2172 schèva da quaj bigj èxnùm vacanzas. Sjantar
say.IMPF.3SG of DEM.UNM NEG definitively holidays.F.PL after
2173 èri bigja scùla, lìbar.
EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG school.F.SG free.ADJ.UNM

'School ended in May ... June, and one wouldn't necessarily call this holidays.
After that, there was no school, free.'

2174 A ... cò mavà 'ls buéts la stad ad alp, ábar
and here go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL boy.PL DEF.F.SG summer to alp.M.SG but
2175 avaun c' al tjams dad alp èri lu aun dad
before COMP DEF.M.SG time of alp be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then in_addition to
2176 í majès ... culs tiars.
go.INF assembly_of_houses with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL

'And ... here, during summer, the boys would go to the summer pastures, but before going to the summer pastures one had to go to the *majès* with the animals.'

8 *Texts*

- 2177 A ... nuş vèvan par èxèmpal al majsès ajnta
and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL for example.M.SG DEF.M.SG assembly_of_houses in
2178 Pardatsch, in autar vèva sé Miléz né Val Gjuf né nù c'
PN INDEF.M.SG other have.IMPF.3SG up PN or PN or where REL
2179 i èran èra.
3PL COP.IMPF.3PL also

'And ... we had our *majsès* in Pardatsch, somebody else had it in Milez or Val jiuv or wherever they were.'

- 2180 Scadín cas, quaj èra schòn ... ah ... in désidéri,
each.M.SG case dem.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG indeed eh indef.M.SG longing
2181 savaj í majsès a durmí sé lò. Tùt símpal,
can.INF go.INF assembly_of_houses and sleep.INF up there all simple.ADJ.UNM
2182 ins savèva gidá ajn tégj' a cuşchiná a vi a nò.
GNR can.IMPF.3SG help.INF in alpine_hut and cook.INF and to and fro

'In any case, this was indeed ... eh ... a longing, be able to go to the *majsès* and sleep up there. Very easy, in the hut one could help cooking and so on.'

- 2183 Api quaj è usché tga ... al bap ... vagnéva ...
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG so COMP DEF.M.SG father come.IMPF.3SG
2184 als ùmans, quaj èr' aun plé purs lò ... Nuş
DEF.M.PL man.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG still more farmer.M.PL there 1PL
2185 vèvan da partgirá als tiars, als buéts, a stèvan
have.IMPF.1PL to mind.INF DEF.M.PL animal.PL DEF.M.PL boy.PL and stay.IMPF.1PL
2186 lò sé, sé majsès.
there up up assembly_of_houses.M.SG

'But this is so that ... my father ... would come ... the men, there still were more farmers there We had to mind the animals, we the boys, and stayed up there, at the *majsès*'

- 2187 A grad ajnta quaj Pardatsch èran nus quátar, tschun
and precisely in DEM.UNM PN COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL four five
2188 buéts.
boy.M.PL

'And precisely in Pardatsch we were four, five boys.'

- 2189 A ... in èra fumègl tiar quèl, tschèl èra
and one.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG farmer.M.SG at DEM.M.SG DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG

8.17 *Al cuntí mèlan*

2190 fòrza ... in pur, èfèctív al fégl, api ..., ábar
 maybe ... INDEF.M.SG farmer effective.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG son and ... but
 2191 savènş è aun da quèls tg' èran fumègl tschò né
 often also in_addition of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL farmhand.M.SG here or
 2192 lò.
 there

'And ... one was a farmhand for that person, the other was maybe .. a farmer, as a matter of fact his son and ..., but often also one of those that were farmhands here and there.'

2193 Ad ju èra tial bap. Quaj èra
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG by.DEF.M.SG father DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 2194 naturálmajn flòt. Scha lu ò quaj
 natural.M.SG.ADV great.ADJ.UNM if then have.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 2195 dau òns tg' ins stèv' ira ... cul
 EXIST.PTCP.UNM year.M.PL REL GNR must.IMPF.3SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG
 2196 fagòt ... tiar in pur a gidá.
 bundle by INDEF.M.SG farmer SUBORD help.INF

'And I was with my father. This was great, of course. Then there were years where one had to go ... with one's bundle ... to a farmer and help.'

2197 A quaj òn vèva 'l détg: «Ah uòn
 and DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM eh this_year
 2198 nò té ajnta Pardatsch.» Al PN, mju frá,
 go.IMP.2SG 2SG into PN DEF.M.SG PN POSS.1SG.M.SG brother
 2199 èr' jus ajn in autar ljuc.
 be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG into INDEF.M.SG other place

'And that year he had said: «Eh, this year go to Pardatsch.» PN, my brother, had gone to another place.'

2200 Scadín cas, a vagnévan ... i ajn culs tiars, api ...
 each.M.SG case and come.IMPF.3PL 3PL in with.DEF.M.SG animal.PL and
 2201 alş ùmans ... durmévan lò, mungjèvan a mavan a
 DEF.M.PL man.PL sleep.IMPF.3PL there milk.IMPF.3PL and go.IMPF.3PL to
 2202 tgèsa ... ah la damaun.
 home.F.SG eh DEF.F.SG morning

'In any case, and they came ... up with the animals, and ... the men ... would sleep there, they would milk [the cows] and would go home ... eh ... the next morning.'

8 *Texts*

2203 Api ancùntar sèra, las quátar, las tschun vagnévani
 and towards evening.F.SG DEF.F.PL four DEF.F.PL five come.IMPF.3PL.3PL
 2204 sédò puspè ad usché vinavaun. Al dé ò èran nus
 up_out again and so further DEF.M.SG day out COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 2205 parsuls.
 alone.M.PL

‘And towards evening, at four o’clock, five o’clock they would come up again and so on. During the daytime we were alone.’

2206 Als ùmans mavan cul latg gjù tgèsa a quaj
 DEF.M.SG man.PL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.F.SG milk down home.F.SG and DEM.UNM
 2207 èra ... in’ ur’ a paj bjabégn. A scadín cas ...
 COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG hour by foot good.ADV and every.M.SG case
 2208 prndèv’ al bap lur’ ajn tiar quaj gjantá tg’ ins
 take.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG father then in by DEM.M.SG lunch REL GNR
 2209 duvrava magnùc a tgarnpiartg.
 need.IMPF.3SG cheese.M.SG and bacon.M.SG

‘The men would go home with the milk and that would take them a good hour on foot. And in any case ... my father would bring here, in addition to the lunch one needed, also cheese and bacon.’

2210 Quaj vèv’ inş adina, ábar quaj èra tga ‘l
 DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG GNR always but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP 3SG
 2211 purtava fòrz’ ajn: «Ò la mùma ò fatg
 bring.IMPF.3SG maybe in oh DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM
 2212 ina péta.», né, né, ina tgaussa né l’ autra tg’ ins
 INDEF.F.SG cake or or INDEF.F.SG thing or INDEF.F.SG other REL GNR
 2213 salagrava lura.
 REFL.be_pleased.IMPF.3sg then

‘This we always had, but it could happen that maybe he brought here: «Oh, mother has made a cake.», right? right?, this or that so that we could feel happy.’

2214 Ùsa, in’ jèda ... stù fòrz’ aun dí òdavaun,
 now INDEF.F.SG time must.PRS.1SG maybe say.INF in_addition in_advance
 2215 mintga buéb vèva ... tarmagljava cul cuntí da
 every.SG boy.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG play.IMPF.3SG with.DEF.M.SG knife of

8.17 *Al cuntí mèlan*

2216 sac ... tgapiala ... a cuntí da sac. A ... ju
 pocket.M.SG hat.F.SG and knife.M.SG of pocket.M.SG and 1SG
 2217 sa tga ju vèva bégja cuntí ... né usché in tgu
 know.PRS.1SG COMP 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG knife.M.SG or such one.M.SG REL
 2218 schèv' ajn tésgja.
 leave.IMPF.1SG in alpine_hut.F.SG

'Now, once ... I might say in advance, every boy had ... would play with the pocket knife ... hat ... and pocket knife. And ... I know that I didn't have a knife ... or one I would leave in the hut.'

2219 Quaj èra lu nuéta propi ... quaj cuntí èra ...
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then nothing really DEM.M.SG knife COP.IMPF.3SG
 2220 scadín cas ... ah ... èra quaj ina sònda
 every.M.SG case eh COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM INDEF.F.SG Saturday
 2221 sèra ... al bab végna sé majṣès ...
 evening.F.SG DEF.M.SG father come.PRS.3SG up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 2222 api cò ... sacadòs ... quaj tg' ins stù vaj:
 and here backpack.M.SG DEM.UNM REL GNR must.PRS.3SG have.INF
 2223 macrúns a ris a quaj a tschaj.
 macaroni.M.PL and rice.M.SG and DEM.UNM and DEM.UNM

'This was nothing really ... this knife was ... anyhow ... eh this happened on a Saturday afternoon ... my father comes up to the ... and here ... backpack ... what one must have: rice, macaroni and this and that.'

2224 Api prènd' al ... prènd' al ò ina sèrvla: «Cò
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out INDEF.M.SG cervelat⁹⁶ here
 2225 ò la mùma dau ina sèrvla, má
 have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG mother give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG cervelat because
 2226 tg' i è damaun dumèngja. As té ... ah cù
 SUBORD EXPL COP.PRS.3SG tomorrow Sunday have.PRS.3SG 2SG eh how
 2227 barsá stù ju bigja dí Fòrsa fas in fjuchèt
 roast.INF must.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG say.INF maybe make.2SG INDEF.M.SG fire.DIM
 2228 né, né sas scadá sé la ... »
 right or can.PRS.2SG warm.INF up DEF.F.SG

'And then he takes ... he takes out a cervelat: «Here, mother provided a cervelat, because tomorrow is Sunday. Do you ... eh ... how to roast [it] I don't have to tell

8 *Texts*

[you] Maybe you could prepare a little fire, right?, or you could warm up the»⁹⁶

- 2229 Ad ju, quétun cun quèla sèrvla, má tga quaj
and 1SG braggart.M.SG with DEM.F.SG cervelat because SUBORD DEM.UNM
 2230 èra ina raritat ... quaj dèvi bigja grat. A ...
COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG rarity DEM.UNM exist.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG just and
 2231 la dumèngja ... als ùmans èn i angjù ...
DEF.F.SG Sunday DEF.M.SG man.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL down
 2232 als buéts èran sur térgja ... a:
DEF.M.PL boy.PL COP.IMPF.3PL over alpine_hut.F.SG and

'And I, [like a] braggart with that cervelat, because that was something scarce ... that you wouldn't find just so. And ... on Sunday ... the men went down ... and the boys were above the hut: '

- 2233 «Tgé fas té gjantá?» «Tgé as té?» In vèva
what do.PRS.2SG 2SG lunch.INF what have.PRS.2SG 2SG one.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG
 2234 survagnú pèta a ... ad ju ... «Ju a survagnú
get.PTCP.UNM cake.F.SG and and 1SG 1SG have.PRS.1SG get.PTCP.UNM
 2235 ina sèrvala.» «Schòn?» Quaj èra scartèzja.
INDEF.F.SG cervelat indeed DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG rarity.ELAT

'«What are you going to prepare for lunch?» «What do you have?» One had got a cake and ... and I ... «I have got a cervelat.» «Really?» The cervelats were very scarce.'

- 2236 A 'l PN ...: «Vò gjù in' jèda par quèla sèrvla!»
and DEF.M.SG PN go.IMPF.2SG down INDEF.F.SG time for DEM.F.SG cervelat
 2237 Ad ju séglja gjù ajn térgja a végn sé cun èla
and 1SG run.PRS.1SG down in alpine_hut.F.SG and come.PRS.1SG up with 3SG.F
 2238 ... a gljèz ... mirau a mirau, i èra bigj'
and DEM.UNM look.PTCP.UNM and look.PTCP.UNM EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG NEG
 2239 aun uras da gjantá.
already hour.F.PL COMP lunch.INF

'And PN ...: «Go down and fetch that cervelat!» And I run down to the hut and come up with it ... and that ... looked and looked, it wasn't yet time for lunch.'

⁹⁶A *cervelat* is a typical kind of Swiss sausage.

8.17 *Al cuntí mèlan*

2240 Api prènd' al PN in cuntí ò da sac ... quèls
 and take.PRS.3SG DEF.ART PN INDEF.M.SG knife out of pocket.M.SG DEM.M.PL
 2241 cuntjalṣ da mòni mèlan ... usché, lajn dí, in cuntí da
 knife.PL of handle.M.SG yellow so HORT.1PL say.INF INDEF.M.SG knife of
 2242 pauc, al mèndar èra mù tga quèl vèv' ajn
 little DEF.M.SG worse COP.IMPF.3SG only COMP DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG in
 2243 ina stria furclèta, api fò 'l:
 INDEF.F.SG witch.F.SG notch and do.PRS.3SG 3SG.M

'And then PN takes a knife out of his pocket ... one of those knives with a yellow handle ... so, let's say, a worthless knife; the worst was that it had a damned notch and then he said:'

2244 «Atgnamajn lès ju bratá ... Té sas vaj
 actually want.COND.1SG 1SG exchange 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF
 2245 al cuntí par adina a té datas da mé la sèrvola.»
 DEF.M.SG knife for always and 2SG give.PRS.2SG DAT 1SG DEF.F.SG cervelat

'«Actually I would like to exchange You may have the knife forever and you give me the cervelat.»'

2246 Ad ju mirau sén quaj cuntí ... buah ..., ò gljèz, in
 and 1SG look.PTCP.UNM on DEM.M.SG knife ... EXCL oh DEM.UNM INDEF.M.SG
 2247 cuntí fùs schòn ... A ... la sèrvola dèv' ju
 knife COP.COND.3SG indeed and DEF.F.SG cervelat give.COND.1SG 1SG
 2248 schòn nuídís.
 indeed reluctantly

'And I looked at this knife ... wow! ... oh, well, a knife would indeed And ... the cervelat I would only give away reluctantly.'

2249 «PN, té sas vaj la sèrvola ... Ju salv' al
 PN 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF DEF.F.SG cervelat 1SG keep.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG
 2250 cuntí.» Stau ditg a fatg ... ju vèva
 knife be.PTCP.UNM say.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.IMPF.1SG
 2251 schòn quajdas, ábar quaj èra ... ad ju, gl'
 indeed desire.F.PL but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG and 1SG DEF.M.SG
 2252 amprém tgu a fatg ... è í
 first.ADJ.UNM REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM COP.PRS.3SG go.INF
 2253 in téc zanúa a s-dulatschè⁹⁷ ad í in téc.
 INDEF.M.SG bit somewhere SUBORD carve.INF and go.INF INDEF.M.SG bit

8 *Texts*

‘PN, you can have the cervelat I keep the knife. No sooner said than done ... I had indeed the desire, but that was ... and I, the first thing I did ... was to go somewhere in order to carve and to walk around a bit.’

- 2254 A sè quaj stau fatg cun quaj ... ju
and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM with DEM.UNM 1SG
2255 mét’ al cuntí ajn sac. A la sèra
put.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG knife into pocket.M.SG and DEF.F.SG afternoon
2256 végñ al bap sédò da las quátar ..., nuš vajn
come.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father up_out of DEF.F.PL four 1PL have.PRS.1PL
2257 mùgnşch a fatg tut quèlas lavurs.
milk.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM all DEM.F.PL work.PL

‘And then this was done ... I put the knife into my pocket. And in the afternoon at four o’clock my father comes up ..., we milked and did all these works.’

- 2258 A sjantar ... las sjat, las ötg èr’ ins avaun
and after DEF.F.PL seven DEF.F.PL eight COP.IMPF.3SG GNR before
2259 téjja, èr’ aun ditg clar ad in téč
alpine_hut.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG still long_time clear.ADJ.UNM and INDEF.M.SG bit
2260 als buéts⁹⁸ Scadín caš èr’ ju lò prsuls
DEF.M.PL boy.PL every case COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG there alone.M.SG
2261 cul bap.
with.DEF.M.SG father

‘And after ... at seven, eight we were in front of the hut, it was still clear for a long time and the boys a bit In any case, I was there alone with my father.’

- 2262 Al bap ... anvidau sé cò ina stùmpa scù adina, ad
DEF.M.SG father light.PTCP.UNM up here INDEF.F.SG cheroot as always and
2263 ju prèn òra quaj cuntí a ş-dulatscha cò zatgé api
1SG take.PRS.1SG out DEM.M.SG knife and carve.PRS.1SG here something and
2264 mir’ al bab via sén mè:
look.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father over on 1SG

‘My father ... lit up a cheroot up here as always, and I take out that knife and carve here something and then my father looks over to me:’

⁹⁷The usual form is *dulatschë*, as in line 2244. The form *ş-dulatschë* has been rejected by the native speakers I consulted.

⁹⁸Unintelligible part between *buéts* and *scadín*.

8.17 *Al cuntí mèlan*

2265 «Tgé ... tgé as té lò?» «Ò ju a in ...» «Da
 what what have.PRS.2SG 2SG there oh 1SG have.PRS.1SG INDEF.M.SG from
 2266 tgi as quaj cuntí?» «Ah quèl va ju
 whom have.PRS.1SG DEM.M.SG knife eh DEM.M.SG have.PRS.1SG 1SG
 2267 survagnú.» «Lá mirá in' jèda!» ... Vau
 receive.PTCP.UNM let.IMP.2SG look.INF INDEF.F.SG time have.PRS.1SG.1SG
 2268 dau via ... api détg èl: «Símplamajn
 give.PTCP.UNM over and say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M simple.F.SG.ADV
 2269 survagnú èl uschéa?»
 receive.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M so

‘«What ... what do you have there?» «Oh I have a ... «Whom do you have this
 knife from?» «Eh this one I have received.» «Let [me] see it!» ... I gave it over
 [to him] ... and then he said: «Just got it like this?»’

2270 «Na, ju a stju ... ju a stju
 no 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM
 2271 dá la sèrvòla, brat' ò.» Al bap ò
 give.INF DEF.F.SG cervelat exchange.INF out DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG
 2272 détg nuét. Ju va tartgau ... bigja bjè ...
 say.PTCP.UNM nothing 1SG have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM NEG much
 2273 nuét.
 nothing

‘«No, I had ... I had to give the cervelat, exchange [it].» My father didn't say
 anything. I thought ... not much ... nothing.’

2274 «Ò scha lura, sas té tgé, PN? Vò sé a
 oh if then know.PRS.2SG 2SG what PN go.impf.2SG up and
 2275 turna quaj cuntí dal PN. Quaj è lu è bigj'
 give_back.IMP.2SG DEM.M.SG knife DAT PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3sg then also NEG
 2276 in ... quaj è par safá mal. Na, quaj
 INDEF.M.SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SUBORD.REFL.do.INF harm no DEM.UNM
 2277 vala nuét.»
 be_worth.PRS.3SG nothing

‘Oh well then, do you know what, PN? Go up and give back this knife to PN. This
 is not a ... you will hurt yourself with it. No, this isn't worth anything.’

2278 «Ah gljèz ... ju a schòn è quita, na
 eh DEM.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG indeed also think.PTCP.UNM no

8 *Texts*

2279 èfèctif, na.» Ju sùn jus sé a détg dal
 effective.ADJ.UNM no 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG up and say.PTCP.UNM DAT
 2280 PN ... fòrza l' autar dé ... gljèz sa ju bégja ...
 PN maybe DEF.M.SG other day DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG
 2281 turnau al cuntí. Ju a détg:
 give_back.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG knife 1SG have.1SG say.PTCP.UNM

‘«Eh that ... I also thought, no, effectively, no.» I went up and told PN ... maybe the following day ... I don't know it ... gave back the knife. I said:’

2282 «Té, quaj è tut ajn ûrdan, ábar quaj cuntí cò,
 2SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all in order.M.SG but DEM.M.SG knife here
 2283 quaj è bigja ... fòrz' aprècjèschas té èl plé fétg
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG maybe appreciate.PRS.2SG 2SG 3SG.M more much
 2284 tgu. Ju tégn da quèl lò ... è bétga, quaj
 than.1SG 1SG hold.PRS.1SG of DEM.M.SG here COP.PRS.3SG NEG DEM.M.SG
 2285 sau è bigja pròpi dulatschè.»
 can.PRS.1SG.1SG also NEG really carve.INF

‘«Listen, this is all OK, but this knife, this isn't ... maybe you appreciate it more than I do. I think of this ... it is not, I cannot use it for carving.»’

2286 Quaj è stau la ... duméngj' èra al
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG Sunday be.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG
 2287 bab vagnús anòra⁹⁹ a la dumèngja sèra sè
 father come.PTCP.M.SG out and def.F.SG Sunday afternoon.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
 2288 quaj stau; èl vò anò gljéndisòdís andamaun.
 DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M go.PRS.3SG out Monday.M.SG morning

‘This was ... on Sunday my father had come up and this took place on Sunday afternoon; he goes back Monday morning.’

2289 A la sèra da las quátar végn al anajn. «PN, ò,
 and DEF.F.SG afternoon at DEF.F.PL four come.PRS.3SG 3SG.M in PN oh
 2290 nuét, ò ju sùn aun¹⁰⁰ in' jèda.» A prènd èl
 nothing oh 1SG be.PRS.1SG in_addition INDEF.F.SG time and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 2291 ò dal sacadòs in cuntí réjsch néjv da mòni
 out of.DEF.M.SG backpack INDEF.M.SG knife brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG
 2292 mèlan ... èxáct al madèm.
 yellow exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG same

⁹⁹ Anòra is a performance error for anajn.

8.17 *Al cuntí mèlan*

‘And in the afternoon, at four, he comes up. «PN, oh, nothing, oh I [went] once again [to Sedrun].» And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the backpack ... exactly the same.’

2293 Cù ‘l bab è jus navèn da Cavòrgja sé Sadrún,
how DEF.M.SG father be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG away of PN up PN
2294 cù ‘l ò òrganisau quaj cuntí ... má tga
how 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG organise.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG knife because SUBORD
2295 quaj èra bigja schi símpal, in cuntí
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG so simple.ADJ.UNM INDEF.M.SG knife
2296 vèv’ ins bigja grad sén cruna.
have.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG precisely on rack.F.SG

‘How my father went from Cavorgia up to Sedrun, how he organised this knife ... because it was not so simple, you don’t just have a knife on the rack.’

2297 A quèla luşchèzja, quaj va ju aprazjau
and DEM.F.SG pride DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG appreciate.PTCP.UNM
2298 énòrm ... tg’ al bap ... ò sènza nuét ...
enormous.ADJ.UNM COMP DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG without nothing
2299 sènza dí in plajd¹⁰¹ cuntí ... l’ autar dé in
without say.INF INDEF.M.SG word knife DEF.M.SG other day INDEF.M.SG
2300 cuntí réjsch néjv ... èxact al madèm, da mòni mèlan.
knife brand new.M.SG exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG same of handle.M.SG yellow

‘And this proudness, I appreciated enormously that my father ... had without anything, without saying a word ... the next day a brand-new knife ... exactly the same, with a yellow handle.’

2301 A ... quaj è zatgé tgu a maj
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG something REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG never
2302 amblidau.
forget.PTCP.UNM

‘And ... this is something I have never forgotten.’

¹⁰⁰Unintelligible part between *aun* and *in*.

¹⁰¹Unintelligible part between *plajd* and *cuntí*.

9 Tuatschin-English word list

The Tuatschin-English word list contains the items that occur in chapters 1-8, which represents about 1'650 lexical entries. The following observations about the lexical entries should be taken into account:

- For verbs with stem alternations, the first (respectively third) person singular present indicative or the first person present plural indicative is indicated, according to whether the stem alternation concerns the stressed or the unstressed syllable of the verb.
- Irregular participles are also indicated.
- The adjectives are listed in their unmarked (or masculine singular attributive) form.
- Voiced consonants in final position are pronounced voicelessly.

A

a, ad /ə, əd/ (CONJ) and
a, ad /ə, əd/ (PREP) in, at
a /ə/ (PURP) to, in order to
ábar /a:ber/ (CONJ) but
accidèn /ektsi'den/ (M.N) accident
acòrd /ə'kɔrd/ (M.N) piecework
ed usché vinavaun /ed u'se vine'veawn/ and so on, etcetera
adina /ə'dinə/ (ADV) always
afèczjun /efek'tsjun/ (F.N) affection
afòn (Selva) /ə'fɔn/ (M.N) child
agid /ə'dzid/ (M.N) help
agjan, atgna /'a:džen, 'atçne/ (ADJ) own
agradgiù /əgrəd'džu/ (ADV) steep down
agrèssiv, -a /əgre'si:v, -ə/ (ADJ) aggressive

9 Tuatschin-English word list

aj, i /aj, i/ 1. (PERS.PRON.3PL) they 2. (EXPL.PRON) there

aj /aj/ (UNM.PERS.PRON) it

ajfar-piast /'ajfer-'piɛʃt/ (M.N) hay rack post

ajn /ajn/ (PREP) in

ajn gamba /ajn 'gamba/ (ADV) well¹

ajn général /ajn 'dʒeneral/ (ADV) generally

ajnagjù /ajnə'dzɔ:/ (ADV) in and down

ajnamiaz /ajnə'miɛts/ (ADV) in the middle

ajnaquèla /ajnə'kwelə/ (ADV) at that moment

ajnasé /ajna'se/ (ADV) in and up

ajsassèz /ajnse'sets/ (ADV) actually, in fact

ajnta /ajntə/ (PREP) in, into; up the valley

ajntadém /ajntə'de:m/ (PREP) in the uppermost part of

ajssa /ajsə/ (F.N) plank, board

al /el/ (DEF.ART.M.SG) the

ala /'a:lə/ (F.N) 1. wing 2. side (of the roof)

alarm /ə'larm/ (M.N) alarm

alb → *alp*

alp /alb, albz/ (F.N) alp, summer pasture

als /əlz/ (DEF.ART.M.PL) the

álsò /'alzɔ:/ (DISC) well

alv, -a /alv, -ə/ (ADJ) white

amblidá /əmblidə:/ (TR.V) forget

ambòlí /əmbɔ'lɪ/ (F.N) embolism

amiaz /ə'miɛts/ (PREP) in the midst of, in the middle of

ampaglja /əm'paʎa/ (ADV) damaged

ampaū /əm'paw/ (QUANT) some, a bit

amplaní (amplanèscha/amplajna) /əmplə'nɪ:/ (/əmplə'nɛʃə/əmp'lajna/) (TR.V) fill

amprém, -a /em'prem, -ə/ (ORD.NUM) first

amprèndar /em'prender/ (TR.V) learn. *amprèndar d'ancanùschar* learn to know

amprèndissadi /emprəndi'sa:di/ (M.N) apprenticeship

ampruá da + inf (ampruva) /em'prua: de/ (/em'pru:və/) (TR.V) try to

ampurtá (ampòrta) /empur'ta:/ (/emp'ɔrte/) (ITR.V) be important

ampustá (ampòsta) /empu'sta:/ (/em'pɔʃtə/) (TR.V) order

ana (da) /'ane da/ (N) year (in year dates)

anada /ə'nade/ (F.N) 1. year 2. age group

anavùs /ənə've:s/ (ADV) back, backward

¹Gamba 'leg' is only used in *ajn gamba*; the normal word for 'leg' is *tgòmba*.

ancanùschar /enke'nuʃer/ (TR.V) know. *amprèndar d' ancanùschar* get to know

ancanuschènt, -a /enkenuʃent, -e/ (ADJ) known

ancùntar, cùntar /en'konter/ (PREP) towards, in direction of (with human nouns, the dative marker *da* is used)

ancurí (anquéra) (PTCP ancurétg) /enku'ri:/ (/en'kwere, enku'retc/) (TR.V) look for, search

andamajn /ende'majn/ (ADV) in mind. *vagní andamajn da* come into one's mind

andamaun /ende'mawn/ (ADV) in the morning. *la sònda andamaun* on Saturday morning

andisau, -ada /endi'zaw, -'ade/ (ADJ) used to

andrètg /en'dretc/ (ADV/INVAR.ADJ) right

anèx, -a /e'neks, -e/ (ADJ) annexed

anf(a)rá (anfjara) /enf(e)'ra:/ (/enfja:re/) (TR.V) shoe a horse

anflá /en'fla:/ (TR.V) find. *anflá òra* find out

angarschè (angrascha) /enger'ʃe:/ (/eng'ra:ʃe/) (TR.V) fatten

angjù /en'dzv/ (ADV) down

angrazjè /engrez'je:/ (TR.V) thank

angrazjajval, -vla /engrets'jajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) grateful

angulá (angùla) /engu'la:/ (/en'gvs:la/) (TR.V) steal

aní (PL anjal(t)s) /e'ni:/ (/en'jal(t)s/) (M.N) ring

animal /eni'ma:l/ (M.N) animal

anòra /en'ɔ:re/ (ADV) down the valley

a, nò:ragjù /enɔra'dzv/ (ADV) down the valley

anqual /en'kwal/ (QUANT) some

ansé /an'se/ 1. (ADV) up 2. (CIRCP) *da ... ansé* from ... up

anséjgl (PL anṣùl(t)s) /en'zejY/ (/en'zvl(t)s/) (M.N) kid

ansjaman, anzjaman /en'sjamen, en'tsjamen/ (ADV) together

anstagl /en'ʃtaʃ/ (PREP/COMP) instead of

antardá /enter'da:/ (TR.V) delay

antir, -a /en'tir, -e/ (ADJ) whole

antschata /en'ʃtate/ (F.N) beginning

antschajvar (antschavín) /en'ʃajver/ (/enʃə've:n/) (TR/ITR.V) begin

antupá (antaupa) /entu'pa:/ (/en'tawpe/) (TR.V) meet

antùrn /en'tvñr/ (PREP/ADV) around

anúnzja /e'nuntsje/ (F.N) announcement. *anúnzja da mòrt* death notice

anvidá /envi'da:/ (TR.V) light. *anvidá ajn* invite

9 Tuatschin-English word list

anzardá (anzjarda) /entser'da:/ (/en'tsjarde/) (TR.V) aerate (soil)

anzatgé(j) /entse'tcej/ (INDEF.PRON) something. **anzatgéj in/ina** something like

anzatgí /entse'tci:/ (INDEF.PRON) somebody

anzjaman → **ansjaman**

aparti /e'parti/ (INVAR.ADJ) special, particular

aparti /e'parti/ (ADV) specially, particularly

api /api/ (CONJ) and then

aprazjè (apraczèscha) /apre'tsje:/ (/apre'tsjeʃə/) (TR.V) appreciate

ará /e'ra:/ (ITR.V) plough

árdar (PTCP ars, -a) /'ardər/ (/ars, -a/) (ITR.V) burn

armaul /er'mawl/ (M.N) animal

artg /artç/ (M.N) rainbow

arùndazjún /erùnde'tsjun/ (F.N) joining of properties

árvar (PTCP aviart, avjarta) /'arver/ (/e'vert, ev'jarte/) (TR.V) open

arvèglja /er'veʎa/ (COLL.F.N) peas

asan /'azen/ (M.N) donkey

aschí → **schi**

astgè, stgè + inf /eʃtce:, ſtce:/ (TR.V) be allowed

atacá /ete'ka:/ (TR.V) attack

atgna → **agjan**

atgnamajn /atçne'majn/ (ADV) actually

atmoní /etmo'ní:/ (TR.V) admonish

attractiv, -a /etrekti:v, -a/ (ADJ) attractive

atrás, traş /e'traz, traz/ (ADV AND PREP) through

atún /e'tun/ (M.N) autumn

aua /'awa/ (F.N) water

auc /awk/ (M.N) uncle

aucségnar /awk'señar/ (M.N) priest

aun /awn/ (ADV) in addition, moreover, still, really; **bétg aun** not yet

aungataun /awnge'tawn/ (QUANT) as much as

aura /'awre/ (F.N) weather

aut, -a /awt, -a/ (ADJ) high

autar, -tra /'awter, -tre/ (ADJ.) other

autò /'awtɔ/ (M.N) car

avanamajn(t) /evene'majn(t)/ (M.N) 1. incident 2. event

avat /e'vat/ (M.N) abbot

avaun /e'vawn/ 1. (ADV) forward, before 2. (PREP) before, ago; in front of

avaunmjadsdé /e,vawnmjædzde:/ (ADV) morning

avrél, avrèl /av're:l, ev'rε:l/ (M.N) April
avùnda /a'vɔnde/ (ADV) enough
axarsézi /aksər'setsi/ (M.N) rehearsal

B

bab /ba:b/ (M.N) father
badugn /bə'duŋ/ (M.N) birch
bagagè (baghègja) /bəge'dzε/ (/bə'gεdʒε/) (TR.V) build. *bagagè da néjv* renovate
bagagè gjù remove, mine, dismantle
baghétg /bə'getç/ (M.N) building
bajbar (bubín) /'bajber/ (/bu'bι:n/) (TR.V) drink
bajònèta /bəjɔ'nɛtə/ (F.N) bayonet
bal /ba:l/ (M.N) ball
balantschè /belən'tʃε:/ (ITR.V) roll
balapaj /bələ'paj/ (M.N) football
balèzja /bə'lεtsjε/ (F.N) 1. beauty 2. (ELAT) very beautiful
banadí, banadí òra (banadèscha) /bəne'di:/ (/bəne'dεʃə/) (TR.V) bless
banadiczjun /benedik'tsjun/ (F.N) blessing
bandiara /ben'diɛrə/ (F.N) flag
bar /ba:r/ (F.N) bar
bara /ba:re/ (F.N) corpse
barba /barbe/ (F.N) beard
barbis /ber'bι:s/ (M.N) moustache
barcún /ber'kun/ (M.N) shutter
bargí (bragja) /ber'dzi:/ (/bra:dʒε/) (ITR.V) cry
barlòt /ber'lɔt/ (M.N) sorcery
barsá (brassa) /ber'sa:/ (/brase/) (TR.V) roast
barschè (brischa) /ber'ʒε:/ (/bri:ʒε/) (TR/ITR.V) burn
basa /ba:ze/ (F.N) base
basèlgja /bə'zεldʒε/ (F.N) church
bassa /base/ (F.N) Switzerland outside the canton of Grisons
bast /baft/ (M.N) packsaddle
basta /baftε/ (INTERJ) enough
bau /baw/ (M.N) beetle
baun /bawn/ (M.N) 1. bench 2. ridge
baun-pégna /bawn-'pejne/ (M.N) oven bench
baud /bawd/ (ADV) early
bé → bétga

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- béádi** /be'a:di/ (M.N) grandson
béádia /be'a:die/ (F.N) granddaughter
bégn /be:p/ (ADV) well
bèn /ben/ (ADV) yes (in response to a negative statement or question)
bétar (PTCP bék, -a) /'beter/ (/bets, -ə/) (TR.V) throw
bètlar /'betler/ (M.N) beggar
bétga, bétg, bigja, bigj', **bé** /'betçə, betç, 'bidzə, bidz, be/ (NEG) no
bétòná /betɔ'nə:/ (TR.V) concrete
bi, bjals, bjala /bi:, bjalz, 'bjale/ (ADJ) beautiful, nice
bian, bunç, buna /'biən, bunz, 'buna/ (ADJ) good
bianmartgau /'biənmər'tçaw/ (INVAR.ADJ) cheap
bigja, bigj' → bétga
bitschè (bétscha) /bi'ʃe:/ (/be:ʃə/) (TR.V) kiss
bjebégn/bjèbégn /bjε'béŋ/bjε'bén/ (ADV) a bit more than, around
bjala, bjals → bi
bjalaura /bjε'lawre/ (F.N) nice weather
bjè /bjε:/ (ADV) much, often
bjèbégn → bjabégn
bjèrs, bjèras /bjεrz, 'bjεrez/ (PL.QUANT.DET/PRON) many
blètsch, -a /bleʃ, -ə/ (ADJ) wet
blòc /bløk/ (M.N) block
blòca /bløke/ (COLL.F.N) blocks
blùt, -a /bløt, -ə/ (ADJ) naked. **blùt danè** money in cash
blusa /'blu:ze/ (F.N) blouse
bòb /bøb/ (M.N) bob
bògn /bøŋ/ (M.N) bath
bòla /bo:lə/ (F.N) punch
braja /'bra:je/ (F.N) trouble. **vaj braja** have troubles
brajnta /'brajnte/ (F.N) basket
bratá /brε'ta:/ (TR.V) exchange
bratsch /bratʃ/ (M.N) arm
bratscha /'braʃə/ (COLL.F.N) (both) arms
brav, -a /'bra:v, -ə/ (ADJ) brave, important
brèmṣa /'bremze/ (F.N) break
brutal, -a /bru'ta:l, -ə/ (ADJ) terrible
buantá /bwen'ta:/ (TR.V) water (animals)
buantad /bwan'tad/ (ELAT) very good, excellent
bubrantá (bubrjanta) /bubren'ta:/ (/bub'rjante/) (TR.V) make drunk

bùc /bɔk/ (M.N) billy goat

bùca /bɔke/ (F.N) mouth. *dá la bùca şur da* make derisive remarks about

buéb (PL buéts) /bweb/ (/bwets/) (M.N) boy, son

buéba /bwebe/ (F.N) girl, daughter

buébanaglja /bwebe'nay/ (COLL.F.N) children

bùf (PL bùs/bùfs) /bɔ:f/ (/bw:s/bw:fs/) (M.N) ox

buglí /bu'ki:/ (TR.V) boil

bugnè (bògna) /bu'ne:/ (/bɔne/) (TR.V) give water

bumbardá /bumber'da:/ (TR.V) bomb

bunamajn /bune'majn/ (ADV) 1. almost 2. really

buna, bunş → *bian*

bùra /bɔ:re/ (F.N) block

bùrdi /bɔ:rdi/ (M.N) load

bùrsa /bɔrse/ (F.N) wallet

buşchia /bu'žie/ (F.N) nickname

bùt /bɔ:t/ (F.N) barrel

butèglja /bu'teʎa/ (F.N) bottle

bürò /byro/ (M.N) office

C

ca /ke/ (REL) that, who (in combination with *tgéj* ‘what’ and *tgi* ‘who’)

cacèta /ke'tete/ (F.N) pot

cadajna /ke'dajne/ (F.N) chain

cafanún /kefe'nun/ (M.N) church banner

calá /ke'la:/ (ITR.V) end. *calá da + inf* stop doing

caldèra /kel'de:re/ (F.N) cauldron

calira /ke'li:re/ (F.N) heath

calum /ke'lum/ (M.N) thigh

calur/culur /ke'lur/ku'lur/ (F.N) colour

camarad /keme'ra:d/ (M.N) mate

caná /kená:/ (TR.V) stab

cantá (cònta) /ken'ta:/ (/kɔnte/) (TR/ITR.V) sing

cantina /ken'tine/ (F.N) canteen

cantún /ken'tun/ (M.N) 1. corner 2. canton

canzún /ken'tsun/ (F.N) song

capí /ke'pi:/ (TR.V) understand

capitá /kepi'ta:/ (ITR.V) happen

capitani /kepi'ta:ni/ (M.N) captain

9 *Tuatschin-English word list*

- caplòn* /ke'plon/ (M.N) chaplain
caplùta /ke'plste/ (F.N) chapel
cáput /kaput/ (ADV) shattered
car /ka:r/ (M.N) bus
car, -a /ka:r, -ə/ (ADJ) dear
carèzja /ke'retsje/ (F.N) love
cargè /ker'dze:/ (TR.V) 1. carry 2. drove animals to the summer pastures
carschantá (carschjanta) /kershan'ta:/ (/ker'sjante/) (TR.V) thrive
carstgaun /kerst'cawn/ (M.N) human being
carta /karta/ (F.N) 1. letter 2. map
cas /kas/ (M.N) case
caşchè /ke'ʒe:/ (ITR.V) make cheese
caschnè /keʃne:/ (M.N) hay rack
castí (PL castjal(t)s) /keʃti:/ (/keʃtjal(t)s/) (M.N) castle
castitg /keʃti:tç/ (M.N) punishment
catòlic, -a /ke'tɔlik, -ə/ (ADJ/N) Catholic
catschadur /keʃe'du:r/ (M.N) hunter
catschè /ke'ʃe:/ (TR.V) 1. hunt 2. drove (animals) 3. *catschè ajn* throw into
catschéjgl (PL catschùl(t)s) /ke'ʃejλ/ (/ke'ʃvl(t)s/) (M.N) sock
catschina /ke'ʃi:ne/ (F.N) limestone
cavá /ke'va:/ (TR.V) dig. *cavá òra* recover (metals)
cavaza /ke'vetse/ (F.N) skull
cavèstar /ke'vester/ (M.N) bridle
caviartg, cavòrtgs, cavòrtga /ke'veirtç, ke'veortç, -a/ (ADJ) hollow
cavréjgl (PL cavrùl(t)s) /kev'rejλ/ (/kev'røl(t)s/) (M.N) roe deer. *bùc cavréjgl* male roe deer. *tgaura cavréjgl* female roe deer
cazè /ke'tse:/ (M.N) shoe
cazùla /ke'tsɔ:le/ (F.N) light
cégn /tse:p/ (M.N) swan
cèntrau, -ada /tsen'traw, -a:de/ (ADJ) central
cèntrifuga /tsentri'fu:ge/ (F.N) centrifuge
cèntrifugá /tsentrifi'ga:/ (TR.V) centrifugate
cèrt, -a /tsert, -ə/ (ADJ) certain
circa /'tsirke/ (ADV) about, around
clar, -a /klar, -ə/ (ADJ) clear
classa /'klasə/ (F.N) class
claustra /klaw'stre/ (F.N) monastery
clavau /kle'vew/ (M.N) hay barn

cléjg, clétg /kledʒ, kletʃ/ (M.N) luck
clumá (clòma) /klu'má/ (/kləmə/) (TR.V) call
clutgè /klu'tçe/ (M.N) clock tower. *clutgè-basèlgja* church tower
cò /kɔ/ (ADV) here
còc /kɔk/ (M.N) core
còca /'kɔke/ (F.N) small cake
cògna /'kɔŋra/ (F.N) bitch (female dog)
còléga /kɔ'lege/ (N) colleague
còmpatènza /kɔmpə'tentsə/ (F.N) competence
còmplificazjun /kɔmplike'tsjun/ (F.N) complication
còmpjutar /kɔm'pjju:tər/ (M.N) computer
còmunal, -a /kɔmun'a:l, '-a:le/ (ADJ) communal
cònфadarazjun /kɔnfedera'tsjun/ (F.N) confederation
còntáct /kɔn'takt/ (M.N) contact
còntèxt /kɔn'tekst/ (M.N) context
còrda /kɔrdə/ (F.N) string, rope. *ir' ajn còrda* go in single file
còrna /kɔrne/ (COLL.F.N) horns
còrns → *tgérn*
còrpòralmajn /kɔrpo'rɔ:lmajn/ (ADV) physically
còschar /kɔʃer/ (IRR.ITR.V) keep quiet, keep silent
còtgal /kɔtçel/ (M.N) charcoal
còtgle /'kɔtçle/ (COLL.F.N) charcoal
còtschans, còtschna → *tgétschan*
craj /kraj/ (IRR.TR.V) believe
crap /krap/ (M.N) stone
crapa /krape/ (COLL.F.N) stones
crèschar (carschín) /'kresʃer/ (/ker'si:n/) (ITR.V) grow, grow up
crèst /kreʃt/ (M.N) 1. hill 2. high ground
criac (PL cròcs) /'kriek/ (/krɔks/) (M.N) plough
cristala /kris'tale/ (F.N) crystal
cròtscha /krɔ'tʃe/ (F.N) plough
cruna /kru:ne/ (F.N) rack, bookshelf
crusch /kru:ʃ/ (F.N) cross
cu, cura /ku:, 'ku:re/ 1. (INTERR.PRON) when 2. (REL.PRON) when
cúa /kue/ (F.N) tail
cùdisch /'kwdiʃ/ (M.N) book
cudizá (cudéza) /kudi'tsa:/ (/ku'de:tse/) (TR.V) tease, provoke
cuélm /kwelm/ (M.N) 1. peak (of a mountain) 2. mountain 3. assembly of houses

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- cuérṣ /kwerz/** (M.N) course
- cuérsa /kwersə/** (F.N) course. **cuérsa ljunga** cross-country skiing
- cuért, -a /kwert, -ə/** (ADJ) short
- cugljaná (cugljuna) /kuł'e:na:/** (/ku'ʎu:nə/) (TR.V) cheat
- cugljèda /kułe:da/** (F.N) clotted milk
- cugljún /ku'ʎun/** (M.N) scoundrel
- cùgn /kʂŋ/** (M.N) wedge
- culiar (PL culjars) /ku'lier/** (/kuljars/) (M.N) collar
- culiaz /ku'liets/** (M.N) neck
- cumandá (camònada) /kumən'da:/** (/kə'mondə/) (TR.V) order
- cumandamèn (PL cumandamajnts) /kumənde'men/** (/kumənde'majnts/) (M.N) commandment
- cumar /ku'ma:r/** (F.N) chatterbox
- cuminònza /kumi'nontse/** (F.N) 1. community 2. working-group
- cumissjuná /kumisju'na:/** (TR.V) commission
- cumpagnia /kumpe'pie/** (F.N) association
- cumpagnè (cumpògna, cumpagnajn) /kumpe'ne:/** (/kum'poɲa, kumpe'najn/) (TR.V) accompany
- cumpignia /kumpij'iə/** (F.N) company. **stá da cumpignia** stay together
- cùmpra /kɔmpre/** (F.N) shopping
- cumprá (cùmpra) /kum'pra:/** (/kɔmpre/) (TR.V) buy
- cun /kun/** (PREP) with
- cunquaj tga /kun'kwaj tɕə/** (COMP) since
- cunscianza /kuns'tsientse/** (F.N) conscience
- cuntantá (cuntjanta) /kunten'ta:/** (/kun'tjante/) (TR.V) satisfy
- cùntar → ancùntar**
- cuntí (PL cuntjal(t)s) /kun'ti:/** (/kun'tjal(t)s/) (M.N) knife
- cuntjanz, -a /kunt'jants, -ə/** (ADJ) pleased, happy
- cunzún /kun'tsun/** (ADV) especially
- cùp /kɔp/** (M.N) bowl
- cùpa /kɔpe/** (F.N) bowl
- cupaná /kupe'na:/** (TR.V) fertilise (e.g. bees)
- cùr /kɔ:r/** (M.N) heart
- curdá (crùda) /kur'da:/** (/krɔ:də/) (ITR.V) fall
- curégjar (curagín) /ku'redʒer/** (/ku'redʒi:n/) (TR.V) correct
- curí (cùra) /ku'ri:/** (/kɔ:re/) (ITR.V) go on. **Tgéj cùra?** What's going on?
- curjòṣ, -a /kur'jɔz, -ə/** (ADJ) strange
- curnada /kur'na:da/** (F.N) push with horns

curnagl /kur'naʎ/ (M.N) Alpine chough
curnaglja /kur'naʎə/ (COLL.F.N) Alpine choughs
curònta /ku'rõnte/ (NUM) forty
curtín /kur'ti:n/ (M.N) garden
cuşchina /ku'zi:ne/ (F.N) kitchen
cuşchiná /kuzi'na:/ (TR/ITR.V) cook
cuşchinada /kuzi'na:de/ (F.N) cooking
custá (cuésta) /kuʃ'ta:/ (/kwestə/) (TR.V) cost
cusunz /ku'zunts/ (M.N) tailor
cuviarar (cuvrín) (PTCP cuvrétg) /ku'verər/ (/kuv'ri:n, kuv'retç/) (TR.V) cover
cuzá (quéza) /ku'tsa:/ (/kwetçə/) (ITR.V) last

D

da, dad /də, dəd/ 1. (PREP) 1.i of 1.ii from 1.iii during 2. (COMP) during 3. dative marker
dá /da:/ (TR.V) 1. give. *dá anavùs* give back. *dá gjù* fall down, hand over. *dá vi* hand over 2. play (cards, sports, etc.) 3. (EXIST.V) there is
dacídar /də'tsi:der/ (TR.V) decide
dacù /də'kv/ (INTERR.PRON) why
dadajnş /də'dajnz/ (ADV) farther behind, in direction up the valley
daditg /də'di:tç/ (ADV) a long time ago
dadò /də'dɔ:/ (PREP) after (in direction down the valley)
dafartauntiar tga /defərtawntiər tçə/ (COMP) whilst
damanajval da /dəmə'najvel de/ (PREP) near
damaun /də'mawn/ 1. (F.N) morning 2. (ADV) tomorrow
damèmja /də'memje/ (ADV) too much
danè /də'nɛ:/ (M.N) money
dantaun /dəntawn/ 1. (ADV) meanwhile 2. (CONJ) however, but
danùndar /də'nvndər/ (INTERR.PRON) where from
dapjandar (dapandín, IMPF dapandèvan) /də'pjander/ (/dəpən'di:n, dəpən'de:ven/) (ITR.V) depend
daplé /də'ple:/ (ADV) more
darasá /dere'za:/ (TR.V) spread
dargún /der'gun/ (M.N) torrent
darivá /der'i:va:/ (ITR.V) come from
dascrívar /dəʃ'kri:ver/ (TR.V) describe
dasgrazjè /dəzgrə'tsje:/ (ITR.V) have an accident
daspèraş /də'spəres/ (ADV) next to it

9 *Tuatschin-English word list*

- dastadá** /dəʃtə'da:/ (IRR.TR.V) wake up
- dasturbá** /dəʃtər'ba:/ (TR.V) disturb
- datá** (datèscha) /də'ta:/ (/də'teʃə/) (ITR.V) date
- datiar** /də'tier/ (ADV) next to it, alongside
- dátum** /'da:tum/ (M.N) date
- davantá** (davjanta) /deven'ta:/ (/dəv'jantə/) (ITR.V) become
- davauntiar** /de'veawn_tier/ (ADV) in front of (it), at the front
- davùş, -a** /də'veʊ:z, -ə/ 1. (ADJ) last 2. (PREP) behind
- davùsajn** /dəvʊ:z'ajn/ (ADV) into ... from the back
- davùsòra** /də'veʊ:z'ɔ:rə/ (ADV) backwards
- davùstiar** /dəvʊ:s'stiar/ (ADV) in the back
- dé** (PL dis) /de:/ (/di:s/) (M.N) day. **al dé ò(ra)** the whole day
- décadènza** /deke'dentse/ (F.N) decadence
- dècèmbar** /də'tsember/ (M.N) december
- déjşch** /dejʒ/ (NUM) ten
- dépònar** /de'po:nər/ (TR.V) store
- dèrgjar** (dargín) (PTCP dërs) /der'dzer/ (/dər'dzi:n, ders/) (TR.V) spill. **dergjar gjù demolish**
- désidéri** /dezi'de:ri/ (M.N) longing
- déstiná** /desti'na:/ (ITR.V) suite
- destrui** /destru'i:/ (TR.V) destruct
- dèt** /det/ (M.SG) finger
- dèta** /dete/ (COLL.F.SG) fingers
- dètg, -a** /dete, -ə/ 1. (ADJ) real, terrible 2. (ADV) much
- détga** /detçə/ (F.N) legend
- di** /di/ dative marker (obsolescent)
- di, dis** /di/ dis/ definite dative article (obsolescent)
- dí** /di:/ (IRR.TR.V) say
- dian** (PL djants) /'dien/ (/djants/) (M.N) tooth
- diaş** (PL diaş) /diez/ ('diez/) (M.N) back
- difarènt, -a** /dife'rent, -ə/ (ADJ) different
- difarènza** /dife'rentse/ (F.N) difference
- dificultat** /difikul'ta:t/ (F.N) difficulty
- digrá** (dagħira) /dig'ra:/ (/də'gi:re/) (ITR.V) drip
- dir, -a** /dir, -ə/ (ADJ) hard
- dirèczjun** /direk'tsjun/ (F.N) direction
- discuérş** /diʃkwerz/ (M.N) conversation
- discusjun** /diʃku'sjun/ (F.N) discussion

discusjuná (discusjunèscha) /dɪskusju'na:/ (/diskusju'nɛʃə/) (TR.V) discuss
dišgrazja /diʒ'gra:tsje/ (F.N) tragedy
dissònant, -a /disɔ'nant, -e/ (ADJ) dissonant
ditg /di:tç/ (ADV) long
djantar /'djanter/ (PREP) among
djantarájn /'djanter'ajn/ (ADV) in between
dju /dju/ (M.N) god
dòcumèntá /dɔkumen'ta:/ (TR.V) document
dòmaşduş (M), -duaş (F), òmaşduş, -duaş /('d)ɔmaʒ'du:z, -e/z/ (NUM) both
dòminant, -a /dɔm'i:nant, -e/ (ADJ) dominant
drègj, drètg, -a /drɛdʒ, drɛtç, -e/ 1. (ADJ) right 2. (ADV) straight ahead
drètg → drègj
dua /du:e/ (NUM) two, in *duatschian* two hundred, *dua mili* two thousand, and
dua pèra two pairs
duatschian /dua'tʃien/ (NUM) two hundred
duaj /dwaj/ (IRR.TR.V) must
dubitá (dubéta) /dubi'ta:/ (/du'bɛ:tɛ/) (TR.V) doubt
dùdişch /dʊ:diʒ/ (NUM) twelve
dulatschè /dulatʃɛ:/ (TR/ITR.V) carve
dumagnè (damògna) /dume'ne/ (/dɛ'mɔnɛ/) (TR.V) cope with
dumandá (damònدا) /dumen'da:/ (/dɛ'mɔndə/) (TR.V) ask
dumbrá /dumb'rɑ:/ (TR.V) count
duméngja /du'mendʒe/ (F.N) Sunday
dun /dun/ (M.N) gift
dùna /dʊnə/ (F.N) woman, wife
durmantá (durmjanta) /durmen'ta:/ (/dur'mjantɛ/) (TR.V) make sleep
durmi (dòrma) /dur'mi:/ (/dɔrmɛ/) (ITR.V) sleep. *durmi òra* have a good sleep
durònt /du'rɔnt/ (PREP) during
duş (M), duaş (F) /du:z, 'duəz/ (NUM) two
dustá (dòsta) /duʃ'ta:/ (/dɔʃtɛ/) (ITR.V) keep away
duvrá (drùva) /duv'rɑ:/ (/dru:və/) (TR.V) 1. use 2. must, should

E

è → èra
èba, èba /'ebə, 'eba/ (ADV) exactly, precisely, in fact, after all
èfèct /ɛ'fekt/ (M.N) effect
èfèctív /ɛfɛk'tiv/ (ADV) effectively, as a matter of fact
ègşistar /eg'zistər/ (ITR.V) exist

9 Tuatschin-English word list

ejf (PL ùfs) /ejf/ (/øfs/) (M.N) egg
èl (PL èls) /el/ (/els/) (PERS.PRON) he, they
èla (PL èlas) /'elə/ (/’eləs/) (PERS.PRON) she, they
èlectric, -a /'elèktrik, -a/ (ADJ) electric
énòrm, -a /e'nòrm, -a/ 1. (ADJ) enormous 2. (ADV) enormously
ér, éjr /e:r, ejr/ (ADV) yesterday
èra, è /'è.ra, è:/ (ADV) also
ésch /ez/ (M.N) door
èssar /'èser/ (COP, ITR.V) be. **èssar da + inf** have to
étápa /e'tapə/ (F.N) leg
étg /etc/ (M.N) ointment
éxact /ek'sakt/ (ADV) exactly
éxáman /ek'samən/ (M.N) exam
èxèmpal /ek'sempel/ (M.N) example
èxnùm /eks'nùm/ (ADV) definitively, imperatively
èxtra /'èkstre/ (ADV) on purpose
èxtrèm, -a /eks'tre:m, -a/ (ADJ) extreme

F

fá /fa:/ (TR.V) do, make. **fá atrás** experience. **fá gjù** make an appointment
fadaral, -a /fede'rål, -a/ (ADJ) federal
fadiè (fadia, fadiajn, fadiava) /fedi'e:/ (/fe'diə, fedi'ajn, fedi'ave/) (TR.V) earn
fagljét /fe'ʌet/ (M.N) youngest son
fagòt /fe'gɔt/ (M.N) bundle
fajn /fajn/ (M.N) hay. **fá fajn** make hay
falian (PL faljans) /fe'lien/ (/fe'ljans/) (M.N) spider
falju, falida /fe'lju, fe'lidə/ (ADJ) wrong
famiglja /fe'miʎə/ (F.N) family
fana /fa:nə/ (F.N) flag
fanadur /fene'du:r/ (M.N) July
fanèstra /fe'nestrə/ (F.N) window
fantasia /fente'zie/ (F.N) fantasy
fardá (fréjda) /fer'da:/ (/frejde/) (TR/ITR.V) smell
farmá /ferma:/ (TR.V) tie
farmada /fer'made/ (F.N) reservoir
faruct /fa'rukt/ (INTENS) crazily, very
fascha /faʃə/ (F.N) bandage
fasciná (fascinèscha) /fests'i'na:/ (/fests'i'nese/) (TR.V) fascinate

- fatg* /fatç/ (M.N) property
fatscha /fatʃe/ (F.N) face
favrè /fev're:/ (M.N) February
fégl /fe:ʎ/ (M.N) 1. son 2. leaf
féglja /fe:ʎa/ 1. (F.N) daughter 2. (COLL.F.N) leaves
féjra /fejre/ (F.N) market
fèl /fel/ (M.N) gall
fèmna /femne/ (F.N) 1. woman 2. female
fèrm, -a /fèrm, -e/ (ADJ) strong
fétg /fetç/ (ADV) very, much
fiap (PL fòps) /frep/ (/fɔps/) (M.N) hollow
fiar (PL fjars) /firer/ (/fjars/) (M.N) iron. *fá ò cul fiar* iron
ficé /fi:tse/ (M.N) vice, number two
figura /fi'gu:re/ (F.N) figure
fil /fil/ (M.N) 1. thread 2. jet
filá /fila:/ (TR/ITR.V) spin
fildiròm /fildi'rɔm/ (M.N) wire
filistùca /fili'stɔke/ (F.N) prank
fimá (féma) /fim'a:/ ('fe:me/) (TR/ITR.V) smoke
fimantá (fimjanta) /fimən'ta:/ ('fim'jante/) (TR.V) smoke
finadín, finadina /fine'din, -e/ (PRON) everyone
finala /fi'na:lə/ (F.N) end. *la finala* in the end
finí /fi'ni:/ (TR/ITR.V) finish, end
fist /fist/ (M.N) stick
fjasta /fjaste/ (F.N) party
ffuc /fuk/ (M.N) fire
flagí (PL flagjal(t)s) /flə'dzi:/ (/flə'dʒal(t)s/) (M.N) flail
flajvlèza /flajv'lɛzə/ (F.N) weakness
flòt, -a /flòt, -e/ 1. (ADJ) great, smart, nice 2. (ADV) easily
flucs /fluks/ (PL.M.N) chopped straw
flur /flu:r/ (F.N) flower
fòl /fɔl/ (M.N) bellows
fòm /fɔm/ (F.N) hunger
fòmaz /fɔ'mats/, in *vaj fòmaz* be ravenous
fòntauna /fon'tawne/ (F.N) source
fòpa /fɔpe/ (F.N) big hollow
fòrestal /fɔreʃta:l/ (M.N) forest ranger
fòrestalèssar /fɔreʃta:l'ɛsər/ (M.N) forestry

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- fòrmazjun* /fɔrmə'tʃun/ (F.N) lineup
fòrsa, fòrza /'fɔrsə, 'fɔrtṣə/ (F.N) power, strength²
fòrza, fòrsa /'fɔrtṣə, 'fɔrsə/ (ADV) maybe
fòtògrafia /fɔtɔgr̥e'fri/ (F.N) photograph
frá /fra:/ (M.N) brother
frajd, -a /frajd, -ə/ (ADJ) cold
frang, franc /fran̥, fran̥k/ (M.N) franc (monetary unit)
fraquantá, fraquantá ò /frækwen'ta:, frækwen'ta: ɔ:/ (TR.V) visit
fravi /'fra:vi/ (M.N) smith
frèstg, -a /frɛstç, -ə/ (ADJ) fresh
frida /'fri:də/ (F.N) blow
frina /'fri:nə/ (F.N) flour
fuájna /fu'a:jnə/ (F.N) fireplace
fufargnè (fufrògna) /fufer'jne:/ (/fufrɔŋna/) (ITR.V) rummage
fugí /fudʒi:/ (IRR.ITR.V) flee
fulanau, -ada /fule'naw, '-a:de/ (ADJ) crowded
fumatgèsä, fumitgèsä /fume'tçe:ze, fumi'tçe:ze / (F.N) maid
fumègl /fu'meł/ (M.N) farmhand
func /funk/ (M.N) radio
fun /fʊn/ (M.N) pound
funcsaná /funksəna:/ (ITR.V) function
fundamajn /funde'majn/ (M.N) foundation
füns /fʊns/ (M.N) 1.ground. *ir' a füns* drown 2.fields
furá (fùra) /fura:/ (/fʊ:re/) (TR.V) pierce
furclèta /furk'lète/ (F.N) notch
furşchá (frušcha) /fur'ža:/ ('fru:žə/) (TR.V) rub

G

- gaglina* /ge'ʎinə/ (F.N) hen
galòpá /gelo'pa:/ (ITR.V) gallop
gamba → *ajn gamba*
gang /gaŋg/ (M.N) corridor
ganùglja /ge'nʊʎa/ (F.N) knee
gártar /garter/ (M.N) grating
gartagjè (gartègja) /gerte'dzɛ:/ (/ger'te:dzɛ/) (ITR.V) succeed

²There is a certain confusion between *fòrsa* and *fòrza*. In my opinion, *fòrza* is the original Tuatschin word for ‘maybe’, and *fòrsa* for ‘strength’. In Standard Sursilvan, it is the opposite.

gassaglјè (gassèglja) /gasə'glјe:/ (/ga'sə:glјe/) (TR.v) flagellate
gè /džε/ (ADV) 1. yes 2. in fact
gégja /'dže:dže/ (F.N) violin
géjvja /'dzejvje/ (F.N) Thursday
général → *ajn général*
ghén /gen/ (M.N) gene
ghítar /'giter/ (M.N) grid
gidá /dži'da:/ (TR.v) help
gidòntar /dži'donter/ (M.N) assistant, helper
gisjat /dži'sjat/ (NUM) seventeen
gizá (géza) /dži'tsa:/ ('dže:tse/) (TR.v) sharpen
gjadju /dže'dju/ (M.N) Jew
gjajna /'džajna/ (F.N) 1. gate 2. hay rack of only two posts
gjalá /dže'la:/ (TR/ITR.v) freeze
gjani'turş /dženi'turz/ (PL.M.N) parents
gjassa /'džase/ (F.N) narrow path
gjat /džat/ (M.N) cat
gjával /'džavel/ (M.N) devil
gjantá /džen'ta:/ 1. (ITR.v) have lunch 2. (M.N) lunch
gjù /džʊ/ (ADV) down
gjùdajn /džʊ'dajn/ (ADV) down in(to), at the bottom
gjùdòra, gjùadòra /džʊ(v)e)dɔ:re/ (ADV) down out, in direction down the valley
gjuc /džuk/ (M.N) game
gjuf /džuf/ (M.N) yoke
gjùta /'džvte/ (F.N) pearl barley
gjuvan, gjufna /'dzu:ven, 'dzu:fne/ (ADJ/N) young, young people
gjuvanòtar /džuve'nöter/ (M.N) youngster
gjuvantétgna /džuven'tetcne/ (F.N) youth
gjùsùt /džʊ'svt/ (ADV) down and under
gl /ʌ/ (M.DEF.ART before vowel) the
glas /gla:z/ (M.N) glass
glatsch /glafʃ/ (M.N) ice
gljèds, gljèz /ʌedz, ʌets/ (UNM.DEM.PRON) this, that
gljèndišdiš /ʌendiʒ'di:z/ (M.N) Monday
gljèz → *gljèds*
gljud /ʌu:d/ (F.N) people
gljunsch /ʌunʃ/ (ADV) far, far away
gnanc, gnang /naŋk, naŋg/ (ADV) not even

9 Tuatschin-English word list

gnarva /'narve/ (F.N) nerve

grad /grad/ (ADV) just, exactly, immediately

gramática /grə'matike/ (F.N) grammar

grascha /graʃə/ (F.N) dung, fertiliser. **métar grascha** dung

graun /grawn/ (M.N) cereal, corn

gréjv, -a /grejv, -ə/ (ADJ) 1. heavy 2. difficult

grép /grep/ (M.N) rock

grépa /grepe/ (COLL.F.N) rocks

grí (grèscha, grin, IMPF gréva) /gri:/ (/griʃə, gri:n, 'gre:və/) (ITR.V) shout

griaş, gròs gròssa /griez, grɔz, 'grøsə/ (ADJ) fat

griaş /griez/ (M.N) drone (insect)

grişchún, -a /gri'ʒun, -ə/ (ADJ) from the Grisons

gròma /grøme/ (F.N) cream

gròn, -da /grɔn, -də/ (ADJ) big, old

gròndèzja /grɔn'deʒja/ (F.N) size

gròndjuş, -a /grɔnd'ju:z, -ə/ (ADJ) great

gròs, gròssa → **griaş**

guardja /'gwardje/ (F.N) guard

gudaj /gu'daj/ (IRR.TR.V) enjoy

gudignè (gudògna) /gudi'ne:/ (/gu'diŋə/) (TR.V) earn

guiş /gu'iz/ (F.N) rifle

H

habitazjun /hebitə'tsjun/ (F.N) apartment, flat

hald /hald/ (ADV) simply, just

hanlégi, hanlétg /hen'ledz, han'letç/ (M.N) business

hèfti, -a /'hefti, -ə/ (ADJ) hard, strenuous, violent

hèrzig, -a /'hertsig, -ə/ (ADJ) cute

històrja, istòrja /(h)iʃ'torja/ (F.N) story

hòsp /hɔsp/ (M.N) guest

hòspíz /hɔʃpi:ts/ (M.N) hospice

hòta /hɔtə/ (M.N) rein

hôtèl /hɔ'tel/ (M.N) hotel

humòristic, -a /humɔ'ristik, -ə/ (ADJ) funny

I

i /i/ 1. (PERS.PRON.3PL) they 2. (EXPL.PRON) there

i → *ira*

iart (PL òrts) /'iərt/ (/ɔrts/) (M.N) garden

iaş (PL òş) /iəz/ (/ɔz/) (M.N) bone

iastar, jastars, jastra /'ieʃter, 'jaʃterz, 'jaʃtre/ (ADJ) 1. foreign 2. strange

idé(j)a /i'de(j)a/ (F.N) idea

impau, in pau /im'paw, in paw/ (QUANT) a bit

imprasjun /imprəs'jun/ (F.N) impression

in, -a /i:n, i:nə/ (NUM/INDEF.ART.SG) one, a

in pau → *impau*

incassá /inkə'sa:/ (TR/ITR.V) collect (money)

indigèn, -a /indi'dzə:n, -və/ (ADJ/N) local, indigenous

indişch /'indiz/ (NUM) eleven

inqual, -a /in'kwal, -və/ (INDEF.DET) some

inş /inz/ (GNR.PRON) one, we, you

instruczjun /instruk'tsjun/ (F.N) teaching

instruí /in'stru'i:/ (TR/ITR.V) teach

instrumajnt /in'stru'majnt/ (M.N) instrument

insùma /in'sümə/ (ADV) anyway. *insùma bétg* not at all

intanzjunau, -ada /intəntsju'naw, -a:deə/ (ADJ) benevolent

intarassant, -a /intə're:sant, -və/ (ADJ) interesting

intènt /in'tent/ (M.N) plan

intèrn, -a /in'tern, -və/ (ADJ) domestic

intgarnameş, -ada /intçar'naws, -'a:deə/ (ADJ) inveterate

ira, ir', i /i:re/ (ITR.V) go. *i par* look for

iral /i'ra:l/ (M.N) threshing floor

isá /i'za:/ (ITR.V) run back and forth (cows)

işchí (PL işchjal(t)s) /i'zi:/ (/iʒ'jal(t)s/) (M.N) maple tree

istòrja → *històrja*

J

jamna /'jamne/ (F.N) week

jarva /'jarve/ (F.N) grass

jástars, jastra → *iastar*

jèda /'je:də/ (F.N) time. *in' jèda* once

jéli /'jeli/ (M.N) oil

ju /ju/ (PERS.PRON) I

L

9 *Tuatschin-English word list*

- la, l'* /lə/ 1. (DEF.ART.F.SG) the 2. (PERS.PRON) she
- lad, -a* /la:d, -ə/ (ADJ) large, broad
- ládar* /la:dər/ (M.N) thief
- lag* /la:g/ (M.N) lake
- lagagè* (laghègja) /lə'gə:dzə:/ (/lə'gə:dzə/) (TR/ITR.V) lurk, lie in wait
- laguétar* (lagutín) /lə'gweter/ (/ləgu'ti:n/) (TR.V) swallow
- lahargnè* (lahrògna) /leher'ŋe:/ (/ləh'erŋe/) (ITR.V) giggle
- lárisch* /la:riʃ/ (M.N) larch
- lartg, largja* /lartç, 'lardje/ (ADJ) 1. wide 2. free
- lata* /'late/ (F.N) slat
- latjarna* /le'tjarne/ (F.N) lantern
- lavá* (léjva) /lə'va:/ (/lējvə/) (ITR.V) get up
- lavá* (lava) /lə'va:/ (/lāvə/) (TR.V) wash. *lavá gjù* do the dishes
- lavaghè* (lavaja, lavagajn) /ləvə'gε:/ (/lə'vajε, ləvə'gajn/) (TR.V) damage
- lavina* /lə'vi:nə/ (F.N) avalanche
- lavinèra* /lavi'nere/ (F.N) avalanche barrier
- lavur* /lə'vu:r/ (F.N) work
- lèdi, -dja*³ /lə:di, -dʒə/ (ADJ) bachelor, not married
- lèds/lèz, lèza* /lədz/lets, letse/ (DEM.PRON) this
- léjg, létg* /le:dz, le:tç/ (M.N) bed
- légjar* (lagín) /ledzər/ (/lə'dzi:n/) (TR/ITR.V) read
- léjv, -a* /lejv, -ə/ (ADJ) light
- léjgar, -gra* /lejgar, -grə/ (ADJ) funny
- lèn* /lən/ (M.N) wood, firewood
- lèna* /lənə/ (COLL.F.N) wood, firewood. *fá lèna* fell trees
- létg → léjg*
- lètg* /lə:tç/ (F.N) marriage, matrimony
- lèz → lèds*
- líbar, -bra* /liber, -bre/ (ADJ) free
- lingja* /lindzə/ (F.N) line
- li* /li/ dative marker (obsolescent)
- li, lis* /li, lis/ definite dative article (obsolescent)
- ljòngja* /ʎɔndzə/ (F.N) sausage
- ljuc* (PL lògans) /ljuk/ (/lɔ:ganz/) (M.N) place
- ljung, -a* /ljunj, 'ljunjə/ (ADJ) long
- lò* /lɔ/ (ADV) there
- lòcál* /lɔ'ka:l/ (M.N) place

³For the masculine, the form *lèdic* is also used.

lòcalitat /lɔkeli'ta:t/ (F.N) place

lòntscha /'lɔntʃə/ (F.N) lance

lu → *lura*

luá (líua) /lu'a:/ ('liwə/) (ITR.V) melt

luajn /lwajn/ (ADV) out there (in direction up the valley)

luantá /luen'ta:/ (TR.V) melt

lubiantscha /lu'bienʃə/ (F.N) permission

ludá (lauda) /lu'da:/ ('lawdə/) (TR.V) praise

luf /luf/ (M.N) wolf

lump /lump/ (M.N) rascal

lumparia /lumpe'rie/ (F.N) childish prank

lungatg /luŋ'ga:tç/ (M.N) language

lungatg-mùma /luŋ'ga:tç-mùma/ (M.N) mother tongue

lunguruş, -e /luŋgu'ru:z, -e/ (ADJ) boring

luòra /lwɔ:rə/ (ADV) out there (in direction down the valley)

lura, lu /lu're, lu/ (ADV) then

lùsch, -a /lʊʒ, -ə/ (ADJ) proud

luschèzja /lu'ʒɛtsjə/ (F.N) pride, proudness

luvrá (lavura) /luv'rə:/ ('le'vu:re/) (ITR.V) work

luvrè /luv'rə:/ (M.N) worker

M

má tga /ma: tçə/ (COMP) since

macòrta, macòrts → *matgiart*

macrún /mɛ'krun/ (M.N) macaroni

madèm, -a /mɛ'dem, -ə/ (ADJ) same

madirá /medi'ra:/ (ITR.V) ripen

magari /mɛ'garɪ/ (ADV) sometimes

magljaş /'maʎəz/ (PL.F.N) provisions

maglje /mɛ'ʎɛ:/ (TR/ITR.V) eat

magnùc /mɛ'nɔsk/ (M.N) cheese

maj /maj/ (ADV) never

majl /majl/ (M.N) apple

majla /majle/ (COLL.F.N) apples

majnadistrict /majnad'istrikt/ (M.N) head of district

majnş /majnz/ (M.N) month

majsa /majze/ (F.N) table

majşèş /maj'zez/ (M.N) assembly of houses in the Alps

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- majstar** /majst̪er/ (M.N) joiner
- mal, -a** /ma:l, -a/ (ADJ) bad
- mal** /ma:l/ (ADV) badly
- malagè** (malègja) /mələ'dze/ (/mə'lædze/) (TR/ITR.V) paint
- malaura** /mə'lawrə/ (F.N) bad weather
- malètg** /mə'lɛt̪c/ (M.N) picture
- malitèr** /meli'ter/ (M.N) 1. army, military 2. military service 3. soldier
- maljún** /mə'ʎun/ (NUM) million
- malsagidajval, -vla** /malsədži:dajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) ungainly
- malsagir** /məlsədži:r, -a/ (ADJ) 1. unsafe 2. unsure
- maná** (majna) /mə'na:/ (/majnə/) (ITR./TR.V) lead
- manajval** /mə'najvel/ (ADV) easily
- manèdal, -dla** /ma'nε:del, -dle/ (ADJ) fine
- manèstra** /mə'nεstre/ (F.N) pottage
- manizá** (manéza) /məni'tsa:/ (/mə'netse/) (TR.V) chop
- manualmajn** /menu'almajn/ (ADV) manually
- mar** /ma:r/ (F.N) sea
- marcá** /mar'ka:/ (TR.V) mark
- mardís** /mer'di:s/ (M.N) Tuesday
- maridá** /mari'da:/ (TR/ITR.V) marry, get married
- marjanda** /mer'jande/ (F.N) meal
- mars** /mars/ (M.N) March
- marsch, -a** /marʃ, -a/ (ADJ) 1. rotten 2. lazy
- marschadétgna** /merʃə'detçne/ (F.N) laziness
- marschè** /mer'se:/ (ITR.V) march, go on
- martéri** /mer'teri/ (M.N) ordeal
- martí** (PL martjal(t)s) /mer'ti:/ (/mer'tjal(t)s/) (M.N) hammer
- martgadònt** /mertge'dont/ (M.N) merchant
- martgau** /mer'tçaw/ (M.N) city
- máscal** /maʃkel/ (ADJ) male
- maschina** /me'ʃi:ne/ (F.N) machine
- masjamna** /mez'jamne/ (F.N) Wednesday
- massa** /'masə/ (ADV) lots, much
- mastral** /meʃ'tra:l/ (M.N) senior official
- mastarlässa** /mester'lesə/ (F.N) senior official's wife
- mat** /mat/ (M.N) boy, young man
- mata** /'mate/ (F.N) girl, young woman
- mataj** /me'taj/ (ADV) probably

matal (PL matalts) /mə'tal/ (/mə'talts/) (M.N) metal

matg /ma:tç/ (M.N) 1. bundle (of flowers) 2. May

matgiart, macòrts, macòrta /mə'tçiert, mə'kɔrts, mə'kɔrte/ (ADJ) ugly

maun /mawn/ (M.N) hand. **vaj zatgéj ajnta maun** be responsible for something

maz /mats/ (M.N) killing

mazá /mə'tsa:/ (TR.V) kill

mazaun, -a /mə'tsawn, -e/ (ADJ) ill

mé /me:/ (IO.PERS.PRON) me

mè /mε:/ (DO.PERS.PRON) me

mècsgjar /'mɛksdzer/ (M.N) butcher

mégljar, -a /'meλvar, -e/ (ADJ) better

mégljar /'meλvar/ (ADV) better. **al mégljar** the best

mégljardétg /'meλvar'detç/ (ADV) more precisely

méjl /mejl/ (M.N) jam, marmelade. **méjl d'avjuls** honey

méjs, mia /mejz, 'mie/ (POSS.PRON.1SG.PRED) mine (SG)

méjs, mias /mejz, 'miez/ (POSS.DET.1SG) my (PL). **als méjs, las mias** (POSS.PRON.1SG.NOM) mine (PL)

mél /me:l/ (M.N) mule

mèlan, -lna /'melen, -lne/ (ADJ) yellow

méli → **mili**

mèmi, mèmja /'memi, 'memje/ (ADV) too

mèndar /'mender/ (ADV) worse

mèssa /'mese/ (F.N) mass

métar (matajn) /'meter/ (/mə'tajn/) (TR.V) put. **métar avaun** imagine

mètar /'metar/ (M.N) metre

mèz, -a /mets, -e/ (ADJ) myself

mia → **méjs, mju**

miadi /'miedi/ (M.N) doctor

miads, miaz, mjasa /'miedz, 'miets, 'mjaze/ (NUM) half. **mjasa laš déjsch** half past nine

miart, mòrts, mòrta /'miert, mɔrts, 'mɔrte/ (ADJ) dead

miaz → **miads**

midá /mi'da:/ (V.TR) change. **midá** ò replace, exchange

midada /mi'da:de/ (F.N) change

mili, méli /mili, 'meli/ (NUM) thousand

minérал, -a /mine'ra:l, -e/ (ADJ) mineral

mintga /mintçe/ (INDEF.DET) every

mintgataun /mintçə'tawn/ (ADV) sometimes

9 Tuatschin-English word list

mintgín, -ina /min'tçin, '-ine/ (INDEF.PRON) everybody

minuta /mi'nute/ (F.N) minute

mir /mi:r/ (M.N) 1. wall. ***mir da farmada*** wall of a reservoir 2. rock face

mirá /mi'rɑ:/ (TR.V) 1. look. ***mirá da*** care for. ***mirá sén*** control 2. ***mirá tga*** make sure that

misérja /mizé:rjɛ/ (F.N) problem, trouble

mistrégn /mif'trep/ (M.N) profession

misarabal, -bla /mize'ra:bel, -ble/ (ADJ) miserable

misjun /mis'jun/ (F.N) mission

mitschè (métscha) /mi'ʃɛ:/ (/me:ʃɛ/) (ITR.V) escape

mjasa → miads

mjasanòtg /mjaze'nɔtç/ (F.N) midnight

mjòla /mjo:la/ (F.N) cup

mju, mia /mju, 'mje/ (POSS.DET.SG) my. ***al mju, la mia*** (POSS.PRON.1SG.NOM) mine

mòni /'mɔni/ (M.N) handle

mòrdar (murdín) /'mɔrder/ (/mur'di:n/) (TR.V) bite

mòribund /mɔri'bund/ (M.N) dying people

mòrt /mɔrt/ (F.N) death

mòrta, mòrts → miart

mòtif /mɔ'tif/ (M.N) reason

mù /mø/ 1. (ADV) only 2. (CONJ) but

muantá /muen'ta:/ (TR.V) move

mucs, in fá bigja mucs not move at all, make no sound at all

mudargè (mudrègja) /muder'dzɛ:/ (/mud're:dzɛ/) (TR.V) torment

mujèra /mu'jere/ (F.N) cow without calves

mulá (mòla) /mu'la:/ (/mɔ:le/) (TR.V) grind

mulissiar /muli'sier/ (M.N) negotiator

mùma /mømø/ (F.N) mother

mùn /møn/ (M.N) world

munajda /mu'najdɛ/ (F.N) coin

mùngjar (PTCP mùgnşch) /møndžer/ (/møŋʒ/) (TR/ITR.V) milk

munglá (maungla) /mung'la:/ (/mawn:gla/) (ITR.V) should

mumèn /mu'men/ (M.N) moment

munièssa /muni'ese/ (F.N) nun

munizjun /muni'tsjun/ (F.M) munition

muri (mùra) /mu'ri:/ (/mø:re/) (ITR.V) die

muséum /mu'zeum/ (M.N) museum

música /muzike/ (F.N) music

musicant /muzi'kant/ (M.N) musician

mussá (mùssa) /mu'sa:/ (/mʊsə/) (TR.V) show

müssavia /mʊsə'vei:a/ (F.N) signpost

mùtg /mɔtç/ (M.N) two-year-old calf

múval /'muvel/ (M.N) cattle

N

na /na:/ (ADV) no

Nadal /ne'da:l/ (M.N) Christmas. **Nadal-nòtg** Christmas Eve

nagá (nèga) /nè'ga:/ (/nɛ:gə/) (ITR.V) drown

nagantá (nag-janta) /negen'ta:/ (/neg'jante/) (TR.V) drown

nagín, nagina /nè'dzin, -a/ (INDEF.PRON) no

nagljú /nè'ʎu:/ (ADV) nowhere

najr, -a /najr, -a/ (ADJ) black

najv /najv/ (F.N) snow. **métar najv** remove snow

nara /na:re/ (COLL.F.N) mad people

nataléci /nete'letsi/ (M.N) birthday

nátel /natel/ (M.N) smartphone

natira /nè'tire/ (F.N) nature

natural, -a /netur'a:l, -a/ (ADJ) natural

naturálmajn /netu'ralmajn/ (ADV) naturally

nausch, -a /nawʃ, -a/ (ADJ) bad

navada /nè'va:de/ (F.N) snowfall

navé /nè've/ (DISC) right?

navèn /nè'ven/ 1. (ADV) away 2. (PREP) **navèn da** away from

navònta /nè'ventə/ (NUM) ninety

né /ne/ (CONJ) or. **né ... né** neither ... nor

néjfs /nejfs/ (M.N) nephew

nègla /nè:gla/ (F.N) carnation

néjv, nùvṣ, nùva /nejv, nɔ:vz, 'nɔ:və/ (ADJ) new. **da néjv** again

néschar (néscha, naschín, naschéva) /'neʃer/ (/nɛʃə, nɛ'si:n, nɛ'ʃe:ve/) (ITR.V) be born

névétg /ne'vetç/ (DISC) right?

niabal, nòbals, nòbla /'niabel, 'nɔ:bæls, 'nɔ:ble/ (ADJ) noble

niaṣ, nòssa /nierz, nɔse/ (POSS.DET.1PL) our (SG). **al niaṣ, la nòssa** (POSS.PRON.1PL) ours (SG)

nibla /ni:ble/ (F.N) cloud

njaza /'njatse/ (F.N) niece

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- nògj, nòtg /nɔdʒ, nɔtç/ (F.N) night*
*nònavaun /nɔnə'vawn/ (ADV) awake. **vagní nònavaun** 1. recover 2. wake up*
nòrd /nɔrd/ (M.N) north
nòş, nòssa /nɔz, nɔsə/ (POSS.PRON.PRED) ours (SG)
nòş, nòssaş /nɔz, nɔsəz/ (POSS.DET) our (PL)
nòssa → nias
nòtg → nògj
nòtizja /nɔ'titsjɛ/ (N.F) news
nòvèmbar /nɔ'vember/ (M.N) November
*nù, nùca (*tga*) /nʊ, 'nukə (tçə)/ 1. (REL.PRON) where 2. (PREP) by*
nùa /'nua/ (INTERR.PRON) where
nùda /nɔde/ (F.N) brand
nuégl /nu'eʎ/ (M.N) barn
nuét /nwet/ (INDEF.PRON) nothing
nuéta /'nwete/ (NEG) no
nuf /nu:f/ (M.N) knot
nuídis /nu'i:dis/ (ADV) reluctantly
nula /'nule/ (NUM) zero
*nùm /nʊm/ (M.N) name. **vaj nùm** be called*
nündétg, -a /nʊn'detç, -a/ 1. (ADJ) indescribable 2. (ADV) incredibly
nùnpussajval, -vle /,nʊnpu'sajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) impossible
nùrsa /'nʊrsə/ (F.N) sheep
nus /nu:z/ (PERS.PRON) we, us
nùv /nʊv/ (NUM) nine

O

- ò, òra /ɔ:, 'ɔ:rə/ 1. (ADV) out 2. (PREP) in direction down the valley*
òbligazjun /ɔblige'tsjun/ (F.N) obligation
òctòbar /ɔk'tɔ:ber/ (M.N) October
òdavaun /,ɔ:də'vawn/ (ADV) in advance
òdaviart /,ɔ:da'viart/ (ADV) outside
òdém /,ɔ:'de:m/ (PREP) at the lowest part of the valley
òficiar /ɔfi'tsier/ (M.N) officer
ògj, òtg /ɔdʒ, ɔtç/ (NUM) eight
ògn /ɔŋ/ (M.N) alder
ògna /'alŋ/ (COLL.F.N) alders
òlma /'ɔlme/ (F.N) soul
òmaşduş → dòmaşduş

òn /ɔn/ (M.N) year

òn /ɔn/ (ADV) this year

ònda /'ɔndə/ (F.N) aunt

ònur /ɔ'nur/ (F.N) honour

òra → *ò*

òragjùsùt /ɔ:rèdžus'zt/ (PREP) underneath in direction down the valley

òrasé /ɔ:re'se/ (ADV) up, down the valley and up

òravauntùt /ɔ:revawn'tst/ (ADV) above all

òrazjun /ɔ:re'tsjun/ (F.N) prayer

òrd /ɔrd/ (PREP) out of

òrdavaun /ɔrdè'vawn/ (ADV) in advance, in front

òordinari, -a /ɔrdi'na:ri, -a/ (ADJ) usual. *par ordinari* usually

òndlündar /ɔrd'lündər/ (ADV) out of it

òrdonanz /ɔrdɔ'nants/ (M.N) orderly

òrganisá (òrganisèscha) /ɔrgəni'za:/ (/ɔrgəni'zɛʃə/) (TR.V) organise

òrgla /'ɔrgla/ (F.N) organ

òrjèntazjun /ɔrjenta'tsjun/ (F.N) orientation, sense of orientation

òrtṣ → *iart*

òtg → *ògj*

òtgònta /ɔ'tçöntə/ (NUM) eighty

òvra /'ɔvra/ (F.N) work

òz /ɔts/ (ADV) today

òzaldé /ɔtsal'de:/ (ADV) nowadays

P

pádar /'pa:der/ (M.N) Father

padèl /pe'del/ (M.N) caretaker

paglјè (pèglja, paglijajn) /pe'ʎɛ:/ (/pe:ʎa, pe'ʎajn/) (TR.V) hit

paj /paj/ (M.N) foot

pajr /pajr/ (M.N) pear

pajra /pajre/ (COLL.F.N) pears

pal /pa:l/ (M.N) post

palé /pa'le/ (M.N) post

paliat (PL paljats) /pe'liet/ (/pe'ljats/) (M.N) arrow

panaglja /pe'na:ʎa/ (F.N) butter barrel, butter tub

panšjuná /panzju'na:/ (TR.V) pension off

par, pr /per, pr/ 1. (PREP) for 2. (COMP) in order to

pará /pe'ra:/ (ITR.V) seem

9 *Tuatschin-English word list*

parada /pe'ra:de/ (F.N) parade

paraj /pe'raj/ (ITR.V) seem

parcadi /per'ka:di/ (M.N) parking space

pardagè (pardégja) /perde'dze:/ (/per'dedze/) (ITR.V) preach

pardèrt, -a /per'dert, -ə/ (ADJ) clever

parmavèra, prmavèra /perme'vere, pŕme'vere/ (F.N) spring

parquaj, prquaj tga /per'kwaj, pŕ'kwaj tce/ (COMP) because

parschuadjuş, -dida /perʃwa'djuz, -'di:de/ (PTCP/ADJ) convinced

parsjantar /per'sjanter/ (ADV) therefore, for it

parsul, prsul, -a /per'su:l, pŕ'su:l, -ə/ (ADJ) alone

parsuna /per'su:ne/ (F.N) person

part /part/ (F.N) part. **par part** partially

partí ajn /per'ti: ajn/ (TR.V) divide

partgé(j) /per'tce(j)/ (COMP) because

partgirá /per'tci'ra:/ (TR.V) mind (animals)

parvaj /per'vaj/ (IRR.TR.V) feed

parvasèdar, prvasèdar /perve'ze:der, pŕve'ze:der/ (M.N) herdsman

parví da /per'vei de/ (PREP) because of

pas /pas/ (M.N) 1. step 2. pass

pasanca /pe'zanke/ 1. (F.N) heavy load 2. (ELAT) very heavy

pascá /peʃka:/ (TR/ITR.V) fish

pástar /paſter/ (M.N) shepherd. **pástar gròn** main shepherd. **pástar pin** second shepherd

pastgè /peʃ'tce:/ (ITR.V) graze

pastira /peʃ'ti:re/ (F.N) pastureland

pastur /peʃtu:r/ (M.N) herdsman

patarlá /peter'la:/ (ITR.V) chatter

patar'nias /peter'niəs/ (M.N) Lord's prayer

patarnòş /peter'nɔz/ (M.N) Lord's prayer

patartgè (patratga) /peter'tce:/ (/pe'tra:tce/) (ITR.V) think, reflect

patgè (pétga, patgajn) /pa'tce:/ (/pe:tce, p̥etg'ajn/) (TR.V) hit, beat, knock

patschificamajn /peʃfi:fikamajn/ (ADV) peacefully

patrún-basèlgja /pe'trun-bezel'dze/ (M.N) Church Patron

pau → impau

pauc, -a /pawk, -ə/ (QUANT.DET/ADV) little

paun /pawn/ (M.N) bread

paupar, -pra /pawper, -pre/ (ADJ) poor

paupradat /pawpre'dat/ (F.N) poverty

pausa /'pawze/ (F.N) pause
pával /'pavel/ (M.N) food (for animals)
pazjènt, -a /pə'tsjent, -və/ (ADJ) patient
pégn /peŋ/ (M.N) spruce, fir tree
pègn /peŋ/ (M.N) pledge
pégna /peŋə/ (F.N) oven
péjda /pejde/ (F.N) time, leisure
pèlègrinadi /pəlegrī'na:di/ (M.N) pilgrimage
pèn /pən/ (M.N) buttermilk
pènsjònau, -ada /pənzjo'naw, -'a:də/ (PTCP/ADJ) retired
pènsum /'penzum/ (M.N) homework
pér /pe:r/ (ADV) only
pèr /pe:r/ (M.N) pair. **in pèr** a couple of
pèra /pe:re/ (COLL.F.N) pairs (with paired terms like *traja pèra cazès* three pairs of shoes)
péta /'pete/ (F.N) cake
pétg /petç/ (M.N) prick, hoe
pétga /'petçə/ (F.N) post
pèz /pets/ (M.N) chest
pi /pi/ (CONJ) and then
pia /'pie/ (ADV) thus, therefore
piaglja /pi'aʎə/ (F.N) salary
piartg, pòrs /'piertç, pɔrɔ:/ (M.N) pig
piè (paja) /pi'ɛ:/ (/pajɛ/) (TR/ITR.V) pay
pin, pins, pintga /pin, pinz, 'pintçə/ (ADJ) small
piná (pjajna) /pi'na:/ (/pjajnə/) (TR.V) 1. prepare. **èssar pinaus** be ready 2. fell (wood), log
pintga → pin
pista /'piste/ (F.N) slope
pistraca /piʃtrake/ (F.N) mixture (food)
pitgògna /pi'tçɔŋə/ (F.N) steep slope
piún /pi'un/ (M.N) lard
pjal /pja:l/ (F.N) skin
pjardar (pardín) (PTCP pjars) /pjarder/ (/per'di:n, pjars/) (TR.V) lose
pjandar (pandín) /'pjander/ (/pan'di:n/) (TR/ITR.V) hang
placat /ple'ka:t/ (M.N) poster, signboard
pladí (plajda, plidajn) /pla'di:/ (/plajda, pli'dajn/) (TR.V) employ
plaja /plaje/ (F.N) wound

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- plajd** /plajd/ (M.N) word
- plajn, -a** /plajn, -e/ (ADJ) full
- plajv** /plajv/ (F.N) parish
- plantschju** /plan'tʃju/ (M.N) floor
- plaſchaj** /ple'zaj/ 1. (M.N) pleasure 2. (ITR.V) please
- plat** /plat/ (M.N) flat ground
- plat, -a** /plat, -e/ (ADJ) flat
- plata** /'plate/ (F.N) slab
- plaunca** /plawnke/ (F.N) slope
- plavòn** /ple'ven/ (M.N) parish priest
- plauna** /'plawnə/ (F.N) chasuble
- plaunsjú** /plau'n'sju/ (ADV) slowly
- plaz** /plats/ (M.N) place
- plaza** /'platse/ (F.N) job
- plé** /ple:/ (ADV) more. *bétga* ... **plé** not any more. **plé passau, -ada** older (of people)
- plèc** /plék/ (M.N) flat bell
- pléjdar** /'plejder/ (M.N) block
- plénangjù** /plenen'dzv:/ (ADV) more downhill
- plénansé** /plenən'se/ (ADV) more uphill
- pléndanajn** /plende'najn/ (ADV) more up the valley
- pléndanòra** /plende'nɔrə/ (ADV) more down the valley
- pléndanòragjù** /plendənɔrə'dzv/ (ADV) down (more down the valley)
- plétòst** /ple'tɔ:t/ (ADV) rather
- plirá** /pli'ra:/ (ITR.V) moan, complain
- plùvar** (IMPF pluéva) /'pls:vər/ (/plu'e:ve/) (ITR.V) rain
- pòlicia** /pòli'tsie/ (F.N) police
- pòlisch** /'pɔlif/ (M.N) thumb
- pòndará** (pòndarèscha) /pòndə'ra:/ (/pòndə'refə/) (ITR.V) think
- pòp** /pòp/ (M.N) baby
- pòrš → piartg**
- pòršchar** (purşchín) /'pɔržer/ (/pur'ži:n/) (TR.V) offer
- pòrta** /pòrte/ (F.N) door
- pòrta-clavau** /pòrte-kle'vew/ (F.N) barn door
- pòrtga** /pòrtce/ (F.N) dirty girl
- pòst** /pɔ:t/ (M.N) guard
- pr → par, prè**
- práctisch** /praktiʃ/ (ADV) practically, virtually

- prajt* /praɪt/ (F.N) wall. *prajt-crap* rock face
- prapará, prapará tiar* /prepe'rɑ: 'tiɑr/ (TR.V) prepare
- pratjandar* (pratandín) /pre'tjander/ (/pre'ten'din/) (TR.V) pretend
- prau* /praw/ (M.N) meadow
- praula* /'prawla/ (F.N) fairy tale
- préci* /'pretsi/ (M.N) price
- préfatschènta* /prefe'tʃente/ (F.N) intermediate trade
- préjr* /prejr/ (M.N) priest
- prénci* /'prentsɪ/ (M.N) prince
- prèndar* /prender/ (IRR.TR.V) take. *prèndar ajn* adopt, accept. *prèndar anavùs* take back. *prèndar anzjamān* assemble. *prèndar avaun* plan
- prèsèn* → *vaj prèsèn*
- présidèn, pr̄sidèn* /prezi'den, pr̄zi'den/ (M.N) president
- prígal* /pri:gəl/ (M.N) danger
- prigulus, -a* /prigu'luz, -ə/ (ADJ) dangerous
- princèssa* /prin'tsesə/ (F.N) princess
- privá* /pri'va:/ (TR.V) deprive
- privat, -a* /pri'va:t, -ə/ (ADJ) private
- problèm* /prɔ:b'ləm/ (M.N) problem
- procènt* /prɔ:t'sent/ (M.N) percent
- pròpi* /prɔ:pi/ (ADV) exactly, really
- pròverbi* /prɔ:vərbi/ (M.N) proverb
- proxim, -a* /'prɔksim, -ə/ (ADJ) next
- pudaj* /pu'daj/ (IRR.V) can, be able
- pugn* /pu:jn/ (M.N) fist
- pulit, -a* /pu'lit, -ə/ 1. (ADJ) well behaved 2. capable 3. (ADV) very, quite
- pùn* /pvn/ (F.N) bridge
- pùntga* /pvn'tce/ (F.N) chisel
- pupí* /pu'pi:/ (M.N) paper
- pupira* /pu'pi:re/ 1. (F.N) poverty 2. (ELAT) very poor
- pur* /pu:r/ (M.N) farmer. *fá al pur* work as a farmer
- puráncal* /pu'ranel/ (M.N) small farmer
- purèssar* /pu:r'ëser/ (M.N) 1. agriculture, farming 2. farm 3. farming sector
- purèt* /pu'ret/ (M.N) small farmer
- purschí* (PL purschal(t)s) /pur'fi:/ (/pur'ʃal(t)s/) (M.N) piglet
- purşchida* /pur'ʒi:de/ (F.N) offer
- purşèpan* /pur'zepen/ (M.N) manger
- purtá* (pòrta) /pur'ta:/ ('pɔrte/) (TR.V) 1. bring 2. carry

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- purtgè** /pur'tçε:/ (M.N) swineherd
puscha /'pu:ʃə/ (F.N) cow (familiar speech)
puschégn /pu'seŋ/ (M.N) snack
pusmaun /puʃmawn/ (ADV) the day after tomorrow
puspè /puʃpε/ (ADV) again
pussajval, -vla /pu'sajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) possible
pussajvladat /pusajvla'da:t/ (F.N) possibility
pussònza /pu'sɔntzə/ (F.N) power
pustrètsch /puʃ'trɛtç/ (M.N) herdsman's money
pùts /pʊts/ (M.N) pond

Q

- quaj** /kwaj/ 1. (UNM.DEM.PRON) this, that 2. (DEM.DET.M.SG) this
quajda /'kwajdə/ (F.N) desire
quajnasé /'kwajnə'se/ (ADV) up there
quántum /kwantum/ (M.N) amount
quart /kwart/ (NUM) quarter
quart, -a /kwart, -ə/ (ORD.NUM) fourth
quasi /'kwazi/ (ADV) almost
quátar /kwater/ (NUM) four
quèl, -a /kwel, -ə/ (DEM.PRON) this (one), that (one)
quèluisa /'kwel'wi:zə/ (ADV) so, in this way
quén /kwen/ (M.N) bill
quèst, quèsta /kwèst, -ə/ (DEM.PRON) this (with temporal nouns that include the moment of speech). **quèst'jamna** this week
quéétun /kwe'tun/ (M.N) braggart
quinada /kwi'na:də/ (F.N) sister-in-law
quinau /kwi'naw/ (M.N) brother-in-law
quindişch /'kwindiʒ/ (NUM) fifteen
quitá (quéta) /'kwita:/ (/kwe:te/) (TR.V) think, find
quitau /kwi'taw/ (M.N) worry
quitòrdişch /kwitòrdiʒ/ (NUM) fourteen
quajn /'kwajn/ (ADV) here (in direction up the valley)
quòra /'kwɔ:re/ (ADV) here (in direction down the valley)

R

- raclamá** /rækla:ma:/ (ITR.V) complain

- racògnòszá* /rekɔgnɔs'tsa:/ (TR.V) reconnoitre
racrut /rek'rut/ (M.N) recruit
ràdjò /radʒɔ/ (M.N) radio
radún, -da /re'dun, -dv/ 1. (ADJ) round 2. (ADV) around, about
ragjún /re'džun/ (F.N) region
ragurdá vi da (ragòrda) /regur'da: vi de/ (/re'gørde/) (ITR.V) remind
raminiscènza /reminis'tsentsə/ (F.N) memory
ramòntsch → *ròmòntsch*
rantá /renta:/ (TR.V) bind, tie
rap /rap/ (M.N) cent. *raps* money
raquintá (raquénta) /rekwint'a:/ (/re'kwéntə/) (TR.V) tell about
raritat /rei'tat:/ (F.N) rarity
rascá /ref'ka:/ (TR.V) risk
raschlá /ref'la:/ (ITR.V) rake
rašdá (réjsda) /rež'da:/ ('rejʒdə/) (ITR.V) speak
ras-plí (PL ras-pjal(t)s) /res'pli:/ (/res'pjäl(t)s/) (M.N) pencil
rassarvá /reser'va:/ (TR.V) reserve
rastá /ref'ta:/ (ITR.V) remain
rastí (PL rastjal(t)s) /ref'ti:/ (/ref'tjal(t)s/) (M.N) rake
rastònza /ref'tontse/ (F.N) remnant
ratún /re'tun/ (M.N) rat
rauba /rawbə/ (F.N) 1. merchandise 2. fortune
rauna /'rawne/ (F.N) frog
réaczjun /rek'tsjun/ (F.N) reaction
règina /re'džine/ (F.N) queen
règla /'re:gla/ (F.N) rule
réh, réha /réç, 'réhe/ (ADJ) rich
réjsch /rejʃ/ (ADV) brand-, in *réjsch néjv* brand-new
rèligjús, -a /reli'džu:z, -v/ (ADJ) religious
rèma /'reme/ (F.N) crack
réasca /refke/ (F.N) risk
rèst /ref't/ (M.N) rest. *rèsts* leftovers
rí /ri:/ (IRR.ITR.V) laugh
riavan (PL rùvans) /rieven/ ('rv:vanz/) (M.N) slope
rigurús, -a /rigu'ru:z, -v/ (ADJ) rigorous
rimná /rim'na:/ (TR.V) collect
ring /riŋ/ (M.N) ring
riş /ri:z/ (M.N) rice

9 Tuatschin-English word list

risada /ri'za:də/ (F.N) laughing
rítmica /'ritmike/ (F.N) rhythmics
ròla /'rɔlə/ (F.N) roll
ròma /'rɔmə/ (COLL.F.N) branches
ròmòntsch, -a, ramòntsch, -a /rɔ'mɔntʃ, -ə, rə'mɔntʃ, -ə/ (ADJ/N) Romansh
ruassá (ruaussa) /rua'sa:/ (/ru'awse/) (ITR.V) rest
ruassajval, -vla /ruə'sajvəl, -vlə/ (ADJ) calm
ruauş /ru'awz/ (M.N) quiet, tranquillity
ruclá (rùcla) /ruk'la:/ ('rɔkla/) (ITR.V) roll, fall
ruj /ruj/ (IRR.TR.V) gnaw
rujè (rùga, rugajn, rugava) /ru'jɛ:/ ('rɔ:gɛ, ru'gajn, ru'gave/) (TR.V) ask that
rúmpar (PTCP rùt, -a) /'rumper/ (/rɔ:t, -ə/) (TR.V) break
rumplaná (rampluna) /rumple'nə:/ (/rəm'plu:nə/) (ITR.V) rumble
rupá (raupa) /rupa:/ (/rawpə/) (ITR.V) burp
rusari /ru'za:ri/ (F.N) rosary
rùsna /rɔsne/ (F.N) hole
rusp /ruʃp/ (M.N) toad

S

sablún /sa'blun/ (M.N) sand
sac /sak/ (M.N) sack
sacadòş /səkə'dɔ:z/ (M.N) backpack
sacantá (sacjanta) /seken'ta:/ (/sək'jante/) (TR.V) dry
sacramèn /səkrə'men/ (M.N) sacrament
sacùn, -da → *zacùn*
sacundara /səkun'dare/ (F.N) secondary school
sacussagljè (sacusséglja) /səku'sə:yɛ:/ (/səku'se:yɛ/) (REFL.V) deliberate
sadá gjù cun /se'da: dʒø kun/ (REFL.V) have to do with, deal with
sadacidar da fá /sədə'tsider/ (REFL.V) decide to do
sadapurtá (sadapòrta) /sədəpur'ta:/ (/sədə'pɔrta/) (REFL.V) behave
sadèrgjar (sadargín) (PTCP sadèrs) /sə'derðzer/ (/səder'dzi:n, sə'ders/) (REFL.V) fall down
sadastadá /sədəste'da:/ (IRR.REFL.V) wake up
sadrizá (sadréza) /sədri'tsa:/ (/sə'dretse/) (REFL.V) address
sadurmantá ajn /sədurmen'ta: ajn/ (IRR.REFL.V) fall asleep
safá ajn /sə'fa: ajn/ (REFL.V) notice
sagir, -a /sə'dzi:r, -ə/ 1. (ADJ) secure, certain 2. (ADV) for sure
sagirá /sədži'ra:/ (TR.V) insure

saglí (séglja) /sə'ʎi:/ ('se:ʎe/) (ITR.V) run
sagljantá /səʎen'ta:/ (TR.V) blow up
sahaná (sahònà) /səhe'nà:/ (/sə'hɔ:nà/) (ITR.V) appreciate
sajda /sajdə/ (F.N) silk
sajv /sajv/ (F.N) fence
šala /'za:le/ (F.N) hall
salagrá (salègra) /səleg'rà:/ (/səle:gṛe/) (REFL.V) appreciate, be happy, be pleased
salamantá (salamjanta) /səlemen'ta:/ (/sələm'jante/) (REFL.V) complain
salata /sə'late/ (F.N) salad
salín /sə'lin/ (F.N) wheat
salit /sə'lit/ (M.N) greeting
salvá /səl'vea:/ (TR.V) keep
samagljòn, -ta /səməʎ'ɔn, -tə/ (ADJ) similar
samaná /səmə'nà:/ (REFL.V) turn over, turn back
samétar sén via /sə'meter sen 'vie/ (REFL.V) set off
samidá /səmi'da:/ (REFL.V) change
saminar /səmi'na:r/ (M.N) training college
samjè (siamja) /səm'jɛ:/ ('siemja/) (ITR.V) dream
sampatschè /səmpe'fɛ:/ (ITR.V) interfere
samudargè /səmuder'dzɛ:/ (REFL.V) struggle
saniastar, -tra /sə'niɛ̃ster, -tre/ (ADJ) left
santí (sjanta) /sen'ti:/ ('sjante/) (TR.V) feel
santimajn /sen'timajn/ (M.N) feeling
santupá (santaupa) /səntu'pa:/ (/sen'tawpə/) (REFL.V) meet
sanudá (sanùda) /sənu'da:/ (/sa'nʊ:də/) (REFL.V) swim
sanunzjè /sənun'tsje:/ (REFL.V) register
sapartgirá /səpertç'i'ra:/ (REFL.V) be on one's guard
sapladi (sapladèscha) /səple'di:/ (/səple'deʃə/) (REFL.V) sign on
saprèndar ajn /sə'prender ajn/ (REFL.V) take. *saprèndar ajn zatgéj starman-túš* take something very seriously. *saprèndar anzjaman* compose oneself
sapurtá /sepurta:/ (REFL.V) behave
sará (sjara) /sə'ra:/ ('sja:re/) (TR.V) close
saragurdá (saragòrda) /səregur'da:/ (/sere'gɔrde/) (REFL.V) remember
saravagní /sereve'ji:/ (IRR.REFL.V) recover
sarimná /serim'na:/ (REFL.V) meet, assemble
svjetà /ser'vjete/ (F.N) napkin
sasfardantá (sasfardjanta) /səʃfərdən'ta:/ (/səʃfer'djante/) (REFL.V) catch a cold
sasida /sə'zi:de/ (F.N) meeting

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- sasjun** /sezjun/ (F.N) season
- saspártar** /se'sparter/ (REFL.V) split
- saspruá da + inf** /se'sprua: de/ (ITR.V) try hard to
- saspuantá** /se'spuen'ta:/ (REFL.V) get frightened
- satagljèda** /sete'ʎe:da/ (F.N) cut
- satjámbar** /set'jamber/ (M.N) September
- satrá** (satjara) /se'tra:/ (/se'tjare/) (TR.V) bury
- satrá anzjaman** /se'tra: en'tsjamen/ (REFL.V) contract. **satrá** ò take off one's clothes
- satschantá** /seʃʃen'ta:/ (REFL.V) lie down
- sauma** /sawme/ (F.N) bridle
- saun** /sawn/ (M.N) blood
- savaj** /se'vaj/ (IRR.TR.V) 1. know 2. can
- savènš** /se'venz/ (ADV) often
- savilá cun** /sevi'la: kun/ (REFL.V) get angry at
- şbagljè** /ʒbe'ʎe:/ (ITR.V) be wrong
- şbiar** /ʒbier/ (M.N) thug
- scadá** (scauda) /ʃke'da:/ (/ʃkawde/) (TR.V) warm. **scadá sé** warm up
- scadin, -ina** /ʃke'di:n, -a/ (INDEF.DET) every, any
- scaf** /ʃka:f/ (M.N) footprint
- scalín** /ʃke'li:n/ (M.N) bell
- scaliná** /ʃkeli'na:/ (ITR.V) ring
- scanatsch** /ʃke'natʃ/ (M.N) log
- scantschala** /ʃken'ʃa:le/ (F.N) pulpit
- scapá** /ʃke'pa:/ (ITR.V) escape
- scarge⁴** /ʃker'dze:/ (TR.V) drove the animals down from the summer pastures
- scargèda** /ʃker'dze:da/ (F.N) droving of the animals down from the summer pastures
- scarpá gjù** /ʃker'pa: dʒø:/ (TR.V) pull off
- scart, -a** /ʃkart, -e/ (ADJ) scarce
- scartèzja** /ʃer'tetsje/ 1. (F.N) lack, shortage 2. (ELAT) very scarce
- scha** /ʃe/ 1. (COMP) if 2. (CORR) then
- schabagjè** (schabègja) /ʃebe'dze:/ (/ʃe'bədze/) (ITR.V) happen
- schabi tga** /ʃebi: tçe/ (COMP) although
- schaglùc, schigljùc** /ʃeʎøk, fiʎøk/ (ADV) otherwise
- şchaj** /ʒaj/ (IRR.ITR.V) lie
- şchanè** /ʒene:/ (M.N) January

⁴The form **dascargè** is also used

schanza /ʃantsə/ (F.N) chance
schazagè (schazègja) /ʃəts'ə:dzə:/ (/ʃəts'ɛ:dzə/) (TR.V) appreciate
sché → uschéja
schè /ʃɛ/ 1. (IRR.TR.V) let, leave. *schè ajn* let in 2. factitive verb
schéf /ʃef/ (M.N) boss
schéngħètg /ʃen'getg/ (N) present
schèniv /'zeniv/ (NUM) nineteen
schétg, -a /ʃe:tg, -a/ (ADJ) dry
sci /ʃi/ (ADV) so (with adjectives and adverbs)
schiarl (pl. schjarls) /'zjierl/ (/zjarls/) (M.N) kind of basket
schindanajn /ʃində'najn/ (ADV) so in
schizún /ʃi'tsun/ (ADV) even
schjantá /ʃjenta:/ (TR.V) dry
schliat, schljats, schljata /'ʃliet, ʃljats, ʃljate/ (ADJ) bad
schlupá (schlòpa) /ʃlu'pa:/ (/ʃløpə/) (ITR.V) burst
schlupantá (schlupjanta) /ʃlupen'ta:/ (/ʃlup'jante/) (TR.V) blow up
schnéz /ʃnets/ (M.N) cut
schòn /ʃɔn/ (ADV) already
schòtg /ʒɔtɔ/ (NUM) eighteen
schuba /ʃu:be/ (F.N) skirt
schùber, -bra /ʒøber, -bre/ 1. (ADJ) clean 2. (INTENS) at all
schubargjè (schubrègja) /ʒubar'dzɛ:/ (/ʒu'bre:dzə/) (TR.V) clean
schulá /ʃula:/ (ITR.V) fall rapidly
schurmagè (schurmègja) /ʃurme'dzɛ:/ (/ʃur'me:dzə/) (TR.V) protect
scòlár /ʃkɔ'lɑ:r/ (M.N) pupil
scòlarèssar /ʃkɔlər'ɛsər/ (M.N) school sector
scòlast, -a /ʃkɔ'laft, -a/ (N) teacher
scòtga /ʃkɔtɔ:/ (F.N) whey
scrinari /skri'na:ri/ (M.N) carpenter
scrívar /ʃkri:vər/ (TR/ITR.V) write
scù /ʃku:/ (ADV/COMP) as
scúa /ʃku:e/ (F.N) broom
scuá /ʃku'a:/ (TR/ITR.V) sweep
scùla /ʃku:le/ (F.N) school
scùlèta /ʃkɔ'lète/ (F.N) nursery school
scumandá (scamònda) /ʃkumen'da:/ (/ʃke'mondə/) (TR.V) forbid
scumbaglè (scumbèglja) /ʃkumbe'λɛ:/ (/scum'bɛλə/) (TR.V) confuse
scurṣalá (scarṣòla) /ʃkurzə'la:/ (/sker'zɔ:le/) (ITR.V) sledge

9 Tuatschin-English word list

sé /se/ (PREP/ADV) up

sédajn /se'dajn/ (ADV) up and in

sédaşch, sédişch /'se:dəʃ, 'se:diʃ/ (NUM) sixteen

sédòra /se'dore/ (ADV) up there, up and out

sègn /se:jn/ (M.N) sign

séjş, sia /sejz, 'sie/ (POSS.PRON.3SG and PL.PRED) his, hers, their

séjş, siaş /sejz, 'siez/ (POSS.DET.3SG/PL) her, his (PL). *als séjş, las sias* (POSS.PRON.3SG/PL.NOM) hers, his, their

séjşar (sasín) /'sejzer/ (/se'zi:n/) (ITR.V) sit. *séjşar gjù* sit down

sémpal → *simpal*

sén /sen/ (PREP) on

sènda /'sende/ (F.N) trail, path

sènza /'sentsə/ (PREP) without

sèra /'sere/ (F.N) afternoon (from 12 o'clock onward), evening. *la sèra* in the afternoon, in the evening

sèrv(a)la, sèrvola /'serv(e)la, 'servɔla/ (F.N) cervelat (kind of sausage)

sèrvitut /servi'tut/ (F.N) constraint

séssum /se'sum/ 1. (PREP) on top of 2. (ADV) uppermost

séssura /sesu:re/ (ADV) upon. *vagní séssura anzatgéj* get to know, find out

sèz, -a /sets, -e/ (DET) self

sgarşchajval, -vla /ʒger'zajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) horrible, terrible

şgulá (şgùla) /ʒgu'la:/ ('ʒgʊ:lə/) (ITR.V) fly

sigir, -a /si'dzi:r, -e/ 1. (ADJ) sure 2. (ADV) for sure

signún → *zagnún*

signura /si'ju:re/ (M.N) lady

sijè (IMPF sijèva) /si:jɛ:/ (/si:jɛvə/) (TR.V) mow

simaginá /simadži'na:/ (REFL.V) imagine

símpal, -pla /'simpel-plə/ (ADJ) simple

simplamajn /simple'majn/ (ADV) simply

sir /si:r/ (M.N) father-in-law

sira /si:re/ (F.N) mother-in-law

siş /si:z/ (NUM) six

sissònta /si'sɔnte/ (NUM) sixty

sistém /si'ste:m/ (M.N) system

sit /sit/ (M.N) south

sitá (sièta) /si'ta:/ (/si'e:te/) (TR.V) 1. shut 2. blow up, blast

sjantar /'sjanter/ (ADV/PREP) after

sjantarmjadşdé /sjantermjədʒ'de:/ (M.N) afternoon

sjat /sjat/ (NUM) seven
sjatònta /sja'tɔntə/ (NUM) seventy
sju, sia /sju, 'sie/ (POSS.DET.3SG/PL) his, her, their
sjut → *sòlvar*
ski /ʃki:/ (M.N) ski
smacá /ʃma'ka:/ (TR.V) squash
smanatschè /ʃmene'ʃe:/ (TR.V) threaten
sò /sɔ/ (DISC) OK
sòcjétát /sɔtsje'ta:t/ (F.N) society
sògn, sògns, sòntga /sɔŋ, sɔŋz 'sɔnt̪ga/ (ADJ) 1. holy 2. Saint (in names)
sòlvar (sulvín) (PTCP sjut) /'sòlver/ (/sul've:n, sjut/) (ITR.V) have breakfast
sòlvar /'sòlver/ (M.N) breakfast
sònda /sɔnde/ (F.N) Saturday
sònda-duméngja /sɔnde-du'mendžə/ (F.N) week-end
Sòntgalcrést /sɔntçel'kreſt/ (M.N) Corpus Christi
sòntgèt /sɔnt̪cet/ (M.N) little chapel
sòra /sɔrə/ (F.N) sister, Sister
sòrtida /sɔrti:da/ (F.N) going out
spargnè /ʃper'nɛ:/ (ITR.V) save (money)
spassagè /ʃpas'e:dze:/ (ITR.V) walk
spatgè (spètga) /ʃpe'tce:/ ('spe:tce:) (TR/ITR.V) wait
spaz /ʃpa:ts/ (M.N) walk. *ir' a spaz* go for a walk
spazjal, -a /ʃpəts'ja:l, -a/ (ADJ) special
spéjgl (PL spùl(t)s) /ʃpejʎ/ (/ʃpəl(t)s/) (M.N) bobbin
spèr /ʃper/ (PREP) next to, close to
spèras /ʃpe:rez/ (ADV) in addition, next to (it)
spèrasò /ʃpe:re'zɔ:/ (ADV) next to (in direction down the valley)
spérт /ʃpe:rt/ (M.N) spirit
spèrt /ʃpert/ (ADV) rapidly, quickly
spès, -ssa /ʃpes, -sə/ (ADJ) dense
spina /'spi:ne/ (F.N) tap
spital /ʃpi'ta:l/ (M.N) hospital
spjardar (spardín) /ʃpjarder/ (/ʃper'di:n/) (TR.V) lose
splaná (splauna) /ʃple'na:/ ('ʃplawne:) (TR.V) plane
spòntán, -a /ʃpon'ta:n, -a/ (ADJ) spontaneous
spòrt /ʃpɔrt/ (M.N) sport
sprizá (spréza) /ʃpri'tsa:/ (/ʃpre'tse/) (TR.V) squirt
squétsch /ʃkweʃ/ (M.N) pressure

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- stá** /ʃta:/ (ITR.V) stay, live. **stá mal** be sorry
- stat** /sta:t/ (F.N) summer
- stala** /ʃta:le/ (F.N) sheepfold
- starmantús, -a; strmantús, -a** /ʃtermən'tu:z, -a; ſtrmən'tu:z, -a/ (ADJ) terrible
- státua** /ʃtatwe/ (F.N) statue
- stauschbèna** /ʃtauʃ'bene/ (M.N) wheelbarrow
- stával** /ʃta:vel/ (M.N) cowshed
- stazjun** /ʃte'tsjun/ (F.N) station
- stédi, -a** /ʃtedi, -e/ (ADJ) diligent
- stédjamajn** /ʃtedje'majn/ (ADV) constantly
- stém** /ʃte:m/ (M.N) 1. attention 2. **fa stém** pay close attention 3. **fá stém tga** make sure that
- stgafa** /ʃtcafe/ (F.N) box
- stgè → astgè**
- stgir, -a** /ʃtci:r, -e/ (ADJ) dark
- stgiradétna** /ʃtcire'detne/ (F.N) darkness
- stgiraglja** /ʃtci'raʌvə/ (F.N) darkness
- stiarl** (PL stjarls) /ʃtierl/ ('ʃtarls/) (M.N) one-year-old calf
- stinau, -ada** /ʃti'naw, '-ade/ (ADJ) obstinate
- stiva** /ʃti:ve/ (F.N) living room
- stizá** (stéza) /ʃti'tsa:/ ('ʃtetse/) (TR.V) turn off
- stjarsaş** /ʃtjarsez/ (ADV) the day before yesterday
- stradún** /ʃtre'dun/ (M.N) main way
- strèntg, -a** /ʃtrentç, -e/ (ADJ) strict
- stréja, stréa** /ʃtre(j)e/ (F.N) witch
- strèng → strèntg**
- strètg, -a** /ʃtretç, -e/ (ADJ) narrow
- stròm** /ʃtrøm/ (M.N) straw
- strusch** /ʃtru:f/ (ADV) almost
- stuaj** /ʃtu'aj/ (TR.V) must, have to
- studagjè** (studègja) /stude'dzɛ:/ ('stu'de:dze/) (TR/ITR.V) study
- stùmpa** /ʃtumpe/ (F.N) cheroot
- stupèn, -ta** /ʃtu'pen, -te/ (ADJ) excellent
- stùrs** /ʃtɔrz/ (M.N) sheet metal
- stuschè** (stauscha) /ʃtu'ʃe:/ ('ʃtawʃe/) (TR.V) push
- suá** (síua) /su'a:/ ('siwe/) (ITR.V) sweat
- sufizjènts, -sufizjèntaş** /sufits'jents, sufits'jentsaz/ (PL.ADJ) enough
- suflá** /sufla:/ (ITR.V) blow

sujet /su'jet/ (M.N) rope

sulégl /su'leʎ/ (M.N) sun

sulèt, -a /su'let, -ə/ (ADJ) only

suna da bùca /'su:nə də 'boskə/ (F.N) harmonica

suná /su'nə:/ (TR.V) play (an instrument)

súpar /super/ (ADV/EXCL) great

sur /zu:r/ (PREP) over, above. *sur da* about

sure /zu:re/ (ADV) up. *dá sura pènsums* give homework

surangjù /zu:ren'dzø/ (ADV) over and down, from above down

surdamaun /su:rda'maun/ (ADV) the day after tomorrow

surfatscha /sur'fafʃə/ (F.N) surface

suròra /zur'o:re/ (ADV) from above

surprèndar /sur'prender/ (IRR.TR.V) take on, take over

sursilván, -a /sursil'va:n, -ə/ (ADJ/N) Sursilvan

survagní /surva'ni:/ (IRR.TR.V) receive, get

survètsch /sur'vetç/ (M.N) service

surví (survèscha) /sur'vei/ (/sur'veʃə/) (TR/ITR.V) serve

survigiládar /survidži:la:der/ (M.N) supervisor

survigilònza /survidži'lɔntse/ (F.N) vigilance

suschéja → *ussuschéja*

ṣùt /zöt/ (PREP) under. *métar a ᷣùt*⁵ yoke

sutá (sauta) /su'ta:/ ('sawte/) (ITR.V) dance

ṣutajn /zöt'ajn/ (ADV) underneath

ṣutṣvilupau, -a:da /zutživil'paw, -adə/ (ADJ) underdeveloped

ṣuttètg /zut'tetç/ (M.N) accomodation

ṣvagljarín /ʒveʎe'ri:n/ (M.N) alarm clock

ṣvaní /ʒveni:/ (ITR.V) disappear

ṣvidá /ʒvi'da:/ (TR.V) empty

T

tabla /'ta:ble/ (F.N) tray

tagljè /te'ʎe:/ (TR.V) cut

tagljér (PL tagljòrs) /te'ʎe:r/ (/te'ʎɔrs/) (M.N) plate

tajš /tajz/ (M.N) badger

talafòn /təle'fɔn/ (M.N) phone

talafòná/tlafòná da /t(e)lefɔ'na: de/ (V.TR) phone, call

⁵Some people say *sut* instead of *ṣut* in this context.

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- talènt** /tə'lent/ (M.N) talent
- taljan** /tə'lja:n/ (M.N) Italian (language)
- taljánar, -a** /tə'ʎa:nər, -ə/ (ADJ and N) Italian
- tamprau, -ada** /tem'praw, -ade/ (ADJ) lukewarm
- tanaj** /te'naj/ (IRR.V) hold. **tanaj aut** uphold
- tar → tiar**
- taratsch** /tə'rɑf/ (M.N) soil
- taritòri** /teri'tɔri/ (M.N) territory
- tarmaglè** /terməʎɛ:/ (ITR.V) play
- tarmètar** /ter'meter/ (IRR.TR.V) send
- tarségl** /ter'seʎ/ (M.N) assistant (of the *zagnún*)
- tart** /tart/ (ADV) late
- tartgè** (tratga) /ter'tçe:/ (/tra:tçe/) (TR/ITR.V) think
- tat** /tat/ (M.N) grandfather
- tata** /tate/ (F.N) grandmother
- attlá** (tajtla) /tet'la:/ (/tajtlə/) (TR.V) listen
- taun, -ta** /tawn, -te/ (QUANT.DET/PRON) so many
- tauna** /'tawne/ (F.N) cave
- taur** /tawr/ (M.N) bull
- té** /te:/ (PERS.PRON) you (SG)
- tè** /tε/ (M.N) tea
- tég, téc** /te:g, te:k/, in **in te:k, in te:g** (QUANT) a bit
- térgja** /te:dze/ (F.N) alpine hut
- téjs, tia** /tejz, 'tie/ (POSS.PRON.PRED) yours (SG)
- téjs, tias** /tejz, 'tiez/ (POSS.DET.2SG) your (PL). **als téjs, las tias** (POSS.PRON.2SG) yours (PL)
- tèma** /tε:me/ (F.N) fear
- tèscha** /tεʃə/ (F.N) bag
- téssinèş, -a** /tes'i'nez, -ə/ (ADJN) from the canton of Ticino
- tètg** /tεtç/ (M.N) roof
- tèxt** /tεkst/ (M.N) text
- tga** /tçe/ 1. (REL.PRON) that, which 2. (COMP) that
- tgamín** /tçe'mi:n/ (M.N) chimney
- tgaminada** /tçəmi'nadə/ (F.N) pantry
- tgamus** /tga'mu:s/ (M.N) chamois. **bùc tgamus** chamois buck. **tgaura tgamus** female chamois
- tgapjala** /tçə'pjə:lə/ (F.N) hat
- tgar** /tca:r/ (M.N) cart

tgar, -a /tçɑ:r, -a/ (ADJ) dear
tgarn /tçarn/ (M.N) meat
tgarnpiartg /tçarn'piərtç/ (M.N) bacon
tgau /tçaw/ (M.N) head
tgaubriacal (PL tgaubròcals) /tçaw'briakal/ (/tçaw'bròkəls/) (M.N) somersault
tgaud, -a /tçawd, -a/ (ADJ) cold
tgaun /tçawn/ (M.N) dog
tgaura /'tçawre/ (F.N) goat
tgaussa /'tçawsə/ (F.N) thing
tgau-tégja (PL tgaus-tégja) /tçaw-'te:dzə/ (/tçaws-'te:dzə/) (M.N) head of the alpine huts
tgautschas /'tçawtʃəz/ (PL.F.N) trousers
tgauvitg (PL tgauvitgs) /tçaw'vi:tç/ (/tçaw'vi:tçs/) (M.N) head of village
tgavaj (PL tgavals) /tçε'vaj/ (/tçε'veləs/) (M.N) horse
tgavégl (PL tgavéjgl(t)s) /tçε'veλ/ (/tçε'vejλ(t)s/) (M.N) hair
tgé(j)/tce(j)/ 1. (INTERR.PRON) what 2. (INTERR.DET) which
tgé(j)nín, -ina /tce(j)'ni:n, -e/ (INTERR.PRON) which one
tgéjt /tçεjt/ (M.N) cock
tgèr, -a /tçε:xr, -e/ (ADJ) expensive
tgérn (PL còrnş) /tçern/ (/kɔrnz/) (M.N) horn
tgèsa /'tçεze/ (F.N) house. *tgèsa comunala* community hall
tgèsa-parvènda /'tçεze-per'vende/ (F.N) presbytery
tgétschan, còtschanş, còtschna /tçεfən, 'kɔfənz 'kɔfne/ (ADJ) red
tgi /tçi:/ (INTERR.PRON) who
tgiarp /tçεrp/ (M.N) body
tgiè (tgaja) /tç'i:ɛ:/ ('/ʃ/) (tçAJe) itr.v shit
tgil /tçil:/ (M.N) arse
tgilada /tçil:a:de/ (F.N) slip
tgòmba /tçømbə/ (F.N) leg
tgòmbra /tçømbre/ (F.N) room
tgunşch /tçunʒ/ (ADV) easily
tiar, tar, tr /tier, ter, tr/ (PREP) at, by
tiarm (PL tjarms) /'tìerm/ ('/tjarmz/) (M.N) boundary stone
tiarz, tjarza /tierts, 'tjartsə/ (ORD.NUM) third. *ina tjarza* one third
tiptòp /tip'tɔp/ (ADV) perfectly
tissi /'tisi/ (M.N) poison
tjamş /tjamz/ (M.N) time
tjarza → *tiarz*

9 Tuatschin-English word list

tju, tia /tju, 'tie/ (POSS.DET) your (sg)

tòc /tɔk/ (M.N) 1. part. **in tòc** a bit 2. theatre play 3. prank

tòca, tòcan /tɔka, 'tɔkan/ (PREP) till, until

tr → *tiar*

trá /tra:/ (IRR.TR.V) pull. *trá ajn* put on. *trá sé* make fun of

tractá /trek'ta:/ (TR.V) treat

tradizjun /tredi'tsjun/ (F.N) tradition

tráfic /trafik/ (M.N) traffic

tráficá /trefi'ka:/ (ITR.V) be up to

trajs /trajz/ (NUM) three

traj(a)tschian /traj(e)'tschien/ (NUM) three hundred

trans-pòrt /trans'pɔrt/ (M.N) transport

trans-pòrtá /trenspɔr'ta:/ (TR.V) transport

traplá /tre'pla:/ (TR.V) catch

traj(a) /traje/ (NUM) three in *traj(a)tschian*, *traj(a) mili*, and *traja pèra* three pairs

tras → *atrás*

trèdisch /tre:diʒ/ (NUM) thirteen

trèn /tren/ (M.N) train

trènta /trente/ (NUM) thirty

trést → *trist*

trist, -a /trist, -e/ (ADJ) sad

tròcas /trøkez/ (PL.F.N) typical card game of the Surselva

trúfal /trufel/ (M.N) potato. **métar trúfals** sow potatoes

trùtg (PL truigls) /trø:tɔ/ (/trwiłs/) (M.N) narrow path

tschafan /tʃafen/ (M.N) desire, pleasure

tschagrún /ʃeg'run/ (M.N) whey cheese

tschajna /ʃajne/ (F.N) dinner

tschajvar /tʃajver/ (M.N) carnival

tschalè /ʃe'lɛ:/ (M.N) cellar

tschantá /ʃent'a:/ (TR.V) put, place. *tschantá ajn* start, turn on

tschantanè /ʃente'nɛ:/ (M.N) century

tscharva /tʃarve/ (F.N) deer. **taur tgarva** stag. **vaca tgarva** hind

tschavrè, tschavrèra /tʃev're:, tʃev'r'e:re/ (M. and F.N) goatheard

tschèl, -a /ʃel, -e/ (DEM.PRON.M/F) that, that one, the other one

tschèluisa /ʃel'wi:ze/ (ADV) in that/such a way

tschèrca /tʃerke/ (F.N) demand

tschiac, tschòcs, tschòca /ʃiek, ʃɔks, 'ʃɔke/ (ADJ) blind

tschian /tʃian/ (NUM) hundred
tschichi /tʃiki/ (M.N) pig (familiar speech)
tschitschè (tschétscha) /tʃi'tʃe:/ ('ʃe:tʃə/) (TR.V) suck
tschò /tʃɔ/ (ADV) here. *tschò a lò* here and there
tschòca, tschòcs → *tschiac*
tschuculata /tʃucu'late/ (F.N) chocolate
tschùf, -a /tʃʊ:f, -v/ (ADJ) dirty
tschùf /tʃʊ:f/ (M.N) dirt
tschun /tʃun/ (NUM) five
tschuncònta /tʃun'kɔntə/ (NUM) fifty
tschúpal /tʃupel/ (M.N) lot
tualèta /twe'lète/ (F.N) toilet
tuatschín, -ina /tue'ʃi:n, -v/ (ADJ) from the Tujetsch valley
tucá /tu'ka:/ (TR/ITR.V) 1. beat 2. strike
tudèstg, -a /tu'dɛstç, -v/ (ADJ/N) German
tumaj /tu'maj/ (IRR.TR/ITR.V) be afraid of, fear
tup, -a /tup, -v/ (ADJ) stupid
tupadad /tupe'da:d/ (F.N) stupidity
tupira /tu'pi:re/ 1. (F.N) stupidity 2. (ELAT) very stupid
tura /tu:re/ (F.N) tour
turismus /tu'rismus/ (M.N) tourism
turist /tu'rist/ (M.N) tourist
turná (turna) /tur'na:/ ('tørne/) (TR.V) turn, return, go back
turpègj, turpètg /tur'pedz, tur'petç/ (M.N) shame
tussègazjun /tusega'tsjun/ (F.N) poisoning
tùt /tɔt/ (QUANT) all
tùtajnína /tɔtaj'nì:nə/ (ADV) suddenly
tùta /tɔte/ (QUANT) whole
tùts, tùtas /tɔts, 'tɔtəs/ (QUANT.DET.PL) all
tutina /tu'tina/ (ADV) nevertheless, in spite of it
tüp /typ/ (M.N) fellow

U

u ... né /u ... ne/ (CONJ) either ... or (with nouns)
u tga /u tçə/ (CONJ) or. *u tga ... né tga* either ... or (with clauses)
u- /u:/ (ELAT) very
ualthi /'walthi/ (ADV) quite
uaut /u'awt/ (M.N) forest, woods

9 Tuatschin-English word list

- uclaun** /uk'lawn/ (M.N) hamlet
udí (auda) /u'di:/ (/awdə/) (TR.V) hear. **udí da** belong to
uélp /welp/ (F.N) fox
uést /u'eft/ (N.M) August
uéstg /wéſtç/ (M.N) bishop
ufaun /u'fawn/ (M.N) child
ufaunza /u'fawntzə/ (F.N) childhood
ugagè (ughègja) /uge'dzɛ:/ (/u'ge:dzɛ/) (TR.V) dare
ugèn /u'džen/ (ADV) gladly, with pleasure
uísá /wi:za/ (F.N) way, manner
ujara /u'ja:re/ (F.N) war
ùm (PL ùmans) /ʊm/ (/ùmənz/) (M.N) man, husband
úndšchar ajn /undžer ajn/ (TR.V) 1. oil 2. rub in
unflá /unfla:/ (ITR.V) swell
unimòg /uni'mög/ (M.N) unimog
unjun /un'jun/ (F.N) union
unviarn (PL unvjarns) /un'viern/ (/un'vjarns/) (M.N) winter
ura /u:re/ (F.N) 1. hour 2. clock
ùrdan /'urden/ (M.N) 1. order 2. utensil
urticla /ur'tikle/ (F.N) nettle
ùş, ùsa, ùssa /vz, 'vze, 'vsə/ (ADV) now
usché, uschéja /u'ʃe, u'ʃeja/ (ADV) so
úsit /'u:zit/ (M.N) habit, usage
ussusché(j)a /usu'ʃe(j)e/ (ADV) exactly so
ustér /uʃ'te:r/ (M.N) restaurant manager
ustria /uʃ'trie/ (F.N) restaurant
utschí (PL utschjal(t)s) /u'ʃfi:/ (/u'ʃjal(t)s/) (M.N) bird
uzá (auza) /u'tsa:/ (/awtse/) (TR.V) lift

V

- vaca** /'vake/ (F.N) cow
vacanzaş /və'kantsez/ (PL.F.N) holidays
vadí (PL vadjal(t)s) /ve'di:/ (/ve'djal(t)s/) (M.N) calf
vadjala /ve'djale/ (F.N) female calf
vagljadétgna /veʎa'detçne/ (F.N) age
vagljantá /veʎan'ta:/ (TR.V) upset

vagní /və'ni:/ 1. (ITR.V) come. **vagní atrás** earn a living. **vagní avaun** occur, be found. **vagní par** come and fetch. **vagní séssura** discover 2. become 3. passive auxiliary

vaj /vaj/ 1. (TR.V) have. **vaj ugèn** like, be fond of. **vaj da** have to. **vaj nùm** have to; be called. **vaj prèsèn** have in mind. 2. (EXIST) there is 3. (AUX.V) have

vajr, -a /vajr, -ə/ (ADJ) 1. true 2. real

vajramájn /vajrə'majn/ (ADV) really

val /va:l/ (F.N) valley

valaj /və'laj/ (ITR.V) be worth

vališcha /və'li:ʒə/ (F.N) suitcase

vandètga /ven'detçə/ (F.N) revenge

vargè /ver'dzə:/ (ITR.V) pass by. *I'jamna vargèda* last week

vart /vart/ (F.N) side

vasaj /və'zaj/ (IRR.TR.V) see

vaschala /və'sa:la/ (F.N) dishes

vaschnaunca /vaʃ'nawnka/ (F.N) municipality

vazlè /vəts'lɛ:/ (M.N) calf herdsman

végl, -glja /veλ, -ə/ (ADJ) old

végljadétschna /veλvə'detʃnə/ (F.N) age

végn /veŋ/ (NUM) twenty

véjdar, -dra /'vejðer, -dre/ (ADJ) old (only in certain contexts)

vèndar (vandín) /vənder/ (/ven'di:n/) (TR.V) sell

vèndardís /vənder'di:z/ (M.N) Friday

véntgaduş /ventçə'duʂ/ (NUM) twenty-two

véntgín /ven'tçin/ (NUM) twenty-one

vèrd, -a /verd, -ə/ (ADJ) green

vèş /vez/ (ADV) difficult. *fá vèş* be difficult

vésta /'vestə/ (F.N) sight

véta /'vete/ (F.N) life

vi /vi/ (PREP) over

via /'vɪə/ 1. (F.N) way, road, street 2. (ADV)⁶ over 3. (CIRCP) *sur ... via* over

viafiar /vɪə'fier/ (F.N) railway

viagè /vɪə'dzə:/ (ITR.V) travel

viars /'viers/ (PREP) towards

vias, vòssa /vɪəz, vɔsə/ (POSS.DET.2PL) your (SG). *al vias, la vòssa* (POSS.PRON.2PL) yours (SG)

vid /vid/ (PREP) on

⁶Vía in the sense of ‘over’ is an obsolescent synonym of *vi*.

9 Tuatschin-English word list

vida /'vide/ + infinitive progressive marker

vidajn /vi'dajn/ (ADV) 1. there, into it 2. uphill 3. up the valley

vidanò /vidə'nø/ (ADV) 1. back and forth 2. and so on

vidòr(a) /vi'dɔ:r(e)/ (ADV) down the valley

vidòragjù /vi,dɔ:re'dzv/ (ADV) over, out and down

vièdi /'vi:e:di/ (M.N) trip

vin /vi:n/ (M.N) wine

vin /vin/ (PREP) over in

vinavaun /vine'vawn/ (ADV) still, farther, further, forward

visaví /vize'vi:/ (ADV) in front

vit, -a /vit, -e/ (ADJ) empty

vitg /vi:tç/ (M.N) village

vi'tgèt /vi'tçet/ (M.N) small village

vitlündar /vit'lønder/ (ADV) 1. on it, next to it 2. progressive marker (without verb; cf. **vida**)

viv, -a /viv, -e/ (ADJ) alive

vívar /vi:ver/ (TR.V) live

vjantar /vjanter/ (M.N) belly

vjaspraş /vjaʃprez/ (PL.F.N) vesper

vòluntárjamajn /vɔlun'tarja,majn/ (ADV) voluntarily

vòn /vɔn/ (M.N) glove

vònzař /vɔn'tsaj/ (ADV) later

vòš, vòssa /vɔz, aseča/ (POSS.PRON.2PL.PRED) yours (SG)

vòš, vòssas /vɔz, asečaz/ (POSS.DET.2PL) your (PL)

vòtazjun /vɔta'tsjun/ (F.N) vote

vulaj /vu'laj/ (IRR.TR.V) want

vuš /vu:z/ 1. (PERS.PRON.2PL) you 2. (POL.PRON.2SG/2PL) you

vusch /vu:ʃ/ (F.N) voice

X

x-zatgéj /iks-tse'tcej/ something, anything

Z

zacònts, -tas /tsə'kɔnts, -təs/ (INDEFDET/PRON) some

zacú, zacuras /tsə'ku:, tsə'ku:res/ (ADV) sometime

zacù /tsə'kù/ (ADV) somehow

zacùn, -da /tsə'kvn, -də/ (ORD.NUM) second

zagnún /tsə'jun/ (M.N) alpine dairyman

zagríndar, -a /tsə'grinder, -ə/ (ADJ. and N) Yenish⁷

zajvar /'tsajver/ (M.N) washtub

zamèn /tsə'men/ (M.N) cement

zaná /tsə'na:/ (TR.V) renovate

zanúa /tsə'nua/ (ADV) somewhere

zanur /tsə'nur/ (F.N) dishonour

zarclá /tserk'la:/ (ITR.V) weed

zarcladur /tserkle'du:r/ (M.N) June

zarclunza /tserk'luntṣə/ (F.N) weeder woman

zatgé(j) /tsə'tce(j)/ 1. (INDEF.PRON) something 2. (QUANT) some

zatgi /tsə'tci:/ (INDEF.PRON) somebody

zavrá (zajvra) /tsəv'ra:/ ('tsajvra/) (TR.V) separate

ziap, zòps, zòpa /tsiəp, tsɔps, 'tsɔpe/ (ADJ) limp

zuar /zwa:r/ (ADV) although, namely

zulá (zùla) /tsu'la:/ ('tsv:le/) (TR.V) roll out

zulè /tsu'le/ (M.N) corridor

⁷The Yenish are an impoverished group in Switzerland and elsewhere who became nomads in the 18th century, some of whom also became sedentary. In Switzerland they were discriminated for a long time, and even today many people are prejudiced against them. Only in 1995 were they recognised as a national minority, be they travelling or sedentary.

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A descriptive grammar of Tuatschin

This book is the first descriptive grammar of Tuatschin, a Sursilvan Romansh dialect spoken by approximately 800 people in the westernmost part of the Romansh territory, in the canton of Grisons in southeastern Switzerland. The description is mainly based on narratives and elicitation, collected during fieldwork conducted between 2016 and 2020. Besides the grammatical description, it also offers a variety of narratives produced by female and male native speakers between thirty and eighty years of age.

