

# A grammar of Tuatschin

A Sursilvan Romansh dialect

Philippe Maurer-Cecchini

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Philippe Maurer-Cecchini



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# Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
List of abbreviations	ix
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Previous works . . . . .	3
1.2 Corpus . . . . .	3
1.3 Dialectal differences . . . . .	5
1.4 The contact languages of Tuatschin . . . . .	6
1.5 Examples and glosses . . . . .	9
1.6 Place names . . . . .	9
<b>2 Phonology</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Vowels . . . . .	11
2.2 Diphthongs . . . . .	12
2.3 Consonants . . . . .	14
2.4 Syllable structure . . . . .	18
2.5 Spelling system . . . . .	18
<b>3 Noun phrase</b>	<b>25</b>
3.1 The noun . . . . .	25
3.1.1 Gender . . . . .	25
3.1.2 Number . . . . .	26
3.1.3 Collective nouns . . . . .	29
3.1.4 Bare noun phrases . . . . .	30
3.1.5 Conjoining of nouns . . . . .	31
3.2 Determiners and pronouns . . . . .	32
3.2.1 Articles . . . . .	32
3.2.1.1 Definite article . . . . .	32
3.2.1.2 Indefinite article . . . . .	35
3.2.1.3 Definite dative article . . . . .	35
3.2.2 Demonstratives . . . . .	40
3.2.2.1 The <i>quèl</i> -series . . . . .	40

## *Contents*

3.2.2.2	The <i>lèz</i> -series . . . . .	43
3.2.2.3	The <i>quèst</i> -series . . . . .	47
3.2.2.4	The <i>tschèl</i> -series . . . . .	48
3.2.3	Possessives . . . . .	50
3.2.4	Indefinites . . . . .	53
3.2.5	Quantifiers . . . . .	57
3.2.5.1	Numerals . . . . .	57
3.2.5.2	Other quantifiers . . . . .	59
3.2.5.3	The construction <i>tùt tga</i> and similar . . . . .	64
3.3	The adjective . . . . .	67
3.3.1	Forms of the adjective . . . . .	67
3.3.2	Degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs . . . . .	72
3.3.3	Intensifiers of the adjective . . . . .	76
3.3.4	Infinitival clauses modifying an adjective . . . . .	78
3.3.5	Adjectives in adverbial function . . . . .	79
3.3.6	Position of the attributive adjective . . . . .	80
3.3.7	Absence of agreement . . . . .	84
3.3.8	Conjoining of adjectives . . . . .	85
3.4	Noun phrases and prepositional phrases modifying a noun . . . . .	86
3.5	Infinitive clauses modifying a noun . . . . .	87
3.6	Personal pronouns . . . . .	87
3.6.1	Dative pronouns . . . . .	93
3.6.2	Expletive pronoun . . . . .	95
3.6.3	Intensive personal pronouns . . . . .	97
3.7	Relative clauses . . . . .	98
3.8	Generic noun phrases . . . . .	105
3.9	Structure of the noun phrase . . . . .	108
<b>4</b>	<b>Verb phrase</b> . . . . .	<b>109</b>
4.1	The verb . . . . .	109
4.1.1	Verbal morphology . . . . .	110
4.1.1.1	Auxiliary verbs . . . . .	112
4.1.1.2	Regular verbs . . . . .	114
4.1.1.2.1	Suffixes of the regular finite verb forms	115
4.1.1.2.2	Paradigms of the regular verbs . . . . .	118
4.1.1.3	Verbs with stem alternations . . . . .	120
4.1.1.4	Irregular verbs . . . . .	128

4.1.2	Usage of non-finite and finite verbal categories . . . . .	135
4.1.2.1	Non-finite categories . . . . .	135
4.1.2.1.1	Past participle . . . . .	135
4.1.2.1.2	Gerund . . . . .	140
4.1.2.1.3	Infinitive . . . . .	141
4.1.2.2	Finite categories . . . . .	142
4.1.2.2.1	Present indicative . . . . .	142
4.1.2.2.2	Imperfect indicative . . . . .	145
4.1.2.2.3	Perfect indicative . . . . .	146
4.1.2.2.4	Pluperfect indicative . . . . .	148
4.1.2.2.5	Future . . . . .	149
4.1.2.2.6	Doubly-compound tenses . . . . .	150
4.1.2.2.7	Progressive aspect . . . . .	151
4.1.2.2.8	Present and perfect subjunctive . . . . .	151
4.1.2.2.9	Imperfect subjunctive . . . . .	159
4.1.2.2.10	Direct and indirect conditional . . . . .	160
4.1.2.2.11	Tense agreement . . . . .	162
4.1.2.2.12	The construction <i>vaj tga</i> ‘have that’	163
4.1.3	Particle verbs . . . . .	164
4.1.4	Copulative verbs . . . . .	167
4.1.5	Existential verbs . . . . .	169
4.1.6	Modal verbs . . . . .	172
4.2	Arguments of the verb . . . . .	179
4.2.1	Subject . . . . .	179
4.2.2	Direct object . . . . .	182
4.2.3	Indirect object . . . . .	186
4.3	Adjuncts of the verb . . . . .	187
4.3.1	Locative adjuncts . . . . .	187
4.3.2	Temporal adjuncts . . . . .	206
4.3.3	Manner adjuncts . . . . .	212
4.3.4	Further adjuncts . . . . .	214
4.4	Negation . . . . .	216
5	<b>Simple sentences</b>	223
5.1	Declarative sentences: Order of arguments . . . . .	223
5.2	Interrogative sentences . . . . .	226
5.3	Imperative sentences . . . . .	228
5.4	Exclamative sentences . . . . .	230

## *Contents*

5.5	Voice . . . . .	230
5.5.1	Reflexive . . . . .	230
5.5.2	Reciprocal . . . . .	231
5.5.3	Causative . . . . .	232
5.5.4	Passive . . . . .	234
6	<b>Complex sentences</b>	237
6.1	Coordination . . . . .	237
6.2	Subordination . . . . .	238
6.2.1	Argument clauses . . . . .	239
6.2.1.1	Subject clauses . . . . .	239
6.2.1.2	Object clauses . . . . .	241
6.2.1.3	Indirect interrogative clauses . . . . .	242
6.2.1.4	Prepositional argument clauses . . . . .	244
6.2.2	Adjunct clauses . . . . .	246
6.2.2.1	Temporal clauses . . . . .	246
6.2.2.2	Manner clauses . . . . .	249
6.2.2.3	Purposive clauses . . . . .	250
6.2.2.4	Causal clauses . . . . .	253
6.2.2.5	Conditional clauses . . . . .	254
6.2.2.6	Consecutive clauses . . . . .	256
6.2.2.7	Comparative clauses . . . . .	257
6.2.2.8	Concessive clauses . . . . .	258
6.2.2.9	Instead of . . . . .	258
6.3	Focus . . . . .	258
7	<b>Morphological processes</b>	263
7.1	Reduplication . . . . .	263
7.2	Word formation . . . . .	265
7.2.1	Compounding of nouns . . . . .	265
7.2.2	Derivation . . . . .	266
7.2.2.1	Diminutive and augmentative . . . . .	266
7.2.2.2	Further nominal derivational morphemes . . . . .	267
8	<b>Texts</b>	269
8.1	Mia lavur . . . . .	269
8.2	Órd mia véta . . . . .	283
8.3	Al tat . . . . .	296
8.4	Scùla da tanajtgèsa a Cazas . . . . .	323

## *Contents*

8.5	La détga da la Plata dl barlòt . . . . .	338
8.6	Scuá ajn scùla . . . . .	345
8.7	Als méls . . . . .	347
8.8	Al sòntgèt dals gjadqus . . . . .	363
8.9	La féjra da Ligjaun . . . . .	369
8.10	Sé Nalps . . . . .	373
8.11	Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún . . . . .	376
8.12	Al cégn . . . . .	387
8.13	Cuérts raquénts . . . . .	391
8.14	Dus vièdis . . . . .	407
8.15	Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz . . . . .	411
8.16	Lavur d'ufauns . . . . .	424
8.17	Al cuntí mèlan . . . . .	448
<b>9</b>	<b>Tuatschin-English word list</b>	<b>461</b>
<b>References</b>		<b>511</b>
<b>Index</b>		<b>513</b>
Name index . . . . .		513
Language index . . . . .		515
Subject index . . . . .		517



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Wetzikon (Switzerland), November 2020





# List of abbreviations

...	longer pause	FUT	future tense
[...]	skipped parts of the sentence	GER	gerund
1	first person	HORT	hortative
2	second person	IMP	imperative mood
3	third person	IMPF	imperfect tense
ADJ	adjective	IND	indicative mood
ADV	adverb	INDEF	indefinite article
ART	article	INDIR	indirect
ATTR <sup>1</sup>	attributive	IO	indirect object
AUGM	augmentative	INF	infinitive
AUX	auxiliary verb	INTENS	intensifier
C	consonant	INTERJ	interjection
CAUS	causative voice	INTERR	interrogative
CAUSAL	causal	ITR.V	intransitive verb
CIRCP	circumposition	INVAR	invariable
COLL	collective	IRR.V	irregular verb
COMP <sup>2</sup>	complementiser	LOC	locative
COND	conditional mood	M	masculine
CONJ	conjunction	MOD <sup>3</sup>	modifier
CONS	consecutive	N	noun
COP	copula	NEG	negator
CORR	correlative	NUM	numeral
DAT	dative	ORD	ordinal
DEF	definite article	PASS	passive auxiliary
DEM	demonstrative	PERS	personal
DET	determiner	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	PLPF	pluperfect tense
DO	direct object	PN	proper noun
DISC	discourse particle	POL	polite
ELAT	elative	POSS	possessive
EUPH	euphonic	PRED	predicative
EXCL	exclamative	PREP	preposition
EXIST	existential	PRF	perfect tense
EXPL	expletive pronoun	PRON	pronoun
F	feminine	PRS	present tense

---

<sup>1</sup>introduces an attributive infinitive clause

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

---

<sup>2</sup>introduces a finite or non-finite argument clause

<sup>3</sup>introduces an infinitive clause modifying an adjective

<sup>4</sup>introduces a finite or non-finite 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 by Heinrich Schmid in 1982 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. <i>ɔ</i> before <i>n</i>	<i>a'vawn</i>	<i>a'vn̩n</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 1.1 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.<sup>1</sup>

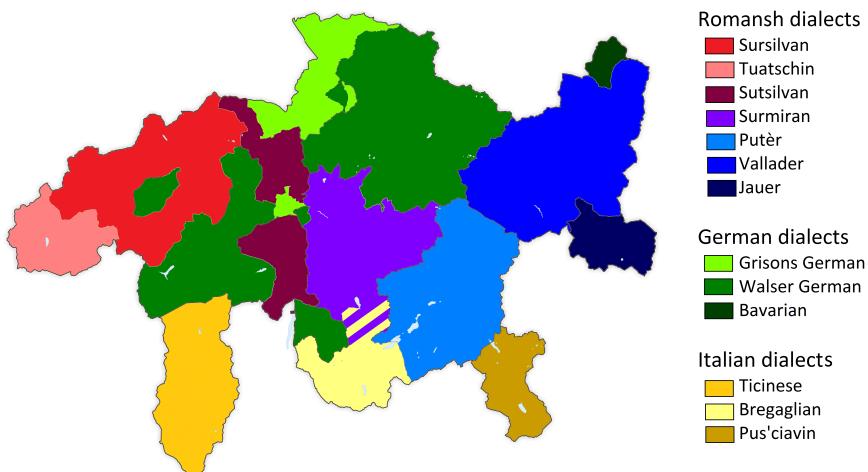


Figure 1.1: Languages and dialects of the Canton of Grisons

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<sup>1</sup>There is a mistake in the legend of the map: It should be *Putér* instead of *Putèr*.

## 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 narratives 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 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 storytellers 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), Frantestg Berther (1998), and in Baseli Berther (2007).

The examples taken from the written sources were all adapted to the spelling system used in this book, with one exception, namely those written in IPA: Gartner (1910), as well as Valär (2013a) and Valär (2013b).

## 1 Introduction

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	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín
L1 father	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín

Table 1.3: List of consultants II

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

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	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín
L1 father	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín	Tuatschín

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

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

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 rašdá 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.

### 1.3 Dialectal differences

There are two main Tuatschin dialects: the dialect of the upper part of the Tujetsch valley (Figure 1.2), which comprises the villages of Selva and Tschamut<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>2</sup>According to DRG (7: 636), the inhabitants of Selva and Tschamut are called *quèls dadajns gl uaut* ‘those above the forest’.

## 1 Introduction

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).

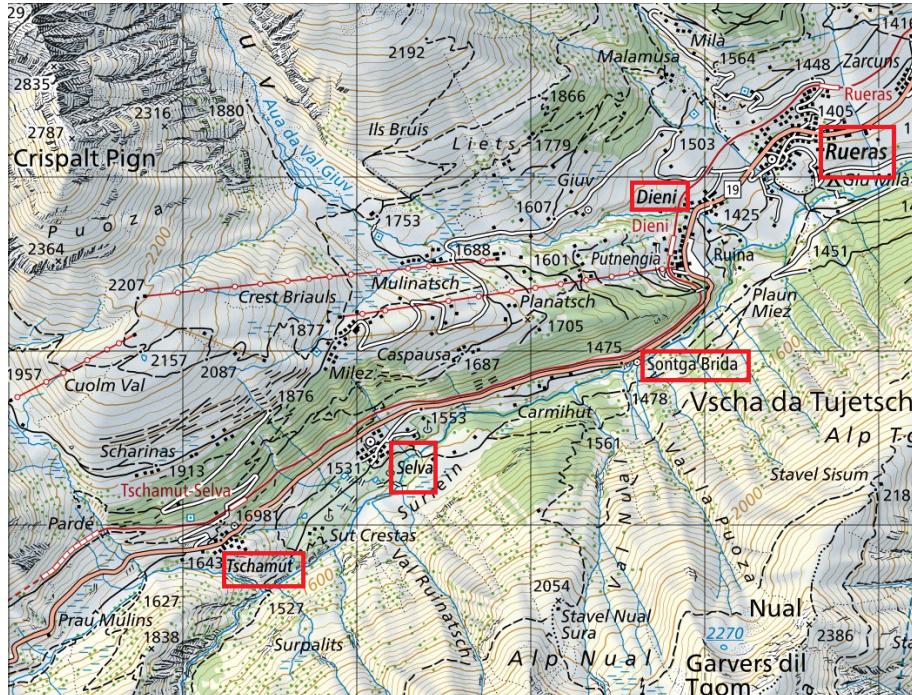


Figure 1.2: Upper Valley (Tschamut and Selva) plus Dieni and Rueras from the Lower Valley. Source: Federal Office of Topography swisstopo.

The 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).

Nowadays there are 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.

## 1.4 The contact languages of Tuatschin

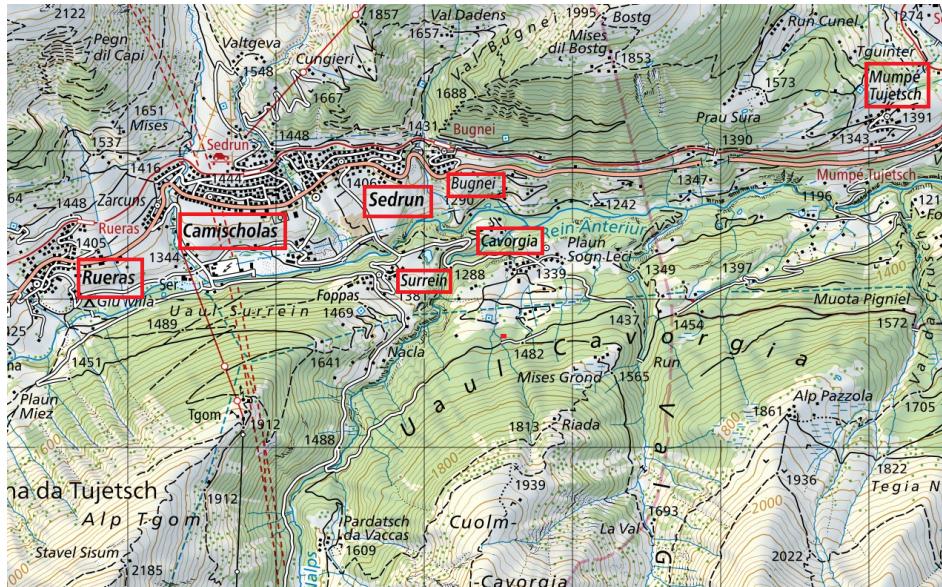


Figure 1.3: Lower Valley from Rueras to Bugnei and Mumpé Tujetsch.  
Source: Federal Office of Topography swisstopo.  
In spite of its name, Mumpé Tujetsch is located outside the Tujetsch valley.

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

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) *gljut* ‘people’ (< OHG *LIUT*), *uaut* ‘forest’ (< OHG *WALD*), or *lubí* ‘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*) (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 *mùssavía*, *Musté* instead of *Mustajr* ‘Mustér’, *ni*

‘or; right’ instead of *né*, *pi* ‘more’ instead of *plé*, *pènṣjunada* ‘retired (F.SG)’ instead of *panṣjunada*, *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 [v] 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 Examples and glosses

Elicited examples will get a reference to the consultant as listed in Table 1.2 to Table 1.6 as well as to the place where they grew up, and examples taken from the oral corpus (published in chapter 8) will get, in addition, a reference to the section in chapter 8.

The glosses used in this grammar are those of the Leipzig Glossing Rules,<sup>3</sup> to which some glosses have been added.

In order to save space, gender is only indicated on the first element of the noun phrase, except 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.

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<sup>3</sup><https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

## 1 Introduction

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:ve] '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 with 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

## 2 Phonology

(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’.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup>The 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.

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/
/ɛj/	–		/jɛ/
/ej/	/sejs/	‘their’	/je/
/ie/	/'zbier/	‘thug’	/jæ/
/ɔj/	–		/jɔ/
/uj/	–		/ju/
/aw/	/awn/	‘still’	/wa/
/ɛw/	–		/wɛ/
/ew/	–		/we/
/iw/	–		/wi/
/ɔw/	/sɔw/	‘know I’	/wɔ/

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 [jɛ] or [je]. An example from the corpus is *stédiamajn* ‘diligently’, which is pronounced [ʃtedja'majn], but which also could also be pronounced [ʃtedja'majn].

## 2 Phonology

However, there are uncontroversial cases of hiatus, as e.g. /fu'ajna/ ‘fireplace’, /u'ɔn/ ‘this year’, or /u'awt/ ‘forest’, which are never pronounced /'fwajnə/, /wɔn/ or /wawt/, in contrast to *uéstg* /wéstç/ ‘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 (*ə* 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 şè quaj hòtel? Bigj' idéa, ju èra schòn*  
where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMPF.1SG already  
*ònş 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, §8.14)

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 spitgavan als purs ina grònda*  
red CORR expect.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL INDEF.F.SG big  
*malaura [...].*  
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 phonemic status.

Table 2.4: Consonants

		bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	palatal	palato-alveolar	velar
nasal		m		n	p		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 [per] ‘for’ (§8.1), [pr̩.me.'ve.re] vs [per.me.'ve.re] ‘spring’ (§8.16), [pr̩.ve.zə.dərs] vs [per̩.ve.zə.dərs] ‘herdsman’ (§8.6), [tr̩] vs [tier] ‘at, by’ §8.4), [pr̩.'su.lə] vs [per.'su.lə] ‘alone (F)’ §8.4) [ʃtr̩.mən.'tus] vs [ʃter.mən.'tus] ‘terrible’ (§8.2) or [pl̩s] vs [per el̩s] ‘for the’ §8.7).

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

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	/kwp/	'bowl'	vs	kvn/	'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	/džuk/	'play'	vs	džuf	'yoke'
b	vs	n	/'rawbe/	'merchandise'	vs	/'rawne/	'frog'
d	vs	n	/fr:iðe/	'wound'	vs	/fri:ne/	'flour'
d	vs	ts	/'sende/	'path'	vs	/'sentse/	'without'
g	vs	l	/nɛ'ga:/	'drown'	vs	/le'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	/pvn/	'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'
dʒ	vs	l	/džuf/	'yoke'	vs	/luf/	'wolf'

In rare cases, the voiceless stops show an aspirated realisation, as in [əm'pʰaw] 'a bit' (§8.4) or [pʰas] 'pass' (§8.7).

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, §8.3)

- (5) *Pi ò èla détg: «Té savëssas í cul tat [...].*  
 then have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF  
 with.DEF.M.SG grandfather  
 ‘Then she said: “You could go up with your grandfather [...].’ (m4, §8.3)

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

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’ (§8.3), *hanlétg/hanléj* ‘business’ (§8.9), or *atgnamajn/ajnamajn* ‘actually’ (§8.16).

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 *stèṣ/ſtez/* (6).

- (6) [...] *álṣò sch'ju stèṣ 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, §8.7)

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 /nang in/ ‘not even one’. ‘Eight’ is a similar case since it is spelled *otg* in Standard Sursilvan, but if it is followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant it is pronounced [ɔdʒ] like in [ɔdʒ ɔns] ‘eight years’ (§8.15). However, in *òtgònta* ‘eighty’ *otg* 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 əd in kwp] ‘a wooden bucket and a bowl’ /k/ is never pronounced [g]: [in \*br'ieg əd in kwp]. The same holds for *ljuc* ‘place’: [in luk ɛmper'najval] ‘a cosy place’ vs [in \*luk ɛmper'najval]. A further example is [fjuk] ‘fire’ whose diminutive is [fju'ket] and not [\*fju'get].

## 2 Phonology

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* /'džuven/ ‘young (M.SG)’ vs *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.vən.'tetč.ne/ ‘youth’ or /ɔ:.rə.džo.'zət/ ‘underneath in direction down the valley’). More examples of polysyllabic words are to be found in Table 2.6.

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

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

## 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).

Table 2.6: Syllable types

V	/e/	'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:ls/	'narrow paths'
CCCVCV	/ʃpri'tsa:/	'squirt'
CCCV	/ʃtrɔm/	'straw'
CCCVVC	/ʃtru:ʃ/	'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'liən/	'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.lsə.dz.i'daj.vel/	'ungainly'

## 2 Phonology

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
dʒ	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	n
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
ɾ	ɾ
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

Table 2.8: Correspondences between spelling and IPA II

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

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 (<ş> for /z/ and <şch> 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* /'awtar/ ‘other’).
- Words without a diphthong which end in a vowel or <-n> or <-s> are stressed on the penultimate syllable (*tata* /'tate/ ‘grandmother’, *anzjaman* /en'tsjamen/ ‘together’, *casas* /'kazəs/ ‘houses’).

## 2 Phonology

- 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').
- 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'ta:/ 'sing', *barcún* /ber'kun/ 'shutter', *barbís* /ber'bis/ 'moustache', *fugí* /fu'dʒi:/ 'flee').
- Words with two diphthongs, with two vowels with diacritics, or with a diphthong and a vowel with a diacritic, get an underscore under the stressed vowel or diphthong (*èxtrèm* /eks'tre:m/ 'extreme', *gròndèzja* /grɔn'dezʒe/ 'size').
- Other cases of stressed vowels which are not covered by the preceding rules also get an underscore, as for example *mèndar* /'mender/ 'worse', *anavùs* /ənə've:s/ 'back, backward', *antùrn* /ən'turn/ '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 <c<sup>2</sup>, 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 <c<sup>3</sup>, 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'.

<sup>2</sup>Before consonants as well as before vowels other than *e* and *i*.

<sup>3</sup>Before *e* or *i*.

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 word for ‘ten’, which can be transcribed [déjf] 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 *ò ’l détg* ‘has he said’ (instead of *ò èl détg*).



# 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' <sup>a</sup>
<i>buéb</i>	'boy'	vs	<i>buéba</i>	'girl'
<i>fégl</i>	'son'	vs	<i>féglja</i>	'daughter'
<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>	'senior official's wife'
<i>néjfs</i>	'nephew'	vs	<i>njaza</i>	'niece'
<i>prénci</i>	'prince'	vs	<i>princëssa</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'

<sup>a</sup>DRG (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 Tuatschin, 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'.

### 3 Noun phrase

Some animals take *taur* ‘bull’ and *vaca* ‘cow’ to distinguish male from female, as e.g. *in taur tscharva* ‘a stag’, *ina vaca tscharva* ‘a hind’, and still others use *bùc* ‘buck’ and *tgaura* ‘goat’ for the same purpose: *in bùc tgamùs* ‘a chamois buck’, *ina tgaura tgamùs* ‘a female chamois’, or *in bùc cavrégl* ‘a male roe deer’, *ina tgaura cavrégl* ‘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: *tgèsa* (f.) ‘house’ vs *tgèsas* ‘houses’, or *rusp* (M) ‘toad’ vs *rusps* ‘toads’. If the noun ends in an <-s> or a <-z> (/ts/), there is no differentiation between singular and plural. In these cases the suffix -s is purely orthographic and is only attached to words ending in <-z>, as in (1).

- (1) [...] *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.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

In words ending in <s>, no <-s> is attached, 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 3.6.

The ending *-lts* is also realised *-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/.

Note that in contrast to Standard Sursilvan the plurals of *tgéjt* ‘rooster’ and *tgiarp* ‘body’ are usually *tgéjts* and *tgiarps* and not *còts* and *còrps*.<sup>1</sup>

Some monosyllabic masculine nouns containing the falling diphthong /iə/ convert it into a rising diphthong /ja/: *culiar* vs *culjars* ‘collar’, *falian* vs *fajans* ‘spider’, *fiar* vs *ffjars* ‘iron’, or *paliat* v. *paljats* ‘arrow’, *şchiarl* vs *şchjarls* ‘kind of basket’, *stiarl* vs *stjarls* ‘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:

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<sup>1</sup>See also DRG (3: 595).

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>işchí</i>		<i>işchjalts</i> ‘maple tree’
<i>marti</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’

Table 3.3: Nouns: irregular plural II

<i>-éigls</i>	>	<i>-ùlts</i>
<i>anşéjgl</i>		<i>anşùlts</i> ‘kid’
<i>catschéjgl</i>		<i>catschùlts</i> ‘sock’
<i>cavréjgl<sup>a</sup></i>		<i>cavrùlts</i> ‘roe deer’
<i>spéjgl</i>		<i>spùglts</i> ‘bobbin’

<sup>a</sup>The form *cavrial* is also used.

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>tgaubriacal</i>		<i>tgaubròcals</i> ‘somersault’

### 3 Noun phrase

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'

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>ùfs</i>	'egg'
<i>ljuc</i>	<i>lògans</i>	'place'
<i>tgavaj</i>	<i>tgavals</i>	'horse'
<i>tgavégl</i>	<i>tgavéiglts</i>	'hair'
<i>trùtg</i>	<i>truigls</i>	'narrow path'
<i>ùm</i>	<i>ùmans</i>	'man'

*tiar-tgèsa* 'animal that does not go to the alpine pastures', PL *tiars-tgèsa*. Another example is (2).

- (2) [...] *ju va*<sup>2</sup>      *èra príu*      *ansjaman als*      *quéns da*  
   1SG have.PRS.1SG also take.PTCP.UNM together DEF.M.PL bill.PL of  
   *tschèls dus tgau-s-tégja.*  
   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.' (Gadola 1935: 87)

There are, however, also other cases. In *tgauvitg* 'head of village', it is the modifying noun that is pluralised: *tgauvitgs*.

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<sup>2</sup>The 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'.

### 3.1.3 Collective nouns

Some inanimate masculine nouns have a feminine singular counterpart which usually refers to collective or generic entities as well as to paired body terms, which cannot be pluralized or counted. Compare: *in tgérn* ‘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) *traja pèra      cazès*  
three pair.COLL shoe.PL  
'three pairs of shoes'm (m4)
- (4) *trajs pèrs      majla*  
three pair.PL apple.COLL  
'three pairs of apples' (m4)

Some more examples of collective nouns are *blòc/blòca* ‘block’, *bratsch/bratscha* ‘arm’, *còtgal/còtgle* ‘charcoal’, *curnagl/curnaglja* ‘Alpine chough’, *dèt/dèta* ‘finger’, *crap/crapa* ‘stone’, *fégl/féglja* ‘leaf’, *fumégl/fumégla* ‘farmhand’, *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.

Examples (5–8) illustrate collective nouns in context.

- (5) *Èl'      ò      vulju      vèndar majla      [...].*  
3SG.F have.PRS.3SG want.PTCP.UNM sell.INF apple.COLL  
'She wanted to sell apples.' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 26)
- (6) «*Ò      la      pajra      è      pajs?*»    *La      mùma*  
have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG pear.COLL also foot.M.PL DEF.F.SG mother  
*ò      détg:*            «*Na, la      pajra      ò      bétga*  
have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM no DEF.F.SG pear.COLL have.PRS.3SG NEG  
*pajs.*»    *A      lu      ò      la      féglja      détg:*            «*Scha*  
foot.M.PL and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG daughter say.PTCP.UNM if  
*la      pajra      ò      bétga pajs,      va      ju*  
DEF.F.SG pear.COLL have.PRS.3SG NEG foot.M.PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG  
*magljau      in      rusp.*»  
eat.PTCP.UNM INDEF.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.»' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 53)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (7) *A lu mávani glunviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a*  
 and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG winter down\_in PN and  
*trèvan sé lèna culs mélis.*  
 pull.IMPF.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].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (8) *Al mècsgjar fimjanta cun ògna [...].*  
 DEF.M.SG butcher smoke.PRS.3SG with alder.COLL  
 ‘The butcher smokes with alder wood [...].’ (DRG 6: 697)

In Standard Sursilvan some masculine paired body terms have a collective form which refers to both entities. In Tuatschin, this is the case with *bratsch* ‘one arm’ vs *bratscha* ‘the two arms’. In Standard Sursilvan, *in șchanugl* refers to ‘one knee’, whereas *la șchanuglia* refers to ‘both knees’. In Tuatschin, however, the feminine form – *ganuglja* – corresponds to the feminine singular, as in (9).

- (9) *Basta, ah, par vagní cò sén quaj Pardatsch al,*  
 enough eh SUBORD come.INF here on DEM.UNM PN DEF.M.SG  
*al tat vèva aun fatg*  
 DEF.M.SG grandfather have.IMPF.3SG in\_addition make.PTCP.UNM  
*ina satagljèda, ina ganùglja vèva 'l*  
 INDEF.F.SG REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.F.SG knee have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M  
*tagljau sé [...].*  
 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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

#### 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. Example (10) illustrates mass nouns, (11) an indefinite plural object noun phrase, and (12) a locative prepositional phrase.

- (10) *[...] ins duvrava magnùc a tgarnpiartg.*  
 GNR need.IMPF.3SG cheese.M.SG and bacon.M.SG  
 ‘[...] one needed also cheese and bacon.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

- (11) [...] *ábar ûş anflá capitaniş è bigja schi sémpal.*  
 but now find.INF captain.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG NEG so simple.ADJ.UNM  
 ‘[...] but nowadays to find captains is not so easy.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)
- (12) *Uşa vòm ju a tgèsa.*  
 now go.PRS.1SG 1SG to house.F.SG  
 ‘Now I am going home.’ (Sadrún, f3)

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

- (13) *Pi vajn nus méz svagljarín [...].*  
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM alarm\_clock.M.SG  
 ‘Then we set the alarm clock [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

After the negator *bétga* a bare noun or noun phrase is frequent (14).

- (14) *Ábar quaj dèva bétga discusjun.*  
 but DEM.UNM give.IMP.3SG NEG discussion.F.SG  
 ‘But there were no discussions.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

### 3.1.5 Conjoining of nouns

Nouns are joined by *a* ‘and’ (15) and *né* ‘or’ (16); *né ... né* is used for ‘neither ... nor’ (17).

- (15) [...] *al purtgè a 'l tarségl vèvan dad*  
 DEF.M.SG swineherd and DEF.M.SG assistant have.IMP.3PL COMP  
*èssar ajn ... ajn tégja [...].*  
 COP.IMPF in in alpine\_hut.F.SG  
 ‘[...] the swineherd and the assistant had to stay in ... in the alpine hut [...]’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (16) *Ins vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn*  
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMP.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 [...]’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (17) *A lu ò 'l signún gju né*  
and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG alpine\_dairyman have.PTCP.UNM neither  
*gròma né latg.*  
cream.F.SG nor milk.M.SG  
And then the alpine dairyman didn't have cream nor milk.' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 47)

## 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, however, is obsolescent.

The interrogative determiners and pronouns will be presented in §5.2.

### 3.2.1 Articles

#### 3.2.1.1 Definite article

The definite article distinguishes between masculine and feminine as well as between singular and plural, yielding a system of four terms (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Definite article

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

The masculine form *al* is used before a noun or a nominalised adjective that starts with a consonant (18) and *agl/gl* with a noun that starts with a vowel, as in (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).

- (18) [...] *al gròn èra racrut, a tschèls duṣ ajn*  
DEF.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG recruit.M.SG and DEM.M.PL two.M.PL in  
*amprèndissadi.*  
apprenticeship.M.SG  
‘[...] the oldest was a recruit, and the other two [were] in an apprenticeship.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (19) *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 avrél plaza.*  
 have.IMPF.3SG 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.’  
 (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (20) *[...] qu' è stau gl òn mili a a*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG be.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG year thousand and and  
*sjat tschian a tauns [...].*  
 seven hundred and so\_many  
 ‘[...] this was in 1700 and something [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)
- (21) *A lu ò 'l bab détg sé pr mè [...].*  
 and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father say.PTCP.UNM up to 1SG  
 ‘And then my father said to me [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (22) *L' autar dé va ju gju la*  
 DEF.M.SG other.M.SG day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG  
*lubiantscha dad i vidajn [...].*  
 permission COMP go.INF in  
 ‘The day after I got the permission to go there [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

There is, however, one exception. Before the quantifier *antir* ‘whole’, it is not *l'* but *gl* that is used (23).

- (23) *Nuš vajn luvrau gl antir dé.*  
 1PL have.PRS.1SG work.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG whole.M.SG day  
 ‘We worked the whole day.’ (Sadrún, m5)

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

- (24) *A quaj òzaldé als gjuvans tga végnan ò da*  
 and DEM.UNM nowadays DEF.M.PL young.PL REL come.PRS.3PL out of  
*scùla sadatan bétga gjù schifétg cun in téc*  
 school.F.SG REFL.give.PRS.3PL NEG down so often with INDEF.M.SG bit  
*plé végl.*  
 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.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (25) [...] *cu*    ‘*ls*    *purs*    *vagnévan*    [...].  
                     when DEF.M.PL farmer.PL come.IMPF.3PL  
                     ‘[...] when the farmers would come [...].’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

The feminine forms *la* and *las* occur before consonants; the forms *l'* (26) and *laš* occur before vowels.

- (26) *A*    *sjantar* ... *ònì*                         *ampustau*    *tùt nùfs*    ... *pr*  
       and after    have.PRS.3PL.3PL    order.PTCP.UNM    all new.M.PL    for  
       *l'*           *antira val.*  
       DEF.F.SG whole valley  
       ‘And then ... they ordered all new ... for the entire valley.’ (Surajn, f3, §8.1)

In combination with the preposition *da* ‘of’ and a place name, the definite article is used to form demonymns (27).

- (27) *Als*    *da Tujétsch* *tégnan*    *aut*    *quaj*    *ljuc*    [...].  
       DEF.M.PL of PN    hold.PRS.3PL high.UNM DEM.M.SG place  
       ‘The people of Tujetsch uphold this place [...].’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 94)

This construction is not restricted to the inhabitants of villages or towns, but occurs with any habitable place (28).

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

The prepositions *ajn* ‘in, into’, *cun* ‘with’, *par* ‘for’, *sé* ‘up’, *spèr* ‘next to, near’, *sur* ‘over’, *tras* ‘through’, and *tar/tiar* ‘at, by’ usually fuse with the definite article.

- *ajn* → ájl/ál/ájgl/ágl, ájls/áls, ájla/ála, ájlas/álas
- *cun* → cul/cugl, culs, cula, culas
- *par* → pal/pagl, pals, pala, palas
- *sé* → sél/ségl, séls, séla, sélas
- *spèr* → spèl/spègl, spèla, spèls, spèlas
- *sur* → šul/šugl, šuls, šula, šulas

- *tar* → *tal/tagl, tals, tala, talas*
- *tiar* → *tial/tiagl, tials, tiala, tialas*
- *tras* → *tral/tragl, trals, trala, tralas*

### 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 realised *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) *In' jèda*<sup>3</sup> *vèv' in pur in stauschbèna.*  
 INDEF.F.SG time have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG farmer INDEF.M.SG  
*wheelbarrow*  
 ‘Once a farmer had a wheelbarrow.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 66)

Like the definite article, the indefinite article is used for demonymns (30).

- (30) *In da Méjdal è jus cul tren gjù Cuéra.*  
 one.M of PN be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG train down  
 PN  
 ‘A person from Medel went down to Cuera by train.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 52)

### 3.2.1.3 Definite dative article

Until approximately 1960s, the dative article *di* or *li* was in common use.<sup>4</sup> Nowadays it is obsolescent; spontaneous productions are rare in the corpus and were exclusively produced by older 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* (31–37). Whereas *li*, *lis* were

<sup>3</sup>Tuatschin speakers usually write *in' jèda* in one word: *ignèda*.

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

### 3 Noun phrase

widespread in other Sursilvan dialects as well as in further Romansh varieties such as Sutsilvan and Surmiran, *di*, *dis* was only used in Tuatschin.

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

- (31) *Quaj è curdau sé li gljut.*  
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.UNM up DEF.DAT.SG people.F  
'People noticed this.' (Tschemùt, Büchli 1966: 12)
- (32) *èssar sé dias di vischnaunca*  
COP.INF on back.M.SG DEF.DAT.SG municipality.F  
'to become a burden on the municipality' (DRG 5: 365)
- (33) *[...] lu òn inş détg quaj li*  
then have.PRS.3SG.EUPH GNR tell.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DEF.DAT.SG  
*préjr [...].*  
priest.M  
'[...] then they told this to the priest [...]' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 143)
- (34) *[...] uòn dùn ju ajn mia dùna di gjadju.*  
this\_year give.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.1SG.F.SG wife DEF.DAT.SG Jew.M  
'[...] this year I'll give my wife to the Jew.'<sup>5</sup> (Berther 1998: 69)
- (35) *Las gjufnas duëssan inş tana sén bratsch,*  
DEF.DAT.F.PL young.PL must.COND.3SG.EUPH GNR hold.INF on arm.M.SG  
*a lis végljas dá cun in scanatsch.*  
and DEF.DAT.PL old.F.PL give.INF with INDEF.M.SG log  
'The young women we should hold on our arms, and the old ones we should beat with a log.' (DRG 2: 480)
- (36) *Scha tùts ratunş 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 pròvèrbi tga*  
two.M then apply.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG by 3PL.M DEF.M.SG proverb REL  
*survèscha lis carstgauns par zanur [...].*  
serve.PRS.3SG DEF.DAT.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 [...]' ("Il ratun tschiec" 1889: 199)

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<sup>5</sup>Until 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.

- (37) *Quaj da l' arvègla végn dau dis tgauras.*  
DEM.UNM OF DEF.F.SG pea.COLL PASS.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT.PL  
*goat.F.PL*

'The straw of the peas is given to the goats.' (DRG 1: 366)

The dative article was also used after the prepositions *ancúntar* 'towards' (38) and *sjantar* 'after' (39).

- (38) *Cò sjaj vagnú ina fèmna ancùntar li quaj pur [...].*  
here be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG woman towards DEF.DAT.SG  
DEM.M.SG farmer

'At this moment a woman came towards this farmer [...]' (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 64)

- (39) *[...] tga nagín fravi ségl antir mùn sapi fá sjantar li èl.*  
COMP no.M.SG smith on.DEF.M.SG whole world can.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
do.IMP after DAT.SG 3SG.M  
' [...] that no smith in the whole world would be able to make [things] like him.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 146)

If the noun precludes the use of the definite article, the marker *da* was used. This is the case if, for instance, 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).

- (40) *[...] òi tucau d' ina mata [...].*  
have.PRS.3SG.EXPL touch.PTCP.UNM DAT INDEF.F.SG girl  
' [...] it was a girl's turn [...]' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 25)

- (41) *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.' (Berther 1998: 118)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (42) [...] èl      *daj*                        dí      *da nagín carstgaun tg'*  
           3SG.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 [...]' (Sadrún,  
           Büchli 1966: 104)

- (43) *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 [...]' (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 25)

The following examples of the definite dative article have been uttered spontaneously by my consultants. There are only examples with *di/dis* (44–46).

- (44) *Di*                        *B.A.W a quaj vòi*                        *di*                        *cantún.*  
           DEF.DAT.SG B.A.W. and DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.DAT.SG canton.M  
           'To the B.A.W., and then it goes to the canton.' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (45) *A zacù*      ò    *da quaj*      ... *saj*                        *vagnú*                        ... *tgé*    ...  
           and somehow out of DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP  
           *quèls majnadistricts*      ... *òn*                        *la*                        *còmpatènza da*  
           DEM.M.PL head\_of\_district.PL have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG competence COMP  
           ... *dí dis vaschnaucas*      ... *tgé i òn*                        *da*  
           say.INF DEF.DAT.PL municipality.F.PL what 3PL have.PRS.3PL COMP  
           *fá*      [...].  
           do.IMP

'And somehow the result of this was that the heads of district have the authority to tell the municipalities what they have to do [...]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (46) *Ju sùn*      *jus*                        *in*                        *tjamš a plàschèva*      *da*  
           1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG INDEF.M.SG time and please.IMPF.3SG DAT  
           *mé şchùbar*      *nuét api vau*                        *détg*  
           1SG clean.ADJ.UNM nothing and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM  
           *di mùma in dé* [...].  
           DEF.DAT.SG mother.F 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 [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

Example (47) shows the simultaneous occurrence of *di* and the Standard Sursilvan construction *a + definite article* in the same utterance.

- (47) *Quaj duvrava 'l par dá dis pòrs,*  
DEM.UNM use.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M SUBORD give.INF DAT.PL pig.M.PL  
*trúfals ansjaman par dá áls<sup>6</sup>pòrs.*  
potato.M.PL 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.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

It is not clear to me to what 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) «*Ju a dau dis pòrs?* *Da lèzas uras mintga familja vèva in piartg, dus, traïs, a*  
every family.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG pig two three and  
*quaj mintgín savèva tgé ca què lèš*  
DEM.UNM everybody know.IMPF.3SG what REL DEM.UNM want.COND.3SG  
*dí. Oz stuëssan 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 SUBORD eat.INF DEF.DAT.PL pig.M.PL or 1SG have.PRS.1SG  
*parvasju 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».’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

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 which treats indirect objects.

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<sup>6</sup>Standard Sursilvan for *dals*.

### 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 adjuncts 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 determiner<sup>7</sup> and the pronoun which is unmarked for gender have the same form: *quaj*, *gljèz*, and *tschaj*.<sup>8</sup> 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 §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 provide any information about whether the indicated objects are close further away from speaker or hearer. In order to distinguish proximal (close to speaker and hearer) from distal (further away from speaker and hearer), the adverbs *cò* ‘here’ and *lò* ‘there’ are optionally used and are located at the end of the noun phrase.

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<sup>a</sup></i>

<sup>a</sup>See example (55).

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

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

<sup>7</sup>*Quaj* is also used as a form that may determine place names (see example (55) in this section), but this is not the case for the other three demonstratives.

<sup>8</sup>There is no such syncretism in the *quèst*-series since in this paradigm there are no pronouns.

- (49) [...] *vau*      *príu*      *quaj*      *cùdisch cò*      *da la*  
 have.PRS.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.F.SG  
*mütòlògia* [...].  
 mythology

‘[...] I took this book of mythology [...].’<sup>9</sup> (Sadrún, m4 ,§8.3)

- (50) *Quaj*      *dajan*      *quèls*      *dus*      *gjuvans*      *lò*      *fá*      [...].  
 DEM.UNM must.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL two.M young.PL there do.INF  
 ‘This the two young [men] over there should do [...].’ (Gadola 1935: 88)

Examples (51 and 52) illustrate the anaphoric function of the determiners of the *quaj*-series.

- (51) *A*      *quaj*      *èra*      *mù in*      *ganc*      *tras.*      *A*  
 and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through and  
*quaj*      *gang*      *udéva*      *dad òmaṣdús.*  
 DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL  
 ‘And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (52) [...] *nuş vajn*      *mùgnşch*      *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 this work.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

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

- (53) *In'*      *jèda vèv'*      *in*      *pur*      *in*      *stauschbèna.*  
 DEF.F.SG time have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG farmer INDEF.M.SG wheelbarrow  
*Quèl*      *vagnéva*      *navèn la*      *nòtg.*  
 DEM.M.SG come.IMPF.3SG away DEF.F.SG night  
 ‘Once a farmer had a wheelbarrow. It used to disappear during night.’  
 (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 66)

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<sup>9</sup>The speaker was pointing at the book.

### 3 Noun phrase

- (54) *Èl vèva da cargè ina bùra, mù quèla  
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG to carry.INF INDEF.F.SG block but DEM.F.SG  
 èra gjalada ajla najv [...].  
 COP.IMPF.3SG freeze.PTCP.F.SG in.DEF.F.SG snow*  
 ‘He had to carry a [block of wood], but it was frozen in the snow [...].’  
 (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 105)

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 170 and 171 below). Therefore, in (55) I interpret *quaj* modifying the place name *Pardatsch* as unmarked for gender but not as masculine singular.

- (55) *A grad ajnta quaj Pardatsch èran nus quàtar, tschun  
 and precisely in DEM.UNM PN COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL four five  
 buéts.  
 boy.M.PL*  
 ‘And precisely in Pardatsch we were four, five boys.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

The unmarked demonstrative pronoun *quaj* refers anaphorically to a preceding sentence or cataphorically to a noun (56).

- (56) *[...] stuèv' i séls bauns, ah, sél Krüzlipass,  
 must.IMPF.1SG go.INF on.DEF.M.PL ridge.PL eh on.DEF.M.SG PN  
 Pas dlas Cruschs, cun muossavías, a vèva sjat da  
 pass of.DEF.F.PL cross.PL with signpost.F.PL and have.IMPF.1SG seven of  
 quèlas da purtá sé. A quaj èra pasanca, api  
 DEM.F.PL to carry.INF up and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very\_heavy and  
 vau tartgau basta.  
 have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM enough*  
 ‘[...] [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. And this was terribly heavy, and then I thought [it was] enough.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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 (57–60).

- (57) *Quaj è détgas cumars.  
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG real.F.PL chatterbox.PL*  
 ‘These are real chatterboxes.’ (DRG 4: 376)

- (58) *ε kwaj myſt̪as? – kwaj ε furmikl̪as [...].*  
 COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM fly.F.PL DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG ant.F.PL  
 ‘Are these flies? – They are ants [...]’ (Gartner 1910: 28)
- (59) *Uardaj cò sé quèls dus, quaj è dus vajrs*  
 look.IMP.POL here up DEM.M.PL two.M DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG two real.M.PL  
*lumps!*  
 rascal.PL  
 ‘Look at these two up there, these are two real rascals!’ (Berther 2007: 15)
- (60) *[...] qu’ èra stau gròndas lavurs [...].*  
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL  
 ‘[...] this had been hard work [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

In the corpus, there are some occurrences of *què* as an allomorph of *quaj* (61).

- (61) *[...] quaj vagnéva rasdau cò ajn què*  
 DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM here in DEM.M.SG  
*cantún mù ròmòntschi.*  
 corner only Romansh.M.SG  
 ‘[...] in that corner only Romansh was spoken.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

### 3.2.2.2 The *lèz*-series

In contrast to the demonstratives of the *quèl*-series, the demonstratives of the *lèz*-series have exclusively anaphoric functions and cannot combine with the locative adverbs *cò* ‘here’ and *lò* ‘there’. 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) *[...] scha nus mòndian a séſian spèr la*  
 if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next\_to DEF.F.SG  
*sòr’ Andréa, lèza savèva ròmòntschi. Scha nus*  
 sister.F.SG PN DEM.F.SG know.IMPF.3SG Romansh.M.SG if 1PL

### 3 Noun phrase

séjšian            **sén lèza**            *majša, ástgian*            *nus*  
 sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL on DEM.F.SG table be\_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL 1PL  
*rašdá*            *ramòntscht*            [...].  
 speak.IMPF 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 [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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, 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*.

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

- (63) *Lu*    *shèn*            *aj i*            *sén claustra*    *a*            *fá*  
 then COP.PRS.3PL 3PL go.PTCP.M.3PL on monastery SUBORD make.IMPF  
*vagní*    *gjù*    *gl*            *avat. Lèz*            *è*            *vagnús*  
 come.IMPF down DEF.M.SG abbot DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG  
*gjù*        [...].  
 down

‘Then they went up to the monastery and made the abbot come down. He came down [...]’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 132)

- (64) [...] *al*            *zagnún*    *a*            *tauntas*            *a*    *tauntas,*    *a*  
 DEF.M.SG dairyman have.PRS.3SG so\_many.F.PL and so\_many.F.PL and  
*té*    *as*            *da*            *gidá*            *lèz.*  
 2SG have.PRS.2SG COMP help.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG
- ‘[...] the dairyman has so and so many [cows], and you have to help him.’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (65) *A*    *lur' vèv'*            *inš da dá*            ... *da magljè da lèzs*            [...].  
 and then have.IMPF.3SG GNR to give.IMPF.3SG to eat.IMPF.3SG DAT DEM.M.PL  
 ‘And then one had to feed ... feed them [the pigs] [...]’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (66) [...] *a lu va ju rantaū in mél vi dal*  
 ... and then have.1SG 1SG bind.PTCP.UNM one.M.SG mule over of.DEF.M.MSG  
*autar, álsò vi [...] dal ... cavèstar da lèz, álsò*  
 other well over of.DEF.M.MSG bridle of DEM.M.MSG that\_is\_to\_say  
*vi dal ... dal bast da lèz scù ins*  
 over of.DEF.M.MSG of.DEF.M.MSG packsaddle of DEM.M.MSG as GNR  
*di [...] 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 [...].'  
 (Sadrún, m10, §8.7)

- (67) *Vuṣ Ŝèp 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 [...]' (Gadola 1935: 91)

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

- (68) *Inṣ vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn*  
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into  
*pùntgas né tráddals; 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, §8.3)

- (69) «*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.»'  
 (Berther 1998: 85)

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

### 3 Noun phrase

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

‘There were certain constraints. I don’t know at all whether there were problems because of that.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 379)

As mentioned before, the *quèl*-series may refer deictically and anaphorically to the referent, whereas the *lèz*-series may only refer to it anaphorically. None of my consultants could explain the difference between the two in the domain of anaphora; it, seems, however, there are at least two domains where *lèz* is preferred over *quèl*: with topicalised subjects which are located outside the sentence ((71); see also (63) above), and with the preposition *cun* ‘with’ (73). But the *quèl*-series is nevertheless not excluded from these domains, as (72) and (74) show.

- (71) [...] *a lu al tat, lèz pinava tiar*  
and then DEF.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG prepare.IMPF.3SG to  
*la tschajna [...].*  
DEF.F.SG dinner  
‘[...] and then my grandfather, he would prepare dinner [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (72) *Als caschnèš da mù dus pòsts, quèls numnávani*  
DEF.M.PL hay\_rack.PL of only two.M.PL post.PL DEM.M.PL call.IMPF.3PL.3PL  
*gjajnas.*  
gjajna.F.PL  
‘The hay racks of only two posts were called *gjainas*.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 577)
- (73) *Ju a antupau al Giari, a lu sünd ju*  
1SG have.PRS.1SG meet.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG PN and then be.PRS.1SG 1SG  
*juš ad alp cun lèz.*  
go.PTCP.M.SG to alp with DEM.M.SG  
‘I met Gieri, and then I went to the alpine pasture with him.’ (Sadrún, m4)

- (74) *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  
*la téجا dal, da Majgals [...].*  
 DEF.F.SG alpine\_hut of.DEF.M.SG of PN  
 'I should go and make an appointment with those up there in the alpine hut of the, of Maighels [...]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

### 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 (75 and 76).

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) *Uṣa 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 [...]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (76) *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.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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 *tschèl' jamna* 'that week' (77).

- (77) *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.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week  
 'And then I said [that] they had done a tour that week [...]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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 the speech time (78).

### 3 Noun phrase

- (78) [...] *quaj*    *òn*    *vèvan*              *nuş da fá*              *sé* ... *ina*              ...  
DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to make.INF up INDEF.F.SG  
*fòrmazjun nòva*    [...].  
lineup    new.F.SG  
‘[...] that year we had to do ... a .. new lineup [...].’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13).

#### 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’ or ‘that’ (79–82).<sup>10,11</sup>

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) *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.M.PL bed.PL  
‘One works in the kitchen and the other makes beds.’ (DRG 4: 598)

<sup>10</sup>One of the anonymous reviewers suggested that the demonstratives of the *tschèl*-series could be medial demonstratives, i.e. demonstratives that refer to objects that are located close to the hearer. This hypothesis implies (1) that the Tuatschin demonstratives are tied to the speech act participants, and (2) that Tuatschin possesses three series of demonstratives that relate the indicated object to the position of the speech act participants, like Spanish *este* (proximal, close to the speaker) vs *ese* (medial, close to the hearer) and *aquel* (distal, further away from both). However, as stated above, Tuatschin makes no such distinction, since there is only one series that has a deictic functions (the *quèl*-series), and if a spatial deictic distinction is made, the adverbs *cò* ‘here’ (near to speaker and hearer) and *lò* ‘there’ (further away from speaker and hearer) must be used. Example (81) was uttered while I was sitting with my consultant in a restaurant in front of the city hall of Sedrun. In this example, *quèla* refers to an object located close to speaker and hearer, where as *tschèla* refers to an object located at the same distance, but further away, from speaker and hearer, but by no means close to the hearer.

<sup>11</sup>To use *autar* ‘other’ instead of *tschèl* in such constructions is felt to be more Standard Sursilvan than Tuatschin by the native speakers I have consulted.

- (80) *A quaj gang udéva dad òmasdús.* 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.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (81) *Da quèla vart dal Drun vajn nus la tgèsa*  
 on DEM.F.SG side of.DEF.M.SG PN have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEF.F.SG house  
*còmunala, a da tschèla vart la basèlgja.*  
 communal and on DEM.F.SG side DEF.F.SG church  
 ‘On this side of the Drun [a creek which divides two parts of Sedrun] we have the community hall and on the other side the church.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (82) *[...] vèv' è plaschaj vi da quaj vi da tschaj*  
 have.IMPF.1SG also pleasure.M.SG over of DEM.UNM over of DEM.UNM  
 [...].

‘[...] [I] also had pleasure in this and that [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

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

- (83) *Èr' in bal, a quaj dèv' ins cun*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG ball and DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG GNR with  
*in fist, a dèvan quaj ála landstròs,*  
 DEF.M.SG stick and give.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM in.DEF.F.SG main\_road.F.SG  
*quaj mava fòrsa in autò gl antiar*  
 DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG maybe INDEF.M.SG car DEF.M.SG whole  
*sjantarmjadš-dé, áutar nuét.*  
 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.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (84) *Ad ju èra, vèva ... in buéb, in*  
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG have.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG boy INDEF.M.SG  
*frá è sadasgrazjaus tgu*  
 brother be.PRS.3SG REFL.have\_an\_accident.PTCP.M.SG REL.1SG

### 3 Noun phrase

vèv'                òtg    majns        ála                Val    Milá, ála  
have.IMPF.1SG eight month.M.PL in.DEF.F.SG valley PN    in.DEF.F.SG  
grépa,    ad    vèv'                aun                duas        sòras,    a    tschaj  
rock.COLL and have.IMPF.1SG in\_addition two.F.PL sister.PL and DEM.UNM  
èra                buép        parsul.  
COP.IMPF.1SG boy.M.SG alone.M.SG

'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.' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (85) *Ábar tschaj*    sùnd        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.' (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

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) *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  
*baun-pégna*                [...].  
bench.M.SG-oven.F.SG  
'He slept a lot and used to go [and sit] on the oven bench [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

#### 3.2.3 Possessives

The possessive determiners are presented in Table 3.12; they agree in number and gender with the possessed, not with the possessor, which means that the possessor may be feminine or masculine. The possessive pronouns are presented in Table 3.13.

The possessive paradigm shows one case of syncretism: the third person possessive determiners have the same form whether the possessor is singular or plural. The forms *sju/sia* are used for singular possessed entities (87) and the forms *séjs/sias* are used for plural possessed entities (88). The Standard Sursilvan form *lur* 'their' for third person plural masculine and feminine possessors is not used.

Table 3.12: Possessive determiners

	M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL
1SG	<i>mju</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>méjs</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>mias</i>
2SG	<i>tju</i>	<i>téjs</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>tiaş</i>
3SG	<i>sju</i>	<i>séjs</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>sias</i>
1PL	<i>niaş</i>	<i>nòş</i>	<i>nòssa</i>	<i>nòssaş</i>
2PL	<i>viaş</i>	<i>vòş</i>	<i>vòssa</i>	<i>vòssaş</i>
3PL	<i>sju</i>	<i>séjs</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>sias</i>

<sup>a</sup>In the corpus, there is one occurrence of the Standard Sursilvan form /miw/ (f3, §8.1.

- (87) [...] *a privava uschéja als purêts da*  
           and deprive.IMPF.3SG SO DEF.M.PL small\_farmer.PL of  
*sju fatg.*  
           POSS.3PL.M.SG property  
       ' [...] and used in this way to deprive the small farmers of their property.'  
       (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 90)
- (88) [...] *cu quèl antschavèv' ajn cun séjs spérts a*  
           when DEM.M.SG begin.IMPF.3SG in with POSS.3SG.M.PL spirit.PL and  
*tùt quaj tg' èra.*  
           all DEM.UNM REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG  
       ' [...] when he started with his spirits and everything that was there.'  
       (Sèlva, f2, §8.6)

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 a vowel (90).

- (89) *Lu sùnd 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,  
       §8.3)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (90) *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 [...]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

Normally, the possessive determiners precede the noun, but in proverbs or sayings they may follow it (91).

- (91) *Cùsch bùca tia, scha cùschan*  
 keep\_quiet.IMP.2SG mouth.F.SG POSS.2SG then keep\_quiet.PRS.3PL  
*bùca tùtas.*  
 mouth.F.SG all.F.PL  
 'Keep quiet, then everybody will keep quiet.' (Büchli 1966: 100)

The possessive pronouns (Table 3.13) take different forms according to whether they occur as the predicate (92) or in another, nominal, function like subject (93).

- (92) *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/hers.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (93) *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.' (Sadrún, m5)

Table 3.13: Possessive pronouns

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

Regarding third person plural predicative, some speakers prefer to use *dad èls* 'of them' (94) instead of *séjs* 'theirs', using *séjs* only for singular ('his/hers').

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

### 3.2.4 Indefinites

The indefinite determiners are *mintga* (+C)/*mintg'* (+V)<sup>12</sup> ‘every’ (95 and 96), *nagín* (m) / *nagina* (f) ‘no’ (97 and 98), *scadín/scadina* ‘every, any’ (99), and *tùt* + definite article / *tùta* + bare noun ‘all’ (100–102). *Mintga*, *tùt*, and *tùta* are invariable.

- (95) *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 to 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 [...].’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)
- (96) *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 Valtgèva with the pigs, every day up and down, I could tell you about that.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (97) *La stat ... èra nagina scùla.*  
 DEF.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.F.SG school  
 ‘During summer ... there was no school at all.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)
- (98) *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.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (99) *Scadín cas va ju pitgau ajn al tgau, parquaj*  
 every.M.SG case have.PRS.1SG 1SG hit.PTCP.UNM in DEF.M.SG head because  
*tga ju mava a spaz cò.*  
 SUBORD 1SG go.IMPF.1SG SUBORD walk.M.SG here  
 ‘In any case I hit my head because I was going for a walk here.’ (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)

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<sup>12</sup>Note that /j/ counts as vowel.

### 3 Noun phrase

- (100) *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.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.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.’  
(Sadrún, f3, §8.3)
- (101) *[...] api stèvan nuš vagní a tgèsa ad ... a*  
and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and SUBORD  
*múlgjar tut las tgauras.*  
milk.INF all DEF.F.PL goat.PL  
‘[...] and then we had to go home and milk all the goats.’ (Surajn, f5,  
§8.10)
- (102) *A sjantar òi gju nùm ... i [...]*  
and after have.PRS.3SG.EXPL have.PTCP.UNM name.M.SG EXPL  
*míðian ò tut als muossavías.*  
change.PRS.SBJV.3PL out all DEF.M.PL signpost.PL  
‘And after this, one had to ... [...] they would replace all the signposts.’  
(Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- As mentioned above, *tùta* is used with bare nouns, is invariable, and is restricted to singular reference (103 and 104).
- (103) *Ajn tùta cas mia mia mùma a la*  
in all 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, §8.12)
- (104) *[...] api lu mavan ins tùta stat lò*  
and then go.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR whole summer.F.SG there  
*vèva da fâ quaj.*  
have.IMPF.1SG to do.INF DEM.UNM  
‘[...] and then we would go for the whole summer, there [I] had to do  
that.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

In Büchli (1966: 62) there is an occurrence of *tùts* (105), this is of variable *tùt*, but this is an obsolescent construction. In my oral corpus, there is no example of this construction.

- (105) *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 [...].’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 14)

The indefinite pronouns are *anzatgé(j)* / *zatgé(j)* ‘something’ (106), *x-zatgé(j)* ‘something, anything’ (107), *finadín (m)* / *finadina (f)* ‘everybody (without exception)’ (108), *mintgín* ‘everybody’ (109), *nagín* / *nagina* / *nagins* / *naginas* ‘nobody, no one’(110), *nuét* ‘nothing’ (111), *tùt* ‘everything’ (112), *tùtas (f)* / *tùts (m)* ‘all’ (113), and *zatgí* ‘somebody’ (114).

- (106) *Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun nias*  
 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, §8.4)

- (107) *[...] api saj stau in' ura da şchubargè né fá*  
 and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG hour to clean.INF or do.INF  
*ò cul fiar né x-zatgéj luvrá palas sòras [...].*  
 out with.DEF.M.SG iron or anything do.INF for.DEF.F.PL nun.PL  
 ‘[...] and then we had to clean for one hour or iron or do something else for the nuns [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (108) *Tùts stuèvan spargnè. Finadín. Vèvan nagíns ...*  
 all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF everyone have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL  
*réhs.*  
 rich.PL  
 ‘Everyone had to save. Absolutely everyone. We had no ... rich people.’  
 (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (109) *Quaj ... ins stèva vagní ... mintgín sén*  
DEM.UNM GNR must.IMPF.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on  
*sju quántum [...].*  
POSS.3SG.M.SG amount  
‘This ... one had to reach ... everyone their amount [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (110) *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, §8.1)
- (111) *Ad ùş è quaj nuét dal tùt.*  
and now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM nothing of.DEF.M.SG all  
‘And now there is nothing of all that [left].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (112) *Laş vaschnaucas lajn í tùt ajn décadènza.*  
DEF.F.PL municipality.PL let.PRS.3PL go.INF all in decline.F.SG  
‘The municipalities let everything go into decline.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (113) *Tùts stuèvan spargnè.*  
all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF  
‘Everyone had to save.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (114) *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 to 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 [...].’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)
- Adatgí* as a dative indefinite pronoun is found in (115); note that nowadays this form is obsolete.
- (115) *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.’ (DRG  
2: 154)

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 (116).

- (116) *Tùt als pòsts vèvan anzatgé in crap sutajn.*  
 all DEF.M.PL post.PL have.IMP.F.3PL something INDEF.M.SG stone  
*under\_in*  
 ‘All [hay rack] posts had a kind of stone under them.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 580)

### 3.2.5 Quantifiers

#### 3.2.5.1 Numerals

Cardinal numerals 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> (m), <i>ina</i> (f)	11	<i>indisçh</i>
2	<i>duş</i> (m), <i>duaş</i> (f)	12	<i>dùdişch</i>
3	<i>trajş</i>	13	<i>trèdişch</i>
4	<i>quátar</i>	14	<i>quitòrdişch</i>
5	<i>tschun</i>	15	<i>quindişch</i>
6	<i>siş</i>	16	<i>sédaşch/sédişch</i>
7	<i>sjat</i>	17	<i>gisját</i>
8	<i>òtg</i>	19	<i>şchòtg</i>
9	<i>nùv</i>	19	<i>şchèniv</i>
10	<i>déşch</i>	20	<i>végn</i>
			21 <i>véntgín</i>
			22 <i>véntgadúş</i>
			28 <i>véntgòtg</i>
			30 <i>trènta</i>
			40 <i>curònta</i>
			50 <i>tschuncònta</i>
			60 <i>sissònta</i>
			70 <i>sjatònta</i>
			80 <i>òtgònta</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 òtgontasjat* ‘1887’ (§8.3) or *dus maljúnš a trajatschian a végn* ‘2.320’.

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 maljún̄s</i>

- (117) *In ufaun è pauc, dus è drètg, trajš*  
 one.M child COP.PRS.3SG little two.M 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.’ (DRG 6: 728)
- (118) [...] *quaj va<sup>13</sup> sé sén dua mili a trajtschian a*  
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG up on two thousand and three\_hundred and  
*taunts mètarš sur mar.*  
 so\_many.M.PL metre.PL above sea.F.SG  
 ‘[...] this goes up to 2.300 metres or so above sea level.’ (Sadrún, f3,§8.1)

The forms *dua* (119) and *traj(a)* (120) of the cardinal numerals 2 and 3 are used with *tschian* ‘hundred’ and *mili* ‘thousand’ (see Table 3.15), and also with some collective nouns.

- (119) *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.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (120) *'eləz ɔn traj 'pèra 'tɔmbəs [...].*  
 3PL.F have.PRS.3PL three pair.COLL leg.PL  
 ‘They [the ants] have three pairs of legs.’ (Gartner 1910: 28)

The fractions occurring in the corpus are *quart* ‘quart’, *miaz* (121), *mjasa* ‘half’ (122), *antir, -a* ‘whole’ (123); ‘both’ is rendered by *(d)òmaşdús/(d)òmaşdúas* (124).

<sup>13</sup> *va* is a Standard Sursilvan form; the Tuatschin form is *vò*.

- (121) *A quaj è ina rùsna, ò tgé pù*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (122) *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.’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (123) *A sjantar ... òni ampustau tut nùfs ... pr l' antira val.*  
 and after have.PRS.3PL.3PL order.PTCP.UNM all new.M.PL for  
 DEF.F.SG whole valley  
 ‘And then ... they ordered all new ones ... for the entire valley.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (124) *[...] api ah sùnd jus cun dòmaṣdús.*  
 and eh be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG with both.M.SG  
 ‘[...] and then eh I left with both [mules].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

Numerals can be modified by *strusch* ‘almost’, as in *struṣch dus mètars lad* ‘almost two metres broad’.

Ordinal numbers have special forms from 1–4; from 5 onwards they take the suffix *-ával* / *-avlā*: *ampréim*, *-a* ‘first’, *zacùn,-da* / *sacùn,-da* ‘second’ (125), *tiarz*, *tjarza* ‘third’, *quart*, *-a* ‘fourth’, *tschunával*, *tschunavla* ‘fifth’, *déjschával*, *déjschávla* ‘tenth’, *véntgadušával*, *véntgadušavla* ‘twenty-second’, and so on. ‘Last’ is rendered by *davùs*, *davùsa*.

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

### 3.2.5.2 Other quantifiers

Quantifying determiners are *ampau* ‘a bit’ (126), *aungatáun* ‘as much as, once as much’ (127), *anqual* / *inqual* ‘some’ (128 and 129), *bjè* ‘many’, *massa* / *mass* ‘many, lots’ (130 and 131), and *zatgé(j)* / *zitgé(j)* ‘some’ (literally ‘something’) (132 and 133). All these determiners are invariable except *bjè*, which is invariable or which agrees in gender and number with the noun it modifies.

### 3 Noun phrase

- (126) [...] *vignévan quels lu vi a dèvan ... matévan*  
           come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and give.IMPF.3PL put.IMPF.3SG  
*ajnagjù ampaau raps [...].*  
       into\_and\_down a\_bit cent.M.PL  
       ‘[...] they would come over and give ... put into the piggy bank some cents [...].’ (Ruèras, m2, §8.13)
- (127) *Quaj frust ò dau uòn aungatáun*  
       DEM.M.SG meadow have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM this\_year as\_much  
*fajn.*  
       hay  
       ‘This year, this meadow has produced as much hay [as last year].’ (DRG 6: 546)
- Instead of *aungatáun*, it is also possible to say *aun in jèda taun* ‘still one time as much’.
- (128) *Anqual jèda ... drìvi halt ... da dí.*  
       some time.F.SG must.PRS.3SG.EXPL just COMP say.INF  
       ‘It is sometimes ... just necessary ... to say [it].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (129) [...] *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.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (130) *Èla ò stu i a fá*  
       3SG.F have.PRS.3SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF SUBORD make.INF  
*cura mass' òns .*  
       treatment.F.SG many year.M.PL  
       ‘She had to go for many years to a health resort.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (131) [...] *qu' èra massa gjuvantétgna cò ála val.*  
       DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG lots youth.F.SG here in.DEF.F.SG valley  
       ‘[...] there were a lot of young people here in the valley.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (132) *Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza*  
 and EXPL still EXIST.IMPF.3SG there some remnant.F.SG  
*şè aun lò [...].*  
 EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL still there  
 ‘And there were also, there still are some remnants there [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (133) *Lèds vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad*  
 DEM.M.SG have.IMP.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG ATTR  
*úndšchar ajn [...].*  
 oil.INF in  
 ‘He had given [him] some ointment to rub in [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- The determiner *bjè* is either invariable (134 and 135) or takes the plural forms *bjèras* (f) (136) or *bjèrs* (m).
- (134) *Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn*  
 then go.IMP.3PL.3PL much down\_in PN here from DEM.M.SG big  
*uaul vagnéva bjè lèna.*  
 forest come.IMP.3SG much wood.COLL  
 ‘Then they often went down to Cavorgia, much wood came from that big forest there.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (135) *Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn, la sòra*  
 DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG INDEF.F.SG nun from PN DEF.F.SG Sister  
*Paulina, quèla ò dau bjè òns*  
 PN DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many year.M.PL  
*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.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (136) *Bjèras fèmnas òn zambargjau.*  
 many.F.PL woman.PL have.PRS.3PL do\_crafting.PTCP.UNM  
 ‘Many women did crafting.’ (Sadrún, m5)

In comparative (137) and superlative (138) constructions, *bjè* is treated like an adjective (see §3.3.2).

### 3 Noun phrase

- (137) [...] *la banadyczjún, lèza vèva plé bjè*  
           DEF.F.SG blessing DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG much more  
*fòrza sélas stréjas.*  
           power.F.SG on.DEF.F.PL witch.PL  
       ‘[...] the blessing had much more power over the witches.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)
- (138) [...] *quaj duvrava la plé bjè lèna ...*  
           DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG more much firewood.COLL  
*quaj stèva buglí.*  
           DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG boil.INF  
       ‘[...] that required the highest quantity of firewood ... this [= the whey] had to boil.’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

As a pronoun, *bjè* takes the form *bjèrs* (M) (139) and *bjèras* (F) (140).

- (139) [...] *ábar dals, méjs gjaniturs ... vajn nuš ùssa*  
           but DEF.DAT.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL now  
*béجا détg Vus, ábar i éra bjèrs tga...*  
           NEG say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL 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.POL  
*dals gjaniturs.*  
           DEF.DAT.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.’  
       (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (140) [...] *bjèras schavan lu è bétga vagní ajn [...].*  
           many.F.PL let.IMPF.3PL then also NEG come.INF in  
       ‘[...] many [young women] wouldn’t let [the young man] come in [...].’  
       (Zarcúns, m2, §8.1)

Non-countable quantifying nouns such as *in téč* ‘a bit’ (141), *in tschùpal* ‘a lot’ (142) as well as countable quantifying nouns such as *ina butèglja* ‘a bottle’ (143) or *duas butègljas* ‘two bottles’ are used without a partitive preposition.

- (141) *Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú in*  
 down there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.MSG  
*téc quajda d' i par crapa [...].*  
 bit desire.F.SG ATTR go.INF for stone.COLL  
 ‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit [...].’  
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (142) *Ad uschéja vès ju, savès ju raquintá in*  
 and so have.COND.1SG 1SG can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF INDEF.M.MSG  
*tschùpal èvènimajnts tg' èn schabagjaj cun quèls*  
 lot incident.M.PL REL be.PRS.3PL happen.PTCP.M.PL with DEM.M.PL  
*méls.*  
 mule.PL  
 ‘And so I would, I could recount a lot of incidents that happened with these mules.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (143) *Quèl tga gartagjava ... survagnév' ina butèglja*  
 DEM.M.MSG REL succeed.IMP.3SG get.IMP.3SG INDEF.F.SG bottle  
*vin.*  
 wine.M.MSG  
 ‘The person who succeeded would get a bottle of wine.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

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

Furthermore, *bjè* is used adverbially (144) meaning ‘often’; it can also be nominalised and corresponds to ‘much, many’ (145) or ‘mostly’ (146).

- (144) *A gju quèl al plé gròn plaçhaj ...*  
 and have.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.MSG DEF.M.MSG more big.M.MSG.UNM pleasure  
*da ... surprèndar lavurs da maridur a da màjstar, a*  
 of take\_over.INF job.F.PL of bricklayer.M.MSG and of joiner.M.MSG and  
*mava plé bjè sén gljèz.*  
 go.IMP.1SG more often on DEM.UNM  
 ‘And had the greatest pleasure ... to take over bricklayers’s or joiners’s jobs, and I did more often that [kind of work.]’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (145) *Al        bjè        fò                      bétga plajn.*  
         DEF.M.SG much make.PRS.3SG NEG full  
         ‘A big quantity does not fill the stomach.’ (DRG 2: 386)
- (146) *[...] al        bjè        mavan        nus sémplamajn        lò        nuca        nus*  
         DEF.M.SG much go.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV there where.REL 1PL  
         vèvan        còlègs        [...].  
         have.IMPF.1PL mate.M.PL  
         ‘[...] we would mostly go simply where we had friends [...].’ (Sadrún, m9,  
         §8.15)

#### 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 four examples have been found (147–150).

- (147) *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] [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (148) *Quaj        nagín        tga [...] lèva                      bétga fá.*  
         DEM.UNM nobody REL        want.IMPF.3SG NEG        do.INF  
         ‘Nobody [...] would refuse to do it.’ (Sadrún, m3, §8.16)
- (149) *[...] quaj        **tùt tga** mungèva        [...].*  
         DEM.UNM all        REL milk.IMPF.3SG  
         ‘[...] here everybody had to milk [...].’ (Sadrún, m3, §8.16)
- (150) *[...] quaj        èra                      tûts        tga vèvan        da dad í        sé*  
         DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG all.M.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL to to go.INF up  
         sissúm,        fá        òrazjún        da da la        sèra.  
         uppermost do.INF prayer.F.SG of of DEF.F.SG evening  
         ‘[...] then all had to go upstairs, to the very top, to say the evening  
         prayers.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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 (147), *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: 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

- (151) *Al Gjòn \*tg’ ò angulau als raps.*  
 DEF.M.SG PN REL have.PRS.3SG steal.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL cent.PL  
 ‘It is Gion who stole the money.’ (Sadrún, m5)

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).

- (152) *I è gnang in tg’ è vagnús tiar nus.*  
 EXPL COP.PRS.3SG not\_even one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to  
 1SG  
 ‘Not a single person came to see us.’ (Sadrún, m5)

### 3 Noun phrase

The following examples of the construction with *tga* are either elicited or taken from written sources (153–156). The elicited forms were accepted by all the native speakers that have been consulted.

- (153) *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.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (154) *A quèla ffasta mintgín tg' è vagnús.*  
 to DEM.F.SG party everyone REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG  
 ‘Everybody came to this party.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (155) *Avaun tschian òns pliravan nòṣ bunṣ*  
 ago hundred year.M.PL complain.IMPF.3PL POSS.1PL.M.PL good.PL  
*véglṣ da pudaj fugí gl unviarn navèn da Sèlva*  
 old.PL COMP be\_able.INF escape.INF DEF.M.SG winter from of PN  
*ad ùssa, tüt tga vut stá luòra<sup>14</sup> [...].*  
 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 up there.’ (Berther 2007: 69)
- (156) *Ùṣ è tüt tga vò cun brajntas da*  
 now COP.PRS.3SG all REL go.PRS.3SG with basket.F.PL of  
*stùrs.*  
 sheet\_metal.M.SG  
 ‘Now everybody goes with a basket made of sheet metal.’ (DRG 2: 491)

If *tüt* 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 (157).

- (157) *Quasi tüt tg' è vagnú a ffasta.*  
 almost all REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM to party.F.SG  
 ‘Almost everyone came to the party.’ (Sadrún, m5)

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<sup>14</sup>Performance error for *luajn*.

### 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 takes the suffix *-s*.

Except for three adjectives which will be treated below, 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 is slightly different in the domain of masculine adjectives (Table 3.17).

Table 3.17: Forms of the attributive and predicative adjectives

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

Adjectives ending in *-n* have their feminine form in *-ta*: *samagljòn/samagljònta* ‘similar’, and *stupèn/stupènta* ‘excellent’. This holds for quantifiers as well: *taun/taunta* ‘so many’ and *zacònts/zacòntas* ‘some’.

The three invariable adjectives referred to above are *andrètg* ‘right, righteous’, *aparti* ‘special’, and *bianmartgau* ‘cheap’.<sup>15</sup> Whereas *andrètg* and *bianmartgau* are used without restriction (*ina dùna andrètg* ‘a righteous woman’ and *ina tgèsa bianmartgau* ‘a cheap house’), *aparti* modifying a feminine noun is mostly used

<sup>15</sup>See Spescha (1989: 276) for Standard Sursilvan.

### 3 Noun phrase

in attributive position modified by the adverb *tùt* ‘very’: *ina vusch tùt aparti* ‘a very particular voice’.

Adjectives may show stem alternations (Table 3.19) or not (Table 3.18). Stem alternations may concern vowels or consonants; a list of adjectives with stem alternations is given in Table 3.20.<sup>16</sup>

Table 3.18: Adjectives without stem alternations

<i>in cùdisch alv</i>	‘a white book’
<i>Quaj è alv.</i>	‘This is white.’
<i>Quaj 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 alternations

<i>in bi dé</i>	‘a beautiful day’
<i>Mazá è bérgja bi.</i>	‘To kill is not nice.’
<i>Quaj 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>Quaj 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 bjalias flurs.</i>	‘These are beautiful flowers.’
<i>Las flurs sén quaj prau èn bjalias.</i>	‘The flowers in this meadow are beautiful.’

<sup>16</sup>Some adjectives with stem alternations which are listed in Spescha (1989: 282f.) are not used in Tuatschin. These are *detschiert*, *detscharta* ‘resolute’, *tanien*, *tanienta* ‘such’; for *stiert*, *storta* and *uiersch*, *uiarscha*, both ‘crooked’, the adjective *crùtsch*, -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’.

Table 3.20: List of adjectives with stem alternations

<i>agjan, agjans, atgna, atgnas</i>	'own'
<i>bi, bjals, bjala, bjalaş</i>	'beautiful'
<i>bian, bunş, buna, bunaş</i>	'good'
<i>caviartg, cavòrtgs, cavòrtga, cavòrtgas</i>	'hollow'
<i>grias, gròş, gròssa, gròssas</i>	'big'
<i>iastar, jastars, jastra, jastras</i>	'foreign'
<i>matgiart, macòrts, macòrta, macòrtas</i>	'ugly'
<i>miadş, mjasa</i>	'half'
<i>miart, mòrts, mòrta, mòrtas</i>	'dead'
<i>néjv, nùfs, nòva, nòvas</i>	'new'
<i>niabal, nòbelş, nòbla, nòblas</i>	'noble'
<i>pin, pinş, pintga, pintgas</i>	'small, little'
<i>schliat, schljats, schljata, schljatas</i>	'bad'
<i>sògn, sògnş, sòntga, sòntgas</i>	'holy'
<i>stupèn, stupènts, stupènta, stupèntas</i>	'excellent'
<i>tgétschan, còtschanş, còtschna, còtschnas</i>	'red'
<i>tiarz, tjarzs, tjarza, tjarzas</i>	'third'
<i>tschiac, tschòcs, tschòca, tschòcas</i>	'blind'
<i>ziap, zòps, zòpa, zòpas</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* (F) '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 (158–163).

- (158) [...] lu ò              las    *anflau*              èl        *mòrts*  
           then have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F find.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M dead.M.MSG  
           *spèl*              *badugn gjù*.  
           next.DEF.M.MSG birch down  
           '[...] then they found him dead next to the birch.' (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 82)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (159) *Èla schèva crèschar l' jarva schi bjala [...].*  
       3SG.F let.IMPF.3SG grow.INF DEF.F.SG grass so beautiful.F.SG  
       ‘She used to let the grass grow so beautiful [...].’ (Cavorgia, Büchli 1966: 119)
- (160) *Té vas zòps.*  
       2SG go.PRS.2SG limp.M.SG  
       ‘You are limping.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (161) *Èl è turnaus cuntjants a tgèsa.*  
       3SG.M be.PRS.3SG come\_back.PTCP.M.SG happy.M.SG to home.F.SG  
       ‘He came back home happy.’ (Sadrún, m10)
- (162) *Parquaj satila l' ò blùts [...].*  
       therefore REFL.pull.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out naked.M.SG  
       ‘Therefore he took off all his clothes [...].’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 106)
- (163) *[...] schagljuc végn ju manizaus ampaglja schi manédeps [...].*  
       otherwise PASS.PRS.1SG 1SG chop.PTCP.M.SG damaged so fine.M.SG  
       ‘[...] otherwise I get completely chopped into such fine pieces [...].’  
       (Surajn, Büchli 1966: 129)

In infinitive clauses with a copulative verb (164), the adjective takes the masculine singular predicative -s in spite of the fact that it has a generic, not a masculine referent.

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

The generic pronoun *ins* triggers the use of the masculine singular form of the adjective in predicative position (165).

- (165) *[...] èr' ins tréstis ajn in cèrt sèn [...].*  
       COP.IMPF.3SG GNR sad.M.SG in INDEF.M.SG certain sense  
       ‘[...] one felt sad in a certain sense [...].’ (Ruèras, f4,§8.16)

The morphologically unmarked form occurs in predicative function if the subject it refers to has no gender, like e.g the demonstrative *quaj* ‘this’, place names, generic noun phrases, or nonfinite subject clauses, as in (166–170). The same holds for the predicative past participle, as in (171).

- (166) [...] *quaj* èra *bigja grat schi sémpal.*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG exactly so easy.ADJ.UNM  
‘[...] this was not exactly that simple.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (167) *Nürsaş* è *şgarşchajval.*  
sheep.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG horrible.ADJ.UNM  
‘Sheep are horrible.’ (Sadrún, m4)

- (168) *Vacanzas* è *bi.*  
holiday.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM  
‘Holidays are nice.’ (Sadrún, m4)

- (169) *Viagè* è *bi.*  
travel.INF COP.PRS.3SG beautiful.ADJ.UNM  
‘Travelling is great.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (170) *Gljòn* è *pin.*  
PN COP.PRS.3SG small.ADJ.UNM  
‘Glion is small.’ (Sadrún, m4)

- (171) *Ah... Nalbş* è *vagnú* *fraquantau* ò *scù*  
eh PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.UNM visit.PTCP.M.UNM out as  
*ah majşes* *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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

The unmarked form is also used with pronouns that have no gender like *zatgéj* ‘something’ in (172).

- (172) *A galòpau, galòpau, galòpau, zatgéj*  
and gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM something  
*şgarşchajval, nuş èssan vagní da tanaj èls*  
terrible.ADJ.UNM 1PL be.PRS.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP hold.INF 3PL.M

### 3 Noun phrase

*pér gjù sur Sèlva.*

only down above PN

‘And [the mules] galloped, galloped, galloped, this was horrible, we only managed to hold onto them above Selva.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

#### 3.3.2 Degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs

In this section, the degrees of comparison (Table 3.21) 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<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>té</i> .
superlative	<i>Ju</i>	<i>sùn</i>	<i>al plé gròn</i>	<i>da tùts.</i>		

<sup>a</sup>Rarely *tgé*.

In the corpus, most comparatives are left without a compared element (173); an example with the compared element is (174).

- (173) [...] *tgé c' ins vèza bjè è als plé passaj,*  
           what REL GNR see.PRS.3SG much COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL more old.M.PL  
           *als pènzionaj vèz' ins bjè sén pista [...].*  
           DEF.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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

- (174) [...] *ò fatg scùlas vinavaun ... stada*  
           have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further COP.PTCP.F.SG  
           *in téç 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 I was.’  
           (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

Although adjectives may precede or follow the noun they modify, with the superlative the prenominal syntax is preferred with short adjectives (175–177), even with the adjectives that always follow the noun as is the case of colour adjectives (176).

- (175) *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  
       ‘She was the tallest girl of the village.’ (Ruèras, m3 §8.16)
- (176) *Gjòn è al plé vèrd martgau da la Sursèlva.*  
       PN COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG more green city of DEF.F.SG PN  
       ‘Glion is the greenest city of the Surselva.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (177) *Quaj èra atgnamajn la fòntauna la plé impurtònta da hanlètg [...].*  
       DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.F.SG source DEF.F.SG most  
       important of business.M.SG  
       ‘This was actually the most important source of business [...].’ (Sadrún,  
       m5, §8.9)

There are some synthetic comparatives and superlatives: *bian* ‘good’, *mégljar* ‘better’ (178), and *al mégljar* ‘the best’, as well as *schliat* ‘bad’, *mèndar* ‘worse’, and *al mèndar* ‘the worst’.

- (178) *A suéntar şè 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] [...]’  
       (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 20)

Linder (1987: 233–250) shows that for some adjectives or substantivised adjectives, see (180), the superlative is formed without *plé* ‘more’ in all Romansh written varieties. This also holds for Tuatschin (179–182).

- (179) *Lu sjaj vagnú gjù la lavina [...] ad*  
       then COP.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG avalanche and  
       ò méz sjùt la grònda part dl  
       have.PRS.3SG put.PTCP.UNM under DEF.F.SG big part of.DEF.M.SG  
       vitg.  
       village  
       ‘Then the avalanche came down [...] and buried the biggest part of the  
       village.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 120)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (180) *Álsò i èran... grad, grat, al gròn èra*  
 well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just just DEF.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG  
*racrut, a tschèls dus 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.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (181) *[...] al gjuvan ajn stgafa da l' ura, quèl ò*  
 DEF.M.SG young in box of DEF.F.SG clock DEM.M.SG have.PRS.3SG  
*èl bétg anflau.*  
 3SG.M NEG find.PTCP.UNM  
 ‘[...] the youngest [goat] in the clock box, this one he didn’t find.’  
 (Gartner 1910: 61)
- (182) *[...] 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.’ (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)

A possible way of forming the elative is using the prefix *u-*, which is a loan from colloquial Swiss German (183 and 184).

- (183) *Quaj èra stau zatgé nündétg, ábar*  
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM something incredible.M.SG but  
*stau u-bjals mùments.*  
 COP.PTCP.UNM ELAT-beautiful.M.PL moment.PL  
 ‘This was something incredible, but these were very beautiful moments.’  
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (184) *A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nus*  
 and DEF.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 [...].’  
 (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

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’ (185), *buns / buna* ‘good’ → *buantád* ‘good quality’ (186), *pasar* ‘weigh’ → *pasanca* ‘heavy load’ (187 and 188), *paupers / paupra* ‘poor’ → *pupira* ‘poverty’ (189), *tups / tupia* ‘stupid’ → *tupira* ‘stupidity’ (190), or *scarts / scarta* ‘scarce’ → *scartèzja* ‘scarcity’ (191). These elatives are used attributively and predicatively.

- (185) [...] *i èra fétg tgaud a la mar*  
EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ADJ.UNM and DEF.F.SG sea  
*èra balèzja gjù Sardégna.*  
COP.IMPF.3SG beauty.F.SG.ELAT down PN  
‘[...] it was very warm and the sea was beautiful in Sardinia.’ (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)
- (186) *Quaj è buantád vaca da latg.*  
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG good\_quality.F.SG.ELAT cow.F.SG of milk.M.SG  
‘This is an excellent milk cow.’ (DRG 2: 639)
- (187) *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.’  
(Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (188) *Quèla vèva còrna usché davùsòra, pasanca*  
DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG horn.COLL so back\_out heavy\_load.F.SG.ELAT  
*tiar [...].*  
animal.M.SG  
‘This one had horns that had grown backwards, a very heavy animal [...].’ (Ruèras, m4, §8.16)
- (189) *Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls spargnavan*  
but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG.ELAT DEM.M.PL save.IMPF.3PL  
*è starmantús [...].*  
also terrible.ADJ.UNM  
‘But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could [...].’  
(Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (190) *Quaj füs stuau tupira par mè da*  
DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM stupidity.F.SG.ELAT for 1SG COMP  
*stuaj raşdá 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.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (191) *Quaj èra scartèzja.*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG scarcity.F.SG.ELAT  
‘[The cervelats] were very scarce.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

#### 3.3.3 Intensifiers of the adjective

The intensifiers of the adjective occurring in the corpus are *aparti* ‘very’, *dètg* ‘fairly’ (192), *fétg* ‘very’ (193), *mèmi/mèmja* ‘too’ (194–196), *pulit* ‘very’ (197), *réjsch* ‘brand-’ (198), *schi* ‘such’ (199), *in téç* ‘a bit’ (200), *tüt* ‘completely’ (201), and *ualti* ‘quite’ (202). These intensifiers are all invariable.

- (192) [...] *èl è lu saravagnús dètg*  
3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then REFL.recover.PTCP.M.SG fairly  
*stupèn [...].*  
excellent.ADJ.UNM  
‘[...] he recovered perfectly well [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (193) *Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònda familja,*  
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG very big family  
*èls òn gju indiçch ufauns [...].*  
3PL.M have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM eleven child.M.PL  
‘This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (194) *Ábar quaj vagnéva dau şura in pènşum*  
but DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.M.SG homework  
*mèmi gròn [...].*  
too big  
‘But they would give us too much homework [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (195) *A pér cu quaj èra fatg scha èra*  
and only when DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR COP.IMPF.3SG  
*la scòtga mèmi tgauda [...].*  
DEF.F.SG whey too hot  
‘And only when this was done, the whey was too hot [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (196) [...] *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.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (197) *A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònnda plata [...].*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG really INDEF.F.SG very big slab  
 ‘And this really is a ... very big slab [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)
- (198) *A prènd èl ò dal sacadòs in cuntí*  
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out of.DEF.M.SG backpack INDEF.M.SG knife  
*réjsch néjv da moni mèlan ... èxact al*  
 brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG yellow exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG  
*madèm.*  
 same  
 ‘And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the  
 backpack ... exactly the same.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

In the corpus, *réjsch* only modifies *néjv* ‘new’ (198), but Decurtins (2012: 931) cites further *resch tgietschen* ‘flame red’ and *resch bletsch* ‘soaking wet’ for Standard Sursilvan.

- (199) *Èl vèva schi gròn plaçchaj, quèl bunamajn*  
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost  
*mava ajn cul tgau ajl ràdjò.*  
 go.IMPF.3SG into with.DEF.M.SG head in.DEF.M.SG radio  
 ‘He had such a great pleasure, he almost would go into the radio with  
 his head.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.13)
- (200) *Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn ...*  
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan  
*gròn né- vi datiar ad èra lò, usché in*  
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next\_to and COP.IMPF.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 of a dominant one.’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (201) [...] *ju sa aun bégn tg' èl' èra vagnida*  
           1SG know.PRS.1SG still well REL 3SG.F be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG  
       *tùt còtschna [...].*  
       completely red.F.SG  
       ‘[...] I still remember very well that she had turned completely red [...].’  
       (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)
- (202) *Qu' è stau in tjams ualти dir par*  
       DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time quite hard for  
       *èls.*  
       3PL.M  
       ‘This was a very hard time for my them.’ (Sadrún, f1)

#### 3.3.4 Infinitival clauses modifying an adjective

Infinitival clauses modifying adjectives are introduced by *da/dad* (203-207).

- (203) [...] *gljèz èra lu bitg in, ah, schi*  
       DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then NEG INDEF.M.SG eh so  
       *sémpal da dumagnè tiar in miadi.*  
       simple.ADJ.UNM MOD cope\_with.INF at INDEF.M.SG doctor  
       [...] this was not eh easy to deal with at the doctor’s.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (204) *I è gréjv da di scha quaj*  
       EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM MOD say.INF COMPL DEM.UNM  
       *è bian.*  
       COP.PRS.3SG good.UNM  
       ‘It is difficult to say whether this is good.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (205) [...] *qu' èra è intarassant da mirá c'*  
       DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also interesting.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF when  
       *i luvravan, c' i bagagjavan gjù.*  
       3PL work.IMPF.3PL when 3PL build.IMPF.3SG down  
       [...] it was also interesting to watch [them] when they were working,  
       when they would dismantle [something].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (206) *Ad èr' è zatgé bi da mirá cù*  
 and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF how  
*quèls tiars luvravan [...].*  
 DEM.M.PL animal.PL work.IMPF.3PL  
 ‘And it was also something nice to look at, how these animals worked [...]’ (Ruèras, m.10, §8.7)
- (207) *A ... [...] èran è lu bétga schi ... schi flòts dad i*  
 and COP.IMPF.3PL also then NEG so so nice.M.PL MOD go.INF  
*cùn cùn cròtscha né cùn tgar.*  
 with with plough.F.SG or with cart.M.SG  
 ‘And ... [...] it was not so ... so nice to walk [with] them with a plough or a cart.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

The modified element may also be a participle used as an adjective (208).

- (208) *Ùssa ... pòrs ..., tgi ca sò quaj, lèzs*  
 now pig.M.PL who REL know.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.M.PL  
*èn ualti stinaj da, da catschá èls [...].*  
 COP.PRS.3PL quite obstinate.PTCP.M.PL MOD MOD drove.INF 3PL.M  
 ‘Now ... pigs ..., those who know that, they are quite obstinate when one droves them [...]’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

### 3.3.5 Adjectives in adverbial function

Manner adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-majn* (see §4.3.3) are not as widespread as in other Romance varieties, probably due to Swiss German influence. Therefore, many adjectives in their unmarked form are used as manner adverbs (209–211).

- (209) *[...] ina tg' ò luvrau stédi.*  
 one.F.SG REL have.PRS.3SG work.PTCP.UNM diligent.ADJ.UNM  
 ‘[...] one who always worked hard.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (210) *Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls spargnavan è starmantús [...].*  
 but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG DEM.M.PL save.IMPF.3PL also  
 terrible.ADJ.UNM  
 ‘But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could [...]’  
 (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (211) [...] 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, §8.7)

A special case is *bian* ‘good’, which is sometimes mistaken for *bégn* ‘well’, as in (212).

- (212) In              vjantar gròn maglja              **bian.**  
DEF.M.SG stomach big eat.PRS.3SG good.ADJ.UNM  
'A big belly eats well.' (DRG 2: 624)

#### 3.3.6 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 if 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.
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 (213) and (214) illustrate rule (1), since the adjective, which is the head of an adjective phrase, follows the noun.

(213)	<i>[...] qu'</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>stau</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>tjams ualti</i>
	DEM.UNM	be.PRS.3SG	then	COP.PTCP.UNM	INDEF.M.SG	time quite
	<i>dir par èls.</i>					
	hard	for	3PL.M			

‘[...] this was then a very hard time for them.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

(214)	<i>Ábar quaj</i>	<i>vagnéva</i>	<i>dau</i>	<i>sura in</i>	<i>pènsum</i>
	but	DEM.UNM	PASS.IMPF.3SG	give.PTCP.UNM	up INDEF.M.SG
	<i>mèmi gròn [...].</i>				
	too	big			

‘But they would give us too much homework [...]’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

Example (214) furthermore shows that this rule also applies to monosyllabic adjectives like *gròn* ‘big’ that usually precede the noun.

Examples (215) and (216) 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 (217).

(215)	<i>Quaj</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>ualti tgèr,</i>	<i>ábar quaj</i>
	DEM.UNM	COP.PRS.3SG	quite expensive.ADJ.UNM	but DEM.UNM
	<i>è</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>ufaun.</i>
	COP.PRS.3SG	INDEF.M.SG	dear.M.SG.UNM	child

‘This is quite expensive, but this is a dear child.’ (Sadrún, m5)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (216) *Ad èra stau in gréjv mùmèn, cun*  
 and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG difficult.M.SG moment with  
*sissòntanùv òns.*  
 sixty-nine year.M.PL

‘And this had been a difficult moment, at age sixty-nine.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (217) *[...] qu' èra stau gròndas lavurs [...].*  
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL  
 ‘[...] this had been hard work [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

Rule (5) (polysyllabic adjectives follow the noun) is illustrated by (218).

- (218) *Èla è curdada gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna*  
 3SG.F be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.F.SG down\_into in INDEF.F.SG hole  
*nùndétga.*  
 awful  
 ‘She fell in an awful hole.’ (Sadrún, f1)

Rule (7) (the adjective precedes the noun if it has a descriptive function) is shown in (219).

- (219) *[...] lu şè aun dus trajs intarassants lògans ajn cò*  
 then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two three interesting place.M.PL in here  
*[...].*

‘[...] there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there [...]’  
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

Example (220) 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.

- (220) *[...] tgéj pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindişch armaulş*  
 what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL  
*gronş api lu aun ... tgauras sòu tga*  
 big.PL and 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 [...]’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

This contrast is also found in *pàstar gròn* ‘main shepherd (literally ‘big shepherd’), vs *pàstar 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’ (221 and 222).

- (221) *Ju a                  cumprau        in                  néjv autò.*  
 1SG have.PRS.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG new car  
 ‘I bought a new car.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (222) *Ju a                  cumprau        in                  autò néjf.*  
 1SG have.PRS.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG car new  
 ‘I bought a new car.’ (Sadrún, m5)

In (221) *néjv autò* refers to a car that replaces an old one and which could be a second-hand car, whereas in (222) *autò néjf* refers to a brand-new car. This rule applies also to (223) as opposed to (224) or (225).

- (223) *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?’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (224) *A prènd        èl        ò dal        sacadòs in        cuntí*  
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out of.DEF.M.SG backpack INDEF.M.SG knife  
*réjsch néjv        da mòni        mèlan [...].*  
 brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG yellow  
 ‘And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the backpack [...]’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

- (225) *[...] quaj        òn vèvan        nuṣ da fá        sé ... ina        ...*  
 DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to make.INF up DEF.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.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

### 3 Noun phrase

Some adjectives always follow the noun, as adjectives referring to colours or to demonyms: *tgautschas najras* ‘black trousers’ (§8.15) or *ina sòra tudèstga* ‘a Swiss-German nun’ (§8.4).

#### 3.3.7 Absence of agreement

If the predicative adjective or past participle is left-dislocated in order to topicalise it (226), 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’ (227–233), it does not agree with the noun it modifies and the unmarked form of the adjective is used.

- (226) [...] *parquáj* *sè*              *impurtònt*              *lura la*              *gramática*  
          therefore COP.PRS.3SG important.ADJ.UNM then DEF.F.SG grammar  
          *tga té fas*              [...].  
          REL 2SG make.PRS.2SG  
‘[...] therefore the grammar you write is important [...].’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (227) *Ju a*              *schau*              *aviart*              *agl*              *ésch.*  
1SG have.PRS.1SG leave.PTCP.UNM open.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG door  
‘I left the door open.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (228) [...] *al*              *pur*              *ò*              [...] *schau*              *libar*  
DEF.M.SG farmer have.PRS.3SG       let.PTCP.UNM free.ADJ.UNM  
          *l'*              *uélp.*  
DEF.F.SG fox  
‘The farmer set [...] the fox free.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 64)
- (229) *schè lartg*              *las*              *vacas*  
let.INF free.ADJ.UNM DEF.F.PL COW.PL  
‘set the cows free’ (DRG 10: 462)
- (230) [...] *quèla*              *èra*              *gjalada*              [...] *tg'*              *èra*  
DEM.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG freeze.PTCP.3SG.F       SUBORD COP.IMPF.3SG  
*nunpußajval*              *li*              *èl*              *da*              *fá*              *libar*              *èla*       [...].  
impossible.ADJ.UNM DAT 3SG.M COMP make.INF free.ADJ.UNM 3SG.F  
‘[...] that [block] was frozen [...] so it was impossible for him to get it  
free [...].’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 105)

- (231) *Mia mèlna tschò ò unflau in téc  
 POSS.F.1SG yellow.F here have.PRS.3SG swell.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit  
 ina tgòmba davùs.*  
 INDEF.F.SG leg back  
 ‘My yellow [cow] has a back leg that is a bit swollen.’ (Berther 2007: 31)
- (232) *Al quinau vèva mal ina  
 DEF.M.SG brother-in-law have.IMPF.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM INDEF.F.SG  
 tgòmba.*  
 leg  
 ‘My brother-in-law had leg pain.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (233) *Nus stgavan ir libar tut als pòrs.*  
 1PL be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL go.INF free.ADJ.UNM all DEF.M.PL pig.PL  
 ‘We were allowed to let all the pigs go around freely.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

However, if an adjective is left-dislocated for focusing, it agrees with its noun (234).

- (234) *Quaj taur è bjals, ábar gròns şè  
 DEM.M.SG bull COP.PRS.3SG beautiful.M.SG but big.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG  
 'l bétg.  
 3SG.M NEG*  
 ‘This bull is beautiful, but big he is not.’ (Ruèras, m10)

### 3.3.8 Conjoining of adjectives

Adjectives are conjoined by the conjunction *a* ‘and’ (235).

- (235) *I èr' in dé frajd a blètsch.*  
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG day cold and wet  
 ‘It was a cold and wet day.’ (Tschamùt, Büchli 1966: 18)

In (236) the adjective *pin* ‘short’ is followed by *grias* ‘fat’ without a conjunction.

- (236) *[...] quaj èr' in súpar musicant ... in  
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG super musician INDEF.M.SG  
 ùm pin grias usché [...].  
 man short fat so  
 [...] he was a super musician ... a short and fat man [...].* (Ruèras, m4,  
 §8.16)

### 3 Noun phrase

This is due to the fact that (236) 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 (237) or noun phrases as well as prepositional phrases (238–241) follow the modified noun. Prepositions may also introduce infinitive clauses which modify a nouns (242–244).

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

- (238) *Quaj è ina, asch' ina stazjun amiaz al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al p<sup>h</sup>as.*  
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG such INDEF.F.SG station amid  
DEF.M.SG pass around or almost up\_most 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, §8.7)

- (239) *Al sòntgèt dals gjadju\$ è òdém al vitg da Sadrún.*  
DEF.M.SG little\_chapel of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL COP.PRS.3SG out\_most  
DEF.M.SG village of PN  
'The little chapel of the Jews is located at the lowest part of the village of  
Sedrun.' (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

- (240) *A nu\$ du\$ 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  
'And also the two of us with the hats with a beautiful flower on them  
[...]' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (241) *Ah, quaj fù\$ è ina lavur pr mè.*  
ah DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also INDEF.F.SG job for 1SG  
'Ah, this could also be a job for me.' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

### 3.5 Infinitive clauses modifying a noun

Modifying infinitive clauses follow the noun and are introduced by *da/dad* (242–244) in the rare cases found in the corpus.

- (242) *calira da barsá vifs*  
heat.F.SG ATTR burn.INF alive.M.SG  
‘terrible heat’ (DRG 3: 204)
- (243) *butèglja da scadá pajs*  
bottle.F.SG ATTR warm.INF foot.PL  
‘hot-water bottle’ (DRG 2: 723f.)
- (244) *Lèdş vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad*  
DEM.M.SG have.IMP.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG ATTR  
*úndşchar ajn [...].*  
oil.INF in  
‘He had given [him] some ointment to rub in [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

### 3.6 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>èl</i>	<i>èl</i>	<i>dad èl</i>	<i>cun èl</i>
3SG.F	<i>èla</i>	<i>èla</i>	<i>dad èla</i>	<i>cun èla</i>
1PL	<i>nuş</i>	<i>nuş</i>	<i>da nuş</i>	<i>cun nuş</i>
2PL	<i>vuş</i>	<i>vuş</i>	<i>da vuş</i>	<i>cun vuş</i>
3PL.M	<i>èls</i>	<i>èls</i>	<i>dad èls</i>	<i>cun èls</i>
3PL.F	<i>èlaş</i>	<i>èlaş</i>	<i>dad èlaş</i>	<i>cun èlaş</i>
GENERIC <sup>a</sup>	<i>ins</i>	<i>ins</i>	<i>dad ins</i>	<i>cun ins</i>

<sup>a</sup>The generic pronoun will be treated in §3.7

### 3 Noun phrase

Subject and object pronouns are only differentiated in the first person singular; however, in the domain of passive voice, there is a certain variation between dative and accusative. In a passive construction the agent is introduced by *da*, and some speakers prefer using the pronoun *mé* (dative) (245), whereas others use *mè* (accusative) (246).

- (245) *Quaj      cùdisch è      vagnús      scréts      da  
DEM.M.SG book    be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG write.PTCP.M.SG DAT  
mé.  
1SG*

‘This book has been written by me.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)

- (246) *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.’ (Sadrún, m9)*

This variation is triggered by the fact that *da* is ambiguous: on the one hand it corresponds to the dative marker, hence *mé*, 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 (247):

- (247) *Nuş schajn      adina té. Tè      è      da      bajbar.  
1PL say.PRS.1PL always 2SG tea.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG SUBORD drink.INF  
‘We always say *té* (‘you’). *Tè* (‘tea’) is for drinking.’ (Surajn, f5)*

The subject pronoun *èl* ‘he’ is sometimes realised as *al* (248) (cf. also §8.5).

- (248) *Fòrza prènd’      al      anzatgéj      [...].  
maybe take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M something  
‘Maybe he would take something [...]’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)*

The subject pronouns *èla* ‘she’ and *èlas* ‘they (f)’ are sometimes reduced to *la* (249) or *las* (250) when there is subject inversion.

- (249) *Cu      ju      sùn      vagnús,      èra      la      schòn      lò.  
when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.F already there  
‘When I arrived, she was already there.’ (Sadrún, f3)*

- (250) *Tùtajnina ò las udju òd gl uaut*  
 suddenly have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F hear.PTCP.UNM out\_of DEF.M.SG forest  
*şùt Cavòrgja ina vusch [...].*  
 under PN INDEF.F.Sg voice  
 ‘Suddenly they heard a voice [coming] out of the forest underneath  
 Cavorgia [...]’ (Camischùlas, Büchli 1966: 82)

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 (251), for feminine singular referents, it is the singular form that is used (252); the plural only refers to plural referents (253).

- (251) *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?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (252) *Nua èssas Vus stada?*  
 where be.PRS.2SG.POL 2SG.POL COP.PTCP.F.SG  
 ‘Where have you (F.SG) been?’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (253) *Nua èssas Vus stadas?*  
 where be.PRS.2PL 2PL.POL COP.PTCP.F.PL  
 ‘Where have you (F.PL) been?’ (Sadrún, m5)

In the first part of the 20th century, a polite pronoun *Èls* was used (254), 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*.

- (254) *La mùma raquénta tg' i şchèvan, dal*  
 DEF.F.SG mother tell.PRS.3SG COMP 3PL say.IMP.3PL DAT.DEF.M.SG  
*aucségnar a dal scòlast şchèvani aun Èls.* A  
 priest and DAT.DEF.M.SG teacher say.IMP.3PL.3PL still 2SG.M.POL and  
*da tschèls vagnévi détg Vus.*  
 DAT DEM.M.PL PASS.IMP.3SG.EXPL say.PTCP.UNM 2SG.M.POL  
 ‘My mother says that to the priest and to the teacher, they would say *Èls*.  
 And to the others they would say *Vus*.’ (Camischùlas, f6)

### 3 Noun phrase

The pronoun *èl* ‘he’ refers in very rare cases to entities that have no gender. The only example in the corpus is (255), a function that is normally fulfilled by *quaj*, the demonstrative pronoun which is unmarked for gender.

- (255) [...] *vajs*                  *fatg*                  *èl?*  
           have.PRS.2SG.POL do.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M  
           ‘[...] did you do it?’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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’ (256).

- (256) *A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da paua,*  
       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, we would go into the dining hall [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

With subject inversion some contracted forms are optionally used: *craj ju* ‘believe I’ → *crau* (257), *sa ju* ‘know I / can I’ → *sau / sòu* (258), *va ju* ‘have I’ → *vau / vòu* (259), *savajn nus* ‘know we / can we’ → *savajns / savajnş* (260); *ò ins* ‘has one’ → *ònjs / ònş* (261).

- (257) *Gljèz crau bé da té.*  
       DEM.UNM believe.1SG.1SG NEG of 2SG  
       ‘This, I don’t believe you could do.’ (Sadrún, m8)

- (258) [...] *tgé pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindişch 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 ... pòrs a 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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (259) *Api vau détg: «Ah súpar!»*  
       and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM oh great  
       ‘And then I said: «Oh, great!»’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (260) *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 dètschi in*  
 DEF.F.SG week COMP 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, §8.2)

- (261) *[...] da quèla òns naturàlmajn ... quasi*  
 of DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG.GNR natural.M.SG.ADV almost  
*stavju ... vagní cun ina détga.*  
 must.PTCP.UNM come.INF with INDEF.F.SG legend  
 ‘[...] of this slab, one of course had ... to ... come up with a legend.’  
 (Sadrún, m6, §8.4)

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 §3.6.2). Two cases must be distinguished:

- If *i* and *aj* function as a subject pronoun, *i* is used before (262 and 263), and *aj* after the verb (265–267). In the corpus there is only one case of *aj* functioning as subject that is located before the verb (268).
- If the pronoun functions as an object pronoun, only *aj* is used. It may refer to persons (269) or to entities that have no gender (270).

In (262) and (263), *i* refers to masculine referents (animals and employees of the municipality), and in (264), it refers to feminine referents (nuns).

- (262) *[...] nòs tiars. I mavan adina gjù ancùntar*  
 POSS.1PL.M.PL animal.PL 3PL.SBJ go.IMPF.3PL always down towards  
*las plauncas da l' Öndadusa [...].*  
 DEF.F.PL slope.PL of DEF.F.SG PN  
 ‘[...] our animals. They would always go down towards the slopes of the Ondadusa.’ (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 67)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (263) [...] *mi'*                  *ùm ségi*                  *èba*                  *mòrts*                  *scù*  
           POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as  
           *i*                  *sápiān*                  [...].  
           3PL.SBJ know.PRS.SBJV.3PL  
           ‘[...] my husband had died as they knew [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (264) *A i miravan schòn da métar anzjaman è ... als*  
       and 3PL look.IMPF.3PL in\_fact COMP put.INF together also DEF.M.PL  
       *lungatgs [...].*  
       language.PL  
       ‘And in fact, they would make sure to put ... the languages together [...].’  
       (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)
- (265) *Schi òn bétg als còrns, schi mòrdan aj.*  
       if have.PRS.3PL NEG DEF.M.PL horn.PL CORR bite.PRS.3PL 3PL.SBJ  
       ‘If they [the goats] don’t have horns, they bite.’ (DRG 3: 639)
- (266) *Lu sèn aj i sén claustra [...].*  
       then COP.PRS.3PL 3PL go.PTCP.M.PL on monastery.F.SG  
       ‘Then they went up to the monastery [...].’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 136)
- (267) *Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vida*  
       and DEM.M.PL OF DEF.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG  
       *'l, vi da zaná al bògn, api*  
       COMP.DEF.M.SG PROG COMP renovate.INF DEF.M.SG bath and\_then  
       *şchèvan aj: [...].*  
       say.IMPF.3PL 3PL  
       ‘And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool  
       and then they said: [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (268) *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 èr'*  
       when 3PL see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until COMP GNR COP.IMPF.3SG  
       *ajn ... ajn «şchwunc»<sup>17</sup> [...].*  
       in in movement.M.SG  
       ‘Sometimes the herdsman would come ... or so, when they saw and they  
       would help until one was in ... in movement again [...].’ (Ruèras, m3,  
       §8.16)

<sup>17</sup> *Schwung* is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

- (269) *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 duš baps prandèvan aj [...].*  
 DEF.M.PL two.M. father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘I don’t know where my parents had the news from [...].’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (270) *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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

### 3.6.1 Dative pronouns

Nowadays, the dative marker for all persons is *da/dad*, but until approximately 1960, *da/dad* was used for first and second persons (271–273) and *di* or *li* for third persons (274–276). Note that in contrast to the corresponding definite dative article (see §3.2.1.2), the pronoun does not differentiate number.

- (271) *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 ségian [...].*  
 who 3PL.F COP.PRS.SBJV.3PL
- ‘But these [girls] forbade me to say who they were [...].’ (Surajn, Büchli 1966: 128f.)

- (272) *Da té dèš ins rúmpar ajn la cavaza.*  
 DAT 2SG must.COND.3SG GNR break.INF in DEF.F.SG skull  
 ‘One should break your head.’ (DRG 3: 499)

- (273) *Ju angrázja parsjantar a dùn da Vuş al*  
 1SG thank.PRS.1SG therefore and give.PRS.1SG DAT 2SG.POL DEF.M.SG  
*cuntí par in survètsch bégn fatg.*  
 knife for INDEF.M.SG service well do.PTCP.UNM  
 ‘I thank [you] for it and give you the knife for a favour well done.’  
 (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 65)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (274) *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.’ (Tschamütt, Büchli 1966: 14)
- (275) *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  
*par angrazjè li èl.*  
 SUBORD thank.INF DAT 3SG.M  
 ‘And she paid him all the animals in order to thank him.’ (Tschamütt, Büchli 1966: 14)
- (276) *La sèra ò in pur dau*  
 DEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG farmer give.PTCP.UNM  
*şuttètg li èlas [...].*  
 accommodation.M.SG DAT 3PL.F  
 ‘In the evening a farmer offered them accommodation [...].’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 53)

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) (277), and in Gartner (1910), only *a/ad* occurs (278 and 279).

- (277) *[...] a lu şaj 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.F.SG alp  
 ‘[...] and then that holy Virgin on the alp came into his mind.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)
- (278) *le'dzi kwel a daj 'glajti ene'vɔz el ed el*  
 read.IMP.2PL DEM.M.SG and give.IMP.2PL soon back 3SG.M DAT 3SG.M  
 ‘Read it and give it back to him soon.’ (Gartner 1910: 33)

- (279) *ad el ò partiw ad elts la rawba*  
 and 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG distribute.PTCP.UNM DAT 3PL.M DEF.F.SG fortune  
 ‘And he distributed his fortune among them.’ (Gartner 1910: 86)

The only occurrence of the form *ada* of the dative article occurs in the DRG (280); however, there it is only given in parenthesis as an alternative to *da*.

- (280) *Dá ina castrada (a)da quèla rùsna.*  
 give.IMP.2SG DEF.F.SG act\_of\_joining DAT DEM.F.SG hole  
 ‘Tie together this hole with a cord.’ (DRG 3: 462)

As mentioned above, today only *da/dad* is used in all cases. Examples (281 and 282) illustrate the use of *da/dad* with third persons.

- (281) [...] *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 [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)
- (282) *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.’ (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

Other definite pronouns like the demonstratives were treated like personal pronouns. In (283), *tschèl* ‘the other’ is pluralized but *li* is not.

- (283) [...] *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: [...].’ (Sadrún, Büchli 1966: 104)

### 3.6.2 Expletive pronoun

The expletive pronoun is usually *i*, in preverbal position (284–287) as well as in the case of subject inversion (288). It is used in existential constructions (284), with the verb *vagní* as an auxiliary in impersonal passive constructions (285) or as an inchoative copula (286). It is also used in active impersonal constructions (288).

- (284) [...] *tùt quèls ... lògans nù i èran muossavías.*  
 all DEM.M.PL place.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMP.3PL signpost.F.PL  
 ‘[...] all these ... places where there were signposts.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (285) *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, §8.1)
- (286) [...] *i véggn unviarn a véggn frajt.*  
EXPL come.PRS.3SG winter.M.SG and come.PRS.3SG cold.ADJ.UNM  
‘Winter is coming and it is getting cold.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)
- (287) *I brișcha la cassèta, i véggn tga sufla.*  
EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG REL blow.PRS.3SG  
‘[The soot in] the pot is burning, it is getting stormy.’ (DRG 2: 215)
- (288) [...] *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, §8.8)
- With subject inversion, the expletive pronoun is sometimes realised as *aj* (289). In combination with the third person singular present of the verb *èssar* ‘be’ the combination is realised as *ṣaj* (290), *ṣè* (291), or less frequently, *ásaj* (292).
- (289) [...] *plé baut èr' aj al fagljét tgi*  
more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL DEF.M.SG son.M.SG.DIM REL  
*fijèv' al pur.*  
do.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG farmer  
‘[...] in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.’  
(Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (290) *Api ṣaj stau finju par mè.*  
and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG  
‘And that was it.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (291) *Ah ... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù ah PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as majsès ad alps adina, lu sè aun dus assembly\_of\_houses and alp.M.PL always then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.M 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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (292) *Ad òz ásaj bitga trajs, gè, tga von a and today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG three yes REL go.PRS.3PL to scùla.*  
 school.F.SG  
 ‘And today there aren’t [even] three that attend school.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

### 3.6.3 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*; 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 (see §4.1 and §5.5.1). In the corpus, there are only examples for *mèz* ‘myself’ and *sèz* ‘herself, himself’. These may be used attributively (293) or predicatively 294).

- (293) *Ju mèza vaj santju quaj.*  
 1SG self.1SG.F have.PRS.1SG feel.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM  
 ‘I felt this myself.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 126)

In (294) the narrator uses first *sèza* instead of *tèza* ‘yourself’ and then *mèza* for ‘myself’.

- (294) *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*

### 3 Noun phrase

**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’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

Examples (295 and 296) show the use of *sèzs* with first and third person plural. There are no examples of first person plural in the corpus.

- (295) [...] *nus stèvan sèzs ... catschá als pòrs ò da nuégl [...].*  
1PL must.IMPF.1PL self.M.PL drive.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL out of barn.M.SG

‘[...] we had ... to drive the pigs out of the barn ourselves [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (296) [...] *a lèzs òn sèzs stavju lura ... métar sén pajs quaj [...].*  
and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL must.PTCP.UNM then put.INF on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM  
‘[...] an§8.1)

### 3.7 Relative clauses

In spontaneous speech mostly two relativisers occur: *tga* for most cases, *nùca*, *nùca tga*, or *nù tga*, which introduce locative relative clauses, and very rarely *cura* ‘when’ for temporal relative clauses. *Tga* is reduced to *tg'* before a word that starts with a vowel, and when followed by *ju* ‘I’, the combination is realised as *tgu* ‘that I’ in most cases.<sup>18</sup>

The following examples illustrate the function of *tga* introducing subjects (297), direct objects (298), and temporal adjuncts (299).

- (297) *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.’ (m2, §8.13)

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<sup>18</sup>This form is also used as a contracted form of *cu* ‘when’ with *ju* ‘I’, see §6.2

- (298) *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 davìüs òns.*  
 DEF.M.PL last.PL year.PL

‘I’ll tell [you] about the job I have done during the last years.’ (direct object) (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (299) *Quaj ò antschat da quaj mùmén tga*  
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG begin.PTCP.UNM from DEM.M.SG moment REL  
*l vèva gju pròblems.*  
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.NONM problem.M.PL

‘This began from the moment when he had problems.’ (temporal adjunct) (Sadrún, m9)

Prepositional phrases are not relativised with a preposition; instead, only the relativiser *tga* is used and no trace of the prepositional phrase occurs in the relative clause. In (300), it is the preposition *cun* ‘with’, in (301) *da* ‘of’, in (302) *par* ‘because of, why’, in (303) ‘for’, and in (304) *atrás* ‘through’ that are intended.

- (300) [...] *cv'xé:de tç' ins le'veje nwet elz djants de rvj.*  
 clotted.milk REL GNR damage.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.M.PL tooth.PL COMP  
*gnaw.INF*

‘[...] clotted milk with which you do not damage your teeth when you gnaw at it.’ (Ruèras, Valär 2013b: 8f.)

- (301) [...] *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.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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

‘[...] maybe this has been a bit the reason why I began to go for stones.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (303) [...] *i èra da quèls tg' èran angrazjajvals,*  
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.’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

- (304) *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 tg' ins*  
have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small path REL GNR  
*sò ira ah a paj flòt.*  
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.’  
(Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

If the antecedent is *tgi* ‘who’ or *tgé* ‘what’, the relativiser is realised as *ca* (305–307).

- (305) [...] *tgi ca vagnéva traplaus stuèva al*  
who REL PASS.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG  
*vèndardis sèra ... stá lò [...].*  
Friday evening.F.SG stay.INF there  
‘[...] the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday evening [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (306) *Tgi c' è da stròm daj*  
who REL COP.PRS.3SG of straw must.PRS.3SG  
*sapartgirá dal fjuç.*  
REFL.be\_on\_one's\_guard.INF of.DEF.M.SG fire  
‘A person who is made of straw should be on their guard against fire.’  
(DRG 6: 449)

- (307) [...] *la sèra vajn nus halt vulju savaj*  
 DEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.1PL 1PL just want.PTCP.UNM know.INF  
*tgé ca cùri aparti cò [...].*  
 what REL run.PRS.SBJV.3SG special here  
 ' [...] in the evening we wanted to know whether there was something special going on [...]' (Zarcúns, m2, §8.3)

The relative clause does not have to be adjacent to its antecedent, as example (308) shows.

- (308) [...] *ábar stòpi prèndar malitèr cun mè, tga*  
 but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG with 1SG REL  
*vajan ... func a sàpian [...] dí cu*  
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL say.INF when  
*nus vajan da ... ir davùs in cuélm.*  
 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL COMP go.INF behind INDEF.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]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

In rare cases the relativiser *tga* is realised *tgé* (309) or *tgi* (310 and 311). Note, however, that *tgi* as a relativiser is rejected by most of my consultants.

- (309) [...] *in pàstar gròn, quèl vasèva adina la*  
 INDEF.M.SG herdsman big DEM.M.SG see.IMP.3SG always DEF.F.SG  
*damaun da bjalaura ina nibla najra tge*  
 morning of nice\_weather.F.SG INDEF.F.SG cloud black REL  
*satschantava séla Sjara da Curnèra [...].*  
 REFL.sit.IMP.3SG ON.DEF.F.SG PN  
 ' [...] a main herdsman, in the morning in nice weather, he always saw a black cloud that laid on the Siara da Curnera [...]' (Ruèras, Büchli 1966: 62)

- (310) *L' ò ina vèglja davùs pégna tgi tgaja*  
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG old behind oven.F.SG REL shit.PRS.3SG  
*danès.*  
 money.M.PL  
 'He has an old woman behind the oven who shits money.' (DRG 5: 57)

### 3 Noun phrase

- (311) [...] *plé baut èr’ aj al fagljét tgi*  
more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL DEF.M.SG SON.M.SG.DIM REL  
*fijèv’ al pur.*  
do.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG farmer  
‘[...] in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.’  
(Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

Locative relative clauses are formed with *nù* (312), *nù tga* (313), *nùca* (314 and 315), *nùca tga* (316 and 317), or only with the relativiser *tga* (318). *Nùca* already contains the complementiser *ca* – see Standard Survilvan *nua che* ‘where that’, also realised as *nu che* – but in Tuatschín, *ca* forms an unanalysable unit with *nù*.

- (312) *Ad ju a stuvju ir’ ál’ antiara val*  
and 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.F.SG whole valley  
*a prénadar sé gl amprérm tut quèls ... tut quèls ...*  
SUBORD take.INF up DEF.M.SG first all DEM.M.PL all DEM.M.PL  
*lògans nù i èran muossavías.*  
place.PL REL EXPL 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.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (313) *Quaj è propi in ljuc ... nù tg’ i*  
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.M.SG place REL 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, §8.1)

- (314) *\$ùtajn èri la tégja nùca ‘l*  
under\_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.F.SG alpine\_hut REL 3SG.M  
*caçchav’ èra [...].*  
make\_cheese.IMPF.3SG also  
‘Below was the alpine hut where he would also make cheese [...].’  
(Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (315) [...] *la damaun èra la crapa gjù nùca*  
 DEF.F.SG morning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG stone.COLL down REL  
*la basèlgja stat òz sén quaj prau.*  
 DEF.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.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 134)
- (316) [...] *sé l' alp nùca tg' èl èra staus da*  
 on DEF.F.SG alp REL REL 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.3SG.M as  
*buéb [...].*  
 boy.M.SG  
 '[...] on the alp where he had been as a boy [...]' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966:  
 145)
- (317) *Al sulèt intarèssant è l' ampréma*  
 DEF.M.SG only interesting.ADJ.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG first  
*sacùnda classa nùca tga fòn la midada*  
 second form REL REL make.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG change  
*tial sursilván [...].*  
 towards.DEF.M.SG Sursilvan  
 'The only interesting thing is the first [and] second form where they  
 start switching to Standard Sursilvan.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (318) [...] *a lu vèvan nus cò pròpi in cantún tga*  
 and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL here really INDEF.M.SG corner REL  
*vagnéva mù raşdau ròmòntsch.*  
 PASS.IMPF.3SG only speak.PTCP.UNM Romansh.ADJ.UNM  
 '[...] and then we had here a real Romansh corner where only Romansh  
 was spoken.' (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)
- Some authors write *nùca* as two words (319).
- (319) [...] *a lu èni sacussagljai sén*  
 and then COP.PRS.3PL.3PL REFL.consult.PTCP.M.PL on  
*vaschnaunca da bagagè èla gjù lò, nù' c' èla*  
 municipality.F.SG SUBORD build.INF 3SG.F down there REL REL 3SG.F  
*stat oz.*  
 stay.PRS.3SG today  
 '[...] and then they discussed [the problem] in the municipality [and

### 3 Noun phrase

decided] to build it [the church] where it is located nowadays.' (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 134)

*Tga* is also used for locative relative clauses if the locative antecedent is not *nùca* or *nù*, as (320) and (321) show.

(320) [...] *zatgé rastònza*    *shè*    *aun lò tg'* *ins sa*  
something remnant.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG still there REL GNR can.PRS.3SG

*i ajn a mirá [...].*

go.INF into COMP see.INF

'[...] there still are some remnants there where one can go and see [...]'  
(Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

(321) *Ò lò vòu*    *fòrza schòn è survagnú in*  
out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG

*téc quajda d' i par crapa tgu a*

bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG

*vju difarènts lògans tg' i vèvan*

see.PTCP.UNM different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL have.IMPF.3PL

*sitau gjù ad èra ... vagnú ò*

blast.PTCP.UNM down and be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.UNM out

*cristalaş ètcètara [...].*

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 [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

In rare cases, *nùca tga* or *ca tga* function as the relativiser of a temporal relative clause (322 and 323). This is also the case with *tga* alone (see the first occurrence of *tga* in (321)).

(322) *Álsò i dèva*    *òns nùca tga gudignavan ... nündétg,*  
well EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL REL REL earn.IMPF.3PL incredibly

*ad i shèra*    *òns nùca tg' èra*    *aua, ad*

and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL REL REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG water and

*èra*    *òns nùca tga spardévan.*

EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL REL REL lose.IMPF.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.'  
(Sadrún, m5, §8.9)

- (323) *A gl òn ca tg' òn gju dépònju*  
 and DEF.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM store.PTCP.UNM  
*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  
*stiva dals gjadjuds» [...].*  
 living\_room of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL  
 ‘And [since] the year they stored these eh figures one has always said  
 «the living room of the Jews».’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

(324) illustrates the use of *cura* in order to head a temporal relative clause.

- (324) *Daváuntiar şaj sé la, l' anada cur' i*  
 in\_front COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL up DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG year when 3PL  
*òn antschat [...].*  
 have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM  
 ‘In front of it there is, eh, the year when they started [...].’ (Sadrún, m4,  
 §8.3)

In the corpus there is only one case of a manner relative clause. Its antecedent is *quèluisa* ‘such a way’ and it is introduced by *tga ca* (325).

- (325) *Qu' è lu ju quèluisa tga ca nuş*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM DEM\_way SUBORD 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  
*tg' èssan nuş staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quàtar 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, §8.3)

### 3.8 Generic noun phrases

Generic subject noun phrases are formed with the definite article singular (326) or plural (327 and 328) as well as with the indefinite article singular or plural (329 and 330). Generic object noun phrases are usually bare (331).

### 3 Noun phrase

- (326) *La lavina da tgaut scava.*  
 DEF.F.SG avalanche of warm.ADJ.UNM dig\_up.PRS.3SG  
 ‘The warm weather avalanche digs up the soil.’ (DRG 10: 644)
- (327) *Las tgauraş èn las sulètas fèmnaš tga pòrtan barba.*  
 DEF.F.PL goat.PL COP.PRS.3PL DEF.F.PL only.PL woman.PL REL  
 carry.PRS.3PL beard.F.SG  
 ‘Goats are the only women who have a beard.’ (DRG 3: 519)
- (328) *Las tgautschas fòn bétg agl ùm.*  
 DEF.F.PL trousers.PL make.PRS.3PL NEG DEF.M.SG man  
 ‘Trousers do not make a man.’ (DRG 3: 630)
- (329) *In bògn da flucs til’ ò als tissis.*  
 INDEF.M.SG bath of chopped\_straw.M.PL pull.PRS.3SG out DEF.M.PL  
 poison.PL  
 ‘A bath of chopped straw draws out the poisons.’ (DRG 6: 437)
- (330) *Ufauns pins magljan la flur ad antardan la lavur.*  
 child.M.PL small.PL eat.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG flower and delay.PRS.3PL  
 DEF.F.SG work  
 ‘Small children consume power and delay the work.’<sup>19</sup> (DRG 6: 432)
- (331) *Èla ò mù ugèn salata.*  
 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG only with\_pleasure salad.F.SG  
 ‘She only likes salad.’ (Sadrún, m5)

The generic pronoun *ins* – rarely *in*, see (336) – is not restricted to subjects, but can be found in different syntactic functions (332–335).

- (332) *Ad i èr’ è bitga úshit 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.’ (subject)  
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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<sup>19</sup>In this sentence, *maglje* ‘eat’ and *flur* ‘flower’ are used in a metaphoric way.

- (333) [...] *api stavèv' ins i culas tgauras tòca sé Nalps [...].*  
 and must.IMPF GNR go.INF with.DEF.F.PL goat.PL until up PN

'[...] and one had to go with the goats till Nalps [...]' (subject) (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

- (334) [...] *tg' al gjával ségi adina spèras*  
 COMP DEF.M.SG devil COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG always next  
*lagagjaus par cudizá ins [...].*  
 lie\_in\_wait.PTPC.M.SG SUBORD tease.INF GNR  
 '[...] that the devil is always next [to us], lying in wait in order to tease  
 us.' (direct object) (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 46)

- (335) *Ábar quaj vagnéva dau sura in pènsum*  
 but DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.M.SG homework  
*mèmi gròn ad ju sùn parschuadjuds, è ad alp ...*  
 too big and 1SG COP.PRS.1SG convince.PTCP.M.SG also to alp.M.SG  
*pia sch' in èra purtge [...].*  
 therefore if GNR COP.IMPF.3SG swineherd.M.SG  
 'But they would give us too much homework and I am convinced, also to  
 the pasture ... therefore if one was a swineherd [...]' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

In (336), *ins* could have a generic reading, but could also be interpreted as a first person plural.

- (336) *Prquaj tga quaj c' ins ... vèva bigja grad da*  
 because COMP DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just to  
*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 [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

If *ins* is in subject position, the adjective must occur in its masculine singular form if it occurs predicatively (337). The reason therefore may lie in the fact that *ins* is derived from the Latin masculine singular nominative *UNUS* 'one'.

### 3 Noun phrase

- (337) *Mav' ju a tgèsa ábar quaj èra ...*  
go.IMPF.1SG 1SG to home.F.SG but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG  
*èr' ins trésts ajn in cèrt sèn [...].*  
COP.IMPF.3SG GNR sad.M.SG in INDEF.M.SG certain sense  
'I would go home, but this was ... one felt sad in a certain sense [...]'  
(Ruèras, f4, §8.3)

## 3.9 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 (338).

- (338) *Nuṣ èssan sgulaj l' amprém' jèd' uòn, cun*  
1PL be.PRS.1PL fly.PTCP.M.PL DEF.F.SG first time this\_year with  
*nòssas duas ... buébas.*  
POSS.1PL.F.PL two.F girl.PL  
'We flew for the first time this year, with our two ... daughters.' (Ruèras, f7, §8.14)

# 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 may have an indirect object (5)<sup>1</sup>. Ditransitive verbs (6 and 7) have a direct and an indirect object, the latter being marked by *da/dad*.<sup>2</sup> An exception is the verb *dumandá*, which has two direct objects (8) (see §4.2.2). Note that if the two objects are pronominal, the object of asking is usually not mentioned (8). The indirect object usually precedes the direct object (7).

- (1) *Ad i èr' è bitga úsit tg' ins mava 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, §8.3)
- (2) *Quèl durméva sc' in tajs.*  
DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.M.SG badger  
'He used to sleep like a log.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (3) *In da Méjdal vèv' [in' ura da Schwarzwald*  
one.M.SG of PN have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG clock of PN  
*tg' èra rùta].*  
REL 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)

<sup>1</sup>*udi da* is a calque from German. *udi* 'hear' is *hören* in German, and belong is *gehören*, which triggers dative case.

<sup>2</sup>As shown in §3.2.1.2 and §3.6.1, the dative articles *li* (see (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 [las vacas] sén Vòns.*  
 INDEF.M.SG day mind.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG boy DEF.F.PL COW.PL up  
 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, §8.2)
- (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, §8.4)
- (7) *[...] Nossadùna lèva dá [li gjuven préjr]*  
 Our\_Lady.F.SG want.IMPF.3SG give DAT young.M.SG priest  
*[ina rancùnusciantscha pal survètsch].*  
 INDEF.F.SG 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 mùma da tgèsa] [in tgavégl da sia buéba].*  
 INDEF.F.SG Yenish have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG  
 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 (*catschè* ‘hunt’)
- -ar (*métar* ‘put’)
- -í (*fugí* ‘flee’)

- -aj (*tanj* ‘hold’)

The verbs ending in -aj like *savaj* ‘know’, *vulaj* ‘want’, or *tanj* ‘hold’ are all irregular and well be presented in §4.1.1.4.

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 small number of regular verbs ending in -í all have the stem extension -èsch (Table 4.9). Some verbs of other conjugation classes also have this stem extension; 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 non-finite 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,<sup>3</sup> 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 végñ* ‘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 non-finite categories and use the auxiliary verb èssar ‘be’ for compound tenses: *salavá* (infinitive) ‘wash (oneself)’, *ju salava* (present) ‘I wash’, *té salavassas* (direct conditional) ‘you (sg) would wash’, *nus èssan salavaj* (perfect) ‘we have washed’, *vus vagnís a salavá* (future) ‘you (PL) will wash’, *élş èran salavaj* (pluperfect) ‘they had washed’.

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<sup>3</sup>*Direct* and *indirect conditional* are terms used in Sursilvan Romansh grammars to refer to a conditional which is used in direct in indirect speech, respectively (§4.1.2.2.10).

## 4 Verb phrase

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

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 saşjuš gjù [...].*  
and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down  
'And then I sat down [...]' (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- (10) *Sùnd jus ah gjù Surajn [...].*  
be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh down PN  
'[I] went eh down to Surrein [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (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, §8.17)

### 4.1.1.1 Auxiliary verbs

The auxiliary verbs *èssar* 'be' (Table 4.1) and *vaj* 'have' (Table 4.2) are used for compound tenses (and *vaj* also for doubly-compound tenses), whereas *vagni* 'come' (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* 'be' has a special form when there is subject inversion (which includes polar interrogatives): *ásaj*, *şaj* *şè*, and *şèn*, as well as *şera* and *şèran* (12–14). These forms go back to Standard Sursilvan, where *igl ei* 'EXPL + COP.PRS.3SG' is realised as *eiş 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 (12–14).

Table 4.1: Auxiliary verb èssar ‘be’

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F	GER
	èssar	stauş, staj	stada, stadas	èssèn
	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT
1SG	sùn	èra	sùn stauş/stada	végn ád èssar
2SG	ajs	èras	ajs stauş/stada	végaş ád èssar
3SG	è	èra	è stauş/stada	végn ád èssar
1PL	èssan	èran	èssan staj/stadas	vagníñ ád èssar
2PL	èssas	èras	èssas staj/stadas	vagniš ád èssar
3PL	èn	èran	èn staj/stadas	végnan ád èssar
	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT
1SG	séjgi/ségi	èri	fùş	füssi
2SG	séjgiaş/ségias	èrias	füssas	füssiaş
3SG	séjgi/séj/ségi	èri	fùş	füssi
1PL	séjgian, ségian	èrian	füssan	füssian
2PL	séjgiaş, ségiaş	èrias	füssas	füssiaş
3PL	séjgian, ségian	èrian	füssan	füssian

- (12) *Òz şè quaj ah, òz şèni schòn autar,*  
 today COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM eh today COP.PRS.3PL.3PL in\_fact different  
*òz şèn 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, §8.13)

- (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, §8.4)

- (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).

## 4 Verb phrase

- (15) *I      šè                vit.*  
EXPL COP.PRS.3SG empty.ADJ.UNM  
'It is empty.' (Sadrún, m8)
- (16) [...] *i      šèra                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, §8.9)
- (17) [...] *anadas                tga    šèn                uschéa [...].*  
age\_group.F.PL REL COP.PRS.3PL so  
'[...] age groups which are like that [...]' (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

In (18) the form of the copula *šè* 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    šè                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, f7, §8.14)

### 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 in the table of the regular verbs (as well as of the irregular 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 Standard Sursilvan counterparts. Note that the final *-r* of the infinitives in Standard Sursilvan orthography is not pronounced in any Sursilvan variety.

Table 4.2: Auxiliary verb *vaj* ‘have’

INF		PTCP.M.UNM		
<i>vaj</i>	<i>gju</i>			
PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT	
1SG <i>a</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>a gju</i>	<i>végn a vaj</i>	
2SG <i>aş</i>	<i>vèvaş</i>	<i>aş gju</i>	<i>végnas a vaj</i>	
3SG <i>ò</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>ò gju</i>	<i>végn a vaj</i>	
1PL <i>vajn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>vajn gju</i>	<i>vagnin a vaj</i>	
2PL <i>vajş</i>	<i>vèvaş</i>	<i>vajş gju</i>	<i>vagnis a vaj</i>	
3PL <i>òn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>òn gju</i>	<i>végnan a vaj</i>	
PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG <i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vès</i>	<i>vèssi</i>	
2SG <i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssas</i>	<i>vèssias</i>	<i>vajaş</i>
3SG <i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vès</i>	<i>vèssi</i>	
1PL <i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>	
2PL <i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssas</i>	<i>vèssias</i>	<i>vajaş</i>
3PL <i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>	

#### 4.1.1.2.1 Suffixes of the regular finite verb forms

The suffixes of the regular verbs (Table 4.5) occur in the following order : tense/aspect – mood – person. Since there are different zero-marked categories, this order is only realised in the imperfect subjunctive (with the exception of first and third person singular, which are zero-marked).

Aspect is not marked independently from tense ; the imperfect suffix *-áv/-év* is a portmanteau category which conflates past tense and imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect is expressed by the compound tenses perfect and pluperfect ; a preterit does not or does not exist any more in Tuatschin.

Morphologically, the indirect conditional represents a combination of the suffix of the conditional *-as/-és-* with the suffix of the subjunctive *-i-*. The indirect conditional is used above all in indirect speech, which triggers the use of subjunctive mood. For examples, see §4.1.2.2.10.

The stem extension *-esch-* precedes the the tense/aspect, mood, and person markers (see Table 4.9 for examples).

#### 4 Verb phrase

Table 4.3: Auxiliary verb *vagní* ‘come’

INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F			
<i>vagní</i>	<i>vagnúš, vagní</i>	<i>vagnida, vagnidas</i>			
PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT		
1SG <i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva</i>	<i>sùn vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végn a vagní</i>		
2SG <i>végnaş</i>	<i>vagnévaş</i>	<i>ajş vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végnaş a vagní</i>		
3SG <i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>è vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végn a vagní</i>		
1PL <i>vagnín</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èsan vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>vagnín a vagní</i>		
2PL <i>vagníş</i>	<i>vagnévaş</i>	<i>èsşaş vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>vagníş a vagní</i>		
3PL <i>végnan</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èn vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>végnan a vagní</i>		
PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP	
1SG <i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnés</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>		
2SG <i>végnesiaş</i>	<i>vagnéviaş</i>	<i>vagnéssas</i>	<i>vagnéssiaş</i>	<i>nò</i>	
3SG <i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnés</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>		
1PL <i>végnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>		
2PL <i>végnesiaş</i>	<i>vagnéviaş</i>	<i>vagnéssas</i>	<i>vagnéssiaş</i>	<i>vagní</i>	
3PL <i>végnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>		

<sup>a</sup>*Vagnéva* is also used, but not frequent.

Table 4.4: Tuatschin verbs ending in -è with their Standard Sursilvan equivalents

	TUATSCHIN	SURSILVAN	ENGLISH
λ	<i>magliè</i>	<i>magliar</i>	‘eat’
dʒ	<i>cargè</i>	<i>cargar</i>	‘carry’
tç	<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’

Table 4.5: Tense/Aspect, mood and personal suffixes of the finite regular verb forms

	<i>infinitive</i>	TENSE/ASPECT	MOOD	PERSON	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
present indicative	all	-Ø	-Ø	-a,	-as,	-a,	-ajn,	-ajs,	-an	
present subjunctive	all	-Ø	-i	-Ø,	-as,	-Ø,	-an,	-as,	-an	
imperfect indicative	á, -é	-áv	-Ø	-a,	-as,	-a,	-an,	-as,	-an	
	ar, i	-év	-Ø	-a,	-as,	-a,	-an,	-as,	-an	
imperfect subjunctive	á, è	-áv	-i	-Ø,	-as,	-Ø,	-an,	-as,	-an	
	ar, i	-év	-i	-Ø,	-as,	-Ø,	-an,	-as,	-an	
direct conditional	á, è	-Ø	-ás	-Ø,	-as,	-Ø,	-an,	-as,	-an	
	ar, i	-Ø	-és	-Ø,	-as,	-Ø,	-an,	-as,	-an	
indirect conditional	á, è	-Ø	-áss-i	-Ø,	-as,	-Ø,	-an,	-as,	-an	
	ar, i	-Ø	-éss-i	-Ø,	-és,	-Ø,	-an,	-as,	-an	

## 4 Verb phrase

Table 4.5 shows different cases of syncretisms :

- second person singular and third person plural are marked in the same way in all cases
- first and second person plural are marked in the same way in all categories except for present indicative

There are also cases of zero-marked categories:

- present indicative is not marked for tense nor for mood
- present subjunctive, direct conditional, and indirect conditional are not marked for tense
- first and third person singular are not marked in subjunctive and conditional mood

Regarding the imperfect, both indicative and subjunctive, as well as the direct and indirect conditional, the -á-conjugation patterns with the -è-conjugation, and, inversely, the -ar-conjugation patterns with the -í-conjugation. In these tenses and moods, the verbs ending in -á and -è have an -a whereas the verbs ending in -ar and in í have an -é. Many irregular verbs have an -è in these forms, as for instance *ju dèva* 'I gave' (*dá* 'give') or *ju lès* 'I would like' (*vulaj*) 'want' (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 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 -áv-, but some verbs have -èv-, for example *astgè* 'be allowed', as in *nus astgèvan fá* 'we were allowed to do' (§8.4) or *schè* 'let', as in *a schèvan dá quèlas scúaṣ da quaj* 'and [we] would let these brooms and so on fall down' (§8.6). The choice of the ending -èv- vs -av- depends on the verb.

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).

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.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
1SG	<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>a gidau</i>
2SG	<i>gidas</i>	<i>gídias</i>	<i>gidavaş</i>	<i>gidáviaş</i>	<i>aş gidau</i>
3SG	<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>ò gidau</i>
1PL	<i>gidajn</i>	<i>gídian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>vajn gidau</i>
2PL	<i>gidajş</i>	<i>gídias</i>	<i>gidavaş</i>	<i>gidáviaş</i>	<i>vajş gidau</i>
3PL	<i>gidan</i>	<i>gídian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>òn gidau</i>

SBJ.PRON	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	<i>gidás</i>	<i>gidassi</i>	
2SG	<i>gidassas</i>	<i>gidássias</i>	<i>gida</i>
3SG	<i>gidás</i>	<i>gidassi</i>	
1PL	<i>gidassan</i>	<i>gidássian</i>	
2PL	<i>gidassaş</i>	<i>gidássias</i>	<i>gidaj</i>
3PL	<i>gidassan</i>	<i>gidássian</i>	

- (19) *Jeu giavisch-a bien cunfiert.*  
 1SG wish-PRS.1SG good consolation.M.SG  
 ‘My heartfelt sympathy.’ (Sursilvan, Riein, DRG 4: 327)

This form was current in this local variety of Sursilvan for first 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 of this conjugation 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.

## 4 Verb phrase

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, catschèdas</i>		
	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
1SG	<i>catscha</i>	<i>catschi</i>	<i>catschava</i>	<i>catschavi</i>	<i>a catschau</i>
2SG	<i>catschaş</i>	<i>cátschiaş</i>	<i>catschavaş</i>	<i>catscháviaş</i>	<i>aş catschau</i>
3SG	<i>catscha</i>	<i>catschi</i>	<i>catschava</i>	<i>catschavi</i>	<i>ò catschau</i>
1PL	<i>catschajn</i>	<i>cátschian</i>	<i>catschavan</i>	<i>catschávian</i>	<i>vajn catschau</i>
2PL	<i>catschajs</i>	<i>cátschiaş</i>	<i>catschavaş</i>	<i>catscháviaş</i>	<i>vajş catschau</i>
3PL	<i>catschan</i>	<i>cátschian</i>	<i>catschavan</i>	<i>catschávian</i>	<i>òn catschau</i>
	COND.DIRECT		COND.INDIRECT		IMP
1SG		<i>catschás</i>	<i>catschassi</i>		
2SG		<i>catschassaş</i>	<i>catschássiaş</i>		<i>catscha</i>
3SG		<i>catschás</i>	<i>catschassi</i>		
1PL		<i>catschassan</i>	<i>catschássian</i>		
2PL		<i>catschassaş</i>	<i>catschássiaş</i>		<i>catschaj</i>
3PL		<i>catschassan</i>	<i>catschássian</i>		

As mentioned above, verbs ending in *-í* which are conjugated regularly take *-esch* in the forms of the present tense when the stem is stressed (Table 4.9).

### 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 the stem 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 first 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* the imperfect indicative and subjunctive will not be listed since these forms are

Table 4.8: Regular verbs ending in *-ar*

INF			PTCP.M	PTCP.F	
bátar	'beat'		batju, batjus	batida, batidas	
	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
1SG	bata	bati	batéva	batévi	a batju
2SG	bataş	bátias	batévaş	batéviaş	aş batju
3SG	bata	bati	batéva	batévi	ò batju
1PL	batín	bátian	batévan	batévian	vajn batju
2PL	batís	bátias	batévaş	batéviaş	vajs batju
3PL	batan	bátian	batévan	batévian	òn batju

	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT	IMP
1SG	batéş	batéssi	
2SG	batéssas	batéssias	bata
3SG	batéş	batéssi	
1PL	batéssan	batéssian	
2PL	batéssaş	batéssiaş	batí
3PL	batéssan	batéssian	

regular, and since the future, the imperfect subjunctive, and the gerund are not used or only rarely used, they will not be mentioned as well.

For reasons of space the imperative will not be indicated in the following tables, but the second person singular imperative corresponds to the third person singular present indicative, and the second person plural imperative corresponds to the second 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, sort out' → *zajvra*), → au (*ruassá* 'rest' → *ruaussa*), → ja (*anzardá* 'aerate' → *anzjarda*), → ej (*lavá sé* 'get up' → *léjva sé*), → ia (*samjá* 'dream' → *siamja*), → ò (*sahaná*, 'appreciate' → *sahòná*), → u (*cugljaná* 'cheat' → *cugljuna*)

## 4 Verb phrase

Table 4.9: Regular verbs ending in -í with -esch

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F		
	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
	<i>finí</i> ‘finish’	<i>finju, finjus</i>	<i>finida, finidas</i>		
1SG	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>a finju</i>
2SG	<i>finèschas</i>	<i>finèschiaş</i>	<i>finévaş</i>	<i>finéviaş</i>	<i>aş finju</i>
3SG	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>ò finju</i>
1PL	<i>finín</i>	<i>finían</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finévian</i>	<i>vajn finju</i>
2PL	<i>finís</i>	<i>finías</i>	<i>finévaş</i>	<i>finéviaş</i>	<i>vajş finju</i>
3PL	<i>finèschan</i>	<i>finèschian</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finévian</i>	<i>òn finju</i>
	COND.DIRECT	COND.INDIRECT		IMP	
1SG	<i>finés</i>	<i>finéssi</i>			
2SG	<i>finéssas</i>	<i>finéssiaş</i>		<i>finèscha</i>	
3SG	<i>finés</i>	<i>finéssi</i>			
1PL	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>			
2PL	<i>finéssas</i>	<i>finéssiaş</i>		<i>finí</i>	
3PL	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>			

- 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’ → *camònnda*), u ... a → a ... ù (*scurşalá* ‘sledge’ → *scarşùla*), 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*)

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>ampruajn</i>	<i>ampruvi</i>	<i>amprúvian</i>	<i>ampruau</i>
<i>ampustá</i>	'order'	<i>amposta</i>	<i>ampustajn</i>	<i>ampòsti</i>	<i>ampòstian</i>	<i>ampustau</i>
<i>anf(a)rá</i>	'shoe a horse'	<i>anffara</i>	<i>anff(a)rajn</i>	<i>anffari</i>	<i>anffarian</i>	<i>anf(a)rav</i>
<i>angulá</i>	'steal'	<i>angùla</i>	<i>angulajn</i>	<i>angùli</i>	<i>angùlian</i>	<i>angulau</i>
<i>antupá</i>	'meet'	<i>antaupa</i>	<i>antupajn</i>	<i>antaupi</i>	<i>antupian</i>	<i>antupau</i>
<i>anzardá</i>	'aerate (hay)'	<i>anzjarda</i>	<i>anzardajn</i>	<i>anzjardi</i>	<i>anzjårdian</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>cudizajn</i>	<i>cudéci</i>	<i>cudécian</i>	<i>cudizau</i>
<i>cugljaná</i>	'cheat'	<i>cugljuna</i>	<i>cugljanajn</i>	<i>cugljuni</i>	<i>cugljumian</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>criùda</i>	<i>curdajn</i>	<i>cròdi</i>	<i>cròdian</i>	<i>curdau</i>
<i>custá</i>	'cost'	<i>cuéstia</i>	<i>custajn</i>	<i>cuéstii</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>digrajn</i>	<i>daghiri</i>	<i>daghírian</i>	<i>digrav</i>
<i>dustá</i>	'keep away'	<i>dòsta</i>	<i>dustajn</i>	<i>dòsti</i>	<i>dòstian</i>	<i>dustau</i>
<i>duvrá</i>	'use'	<i>dùvra</i>	<i>duvrajin</i>	<i>drùvi</i>	<i>dròvian</i>	<i>duvrau</i>
<i>druvá</i>	'use'	<i>drùva</i>	<i>druvajn</i>	<i>drùvi</i>	<i>dròvian</i>	<i>druvau</i>
<i>fardá</i>	'smell'	<i>fréjda</i>	<i>fardajn</i>	<i>fréjdi</i>	<i>fréjian</i>	<i>fardau</i>

Table 4.11: Verbs ending in -á, second part

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
fimá	'smoke'	fēma	fimajn	fēmi	fēmian	fimau
furá	'pierce'	fūra	furajn	fūri	fūrian	furau
furschá	'rub'	frušcha	furschajn	frušchi	frušchian	furschau
gizá	'sharpen'	gēza	gizajn	géci	gēcian	gizau
lavá sé	'stand up'	léjva	lavajn	léjvi	léjvian	lavau
luá	'melt'	līua	luajn	līui	līuian	luau
ludá	'praise'	lauda	ludajn	laudi	laudian	ludau
manizá	'chop'	manéza	manizajn	manéci	manéçian	manizau
mulá	'grind'	mila	mulajn	mili	mùlian	mulau
munglá <sup>a</sup>	'should'	maungla	mungajn	—	—	—
mussá	'show'	missa	mussajn	müssi	müssian	mussau
piná	'prepare'	pajna	pinajn	pajni	pajian	pinau
quitá	'think, find'	quéta	quitajn	quéti	quétian	quitau
ruassá	'rest'	ruaussa	ruassajn	ruaussi	ruaussian	ruassau
ruclá	'roll, fall'	rüela	ruclajn	rücli	rüclian	ruclau
rupá	'burp'	raupa	rupajn	raupi	raupian	rupau
rumplaná	'rumble'	rampluna	rumplanajn	rampluni	ramplúian	rumplanau
sacaníá	'dry'	sacjanta	sacantajn	sacjanti	sacjantian	sacantau
sadapurtá	'behave'	sadapòrta	sadapurtajn	sadapòrti	sadapòrtian	sadapurtau

<sup>a</sup>Nowadays it is only the conditional *munglás* which is used.

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'	sahóna	sahanajn	sahóni	sahònian	sahanau
sanjá	'dream'	siamja	samajn	siami	sjàmian	sanjau
sanudá	'swim'	sanùda	sanudajn	sanùdi	sanùdian	sanudau
sará	'close'	sjara	sarajn	sjari	sjaran	sarau
saragurdá	'remember'	saragòrda	saragurdajn	saragòrdi	saragòrdian	saragurdau
satrá	'bury'	satjara	satrajn	satjari	satjarian	satrau
scadá	'heat'	scauda	scadajn	scaudi	scaudián	scadau
schlupá	'burst'	schlòpa	schlupajn	schlòpi	schlòpián	schlupau
scumandá	'prohibit'	scamònda	scumandajn	scamòndi	scamòndian	scumandau
scurşalá	'sledge'	scurşùla	sursalaјn	scarşùli	scarsùlian	sursalau
sítá	'shoot'	síta	sítajn	síeti	siétián	sitau
splaná	'plane'	splama	splanajn	splauni	splauñian	splanau
stizá	'turn off'	stéza	stizajn	stéci	stécián	stizau
suá	'sweat'	síua	suajn	síui	siúian	suáu
sutá	'dance'	sauta	sutajn	sauti	sautián	sutau
turná	'return'	túrna	turnajn	turni	turnián	turnau
uzá	'lift'	auza	uzajn	auci	aucián	uzau
zavrá	'separate, sort out'	zajvra	zavrajn	zajvri	zajvrián	zavrau
zulá	'roll out'	zùla	zulajn	zùli	zùlian	zulau

#### 4 Verb phrase

The verbs *digrá* ‘drip’ and *satrá* ‘bury’ are a different case. What looks like metathesis (*daghira* ‘(s/he) drips’ vs *digrajn* ‘(we) drip’ and *satjara* ‘(s/he) buries vs *satrajn* ‘(we) bury’) is due to the dropping of the reduced vowel /e/ 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 baghègja, nus bagagjajn*), → é (*pardagè* ‘preach’ → *ju pardégja, nus pardagjajn*), → ò (*cumpagnè* ‘accompany’ → *ju cumpògnna, nus cumpagnajn*)
- i → aj (*piè* ‘pay’ → *paja*), → é (*bitschè* ‘kiss’ → *bétscha*)
- u → au (*stuschè* ‘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 *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 (*barşchè* ‘burn’ → *brişcha*), → 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*)
- ej → a (*séjšar* ‘sit’ → *sasín*)
- ja → a (*pjardar* ‘lose’ → *pardín*)

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>bagagjajn</i>	<i>bagagjava</i>	<i>baghègi</i>	<i>baghègian</i>
<i>barschè</i>	'burn'	<i>brischa</i>	<i>barschajn</i>	<i>barschava</i>	<i>brischi</i>	<i>brischian</i>
<i>bëtschè</i>	'kiss'	<i>bëtscha</i>	<i>bitschajn</i>	<i>bitschava</i>	<i>bëtschi</i>	<i>bëtschian</i>
<i>bugnè</i>	'give water'	<i>bògna</i>	<i>bugnajn</i>	<i>bugnava</i>	<i>bògni</i>	<i>bògnian</i>
<i>cumpagniè</i>	'accompany'	<i>cumpògna</i>	<i>cumpagnajn</i>	<i>cumpagnava</i>	<i>cumpògni</i>	<i>cumpògnian</i>
<i>dumagnè</i>	'cope with'	<i>damògna</i>	<i>dumagnajn</i>	<i>dumagnava</i>	<i>damògni</i>	<i>damògnian</i>
<i>fufargnè</i>	'rummage'	<i>fufrogna</i>	<i>fufargnajn</i>	<i>fufargnava</i>	<i>fufrogni</i>	<i>fufrogrian</i>
<i>lahargnè</i>	'giggle'	<i>lahrògna</i>	<i>lahargnajn</i>	<i>lahargnava</i>	<i>lahgrögni</i>	<i>lahgrögninan</i>
<i>mudregè</i>	'torment'	<i>mudrègia</i>	<i>mudargjajn</i>	<i>mudargjava</i>	<i>mudrègi</i>	<i>mudrègian</i>
<i>pardagè</i>	'preach'	<i>pardègia</i>	<i>pardagjajn</i>	<i>pardagèva</i>	<i>pardègi</i>	<i>pardègian</i>
<i>pìè</i>	'pay'	<i>pajia</i>	<i>pìajn</i>	<i>pìevan</i>	<i>pajì</i>	<i>pajian</i>
<i>sampatschè</i>	'interfere'	<i>sampatscha</i>	<i>sampatschajn</i>	<i>sampatschava</i>	<i>sampatschi</i>	<i>sampatschian</i>
<i>schabagé</i>	'happen'	<i>schabègia</i>	—	<i>schabagjava</i>	<i>schabègi</i>	—
<i>schagé</i>	'taste'	<i>schagia</i>	<i>schagjajn</i>	<i>schagjava</i>	<i>schagi</i>	<i>schagian</i>
<i>schubargé</i>	'clean'	<i>schubrègia</i>	<i>shubargjajn</i>	<i>shubargjava</i>	<i>schubrégi</i>	<i>schubrégian</i>
<i>scumbaglè</i>	'confuse'	<i>scumbèglia</i>	<i>scumbagljajn</i>	<i>scumbagljava</i>	<i>scumbègli</i>	<i>scumbèglian</i>
<i>sie</i>	'mow'	<i>sia</i>	<i>siajn</i>	<i>sievà</i>	<i>sii</i>	<i>sian</i>
<i>spatgè</i>	'wait'	<i>spetga</i>	<i>spatgajn</i>	<i>spatgava</i>	<i>spègi</i>	<i>spègtian</i>
<i>stuschè</i>	'push'	<i>stauscha</i>	<i>stuschajn</i>	<i>stuschava</i>	<i>stauschi</i>	<i>stauschian</i>
<i>tartgè</i>	'think'	<i>tratga</i>	<i>tartgajn</i>	<i>tartgava</i>	<i>tratgi</i>	<i>tratgian</i>
<i>tgjiè</i>	'shift'	<i>tgaja</i>	<i>tgijajn</i>	<i>tgjava</i>	<i>tgaji</i>	<i>tgajan</i>
<i>tschitschè</i>	'suck'	<i>tschéttscha</i>	<i>tschitschajn</i>	<i>tschitschava</i>	<i>tschéttschi</i>	<i>tschéttschian</i>

## 4 Verb phrase

- ò → u (*còschar* ‘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. The most important other irregular verbs will be presented in Table 4.16 – Table 4.27.

Table 4.14: Verbs ending in *-ar*

INF	translation	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	FUTP
<i>antschajvar</i>	'begin'	<i>antschajva</i>	<i>antschavín</i>	<i>antschavéva</i>	<i>antschajvi</i>	<i>antschajvian</i>	<i>antschiat</i>
<i>bajbar</i>	'drink'	<i>bajba</i>	<i>bubbín</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>cuschéva</i>	<i>còschi</i>	<i>còschián</i>	<i>cuschju</i>
<i>crèschar</i>	'grow'	<i>crèscha</i>	<i>carschín</i>	<i>carschéva</i>	<i>crèschi</i>	<i>crèschian</i>	<i>carschju</i>
<i>curégiar</i>	'correct'	<i>curégia</i>	<i>curagín</i>	<i>curagéva</i>	<i>curégi</i>	<i>curagían</i>	<i>curagjú</i>
<i>cuviarar</i>	'cover'	<i>cuvíara</i>	<i>cuvrín</i>	<i>cuvréva</i>	<i>cuvíari</i>	<i>cuvíarian</i>	<i>cuvréig</i>
<i>dapèndar</i>	'depend'	<i>dapíjanda</i>	<i>dapandín</i>	<i>dapandévan</i>	<i>dapíjandi</i>	<i>dapandju</i>	<i>dérgian</i>
<i>dèrgjar</i>	'spill'	<i>dèrgja</i>	<i>dargin</i>	<i>dargévan</i>	<i>dèrgi</i>	<i>dèrs</i>	<i>dèrgian</i>
<i>laguétar</i>	'swallow'	<i>laguéta</i>	<i>lagutín</i>	<i>lagutéva</i>	<i>laguëti</i>	<i>lagutian</i>	<i>lagutju</i>
<i>léjjar</i>	'read'	<i>léjja</i>	<i>lagín</i>	<i>lagéva</i>	<i>léjja</i>	<i>léjian</i>	<i>lagju</i>
<i>métar</i>	'put'	<i>méta</i>	<i>matajn</i>	<i>matéva</i>	<i>métii</i>	<i>métian</i>	<i>méz/mèz</i>
<i>mòrdar</i>	'bite'	<i>mòrda</i>	<i>murdín</i>	<i>murdéva</i>	<i>mòrdi</i>	<i>mòrdian</i>	<i>murdju</i>
<i>pjárdar</i>	'lose'	<i>pjarda</i>	<i>paráin</i>	<i>pardéva</i>	<i>pjardi</i>	<i>pjárdian</i>	<i>pjars</i>
<i>rúmpar</i>	'break'	<i>rúmpa</i>	<i>rumpajn</i>	<i>rumpéva</i>	<i>rúmpi</i>	<i>rúmpian</i>	<i>rút</i>
<i>séjsar</i>	'sit'	<i>séjsa</i>	<i>sásñin</i>	<i>saséva</i>	<i>sési</i>	<i>séjsian</i>	<i>sasju</i>
<i>solvar</i>	'have breakfast'	<i>sólva</i>	<i>solvín</i>	<i>solvéva</i>	<i>sólví</i>	<i>sólvian</i>	<i>sjut</i>

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>amplaní</i>	'fill'	<i>amplajna</i>	<i>amplanín</i>	<i>amplanéva</i>	<i>amplajni</i>	<i>amplajnian</i>	<i>amplanju</i>
<i>ancurí</i>	'look for'	<i>anquéra</i>	<i>ancurín</i>	<i>ancuréva</i>	<i>anquéri</i>	<i>anquérian</i>	<i>ancuréig</i>
<i>bargí</i>	'cry'	<i>bragja</i>	<i>bargin</i>	<i>bargéva</i>	<i>bragi</i>	<i>brágian</i>	<i>bargiú</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>mùra</i>	<i>murín</i>	<i>muréva</i>	<i>mùri</i>	<i>mùrian</i>	<i>mòrts</i>
<i>sagli</i>	'run'	<i>séglja</i>	<i>saglin</i>	<i>sagliéva</i>	<i>ségli</i>	<i>ségljan</i>	<i>sagliú</i>
<i>santi</i>	'feel'	<i>sjania</i>	<i>santín</i>	<i>santéva</i>	<i>sjanti</i>	<i>sjantian</i>	<i>santju</i>

Table 4.16: *sadastadá* ‘wake up’

INF	<i>sadastadá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sadadèsta, sadastadajn</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùn sadastadaus, sadastadada</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>sadastadèvan</i>
COND	<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, das/dataş, dá dajn, dajş, datan</i>	<i>stùn, stas/stataş, stat stajn, stajş, statan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a dau</i>	<i>sùn stada/staus</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>dèva</i>	<i>stèva</i>
COND	<i>dès</i>	<i>stès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>dèti<sup>a</sup>, dètian</i>	<i>stèti, stètian</i>
IMP	<i>dá, daj</i>	<i>stá, staj</i>

<sup>a</sup>The 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, detschian*.

Table 4.18: *fá* ‘do’ and *trá* ‘pull’

INF	<i>fá</i>	<i>trá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>fétsch, faş, fò fagjajn, fagjajş, fòn</i>	<i>tila, tilaş, tila trajn, trajş, tilan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a fatg</i>	<i>a tratg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>fagèva/fièva</i>	<i>trèva</i>
COND	<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 Verb phrase

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>cartíş</i> , <i>crajan</i>	<i>duaj/daj</i> , <sup>a</sup> <i>duajs/dajaş</i> , <i>duaj/daj</i> , <i>duajn/dajan</i> , <i>duajs/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	<i>cartéş</i>	<i>duès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>craji</i> , <i>crajaş</i> , <i>craji</i> <i>crajan</i> , <i>crajaş</i> , <i>crajan</i>	—
IMP	<i>craj</i> , <i>cartí</i>	—

<sup>a</sup>The 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>gudajs</i> , <i>gaudan</i>	<i>pùs</i> , <i>pùş</i> , <i>pù</i> <i>pudajn</i> , <i>pudajs</i> , <i>pùn</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a gudju</i>	<i>a pudju</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>gudéva</i>	<i>pudèva</i>
COND	<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>	—

Table 4.21: *savaj* ‘know’ and *şchaj* ‘lie’

INF	<i>savaj</i>	<i>şchaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sa</i> , <i>saş</i> , <i>sò</i> <i>savajn</i> , <i>savajs</i> , <i>sòn</i>	<i>şchaj</i> , <i>şchajaş</i> , <i>şchaja</i> <i>şchiajn</i> , <i>şchiajs</i> , <i>şchajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a savju</i> <sup>a</sup>	<i>sùn şchjus/şchida</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>savèva</i>	<i>şchièva</i>
COND	<i>savèş</i>	<i>şchièş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>sapi</i> , <i>sápián</i>	<i>şchaji</i> , <i>şchajan</i>
IMP	—	<i>şchaj</i> , <i>şchijí</i>

<sup>a</sup>The 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, stùş, stù</i> <i>stuajn, stuajş, stùn</i>	<i>tégn, tégnas, tégn</i> <i>tanín, taníş, tégnan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a stavjú/stujú/stju</i>	<i>a tanju</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>stuèva/stéva/stavèva</i>	<i>tanéva</i>
COND	<i>stuès</i>	<i>tanéş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>stùpi, stùpian</i>	<i>tégni, tégnian</i>
IMP	—	<i>tégn, taní</i>

Table 4.23: *tumaj* ‘fear’ and *vulaj* ‘want’

INF	<i>tumaj</i>	<i>vulaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>téma, témaş, téma,</i> <i>tumajn, tumajş, téman</i>	<i>vi, vutaş, vut,<sup>a</sup></i> <i>lajn, lajş, vutan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a tumjú</i>	<i>a vulju<sup>b</sup></i>
IMPF.IND	<i>tuméva</i>	<i>lèva</i>
COND	<i>tuméş</i>	<i>lèş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>tèmi, tèmian</i>	—
IMP	<i>tèma, tumaj</i>	—

<sup>a</sup>In 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.

<sup>b</sup>The form *valju* also occurs.

Table 4.24: *vasaj* ‘see’ and *parvaj* ‘feed’

INF	<i>vasaj</i>	<i>parvaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>vèza, vèzaş, vèza,</i> <i>vasajn, vasajş, vèzan</i>	<i>parvaj, parvajaş, parvaj,</i> <i>parvasín, parvasiş, parvajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a vju</i>	<i>a parvaşjú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>vaséva/vaséva</i>	<i>parvasèva</i>
COND	<i>vasès</i>	<i>parvasés</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>vèci, vècian</i>	<i>parvaji, parvajan</i>
IMP	—	<i>parvaj, parvasí</i>

## 4 Verb phrase

Table 4.25: *prèndar* ‘take’ and *schè/schá* ‘let, have do’

INF	<i>prèndar</i>	<i>schè/schá</i> <sup>a</sup>
PRS.IND	<i>prèn, prèndaş, prèn prandín, prandíş, prèndan</i>	<i>lasch, lajaş, laj, schajn, schajş, lajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a príu</i>	<i>a schau</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>prandèva</i>	<i>schèva</i>
COND	<i>prandès</i>	<i>schas</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>prèndi, prèndiaş, prèndi prèndian, prèndiaş, prèndian</i>	<i>laschi, laschjas, laschi, laschjan, laschjaş, laschjan</i>
IMP	<i>prèn, prandí</i>	<i>lá, schaj</i>

<sup>a</sup>*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, vaş, vò majn, majş, vòn</i>	<i>détsch, diaş, di şchajn, şchajş, dian</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sünd juş/ida</i>	<i>a détg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>mava</i>	<i>şchèva</i>
COND	<i>maş</i>	<i>şchèş</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>mònди,<sup>a</sup> mòndiaş, mònди, vònди, vòndiaş, vònди</i>	<i>détschi, détschiaş, détschi, détschian, détschiaş, détschian</i>
	<i>mònдиан, mònдиаş, мондиан вондиан, вондиаş, вондиан</i>	
IMP	<i>vò, maj</i>	<i>dí, şchaj</i>

<sup>a</sup>An old form is *ju vòmi*.

Table 4.27: *fugí* ‘lie’ and *rí* ‘laugh’

INF	<i>fugí</i>	<i>rí</i>
PRS.IND	<i>fuétsch, fujaş, fuj</i> <i>fugín, fugiş, 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	<i>fugéş</i>	<i>rięş</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>

## 4.1.2 Usage of non-finite 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.

### 4.1.2.1 Non-finite 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).

- (20) [...] *ju sùn staus al davùs purtgè ... da*  
           1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG DEF.M.SG last swineherd of  
           *Sadrún [...].*

PN

‘[...] I was the last swineherd ... of Sedrun [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (21) *A ... tgu sùn vagnida pansjunada*  
       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  
       worked as head of district before [...].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (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, §8.3)
- (23) [...] *i dat ina fòtògrafia 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 droving [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, l. §8.11)
- (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, §8.15)

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  
*majnadistricts, quèls èn partí ajn<sup>4</sup> 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; §8.1)

- (26) *Oh gl' ampréndar tudèstg è stau,*  
oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM  
*l' antschata sè quaj schòn stau*  
DEF.F.SG beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM

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<sup>4</sup> *Pàrtar ajn* is a particle verb meaning ‘divide’.

*in                  téc curjüs.*  
 INDEF.M.SG bit strange.ADJ.UNM

‘Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.’ (Zarcúns, m2; §8.13)

- (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 all the munition was stored, for sure.’  
 (Sadrún, f3; §8.1)
- (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, §8.8)

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).

- (30) *Álṣòju a        bigja fatg        aj    agrèssif        [...].*  
 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, §8.12)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (31) *A lu sjantar vau adina fatg al pur,*  
 and then after have.PRS.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, §8.2)
- (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) *Ùssa, quèl da la quajda saj 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, §8.11)

If two clauses which both contain a compound verb form 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’.

- (35) *Ju sùn jus avaun nuégl ad a grju a bargju [...].*  
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG before barn.M.SG and have.PRS.1SG  
 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 priú las duas sadjala s groma ad*  
 3SG have.PRS.3SG take.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL TWO.F bucket.PL cream.F.SG and  
*è jus òd térga a švanjus.*  
 be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG out\_of hut.F.SG and disappear.PTCP.M.SG  
 '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  
*miraú 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', *magljè* '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 dèvan*  
 and DEM.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL in living\_room.F.SG and give.IMPF.3PL  
*tròcas né jass ... a nus priú*  
 k.o.card\_game.F.PL or k.o.card\_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM  
*quèls ... pinau tiar, quèls puschégn, quèls ...*  
 DEM.M.PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by DEM.M.PL snack.M.PL DEM.F.PL  
*tablas cun sé tgarn a dal tut ... priú 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  
*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

#### 4 Verb phrase

after we went up back with ... with the empty dishes, put them there again and went away.' (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

##### 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 introduced a non-finite causal or temporal subordinate clause (41 and 42).

- (41) *Raturnòn 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)
- (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 in a non-finite verb phrase. In the latter case, it may occur as the complement of a modal verb (43 and 44), or it in a verb phrase introduced by the complementiser *da/dad* (45).

- (43) *Qu'* è *adina aviart a lu sas i ajn [...].*  
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG.GNR go.INF  
in  
in

'This is always open, and then you can step in [...]' (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

- (44) *Quèl vès lu aun da pijè da té al pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas partgirau.*  
DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still to pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG  
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, §8.11)

- (45) «*Ju cala dad i a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg i plé.*»  
1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery\_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG  
go.INF any\_more  
'I'll stop going to nursery school, I can't stand it any longer.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

The infinitive is used in purposive clauses, be it after a verb of movement followed by the subordinator *a* (46) or after the subordinator *pr/par* (47).

- (46) *A lu, agl aucsegñar ... da Sadrún ... è saméz sén via par i ajnta Ruèras a purtá agit a dá sògn jéli [...].*  
and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG  
REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG SUBORD go.INF into PN SUBORD  
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, §8.5)

## 4 Verb phrase

- (47) [...] *él 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, §8.7)

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 (48).

- (48) *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, §8.10)

In subject sentences the infinitive is either modified by the definite masculine singular article (49) or not (50), without difference in meaning.

- (49) *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)
- (50) *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/-èv.

Present tense is used with all verbs that refer to an event that includes the moment of speech, independently of the *aktsionsart* of the verb. In (51) the present tense refers to an ongoing activity, in (52) to a temporary state, and in (53) to a permanent state.

- (51) *Tatla!* Las òndas, las olmas **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, §8.6)
- (52) *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, §8.12)
- (53) *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, §8.5)

Present tense also fulfils the function of habitual (54) or refers to other discontinuous activities (55).

- (54) *A Cazis èr' ju ajn tgòmbra, álsò 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, §8.4)
- (55) *Ina studègja ... a a Winterthur [...].*  
 one.F.SG study.PRS.3SG in in PN  
 'One studies ... in in Winterthur [...]' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

Present tense also refers to an imminent future (56 and 57).

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (56) *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, §8.3)
- (57) *Ju raquénta da mia laver 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, §8.1)

Present tense is the usual way to refer to future situations of any type (58).

- (58) *Damaun / Ajn dus òns fagajn 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 (59).

- (59) *A lu, agl aucsgénar ... 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.IMP.3PL DAT DEM.M.PL dying.PL enough  
*agl aucsgénar végn 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

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.' (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

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 (60 and 61),<sup>5</sup> to past habitual (62 and 63), or to an unspecified repetition of actions in the past (64).

- (60) *Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn ...*  
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan  
*gròn ni- vi datiar ad èra lò usché in*  
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next\_to and COP.IMPF.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, §8.12)'

- (61) *Ju lèv' amprèndar da majstar [...].*  
 1SG want.IMPF.1SG learn.INF of joiner.M.SG  
 'I wanted to become a joiner [...]' (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

- (62) *Nus mavan la damaun api vagnévan la sera.*  
 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.' (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

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<sup>5</sup>But see (68 – 73).

## 4 Verb phrase

- (63) *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, §8.11)
- (64) *Api lura ... ju mava è mintgataun cun èl a*  
 and then 1SG go.IMPF.1SG also sometimes with 3SG.M SUBORD  
*dá culur las sèndas [...].*  
 give.INF 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, §8.1)

### 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’, *sejšar gjù* ‘sit down’, *sgulá* ‘fly’, *švaní* ‘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 (65–67).

- (65) *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)

- (66) [...] *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, §8.12)

- (67) *A lu, aglaucségnar ... 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, §8.5)

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 (68–70). In other words, in these cases the verbs refer imperfectively to the situation, which is underlined by the use of the adverb *schòn* ‘already’ in (69).

- (68) *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)

- (69) *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)

- (70) *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* (71), literally ‘learn to know’, and *udí* (72) ‘hear’.

## 4 Verb phrase

- (71) *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, §8.7)

- (72) *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 (73) and the imperfect in (74) could be interpreted as inchoative or as a permanent state.

- (73) *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 indisch 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,  
 §8.3)

- (74) *Èls vèvan indisch ufauns.*  
 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL eleven child.M.PL  
 ‘They had eleven children.’ (Sadrún, m5)

As seen in (38) in §4.1.2.1.1, 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 (75–77).

- (75) *Agl Andréoli 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, §8.8)
- (76) *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 fòrsa ... quàtar tschun*  
 COMP be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL in there maybe four five  
*jamnas. Scha vèva 'l fatg schùber 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, §8.3)
- (77) *A nuş 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 cléj 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, §8.4)

#### 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 (78).

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (78) *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.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.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

##### 4.1.2.2.6 Doubly-compound tenses

There are two doubly-compound tenses: perfect (79 and 80) and pluperfect (81). They usually fulfil the same functions as the simple compound tenses, but they express a longer temporal distance in the past. Note that in (81), the function of the doubly-compound pluperfect is to express the habitual, a function which is usually fulfilled by the imperfect.

- (79) *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.INF 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, §8.2)
- (80) *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 gjadjud», 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, §8.8)

- (81) *A ... ad in òn, sa ju aun bégan, lu and and INDEF.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then 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' ànora. 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, §8.13)

#### 4.1.2.2.7 Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is formed with the copula *èssar*, the preposition *vid(a)* ‘at’, with (82) or without (83) the masculine singular definite article, and the infinitive.

- (82) *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)
- (83) *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, §8.1)

#### 4.1.2.2.8 Present and perfect subjunctive

Subjunctive mood, be it present, perfect, or imperfect, is characterised by the suffix *-i(-)*<sup>6</sup>

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’.<sup>7</sup> 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’;

<sup>6</sup>See §4.1.1.2.1.

<sup>7</sup>The most thorough analysis of mood in Standard Sursilvan is Grünert (2003).

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (b) verbs of opinion: *craj* ‘believe, think’, *paraj* ‘seem’, *tanaj* ‘think, hold’, and *tartgè* ‘think’;
- (c) directive speech act verbs and desiderative verbs: *fà stém* and *mirá*, both ‘make sure’, *rujè* ‘ask’, and *vulaj* ‘want’;
- (d) purposive subordinators: *par tga* and *tga*, both ‘in order to’;
- (e) the conjunctions *avaun (ca) tga* ‘before’, *sènza tga* ‘without’, and *tòcan* ‘until’.

In object clauses the complementiser is often absent (84 and 93). Examples (84–87) illustrate the use of subjunctive mood, present and perfect, with verbs of speaking.

- (84) *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.IMPF 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, §8.7)
- (85) *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.SG in job.F.SG
- ‘Then we would ask him, we had asked [him] where he had been working [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (86) *A la                      détga    raquénta ... tga    las           stréjas    dl*  
       and DEF.F.SG legend tell.PRS.3SG    COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL DEF.M.SG  
*Caschlè tg' èran              sé cò    a    fijèvan              barlòt*  
       PN                      REL COP.IMP.3PL up here and do.IMP.3PL sorcery  
*vágian                      trans-pòrtau    quèla    plata sin<sup>8</sup> in*  
       have.PRS.SBJV.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.M.SG  
*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, §8.5)

- (87) *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 (88).

- (88) *Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi vju tga quèls mèls 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, §8.7)

In (89) and (90), 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.

- (89) *L' autar dé va ju gju la lubiantscha 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 sápijan 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 davìs 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].'

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<sup>8</sup>sin instead of sén

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (90) [...] *a mintga vaschnaunca ò lu stavju*  
 and every municipality.F.SG have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM  
*dá ajn tut 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, tut.*  
 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, §8.1)

Examples (91–93) illustrate the use of subjunctive mood with verbs of opinion.

- (91) *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)
- (92) *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)
- (93) *Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau — nus sápijan*  
 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,  
 §8.4)

Examples (94–97) show the use of subjunctive mood with directive speech act verbs.

- (94) *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)

- (95) *Té mira lu tg' al tat fétuchi 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 fétuchi 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, §8.3)

- (96) [...] *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)

- (97) *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 (98–100).

- (98) *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 ... [vòns] a tràva vidò  
 with.DEF.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out  
 còtgra 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, §8.3)

- (99) *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 dètschi in  
 DEF.F.SG week COMP DEF.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG*

#### 4 Verb phrase

*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, §8.2)

- (100) “[...] *i*      *ò*                  *dau*                  *las*                  *sjat.*” “*Lu*  
EXPL have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL seven then  
*cuschaj*      — *tg'*      *inṣ 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* (101), *avaun ca* (102), and *avaun ca tga* (103). In (103) subjunctive mood is used, in contrast to (101) and (102) where indicative mood is used.

- (101) *Avaun tgi*      *végn*      *malaura*  
before COMP.EXPL come.PRS.IND.3SG bad\_weather.F.SG  
*isan*      *las*      *vacas ṣgarşchajval.*  
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)
- (102) *Agl*      *Andréoli 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*  
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, §8.8)
- (103) *Qu'*      *è*      *stau*      ... *matʰaj*      ... *gl*      *òn avaun*  
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.M.SG year before  
*ca tgu móndi*      ... *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, §8.5)

A similar hesitation between indicative and subjunctive can be observed with *tòca* or *tòca tga* ‘until’. In (104) *tòca* triggers subjunctive and in (105) *tòca tga* triggers indicative.

- (104) *Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun nias*  
 and COP.IMP.F.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, §8.4)

- (105) *Anqual jèda vagnéva lu al pás[tar] ... né usché*  
 some time.F.SG COME.IMP.F.3SG then DEF.M.SG herdsman or so

*cu aj vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' inṣ*

when 3PL see.IMP.F.3PL and help.IMP.F.3PL until SUBORD GNR

*èr' ajn ... ajn «schwung» [...].*

COP.IMP.F.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, §8.16)

In the corpus, *sènza tga* ‘without’ only occurs with subjunctive (106 and 107).

- (106) *[...] èla savèv' è i vidò gljunsch a paj*  
 3SG.F can.IMP.F.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, §8.14)

- (107) *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 Verb phrase

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 (108), where the subjunctive occurs in the relative clause which normally requires indicative.

- (108) [...] *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 she had given them or not.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

There are some cases where conditional is used instead of subjunctive (109).

- (109) *Quèl lèva bétga craj tga 'ls tiars*  
DEM.M.SG want.IMPF.3SG NEG believe.INF COMP DEF.M.PL animal.PL  
*raṣdassan 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 [...].’ (Tschemùt, 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 which depends on the verb *savaj* ‘know’ (110).

- (110) *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  
*filistucas [...].*  
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, §8.4)

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/òra* 'find out' (111).

- (111) [...] *api vèvan nuş anflau òra scha nus mòndian*  
 and have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL  
*a séjšian spèr la sòr' Andréa, lèza savèva*  
 and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next DEF.F.SG nun PN DEM.F.SG know.IMP.F.3SG  
*ròmòntsch.*

Romansh.M.SG

'[...] and then we had found out that if we went to sit next to Sister Andrea, she knew Romansh.' (Sadrún, f6, §8.4)

In this case, Matthias Grünert states that the subjunctive in an object clause depending on *anflar ora* is also documented in Standard Sursilvan (112).

- (112) *Gia il pievel egipzian haveva anflau ora*  
 already DEF.M.SG people Egyptian have.IMP.F.3SG find.PTCP.UNM out  
*che mèl d' aviuls seigi in remedì.*  
 COMP honey of bee.M.PL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG INDEF.M.SG drug  
 'The Egyptian people had already found out that honey is a drug.'  
 (Standard Sursilvan, La Quotidiana 2018/05/04)

However, (111) is highly elliptic and there is no object clause depending on *anflá òra* 'find out'; the subjunctive occurs in a conditional clause instead of the direct conditional. Therefore, (111) could be the opposite of (109), where the direct conditional is used instead of the subjunctive. In any case the use of the subjunctive in (111) 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 verbs of speaking (113 and 114) and verbs of opinion (115).

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (113) [...] *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  
*mjadṣdé 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, §8.3)
- (114) *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, §8.7)
- (115) *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, §8.16)

##### 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 protasis (118 and 119) and the apodosis (117) are sometimes not expressed overtly. The direct conditional has a simple and a compound form. The simple form expresses present counter-factuality (116 and 117).

- (116) *A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancúntar Tgòm ... sjaj*  
 and then PN more\_uphill here in\_direction PN COP.PRS.3SG  
*ina rùsna, quaj fùs è aun intarassant*  
 INDEF.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed interesting.M.UNM  
*sch' ins savés, quaj datèscha da gl òn ju*  
 if GNR know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from DEF.M.SG year 1SG  
*... a ussa bigja grat prèsèn, méli a sistschian a*  
 have.PRS.1SG now NEG just present thousand and six\_hundred and  
*zatgéj.*  
 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.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (117) *Té savèssas i 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, §8.3)

The compound form expresses past counter-factuality (118 and 119).

- (118) *[...] nuş astgèvan bégja raşdá ròmòntsch, ins vèş gè savju dá la bùca şur dlas sòras.*  
 1PL be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR have.COND.3SG after\_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG mouth over 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, §8.4)
- (119) *[...] ju fùş ina sèra maj id' ò da tgèşa la sèra da stgir.*  
 1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.F.SG evening never go.PTCP.F.SG out of 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, §8.6)

As examples (116–119) show, the final *-s* of the singular persons and of the second person plural of the direct conditional is realised as [ʂ] 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' §8.8.

Examples (120) and (121) illustrate the indirect conditional, which occurs in object clauses that are governed by a speech act verb like *dumandá* 'ask' or *dí* 'say'. (122) illustrates the compound indirect conditional.

## 4 Verb phrase

- (120) [...] *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.'  
       (Rueras, m10, §8.7)

- (121) [...] *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 sápiān, 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, §8.1)

- (122) *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 clauses, 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 verbs of speaking or verbs of opinion, be they affirmative or negated, also in contrast to other Romance varieties. An example is (123).

- (123) [...] *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 [...].’  
(Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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* ‘have that’ (124), (126), and (127), or *végn tga* ‘come that’ (125), but the examples suggest that the construction focuses on the current relevance of the event the verb refers to (124 and 125) or on habituality in the past (126 and 127).

- (124) *Ju a tga fò bléd.*  
1SG have.PRS.1SG COMP do.PRS.3SG sick

‘I am feeling sick.’ (Ruèras, DRG 2: 397)

- (125) *I brischa la cazèta, i végne tga sufla.*  
EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG COMP  
blow.PRS.3SG

‘[The soot] on the pot is burning, it is getting stormy.’ (DRG 2: 215)

- (126) *A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan*  
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL  
*rašdá ramòntschi.*  
speak.INF Romansh.M.SG

‘And then we had the opportunity to be allowed to speak Romansh there.’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (127) *[...] 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 trèva ... 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, §8.15)

### 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 calquing 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 (128).

- (128) *[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) (129).

- (129) *Ju fëtsch 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 (130) or full noun phrases (131) –, the negator *bétga* and its variants (132), as well as other adverbs like *aun* ‘still’, *è/éra* (133) ‘also’, *lu* ‘then’ (133), *magari* ‘sometimes’ (134), *maj* ‘never’ (135), *pròpi* ‘exactly’ (136), *puspè* ‘again’ (137), or *schòn* ‘certainly’ (138).

- (130) *Damaun prèn ju sé èl.*  
 tomorrow take.PRS.1SG 1SG up 3SG.M  
 ‘Tomorrow I will lift him up.’ (Sadrún, m6)

- (131) *Té mù trafica usché vinavaun, api sièta al*  
 2SG just be\_up\_to.IMP.2SG so further and shoot.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG  
*malitèr gjù té in dé.*  
 army down 2SG INDEF.M.SG day  
 'You just go on behaving this way and the army will shoot you down one day.' (Gadola 1935: 91)
- (132) *Damaun prèn ju bérgja sé èl.*  
 tomorrow take.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG up 3SG  
 'Tomorrow I won't lift him up.' (Sadrún, m6)
- (133) *[...] 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, §8.13)
- (134) *Ju prèn magari sé èl.*  
 1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M  
 'Sometimes I lift him up.' (Sadrún, m6)
- (135) *Cun quèl fétsch ju maj gjù.*  
 with DEM.M.SG make.PRS.1SG 1SG never down  
 'With this person I never make an appointment.' (Sadrún, m6)
- (136) *Ah, tgé ... prandèvan pròpi òra sa ins bégi' éxact*  
 ah what take.IMP.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly  
 [...].  
 'Ah, what ... they really mined one does not know exactly [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (137) *Prèn puspè sé quaj!*  
 take.IMP.2SG again up DEM.UNM  
 'Lift this again!' (Sadrún, m9)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (138) *Al plé mal stùn ju pal bian cazè. Al pòlisch crèscha schòn ansjaman.*  
 DEF.M.SG most bad stay.PRS.1SG 1SG for.DEF.M.SG good shoe DEF.M.SG 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 (130 to 138) must stand between the verb and its particle; the adverbs *savèns* 'often' (139 and 140) and *spèrt* (141–144) as well as *dabòt* (145), both 'rapidly', may occur between the verb and its particle or may follow the particle.

- (139) *Ju prèn savèns sé èl.*  
 1SG take.PRS.1SG often up 3SG.M  
 'I often lift him up.' (Sadrún, m6)
- (140) *Quèl prènd ju sé savèns.*  
 DEM.M.SG take.PRS.1SG 1SG up often  
 'This one I often lift up.' (Sadrún, f1)
- (141) *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)
- (142) *Èls prèndan sé spèrt als ufauns.*  
 3PL take.PRS.3PL up rapidly DEF.M.PL child.PL  
 'They lift the children rapidly.' (Sadrún, m9)
- (143) *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)
- (144) *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)
- (145) *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)

The adverb *mintgataun* ‘sometimes’, which is a synonym of *magari*, may not occur between the verb and the particle (146).

- (146) \**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 (147).

- (147) *A nuṣ duṣ vèvan dad i 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.MSG  
 ‘And the two of us had to go and collect these pigs, take out, let them out, out of the barn.’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

#### 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, e.g. nouns (148), adjectives (149), prepositional phrases in locative (150), temporal (151), or comitative (152) function, or adverbs (153).

- (148) *A qu' è propi ina ... pulit grònada*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.F.SG very big  
*plata [...].*  
 slab  
 ‘And this really is a ... very big slab [...].’ (Sadrún, m6, §8.5)

- (149) *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, §8.6)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (150) *Èl èri avaun caplùta [...].*  
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in\_front chapel.F.SG  
 ‘He was in front of the chapel [...]’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (151) *Quaj hanléj da tiars, ál sén scù quaj tg' i èra ál schènivával tschantanè [...].*  
 DEM.M.SG business of animal.M.PL in.DEF.M.SG sense like DEM.UNM REL 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, §8.9)
- (152) *Ajn tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la mùma da mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mè ... vèvan stju gidá nus [...].*  
 in every case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.F.SG mother of POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG 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, §8.11)
- (153) *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, §8.10)

The following examples illustrate the functions of *paraj dad èssar* ‘seem’ (154) and *vagní* ‘become’ (155 and 156).

- (154) *Èla para dad èssar stauncla.*  
 3SG.F seem.PRS.3SG COMP COP.INF tired.F.SG  
 ‘She seems to be tired.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (155) *Té stùs stá cò tut parsula ad i végn unviarn a végn frajd [...].*  
 2SG must.PRS.2SG stay.INF here completely alone.F.SG and EXPL become.PRS.3SG winter.M.SG and become.PRS.3SG cold.ADJ.UNM  
 ‘You must stay here completely alone, and winter is coming and it is getting cold.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 145)

- (156) [...] *el' èra vagnida tùt còtschna [...].*  
 3SG.F be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG completely red.F.SG  
 ' [...] she had turned completely red [...]' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

#### 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’ (157–162) or *dá* ‘give’ (163–168).

As is the case with *quaj* (see §3.2.2.1, examples (57–60), 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 (157).

- (157) [...] *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, §8.16)

- (158) [...] *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, §8.3)

- (159) [...] *a mintgataun èri aun grépa tga*  
 and sometimes EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover rock.COLL REL  
*stèv' ò in tèc ... .*  
 stand.IMPF.3SG OUT INDEF.M.SG bit  
 ' [...] and from time to time there were rocks protruding a bit ... ' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

- (160) *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 Verb phrase

- (161) *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, §8.6)
- (162) *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, §8.2)
- (163) *[...] 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, §8.3)
- (164) *[...] i dat ina fòtògrafia tgu sùn sé*  
 EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on  
*cun mju còlega 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, §8.11)
- (165) *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, §8.2)
- (166) *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  
*dus trajš diş api méz tut ajn ina ... tut*  
 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, §8.3)

- (167) *A lu al pròxim, in dls pròxims 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, §8.5)

- (168) *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 ... 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, §8.5)

Examples (169) and (170) show the occurrence of *dá* ‘give’ and *èssar* ‘be’ in the same context. Furthermore, (169) also contains two examples with the expletive pronoun *i* and two examples without it.

- (169) *Álsò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ...*  
 well EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMPF.3PL  
*nündétg, ad i sèra 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, §8.9)

## 4 Verb phrase



#### 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’ (173), *duaj* ‘must, should’ (174), *munglá* ‘must’ (175)<sup>9</sup>, *vaj da* ‘have to’ (176–172), and *stuaj* ‘must, have to’ (177 and 178). Note that *èssar da* is impersonal and the complementiser *da* does not have to be adjacent to *vaj* (171 and 172).

- (171) *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 playa.*  
 look\_after.INF of DEF.F.SG wound  
 ‘You should still take a bath or look after the wound.’ (Sadrún, §8.3)

(172) *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, §8.16)

(173) *[...] 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, §8.16)

<sup>9</sup>Nowadays *munglá* is only used with conditional mood.

- (174) *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, §8.1)
- (175) *Ju munglaš ir' a tgèsa.*  
 1SG must.COND.1SG go.INF to house.F.SG  
 ‘I should go home.’ (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (176) *A tiar in pur ... èssan nuš 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, §8.11)
- (177) *[...] l' antschata da la parlavèra 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, §8.3)
- (178) *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  
*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

#### 4 Verb phrase

over to every canton, and these ... had to get it off the ground themselves [...]' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

*Astgè* 'be allowed, can' (179) and *schè/schá*<sup>10</sup> (180) 'let, allow' expresses permission.

- (179) [...] *api vajn nuš gju quèla gròndjus' idéa scha*  
 and have.PRS.1PL 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG great.F.SG idea if  
*nuš ástgian 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, §8.4)

- (180) *In autar ón schajš vuš 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 (181).

- (181) *Astg' ju aun dá in glas aua [...]*?  
 be\_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in\_addition give.INF INDEF.M.SG cup water  
 'May I give [you] another glass of water [...] ?' (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

Ability is expressed by *pudaj* 'can, be able' and *savaj* 'can'. *Pudaj* refers to non-learned participant-internal ability (182–184) or to permission (185).

- (182) *A las sòras savèvan tga [...] nus fêtschian*  
 and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMP.3PL COMP 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL  
*filistucas, ad èlas pudévan maj tiar nus.*  
 prank..pl and 3PL.F can.IMP.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, §8.4)

- (183) *Ad ad in piartg ... ah ... vèva pudju*  
 and and INDEF.M.SG pig eh have.IMP.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.3SG

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<sup>10</sup> *Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form.

ina, la saiv èri, vèva  
 INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fence COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL have.IMPF.3SG  
 rùt in palé, quaj vèva pudju  
 break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG post DEM.UNM have.IMPF.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, §8.11)

- (184) *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, §8.3)

- (185) *Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.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  
*ònì 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].’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

*Savaj* refers to participant-external (186–189) or learned participant-internal ability (190 and 191).

- (186) *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, §8.3)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (187) *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, §8.4)
- (188) *[...] 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, §8.7)
- (189) *Api sjantar sùnd                ju sasjuś                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 i*  
 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, §8.12)
- (190) *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.IMP.3SG.EXPL  
*èri                da quèls                tgé ... mataj<sup>11</sup> tg' ina*  
 EXIST.IMP.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, §8.1)

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<sup>11</sup> *Mataj* means ‘probably’; in this context, it is used ironically in the sense of ‘impossibly’.

- (191) *Lu dumandavan nuš 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 'l  
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 nuš 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 tec  
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 bigj' 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, §8.3)*

If *savaj* modifies a verb with complements, this verb is sometimes omitted, probably under the influence of Swiss German. In (192), it is the verb *i* 'go' which is omitted.

- (192) [...] da nós tjams salagravan nuš da vagní  
of POSS.1PL.M.SG time REFL.appreciate.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP come.INF  
ò da scùla par è savaj — a la gjuvantétgna.  
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,  
§8.15)

The opposition between *pudaj* and *savaj* is not always clear-cut. In (193), the modal verb refers to participant-external possibility and one would expect *savaj* instead of *pudaj*.

- (193) Cò pùn ins cargo 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 Verb phrase

Volition is expressed by *vulaj* ‘want’ (194 and 195).

- (194) «*Gjòn, vul*<sup>12</sup>      té    *bétga gidá*    mè da    *cargè*    *quèla bùra?*» «*Bèn bèn, scù ju pùs,*      *vi*      *ju schòn gidá.*»  
 PN want.PRS.2SG 2SG NEG help.INF 1SG COMP carry.INF DEM.F.SG  
 block yes yes as 1SG can.PRS.1SG want.PRS.1SG 1SG certainly 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)
- (195) [...] *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, §8.12)

*Vut dí* or *vuta dí*, both ‘mean’ (literally ‘wants say’), is best considered a lexicalised expression (196).

- (196) *Sas tgé quaj vut dí?*  
 know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF  
 ‘Do you know what this means?’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

Epistemic modality is expressed by *duaj* ‘should’ (197), *pudaj* ‘can’ (198), and *pudaj èssar* ‘could be’ (199) as well as *savaj èssar* ‘could be’ (200).

- (197) [...] *sén quaj pas duèssi èssar ina*  
 on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.F.SG  
*samagljànta caplùta [...].*  
 similar chapel  
 ‘[...] on this pass there should be a similar chapel [...].’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)
- (198) [...] *quèls vèvan in purèsser plétòst ... pin, tgé*  
 DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.M.SG farm rather small what  
*pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindiçh armaulş gronş 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, §8.3)

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<sup>12</sup> *Vul* is Standard Sursilvan for *vutas*.

- (199) *Préndar ajn, pù schòn èssar tga samidav'*  
 take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMP.F.3SG  
*al grép [...].*  
 DEF.M.SG rock  
 ‘As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (200) *Préndar ajn, sò schòn èssar tga samidav'*  
 take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMP.F.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) / *fòrza* (§8.3) ‘maybe’, *mataj* (§8.11) ‘probably’, or *sagir* (§8.13) ‘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 about argument order.

Singular subject nouns which have a plural reference, such as *gljut* ‘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 (201–204).

- (201) *Cuélms a vals statan a la gljut s'antaupan.*  
 mountain.M.PL and valley.F.PL stay.PRS.3PL and DEF.F.SG people  
 REFL.meet.PRS.3PL  
 ‘Mountains and valleys stay, and people meet.’ (DRG 9: 575)
- (202) *La gljut tga mavan da quèla via ancùntar Bugnaj [...]*  
 DEF.F.SG people REL go.IMP.F.3PL from DEM.F.SG way towards PN  
*[...] udévan [...] ina vusch [...].*  
 hear.IMP.F.3PL INDEF.F.SG voice  
 ‘The people who took that way towards Bugnei would hear a voice [...].’  
 Büchli 1966: 142f.)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (203) *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, §8.3)
- (204) *[...] la gjuvantétgna ... fòn parada.*  
 DEF.F.SG youth do.PRS.3PL parade.F.sg  
 ‘[...] the association of young men ... holds a parade.’ (Zarcúns, m2)

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 (205–213), even if there is an element between the verb and the inverted subject. An example is (209), where *è* ‘also’ stands between the verb and the subject.

- (205) *La salín schava lş utschalş bétga stá ugén.*  
 DEF.F.SG wheat let.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL bird.PL NEG stay.INF  
 with\_pleasure  
 ‘The birds didn’t like to let the wheat be.’ (Camischùlas, DRG 3: 592)
- (206) *[...] ina séra [...] ò lş pástars vju ad èn las vacas.*  
 INDEF.F.SG afternoon have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL herdsman.PL  
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP go.GER DEF.F.PL COW.PL  
 ‘[...] one afternoon [...] the herdsmen saw the cows going.’ (Sèlva, Büchli 1966: 28)
- (207) *[...] lu vèva las fèmnas da lavá ò la tgèsa [...].*  
 then have.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL woman.PL to wash.INF out DEF.F.SG  
 house  
 [...] then the women had to clean the house [...]’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)
- (208) *[...] quaj fagèva las gjufnas lu schòn stém sch'i vajan sé la nègla tg' èla vaj dau né bétg.*  
 DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL young\_woman.PL then in\_fact  
 attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up INDEF.F.SG carnation REL  
 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 she [they] had given them or not.' (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

- (209) *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, §8.13)

- (210) *[...] fòrsa scha ju sbaglja bitg şè quèlas*  
 maybe if 1SG be\_wrong.PRS.1SG NEG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL  
*figuras lu vagnidas trans-pòrtadas a mézaş*  
 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, §8.8)

- (211) *[...] quaj è vagnú da bétòn' ajn, a*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and  
*tanju ò las aun adina.*  
 hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always  
 '[...] this has been concreted, and they still hold.' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (212) *A zatgéj mava 'ls aucs mavan lu aun*  
 and something go.IMP.3SG DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMP.3PL then also  
*anzatgé ... ád uáut.*  
 something to forest.M.SG  
 'And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.'  
 (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (213) *A ... cò mava 'ls buéts la stad ad alp [...].*  
 and here go.IMP.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, §8.17)

### 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 (214) or after the subject in case of subject inversion (215), as well as after the negator *bétga*, particles, and adverbs that have been treated in §4.1.3 about particle verbs.

- (214) *A... vagnéva mèndar a mèndar a dumagnavan bigj'*  
 and become.IMPF.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMPF.3PL NEG  
 [el] 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, §8.3)
- (215) *Qu' è adin' aviart a lu sas*  
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG  
*i ajn api vèzas [té] [quèlas ah... figuraš] 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, §8.8)

With compound tenses, the direct object is located after the participle (216) or after the verbal particle if there is one (217), but not after the inverted subject or the negator, since these elements follow the finite verb.

- (216) *Quaj ò bégja dau [discusjun].*  
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG NEG EXIST.PTCP.UNM discussion.M.SG  
 ‘There was no discussion.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (217) *Ju prèn magari sé [ell].*  
 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 (218 and 219).<sup>13</sup>

- (218) [...] *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)
- (219) *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)

With *dumandá* ‘ask’, both direct objects may be passivised (220 and 221).

- (220) [*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)
- (221) [*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)

Other cases could be *dá fjuc la lèna* (m10) ‘light the firewood’, literally ‘give fire the firewood’, *dá culur las sèndas* ‘paint the trails’ (f3, §8.1), 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 that the past participle agrees with it (222 and 223).

- (222) *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)

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<sup>13</sup>This phenomenon is unusual in Romance languages and is probably due to German influence (*jemanden etwas fragen*, literally ‘somebody (accusative) something (accusative) ask’).

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (223) *La lèna è bigja vagnida dada*  
 DEF.F.SG firewood 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, with a regular ditransitive verb like *dá* ‘give’ as in (224), the RECIPIENT may not be passivised (225).

- (224) *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)
- (225) *\*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)

For these reasons, I conclude that *mir* ‘wall’ and *lèna* ‘firewood’ in (222 and 223) 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 (226).

- (226) *\*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 (227).

- (227) *I è bigja vagnú dau cultur 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 fjud* as well.

Since *culur* and *fjud* in *dá culur la prajt* and *dá fjud 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 fjud* are two compound monotransitive verbs with *al mir* and *la lèna* as their direct objects. 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 fjud la lèna*, but prefer the BENEFICIARY to be marked by dative *da*: *dá fjud da la lèna*, *dá culur dal mir*, whereas they do accept the construction with *dumandá* ‘ask’ as in (219).

With mono- or ditransitive verbs, the direct object may be omitted if it has been mentioned before (228–230).

- (228) *A què èra schòn strètg, álsò sch'ju*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really narrow.ADJ.UNM well if 1SG  
*stès aun fá 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, §8.7)
- (229) *Api ò éla 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, §8.4)
- (230) *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’<sup>14</sup> scù quaj*  
 send.PRS.1PL but nevertheless a report\_of\_damage as DEM.UNM  
*ò nùm.*  
 have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG  
 ‘And then we tell it to the municipalities, but we nevertheless send ‘a report of damages’ as this is called.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

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<sup>14</sup>Said in Standard German.

## 4 Verb phrase

The direct object does not have to be immediately adjacent to the verb (231).

- (231) *Ju vèv' als véntgatschún d' avréł 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, §8.16)

### 4.2.3 Indirect object

As mentioned in §3.2.1.3 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 (232 and 233), but (234) shows that the inverse also occurs.

- (232) «*Quèl vès lu aun da pijè [da té] [al pustrètsch dal piertg tga té vèvas*  
 DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG  
*partgirau]*.»  
 money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG  
 look\_after.PTCP.UNM

‘This one should still pay you the money of the pig you had looked after.’  
 (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

- (233) *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, §8.11)

- (234) *Api ... sè quaj vagnú priú 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, §8.1)

The usual semantic role of an indirect object is RECIPIENT as in the examples above, but with verbs like *plaşchaj* ‘please’ or *fá plaşchaj* ‘make pleasure’, the semantic role is EXPERIENCER as in (235 and 236).

- (235) *A quaj plaşchéva nuéta pròpi da mé.*

and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG nothing really DAT 1SG

‘And I really didn’t like that.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (236) *A quaj fó adina da mé ... plaşchaj.*

and DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG always DAT 1SG pleasure.M.SG

‘And this is always a ... pleasure for me.’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

*Da* as a dative marker is also reported for the Surmiran dialect of Marmorera (237 and 238).

- (237) *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)

- (238) *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 adjuncts 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 complex. Complex adverbs are combinations of adpositions, combinations of adpositions with adverbs, or multiple adverbs.

## 4 Verb phrase

Simple adverbs include *cò* ‘here’, *daspèras* ‘next to it’, *drétg* ‘right’, *gljunsch* ‘far away’ (239), *lò* ‘there’, *nagljú* ‘nowhere’, *saniastar* ‘left’(240), *tschò* ‘here’<sup>15</sup>, and *zanú/zanúa* ‘somewhere’ (242).

- (239) [...] *al bùrdi stèva ò ualti gljunsch, quaj balantschava in téc.*  
 DEF.M.SG load stand.IMP.F.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM  
 roll.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG bit  
 ‘[...] the load was sticking out quite a lot, it was rolling a bit.’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (240) *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.IMP.F.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, §8.7)
- (241) [...] *ábar savèns è aun da quèls tg' èran fumégl tschò né lò.*  
 farmhand.M.SG here or there  
 ‘[...] but often also one of those that were farmhands here and there.’  
 (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)
- (242) *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.IMP.F.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, §8.3)

Combinations of prepositions or of prepositions with adverbs are e.g. *ajndadájns* ‘inside’ (< ‘in + inside’) (243), *angjù* ‘down’ (< ‘in + down’), *ansé* ‘up’ (< ‘in + up’), *daváuntiar* ‘in front’ (< ‘in front + towards’), *òrdavaun* ‘in front’ (< ‘out + before’ ) (244), *sédangjù* (< ‘up + down’), *surangjù* ('over + down') (245), and *vinavaun* ‘farther’ (< ‘over + in front’).

<sup>15</sup> *Tschò* ‘here’ is usually used together with *lò* ‘there’; see example (241).

- (243) *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)
- (244) [...] *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, §8.11)
- (245) *A lu èssan nuṣ i sé api vagní surangjù*  
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up and come.PTCP.M.PL over\_down  
*ad i gjù Tiefenbach.*  
 and go.PTCP.M.PL down PN  
 'And then we went up and came down [from] over [the avalanche barriers] and went down to Tiefenbach.' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

Two special cases are *gjùdém* 'at the very bottom' and *séssum* 'at the very top'; the former is a combination of the prepositions *gjù* and *sé* along with the derivational morpheme *-dém* '(down)most', the latter is a combination of the pré-position *sé* 'up' with the derivational morpheme *-sum* '(upper)most' (246).

- (246) [...] *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, §8.4)

Locative adverbs are also formed by combinations of adverbs with either the demonstrative *quaj* 'this' (247), the comparative *plé* 'more (than)', or the consecutive *sci* 'so (that)' (250). With *plé* the compared element may be explicit (248) or implicit (249).

- (247) *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, §8.1)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (248) [...] quèls tg' èran staj a mèssa èran  
DEM.M.PL REL be.IMP.F.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at mass.F.SG COP.IMP.F.3PL  
schòn [...] **pléndanòragjù tga quaj tga nuṣ 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, §8.7)

- (249) [...] lu şè 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 farther down the valley [...].’ (Sadrún, m4,  
§8.3)

- (250) [...] 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  
mjads-dé 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, §8.3)

Some combinations of adverbs include *cò angjù* ‘down here’ (251), *gjù cò* ‘down here’, and *ò lò* ‘out there’ (252).

- (251) **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, §8.1)
- (252) **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, §8.3)

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* (253) or as *cò sé* (254).<sup>16</sup> If one says

- (253) *Ju sùn sé cò.*  
1SG COP.PRS.1SG up here  
'I am up here.' (Ruèras, m10)

it implies that speaker and hearer are at the same place. If one says

- (254) *Ju sùn cò sé.*  
1SG COP.PRS.1SG here up  
'I am up here.' (Ruèras, m10)

it implies that the speaker is at a higher place than the hearer. This semantic difference does not exist with *lò sé* (255) and *sé lò* (256), both meaning ‘up there’. According to several consultants, both constructions refer to the same situation; the more common construction is *sé lò*.

- (255) *Nuṣ 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 majṣès.*  
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  
*majṣès.*' (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

- (256) *Nuṣ stèvan sé lò, sé majṣès.*  
1PL stay.IMPF.1PL up there up assembly\_of\_houses.M.SG  
'We stayed up there, at the *majṣès.*' (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’ (257), *ajn* ‘in, into’, *ajnt/ajnta* ‘in, into’ (258), *amiaz* ‘in the middle of’, *ancùntar* ‘towards’, *an-tùrn* ‘around’ (259), *avaun* ‘before’ (260), *da* ‘from’ (261), *dadajns* ‘inside’, *dadò*

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<sup>16</sup>The syntactic status of *sé* in the combination *cò sé* is not clear to me, because it looks like a postposition. However, no other pospositions are attested in the domain of locatives, and in other domains they are very scarce.

#### 4 Verb phrase

‘outside’, *davùs* ‘behind’, *gjù* ‘down’, *nùca* ‘by, next to’ (262 and 263), *ò/òra* ‘out’, *sé* ‘up’, *sén* ‘on’, *séssum* ‘on top of’, *spèr* ‘next to’, *sur/ṣu* ‘above’, *ṣut* ‘under’, *tòca/tòcan* ‘until’, *viars* ‘towards’.

- (257) *Ju vòn a tgèsa.*  
1SG go.PRS.1SG to house.F.SG  
'I am going home.' (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (258) *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)
- (259) *[...] 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, §8.11)
- (260) *Ju spétga avaun tgèsa.*  
1SG wait.PRS.3SG before house.F.SG  
'I'm waiting in front of the house.' (Cavòrgja, f1)
- (261) *Èl èra da Zarcúns.*  
3SG.M COP.IMPF.3SG from PN  
'He was from Zarcuns.' (Zarcúns, m2)
- (262) *[...] prandévan nòssa ... sarvjèta, matévan sé nùca*  
take.IMP.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG napkin put.IMP.1PL up where  
*la sòr' Andréa, a lu stgèvan nus raṣdá*  
DEF.F.SG nun PN and then be\_allowed.IMP.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, §8.4)

- (263) [...] *api vèvanṣ 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, §8.3)

If the referent is known or can be inferred by the hearer, noun phrases introduced by a preposition preclude the use of determiners, as in the phrases *ajn cuṣchina*, *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 (264).

- (264) *Èl è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna.*  
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down\_into in INDEF.F.SG hole  
 '[...] he fell in an hole [...]' (Sadrún, m4)

The noun may be modified by a demonstrative determiner in anaphoric function (265).

- (265) *Ajn quèla caplùta şè 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, §8.8)

If the noun phrase is modified by an adjective, the definite article must occur, as in the phrase *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 additional examples of bare nouns in prepositional phrases include *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’ (§8.17), *ajn stizún* ‘in the shop’ ((Büchli 1966: 123), *ajn tégja* ‘in the alpine hut’ Büchli 1966: 122), *avaun tégja* ‘in front of the alpine hut’ (§8.17).

#### 4 Verb phrase

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’ (266) and *sé* ‘up’; and *vid-* with *ajn* ‘in(to)’ (267) and *ò/òr/òra* ‘out’ (268). Another possibility to convert *sé* into an adverb is to use *òra* as in *sédòra* ‘up’ (269).<sup>17</sup> The adverbial equivalent of *spèr* ‘next to’ is *daspèras* (270).

- (266) *A ... la duméngja ... als ùmans 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, §8.17)

- (267) *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 vèntgatschún*

COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five

*mètars, san<sup>18</sup> ins í vidajn da quèla, api*

metre.M.PL can.PRS.3SG GNR go.INF into of DEM.F.SG and

*sasparti, vòi ajn duas.*

REFL.divide.PRS.3SG.EXPL go.PRS.3SG.EXPL in two.F

‘And this cave – [judging from] where I have been in it – one can go into it about 25 metres, and then it splits in two.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (268) *A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ...*

and DEF.F.SG evening for SUBORD 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 ... [vòn̄s] a trèva vidò*

with.DEF.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out

*còtgla giù 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, §8.3)

<sup>17</sup>Note that in *sédòra*, *òra* does not mean ‘out of the valley’, see Table 4.32.

<sup>18</sup>Standard Sursilvan for *sò ins dí*.

- (269) [...] *cun agid da ... da la vischnaunca va ju ...*  
 with help.M.SG of of DEF.F.SG municipality have.PRS.1SG 1SG  
*è aun ... stju métar ... nùvas pétgas ...*  
 also moreover must.PTCP.UNM put.INF new.F.PL post.PL  
*bétònaj,<sup>19</sup> né, sédòra séssum als cuélms [...].*  
 concrete.PTCP.M.PL right up\_out on\_top DEF.M.PL peak.PL  
 '[...] with the help of ... of the municipality I had ... also ... had to put ...  
 new concreted ... posts, right, up there on top of the peaks [...]' (Sadrún,  
 f3, §8.1)
- (270) *Şùtajn èri la tégja nùca 'l*  
 under\_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.F.SG alpine\_hut REL 3SG.M  
*caşchav' èra, daspèras quèls dus nuéglis [...].*  
 make\_cheese.IMPF.3SG also next DEM.M.PL two.M cow\_barn.PL  
 'Below was the alpine hut where he would also make cheese, next to it  
 those two cow barns [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

However, *sé* and *gjù* may stand alone in *sé a gjù* 'up and down' (271), which parallels German *auf und ab*.<sup>20</sup>

- (271) *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  
 'And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down  
 [...]' (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

The preposition *ancùntar* 'towards' constitutes a special case in the sense that it triggers dative with human nouns (272 and 273) but not with inanimate nouns (274 and 275).

- (272) *Cò şaj 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)

<sup>19</sup> *Bétònaj* is a performance error for *bétònádas*.

<sup>20</sup> In German, the prepositions *auf* and *ab* cannot stand alone in the meaning intend here; they must be combined with e.g. *hin-*. *Ich gehe \*auf* in the sense of 'I am going up.' is not grammatical; one must say *Ich gehe hinauf*, as in Tuatschin *Ju mòn \*sé vs Ju mòn ansé*.

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (273) *Èl è jus ancàntar 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)
- (274) *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)
- (275) *Ad ajnaquèla ... saj sadèrs ...*  
 and at that moment be.PRS.3SG.EXPL REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM  
*ina grònada lavina gjù da la val Lòndadusa gjù*  
 INDEF.F.SG huge avalanche down of DEF.F.SG valley PN down  
*ancàntar 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, §8.5)
- 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.
- (276) *A lu ségi la cúa ida via da Sòntig*  
 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 sùt 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)
- (277) *I èr’ in artg sul Rajn via.*  
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG rainbow on.DEF.M.SG PN over  
 ‘There was a rainbow over the Rhine.’ (Tschanmùt, Büchli 1966: 15)

- (278) [...] *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, §8.17)

Complex prepositions include *damanajval da* 'near' (279), *navèn da* 'from' (280), *ò da/òrd* 'out of' (280 and 282), *òn* (< *òra ajn* 'out (in)to') (281), and *vi da* '(over) to' (283).

- (279) *Immis, quaj è gjù, 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, §8.7)
- (280) *Tùts ... ò da scìula 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 davìs mumèn*  
         and away from alp come.IMPF.2SG.GNR only DEF.M.SG last moment  
         *a mavaş a scìula.*  
         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, §8.16)

- (281) [...] *api şè ... 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, §8.4)
- (282) *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 to go and gather the cows in the cowshed  
       [...].' (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (283) *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* (284 and 285) or *-sum* (286 and 287) are also used as prepositions.

- (284) *Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònda lavina*  
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche  
 ... *a vèva ... déstruí ina grònda 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, §8.5)

- (285) *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, §8.8)

- (286) *[...] a lu auda 'l las stréjas sé cò, séssum*  
 and then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost  
*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, §8.5)

- (287) *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<sup>h</sup>as.*  
 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.’ (Rueras, m10, §8.7)

Circumpositions are e.g. *da N ajn* ‘through N into’ (288), *da N ajnasé* ‘through N up’ (289), *da N òra* ‘from N out’ (290), *da N sé* ‘from N up’, *da N sédòra* ‘from

N up' (291), 'through N out', *par N antùrn* 'around N', *spèr N vi* 'next to N over' (292), *ṣùt N ajn* 'under N in(to)', and *ṣùt N gjù* 'under N down'.

In circumpositions, the preposed element *da* often refers to SOURCE ('from') (290) or to PATH ('through') (288).

- (288) [...] *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)
- (289) [...] *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, §8.1)
- (290) *Cu i òn purtau la bara ò da tgèsa,*  
 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 the window.' (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 123)
- (291) *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 [that led us] above the avalanche barriers [...]' (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)
- (292) *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

## 4 Verb phrase

*schau dá la sagir şu la prajt-crap gjù [...].*  
let.PTCP.UNM give.IMP 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 *majṣəs* (293 and 294). The others use either *a* ‘to’ or *sé* ‘up’ in such cases (295).

- (293) [...] *ábar avaun c'*      *al*      *tjams dad alp èri*      *lu*  
           but before SUBORD DEF.M.SG time of alp be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then  
       *aun*      *dad í*      *majsès*      ... *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  
       *majsès* with the animals.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

(294) *Scadín cas, quaj èra schòn ... ah ... in*  
       each.M.SG case dem.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG indeed eh indef.M.SG  
       *désidéri, savaj í majsès 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, to be able to go to the  
       *majsès* and sleep up there.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

(295) *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 majsès [...].*  
       go.IMPF.3PL 3PL then to assembly\_of\_houses.M.SG  
       ‘And the women, one had to help at home and when the men would  
       then go and ... would then go up to the *majsès* [...].’ (Ruéras, f4, §8.16)

In Tuatschin – as well as in other Romansh varieties – locative adjuncts referring to place names, and other places are very important.<sup>21</sup> When speakers are located in the Tujetsch valley, they 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 they

<sup>21</sup>See (Ebneter 1994: 4–126) for Standard Sursilvan and other Romansh varieties.

are outside the valley and go into the valley, they must decide whether they use *sé* ('up') or *ajn* ('into').<sup>22</sup>

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 presents 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	—

Table 4.29: Locatives II

	Sadrún	Surajn	Cavòrgja	Méjdal	Curaglja
Sadrún	→ —	<i>gjù/vi</i>	<i>gjùn</i>	<i>vin</i>	<i>vi</i>
Surajn	→ <i>sé/vi</i>	—	<i>gjùn</i>	<i>vin</i>	<i>vi</i>

With *Cavòrgja*, the preposition *gjùn* is used, a combination of *gjù* 'down' and *ajn* 'in(to)', because *cavòrgja* means 'canyon', hence 'down' and 'into'. Accordingly, *vin*, a combination of *vi* 'over' and *ajn* 'in(to)', is used with *Val Méjdal*, because *Val Méjdal* is a valley, and in order to go there, one has to cross a pass, hence *vi*, and go into the valley, hence *ajn*.

Table 4.30 shows the prepositions used when going to or coming from the Upper Valley and the bordering canton of Uri with two villages with Romansh names, namely *Ursèra* (*Andermatt* in German) and *Caşchinùta* (*Göschenen* in German).

Table 4.31 shows the prepositions used inside the Upper Valley and going from the Upper Valley into the Lower valley.

<sup>22</sup>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 Verb phrase

Table 4.30: Locatives III

	Sèlva	Tschamùt	Ursèra	Caçchinùta	Uri
Sadrún →	<i>ajnta</i>	sé/sén	<i>vid</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi gl</i>
Surajn →	sé	sén	<i>vid</i>	<i>gjù</i>	<i>vi gl</i>

Table 4.31: Locatives IV

	Tschanùt	Sèlva	Ruèras	Sadrún	Bugnaj
Tschanùt	→ —	<i>gjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>
Sèlva	→ <i>sén</i>	—	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>	<i>òragjù</i>

Table 4.32 shows the prepositions used when going from Sedrun outside the Tujetsch valley or when going from outside into the valley to Sedrun. The first village outside the 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 (296).

- (296) *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 zagríndars.*  
PN out and COP.PTCP.M.PL out PN before DEF.M.PL

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 as *quòra* and *quajn*, respectively) have both two meanings: either ‘here (down or up the valley)’ or ‘outside (in direction down or up the valley)’ (297–299).

Table 4.32: locatives V

	Mumpé	Tujètsch	Ségnas	Mustajr	Surajn/Sumvitg	Trùn
Sadrún →	ò		ò	ò	gjù	gjù
Sadrún ←	ajnta		ajnta	ajnta	sé	sé

- (297) *Quòra* ò *Mustajr* *ṣaj* *bi.*  
 here\_out out PN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL beautiful.ADJ.UNM  
 'Here in Mustér (down the valley) it is nice.' (Sadrún, m5)
- (298) *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)
- (299) *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 are Chur or Zürich (300). If they are not relevant to them, the preposition *a* 'to, in' is used instead.

- (300) *Ju* *vòn* *gjù* *Turitg.*<sup>23</sup>  
 1SG go.PRS.1SG down PN  
 'I am going (down) to Zurich.' (Cavòrgja, f1)

Regarding the lateral valleys of the Tujetsch valley, most speakers use *ajn* 'in(to)' (301), but some use *sé* 'up' (302).

- (301) *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)
- (302) *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 (303).

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<sup>23</sup>The pan-Romansh form *Turitg*, written *Turich* in the Ladin varieties, derives either from its Swiss German form *Züri* or, more probably, from its Latin form *Turicum*.

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (303) [...] *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* ...  
           have.PTCP.UNM to come.INF from of PN until out\_down  
           **Zarcúns** [...].  
           PN  
           ‘[...] one ... that lived up in Gjuf, but who had to come down from Gjuf  
           to ... Zarcuns [...].’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)

*Dadajns* and *dadò* in combination with a place name or another reference point (e.g. a church, a school, or a bridge) mean 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 (304–309).

- (304) *Ju sùn*      ***dadajns Ségnas.***  
         1SG COP.PRS.1SG from\_in PN  
         ‘I am outside Segnas, in the direction of the Tujetsch valley.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (305) *Ju sùn*      ***dadò***      ***Ségnas.***  
         1SG COP.PRS.1SG from\_out PN  
         ‘I am outside Segnas, in the direction of Mustér.’ (Sadrún, m5)
- (306) *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, §8.6)
- (307) [...] *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, m4, l§8.3)
- (308) [*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, Scharinas.*  
         COP.PRS.3SG long.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG up PN      PN

[f4] *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, I§8.16)

- (309) *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 the direction down the valley], a family that 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 (310) 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:

- (310) *Nuṣ duṣ 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 4.33 shows the prepositions that are used with the neighbouring countries (Italy, Germany, Austria, France) or regions (Bavaria).

Table 4.33: Locatives VI

	Italja	Tjaratudèstga	Baviara	Austrja	Fròntscha
Tujétsch →	<i>gjù l'</i>	<i>ajn</i>	<i>òn</i>	<i>ò l'</i>	<i>ajn</i>

The adverbs follow the same rules as the prepositional phrases. In (311) 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 Verb phrase

- (311) *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, §8.3)

Sometimes the combination of locative adverbs does not refer to the direction up or down the valley. This is the case with *sédòra* in (312).

- (312) *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  
*Albṣu 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 Alpsu [pass] by train and this cost one franc to go up there.’ (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)

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 Alpsu 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 (313).

- (313) *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 adjuncts consist of adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and – exceptionally – of postpositional phrases. In this section are also included adjuncts that quantify the situation a verb refers 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, which are all masculine, are *şchanè*, *favrè*, *mars*, *avrél/avrèl*, *matg*, *zarcladur*, *fanadur*<sup>24</sup>, *uést* (2 syllables), *satjámbar*, *òctòbar*, *nòvèmbar*, and *dècèmbar*.

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<sup>24</sup> *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’.

The names of the days are *gljéndiðdís* (M), *mardís* (M), *masjamna* (F), *géjvja* (F), *vèndardís* (M), *sònða* (F), and *dumèngja* (F).

The day is divided as follows: *damaun* (F) ‘morning’, *avaunmjadş-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.

When reference is being made to the day of speech, the parts of the day are expressed as follows: *òz andamaun* ‘this morning’, *òz sjantarmjadş-dé* ‘this afternoon’, *quèsta sèra* ‘this afternoon, this evening’, *quèsta nòtg* ‘tonight’.

Time adverbs include *adina* ‘always’, *avaun* ‘before’, *baud* ‘early’, *daditg* ‘a long time ago’, *damaun* ‘tomorrow’, *dantaun* ‘meanwhile’, *ditg* ‘long, a long time’, *djantarájn* ‘in between’, *ér* ‘yesterday’, *grad* ‘just’, *magari* ‘sometimes’ (314), *maj* ‘never’, *mintgataun* ‘sometimes’ (315), *òn* ‘last year’, *òrdaavaun* ‘in advance’, *òz* ‘today’, *òzaldé* ‘nowadays’, *savèns* ‘often’, *stjarsas* ‘the day before yesterday’, *puschmaun* or *surdamaun* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *tard* ‘late’, *uòn* ‘this year’, *ùs/ùssa* ‘now’, *vònza* ‘later’ (316), *zacú/zacuras* ‘someday’.

- (314) *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, §8.15)

- (315) *Mintgataun mavan nuş 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 téctart.*  
 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, §8.10)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (316) *Api vònzacj 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, §8.12)

Time prepositions, simple or compound, include *ancùntar* ‘towards’ (317), *a-voun/avaun ca* ‘before, ago’ (321), *da* ‘at, during’ (318), *durònt* ‘during’, *sjantar* ‘after’ (319), and *tòca/tòcan* ‘until’ (320).

- (317) *Api ancùntar sèra, las quátar, 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, §8.17)
- (318) *A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,*  
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always during break.F.SG  
*mavanş ajn şala da magljè [...].*  
 go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG COMP eat.INF  
 ‘And then we, the Sursilvan students, would always place [the napkins]  
 during the break, we would go into the dining hall [...].’ (Camischùlas,  
 f6, §8.4)
- (319) *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  
*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, §8.11)
- (320) *[...] a nuş vevan scùla tòca gl avréł.*  
 and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL school.F.SG until DEF.M.SG April  
 ‘[...] and we had school until April.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

*Avaun ca* is very rare and only occurs in Büchli (1966) (321).

- (321) [...] 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 adjuncts. In the corpus, there are only two items: *avaun* ‘before’ and *òra* ‘out’. They are used in very restricted contexts, such as *al dé avaun* ‘the day before’ (§8.16) or *al dé òra* ‘the whole day’ (§8.3, literally ‘the day out’). Note that the construction with *avaun*, in contrast to the one with *òra*, could be considered elliptic for *al dé avaun quaj schabètg* ‘the day before that event’. According to this hypothesis, *avaun* is a preposition rather than a postposition.

Noun phrases functioning as temporal adjuncts 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 (322–324).

- (322) *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, §8.17)

- (323) [...] *tgi ca vagnéva traplaus stuèva al*  
 who REL PASS.AUX.IMPFF.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPFF.3SG DEF.M.SG  
*vèndardís sèra ... stá lò, stgevan bigj'í a*  
 Friday evening stay.INF there be\_allowed.IMPFF.3PL NEG go.INF to  
*tgèsa, api stèvan nuş şchùbargè in' ura zatgéj,*  
 home.F.SG and stay.IMPFF.1PL 1PL clean.INF one.F hour something  
*durmí lò, api stèvan lu í pèr la sònnda*  
 sleep.INF there and must.IMPFF.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, §8.4)

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (324) *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, §8.3)

Further examples include *l’jamna vargjèda* ‘last week’, *al majns vargjau* ‘last month’, *als davùs òns* ‘during the last years’ (§8.1), *al davùs mumèn* ‘at the last moment’ (§8.16), *la duméngja, sjantar vjaspras* ‘Sunday after vespers’ (§8.2), *la duméngja sjantarmjads-dé* ‘Sunday afternoon’ (§8.2), *gl antiar sjantarmjads-dé* ‘the whole afternoon’ (§8.2).

If the moment of speech is included in the time reference, the demonstrative determiner of the *quèst*-series is used (see §3.2.2.3) (325), except for ‘today’, which is rendered by *òz*.

- (325) *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, §8.1)

The full hours of day are referred to by a noun phrase with (326) or without (327) the preposition *da*. The half hours are indicated without the article (326), and the quarter hours 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’.

- (326) *[...] da las déjsch èri craj né mjasa at DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL believe.PRS.1SG or half.F.SG las déjsch èri ruaus [...]. DEF.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.SG*
- ‘[...] at ten o’clock it had to be, I believe, or half past nine it had to be quiet [...].’ (Camischùlas, f6, §8.4)

- (327) *[...] par nuṣ vèvi adina nùm las òtg lò. for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG DEF.F.PL eight there [...] for us it always meant at eight there.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)*

Further temporal adjuncts with determiners that are not articles are *antiar dé* ‘the whole day’ (328), *bjè jèdas* ‘many times’ (329), *da quaj tjams* ‘at that time’ (§8.15), *mintga dé* ‘every day’ (§8.1), and *ana sjatònta* ‘in 1970’ (§8.2).

- (328) *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.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 [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (329) *[...] 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, §8.16)

When referring to the days of the week, bare noun phrases are used (330).

- (330) *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) (331) and *ánò* are used (332). The regular noun for ‘year’ is *òn*.

- (331) *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, §8.1)
- (332) *[...] lu sèn ... in pèr bauns pins, gè,*  
 then EXIST.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG pair bench.M.PL small yes  
*intarassant, gè, a méz in clutgè ánò*  
 interesting.ADJ.UNM yes and put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG clock\_tower year  
*véntgòtg tégn ju, gè.*  
 twenty-eight hold.PRS.1SG 1SG yes  
 ‘[...] then there are ... some small benches, yes, interesting, yes, and also built a clock tower in 1928 I think, yes.’ (Sadrún, m5, §8.8)

### 4.3.3 Manner adjuncts

Manner adjuncts are realised as adverbs (including adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-majn*), adjectives, and prepositional phrases.

Adverbs include *bégn* ‘well’,<sup>25</sup> *mal* ‘badly’ (333), *nuídís* ‘reluctantly’ (334), *plaunjú*<sup>26</sup> ‘slowly’, *quèluisa* ‘in such a way’, *tschéluisa* ‘in that way’ (335), *ugèn* ‘gladly’, *usché/uschéja* ‘so’, and *zacù* ‘somehow’ (336).

- (333) *Èl lavura mal.*  
 3SG.M work.PRS.3SG badly  
 ‘He works badly.’ (Sadrún, m4)

- (334) *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, §8.17)

- (335) *Qu' è lu ju tschéluisa tga ca nuş*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM such\_way REL SUBORD 1PL  
*èssan vagí vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch,*  
 be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL over\_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PN  
*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, §8.3)

- (336) *Ábar quaj è clar ... ózaldé*  
 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 many more possibilities nowadays.’ (Sadrún, m9, §8.15)

<sup>25</sup>In contrast to Standard Sursilvan, Tuatschin distinguishes between *bégn* ‘well’ and *bèn* ‘(negative) yes’, which both are realised as *bein* in Standard Sursilvan. Tuatschin *bégn* corresponds e.g. to German *doch* or to French *si*

<sup>26</sup>Forms like *plaunmjú* or *plauntjú*, which refer to first and second person singular, respectively, are not used in Tuatschin. *Plaunsjú* is used for all persons.

These adverbs can be modified by other adverbs or by adjectives used adverbially, as is the case of *faruct* ‘crazy’ in (337).

- (337) *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, §8.1)

The comparative of *bégn* ‘well’ is either *plé bégn* (338) or *mégljar*, and the comparative of *mal* ‘badly’ is *mèndar* (339).

- (338) *I vò ònz plé bégn.*  
 EXPL go.PRS.3SG rather more well  
 ‘I feel rather better.’ (DRG 1: 296)
- (339) *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 (340 and 341).

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’).

- (340) *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 ins vez' 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, §8.3)

- (341) *Gè, sch' ju mir' anavùs ... quaj è försa 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, §8.15)

## 4 Verb phrase

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 derived adverbs is due to the fact that Tuatschin very often uses an adjective in an adverbial function (see §3.3.4). An example of an adjective functioning as a modal adverb is *pulit* instead of *pulítamajn* in (342).

- (342) [...] *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.IMP.F.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, §8.11)

Prepositional phrases functioning as manner adjuncts are rare; an example is (343).

- (343) *Alṣ ùmans mavan cul latg gjù tgèsa a*  
DEF.M.SG man.PL go.IMP.F.3PL with.DEF.F.SG milk down home.F.SG and  
*quaj èra ... in' ur' a paj bjabégn.*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.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.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

### 4.3.4 Further adjuncts

Beneficiary adjuncts are introduced by the preposition *par/pr* ‘for’ (344).

- (344) [...] *i è stau in tjams tga mavan*  
EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG time REL go.IMP.F.3PL  
*sél pas, mávani sé a métar naif pala*  
on.DEF.M.SG pass go.IMP.F.3PL up SUBORD put.INF snow for.DEF.F.SG  
... *viafiar 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, §8.3)

Causal adjuncts are introduced by *antrás* ‘through’ (345) or by *parví da* ‘because of’ (346).

- (345) *A lura ... a lò quaj trùtg èra in ...*  
 and then and there DEM.M.SG footpath COP.IMP.F.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, §8.7)

- (346) *A lu, parví da la pjaglja, nuš vèvan lu dad*  
 and then because of DEF.F.SG wage 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL then to  
*i ad incassá.*  
 go.INF SUBORD collect.INF
- ‘And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].’  
 (Sadrún, m6, §8.11)

Comitative adjuncts are expressed either by *cun* ‘with’ (347), by *ansjaman/anzjaman* ‘together’ (348), or by *ansjaman cun* ‘together with’ if the argument of *ansjaman* is mentioned (349).

- (347) *Té savëssas i 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, §8.3)
- (348) *Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp<sup>h</sup>au anzjaman a las*  
 what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMP.F.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 tèc anzjaman.*  
 put.IMP.F.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, §8.4)

## 4 Verb phrase

- (349) *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 /v/ either in all cases or only with contracted forms like *cùl* ‘with the (M.SG)’ or *cùlas* ‘with the (F.PL)’.

Instrumental adjuncts are introduced by *cun* (350); if the adjunct refers to a material out of which something is made, *òr da* ‘out of’ is used (351).

- (350) *Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna stì  
 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, §8.1)*

- (351) *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, that is to say, out of the rock  
 they made a small ... path [...].’ (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)*

## 4.4 Negation

Tuatschin possesses two verb phrase negators: *bétga* and its allomorphs *bétg'*/*bé/ bigja/bgja/bigj'*,<sup>27</sup> which is the dedicated negator, and *nuéta*, which is less frequently used than *bétga*.

*Bétga* is located after the finite verb (352), which means that for compound tenses, it is located after the auxiliary verb (353), and for modal verbs heading an infinitive clause, the negator is situated after the modal verb (354).

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<sup>27</sup>The form *bé* is usually only used by children and younger people, but very rarely by older people.

- (352) *Ju sa              bē    dacù.*  
       1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why  
       ‘I don’t know why.’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- (353) *Álsò ju a              bigja fatg              aj agrèssif*  
       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, §8.12)
- (354) *Ju sa              bigj’ i              ál’              aua.*  
       1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF into.DEF.F.SG water  
       ‘I couldn’t jump into the water.’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)
- However, in a similar way as with particle verbs (see §4.1.3), the inverted subject (355) and some adverbs like *aun* ‘yet’, *è* ‘also’, *èba* ‘just’, *lu* ‘then’, and *ùs* ‘now’, may intervene between the finite verb and the participle or the infinitive (356–360).
- (355) *Las nòtzjas sa              ju bétg danùndar als*  
       DEF.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from\_where DEF.M.PL  
       *gjaniturs, als duş 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, §8.2)
- (356) *[...] 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              a vèš              è bitga*  
       know.IMP.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and have.COND.1SG also NEG  
       *safatg              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, §8.3)
- (357) *Ál’              antschata cu té              capèschas              aun bigja*  
       at.DEF.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG  
       *quèls              ... curjòs              plaid s tg’ èls òn,*  
       DEM.M.PL strange.PL word.PL REL 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL

## 4 Verb phrase

- (363) *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 vinanavaun.*  
 go.INF with 3PL.M farther  
 'And then I wouldn't have dared to, to go farther with them any more.'  
 (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

The same holds for modal verbs governing an infinitive phrase, where *bétga* precedes and *plé* follows infinitive (364) or the infinitive with its particle (365).

- (364) *Ju cala dad i a scùlèta, ju pùs*  
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery\_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG  
*bitg i plé.*  
 NEG go.INF any\_more  
 'I'll stop going to nursery school, I can't stand it any longer.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)
- (365) *[...] 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, §8.15)

In infinitive clauses *bétga* precedes the infinitive (366).

- (366) *[...] quaj èssan nus 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, §8.7)

Other elements may intervene between *bétga* and *plé*. (367) shows that this is the case for the particle belonging to the verb *tanaj* 'hold' (*sé*), a manner adjunct (*bégn*), a nominal direct object (*als praus*), and a locative adjunct (*cò*).

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (367) *I tégnan bétga sé schi bégna 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 (368) and object clauses (369 and 370).

- (368) *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)
- (369) *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)
- (370) *Lura lèvani bétga schè fá pástar gròn èla plé [...].*  
 then want.IMPF.3PL.3PL NEG let.INF make.INF shepherd big 3SG.F  
 any\_more  
 ‘Then they didn’t want to let her be the main shepherdess [...] any more.’  
 (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 119)

Examples (371 and 372) illustrate *mù ... plé* ‘only ... more’, which displays the same syntax as *bétga plé*.

- (371) *[...] 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.’ (Tschamütt, Büchli 1966: 15)
- (372) *[...] quaj piartg èra juş atrás a vèva rùt gjù al matg tga vèva mù la còrda plé antùrn.*  
 DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD 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, §8.11)

‘Not yet’ is rendered *bétg aun* (373 and 374) or *aun bétg* (375).

- (373) *Ju vèva                    bigja aun ampriú,                    ajn scùlèta*  
 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, §8.4)

- (374) *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, §8.1)

- (375) *[...] lu èri                    aun bigja turists            [...].*  
 then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet NEG tourist.M.PL  
 ‘[...] then there weren’t tourists yet [...]’ (Surajn, f5, §8.10)

*Nuéta* as a verb phrase negator is much less frequently used than *bétga*, but it expresses a stronger negation (376–378).

- (376) *A quaj                plaşchéva                nuéta pròpi da mé.*  
 and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG NEG really DAT 1SG  
 ‘And I really didn’t like that.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (377) *Ô quaj                pùs                té schòn, ùşa 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)

- (378) *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, §8.3)

Negative adverbs are *maj* ‘never’ (379), *nagín/nagina* ‘nobody, no’ (pronoun and determiner) (380), *nuét* ‘nothing’ (381), and *nagljú* ‘nowhere’ (382). They never co-occur with *bétga*.

#### 4 Verb phrase

- (379) *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, §8.16)

- (380) *Par í cu té vas adina ... şè*  
 SUBORD go.INF when 2SG.GNR go.PRS.2SG.GNR always COP.PRS.3SG  
*quaj ... nagín pròblèm.*  
 DEM.UNM no.M.SG problem
- ‘In order to go, if one always goes [there] ..., this is ... no problem at all.’  
 (Sadrún, f3, §8.3)

- (381) *Al bap ò détg nuét.*  
 DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM nothing  
 ‘My father didn’t say anything.’ (Cavòrgja, f7, §8.17)

Generally speaking, there is no double negation in Tuatschin (382 and 383).

- (382) *Ju a vju nagljú zatgéj.*  
 1SG have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.UNM nowhere something  
 ‘I haven’t seen anything anywhere.’ (Sadrún, m5)

- (383) *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: Order of 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, [nus] [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, §8.11)

As shown in §4.2.2, the indirect object usually precedes the direct object (2).

- (2) *Quèl vès lu aun da pijè [da té] [al pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas partgirau].*  
DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG  
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, §8.11)

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*  
before INDEF.M.SG couple week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down  
*Locarno [...].*

PN

‘A couple of weeks ago ... I was in Locarno [...].’ (Sadrún, m8, §8.12)

- (4) [...] *a [sjantar] va [ju] ... cumprau in zacùn.*  
and after have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG second  
§8.7)

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 quitaу 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, §8.1)
- (6) *Ju vagnès schòn, dantaun vus 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' antschata cun*  
 goatherd.F.SG INDEF.M.SG time in DEF.F.SG beginning with  
*mju frá, in òn parsula, api stavèv' ins i*  
 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, §8.10)
- (8) *Pi hè '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, m8, §8.12)
- 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.IMPF.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, §8.1)

- (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.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing

'[...] before I stayed with my grandfather I didn't know anything about  
 that [...]' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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 fùssan 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, §8.7)

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, §8.11)

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 ffasta mavan aj ... tialas ...*  
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL  
*gjufnas ... par nèglà, partgé \_\_matévan sé*  
 young\_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because SBJ put.IMPF.3PL  
*sé la capjala ... ina nèglà.*  
 up up 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, §8.13)

- (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 barschavan*  
 there build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down limestone.F.SG and burn.IMPF.3PL  
*grad èla.*  
 immediately 3SG.F  
 ‘There they would mine limestone and burn it immediately.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

## 5.2 Interrogative sentences

Polar questions are characterised by a rising intonation and subject inversion (17).

- (17) *Gè, sund 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, §8.12)

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*    *shè*            *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, §8.14)
- (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)
- (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*    *tgamişcha* *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 §6.2.1.3.

### 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, §8.3)
- (29) *Ah uòn nò té ajnta Pardatsch.*  
 eh this\_year GO.IMP.2SG 2SG into PN  
 ‘Ah, this year go to Pardatsch.’ (Cavòrgja, m7, §8.17)

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, §8.16)
- (31) [...] *mù spétga ... .*  
 only wait.IMP.2SG  
 ‘[...] just wait.’ (Ruèras, m3, l§8.16)

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 bëtlars cu tgi vòn a tgavaj.*  
 REFL.beware.IMP.2PL of.DEF.M.PL beggar.PL when REL.3PL go.PRS.3SG on  
*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 SBJV.2PL’ in (34).

- (34) *Vajas quitaus cu vus majš sur la lingja via ... dal dšùc, dal zùc.»*  
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.F.SG line over  
 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,  
 §8.2)

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, §8.6)

- (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 brischa!*  
 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.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]!»’ (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

## 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 and 41); however, *vaj* ‘have’ is not rare (42–44).<sup>1</sup>

- (40) [...] *ju [...] sa-spruava dad èssar ruassajvals [...].*  
 1SG REFL-try.hard.IMPF.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG  
 ‘[...] I [...] tried hard to remain calm [...].’ (Sadrún, m10)
- (41) *Lu sünd ju sa-dacidjus 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)

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<sup>1</sup>According 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.

- (42) [...] *a vès è bitga sa-fatg ajn zatgé*  
 and have.COND.1SG also NEG REFL-do.PTCP.UNM in something  
*spazjal.*  
 special.M.SG  
 ' [...] and I wouldn't have noticed anything either.' (Sadrún, m4; §8.3)

- (43) *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  
 [...].

'I have never had a problem – he would never have got angry at me or something like that [...]' (Sadrún, m4; §8.3)

- (44) *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' (45 and 46).

- (45) *Ad èlas duaş ábar ancanùschévan ... in' l' 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, §8.4)

- (46) *Nus vajn dau in cùdisch in da*  
 1PL have.PRS.1PL give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG book one.ONE.M DAT  
*l' autar.*  
 DEF.M.SG other  
 'We gave each other a book.' (Sadrún, m5)

### 5.5.3 Causative

Causative voice is formed with *fá* ‘make’ (47–50) and *schè/schá*<sup>2</sup> ‘have something done, let’ (52 and 53) 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 (51). Examples (50) and (51) 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.

- (47) [...] *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)

- (48) *Als da Sadrún òn vulju fá stá anavìs la buéba [...].*  
       DEF.M.PL of Sedrun have.PRS.3PL want.PTCP.UNM make.INF stay.IMP  
       back DEF.F.SG girl

‘The people of Sedrun wanted to have the girl remain there.’ (Bugnaj, Büchli 1966: 131)

- (49) [...] *plaunsjú şèni vagní da fá i scha*  
       slowly be.IMPF.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.IMPF.3SG.M go.IMP 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, §8.3)

- (50) *Ju fètsch fá al cusunz in pèr tgautschas*  
       1SG make.PRS.1SG do.IMPF.3SG 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)

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<sup>2</sup> *Schá* is the Standard Sursilvan form.

- (51) *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)

- (52) *I schèvan luvrá fétg.*  
 3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much

‘They had [us] work a lot.’ (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

- (53) *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)

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 fjud*, 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: Causative 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>saglí</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 (54–58). A stative passive is formed with the verb *èssar* ‘be’ and the participle (59–61). In both cases the participle agrees with the patient subject if it precedes the passive construction.

- (54) [...] *als tiars èn vagní pri od*

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.’ (Tschamütt, Büchli 1966: 53)

- (55) *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)

- (56) [...] *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 tut.*

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; §8.4)

If the patient subject follows the passive verb, there is no agreement.

- (57) [...] *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 vègljas 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)

- (58) [...] *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; §8.13)
- (59) *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; §8.3.)
- (60) *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 parti ajn ajn ragjüns, 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; §8.1)
- (61) *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; §8.3)

Place names are considered to have no gender, hence the use of the unmarked form of the participle (62).

- (62) *Ah... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scì  
 ah PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as  
 majṣès 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; §8.3)

If the agent of a passive construction is mentioned, it is introduced by *da* (63 and 64). 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 singular object pronoun, which is either *mè* (accusative and after prepositions) or *mé* (dative marker). As noted 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.

- (63) *[...] 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  
 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; §8.9)

- (64) *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 saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuş èran í 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.IMP.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, §8.13)

- (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.IMP.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.IMP.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, §8.10)

## 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, §8.16)
- (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 tùtas uísas. Dantaun scha l' aura*  
skin full of all.F.PL way.PL however if DEF.F.SG weather  
*tégn ansjaman vòi 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, §8.15)

## 6.2 Subordination

The general subordinating conjunction for finite subordinate clauses is *tga* (realised as *tgu* in combination with the first person singular pronoun *ju*). 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.

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,*  
     oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM  
     *l' antschatà sè quaj schòn stau*  
     DEF.F.SG beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM  
     *in tèc curjùs.*  
     INDEF.M.SG bit strange.ADJ.UNM  
     ‘Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit  
     strange.’ (Zarcúns, m2, §8.13)
- (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.’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)
- (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 amprèms dis quèls pòrs gjù da*  
     and cope.INF DEF.M.SG first.PL day.PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL down from  
     *da quaj trùtg ajnagjù a sjantar atrás l' aua*  
     from 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§8.11)

## 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, §8.15)

- (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, §8.2)

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 nuṣ*  
 and EXPL be.PRS.3SG in\_addition happen.PTCP.UNM more COMP 1PL  
*èssan i ... tiar duas, álṣò ajn duaṣ 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, §8.13)

- (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  
*scülèta.*  
*nursery\_school.F.SG*  
 'And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

### 6.2.1.2 Object clauses

Object clauses can be finite or non-finite. Non-finite object 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 él tartgau ... dad i vi ajn*  
 and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on  
*via ... a tanaj sé els.*  
 road.F.SG and hold.INF up 3PL.M  
 '[...] and he thought... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.'  
 (Ruèras, m10, §8.7)

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 ól 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, §8.13)

## 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, §8.13)

- (21) *[...] a ... lu vajn nuš, va ju dumandau sch'*  
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.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.’  
 (Rueras, m10, §8.7)

### 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 focused 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, §8.17)
- (23) *[...] a damònnda 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

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, §8.7)

- (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, §8.2)

- (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 mìssan 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, §8.3)

- (27) *A lu vajn nus, quaj èra tut 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 mél, nu i dèva*  
 over night.F.SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG  
*pával pls mél [...].*  
 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, §8.7)

## 6 Complex sentences

- (28) *El ò dumandau èlas partgéj èlas ségian bétga idas a mèssa.*  
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F why 3PL.F be.PRS.SBJV.3PL  
 NEG 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 téç 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, §8.15)
- (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 téç 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, §8.15)

### 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),

*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 ampriú d'*  
 yes 1SG have.COND.1SG also with\_pleasure learn.PTCP.UNM COMP  
*ancanùschar 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, §8.7)
- (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,  
 §8.3)
- (34) *Ju cala dad i a scùlèta, ju pùs bitg'*  
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery\_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG  
*i plé.*  
 go.INF any\_more  
 ‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’ (Sadrún, m4,  
 §8.3)
- (35) *Gè, ju a atgnamajn priú, priú 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, §8.3)
- (36) *Lu sünd ju sadacidjus da ... raṣdá in*  
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.M.SG  
*pau sur 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,  
 §8.3)

## 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: ajan [...] tsa'kɔndz diants aλ rɔfti: de le*  
           make.INF in some.M.PL tooth.PL DAT rake.M.SG of DEF.F.SG  
       *'dɔ:nε tce l o rut o:r ejr dε me'tsa:*  
       woman REL 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG break.PTCP.UNM out also SUBORD kill.IMPF  
       *in rufp*  
       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 majša, scha stuèvan tut quèla- nuš ròmòntschas*  
       at\_of table.F.SG CORR must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL  
       *rašdá 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, §8.4)

- (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, §8.3)

- (41) *Sjantar vaj fatg als pènsums, s’*  
       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 sontga 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.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR  
       *èra la scòtga mèmi tgauda [...].*  
       COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG whey too hot  
       ‘And only when this was done was the whey too hot [...].’ (Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

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.IMPF.3SG only twenty-two year.M.PL  
       ‘And after that [...] my father then died when I was ... only 22 years old.’  
       (Ruèras, m1, §8.2)
- (45) *Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú*  
       down there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.M.UNM  
       *in tec quajda d' í par crapa, tgu*  
       INDEF.M.SG bit desire.F.SG ATTR go.INF for stone.COLL SUBORD.1SG  
       *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, §8.3)

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.’ (Tschamütt, 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, §8.7)

- (49) *Sjantar tga      nuş vajn      vju      al      film,*  
 after      SUBORD 1PL have.PRS.1PL see.PTCP.M.PL DEF.ART.M.SG 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)

- (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, §8.4)

### 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, §8.2)

- (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  
*ban<sup>1</sup> 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, §8.2)

- (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, §8.15)

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<sup>1</sup>*Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for ‘train’.

## 6 Complex sentences

- (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.’ (Camischùlas,  
 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 schèvan 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, §8.6)

- (56) *[...] ju vèva ... sis 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, §8.3)

- (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, m10, §8.7)

- (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 parmavêra 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 purtá 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, §8.13)

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, §8.16)
- (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, §8.16)

Finite purposive clauses are introduced by *par* *par tga* (62) or only by *tga* (63).

- (62) *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 ... [vòn̩s] a trèva vidò*  
 with.DEF.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out  
*còtgla 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

## 6 Complex sentences

[the fire] with one hand, also without [gloves], and pulled out charcoal from down there up to the floor.' (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

- (63) *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 dètschi in*  
 DEF.F.SG week COMP 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, §8.2)

In the DRG materials, there is one occurrence of the negator *bétg* preceding the subordinator *tga*, i.e. outside the subordinate clause (64).

- (64) *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 bétgta 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)

This construction has not been accepted by my consultants; however, a similar construction which, in contrast to the Tuatschin example (64), includes the subordinator *par*, can be found in other Romansh varieties like in the Sutsilvan dialect of Dalin (65).

- (65) *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 (64) belonged to an older variety of the language.

#### 6.2.2.4 Causal clauses

Non-finite causal clauses are introduced by *da* (66), and finite causal clauses are introduced by *parquaj/prquaj tga* (67), *partgé* (68), *má tga* (69), *tga* (70), or *cunquaj tga* ‘since’ (71).

- (66) *'dze:vjø ze l 'tɔni de le met'lajne*  
 Thursday COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG PN of DEF.F.SG PN  
*səffärden'taws fi fetc de 'bajbør trajs 'mjo:las*  
 REFL.catch.cold.PTCP.M.SG so much SUBORD drink.INF three cup.PL  
*pen 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)

- (67) [...] *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, §8.1)

- (68) *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 put.IMPF.3PL up up  
*la tgapjala ... 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, §8.13)

- (69) *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, §8.17)

## 6 Complex sentences

- (70) *Ussa 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)
- (71) [...] *cunquaj tg'        èl        èra                ... fòrsa    staus        da*  
since      SUBORD 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG    maybe COP.PTCP.M.SG of  
*malitèr        tials        tgavals, né gju                da fâ        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, §8.7)

### 6.2.2.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed in three different ways:

- a correlative construction with *scha if*" in both the protasis and the apodosis (72 and 73),
- only the protasis is introduced by *scha 'if'* (74–76),
- without subordinator in the protasis but with subject inversion and *scha 'if'* or *lura 'when'* in the apodosis (77).

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).

- (72) *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)

- (73) *A da gjantá ... sch' ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ... vida*  
 and of lunch.INF if INDEF.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG at\_of  
*majša, scha stuèvan tut quèla- nuš 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, §8.4)

- (74) *Scha ju antupás quèla gljut, sabatès ju gjù*  
 if 1SG meet.COND.1SG DEM.F.SG people REFL.throw.COND.1SG 1SG down  
*ajn ganuglaş a bitscháş 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)

- (75) *Da mintga pur stèvanş i 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  
*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, §8.11)

- (76) *[...] 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§8.3)

- (77) *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 grònda*  
 red CORR expect.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL INDEF.F.SG big  
*malaura [...].*  
 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 (72), and past factual conditional clauses are the imperfect in both the protasis and the apodosis (73, 75, 76, and 77)

Present counterfactual conditional clauses have the direct conditional in the protasis as well as in the apodosis (74), and past counterfactual conditional clauses take the of the indirect conditional 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* (78–80) or by *usché tga* (81). If an adjective triggers a consecutive clause, the adjective is modified by *schi* ‘so’ (82).

- (78) *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.’ (Tschamütt, Büchli 1966: 20)
- (79) [...] *quaj piartg èra jus atráš 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, §8.11)
- (80) *Bjè jèdaš şèni 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, §8.7)
- (81) [...] *a gl aucségnar è pròpi vagnuş*  
 and DEF.M.SG priest be.PRS.3SG really come.PTCP.M.SG  
*ala 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 stréaš òn ... fatg vandètga*  
 COMP DEF.F.PL witch.PL have.PRS.3PL do.PTCP.UNM revenge.F.SG  
*cugl aucsségnar 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, §8.5)

- (82) *Èla è saprida ajn quaj schi starmantús*  
 3SG.F be.PRS.3SG REFL.take.PTCP.F.SG in DEM.UNM so terrible.ADJ.UNM  
*tg' èla è curdada ajn ina rùsna nündétga.*  
 SUBORD 3SG.F be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.F.SG into INDEF.F.SG hole awful  
 'She took this so seriously that she fell in an awful hole.' (Cavòrgja, f1)

#### 6.2.2.7 Comparative clauses

Non-finite comparative clauses are introduced by *scù da*, literally 'how of' or 'like of' (83), and finite comparative clauses are introduced by *scù* (84) or *scù tga* (85).

- (83) *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)
- (84) *[...] 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, §8.1)
- (85) *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,  
 §8.15)

## 6 Complex sentences

### 6.2.2.8 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are introduced by *schabi tga* (86).

- (86) *Schabi tga lu, cun siṣ 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, §8.3)

### 6.2.2.9 Instead of

'Instead of' only occurs in non-finite clauses in the corpus. They are introduced either by *anstagl* (87) or *anstagl da* (88).

- (87) *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, §8.13)
- (88) *[...] anstagl da mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri*  
instead\_of milk.INF eighty cow.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe  
*fòrsa mù tschuncònta [...].*  
only fifty  
'[...] instead of milking eighty cows there were maybe only fifty [...]'.  
(Ruèras, m3, §8.16)

## 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 focused, it is moved in its infinitive form and the finite form of the same verb is left behind in the background clause (89 and 90).

- (89) *Ju a cò in bagljet tòcan gjù Turitg, ábar ira vònd ju mù gjù Sumvitg.*  
 1SG have.3SG here INDEF.M.SG ticket until down PN but go.INF  
 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')

- (90) *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, §8.10)

In the perfect tense, participles are moved without their auxiliary verb, which remains in the background clause (91 and 92). Example (93) shows that the participle can be moved with its complements.

- (91) *Ju sùn dada gjù séla fatscha, mù fatg òi nuét.*  
 1SG be.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.F.SG down on.DEF.F.SG face but do.PTCP.UNM  
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL nothing  
 'I fell down on my face but it didn't do anything.' (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 106)

- (92) *[...] quaj è vagnú da bêtòn' ajn, a tanju ò laš aun adina.*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and  
 hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always  
 ' [...] this has been concreted, and they still hold.' (Sadrún, f3, §8.1)

- (93) *[...] ábar stju luvrá còrpòrálmajn vajn nus schi fétg scù quèls.*  
 but must.PTCP.UNM work.INF physical.ADJ.M.ADV have.PRS.1PL 1PL  
 so much as DEM.M.PL  
 ' [...] but physically we had to work as hard as those [children].' (Ruèras, f4, §8.16)

Infinitives modified by a modal verb are left-dislocated without the modal verb, which remains in the background clause (94).

## 6 Complex sentences

- (94) *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.IMP can.PRS.3PL 3PL nothing  
     ‘The animals see the sorcery and are afraid, but they cannot say anything.’ (Cavòrgja, Büchli 1966: 125)

Example (95) shows the movement of the particle *cùntar* ‘towards’ out of the particle verb *prèndar ancùntar* ‘receive’ (calqued on German *entgegennehmen*).

- (95) *Alṣò ancùntar prandès l tut ûsa?*  
     well towards take.COND.3SG 3SG all now  
     ‘Well, would he receive everything now?’ (Sadrún, m5)

If an indirect interrogative clause is focused, it may (96) or may not be resumed by a demonstrative pronoun (97). In the case of (96), the demonstrative pronoun used is *gljèz*.

- (96) *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.’ (Sadrún, m4, l. §8.3)
- (97) *Aah, tgé ... prandévan pròpi òra sa ins bérgj éxact*  
     ah what take.IMP.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly  
     [...].

‘Ah, what ... they really mined, one does not know exactly [...].’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

If the focus is on a noun, a pronoun referring to it must be left in the background clause (98).

- (98) *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 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, §8.2)

Contrastive focus is done by intonation; the focused constituents remain in their place according to their syntactic function (99 and 100).

- (99) *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)
- (100) *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 véglja-véglja tgèsa-parvènda, né?*  
in.DEF.F.SG RED~old presbytery right  
'At the very old presbytery, right?' (Sadrún, m5, §8.9)
- (2) *[...] i èra sgtir-stgir!*  
EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG RED~dark  
'[...] it was pitch-dark.' (Surajn, Büchli 1966: 128)
- (3) *A quaj stèvns èssar ... pulits-pulits*  
and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well\_behaviored.M.PL  
*l' 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, §8.2)
- (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 tajš, 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, §8.3)

- (5) *Ju a gju fétg-fétg bian cun èl.*  
 1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM RED~very good.UNM with 3SG.M  
 ‘I got along very well with him.’ (Sadrún, m4)
- (6) *El ò mirau antùrn-antùrn [...].*  
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG look.PTCP.UNM RED~around  
 ‘He looked around and around [...]’ (Tschaumüt, 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, §8.2)
- (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, §8.6)

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 sera 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, §8.16)
- (10) *[...] a quel' èra da trá ... trá, trá ... tut*  
 and DEM.F.SG be.IMPF.3SG to pull.INF pull.INF pull.INF all  
*al latg cèntrifugau.*  
 DEF.M.SG milk centrifuge.PTCP.UNM  
 ‘[...] and we had to pull ... pull, pull ... the whole centrifuged milk.’  
 (Ruèras, m4, §8.16)

## 7.2 Word formation

Since Tuatschin is a spoken language, many derivational affixes and compound words which are used in Standard (written) Sursilvan<sup>1</sup> do not occur.

### 7.2.1 Compounding of nouns

Compounding is achieved 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 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, §8.3)

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<sup>1</sup>See Spescha (1989: 163–194) for extensive lists.

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* (§4.3.3), 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 fjast-unas.*  
 Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL party-AUGM.F.PL  
 ‘On week-ends they would come here and have big parties.’ (Sadrún, m4, §8.3)

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’, *habitzjun* ‘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 in *samudargém* ‘constant torturing of oneself’ (< *samudarge* ‘torture oneself’).

Note that in *santupada*, *satagljèda*, and *samudargém* 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:

- *-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*<sup>2</sup>, 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-* and *anza-/za-*. *mal-* usually modifies adjectives: *malcuntjants* ‘unsatisfied’, *malsagidajvals* ‘ungainly’, and *malsagirs* ‘unsure’, and *anza-/za-* (< *ins sa* ‘one knows’) corresponds to English ‘any’ or ‘some’ with indefinite or other pronouns: *zacù* ‘somehow’, *zacú* ‘somewhen’, *zanúa* ‘somewhere’, *anza-tgéj/zatgéj* ‘anything’, and *antzatgi/zatgi* ‘anybody’.

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<sup>2</sup>This 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 anonymised and glossed PN.

The transcribed texts published in this chapter correspond to 1 hour and 35 minutes of recorded speech.

## 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, a*  
well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL    just just DEF.M.SG big    COP.IMPF.3SG recruit.M.SG and  
7 *tschèls dus ajn amprèndissadi.*  
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.’

- 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 sèndaş 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 *cultur las sèndas né métar sé müssaviaş 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 pr 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, nuş 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.<sup>1</sup>, 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.’

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<sup>1</sup>Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege.

- 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 tñmèz in' anunzja da mòrt,*  
 have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG announcement of death.F.SG
- 21 *álshò 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 bugèn<sup>2</sup> 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 *sápiān, 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.*»<sup>3</sup>

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

‘And then I started with it.’

<sup>2</sup>*Bugen* is Standard Sursilvan, whereas *ugèn*, as in line 26, is the genuine Tuatschin form.

<sup>3</sup>Said in Swiss German.

- 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 pais 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 *mùssavias, 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 *ségia<sup>4</sup>, i mìdian ò tut als muossavías.<sup>5</sup>*  
 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.’

<sup>5</sup> *ségia* is a performance error for *ségi*.

<sup>5</sup> *Muossavías* is Standard Sursilvan for Tuatschin *mùssavias*.

- 43 *A quaj èra tschians.*  
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG hundred.M.PL  
'And there were hundreds [of them].'
- 44 *Ad ju a stuyju 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 nûfs ... 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 ... nûvas pétgas ...*  
also moreover must.PTCP.UNM put.INF new.F.PL post.PL  
 52 *bétònaj<sup>6</sup>, né, sédòra séssum als cuélm, 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 *bumbardau 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.'

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<sup>6</sup>Bétònaj is a performance error for bétònadas.

- 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 tut 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 tut.*  
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 *ònì 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 lubiantscha 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

- 70 *vajan* ... *func* *a sápiān* *prèndar ah, dí cu*  
 have.PRS.SBJV.3PL radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL take.INF ah say.INF when  
 71 *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 «*Nuš vajn bgja péjda ... da dá da té, nuš vajn bigja*  
 1PL have.PRS.1PL NEG time COMP give.INF DAT 2SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL NEG  
 77 *luvrès 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 nu<sup>7</sup>, 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.’

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<sup>7</sup> *Jò nu:* said in Swiss German.

- 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 sél̄s 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 végls anavùs.<sup>8</sup>*  
but 1SG have.IMPF.1SG to take.INF DEF.M.PL old.PL back

‘But I had to take back the old ones.’

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<sup>8</sup>The syntax of *als végls* is odd in this sentence. It should be *préndar anavùs als végls*. The position of the direct object *als végls* is probably due to the fact that it is stressed.

- 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 mètarş*  
 go.PRS.3SG up on two thousand and three\_hundred and so\_many.M.PL metre.PL  
 94 *sur mar.*  
 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 ragjún.*  
 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 quitau 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.’

- 104 *Ālsò 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 parti 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.<sup>9</sup>*  
 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 *Ùsa 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 ... plaschaj.*  
 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]!»’

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<sup>9</sup> *Musté* is the Standard Sursilvan form for Tuatschin *Mustajr*.

- 114 *Api vau détig, 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 quitaу 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 i cu té vas adina ... sè quaj*  
 SUBORD go.INF when 2SG.GNR go.PRS.2SG.GNR always COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM  
 118 *... nagín problèm.*  
 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 sè 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, las vaschnaucas schèvan simplamajn í ajn*  
 PN DEF.F.PL municipality.PL let.IMPF.3PL simple.F.ADV go.INF in  
 124 *décadènza, 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

‘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.’

- 125 *I vignéva bitga ... dau culur, i*  
 EXPL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM colour.F.SG EXPL  
 126 *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.’

- 127 *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  
 128 *gju ina sasida:*  
 have.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG meeting

‘And then I ... said once, when we had a meeting:’

- 129 «*Atgnamajn stuëssaş Vus ... èssar plé rigurús.*»  
 actually must.COND.2PL 2PL COP.INF more rigorous.M.PL

‘Actually you ... should be more rigorous.’

- 130 *Laş vaschnaucas lajn i 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.’

- 131 *A zacù ò da quaj ... saj vagnú ... tgé ...*  
 and somehow out of DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP  
 132 *quèls majnadistrícts ... òn la còpatènza da dí*  
 DEM.M.PL head\_of\_district.PL have.PRS.3PL DEF.F.SG competence COMP  
 133 *dis vaschnaucas ... tgé i òn da fá, aschí*  
 say.INF DEF.DAT.PL municipality.F.PL what 3PL have.PRS.3PL COMP do.INF  
 134 *fòn bitga mù quaj tial cantún a tiala B.A.W.<sup>10</sup>, grat*  
 so do.PRS.3PL NEG only DEM.UNM at.DEF.M.MSG canton and at.DEF.F.SG B.A.W.  
 135 *usché.*  
 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.’

- 136 *Ad ajn taun a taun tjams stòni vaj fatg a*  
 and in such.M.MSG and such time must.PRS.3PL have.INF do.PTCP.UNM and  
 137 *schagljuc végni lu al cantún.*  
 otherwise come.PRS.SBJV.3SG then DEF.M.MSG canton

‘And within a certain time limit they must have done it or otherwise the canton would intervene.’

- 138 *A nuš vajn ... la pussajvladat da ... da dí...*  
 and 1PL have.PRS.1PL DEF.F.SG possibility COMP COMP say.INF

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<sup>10</sup>Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege

‘And we have ... the possibility to ... to say ...’

- 139 [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 ...’

- 140 [PhM] *sin, sin las vischnauncas, gie.*  
 on on DEF.F.PL municipality yes

‘[PhM] on, on the municipalities, yes.’

- 141 [f3] *Gè, gè. A lura ... nus, nuş şchajn dis vischnauncas,*  
 yes yes and then 1PL 1PL tell.PRS.1PL DEF.DAT.PL municipality.PL  
 142 *tarmatajn ábar tutina «eine Mängelmeldung»<sup>11</sup> scù quaj*  
 send.PRS.1PL but nevertheless a report\_of\_damage as DEM.UNM  
 143 *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.’

- 144 *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  
 145 *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  
 146 *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  
 147 *ajn ... ajn ürdan, a schigljùc fòni lu sèzs squêtsch.*  
 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.’

- 148 *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  
 149 *schabagè.*  
 happen.IMP

‘And this is the best that could have happened.’

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<sup>11</sup>Said in Standard German.

- 150 *Na, ûsa tiar nus ... diani álsò ségi fétg bian.*  
no now at 1PL say.PRS.3PL well COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG very good.UNM  
‘No, well, now at our place ... they say that it’s very good.’
- 151 *Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna stù adina*  
but precisely 1SG say.PRS.1SG always INDEF.F.SG woman must.PRS.3SG always  
152 *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.’
- 153 *Pugns sén majşa duas 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.’
- 154 *Quaj crajs bé, l' antschata cu ju a*  
DEM.UNM believe.PRS.2SG.GNR NEG DEF.F.SG beginning when 1SG have.PRS.1SG  
155 *surpríu quaj, èri, èri da*  
take\_on.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of  
156 *quèls tgé ... mataj<sup>12</sup> tg' ina fèmna sapi fá da*  
DEM.M.PL REL probably COMP INDEF.F.SG woman can.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.INF of  
157 *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.’
- 158 *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  
159 *adina ... vulju fá mi' òbligazjun a finju,*  
always want.PTCP.UNM do.INF POSS.1SG.F.SG obligation and finish.PTCP.UNM  
160 *a tschèls dajan è fá.*  
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].’
- 161 *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].’

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<sup>12</sup> *Mataj* means ‘probably’; in this context, it is used ironically in the sense of ‘impossibly’.

## 8.2 Òrd mia véta

### Out of my life

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, m1, aged 81)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 6'

- 162 *Nus fièvan al pur, ad ju vès ugèn ampriu*  
1PL do.IMPF.1PL DEF.M.SG farmer and 1SG have.COND.1SG gladly learn.PTCP.UNM  
163 *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’

- 164 *Ju lèv' amprèndar da majstar, quaj vès ju*  
1SG want.IMPF.1SG learn.INF of joiner.M.SG DEM.UNM have.COND.1SG 1SG  
165 *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.’

- 166 *Ad ju èra, vèva ... in buéb, in frá*  
and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG have.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG boy INDEF.M.SG brother  
167 *è dasgrazjaus tgu vèv' ôtg majns*  
be.PRS.3SG have\_accident.PTCP.M.SG REL.1SG have.IMPF.1SG eight month.M.PL  
168 *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  
169 *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

‘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.’

- 170 *Api al bap ... èr, plé baut èr' aj*  
and DEF.M.SG father.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL  
171 *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.’

172 *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:’

173 «*Gè, i fùs schòn flòt, ábar ju sùn è vagnús atrás cun fá 'l pur.»*  
yes EXPL COP.COND.3SG really great.ADJ.UNM but 1SG be.PRS.1SG also  
174 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.»’

175 *Api saj stau finju par mè.*  
and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG

‘And that was it.’

176 *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.’

177 *Quaj ò bégja dau discussjun.*  
DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM discussion.M.SG

‘There was no discussion.’

178 *Ad usché va ju fatg al pur adina, a ...*  
and so have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer always and

179 *sùn lu maridaus, a gju quátar ufauns,*  
be.PRS.1SG then married.PTCP.M.SG and have.PTCP.UNM four child.M.PL

180 *in buéb a trajš ... buébas, a quèls èn tùts ...*  
one.M.SG boy and three girl.F.PL and DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL all.M.PL

181 *ampríu mistrégn, trajš èn ... vi da quaj da*  
learn.PTCP.UNM profession.M.SG three COP.PRS.3PL at of DEM.UNM of

182 *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.’

183 *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  
 184 *surpriù in ... Heim<sup>13</sup> da ... Heim da duatschian,*  
 take\_over.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG home.M.SG of home.M.SG of two\_hundred  
 185 *ò fatg scùlaš vinavaun ... stada in*  
 have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further COP.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.M.SG  
 186 *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.’

187 *A la dùna èra schùber ... ad ina tg'*  
 and DEF.F.SG woman COP.IMPF.3SG clean.ADJ.UNM and one.F.SG REL  
 188 *ò luvrau stédi.*  
 have.PRS.3SG work.PTCP.UNM diligent.ADJ.UNM

‘And my wife was very ... and one who always worked hard.’

189 *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  
 190 *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.’

191 *A ... da gjuvantétgna, né da buéts, tg' nuš èran buéts ...*  
 and of youth.F.SG or of boy.M.PL REL 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL boy.M.PL  
 192 *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].’

193 *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  
 194 *landstròs ... a dèvan balpalùta.*  
 main\_road.F.SG and give.IMPF.1PL “balpalùta”.F.SG

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<sup>13</sup> *Heim*, German for Romansh *asil*.

‘On Sundays, after having celebrated vespers, we would go up to the main road ... and play «balpalùta».’

- 195 *Êr' 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  
 196 *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  
 197 *fòrsa in autò gl antiar sjantarmjadṣ-dé, áutar 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.’

- 198 *La landstròs, quaj è hauptstròs.<sup>14</sup>*  
DEF.F.SG landstròs DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG main\_road.F.SG

‘The «landstròs», this is the «hauptstròs».’

- 199 *Ju réjsda da Tujétsch, nias, gè.*  
1SG speak.1SG of PN POSS.1PL.M.SG yes

‘I am speaking the dialect of Tujetsch, ours, yes.’

- 200 *Da quèls plajds<sup>15</sup>, 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  
 201 *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  
 202 *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 also others, when we went and made hay or so ... my mother would always say:’

- 203 *«Vajas quitaу vuş majş sul' 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».’

<sup>14</sup> «Landstròs» and «hauptstròs» are two Germanisms which are not in use any more, at least among younger people. The «landstròs» is now called *Via Alpu*, and the «hauptstròs» *stradún* (m.).

<sup>15</sup> *Da quèls plajds* replaces an unintelligible part of the text.

204 Vajas        quitaus        cu        vuş majş        sur        la        lingja via ...<sup>16</sup>  
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.F.SG line over  
 205 dal        dşuc,        dal        zùc<sup>17</sup>.»  
 of.DEF.M.SG train.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG train

‘Be careful when you cross the railway line, the railway line.’

206 Al        lungatg        èra        uschéja.  
 DEF.M.SG language COP.IMPF.3SG so

‘The language was like this.’

207 [PhM] Cun biars        plaids        tudestgs.  
 with many.M.PL word.PL German.PL

‘[PhM] With many German words.’

208 [m1] Gè, strmantúş        bjè.        Strmantús        bjè.  
 yes terrible.ADJ.UNM many terrible.ADJ.UNM many

‘[m1] Yes, too many. Too many.’

209 Òz        sè        quaj        ah, òz        sèni        schòn        autar,  
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM eh today COP.PRS.3PL.3PL in\_fact different  
 210 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».」<sup>18</sup>

211 Òz        şaj        al        al        Furka né al        ... la        ban<sup>19</sup>  
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG PN        or DEF.M.SG        DEF.F.SG train  
 212 né        scù i        véggn        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)

<sup>17</sup> *Via* is an old synonym of *vi* ‘over’.

<sup>17</sup> *Zug* is the German word for *trèn* ‘train’.

<sup>18</sup> *Stradún* is masculine; maybe the speaker has been misled by the fact that *strada* ‘street’ or *via* ‘way’ are feminine.

<sup>19</sup> *Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for ‘train’.

- 213 *Sjantar ... tgu sùn staus maridaus*  
 after SUBORD.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG marry.PTCP.M.SG
- 214 *vajn nus, va ju éba fatg al pur ...*  
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG precisely do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer
- 215 *né ... vajn aun gè avaun da maridá ...*  
 right have.PRS.1PL already yes before SUBORD get\_married.INF
- 216 *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.’

- 217 *Durònt l’ ujara, nus mavan òrasé ál ustria ... la*  
 during DEF.F.SG war 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out\_up in.DEF.F.SG restaurant DEF.F.SG
- 218 *dumèngja sjantarmjadş-dé ... cun tschuncònta raps a*  
 Sunday.F.SG afternoon.M.SG with fifty cent.M.PL and
- 219 *vèvans ... in ájndarli, quaj dèvi par*  
 have.IMPF.1PL.1PL INDEF.M.SG one\_decilitre DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL for
- 220 *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.’

- 221 *Quaj dèvi par tschuncònta raps.*  
 DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL for fifty cent.M.PL

‘This would cost fifty cents.’

- 222 *Ad ah ... nus mavan cun skis, scù quaj tg’ inş vèva*  
 and eh 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL as DEM.UNM REL GNR have.IMPF.3SG
- 223 *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
- 224 *a farmau ... farmau vitlündar 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.’

- 225 *A sjantar c’ ins mava, sch’ mav’ ins sél Albşú*  
 and after SUBORD GNR go.IMPF.3SG CORR go.IMPF.3SG GNR ON.DEF.M.SG PN

226    *cul                trèn, a    quaj            custav'*            *in                franc ... dad í*  
         with.DEF.M.SG train and DEM.UNM cost.IMP.F.3SG one.M.SG franc    COMP go.INF  
 227    *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.’

228    *A    quaj            stèvnṣ                èssar            ... pulits-pulits                l'*  
         and DEM.UNM must.IMP.F.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well\_behaviored.M.PL DEF.F.SG  
 229    *jamna ... tg'        al                bap            dètschi<sup>20</sup>                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.’

230    *Sjantar savèvanṣ        aun                cumprá ina                tschuculata da curònta*  
         after can.IMP.F.1PL.1PL in\_additional buy.INF INDEF.F.SG chocolate of forty  
 231    *raps.*  
         cent.M.PL

‘After that we could, in addition, buy a chocolate for forty cents.’

232    *Álsò uschéja hè        quaj                vagnú                ad è                qu'*  
         well so be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM come.PTCP.UNM and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM  
 233    *è                stau                bi.                Qu'                è                stau*  
         be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM nice.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM  
 234    *bi.*  
         nice.ADJ.UNM

‘Well, that’s how it happened, and was, this was nice. This was nice.’

235    *Tùts    stuèvan                spargnè. Finadín. Vèvan                nagins ... réhs.*  
         all.M.PL must.IMP.F.3PL save.INF everyone have.IMP.F.1PL NO.M.PL rich.PL

‘Everyone had to save. Absolutely everyone. We had no ... rich people.’

236    *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  
 237    *stèvan                mirá                sél                rap.*  
         must.IMP.F.3PL look.INF on.DEF.M.SG penny

‘All poor. All poor. All small farmers, and they had to control every penny.’

<sup>20</sup> *Dètschi* is an old form; the modern form of the subjunctive of *dá* ‘give’ is *dèti*.

- 238 *A bi ... la gjuvantétna, vèvanş lu, vajn*  
 and nice.ADJ.UNM DEF.F.SG youth have.IMPF.1PL.1PL then have.PRS.1PL  
 239 *nuş 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 of nowadays.’

- 240 *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  
 241 *Nuş 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  
 242 *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.’

- 243 *Ju sa, nuş vivévan cùl, cùl ... ajn, a*  
 1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG live.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.M.SG in in  
 244 *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  
 245 *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.’

- 246 *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  
 247 *gang udéva dad òmaşdús.*  
 corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL

‘And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].’

- 248 *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.’

- 249 *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  
 250 *la mùma pétgáva sé cul mònì-scúa [par clumá*  
 DEF.F.SG mother knock.IMPF.3SG up with.DEF.M.SG broomstick SUBORD call.INF

- 251 *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  
 252 *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.’

- 253 *Al,                al                ... sjantar mavan                nus, gè, stèvan                nus ... i                a*  
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG after go.IMPF.1PL 1PL yes must.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF to  
 254 *scùla,                tut quaj                èra                ... tut simpal                culs                ...*  
 school.F.SG all DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very simple.ADJ.UNM with.DEF.M.PL  
 255 *cùdischs šùt 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.’

- 256 *Lu gnang vèv'                ins, vèvanş                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.’

- 257 *A durònt l'                ujara ... vèva                lu al                bap api*  
 and during INDEF.F.SG war have.IMPF.3SG then DEF.M.SG father and  
 258 *mju                auc ... als                dus frás                ansjaman patarlavan*  
 POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle DEF.M.PL TWO.M.PL brother.PL together chatter.IMPF.3PL  
 259 *ajn gang,                ajn ... zulè.<sup>21</sup>*  
 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.’

- 260 *Nus schèvan                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.’

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<sup>21</sup>Gang is the German word for ‘corridor’, and zulè is the Romansh one.

261 *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  
 262 *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  
 263 *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.'

264 *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.'

265 *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  
 266 *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  
 267 *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.'



Figure 8.1: The village of Rueras

268 *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  
 269 *ò lu gju l' ampréim 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.’

270 *Èl vèva schi gròn plaşchaj, quèl bunamajn mava*  
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost go.IMPF.3SG  
 271 *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.’

272 *A sjantar, gè, va ju ... şè l bap lu*  
 and after yes have.PRS.1SG 1SG be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father then  
 273 *mòrts, tgu vèva ... mù vèntgadúş 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.’

274 *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  
 275 *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  
 276 *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].’

277 *Ad èra stau in gréjv mùmèn cun*  
 and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG difficult.M.SG moment with  
 278 *sissòntanùv òns. Èl vèva gju ina ...*  
 sixty-nine year.M.PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG  
 279 *ambòlí, gè ... gè.*  
 embolism yes yes

‘And this had been a difficult moment, at age sixty-nine. He’d had an ... embolism, yes ... yes.’

- 280 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  
281 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  
282 purs.  
farmer.PL

‘And since then I have always worked as a farmer, but I’ve never been ... one of the best farmers.’

- 283 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  
284 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  
285 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.]’

- 286 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  
287 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  
288 intgarnaus cù nuş şchajn ... propi ... quaj sùnd ju, quaj  
inveterate.M.SG as 1PL say.PRS.1PL really DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG DEM.UNM  
289 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.’

- 290 Ábar tschaj è bi, ju a lu sjantar  
but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG then after  
291 gju ... calau da fá l pur tgu  
have.PTCP.UNM stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer when.REL.1SG  
292 vèva tgéj? ... tschuncònt’ òns.  
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.’

- 293 A sjantar surpríu                            acòrds                    adin-adina.  
      and after take\_over.PTCP.UNM piecework.M.PL RED~always  
      ‘And afterwards [I] took over piecework, always.’

294 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

295 cùla    la,                            da l'                        aràndazjún                            vèv'                        ju  
      with.DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG OF DEF.F.SG joining\_of\_properties.F.SG have.IMP.F.1SG 1SG

296 méz    tüt als                        tjarms,                            a qu'                        èra  
      put.PTCP.UNM all DEF.M.PL boundary\_stone.PL and DEM.UNM be.IMP.F.3SG

297 stau    grònadas lavurs            a a a                lavurs                tgu                        a  
      COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL and and and work.F.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG

298 gju    tscháfan                    da fá                        ... a schòn stau  
      have.PTCP.UNM desire.M.SG COMP do.INF and really COP.PTCP.UNM

299 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.'

- 300 A sjantar ... cu quaj è juš a ... a lu è aun  
and after when DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG and and then also still  
301 ugagjau a bagjau ina tgèsa da trajs habitazjuns,  
dare.PTCP.UNM and build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG house of three apartment.F.PL  
302 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  
303 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].'

- 304 *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  
305 *ju.*  
*go.PTCP.UNM*

'Imagine so much money. That's the way it happened.'

306 *Avaun èrans schi anavùs a tutajnina sè quaj*  
 before COP.IMPF.1PL.1PL so backward and suddenly be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM  
 307 *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  
 308 *fatg vinavaun, puspè cun ... luvrau fétg, la dùna*  
 make.PTCP.UNM forward again with work.PTCP.UNM much DEF.F.SG woman  
 309 *ò lu è luvrau cun ... fétg, èla è ina*  
 have.PRS.3SG then also work.PTCP.UNM with much 3SG.F COP.F.SG INDEF.F.SG  
 310 *simpla fèmna, a luvrau fétg.*  
 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"

311 *Gè, ju a atgnamajn príu, príu avaun da*  
 yes 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually take.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM before COMP  
 312 *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  
 313 *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  
 314 *vau príu quaj cùdisch cò da la mütòlògía<sup>22</sup>,*  
 have.PRS.1SG.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.F.SG mythology  
 315 *a quaj ajn général cuértas.*  
 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.’

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<sup>22</sup>The narrator refers to Büchli (1966), which is in sight and at which he was pointing.

316 *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  
 317 *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  
 318 *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.’

319 *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  
 320 *la mùma.*  
 DEF.F.SG mother

‘So that is ... my grandfather from my mother’s side.’

321 *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  
 322 *òtgòntschan òtgòntasjat, a mòrts sin méli a ...*  
 eight\_hundred eighty-seven and die.PTCP.M.SG on thousand and  
 323 *nùvtschan sissòntasjat, pia vagnús da quèla, da*  
 nine\_hundred sixty-seven therefore become.PTCP.M.SG at DEM.F.SG at  
 324 *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.’

325 *Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònda famiglja, èls*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG very big family 3PL.M  
 326 *òn gju indisch ufauns, in è*  
 have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM eleven child.M.PL one.M.SG be.PRS.3SG  
 327 *mòrts, ah, tga 'l vèva circa curònta curòntatschun*  
 die.PTCP.M.SG eh SUBORD 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG about forty forty-five  
 328 *ònş ò 'l gju in accidèn ajnta Nalbş,*  
 year.M.PL have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG accident up PN  
 329 *èra vida ... piná lèna, a survagnú in pégn,*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG PROG fell.INF wood.COLL and get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG spruce  
 330 *schmacau èl.*  
 squash.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M

'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.'

- 331 *Alṣ da Surajn ḥn gju bjè pupira, quèls*  
 DEF.M.PL of PN have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM much poverty.F.SG DEM.M.PL  
 332 *spargnavan è starmantús, stuèvan spargnè, a ... ju*  
 save.IMPF.3PL also terrible.ADJ.UNM must.IMPF.3PL save.INF and 1SG  
 333 *sa dalṣ aucs, quèls vèvan in purèssar plétòst*  
 know.PRS.1SG from DEF.M.PL DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.M.SG farm rather  
 334 *... pin, tgéj pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindiçh armaulṣ gronṣ*  
 small what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL big.PL  
 335 *api lu aun ... tgauras sòu tga vèvan a ...*  
 and then besides goat.F.PL know.PRS.1SG COMP have.IMPF.3PL and  
 336 *pòṛṣ a gaglinaṣ a da quaj a vivèvan lu plétòst*  
 pig.M.PL and hen.F.PL and of DEM.UNM and live.IMPF.3PL then rather  
 337 *dal purèssar.*  
 of.DEF.M.SG farming

'Those relatives who lived in Surrein were very poor, 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.'

- 338 *A zatgéj mava' lṣ aucs mavan lu aun anzatgé*  
 and something go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMPF.3PL then also something  
 339 *... ád uáut.*  
 to forest.M.SG

'And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.'

- 340 *Ábar i èra, a fá léna, cunzún al bjè*  
 but EXPL be.IMPF.3SG SUBORD make.INF wood.COLL especially DEF.M.SG most  
 341 *a fá léna né a métar naif magari i*  
 SUBORD make.INF wood.COLL or SUBORD put.INF snow sometimes EXPL  
 342 *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  
 343 *mávani sé a métar naif pala ... viafíar da la*  
 go.IMPF.3PL.3PL up SUBORD put.INF snow for.DEF.F.SG railway of DEF.F.SG

344 *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.’

- 345 A lu ... tiar mè sè quaj stau ussuschéa, ju  
and then by 1SG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM exactly\_so 1SG  
346 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.’

- 347 A quaj plaschéva nuéta pròpi da mé.  
and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG NEG really DAT 1SG

‘And I really didn’t like that.’

- 348 Nuş vèvan cò ina sòra tg' instruéva, qu'  
1PL have.IMPF.1PL here INDEF.F.SG Sister REL teach.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM  
349 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.’

- 350 Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn, la sòra Paulina,  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG nun from PN DEF.F.SG Sister PN  
351 quèla ò dau bjè òns scùlèta cò.  
DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many 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.’

- 352 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  
353 scùlèta.  
nursery\_school.F.SG

‘And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.’

- 354 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  
355 scùlèta.  
nursery\_school.F.SG

‘Well, it was maybe one third that would attend nursery school.’

356 *Ju sùn jus in tjamş a plaschèva da mé*  
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG INDEF.M.SG time and please.IMPF.3SG DAT 1SG  
 357 *şchùbar nuét api vau détg di mùma*  
 clean nothing and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DEF.DAT.SG mother.F.SG  
 358 *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:’

359 «*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  
 360 *í plé.*»  
 go.INF any\_more

‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’

361 *Pi ò èla dét[g]: «Té savëssàş í cul*  
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG  
 362 *tat ajn Pardatsch.»*  
 grandfather up PN

‘Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’

363 *Quaj è quèla val, gjù cò la val Nalbş vidajn,*  
 DEM.UNM cop.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG valley down here DEF.F.SG valley PN up\_into  
 364 *in majsès<sup>23</sup> ajnamiaz c’ ò nùm*  
 INDEF.M.SG assembly\_of\_houses in\_middle REL have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG  
 365 *Pardatsch.*  
 PN

‘This is the valley down here, into the Nalps valley, a *majsés*.’

366 *Lu sùnd 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  
 367 *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  
 368 *la ... natira.*  
 DEF.F.SG nature

‘Then I decided to go, yes, yes, I thought I had always been rather someone who likes nature.’

---

<sup>23</sup>A *majsés*, German *Maiensäss*, is an assembly of houses and meadows in the mountains used during the cattle grazing period.

369 Sùnd 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  
 370 ... da fá las 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  
 371 quaj, quaj èra bigja grat schi sémpal, a sjantar  
 DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG just so easy.ADJ.UNM and after  
 372 èssan nuş 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.'

373 I 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  
 374 nauschà, ábar i èran grad vitlúndar, vida luvará, qu'  
 bad but 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG PROG work.INF DEM.UNM  
 375 è stau al tjams tschuncòntassís, ju vèva ...  
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG time fifty-six 1SG have.IMPF.1SG  
 376 siş 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  
 377 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.'

378 Ah ... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù  
 eh PN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as  
 379 majsès ad alps adina, lu sè aun dus trajs  
 assembly\_of\_houses and alp.M.PL always then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.M three  
 380 intarassants lògans ajn cò, ajn Burganèz, qu' è in  
 interesting place.M.PL in here in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG  
 381 tòc pléndanòra, lò ani bagagjau gjù la ...  
 bit more\_out there have.PRS.3PL.3PL build.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG  
 382 raquéntani ... la crapa par bagagè al  
 tell.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.F.SG stone.COLL SUBORD build.INF DEF.M.SG  
 383 clutgè-baselgja.  
 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].’



Figure 8.2: The church of Sedrun with its high tower

384 *Quèla blòca mávani ajn a tagliavan ò a trèvan*  
DEM.F.SG block.COLL go.IMPF.3PL up and cut.IMPF.3PL out and carry.IMPF.3PL

385 *vidò cun büfs 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.’

386 *A pléndanajn in tòc da tschèla vart, lò sjaj*  
and more\_uphill INDEF.M.SG piece of DEM.F.SG side there COP.PRS.3SG

387 *práctisch al sulèt grép da catschina tga végna avaun*  
practically DEF.M.SG only.M.SG rock of limestone.F.SG REL come.PRS.3SG before

388 *ála val Tujetsch.*  
in.DEF.F.SG valley PN

‘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.’

- 389 *Lò bagagjávani gjù catschina a barşchavan grad*  
 there build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down limestone.F.SG and burn.IMPF.3PL immediately  
 390 *èla.*  
 3SG.F

‘There they would mine limestone and burn it immediately.’

- 391 *Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza şè aun lò*  
 and EXPL still EXIST.IMPF.3SG there some remnant.F.SG EXIST.PRS.3SG still there  
 392 *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  
 393 *fagi<sup>24</sup> lò in pèr placats tga mùssan ajn via*  
 make.PTCP.UNM there INDEF.M.SG pair poster.M.PL REL show.PRS.3PL in way  
 394 *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.’

- 395 *A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancùntar Tgòm ... şaj*  
 and then PN more\_uphill here in\_direction PN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL  
 396 *ina rùsna, quaj fùş è aun intarassant sch' ins*  
 INDEF.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed interesting.UNM if GNR  
 397 *savés, quaj datèscha da gl òn ju ... a*  
 know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from DEF.M.SG year 1SG have.PRS.1SG  
 398 *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.’

- 399 *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.’

---

<sup>24</sup>The narrator thinks that *tschentau* ‘put’ would fit better than *fatg*.

- 400 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  
 401 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  
 402 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.’

- 403 Daváuntiar sjaj sé la, l' anada cur' i  
 in\_front COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL up DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG year when 3PL  
 404 òn antschiat, ad ins vez' aun quaj,  
 have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM and GNR see.PRS.3SG still DEM.UNM  
 405 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.’

- 406 Inş vez' aun tg' èra dau vidajn pùntgas  
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into chisel.F.PL  
 407 né trádals; sch' i sitavan gljèz sau  
 or power\_drill.M.PL whether 3PL blow\_up.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG.1SG  
 408 bétg.  
 NEG

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

- 409 A quèla tauna vò vidajn – quaj tgu sùn  
 and DEM.F.SG cave go.PRS.3SG into DEM.UNM REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG  
 410 stauş ajn – vò lò vidajn circa véntgatschún mètars,  
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five metre.M.PL  
 411 san ins<sup>25</sup> í vidajn da quèla, api sasparti,  
 can.PRS.3SG GNR go.INF into of DEM.F.SG and REFL.divide.PRS.3SG.EXPL  
 412 voi 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.’

<sup>25</sup> *san ins* is Standard Sursilvan for *sò ins*.

413 *Ah, tgé ... prandèvan pròpi òra sa ins béj'* éxact,  
 eh what take.IMPF.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exact.ADJ.UNM  
 414 *dí dian ins matal\$, ábar ò vèza quaj insùma béj*  
 say.INF say.PRS.3SG GNR metal.M.PL but out look.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM at\_all NEG  
 415 *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.’

416 *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  
 417 *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  
 418 *tg’ èrian schindanajn tg’ i udévian c’ i*  
 COMP COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL so\_in COMP 3PL hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL SUBORD EXPL  
 419 *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.’

420 *Quaj è da dubitá, quaj è mataj scù*  
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG COMP doubt.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG probably like  
 421 *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.’

422 *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  
 423 *tat vèva aun fatg ina*  
 grandfather have.IMPF.3SG in\_addition make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG  
 424 *satagljèda, ina ganìglja vèva l tagljau sé,*  
 REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.F.SG knee have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M cut.PTCP.UNM up  
 425 *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  
 426 *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  
 427 *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.’

- 428 *Lèds vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad*  
DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG ATTR
- 429 *úndšchar ajn a faschas a la tata ò lu*  
oil.INF in and bandage.F.PL and DEF.F.SG grandmother have.PRS.3SG then
- 430 *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:’

- 431 «*Té mira lu tg' al tat fëtschi lu*  
2SG look.IMP.2SG then COMP DEF.M.SG grandfather do.PRS.SBJV.3SG then
- 432 *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
- 433 *fëtschi 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.’

- 434 «*Gè gè quaj vi ju schòn ... mirá tga*  
yes yes yes DEM.UNM want.PRS.1SG 1SG of\_course make\_sure.INF COMP
- 435 *végni fatg.»*  
PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.PTCP.UNM

‘Yes of course, I will make sure that’ll be done.’

- 436 *A ... grat par finí quèla istòrja, qu' è lu*  
and just SUBORD end.INF DEM.F.SG story DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then
- 437 *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:’

- 438 «*Té<sup>26</sup> ... Vajs fatg él?»*  
2SG have.PRS.2SG.POL do.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M

‘You [sg] ... Did you [pl] do it?’

<sup>26</sup>The narrator makes an error; he said *té* ‘you (sg)’ instead of *Vus* ‘you (honorific)’, as the following sentence explains.

- 439 *Lu šchèv'        ins aun Vuš da ... ah, da tat                      a*  
 then say.IMPF.3SG GNR still 2PL DAT eh DAT grandfather.M.SG and  
 440 *tata                  vau                  adina détg                  Vuš, ábar*  
 grandmother.F.SG have.PRS.1SG.1SG always say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but  
 441 *dals,                  méjs                  gjaniturs ... vajn                  nuš ùssa bégja*  
 DAT.DEF.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL now NEG  
 442 *détg                  Vus, ábar i                  éra                  bjërs                  tga ... òn*  
 say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG many.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL  
 443 *détg                  tòcan, gè prácticsh adina Vus dals                  gjaniturs.*  
 say.PTCP.UNM until yes practically always 2PL DAT.DEF.M.PL parent.PL

'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 never said *Vus*, but there were many who have said until, well practically always *Vus* to their parents.'

- 444 *[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  
 445 *quèls                  bògns né mirá                  da la                  playa.»*  
 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."

- 446 *«Gè gè quaj                  è                  schòn bian.»*  
 yes yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all\_right good.UNM

'Yes, sure, that's OK.'

- 447 *Qu'                  è                  lu ju                  quèluísa tga ca nuš èssan*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM DEM\_way REL REL 1PL be.IMPF.1PL  
 448 *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  
 449 *nus staj                  ajn lò fòrsa ... quátar 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.'

- 450 *Scha vèva                  'l fatg                  schùber                  nuét.*  
 but have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M do.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

'But he hadn't done anything at all.'

- 451 *Quèla fascha èra satratg'* *anzjaman, a vidajn*  
DEM.F.SG bandage be.IMPF.3SG REFL.contract.IMPF.3SG together and into  
452 *ála pjål, carschid'* *ajn ála pjål api ò l*  
to.DEF.F.SG skin grow.PTCP.F.SG in in.DEF.F.SG skin and have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M  
453 *stju i 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.'

- 454 *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  
455 *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.'

- 456 *Ajnta Pardadçh vèvan nus circa déjsch, éba déjsch quéndisch*  
up\_in PN have.IMPF.1PL 1PL about ten precisely ten fifteen  
457 *tgaus grònṣ api vèvan nus tgauraṣ 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.'

- 458 *A lu mia lavur èra ... èra bitga atgnamajn*  
and then POSS.1SG.F.SG work COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG NEG actually  
459 *da fá bjè, a quaj tg' èra da parvaj aun djantarájn*  
ATTR do.INF much and DEM.UNM REL be.IMPF.3SG to feed.INF still in\_between  
460 *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  
461 *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  
462 *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.'

- 463 *Lò èr' ins bjè culs tiars, a ... la sera*  
 there COP.IMPF.3SG GNR a\_lot with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL and DEF.F.SG evening
- 464 *vagní gjùdòra 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
- 465 *pinava tiar la tschajna, gljèz èra magari è*  
 prepare.IMPF.3SG by DEF.F.SG dinner DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes also
- 466 *léjgar tgé cuşchinadas èl [fagèva], èl*  
 funny.ADJ.UNM what cook.PTCP.F.PL 3SG.M [make.IMPF.3SG] 3SG.M
- 467 *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
- 468 *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 also funny [to see] what he [cooked], he didn't cook badly, but ah from time to time he would prepare terrible mixtures.'

- 469 *Quaj sch' i dèva rèsts, scha vagnévi lu*  
 well if EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG leftovers.M.PL then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then
- 470 *magari rimnau quaj dus trajs dis api méz*  
 sometimes collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM two.M.PL three day.PL and put.PTCP.UNM
- 471 *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.'

- 472 *A sjantar tschajnas, gljèz, quaj èra schòn è aun*  
 and after dinner.F.PL DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really also still
- 473 *léjgar.*  
 funny.ADJ.UNM

'And after dinner, well, this was also funny.'

- 474 *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
- 475 *èran rëligjús, 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.'

- 476 *Vagnévi ju ajn ajn nuégl, parquaj tga ... l'*  
 come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL go.PTCP.UNM in in barn because SUBORD DEF.F.SG
- 477 *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
- 478 *tiarş ajn nuégl, a lu móv' inş 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:’

- 479 «*Sò, ûsa şchajn nus impau patarnòs.*» ad èl  
 OK now say.PRS.1PL 1PL a\_bit Lord's\_prayer.M.PL and 3SG.M
- 480 *samatév' adina giùdajn.*  
 REFL.put.IMPF.3SG always down\_in

‘«OK, now we will say some Lord's prayer» and he would always sit down in [a manger].’

- 481 *Suschéa sasév' ajn ajn purşepan, a ... èl dad ina vart ad*  
 exactly\_so sit.IMPF.3SG in in manger and 3SG.M of INDEF.F.SG side and
- 482 *ju da tschèla vart, a quaj şchèva l' trajs quátar*  
 1SG of DEM.F.SG side and DEM.UNM say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M three four
- 483 *patarnòs a vònzej èri »Söntga Maria Mùma da*  
 Lord's\_prayer.M.PL and later COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL Holy Mary Mother of
- 484 *Dju» api èra l' 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.’

- 485 *Sadurmantav' ajn. A lu dumagnav' ju bigja nònavaun*  
 REFL.fall\_asleep.IMPF.3SG in and then induce.IMPF.1SG 1SG NEG awake  
 èl.  
 3SG.M

‘He would fall asleep. And then I wasn't able to wake him up.’

- 487 *Quèl durméva sc' in tajs.*  
 DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.M.SG badger

‘He used to sleep like a log.’

488 *Şùtajn èri la térga nùca 'l*  
 under\_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.F.SG alpine\_hut REL 3SG.M  
 489 *caşchav' èra, daspèras quèls dus nuéglis api*  
 make\_cheese.IMPF.3SG also next DEM.M.PL two.M cow\_barn.PL and  
 490 *stuèv' inş 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  
 491 *èri ajn ina stiva sc' ins şchèva, ajn quèls*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in DEF.F.SG living\_room as GNR say.IMPF.3SG in DEM.M.PL  
 492 *majşes şchèv' ins la stiva nùc' ins*  
 assembly\_of\_houses.PL say.IMPF.3SG GNR DEF.F.SG living\_room REL.LOC GNR  
 493 *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 *stiva*, the living room, as they used to say, in those *majşes* the room where one slept was called *stiva*.’

494 *Ad ju mava lu sé lò durmí, ábar ah, bjè nòtg*  
 and 1SG go.IMPF.1SG then up there sleep.INF but eh many night.F.PL  
 495 *staus parsuls sé lò, ha, a lò vòu schòn ah ...*  
 COP.PTCP.M.SG alone.M.SG up there ha and there have.PRS.1SG.1SG really eh  
 496 *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.’

497 *Ajn quèla vègljadétgna, api al problèm èra,*  
 in DEM.F.SG age and DEF.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG  
 498 *al problèm èra las sòndas 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.’

499 *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  
 500 *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.’

- 501 Sé *Nalps* vèvani                    è grad antschiat            a bagagè  
up PN have.IMPF.3PL.3PL also just start.PTCP.UNM COMP build.INF  
 502 *cantina*ş                    ètcètara.  
canteen.F.PL et\_cetera

‘In Nalps they had just begun to build canteens and so on.’

- 503 *Sònida-dumèngja* vagnévan            quèls            ò cò a fagjèvan  
Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL  
 504 *fjastunas*.  
party.AUGM.F.PL

‘On weekends they would come here and have big parties.’

- 505 A magari tga pudèvan lu bigja ... vidajn a ... vajn  
and sometimes SUBORD can.IMPF.3PL then NEG in and have.PRS.1SG  
 506 *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  
 507 *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  
 508 légi dal                    tat                    ... sünd            ju è schòn  
bed of.DEF.M.SG grandfather be.PRS.1SG 1SG also already  
 509 *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  
 510 *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].’

- 511 Ôh, lu schòn tumju                    in                    pau mintgataun.  
oh then really be\_afraid.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG little sometimes

‘Oh, [I was] really afraid sometimes.’

- 512 *Prquaj* tga quaj c' ins ... vèva                    bigja grad da partgirá  
because SUBORD DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just to mind.INF  
 513 *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

514    èra                è    intarassant                da    mirá    c'    i    luvravan,  
 COP.IMPF.3SG also interesting.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF when 3PL work.IMPF.3PL  
 515    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].'

516    Ò    lò    vòu                fòrza    schòn    è    survagnú    in                tèc  
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit  
 517    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  
 518    difarènts    lògans    tg'    i    vèvan                sitau                gjù    ad  
 different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL have.IMPF.3PL blast.PTCP.UNM down and  
 519    èra                ... vagnú                ò    cristalaş    ètcètara,    tga    quaj  
 be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.UNM out crystal.F.PL et\_cetera COMP DEM.UNM  
 520    è                fòrza    schòn    stau                in                tèc al                ... mòtif  
 be.PRS.3SG maybe really COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.M.SG reason  
 521    tgu    a                antschiat                dad    í    par crapa.  
 REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF 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.'

522    Schabi    tga    lu,    cun    siş    òns                capév'                ins    hald aun  
 although SUBORD then with six year.M.PL understand.IMPF.3SG GNR just still  
 523    mèmja pauc a    vèva                bigja la                ... fòrsa    da    fá  
 too    little and have.IMPF.3SG NEG DEF.F.SG strength ATTR do.INF  
 524    zatgéj.  
 something

'Although then, at the age of six, one would understand too little and wouldn't have the ... strength to do something.'

525    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  
 526    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

- 527 *tòc a pinava ògna, a vagnéva vidajn ... tg' el*  
 piece and prepare.IMPF.3SG alder.COLL and come.IMPF.3SG over\_in REL 3SG.M
- 528 *mava a rimnava, gljèz èra aun léjgar*  
 go.IMPF.3SG and collect.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really funny.ADJ.UNM
- 529 *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.’

- 530 *Quaj duvrava 'l par dá dis pòrs, trífals*  
 DEM.UNM use.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M SUBORD give.INF DEF.DAT.PL pig.M.PL potato.M.PL
- 531 *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.’

- 532 *Ah, quaj scarpava 'l adina cul maun,*  
 ah DEM.UNM pull\_off.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M always with.DEF.M SG hand
- 533 *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].’

- 534 *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.’

- 535 *Ad è zatgéj ... léjgar èr' èra cu 'l*  
 and also something funny.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also when 3SG.M
- 536 *fagèva fjud.*  
 make.IMPF.3SG fire.M.SG

‘And something ... funny was also when he made fire.’

- 537 *Èl vèv' adina ... lèna vèva 'l détg avündà,*  
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG always wood.COLL have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M much enough
- 538 *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.’

539 *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  
540 *dus, ùs ussusché.*  
two.M.PL now exactly\_so

‘These were sometimes such blocks of one or two metres or so.’

541 *Quaj catschava 'l ajn, qu' èr' in*  
DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG  
542 *plantschju da ... da taratsch naturálmajn.*  
floor of of soil.M.SG natural.ADV

‘This he would throw into [the fire], this was a floor of ... of soil, of course.’

543 *Quaj catschava 'l vidajn ála fuajna api mù*  
DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M into in.DEF.F.SG fireplace and only  
544 *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.’

545 *A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ... vagnéva*  
and DEF.F.SG evening for SUBORD burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG  
546 *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  
547 *sènza ... [vòns] a tràva vidò còtgra gjù sé*  
without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out charcoal.COLL down up  
548 *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.’

549 *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.’

550 *A bjè gljut tumévan è mju tat,*  
and many people.F.SG be.afraid.IMPF.3PL also POSS.1SG.M.SG grandfather  
551 *prquaj tga ... èl raşdava pauc a magari smanatschava*  
because SUBORD 3SG.M speak.IMPF.3SG little and sometimes threaten.IMPF.3SG

- 552    *l' ussusché tg' al- grat als buéts tg' èl ... cu*  
       3SG.M exactly\_so COMP DEF.M.SG especially DEF.M.PL boy.PL REL 3SG.M when  

553    *l' savèva tg' i vèvan fatg ina*  
       3SG.M know.IMPF.3SG COMP 3PL have.IMPF.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG  

554    *lumparia sche lu mussava l' lu magari al pùgn*  
       childish\_prank CORR then show.IMPF.3SG 3SG then sometimes DEF.M.SG fist  

555    *a lura fugévani.*  
       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 he... when he knew that they had played a childish prank, he then would show them his fist and they would run away.'

- 556    *A... in' autra tgaussa ... tg' è stau<sup>27</sup>*  
       and INDEF.F.SG other.F.SG thing REL be.PRS.3SG also COP.PTCP.UNM  

557    *intarassanta, èra, quaj èra ... ajgl unviarn api*  
       interesting.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.M.SG winter and  

558    *vèvani ah ... mávani culs tiars ajnta Nacla,*  
       have.IMPF.3PL.3PL eh go.IMPF.3PL.3PL with.DEF.M.PL animal.PL up PN  

559    *quaj è ... dadajns ... Surajn, fòrza végn minutas*  
       DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more\_back PN maybe twenty minute.F.PL  

560    *vidajn.*  
       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.'

- 561    *A qu' èra schòn dau bjè najv ad*  
       and DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG already give.PTCP.UNM much snow and  

562    *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.'

- 563    *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:'

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<sup>27</sup> *stau* is a performance error for *stada*.

564 «Té nò lu vidòr ùssa. Lò, quèsta sèra dòrma lu  
 2SG come.IMP.2SG then down now there DEM.F.SG evening sleep.IMP.2SG then  
 565 bigja ajn lò.»  
 NEG in there

‘Come down here now. Don’t sleep up there this evening.’

566 *Al bjè durméva '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.’

567 *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  
 568 *chè 'l ... in dalsaucs ... juš 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.’

569 *Sch’ èri vagnú gjù la lavina, vèva*  
 so be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM down DEF.F.SG avalanche have.IMPF.3SG  
 570 *priú suròra dal, dal clavau, vèva*  
 take.PTCP.UNM above\_out of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG barn have.IMPF.3SG  
 571 *priú suròra tut, èra mù al ...*  
 take.PTCP.UNM above\_out everything COP.IMPF.3SG only DEF.M.SG  
 572 *ál ... nuégl šutajn.*  
 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.’

573 *Al tat èr' ajn a durméva lò grat sc'*  
 DEF.M.SG grandfather COP.IMPF.3SG in and sleep.IMPF.3SG there precisely like  
 574 *in tajš, vèv' udju schùbar-schùbar 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.’

575 *A par part vèvi aun priú dals*  
 and for part have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover take.PTCP.UNM from.DEF.M.PL  
 576 *nuégl, vèvi priú, davauntiar è priú*  
 barn.PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL take.PTCP.UNM at\_front also take.PTCP.UNM  
 577 *navèn.*  
 away

‘And [the avalanche] had also partially swept away of the barns, had swept away, also swept away at the front.’

- 578 *Duaš vacas èran gjùşùt aun adina ... pandi*<sup>28</sup> *a*  
 two.F.PL COW.PL COP.IMPF.3PL down\_under still always hang.PTCP.M.PL at  
 579 *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  
 580 *èra, al tat udju schùbar nuét.*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG grandfather hear.PTCP.UNM clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

‘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.’

- 581 *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  
 582 *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.’

- 583 *Ju a maj gju problèm - èl vès*  
 1SG have.PRS.1SG never have.PTCP.UNM problem.M.SG 3SG.M have.COND.3SG  
 584 *maj savilau cun mè né anzatgéj, ju a adina*  
 never REFL.get\_angry.PTCP.UNM with 1SG or something 1SG have.PRS.1SG always  
 585 *gju fètg 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.’

- 586 *A quaj tga ‘l vèva pia sias flajvlèzas,*  
 and DEM.UNM REL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG therefore POSS.3PL.F.PL weakness.PL  
 587 *quaj sùnd 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.’

- 588 *A lu şaj ... èl è lu saravagnús détg*  
 and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then REFL.recover.PTCP.M.SG fairly  
 589 *stupèn, èl ò lu luvrau anzjaman.*  
 excellent.ADJ.UNM 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG then work.PTCP.UNM together

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<sup>28</sup> *Pandi* is a performance error for *pandidas*; furthermore, the narrator would prefer to use *far-madas* ‘tied’.

‘And then, he recovered perfectly well, he then worked together [with one of his sons].’

- 590 *In auc ... èra lu staus cun èl a*  
 INDEF.M.SG uncle be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.M.SG with 3SG.M and  
 591 *fatg al pur.*  
 make.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer

‘Then one of my uncles ... stayed with him and worked as a farmer.’

- 592 *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  
 593 *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  
 594 *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.’

- 595 *A ... api hè lu capitau ... mù gè quaj cu 'l*  
 and and be.PRS.3SG then happen.PTCP.UNM but yes DEM.UNM when 3SG.M  
 596 *vèva sjatòntanùv òns circa, hè 'l zanúa*  
 have.IMPF.3SG seventy-nine year.M.PL around be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M somewhere  
 597 *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.’

- 598 *A ... vagnéva mèndar a mèndar a dumagnavan bigj' èl*  
 and become.IMPF.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMPF.3PL NEG 3SG.M  
 599 *ál, ál spital lèva 'l bitg i né tiar*  
 to.DEF.M.SG to.DEF.M.SG hospital want.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M NEG go.INF or to  
 600 *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.’

- 601 *Ad ju sa in' jèda òn Cadruvi<sup>29</sup>, sa ju in'*  
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG one.F.SG time down\_in PN know.1SG 1SG one.F.SG

- 602 *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  
 603 *ò sgarşchajval.*  
 out terrible.ADJ.UNM

'And I know once in the Cadruvi square that he had once come up [from the church], he looked terrible.'

- 604 *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  
 605 *plaunsjú şèni vagní da fá í scha*  
 slowly be.IMPF.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.INF go.INF since  
 606 *vèva 'l rùt in calum.*  
 have.IMPF.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.'

- 607 *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  
 608 *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.'

- 609 *Quèl' è la sulèt' jèda tg' èl è propì*  
 DEM.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG only time REL 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG really  
 610 *staus ál spital.*  
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in.DEF.M.SG hospital

'This is the only time he had really been to hospital.'

- 611 *Api òni tractau quaj, a sjantar mava*  
 and have.PRS.3PL.3PL treat.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and after go.IMPF.3SG  
 612 *quaj bigja plé gjù Surajn parquaj tga la tat'*  
 DEM.UNM NEG any\_more down PN because SUBORD DEF.F.SG grandmother  
 613 *èra è gè ina végbla, a lu s' èl*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG also after\_all INDEF.F.SG old and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M

---

<sup>29</sup> Cadruvi is a small square above the church in Sedrun.

- 614 *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.IMPF.1PL here over\_in  
 615 *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.’



Figure 8.3: The Tgès' Alva in Sedrun

- 616 *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  
 617 *vèva lu dau ina ... ina ... tussègazjun*  
 have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG poisoning  
 618 *dal saun, sjantar lu s' èl maj vagnús pròpi*  
 of.DEF.M.SG blood after then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M never come.PTCP.M.SG really  
 619 *nònavau.*  
 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.’

- 620 A lu vajn nuš aun sju gudaj al  
and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL in\_addition can.PTCP.UNM enjoy.INF DEF.M.SG  
621 tat, fòrza tgéj, dus trajs majnş a gju bjè  
grandfather maybe what two.M.PL three month.PL and have.PTCP.UNM much  
622 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.’

- 623 Èl durméva bjè, quaj mava 'l sé'l  
3SG.M sleep.IMPF.3SG a\_lot DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M on.DEF.M.SG  
624 baun-pégna, api mavi èl, tat lava 'l  
bench.M.SG-oven.F.SG and go.IMPF.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M listen.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M  
625 ugèn música, ah, quaj savèva 'l, durmí a  
with\_pleasure music.F.SG ah DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M sleep.INF and  
626 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.’

- 627 A dumandavan nus lu èra, magari inqual discuérş  
and ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL then also sometimes some conversation.M.SG  
628 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  
629 ... scha 'l vèva bian, vagnév' ins schòn séssúra  
if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG good.ADJ.UNM come.IMPF.3SG GNR indeed upon  
630 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.’

- 631 Lu dumandavan nuš èl, vèvan dumandau núia èl  
then ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM where 3SG.M  
632 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

633 zatgé vid Andermatt- a tudèstg savèv' ju è bigja –  
 something over PN and German know.IMPF.1SG 1SG also NEG  
 634 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  
 635 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  
 636 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  
 637 végls aun.  
 old.PL really

‘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.’

638 A lu şè 'l lu...ra gè ana ... sissòntasját şè 'l  
 and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then yes year sixty-seven be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M  
 639 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 Cazas<sup>30</sup>

(Tuatschín, Camischùlas, f6, aged 45)

Recorded 2016/08/26 in Camischolas

Duration 7'40"

640 A Cazis èr' ju ajn tgòmbra, alşò qu' èra tgòmbras  
 in PN COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG in room.F.SG well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG room.F.PL  
 641 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  
 642 adina prsula, a nus trajs vèvan ábar... súpar!  
 always alone.F.SG and 1PL three have.IMPF.3SG but super

<sup>30</sup> Cazis is the German denomination for the village; in Standard Sursilvan it is called *Cazas* and in the local Sutsilvan variety *Tgazas*.

'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.'

643 *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-RS<sup>31</sup>

644 *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.'

645 *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  
646 *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  
647 *nus stuèvan amprèndar a nus stuèvan schubargè a fá a*  
1PL must.IMPF.1PL learn.INF and 1PL must.IMPF.1PL clean.INF and do.INF and  
648 *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.'

649 *A zacuras èri ahm ... da fá pènsums, lu*  
and sometime be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL hm to do.INF homework.M.PL then  
650 *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  
651 *sjantar, a scalinavi a lu vèvans dad ira ...*  
after and ring.IMPF.3SG.EXPL and then have.IMPF.1PL.1PL to go.INF ...  
652 *a fá òrazjún la sèra, quaj èra tûts tga*  
SUBORD do.INF prayer.F.SG DEF.F.SG evening DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG all.M.PL REL  
653 *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  
654 *sèra.*  
evening

<sup>31</sup> RS, German abbreviation for *Rekrutenschule* 'recruit school' and *Maitli-RS* Swiss German for 'girl's recruit school'.

‘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 go upstairs, to the very top, to say the evening prayers.’

- 655 *Api sjantar vèvan nus lìbar atgnamajn uschéja mjaš’ ura,*  
and after have.IMPF.1PL 1PL free.ADJ.UNM actually so half.F.SG hour  
 656 *trajs quards d’ ura tga nuş astgèvan fà, álsò èssar*  
three quart.M.PL of hour.F.SG REL 1PL be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL do.INF well be.INF  
 657 *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  
 658 *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  
 659 *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  
 660 *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.’

- 661 *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  
 662 *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  
 663 *traplaus stuèva al vèndardís sèra ... stá*  
catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG stay.INF  
 664 *lò, stgèvan bigj’ í a tgèsa, api stèvan nuş*  
there be\_allowed.IMPF.3PL NEG go.INF to home.F.SG and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL  
 665 *schùbargè in’ ura zatgéj, durmí lò, api stèvan lu*  
clean.INF one.F.SG hour something sleep.INF there and must.IMPF.3PL then  
 666 *í pér la sònnda 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.'

- 667 *Qu' èra ... quèlas règlas.*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.PL rule.PL

'These were ... those rules.'

- 668 *A las sòras savevan tga nus trajs nuş vagjan*  
and DEF.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL  
669 *adina u-léjgar, a nus mòndian bugèn cò gjù*  
always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM and 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL with\_pleasure here down  
670 *a scùla, a nus fëtschian 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  
671 *tiar nus.*  
to 1PL

'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.'

- 672 *A lu èri ... da quèlas uras, ah da quaj tjams aun*  
and then COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of DEM.F.PL hour.PL ah of DEM.M.SG time still  
673 *tga ... ahm, als amprandissadiş antschapévan par part*  
COMP hm DEF.M.PL apprenticeship.PL begin.IMPF.3PL for part.F.SG  
674 *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.'

- 675 *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  
676 *tjarza sacundara, igl avrél antschapévaş ampréim da vagní*  
third secondary DEF.M.SG April begin.IMPF.2SG.GNR first COMP come.INF  
677 *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  
678 *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.'

679 A Cazis sèra quaj al madèm.  
in PN COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG same

‘In Cazas this was the same thing.’

680 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  
681 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.’

682 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  
683 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  
684 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.’

685 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  
686 ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la  
and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F  
687 audi anzatgéj, api şè ... ina da nòssa  
hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something and COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG of POSS.1PL.F.SG  
688 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:’

689 «Chasch denn grad usrichta, Fritig obig müänd är do  
can.PRS.2SG then right\_away tell.INF Friday evening mu’.PRS.2PL 2PL here  
690 bliiba.<sup>32</sup>»  
remain.INF

‘You can just tell [them] that you have to stay here on Friday evening.’

---

<sup>32</sup>Said in Swiss German.

- 691 *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  
692 *a    raquénta    dad èlas.»*  
and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F

‘And then she said there: «Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.»’

- 693 *Èla    vagnid’            ajn tgòmbra    api fò                la:*    «Scheisse<sup>33</sup>! Nus  
3SG.F come.PTCP.F.SG in room.F.SG and make.PRS.3SG 3SG.F shit                1PL  
694 *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.»’

- 695 *A    quaj            vid risadas.*  
and DEM.UNM by laughing.F.PL

‘And [she said] this laughing.’

- 696 *A    lu    vèvani            traplau            circa sis.*  
and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL catch.PTCP.UNM about six

‘And then they caught about six.’

- 697 *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.’

- 698 *Sò<sup>34</sup> vajn            nus sis stavju            stá            lò,    api saj*  
so have.PRS.1PL 1PL six must.PTCP.UNM stay.INF there and be.PRS.3SG  
699 *stau            in’            ura da schubargè 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  
700 *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  
701 *quèla gròndjus’ 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.’

<sup>33</sup>Said in Swiss German.

<sup>34</sup>German for *uschéja*.

702 Gè nus<sup>35</sup> ástgian cuşchiná.  
yes 1PL be\_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF

‘And yes, we were allowed to cook.’

703 Api èssan nuş i<sup>36</sup> 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  
704 ... gè ....  
yes

‘And then we went to the kitchen, made cakes and .. yes ...’<sup>37</sup>

705 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  
706 uraş 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  
707 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.’

708 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  
709 las ... nòtg cu las sòras durmévan, èssan nus  
DEF.F.PL night.F.SG when DEF.F.PL nun.PL sleep.IMPF.3PL be.PRS.1PL 1PL  
710 i<sup>38</sup> 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  
711 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  
712 ... 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.’

<sup>35</sup>Gè nus replaces an unintelligible part.

<sup>37</sup>Here the narrator uses the masculine plural form instead of the feminine plural form. The same happens in line 710.

<sup>38</sup>i is a performance error for idas.

- 713 *Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau nus sápiān durmí òra,*  
and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL sleep.INF out
- 714 *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
- 715 *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
- 716 *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
- 717 *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
- 718 *pròpi staus, quaj è bigja stau castitg*  
really COP.PTCP.M.SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG NEG COP.PTCP.UNM punishment.M.SG
- 719 *pr nus, stuaj stá quaj vèndardís, a ... gè, da quèls gags*  
for 1PL must.INF remain.INF DEM.M.SG Friday and yes of DEM.M.PL gag.PL
- 720 *fagèvan nuş èba schòn.*  
make.IMP.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.’

- 721 *A nuş vajn gju schi súpar.*  
and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM so super

‘And we had such a wonderful time.’

- 722 *Ju èr' ùs ah, ju vèva gju ajnsasèz al*  
1SG COP.IMP.1SG now eh 1SG have.IMP.1SG have.PTCP.UNM in\_fact DEF.M.SG
- 723 *clégj 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.’

- 724 *A i miravan schòn in téc da métar anzjaman è ...*  
and 3PL look.IMP.3PL in\_fact INDEF.M.SG bit COMP put.INF together also
- 725 *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
- 726 *bétg tèssinèsas, da da Brgaglja<sup>39</sup> 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 ....'

- 727 *Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp<sup>b</sup>au anzjaman a las*  
 what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMPF.3PL a\_bit together and DEF.F.PL  
 728 *ròmòntschas né las tudèstgas, né è dal vitg*  
 Romansh..PL or DEF.F.PL German..PL or also of.DEF.M.SG village  
 729 *matévani schòn in tèc anzjaman.*  
 put.IMPF.3PL.3PL in\_fact INDEF.M.SG bit together

'Look! these Italians <sup>40</sup> were a bit together, and the Romansh or the Germans, or they put them together even from the [same] village.'

- 730 *Usa quaj cò èra halt ramòntschas. Gè. A lu*  
 now DEM.UNM here COP.IMPF.3SG well Romansh.F.PL yes and then  
 731 *ajni-*  
 COP.PRS.3PL.3PL

'Well, now these [students] here were Romansh-speaking women. Yes. And then they are-'

- 732 *PhM: Danunder eran ellas?*  
 from\_where COP.IMPF.3PL 3PL

'PhM: Where were they from?'

- 733 *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.'

- 734 *Ad èlas duaş 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  
 735 *lu halt bérgia.*  
 then in\_fact NEG

'But these two already knew ... each other but I didn't.'

- 736 *A ... api parví dal ròmòntsch èri a Cazis scha ...*  
 and and because of.DEF.M.SG Romansh COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN if  
 737 *a ... nus astgèvan bérgia raşdá ròmòntsch, inş*  
 and 1PL be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR

<sup>39</sup>The Valle Bregaglia is one of the Italian-speaking valleys of the canton of the Grisons.

<sup>40</sup>Italians and Germans: Italian- and German-speaking young women from the Grisons.

- 738 vèṣ                  gè                  savju                  dá                  la                  bùca    sur    dlas  
have.COND.3SG after\_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.F.SG mouth over of.DEF.F.PL  
739 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.’

- 740 Nus stèvan                  raşdá                  ... tudèstg.  
1PL must.IMPF.1PL speak.INF    German.M.SG

‘We were obliged to speak German.’

- 741 A    lu    ábar cu    nuş èran                  prsulas    raşdavan                  nus  
and then but    when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL alone.F.PL speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL  
742 naturálmajn ròmòntsch.  
of\_course    Romansh.M.SG

‘But then, when we were alone, we would of course speak Romansh.’

- 743 A    da    gjantá                  ... sch' ina                  sòra ... tudèstga èra                  ... vida  
and SUBORD lunch.INF    if    INDEF.F.SG nun    German COP.IMPF.3SG    at\_of  
744 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  
745 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.’

- 746 Lu    vèvan                  nuş anflau                  òra scha nus rassarvassan,    nus  
then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if    1PL reserve.COND.1PL 1PL  
747 vèvan                  ina,                  ina                  ... tésha da sarvjèta,    a    quèla  
have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG    bag    of napkin.F.SG and DEM.F.SG  
748 mavan                  nuş a    rassarvávan,    ábar matévan                  quèla    tésha schòn  
go.IMPF.1PL 1PL and reserve.IMPF.1PL but put.IMPF.1PL DEM.F.SG bag    already  
749 lò    nùca    nus lèvan                  séjsar,    api    vèvan                  nuş anflau  
there REL.LOC 1PL want.IMPF.1PL sit.INF and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM  
750 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  
751 lèza                  savèva                  ròmòntsch.  
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.’

- 752 *Scha nus séjian sin lèza majṣa, ástgian nus*  
 if 1PL sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL on DEM.F.SG table be\_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL 1PL  
 753 *raṣdá ramòntschi, stuèvan bgja raṣdá tudèstg.*  
 speak.1PL Romansh.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF German.M.SG

‘If we sat at that table, we would be allowed to speak Romansh, we weren’t obliged to speak German.’

- 754 *A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,*  
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always during break.F.SG  
 755 *mavanş ajn şala da magljè, prandèvan nòssa ... sarvjèta,*  
 go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG ATTR eat.ATTR take.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG napkin  
 756 *matévan sé nùca la sòr’ Andréa, a lu stgèvan nus*  
 put.IMPF.1PL up where DEF.F.SG nun PN and then be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL  
 757 *raṣdá ramòntschi.*  
 speak.INF 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.’

- 758 *Má tg’ èla capéva gè nus.*  
 since SUBORD 3SG.F understand.IMPF.3SG in\_fact 1SG

‘Because, in fact, she understood us.’

- 759 *Ábar lu, lèza raṣdava lu èxtra è ramòntschi cun*  
 but then DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then on\_purpose also Romansh.M.SG with  
 760 *nus.*  
 1PL

‘But then, on purpose, she would also speak Romansh with us.’

- 761 *Ábar la, qu’ èra la majṣa séssum a*  
 but DEF.F.SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG table on\_very\_top and  
 762 *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.’

- 763 A lu las majṣas gè drètg a saniastar capévan bigja  
and then DEF.F.PL table.PL yes right and left understand.IMPF.3PL NEG
- 764 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.’

- 765 Ábar nuş astgèvan lu raşdá ramòntschen.  
but 1PL be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL then speak.INF Romansh.M.SG

‘But then we were allowed to speak Romansh.’

- 766 A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan raşdá  
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL speak.INF  
ramòntschen.  
Romansh.M.SG

‘And then we had the opportunity to be allowed to speak Romansh there.’

- 768 Ad ál saminar ... raşdavan nus simplamajn, lò  
and at.DEF.M.SG training\_college speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV there  
769 şchèvani schön «Tüütsch reedä»<sup>41</sup>, 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.’

- 770 A lu vèvan nus tar ina scòlásta, quèla vèva  
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL by INDEF.F.SG teacher DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG  
771 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  
772 cantún cò tut las ròmòntschas, plus quèla da Mésòcò.<sup>42</sup>  
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.’

<sup>41</sup>Said in Swiss German.

<sup>42</sup>Mesocco is a village in one of the Italian speaking valleys of the Grisons.

- 773 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.’
- 774 Èla *raşdava*                      *talján*                      *tga nus capévan*,                      ad èla  
3SG.F speak.IMPF.3SG Italian.M.SG REL 1PL understand.IMPF.1PL and 3SG.F  
 775 *capéva*                      ábar è *nus ròmòntschas*, *quaj*                      vagnéva  
understand.IMPF.3SG but also 1PL Romansh.F.PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG  
 776 *raşdau*                      cò *ajn quaj*                      *cantún mù ròmòntsch*.  
speak.PTCP.UNM here in DEM.M.SG corner only Romansh.M.SG  
 ‘She spoke Italian, which we understood, but she also understood us, the Romansh speaking students, in that corner only Romansh was spoken.’
- 777 Ábar lò èri                      *lu èngjadinetas*, *sursilvanas*, *surmiranas*,  
and there COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then Engadine.F.PL Sursilvan.F.PL Surmiran.F.PL  
 778 *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].’
- 779 Ad na, *aun ina*,                      *ina da Bivjò*, *a lèza capéva*  
and no still one.F.SG one.F.SG of PN and DEM.F.SG understand.IMPF.3SG  
 780 *talján*.  
Italian.M.SG  
 ‘And no, there still was another one, one from Bivio, and she understood Italian.’
- 781 A *lu vèva*                      *lèza hald èra*, *lèza raşdava*                      *lu*  
and then have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG simply also DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then  
 782 *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  
 783 *in cantún tga vagnéva*                      *mù raşdau ròmòntsch*.  
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.’
- 784 A *la scòlásta capéva*                      *halt nuét*.  
and DEF.F.SG teacher understand.IMPF.3SG simply nothing  
 ‘And the teacher wouldn’t understand anything.’

- 785 *Ábar quaj ò la maj dumignau da fá*  
 but DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F never manage.PTCP.UNM COMP make.INF  
 786 *raşdá lu nus ... .*  
 speak.INF then 1PL

‘But she has never been able to have us speak ...’

- 787 *Alşò clar, a al' instruczjún raşdávan nus gè schòn tudéstg.*  
 well clear.M.SG at at.DEF.F.SG teaching speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL of\_course in\_fact German.M.SG

‘Well evidently, during teaching we would speak German, of course.’

- 789 *Ábar simplamajn nus djantar nus raşdavan ... .*  
 but simple.F.SG.ADV 1PL among 1PL speak.IMPF.1PL

‘But among ourselves we simply spoke ...’

- 790 *Ad è ajn ajn, ju a atgnamajn adina gju còntáct<sup>43</sup>*  
 and also in in 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually always have.PTCP.UNM contact  
 791 *còlégas ròmòntschas, usché quaj tjams 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 had contact [with] Romansh colleagues, during that time of the training college.’

- 792 [PhM] *Aber è cun engjadinesas?*  
 but also with Engadine.F.PL

‘But also with [students] form the Engadine?’

- 793 [f6] *Gè gè. Ábar raşdavan adina ròmòntsch.*  
 yes yes but speak.IMPF.1PL always Romansh.M.SG

‘Yes, yes. But we always spoke Romansh.’

- 794 *Ál' antschata cu té capèschaş aun bigja*  
 at.DEF.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG  
 795 *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  
 796 *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

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<sup>43</sup>The preposition *cun* ‘with’ is missing.

- 797 *api lu l' autr' jèda cu quaj plajd végn,*  
 and then DEF.F.SG other time when DEM.M.SG word come.PRS.3SG  
 798 *saṣ gè, né ál còntèxt capèschaṣ gè*  
 know.PRS.2SG.GNR after\_all or in.DEF.M.SG context understand.2SG.GNR after\_all  
 799 *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.'

- 800 *La sèra astgèvaṣ í in téc a spas,*  
 DEF.F.SG evening be\_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF INDEF.M.SG bit to walk.M.SG  
 801 *quaj vuta dí navèn dla tgèsa*  
 DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF away of.DEF.F.SG house  
 802 *astgèvaṣ í ò tòcan quèla via tòca la*  
 be\_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF out until DEM.F.SG street until DEF.F.SG  
 803 *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.'

- 804 *Quaj fùs stau tupira par mè da stuaj*  
 DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM stupid.ELAT for 1SG COMP must.INF  
 805 *raṣdá ajn tgòmbra cun tschèlas 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.'

- 806 *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  
 807 *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.'

- 808 *Ad ju scù mùma stèṣ ùsa raṣdá cun èlas tudèstg,*  
 and 1SG as mother.F.SG must.COND.1SG now speak.INF with 3PL.F German.M.SG  
 809 *quaj fùs schi jastar.<sup>44</sup>*  
 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.’

810 *Al lungatg ... car, álṣò quaj tgi té, quaj*  
 DEF.M.SG language dear.ADJ.M.SG well DEM.UNM REL 2SG.GNR DEM.UNM  
 811 *hèrzcic, 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  
 812 *a té sas tòh bgja raṣdá ... cun in ufaun*  
 and 2SG.GNR can.PRS.2SG.GNR after\_all NEG speak.INF with INDEF.M.SG child  
 813 *... sin tudèstg a fá, álṣò sch' i è in ufaun*  
 on German.M.SG and do.INF well if EXPL COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG child  
 814 *tudèstg sa ju gè è fá quaj, ábar lu şè*  
 German can.PRS.1SG 1SG after\_all also do.INF DEM.UNM but then COP.PRS.3SG  
 815 *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  
 816 *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  
 817 *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 slab of sorcery

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 3'10"

818 *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.’

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<sup>44</sup>According to some consultants, the form *jastar* should be replaced by *iastar*.

819 A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònnda plata, è  
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.F.SG very big slab also  
 820 ina bjala, schaj bégna ála pastira, a da quèla  
 INDEF.F.SG beautiful lie.PRS.3SG well in.DEF.F.SG pastureland and of DEM.F.SG  
 821 òns naturálmajn ... quasi stavju ... vagní cun  
 have.PRS.3SG.GNR natural.M.SG.ADV almost must.PTCP.UNM come.INF with  
 822 ina détga.  
 INDEF.F.SG legend

'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.'

823 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  
 824 èran sé cò a fijèvan barlòt vágian  
 COP.IMPF.3PL up here and do.IMPF.3PL sorcery have.PRS.SBJV.3PL  
 825 trans-pòrtau quèla plata sin<sup>45</sup> in fil-sajda ... navèn  
 carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.M.SG thread-silk.F.SG away  
 826 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  
 827 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.'

828 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  
 829 schaj bégna ajn plat, qu' è ina pulita  
 lie.PRS.3SG well in flat.M.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG huge  
 830 surfatscha, a sén quèla plata ... végnan las, vagnévan  
 surface and on DEM.F.SG slab come.PRS.3PL DEF.F.PL come.IMPF.3PL  
 831 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  
 832 fòn al barlòt ad òravauntùt sàutani.  
 do.PRS.3PL DEF.M.SG sorcery and above\_all dance.PRS.3PL.3PL

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<sup>45</sup> *Sin* instead of *sén*, see also *sila* instead of *séla* l. 826.

‘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.’

- 833 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  
 834 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  
 835 scaf tégna<sup>46</sup> 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  
 836 végn a suná la géjja, a quaj scaf vèz'  
 come.PRS.3SG SUBORD play DEF.F.SG violin and DEM.M.SG footprint see.PRS.3SG  
 837 inş 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.’

- 838 A lu, sch' inş vò sé a, a raquénta quèla détga  
 and then if GNR go.PRS.3SG up and and tell.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG legend  
 839 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  
 840 naturálmajn imprèsjun a ... ad èls a, vèzan, lura  
 natural.M.SG.ADV impression.F.SG and and 3PL.M and see.PRS.3PL then  
 841 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.’

- 842 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  
 843 vèvan adin' in tèc problèms cula, culs ...  
 have.IMPF.3PL always INDEF.M.SG bit problem.M.PL with.DEF.F.SG DEF.M.PL  
 844 cul barlòt da las stjarlaş<sup>47</sup> adina a a da qué  
 DEF.M.SG sorcery of DEF.F.PL calf.PL always and and of DEM.UNM

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<sup>46</sup> Tégn is a performance error for tégn.

- 845 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
- 846 distùrbian            è    èls,    ah, dl            partgirá,    quaj  
 disturb.PRS.SBJV.3PL also 3PL.M eh of.DEF.M.SG look\_after.INF DEM.UNM
- 847 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.’

- 848 A    lu    prquaj    vèvani            clumau            lu    in'    jèda  
 and then therefore have.IMPF.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM then one.F.SG time
- 849 al,            gl            aucségnar, al            plavòn            da Sadrún da    vagní  
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG priest    DEF.M.SG parish\_priest of PN    COMP come.INF
- 850 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
- 851 détian<sup>47</sup>            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
- 852 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.’

- 853 A    quèl    ... aucségnar ò            lu    banadjú            òra ... la  
 and DEM.M.SG priest    have.PRS.3SG then bless.PTCP.UNM out    DEF.F.SG
- 854 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
- clar.  
 for\_sure

‘This ... priest blessed ... the slab and doing so he of course upset the witches, for sure.’

<sup>47</sup> *Stjarlas* ‘one year old female beef’ instead of *stréjas* ‘witches’.

<sup>48</sup> Unclear part, replaced by *détjan*.

856 A lu al pròxim, in dls pròxims unvjarns ...  
 and then DEF.M.SG next one OF.DEF.M.PL next.PL winter.PL  
 857 òi dau ina grònnda navada, qu'  
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG big snowfall DEM.UNM  
 858 è stau gl òn mili a ... a sjat tschian  
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG year thousand and and seven hundred  
 859 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  
 860 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  
 861 èra, mili a sjat tschian a tons sè  
 COP.IMPF.3SG thousand and seven hundred and so\_many.M.PL be.PRS.3SG.EXPL  
 862 stau, mili a sjat tschian òtgònta.  
 COP.PTCP.UNM thousand and seven hundred eighty

‘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.’

863 Qu’ è dòcumèntau, gjèz è, abr al dátum  
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG document.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM also but DEM.M.SG date  
 864 sau ùssa bétg.  
 know.PRS.1SG.1SG now NEG

‘This is documented, this too, but the date I don’t know now.’

865 Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònnda lavina ... a  
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.F.SG big avalanche and  
 866 vèva ... déstruí ina grònnda part dl vitg  
 have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge part of.DEF.M.SG village  
 867 ajntadém Ruèras ... a vèv’ è dau mòrts, ad i  
 uppermost PN and have.IMPF.3SG also EXIST.PTCP.UNM dead.M.PL and 3PL  
 868 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.’

869 A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è saméz sén  
 and then DEF.M.SG priest of PN be.PRS.3SG REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on

870 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  
 871 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  
 872 mòribùnds, basta, aglaucségnar végn atrás ... Zarcúns a  
 dying.PL enough DEF.M.SG priest come.PRS.3SG through PN and  
 873 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  
 874 l' Òndadusa 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:’

875 «Al végn, aglaucségnar, da Sadrún!  
 3SG.M come.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG priest from PN

‘He comes, the priest, from Sedrun.’

876 Ad òz ò l béjga sé la plauna ... antùrn al  
 and today have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG up DEF.F.SG chasuble around DEF.M.SG  
 877 culiaz.  
 neck

‘And today he doesn’t have the chasuble around his neck.’

878 Òz şè l bgja schurmajjaj,<sup>49</sup> stuschaj la  
 today COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG protect.PTCP.M.PL push.IMP.2PL DEF.F.SG  
 879 lavina!»  
 avalanche

‘Today he is not protected, push the avalanche!’

880 Ad ajnaquèla ... şaj sadèrs ... ina grònnda  
 and at\_that\_moment be.PRS.3SG REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG huge  
 881 lavina gjù da la val l' Òndadusa, gjù ancùntar  
 avalanche down of DEF.F.SG valley DEF.F.SG PN down towards

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<sup>49</sup> *Schurmajjaj* is a performance error for *schurmagjaus*.

- 882 *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  
 883 *glaucégnar è pròpi vagnus ála lavina,*  
 DEF.M.SG priest be.PRS.3SG really come.PTCP.M.SG into.DEF.F.SG avalanche  
 884 *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  
 885 *òn ... fatg vandètga cuglaucégnar 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 Ondadusa valley, down towards the village, or the small village, the hamlet of Zarcuns, and the priest really was engulfed by the avalanche and was ... dead, so that the witches got their revenge on the priest of Sedrun.’

- 886 *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  
 887 *quèla crusch tga ragòrda vi da quèla disgrazja ajnta Ruèras,*  
 DEM.F.SG cross REL remind.PRS.3SG over of DEM.F.SG tragedy in PN  
 888 *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.’

- 889 *Àbar quaj fò lu imprasjún quèla, l' Òndadusa*  
 but DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG then impression.F.SG DEM.F.SG DEF.F.SG PN  
 890 *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.’

- 891 *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'

892 *Nuṣ vèvan nòssa scùla ajn Sùtcrèstas, qu' è*  
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG school in PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG  
 893 *dadajns Sèlva, api èri è adina duas buébas tga*  
 in\_interior PN and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also always two.F.PL girl.PL REL  
 894 *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.'

895 *Navé, las sèras las quátar èri, qu'*  
 right? DEF.F.PL afternoon.PL DEF.F.PL four EXIST.IMPF.EXPL DEM.UNM  
 896 *èra, qu' èra nagín ah, cò dins,*  
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.M.SG ah how say.PRS.3SG.GNR  
 897 *in padèl, vèvan mintg' jamna duas buébas da fà.*  
 INDEF.M.SG caretaker have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG week two.F.PL girl.PL to do.INF

'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].'

898 *Api plénangjú, èri gl unviarn, qu' èra*  
 and more\_down COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.M.SG winter DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG  
 899 *baghétgs aun, ad èra prvasèdars ... ad in ...*  
 building.M.PL still and EXIST.IMPF.3SG herdsman.M.PL and INDEF.M.SG  
 900 *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  
 901 *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:'

- 902 «*Tatla!*      *Laş      òndas, laş      òlmaş dian      ... rusari*  
           listen.IMP.2PL DEF.F.PL aunt.PL DEF.F.PL soul.PL say.PRS.3PL rosary.M.SG  
 903 *gjùn      basèlgja.*»  
       down\_in church.F.SG

‘‘Listen! The aunts, the spirits are saying ... a rosary down in the church.’’

- 904 *A      nus tumévan,      a      schèvan      dá      quèlas scúas      a      da*  
       and 1PL be.afraid.IMPF.1PL and let.IMPF.1PL give.INF DEM.F.SG broom.PL and of  
 905 *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  
 906 *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.’

- 907 *Sagir quaj      fagèv'      adin'      in'      impramasjun<sup>50</sup> cu      quèl*  
       sure DEM.UNM make.IMPF.3SG always DEF.F.SG impression when DEM.M.SG  
 908 *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  
 909 *èra.*  
       EXIST.IMPF.3SG

‘For sure, this made always an impression when he started with his spirits and everything that was there.’

- 910 *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.’

- 911 *Api şchèvan      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  
 912 *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  
 913 *nòtg parquaj tga      cu      'l      è      vavjus,      vèv'*  
       night because SUBORD when 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG live.PTCP.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG  
 914 *èl      méz      èls      ajn in      autar ljuc.*  
       3SG.M put.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M in INDEF.M.SG other place

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<sup>50</sup>Performance error for *imprèsjun*.

‘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.’

915 *Ad ùs stù              'l bunamajn vagní a métar èls;*  
 and now must.PRS.3SG 3SG.M really come.INF SUBORD put.INF 3PL.M  
 916 *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  
 917 *èran afòns, nuš cartévan ad ju fuš ina*  
 COP.IMPF.1PL child.PL 1PL believe.IMPF.1PL and 1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.F.SG  
 918 *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.’

919 *Gnanc gjün tschalè, nuš 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

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, m10, aged 74)

Recorded 2017/11/02 in Sedrun

Duration 9'

920 *Bian,              mju bap èra ... staus da*  
 good.ADJ.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG father be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG of  
 921 *malitèr              tials òrdònanzs dad óficiars, a vèva*  
 military\_service.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL orderly.PL of officer.M.PL and have.IMPF.3SG  
 922 *... raquintava savèns tg' èls vèvan da schùbargè als*  
 tell.IMPF.3SG often COMP 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL to clean.INF DEF.M.PL  
 923 *tgavals ... dals óficiars.*  
 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.’

- 924 *A quaj èr' in bi survètsch ad èl*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG beautiful service and 3SG.M  
 925 *vèva in spazjal<sup>51</sup> ... 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.’

- 926 *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  
 927 *èl èra ... fòrsa staus ah da malitèr tials*  
 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG maybe COP.PTCP.M.SG ah of army.M.SG at.DEF.M.PL  
*tgavals, né gju da fà cùn tgavals, scha ... vèv'*  
 horse.PL or have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF with horse.M.PL CORR have.IMPF.3SG  
 928 *èl ... cumprau in asan, álsò in mél, bitg*  
 3SG.M buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG donkey this\_is INDEF.M.SG mule NEG  
 929 *in asan, in mél.*  
 INDEF.M.SG 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.’

- 931 *Als mèls èran, qu' èra ... ferm ...*  
 DEF.M.PL mule.PL COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG strong.ADJ.UNM  
 932 *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  
 933 *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.’

- 934 *Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn uaül<sup>52</sup>*  
 then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL often down\_in PN here from DEM.M.SG big forest  
 935 *vagnéva bjè lèna.*  
 come.IMPF.3SG much wood.COLL

‘Then they often went down to Cavorgia, much wood came from that big forest there.’

<sup>51</sup> *In spazjal* is a performance error for *ina spazjala*.

<sup>52</sup> *Uaul* is Standard Sursilvan for *uaut*.

- 936 A lu mávani gl unviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a trèvan  
and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG winter down\_in PN and pull.IMPF.3PL  
937 sé lèna cùls mél.  
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].’

- 938 A lura ah ... raquintav’ èl adina dal dal mél.  
and then eh tell.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M always of.DEF.M.SG of.DEF.M.SG mule

‘And then ah ... he would always talk about, about the mule.’

- 939 Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vèṣ ah gè ju  
and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMPF.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah yes 1SG  
940 vèṣ è ugèn ampríu d’ ancanùschar quaj  
have.COND.1SG also with\_pleasure learn.PTCP.UNM COMP know.INF DEM.M.SG  
941 mél, ábar ju ... sùn halt naschjus mèmja tart.  
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.’

- 942 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  
943 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  
944 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  
945 ‘l 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.’

- 946 A lu cu èl ò calau da fá ‘l pur,  
and then when 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.M.SG farmer  
947 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  
948 ò vandju las vacas, scha ... va ju  
have.PRS.3SG sell.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL COW.PL CORR have.PRS.1SG 1SG

- 949 *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  
950 *vès*            *da vèndar in*        *pau ah ... al*        *múval.*  
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.’

- 951 *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  
952 *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  
953 *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  
954 *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.’

- 955 *A lu va*        *ju fatg*        *al*        *pur a lu*  
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG farmer and then  
956 *bagagjau*        *ina, ina stala*        *nòva plaunsjú, api ah ...*  
build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG sheepfold new slowly and eh  
957 *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  
958 *méls, aun adina patartgau*        *mintgataun, ad in' jèda*  
mule.PL still always think.PTCP.UNM sometimes and one.F.SG time  
959 *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.’

- 960 *Api ah ... va*        *ju cumprau gl ampréim mù in, a*  
and eh have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG first only one.M.SG and  
961 *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].’

962 A lu va ju gju ... difarènts, ju savès  
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM different.M.PL 1SG can.COND.1SG  
 963 raquintá bjè avanamajnts tgu a gju cùn  
 tell.INF many incident.M.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM with  
 964 quèls méls.  
 DEM.M.PL mule

‘And then I’ve had ... different, I could recount many incidents I’ve had with these mules.’

965 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  
 966 par èxempal ah fatg ah, ina tura ... da sauma,  
 for instance.M.MSG eh make.PTCP.UNM eh INDEF.F.SG tour of bridle.F.SG  
 967 álsò vèvan nus mèz sé ... las valiçhaş dals  
 therefore have.IMPF.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM up DEF.F.PL suitcase.PL of.DEF.M.PL  
 968 hòspis.  
 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.’

969 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  
 970 ád Acquarossa cùn ... cùn quèls méls, álsò álsò lu fatg  
 to PN with with DEM.M.PL mule.PL well well then make.PTCP.UNM  
 971 étapaş a mintg' jèda durmu ajls, ajn ajn in  
 leg.F.PL and each time.F.SG sleep.PTCP.UNM in.DEF.M.PL in in INDEF.M.MSG  
 972 hòtel.  
 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.’

973 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  
 974 racògnòszau avaun tg' ins savèva nua ins  
 reconnoitre.PTCP.UNM before SUBORD GNR know.IMPF.3SG where GNR  
 975 vèva da durmí, nu i èra ... da métar ah şur  
 have.IMPF.3SG to sleep.INF where EXPL be.IMPF.3SG to put.INF ah over

- 976 *nòtg als als mél<sup>s</sup>, nu i dèva pával*  
 night.F.SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG food.M.SG  
 977 *pls mél<sup>s</sup>, a quaj èra tutò organisau*  
 for.DEF.M.PL mule.PL and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG all organise.PTCP.UNM  
 978 *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.’

- 979 *Ad in' jèd' èssan nuş i navèn da ... l' Albşú ...*  
 and one.F.SG time be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from of DEF.M.SG PN  
 980 *tòcan a ... Guòttanna ... èl<sup>53</sup> 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.’

- 981 *A lu èssan nuş i a ... l' amprèm ... nòtg*  
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to DEF.M.SG first night.F.SG  
 982 *vajn nus durmu ò Realp, la zacùnda nòtg*  
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.MNM down PN DEF.F.SG second night  
 983 *vajn nus durmu 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.’

- 984 *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  
 985 *in ... trùtg sédòra tòcan séssur las lavinèras, a*  
 INDEF.M.SG footpath up until up\_over DEF.F.PL avalanche\_barrier.PL and  
 986 *... séssur 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  
 987 *quaj vò sé ancùntar l' Albert-Heim-Hütte<sup>54</sup> ... èssan*  
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG up towards DEF.F.SG PN-PN-hut be.PRS.1PL  
 988 *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

<sup>53</sup> Èl is Standard Sursilvan for *ál* or *ajl*.

989    *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.MSG  
 990    *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.’

991    *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  
 992    *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.’

993    *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.MSG pass  
 994    *circa né ... strusch séssum al pʰas.*  
 around or almost on\_top DEF.M.MSG pass

‘This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass, approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.’

995    *A lu vajn nus ah durmju lò, api l' autar dé*  
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL ah sleep.PTCP.UNM there and DEF.M.MSG other.M.MSG day  
 996    *èssan nus ... i a a ... cù è l' nùm, ju*  
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to to how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.MSG name 1SG  
 997    *a cùls nùmṣ in téč misérjaš, a Gletsch.*  
 have.PRS.1SG with.DEF.M.PL name.PL INDEF.M.MSG 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.’

998    *A lu vajn nuş durmju lò, api navèn da Gletsch*  
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM there and from of PN  
 999    *èssan nus, lò vajn nus lu stu i sén via<sup>54</sup>*  
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL there have.PRS.1PL 1PL then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF on way.F.MSG

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<sup>54</sup>Said in German.

- 1000 'ssan      *nus i*      sé sél      Grimsel, a    lu    vajn    *nus*  
be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up on.DEF.M.SG PN      and then have.1PL 1PL  
 1001 *durmju*      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  
 1002 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.'

- 1003 *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  
 1004 *ina*      ... in      ... in      *trùtg*    *da sauma*    *nùca*    *tga*  
INDEF.F.SG    INDEF.M.SG    INDEF.M.SG footpath of bridle.F.SG where REL  
 1005 *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.'

- 1006 *Avaun òns*      *fagèvan*      *trans-pòrts*    *da da caçhial*<sup>55</sup>    *tégn*  
before year.M.PL make.IMPF.3PL transport.M.PL of of cheese.M.SG hold.PRS.1SG  
 1007 *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.'

- 1008 *A lura ... a lò quaj*      *trùtg*      èra      in      ...  
and then and there DEM.M.SG footpath COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG  
 1009 *trùtgs*      *antrás*    'ls      *lavurs*    c'    i    òn      *fatg*  
footpath.M.PL through DEF.F.PL work.PL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL make.PTCP.UNM  
 1010 *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.'

<sup>55</sup> On the way and not on the footpath.

<sup>56</sup> *Caçhial* is Standard Sursilvan for *magnùc*.

- 1011 A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò dal  
and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out of.DEF.M.SG
- 1012 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
- 1013 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
- 1014 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.’

- 1015 Què è btg ina lada sènda, quèl’ èra  
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.F.SG broad path DEM.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
- 1016 försa ... ah in mètar a miaz, strušch duş, a lu èssan nuş, gè  
maybe eh one.M.SG metre and half almost two and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL yes
- 1017 in mètar a miaz plétost a mintgataun èri aun  
one.M.SG metre and half rather and sometimes EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover
- 1018 grépa tga stèv’ ò in téc ....  
rock.COLL REL stand.IMPF.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 ...’

- 1019 A lura ah ... mju quinau manava in mél, –  
and then eh POSS.1SG.M.SG brother-in-law lead.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG mule
- 1020 lu vèva 'l dus – ad ju manava in.  
then have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M TWO.M.PL and 1SG lead.IMPF.1SG one.M.SG

‘And then eh ... my brother-in-law led one mule – at that time he had two – and I led one.’

- 1021 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.’

- 1022 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
- 1023 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

1024 *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  
 1025 *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  
 1026 *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  
 1027 *lèz scù ins di, api ah sùnd jus cùn dòmaçdús.*  
 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].’

1028 *A qu’ èra schòn strètg, álsò sch’ju stèṣ*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really narrow.ADJ.UNM well if 1SG must.COND.1SG  
 1029 *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.’

1030 *Mintgataun vasèvaṣ gjùadò grad agradgiù, tòcan gjù*  
 sometimes see.IMPF.2SG.GNR down\_and\_out directly steep\_down until down  
 1031 *èl’ aua, álsò sch’ in fùṣ ùssa tagljau,*  
 in.DEF.F.SG water well if one.M.SG PASS.AUX.COND.3SG now cut.PTCP.UNM  
 1032 *quèlas ... al bùrdi stèva ò ualti gljunsch, quaj*  
 DEM.F.PL DEF.M.SG load stand.IMPF.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM  
 1033 *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.’

1034 *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  
 1035 *in grép tga vès pudju bétar èl, scha*  
 INDEF.M.SG rock REL have.COND.3SG can.PTCP.UNM throw.INF 3SG.M CORR  
 1036 *quèls füssan grat schulaj gjù ajl’*  
 DEM.M.PL be.COND.3PL immediately fall\_rapidly.PTCP.M.PL down into.DEF.F.SG  
 1037 *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.’

- 1038 *Ábar è ju ... ju raşdav' in téc cùn èls, ju èra*  
 but also 1SG 1SG speak.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG bit with 3PL.M 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG  
 1039 *mèz èr ... saspruava dad èssar ruassajvals, quaj*  
 self.1SG.M also REFL.try.hard.IMPF.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG DEM.UNM  
 1040 *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.’

- 1041 *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.’

- 1042 *La davùsa nògj vajn nuş durmju ... a Guottannen.*  
 DEF.F.SG last night have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM at PN

‘The last night we slept in Guttannen.’

- 1043 *Quaj èra, dad ira cùn cùn sauma èra*  
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF with with bridle.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG  
 1044 *quaj súpar cùn quèls, cùn quèls mél's.*  
 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.’

- 1045 *Què è pròpa tiars plé destinaj par ah fá ...*  
 DEF COP.PRS.3SG really animal.M.PL more suited.PTCP.M.PL SUBORD ah do.INF  
 1046 *sauma.*  
 bridle

‘These were really animals that are more suited to being bridled.’

- 1047 *Ad èr' è zatgé bi da mirá cù*  
 and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM MOD look.INF how  
 1048 *quèls tiars luvravan, cù quèls ... mavan ad*  
 DEM.M.PL animal.PL work.IMPF.3PL how DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL and  
 1049 *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.’

- 1050 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.’

- 1051 A ... ajl, lò, èran è lu bétga schi ... schi flòts dad  
and in.DEF.M.SG there COP.IMP.F.3PL also then NEG so so nice.M.PL MOD  
1052 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.’

- 1053 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.’

- 1054 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  
1055 propi 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  
1056 şchèva, şchèva savèns:  
say.IMP.F.3SG say.IMP.F.3SG often

‘They escaped many times so that we had big troubles and my brother-in-law ... often said, said.’

- 1057 «Ah, cò èssan nus mitschaj cùla véta, cò  
ah here be.PRS.1PL 1PL escape.PTCP.M.PL with.DEF.F.SG life here  
1058 vèssans sju èssar mòrts.»  
have.COND.1PL.1PL can.PTCP.UNM COP.INF dead.M.PL

‘«Here we escaped with our lives, here we could have been dead.»’

- 1059 In' jèda èssan nus staj ... sén Tschamùt.  
one.F.SG time be.IMP.F.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on PN

‘Once we were in Tschamùt.’

1060 *Nuş vèvan, ju vèva cumprau, midau òr*  
 1SG have.IMPF.1PL 1SG have.IMPF.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM change.PTCP.UNM out  
 1061 *in, in ... vèv' ju vandju a cumprau*  
 one.M.SG one.M.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG sell.PTCP.UNM and buy.PTCP.UNM  
 1062 *in autar parquaj tgu vèva l' imprèssjun tga, tg'*  
 INDEF.M.SG other because SUBORD.1SG have.1SG DEF.F.SG impression COMP COMP  
 1063 *èra quèl tga fagèva bitg andràig, a lu*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG REL do.IMPF.3SG NEG right.ADJ.UNM and then  
 1064 *èssan nus, vajn nus méz sùt èls, dòmaṣdús,*  
 be.IMPF.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM under 3PL.M both  
 1065 *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  
 1066 *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  
 1067 *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  
 1068 *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.’

1069 *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  
 1070 *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.’

1071 *A galòpau, galòpau, galòpau, zatgéj*  
 and gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM something  
 1072 *sgarschajval, 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  
 1073 *sur Sèlva<sup>57</sup>.*  
 above PN

‘And galloped, galloped, galloped, this was horrible, we only managed to hold onto them above Selva.’

- 1074 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  
1075 èls vinanavaun.  
3PL.M farther

‘And then I wouldn’t have dared to, to, to go farther with them any more.’

- 1076 Lu vain nus rantaù èls lò, api sùnd jus  
then have.PRS.1PL 1PL tie.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M there and be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.1SG  
1077 gjù pal tgar anèx, api èssan nus ... sùnd jus sé ...  
down for.DEF.M.SG cart annexed and be.1PL 1PL be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG up  
1078 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.’

- 1079 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  
1080 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.’<sup>58</sup>

- 1081 Tùt saniastar, a galòpavan zatgéj starmantúş, ju  
completely left.ADJ.UNM and gallop.IMPF.3PL something terrible.ADJ.UNM 1SG  
1082 stèva séla brèmşa.  
stand.IMPF.1SG on.DEF.F.SG brake

‘On the very left, and they galloped terribly, I stood on the brake.’

- 1083 Al quinau èr' in ùm, pròp' in ùm  
DEF.M.SG brother-in-law COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG man really INDEF.M.SG man  
1084 fèrm.  
strong.ADJ.M.SG

‘My brother-in-law was a man, a really strong man.’

<sup>57</sup> Selva is located down in the valley, below the road.

<sup>58</sup> The left side is the side of the precipice if one comes up from e.g. Rueras.

- 1085 *Lèz tanèva palas hòtas, a nùnpussajval,*  
DEM.M.SG hold.IMPF.3SG ON.DEF.F.PL reins.PL and impossible.ADJ.UNM
- 1086 *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.’
- 1087 *A lu èra ... sé Tschamùt, cu i òn antschiat*  
and then COP.IMPF.3SG up PN when 3PL have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM
- 1088 *a galòpá, èri grat stau avaun mèssa ....*  
COMP gallop.INF be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL just COP.PTCP.UNM before mass.F.SG
- 1089 *ina mèssa da sjantarmjaş-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.’
- 1090 *A lu, agl aucségnar, par clétg èra la gljut*  
and then DEF.M.SG priest by fortune.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG people
- 1091 *schòn vidòragjù - quèls tg' èran staj a mèssa*  
already over\_out\_down DEM.M.PL REL be.IMPF.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at mass.F.SG
- 1092 *èran schòn vidòragjù - pléndanòragjù tga quaj tga nuş*  
COP.IMPF.3PL already over\_out\_down more\_out\_down than DEM.UNM REL 1PL
- 1093 *èssan, tg' als, tg' als mél's èn galòpaj.*  
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.’
- 1094 *Quèls èn staj ò dal prígal.*  
DEM.M.PL be.PRS.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL out.of.DEF.M.SG danger
- ‘These were out of danger.’
- 1095 *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.’
- 1096 *A lèz èr' avaun caplùta cu, cu nuş èssan*  
and DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG in\_front chapel.F.SG when 1PL be.PRS.1PL
- 1097 *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

1098 – 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  
 1099 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  
 1100 lu vajn nuş, va ju dumandau sch' èl  
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.UNM if 3SG.M  
 1101 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.’

1102 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  
 1103 tgé, tgé nuş ágian gju, tgé événimajn ... nuş  
 what what 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL have.PTCP.UNM what incident.M.SG 1PL  
 1104 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.’

1105 Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi vju  
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in\_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM  
 1106 tga quèls mél s èn saspuantaj, api  
 COMP DEM.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL REFL.frighten.PTCP.M.PL and  
 1107 vagi èl tartgau ... dad í vi ajn via ...  
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on road.F.SG  
 1108 a tanaj sé èls.  
 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.’

1109 Ábar èl vagi lura pandarau a tartgau  
 but 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG then think\_about.PTCP.UNM and think.PTCP.UNM  
 1110 na:  
 no:

‘But he had then thought about it and thought no:’

<sup>1111</sup> «*Da hilft nur noch beten!*»<sup>59</sup>

here helps only still pray

‘In this case only prayers may help!’

<sup>1112</sup> *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

<sup>1113</sup> *èvènimajnts tg' èn schabagjaj cùn quèls mélis.*  
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**

(Tuatschin, Sadrún, m5, aged 64)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2'10"

<sup>1114</sup> *Al sòntgèt dals gjadjuş è ôdém al*  
DEF.M.SG little\_chapel of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL COP.PRS.3SG out\_most DEF.M.SG  
<sup>1115</sup> *vitg da Sadrún.*  
village of PN

‘The little chapel of the Jews is located at the lowest part of the village of Sedrun.’<sup>60</sup>

<sup>1116</sup> *Al sòntgèt, qu' è ina pintga caplùta.*  
DEF.M.SG sòntgèt DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG little chapel

‘The sòntgèt is a little chapel.’

<sup>1117</sup> *Ajn quèla caplùta şè ajn ina, la quarta stazjun da*  
in DEM.F.SG chapel COP.PRS.3SG in INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fourth station of  
<sup>1118</sup> *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.’

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<sup>59</sup>Said in Standard German.

<sup>60</sup>On the *Via Alpu* in direction Mustér.

- 1119 *Nua<sup>61</sup> Jésus végna* gassaljaus, né?  
 where PN PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG flagellate.PTCP.M.SG right  
 ‘Where Jesus is being flagellated, right?’
- 1120 *A lu schajns adina al ... sontgèt òdém al*  
 and then say.PRS.1PL.1PL always DEF.M.SG little\_chapel low\_most DEF.M.SG  
 1121 *vitg.*  
 village

‘And then we always say the ... little chapel at the lowest part of the village.’

- 1122 *Álsò ûs 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  
 1123 *quaj sontgèt èra, in' jèda, òdém al vitg,*  
 DEM.M.SG little\_chapel COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG time low\_most DEF.M.SG village  
 1124 *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?’

- 1125 *Sch' té vas dl vitg òra, scha ... saj 'l ...*  
 if 2SG go.PRS.2SG of.DEF.M.SG village out CORR COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M  
 1126 *drètg, vagnt<sup>62</sup> gè bagagjau da néiv hôtèl*  
 right.ADJ.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL in\_fact build.PTCP.UNM from new hotel  
 1127 *Albsú, né, a lu ... vas fòrsa aun végna mètar, a*  
 PN right and then go.PRS.2SG maybe moreover twenty metre.M.PL and  
 1128 *lu sè 'l<sup>63</sup> saniastar.*  
 then COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M left.ADJ.UNM

‘If you walk down the valley, ... the hotel Albsu 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.’

- 1129 *Qu' è adin' aviart a lu saj í ajn*  
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG go.INF in  
 1130 *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  
 1131 *carstgaun.*  
 human\_being.M.SG

<sup>61</sup>Not clear; therefore replaced by *nua* ‘where’.

<sup>63</sup>*Vagní* is a performance error for *vagnú* ‘PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM’

<sup>63</sup>‘l is a performance error for *la* ‘3sg.F’



Figure 8.4: Christ's way of the Cross, Sedrun

'This is always open, and then you can step in and then you see these eh ... figures ... the size of human beings.'

- 1132 *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
- 1133 *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
- 1134 *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.’

- 1135 [PhM] *Da tgei temps?*  
of which time.M.SG

‘[PhM] At what time?’

- 1136 [m5] *Ah, méli ad òtg ... tgu craj sè stau*  
eh thousand and eight REL.1SG believe.PRS.1SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM  
 1137 *Vènvardís Sògn mili ad òtg tschian trènta quàtar, fòrsa scha ju*  
Friday.M.SG Holy thousand and eight hundred thirty four maybe if 1SG  
 1138 *şbaglja bitg, sè quèlas figuras lu vagnidas*  
be\_wrong.PRS.1SG NEG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL figure.PL then PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.PL  
 1139 *trans-pòrtadas a mézas ajn quèla, ajn quaj sòntgèt.*  
transport.PTCP.F.PL and put.PTCP.F.PL in DEM.F.SG in DEM.M.SG little\_chapel

‘[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.’

- 1140 *Ad ál' antschata èra l sòntgèt ... in*  
and in.DEF.F.SG beginning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG little\_chapel INDEF.M.SG  
 1141 *sòntgèt aviart, quaj vut dí quaj è*  
little\_chapel open.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG  
 1142 *in pin baghètg, a cò èr' in gártar,*  
INDEF.M.SG small.M.SG building and there EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG grating  
 1143 *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.’

- 1144 *A lu òni aun bagagjau vitlúndar ina,*  
and then have.PRS.3PL.3PL in\_addition build.PTCP.UNM next\_to INDEF.F.SG  
 1145 *aun ina part, lu sèn ... in pèr bauns*  
moreover INDEF.F.SG part then EXIST.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG pair bench.M.PL  
 1146 *pins, gè, intarassant, gè, a méz in clutgè*  
small yes interesting.ADJ.UNM yes and put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG clock\_tower  
 1147 *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.’

- 1148 *Quaj vò anavùs sén ina tradizjun tga ...*  
DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG back on INDEF.F.SG tradition REL
- 1149 *Tuatschíns èran ira<sup>64</sup> ... a pèlègrinádi a*  
inhabitant\_of\_Tujetsch.M.PL be.IMPF.3PL go.INF at pilgrimage.M.SG to
- 1150 *Nossa-Dunaun, a lu vas lò zanúa, vas*  
PN and then go.PRS.2SG.GNR there somewhere go.PRS.2SG.GNR
- 1151 *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
- 1152 *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
- 1153 *duèssi èssar ina samagljönta caplùta, è cun*  
should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.F.SG similar chapel also with
- 1154 *ina stazjun da ... da la via da la crusch, a lu ...*  
INDEF.F.SG station of DEF.F.SG way of DEF.F.SG cross and then
- 1155 *chè 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:’

- 1156 «*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.’

- 1157 *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
- 1158 *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
- 1159 *privat.*  
private.ADJ.UNM

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<sup>64</sup>Èran ira ‘had go’ is a performance error for èran í ‘had gone’.

‘And this all happened on a private basis, this chapel has thus been private until maybe ten years ago.’

- 1160 *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.’

- 1161 *Agl Andréoli vèva finju ... las ... figuras ...*  
DEF.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL figure.PL  
1162 *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.’

- 1163 *A lu vèvani dépònju quèlas, quèlas státuas*  
and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL store.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.PL DEM.F.PL statue.PL  
1164 *vèvani dépònju ajn tgèsa-parvènda.*  
have.IMPF.3PL.3PL store.PTCP.UNM in presbytery.F.SG

‘And then they stored these, these statues they had stored in the presbytery.’

- 1165 *Ála véglja-véglja tgèsa-parvènda, né?*  
in.DEF.F.SG RED~old presbytery right

‘At the very old presbytery, right?’

- 1166 *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.’

- 1167 *A gl òn ca tg' òn gju dépònju*  
and DEF.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM store.PTCP.UNM  
1168 *quèlas ah figurás ò inş adina détg «la*  
DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always say.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG  
1169 *stiva dals gjadus», ò quèla gju nùm*  
living\_room of.DEF.M.PL Jew.PL have.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG have.PTCP.UNM name  
1170 *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

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m5, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2'

1171 *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  
1172 *èra ál schènivával tschantanè, tg' als*  
COP.IMP.F.3SG in.DEF.M.SG nineteenth.M.SG century.m.sg REL DEF.M.PL  
1173 *martgadònts cumpravan als tiars quasi schòn la*  
merchant.PL buy.IMP.F.3PL DEF.M.PL animal.PL so\_to\_speak already DEF.F.SG  
1174 *prmavèra, alura mavan quèls stjarls, als*  
spring then go.IMP.F.3PL DEM.M.PL one\_year\_old\_calf.PL DEF.M.PL  
1175 *mùtgs, als stjarls mavan lu ád*  
two\_year\_old\_calf.PL DEF.M.PL one\_year\_old\_calf.PL go.IMP.F.3PL then to  
1176 *alp, a lura sjantar alp, agl atùn, vagnévani lu*  
alp.F.SG and then after alp.F.SG in.DEF.M.SG autumn come.IMP.F.3PL.3PL then  
1177 *par èls a mavan cun èls lura sur Lucmagn a vandévan*  
for 3PL.M and go.IMP.F.3PL with 3PL.M then over PN and sell.IMP.F.3PL  
1178 *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.'

1179 *Quaj mava lu radùn, quaj mava ò da Tujétsch,*  
DEM.UNM go.IMP.F.3SG then around DEM.UNM go.IMP.F.3SG out of PN  
1180 *mavi radùn duatschian, försa antùrn duatschian tgaus.*  
go.IMP.F.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].'

1181 *A qu' è atgnamajn al ... sulèt danè ... quasi*  
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG actually DEF.M.SG only.M.SG money almost  
1182 *tg' al pur vèva blùt danè, né.*  
REL DEF.M.SG farmer have.IMP.F.3SG naked.ADJ.M.SG money right

'And this is at least almost the ... only cash money ... the farmers had, right?'

- 1183 *Quaj èra atgnamajn la fòntauna la plé impurtònta*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.F.SG source DEF.F.SG most important  
1184 *da hanlètg, quèla fiara<sup>65</sup> 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.’

- 1185 *Álsò quaj, quaj èra lura, ajn Tujétsch èri*  
well DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then in PN EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL  
1186 *usché da quèls mulissiars, álsò quèls «Unterhändler»<sup>66</sup>, né, né*  
so of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL well DEM.M.PL negotiators right or  
1187 *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  
1188 *préfatschèntas, né, né tg’ èran ... cumissunaj*  
intermediate\_trade.PL right or REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL commission.PTCP.M.PL  
1189 *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?’

- 1190 *Quèls vèvan quasi in téc maun lìbar, né, da*  
DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL so\_to\_speak a bit hand.M.SG free.M.SG right SUBORD  
1191 *fà 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  
1192 *quèls íntèrns òra, né, a da quèls martgadònts ah*  
DEM.M.PL domestic.PL out right and of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL eh  
1193 *tuatschíns òi adina dau, quèls tg’*  
from\_Tujetsch.M.PL have.PRS.3SG.EXPL always EXIST.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL REL  
1194 *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

<sup>65</sup> *Fiara* is Standard Sursilvan for *féjra*.

<sup>66</sup> German for Tuatschin *mulissiars*.

always some of these negotiators from the Tujetsch valley, right, those who dared and risked [to do] this.'

- 1195 Álsò ... la résca èra atgnamajn fétg grònда, parquaj tga ...  
well DEF.F.SG risk COP.IMPF.3SG in\_fact very big.F.SG because SUBORD  
 1196 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  
 1197 bégja cù sè 'l precì, cù sè la féjra  
NEG how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG price how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG market  
 1198 insùma, sai atractif, sè la tschèrca cò,  
at\_all COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL attractive.ADJ.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG demand here  
 1199 né.  
right

'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?'

- 1200 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  
 1201 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  
 1202 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  
 1203 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  
 1204 vandju tut, al davùs stuèvani vèndar fòrsa pr,  
sell.PTCP.UNM everything DEF.M.SG last must.IMPF.3PL.3PL sell.INF maybe for  
 1205 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?'

- 1206 Álsò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ... nùndétg, ad  
well EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMPF.3PL incredibly and  
 1207 i sèra òns nùca tg' èra aua, ad  
EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG water.F.SG and

- 1208 èra                òns                nūca                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.'

1209 Quaj                scriva                Gadola, scriv'                è                quaj                zanú,  
DEM.UNM write.PRS.3SG PN                write.PRS.3SG also DEM.UNM somewhere

1210 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

1211 Ligjaun»<sup>67</sup>, a                lu                dascriva                la                òrd                vésta dal                Tujétsch  
PN                and then describe.PRS.3SG 3SG.F out\_of sight of.DEF.M.SG PN

1212 scù quaj                funcsanava,                cù i                mavan,                a                lu  
how DEM.UNM function.IMPF.3SG how 3PL go.IMPF.3PL and then

1213 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

1214 ira,                naturálmajn                cu                i                vagnévan                anavùs scha savèvan  
go.INF natural.M.SG.ADV when 3PL come.IMPF.3PL back                CORR know.IMPF.3PL

1215 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

1216 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

1217 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.'

- 1218 *Quaj òi* *dau* *savèns, gè.*  
DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM often yes

‘This happened often, yes.’

<sup>67</sup>The title is in Standard Sursilvan.

## 8.10 Sé Nalps

### In Nalps

(Tuatschín, Surajn, f5, aged 56)

Recorded 2017/03/10 in Surrein

Duration 1'10

- 1219 Cu nuš èran buébas, èri bja autar  
when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL girl.F.PL COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL much different.ADJ.UNM  
1220 tgé ùssa.  
than now

‘When we were girls, it was very different from nowadays.’

- 1221 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  
1222 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  
1223 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  
1224 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  
1225 lò, vagnéva ... lu èri aun bigja turists,  
there come.IMPF.3SG then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet NEG tourist.M.PL  
1226 mintgataun vagnévi in in in car,  
from\_time\_to\_time come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG bus  
1227 a quèls vèvan naturálmajn plaschaj da nus a  
and DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL natural.M.SG.ADV pleasure.M.SG of 1PL and  
1228 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.’

- 1229 Mintgataun mavan nuš èra ... plas pitgògnas a cavá  
sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also in.DEF.F.PL steep\_slope.PL SUBORD dig.INF  
1230 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

- 1231 *halt in téctart.*  
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.’

- 1232 *A cu ins vagnéva anavùs èri bigja schi flòt*  
and when GNR come.IMPF.3SG back COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG so nice.ADJ.UNM  
1233 *pr, cu ins vagnéva cò cu 'ls purs vagnévan a*  
for when GNR come.IMPF.3SG here when DEF.M.PL farmer.PL come.IMPF.3PL and  
1234 *savilavan cun nus, ni tumévan par nus, api stèvan*  
get\_angry.IMPF.3PL with 1PL or be\_afraid.IMPF.3PL for 1PL and must.IMPF.1PL  
1235 *nus vagní a tgèsa ad a ... múlgjar tut las tgauras.*  
1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and SUBORD milk.INF all 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.’

- 1236 *Als gjanitùrs vèvan aun pòrs, stèvan fá*  
DEF.M.PL parent.PL have.IMPF.3PL in\_addition pig.PL must.IMPF.1PL do.INF  
1237 *gljèz, a quaj è naturálmajn ùssa samidau*  
DEM.UNM and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG of\_course now REFL.change.PTCP.UNM  
1238 *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.’

- 1239 *Navèn da lu tòcan, ad è stau ábar in*  
from of then until and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM but INDEF.M.SG  
1240 *bi tjams. Ad oz lajni gnanc i la*  
beautiful.M.SG time and today let.PRS.3PL.3PL not\_even go.INF DEF.F.SG  
1241 *buébanáglja, nus mavan cun tschun òns èran nus*  
child.COLL 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with five year.M.PL COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL  
1242 *tgavrèrs, 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.’

1243 [PhM] *Aber la notg buc, la notg...*  
 but DEF.F.SG night NEG DEF.F.SG night

‘But at night not, at night ...’

1244 [f5] *Na na, lu vagnévan nuş anavùs, api vèva mintg'*  
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG  
 1245 *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  
 1246 *stgèvan nuş í tiar quèl a tschajna.*  
 be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF to DEM.M.SG to dinner.F.SG

‘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.’

1247 *A quaj midava mintg' jamna stgèvan*  
 and DEM.UNM change.IMPF.1SG every.F.SG week be\_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL  
 1248 *nuş 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  
 1249 *tiar tschèl.*  
 DEM.M.SG

‘And this would change every week we had to go to one, and the other week it would change to the other.’

1250 *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.’

1251 *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.’

1252 *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.’

1253 *Gè scù bjè autar è tg' è samidau.*  
 yes as a\_lot other.ADJ.UNM also REL be.PRS.3SG REFL.change.PTCP.UNM

1254 *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**

(Tuatschin, Sadrún, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 5'50"

1255 *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  
 1256 *purtgè ... da Sadrún, cun aun in in in*  
 swineherd of PN with in\_addition INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG  
 1257 *camarat.*  
 mate

‘I could tell, I was the last swineherd ... of Sedrun, together with a mate.’

1258 *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  
 1259 *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.’

1260 *Qu’ è stau ... mat<sup>h</sup>aj ... gl òn avaun ca*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.M.SG year before REL  
 1261 *tgu móndi ... 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].’

1262 *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  
 1263 *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  
 1264 *classa.*  
 term

‘I got employed with a eh mate ... also from Sedrun, and ... he had already attended the first term [of primary school].’

1265 *A nuş dus vajn supríu da fá*  
 and 1PL two.M.PL have.PRS.1PL take\_over.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF

1266 *purtgè da Sadrún, a Gjònða.*  
 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.’

1267 *Quaj vùl dí qu' èra lu al*  
 DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG then DEF.M.SG  
 1268 *tgau-vitg, quèl vèva pladjú nus.*  
 head.M.SG-village.M.SG DEM.M.SG have.IMP.F.3SG employ.PTCP.UNM 1PL

‘This means, this was the head of the village who had employed us.’

1269 *Ju sa bitg tgé piaglja nuş vajn gju, álşò*  
 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG what salary.F.SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM well  
 1270 *nuş vajn gju ina pintga piágbla, parquaj, gljèz*  
 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG small salary therefore DEM.UNM  
 1271 *raqaint' 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.’

1272 *A lu ... vèvan nus da ... la stat cu ju a*  
 and then have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL to DEF.F.SG summer when 1SG have.PRS.1SG  
 1273 *cargjau las vacas, cargjau laş alps, scha*  
 drove.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL COW.PL drove.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.PL alp.PL CORR  
 1274 *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

1275  
 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.’

1276 *Quaj vul dí, nuş vèvan èxact végn pòrs,*  
 DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF 1PL have.PRS.1PL exactly twenty pig.M.PL  
 1277 *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.’

- 1278 A *nus dus*      *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  
 1279 *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.’

- 1280 *Dus èran*      *vin Gjònدا craju,*      *lu catschav'*  
 two.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL over\_in PN believe.PRS.1SG.1SG then drove.IMPF.1SG  
 1281 *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  
 1282 *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  
 1283 *lu rimná èls, a qu' èra fòrsa vi da las ...*  
 then collect.INF 3PL.M and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG maybe over of DEF.F.PL  
 1284 *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.’

- 1285 *Má tga ... avaun *nus èra sagir al tgavrè èra schòn**  
 since SUBORD before 1PL be.IMPF.3SG sure DEF.M.SG goatherd also already  
 1286 *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.’

- 1287 A ... *viars anòr'sé da Val*      *Strém ajn.*  
 and towards out\_up of valley.F.SG PN

‘And upwards into the Strem Valley.’

- 1288 A *nus rimnau quèls végn pòrs, a vèvan *nus da**  
 and 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL twenty pig.PL and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to  
 1289 *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  
 1290 *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.’

1291 *Ussa ... pòrs ... tgi ca sò quaj, lèzs èn ualti*  
 now pig.M.PL who REL know.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL quite  
 1292 *stinaj da, da catschá èls, da da dad í cun èls,*  
 obstinate.PTCP.M.PL MOD MOD drove.INF 3PL.M MOD MOD MOD go.INF with 3PL.M  
 1293 *quaj è bigj' in animal scù ina tgaura né*  
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.M.SG animal like INDEF.F.SG goat or  
 1294 *ina vaca, quèls èn bérgja andisaj, èls*  
 INDEF.F.SG COW DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL NEG used\_to.PTCP.M.PL 3PL.M  
 1295 *èn ajn nuégl, ad ùs tutajnina stùni antschajvar*  
 COP.PRS.3PL in pigsty.M.SG and now suddenly must.PRS.3PL.3PL begin.INF  
 1296 *ad i.*  
 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.’

1297 *Ajn tutà 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  
 1298 *mju còlega tg' èra è cun mè ... vèvan*  
 POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG have.IMPF.3PL  
 1299 *stju gidá nus in pèr dis ... da catschè*  
 must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL SUBORD drove.INF  
 1300 *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’

1301 *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  
 1302 *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  
 1303 *séssum la pastira da Sadrún stuèvan nuş í gjù*  
 on\_top DEF.F.SG pasture of PN must.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF down

- 1304 *tral*                    *Drun, quèl,*        *al*                    *dargún tga végn*  
     through.DEF.M.PL PN     DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG torrent REL come.PRS.3SG
- 1305 *gjùadòra*        *cò, a tral*                    *Drun, a qu'*        *èra*  
     down\_and\_out here and through.DEF.M.SG PN     and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG
- 1306 *lu mù in*            *pin trùtg, a suèntar*<sup>68</sup>    *vi dad ina*        ...  
     then only INDEF.M.SG small path and after     over of INDEF.F.SG
- 1307 *gjassa*            *sédòra*                    *tòcan sé Valtgèva.*  
     narrow\_path up\_and\_out until up PN

'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.'

- 1308 *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
- 1309 *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
- 1310 *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
- 1311 *stau álsò in martéri, a nuš vajn gju da*  
     COP.PTCP.UNM well INDEF.M.SG ordeal and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM to
- 1312 *samudargè, ju sa, mia mùma è*  
     REFL.struggle.INF 1SG know.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG
- 1313 *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
- 1314 *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
- 1315 *tùt còtschna, ad èla vèva gju da fá*  
     completely red.F.SG and 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to do.INF
- 1316 *cul cùr, èla vèva magari in tec*  
     with.DEF.M.SG heart 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG sometimes INDEF.M.SG bit
- 1317 *problèms 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
- 1318 *èla mèmja hèfti.*  
     3SG.F too violent.ADJ.UNM

<sup>68</sup> *suenter* is Standard Sursilvan for *sjantar*.

‘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.’

1319 *Ábar èla èra lu tutina aun vagnida ... pulit*  
 but 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG then nevertheless still become.PTCP.F.SG quite  
 1320 *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  
 1321 *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 ...’

1322 *A quaj è rastau da mé, a lu ... sjantar*  
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG remain.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG and then after  
 1323 *in pèr dis ... vajn nus savju dumigná*  
 INDEF.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF  
 1324 *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  
 1325 *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  
 1326 *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  
 1327 *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.’

1328 *A sé Valtgèva cu nuş èran tras ... èri lò*  
 and up PN when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL through EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL there  
 1329 *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  
 1330 *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

- 1331 *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  
 1332 *ajnsassèz ... nagina lavur, nuş vèvan ina bjala vèta.*  
 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.’

- 1333 *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  
 1334 *lu vagnévan gjù cùntar la gjajna, a nuş vèvan da*  
 then come.IMPF.3PL down towards DEF.F.SG gate and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP  
 1335 *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].’

- 1336 *Ad ju sa, ju èra bégi’ aun jus l’ ampréma*  
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.IMPF.SG NEG yet go.PTCP.M.SG DEF.F.SG first  
 1337 *classa, ju vèva problèms da dumbrá quèls végn pòrs*  
 class 1SG have.IMPF.1SG problem.M.PL ATTR count.INF DEM.M.PL twenty pig.PL  
 1338 *dad in tòcan végn.*  
 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.’

- 1339 *Ju vèva bigja aun ampríu, ajn scùlèta*  
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG yet learn.PTCP.UNM in nursery\_school.F.SG  
 1340 *amprandèvan nus pauc.*  
 learn.IMPF.1PL 1PL little

‘I hadn’t learned yet, we didn’t learn much in nursery school.’

- 1341 *Álsò ... ju vèva braja da dumbrá in tòcan végn,*  
 well 1SG have.IMPF.1SG trouble.F.SG COMP count.INF one till twenty  
 1342 *mirá tga nuş 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.’

- 1343 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  
1344 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].'

- 1345 Qu' è stau, ju sun è staus  
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM 1SG be.PRS.1SG also COP.PTCP.M.SG  
1346 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  
1347 dé, cu ju a dascargjau als pòrs, scha  
day when 1SG have.PRS.1SG drove\_down.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.PL pig.PL CORR  
1348 sè al bap da mju colèga vagnús cun - èl  
be.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father of POSS.1G.M.SG mate come.PTCP.M.SG with 3SG.M  
1349 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  
1350 las mùmas vèvan praparau tiar mats<sup>69</sup> ...  
DEF.F.SG mother.PL have.IMPF.3PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by bunch.F.PL  
1351 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  
1352 antùrn in sujet mataj a méz sé quaj antùrn  
around INDEF.M.SG rope probably and put.PTCP.UNM up DEM.UNM around  
1353 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.'

- 1354 A nuš vagní gjù da Valtgèva försa cun tschun sis pòrs,  
and 1PL come.PTCP.M.PL down from PN maybe with five six pig.M.PL  
1355 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.'

<sup>69</sup> *mats* is a phonetically simplified form of *matgs* 'bundles'

- 1356 *A nuş duş 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
- 1357 *a da scargjá<sup>70</sup> 'ls pòrs usché, qu' è*  
and COMP drove\_down.INF DEF.M.PL pig.PL so DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG
- 1358 *stau pr nus in aparti avanimajn.*  
COP.PTCP.UNM for 1PL INDEF.M.SG special event

‘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.’

- 1359 *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
- 1360 *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
- 1361 *sajv èr' ina, la sajv vèva rùt*  
fence COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG fence have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM
- 1362 *in palé, quaj vèva pudju atrás, a quaj*  
INDEF.M.SG post DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM through and DEM.UNM
- 1363 *... 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
- 1364 *a vèva rùt gjù al matg tga*  
and have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.M.SG bunch SUBORD
- 1365 *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].’

- 1366 *A, a lu vajn nus dascargjau cun gròn plaşchaj,*  
and and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL drove\_down.PTCP.UNM with big.M.SG pleasure
- 1367 *quaj è naturálmajn ina ònur,*  
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV INDEF.F.SG honour
- 1368 *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.’

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<sup>70</sup> *Scargjà* is Standard Sursilvan for *scargjè*.

1369 *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  
 1370 *ad incassá.*  
 SUBORD collect.INF

‘And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].’

1371 *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  
 1372 *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  
 1373 *uschéa ... ábar ju sa bigja còns raps nuş vèvan<sup>71</sup> ...*  
 so but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG how\_many cent.PL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL ...  
 1374 *gju d' incassá, mataj dus ... fòrsa tschun francs par*  
 have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF maybe two.M probably five franc.M.PL per  
 1375 *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.’

1376 *A tiar in pur ... èn<sup>72</sup> nuş í, èr' ju,*  
 and by INDEF.M.SG farmer ... be.PRS.1SG 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1SG 1SG  
 1377 *vèv' ju gju dad incassá quèls raps, a*  
 have.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM to collect.INF DEM.M.PL cent.PL and  
 1378 *quèl vèva bégia grad munajda ad usché vinavaun, a*  
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG NEG currently coin.F.SG and so on and  
 1379 *quèl ò quaj mumèn bgja dau, ad ju*  
 DEM.M.SG have.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG moment NEG give.PTCP.UNM and 1SG  
 1380 *a lu amblidau quaj, ábar mia mùma*  
 have.PRS.1SG then forget.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM but POSS.1SG.F.SG mother  
 1381 *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:’

<sup>71</sup> *Còns raps nuş vèvan* replaces an unintelligible part.

<sup>72</sup> *Èn* is a performance error for *èssan*.

- 1382 "Quèl vèst lu aun da pijè da té al  
DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.M.SG
- 1383 *pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas*  
herdsman's\_money of.DEF.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMP.2SG
- 1384 *partgirau.*"  
look\_after.PTCP.UNM

'This one should still pay you the money for the pig you had looked after.'

- 1385 *Álsò quèl vèv' ju bégja vagnús d' incassá.*  
well DEM.M.SG have.IMP.1SG 1SG NEG come.PTCP.M.SG to collect.INF

'Well, I didn't succeed in collecting the money from that farmer.'

- 1386 *Ábar tschaj vèvan nu- incassau a naturálmajn*  
but DEM.UNM have.IMP.1PL 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM and natural.M.SG.ADV
- 1387 *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
- 1388 *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.'

- 1389 *Qu' èra clar, nus vèvan nagins raps*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMP.1PL no.M.PL cent.PL
- 1390 *sèzs.*  
self.M.PL

'This was clear, we didn't have any money of our own.'

- 1391 *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
- 1392 *ajn tut lùschs ad i dat ina fòtògrafia*  
COP.PRS.3PL all proud.M.PL and EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG photograph
- 1393 *tgu sùn 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
- 1394 *scargèda, dus pins buéts ca vèvan fatg*  
drove.PTCP.F.SG two.M.PL small.PL boy.PL REL have.IMP.3PL do.PTCP.UNM
- 1395 *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.'

- 1396 [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?'

- 1397 [m6] *Ju vèva, gè sis. Má tga cun sjat vas lu a scùla.*  
1SG have.IMPF.1SG yes six since SUBORD with seven go.PRS.2SG.GNR then to 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"

- 1399 *Aavaun in pèr jamnas ... èr' ju gjù Locarno, api*  
before INDEF.M.SG couple week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down PN and  
 1400 *sjantar sìnd 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  
 1401 *vòu anflau in bi ljuc, api lu ...*  
have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG beautiful place and then  
 1402 *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  
 1403 *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  
 1404 *a ... tut 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.'

- 1405 *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
- 1406 *tgautschas da fá bògn, api èr' ju pinaus dad ir*  
 trouser.PL COMP do.INF bath.M.SG and COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG ready.M.SG MOD go.INF
- 1407 *ál' aua.*  
 into.DEF.F.SG water

'I was alone and ah put on my swim trunks and then I was ready to jump into the water.'

- 1408 *Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn ...*  
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG swan
- 1409 *gròn né – vi datiar ad èra lò, usché in téç*  
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next\_to and COP.IMPF.3SG there so INDEF.M.SG bit
- 1410 *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.'

- 1411 *Api sjantar vòù détg dal cégn:*  
 and after have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT.DEF.M.SG swan

'And then I said to the swan:'

- 1412 «*Gè, sünd 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?'

- 1413 *Nagina réaczjún. Ju sa bigj' i 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.'

- 1414 *Fòrza prènd' al anzatgéj né ju vèv' avaun ...*  
 maybe take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M something or 1SG have.IMPF.1SG in\_front
- 1415 *zatgé da maglјe.*  
 something ATTR eat.INF

'Maybe he would take something or I had ... something to eat in front [of me].'

1416 *Api va ju tartgau ju stùn in' jèda sén*  
 and have.PRS.1SG 1SG think.PTCP.UNM 1SG stay.PRS.1SG one.F.GS time on

1417 *pajs, né, pr, pr mussá ... usché.<sup>73</sup> Nagina réaczjun, né.*  
 foot.M.PL right S SUBORD show.INF so no.F.GS reaction right

‘And then I thought I could just get up, right, to show ... like this. No reaction, right?’

1418 *Aun adina lò, al cégn, lò da, da fá usché da mussá*  
 still always there DEF.M.GS swan there COMP COMP make.INF so to show.INF  
 1419 *sja pow-, sja pussònza.*  
 POSS.3.F.GS POSS.3SG.F.GS power

‘Still there, the swan, there, showing his pow- his power.’

1420 *Api sjantar sùnd ju saşuş gjù, api vau*  
 and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.GS down and have.PRS.1SG.1SG  
 1421 *tartgau gè ábar ah, api sau bigj' ajfach<sup>74</sup> í*  
 think.PTCP.UNM yes but eh and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF  
 1422 *ál' aua.*  
 into.DEF.F.GS water

‘And then I sat down and thought yes, but, eh, after all I should, I cannot simply jump into the water.’

1423 *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  
 1424 *in téc cò.*  
 INDEF.M.GS bit here

‘And then I thought yes, OK, in this case we’ll just stay here for a while.’

1425 *Pi şè' l vajramájn staus lò.*  
 then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M true.F.GSADV remain.PTCP.M.GS there

‘And the swan really stayed there.’

1426 *Api vònza vau tartgau, ah ju a in'*  
 and later have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM eh 1SG have.PRS.1SG INDEF.F.GS  
 1427 *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  
 1428 *... quèla ... suna da bùca.*  
 DEM.F.GS organ of mouth.F.GS

<sup>73</sup>The narrator imitates the behaviour of a dominant male.

<sup>74</sup>*Ajfach* is Swiss German for Standard Sursilvan *semplamein*.

‘And after a while I thought, eh, I have an idea, I had just bought, I had just bought ... that ... harmonica.’

1429 *Api lu vau fatg usché.*<sup>75</sup>

and then have.PRS.1SG.1SG make.PTCP.UNM so

‘And then I played like this.’

1430 *A sél ampréim tùn, 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

1431 *scapaus da lò circa tschian mètars navèn, schi*  
escape.PTCP.M.SG from there about hundred metre.M.PL away so

1432 *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!’

1433 *Ju sa bé dacù.*

1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why

‘I don’t know why.’

1434 *Sas, fòrza ... hè quaj sch' léjf*  
know.PRS.2SG maybe COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM so light.ADJ.UNM

1435 *dissònánt né, bétg idéa.*

dissonant.ADJ.UNM right NEG idea.F.SG

‘You know, maybe ... this is slightly dissonant, right, no idea.’

1436 *Álsò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssif, ju*  
well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCP.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM 1SG

1437 *a vajramájn fatg mù ..., quaj è mù*  
have.PRS.1SG really make.PTCP.UNM only DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG only

1438 *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].’

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<sup>75</sup>The narrator plays two sounds on the harmonica.

## 8.13 Cuérts raquénts

### Short stories

(Tuatschín, Zarcúns, m2, aged 82)

Recorded 2016/08/24 in Sadrún

Duration 7'20"

*La basèlgja da Zarcúns*

The church of Zarcuns



Figure 8.5: Zarcuns and its church

1439 *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  
 1440 *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  
 1441 *Najf ... 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.'

- 1442 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
- 1443 sé quèls malètgs ajn a la basèlgja ... tga in ... tga  
 on DEM.M.PL picture.PL in to DEF.F.SG church COMP one.M.MSG REL
- 1444 stèva ajnasé Gjuf ábar vaj gju da  
 live.IMPF.3SG in\_and\_up PN but have.SBJV.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM to
- 1445 vagní navèn da Gjuf tòcan òragjù ... Zarcúns, í da dí  
 come.INF from of PN until out\_down PN go.INF to say.INF
- 1446 páternias tòcan òragjù Zarcúns.  
 Lord's\_prayer.M.MSG 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.'

- 1447 A lò... sén quaj intènt ségi è vagnú  
 and there upon DEM.M.MSG undertaking be.PRS.SBJV.3SG also PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM
- 1448 bagagjau quèla caplùta.  
 build.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG chapel

'And there ... after this undertaking<sup>76</sup>, this chapel was built.'

- 1449 Quaj è hald ina détga tgu sa, ábar  
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG simply INDEF.F.SG legend REL.1SG know.PRS.1SG but
- 1450 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
- 1451 cù Vus lajs alṣò ....  
 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 ... :'

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<sup>76</sup>I.e. of coming down to Zarcuns reciting the Lord's prayer.

*La sòcjétat da música*

The music society

1452 *Alṣò la véta qu' èra quèluísa ... qu' èra*  
 well DEF.F.SG life DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG this\_way DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL  
 1453 *la gjuvantétgna èran ... par òordinari èra*  
 DEF.F.SG youth COP.IMPF.3PL for usual.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG  
 1454 *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.'

1455 *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  
 1456 *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  
 1457 *ála música, a nuṣ èssan è staj, sùn è*  
 to.DEF.F.SG music and 1PL be.PRS.1PL also COP.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.1SG also  
 1458 *staus ála música biabégn curònt' òns, a ... déjsch*  
 COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.F.SG music more\_than forty year.M.PL and ten  
 1459 *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  
 1460 *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  
 1461 *ins mava ... aun a bájbar in pr las*  
 GNR go.IMPF.3SG still SUBORD drink.INF one.M.SG through DEF.F.PL  
 1462 *ustrias antùrn.*  
 restaurant.PL around

'Some helped their parents and some would do that 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.'

1463 *In' jèda tschò, in' jèda lò, ad in' jèda*  
 one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time  
 1464 *saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuṣ èran i ajn*  
 REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in

- 1465 *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
- 1466 *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
- 1467 *nuş da fá*            *sé ... ina*            *... fòrmazjun nòva*            *ad ad*  
 1PL to make.INF up INDEF.F.SG lineup new.F.SG and and
- 1468 *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.’

- 1469 *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
- 1470 *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
- 1471 *l ... gl*            *ustér vagnús*            *cun quèl'*            *idéja da,*  
 DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG manager come.PTCP.M.SG with DEM.F.SG idea of
- 1472 *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
- 1473 *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
- 1474 *sé pr, quaj*            *vüt 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.’

- 1475 *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
- 1476 *jástars lò scha ... vignévan*            *quels lu vi a*  
 stranger.M.PL there CORR come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and
- 1477 *dèvan ... matévan ajnagjù ampau raps pi c' i*  
 give.IMPF.3PL put.IMPF.3SG into\_and\_down a\_bit cent.M.PL and when EXPL
- 1478 *èra ... fòrsa stau al davùs da la sasjún*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG maybe be.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG last of DEF.F.SG season

1479 *cul ... scha vagnévanṣ d' anstagl duvrá als*  
 with.DEF.M.SG CORR come.IMP.F.1PL.1PL COMP instead use.INF DEF.M.PL  
 1480 *danès, cu nus vèvan fòm, èssanṣ í*  
 money.PL when 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL hunger.F.PL be.IMP.F.1PL.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL  
 1481 *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.'

1482 *Api ... cu l' ò gju tgé èri*  
 and when 3SG have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM what be.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL  
 1483 *stau, èssan nuṣ í in òn ... sén in*  
 COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL INDEF.M.SG year on INDEF.M.SG  
 1484 *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.'

1485 [PhM] *Nua ei quei?*  
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM

'Where is this?'

1486 [m2] *Immis, quaj è gjù, gjù tschò damanajval da ...*  
 PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG down down there near of  
 1487 *Interlaken.*  
 PN

'Immis, that is down, down there, near ... Interlaken.'

1488 *La sòcjètàt èn i ... èssan nuṣ i,*  
 DEF.F.SG society be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMP.F.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL  
 1489 *la sòcjètàt, lu la sèra vajn nus halt valjusavaj*  
 DEF.F.SG society then DEF.F.SG evening have.PRS.1PL 1PL just want.PTCP.UNM  
 1490 *tgé c' i cùri aparti cò, api òni détg*  
 know.INF what REL EXPL run.PRS.SBJV.3SG special here and have.PRS.3PL.3PL

- 1491 sé ad Immis vágian ajn ina, ina ffasta  
say.PTCP.UNM up at PN have.PRS.SBJV.3PL in INDEF.F.SG INDEF.F.SG  
1492 d' uaut scù nuş şchèvan, ina ffasta d' uaut.  
party of 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.’

- 1493 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  
1494 sédajn cò.  
up\_and\_in here

‘And we went up ... so many went up here.’

- 1495 Quaj èra quèls gjucs a quaj api ... vajn  
DEM.UNM EXIST.IMP.3SG DEM.M.PL game.PL and DEM.UNM and have.PRS.1PL  
1496 nus ... sòfòrt<sup>77</sup> anflau òra tga ... da pascá cula ...  
1PL immediately find.PTCP.UNM out COMP SUBORD fish.INF with.DEF.F.SG  
1497 lòntscha, quèlas butègljas, quèlas tga vèvan in ring  
lance DEM.F.PL bottle.PL DEM.F.PL REL have.IMP.3PL INDEF.M.SG ring  
1498 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.’

- 1499 Quèl tga gartagjava ... survagnév' ina butèglja vin.  
DEM.M.SG REL succeed.IMP.3SG get.IMP.3SG INDEF.F.SG bottle wine.M.SG

‘The person who succeeded would get a bottle of wine.’

- 1500 Basta, nuş èran, miravan adina dad èssar sis anzjaman, ad  
enough 1PL COP.IMP.1PL look.IMP.1PL always COMP COP.INF six together and  
1501 in gartagjava sagir.  
one.M.SG succeed.IMP.3SG surely

‘OK, we were, we always made sure that there were six of us together, and one would certainly succeed.’

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<sup>77</sup> Sòfòrt is a German word; its Tuatschin synonym is imédjat.

- 1502 *Api anstagl bájbar al vin ... èran nus lu i sé,*  
 and instead drink.INF DEF.M.SG wine be.IMPF.1PL 1SG then go.PTCP.M.PL up  
 1503 *vèvani fatg ina bòla.*  
 have.IMP.3PL.3PL do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG punch

‘And instead of drinking the wine ... we went up, they had prepared a punch.’

- 1504 *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.’

- 1505 *Quèls musicians da Sadrún.*  
 DEM.M.PL musician.PL of PN

‘These musicians from Sedrun.’

- 1506 *Nuş dèvan anavùs la butèglja vin api buèvanş ...*  
 1PL give.IMPF.1PL back DEF.F.SG bottle wine and drink.IMP.1PL.1PL  
 1507 *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.’

- 1508 *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  
 1509 *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

- 1510 *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  
 1511 *cumpagnia da mats vèva mintg’ jèda, lu èra*  
 association of boy.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time then COP.IMPF.3SG  
 1512 *quaj ... craju, sjat fjastas ... tga vagnéva*  
 DEM.UNM believe.PRS.1SG.1SG seven celebration.F.PL REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG  
 1513 *... 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.’

- 1514 *Quaj èra scù Sòntgalcrést, Fronleichnam scù nus*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG as Corpus\_Christi.M.SG *Fronleichnam*<sup>78</sup> as 1PL
- 1515 *schajn, api èr’ aj ... Dumèngja Alva, api*  
say.PRS.1PL and\_then EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL Sunday.F.SG white and\_then
- 1516 *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
- 1517 *fjastas aschia, a tut anzjaman, api èri*  
celebration.PL so and all together and\_then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
- 1518 *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
- 1519 *la ... sòcjéitat da música, fagèvan aj ina*  
DEF.F.SG society of music.F.SG make.IMPF.3PL 3PL.UNM INDEF.F.SG
- 1520 *procèsjún-basèlgja, mù als catòlics, a la música*  
procession-church.F.SG only DEF.M.PL Catholic.PL and DEF.F.SG music
- 1521 *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].’

- 1522 *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
- 1523 *èra quaj ajn trènta tòcan curònta ... gjuvans ... tga*  
EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in thirty till forty young\_man.M.PL REL
- 1524 *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.’

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<sup>78</sup> *Fronleichnam* is the German word for *Sòntgalcrést*

1525 *Gè gè quèls, ... dus a dus mávani, a djantarajn*  
 yes yes DEM.M.PL two.M.PL by two.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL.3PL and in\_between  
 1526 *èri quèls crafanúns 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 *crafanúns* [church banners] as we say.'

1527 *Api èri davauntiar èra è la, la*  
 and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in\_front EXIST.IMPF.3SG also DEF.F.SG DEF.F.SG  
 1528 *bandiara ... bjala, qu' èra, şchèvan aj ... la*  
 flag beautiful DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG say.IMPF.3PL 3PL DEF.F.SG  
 1529 *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.'

1530 *A quèla ... èra ... da mintga vart ... èr' aj*  
 and DEM.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG of each.F.SG side EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL  
 1531 *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  
 1532 *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.'

1533 *Ad ála gjuvantétgna mavan ... als gjuvans tg'*  
 and in.DEF.F.SG youth go.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL young\_man.PL REL  
 1534 *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.'

1535 *Avaun ina fjasta mavan aj ... tialas ...*  
 before INDEF.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.F.PL  
 1536 *gjufnas ... par nègla, partgé matévan sé sé la*  
 young\_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because put.IMPF.3PL up up DEF.F.SG  
 1537 *tgapjala ... ina nègla.*  
 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.'

- 1538 *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  
 1539 *nèglə, a quaj mav' ins pal puschégn, quaj*  
carnation and DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG GNR for.DEF.M.SG snack DEM.UNM  
 1540 *vagnéva dau in puschégn a sjantar*  
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG snack and afterwards  
 1541 *survagnév' ins ina nèglə.*  
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.'

- 1542 *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  
 1543 *i ... tiar duas, álsò ajn duas jèdas ... tiar ina api*  
go.PTCP.M.PL to two.F.PL well in two.F.PL time.PL to ONE.F and  
 1544 *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.'

- 1545 *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  
 1546 *nèglas, má tga quaj, quaj fagèva las*  
carnation.PL since SUBORD DEM.UNM DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.PL  
 1547 *gjufnas lu schòn stém sch' i vajan sé*  
young\_woman.PL then in\_fact attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up  
 1548 *la nèglə 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.'

- 1549 *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  
 1550 *lu è bétga vagní ajn, èra sarau, quaj*  
then also NEG come.INF in COP.IMPF.3SG close.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM

- 1551 *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  
 1552 *tùtajnina schèvani 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.'

- 1553 *A da quèlas tgaussas.*  
 and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

'And things like that.'

- 1554 *A ... ad in òn, sa ju aun bégan, lu vèvan nus*  
 and and INDEF.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL  
 1555 *gju fatg in tòc humòristic da la músic'*  
 have.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG prank funny from DEF.F.SG music  
 1556 *anòra.*  
 out

'And ... and one year, I still know very well, we from the music had played a funny prank.'

- 1557 *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  
 1558 *dals ... tg' èran lò djantarajn ...: «Òz fùs ... dad*  
 of.DEF.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3SG there in \_between today be.COND.3SG to  
 1559 *ira a fà tschajvar ... cò ál vitg, quèls da*  
 go.INF SUBORD do.INF carnival.M.SG here in.DEF.M.SG village DEM.M.PL of  
 1560 *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  
 1561 *vajn nus détg: «Ah, scha quaj savèssan nus schòn*  
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL say.PTCP.UNM eh then DEM.UNM can.COND.1PL 1PL indeed  
 1562 *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.»'

- 1563 *Api èssan nus i ... api davùsajn a pudjú ajn*  
 and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL and back\_in and be\_able.PTCP.UNM in  
 1564 *davùstiar ajn ajn ajn, nùca tga vèvan al al al, nus*  
 back\_by in in in where REL have.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG 1PL  
 1565 *schèvan la tgaminada, quaj èra ... in lòcàl*  
 say.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG pantry DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.M.SG place  
 1566 *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  
 1567 *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 ‘*tgaminada*’ [pantry], this was ... a place where [they] would put into, would keep provisions and what had to be kept fresh.’

- 1568 *A tschèls èran ajn stiva a dèvan*  
 and DEM.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL in living\_room.F.SG and give.IMPF.3PL  
 1569 *tròcas né jass ... a nus priù quèls*  
 k.o.card\_game.F.PL or k.o.card\_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL  
 1570 *... 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  
 1571 *tgarn a dal tut ... priù quaj ad i*  
 meat.F.SG and of.DEF.M.SG all take.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and go.PTCP.M.PL  
 1572 *gjù ajn in clavau a magljau a sjantar*  
 down in INDEF.M.SG hay\_barn and eat.PTCP.UNM and after  
 1573 *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  
 1574 *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.’

- 1575 *A da quèlas tgaussas ... schabjavi.*  
 and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL happen.IMPF.3SG.EXPL

‘And these sort of things ... used to happen.’

1576 *Òz    sè                        bigja quaj        plé.*  
 today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG DEM.UNM more

‘Nowadays, this doesn’t exist any more.’

1577 *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  
 1578 *trajs ah ... fìastas        ... 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.’

1579 *Ábar òz    sè                pauc lò;    tg’ i    è                déjsch dùdisch*  
 but today EXIST.PRS.3SG little there REL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG ten twelve  
 1580 *ásaj                tut.*  
 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.’

1581 *Ad òz    fò                è    las                gjufnas                ... par tga        ...*  
 and today do.PRS.3SG also DEF.F.PL young\_woman.PL for SUBORD  
 1582 *ségi                avùnda.*  
 EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG enough

‘And today the young women also take part ... so that ... there are enough people.’

1583 *Ábar lu    èra                quaj,    quaj        stuèv’                ins fá*  
 but then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG GNR do.INF  
 1584 *in                èxáman ... par        ...savaj marschá ...                ira ...    ál*  
 INDEF.M.SG exam SUBORD can.INF march.INF go.INF  
 1585 *pas                cul cula        ...                sòcjétat dals        ...                álsò*  
 at.DEF.M.SG step with.DEF.M.SG with.DEF.F.SG society of.DEF.M.PL  
 1586 *pr    ah        ...savaj cù i        sèj da        sapurtá.*  
 well SUBORD eh know.INF how EXPL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COMP

1587 *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.’

- 1588 *Intarassant èra quaj schòn, ábar òz şè*  
 interesting.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM indeed but today be.PRS.3SG  
 1589 *quaj tut şvanju ... prquaj tga par ina*  
 DEM.UNM all disappear.PTCP.UNM because SUBORD for one.F.SG  
 1590 *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.’

- 1591 *Cu i végnan òd scìula scha vòni navèn*  
 when 3PL come.PRS.3PL out\_of school.F.SG CORR go.PRS.3PL.3PL away  
 1592 *amprèndar mistrégn, api survégnan aj ina plaza*  
 learn.INF profession.M.SG and receive.PRS.3PL 3PL INDEF.F.SG employment  
 1593 *èra òrdlùndar.*  
 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.’

- 1594 *Cò èn aj bigja plazas suficjèntas.*  
 here EXIST.PRS.3PL EXPL NEG job.F.PL enough.PL

‘Here there aren’t enough jobs.’

- 1595 *Ju sa cu cu ... cu ju sùn maridaus tga ...*  
 1SG know.PRS.1SG when when when 1G be.PRS.1SG marry.PTCP.M.SG COMP  
 1596 *èri ajn Camischùlas circa quindish ufauns ... tga*  
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PN about fifteen child.M.PL REL  
 1597 *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.’

- 1598 *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.’

- 1599 *Tschèls èn lu carschí sé ad èn i navèn,*  
 DEM.M.PL be.PRS.3PL then grow.PTCP.M.PL up and be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL away  
 1600 *ad è, ad practisch ... atgnamajn ásaj bunamajn mù*  
 and also and virtually.ADJ.UNM actually EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL almost only

1601 *gljut plé végbla ajnta Camischùlas.*  
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.’

1602 *Gjud gjufna saj sgarschajval paucs.*  
people.F.SG young EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL terrible.ADJ.UNM little.M.PL

‘There are very few young people.’

1603 *Quaj vò tut anavùs.*  
DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG all.UNM back

‘Everything is disappearing.’

1604 [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  
1605 *tudestg?*  
German.M.SG

[PhM] ‘And how was it for you to learn German?’

1606 [m2] *Oh gl ampréndar tudèstg è stau, l'*  
oh DEF.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG  
1607 *antschata sè quaj schòn stau in tèc*  
beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit  
1608 *curjùs.*  
strange.ADJ.UNM

[m2[ ‘Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.’

1609 *Cu ins èra, parquaj tga lura ... vèvan nuş bétg aun*  
when GNR COP.IMPF.3SG because SUBORD then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL NEG yet  
1610 *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  
1611 *è ùssa ... a... ins stuèva simplamajn, cò*  
COP.PRS.3SG now and GNR must.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV here  
1612 *vagnéva ... ampriú plajd par plajd, amprém*  
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG learn.PTCP.UNM word.M.SG for word.M.SG first

- 1613 *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  
 1614 *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.’

- 1615 *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  
 1616 *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  
 1617 *stuèva        scrívar        ... navèn dal        ròmòntschi ... vi        sél*  
 must.IMPF.3SG write.INF from of.DEF.M.SG Romansh over on.DEF.M.SG  
 1618 *tudèstg        ... tga vignéva        curagju.*  
 German REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG correct.PTCP.UNM

‘And then every year some words were added, and then they also gave [us homework] to write plays which one had to translate ... from Romansh to German ... [and which] were corrected.’

- 1619 *Api raquintá ... al        tudèstg        ... vi        sél        ròmòntschi, né al*  
 and tell.INF DEF.M.SG German over on.DEF.M.SG Romansh or DEF.M.SG  
 1620 *ròmòntschi vi        sél        tudèstg, ed        usché vajn        nus*  
 Romansh over on.DEF.M.SG German and so have.PRS.1PL 1PL  
 1621 *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

1622	<i>Ju sùn stada avaun duş òns circa ... sê</i>
	1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG ago two.M.PL year.PL about COP.PRS.3SG
1623	<i>quaj - végni quaj. gl atún tgu sùn</i>
	DEM.UNM come.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG autumn REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
1624	<i>stad' ad in ... sanunzjèda pr in cuérs da</i>
	COP.PTCP.F.PL at INDEF.M.SG REFL.register.PTCP.F.SG for INDEF.M.SG course of
1625	<i>... stamping-staff, da ... da fá música cul ...</i>
	stamping-staff COMP COMP make.INF music.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG
1626	<i>cul tgiarp.</i>
	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.’

1627	<i>Rítmica a música cul tgiarp gjù ... gjù Sògn Gagl,</i>
	rhythmics.F.SG and music.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG body down down PN three
1628	<i>trajs dis.</i>
	day.M.PL

‘Rhythmics and music with the body down down in St. Gallen, for three days.’

1629	<i>Api... mi' òrjèntazjún è bitga la mégljara tg'</i>
	and POSS.1SG.F.SG orientation COP.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.F.SG better REL
1630	<i>égsísta.</i>
	exist.PRS.3SG

‘And ... my sense of orientation is not the best that ... that exists.’

- 1631 *Basta, ju sùn id' ál trèn, tòcan gjù Sògn Gagl*  
 enough 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG to.DEF.M.SG train until down PN  
 1632 *şè bigja da fá bjè falju, api sùnd*  
 COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG COMP make.INF much wrong.ADJ.UNM and be.PRS.1SG  
 1633 *ju vagnida ò dal trèn 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:’

- 1634 *Núa şè quaj hòtel? Bigj' idéa, ju èra schòn òns*  
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMPF.1SG already year.M.PL  
 1635 *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.’

- 1636 *Api uş datí flòts apps né, príu nònavauñ*  
 and now EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL smart.M.PL app.PL right take.PTCP.UNM out  
 1637 *mju iPhone, tschantau ajn cò mias cartas ad*  
 POSS.1SG.M.SG iPhhone start.PTCP.UNM in here POSS.1SG.F.PL map.PL and  
 1638 *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  
 1639 *antiùrn ampau a tutajnín' 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!’

- 1640 *Saglida cul tgau ajn in placat, parquaj*  
 run.PTCP.F.SG with.DEF.M.SG head into INDEF.M.SG signboard because  
 1641 *tgu vèva cò la tupá dùna tga raşdava*  
 SUBORD.1SG have.IMPF.1SG here DEF.AR.F.SG stupid woman REL speak.IMP.F.3SG  
 1642 *sin quaj iPhone.*  
 on DEM.M.SG iPhone

‘Ran into a signboard with my head, because I had this woman speaking on the iPhone.’

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<sup>78</sup> *quèla dùna* replaces an unintelligible part.

- 1643 *Quaj è stau légar. Scadín cas*  
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM funny.ADJ.UNM every.M.SG case  
1644 *va ju pitgau ajn al tgau, parquaj tga ju*  
have.PRS.1SG 1SG hit.PTCP.UNM in DEF.M.SG head because SUBORD 1SG  
1645 *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.’

- 1646 *Ju ancuréva bigj' aun pokémons.*  
1SG look\_for.IMPF.3SG NEG yet pokémon.M.PL

‘I wasn’t looking for the pokémons yet.’

- 1647 *Ju a tutin' anflau mju ... craj ju ...*  
1SG have.PRS.1SG in\_spite find.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG believe.PRS.1SG 1SG  
1648 *cò 'l hôtèl vèva nùm ... Schweizerkreuz ..., ju*  
here DEF.M.SG hotel have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG PN 1SG  
1649 *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.’

- 1650 *Gè, quaj è ùs vagnú andamajn da mé tg'*  
yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG now come.PTCP.UNM in\_mind DAT 1SG COMP  
1651 *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  
1652 *légar.*  
funny.ADJ.UNM

‘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 Sardinia

- 1653 *Staj gjù ... gjù Sardégna. Cù détsch ju? Gjù Sardégna?*<sup>79</sup>  
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?’

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<sup>79</sup>The narrator refers to the fact that we were speaking about locative prepositions and that the right preposition often occurs spontaneously.

- 1654 *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  
 1655 *spòntán, névétg.*  
 spontaneous.M.UNM right?

‘Eh, exactly, yes, this is another one that is spontaneous, right?’

- 1656 *Nus èssan sgulaj l' amprém' jèd' uòn, cun nòssas*  
 1PL be.PRS.1PL fly.PTCP.M.PL DEF.F.SG first time this\_year with POSS.1PL.F.PL  
 1657 *duas ... buébas.*  
 two.F girl.PL

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

- 1658 *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  
 1659 *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  
 1660 *nuş èssan staj a la mar a fatg bògn api*  
 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at DEF.F.SG sea and make.PTCP.UNM bath.M.SG and  
 1661 *ò antschiat a plùver.*  
 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.’

- 1662 *Gè quaj è stau, è stau lässig.<sup>80</sup>*  
 yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM cool

‘Yes this was, this was cool.’

- 1663 *Álsò quaj èra ... i èra fétg tgaut, a*  
 well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ADJ.UNM and  
 1664 *la mar èra balèzja gjù Sardégna. Sablún, savèvaṣ*  
 DEF.F.SG sea COP.IMPF.3SG beauty down PN sand.M.SG can.IMPF.2SG.GNR  
 1665 *i 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.’

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<sup>80</sup> *lässig* is Swiss German.

1666 A ... mia fégija pintg' è plétòst, par  
 and POSS.1SG.F.SG have.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG.F.SG daughter young  
 1667 indișch òns ès èla<sup>81</sup> 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.'

1668 A lu hè quaj èba stau bi tg'  
 and then be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM precisely COP.PTCP.UNM beautiful.ADJ.UNM COMP  
 1669 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  
 1670 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.'

1671 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  
 1672 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

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m9, aged 31)

Recorded 2017/03/14 in Sedrun

Duration 6'10"

1673 Álsò gè ... ju sùn biabégn ùs è schòn trènta ... trèntíñ  
 well yes 1SG be.PRS.1SG around now also already thirty thirty\_one  
 1674 òns ... ad ju sa, gè, in téc da la gjuvantétgna  
 year.M.PL and 1SG know.PRS.1SG yes INDEF.M.SG bit of DEF.F.SG youth  
 1675 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  
 1676 tjams a tgé ca va ùsa ... usché in téc la difarènza.  
 time.PL and what REL go.PRS.3SG now so INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.F.SG difference

<sup>81</sup>ès èla is a performance error for hè la

‘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.’

- 1677 *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  
 1678 *plétøst ... gè, scù lajn dí ... nuš èran ... sémplamajn*  
 rather yes how want.PRS.1PL say.INF 1PL COP.IMPF.3PL simple.F.SG.ADV  
 1679 *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.’

- 1680 *Nus mavan palas vias ... fagèvan lò nés<sup>82</sup>*  
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL through.DEF.F.PL street.PL do.IMPF.1PL there POSS.1PL.M.PL  
 1681 *gjucs ... nus fagèvan zatgé, fièvan nuš adin' ál*  
 game.PL 1PL do.IMPF.1PL something, do.IMPF.1PL 1PL always in.DEF.M.MSG  
 1682 *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.’

- 1683 *Sch' i èra bigja d' amprèndar, sch' èr' ins*  
 if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG NEG to learn.INF CORR COP.IMPF.3SG GNR  
 1684 *palas vias antùrn.*  
 trough.DEF.F.SG street.PL around

‘If we didn't have to study, we would go around in the streets.’

- 1685 *Álsò vagnú a tgèsa stèv' ins bégja bjè. Lu*  
 well come.PTCP.UNM to house.F.SG stay.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG much then  
 1686 *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.’

- 1687 *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.’

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<sup>82</sup> Nés is a performance error for *nòs*.

1688 *Má tg' al bjè a tgèsa vèv' ins lungurús, a sch'*  
 since SUBORD DEF.M.SG most at home.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG GNR boring and if  
 1689 *ins vèva lungurús, mav' ins òdaviart a figèva*  
 GNR have.IMPF.3SG boring go.IMPF.3SG GNR outside and do.IMPF.3SG  
 1690 *zatgéj.*  
 something

'Since in most cases it was boring at home, and if one was bored, one would go outside and do something.'

1691 *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  
 1692 *plé baut ... fòrsa da quaj da pòlici' a ládar ... 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.'

1693 *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  
 1694 *avaun plé tg' i fòn da gljèz, né?*  
 before more COMP 3PL do.PRS.3PL of DEM.UNM right

'And I can imagine nowadays ... I cannot imagine any more that they play that, right?'

1695 *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  
 1696 *clar ... ûş şaj vagnú in téc plé*  
 clear.ADJ.UNM now be.PRS.3SG.EXPL become.PTCP.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit more  
 1697 *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 ... .'

1698 *Nuş vèvan halt ... aun aviart in téc daplé ... curtín,*  
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL just still open.ADJ.UNM INDEF.M.SG bit more garden.M.SG  
 1699 *détsch ju, ûşa ... drètg a saniastar, tg' ins savèv' aun fá*  
 say.PRS.1SG 1SG now right and left COMP GNR can.IMPF.3SG still do.INF  
 1700 *lò in téc balapaj ... drègj a saniastar.*  
 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.’

- 1701 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  
1702 bagagjavan sprunḡ 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  
1703 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  
1704 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  
1705 ùşa fòrsa dal tráfic 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.’

- 1706 Ad i èra difarènza quét' ju sémplamajn ...  
and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG difference.F.SG think.PRS.1SG 1SG simple.F.SG.ADV  
1707 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  
1708 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.’

- 1709 Fòrsa è ... clar, nus vèvan schòn è nòs  
maybe also sure.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMPF.1PL in\_fact also POSS.1PL.M.PL  
1710 còmpjutars né tgé ca nus vèvan als gameboys a  
computer.PL or what REL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL DEF.M.PL gameboy.PL and  
1711 vidanò.  
back\_and\_forth

‘Maybe also ... sure, we also had our computers or what did we have? ... the gameboys and so on ...’

- 1712 Ábar ... quaj èra schòn bigja schi scù òzaldé ... quaj  
but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG in\_fact NEG so as nowadays DEM.UNM  
1713 èxtrèm.  
extreme.ADJ.UNM

‘But this was in fact not like nowadays ... so extreme.’

- 1714 A la sòrtida ... da nòs tjams salagravan nus  
 and DEF.F.SG going\_out of POSS.1PL.M.SG time REFL.appreciate.IMPF.1PL 1PL  
 1715 da vagní ò da scùla par èsavaja la gjuvantétgna.  
 COMP come.INF out of school.F.SG SUBORD also can.INF to DEF.F.SG 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.’

- 1716 Nuṣ vajn gè schi massa ... álṣò nus vajn gè sé cò  
 1PL have.PRS.1PL after\_all so much well 1PL have.PRS.1PL aftere\_all up here  
 1717 in' unjun da gjuvantégna.  
 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.’

- 1718 Ad ju craj plé baud vèvani schòn aun ... nus  
 and 1SG believe.PRS.1SG more early have.IMPF.3PL.3PL really still 1PL  
 1719 vèvan schòn in tèc plé gròn tschafan da vagní ajn  
 have.IMPF.1PL really INDEF.M.SG bit more big.M.SG pleasure COMP come.INF in  
 1720 lò ... èssar anzjaman cun fòrs' in tèc plé vègls a  
 there be.INF together with maybe INDEF.M.SG bit more OLD.M.PL and  
 1721 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 ...’

- 1722 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  
 1723 sadatan bigja gjù schi fétg cun in tèc plé vègls.  
 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.’

- 1724 Nuṣ vajn adina gju fatg parada.  
 1PL have.PRS.1PL always have.PTCP.UNM make.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG

‘We always held a parade.’

- 1725 Ju sùn èba staus ... òh, bunamajn déiṣch òns capitani ...  
 1SG be.PRS.1SG simply COP.PTCP.M.SG oh almost ten year.M.PL captain  
 1726 a lu sa ju schòn in tèc sc' i funczjanava.  
 and then know.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed INDEF.M.SG bit how EXPL function.IMPF.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.'

- 1727 *Nus santupavan, al bjè vèvan nuṣ da fā gjù*  
 1PL REFL.meet.IMPF.1PL DEF.M.SG often have.IMPF.1PL 1PL to make.INF down  
 1728 *usché mias' ur' avaun sél lòcál, nuṣ vajn in lòcál*  
 so half.F.SG hour before on.DEF.M.SG place 1PL have.PRS.1PL INDEF.M.SG place  
 1729 *da gjuvantétgna ... nùca tga nuṣ sarimnavan tūts.*  
 of youth.F.SG where REL 1PL REFL.meet.IMPF.1PL all.M.PL

'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.'

- 1730 *A las buébas né las gjufnas mègljardétg, lèzas*  
 and DEF.F.PL girl.PL or DEF.F.PL young\_woman.PL better\_said DEM.F.PL  
 1731 *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  
 1732 *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  
 1733 *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  
 1734 *flurs, a nuṣ 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  
 1735 *las bandiaras, la fana bial' a quaj, a lu*  
 DEF.F.PL flag.PL DEF.F.SG flag beautiful and DEM.UNM and then  
 1736 *vèvan nuṣ 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.'

- 1737 *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  
 1738 *usché avaun quindisch òns ... lò ... anflávani aun plétòst da*  
 so before fifteen year.M.PL there find.IMPF.3PL.3PL still rather of

1739 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  
 1740 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.’

1741 [PhM] *E daco manegias?*  
 and why think.PRS.2SG

‘And why do you think so?’

1742 [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  
 1743 *òn in tèc ... al turpètg fòrsa ... sògar, schizún*<sup>83</sup> ...  
 have.PRS.3PL INDEF.M.SG bit DEF.M.SG shame maybe even even  
 1744 *ábar, i è ... i è gréjv dí ... i*  
 but EXPL COP.PRS.3SG EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM say.INF EXPL  
 1745 *a usché cèrd òn ... cèrdṣ òns né anadas*  
 EXIST.PRS.3SG so certain.M.SG year certain.M.PL year.PL or age\_group.F.PL  
 1746 *tga sèn uschéa, lu saj duas, trajṣ anadas*  
 REL COP.PRS.3PL so then exist.PRS.3SG.EXPL two.F.PL three age\_group.F.PL  
 1747 *tga sèn puspè in tèc autar.*  
 REL COP.PRS.3PL again INDEF.M.SG 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.’

1748 *Ad ju a al santimajn, las anadas tga*  
 and 1SG have.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG feeling DEF.F.PL age\_group.PL REL  
 1749 *végnan ùşa, astg' inṣ dí cun buna cuns-cianza,*  
 come.PRS.3PL now allow.PRS.3SG GNR say.INF with good.F.SG conscience  
 1750 *végnan puspè plé tgunşch ála gjuvantétgna, i ...*  
 come.PRS.3PL again more easy.ADJ.UNM to.DEF.F.SG youth 3PL  
 1751 *sadrézan plétost anviars nus.*  
 REFL.address.PRS.3PL rather towards 1PL

<sup>83</sup> *Sogar* is German, and *Schizún* is Romansh.

‘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.’

1752 *Uş sai puspè in tèc usché ... al còc scù ... avaun*  
 now COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL again INDEF.M.SG bit so DEF.M.SG core like before  
 1753 *quindişh òns, quét’ ju ... i è stau ditg*  
 fifteen year.PL think.PRS.1SG 1SG EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM long\_time  
 1754 *lò djantarajn, è stau anadas, gè tg’ ins*  
 there in\_between be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM age\_group.F.PL yes REL GNR  
 1755 *savèva bétga pròpi ... nù métar quèls, gè èxáct.*  
 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.’

1756 *Ábar la difarènza, nùc’ ju vèz’ ina grònnda difarènza*  
 but DEF.F.SG difference where.REL 1SG see.PRS.1SG INDEF.F.SG big difference  
 1757 *è scù scòlast da skis dùn ju gè schòn ... ötg òns ...*  
 also as teacher.M.SG of ski.PL give.PRS.1SG 1SG yes already eight year.PL  
 1758 *vèz’ ju bjè tgé ca vò sén pista, grat ... dals*  
 see.PRS.1SG 1SG much what REL go.PRS.3SG on slope.M.SG just of.DEF.M.PL  
 1759 *indigèns anò ... i vòn bétga plé schi bjè scù quaj tg’ i*  
 local.PL out 3PL go.PRS.3PL NEG more so much as DEM.UNM REL 3PL  
 1760 *mavan in’ jèda.*  
 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.’

1761 *Grad la gjuvantétgna ... pauca gjuvantétgna ... tgé c’ ins*  
 especially DEF.F.SG youth little.F.SG youth what REL GNR  
 1762 *vèza bjè è als plé passaj, als pènšionaj*  
 see.PRS.3SG much COP.PRS.3SG DEF.M.PL more old.M.PL DEF.M.SG retired.PL  
 1763 *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  
 1764 *adina halt ... quèlas famiglijas 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.’

1765 Ábar lò šai schòn ju anavùs in téc, è  
but there be.PRS.3SG.EXPL really go.PTCP.UNM back INDEF.M.SG bit also  
1766 cùls indigèns. Üş ani plétòst antschiat ajn ad  
with.DEF.M.PL local.PL how have.PRS.3PL.3PL rather begin.PTCP.UNM in COMP  
1767 í cuérsa ljunga.  
go.INF course.F.SG long

‘But it has really diminished a bit, also with the local people. Now they have rather begun with cross-country skiing.’

1768 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  
1769 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  
1770 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  
1771 ... 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’

1772 Ábar quaj è clar ... òzaldé végni  
but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM nowadays PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL  
1773 zacù è ... purşchju daplé.  
somehow also ... offer.PTCP.UNM more

‘But this is clear ... there are somehow also much more possibilities nowadays.’

1774 Álsò i òn bunamajn damèmja, détsch ju ùşa  
well 3PL have.PRS.3PL almost too\_much say.PRS.1SG 1SG now  
1775 frèch.<sup>84</sup>  
naughty.ADJ.UNM

‘Well they have almost too much, I would now say naughtily’

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<sup>84</sup> Frèch is Swiss German.

- 1776 [PhM] *Pils gjuvens da tia vegliadetgna, tgei purschida*  
          for.DEF.M.PL young.PL of POSS.2SG.F.SG age what offer.F.SG  
 1777 *datti si cheu?*  
       EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL up here

‘For the young people of your generation, what job opportunities are there here?’

- 1778 [m9] *Ah, quaj dapjanda tgé ca nus prandín šùt purçhidas*  
      eh DEM.UNM depend.PRS.3SG what REL 1PL take.PRS.1PL under offer.F.PL  
 1779 ... *purçhidas da luvrá détsch ju ûsa par èxèmpal ... sél*  
      offer.F.PL of work.INF say.PRS.1SG 1SG now for example.M.MSG on.DEF.M.MSG  
 1780 *bagħètg plétost ... a schjuc datti lu plé ... paucas*  
      construction rather and otherwise EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL then more little.F.PL  
 1781 ... *purçhidas, má tga ... gè, ins vèza, la gjuvantétgna*  
      offer.PL because SUBORD yes GNR see.PRS.3SG DEF.F.MSG youth  
 1782 *scapa plétost anòragjù ... má tg' i ... purçhju*  
      escape.PRS.3SG rather out\_down because SUBORD EXPL offer.PTCP.UNM  
 1783 *gjù lò ... la purçhid' è plé grònda.*  
      down there DEF.F.MSG offer COP.PRS.3SG more big.F.MSG

‘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.’

- 1784 [PhM] *A pr i ajn sòrtida?*  
      and SUBORD go.INF in going\_out

‘And in order to go out?’

- 1785 [m9] *La sòrtida è sagir è id' anavùs ...*  
      DEF.F.SG going\_out COP.PRS.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM also go.PTCP.UNM back  
 1786 *álsò 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.’

- 1787 *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  
 1788 *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.’

1789 *Ju détsch      ùṣa gl      unviarn cu      bjèrs      vèvan      hald*  
 1SG say.PRS.1SG now DEF.M.SG winter when many.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL simply  
 1790 *vacanzas scha ... lò ampurtavi      lu bétga scha té*  
 holiday.F.PL CORR there be\_important.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then NEG if 2SG.GNR  
 1791 *mavaṣ      durònt l'      jamna né la      ... sònnda-duméngj' ajn*  
 go.IMPF.2SG.GNR during DEF.F.SG week or DEF.F.SG Saturday-Sunday in  
 1792 *sòrtida.*  
*going\_out.F.SG*

‘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 weekend.’

1793 *Cò èr'      adina ... fulanau      ... ad i èr'*  
 here COP.IMPF.3SG always crowded.ADJ.UNM and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3sg  
 1794 *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.’

1795 *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  
 1796 *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.’

1797 *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  
 1798 *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  
 1799 *duvravan      bétga schi ... èxtrèm      quaj      scù i      végn*  
 use.IMPF.1PL NEG so extreme.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG  
 1800 *duvrau.*  
*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].’

- 1801 *Pr nus vèvi adina nùm, nus santupajn ... las*  
 for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG 1SG REFL.meet.PRS.1PL DEF.F.PL
- 1802 *òtg séla majşa radùnda ... aschí vèndardís né sònда ... tgi*  
 eight on.DEF.F.SG table round so Friday.M.SG or Saturday.F.SG who
- 1803 *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.'

- 1804 *A lu al bjè stèv' ins lò ina, duas uras ... da*  
 and then DEF.M.SG much stay.IMPF.3SG GNR there one.F.SG two.F.PL hour.PL of
- 1805 *cumpignia api sjantar mav' ins lu ... ségi quaj*  
 company.F.SG and after go.IMPF.3SG GNR then COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEM.UNM
- 1806 *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
- 1807 *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.'

- 1808 *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
- 1809 *vèva lu fatg gjù né bétg ... par nus vèvi*  
 have.IMPF.3SG then make.PTCP.UNM down or NEG for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
- 1810 *adina nùm las òtg lò.*  
 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.'

- 1811 *Ábar ûs sè quaj è samidau ... álsò*  
 but now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM also REFL.change.PTCP.UNM well
- 1812 *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.'

- 1813 [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?'

1814 [m9] *Nus mavan schòn èra ... ábar bégja stédjamajn ... gè, gjù*  
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL indeed also but NEG constant.F.SG.ADV yes down  
 1815 *Cuéra né usché mavan nuş aun plétost, má tga nuş*  
 PN or so go.IMPF.1PL 1PL in\_addition rather, because SUBORD 1PL  
 1816 *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  
 1817 *lò núca 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  
 1818 *nòtg.*  
 night.F.SG

[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.'

1819 *Álsò ins mava par èxempal è magari gjù Lucèrn, prquaj*  
 well GNR go.IMPF.3SG for example.M.SG also sometimes down PN because  
 1820 *tga nuş vèvan gjù Lucèrn còlegs tga stèvan gjù*  
 COMP 1PL have.IMPF.1PL down PN colleague.M.PL REL stay.IMPF.3PL down  
 1821 *lò.*  
 there

'Well, we would also go for instance to Lucerne because in Lucerne we had friends who lived down there.'

1822 *Èra quaj pr nus da quaj tjams schòn aun*  
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM for 1PL of DEM.M.SG time indeed in\_addition  
 1823 *highlights ... né ... tga marschav' in téc daplé, autra*  
 highlight.PL right COMP go\_on.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG bit more other.F.SG  
 1824 *gljut ... lu mav' ins bugèn ... né gjù Cuéra, gè ...*  
 people then go.IMPF.3SG GNR with\_pleasure or down PN yes  
 1825 *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 Laver d'ufauns

### Child labour

(Tuatschin, Ruèras, f4 and m3, aged 69 and 73)

Recorded 2016/08/24 in Rueras

Duration 11'50"

- 1826 [f4] *Oh ju sa éba 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*  
 1827 *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*  
 1828 *... 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*  
 1829 *a tgësa ... 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*  
 1830 *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.’

- 1831 *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*  
 1832 *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].’

- 1833 *Scha la scùla calava la sònда, scha gljèndisdí if DEF.F.SG school end.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG Saturday CORR Monday*  
 1834 *stèv' ins 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.’

- 1835 *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*  
 1836 *diš avaun ca tga la scùl' antschajva vèv' day.M.PL before SUBORD SUBORD DEF.F.SG school begin.PRS.3SG have.IMPF.3SG*

1837 *ins finju.*

GNR finish.PTCP.UNM

‘And then until October ... yes, once ... some days before school started we could stop working.’

1838 *Ábar quaj èra fétg strèng. Quaj stèv'*  
 but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very strenuous.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMP.F.3SG  
 1839 *inṣ 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  
 1840 *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  
 1841 *hèfti.*  
 hard.ADJ.UNM

‘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.’

1842 [PhM] *E nu' eis ti stada?*  
 and where be.PRS.2SG 2SG COP.PTCP.F.SG

[PhM] ‘And where have you been?’

1843 [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  
 1844 *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  
 1845 *ju stada aun gjù Gljòn a tialas sòras ajn plaza.*  
 1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG in\_additional 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.’

1846 *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  
 1847 *lu mavaṣ a ...*  
 then go.IMPF.2SG.GNR and

‘But otherwise I have always been here working for farmers. But then you would go and ...’

1848 [PhM] *Aber quei ei fetg grev.*  
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG very heavy.ADJ.UNM

[PhM] ‘But this is very heavy.’

1849 [f4] *Gè quaj èra ... nuš şchajn magari djantar ju a*  
 yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG 1PL say.PRS.1PL sometimes between 1SG and  
 1850 *gl ùm cu i müssan cù quèls tg' òn*  
 DEF.M.SG man when 3PL show.PRS.3PL how DEM.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL  
 1851 *stuvju luvrá da l' ujara, quèls ufauns ... clar*  
 must.PTCP.UNM work.INF of DEF.F.SG war DEM.M.PL child.PL clear.ADJ.UNM  
 1852 *nuš èssan försa bétga vagnús, ábar stju luvrá*  
 1PL be.PRS.1PL maybe NEG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL but must.PTCP.UNM work.INF  
 1853 *còrpòrálmajn vajn nus schi fétg scù quèls.*  
 physical.ADJ.M.ADV have.PRS.1PL 1PL so much as DEM.M.PL

[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].’

1854 *Quaj mavas té a fumatgès a la prmavèra*  
 DEM.UNM go.IMPF.2SG.GNR 2SG.GNR to maid.F.SG and DEF.F.SG Lent  
 1855 *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  
 1856 *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  
 1857 *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 ...’

1858 *A las fèmnas stèv' inş aun gidá a tgèsa a*  
 and DEF.F.PL woman.PL must.IMPF.3SG GNR moreover help.INF at home.F.SG and  
 1859 *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  
 1860 *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.’

1861 *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  
 1862 *la tgèsa ... èri da lavá ò la tgès' a*  
 DEF.F.SG house be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL to wash.INF out DEF.F.SG house and

- 1863 *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  
 1864 *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.’

- 1865 *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  
 1866 *stada tiar purs nuc' ju stuèva ... cù*  
 COP.PTCP.F.SG at farmer.M.PL where.REL 1SG must.IMPF.1SG how  
 1867 *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.’

- 1868 *Quaj èr' al fajn tg' èra rastaus*  
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG straw REL be.IMPF.3SG remain.PTCP.M.SG  
 1869 *anavìş ajn iral, scha fagèvani quaj cun*  
 back in threshing\_floor.M.SG then do.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEM.UNM with  
 1870 *in ghítar flucs api vignéva quaj*  
 INDEF.M.SG grid chopped\_straw.M.PL and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM  
 1871 *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  
 1872 *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.’

- 1873 *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  
 1874 *... vagnév' als ... als ... purs lu anavìş api*  
 come.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL DEF.M.PL farmer.PL then back and  
 1875 *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.’

- 1876 *A lu vagnéva quaj fatg fajn tüt a maun*  
and then PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG DEM.UNM do.PTCP.UNM hay.M.SG all by hand.M.SG
- 1877 *né ... lu èra quaj bétga masch[inas] ...*  
right? then EXIST.IMP.F.3SG DEM.UNM NEG machine.F.PL
- 1878 *èri tüt siau a maun.*  
EXIST.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL all mow.PTCP.UNM by hand.M.PL

‘And then hay was all made by hand, right, ... at that time there were no machines ... everything was mown by hand.’

- 1879 *I èra da quèls tga vèvan ... Ju sùn ùssa*  
EXPL exist.IMP.F.3SG of DEM.M.PL REL have.IMP.F.3PL 1SG be.PRS.1SG now
- 1880 *stada tiar dus purs tga vèvan mù vacas a ...*  
COP.PTCP.F.SG by two.M.PL farmer.PL REL have.IMP.F.3PL only cow.F.PL and
- 1881 *a lu quaj vagnéva tüt tratg cun bùvs, al*  
and then DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG all pull.PTCP.UNM with ox.M.PL DEF.M.SG
- 1882 *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.’

- 1883 *A quaj èra hèfti. Api tiar in pur*  
and DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG strenuous.ADJ.UNM and by INDEF.M.SG farmer
- 1884 *sünd ju stada tgu stuèva ... ah ... quaj*  
be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.UNM REL.1SG must.IMP.F.1SG eh DEM.UNM
- 1885 *èra mù ùm a dùna, quèls vèvan bigja*  
COP.IMP.F.3SG only man.M.SG and woman.F.SG DEM.M.PL have.IMP.F.3PL NEG
- 1886 *gju famiglja a lu stuèv' ju la sèra adin'*  
have.PTCP.UNM family.F.SG and then must.IMP.F.1SG 1SG DEF.F.SG evening always
- 1887 *ir' a fá tschajna ... a fá ... manèstra,*  
go.INF SUBORD make.INF dinner.F.SG SUBORD make.INF pottage.F.SG
- 1888 *manèstra, manèstra, manèstra.*  
pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG pottage.F.SG

‘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, pottage.'

- 1889 *Lò vèv' ju ... lu mav' ju la ... fòrza la*  
 there have.IMP.F.1SG then go.IMP.F.1SG DEF.F.SG maybe DEF.F.SG  
 1890 *quarta ... tiar quèls duş vau bitga gju- lò*  
 fourth by DEM.M.PL two.PL have.PRS.1SG NEG have.ptcp.unm there  
 1891 *vau btga durmu, vau savju ira a*  
 have.1SG.1SG NEG sleep.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.1SG.1SG can.PTCP.UNM go.INF to  
 1892 *tgèsa.*  
 home.F.SG

'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.'

- 1893 *Mav' ju a tgèsa ábar quaj èra ... èr' ins*  
 go.IMP.F.1SG 1SG to home.F.SG but DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG COP.IMP.F.3SG GNR  
 1894 *trést ajan in cèrt sèn api stgav' ins lu bigja*  
 sad.M.SG in INDEF.M.SG certain sense and be\_allowed.IMP.F.3SG GNR then NEG  
 1895 *grad dí a tgèsa ... i a tgès' a dí tgé ... còn*  
 just say.INF at home.F.SG go.INF to home.F.SG and say.INF what how  
 1896 *hèfti inş vaj gju, gè ... schjùc*  
 strenuous.ADJ.UNM GNR have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM yes otherwise  
 1897 *savilavan aj a quaj è ùssa mju ùm.*  
 REFL.get\_angry.IMP.F.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.'

- 1898 [m3] *A vuş vajş anflau ò ampau nüfs 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?'

- 1899 [f4] *Na, nuş vajn ... ju èra grat cò a raquintava cù*  
 no 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1SG COP.IMP.F.1SG just here and tell.IMP.F.1SG how  
 1900 *nus ... inş èra fumègl ... fumitgèsas.*  
 1PL GNR COP.IMP.F.3SG farmhand.M.SG maid.F.SG

[f4] 'No, we have ... I was just here and told how we ... we were a farmhand ... maids.'

- 1901 [m3] È stau intrassant, tutina?  
be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM nevertheless
- [m3] ‘Has it nevertheless been interesting?’
- 1902 [f4] Gè gè, nuş vajn gju intrassant. Na, lu  
yes yes 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM no then
- 1903 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
- 1904 gè ... quaj èr' adina ... nuş vajn gju  
yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG always 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM
- 1905 angrazjajvals, névétg PN.  
grateful.M.PL right PN
- [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?’
- 1906 [m3] Ô gè ajn gènèral schòn. Ajn gènèral èrani angrazjajvels,  
oh yes in general indeed in general COP.IMPF.3PL.3PL grateful.M.PL
- 1907 ábar ... .  
but
- [m3] ‘Oh yes, in general indeed. They were generally grateful, but ... ’
- 1908 [f4] I schèvan luvrá fétg.  
3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much
- [f4] ‘They had [us] work a lot.’
- 1909 [m3] Fá da mèmi, magari vèvi nùm ... ju  
do.INF of too\_much sometimes have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL name 1SG
- 1910 saragòrd' aun in' jèd' ábar lura èr' ju  
REFL.remember.PRS.1SG still one.F.SG time but then be.IMPF.1SG 1SG
- 1911 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
- 1912 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.’

- 1913 *Ina calira pi vèvani dau marjanda, scù nuṣ*  
 INDEF.F.SG heath and\_then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL give.PTCP.UNM snack.F.SG as 1PL
- 1914 *şchajn, api èri vagnú andamajn tg' ins*  
 say.PRS.1PL and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM in\_mind COMP GNR
- 1915 *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.'

- 1916 *Sas tgé quaj vut dí? Quaj è*  
 know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
- 1917 *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.'

- 1918 [f4] *Sé Miléz, dadajns Miléz ...*  
 up PN in PN

[f4] 'Up at Milez, to the west of Milez ... '

- 1919 [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.'

- 1920 [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.'

- 1921 [m3] *Api in schèva: «Ah quaj sas bétga fá fá*  
 and one.M.SG say.IMPF.3SG eh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG NEG do.INF do.REFL
- 1922 *al buéb.», api schèva tschèl: «Bèn, quaj pù*  
 DEF.M.SG boy and say.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG yes DEM.UNM be\_able.PRS.3SG
- 1923 *l 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.»'

- 1924 Ála finfinala vèv' ju stù fa in,  
in.DEF.F.SG end have.IMPF.1SG 1SG must.PTCP.UNM do.INF INDEF.M.SG  
1925 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.'
- 1926 Quaj amblid' ju bétg. Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar,  
DEM.UNM forget.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.M.SG youngster  
1927 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  
1928 gidá òra, prquaj tga cu mju bap ... duvrava  
help.INF out because SUBORD when POSS.1SG.M.SG father need.IMPF.3SG  
1929 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  
1930 famiglja ... a quèls òn adina gidaud al bap  
family and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL always help.PTCP.UNM DEF.M.SG father  
1931 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  
1932 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.»'
- 1933 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  
1934 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 ... :'
- 1935 [f4] I èra difarènt ... i èra da quèls  
EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG different.ADJ.UNM EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL  
1936 tg' èran angrazajvels, 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  
1937 fá avùnda.  
do.INF enough

'It was different ... there were some who were grateful, also some for whom you never could do enough.'

- 1938 *Gljèds va ju è gju, quaj èr' uschéja*  
DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG also have.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG SO
- 1939 ... *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
- 1940 *ò djantarajn ... ábar a tgèsa stgav' ins bétg'*  
have.PRS.3SG in\_between but at home.F.SG be\_allowed.impf.3SG GNR NEG
- 1941 *ira a dí, prquaj tg' i şchèvan: «Ò quaj pùs*  
go.INF and say.INF because SUBORD 3PL say.IMPF.3PL oh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG
- 1942 *té schòn, ûşa quaj è nuéta schi nausch.»*  
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], because they would say: «Oh, you are certainly able to do that, now this is not so bad».'

- 1943 [m3] «*Té vèvas al disavantatg tga té èras*  
2SG have.IMPF.2SG DEF.M.SG disadvantage REL 2SG COP.IMPF.2SG
- 1944 *ina grònda.»*  
INDEF.F.SG tall.ADJ.F

[m3] «You had the disadvantage to be tall.»

- 1945 [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
- 1946 *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
- 1947 *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.'

- 1948 [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.'

- 1949 [f4] *Lu tartgávani, ò, quaj è ina buébúna,*  
     then think.IMPF.3PL.3PL oh DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG girl.AUGM  
 1950 *quèla pù schòn ... gè, na, quaj è schòn*  
     DEM.F.SG can.PRS.3SG indeed yes, no, DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG indeed  
 1951 *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.’

- 1952 *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  
 1953 *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.’

- 1954 *A sch'i èra malaura, scha vèv' inş a*  
     and if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG bad\_weather.F.SG CORR have.IMPF.3SG GNR at  
 1955 *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  
 1956 *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.’

- 1957 *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  
 1958 *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.’

- 1959 [m3] *Nuş şchajn anqual' jèda c' ins vèza las*  
     1PL say.PRS.1PL some time.F.SG when GNR see.PRS.3SG DEF.F.PL  
 1960 *tiaras ... şùdsvilupadas, lajn dí quèluísa, tga dian,*  
     country.PL underdeveloped.PL HORT.1PL say.INF this\_way COMP say.PRS.3PL  
 1961 *quèls ufauns stùn luvrá a végnan bunamajn*  
     DEM.M.PL child.PL must.PRS.3PL work.INF and PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL almost

- 1962 *pandi 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  
1963 *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.’

- 1964 [f4] *Nuş vajn fatg atrás quaj.*  
1SG have.PRS.1PL do.PTCP.UNM through DEM.UNM

[f4] ‘We have experienced that.’

- 1965 [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  
1966 *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  
1967 *mavas 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.’

- 1968 *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  
1969 *lavuran, vajn nus luvrau [f4] gè gè [m3] manaval.*  
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.’

- 1970 *Ábar quaj dèva bétga discussjun. Quaj nagín tga [f4]*  
but DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG NEG discussion.F.SG DEM.UNM nobody REL  
1971 *na [m3] tga lèva bétga fà.*  
no REL want.IMPF.3SG NEG do.INF

‘But there were no discussions. Nobody [f4] no [m3] would refuse to do it.’

- 1972 *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  
1973 *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

- 1974 *vazlè, tgé èra quaj, trènta vadjals ... gjù cò*  
 calf\_herdsman.M.SG what COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM thirty calf.M.PL down here
- 1975 *vi da tschélè 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
- 1976 *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.’

- 1977 *Ábar quaj vagnéva dau sura in pènsum*  
 but DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.M.SG homework
- 1978 *mèmi gròn ad ju sùn parschuadjuds, è ad alp ... pia*  
 too big and 1SG COP.PRS.1SG convince.PTCP.M.SG also to alp.M.SG therefore
- 1979 *sch' in èra purtgè, sùn staus purtgè*  
 if GNR COP.IMPF.3SG swineherd.M.SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG swineherd.M.SG
- 1980 *cun dùdişch òns, a vèva mju quântum vacas.*  
 with twelve year.M.PL and have.IMPF.1SG POSS.1SG.M.SG 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.’

- 1981 *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
- 1982 *mungèva ... quaj èra zagnún, pástar*  
 milk.IMPF.3SG DEM.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG alpine\_dairyman.M.SG shepherd.M.SG
- 1983 *gròn ... .*  
 big

‘I had to spin the centrifuge ... right, here everybody had to milk ... there were the alpine dairyman, the main shepherd ...’

- 1984 *[f4] «Astg' ju aun dá in glaş aua*  
 be\_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in\_addition give.INF INDEF.M.SG cup water
- 1985 *Philippe?» [PhM] «Gie, bugen.» [f4] «Da la spina né aua*  
 PN yes with\_pleasure from DEF.F.SG tap or water.F.SG
- 1986 *minerala?» [PhM] «Dalla spina.» [f4] «A té, lèvas è*  
 mineral of.DEF.F.SG tap and 2SG want.COND.2SG also

1987 *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?»’

1988 [m3] «*Gè, da mé daj è ina ... Al*  
yes DAT 1SG give.IMP.2SG also INDEF.F.SG DEF.M.SG

1989 *zagnún, pástar gròn, pástar pin, a l*  
alpine\_dairyman.M.SG shepherd.M.SG big shepherd.M.SG small and DEF.M.SG  
1990 *tarsial ... .*  
assistant

[m3] ‘«Yes, give me also a ... The alpine dairyman, the main shepherd, the second shepherd, and the assistant ...»’

1991 [PhM] «*Tgei ei in tersiel?*»  
what COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.M.SG assistant

[PhM] ‘«What is a *tersiel*?»’

1992 [m3] «*Al tarsial èra quèl al ... al*  
DEF.M.SG assistant COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG

1993 «*Hausmann.*»<sup>85</sup> [f4] «*Al gidòntar.*» [PhM] «*Ah okay.*»  
househusband DEF.M.SG assistant eh OK

[m3] ‘«The *tersiel* was the ... the *Hausmann*.» [f4] «The assistant.»’

1994 [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

1995 *lavá gjù la vaschala, trá la panaglja a ....*  
wash.INF down INDEF.F.SG dishes spin.INF DEF.F.SG butter\_tub and

1996 [PhM] «*Grazia fétg.*» [f4] «*Schòn bian.*» [m3] A ... a *buglí gjù*  
thank.F.SG much all\_right well and and boil.INF down

1997 *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.»’

<sup>85</sup>Said in Standard German.

- 1998 *Atgnamajn al pástar gròn èr' al ...*  
 actually DEF.M.SG herdsman.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG
- 1999 *vèv' als tiarş ajnta maun. A quaj èra*  
 have.IMP.3SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL in hand.M.SG and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMP.3SG
- 2000 *cò ajn Tujétsch vèvan nus trajş albş da vacas.*  
 here in PN have.IMP.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.’

- 2001 *Quaj èra trajtschian vacas plus minus ... fòrza strusch*  
 DEM.UNM EXIST.IMP.3SG three\_hundred cow.F.PL more less maybe hardly
- 2002 *... ábar duatschian òtgònta èri sagir.*  
 but two\_hundred eighty EXIST.IMP.3SG.EXPL sure.ADJ.UNM

‘There were 300 cows more or less ... maybe barely .. but there were 280 without doubt.’

- 2003 *Álsò bigja dal tut trajtschian, craj ju bétg ... ábar ah*  
 well NEG of.DEF.M.SG whole three\_hundred believe.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG but eh
- 2004 *... 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.’

- 2005 *A lur' èra quaj al zagnún api al*  
 and then EXIST.IMP.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.M.SG Alpine\_dairyman and DEF.M.SG
- 2006 *pástar, vèva quaj, a vèva è sju*  
 herdsman have.IMP.3SG DEM.UNM and have.IMP.3SG also POSS.3SG.M.SG
- 2007 *quántum vacas 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.’

- 2008 *Quaj ... in stèva vagní ... mintgín sén sju*  
 DEM.UNM GNR must.IMP.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on POSS.3SG.M.SG
- 2009 *quántum, quèls vèvan fòrsa végn vacas a 'l*  
 amount DEM.M.PL have.IMP.3PL maybe twenty cow.F.PL and DEF.M.SG
- 2010 *zagnún vèva fòrsa schòtg a 'l tarségl*  
 alpine\_dairyman have.IMP.3SG maybe eighteen and DEF.M.SG assistant

- 2011 vèva            *quindisch ... al            pástar    ... pin, i      èra*  
 have.IMPF.3SG fifteen        DEF.M.SG herdsman    small EXPL exist.IMPF.3SG
- 2012 *dus            pástars,        vèva            fòrsa    dùdisch, a    'l            purtgè*  
 two.M.PL herdsman.PL have.IMPF.3SG maybe twelve    and DEF.M.SG swineherd
- 2013 *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.'

- 2014 *A    i      èra            ... tut anzjaman èr'            in    sis parsunas.*  
 and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG all together exist.IMPF.3SG GNR six person.F.PL
- 2015 *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
- 2016 *tschian    vacas ... lajn        dí        ùssa, mù    òtgònsta ... òtgònsta vacas,*  
 hundred cow.PL    HORT.1PL say.INF now only eighty    eighty cow.F.PL
- 2017 *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.'

- 2018 *A    ... a    quaj        òn    tgu        sùn            staus            purtgè*  
 and and DEM.M.SG year REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG swineherd
- 2019 *sél            cuélm            ... quaj        è            stau            ana*  
 on.DEF.M.SG assembly\_of\_house    DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM year
- 2020 *tschuncòntatschún.*  
 fifty-five

'And ... and that year, when I was swineherd at the *majsès* ... this was in 1955.'

- 2021 *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
- 2022 *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:'

2023 «*Té as ... al zagnún a tauntas a*  
 2SG have.PRS.2SG DEF.M.SG dairyman have.PRS.3SG so\_many.F.PL and  
 2024 *tauntas, a té as da gidá lèz. Vuş duş*  
 so\_many.F.PL and 2SG have.PRS.2SG to help.INF DEM.M.SG 2PL two.M.PL  
 2025 *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.’

2026 *A quaj èra lu è détg: «Té as*  
 and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG then also say.PTCP.UNM 2SG have.PRS.2SG  
 2027 *laş vacaş dal Berther, té as quèlaş dal*  
 DEF.F.PL COW.PL of.DEF.M.SG PN 2SG have.PRS.2SG DEM.F.PL of.DEF.M.SG  
 2028 *Caduff.» A quaj èra sé las nùdas ... quaj*  
 PN and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG on DEF.F.PL brand.PL DEM.UNM  
 2029 *ancanuschèvas ... mintga vaca.*  
 recognise.IMPF.2SG.GNR every COW.F.SG

‘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 recognise ... every cow.’

2030 *Álsò tòc’ al davùş da la stat ... ancanuschèvas la*  
 well until DEF.M.SG last of DEF.F.SG summer know.IMPF.2SG.GNR DEF.F.SG  
 2031 *buşchia dal pur da laş vacas. Mintga pur*  
 nickname of.DEF.M.SG farmer of DEF.F.PL COW.PL every farmer.M.SG  
 2032 *vèva sia buşchia, a quaj vèvanş 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.’

2033 *A lur’ l purtgè vèv’ aun ... cu i*  
 and then DEF.M.SG swineherd have.IMPF.3SG in\_addition when 3PL  
 2034 *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  
 2035 *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  
 2036 *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.’

2037 *Api magari vèva 'l aun da tanaj las vacas*  
and sometimes have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in\_addition to hold.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL  
2038 *ajn stával.<sup>86</sup> Quaj vul dí culas,<sup>87</sup> quèls*  
in cowshed.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF with.DEF.F.PL DEM.M.PL  
2039 *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  
2040 *lò duaş 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  
2041 *adina zacòntas tga mavan, da las vacas ... api stuèvanç*  
always some.F.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL of DEF.F.PL COW.PL and must.IMPF.1PL.1PL  
2042 *i: «Puscha ... puscha<sup>88</sup> ... 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 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!»’

2043 *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  
2044 *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  
2045 *cu 'l èr' in' jèd' ajn<sup>89</sup>, mava quaj*  
when 3SG.M COP.INF.3SG one.F.SG time in go.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM  
2046 *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.’

<sup>88</sup> *Puscha* is a familiar word for *vaca* ‘cow’ and is also used in order to call the cows.

<sup>88</sup> A *stával* is a place next to the alpine hut where the cattle stays at night.

<sup>88</sup> There is an unintelligible part between *culas* and *quèls*.

<sup>89</sup> Unintelligible part between *ajn* and *mava*.

2047 *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  
 2048 *vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' inṣ èr' ajn ... ajn*  
 see.IMP.F.3PL and help.IMP.F.3PL until SUBORD GNR COP.IMP.F.3SG in in  
 2049 «*schwunc*»<sup>90</sup> ... *api èri strusch tga té*  
 momentum.M.SG and COP.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL hardly SUBORD 2SG.GNR  
 2050 *vèvas antschiat èri da turná*  
 have.IMP.F.2SG.GNR begin.PTCP.UNM be.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL → go\_back.INF and  
 2051 *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.’

2052 *Quaj cas stù ju raquintá. Quaj èra in*  
 DEM.M.SG case must.PRS.1SG 1SG tell.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG  
 2053 *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  
 2054 *èr' in súpar musicant ... in ùm pin grias usché,*  
 COP.IMP.F.3SG INDEF.M.SG super musician ... INDEF.M.SG man short fat so  
 2055 *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.’

2056 *A sia ... sia dùna vèva nùm Marjuschla,*  
 and POSS.3SG.F.SG POSS.3SG.F.SG wife have.IMP.F.3SG name.M.SG PN  
 2057 *a quèla tgèsa c' inṣ vò cò da quòra vèva*  
 and DEM.F.SG house when GNR go.PRS.3SG here from here\_out have.IMP.F.3SG  
 2058 *quèl ... «il Segner ei» ... mù spétga ... [f4] «En*  
 DEM.M.SG DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG only wait.IMP.2SG in  
 2059 *tutta malura il Segner ei sisura.»<sup>91</sup> ... [m3] «En tutta*  
 all.F.SG disaster DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above in all.F.SG  
 2060 *malura il Segner ei sisura.» ... [f4] Quaj cu té*  
 disaster DEF.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above DEM.UNM when 2SG

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<sup>90</sup> *Schwung* is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

- 2061 *vaṣ anòra drètg.* [m3] *A cu nus mavan vidòra,*  
go.PRS.2SG out straight\_ahead and when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out
- 2062 *ṣchèvan nus ... i ṣchèvan ... Marjuschla vèva quèla*  
say.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3PL say.IMPF.3PL PN have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG
- 2063 *nùm ... nuṣ ṣchèvan la Barjùtla ... cu nus mavan*  
name.M.SG 1PL say.IMPF.1PL DEF.F.SG PN when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL
- 2064 *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.»’

- 2065 *Quaj pur vèva quèla vaca. Quaj èr'*  
DEM.M.SG farmer have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG COW DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
- 2066 *ina vaca, ina mujèra<sup>91</sup> scìu ins di, quèla*  
INDEF.F.SG COW INDEF.F.SG COW\_without\_calves as GNR say.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG
- 2067 *vèva bégja fatg vadí plé ... lu quèlas*  
have.IMPF.3SG NEG do.PTCP.UNM calf.M.SG more then DEM.F.PL
- 2068 *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 ...’

- 2069 *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
- 2070 *vèva sé in plèc<sup>93</sup> a quèla mava mintg'*  
have.IMPF.3SG up INDEF.M.SG flat\_bell and DEM.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG every
- 2071 *jè ... tac, tac, vònzacj èra la végn, trènta*  
time.F.SG ONOM ONOM ONOM later COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.F twenty thirty
- 2072 *mèters ò dal múval api mavan tschèlas halt sjantar*  
metre.M.SG out.of.DEF.M.SG cattle and go.IMPF.3PL dem.F.PL simply after

<sup>91</sup>This adage is said (and written) in Standard Sursilvan.

<sup>92</sup>A *mujèra*, Standard Sursilvan *mughera*, is called *leere Kuh* ‘empty cow’ in German.

‘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.’

- 2073 [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  
2074 *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.’

- 2075 [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  
2076 *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.’

- 2077 [f4] *Tgi c’ èr’ ad alp schòn, gè.*  
who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp indeed yes

‘Those who were at the alpine pastures indeed, yes.’

- 2078 [m3] *Gè, tgi c’ èr’ ad alp. Las quátar òrd létg*  
yes who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp.M.SG DEF.F.PL four out\_of bed.M.SG  
2079 *ad í a rimná laš vacas ajn stával ... antschajvar*  
and go.INF SUBORD collect.INF DEF.F.PL COW.PL in cowshed.M.SG begin.INF  
2080 *a mùngjar, tg’ èras uschéja ... gè, c’ i*  
COMP milk.INF SUBORD COP.IMPF.2SG.GNR SO yes when EXPL  
2081 *èra vi da las ... laš òtg né usché èr’ aj*  
COP.IMPF.3SG over of DEF.F.PL DEF.F.PL eight or so PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG EXPL  
2082 *mùgnisch manègj’ ju ... survagnév’ ins sòlvar.*  
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.’

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<sup>93</sup>A cow with a *plèc* (or *pletg*) is the second main cow, which explains why the other cows follow it.

2083 A sjantar èra, mav' als tiars puspè a pastgè  
 and after be.IMPF.3SG go.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.PL animal.PL again SUBORD graze.INF  
 2084 a lura stèv' al ... al zagnún, lèz  
 and then must.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG DEF.M.SG alpine\_dairyman DEM.M.SG  
 2085 caşchava, sjantar cargjav' al magnùc a  
 make\_cheese.IMPF.3SG after load.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG cheese and  
 2086 purtava ajn tschale.  
 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.'

2087 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  
 2088 autra alp, in ... in liuc cèntrau pr duaş alps. A lura  
 other alp INDEF.M.SG INDEF.M.SG place central for two.F.PL alp.PL and then  
 2089 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  
 2090 ... 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  
 2091 ajn térgja 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  
 2092 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.'

2093 Lu vagnéva fatg tschagrún. Cu 'l latg  
 then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.M.SG whey\_cheese when DEF.M.SG milk  
 2094 èra tratgs òra, scha l' ò 'l ...  
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG pull.PTCP.M.SG out CORR DEF.M.SG have.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG  
 2095 al zignún finju, api cargjav' al al magnùc  
 DEF.M.SG dairyman finish.PTCP.UNM and load.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M DEF.M.SG cheese  
 2096 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  
 2097 cargjava a ... purtava ajn tschale.  
 load.IMPF.3SG and bring.IMPF.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.’

- 2098 A *dantaun stèvas* buglí sé al, la scòtga,  
and meanwhile must.IMPF.2SG.GNR boil.INF up DEF.M.SG DEF.F.SG whey  
 2099 *quaj stèvas* ... *quaj duvrava* la plé bjè  
DEM.UNM must.IMPF.2SG DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG more much  
 2100 *lèna* ... *quaj stèva* buglí.  
firewood.COLL DEM.UNM must.IMPF.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.’

- 2101 A *lu vagnévi* sésúra quèla «schichta»<sup>94</sup> ... quèla  
and then come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL upon DEM.F.SG layer DEM.F.SG  
 2102 *dèv’ al tschagrún* ... gè, *al tschagrún* ... cò  
give.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG wey\_cheese yes DEF.M.SG wey\_cheese how  
 2103 *diani al tschagrún a tudèstg?* ... [f4] Ziger ... [m3] Ziger ...  
say.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.M.SG whey\_cheese in German Ziger Ziger  
 2104 *a lura cu quaj è* ... è ... stèv’ ins  
and then when DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG must.IMPF.3SG GNR  
 2105 *pascá gjù quaj a métar ajn ajn quaj* ... *quaj dèv’*  
fish.INF down DEM.UNM and put.INF in in DEM.UNM DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG  
 2106 *usché ampau scù magnùc a quaj vagnéva lu*  
so a\_bit like cheese and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG then  
 2107 *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.’

- 2108 A *pér cu quaj èra* fatg, scha èra  
and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR COP.IMPF.3SG  
 2109 *la scòtga mèmi tgauda, api vèv’ al purtgè la*  
DEF.F.SG whey too hot and have.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG swineherd DEF.F.SG

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<sup>94</sup> *Schichta* is adapted from German *Schicht* ‘layer’; the Standard Sursilvan form is *stresa*.

2110 *quajda né né al plaschaj dad ira par au' ad' au' ad aua*  
 desire or or DEF.M.SG pleasure ATTR go.INF for water.F.SG and water and water  
 2111 ... *quèls zajvars da végn fùns, schèvan nus... a purtá*  
 DEM.M.PL washtub.PL of twenty pound.M.PL say.IMPF.1PL 1PL and bring.INF  
 2112 *a métar ajn ála caldèra tòca tga èra*  
 and put.INF in into.DEF.F.SG cauldron until SUBORD COP.IMPF.3SG  
 2113 *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.'

2114 *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  
 2115 *a fagèvan al gjával ... pi<sup>95</sup> árvar sé in barcún api*  
 and do.IMPF.3PL DEF.M.PL devil and open.INF up INDEF.M.SG shutter and  
 2116 *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  
 2117 *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.'

2118 *A lur' vèv' inş da dá ... da magljè da lèzs ... a*  
 and then have.IMPF.3SG GNR to give.INF to eat.INF DAT DEM.M.PL and  
 2119 *quaj èra antir ritmus, antira stat ...*  
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG whole.M.SG rhythm whole.F.SG summer  
 2120 *vagnéva lu plé pauc, ancúnt' agl atún èri*  
 come.IMPF.3SG then more little towards DEF.M.SG autumn EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL  
 2121 *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  
 2122 *mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri fòrsa mù tschuncònta, da*  
 milk.INF eighty COW.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe only fifty of  
 2123 *quèlas tg' èran schòn schétgas ... a tutin' al*  
 DEM.F.PL REL COP.IMPF.3SG already dry.F.PL and after\_all DEF.M.SG

<sup>95</sup>There is an unintelligible part between *pi* and *árvar*.

- 2124 *sjantarmjadş-dé èra* ... *ins gudéva* *lu aun, in' ura,*  
 afternoon COP.IMPF.3SG GNR enjoy.IMPF.3SG then still one.F.SG hour
- 2125 *duas ... savèvas* ... *schá dá l'* *aura*  
 two.F.PL can.IMPF.2SG.GNR let.INF give.INF DEF.F.SG weather
- 2126 *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)

Recorded 2017/03/07 in Sedrun

Duration 5'50"

- 2127 *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
- 2128 *déjşch òns ad avaun òns şè quaj clar tga*  
 ten year.M.PL and before year.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM clear.ADJ.UNM COMP
- 2129 *scùla èri mù gl unviarn.*  
 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.’

- 2130 *La stat ... èra simplamajn bigja scùla. Quaj*  
 DEF.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV NEG school.F.SG DEM.UNM
- 2131 *gnang vèva nùm vacanzas. La stat ...*  
 not\_even have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG holidays.F.PL DEF.F.SG summer
- 2132 *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.’

- 2133 *La scùla finéva ... al matg ... zarcladur, ad ins*  
 DEF.F.SG school end.IMPF.3SG DEF.M.SG May June.M.SG and GNR
- 2134 *schèva da quaj bigj èxnùm vacanzas. Sjantar*  
 say.IMPF.3SG of DEM.UNM NEG definitively holidays.F.PL after
- 2135 *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.’

- 2136 *A ... cò mava '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
- 2137 *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
- 2138 *i 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.’

- 2139 *A ... nuš vèvan par èxèmpal al majès ajnta*  
 and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL for example.M.SG DEF.M.SG assembly\_of\_houses in
- 2140 *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
- 2141 *i èran èra.*  
 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL also

‘And ... we had our *majès* in Pardatsch, somebody else had it in Milez or Val jiuv or wherever they were.’

- 2142 *Scadín cas, quaj èra schòn ... ah ... in désidéri,*  
 each.M.SG case dem.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG indeed eh indef.M.SG longing
- 2143 *savaj i majès a durmí sé lò. Tüt simpal,*  
 can.INF go.INF assembly\_of\_houses and sleep.INF up there all simple.ADJ.UNM
- 2144 *ins savèva gidá ajn tégi' 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 *majès* and sleep up there. Very easy, in the hut one could help cooking and so on.’

2145 *Api quaj è usché tga ... al bap ... vagnéva ...*  
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SO COMP DEF.M.SG father come.IMPF.3SG  
 2146 *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  
 2147 *vèvan da partgirá als tiars, als buéts, a*  
 have.IMPF.1PL to mind.INF DEF.M.PL animal.PL DEF.M.PL boy.PL and  
 2148 *stèvan lò sé, sé majšès.*  
 stay.IMPF.1PL 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 *majšès*.’

2149 *A grad ajnta quaj Pardatsch èran nus quátar, tschun*  
 and precisely in DEM.UNM PN COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL four five  
 2150 *buéts.*  
 boy.M.PL

‘And precisely in Pardatsch we were four, five boys.’

2151 *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  
 2152 *fòrza ... in pur, èfèctív al fègl, api ..., ábar savènş*  
 maybe ... INDEF.M.SG farmer effective.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG son and ... but often  
 2153 *è aun da quèls tg' èran fumègl tschò né lò.*  
 also in\_addition of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL farmhand.M.SG here or 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.’

2154 *Ad ju èra tial bap. Quaj èra*  
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG by.DEF.M.SG father DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG  
 2155 *naturálmajn flòt. Scha lu ò quaj*  
 natural.M.SG.ADV great.ADJ.UNM if then have.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM  
 2156 *dau òns tg' ins stèv' ira ... cul*  
 EXIST.PTCP.UNM year.M.PL REL GNR must.IMPF.3SG go.INF with.DEF.M.SG  
 2157 *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.’

2158 *A quaj òn vèva 'l détg: «Ah uòn nò*  
 and DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM eh this\_year go.IMP.2SG  
 2159 *té ajnta Pardatsch.» Al PN, mju frá, èr'*  
 2SG into PN DEF.M.SG PN POSS.1SG.M.SG brother be.IMPF.3SG  
 2160 *juš ajn in autar ljuc.*  
 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.’

2161 *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  
 2162 *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  
 2163 *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.’

2164 *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  
 2165 *sédò puspè ad usché vinavaun. Al dé ò èran nus parsuls.*  
 up\_out again and so further DEF.M.SG day out COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL 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.’

2166 *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  
 2167 *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  
 2168 *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  
 2169 *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.’

2170 *Quaj vèv' ins adina, ábar quaj èra tga l*  
DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG GNR always but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP 3SG  
2171 *purtava fòrz' ajn: «Ò la mùma ò fatg*  
bring.IMPF.3SG maybe in oh DEF.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM  
2172 *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  
2173 *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.'

2174 *Ùsa, in' jèda ... stù fòrz' aun dí òdavaun,*  
now INDEF.F.SG time must.PRS.1SG maybe say.INF in\_addition in\_advance  
2175 *mintga buéb vèva ... tarmagljava cul cuntí da*  
every.SG boy.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG play.IMPF.3SG with.DEF.M.SG knife of  
2176 *sac ... tgapiala ... a cuntí da sac. A ... ju*  
pocket.M.SG hat.F.SG and knife.M.SG of pocket.M.SG and 1SG  
2177 *sa tga ju vèva bérga cuntí ... né usché in tgu*  
know.PRS.1SG COMP 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG knife.M.SG or such one.M.SG REL  
2178 *schèv' ajn téjga.*  
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.'

2179 *Quaj èra lu nuéta propi ... quaj cuntí èra ...*  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then nothing really DEM.M.SG knife COP.IMPF.3SG  
2180 *scadín cas ... ah ... èra quaj ina sònda*  
every.M.SG case eh COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM INDEF.F.SG Saturday  
2181 *sèra ... al bab végn sé majès ...*  
evening.F.SG DEF.M.SG father come.PRS.3SG up assembly\_of\_houses.M.SG  
2182 *api cò ... sacadòs ... quaj tg' ins stù vaj:*  
and here backpack.M.SG DEM.UNM REL GNR must.PRS.3SG have.INF  
2183 *macrúnṣ a riṣ 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.'

2184 *Api prènd' al ... prènd' al ò ina sèrvla: «Cò  
and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out INDEF.M.SG cervelat<sup>96</sup> here  
2185 ò la mùma dau ina sèrvla, má  
have.PRS.3SG DEF.F.SG mother give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.F.SG cervelat because  
2186 tg' i è damaun dumèngja. As té ... ah .... cù  
SUBORD EXPL COP.PRS.3SG tomorrow Sunday have.PRS.3SG 2SG eh how  
2187 barsá stù ju bigja dí .... Fòrsa fas in fuchèt  
roast.INF must.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG say.INF maybe make.2SG INDEF.M.SG fire.DIM  
2188 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 [you] .... Maybe you could prepare a little fire, right?, or you could warm up the ... .»'

2189 *Ad ju, quétun cun quèla sèrvla, má tga quaj  
and 1SG braggart.M.SG with DEM.F.SG cervelat because SUBORD DEM.UNM  
2190 èra ina raritat ... quaj dèvi bigja grat. A ...  
COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.F.SG rarity DEM.UNM exist.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG just and  
2191 la dumèngja ... als ûmanş èn i angjù ...  
DEF.F.SG Sunday DEF.M.SG man.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL down  
2192 als buéts èran sur tégja ... 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: '

2193 *«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  
2194 survagnú pèta a ... ad ju ... «Ju a survagnú  
get.PTCP.UNM cake.F.SG and and 1SG 1SG have.PRS.1SG get.PTCP.UNM  
2195 ina sèrvala.» «Schòn?» Quaj èra scartèzja.  
INDEF.F.SG cervelat indeed DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG rarity.ELAT*

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<sup>96</sup>A *cervelat* is a typical kind of Swiss sausage.

‘«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.’

- 2196 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  
 2197 Ad ju séglja gjù ajn tégja a végn sé cun èla  
and 1SG run.PRS.1SG down in alpine\_hut.F.SG and come.PRS.1SG up with 3SG.F  
 2198 ... a gljèz ... mirau a mirau, i èra bigj'  
and DEM.UNM look.PTCP.UNM and look.PTCP.UNM EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG NEG  
 2199 aun uraş 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.’

- 2200 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  
 2201 cuntjalş 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  
 2202 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  
 2203 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:’

- 2204 «Atgnamajn lès ju bratá ... Té sas vaj  
actually want.COND.1SG 1SG exchange 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF  
 2205 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.»

- 2206 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  
 2207 cuntí fùs schòn ... A ... la sèrvola dèv' ju  
knife COP.COND.3SG indeed and DEF.F.SG cervelat give.COND.1SG 1SG  
 2208 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.’

- 2209 «*PN, té saş vaj la sèrvòla .... Ju salv’ al*  
 PN 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF DEF.F.SG cervelat 1SG keep.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG  
 2210 *cuntí.» Stau ditg a fatg ... ju vèva*  
 knife be.PTCP.UNM say.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.IMP.1SG  
 2211 *schòn quajadas, ábar quaj èra ... ad ju, gl’*  
 indeed desire.F.PL but DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG and 1SG DEF.M.SG  
 2212 *amprém tgu a fatg ... è í*  
 first.ADJ.UNM REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM COP.PRS.3SG go.INF  
 2213 *in téc zanúa a s-dulatschè<sup>97</sup> ad í in téc.*  
 INDEF.M.SG bit somewhere SUBORD carve.INF and go.INF INDEF.M.SG bit

‘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.’

- 2214 *A şè quaj stau fatg cun quaj ... ju*  
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM with DEM.UNM 1SG  
 2215 *mét’ al cuntí ajn sac. A la sèra*  
 put.PRS.1SG DEF.M.SG knife into pocket.M.SG and DEF.F.SG afternoon  
 2216 *végn al bap sédò da las quátar ..., nuş vajn*  
 come.PRS.3SG DEF.M.SG father up\_out of DEF.F.PL four 1PL have.PRS.1PL  
 2217 *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.’

- 2218 *A sjantar ... las sjat, laş ötg èr’ ins avaun*  
 and after DEF.F.PL seven DEF.F.PL eight COP.IMP.3SG GNR before  
 2219 *tégja, èr’ aun ditg clar ad in téc*  
 alpine\_hut.F.SG COP.IMP.3SG still long\_time clear.ADJ.UNM and INDEF.M.SG bit  
 2220 *als buéts<sup>98</sup> ... Scadín caş èr’ ju lò prsuls*  
 DEF.M.PL boy.PL every case COP.IMP.1SG 1SG there alone.M.SG  
 2221 *cul bap.*  
 with.DEF.M.SG father

<sup>97</sup>The usual form is *dulatschè*, as in line 2245. The form *s-dulatschè* has been rejected by the native speakers I consulted.

‘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.’

- 2222 *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  
 2223 *ju prèn òra quaj cuntí a s-dulatscha cò zatgé api*  
1SG take.PRS.1SG out DEM.M.SG knife and carve.PRS.1SG here something and  
 2224 *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:’

- 2225 «*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  
 2226 *tgi as quaj cuntí?*» «*Ah quèl va ju*  
whom have.PRS.1SG DEM.M.SG knife eh DEM.M.SG have.PRS.1SG 1SG  
 2227 *survagnú.*» «*Lá mirá in’ jèda!*» ... *Vau*  
receive.PTCP.UNM let.IMP.2SG look.INF INDEF.F.SG time have.PRS.1SG.1SG  
 2228 *dau via ... api détg él:* «*Símplamajn*  
give.PTCP.UNM over and say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M simple.F.SG.ADV  
 2229 *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?»’

- 2230 «*Na, ju a stju ... ju a stju*  
no 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM  
 2231 *dá la sèrvòla, brat’ ò.*» *Al bap ò*  
give.INF DEF.F.SG cervelat exchange.INF out DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG  
 2232 *détg nuét. Ju va tartgau ... bigja bjè ...*  
say.PTCP.UNM nothing 1SG have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM NEG much  
 2233 *nuét.*  
nothing

‘«No, I had ... I had to give the cervelat, exchange [it].» My father didn’t say anything. I thought ... not much ... nothing.’

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<sup>98</sup>Unintelligible part between *buéts* and *scadín*.

2234 «*Ô scha lura, sas té tgé, PN? Vò sé a*  
 oh if then know.PRS.2SG 2SG what PN go.impf.2SG up and  
 2235 *tùrna 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  
 2236 *in ... quaj è par safá mal. Na, quaj*  
 INDEF.M.SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SUBORD REFL.do.INF harm no DEM.UNM  
 2237 *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.’

2238 «*Ah gljèz ... ju a schòn è quitaú, na*  
 eh DEM.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG indeed also think.PTCP.UNM no  
 2239 *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  
 2240 *PN ... fòrza l' autar dé ... gljèz sa ju bégja ...*  
 PN maybe DEF.M.SG other day DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG  
 2241 *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:’

2242 «*Té, quaj è tut ajn ûrdan, ábar quaj cuntí cò, quaj*  
 2SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all in order.M.SG but DEM.M.SG knife here DEM.UNM  
 2243 *è bigja ... fòrz' aprècjeschas té èl plé fétg tgu.*  
 COP.PRS.3SG NEG maybe appreciate.PRS.2SG 2SG 3SG.M more much than.1SG  
 2244 *Ju tégn da quèl lò ... è bétga, quaj*  
 1SG hold.PRS.1SG of DEM.M.SG here COP.PRS.3SG NEG DEM.M.SG  
 2245 *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.»’

2246 *Quaj è stau la ... duméngj' èra al*  
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.F.SG Sunday be.IMP.3SG DEF.M.SG  
 2247 *bab vagnús anòra<sup>99</sup> a la dumèngja sèra şè*  
 father come.PTCP.M.SG out and def.F.SG Sunday afternoon.F.SG be.PRS.3SG  
 2248 *quaj stau; èl vò anò gljéndisdiş 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.’

- 2249 A la sèra da las quàtar végn al anajn. «PN, ô,  
and DEF.F.SG afternoon at DEF.F.PL four come.PRS.3SG 3SG.M in PN oh  
2250 nuét, ô ju sun aun<sup>100</sup> in' jèda.» A prènd èl  
nothing oh 1SG be.PRS.1SG in\_addition INDEF.F.SG time and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M  
2251 ô 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  
2252 mèlan ... èxact al madèm.  
yellow exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.M.SG same

‘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.’

- 2253 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  
2254 cù 'l ô òrganisau quaj cuntí ... má tga  
how 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG organise.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG knife because SUBORD  
2255 quaj èra bigja schi símpal, in cuntí  
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG so simple.ADJ.UNM INDEF.M.SG knife  
2256 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.’

- 2257 A quèla luçhèzja, quaj va ju aprazjau  
and DEM.F.SG pride DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG appreciate.PTCP.UNM  
2258 énorm ... tg' al bap ... ô sènza nuét ...  
enormous.ADJ.UNM COMP DEF.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG without nothing  
2259 sènza dí in plajd<sup>101</sup> cuntí ... l' autar dé in  
without say.INF INDEF.M.SG word knife DEF.M.SG other day INDEF.M.SG  
2260 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

<sup>99</sup> *Anòra* is a performance error for *anajn*.

<sup>100</sup> Unintelligible part between *aun* and *in*.

<sup>101</sup> Unintelligible part between *plajd* and *cuntí*.

‘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.’

2261 A ... *quaj*      è      *zatgé*      *tgu*      *a*      *maj*  
and    DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG something REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG never  
2262      *amblidau*.  
forget.PTCP.UNM

‘And ... this is something I have never forgotten.’



## 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:bər/ (CONJ) but  
*accidèn* /ektsi'dən/ (M.N) accident  
*acòrd* /ə'kɔrd/ (M.N) piecework  
*ed usché vinavaun* /ed u'ʃe vine'veawn/ and so on, etcetera  
*adina* /ə'dinə/ (ADV) always  
*afèczjun* /əfæk'tsjun/ (F.N) affection  
*afòn* (Selva) /ə'fɔn/ (M.N) child  
*agid* /ə'dzid/ (M.N) help  
*ajjan, atgna* /a:dzen, 'atnə/ (ADJ) own  
*agradgjù* /əgræd'dʒù/ (ADV) steep down  
*agrèssiv, -a* /əgrɛ'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-'piɛst/** (M.N) hay rack post

**ajn /ajn/** (PREP) in

**ajn gamba /ajn 'gamba/** (ADV) well<sup>1</sup>

**ajn général /ajn 'dženeral/** (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:le/** (F.N) 1. wing 2. side (of the roof)

**alarm /e'la:m/** (M.N) alarm

**alb → alp**

**alp /alb, albz/** (F.N) alp, summer pasture

**als /alz/** (DEF.ART.M.PL) the

**álsò /'alzɔ:/** (DISC) well

**alv, -a /alv, -ə/** (ADJ) white

**amblidá /em'bli:da:/** (TR.V) forget

**ambòlí /embɔ'lí/** (F.N) embolism

**amiaz /ə'miɛts/** (PREP) in the midst of, in the middle of

**ampaglja /em'paʎa/** (ADV) damaged

**ampaau /em'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'prendər/** (TR.V) learn. **amprèndar d'ancanùschar** learn to know

**amprèndissadi /emprəndi'sa:di/** (M.N) apprenticeship

**ampruá da + inf** (amprúva) /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'pɔ:stə/) (TR.V) order

**ana (da) /'ane da/** (N) year (in year dates)

**anada /e'nade/** (F.N) 1. year 2. age group

**anavùs /ane've:s/** (ADV) back, backward

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<sup>1</sup>Gamba 'leg' is only used in *ajn gamba*; the normal word for 'leg' is *tgòmba*.

*ancanùschar* /enke'nu:sfer/ (TR.V) know. *amprèndar d' ancanùschar* get to know

*ancanuschènt, -a* /enkenu'sent, -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'se:/ (/eng'ra:se/) (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'gv:le/) (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'stał/ (PREP/COMP) instead of

*antardá* /enter'da:/ (TR.V) delay

*antir, -a* /en'tir, -e/ (ADJ) whole

*antschata* /en'fate/ (F.N) beginning

*antschajvar* (antschavín) /en'fajver/ (/enfə'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** (aprachjèscha) /apre'tsje:/ (/apre'tsjeʃə/) (TR.V) appreciate

**ará** /e'ra:/ (ITR.V) plough

**árdar** (PTCP ars, -a) /'ardər/ (/ars, -ə/) (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'velja/ (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'nii:/ (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, -ə/ (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, av'rε:l/ (M.N) April

*avùnda* /a'vende/ (ADV) enough

*axarsézi* /aksər'setsi/ (M.N) rehearsal

## B

*bab* /ba:b/ (M.N) father

*badugn* /bə'dun/ (M.N) birch

*bagagè* (baghègja) /bəge'dzə/ (/bə'gedzə/) (TR.V) build. *bagagè da néjv* renovate

*bagagè gjù* remove, mine, dismantle

*baghétg* /bə'getç/ (M.N) building

*bajbar* (bubín) /'bajber/ (/bu'bi:n/) (TR.V) drink

*bajònèta* /bəjɔ'neta/ (F.N) bayonet

*bal* /ba:l/ (M.N) ball

*balantschè* /belən'tʃe:/ (ITR.V) roll

*balapaj* /bələ'paj/ (M.N) football

*balèzja* /bə'lətsjə/ (F.N) 1. beauty 2. (ELAT) very beautiful

*banadí, banadí òra* (banadèscha) /bəne'di:/ (/bəne'dəʃə/) (TR.V) bless

*banadiczjun* /benedik'tsjun/ (F.N) blessing

*bandiara* /ben'diərə/ (F.N) flag

*bar* /ba:r/ (F.N) bar

*bara* /ba:re/ (F.N) corpse

*barba* /barbe/ (F.N) beard

*barbis* /ber'bisi:/ (M.N) moustache

*barcún* /ber'kun/ (M.N) shutter

*bargí* (bragja) /ber'dzi:/ (/bra:dzə/) (ITR.V) cry

*barlòt* /ber'lɔt/ (M.N) sorcery

*barsá* (brassa) /ber'sa:/ (/brəsə/) (TR.V) roast

*barschè* (brischa) /ber'ʒe:/ (/bri:ʒə/) (TR/ITR.V) burn

*basa* /ba:ze/ (F.N) base

*basèlgja* /bə'zeldzə/ (F.N) church

*bassa* /base/ (F.N) Switzerland outside the canton of Grisons

*bast* /baft/ (M.N) packsaddle

*basta* /baftə/ (INTERJ) enough

*bau* /baw/ (M.N) beetle

*baun* /bawn/ (M.N) 1. bench 2. ridge

*baun-pégna* /bawn-'pejə/ (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:na:/ (TR.V) concrete

**bi, bjals, bjala** /bi:, bjalz, 'bjale/ (ADJ) beautiful, nice

**bian, bunç, buna** /'biən, bunz, 'buna/ (ADJ) good

**bianmartgau** /biɛnmer'tçaw/ (INVAR.ADJ) cheap

**bigja, bigj' → bétga**

**bitschè** (bétscha) /bi'ʃe:/ (/be:ʃə/) (TR.V) kiss

**bjebégn/bjèbégn** /bjε'béjŋ/bjε'béjŋ/ (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:la/ (F.N) punch

**braja** /'bra:je/ (F.N) trouble. **vaj braja** have troubles

**brajnta** /'brajnte/ (F.N) basket

**bratá** /bre'ta:/ (TR.V) exchange

**bratsch** /bratʃ/ (M.N) arm

**bratscha** /'braʃə/ (COLL.F.N) (both) arms

**brav, -a** /'bra:v, -ə/ (ADJ) brave, important

**brèmşa** /'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 sur da** make derisive remarks about  
**buéb** (PL buéts) /bweb/ (/bwets/) (M.N) boy, son  
**buéba** /bwebe/ (F.N) girl, daughter  
**buébanaglja** /bwebe'na:yə/ (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:/ (/bɔŋə/) (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** /bɔt/ (F.N) barrel  
**butèglja** /bu'tεyə/ (F.N) bottle  
**bürò** /byro/ (M.N) office

## C

**ca** /ke/ (REL) that, who (in combination with *tgéj* ‘what’ and *tgi* ‘who’)  
**cacèta** /ke'tsete/ (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'lu:r/ku'lu:r/ (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** /kəpi'ta:/ (ITR.V) happen  
**capitani** /kəpi'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, -e/ (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'caown/ (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, -e/ (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, -e/ (ADJ) certain  
*circa* /'tsirke/ (ADV) about, around  
*clar, -a* /klar, -e/ (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/ ('klɔmə/) (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  
**còmplicazjun** /kɔmplike'tsjun/ (F.N) complication  
**còmpjutar** /kɔm'pjju:tər/ (M.N) computer  
**còmunal, -a** /kɔmun'a:l, '-a:le/ (ADJ) communal  
**cònadarazjun** /kɔnfedera'tsjun/ (F.N) confederation  
**còntact** /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'rålmajn/ (ADV) physically  
**còschar** /kɔſer/ (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** /kreſt/ (M.N) 1. hill 2. high ground  
**criac** (PL cròcs) /'kriek/ (/krɔks/) (M.N) plough  
**cristala** /kriſtale/ (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

- 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'ɲajn/) (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**
- cuncianza /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/ (/kure'dzi: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/TR.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/) (TR.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** /de'tsi:der/ (TR.V) decide  
**dacù** /de'kʊ/ (INTERR.PRON) why  
**dadajnş** /de'dajnz/ (ADV) farther behind, in direction up the valley  
**daditg** /de'di:tç/ (ADV) a long time ago  
**dadò** /de'dɔ:/ (PREP) after (in direction down the valley)  
**dafartauntiar tga** /defer'tawn\_tier tçə/ (COMP) whilst  
**damanajval da** /deme'najvel de/ (PREP) near  
**damaun** /de'mawn/ 1. (F.N) morning 2. (ADV) tomorrow  
**damèmja** /de'memje/ (ADV) too much  
**danè** /de'nɛ:/ (M.N) money  
**dantaun** /den'tawn/ 1. (ADV) meanwhile 2. (CONJ) however, but  
**danùndar** /de'nvnder/ (INTERR.PRON) where from  
**dapjandar** (dapandín, IMPF dapandèvan) /de'pjander/ (/dəpen'di:n, dəpen'de:ven/) (ITR.V) depend  
**daplé** /de'ple:/ (ADV) more  
**darasá** /dere'za:/ (TR.V) spread  
**dargún** /der'gun/ (M.N) torrent  
**darivá** /deri'va:/ (ITR.V) come from  
**dascrívar** /deʃ'kri:ver/ (TR.V) describe  
**dasgrazjè** /deʒgrə'tsje:/ (ITR.V) have an accident  
**daspèras** /de'sperəs/ (ADV) next to it

- dastadá** /dəʃtə'da:/ (IRR.TR.V) wake up  
**dasturbá** /dəʃtər'ba:/ (TR.V) disturb  
**datá** (datëscha) /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'jante/) (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:ra/ (ADV) backwards  
**davùstiar** /dəvʊ:s'tiar/ (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:/ (/dɪskusju'nɛʃə/) (TR.V) discuss  
*dišgrazja* /diʒ'gra:tsje/ (F.N) tragedy  
*dissònant, -a* /disɔ'nant, -əv/ (ADJ) dissonant  
*ditg* /di:tç/ (ADV) long  
*djantar* /'djanter/ (PREP) among  
*djantarajn* /'djanter'ajn/ (ADV) in between  
*dju* /dju/ (M.N) god  
*dòcumènta* /dɔkumen'ta:/ (TR.V) document  
*dòmaşduş (M), -duaş (F), òmaşduş, -duaş* /('d)ɔmaʒ'du:z, -əz/ (NUM) both  
*dòminant, -a* /dɔm'i:nant, -əv/ (ADJ) dominant  
*drègj, drètg, -a* /drɛdʒ, drɛtç, -əv/ 1. (ADJ) right 2. (ADV) straight ahead  
*drètg → drègj*  
*dua* /duə/ (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:tə/) (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* (damònda) /dumen'da:/ (/dɛ'mɔndə/) (TR.V) ask  
*dumbrá* /dumb'rɑ:/ (TR.V) count  
*duméngja* /du'mendʒə/ (F.N) Sunday  
*dun* /dun/ (M.N) gift  
*dùna* /dʊnə/ (F.N) woman, wife  
*durmantá* (durmjanta) /durmen'ta:/ (/dur'mjantə/) (TR.V) make sleep  
*durmi* (dòrma) /dur'mi:/ (/dɔrmə/) (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:/ (/dɔʃtə/) (ITR.V) keep away  
*duvrá* (drùva) /duv'rɑ:/ (/dru:ve/) (TR.V) 1. use 2. must, should

## E

*è → èra*  
*éba, èba* /'ebe, 'eba/ (ADV) exactly, precisely, in fact, after all  
*èfèct* /ɛ'fekt/ (M.N) effect  
*èfèctiv* /ɛfek'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/ ('/éləs/) (PERS.PRON) she, they  
**électric, -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, ε:/ (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** /etç/ (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'rāl, -a/ (ADJ) federal  
**fadiè** (fadia, fadiajn, fadiava) /fedi'e:/ (/fe'diə, fedi'ajn, fedi'ave/) (TR.V) earn  
**fagljét** /fe'ʌt̪et/ (M.N) youngest son  
**fagòt** /fe'gɔ:t/ (M.N) bundle  
**fajn** /fajn/ (M.N) hay. **fá fajn** make hay  
**falian** (PL faljans) /fe'ljen/ (/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* /'fatʃə/ (F.N) face  
*favrè* /fev're:/ (M.N) February  
*fégl* /fe:gł/ (M.N) 1. son 2. leaf  
*féglja* /fe:głja/ 1. (F.N) daughter 2. (COLL.F.N) leaves  
*féjra* /fejra/ (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) /fiep/ (/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:mə/) (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) /fla'dzi:/ (/fla'dżal(t)s/) (M.N) flail  
*flajvlèza* /flajv'lɛzə/ (F.N) weakness  
*flót, -a* /flót, -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* /fɔresta:l/ (M.N) forest ranger  
*fòrestalèssar* /fɔresta:l'ɛsər/ (M.N) forestry

- fòrmazjun* /fɔrmə'tʃun/ (F.N) lineup  
*fòrsa, fòrza* /'fɔrsə, 'fɔrtṣə/ (F.N) power, strength<sup>2</sup>  
*fòrza, fòrsa* /'fɔrtṣə, 'fɔrsə/ (ADV) maybe  
*fòtògrafia* /fɔtɔgr̥e'frie/ (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* /frɛst̥ç, -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'tce:ze, fumi'tce:ze / (F.N) maid  
*fumègl* /fu'meł/ (M.N) farmhand  
*func* /funk/ (M.N) radio  
*fùn* /fʊn/ (M.N) pound  
*funcsaná* /funksəna:/ (ITR.V) function  
*fundamajn* /funde'majn/ (M.N) foundation  
*fùns* /fʊns/ (M.N) 1.ground. *ir' a fùns* 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* /ga'ʎine/ (F.N) hen  
*galòpá* /galɔ:pə:/ (ITR.V) gallop  
*gamba* → *ajn gamba*  
*gang* /gaŋg/ (M.N) corridor  
*ganùglja* /ga'nuŋglja/ (F.N) knee  
*gártar* /'garter/ (M.N) grating  
*gartagjè* (gartègja) /gerte'dz̥e:/ (/ger'te:dz̥e/) (ITR.V) succeed

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<sup>2</sup>There 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** /dзε/ (ADV) 1. yes 2. in fact  
**gégja** /'dзe:gža/ (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** /džo'dajn/ (ADV) down in(to), at the bottom  
**gjùdòra, gjùadòra** /džo(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** /džo'zvt/ (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** /ʌendiz'di:z/ (M.N) Monday  
**gljèz** → *gljèds*  
**gljud** /ʌu:d/ (F.N) people  
**gljunsch** /ʌunʃ/ (ADV) far, far away  
**gnanc, gnang** /narjk, naŋg/ (ADV) not even

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

**gnarva** /'narvə/ (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:/ (/grɛʃə, gri:n, 'gre:və/) (ITR.V) shout

**griaş, gròs gròssa** /'griez, grɔz, 'grɔse/ (ADJ) fat

**griaş** /'griez/ (M.N) drone (insect)

**grişchún, -a** /gri'ʒun, -ə/ (ADJ) from the Grisons

**gròma** /grɔme/ (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'diŋe:/) (TR.V) earn

**guiş** /gu'iz/ (F.N) rifle

## H

**habitazjun** /hebite'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'tɔrja/ (F.N) story

**hòsp** /hɔsp/ (M.N) guest

**hòspíz** /hɔʃpit:s/ (M.N) hospice

**hòta** /'hôte/ (M.N) rein

**hòtèl** /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 ḡorts) /'iərt/ (/ərts/) (M.N) garden

*iaş* (PL ḡoş) /iez/ (/ɔz/) (M.N) bone

*iastar, jastars, jastra* /'iəstər, 'jaſteʳz, 'jaſtre/ (ADJ) 1. foreign 2. strange

*idé(j)a* /i'de(j)e/ (F.N) idea

*impau, in pau* /im'paw, in paw/ (QUANT) a bit

*imprasjun* /imprəs'jun/ (F.N) impression

*in, -a* /i:n, 'i:ne/ (NUM/INDEF.ART.SG) one, a

*in pau* → *impau*

*incassá* /inke'sa:/ (TR/ITR.V) collect (money)

*indigèn, -a* /indi'dze:n, -e/ (ADJ/N) local, indigenous

*indişch* /'indiz/ (NUM) eleven

*inqual, -a* /in'kwal, -e/ (INDEF.DET) some

*inş* /inz/ (GNR.PRON) one, we, you

*instruczjun* /inſtrukt̪sjun/ (F.N) teaching

*instruí* /inſtru'i:/ (TR/ITR.V) teach

*instrumajnt* /inſtru'majnt/ (M.N) instrument

*insùma* /in'sümə/ (ADV) anyway. *insùma bétg* not at all

*intanzjunau, -ada* /intəntsju'naw, -a:de/ (ADJ) benevolent

*intarassant, -a* /intere'sant, -e/ (ADJ) interesting

*intènt* /in'tent/ (M.N) plan

*intern, -a* /in'tern, -e/ (ADJ) domestic

*intgarnauş, -ada* /intçar'naws, -a:de/ (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* /'jamna/ (F.N) week

*jarva* /'jarvə/ (F.N) grass

*jástars, jastra* → *iastar*

*jèda* /'jɛ:de/ (F.N) time. *in' jèda* once

*jéli* /jeli/ (M.N) oil

*ju* /ju/ (PERS.PRON) I

## L

- la, l'* /la/ 1. (DEF.ART.F.SG) the 2. (PERS.PRON) she
- lad, -a* /la:d, -e/ (ADJ) large, broad
- ládar* /la:dər/ (M.N) thief
- lag* /la:g/ (M.N) lake
- lagagè* (laghègja) /ləgə'ðzə:/ (/lə'gɛ:dzə/) (TR/ITR.V) lurk, lie in wait
- laguétar* (lagutín) /lə'gweter/ (/ləgu'ti:n/) (TR.V) swallow
- lahargnè* (lahrògna) /leher'ne:/ (/ləh'rɔŋne/) (ITR.V) giggle
- lárisch* /la:riʃ/ (M.N) larch
- lartg, largja* /lartç, 'lardje/ (ADJ) 1. wide 2. free
- lata* /'late/ (F.N) slat
- latjarna* /lə'tjarne/ (F.N) lantern
- lavá* (léjva) /lə'va:/ (/lejve/) (ITR.V) get up
- lavá* (lava) /lə'va:/ (/lave/) (TR.V) wash. *lavá gjù* do the dishes
- lavaghè* (lavaja, lavagajn) /ləvə'ge:/ (/lə'vaje, 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*<sup>3</sup> /lə:di, -dje/ (ADJ) bachelor, not married
- lèds/lèz, lèza* /lədz/lets, letse/ (DEM.PRON) this
- léj, létg* /le:dz, le:tç/ (M.N) bed
- léjgar* (lagín) /'ledzər/ (/lə'dzi:n/) (TR/ITR.V) read
- léjv, -a* /lejv, -e/ (ADJ) light
- léjgar, -gra* /lejger, -gre/ (ADJ) funny
- lèn* /len/ (M.N) wood, firewood
- lèna* /lēnə/ (COLL.F.N) wood, firewood. *fá lèna* fell trees
- létg → léj*
- lètg* /le:tç/ (F.N) marriage, matrimony
- lèz → lèds*
- libar, -bra* /liber, -bre/ (ADJ) free
- lingja* /lindzə/ (F.N) line
- li* /li/ dative marker (obsolescent)
- li, lis* /li, lis/ definite dative article (obsolescent)
- ljòngja* /lɔndzə/ (F.N) sausage
- ljuc* (PL lògans) /ljuk/ (/lɔ:ganz/) (M.N) place
- ljung, -a* /ljun, 'ljuŋge/ (ADJ) long

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<sup>3</sup>For the masculine, the form *lèdic* is also used.

- lò* /lɔ/ (ADV) there  
*lòcàl* /lɔ'ka:l/ (M.N) place  
*lòcalitat* /lɔkeli'ta:t/ (F.N) place  
*lòntscha* /lɔntʃe:/ (F.N) lance  
*lu* → *lura*  
*luá* (líua) /lu'a:/ ('liwe/) (ITR.V) melt  
*luajn* /lwajn/ (ADV) out there (in direction up the valley)  
*luantá* /luən'ta:/ (TR.V) melt  
*lubiantscha* /lu'bientʃe/ (F.N) permission  
*ludá* (lauda) /lu'da:/ ('lawde/) (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-'mʊma/ (M.N) mother tongue  
*lungurus, -e* /luŋgu'ru:z, -e/ (ADJ) boring  
*luòra* /lwɔre/ (ADV) out there (in direction down the valley)  
*lura, lu* /lu:re, lu/ (ADV) then  
*lùsch, -a* /luz, -e/ (ADJ) proud  
*luschèzja* /lu'ʒɛtsje:/ (F.N) pride, proudness  
*luvrá* (lavura) /luv'ra:/ ('le'vu:re/) (ITR.V) work  
*luvrè* /luv're:/ (M.N) worker

## M

- má tga* /ma: tçe/ (COMP) since  
*macòrta, macòrts* → *matgiart*  
*macrún* /mɛ'krun/ (M.N) macaroni  
*madèm, -a* /mɛ'dem, -e/ (ADJ) same  
*madirá* /mɛdɪ'rɑ:/ (ITR.V) ripen  
*magari* /mɛ'gar:i/ (ADV) sometimes  
*magljaş* /'maʎaz/ (PL.F.N) provisions  
*maglјe* /mɛ'ʎe:/ (TR/ITR.V) eat  
*magnùc* /mɛ'nusk/ (M.N) cheese  
*maj* /maj/ (ADV) never  
*majl* /majl/ (M.N) apple  
*majla* /majle/ (COLL.F.N) apples  
*majnadistrict* /majnadi'strikt/ (M.N) head of district  
*majnş* /majnz/ (M.N) month

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

- majša** /'majze/ (F.N) table
- majšèš** /maj'zez/ (M.N) assembly of houses in the Alps
- majstar** /majſt̥er/ (M.N) joiner
- mal, -a** /mal, -e/ (ADJ) bad
- mal** /ma:l/ (ADV) badly
- malagè** (malègja) /mele'dze/ (/me'lədze/) (TR/ITR.V) paint
- malaura** /me'lawrə/ (F.N) bad weather
- malètg** /me'letç/ (M.N) picture
- malitèr** /meli'ter/ (M.N) 1. army, military 2. military service 3. soldier
- maljún** /me'yun/ (NUM) million
- malsagidajval, -vla** /malsedži:dajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) ungainly
- malsagir** /melsedži:r, -e/ (ADJ) 1. unsafe 2. unsure
- maná** (majna) /me'na:/ (/majnə/) (ITR./TR.V) lead
- manajval** /me'najvel/ (ADV) easily
- manèdal, -dla** /ma'ne:dəl, -dlə/ (ADJ) fine
- manèstra** /me'nestra/ (F.N) pottage
- manizá** (manéza) /meni'tsa:/ (/me'netsə/) (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, -e/ (ADJ) 1. rotten 2. lazy
- marschadétgna** /merʃe'detçne/ (F.N) laziness
- marschè** /merʃe:/ (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** /majskel/ (ADJ) male
- maschina** /me'fi:ne/ (F.N) machine
- masjamna** /mez'jamne/ (F.N) Wednesday
- massa** /mase/ (ADV) lots, much
- mastral** /mejt'rål/ (M.N) senior official
- mastarlessa** /mester'lesə/ (F.N) senior official's wife
- mat** /mat/ (M.N) boy, young man

**mata** /'mate/ (F.N) girl, young woman  
**mataj** /mə'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, -v/ (ADJ) ill  
**mé** /me:/ (IO.PERS.PRON) me  
**mè** /mɛ:/ (DO.PERS.PRON) me  
**mècsgjar** /məksdžer/ (M.N) butcher  
**mégljar, -a** /məλver, -v/ (ADJ) better  
**mégljar** /məλver/ (ADV) better. **al mégljar** the best  
**mégljardétg** /məλver'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, miaş** /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** /'məmi, 'məmje/ (ADV) too  
**mèndar** /məndər/ (ADV) worse  
**mèssa** /'məse/ (F.N) mass  
**métar** (matajn) /'meter/ (/mə'tajn/) (TR.V) put. **métar avaun** imagine  
**mètar** /'mətar/ (M.N) metre  
**mèz, -a** /mets, -v/ (ADJ) myself  
**mia** → **méjs, mju**  
**miadi** /'miedi/ (M.N) doctor  
**miads, miaz, mjasa** /'miedz, 'miets, 'mjaze/ (NUM) half. **mjasa laš déjšch** 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  
**minéral, -a** /mine'ra:l, -v/ (ADJ) mineral

***mintga*** /'mɪntgə/ (INDEF.DET) every

***mintgataun*** /mɪntgə'tawn/ (ADV) sometimes

***mintgín, -ina*** /mɪn'tçɪ:n, '-i:nə/ (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:rjə/ (F.N) problem, trouble

***mistrégn*** /mɪʃtrep/ (M.N) profession

***misarabal, -bla*** /mizə'rɑ:bel, -ble/ (ADJ) miserable

***misjun*** /mis'jun/ (F.N) mission

***mitschē*** (métscha) /mɪ:tʃə:/ ('/me:tʃə/) (ITR.V) escape

***mjasa → miads***

***mjasanòtg*** /mjaze'nɔ:tç/ (F.N) midnight

***mjòla*** /mjo:lə/ (F.N) cup

***mju, mia*** /mju, 'mie/ (POSS.DET.SG) my. ***al mju, la mia*** (POSS.PRON.1SG.NOM) mine

***mòni*** /mɔ:ni/ (M.N) handle

***mòrdar*** (murdín) /mòrder/ ('/mur'di:n/) (TR.V) bite

***mòribund*** /mɔ:ri'bund/ (M.N) dying people

***mòrt*** /mɔ:t/ (F.N) death

***mòrta, mòrts → miart***

***mòtif*** /mɔ:tif/ (M.N) reason

***mù*** /mø:/ 1. (ADV) only 2. (CONJ) but

***muantá*** /muən'ta:/ (TR.V) move

***mucs, in fá bigja mucs*** not move at all, make no sound at all

***mudargè*** (mudrègja) /muder'dzɛ:/ ('/mud'rɛ:dzɛ/) (TR.V) torment

***mujèra*** /mu'jɛrə/ (F.N) cow without calves

***mulá*** (mòla) /mu'lə:/ ('/mɔ:le/) (TR.V) grind

***mulissiar*** /muli'sier/ (M.N) negotiator

***mùma*** /mømə/ (F.N) mother

***mùn*** /møn/ (M.N) world

***munajda*** /mu'najdə/ (F.N) coin

***mùngjar*** (PTCP mùgnşch) /'møndʒer/ ('/møŋʃ/) (TR/ITR.V) milk

***munglá*** (maungla) /mung'la:/ ('/mawn:gla/) (ITR.V) should

***mumèn*** /mu'men/ (M.N) moment

***munièssa*** /muni'ëse/ (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:/ (/mòsə/) (TR.V) show  
*müssavia* /müsse've:ə/ (F.N) signpost  
*mùtg* /mòtç/ (M.N) two-year-old calf  
*múval* /muvel/ (M.N) cattle

## N

*na* /na:/ (ADV) no  
*Nadal* /nè'da:l/ (M.N) Christmas. *Nadal-nòtg* Christmas Eve  
*nagá* (nèga) /nè'ga:/ (/nè:ga/) (ITR.V) drown  
*nagantá* (nag-janta) /negan'ta:/ (/nèg'jante/) (TR.V) drown  
*nagín, nagina* /nè'dzin, -e/ (INDEF.PRON) no  
*nagljú* /nè'lyu:/ (ADV) nowhere  
*najr, -a* /najr, -e/ (ADJ) black  
*najv* /najv/ (F.N) snow. *métar najv* remove snow  
*nara* /na:re/ (COLL.F.N) mad people  
*nataléci* /nete'ltsi/ (M.N) birthday  
*nátel* /natel/ (M.N) smartphone  
*natira* /nè'tire/ (F.N) nature  
*natural, -a* /netur'a:l, -e/ (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* /nèvɔntrə/ (NUM) ninety  
*né* /ne/ (CONJ) or. *né ... né* neither ... nor  
*néjfs* /nejfs/ (M.N) nephew  
*nègla* /nè:gla:/ (F.N) carnation  
*néjv, nùvs, nùva* /nejv, nv:vz, 'nv:ve/ (ADJ) new. *da néjv* again  
*néschar* (néscha, naschín, naschéva) /'neser/ (/nèfə, nè'fi:n, nè'fe:ve/) (ITR.V) be born  
*névétg* /ne'vetç/ (DISC) right?  
*niabal, nòbalṣ, nòbla* /niebel, 'nɔ:belz, 'nɔ:bleə/ (ADJ) noble  
*nias, nòssa* /niaz, nɔ:se/ (POSS.DET.1PL) our (SG). *al nias, la nòssa* (POSS.PRON.1PL) ours (SG)

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

**nibla** /ni:bla/ (F.N) cloud

**njaza** /njatse/ (F.N) niece

**nògj, nòtg** /nɔdʒ, nɔtç/ (F.N) night

**nònavaun** /nɔnə'veawn/ (ADV) awake. **vagní nònavaun** 1. recover 2. wake up

**nòrd** /nɔrd/ (M.N) north

**nòʂ, nòssa** /nɔz, 'nɔsə/ (POSS.PRON.PRED) ours (SG)

**nòʂ, nòssaʂ** /nɔz, nɔsəz/ (POSS.DET) our (PL)

**nòssa → niaʂ**

**nòtg → nògj**

**nòtizja** /nɔ'titsjɛ/ (N.F) news

**nòvèmbar** /nɔ'vember/ (M.N) November

**nù, nùca (tga)** /nʊ, 'nɔkə (tçə)/ 1. (REL.PRON) where 2. (PREP) by

**nùa** /'nʊə/ (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** /nɔm/ (M.N) name. **vaj nùm** be called

**nündétg, -a** /nɔn'detç, -a/ 1. (ADJ) indescribable 2. (ADV) incredibly

**nùnpussajval, -vle** /nɔnpu'sajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) impossible

**nùrsa** /nɔrse/ (F.N) sheep

**nuʂ** /nu:z/ (PERS.PRON) we, us

**nùv** /nɔv/ (NUM) nine

## O

**ò, òra** /ɔ:, 'ɔ:re/ 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'veawn/ (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** /'aʎc'/ (COLL.F.N) alders

*òlma* /'olma/ (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:redzv'szt/ (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* /ɔre'tsjun/ (F.N) prayer

*òrd* /ɔrd/ (PREP) out of

*òrdavaun* /ɔrdə'veawn/ (ADV) in advance, in front

*òordinari*, -*a* /ɔrdi'na:ri, -a/ (ADJ) usual. *par ordinari* usually

*òndlùndar* /ɔrd'lündər/ (ADV) out of it

*òrdònanz* /ɔrd'o'nants/ (M.N) orderly

*òrganisá* (organisèscha) /ɔrgəni'za:/ (/ɔrgəni'zɛʃə/) (TR.V) organise

*òrgla* /'ɔrgla/ (F.N) organ

*òrjèntazjun* /ɔrjenta'tsjun/ (F.N) orientation, sense of orientation

*òrtş* → *iart*

*òtg* → *ògj*

*òtgònta* /ɔ'tçonte/ (NUM) eighty

*òvra* /'ɔvra/ (F.N) work

*òz* /ɔts/ (ADV) today

*òzalde* /ɔtsal'de:/ (ADV) nowadays

## P

*pádar* /pa:der/ (M.N) Father

*padèl* /pe'del/ (M.N) caretaker

*paglјè* (pèglja, pagljajn) /pə'ʎe:/ (/pε:ʎa, pε'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) /pə'ljet/ (/pε'ljats/) (M.N) arrow

*panaglja* /pə'na:ʎa/ (F.N) butter barrel, butter tub

*pansjuná* /panzju'na:/ (TR.V) pension off

- par, pr** /per, pr/ 1. (PREP) for 2. (COMP) in order to  
**pará** /pe'ra:/ (ITR.V) seem  
**parada** /pe'ra:də/ (F.N) parade  
**paraj** /pe'raj/ (ITR.V) seem  
**parcadi** /per'ka:di/ (M.N) parking space  
**pardagè** (pardégja) /perde'dzə:/ (/per'dedzə/) (ITR.V) preach  
**pardèrt, -a** /per'dert, -ə/ (ADJ) clever  
**parmavèra, prmavèra** /perme'vere, prme'vere/ (F.N) spring  
**parquaj, prquaj tga** /per'kwaj, pr'kwaj tce/ (COMP) because  
**parschuadjuş, -dida** /per'swa'djuz, '-di:da/ (PTCP/ADJ) convinced  
**parsjantar** /per'sjanter/ (ADV) therefore, for it  
**parsul, prsul, -a** /per'su:l, pr'su:l, -ə/ (ADJ) alone  
**parsuna** /per'su:nə/ (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** /pertci'ra:/ (TR.V) mind (animals)  
**parvaj** /per'vaj/ (IRR.TR.V) feed  
**parvasèdar, prvasèdar** /perve'ze:der, prve'ze:der/ (M.N) herdsman  
**parví da** /per'vi də/ (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** /peʃtce:/ (ITR.V) graze  
**pastira** /peʃti:re/ (F.N) pastureland  
**pastur** /peʃtu:r/ (M.N) herdsman  
**patarlá** /peter'la:/ (ITR.V) chatter  
**patar'nias** /peter'nies/ (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, petg'ajn) (TR.V) hit, beat, knock  
**patschificamajn** /pe'ʃfi:fikamajn/ (ADV) peacefully  
**patrún-basèlgja** /pe'trun-bezel'dzə/ (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'da:t/ (F.N) poverty  
***pausa*** /'pawze/ (F.N) pause  
***pával*** /'pavel/ (M.N) food (for animals)  
***pazjènt, -a*** /pə'tsjent, -ə/ (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*** /pəlegri'na:di/ (M.N) pilgrimage  
***pèn*** /pen/ (M.N) buttermilk  
***pènšjònau, -ada*** /penzjɔ'naw, -'a:da:/ (PTCP/ADJ) retired  
***pènšum*** /'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*** /'petə/ (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*** /'piərtç, pɔrʃ/ (M.N) pig  
***piè*** (paja) /pi'ε:/ ('pajɛ:/) (TR/ITR.V) pay  
***pin, pins, pintga*** /pin, pinz, 'pintçə/ (ADJ) small  
***piná*** (pajna) /pi'na:/ ('pajnɛ:/) (TR.V) 1. prepare. **èssar pinaus** be ready 2. fell (wood), log  
***pintga → pin***  
***pista*** /'piste/ (F.N) slope  
***pistraca*** /piʃ'trake/ (F.N) mixture (food)  
***pitgògna*** /pi'teɔŋə/ (F.N) steep slope  
***piún*** /pi'un/ (M.N) lard  
***pjal*** /pjɑ: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*** /plə'ka:t/ (M.N) poster, signboard

- pladí** (plajda, plidajn) /pla'di:/ (/plajda, pli'dajn/) (TR.V) employ
- plaja** /'plaje/ (F.N) wound
- plajd** /plajd/ (M.N) word
- plajn, -a** /plajn, -e/ (ADJ) full
- plajv** /plajv/ (F.N) parish
- plantschju** /plan'tʃju/ (M.N) floor
- plaschaj** /plə'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'vɔn/ (M.N) parish priest
- plauna** /'plawne/ (F.N) chasuble
- plaunsjú** /plaun'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** /plek/ (M.N) flat bell
- pléjdar** /'plejder/ (M.N) block
- plénangjù** /plenen'dzɔ:/ (ADV) more downhill
- plénansé** /plenen'se/ (ADV) more uphill
- pléndanajn** /plende'najn/ (ADV) more up the valley
- pléndanòra** /plende'nɔra/ (ADV) more down the valley
- pléndanòragjù** /plendənɔrə'dzɔ/ (ADV) down (more down the valley)
- plétost** /ple'tɔst/ (ADV) rather
- plirá** /pli'ra:/ (ITR.V) moan, complain
- plùvar** (IMPF pluéra) /'plɔ:ver/ (/plu'e:və/) (ITR.V) rain
- pòlicia** /pɔli'tsiə/ (F.N) police
- pòlisch** /'pɔliʃ/ (M.N) thumb
- pòndará** (pòndarèscha) /pɔnde'ra:/ (/pɔnde'reʃə/) (ITR.V) think
- pòp** /pɔp/ (M.N) baby
- pòrš → piartg**
- pòršchar** (purşchín) /'pɔržer/ (/pur'ži:n/) (TR.V) offer
- pòrta** /'pɔrte/ (F.N) door
- pòrta-clavau** /'pɔrte-kle'vew/ (F.N) barn door
- pòrtga** /'pɔrtçə/ (F.N) dirty girl
- pòst** /pɔst/ (M.N) guard

*pr* → *par, pre*

*práctisch* /'praktisʃ/ (ADV) practically, virtually

*prajt* /prajt/ (F.N) wall. *prajt-crap* rock face

*prapará, prapará tiar* /prepa're:tiar/ (TR.V) prepare

*pratjandar* (pratandín) /pre'tjander/ (/preten'din/) (TR.V) pretend

*prau* /praw/ (M.N) meadow

*praula* /prawle/ (F.N) fairy tale

*préci* /'pretsi/ (M.N) price

*préfatschènta* /,prefe'tʃente/ (F.N) intermediate trade

*préjr* /prejr/ (M.N) priest

*prénci* /'prentsi/ (M.N) prince

*prèndar* /'prender/ (IRR.TR.V) take. *prèndar ajn* adopt, accept. *prèndar anavùs* take back. *prèndar anzaman* assemble. *prèndar avaun* plan

*présèn* → *vaj prèsèn*

*présidèn, prsidèn* /prezi'den, p̄zzi'den/ (M.N) president

*prígal* /'pri:gəl/ (M.N) danger

*prigulus, -a* /prigu'luz, -ə/ (ADJ) dangerous

*princèssa* /prin'tsesa/ (F.N) princess

*privá* /pri'va:/ (TR.V) deprive

*privat, -a* /pri've:t, -ə/ (ADJ) private

*problèm* /prob'lém/ (M.N) problem

*procènt* /prɔ'tsent/ (M.N) percent

*pròpi* /'prop̄i/ (ADV) exactly, really

*pròverbí* /prɔ'verbi/ (M.N) proverb

*pròxim, -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* /p̄vn/ (F.N) bridge

*pùntga* /p̄ntce/ (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'esar/ (M.N) 1. agriculture, farming 2. farm 3. farming sector

*purèt* /pu'ret/ (M.N) small farmer

*purschí* (PL purschal(t)s) /pur'si:/ (/pur'sal(t)s/) (M.N) piglet

*purschida* /pur'zi:de/ (F.N) offer

- purṣèpan*** /pur'zepən/ (M.N) manger  
***purtá*** (pòrta) /pur'ta:/ (/pòrte/) (TR.V) 1. bring 2. carry  
***purtgè*** /pur'tçε:/ (M.N) swineherd  
***puscha*** /pu:ʃe/ (F.N) cow (familiar speech)  
***puschégn*** /pu'ʃεŋ/ (M.N) snack  
***pusmaun*** /puʃmawn/ (ADV) the day after tomorrow  
***puspè*** /puʃ'pe/ (ADV) again  
***pussajval, -vla*** /pu'sajvel, -vle/ (ADJ) possible  
***pussajvladat*** /pusajvla'da:t/ (F.N) possibility  
***pussònza*** /pu'sɔntsə/ (F.N) power  
***pustrètsch*** /puʃ'treç/ (M.N) herdsman's money  
***pùts*** /pøts/ (M.N) pond

## Q

- quaj*** /kwaj/ 1. (UNM.DEM.PRON) this, that 2. (DEM.DET.M.SG) this  
***quajda*** /'kwajde/ (F.N) desire  
***quajnasé*** /kwajne'se/ (ADV) up there  
***quántum*** /kwantum/ (M.N) amount  
***quart*** /kwart/ (NUM) quarter  
***quart, -a*** /kwart, -e/ (ORD.NUM) fourth  
***quasi*** /kwazi/ (ADV) almost  
***quátar*** /kwater/ (NUM) four  
***quèl,-a*** /kweł,-e/ (DEM.PRON) this (one), that (one)  
***quèluísa*** /kweł'wi:ze/ (ADV) so, in this way  
***quéñ*** /kwen/ (M.N) bill  
***quèst, quèsta*** /kweʃt, -e/ (DEM.PRON) this (with temporal nouns that include the moment of speech). ***quèst'jamna*** this week  
***quétun*** /kwe'tun/ (M.N) braggart  
***quinada*** /kwi'na:de/ (F.N) sister-in-law  
***quinau*** /kwi'naw/ (M.N) brother-in-law  
***quindisch*** /kwindiç/ (NUM) fifteen  
***quitá*** (quéta) /'kwita:/ (/kwe:te/) (TR.V) think, find  
***quitau*** /kwi'taw/ (M.N) worry  
***quitòrdiçh*** /kwitòrdiç/ (NUM) fourteen  
***quajn*** /kwajn/ (ADV) here (in direction up the valley)  
***quòra*** /kwɔ:re/ (ADV) here (in direction down the valley)

# R

- raclamá* /rek'lema:/ (ITR.V) complain  
*racògnòszá* /rek'ognos'tsa:/ (TR.V) reconnoitre  
*racrut* /rek'rut/ (M.N) recruit  
*rádjò* /radjɔ/ (M.N) radio  
*radún, -da* /re'dun, -de/ 1. (ADJ) round 2. (ADV) around, about  
*ragjún* /re'dzun/ (F.N) region  
*ragurdá vi da* (ragòrda) /regur'da: vi de/ (/re'gørde/) (ITR.V) remind  
*raminiscènza* /reminis'tsentse/ (F.N) memory  
*ramòntsch* → *ròmòntsch*  
*rantá* /renta:/ (TR.V) bind, tie  
*rap* /rap/ (M.N) cent. *raps* money  
*raqintá* (raquénta) /rekwint'a:/ (/re'kwénte/) (TR.V) tell about  
*raritat* /reri'tat/ (F.N) rarity  
*rascá* /ref'ka:/ (TR.V) risk  
*raschlá* /ref'la:/ (ITR.V) rake  
*raşdá* (réjsda) /reʒ'da:/ (/rejʒde/) (ITR.V) speak  
*ras-plí* (PL ras-pjal(t)s) /res'pli:/ (/res'pjäl(t)s/) (M.N) pencil  
*rassarvá* /reser've:/ (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* /rawbe/ (F.N) 1. merchandise 2. fortune  
*rauna* /rawne/ (F.N) frog  
*réaczjun* /rek'tjun/ (F.N) reaction  
*régína* /re'dzine/ (F.N) queen  
*règla* /re:gle/ (F.N) rule  
*réh, réha* /réç, 'réhe/ (ADJ) rich  
*réjsch* /rejʃ/ (ADV) brand-, in *réjsch néjv* brand-new  
*rèligjús, -a* /reli'dzu:z, -e/ (ADJ) religious  
*rèma* /reme/ (F.N) crack  
*réasca* /ref'ke/ (F.N) risk  
*rèst* /ref't/ (M.N) rest. *rèsts* leftovers  
*ri* /ri:/ (IRR.ITR.V) laugh  
*riavan* (PL rùvans) /'rieven/ (/rɔ:vanz/) (M.N) slope  
*rigurús, -a* /rigu'ru:z, -e/ (ADJ) rigorous  
*rimná* /rim'na:/ (TR.V) collect

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

- ring* /riŋ/ (M.N) ring  
*riş* /ri:z/ (M.N) rice  
*risada* /ri'za:də/ (F.N) laughing  
*ritmica* /'ritmike/ (F.N) rhythmics  
*ròla* /'rɔlə/ (F.N) roll  
*ròma* /'rɔme/ (COLL.F.N) branches  
*ròmòntschtch, -a, ramòntschtch, -a* /rɔ'mɔntʃf, -və, rə'mɔntʃf, -və/ (ADJ/N) Romansh  
*ruassá* (ruaussa) /rua'sa:/ (/ru'awse/) (ITR.V) rest  
*ruassajval, -vla* /rue'sajvel, -vle/ (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, -və/) (TR.V) break  
*rumplaná* (rampluna) /rumple'nə:/ (/rem'plu:nə/) (ITR.V) rumble  
*rupá* (raupa) /rupa:/ (/rawpe/) (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* /səke'dɔ:z/ (M.N) backpack  
*sacantá* (sacjanta) /səken'ta:/ (/səkjante/) (TR.V) dry  
*sacramèn* /sekre'men/ (M.N) sacrament  
*saciùn, -da → zaciùn*  
*sacundara* /sekun'dare/ (F.N) secondary school  
*sacussagljè* (sacusséglja) /sekuse'ʎɛ:/ (/səku'se:ʎə/) (REFL.V) deliberate  
*sadá gjù cun* /sə'da: dʒu kʊn/ (REFL.V) have to do with, deal with  
*sadacidar da fá* /səde'tsider/ (REFL.V) decide to do  
*sadapurtá* (sadapòrta) /sədəpur'ta:/ (/səde'pɔrte/) (REFL.V) behave  
*sadèrgjar* (sadargín) (PTCP sadèrs) /sə'derdžer/ (/səder'dzi:n, sə'ders/) (REFL.V) fall down  
*sadastadá* /sədeʃte'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 /se'dzir, -e/ 1. (ADJ) secure, certain 2. (ADV) for sure  
**sagirá** /səd'zɪ:ra:/ (TR.V) insure  
**saglí** (séglja) /sə'ʎi:/ ('se:ʎe/) (ITR.V) run  
**sagljantá** /səʎen'ta:/ (TR.V) blow up  
**sahaná** (sahònà) /səhe'nà:/ ('səh'e:nà/) (ITR.V) appreciate  
**sajda** /'sajdə/ (F.N) silk  
**saјv** /sajv/ (F.N) fence  
**šala** /'za:le/ (F.N) hall  
**salagrá** (salègra) /səleg'rà:/ ('səle:g're:) (REFL.V) appreciate, be happy, be pleased  
**salamantá** (salamjanta) /səlemen'ta:/ ('sələm'jante:) (REFL.V) complain  
**salata** /sə'lata:/ (F.N) salad  
**salín** /sə'lin/ (F.N) wheat  
**salit** /sə'lit/ (M.N) greeting  
**salvá** /sel'va:/ (TR.V) keep  
**samagljòn**, -ta /semal'jòn, -te/ (ADJ) similar  
**samaná** /semə'nà:/ (REFL.V) turn over, turn back  
**samétar sén via** /sə'meter sen 'vie/ (REFL.V) set off  
**samidá** /semi'da:/ (REFL.V) change  
**saminar** /semi'na:r/ (M.N) training college  
**samjè** (síamja) /səm'je:/ ('səmja:) (ITR.V) dream  
**sampatschè** /sempe'ʃe:/ (ITR.V) interfere  
**samudarge** /semuder'dze:/ (REFL.V) struggle  
**saniastar**, -tra /sə'niɛ:stər, -trə/ (ADJ) left  
**santi** (sjanta) /sen'ti:/ ('sjante:) (TR.V) feel  
**santimajn** /senti'majn/ (M.N) feeling  
**santupá** (santaupa) /santu'pa:/ ('səntawpə:) (REFL.V) meet  
**sanudá** (sanùda) /sənu'da:/ ('sənʊ:də:) (REFL.V) swim  
**sanunzjè** /sənun'tsjε:/ (REFL.V) register  
**sapartgirá** /sepertç'i:ra:/ (REFL.V) be on one's guard  
**sapladi** (sapladèscha) /səplə'di:/ ('səplə'deʃə:) (REFL.V) sign on  
**saprèndar ajn** /sə'prendər ajn/ (REFL.V) take. **saprèndar ajn zatgéj starmantúš** take something very seriously. **saprèndar anzjaman** compose oneself  
**sapurtá** /sepurta:/ (REFL.V) behave  
**sará** (sjara) /sə'ra:/ ('sja:re/) (TR.V) close  
**saragurdá** (saragòrda) /sərəgur'da:/ ('sərə'gɔrde:) (REFL.V) remember  
**saravagní** /serev'e'ni:/ (IRR.REFL.V) recover  
**sarimná** /serim'nà:/ (REFL.V) meet, assemble  
**sarvjèta** /ser'vjɛ:tə/ (F.N) napkin

- sasfardantá** (sasfardjanta) /se'fferden'ta:/ (/sə'ffer'djante/) (REFL.V) catch a cold
- sasida** /sə'zi:de/ (F.N) meeting
- sasjun** /səzjun/ (F.N) season
- saspártar** /sə'sparter/ (REFL.V) split
- saspruá da + inf** /səsprua: de/ (ITR.V) try hard to
- saspuantá** /səspuen'ta:/ (REFL.V) get frightened
- satagljèda** /sete'kɛ:da/ (F.N) cut
- satjámbar** /set'jamber/ (M.N) September
- satrá** (satjara) /sə'tra:/ (/sə'tjare/) (TR.V) bury
- satrá anzjaman** /sə'tra: en'tsjamen/ (REFL.V) contract. **satrá** ò take off one's clothes
- satschantá** /sətʃen'ta:/ (REFL.V) lie down
- sauma** /'sawma/ (F.N) bridle
- saun** /sawn/ (M.N) blood
- savaj** /sə'vaj/ (IRR.TR.V) 1. know 2. can
- savèns** /sə'venz/ (ADV) often
- savilá cun** /səvi'la: kun/ (REFL.V) get angry at
- šbaglje** /ʒbe'ʎe:/ (ITR.V) be wrong
- šbiar** /ʒbier/ (M.N) thug
- scadá** (scauda) /ʃke'da:/ (/ʃkawdə/) (TR.V) warm. **scadá sé** warm up
- scadín, -ina** /ʃke'di:n, -a/ (INDEF.DET) every, any
- scaf** /ʃka:f/ (M.N) footprint
- scalín** /ʃke'li:n/ (M.N) bell
- scaliná** /ʃke'li:na:/ (ITR.V) ring
- scanatsch** /ʃke'naf/ (M.N) log
- scantschala** /ʃken'ʃa:le/ (F.N) pulpit
- scapá** /ʃke'pa:/ (ITR.V) escape
- scarge<sup>4</sup>** /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: dʐɔ:/ (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) /ʃebə'dze:/ (/ʃe'bədʐə/) (ITR.V) happen
- schabi tga** /ʃebi: tɕe/ (COMP) although
- schaglùc, schigljùc** /ʃe'ʎuk, ſi'ʎuk/ (ADV) otherwise

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<sup>4</sup>The form **dascargè** is also used

***schaj*** /ʃaj/ (IRR.ITR.V) lie  
***schanè*** /ʒənɛ:/ (M.N) January  
***schanza*** /ʃantsə/ (F.N) chance  
***schazagè*** (schazègja) /ʃətsə'dzɛ:/ (/ʃəts'ɛ:dzɛ/) (TR.V) appreciate  
***sché → uschéja***  
***schè*** /ʃɛ:/ 1. (IRR.TR.V) let, leave. ***schè ajn*** let in 2. factitive verb  
***schèf*** /ʃef/ (M.N) boss  
***schénghètg*** /ʃen'getɔ/ (N) present  
***schèniv*** /ʒeniv/ (NUM) nineteen  
***schétg, -a*** /ʃe:tɔ, -a/ (ADJ) dry  
***sci*** /ʃi/ (ADV) so (with adjectives and adverbs)  
***schiarl*** (PL schiarls) /ʒierl/ (/ʒiarls/) (M.N) kind of basket  
***schindanajn*** /ʃində'najn/ (ADV) so in  
***schizún*** /ʃi'tsun/ (ADV) even  
***schjantá*** /ʃjənta:/ (TR.V) dry  
***schliat, schljats, schljata*** /ʃliet, ſljats, 'ʃljate/ (ADJ) bad  
***schlupá*** (schlòpa) /flu'pa:/ ('ʃløpə/) (ITR.V) burst  
***schlupantá*** (schlupjanta) /ſlupen'ta:/ (/ʃlup'jante/) (TR.V) blow up  
***schnéz*** /ʃnets/ (M.N) cut  
***schòn*** /ʃɔn/ (ADV) already  
***schòtg*** /ʒɔtɔ/ (NUM) eighteen  
***schuba*** /ʃu:bə/ (F.N) skirt  
***schùber, -bra*** /'ʒøber, -bre/ 1. (ADJ) clean 2. (INTENS) at all  
***schubargjè*** (schubrègja) /ʒubar'dzɛ:/ (/ʒu'bře:dzɛ/) (TR.V) clean  
***schulá*** /'ſula:/ (ITR.V) fall rapidly  
***schurmagè*** (schurmègja) /ſurme'dzɛ:/ (/ſur'me:dzɛ/) (TR.V) protect  
***scòlár*** /ʃkɔ'la:r/ (M.N) pupil  
***scòlarèssar*** /ʃkɔler'ɛſer/ (M.N) school sector  
***scòlast, -a*** /ʃkɔ'laſt, -a/ (N) teacher  
***scòtga*** /ʃkɔtɔ/ (F.N) whey  
***scrinari*** /skri'na:ri/ (M.N) carpenter  
***scrívar*** /ʃkri:ver/ (TR/ITR.V) write  
***scù*** /ʃkɔ/ (ADV/COMP) as  
***scúa*** /ʃku:a/ (F.N) broom  
***scuá*** /ʃku:a:/ (TR/ITR.V) sweep  
***scùla*** /ʃkɔ:le/ (F.N) school  
***scùlèta*** /ʃkɔ'lète/ (F.N) nursery school  
***scumandá*** (scamònda) /ʃkumen'da:/ (/ʃkɛ'mondə/) (TR.V) forbid

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

**scumbaglè** (scumbèglja) /ʃkumbə'ʎe:/ (/scum'bəʎe/) (TR.V) confuse  
**scurşalá** (scarşòla) /ʃkurze'la:/ (/sker'zɔ:le/) (ITR.V) sledge  
**sé** /se/ (PREP/ADV) up  
**sédajn** /se'dajn/ (ADV) up and in  
**sédaşch, sédişch** /se:dəχ, 'se:diχ/ (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) /'sejzər/ (/se'zi:n/) (ITR.V) sit. **séjşar gjù** sit down  
**sémpal → simpal**  
**sén** /sen/ (PREP) on  
**sènda** /'sende/ (F.N) trail, path  
**sènza** /'səntse/ (PREP) without  
**sèra** /'sere/ (F.N) afternoon (from 12 o'clock onward), evening. *la sèra* in the afternoon, in the evening  
**sèrv(a)la, sèrvòla** /'serv(ə)la, 'servòla/ (F.N) cervelat (kind of sausage)  
**sèrvitut** /serv'i: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, -ə/ (DET) self  
**sgarşchajval, -vla** /ʒger'zajvel, -vlə/ (ADJ) horrible, terrible  
**sgulá** (şgùla) /ʒgu'la:/ (/ʒgʊ:lə/) (ITR.V) fly  
**sigir, -a** /si'dzi:r, -ə/ 1. (ADJ) sure 2. (ADV) for sure  
**signún → zagnún**  
**signura** /si'ju:re/ (M.N) lady  
**sijè** (IMPF sijèva) /si'jε:/ (/si:jεvə/) (TR.V) mow  
**simaginá** /simadži'na:/ (REFL.V) imagine  
**símpal, -pla** /simpel-plə/ (ADJ) simple  
**simplamajn** /simplamajn/ (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:sonte/ (NUM) sixty  
**sistém** /siʃte:m/ (M.N) system  
**sit** /sit/ (M.N) south  
**sitá** (sièta) /si'ta:/ (/si:e:tə/) (TR.V) 1. shut 2. blow up, blast

***sjantar*** /'sjanter/ (ADV/PREP) after  
***sjantarmjadšdé*** /sjantermjødz'de:/ (M.N) afternoon  
***sjat*** /sjat/ (NUM) seven  
***sjatònta*** /sjatɔntə/ (NUM) seventy  
***sju, sia*** /sju, 'sie/ (POSS.DET.3SG/PL) his, her, their  
***sjut → sòlvar***  
***ski*** /ski:/ (M.N) ski  
***smacá*** /ʃma'ka:/ (TR.V) squash  
***smanatschè*** /ʃmene'ʃɛ:/ (TR.V) threaten  
***sò*** /sɔ/ (DISC) OK  
***sòcjétát*** /sɔtsje'ta:t/ (F.N) society  
***sògn, sògnš, sòntga*** /sɔŋn,sɔŋnʃ 'sɔntçə/ (ADJ) 1. holy 2. Saint (in names)  
***sòlvar*** (sulvín) (PTCP sjut) /'sɔlver/ (/sul've:n, sjut/) (ITR.V) have breakfast  
***sòlvar*** /'sɔlver/ (M.N) breakfast  
***sònda*** /'sɔnde/ (F.N) Saturday  
***sònda-duméngja*** /'sɔnde-du'mendze/ (F.N) week-end  
***Sòntgalcrést*** /sɔntçel'krest/ (M.N) Corpus Christi  
***sòntgèt*** /sɔn'tçet/ (M.N) little chapel  
***sòra*** /'sɔre/ (F.N) sister, Sister  
***sòrtida*** /sɔrti:da/ (F.N) going out  
***spargnè*** /ʃper'nɛ:/ (ITR.V) save (money)  
***spassagè*** /ʃpesə'dzɛ:/ (ITR.V) walk  
***spatgè*** (spètga) /ʃpe'tçɛ:/ (/ʃpe:tçɛ/) (TR/ITR.V) wait  
***spaz*** /ʃpa:ts/ (M.N) walk. ***ir' a spaz*** go for a walk  
***spazjal, -a*** /ʃpæz'ja:l, -ə/ (ADJ) special  
***spéjgl*** (PL spùl(t)s) /ʃpejʎ/ (/ʃpøl(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)  
***spért*** /ʃpe:rt/ (M.N) spirit  
***spèrt*** /ʃpert/ (ADV) rapidly, quickly  
***spès, -ssa*** /ʃpes, -ə/ (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'nə:/ (/ʃplawne/) (TR.V) plane  
***spòntán, -a*** /ʃpon'ta:n, -ə/ (ADJ) spontaneous  
***spòrt*** /ʃport/ (M.N) sport

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

- sprizá** (spréza) /ʃpri'tsa:/ (/ʃpre'tse/) (TR.V) squirt
- squétsch** /ʃkweʃ/ (M.N) pressure
- stá** /ʃta:/ (ITR.V) stay, live. **stá mal** be sorry
- stat** /ʃta:t/ (F.N) summer
- stala** /ʃta:le/ (F.N) sheepfold
- starmantúš, -a; strmantúš, -a** /ʃtermen'tu:z, -a; ʃtrmen'tu:z, -a/ (ADJ) terrible
- státua** /ʃtatwe/ (F.N) statue
- stauschbèna** /ʃtauf'bene/ (M.N) wheelbarrow
- stával** /ʃta:vəl/ (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** /ʃtçafe/ (F.N) box
- stgè → astgè**
- stgir, -a** /ʃtçi:r, -e/ (ADJ) dark
- stgiradétgna** /ʃtçire'detçne/ (F.N) darkness
- stgiraglja** /ʃtçi'raʌla/ (F.N) darkness
- stiarl** (PL stjarls) /ʃtierl/ (/ʃtjarls/) (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** /ʃtrɔm/ (M.N) straw
- strusch** /ʃtru:ʃ/ (ADV) almost
- stuaj** /ʃtu'aj/ (TR.V) must, have to
- studagjè** (studègja) /stude'dze:/ (/stu'de:dze/) (TR/ITR.V) study
- stùmpa** /ʃtømpe/ (F.N) cheroot
- stupèn, -ta** /ʃtu'pen, -te/ (ADJ) excellent
- stùrs** /ʃtørz/ (M.N) sheet metal
- stuschè** (stauscha) /ʃtu'ʃe:/ (/ʃtawʃe/) (TR.V) push
- suá** (síua) /su'a:/ (/siwe/) (ITR.V) sweat

*sufizjènts, -sufizjèntas* /sufits'jénts, sufits'jéntsaz/ (PL.ADJ) enough  
*suflá* /sufla:/ (ITR.V) blow  
*sujèt* /su'jet/ (M.N) rope  
*sulégl* /su'legl/ (M.N) sun  
*sulèt, -a* /su'let, -ə/ (ADJ) only  
*suna da bùca* /'su:ne də 'bøkə/ (F.N) harmonica  
*suná* /su'na:/ (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'faʃə/ (F.N) surface  
*suròra* /zur'ɔ: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'jni:/ (IRR.TR.V) receive, get  
*survètsch* /sur'vetç/ (M.N) service  
*surví* (survèscha) /sur'vei:/ (/sur'veʃə/) (TR/ITR.V) serve  
*survigiládar* /survidžila:der/ (M.N) supervisor  
*survigilònza* /survidžilɔntse/ (F.N) vigilance  
*suschéja → ussuschéja*  
*ṣùt* /zøt/ (PREP) under. *métar a ᷣùt*<sup>5</sup> yoke  
*sutá* (sauta) /su'ta:/ ('sawte/) (ITR.V) dance  
*ṣutajn* /zøt'ajn/ (ADV) underneath  
*ṣutṣvilupau, -a:da* /zutžvili'paw, -adə/ (ADJ) underdeveloped  
*ṣuttètg* /zut'tetç/ (M.N) accomodation  
*ṣvagljarín* /ʒveλvri:n/ (M.N) alarm clock  
*ṣvaní* /ʒveni:/ (ITR.V) disappear  
*ṣvidá* /ʒvi'da:/ (TR.V) empty

## T

*tabla* /ta:ble/ (F.N) tray  
*taglјè* /te'λe:/ (TR.V) cut  
*taglјér* (PL tagljörs) /te'λe:r/ (/te'λɔrs/) (M.N) plate  
*tajš* /tajz/ (M.N) badger

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<sup>5</sup>Some people say *sut* instead of *ṣut* in this context.

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

**talafòn** /tələ'fɔn/ (M.N) phone

**talafòná/tlafoñá da** /t(v)e'ləfɔn'a: də/ (v.TR) phone, call

**talènt** /tə'lənt/ (M.N) talent

**taljan** /tə'lja:n/ (M.N) Italian (language)

**taljánar, -a** /tə'lja:nər, -ə/ (ADJ and N) Italian

**tamprau, -ada** /tem'praw, -ade/ (ADJ) lukewarm

**tanaj** /tə'naj/ (IRR.V) hold. **tanaj aut** uphold

**tar** → **tiar**

**taratsch** /tə'rætʃ/ (M.N) soil

**taritòri** /ter'i'tɔri/ (M.N) territory

**tarmaglè** /tərmæglə:/ (ITR.V) play

**tarmètar** /ter'meter/ (IRR.TR.V) send

**tarségl** /ter'se:gl/ (M.N) assistant (of the *zagnún*)

**tart** /tart/ (ADV) late

**tartgè** (tratga) /ter'tçə:/ (/tra:tçə/) (TR/ITR.V) think

**tat** /tat/ (M.N) grandfather

**tata** /tate/ (F.N) grandmother

**tatlá** (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, téć** /te:g, te:k/, in **in te:k, in te:g** (QUANT) a bit

**téğja** /te:dʒə/ (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

**tèssinèş, -a** /tεsi'nεz, -ə/ (ADJN) from the canton of Ticino

**tètg** /tεtç/ (M.N) roof

**tèxt** /tεkst/ (M.N) text

**tga** /tçə/ 1. (REL.PRON) that, which 2. (COMP) that

**tgamín** /tçə'mi:n/ (M.N) chimney

**tgaminada** /tçə'mi:nadə/ (F.N) pantry

**tgamus** /tga'mu:s/ (M.N) chamois. **bùc tgamus** chamois buck. **tgaura tgamus** female chamois

***tgapjala*** /tçə'pjɑ:lɑ/ (F.N) hat  
***tgar*** /tçɑ:r/ (M.N) cart  
***tgar, -a*** /tçɑ:r, -a/ (ADJ) dear  
***tgarn*** /tçɑrn/ (M.N) meat  
***tgarñpiartg*** /tçɑrn'piɛrtç/ (M.N) bacon  
***tgau*** /tçaw/ (M.N) head  
***tgaubriacal*** (PL tgaubròcals) /tçaw'briakal/ (/tçaw'bròkels/) (M.N) somersault  
***tgaud, -a*** /tçawd, -e/ (ADJ) cold  
***tgaun*** /tçawn/ (M.N) dog  
***tgaura*** /tçawrə/ (F.N) goat  
***tgaussa*** /tçawsə/ (F.N) thing  
***tgau-tégja*** (PL tgaus-tégya) /tçaw'-te:dzə/ (/tçaws-'te:dzə/) (M.N) head of the alpine huts  
***tgautschas*** /tçawtʃəz/ (PL.F.N) trousers  
***tgauvitg*** (PL tgauvitgs) /tçaw've:tç/ (/tçaw've:tçs/) (M.N) head of village  
***tgavaj*** (PL tgavals) /tçə'vevaj/ (/tçə'vevaj(t)s/) (M.N) horse  
***tgavégl*** (PL tgavéjgl(t)s) /tçə'vevəʎ/ (/tçə'vevəʎ(t)s/) (M.N) hair  
***tgé(j)*** /tçe(j)/ 1. (INTERR.PRON) what 2. (INTERR.DET) which  
***tgé(j)nín, -ina*** /tçe(j)'ni:n, -e/ (INTERR.PRON) which one  
***tgéjt*** /tçejt/ (M.N) cock  
***tgèr, -a*** /tçε:r, -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*** /tçεtʃən, 'kɔtʃən, 'kɔtʃna/ (ADJ) red  
***tgi*** /tçi:/ (INTERR.PRON) who  
***tgiarp*** /tçierp/ (M.N) body  
***tgiè*** (tgaja) /tçi'ɛ:/ ('/) (tçAJe) itr.v shit  
***tgil*** /tçi:l/ (M.N) arse  
***tgilada*** /tçil'a:de/ (F.N) slip  
***tgòmba*** /tçombə/ (F.N) leg  
***tgòmbra*** /tçombre/ (F.N) room  
***tgunşch*** /tçunz/ (ADV) easily  
***tiar, tar, tr*** /tier, ter, tr/ (PREP) at, by  
***tiarm*** (PL tjarms) /tierm/ ('tjarmz/) (M.N) boundary stone  
***tiarz, tjarza*** /tierts, 'tjartse/ (ORD.NUM) third. ***ina tjarza*** one third  
***tiptòp*** /tip'tɔp/ (ADV) perfectly  
***tissi*** /tisi/ (M.N) poison

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

**tjamš** /tjamz/ (M.N) time

**tjarza** → **tiarz**

**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

**träfic** /trafik/ (M.N) traffic

**tradicá** /trefi'ka:/ (ITR.V) be up to

**trajs** /trajz/ (NUM) three

**traj(a)tschian** /traj(e)'tschiən/ (NUM) three hundred

**trans-pòrt** /trens'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**

**trèdișch** /tre:diz/ (NUM) thirteen

**trèn** /tren/ (M.N) train

**trènta** /trente/ (NUM) thirty

**trést** → **trist**

**trist, -a** /trist, -e/ (ADJ) sad

**tròcas** /trókez/ (PL.F.N) typical card game of the Surselva

**trúfal** /trufel/ (M.N) potato. **métar trúfals** sow potatoes

**trùtg** (PL truigls) /trù:tø/ (/trwiłs/) (M.N) narrow path

**tschafan** /'ʃafen/ (M.N) desire, pleasure

**tschagrún** /ʃeg'rún/ (M.N) whey cheese

**tschajna** /ʃajne/ (F.N) dinner

**tschajvar** /ʃajver/ (M.N) carnival

**tschalè** /ʃe'lè:/ (M.N) cellar

**tschantá** /ʃent'a:/ (TR.V) put, place. **tschantá ajn** start, turn on

**tschantanè** /ʃente'nè:/ (M.N) century

**tscharva** /ʃarve/ (F.N) deer. **taur tgarva** stag. **vaca tgarva** hind

**tschavrè, tschavrèra** /ʃev're:, ʃev'rɛ: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* /'tʃiak, tʃoks, 'tʃøka/ (ADJ) blind  
*tschian* /tʃian/ (NUM) hundred  
*tschichi* /'tʃiki/ (M.N) pig (familiar speech)  
*tschitschè* (tschétscha) /tʃi'tʃe:/ ('tʃe: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, -ə/ (ADJ) dirty  
*tschùf* /tʃʊ:f/ (M.N) dirt  
*tschun* /tʃun/ (NUM) five  
*tschuncònta* /tʃun'kõnte/ (NUM) fifty  
*tschúpal* /tʃupel/ (M.N) lot  
*tualèta* /twe'lete/ (F.N) toilet  
*tuatschín, -ina* /tue'tʃi:n, -ə/ (ADJ) from the Tujetsch valley  
*tucá* /tu'ka:/ (TR/ITR.V) 1. beat 2. strike  
*tudèstg, -a* /tu'destg, -ə/ (ADJ/N) German  
*tumaj* /tu'maj/ (IRR.TR/ITR.V) be afraid of, fear  
*tup, -a* /tup, -ə/ (ADJ) stupid  
*tupadad* /tupe'da:d/ (F.N) stupidity  
*tupira* /tu'pi:re/ 1. (F.N) stupidity 2. (ELAT) very stupid  
*tura* /tu're:re/ (F.N) tour  
*turismus* /tu'rismus/ (M.N) tourism  
*turist* /tu'rifst/ (M.N) tourist  
*turná* (túrna) /tur'na:/ ('tørnə/) (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* /tɔtajni:nə/ (ADV) suddenly  
*tùta* /tɔte/ (QUANT) whole  
*tùts, tùtas* /tɔts, 'tɔtes/ (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

## 9 Tuatschin-English word list

- ualti** /'walti/ (ADV) quite  
**uaut** /u'awt/ (M.N) forest, woods  
**uclauñ** /uk'lawn/ (M.N) hamlet  
**udí** (auda) /u'di:/ ('awdə/) (TR.V) hear. **udí da** belong to  
**uélp** /welp/ (F.N) fox  
**uést** /u'est/ (N.M) August  
**uéstg** /wéstg/ (M.N) bishop  
**ufaun** /u'fawn/ (M.N) child  
**ufaunza** /u'fawntse/ (F.N) childhood  
**ugagè** (ughègja) /ugə'dzə:/ (/u'ge:dzə/) (TR.V) dare  
**ugèn** /u'dzen/ (ADV) gladly, with pleasure  
**uísá** /wi:ze/ (F.N) way, manner  
**ujara** /u'ja:re/ (F.N) war  
**ùm** (PL ùmans) /ùm/ (/ùmenz/) (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** /'orden/ (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** /u'ʃte: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** /vəʃə'detçna/ (F.N) age  
**vagljantá** /vəʃen'ta:/ (TR.V) upset

**vagní** /væ'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** /væ'laj/ (ITR.V) be worth

**vališcha** /væ'li:ʒva/ (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** /væ'zaj/ (IRR.TR.V) see

**vaschala** /væʃa:la/ (F.N) dishes

**vaschnaunca** /vaʃnawnka/ (F.N) municipality

**vazlè** /væts'lε:/ (M.N) calf herdsman

**végl, -glja** /veλ, -ə/ (ADJ) old

**végljadétschna** /veλva'detʃna/ (F.N) age

**végn** /veŋ/ (NUM) twenty

**véjdar, -dra** /'vejðer, -dre/ (ADJ) old (only in certain contexts)

**vèndar** (vandín) /'vènder/ (/ven'di:n/) (TR.V) sell

**vèndardís** /vènder'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** /'vetə/ (F.N) life

**vi** /vi/ (PREP) over

**via** /'vìə/ 1. (F.N) way, road, street 2. (ADV)<sup>6</sup> over 3. (CIRCP) *sur ... via* over

**viafiar** /vìə'fier/ (F.N) railway

**viagè** /vìə'dzə:/ (ITR.V) travel

**viars** /'viers/ (PREP) towards

**vias, vòssa** /vìəz, vɔsə/ (POSS.DET.2PL) your (SG). *al vias, la vòssa* (POSS.PRON.2PL) yours (SG)

**vid** /vid/ (PREP) on

<sup>6</sup>Vía 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'løndər/ (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** /vjaf'prez/ (PL.F.N) vesper

**vòluntárjamajn** /vɔlun'tarja,majn/ (ADV) voluntarily

**vòn** /vɔn/ (M.N) glove

**vònzaʃ** /vɔn'tsaj/ (ADV) later

**vòs, vòssa** /vɔz, aseča/ (POSS.PRON.2PL.PRED) yours (SG)

**vòs, vòssas** /vɔz, asečaz/ (POSS.DET.2PL) your (PL)

**vòtazjun** /vɔta'tsjun/ (F.N) vote

**vulaj** /vu'laj/ (IRR.TR.V) want

**vuş** /vu:z/ 1. (PERS.PRON.2PL) you 2. (POL.PRON.2SG/2PL) you

**vusch** /vu:f/ (F.N) voice

## X

**x-zatgéj** /iks-tse'tcej/ something, anything

## Z

**zacònts, -tas** /tsə'kɔnts, -təs/ (INDEF.DET/PRON) some

**zacú, zacuras** /tsə'ku:, tsə'ku:res/ (ADV) sometime

**zacù** /tsə'kø/ (ADV) somehow

**zacùn, -da** /tsə'kvn, -də/ (ORD.NUM) second

*zagnúñ* /tsə'jun/ (M.N) alpine dairyman  
*zagríndar, -a* /tsə'grinder, -e/ (ADJ. and N) Yenish<sup>7</sup>  
*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:/ ('tsajvṛə/) (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'lē/ (M.N) corridor

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<sup>7</sup>The 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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# Name index

Berther, Baseli, 3, 43, 66, 85, 220, 247

Berther, Francestg, 3, 36, 37, 45, 166,  
224, 254, 255

Büchli, Arnold, 3, 14, 29, 32, 34–38,  
41, 42, 44, 51, 52, 55, 63, 69,  
70, 73, 84, 85, 89, 91–97, 101,  
103, 104, 107, 109, 110, 138–  
140, 146, 147, 151, 155, 157,  
158, 168, 178–180, 183, 192,  
193, 195, 196, 199, 200, 202,  
205, 208, 209, 218, 220, 222,  
224, 227, 232, 234, 241, 242,  
244, 246, 248, 251, 254–256,  
259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 296

Caduff, Léonard, 3, 6, 13

Decurtins, Alexi, 8, 77, 126, 268

Ebneter, Theodor, 200

Gadola, Guglielm, 3, 28, 41, 45, 156,  
165, 174

Gartner, Theodor, 3, 43, 58, 74, 94, 95

Grünert, Matthias, 151

Hendry, Vic, 3, 6

Linder, Karl Peter, 35, 64, 65, 73

Liver, Ricarda, 8, 12

Maurer, Philippe, 3, 35

Spescha, Arnold, 25, 67, 68, 213, 265

Valär, Rico, 3, 99, 246, 253

Winzap, Isidor, 80



# Language index

Putér, 1

Rumantsch Grischun, 1

Standard German, 4, 6, 8, 185<sup>14</sup>, 281<sup>11</sup>,  
363<sup>59</sup>, 437<sup>85</sup>

Standard Sursilvan, 1, 3–6, 8, 10, 12,  
14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26, 30, 39,  
39<sup>6</sup>, 48<sup>11</sup>, 50, 51, 58<sup>13</sup>, 67<sup>15</sup>,  
77, 80, 81, 94, 103, 109<sup>2</sup>, 112,  
114, 134, 151<sup>7</sup>, 159, 162, 174<sup>10</sup>,  
178<sup>12</sup>, 194<sup>18</sup>, 200<sup>21</sup>, 212<sup>25</sup>,  
232<sup>2</sup>, 233, 267, 271<sup>2</sup>, 272<sup>5</sup>,  
278<sup>9</sup>, 304<sup>25</sup>, 323<sup>30</sup>, 348<sup>52</sup>,  
352<sup>53</sup>, 354<sup>56</sup>, 370<sup>65</sup>, 372<sup>67</sup>,  
380<sup>68</sup>, 384<sup>70</sup>, 389<sup>74</sup>, 443<sup>91</sup>,  
443<sup>92</sup>, 446<sup>94</sup>, 476<sup>2</sup>

Surmiran, 1, 12<sup>1</sup>, 36, 187, 335

Sursilvan, 1

Sutsilvan, 1, 12<sup>1</sup>, 36, 252, 323<sup>30</sup>

Swiss German, 6, 8

Vallader, 1



# Subject index

- ability, 174, 175  
adjective, 32, 40, 42, 61, 67, 80–83, 85,  
107, 108, 136, 214, 256  
adjective phrase, 81  
adjunct clauses, 151, 238  
adpositional phrases, 187  
agent, 88, 236  
agreement, 66, 184, 234  
anaphoric, 40, 41, 43, 49, 193  
anaphoric demonstrative, 15  
animacy, 196  
antecedent, 40, 65, 100, 101, 104, 105  
argument clauses, 238  
argument order, 179  
article, 35, 142, 210, 239  
article verb, 164  
attributive, 1, 67, 68, 461  
attributive adjective, 40  
augmentative, 266, 267  
auxiliary, 95, 111, 112, 114, 128, 136,  
135, 137–139, 146, 148 230,  
259  
bare, 35  
bare noun, 31, 53, 54, 193  
bare noun phrases, 211  
beneficiary, 185  
beneficiary adjuncts, 214  
calendar, 206  
cardinal numerals, 58  
cataphorically, 42, 45  
causal, 50, 140  
causal adjuncts, 215  
causative, 233, 266  
causative verbs, 232, 233  
causative voice, 232  
close front rounded, 12  
collective, 29, 30, 58  
comitative, 167  
comitative adjuncts, 215  
comparative, 57, 61, 72, 189, 213  
compound nouns, 26  
compound tense, 112, 218  
compounding of nouns, 266  
concessive clauses, 258  
conditional, 17, 111<sup>3</sup>, 120, 158–161,  
172<sup>9</sup>  
conditional clauses, 254  
consecutive, 49, 189  
consecutive clause, 256  
consonant clusters, 17  
consonants, 14–18, 22, 22<sup>2</sup>, 23, 33, 34,  
68  
contact languages, 6  
contracted, 90, 98<sup>18</sup>, 216  
Coordinating conjunctions, 237  
copulative verb, 70  
craj, 132  
dative article, 35, 35<sup>4</sup>, 37, 95  
dative indefinite pronoun, 56  
dative marker, 1, 2, 88, 93, 94, 109<sup>2</sup>,  
187, 236

## *Subject index*

- definite article, 32, 34, 35, 37, 72, 105, 151, 193, 209  
definite dative article, 32, 35<sup>4</sup>, 38, 39, 93  
degrees of comparison, 72  
demonstrative, 40–42, 71, 108, 189, 210  
demonstrative determiner, 193  
demonstrative pronoun, 90, 260  
demonyms, 34  
derivational morphemes, 266  
derivational suffix, 267  
determiner, 32, 40, 43, 47, 48, 61, 209, 210  
diminutive, 17, 266  
diphthong, 1, 13, 21, 22, 26, 233  
direct conditional, 111, 159–161, 256  
direct object, 31, 44, 87, 99, 107, 109, 182, 185, 186, 223, 232, 276<sup>8</sup>  
directive speech act, 152, 154  
distal, 40  
ditransitive verb, 109, 183–185  
doubly-compound pluperfect, 150  
doubly-compound tenses, 111, 112, 135, 150  
duaj, 132  
dumandá, 109, 183  
dynamic passive, 234  
dá, 131, 174, 233  
dí, 93, 134  
elative, 74  
ending, 118  
epenthetic n, 14  
epistemic modality, 178  
èssar, 112, 136, 146, 230  
euphonic, 112  
existential verb, 169  
experiencer, 187  
expletive pronoun, 65, 91, 95, 96, 109, 112, 114, 161, 169, 171, 184, 240  
finite categories, 111, 135, 230  
finite causal clauses, 253  
finite comparative clauses, 257  
finite object clauses, 241  
finite purposive clauses, 251  
finite subject clauses, 240  
finite subordinate clauses, 238  
finite temporal clauses, 247  
first person singular object pronoun, 236  
first person singular pronoun, 238  
focus, 258  
free indirect speech, 153  
fugí, 135  
future, 111, 112, 114, 121, 143, 144, 149  
fá, 37, 131, 232, 233  
gender, 9, 25, 32, 35, 36, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 50, 59, 67, 71, 90, 91, 136, 146, 161, 235, 269  
generic, 29, 70, 71, 87, 105–107  
gerund, 111, 114, 121, 135, 140, 266  
glides, 12  
grammatical gender, 25  
gudaj, 132  
habitual, 143, 145, 150, 163  
hiatus, 13, 14, 21  
hortative, 229  
human nouns, 25, 195  
í, 64, 134, 144, 147, 182, 224, 237, 255  
imperfect, 112, 118, 119, 126, 142, 148, 150, 159, 256  
imperfect indicative, 111, 118, 120, 145  
imperfect subjunctive, 111, 121, 159

- impersonal, 109, 172  
impersonal constructions, 95  
impersonal passive, 95, 184  
impersonal verb, 109  
inanimate nouns, 195  
inchoative, 95, 147, 148  
indefinite article, 35, 37, 57, 105, 193, 210  
indicative mood, 153, 156  
indirect conditional, 111, 161, 256  
indirect interrogative clause, 242, 260  
indirect object, 3, 44, 87, 88, 109, 186, 187, 223, 228, 232  
infinitive, 111, 118, 135, 141, 142, 151, 229, 232, 239, 240, 258, 259, 266  
infinitive clauses, 70, 86, 87, 219  
infinitive phrase, 219  
instead of, 2<sup>1</sup>  
instrumental adjuncts, 216  
intensifiers of the adjective, 76  
interrogative determiner, 227  
interrogative pronouns, 227  
interrogative word, 227  
intransitive, 109  
intransitive motion verbs, 146  
inverted subject, 217  
ir, 134  
ira, 134  
  
locative, 30, 43, 167  
locative adjuncts, 200  
locative adverb, 90, 206  
locative prepositional phrase, 30  
locative relative clauses, 98, 102, 104  
  
manner adjuncts, 214  
manner clause, 244  
  
manner relative clause, 105  
modal adverb, 214  
modal verb, 141, 219, 259  
monotransitive, 109, 185  
  
names of the days, 207  
names of the months, 206, 206<sup>24</sup>  
natural gender, 25, 26  
negation, 221, 222  
negative adverbs, 221  
non-finite categories, 111, 135  
non-finite causal clauses, 253  
non-finite comparative clauses, 257  
non-finite interrogative clause, 242  
non-finite object clauses, 241  
non-finite purposive clauses, 250  
non-finite subject clause, 239  
non-finite temporal clauses, 246  
non-finite verb phrase, 141  
nonfinite subject clauses, 71  
noun, 26, 28, 29, 32, 37, 42, 44, 59, 64, 81, 86, 108, 193, 260, 266, 267  
noun phrase, 9, 26, 30–32, 40, 64, 71, 86, 94, 108, 164, 182, 187, 193, 209, 210, 269  
number, 32, 35, 36, 50, 59, 89, 93, 146  
numeral, 35, 48, 108  
  
object clause, 151, 158, 159, 241, 242  
object noun phrases, 30  
object pronoun, 91  
omission of the subject, 226  
  
paired body terms, 29, 30  
palatalisation, 1, 2  
particle, 260  
parts of the day, 207  
parvaj, 133  
passive, 88, 136, 146, 234, 236

## *Subject index*

- passive verb, 234  
passive voice, 88, 135  
past counter-factuality, 161  
past counterfactual conditional clauses, 256  
past factual, 256  
past participle, 71, 84, 111, 118, 119, 135–137, 146, 148, 183, 184, 266, 267  
perfect indicative, 111, 163  
perfect subjunctive, 111, 163  
perfect tense, 259  
permanent state, 142, 148  
permission, 174  
personal ending, 111  
personal pronoun, 167  
place name, 34, 42, 204  
pluperfect indicative, 111  
pluperfect subjunctive, 111, 163  
plural indefinite noun phrases, 35  
polite pronoun, 89  
polite requests, 174  
position of the adjective, 80  
positive, 72  
possessive, 50, 108  
possessive determiner, 37, 50, 52  
possessive pronouns, 50, 52  
possibility, 177  
postpositional phrases, 209  
predicative, 1, 40, 42, 52, 67, 69–71, 137, 167  
predicative adjective, 67, 84, 137  
predicative noun, 42, 169  
prepositional argument clauses, 244  
prepositional phrase, 86, 99, 108  
present, 111  
present counter-factuality, 160  
present counterfactual conditional clauses, 256  
present factual conditional clauses, 256  
present indicative, 13, 111, 112, 120, 121, 461  
present subjunctive, 111, 131, 134  
progressive aspect, 151  
prohibitive, 228  
pronoun, 40, 42, 43, 45, 48, 62, 64, 87, 236, 240, 260  
proximal, 40  
prèndar, 134  
pudaj, 132  
purposive, 50, 152  
purposive clauses, 141  
quantifier, 33, 37, 57  
quantifying nouns, 62, 63  
recipient, 183, 184, 187  
reciprocal voice, 231  
reduced vowel, 69, 126  
reduplication, 263, 264  
reflexive, 97, 112, 146, 267  
reflexive verbs, 111, 230<sup>1</sup>  
reflexive voice, 112, 230  
relative clause, 65, 99, 101, 108, 137, 158, 238  
relativiser, 99–102, 104  
rí, 135  
sadastadá, 131  
savaj, 132  
şchaj, 132  
schè, 134, 232  
simple tense, 218  
speech act verb, 161  
spelling system, 3, 9, 18  
stative passive, 234  
stative verb, 147, 229

- stuaj, 133  
stá, 131  
subject, 6, 42, 44, 52, 65, 71, 87, 90, 91, 106, 107, 109, 135, 136, 138, 142, 146, 159, 169, 179, 180, 182–184, 204, 223, 225, 228, 234  
subject clause, 240  
subject inversion, 28<sup>2</sup>, 88, 90, 95, 96, 112, 113, 180, 182, 223, 224, 226, 227, 242, 254  
subject nouns, 105, 179  
subject pronoun, 88, 91, 226  
subjunctive mood, 151, 153, 154, 156, 158, 229  
subordinating conjunction, 238  
subordination, 238  
superlative, 61, 72, 73  
syllabic, 15  
syncretism, 40, 40<sup>8</sup>, 50  
  
tanaj, 133  
temporal, 40, 49, 167  
temporal adjuncts, 98, 99, 209, 211  
temporal adverbs, 137  
temporal clause, 241, 248  
temporal noun, 47  
temporal relative clause, 98, 104, 105  
temporal subordinate clause, 140  
temporary state, 142  
tense agreement, 162  
theme, 184  
time adverb, 65  
topicalise, 142  
trá, 131  
tumaj, 133  
  
unmarked, 40, 42, 43, 48, 49, 66, 67, 71, 79, 84, 90, 136, 184, 235, 461  
vagní, 114  
vaj, 112, 146, 148, 224  
vaj tga, 163  
vasaj, 133  
verb, 40, 84, 91, 136, 142, 153, 167, 180, 182, 228, 232, 233, 258, 267  
verb of movement, 141, 250  
verb phrase, 141  
verb phrase negator, 216, 221  
verb-second, 223  
verb-second syntax, 179  
verbs of opinion, 152, 154, 159, 162  
verbs of speaking, 151, 152  
voiced consonants, 461  
voiceless consonants, 15–18  
vowels, 11, 12, 12<sup>1</sup>, 13, 14, 18, 20–22, 22<sup>2</sup>, 23, 33, 34, 68  
vulaj, 133, 229





# A 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.

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