

A grammar of Tuatschin and Medelin

Two Sursilvan Romansh dialects

Philippe Maurer

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Preface



Figure 1: The village of Rueras

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List of abbreviations

1	first person		
2	second person	INDEF	indefinite
3	third person	INDIR	indirect
ART	article	INF	infinitive
AUGM	augmentative	IO	indirect object
AUX	auxiliary verb	LOC	locative
C	consonant	M	masculine
CAUS	causative voice	NEG	negation
CAUSAL	causal	ORD	ordinal number
COLL	collective	PASS	passive voice
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
COND	conditional mood	PLN	place name
CONS	consecutive	PLPF	pluperfect tense
COP	copula	PN	proper noun
CORR	correlative	POL	polite
DAT	dative	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite	PREP	preposition
DEM	demonstrative	PRF	perfect tense
DIM	diminutive	PRS	present tense
DO	direct object	PST	past tense
ELAT	elative	PTCP	past participle
EUPH	euphonic	PURP	purposive
EXCL	exclamative	RECIP	reciprocal voice
EXIST	existential	REFL	reflexive voice
EXPL	expletive pronoun	REL	relative
F	feminine	RN	river name
FUT	future tense	SBJ	subject
GER	gerund	SBJV	subjunctive mood
GNR	generic pronoun	SG	singular
HORT	hortative	TEMP	temporal
IMP	imperative mood	UNM	unmarked
IMPF	imperfect tense	V	vowel
IND	indicative mood		

1 Introduction

Tuatschin is the Sursilvan dialect that differs the most from the standard variety. These differences, however, do not concern the most salient typological features of Sursilvan as e.g. the predicative *-s* of masculine singular adjectives and participles (see § 3.3.1 and 4.1.2.1 below), nouns and adjectives with stem alterations as *iart* (sg) vs *òrts* (pl) ‘garden(s)’ and *matgiart* (sg) vs *macòrts* (pl) ‘ugly’, or the conservation of the Latin diphthong AU as in *aur* ‘gold’.

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

Table 1.1: Differences between Tuatschin and Standard Sursilvan

	Tuatschin	Sursilvan	English
palatalization of 'KA	<i>mar'tçaw</i> <i>tçeze</i>	<i>markaw</i> <i>kaze</i>	‘city’ ‘house’
Surs. ɔ before n	<i>a'vawn</i>	<i>a'vn</i>	before
1SG pronoun	<i>ju</i>	<i>jew</i>	‘I’
negator	<i>'betçe</i>	<i>'buke</i>	‘not’
dative marker	<i>da</i>	<i>a</i>	

Figure 1.1 shows the whole territory where Sursilvan is spoken. The Tujetsch valley is located to the west of the territory. The white parts in Figure 1.1 correspond to regions where traditionally Swiss German (Walser) dialects are spoken. The orange and yellow parts correspond to regions where Sutsilvan is spoken and belong thus not to the Surselva.

1.1 Previous works

The most important linguistic study about Tuatschin is Caduff (1952), *Essai sur la phonétique du parler rhétoroman de la Vallée de Tavetsch*, which is about di-

1 Introduction



Figure 1.1: Surselva

achronic phonetics from Latin to Tuatschin. Some indication about Tuatschin can also be found in [Hendry \(2010\)](#), *Tujetsch, ses vallers e lur tschontscha*, and [Maurer2017](#) 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 § 1.2 below.

1.2 Corpus

corpus: DRG, Büchli, oral corpus, elicitation

The corpus consists of oral and written sources. The oral corpus has been collected by myself during different field trips between 2016 and 2020 with 7 female and 10 male native speakers of Tuatschin; it consist of approximately 60 minutes of recorded stories told by male and female consultants between 30 and 82 years of age at recording time, as well as of elicited forms and sentences.

Since I have a working knowledge of standard Sursilvan, all the interviews

were conducted in Romansh.

The most important collection 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 stories from the Tujetsch valley (with indication of the village the story tellers were from) which were transcribed by the author himself. Büchli's consultants were born between 1858 and 1922.

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

The examples taken from the written sources will all be adapted to the spelling system used in this book, with one exception: those written in IPA.

The names of the consultants who participated in the project are made anonymous; their utterances will be labelled with a reference to their sex (m, f) and the place where they grew up. The native speakers of Tuatschin are listed in Table 1.2 to Table 1.6.

Table 1.2: List of consultants I

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

Table 1.3: List of consultants II

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

- (1) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2)

I drùva schòn in téč tg' ins, da
EXPL need.PRS.3SG indeed INDEF.ART.M.SG little COMP GNR COMP

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

saprèndar ansjaman da rašdá da Tujétsch cun autars.
 REFL.take.INF together COMPO talk.INF of PLN with other.M.PL
 ‘It needs indeed a little that one, to concentrate in order to speak Tuatschin with others.’

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 Tschamut¹, and the dialect of the lower part of the valley (Figure 1.3), from Dieni to Bugnei. These two dialectal areas are divided by a forest, the forest of Sontga Brida (see Caduff (1952: 3)).

The differences 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 (see Hendry (2010: 97)).

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>sunter</i>	‘after’
<i>tgaglja</i>	<i>caglia</i>	‘bushes’
<i>ufaun</i>	<i>affon</i>	‘child’

Nowadays there are only very few speakers of the upper dialect left; an example of the variety of Selva is presented in § 9.6 below.

¹According to DRG 7: 636, the inhabitants of Selva and Tschamut are called *quèls dadajns gl uaut* ‘those above the forest’; the forest dividing the two parts of the valley is called *Uaut Tschapina*.

1 Introduction

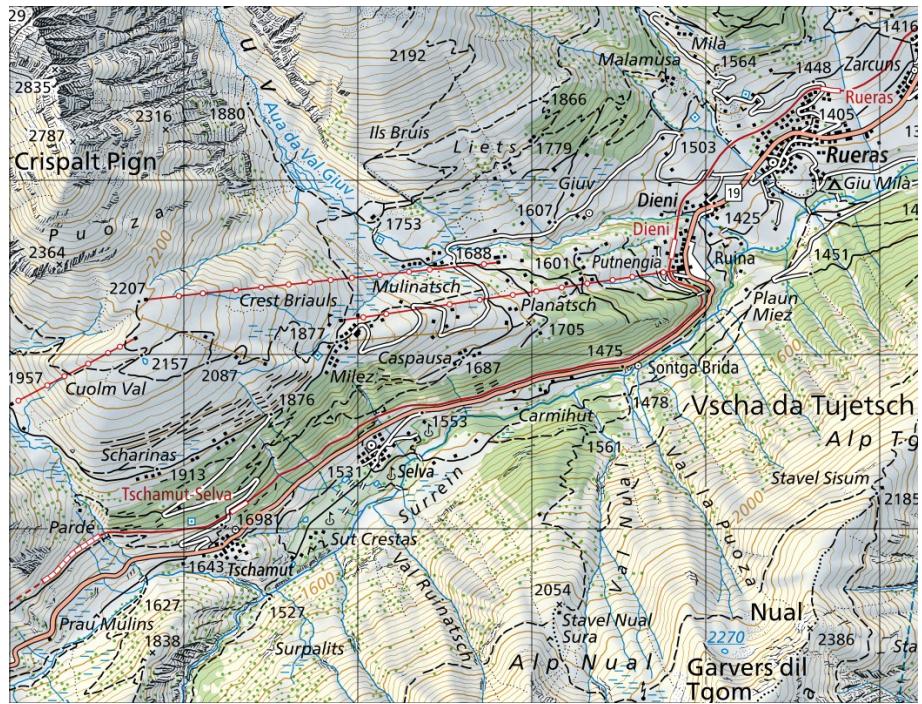


Figure 1.2: Upper Valley

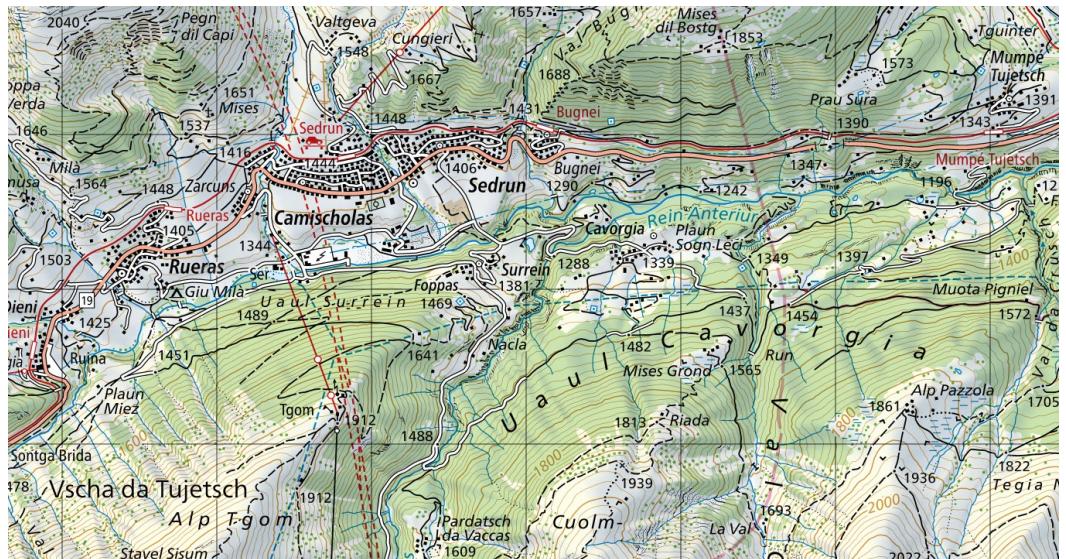


Figure 1.3: Lower Valley

1.4 Glosses

The glosses used in this grammar are those of the Leipzig Glossing Rules², whereby some glosses which are not listed in these rules have been added.

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

1.5 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 indicated in Table 1.8. The German equivalents are only given for those place names that are located in German speaking areas.

Gjönda: Geröllhalde, unproduktives Gelände

²<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

Table 1.8: Spelling of place names

current spelling	Standard Sursilvan	German
<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>Gjònدا</i>	<i>Gonda</i>	
<i>Gljòn</i>	<i>Glion</i>	
<i>Nòssadunaun</i>	<i>Nossadunnaun</i>	<i>Einsiedeln</i>
<i>Ruèras</i>	<i>Rueras</i>	
<i>Sadrún</i>	<i>Sedrun</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>Zarcúns</i>	<i>Zarcuns</i>	

2 Phonology, phonetics, and spelling

2.1 Phonetics and phonology

2.1.1 Vowels

Tuatschin possesses 9 vowels, which are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Vowels

	front	central	near back	back
close	i <i>			u <u>
near close			v <ù>	
close-mid	e <é>			
mid	ɛ <è>	ə <a>		ɔ <ò>
near open		a <a>		
open	a <a>, <á>			

The reduced vowels [ə] and [a] only occur in unstressed syllables. There are no minimal pairs contrasting [ə] and [a], but 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 [a] in the same environment; there is, however, a tendency for [a] to occur in the neighbourhood of stressed [a], as in [ju 'mave] 'I used to go', and for [ə] to occur in the environment of [e] or [ɛ], as in ['rwerəs] 'Ruérás'. Because of this uncertainty, these two vowel will not be differentiated orthographically, and both will be represented by <a>.

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 they do not seem to be relevant phonologically. 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 (chapter 11), all the lexical

2 Phonology, phonetics, and spelling

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. This cannot be maintained for Tuatschin, since there is at least one minimal pair which opposes the two vowels in a short syllable: /dzu/ ‘had (participle of *vay* ‘have’)’ vs /dʒʊ/ ‘down’. The realization of /ʊ/ varies between a nearly closed [u] and a very closed [o].

In my corpus, the only rounded vowel is [y], noted *ü*, which only occurs in recent loans from German or Swiss German. It will not be retained in Table 2.1. Examples are *bürò* ‘office’, *mütologia* ‘mythology’, and *tüp* ‘person’.

Table 2.2: Vowel minimal pairs

/i/	vs	/ɛ/	<i>fil</i>	‘thread’	vs	<i>fel</i>	‘fiel’
/e/	vs	/ɛ/	<i>letç</i>	‘bed’	vs	<i>letç</i>	‘marriage’
			<i>me</i>	‘me’ (dative)	vs	<i>me</i>	‘me’ (accusative)
/ɛ/	vs	/ɔ/	<i>fel</i>	‘gall’	vs	<i>fɔl</i>	‘bellows’
			<i>sep</i>	‘sign’	vs	<i>sɔp</i>	‘holy’
/u/	vs	/ɔ/	<i>kɔ</i>	‘how’	vs	<i>kɔ</i>	‘here’
/ɔ/	vs	/ɔ/	<i>'rɔma</i>	‘Rome’	vs	<i>'rɔma</i>	‘branches’

2.1.2 Diphthongs

In Tuatschin, diphthongs are built with the semiconsonants /j/ and /w/ as well as with /i/ and /u/ in combination with /ə/. Tuatschin possesses 5 falling and 11 rising diphthongs. Table 2.3 shows the diphthongs built with /j/ and /w/. Note that /əw/ is very rare and only occurs in the inverted forms of the first person singular present indicative forms of /sa'vaj/ ‘know’ and /vaj/ ‘have’: /səw/ ‘know I’ and /vəw/ ‘have I’. The following diphthongs do not exist: /ɔj/, /vj/, /uj/, /jɔ/, /ew/, /ew/, /iw/, /vw/, /uw/, /ws/, and /wu/.

The falling diphthongs /iə/ and /uə/ are not very frequent. Some examples are /'miə/ ‘mine’ (F) or /sə'nɪətər/ ‘left’, and /ʃkuə/ ‘broom’ or /'uəft/ ‘August’.

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

The difference between diphthongs and vowels in hiatus is not always straight-

Table 2.3: Diphthongs

falling		raising			
/aj/	/kwaj/	'this'	/ja/	/u'jare/	'war'
/ɛj/	/sɛj/	'is (SBJV)'	/jɛ/	/'jede/	'time'
/ej/	/sejs/	'their'	/je/	/jeli/	'oil'
/ɔj/	-		/jɔ/	/kur'jɔs/	'strange'
/uj/	-		/ju/	/ju/	'I'
/aw/	/awn/	'still'	/wa/	/'awa/	'water'
/ew/	-		/wɛ/	/kwɛl/	'this'
/ew/	-		/we/	/kwelm/	'mountain'
/iw/	-		/wi/	/kwel'wize/	'in this way'
/ɔw/	/sɔw/	'know I'	/wɔ/	-	

forward. A spontaneous production of /piun/ 'lard' with /i/ and /u/ in hiatus is found in (1).

- (1) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

La mùm' ò mèz ajn piun.
 DEF.ART.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG put.PTCP.UNM into lard.M.SG
 'Mother added some lard.'

But when asked whether *piun* has one or two syllables, the consultant answered that it has only one syllable and pronounced it /pjün/. However, there are uncontroversial cases of hiatus, as e.g. /'uɔn/ 'this year', which is never pronounced /wɔn/.

-> wie stédiamajn behandeln? Ist ja hiatus.

- (2) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 34)

Vasèvan ins ina signura [...] cun schuba cuérta,
 see.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR INDEF.ART.F.SG woman [...] with shirt.F.SG short
còtschna, [...] lura spitgavan als purs
 red [...] CORR expect.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.PL farmer.PL
ina gronda malaura [...].
 INDEF.ART.F.SG big storm

'If one saw a woman with a short shirt, a red one, the farmers would expect a heavy storm.'

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n = Bindekonsonant bei vaseevan ins.

2.1.3 Consonants

Consonants are presented in Table 2.4 and consonant minimal pairs in Table 2.5.

Table 2.4: Consonants

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

A major problem in analysing consonants is the question whether the unvoiced word final consonants are in many cases to 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 if this form is followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant, it is pronounced /z/, as in *stès* /ʃtez/ in the Tuatschin example (3).

- (3) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m10, l. 1061f.)

[...] alṣò sch'ju stès aun fá in' jèda quaj,
 well if 1SG must.COND.1SG still do.INF one.F.SG time DEM.UNM
figès ju bétga.
 do.COND.1SG 1SG NEG
 ‘[...] well, if I had to do it once more, I wouldn’t do it.’

Another example is ‘not even’, which is spelled *gnanc* in standard Sursilvan, but which is pronounced with /g/ if followed by a vowel or a voiced consonant in Tuatschin, as in /ŋaŋŋ/ in ‘not even one’.

If in all cases voiceless consonants were pronounced voiced if 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, as in /in br'iæk əd in kɔp/ ‘a wooden bucket and a bowl’, which is never pronounced /in *br'iəg əd in kɔp/ or as in /in ljuk ampar'najval/ ‘a cosy place’, which is not pronounced /in *ljug ampar'najval/.

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

Every word final voiced consonant is pronounced voicelessly in isolation or preceding a word starting with a voiceless consonant.

The consequences for the spelling system used in this book will be discussed in § 2.2 below.

/h/ only exists in Swiss German loans, as in /halt/ ‘simply’.

/n/ has two allomorphs: /ŋ/ before g and k, and m before b (check!).

/l/ and /r/ have different realizations according to the speaker. Some speakers pronounce [ɫ] instead of /l/ in cases that still must be determined, and the uvular /ʁ/ is not uncommon among younger and young speakers, certainly under influence of some Sursilvan varieties, partly spoken by the teachers of the school in Sedrun. Note that all my consultants produce an alveolar [r].

Furthermore, /r/ and /l/ may have a syllabic realization due to the dropping of [ə] as in [pʃ̩-ma-'ve-ɾa] (/pər-ma-'ve-ɾa/) ‘Lent’ (line 1209) or [pʃ̩s] (/pər əls/ ‘for the’ (line 1006).

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

In rare cases, the voiceless stops show an aspirated realization, as in [əm'pʰaw] ‘a bit’ (line 776) or [pʰas] ‘pass’ (line 1023).

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

- (4) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 397)

[...] *api vau détg di mùma [...]*

and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT mother

[...] I said to my mother [...]

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

Pi ò èla détg: «Té savèssas i

then have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF

Table 2.5: Consonant minimal pairs

p	vs	t	<i>pawn</i>	'bread'	vs	<i>tawn</i>	'so much'
p	vs	n	<i>pawk</i>	'little (adv.)'	vs	<i>pawn</i>	'bread'
p	vs	j̪	<i>kwp</i>	'bowl'	vs	<i>kvn</i>	'wedge'
p	vs	s	<i>pawn</i>	'bread'	vs	<i>sawn</i>	'blood'
p	vs	t̪	<i>pawn</i>	'bread'	vs	<i>t̪awn</i>	'dog'
t	vs	k	<i>bvt</i>	'barrel'	vs	<i>bvk</i>	'billy goat'
t	vs	n	<i>selit</i>	'greeting'	vs	<i>selin</i>	'wheat'
t	vs	t̪	<i>vit</i>	empty	vs	<i>vit̪</i>	village
k	vs	f	<i>dzuk</i>	play	vs	<i>dzuf</i>	yoke
b	vs	n	<i>'rawbe</i>	merchandise	vs	<i>'rawne</i>	frog
d	vs	n	<i>'fri:de</i>	wound	vs	<i>'fri:ne</i>	flour
d	vs	ts	<i>'sende</i>	path	vs	<i>'sentse</i>	without
m	vs	l	<i>fɔm</i>	hunger	vs	<i>fol</i>	bellows
			<i>fi'ma:</i>	smoke	vs	<i>fila:</i>	spin
n	vs	j̪	<i>ɔn</i>	year	vs	<i>ɔŋ</i>	alder
n	vs	ts	<i>pvn</i>	bridge	vs	<i>pvts</i>	pond
n	vs	t̪	<i>len</i>	firewood	vs	<i>let̪</i>	marriage
n	vs	d̪	<i>nuf</i>	knot	vs	<i>dzuf</i>	yoke
j̪	vs	t̪	<i>peŋ</i>	fir tree	vs	<i>pet̪</i>	pick
j̪	vs	ts	<i>peŋ</i>	pledge	vs	<i>pets</i>	chest
f	vs	r	<i>najf</i>	snow	vs	<i>najr</i>	black
s	vs	ts	<i>fɔrse</i>	maybe	vs	<i>fɔrtse</i>	power
s	vs	t̪	<i>glas</i>	glass	vs	<i>glaf</i>	ice
s	vs	l	<i>pas</i>	step	vs	<i>pal</i>	post
ʃ	vs	t̪	<i>ef</i>	door	vs	<i>etc</i>	ointment
t̪	vs	ts	<i>ɔt̪</i>	eight	vs	<i>ɔts</i>	today
t̪	vs	t̪ʃ	<i>det̪</i>	'said'	vs	<i>det̪f</i>	'(I) say'
d̪	vs	l	<i>dzuf</i>	yoke	vs	<i>luf</i>	wolf

cul tat [...].

with.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather

‘Then she said: «You could go up [...] with your grandfather.’

There are also some cases where complex consonant clusters are avoided, as for instance *tgs* [t̪s], which is sometimes pronounced *ts*, as in *mats* instead of *matgs* ‘bunches’ (chapter 9, lines 1384f.).

If two vowels are adjacent across word boundaries, the last vowel of the first word is often elided if it is a weak vowel (*a* and *e*, both spelled <a>). Example (6) 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*).

- (6) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1664f.)

*Nua şè quaj hotel? Bigj' idéa, ju èra schòn
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMPF.1SG already
 òns bigja stad' ajn quaj martgau.
 year.M.PL NEG COP.PTCP.F.SG in DEM.M.SG hotel*

‘Where is this hotel? No idea, I hadn't been in that city for years.’

2.2 Spelling system

The spelling system used in this grammar is a compromise between standard Sursilvan spelling and the aim of making pronunciation and stress transparent to the reader, which means that one grapheme has to correspond to one sound (or phoneme in most cases) (see Table 2.6 and Table 2.7).

The most outstanding problems with Sursilvan standard spelling 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, where 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 point under the s (<ş> for

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/z/ and <sch> for /ʒ/), as is the usage in Romansh bilingual dictionaries. The other cases will be explained below.

There are several problems with dz: only for instance in lèdz véva (lèz véva, l. 142)

Stress rules are as follows:

- Diphthongs are always stressed.
- Words without a diphthong which end in a vowel or <-n> or <-s> are stressed on the penultimate syllable.
- Words without a diphthong ending in a consonant, except for words ending in <-n> or <-s>, are stressed on the last syllable.
- Close and mid-open vowels (<é, è, ó, ò>) are stressed except if they occur in a word containing a diphthong.
- Words ending in a vowel 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.
- Words with two diphthongs, with two vowels with diacritics, or words with a diphthong and a vowel with a diacritic get an underscore, as e.g. è in *ajn gènèral /'dʒeneral/* ‘in general’.

The reason for giving <-n> and <-s> a 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 as the other final consonants, much more diacritics should 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, f, m, n, p, qu, r, t> is pronounced [ʃ].
- <s> followed by <b, d, g, v> is written <ş> and pronounced [ʒ].
- <s> followed by <l, n, z> is pronounced [s].
- If <s> should not be pronounced [ʃ], a hyphen separates the two consonants as in <ris-plí> (/ris'pli/) ‘pencil’.

Table 2.6: Correspondences between spelling and IPA I

grapheme	IPA
a	ə, ə̄
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
é	e
è	ɛ
f	f
g	g before a, ó, ò, ù, u dʒ before é, è, i
gh	g before é, è, i
gj	dʒ before a, ó, ò, ù, u
gl	ʎ before i and word finally gl before a, é, è, ó, ò, ù, u
glj	ʎ before a, è, é, ò, ó, ù, u
gn	jn
h	h
i	i
j	j
l	l
m	m
n	n
ó	o
ò	ɔ
p	p
qu	kw
r	r, R
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
ṣ	z
	ʒ preceding <b, d, g, v>

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Table 2.7: Correspondences between spelling and IPA II

grapheme	IPA
sch	ʃ
şch	ʒ
t	t
tg	tç
tsch	tʃ
u	u
ù	ʊ
v	v
x	ks
z	ts before a, ó, ò, ù, u

In the texts (chapter 9) and hence also in the examples taken from these texts, the final consonants are transcribed as they were pronounced. An example is the word for ‘ten’, which can be transcribed [déjʃ] or [déjʒ] according to the context in which it occurs.

al bab èra lu ... vèva ina mùma da l’Austria (Ricardo biografia)

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3.1 The noun

3.1.1 Gender

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

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

Table 3.1: Natural gender distinctions

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

^aDRG1: 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'.

Some animals take *taur* 'bull' and *vaca* 'cow' to distinguish male from female,

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as e.g. *in taur tscharva* ‘a deer’, *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 cavrial* ‘a male roe deer’, *ina tgaura cavrial* ‘a female roe deer’. Where there are no such nouns differentiating natural gender, *fèmna* ‘woman; female’ and *máscal* ‘male’ are used if necessary.

3.1.2 Number

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

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

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

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

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*.¹

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

¹See also DRG3: 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>ansùlts</i> ‘kid’
<i>catschéjgl</i>		<i>catschùlts</i> ‘sock’
<i>cavréjgl^a</i>		<i>cavrùlts</i> ‘roe deer’
<i>spéjgl</i>		<i>spùglts</i> ‘bobbin’

^aThe form *cavrial* is also used.

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’

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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>trutg</i>	<i>truigls</i>	'narrow path'
<i>ùm</i>	<i>ùmans</i>	'man'

- (2) Tuatschín (Gadola 1935: 87)

[...] *ju vaj*² *èra prju* *ansjaman als* *quén̩s*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG also take.PTCP.UNM together DEF.ART.M.PL bill.PL
da tschèls dus tgau-s-tègja.

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

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

3.1.3 Collective nouns

Some inanimate masculine nouns have a feminine singular counterpart which usually refers to collective or generic entities which cannot be pluralized or counted. Compare: *in tgèrn* 'a/one horn' vs *tschun còrns* 'five horns' vs *la còrna*

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

‘the horns’. The noun *pèra* ‘pair (collective)’ is only used with paired terms as *cazès* ‘shoes’; with other entities, *pèrs* ‘pairs’ is used, as examples (3) and (4) show.

- (3) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

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

- (4) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

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

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

The following examples illustrate collective nouns in context.

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

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

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

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

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

*A lu mávani gl unviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a
and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG winter down_in PLN and
trévan sé lèna culs mél.*

pull.IMPF.3PL up wood.COLL with.DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL

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

- (8) Tuatschín (DRG6: 697)

Al mècsgjar fjmjanta cun ògna [...].

DEF.ART.M.SG butcher smoke.PRS.3SG with alder.COLL

‘The butcher smokes with alder wood [...]’

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

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

*Basta, ah, par vagní cò sén quaj Pardatsch al,
enough eh PURP come.INF here on DEM.M.SG PLN DEF.ART.M.SG*

al tat vèva aun fatg

DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather have.IMPF.3SG in_addition make.PTCP.UNM

ina satagljèda, ina ganùglja

INDEF.ART.F.SG REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG knee

vèva 'l tagljau sé [...].

have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M cut.PTCP.UNM up

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

3.1.4 Bare noun phrases

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

- (10) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2269f.)
 [...] *ins duvrava magnūc a tgarnpiartg.*
 GNR need.IMPF.3SG cheese.M.SG and bacon.M.SG
 '[my father would bring here, in addition to the lunch] one needed, also cheese and bacon.'
- (11) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1826f.)
 [...] *ábar ùş anflá 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.'
- (12) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3)
Ùsa vòm ju á tgèsa.
 now go.PRS.1SG 1SG to house.F.SG
 'Now I am going home.'

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

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

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

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

3.1.5 Conjoining of nouns

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

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

3 Noun phrase

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

3.2 Determiners and pronouns

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

3.2.1 Articles

3.2.1.1 Definite article

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

Table 3.7: Definite article

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

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

- (18) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 6)
- [...] ***al*** ***gròn*** *èra* *racrut*, *a* *tschèłṣ* *duṣ*
 [...] DEF.ART.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG recruit.M.SG and DEM.M.PL two.M.PL
ajn amprèndissadi.
 in apprenticeship.M.SG
 ‘[...] the oldest was a recruit, and the other two [were] in an apprenticeship.’
- (19) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 735f.)
- A lu ajn ajn tgòmbra èri* *ina tga*
 and then in in room.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL one.F.SG REL
vèva survgnú agl avréł plaza.
 have.IMPF.3SG get.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG April job.F.SG
 ‘And then in our room there was one [girl] that had got a job in April.’
- (20) Tuataschin (Sadrún; m6, l. 881f.)
- [...] ***qu'*** ***è*** ***stau*** ***gl*** ***òn mili*** *a*
 [...] DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG be.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG year thousand and
a sjat tschian a tons [...].
 and seven hundred and so_many
 ‘[...] this was in 1700 and something [...]’
- (21) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m1, l. 176)
- A lu ò* ***'l*** *bab détg* *sé pr mè [...].*
 and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father say.PTCP.UNM up to 1SG
 ‘And then my father said to me [...]’
- (22) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 68f.)
- L' autar dé va ju gju*
 DEF.ART.M.SG other.M.SG day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM
la lubiantscha dad í vidajn [...].
 DEF.ART.F.SG permission COMP go.INF in
 ‘The day after I got the permission to go there [...]’

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

3 Noun phrase

- (23) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Nus vajn luvrau gl' antir dé.
 1PL have.PRS.1SG work.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG whole.M.SG day
 ‘We worked the whole day.’

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) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1805ff.)

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

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

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

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

The feminine forms *la* and *las* occur before consonants; the forms *l'* and *laṣ* occur before vowels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.2 Indefinite article

The indefinite article singular is identical to the numeral *in* (m.)/*ina* (f.) ‘one’. The feminine form *ina* is 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) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 66)
- | | | | | |
|--|------|----------------------|----------------|---------|
| In’ | jèda | vèv’ | in | pur |
| INDEF.ART.F.SG | | time have.IMPF.3SG | INDEF.ART.M.SG | peasant |
| <i>in</i> | | <i>stauschbèna</i> . | | |
| INDEF.ART.M.SG | | wheelbarrow | | |
| ‘Once ³ a peasant had a wheelbarrow.’ | | | | |

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

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

3.2.1.3 Definite dative article

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

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

⁴Some indications concerning the dative article in all Romansh varieties can be found in Linder (1987), and Maurer2017 looks at the definitive dative article in Tuatschin from a diachronic perspective.

3 Noun phrase

The dative article is a definite article; it distinguishes number but not gender. Its forms are *di* (sg) and *dis* (pl) or *li* and *lis*. Whereas *li*, *lis* were widespread in other Sursilvan dialects as well as in further Romansh varieties such as Sutsilvan and Surmiran, *di*, *dis* was a genuine Tuatschin form.

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

- (31) Tuatschín (Tschaumùt; Büchli 1966: 12)
Quaj è curdau sé li gljut.
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.UNM up DAT.ART.SG people.F
 ‘People noticed this.’
- (32) Tuatschín (DRG5: 365)
èssar sé dias di vischnaunca
 COP.INF on back DAT.ART.SG municipality.F
 ‘to become a burden on the municipality’
- (33) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 143)
[...] lu òn inş détg quaj li
 then have.PRS.3SG.EUPH GNR tell.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DAT.ART.SG
préjr [...].
 priest.M
 ‘[...] then they told this to the priest [...]’
- (34) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 69)
[...] uòn dùn ju ajn mia dùna di gjadju.
 this_year give.PRS.1SG 1SG in POSS.1SG.F.SG wife DAT.ART.SG Jew.M
 ‘[...] this year I’ll give my wife to the Jew.’⁵
- (35) Tuatschín (DRG2: 480)
Las gjufnas duëssan ins tanaj sén bratsch,
 DEF.ART.F.PL young.PL must.COND.3SG.EUPH GNR hold.INF on arm.M.SG
a lis véglijas dá cun in scanatsch.
 and DAT.ART.PL old.F.PL give.INF with INDEF.ART.M.SG log
 ‘The young women we should hold on our arms, and the old ones we should beat with a log’

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

- (36) Tuatschín (“Il ratun tschiec” 1889: 199)
- Scha tùts ratunṣ èn intanzjònaj usché scù quèls dus,*
 if all.M.PL rat.PL COP.PRS.3PL benevolent.M.PL so like DEM.M.PL two
lura vali bétga tiar èls al proverbi tga
 then apply.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG by 3PL.M DEF.ART.M.SG proverb REL
survèscha lis carstgauns par zanur [...].
 serve.PRS.3SG DAT.ART.PL person.M.PL for dishonour

‘If all the rats were as benevolent as these two, the proverb which dishonours human beings would not apply to them [...]’

- (37) Tuatschín (DRG1: 366)
- Quaj da l’ arvégla végna dau*
 DEM.UNM of DEF.ART.F.SG pea PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM
dis tgauras.
 DAT.ART.PL goat.F.PL
- ‘The straw of the peas is given to the goats.’

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

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

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

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

da fá [...].

COMP do.INF

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

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

Ju sùn jus in tjamš a plaschèva
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG time and please.IMP.3SG
da mé schùbar nuét api vau détg
 DAT 1SG clean.ADJ.UNM nothing and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM
di mùma in dé [...].
 DAT.ART.SG mother.F INDEF.ART.M.SG day

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (48) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

«*Ju a dau dis pòrs?* Da lèzas uras
 1SG have.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.UNM DAT.ART.PL pig.M.PL of DEM.F.PL hour.PL
mintga familja vèva in piartg, dus, traïs, a
 every family.F.SG have.IMP.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG pig two three and
quaj mintgín savèva tgé ca què lès
 DEM.UNM everybody know.IMP.3SG what COMP DEM.UNM want.COND.3SG
dí. Òz stuëssan nus mataj dí: «*Ju a*
 say.INF nowadays must.COND.1PL 1PL probably say.INF 1SG have.PRS.1SG

3 Noun phrase

dau da maglјè **dis** pòrs» né «*ju a*
give.PTCP.UNM COMP eat.INF DAT.ART.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».

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

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

3.2.2 Demonstratives

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

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

3.2.2.1 The *quèl*-series

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

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

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

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

Table 3.8: Demonstratives: the *quèl*-series

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

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

- (49) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 324f.)
- [...] *vau prju quaj cùdisch cò da la*
 have.PRS.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.ART.F.SG
mütòlògia [...].
 mythology
 ‘[...] I took this book of mythology [...]’.⁸
- (50) Tuatschín (Gadola 1935: 88)
- Quaj dajan quèls dus gjuvans lò fá [...].*
 DEM.UNM must.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL two.M.PL young.PL there do.INF
 ‘This the two young [men] over there should do [...]’.

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

- (51) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 254f.)
- A quaj èra mù in ganc tras. A*
 and DEM.UNM EXIST.IMP.3SG only one.M.SG corridor through and
quaj gang udéva dad òmaṣdús.
 DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMP.3SG DAT both.M.PL
 ‘And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].’
- (52) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2320f.)
- [...] *nuş vajn mùgnsh a fatg tüt quèlas*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL milk.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM all DEM.F.PL

⁸The speaker was pointing at the book.

3 Noun phrase

lavurs.

work.PL

‘[...] we milked and did all this work.’

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

- (53) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 66)

In' jèda vèv' in pur in stauschbèna. Quèl vagnéva navèn la notg.
 DEF.ART.F.SG time have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer INDEF.ART.M.SG wheelbarrow DEM.M.SG come.IMPF.3SG away DEF.ART.F.SG night

‘Once a farmer had a wheelbarrow. This used to disappear during night.’

- (54) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966)

Èl vèva da cargè ina bùra, mù quèla èra gjalada ajla naiv [...].
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG COMP carry.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG block but DEM.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG freeze.PTCP.F.SG in.DEF.ART.F.SG snow

‘He had to carry a block (of wood), but it was frozen in the snow [...].’

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

- (55) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2248f.)

A grad ajnta quaj Pardatsch èran nus quátar, tschun and precisely in DEM.UNM PLN COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL four five buéts.
 boy.M.PL

‘And precisely in Pardatsch we were four, five boys.’

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

- (56) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 86ff.)
 [...] *stuèv'* *i* *séls* *bauns, ah, sél*
 must.IMPF.1SG go.INF on.DEF.ART.M.PL ridge.PL ah on.DEF.ART.M.SG
Krüzlipass, Pas dlas *Cruschs, cun muossavias, a*
 PLN pass.of.DEF.ART.F.PL cross.PL with signpost.F.PL and
vèva sjat da quèlas da purtá sé. A quaj
 have.IMPF.1SG seven.of DEM.F.PL COMP carry.INF up and DEM.UNM
èra pasanca, api vau tartgau basta.
 COP.IMPF.3SG very_heavy and have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM enough
 ' [...] [I] had to go along the ridges, ah, 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.'

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

- (57) Tuatschín (DRG4: 376)
Quaj è détgas cumars.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG real.F.PL chatterbox.PL
 'These are real chatterboxes.'
- (58) label Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 28)
ε kwaj mustcəs? – kwaj ε furmikləs [...].
 COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM fly.F.PL DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG ant.F.PL
 'Are these flies? – They are ants [...].'
- (59) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 15)
Uardaj cò sé quèls dus, quaj è dus vajrs
 look.IMP.POL here up DEM.M.PL two DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG two real.M.PL
lumps!
 rascal.PL
 'Look at these two up there, these are two real rascals!'
- (60) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 307)
 [...] *qu'* *èra stau gròndas lavurs [...].*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL
 ' [...] this had been hard work [...].'

3 Noun phrase

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

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

3.2.2.2 The *lèz*-series

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

Table 3.9: Demonstratives: the *lez*-series

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

- (67) Tuatschín (Gadola 1935: 91)

Vuṣ Sèp Flurín duvrajs nuéta salamantá parvia da
 2SG.POL PN PN need.PRS.2SG.POL NEG REFL.complain.INF because of
gljèz [...].

DEM.UNM

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

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

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

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

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

- (69) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 85)

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

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

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

- (70) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; DRG3: 379)

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

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

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

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

- (71) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, L. 511f.)
 [...] *a lu al tat, lèz pinava tiar*
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG prepare.IMP.F.3SG to
la tschajna [...].
 DEF.ART.F.SG dinner
 '[...] and then my grandfather, he would prepare dinner [...].'
- (72) Tuatschín (Camischolas; DRG3: 577)
Als caschnès da mù dus pòsts, quèls
 DEF.ART.M.PL hay_rack.PL of only two.M.PL post.PL DEM.M.PL
numnávani gjajnas.
 call.IMP.F.3PL.3PL "gjajnas".F.PL
 'The hay racks of only two posts were called *gjainas*.'
- (73) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
ju a antupau al Giari, a lu sünd
 1SG have.PRS.1SG meet.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG PN and then be.PRS.1SG
ju jus ád alp cun lèz.
 1SG go.PTCP.M.SG to alp with DEM.M.SG
 'I met Gieri, and then I went to the alpine pasture with him.'
- (74) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 65f.)
Ju stòpi ir' á fá gjù cun quèls sé
 1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG go.INF COMP make.INF down with DEM.M.PL up
la tégja dal, da Majgals [...].
 DEF.ART.F.SG alpine_hut of.DEF.ART.M.SG of PLN
 'I should go and make an appointment with those up there in the alpine hut of the, of Maighels [...].'

3.2.2.3 The *quèst*-series

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

Table 3.10: Demonstratives: the *quest*-series

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2.4 The *tschèl*-series

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

Table 3.11: Demonstratives: the *tschèl*-series

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

- (79) Tuataschin (DRG4: 598)

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

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

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

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

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

- (81) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

- (82) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 297)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.3 Possessives

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

Table 3.12: Possessive determiners

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

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

3 Noun phrase

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

bucha tùtas.

mouth.F.SG all.F.PL

‘Keep quiet, then everybody will keep quiet.’

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

- (92) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Quaj cùdisch è méjs / téjs / séjs.

DEM.M.SG book COP.3SG POSS.1SG.M.SG POSS.2SG.M.SG POSS.3SG.M.SG

‘This book is mine / yours / his.’

- (93) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Al mju / Al tju / Al sju è sén cruna.

POSS.1SG.M.SG POSS.2SG.M.SG POSS.3SG.M.SG COP.3SG on bookshelf.M.SG

‘Mine / Yours / His / Hers is on the bookshelf.’

Table 3.13: Possessive pronouns

	M.SG nom.	M.PL pred.	M.PL nom.	F.SG pred.	F.SG nom.	F.PL pred.	F.PL nom.	F.PL 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>	<i>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>	<i>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>	<i>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>	<i>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>	<i>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>	<i>siaş</i>

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

- (94) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Quaj cùdisch è dad èls.

DEM.M.SG book COP.PRS.3SG of 3PL.M

‘This book is theirs.’

3.2.4 Indefinites

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

- (95) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1313f.)
Na na, lu vagnévan nuş anavùs, api vèva mintg'
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus [...].
 week somebody COMP give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL
 ‘No, no, we would come back, and then every week there was somebody who would give us a meal [...]’
- (96) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1327f.)
A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL up PLN every
dé sé a gjù, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.
 day.M.SG up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 ‘And we would go up to Valtgèva with the pigs, every day up and down, I could tell you about that.’
- (97) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2230f.)
La stat ... èra nagina scùla.
 DEF.ART.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPFF.3SG no.F.SG school
 ‘During summer ... there was simply no school.’
- (98) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 2732)
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.’
- (99) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 56ff.)
Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i
 DEM.UNM COP. PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.ART.M.SG place where REL EXPL
vagnéva schau tùt la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.F.SG munition REL EXPL

¹⁰Note that /j/ counts as vowel.

vèva, *sigir.*

have.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM

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

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

[...] *api stèvan nus vagní á tgèsa ád ... á múlgjar*

and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and PURP milk.INF

tùt las tgauras.

all DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL

‘[...] and then we had to go home and milk all the goats.’

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

A sjantar òi gju núm ... i [...]

and after have.PRS.3SG.EXPL have.PTCP.UNM name.M.SG EXPL

midjan ò tùt als muossavias.

change.PRS.SBJV.3PL out all DEF.ART.M.PL signpost.PL

‘And after this, one had to ... [...] they would replace all the signposts.’

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

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

Ajn tùta cas mia, mia mùma a la

in all case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.ART.F.SG

mùma da mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mé ...

mother of POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG

vèvan stju gidá nus [...].

have.IMPF.3PL must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL

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

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

[...] *api lu mavan ins tùta stat, lò*

and then go.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR whole summer.F.SG there

vèva da fá quaj.

have.IMPF.1SG COMP do.INF DEM.UNM

‘[...] and then we would go for the whole summer, there I had to do that.’

3 Noun phrase

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quaj ... ins stèva vagní ... mintgín sén
 DEM.UNM GNR must.IMPF.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on
sju quántum [...].
 POSS.3SG.M.SG amount

‘This ... one had to reach ... everyone their amount [...]’

- (109) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 91)

Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.
 here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG end no.M.PL
 ‘In the end I don’t have any down here.’

- (110) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 59)

Ad ùş è quaj nuét dal tùt.
 and now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM nothing of.DEF.ART.M.SG all
 ‘And now there is nothing of all that [left].’

- (111) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 131)

Laş vaschnaucas lajn i tùt ajn décadènza.
 DEF.ART.F.PL municipality.PL let.PRS.3PL go.INF all in decadence.F.SG
 ‘The municipalities let everything go into decline.’

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

Tùts stuèvan spargnè.
 all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF
 ‘Everyone had to save.’

- (113) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1313f.)

Na na, lu vagnévan nuş anavùs, api vèva mintg'
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus [...].
 week somebody COMP give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL
 ‘No no, we would then come back, and then every week there was
 somebody who would give us a meal [...]’

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

3 Noun phrase

- (114) Tuatschín (DRG2: 154)

Adatgí plaj barba, adatgí barbís,
DAT.some please.PRS.3SG beard.F.SG DAT.some moustache.M.SG

adatgí gjùta, adatgí ris.
DAT.some pearl_barley.F.SG DAT.some rice.M.SG

‘Some like beards, some moustaches, some pearl barley, some rice.’

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

- (115) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; DRG3: 580)

Tùt als pòsts vèvan anzatgé in
all DEF.ART.M.PL post.PL have.IMPF.3PL something INDEF.ART.M.SG
crap sutajn.
stone under_in

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

3.2.5 Quantifiers

3.2.5.1 Numerals

Cardinal numbers are found in Table 3.14 and Table 3.15.

Table 3.14: Cardinal numerals (first part)

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

Table 3.15: Cardinal numerals (second part)

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

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’ (line 332f.) or *dus maljúnṣ a trajatschian a végn* ‘2.320’.

- (116) Tuatschín (DRG6: 728)

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Noun phrase

- (118) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

- (119) Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 28)

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

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

- (120) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 446f.)

A quaj è ina rùsna, ò tgé pù
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG hole oh what can.PRS.3SG
qual' èssar ... in mètar a miaz ... lada [...].
 DEM.F.SG be.INF one.M.SG metre and half large.F.SG
 ‘And there is a cave, oh how big may it be ..., one and a half metres ... wide [...]’

- (121) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2013)

Quaj è in' ur' a mjasa par vièdi.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG hour and half.F.SG for trip.M.SG
 ‘It takes one and a half hours per trip.’

- (122) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 47f.)

A sjantar ... òni ampustau tut nùfs ... pr
 and after have.PRS.3PL.3PL order.PTCP.UNM all new.M.PL for
l' antira val.
 DEF.ART.F.SG whole valley
 ‘And then ... they ordered all new ones ... for the entire valley.’

- (123) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1091f.)

[...] api ah sünd jus cun dòmaṣdús.
 and eh be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG with both.M.SG
 ‘[...] and then eh I left with both [mules].’

Ordinal numbers have special forms from 1-4; from 5 onwards they take the suffix *-aval* / *-avla*: *ampréim*, *ampréima* ‘first’, *sacund,-a* / *zacund,-a* ‘second’, *tiarz*,

tjarza ‘third’, *quart, -a* ‘fourth’, *tschunaval, tschunavla* ‘fifth’, *déjişchaval, déjşchavla* ‘tenth’, *véntgaduşavel, véntgaduşavla* ‘twenty-second’, and so on. ‘Last’ is rendered by *davùs, davùsa*.

- (124) Tuatschín (DRG6: 421)

dá cun flugjals la zacunda jèda.
give.INF with flail.M.PL DEF.ART.F.SG second time
'beat with flails for the second time'

3.2.5.2 Other quantifiers

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

- (125) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m2, l. 1550f.)

[...] vignévan quels lu vi a dèvan ... matévan
come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and give.IMPF.3PL put.IMPF.3SG
ajnagjù ampau raps [...].
into_and_down a_bit cent.M.PL
‘[...] they would come over and give ... put into the piggy bank some cents [...].’

- (126) Tuatschín (DRG6: 546)

Quaj frust ò dau uòn aungatáun
DEM.M.SG meadow have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM this_year as_much
fajn.
hay
‘This meadow has produced as much hay [as last year].’

Instead of *aungatáun*, it is also possible to say *aun in jèda taun* ‘still one time as much’.

- (127) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 162)

Anqual jèda ... drùvi halt ... da dí.
some time.F.SG must.PRS.3SG.EXPL just COMP say.IMPF
‘It is sometimes ... just necessary ... to say [it].’

3 Noun phrase

- (128) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 537f.)
 [...] *a lò vòu schòn ah ... gju inqual*
 and there have.PRS.1SG.1SG really eh have.PTCP.UNM some
tèma.
 fear.F.SG
 ‘[...] and there eh sometimes afraid.’
- (129) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 364)
 [...] *ad ò lu stu i á fá*
 and have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF COMP make.INF
cura, mass' òns [...].
 treatment.F.SG many year.M.PL
 ‘[...] and for many years he had to go to a health resort [...].’
- (130) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1526f.)
 [...] *qu' èra massa gjuvantétna cò ála*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG lots youth.F.SG here in.DEF.ART.F.SG
val.
 valley
 ‘[...] there were a lot of young people here in the valley.’
- (131) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 437)
Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza şè aun
 and EXPL still COP.IMPF.3SG there some remnant.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG still
lò [...].
 there
 ‘And there is also, there still are some remnants there [...].’
- (132) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 471f.)
Lèdş vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG COMP
úndşchar ajn [...].
 oil.INF in
 ‘He had given [him] some ointment to rub in [...].’

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

- (133) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 995f.)
Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn
 then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL much down_in PLN here from DEM.M.SG big
uaul vagnéva bjè lèna.
 forest come.IMPF.3SG much wood.COLL
 ‘Then they often went down to Cavorgia, there came much wood from
 that big forest there.’
- (134) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 394ff.)
Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn,
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG nun from PLN
la sòra Paulina, quèla ò dau bjè
 DEF.ART.F.SG Sister PN DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many
òns scùlèta cò.
 year.M.PL nursery_school.F.SG here
 ‘That was a nun from Glion, Sister Paulina, she taught for many years at
 the nursery school here.’
- (135) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
Bjèras fèmñas òn zambargjau.
 many.F.PL woman.PL have.PRS.3PL do_crafting.PTCP.UNM
 ‘Many women did crafting.’
- In comparative (136) and superlative (137) constructions, *bjè* is treated like an adjective (see § 3.3.2 below).
- (136) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 908ff.)
 $[...] la banadiczjún, lèza vèva plé bjè$
 DEF.ART.F.SG blessing DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG much more
fòrza sélas stréjas.
 power.F.SG on.DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL
 ‘[...] the blessing had much more power over the witches.’
- (137) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2197f.)
 $[...] quaj duvrava la plé bjè lèna ...$
 DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG more much firewood.COLL
quaj stèva buglí.
 DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG boil.INF
 ‘[...] that required the highest quantity of firewood ... the whey had to
 boil’

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

- (138) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1628f.)
 [...] *bjèras schavan lu è bétga vagní ajn [...].*
 many.F.PL let.IMPF.3PL then also NEG come.INF in
 ‘[...] many [young women] wouldn’t let [the young man] come in [...].’
- (139) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 487ff.)
 [...] *ábar dals, méjs gjaniturs vajn nuş ûssa*
 but DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL now
bérga détg Vus, ábar i éra bjèrs tga...
 NEG say.PTCP.UNM 2PL but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG many.M.PL REL
òn détg tòcan, gè práctisch adina Vus
 have.3PL say.PTCP.UNM until yes practically always 2PL
dals gjaniturs.
 DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL parent.PL
 ‘[...] but to the, my parents we now never said *Vus*, but there were many
 who have said until, well practically always *Vus* to their parents.’
- Non-countable quantifying nouns such as *in téč* ‘a bit’, *in tschùpal* ‘a lot’ as well as countable quantifying nouns such as *ina butèglja* ‘a bottle’ or *duas butègljas* ‘two bottles’ are used without a partitive preposition.
- (140) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 566ff.)
 Ô *lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú*
 down there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM
in téč quajda d' i par crapa [...].
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL
 ‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit [...].’
- (141) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1178f.)
Ad uschéja vès ju, savès ju raquintá
 and so have.COND.1SG 1SG can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF
in tschùpal èvènimajnts tg' èn
 INDEF.ART.M.SG lot incident.M.PL REL be.PRS.3PL
schabagjaj cun quèls mél.
 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.’

- (142) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1575f.)

Quèl tga gartagjava ... survagnév' ina butèglja
 DEM.M.SG REL succeed.IMPF.3SG get.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG bottle
vin.
 wine.M.SG

‘The person who succeeded would get a bottle of wine.’

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

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

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

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

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

- (144) Tuatschín (DRG2: 386)

Al bjè fò bétga plajn.

DEF.ART.M.SG much make.PRS.3SG NEG full

‘A big quantity does not fill the stomach.’

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

[...] al bjè mavan nus sémplamajn lò
 DEF.ART.M.SG much go.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV there
nuca nus vèvan còlegs [...].
 where.REL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL mate.M.PL

‘[...] we would mostly go simply where we had friends [...]’

3.2.5.3 The construction *tùt tga* and similar

The construction with an indefinite noun or noun phrase and similar followed by the relative pronoun *tga* is common to all Romansh varieties except for Puter,

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and has been described by Linder (1987: 185-204).

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

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

A magari tga pudèvan lu bigja ... vidajn [...].
and sometimes REL can.IMPF.3PL then NEG in

‘Now sometimes they couldn’t manage to come ... into [the *stiva* and sleep on hay] [...]’

- (147) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m3, l. 2063f.)

Quaj nagín tga [...] lèva bétga fā.
DEM.UNM nobody REL want.IMPF.3SG NEG do.INF
‘Nobody [...] would refuse to do it.’

- (148) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m3, l. 2075f.)

[...] quaj tut tga mungèva [...].
DEM.UNM all REL milk.IMPF.3SG
‘[...] here everybody had to milk [...]’

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

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

For example, it is not possible to say

- (149) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

*Al Gjòn *tg'ò angulau als raps.*
DEF.ART.M.SG PN REL have.PRS.3SG steal.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.PL cent.PL
‘It is Gion who stole the money.’

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

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

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

- (150) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

'Not a single person came to see us.'

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

- (151) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Gnang in tg' è vagnús tiar nus.

not_even one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to 1SG

'Not a single person came to see us.'

- (152) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Á quèla fjasta mintgín tg' è vagnús.

to DEM.F.SG party everyone REL be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG

'Everybody came to this party.'

- (153) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 69)

Avaun tschian òns pliravan nòs bunṣ

ago hundred year.M.PL complain.IMPF.3PL POSS.1PL.M.PL good.PL

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véglṣ da pudaj fugí gl unviarn navèn da
old.PL COMP be_able.INF escape.INF DEF.ART.M.SG winter from of
Sèlva ad ùssa, **tùt tga** vut stá luòra [...].
PLN and now all REL want.PRS.3SG stay there_out
'One hundred years ago our good old [people] used to complain because
they wanted to escape from winter away from Selva, and now
everybody wants to stay there.'

- (154) Tuatschín (DRG2: 491)

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

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

- (155) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

3.3 The adjective

3.3.1 Forms of the adjective

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

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

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

- one form for feminine plural attributive and predicative.

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

Table 3.17: Forms of the attributive and predicative adjectives

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

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

Table 3.18: Adjectives without stem alterations

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

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

¹²Some adjectives with stem alterations 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 *crütsch*, *-a* is used; however, *ina stòrta* ‘a bend’ exists. As for *ierfan*, *orfnia* ‘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’.

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Table 3.19: Adjectives with stem alterations

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

Table 3.20: List of adjectives with stem alterations

<i>agjan, agjans, atgna, atgnas</i>	‘own’
<i>bi, bialş, biala, bialaş</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>bian, bunş, buna, bunaş</i>	‘good’
<i>caviartg, cavòrtgs, cavòrtga, cavòrtgas</i>	‘hollow’
<i>griaş, gròş, gròssa, gròssaş</i>	‘big’
<i>íastar, jastarş, jastra, jastraş</i>	‘foreign’
<i>matgiart, macòrts, macòrta, macòrtas</i>	‘ugly’
<i>miart, mòrts, mòrta, mòrtas</i>	‘dead’
<i>miaz, mjasa</i>	‘half’
<i>niabal, nòbelş, nòbla, nòblaş</i>	‘noble’
<i>néjv, nùfs, nóva, nóvaş</i>	‘new’
<i>pin, pinş, pintga, pintgaş</i>	‘small, little’
<i>schliat, schljats, schljata, schljatas</i>	‘bad’
<i>sògn, sògnş, sòntga, sòntgaş</i>	‘holy’
<i>tgétschen, còtgenş, còtgna, còtgnas</i>	‘red’
<i>tiarz, tjarzs, tjarza, tjarzaş</i>	‘third’
<i>tschiac, tschòcs, tschòca, tschòcaş</i>	‘blind’
<i>ziap, zòps, zòpa, zòpaş</i>	‘limp’

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

- (156) Camischùlas (Tuatschín; Büchli 1966: 82)
 [...] *lu* *ò* *las* *anflau* *èl* *mòrts*
 then have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F find.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M dead.M.SG
spèl *badugn gjù.*
 next.DEF.ART.M.SG. birch down
 ‘[...] then they found him dead next to the birch.’
- (157) Tuatschín (Cavorgia; Büchli 1966: 119)
Èla *schèva* *crèschar l'* *jarva schi bjala* [...].
 3SG.F let.IMPF.3SG grow.INF DEF.ART.F.SG grass so beautiful.F.SG
 ‘She used to let the grass grow so beautiful [...]’
- (158) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
Té *vas* *zòps.*
 2SG go.PRS.2SG limp.M.SG
 ‘You are limping.’
- (159) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m10)
Èl *è* *turnaus* *cuntjants* *á tgèsa.*
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG come_back.PTCP.M.SG happy.M.SG to home.F.SG
 ‘He came back home happy.’
- (160) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 106)
Parquaj *satila* *'l* *ò* *bluts* [...].
 therefore REFL.pull.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out naked.M.SG
 ‘Therefore he took off all his clothes [...]’
- (161) Tuatschín (Surain; Büchli 1966: 129)
 [...] *schagljuc* *végn* *ju* *manizaus* *ampaglja schi*
 otherwise PASS.AUX.PRS.1SG 1SG chop.PTCP.M.SG damaged so
manédeps [...].
 fine.M.SG
 ‘[...] otherwise I get completely chopped into such fine pieces [...]’

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

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- (162) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

Èssar mazauns è bigja bi.
 COP.INF ill.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG NEG nice.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Being ill is not nice.’

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

- (163) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1986f.)

[...] èr' ins trésts ajn in cèrt sèn [...].
 COP.IMPF.3SG GNR sad.M.SG in INDEF.ART.M.SG certain sense
 ‘[...] one felt sad in a certain sense [...].’

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

- (164) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 416)

[...] quaj èra bigja grat schi sémpal.
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG exactly so easy.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] this was not exactly that simple.’

- (165) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

Nùrsas è sgarşchajval.
 sheep.F.PL COP.PRS.3SG horrible.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Sheep are horrible.’

- (166) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

Vacanzas è bi.
 holiday.PL COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Holidays are nice.’

- (167) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Vjagè è bi.
 travel.INF COP.PRS.3SG beautiful.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Travelling is great.’

- (168) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
Gljòn è pin.
 PLN COP.PRS.3SG small.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Glion is small.’

- (169) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 424f.)
Ah... Nalbṣ è vagnú fraquantau ò scù
 eh PLN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.UNM visit.PTCP.M.UNM out as
ah majṣes ad alps adina [...].
 eh assembly_of_house.M.SG and alpine_pasture.F.PL always
 ‘Eh ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as
 pastures [...].’

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

- (170) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1136f.)
A galòpau, galòpau, galòpau, zatgéj
 and gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM something
sgarşchajval, nuş èssan vagní da tanaj èls
 terrible.ADJ.UNM 1PL be.PRS.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP hold.INF 3PL.M
pér gjù sur Sèlva.
 only down above PLN
 ‘And [the mules] galloped, galloped, galloped, this was horrible, we only
 managed to hold onto them above Selva.’

3.3.2 Degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs

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

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

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

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Table 3.21: Degrees of comparison

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

^aRarely *tge*

- (171) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1848ff.)

[...] *tgé c' ins vèza bjè è als plé*
 what REL GNR see.PRS.3SG much COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL more
passaj, als pènzionaj vèz' ins bjè sén pista
 old.M.PL DEF.ART.M.SG retired.PL see.PRS.3SG GNR much on slope.F.SG
 [...].

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

- (172) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 188ff.)

[...] *ò fatg scùlas vinavaun ... stada*
 have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further COP.PTCP.F.SG
in téc plé pardèrta tgé quaj tgu èra.
 INDEF.M.SG bit more clever.F.SG than DEM.UNM REL.1SG COP.IMP.F.1SG
 ‘[...] [she] kept going to school ... was a little bit cleverer than I was.’

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

- (173) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3 l. 2040f.)

Èl' èra la plé grònnda buéba dal
 3SG.F COP.IMP.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG more tall.F.SG girl of.DEF.ART.M.SG
vitg.
 village

‘She was the tallest girl of the village.’

- (174) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Gljòn è al plé vèrd martgau da la
 PLN COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG more green city of DEF.ART.F.SG

Sursèlva.

PLN

‘Glion is the greenest city of the Surselva.’

- (175) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1250f.)

*Quaj èra atgnamajn la fòntauna la
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.ART.F.SG source DEF.ART.F.SG
 plé impurtònta da hanlètg [...].
 most important of business.M.SG*

‘This was actually the most important source of business [...]’

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

- (176) Tuatschín (Tschaumùt; Büchli 1966: 20)

A suéntar hè 'l staus mégljars [...].

and after be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M COP.PTCP.UNM better.M.SG

‘And after [that] he behaved better [towards the animals] [...]’

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

- (177) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 120)

*Lu šai vagnú gjù la lavina [...] ad
 then COP.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM down DEF.ART.F.SG avalanche [...] and
 ò méz šùt la gronda part
 have.PRS.3SG put.PTCP.UNM under DEF.ART.F.SG big part
 dl vitg.
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG village*

‘Then the avalanche came down [...] and buried the biggest part of the village.’

- (178) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 6f.)

*Álsò i èran... grad, grat, al gròn èra
 well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just just DEF.ART.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG
 racrut, a tschèls 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

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[were] in an apprenticeship.'

- (179) Tuatschín (Gartner 1910: 61)
- [...] *al gjuvan ajn stgafa da l' ura, quèl*
 DEF.ART.M.SG young in box of DEF.ART.F.SG clock DEM.M.SG
 ò *èl bétg anflau.*
 have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG find.PTCP.UNM
 '[...] the youngest [goat] in the clock box, this one he didn't find.'
- (180) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1747f.)
- [...] *mia féglja pintg' è plétost [...] pintga.*
 POSS.1SG.F.SG daughter young COP.PRS.3SG rather small.F.SG
 '[...] my youngest daughter is rather [...] short.'

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

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

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

- (183) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1744f.)
 [...] *i èra fétg tgaud a la mar*
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ADJ.UNM and DEF.ART.F.SG sea
èra balèzja gjù Sardégnà.
 COP.IMPF.3SG beauty.F.SG.ELAT down PLN
 ‘Well, it was ... it was very warm and the sea was beautiful in Sardinia.’
- (184) Tuatschín (DRG2: 639)
Quaj è buantád vaca da latg.
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG good_quality.F.SG.ELAT cow of milk
 ‘This is an excellent milk cow.’
- (185) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 89f.)
A quaj èra pasanca, api vau
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG heavy_load.F.SG.ELAT and have.PRS.1SG
tartgau basta.
 think.PTCP.UNM enough
 ‘And this was terribly heavy, and then I thought [it was] enough.’
- (186) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m4, l. 2164)
Quèla vèva còrna usché davùsòra, 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 [...].’
- (187) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 375f.)
Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls
 but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG.ELAT DEM.M.PL
spargnavan è starmantús [...].
 save.IMPF.3PL also terrible.UNM
 ‘But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could [...].’
- (188) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 861f.)
Quaj fùs stau 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

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tudèstg.

German.M.SG

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

- (189) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2296)
- Quaj èra scartèzja.*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG scarcity.F.SG.ELAT
‘The cervelats were very scarce.’

3.3.3 Intensifiers

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

- (190) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 643f.)
- A lu sjaj ... èl è lu saravagnús*
and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then REFL.recover.PTCP.M.SG
dètg stupèn [...].
fairly excellent.ADJ.UNM
‘And then, he recovered perfectly well [...]’
- (191) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 336f.)
- Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònda*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG very big
familja, èls òn gju indisch ufauns [...].
family 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM eleven child.M.PL
‘This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children [...]’
- (192) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2070f.)
- Ábar quaj vagnéva dau sura in*
but DEM.UM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.ART.M.SG
pènsum mèmi gròn [...].
homework too big
‘But they would give us too much homework [...]’

- (193) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2206f.)
A pér cu quaj èra fatg scha
 and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR
èra la scòtga mèmi tgauda [...].
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG whey too hot
 ‘And only when this was done, the whey was too hot [...]’
- (194) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m, l. 1388f.)
[...] a qu' èra stau par èla mèmja
 and DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM for 3SG.F too
hèfti.
 violent.UNM
 ‘[...] and this had been too violent for her.’
- (195) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 876)
A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònnda plata
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG really INDEF.ART.F.SG very big slab
 [...].
 ‘And this really is a ... very big slab [...]’
- (196) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2355ff.)
A prènd èl ò dal sacadòs in
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out of.DEF.ART.M.SG backpack INDEF.ART.M.SG
cuntí réjsch néjv da moni mèlan ... èxact
 knife brand new.M.SG of handle.M.SG yellow exact.ADJ.UNM
al madèm.
 DEF.ART.M.SG same
 ‘And he takes a brand-new knife with a yellow handle out of the
 backpack ... exactly the same.’
- In the corpus, *réjsch* only modifies *néiv* ‘new’ (196), but Decurtins (2012: 931) cites further *resch tschietschen* ‘flame red’ and *resch bletsch* ‘soaking wet’ for standard Sursilvan.
- (197) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1483ff.)
Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG swan

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... gròn né- vi datiar ad èra lò usché
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMPF.3SG there so
in téc dòminant.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit dominant.ADJ.UNM
 ‘And precisely at that moment a big swan... was coming to the place
 where I was, a bit a dominant one.’

- (198) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1385f.)
- [...] ju sa aun bégñ 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 [...].’
- (199) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 370f.)
- [...] qu’ è lu stau in tjams ualti
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG time quite
dir cunzún par la tata [...].
 hard.M.SG especially for DEF.ART.F.SG grandmother
 ‘[...] this has then been a very hard time especially for my grandmother
 [...].’
- (200) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 280f.)
- Èl vèva schi gròn plaşchaj, quèl bunamajn
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost
 mava ajn cul tgau ajl rádjò.
 go.IMPF.3SG into with.DEF.ART.M.SG head in.DEF.ART.M.SG radio
 ‘He had such a great pleasure, he almost would go into the radio with
 his head.’

3.3.4 Adjectives in adverbial function

The modal adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-majn* (see § 4.2.5 below) 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.

- (201) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 191f.)

[...] *ina tg' ò luvrau stédi.*
 one.F.SG REL have.PRS.3SG work.PTCP.UNM diligent.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] one who always worked hard.’

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

Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls spargnavan è 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 [...].’

- (203) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1075ff.)

[...] *álṣò òr dal grép òni*
 this_is_to_say out of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL
fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg' ins sò
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG
ira ah á paj flòt.
 go.INF eh on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM

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

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

- (204) Tuatschín (DRG2: 624)

In vjantar gròn maglja bian.
 DEF.ART.M.SG stomach big eat.PRS.3SG good.ADJ.UNM
 ‘A big belly eats well.’

3.3.5 Position of the attributive adjective

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

- (1) If the adjective functions as the head of an adjective phrase, it usually occurs after the noun.

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

- (205) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 370f.)
- [...] *qu'* *è* *lu* *stau* *in* *tjams ualti*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG time quite
dir cunzún par la *tata* [...].
hard especially for DEF.ART.F.SG grandmother [...].
‘[...] this was then a very hard time, especially for my grandmother [...]’

- (206) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2070f.)

*Ábar quaj vagnéva dau sura in
 but DEM.UM PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.ART.M.SG
 pènsum mèmi gròn [...].
 homework too big*

‘But they would give us too much homework [...]’

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

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

- (207) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

*Quaj è ualti tgèr, ábar quaj
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG quite expensive.ADJ.UNM but DEM.UNM
 è in car ufaun.*

COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG dear.M.SG.UNM child

‘This is quite expensive, but this is a dear child.’

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

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

‘And this had been a difficult moment, at age sixty-nine.’

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

*[...] qu' èra stau gròndas lavurs [...].
 DEM.UNM be.IMP.F.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL*

‘[...] this had been hard work [...]’

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

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

*[...] èl è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into in INDEF.ART.F.SG*

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rùsna nùndétga [...].

hole awful

‘[...] he fell in an awful hole [...]’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (213) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

- (214) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

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

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

A vuṣ vajṣ anflau ò ampaу 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?’

- (216) Tuatscín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2355ff.)

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

- (217) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1539ff.)

[...] quaj òn vèvan nuṣ da fá sé ... ina
 DEM.M.SG year have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL COMP make.INF up DEF.ART.F.SG
... fòrmazjun nòva ad ad instrumajnts nùfs.
 lineup new.F.SG and and instrument.M.PL new.PL
 ‘[...] that year we had to do ... a ... new lineup and and [buy] new instruments.’

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

3.3.6 Absence of agreement

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

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- (218) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
 [...] *parquáj* *chè* *impurtònt* *lura la*
 therefore COP.PRS.3SG important.ADJ.UNM then DEF.ART.F.SG
gramática tga té fas [...] *g*
 grammar REL 2SG make.PRS.2SG
 ‘[...] therefore the grammar you write is important [...].’
- (219) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
Ju a schau aviart agl ésch.
 1SG have.PRS.1SG leave.PTCP.UNM open.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG door
 ‘I left the door open.’
- (220) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 64)
 [...] *al pur ò* [...] *schau lìbar*
 DEF.ART.M.SG peasant have.PRS.3SG let.PTCP.UNM free.ADJ.UNM
l' uélp.
 DEF.ART.F.SG fox
 ‘The peasant set [...] the fox free.’
- (221) Tuatschín (DRG10: 462)
schè lartg las vacas
 let.INF free.ADJ.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL
 ‘set the cows free’
- (222) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 105)
 [...] *quèla èra gjalada* [...] *tg' èra*
 DEM.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG freeze.PTCP.3SG.F [...] COMP COP.IMPF.3SG
nunpußajval li èl da fá lìbar èla [...].
 impossible.ADJ.UNM DAT 3SG.M to make.INF free.ADJ.UNM 3SG.F
 ‘[...] that [block] was frozen [...] so it was impossible for him to get it
 free [...].’
- (223) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 31)
Mia mèlna tschò ò unflau in
 POSS.F.1SG yellow.F here have.PRS.3SG swell.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG
téc ina tgòmba davùs.
 bit INDEF.ART.F.SG leg back
 ‘My yellow [cow] has a back leg that is a bit swollen.’

- (224) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1084)
- Al quinau vèva mal ina tgòmba.*
 DEF.ART.M.SG brother-in-law have.IMPF.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
 leg
 ‘My brother-in-law had leg pain.’
- (225) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)
- Nus stgavan ir líbar tut als pòrs.*
 1PL be allowed.IMPF.1PL go.INF free.ADJ.UNM all DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL
 ‘We were allowed to let all the pigs go around freely.’

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

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

3.3.7 Conjoining of adjectives

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 Noun phrases and prepositional phrases modifying a noun

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

- (229) Tuatschín (DRG3: 253)

Scù 'ls dis-tgaun vòn ajn, vònì òra.
as DEF.ART.M.PL day.PL-dog.M.SG go.PRS.3PL in go.PRS.3PL out
'As the dog days come, they also go.'

- (230) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1054f.)

Quaj è ina, asch' ina stazjun amiaz al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al p^has.
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG such INDEF.ART.F.SG station amid DEF.ART.M.SG pass around or almost up_most DEF.ART.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.'

- (231) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1180f.)

Al sòntgèt dals gjadjuš è odém al vitg da Sadrún.
DEF.ART.M.SG little_chapel of.DEF.ART.M.PL Jew.PL COP.PRS.3SG out_most DEF.ART.M.SG village of PLN
'The little chapel of the Jews is located at the lowest part of the village of Sedrun.'

- (232) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1428f.)

A nuş duş èra cun la tgapjala cun sé and 1PL two.M.PL also with DEF.ART.F.SG hat with on ina bjala flur [...].
INDEF.ART.F.SG beautiful flower [...].
'And also the two of us with the hats with a beautiful flower on them [...].'

- (233) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 14)

«Ah, quaj fùs è ina lavur pr mè.»
 ah DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also INDEF.ART.F.SG job for 1SG
 ‘Ah, this could also be a job for me.’

- (234) Tuatschín (DRG3: 204)

calira da barsá vifs
 heat.F.SG COMP burn.INF alive.M.SG
 ‘terrible heat’

- (235) Tuatschín (DRG2: 723-724)

butéglja da scadá pajs
 bottle.F.SG COMP warm.INF foot.PL
 ‘hot-water bottle’

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

Lèdṣ vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad
 DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG COMP
úndšchar ajn [...].
 oil.INF in
 ‘He had given [him] some ointment to rub in [...].’

3.5 Personal pronouns

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

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

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

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

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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 ^a	<i>ins</i>	<i>ins</i>	<i>dad ins</i>	<i>cun ins</i>

^aThe generic pronoun will be treated in § 3.7 below

- (237) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

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

‘This book has been written by me.’

- (238) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9)

*Quaj cùdisch è vagnús scréts da mè.
 DEM.M.SG book be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG write.PTCP.M.SG by 1SG
 ‘This book has been written by me.’*

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

- (239) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5)

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

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

- (240) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3)

Cu ju sùn vagnús, èra la schòn lò.
when 1SG be.PRS.1SG to COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.F already there
'When I arrived, she was already there.'

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

Tùtajnina ò las udju òd gl uaut
suddenly have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F hear.PTCP.UNM out_of DEF.ART.M.SG forest
şùt Cavòrgja ina vusch [...].
under PLN INDEF.ART.F.Sg voice
'Suddenly they heard a voice [coming] out of the forest underneath
Cavorgia [...].'

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

- (242) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

- (243) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

- (244) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

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

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- (245) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6)

La mùma raquénta tg' i şchèvan dá-dal aucsegñar a dál scòlast-şchèvani aun Èls. A da tschèls say.IMP.F.3PL still 2SG.M.POL and DAT DEM.M.PL vagnévi détg Vus.
 PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG.EXPL say.PTCP.UNM 2SG.M.POL

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

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

- (246) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 486)

«Vajs fatg èl?»
 have.PRS.2SG.POL do.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M
 ‘Did you do it?’

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

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

- (247) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 810f.)

A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa,
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always of pause
mavans ajn şala da magljè [...].
 go.IMPF.1PL.1PL in hall.F.SG COMP eat.INF

‘And then we, the Sursilvan students, would always place [it] during the break, we would go into the dining hall [...]’

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

- (248) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8)

Gljèz crau bé da té.
 DEM.UNM believe.1SG.1SG NEG of 2SG
 'This, I don't believe you could do it.'

- (249) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 378ff.)

[...] tgé pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindiçch armaulş
 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 da gaglinas [...].
 and pig.M.PL and hen.F.PL
 ' [...] what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also
 goats I know they had, and ... pigs and hens [...].'

- (250) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 29)

Api vau détg: «Ah súpar.»
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM oh great
 'And then I said: «Oh, great!»'

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

A quaj stèvnş èssar ... pulits-pulits
 and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well behaved.M.PL
l' jamna ... tg' al bap dètschi
 DEF.ART.F.SG week COMP DEF.ART.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG
in frang a miaz.
 one.M.SG franc and half.M.SG
 'And we had to be ... very well-behaved during the week ... so that my
 father would give [us] one and a half francs.'

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

[...] da quèla òns naturálmajn ... quasi
 of DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG.GNR of_course almost must.PTCP.UNM
stavjú ... vagní cun ina détga.
 come.INF with INDEF.ART.F.SG legend
 ' [...] of this slab, one of course had ... to ... come up with a legend.'

Besides the pronouns presented in Table 3.22, there are two further personal pronouns: *i* and *aj*, which do not distinguish gender and which are synonyms of

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els or *elas*. These two pronouns also function as expletive pronouns (see § 3.5.2 below). Two cases must be distinguished:

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

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

- (253) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 67)
 [...] *nòs* *tìars.* *I* *mavan* *adina gjù* *ancùnter*
 POSS.1PL animal.PL 3PL.SBJ go.IMPF.3PL always down towards
las *plauncas da l'* *Òndadusa [...].*
 DEF.ART.F.PL slope.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG PLN
 '[...] our animals. They would always go down towards the slopes of the
 Ondadusa.'

(254) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 25f.)
 [...] *mi'* *ùm* *ségi* *èba* *mòrts* *scù*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as
i *sápjan* [...].
 3PL.SBJ know.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 '[...] my husband had died as they knew [...].'

(255) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l.780f.)
A i miravan schòn da métar ansjaman è ...
 and 3PL look.IMPF.3PL in_fact COMP put.INF together also
als lungatgs [...].
 DEF.ART.M.PL language.PL
 'And in fact, they would make sure to put ... the languages together [...].'

(256) Tuatschín (DRG3: 639)
Schi òn *bétg als* *còrns,* *schi mòrdan* *aj.*
 if have.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.ART.M.PL horn.PL CORR bite.PRS.3PL 3PL.SBJ
 'If they [the goats] don't have horns, they bite.'

- (257) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 136)

Lu sèn aj i sén claustra [...].

then COP.PRS.3PL 3PL go.PTCP.M.3PL on monastery

‘Then they went up to the monastery [...].’

- (258) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 75f.)

Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vid'

and DEM.M.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG

al, vi da zaná al bògn,

COMP.DEF.ART.M.SG PROG COMP renovate.INF DEF.ART.M.SG bath

api schèvan aj: [...].

and_then say.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool
and then they said: [...].’

- (259) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2142ff.)

Anqual jèda vagnéva lu al pás[tar] ... né

some time.F.SG come.IMPF.3SG then DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman or

usché cu aj vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' ins

so when 3PL see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until COMP GNR

èr' ajn ... ajn «schwung»¹³ [...].

COP.IMPF.3SG in in movement.M.SG

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

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

Las nòtzjas sa ju bétg danùndar als

DEF.ART.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.ART.M.PL

gjaniturs, als duş baps prandèvan aj, i

parents.PL DEF.ART.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3PL EXPL

dèva ajnta Ruèras, dèv' aj in tga

EXIST.IMPF.3SG in PLN EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL

vèva rádjò.

have.IMPF.3SG radio.M.SG

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

¹³ Schwung is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

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

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

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

3.5.1 Dative pronouns

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

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

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

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

- (263) Tuatschín (DRG3: 499)

Da té dèṣ ins rúmpar ajn la cavaza.
DAT 2SG must.COND.3SG GNR break.INF in DEF.ART.F.SG skull

‘One should break your head.’

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

Ad èl ò ancùnuschju sju cuntí a
and 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM POSS.3SG.M.SG knife and
détg quaj li èla.
say.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM DAT 3SG.F

‘And he recognized his knife and told her that.’

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

Ad èla ò piau li èl tìts tiars par
and 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG pay.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M all.M.PL animal.PL PURP
angrazjá li èl.
thank.INF DAT 3SG.M

‘And she paid him all the animals in order to thank him.’

- (266) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 65)
- Ju angrazja parsjantar a dùn da Vuş al*
 1SG thank.PRS.1SG therefore and give.PRS.1SG DAT 2SG.POL DEF.ART.M.SG
cuntí par in survètsch bén fatg.
 knife for INDEF.ART.M.SG service well do.PTCP.UNM
 'I thank [you] for it and give you the knife for a well done favour.'
- (267) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 53)
- La sèra ò in pur*
 DEF.ART.F.SG evening have.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer
dau suttètg li èlas [...].
 give.PTCP.UNM accommodation.M.SG DAT 3PL.F
 'In the evening a farmer offered them accommodation [...].'

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

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

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

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

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- (271) Tuatschín (DRG3: 462)

Dá ina castrada (a)da quèla rùsna.
give.IMP.2SG DEF.ART.F.SG act_of_joining DAT DEM.F.SG hole
'Tie together this hole with a cord.'

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

- (272) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 18f.)

[...], api lura va ju in' jèda talafònau dad èl [...].
and then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M
'[...] and then I phoned him once [...].'

- (273) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 746f.)

«Cool, ju mòn grad a raquénta dad èlas.»
cool 1SG go.PRS.1SG right_away and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F
'«Cool, I'll just go and tell them.»'

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

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

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

3.5.2 Expletive pronoun

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

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

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

- (276) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 56ff.)
Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i
 DEM.UNM COP. PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.ART.M.SG place where REL EXPL
vagnéva schau tüt la munizjun tg' i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.F.SG munition REL EXPL
vèva, sigir.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM
 ‘This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.’
- (277) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 145)
[...] i végn unviarn a végn frajt.
 EXPL come.PRS.3SG winter and come.PRS.3SG cold
 ‘Winter is coming and it is getting cold.’
- (278) Tuatschín (DRG2: 215)
I brischa la cazèta, i végn tga
 EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG REL
sufla.
 blow.PRS.3SG
 ‘[The soot in] the pot is burning, it is getting stormy.’
- (279) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1217ff.)
[...] sén quaj pas duèssi èssar ina
 on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.ART.F.SG
samagljònta caplùta [...].
 similar chapel
 ‘[...] on this pass there should be a similar chapel [...]’
- With subject inversion, the expletive pronoun is sometimes realised as *aj* (280). In combination with the third person singular present of the verb *èssar* ‘be’ the combination is realised as *saj* (281), *chè* (282), or less frequently, *ásaj* (283).
- (280) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 173f.)
[...] plé baut èr' aj al fagljét tgi
 more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL DEF.ART.M.SG SON.M.SG.DIM REL
fijèv' al pur.
 do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG farmer
 ‘[...] in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.’

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- (281) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 178)

Api sjaj stau finju par mè.
and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG
'And that was it.'

- (282) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 420ff.)

*Ah... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù
ah PLN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
majšès ad alps adina, lu šè aun dus
assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two
trajs intarassants lògans ajn cò [...].
three interesting place.M.PL in here*

'Ah ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as pastures, there were furthermore two or three interesting places up there [...].'

- (283) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1678)

*Ad òz ásaj bitga trajs, gè, tga von á
and today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG three yes REL go.PRS.3SG to
scùla.
school.F.SG*

'And today there aren't [even] three that attend school.'

3.5.3 Intensive personal pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*[...] a lèzs òn sèzs stavju lura ... métar
and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL must.PTCP.UNM then put.INF
sén pajs quaj [...].
on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM*

‘[...] and these had to get it off the ground themselves [...].’

3.6 Relative clauses

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

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

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

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- (288) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 356f.)
*Quaj èra pàdars tga vagnévan, parvi da mè
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG Father.M.PL REL come.IMPF.3PL because of 1SG
 mintg' autar òn fagévan misjun.
 every other.M.SG year make.IMPF.3PL mission.F.SG*
 ‘These were Fathers who came, let’s say every two years they undertook a mission.’ (subject)
- (289) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 1f.)
*Ju raquénta da mia lavur tga ju a fatg
 1SG tell.PRS.1SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG job REL 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM
 als davùş òns.
 DEF.ART.M.PL last.PL year.PL*
 ‘I’ll tell [you] about the job I have done during the last years.’ (direct object)
- (290) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 344f.)
*A zuar ah da quaj mùmén [...] tga 'l
 and namely eh from DEM.UNM moment REL DEF.ART.M.SG
 tat vèva da fá cun gnarvaş.
 grandfather have.IMPF.3SG COMP do.INF with nerve.F.PL*
 ‘Namely from the moment [...] when my grandfather had problems with his nerves.’ (temporal argument)

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

- (291) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Valär 2013b: 8f.)
*[...] cw'xε:de tç' ins le'vaje nøt elz djants
 clotted.milk REL GNR damage.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.ART.M.PL tooth.PL
 de rvj.
 COMP gnaw.INF*
 ‘[...] clotted milk with which you do not damage your teeth when you gnaw at it.’

- (292) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 505)
 [...] *grat cò nùca quèla rùsna tgu a raquintau.*
 just there by DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG tell.PTCP.UNM
 ' [...] just by that cave I have mentioned.'
- (293) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 569ff.)
 [...] *quaj è fòrza schòn stau in téc*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG maybe really COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
al ... mòtif tgu a antschiat dad
 DEF.ART.M.SG reason REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP
í par crapa.
 go.INF for stone.COLL
 ' [...] maybe this has been a bit the reason why I began to go for stones.'
- (294) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2027ff.)
 [...] *i èra da quèls tg' èran angrazajvels,*
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL grateful.M.PL
èra da quèls tg' ins savèva maj fà 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.'
- (295) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1042ff.)
A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò
 and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out
dal mir, álsò òr dal grép
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock
òni fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg'
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small path REL
ins sò ira ah á paj flòt.
 GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF ah on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM
 'And then they made, out of the rock face, this is to say out of the rock
 they made a small ... path through which one could easily go eh on foot.'

If the antecedent is *tgi* 'who' or *tgé* 'what', the relativiser is realised as *ca*.

- (296) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 717ff.)
 [...] *tgi ca vagnéva traplaus stuèva*
 who REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG

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al vèndardis sèra ... stá lò [...].
 DEF.ART.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG stay.INF there
 ‘[...] the person who got caught had to ... remain there on Friday
 evening [...].’

- (297) Tuatschín (DRG6: 449)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[...] in pàstar gròn, quèl vasèva adina
 INDEF.ART.M.SG herdsman big DEM.M.SG see.IMPf.3SG always

la *damaun da bjalaúra* ina *nibla najra*
 DEF.ART.F.SG morning of nice_weather.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG cloud black
tgé satschentava séla Sjara da Curnèra [...].
 REL REFL.sit.IMPF.3SG ON.DEF.ART.F.SG PLN
 ‘[...] a main herdsman, in the morning in nice weather, he always saw a
 black cloud that lied on the Siara da Curnera [...].’

- (301) Tuatschín (DRG5: 57)

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

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

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

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

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

Locative relative clauses are formed with *nù tga* (303), *nùca* (306 and 307), *nùca tga* (304 and 305), or only with the relativiser *tga* (308). *Nù* and *nùca* function as antecedents of the relative clause. *Nùca* already contains the complementizer *ca* – see standard Survilvan *nua che* ‘where that’, also realised as *nu che* – but in Tuatschín, *ca* forms an unanalysable unit with *nù*. If this were not so, the genuine Tuatschin form **nù tga* should be used, which does not exist.

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

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

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

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- (304) Tuatschín (Büchli 1966: 145)

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

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

- (305) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (307) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 134)

[...] *la damaun èra la crapa gjù*
 DEF.ART.F.SG morning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG stone.COLL down
 nùca la basèlgja stat òz sén quaj prau.
 REL.LOC DEF.ART.F.SG church stay.PRS.3SG today on DEM.M.SG field
 ‘[...] in the morning the stones where down there on the field where the church is located nowadays.’

- (308) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 838ff.)

[...] *a lu vèvan nus cò pròpi in cantún tga*
 and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL here really INDEF.ART.M.SG corner REL

- vagnéva mù rashedau ròmòntsch.
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG only speak.PTCP.UNM Romansh.M.SG
 [...] and then we had here a real Romansh corner where only Romansh
 was spoken.'

Some authors write *nùca* as two words.

- (309) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 134)

[...] *a lu èni sacussagljai sén*
 and then COP.PRS.3PL.3PL REFL.discuss.PTCP.M.PL on
vaschnaunca da bagagè èla gjù lò, nù' c' èla
 municipality.F.SG COMP build.INF 3SG.F down there where REL 3SG.F
stat oz.
 stay.PRS.3SG today

'And then they discussed [the problem] in the municipality [and decided] to build it [the church] where it is located nowadays.'

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

- (310) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, 1. 437f.)

[...] *zatgé rastònza sè aun lò tg' ins sa*
 something remnant.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG still there REL GNR can.PRS.3SG
i ajn á mará [...].
 go.INF into COMP see.INF
 ' [...] there still are some remnants there where one can go and see [...]'

- (311) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, 1. 566ff.)

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

'Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit, when I

3 Noun phrase

saw different places where they had blasted [the rocks], and crystals
and so forth ... had come out [...].'

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

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

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

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

Álṣò 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 precisely years when they would lose money.'

3.7 Generic noun phrases

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

- (314) Tuatschín (DRG10: 644)

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

- (315) Tuatschín (DRG3: 519)
- Las tgauraş èn las sulètas fèmnas tga*
 DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL COP.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.F.PL only.PL woman.PL REL
portan barba.
 carry.PRS.3PL beard
- ‘Goats are the only women who have a beard.’
- (316) Tuatschín (DRG3: 630)
- Las tgautschas fòn bétg agl ùm.*
 DEF.ART.F.PL trousers.PL make.PRS.3PL NEG DEF.ART.M.SG man
- ‘Trousers do not make a man.’
- (317) Tuatschín (DRG6: 437)
- In bògn da flucs til' ò*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bath of chopped_straw.M.PL pull.PRS.3SG out
als tisis.
 DEF.ART.M.PL poison.PL
- ‘A bath of chopped straw draws out the poisons.’
- (318) Tuatschín (DRG6: 432)
- Ufauns pins magljan la flur ad antardan*
 child.M.PL small.PL eat.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.F.SG flower and delay.PRS.3PL
la lavur.
 DEF.ART.F.SG work
- ‘Small children consume power and delay the work.’¹⁵
- (319) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
- Èla ò mù ugèn salata.*
 3SG.F have.PRS.3SG only with_pleasure salad.F.SG
- ‘She only likes salad.’

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

- (320) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 397f.)
- Ad i èr' è bitga úshit tg' ins mava á*
 and EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG also NEG usage.M.SG COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG to

¹⁵In this sentence, *magljè* ‘eat’ and *flur* ‘flower’ are used in a metaphoric way.

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scùlèta.

nursery_school.F.SG

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.8 Structure of the noun phrase

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

only combination of determiners occurring in the corpus is a possessive with a numeral (324).

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

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

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

4 Verb phrase

4.1 The verb

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

- (1) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m4, l. 535)

Quèl durméva sc' in tajs.
DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.ART.M.SG badger
'He used to sleep like a log.'

- (2) Tuatschin (Sedrun; Büchli 1966: 106)

In da Méjdal vèv' [in] ura da Schwarzwald
one.M.SG of PLN have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG clock of PLN
tg' èra ruta].
REL COP.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.F.SG
'An inhabitant of Medel had a clock of the Black Forest that was broken.'

- (3) Tuatschin (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 103)

In dé [...] partgirava in buép
INDEF.ART.M.SG day mind.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG boy
[las vacas] sén Vöns.
DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL up PLN
'One day [...] a boy was taking care of the cows at Vons.'

¹As shown in § 3.2.1.2 and 3.6.1 above, the dative articles *li* (see example (6)) as well as *di* are obsolescent, and the dative marker *a*, which is used in rare cases, is a loan from standard Sursilvan.

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- (4) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m1, l. 254f.)
A quaj gang udéva [dad òmasdús].
and DEM.M.SG corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL
'And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].'
- (5) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 865f.)
[...] [mia carèzja] tgu stù dá [da quèls].
POSS.1SG.F.SG love REL.1SG must.PRS.1SG give.INF DAT DEM.M.PL
'[...] my love that I have to give them.'
- (6) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 145)
[...] Nossadùna lèva dá [li gjuvén préir]
Our_Lady.F.SG want.IMPF.3SG give DAT young.M.SG priest
[ina rancùnusciantscha pal survètsch].
INDEF.ART.F.SG mark_of_gratitude.F.SG for.DEF.ART.M.SG favour
'[...] the holy Virgin wanted to give the young priest a mark of gratitude for the favour [he had done her].'
- (7) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 131)
[...] ina zagríndara [...] ò dumandau
INDEF.ART.F.SG gipsy_woman have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM
[la mùma da tgësa] [in tgavégl da sia buéba].
DEF.ART.F.SG mother of house one hair of POSS.3SG girl
'[...] a gipsy woman [...] asked the mother of the house for one hair of her daughter.'

4.1.1 Verbal morphology

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

- -á (*anflá* 'find')
- -è (*maglјè* 'eat')
- -aj (*tanaj* 'hold')
- -'ar (*métar* 'put')
- -í (*fugí* 'flee')

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

The verbs ending in *-aj* are all irregular and will be treated in Appendix II below, and the small amount of regular verbs ending in *-í* all have the infix *-esch-* (see Table 4.8 below).

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

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

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

The compound categories 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 categories 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 fëtsch* ‘I do’, *ju végñ* ‘I come’, or *ju vòn / ju mòn* ‘I go’. For further examples see Appendix II below.

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

According to the DRG (1: 568), the choice of *esser* as auxiliary verb for reflexives in 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.

The reflexive verbs will not be treated this chapter, but their use will be presented below in § 5.6.1 on reflexive voice.

Verb forms that end in *-n* in the first person singular present indicative take an euphonic *-d* before *ju* ‘I’ or *jus* ‘gone’.

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- (8) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1492)
Api sjantar sùnd ju sasjus gjù [...].
and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down
'And then I sat down [...].'
- (9) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 414)
Sùnd jus ah gjù Surajn [...].
be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh down PLN
'[I] went eh down to Surrein [...].'

4.1.1.1 Auxiliary verbs

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

In the third person singular and plural present and imperfect, the verb *èssar* has a special form when there is subject inversion (which includes polar interrogatives): *şè* or *ásaj* and *şèn*, as well as *şèra* and *şèran*. These forms go back to standard Sursilvan, where *igl ei* 'it is' becomes *eiş ei* 'is it' with subject inversion. In contrast to standard Sursilvan, the form of the copula does not include an expletive pronoun in the following examples.

- (10) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m2, l. 215f.)
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.ART.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».'
- (11) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 734)
A Cazis şèra quaj al madèm.
in PLN COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG same
'In Cazas this was the same thing.'

Table 4.1: Auxiliary verb èssar ‘be’

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F	GER
	èssar	stauş, staj	stada, stadas	èss <u>en</u>
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT
JU	sùn	èra	sùn stauş/stada	végn ád èssar
TÉ	ajş	èraş	ajs stauş/stada	végnas ád èssar
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	è	èra	è stauş/stada	végn ád èssar
NUŞ	èssan	èran	èssan staj/stadas	vagnín ád èssar
VUŞ	èssas	èraş	èssas staj/stadas	vagnís ád èssar
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	èn	èran	èn staj/stadas	végnan ád èssar
SBJ.PRON	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SUBJ.	COND.DIR.	COND.IND.
JU	séjgi/ségi	èri	fùş	füssi
TÉ	séjgiaş/ségias	èriاش	füssaş	füssiaş
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	séjgi/ségi	èri	fùş	füssi
NUŞ	séjgian, ségian	èrian	füssan	füssian
VUŞ	séjgiaş, ségias	èriاش	füssaş	füssiaş
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	séjgian, ségian	èrian	füssan	füssian

- (12) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Şè quaj usché?
 COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM SO
 ‘Is this so?’

Children and very occasionally also older persons generalise this form and use it without subject inversion.

- (13) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8)

I şè vit.
 EXPL COP.PRS.3SG empty.ADJ.UNM
 ‘It is empty.’

- (14) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1275)

[...] i şera òns nùca tg' èra awa [...].
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG water
 ‘[...] there were years with rain [...]’

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- (15) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1833)
[...] *anadas tga sèn uschéa [...]*.
age_group.F.PL REL COP.PRS.3PL so
‘[...] age groups which are like that [...]’

In (16) the form of the copula *sè* does include an expletive pronoun as in the standard Sursilvan form noted above.

- (16) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1712f.)
Basta, ju sùn id' ál trèn, tòcan gjù
enough 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG to.DEF.ART.M.SG train until down
Sògn Gagl sè bigja da fá bjè falju
PLN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG COMP make.IMP much wrong.ADJ.UNM
[...].

‘Enough. I went to the train, to St. Gallen there is not much you could do wrong [...].’

4.1.1.2 Regular verbs

Future tense is always built with the auxiliary verb *vagní* ‘come’, but it is not used in normal daily speech, where almost exclusively present tense is used for future reference. Therefore future tense will not be listed with the regular verbs. The same holds for the gerund, which was used by traditional story tellers until some decades ago, but which is not in use any more.²

As mentioned above, the *è*-conjugation has split from the original *á*-conjugation (< Latin -ARE) because of the presence of a preceding palatal consonant. Table 4.4 lists some examples of *è*-verbs with their Sursilvan counterparts. Note that the final *-r* of the infinitives in Standard Sursilvan orthography is not pronounced in any Sursilvan variety.

Table 4.5 and Table 4.6 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* (in contrast to the masculine form which ends in *-ada*). The imperfect morpheme of the *è*-conjugation is normally *-áva(-)*, but some verbs have *-èva(-)*, as for example *astgè* ‘be allowed’, as in *nuş astgèvan fá* ‘we were allowed to do’ (§ 9.4, line 705) or *schè*

²For examples, see § 4.1.2.1.2 below.

Table 4.2: Auxiliary verb *vaj* ‘have’

	INF	PTCP.M.UNM		
	<i>vaj</i>	<i>gju</i>		
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT
JU	<i>a</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>a gju</i>	<i>végn á vaj</i>
TÉ	<i>aş</i>	<i>vèvas</i>	<i>aş gju</i>	<i>végnas á vaj</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>ò</i>	<i>vèva</i>	<i>ò gju</i>	<i>végn á vaj</i>
NUS	<i>vajn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>vajn gju</i>	<i>vagnín á vaj</i>
VUS	<i>vajş</i>	<i>vèvas</i>	<i>vajş gju</i>	<i>vagníş á vaj</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>òn</i>	<i>vèvan</i>	<i>òn gju</i>	<i>végnan á vaj</i>
SBJ.PRON	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIR	COND.IND
JU	<i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vès</i>	<i>vèssi</i>
TÉ	<i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssas</i>	<i>vèssias</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>vagi</i>	<i>vèvi</i>	<i>vès</i>	<i>vèssi</i>
NUS	<i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>
VUS	<i>vájaş</i>	<i>vèviaş</i>	<i>vèssas</i>	<i>vèssias</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>vájan</i>	<i>vèvian</i>	<i>vèssan</i>	<i>vèssian</i>

‘let’, as in *a schèvan dá quèlas scúaş a da quaj* ‘and [we] would let these brooms and so on fall down’ (§ 9.6, line 937).

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 (17).

- (17) Sursilvan (Riein; DRG4327)
Jeu giavisch-a bien cunfiert.
 1SG wish-PRS.1SG good consolation
 ‘My heartfelt sympathy.’

This form was current in this local variety of Sursilvan for 1st person singular present and imperfect, as the following forms show: *jeu astga* ‘I am allowed to’, *jeu gneva* ‘I used to come’, *jeu era* ‘I was’, *jeu suna* ‘I play (an instrument)’, *jeu sunava* ‘I used to play’, and so on (examples taken out of the *Questiunari principal*

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>		
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	IMPF.IND	PRF.IND	FUT	
JU	<i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva</i>	<i>sùn vagnúš/vagnida</i>	<i>végn á vagní</i>	
TÉ	<i>végnaş</i>	<i>vagnévaş</i>	<i>ajş vagnúş/vagnida</i>	<i>végnas á vagní</i>	
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ	<i>végn</i>	<i>vagnéva</i>	<i>è vagnúş/vagnida</i>	<i>végn á vagní</i>	
NUŞ	<i>vagnín</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èsan vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>vagnín á vagní</i>	
VUŞ	<i>vagnís</i>	<i>vagnévaş</i>	<i>èsas vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>vagnís á vagní</i>	
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>végnan</i>	<i>vagnévan</i>	<i>èn vagní/vagnidas</i>	<i>végnan á vagní</i>	
SBJ.PRON	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.SBJV	COND.DIR	COND.IND	IMP
JU	<i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnéş</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>	
TÉ	<i>végniaş</i>	<i>vagnéviaş</i>	<i>vagnéssas</i>	<i>vagnéssias</i>	<i>nò</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ	<i>végni</i>	<i>vagnévi</i>	<i>vagnéş</i>	<i>vagnéssi</i>	
NUŞ	<i>vagnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>	
VUŞ	<i>vagnias</i>	<i>vagnéviaş</i>	<i>vagnéssas</i>	<i>vagnéssias</i>	
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>vagnian</i>	<i>vagnévian</i>	<i>vagnéssan</i>	<i>vagnéssian</i>	<i>vagní</i>

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

	TUATSCHÍN	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: Regular verbs ending in -á

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F			
	SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SUBJ	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SUBJ	PRF.IND
	<i>gidá</i> ‘help’		<i>gidau, gidaus</i>		<i>gidada, gidadas</i>	
JU		<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>a gida</i>
TÉ		<i>gidas</i>	<i>gídias</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidávia</i>	<i>aş gida</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ		<i>gida</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidavi</i>	<i>ò gida</i>
NUŞ		<i>gidajn</i>	<i>gídian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>vajn gida</i>
VUŞ		<i>gidajş</i>	<i>gídias</i>	<i>gidava</i>	<i>gidávia</i>	<i>vajş gida</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I		<i>gidan</i>	<i>gídian</i>	<i>gidavan</i>	<i>gidávian</i>	<i>òn glida</i>

SBJ.PRON	DIR.COND	INDIR.COND	IMP
JU	<i>gidás</i>	<i>gidassi</i>	
TÉ	<i>gidassa</i>	<i>gidássia</i>	<i>gida</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INŞ	<i>gidás</i>	<i>gidassi</i>	
NUŞ	<i>gidassan</i>	<i>gidássian</i>	
VUŞ	<i>gidassa</i>	<i>gidássia</i>	<i>gidaj</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>gidassan</i>	<i>gidássian</i>	

of the DRG, recorded between 1900 and 1920; Ursin Lutz p.c., 2017/04/19).

Table 4.7 lists the verbs ending in '-ar'. Many verbs of this category are built as in Table 4.7 but have one irregular form: the past participle. Some examples are *árdar* ‘burn’, *árvar* ‘open’, and *bétar* ‘throw’, whose participles are *ars/arsa*, *aviart/avjarta*, and *béz/béza*. A list of irregular verbs ending in '*ar*' is given in Table 9.4 below.

As mentioned above, verbs ending in '-í' which are conjugated regularly always have the infix *-esch-*.

4.1.1.3 Irregular verbs and verbs with regular stem alterations

Since there are many irregular verbs and verbs with stem alterations, they will all be presented in Appendix I and II below.

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Table 4.6: Regular verbs ending in *-è*

	INF	PTCP.M		PTCP.F	
	<i>maglјè</i> ‘eat’	<i>maglјau</i> , <i>maglјaus</i>	<i>maglјeda</i> , <i>maglјedaš</i>		
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SBJV	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SBJV	PRF.IND
JU	<i>maglјa</i>	<i>magli</i>	<i>maglјava</i>	<i>maglјavi</i>	<i>a maglјau</i>
TÉ	<i>maglјaš</i>	<i>maglјaš</i>	<i>maglјavaš</i>	<i>maglјáviaš</i>	<i>as maglјau</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>maglјa</i>	<i>magli</i>	<i>maglјava</i>	<i>maglјavi</i>	<i>ò maglјau</i>
NUS	<i>maglјáin</i>	<i>maglјan</i>	<i>maglјavan</i>	<i>maglјávian</i>	<i>vajn maglјau</i>
VUS	<i>maglјáis</i>	<i>maglјaš</i>	<i>maglјavaš</i>	<i>maglјáviaš</i>	<i>vajs maglјau</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>maglјan</i>	<i>maglјan</i>	<i>maglјavan</i>	<i>maglјávian</i>	<i>òn maglјau</i>

SBJ.PRON	COND.DIR	COND.IND	IMP
JU	<i>maglјás</i>	<i>maglјassi</i>	
TÉ	<i>maglјassaš</i>	<i>maglјássiaš</i>	<i>maglјa</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>maglјás</i>	<i>maglјassi</i>	
NUS	<i>maglјassan</i>	<i>maglјássian</i>	
VUS	<i>maglјassaš</i>	<i>maglјássiaš</i>	<i>maglјaj</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>maglјassan</i>	<i>maglјássian</i>	

4.1.2 Usage of nonfinite and finite verbal categories

In this section the usage of the non-finite categories past participle, infinitive, and gerund as well as the finite categories will be analysed, with the exception of the imperative which will be treated in § 5.3 below.

4.1.2.1 Nonfinite categories

4.1.2.1.1 Past participle The past participle is used to form compound (18) and doubly-compound tenses (22) as well as passive voice (19); it is furthermore used attributively and predicatively and may also be nominalised (20 and 21), usually in its feminine form. If the auxiliary verb is *èssar* ‘be’, the participle agrees with the subject (18).

Table 4.7: Regular verbs ending in '-ar

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F		
	bátar	'beat'	batju, batjuş	batida, batidas	
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SUBJ	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SUBJ	PRF.IND
JU	<i>bata</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>batéva</i>	<i>batévi</i>	<i>a batju</i>
TÉ	<i>batas</i>	<i>bátias</i>	<i>batévaş</i>	<i>batéviaş</i>	<i>aş batju</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I,	<i>bata</i>	<i>bati</i>	<i>batéva</i>	<i>batévi</i>	<i>ò batju</i>
INS					
NUŞ	<i>batín</i>	<i>bátian</i>	<i>batévan</i>	<i>batévian</i>	<i>vajn batju</i>
VUŞ	<i>batiş</i>	<i>bátias</i>	<i>batévaş</i>	<i>batéviaş</i>	<i>vajs batju</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>batan</i>	<i>bátian</i>	<i>batévan</i>	<i>batévian</i>	<i>òn batju</i>
SBJ.PRON	DIR.COND		INDIR.COND		IMP
JU	<i>batés</i>		<i>batéssi</i>		
TÉ	<i>batéssas</i>		<i>batéssias</i>		<i>bata</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>batés</i>		<i>batéssi</i>		
NUŞ	<i>batéssan</i>		<i>batéssian</i>		
VUŞ	<i>batéssas</i>		<i>batéssias</i>		<i>batí</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>batéssan</i>		<i>batéssian</i>		

- (18) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1324f.)

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

PLN

'[...] I was the last swineherd ... of Sedrun [...].'

- (19) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 98f.)

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

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Table 4.8: Regular verbs ending in *-í* with the infix *-esch-*

	INF	PTCP.M	PTCP.F		
	<i>finir</i>	'finish'	<i>finju, finjus</i>	<i>finida, finidas</i>	
SBJ.PRON	PRS.IND	PRS.SUBJ	IMPF.IND	IMPF.SUBJ	PRF.IND
JU	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>a finju</i>
TÉ	<i>finèschaş</i>	<i>finèschiaş</i>	<i>finévaş</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>as finju</i>
ÈL, ÈLA, I,	<i>finèscha</i>	<i>finèschi</i>	<i>finéva</i>	<i>finévi</i>	<i>ò finju</i>
INS					
NUS	<i>finín</i>	<i>finían</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finévian</i>	<i>vajn finju</i>
VUS	<i>finís</i>	<i>finías</i>	<i>finévaş</i>	<i>finéviaş</i>	<i>vajs finju</i>
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>finèschan</i>	<i>finèschian</i>	<i>finévan</i>	<i>finévian</i>	<i>òn finju</i>
SBJ.PRON	DIR.COND	INDIR.COND		IMP	
JU	<i>finés</i>	<i>finéssi</i>			
TÉ	<i>finéssas</i>	<i>finéssiaş</i>		<i>finèscha</i>	
ÈL, ÈLA, I, INS	<i>finéş</i>	<i>finéssé</i>			
NUS	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>			
VUS	<i>finéssas</i>	<i>finéssiaş</i>		<i>finí</i>	
ÈLS, ÈLAS, I	<i>finéssan</i>	<i>finéssian</i>			

[...].

'And ... when I got pensioned off ... as a matter of fact, I had already worked as head of district before [...].'

- (20) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 512ff.)

[...] *gljèz èra magari è léjgar tgé*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes also funny.ADJ.UNM what
cuschin- adas èl [fagèva] [...]s.
cook.PTCP- F.PL 3SG [make.IMPF.3SG]

'[...] it was sometimes also funny [to see] what he [cooked] [...].'

- (21) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1464ff.)

[...] *i dat ina fòtògrafia tgu sùn*
 EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG photograph REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG
sé cun mjú còlèga al dé da la
 on with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF.ART.M.SG day of DEF.ART.F.SG
scarg- èda [...].
 drove.PTCP- F.SG

‘[...] there is a photograph in which I am with my mate the day of the pig driving [...]’

- (22) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1808)

Nuš vajn adina gju fatg parada.
 1PL have.PRS.1PL always have.PTCP.UNM make.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG
 ‘We always held a parade.’

If the past participle is used predicatively, which is usually the case in passive voice, it is treated like an adjective, which means that (a) it agrees with the subject of the verb (23), thus if the subject has no gender, the participle takes its unmarked form (24), and (b) if in a passive construction the subject follows the participle, it does not agree with it (25 and 26) (see also § 5.5.4 below).

í

- (23) Tuatschin (Sadrún; f3; l. 107ff.)

[...] *al cantún ò circa trènta da quèls*
 DEF.ART.M.SG canton have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL
majnadistricts, quèls èn parti ajn 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 [...]’

- (24) Tuatschin (Zarcúns; m2; l. 1637ff.)

Òh gl' ampréndar tudèstg è stau,
 oh DEF.ART.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
l' antschata sè quaj schòn stau
 DEF.ART.F.SG beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM

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- in téç curjùs.*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit strange.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit
 strange.’
- (25) Tuatschin (Sadrún; f3; l. 56ff.)
Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg’ i
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.ART.M.SG place where REL EXPL
vagnéva schau tut la munizjun tg’ i
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.F.SG munition REL EXPL
vèva, sigir.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM
 ‘This is exactly a place ... where they stored all the munition, for sure.’
- (26) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1519f.)
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.’

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 (27).

- (27) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; DRG3: 583)
Al tétg da duas alas fatg- s cun ajssas
 DEF.ART.M.SG roof of two.F.PL side.PL make.PTCP- M.SG with plank.F.PL
bétga splanadas [...] aj sén latas.
 NEG 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.’

The negator *bétga* and some temporal adverbs may intervene between the auxiliary verb and the past participle.

- (28) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1508)
Álṣò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssíf [...].
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCP.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Well, I didn’t do it in an aggressive way [...]’
- (29) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 290ff.)
A lu sjantar vau adina fatg al
 and then after have.PRS.1SG.1SG always do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG
pur, ábar ju sùn ûş bigja staus ... in
 farmer but 1SG be.PRS.1SG NOW NEG COP.PTCP.M.SG one.M.SG
dals fétg buns purs.
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG very 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.’
- (30) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
Èl è grad arivaus sé da Cuéra.
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG just arrive.PTCP.M.SG up from PLN
 ‘He has just arrived from Chur.’
- (31) Tuatschín (DRG4: 304)
Üssa, quel da la quajda şaj puspè staus
 now DEM.M.SG of DEF.ART.F.SG desire be.PRS.3SG again COP.PTCP.M.SG
ajn cul dét, miraj tschò!
 in with finger.M.SG look.IMP.2PL here
 ‘Now the sweet-toothed has again stuck his finger into it, look here!’
- (32) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1318f.)
Avaun nus èra sagir al tgavrè era schòn
 before 1PL be.IMP.3SG sure DEF.ART.M.SG goatherd also already
jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.
 go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.ART.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.’

If two clauses which both contain a verb modified by a compound tense are conjoined, either the subject (33) or the subject and the auxiliary of the second or third verb may be omitted (34). Note that the subject and the auxiliary verb may also be omitted if the second or third verb requires another auxiliary as in the

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first clause. An example is (35) where *lavá* ‘get up’ requires *èssar* ‘be’ and *mirá* ‘look’ *vaj* ‘have’.

- (33) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 69)

Ju sùn jus avaun nuégl ad a
1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG before barn.M.SG and have.PRS.1SG
grju a bargju [...]
shout.PTCP.UNM and cry.PTCP.UNM

‘I went in front of the barn and shouted and cried.’

- (34) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 47)

Èl ò prju las duas sadjala
3SG have.PRS.3SG take.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL two.PL bucket.PL
groma ad è jus òd tégja a
cream.F.SG and be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG out_of hut.F.SG and
svanjus.
disappear.PTCP.M.SG

‘He [the devil] took the two buckets full of cream and left the hut and disappeared.’

- (35) Tuatschín (Rueras; Büchli 1966: 68)

La damaun èssan aun lavaj baud a
DEF.ART.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.’

In narrative sequences where the perfect is used for story-line events, the auxiliary verbs may be omitted. In (36) *préndar* ‘take’, *maglјe* ‘eat’, and *métar* ‘put’ would take *vaj* ‘have’, in contrast to *turná* ‘go back’ and *ira* ‘go’, which would take *èssar* ‘be’.

- (36) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1648ff.)

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 prju
k.o.card_game.F.PL or k.o.card_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM
quèls ... pinau tiar, quèls puschégn, quèlas ...
DEM.M.PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by DEM.M.PL snack.M.PL DEM.F.PL

tablas cun sé tgarn a dal tut ... ***prju***
 tray.PL with up meat.F.SG and of.DEF.ART.M.SG all take.PTCP.UNM
 quaj ad i gjù ajn in clavau a
 DEM.UNM and go.PTCP.M.PL down in INDEF.ART.M.SG hay_barn and
magljau a sjantar ***turnaj*** sé cul
 eat.PTCP.UNM and after go_back.PTCP.M.PL up with.DEF.ART.M.SG
 cul ... cun la vaschala vita a
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG with DEF.ART.F.SG dishes.F.SG empty.F.SG and
méz lò puspé api i.
 put.PTCP.UNM there again and go.PTCP.M.PL

‘And the others were in the living room and were playing card games ...
 and we took these ... prepared, these snacks, these ... trays with meat and
 all on it ... we took this and went down into the hay barn and ate it and
 after we went up back with ... with the empty dishes, put them there
 again and went away.’

4.1.2.1.2 Gerund As mentioned above, 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 may be used as a complement of a verb of perception and is headed by the complementiser *á/ád*.

- (37) Tuatschin (Surajn; Büchli 1966: 53)

Als pástars udévan adina á vagnèn
 DEF.ART.M.PL herdsman.PL hear.IMPF.3PL always COMP come.GER
tians.
 animal.M.PL

‘The herdsmen were always hearing cattle coming [...].’

- (38) Tuatschin (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 28)

[...] ina sera [...] ó' ls pástars
 INDEF.ART.F.SG evening have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL herdsman.PL
 vju ád èn las vacas.
 see.PTCP.UNM COMP go.GER DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL
 ‘[...] one evening [...] the herdsmen saw the cows going away.’

The gerund also functions as head of a nonfinite causal or temporal subordinate clause.

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- (39) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; Büchli 1966: 82)
- Raturnòn gl' ùm bétg anavùš da mjaşdé, ò' come_back.GER DEF.ART.M.SG man NEG back of noon have.PRS.3PL las zarclunzas tumju [...]. DEF.ART.F.PL weeder_woman.PL be_afraid.PTCP.UNM*
- ‘Since the man hadn’t come back by noon, the weeder women got afraid [...]’
- (40) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; Büchli 1966: 88)
- Mònd spèl' aua da Ségnas sé òn èls go.GER next_to.DEF.ART.F.SG water of PLN up have.PRS.3PL 3PL.M udju da tschèla vard anzatgi [...]. hear.PTCP.UNM OF DEM.F.SG side somebody*
- ‘When walking along the creek from Segnas up, they heard somebody on the other side [...]’

4.1.2.1.3 Infinitive The infinitive functions either as citation form of the verb or occurs as a non-finite verb phrase.

In the latter case, it may occur as the complement of a modal verb. Examples with modal verbs are *savaj* ‘can, be able’ (41) or *vaj da* ‘have to’ (42).

- (41) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1195)
- Qu' è adina aviart a lu saş i DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG.GNR go.INF ajn [...]. in*
- ‘This is always open, and then you can step in [...]’
- (42) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1454ff.)
- Quèl vès lu aun da pajè da té al DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.ART.M.SG pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas money of.DEF.ART.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMPF.2SG partgirau. look_after.PTCP.UNM*
- ‘This one should still pay you the money of the pig you had looked after.’

The infinitive is used in purposive clauses, be it after a verb of movement

followed by the complementiser *á* (43) or after the complementiser *para /pra* (44).

- (43) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 928ff.)
A lu, agl aucségnar... da Sadrún ... è
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG priest of PLN be.PRS.3SG
saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruèras á purtá
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG PURP go.INF into PLN PURP bring.INF
agit a dá sògn jéli [...].
 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 [...].’
- (44) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 993ff.)
[...] èl duvrava quaj mél pr trá, pr trá
 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule PURP pull.INF PURP pull.INF
lèna sé da Cavòrgja.
 wood.COLL up from PLN
 ‘[...] he used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavigia.’

If a verb is fronted in order to topicalise it, it occurs nominalised, i.e. as an infinitive; the finite verb form remains in the background clause (45).

- (45) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1319)
Na na, a durmi durmévan nus cò.
 no no and sleep.INF sleep.IMPF.1PL 1PL here
 ‘No, no, and as for sleeping, we would sleep here.’

In subject sentences the infinitive is either modified by the definitive masculine singular article (46) or not (47).

- (46) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; DRG3: 584)
Al dèrgjar gjù aj lu aun mal.
 DEF.ART.M.SG demolish.INF down COP.PRS.3SG then still bad
Al Vagéli Mòn aj vagnús sut
 DEF.ART.M.SG PN PN be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG under
in caschnè.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG hayrack
 ‘Demolish [a hayrack] is indeed dangerous. Vigeli Monn came under a
 hayrack.’

4 Verb phrase

- (47) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Dèrgjar gjù in caschnè è prigulús.
 demolish.INF down INDEF.ART.M.SG hayrack COP.PRS.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Demolish a hayrack is dangerous.’

4.1.2.2 Finite categories

4.1.2.2.1 Present indicative Present tense is formed with the verb stem and the personal ending, which means that it is a zero-marked form, in contrast to for instance the imperfect which is characterised by the infix *áv/év/év*.

Present tense is used with all verbs that refer to an event that includes the moment of speech, independently of the *akitionsart* of the verb. In (48) the present tense refers to an ongoing activity, in (49) to a temporary state, and in (50) to a permanent state.

- (48) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f2, l. 963f.)

«Tatlaj! Las òndas, las olmas dian ...
 listen.IMP.2PL DEF.ART.F.PL aunt.PL DEF.ART.F.PL soul.PL say.PRS.3PL
rusari gjùn basèlgja.»
 rosary.M.SG down_in church.F.SG
 ‘«Listen! The aunts, the spirits are saying ... a rosary down in the church.’

- (49) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1484)

«Gè, sìnd 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?’

- (50) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 875)

La Plata dl Barlòt è sé Caschlè.
 DEF.ART.F.SG slab of.DEF.ART.M.SG sorcery COP.PRS.3SG up PLN
 ‘The sorcery slab is at Caschlè.’

Present tense also fulfils the function of habitual (51) or refers to other discontinuous activities (52).

- (51) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 695ff.)

À Cazis èr' ju ajn tgòmbra, álsò qu' èra
 in PLN 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.'

- (52) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 186)
*Ina studègja ... á á Winterthur [...].
 one.F.SG study.PRS.3SG in in PLN*
 'One studies ... in in Winterthur [...].'

Present tense also refers to an imminent future (53 and 54).

- (53) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 404f.)
*«Ju cala dad í á 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.'
- (54) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 1f.)
*Ju raquénta da mia lavur tga ju a fatg
 1SG tell.PRS.1SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG job REL 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM
 als davùs òns.
 DEF.ART.M.PL last.PL year.PL*
 'I'll tell [you] about the job I have done during the last years.'

Present tense is the usual way to refer to future situations of any type (55).

- (55) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m10)
*Damaun / Ajn dus òns fagjajn nus quaj.
 tomorrow in two.M.PL year.PL do.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM*
 'Tomorrow / In two years we'll do that.'

There are also instances of narrative present whose function is to render the story more vivid (56).

4 Verb phrase

- (56) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 928ff.)

*A lu, agl aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG priest of PLN be.PRS.3SG
 saméz sén via par í ajnta Ruèras á purtá
 REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG PURP go.INF into PLN PURP bring.INF
 agit a dá sògn jéli, né?, al davùs sacramèn
 help.M.SG and give.INF holy.M.SG oil right DEF.ART.M.SG last sacrament
 tga dèvan da quels ... móribúnds, basta, agl
 REL give.IMPF.3PL DAT DEM.M.PL dying.PL enough DEF.ART.M.SG
 aucсégnar végn atrás ... Zarcúns a lu auda 'l
 priest come.PRS.3SG through PLN and then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 las stréjas sé cò séssum la val da
 DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL up here uppermost DEF.ART.F.SG valley of
 Lòndadusa òni clumau:
 PLN 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, right? 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:’

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 infix *áv/èv/év*, whereby the distribution of it is not straightforward. *áv* is used with all verbs ending in *-á* and with most verbs ending in *-è*; *èv* is used with some verbs ending in *-è*, with most irregular verbs ending in *-aj*, and with some other irregular verbs; and *év* is used with all verbs ending in *-'ar* and *-í* as well as with some irregular verbs ending in *-aj*.

The basic functions of the imperfect indicative are to refer to imperfective aspect in the past with all types of lexical aspect (57) and (58)³, to past habitual (59) and (60), or to an unspecified repetition of actions in the past (61).

³But see examples (65) to (70) below.

- (57) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1480ff.)

Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG swan
 ... *gròn ni- vi datiar ad èra lò usché*
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMPF.3SG there so
in tèc dòminant.

INDEF.ART.M.SG bit dominant.ADJ.UNM

'And precisely at that moment a big swan ... was coming to the place where I was, a bit a dominant one.'

- (58) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 165)

Ju lèv' amprèndar da majstar [...].

1SG want.IMPF.1SG learn.INF of joiner.M.SG

'I wanted to become a joiner [...].'

- (59) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1320)

Nus mavan la damaun api vagnévan la
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.F.SG morning and come.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.F.SG
sèra.
 evening

'We would go in the morning and come back in the evening.'

- (60) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1327f.)

A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga
 and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL up PLN every
dé sé a gjù, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.
 day.M.SG up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 'And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down, I could tell you about that.'

- (61) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 11f.)

Api lura ... ju mava è mintgataun cun èl á dá
 and then 1SG go.IMPF.1SG also sometimes with 3SG.M PURP give.INF
culur las sèndas [...].

colour.F.SG DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL

'And then ... from time to time I would go with him to give colour [to the stones indicating] the trails [...].'

4 Verb phrase

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’, *séjšar gjù* ‘sit down’, *sgulá* ‘fly’, *svaní* ‘disappear’, *vagní* ‘come’
- verbs of state: *èssar* ‘be’, *rastá* ‘remain’, *vívár* ‘live’
- change-of-state verbs: *capitá* ‘happen’, *crèschar* ‘grow’, *maridá* ‘get married’, *muri* ‘die’, *néschar* ‘be born’, *schabagjá* ‘happen’
- reflexive verbs⁴
- 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, without or with a relation to the present.

- (62) Tuatschín (Surajn; Büchli 1966: 128)

<i>Ju</i>	<i>sünd</i>	<i>jus</i>	<i>sé Culmatsch</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>dumèngja.</i>
1SG	be.PRS.1SG	go.PTCP.M.MSG	up.PLN	INDEF.ART.F.SG	Sunday

‘One Sunday I went up to Culmatsch.’

- (63) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1473)

<i>[...]</i>	<i>api</i>	<i>vòu</i>	<i>anflau</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>bi</i>
	and have.PRS.1SG.1SG	find.PTCP.M.UNM	INDEF.ART.M.MSG	beautiful.M.MSG	
<i>ljuc</i>	<i>[...].</i>	place			

‘[...] and then I found a nice place [...].’

⁴According 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. However, this does not seem to be the case in Tuatschin, where *èssar* is exclusively used, at least in the corpus.

- (64) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 928f.)

A lu, agl aucsegðnar ... da Sadrún ... è
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG priest of PLN be.PRS.3SG
saméz sén via par í ajnta Rueras [...].

REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG on way.F.SG PURP go.INF into PLN

'And then, the priest ... of Sedrun ... set off in order to go to Rueras [...].'

In Romance languages like French, when the perfect tenses modify a stative verb like *connaître* 'know' or *savoir* 'know', it usually gets 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 *ançanùschar* and *savaj*) without an inchoative meaning. In other words, in these cases the verbs refer imperfectly to the situation, which is underlined by the use of the adverb *schòn* 'already' in (66).

- (65) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 139)

El ò **ançanùschju** la *familja, mù maj*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG family but never
détg òra tgi èri.
 tell.PTCP.UNM out who COP.IMP.F.SBJV.3SG
 'He knew the family, but never said who they were.'

- (66) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 103)

Al buép ò *schòn* **ançanùschju** èlas.
 DEF.ART.M.SG boy have.PRS.3SG already know.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F
 'The boy already knew them [= the girls].'

- (67) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 53)

La fuméglja d' alp ò **savju** nuét.
 DEF.ART.F.SG farmhand.COLL of alp have.PRS.3SG know.PTCP.UNM nothing
 'The alp shepherds didn't know anything.'

To get the inchoative meaning, Tuatschin uses *amprèndar d' ançanùschar* (68), literally 'learn to know', and *udí* (69) 'hear'.

- (68) Tuatschín (Ruèras; 10, l. 1000ff.)

Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah
 and eh DEM.UNM eh fascinate.IMP.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah
gè ju vès è ugèn amprju d'
 yes 1SG have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.M.UNM COMP

4 Verb phrase

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.’

- (69) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10)

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.’

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 (70) and the imperfect in (71) could be interpreted as inchoative or as a permanent state.

- (70) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m4, l. 336f.)

Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònda
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG very big
familja, èls òn gju indišch ufauns [...].
 family 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.M.UNM eleven child.M.PL
 ‘This was a ... very big family, they had eleven children [...]’

- (71) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Èls vèvan indišch ufauns.
 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL eleven child.M.PL
 ‘They had eleven children.’

As seen in example (36) in § 4.1.2.1.1 above, story-line events can also be referred to only with the past participle, without the auxiliary verbs *èssar* or *vaj*.

4.1.2.2.4 Pluperfect indicative The pluperfect fulfils the function of perfective aspect of a situation that is situated before another situation in the past.

- (72) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1227f.)

Agl Andreòli vèva finju ... las ...
 DEF.ART.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL
figuras ... avaun ca la caplùta èra
 figure.PL ... before REL DEF.ART.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG

stada finida.

PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG finish.PTCP.F.SG

'Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.'

- (73) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 494ff.)

*Qu' è lu ju tschéluisa 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 PLN
tg' èssan nus staj ajn lò fòrsa ... quátar 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 CORR 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, he hadn't done anything at all. That bandage had contracted [...].'

- (74) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 777ff.)

*A nus vajn gju schi súpar. Ju èra ûsa, ju
and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM so super 1SF COP.IMPF.1SG now 1SG
vèva gju ajnsasèz al clétg dad
have.IMPF.1SG have.PTCP.M.UNM in_fact DEF.ART.M.SG luck COMP
èssar ajn tgòmbra cun ròmòntschas.
COP.INF in room.F.SG with Romansh.F.PL*

'And we had such a wonderful time. I was now, in fact I had been lucky to share the room with Romansh girls.'

4.1.2.2.5 Future As already mentioned, the future is almost never used. The only example in the oral corpus is (75).

- (75) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 31ff.)

*Ad anad' ötgòntasjat vajn nus gju
and year.F.SG eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.M.UNM
ina vòtazjun fadarala sur da las sèndas, sch'
INDEF.ART.F.SG vote federal over of DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL whether*

4 Verb phrase

i *végn* á *prèndar ajn quaj* né *bétg*.

EXPL FUT.AUX.3SG COMP take.INF in DEM.UNM OR NEG

‘And in 1987 we had a federal vote about the trails, whether it would be adopted or not.’

4.1.2.2.6 Doubly-compound tenses There are two doubly-compound tenses: perfect (76 and 77) and pluperfect (78). They fulfil the same functions as the simple compound tenses, but they express a longer temporal distance in the past.

- (76) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 300ff.)

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.ART.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.’

- (77) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1234ff.)

A *l'* *òn ca tg' òn* *gju*

and DEF.ART.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.M.UNM

déponju *quèlas ah figuras* ò *ins adina*

store.PTCP.M.UNM DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always

détg «*la stiva dals gjadus*»,

say.PTCP.M.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG living_room of.DEF.ART.M.PL Jew.PL

ò *quèla gju* *nùm sjantar*.

have.PRS.3SG 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?’

- (78) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1633ff.)

A ... *ad in* *òn, sa* *ju aun bégn, lu*

and and INDEF.ART.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then

vèvan *nus lu gju fatg in*

have.IMPF.1PL 1PL then have.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG

tòc humòritic da la músic' anòra.

prank funny from DEF.ART.F.SG music out

‘And ... and one year, I still know very well, we from the music had

played a funny prank.'

4.1.2.2.7 Progressive aspect The progressive aspect is formed with the copula *èssar*, the preposition *vid(a)* ‘at’, with (79) or without (80) the definite article masculine singular, and the infinitive.

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

Duas zarclunzas èran vid l zarclá.
two.F.PL weeder_woman.PL COP.IMPF.3PL PROG DEF.ART.M.SG weed.INF
'Two weeder women were weeding [...]'

- (80) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 75f.)

Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vida
and DEM.M.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG
l vida zaná al bògn [...].
DEF.ART.M.SG PROG renovate.INF DEF.ART.M.SG bath
'And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool
[...].'

4.1.2.2.8 Present and perfect subjunctive Subjunctive mood, be it present, perfect, or imperfect, is characterised by the affix *-i(-)*, which is located between stem and personal ending. Note that there is no personal ending in first and third person singular: *tgu cònti / tga' èla cònti* ‘that I sing / that she sings’.

Subjunctive mood mostly occurs in some types of object clauses and in non-core argument clauses headed by *avaun tga* ‘before’, *par tga* ‘in order to’, *tòca tga* ‘until’, or *sènza tga* ‘without that’.⁵ 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’, *udí* ‘hear, be told’;
- (b) verbs of opinion: *craj* ‘believe, think’, *paraj* ‘seem’, *tanaj* ‘think, hold’, *tartgá* ‘think’;
- (c) directive speech act verbs and optative: *fá stém* and *mirá*, both ‘make sure’, *rujè* ‘ask that’, *vulaj* ‘want’;

⁵The most thorough analysis of mood in standard Sursilvan is Grünert (2003), 578 pages.

4 Verb phrase

- (d) purposive conjunctions: *par tga*, *tga* ‘in order to’;
- (e) the conjunctions *avaun (ca) tga* ‘before’, *sènza tga* ‘without’, and *tòcan* ‘until’.

Note that in object clauses the complementiser is often absent (81 and 89). Examples (81 to 84) illustrate the use of subjunctive mood, present and perfect, with verbs of speaking.

- (81) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1086ff.)

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 lò òra, 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 [...].’

- (82) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 686f.)

Lu dumandavan nuş èl, vèvan dumandau núa èl
 then ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.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 [...].’

- (83) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 880ff.)

A la détga raquénta ... tga las stréjas
 and DEF.ART.F.SG legend tell.PRS.3SG COMP DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL
dl Caschlè tg' èran sé cò a fijèvan barlòt
 DEF.ART.M.SG PLN REL COP.IMPF.3PL up here and do.IMPF.3PL sorcery
vagjan trans-pòrtau quèla plata sin⁶ in
 have.PRS.SBJV.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.ART.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 [...].’

⁶ *sin* instead of *sén*

- (84) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10)

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.'

Subjunctive mood is also used in free indirect speech, which is characterised by the lack of an introductory verb (85).

- (85) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1171ff.)

Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG
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 i 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.'

In (86) and (87), the sentence starts with a verb in indicative mood, which represent the words of the narrator, and then goes on in subjunctive mood, which represents the words of the army.

- (86) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 68ff.)

L' autar dé va ju gju la
 DEF.ART.M.SG other day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG
lubiantsha dad i vidajn, ábar stòpi prèndar
 permission COMP go.INF in but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF
malitèr cun mè, tga vajan ... func a
 military.M.SG with 1SG REL have.PRS.SBJV.3PL radio.M.SG and
sapjan prèndar ah, dí cu nus vajan da ...
 can.PRS.SBJV.3PL take.INF eh say.INF when 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL COMP
ir davùs in cuélm.
 go.INF behind INDEF.ART.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].'

4 Verb phrase

- (87) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 37ff.)

[...] *a mintga vaschnaunca ò lu stavju*
 and every municipality.F.SG have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM
dá ajn tùt tgé ca la vagi, nùca la
 give.INF in all what REL 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG where 3SG.F
vagi lògans cun mussavias, a las sèndas,
 have.PRS.SBJV.3SG place.M.PL with signpost.F.PL and DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL
tùt.

all

‘[...] and every municipality had then to inform about everything they had, where they had places with signposts and trails, everything.’

Examples (88) to (90) illustrate the use of subjunctive mood with verbs of opinion.

- (88) Tuatschín (DRG3: 582)

Da mé par' aj tg' al ajfar-piast da
 DAT 1SG seem.PRS.3SG EXPL COMP DEF.ART.M.SG hayrack_post of
véjdar èri bétga schi lads.

old.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.SUBJ.3SG NEG so wide.M.SG

‘It seems to me that the hayrack posts of earlier times were not that wide.’

- (89) Tuatschín (Ruèras; DRG1: 393)

Ju tégn tga quaj végni fatg
 1SG hold.PRS.1SG COMP DEM.UNM PASS.PRS.SBJV.3SG make.PTCP.UNM
pauc.

little

‘I think that this is not often done.’

- (90) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 769)

Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau — nus sapjan
 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 [...].’

Examples (91) to (93) shows the use of subjunctive mood with directive speech act verbs.

- (91) Tuatschín (DRG5: 535)

Mira tga quaj lò davjanti bétg.
 look.IMP.2SG COMP DEM.UNM there become.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
 'Make sure that this does not happen.'

- (92) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 478ff.)

Té mira lu tg' al tat fétschi
 2SG look.IMP.2SG then COMP DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather do.PRS.SBJV.3SG
lu mintga dé, préndi gjù quaj a
 then every.M.SG day take.PRS.SBJV.3SG down DEM.UNM and
schubrègi a fétschi sé da néjv.
 clean.PRS.SBJV.3SG and do.PRS.SBJV.3SG up of new.ADJ.UNM
 'And you, make sure that your grandfather makes it every day, that he takes it off, that he cleans it and puts it on again.'

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

[...] 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.ART.M.SG cereals in PLN
 '[...] there they pray that the Virgin Mary let grow well the cereals in the Tujetsch Valley.'

- (94) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m5)

Ju vi bétg tga la tgësa ardi.
 1SG want.PRS.1SG NEG COMP DEF.ART.F.SG house burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 'I don't want that the house be on fire.'

In purposive clauses, the conjunctions *par tga* or *tga* are used (examples 95 to 97).

- (95) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 595ff.)

A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ...
 and DEF.ART.F.SG evening PURP 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 trèva
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG

4 Verb phrase

- vidò còtgra gjù sé sél plantschju.*
 out charcoal.COLL down up on.DEF.ART.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.’

- (96) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 235ff.)
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 dëtschi
 DEF.ART.F.SG week COMP DEF.ART.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG
in frang a miaz.
 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.’

- (97) Tuatschín (Gadola 1935: 87)
[...] i ò dau las sjat.” “Lu
 EXPL have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL seven then
cuschaj — tg' in audi.”
 be_quiet.IMP.2PL COMP GNR hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ”[...] It has struck seven o'clock.” “Then be quiet so we can hear.”

The subordinator *avaun* ‘before’ occurs as *avaun tga* (98), *avaun ca* (99), and *avaun ca tga* (100). In (100) subjunctive mood is used, in contrast to (98) and (99) where indicative mood is used.

- (98) Tuatschín (DRG5: 777)
Avaun tgi végñ malaura
 before COMP.EXPL come.PRS.IND.3SG bad_weather.F.SG
isan las vacas sgarschajval.
 run_back_and_forth.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL terrible.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Before bad weather comes, the cows run back and forth like mad.’
- (99) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m5, l. 1227ff.)
Agl Andreoli vèva finju ... las ...
 DEF.ART.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL
figuras ... avaun ca la caplùta èra
 figure.PL before REL DEF.ART.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG

stada *finida.*
 PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG finish.PTCP.F.SG

‘Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.’

- (100) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1329f.)

Qu' *è* *stau* ... *mataj* ... *gl'* *òn*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.ART.M.SG year
avaun ca tgu mondi ... *ál'* *ampréma classa.*
 before REL REL.1SG go.PRS.SBJV.1SG to.DEF.ART.F.SG first form
 ‘This was ... probably... the year before I attended ... the first form [of primary school].’

A similar hesitation between indicative and subjunctive can be observed with *tòca* or *tòca tga* ‘until’. In (101) *tòca* triggers subjunctive and in (102) *tòca tga* triggers indicative.

- (101) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 740ff.)

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

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

- (102) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2142ff.)

Anqual jèda *vagnéva* *lu al* *pás[tar]* ... *né*
 some time.F.SG COME.IMPF.3SG then DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman or
usché cu aj vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' ins
 so when 3PL see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until COMP GNR
er' ajn ... ajn «schwung» [...] .
 COP.IMPF.3SG in in momentum.M.SG

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

In the corpus, *sènza tga* ‘without’ only occurs with subjunctive.

4 Verb phrase

- (103) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f7, l. 1750f.)
 [...] èla savèv' è i vidò gljunsch á paj
 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG also go.INF over_out far on foot.M.SG
 sènza tgu stòpi tumaj tga la mòndi
 without COMP.1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG fear.INF COMP 3SG.F go.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 á funs.
 to ground.M.SG
 ‘[...] she could go far on foot without me having to be afraid that she could drown.’
- (104) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 132)
 Èla végna sjantar sènza tga nus lajan.
 3SG.F come.PRS.3SG after without COMP 1PL want.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 ‘She follows us without us wanting [it].’

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

- (105) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1580ff.)
 [...] quaj fagèva las gjufnas lu schòn
 DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL young_woman.PL then in_fact
 stém sch'i vajan sé la nègla
 attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up INDEF.ART.F.SG carnation
 tg' èla vaj dau né bétg.
 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 they had given them or not.’

There are some cases where conditional is used instead of subjunctive (106).

- (106) Tuatschín (Tschanmùt; Büchli 1966: 132)
 Quèl lèva bétga craj tga 'ls tiars
 DEM.M.SG want.IMPF.3SG NEG believe.INF COMP DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL
 rasdassan 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 [...].’

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 headed by *savaj* ‘know’ (107).

- (107) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 717ff.)

A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nus
 and DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL
vagjan adina u-léjgar, a nus mòndian
 have.PRS.SBJV.1PL always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM and 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL
bugèn cò gjù à scùla, a nus fètschian
 with_pleasure here down to school.F.SG and 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL
filistùcas [...].
 prank.PL

‘And the nuns knew that the three of us, we always had fun, and that we liked to come to school down here, and that we used to play pranks [...]’

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*. A standard Sursilvan example is (108).

- (108) Standard Sursilvan (Grünert 2003: 439)

El tschentava adina puspei quella damonda desperada e
 3SG.M ask.IMPF.3SG always again DEM.F.SG question desperate and
saveva ch' el survegni mai la risposta.
 know.IMPF.3SG COMP 3SG.M get.PRS.SBJV.3SG never DEF.ART.F.SG answer

‘He asked that desperate question again and again and knew that he would never get the answer.’

The second example concerns the use of the subjunctive in a conditional sentence which depends on the particle verb *anflá ò* ‘find out’ (109).

- (109) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 797ff.)

[...] api vèvan nuş anflau òra scha nus mòndian
 and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL

4 Verb phrase

a *séjsian* *spèr la* *sòr' Andréa, lèza*
 and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next DEF.ART.F.SG nun PN DEM.F.SG
savèva *ròmòntschi*.
 know.IMPF.3SG Romansh.M.SG

[...] and then we had found out that if we went to sit next to Sister Andrea, she knew Romansh.'

In this case, Matthias Grünert states that the subjunctive after *anflar ora* is also documented in standard Sursilvan (110).

- (110) Standard Sursilvan (La Quotidiana 2018/05/04)

Gia il pievel egipzian haveva anflau ora
 already DEF.ART.M.SG people Egyptian have.IMPF.3SG find.PTCP.UNM out
che mèl d' aviuls seigi in remedi.
 COMP honey of bee.M.PL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG drug
 'The Egyptian people had already found out that honey is a drug.'

The problem is that (109) is highly elliptic. The complete sentence would be: *Api vèvan nuš anflau òra tga lèza savèva ròmòntschi a scha nus saséssan spèr la sòr' Andréa, scha savèssans raşdá ròmòntschi*. 'And then we found out that she knew Romansh and if we sat next to Sister Andrea, we could speak Romansh.' The problem is that the object clause headed by *anflá* ò 'find out' contains, not subjunctive, but indicative (*savèva* instead of *sapi*).

Therefore it could be that the consultant mixed up the use of the subjunctive and used it in the conditional sentence instead of the object clause.

Another explanation could be as follows. Since (106) above shows that the conditional is sometimes used instead of the subjunctive, in (109) it is the opposite: the subjunctive is used instead of the conditional. In any case the use of the subjunctive in (109) is not accepted by other consultants.

4.1.2.2.9 Imperfect subjunctive Imperfect subjunctive is very rare in the corpus, where it only occurs with speech act verbs (111 and 112) and verbs of opinion (113).

- (111) Tuatschín (Sadrun; m4, l. 463ff.)

[...] *la détga di tg' èrian*
 DEF.ART.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG COMP COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL
schindanajn tg' i udévian c' i tucavi
 so_in COMP 3PL hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL COMP EXPL beat.IMPF.SBJV.3SG

da mjadsdē ajnt Ruèras.

of noon.M.SG in PLN

'[...] the legend says that they were so deeply in the cave that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.'

- (112) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m10, l. 1178ff.)

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 [...].'

- (113) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2124f.)

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 [...].'

4.1.2.2.10 Direct and indirect conditional ⁷

The direct conditional mostly occurs in conditional sentences, in the protasis as well as in the apodosis. The apodosis is often not expressed overtly. The direct conditional has a simple and a compound form. The simple form expresses present counter-factuality (114 and 115).

- (114) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 441ff.)

A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancúntar Tgòm ... sjaj
 and then PLN more_uphill here in_direction PLN COP.PRS.3SG
ina rùsna, quaj fùs è aun
 INDEF.ART.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed
intarassant sch' ins savés, quaj datèscha da
 interesting.M.UNM if GNR know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from
gl' òn ju ... a ussa bigja grat prèsèn, méli
 DEF.ART.M.SG year 1SG have.PRS.1SG now NEG just present thousand

⁷The indirect conditional is used in reported speech, in contrast to the direct conditional which is not.

4 Verb phrase

a sishtschian a zatgék.

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 ... dont’ have it exactly in mind, sixteen hundred something.’

- (115) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 406f.)

«*Té savèssas í cul tat ajn Pardatsch.*»
2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF with.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather up PLN

‘«You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.»’

The compound form expresses counter-factuality in the past.

- (116) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 797ff.)

[...] *nuş astgèvan bégja raşdá ròmòntsch, inş*
1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR
vèş gè savju dá la bùca
have.COND.3SG after_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.ART.F.SG mouth
şur dlas sòras.
over OF.DEF.ART.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.’

- (117) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f2, l. 982f.)

[...] *ju fùş ina sèra maj id' ò da*
1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.ART.F.SG evening never go.PTCP.F.SG out of
tgèşa la sèra da stgir.
home.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG evening of dark.M.UNM
‘[...] I would never have left home in the evening when it was dark.’

As examples (114) to (117) show, the final *-s* of the singular persons and of the second person plural of the direct conditional is realised as [s] if it is followed by a vowel without a pause as is the case with all forms of the verbal paradigms that end in *-s*. Note, however, that if the conditional is followed by the expletive pronoun or the pronoun of the third person plural which is not marked for gender, both *i*, the ending of the conditional is pronounced [i] as in *duëss-i* ‘should.COND.3SG-EXPL’, line 1218 in § 9.8 below.

Examples (118) and (119) illustrate the indirect conditional, which occurs in object clauses that are governed by a speech act verb like *dumandá* ‘ask’ or *dí* ‘say’.

- (118) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1173f.)
 [...] *a ... lu vajn nuš, va ju dumandau sch'*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.M.UNM if
él prèndèssi mè tòcan ... á Ruèras.
 3SG.M take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PLN
 ‘[...] and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.’
- (119) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 24ff.)
 [...] *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 éba
 say.PTCP.M.UNM exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely
mòrts scù i sápjan, ábar ... ju fagèssi
 die.PTCP.M.SG as 3PL know.PRS.SBJV.3PL but 1SG do.COND.INDIR.1SG
ugèn vinavaun quèla lavour [...].
 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 [...].’

4.1.2.2.11 Tense agreement In contrast to other Romance varieties, Tuatschin has no tense agreement. In object sentences, it is always the tense that would occur in direct speech which is used. This is probably connected to the fact that Tuatschin (and Sursilvan in general) uses subjunctive after direct speech act verbs or verbs of opinion, be they affirmative or negated, also in contrast to other Romance varieties. An example is (120).

- (120) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 24f.)
 [...] *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 éba
 say.PTCP.UNM exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely
mòrts [...].
 die.PTCP.M.SG
 ‘[...] and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died [...].’

4 Verb phrase

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’ ùm 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* (121 - 123) or *végn tga* (122, but the examples suggest that the construction focalises on the present relevance of the event the verbs refers to (121 and 122) or on past habitual (123 and 124).

- (121) Tuataschin (Ruèras; DRG2: 397)

Ju a tga fò bléd.

1SG have.PRS.3SG COMP do.PRS.3SG sick

‘I am feeling sick.’

- (122) Tuatschín (DRG2: 215)

I brišcha la cazèta, i végn tga sufla.

EXPL burn.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG pot EXPL come.PRS.3SG COMP

blow.PRS.3SG
‘[The soot] on the pot is burning, it is getting stormy.’

- (123) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 826f.)

A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan

and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL

‘And then we had the opportunity to be allowed to speak Romansh

there.’

- (124) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1904ff.)

[...] api sjantar mav’ ins lu ... ségi quaj ajn

and after go.IMPF.3SG GNR then COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEM.UNM in

‘[...] and then we would go into this bar or into that one ... wherever it

drew us to go.’

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: it is considered either a genuine Romansh structure, a loan from German or Swiss German, or both. *Fá gjù*, however, is a clear case of calque from Swiss German. In Swiss German, ‘make an appointment’ is [“ab’maxə]. In this lexeme, the prefix *ab-* has been interpreted as [‘abə] ‘down’, hence *gjù*, and [‘maxə] means ‘do, make’, which leads to the particle verb *fá gjù*.

There is an important difference between the German and the Romansh construction: In German, standard or Swiss, the particle is a verbal prefix which in simple tenses is located at the end of the sentence, as in (125).

- (125) Swiss German (own knowledge)
[ix max jedə ta:g mit im ab]
 1SG make every day with him PTCL
 ‘I make an appointment with him every day.’

In such cases, the particle follows the verb in Tuatschin (and other Romansh varieties).

- (126) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
Ju fétsch gjù cun èl mintga dé.
 1SG make.PRS.1SG down with 3SG.M every day.M.SG
 ‘I make an appointment with him every day.’

However, in Tuatschin and other Romansh 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 (127) or full noun phrases (128)), the negator *bétga* and its variants (129), as well as other adverbs like *aun* ‘still’, *è/éra* (130) ‘also’, *lu* ‘then’ (130), *magari* ‘sometimes’ (131), *maj* ‘never’ (132), *pròpi* ‘exactly’ (133), *puspè* ‘again’ (134), or *schòn* ‘certainly’ (135).

- (127) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6)
Damaun prèn ju sé èl.
 tomorrow take.PRS.1SG 1SG up 3SG
 ‘Tomorrow I will lift him up.’

4 Verb phrase

- (128) Tuatschín (Gadola 1935: 91)

*Té mù trafica usché vinavaun, api sièta
 2SG just be_up_to.PRS.3SG so further and shoot.PRS.3SG
 al maliter gjù té in dé.
 DEF.ART.M.SG army down 2SG INDEF.ART.M.SG day*

‘You just go on behaving this way and the army will shoot you down one day.’

- (129) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6)

*Damaun prèn ju bérgja sé èl.
 tomorrow take.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG up 3SG
 ‘Tomorrow I won’t lift him up.’*

- (130) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1706f.)

*[...] 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 [...]’

- (131) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6)

*Ju prèn magari sé èl.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M
 ‘Sometimes I lift him up.’*

- (132) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6)

*Cun quèl fétsch ju maj gjù.
 with DEM.M.SG make.PRS.1SG 1SG never down
 ‘With this person I never make an appointment.’*

- (133) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 459)

*Aah, tgé .. prandévan pròpi òra sa ins béj’ éxáct
 ah what take.IMPF.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly
 [...].*

‘Ah, what ... they really mined one does not know exactly [...]’

- (134) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9)
Prèn puspè sé quaj!
 take.IMP.2SG again up DEM.UNM
 'Lift this again! '

- (135) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 51)
Al plé mal stùn ju pal bian caze.
 DEF.ART.M.SG most bad stay.PRS.1SG 1SG for.DEF.ART.M.SG good shoe
Al pòlisch crèscha schòn ansjaman.
 DEF.ART.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.'

With the adverb *savèns* 'often' as well as with *dabòt* and *spèrt*, both 'rapidly', the adverb may occur between the verb and its particle or not.

- (136) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, f1)
Ju prèn savèns sé èl.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG often up 3SG.M
 'I often lift him up.'
- (137) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f1)
Quèl prènd ju sé savèns.
 DEM.M.SG take.PRS.1SG 1SG up often
 'This one I often lift up.'
- (138) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9)
Èls prèndan spèrt sé als ufauns.
 3PL.M take.PRS.3PL rapidly up DEF.ART.M.PL child.PL
 'They lift the children rapidly.'
- (139) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9)
Èls prèndan sé spèrt als ufauns.
 3PL take.PRS.3PL up rapidly DEF.ART.M.PL child.PL
 'They lift the children rapidly.'
- (140) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3)
Ju prèn aun sé spèrt agl ufaun.
 1SG take.PRS.1SG still up rapidly DEF.ART.M.SG child
 'Right now, I'll lift the child rapidly.'

4 Verb phrase

- (141) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3)

Ju prèn spèrt aun sé agl ufaun.
1SG take.PRS.1SG rapidly still up DEF.ART.M.SG child
'Right now, I'll lift the child rapidly.'

- (142) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3)

Ju prèn aun dabòt sé agl ufaun.
1SG take.PRS.1SG rapidly still up DEF.ART.M.SG child
'Right now, I'll lift the child rapidly.'

The adverb *mintgataun* 'sometimes', which is a synonym of *magari*, may not intervene between the verb and the particle.

- (143) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6)

**Ju prèn mintgataun sé èl.*
1SG take.PRS.1SG sometimes up 3SG.M
'Sometimes I lift him up.'

In contrast to German, pronouns 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* 'lift up him' vs. **prèndar èl sé* 'lift him up'. A further example of the position of the personal pronoun with respect to the particle can be found in (144).

- (144) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1359f.)

A nuş duş vèvan dad í á rimná quèls
and 1PL two.M.PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP go.INF PURP collect.INF DEM.M.PL
pòrs, prèndar òr, schá ò èls, ò da nuégl.
pig.PL take.INF out let.INF out 3PL.M out of barn.M.SG
'And the two of us had to go and collect these pigs, take out, let them out, out of the barn.'

4.1.4 Copulative verbs

Copulative verbs are *èssar* 'be', *paraj dad èssar* 'seem', and the change of state verb *vagní* 'become'.

The copula *èssar* 'be' is a general copula which allows non-verbal elements to fulfil predicative functions, as e.g. nouns (145), adjectives (146), prepositional phrases in locative (147), temporal (148), or comitative (149) function, or adverbs (150).

- (145) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 880)

A qu' è pròpi ina ... pulit grònnda
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.ART.F.SG very big
plata [...].

slab

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

- (146) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f2, l. 975)

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.’

- (147) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1178)

Èl èri avaun caplùta [...].
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel.F.SG

‘He was in front of the chapel [...].’

- (148) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1247f.)

Quaj hanléj da tiars, ál sén scù quaj
 DEM.M.SG business of animal.M.PL in.DEF.ART.M.SG sense like DEM.UNM
tg' i èra ál şchènivával tschantanè [...].
 REL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.ART.M.SG nineteenth century.M.SG

‘This cattle business, in the sense of how it was in the nineteenth century [...].’

- (149) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1378ff.)

Ajn tutà cas mia, mia mùma a la
 in every case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.ART.F.SG
mùma da mju còlèga tg' èra è cun 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 [...].’

4 Verb phrase

- (150) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1290f.)

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.’

The following examples illustrate the functions of *paraj dad èssar* ‘seem’ and *vagní* ‘become’.

- (151) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Èla **para** **dad** **èssar** stauncla.
 3SG.F seem.PRS.3SG COMP COP.INF tired.F.SG

‘She seems to be tired.’

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

Té stùs stá cò tut parsula ad i
 2SG must.PRS.2SG stay.INF here completely alone.F.SG and EXPL
 végn unviarn a végne frajd [...].
 come.PRS.3SG winter.M.SG and come.PRS.3SG cold.ADJ.UNM

‘You must stay here completely alone, and winter is coming and it is getting cold.’

- (153) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1385f.)

[...] el' èra **vagnida** tut còtschna [...].
 3SG.F be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG completely red.F.SG
 [...] she had turned completely red [...].’

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’ (154 to 159) or *dá* ‘give’ (160 to 165).

As is the case with *quaj* (see § 3.2.2.1, examples 57ff. above), 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 (154).

- (154) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2229f.)
 [...] *ancunt' agl atún èri plé paucs*
 towards DEF.ART.M.SG autumn EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL more little.M.PL
tiars [...].
 animal.PL
 '[...] towards autumn there were fewer animals [...].'
- (155) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 425f.)
 [...] *lu sè aun dus trajs intarassants lògans 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 [...].'
- (156) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1087f.)
 [...] *a mintgataun èri aun grépa tga*
 and sometimes EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover rock.COLL REL
stèv' ò in téc
 stand.IMPF.3SG out INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
 '[...] and from time to time there were rocks protruding a bit'
- (157) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)
Ér sjaj stau bjè turists sé lò.
 yesterday be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM many tourist.PL up there
 'Yesterday there were many tourists up there.'
- (158) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f2, l. 963f.)
Api plinèngjù, èri gl' unviarn, qu'
 and more_down COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.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 [...].'
- (159) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 254f.)
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.'

4 Verb phrase

- (160) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 467)
 [...] **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.’
- (161) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1474ff.)
 [...] **i** **dat** *ina fòtògrafia tgu sùn*
 EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG photograph REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG
sé cun mju còlega al dé da la
 on with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF.ART.M.SG day of DEF.ART.F.SG
scargèda [...].
 drove.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘[...] there is a photograph on which I am with my mate the day of the pig driving [...].’
- (162) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 274ff.)
Las nòtzjas sa ju bétg danùndar als
 DEF.ART.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.ART.M.PL
gjaniturs, als dus baps prandèvan aj, i
 parents.PL DEF.ART.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMP.3PL 3SG EXPL
dèva ajnta Ruèras, dèv' aj in ca
 EXIST.IMP.3SG in PLN EXIST.IMP.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL
vèva rádjò.
 have.IMP.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.’
- (163) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 518ff.)
Quaj sch' i dèva rèsts scha
 well if EXPL EXIST.IMP.3SG leftovers.M.PL CORR
vagnévi lu magari rimnau quaj
 PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG.EXPL then sometimes collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
dus trajš diš api méz tut ajn ina... tut
 two.M.PL three day.PL and put.PTCP.M.PL all in INDEF.ART.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.’

- (164) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 918f.)

*A lu al pròxim, in dls pròximṣ unvjarns ...
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG next one of.DEF.ART.M.PL next.PL winter.PL
 òi dau ina grònnda navada [...].
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG big snowfall
 ‘And then the next, one of the next winters ... there was a big snowfall
 [...].’*

- (165) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 927ff.)

*Quaj èra ju gjù ina grònnda
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.ART.F.SG big
 lavina ... a vèva ... déstruí ina
 avalanche and have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
 grònnda part dl vitg ajntadém Ruèras ... a
 huge part of.DEF.ART.M.SG village uppermost PLN and
 vèv' è dau mòrts [...].
 have.IMPF.3SG also EXIST.PTCP.UNM dead.M.PL*

‘Then a huge avalanche went down ... and had ... destroyed a big part of the village in the upper part of Rueras ... and there had also been dead persons [...].’

Examples (166) and (167) show the occurrence of *dá* ‘give’ and *èssar* ‘be’ in the same context. Furthermore, (166) also contains two examples with the expletive pronoun *i* and two examples without it.

- (166) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1283ff.)

*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
 awa, 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.’*

- (167) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1290ff.)

*[...] a lu èri è quèls prígals tga
 and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also DEM.M.PL danger REL*

4 Verb phrase

dèva [...] sén ira, naturálmajn cu i vagnévan
EXIST.IMPF.3SG on go.INF natural.F.SG.ADV when 3PL come.IMPF.3PL
anavùs [...].
back

‘[...] and then there were these dangers which [one encountered] when travelling, of course when they would come back [...].’

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’ (168), *duaj* ‘must, should’ (169), *munglá* ‘must’ (170)⁸, *vaj da* ‘have to’ (171 and 172), and *stuaj* ‘must, have to’ (174 and 175). Note that *èssar da* is impersonal.

- (168) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1979)

[...] *api èri da fá fajn.*
and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP do.INF hay.M.SG
‘[...] and then one had to do hay.’

- (169) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 159ff.)

Gè grat uschéja, ábar ju, ina da la natira ad
yes exactly so but 1SG one.F.SG OF DEF.ART.F.SG nature and
a adina ... vulju fá mia òligazjun
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 persons should also do [the same].’

- (170) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

Ju munglaš ir' á tgèsa.
1SG must.COND.1SG go.INF to house.F.SG
‘I should go home.’

⁸Nowadays *munglá* is only used with conditional mood.

- (171) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1458f.)

A *tiar in* *pur* ... *èssan* *nuṣ i*,
 and by INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer be.PRS.1SG 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
èr' ju, vèv' *ju gju* *dad incassá*
 be.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM COMP collect.INF
quèls raps [...].
 DEM.M.PL cent.PL

‘And we went ... to a farmer, I was, I had to collect this money [...]’

The infinitive does not have to be adjacent to *vaj da* (172 and 173).

- (172) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 491f.)

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.ART.F.SG wound

‘You should still take a bath or look after the wound.’

- (173) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 2057f.)

A sch'i èra malaura, scha vèv' ins
 and if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG bad_weather.F.SG CORR have.IMPF.3SG GNR
á tgèsa da fá [...].
 at house.F.SG COMP do.INF

‘And if the weather was bad, we, the women, had to work in the house [...]’

- (174) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 525ff.)

[...] *l' antschata da la parlavèra stuèv'*
 DEF.ART.F.SG beginning of DEF.ART.F.SG spring must.IMPF.3SG
ins schè ajn als tiars ajn nuégl [...].
 GNR let.INF in DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL in barn.M.SG

[...] at the beginning of spring one had to let the animals into the barn [...]’

- (175) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 34ff.)

Api ... sè quaj vagnú prju ajn, a
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and
lu ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi
 then have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over

4 Verb phrase

quaj da mintga cantún, a lèzs òn sèzs
 DEM.UNM 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
 over to every canton, and these had ... to get it off the ground
 themselves [...]’

Astgè ‘be allowed, can’ (176) and *schè/schá*⁹ (177) ‘let, allow’ refer to permission.

- (176) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 759ff.)
- [...] *api vajn nus gju quèla gròndjuš' idéa scha*
 and have.PRS.1PL 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG great.F.SG idea if
nuş astgjan cuşchiná.
 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF
 ‘[...] and then we had that great idea [to ask] whether we were allowed
 to cook.’
- (177) Tuatschín (Gadola 1935: 85)
- In autar òn schajş vuş èra ir ad alp mè.*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG other year let.PRS.2PL 2PL also go.INF to alp 1SG
 ‘Another year you will also let me go to alp.’

Astgè is used in polite requests as in (178).

- (178) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 2088)
- «*Astg'* ju aun dá in glaş aua
 be_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in_addition give.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG cup water
 [...] ?»
- ‘«May I give [you] another glass of water [...] ?»’

Ability is expressed by *pudaj* ‘can, be able’ and *savaj* ‘can’. *Pudaj* refers to non-learned participant internal ability (179 - 181) or to permission (182).

⁹ *Schá* is the standard Sursilvan form.

- (179) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 727ff.)

*A las sòras savèvan tga [...] nus fètschjan
 and DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP [...] 1PL do.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 filistùcas, ad èlas pudévan maj tiar nus.
 prank.PL and 3PL.F can.IMPF.3PL never to 1PL
 ‘And the nuns knew that [...] we used to play pranks, and that they
 would never be able to prove anything to us.’*

- (180) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1441ff.)

*Ad ad in piartg ... ah ... vèva pudju
 and and INDEF.ART.M.SG pig eh have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM
 scapá sé Valtgèva tras la sajf, qu'
 escape.INF up PLN through DEF.ART.F.SG fence DEM.UNM
 er' ina, la saiv èri,
 COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG fence COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 vèva rùt in palé, quaj
 have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG post DEM.UNM
 vèva pudju atrás [...].
 have.IMPF.3SG can.PTCP.UNM 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 [...].’*

- (181) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 404f.)

*Ju cala dad í á 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.’

- (182) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 62ff.)

*Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.ART.M.SG guard of
 survigilònza, bétga schanza da pudaj atrás, quaj dé
 vigilance.F.SG NEG chance.F.SG COMP can.INF through DEM.M.SG day
 òni bigja schau í nuş atrás.
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL NEG let.PTCP.UNM go.INF 1PL through*

‘And there was ... up there a vigilance guard, no way to go through, that
 day they didn’t let us go through [that sentry].’

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Savaj refers to participant external (183 - 186) or learned participant internal ability (187 and 188).

- (183) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 406f.)
Pi ò éla dét[g]: «Té savèssas i
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF
cul tat ajn Pardatsch.»
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather up PLN
 ‘Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’
- (184) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 773)
Api sjantar vajn nus tartgau nus sapjan
 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 [...]’
- (185) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1082ff.)
[...] álsò òr dal grép òni
 this_is_to_say out of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL
fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg' ins sò
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG
ira ah á paj flòt.
 go.INF eh on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM
 ‘[...] this is to say out of the rock they made a small ... path through which one could easily go eh on foot.’
- (186) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1502ff.)
Api sjantar sünd ju sasjus gjù, api vau
 and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down and have.PRS.1SG.1SG
tartgau gè ábar ah, ju stu gè, ju sa
 think.PTCP.UNM yes but eh 1SG must.PRS.1SG after_all 1SG can.PRS.1SG
us bigj' ajfach í ál' awa.
 now NEG simply go.INF into.DEF.ART.F.SG water
 ‘And then I sat down and thought yes, but, eh, after all I should, I cannot simply jump into the water.’

- (187) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 155ff.)

Quaj crajs bέ́ antschata cu ju
DEM.UNM believe.PRS.2SG.GNR NEG DEF.ART.F.SG beginning when 1SG
a surprju quaj, èri,
have.PRS.1SG take_on.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
èri da quèls tgé ... mataj¹⁰ tg'
EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of DEM.M.PL COMP probably COMP
ina fémna sapi fá da quaj.
INDEF.ART.F.SG 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.'

- (188) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 689ff.)

Lu dumandavan nuş èl, vevan dumandau núa èl
then ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM where 3SG.M
ségi staus ajn plaza, èra '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 PLN and German know.IMPF.1SG
ju è bigja- vèvan nuş dumandau in' jèda sch'
1SG also NEG have.IMPF.1PL 1PL ask.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG time whether
èl sapi, savèva 'l lu schòn
3SG.M can.PRS.SBJV.3SG know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then indeed
in téč tudèstg, savèva 'l lu aun,
INDEF.ART.M.SG piece German know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then really
quaj tg' èra lu bigj' al cas tiar quèls
DEM.UNM REL COP.IMPF.3SG then NEG DEF.ART.M.SG case at DEM.M.PL
véglis aun.
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.'

If *savaj* modifies a verb with complements, this verb is sometimes omitted,

¹⁰ *Mataj* means 'probably'; in this context, it is used ironically in the sense of 'impossibly'.

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probably under influence of Swiss German. In example (189) it is the verb *i* ‘go’ which is omitted.

- (189) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1807ff.)
- | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------------------|
| [...] <i>da nòs</i> | <i>tjams salagravan</i> | <i>nus da vagni</i> |
| of POSS.1PL.M.SG | time REFL.appreciate.IMP.F.1PL 1PL COMP | come.INF |
| <i>ò da scùla</i> | <i>par è savaj — á la</i> | <i>gjuvantétgna.</i> |
| out of school.F.SG | PURP also can.INF | to DEF.ART.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.’

The opposition between *pudaj* and *savaj* is not always clear-cut. In (190), the modal verb refers to participant external possibility and one would expect *savaj* instead of *pudaj*.

- (190) Tuatschín (DRG3: 376)
- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Cò <i>pùn</i> | ins <i>cargè</i> | <i>tschuncònta vacas.</i> |
| here can.PRS.3SG | GNR charge.INF | fifty cow.F.PL |
- ‘Here one can put to graze fifty cows.’

Volition is expressed by *vulaj* ‘want’ (191 and 192).

- (191) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 106)
- | | | |
|---|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| « <i>Gjòn, vul</i> ¹¹ | té <i>bétga gidá</i> | <i>mè da cargè quèla</i> |
| PN want.PRS.2SG | 2SG NEG help.INF | 1SG COMP carry.INF DEM.F.SG |
| <i>bùra?»</i> « <i>Bèn bèn, scù ju pùs,</i> | <i>vi</i> | <i>ju schòn gidá.»</i> |
| 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.»’
- (192) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1483f.)
- | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| [...] <i>api vòu</i> | <i>anflau</i> | <i>in bi</i> |
| and have.PRS.1SG.1SG | find.PTCP.UNM | INDEF.ART.M.SG beautiful.M.SG |
| <i>ljuc, api lu ... lèv'</i> | <i>ju fâ bògn lò</i> | [...]. |
| place and then | want.IMP.F.1SG 1SG | do.INF bath there |
- ‘[...] and then I found a nice place, and then I wanted to take a bath there [...].’

¹¹ *Vul* is standard Sursilvan for *vutas*.

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

- (193) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 2020)

Sas tgé quaj vut dí?
know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF
'Do you know what this means?'

Epistemic modality is expressed by *duaj* (194), *pudaj* (195), and *pudaj èssar* (196) as well as *savaj èssar* (197).

- (194) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1227f.)

[...] sén quaj pas **duèssi** èssar ina
on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.ART.F.SG
samagljònta caplùta [...]
similar chapel
'[...] on this pass there should be a similar chapel [...]'

- (195) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 377ff.)

[...] quèls vèvan in purèsser plétost ... pin,
DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.ART.M.SG farm rather small
tgé **pudévan** èls vaj, déjsch quindisçh armaulş gronş
what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL big.PL
api lu aun tgauras [...].
and then besides goat.F.PL
'[...] they had a rather ... small farm, what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also goats [...]'.

- (196) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 462f.)

Préndar ajn, **pù** schòn èssar tga samidav'
take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMPF.3SG
al grép [...].
DEF.ART.M.SG rock
'As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed [...]'.

- (197) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Préndar ajn, **sò** schòn èssar tga samidav'
take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMPF.3SG

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al grép [...].

DEF.ART.M.SG rock

‘As for mining, it could well be that the rock changed [...].’

Epistemic modality is also expressed by adverbs like *fòrsa* (line 1273) / *fòrza* (line 1506) ‘maybe’, *mataj* (line 1329) ‘probably’, or *sagir* (line 1692) ‘certainly’.

4.2 Arguments of the verb

4.2.1 Core arguments

4.2.1.1 Subject

Subjects are not a part of the verb phrase, but since they are arguments of the verb, they will be treated in this section.

The subject is not marked morphologically but is defined by its position either before or after the verb according to the verb-second syntax of Tuatschin (and more generally of Sursilvan). Subject inversion in general will be treated in § 5.1.1 below 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 been in the language already for a long time.

- (198) Tuatschín (DRG9: 575)

Cuélm a vals statan a la gljut
mountain.M.PL and valley.F.PL stay.PRS.3PL and DEF.ART.F.SG people
s'antaupan.
REFL.meet.PRS.3PL

‘Mountains and valleys stay, and people meet.’

- (199) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 142f.)

La gljut tga mavan da quèla via ancùntar
DEF.ART.F.SG people REL go.IMPF.3PL from DEM.F.SG way towards
Bugnaj [...] udévan [...] ina vusch [...].
PLN hear.IMPF.3PL INDEF.ART.F.SG voice

‘The people who took that way towards Bugnei [...] would hear [...] a voice [...]’

- (200) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 602)

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 [...].’

- (201) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1668)

[...] la gjuvantétna ... fòn parada.
 DEF.ART.F.SG youth do.PRS.3PL parade.F.SG
 ‘[...] the association of young men ... holds a parade.’

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, even if there is an element between the verb and the inverted subject. An example is (206), where *è* ‘also’ stands between the verb and the subject.

- (202) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; DRG3: 592)

La salín schava 'ls utschals bétga stá ugèn.
 DEF.ART.F.SG wheat let.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL bird.PL NEG stay.INF
 with_pleasure

‘The birds didn’t like to let the wheat be.’

- (203) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 28)

[...] ina sèra [...] ò 'ls pàstars vju ad èn las vacas.
 INDEF.ART.F.SG afternoon have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL
 herdsman.PL see.PTCP.UNM COMP go.GER DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL
 ‘[...] one afternoon [...] the herdsmen saw the cows going.’

- (204) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1964f.)

[...] lu vèva las fèmñas da lavá ò la tgèsa [...].
 then have.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL woman.PL COMP wash.INF out
 DEF.ART.F.SG house
 [...] then the women had to clean the house [...].’

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- (205) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1634ff.)
- [...] *quaj fagèva las gjufnas lu schòn*
DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL young_woman.PL then in_fact
stém sch'i vajan sé la néglà
attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up INDEF.ART.F.SG carnation
tg' èla vaj dau né bétg.
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 they had given them or not.’
- (206) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1672f.)
- Ad òz fò è las gjufnas ... par tga*
and today do.PRS.3SG also DEF.ART.F.PL young_woman.PL PURP COMP
... *ségi avùnda.*
EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG enough
‘And today the young women also take part ... so that ... there are enough people.’
- (207) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1210ff.)
- [...] *fòrsa scha ju šbaglja bitg şè quèlas*
maybe if 1SG be_wrong.PRS.1SG NEG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL
figuras lu vagnidas trans-pòrtadas a mézas
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.’
- (208) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 82f.)
- [...] *quaj è vagnú da bèton' ajn, a*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and
tanju ô las aun adina.
hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always
‘[...] this has been concreted, and they still hold.’
- (209) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 382f.)
- A zatgéj mava 'ls aucs mavan lu aun*
and something go.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMPF.3PL then also

anzatgé ... ád uáut.

something to forest.M.SG

‘And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.’

- (210) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2235)

A ... cò mava 'ls buéts la stad ad alp [...].
and here go.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL boy.PL DEF.ART.F.SG summer to
alp [...].
alp.M.SG

‘And ... here, during summer, the boys would go to the summer pastures [...].’

4.2.1.2 Direct object

The direct object is not marked morphologically, but is defined through its syntactic position, be it a pronoun or a full noun phrase. With simple tenses, it is located after the verb (211) or after the subject in case of subject inversion (212), as well as after the negator *bétga*, particles, and adverbs that have been treated above in § 4.1.3 about particle verbs.

- (211) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 655ff.)

A... vagnéva mèndar a mèndar a dumagnavan bigj'
and become.IMPF.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMPF.3PL NEG
[èl] ál spital lèva 'l
3SG.M to.DEF.ART.M.SG to.DEF.ART.M.SG hospital want.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M
bitg i né tiar miadis.
NEG go.INF 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.’

- (212) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1202f.)

Qu' è adin' aviart a lu saš
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG
í ajn api vèzas [té] [quèlas ah... figurás] ajn grondézja 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 ah ... figures of the size of human beings.’

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With compound tenses, the direct object is located after the participle (213) or after the verbal particle if there is one (214), but not after the inverted subject or the negator, since these elements follow the finite verb.

- (213) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 180)

<i>Quaj</i>	ò	<i>bégja</i>	<i>dau</i>	[<i>discussjun</i>].
DEM.UNM	have.PRS.3SG	NEG	EXIST.PTCP.UNM	discussion.M.SG

‘There was no discussion.’

- (214) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6)

<i>Ju</i>	<i>prèn</i>	<i>magari</i>	<i>sé</i>	[<i>èl</i>].
1SG	take.PRS.1SG	sometimes	up	3SG.M

‘Sometimes I lift him up.’

In rare cases, ditransitive verbs have two direct objects. This is especially the case with *dumandá* ‘ask, ask for’ (215).

- (215) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 131)

[...]	<i>ina</i>	<i>zagríndara</i>	[...]	ò	<i>dumandau</i>
INDEF.ART.F.SG	Yenish			have.PRS.3SG	ask.PTCP.UNM
<i>[la</i>	<i>mùma</i>	<i>da tgèsa]</i>	<i>[in</i>	<i>tgavégl</i>	<i>da sia</i>
DEF.ART.F.SG	mother	of house	one.M.SG	hair	of POSS.3SG.F.SG

buéba.

girl

‘[...] a Yenish woman [...] asked the mother of the house for one hair of her daughter.’

Another case could be *dá fjud la lèna* (m10) ‘light firewood’, literally ‘give fire the firewood’, but in this case the syntax of the complements is inverted: the theme precedes the beneficiary, so this construction cannot be viewed as a case of verbs having two direct objects. In my opinion, the verb and the first complement have to be considered as a single semantic and syntactic unit (e.g. *dá fjud* ‘light’) having a single complement (*la lèna* ‘the firewood’) which functions as direct object. A similar case is *dá culur las sèndas* (f3, § 9.1, l. 11f.), literally ‘give colour the trails’, where *dá culur* can be interpreted as a semantic unit like *dá fjud*.

With ditransitive verbs, the direct object may be omitted if it has been mentioned before.

- (216) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 750ff.)

*Api ò ela 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*

‘And then she said there: «Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.»’

- (217) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 142ff.)

*A lura... nus, nuş şchajn [dis vischnauncas] [__], tarmètajn
 and then 1PL 1PL tell.PRS.1PL DAT.PL municipality.PL send.PRS.1PL
 ábar tutina «eine Mängelmeldung»¹² scù quaj ò
 but nevertheless a report_of_damage as DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG
 nùm.
 name.M.SG*

‘Yes, yes. And then we tell it to the municipalities, but we nevertheless send «a report of damages» as this is called.’

The direct object does not have to be immediately adjacent to the verb (218).

- (218) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1931)

*Ju vèv' als véntgatschún d' avré
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG DEF.ART.M.PL twenty-five of April.M.SG
 nataleži [...].
 birthday.M.SG*

‘I had my birthday on April 25 [...]’

4.2.1.3 Indirect object

As mentioned above in §§ 3.2.1.2 and 3.6.1, the nominal and pronominal definite indirect object was headed by *di/dis* or *li/lis*. Nowadays, the indirect object, whether definite or not, is almost exclusively headed by *da* (but see (44) to (48) in § 3.2.1.3 above about the speech of some older people).

In most cases, the indirect object precedes the direct object (219 and 220), but (221) shows that the inverse also occurs.

- (219) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1464ff.)

*«Quèl vès lu aun da pajè [da té] [al
 DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.ART.M.SG*

¹²Said in standard German.

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pustrètsch dal piertg tga té vèvas
 money of.DEF.ART.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMP.F.2SG
partgirau].»
 look_after.PTCP.UNM
 ‘This one should still pay you the money of the pig you had looked after.’

- (220) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1337f.)
A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga
 and 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL up PLN every
dé sé a gjù, ju savès raquintá [da té] [quaj].
 day.M.SG up and down 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF DAT 2SG DEM.UNM
 ‘And we would go up to Valtgeva with the pigs, every day up and down,
 I could tell you about that.’

- (221) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 34ff.)
Api ... sè quaj vagnú prju ajn, a
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM PA SS.AUX.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM in and
lu ò la cònfadarazjun dau vi
 then have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over
[quaj] [da mintga cantún] [...].
 DEM.UNM DAT every canton.M.SG
 ‘Then ... this has been adopted, and then the confederation handed it
 over to every canton [...].’

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 (222) and (223).

- (222) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 391)
*A quaj **plaşchéva** nuéta pròpi da mé.*
 and DEM.UNM please.IMP.F.3SG nothing really DAT 1SG
 ‘And I really didn’t like that.’
- (223) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 113)
A quaj fò adina da mé ... plaşchaj.
 and DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG always DAT 1SG pleasure.M.SG
 ‘And this is always a ... pleasure for me. ’

Da as a dative marker is also reported for the Surmiran dialect of Marmorera:

- (224) Surmiran (Marmorera; DRG5: 19)

*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.'*

- (225) Surmiran (Marmorera; DRG5: 19)

*Ja do(u)m in mail da chel umfant.
 1SG give.PRS.1SG INFEF.ART.M.SG apple DAT DEM.M.SG child
 'I give an apple to this child.'*

4.2.2 Non-core arguments

4.2.2.1 Locative arguments

Locative arguments are realised as adverbs or combinations of adverbs, as noun phrases, or as adpositional phrases. The latter are formed with simple or complex prepositions as well as with circumpositions.

Adverbs are either simple or combinations of adpositions as well as combinations of adpositions with adverbs; very frequent are also combinations of adverbs.

Simple adverbs are *cò* 'here', *daspèras* 'next to it', *drétg* 'right', *gljunsch* 'far away', *lò* 'there', *nagljú* 'nowhere', *saniastar* 'left', *tschò* 'here'¹³, and *zanú/zanúa* 'somewhere'.

- (226) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1104f.)

*[...] al bùrdi stèva ò ualti gljunsch, quaj
 DEF.ART.M.SG load stand.IMPF.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM
 balantschava in téc.
 roll.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
 '[...] the load was sticking out quite a lot, it was rolling a bit.'*

- (227) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1151f.)

*A lura ... quaj è grat stau in téc,
 and then DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG just COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG bit*

¹³ *Tschò* 'here' is usually used together with *lò* 'there'; see example (228).

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quèls mavan tut saniastar sén via.
 DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL completely left.ADJ.UNM on road.F.SG
 ‘And then ... this was just for a bit, they were walking on the very left side of the road.’

- (228) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2262f.)
 [...] ábar savèns è aun da quèls tg' èran
 but often also in_addition of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL
fumégl tschò né lò.
 farmhand.M.SG here or there
 ‘[...] but often also one of those that were farmhands here and there.’

- (229) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 652ff.)
 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 sjatòntanòv òns circa, sè 'l
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG seventy-nine year.M.PL around be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 zanúa para i è ruclaus.
 somewhere seem.PRS.3SG EXPL also fall.PTCP.M.SG
 ‘And ... and then it happened, ... well when he was about seventy-nine years old, it seems that he also fell down somewhere.’

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

- (230) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)
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.’
- (231) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1406f.)
 [...] a lu mava ... in òrdavaun a lu mavan
 and then go.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG 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 [...].’

- (232) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1059f.)

A lu èssan nuš 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 PLN

‘And then we went up and came [from] over [the avalanche barriers]
 down and went down to Tiefenbach.’

A special case are *gjùdém* ‘at the very bottom’ and *séssum* ‘upmost’, which are a combination of the preposition *gjù* and *sé* with the derivational morpheme *-dém* ‘(down)most’, respectively *-sum* ‘(up)most’.

- (233) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l.770ff.)

[...] ad amplanjú sé agl ésch cul ...
 and fill.PTCP.UNM up DEF.ART.M.SG door with.DEF.ART.M.SG

ròlas da pupí da tualèta tòcan séssum [...].
 roll.F.PL of 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 [...].’

Locative adverbs are also formed by combinations of the demonstrative *quaj* ‘this’ (234), the comparative *plé* ‘more (than)’, and the consecutive *schi* ‘so (that)’ (237). With *plé* the compared element may be explicit (235) or implicit (236).

- (234) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 62f.)

Api, quaj èra ... quajnassé in pòst da
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM.in_up INDEF.ART.M.SG guard of
survigilònza [...].
 vigilance.F.SG

‘And there was ... up there a vigilance guard [...]’

- (235) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1163ff.)

[...] quèls tg' èran staj á mèssa èran
 DEM.M.PL REL be.IMPF.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at mass.F.SG COP.IMPF.3PL
schòn [...] pléndanòragjù tga quaj tga nuš èssan, tg'
 already [...] more_out_down than DEM.UNM REL 1PL be.PRS.1PL REL
als, tg' als mél s èn galòpaj.
 DEF.ART.M.PL REL DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL COP.PRS.3PL gallop.PTCP.M.PL
 ‘[...] those who had assisted the mass were already [...] farther down
 than we were, that the, that the mules galloped.’

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- (236) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 425ff.)

[...] lu şè aun dus trajs intarassants lògans ajn
 then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two.M.PL three interesting.PL place.PL in
 cò, ajn Burganèz, qu' è in tòc
 here in PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
pléndanòra [...].
 more_out

‘[...] there are furthermore two or three interesting places up there, in Burganez, this is a little bit more down the valley [...].’

- (237) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 463ff.)

[...] la détga di tg' èrian
 DEF.ART.F.SG legend say.PRS.3SG COMP COP.IMPF.SBJV.3PL
schindanajn tg' i udévian c' i
 so_in COMP 3PL hear.IMPF.SBJV.3PL COMP EXPL
 tucavi da mjadşdé ajnt Ruèras.
 beat.IMPF.SBJV.3SG of noon.M.SG in PLN

‘[...] the legend says that they were so deep in the cave that they heard that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.’

Some combinations of adverbs are *cò angjù* ‘down here’, *gjù cò* ‘down here’, and *ò lò* ‘out there’.

- (238) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 91)

Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.
 here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG end no.M.PL
 ‘In the end I don't have any down here.’

- (239) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 568f.)

Ô lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM
 in téc quajda d' i par crapa [...] .
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL
 ‘Out there I might have started enjoying looking for stones a bit [...].’

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* or as *cò sé*.¹⁴ If one says

¹⁴The syntactic status of *sé* in the combination *cò sé* is not clear to me, because it looks like a postposition. However, there are no postpositions in Tuatschín except in such cases.

- (240) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10)

Ju sùn sé cò.
 1SG COP.PRS.1SG up here
 'I am up here.'

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

- (241) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10)

Ju sùn cò sé.
 1SG COP.PRS.1SG here up
 'I am up here.'

it implies that the speaker is at a higher place than the hearer. This difference does not exist with *sé lò* and *lò sé*, both 'up there'. According to several consultants, both constructions refer to the same situation; the most common construction is *sé lò*.

- (242) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f6, l. 2256ff.)

Nuš vèvan da partgirá als tiars, als
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP MIND.INF DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL DEF.ART.M.PL
buéts, a stèvan lò sé, sé majṣès.
 boy.PL 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'.

- (243) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f5)

Nuš stèvan sé lò, sé majṣès.
 1PL stay.IMPF.1PL up there up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 'We stayed up there, at the *majṣès'*

In Tuatschin - as well as in other Romansh varieties - adpositions heading place names or names of important buildings like churches or schools get a special meaning and will be treated below in this section (see Table 4.9 - Table 4.14).

The following simple prepositions occur in the corpus: *á* 'in, to', *ajn* 'in, into', *ajnt/ajnta* 'in, into', *amiaz* 'in the middle of', *ancùntar* 'towards', *antùrn* 'around', *avaun* 'before', *dadajns/dadajnt* 'inside', *dadò* 'outside', *davùs* 'behind', *gjù* 'down', *núca* 'by, next to', *ò/òra* 'out', *sé* 'up', *sén* 'on', *séssum* 'on top of', *spèr* 'next to', *sur/ṣu* 'above', *ṣut* 'under', *tòca/tòcan* 'until', *viars* 'towards'.

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- (244) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)
Ju vòn á tgèsa.
 1SG go.PRS.1SG to house.F.SG
 'I am going home.'
- (245) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 121)
A la nòtg şè 'l gyat vagnús
 and DEF.ART.F.SG night be.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG cat come.PTCP.M.SG
ajnta létg [...].
 into bed
 'And at night the cat came into [his] bed [...].'
- (246) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1434f.)
[...] 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.ART.M.SG belly of.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL
 ' [...] tied a rope around, and put them around the belly of the pigs.'
- (247) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)
Ju spétga avaun tgèsa.
 1SG wait.PRS.3SG before house.F.SG
 'I'm waiting in front of the house.'
- (248) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 815ff.)
[...] prandévan nòssa ... sarvjèta, matévan sé nùca
 take.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG napkin put.IMPF.1PL up where
la sòr' Andréa, a lu astgèvan nus raşdá
 DEF.ART.F.SG nun PN and then be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL speak.INF
ròmòntsch.
 Romansh.M.SG
 ' [...] [we] would take our ... napkin, would put it next to Sister Andrea,
 and then we were allowed to speak Romansh.'
- (249) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 508ff.)
[...] api vèvanş da partgirá als tiars,
 and have.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP mind.INF DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL
mav' ins lò sédòr ál sit, grat cò nùca
 go.IMPF.3SG GNR there up_out in.DEF.ART.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.’

If the referent is known to or can be inferred by the hearer, noun phrases headed by a preposition preclude the use of determiners: *ajn cuçchina*, *nuégl*, *tgòmbra* ‘in the kitchen, barn, bedroom’, *ajnta létg* ‘in bed’, or *avaun tgèsa* ‘in front of the house’.

But if a noun headed by a preposition refers to an entity that is not known to the hearer, the noun must be modified by the indefinite article (250).

- (250) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 363f.)

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

The noun may be modified by a demonstrative determiner in anaphoric function (251).

- (251) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1190f.)

Ajn quèla caplùta hè ajn ina, la
 in DEM.F.SG chapel COP.PRS.3SG in INDEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG
quarta stazjun da la via da la crusch.
 fourth station of DEF.ART.F.SG way of DEF.ART.F.SG cross
 ‘In this chapel there is a, the fourth station of Christ’s way of the Cross.’

If the noun phrase is modified by an adjective, the definite article must occur: *ajn la tgèsa végla* ‘in the old house’ (Büchli 1966: 30). Note that usually the preposition *ajn* and the definite article are fused: *ajn al* → *ajl/ál*, *ajn la* → *ajla/ála*.

Some more examples of bare nouns in prepositional phrases are *ajn caplùta* ‘in the chapel’ (Büchli 1966: 45), *ajn caplùta da Sòntgaclau* ‘in the chapel of St. Nicholas’ (Büchli 1966: 45), *ajn stíva* ‘in the living room’ (l. 1768), *ajn stizún* ‘in the shop’ (Büchli 1966: 123), *ajn térgja* ‘in the alpine hut’ (Büchli 1966: 122), *avaun térgja* ‘in front of the alpine hut’ (l. 2493).

The 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

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of *giù* ‘down’ and *sé* ‘up’, and *vid-* with *ajn* ‘in(to)’ and *ò/or/òra* ‘out’. Another possibility to convert *sé* into an adverb is to use *òra* as in *sédòra* ‘up’.¹⁵ The adverbial equivalent of *spèr* ‘next to’ is *daspèras*.

- (252) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7; l. 2302f.)

A ... la *duméngja* ... *alṣ* *ùmanṣ èn*
 and DEF.ART.F.SG Sunday DEF.ART.M.SG man.PL be.PRS.3PL
 i *angjù* [...].
 go.PTCP.M.PL down

‘And ... on Sunday ... the men went down [...] .’

- (253) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 455ff.)

A *quèla* *tauna* *vò* *vidajn* – *quaj* *tgu* *sùn*
 and DEM.F.SG cave go.PRS.3SG into DEM.UNM REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
staus *ajn* – *vò* *lò* *vidajn* *circa* *véntgatschún*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five
 métars, *san* *ins* *í* *vidajn* *da quèla*, *api*
 meter.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.PL

‘And this cave – [judging from] where I have been into it – one can go into it about 25 meters, and then it splits into two.’

- (254) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 597ff.)

A *la* *sèra* *par* *tga* *brischi* *bétg* ...
 and DEF.ART.F.SG evening PURP 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* *trèva*
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG
vidò *còtgle* *giù* *sé* *sé* *'l* *plantschju*.
 out charcoal.COLL down up on DEF.ART.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.’

¹⁵Note that in *sédòra*, *òra* does not mean ‘out of the valley’ as e.g. in example (283) below.

- (255) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. .)

[...] *cun agid da ... da la vischnaunca va ju*
 with help.M.SG of of DEF.ART.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
bétònaj¹⁶, né, sédòra séssum als cuélms [...].
 concrete.PTCP.M.PL right up_out on_top DEF.ART.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, even the
 army had to help me once in Maighels, because up there in Maighels the
 army was always bombing incredibly much.'

- (256) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 5368f.)

Şütajn èri la tégja nùca 'l
 under_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.F.SG alpine_hut REL 3SG.M
caschav' èra, daspèras quèls dus nuéglis
 make_cheese.IMPFF.3SG also next DEM.M.PL two.M.PL cow_barn.PL
 [...].

'Below was the alpine hut where he would also make cheese, next to it
 those two cow barns [...].'

However, *sé* and *gjù* may stand alone in the combination *sé a gjù* 'up and down'.

- (257) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1337f.)

A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga
 and 1PL go.IMPFF.1PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL up PLN every
dé sé a gjù [...].
 day.M.SG 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
 [...].'

The preposition *ancùntar* constitutes a special case in the sense that it triggers dative with human nouns but not with non-human nouns.

¹⁶ *Bétònaj* is a performance error for *bétònádas*.

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- (258) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Büchli 1966: 64)
- Cò saj vagnú ina fèmna ancùntar
here COP.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG woman towards
li quaj pur [...].
DEF.DAT.ART.SG DEM.M.SG farmer
- ‘At this moment a woman came towards this farmer [...]’
- (259) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
- Èl è jus ancùntar da la mùma.
3SG.M be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG towards DAT DEF.ART.F.SG mother
‘He went towards his mother.’
- (260) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 26)
- A lu sgulavan las còcas ò da la
and then fly.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.F.PL small_cake.PL out of DEF.ART.F.SG
cazèta ancunt' al tgamín.
pan towards DEF.ART.M.SG chimney
- ‘And then the small cakes flew out of the pan towards the chimney.’
- (261) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 943ff.)
- Ad ajnaquèla ... saj sadèrs ...
and at_that_moment be.PRS.3SG.EXPL REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM
ina grònда lavina gjù da la val
INDEF.ART.F.SG huge avalanche down of DEF.ART.F.SG valley
Lòndadusa gjù ancùntar al vitg [...].
PLN down towards DEF.ART.M.SG village
- ‘And precisely at that moment ... a huge avalanche ... came down from the Londadusa valley, down towards the village [...]’
- This is the only case of differential object marking in Tuatschin. In the Ladin varieties of Romansh (Vallader, Jauer, and Puter) differential object marking occurs with nouns depending on verbs.
- Via* instead of *vi* ‘over’ is rejected by some informants; it occurs, however, in Büchli (1966) as well as in the oral corpus.
- (262) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 132)
- A lu ségi la cúa ida via da
and then be.PRS.SBJV.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG tail go.PTCP.F.SG over from

Sòntg *Antòni gjù a vagi suatju*
holy.M.SG PN down and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG catch_up.PTCP.UNM
als *zagríndars ò sùt Bugnaj.*

DEF.ART.M.PL Yenish.PL out under PLN

‘And then the tail went down by [the chapel of] Saint Anthony and caught up the Yenish beneath Bugnei.’

- (263) Tuatschín (Tschamütt; Büchli 1966: 15)
I èr' in artg sul Rajn via.
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG rainbow on.DEF.ART.M.SG RN over
 'There was a rainbow over the Rhine.'

(264) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2338)
 $[...] api mir' al bab via sén mè:$
 and look.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father over on 1SG
 '[...] and then my father looks over to me.'

Complex prepositions are *damanjaval da* ‘near’, *navèn da* ‘from’, *ò da/òrd* ‘out of’, *òn* (< *òra ajn* ‘out (in)to’), *vi da* ‘(over) to’.

- (265) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1571f.)
Immis, quaj è gjù, gjù tschò damanajval da ...
 PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG down down there near of
Interlaken.
 PLN
 'Immis, that is down, down there, near ... Interlaken.'

(266) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2068ff.)
Tùts ... ò da scùla á fumégl ... a sjantar ád alp
 all.M.PL out of school.F.SG to farmhand.M.SG and after to alp.F.SG
a navèn dad alp vagnévas pér al davùs
 and away from alp come.IMPF.2SG.GNR only DEF.ART.M.SG last
mumèn a mavas á scùla.
 moment 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.'

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- (267) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 746)
 [...] *api* *shè* ... *ina* *da nòssa* *tgòmbra id'*
 and COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG of POSS.1PL.F.SG room go.PTCP.F.SG
òn *tualetà* [...].
 out_in toilet
 '[...] and then ... one of our room went out to the toilet [...]'
- (268) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2184ff.)
Las *quátar* *òrd* *létg* *ad* *í* *á* *rimná*
 DEF.ART.F.PL four out_of bed.M.SG and go.INF COMP collect.INF
las *vacas* *ajn* *stával* [...] .
 DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL in cowshed.M.SG
 'At four o'clock out of bed and go and gather the cows in the cowshed [...]'.
- (269) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6)
Surajn *è* *vi* *da tschèla* *vart dil* *Rajn.*
 PLN COP.PRS.3SG over of DEM.F.SG side of.DEF.ART.M.SG RN
 'Surrein is on the other side of the Rhine.'
- The derived adverbs with *-dém* or *-sum* are also used as prepositions.
- (270) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; m6, l. 927ff.)
Quaj *èra* *ju* *gjù* *ina* *grònda*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.ART.F.SG big
lavina ... *a* *vèva* ... *déstruì* *ina*
 avalanche and have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
grònda part dl *vitg* *ajntadém* *Ruèras* [...].
 huge part of.DEF.ART.M.SG village uppermost PLN
 'Then a huge avalanche went down ... and had ... destroyed a big part of the village in the upper part of Rueras [...]'.
- (271) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1193ff.)
A *lu* *schajns* *adina* *al* ... *sòntgèt* *òdém*
 and then say.PRS.1PL.1PL always DEF.ART.M.SG little_chapel out_most
al *vitg*.
 DEF.ART.M.SG village
 'And then we always say the ... little chapel at the lowest part of the village.'

- (272) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 936f.)

[...] *a lu auda l̄ las stréjas sé cò*,
 and then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL up here
séssum la val da Lòndadusa òni
 uppermost DEF.ART.F.SG valley of PLN have.PRS.3PL.3PL
clumau:
 call.PTCP.UNM

‘[...] and then he hears the witches up there, they called from the uppermost part of the Londadusa valley:’

- (273) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1061f.)

Quaj è ina, asch' ina stazjun
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG such INDEF.ART.F.SG station
amiaz al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al
 amid DEF.ART.M.SG pass around or almost on_top DEF.ART.M.SG
p̄as.
 pass

‘This is a, such a station in the middle [of the road to] the pass, approximately, or ... almost on top of the pass.’

Circumpositions are e.g. *da N ajn* ‘through N into’, *da N sé* ‘up’, ‘from N up’, *da N sédòra* ‘up’, ‘from N up’, *da N òra* ‘out of’, ‘through N out’, *par N antùrn* ‘around’, *spèr N vi* ‘next to N over’, *ṣùt N ajn* ‘under N in(to)’, *ṣùt N gjù* ‘under N down’.

In circumpositions, the preposed element *da* often refers to SOURCE (‘from’) (274) or to PATH (‘through’) (275).

- (274) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 123)

Cu i òn purtau la bara ò da
 when 3PL have.PRS.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG corpse out of
tgèsà, mirav' èl da fanèstr' òra.
 house.F.SG look.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M from window out

‘When they carried the corpse out of the house, he was looking out of the window.’

- (275) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 121)

[...] *a mava da la pòrta a da las*
 and go.IMPF.3SG from DEF.ART.F.SG door and from DEF.ART.F.PL

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rèmas *ajn ajn clavau.*

crack.PL in in barn

‘[...] and [the hay] came into the barn through the door and the cracks.’

- (276) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 84f.)

[...] *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.ART.F.SG valley PLN in_up

‘[...] I don't know when I went up the Strem valley [...]’

- (277) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1051ff.)

Avaun, navèn da Realp essan nuş i dad
before away from PLN be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from
ina ... dad in ... trùtg sédòra tòcan
INDEF.ART.F.SG from INDEF.ART.M.SG footpath up until
séssúr las lavinèras [...] .
up_over DEF.ART.F.PL avalanche_barrier.PL

‘Before, from Realp we went on a footpath [which lead us] above the avalanche barriers [...]’

- (278) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 135)

Cu 'l è vagnús á tgèsa la
when 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.M.SG to house.F DEF.ART.F.SG
sèra spèr ina gronda prajt-crap vi, ò
afternoon next_to INDEF.ART.F.SG big rock_face over have.PRS.3SG
'l schau dá la sagir šu la
3SG.M let.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.ART.F.SG saw under DEF.ART.F.SG
prajt-crap gjù [...] .
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 [...]’

One consultant uses the verb *í* ‘go’ without preposition in the case of *majšès*. The others use either *á* ‘to’ or *sé* ‘up’ in such cases.

- (279) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2246f.)

[...] *ábar avaun c' al tjams dad alp èri lu*
but before COMP DEF.ART.M.SG time of alp be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then

In Tuatschin - as well as in other Romansh varieties - locative arguments referring to place names and buildings etc. are very important.¹⁷ When the speaker is located in the Tujetsch valley, he or she must indicate whether they go down the valley (*ò* 'out'), up the valley (*ajnta* 'into'), outside the valley (*ò* 'out' or *gjù* 'down'), or over to a place (*vi*), usually seen from the speech act place. If he or she is outside the valley and goes into the valley, they must decide whether they use *sé* ('up') or *ajn* ('into').¹⁸

Table 4.9 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 4.10 the prepositions used when going to the other side of the Rhine or to the Medel Valley.

¹⁷See Ebneter 1994 for standard Sursilvan and other Romansh varieties.

¹⁸The exact location of the place names mentioned in this section can be seen in Figure 1.2 and Figure 1.3, § 1.3 above.

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Table 4.9: 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 4.10: Locatives II

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

The preposition *gjùn* is a combination of *gjù* ‘down’ and *ajn* ‘in(to)’ because *cavòrgja* means ‘canyon’, hence ‘down’ and ‘into’. As for *vin*, a combination of *vi* ‘over’ and *ajn* ‘in(to)’, this preposition is used because to go to the Val Medel one has to cross a pass, hence *vi*, and go into the valley, hence *ajn*.

Table 4.11 shows the prepositions used when going to or coming from the Upper Valley as well as to the bordering canton of Uri with two villages which have a Romansh name, namely *Ursera* (*Andermatt* in German) and *Caschinutta* (*Göschenen* in German).

Table 4.11: Locatives III

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

Table 4.12 shows the prepositions used inside the Upper Valley and going from the Upper Valley into the Lower valley.

Table 4.13 shows the prepositions used when going from Sedrun outside the Tujetsch valley or going from outside into the valley. The first village outside the Tujetsch valley is Mompé Tujetsch, and the last considered here is Trun, which

Table 4.12: Locatives IV

	Tschamùt	Sèlva	Ruèras	Sadrún	Bugnaj
Tschamùt	→ —	gjù	òragjù	òragjù	òragjù
Sèlva	→ sén	—	òragjù	òragjù	òragjù

Table 4.13: locatives V

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

is still located in the Surselva. The villages until Mustér are treated as if they still belonged to the Tujetsch valley.

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

Lu sén quèls da Sadrún i da las
 then be.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL OF PLN go.PTCP.M.PL OF DEF.ART.F.PL
Cavòrgjas òra a staj ò Mustajr avaun ca
 PLN out and COP.PTCP.M.PL OUT PLN before COMP
'ls zagríndars.
 DEF.ART.M.PL Yenish.PL

‘Then the people of Sedrun passed Cavorgia and were in Mustér before the Yenish.’

The combinations of *cò* ‘here’ with *òra* and *ajn* have two meanings: either ‘here (down or up the valley)’, or ‘outside (in direction down or up the valley)’.

- (283) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Quòra ò Mustajr saj bi.
 here_out out PLN COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL beautiful.ADJ.UNM
 ‘Here in Mustér (down the valley) it is nice.’

- (284) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Quaj è quòra, òn Cavòrgja.
 DEM COP.PRS.3SG here_out, out_in PLN
 ‘This is here (in direction down the valley), in Cavorgia.’

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- (285) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

Ju spétga té quòra.
1SG wait.PRS.1SG 2SG here_out

‘I’m waiting for you outside (the house) (in direction down the valley).’

The villages and cities from Trun downwards are all modified by the preposition *gjù* if they are relevant to the speakers, as is Chur or Zürich. If they are not relevant to them, the preposition *á* ‘to, in’ is used.

- (286) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

Ju vòn gjù Turitg.
1SG go.PRS.1SG down PLN

‘I am going (down) to Zurich.’

Regarding the lateral valleys of the Tujetsch valley, most speakers use *ajn* ‘in(to)’, but some use *sé*.

- (287) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Ju mòn ajn Val Gjuf, ajn Val Val.
1SG go.PRS.1SG into valley PLN into valley PLN

‘I go into the Gjuf valley, into the Val valley.’

- (288) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6)

Ju mòn sé Val Gjuf, sé Val Val.
1SG go.PRS.1SG up valley PLN up valley PLN

‘I go into the Gjuf valley, into the Val valley.’

When coming from the lateral valleys, *ajnagjù* or *òragjù* is used.

- (289) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m2, l. 1525ff.)

[...] in ... *tga stèva ajnasé Gjuf ábar vaj*
one.M.SG REL live.IMPF.3SG in_and_up PLN but have.SBJV.PRS.3SG
gjù da vagní navèn da Gjuf tòcan òragjù ...
have.PTCP.UNM COMP come.INF from of PLN until out_down
Zarcúns, í da dí páternias tòcan òragjù Zarcúns.
PLN

[...] one ... that lived up in Gjuf, but who had to come down from Gjuf to ... Zarcuns [...].’

Dadajns/dadajnt and *dadò* in combination with a place name or another reference point (e.g. a church, a school, or a bridge) means that the subject of the sentence is located outside the place or away from the reference point, in direction up or down the valley.

- (290) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Ju sùn dadajns Ségnas.

1SG COP.PRS.1SG from_in PLN

'I am outside Ségnas, in direction of the Tujetsch valley.'

- (291) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Ju sùn dadò Ségnas.

1SG COP.PRS.1SG from_out PLN

'I am outside Ségnas, in direction of Mustér.'

- (292) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f2, l. 956f.)

Nus vèvan nòssa scùla ajn Sùtcrèstas, qu'
1PL have.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG school in PLN DEM.UNM

è dadajnt Sèlva [...].

COP.PRS.3SG from_in PLN

'We had our school in Sutcrestas, this is outside Selva [in direction up the valley] [...].'

- (293) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 611f.)

*[...] Nacla, quaj é ... dadajns ... Surajn, fòrza végn
PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more_back PLN maybe twenty
minutas vidajn.*

minute.F.PL into

'[...] Nacla, this is ... farther behind ... Surrein, maybe twenty minutes farther behind.'

- (294) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3 and f4, l. 2020ff.)

*[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 PLN PLN

[f4] Sé Miléz, dadajns Miléz ...

up PLN in PLN

'[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 ... '

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- (295) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 139)

Lu ò l' vju òragjù dadòr Camischùlas
 then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M see.PTCP.UNM out_down outside PLN
sén in prau ina familja tga
 on INDEF.ART.M.SG field INDEF.ART.F.SG family REL
sùlvèva.
 have_breakfast.IMPF.3SG

‘Then he saw down there, outside Camischolas [in direction down the valley], a family which was having breakfast on a field.’

As mentioned, the reference point does not have to be a village or a town; in (296) 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:

- (296) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Nuş duş èssan dadajns la pùn.
 1PL two.M.PL COP.PRS.1PL from_in DEF.ART.F.SG bridge

‘The two of us are away from the bridge [in direction up the valley].’

Table 4.13 shows the prepositions that are used with the neighbouring countries (Italy, Germany, Austria, France) or regions (Bavaria).

Table 4.14: 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 (297) 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.

- (297) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m4; l. 616f.)

«*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.»’

Sometimes the combination of locative adverbs do not refer to the direction up or down the valley. This is the case e.g. with *sédòra* in (298).

- (298) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1; l. 232ff.)

A sjantar c' ins mavà, sch' mav' ins
 and after when GNR go.IMPF.3SG then go.IMPF.3SG GNR
 sél Albṣu cul trèn, a quaj
 on.DEF.ART.M.SG PLN with.DEF.ART.M.SG train and DEM.UNM
 custav' in franc dad í sédòra.
 cost.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG franc COMP go.INF up_out

'And after this, if one went, one would go up to the Alpsu [pass] by train and this costed one franc to go up there.'

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 (299).

- (299) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Èls ajn i sédajn ajn tgësa.
 3PL.M be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.UNM up_into into house.F.SG
 'They went up into the house.'

4.2.2.2 Temporal arguments

Temporal arguments consist of adverbs, noun phrases, as well as of prepositional and, exceptionally, of postpositional phrases. In this section are also included arguments that quantify the situation a verbs refer to, like 'every day', 'many times', or 'often'.

The calendar is divided in the following way: *tschantanè* 'century', *òn* 'year', *majns* 'month', *jamna* 'week', and *dé* 'day'.

The names of the months are *şchanè*, *favrè*, *mars*, *avrél*, *matg*, *zarcladur*, *fanadur*¹⁹, *uést* (2 syllables), *satjámbar*, *òctòbar*, *nòvèmbar*, and *dècèmbar*.

The names of the days are *gljéndiṣdis* (m), *mardís* (m), *masjamna* (f), *gévjja* (f), *vèndardís* (m), *sònدا* (f), and *dumèngja* (f).

¹⁹ *Zarcladur* and *fanadur* are the only old names of the months that are still in use; they are derived from the verbs *zarclá* 'weed' and *faná* 'hay'.

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The day is divided as follows: *damaun* (f) ‘morning’, *avaunmjazdé* (m) ‘morning’ (literally ‘before noon’), *mjazdé* (m) ‘noon’, *sjantarmjazdé* (m) ‘afternoon’, *sèra* (f) ‘afternoon, evening’, *nòtg* (f) ‘night’, and *mjasanòtg* (f) ‘midnight’.

Note that *bian dé*, literally ‘good day’, is used as a greeting until approximately twelve o’clock; after this, *buna sèra* is used. *Buna nòtg* ‘good night’ is used when taking leave.

The parts of the day are expressed as follows if they include the day of speech: *òz andamaun* ‘this morning’, *quèsta sèra* ‘this afternoon, this evening’, *quèsta nòtg* ‘tonight’.

Time adverbs are *adina* ‘always’, *avaun* ‘before, ago’, *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’, *maj* ‘never’, *mintgataun* ‘sometimes’, *òn* ‘last year’, *òrdavaun* ‘in advance’, *òz* ‘today’, *òzaldé* ‘nowadays’, *savèns* ‘often’, *stjarsas* ‘the day before yesterday’, *surdamaun* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *tard* ‘late’, *uòn* ‘this year’, *ùs/ùssa* ‘now’, *vònzaj* ‘later’, *zacú/zacuras* ‘someday’.

- (300) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1270ff.)

Mintgataun mavan nus èra... plas pitgògnas
 sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also around.DEF.ART.F.PL steep_slope.PL
 á cavá cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras,
 PURP dig.INF crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL
 pi vignévan nus halt in téctart.
 and come.IMPF.1PL 1PL simply INDEF.ART.M.SG bit late

‘From time to time we would also ... go farther up to extract crystals instead of looking for the goats, and then we would come back a bit late.’

- (301) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1508f.)

Api vònzaj vau tartgau, ah ju a
 and later have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM eh 1SG have.PRS.1SG
 in' idéa [...].
 INDEF.ART.F.SG idea

‘And after a while I thought, eh, I have an idea [...]’

Time prepositions, simple or compound, are *ancùntar* ‘towards’, *avaun/avaun ca* ‘before’, *da* ‘at’, *durònt* ‘during’, *sjantar* ‘after’, *tòca/tòcan* ‘until’.

- (302) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2274f.)
Api ancúntar sèra, las quátar, las tschun
 and towards evening.F.SG DEF.ART.F.PL four DEF.ART.F.PL five
vagnévaní 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.’
- (303) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l.)
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
 INDEF.ART.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL can.PTCP.UNM
dumigná quèls pòrs [...].
 cope.INF 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 [...].’
- (304) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1929f.)
[...] a nuş vevan scùla tòca gl avréł.
 and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL school.F.SG until DEF.ART.M.SG April
 ‘[...] and we had school until April.’
- Avaun ca* is very rare and only occurs in Büchli (1966):
- (305) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 132)
[...] lu şèn quèls da Sadrún [...] staj ò Mustajr
 then be.PRS.3PL DEM.M.PL OF PLN COP.PTCP.M.PL OUT PLN
avaun ca 'ls zagríndars.
 before COMP DEF.ART.M.PL Yenish
 ‘[...] then those from Sedrun [...] were in Musté before the Yenish.’

Postpositional phrases are very rare in the domain of temporal arguments. In the corpus, there are only two items: *avaun* ‘before’ and *òra* ‘out’, in very restricted contexts such as *al dé avaun* ‘the day before’ (§ 9.16, line 2203) or *al dé òra* ‘the whole day’ (§ 9.3, lines 577f.). Note that the construction with *avaun*, in contrast to the one with *òra*, could be considered elliptic: *al dé avaun quaj schabètg* ‘the day before that event’. According to this hypothesis, *avaun* is a preposition and not a postposition.

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Noun phrases functioning as locative arguments can contain a determiner or not. The definite article, singular or plural, is used when the noun phrase refers to a month, a week, or to a day of the week if the time span does not include the moment of speech (306 and 307).

- (306) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7; l. 2242)
La scùla finéva ... al matg ... zarcladur
 DEF.ART.F.SG school end.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG May June.M.SG
 [...].

‘School ended in May ... June [...]’

- (307) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6; l. 710ff.)
[...] tgi ca vagnéva traplaus stuèva
 who REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG
al vèndardis sèra ... stá lò, stgèvan
 DEF.ART.M.SG Friday evening stay.INF there be_allowed.IMPF.3PL
bigj' i á tgèsa, api stèvan lu á schùbargè
 NEG go.INF to home.F.SG and stay.IMPF.3PL then COMP clean.INF
in' ura zatgéj, durmí lò, api stèvan lu i
 one.F.SG hour something sleep.INF there and must.IMPF.3PL then go.INF
pèr la sònda andamaun á tgèsa.
 only DEF.ART.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.’

- (308) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l. 540ff.)
Ajn quèla vègljadétgna, api al pròblèm èra,
 in DEM.F.SG age and DEF.ART.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG
èra, al pròblèm èra las
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL
sòndas a dumèngjas.
 Saturday.PL and Sunday.PL
 ‘At that age, and the problem was, was, the problem was on Saturdays and Sundays.’

Further examples are *als davùs òns* (§ 9.1, line 2) ‘during the last years’, *al davùs mumèn* ‘at the last moment’ (§ 9.16, line 2069), *la duméngja, sjantar vjaspras* (§ 9.2, line 197), *la duméngja sjantarmjazdé* ‘Sunday afternoon’ (§ 9.2, line 225), *gl antiar sjantarmjazdé* ‘the whole afternoon’ (§ 9.2., lines 201f.).

If the moment of speech is included, the demonstrative determiner of the *quèst*-series is used (see § 3. above) (309), except for ‘today’, which is rendered by *òz*.

- (309) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3; l. 111f.)

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 made long tours ... of ... of six seven hours [...]’

The full hours of the time of the day are referred to by a noun phrase both with (310) or without (311) the preposition *da*. The half hours are indicated without article (310), and the quarters

- (310) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6; l. 715f.)

[...] da las déjsch èri craj né
at DEF.ART.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL believe.PRS.1SG or
mjasa las déjsch èri ruaus [...].
half.F.SG DEF.ART.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 [...]’

- (311) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1908f.)

[...] par nuş vèvi adina nùm las òtg
for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG DEF.ART.F.PL eight
lò.
there
‘[...] for us it always meant at eight there.’

Further locative arguments with determiners that are not articles are *antiar dé* ‘the whole day’, *bjè jèdas* ‘many times’, *da quaj tjams* ‘at that time’ (§9.15, l. 1921), *mintga dé* ‘every day’ (§ 9.1, l. 124), or *ana sjatònta* ‘in (19)70’ (§9.2, l. 338).

- (312) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1908f.)

Prquaj tga quaj c' ins vèva bigja grad da
because COMP DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just COMP

4 Verb phrase

partgirá tiars sch' èr' inṣ 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 [...].'

- (313) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 2040)

[...] *ábar inṣ 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 [...].'

4.2.2.3 Manner arguments

Manner arguments are realised as genuine adverbs, adverbs derived from adjectives by the suffix *-majn*, adjectives, and prepositional phrases.

Adverbs are *bégn* 'well'²⁰, *nuídis* 'reluctantly', *plaunsjú* 'slowly', *quèluisa* 'in such a way', *tschéluisa* 'in that way', *ugèn* 'gladly', *usché/uschéja* 'so', *zacù* 'somehow'.

- (314) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2198f.)

A ... la sèrvala dèv' ju schòn nuídis.
 and DEF.ART.F.SG cervelat give.COND.1SG 1SG indeed reluctantly
 'And ... the cervelat I would only give away reluctantly.'

- (315) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 494ff.)

Qu' è lu ju tschéluisa tga ca nuṣ
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM such_way COMP COMP 1PL
èssan vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch,
 be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL over_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PLN
tg' èssan nuṣ 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.'

²⁰In contrast to standard Sursilvan, Tuatschin makes a difference between *bégn* 'well' and *bèn* 'yes' (*doch* in German or *si* in French): both are realised as *bein* in Sursilvan.

- (316) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1870f.)

Ábar quaj è clar ... òzaldé
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM nowadays
végni zacù è ... purşchju daplé.
 PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL somehow also ... offer.PTCP.UNM more
 ‘But this is clear ... there are somehow also much more possibilities
 nowadays.’

These adverbs can be modified by other adverbs or by adjectives used adverbially, as is the case of *faruct* ‘crazily’ in (317).

- (317) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 96)

Ábar ... ju a fatg faruct ugèn quaj.
 but 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM crazy gladly DEM.UNM
 ‘But... I really loved to do that.’

In the corpus, the comparative of *bégn* ‘well’ and *schliat* ‘bad, badly’ is formed analytically by *plé bégn* ‘more’ and *pi pir*, literally ‘more worse’.

- (318) Tuatschín (DRG1: 296)

I vò ònz plé bégn.
 EXPL go.PRS.3SG rather more well
 ‘I feel rather better.’

- (319) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 851f.)

Quaj fùs stau pi pir par mé da
 DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM more worse 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 worse for me if I’d had to speak German in the room with those Romansh room-mates.’

Derived adverbs with the suffix *-majn* functioning as manner adverbs are relatively rare (320 and 321).

Adjectives are usually derived from its feminine form, as for example in *bian*, *buna* ‘good’ → *bunamajn* ‘almost’, but adjectives ending in *-al* or *-ar* are derived from its masculine form (see Spescha (1989: 494)), as in *natural* ‘natural’ → *naturálmajn* ‘naturally, of course’.

4 Verb phrase

- (320) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 449ff.)

*Daváuntiar şaj sé la, l' anada cur' i
 in_front COP.PRS.3SG up DEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.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 [that] they used to mine with, ah, a lot manually.’

- (321) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1886f.)

*Gè, sch'ju mir' anavùs ... quaj è fòrsa sjat,
 yes if 1SG look.PRS.1SG back DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG maybe seven
 ògj òns ... schòn mù gljèz ... savèv' ins í
 eight year.M.PL really only DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG GNR go.INF
 patschíficamajn.*

peaceful.F.SG.ADV

‘Yes, if I look back ... that was maybe seven, eight years [ago] ... only that ... one could go peacefully.’

Most of these adverbs function as modal adverbs, which express the attitude of the speaker towards the propositional content of the sentence. Some examples are *atgnamajn* ‘actually’, *bunamajn* ‘almost’, *naturálmajn* ‘naturally’, *vájramajn* ‘really’, and *símplamajn* ‘simply’.

The scarcity of the derived adverbs is due to the fact that Tuatschin uses very often an adjective in adverbial function (see § 3.3.4 above). An example of an adjective functioning as a modal adverb is *pulit* instead of *pulítamajn* in (322).

- (322) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1403ff.)

*[...] a lu ... sjantar in pèr dis ... vajn
 and then after INDEF.ART.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL
 nus savju dumigná quèls pòrs ... tga mavan
 1PL can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL
 pulit [...].
 proper.ADJ.UNM*

‘[...] and then ... after a couple of days ... we were able to cope with these pigs ... which would move properly, 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.’

Prepositional phrases functioning as manner arguments are rare; an example is (323).

- (323) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2277f.)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|-------------|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| Als | ùmans | mavan | cul | latg | gjù |
| DEF.ART.M.SG | man.PL | go.IMPF.3PL | with.DEF.ART.F.SG | milk | down |
| tgèsa | a | quaj | èra | ... in' | ur' á paj |
| home.F.SG | and | DEM.UNM | COP.IMPF.3SG | one.F.SG | hour by foot |
| bjèbégn. | | | | | |
| good.ADV | | | | | |
- ‘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.’

4.2.2.4 Further arguments

Beneficiary arguments are headed by the preposition *par/pr* ‘for’ (324).

- (324) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 385ff.)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| [...] i | è | stau | in | tjams | tga |
| EXPL | be.PRS.3SG | COP.PTCP.UNM | INDEF.ART.M.SG | time | REL |
| mavan | sél | pas, | mávani | sé á | métar |
| go.IMPF.3PL | on.DEF.ART.M.SG | pass | go.IMPF.3PL.3PL | up | COMP put.INF |
| najf | pala | ... viafiar | da la | Fürca- | Albsù. |
| snow | for.DEF.ART.F.SG | railway | of | DEF.ART.F.SG | PLN |
- ‘[...] 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.’

Causal arguments are headed by *antrás* ‘through’ (325) or by *parví da* ‘because of’ (326).

- (325) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1078ff.)
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------|----------|----------|--------------|----------------|
| A | lura | ... a | lò | quaj | trùtg | èra | in |
| and | then | and | there | DEM.M.SG | footpath | COP.IMPF.3SG | INDEF.ART.M.SG |
| ... trùtgs | antrás | 'ls | lavurs | c' | i | òn | |
| footpath.M.PL | through | DEF.ART.F.PL | work.PL | when | 3PL | have.PRS.3PL | |
| fatg | la | òvra | èlectrica. | | | | |
| make.PTCP.UNM | DEF.ART.F.SG | work | electric | | | | |
- ‘And then ... and there, this footpath was a ... paths were built when they built the electric power station.’

4 Verb phrase

- (326) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1451f.)

A lu, parví da la pjaglja, nuš vèvan lu dad
 and then because of DEF.ART.F.SG wage 1PL have.IMPF.1PL then COMP
i ad incassá.

go.INF PURP collect.INF

‘And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].’

Comitative is expressed either by *cun* ‘with’ (327), and by *ansjaman/anzjaman* ‘together’ (328) or *ansjaman cun* ‘together with’ if the argument of *ansjaman* is mentioned (329).

- (327) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 406f.)

Pi ò èla dét[g]: «Té savèssas i and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF cul tat ajn Pardatsch.»
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather up PLN

‘Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’

- (328) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l.)

*Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp^hau **ansjaman** a what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMPF.3PL a_bit together and las ròmòntschas né las tudèstgas, né è DEF.ART.F.PL Romansh..PL or DEF.ART.F.PL German..PL or also dal vitg matévani schòn in téc of.DEF.ART.M.SG village put.IMPF.3PL.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit **ansjaman**.*
 together

‘Look! these Italians were a bit together, and the Romansh or the Germans, or they put them together even from the [same] village.’

- (329) Tuatschín (Ruèras; DRG1: 602)

*La régina végn cupanada; èla sgùla DEF.ART.F.SG queen PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG fertilise.PTCP.F.SG 3SG fly.PRS.3SG a vò á spaz **ansjaman cun** in grias [...].*
 and go.PRS.3SG for walk together with INDEF.ART.M.SG drone
 ‘The queen is fertilised; she flies away and goes for a trip with a drone [...].’

Instrumental arguments are headed by *cun* (330); if the argument refers to a material out of which something is done, *òr da* ‘out of’ is used (331).

- (330) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 152f.)

Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna
 but precisely 1SG say.PRS.1SG always INDEF.ART.F.SG woman
stù adina dá cul pal.
 must.PRS.3SG always give.INF with.DEF.ART.M.SG post
 ‘But in fact, I always say that a woman must always hit with a post.’

- (331) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1084ff.)

A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò
 and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out
dal mir, álsò òr dal grép
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock
òni fatg ina pintga ... sènda [...].
 have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small path
 ‘And then they made, out of the rock face, this is to say out of the rock
 they made a small ... path [...].’

4.3 Negation

Possesses two verb phrase negator: *bétga* and its allomorphs *bétg'*/*bé*/*bigja*/*bgja*/*bigj'*²¹, which is the dedicated negator. *Nuéta* is less frequently used than *bétga*.

Bétga is located after the finite verb (332), which means that with compound tenses, it is located after the auxiliary verb (333) and with modal verbs heading an infinitive clause, the negator is situated after the modal verb (334).

- (332) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1505)

Ju sa bé dacù.
 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why
 ‘I don’t know why.’

- (333) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1600)

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

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

²¹The form *bé* is in general only used by children and younger people, but very rarely with older people.

4 Verb phrase

- (334) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1577)

Ju sa bigj' i ál' aua.
1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF into.DEF.ART.F.SG water
'Well, I couldn't jump into the water.'

However, in a similar way as with particle verbs (see § 4.1.3), the inverted subject (335) and some adverbs like *aun* 'yet', *è* 'also', *èba* 'just', *lu* 'then', or *üs* 'now', may intervene between the finite verb and the participle or the infinitive (336 - 340).

- (335) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m1, l. 274f.)

Las nòtzjas sa ju bétg danùndar als gjaniturs, als duš baps prandèvan aj [...].
DEF.ART.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.ART.M.PL parents.PL DEF.ART.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 [...].'

- (336) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 343ff.)

[...] avaun c' ju sùn staus tial tat savévu da quaj nuét a vès è bitga safatg ajn zatgé spazjal.
before COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and have.COND.1SG also NEG 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.'

- (337) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 843ff.)

Ál' antschatta cu té capèschas aun bigja quèls... curjòs plails tg' èls òn, stòs halt dumandá [...].
at.DEF.ART.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG DEM.M.PL strange.PL word.PL REL 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL must.PRS.2SG.GNR just ask.INF

'At the beginning when you don't understand yet those ... strange words they use, you must just ask [...].'

- (338) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f6, l. 754f.)

A la sèra èssan nus, stuèvan nuš èba bigj'
 and DEF.ART.F.SG evening be.PRS.1PL 1PL must.IMPF.1PL 1PL just NEG
í ad uraš ajnta létg [...].
 go.INF at hour.F.PL in bed.M.SG [...].

‘And in the evening, we went, we just didn’t have to go early to bed [...]’

- (339) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1585f.)

[...] ju sa us bigj' ajfach í ál' awa.
 1SG can.PRS.1SG now NEG simply go.INF into.DEF.ART.F.SG water

‘[...] I cannot simply jump into the water.’

- (340) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1485f.)

Quaj è hald ina détga tgu
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG simply INDEF.ART.F.SG legend REL.1SG
sa, ábar plé gròn savès ju lu è bétga [...]
 know.PRS.1SG but more big.M.SG can.COND.1SG 1SG then also NEG
 ‘This is a legend I know, but a longer one I would not be able [...]’

The two elements of *bétga plé* ‘not any more’ are not necessarily immediately adjacent to each other as in (341) where a simple tense is used.

- (341) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5, l. 1156)

Álsò ùs è 'l bigja plé òdém al
 well now COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG any_more low_most DEF.ART.M.SG
vitg [...].
 village

‘Well, now it is not at the lowest part of the village [...]’

If a compound tense is used, *bétga* is situated before the participle and *plé* follows it (342 and 343).

- (342) Tuatschín (Tschaamùt; Büchli 1966: 12)

Èl è bétga jus plé cun quaj catschadur.
 3SG be.PRS.3SG NEG go.PTCP.M.SG more with DEM.M.SG hunter
 ‘[...] he didn’t go with this hunter any more.’

4 Verb phrase

- (343) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1107f.)

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, to go farther with them any more.’

The same holds for modal verbs heading an infinitive phrase, where *bétga* precedes and *plé* follows the infinitive (344) or the infinitive with its particle (345).

- (344) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l.399f.)

«*Ju cala dad í á 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.’

- (345) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1775ff.)

[...] *òzaldé ... sa ju bigja métar avaun plé tg' i*
 nowadays can.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG put before more COMP 3PL
fòn da gljèz, né?
 do.PRS.3PL of DEM.UNM right

‘And I can imagine nowadays ... I cannot imagine any more that they play that, right?’

In infinitive clauses *bétga* precedes the infinitive (346).

- (346) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1017ff.)

[...] *quaj èssan nuş i sé pr... pr bitga stuaj*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up PURP PURP NEG must.INF
ira sé la... sé la via dad autos, sé
 go.INF up DEF.ART.F.SG up DEF.ART.F.SG way of car.M.PL up
la via dal pas.
 DEF.ART.F.SG way of.DEF.ART.M.SG pass

‘[...] there we went up in order to avoid the car way, the way of the pass.’

Other elements intervene between *bétga* and *plé*. (347) shows that this is the case with the particle belonging to the verb *tanaj* ‘hold’, a manner argument, a nominal direct object, and a locative argument.

- (347) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 69)

I tégnan bétga sé schi bégn als praus cò plé.
3PL hold.PRS.3PL NEG up so well DEF.ART.M.PL field.PL here
any_more

‘Here they don’t see to the fields well any more.’

Further elements are indirect interrogative clauses (348) or object clauses (349 and 350).

- (348) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

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.’

- (349) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 147)

Als págars savèvan bétga spatgè plé ditg
DEF.ART.M.PL Father.PL know.IMPF.3PL NEG wait.INF more long
plé.
any_more

‘The fathers couldn’t wait any longer [...].’

- (350) Tuatschín (Cavorgia; Büchli 1966: 119)

Lura lèvani bétga schè fá pástar gròn èla
then want.IMPF.3PL.3PL NEG let.INF make.INF shepherd big 3SG.F
plé [...].
any_more

‘Then they didn’t want to let her be the main shepherdess [...] any more.’

The following example illustrates *mù ... plé* ‘only ... more’, which displays the same syntax as *bétga plé*.

- (351) Tuatschín (Tschaamùt; Büchli 1966: 15)

[...] scha vagi èl mù in cazè plé.
then have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG only one.M shoe any_more
‘[...] then he would have only one shoe left.’

4 Verb phrase

- (352) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1435ff.)
- [...] *quaj piartg èra jus atrás a*
DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and
vèva rùt gjù al matg tga
have.IMPF.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.ART.M.SG bunch COMP
vèva mù la còrda plé antùrn.
have.IMPF.3SG only DEF.ART.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].’

‘Not yet’ is rendered *bétg aun* (353 and 354) or *aun bétg* (355).

- (353) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1377f.)
- Ju vèva bigja aun amprju, 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.’
- (354) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 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.’
- (355) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1261f.)
- [...] *lu èri aun bigja turists [...].*
then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet NEG tourist.M.PL
[...] then there weren’t yet tourists [...].’

Nuéta as a verb phrase negator is much less frequently used than *bétga*, but it expresses a stronger negation.

- (356) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 385)
- A quaj plaschèva nuéta pròpi da mé.*
and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG NEG really DAT 1SG
‘And I really didn’t like that.’

- (357) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 2033f.)

«*Ô quaj pùs té schòn, ùsa 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.»

- (358) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 385)

Ábar èl vèva par clétg fétg bian saun
 but 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG for luck.M.SG very good.M.SG.UNM blood
al ... ò 'l lu nuéta gju
 DEF.ART.M.SG have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then nothing have.PTCP.UNM
còmplicazjuns.
 complication.F.SG

‘But fortunately his blood was very good, the ... he then hadn’t got any complications.’

Negative adverbs are *maj* ‘never’, *nagín/nagina* ‘nobody, no’ (pronoun and determiner), *nuét* ‘nothing’, and *nagljú* ‘nowhere’. They never co-occur with *bétga*.

- (359) Tuatschín (Rèras; m3, l. 2028f.)

Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar, sùn maj
 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.ART.M.SG youngster be.PRS.1SG never
staus fumégl [...].
 COP.PTCP.M.SG farmhand

‘I was a youngster, I never was a farmhand [...]’

- (360) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 118f.)

Par í cu té vaṣ adina ... şè
 PURP 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.’

- (361) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f7, l. 2335f.)

Al bap ò détg nuét.
 DEF.ART.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM nothing

‘My father didn’t say anything.’

4 Verb phrase

Generally speaking, there is no double negation in Tuatschin.

- (362) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 147)

*Al gjával ò stiu í sènza savaj
DEF.ART.M.SG devil have.PRS.3SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF without know
fá zatgéj.
do.INF something*

‘The devil had to leave without being able to do anything.’

-> cf. double negation with ich habe nie etwas gehört.

5 Simple sentences

5.1 Declarative sentences

5.1.1 Order of the arguments

Tuatschin has SVO word order (1), but if an element occurs before the subject, the subject is moved after the finite verb (2) and (3), which means that Tuatschin has subject inversion or, in other words, verb-second syntax.

- (1) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m6, l. 1304f.)

[...] *álsò [nus] [vajn gju] [ina pintga pjaglja]*
well 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small salary
[...].

‘[...] well, we got a small salary [...].’

- (2) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m8, l. 1434)

[Avaun in pèr jamnas] ... èr' [ju] gjù
before INDEF.ART.M.SG pair week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down
Locarno [...].
PLN

‘Some weeks ago ... I was in Locarno [...].’

- (3) Tuatschin (Ruèras; m10, l. 988f.)

Api ah ... va ju cumprau gl amprém mù
and eh have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG first only
in, a [sjantar] va [ju] ... cumprau
one.M.SG and after have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM
in zacún.
INDEF.ART.M.SG second

‘And ah ... at first I bought only one, but afterwards I ... bought a second [one].’

5 Simple sentences

As shown in § 4.2.2 above, the indirect object usually precedes the direct object (4).

- (4) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, 1. 1428f.)
- Quèl vès lu aun da pajè [da té] [al pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas money of.DEF.ART.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMP.F.2SG partgirau]. look_after.PTCP.UNM*
- ‘This one should still pay you the money of the pig you had looked after.’

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 (7 and 8).

- (5) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, 1. 115ff.)
- Api vau détg, èls vagjan and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL fatg ina tura tschél' jamna, ábar èl make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.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 made a tour that week, but that he sees to it that this be ...’

- (6) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 18)
- Ju vagnès schòn, dantaun vuš vajs taun tschuf ajn 1SG come.COND.1SG really however 2PL have.PRS.2PL so.much dirt in tgësa. house*
- ‘Actually I would come, but you have so much dirt in your house.’

- (7) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f5, 1. 1256ff.)
- Als gjaniturs fagèvan al pur, ad ju DEF.ART.M.PL parent.PL do.IMP.F.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG farmer and 1SG èra tschavrèr' in tjams, ajn l' COP.IMP.F.1SG goatherd.F.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG time in DEF.ART.F.SG*

antschata cun miu frá, in òn parsula, api
beginning with POSS.1SG.M.SG brother one.M.SG year alone.F.SG and
stavèv' ins í culas tgaura tòca sé Nalps [...].
must.IMPF GNR go.INF with.DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL until up PLN
‘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 till Nalps [...]:’

- (8) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f8, l. 1458)

Pi sè' l vajramájn staus lò.
then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M true.F.SG.ADV remain.PTCP.M.SG there
‘And the swan really remained there.’

With *a* ‘and’ there is usually no subject inversion as in (7), but there are exceptions. The reason therefore is probably the resemblance with *api*, which is a combination of *a* ‘and’ and *pi* ‘then’.

example of a + inversion

After subordinating conjunctions there is no subject inversion.

- (9) Tuatschin (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 132)

La buéba ò détg tg' èla ségi
DEF.ART.F.SG girl have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM COMP 3SG be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
bétga ida voluntáriamajn, 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 had to go.’

- (10) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, 1.18ff.)

[...] 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
COMP 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG announcement
da mòrt [...]
of death.F.SG [...]’
‘[...] and then I phoned him once, because I should send a death notice
[...].’

- (11) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, 1. 342f.)

[...] avaun c' ju sùn staus tial
before COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.ART.M.SG

5 Simple sentences

tat savévu da quaj nuét [...].
grandfather know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing
‘[...] before I stayed with my grandfather I didn’t know anything [...].’

The rules concerning subject inversion are sometimes not taken into account. This is the case if the speaker wants to highlight a syntactic category.

- (12) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, 1. 1065ff.)

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,
INDEF.ART.M.SG rock REL have.COND.3SG can.PTCP.UNM throw.INF 3SG.M
scha quèls füssan grad schulaj gjù
CORR DEM.M.PL be.COND.3PL immediately fall_rapidly.PTCP.M.PL down
ajl' awa, ajl lac.
into.DEF.ART.F.SG water into.DEF.ART.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.’

The inverted subject is not immediately adjacent to the verb since in (13) *sagir* ‘sure’ is located immediately after the verb.

- (13) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, 1. 1318f.)

Avaun nus èra sagir al tgavré èra schòn
before 1PL be.IMPF.3SG sure DEF.ART.M.SG goatherd also already
jus culas tgauras, lèz mavà lu èra.
go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.ART.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.’

However, some consultants reject the position of *sagir* in (13). For them, *sagir* should be located between *èra* ‘also’ and *schòn* ‘already’.

Tuatschin is not a pro-drop language, but the omission of the subject may occur in subordinated and coordinated clauses if it can be recovered from the context.

- (14) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, 1. 1566ff.)

Avaun ina fjasta mavan aj ... tialas ...
before INDEF.ART.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.ART.F.PL

gjufnas ... *par nèglia*, *partgé* *matévan sé*
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL because SBJ put.IMPF.3PL
sé la capjala ... *ina nèglia*.
 up up DEF.ART.F.SG hat INDEF.ART.F.SG carnation
 'Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations,
 because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.'

- (15) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

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

'The only interesting thing is the first [and] second form where they [= the pupils] start switching towards Sursilvan [...].'

5.2 Interrogative sentences

Polar questions are characterised by a rising intonation and subject inversion (16).

- (16) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m8, l. 1447)

«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?'

Non-polar questions require the presence of an interrogative word and, like polar questions, exhibit subject inversion. Interrogative pronouns are *cu/cura* 'when', *cù* 'how', *dacù* 'why', *danùndar* 'where from', *núa* 'where', *partgé(j)* 'why', *tgéj* 'what', *tgi* 'who'. The interrogative determiner is *tgé(j)* 'which, what'.

- (17) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Tgi ò malagjau quaj malètg?
 who have.PRS.3SG paint.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG picture
 'Who painted this picture?'

5 Simple sentences

- (18) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 121)
Tgéj lajn fá avaun c' í á raschlá?
what want.PRS.1PL do.INF before REL go.INF COMP rake.INF
'What shall we do before going to rake?'
- (19) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
Núa ajs staus?
where be.PRS.2SG COP.PTCP.M.SG
'Where have you been?'
- (20) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
Cu shè la vagnida?
when be.PRS.3SG 3SG.F come.PTCP.F.SG
'When did she come?'
- (21) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
Prtgéj fas quaj?
why do.PRS.2SG DEM.UNM
'Why do you do this?'
- (22) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
Tgéj tgamišcha as cumprau?
which shirt.F.SG have.PRS.2SG buy.PTCP.UNM
'Which shirt did you buy?'

Indirect interrogative clauses will be treated in § 6.2.10 below.

5.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences may or may not lack a subject. If they have one, it may precede (23) or follow the verb (24).

- (23) Tuatschín (Sadrún; me, l. 608f.)
«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.»'

- (24) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l. 2164f.)
 «Ah uòn nò té ajnta Pardatsch.»
 eh this_year GO.IMP.2SG 2SG into PLN
 ‘Ah, this year go to Pardatsch. »

There are some more elements that may precede an imperative: an indirect object (26) and the adverb mù ‘only, just’ (??).

- (25) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l.)
 Gè, **da** **mé** **daj** è **ina**
 [m3] yes DAT 1SG give.IMP.2SG also INDEF.ART.F.SG
 ‘Yes, give me also a’
- (26) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l.)
 [...] ... **mù** **spétga**
 only wait.IMP.2SG
 ‘[...] just wait.’

In prohibitive sentences, the negator *bétga* and its allomorphs precedes the imperative.

- (27) Tuatschin (DRG2: 503)
Bétg tumaj!
 NEG be_afraid.IMP.2PL
 ‘Don’t be afraid!’

Reflexive verbs use the prefix sa- in the imperative (28) like in all other tenses, moods, and non-finite categories.

- (28) Tuatschín (DRG2: 327)
Sapartgiraj **dals** **bétalars** **cu** **tgi**
 REFL.beware.IMP.2PL of.DEF.ART.M.PL beggar.PL when REL.3PL.3PL
 vòn á tgavaj.
 go.PRS.3SG on horse.M.SG
 ‘Beware of the beggars when they ride.’

If a stative verb can form an imperative, it is the subjunctive which is used like *vajas* ‘have subjunctive 2pl’ in (29).

5 Simple sentences

- (29) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 208)

Vajas quitaus cu vuş majş şur la lingja
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.ART.F.SG line
via... dal şùc, dal zùc.»
 way of.DEF.ART.M.SG train.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG train

‘Be careful when you cross the railway line, the railway line.’

The hortative is formed with the first person plural present of the verb *vulaj* ‘want’, *lajn* ‘let’s’, and the infinitive (30 and 31).

- (30) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f2, l. 942f.)

Ad ûss stù 'l bunamajn vagní á mètar èls;
 and now must.PRS.3SG 3SG.M really come.INF PURP 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 [...].’

- (31) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; f1)

Lajn còj quèla tgarn.
 IMP.1PL cook.INF DEM.F.SG meat

‘Let’s cook this meat.’

The optative uses the subjunctive as the stative verbs do.

- (32) Tuatschín (DRG5: 649)

Djus banadèschi a carschjanti!
 god bless.PRS.SBJV.3SG and thrive.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘May God bless [it] and make [it] thrive!’

5.4 Exclamative sentences

Exclamative sentences are formed with the interrogative pronouns *cù* ‘how’ (33) or *tgéj* ‘what’ (34).

- (33) Tuatschín (DRG2: 215)

Jeusas, cù quai briçha!
 EXCL how DEM burn.PRS.3SG
 ‘Jee, how it is burning [of a fire]!’

- (34) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l.)
Miu 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]!»’

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 claims that the auxiliary verb be èssar ‘be’, and in the corpus it is mostly so (36 and 37); however, *vaj* ‘have’ is not rare (38 - 40).¹

- (35) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m10; l. 1071f.)
[...] ju [...] sa-spruava dad èssar ruassajvals [...].
 1SG REFL-try.hard.IMPF.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG
 ‘[...] I [...] tried hard to remain calm [...]’
- (36) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l. 322ff.)
[...] a lu sünd ju sa-dacidjus da ... raşdá
 and then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL-decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF
in pau sur da la ... da mi' ufaunza
 INDEF.ART.M.SG little over of DEF.ART.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood
 [...].
- ‘[...] and then I have decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood [...]’
- (37) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l. 357ff.)
Al tat, scù la mùma ò
 DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather as DEF.ART.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG
raquintau, è sa-prjuş ajn quaj schi
 tell.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.3SG REFL-take.PTCP.M.SG in DEM.UNM so
starmantús tg' èl è curdauş gjùdajn ajn
 terrible.ADJ.UNM COMP 3SG be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into in

¹see xxx above: DRG-Bemerkung gehört hierher.

ina *rìsna nundétga, ad ò* lu *stu*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG hole awful and have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM
 í *a fá cura,* *mass' òns,* *a ... sjantar lu*
 go.INF COMP make.INF treatment.F.SG many year.M.PL and after then
sa-ravagnús *ábar maj propí staus* *ajn gamba.*
 REFL-come_again.PTCP.M.SG but never really COP.PTCP.M.SG in leg.F.SG
 ‘My grandfather, as my mother told, took this so seriously that he fell in
 an awful hole, and during many years he had to go to a health resort, and
 ... after that he recovered, but he never was really well.’

- (38) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l. 343ff.)

[...] *avaun c' ju sùn staus tial*
 before COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.ART.M.SG
tat savévu da quaj nuét a vès
 grandfather know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and have.COND.1SG
è bitga sa-fatg ajn zatgé spacjal.
 also NEG 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.’

- (39) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l. 631ff.)

Ju a maj gju problèm- 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
ju a adina gju fétg ugèn
 1SG have.PRS.1SG always have.PTCP.UNM very with_pleasure
al tat.
 DEF.ART.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’

- (40) Tuatschín (DRG6: 321)

Als fildiròms òn sa-pagljau ajnt.
 DEF.ART.M.PL wire.PL have.PRS.3PL REFL-touch.PTCP.UNM in
 ‘The wires touched each other.’

5.5.2 Reciprocal

Reciprocal voice is formed with *in ... l'autar / ina ... l'autra* ‘the one ... the other’.

- (41) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 782f.)

Ad èlas duaş ábar ancanuschévan ... in' l' autra
 and 3PL.F two.F.PL but know.IMPF.3PL one.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG other
ad ju lu halt bérgja.
 and 1SG then in_fact NEG

‘But these two already knew ... each other but I didn't.’

5.5.3 Causative

Causative voice is formed with *fá* ‘make’ (42 - 45) and *schè/schá*² ‘have something done, let’ (46 and 47) followed by an infinitive. The causee is adjacent to the second verb.

The semantic difference between *fá* and *schè* as causative verbs must be left to further studies.

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

[...] i vèvan fatg vagní al caplòn
 3PL have.IMPF.3PL make.PTCP.UNM come.INF DEF.ART.M.SG chaplain
da Sèlva par banadí la nibla [...].
 of PLN PURP bless.INF DEF.ART.F.SG cloud
 ‘They'd had the chaplain of Selva come in order to bless the cloud [...]’

- (43) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 131)

Als da Sadrún òn vulju fá stá
 DEF.ART.M.PL of Sedrun have.PRS.3PL want.PTCP.UNM make.INF stay.INF
anavùs la buéba [...].
 back DEF.ART.F.SG girl

‘The people of Sedrun wanted to have her remain there.’

- (44) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l.653f.)

[...] plaunsjú sèni vagní da fá i scha
 slowly be.IMPF.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.INF go.INF since
vèva 'l rùt in calum.
 have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG thigh
 ‘[...] they succeeded slowly in having him going [to the hospital] since he

²*Schá* is the standard Sursilvan form.

had broken a thigh.'

- (45) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

Ju fêtsch fá al cusunz in pèr
 1SG make.PRS.1SG do.INF DEF.ART.M.SG tailor INDEF.ART.M.SG pair
tgautschas par èl.
 trousers.M.PL for 3SG.M

'I have the tailor make a pair of trousers for him.'

- (46) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, 1. 2001)

I schèvan luvrá fétg.
 3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much

'They had us work a lot.'

- (47) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Èl ò schau savaj la règina quaj.
 3SG have.PRS.3SG let.PTCP.UNM know.INF DEF.ART.F.SG queen DEM
 'He let the queen know this.'

Standard Sursilvan possesses the derivational suffix *-entar* which transforms a verb or another syntactic category into a causative. Tuatschin also possesses this suffix, *-antá* in the spelling used in this grammar, but to a very reduced extent. Where Standard Sursilvan has *cuschentar* 'cause to be quiet', *fughentar* 'light a fire', or *luchentar* (*il tratsch*) 'loosen (the soil)', Tuatschin has *fá còschar*, *dá fjuc*, and *fá luc* (*al tratsch*). In the corpus, the following factitive verbs with *-antá* occur (Table 5.1). These verbs can be derived from verbs, adjectives, or nouns.

All these verbs show stem alteration as in *ju bubrjanta* 'I make drunk' vs *nus bubrantajn* 'we make drunk'. The verbs *schjantá* 'dry' and *sagljantá* 'blow' do not exhibit this alteration because they already have the diphthong *ja* in their stem.

5.5.4 Passive

Dynamic passive is formed with the verb *vagní* 'come' and the participle (48 - 52). Stative passive is formed with the verb *èssar* 'be' and the participle (53 ??). In both cases the participle agrees with the subject if the patient precedes the passive construction.

Table 5.1: factitive verbs

<i>bubrantá</i>	'make drunk'	<	<i>bájbar</i>	'drink'
<i>buantá</i>	'water (animal)'	<	<i>bájbar</i>	'drink'
<i>cuntantá</i>	'satisfy'	<	<i>cuntjants</i>	'glad'
<i>durmantá</i>	'make sleep'	<	<i>durmí</i>	'sleep'
<i>fimantá</i>	'smoke'	<	<i>fém</i>	'smoke' (n.)
<i>luantá</i>	'melt (tr.)'	<	<i>luá</i>	'melt (itr.)'
<i>nagantá</i>	'drown (tr.)'	<	<i>nagá</i>	'drown (itr.)'
<i>schjantá</i>	'dry'	<	<i>schétg</i>	'dry' (adj.)
<i>schlupantá</i>	'blow up'	<	<i>schlupá</i>	'explode'
<i>sagljantá</i>	'blow up'	<	<i>saglí</i>	'run, jump'

- (48) Tuatschín (Tschaumùt; Büchli 1966: 53)
- [...] *als tiars èn vagní pri*
 DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL be.PRS.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL take.PTCP.M.PL
òd stával a purtaj navèn.
 out.of barn and bring.PTCP.M.PL away
 'The animals were taken away from the barn and brought away.'
- (49) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 132)
- Èla ségi vagnida tratga cun starmantusa*
 3SG COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG come.PTCP.F.SG pull.PTCP.F.SG with tremendous.F.SG
fòrza [...].
 power
 '[She said that] she had been pulled with tremendous power.'
- (50) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6; 1.694ff.)
- [...] *nus vagnévan pròpi tanidas a nus stèvan*
 1PL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL really hold.PTCP.F.PL and 1PL must.IMPFF.1PL
amprèndar a nus stèvan schubargè a fá a tut.
 learn.INF and 1PL must.IMPFF.1PL clean.INF and do.INF and all
 ' [...] we were really kept [in a strict way] and we had to learn and we had to clean and do and everything.'

If the patient follows the passive construction, there is no agreement.

- (51) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; Büchli 1966: 94)
- [...] *a lò végn i fatg mèssa, sunau*
 and there PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG EXPL do.PTCP.UNM mass play.PTCP.M.SG
òrgla a cantau véglijas 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 [...]’
- (52) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2; l. 1540ff.)
- La cumpagnia da mats, lèzas vèvan mitg'*
 DEF.ART.F.SG association of boy.PL DEM.F.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG
jèda, la cumpagnia da mats vèva mintg' jèda,
 time DEF.ART.F.SG association of boy.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time
lu èra quaj... craju, sjat ffastas...
 then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM believe.PRS.1SG.1SG seven celebration.F.PL
tga vagnéva... fátg parada.
 REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG
 ‘The young men’s associations, they had every time, the young men’s
 association had every time, then there were ..., I believe, seven
 celebrations ... when they would ... prepare a parade.’
- (53) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l.606f.)
- 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.ART.M.PL animal.PL
 ‘And there was already a lot of snow and they hadn’t come back down
 with the animals yet.’
- (54) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3; l.107ff.)
- Ad ùssa òni partju ajn quaj, al*
 and now have.PRS.3PL.3PL divide.PTCP.UNM in DEM.UNM DEF.ART.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.AUX.PRS.3PL divide.PTCP.M.PL in in region.F.PL and 1SG
a la val Tujétsch a Musté.
 have.PRS.1SG DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN and PLN
 ‘And now they have divided that, the canton has about thirty of these

heads of district, these are divided in regions, and I have the Tujetsch valley and Mustér.'

- (55) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l.447f.)

Ins vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into
pùntgas né trádals [...]
 chisel.F.PL or power_drill.M.PL

'One still can see that chisels or power drills had been used [...w.]'

Place names are considered to have no gender, hence the use of the unmarked form of the participle.

- (56) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4; l. 419f.)

Ah... Nalps è vagnú fraquantau ò scù
 ah PLN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
majšès ad alps adina [...]
 assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always [...].

'Ah ... Nalps has always been visited as an assembly of houses and as pastures [...].'

If the agent of a passive construction is mentioned, it is introduced by *da*. Whether *da* corresponds to the preposition or to the dative marker is not easy to decide. The only case where there is a difference between the two *da*'s is the first person object pronoun which is either *mè* (accusative and after prepositions) or *mé* (dative marker). As noted above in § 3.5, some speakers prefer using the pronoun *mé* (dative), whereas others use *mè* (accusative) in order to introduce the agent of a passive construction.

- (57) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5; l. 1254ff.)

[...] 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.ART.F.PL intermediate_trade.PL right or COMP PASS.AUX.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.ART.F.SG «lowlands» right
 '[...] These negotiators, they would do so to speak the intermediate trade,

5 Simple sentences

or they were ... commissioned by the big businessmen from outside the Grisons, right?

- (58) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m1)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|------------|--------------------|------------------|
| <i>Al</i> | <i>baghètg</i> | <i>è</i> | <i>vagnuš</i> | <i>bagagjauš</i> |
| DEF.ART.M.SG | building | be.PRS.3SG | PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG | build.PTCP.M.SG |
| <i>da</i> | <i>mju</i> | | <i>auc.</i> | |
| DAT | POSS.1SG.M.SG | | uncle | |
- ‘The building has been built by my uncle.’

6 Complex sentences

6.1 Coordination

Coordinating conjunctions are *a/ad* ‘and’ (1), *api* ‘and, and then’ (1), *né* ‘or’, *pi* ‘then’ (2), *ábar* ‘but’ (3), and *dantaun* ‘however, but’ (4).

- (1) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l.)

In' jèda tschò, in' jèda lò, ad in' jèda
one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time
saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuş èran i
REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
ajn ustria òl Mírar, api sa ju
in restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.ART.M.MSG PN and know.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG
bégja sén tgé nuş èran vagní [...].
NEG upon what 1PL be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL

‘Once here, once there, and once I still remember ... that we had gone to Mirer’s restaurant, and I don’t know what we conceived [...]’

- (2) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l.)

Mintgataun mavan nuş èra ... plas pitgògnas á
sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also in.DEF.ART.F.PL steep_slope.PL PURP
cavá cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi
dig.INF crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL and
vignévan nus halt in téc tart.
come.IMPF.1PL 1PL simply INDEF.ART.M.MSG 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.’

- (3) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l.)

Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar, sùn maj
textsc1sg COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.ART.M.MSG youngster be.PRS.1SG never

6 Complex sentences

- staus fumégl ábar ins mav' á 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
 [...]'

(4) Tuatschín (Ruèras; DRG9: 452)
Basta, da fá füssi üssa gl atún
 enough COMP do.INF be.COND.3SG.EXPL now DEF.ART.M.SG autumn
la pjal plajna da tùtas uisas. Dantaun scha l'
 DEF.ART.F.SG skin full of all.F.PL way.PL however if DEF.ART.F.SG
aura tégn ansjaman vòi schòn.
 weather hold.PRS.3SG together go.PRS.3SG.EXPL
 'Well, now during autumn there would be a lot of things to do. However,
 if the weather holds, it will do indeed.'

Alys: das ist die dt. Übersetzung: Nun gut, jetzt im Herbst, hätte man die Hände voll zu tun mit allerlei Arbeiten. Aber wenn das Wetter anhält, geht es schon.'

In the case of coordination with *né* ‘or’, the complementiser *tga* must be used as in (5).

- (5) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l.)
A né grad è gl unviarn cunzún mavans
 and right precisely also DEF.ART.M.SG winter especially go.IMPF.1PL.1PL
bjè a bagagjavan sprungš a dèvan cun skis né
 often and build.IMPF.1PL jump.M.PL and give.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL or
cun ajssa né tg' ins mavā cun bòb da
 with board.F.SG right COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG with bob.M.SG from
vias gjù [...].
 street.F.PL 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 [...].’

6.2 Subordination

6.2.1 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 can be modified by the

definite masculine article (6 and 7) or not (8 or 9).

- (6) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1634ff.)
- Ôh gl ampréndar tudèstg è stau,*
 oh DEF.ART.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
l' antscharta hè quaj schòn stau
 DEF.ART.F.SG beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM
in tèc curiùs.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit strange.ADJ.UNM
- 'Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.'
- (7) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2140f.)
- [...] ábar al trá ajn èla èra ... da maz.*
 but DEF.ART.M.SG pull.INF in 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG of killing.M.SG
 '[...] but bringing it in was ... terrible.'
- (8) Tuatschín (DRG:)
- 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.'
- (9) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1379ff.)
- A dumagnè als amprèmṣ dis quèls pòrs gjù da*
 and cope.INF DEF.ART.M.SG first.PL day.PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL down from
da quaj trùtg ajnagjù a sjantar atrás l'
 from DEM.M.SG path into_and_down and after through DEF.ART.F.SG
aua dal Drun tga vagnéva mù pauc vi da
 water of.DEF.ART.M.SG RN REL come.IMPF.3SG only little over of
tschèla vart, qu' è stau álsò in
 DEM.F.SG side DEM.UNM. be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM well INDEF.ART.M.SG
martéri.
 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 [...].'

It is also possible to use the complementiser *da* (10), but in this case the referent of the infinitive is highlighted.

6 Complex sentences

- (10) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10)

Da còschar fùs stau mégljar.
COMP keep_silent. INF be.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM better
'To keep silent would have been better.'

If the subject clause is located after the verb, the expletive pronoun *i* is required in subject position and the infinitive may be headed by the preposition *da* (11) or not (12).

- (11) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

I è stau mégljar da còschar.
EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM better COMP keep_silent. INF
'It was better to keep silent.'

- (12) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1831)

[...] i è gréjv dí [...].
EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM say.INF
'[...] it is difficult to say [...]'

Finite object clauses are headed by the complementiser *tga*; the expletive pronoun *i* must occur in subject position (13).

- (13) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l.)

Ad i è aun schabagjau plé ... tga nuš
and EXPL be.PRS.3SG in_addition happen.PTCP.UNM more COMP 1PL
èssan i ... tiar duas, álṣò ajn duas jèdas ... tiar
be.PRS.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to two.F.PL well in two.F.PL time.PL to
ina api sjántar aun í ad i 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, well at two different moments ... to the one and went also, and went over to the other.'

6.2.2 Object clauses

Object clauses can be finite or non-finite. Infinitive clauses are headed by the complementiser *da* (14 and 15).

- (14) Tuatschín (Surajn; Büchli 1966: 128)

Al pástar gròn ò admonju da
 DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman big have.PRS.3SG admonish.PTCP.UNM COMP
bétga fá tupadats.
 NEG do.INF stupidity.F.PL

'The main herdsman admonished not to commit stupidities.'

- (15) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1171ff.)

[...] *api vagi èl tartgau ... dad i vi ajn*
 and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG 3SG.M think.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF over on
via ... a tanaj sé èls.
 road.F.SG and hold.INF up 3PL.M

'[...] and he thought... that he would go on the road ... and stop them.'

Finite object clauses are headed by the complementiser *tga* 'that' (16) or *scha* 'whether' (18). The clause may be separated from the main verb by a temporal clause as in (17).

- (16) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1630fff.)

In' jèda tschò, in' jèda lò, ad in' jèda
 one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time
saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuš èran í
 REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
ajn ustria òl Mírar [...].
 in restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.ART.M.SG PN

'Once here, once there, and once I still remember ... that we had gone to Mirer's restaurant [...].'

- (17) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1630fff.)

Ju sa cu cu ... cu ju sùn maridaus
 1SG know.PRS.1SG when when when 1G be.PRS.1SG marry.PTCP.M.SG
tga ... èri ajn Camischùlas circa quindişch ufauns
 COMP EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PLN about fifteen child.M.PL
... tga mavan á scùla da Camischùlas.
 REL go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG of PLN

'I know that when when ... when I got married ... there were in Camischolas about fifteen ... children who attended the school of Camischolas.'

6 Complex sentences

- (18) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l.)
[...] *a ... lu vajn nuš, va ju dumandau sch'*
and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.UNM if
el prèndessi mè tòcan ... á Ruèras.
3SG.M take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PLN
'[...] and ... then we, I asked whether he could take me down to Rueras.'

6.2.3 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are either finite or non-finite. Non-finite temporal clauses are headed by *da* (19) or *avaun ca* (20 and 21).

- (19) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 120)
Da vagní anavùs vònd ju plaunsju!
COMP come.INF back go.PRS.1SG 1SG slowly
'When I come back, I'll walk slowly!'
- (20) Tuatschín (Tschanmùt; Büchli 1966: 17)
[...] *sünd ju ida a tgèsa, avòn¹ ca tga*
be.PRS.1SG 1SG go.PTCP.F.SG to house before COMP COMP
vagní stgir.
get.PRS.SBJV.3SG dark
'[...] I went home before it got dark.'
- (21) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 471f.)
[...] *avaun c' i vidajn, ah, staus lu tial*
before COMP go.INF uphill eh COP.PTCP.M.SG then at.DEF.ART.M.SG
miadi [...].
doctor
'[...] before going uphill, he went to the doctor [...].'

Finite temporal clauses are headed by *avaun ca tga* 'before', *cu* 'when', *da-fartáuntiar tga* 'whilst', *durònt tga* 'when', *schi glajti scù* 'as soon as', and *tòca* 'until'.

With the complementiser *cu* (derived from the interrogative pronoun *cura* 'when') correlative textitscha 'if, then' is usually used (22 and 23).

¹The form *avòn* is not a standard Sursilvan form, but belongs to the dialect of Tschanmut and Selva.

- (22) Tuatschín (Berther 2007: 23)

[...] ***cu*** *i* *dat* *la* *bènèdiczjun, scha*
 [...] when EXPL give.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG blessing CORR
fò *la* *sòntga crusch.*
 make.IMP.2SG DEF.ART.F.SG holy cross
 ' [...] when it comes to the blessing, make the sign of the cross.'

- (23) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2206f.)

A *pér cu* *quaj* *èra* *fatg,* *scha*
 and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR
èra *la* *scòtga mèmi tgauda [...].*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG whey too hot
 'And only when this was done, the whey was too hot [...].'

Instead of *cu* 'when' one also finds *tga*, which in combination with *ju* 'I' is realised as *tgu* (24 - 26).

- (24) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Valär 2013b: 8)

[...] *fa:* *ajn* [...] *tsa'kondz diants* *aʌ rɔfti: də le*
 [...] make.INF in [...] some tooth.M.PL dat rake of DEF.ART.F.SG
dɔ:nə *tp* *el* *ɔ* *rut* *ɔ:r eir də* *me'tsa:*
 woman REL 3SG have.PRS.3SG break.PTCP.UNM out also COMP kill.INF
in *rufp*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG toad

' [...] put in some teeth to the woman's rake he had broken when he killed a toad.'

- (25) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 280f.)

A *sjantar* [...] *chè* *'l* *bap lu mòrts* *tgu*
 and after be.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father then die.PTCP.M.SG REL.1SG
vèva.... *mù vèntgadúš* *òn.*
 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.' (temporal argument)

- (26) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 562f.)

Ò *lò vòu* *fòrza schòn è survagnú*
 down there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.M.UNM
in *téc quajda* *d' i par crapa,* *tgu*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL REL.1SG

6 Complex sentences

a *vju* *difarènts* *lògans tg'* i
 have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.M.UNM different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL
vèvan *sitau* *gjù ad èra...* *vagnú*
 have.IMPF.3PL blast.PTCP.M.UNM down and be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.M.UNM
 ò *cristalaş* [...] .
 out crystal.F.PL

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

Examples (27 - 30) illustrate the other complementisers that head a temporal clause.

- (27) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Dafartáuntiar tga la *mùma fò* *quaj,*
 whilst REL DEF.ART.F.SG mother do.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
miras *té dal* *pòp.*
 look.PRS.2SG 2SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG baby

‘Whilst mother is doing this, you look after the baby.’

- (28) Tuatschín (Tschaumùt; Büchli 1966: 19)

Ju a *gju* *tèma tg'* *als* *tiars*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM fear COMP DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL
réjsdjan *durònt tga la* *sòntga mèssa da Nadal*
 talk.PRS.SBJV.3PL during COMP DEF.ART.F.SG holy mass of Christmas
végni *lagida.*
 come.PRS.SBJV.3SG read.PTCP.F.SG

‘I feared [...] that the animals could talk when the Holy Mass would be read.’

- (29) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1134f.)

A schi ... schi glajti scù nuç èssan staj sén la
 and so so soon as 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL ON DEF.ART.F.SG
via cantunala òni antschat á galòpá.
 way 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.’

- (30) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l. 741f.)
- Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG nun out so in_front_of
nias ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau
 POSS.1PL.M.SG door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM
tòca la audi anzatgéj [...]
 until 3SG.F hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something
 ‘And then the nun was out [on the corridor] like this ... in front of our
 door, waiting and waiting until she would hear something [...]’

6.2.4 Manner clauses

Non-finite manner clauses are headed by *cun* ‘with’ (31) and finite manner clauses either by *scù* (32), *scù tga* (33), or only *tga* (34).

- (31) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 176f.)
- «*Gè, i fùs schòn flòt, ábar ju sùn è*
 yes EXPL COP.COND.3SG really great.ADJ.UNM but 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
vagnú² atrás cun fá 'l pur.»
 come.PTCP.M.SG through with do.INF DEF.ART.M.SG farmer
 ‘«Yes, this would be really great, but being a farmer I also could earn a
 living.»’

- (32) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 755f.)
- Öz saj al al Furka né*
 today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG PLN or
al ... la ban³ né scù i végn
 DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.F.SG train right as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG
raşdau öz sén tudèstg.
 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)

- (33) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l.)
- Nus mavan bjè, gè, á fá gjugs, scù tg' ins*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes PURP do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR

²*Vagnú* is a performance error for *vagnús*.

³*Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for ‘train’.

fagèva plé baut [...].
do.IMPF.3SG more early

‘We would often go and play, as one would do it earlier [...]’

- (34) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; DRG3: 583)
- La bùca stuèv' èssar tga la pudèv'*
DEF.ART.F.SG mouth should.IMPF.3SG COP.INF COMP 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG
ajn la lata.
into DEF.ART.F.SG slat
- ‘The cutting should be such that the slat could fit into it.’

6.2.5 Purposive clauses

Non-finite purposive clauses are headed by *a* after a verb of movement (35 and 36) and by *par/pr* (37) or *da* (38 and 39) in all other cases, whereby *da* is very rare. Example (36) contains both *par* and *á*.

- (35) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f2, l.939f.)
- Api şchèvan aj èba in tg' è mòrts tga*
and say.IMPF.3PL 3PL precisely one REL COP.PRS.3SG dead.M.SG REL
végn á métar als, als
come.PRS.3SG PURP put.INF DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.PL
tjarms... la nòtg [...].
boundary_stone.PL DEF.ART.F.SG night
- ‘And, precisely, they also used to say [that] somebody who was dead came and put the, the boundary stones ... at night [...]’

- (36) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l.416ff.)
- [...] ju vèva... sis òns tga èran vida prapará*
1SG have.IMPF.1SG six year.M.PL COMP COP.IMPF.3PL PROG prepare.INF
la via par í sé Nalps á bagagè al
DEF.ART.F.SG road PURP go.INF up PLN and build.INF DEF.ART.M.SG
mir da farmada.
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.’

- (37) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m11, l.960ff.)

Als mél s èran, qu' èra... fèrm...
 DEF.ART.M.PL mule COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG strong.ADJ.UNM
fèrms tiars ad èl duvrava qua j mél pr
 strong.M.PL animal.PL and 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule PURP
trá, pr trá lèna sé da Cavòrgja.
 pull.INF PURP pull.INF wood.COLL up from PLN

'The mules were, these were in fact strong ... strong animals and he used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.'

- (38) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 143)

[...] méz in pétg sc' ins drùva par tut
 put.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG hoe like IMPERS need.PRS.3SG for all
las lavurs da parlavèra a gl' atún da cavá
 DEF.ART.F.PL work.PL of spring and DEF.ART.M.SG autumn PURP dig
trúfals.
 potato.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.'

- (39) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1579f.)

Api savèv' ins bigja cù, cù fá da purtá
 and know.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG how how do.INF COMP carry.INF
las nèglas [...].
 DEF.ART.F.PL carnation.PL

'And one would not know how to put the carnations [...] (literally 'how to do in order to put the carnations').'

There is one example where the complementiser *á* is absent.

- (40) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1948)

[...] api èri dad í — métar trúfals [...].
 and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF put potato.M.PL
 '[...] and then one had to sow potatoes [...]']

In the DRG materials, there is one occurrence of *bétg* 'negator' located between *par* 'for' and *tga* 'complementiser', i.e. outside of the subordinate clause.

- (41) Tuatschín (DRG3: 385)

Vèndardé sògn stù in muantá la tgarn a
 Friday.M.SG holy must.PRS.3SG GNR move.INF DEF.ART.F.SG meat and
 las ljöngjas bétga tga vignan ajn als
 DEF.ART.F.PL sausage.PL NEG COMP come.PRS.3PL in DEF.ART.M.PL
 baus.
 beetle.PL

‘On Good Friday one must move the meat and the sausages so that the maggots cannot go into the meat.’

This construction has not been accepted by my informants; however, a similar construction which, in contrast to the Tuatschin example (41) includes the complementiser *par*, can be found in other Romansh varieties like e.g. in the Sutsilvan dialect of Dalin.

- (42) Šutsilván (Dagljégn; DRG4: 607)

Par bétg tg' in schleschi dat il
 PURP NEG COMP GNR slip.PRS.SBJV.3SG give.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG
 calger eign in pér guspas els calzers.
 shoemaker in INDEF.ART.M.SG some nail.PL in.DEF.ART.M.PL shoe.PL
 ‘In order not to slip, the shoemaker beats some nails into the shoes.’

Therefore it is possible that the Tuatschin construction in (41) belonged to an older variety of the language.

6.2.6 Causal clauses

Non-finite causal clauses are headed by *da* (43), and finite causal clauses are headed by *parquaj/prquaj tga* (44), *partgé* (45), *ma tga* (46), *tga* (47), or *cunquaj tga* ‘since’ (48).

- (43) Tuatschín (Ruèras; Valär 2013b: 9)

‘dze:vja zε l ‘tɔni de lε met’lajne
 Thursday COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG PN of DEF.ART.F.SG PN
 səffərdentaws fi fetc de ‘bajbər trajs mjo:las
 REFL.catch.cold.PTCP.M.SG so much COMP drink.INF three cup.PL
 pε:n frajt
 buttermilk cold

‘Thursday Matlaina’s Toni caught a very strong cold because he drank three cups of cold buttermilk.’

- (44) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 24ff.)

[...] *api lura va ju in' jèda talafònau dad*
 then have.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M because
él prquaj tg' èl vèva
 COMP 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
tarmèz in' anunzja da mòrt [...].
 announcement of death.F.SG
 ' [...] then I phoned him once, because I should send a death notice [...].'

- (45) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l.)

Avaun ina fjasta mavan aj ... tialas ...
 before INDEF.ART.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.ART.F.PL
gjufnas ... par nèglà, partgé matévan sé sé
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL beacusee put.IMPF.3PL up up
la tgapjala ... ina nèglà.
 DEF.ART.F.SG hat INDEF.ART.F.SG carnation
 'Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations,
 because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.'

- (46) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l.)

«*Cò ò la mùma dau ina*
 here have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG mother give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
sèrvla, ma tg' i è damaun duméngja».
 cervelat because COMP EXPL COP.PRS.3SG tomorrow Sunday
 '«Here, mother provided a cervelat, because tomorrow is Sunday.»'

- (47) Tuatschín (DRG3: 719)

Ùssa léjva tg' i è clar dé.
 now get_up.IMP.2SG COMP EXPL COP.PRS.3SG clear day
 'Get up now since day has already broken.'

- (48) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l.)

[...] *cunquaj tg' èl èra ... fòrsa staus ah da*
 since COMP 3SG.M be.IMPF.3SG maybe COP.PTCP.M.SG ah of
malitèr tials tgavals, né gju da fâ cun
 army.M.SG at.DEF.ART.M.PL horse.PL or have.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF with
tgavals, scha... vèv' èl ... cumprau in
 horse.M.PL then have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG

6 Complex sentences

asan, álsò in mél, bitg in asan,
donkey this_is INDEF.ART.M.SG mule NEG INDEF.ART.M.SG donkey
in mél.
INDEF.ART.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’

6.2.7 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed in three different ways:

- (1) a correlative construction with *scha* in both the protasis and the apodosis (49 and 50),
- (2) only the protasis is headed by *scha* 'if' (51 - 53),
- (3) without subordinator in the protasis but with subject inversion and *scha* or *lura* in the apodosis (54).

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).

- (49) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 120)

Scha té as lu mèmja bjè da raclamá a grí, scha
if 2SG have.PRS.2SG then too much to complain and shout then
matajn nus té ajnagjù 'l Run.
put.PRS.1PL 1PL 2SG in.down DEF.ART.M.SG RN

‘If you really have so much to complain and to shout, we will throw you
down into the Run [river].’

- (50) Tuatschín (Camischùlas; f6, l.)

A da gjantá ... sch' ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ...
and of lunch.INF if INDEF.ART.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG
vida majsa, scha stuèvan tut quèla- nuş ròmòntschas
at_of table.F.SG then must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL
rasdá 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.’

- (51) Tuatschín (Berther 1998: 60)
- Scha ju antupás quèla gljut, sabatès ju gjù*
 if 1SG meet.COND.1SG DEM.F.SG people REFL.throw.COND.1SG 1SG down
ajn ganuglijas a bitschás als cazès.
 in knee.F.PL and kiss.COND.1SG DEF.ART.M.PL shoe.PL
 'If I met these people, I'd kneel down and kiss their shoes.'
- (52) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l.)
- Da mintga pur stèvanş í a scha 'l*
 of every farmer.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.INF and if 3SG.M
vèva gju dus, stèva 'l pijè ...
 have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM two.M.PL must.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M pay.INF
dus pòrs né in né uschéa [...].
 two.M.PL 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 [...].'
- (53) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l.)
- [...] 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.'
- (54) Tuatschín (Sèlva; Büchli 1966: 34)
- Vasèvan ins ina signura [...] cun schuba cuérta,*
 see.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR INDEF.ART.F.SG woman [...] with shirt.F.SG short
còtschna, [...] lura spitgavan als purs
 red [...] CORR expect.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.PL farmer.PL
ina gronda malaura [...].
 INDEF.ART.F.SG big storm
 'If one saw a woman with a short shirt, a red one, the farmers would expect a heavy storm.'

6.2.8 Consecutive clauses

Concessive clauses are headed by *tga*.

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- (55) Tuatschín (Tschamùt; Büchli 1966: 20)
- Èla dètgi in' jèda ina*
 3SG.F give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.F.SG time DEF.ART.F.SG
curnada li èl tg' èl stètschi
 push_with_horn.PTCP.F.SG DAT 3SG.M COMP 3SG.M stay.PRS.SBJV.3SG
sél plaz.
 on.DEF.ART.M.SG place
- ‘She [the cow] would give him a push with her horns so that he would remain on the spot.’
- (56) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m6, l. 1397ff.)
- [...] quaj piartg èra jus atrás a vèva*
 DEM.M.SG pig be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and have.IMPF.3SG
rùt giù al matg tga 'l vèva
 break.PTCP.UNM down DEF.ART.M.SG bunch COMP 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG
mù la còrda plé antùrn.
 only DEF.ART.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 him.’
- (57) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1085f.)
- Bjè jèdas sèni scapaj tga nuş vajn ah*
 many time.PL be.PRS.3PL.3PL escape.PTCP.M.PL COMP 1PL have.PRS.1PL ah
pròpi gju ah gròndas misérjas [...].
 really have.PTCP.UNM ah big.F.PL trouble.PL
- ‘They escaped many times so that we had big troubles [...]’

6.2.9 Comparative clauses

Non-finite comparative clauses are headed by *scù da*, literally ‘how of’ or ‘like of’, (58), and finite comparative clauses are headed by *scù* (59) or *scù tga* (60).

- (58) Tuatschín (DRG6: 300)
- I vò fil á fil scù da caná in aniséjl.*
 EXPL go.PRS.3SG jet to jet CPR COMP stab.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG kid
 ‘[Blood] flows like when one stabs a kid.’

- (59) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 24ff.)

[...] *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 sápjan [...].
 3PL know.PRS.SBJV.3PL

'[...] then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as he knew
 [...].'

- (60) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1784f.)

Nus mavan bjè, gè, á fá gjugs, scù tg' ins
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes PURP do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR
fagèva plé baut ... försa da quaj da polizi' a
 do.IMPF.3SG more early maybe of DEM.UNM of police.F.SG and
ládar ... da quaj.
 thief.M.SG of DEM.UNM

'We would often go and play, as one would do it earlier ... maybe games
 of police and thief ... things like that.'

6.2.10 Concessive clauses

Consecutive clauses are headed by *schabi tga*, literally 'if nice that'.

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

Schabi tga lu, cun sis òns capév' ins lu
 although COMP then with six year.M.PL understand.IMPF.3SG GNR then
halt aun mèmja pauc a vèva bigja la... försa⁴
 just still too little and have.IMPF.3SG NEG DEF.ART.F.SG strength
da fá zatgéj.
 COMP do.INF something

'Although then, at the age of six, one would understand too little and
 wouldn't have the ... strength to do something.'

6.2.11 Indirect interrogative clauses

Indirect interrogative clauses are characterised by the fact that, in contrast to direct interrogative sentences (see § 5.2), they do not trigger subject inversion

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(62 - 69). An exception is a topicalised non-finite manner clause which is left-dislocated and therefore precedes the main verb (70).

- (62) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 105)

[...] *a damònnda cù i vòndi.*
and ask.PRS.3SG how EXPL go.PRS.SBJV.3SG
'[...] and he asked how he was.'

- (63) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1079ff.)

Ad èr' è zatgé bi da mirá cù
and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM COMP 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 ruassajvalš a... pazjènts.
COP.IMPF.3PL calm.M.PL and patient.M.PL

'Also something nice to look at, how these animals worked, how they ... used to go and keep calm and patient.'

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

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

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

- (65) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 432ff.)

[...] *al PN ò è fagj lò*
DEF.ART.M.SG PN have.PRS.3SG also make.PTCP.UNM there
in pèr placats tga mùssan ajn via nùc' ins
INDEF.ART.M.SG pair poster.M.PL REL show.PRS.3PL in way where GNR
sa è mirá quaj.
can.PRS.3SG also see.INF DEM.UNM

'[...] PN has also put there some posters which show on the way where one can have a look at this.'

- (66) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m10, l. 1034ff.)

A lu vajn nus, quaj èra tüt fatg
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG all do.PTCP.UNM
 a racògnòszau avaun tg' ins savèva núia ins
 and reconnoitre.PTCP.UNM before COMP GNR know.IMPF.3SG where GNR
 vèva da durmí, nu i èra ... da mètar ah
 have.IMPF.3SG COMP sleep.INF where EXPL be.IMPF.3SG COMP put.INF ah
 sur nòtg als als méls, nu i
 over night.F.SG DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL
 dèva pával pls méls [...].
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG food.M.SG for.DEF.ART.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[...].'

- (67) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 103)

El ò dumandau èlas partgéj èlas ségian bétg
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM 3PL.F why 3PL.F be.PRS.SBJV.3PL NEG
 idas á mèssa.
 go.PTCP.3PL.F to mass

'He asked them why they didn't go to mass.'

- (68) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1810)

[...] a lu sa ju schòn in tésc' i
 and then know.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed INDEF.ART.M.SG bit how EXPL
 funczjanava.
 function.IMPF.3SG

'[...] and therefore I know a bit how it used to function.'

- (69) Tuatschín (Bugnaj; Büchli 1966: 134)

[...] a lu ò 'l grju li gljut [...] .
 and then have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M shout.PTCP.UNM 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 mètar ajn la crusch.
 must.PRS.SBJV.3SG put into DEF.ART.F.SG cross

'[...] and then he shouted to the people [...] [saying that] there were three
 holes; [asking] into which he should put the cross.'

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- (70) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7, l.2184f.)
 [...] *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] [...]’
- A special case is (71) in which the manner clause headed by *scù* modifies the manner adverb *usché* ‘like, as’.
- (71) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m9, l. 1755ff.)
 [...] *in téč da la gjuvantétgna sa ju*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit of DEF.ART.F.SG youth can.PRS.1SG 1SG
schòn raquintá ... usché scù i mava da nòs tjams
 indeed tell.INF so as EXPL go.IMPF.3SG OF POSS.1PL.M.SG time.PL
a tgé ca va ùsa [...].
 and 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 [...]’

6.2.12 Instead of

‘Instead of’ only occurs as non-finite clauses in the corpus. They are headed either by *anstagl* (72) or *anstagl da* (73).

- (72) Tuatschín (Zarcúns; m2, l. 1579f.)
Api anstagl bájbar al vin ... èran nus lu
 and instead drink.INF DEF.ART.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.ART.M.SG punch
 ‘And instead of drinking the wine ... we went up, they had prepared a
 punch.’
- (73) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m3, l. 2206f.)
 [...] *anstagl da mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri fòrsa*
 instead of milk.INF eighty cow.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe
mù tschuncònta [...].
 only fifty
 ‘[...] instead of milking eighty cows there were maybe fifty [...]’

6.3 Focus

If verbs, participles, particles belonging to verbs, certain adverbs, or clauses which give new information are focussed on, they are moved to the beginning of the sentence or clause.

In case a verb is focussed on, it is moved in its infinitive form and the finite form is left behind in the background clause (74 and 75).

- (74) Tuatschín (Sadrún; Büchli 1966: 106)

*Ju a cò in bagljèt tòcan gjù Turitg, ábar ira
1SG have.3SG here INDEF.ART.M.SG ticket until down PLN but go.INF
vònd ju mù gjù Sumvitg.
go.PRS.1SG 1SG only down PLN*

‘I have here a ticket to Zurich, but I only go till Sumvitg.’

- (75) Tuatschín (Surajn; f5, l. 1319)

*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.'*

In the perfect tense, participles are moved without their auxiliary verb, which remains in the background clause (76 and 77). Example (78) shows that the participle can be moved with its complements.

- (76) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; Büchli 1966: 106)

*Ju sùn dada gjù séla fatscha, mù
1SG be.PRS.1SG give.PTCP.F.SG down on.DEF.ART.F.SG face but
fatg òi nuét.
do.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG.EXPL nothing*

‘I fell down on my face but it didn’t do anything.’

- (77) Tuatschín (Sadrún; f3, l. 82f.)

*[...] quaj è vagnú da bêtòn' ajn, a
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP concrete.INF in and
tanju ò laš aun adina.
hold.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3PL.F still always*

‘I would simply take ... bad ... sand, that is to say cement and water with me, and this has been concreted, and they still hold.’

6 Complex sentences

- (78) Tuatschín (Ruèras; f4, l. 1942ff.)
- [...] *ábar stju luvrá còrpòralmajn vajn nus*
 but must.PTCP.UNM work.INF physical.ADJ.M.ADV have.PRS.1PL 1PL
schí fétg scù quèls.
 so much as DEM.M.PL
 ‘[...] but physically we had to work as hard as those [children].’

Infinitives modified by a modal verb are left-dislocated without the modal verb, which remains in the background clause (79).

- (79) Tuatschín (Cavorgia; Büchli 1966: 125)
- Als tiars vèzan al barlòt a*
 DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL see.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG sorcery and
tèman, mù dí sòn i nuét.
 be_afraid.PRS.3PL but say.INF can.PRS.3PL 3PL nothing
 ‘The animals see the sorcery and are afraid, but they cannot say anything.’

Example (80) shows the movement of the particle *cùntar* ‘towards’ out of the particle verb *prèndar ancùntar* ‘receive’ (calqued on German *entgegennehmen*).

- (80) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)
- Alṣò ancùntar prandès l tut ûsa?*
 well towards take.COND.3SG 3SG all now
 ‘Well, would he receive everything now?’

If a clause is focussed on, it may (81) or may not be resumed by a demonstrative pronoun (82). In the case of (81), the demonstrative pronoun used is *gljèz*.

- (81) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l.)
- Ins vèz' aun tg' èra dau vidajn*
 GNR see.PRS.3SG still COMP PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG give.PTCP.UNM into
pùntgas né trádals; sch' i sitavan gljèz
 chisel.F.PL or power_drill.M.PL whether 3PL blow_up.IMP.F.3PL DEM.UNM
sau bétg. ‘One still can see that chisels or power drills had
 know.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG
 been used; whether they would blow up I don’t know.’

- (82) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l.453)
- Aah, tgé.. prandévan propi òra sa ins béjg éxact [...].*
 ah what take.IMP.F.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exactly
 ‘Ah, what ... they really mined one does not know exactly [...].’

If a noun is focussed on, a pronoun referring to it must be left in the background clause (83).

- (83) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m1, l. 270f.)

*Las nòtizjas sa ju bétg danùndar als
DEF.ART.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.ART.M.PL
gjaniturs, als dus baps prandèvan aj [...].
parents.PL DEF.ART.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.'

Contrastive focus is done by intonation; they remain in their place according to their syntactic function (84 and 85).

- (84) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

*Gjòn ò angulau la gaglina, bigja Maria.
PN have.PRS.3SG steal.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG hen NEG PN
'It is Gjon who stole the hen, not Maria.'*

- (85) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4)

*Èl vut dá in cùdisch da Gjòn, bigja da
3SG.M want.PRS.3SG give.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG book DAT PN NEG DAT
Maria.
PN*

'It is to Gion that he wants to give a book, not to Maria.'

7 Word formation

7.1 Reduplication

In Tuatschin, reduplication only has an intensification function. Syntactic categories that may be reduplicated are attributive (1) and predicative (2 and 3), adjectives, adjectives used adverbially (4) as well as adverbs modifying adjectives (5) or used predicatively (6 and 7), or functioning as a discourse marker (8).

- (1) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m5, 1. 1199.)

Ála *véglja-véglja* tgèsa-parvènda, né?
in.DEF.ART.F.SG RED~old presbytery right
'At the very old presbytery, right?'

- (2) Tuatschin (Surrain; Büchli 1966: 128)

[...] i èra *sgtir-stgir* !
[...] EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG RED~dark
'[...] it was pitch-dark.'

- (3) Tuatschin (Ruèras; m1, 1. 233ff.)

A *quaj* *stèvn̩* èssar... *pulits-pulits*
and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well_behaviored.M.PL
l' *jamna...* *tg'* *al* *bap* *dètschi*
DEF.ART.F.SG week COMP DEF.ART.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG
in *frang a* *miaz.*
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.'

- (4) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m4, 1. 618ff.)

Al *tat* *èr'* *ajn a* *durméva* *lò*
DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather COP.IMPF.3SG up and sleep.IMPF.3SG there
grad *sc'* *in* *tajš,* *vèv'* *udju*
precisely like INDEF.ART.M.SG badger have.IMPF.3SG hear.PTCP.UNM

schùbar-schùbar nuét.

RED~clean.ADJ.UNM nothing

‘My grandfather was up there and was sleeping like a log, he hadn’t heard anything at all.’

- (5) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 363f.)

Èl èr’ in tüp tga raşdava bigja bjè,
3SG COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG fellow REL speak.IMPF.3SG NEG much

ju a gju fétg-fétg bian cun èl [...].

1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM RED~very good.UNM with 3SG.M

‘He was a person who didn’t speak much, I went along very well with him [...].’

- (6) Tuatschin (Tschamǖt; Büchli 1966: 18)

El ò mirau antùrn-antùrn [...].

3SG have.PRS.3SG look.PTCP.UNM RED~around

‘He looked around and around.’

- (7) Tuatschín (Ruèras; m1, l. 299)

A sjantar surprju acòrds adin-adina.

and after take_over.PTCP.UNM piecework.M.PL RED~always

‘And afterwards I took over piecework, always.’

- (8) Tuatschín (Sèlva; f, l. 937)

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.’

7.2 Compounding of nouns

Compounding can be done by joining two nouns with the preposition *da* ‘of’, and also by juxtaposition of two nouns (10), whereby the second noun modifies the first one. 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 (9).

- (9) Tuatschín (Cavòrgja; m7)

*In tiar da tgèsa, è 'l gyat a
 INDEF.ART.M.SG animal of house.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG cat and
 'l tgaun, a tiar-tgèsa è sagir tùt
 DEF.ART.M.SG dog and animal.M.SG-house.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG for_sure all
 quaj tga vò bigj' ad alp.* *Als
 DEM.GL REL go.PRS.3SG NEG to alpine_pasture.M.SG DEF.ART.M.PL
 tiars-tgèsa èn atgnamajn cò, né sén
 animal.PL-house.F.SG COP.PRS.3PL actually here or on
 majès, quaj è quèlas tgauras a
 assembly_of_houses.M.SG DEM.GL COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL goat.PL and
 nùrsas a pòrs.
 sheep.PL and pig.M.PL*

‘A ”tiar da tgèsa” (a pet), 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.’

- (10) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l.422ff.)

*[...] lò ani bagagjau gjù la...
 there have.PRS.3PL.3PL build.PTCP.UNM down DEF.ART.F.SG
 raquéntani... la crapa par bagagjè al
 tell.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.ART.F.SG stone.COLL PURP build.INF DEF.ART.M.SG
 clutgè-basèlgja.
 tower.M.SG-church.F.SG*

‘[...] there they have removed, as they tell, the stones used to build the church tower [of Sedrun].’

The compounding of nouns by juxtaposition is relatively frequent; further examples are *baun-pégna* ‘oven bench’, *carschèn-matg* ‘waxing moon of May’, *crusch-fiar* ‘iron cross’, *esch-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 a different syntax: here, it is the first noun that modifies the second one, probably under influence of German *Weihnachtsnacht*.

7.3 Derivation

Some derivational morphemes have already been treated: the non-finite verbal categories past participle (§ 4.1.2.1.1), gerund (§ 4.1.2.1.2), infinitive (§ 4.1.2.1.3), the adverbialiser *-majn* (§ 4.2.2.3), and the causative *-antá* (§ 5.5.3).

7.3.1 Diminutive and augmentative

The diminutive of nouns is formed with the suffix *-èt/-èta*. The following example shows that the use of the diminutive does not preclude the use of *pin* ‘small’.

- (11) Tuatschin (Rueras; Büchli 1966: 62)

Lò fùva in pin laj-èt cun pauc' aua.
there EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG small lake-DIM with little water

‘There was a small lake with little water.’

Further examples are *fjuchèt* ‘little fire’ and *buébèt* ‘little boy’.

The augmentative suffix is *-ún/-una*.

- (12) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m5)

Quaj è dònun.

DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG pity.M.SG.AUGM

‘This is a real pity.’

- (13) Tuatschín (Sadrún; m4, l. 547f.)

*Sònدا-duméngja vagnévan quèls ò cò a fagjévan
Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL
fjastunas.*

party.AUGM.F.PL

‘During week-end they would come here and have big parties.’

Further examples are *buébúna* ‘very tall girl’, *raubuna* ‘big assets’, *ùmún* ‘big man’, and *tgèsuna* ‘big house’.

Another augmentative is *-az*, as in *fòmaz* (> *fòm* ‘hunger’).

- (14) Tuatschin (Sadrún; m5)

Ju a fòm-az.

1SG have.PRS.1SG hunger-AUGM

‘I am hungry as wolves.’

7.3.2 Adnominal derivational morphemes

The derivational suffix which shows the most items in the corpus is *-zjun*, which derives nouns from verbs, like *complicazjun* ‘complication’ < *cumplicar* ‘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 *tradí*, but *tradí* means ‘betray’ and not ‘transmit’. This means that some of the nouns that are derived by *-zjun* are learned words.

Some more examples of nouns derived by *-zjun* are *afèczjun* ‘affection’, *confadarazjun* ‘confederation’, *dirèczjun* ‘direction’, *fòrmazjun* ‘formation’, *habitazjun* ‘appartment’, *munizjun* ‘munition’, *òbligazjun* ‘obligation’, *réaczjun* ‘reaction’, and *tussègazjun* ‘poisoning’.

Another suffix that derives nouns from verb is the feminine ending of the past participle *-ada/-èda*: *cuşchinada* ‘mixture of food’ (< *cuşchiná* ‘cook’), *santupada* ‘meeting’ (< *santupá* ‘meet’), *satagljèda* ‘cut (to oneself)’ (< *satagljá* ‘cut oneself’), and *scargjèda* ‘drowing down the animal from the alps’.

-ém also derives nouns from verbs and insists on the repetition of the action, as *samudargjém* ‘constant torturing oneself’ (< *samudargjè* ‘torture oneself’).

Note that in *santupada*, *satagljèda*, and *samudargjém* the reflexive prefix *sa-* is maintained, which shows that the reflexive verb forms a strong unit.

The suffixes *-dad*, *-èzja*, and *-ira* derive nouns from adjectives. Examples are *paupradad* ‘poverty’ (< *paupra* ‘poor (f.)’), *pussajvladad* ‘possibility’ (< *pussajvla* ‘possible’ (f.), *balèzja* ‘beauty’ (< *bials* ‘beautiful’ (m.)), *luşchèzja* ‘proudness’ (*lùschs* ‘proud’ (m.)), *scartèzja* ‘lack’ (scarts ‘rare’ (m.)), *pupira* ‘poverty’ (< *paupars* ‘poor’ (m.)), and *tupira* ‘stupidity’ (< *tups* ‘stupid’ (m.)).

The suffixes *-am* and *-èssar* (corresponding to the copula) derive nouns from noun. Examples are *gaglinam* ‘flock of chickens’ (< *gagljina* ‘hen’), *purèssar* ‘farming sector’ (< *pur* ‘farmer’), *fòrestalèssar* ‘forestry’ (< *fòrestal* ‘forest ranger’), and *scòlarèssar* ‘school sector’ (< *scùla* ‘school’).

Prefixes are *mal-* which usually modify adjectives: *malcuntjants* ‘unsatisfied’, *malsagidajvals* ‘ungainly’, and *malsagirs* ‘unsure’, as well as *za-* (< *ins sa* ‘one knows’) which corresponds to English ‘any’ or ‘some’ with indefinite or other prounouns: *zacù* ‘somehow’, *zacú* ‘somewhen’, *zanúa* ‘somewhere’, *zatgéj* ‘anything’, and *zatgi* ‘anybody’.

8 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 manifold and could easily fill a book-length publication.

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

The 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 which live in the German part of Switzerland and who have not learned Romansh.

Standard German starts being taught in school from the fourth form of primary school onwards and is also present through television. Broadcasting in Romansh is very scarce. Currently there is a ten minute news broadcasting from Monday to Friday, a broadcasting for children on Saturday that lasts 10 minutes, and a cultural broadcasting on Sunday which lasts 25 minutes. Therefore most broadcasting children (and adults) look are in German.

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

More modern loans are e.g. *clétg* ‘luck’ (< German *Glück*), *stédi* ‘diligent’ (< German *stetig*), *lura* ‘when’ instead of *scha* as a correlative element with conditional clauses and temporal clauses headed by *cu* ‘when’.

Discourse particle of German origin are very often used. Examples are *ábar* ‘but’ (< German *aber*), *álṣò* ‘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 meaning ‘casualty’.

Calques are also very frequent, especially in the domain of the particle verbs

8 The contact languages of Tuatschin

(see § 4.1.3 above). Some more 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 certainly related to the fact that a huge part of the lexicon Tuatschin shares with Sursilvan has the same form in both varieties.

Examples of sursilvanisms are *pi* ‘more’ instead of *plé*, *si* ‘up’ instead of *sé*, *sa* ‘knows’ instead of *sò*, *bugèn* ‘gladly’ instead of *ugèn*, *uost* ‘August’ instead of *uést*.

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

9 Texts

In the glosses, gender is only indicated on the first element of the noun phrase; plural is always glossed. Proper nouns are anonymized and glossed PN.

The transcribed texts published in this chapter correspond to 1 hour and 35 minutes of recorded speech.

9.1 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.ART.M.PL last.PL year.PL

‘I’ll tell [you] about the job I have done during the last years.’

- 3 *Álsò ... mju ùm, lèz è schòn mòrts cun tchuncònt’ òns.*
well POSS.1SG.M.SG man DEM.M.SG be.PRS.3SG already die.PTCP.M.SG with
4 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*
well 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just just DEF.ART.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG
7 *racrut, a tschèls duş ajn amprèndissadi.*
recruit.M.SG and DEM.M.PL two.PL in apprenticeship.M.SG

9 Texts

‘Well, they were ... just, the oldest was a recruit, and the other two [were] in an apprenticeship.’

- 8 A... *mi'* *ùm fagèva* *gè survigiládar,* *a spèras*
and POSS.1SG.M.SG man do.IMPF.3SG in_fact supervisor.M.SG and in_addition
9 *fagèva* *èl aun ah ... quaj da las* *sèndaş da spassagè.*
do.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M still eh DEM.UNM of DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL COMP 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 á dá*
and then 1SG go.IMPF.1SG also sometimes with 3SG.M PURP give.INF
12 *cultur las sèndas né mètar sé mùssaviaş a da quaj,*
colour.F.SG DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL or put.INF up signpost.F.PL and of DEM.UNM
13 *api ... va[u] tartgau:*
and 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.ART.F.SG job for 1SG

‘Ah, this could also be a job for me.’

- 15 *A lu va ju, nuş èran gè sùt la ...*
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL in_fact under DEF.ART.F.SG
16 *la B.A.W.¹, quaj è «cuminònza grişchuna da*
DEF.ART.F.SG PN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG working-group.F.SG Grison of
17 *sèndas» da Cuéra.*
trail.F.PL of PLN

‘And then I, we were in fact under the ... B.A.W, this means «Grison working-group of trails” in Cuera.’

¹Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege.

- 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 COMP 3SG.M
- 20 *vèva tarmèz in' anunzja da mòrt,*
 have.IMPF.3SG send.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG announcement of death.F.SG
- 21 *álsò ina carta par, ah, quèls sòn è*
 this_is_to_say INDEF.ART.F.SG card PURP eh DEM.M.PL know.PRS.3PL also
- 22 *schòn quaj, ùsa mataj tgé ... ùsa sa ju amblidá*
 already DEM.UNM now probably COMP now can.PRS.1SG 1SG forget.INF
- 23 *quèla, quèla lavur tgu fagèva bugèn cun mi' ùm,*
 DEM.F.SG DEM.F.SG job REL.1SG do.IMPF.1SG gladly² with POSS.1SG.M.SG man
- 24 *api lu va ju ... tlafònau dad èl a détig,*
 and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG call.PTCP.UNM DAT 3SG.M and say.PTCP.UNM
- 25 *éba, mi' ùm ségi èba mòrts scù i*
 exactly POSS.1SG.M.SG man be.PRS.SBJV.3SG precisely die.PTCP.M.SG as 3PL
- 26 *sápjan, ábar ... ju fagèssi ugèn vinavaun*
 know.PRS.SBJV.3PL but 1SG do.COND.INDIR.1SG with_pleasure still
- 27 *quèla lavur, api ò l détig:*
 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 I should send a death notice, that is to say a card for, ah, they already knew that, now probably that ... now I can forget about this, this job I loved to do with my husband, and then I ... phoned him and said that my husband had died as they knew, but ... that I would like to keep doing this job, and then he said:’

- 28 «*Mir sind nid so frauäfintlich.*»³

we are not so misogynistic

‘We are not really misogynistic.’

- 29 *Api vau détig: «Ah súpar.»*

and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM oh great

‘And then I said: «Oh, great!»’

- 30 *A lu va ju antschiat cun quaj.*

and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG begin.PTCP.UNM with DEM.UNM

²Bugen is standard Sursilvan, whereas ugen, as in line 26, is the genuine Tuatschin form.

³Said in Swiss German.

9 Texts

‘And then I started with it.’

- 31 *Ad ana d’ òtgòntasjat vajn nus gju ina*
 and year.F.SG of eighty-seven have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
 32 *vòtazjun fadarala sur da las sèndas, sch’ i végn á*
 vote federal over of DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL whether EXPL FUT.AUX.3SG COMP
 33 *prèndar ajn quaj né bétg.*
 take.INF in DEM.UNM or NEG

‘And in 1987 we had a federal vote about the trails, whether it would be adopted or not.’

- 34 *Api ... sè quaj vagnú prju 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*
 have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG confederation give.PTCP.UNM over DEM.UNM DAT
 36 *mintga cantún, a lèzs òn sèzs stavju lura ...*
 every canton.M.SG and DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL self.M.PL must.PTCP.UNM then
 37 *métar sén pajs quaj, èba ... cù í ... avaun, a tut, a*
 put.INF on foot.M.PL DEM.UNM precisely how go.INF forward and all and
 38 *mintga vaschnaunca ò lu stavju dá ajn tut*
 every municipality.F.SG have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM give.INF in all
 39 *tgé ca la vagi, nùca la vagi lògans*
 what REL 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG where 3SG.F have.PRS.SBJV.3SG place.M.PL
 40 *cun mussavias, a las sèndas, tut.*
 with signpost.F.PL and DEF.ART.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 sègja,*
 and after have.PRS.3SG.EXPL have.PTCP.UNM name.M.SG EXPL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 42 *i midjan ò tut als muossavías.*
 3PL change.PRS.SBJV.3PL out all DEF.ART.M.PL signpost.PL

‘And after this, one had to ... it was, they would replace all the signposts.’

³ *Muossavías* is standard Sursilvan for Tuatschin *müssavias*.

- 43 *A quaj èra tschians.*
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG hundred.M.PL

‘And there were hundreds [of them].’

- 44 *Ad ju a stuvju ir' ál' antiara val á*
and 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.ART.F.SG whole valley PURP
45 *préndar sé gl amprém tut quèls ... tut quèls ... lògans*
take.INF up DEF.ART.M.SG first all DEM.M.PL all DEM.M.PL place.PL
46 *nù i èran muossavías.*
where EXPL EXIST.IMPFF.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.ART.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 á mid' òra*
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF PURP change.INF out
50 *quaj ... cun agid da ... da la vischnaunca va ju*
DEM.UNM with help.M.SG of of DEF.ART.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 *bétònaj⁴, né, sédòra séssum als cuélm̩s, schizún*
concrete.PTCP.M.PL right up_out on_top DEF.ART.M.PL peak.PL even
53 *al malitèr ò gju da gidá m' in'*
DEF.ART.M.SG army have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM COMP help.INF 1SG one.F.SG
54 *jèd' ajnta Majgals, prquaj tga ajnta Majgals vagnéva adina*
time in_up PLN because COMP in_up PLN PASS.AUX.IMPFF.3SG always
55 *bumbardau nûndétg, al malitèr.*
bomb.PTCP.UNM incredibly DEF.ART.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.'

- 56 *Quaj è pròpi in ljuc ... nù tg' i*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly INDEF.ART.M.SG place where REL EXPL
57 *vagnéva schau tut la munizjun tg' i*
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG leave.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.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.ART.M.SG all

'And now there is nothing of all that [left].'

- 60 *A ju vèva fatg gjù dad ira, dad ira ... ajnta*
and 1SG have.IMPF.1SG make.PTCP.UNM down COMP go.INF COMP go.INF into
61 *Majgals á métar sé muossavías.*
PLN PURP 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.ART.M.SG guard of
63 *survigilònza, bétga schanza da pudajatrás, quaj dé*
vigilance.F.SG NEG chance.F.SG COMP can.INF through DEM.M.SG day
64 *ònì bigja schau í nuşatrás.*
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' á fá gjù cun quèls sé*
1SG must.PRS.SBJV.1SG go.INF PURP make.INF down with DEM.M.PL up
66 *la térga dal, da Majgals, lò ségi*
DEF.ART.F.SG alpine_hut of.DEF.ART.M.SG of PLN there COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG
67 *pròpi ... al bürò.*
exactly DEF.ART.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.'

⁴ *Bétònaj* is a performance error for *bétònádas*.

- 68 *L' autar dé va ju gju la*
 DEF.ART.M.SG other day have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG
- 69 *lubiantscha dad í vidajn, ábar stòpi prèndar malitèr*
 permission COMP go.INF in but must.PRS.SBJV.1SG take.INF military.M.SG
- 70 *cun mè, tga vajan ... fùnc a sapjan prèndar ah,*
 with 1SG REL have.PRS.SBJV.3PL radio.M.SG and can.PRS.SBJV.3PL take.INF ah
- 71 *dí cu nus vajan da ... ir davùş in*
 say.INF when 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL COMP go.INF behind INDEF.ART.M.SG
- 72 *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].’

- 73 *Quaj èra stau zatgé nündétg, ábar*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM something incredible.ADJ.UNM but
- 74 *stau u-bjals mùmènts.*
 COP.PTCP.UNM ELAT-beautiful.M.PL moment.PL

‘This was something incredible, but these were very beautiful moments.’

- 75 *Api quèls da la vischnaunca èran grad vid'*
 and DEM.M.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG municipality COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG
- 76 *al, vida zaná al bògn, api schèvan aj:*
 DEF.ART.M.SG PROG renovate.INF DEF.ART.M.SG bath and_then say.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘And the municipal employees were just renovating the swimming pool and then they said: ’

- 77 «*Nuş vajn bgja péjda ... da dá da té, nuş vajn bigja*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL NEG time COMP give.INF DAT 2SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL NEG
- 78 *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.’

- 79 *Api vau tartgau: «Jò nu⁵, lu fas halt sèza.»*
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM yes now then do.PRS.2SG simply self.F.SG
- 80 *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

9 Texts

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

- 81 *Prandèva simplamajn ... sablún ... mal, álsò al*
take.IMPF.1SG simple.F.SG.ADV sand.M.SG bad.M.SG well DEF.ART.M.SG
- 82 *zamèn ad aua cun mè, quaj è vagnú da*
cement and water.F.SG with 1SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP
- 83 *bèton’ ajn, a tanju ò laš aun adina.*
concrete.INF 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.’

- 84 *Pi gju dad í ... quèl’ jèda cul-, sau bétg*
and have.PTCP.UNM COMP go.INF DEM.F.SG time with- know.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG
- 85 *c’ ju sùn ida da la val Strém ajnasé,*
when 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG from DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN in_up
- 86 *stuèv’ í sél̄s bauns, ah, sél Krüzlipass,*
must.IMPF.1SG go.INF on.DEF.ART.M.PL ridge.PL eh on.DEF.ART.M.SG PLN
- 87 *Pas dlas Cruschs, cun muossavías, a vèva sjat da*
pass of.DEF.ART.F.PL cross.PL with signpost.F.PL and have.IMPF.1SG seven of
- 88 *quèlas da purtá sé.*
DEM.F.PL COMP 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, ah, on the Krüzlipass, Pass dallas Cruschs, with signposts, and I had seven of them to carry up.’

- 89 *A quaj èra pasanca, api vau tartgau*
and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very_heavy and have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM
- 90 *basta.*
enough

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

- 91 *Cò angjù va ju la finala nagíns.*
here in_down have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG end no.M.PL

‘In the end I don’t have any down here.’

- 92 *Ábar ju vèva da préndar als végls anavùs.*
but 1SG have.IMPF.1SG COMP take.INF DEF.ART.M.PL old.PL back

⁵ *Jo nu:* said in Swiss German.

‘But I had to take back the old ones.’

- 93 *La sèra èr’ ju cáput parquaj tga quaj*
 DEF.ART.F.SG evening COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG shattered because COMP DEM.UNM
 94 *va sé sén dua mili a trajtschian a taunts mètarṣ*
 go.PRS.3SG up on two thousand and three_hundred and so_many.M.PL metre.PL
 95 *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.’

- 96 *Ábar ... ju a fatg faruct ugèn quaj. Gljèz*
 but 1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM crazy gladly DEM.UNM DEM.UNM
 97 *stù ju di.*
 must.PRS.1SG 1SG say.INF

‘But... I really loved to do that. I must say that.’

- 98 *A ... tgu sùn vagnida pansjunada scha ...*
 and when.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG pension_off.PTCP.F.SG CORR
 99 *ju fagèva zuar schòn avaun majnadistrict, òdar tg’ ins*
 1SG do.IMPF.1SG although already before head_of_district.M.SG or COMP GNR
 100 *... è cò atgnamajn ... pala, pala, cuminònza*
 COP.PRS.3SG here actually for.DEF.ART.F.SG for.DEF.ART.F.SG community
 101 *da sèndas ò ála ragjún.*
 of trail.F.PL out in.DEF.ART.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.’

- 102 *Ad as da vaj quitau tg’ i végni*
 and have.2SG.GNR COMP have.INF worry.M.SG COMP EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 103 *marcau ... tga las sèndas èn tut èn ùrdan.*
 mark.PTCP.UNM COMP DEF.ART.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.’

- 104 *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.’

- 105 *Álsò schòn avaun, cu ju fagèva las sèndas ... èr'*
 well already before when 1SG do.IMPF.1SG DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL COP.IMPF.1SG
 106 *ju schòn majnadistríct.*
 1SG already head_of_district.M.SG

‘Well, already before, when I cared for the trails ... I already was head of district.’

- 107 *Ad ùssa òni partju ajn quaj, al cantún*
 and now have.PRS.3PL.3PL divide.PTCP.UNM in DEM.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG canton
 108 *ò circa trènta da quèls majnadistrícts, quèls*
 have.PRS.3SG about thirty of DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL DEM.M.PL
 109 *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
 110 *la val Tujétsch a Musté.⁶*
 DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN and PLN

‘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.’

- 111 *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
 112 *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.’

- 113 *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. ’

- 114 *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]!»’

⁶ *Musté* is the standard Sursilvan form for Tuatschin *Mustajr*.

- 115 *Api vau détg èls vagjan fatg*
 and_then have.PRS.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M have.PRS.SBJV.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
 116 *ina tura tschèl' jamna, ábar èl vaj quitau*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG tour DEM.F.SG week but 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG worry.M.SG
 117 *tga quaj sèj ...*
 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 ...’

- 118 *Par í cu té vas adina ... sè quaj ...*
 PURP go.INF when 2SG.GNR go.PRS.2SG.GNR always COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 119 *nagín problèm.*
 no.M.SG problem

‘In order to go, if one always goes [there] ..., this is ... no problem at all.’

- 120 *Na, ju fêtsch faruct ugèn quaj.*
 no 1SG do.PRS.1SG terribly gladly DEM.UNM

‘No, I really love to do that.’

- 121 *Ad uschéja, gè ... sch' ju pùs, fètg ju aun ... parquaj tgé ...*
 and so yes if 1SG can.PRS.1SG do.PRS.1SG 1SG still because COMP
 122 *atgnamajn sè quaj vagnú ... uschéja parquaj tg' i*
 actually COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM come.PTCP.UNM so because COMP EXPL
 123 *... laš vaschnaucas, ju vasèva quaj, tiar nus scù á*
 DEF.ART.F.PL municipality.PL 1SG see.IMPF.1SG DEM.UNM at 1PL and out
 124 *Musté, laš vaschnaucas schèvan simplamajn í ajn*
 PLN DEF.ART.F.PL municipality.PL let.IMPF.3PL simple.F.ADVENT go.INF in
 125 *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.’

- 126 *I vignéva bitga ... dau culur, i*
 EXPL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM colour.F.SG EXPL
 127 *vignéva bitga mirau da las sèndas.*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG look.PTCP.UNM of DEF.ART.F.PL trail.PL

‘They wouldn’t ... give colour [to the signposts], they wouldn’t care for the trails.’

- 128 *A lura va ju ... in’ jèda détg, cu nuš vajn*
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG one.F.SG time say.PTCP.UNM when 1PL have.PRS.1PL
129 *gju ina sasida:*
have.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG meeting

‘And then I ... said once, when we had a meeting:’

- 130 «*Atgnamajn stuëssaş Vus ... èssar plé rigurús.*»
actually must.COND.2PL 2PL COP.INF more rigorous.M.PL

‘Actually you ... should be more rigorous.’

- 131 *Laş vaschnaucas lajn í tut ajn décadènza.*
DEF.ART.F.PL municipality.PL let.PRS.3PL go.INF all in decadence.F.SG

‘The municipalities let everything go into decline.’

- 132 *A zacú ò da quaj ... sjaj vagnú ... tgé ...*
and sometime out of DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM COMP
133 *quèls majnadistrícts ... òn la còmpatènza da ...*
DEM.M.PL head_of_district.PL have.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.F.SG competence COMP
134 *dí dis vaschnaucas ... tgé i òn da fâ, aschí*
say.INF DAT.PL municipality.F.PL what 3PL have.PRS.3PL COMP do.INF so
135 *fòn bitga mù quaj tial cantún a tiala*
do.PRS.3PL NEG only DEM.UNM at.DEF.ART.M.SG canton and at.DEF.ART.F.SG
136 *B.A.W.⁷, grat usché.*
B.A.W. exactly so

‘And sometime the result of this was that the heads of district have the authority to tell the municipalities what they have to do; so they do this not only at the canton and at the B.A.W. , that’s how it is.’

- 137 *Ad ajn taun a taun tjams stòni vaj fatg a*
and in such.M.SG and such time must.PRS.3PL have.INF do.PTCP.UNM and
138 *schagljùc végni lu al cantún.*
otherwise come.PRS.SBJV.3SG then DEF.ART.M.SG canton

‘And within a certain time limit they must have done it or otherwise the canton would intervene.’

⁷Bündner Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wanderwege

¹³⁹ A nuş vajn ... la pussajvladat da ... da dí...
and 1PL have.PRS.1PL DEF.ART.F.SG possibility COMP COMP say.INF

‘And we have ... the possibility to ... to say ...’

¹⁴⁰ [PhM] da far squetsch ... [f3] gè éxáct, éxáct, gè ...
COMP make.INF pressure.M.SG yes exactly exactly yes

‘[PhM] to put pressure ... [f3] yes exactly, exactly, yes ...’

¹⁴¹ [PhM] sin, sin las vischnaucas, gie.
on on DEF.ART.F.PL municipality yes

‘[PhM] on, on the municipalities, yes.’

¹⁴² [f3] Gè, gè. A lura ... nus, nuş şchajn dis vischnaucas,
yes yes and then 1PL 1PL tell.PRS.1PL DAT.ART.PL municipality.PL

¹⁴³ tarmetàjn ábar tutina «eine Mängelmeldung»⁸ scù quaj
send.PRS.1PL but nevertheless a report_of_damage as DEM.UNM
¹⁴⁴ ò nùm.

have.PRS.3SG name.M.SG

‘[f3] Yes, yes. And then we tell it to the municipalities, but we nevertheless send
«a report of damages» as this is called.’

¹⁴⁵ Di B.A.W a quaj voi di cantún. A
DAT.ART.SG B.A.W. and DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG.EXPL DAT.ART.SG canton.M and

¹⁴⁶ lu ajn ... ajn taun tjams ... a ... la in' jèda i
then in in such.M.SG time and DEF.ART.F.SG one.F.SG time EXPL

¹⁴⁷ è, tòcan lu a lu vajš vus da ... vaj quaj
COP.PRS.3SG until then and then have.PRS.2PL 2PL COMP have.INF DEM.UNM

¹⁴⁸ ajn ... ajn ùrdan, a schigljòc foni lu sèzs squétsch.
in in order.M.SG and otherwise make.PRS.3PL.3PL then self.M.PL pressure

‘To the B.A.W., and then it goes to the canton. And the ... in ... in a certain time
... and the ... once it is, until then and then you have to ... have this ... all right,
and otherwise they put pressure themselves.’

¹⁴⁹ A quaj è al mégljar tg' ò
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG best COMP have.PRS.3SG

¹⁵⁰ savju schabagè.
can.PTCP.UNM happen.INF

⁸Said in standard German.

‘And this is the best that could have happened.’

- 151 *Na, ûsa tiar nus ... diani álsò ségi fétg bian.*
no now at 1PL say.PRS.3PL.3PL well COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG very good.UNM

‘No, well, now at our place ... they say that it’s very good.’

- 152 *Ábar èba, ju détsch adina ina dùna stù*
but precisely 1SG say.PRS.1SG always INDEF.ART.F.SG woman must.PRS.3SG
153 *adina dá cul pal.*
always give.INF with.DEF.ART.M.SG post

‘But in fact, I always say that a woman must always hit with a post.’

- 154 *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.’

- 155 *Quaj crajs bé, l' antschatà cu ju*
DEM.UNM believe.PRS.2SG.GNR NEG DEF.ART.F.SG beginning when 1SG
156 *a surprju quaj, èri,*
have.PRS.1SG take_on.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
157 *èri da quèls tgé ... mataj⁹ tg' ina*
EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL of DEM.M.PL COMP probably COMP INDEF.ART.F.SG
158 *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.’

- 159 *Gè grat uschéja, ábar ju, ina da la natira ad a*
yes exactly so but 1SG one.F.SG of DEF.ART.F.SG nature and have.PRS.3SG
160 *adina ... vulju fá mi' òbligazjun a finju,*
always want.PTCP.UNM do.INF POSS.1SG.F.SG obligation and finish.PTCP.UNM
161 *a tschèls dajan è fá.*
and DEM.M.PL must.PRS.3PL also do.INF

‘Yes, exactly like that. But I, a person who likes nature, and I have always ... wanted to meet my obligations, and the other people should also do [the same].’

- 162 *Anqual jèda ... drùvi halt ... da dí.*
some time.F.SG must.PRS.3SG.EXPL just COMP say.INF

⁹ *Mataj* means ‘probably’; in this context, it is used ironically in the sense of ‘impossibly’.

‘It is sometimes ... just necessary ... to say [it].’

gan

9.2 Òrd mia véta

Out of my life

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, m1, aged 81)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 6'

163 *Nus fièvan al pur, ad ju vès ugèn*
1PL do.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.M.SG farmer and 1SG have.COND.1SG gladly

164 *amprju da majstar, majstar, pèr scrinari.*
learn.PTCP.UNM of joiner.M.SG joiner.M.SG only carpenter.M.SG

‘We were farmers, and I would have liked to become a joiner, joiner ..., [or] only carpenter.’

165 *Ju lèv' amprèndar da majstar, quaj vès ju*
1SG want.IMPF.1SG learn.INF of joiner.M.SG DEM.UNM have.COND.1SG 1SG

166 *gju al dun da, né vès gju*
have.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG gift of or have.COND.1SG have.PTCP.UNM

167 *tschafan.*
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.’

168 *Ad ju èra, vèva ... in buéb, in*
and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG have.IMPF.1SG INDEF.ART.M.SG boy INDEF.ART.M.SG

169 *frá è dasgrazjaus tgu vèv' òtg*
brother be.PRS.3SG have_accident.PTCP.M.SG REL.1SG have.IMPF.1SG eight

170 *majs ála Val Milá, ála grépa, ad*
month.M.PL in.DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN in.DEF.ART.F.SG rock.COLL and

171 *vèv' aun duas sòras, a tschaj èr' ju*
have.IMPF.1SG in_addition two.F.PL sister.PL and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG

172 *buép parsul.*
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.’

- 173 *Api al bap ... èr, plé baut èr’ aj*
and DEF.ART.M.SG father.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG more early COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL
174 *al fagljét tgi fijèv’ al pur.*
DEF.ART.M.SG son.M.SG.DIM REL do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG farmer

‘And my father ... was, in earlier days it was the youngest son who worked as a farmer.’

- 175 *A lu ò ’l bab détg sé pr mè:*
and then have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father say.PTCP.UNM up for 1SG

‘And then my father said to me:’

- 176 «*Gè, i fùs schòn flòt, ábar ju sùn è*
yes EXPL COP.COND.3SG really great.ADJ.UNM but 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
177 *vagnú¹⁰ atrás cun fá ’l pur.»*
come.PTCP.M.SG through with do.INF DEF.ART.M.SG farmer

‘«Yes, this would be really great, but being a farmer I also could earn a living.»’

- 178 *Api saj stau finju par mè.*
and be.PRS.3SG.EXPL COP.PTCP.UNM finish.PTCP.UNM for 1SG

‘And that was it.’

- 179 *Ju a fatg al pur, a finju.*
1SG have.1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG farmer and finish.PTCP.UNM

‘I became a farmer, and that’s the end of the story.’

- 180 *Quaj ò bérgja dau discussjun.*
DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG NEG give.PTCP.UNM discussion.M.SG

‘There was no discussion.’

- 181 *Ad usché va ju fatg al pur adina, a ...*
and so have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG farmer always and
182 *sùn lu maridaus, a gju quátar ufauns,*
be.PRS.1SG then married.PTCP.M.SG and have.PTCP.UNM four child.M.PL

¹⁰vagnú is a performance error for vagnús.

183 *in buéb a trajs ... buébas, a quèls èn tùts ...*
 one.M.SG boy and three girl.F.PL and DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL all.M.PL
 184 *amprju mistrégn, trajs èn ... vi da quaj da*
 learn.PTCP.UNM profession.M.SG three COP.PRS.3PL at of DEM.UNM of
 185 *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.’

186 *Ina studègja ... á á Winterthur ad ò, ad ò*
 one.F.SG study.PRS.3SG in in PLN and have.PRS.3SG and have.PRS.3SG
 187 *surpriju in ... Heim¹¹ da ... Heim da*
 take_over.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG home.M.SG of home.M.SG of
 188 *duatschian, ò fatg scùlas vinavaun ...*
 two_hundred have.PRS.3SG make.PTCP.UNM school.F.PL further
 189 *stada in téc plé pardèrta tgé quaj tgu*
 COP.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.M.SG bit more clever.F.SG than DEM.UNM REL.1SG
 190 *èra.*
 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.’

191 *A la dùna èra schùber ... ad ina tg'*
 and DEF.ART.F.SG woman COP.IMPF.3SG clean.ADJ.UNM and one.F.SG REL
 192 *ò luvrau stédi.*
 have.PRS.3SG work.PTCP.UNM diligent.ADJ.UNM

‘And my wife was very ... and one who always worked hard.’

193 *A ... álsò ina stat á Bèrn, ad in' è cò*
 and well one.F.SG stay.PRS.3SG in PLN and one.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG here
 194 *tial miadi, al fègl è è cò.*
 by.DEF.ART.M.SG doctor DEF.ART.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.’

¹¹ *Heim*, German for Romansh *asil*.

9 Texts

- 195 *A ... da giuvantétgna, né da buéts, tg' nuş èran buéts ...*
 and of youth.F.SG or of boy.M.PL REL 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL boy.M.PL
 196 *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].’

- 197 *Tiar nus ... la duméngja, sjantar vjaspras, mavan nus sé, sé*
 by 1PL DEF.ART.F.SG Sunday after vesper.F.PL go.IMPF.1SG 1SG up up
 198 *landstròs ... a dèvan balpalùta.*
 main_road.F.SG and give.IMPF.1PL "balpalùta".F.SG

‘On Sundays, after having celebrated vespers, we would go up to the main road ... and play «balpalùta».’

- 199 *Quaj èr' in bal, a quaj dèv' ins cun*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG ball and DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG GNR with
 200 *in fist, a dèvan quaj ála landstròs,*
 DEF.ART.M.SG stick and give.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM in.DEF.ART.F.SG main_road.F.SG
 201 *quaj mava fòrsa in autò gl antiar*
 DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG maybe INDEF.ART.M.SG car DEF.ART.M.SG whole
 202 *sjantarmjazdé, áutar nuét.*
 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.’

- 203 *La landstròs, quaj è hauptstròs.¹²*
 DEF.ART.F.SG landstròs DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG main_road.F.SG

‘The «landstròs», this is the «hauptstròs».’

- 204 *Ju réjsda da Tujétsch, nias, gè.*
 1SG speak.1SG of PLN POSS.1PL.M.SG yes

‘I am speaking the dialect of Tujetsch, ours, yes.’

¹² «Landstròs» and «hauptstròs» are two Germanisms which are not in use any more, at least among younger people. The «landstròs» is now called *Via Alpsu*, and the «hauptstròs» *stradún* (m.).

205 Da quèls plajds¹³, 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
 206 déra...saj, a è autar, c' nus mavan ah á
 widespread.M.PL and also other.ADJ.UNM when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL eh PURP:
 207 fá fajn ni uschéja ... schèva la mùm' adina:
 make.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG mother always

‘Such words, precisely such words, eh, very widespread ones, and and also others, when we went and made hay or so ... my mother would always say:’

208 «Vajas quitaū vuş majş şul' landstròs òrd
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.SG 2PL go.PRS.2PL over.DEF.ART.F.SG main_way out
 209 via.
 way.F.SG

‘Be careful going out over the «landstròs».’

210 Vajas quitaus cu vuş majş şur la lingja via
 have.IMP.2PL worry.M.PL when 2PL go.PRS.2PL over DEF.ART.F.SG line away
 211 ...¹⁴ dal dşuc, dal zùc¹⁵.»
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG train.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG train

‘Be careful when you cross the railway line, the railway line.’

212 Al lungatg èra uschéja.
 DEF.ART.M.SG language COP.IMPF.3SG SO

‘The language was like this.’

213 [PhM] Cun biars plails tudentgs.
 with many.M.PL word.PL German.PL

‘[PhM] With many German words.’

214 [m1] Gè, strmantús bjè. Strmantús bjè.
 yes terrible.ADJ.UNM many terrible.ADJ.UNM many

‘[m1] Yes, too many. Too many.’

¹³Da quèls plaids replaces an unintelligible part of the text.

¹⁵Via ‘way’ makes no sense here; it should be the preposition *vi* ‘over’, used in the circumposition *sur NP vi* ‘over NP’.

¹⁵Zug is the German word for *trèn* ‘train’.

9 Texts

215 Òz şè quaj ah, òz şèni schòn autar,
today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM eh today COP.PRS.3PL.3PL in_fact different

216 òz şèn aj ... la stradún.

today COP.PRS.3PL EXPL DEF.ART.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».’¹⁶

217 Òz şaj al al Furka né al ...
today COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG PLN or DEF.ART.M.SG

218 la ban¹⁷ né scù i végn raşdau òz sén
DEF.ART.F.SG train right as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG speak.PTCP.UNM today on
219 tudéstg.
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)

220 Sjantar ... tgu sùn staus maridauş vajn
after REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.SG marry.PTCP.M.SG have.PRS.1PL

221 nus, va ju éba fatg al pur ... né ...
1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG precisely do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG farmer right

222 vajn aun gè avaun da maridá ... èri ...
have.PRS.1PL already yes before COMP get_married.INF EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL

223 paucs raps.
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.’

224 Durònt l’ ujara, nus mavan òrasé ál ustria ...
during DEF.ART.F.SG war 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out_up in.DEF.ART.F.SG restaurant

225 la duméngja sjantarmjazdé ... cun tschuncònta raps a
DEF.ART.F.SG Sunday.F.SG afternoon.M.SG with fifty cent.M.PL and

226 vèvans ... in ájndarli, quaj dèvi
have.IMPF.1PL.1PL INDEF.ART.M.SG one_decilitre DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL

227 par tschuncònta raps.
for fifty cent.M.PL

¹⁶ *Stradún* is masculine; maybe the speaker has been mislead by the fact that *strada* ‘street’ or *via way* are feminine.

¹⁷ *Ban* is another German word (*Bahn*) for ‘train’.

‘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.’

- 228 *Quaj dèvi par tschuncònta raps.*
 DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG.EXPL for fifty cent.M.PL

‘This would cost fifty cents.’

- 229 *Ad ah ... nus mavan cun skis, scù quaj tg' ins vèva*
 and eh 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL as DEM.UNM REL GNR have.IMPF.3SG
 230 *skis, ju sùn aun jus cun skis da la büt ...*
 ski.M.PL 1SG be.PRS.1SG still go.PTCP.M.SG with ski.M.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG barrel
 231 *a a farmau ... farmau vitlùndar in cazè.*
 and and tie.PTCP.UNM tie.PTCP.UNM on_it INDEF.ART.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.’

- 232 *A sjantar c' ins mava, sch' mav' ins sél*
 and after when GNR go.IMPF.3SG CORR go.IMPF.3SG GNR on.DEF.ART.M.SG
 233 *Albṣú cul trèn, a quaj custav' in franc dad*
 PLN with.DEF.ART.M.SG train and DEM.UNM cost.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG franc COMP
 234 *í sédòra.*
 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.’

- 235 *A quaj stèvnş èssar ... pulits-pulits*
 and DEM.UNM must.IMPF.1PL.1PL COP.INF RED~well behaved.M.PL
 236 *l' jamna ... tg' al bap dètschi¹⁸ in*
 DEF.ART.F.SG week COMP DEF.ART.M.SG father give.PRS.SBJV.3SG one.M.SG
 237 *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.’

- 238 *Sjantar savèvans aun cumprá ina tschuculata da*
 after can.IMPF.1PL.1PL in_addition buy. INF INDEF.ART.F.SG chocolate of
 239 *curònta raps.*
 forty cent.M.PL

¹⁸ *Dètschi* is the subjunctive of *dí* ‘say’; the subjunctive of ‘give’ is *dèti*. See also line xxx .

‘After that we could, in addition, buy a chocolate for forty cents.’

- 240 *Álsò uschéja şè quaj vagnú ad è, qu'*
 well so be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM come.PTCP.UNM and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 241 *è stau bi. Qu' è stau*
 be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM nice.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM be.PRS.3G COP.PTCP.UNM
 242 *bi.*
 nice.ADJ.UNM

‘Well, that’s how it happened, and was, this was nice. This was nice.’

- 243 *Tùts stuèvan spargnè. Finadín. Vèvan nagins ... réhs.*
 all.M.PL must.IMPF.3PL save.INF everyone have.IMPF.1PL no.M.PL rich.PL

‘Everyone had to save. Absolutely everyone. We had no ... rich people.’

- 244 *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
 245 *stèvan mirá sél rap.*
 must.IMPF.3PL look.INF on.DEF.ART.M.SG penny

‘All poor. All poor. All small farmers, and they had to control every penny.’

- 246 *A bi ... la gjuvantétgna, vèvans lu,*
 and nice.ADJ.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG youth have.IMPF.1PL.1PL then
 247 *vajn nuş gju plé bi ... tga quèls dad òz.*
 have.PRS.1PL 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.’

- 248 *Quaj èra in èssar, quaj èra*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG be.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 249 *paupradat. Nuş vajn vju 'l paupar. Té*
 poverty.F.SG 1PL have.PRS.1PL see.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG poor.M.SG 2SG
 250 *aş è aun... santju dal paupar.*
 have.2SG also still feel.PTCP.UNM of poor.M.SG

‘This was a way of living, this was poverty. We have experienced poverty. You too ... experienced poverty.’

- 251 *Ju sa, nuş vivévan cul, cul ... ajn,*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG live.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.ART.M.SG with.DEF.ART.M.SG in

- 252 á madèm' tgèsa cul, cun mju auc, cun
 in same.F.SG house with.DEF.ART.M.SG with POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle with
 253 in frá da mju bap.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG 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.'

- 254 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
 255 gang udéva dad òmasdús.
 corridor belong.IMPF.3SG DAT both.M.PL

'And there was only one corridor. And this corridor belonged to both [families].'

- 256 In èra da quèla familja, 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.'

- 257 A quaj la damaun cu i èra da da
 and DEM.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG morning when EXPL be.IMPF.3SG COMP COMP
 258 lavá, la mùma pétgáva sé cul
 get_up.INF DEF.ART.F.SG mother knock.IMPF.3SG up with.DEF.ART.M.SG
 259 mòni-scua [par clumá èls], fijèva lavá nus... tschèla
 broomstick PURP call.INF 3PL.M make.IMPF.3SG get_up.INF 1PL DEM.F.SG
 260 l', l' ònda Tina era ... ad uschéja mava quaj
 DEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG aunt PN also and so go.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
 261atrás.
 through

'And so in the morning, when we had to to get up, my mother knocked with the broomstick, made us get up ... the other the, aunt Tina also ... and that's the way things happened.'

- 262 Al, al ... sjantar mavan nus, gè, stèvan nus ...
 DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG after go.IMPF.1PL 1PL yes must.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 263 í á scùla, tut quaj èra ... tut sìmpal
 go.INF to school.F.SG all DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very simple.ADJ.UNM
 264 culs ... cùdischs sùt bratsch, gnanc ina tèscha.
 with.DEF.ART.M.PL book.PL under arm.M.SG not_even INDEF.ART.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.’

- 265 *Lu gnang vèv' ins, vèvans ina tèscha.*
then not_even have.IMPF.3SG GNR have.IMPF.1PL.1PL INDEF.ART.F.SG bag

‘At that time one hadn't, we didn't even have a bag.’

- 266 *A durònt l' ujara ... vèva lu al bap api*
and during INDEF.ART.F.SG war have.IMPF.3SG then DEF.ART.M.SG father and
267 *mju auc ... als dus fras ansjaman*
POSS.1SG.M.SG uncle DEF.ART.M.PL two.M.PL brother.PL together
268 *patarlavan ajn gang, ajn ... zulè.¹⁹*
chatter.IMPF.3PL 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.’

- 269 *Nuş şchèvan ajn gang. Ah, sur da l' ujara.*
1PL say.IMPF.1PL on «gang».M.SG ah over of INDEF.ART.F.SG war

‘We used to say «ajn gang». Ah, about the war.’

- 270 *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
271 *la, da, sur da l' ujara, da quaj tg' èra*
DEF.ART.F.SG of over of DEF.ART.F.SG war of DEM.UNM REL be.IMPF.3SG
272 *fòrsa la ... schabjau avaun quindisch dis.*
maybe DEF.ART.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.’

- 273 *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.’

- 274 *Las nòtizjas sa ju bétg danùndar als*
DEF.ART.F.PL news.PL know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG from_where DEF.ART.M.PL
275 *gjaniturs, als dus baps prandèvan aj, i*
parents.PL DEF.ART.M.PL two.M.PL father.PL take.IMPF.3PL 3SG EXPL

¹⁹ *Gang* is the German word for ‘corridor’, and *zulè* is the Romansh one.

- 276 *dèva ajnta Ruàras, dèv'* *aj in tga vèva*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG in PLN EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL one.M.SG REL have.IMPF.3SG
- 277 *ràdjò.*
 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.'

- 278 *In sulèt tga vèva ràdjò. A mju bap*
 one.M.SG only.M.SG REL have.3SG radio.M.SG and POSS.1SG.M.SG father
 279 *ò lu gju l' amprém al ràdjò.*
 have.PRS.3SG then have.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG first DEF.ART.M.SG radio

'Only one had a radio. And it was my father who was the first one to have a radio.'

- 280 *Èl vèva schi gròn plaçchaj, quèl bunamajn mava*
 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG so big.M.SG pleasure DEM.M.SG almost go.IMPF.3SG
 281 *ajn cul tgau ajl ràdjò.*
 into with.DEF.ART.M.SG head in.DEF.ART.M.SG radio

'He had such great pleasure, he almost would go into the radio with his head.'

- 282 *A sjantar, gè, va ju ... sè 'l bap lu*
 and after yes have.PRS.1SG 1SG be.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father then
 283 *mòrts, tgu vèva ... mù vèntgadús òns.*
 die.PTCP.M.SG when.REL.1SG have.IMPF.3SG only twenty-two year.M.PL

'And after that, yes, I had ... my father then died when I was ... only 22 years old.'

- 284 *Sùn lu maridaus dus òns sjantar. A ... ad ju*
 be.PRS.1SG then marry.PTCP.M.SG two.M.PL year.PL later and and 1SG
 285 *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
 286 *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].'

- 287 *Ad èra stau in gréjv mùmè cun*
 and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG difficult.M.SG moment with

- 288 sissòntanùv òns. *Èl* *vèva* *gju* *ina* ...
 sixty-nine year.M.PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
 289 *ambòlí*, *gè* ... *gè*.
 embolism yes yes

‘And this had been a difficult moment, at age sixty-nine. He’d had an ... embolism, yes ... yes.’

- 290 A *lu sjantar vau* *adina fatg* *al* *pur*,
 and then after have.PRS.1SG.1SG always do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG farmer
 291 *ábar ju sùn* *ùs bigja staus* ... *in* *dals* *fétg*
 but 1SG be.PRS.1SG NOW NEG COP.PTCP.M.SG one.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG very
 292 *buns* *purs*.
 good.M.PL farmer.PL

‘And since then I have always worked as a farmer, but I’ve never been ... one of the best farmers.’

- 293 A *gju* *quèl al* *plé gròn* *plaşchaj* ... *da*
 and have.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG more big.M.SG.UNM pleasure of
 294 ... *surprèndar lavurs da maridur* *a da mágstar*, *a mava*
 take_over.INF job.F.PL of bricklayer.M.SG and of joiner.M.SG and go.IMPF.1SG
 295 *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.]’

- 296 *Ábar al* *pur figèva* *ju lu èra*, *a figèva* *è*,
 but DEF.ART.M.SG farmer do.IMPF.1SG 1SG then also and do.IMPF.1SG also
 297 *vèv'* *è plaschaj* *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
 298 *intgarnaus* *cù nuş şchajn* ... *pròpi* ... *quaj* *sùn* *ju, quaj*
 inveterate.M.SG as 1PL say.PRS.1PL really DEM.UNM be.PRS.1SG 1SG DEM.UNM
 299 *détschu*, *quaj* *sùn* *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.’

300 *Ābar tschaj è bi, ju a lu sjantar*
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG then after
 301 *gju ... calau da fā 'l pur*
 have.PTCP.UNM stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.ART.M.SG farmer
 302 *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.’

303 A *sjantar surprju acòrds adin-adina.*
 and after take_over.PTCP.UNM piecework.M.PL RED~always

‘And afterwards I took over piecework, always.’

304 *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
 305 *cula la, da l' arùndazjún*
 with.DEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG of DEF.ART.F.SG joining_of_property.F.SG
 306 *vèv' ju méz tüt als tjarms, a*
 have.IMPF.1SG put.PTCP.UNM all DEF.ART.M.PL boundary_stone.PL and
 307 *qu' èra stau gròndas lavurs a a a lavurs*
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM big.F.PL work.PL and and and work.F.PL
 308 *tgu a gju tscháfan da fā ... a schòn*
 REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM desire.M.SG COMP do.INF and really
 309 *stau hèfti ábar ... fadjau bjè raps.*
 COP.PTCP.UNM 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 and work I was pleased to do ... and it has indeed been strenuous but ... [I] earned a lot of money.’

310 A *sjantar ... cu quaj è jus a ... ju lu*
 and after when DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG have.PRS.1SG 1SG then
 311 *è aun ugagjau a bagjau ina tgèsa da trajs*
 also still dare.PTCP.UNM and build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG house of three
 312 *habitazjuns, ana sjatònta, a quaj è vagnú ajn*
 apartment.F.PL year seventy and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG come.PTCP.UNM in
 313 *danès tgu vèva aun maj vju raps.*
 money.M.PL REL.1SG have.IMPF.1SG yet never see.PTCP.UNM cent.M.PL

‘And then ... when this happened ... 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].’

- 314 *Aun tauns raps. Qu' èba lu, lu sa[j]*
 still so_much.M.PL cent.PL DEM.UNM just then then COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL
 315 *ju.*
 go.PTCP.UNM

‘Imagine so much money. That’s the way it happened.’

- 316 *Avaun èrans schi anavùs a tòtajnìna sè quaj*
 before COP.IMPF.1PL.1PL SO backward and suddenly be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 317 *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
 318 *fatg vinavaun, puspè cun ... luvrau fétg, la*
 make.PTCP.UNM forward again with work.PTCP.UNM much DEF.ART.F.SG
 319 *dùna ò lu è luvrau cun ... fétg, èla è*
 woman have.PRS.3SG then also work.PTCP.UNM with much 3SG.F COP.F.SG
 320 *ina simpla fèmna, a luvrau fétg.*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG simple woman and work.PTCP.UNM much

‘Before we were so backward, and suddenly it happened this way. And in this situation I went on, again with, working hard, my wife also contributed ... a lot, she is a simple woman, worked hard.’

9.3 Al tat

My grandfather

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m4, aged 68)

Recorded 2017/03/13 in Sadrún

Duration 15'20"

- 321 *Gè, ju a atgnamajn prju, prju avaun da*
 yes 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually take.PTCP.UNM take.PTCP.UNM before COMP
 322 *préndar eh, zatgéj històrias cò da quaj eh détgas a*
 take.INF eh something story.F.PL here of DEM.UNM eh legend.F.PL and
 323 *praulas ábar ju a lu vju ajn général cò,*
 fairy_tale.F.PL but 1SG have.PRS.1SG then see.PTCP.UNM in general here

- 324 *vau prju quaj cùdisch cò da la*
 have.PRS.1SG.1SG take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG book here of DEF.ART.F.SG
 325 *mütòlògia²⁰, a quaj ajn général cuértas.*
 mythology and DEM.UNM in general short.F.PL

‘Actually, I had planned to take eh some stories here from these legends and fairy tales, I then saw [that] generally here [i.e. in the book], I took this book of mythology, but these [are] in general short ones.’

- 326 *Lu sünd ju sadacidjus da ... raṣdá in*
 then be.PRS.1SG 1SG REFL.decide.PTCP.M.SG COMP talk.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG
 327 *pau sur da la ... da mi' ufaunza, a lu cunzún eh*
 little over of DEF.ART.F.SG of POSS.1SG.F.SG childhood and then especially eh
 328 *c' ju sùn staus anzjaman cul tat ajn*
 when 1SG be.PRS.1SG be.PTCP.M.SG together with.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather up
 329 *Pardatsch.*
 PLN

‘Then I decided to ... talk a bit about ... my childhood, and then especially when I was together with my grandfather up in Pardatsch.’

- 330 *Quaj è pia al ... al tat da*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG thus DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather of
 331 *la vart da la mùma.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG side of DEF.ART.F.SG mother

‘So that is ... my grandfather from my mother’s side.’

- 332 *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
 333 *òtgòntschian òtgòntasjat, a mòrts sin méli a ...*
 eight_hundred eighty-seven and die.PTCP.M.SG on thousand and
 334 *nòvtschian sissòntasjat, pia vagnús da quèla, da*
 nine_hundred sixty-seven therefore become.PTCP.M.SG at DEM.F.SG at
 335 *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.’

²⁰The narrator refers to Büchli (1966), which is in sight and at which he was pointing.

- 336 *Quaj è stau ina ... fétg grònда familja,*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG very big family
337 *èlş òn gju indišch ufauns, in è*
3PL.M have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM eleven child.M.PL one.M.SG be.PRS.3SG
338 *mòrts, ah, tga 'l vèva circa curònta curòntatschun*
die.PTCP.M.SG eh COMP 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG about forty forty-five
339 *ònş ò 'l gju in accidèn ajnta*
year.M.PL have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG accident up
340 *Nalbş, èra vida ... piná lèna survagnú in*
PLN COP.IMPF.3SG PROG fell.INF wood.COLL get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG
341 *pégn, schmacau èl.*
spruce 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.'

- 342 *Als da Surajn òn gju bjè pupira, álsò*
DEF.ART.M.PL of PLN have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM much poverty.F.SG well
343 *i è ina ... istòria ... détg trista par part aun.*
EXPL COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG story.F.SG very sad for part still

'Those relatives who lived in Surrein were very poor, well, it is also a ... very sad ... story, at least some parts of it.'

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

'Namely from the moment when my ... when my grandfather had problems with his nerves.'

- 346 *Ju sùn vagnús séssura quaj ... bjè plé tart, pér cun*
1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG on DEM.UNM much more late only with
347 *quindišch végñ òns; avaun c' ju sùn staus*
fifteen twenty year.M.PL before COMP 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG
348 *tial tat savèvu da quaj nuét a*
at.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather know.IMPF.1SG.1SG of DEM.UNM nothing and
349 *vès è bitga safatg ajn zatgé spazjal.*
have.COND.1SG also NEG REFL.do.PTCP.UNM in something special.ADJ.UNM

‘I found out about that ... only much later, only when I was fifteen or twenty years old, before I stayed with my grandfather I didn’t know anything and I wouldn’t have noticed anything either.’

350 *Scù la mòma ò raquintau sjantar, sè*
 as DEF.ART.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG tell.PTCP.UNM after COP.PRS.3SG
 351 *quaj darivau da ... d' avaun òns, a zuar ah,*
 DEM.UNM come_from.PTCP.UNM from from before year.M.PL and namely eh
 352 *èls ..., quaj èra schòn ajn als ghéns èra*
 3PL.M DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG already in DEF.ART.M.PL gene.PL COP.IMPF.3SG
 353 *quaj schòn ajn, ábar pròpi ah... dau la davùsa ...*
 DEM.UNM already in but really eh give.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG last
 354 *frida òi c' i òn gju cò*
 blow EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL have.PTCP.UNM here
 355 *misjun.*
 mission.F.SG

‘As my mother told [me] later, this had come from, from years ago, namely, ah, they ... it was already in his genes was this already, but he got the the final blow when they [the catholic Fathers] had a mission here.’

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

‘These were Fathers who came, let’s say every two years they undertook a mission.’

358 *A quaj èra par part èra quaj schòn, sbiars*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG for part COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM really thug.PL
 359 *schèss inòz bunamajn; quèls mavan sén scantschala*
 say.COND.3SG GNR nowadays almost DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL on pulpit.F.SG
 360 *a pardjavan al blùt gjával, malagjavan al*
 and preach.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG naked devil paint.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG
 361 *gjával vit la prajt.*
 devil on DEF.ART.F.SG wall

‘And these were partly, nowadays one would almost call them thugs; these would go to the pulpit and preach the devil in person, and imagine the worst.’

362 Al tat, scù la mùma ò raquintau,
 DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather as DEF.ART.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG tell.PTCP.UNM
 363 è saprjuş ajn quaj schi starmantús tg' èl
 be.PRS.3SG REFL.take.PTCP.M.SG in DEM.UNM so terrible.ADJ.UNM COMP 3SG.M
 364 è curdaus gjùdajn ajn ina rùsna nündétga, ad
 be.PRS.3SG fall.PTCP.M.SG down_into in INDEF.ART.F.SG hole awful and
 365 ò lu stu í á fá cura, mass'
 have.PRS.3SG then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF COMP make.INF treatment.F.SG many
 366 òns, a ... sjantar lu saravagnús ábar maj propi
 year.M.PL and after then REFL.come_again.PTCP.M.SG but never really
 367 staus ajn gamba.
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in leg.F.SG

‘My grandfather, as my mother told [me], took this so seriously that he fell in an awful hole, and for many years he had to go to a health resort, and ... after that he recovered, but he was never really well.’

368 Èl èr' in tüp tga raşdava bigja bjè, ju
 3SG COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG fellow REL speak.IMPF.3SG NEG much 1SG
 369 a gju fétg-fétg bian cun èl, ábar ah, gè
 have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM RED~very good.UNM with 3SG.M but eh yes
 370 qu' è lu stau in tjams ualti dir
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG time quite hard
 371 cunzún par la tata, cun cun taunş ufaunş
 especially for DEF.ART.F.SG grandmother with with so_many.M.PL children.PL
 372 a par cléjì sèni lu sagiraj, èls, qu'
 and for luck.M.SG COP.PRS.3PL.3PL then insure.PTCP.M.PL 3PL.M DEM.UNM
 373 èra schòn ina grònda difarènza da vagliadétgna, tg'
 COP.IMPF.3SG really INDEF.ART.F.SG big difference of age.F.SG COMP
 374 èn lu... sagiraj tg' è zacù ju.
 COP.PRS.3PL then insure.PTCP.M.PL COMP COP.PRS.3SG somehow go.PTCP.UNM

‘He was a person who didn't speak much, I got along very well with him, but, eh, yes, this was then a very hard time, especially for my grandmother, with so many children, and fortunately they were insured, they, there was a really big difference in age, that they were insured, so they could manage it in some way.’

375 Ábar i èra ... pupira, quèls spargnavan è
 but EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG poverty.F.SG DEM.M.PL save.IMPF.3PL also

376 *starmantús, stuèvan sparngè, a ... ju sa dals*
terrible.ADJ.UNM must.IMPF.3PL save.INF and 1SG know.PRS.1SG from
377 *aucs, quèls vèvan in purèssar plétost ... pin,*
DEF.ART.M.PL DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL INDEF.ART.M.SG farm rather small
378 *tgéj pudévan èls vaj, déjsch quindiçh armaulş gronş api lu*
what can.IMPF.3PL 3PL.M have.INF ten fifteen animal.M.PL big.PL and then
379 *aun ... tgauras sòu tga vèvan a ... pòrs a*
besides goat.F.PL know.PRS.1SG.1SG COMP have.IMPF.3PL and pig.M.PL and
380 *gaglinas a da quaj a vivèvan lu plétost dal*
hen.F.PL and of DEM.UNM and live.IMPF.3PL then rather of DEF.ART.M.SG
381 *purèssar.*
farming

‘But this was ... real poverty, they would save as much as they could, they had to save, and ... I know from my uncles, they had a rather ... small farm, what could they have, maybe ten, fifteen big animals and then also goats I know they had, and ... pigs and hens and such things, and lived rather on farming.’

382 *A zatgéj mava' ls aucs mavan lu aun*
and something go.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL uncle.PL go.IMPF.3PL then also
383 *anzatgé ... ád uáut.*
something to forest.M.SG

‘And sometimes my uncles would also go sometimes ... to the forest.’

384 *Ábar i èra, á fá léna, cunzún al bjè*
but EXPL be.IMPF.3SG COMP make.INF wood.COLL especially DEF.ART.M.SG most
385 *á fá léna né á métar najf magari i è*
COMP make.INF wood.COLL or COMP put.INF snow sometimes EXPL be.PRS.3SG
386 *stau in tjams tga mavan sél pas,*
COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG time REL go.IMPF.3PL ON.DEF.ART.M.SG pass
387 *mávani sé á métar najf pala ... viafiar da*
go.IMPF.3PL.3PL up COMP put.INF snow for.DEF.ART.F.SG railway of
388 *la Fürca-Albsù.*
DEF.ART.F.SG PLN

‘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.’

9 Texts

389 *A lu ... tiar mè şè quaj stau ussuschéa, ju*
 and then by 1SG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM exactly_so 1SG
 390 *èr' jus ah ... á 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.’

391 *A quaj plaschéva nuéta propi da mé.*
 and DEM.UNM please.IMPF.3SG nothing really DAT 1SG

‘And I really didn’t like that.’

392 *Nuş vèvan cò ina sòra tg' instruéva, qu'*
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL here INDEF.ART.F.SG Sister REL teach.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM
 393 *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.’

394 *Quaj èra ina munièssa da Gljòn, la*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG nun from PLN DEF.ART.F.SG
 395 *sòra Paulina, quèla ò dau bjè òns*
 Sister PN DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG give.PTCP.UNM many year.M.PL
 396 *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.’

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

‘And it was not usual that one attended nursery school.’

399 *Álsò qu' èra fòrs' ina tjarza tga mava á*
 well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG maybe INDEF.ART.F.SG third REL go.IMPF.3SG to
 400 *scùlèta.*
 nursery_school.F.SG

‘Well, it was maybe one third that would attend nursery school.’

401 *Ju sùn jus in tjamş a plaschèva da mé*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG time and please.IMPF.3SG DAT 1SG
 402 *şchùbar nuét api vau détg di mùma*
 clean nothing and have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT.ART.SG mother.F.SG
 403 *in dé:*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG day

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

404 «*Ju cala dad í á scùlèta, ju pùs bitg í*
 1SG stop.PRS.1SG COMP go.INF to nursery_school.F.SG 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF
 405 *plé.*»
 any_more

‘I’ll stop going to nursery school, I can’t stand it any longer.’

406 *Pi ò èla dét[g]: «Té savèssas í*
 and have.PRS.3SG 3SG say.PTCP.UNM 2SG can.COND.2SG go.INF
 407 *cul tat ajn Pardatsch.»*
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather up PLN

‘Then she said: «You could go up to Pardatsch with your grandfather.’

408 *Quaj è quèla val, gjù cò la val Nalbṣ*
 DEM.UNM cop.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG valley down here DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN
 409 *vidajn, in majṣès²¹ ajnamiaz c’ ò*
 up_into INDEF.ART.M.SG assembly_of_houses in_middle REL have.PRS.3SG
 410 *nùm Pardatsch.*
 name.M.SG PLN

‘This is the valley down here, into the Nalps valley, a *majṣès*.’

411 *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
 412 *tartgau, ju sùn adina staus plétost al*
 think.PTCP.UNM 1SG be.PRS.1SG always COP.PTCP.M.SG rather DEF.ART.M.SG
 413 *tüp da la ... natira.*
 fellow of DEF.ART.F.SG nature

²¹A *majṣès*, German *Maiensäss*, is an assembly of houses and meadows in the mountains used during the cattle grazing period.

'Then I decided to go, yes, yes, I thought I had always been rather someone who likes nature.'

- 414 *Sünd jus ah gjù Surajn a lò sè aun stau*
be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG eh down PLN and there be.PRS.3SG still be.PTCP.UNM
 415 ... *da fá laš davùsas lavurs, scù métar grascha, ará*
COMP do.INF DEF.ART.F.PL last.PL work.PL like put.INF dung.F.SG plough.INF
 416 *a da quaj, quaj èra bigja grat schi sémpal, a*
and DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG just so easy.ADJ.UNM and
 417 *sjantar èssan nuš i ... ajn quaj Pardatsch.*
after be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up DEM.M.SG PLN

'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.'

- 418 *Í vidajn, quaj manava aun ina ...*
go.INF up.in DEM.UNM lead.IMPF.3SG in_addition INDEF.ART.F.SG
 419 *ina via nauscha, ábar i èran grad vitlúndar, vida*
INDEF.ART.F.SG road bad but 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL just PROG PROG
 420 *luvará, qu' è stau al tjams*
work.INF DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG time
 421 *tschuncòntasis, ju vèva ... siš òns tga ... èran*
fifty-six 1SG have.IMPF.1SG six year.M.PL when.REL COP.IMPF.3PL
 422 *vida prapará la via par í si sé Nalps a bagagè*
PROG prepare.INF DEF.ART.F.SG road PURP go.INF up up PLN and build.INF
 423 *al mir da farmada.*
DEF.ART.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.'

- 424 *Ah ... Nalps è vagnú fruantau ò scù*
eh PLN be.PRS.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM visit.PTCP.UNM out as
 425 *majès ad alps adina, lu sè aun dus trajs*
assembly_of_houses and alp.M.PL always then EXIST.PRS.3SG still two three
 426 *intarassants lògans ajn cò, ajn Burganèz, qu' è*
interesting place.M.PL in here in PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
 427 *in tòc pléndanòra, lò ani bagagjau gjù*
INDEF.ART.M.SG bit more_out there have.PRS.3PL.3PL build.PTCP.UNM down

- 428 *la* ... *raquéntani* ... *la* *crapa* *par* *bagagè*
 DEF.ART.F.SG tell.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.ART.F.SG stone.COLP PURP build.IMP
 429 *al* *clutgè-basèlgja.*
 DEF.ART.M.SG 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 9.1: The church of Sedrun with its high tower

- 430 *Quèla blòca mávani ajn a tagliavan ò a trèvan*
 DEM.F.SG block.COLP go.IMP.3PL up and cut.IMP.3PL out and carry.IMP.3PL
 431 *vidò cun bùfs tòcan ò cò á Sadrùn.*
 down with ox.M.PL until down here at PLN

‘[With] these blocks they went up, cut [them] out, and brought them down with oxen until here in Sedrun.’

- 432 A pléndanajn in tòc da tschèla vart, lò saj
and more_uphill INDEF.ART.M.SG piece of DEM.F.SG side there COP.PRS.3SG
- 433 práctisch al sulèt grép da catschina tga végn
practically DEF.ART.M.SG only.M.SG rock of limestone.F.SG REL come.PRS.3SG
- 434 avaun ála val Tujetsch.
before in.DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN

‘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.’

- 435 Lò bagagjávani gjù catschina a barşchavan grad
there build.IMPF.3PL.3PL down limestone.F.SG and burn.IMPF.3PL immediately
éla.
3SG.F

‘There they would mine limestone and burn it immediately.’

- 437 Ad i aun èra lò, zatgé rastònza sè aun lò tg'
and EXPL still COP.IMPF.3SG there some remnant.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG still there REL
- 438 ins sa í ajn á mirá; 'l PN ò è
GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF into COMP see.INF DEF.ART.M.SG PN have.PRS.3SG also
- 439 fag²² lò in pèr placats tga müssan ajn
make.PTCP.UNM there INDEF.ART.M.SG pair poster.M.PL REL show.PRS.3PL in
- 440 via nùc' ins sa è mirá quaj.
way where GNR can.PRS.3SG also see.INF DEM.UNM

‘And there is 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.’

- 441 A lu Prdatsch ... plénansé cò ancúntar Tgòm ... saj
and then PLN more_uphill here in_direction PLN COP.PRS.3SG
- 442 ina rùsna, quaj fùs è aun intarassant sch'
INDEF.ART.F.SG hole DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG also indeed interesting.UNM if
- 443 ins savés, quaj datèscha da gl' òn ju ...
GNR know.COND.3SG DEM.UNM date.PRS.3SG from DEF.ART.M.SG year 1SG
- 444 a ussa bigja grat prèsèn, méli a sistschian a zatgéj.
have.PRS.1SG now NEG just present thousand and six_hundred and something

²²The narrator thinks that *tschentau* ‘put’ would fit better than *fatg*.

‘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.’

- 445 *A lò pratjándani tga cavavan òra ... matałts.*
and there pretend.PRS.3PL.3PL COMP recover.IMPF.3PL out metal.M.PL

‘And there they pretend that they recovered metals.’

- 446 *A quaj è ina rùsna, òh tgé pù qual'*
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.F.SG hole oh what can.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG
447 *èssar ... in mètar a miaz ... lada, a fòrza ... dus mètars*
be.INF one.m.sg meter and half large.F.SG and maybe two.M.PL meter.PL
448 *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.’

- 449 *Daváuntiar şaj sé la, l' anada cur' i*
in_front COP.PRS.3SG up DEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG year when 3PL
450 *òn antschiat, ad ins vez' aun quaj*
have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM and GNR see.PRS.3SG still DEM.UNM
451 *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 with, ah, a lot manually.’

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

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

- 455 *A quèla tauna vò vidajn - quaj tgu sùn*
and DEM.F.SG cave go.PRS.3SG into DEM.UNM REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG
456 *staus ajn - vò lò vidajn circa vèntgatschún métars,*
COP.PTCP.M.SG in go.PRS.3SG there into about twenty-five meter.M.PL

- 457 *san ins í vidajn da quèla, api sasparti,*
can.PRS.3SG GNR go.INF into of DEM.F.SG and REFL.divide.PRS.3SG.EXPL
458 *vòi ajn duas.*
go.PRS.3SG.EXPL in two.F.PL

‘And this cave – [judging from] where I have been into it – one can go into it about 25 meters, and then it splits into two.’

- 459 *Ah, tgé ... prandévan propi òra sa ins bégi' éxact,*
eh what take.IMP.3PL exactly out know.PRS.3SG GNR NEG exact.ADJ.UNM
460 *dí dian ins matalṣ, ábar ò védza quaj insùma bégi*
say.INF say.PRS.3SG GNR metal.M.PL but out look.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM at_all NEG
461 *in grép da matal.*
INDEF.ART.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.’

- 462 *Préndar ajn, pù schòn èssar tga samidav' al*
take.INF in can.PRS.3SG well be.INF COMP REFL.change.IMP.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG
463 *grép, tga ... a dí di la ... la détga*
rock COMP and say.INF say.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG legend
464 *di tg' èrian schindanajn tg' i udévian*
say.PRS.3SG COMP COP.IMP.3PL SO_IN COMP 3PL hear.IMP.3PL
465 *c' i tucavi da mjadṣdé ajnt Ruèras.*
COMP EXPL beat.IMP.3SG of noon.M.SG in PLN

‘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 that they heard the clock strike noon in Rueras.’

- 466 *Quaj è da dubitá, quaj è mataj scù*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG COMP doubt.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG probably like
467 *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.’

- 468 *Basta, ah, par vagní cò sén quaj Pardatsch al,*
enough eh PURP come.INF here on DEM.M.SG PLN DEF.ART.M.SG
469 *al tat vèva aun fatg*
DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather have.IMP.3SG in_addition make.PTCP.UNM

470 *ina satagljèda, ina ganùglja vèva 'l*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG REFL.cut.PTCP.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG knee have.IMP.F.3SG 3SG.M
 471 *tagljau sé, schòn, in braf schnéz; avaun c'*
 cut.PTCP.UNM up yes INDEF.ART.M.SG brave.M.SG.UNM cut.M.SG before COMP
 472 *i vidajn, ah, staus lu tial miadi, gljèz*
 go.INF uphill ah COP.PTCP.M.SG then at.DEF.ART.M.SG doctor DEM.UNM
 473 *èra lu bitg in, ah, schi sémpal da*
 COP.IMP.F.3SG then NEG INDEF.ART.M.SG ah so simple.ADJ.UNM COMP
 474 *dumagnè tiar in miadi.*
 cope_with.INF at INDEF.ART.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, he went to the doctor but this is not easy to deal with at the doctor’s.’

475 *Lèds vèva lu dau zatgéj étg dad*
 DEM.M.SG have.IMP.F.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM some ointment.M.SG COMP
 476 *úndšchar ajn a faschas a la tata ò*
 oil.INF in and bandage.F.PL and DEF.ART.F.SG grandmother have.PRS.3SG
 477 *lu aun détg da mé:*
 then still say.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG

‘He had given [him] some ointment to rub in and bandages, and then my grandmother said to me:’

478 «*Té mira lu tg' al tat fètschi lu*
 2SG look.IMP.2SG then COMP DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather do.PRS.SBJV.3SG then
 479 *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
 480 *fètschi 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 it and puts them on again.’

481 «*Gè gè quaj vi ju schòn ... mirá tga*
 yes yes yes DEM.UNM want.PRS.1SG 1SG of_course make_sure.INF COMP
 482 *végni fatg.»*
 PASS.AUX.PRS.SBJV.3SG do.PTCP.UNM

‘Yes of course, I will make sure that it’s be done.’

9 Texts

- 483 A ... *grat par finí quèla istòrja, qu'* è lu
and just PURP end.INF DEM.F.SG story DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then
484 *ju ... quèluisa, 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:'

- 485 «*Té*²³ ... *Vajs fatg él?*»
2SG have.PRS.2SG.POL do.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M

'You [sg] ... Did you [pl] do it?'

- 486 *Lu schèv' inṣ aun Vuṣ da ... eh, da tat a*
then say.IMPF.3SG GNR still 2PL DAT eh DAT grandfather.M.SG and
487 *tata vau adina détg Vuṣ, ábar*
grandmother.F.SG have.PRS.1SG.1SG always say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but
488 *dals, méjs gjaniturs vajn nuṣ üssa bégja*
DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL POSS.1SG.M.PL parent.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL now NEG
489 *détg Vus, ábar i èra bjèrs tga ... òn*
say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL but EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG many.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL
490 *détg tòcan, gè práctisch adina Vus dals gjaniturs.*
say.PTCP.UNM until yes practically always 2PL DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL parent.PL

'At that time, one used to say *Vus* eh ... eh, to my grandfather and my grandmother I have always said *Vus*, but to the, my parents we now never said *Vus*, but there were many who have said until, well practically always *Vus* to their parents.'

- 491 *[Lu] vòu détg: «Vus vèssas lu aun da*
then have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM 2PL.POL have.COND.2PL then still COMP
492 *fá quèls bògns né mirá da la playa.»*
do.INF DEM.M.PL bath.PL or look_after.INF of DEF.ART.F.SG wound

'[Then] I said: "You should still take a bath or look after the wound."

- 493 «*Gè gè quaj quaj è schòn bian.»*
yes yes DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG all_right good.UNM

'Yes, sure, that's OK'

²³The narrator makes an error; he said *té* 'you (sg)' instead of *Vus* 'you (honorific)', as the following sentence explains.

- 494 *Qu' è lu ju tschéluisa tga ca nuş èssan*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG then go.PTCP.UNM such_way COMP COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL
495 *vagní vidòra, turnaj ò da Pardatsch, tg' èssan*
come.PTCP.M.PL over_out return.PTCP.M.PL out of PLN CORR be.COND.1PL
496 *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.'

- 497 *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.'

- 498 *Quèla fascha èra satratg' ansjaman, a vidajn*
DEM.F.SG bandage be.IMPF.3SG REFL.contract.IMPF.3SG together and into
499 *ála pjal, carschid' ajn ála pjal api ò*
to.DEF.ART.F.SG skin grow.PTCP.F.SG in in.DEF.ART.F.SG skin and have.PRS.3SG
500 *'l stju í ò tial dòctar.*
3SG.M must.PTCP.UNM go.INF out to.DEF.ART.M.SG doctor

'That bandage had contracted, and into the skin, grown into the skin and then he had to go to the doctor.'

- 501 *Ábar èl vèva par clétg fétg bian saun*
but 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG for luck.M.SG very good.M.SG.UNM blood
502 *al ... ò 'l lu nuéta gju*
DEF.ART.M.SG have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M then nothing have.PTCP.UNM
503 *còmplicazjuns.*
complication.F.SG

'But fortunately his blood was very good, the ... he then hadn't got any complications.'

- 504 *Ajnta Pardadçh vèvan nus circa déjsch, èba déjsch quéndisch*
up_in PLN have.IMPF.1PL 1PL about ten precisely ten fifteen
505 *tgaus gròns api vèvan nus tgauras 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.'

506 *A lu mia lavur èra ... èra bitga atgnamajn*
 and then POSS.1SG.F.SG work COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG NEG actually
 507 *da fá bjè, a quaj tg' èra da parvaj aun*
 COMP do.INF much and DEM.UNM REL be.IMPF.3SG COMP feed.INF still
 508 *djantarájn fagèv'* *al tat,* *api vèvanş da*
 in_between do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather, and have.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP
 509 *partgirá als tiars, mav' ins lò sédòr*
 mind.INF DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL go.IMPF.3SG GNR there up_out
 510 *ál sit, grat cò nùca quèla rùsna tgu a*
 in.DEF.ART.M.SG south just there by DEM.F.SG hole REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG
 511 *raqintau.*
 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.’

512 *Lò èr' inş bjè culs tiars, a ... la*
 there COP.IMPF.3SG GNR a_lot with.DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL and DEF.ART.F.SG
 513 *sèra vagní gjùdòra cun èls, a lu al*
 evening come.PTCP.M.PL down_out with 3PL.M and then DEF.ART.M.SG
 514 *tat, lèz pinava tiar la tschajna, gljèz*
 grandfather DEM.M.SG prepare.IMPF.3SG by DEF.ART.F.SG dinner DEM.UNM
 515 *èra magari è léjgar tgé cuşchinadaş èl*
 COP.IMPF.3SG sometimes also funny.ADJ.UNM what cook.PTCP.F.PL 3SG
 516 *[fagèva], èl cuşchinava bitga mal, ábar ah mintgataun fagèva*
 [make.IMPF.3SG] 3SG.M cook.IMPF.3SG NEG bad but ah sometimes make.IMPF
 517 *l schòn détgs, détgas pistracas.*
 3SG.M really real.M.PL 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.’

518 *Quaj sch' i dèva rèsts, scha vagnévi lu*
 well if EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG leftovers.M.PL then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then
 519 *magari rimnau quaj dus trajs dis api méz*
 sometimes collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM two.M.PL three day.PL and put.PTCP.UNM

- 520 *tùt ajn ina* ... *tùt ansjaman.*
all in INDEF.ART.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.’

- 521 *A sjantar tschajnas, gljèz, quaj èra schòn è aun*
and after dinner.F.PL DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really also still
522 *léjgar.*
funny.ADJ.UNM

‘And after dinner, well, this was also funny.’

- 523 *Sjantar tschajna mav' inş ajn, quaj èr' èr; èls*
after dinner.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG GNR in DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also 3PL.M
524 *èran religius, èra quaj nündétg.*
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.’

- 525 *Vagnévi ju ajn ajn nuégl, parquaj tga ... l'*
come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL go.PTCP.UNM in in barn because COMP DEF.ART.F.SG
526 *antschata da la parmavèra stuèv' ins schè ajn*
beginning of DEF.ART.F.SG spring must.IMPF.3SG GNR let.INF in
527 *als tiars ajn nuégl, a lu mág' ins ajn api*
DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL in barn.M.SG and then go.IMPF.3SG GNR in and
528 *schèva 'l:*
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:’

- 529 «*Sò, ùsa schajn nuş impau patarnòş.» ad èl*
OK now say.PRS.1PL 1PL a_bit Lord's_prayer.M.PL and 3SG.M
530 *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].’

- 531 *Suschéa sasév' ajn ajn purşépan, a ... èl dad ina vart*
exactly_so sit.IMPF.3SG in in manger and 3SG.M of INDEF.ART.F.SG side

- 532 *ad ju da tschèla vart, a quaj schèva 'l trajs quátar*
and 1SG of DEM.F.SG side and DEM.UNM say.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M three four
- 533 *patarnòs a vònzac èri «Sòntga Maria Mùma da*
Lord's_prayer.M.PL and later COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL Holy Mary Mother of
- 534 *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.'

- 535 *Sadurmantav' ajn. A lu dumagnav' ju bigja nònavaun*
REFL.fall_asleep.IMPF.3SG in and then induce.IMPF.1SG 1SG NEG awake
536 *él.*
3SG.M

'He would fall asleep. And then I wasn't able to wake him up.'

- 537 *Quèl durméva sc' in tajs.*
DEM.M.SG sleep.IMPF.3SG like INDEF.ART.M.SG badger

'He used to sleep like a log.'

- 538 *Şùtajn èri la tégja nùca 'l*
under_in COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.F.SG alpine_hut REL 3SG.M
- 539 *caschav' èra, daspèras quèls dus nuéglis api*
make_cheese.IMPF.3SG also next DEM.M.PL two.M.PL cow_barn.PL and
- 540 *stuèv' ins 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
- 541 *èri ajn ina stiva sc' ins schèva, ajn*
COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in DEF.ART.F.SG living_room as GNR say.IMPF.3SG in
- 542 *quèls majrés schèv' ins la stiva*
DEM.M.PL assembly_of_houses.PL say.IMPF.3SG GNR DEF.ART.F.SG living_room
- 543 *nùc' ins durméva.*
REL.LOC GNR 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 *majrés* the room where one slept was called *stiva*'

- 544 *Ad ju mava lu sé lò á durmí, ábar eh, bjè nòtgs*
 and 1SG go.IMPF.1SG then up there PURP sleep.INF but eh many night.F.PL
 545 *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
 546 *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.’

- 547 *Ajn quèla vègljadétgna, api al pròblèm èra,*
 in DEM.F.SG age and DEF.ART.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG
 548 *èra, al pròblèm èra las sòndas a*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG problem COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL Saturday.PL and
 549 *duméngjas.*
 Sunday.PL

‘At that age, and the problem was, was, the problem was on Saturdays and Sundays.’

- 550 *Né al vèndardís sèra, quèls taljáns, quaj*
 or DEF.ART.M.SG Friday evening.F.SG DEM.M.PL Italian.PL DEM.UNM
 551 *èra práctisch mù taljans tga luvravan cò vid*
 COP.IMPF.3SG practically only Italian.M.PL REL work.IMPF.3PL here at
 552 *la via.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG road

‘Or Friday evening, these Italians, there were practically only Italians who worked on the road.’

- 553 *Sé Nalps vèvani è grad antschiat á bagagè*
 up PLN have.IMPF.3PL.3PL also just start.PTCP.UNM COMP build.INF
 554 *cantinaş etcètara.*
 canteen.F.PL et_cetera

‘In Nalps they had just begun to build canteens and so on.’

- 555 *Sònda-duméngja vagnévan quèls ò cò a fagjévan*
 Saturday-Sunday come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL out here and do.IMPF.3PL
 556 *fjastunas.*
 party.AUGM.F.PL

‘On week-ends they would come here and have big parties.’

557 A magari tga pudèvan lu bigja ... vidajn a ... vajn
 and sometimes REL can.IMPF.3PL then NEG in and have.PRS.1SG
 558 gju in pèr jèdas quèls tga vagnévan u
 have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG pair time.F.PL DEM.M.PL REL come.IMPF.3PL or
 559 tga vagnévan ajn ál clavau a durmévan, ábar è
 REL come.IMPF.3PL in in.DEF.ART.M.SG barn and sleep.IMPF.3PL but also
 560 ál létg²⁴ dal tat ... sùnd ju è
 in.DEF.ART.M.SG bed of.DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather be.PRS.1SG 1SG also
 561 schòn sadastadaus tg' i èr' ajn ... in né
 already REFL.wake_up.PTCP.M.SG REL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG in one.M.SG or
 562 dus taljánars tga durmévan.
 two.M.PL 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].'

563 Òh, lu schòn tumju in pau mintgataun.
 oh then really be_afraid.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG little sometimes

'Oh, [I was] really afraid sometimes.'

564 Prquaj tga quaj c' ins vèva bigja grad da partgirá
 because COMP DEM.UNM when GNR have.IMPF.3SG NEG just COMP mind.INF
 565 tiars sch' èr' ins antiar dé cun quèls, quaj
 animal.M.PL then COP.IMPF.3SG GNR whole.M.SG day with DEM.M.PL DEM.UNM
 566 èra è intarassant da mirá c' i luvravan,
 COP.IMPF.3SG also interesting.ADJ.UNM COMP look.INF when 3PL work.IMPF.3PL
 567 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].'

568 Ò lò vòu fòrza schòn è survagnú in téc
 out there have.PRS.1SG.1SG maybe really also get.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
 569 quajada d' í par crapa, tgu a vju
 desire.F.SG COMP go.INF for stone.COLL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG see.PTCP.UNM

²⁴Létg is assimilated to *dal* and pronounced /lej/.

570 *difarents lògans tg' i vèvan sitau gjù ad*
 different.M.PL place.PL REL 3PL have.IMPF.3PL blast.PTCP.UNM down and
 571 *èra ... vagnú ò cristalaş ètcètara, tga quaj*
 be.IMPF.3SG come.PTCP.UNM out crystal.F.PL et_cetera COMP DEM.UNM
 572 *è fòrza schòn stau in tèc al ...*
 be.PRS.3SG maybe really COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG bit DEF.ART.M.SG
 573 *mòtif tgu a antschiat dad í par crapa.*
 reason 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.'

574 *Schabi tga lu, cun siş òns capév' ins lu halt aun*
 although COMP then with six year.M.PL understand.IMPF.3SG GNR then just still
 575 *mèmja pauc a vèva bigja la ... fòrsa da fá*
 too little and have.IMPF.3SG NEG DEF.ART.F.SG strength COMP do.INF
 576 *zatgéj.*
 something

'Although then, at the age of six, one would understand too little and wouldn't have the ... strength to do something.'

577 *Gè, ah ... cèrtas tgaussas al tat, lèz al*
 yes eh certain.F.PL thing.PL DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather DEM.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG
 578 *dé òra mava lu bjè par lèna a mava lu vidòra*
 day out go.IMPF.3SG then often for wood.COLL and go.IMPF.3SG then over_out
 579 *in tòc a pinava ògna, a vagnéva vidajn*
 DEF.ART.M.SG piece and prepare.IMPF.3SG alder.COLL and come.IMPF.3SG over_in
 580 *... tg' èl mava a rimnava, gljèz èra aun*
 REL 3SG.M go.IMPF.3SG and collect.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really
 581 *léjgar cu' l scarpava giù urticlas.*
 funny.ADJ.UNM 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.'

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

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

- 584 *Ah, quaj scarpava 'l adina cul maun,*
ah DEM.UNM pull_off.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M always with.DEF.ART.M.SG hand
585 *cul maun sènza [vòns].*
with.DEF.ART.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].’

- 586 *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.’

- 587 *Ad è zatgéj ... léjgar èr' èra cu 'l*
and also something funny.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also when 3SG.M
588 *fagèva ffuc.*
make.IMPF.3SG fire.M.SG

‘And something ... funny was also when he made fire.’

- 589 *Èl vèv' adina ... lèna vèva 'l détig avùnda,*
3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG always wood.COLL have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M much enough
590 *ábar ajn généràl 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.’

- 591 *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
592 *dus, ùs ussusché.*
two.M.PL now exactly_so

‘These were sometimes such blocks of one or two metres or so.’

- 593 *Quaj catschava 'l ajn, qu' èr' in*
DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG
594 *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.’

- 595 *Quaj catschava 'l vidajn ála fuáina api mù*
DEM.UNM throw.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M into in.DEF.ART.F.SG fireplace and only
596 *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.’

- 597 *A la sèra par tga brişchi bétg ...*
and DEF.ART.F.SG evening PURP COMP burn.PRS.SBJV.3SG NEG
598 *vagnéva quaj, quaj mava 'l ajnagjù*
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_down
599 *cul maun èra sènza ... [vòns] a trèva vidò*
with.DEF.ART.M.SG hand also without [glove.M.PL] and pull.IMPF.3SG out
600 *còtgle giù sé sé 'l plantschju.*
charcoal.COLL down up on DEF.ART.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.’

- 601 *Álsò i èra schòn in spazjal.*
well EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG really INDEF.ART.M.SG special.ADJ.UNM

‘Well, he really was a special person.’

- 602 *A bjè gljut tumévan è mju tat,*
and many people.F.SG be.afraid.IMPF.3PL also POSS.1SG.M.SG grandfather
603 *parquaj tga ... èl raşdava pauc a magari smanatschava*
because COMP 3SG.M speak.IMPF.3SG little and sometimes threaten.IMPF.3SG
604 *'l ussusché tg' al- grat als buéts tg' èl*
3SG.M exactly_SO COMP DEF.ART.M.SG especially DEF.ART.M.PL boy.PL REL 3SG.M
605 *... cu 'l savèva tg' i vèvan fatg*
when 3SG.M know.IMPF.3SG COMP 3PL have.IMPF.3PL make.PTCP.UNM
606 *ina lumparia sche lu mussava 'l lu magari*
INDEF.ART.F.SG childish_prank CORR then show.IMPF.3SG 3SG then sometimes
607 *al pùgn a lura fugévani.*
DEF.ART.M.SG fist and then flee.IMPF.3PL.3PL

‘And many people were afraid of my grandfather, because ... he didn’t speak much and sometimes he would threaten in such a way that the – especially the boys

he... when he knew that they had played a childish prank, he then would show them his fist and they would run away.'

- 608 *A... in' autra tgaussa ... tg' è è stau²⁵*
 and INDEF.ART.F.SG other.F.SG thing REL be.PRS.3SG also COP.PTCP.UNM
 609 *intarassanta, èra, quaj èra ... ajgl*
 interesting.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.ART.M.SG
 610 *unviarn api vèvani ah ... māvani culs*
 winter and have.IMPF.3PL.3PL eh go.IMPF.3PL.3PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL
 611 *tiars ajnta Nacla, quaj è ... dadajns ... Surajn, fòrza*
 animal.PL up PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG more_back PLN maybe
 612 *végn minutas vidajn.*
 twenty minute.F.PL into

'And ... another thing ... that was interesting was, this was during winter and they had ah ... they used to go with the animals up to Nacla, this is ... farther behind ... Surrein, maybe twenty minutes farther behind.'

- 613 *A qu' èra schòn dau bjè najv ad*
 and DEM.UNM PASS.IMPF.3SG already give.PTCP.UNM much snow and
 614 *èran big' aun vagní vidò culs tiars.*
 be.IMPF.3PL NEG yet come.PTCP.M.PL down with.DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL

'And there was already a lot of snow and they hadn't come back down with the animals yet.'

- 615 *Ad ju sa la tata vèva détg:*
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG DEF.ART.F.SG grandmother have.IMPF.3SG say.PTCP.UNM

'And I know [that] my grandmother had said:'

- 616 «*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
 617 *bigja ajn lò.»*
 NEG in there

'Come down here now. Don't sleep up there this evening.»'

- 618 *Al bjè durmèva 'l ajn lò, álsò durmju ajn*
 DEF.ART.M.SG much sleep.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in there well sleep.PTCP.UNM in
 619 *nuégl.*
 barn

²⁵ *stau* is a performance error for *stada*.

‘He slept mostly up there, well, slept in the barn.’

- 620 *Basta, èl [è] bigja vagnús vidòr, glj’ autar*
 enough 3SG.M [be.PRS.3SG] NEG come.PTCP.M.SG down DEF.ART.M.SG other.M.SG
 621 *dé sè ’l ... in dals aucs ... jus*
 day be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M one.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.PL uncle.PL go.PTCP.M.SG
 622 *vidajn.*
 up

‘OK. He didn’t come down, the other day one of my uncles went up.’

- 623 *Sch’ èri vagnú gjù la lavina,*
 so be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM down DEF.ART.F.SG avalanche
 624 *vèva prju suròra dal, dal*
 have.IMPF.3SG take.PTCP.UNM above_out of.DEF.ART.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG
 625 *clavau, vèva prju suròra tut, èra mù*
 barn have.IMPF.3SG take.PTCP.UNM above_out everything COP.IMPF.3SG only
 626 *al ... ál ... nuégl sùtajn.*
 DEF.ART.M.SG in.DEF.ART.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.’

- 627 *Al tat èr’ ajn a durméva lò grad*
 DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather COP.IMPF.3SG in and sleep.IMPF.3SG there precisely
 628 *sc’ in tajš, vèv’ udju şchùbar-şchùbar*
 like INDEF.ART.M.SG badger have.IMPF.3SG hear.PTCP.UNM RED~clean.ADJ.UNM
 629 *nuét.*
 nothing

‘My grandfather was up there and was sleeping like a log, he hadn’t heard anything at all.’

- 630 *A par part vèvi aun prju dals*
 and for part have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover take.PTCP.UNM from.DEF.ART.M.PL
 631 *nuégl, vèvi prju, davauntiar è prju*
 barn.PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL take.PTCP.UNM at_front also take.PTCP.UNM
 632 *navèn.*
 away

‘And [the avalanche] had also partially swept away of the barns, had swept away, also swept away at the front.’

9 Texts

633 Duaş vacas èran gjùsüt aun adina ... pandi²⁶ á
 two.F.PL cow.PL COP.IMPF.3PL down_under still always hang.PTCP.M.PL at
 634 la cadajna cul' ... cul' ajssa nùca
 DEF.ART.F.SG chain with.DEF.ART.F.SG with.DEF.ART.F.SG plank REL.LOC
 635 la cadajn' èra, al tat udju
 DEF.ART.F.SG chain COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather hear.PTCP.UNM
 636 schùbar nuét.
 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.’

637 A ... gè quaj è ussusché in pèr da quèlas
 and yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG exactly_SO INDEF.ART.M.SG pair of DEM.F.PL
 638 raminiscènzas tgu a gju cul
 memory.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM with.DEF.ART.M.SG
 639 tat.
 grandfather

‘And ... yes, so these are some of the memories I have had with my grandfather.’

640 Ju a maj gju problèm - èl vès
 1SG have.PRS.1SG never have.PTCP.UNM problem.M.SG 3SG.M have.COND.3SG
 641 maj savilau cun mè né anzatgéj, ju a adina
 never REFL.get_angry.PTCP.UNM with 1SG or something 1SG have.PRS.1SG always
 642 gju fétg ugèn al tat.
 have.PTCP.UNM very with_pleasure DEF.ART.M.SG grandfather

‘I have never had a problem – he would never have got angry at me or something like that, I always have been very fond of my grandfather.’

643 A quaj tga 'l vèva pia sias flajvlèzas,
 and DEM.UNM REL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG therefore POSS.3PL.F.PL weakness.PL
 644 quaj sùn ju vagnús séssura 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.’

²⁶ Pandí is a performance error for *pandidas*; furthermore, the narrator would prefer to use *far-madas* ‘tied’.

- 645 *A lu sjaj ... èl è lu saravagnús détg*
 and then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then REFL.recover.PTCP.M.SG fairly
 646 *stupèn, èl ò lu luvrau ansjaman.*
 excellent.ADJ.UNM 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG then work.PTCP.UNM together

‘And then, he recovered perfectly well, he then worked together [with one of his sons].’

- 647 *In auc èra lu staus cun èl a*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG uncle be.PRS.3SG then COP.PTCP.M.SG with 3SG.M and
 648 *fatg al pur.*
 make.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG farmer

‘Then one of my uncles stayed with him and worked as a farmer.’

- 649 *A lèz fijèva al al pur, aun adin'*
 and DEM.M.SG make.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG farmer still always
 650 *in pin purèssar, lèz mava lu aun á, ád*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG small.M.SG farm DEM.M.SG go.IMPF.3SG then moreover to to
 651 *uáut á piná lèna.*
 forest.M.SG PURP prepare.INF 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.’

- 652 *A ... api sè lu capitau ... mù gè quaj cu 'l*
 and and be.PRS.3SG then happen.PTCP.UNM but yes DEM.UNM when 3SG.M
 653 *vèva sjatòntanòv òns circa, sè 'l zanúa*
 have.IMPF.3SG seventy-nine year.M.PL around be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M somewhere
 654 *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.’

- 655 *A ... vagnéva mèndar a mèndar a dumagnavan bigj' èl*
 and become.IMPF.3SG worse and worse and induce.IMPF.3PL NEG 3SG.M
 656 *ál, ál spital lèva 'l bitg í né*
 to.DEF.ART.M.SG to.DEF.ART.M.SG hospital want.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M NEG go.INF or
 657 *tiar miadis.*
 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.’

- 658 *Ad ju sa in’ jèda òn Cadruvi²⁷, sa ju in’*
 and 1SG know.PRS.1SG one.F.SG time down_in PLN know.1SG 1SG one.F.SG
 659 *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
 660 *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.’

- 661 *Èl mava misarábal. A la mùma è lura,*
 3SG.M go.IMPF.3SG miserable.ADJ.UNM and DEF.ART.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG then
 662 *plaunsjú şení vagní da fá i scha*
 slowly be.IMPF.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP make.INF go.INF since
 663 *vèva ’l rùt in calum.*
 have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.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.’

- 664 *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
 665 *ò ’l stju i ál spital.*
 have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M must.PTCP.UNM go.INF in.DEF.ART.M.SG hospital.

‘And he walked around with this ... thigh for three weeks, and then he had to go to the hospital.’

- 666 *Quèl’ è la sulèt’ jèda tg’ èl è propi*
 DEM.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG only time REL 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG really
 667 *staus ál spital.*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG in.DEF.ART.M.SG hospital

‘This is the only time he had really been to hospital.’

- 668 *Api òni tractau quaj, a sjantar mava*
 and have.PRS.3PL.3PL treat.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and after go.IMPF.3SG
 669 *quaj bigja plé gjù Surajn parquaj tga la*
 DEM.UNM NEG any_more down PLN because COMP DEF.ART.F.SG

²⁷ *Cadruvi* is a small square above the church in Sedrun.

670 *tat' èra è gè ina végija, a lu*
 grandmother COP.IMPF.3SG also after_all INDEF.ART.F.SG old and then
 671 *s' èl vivjus sé tiar nus sén Tgès' Alva, nus*
 be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M live.PTCP.M.SG up by 1PL on house.F.SG white 1PL
 672 *stèvan cò, viajn ... Tgès' Alva, quèla tgèsa grònada*
 live.IMPF.1PL here over_in house white DEM.F.SG house big
 673 *òragjiùt al muséum.*
 out_down_under DEF.ART.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 9.2: The Tgès' Alva in Sedrun

674 *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
 675 *vèva lu dau ina ... ina ...*
 have.IMPF.3SG then give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG
 676 *tussègazjun dal saun, sjantar lu s' èl maj*
 poisoning of.DEF.ART.M.SG blood after then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M never

9 Texts

677 vagnús *pròpi nùnavaun.*
come.PTCP.M.SG really 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.’

678 A lu vajn *nuş aun sju gudaj al*
and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL in_addition can.PTCP.UNM enjoy.INF DEF.ART.M.SG
679 *tat, fòrza tgéj, dus trajs majns a gju bjè*
grandfather maybe what two.M.PL three month.PL and have.PTCP.UNM much
680 *légar 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.’

681 *Èl durméva bjè, quaj mava 'l sél*
3SG.M sleep.IMPF.3SG a_lot DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M on.DEF.ART.M.SG
682 *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
683 *ugèn música, ah, quaj savèva 'l, durmí a*
with_pleasure music.F.SG ah DEM.UNM can.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M sleep.INF and
684 *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.’

685 A dumandavan nuş lu èra, magari inqual discuérṣ
and ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL then also sometimes some conversation.M.SG
686 vajn *nus schòn gju a raşdava bigja bjè, ábar eh*
have.PRS.1PL 1PL indeed have.PTCP.UNM and speak.IMPF.3SG NEG much but eh
687 ... scha 'l vèva bian, vagnév' ins schòn séssúra
if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG good.ADJ.UNM come.IMPF.3SG GNR indeed upon
688 *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.’

689 Lu dumandavan nuş èl, vèvan dumandau núa èl
 then ask.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG ask.PTCP.UNM where 3SG.M
 690 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
 691 zatgé vid Andermatt-a tudèstg savèv' ju è bigja –
 something over PLN and German know.IMPF.1SG 1SG also NEG
 692 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
 693 savèva 'l lu schòn in téctudèstg, savèva
 know.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M then indeed INDEF.ART.M.SG bit German know.IMPF.3SG
 694 'l lu aun, quaj tg' èra lu bigj' al cas tiar
 3SG.M then really DEM.UNM REL COP.IMPF.3SG then NEG DEF.ART.M.SG case at
 695 quels vègls aun.
 DEM.M.PL 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.’

696 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
 697 mòrts.
 die.PTCP.M.SG

‘And then he is then still, yes [in] 1967 he died.’

9.4 Scùla da tanajtgèsa á Cazas

Household school at Cazas²⁸

(Tuatschín, Camischùlas, f6, aged 45)

Recorded 2016/08/26 in Camischolas

Duration 7’40”

698 Á Cazis èr' ju ajn tgòmbras, alşò qu' èra tgòmbras
 in PLN COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG in room.F.SG well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG room.F.PL

²⁸ *Cazis* is the German denomination for the village; in standard Sursilvan it is called *Cazas* and in the local Sutsilvan variety *Tgazas*.

- 699 *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
 700 *adina prsula, a nus trajs vèvan ábar... súpar!*
 always alone.F.SG and 1PL three have.IMPF.3SG but super

'In Cazas I was in a room, well these were rooms for three, and then this was always, one [of the three] is always alone, of course, but the three of us, we had ... a great time.'

- 701 *À Cazis da las sòras adina hahhh RS, da da Maitli-RS,*
 in PLN of DEF.ART.F.PL sister.PL always hhhh RS of of Maitli-RS²⁹
 702 *diani, né schèvani lura da da Cazis.*
 say.PRS.3PL.3PL right say.IMPF.3PL.3PL then of of PLN

'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.'

- 703 *Ahm, a quaj èra schòn ah, a vagnéva fétg*
 ahm and DEM.M.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG in_fact ah and get.IMPF.3SG very
 704 *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
 705 *nus stèvan amprèndar a nus stèvan schubargè a fá a*
 1PL must.IMPF.1PL learn.INF and 1PL must.IMPF.1PL clean.INF and do.INF and
 706 *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.'

- 707 *A zacuras èri ahm ... da fá pènsums, lu*
 and sometime be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL hm COMP do.INF homework.M.PL then
 708 *èri ruaus, in' ura da fá pènsums, a*
 COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.MSG one.F.SG hour COMP do.INF homework.M.PL and
 709 *sjantar, a scalinavi a lu vèvans dad ira ... á*
 after and ring.IMPF.3SG.EXPL and then have.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP go.INF ... PURP
 710 *fá òrazjún la sèra, quaj èra tûts tga*
 do.INF prayer.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG evening DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG all.M.PL REL

²⁹ RS, German abbreviation for *Rekrutenschule* 'recruit school' and *Maitli-RS* Swiss German for 'girl's recruit school'.

711 vèvan da dad í sé sissúm, fá òrazjún da da
 have.IMPF.3PL COMP COMP go.INF up uppermost do.INF prayer.F.SG of of
 712 la sèra.
 DEF.ART.F.SG evening

‘And sometime or another we had eh ... to do our homework, then it was quiet, one hour to do our homework and after [this], and the bell rang and we had to go ... to pray in the evening, then all had to go upstairs, to the very top, to say the evening prayers.’

713 *Api sjantar vèvan nus lìbar atgnamajn uschéja mjas'* ura,
 and after have.IMPF.1PL 1PL free.ADJ.UNM actually so half.F.SG hour
 714 *trajs quarts d' ura tga nuş astgèvan fá, álsò èssar*
 three quart.M.PL of hour.F.SG REL 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL do.INF well be.INF
 715 *plé dad ault, a lura ... da da las déjsch èri*
 more of high and then at at DEF.ART.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 716 *craj né mjasa las déjsch èri ruaus,*
 believe.PRS.1SG of half.F.SG DEF.ART.F.PL ten COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL quiet.M.SG
 717 *pals gancs antùrn, ad ajn tgòmbras da las déjsch*
 in.DEF.ART.M.PL corridor.PL around and in room.F.PL at DEF.ART.F.PL ten
 718 *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.’

719 *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
 720 *las sòras mavan mù schi á guardja, tgi ca*
 DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL go.IMPF.3PL just so to guard.F.SG who REL
 721 *vagnéva traplaus stuèva al vèndardís*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG catch.PTCP.M.SG must.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG Friday
 722 *sèra ... stá lò, stgèvan bigj' i á tgèsa,*
 evening.F.SG stay.INF there be_allowed.IMPF.3PL NEG go.INF to home.F.SG
 723 *api stévan nuş schùbargè in' ura zatgéj, durmí lò, api*
 and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL clean.INF one.F.SG hour something sleep.INF there and
 724 *stèvan lu í pér la sònnda andamaun á*
 must.IMPF.3PL then go.INF only DEF.ART.F.SG Saturday in_morning to

- 725 *tgèsa.*
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.’

- 726 *Qu’ èra ... quèlas règlas.*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.PL rule.PL

‘These were ... those rules.’

- 727 *A las sòras savèvan tga nus trajs nus vagjan*
and DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL COMP 1PL three 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL
728 *adina u-léjgar, a nus mondjan bugèn cò gjù*
always ELAT-funny.ADJ.UNM and 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL with_pleasure here down
729 *à scùla, a nus fêtschjan 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
730 *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 to us.’

- 731 *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
732 *tga ... ahm, als amprandissadis antschavévan par part*
COMP hm DEF.ART.M.PL apprenticeship.PL begin.IMPF.3PL for part.F.SG
733 *igl avrél.*
in.DEF.ART.M.SG April

‘And then there was ... at that time, ah at that time still that ... ahm, the apprenticeships would partly begin in April.’

- 734 *A lu, ah, álsò ajn nòssa classa, cu ju mava ála*
and then ah well in POSS.1PL.F.SG class when 1SG go.IMPF.1SG to.DEF.ART.F.SG
735 *tjarza sacundara, igl avrél antschavévaç ampréma da*
third secondary DEF.ART.M.SG April begin.IMPF.2SG.GNR first COMP

- 736 vagní òd scùla, al davús èrans aun quàtar
 come.INF out_of school.F.SG DEF.ART.M.SG last COP.IMPF.1PL.1PL only four
 737 ... buébas tga mavan á scùla á la tjarza sacundara.
 girl.F.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG to DEF.ART.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.’

- 738 A Cazis şerà quaj al madèm.
 in PLN COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG same

‘In Cazas this was the same thing.’

- 739 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
 740 survgnú igl avrél plaza.
 get.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG April job.F.SG

‘And then in our room there was one [girl] that had got a job in April.’

- 741 A las sòras savèvan, quèl' ò us aun
 and DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL know.IMPF.3PL DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG now only
 742 in' jamna, a quèlaş òn bigja pudju tiar nus da
 one.F.SG week and DEM.F.PL have.PRS.3PL NEG can.PTCP.UNM to 1PL COMP
 743 fá stá in vèndardís.
 make.INF stay.INF INDEF.ART.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.’

- 744 Api èra la sòra òra uschéja ... avaun niaş
 and COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG nun out so in_front_of POSS.1PL.M.SG
 745 ésch ad ò spatgau a spatgau tòca la
 door and have.PRS.3SG wait.PTCP.UNM and wait.PTCP.UNM until 3SG.F
 746 audi anzagéj, api şè ... ina da nòssa
 hear.PRS.SBJV.3SG something and COP.PRS.3SG one.F.SG of POSS.1PL.F.SG
 747 tgòmbra id' òn tualèta api fò la sòra:
 room go.PTCP.F.SG out_in toilet and make.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG nun

‘And then the nun was out [on 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:’

- 748 «*Chasch denn grad usrichta, Fritig obig müänd är do*
can.PRS.2SG then right_away tell.INF Friday evening must.PRS.2PL 2PL here
*bliiba.*³⁰»
remain.INF

‘You can just tell [them] that you have to stay here on Friday evening.’

- 750 *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
751 *a raquénta dad èlas.»*
and tell.PRS.1SG DAT 3PL.F

‘And then she said there: «Cool, I’ll just go and tell them.»’

- 752 *Api sè, èla vagnid’ ajn tgòmbra api fò la:*
and be.PRS.3SG 3SG.F come.PTCP.F.SG in room.F.SG and make.PRS.3SG 3SG.F
753 «*Scheisse*³¹! *Nus stuajn stá cò vèndardís*»
shit 1PL must.PRS.1PL stay.INF here Friday.M.SG

‘And then she came into the bedroom and said: «Shit! We have to stay here on Friday.»’

- 754 *A quaj vid risadas.*
and DEM.UNM by laughing.F.PL

‘And [she said] this laughing.’

- 755 *A lu vèvani traplau circa sis.*
and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL catch.PTCP.UNM about six

‘And then they caught about six.’

- 756 *Maj tga la tgòmbra spèras fagèva è tup.*
since COMP DEF.ART.F.SG room next do.IMPF.3SG also stupid.ADJ.UNM

‘Because the room next [to ours] also behaved in a stupid way.’

- 757 *Sò*³² *vajn nus sis stavju stá lò, api sjaj*
so have.PRS.1PL 1PL six must.PTCP.UNM stay.INF there and be.PRS.3SG
758 *stau in’ ura da schubargè né fà ò cul*
COP.PTCP.UNM one.F.SG hour COMP clean.INF or do.INF out with.DEF.ART.M.SG

³⁰Said in Swiss German.

³¹Said in Swiss German.

759 *fiar né x-zatgéj luvrá palas sòras, api vajn nuṣ*
 iron or anything do.INF for.DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL and have.PRS.1PL 1SG
 760 *gju quèla grònđjuṣ' idéa scha nuṣ astgjan*
 have.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG great.F.SG idea if 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL
 761 *cuṣchiná.*
 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.’

762 *Gè nuṣ³³ astgjan cuṣchiná.*
 yes 1PL be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL cook.INF

‘And yes, we were allowed to cook.’

763 *Api èssan nuṣ i³⁴ ajn cuṣchina, fatg pètas a*
 and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in kitchen.F.SG make.PTCP.UNM cake.F.PL and
 764 *... gè ...*
 yes

‘And then we went to the kitchen, made cakes and .. yes ...’³⁵

765 *A la sèra èssan nuṣ, stuèvan nuṣ èba bigj' i ad*
 and DEF.ART.F.SG evening be.PRS.1PL 1PL must.IMPF.1PL 1PL just NEG go.INF at
 766 *uraṣ ajnta létg, nuṣ vajn ... fatg ju sa bigja*
 hour.F.PL in bed.M.SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL do.PTCP.UNM 1SG know.1SG NEG
 767 *còn ditg la nòtg.*
 how long DEF.ART.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.’

768 *Pi vajn nuṣ méz svagljarín, api èssan nuṣ*
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM alarm_clock.M.SG and be.PRS.1PL 1PL
 769 *las ... nòtg cu las sòras durmévan, èssan*
 DEF.ART.F.PL night.F.SG when DEF.ART.F.PL nun.PL sleep.IMP.3PL be.PRS.1PL

³²German for *uschéja*.

³³*Gè nuṣ* replaces an unintelligible part.

³⁵Here the narrator uses the masculine plural form instead of the feminine plural form. The same happens in line 758.

- 770 *nus*³⁶ *ta la* ... *tar ina* *sòra, ad amplanjú*
 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to DEF.ART.F.SG to INDEF.ART.F.SG nun and fill.PTCP.UNM
- 771 *sé agl* *ésch cul* ... *ròlas da pupí* *da tualèta*
 up DEF.ART.M.SG door with.DEF.ART.M.SG roll.F.PL of paper.M.SG of toilet.F.SG
- 772 *tòcan séssum, a ... ina filistùca sjantar l'* *autra.*
 until very_top and one.F.SG prank after DEF.ART.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.'

- 773 *Api sjantar vajn* *nus tartgau* *nus sapjan* *durmí òra,*
 and after have.PRS.1PL 1PL think.PTCP.UNM 1PL can.PRS.SBJV.1PL sleep.INF out
- 774 *a lu la* *damaun vagnéva* *ina* *ina*
 and then DEF.ART.F.SG morning come.IMP.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG
- 775 *sòra, quèla sòra tga vèva* *éba igl* *ésch plajn ròlas*
 nun DEM.F.SG nun REL have.IMP.3SG in_fact DEF.ART.M.SG door full roll.F.PL
- 776 *è lu vagnida* *tr nus ad ò* *dastadau* *nus*
 be.PRS.3SG then come.PTCP.F.SG to 1PL and have.PRS.3SG wake.PTCP.UNM 1PL
- 777 *cun aua, sprizau* *aua, a ... a, i, a igl*
 with water.F.SG squirt.PTCP.UNM water.F.SG and and and DEF.ART.M.SG
- 778 *èfect èra bigja pròpi staus,* *quaj è bigja*
 effect be.IMP.3SG NEG really COP.PTCP.M.SG DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG NEG
- 779 *stau castitg* *pr nus, stuaj stá quaj*
 COP.PTCP.UNM punishment.M.SG for 1PL must.INF remain.INF DEM.M.SG
- 780 *vèndardís, a ... gè, da quèls gags fagèvan* *nus èba schòn.*
 Friday and yes of DEM.M.PL gag.PL 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.'

- 781 A *nuş vajn* *gju* *schi súpar.*
 and 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM so super

'And we had such a wonderful time.'

³⁶ *i* is a performance error for *idas*.

782 *Ju èra usa, ju nèva gju ajnsasèz al*
 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG now 1SG have.IMPF.1SG have.PTCP.UNM in_fact DEF.ART.M.SG
 783 *clétg dad èssar ajn tgòmbra cun ròmòntschas.*
 luck COMP COP.INF in room.F.SG with Romansh.F.PL

‘I was now, in fact I had been lucky to share the room with Romansh girls.’

784 *A i miravan schòn in téc da métar ansjaman è*
 and 3PL look.IMPF.3PL in_fact INDEF.ART.M.SG bit COMP put.INF together also
 785 *... als lungatgs, i è lu halt è tèssinèses,*
 DEF.ART.M.PL language.PL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG then after_all also Ticino.F.PL
 786 *álsò na, bétg tèssinèses, da da Bregaglia³⁷ né da....*
 well no NEG Ticino.F.PL of of Bregaglia 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’

787 *Tgé! Quèlas taljánaras èran amp^hau ansjaman a las*
 what DEM.F.PL Italian.F.PL COP.IMPF.3PL a_bit together and DEF.ART.F.PL
 788 *ròmòntschas né las tudèstgas, né è dal vitg*
 Romansh..PL or DEF.ART.F.PL German..PL or also of.DEF.ART.M.SG village
 789 *matévani schòn in téc ansjaman.*
 put.IMPF.3PL.3PL in_fact INDEF.M.SG bit together

‘Look! these Italians³⁸ were a bit together, and the Romansh or the Germans, or they put them together even from the [same] village.’

790 *Ùsa quaj cò èra halt ramòntschas. Gè. A lu*
 now DEM.UNM here COP.IMPF.3SG well Romansh.F.PL yes and then
 791 *ajni-*
 COP.PRS.3PL.3PL

‘Well, now these [students] here were Romansh-speaking women. Yes. And then they are-’

792 *PhM: Danunder eran ellas?*
 from_where COP.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘PhM: Where were they from?’

³⁷The Valle Bregaglia is one of the Italian-speaking valleys of the canton of the Grisons.

³⁸Italians and Germans: Italian- and German-speaking young women from the Grisons.

9 Texts

793 f6: *Ina da Lagṣ ad ina da Sagògn.*
one.F.SG from PLN and one.F.SG from PLN

‘One from Laax and one from Sagogn.’

794 *Ad èlas duaş ábar ancònuschévan ... in' l' autra ad ju*
and 3PL.F two.F.PL but know.IMPF.3PL one.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG other and 1SG
795 *lu halt bérgja.*
then in_fact NEG

‘But these two already knew ... each other but I didn't.’

796 *A ... api parví dal ròmòntsch èri á Cazis scha*
and and because of.DEF.ART.M.SG Romansh COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PLN if
797 *... a ... nus astgèvan bérgja raşdá ròmòntsch, ins*
and 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL NEG speak.INF Romansh.M.SG GNR
798 *vès gè savju dá la bùca sur*
have.COND.3SG after_all can.PTCP.UNM give.INF DEF.ART.F.SG mouth over
799 *días sòras.*
of.DEF.ART.F.PL 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.’

800 *Nus stèvan raşdá ... tudèstg.*
1PL must.IMPF.1PL speak.INF German.M.SG

‘We were obliged to speak German.’

801 *A lu ábar cu nuş èran prsulas raşdavan nus*
and then but when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL alone.F.PL speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL
802 *naturálmajn ròmòntsch.*
of_course Romansh.M.SG

‘But then, when we were alone, we would of course speak Romansh.’

803 *A da gjantá ... sch' ina sòra ... tudèstga èra ... vida*
and of lunch.INF if INDEF.ART.F.SG nun German COP.IMPF.3SG at_of
804 *majşa, scha stuèvan tut quèla- nuş ròmòntschas raşdá*
table.F.SG then must.IMPF.3PL all DEM.F.SG 1PL Romansh.F.PL speak.INF
805 *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.’

- 806 *Lu vèvan nus anflau òra scha nus rassarvassan, nus*
 then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL reserve.COND.1PL 1PL
 807 *vèvan ina, ina ... téscha da sarvjèta, a*
 have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG bag of napkin.F.SG and
 808 *quèla mavan nus a rassarvávan, ábar matévan quèla*
 DEM.F.SG go.IMPF.1PL 1PL and reserve.IMPF.1PL but put.IMPF.1PL DEM.F.SG
 809 *tèscha schòn lò nùca nus lèvan séjsar, api vèvan nus*
 bag already there REL.LOC 1PL want.IMPF.1PL sit.INF and have.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 810 *anflau òra scha nus mòndjan a séjsjan spèr*
 find.PTCP.UNM out if 1PL go.PRS.SBJV.1PL and sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL next
 811 *la sòr' Andréa, lèza savèva ròmòntsch.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG nun PN 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.’

- 812 *Scha nus séjsian sin lèza majşa, astgjan nus*
 if 1PL sit.PRS.SBJV.1PL on DEM.F.SG table be_allowed.PRS.SBJV.1PL 1PL
 813 *raşdá ramòntsch, stuèvan bgja raşdá 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.’

- 814 *A lu, nus cò sursilvanas, matévan adina da pausa, mavanş*
 and then 1PL here Sursilvan.F.PL put.IMPF.1PL always of pause go.IMPF.1PL.1PL
 815 *ajn şala da magljè, prandévan nòssa ... sarvjèta, matévan*
 in hall.F.SG COMP eat.INF take.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG napkin put.IMPF.1PL
 816 *sé nùca la sòr' Andréa, a lu stgèvan nus*
 up where DEF.ART.F.SG nun PN and then be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 817 *raşdá ramòntsch.*
 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.’

9 Texts

818 *Maj tg' èla capéva gè nus.*
since COMP 3SG.F understand.IMPF.3SG in_fact 1SG

'Because, in fact, she understood us.'

819 *Ábar lu, lèza raşdava lu èxtra è ròamòntsch cun*
but then DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then on_purpose also Romansh.M.SG with
820 *nus.*
1PL

'But then, on purpose, she would also speak Romansh with us.'

821 *Ábar la, qu' èra la majşa séssum a*
but DEF.ART.F.SG DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG table on_very_top and
822 *vèvan adin' ina sòra séssum.*
have.IMPF.1PL always INDEF.ART.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.'

823 *A lu las majşas gè drètg a saniastar capévan*
and then DEF.ART.F.PL table.PL yes right and left understand.IMPF.3PL
824 *bigja la sòra a capévan bigja nus.*
NEG DEF.ART.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.'

825 *Ábar nus astgèvan lu raşdá ramòntsch.*
but 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL then speak.INF Romansh.M.SG

'But then we were allowed to speak Romansh.'

826 *A lu vèvan nus lò tga nus astgèvan raşdá*
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL there COMP 1PL be_allowed.IMPF.1PL speak.INF
827 *ramòntsch.*
Romansh.M.SG

'And then we had the opportunity to be allowed to speak Romansh there.'

828 *Ad ál saminar ... raşdavan nus simplamajn,*
and at.DEF.ART.M.SG training_college speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV
829 *lò şchèvani schòn «Tüütsch reedä»³⁹, gè gè.*
there 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.’

- 830 A lu vèvan nus tar ina scòlástà, quèla vèva
and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL by INDEF.ART.F.SG teacher DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG
831 in U ... als bauns, api èr' ins gjù ajn
INDEF.ART.M.SG U DEF.ART.M.PL bench.PL and COP.IMPF.3SG GNR down in
832 quaj cantún cò tut las ròmòntschas, plus quèla da Mésòcò.⁴⁰
DEM.M.SG corner here all DEF.ART.F.PL Romansh.F.PL plus DEM.F.SG of PLN

‘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.’

- 833 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.’

- 834 Èla raşdava talján tga nus capévan, ad èla
3SG.F speak.IMPF.3SG Italian.M.SG REL 1PL understand.IMPF.1PL and 3SG.F
835 capéva ábar è nus ròmòntschas, quaj vagnéva
understand.IMPF.3SG but also 1PL Romansh.F.PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG
836 raşdau cò ajn què 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.’

- 837 Ábar lò èri lu èngjadinesas, sursilvanas, surmiranas,
and there COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then Engadine.F.PL Sursilvan.F.PL Surmiran.F.PL
838 api èba aun la, la Mirta da ... da talján.
and precisely also DEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.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].’

- 839 Ad na, aun ina, ina da Bívjò, a lèza capéva
and no still one.F.SG one.F.SG of PLN and DEM.F.SG understand.IMPF.3SG
840 talján.
Italian.M.SG

³⁹Said in Swiss German.

⁴⁰Mesocco is a village in one of the Italian speaking valleys of the Grisons.

9 Texts

‘And no, there still was another one, one from Bivio, and she understood Italian.’

- 841 *A lu vèva lèza halt èra, lèza raşdava lu*
and then have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG simply also DEM.F.SG speak.IMPF.3SG then
842 *anstagl tudèstg talján, a lu vèvan nus cò propì*
instead_of German.M.SG Italian.M.SG and then have.IMPF.1PL 1SG here really
843 *in cantún tga vagnéva mù raşdau*
INDEF.ART.M.SG corner REL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG only speak.PTCP.UNM
844 *ròmòntscht.*
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.’

- 845 *A la scòlásta capéva halt nuét.*
and DEF.ART.F.SG teacher understand.IMPF.3SG simply nothing

‘And the teacher wouldn’t understand anything.’

- 846 *Ábar quaj ò la maj dumignau da fá*
but DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG 3SG.F never manage.PTCP.UNM COMP make.INF
847 *raşdá da lu nus*
speak.INF from then 1PL

‘But she has never been able to have us speak’

- 848 *Alşò clar, á ál' instruczjún raşdávan nus gè*
well clear.M.SG at at.DEF.ART.F.SG teaching speak.IMPF.1PL 1PL of_course
849 *schòn tudèstg.*
in_fact German.M.SG

‘Well evidently, during teaching we would speak German, of course.’

- 850 *Ábar simplamajn nus djantar nus raşdavan*
but simple.F.SG.ADV 1PL among 1PL speak.IMPF.1PL

‘But among ourselves we simply spoke’

- 851 *Ad è ajn ajn, ju a atgnamajn adina gju còntáct⁴¹*
and also in in 1SG have.PRS.1SG actually always have.PTCP.UNM contact
852 *còlegas 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 have had contact [with] Romansh colleagues, during that time of the training college.’

- 853 [PhM] *Aber è cun engjadinesas?*
but also with Engadine.F.PL

‘But also with [students] form the Engadine?’

- 854 [f6] *Gè gè. Ábar raşdavan adina ròmòntschi.*
yes yes but speak.IMPF.1PL always Romansh.M.SG

‘Yes, yes. But we always spoke Romansh.’

- 855 *Ál' antschata cu té capèschaş aun bigja*
at.DEF.ART.F.SG beginning when 2SG.GNR understand.PRS.2SG.GNR yet NEG
 856 *quèls ... curjòs plaids tg' èls òn, stòs halt*
DEM.M.PL strange.PL word.PL REL 3PL.M have.PRS.3PL must.PRS.2SG.GNR just
 857 *dumandá: «Héj, tgéj vùta quaj dí?» Api diani tgéj,*
ask.INF hey what want.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM say.INF and say.PRS.3PL.3PL what
 858 *api in' autr' jèda cu quaj plajd végn,*
and INDEF.ART.F.SG other time when DEM.M.SG word come.PRS.3SG
 859 *sas gè, né ál còntext capèschas*
know.PRS.2SG.GNR after_all or in.DEF.ART.M.SG context understand.2SG.GNR
 860 *gè lu èra tgéj tga vut dí, gè.*
after_all 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 another time, when this word occurs [again], you know after all, or by the context you then understand what it means.’

- 861 *La sèra astgèvaş í in téc á*
DEF.ART.F.SG evening be_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG bit to
 862 *spas, quaj vuta dí navèn dla tgèsa*
walk.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF away of.DEF.ART.F.SG house
 863 *astgèvaş í ò tòcan quèla via tòca la*
be_allowed.IMPF.2SG.GNR go.INF out until DEM.F.SG street until DEF.ART.F.SG
 864 *latjarna a lu stèvas samaná anavùs.*
lantern and then must.IMPF.2SG.GNR turn_over,INF back

⁴¹The preposition *cun* ‘with’ is missing.

'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.'

- 865 *Quaj füs stau tupira par mè da stuaj*
DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM stupid.ELAT for 1SG COMP must.INF
866 *raşdá 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.'

- 867 *Quaj è scù ju détsch, cun mias buebas scha ju*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG as 1SG say.PRS.1SG with POSS.1SG.F.PL girl.PL if 1SG
868 *stuès ùsa, è sch'ju stés ála bassa.*
must.COND.1SG now also if 1SG stay.COND.1SG in.DEF.ART.F.SG lowlands

'This is as I say, with my daughters if I now should, even if I lived outside the Grisons.'

- 869 *Ad ju scù mùma stès ùsa raşdá cun èlas tudèstg,*
and 1SG as mother.F.SG must.COND.1SG now speak.INF with 3PL.F German.M.SG
870 *quaj füs schi jastar.*
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.'

- 871 *Al lungatg ... car, álsò quaj tgi té, quaj*
DEF.ART.M.SG language dear.ADJ.M.SG well DEM.UNM REL 2SG.GNR DEM.UNM
872 *hèrzic, né, quaj è al*
cute.ADJ.M.SG right DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG
873 *lungatg-mùma, a té sas toch bgja*
language.M.SG-mother.F.SG and 2SG.GNR can.PRS.2SG.GNR after_all NEG
874 *raşdá ... cun in ufaun ... sin tudèstg a fá, álsò*
speak.INF with INDEF.ART.M.SG child on German.M.SG and do.INF well
875 *sch'i è in ufaun tudèstg sa ju gè*
if EXPL COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG child German can.PRS.1SG 1SG after_all
876 *è fá quaj, ábar lu sè quaj bigja mju,*
also do.INF DEM.UNM but then COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM NEG POSS.1SG.M.SG
877 *quaj è gè bgja mju cùr ni mju ...*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG after_all NEG POSS.1SG.M.SG heart or POSS.1SG.M.SG

878 mia carèzja tgu stù dá da quèlas.
 POSS.1SG.F.SG love REL.1SG must.PRS.1SG give.IMPF.3PL 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.’

9.5 La détga da la Plata dl barlòt

The legend of the lab of sorcery

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 3'10"

879 *La Plata dl Barlòt è sé Caschlè.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG slab of.DEF.ART.M.SG sorcery COP.PRS.3SG up PLN

‘The sorcery slab is at Caschlè.’

880 *A qu’ è pròpi ina ... pulit grònnda plata, è*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG precisely INDEF.ART.F.SG very big slab also
 881 *ina bjala, schaj bégn ála pastira, a da*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG beautiful lie.PRS.3SG well in.DEF.ART.F.SG pastureland and of
 882 *quèla òns naturálmajn ... quasi stavju ...*
 DEM.F.SG have.PRS.3SG.GNR natural.M.SG.ADV almost must.PTCP.UNM
 883 *vagní cun ina détga.*
 come.INF with INDEF.ART.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.’

884 *A la détga raquénta ... tga las stréjas*
 and DEF.ART.F.SG legend tell.PRS.3SG COMP DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL
 885 *dl Caschlè tg’ èran sé cò a fijèvan barlòt*
 DEF.ART.M.SG PLN REL COP.IMP.F.3PL up here and do.IMP.F.3PL sorcery
 886 *vagjan trans-pòrtau quèla plata sin⁴² in*
 have.PRS.SBJV.3PL carry.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG slab on INDEF.ART.M.SG

- 887 *fil-sajda* ... *navèn dal* *Culmatsch vi a ... ajn*
 thread-silk.F.SG away from.DEF.ART.M.SG PLN over and into
 888 *quaj ljuc sila* *alp amiaz al Caschlè.*
 DEM.M.SG place on.DEF.ART.F.SG alp in_the_midst_of DEF.ART.M.SG PLN

'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.'

- 889 *A quèla, quèla plata è è pròpi,*
 and DEM.F.SG DEM.F.SG slab COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG really
 890 *schaj bégn ajn plat, qu' è ina pulita*
 lie.PRS.3SG well in flat.M.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG huge
 891 *surfatscha, a sén quèla plata ... végnan las, vagnévan*
 surface and on DEM.F.SG slab come.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.F.PL come.IMPF.3PL
 892 *las stréjas né végnan fòrsa aun adina ... da nòtg, a ...*
 DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL or come.PRS.3PL maybe still always of night and
 893 *fòn al barlòt ad òravauntùt sàutani.*
 do.PRS.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG sorcery and above_all dance.PRS.3PL.3PL

'And that, that slab is is really - lies perfectly even, this is a huge surface, and on this slab ... the witches come, used to come or still come... at night and do sorcery and they dance above all.'

- 894 *A dad ina vart da la plata şaj ajn usché*
 and of INDEF.ART.F.SG side of DEF.ART.F.SG slab EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL in so
 895 *in, in in pin scaf ad ajn*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG little.M.SG footprint and in
 896 *quaj scaf tégna⁴² al musicant al paj ad*
 DEM.M.SG footprint hold.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG musician DEF.ART.M.SG foot to
 897 *aut cu 'l végn á suná la gégja, a quaj*
 high when 3SG.M come.PRS.3SG PURP play DEF.ART.F.SG violin and DEM.M.SG
 898 *scaf vèz' inş èra.*
 footprint see.PRS.3SG 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.'

⁴² *Sin* instead of *sén*, see also *sila* instead of *séla* l. 888.

⁴³ *Tégna* is a performance error for *tégn*.

899 A lu, sch' ins vò sé a, a raquénta quèla détga
 and then if GNR go.PRS.3SG up and and tell.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG legend
 900 dals ufaunts né dals scòlars scha, quaj
 DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL child.PL OR DAT.DEF.ART.M.PL pupil.PL CORR DEM.UNM
 901 fò naturálmajn imprèsjun a ... ad èls a,
 make.PRS.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV impression.F.SG and and 3PL.M and
 902 vèzan, lura sòn s'imaginá quaj.
 see.PRS.3PL then 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.'

903 A lu, als pasturs tg' èran sé cò cun stjarlas
 and then DEF.ART.M.PL herdsman.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL up here with calf.F.PL
 904 vèvan adin' in téc problèms cula,
 have.IMPF.3PL always INDEF.ART.M.SG bit problem.M.PL with.DEF.ART.F.SG
 905 culs ... cul barlòt da las stjarla⁴⁴ adina a a
 DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.SG sorcery of DEF.ART.F.PL calf.PL always and and
 906 da qué vagnéva è raquintau da quaj a da
 of DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG also tell.ptcp.unm of DEM.UNM and of
 907 tschaj a ... las distùrbjan è èls, ah, dl
 DEM.UNM and 3PL.F disturb.PRS.SBJV.3PL also 3PL.M eh of.DEF.ART.M.SG
 908 partgirá, quaj dèva lu difarèntas istòrjas.
 look_after.INF DEM.UNM 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.'

909 A lu prquaj vèvani clamau lu in' jèda
 and then therefore have.IMPF.3PL.3PL call.PTCP.UNM then one.F.SG time
 910 al, glaucségnar, al plavòn da Sadrún
 DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG priest DEF.ART.M.SG parish_priest of PLN
 911 da vagní sé a banadí òra la plata par tga, tga
 COMP come.INF up and bless.INF out DEF.ART.F.SG rock PURP COMP COMP
 912 quèlas stréa⁴⁵s détjan⁴⁵ in' jèda ruaus, a la
 DEM.F.PL witch.PL give.PRS.SBJV.3PL one.F.SG time rest.M.SG and DEF.ART.F.SG

⁴⁴ *Stjarlas* 'one year old female beef' instead of *stréjas* 'witches'.

- 913 *banadiczjún, lèza vèva plé bjè fòrza sélas*
 blessing DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG much more power.F.SG on.DEF.ART.F.PL
 914 *stréjas.*
 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.’

- 915 *Quèl ... aucségnar ò lu banadjú òra ... la*
 DEM.M.SG priest have.PRS.3SG then bless.PTCP.UNM out DEF.ART.F.SG
 916 *plata a vilantau naturálmajn tras quaj las*
 slab and upset.PTCP.UNM natural.M.SG.ADV through DEM.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL
 917 *stréjas, clar.*
 witch.PL for_sure

‘This ... priest blessed ... the slab and doing so he of course upset the witches, for sure.’

- 918 *A lu al pròxim, in dls pròximṣ unvjarns ...*
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG next one of.DEF.ART.M.PL next.PL winter.PL
 919 *òi dau ina grònnda navada, qu'*
 have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG big snowfall DEM.UNM
 920 *è stau gl òn mili a ... a sjat*
 be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG year thousand and and seven
 921 *tschian a tòns, quaj è stau la*
 hundred and so_many.M.PL DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG
 922 *lavina da, la lavina da ... Ruèras, ju sa bé tgé*
 avalanche of DEF.ART.F.SG avalanche of PLN 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG which
 923 *òn quaj èra, mili a sjat tschian a tòns*
 year DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG thousand and seven hundred and so_many.M.PL
 924 *sè stau, mili a sjat tschian òtgònta.*
 be.PRS.3SG.EXPL 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.’

⁴⁵Unclear part, replaced by *dètjan*.

925 *Qu'* è dòcumèntau, *gljèz* è, *abr al* dátum
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG document.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM also but DEM.M.SG date
926 *sau* ùssa bétg.
know.PRS.1SG.1SG now NEG

'This is documented, this too, but the date I don't know now.'

927 *Quaj* èra *ju* gjù ina grònnda lavina ...
DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG go.PTCP.UNM down INDEF.ART.F.SG big avalanche
928 *a* vèva ... déstruí ina grònnda part
and have.IMPF.3SG destroy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG huge part
929 *dl* vitg ajntadém Ruèras ... *a* vèv' è
of.DEF.ART.M.SG village uppermost PLN and have.IMPF.3SG also
930 *dau* mòrts, *ad i* vèvan *dau* ...
EXIST.PTCP.UNM dead.M.PL and 3PL have.IMPF.3PL give.PTCP.UNM
931 *naturàlmajn* alarm è ò Sadrún.
natural.M.SG.ADV alarm.M.SG also down PLN

'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 they had ... of course also sounded the alarm down in Sedrun.'

932 *A lu, agl* aucségnar ... da Sadrún ... è saméz
and then DEF.ART.M.SG priest of PLN be.PRS.3SG REFL.put.PTCP.M.SG
933 *sén via par í ajnta Ruèras á purtá agit a dá*
on way.F.SG PURP go.INF into PLN PURP bring.INF help.M.SG and give.INF
934 *sògn jéli, né?*, *al davùs sacramèn tga dèvan da*
holy.M.SG oil right DEF.ART.M.SG last sacrament REL give.IMPF.3PL DAT
935 *quels ... mòribúnds, basta, agl* aucségnar végn atras
DEM.M.PL dying.PL enough DEF.ART.M.SG priest come.PRS.3SG through
936 ... Zarcúns a lu auda 'l las stréjas sé cò,
PLN and then hear.PRS.3SG 3SG.M DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL up here
937 *séssum la val da Lòndadusa òni clumau:*
uppermost DEF.ART.F.SG valley of PLN 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, right? 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.'

938 «*Ál végn, agl aucségnar, da Sadrún!*
 3SG.M come.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG priest from PLN

‘He comes, the priest, from Sedrun.’

939 *Ad òz ò 'l bérgja sé la plauna ... antùrn*
 and today have.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG up DEF.ART.F.SG chasuble around
 940 *al culiaz.*
 DEF.ART.M.SG neck

‘And today he doesn’t have the chasuble around his neck.’

941 *Òz è 'l bgja schurmagjaj⁴⁶, stuschaj la*
 today COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG protect.PTCP.M.PL push.IMP.2PL DEF.ART.F.SG
 942 *lavinal!»*
 avalanche

‘Today he is not protected, push the avalanche!’

943 *Ad ajnaquèla ... sjaj sadèrs ... ina*
 and at_that_moment be.PRS.3SG.EXPL REFL.fall.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
 944 *grònda lavina gjù da la val Lòndadusa, gjù ancùntar*
 huge avalanche down of DEF.ART.F.SG valley PLN down towards
 945 *al vitg, ni 'l vitgèt, gl uclaun da, da*
 DEF.ART.M.SG village or DEF.ART.M.SG village.DIM DEF.ART.M.SG hamlet of of
 946 *Zarcúns, a gl aucségnar è propi vagnus*
 PLN and DEF.ART.M.SG priest be.PRS.3SG really come.PTCP.M.SG
 947 *ála lavina, ad è ... staus mòrts, usché*
 into.DEF.ART.F.SG avalanche and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG dead.M.SG so
 948 *tga las stréaṣ òn ... fatg vandétga*
 COMP DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL have.PRS.3PL do.PTCP.UNM revenge.F.SG
 949 *cugl aucségnar da Sadrún.*
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG priest of PLN

‘And precisely at that moment ... a huge avalanche ... came down from the Lòndadusa valley, down towards the village, or the small town, 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.’

⁴⁶ *Schurmagjaj* is a performance error for *schurmagjaus*.

950 A vid quèla tgèsa dals Schmits saj aun sé
 and at DEM.F.SG house of.DEF.ART.M.PL Schmit.PL COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL still up
 951 quèla crusch tga ragòrda vi da quèla disgrazja ajnta Ruàras,
 DEM.F.SG cross REL remind.PRS.3SG over of DEM.F.SG tragedy in PLN
 952 ajn, ajn Zarcúns, gè.
 in in PLN 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.’

953 Ábar quaj fò lu imprasjún quèla, la
 but DEM.UNM make.PRS.3SG then impression.F.SG DEM.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG
 954 Lòndadusa cu las stréas òn stuschau gjùdòra.
 PLN when DEF.ART.F.PL witch.PL have.PRS.3PL push.PTCP.UNM down_out

‘But this impresses [people], that, the Londadusa when the witches pushed [the avalanche] down the valley.’

955 A fòrsa fòni vinavaun barlòt.
 and maybe do.PRS.3PL.3PL still sorcery

‘And maybe they keep doing sorcery.’

9.6 Scuá ajn scùla

Sweeping in school

(Tuatschin, Sèlva, f2, aged 79)

Recorded 2016/06/08 in Sedrun

Duration 1'

956 Nus vèvan nòssa scùla ajn Sùtcrèstas, qu' è
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL POSS.1PL.F.SG school in PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
 957 dadajnt Sèlva, api èri è adina duas buébas tga
 in_interior PLN and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also always two.F.PL girl.PL REL
 958 vèvan da scuá.
 have.IMPF.3PL COMP sweep.INF

‘We had our school in Sutcrestas, this is outside Selva, and there were also always two girls who had to sweep.’

9 Texts

959 *Navé, las séras las quátar èri, qu'*
 right? DEF.ART.F.PL afternoon.PL DEF.ART.F.PL four EXIST.IMPF.EXPL DEM.UNM
 960 *èra, qu' èra nagan ah, cò din\$,*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG no.M.SG ah how say.PRS.3SG.GNR
 961 *in padèl, vèvan mintg' jamna duas buébas da*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG caretaker have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG week two.F.PL girl.PL COMP
 962 *fá.*
 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].'

963 *Api plénèngjú, èri gl unviarn, qu'*
 and more_down COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.M.SG winter DEM.UNM
 964 *èra baghétgs aun, ad èra prvasèdars ... ad*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG building.M.PL still and EXIST.IMPF.3SG herdsman.M.PL and
 965 *in ... quèl vèv' adina sch'l vagnév' ò*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG always if 3SG.M come.IMPF.3SG out
 966 *sé la pòrta-clavau, a vasèva nus, schèva 'l:*
 on DEF.ART.F.SG 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.'

967 «*Tatlaj! Las òndas, las òlmas dian ...*
 listen.IMP.2PL DEF.ART.F.PL aunt.PL DEF.ART.F.PL soul.PL say.PRS.3PL
 968 *rusari gjùn basèlgja.»*
 rosary.M.SG down_in church.F.SG

«Listen! The aunts, the spirits are saying ... a rosary down in the church.'

969 *A nus tumévan, a schèvan dá quèlas scúa\$ a da*
 and 1PL be.afraid.IMPF.1PL and let.IMPF.1PL give.INF DEM.F.SG broom.PL and of
 970 *quaj, quaj è in crèst, a da quaj crès[t]*
 DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG hill and from DEM.M.SG hill
 971 *gjù á 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.'

972 *Sagir quaj fagèv' adin' in' impramasjun⁴⁷ cu*
 sure DEM.UNM make.IMPF.3SG always DEF.ART.F.SG impression when
 973 *quèl antschapèv' ajn cun séjs spérts a tut quaj tg'*
 DEM.M.SG begin.IMPF.3SG in with POSS.3PL.M.PL spirit.PL and all DEM.UNM REL
 974 *èra.*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG

'For sure, this made always an impression when he started with his spirits and everything that was there.'

975 *Quaj èra in' jèda ... brutal tiar nus, bèn-bèn.*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG time terrible.ADJ.UNM among 1PL RED~really

'Once it was terrible among us, really.'

976 *Api schèvan aj èba in tg' è mòrts tga*
 and say.IMPF.3PL 3PL precisely one.M.SG REL be.PRS.3SG die.PTCP.M.SG REL
 977 *végn á mètar als, als tjarms ...*
 come.PRS.3SG PURP put.INF DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.PL boundary_stone.PL
 978 *la nòtg parquaj tga cu 'l è vavjus,*
 DEF.ART.F.SG night because COMP when 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG live.PTCP.M.SG
 979 *vèv' èl méz èls ajn in autar ljuc.*
 have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M put.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M in INDEF.ART.M.SG other place

'And, precisely, they also used to say [that] somebody who had died came and put the, the boundary stones ... at night – because when it [*al prau* 'the field'] was sold – he had put them in another place.'

980 *Ad ùss stù 'l bunamajn vagní á mètar èls; quaj*
 and now must.PRS.3SG 3SG.M really come.INF PURP put.INF 3PL.M DEM.UNM
 981 *è tut, lajn dí, fantasia, ábar cu nus èran*
 COP.PRS.3SG all IMP.1PL say.INF fantasy.F.SG but when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL
 982 *afòns, nus cartévan ad ju fùs ina sèra maj*
 child.PL 1PL believe.IMPF.1PL and 1SG be.COND.1SG INDEF.ART.F.SG evening never
 983 *id' ò da tgèsa la sèra da stgir.*
 go.PTCP.F.SG out of home.F.SG DEF.ART.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.'

⁴⁷Performance error for *imprèsjun*.

- 984 *Gnanc gjùn tschalè, nus tumévan schi fétg.*
 not_even down_in cellar.M.SG 1PL be_afraid.IMPF.1PL so much
 ‘Not even down to the cellar, we were so very afraid.’

9.7 Als méls

The mules

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, m10, aged 74)

Recorded 2017/11/02 in Sedrun

Duration 9'

- 985 *Bian, mju bap èra ... staus da*
 good.ADJ.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG father be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.M.SG of
 986 *malitèr tials òrdònanzs dad óficiars, a*
 military_service.M.SG at.DEF.ART.M.PL orderly.PL of officer.M.PL and
 987 *vèva ... raquintava savèns tg' èls vèvan da schùbargè*
 have.IMPF.3SG tell.IMPF.3SG often COMP 3PL.M have.IMPF.3PL COMP clean.INF
 988 *als tgavals ... dals óficiars.*
 DEF.ART.M.PL horse.PL of.DEF.ART.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.’

- 989 *A quaj èr' in bi survètsch ad èl*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG beautiful service and 3SG.M
 990 *vèva in spazjal⁴⁸ ... afèczjun pals tgavals.*
 have.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG special affection.F.SG for.DEF.ART.M.PL horse.PL

991

‘And this was a nice service and he had a special ... affection for the horses.’

- 992 *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 COMP
 993 *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.ART.M.PL
 994 *tgavals, né gju da fá cun tgavals, scha... vèv'*
 horse.PL or have.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF with horse.M.PL then have.IMPF.3SG

⁴⁸ In *spazjal* is a performance error for *ina spazjala*.

- 995 *èl ... cumprau in asan, álsò in mél,*
 3SG.M buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG donkey this_is INDEF.ART.M.SG mule
 996 *bitg in asan, in mél.*
 NEG INDEF.ART.M.SG donkey INDEF.ART.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.’

- 997 *Als mél èran, qu' èra ... fèrm*
 DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG strong.ADJ.UNM
 998 *... fèrms tiars ad èl duvrava quaj mél pr trá,*
 strong.M.PL animal.PL and 3SG.M use.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG mule PURP pull.INF
 999 *par trá lèna sé da Cavòrgja.*
 PURP pull.INF wood.COLL up from PLN

‘The mules were, these were in fact ... strong ... strong animals and he used that mule for transporting wood up from Cavorgia.’

- 1000 *Lu mávani bjè gjùn Cavòrgja, cò da quaj gròn uaul⁴⁹*
 then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL much down_in PLN here from DEM.M.SG big forest
 1001 *vagnéva bjè lèna.*
 come.IMPF.3SG much wood.COLL

‘Then they often went down to Cavorgia, much wood came from that big forest there.’

- 1002 *A lu mávani gl unviarn gjùn Cavòrgja a*
 and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG winter down_in PLN and
 1003 *trèvan sé lèna culs mél.*
 pull.IMPF.3PL up wood.COLL with.DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL

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

- 1004 *A lura ah ... raquintav' èl adina dal, dal*
 and then eh tell.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M always of.DEF.ART.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG
 1005 *mél.*
 mule

‘And then ah ... he would always talk about, about the mule.’

⁴⁹ *Uaul* is standard Sursilvan for *uaut*.

- 1006 *Api, ah, quaj ah fascinava pròpi mè, ju vès ah gè ju*
 and ah DEM.UNM ah fascinate.IMPF.3SG really 1SG 1SG have.COND.1SG ah yes 1SG
 1007 *vès è ugèn amprju d' ancanùschar quaj*
 have.COND.1SG also with_pleasure learn.PTCP.UNM COMP know.INF DEM.M.SG
 1008 *mél, ábar ju... sun halt naschjus mèmja tart.*
 mule but 1SG be.PRS.1SG just be_born.PTCP.M.SG too late

‘And, ah, this really fascinated me, I would have ah yes I would have very much liked to get to know this mule, but I was just born too late.’

- 1009 *Api ah, va ju al, cu ju a ... ah, cu*
 and ah have.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.M.SG when 1SG have.PRS.1SG eh when
 1010 *mju bap ò calau da fá 'l*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.ART.M.SG
 1011 *pur, sche va ju, ju gidav' adina èl avaun á*
 farmer CORR have.PRS.1SG 1SG 1SG help.IMPF.1SG always 3SG.M before PURP
 1012 *fá 'l pur.*
 do.INF DEF.ART.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.’

- 1013 *A lu cu èl ò calau da fá 'l*
 and then when 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG stop.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF DEF.ART.M.SG
 1014 *pur, a vajn, va ju vandju las, cu*
 farmer and have.PRS.1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG sell.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL when
 1015 *èl ò vandju las vacas, scha ... va ju*
 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG sell.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL CORR have.PRS.1SG 1SG
 1016 *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
 1017 *vès da vèndar in pau ah ... al múval.*
 difficult COMP sell.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG little eh DEF.ART.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.’

- 1018 *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
 1019 *als praus api fagjajn nus sé nùrsas, cumprajn nus*
 DEF.ART.M.PL meadow.PL and do.PRS.1PL 1PL up sheep.F.PL buy.PRS.1PL 1PL

- 1020 nùrsas ad ju fètsch, fètsch al ... pur da
sheep.F.PL and 1SG make.PRS.1SG make.PRS.1SG DEF.ART.M.SG farmer of
1021 nùrsas in pau.
sheep.F.PL INDEF.ART.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.'

- 1022 A lu va ju fatg al pur a lu
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG farmer and then
1023 bagagjau ina, ina stala nòva plaunsjú, api ah
build.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG sheepfold new slowly and eh
1024 ... va ju, ah, aun adina gju tschafan da, dals
have.PRS.1SG 1SG eh still always have.PTCP.UNM pleasure of of.DEF.ART.M.PL
1025 mél's, aun adina patartgau mintgataun, ad in' jèda
mule.PL still always think.PTCP.UNM sometimes and one.F.SG time
1026 va ju cumprau in mél.
have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.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.'

- 1027 Api ah ... va ju cumprau gl ampréim mù in,
and eh have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG first only one.M.SG
1028 a sjantar va ju ... cumprau in zacún.
and after have.PRS.1SG 1SG buy.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG second

'And ah ... at first I bought only one, but afterwards I ... bought a second [one].'

- 1029 A lu va ju gju ... difarènts, ju savès
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM different.M.PL 1SG can.COND.1SG
1030 raquintá bjè avanamajnts tgu a gju cun
tell.INF many incident.M.PL REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG have.PTCP.UNM with
1031 quèls mél's.
DEM.M.PL mule

'And then I've had ... different, I could recount many incidents I've had with these mules.'

- 1032 Quèls fagèvan, i èra flòts tiars, nuç vajn
DEM.M.PL do.IMPF.3PL EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG smart.M.PL animal.PL 1PL have.PRS.1PL

- 1033 *par èxempal ah fatg ah, ina tura ... da sauma,*
 for instance.M.SG eh make.PTCP.UNM eh INDEF.ART.F.SG tour of bridle.F.SG
- 1034 *álsò vèvan nus méz sé ... las valiçhas*
 therefore have.IMPF.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM up DEF.ART.F.PL suitcase.PL
- 1035 *dals hòsp.*
 of.DEF.ART.M.PL 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.’

- 1036 *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 PLN until
- 1037 *ád Acquarossa cun ... cun quèls mélis, álsò álsò lu fatg*
 to PLN with with DEM.M.PL mule.PL well well then make.PTCP.UNM
- 1038 *étapaş a mintg' jèda durmu ajls, ajn ajn*
 leg.F.PL and each time.F.SG sleep.PTCP.UNM in.DEF.ART.M.PL in in
- 1039 *in hòtèl.*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG 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.’

- 1040 *A lu vajn nus, quaj èra tut fatg a*
 and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG all do.PTCP.UNM and
- 1041 *racògnòszau avaun tg' ins savèva nua ins*
 reconnoitre.PTCP.UNM before COMP GNR know.IMP.3SG where GNR
- 1042 *vèva da durmí, nu i èra ... da mètar ah sur*
 have.IMP.3SG COMP sleep.INF where EXPL be.IMP.3SG COMP put.INF ah over
- 1043 *nòtg als als mélis, nu i dèva*
 night.F.SG DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL where EXPL EXIST.IMP.3SG
- 1044 *pával pls mélis, a quaj èra tut*
 food.M.SG for.DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG all
- 1045 *òrganisau òrdavaun.*
 organize.PTCP.UNM 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 organized in advance.’

1046 *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.ART.M.SG PLN
 1047 *tòcan á ... Guòttanna ... èl⁵⁰ cantún Bèrna.*
 until to PLN in.DEF.ART.M.SG canton PLN

'And once we went from ... the Alpsu to ... Guttannen ... in the canton of Bern.'

1048 *A lu èssan nuş i á ... l' amprèm ... nòtg*
 and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to DEF.ART.M.SG first night.F.SG
 1049 *vajn nus durmju ò Realp, la zacunda nòtg*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.MNM down PLN DEF.ART.F.SG second night
 1050 *vajn nus durmju á Tiefenbach.*
 have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM in PLN

'And then we went to ... the first ... night we slept in Realp, the second night we slept in Tiefenbach.'

1051 *Avaun, navèn da Realp essan nuş i dad ina ...*
 before away from PLN be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL from INDEF.ART.F.SG
 1052 *dad in ... trùtg sédòra tòcan sésúr las*
 from INDEF.ART.M.SG footpath up until up_over DEF.ART.F.PL
 1053 *lavinèras, a ... sésúr las lavinèras*
 avalanche_barrier.PL and up_over DEF.ART.F.PL avalanche_barrier.PL ah
 1054 *ah èssan nus lu i, quaj vò sé*
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL then go.PTCP.M.PL DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG up towards
 1055 *ancùntar l' Albert-Heim-Hütte⁵¹ ... èssan nus,*
 DEF.ART.F.SG PN-PN-hut be.PRS.1PL 1PL DEM.UNM
 1056 *quaj èssan nus i sé pr... pr bitga stuaj ira*
 be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up PURP PURP NEG must.INF go.INF up
 1057 *sé la ... sé la via dad autos, sé la*
 DEF.ART.F.SG up DEF.ART.F.SG way of car.M.PL up DEF.ART.F.SG way
 1058 *via dal pas.*
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG 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.'

⁵⁰Èl is standard Sursilvan for *ál* or *ajl*.

⁵¹Said in German.

- 1059 A lu èssan nus 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
1060 i gjù Tiefenbach.
go.PTCP.M.PL down PLN

‘And then we went up and came [from] over [the avalanche barriers] down and went down to Tiefenbach.’

- 1061 Quaj è ina, asch' ina stazjun amiaz
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG such INDEF.ART.F.SG station amid
1062 al pas circa né ... strusch séssum al p^has.
DEF.ART.M.SG pass around or almost on_top DEF.ART.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.’

- 1063 A lu vajn nus ah durmju lò, api l'
and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL ah sleep.PTCP.UNM there and DEF.ART.M.SG
1064 autar dé èssan nus ... i á á... cù è 'l
other.M.SG day be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL to to how COP.PRS.3SG
1065 nùm, ju a cùls nùms in
DEF.ART.M.SG name 1SG have.PRS.1SG with.DEF.ART.M.PL name.PL
1066 téč misérjaš, á Gletsch.
INDEF.ART.M.SG bit problem.F.PL in PLN

‘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.’

- 1067 A lu vajn nuš durmju lò, api navèn da Gletsch
and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM there and from of PLN
1068 èssan nus, lò vajn nus lu stu í sén via⁵²
be.PRS.1PL 1PL there have.PRS.1PL 1PL then must.PTCP.UNM go.INF on way.F.SG
1069 'ssan nuš i sé sél Grimsel, a lu vajn nuš
be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up on.DEF.ART.M.SG PLN and then have.1PL 1PL
1070 durmju sé ál hòspiz da quaj Grimsel, a lu
sleep.PTCP.UNM up at.DEF.ART.M.SG hospice of DEM.M.SG PLN and then
1071 èssan nuš i ... ah, cùls mél.
be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL eh with.DEF.ART.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.'

- 1072 *Lò dati ina, sé dal Grimsel*
 there EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL INDEF.ART.F.SG up of.DEF.ART.M.SG PLN
- 1073 *vagnévi ina ... in ... in*
 come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG
- 1074 *trùtg da sauma nùca tga mavan culs*
 footpath of bridle.F.SG where REL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL
- 1075 *culs mél's né culs tgavals.*
 with.DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL or with.DEF.ART.M.PL horse.PLN

'There there is a, from the Grimsel there came a ... a ... a bridle path where one would go with the mules or horses.'

- 1076 *Avaun òns fagèvan trans-pòrts da da caschial⁵³ tégn*
 before year.M.PL make.IMPF.3PL transport.M.PL of of cheese.M.SG hold.PRS.1SG
- 1077 *ju, a ... a raquèntani aun òz.*
 1SG and and tell.PRS.3PL.3PL still today

'Years ago they used to organize transports of of cheese, I think, and ... and they still talk about [these things] today.'

- 1078 *A lura ... a lò quaj trùtg èra in ...*
 and then and there DEM.M.SG footpath COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG
- 1079 *trùtgs antrás 'ls lavurs c' i òn*
 footpath.M.PL through DEF.ART.F.PL work.PL when 3PL have.PRS.3PL
- 1080 *fatg la òvra èlectrica.*
 make.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG work electric

'And then ... and there, this footpath was a ... paths were built when they built the electric power station.'

- 1081 *A lu vèvan, òni fatg ò dal*
 and then have.IMPF.3PL have.PRS.3PL.3PL make.PTCP.UNM out of.DEF.ART.M.SG
- 1082 *mir, álçò òr dal grép òni*
 rock_face this_is_to_say out of.DEF.ART.M.SG rock have.PRS.3PL.3PL
- 1083 *fatg ina pintga ... sènda tg' ins sò ira ah*
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small path REL GNR can.PRS.3SG go.INF eh
- 1084 *á paj flòt.*
 on foot.M.SG easy.ADJ.UNM

⁵²On the way and not on the footpath.

⁵³*Caşcial* is standard Sursilvan for *magnuc*.

‘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.’

- 1085 *Què è btg ina lada sènda, quèl’ èra*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.ART.F.SG broad path DEM.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
- 1086 *fòrsa ... ah in mètar a miaz, strusch duṣ, a lu èssan nuṣ, gè*
maybe eh one.M.SG metre and half almost two and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL yes
- 1087 *in mètar a miaz plétost a mintgataun èri* aun
one.M.SG metre and half rather and sometimes EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL moreover
- 1088 *grépa tga stèv’ ò in tèc*
rock.COLL REL stand.IMPF.3SG out INDEF.ART.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’

- 1089 *A lura ah ... mju quinau manava in mél,*
and then eh POSS.1SG.M.SG brother-in-law lead.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG mule
- 1090 *- 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.’

- 1091 *Al quinau vèva mal ina*
DEF.ART.M.SG brother-in-law have.IMPF.3SG bad.ADJ.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG
- 1092 *tgòmba.*
leg

‘My brother-in-law had leg pain.’

- 1093 *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
- 1094 *vagní da lò òra, 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
- 1095 *da via òra, a lu va ju rantau in mél vi*
from way.F.SG out and then have.1SG 1SG bind.PTCP.UNM one.M.SG mule over
- 1096 *dal autar, álsò vi da la ... vi dal ...*
of.DEF.ART.M.SG other well over of DEF.ART.F.SG over of.DEF.ART.M.SG
- 1097 *cavèstar da lèz, álsò vi dal ... dal*
bridle of DEM.M.SG that_is_to_say on of.DEF.ART.M.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG

- 1098 *bast da lèz scù ins di, api ah sùnd jus*
 packsaddle of DEM.M.SG as GNR say.PRS.3SG and ah be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG
 1099 *cun dòmaṣdús.*
 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].’

- 1100 *A què èra schòn strètg, álsò sch'ju stès*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG really narrow.ADJ.UNM well if 1SG must.COND.1SG
 1101 *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.’

- 1102 *Mintgataun vasèvaṣ gjùadò grad agradgjù, tòcan gjù*
 sometimes see.IMPF.2SG.GNR down_and_out direct steep_down until down
 1103 *èl' awa, álsò sch' in fùs ussa tagljau,*
 in.DEF.ART.F.SG water well if one.M.SG PASS.AUX.COND.3SG now cut.PTCP.UNM
 1104 *quèlas ... al bùrди stèva ò ualti gljunsch, quaj*
 DEM.F.PL DEF.ART.M.SG load stand.IMPF.3SG out quite far DEM.UNM
 1105 *balantschava in téč.*
 roll.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.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.’

- 1106 *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
 1107 *in grép tga vès pudju bétar èl, scha*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG rock REL have.COND.3SG can.PTCP.UNM throw.INF 3SG.M CORR
 1108 *quèls füssan grad schulaj gjù*
 DEM.M.PL be.COND.3PL immediately fall_rapidly.PTCP.M.PL down
 1109 *ajl' awa, ajl lac.*
 into.DEF.ART.F.SG water into.DEF.ART.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.’

1110 *Âbar è ju ... ju rasdav' in téc cun èls, ju*
 but also 1SG 1SG speak.IMPF.1SG INDEF.ART.M.SG bit with 3PL.M 1SG
 1111 *èra mèz èr ... saspruava dad èssar ruassajvals,*
 COP.IMPF.1SG self.1SG.M also REFL.try.hard.IMPF.1SG COMP COP.INF calm.M.SG
 1112 *quaj è ju tiptòp, tòcan ò atrás.*
 DEM.UNM 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.'

1113 *A lu èssans lu i l' autar dé.*
 and then be.IMPF.1PL.1PL then go.PTCP.M.PL DEF.ART.M.SG other day

'And the next day we went there.'

1114 *La davùsa nògj vajn nuş durmju ... á Guottannen.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG last night have.PRS.1PL 1PL sleep.PTCP.UNM at PLN

'The last night we slept in Guttannen.'

1115 *Quaj èra, dad ira cun cun sauma èra*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF with with bridle.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
 1116 *quaj súpar cun quèls, cun quèls mél.*
 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.'

1117 *Què è pròpa tiars plé destinaj par ah fá ...*
 DEF COP.PRS.3SG really animal.M.PL more suited.PTCP.M.PL for ah do.INF
 1118 *sauma.*
 bridle

'These were really animals that are more suited to being bridled.'

1119 *Ad èr' è zatgé bi da mirá cù*
 and COP.IMPF.3SG also something beautiful.ADJ.UNM COMP look.INF how
 1120 *quèls tiars luvravan, cù quèls ... mavan ad*
 DEM.M.PL animal.PL work.IMPF.3PL how DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL and
 1121 *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.'

- 1122 A lura ... va ju lu èra ábar... méz èls á sùt.
and then have.PRS.1SG 1SG then also but put.PTCP.UNM 3M.PL to under
'And then ... but ... I also yoked them.'
- 1123 A ... ajl, lò, èran è lu bétga schi ... schi flòts
and in.DEF.ART.M.SG there COP.IMPF.3PL also then NEG so so nice.M.PL
1124 dad í cun cun cròtscha né cun tgar.
COMP go.INF with with plough.F.SG or with cart.M.PL
'And ... in the, it was not so ... so nice to walk [with] them with a plough or a cart.'
- 1125 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.'
- 1126 Bjè jèdas şèni scapaj tga nuş vajn ah pròpi
many time.PL be.PRS.3PL.3PL escape.PTCP.M.PL COMP 1PL have.PRS.1PL eh really
1127 gju ah gròndas misérjas a mju quinau ...
have.PTCP.UNM eh big.F.PL trouble.PL and POSS.1SG.M.SG brother-in-law
1128 şchèva, şchèva savèns:
say.IMPF.3SG say.IMPF.3SG often
'They escaped many times so that we had big troubles and my brother-in-law ... often said, said:'
- 1129 «Ah, cò èssan nus mitschaj cula véta, cò
ah here be.PRS.1PL 1PL escape.PTCP.M.PL with.DEF.ART.F.SG life here
1130 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.»'
- 1131 In' jèda èssan nus staj ... sén Tschamùt.
one.F.SG time be.IMPF.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL on PLN
'Once we were in Tschamùt.'
- 1132 Nuş vèvan, ju vèva cumprau, midau òr
1SG have.IMPF.1PL 1SG have.IMPF.1SG buy.PTCP.UNM change.PTCP.UNM out
1133 in, in ... vèv' ju vandju a cumprau
one.M.SG one.M.SG have.IMPF.1SG 1SG sell.PTCP.UNM and buy.PTCP.UNM

1134 *in autar parquaj tgu vèva l' imprèssjun*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG other because COMP.1SG have.1SG DEF.ART.F.SG impression
 1135 *tga, tg' èra quèl tga fagèva bitg andrètg, a*
 COMP COMP COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG REL do.IMPF.3SG NEG right.ADJ.UNM and
 1136 *lu èssan nus, vajn nus méz sùt èls, dòmaşdús,*
 then be.IMPF.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL put.PTCP.UNM under 3PL.M both
 1137 *al quinau èra ad ju anzjaman api èssan nus*
 DEF.ART.M.SG brother-in-law also and 1SG together and be.PRS.1PL 1PL
 1138 *i sén Tschamùt, a sé spèr l' ustria da*
 go.PTCP.M.PL on PLN and up next_to DEF.ART.F.SG restaurant of
 1139 *Tschamùt ... vajn nus ah ... èssan nus samanaj,*
 PLN have.PRS.1PL 1PL eh be.IMPF.1PL 1PL REFL.turn_back.PTCP.M.PL
 1140 *gjù sel parcadi èssan nus samanaj.*
 down on.DEF.ART.M.SG parking 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.’

1141 *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.ART.F.SG way
 1142 *cantunala, òni antschiat á 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.’

1143 *A galòpau, galòpau, galòpau, zatgéj*
 and gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM gallop.PTCP.UNM something
 1144 *sgarşchajval, nuş èssan vagní da tanaj èls pér gjù*
 terrible.ADJ.UNM 1PL be.PRS.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL COMP hold.INF 3PL.M only down
 1145 *sur Sèlva⁵⁴.*
 above PLN

‘And galloped, galloped, galloped, this was horrible, we only managed to hold onto them above Selva.’

⁵⁴Selva is located down in the valley, below the road.

1146 A lu vès ju bitga ugagjau plé, da, dad ira cun
 and then have.COND.1SG 1SG NEG dare.PTCP.UNM more COMP COMP go.INF with
 1147 èls vinanavaun.

3PL.M farther

‘And then I wouldn’t have dared to, to, to go farther with them any more.’

1148 Lu vain nus rantaú èls lò, api sùnd jus
 then have.PRS.1PL 1PL tie.PTCP.UNM 3PL.M there and be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.1SG
 1149 gjù pal tgar anèx, api èssan nus ... sùnd jus
 down for.DEF.ART.M.SG cart annexed and be.1PL 1PL be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG
 1150 sé ... cul tgar anèx.
 up with.DEF.ART.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.’

1151 A lura ... quaj è grat stau in téć,
 and then DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG just COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
 1152 quèls mavan tut saniastar sén via.
 DEM.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL completely left.ADJ.UNM on road.F.SG

‘And then ... this was just for a bit, they were walking on the very left side of the road.’⁵⁵

1153 Tüt saniastar, a galòpavan zatgéj starmantús, ju
 completely left.ADJ.UNM and gallop.IMPF.3PL something terrible.ADJ.UNM 1SG
 1154 stèva séla brèmşa.
 stand.IMPF.1SG on.DEF.ART.F.SG brake

‘On the very left, and they galloped terribly, I stood on the brake.’

1155 Al quinau èr' in ùm, prop'
 DEF.ART.M.SG brother-in-law COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG man really
 1156 in ùm fèrm.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG man strong.ADJ.M.SG

‘My brother-in-law was a man, a really strong man.’

1157 Lèz tanèva palas hòtas, a nùnpussajval,
 DEM.M.SG hold.IMPF.3SG on.DEF.ART.F.PL reins.PL and impossible.ADJ.UNM
 1158 nùnpussajval da fá stá quèls dus tgavals.
 impossible.ADJ.UNM COMP make.INF stop.INF DEM.M.PL two.M.PL horse.PL

⁵⁵The left side is the side of the precipice if one comes up from e.g. Rueras.

‘He held them by the reins, and [it was] impossible, impossible to have these two horses [i.e. the two mules] stop.’

- 1159 A lu èra ... sé *Tschamùt*, cu i òn antschiat
and then COP.IMPF.3SG up PLN when 3PL have.PRS.3PL begin.PTCP.UNM
 1160 á galòpá, èri grat stau avaun mèssa ...,
COMP gallop.INF be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL just COP.PTCP.UNM before mass.F.SG
 1161 ina mèssa da sjantarmjaş-dé èn caplùta da Sòntga Clau.
INDEF.ART.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.’

- 1162 A lu, agl aucsegñar, par clétg èra la
and then DEF.ART.M.SG priest by fortune.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG
 1163 gljut schòn vidòragjù - quèls tg' èran staj á
people already over_out_down DEM.M.PL REL be.IMPF.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at
 1164 mèssa èran schòn vidòragjù - pléndanòragjù tga
mass.F.SG COP.IMPF.3PL already over_out_down more_out_down than
 1165 quaj tga nuş èssan, tg' als, tg' als mél
DEM.UNM REL 1PL be.PRS.1PL REL DEF.ART.M.PL REL DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL
 1166 èn galòpaj.
COP.PRS.3PL gallop.PTCP.M.PL

‘And then the priest, fortunately the people were already down [the valley] – those who had assisted the mass were already down – farther down than we were, that the, that the mules galloped.’

- 1167 Quèls èn staj ò dal prígal.
DEM.M.PL be.PRS.3PL COP.PTCP.M.PL out.of.DEF.ART.M.SG danger

‘These were out of danger.’

- 1168 Ábar igl aucsegñar èra in aucsegñar tudèstg.
but DEF.ART.M.SG priest COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG priest German

‘But the priest was a German priest.’

- 1169 A lèz èr' avaun caplùta cu, cu nuş èssan
and DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG in_front.chapel.F.SG when when 1PL be.PRS.1PL
 1170 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

- 1171 - èl è lu vagnús cugl autò ... anòragjù
 3SG.M be.PRS.3SG then come.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.ART.M.SG car out_down
- 1172 cu nuş vèvan ... rantau als, als mél -
 when 1SG have.IMPF.1PL tie.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.PL mule.PL
- 1173 a lu, a ... lu vajn nuş, va ju dumandau sch'
 and then and then have.PRS.1PL 1PL have.PRS.1SG 1SG ask.PTCP.UNM if
- 1174 èl prèndèssi mè tòcan ... á Ruèras.
 3SG.M take.COND.INDIR.3SG 1SG until to PLN

'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.'

- 1175 Naturálmajn, èl agi vju tgéj ...
 natural.F.SG.ADV 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM what accident.F.SG
- 1176 désgrázja né tgé, tgé nuş agjan gju, tgé
 or what what 1PL have.PRS.SBJV.1PL have.PTCP.UNM what
- 1177 événimajn ... nuş vajn gju culs mél.
 incident.M.SG 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM with.DEF.ART.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.'

- 1178 Èl èri avaun caplùta a vagi vju
 3SG.M COP.IMPF.SBJV.3SG in_front chapel and have.PRS.SBJV.3SG see.PTCP.UNM
- 1179 tga quèls mél èn saspuantaj, api
 COMP DEM.M.PL mule.PL be.PRS.3PL REFL.frighten.PTCP.M.PL and
- 1180 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
- 1181 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.'

- 1182 Ábar èl vagi lura pandarau a tartgau
 but 3SG.M have.PRS.SBJV.3SG then think_about.PTCP.UNM and think.PTCP.UNM
- 1183 na:
 no:

'But he had then thought about it and thought no:'

1184 «*Da hilft nur noch beten!*»⁵⁶

here helps only still pray

‘In this case only prayers may help!’

1185 *Ad uschéja vès ju, savès ju raquintá in*
and so have.COND.1SG 1SG can.COND.1SG 1SG tell.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG

1186 *tschùpal èvènimajnts tg' èn schabagaj cun quèls mél's.*
lot 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.’

9.8 Al sòntgèt dals gjadjus

The little chapel of the Jews

(Tuatschin, Sadrún, m5, aged 64)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2'10"

1187 *Al sòntgèt dals gjadjuš è òdém*
DEF.ART.M.SG little_chapel of.DEF.ART.M.PL Jew.PL COP.PRS.3SG out_most

1188 *al vitg da Sadrún.*
DEF.ART.M.SG village of PLN

‘The little chapel of the Jews is located at the lowest part of the village of Sedrun.’⁵⁷

1189 *Al sòntgèt, qu' è ina pintga caplùta.*
DEF.ART.M.SG sòntgèt DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG little chapel

‘The *sòntgèt* is a little chapel.’

1190 *Ajn quèla caplùta šè ajn ina, la quarta*
in DEM.F.SG chapel COP.PRS.3SG in INDEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG fourth

1191 *stazjun da la via da la crusch.*
station of DEF.ART.F.SG way of DEF.ART.F.SG cross

‘In this chapel there is a, the fourth station of Christ’s way of the Cross.’

⁵⁶Said in Standard German.

⁵⁷On the *Via Alpu* in direction Mustér.



Figure 9.3: Christ's way of the Cross, Sedrun

1192 *Nua*⁵⁸ Jésus végn gassaljaus, né?
 where PN PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG flagellate.PTCP.M.SG right

‘Where Jesus is being flagellated, right?’

1193 *A lu schajns adina al ... sontgèt òdém*
 and then say.PRS.1PL.1PL always DEF.ART.M.SG little_chapel low_most
 1194 *al vitg.*
 DEF.ART.M.SG village

‘And then we always say the ... little chapel at the lowest part of the village.’

1195 *Álsò ùs è l bigja plé òdém al vitg,*
 well now COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M NEG any_more low_most DEF.ART.M.SG village,
 1196 *ábar quaj sontgèt èra, in' jèda, òdém al*
 but DEM.M.SG little_chapel COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG time low_most DEF.ART.M.SG
 1197 *vitg, a quaj, quaj è atgnamajn rastau, né.*
 village 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, but this chapel was once at the lowest part of the village, and this, this is still so, right?’

1198 *Sch' té vas dl vitg òra, scha ... sjaj l ...*
 if 2SG go.PRS.2SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG village out CORR COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M
 1199 *drètg, vagni*⁵⁹ *gè bagagjau daniav hòtel Albsú,*
 right.ADJ.UNM PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL in_fact build.PTCP.UNM newly hotel PN
 1200 *né, a lu ... vas fòrsa aun végn métars, a lu*
 right and then go.PRS.2SG maybe moreover twenty metre.M.PL and then
 1201 *chè* *l*⁶⁰ *saniastar.*
 COP.PRS.3SG 3SG.M left.ADJ.UNM

‘If you walk down the valley, ... the new hotel Alpsu has in fact been built on the right side, right?, and then you walk maybe twenty more metres, and then it [the chapel] is on the left.’

1202 *Qu' è adin' aviart a lu saš i ajn*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG always open.ADJ.UNM and then can.PRS.2SG go.INF in
 1203 *api vèzas té quèlas ah ... figuras ajn grondèzja da*
 and see.PRS.2SG 2SG DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL in size.F.SG of

⁵⁸Not clear; therefore replaced by *nua* ‘where’.

⁶⁰*Vagní* is a performance error for *vagnú* ‘PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM’

⁶⁰‘l is a performance error for *la* ‘3SG.F’

1204 *carstgaun.*

human_being.M.SG

‘This is always open, and then you can step in and then you see these eh ... figures the size of human beings.’

1205 *A qu’ è in ah, in Andreoli da, da*
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG eh INDEF.ART.M.SG PN of of
 1206 *Mustajr tg’ èra usché in tèc ah, gè, vèva*
 PLN REL COP.IMPF.3SG SO INDEF.ART.M.SG bit eh yes have.IMPF.3SG
 1207 *talènt, vèva tagljau ò quèlas.*
 talent.M.SG 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.’

1208 [PhM] *Da tgei temps?*
 of which time.M.SG

‘[PhM] At what time?’

1209 [m5] *Ah, méli ad òtg ... tgu craj şè stau*
 ah thousand and eight REL.1SG believe.PRS.1SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
 1210 *Vènvardís Sògn mili ad òtg tschian trènta quàtar, fòrsa scha ju*
 Friday.M.SG Holy thousand and eight hundred thirty four maybe if 1SG
 1211 *şbaglia bitg, şè quèlas figuras lu vagnidas*
 be_wrong.PRS.1SG NEG COP.PRS.3SG DEM.F.PL figure.PL then PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.PL
 1212 *trans-pòrtadas a mézaş 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.’

1213 *Ad ál’ antschata èra ‘l sòntgèt ...*
 and in.DEF.ART.F.SG beginning COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG little_chapel
 1214 *in sòntgèt aviart, quaj vut dí*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG little_chapel open.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF
 1215 *quaj è in pin baghètg, a cò*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG small.M.SG building and there
 1216 *èr’ in gártar, a lu vasévas té ajn*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG grating and then see.IMPF.2SG.GNR 2SG.GNR in
 1217 *quèlas.*
 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.’

- 1218 *A lu òni aun bagagjau vitlúndar ina,*
and then have.PRS.3PL.3PL in_addition build.PTCP.UNM next_to INDEF.ART.F.SG
 1219 *aun ina part, lu şèn ... in pèr*
moreover INDEF.ART.F.SG part then EXIST.PRS.3PL INDEF.ART.M.SG pair
 1220 *bauns pins, gè, intarassant, gè, a méz*
bench.M.PL small yes interesting.ADJ.UNM yes and put.PTCP.UNM
 1221 *in clutgè áñò véntgòtg tégn ju, gè.*
INDEF.ART.M.SG clock_tower 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.’

- 1222 *Quaj vò anavùs sén ina tradizjun tga ...*
DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG back on INDEF.ART.F.SG tradition REL
 1223 *Tuatschíns èran ira⁶¹ ... á pèlègrinádi á*
inhabitant_of_Tujetsch.M.PL be.IMPF.3PL go.INF at pilgrimage.M.SG to
 1224 *Nossa-Dunaun, a lu vas lò zanúa, vas*
PLN and then go.PRS.2SG.GNR there somewhere go.PRS.2SG.GNR
 1225 *té sur in, ah, sur in pas, álsò*
2SG.GNR over INDEF.ART.M.SG eh over INDEF.ART.M.SG pass well
 1226 *in, in crèst, in simpal pas, a*
INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG high_ground INDEF.ART.M.SG simple pass and
 1227 *sén quèla, sén quaj pas duëssi èssar ina*
on DEM.F.SG on DEM.M.SG pass should.COND.3SG.EXPL COP.INF INDEF.ART.F.SG
 1228 *samagljònta caplùta, è cun ina stazjun da ... da la*
similar chapel also with INDEF.ART.F.SG station of of DEF.ART.F.SG
 1229 *via da la crusch, a lu ... şè quèls vagní*
way of DEF.ART.F.SG cross and then be.PRS.3SG DEM.M.PL come.PTCP.M.PL
 1230 *anavùs ajn Tujètsch a détg:*
back in PLN 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:'

1231 «*Usché zatgé fagajn nuş è á Sadrún.*»
so something make.PRS.1PL 1PL also in PLN

'We'll also make something like this in Sedrun.'

1232 *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
1233 *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
1234 *privat.*
private.ADJ.UNM

'And this all happened on a private basis, this chapel has thus been private until maybe ten years ago.'

1235 *Ad ùş ò la plajv surprjú aj.*
and now have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG parish take.PTCP.UNM 3SG

'And now the parish has taken it over.'

1236 *Agl Andreòli vèva finju ... las ...*
DEF.ART.M.SG PN have.IMPF.3SG finish.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL
1237 *figuras ... avaun ca la caplùta èra stada*
figure.PL before REL DEF.ART.F.SG chapel be.IMPF.3SG PASS.AUX.PTCP.F.SG
1238 *finida.*
finish.PTCP.F.SG

'Andreoli had finished ... the ... figures ... before the chapel was finished.'

1239 *A lu vèvani dépònju quèlas, quèlas státuas*
and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL store.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.PL DEM.F.PL statue.PL
1240 *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.'

1241 *Ála végbla-véglja tgèsa-parvènda, né?*
in.DEF.ART.F.SG RED~old presbytery right

'At the very old presbytery, right?'

⁶¹Èran ira 'had go' is a performance error for èran í 'had gone'.

- 1242 *Quèla stèva dadò l hôtel Cruna.*
 DEM.F.SG stay.IMPF.3SG of_down DEF.ART.M.SG hotel PN
 ‘It was located after the Hotel Cruna, down the valley.’
- 1243 *A l' òn ca tg' òn gju dépònju*
 and DEF.ART.M.SG year REL REL have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM store.PTCP.UNM
 1244 *quèlas ah figuras ò inş adina détg «la*
 DEM.F.PL eh figure.PL have.PRS.3SG GNR always say.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG
 1245 *stiva dals gjadjud», ò quèla gju*
 living_room of.DEF.ART.M.PL Jew.PL have.PRS.3SG DEM.F.SG have.PTCP.UNM
 1246 *nùm sjantar.*
 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.’

9.9 La féjra da Ligjaun

The market in Lugano

(Tuatschin, Sadrún, m5, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/25 in Sedrun

Duration 2'

- 1247 *Quaj hanléj da tiars, ál sén scù quaj tg'*
 DEM.M.SG business of animal.M.PL in.DEF.ART.M.SG sense like DEM.UNM REL
 1248 *i èra ál schènivával tschantanè, tg'*
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG in.DEF.ART.M.SG nineteenth.M.SG century.m.sg REL
 1249 *als martgadònts cumpravan als tiars quasi*
 DEF.ART.M.PL merchant.PL buy.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL so_to_speak
 1250 *schòn la pravàra, alura mavan quèls*
 already DEF.ART.F.SG spring then go.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL
 1251 *stjarls, als mütgts, als*
 one_year_old_calf.PL DEF.ART.M.PL two_year_old_calf.PL DEF.ART.M.PL
 1252 *stjarls mavan lu ád alp, a lura sjantar alp,*
 one_year_old_calf.PL go.IMPF.3PL then to alp.F.SG and then after alp.F.SG
 1253 *agl atùn, vagnévani lu par èls a mavan*
 in.DEF.ART.M.SG autumn come.IMPF.3PL.3PL then for 3PL.M and go.IMPF.3PL
 1254 *cun èls lura sur Lucmagn a vandévan lò.*
 with 3PL.M then over PLN and sell.IMPF.3PL 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.’

- 1255 *Quaj mava lu radùn, quaj mava ò da Tujétsch,*
DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG then around DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG out of PLN
 1256 *mavi radùn duatschian, försa antùrn duatschian tgaus.*
go.IMPF.3SG.EXPL around two_hundred maybe around two_hundred head.M.PL

‘There would go about, there would go then out of the Tujetsch valley, there would go about two hundred, maybe about two hundred heads [of animals].’

- 1257 *A qu' è atgnamajn al ... sulèt danè ...*
and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG actually DEF.ART.M.SG only.M.SG money
 1258 *quasi tg' al pur vèva blùt danè, né.*
almost REL DEF.ART.M.SG farmer have.IMPF.3SG naked.ADJ.M.SG money right
 ‘And this is at least almost the ... only cash money ... the farmers had, right?’
 1259 *Quaj èra atgnamajn la fòntauna la plé*
DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG actually DEF.ART.F.SG source DEF.ART.F.SG most
 1260 *impurtònta da hanlètg, quèla fiara⁶² da Ligjaun.*
important of business.M.SG DEM.F.SG market of PLN

‘This was actually the most important source of business, that market in Lugano.’

- 1261 *Álsò quaj, quaj èra lura, ajn Tujétsch èri*
well DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then in PLN EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1262 *usché da quèls mulissiars, álsò quèls «Unterhändler»⁶³, né, né*
so of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL well DEM.M.PL negotiators right or
 1263 *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.ART.F.PL
 1264 *préfatschèntas, né, né tg' èran ...*
intermediate_trade.PL right or COMP PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL
 1265 *cumissunaj da quèls ah martgadònts grònṣ da la*
commission.PTCP.M.PL by DEM.M.PL eh businessman.PL big.PL of DEF.ART.F.SG
 1266 *bassa, né.*
«lowlands» right

⁶² *Fiara* is standard Sursilvan for *féjra*.

‘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?’

1267 *Quèls vèvan quasi in tèc maun lìbar, né, da*
DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL so_to_speak a bit hand.M.SG free.M.SG right COMP
1268 *fá las cùmpras, né, a lu mavi quasi*
do.INF DEF.ART.F.PL shopping.PL right and then go.IMPF.3SG.EXPL so_to_say
1269 *sur quèls intèrns òra, né, a da quèls martgadònts ah*
over DEM.M.PL domestic.PL out right and of DEM.M.PL negotiator.PL eh
1270 *tuatschíns òi adina dau, quèls tg'*
from_Tujetsch.M.PL have.PRS.3SG.EXPL always EXIST.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL REL
1271 *òn ugagjau a rascau quaj.*
have.PRS.3PL dare.PTCP.UNM and risk.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM

‘These had so to speak a bit of a free hand, right, to do the shopping, right, and then business was in the hands of the domestic merchants, right, and there were always some of these negotiators from the Tujetsch valley, right, those who dared and risked [to do] this.’

1272 *Álsò ... la résca èra atgnamajn fétg grònda, parquaj tga*
well DEF.ART.F.SG risk COP.IMPF.3SG in_fact very big.F.SG because COMP
1273 *... èls cumpavan gè la pramavèra, a lura*
3PL.M buy.IMPF.3PL in_fact DEF.ART.F.SG spring and then
1274 *savèvani bérga cù sè 'l preci, cù sè*
know.IMPF.3PL.3PL NEG how COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG price how COP.PRS.3SG
1275 *la féjra insùma, sài attractif, sè*
DEF.ART.F.SG market at_all COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL attractive.ADJ.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
1276 *la tschèrca cò, né.*
DEF.ART.F.SG demand here 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?’

1277 *A lu mávani magari culs tiars gjù*
and then go.IMPF.3PL.3PL sometimes with.DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL down

⁶³German for Tuatschin *mulissiars*.

1278 *Ligjaun, a ... savèvan bigja vèndar lò, a lu stèvani*
 PLN and can.IMPF.3PL NEG sell.INF there and then must.IMPF.3PL.3PL
 1279 *quasi i gjùdòra, ir tòc' al nòrd da l'*
 so_to_speak go.INF down_out go.INF until DEF.ART.M.SG north of DEF.ART.F.SG
 1280 *Italja gjùdajn ad ampruá da vèndar, ah ... ad aj ah ...*
 PLN down_in and try.INF COMP sell.INF eh and EXPL eh
 1281 *vagnéva bigj' éba vandju tut, al davùs*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG NEG precisely sell.PTCP.UNM everything DEF.ART.M.SG last
 1282 *stuèvani vèndar fòrsa pr, pr in schliat prézi, né.*
 must.IMPF.3PL.3PL sell.INF maybe for for INDEF.ART.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?’

1283 *Álsò i dèva òns nùca tga gudignavan ... nùndétg, ad*
 well EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL earn.IMPF.3PL incredibly and
 1284 *i sèra òns nùca tg' èra awa, ad*
 EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL EXIST.IMPF.3SG water.F.SG and
 1285 *èra òns nùca tga spardévan.*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG year.M.PL where REL lose.IMPF.3PL

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

1286 *Quaj scriva Gadola, scriv' è quaj zanú,*
 DEM.UNM write.PRS.3SG PN write.PRS.3SG also DEM.UNM somewhere
 1287 *quèla è zatgéj ina, ina lavur,*
 DEM.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG something DEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG work
 1288 *«La fiera da Ligjaun»⁶⁴, a lu dascriva la òrd*
 DEF.ART.F.SG market of PLN and then describe.PRS.3SG 3SG.F.out_of
 1289 *vèsta dal Tujétsch scù quaj funcsanava, cù i*
 sight of.DEF.ART.M.SG PLN how DEM.UNM function.IMPF.3SG how 3PL
 1290 *mavan, a lu èri è quèls prígals tga*
 go.IMPF.3PL and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL also DEM.M.PL danger REL
 1291 *dèva sén ah, ah, sén ira, naturàlmajn cu i vagnévan*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG on eh eh on go.INF natural.M.SG.ADV when 3PL come.IMPF.3PL
 1292 *anavùs scha savèvan als cugljúns, né, la*
 back CORR know.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.PL scoundrel.PL right DEF.ART.F.SG

- 1293 *nara, né, savèvan è quèls òn... bùrsas*
 mad_people.COLL right know.IMPF.3PL ALSO DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL wallet.F.PL
- 1294 *plajnas, né, a vagnévan lura pr part atacaj ad*
 full.PL right and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3PL then for part.F.SG attack.PTCP.M.PL and
- 1295 *angulaj.*
 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.’

- 1296 *Quaj òi dau savèns, gè.*
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.3SG.EXPL EXIST.PTCP.UNM often yes

‘This happened often, yes.’

9.10 Sé Nalps

In Nalps

(Tuatschin, Surajn, f5, aged 56)

Recorded 2017/03/10 in Surrein

Duration 1'10

- 1297 *Cu nuş èran buébas, èri bja autar*
 when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL girl.F.PL COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL much different.ADJ.UNM
- 1298 *tgé ùssa.*
 than now

‘When we were girls, it was very different from nowadays.’

- 1299 *Als gjaniturs fagevan al pur, ad ju èra*
 DEF.ART.M.PL parent.PL do.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG farmer and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG
- 1300 *tschavrèr’ in tjams, ajn l’ antscharta cun*
 goatherd.F.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG time in DEF.ART.F.SG beginning with
- 1301 *mju frá, in òn parsula, api stavèv’ ins í*
 POSS.1SG.M.SG brother one.M.SG year alone.F.SG and must.IMPF GNR go.INF

⁶⁴The title is in Standard Sursilvan.

1302 *culas tgauras tòca sé Nalps, a vèvan in*
 with.DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL until up PLN and have.IMPF.1PL INDEF.M.SG
 1303 *bi tjams lò, vagnéva ... lu èri aun*
 beautiful.ADJ.M.SG time there come.IMPF.3SG then EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL yet
 1304 *bigja turists, mintgataun vagnévi in*
 NEG tourist.M.PL from_time_to_time come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL INDEF.ART.M.SG
 1305 *in in car, a quèls vèvan*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG car and DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL
 1306 *naturálmajn plašchaj da nus a dlas tgauras.*
 natural.M.SG.ADV pleasure.M.SG of 1PL and of.DEF.ART.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 till Nalps, and we had a great time there, there came ... then there weren’t tourists yet, from time to time a a car arrived, and it was, of course, a pleasure for them to be with us and the goats.’

1307 *Mintgataun mavan nus èra ... plas pitgògnas á cavá*
 sometimes go.IMPF.1PL 1PL also in.DEF.ART.F.PL steep_slope.PL PURP dig.INF
 1308 *cristalas anstagl mirá dlas tgauras, pi vignévan nus*
 crystal.F.PL instead look_for.INF of.DEF.ART.F.PL goat.PL and come.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 1309 *halt in téc tart.*
 simply INDEF.ART.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.’

1310 *A cu ins vagnéva anavùs èri bigja schi*
 and when GNR come.IMPF.3SG back COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG so
 1311 *flòt pr, cu ins vagnéva cò cu 'ls purs*
 nice.ADJ.UNM for when GNR come.IMPF.3SG here when DEF.ART.M.PL farmer.PL
 1312 *vagnévan a savilavan cun nus, ni tumévan par nus,*
 come.IMPF.3PL and get_angry.IMPF.3PL with 1PL or be_afraid.IMPF.3PL for 1PL
 1313 *api stévan nus vagní á tgèsa á..d á múlgjar tut*
 and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL come.INF to house.F.SG and PURP milk.INF all
 1314 *las tgauras.*
 DEF.ART.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.’

- 1315 *Als gjaniturs vèvan aun pòrs, stèvan fá*
 DEF.ART.M.PL parent.PL have.IMPF.3PL in_addition pig.PL must.IMPF.1PL do.INF
 1316 *gljèz, a quaj è naturálmajn ùssa samidau*
 DEM.UNM and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG of_course now REFL.change.PTCP.UNM
 1317 *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.’

- 1318 *Navèn da lu tòcan, ad è stau ábar in*
 from of then until and be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM but INDEF.ART.M.SG
 1319 *bi tjams. Ad oz lajni gnanc í la*
 beautiful.M.SG time and today let.PRS.3PL.3PL not_even go.INF DEF.ART.F.SG
 1320 *buébanáglja, nus mavan cun tschun òns èran nus*
 child.COLL 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with five year.M.PL COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL
 1321 *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.’

- 1322 [PhM] *Aber la notg buc, la notg...*
 but DEF.ART.F.SG night NEG DEF.ART.F.SG night

‘But at night not, at night ...’

- 1323 [f5] *Na na, lu vagnévan nuš anavùs, api vèva mintg'*
 no no then come.IMPF.1PL 1PL back and have.IMPF.3SG every.F.SG
 1324 *jamna zatgí da dá marjanda ... da nus, a la sèra*
 week somebody COMP give.INF meal.F.SG DAT 1PL and DEF.ART.F.SG evening
 1325 *astgèvan nuš í tiar quèl á 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.’

- 1326 *A quaj midava mintg' jamna stgèvan*
 and DEM.UNM change.IMPF.1SG every.F.SG week be_allowed.IMPF.1PL 1PL

1327 *nus í tiar in, a l' autr' jamna midavi*
 go.INF to one.M.SG and DEF.ART.F.SG other week change.IMPF.3SG.EXPL down
 1328 *gjù tiar tschèl.*
 to 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.'

1329 *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.'

1330 *Nus mavan la damaun api vagnévan la sèra.*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.F.SG morning and come.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.F.SG evening

'We would go in the morning and come back in the evening.'

1331 *Qu' è stau in bi tjams.*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG beautiful.M.SG.UNM time

'This was a wonderful time.'

1332 *Gè scù bjè autar è tg' è samidau.*
 yes as a_lot other.ADJ.UNM also REL be.PRS.3SG REFL.change.PTCP.UNM

1333 *Quaj è usché.*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG so

'Yes, as many other things that also have changed. That's how things are.'

9.11 *Al davùs purtgè da Sadrún*

The last swineherd of Sedrun

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m6, aged 65)

Recorded 2016/08/23 in Sedrun

Duration 5'50"

1334 *Ju savès raquintá, ju sùn staus al davùs*
 1SG can.COND.1SG tell.INF 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG last
 1335 *purtgè ... da Sadrún, cun aun in in*
 swineherd of PLN with in_addition INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG
 1336 *in camarat.*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG mate

‘I could tell, I was the last swineherd... of Sedrun, together with a mate.’

- 1337 *A nus mavan culs pòrs sé Valtgèva, mintga dé sé*
and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL with.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL up PLN every day.M.SG up
1338 *a gjù, ju savès raquintá da té quaj.*
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.’

- 1339 *Qu’ è stau ... mat^haj ... gl’ òn avaun ca*
DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM probably DEF.ART.M.SG year before REL
1340 *tgu mondi ... ál’ ampréma classa.*
REL.1SG go.PRS.SBJV.1SG to.DEF.ART.F.SG first form

‘This was ... probably ... the year before I attended ... the first form [of primary school].’

- 1341 *Sünd ju sapladjus cun in ah coléga ... è da*
be.PRS.1SG 1SG sign_on.REFL.PTCP.M.SG with DEF.ART.M.SG eh mate also from
1342 *Sadrún, a ... lèz èra schòn jus l’*
PLN and DEM.M.SG be.IMPF.3SG already go.PTCP.M.SG DEF.ART.F.SG
1343 *ampréma classa.*
first term

‘I got employed with a eh mate ... also from Sedrun, and ... he had already attended the first term [of primary school].’

- 1344 *A nuş duş vajn suprjú da fá*
and 1PL two.M.PL have.PRS.1PL take_over.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF
1345 *purtgè da Sadrún, á Gjònða.*
swineherd.M.SG of PLN of PLN

‘And the two of us took over [the duty] of working as the swineherd of Sedrun, at Gionda.’

- 1346 *Quaj vùl dí qu’ èra lu al*
DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then DEF.ART.M.SG
1347 *tgau-vitg, quèl vèva pladjú nus.*
head.M.SG-village.M.SG DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG employ.PTCP.UNM 1PL

‘This means, this was the head of the village who had employed us.’

1348 *Ju sa bitg tgé pjaglja nuš vajn gju álsò*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG what salary.F.SG 1SG have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM well
 1349 *nuš vajn gju ina pintga pjaglja, parquaj,*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG small salary therefore
 1350 *gljèz raquint' ju al davùs.*
 DEM.UNM tell.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.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.’

1351 *A nuš dus vajn suprjú da fá*
 and 1PL two.M.PL have.PRS.1PL take_over.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF
 1352 *purtgè da Sadrún, á Gjònða.*
 swineherd.M.SG of PLN of PLN

‘And the two of us took over [the duty] of working as the swineherd of Sedrun, at Gionda.’

1353 *A lu ... vèvan nus da ... la stat cu ju*
 and then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP DEF.ART.F.SG summer when 1SG
 1354 *a cargjau las vacas, cargjau las*
 have.PRS.1SG drive.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL drive.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.PL
 1355 *alps, scha vajn nus lu èra gju da ... cargè nòs*
 alp.PL CORR have.PRS.1PL 1PL then also have.PTCP.UNM COMP drive.INF
 1356 *pòrs.*
 POSS.1PL.M.PL 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.’

1357 *Quaj vul dí, nuš vèvan èxact végn pòrs,*
 DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF 1PL have.PRS.1PL exactly twenty pig.M.PL
 1358 *quaj sa ju ... tschian pròzènt.*
 DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG 1SG hundred percent.M.SG

‘This means, we had exactly twenty pigs, this I know one hundred percent.’

1359 *A nuš dus vèvan dad í á rimná quèls pòrs,*
 and 1PL two.M.PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP go.INF PURP collect.INF DEM.M.PL pig.PL
 1360 *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.’

- 1361 *Dus èran vin Gjònدا craju, lu catschav’*
 two.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL over_in PLN believe.PRS.1SG.1SG then drove.IMPF.1SG
- 1362 *ju quèls vi Sadrún, ad in pèr èran vi*
 1SG DEM.M.PL over PLN, and INDEF.ART.M.MSG couple COP.IMPF.3PL over
- 1363 *Sadrún, nus stèvan sèzs ... catschá als pòrs ò da*
 PLN 1PL must.IMPF.1PL self.M.PL drove.INF DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL out of
- 1364 *nuégl, a lu rimná èls, a qu’ èra fòrsa vi da*
 barn.M.MSG and then collect.INF 3PL.M and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG maybe over of
- 1365 *las ... ôtg né uschéja, né méása las nùf.*
 DEF.ART.F.PL eight or so, or half.F.SG DEF.ART.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.’

- 1366 *Ma tga ... avaun nus èra sagir al tgavrè èra schòn*
 since COMP before 1PL be.IMPF.3SG sure DEF.ART.M.SG goatherd also already
- 1367 *jus culas tgauras, lèz mava lu èra.*
 go.PTCP.M.SG with.DEF.ART.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.’

- 1368 *A viars anor’sé da Val Strém ajn.*
 and towards out_up of valley.F.SG PLN

‘And upwards into the Strem Valley.’

- 1369 *A nus rimnau quèls vègn pòrs, a vèvan nuş da*
 and 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL twenty pig.PL and must.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP
- 1370 *catschá èls in dètg tòc, da Sadrún sédòra, da*
 drove.INF 3PL.M INDEF.ART.M.SG big piece from PLN up_out from
- 1371 *la pastira sé tòcan sé Valtgèva.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG pasture up until up PLN

‘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.’

- 1372 *Ùssa ... 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

1373 *stinaj* *da, da catschá èls, da da dad í cun*
 obstinate.PTCP.M.PL COMP COMP drove.INF 3PL.M COMP COMP COMP go.INF with
 1374 *èls, quaj è bigj' in animal scù ina*
 3PL.M DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG NEG INDEF.ART.M.SG animal like INDEF.ART.F.SG
 1375 *tgaura né ina vaca, quèls èn bégja andisaj,*
 goat or INDEF.ART.F.SG COW DEM.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL NEG used_to.PTCP.M.PL
 1376 *èls èn ajn nuégl, ad us tütajnína stùni*
 3PL.M COP.PRS.3PL in pigsty.M.SG and now suddenly must.PRS.3PL.3PL
 1377 *antschajvar ad í.*
 begin.INF 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.'

1378 *Ajn tütä cas mia, mia mùma a la*
 in every case.M.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG POSS.1SG.F.SG mother and DEF.ART.F.SG
 1379 *mùma da mju còlèga tg' èra è cun mé ... vèvan*
 mother of POSS.1SG.M.SG mate REL COP.IMPF.3SG also with 1SG have.IMPF.3PL
 1380 *stju gidá nus in pèr dis ... da catschè*
 must.PTCP.UNM help.INF 1PL INDEF.ART.M.SG couple day.M.PL COMP drove.INF
 1381 *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.'

1382 *Ma tga quèls scapava tgi drétg a saniastar, a lu, ad*
 since REL DEM.M.PL run_away.IMPF.3SG who right and left and then and
 1383 *al problèm gròn èra cu nus mavan ajnasé*
 DEF.ART.M.SG problem big COP.IMPF.3SG when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL in_and_up
 1384 *séssum la pastira da Sadrún stuèvan nus i gjù*
 on_top DEF.ART.F.SG pasture of PLN must.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.INF down
 1385 *tral Drun, quèl, al dargún tga végn*
 through.DEF.ART.M.PL RN DEM.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG torrent REL come.PRS.3SG
 1386 *gjùadòra cò, a tral Drun, a qu'*
 down_and_out here and through.DEF.ART.M.SG RN and DEM.UNM

- 1387 èra lu mù in pin trùtg, a suèntar⁶⁵ vi dad
EXIST.IMPF.3SG then only INDEF.ART.M.SG small path and after over of
 1388 ina ... gjassa sédòra tòcan sé Valtgèva.
INDEF.ART.F.SG narrow_path up_and_out until up PLN

‘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.’

- 1389 A dumagnè als amprèmṣ dis quèls pòrs gjù da da
and cope.INF DEF.ART.M.SG first.PL day.PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL down from from
 1390 quaj trùtg ajnagjù a sjantar atrás l' aua
DEM.M.SG path into_and_down and after through DEF.ART.F.SG water
 1391 dal Drun tga vagnéva mù pauc vi da tschèla vart,
of.DEF.ART.M.SG RN REL come.IMPF.3SG only little over of DEM.F.SG side
 1392 qu' è stau álṣò in martéri, a nuṣ
DEM.UNM. be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM well INDEF.ART.M.SG ordeal and 1PL
 1393 vajn gju da samudargè, ju sa,
have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM COMP REFL.struggle.INF 1SG know.PRS.1SG
 1394 mia mùma è saglida sjantar in piartg
POSS.1SG.F.SG mother be.PRS.3SG run.PTCP.F.SG after INDEF.ART.M.SG pig
 1395 tg' èra scapaus, ad ju sa aun bégn tg' èl'
REL be.IMPF.3SG run_away.PTCP.M.SG and 1SG know.PRS.1SG still well REL 3SG.F
 1396 èra vagnida tut còtschna, ad èla vèva
be.IMPF.3SG become.PTCP.F.SG completely red.F.SG and 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG
 1397 gju da fá cul cùr, èla vèva
have.PTCP.UNM COMP do.INF with.DEF.ART.M.SG heart 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG
 1398 magari in téc problèms cul cùr, a
sometimes INDEF.ART.M.SG bit problem.M.PL with.DEF.ART.M.SG heart and
 1399 qu' èra stau par èla mèmja hèfti.
DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM for 3SG.F too violent.ADJ.UNM

‘And the first days, to cope with these pigs [going] down this path and then through the water of the Drun, of which only few would go over to the other side, well, this was an ordeal, and we had to struggle, I know, my mother ran after a pig that had run away, and I still remember very well that she had turned completely

⁶⁵ *suenter* is standard Sursilvan for *sjantar*.

red, and she had had heart problems, she sometimes had some problems with her heart, and this had been too violent for her.'

1400 *Ábar èla èra lu tutina aun vagnida ... pulit*
 but 3SG.F have.IMPF.3SG then nevertheless still become.PTCP.F.SG quite
 1401 *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
 1402 *ina, in hèfti ad ...*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG violent and

'But she nevertheless got ... quite old. Because of that, but she then had had there a, a, violent, and ...'.

1403 *A quaj è rastau da mé, a lu ... sjantar*
 and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG remain.PTCP.UNM DAT 1SG and then after
 1404 *in pèr dis ... vajn nus savju dumigná*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG couple day.M.PL have.PRS.1PL 1PL can.PTCP.UNM cope.INF
 1405 *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
 1406 *in òrdavaun a lu mavan quèls pòrs tut ajn còrda*
 one.M.SG in_front and then go.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL pig.PL all in single_file.F.SG
 1407 *... da quaj trutg ajnagjù vi tra l' aua a sé*
 from DEM.M.SG path in_and_down over through DEF.ART.F.SG water and up
 1408 *tòcan sé Valtgèva.*
 until up PLN

'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.'

1409 *A sé Valtgèva cu nuş èran tras ... èri lò*
 and up PLN when 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL through EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL there
 1410 *ina pòrt, ina gjajna, a cu nuş vajn*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG door INDEF.ART.F.SG gate and when 1PL have.PRS.1PL
 1411 *aviart la gjajna, savèvan nus sérá la*
 open.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG gate can.IMPF.1PL 1PL close.INF DEF.ART.F.SG
 1412 *gjajna dals pòrs, stèvans sé cò ajn quaj plat, a*
 gate of.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL stay.IMPF.1PL.1PL up here in DEM.M.SG flat and
 1413 *nuş vèvan da fá ajnsassèz ... nagina lavur, nuş vèvan*
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP do.INF actually no.F.SG work 1PL have.IMPF.1PL

- 1414 *ina bjala véta.*
INDEF.ART.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.’

- 1415 *A lu la sèra ... stèvan nus rimná als*
and then DEF.ART.F.SG evening must.IMPF.1PL 1PL gather.INF DEF.ART.M.PL
1416 *pòrs, a lu vagnévan gjù cùntar la gjajna, a nus*
pig.PL and then come.IMPF.3PL down towards DEF.ART.F.SG gate and 1PL
1417 *vèvan da dumbrá.*
have.IMPF.1PL COMP 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].’

- 1418 *Ad ju sa, ju èra bégj’ aun jus l’*
and 1SG know.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.IMPF.SG NEG yet go.PTCP.M.SG DEF.ART.F.SG
1419 *ampréma classa, ju vèva problèms da dumbrá quèls*
first class 1SG have.IMPF.1SG problem.M.PL COMP count.INF DEM.M.PL
1420 *végn pòrs dad in tòcan végn.*
twenty pig.PL from one till twenty

‘And I know, I hadn’t attended the first class yet, I had difficulties counting these pigs from one to twenty.’

- 1421 *Ju vèva bigja aun amprju, ajn scùlèta*
1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG yet learn.PTCP.UNM in nursery_school.F.SG
1422 *amprandèvan nus pauc.*
learn.IMPF.1PL 1PL little

‘I hadn’t learned yet, we didn’t learn much in nursery school.’

- 1423 *Álsò ... ju vèva braja da dumbrá in tòcan végn,*
well 1SG have.IMPF.1SG trouble.F.SG COMP count.INF one till twenty
1424 *mirá tga nuš vajn tut als pòrs.*
look.INF COMP 1PL have.PRS.1PL all DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL

‘Well ... I had troubles in counting [from] one to twenty, in ensuring that we had all the pigs.’

1425 A lu catschavan nuş als pòrs gjù Sadrún, a
 and then drove.IMPF.1PL 1PL DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL down PLN and
 1426 schavan èls ajn nuégl, l' autar dé puspè ajnsé.
 leave.IMPF.1PL 3PL.M. in pigsty.M.MSG DEF.ART.M.MSG 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].'

1427 Qu' è stau, ju sùn è staus
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM 1SG be.PRS.1SG also COP.PTCP.M.MSG
 1428 lùschs da mi' ampréma plaza, parquaj tga ... al
 proud.M.MSG of POSS.1SG.F.MSG first job because COMP DEF.ART.M.MSG
 1429 davùs dé, cu ju a discargjau als pòrs,
 last day when 1SG have.PRS.1SG drove_down.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL
 1430 scha şè al bap da mju còlega vagnús
 CORR be.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.MSG father of POSS.1G.M.MSG mate come.PTCP.M.MSG
 1431 cun - èl vèva in unimòc - vagnús cun nus
 with 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.MSG Unimog come.PTCP.M.MSG with 1PL
 1432 sé Valtgèva, a las mùmas vèvan praparau tiar
 up PLN and DEF.ART.F.MSG mother.PL have.IMPF.3PL prepare.PTCP.UNM by
 1433 mats ...⁶⁶ pals pòrs, a vèvan ... usché cun ...
 bunch.F.PL for.DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL and have.IMPF.3PL so with
 1434 mats, fatg antùrn in sujet mataj a méz
 bunch.M.PL do.PTCP.UNM around INDEF.M.MSG rope probably and put.PTCP.UNM
 1435 sé quaj antùrn al vjantar dals pòrs.
 up DEM.UNM around DEF.ART.M.MSG belly of.DEF.ART.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 an 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.'

1436 A nuş vagní gjù da Valtgèva fòrsa cun tschun sis pòrs,
 and 1PL come.PTCP.M.PL down from PLN maybe with five six pig.M.PL
 1437 cun sé matgs.
 with up bunch.F.PL

⁶⁶ *mats* is a phonetically simplified form of *matgs* 'bundles'

9 Texts

‘And we would come down from Valtgeva with maybe five or six pigs, with their bunches of flowers.’

- 1438 *A nuş duş èra cun la tgapjala cun sé ina bjala*
and 1PL two.M also with DEF.ART.F.SG hat with on INDEF.ART.F.SG beautiful
- 1439 *flur, a da scargjá⁶⁷ ls pòrs usché, qu'*
flower and COMP drove_down.INF DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL SO DEM.UNM
- 1440 *è stau pr nus in aparti avanimajn.*
be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM for 1PL INDEF.ART.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.’

- 1441 *Ad ad in piartg... ah... vèva pudju scapá*
and and INDEF.ART.M.SG pig eh have.IMP.3SG can.PTCP.UNM escape.INF
- 1442 *sé Valtgèva tras la sajf, qu' er' ina,*
up PLN through DEF.ART.F.SG fence DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG
- 1443 *la sajv èr' ina, la sajv*
DEF.ART.F.SG fence COP.IMP.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.F.SG fence
- 1444 *vèva rùt in palé, quaj vèva*
have.IMP.3SG break.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG post DEM.UNM have.IMP.3SG
- 1445 *pudju atrás, a quaj... vèz ju aun òz, quaj piartg*
can.PTCP.UNM through and DEM.UNM see.PRS.1SG 1SG still today DEM.M.SG pig
- 1446 *èra juş atrás a vèva rùt gjù*
be.IMP.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG through and have.IMP.3SG break.PTCP.UNM down
- 1447 *al matg tga vèva mù la còrda plé antùrn.*
DEF.ART.M.SG bunch COMP have.IMP.3SG only DEF.ART.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].’

- 1448 *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
- 1449 *quaj è naturálmajn ina ònur,*
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV INDEF.ART.F.SG honour
- 1450 *dascargjau als pòrs.*
drove_down.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL

⁶⁷ *Scargjá* is standard Sursilvan for *scargjè*.

‘And, and then we drove down [the pigs] with great pleasure, this is naturally an honour, drove down the pigs.’

- 1451 A lu, parví da la pjaglja, nuş vèvan lu dad i
and then because of DEF.ART.F.SG wage 1PL have.IMPF.1PL then COMP go.INF
1452 ad incassá.
PURP collect.INF

‘And then, because of the wage, we had to go and collect [the money].’

- 1453 Da mintga pur stèvanş í a scha 'l vèva
of every farmer.M.SG must.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.INF and if 3SG.M have.IMPF.3SG
1454 gju dus, stèva 'l pijè ... dus pòrs né
have.PTCP.UNM two.M.PL must.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M pay.INF two.M.PL pig.PL or
1455 in né uschéa ... ábar ju sa bigja còns raps nuş
one.M or so but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG how_many cent.PL 1PL
1456 vèvan⁶⁸ ... gju d' incassá, mataj dus ... fòrsa tschun
have.IMPF.1PL ... have.PTCP.UNM COMP collect.INF maybe two.M maybe five
1457 francs par piartg.
franc.M.PL per 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.’

- 1458 A tiar in pur ... èn⁶⁹ nuş í, èr' ju,
and by INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer ... be.PRS.1SG 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1SG 1SG
1459 vèv' ju gju dad incassá quèls raps, a
have.IMPF.1SG 1SG have.PTCP.UNM COMP collect.INF DEM.M.PL cent.PL and
1460 quèl vèva bégja grad munajda ad usché vinavaun, a
DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG NEG currently coin.F.SG and so on and
1461 quèl ò quaj mumèn bgja dau, ad ju
DEM.M.SG have.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG moment NEG give.PTCP.UNM and 1SG
1462 a lu amblidau quaj, ábar mia mùma
have.PRS.1SG then forget.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM but POSS.1SG.F.SG mother
1463 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

⁶⁸ Còns raps nuş vèvan replaces an unintelligible part.

coins at that moment, and so on, and I then forgot about that, but my mother said, even many years later:

- 1464 "Quèl vès lu aun da pijè da té al
DEM.M.SG have.COND.3SG then still COMP pay.INF DAT 2SG DEF.ART.M.SG
- 1465 pustrètsch dal piartg tga té vèvas
herdsman's_money of.DEF.ART.M.SG pig REL 2SG have.IMP.F.2SG
- 1466 partgirau."
look_after.PTCP.UNM

'This one should still pay you the money of the pig you had looked after.'

- 1467 Álsò quèl vèv' ju bégja vagnús d' incassá.
well DEM.M.SG have.IMP.F.1SG 1SG NEG come.PTCP.M.SG COMP collect.INF

'Well, I didn't succeed in collecting the money from that farmer.'

- 1468 Ábar tschaj vèvan nu- incassau a naturálmajn
but DEM.UNM have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL collect.PTCP.UNM and natural.M.SG.ADV
- 1469 dau gju tut als raps ... dal bap ni
give.PTCP.UNM down all DEF.ART.M.PL cent.PL DAT.DEF.ART.M.SG father or
- 1470 da la mùma.
DAT DEF.ART.F.SG mother

'But the other [money] we had collected and of course handed over all the money to father or mother.'

- 1471 Qu' èra clar, nus vèvan naginş raps
DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL no.M.PL cent.PL
- 1472 sèzs.
self.M.PL

'This was clear, we didn't have any money of our own.'

- 1473 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
- 1474 ajn tut lùschs ad i dat ina fòtògrafia
COP.PRS.3PL all proud.M.PL and EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG photograph
- 1475 tgu sùn sé cun mju còlèga al dé da
REL.1SG COP.PRS.1SG on with POSS.1SG.M.SG mate DEF.ART.M.SG day of

⁶⁹ Èn is a performance error for èssan.

- 1476 *la scargèda, dus pins buéts ca vèvan*
 DEF.ART.F.SG drove.PTCP.F.SG two.M.PL small.PL boy.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL
 1477 *fatg quèla lavur quèl' antira stat.*
 do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.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 driving, two young boys who had done this job the whole summer.’

- 1478 [PhM] *Ti vevas sis onns forsa, ni tschun ?*
 2SG have.IMPF.2SG six year.M.PL maybe or five

‘[PhM] You were maybe six years old, or five?’

- 1479 [m6] *Ju vèva, gè sis. Maj tga cun sjat vas lu a*
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG yes six since COMP with seven go.PRS.2SG.GNR then to
 1480 *scùla.*
 school.F.SG

‘[m6] I was six years old, yes. Since you go to school when you are seven years old.’

9.12 Al cégn

The swan

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m8, aged 40)

Recorded 2017/06/22 in Bern

Duration 1'30"

- 1481 *Avaun in pèr jamnas ... èr' ju gjù Locarno, api*
 before INDEF.ART.M.SG pair week.F.PL COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG down PLN and
 1482 *sjantar sund jus á spaz ... dal lag vidajn,*
 after be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.M.SG to walk.M.SG from.DEF.ART.M.SG lake over_in
 1483 *api vòu anflau in bi ljuc, api lu ...*
 and have.PRS.1SG.1SG find.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG beautiful place and then
 1484 *lèv' ju fá bògn lò, api va ju prju ò*
 want.IMPF.1SG 1SG do.INF bath there and have.PRS.1SG 1SG take.PTCP.UNM out
 1485 *mju ùrdan, ju vèva ùrdan da scrívar, da légjar,*
 POSS.1SG.M utensil 1SG have.IMPF.1SG utensil.M.SG COMP write.INF COMP read.INF
 1486 *a ... tut méz òra.*
 and all put.PTCP.UNM out

9 Texts

‘Some 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.’

- 1487 *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
- 1488 *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 COMP go.INF
- 1489 *ál' aua.*
 into.DEF.ART.F.SG water

‘I was alone and ah put on my swim trunks and then I was ready to jump into the water.’

- 1490 *Api grad ajn quèl mumèn vagnév' in cégn ...*
 and exactly in DEM.M.SG moment come.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG swan
- 1491 *gròn né – vi datiar ad èra lò, usché in*
 big.M.SG.UNM or over next_to and COP.IMPF.3SG there so INDEF.ART.M.SG
- 1492 *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.’

- 1493 *Api sjantar vòu détg dal cégn:*
 and after have.PRS.1SG.1SG say.PTCP.UNM DAT.DEF.ART.M.SG swan

‘And then I said to the swan:’

- 1494 «*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?’

- 1495 *Nagina réaczjún. Ju sa big' i ál' aua.*
 no.F.SG reaction 1SG can.PRS.1SG NEG go.INF into.DEF.ART.F.SG water

‘No reaction. Well, I couldn’t jump into the water.’

- 1496 *Fòrza prénda 'l anzatgéj né ju vèv' avaun ...*
 maybe take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M something or 1SG have.IMPF.1SG in_front
- 1497 *zatgé da maglјe.*
 something COMP eat.INF

‘Maybe he would take something or I had ... something to eat in front [of me].’

- 1498 *Api va ju tartgau ju stùn in' jèda sén*
and have.PRS.1SG 1SG think.PTCP.UNM 1SG stay.PRS.1SG one.F.SG time on
1499 *pajs, né, pr, pr mussá ... usché.⁷⁰ Nagina réaczjun, né.*
foot.M.PL right PURP PURP show.INF so no.F.SG reaction right

‘And then I thought I could just get up, right, to show ... like this. No reaction, right?’

- 1500 *Aun adina lò, al cégn, lò da, da fá usché da*
still always there DEF.ART.M.SG swan there COMP COMP make.INF so COMP
1501 *mussá sjá pow-, sjá pussònza.*
show.INF POSS.3.F.SG POSS.3SG.F.SG power

‘Still there, the swan, there, showing his pow- his power.’

- 1502 *Api sjantar sùnd ju sasjus gjù, api vau*
and after be.PRS.1SG 1SG sit.PTCP.M.SG down and have.PRS.1SG.1SG
1503 *tartgau gè ábar ah, api sau bigj' ajfach⁷¹ í*
think.PTCP.UNM yes but eh and can.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG simply go.INF
1504 *ál' awa.*
into.DEF.ART.F.SG water

‘And then I sat down and thought yes, but, eh, after all I should, I cannot simply jump into the water.’

- 1505 *Api vau tartgau gè OK, lu stajn nus halt*
and have.PRS.1SG.1SG think.PTCP.UNM yes OK then remain.PRS.1PL 1PL just
1506 *in téč cò.*
INDEF.ART.M.SG bit here

‘And then I thought yes, OK, in this case we'll just stay here for a while.’

- 1507 *Pi sé' l vájramájn staus lò.*
then be.PRS.3SG 3SG.M true.F.SGADV remain.PTCP.M.SG there

‘And the swan really stayed there.’

⁷⁰The narrator imitates the behaviour of a dominant male.

⁷¹*Ajfach* is Swiss German for standard Sursilvan *semplamein*.

- 1508 *Api vònzacj vau tartgau, ah ju a in'*
 and later have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM eh 1SG have.PRS.1SG INDEF.ART.F.SG
 1509 *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
 1510 ... *quèla ... suna da bùca.*
 DEM.F.SG organ of mouth.F.SG

'And after a while I thought, eh, I have an idea, I had just bought, I had just bought ... that ... harmonica.'

- 1511 *Api lu vau fatg usché.⁷²*
 and then have.PRS.1SG.1SG make.PTCP.UNM so

'And then I played like this.'

- 1512 *A sél amprém tún, al cégn usché: uh, vscht!*
 and on.DEF.ART.M.SG first sound DEF.ART.M.SG swan so uh vsht!
 1513 *ina lingja scapaus da lò circa tschian mètars navèn,*
 one.F.SG line escape.PTCP.M.SG from there about hundred metre.M.PL away
 1514 *schi curjòs!*
 so 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!'

- 1515 *Ju sa bé dacù.*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG why

'I don't know why.'

- 1516 *Sas, fòrza ... sè quaj sch' léjf*
 know.PRS.2SG maybe COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM so light.ADJ.UNM
 1517 *dissònánt né, bétg idéa.*
 dissonant.ADJ.UNM right NEG idea.F.SG

'You know, maybe ... this is slightly dissonant, right, no idea.'

- 1518 *Álsò ju a bigja fatg aj agrèssif, ju*
 well 1SG have.PRS.1SG NEG make.PTCM.UNM 3SG aggressive.ADJ.UNM 1SG
 1519 *a vajramájn fatg mù ..., quaj è mù*
 have.PRS.1SG really make.PTCP.UNM only DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG only
 1520 *ina cuérta.*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG short

⁷²The narrator plays two sounds on the harmonica.

'Well, I didn't do it in an aggressive way, I've really done it only ..., this is only a short [story].'

9.13 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 9.4: Zarcuns and its church

- 1521 *Al vitg, gl' uclaun da Zarcúns, quaj è*
 DEF.ART.M.SG village DEF.ART.M.SG hamlet of PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
- 1522 *la basèlgja da Nòssadùna, quaj fùs Nòssadùna*
 DEF.ART.F.SG church of Our_Lady.F.SG DEM.UNM COP.COND.3SG Our_Lady.F.SG
- 1523 *da la Najf ... ò quaj nùm.*
 of DEF.ART.F.SG snow have.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM name.M.SG

9 Texts

‘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.’

- 1524 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
- 1525 sé quèls malètgts ajn á la basèlgja ... tga in ... tga
on DEM.M.PL picture.PL in to DEF.ART.F.SG church COMP one.M.SG REL
- 1526 stèva ajnasé Gjuf ábar vaj gju da
live.IMPF.3SG in_and_up PLN but have.SBJV.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM COMP
- 1527 vagní navèn da Gjuf tòcan òragjù ... Zarcúns, i da dí
come.INF from of PLN until out_down PLN go.INF COMP say.INF
- 1528 páternias tòcan òragjù Zarcúns.
Lord's_prayer.M.SG until out_and_down PLN

‘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.’

- 1529 A lò... sén quaj intènt ségi è vagnú
and there upon DEM.M.SG undertaking be.PRS.SBJV.3SG also PASS.AUX.PTCP.UNM
- 1530 bagagjau quèla caplùta.
build.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG chapel

‘And there ... after this undertaking⁷³, this chapel was built.’

- 1531 Quaj è hald ina détga tgu sa, ábar
DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG simply INDEF.ART.F.SG legend REL.1SG know.PRS.1SG but
- 1532 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
- 1533 cù Vus lajs alsò
how 2PL.POL want.2PL.POL well

‘This is a legend I know, but a longer one I would not be able ... what it is ... how you want, well ... ’

La sòcjétat da música

The music society

⁷³I.e. of coming down to Zarcuns reciting the Lord's prayer.

1534 *Alṣò la véta qu' èra quèluisa ... qu'*
 well DEF.ART.F.SG life DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG this_way DEM.UNM
 1535 *èra la gjuvantétgna èran ... par òrdinari*
 COP.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.F.SG youth COP.IMPF.3PL for normally
 1536 *èra quaj ... qu' èra massa gjuvantétgna cò*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG lots youth.F.SG here
 1537 *ála val.*
 in.DEF.ART.F.SG valley

'Well, life here, it was like this ... there was the youth were ... there were normally ... there were a lot of young people here in the valley.'

1538 *Tgi gidava als géniturs a tgi fagèva quaj a*
 who help.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL parent.PL and who do.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM and
 1539 *... māvani ajn quèlas sòcjétats, u ál cant ni*
 go.IMPF.3PL into DEM.F.PL society.PL either to.DEF.ART.M.SG singing or
 1540 *ála música, a nuš èssan è staj, sùn è*
 to.DEF.ART.F.SG music and 1PL be.PRS.1PL also COP.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.1SG also
 1541 *staus ála música bjabégn curòn't òns, a ... déjsh*
 COP.PTCP.M.SG at.DEF.ART.F.SG music more_than forty year.M.PL and ten
 1542 *òns sünd ju staus prsidén lò, a lura, sjántar*
 year.M.SG be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG president.M.SG there and then, after
 1543 *gl axarsézi da música ... èra quaj úsit ...*
 DEF.ART.M.SG rehearsal of music.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM habit.M.SG
 1544 *tg' ins mava ... aun á bájbar in pr laş*
 COMP GNR go.IMPF.3SG still COMP drink.INF one.M.SG through DEF.ART.F.PL
 1545 *ustrias antùrn.*
 restaurant.PL around

'Some helped their parents and some would do that and and they would participate in these societies, either in singing or in music, and we were, and I too was in the music society for a little bit more than forty years, and for ten years I was the president there, and then, after the music rehearsal, there was the habit that one would go and have a drink in the restaurants.'

1546 *In' jèda tschò, in' jèda lò, ad in' jèda*
 one.F.SG time here one.F.SG time there and one.F.SG time
 1547 *saragòrd' ju aun ... tga nuš èran í ajn*
 REFL.remember.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG still COMP 1PL be.IMPF.1PL go.PTCP.M.PL in

- 1548 *ustria* *òl* *Mírar, api sa* *ju* *bérgja sén*
 restaurant.F.SG out.DEF.ART.M.SG PN and know.PRS.1SG PRS.1SG NEG upon
- 1549 *tgé* *nuş èran* *vagní,* *nuş vèvan* *quaj* *òn*
 what 1PL be.IMPF.1PL come.PTCP.M.PL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL DEM.M.SG year
- 1550 *vèvan* *nuş da* *fá* *sé ... ina* *... fòrmazjun nòva*
 have.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP make.INF up INDEF.ART.F.SG lineup new.F.SG
- 1551 *ad ad instrumajnts* *nùfs.*
 and and 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 conceived, that year we had to do ... a ... new lineup and and [buy] new instruments.’

- 1552 *Api vèvan* *nus, ah, tratg* *sé lò* *in* *téc agl*
 and have.1PL 1PL eh pull.PTCP.UNM up there INDEF.ART.M.SG bit DEF.ART.M.SG
- 1553 *ustér* *a quèls,* *prvia d' in* *pèr raps,* *api*
 manager and DEM.M.PL because of INDEF.ART.M.SG pair cent.M.PL and _then
- 1554 *ò* *'l* *... gl* *ustér* *vagnús* *cun*
 have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG manager come.PTCP.M.SG with
- 1555 *quèl'* *idéja da, vagnús* *cun in* *piartg gròn tg' ins*
 DEM.F.SG idea of come.PTCP.M.SG with INDEF.ART.M.SG pig big REL GNR
- 1556 *savèva* *... mètar ajnagjù,* *tschichi jástar* *da quaj,*
 can.IMPF.3SG put.INF into_and_down pig.M.SG foreign/strange? of DEM.UNM
- 1557 *i èra* *scrét* *sé pr, quaj* *vùt* *di par*
 EXPL be.IMPF.3SG write.PTCP.UNM up for DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF for
- 1558 *ina...* *ina* *sòzjétat cò.*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.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, something was written on it, this means for a ... a society here.’

- 1559 *A lu sjántar 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
- 1560 *jástars lò scha ... vignévan quels lu vi a*
 stranger.M.PL there CORR come.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL then over and
- 1561 *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

1562 èra ... fòrsa stau al davùs da la
 COP.IMPF.3SG maybe be.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG last of DEF.ART.F.SG
 1563 sasjún cul ... scha vagnévanş d' anstagl duvrá
 season with.DEF.ART.M.SG CORR come.IMPF.1PL.1PL COMP instead use.INF
 1564 als danès, cu nus vèvan fom, èssanş
 DEF.ART.M.PL money.PL when 1PL have.IMPF.1PL hunger.F.PL be.IMPF.1PL.1PL
 1565 í anzjaman culas dùnas, á, á ina tschajna, da
 go.PTCP.M.PL together with.DEF.ART.F.PL woman.PL to to a dinner.F.SG of
 1566 quèlas tgaussas.
 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.’

1567 Api ... cu l' ò gju tgé èri
 and when 3SG have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM what be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL
 1568 stau, èssan nuş í in òn ... sén
 COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL INDEF.ART.M.SG year on
 1569 in vjèdi gjù ad, ad Immis.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG trip down to to PLN

‘And ... when he had found out what had been going on, we went one year ... on a trip down to, to Immis.’

1570 [PhM] Nua ei quei?
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM

‘Where is this?’

1571 [m2] Immis, quaj è gjù, gjù tschò damanajval da ...
 PLN DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG down down there near of
 1572 Interlaken.
 PLN

‘Immis, that is down, down there, near ... Interlaken.’

1573 La sòcjètát èn i ... èssan nuş i,
 DEF.ART.F.SG society be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL be.IMPF.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 1574 la sòcjètát, lu la sèra vajn nus halt
 DEF.ART.F.SG society then DEF.ART.F.SG evening have.PRS.1PL 1PL just

1575 *vulju* *savaj* *tgé* *ca* *cùri* *aparti* *cò*, *api*
want.PTCP.UNM know.INF what COMP run.PRS.SBJV.3SG special here and
1576 *ònì* *détg* *sé ad Immis vagjan* *ajn*
have.PRS.3PL.3PL say.PTCP.UNM up at PLN have.PRS.SBJV.3PL in
1577 *ina,* *ina* *fjasta d' uaut* *scù nuş şchèvan,*
INDEF.ART.F.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG party of woods as 1PL say.IMP.1PL
1578 *ina* *fjasta d' uaut.*
INDEF.ART.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.’

1579 *Api èssan* *nuş i* *sé ... taunş* *èssan* *i* *sé*
and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL up so_many.M.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL up
1580 *sédajn* *cò.*
up_and_in here

‘And we went up ... so many went up here.’

1581 *Quaj* *èra* *quèls* *gjucs a quaj* *api ... vajn*
DEM.UNM EXIST.IMP.3SG DEM.M.PL play.PL and DEM.UNM and have.PRS.1PL
1582 *nus ... sòfòrt⁷⁴* *anflau* *òra tga ... da pascá cula*
1PL immediately find.PTCP.UNM out COMP COMP fish.INF with.DEF.ART.F.SG
1583 ... *lòntscha, quèlas butègljas, quèlas tga vèvan* *in* *ring*
lance DEM.F.PL bottle.PL DEM.F.PL REL have.IMP.3PL INDEF.ART.M.MSG ring
1584 *gjùdájn.*
down_and_in

‘There were those plays and that, and ... we found out ... immediately that ... when fishing with the lance, those bottles, those that had a ring at their bottom.’

1585 *Quèl* *tga gartagjava* ... *survagnév'* *ina* *butèglja*
DEM.M.MSG REL succeed.IMP.3SG get.IMP.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG bottle
1586 *vin.*
wine.M.MSG

‘The person who succeeded would get a bottle of wine.’

⁷⁴ Sòfòrt is a German word; its Tuatschin synonym is *imédjat*.

1587 *Basta, nuş èran, miravan adina dad èssar sis anzjaman, ad*
 enough 1PL COP.IMPF.1PL look.IMPF.1PL always COMP COP.INF six together and
 1588 *in gartagjava sagir.*
 one.M.SG succeed.IMPF.3SG surely

‘OK, we were, we always made sure that there were six of us together, and one would certainly succeed.’

1589 *Api anstagl bájbar al vin ... èran nus lu i*
 and instead drink.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.M.SG wine be.IMPF.1PL 1SG then go.PTCP.M.PL
 1590 *sé, vèvani fatg ina bòla.*
 up have.IMPF.3PL.3PL do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG punch

‘And instead of drinking the wine ... we went up, they had prepared a punch.’

1591 *Api tòc’ al davùs vèvan nuş şvidau quèla bòla.*
 and until DEF.ART.M.SG last have.1PL 1PL empty.PTCP.UNM DEM.F.SG punch

‘And we drank the whole punch, down to the last drop.’

1592 *Quèls musicians da Sadrún.*
 DEM.M.PL musician.PL of PLN

‘These musicians from Sedrun.’

1593 *Nuş dèvan anavùs la butèglja vin api buèvans ...*
 1PL give.IMPF.1PL back DEF.ART.F.SG bottle wine and drink.IMPF.1PL.1PL
 1594 *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.’

1595 *Uschéja. Da la sòcjétat da la música tg’ èr’*
 so of DEF.ART.F.SG society of DEF.ART.F.SG music REL be.IMPF.3SG
 1596 *ida sén vièdi.*
 go.PTCP.F.SG 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

- 1597 *La cumpagnia da mats, lèzas vèvan mintg' jèda,*
 DEF.ART.F.SG association of boy.PL DEM.F.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time
- 1598 *la cumpagnia da mats vèva mintg' jèda, lu*
 DEF.ART.F.SG association of boy.PL have.IMPF.3PL every.F.SG time then
- 1599 *èra quaj ... craju, sjat ffastas ... tga*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM believe.PRS.1SG.1SG seven celebration.F.PL REL
- 1600 *vagnéva ... fàtg parada.*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG 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.’

- 1601 *Quaj èra scù Sòntgalcrést, Fronleichnam scù nus*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG as Corpus_Christi.M.SG Fronleichnam⁷⁵ as 1PL
- 1602 *schajn, api èr' aj ... Duméngja Alva, api*
 say.PRS.1PL and_then EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL Sunday.F.SG white and_then
- 1603 *èr' aj, ah, Nòssadùna ... d' Úast álsò*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG EXPL eh Our_Lady.F.SG of August.M.SG well
- 1604 *culas ffastas aschia, a tut anzjaman, api*
 with.DEF.ART.F.PL celebration.PL so and all together and_then
- 1605 *èri al patrún-basèlgja Sògn Vagèli,*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEF.ART.M.SG patron.sg-church.F.SG Saint.M.SG Vigilius
- 1606 *a cò ... sunava la ... sòcjétat da música, fagèvan*
 and here play.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG society of music.F.SG make.IMPF.3PL
- 1607 *aj ina pròcèsjún-basèlgja, mù als catòlics,*
 3PL.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG procession-church.F.SG only DEF.ART.M.PL Catholic.PL
- 1608 *a la música mava, a la cumpagnia da mats.*
 and DEF.ART.F.SG music go.IMPF.3SG and DEF.ART.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].’

- 1609 *A lu èra quaj, ála cumpagnía da*
 and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in.DEF.ART.F.SG association of

⁷⁵ *Fronleichnam* is the German word for *Sòntgalcrést*

1610 mats èra quaj ajn trénta tòcan curònta ...
 young_man.M.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in thirty till forty
 1611 gjuvans ... tga fagèvan parada culas,
 young_man.M.PL REL make.IMPF.3PL parade.F.SG with.DEF.ART.F.PL
 1612 cula guís cò.
 with.DEF.ART.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.’

1613 Gè gè quèls, ... dus a dus māvani, a djantarajn
 yes yes DEM.M.PL two.M.PL by two.M.PL go.IMPF.3PL.3PL and in_between
 1614 èri quèls cafanúns scù nuş şchajn.
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL DEM.M.PL church_banner.PL as 1PL say.PRS.1PL

‘Oh yes, these ... they would go two by two, and in between there were the *cafànúns* [church banners] as we say.’

1615 Api èri, davauntiar èra è la,
 and EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in_front EXIST.IMPF.3SG also DEF.ART.F.SG
 1616 la bandiara ... bjala, qu' èra, şchèvan aj ...
 DEF.ART.F.SG flag beautiful DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG say.IMPF.3PL 3PL
 1617 la bandiara bjala.
 DEF.ART.F.SG 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.’

1618 A quèla ... èra... da mintga vart ... èr' aj
 and DEM.F.SG EXIST.IMPF.3SG of each.F.SG side EXIST.IMPF.3SG
 1619 mintg' jèda dus tga vèvan fatg ni tga fagjèvan
 EXPL each.F.SG time two.M.PL REL have.IMPF.3PL do.PTCP.UNM OR REL
 1620 racrut, tga cumpignavan cun la guís, cun
 do.IMPF.3PL recruit REL accompany.IMPF.3PL with DEF.ART.F.SG rifle
 1621 sé la bajònèta.
 with on DEF.ART.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.’

- 1622 *Ad á la gjuvantétgna mavan ... als gjuvans*
 and to DEF.ART.F.SG youth go.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.PL young_man.PL
 1623 *tg' èran lèdics.*
 REL COP.IMPF.3PL bachelor.M.PL

'And those who were members of the association of young men were ... the young men who were bachelors.'

- 1624 *Aavaun ina fjasta mavan aj ... tialas ...*
 before INDEF.ART.F.SG celebration go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to.DEF.ART.F.PL
 1625 *gjufnas ... par nègla, partgé matévan sé sé*
 young_woman.PL for carnation.F.PL beacusee put.IMPF.3PL up up
 1626 *la tgapjala ... ina nègla.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG hat INDEF.ART.F.SG carnation

'Before a celebration they would go ... to the ... girls for carnations, because they would put ... a carnation on their hat.'

- 1627 *A quaj atgnamajn mav' ins bétga plé*
 and DEM.UNM as_a_matter_of_fact go.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG more
 1628 *pala nègla, a quaj mav' ins pal*
 for.DEF.ART.M.SG carnation and DEM.UNM go.IMPF.3SG GNR for.DEF.ART.M.SG
 1629 *puschégn, quaj vagnéva dau in puschégn*
 snack DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG snack
 1630 *a sjantar survagnév' ins ina nègla.*
 and afterwards receive.PTCP.UNM GNR DEF.ART.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.'

- 1631 *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
 1632 *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.SG and
 1633 *sjántar aun i 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, well at two different moments ... to the one and went also, and went over to the other.'

- 1634 *Api savèv' ins bigja cù, cù fá da purtá las*
 and know.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG how how do.INF COMP carry.INF DEF.ART.F.PL

1635 *nèglas, ma tga quaj, quaj fagèva las*
 carnation.PL since COMP DEM.UNM DEM.UNM do.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL
 1636 *gjufnas lu schòn stém sch'i vajan sé*
 young_woman.PL then in_fact attention.M.SG if 3PL have.SBJV.PRS.3PL up
 1637 *la nègla tg' èla vaj dau né bétg.*
 INDEF.ART.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.'

1638 *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
 1639 *lu è bétga vagní ajn, èra sarau, quaj*
 then also NEG come.INF in COP.IMPF.3SG close.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM
 1640 *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
 1641 *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.'

1642 *A da quèlas tgaussas.*
 and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL

'And things like that.'

1643 *A ... ad in òn, sa ju aun bégn, lu vèvan*
 and and INDEF.ART.M.SG year know.PRS.1SG 1SG still well then have.IMPF.1PL
 1644 *nus lu gju fatg in tòc humòristic da*
 1PL then have.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG prank funny from
 1645 *la músic' anòra.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG music out

'And ... and one year, I still know very well, we from the music had played a funny prank.'

1646 *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
 1647 *dals ... tg' èran lò djantarajn ...: «Òz fùs ...*
 of.DEF.ART.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3SG there in_between today be.COND.3SG

1648 *dad ira á fá tschajvar ... cò ál vitg,*
 COMP go.INF COMP do.INF carnival.M.SG here in.DEF.ART.M.SG village
 1649 *quèls da quèls òn sé Tgès' Alva, cun tschajvar*
 DEM.M.PL of DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL up house.F.SG white with carnival.M.SG
 1650 *òz», api vajn nus détg: «Ah, scha quaj savèssan nus*
 today and have.PRS.1PL 1PL say.PTCP.UNM eh then DEM.UNM can.COND.1PL 1PL
 1651 *schòn ira sé á mirá.»*
 indeed go.INF up PURP 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.»’

1652 *Api èssan nuş i ... api davùsajn a pudjú ajn*
 and be.PRS.1PL 1PL go.PTCP.M.PL and back_in and be_able.PTCP.UNM in
 1653 *davùstiar ajn ajn ajn, nùca tga vèvan al al*
 back_by in in in where REL have.IMPF.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG
 1654 *al, nuş schèvan la tgaminada, quaj èra*
 DEF.ART.M.SG 1PL say.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.F.SG pantry DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 1655 *... in lòcál nùca tga matèvan lò, vèvan ajn*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG place where REL put.IMPF.3PL there have.IMPF.3PL in
 1656 *las magljas a quaj tga tanévan á frèstg*
 DEF.ART.F.PL provisions.PL and DEM.UNM REL hold.IMPF.3PL at fresh.ADJ.UNM
 1657 *quaj.*
 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.’

1658 *A tschèls èran ajn stiva a dèvan*
 and DEM.M.PL COP.IMPF.3PL in living_room.F.SG and give.IMPF.3PL
 1659 *tròcas né jass ... a nus prju quèls*
 k.o.card_game.F.PL or k.o.card_game.M.SG and 1PL take.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.PL
 1660 *... 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
 1661 *tgarn a dal tut ... prju quaj ad i*
 meat.F.SG and of.DEF.ART.M.SG all take.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM and go.PTCP.M.PL

- 1662 *gjù ajn in clavau a magljau a sjantar*
 down in INDEF.ART.M.SG hay_barn and eat.PTCP.UNM and after
 1663 *turnaj sé cul cul ... cun*
 go_back.PTCP.M.PL up with.DEF.ART.M.SG with.DEF.ART.M.SG with
 1664 *la vaschala vita a méz lò puspè api i.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG dishes 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.’

- 1665 *A da quèlas tgaussas ... schabagjavi.*
 and of DEM.F.PL thing.PL happen.IMPF.3SG.EXPL

‘And these sort of things ... used to happen.’

- 1666 *Òz şè bégja quaj plé.*
 today EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG DEM.UNM more

‘Nowadays, this doesn’t exist any more.’

- 1667 *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
 1668 *trajs ah ... ffastas ... tga la gjuvantétgna ... fòn*
 three eh celebration.PL REL DEF.ART.F.SG youth do.PRS.3PL
 1669 *parada.*
 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.’

- 1670 *Ábar òz şè pauc lò; tg’ i è déjsch dùdisch*
 but today EXIST.PRS.3SG little there REL EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG ten twelve
 1671 *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.’

- 1672 *Ad òz fò è las gjufnas ... par tga ...*
 and today do.PRS.3SG also DEF.ART.F.PL young_woman.PL PURP COMP
 1673 *ségi avùnda.*
 EXIST.PRS.SBJV.3SG enough

9 Texts

‘And today the young women also take part ... so that ... there are enough people.’

- 1674 *Ábar lu èra quaj, quaj stuèv' ins fá*
but then COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG GNR do.INF
- 1675 *in èxáman ... par ... savaj marschá ... ira ...*
INDEF.ART.M.SG exam PURP can.INF march.INF go.INF
- 1676 *ál pas cul cula ... sòcjéitat*
at.DEF.ART.M.SG step with.DEF.ART.M.SG with.DEF.ART.F.SG society
- 1677 *dals ... álsò pr ah ... savaj cù i sèj da*
of.DEF.ART.M.PL well PURP eh know.INF how EXPL be.PRS.SBJV.3SG COMP
- 1678 *sapurtá, sadapurtá.*
REFL.behave.INF 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, behave.’

- 1679 *Intarassant èra quaj schòn, ábar òz şè*
interesting.ADJ.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM indeed but today be.PRS.3SG
- 1680 *quaj tut şvanju ... prquaj tga par ina*
DEM.UNM all disappear.PTCP.UNM because COMP for one.F.SG
- 1681 *ásaj schòn bétga ... gjuvantétgna plé cò.*
EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL already NEG youth.F.SG more here

‘This was interesting indeed, but today this has all disappeared ... because on the one hand there are no ... young people here any more.’

- 1682 *Òz cu i végnan òd scùla scha vòni navèn*
today when 3PL come.PRS.3PL out_of school.F.SG CORR go.PRS.3PL.3PL away
- 1683 *amprèndar mistrégn, api survégnan aj ina plaza*
learn.INF profession.M.SG and receive.PRS.3PL 3PL INDEF.ART.F.SG employment
- 1684 *èra òndlùndar.*
also out_of_it

‘Today when they finish school, they go away in order to learn a profession, and then they also get an employment thanks to it.’

- 1685 *Cò èn aj bigja plazas suficjèntas.*
here EXIST.PRS.3PL EXPL NEG job.F.PL enough.PL

‘Here there aren’t enough jobs.’

- 1686 *Ju sa cu cu ... cu ju sùn maridaus tga ...*
 1SG know.PRS.1SG when when when 1G be.PRS.1SG marry.PTCP.M.MSG COMP
 1687 *èri ajn Camischùlas circa quindísch ufauns ... tga*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL in PLN about fifteen child.M.PL REL
 1688 *mavan á scùla da Camischùlas.*
 go.IMPF.3PL to school.F.SG of PLN

‘I know that when when ... when I got married ... there were in Camischolas about fifteen ... children who attended the school of Camischolas.’

- 1689 *Ad òz ásaj bitga trajs, gè, tga vòn á 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.’

- 1690 *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
 1691 *ad è, ad practisch ... atgnamajn ásaj bunamajn mù*
 and also and virtually.ADJ.UNM actually EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL almost only
 1692 *gljut plé végbla ajnta Camischùlas.*
 people.F.SG more old in PLN

‘The others have grown up and left, and also, and virtually ... actually there are almost only old people in Camischolas.’

- 1693 *Gljud gjufna sjaj sgarschajval paucs.*
 people.F.SG young EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL terrible.ADJ.UNM little.M.PL

‘There are very few young people.’

- 1694 *Quaj vò tut anavùs.*
 DEM.UNM go.PRS.3SG all.UNM back

‘Everything is disappearing.’

- 1695 *[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
 1696 *tudestg?*
 German.M.MSG

‘[PhM] And how was it for you to learn German?’

9 Texts

1697 [m2] *Oh gl ampréndar tudèstg è stau,*
 oh DEF.ART.M.SG learn.INF German.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
 1698 *l' antscharta hè quaj schòn stau*
 DEF.ART.F.SG beginning be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM indeed COP.PTCP.UNM
 1699 *in téc curiùs.*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG bit strange.ADJ.UNM

‘[m2] Oh, to learn German was, at the beginning this was indeed a little bit strange.’

1700 *Cu ins èra, parquaj tga lura ... vèvan nuş bétg aun*
 when GNR COP.IMPF.3SG because COMP then have.IMPF.1PL 1PL NEG yet
 1701 *al, al turismus, tg' èra sé schi scù quaj*
 DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG tourism REL 3SG.M COP.IMPF.3SG up so as
 1702 *tg' èl è ùssa ... a... ins stuèva simplamajn, cò*
 DEM.UNM REL COP.PRS.3SG now and GNR must.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV here
 1703 *vagnéva ... amprju plajd par plajd, amprém*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG learn.PTCP.UNM word.M.SG for word.M.SG first
 1704 *stuèv' ins amprèndar al plajd, navèn da la*
 must.IMPF.3SG GNR learn.INF DEF.ART.M.SG word from of DEF.ART.F.SG
 1705 *tschunavla ansé.*
 five.ORD 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.’

1706 *Api vagnéva quaj mintg' òn in téc daplé, a*
 and come.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM every year.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG bit more and
 1707 *lu dèvani lu è sé da, da scrívar tòcs, tg' ins*
 then give.3PL.3PL then also up COMP COMP write.INF play.M.PL REL GNR
 1708 *stuèva scrívar ... navèn dal ròmòntschi ... vi*
 must.IMPF.3SG write.INF from of.DEF.ART.M.SG Romansh over
 1709 *sél tudèstg ... tga vagnéva curagju.*
 on.DEF.ART.M.SG 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.’

1710 *Api raquintá ... al tudèstg ... vi sél ròmòntscht, né*
 and tell.INF DEF.ART.M.SG German over on.DEF.ART.M.SG Romansh or
 1711 *al ròmòntscht vi sél tudèstg, ed usché vajn*
 DEF.ART.M.SG Romansh over on.DEF.ART.M.SG German and so have.PRS.1PL
 1712 *nuş amprju ... atgnamajn al ... fundamajn ...*
 1PL learn.PTCP.UNM indeed DEF.ART.M.SG fundament
 1713 *dal lungatg.*
 of.DEF.ART.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.’

9.14 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

1714 *Ju sùn stada avaun duş òns circa ... şè*
 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG before two.M.PL year.PL about COP.PRS.3SG
 1715 *quaj - végni quaj, gl atún tgu*
 DEM.UNM come.PRS.3SG.EXPL DEM.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG autumn REL.1SG
 1716 *sùn stad ad in ... s'anunzjèda pr*
 be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.PL at INDEF.ART.M.SG REFL.register.PTCP.F.SG for
 1717 *in cuérs da ... stamping-staff, da ... da fá música*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG course of stamping-staff COMP COMP make.INF music.F.SG
 1718 *cul ... cul tgiarp.*
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG with.DEF.ART.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.’

9 Texts

1719 Rítmica a música cul tgiarp gjù ... gjù Sògn
 rhythmics.F.SG and music.F.SG with.DEF.ART.M.SG body down down PLN

1720 Gagl, trajs dis.
 three day.M.PL

‘Rhythms and music with the body down down in St. Gallen, for three days.’

1721 Api... mi' òrjèntazjún è bétga la mégljara tg'
 and POSS.1SG.F.SG orientation COP.PRS.3SG NEG DEF.ART.F.SG better REL

1722 égzista.
 exist.PRS.3SG

‘And ... my sense of orientation is not the best that ... that exists.’

1723 Basta, ju sùn id' ál trèn, tòcan gjù Sògn Gagl
 enough 1SG be.PRS.1SG go.PTCP.F.SG to.DEF.ART.M.SG train until down PLN

1724 şè bigja da fá bjè falju, api sùnd
 COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL NEG COMP make.IMPF much wrong.ADJ.UNM and be.PRS.1SG

1725 ju vagnida ò dal trèn a tartgau:
 1SG come.PTCP.F.SG out of.DEF.ART.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:’

1726 Nua şè quaj hotel? Bigj' idéa, ju èra schòn òns
 where COP.PRS.3SG DEM.M.SG hotel NEG idea 1SG be.IMPF.1SG already year.M.PL

1727 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.’

1728 Api uş dati flòts apps né, prju nònavaun
 and now EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL smart.M.PL app.PL right take.PTCP.UNM out

1729 mju iPhone, tschantau ajn cò mias cartaş ad
 POSS.1SG.M.SG iPhone start.PTCP.UNM in here POSS.1SG.F.PL map.PL and

1730 antschat ad í ad i, gè gè, api gè, mirau
 begin.PTCP.UNM COMP go.IMPF and go.IMPF yes yes, and yes, look.PTCP.UNM

1731 antùrn ampau a tùtajnín' òi fatg baf!
 around a_little and suddenly have.PRS.3SG.EXPL make.PTCP.UNM INTERJ

‘And now there are smart apps, right? [I] took out my iPhone, started here my maps and began to go, to go, yes yes, and yes, looked around a little bit, and all of a sudden it made baf!’

1732 *Saglida cul tgau ajn in placat, parquaj*
 run.PTCP.F.SG with.DEF.ART.M.SG head into INDEF.ART.M.SG signboard because
 1733 *tgu vèva cò la tupa dùna tga raşdava*
 COMP.1SG have.IMPF.1SG here DEF.AR.F.SG stupid woman REL speak.IMPF.3SG
 1734 *sin quaj iPhone.*
 on DEM.M.SG iPhone

‘Ran into a signboard with my head, because I had this woman speaking on the iPhone.’

1735 *Quaj è stau léjgar. Scadín cas*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM funny.ADJ.UNM every.M.SG case
 1736 *va ju pitgau ajn al tgau, parquaj tga ju*
 have.PRS.1SG 1SG hit.PTCP.UNM in DEF.ART.M.SG head because COMP 1SG
 1737 *mava á spaz cò.*
 go.IMPF.1SG COMP walk.M.SG here

‘This was funny. In any case I hit my head because I was going for a walk here.’

1738 *Ju ancuréva bétg aun pokémons.*
 1SG look_for.IMPF.3SG NEG yet pokémon.M.PL

‘I wasn’t looking for the pokémons yet.’

1739 *Ju a tutin’ anflau mju ... craj ju ...*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG in_spite find.PTCP.UNM POSS.1SG.M.SG believe.PRS.1SG 1SG
 1740 *cò ’l hotèl vèva nùm ... Schweizerkreuz ..., ju*
 here DEF.ART.M.SG hotel have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG PN 1SG
 1741 *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.’

1742 *Gè, quaj è us vagnú andamajn da mé tg’*
 yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG now come.PTCP.UNM in_mind DAT 1SG COMP
 1743 *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
 1744 *léjgar.*
 funny.ADJ.UNM

⁷⁵ *quèla dùna* replaces an unintelligible part.

9 Texts

‘Yes, this has come to my mind now, that it was, yes, that it had been, that it was really funny.’

In vjèdi gjù Sardégna

A trip to Saradinia

1745 *Staj gjù ... gjù Sardégna. Cù détsch ju? Gjù Sardégna?*⁷⁶
 COP.PTCP.M.PL down down PLN how say.PRS.1SG 1SG down PLN

‘[We] were down in Sardinia. How do I say? Down Sardinia?’

1746 *Ah, éba gè, quaj è lu auter c’ i è*
 eh exactly yes DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG then other.ADJ.UNM REL EXPL COP.PRS.3SG
 1747 *spòntán, névétg.*
 spontaneous.M.UNM right?

‘Eh, exactly, yes, this is another one that is spontaneous, right?’

1748 *Nuş èssan sgulaj l’ ampréim’ jèd’ uòn, cun*
 1PL be.PRS.1PL fly.PTCP.M.PL DEF.ART.F.SG first time this_year with
 1749 *nòssas duas buébas.*
 POSS.1PL.F.PL two.F.PL girl.PL

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

1750 *A lò essan nus ... tgé c’ è stau al ...*
 and there be.PRS.1PL 1PL what REL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.MSG
 1751 *al plé spézjál è stau in*
 DEF.ART.M.MSG more special.ADJ.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.MSG
 1752 *dé tga nuş èssan staj á la mar a fatg*
 day REL 1PL be.PRS.1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at DEF.ART.F.SG sea and make.PTCP.UNM
 1753 *bògn api ò antschiat á plùver.*
 bath.M.MSG and have.PRS.3SG begin.PTCP.UNM COMP rain.INF

‘And then we ... what was the ... the most special [thing] is one day when we were at the seaside and went swimming and it started raining.’

1754 *Gè quaj è stau, è stau lässig.*⁷⁷
 yes DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM cool

⁷⁶The narrator refers to the fact that we were speaking about locative prepositions and that the right preposition often occurs spontaneously.

‘Yes this was, this was cool.’

- 1755 Álsò quaj èra ... i èra fétg tgaut, a
well DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG very warm.ADJ.UNM and
1756 la mar èra balèzja gjù Sardégnà. Sablún,
DEF.ART.F.SG sea COP.IMPF.3SG beauty down PLN sand.M.SG
1757 savèvas í vidò u-gljunsch.
can.IMPF.2SG.GNR 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.’

- 1758 A ... mia fèglja pintg’ è plétost, par
and POSS.1SG.F.SG have.PRS.1SG POSS.1SG.F.SG daughter young
1759 indiśch òns ès èla⁷⁸ 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.’

- 1760 A lu şè quaj èba stau bi tg’
and then be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM precisely COP.PTCP.UNM beautiful.ADJ.UNM COMP
1761 èla ... èla savèv’ è í vidò gljunsch á paj sènza
3SG.F 3SG.F can.IMPF.3SG also go.INF over_out far on foot.M.SG without
1762 tgu stòpi tumaj tg’ èla mòndi á 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.’

- 1763 A lu èssan nus staj á la mar cun sulégl ad
and then be.PRS.1PL 1PL COP.PTCP.M.PL at DEF.ART.F.SG sea with sun.M.SG and
1764 i ó pluvju.
EXPL have.PRS.3SG rain.PTCP.UNM

‘And then we were at the seaside with sun and it rained.’

9.15 Èssar gjuvans ér ad òz

Being young yesterday and today

⁷⁷lässig is Swiss German.

⁷⁸èş èla is a performance error for şè la

9 Texts

(Tuatschín, Sadrún, m9, aged 31)

Recorded 2017/03/14 in Sedrun

Duration 6'10"

- 1765 *Also gè ... ju sùn bjabégn ùs è schòn trènta ... trèntíñ*
 well yes 1SG be.PRS.1SG around now also already thirty thirty_one
 1766 *òns ... ad ju sa, gè, in téç da la*
 year.M.PL and 1SG know.PRS.1SG yes INDEF.ART.M.SG bit of DEF.ART.F.SG
 1767 *gjuvantétgna sa ju schòn raquintá ... usché scù i mava da*
 youth can.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed tell.INF so as EXPL go.IMPF.3SG of
 1768 *nòs tjams a tgé ca va ùsa ... usché in téç*
 POSS.1PL.M.SG time.PL and what REL go.PRS.3SG now so INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
 1769 *la difarènza.*
 DEF.ART.F.SG difference

'Well yes ... I am now already more or less thirty ... thirty one years old ... and I can, yes, a bit of my youth I can indeed tell [you about] ... the way it was when we were young and the way it is nowadays ... a bit the differences.'

- 1770 *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
 1771 *plétòst ... gè, scù lajn dí ... nuş èran ... sémplamajn*
 rather yes how want.PRS.1PL say.INF 1PL COP.IMPF.3PL simple.F.SG.ADV
 1772 *camarats a nus mavan ò palas vias.*
 mate.M.PL and 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out through.DEF.ART.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.'

- 1773 *Nus mavan palas vias ... fagèvan lò*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL through.DEF.ART.F.PL street.PL do.IMPF.1PL there
 1774 *nés⁷⁹ gjucs ... nus fagèvan zatgé, fièvan nuş adin'*
 POSS.1PL.M.PL game.PL 1PL do.IMPF.1PL something, do.IMPF.1PL 1PL always
 1775 *ál tjams libar.*
 in.DEF.ART.M.SG 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.'

⁷⁹ Nés is a performance error for nòs.

- 1776 *Sch' i èra bé d' amprèndar, sch' èr' ins*
 if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG NEG COMP learn.INF CORR COP.IMPF.3SG GNR
 1777 *palas vias antùrn.*
 trough.DEF.ART.F.SG street.PL around

‘If we didn’t have to study, we would go around in the streets.’

- 1778 *Álsò vignú á tgèsa stèv' ins bégja bjè. Lu*
 well come.PTCP.UNM to house.F.SG stay.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG much then
 1779 *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.’

- 1780 *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.’

- 1781 *Ma tg' al bjè á tgèsa vèv' ins lungurús, a*
 since COMP DEF.ART.M.SG most at home.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG GNR boring and
 1782 *sch' ins vèva lungurús, mav' ins òdaviart a figèva*
 if GNR have.IMPF.3SG boring go.IMPF.3SG GNR outside and do.IMPF.3SG
 1783 *zatgéj.*
 something

‘Since in most cases it was boring at home, and if one was bored, one would go outside and do something.’

- 1784 *Nus mavan bjè, gè, á fá gjugs, scù tg' ins fagèva*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL often yes PURP do.INF game.M.PL as COMP GNR do.IMPF.3SG
 1785 *plé baut ... fòrsa da quaj da polizi' 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 earlier ... maybe games of police and thief ... things like that.’

- 1786 *Ad ju sa métar avaun òzaldé ... sa ju bigja métar*
 and 1SG can.PRS.1SG put before nowadays can.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG put
 1787 *avaun plé tg' i fòn da gljèz, né?*
 before more COMP 3PL do.PRS.3PL of DEM.UNM right

9 Texts

‘And I can imagine nowadays ... I cannot imagine any more that they play that, right?’

- 1788 *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
 1789 *clar ... ùṣ saj vagnú in téc*
 clear.ADJ.UNM now be.PRS.3SG.EXPL become.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
 1790 *plé spès, tut cun tgèses ...*
 more 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 ...’

- 1791 *Nus vèvan halt aun aviart in téc daplé ...*
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL just still open.ADJ.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG bit more
 1792 *curtín, détsch ju, ùṣa ... drétg a saniastar, tg' ins savèv'*
 garden.M.SG say.PRS.1SG 1SG now right and left COMP GNR can.IMPF.3SG
 1793 *aun fá lò in téc balapaj ... drètg a saniastar.*
 still do.INF there INDEF.ART.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.’

- 1794 *A né grad è gl unviarn cunzún mavans bjè*
 and right precisely also DEF.ART.M.SG winter especially go.IMPF.1PL.1PL often
 1795 *a bagagjavan sprungs a dèvan cun skis né cun ajssa*
 and build.IMPF.1PL jump.M.PL and give.IMPF.1PL with ski.M.PL or with board.F.SG
 1796 *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
 1797 *èra naturálmajn è bigj aun aschi malsagir ùṣa ... scù*
 COP.IMPF.3SG natural.M.SG.ADV also NEG yet so unsafe.ADJ.UNM now as
 1798 *ùṣa fòrsa dal tràfic a vidanò.*
 now maybe from.DEF.ART.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.’

- 1799 *Ad i èra difarènza quét' ju sémplamajn ...*
 and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG difference.F.SG think.PRS.1SG 1SG simple.F.SG.ADV

1800 *nus fagèvan plé bjè òdaviart tga qua] tg' i végn*
 1PL do.IMPF.1PL more often outside than DEM.UNM REL EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG
 1801 *fatg òzaldé, quét' ju.*
 do.ptCP.1UNM nowadays think.PRS.1SG 1SG

‘And there were simply differences I think ... we played more often outside than what is done nowadays, I think.’

1802 *Fòrsa è ... clar, nus vèvan schòn è nòs*
 maybe also sure.ADJ.UNM 1PL have.IMP.1PL in_fact also POSS.1PL.M.PL
 1803 *còmpjutars né tgé ca nus vèvan ... als gameboys a*
 computer.PL or what REL 1PL have.IMP.1PL DEF.ART.M.PL gameboy.PL and
 1804 *vidanò.*
 back_and_forth

‘Maybe also ... sure, we also had our computers or what did we have? ... the gameboys and so on ...’

1805 *Ábar ... qua] èra schòn bé sché scù òzaldé ... qua]*
 but DEM.UNM COP.IMP.3SG in_fact NEG so as nowadays DEM.UNM
 1806 *èxtrèm.*
 extreme.ADJ.UNM

‘But this was in fact not like nowadays ... so extreme.’

1807 *A la sòrtida ... da nòs tjams salagravan*
 and DEF.ART.F.SG going_out of POSS.1PL.M.SG time REFL.appreciate.IMP.1PL
 1808 *nus da vagní ò da scìula par è savaj á la*
 1PL COMP come.INF out of school.F.SG PURP also can.INF to DEF.ART.F.SG
 1809 *gjuvantétgna.*
 youth

‘And as for going out ... when we were young we were happy to come out of school in order to also be able to go to the association of young people.’

1810 *Nus vajn gè schi massa ... álşò nus vajn gè sé cò*
 1PL have.PRS.1PL after_all so much well 1PL have.PRS.1PL aftere_all up here
 1811 *in' unjún da gjuvantégna.*
 INDEF.ART.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.’

9 Texts

- 1812 *Ad ju craj plé baud vèvani schòn aun ... nus*
and 1SG believe.PRS.1SG more early have.IMPF.3PL.3PL really still 1PL
- 1813 *vèvan schòn in téc plé gròn tschafan da vagní*
have.IMPF.1PL really INDEF.ART.M.SG bit more big.M.SG pleasure COMP come.INF
- 1814 *ajn lò ... èssar anzjaman cun förs' in téc plé vègls*
in there be.INF together with maybe INDEF.ART.M.SG bit more OLD.M.PL
- 1815 *a vidanò ...*
and 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 ...’

- 1816 *A quaj òzaldé als gjuvans tga vègnan ò da*
and DEM.UNM nowadays DEF.ART.M.PL young.PL REL come.PRS.3PL out of
- 1817 *scùla sadatan bétga gjù schi fétg cun in téc*
school.F.SG REFL.give.PRS.3PL NEG down so often with INDEF.ART.M.SG bit
- 1818 *plé vègls.*
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.’

- 1819 *Nus vajn adina gju fatg parada.*
1PL have.PRS.1PL always have.PTCP.UNM make.PTCP.UNM parade.F.SG

‘We always held a parade.’

- 1820 *Ju sùn èba staus ... òh, bunamajn déisch òns capitani*
1SG be.PRS.1SG simply COP.PTCP.M.SG oh almost ten year.M.PL captain
- 1821 *... a lu sa ju schòn in téc sc' i*
and then know.PRS.1SG 1SG indeed INDEF.ART.M.SG bit how EXPL
- 1822 *funczjanava.*
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.’

- 1823 *Nus s'antupavan, al bjè vèvan nus da fá*
1PL REFL.meet.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.M.SG often have.IMPF.1PL 1PL COMP make.INF
- 1824 *gjù usché mias' ur' avaun sél local ... nuş vajn*
down so half.F.SG hour before on.DEF.ART.M.SG place 1PL have.PRS.1PL

1825 in lòcal da gjuvantétgna ... nùca tga nus sarimnavan
 INDEF.ART.M.SG place of youth.F.SG where REL 1PL REFL.meet.IMP.F.1PL
 1826 tuts.
 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.'

1827 A las buébas né las gjufnas mégljardétg,
 and DEF.ART.F.PL girl.PL or DEF.ART.F.PL young_woman.PL better_said
 1828 lèzas vèvan lu da ... trá ajn ina blus' alva
 DEM.F.PL have.IMP.F.3PL then COMP pull.INF in INDEF.ART.F.SG blouse white
 1829 né trá, gè alf ... a tgautschas najras scù' ls
 or pull.INF yes white.ADJ.UNM and trousers.F.PL black.PL like DEF.ART.M.PL
 1830 gjuvans èra ... mù tga lèzas vèvan da vagní cun
 young_man.PL also only COMP DEM.F.PL have.IMP.F.3PL COMP come.INF with
 1831 in matg flurs, a nuš vèvan lu tgi
 INDEF.ART.M.SG buch flower.F.PL and 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL then who
 1832 vèva la guís ... né ... las bandiaras, la
 have.IMP.F.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG rifle or DEF.ART.F.PL flag.PL DEF.ART.F.SG
 1833 fana bial' a quaj, a lu vèvan nus mintg' jè
 flag beautiful and DEM.UNM and then have.IMP.F.1PL 1PL every.F.SG time
 1834 in capitani ad in fice.
 INDEF.ART.M.SG captain and INDEF.ART.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.'

1835 L' antschata c' ju sùn vagnús ò da scùla
 DEF.ART.F.SG beginning when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG out of school.F.SG
 1836 ... usché avaun quindisch òns ... lò ... anflávani aun plétòst da
 so before fifteen year.M.PL there find.IMP.F.3PL.3PL still rather of
 1837 quèls tga fagèvan, ábar ùş anflá capitaniş è bigja schi
 DEM.M.PL REL do.IMP.F.3PL but now find.INF captain.M.PL COP.PRS.3SG NEG so
 1838 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.’

- 1839 [PhM] *E daco manegias?*
and why think.PRS.2SG

‘And why do you think so?’

- 1840 [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
1841 *òn in tèc ... al turpètg fòrsa ... sògar,*
have.PRS.3PL INDEF.ART.M.SG bit DEF.ART.M.SG shame maybe even
1842 *schizún⁸⁰ ... ábar, i è ... i è gréjv*
even but EXPL COP.PRS.3SG EXPL COP.PRS.3SG difficult.ADJ.UNM
1843 *dí ... i a usché cèrt òn ... cèrts òns né*
say.INF EXPL EXIST.PRS.3SG SO certain.M.SG year certain.M.PL year.PL or
1844 *anadas tga sèn uschéa, lu sjaj duas, trajš*
age_group.F.PL REL COP.PRS.3PL SO then exist.PRS.3SG.EXPL two.F.PL three
1845 *anadas tga sèn puspè in tèc autar.*
age_group.F.PL REL COP.PRS.3PL again INDEF.ART.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.’

- 1846 *Ad ju a al santimajn, laš anadas tga*
and 1SG have.PRS.1SG DEF.ART.M.SG feeling DEF.ART.F.PL age_group.PL REL
1847 *végnan ùşa, astg' ins dí cun buna cunscianza,*
come.PRS.3PL now allow.PRS.3SG GNR say.INF with good.F.SG conscience
1848 *végnan puspè plé tgunsch alla giuvantétgna, i ...*
come.PRS.3PL again more easy.ADJ.UNM to.DEF.ART.F.SG youth 3PL
1849 *sadrézan plétòst anviars nus.*
REFL.address.PRS.3PL rather towards 1PL

‘And I have the feeling, the age groups that are coming now, one can say it with a clear conscience, they come more easily to the Young People’s Association, they ... rather address us.’

⁸⁰ *Sogar* is German, and *Schizún* is Romansh.

1850 *Ùṣ ṣai puspè in téc usché ... al còc scù*
 now COP.PRS.3SG.EXPL again INDEF.ART.M.SG bit so DEF.ART.M.SG core like
 1851 *... avaun quindisçh òns, quét' ju ... i è stau*
 before fifteen year.PL think.PRS.1SG 1SG EXPL be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
 1852 *ditg lò djantarajn, è stau anadas, gè tg'*
 long_time there in_between be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM age_group.F.PL yes REL
 1853 *ins savèva bétga pròpi ... nù métar quèls ... èxact.*
 GNR know.IMPF.3SG NEG exactly where put.INF DEM.M.PL 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 ... exactly.'

1854 *Àbar la difarènza, nùc' ju vèz' ina grònnda*
 but DEF.ART.F.SG difference where.REL 1SG see.PRS.1SG INDEF.ART.F.SG big
 1855 *difarènza è scù scòlast da skis dùn ju gè schòn ... òtg*
 difference also as teacher.M.SG of ski.PL give.PRS.1SG 1SG yes already eight
 1856 *òns ... vèz' ju bjè tgé ca vò sén pista, grat ...*
 year.PL see.PRS.1SG 1SG much what REL go.PRS.3SG on slope.M.SG just
 1857 *dals indigèns anò ... i vòn bétga plé schi bjè scù*
 of.DEF.ART.M.PL local.PL out 3PL go.PRS.3PL NEG more so much as
 1858 *quaj tg' i mavan in' jèda.*
 DEM.UNM REL 3PL go.IMPF.3PL INDEF.ART.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.'

1859 *Grad la gjuvantétgna ... pauca gjuvantétgna ... tgé c' ins*
 especially DEF.ART.F.SG youth little.F.SG youth what REL GNR
 1860 *vèza bjè è als plé passaj, als*
 see.PRS.3SG much COP.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL more old.M.PL DEF.ART.M.SG
 1861 *pènzionaj vèz' ins bjè sén pista ... a tschaj è*
 retired.PL see.PRS.3SG GNR much on slope.F.SG and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
 1862 *quèls scù adina halt ... quèlas familjas scù adina.*
 DEM.M.PL as 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.'

- 1863 *Ábar lò sai schòn ju anavùs in téc, è*
 but there be.PRS.3SG.EXPL really go.PTCP.UNM back INDEF.ART.M.SG bit also
- 1864 *culs indigèns. Úş ani plétost antschiat ajn*
 with.DEF.ART.M.PL local.PL how have.PRS.3PL.3PL rather begin.PTCP.UNM in
- 1865 *ad í cuérsa ljunga.*
 COMP 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.’

- 1866 *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
- 1867 *fá in' ura api òn i fatg al spòrt*
 do.INF one.F.SG hour and have.PRS.3PL 3PL do.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG sport
- 1868 *dal dé ad òn tutin' aun zatgé*
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG day and have.PRS.3PL nevertheless still something
- 1869 *dal dé ... uschéa, quèla dirèczjun ... éxact.*
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG day 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.’

- 1870 *Ábar quaj è clar ... òzaldé végni*
 but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG clear.ADJ.UNM nowadays PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG.EXPL
- 1871 *zacù è ... purşchju daplé.*
 somehow also ... offer.PTCP.UNM more

‘But this is clear ... there are somehow also much more possibilities nowadays.’

- 1872 *Álsò i òn bunamajn damèmja, détsch ju ùşa*
 well 3PL have.PRS.3PL almost too_much say.PRS.1SG 1SG now
- 1873 *frèch.⁸¹*
 naughty.ADJ.UNM

‘Well they have almost too much, I would now say naughtily.’

- 1874 *[PhM] Pils giuvens da tia vegliadetgna, tgei purschida*
 for.DEF.ART.M.PL young.PL of POSS.2SG.F.SG age what offer.F.SG
- 1875 *dati si cheu?*
 EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL up here

⁸¹Frèch is Swiss German.

‘For the young people of your generation, what job opportunities are there here?’

- 1876 [m9] *Ah, quaj dapjanda tgé ca nus prandín sut purṣchidas eh DEM.UNM depend.PRS.3SG what REL 1PL take.PRS.1PL under offer.F.PL*
- 1877 ... *purṣchidas da luvrá détsch ju ùṣa par èxèmpal ... offer.F.PL of work.INF say.PRS.1SG 1SG now for example.M.MSG*
- 1878 *sél baghètg plétost ... a schjuc dati lu on.DEF.ART.M.SG construction rather and otherwise EXIST.PRS.3SG.EXPL then*
- 1879 *plé ... paucas ... purṣchidas, ma tga ... gè, ins vèza, more little.F.PL offer.PL because COMP yes GNR see.PRS.3SG*
- 1880 *la gjuvantétna scapa plétost anòragjù ... ma tg' DEF.ART.F.SG youth escape.PRS.3SG rather out_down because COMP*
- 1881 *i ... purṣchju gjù lò ... la purṣchid' è plé EXPL offer.PTCP.UNM down there DEF.ART.F.SG offer COP.PRS.3SG more grònda.*
- 1882 *big.F.SG*

‘Eh, this depends on what we mean to say with offers ... job offers, I say now for example ... rather on a building site ... and otherwise there are much fewer ... offers, because ... yes, one can see that young people escape rather to outside the Grisons ... because there ... offered down there ... the offering is larger.’

- 1883 [PhM] *A par i ajn sòrtida?*
and PURP go.INF in going_out

‘And in order to go out?’

- 1884 [m9] *La sòrtida è sagir è id'*
DEF.ART.F.SG going_out COP.PRS.3SG sure.ADJ.UNM also go.PTCP.UNM
- 1885 *anavùs ... álsò gljèz astg' ins dí bégn.*
back 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.’

- 1886 *Gè, sch'ju mir' anavùs ... quaj è fòrsa sjat, ògj yes if 1SG look.PRS.1SG back DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG maybe seven eight*
- 1887 *óns ... 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.’

9 Texts

- 1888 *Ju détsch ùṣa gl unviarn cu bjèrs vèvan*
 1SG say.PRS.1SG now DEF.ART.M.SG winter when many.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL
- 1889 *halt vacanzas scha ... lò ampurtavi lu bétga scha*
 simply holiday.F.PL CORR there be_important.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then NEG if
- 1890 *té mavas durònt l' jamna né la ...*
 2SG.GNR go.IMPF.2SG.GNR during DEF.ART.F.SG week or DEF.ART.F.SG
- 1891 *sònida-duméngj' ajn sòrtida.*
 Saturday-Sunday in 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 week-end.'

- 1892 *Cò èr' adina ... fulanau ... ad i èr'*
 here COP.IMPF.3SG always crowded.ADJ.UNM and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3sg
- 1893 *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.'

- 1894 *Álsò nus vèvan ... gljèz èr' è adin' in*
 well 1PL have.IMPF.1PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG also always INDEF.ART.M.SG
- 1895 *tég autar tga quaj tga nus fajajn òz in téc.*
 bit other than DEM.UNM REL 1PL do.PRS.1PL today INDEF.ART.M.SG bit

'Well, we had ... that was always a bit different from what we do today, a bit.'

- 1896 *Álsò cu ju sùn vagnús ò da scìula ... nuṣ*
 well when 1SG be.PRS.1SG come.PTCP.M.SG out of school.F.SG we
- 1897 *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
- 1898 *duvravan bétga schi ... èxtrèm quaj scù i végn*
 use.IMPF.1PL NEG SO extreme.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM as EXPL PASS.AUX.PRS.3SG
- 1899 *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].'

- 1900 *Par nuṣ vèvi adina nùm, nus s'antupajn ...*
 for 1PL have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG 1SG REFL.meet.PRS.1PL

1901 *laṣ* òtg séla *majṣa radùnda ... aschí vèndardís né*
 DEF.ART.F.PL eight on.DEF.ART.F.SG table round so Friday.M.SG or
 1902 *sònدا* ... *tgi c' è* *lò è* *lò.*
 Saturday.F.SG who 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.'

1903 *A lu al* *bjè stèv'* *ins lò ina, duaṣ uras*
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG much stay.IMPF.3SG GNR there one.F.SG two.F.PL hour.PL
 1904 ... *da cumpignia api sjantar mav'* *ins lu ... ségi*
 of company.F.SG and after go.IMPF.3SG GNR then COP.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 1905 *quaj ajn quèla bar né ajn tschèla ... nùca tg' i vèva*
 DEM.UNM in DEM.F.SG bar or in DEM.F.SG where REL EXPL have.IMPF.3SG
 1906 *lu tga trèva ... dad ira.*
 then COMP pull.IMPF.3SG COMP 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.'

1907 *Ábar anzatgi èra lu adina lò da las òtg ... sch'*
 but somebody COP.IMPF.3SG then always there of DEF.ART.F.PL eight if
 1908 *ins vèva lu fatg gjù né bétg ... par nuṣ*
 GNR have.IMPF.3SG then make.PTCP.UNM down or NEG for 1PL
 1909 *vèvi adina nùm laṣ òtg lò.*
 have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL always name.M.SG DEF.ART.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.'

1910 *Ábar ûs şè quaj è samidau ... álsò*
 but now COP.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM also REFL.change.PTCP.UNM well
 1911 *végnî 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.'

1912 [PhM] *Aber mavas vus è gju Glion ni gju Cuera en sòrtida?*
 but go.IMPF.2PL 2PL also down PLN or down PLN in going_out.F.SG

'But did you also go to Glion or Cuera in order to go out?'

- 1913 [m9] *Nus mavan schòn èra ... ábar bégja stédjamajn ... gè, gjù*
 1PL go.IMPF.1PL indeed also but NEG constant.F.SG.ADV yes down
- 1914 *Cuéra né usché mavan nuş aun plétost, ma tga nuş*
 PLN or so go.IMPF.1PL 1PL in_addition rather, because COMP 1PL
- 1915 *vèvan lu è ... al bjè mavan nus sémplamajn*
 have.IMPF.1PL there also DEF.ART.M.SG much go.IMPF.1PL 1PL simple.F.SG.ADV
- 1916 *lò nùca nuş vèvan còlegs tg' ins savèva stá şur*
 there where.REL 1PL have.IMPF.1PL mate.M.PL REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG stay over
- 1917 *nòtg.*
 night.F.SG

‘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.’

- 1918 *Álsò ins mava par èxempal è magari gjù Lucèrn, prquaj*
 well GNR go.IMPF.3SG for example.M.SG also sometimes down PLN because
- 1919 *tga nuş vèvan gjù Lucèrn còlegs tga stèvan gjù*
 COMP 1PL have.IMPF.1PL down PLN colleague.M.PL REL stay.IMPF.3PL down
- 1920 *lò.*
 there

‘Well, we would also go for instance to Lucerne because in Lucerne we had friends who lived down there.’

- 1921 *Èra quaj par nus da quaj tjams schòn aun*
 COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM for 1PL of DEM.M.SG time indeed in_addition
- 1922 *highlights ... né ... tga marschav' in téc daplé, autra*
 highlight.PL right COMP go_on.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG bit more other.F.SG
- 1923 *gljut ... lu mav' ins bugèn ... né gjù Cuéra, gè ...*
 people then go.IMPF.3SG GNR with_pleasure or down PLN yes
- 1924 *èxact ... a schjuc al bjè schòn sé cò antùrn.*
 exact.ADJ.UNM and otherwise DEF.ART.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.’

9.16 Lavor d'ufauns

Child labour

(Tuatschín, Ruèras, f4 and m3, aged 69 and 73)

Recorded 2016/08/24 in Rueras

Duration 11'50"

- 1925 [f4] *Oh ju sa éba dí, cu nus mavan á scùla, cù*
 oh 1SG can.PRS.1SG just say.INF when 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL to school.F.SG how
 1926 *quaj èr' atgnamajn al sistém né cu nus*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG actually DEF.ART.M.SG system or when 1PL
 1927 *èran ... gè, tg' ins ... cu nus mavan á scùla ... ùssa*
 COP.IMP.F.3SG yes, COMP GNR when 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL to school.F.SG now
 1928 *şèn aj á tgèsa ... stùn gè bétg' í ajn plaza*
 COP.PRS.3PL 3PL at house.F.SG must.PRS.3PL in_fact NEG go.INF in job.F.SG
 1929 *scù nus mavan ... a nuş vevan scùla tòca gl*
 how 1PL go.IMP.F.1PL and 1PL have.IMP.F.1PL school.F.SG until DEF.ART.M.SG
 1930 *avrél.*
 April

'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.'

- 1931 *Ju vèv' als véntgatschún d' avrél natalézi a*
 1SG have.IMP.F.1SG DEF.ART.M.PL twenty-five of April.M.SG birthday.M.SG and
 1932 *pauc sjanter èri dad ira.*
 little after be.IMP.F.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF

'I had my birthday on April 25 and a short time later I had to go [and start working].'

- 1933 *Scha la scùla calava la sònnda, scha gljèndisdí*
 if DEF.ART.F.SG school end.IMP.F.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG Saturday CORR Monday
 1934 *stèv' inş í ajn plaza.*
 must.IMP.F.3SG GNR go.INF in job.F.SG

'If school ended on Saturday, on Monday one had to start working.'

9 Texts

1935 *A lu tòca gl òctòbar ... gè, in' jè ... in*
 and then until DEF.ART.M.SG October yes one.F.SG time INDEF.ART.M.SG

1936 *pèr diš avaun ca tga la scùl' antschajva*
 pair day.M.PL before COMP COMP DEF.ART.F.SG school begin.PRS.3SG

1937 *vèv' ins finju.*

have.IMPF.3SG GNR finish.PTCP.UNM

'And then until October ... yes, once ... some days before school started we could stop working.'

1938 *Ábar quaj èra fétg strèng. Quaj stèv'*
 but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG very strenuous.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG

1939 *inş ira a ... ju sùn stada navèn da l' ampréma*
 GNR go.INF and 1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG from of DEF.ART.F.SG first

1940 *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

1941 *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.'

1942 [PhM] *E nu' eis ti stada?*
 and where be.PRS.2SG 2SG COP.PTCP.F.SG

'And where have you been?'

1943 [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

1944 *vèva fatg tégn ju - la davùsa classa*
 have.IMPF.1SG do.PTCP.UNM hold.PRS.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG last grade

1945 *sùnd ju stada aun gjù Gljòn a tialas*
 be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.F.SG in_addition down PLN and by.DEF.ART.F.PL

1946 *sòras ajn plaza.*

nun.PL in job

'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.'

1947 *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

1948 *lu mavaş a*

then go.IMPF.2SG.GNR and

'But otherwise I have always been here working for farmers. But then you would go and'

- 1949 [PhM] *Aber quei ei fetg grev.*
but DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG very heavy.ADJ.UNM

'But this is very heavy.'

- 1950 [f4] *Gè quaj èra ... nuş schajn magari djantar ju a*
yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG 1PL say.PRS.1PL sometimes between 1SG and
1951 *gl ùm cu i müssan cù quèls tg' òn*
DEF.ART.M.SG man when 3PL show.PRS.3PL how DEM.M.PL REL have.PRS.3PL
1952 *stuvju luvrá da l' ujara, quèls ufauns ...*
must.PTCP.UNM work.INF of DEF.ART.F.SG war DEM.M.PL child.PL
1953 *clar nuş èssan fòrsa bétga vagnús, ábar*
clear.ADJ.UNM 1PL be.PRS.1PL maybe NEG PASS.AUX.PTCP.M.PL but
1954 *stju luvrá còrpòrmajn vajn nus schi fétg scù*
must.PTCP.UNM work.INF physical.ADJ.M.ADVE have.PRS.1PL 1PL so much as
1955 *quèls.*
DEM.M.PL

'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].'

- 1956 *Quaj mavas té á fumatgèsa a la primavera*
DEM.UNM go.IMPF.2SG.GNR 2SG.GNR to maid.F.SG and DEF.ART.F.SG Lent
1957 *èri da gidá cun grascha ... bétar ò a*
be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP help.INF with fertiliser.F.SG throw.INF out and
1958 *gidá á pitgè quèla grascha, sa bigja scha té*
help.INF COMP beat.INF DEM.F.SG fertiliser know.PRS.1SG NEG whether 2SG
1959 *ancanùschas quaj, api èri dad í métar trúfals ...*
know.PRS.2SG DEM.UNM and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF put potato.M.PL
1960 *api*
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 ...'

- 1961 *A las fèmnas stèv' ins aun gidá á tgèsa*
and def.ART.F.PL woman.PL must.IMPF.3SG GNR moreover help.INF at home.F.SG

9 Texts

1962 *a culs ûmans mavan lu a ... mavan aj lu á*
 and when.DEF.ART.M.PL man.PL go.IMPF.3PL then and go.IMPF.3PL 3PL then to
 1963 *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.’

1964 *Api schèvan aj ... lu vèva las fèmnas da*
 and let.IMPF.3PL 3PL then have.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL woman.PL COMP
 1965 *lavá ò la tgèsa ... èri da lavá ò*
 wash.INF out DEF.ART.F.SG house be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP wash.INF out
 1966 *la tgès' a gidá a ... api èri dad í*
 DEF.ART.F.SG house and help.INF and and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF
 1967 *á zarclá trûfals api èri dad í a zarclá*
 COMP weed.INF potato.C and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go.INF COMP weed.INF
 1968 *al graun.*
 DEF.ART.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.’

1969 *Gè, quaj èr' atgnamajn adina da fâ, ju sùn è*
 yes DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG actually always COMP do.INF 1SG be.PRS.1SG also
 1970 *stada tiar purs nuc' ju stuèva ... cù*
 COP.PTCP.F.SG at farmer.M.PL where.REL 1SG must.IMPF.1SG how
 1971 *dins ... fâ 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.’

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1972 *Quaj èr' al fajn tg' èra rastaus*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG straw REL be.IMPF.3SG remain.PTCP.M.PL
 1973 *anavùs ajn iral, scha fagèvani quaj cun*
 back in threshing_floor.M.SG then do.IMPF.3PL.3PL DEM.UNM with
 1974 *in ghítar flucs api vignéva quaj*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG grid chopped_straw.M.PL and PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM

- 1975 *méz ajn ajn sacs a duvrau gl unviarn par*
 put.PTCP.UNM in in sack.M.PL and use.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG winter PURP
 1976 *dá dals pòrs.*
 give DAT.DEF.ART.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.'

- 1977 *A sjantar mavan aj ad alp als tiars api*
 and after go.IMPF.3PL 3PL to alp.M.SG DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL and
 1978 *vagnévi ... vagnév' als ... als ... als*
 come.IMP.3SG come.IMP.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.PL DEF.ART.M.PL
 1979 *purs lu anavùs api èri da fá fajn.*
 farmer.PL then back and be.IMP.3SG.EXPL COMP 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.'

- 1980 *A lu vagnéva quaj fatg fajn tüt á maun*
 and then PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG DEM.UNM do.PTCP.UNM hay.M.SG all by hand.M.SG
 1981 *né ... lu èra quaj bétga masch[inas] ...*
 right? then EXIST.IMP.3SG DEM.UNM NEG machine.F.PL
 1982 *èri tüt siau á maun.*
 EXIST.IMP.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.'

- 1983 *I èra da quèls tga vèvan ... Ju sùn ussa*
 EXPL exist.IMP.3SG of DEM.M.PL REL have.IMP.3PL 1SG be.PRS.1SG now
 1984 *stada tiar dus purs tga vèvan mù vacas a ...*
 COP.PTCP.F.SG by two.M.PL farmer.PL REL have.IMP.3PL only cow.F.PL and
 1985 *a lu quaj vagnéva tüt tratg cun bùvs,*
 and then DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.3SG all pull.PTCP.UNM with ox.M.PL
 1986 *al fajn.*
 DEF.ART.M.SG 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.'

9 Texts

1987 A quaj èra hèfti. Api tiar in pur
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG strenuous.ADJ.UNM and by INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer
 1988 sünd ju stada tgu stuèva ... ah ... quaj
 be.PRS.1SG 1SG COP.PTCP.UNM REL.1SG must.IMPF.1SG eh DEM.UNM
 1989 èra mù ùm a dùna, quèls vèvan bigja
 COP.IMPF.3SG only man.M.SG and woman.F.SG DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL NEG
 1990 gju família a lu stuèv' ju la sèra
 have.PTCP.UNM family.F.SG and then must.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG evening
 1991 adin' ir' á fá tschajna ... á fá ... manèstra,
 always go.INF COMP make.INF dinner.F.SG and make.INF pottage.F.SG
 1992 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.’

1993 Lò vèv' ju ... lu mav' ju la ... fòrza
 there have.IMPF.1SG 1SG then go.IMPF.1SG 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG maybe
 1994 la quarta ... tiar quèls dus vau bitga du-lò
 DEF.ART.F.SG fourth by DEM.M.PL two.PL have.PRS.1SG.1SG NEG there
 1995 vau btga durmju, vau savju ira á
 have.1SG.1SG NEG sleep.PTCP.UNM have.PRS.1SG.1SG can.PTCP.UNM go.INF to
 1996 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.’

1997 Mav' ju á tgèsa ábar quaj èra ... èr' ins
 go.IMPF.1SG 1SG to home.F.SG but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG GNR
 1998 tréstis ajn in cèrt sèn api stgav' ins lu
 sad.M.SG in INDEF.ART.M.SG certain sense and be_allowed.IMPF.3SG GNR then
 1999 bigja grad dí á tgèsa ... í á tgès' a dí tgé ... còn
 NEG just say.INF at home.F.SG go.INF to home.F.SG and say.INF what how
 2000 hèfti ins vaj gju, gè ... schjùc
 strenuous.ADJ.UNM GNR have.PRS.3SG have.PTCP.UNM yes otherwise
 2001 savilavan aj a quaj è ùssa mju ùm.
 REFL.get_angry.IMPF.3PL 3PL and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG now POSS.1SG.M.SG man

'I would go home, but this was ... one felt sad in a certain sense and then you couln't just say at home ... go home and tell ... how hard one had to work, yes ... otherwise they would get angry, and this is now my husband.'

- 2002 [m3] *A vuṣ vajṣ anflau ò ampau nùfs plajds?*
and 2PL have.PRS.2PL find.PTCP.UNM out a_little new.M.PL word.PL

'[m3] And did you find out some new words?'

- 2003 [f4] *Na, nuṣ vajn ... ju èra grad cò a raquintava cù no 1PL have.PRS.1PL 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG just here and tell.IMPF.1SG how*
2004 *nus ... inṣ èra fumégl ... fumitgèsas.*
1PL GNR COP.IMPF.3SG farmhand.M.SG maid.F.SG

'[f4] No, we have ... I was just here and told how we ... we were a farmhand ... maids.'

sec 182

- 2005 [m3] *È stau intrassant, tutina?*
be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM nevertheless

'[m3] Has it nevertheless been interesting?'

- 2006 [f4] *Gè gè, nuṣ vajn gju intrassant. Na, lu*
yes yes 1PL have.PRS.1PL have.PTCP.UNM interesting.ADJ.UNM no then
2007 *èra quaj èba da ... da ... da fá a gidá a*
COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM in_fact COMP COMP COMP do.INF and help and
2008 *raschlá a gè ... quaj èr' adina ... nuṣ vajn*
rake.INF and yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG always 1PL have.PRS.1PL
2009 *gju angrazjajvals, névétg PN.*
have.PTCP.UNM 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?'

- 2010 [m3] *Ò gè ajn gènèral schòn. Ajn gènèral èrani angrazjajvels, ábar*
oh yes in general indeed in general COP.IMPF.3PL.3PL grateful.M.PL but
2011 ...

'[m3] Oh yes, in general indeed. They were generally grateful, but ... ?'

- 2012 [f4] *I schèvan luvrá fétg.*
3PL let.IMPF.3PL work.INF much

9 Texts

‘[f4] They had us work a lot.’

- 2013 [m3] *Fá da mèmi, magari vèvi nùm ... ju*
do.INF of too_much sometimes have.IMPF.3SG.EXPL name 1SG
- 2014 *saragòrd' aun in' jèd' ábar lura èr' ju*
REFL.remember.PRS.1SG still one.F.SG time but then be.IMPF.1SG 1SG
- 2015 *staus mù á gidá tiar PN ad èra stau*
COP.PTCP.M.SG only COMP help.INF by PN and be.IMPF.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
- 2016 *in dé da maz.*
INDEF.ART.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.’

- 2017 *Ina calir' a vèvani dau marianda, scù nuş*
INDEF.ART.F.SG heath and have.IMPF.3PL.3PL give.PTCP.UNM snack.F.SG as 1PL
- 2018 *şchajn, api èri vagnú andamajn tg' ins*
say.PRS.1PL and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL come.PTCP.UNM in_mind COMP GNR
- 2019 *stuèva fá zitgé sén Şcharinas.*
must.IMPF.3SG do.INF something on PLN

‘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.’

- 2020 *Sas tgé quaj vut dí? Quaj è*
know.PRS.2SG what DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
- 2021 *ljung, quaj è sé Miléz, Şcharinas.*
long.ADJ.UNM DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG up PLN PLN

‘Do you know what this means? This is a long way, this is up at Milez, Scharinas.’

- 2022 [f4] *Sé Miléz, dadajns Miléz ...*
up PLN in PLN

[f4] ‘Up at Milez, to the west of Milez ...’

- 2023 [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.’
- 2024 [f4] *vas schòn á paj.*
go.PRS.2SG.GNR indeed on foot.M.SG

[f4] ‘[that’s what it takes you to] go on foot.’

- 2025 [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.INF
 2026 *al buéb.», api schèva tschél: «Bèn, quaj*
DEF.ART.M.SG boy and say.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG yes DEM.UNM
 2027 *pù 'l buép schòn aun.»*
be_able.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.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.»’

- 2028 *Quaj amblid' ju bétg. Ju èr' in gjuvanòtar,*
DEM.UNM forget.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.ART.M.SG youngster
 2029 *sùn maj staus fumégl ábar ins mav' á gidá*
be.PRS.1SG never COP.PTCP.M.SG farmhand but GNR go.IMPF.3SG COMP help.INF
 2030 *òra, parquaj tga cu mju bab duvrava buéts,*
out because COMP when POSS.1SG.M.SG father need.IMPF.3SG boy.M.PL
 2031 *èran quaj ... èran quèls buéts, quèla familja ... a*
COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3PL DEM.M.PL boy.PL DEM.F.SG family and
 2032 *quèls òn adina gidau al bap sch' i*
DEM.M.PL have.PRS.3PL always help.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG father if 3PL
 2033 *dumandavan a lu schèv' al bap: «Sch' als PN*
ask.IMPF.3PL and then say.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father if DEF.ART.M.PL PN
 2034 *damòndan ... in ò dad ira.»*
ask.PRS.3PL one.M.SG have.PRS.3SG COMP 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.»’

line 260

- 2035 *Basta. In' jèda vagnév' in, in' jèda*
enough INDEF.ART.F.SG time come.IMPF.3SG one.M.SG INDEF.ART.F.SG time
 2036 *tschél ... ábar schagliuc bèn, èran aj*
DEM.M.SG but otherwise yes COP.IMPF.3PL 3PL

‘OK. Once one would come, and once another ... but otherwise yes, they were ... :’

9 Texts

2037 *I èra difarènt ... i èra da quèls tg'*
 EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG different.ADJ.UNM EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG OF DEM.M.PL REL
 2038 *èran angrazajjvels, èra da quèls tg' ins savèva maj fá*
 COP.IMPF.3PL grateful.M.PL also of DEM.M.PL REL GNR can.IMPF.3SG never do.INF
 2039 *avùnda.*
 enough

'It was different ... there were some who were grateful, also some for whom you never could do enough.'

2040 *Gjèds va ju è gju, quaj èr' uschéja*
 DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG also have.PTCP.UNM DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG SO
 2041 *... ábar inṣ èra ... gè, bjè jèdas trésts a tartgava,*
 but GNR COP.IMPF.3SG yes many time.F.PL sad.M.SG and think.IMPF.3SG
 2042 *ò gjantarajn ... ábar á tgèsa stgav' ins bétg'*
 have.PRS.3SG in_between but at home.F.SG be_allowed.impf.3SG GNR NEG
 2043 *ira a dí, parquaj tg' i schèvan: «Ò quaj piùs té*
 go.INF and say.INF because COMP 3PL say.IMPF.3PL oh DEM.UNM can.PRS.2SG 2SG
 2044 *schòn, ùṣa quaj è nuéta schi nausch.»*
 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».'

2045 *[m3] «Té vèvas al disavantatg tga té èras*
 2SG have.IMPF.2SG DEF.ART.M.SG disadvantage REL 2SG COP.IMPF.2SG
 2046 *ina grònda.»*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG tall.ADJ.F

'[m3] «You had the disadvantage to be tall.»'

2047 *[f4] Ad ju èra ina grònda a quaj è*
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG tall.ADJ.F and DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG
 2048 *maj stau flòt. Ju a détg bjè jèdas*
 never COP.PTCP.UNM nice.ADJ.UNM 1SG have.1SG say.PTCP.UNM many time.F.PL
 2049 *dad èl, sas cò pratandévaní bjè daplé.*
 DAT 3SG.M know.PRS.2SG here demand.IMPF.3PL.3PL much more

'And I was a tall one and this was never nice. I told him many times, you know here they demand much more.'

2050 [m3] *Èl' èra la plé grònda buéba dal*
 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG more tall.F.SG girl of.DEF.ART.M.SG

2051 *vitg.*
 village

[m3] 'She was the tallest girl of the village.'

2052 [f4] *Lu tartgávani, ò, quaj è ina*
 then think.IMPF.3PL.3PL oh DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.F.SG

2053 *buébúna, quèla pù schòn ... gè, na, quaj è schòn*
 girl.AUGM DEM.F.SG can.PRS.3SG indeed yes, no, DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG indeed
 2054 *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.'

2055 *Ábar té, a gè, api lu mavan ins tutta stat, lò*
 but 2SG and yes and then go.IMPF.3SG.EUPH GNR whole.F.SG summer there
 2056 *vèva da fá quaj.*
 have.IMPF.1SG COMP do.INF DEM.UNM

'But you, and yes, and then we would go for the whole summer, there I had to do
 that.'

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2057 *A sch' i èra malaura, scha vèv' inş á*
 and if EXPL COP.IMPF.3SG bad_weather.F.SG CORR have.IMPF.3SG GNR at
 2058 *tgèsa da fá, las fèmnas, lu èri da*
 house.F.SG COMP do.INF DEF.ART.F.PL woman.PL then be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP
 2059 *zarclá agl iart a fá quaj a fá tschaj.*
 weed.INF DEF.ART.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.'

2060 *A ... api èri puspè dad í sél fùns,*
 and and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL again COMP go.INF on.DEF.ART.M.SG fields.M.SG
 2061 *cu i èra dad ira puspè ... gè.*
 when EXPL be.IMPF.3SG COMP go.INF again yes

'And ... and then we had to go to the fields again when it was [time] to go again
 ... yes.'

9 Texts

- 2062 [m3] *Nuš šchajn anqual' jèda c' ins vèza las*
 1PL say.PRS.1PL some time.F.SG when GNR see.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.PL
- 2063 *tiaras ... šùtsvilupadas, lajn dí quèluisa, tga dian,*
 country.PL underdeveloped.PL HORT.1PL say.INF this_way COMP say.PRS.3PL
- 2064 *quèls ufauns ston luvrá a végnan bunamajn*
 DEM.M.PL child.PL must.PRS.3PL work.INF and PASS.AUX.PRS.3PL almost
- 2065 *pandí sé, quaj lò ... quaj lò vajn nus tìts*
 hang.PTCP.M.PL up DEM.UNM here DEM.UNM here have.PRS.1PL 1PL all.M.PL
- 2066 *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.’

- 2067 [f4] *Nus vajn fatg atrás quaj.*
 1SG have.PRS.1PL do.PTCP.UNM through DEM.UNM

‘[f4] We have experienced that.’

- 2068 [m3] *Tùts ... ò da scùla á fumégl ... a sjantar ád alp*
 all.M.PL out of school.F.SG to farmhand.M.MSG and after to alp.F.SG
- 2069 *a navèn dad alp vagnévas pér al davùs mumèn a*
 and away from alp come.IMPF.2SG.GNR only DEF.ART.M.MSG last moment and
- 2070 *mavas á 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.’

- 2071 *Gè, quaj èr' ùš uschéja. Scù quaj tga quèls lò*
 yes DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG now so like DEM.UNM REL DEM.M.PL there
- 2072 *lavuran, vajn nus luvrau [f4] gè gè [m3] manajval.*
 work.PRS.3SG have.PRS.1PL 1PL work.PTCP.UNM yes yes easy.ADJ.UNM

‘Yes, it was like that. As these [people] there work we also worked [f4] yes yes [m3] easily.’

- 2073 *Ábar quaj dèva bétga discussjun. Quaj nagín tga [f4]*
 but DEM.UNM give.IMPF.3SG NEG discussion.F.SG DEM.UNM nobody REL
- 2074 *na [m3] tga lèva bétga fá.*
 no REL want.IMPF.3SG NEG do.INF

‘But there were no discussions. Nobody would refuse to do it.’

2075 Ábar tgé tga ... tg' ins discussiunèsch' aun anqual jèda, c' in
 but what REL REL GNR discuss.PRS.3SG still some.F.SG time when GNR
 2076 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
 2077 vazlè, tgé èra quaj, trènta vadjals ... gjù cò
 calf_herdsman.M.SG what COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM thirty calf.M.PL down here
 2078 vi da tschèla vart, ábar ... ju sa bitg sch' ju mav' á
 over of DEM.F.SG side but 1SG know.PRS.1SG NEG whether 1SG go.IMPF.1SG to
 2079 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.’

2080 Ábar quaj vagnéva dau şura in
 but DEM.UM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG give.PTCP.UNM up INDEF.ART.M.SG
 2081 pènsum mèmi gròn ad ju sùn parschuadjudus ... è ad
 homework too big and 1SG COP.PRS.1SG convince.PTCP.M.SG also to
 2082 alp ... pia sch' in èra purtgè, sùn
 alp.M.SG therefore if GNR COP.IMPF.3SG swineherd.M.SG be.PRS.1SG
 2083 staus purtgè cun dùdişch òns, a vèva
 COP.PTCP.M.SG swineherd.M.SG with twelve year.M.PL and have.IMPF.1SG
 2084 mju quántum vacas.
 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.’

2085 Ju vèva da trá la cèntrifuga ... né, quaj tùt
 1SG have.IMPF.1SG COMP pull.INF DEF.ART.F.SG centrifuge right DEM.UNM all
 2086 tga mungèva ... quaj èra signún,
 REL milk.IMPF.3SG DEM.3SG COP.IMPF.3SG alpine_dairyman.M.SG
 2087 pástar gròn
 shepherd.M.SG big

9 Texts

‘I had to spin the centrifuge ... right, here everybody had to milk ... there were the alpine dairyman, the main shepherd ...’

- 2088 [f4] «Astg' ju aun dá in glas aua
be_allowed.PRS.1SG 1SG in_addition give.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG cup water
- 2089 *Philippe?*» [PhM] «Gè, bugèn.» [f4] «Da la spina né
PN PhM yes with_pleasure from DEF.ART.F.SG tap or
- 2090 aua minerala?» [PhM] «Dalla spina.» [f4] «A té,
water.F.SG mineral PhM of.DEF.ART.F.SG tap and 2SG
- 2091 lèvas è zatgé, PN?»
want.COND.2SG also something

‘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?»’

- 2092 [m3] «Gè, da mé daj è ina ... Al
[m3] yes DAT 1SG give.IMP.2SG also INDEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.M.SG
- 2093 signún, pàstar gròn, pàstar pin, a
alpine_dairyman.M.SG shepherd.M.SG big shepherd.M.SG small and
- 2094 'l tarsial ...
DEF.ART.M.SG assistant

‘Yes, give me also a The alpine dairyman, the main shepherd, the second shepherd, and the assistant ...’’

- 2095 [PhM] «Tgei ei in tersiel?»
what COP.PRS.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG assistant

‘What is a *tersiel*?’’

- 2096 [m3] «Al tarsial èra quèl al ...
DEF.ART.M.SG assistant COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG
- 2097 al «Hausmann»,⁸² [f4] «Al gidòntar.» [PhM] «Ah okay.»
DEF.ART.M.SG househusband DEF.ART.M.SG assistant eh OK

‘The *tarsiel* was the ... the *Hausmann*. [f4] «The assistant.»’

- 2098 [m3] «Quèl èr' á tgèsa, quèl vèva da ...
DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG at home.F.SG DEM.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG COMP
- 2099 da lavá gjù la vaschala, trá la
COMP wash.INF down INDEF.ART.F.SG dishes spin.INF DEF.ART.F.SG

⁸²Said in standard German.

2100 *panaglja a ...».* [PhM] «*Grazia fétg.»* [f4] «*Schòn bian.»* [m3] *A ...*
 butter_barrel and thank.F.SG much all_right well and
 2101 *a buglí gjù cu i èra fatg.»*
 and boil.INF down when EXPL PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.PTCP.UNM

‘[m3] «He was at home, he had to ... to wash up, spin the butter barrel and ...». [PhM] «Thank you very much». [f4] «That's OK.» [m3] «And ... boil [it] when it was done.»’

2102 *Ajnamajn al pástar gròn èr' al ...*
 actually DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman.M.SG big COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG
 2103 *vèv' als tiars ajnta maun. A quaj*
 have.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL in hand.M.SG and DEM.UNM
 2104 *èra cò ajn Tujétsch vèvan nus trajs alps da vacas.*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG here in PLN have.IMPF.1PL 1PL three alp.M.PL of cow.F.PL

‘Actually the main herdsman was the ... was responsible for the animals. And there were here in the Tujetsch Valley, we had three cow pastures.’

2105 *Quaj èra trajtschian vacas plus minus ... fòrza strusch*
 DEM.UNM EXIST.IMPF.3SG three_hundred cow.F.PL more less maybe hardly
 2106 ... *ábar duatschian òtgònta èri sagir.*
 but two_hundred eighty EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL sure.ADJ.UNM

‘There were 300 cows more or less ... maybe barely .. but there were 280 without doubt.’

2107 *Álsò bigja dal tut trajtschian, craj ju bétg ... ábar*
 well NEG of.DEF.ART.M.SG whole three_hundred believe.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG but
 2108 *ah plé damanajval da trajtschian tga da duatschian tschuncònta.*
 eh more near of three_hundred than of two_hundred fifty

‘Well, not exactly 300, [this] I don't believe ... but nearer to 300 than to 250.’

2109 *A lur' èra quaj al signún api*
 and then EXIST.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG Alpine_dairyman and
 2110 *al pástar, vèva quaj, a vèva è*
 DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman have.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM and have.IMPF.3SG also
 2111 *sju quántum vacas da ... da mùngjar.*
 POSS.3SG.M.SG amount cow.F.PL COMP COMP milk.INF

‘And then there were the dairyman and the herdsman, that had, and also had his amount of cows to ... to milk.’

sec 422

- 2112 *Quaj ... ins stèva vagní ... mintgín sén sju*
DEM.UNM GNR must.IMPF.3SG come.INF everyone.M.SG on POSS.3SG.M.SG
- 2113 *quántum, quèls vèvan fòrsa végn vacas a 'l*
amount DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL maybe twenty cow.F.PL and DEF.ART.M.SG
- 2114 *signún vèva fòrsa schòtg a 'l tarsél*
alpine_dairyman have.IMPF.3SG maybe eighteen and DEF.ART.M.SG assistant
- 2115 *vèva quindisch ... al pástar ... pin, i èra*
have.IMPF.3SG fifteen DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman small EXPL exist.IMPF.3SG
- 2116 *dus pástars, vèva fòrsa dùdisch a 'l*
two.M.PL herdsman.PL have.IMPF.3SG maybe twelve and DEF.ART.M.SG
- 2117 *purtgè vèv' è aun òtg né déjsch.*
swineherd 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.'

- 2118 *A i èra ... tut ansjaman èr' ins sis parsunas.*
and EXPL EXIST.IMPF.3SG all together exist.IMPF.3SG GNR six person.F.PL
- 2119 *Quèls vèvan da mùngjar las vacas ... la ...*
DEM.M.PL have.IMPF.3PL COMP milk.INF DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL DEF.ART.F.SG
- 2120 *las tschian vacas ... lajn dí ussa, mù òtgònta ... òtgònta*
DEF.ART.F.PL hundred COW.PL HORT.1PL say.INF now only eighty eighty
- 2121 *vacas, la damaun a la sèra.*
COW.F.PL DEF.ART.F.SG morning and DEF.ART.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.'

- 2122 *A ... a quaj òn tgu sùn staus purtgè*
and and DEM.M.SG year REL.1SG be.PRS.1SG COP.PTCP.M.SG swineherd
- 2123 *sél cuélm ... quaj è stau*
on.DEF.ART.M.SG assembly_of_house DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM
- 2124 *ánò tschunçòntatschún. Ju craj tgu vèvi òtg*
year fifty-five 1SG believe.PRS.1SG COMP.1SG have.SBJV.IMPF.1SG eight
- 2125 *vacas a ... a lu vèvani ábar fatg uschéa ... «Té*
cow.F.PL and and then have.IMPF.3PL.3PL but do.PTCP.UNM so 2SG

2126 as ... al signún a tauntaş a
 have.PRS.2SG DEF.ART.M.SG dairyman have.PRS.3SG so_many.F.PL and
 2127 tauntas, a té as da gidá lèz.»
 so_many.F.PL and 2SG have.PRS.2SG COMP help.INF DEM.M.SG

‘And ... and that year, when I was swineherd at the *majšès* ... this was in 1955. I think I had eight cows, and ... and then they did it the following way: «You have ... the dairyman has so and so many, and you have to help him.»’

2128 A quaj èra lu è détg: «Té as
 and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG then also say.PTCP.UNM 2SG have.PRS.2SG
 2129 las vacas dal Berther ... té as quèlas
 DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL of.DEF.ART.M.SG PN 2SG have.PRS.2SG DEM.F.PL
 2130 dal Caduff.» A quaj èra sé las nùdas
 of.DEF.ART.M.SG PN and DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG on DEF.ART.F.PL brand.PL
 2131 ... quaj ancanuschèvas ... mintga vaca.
 DEM.UNM recognize.IMP.F.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 recognize ... every cow.’

2132 Álsò tòc’ al davùs da la stat ... ancanuschèvas
 well until DEF.ART.M.SG last of DEF.ART.F.SG summer know.IMP.F.2SG.GNR
 2133 la buşchia dal pur da las vacas. Mintga
 DEF.ART.F.SG nickname of.DEF.ART.M.SG farmer of DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL every
 2134 pur vèva sia buschia, a quaj
 farmer.M.SG have.IMP.F.3SG POSS.3SG.F.SG nickname and DEM.UNM
 2135 vèvans da fâ.
 have.PRS.1PL.1PL COMP 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.’

2136 A lur’ l purtgè vèv’ aun ... cu i
 and then DEF.ART.M.SG swineherd have.IMP.F.3SG in_addition when 3PL
 2137 mungèvan, mávani ajn a dargèvan gjù al ...
 milk.IMP.F.3PL go.IMP.F.3PL.3PL in and pour.IMP.F.3PL down DEF.ART.M.SG
 2138 al latg ála cùpa da la cèntrifuga a
 DEF.ART.M.SG milk into.DEF.ART.F.SG bowl of DEF.ART.F.SG centrifuge and
 2139 quel’ èra da trá ... trá, trá ... tut al latg
 DEM.F.SG be.IMP.F.3SG COMP pull.INF pull.INF pull.INF all DEF.ART.M.SG milk

2140 *cèntrifugau.*

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.’

2141 *Api magari vèva 'l aun da tanaj las*
and sometimes have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M in_addition COMP hold.INF DEF.ART.F.PL
 2142 *vacas ajn stával.⁸³ Quaj vul dí culas,⁸⁴*
cow.PL in cowshed.M.SG DEM.UNM want.PRS.3SG say.INF with.DEF.ART.F.PL
 2143 *quèls tiars dal gjával tga mavan òra ... otras*
DEM.M.PL animal.PL of.DEF.ART.M.SG devil REL go.IMPF.3PL out other.F.PL
 2144 *stèvan lò duaş uras, fagèvan bigja mucs, ábar i*
stay.IMPF.3PL there two.F.PL hour.PL do.IMPF.3PL NEG sound.M.SG but EXPL
 2145 *èr' adina zacòntas tga mavan, da las vacas ... api*
EXIST.IMPF.3SG always some.F.PL REL go.IMPF.3PL of DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL and
 2146 *stuèvanṣ í: «Puscha ... puscha⁸⁵ ... las vacas von!»*
must.IMPF.1PL.1PL go.INF COW.F.SG COW.F.SG DEF.ART.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!*»’

2147 *Pi èri da schè ... quaj èra ... da*
and be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP let.INF DEM.UNM COP.impf.3SG COMP
 2148 *samazá da trá ajn la cèntrifuga, quaj duvrava*
REFL.kill.INF comp pull.INF in DEF.ART.F.SG centrifuge DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG
 2149 *grònda fòrza ... cu 'l èr' in' jèd' ajn⁸⁶, mava*
big.F.SG force when 3SG.M COP.INF.3SG one.F.SG time in go.IMPF.3SG
 2150 *quaj pulit ... ábar al trá ajn èla èra ...*
DEM.UNM easy.ADJ.UNM but DEF.ART.M.SG pull.INF in 3SG.F COP.IMPF.3SG
 2151 *da maz.*
of killing.M.SG

⁸⁵ *Puscha* is a familiar word for *vaca* ‘cow’ and is also used in order to call the cows.

⁸⁵ A *stával* is a place next to the alpine hut where the cattle stays at night.

⁸⁵ There is an unintelligible part between *culas* and *quèls*.

'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.'

2152 *Anqual jèda vagnéva lu al pás[tar] ... né usché cu*
 some time.F.SG COME.IMPF.3SG then DEF.ART.M.SG herdsman or so when
 2153 *aj vasévan a gidavan tòca tg' ins èr' ajn ... ajn*
 3PL see.IMPF.3PL and help.IMPF.3PL until COMP GNR COP.IMPF.3SG in in
 2154 «*schwung*»⁸⁷ ... *api èri strusch tga té*
 momentum.M.SG and COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL hardly COMP 2SG.GNR
 2155 *vèvaṣ antschat èri da turná ad*
 have.IMPF.2SG.GNR begin.PTCP.UNM be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL COMP go_back.INF and
 2156 *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.'

sec 524

2157 *Quaj cas stù ju raquintá. Quaj èra*
 DEM.M.SG case must.PRS.1SG 1SG tell.INF DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 2158 *in pulit ùm, ò cò da Zarcúns. Ju vèz' aun quèl,*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG capable man out here of PLN 1SG see.PRS.1SG still DEM.M.SG
 2159 *quaj èr' in súpar musicant ... in ùm*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG INDEF.ART.M.SG super musician INDEF.ART.M.SG man
 2160 *pin griaš usché, ábar in ... in pin.*
 short fat so but INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.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.'

2161 *A sia ... sia dùna vèva nùm Marjuschla,*
 and POSS.3SG.F.SG POSS.3SG.F.SG wife have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG PN
 2162 *a quèla tgèsa c' ins vò cò da quòra vèva*
 and DEM.F.SG house when GNR go.PRS.3SG here from here_out have.IMPF.3SG
 2163 *quèl ... «il Segner ei» ... mù spétga ... [f4] «En*
 DEM.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG only wait.IMP.2SG in

⁸⁶Unintelligible part between *ajn* and *mava*.

⁸⁷*Schwung* is German for Romansh *slontsch*.

9 Texts

2164 *tutta malura il Segner ei sisura.»⁸⁸ ... [m3] «En tutta
all.F.SG disaster DEF.ART.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above in all.F.SG*

2165 *malura il Segner ei sisura.» ... [f4] Quaj cu té
disaster DEF.ART.M.SG Lord COP.PRS.3SG above DEM.UNM when 2SG*

2166 *vaş anòra drétg. [m3] A cu nus mavan vidòra,
go.PRS.2SG out straight_ahead and when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL out*

2167 *şchèvan nus ... i şchèvan ... Marjuschla vèva quèla
say.IMPF.1PL 1PL 3PL say.IMPF.3PL PN have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG*

2168 *nùm ... nus şchèvan la Barjùtla ... cu nus mavan
name.M.SG 1PL say.IMPF.1PL DEF.ART.F.SG PN when 1PL go.IMPF.1PL*

2169 *spèrasò: «En tutta malura la Barjutla ei sis[ura].»
next_to_out in all.F.SG disaster DEF.ART.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.»’

2170 *Quaj pur vèva quèla vaca. Quaj èr'
DEM.M.SG farmer have.IMPF.3SG DEM.F.SG COW DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG*

2171 *ina vaca, ina mujèra⁸⁹ scù ins di,
INDEF.ART.F.SG COW INDEF.ART.F.SG cow_without_calves as GNR say.PRS.3SG*

2172 *quèla vèva bétga fatg vadí plé ... lu quèlas
DEM.F.SG have.IMPF.3SG NEG do.PTCP.UNM calf.M.SG more then DEM.F.PL*

2173 *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 ...’

2174 *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*

2175 *vèva sé in plèc⁹⁰ a quèla mava mintg’
have.IMPF.3SG up INDEF.ART.M.SG flat_bell and DEM.F.SG go.IMPF.3SG every*

⁸⁸This adage is said (and written) in standard Sursilvan.

⁸⁹A *mujèra*, standard Sursilvan *mughera*, is called *leere Kuh* ‘empty cow’ in German.

- 2176 jè ... tac, tac, tac, vònzacj èra la végn, trènta
 time.F.SG ONOM ONOM ONOM later COP.IMPF.3SG 3SG.F twenty thirty
 2177 mèters ò dal mûval api mavan tschèlas halt sjantar.
 metre.M.SG out of.DEF.ART.M.SG cattle and go.IMPF.3PL dem.F.PL simply after

'This one had horns that had grown backwards, a very heavy animal, and it had a flat bell, and it would always walk ... tac, tac, tac, and a bit later it would be twenty, thiry metres away from the herd and the other cows would follow it.'

- 2178 [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
 2179 gju strèntg scì ufauns.
 have.PTCP.UNM hard.ADJ.UNM as child.M.PL

'Oh yes, it was not so (...). No no, we had a hard time as children.'

- 2180 [m3] Quaj èra da lavá ... las quátar.
 DEM.UNM be.IMPF.3SG COMP get_up.INF DEF.ART.F.PL four
 2181 Agl aut da la stat ... èra quaj da
 DEF.ART.M.SG high of DEF.ART.F.SG summer be.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM COMP
 2182 lavá las quátar.
 get_up.INF DEF.ART.F.PL four

'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.'

- 2183 [f4] Tgi c' èr' ád alp schòn, gè.
 who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp indeed yes

'Those who were at the alpine pastures indeed, yes.'

- 2184 [m3] Gè, tgi ch' èr' ád alp. Las quátar òrd
 yes who REL COP.IMPF.3SG at alp.M.SG DEF.ART.F.PL four out_of
 2185 létg ad í á rimná las vacas ajn stával ...
 bed.M.SG and go.INF COMP collect.INF DEF.ART.F.PL COW.PL in cowshed.M.SG
 2186 antschajvar á mùngjar, tg' èras uschéja ... gè, c' i
 begin.INF COMP milk.INF COMP COP.IMPF.2SG so yes when EXPL
 2187 èra vi da las ... las òtg né usché
 COP.IMPF.3SG over of DEF.ART.F.PL DEF.ART.F.PL eight or so

⁹⁰A cow with a *plèc* (or *pletg*) is the second main cow, which explains why the other cows follow it.

- 2188 *èr'* *aj* *mìgnsch* *manègj'* *ju* ... *survagnév'*
 PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG EXPL milk.PTCP.UNM think.PRS.1SG 1SG receive.IMPF.3SG
 2189 *ins sòlvar.*
 GNR breakfast.M.SG

'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.'

- 2190 *A sjantar èra, mav' als tiars puspè á*
 and after be.IMPF.3SG go.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL again COMP
 2191 *pastgè a lura stèv' al ... al*
 graze.INF and then must.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG
 2192 *zagnún, lèz caçhava, sjantar cargjav'*
 alpine_dairyman DEM.M.SG make_cheese.IMPF.3SG after load.IMPF.3SG
 2193 *al magnùc a purtava ajn tschalè.*
 DEF.ART.M.SG cheese and 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.'

- 2194 *Quaj èra in ... tgilada gjù val, ajn*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG slip down valley.F.SG in
 2195 *in' autra alp, in ... in liuc cèntrau pr*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG other alp INDEF.ART.M.SG INDEF.ART.M.SG place central for
 2196 *duas alps. A lura al ... als pàstars mavan*
 two.F.PL alp.PL and then DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.PL herdsman.PL go.IMPF.3PL
 2197 *culs tiars, al ... al purtgè a*
 with.DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG swineherd and
 2198 *I tarsél vèvan dad èssar ajn ... ajn tésga*
 DEF.ART.M.SG assistant have.IMPF.3PL COMP COP.INF in in alpine_hut.F.SG
 2199 *a buglí gjù, sas, lu fá la ... la scòtga.*
 and boil.INF off know.PRS.2SG then do.INF DEF.ART.F.SG DEF.ART.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.'

2200 Lu vagnéva fatg tschagrún. Cu 'l latg
then PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG do.M.SG whey_cheese when DEF.ART.M.SG milk
2201 èra tratgs òra, scha l' ò
PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG pull.PTCP.M.SG out CORR DEF.ART.M.SG have.PRS.3SG
2202 'l ... al signún finju, api cargjav'
DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG dairyman finish.PTCP.UNM and load.IMPF.3SG
2203 al al magnùc da la ... dal dé avaun né
3SG.M DEF.ART.M.SG cheese of DEF.ART.F.SG of.DEF.ART.M.SG day before or
2204 da la sèr' avaun a cargjava a ... pertava ajn
of DEF.ART.F.SG evening before and load.IMPF.3SG and bring.IMPF.3SG in
2205 tschalè.
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.'

2206 A dantaun stèvaş buglí sé al ... la
and meanwhile must.IMPF.2SG.GNR boil.INF up DEF.ART.M.SG DEF.ART.F.SG
2207 scòtga ... quaj stèvaş ... quaj duvrava la plé⁹¹
whey DEM.UNM must.IMPF.2SG DEM.UNM need.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG more
2208 bjè lèna ... quaj stèva buglí.
much firewood.COLL DEM.UNM must.IMPF.3SG boil.INF

'And meanwhile one had to boil up the ... the whey .. this one had to ... that required the highest quantity of firewood ... the whey had to boil.'

sec 642

2209 A lu vagnévi sésura quèla «schichta»⁹¹ ... quèla
and then come.IMPF.3SG.EXPL upon DEM.F.SG layer DEM.F.SG
2210 dèv' al tschagrún ... gè, al tschagrún ...
give.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG wey_cheese yes DEF.ART.M.SG wey_cheese
2211 cò diani al tschagrún tudèstg? ... [f4] Ziger ... [m3]
how say.PRS.3PL.3PL DEF.ART.M.SG whey_cheese German Ziger
2212 Ziger ... a lura cu quaj è ... è ... stèv'
Ziger and then when DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG COP.PRS.3SG must.IMPF.3SG
2213 ins pascá gjù quaj a métar ajn ajn quaj ... quaj
GNR fish.INF down DEM.UNM and put.INF in in DEM.UNM DEM.UNM
2214 dèv' usché ampau scù magnùc a quaj vagnéva lu
give.IMPF.3SG so a_bit like cheese and DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMPF.3SG then

- 2215 *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.’

- 2216 *A pér cu quaj èra fatg scha èra*
and only when DEM.UNM PASS.AUX.IMP.F.3SG do.PTCP.UNM CORR COP.IMP.F.3SG
- 2217 *la scòtga mèmi tgauda, api vèv' al purtge*
DEF.ART.F.SG whey too hot and have.IMP.F.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG swineherd
- 2218 *la quajda né ... né al plàschaj dad ira par au'*
DEF.ART.F.SG desire or or DEF.ART.M.SG pleasure COMP go.INF for water.F.SG
- 2219 *ad' au' ad aua ... quèls zajvars da végn funs,*
and water and water DEM.M.PL washtub.PL of twenty bottom.M.PL
- 2220 *schèvan nus ... a purtá a métar ajn ála caldèra*
say.IMP.F.1PL 1PL and bring.INF and put.INF in into.DEF.ART.F.SG cauldron
- 2221 *tòca tga èra tamprau, tg' als pòrs*
until COMP COP.IMP.F.3SG lukewarm.PTCP.UNM COMP DEF.ART.M.PL pig.PL
- 2222 *savèvan maglјe.*
can.IMP.F.3PL eat.INF

‘And only when this was done, the whey was 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 bottoms» 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.’

- 2223 *A lura quaj èran lèzs schòn lò a griavan*
and then DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3PL DEM.M.PL already there and shout.IMP.F.3PL
- 2224 *a fagèvan al gjával ... pi⁹² árvar sé in*
and do.IMP.F.3PL DEF.ART.M.PL devil and open.INF up INDEF.ART.M.SG
- 2225 *barcún api vagnévan quèls ... quaj èra da quaj da*
shutter and come.IMP.F.3PL DEM.M.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMP.F.3SG of DEM.UNM of
- 2226 *trènta ... trènta pòrs bjèbégn.*
thirty thirty 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

⁹¹ *Schichta* is adapted from German *Schicht* ‘layer’; the standard Sursilvan form is *stresa*.

pigs.'

- 2227 A *lur' vèv'* *ins da dá ... da magljè da lèzs ...*
 and then have.IMPF.3SG GNR COMP give.INF COMP eat.INF DAT DEM.M.PL
- 2228 *a quaj èra antir ritmus, antira stat ...*
 and DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG whole.M.SG rhythm whole.F.SG summer
- 2229 *vagnéva lu plé pauc ... ancunt' agl atún*
 come.IMPF.3SG then more little towards DEF.ART.M.SG autumn
- 2230 *èri plé paucs tiars a quaj ad è da*
 EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL more little.M.PL animal.PL and DEM.UNM and also of
- 2231 *quèlas ... anstagl da mùngjar òtgònta vacas èri fòrsa*
 DEM.F.PL instead of milk.INF eighty cow.F.PL EXIST.IMPF.3SG.EXPL maybe
- 2232 *mù tschuncònta, da quèlas tg' èran schòn schétgas ... a tutín'*
 only fifty of DEM.F.PL REL COP.IMPF.3SG already dry.F.PL and after_all
- 2233 *al sjantarmjazdè èra ... ins gudéva lu aun,*
 DEF.ART.M.SG afternoon COP.IMPF.3SG GNR enjoy.IMPF.3SG then still
- 2234 *in' ura, duas ... savèvas ... schá dá l'*
 one.F.SG hour two.F.PL can.IMPF.2SG.GNR let.INF give.INF DEF.ART.F.SG
- 2235 *aura pals lárischs.*
 weather through DEF.ART.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 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.'

9.17 Al cuntí mèlan

The yellow knife

(Tuatschin, Cavòrgja, m7, aged 64)

Recorded 2017/03/07 in Sedrun

Duration 5'50"

- 2236 *Quaj è uschéa, ju èr' in buéb da nùv né*
 DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SO 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG INDEF.ART.M.SG boy of nine or

⁹²There is an unintelligible part between *pi* and *árvar*.

9 Texts

2237 *déjsch 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
2238 *scùla èri mù gl unviarn.*
school.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG.EXPL only DEF.ART.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.’

2239 *La stat ... èra simplamajn bigja scùla.*
DEF.ART.F.SG summer EXIST.IMPF.3SG simple.F.SG.ADV NEG school.F.SG
2240 *Quaj gnang vèva nùm vacanzas. La*
DEM.UNM not_even have.IMPF.3SG name.M.SG holidays.F.PL DEF.ART.F.SG
2241 *stat ... èra nagina scùla.*
summer 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.’

2242 *La scùla finéva ... al matg ... zarcladur, ad ins*
DEF.ART.F.SG school end.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG May June.M.SG and GNR
2243 *şchèva da quaj bigj èxnùm vacanzas. Sjantar*
say.IMPF.3SG of DEM.UNM NEG definitively holidays.F.PL after
2244 *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.’

2245 *A ... cò mava 'ls buéts la stad ad alp,*
and here go.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.PL boy.PL DEF.ART.F.SG summer to alp.M.SG
2246 *ábar avaun c' al tjams dad alp èri lu*
but before COMP DEF.ART.M.SG time of alp be.IMPF.3SG.EXPL then
2247 *aun dad í majès ... culs tiars.*
in_addition COMP go.INF assembly_of_houses with.DEF.ART.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.’

2248 *A ... nuş vèvan par èxèmpal al majès*
and 1PL have.IMPF.1PL for example.M.SG DEF.ART.M.SG assembly_of_houses

2249 ajnta Pardatsch, in auter vèva sé Miléz né Val Gjuf né
 in PLN INDEF.ART.M.SG other have.IMPF.3SG up PLN or PLN or
 2250 nù c' i èran èra.
 where REL 3PL COP.IMPF.3PL also

‘And ... we had our *majṣès* in Pardatsch, somebody else had it in Milez or Val Giuv or wherever they were.’

2251 Scadín cas, quaj èra schòn ... ah ... in désidéri,
 each.M.SG case dem.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG indeed eh indef.ART.M.SG longing
 2252 savaj í majṣès a durmí sé lò. Tùt símpal,
 can.INF go.INF assembly_of_houses and sleep.INF up there all simple.ADJ.UNM
 2253 ins savèva gidá ajn téjí' 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 *majṣès* and sleep up there. Very easy, in the hut one could help cooking and so on.’

2254 Api quaj è usché tga ... al bap ... vagnéva
 and DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG SO COMP DEF.ART.M.SG father come.IMPF.3SG
 2255 ... als ùmans, quaj èr' aun plé purs lò
 DEF.ART.M.PL man.PL DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG still more farmer.M.PL there
 2256 Nus vèvan da partgirá als tiars, als buéts,
 1PL have.IMPF.1PL COMP mind.INF DEF.ART.M.PL animal.PL DEF.ART.M.PL boy.PL
 2257 a stèvan lò sé, sé majṣès.
 and 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 *majṣès*.’

2258 A grad ajnta quaj Pardatsch èran nus quátar, tschun
 and precisely in DEM.UNM PLN COP.IMPF.1PL 1PL four five
 2259 buéts.
 boy.M.PL

‘And precisely in Pardatsch we were four, five boys.’

2260 A ... in èra fumégl tiar quèl, tschèl èra
 and one.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG farmer.M.SG at DEM.M.SG DEM.M.SG COP.IMPF.3SG
 2261 forza ... in pur, èfèctív al fègl, api ...,
 maybe ... INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer effective.ADJ.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG son and ...

9 Texts

2262 *ábar savènṣ è aun da quèls tg' èran fumégl tschò*
 but often also in_addition of DEM.M.PL REL COP.IMPF.3PL farmhand.M.SG here
 2263 *né lò.*
 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.’

sec 67

2264 *Ad ju èra tial bap. Quaj èra*
 and 1SG COP.IMPF.1SG by.DEF.ART.M.SG father DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG
 2265 *naturálmajn flòt. Scha lu ò quaj*
 natural.M.SG.ADV great.ADJ.UNM if then have.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM
 2266 *dau òns tg' ins stèv' ira ... cul*
 EXIST.PTCP.UNM year.M.PL REL GNR must.IMPF.3SG go.INF with.DEF.ART.M.SG
 2267 *fagòt ... tiar in pur a gidá.*
 bundle by INDEF.ART.M.SG farmer and 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.’

2268 *A quaj òn vèv' al détg: «Ah uòn nò*
 and DEM.M.SG year have.IMPF.3SG 3SG.M say.PTCP.UNM eh this_year go.IMP.2SG
 2269 *té ajnta Pardatsch.» Al PN, mju frá, èr'*
 2SG into PLN DEF.ART.M.SG PN POSS.1SG.M.SG brother be.IMPF.3SG
 2270 *jus ajn in autar ljuc.*
 go.PTCP.M.SG into INDEF.ART.M.SG other place

‘And that year he had said: «Ah, this year go to Pardatsch.» PN, my brother, had gone to another place.’

2271 *Scadín cas, a vagnévan ... i ajn culs tiars, api*
 each.M.SG case and come.IMPF.3PL 3PL in with.DEF.ART.M.SG animal.PL and
 2272 *... als ùmans ... durmévan lò, mungjgjèvan a mavan*
 DEF.ART.M.PL man.PL sleep.IMPF.3PL there milk.IMPF.3PL and go.IMPF.3PL
 2273 *a tgèsa ... ah la damaun.*
 to home.F.SG eh DEF.ART.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.’

- 2274 *Api ancúntar sèra, las quátar, las tschun*
 and towards evening.F.SG DEF.ART.F.PL four DEF.ART.F.PL five
- 2275 *vagnévaní sédò puspè ad usché vinavaun. Al dé ò*
 come.IMPF.3PL.3PL up_out again and so further DEF.ART.M.SG day out
- 2276 *èran nus parsuls.*
 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.’

- 2277 *Als ûmans mavan cul latg gjù tgèsa a*
 DEF.ART.M.SG man.PL go.IMPF.3PL with.DEF.ART.F.SG milk down home.F.SG and
- 2278 *quaj èra ... in’ ur’ á paj bjèbégn. A scadín cas*
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG one.F.SG hour by foot good.ADV and every.M.SG case
- 2279 *... prndèv’ al bap lur’ ajn tiar quaj gjantá tg’ ins*
 take.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father then in by DEM.M.SG lunch REL GNR
- 2280 *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.’

- 2281 *Quaj vèv’ inş adina, ábar quaj èra tga l*
 DEM.UNM have.IMPF.3SG GNR always but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG COMP 3SG
- 2282 *purtava fòrz’ ajn: «Ò la mùma ò*
 bring.IMPF.3SG maybe in oh DEF.ART.F.SG mother have.PRS.3SG
- 2283 *fatg ina péta.», né, né, ina tgaussa né*
 make.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG cake or or INDEF.ART.F.SG thing or
- 2284 *l’ autra tg’ ins salagrava lura.*
 INDEF.ART.F.SG other REL GNR 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.’

- 2285 *Ùşa, in’ jèda ... stù fòrz’ aun dí*
 now INDEF.ART.F.SG time must.PRS.1SG maybe say.INF in_addition
- 2286 *òdavaun, mintga buéb vèva ... tarmagljava*
 in_advance every.SG boy.M.SG have.IMPF.3SG play.IMPF.3SG

- 2287 *cul* *cuntí da sac* ... *tgapiala* ... *a* *cuntí* *da*
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG knife of pocket.M.SG hat.F.SG and knife.M.SG of
 2288 *sac.* *A* ... *ju sa* *tga ju* *vèva* *bégja* *cuntí* ...
 pocket.M.SG and 1SG know.PRS.1SG COMP 1SG have.IMPF.1SG NEG knife.M.SG
 2289 *né usché in* *tgu schèv'* *ajn térgja.*
 or such one.M.SG REL 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.’

- 2290 *Quaj èra* *lu nuéta propi* ... *quaj* *cuntí èra* ...
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG then nothing really DEM.M.SG knife COP.IMPF.3SG
 2291 *scadín cas* ... *ah ... èra* *quaj ina* *sònnda*
 every.M.SG case eh COP.IMPF.3SG DEM.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG Saturday
 2292 *sèra* ... *al bab vègn* *sé majès*
 evening.F.SG DEF.ART.M.SG father come.PRS.3SG up assembly_of_houses.M.SG
 2293 ... *api cò ... sacadòs* ... *quaj tg' ins stù* *vaj:*
 and here backpack.M.SG DEM.UNM REL GNR must.PRS.3SG have.INF
 2294 *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.’

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- 2295 *Api prènda* *'l* ... *prènda* *'l* *ò ina* *sèrvla:*
 and take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M OUT INDEF.ART.M.SG cervelat⁹³
 2296 «*Cò ò la mùma dau ina sèrvla,*
 here have.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG mother give.PTCP.UNM INDEF.ART.F.SG cervelat
 2297 *ma tg' i è damaun duméngja.* As *té* ... *ah*
 because COMP EXPL COP.PRS.3SG tomorrow Sunday have.PRS.3sg 2SG eh
 2298 *cù barsá stù ju bigja dí Fòrsa fas*
 how roast.INF must.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG say.INF maybe make.2SG
 2299 *in fjuchèt né, né sas scadá sé la»*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG fire.DIM right or can.PRS.2SG warm.INF up DEF.ART.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»⁹³

- 2300 *Ad ju, quétun cun quèla sèrvla, ma tga quaj*
and 1SG braggart.M.SG with DEM.F.SG cervelat because COMP DEM.UNM
 2301 *èra ina raritad ... quaj dèvi bigja grat.*
COP.IMPF.3SG DEF.ART.F.SG rarity DEM.UNM exist.IMPF.3SG.EXPL NEG just
 2302 *A ... la duméngja ... als ùmans èn i*
and DEF.ART.F.SG Sunday DEF.ART.M.SG man.PL be.PRS.3PL go.PTCP.M.PL
 2303 *angjù ... als buëts èran sur térga ... a:*
down DEF.ART.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: ’

- 2304 «*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
 2305 *survagnú pèta a ... ad ju ... «Ju a survagnú*
get.PTCP.UNM cake.F.SG and and 1SG 1SG have.PRS.1SG get.PTCP.UNM
 2306 *ina sèrvala.» «Schòn?» Quaj èra scartèzja.*
INDEF.ART.F.SG cervelat indeed DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG rarity.ELAT*

‘«What are you going to prepare for lunch?» «What do you have?» One had got a cake and ... and I ... «I have got a cervelat.» «Really?» The cervelats were very scarce.’

- 2307 *A 'l PN ...: «Vò gjù in' jèda par quèla*
and DEF.ART.M.SG PN go.IMPF.2SG down INDEF.ART.F.SG time for DEM.F.SG
 2308 *sèrvla!» Ad ju séglja gjù ajn térga a végna sé*
cervelat and 1SG run.PRS.1SG down in alpine_hut.F.SG and come.PRS.1SG up
 2309 *cun èla ... a gljèz ... mirau a mirau, i*
with 3SG.F and DEM.UNM look.PTCP.UNM and look.PTCP.UNM EXPL
 2310 *èra bigj' aun uraş da gjantá.*
COP.IMPF.3SG NEG 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.’

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⁹³A *cervelat* is a typical kind of Swiss sausage.

- 2311 *Api prend' al PN in cuntí ò da sac ...*
 and take.PRS.3SG DEF.ART PN INDEF.ART.M.SG knife out of pocket.M.SG
- 2312 *quèls cunjals da mòni mèlan ... usché, lajn dí,*
 DEM.M.PL knife.PL of handle.M.SG yellow so HORT.1PL say.INF
- 2313 *in cuntí da pauc, al mènder èra mù tga*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG knife of little DEF.ART.M.SG worse COP.IMPF.3SG only COMP
- 2314 *quèl vèv' ajn ina stria furclèta, api fo*
 DEM.M.SG have.IMP.3SG in INDEF.ART.F.SG witch.F.SG notch and do.PRS.3SG
- 2315 *l:*
 3SG.M

‘And then he 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:’

- 2316 «*Atgnamajn lès ju bratá ... Té sas vaj*
 actually want.COND.1SG 1SG exchange 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF
- 2317 *al cuntí par adina a té datas da mé la*
 DEF.ART.M.SG knife for always and 2SG give.PRS.2SG DAT 1SG DEF.ART.F.SG
- 2318 *sèrvala.»*
 cervelat

‘«Actually I would like to exchange You may have the knife forever and you give me the cervelat.»’

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- 2319 *Ad ju mirau sén quaj cuntí ... buah ..., ò gljèz,*
 and 1SG look.PTCP.UNM on DEM.M.SG knife ... EXCL oh DEM.UNM
- 2320 *in cuntí fùs schòn ... A ... la sèrvala*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG knife COP.COND.3SG indeed and DEF.ART.F.SG cervelat
- 2321 *dèv' ju schòn nuïdis.*
 give.COND.1SG 1SG indeed reluctantly

‘And I looked at this knife ... wow! ... oh, well, a knife would indeed And ... the cervelat I would only give away reluctantly.’

- 2322 «*PN, té sas vaj la sèrvala Ju salv'*
 PN 2SG can.PRS.2SG have.INF DEF.ART.F.SG cervelat 1SG keep.PRS.1SG
- 2323 *al cuntí.» Stau ditg a fatg ... ju*
 DEF.ART.M.SG knife be.PTCP.UNM say.PTCP.UNM and do.PTCP.UNM 1SG

2324 vèva schòn quajdas, ábar quaj èra ... ad ju,
 have.IMPF.1SG indeed desire.F.PL but DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG and 1SG
 2325 gl' amprém tgu a fatg ... è
 DEF.ART.M.SG first.ADJ.UNM REL.1SG have.PRS.1SG do.PTCP.UNM COP.PRS.3SG
 2326 í in téczanúa á s-dulatschè ad í
 go.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG bit somewhere COMP carve.INF and go.INF
 2327 in técz.
 INDEF.ART.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.’

2328 A sè quaj stau fatg cun quaj ... ju
 and be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM do.PTCP.UNM with DEM.UNM 1SG
 2329 mèt' al cuntí ajan sac. A la sèra
 put.PRS.1SG DEF.ART.M.SG knife into pocket.M.SG and DEF.ART.F.SG afternoon
 2330 végn al bap sédò da las quátar ..., nuş
 come.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.M.SG father up_out of DEF.ART.F.PL four 1PL
 2331 vajn mùgnşch a fatg tut quèlas lavurs.
 have.PRS.1PL 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.’

2332 A sjantar ... las sjat, laş òtg èr' ins avaun
 and after DEF.ART.F.PL seven DEF.ART.F.PL eight COP.IMPF.3SG GNR before
 2333 térgja, èr' aun ditg clar ad in
 alpine_hut.F.SG COP.IMPF.3SG still long_time clear.ADJ.UNM and INDEF.ART.M.SG
 2334 técz als buéts⁹⁴ ... Scadín cas èr' ju lò parsuls
 bit DEF.ART.M.PL boy.PL every case COP.IMPF.1SG 1SG there alone.M.SG
 2335 cul bap.
 with.DEF.ART.M.SG father

‘And after ... at seven, eight we were in front of the hut, it was still clear for a
 long time and the boys a bit In any case, I was there alone with my father.’

2336 Al bap ... anvidau sé cò ina stùmpa scù
 DEF.ART.M.SG father light.PTCP.UNM up here INDEF.ART.F.SG cheroot as

⁹⁴Unintelligible part between *buéts* and *scadín*.

2337 *adina, ad ju prèn òra quaj cuntí a s-dulatscha cò*
 always and 1SG take.PRS.1SG out DEM.M.SG knife and carve.PRS.1SG here

2338 *zatgé api mir' al bab via sén mè:*
 something and look.PRS.3SG DEF.ART.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.’

2339 «*Tgé ... tgé as té lò?» «Ò ju a in ...»
 what what have.PRS.2SG 2SG there oh 1SG have.PRS.1SG INDEF.ART.M.SG*

2340 «*Da tgi as quaj cuntí?» «Ah quèl va ju*
 from whom have.PRS.1SG DEM.M.SG knife eh DEM.M.SG have.PRS.1SG 1SG

2341 *survagnú.» «Lá mirá in' jèda!» ... Vau*
 receive.PTCP.UNM let.IMP.2SG look.INF INDEF.ART.F.SG time have.PRS.1SG.1SG

2342 *dau via ... api détg èl: «Símplamajn*
 give.PTCP.UNM over and say.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M simple.F.SG.ADV

2343 *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?»’

2344 «*Na, ju a stju ... ju a stju*
 no 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG must.PTCP.UNM

2345 *dá la sèrvala, brat' ò.» Al bap*
 give.INF DEF.ART.F.SG cervelat exchange.INF out DEF.ART.M.SG father

2346 *ò détg nuét. Ju va tartgau ... bigja*
 have.PRS.3SG say.PTCP.UNM nothing 1SG have.PRS.1SG think.PTCP.UNM NEG

2347 *bjè ... nuét.*
 much nothing

‘«No, I had ... I had to give the cervelat, exchange [it].» My father didn’t say anything. I thought ... not much ... nothing.’

2348 «*Ò scha lura, sas té tgé, PN? Vò sé a*
 oh if then know.PRS.2SG 2SG what PN go.impf.2SG up and

2349 *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

2350 *in ... quaj è par safá mal. Na, quaj*
 INDEF.ART.M.SG DEM.UNM COP.PRS.3SG PURP REFL.do.INF harm no DEM.UNM

2351 *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.’

2352 «*Ah gljèz* ... *ju a* *schòn è quitau,* *na*
 eh DEM.UNM 1SG have.PRS.1SG indeed also think.PTCP.UNM no
 2353 *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
 2354 *PN ... fòrza l'* *autar dé ... gljèz* *sa* *ju bégja ...*
 PN maybe DEF.ART.M.SG other day DEM.UNM know.PRS.1SG 1SG NEG
 2355 *turnau* *al* *cuntí. Ju a détg:*
 give_back.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.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:’

2356 «*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
 2357 *è bégja ... fòrz' aprècјèschas té èl plé fétg tgu.*
 COP.PRS.3SG NEG maybe appreciate.PRS.2SG 2SG 3SG.M more much than.1SG
 2358 *Ju tégn da quèl lò ... è bétga, quaj*
 1SG hold.PRS.1SG of DEM.M.SG here COP.PRS.3SG NEG DEM.M.SG
 2359 *sau è bégja 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».’

2360 *Quaj è stau ... la duméngj' èra*
 DEM.UNM be.PRS.3SG COP.PTCP.UNM DEF.ART.F.SG Sunday be.IMP.3SG
 2361 *al bab vagnús anòra⁹⁵ a la duméngja*
 DEF.ART.M.SG father come.PTCP.M.SG out and def.ART.F.SG Sunday
 2362 *sèra sè quaj stau; èl vò anò*
 afternoon.F.SG be.PRS.3SG DEM.UNM COP.PTCP.UNM 3SG.M go.PRS.3SG out
 2363 *gljéndisdiš andamaun.*
 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.'

- 2364 A la serà da las quàtar végn al anajn.
 and DEF.ART.F.SG afternoon at DEF.ART.F.PL four come.PRS.3SG 3SG.M in
 «PN, ò, nuét, ò ju sùn aun⁹⁵ in' jèda.» A
 PN oh nothing oh 1SG be.PRS.1SG in_addition INDEF.ART.F.SG time and
 2365 prènd èl ò dal sacadòs in cuntí réjsch
 take.PRS.3SG 3SG.M out of.DEF.ART.M.SG backpack INDEF.ART.M.SG knife brand
 2366 néjv da mòni mèlan ... èxact al madèm.
 new.M.SG of handle.M.SG yellow exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.ART.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.'

- 2368 Cù 'l bab è jus navèn da Cavòrgja sé Sadrún,
 how DEF.ART.M.SG father be.PRS.3SG go.PTCP.M.SG away of PLN up PLN
 2369 cù 'l ò òrganisau quaj cuntí ... ma tga
 how 3SG.M have.PRS.3SG organize.PTCP.UNM DEM.M.SG knife because COMP
 2370 quaj èra bigja schi símpal, in cuntí
 DEM.UNM COP.IMPF.3SG NEG so simple.ADJ.UNM INDEF.ART.M.SG knife
 2371 vèv' ins bétga grad sén cruna.
 have.IMPF.3SG GNR NEG precisely on rack.F.SG

'How my father went from Cavorgia up to Sedrun, how he organized this knife ... because it was not so simple, you don't just have a knife on the rack.'

- 2372 A quèla luşchèzja, quaj va ju aprazjau
 and DEM.F.SG proudness DEM.UNM have.PRS.1SG 1SG appreciate.PTCP.UNM
 2373 énoròm ... tg' al bap ... ò sènza
 enormous.ADJ.UNM COMP DEF.ART.M.SG father have.PRS.3SG without
 2374 nuét ... sènza dí in plajd⁹⁷ cùntí ... l' autar
 nothing without say.INF INDEF.ART.M.SG word knife DEF.ART.M.SG other
 2375 dé in cuntí réjsch néjv ... èxact al
 day INDEF.ART.M.SG knife brand new.M.SG exact.ADJ.UNM DEF.ART.M.SG
 2376 madèm, da mòni mèlan.
 same of handle.M.SG yellow

⁹⁵ Anòra is a performance error for *anajn*.

⁹⁶ Unintelligible part between *aun* and *in*.

‘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.’

2377	<i>A</i>	<i>... quaj</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>zatgé</i>	<i>tgu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>maj</i>
	and	DEM.UNM	COP.PRS.3SG	something	REL.1SG	have.PRS.1SG	never
2378		<i>amblidau.</i>					

forget.PTCP.UNM

‘And ... this is something I have never forgotten.’

⁹⁷Unintelligible part between *plajd* and *cuntí*.

Appendix I: Verbs with stem alterations

The following list contains the verbs ending in *-a*, *-è*, and *-'ar* which show a change in their stem. Most verbs ending in *-ay* and *-i* are irregular and will therefore be presented in Appendix II below.

For present indicative and subjunctive, only the 1st person singular and plural will be indicated; for imperfect indicative and subjunctive as well as for conditional, only the first person singular will be noted, except for the verbs in *-a*, where the imperfect, indicative and subjunctive, will not be listed since it is regular.

The past participles of the verbs in this section, where irregular, will be listed separately with all the irregular participles in Appendix II below.

Since the future, the imperfect subjunctive, and the gerund are not or only exceptionally used, they shall not be mentioned in the following tables.

For reasons of space, the imperative will not be indicated in the following tables, but the 2nd person singular imperative corresponds to the 3rd person singular present indicative, and the 2nd person plural imperative corresponds to the 2nd person plural present indicative without its final *-s*: *èla cònta* ‘she sings’ vs *Cònta!* ‘Sing (sg)!’, *vus cantájs* ‘you (pl) sing’ vs *Cantaj!* ‘Sing (pl)!’.

da lauòra (pex Mustajr)

ju sùn sanudaus

ju a partjú; parta, partí

ju a pjars

rí ju ri rias ri riajn rièva, ju a ris, ri riaj

parvay; parvaj parvajas, parvaj, parvasín -ís, parvajan. a parvasíu, parvaséva, parvaj, parvasí,

prèndar: prèn prèndas prèndin prandéva prèn prandaj (prandí?) lu prènd ju, lu prènd' al,

pròpònar propona proponín proponéva, propona, proponí,

còsch tgu! cuschaj tgu

bafargnè ‘make fun’ vegn buca duvrau sin tuatschin. Ins drova plitost rir ora.

rùj ju rùj rujas ruj (buca clar) schar naven

scha (schè?) lasch lajas laj schajn schajs lajan schèva la! Lá fá quaj! Schaj!

Appendix I: Verbs with stem alterations

Table 9.1: Verbs ending in -á, first part

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
ampruá	'try'	amprúva	ampruajn	amprúvi	ampruajan	ampruau
ampustá	'order'	ampósta	ampustajn	ampósti	ampustájan	ampustau
ancuri	'look for'	anquéra	ancurín	anquerí	ancurían	ancurétg
anffa)rá	'shoe a horse'	anffara	anff(a)rajn	anffari	anff(a)rau	CEC
angulá	'steal'	angüla	angulajn	angüli	angulajan	angulau
antupá	'meet'	antaupa	antupajn	antaipi	antupajan	antupau
anzardá		anziarda	anzardajn	anzjardi	anziardajan	anzardau
barsá	'roast'	brassa	barsajn	brassi	barsajan	barsau
cantá	'sing'	cónita	cantajn	cònti	cantijan	cantau
carmalá	'attract'	carmala	carmalajn	carmali	carmalajan	carmalau
cudizá	'provoke'	cudéza	cudizajn	cudézi	cudizajan	cudizau
cugljaná	'cheat'	cugljuna	cugljajn	cugljuni	cugljanajan	cugljanau
cumandá	'order'	camònda	cumandajn	camòndi	cumandajan	cumandau
curdá	'fall'	eruda	curdajn	cròdi	curdajas	curdau
custá	'cost'	cuestá	custajn	custau		
cuzá	'last'	cuezá	cuézi			
digrá	'drip'	daghira	digrain	daghiri	digrajan	digrau
dustá	'clear, fend off'	dòsta	dustajn	dòsti	dustajan	dustau
duvrá	'use'	dùvra	duvrain	dùvi	duvrajan	duvrau
druvá	'use'	driva	druvajn	drivi	druvajan	druvau
fardá	'smell'	fréjda	fardajn	fréidi	fardajan	fardau
firmá	'smoke'	jéma	firmajn	fémí	firmajan	firmau
furá	'pierce'	fùra	furaijn	furi	furajan	furau
furschá		fruschá	furschajn	fruschi	furschajan	furschau
gíza		géza	gizajn	gézi	gizajan	gizaus
lavá sé	'stand up'	léjva	lavajn	léjvi	lavajas	lavau
luá	'melt'	lliua	luajn	liui		
ludá		lauða	ludajn	laudi	ludajan	ludás
manizá		manéza	manizajn	manézi	manizajan	manizas
mulá	'grind'	mòla	mulajn	mùli	mulajan	mulás

Table 9.2: Verbs ending in -á, second part

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	COND.1SG
<i>munglá</i>	'should'	<i>maungla</i>	<i>munglajn</i>			<i>munglás</i>
<i>mussá</i>	'show'	<i>müssa</i>	<i>mussajn</i>			<i>mussás</i>
<i>piná</i>	"	<i>pajna</i>	<i>pinajn</i>			
<i>ruassá</i>	'rest'	<i>ruaussa</i>	<i>ruassajn</i>			<i>ruassás</i>
<i>ruclá</i>	"	<i>rúcla</i>	<i>ruclajn</i>			<i>ruclás</i>
<i>rupá</i>	"	<i>raupa</i>	<i>rupajn</i>			
<i>rumplaná</i>	"	<i>rampluna</i>	<i>rumplanajn</i>			
<i>sacantá</i>	'dry'	<i>sacjanta</i>	<i>sacantajn</i>			<i>sacantás</i>
<i>sadapurtá</i>	'behave'	<i>sadapòrta</i>	<i>sadapurtajn</i>			<i>sadapurtás</i>
<i>sahaná</i>	('not) appreciate'	<i>sahöna</i>	<i>sahanajn</i>			<i>sahönian</i>
<i>samjá</i>	'dream'	<i>siamja</i>	<i>samjajn</i>			<i>samjás</i>
<i>sanudá</i>	'swim'	<i>sanüda</i>	<i>sanudajn</i>			
<i>sará</i>	'close'	<i>sjara</i>				<i>sarás</i>
<i>saragurdá</i>	'remember'	<i>saragòrda</i>	<i>saragurdajn</i>			<i>zaragurdás</i>
<i>satrá</i>	'bury'	<i>satjara</i>	<i>satrajan</i>			<i>satrás</i>
<i>scadá</i>	'heat'	<i>scauda</i>	<i>scadajn</i>			
<i>scumandá</i>	'prohibit'	<i>scamònda</i>	<i>scumandajn</i>			
<i>seursálá</i>		<i>scarsúla</i>	<i>scursalajn</i>			
<i>schlupá</i>	"	<i>schlöpa</i>	<i>schlupajn</i>			
<i>sítá</i>	'shoot'	<i>sjetá/sjéta</i>	<i>sitajn</i>			<i>sítás</i>
<i>splaná</i>	'plane'	<i>splauna</i>	<i>splanajn</i>			<i>splanás</i>
<i>stizá</i>	'turn off'	<i>stéza</i>	<i>stizajn</i>			<i>stizás</i>
<i>suá</i>	'sweat'	<i>síua</i>	<i>suajn</i>			<i>suás</i>
<i>sutá</i>	'dance'	<i>sauta</i>	<i>sutajn</i>			<i>sutás</i>
<i>trä</i>	'pull'	<i>tila</i>	<i>trajn</i>	<i>targéva/trèva</i>		
<i>uzá</i>	'lift'	<i>auza</i>	<i>uzajn</i>	<i>auzi</i>		<i>uzás</i>
<i>zavrá</i>	'wrap'	<i>zajvra</i>	<i>zavrajn</i>	<i>uzajan</i>		<i>zavrás</i>
<i>zulá</i>		<i>zùla</i>	<i>zulajn</i>	<i>zulajan</i>		<i>zulás</i>

Appendix I: Verbs with stem alterations

Table 9.3: Verbs ending in -é

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBV.1PL
<i>bafagié</i>	'tease'	<i>bafégja</i>	<i>bafagijan</i>	<i>bafagjava</i>	<i>betg duvraus</i>	<i>bagajau</i>
<i>bagagjé</i>	'build'	<i>baghègja</i>	<i>bagagjain</i>	<i>bagagjava</i>	<i>baghégi</i>	
<i>barşchè</i>	'burn'	<i>brischa</i>	<i>barschava</i>			
<i>betschè</i>	'kiss'	<i>betscha</i>	<i>bitschajn</i>	<i>bitschava</i>	<i>betschi</i>	<i>betschian</i>
<i>bugnè</i>	'give water'	<i>bögna</i>	<i>bugnjain</i>	<i>bugnjava</i>	<i>bögnjas</i>	<i>bögnjan</i>
<i>cumpagnjé</i>	'accompany'	<i>cumpògnja</i>	<i>cumpagnjain</i>	<i>cumpagnjava</i>	<i>cumpògni</i>	<i>cumpagnjajan</i>
<i>dumagnè</i>	'rummage'	<i>damògnja</i>	<i>dumagnjain</i>	<i>dumagnjava</i>	<i>damògni</i>	<i>dumagnjajan</i>
<i>fufargnjé</i>	"	<i>fuffrògnja</i>	<i>fufargnjain</i>			
<i>lahargnè</i>	"	<i>lahrògnja</i>	<i>lahargnijan</i>	<i>lahargnjava</i>		
<i>mudargjé</i>	'preach'	<i>mudrègja</i>	<i>mudargjain</i>	<i>pardagjéva</i>		
<i>pié</i>	'pay'	<i>paja</i>	<i>pajin</i>	<i>pièvan</i>	<i>paji</i>	<i>piajan</i>
<i>sampatschè</i>	'interfere'	<i>sampsatscha</i>	<i>sampsitschajn</i>			
<i>schagié</i>	'taste'	<i>schagja</i>	<i>schagijan</i>	<i>schagjava</i>		
<i>şhubargjé</i>	'clean'	<i>şchubregja</i>	<i>şchubargjain</i>	<i>şchubargiava</i>		
<i>scumbagljé</i>	"	<i>scumbègja</i>	<i>scumbagljain</i>	<i>scumbagljava</i>		
<i>sijé</i>	'mow'	<i>sija</i>	<i>sijajn</i>	<i>sijéva</i>	<i>sija</i>	
<i>stuschè</i>	<i>stauscha</i>	<i>stuschajn</i>	<i>stuschava</i>			
<i>tartgè</i>	'think'	<i>traitscha</i>	<i>tartgajn</i>	<i>tartgava</i>		
<i>tgjé</i>	'shift'	<i>tgaja</i>	<i>tgajin</i>	<i>tgjava</i>		
<i>tschitschè</i>	'saugen'	<i>tschéttscha</i>	<i>tschitschajn</i>	<i>tschitschava</i>		

Table 9.4: Verbs ending in '-ar

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
bájbar	'drink'	bajba	bubín	buéva			bubju
claudar	'close'	clauda	chuán	cladéva	claudi		CEC
cóschar	'keep quiet'	cósch	cuschin	creschja	carschian		carschjús
crèschar	'grow'	crèscha	carschín	curagjáva	curagján		curagjú
curegjar	'correct'	curégja	curagjín	cuvréva	cuvriari		cuvjart
cuviarar	'cover'	cuvíara	cuvrín			dérgei	dérjian
dèrgjar	'spill'	dèrgia	dargin	lagutéva	lagjéva		lagia
laguétar		laguéta	lagútin	lagjín	lagjia		lagjia
Légiar	'read'	léjja	méda	madín	madin		CEC
méjdar	'thresh'		méta	matajn	matéva		matian
mêtar	'put'		mòrda	murdéva	mordi		murdian
mòrdar	'bite'		parta	partín	partéva		
párter	"		pjarda	pardín	pardéva	pjardi	
pjárdar	'lose'		séjsha	sasín	saséva	scisi	scijan
séjsar	'sit'		sòlva	suhvín	sulvéva		sijut
sòlvar	'have breakfast'						

Appendix I: Verbs with stem alterations

Table 9.5: Verbs ending in -í

INF	TRANSLATION	PRS.IND.1SG	PRS.IND.1PL	IMPF.IND.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1SG	PRS.SBJV.1PL	PTCP
<i>amplani</i>	'fill'	<i>amplajna</i>	<i>amplanín</i>	<i>amplanéva</i>	<i>amplajni</i>	<i>amplanian</i>	<i>amplanjú</i>
<i>bargí</i>	'cry'	<i>bragja</i>	<i>bargin</i>	<i>bargjéva</i>	<i>bragji</i>	<i>bargí</i>	<i>bargjú</i>
<i>durmí</i>	'sleep'	<i>dòrma</i>	<i>durmín</i>	<i>durméva</i>			<i>durmjú</i>
<i>finí</i>	'finish'	<i>finéscha</i>		<i>finéva</i>	<i>finèshi</i>	<i>finian</i>	<i>finjú</i>
<i>muri</i>	'die'	<i>míra</i>	<i>murín</i>	<i>muréva</i>			<i>mòrts</i>
<i>sagli</i>	'run'	<i>séglja</i>	<i>saglín</i>	<i>sagljéva</i>			<i>sagljús</i>
<i>santi</i>	'feel'	<i>sjanta</i>	<i>santín</i>	<i>santéva</i>			<i>santjú</i>

Appendix II: 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, above p. xxx. conjunctiv: végnjas

Table 9.1: *dá* ‘give’ and *stá* ‘stay’

INF	dá	stá
PRS.IND	<i>dùn, das/datas, dá</i> <i>dajn, dajs, datan</i>	<i>stùn, stas/statas, stat</i> <i>stajn, stajs, statan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a dau</i>	<i>sùn stada/staus</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>dèva</i>	<i>stèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>dès</i>	<i>stès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>dèti, dètian</i>	<i>stèti, stètian</i>
IMP	<i>dá, daj</i>	<i>stá, staj</i>

DRG 5: 65. Konjunktiv: dètschi, dètschias, dètschi, dajan, dajas, dètschian!!!

Table 9.2: *fá* ‘do’ and *ira* ‘go’

INF	fá	ira/ir/í
PRS.IND	<i>fétsch, fas, fò</i> <i>fagjajn, fagjajs, fòn</i>	<i>vòn/mòn, vas, vò</i> <i>majn, majs, vòn</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a fatg</i>	<i>sùnd jus/ida</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>fagèva</i>	<i>mava</i>
COND.DIR	<i>fagès</i>	<i>mas</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>fétschi, fétschian</i>	<i>mòndi, mòndian</i>
IMP	<i>fò, fagjaj</i>	<i>vò, maj</i>

irregular ptcp

cuviarar cuvrétg

séjsarèssar saşjus

Appendix II: Irregular verbs

Table 9.3: *savaj* ‘know’ and *vulaj* ‘want’

INF	<i>savaj</i>	<i>vulaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sa, sas, sò</i> <i>savajn, savajs, sòn</i>	<i>vi, vutas, vut</i> <i>lajn, lajs, vutan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a savjú</i>	<i>a vuljú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>savèva</i>	<i>lèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>savès</i>	<i>lès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>sapi, savajan</i>	<i>vuti, lajan</i>

Table 9.4: *pudaj* ‘can’ and *tanaj* ‘hold’

INF	<i>pudaj</i>	<i>tanaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>pùs, pùs, pù</i> <i>pudajn, pudajs, pùn</i>	<i>tégn, tégnas, tégn</i> <i>tanin, tanís, tégnan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a pudjú</i>	<i>a tanjú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>pudèva</i>	<i>tanéva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>pudès</i>	<i>tanés</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>pùssi, pudajan</i>	<i>tégni, tégnian</i>
IMP	—	<i>tégn, taní</i>

Table 9.5: *stuaj* ‘must’ and *gudaj* ‘enjoy’

INF	<i>stuaj</i>	<i>gudaj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>stù, stùs, stù</i> <i>stuajn, stuajs, stùn</i>	<i>gauda, gaudas, gauda</i> <i>gudajn, gudajs, gaudan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a stavjú/stujú/stju</i>	<i>a gudjú</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>stuèva</i>	<i>gudéva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>stuès/stès</i>	<i>gudés</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>stùpi, stùpian</i>	<i>gaudi, gudían</i>
IMP	—	<i>gauda, gudí</i>

Table 9.6: *craj* ‘believe’ and *dí* ‘say’

INF	<i>craj</i> ‘believe’	<i>dí</i> ‘say’
PRS.IND	<i>craj, crajas, craj</i> <i>cartín, cartís, crajan</i>	<i>détsch, dias, di</i> <i>şchajn, şchajs, dian</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a cartjú</i>	<i>a détg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>cartéva</i>	<i>şchèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>cartés</i>	<i>şchès</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>craji, crajias, craji</i> <i>cartían, cartías, crajan</i>	<i>détschi, détschias, détschi</i> <i>détschian, détschias, détschian</i>
IMP	<i>craj, cartí</i>	<i>dí, şchaj</i>

Table 9.7: *şchaj* ‘lie’ and *fugí* ‘flee’

INF	<i>şchaj</i>	<i>fugí</i>
PRS.IND	<i>şchaj, şchajas, şchaja</i> <i>şchiajn, şchiajs, şchajan</i>	<i>fuétsch, fujas, fuj</i> <i>fugín, fugís, fujan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>sùn şchíus</i>	<i>sùn fugjús</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>şchièva</i>	<i>fugjéva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>şchiès</i>	<i>fugjés</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>şchaji, şchajias, şchaji</i> <i>şchajan, şchajas, şchajan</i>	<i>fuétschi, fuétschias, fuétschi</i> <i>fuían, fuías, fuétschian</i>
IMP	<i>şchaj, şchijí</i>	<i>fuj, fugí</i>

Table 9.8: *tumaj* ‘fear’ and *còj* ‘cook’

INF	<i>tumaj</i>	<i>còj</i>
PRS.IND	<i>téma</i>	<i>còj</i>
	<i>tumajn</i>	<i>cuín</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a tumjú</i>	<i>a còtg</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>tuméva</i>	<i>cuéva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>tumés</i>	<i>cués</i>
PRS.SBJV		<i>còji</i>
		<i>cuían</i>
IMP	<i>téma, tumaj</i>	<i>còj,</i>

Appendix II: Irregular verbs

schaj: šchjus, šchida, šchjaj

Table 9.9: *schá/schè* ‘let, have do’

INF	<i>schá/schè</i>
PRS.IND	<i>lasch, lajas, laj, schajn, schajs, lajan</i>
PRF.IND	<i>a schau</i>
IMPF.IND	<i>schèva</i>
COND.DIR	<i>schas</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>laschi, laschjas, laschi, laschjan, laschjas, laschjan</i>
IMP	<i>lá, schaj</i>

DRG 10: 499 gibt schè und kein schá.

DRG 10: 501 gibt schajan und schajas für Konj.Pr. 1. und 2. pl.

DRG 10: 502 gibt schèva fürs Impf.

Ju vi schá fá èls quaj. Ju lasch fá èls quaj. Èl schas fá quaj.

Table 9.10: *sadastadá* ‘wake up’

INF	<i>sadastadá</i>
PRS.IND	<i>sadadèsta, sadastadajn</i>
PRF.IND	
IMPF.IND	<i>sadastadèvan</i>
COND.DIR	<i>sadèstadás</i>
PRS.SBJV	<i>sadadèsti, sadèstadajan</i>
IMP	<i>sadadèsta</i> <i>sadastadaj</i>

Table 9.11

INF
PRS.IND
PRF.IND
IMPF.IND
COND.DIR
PRS.SBJV
IMP

Table 9.12

INF
PRS.IND
PRF.IND
IMPF.IND
COND.DIR
PRS.SBJV
IMP

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